A FIELD AND DIVERSE PURPOSES: SCIENCE, APPLICATION AND CRITIQUE IN THE AMERICAN FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Abstract

One of the most important aspects of the American field of International Relations (IR) is the deeply-rooted and broadly shared commitment to a "scientist" understanding of scholarly work. Scientism can be described as an indubitable belief in our ability to produce value-free and non-normative knowledge and in the power of such knowledge to resolve societal problems. Since the mid-20th century, this scientist commitment prevailed in the main approaches and standards guiding the practice of IR scholarship in the United States. One problem with the dominance of scientism is that it reproduces a restrictive view of American IR scholarship. More precisely, the dominance of scientism has not only limited the diversity of methodological and theoretical approaches but, this thesis argues, also restricted American IR scholars' ability to further different understandings of the legitimate *purposes* of scholarly work. Following this idea, this thesis endeavors to challenge the dominance of scientism and legitimize alternative forms of scholarship in American IR.

More precisely, this thesis advances that American IR scholars' work is guided by three categories of objectives, that is, the production of scientific knowledge, the application of knowledge and the advancement of critical thinking. To clarify how these three objectives are concretely formulated, the thesis also specifies nine categories of epistemic approaches (e.g. forms of methods and theories) that are associated with scientific, applied and critical objectives. This categorization is conceived as a useful thinking tool for understanding how and why scholarship is generated in American IR. After detailing this categorization, the thesis underlines the specific value and purpose associated with each category of objectives by examining a series of graduate education programs in American IR. This empirical examination concentrates on ten professional M.A. and ten PhD programs offered in elite American universities. Using a discursive analysis of the curriculum and the syllabus of one core course in each program, the thesis discusses how and why scientific, applied and critical objectives are furthered in American IR. It particularly underscores why applied and critical objectives are marginalized across the selected graduate education programs and the benefits associated with these alternative orientations for American IR. In doing so, this thesis helps challenge the dominance of scientism and legitimize other forms of scholarship in American IR.

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Table of acronyms

EMP……..	Empirical approaches
EXP……	Experiential approaches
FOR……	Formal models
HER……	Hermeneutical approaches
IIB……..	Interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approaches
INT…….	Interpretative approaches
IPC…….	Issue, policy- or case-specific approaches
QSA……	Quantitative and statistical approaches
REF……	Reflexive approaches

INTRODUCTION

Understanding the way American scholars and researchers represent the world is of great importance today, just as it was 25 or 50 years ago. As the United States of America remains one of the main great powers today, the type of ideas with which core institutions of higher education and research in the United States conceive the natural and social worlds provide a foremost perspective on the cultural and intellectual means by which this country still largely governs international relations. What this means is that while there are significant differences between the scholarly and policymaking worlds, this thesis assumes that the main configurations of scholarly ideas about international relations in the United States ultimately influence the way American decision-makers conceive and frame their foreign and international policies.[1] It is such a perspective that this thesis advances, namely by examining the American way of framing the study of international relations.

An interest in the way knowledge and ideas about international relations have been developed is not exceptional. In the last three decades, a significant amount of scholarly attention has been dedicated to understanding how the academic field of International Relations (IR) has been and is being organized. For example, scholars have studied the different philosophies used for generating knowledge about international relations (e.g., Smith, Booth and Zalweski 1996, Wight 2006, Jackson 2011), the historical configurations of this academic field (e.g., Long and Wilson 1995, Schmidt 1998, Hobson 2012), its sociological features (e.g., Wæver 1998, Büger and Villumsen 2007, Hamati-Ataya 2012) and how it has been developed in different geo-cultural contexts (e.g., Jørgensen 2000, Tickner and Wæver 2009, Acharya and Buzan 2010). From early studies on these topics, a recurring theme has been the significant influence exercised by American scholarship on the transnational field of IR (e.g., Grosser 1956, Hoffmann 1977). During the following decades and up to this day, the American dominance – if not

[1] For studies about the specific ways by which scholarly ideas are transferred and used in foreign policymaking (in and beyond the United States), see for example Smith 2003, Acharya 2011 and Eriksson and Norman 2011.

hegemony – and its significant consequences on the field have been the object of continuous and lively debates (e.g., Holsti 1985, Kahler 1997, Turton 2015).

With the increasing attention towards the way IR is organized in different parts of the world, several scholars have underlined how American scholarship on international relations has been developed according to relatively specific, if not parochial, intellectual tendencies (e.g., Alker and Biersteker 1984, Smith 2002, Hagmann and Biersteker 2014). While we are increasingly conscious of this parochialism (which is not exceptional in itself), prominent contributors to the literature studying IR around the world nevertheless remind us that "[p]resumably, we are all part of a global discipline studying a shared object of interest and yet theorizing gravitates around a number of theories 'made in the U.S.'" (Tickner and Wæver 2009, 1). In that sense, American scholarship – and especially theoretical constructs generated and used in elite institutions across the United States – remains highly influential on the ways by which scholars practice IR and frame international relations around the world. Accordingly, and because of their significant and transnational consequences, it is still of foremost importance – especially for those who wish to study the development of IR around the world – to understand the specific predispositions that influence how IR is taught, researched and organized in elite schools in the United States.

The scientist commitment in American IR

One, if not *the most*, important aspect of IR in the United States is the deeply rooted and broadly shared commitment to a "scientist" understanding of the world. Scientism is associated with a series of beliefs, goals and dispositions that guide the way IR scholars conceive and conduct their work. It can primarily be described as an indubitable belief in science, where science is understood as a distinct form of knowledge. More precisely, scientism conceives valid (or true) knowledge as necessarily "value-free" and "non-normative" (Smith 2004); in other words, scientism furthers a dualist philosophical view (Jackson 2011) where the scientist is separated from the world he or she observes and the resulting knowledge can (and must) be logically separated from any personal value and ethical commitment.[2] In addition to this specific understanding of valid knowledge,

[2] The opposite view will be further detailed in the first chapter of the thesis.

scientism furthers an unquestioning confidence about science's potential applicability to human problems; in other words, scientism holds that scientific knowledge and methods can be used to resolve any type of societal problem. As a result, the application of scientific knowledge necessarily yields progress for the human society.

A long-term analysis of the origins of scientism in the United States and, more specifically, in the American scholarly world could trace these predispositions back to the European Enlightenment. Yet, and for the purpose of this thesis, it suffices to underscore, following Dorothy Ross (1991), that scientism appears like a fundamental dimension of the particular "historical consciousness" that gave rise to social sciences in the United States during the early part of the 20th century. Since the study of international relations has largely been an outgrowth of social sciences and, more specifically, of political science in the United States (more on this in the following pages), the corresponding scientist stance have been translated in the standards guiding the practice of IR scholarship in this country.

Scientism is far from unique to American IR. Indeed, it is also a dimension of IR scholarship in several other parts of the world.[3] Yet, what appears unique to the American institutional context is the intensity of the faith in science. As Hoffmann writes, this faith "[encompasses] the social world as well as the natural world, and [goes] beyond the concern for problem-solving" (2006, 4). As such, it is the relative scope of the "cultural prestige" attributed to science in American IR, and social sciences more broadly, that appear exceptional. Explaining this extraordinary influence, Jackson writes that

> *To invoke "science" is to call to mind a panoply of notions connected with truth, progress, reasons, and the like-and, perhaps more importantly, to implicitly reference a record of demonstrated empirical success. Appeals such as this function this way particularly in internal debates among scholars of the social world, as tossing an appeal to "science" into such debates is like playing a very valuable trump-card that implicitly, if not explicitly, calls the entire status of the scholarly field into question*. (Jackson 2010, 3)

[3] For example, Hoffmann mentions that "with the single exception of the 'British school' (…), the discipline remains imbued with American scientism" (2006, 4; in Nye 2008). See also Friedrichs and Wæver (2009) for a more detailed analysis of the influence of scientism in Western and more particularly Northern Europe.

In the context of American IR, a significant importance is accordingly attributed to the standards associated with science, to the point that aligning one's work with the corresponding intellectual and cultural standards is one, if not the main, means to secure intellectual and scholarly authority in this field.

Scientism in the development of American IR scholarship

Several instances illustrate the significant influence of scientist predispositions over the relatively short history of American IR. One prime instance is associated with the debates that follow the emergence of behaviouralism in American IR (and more broadly in American social sciences). During the 1950s, behaviouralism emerges as an intellectual movement that stresses the unity of scientific approaches and methods. Behaviouralist scholars use methods and approaches developed in natural scientific fields (e.g., quantitative approaches, formal modeling, game theories) and transpose these in social scientific research to explain actors' observable behaviors. In doing so, they reject considerations towards unobservable elements such as the effects of structures or ideas in their analyses (i.e., they use a strict empiricist ontology).

By the late 1950s, behaviouralism becomes a recognized alternative to the traditional, or previously dominant, theoretical approach in American IR, i.e. classical Realism (Smith 1989). Several terms oppose behaviouralism and the Realist approach such as the normative dimension of scholarship and theories, or the attention towards non-observable elements (e.g., laws of the human nature in Morgenthau's Realist theory). A series of scholarly exchanges during the 1960s particularly conflate these oppositions, which have been identified as the Second great debate in IR. This debate is generally understood as opposing IR scholars defending what are considered to be two incommensurable approaches, that is, either traditional approaches, which are mainly based on historical methods (e.g., Bull 1966), or the emerging behaviouralist approaches, which rely on scientific methods (e.g., Kaplan 1966, Knorr and Rosenau 1969). Despite this apparent opposition, a broad consensus on the importance of scientific standards seems to be shared across the field since even Hedley Bull (the leading representative of the traditionalist approach) emphasized the necessity of "being consistent with the philosophical foundations of modern science" (1966, 375). Accordingly, both sides to

this debate adhere to the scientist ideal of value-free and non-normative knowledge in IR since, as Simon Curtis and Marjo Koivisto underline, all participants accept that an "empiricist philosophy of science and a positivist methodology were representative of scientific inquiry in IR" (2010, 433).

Beyond this specific period and debate, the recurring commitment towards philosophical conceptions that are closely related with a scientist stance in IR (e.g., positivism and rationalism) also illustrates the influence of scientism in American IR. For example, Ido Oren (2012) highlights this often rhetorical pattern by analyzing the intellectual trajectory of four of the most influential figures in American IR: Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, Robert Keohane and Alexander Wendt. "All four of them authored work", Oren recalls, "that was non-positivist in orientation before adopting a more 'scientific' stance, or at least expressing themselves in more scientific language" (2012, 5). Indeed, each of the first three scholar's first major text in American IR were either attacking scientist conceptions (Morgenthau 1946)[4] or departing from associated standards (Waltz 1959, Keohane and Nye 1977). Then their later – and generally more influential – books were all aligned, as Oren also underscores, with scientist sensibilities either through rhetorical adherence to science and law-like conceptions of international politics (Morgenthau 1948), the association with positivist philosophical standards (Waltz 1979), or the reliance on corresponding methodological approaches (Keohane 1984)[5]. Similarly, after establishing himself in the early 1990s as one of the main proponents of the constructivist approach in IR, Alexander Wendt awkwardly attempted, in his most influential book, to reconcile himself with scientism by stating, for example, that he is "a strong believer in science… I am a positivist" (1999, 39), or by explaining that he finds no epistemological difference between explanations on processes of social construction and the activity in which natural scientists are engaged (*Ibid*, 372).[6]

[4] Indeed, "Morgenthau's first English language book", i.e. *Scientific Man versus Power Politics*, was a clear attack towards "the conception of the social and physical world as being intelligible through the same rational processes" (Morgenthau 1946, in Oren 2012, 5).
[5] In the same vein, see also King, Keohane and Verba (1994).
[6] Similarly, see the section where Wendt suggests that "epistemologically, I have sided with positivists… our best hope is social science… [but]… on ontology-which is to my mind the more important issue-I will side with post-positivists. Like them I believe that social life is 'ideas all the way down' (or almost anyway…)" (Wendt 1999, 90).

While surprising, this pattern is more easily explained when one situates American IR within its particular institutional context. The professional academic study of international relations has emerged and still mainly resides within the discipline of political science (and associated departments) in the United States. Accordingly and as historiographer of IR Brian Schmidt argues, it seems impossible in the case of the United States to "write the history of IR without locating it within the disciplinary matrix of American political science" (2013, 10). Schmidt (1998a, 2008) and Robert Vitalis (2005) trace the emergence and institutionalization of IR in the United States back to the establishment of the American Political Science Association (APSA) in 1903, and more broadly to the imperial and colonial contexts of the time. Schmidt particularly suggests that it is the Politics section within the APSA that later formed "the nucleus of what became the sub-field of IR [in the United States]" (2008, 678). As explained by Nicholas Guilhot (2008), it is only after the Second World War that some American scholars attempted – with mild results – to create a more autonomous field as a means to isolate IR from the dominant methodological trends in American political science. More precisely, Guilhot underscores how the development of a theory specific to IR (i.e. classical Realism) was, for Morgenthau and other scholars during that period, "a way to secure a space for [an] alternative vision of politics and scholarship" (Guilhot 2008, 282). Accordingly, these scholars attempted to carve an original theory as a way to shield the study of international relations from the dominant influence of behaviouralism in American social and political science and to enable a more practical understanding of international politics (more on this practical understanding below).

Political scientists claimed from the early 20th century the status of science; yet, and as underlined by scholars like John Gunnell, this claim was not from the beginning "an internal matter relating to how to conduct inquiry but more importantly a claim to cognitive authority, which would justify speaking truth to power" (2011, 14). It is only by the mid-20th century that scientism (as previously defined in this introduction) became particularly influential in American political science. As Gunnell also explains, this transformation took effect when the logical positivist and logical empiricist accounts of science "became authoritative for [social scientific] disciplines such as political science, which for various reasons, were anxious about their scientific identity" (*Ibid,* 56). Like

for IR, these accounts of scholarship became increasingly influential in American political science through the behaviouralist movement of the 1950s. As with the case of IR, the dominance of behaviouralism started to fade by the early 1970s. Nevertheless, scientism remained dominant in American political science in the form of commitments to related philosophical and epistemological conceptions like positivism and rationalism in the following decades (e.g., King, Keohane and Verba 1994, Marsh and Savigny 2004). Accordingly, the influence of scientism in American IR since the middle of the 20th century has largely been a result of its embeddedness in the discipline of American political science.

Moving forward to the recent state of the field, scientism still appears potent in American IR scholarship. Indeed, recent surveys into the views of IR scholars indicate that, in 2008, 65% of the American respondents considered the epistemological orientation they used in the context of their research to be positivist (Jordan et. al., 2009, 38). Four years later, this proportion has slightly decreased (to 59% of American respondents) but still indicates that a positivist conception of IR scholarship largely dominates American IR.[7] At the level of graduate education in IR, Thomas Biersteker recently analyzed the way IR is taught in leading political science departments in the United States. Teaching, he concludes, largely converges around rationalist approaches.[8] Interestingly, Biersteker's recent analysis was an actualization of a similar study conducted in 1984, which concluded that "behavioral-scientific approaches concerned with explaining and managing a complex world order have predominated in the United States" (Alker and Biersketer 1984, 123). The resemblance between these two later studies, separated by almost 25 years, helps illustrate the continuity in the commitment to a scientist understanding of scholarly knowledge in American IR, despite the fact that the labels used to designate associated philosophical and epistemological approaches tend to change.

[7] While both surveys indicate that American IR is well above the average level of adherence to a positivist conception of IR scholarship when compared with all the respondents to the surveys, it is noteworthy that it is not the only national community that presents such positivistic orientation.

[8] More broadly, Biersteker indicates that "there is a broad consensus in the U.S. about the importance of using the most sophisticated methods of social science to pursue the analysis of international relations" (Biersteker 2009, 308).

Alternative purposes in American IR scholarship

One of the problems with the dominance of scientism is that it reproduces a restrictive view of the way by which IR scholars have constructed knowledge about international relations. For example, studies that emphasize a unified understanding of social scientific inquiries (e.g., Moravcsik 2003, King, Keohane, and Verba 1994) undermine the legitimacy of advancing scholarship that translates normative projects or ethical judgements in the context of IR. According to such views, any form of scholarly inquiry that does not conform to the scientist, or (neo)positivist, standards is essentially demarcated from legitimate social scientific work in IR and associated with other areas of activity (e.g., non-scientific scholarly work, policy practice, activism).

As several IR scholars have underlined, the scientist stance of American IR has resulted in the recurring marginalization of alternative epistemological and theoretical perspectives in the field over the last decades (e.g., Booth, Smith and Zalewski 1996, Smith 2003, Jackson 2011). Yet, I argue in this thesis that the dominance of scientism has not only marginalized epistemological and theoretical alternatives in American IR but has also restricted IR scholars' ability to further different understandings of the legitimate *purposes* of scholarly work.

This idea is not particularly surprising if we conceive the methodological and theoretical approaches used by scholars as practical means by which they advance different and often diverging goals in the academic sphere and the world more broadly. According to this view, the dominance of scientism in American IR limits the possibilities for developing alternative forms of scholarship, which prioritize different objectives such as the applicability to specific contexts of practice or reflections on one's ethical posture. Following this idea, this thesis endeavors to conceptualize and illustrate, using a sociological approach, different possible purposes underlying IR scholarship in the United States. This should assist IR students and scholars in understanding how and why different forms of scholarship are mobilized in the field and help legitimize, at least indirectly, such alternative forms of scholarship.

One prime example of an alternative form of scholarship in the American field of IR is "practical knowledge". The prime purpose of practical knowledge is to be applicable to

concrete problems and relevant for other members of the society (e.g., policymakers). As such, it is more normative, prescriptive and responsive to societal and world events (than scientific knowledge might appear for example). While scientism also proposes that scientific knowledge is a solution to the problems of society, it is the priority that is given to its applicability in concrete situations that distinguishes practical knowledge (more on this below). Illustrating these differences, Paul Avey and Michael Desch (2014) recently conducted a survey to understand when and how IR scholarship was considered useful (and, implicitly, applicable) by senior American policy makers. Their study indicated that American policy makers find IR scholarship useful when it is qualitative and synthetically presented, but "less-than-helpful when it employs [the cutting-edge research] methods (…) without a clear sense of how such scholarship will contribute to policymaking" (2014, 228-229). As Avey and Desch's analysis illustrates, it is possible to distinguish two categories of scholarship in IR based on their methods and purposes. More specifically, we can start identifying a first (scientific) category of scholarship that results, for example, from the employment of cutting-edge scientific methods, which is presented in more sophisticated ways but appears less useful to practitioners. We can also start delineating a second (practical) type of scholarship that results from qualitative approaches, which appears in more synthetic fashion and is more useful in solving practitioners' concerns. While this distinction is still preliminary, it illustrates how focusing on the objectives underlying IR scholarship helps us describing its diversity and the distinct form of value that different epistemic approaches advance in the field.

Over the last decades, practical knowledge has been marginalized by the dominance of scientism in the American field of IR even if there has been recurring impulses to generate such form of scholarship in the United States. Indeed, practical knowledge can be related with what Jackson (2014) has called the second main impulse of the field, namely that of influencing the direction of international policy practice towards desirable outcomes. In discussing the peculiarities of the American field of IR, Smith also suggests that it primarily "developed as a response to events in the real world and defined its purpose as preventing their repetition" (1989, 7). While we might have doubts regarding the direct influence of external events on the development of the field and scholarly knowledge more broadly (e.g., Schmidt 1994, Wæver 1998), what these references

suggest is that a distinct and more applied approach has contributed to the development of American IR in parallel to – and despite – the dominance of scientism in the field.

The concomitant impulses towards generating scientific and practical understanding of international relations have been translated in several debates and tensions in the American field of IR, which date back at least to the mid-20th century. As previously alluded, this tension is for instance illustrated in Hans Morgenthau's *Scientific Man versus Power Politics* (1965 [1946]) where scientism is described as "the belief in the power of science to solve all problems and, more particularly, all political problems which confront man in the modern age" (1965 [1946], vi). Instead, Morgenthau proposes that international relations is more effectively studied through an alternative and more practical approach, that is, one recognizing that

> *Politics is an art and not a science, and what is required for its mastery is not the rationality of the engineer but the wisdom and the moral strength of the statesman. The social world, deaf to the appeal to reason pure and simple, yields only to that intricate combination of moral and material pressures which the art of the statesman creates and maintains.* (Morgenthau, 1965 [1946], 10)

As this quote indicates, the study of international politics, for Morgenthau, required a more practical approach than that associated with scientific standards.

This more practical approach was necessary for Morgenthau and other Realist scholars since international politics "was ultimately impervious to rationalization"; in that sense, "its best rational rendition was under the form of prudential maxims, not scientific principles" (idem). Morgenthau's views on the appropriate form that knowledge of international relations should take (e.g., prudential maxims) and the contrast with more scientific forms (e.g., rationalization and scientific principles) illustrates the type of tension that has recurred in the field between the different objectives and forms potentially associated with IR scholarship. Accordingly, I argue in this thesis that conceptualizing different types of knowledge based on their diverging purposes is a useful way to underscore the diversity of approaches used by IR scholars in the United States, clarify the distinct value of such distinct approaches for the field and, indirectly, disrupt the dominance of scientism.

Policy relevance in American IR scholarship

Another rendition of the tension between impulses to generate scientific or practical knowledge is related in the relative consensus to make scholarship policy relevant in American IR. A series of relatively unique institutional and cultural features translate this instrumentalism, which enable ideas and scholars to circulate between the academic and policy worlds as well as a higher level of policy relevance in IR scholarship. One of these institutional features has been named the "revolving doors", which can be described has "the considerable movement back and forth between the academic and the political worlds" (Smith 1989, 11). Probably more than anywhere else, it is possible (if not expected) for American IR scholars to participate in the actual practice of international policymaking by collaborating for example with the U.S. government or international organizations (Grondin 2015). This practice largely contradicts a scientist view of scholarship by focusing the attention of IR scholars on more contextual, contingent and short-term policy problems.

The instrumentalist impulse in American IR is also related with the role of think tanks and private foundations in the development of ideas and knowledge about international relations and their transmission to policymaking spheres. Indeed, think tanks and private foundations have had a significant role in furthering policy relevant knowledge about international relations. As Guilhot explains, the emergence of IR as a relatively distinct scholarly venture was primarily supported by extra-disciplinary resources coming, for example, from the Rockefeller Foundation (2008, 284). More broadly, think tanks and private foundations are elements in broad networks of institutions that help generating policy-oriented knowledge about international relations in and beyond the academic context in the United States. These "state-connected elite knowledge networks", as Inderjeet Parmar (2013) names them, connect not only universities and academic institutions, but also "journals (International Security; National Interest; Journal of Democracy; Foreign Affairs), think tanks (Council on Foreign Relations, Princeton Project on National Security, CCD, Brookings, PPI) and foundations (Ford, Carnegie, MacArthur)" (ibid, 249). These networks have significant influence both as transmission belts for American IR scholars' ideas towards the sphere of policymaking, but also in the

academic sphere itself as they give a greater role to practitioners' concerns in the development of scholarship than a strict scientist view would suggests.

Another illustration of the strong impulse to produce policy relevant work in American IR is the tendency among associated scholars to publish in policy journals despite the low value that a strictly scientist view offers for such work. One example of this practice is provided by Abraham Lowenthal who underlines that he has, during his academic career, "published several university press books and essays in *World Politics*, *International Security*, *Latin American Research Review*, and other academic journals, but have also contributed frequently to *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, the *Journal of Democracy*, the *Washington Quarterly*, and other policy reviews, and to *Harper's*, the *Atlantic*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and many other newspapers" (2014, 4). Similarly, American IR scholar Samuel Huntington illustrates this tendency as he originally published his "clash of civilizations" argument in the journal *Foreign Affairs*, which publishes articles by scholars and policymakers of international affairs. As I previously indicated, such practice is not particularly valued by a scientist view of scholarly work, which would rather prioritize publication of rigorous and sophisticated analyses in academic journals. Accordingly, I propose that this practice, just like the importance of "revolving doors" and think tanks, can be explained by a different type of impulse and sense of purpose among American IR scholars, that is, an impulse to generate knowledge that can be more readily transferred to contexts of application, and especially policymaking contexts.

The broadly shared concern with policy relevance among American IR scholars however hides the fact that two visions exist on how scholars can generate policy relevant knowledge. Indeed, some scholars favor the scientific character of IR and view it as a policy science, that is, an objective science that uses empirical methods to rationalize politics, and from which policy solutions can be derived. This technocratic perspective is opposed by those for whom politics cannot be rationalized and IR cannot, therefore, be a science. Instead, the objective for this second group of scholars is to prioritize the applicability and responsiveness of scholarly work and to be able to advocate it in specific contexts of policy application. Policy relevance in the United States is

nevertheless strongly influenced by scientism. Accordingly, two visions of policy relevance remain in tension in American IR, as each is associated with different types of objectives for scholarly work, that is, a first prioritizing objectivity and a second prioritizing applicability (or, in other words, scientific status vs. advocacy). Here again, I argue that conceiving American IR scholarship from the point of view of the different objectives that underlie it will help highlighting its diversity.

Research question

As the previous discussion indicates, scientism is a powerful impulse in American IR. Yet, American IR scholars regularly pursue other objectives in the conduct of their work. Accordingly, the question that this thesis seeks to answer is:

How does an examination focused on the diverse objectives underlying scholarly work help us understand the configuration of IR scholarship from elite universities in the United States?

To answer this question, the thesis advances a novel conceptualization of scholarly purposes in American IR and then illustrates this conceptual tool by using a sociological approach for analyzing recent American IR scholarship.

More specifically, this thesis primarily delineates three broad categories of objectives that regularly motivate American IR scholarship namely *science*, *application* and *critical thinking* (more on these three categories below). Using a sociological approach for examining recent scholarship from elite institutions of IR in the United States, the following chapters then illustrate empirically this categorization, which underscores why American IR scholars translate these diverse objectives and associated epistemic approaches and methods (beyond scientific methods) in their work.

Overall, the thesis answers the previous research question by putting forth three arguments. First it proposes that conceptualizing different categories of scholarly objectives and associated epistemic approaches can help understand the diversity inherent in American IR scholarship and solve some of the recurring tensions between distinct visions of scholarship in the field. Second, it advances that illustrating this categorization using a sociological approach is useful for clarifying the value of alternative forms of

knowledge in American IR, and especially of practical and critical thinking. Third, it argues that this conceptual and analytical work can help mitigate the dominance of scientism in American IR by showing how and why purposes beyond scientific ones motivate the work of scholars in elite institutions across the United States.

Relevance of the research question

Answering this thesis' question is important because the contradiction between different scholarly orientations often generates tensions, misunderstandings and acrimonious debates in American IR. Since the early 1990s, the tension between impulses towards scientist and practical knowledge has for example been illustrated in a literature voicing critiques towards the increasing distance between IR scholarship and policymaking or, put more simply, towards the gap between theory and (policy) practice (e.g., Kruzel 1994, Jentleson 2002, Walt 2012a). One of the first IR scholars to take a clear stance in favor of "bridging the gap" is Alexander George (1993), who is widely known for examining the interactions and differences in terms of professional incentives and needs between the academic and foreign policy-making fields of activity in the United States. For George, these two fields have become increasingly detached because IR has largely been focused on the search for theoretical knowledge, making it more and more irrelevant for policymakers.

In the following years, several scholars have emphasized the existence of this gap and actively promoted policy relevance in IR. For example, Abraham Lowenthal wrote that the field of IR was characterized by

> *[A] gap, even a chasm, between those who study and those who act. Many policymakers think of scholars as absorbed in abstract and self-referential debates and as primarily interested in crafting theories (and impressing other scholars) rather than in illuminating, much less recommending solutions to, the pressing issues that policymakers must address. Many scholars, in turn, disdain the simplifications and lack of analytical rigor they often attribute to policymakers, whom they typically perceived as interested in processes and outcomes but not in understanding causality.* (Lowenthal 2014, 1)

As the worlds of theory and practice appear increasingly separated, gap-bridgers argue that IR scholarship remains "excessively insular and disconnected from the empirical

realities that are the discipline's raison d'être" (Jentleson 2002, 170). To counter the deepening of this gap, these scholars have defined relevant scholarly work as "research, analysis, writing and related activities that advance knowledge with an explicit priority of addressing policy questions" (Jentleson and Ratner 2011, 8); in other words, gap-bridgers argue that IR scholars should "bridge" with policymakers, that is, produce scholarship more directly relevant for policymakers. Yet and while the will to advance policy relevance in American IR is legitimate, what I argue in this thesis is – just like the scientist impulse in IR – that the way the gap debate has been framed has limited rather than favored a better understanding of the diverse possibilities of scholarly work. This is unfortunate because this debate could have the beneficial effect of enabling and legitimizing more diverse forms of scholarship in IR.

The limiting consequences of the gap debate primarily results from the restrictive and caricaturized conceptions that gap-bridgers have attributed to the notions of theory and practice. This categorization is primarily restrictive since the notion of practice is exclusively associated with policymaking, while a large number of non-academic actors and spheres of activities could benefit from greater collaboration with IR scholars. Similarly, this categorization restricts relevant scholarship to that which is able to inform policymakers, rather than helping us understand how scholarly work can be useful for different objectives and audiences. Moreover, this categorization caricaturizes normal IR scholars' work as being limited to theory-building, which negates the vast diversity of objectives and approaches that are regularly mobilized in IR scholarship. In doing so, this categorization devalues the normal work of IR scholars rather than helping us understand its diversity. Accordingly, the categorization presented by the gap literature is problematic because it reinforces a stereotypical dichotomy between arguably distinct worlds (the scholarly and policymaking ones), all the while attempting to further greater communication between scholars and policymakers. From this perspective, reiterating the categorical dichotomies between scholars and practitioners – or between theory and practice – has the paradoxical effect of reproducing the problem that these same scholars (those emphasizing the existence of a gap) denounce, namely, an excessive divide between scholars and policymakers.

To solve this problem, this thesis starts from an assumption according to which the American field of IR is much more diverse and entangled with other fields of practice (e.g., policymaking) than gap-bridgers argue and the scientist impulse would dictate. Moreover, it assumes that the main tendencies that are found in the American field of IR scholarship are less the results of scholars' close-mindedness than of the main objectives, standards and incentives associated with their field of activity. As Jackson writes, "the 'gap' to be 'bridged' is therefore no mere failure of commitment or desire on either side; it is directly linked to the different constitutions of the academic and policy worlds" (Jackson 2014). Accordingly, I argue that improving the communications between American IR scholars and enhancing the usefulness of associated scholarship for other stakeholders will not result from imposing a definition of relevance or rigor more suitable to scientists or gap-bridgers; instead, this thesis puts forth that these objectives can be more readily achieved by conceptualizing three broad categories of objectives (or purposes) that regularly motivate American IR scholarship and by underlining how this diversity is valuable for the field.

More precisely, I show in this thesis that American IR scholarship is not only motivated by scientific objectives but also by the generation of practical knowledge and, more rarely, of critical modes of thinking. What this means is that the thesis' analysis emphasizes the epistemic diversity of American IR by describing how and why scholars alternatively pursue scientific endeavors, practical knowledge or critical modes of thinking in their work, which offers a way to enhance our understanding of the potentialities of IR scholarship. In turn, this analysis helps moving beyond the dominance of scientism by legitimizing the generation of practical knowledge as well as critical thinking in American IR (despite the marginalized status of this last category of purpose in the field).

Categorizing the main objectives in IR scholarship

As I further explain in Part I of this thesis, the conceptualization of the three categories of scholarly objectives previously outlined is particularly inspired by Jürgen Habermas' notion of "knowledge-constitutive interests," which can be understood as representing the pre-existing interests guiding the production of knowledge. As Mark Hoffman writes,

"knowledge-constitutive interests" can also be thought of as *a priori* interests that determine "what does and does not constitute genuine knowledge" and "how that knowledge is to be used" (1987, 235). As these definitions indicate, those interests – and hence the scholarly objectives examined in this thesis – often remain implicit in knowledge-producing activities; yet, they are determining factors in the epistemic choices made by scholars.

The three scholarly objectives advanced in this thesis' conceptualization can be synthetically identified with the goals of generating practical, critical or scientific knowledge. Each purpose is associated with particular forms of questions, which distinguish the type of contributions they advance in IR scholarship. Because they answer different questions, each purpose is also associated with different types of – what I name – epistemic approaches" in IR scholarship. More precisely, the following chapters illustrate the recurring connections between the three proposed objectives and nine types of epistemic approaches in IR scholarship.[9] As further explained below and because they are explicitly linked with three forms of scholarly objectives, the epistemic approaches used in this thesis' analysis encompass a broader range of research approaches and methods than is conventionally accounted for in studies on IR scholarship. Accordingly, the analysis presented in the following chapters is useful for illustrating the diverse approaches used in American IR scholarship and understanding the value of these different types of epistemic approaches.

The first category of objectives proposed in this thesis is associated with objectives of application. Application furthers a practical form of knowledge, which contributes to the field by prioritizing the transferability and operationability of ideas to concrete situations. Generating practical knowledge helps scholars be more reactive to non-academic actors' concerns and increase the societal relevance of their work. In the following analysis, application is particularly associated with interdisciplinary, experiential and issue or case-specific epistemic approaches.

[9] In the following pages, these nine types of epistemic approaches are identified as the interdisciplinary, experiential, issue or case-specific, interpretative, hermeneutical, reflexive, quantitative and statistical, empirical and formal models approaches.

The second category of purpose is science. Science furthers knowledge that is more objective, generalizable and abstract. Science contributes to the field by prioritizing empirical validity, methodological sophistication and rigor. Scholars motivated by the production of scientific knowledge value it for its descriptive, theoretical and explanatory dimensions as they help ascertain transversal and causal knowledge about world phenomena. In the following analysis, science is associated with three types of epistemic approaches, that is, formal models, quantitative and statistical, as well as empirical approaches.

The third category of purpose, i.e., critique, furthers critical modes of thinking, the objective of which is to generate critical (self-)examination and questioning. Works associated with a critical purpose prioritize ethical reflection, greater understanding of normative questions and constitutive processes in and beyond the scholarly context. This type of work contributes to American IR by instilling more reflexivity, self-consciousness and attention to ethical issues in scholarly practices and world affairs. In the following chapters, critique is associated with three types of epistemic approaches, that is, interpretative, hermeneutical and reflexive approaches.

These introductory descriptions are meant only to present the main concepts developed in this thesis, which are further detailed in Chapters 1 and 2. Yet, they are sufficient to indicate how the three proposed categories of objectives account for "different styles of reasoning" (Neumann 2011, 257) in the field. The presentation of these three categories of objectives also illustrates the pluralist stance that is adopted in this thesis regarding the potential purposes of IR scholarship in elite universities in the United States. More precisely, the following analysis does not propose that one particular category of objectives should be adopted in American IR. Its politics is rather to mitigate the current disciplinary biases towards a scientist orientation in American IR by describing how alternative objectives are translated in, and relevant for, the field. While this posture may be criticized as insufficient to effectively counter the dominance of scientism, I propose that the pluralist conceptualization advanced in this thesis effectively broadens the current understanding of scholarly relevance in American IR and clarifies how different purposeful approaches to scholarly work contribute to the field. This is particularly the

case with scholarship furthering objectives of application, for which a significant number of cases being analyzed in the following chapters illustrate the importance (case selection is more thoroughly discussed in the following chapters). In doing so, the thesis emphasizes the particular contributions of practical knowledge in American IR scholarship. While the role of critical thinking is also illustrated and its contribution underlined, the following analysis suggests that critical knowledge remains relatively marginalized in the field. Accordingly, the development of the categorization proposed in this thesis challenges the dominance of scientism in elite schools of IR in the United States and helps legitimizing alternative forms of scholarship (i.e. practical and critical), all the while opening debates on the appropriate purposes that should be adopted in future scholarly work.

Studying IR scholarship in elite US schools

As previously indicated, I focus on American scholarship on international relations to conduct the following analysis; this empirical choice deserves to be justified given the already significant influence that the tendencies, scholars and ideas originating from the United States enjoy in the transnational field of IR. As the previous discussion has indicated, a first reason for studying American IR is the significant presence and influence of American scholarship in the academic sphere of IR. As Thomas Biersteker writes: "There are more IR degree-granting institutions, more IR faculty, and more IR dissertations, degrees, associations, and conferences in the U.S. than in any other country on the globe" (Biersteker 2009, 308). If one wishes to understand the organization of knowledge about international relations in the world today (or the organization of international relations per se for that matter), studying American IR remains of foremost importance since it is still one of the main fields from where new ideas, practices and trends originate and are diffused transnationally.

Yet and while recognizing the significant influence of American scholarship on the transnational field of IR, it is also important to be aware that further studies may have reinforcing effects on the already dominant position of the American field of IR, and especially of elite institutions in the United States. Indeed, analyzing IR scholarship from elite US institutions has, necessarily, the implicit consequence of focusing even more our

attention – and potentially "naturalizing" – the features that are specific to this area of the field. In other words, while analyzing these features it is important not to be led to what Schmidt explains as "the erroneous conclusion that the history of IR is synonymous with its development in the United States" (2013, 8). In the following pages, I am therefore careful to avoid such association by clearly distinguishing between features associated with elite institutions for IR in the United States and features characterizing the transnational studies of IR.

A second reason to focus on IR scholarship from elite US schools in this thesis is the fact that this area of the field is characterized by particularly intense debates related with the appropriate objectives and approaches for scholarly work. Indeed and as previously indicated, there are particularly strong impulses towards applying scientist principles, and simultaneously for orienting scholarship towards more practical and policy relevant knowledge, in these institutions. These impulses have generated a significant amount of discussions in American IR over the last decades, for example around previously mentioned theory vs. practice debate (among many others, e.g., Lepgold and Nincic 2001, Nye 2008, Walt 2005). While debates about the different objectives of scholarship are far from exclusive to the American IR (in British IR, e.g., Wallace, 1996, Booth 1997, Smith 1997), the amount of attention – and tension – created by these debates in this context justifies that we try to provide better means for understanding the diverse purposeful postures animating the field. Focusing on elite schools for IR in the United States is particularly relevant for developing a conceptualization of IR scholarship from the point of view of its different objectives.

As I previously explained, elite IR schools in the United States are also characterized by several institutional features, which exemplify how different purposeful orientations, and especially that towards practical knowledge, can influence scholarship. Beside the previously mentioned practices associated with the revolving doors, publications in policy-oriented journals and the role of think tanks, this diversity of purposeful orientations is also illustrated in a particular form of vocational specialization in associated graduate education programs. While this specialization is not unique, it is particularly advanced in elite US higher education institutions. Following this trend,

several elite American universities host Master programs that are specifically focused on transmitting more practical knowledge of international relations to graduate students. Several of these MA programs are affiliated with the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA), which endeavors to promote "graduate professional training" in international affairs (APSIA 2015). The affiliated MA programs are particularly rich sources for illustrating how scholarship oriented towards the generation of practical knowledge is actually translated in American IR. Along with the more conventional research-oriented PhD programs in American universities, I contend that these professional MA programs are excellent means to access the ways by which the sphere of international relations is constructed and represented from the point of view of elite US schools of IR. In the following chapters, I analyze documentary sources from a series professional and research-oriented graduate program to challenge the dominance of scientism in IR and explain how and why diverse forms of objectives and associated epistemic approaches are furthered in elite US schools of IR.

Audience for the thesis

The argument developed in the following chapters should interest several groups of IR scholars. It should first interest those who study the history of the academic field of IR and especially of the American field of IR. More specifically, the novel perspective that this thesis offers on the organization of IR scholarship from elite US schools should inform the group of IR scholars that have, at least since the mid-1990s, started to revisit the origins and the traditional narratives that were passed along to explain the development of the field (e.g., Schmidt 1998b, Hobson 2012, Ashworth 2014). Similarly, the arguments developed in the following chapters can contribute to the recent cluster of literature using a sociological approach to study IR. More precisely, several IR scholars have concentrated on studying the sociological dimensions of IR, for example how it is organized nationally and transnationally, structured by particular forms of disciplinary power and resistance and influenced by diverse intra and extra-academic actors and factors (e.g., Wæver 1998, Büger and Villumsen 2007, D'Aoust 2012a). The conceptualization of different scholarly objectives and the associated illustrations on the diversity of IR scholarship can inform several of these inquiries. More broadly, the thesis should contribute to the discussions that have coalesced around the recent surge in

reflexive studies on IR (or studies on the field), may they be focusing on the role or character of the American dominance in the field, the specificities of IR in diverse geo-cultural context or the adoption of different philosophical, epistemological or methodological approaches in the field (e.g., Jackson 2011, Tickner and Wæver 2009, Turton 2015).[10]

Plan for the thesis

The six chapters constituting this thesis are organized in three main parts. In Part I, Chapter 1 details the particular claim according to which we can identify three categories of legitimate scholarly objectives in IR. This generic conceptualization is compared primarily with Jürgen Habermas' related work on the philosophy of knowledge. In Section 1.2, application, critique and science are described by emphasizing the particular sets of objectives and principles that they help highlighting. Relevant pieces of scholarship exemplifies each category of scholarly purpose. Section 1.3 goes on to detail the methodology underpinning the categorization developed in the thesis. It also presents the different types of diagrams developed to complement the empirical illustrations provided in chapters 5 and 6 and reflects on the process whereby such a conceptual tool is constructed.

Chapter 2 explains how recurring forms of links are examined between the three proposed categories of objectives and the series of epistemic approaches previously listed. More specifically, the chapter explains how I conceptualize epistemic approaches beyond the more conventional meta-theoretical, theoretical and methodological categories of understanding. Reference to other theories on the development of scientific knowledge helps conceptualize a pluralist, non-standardized and constantly evolving field of study, which mobilizes a diverse set of epistemic approaches. Chapter 2 also underscores how a pragmatist philosophy of knowledge provides a way of conceiving the diverse epistemic approaches in IR scholarship as practical and useful means linked with particular problems, objectives and questions. It explains how I have delineated the series of epistemic approaches associated with the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives, that is, incrementally from the lexicon used in the examined scholarship. This

[10] A more complete review of this literature, i.e. of reflexive studies on IR, is provided in Chapter 3.

conceptualization is also complemented by referring to several studies examining the practical and political nature of research methods and approaches in IR.

Part II of the thesis details four core dimensions of the empirical examination developed in Part III of the thesis. Chapter 3 primarily details the intellectual and literary context associated with this thesis project, which I identify as reflexive studies in IR. To review the associated literature, this chapter presents three perspectives that have recently received considerable attention in this subfield of study, namely, the geo-epistemic, historiographical and sociological perspectives. In developing this typology, Chapter 3 describes the main analytical focus and concepts, and the substantive contributions associated with each of the three perspectives. Section 3.1 details important dimensions of the following empirical examination, such as the analytical focus on IR scholarship produced in elite American universities and on the intellectual structure of the field. Section 3.2 presents the analytical approach mobilized to explain why and how categories of objectives and diverse epistemic approaches are used in IR scholarship from elite US schools. I explain how this analytical approach is inspired by a post-structuralist conception of meaning-making processes and by associated discourse analysis methods. On the basis of these methods, Section 3.2 clarifies how the following chapters focus on a specific set of discursive practices (i.e., link-, binary- and boundary-making) to identify and explain the use of the proposed objectives and epistemic approaches in IR scholarship. Section 3.2 goes on to explain how these discursive practices are examined intertextually, i.e., across diverse textual sources in graduate education programs in IR.

Chapter 4 furthers the preparation of the following empirical examination. Section 4.1 describes the empirical focus adopted in Part III of the thesis, that is, a focus on the formal dimension of graduate education programs in IR. This section justifies the analysis of education (as opposed to other scholarly practices), the selection of graduate education programs (as opposed to other levels of education) and the formal dimensions (as opposed to other dimensions of education) of such programs in elite US schools for IR. Section 4.1 also describes the diverse sources that can be, and have been, used to examine education practices in IR and related fields and justifies the selection of program curricula and course syllabi. Section 4.2 then presents the specific research methods used

for the following discursive analysis. It describes the method used to select 20 IR-related graduate programs, program curricula and course syllabi from elite American universities. This selection, within the two main categories of professional master and research-oriented PhD programs, is justified by their ability to illustrate the proposed objectives in American IR scholarship. Finally, Section 4.2 details the methods used to analyze the selected documentary sources intertextually.

Part III of the thesis presents an empirical examination of the 20 IR graduate education programs selected, that is, 10 professional MA and 10 PhD programs all located in elite US universities. I selected these two types of graduate programs for their comparability and ability to illustrate relatively specific categories of scholarly objectives (especially application and science). Chapters 5 and 6 detail the discursive analysis of scholarly objectives and associated epistemic approaches found in the selected program curricula and course syllabi. More specifically, Chapter 5 examines the documentary sources associated with the 10 master programs selected. It primarily develops a detailed individual examination of each master program curriculum and syllabus selected. For each program selected, the statements and discursive practices exemplifying the objectives of application, critique and science and the related epistemic approaches are analyzed. These detailed examinations help explain how and why different scholarly purposes are advanced in IR. Section 5.2 then develops a transversal examination that underscores the main discursive patterns reproduced across the selected curricula and syllabi. Chapter 5 particularly contributes to clarifying why application and related epistemic approaches are used by IR scholars from elite US universities.

Chapter 6 follows with an analysis of the 10 PhD programs selected for this thesis. This chapter primarily examines the documentary sources associated with each selected PhD program. Section 6.1 focuses on each program curriculum and syllabus selected to exemplify the purpose of application, critique and science as well as the related epistemic approaches. These detailed examinations provide the means to further develop the conceptualization advanced in this thesis. Section 6.2 compares these detailed and individual examinations to highlight the main discursive patterns associated with the proposed categories of objectives and associated epistemic approaches across the selected

PhD curricula and syllabi. This examination particularly, but not exclusively, helps clarify why science and associated epistemic approaches are mobilized in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Finally, the Conclusion reviews each chapter contribution. It also clarifies certain analytical biases associated with the empirical examinations developed in Part II and III of the thesis, such as selection methods that did not favour the examination of critique in American IR scholarship. Beyond these shortcomings, the Conclusion underscores how the categorization developed in the thesis helps mitigate scientism by accounting for the value the different objectives and epistemic approaches that are regularly mobilized in elite American schools for IR.

PART I

CONCEPTS AND CATEGORIES FOR ANALYZING THE DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES ASSOCIATED WITH IR SCHOLARSHIP FROM ELITE INSTITUTIONS IN THE US

Since at least the middle of the 20th century, scholars in the United States have actively debated the appropriate form that IR scholarship should take. While these debates have largely been focused on the best theories, methodologies or epistemologies to make sense of international relations, they also mobilized – although in a more implicit way – arguments about the purpose(s) of IR scholarship. Overshadowing arguments about the theoretical or epistemological dimensions of IR, the dominant view has generally been that American IR should be a social science and hence conform to scientific standards. Yet, other perspectives propose that American IR scholarship should be guided by other objectives like that of developing practical knowledge or reflective abilities. While they have remained secondary or marginalized, especially in elite US schools for IR, these other perspectives further contending purposes in and for the field, with the potential of developing more diverse forms of scholarship and understandings of international relations.

To better explain the diversity of theoretical, methodological and epistemological approaches in IR scholarship from elite US schools, I argue in this thesis that we should provide a more comprehensive conceptualization of the different objectives underlying American scholarship. To achieve this goal, the following chapters conceptualize three broad categories of scholarly objectives namely science, application and critique. I also identify a series of nine epistemic approaches that are recurrently used by American IR scholars to formulate these three types of objectives. Together, this thesis argues, this categorization provides a heuristic device that can help counter the dominance of scientism and explain the diversity of objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Part I of the thesis explains the main concepts that constitute the categorization of scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis. The validity claims and methodology that support the proposed categorization are clarified and compared with the relevant scholarship in IR and related fields. Chapter 1 concentrates on ascertaining the pluralist understanding of scholarly purposes in American IR. In effect, Chapter 1 explains how the thesis conceptualizes different categories of objectives and epistemic approaches for IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Chapter 2 presents the philosophical means for conducting my examination of the diverse epistemic approaches used to articulate the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities. More precisely, I clarify how we can understand the production of scholarly knowledge as an essentially heterogeneous set of activities. I also explain how the diverse epistemic approaches mobilized by American IR scholars can be conceived pragmatically, that is, as practical and political devices mobilized to deal with particular scholarly questions and to advance diverging views of the world. In Chapters 1 and 2, I also start indicating how this categorization is used, in the two following Parts of the thesis, for describing the diversity of approaches currently used in scholarship from elite higher education institutions in the United States.

CHAPTER 1

THE THREE CATEGORIES OF OBJECTIVES UNDERLYING IR SCHOLARSHIP IN ELITE US UNIVERSITIES

Chapter 1 presents the categorization developed in this thesis. It primarily explains the three broad categories of scholarly objectives, i.e. science, application and critique, which help make sense of the diversity of scholarship regularly produced in elite US schools for IR. As further explained in the following pages, each of these three categories of objectives is associated with distinct sets of epistemic approaches in IR scholars' work, which are also detailed. The notions and approaches associated with each of these categories of objectives clarify the particular worldview that they advance in IR scholarship. Together, this conceptualization helps challenge the dominance of scientism and legitimize alternative forms of scholarship in elite schools for IR in the United States.

To do so, this chapter primarily reviews how other authors have theorized the objectives underlying scholarly and scientific activities in and beyond American IR. While the relevant literature is potentially extensive, it is particularly important to consider how other theories of knowledge underscore the scholarly objectives and principles underpinning the notions of science, application and critique. In developing these illustrations, Chapter 1 advances many contributions for this thesis. This Chapter primarily emphasizes how different types of objectives can be conceived in IR scholarship from elite US universities, despite the fact that they are not always explicit in scholars' work. By categorizing science, application and critique on equivalent terms, the Chapter establishes the means for mitigating the dominance of scientism and legitimizing alternative understandings of relevance in this area of the field. The Chapter also conceptualizes nine types of epistemic approaches, which are associated with the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives and which are used to illustrate how these objectives are translated in IR scholarship. In developing this conceptualization, Chapter 1 indicates how the proposed categories of objectives and epistemic approaches are used in the following chapters to explain the diversity of scholarship in elite schools of IR in the United States.

Following this introduction, Chapter 1 is organized in four sections. First, I mobilize a particular dimension of Jürgen Habermas' theory of knowledge to explain how we can conceptualize American IR scholarship as being guided by different types of objectives. Second, I detail the three categories of scholarly objectives proposed in this thesis' conceptualization. Third, I describe the nine epistemic approaches that are associated with the proposed categories of scholarly objectives. Fourth, I clarify the methodology and validity claims that support this conceptualization. In doing so, I also explain how and why a graphical illustration of the proposed categorization is used throughout the following empirical examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities.

1.1 A Pluralist Theory of Knowledge

Habermas' theory of knowledge (e.g., 1971[1968], 2005) is one of the main inspirations for developing the categorization of scholarly objectives proposed in this thesis. Most importantly, Habermas' theorization helps understand how diverse types of objectives can underlie American IR scholars' regular practices and discourses. Indeed, Habermas' theory of knowledge connects the procedures and approaches used in the process of inquiry to what he names "knowledge-constitutive interests." These interests can be understood as "fundamental orientations to knowledge and action" and as links between "the origin, application, and validity of knowledge" (Scott 1978, 2). This definition indicates how the concept of knowledge-constitutive interests correlates the configuration of research activities (i.e., the organization of methodologies, methods and other epistemic approaches) with researchers' fundamental theoretical and practical orientations and sense of purpose. In fact, we can understand these interests as the underlying and indispensable conditions for the production of particular types of knowledge (I specify below what these types are for Habermas.) More broadly, this concept embeds the development of knowledge within the historical evolution of human societies, thus transforming Habermas' theory into an encompassing social theory.

To translate the embodiment of knowledge-constitutive interests in a theory of social evolution, Habermas conceives them transcendentally, that is, as being associated with the fundamental or "deep structure of human experiences" (Scott 1978, 2). While this connection with fundamental and societal conditions of theory and action generates

important insights for understanding the long-term construction of knowledge, I am more interested in this thesis to mobilize the dimensions of Habermas' theory that can be operationalized to empirically examine recent American IR scholarship.[11] It is worth mentioning that this application is also suggested by Habermas: for him, knowledge-constitutive interests can be studied empirically by considering what is the social and practical "meaning" of the knowledge being produced, or, put more simply, what knowledge "does" in the world.[12]

To develop a more operational approach, I translate Habermas' concept of knowledge-constitutive interests in the more usable notion of scholarly objectives, which are more or less explicitly expressed in American IR scholarship. At the collective level, I also propose that these scholarly objectives can be understood by referring to three broad categories of understanding, that is, three types of objectives that recur throughout IR scholars' activities and discourses. This categorization helps empirically distinguish different purposeful orientations that are associated with recurring discursive patterns in the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. Each category represents a set of objectives that is more or less frequently translated in IR scholarship. Each category of objectives carries with it a set of principles and values rooted in particular historical and political contexts, as well as a set of epistemic approaches that are used in furthering these objectives in scholarly work.

To exemplify how diverse objectives can be associated with IR scholarship from elite US universities, it is worth mentioning that Habermas also proposes three particular types of knowledge-constitutive interests, i.e., technical, practical and emancipatory. In the context of this theory, "technical interest" refers to knowledge and actions that are oriented toward successful explanations and manipulations of natural objects and events. In this sense, it is interested in acquiring and improving what Habermas refers to as "technical control" over natural phenomena and "objectified processes" (2005, 315; on

[11] The relevance of this operational translation is also suggested by the critiques formulated by some scholars according to which Habermas remains vague on what, exactly, he means by the notion of knowledge-constitutive interests and its role in the generation of knowledge (e.g., Lobkowicz et al. 1972, 201; more broadly, see also Habermas 1973).

[12] While Habermas indicates an intention to develop such an empirical examination in the form of a history of analytic philosophy, he never fully develops this project (as he himself notes [1973, 159]).

this, see also Habermas 1971, 64). “Practical interest” refers to dimensions of knowledge and action that endeavour to improve “community and mutuality” (Scott 1978, 2) by extending understanding and consensus between actors. Put more simply, it seeks knowledge appropriate for successful collective application and action. Finally, “emancipatory interest” is oriented toward the development and improvement of intersubjective understanding. In particular, it mobilizes self-reflection as an intellectual and practical means of liberating actors from constraints resulting from their particular historical and social setting. While the categorization developed in this thesis diverges from that provided by Habermas, these three types of knowledge-constitutive interests indicate how we can delimit different forms of objectives regularly motivating scholarly activities and the production of knowledge more broadly.

This thesis’ conceptualization does not use Habermas’ typology because of the way this author links each of the three aforementioned types of interests to specific fields of knowledge production. For example, Habermas associates all natural scientific fields with a form of knowledge-production activities that is guided by a technical interest, that is, what he terms “analytical-empirical knowledge.” This type of knowledge leads scholars to conceive the world “as a universe of facts whose lawlike connection can be grasped descriptively” (Habermas 2005, 311). Habermas depicts natural scientific fields as developing “hypothetico-deductive connections” and “lawlike hypotheses” that enable researchers to predict and control objectified phenomena. Similarly, this author associates “cultural sciences” to a “historical-hermeneutical” form of knowledge, which is accessed by the interpretation of meaning in use – as opposed to the observation of natural and empirical phenomena. In fields associated with cultural sciences, interpretation is oriented toward practical relevance and “always depends upon a prior understanding of the objects of knowledge” (Scott 1978, 4). Finally, the emancipatory interest is restricted to critical social sciences (e.g., psychoanalysis and Marxism). These fields are conceived by Habermas as generating critical-dialectical knowledge that synthesizes the two previous forms of knowledge (e.g., analytical-empirical and historical-hermeneutical) through self-reflexive activity. In doing so, critical social sciences help free actors from recurring and contingent constraints.

While Habermas' conceptualizations of knowledge-constitutive interests is useful in foregrounding this thesis pluralist argument about IR scholarship from elite US universities, the association between discrete forms of knowledge and particular scholarly/scientific fields homogenizes activities of knowledge production as well as scholars' objectives in these fields. This is an important issue because, as I suggest, we can expect scholarly practitioners to be guided by different types of interests (i.e. technical, practical and emancipatory in Habermas' terminology) in any field of knowledge production. In the natural sciences, for example, some scholars have already underscored that there are branches that "can hardly be utilized technically, at least not immediately; we can think of geology, astronomy or the theory of evolution. We can further object that the standards of progress in theoretical physics can certainly not be reduced to technical usefulness" (Lobkowicz et al. 1972, 203). To avoid the homogenizing effect of Habermas' theory, I therefore propose that we need an understanding of knowledge production activities that accounts for the diverse forms of objectives motivating scholars' work in *any* field of study (while the specific configuration of these objectives may vary). In this thesis, I develop such an understanding by describing how and why IR scholarship from elite US universitiesis regularly guided by different categories of objectives.

Besides this first issue, Habermas' depiction of scholarly/scientific fields also highlights the imbalance in the value he attributes to the three knowledge-constitutive interests associated with his theory. For example, a negative connotation is observable when Habermas describes the cultural sciences and associated historical-hermeneutic knowledge as being concerned "with the sphere of *transitory things and mere opinion*" [emphasis added] (Habermas 2005, 311). As Scott also underscores, the technical and practical forms are for Habermas "primary forms" of knowledge-constitutive interests and mere "aspects of the process of social evolution" (1978, 2-3) while, on the contrary, the emancipatory interest amounts to "a derivative, 'meta-interest'" and to nothing less than the "struggle of the human species" (*idem*). This indicates that the relevance and legitimacy of Habermas' three proposed types of knowledge-constitutive interests are not presented on equivalent terms. This, I suggest, is a biased starting point for developing an examination of the different potential objectives motivating American IR scholarship.

While explaining Habermas' favourable stance toward the critical-dialectical form of knowledge could help us get more acquainted with the history of Critical theory, my goal here is rather to mobilize the previous theorization for improving our understanding of IR scholarship from elite US universities.[13] Now, I suggest that advancing a theory of knowledge based on the kind of hierarchy like that suggested by Habermas is, at best, a sure way to generate opposition from anyone not sharing similar views on the reciprocal relevance of diverse knowledge-constitutive interests or scholarly objectives. I instead propose in this thesis to conceptualize the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives on equivalent bases, or, in other words, in non-hierarchical terms. What this means is that the proposed conceptualization considers the pursuit of science, application and critique to be, in essence, equally legitimate for IR scholarship and that the relevance of each approach can only be judged contextually. As this subsection presented the theoretical bases for the concept of scholarly objectives used in this thesis, the following Section 1.2 defines the principles associated with the three proposed categories of objectives.

1.2 Science, Application, Critique and associated epistemic approaches

This section describes the categorization of scholarly objectives advanced in this thesis. Before describing the principles and epistemic approaches associated with each proposed category of objectives, it is important to clarify how this categorization was developed and why it constitutes a valuable conceptual tool for analyzing IR scholarship from elite US universities.

While developing this conceptualization, my primary goals were to identify a set of categories that are simple enough to be useful in my and others' analyses, as well as comprehensive enough to encompass the diverse objectives and epistemic approaches found in IR scholarship from elite US universities. To do so, I largely proceeded in an inductive rather than deductive way. What this means is that instead of pre-establishing logical rules according to which the categorization would be organized, I delineated the

[13] In doing so, I mobilize Habermas' theory of knowledge in a more encompassing way than previous IR scholars have done, as with Richard Ashely (1981) and his critique of Political Realism, Mark Hoffman (1987) and his discussion of Habermas' contribution to Critical Theory, and Kimberly Hutchings (2005) and her encounter between Habermas' concept of discourse ethics and feminist international theory.

proposed categories of objectives and epistemic approaches by experimenting with trials and errors in organizing my observations on selected sources from IR scholarship from elite US universities (more details on these sources in Part II of the thesis). In this process, I prioritized the definition of the three categories of objectives since they constitute the backbone of the proposed conceptualization; yet, the delineation of the series of epistemic approaches was inherently intermingled with this first stage of categorization.

While being embedded in the selected empirical sources, I used interpretative, comparative and pragmatic approaches to conduct advance my inductive process of conceptualization. More precisely, I primarily focused on finding recurring indications of underlying purposes in IR scholarship from elite US universities. To do so, I used methods of discursive analysis which lead me to interpret, compare and repetitively verify the recurrence of observed patterns against different sets of texts associated with IR scholarship from elite US universities (the methods and tools for this inductive analysis are further detailed in Chapter 4). Once categories of objectives seemed operational, I proceeded similarly to identify related epistemic approaches. The names of the different types of epistemic approaches were defined from the vocabulary used in the examined scholarship and by adapting it to illustrate the distinctive character of each approaches. Also and as I explain in the following subsection, I extensively used graphical illustrations as a means to visualize the whole conceptualization, which helped clarifying and simplifying it.

The transversal analysis of selected sources from IR scholarship from elite US universitieshelped incrementally improve the categories of objectives and epistemic approaches that emerged during my examination. To compare and refine the categories of scholarly objectives that had resulted from my examination, I also referred to other authors' theorization (e.g., Habermas' previously outlined theorization of diverse knowledge-constitutive interests). Similarly, I refer to previous conceptualizations of methodological and theoretical approaches in IR (e.g., Jackson 2011) to specify and ascertain my categorization of associated epistemic approaches. By comparing my work

with these other conceptualizations, I was able to develop a categorization that is simple but broad enough to account for the vast majority of the selected sources.

Three categories emerged as a primary set of scholarly objectives that was broad enough to be encompassing and simple enough to be analytically practical, hence striking the desired balance between broadness and usefulness. I also identified nine epistemic approaches (three per categories of objectives) that could illustrate the means by which each of the three proposed categories of objectives were furthered in the examined scholarship. When faced with recurring indications toward a new type of scholarly objective or epistemic approach, I proceeded pragmatically, that is, I primarily asked myself if they could be effectively conflated in the categories previously delineated; if they could not I adapted my categorization in order to account for the new perspective.

A pragmatic approach also made me value the conceptual simplicity of the proposed categorization. To keep it relatively simple and practical, I worked to limit the number of categories of objectives and epistemic approaches to a minimum while considering the necessary scope of the whole conceptualization. This simplicity contributes to the categorization usefulness as it makes it easier to be used in this and other analyses. As the following explanations indicate, this categorization of scholarly objectives and related epistemic approaches is an improvement for the field since it underlines in a simple and practical way the different purposeful orientations and associated intellectual means that were largely implicit in IR scholarship, operating without any clear understanding of their respective meaning and positionality.

As I have explained the process by which the proposed categorization was developed, the following subsections presents each associated categories of scholarly objectives along with the associated series of epistemic approaches. In clarifying each category of scholarly objectives, I also detail how scholars have used or adapted associated concepts in the context of IR scholarship from elite US universities. Following the explanations on each of these categories of objectives, I also describe the three types of epistemic approaches that are used in the following chapters to illustrate how these objectives are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Science and associated epistemic approaches

In defining the categories of objectives associated with science in IR scholarship from elite US universities, I primarily rely on Max Weber's notorious definition of scientific knowledge and activities. This definition can be described as a more positive and constructive understanding of Habermas' technical-knowledge-constitutive interest and its associated analytical-empirical form of knowledge. For Weber, science is indeed defined by its distinctive goal, that is, by the "systematic application of a set of theories and concepts so as to produce a "thoughtful ordering of empirical actuality" (Weber 1999a, in Jackson 2011, 20). Instead of expressing an interest in technical control, Weber's definition proposes that scientific activity is functionally organized for the systematic production of factual knowledge (e.g., Weber 1958[1919]). This basically constitutes the underlying goal of the scientific posture as it is conceived in this thesis namely a posture that uses empirical observation and systematic procedures to provide precise and sure explanations about world phenomena.

Weber's particular conceptualization of scientific activities implies a logical distinction between factual and other forms of knowledge (e.g., normative or evaluative interpretations). As explained by Jackson (2011), three dimensions help to logically distinguish factual from other forms of knowledge in the context of Weber's conceptualization, i.e., its "worldliness", systematic procedures and publicity (or public procedures). These three dimensions basically encompass the particular worldview that a scientist posture furthers in American IR namely one for which we can provide exact, universal and unchanging answers if we use the appropriate (i.e. public, factual and systematic) procedures to explain them.

Worldliness underscores that factual knowledge refers to the actuality of the world in which we live.[14] For Jackson, this worldly dimension distinguishes factual knowledge from other knowledgeable forms such as "ethical evaluation," "mystical contemplation," or anything that stands outside of the world like "a set of divinely legislated moral

[14] To clarify this dimension, Jackson quotes Weber, who explains factual knowledge as that concerned with understanding "*in its particularity* the encompassing actuality of the life in which we are placed – on one hand, the coherence and cultural *significance* of individual occurrences in their contemporary configuration, and on the other hand, the reasons for those occurrences being historically so and not otherwise" ([emphasis in original] Weber 1999a, in Jackson 2011, 20-21).

principles" (ibid, 195). While factual knowledge should be as precise as possible from a scientist perspective, it is not restricted to the observable dimensions of the world. Instead, this perspective conceives the world as being associated with any "realm of actuality" that exists and can be described by anyone using a particular set of methodological approaches and research procedures (*idem*). As these explanations underscore, worldliness is inherently linked with the way scholars produce scientific knowledge, that is, it indicates how scientific inquiries endeavour to explain and describe as precisely as possible factual aspects of the world.

The second dimension of scientific inquiries according to Weber is systematicity. Systematicity primarily refers to the coherence of the research approaches and procedures used to generate factual knowledge. This dimension emphasizes that the conclusions from some research activities must result systematically from the assumptions, evidence and approaches used to conduct these same research activities. While this dimension clarifies some of the objectives associated with a Weberian definition of science (e.g., systematicity, coherence), it also entails that diverse methodological frameworks can be used for producing systematic knowledge. Emphasizing this element, Jackson explains that diverse methodologies in IR

> *have different approaches to causation, to case comparison, and to explanation in general; those differences, in turn, mean that different scientific methodologies generate different kinds of valid claims with different epistemic statuses, and should not be regarded as poor approximations to or deficient forms of one another.* (Jackson 2015, 946).

Following this pluralist understanding of scientific inquiry, Jackson (2011) clarifies the principles and "philosophical wagers" associated with four methodological frameworks in IR namely neopositivism, critical realism, analyticism, and reflectivity. In brief, Jackson explains that "neopositivists look for cross-case covariation as the truest mark of causation, critical realists look for dispositional causal powers, analyticists apply categories and ideal-typical models to disclose the specific features of individual cases, and reflexive scholars ground their claims in their own social locations" (2015, 946).[15]

[15] For more details on these distinctive frameworks, see Jackson 2011, chapters 3 to 6.

Within this epistemic diversity, Jackson underscores that each work should be evaluated *on its own account*, i.e., on the basis of the particular principles and choices by which each methodological framework develop knowledge.

Beyond this methodological diversity, systematic procedures represent one of the most important criteria for defining factual (and scientific) knowledge, since only a "consistent" and "systematic connection between a claim's substantive premises (...) and the empirical conclusions" (2011, 193) can logically and formally warrant the value of factual knowledge. From this perspective, it is necessary to explicitly link one's assumptions, chosen question(s) and research approaches for generating factual knowledge. Moreover, these procedures should ideally be consistent by being, as much as possible, reproducible across time and space.

The third dimension of scientific procedures (i.e. public procedures) indicates that scientific inquiries must remain open to public criticism, that is, "criticism designed to improve knowledge" (Jackson 2011, 194). As suggested in the previous paragraph, this dimension is implied by the notion of systematic procedures since such procedures must be explicit, i.e., accessible and understandable, for the relevant research community to acknowledge these procedures as being systematic. Therefore, this public dimension is also a means of managing the values, or value commitments, that underlie scholarly and scientific practices. While Weber does not deny that some values are inescapably involved in the development of factual knowledge, he also emphasizes that being explicit about the axioms and logical procedures used should ensure that factual knowledge is recognized as being equally valid, even by actors that do not share the same value commitments. In essence, the public dimension of factual knowledge underscores that "even someone who rejects our values should be able to acknowledge the validity of our empirical results within the context of our perspective" (ibid, 22). In this sense, scientific knowledge gains validity when the researcher is explicit and open to public criticism about his assumptions, perspectives and procedures.[16]

[16] This public dimension can also be explained by referring to a dialogic understanding of knowledge production and validation practices. This understanding implies that valid factual knowledge is founded on a "retrospective claim (and prospective pledge) to have been (and to continue to be) competently

In the following chapters of the thesis, I use these principles for describing how and why IR scholarship from elite US universities furthers scientist forms of objectives. In detailing these objectives and associated approaches, I also clarify the purposes that are more broadly attributed to scholarly work and the worldviews that are translated through a scientist posture in the field. Yet, I also recognize that IR scholarship from elite US universities is usually motivated by more diverse and mixed types of scholarly objectives than suggested by the previous definition of science. One way to account for these variations is to recognize that all the methodological frameworks that are potentially used in IR scholarship from elite US universities are not equivalent for advancing systematic and consistent procedures in the process of inquiry. While this does not impact on the diverse methodological frameworks value for generating valuable explanations about the world, some methodologies provide a more effective framework to generate factual knowledge and to further what I identify as scientific objectives in this thesis.

Methodologies that are based on a dualist understanding of research and inquiries (i.e. neopositivism and critical realism) according to Jackson's categorization are particularly effective for generating more precise observation about the world and consistent research procedures, which helps furthering more certain knowledge. Indeed, research frameworks that conceive the researcher and its object of study as separated increase the scholars' ability to reproduce similar procedures and conditions across time and space. Indeed and while there are always limits to such abilities, methodologically excluding the varying effects of the diverse contexts of inquiry or of the researchers' ideas, thoughts and positionality eases the development of more consistent procedure and exact results. This does not restrict the possibility that scholars may mobilize other methodological frameworks and related epistemic approaches to further scientific objectives, but makes them relatively less effective in doing so. According to this distinction and as indicated below, the epistemic approaches that are identified with scientific objectives in this thesis are primarily, yet not exclusively, based on a dualist epistemological position.

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responsive to the contingent demands of academic dialog as they emerge *in situ* – that is, in any actual case" (Weinberg 2009, 286). This perspective suggests that actors reach agreement on what constitutes valid (factual) knowledge through the continuous processes of competent conversations and debates within a specific community of specialists.

Quantitative and statistical approaches

The first type of epistemic approaches associated with scientific objectives includes quantitative and statistical approaches. These approaches rely on a neopositivist framework and hence on dualist and phenomenalist methodological principles, i.e. they conceive the mind and the world as separated and focus on observable phenomenon (Jackson 2011). According to this framework, quantitative and statistical approaches concentrate on verifying with the highest possible level of precision the existence of causal relations in the observable world. They aim at defining, describing and evaluating the factual validity of law-like or nomothetic statements about such causal relations. To do so, they generally mobilize a hypothetico-deductive approach, whereas hypotheses are formulated on the basis of general theoretical claims and tested by verifying the co-variations of dependent and independent variables. These procedures – test – involve statistical or quantitative tools or methods that ideally provide the means for measuring the variations of variables, which enable the researcher to verify the proposed hypothesis with the highest possible level of exactitude. As the diverse dimensions associated with these tests are made explicit by the researcher, these procedures are also considered to be relatively more reproducible across time and space.

As these explanations indicate, the particular value of quantitative and statistical approaches is in establishing with a high level of accuracy the validity of specific causal and law-like relations in the observable world. Indeed, these approaches help explaining questions or puzzles about world phenomenon by developing systematic, precise and transversal analyses. These tools in turn provide a potentially high level of descriptive exactitude in the associated verification procedures. Accordingly, these approaches are useful for developing descriptive precision, systematic procedures, and logical claims about the existence law-like or causal forms of relation in the observed world.

Formal models

The second type of epistemic approaches that is associated with scientific objectives in this thesis categorization is formal models. Formal models are largely associated with a critical realist methodology in Jackson's framework. According to Jackson's typology (2011), critical realists adopt dualist and transfactualist methodological principles, i.e.

they conceive the researcher and object of study as separated, and account for elements beyond the phenomenal reality in their analysis. Formal models also consider the role of law-like relations in the world but focus on explaining them instead of testing them by using detailed hypothetico-deductive procedures like quantitative and statistical approaches do. To do so, they develop structural or systemic models of explanations where general causes and structures can explain different forms of law-like relations in the world. The procedures for generating these structural and systemic models are generally explicit and reproducible across time and space because they are primarily based on conceptualization from the researcher's part. These structural or systemic models are much diversified and can for example be associated with game theories, rational choice and applied rational choice theories in IR scholarship from elite US universities. To illustrate the incremental process by which I have categorize these approaches during the development of the proposed categorization, these approaches are primarily associated with rationalist theoretical approaches and then more precisely associated with formal models in the third part of the thesis (chapters 5 and 6).

While formal models can be developed using diverse degrees of formalization (e.g. by using quantitative procedures to generate the model), they always aim at providing generalizable and parsimonious explanations, that is, general explanations on transversal phenomenon. In comparison with quantitative and statistical approaches, the value of formal models is in fact more in providing transversal explanations about diverse causal and law-like relations in the world than in furthering precise answers to associated questions. By furthering general forms of explanations, these epistemic approaches can also provide predictive abilities by inducing consequences from the causal relations established by the models. In other words, they emphasize the universal or portable character of scientific knowledge against its potential certainty. While these approaches are more thoroughly detailed in the following chapters, this helps explaining their particular value in the context of IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Empirical approaches

The empirical approaches provide a different perspective on scholarly work than the two previous categories of epistemic approaches. Indeed, they are not associated with a

particular methodological framework but instead on a specific way to conceive the world and to frame scholarly examinations. Indeed, empirical approaches embody the recurring attention in IR scholarship from elite US universitieson transversal topics, themes or areas of interest. This particular perspective can be contrasted with a focus on specific or individual cases, issues or problems. For example, an empirical approach furthers an attention towards issue areas instead of specific issues, or transversal topics instead of specific instances of these topics (e.g. cooperation in general rather than, for example, Canada-US cooperation).

As such, empirical approaches represent one particular method for translating the worldly dimension associated with Weber's definition of science. In other words, it translates one type of scholarly engagement with the world, which can be contrasted with an opposite form of engagement that would focus on specific cases. The particular value of this specific way of examining the world is in providing a transversal, generic and hence generalizable perspective on the diverse questions and problems pertaining to international relations. In that sense, an empirical approach appears essential for any attempt to theorize international relations and further scientific objectives in IR.

Application and associated epistemic approaches

The category of scholarly objectives associated with application that is proposed in this thesis is primarily inspired by Habermas' practical knowledge-constitutive interest. As I outlined previously, this type of interest characterizes activities that endeavour to improve shared understanding between actors in order to further successful action. Developing knowledge that is applicable in concrete and specific contexts of practice is basically the main goal that is advance by this category of objectives. In the context of the categorization developed in this thesis however, I do not reproduce the somewhat negative connotation that Habermas attributes to a practical form of interest; instead, application is considered as one among other equally valuable sets of objectives in the context of American IR.

To clarify the principles and approaches that are related with applied objectives in American IR scholarship, it is useful to refer to other closely related conceptualizations. For example, Bent Flyvbjerg's (2001, 2011) proposes to empower social science research

through the concept of "phronesis," which originates in Aristotle's theory of knowledge. For Aristotle, phronesis embodies one of three possible "intellectual virtues" or, more simply, three types of knowledge-producing activities. According to this conceptualization, phronesis, along with "episteme" and "techne," provides a distinct understanding of true knowledge and of the particular role of this knowledge in society. For example, Aristotle distinguishes episteme (or epistemic rationality) from other intellectual virtues by associating it with knowledge that is meant to be universal, invariable, context independent and "based on general analytical rationality" (Flyvbjerg 2001, 57). For Flyvbjerg, episteme is particularly associated with the dominant "scientific" ideal as conventionally embodied in the natural sciences (Flyvbjerg 2011, 27); it is henceforth associated with the previously detailed scientific objectives in the context of this thesis categorization.

Techne (or technical rationality) is the second intellectual virtue associated with Aristotle's theory of knowledge. This virtue embodies activities that are understood as 'craft' or 'art', that is, activities in the sense of being a "reasoned productive state" concerned with "bringing something into being" (Aristotle, in Flyvbjerg 2011, 27). Techne accounts for those activities that are meant to develop applicable knowledge and to apply knowledge in concrete contexts. For that matter, techne is comparable with Habermas' practical knowledge-constitutive interest as they are both associated with activities favouring the application of knowledge for effective action. This proximity also extends to the negative connotation that Aristotle (and Flyvjberg) attribute to techne, which is restricted to an instrumental or technical and skill-like form of knowledge. More specifically, Flyvjberg writes that social scientific knowledge associated with techne is "a type of consulting aimed at running organizations or other parts of society better by means of instrumental rationality, where 'better' is defined in terms of the values and goals of those who employ the consultants" (2011, 28). These explanations at least implicitly undermine the value of techne in the scholarly realm by identifying it with instrumental forms of consultancy or expert service, that is, scholarship whose primary aim is to serve the needs of external and non-academic actors.

From this perspective, a mode of reasoning guided by techne suggests that IR scholarship can be conceived instrumentally. This understanding is closely associated with those who argue that IR scholarship should be more useful for policy-makers and policy-making activities (e.g., George 1993, Jentleson 2002, Walt 2012a). Indeed, scholars furthering policy-oriented and instrumental knowledge often replicate the objectives underlying Flyvjberg's definition of techne as instrumental knowledge by furthering metaphors such as that of the gap, which was discussed in the thesis introduction. Building on the related distinction between scholarship directed toward theoretical development and policy practice (e.g., George 1993, Stein 2000, Lepgold and Nincic 2001), Eriksson and Sundelius (2005) have also broadened this understanding of instrumental scholarly work by delineating four types of policy relevant scholarship, namely, conceptual models of policy-making strategies, generic forms of knowledge, models of actor-specific behaviour(s) and knowledge about policy-making and related processes.[17] Accordingly, scholars advancing this type of instrumental knowledge in IR have generally attempted to infuse scholarship with greater policy relevance, which can be conceived extensively.

Following Eriksson and Sundelius, the concept of application proposed in this thesis broadens the current and dominant understanding of policy relevant and applied scholarship in American IR, specifically by extending its potentialities beyond policy-making fields strictly speaking. To do so, I primarily recognize the importance and value of scholarly activities that focus on understanding how knowledge can be applied to concrete contexts. This broader definition particularly stresses the necessity of accounting for the specific constraints associated with concrete situations for the successful application of new ideas. As with Habermas' practical knowledge-constitutive interest, this conceptualization of applicable knowledge emphasizes abilities for generating intersubjective understanding in concrete situations and on the basis of practical experience. It also underscores how scholars may value the role of case studies and

[17] According to Eriksson and Sundelius, the conceptual model of policy-making strategies "provides a general understanding of the requirements for diagnosing strategic problems"; generic knowledge results from "systematic empirical observations and experiences," actor-specific behavioral models "emphasize the idiosyncrasies of particular actors that policy makers try to influence," and process knowledge includes an understanding of "policy processes, agenda setting, organizational culture, bureaucratic politics, leadership, negotiations, and the implications of policy choice" (2005, 59-60).

knowledge originating from diverse fields of studies and research in the process of applying their scholarship to specific contexts of practice.

This broader definition of applicable knowledge can also be related to Aristotle's third intellectual virtue, i.e., phronesis. Phronesis (or practical reason) is broadly associated with activities that further "reasoned" and "capable action" with regard to humans' moral and ethical choices.[18] From this definition, I propose that phronesis involves two important dimensions or sets of objectives, which help clarify my conceptualization of applied objectives. First, phronesis is associated with a type of knowledge-producing activity that furthers an ability to judge and evaluate questions of ethics, norms and values. Phronesis is related to "the analysis of values – 'things that are good or bad for people' – as a point of departure for managed action" (Aristotle, in Flyvbjerg 2011, 30). Here, the analysis of values, i.e., activities meant to develop ethical and principled evaluation and judgement, constitutes one distinguishable set of objectives in the context of associated activities. This set of objectives is particularly related with (self-)reflection, deliberation and contemplation of the diverse ethical and normative stakes involved in a set of actions, decisions, or events. Associated activities can be viewed as complementing action for the purpose of raising self-awareness among actors, enabling ethical judgement and producing knowledge for moral justification. As it will be clearer in the next subsection, this primary type of objectives (in phronesis) is closely associated with critical objectives in the categorization proposed in this thesis.

Second, phronesis is also connected with the ability to translate ethical reflection into reasonable and effective actions. This second dimension of phronesis emphasizes *practical abilities for applying* ethical judgements and knowledge to specific decisions and concrete settings.[19] Importantly for defining the epistemic approaches that help

[18] Flyvbjerg (2001) particularly emphasizes the importance of phronesis in the context of social scientific research because, for this scholar, it can help distinguish social from natural scientific research. He also underlines how this intellectual virtue or type of rationality is particularly crucial to any social unit for Aristotle (as well as Weber) because it provides the means to "balance" instrumental rationality (Flyvbjerg 2011, 26).

[19] As Flyvbjerg (2011) and others have underlined (e.g., see Dreyfus and Dreyfus 1990), this second dimension of phronesis appears closely connected to Aristotle's notion of techne given this emphasis on action-guiding knowledge or knowledge applicable to concrete settings. In the context of Aristotle's typology, Flyvbjerg however clarifies that while phronesis and techne both further some form of skill and judgement-focused activity, "one type of intellectual virtue

translating applied objectives in scholarly work, the practical abilities involve in phronesis are, for Aristotle, gained mainly through life experiences. Similarly, this dimension of a phronetic mode of reasoning is associated by Flyvbjerg with "practical knowledge," "practical common sense," and, more broadly, "a tacit *skill for doing* the ethically practical" ([emphasis added] 2011, 28-29). Moreover, Flyvbjerg (2011) associates the applied dimension of phronesis with approaches focusing on specific circumstances and in-depth case studies, as well as case-based experiences and activities. This applied mode of reasoning can also be conceived as being translated in particular and situational – rather than theoretical and universal – forms of knowledge. Accordingly, this applied dimension of phronesis emphasizes a practical form of rationality, which represents the particular mode of thinking that is advanced by the category of applied objectives proposed in this thesis.

More closely associated with IR, this practical form of rationality can also be clarified by referring to the 'family resemblances' that Chris Brown (2012) identifies between the Aristotelian notion of phronesis, the "practice turn" and the "classical" realist theory of IR. While these two strands of IR scholarship have developed in very different ways, they entail a common 'sensibility' toward a practical form of rationality in IR. The scholarship associated with the practice turn in IR is particularly influenced by the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. It primarily examines how practical and commonsense forms of knowledge contribute to (re)producing international phenomena and activities such as diplomacy and foreign policy (e.g., Neumann 2012, Adler 2008, Pouliot 2010). For example, Vincent Pouliot writes that the logic of practicality emphasizes how

> *most of what people do, in world politics as in any other social field, does not derive from conscious deliberation or thoughtful reflection—instrumental, rule-based, communicative, or otherwise. Instead, practices are the result of inarticulate, practical knowledge that makes what is to be done appear "self-evident" or commonsensical.* (Pouliot 2008, 258)

This analytical focus enables IR scholars to clarify the *habitus* or, more simply, the cultural habits associated with particular fields and contexts of international practice. As

cannot be reduced to the other; *phronesis* is about value judgement, not about producing things" ([emphasis in original] 2011, 30-31)

Brown also underscores, practice-oriented analyses are generally based on investigations about "the ways in which they expend symbolic capital in their interactions in the field of diplomacy [and] what constitutes competent practice in this field" (2012, 444), that is, highly empirical, "hands-on" and detailed examinations of actors' concrete activities. Practice-oriented scholars particularly focus on actors' concrete activities in order to theorize (in a non-positivist sense [Brown 2012, 442]) about the regular ways by which they act and interact in particular social settings.

From this perspective, the practice turn plays an important role in IR scholarship by furthering examinations of actors' practical rationality in international activities. However, these scholarly contributions are largely analytical (or associated with an epistemic rationality) since practice-oriented scholars use the notion of practice and related concepts as a means of theorizing, or developing generic explanations, about international activities. While the practice turn constitutes significant contributions to IR scholarship, they accordingly depart from the definition of applicable knowledge proposed in this thesis. This is particularly the case since practice-oriented scholars avoid questions related to the applicability their scholarship in concrete settings. In other words, the scholarship associated with the practice turn provides analytical knowledge about international actors' practices and activities but *does not generate action-guiding knowledge or insights into the necessary means for applying knowledge in concrete international settings*.

As Brown underscores, classical realists in IR[20] also emphasize a practical form of rationality (or "reason"), which they sometimes term "prudence." In fact, practical rationality is mobilized by classical realists in two particular ways. Practical rationality is primarily embodied in classical realist scholars' understanding of political activities. For example, Hans J. Morgenthau describes politics as "an art and not a science," which means that "what is required for its mastery is not the rationality of the engineer but the wisdom and the moral strength of the statesman" (1965[1946], 10). This particular understanding determines classical realists' scholarship, that is, the form of knowledge

[20] Brown distinguishes classical from neo- or structural realism, which is particularly associated with Kenneth Waltz (1979) and his successors, on the basis of the latter's methodological commitment to a "[neo-positivist] model of social-scientific theorising" (2012, 449).

that they generate about international politics. For example, Brown explains how realist scholars like Morgenthau and diplomats like George Kennan (1985[1951]) further

> *knowledge of the common-sense realities of diplomacy, the kind of unarticulated knowledge that experienced practitioners develop, that is missing as much as, if not more than, detailed empirical knowledge of the issues or a theoretical understanding of international relations.* (Brown 2012, 450)

Since it provides explanations on the practical rationality that guides diplomats and other foreign policy practitioners, classical realist scholarship can be related with other similar approaches in IR (e.g., the practice turn). However, classical realism is also distinct from most other approaches or theories in IR by the way in which *it furthers practical rationality*, or, in other words, by the way it integrates practical rationality in the role given to IR scholarship itself.

More precisely, classical realists' scholarship is developed for the explicit purpose of explaining and advocating particular orientations and normative orientations in international political activities. For example, Brown (2012) underscores how it was necessary for Morgenthau and Kennan to acquire an acute understanding of statecraft as a means of providing *practical guidance* to American foreign policy practitioners.[21] From that perspective, concepts developed by classical realists, such as the "balance of power" or "bandwagoning," are as much descriptive of international activities as they are normative as they are meant to promote particular projects, sets of actions and trajectories for diplomats and political leaders. As knowledge that is in part meant for application, classical realist 'theories' and approaches can be understood as practical and situated forms of knowledge (Brown 2012, 452), rather than as universal and context-independent knowledge.[22] Accordingly, classical realism provides an important – if partial – illustration of knowledge that is guided by a practical rationality in IR, even if it has

[21] As Brown underlines, Morgenthau's work was at least in part a project furthering "policy advice to the American people and leadership" (2012, 449). For Kennan, see particularly his 1946 "Long Telegram" to the American leadership and related sources (in Brown 2012, 449-50).

[22] While this contradicts Morgenthau's references to the "laws" or "forces that determine political relations among nations" (1985[1948], 18) and the methodological commitment of other classical realist scholars (e.g., Mearsheimer 1990, 1994/95), Brown underlines how "the distinction between normative and positive theory is never clear [for Morgenthau]" (2012, 451). More particularly, Morgenthau explicitly argues for a more practical and contextual understanding of theoretical knowledge in *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (1965 [1946]) and, especially, *Truth and Power* (1970).

generally been limited to application in the context of foreign policy practice and activities.

Beyond IR, I suggest that we can also refer to Richard J. Bernstein's work (e.g., 1972, 1983) on the concept of *praxis* to broaden our understanding of practical rationality and applicable knowledge. Bernstein (1983) reviews the work of a series of contemporary philosophers (e.g., Gadamer, Habermas, Rorty, and Arendt) to describe an intellectual movement beyond the arguable opposition between "objectivism" and "relativism" in the philosophy of (scientific) knowledge. As with Aristotle's notion of phronesis, Bernstein argues that this movement is directed toward the emergence of a practical and historically situated type of rationality that is connected to the actor's ability to choose, interpret and judge. For Bernstein, this practical rationality requires that, in the process of developing, appropriating and applying knowledge, we account for "the radical contingency of the social practices that define what we are" (1983, 203). Here, the contingency is not "arbitrary" or "relativistic"; the term refers to knowledge that is found in the experience of "things" and embedded in communal and concrete settings.

The aforementioned studies on a practical form of rationality help clarifying the set of objectives that is associated with application in this thesis. For example, Bernstein's conceptualization emphasizes how this distinct type of rationality provides orientation on how to act in concrete situations – including but not restricted to contexts of foreign policy practice. To inform action, scholarship guided by a practical form of rationality also focuses on understanding and explaining "the salient characteristics of the situations [actors] confront" (Bernstein 1983, 160), or, in other words, the conditions associated with specific cases and contexts of social practice. As I previously underscored, these activities extend beyond policy-making activities and consider how the specificities of any context of application influence actors' ability to concretely mobilize and translate ideas and knowledge. Accordingly, a practical rationality emphasizes how the concrete, communal and situated dimensions of social activities influence actors' application and appropriation of knowledge, that is, how actors use knowledge in order to judge, decide and organize their social practices.

The aforementioned explanations clarify the distinct objectives, principles and relevance of scholarly activities motivated by application in IR scholarship. As I have related them to a practical form of rationality, these activities help us understand the diverse types of epistemic approaches that American IR scholars can use to further objectives of application. In the following examination, I identify three particular types of epistemic approaches namely experiential, interdisciplinary and intellectually broad and issue-, policy- and case-specific approaches.

Experiential approaches

Applied objectives can first be translated by what I have termed experiential approaches in American IR scholarship. These approaches generate knowledge and ideas by referring to and mobilizing the concrete, practical and hands-on experiences of actors. These approaches do not advance or result from processes of theorization, abstraction or generalization; instead, they translate reflections about one's engagement in concrete activities, which are meant to help further successful action in real-world contexts. In American IR, experiential knowledge can, for example, result from scholars' professional involvement in policy positions or consulting, humanitarian advocacy or any other form of practical (usually non-academic) activities and organizations. What this means is that scholars can use their experience and exposure to such activities, organizations and contexts to advance understandings drawn from their lived experience and actual practice of a specific form of activity.

Experiential approaches make explicit the knowledge that results from situated experiences, that is, from active involvement in specific contexts. These approaches are particularly effective in furthering practical knowledge since they remain closely focused on actual contexts of practices and related issues. In fact and from my examination, experiential approaches are the most closely related with applied objectives since they are approaches most exclusively used for furthering applied objectives. In that sense, the particular value of experiential approaches is in improving the applicability and adaptability of scholarly knowledge by describing and examining concrete issues and contexts of practice.

Interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approaches

The second categories of epistemic approaches that are used in furthering applied objectives are interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approaches. These approaches can be associated with the diverse forms of multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary means by which scholars generate ideas, that is, they refer to the ability by which scholars draw and integrate knowledge from diverse sources or disciplines in their scholarship. In that sense, these approaches promote an intellectual process by which scholars' reflections are broadly based; in other words, they transcend disciplinary borders and account for questions and insights originating from diverse fields of study and activity.

While interdisciplinarity is rarely understood as an approach comparable with other methodological or epistemological commitments in IR literature, this thesis proposes that it is one of the most valuable and often used intellectual means for furthering applied objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities. An interdisciplinary approach is conceived in the context of this thesis as the practice by which scholars combine notions, approaches and knowledge that originate from different fields of study in the context of their work. Given that there are multiple definitions and ways to further interdisciplinary work, the most important aspect in the context of this categorization is not the specific operationalization of this approach but the will from the part of the scholars to advance scholarship that is broad, that crosses disciplinary borders and that (ideally) integrates insights from diverse fields of activities and study. Accordingly, the relevance of an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach results from its ability to move the thinking process outside of disciplinary frameworks and to integrate different perspectives on a particular issue or problem. From this point of view and as J. T. Klein argues, interdisciplinary approaches generally arise "from the unresolved problems of society rather than science itself" (1990, 42), rather than from more academically-centered theoretical and conceptual problems. Accordingly and since these approaches result or engage more directly with societies' problems, their value for American IR is found in making scholarship more responsive and adaptable to non-academic demands and concerns. This underscores the link with applied objectives and potential value associated with this category of epistemic approaches for American IR.

Issue-, policy- and case-specific approaches

Applied objectives can also be furthered in American IR by scholarship that focuses on specific cases and contexts of international activities. These recurring but often implicit epistemic approaches emphasize the individuality and particularities of the object being examined, whether it is a state, international organization, issue or policy. Rather than looking for a transversal or abstract view on international issues and processes (like most theorizing approaches would do), they concentrate on the unicity of situations and contexts that are relevant for the translation of more generic ideas and knowledge.

More precisely, developing knowledge on one particular case, issue or policy helps clarify the distinct conditions and constraints that must be considered for successful actions in concrete contexts. This type of epistemic approach presents a form of intellectual framing that, while often implicit, accordingly restricts transversal generalizations. Concentrating on single cases is particularly useful if not essential for advancing informed decisions, solutions or recommendations on specific international or policy issues. In that sense, issue-, policy- and case-specific approaches are valuable in American IR scholarship by the way they support a more practical mode of reasoning; indeed, the way they frame ideas enables and prepares – as they assist in thinking about – their application, implementation and translation in specific contexts and situations. In the following chapters, I mobilize the definitions of applied objectives and related epistemic approaches to examine how they are reproduced in recent IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Critique and associated epistemic approaches

While section 1.1 mobilized Habermas' theory of knowledge to clarify the general conceptualization of scholarly objectives in this thesis, Habermas' definition of an emancipatory knowledge-constitutive interest also provides the primary means for detailing the category of objectives associated with critique.

Critical objectives can be primarily explained by referring to the principal approach or "means" by which scholars further an emancipatory knowledge-constitutive interest, that is, self-reflection. Explaining the importance of this approach, Habermas writes that in the context of activities associated with an emancipatory interest "the validity of critical

propositions (…) is established by the concept of self-reflection" (2005, 316). According to such a proposition, self-reflection is not merely a contemplative form of activity but a type of "reason" and "methodological framework"[23] whereby scholars examine the conditions for knowledge production and its effects on the self and the world.[24] Accordingly and following Habermas' definition of emancipatory interests, self-reflection can be conceived as one of the principles that indicates the type of value that critical objectives provide in IR scholarship from elite US universities. However and as I previously mentioned, critical objectives are here conceived without adhering to Habermas' and other Critical theorists' favourable bias toward an emancipatory interest (e.g., Adorno and Horkheimer 1997[1947], Linklater 1996). Instead, I contend that American IR scholars would fail to account for important dimensions of the social world if they ignored the role of *any* of the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis.

Several IR scholars have developed this particular understanding of scholarly work by furthering critical objectives and modes of inquiry. For example, Robert W. Cox famously translated this reflective mode of reasoning by underscoring how "theory is always *for* someone and *for* some purpose" ([emphasis in original] 1981, 128). More precisely, he put forth:

> *All theories have a perspective. Perspectives derive from a position in time and space, specifically social and political time and space. The world is seen from a standpoint definable in terms of nations or social class, of dominance or subordination, of rising or declining power, of a sense of immobility or of present crisis, of past experience, and of hopes and expectations for the future.* (Cox 1981, 128)

In this citation, Cox uses the notion of perspective to indicate how scholars adopting a reflective approach can highlight the particular position that a theory embodies in society,

[23] As such, this functional model could be associated with Jackson's methodological category of "Reflexivity" (2011). However, this would involve restricting approaches associated with critical objectives to the methodological framework adopted by American IR scholars. While this association is instructive, categories of scholarly objectives are conceived in this thesis as extending beyond what Jackson's calls IR scholars' "philosophical ontology" and toward the underlying purposes motivating their intellectual and practical choices.

[24] Since most reflexive approaches explicitly consider the researcher's position and location, the prefix 'self-' can be and is often removed from associated discussions and discourses. However, as I underline below, this prefix is generally maintained in more specific strands of reflexive literature using, for example, the autobiographical and auto-ethnographic approaches.

space and time.[25] In doing so, Cox exemplifies a particular mode of reasoning that is associated with critical scholarly objectives in this thesis.

Mark Hoffman also provides a detailed description of the mode of reasoning that drives critical objectives by describing the form of theory developed by scholars from the Frankfurt School. Hoffman, for example, writes that Critical theory provides "a critique of the existing social order and points to its immanent capacity for change" (1987, 232) To further this type of perspective, Hoffman also mentions that Critical theorists apply a "self-reflective" mode of reasoning, which necessarily remains "concerned with the quality of human life and opposed to the elevation of scientific reasoning as the sole basis for knowledge (ibid, 233). Accordingly, his explanations underscore that the particular mode of reasoning that is associated with critical objectives in this thesis can be associated with processes of self-reflection and the advancement of emancipation in IR scholarship.

Furthering the role and specificities of similar principles and modes of reasoning, Andrew Linklater asserts that one of the main achievements of critical theory in IR is "to consider how claims about neutrality can conceal the role knowledge plays in reproducing unsatisfactory social arrangements" (1996, 279). He argues that critical perspectives help us question and reflect on the social construction and effects of particularly prominent approaches to generating knowledge in the field (e.g., positivism, neorealism). In that sense, Linklater underlines again how practices of self-reflection and, more precisely, of questioning one's intellectual assumptions and of examining existing social and political structures are core means for furthering critical objectives. These explanations also indicate how these approaches embody the type of relevance associated with this category of objectives in IR scholarship.

Other indications of the principles and approaches associated with a critical category of objectives in American IR can be found in other more recent contributions to IR theory. For example, Inanna Hamati-Ataya defines "reflexivism" in IR as "a systematic socio-cognitive practice of reflexivity," while reflexivity is understood as "the scholar's

[25] For recent work mobilizing Cox's notion of perspective in IR, see Pellerin (2010).

conceptual/methodological response to her acknowledgment of the mutual reflectivity of knowledge and reality" (2011, 261). According to this view, reflexivity can be identified with a particular form of research or epistemic approach by which IR scholars develop knowledge associated with critical objectives.

Referring to Bourdieu's work on reflexivity, Eagleton-Pierce also indicates that practices of reflexivity refer not only "to personal, idiosyncratic moments of introspection but also to the organisational and mental structures that shape the work of researchers" (2011, 816). This indicates that reflexive approaches extend beyond *self*-reflective approaches, which have recently been associated with autobiographical and auto-ethnographic modes of inquiry (e.g., Inayatullah 2011, Dauphinee 2010).[26] More precisely, these reflexive practices question how power relations at the collective and institutional level affect the way knowledge is produced, communicated and legitimized (in and beyond the academic field. Accordingly, these authors underscore that (self-)reflexivity is associated with a set of research approaches and practices that provide alternative forms of knowledge about world politics; these alternative forms of knowledge are identified with the category of critical objectives in this thesis.

These explanations help clarify the more specific objectives, principles and approaches that are associated with critique in American IR. At the broadest level, ethical, moral and normative concerns are recurrently associated with scholarship furthering critical objectives in IR. Questions about the ethical and normative dimensions of knowledge-production activities are associated primarily with (self-)reflection in IR scholarship. For example, Mark Neufeld underscores this dimension of reflexive theoretical approaches in IR when he writes that they particularly recognize "the inherently politico-normative dimension of paradigms and the normal science tradition they sustain [in the field]" (1993, 55). Related questions also underlie the particular role of critical theoretical approaches for Linklater, since they help "to understand that intellectual projects have important moral implications for the national and international distribution of wealth and power" (1996, 281). Hoffman's emphasis on Critical theorists' mandatory concern with

[26] For a more systematic critique of the autobiographical approach in IR from a reflexive perspective, see, e.g., Hamati-Ataya 2014.

the quality of human life also implicitly suggests similar ethical questions. As a primary principle, I hence propose that scholarly approaches associated with critique further objectives of ethical, moral and normative reflections on the process of knowledge production in and beyond the context of American IR.

Another recurring objective of the critically oriented scholarship is that of raising actors' (self-)consciousness and (self-)awareness. For example, Habermas underscores this objective as a distinctive element characterizing critical forms of investigation, given that it makes "the subject conscious of [the natural-historical processes]" (1971[1968], 46) by which he is generated. More broadly, Habermas suggests that a critical type of investigation makes possible "the autonomous, self-conscious development of life" (ibid, 211). In IR, several scholars have also emphasized the importance of (self-)consciousness and (self-)awareness in the context of critical and reflexive approaches. For example, Ashley stresses that an interest in developing reflective reason restores actors' "true awareness of their place in history and their capacities to make the future" (1981, 227).[27] A similar objective is reproduced in Cox's definition of critical theories which – as opposed to problem-solving theories – help actors become "clearly aware of the perspective that gives rise to theorising, and its relation to other perspectives" (1981, 128). Accordingly, improving actors' (self-)consciousness is one of the main principles and forms of relevance advanced by critical objectives and associated epistemic approaches in IR scholarship.

In the same vein, the literature associated with critical objectives in IR recurrently underscores the importance of improving human autonomy or, in other words, emancipating actors from (acknowledged or unacknowledged) restrictions and constraints. For example, Eagleton-Pierce suggests that a reflexive approach in IR can help scholars "gain a measure of freedom from some of the social determinants of intellectual practice" (2011, 807). These objectives are also explicitly translated in Mark Hoffman's previously mentioned contribution. More broadly, Ashley emphasizes that activities embodying an emancipatory interest help actors gain "freedom from

[27] Neufeld also identifies "self-awareness regarding underlying premises" (1993, 55) as one of the core elements of a reflexive approach in IR theory.

unacknowledged constraints, relations of domination, and conditions of distorted communication and understanding that deny humans the capacity to make their future through full will and consciousness" (1981, 227). From these perspectives, increasing actors' awareness of their and others' positions, dispositions and contexts, and simultaneously freeing them from unwanted or unacknowledged constraints, embodies one of the main objectives associated with critique (or category of critical objectives) in this thesis.

The literature mobilizing critical approaches in the previously reviewed literature emphasizes the importance of raising ethical and normative concerns and questions and freeing actors from unwanted or unacknowledged constraints. Moreover, it frequently furthers objectives associated with the enhancement of actors' (self-)consciousness and (self-)awareness. These principles and objectives clarify the particular value of critical scholarly objectives as they are conceived in this thesis.

As the previous explanations indicate, diverse types of epistemic approaches are also frequently used to further critical objectives in IR scholarship. More precisely, the categorization proposed in this thesis delineates three types of epistemic approaches that are associated with critical objectives in IR, that is, reflexive, hermeneutical and interpretative approaches. As I have detailed the principles that underlie critical objectives, I now describe these three types of epistemic approaches.

Reflexive approaches

Reflexive approaches can be understood by recalling the importance of self-reflection for advancing critical objectives. Here, self-reflection is not only conceived as a principle associated with critical objectives but as a particular form of research approach or method for thinking about international relations. Using Habermas' conceptualization, Richard K. Ashley (1981) for example illustrates how a reflective approach can be translated in scholarly practice by examining the original contribution of John Herz to the realist literature in IR. Ashley underscores that Herz's contribution advances a commitment to an emancipatory interest that "urge[s] upon realists a critical re-examination of cherished concepts in light of changed conditions" (1981, 206). This commitment is particularly embodied in Herz's reflexive approach toward knowledge, that is, an approach that

emphasize the importance of "questioning [one's] assumptions [and] of re-examining periodically ideas and concepts" (Herz, in Ashley 1981, 227). This approach emphasizes the normative concerns associated with critical objectives and the importance of raising scholars' (self-)consciousness about their own assumptions, bases for theorizing and social position in the context of scholarly work. More broadly, Ashley underlines the particular value of reflexive approaches for furthering questioning re-examination practices by underlining Herz's contribution to the realist literature.

Other recent contributions can be highlighted for defining what are here conceived as reflexive approaches in American IR. For example, Matthew Eagleton-Pierce notes that a reflexive "method" or "research posture" amounts to "actively 'turn(ing) or bend(ing) back', to take account of the self in relation to other subjects and objects" (Eagleton-Pierce 2011, 806). More precisely, this reflexive approach can, for example, focus on questioning the relationship between IR scholars' location, context, and identity and the knowledge they produce on the world. Similarly, this type of approaches emphasizes the importance and relevance of raising these same scholars' awareness on the normative origins and effects of their theoretical claims on the world, which can also lead to emancipatory effects. Accordingly, reflexive approaches encompass the epistemic means by which IR scholars question, re-examine and problematize the effect of the knowledge that they or other scholars generate on the world.

Hermeneutical approaches

Hermeneutical approaches encompass the intellectual means and methods by which scholars (re-)examine the deep meaning of previous texts and works representing important intellectual traditions for the field. More precisely, scholars using hermeneutical approaches revisit the meaning of important textual sources and associated traditions of thought on international relations as a means to clarify these, correct current misconceptions or underline their intellectual legacy. This type of approaches is particularly mobilized by scholars interested in the historiography or intellectual history of the field (e.g. Long and Wilson 1995, Schmidt 1998, Hobson 2012). Accordingly, these approaches focus on clarifying the often forgotten and misunderstood philosophical and theoretical meanings of these sources and traditions in contemporary scholarship.

These approaches further principles of self-reflection and (self-)awareness associated with critical scholarly objectives, albeit in less direct ways than the previously described reflexive approaches. Indeed, they explicitly help scholars reflect on their work by revisiting the meaning of previous works and traditions and less explicitly by raising the ethical or normative concerns associated with critical objectives. (Self-)reflection results, in work using hermeneutical approaches, from the re-examination of the ways by which these same sources and traditions are used and often misused in their or other scholars' work. Ethical reflection may result from clarifying the potential effects of such misinterpretation. Hermeneutical approaches are relevant in American IR for they help scholars recover the historical significance of the previous works and traditions in contemporary scholarship. In doing so, these approaches further critical objectives by helping scholars to be more aware or conscious of the misconception and limiting frameworks that they may have inherited or maintained on these same works and intellectual traditions.

Interpretative approaches

Interpretative approaches include diverse intellectual means by which IR scholars construct theoretical tools, concepts and categories for understanding international relations. As opposed to formal models and approaches (previously described), these concepts however result from non-structural frameworks, that is, they do not assume causal forms of laws or relations in the observed phenomenon. To explain this type of approach, they can be broadly associated with an analyticist methodology (Jackson 2011), which is particularly translated in the development of typological tools. In using these typologies (like the one proposed in this thesis), IR scholars can represent diverse patterns in the world of international relations or IR scholarship – whether they are different types of states, wars, negotiation processes or research approaches. Similarly, interpretative approaches can be translated in the definition of specific, single concepts that can help explain in non-causal ways particular forms of processes or relations in international relations.

Among the three types of epistemic approaches associated with the category of critical objectives proposed in this thesis, interpretative approaches is probably the most

frequently used in American scholarship but also the less directly related to critical objectives. It involves (self-)reflection and awareness from IR scholars by implying a monist methodological view, that is, by considering that the ideas and concepts being generated can never be fully separated from the scholars' own experiences and positionality. Accordingly, this type of approach furthers a reflexive process from the part of the scholars on the process of theorizing and conceptualizing international relations and a form of normative concern to the extent to which IR scholars can formulate concepts and theories that are separated from the world they examine.

In the examination that is developed in the following chapters, I use the previous explanations concerning the objectives and epistemic approaches associated with critique to examine whether and how this category of scholarly objectives is reproduced ineIR scholarship from elite US universities. As this subsection clarified the principles and epistemic approaches associated with the three categories of scholarly objectives proposed in this thesis, the next subsection detail the methodological framework that supports this conceptualization and other tools that help illustrating it in the following analysis.

1.3 Foregrounding and Illustrating the Proposed Conceptualization

This section details the methodological framework and types of validity claims that support the conceptualization proposed in this thesis. It also explains how this methodological framework is translated in the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities, notably by graphical tools that help visualize the proposed categorization of scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches.

The conceptualization proposed in this thesis is associated with what Jackson (2011) refers to as an analyticist methodology. According to Jackson, analyticism is organized along two particular philosophical "wagers" or principles, i.e., "mind-world" monism and phenomenalism. As the term suggests, mind-world monism conceives the product of the mind (e.g., ideas, concepts, theories) and the world to which it refers as inescapably interconnected. In Jackson's conceptualization, this philosophical stance is opposed to mind-world dualism because dualism (conceptually) separates the researcher and the world; as such, the researcher must bridge this gap through appropriate methods (e.g.,

Jackson 2011, 30-32, and 35-36). On the other hand, monists reject the possibility of a separation between the mind and the world because the latter is always understood through the researcher's own senses and concrete experiences. Explaining this philosophical stance, Jackson writes:

> *in methodological terms, mind-world monism suggests that strategies of falsification or strategies of producing a scientific ontology rich enough to capture the actual constituents of a mind-independent world are, strictly speaking, non-sensical, inasmuch as they rest on a presumption that blinds them to the ways in which the production of knowledge is itself also and simultaneously productive of the world* (Jackson 2011, 114).

Monists achieve validity through intersubjective and competent conversations whereby actors agree on 'truth' and 'relevance,' rather than from extrinsic validity criteria (e.g., Lynch 1993, 144-147). This means that the philosophical principles used to ascertain knowledge validity cannot be abstracted and separated from the researcher's position and context. Instead, developing and maintaining competent dialogues about research subjects (which means, in the case of this thesis, the appropriate means for understanding the organization of IR scholarship from elite US universities) establishes validity from this philosophical standpoint.

For Jackson, phenomenalism is the second philosophical wager that characterizes an analyticist methodology. A phenomenalist ontology entails that researchers can only build knowledge from observable elements of the world, i.e., objects, 'things' as well as texts, signs and symbols that convey meaning in a particular social context (Neumann 2008, 63). This philosophical stance is opposed to transfactualism, which maintains that researchers can and *should* go beyond observable 'facts' to understand how these are generated (e.g., Wight 2006, in Jackson 2011, 36-37). Reflecting a phenomenalist approach, Karin Fierke, for example, states that critical constructivists in IR "privilege the analysis of meaning in use in actual contexts of political contestation over the creation of theoretical languages" (2001, 120-21). Jackson also explains how phenomenalist ontology "maintains (…) that knowledge is a matter of organizing past experiences so as to forge useful tools for the investigation of future as-yet-unknown situations" (Dewey, in Jackson 2011, 37). To make sense of these experiences, scholars adopting a

phenomenalist stance order observed phenomena (e.g., practices, texts, symbols) and identify significant categories, 'groupings,' or patterns across these phenomena.

These categorizations always advance different indexical categories or types associated with the dimension being ordered. Weber designates these categories as ideal-types. Here, whether one considers a categorization as ideal-typical or not,[28] Weber's definition of ideal-types is useful in understanding how to create or use the proposed types. In the Weberian sense, an ideal type is defined as a "[deliberate] oversimplification of a complex empirical actuality for the purpose of highlighting certain themes or aspects that are never as clear in the actual world as they are in the ideal-typical depiction of it" (Weber, in Jackson 2011, 37). What this means is that the categories advanced in a typology are conceptual tools that explicitly simplify the observed phenomenon in order to make them more understandable. Moreover and from an analyticist perspective, these conceptual tools do not exist outside of our minds and are only meant to clarify specific aspects of the observed phenomenon.

In IR, an analyticist methodology is frequently adopted to develop diverse forms of typologies and categorizations. For example and as the previous explanations indicate, Jackson (2011) has constructed a categorization of potential methodological frameworks for conducting scientific inquiries in IR. As previously underlined, Cox (1981) also proposes categories of theories in IR for understanding different purposeful orientations for scholarly work (i.e., problem-solving and critical). Jack Snyder (1991) also exemplifies this approach by developing three typical "myths of empire" that help understand the tendencies of diverse great powers to military overexpansion throughout recent history. Across these cases, the proposed categories are meant to provide useful means of understanding – through simplification – what these scholars deem the most important dimensions of the observed realities.

In turn, I present an empirical examination that describes IR scholarship from elite universities in the US. These thick descriptions are meant to illustrate the proposed typology as a means to provide a better understanding of the diversity of scholarly

[28] The categorization proposed in this thesis is inspired by Weber's conceptualization of ideal-types but does not use this notion to avoid the definitional problems associated with it.

objectives in the American field of IR. Accordingly, I do not develop counter-factuals or other explanatory tools that would help account for the strict empirical validity of the proposed categories; instead I found the value of the examination on its analytical usefulness, that is, the ability of the thick description of relevant empirical sources to illustrate the conceptual and analytical benefits of using the proposed typology to examine this realm of reality.

From an analyticist perspective, simplification is inevitable when analyzing the complex empirical actuality of IR scholarship. Indeed, we can order the activities associated with IR scholarship in an infinite range of different ways. In constructing the proposed categorization, this thesis accordingly selects one particular dimension of these scholarly activities that is conceived as particularly important for accounting for this diversity. This selection is not arbitrary but follows an explicit goal: anyone can evaluate whether the dimensions and concepts selected in this thesis effectively serve the purpose set for the examination, that is, improving our understanding of the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities

In fact, the following examination is particularly explicit regarding the way elements from the analyzed scholarship have been selected. Indeed, the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities details how different textual elements are identified, primarily in an inductive way, and then associated with the proposed categories of objectives and epistemic approaches. More specifically, Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate incrementally – from a series of empirical exemplifications and descriptions of the selected programs – the proposed categorization as well as the methodological approach that supports it. This gradual development helps highlight the usefulness of the proposed categorization for understanding the diversity of American scholarship IR, as well as the constant process of (self-)reflection that is implied by the adopted inductive approach.

As these indications underscore, the main purpose of the categorization developed in this thesis is to develop analytical utility. According to such a goal, its ultimate value should not be judged on the basis of abstracted criteria of validity but rather *in practice,* or, in other words, on its ability to be used for illustrating and understanding the organization of

IR scholarship from elite US universities. Moreover and as this argument underscores, this thesis does not *test* the proposed categorization against the empirical reality of IR scholarship from elite US universities, nor does it *measure* the selected pieces of scholarship using the proposed categories and concepts. Instead and following the monist philosophical stance previously outlined, the development of the proposed categorization *is concomitant with* the empirical examination, which helps provide a cognitive map of the different purposeful orientations and approaches found in the examined scholarship. Through this process, the examinations of the selected empirical elements in the following chapters are actively "assembled" – rather than found – to provide this useful conceptual map for understanding the configuration of IR scholarship in elite US institutions. In that sense, this cognitive map equates to a "mental" ordering that is useful for giving "coherence" to scholarly practices and discourses (Lovitts 2001). In the following subsection, I present a series of visual tools that have assisted me in assembling my observations and hence developing the proposed categorization.

Visual tools

In the process of developing the conceptualization associated with this thesis, I have used a series diagrams or graphical images to help me generate, visualize and position one against the other the proposed categories of objectives and epistemic approaches. Referring to Kenneth Boulding's proposal according to which our behaviors largely depend on the images we carry with us (1956) clarifies the role of these diagrams. More precisely, Boulding suggests that we know ourselves, our world and what we can do in the world through the images that we have generated, received and maintained on ourselves and the world. In the context of this thesis, the diagrams that are used in this thesis do not constitute the categorization; instead, they are visual tools that help me generate the proposed categorization, understand its possibilities and that assist in illustrating the following explanations on the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Three types of diagrams were used in developing the proposed categorization. As the following Figure 1.1 indicates, the first type of diagram concentrates on illustrating and positioning the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives.

Figure 1.1: Visualization of scientific, applied and critical scholarly objectives

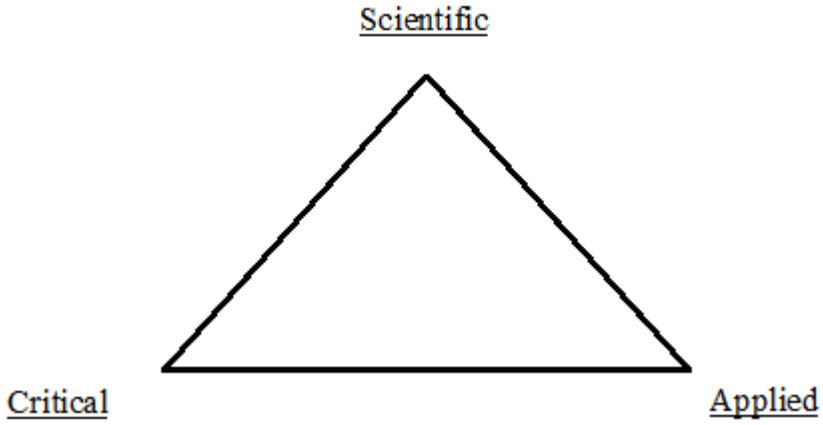


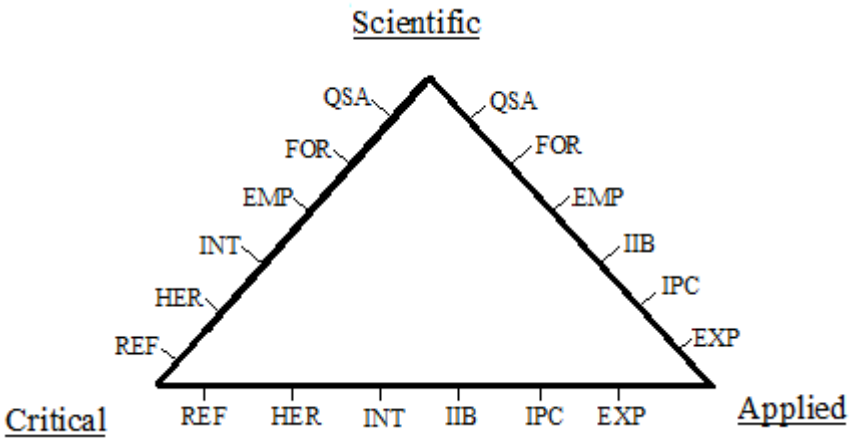
Figure 1.1 depicts the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives (i.e. scientific, applied and critical objectives) in one synthetic graphical illustration. This primary diagram helps us visualize the cognitive map or mental ordering provided by the categorization proposed in this thesis. It is for example noteworthy that each category occupies one corner of an equilateral triangle. This shape can assist us in conceiving the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives on equivalent terms or from a non-hierarchical perspective since each category occupies a similar space and position in the diagram. This is an important contribution as the conceptualization advanced in this thesis seeks to emphasize the relevance and legitimacy of the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives in American IR, despite the current dominance of scientism and relative marginalization of application and critique in this field.

This first diagram is similar to the way other scholars have depicted their conceptualization of the state and diversity of IR scholarship. For example, Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker (1984) conceptualize the field of IR through a "dialectical triad that incorporates oppositions among the dominant and recurring traditional, dialectical, and behavioral-scientific approaches" (1984, 123). To depict this theoretical triad, these authors also generate a diagram shaped in the form of a triangle, where each corner corresponds to one types of theoretical approach in IR (see Figure 1 in Alker and Biersteker 1984, 124). Like these authors, I have also conceived the three categories associated with my conceptualization as interpenetrating and opposed only in principle. However and as the following chapters will underline, the methods used to analyze the

examined scholarship in this thesis is much more interpretative and qualitative than the approaches that were used by these previous authors.

The second type of diagram builds on Figure 1.1 by adding the nine epistemic approaches associated with this thesis categorization, which are each represented by a specific acronym.[29] Figure 1.2 presents this second type of diagram:

Figure 1.2: Visualizing the nine epistemic approaches associated with scientific, applied and critical scholarly objectives



To position the acronyms representing each epistemic approach on this diagram, I proceeded inductively from the examination of empirical sources and through trial and errors; to do so, I repetitively verified if the design of the diagram was satisfying in depicting my interpretation of the selected sources from IR scholarship from elite US universities. The main rule that I applied was to position each acronym according to its relation with the diverse categories of scholarly objectives. As indicated in the previous subsection, each category of objectives is associated with three particular types of epistemic approaches; the three types of epistemic approaches associated with one category of objectives were accordingly situated closer to the corresponding corner in the diagram (e.g., reflexive, hermeneutical and interpretative approaches are situated closer to the corner corresponding to critical objectives in Figure 1.2).

[29] The table of acronyms that follows the Table of content offers a synthetic presentation of these acronyms and their signification.

The relative position of the acronyms against each other resulted from my interpretation of the usage that was made of the corresponding the epistemic approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities. More precisely, I positioned an acronym closer to a corner when I interpret that scholars were using the associated epistemic approach more exclusively for one specific type of scholarly objectives. For example, reflexive approaches (REF) wer more often used, from my examination, for translating critical objectives; accordingly, I positioned it closer to the corresponding corner of the diagram. On the contrary, I distanced an acronym from its associated corner (placing it closer to the middle of a side of the triangular diagram) when the associated epistemic approach tended to be used in more mixed ways, that is, to be used in conjunction with more diverse epistemic approaches and to be used to further more diverse types of scholarly objectives. For example, interpretative approaches (INT) appeared, from my examination, to be used more frequently in combination with other epistemic approaches and in advancing other categories of scholarly objectives.

In Figure 1.2, each acronym is also depicted twice, that is, on each side to which each corner (each corresponding to one category of scholarly approach) is connected. This duplication helps in illustrating the indexical nature of the categorization, or, in other words, the fact that diverse combinations of epistemic approaches are possible in the scholarship being examined. I also positioned the acronyms on the external sides of the diagrams to be able to use the interior to the diagram (of the triangle) for illustrating the orientations or main scholarly objectives that are advanced and the diverse types of epistemic approaches that are mobilized in the examined scholarship.

Figure 1.3 provides an example of the ways by which I illustrate the links between diverse epistemic approaches and the scholarly objectives that are translated in the examined empirical sources.

Figure 1.3: Example of a diagram presenting the articulation of approaches in the examined scholarship

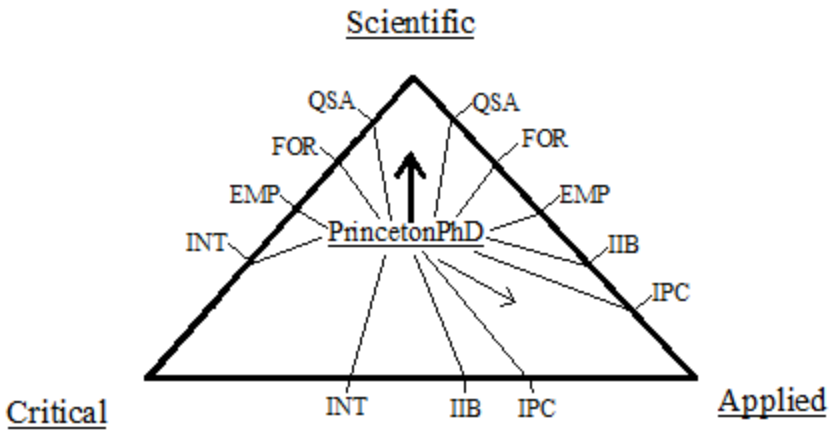


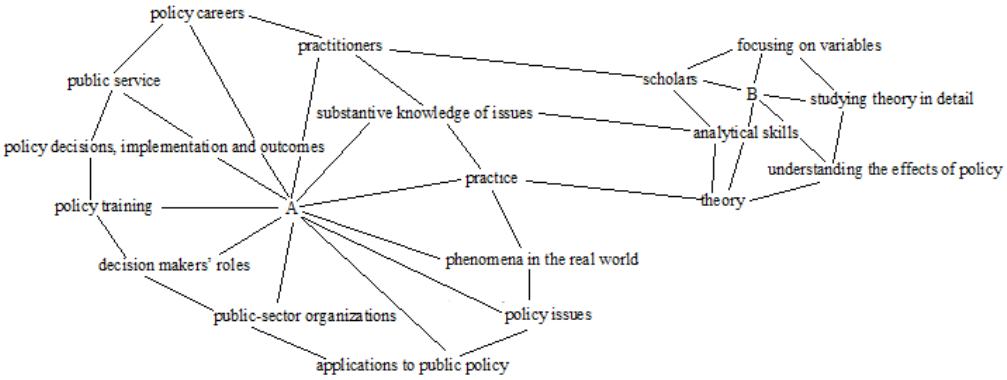
Figure 1.3 adds three more indications to the previous Figure 1.2. First, Figure 1.3 identifies with the graduate program associated with the examined sources (e.g. the PhD program in Politics at Princeton University in the case of the Figure 1.3). Second, Figure 1.3 indicates the main objectives that are translated in the examined scholarship from the associated graduate program. More precisely, the major arrow indicates that the sources associated with the PhD program at Princeton were dominantly oriented towards scientific objectives, and the minor arrow indicates that they also furthered, but more marginally, applied objectives. The way these orientations are depicted is also comparable to the way Alker and Biersteker illustrate the theoretical direction of diverse scholarly debates in IR in the previously mentioned study (1984, 127). Third, Figure 1.3 illustrates the diverse epistemic approaches that were used in the examined scholarship to further particular categories of objectives. Figure 1.3, for example, depicts a series of links with the acronyms QSA, FOR, EMP, INT, IIB and IPC, which indicates that the examined sources use the corresponding epistemic approaches to further scientific and applied objectives.

This type of diagram provides a relatively detailed analysis of the objectives and epistemic approaches furthered in each selected programs and associated sources. This the level of details and the successive examination of similar programs and sources may suggest that the following examination intends to measure IR scholarship and to compare one program against the other on the basis of the proposed categorization. However and

as previously underscored, this thesis solely concentrate on providing a detailed illustration of the approaches found in the selected sources and programs as a means to clarify the diversity of objectives that are found in elite US schools of IR and the way they are advanced in related scholarship. Further research using this categorization could develop in a quantitative way and lead to the measurement of different orientations in these or other areas of IR, but this is not the intent pursued in this thesis.

A third type of diagram is used throughout the following examination to depict the how selected textual sources from the selected IR graduate programs mobilize particular epistemic approaches. Figure 1.4 presents one example of this third type of diagram:

Figure 1.4: Visualizing the discursive analysis of IR scholarship from elite US universities



While this third type of diagram is more thoroughly explained in the methodological section presented in Chapter 4 of the thesis, it is worth highlighting for now that this third type of diagram helps depict the discursive analysis that is conducted throughout the following chapters. In this diagram, the sets of words, phrases and expressions that are deemed most significant are transferred to the diagrams to illustrate their relations. Accordingly, these diagrams provide a visualization of the articulations of discourses that are considered relevant to understand the types of epistemic approaches being mobilized and the objectives being advanced in the examined scholarly sources.

In the following chapters, I extensively use these different types of diagrams (especially the two later types) to illustrate the categorization and the emphases made on particular aspects of the examined scholarship. While the nature of the proposed categorization remains unchanged, the shape of these diagrams assisted in giving a shape to the conceptualization that it illustrates. In other words, the diagrams are helpful visual tools to make sense of the conceptualization; their aesthetic and practical dimensions make them appreciable, that is, not perfectly precise but illuminating in the context of our explanation of the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Conclusion to Chapter 1

In this chapter, I put forth the argument that we can explain the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities by focusing on the diverse objectives underlying it and the epistemic approaches that are regularly used to further such objectives. To advance this argument, the Chapter develops a conceptualization comprising three categories of scholarly objectives (i.e. science, application and critique) and nine types of epistemic approaches. More precisely, Section 1.1 primarily clarifies how we can conceive IR scholarship from elite US universities from the point of view of its underlying and often implicit objectives or purposeful orientation. To do so, I mobilize Habermas' theory of knowledge and his concept of knowledge-constitutive interests to explain how American IR may be organized according to various sets of scholarly objectives.

In Section 1.2, I detail the categorization advanced in this thesis. I primarily explain the inductive process by which the diverse categories of scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches were generated. Then, I refer to other scholars' theorizations to clarify the main principles associated with the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives, that is, scientific, applied and critical objectives. My conceptualization departs from other theories of knowledge (e.g. Habermas' and Aristotle's) by proposing that these categories of objectives should be considered equally relevant for American IR, that is, without attributing a pre-eminent role or value to one particular category of objectives. I also describe the nine types of epistemic approaches proposed in the thesis, whereas each category of objectives is associated with three epistemic approaches.

In Section 1.3, I clarify the form of validity claims that can be associated with the proposed conceptualization. It refers primarily to Jackson's definition of an analyticist methodological framework for clarifying the types of philosophical wagers that underlie the associated knowledge claims, i.e., phenomenalism and mind-world monism. This section also explains that the value of this proposed categorization should be judged by its analytical utility, that is, on its ability to help make sense of the development and organization of IR scholarship from elite US universities. To support this pragmatic perspective, I explain that a series of graphical illustrations, or diagrams, are used in the following chapters as a means to depict the mental maps that the categorization helps furthering.

As this chapter starts indicating, the proposed conceptualization illustrates the diversity of American IR from the point of view of its main purposeful orientations. In doing so, this conceptualization provides a synthetic and useful tool for understanding IR scholarship from elite US universities from a pluralist perspective. More importantly, this categorization can help mitigating the dominance of scientism and explain why and how other objectives are advanced in this field. As Chapter 1 clarified the main categories and concepts associated with the categorization proposed in this, Chapter 2 clarifies how the following I pragmatically conceive the potential articulations between these categories of objectives and diverse types of epistemic approaches in the following examination.

CHAPTER 2

ARTICULATING A DIVERSE EPISTEMIC LEXICON FOR A PLURALIST FIELD

To clarify how the categorization proposed in this thesis is embodied in the scholarship examined in the following chapters, it is necessary to conceptualize how associated objectives and epistemic approaches are articulated by American IR scholars. In this second Chapter, I accordingly explain how the objectives associated with the three categories delineated in Chapter 1 are generated through non-standardized forms of articulations between diverse epistemic approaches. Underlining previous works that ground a pluralist understanding of scholarly and scientific methods and theories should help legitimate this thesis' conceptualization and a pluralist understanding of scholarly objectives.

To develop these arguments, Chapter 2 primarily engages with the way scholars have previously proposed pluralistic understandings of scientific and scholarly knowledge production. This allows me, in the following pages, not only to explain how knowledge production can be *conceptualized* pluralistically but also to delineate the contours of the following empirical examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. While the relevant literature is extensive, it is particularly important in the context of this thesis to examine how some scholars came to the conclusion that scholarly and scientific knowledge is developed using diverse, sometimes contradictory and often unexpected methods, procedures and theoretical approaches.

By clarifying how other scholars have previously conceptualized scholarly knowledge pluralistically, this chapter establishes that diverse of articulating valid knowledge claims can be used in American IR. Accordingly, Chapter 2 clarifies how the examination developed in the following parts of the thesis account for this diversity of epistemic approaches in the American field of IR, that is, beyond standardized research methods and toward a more extensive diversity of epistemic means that contribute to formulating the diverse underlying objectives associated with the work of American IR scholars.

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 is organized in two main sections. In Section 2.1, I primarily review the work of other scholars who have examined the history, sociology and philosophy of scientific knowledge to understand their pluralist conceptualization of scholarly/scientific knowledge development. I particularly use the work of Thomas Kuhn and Paul Feyerabend to clarify how their work can help us conceive the non-standardized ways by which scholarly knowledge is articulated in American IR. In Section 2.2, I build on these pluralist conceptions of scholarly practices to examine how we can understand the diverse means and epistemic approaches that scholars regularly mobilize in their work. In doing so, I refer to the recent scholarship that introduced a pragmatist philosophy in IR and conceptualized scholarly knowledge as a practical activity linked with specific goals. Drawing on this conceptualization, I explain how we can understand epistemic approaches in the context of American IR and complement these explanations by referring to other scholars who recently developed reflexive work on research methods in IR. I also illustrate how the nine types of epistemic approaches that were introduced in Chapter 1 are examined, in the following chapters, in accordance with this pragmatic understanding of knowledge generation.

2.1 From a Unitary to a Pluralist Understanding of Scientific Approaches

With the growing importance of scientific knowledge in contemporary societies in the first half of the 20th century, an increasing number of scholars began to examine how science was produced concretely. As Ole Wæver (1998) underscores, a "first wave" of sociological studies in scientific knowledge largely focused on science's "ethos." This pioneering scholarship is typically exemplified by Robert K. Merton's (1942, 1973) work in which he defines modern science as being grounded in four shared norms symbolized by the acronym CUDOS, which stands for *C*ommunism, *U*niversalism, *D*isinterestedness, and *O*rganized *S*kepticism.[30] In Merton's view, the institutionalization of these distinctive norms produces the "special ability of modern science to extend 'certified' knowledge" (Gieryn 1983, 781). While providing an attractive narrative on the development of scientific knowledge, this prime type of conceptualization remains largely idealistic in the

[30] As Wæver underlines, "communism" in Merton's model does not stands for the political ideology but for the norm according to which scientific knowledge is arguably considered a "collective property for society" (1998, 693).

sense that it considers "real" science to reflect observed reality. From this point of view, associated practical activities do not need social explanations since they unquestionably (and hence authoritatively) generate true knowledge about the world. [31]

From the mid-20th century onward, diverse scholars began to question this assumption and to challenge the norms underlying associated models for understanding the development of scientific knowledge. Wæver (1998) identifies the "second wave" of sociology of scientific knowledge with the work of scholars who examine how new theories and the organization of experiments are conditioned by the social context of scientific activities. Concentrating on the context and regular practices associated with scientific knowledge production, these scholars (e.g., Mitroff 1974, Mulkay 1972, 1979) particularly stress how scientists rarely, if ever, follow the ascetic practical norms delineated by earlier sociologists of scientific knowledge. Instead, these scholars underscore that scientists' practices – like those of other societal actors – are guided by motivations such as "self-interest, pride, profit, power and the anticipation of glory and public heroism" (Hoppe 2005, 205).[32] Accordingly, this cluster of literature contributes to our understanding of scientific knowledge development by representing it as a social process driven by "local, practical and sometimes openly political interests" (*idem*) – rather than as an immutable and uniform type of activity. Moreover, this literature provides the means to move beyond any rationalized reconstruction of science and to understand these as inherently diverse endeavours.[33]In the two following subsections, I focus on the work of two prominent scholars associated with this second wave of sociological studies in science: Thomas Kuhn and Paul Feyerabend. Their

[31] It is important to note that this first 'wave' and the subsequent sociological work on science concentrated primarily on the development of natural scientific knowledge. While the (social) scientific character of IR has been and still remains an important *debate*, this literature is nevertheless relevant in the context of my discussion, since it conceptualizes how largely similar forms of knowledge-producing activities are organized (i.e., similar in their modes of production and institutionalization, if not in their topics).

[32] As Hoppe (2005) underlines, these challenges lead some of these scholars to oppose the previous Mertonian acronym (CUDOS) with that "PLACE," which stands for the opposite norms of *P*roprietary, *L*ocal, *A*uthoritarian, *C*ommissioned, and *E*xpert practices of knowledge production.

[33] There were other contemporary and subsequent attempts at rationally reconstructing scientific practice by scholars like Karl Popper and Imre Lakatos but, as Wæver writes, these scholars' "applications were not empirical sociology or history of science, but a kind of metamethodology" (1998, 693). Illustratively, Wæver also quotes Donald McCloskey, who indicates that Popper and Lakatos "do not pretend to give persuasive histories of how science actually did progress" (1994, in Wæver 1998, 693).

conceptualizations clarify how scientific knowledge, and IR scholarship, is generated and articulated from a diverse perspective.

Kuhn, scientific knowledge and International Relations

Like a number of sociologists of science in the post-Second World War period, Kuhn focalises on the intellectual context within which scientists practice their research activities. At the core of Kuhn's major contribution is the observation according to which scholars do not follow Merton's practical norm of organized skepticism. Similarly, Kuhn's examinations contradict Karl Popper's approach according to which science is founded on scientists' regular efforts to falsify the theories and assumptions they use in their work. Indeed, Kuhn writes that "when engaged with a normal research problem, the scientist must *premise* current theory as the rules of his game" (1970, 4). Kuhn proposes that the acceptance of fundamental assumptions and conventional theories is one of the main conditions of scientists' regular practices. To account for this dimension of scientific work, Kuhn develops an approach according to which scientific knowledge evolves following a particular set of developmental stages.[34]

Kuhn describes the early developmental stage in all scientific fields as being "marked by frequent − and deep − debates over legitimate methods, problems and standards of solution" (1970[1962], 48), which result from the diversity of approaches that associated scientists use to examine similar phenomena. Quoting Kuhn at length helps us understand what he means by this pre-paradigmatic stage of development. He writes:

> *in the early stages of development of any science different [scholars] (sic) confronting the same range of phenomena, but not usually all the same particular phenomena, describe and interpret them in different ways. What is surprising, and perhaps also unique in its degree to the fields we call science, is that such initial divergences should ever largely disappear. For they do disappear to a very considerable extent and then apparently once and for all. Furthermore, their disappearance is usually caused by the triumph of one of the pre-paradigm schools, which, because of its own characteristic beliefs and*

[34] Here again, it is important to note Kuhn's argument that his approach does not apply to social sciences because these are not yet 'mature' scientific fields, or, in this scholar terminology, they are still in a "pre-paradigmatic" stage of development (1970[1962], vii-viii). While this argument is debatable, I suggest that we can circumvent it by examining Kuhn's ideas as devices helping us to conceptualize the organization of a more or less pluralist field of study and how they have been used accordingly in IR.

> *preconceptions, emphasized only some special part of the too sizable and inchoate pool of information.* (Kuhn 1970[1962], 17)

In Kuhn's view, this early (or pre-paradigmatic) stage is generally replaced by "normal" science as a scientific field matures. In this second stage, previous divergences regarding the appropriate ways for studying and interpreting observed phenomena are replaced by a more consensual "paradigm." While Kuhn's definition of paradigm is not without its ambiguities,[35] we can broadly define it as a largely accepted way of practising science – including its appropriate meta-theoretical stances, theories and methods – in a given field, which guides "further articulation and specification under new or more stringent conditions" (ibid, 23). According to Kuhn's views, it is the paradigmatic organization of a scientific field that enables a cumulative process whereby scientists build on previous findings to solve new questions and problems related to the standing paradigm (and this, without going through a regular process of falsification of claims and theories).

In Kuhn's approach, the notion of paradigm meaningfully posits that the development of scientific knowledge is largely conventional and contextual (as opposed to being associated with universal and standardized approaches and procedures). More specifically, the organization of normal science is contextual because the development of a paradigm depends on what *a particular community of practitioners* considers to be the most acute problems to be solved and, concurrently, on shared norms and approaches for doing so. Explaining this dimension, Kuhn, for example, indicates that normal science is only effective when a specific community of scientists "thinks it has acquired answers to questions such as the following: What are the fundamental entities of which the universe is composed? How do these interact with each other and with the senses? What questions may legitimately be asked about such entities and what techniques employed in seeking solutions?" (Kuhn 1970[1962], 4-5). From that point of view, it is possible that different communities of scientists develop different but equally legitimate paradigmatic understandings of the world (i.e., given different priorities in the problems to be solved and different understandings of the appropriate approaches to solve them).

[35] Margaret Masterman (1974) has, for example, identified 21 different ways in which this author applies the notion of paradigm.

This potential diversity of scientific knowledge is furthered by the third stage in Kuhn's conceptualization of the development of a scientific field. Kuhn underscores that scientific fields also go through "revolutionary" phases, that is, periods of non-cumulative and more fragmented scientific work during which "an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one" (1970[1962], 92). Paralleling the notion of political revolution, Kuhn explains that these scientific revolutions are inaugurated when an increasing number of scientists stop using the paradigmatic approach that previously organized their practices because it has ceased to adequately answer to (what they have come to consider) the most acute problems in their environment. These revolutionary periods in scientific life entail the development of plural, non-standardized and, generally, incompatible forms of scientific knowledge (and forthcoming paradigms).

The idea of scientific revolution is particularly important for developing an understanding according to which IR scholarship from elite US universities can be guided and organized according to a diverse set of objectives and epistemic approaches. Such revolutions indeed entail that differing paradigms, or guiding principles, not only are incompatible but also have no common measure. In other words, it is not possible to logically determine the relative value of diverging paradigmatic views in a particular scholarly field. In Kuhn's work, this phenomenon is translated by the concept of "incommensurability," which indicates that in paradigmatic debates,

> *the choice is not and cannot be determined merely by the evaluative procedures characteristic of normal science, for these depend in part upon a particular paradigm, and that paradigm is at issue. When paradigms enter, as they must, into a debate about paradigm choice, their role is necessarily circular. Each group uses its own paradigm to argue in that paradigm's defense.* (Kuhn 1970[1962], 94)

Kuhn's incommensurability claim has major importance for the development of a pluralist understanding of scientific and scholarly knowledge, since it stresses that scientific fields normally evolve toward a state where they are organized around divergent paradigms, which cannot be accounted for from the same perspective. Indeed, as Jackson writes, "needless to say [that] a science made up of incommensurable islands need not have, and most likely does not have, any common standards or criteria for the

production of knowledge; nor does it have a single measurement of progress" (2011, 15). By positing scientists' practices in the context of debates between incommensurable paradigms, it is possible to conceive science as a discontinuous endeavour, that is, as organized around diverse and non-standardized types of epistemic approaches (at least until the next paradigmatic phase is established in the associated field).

The concept of incommensurability has had major impacts on IR over the last 40 years; yet, it has also resulted in paradoxical usages in scholarly debates. In IR, too many scholars mobilized Kuhn's ideas in their work to review them all here (e.g. Alker and Biersteker 1984, Viotto and Kauppi 1987, Wæver 1996) but it is useful in the context of this thesis to underscore how the idea of incommensurability particularly resulted in two largely contradictory interpretations. The notion of the incommensurable paradigm was primarily used to assert that one largely uniform approach to theorizing international relations prevailed in the field. This is the argument advanced by Arend Lijphart (1974), for example, who suggested that the main theoretical approaches used in IR (at least until the 1950s) represent a "traditional paradigm," since they are largely coherent and organized around the notions of state sovereignty and international anarchy. More precisely, Lijphart writes that "traditional thinking in IR, as reflected by the theories of world-government, collective security, and balance of power, shows a high degree of both interdependence and reliance on a common image of the world" (1974, 49). For Lijphart and others (e.g., Holsti 1985), the notion of incommensurable paradigm was a means of reinforcing a standardized approach to knowledge production in IR.

On the other hand, other scholars mobilized this idea to underscore the existence of several diverging ways of theorizing and conducting research in IR. This understanding is translated, for example, by what has been called the "inter-paradigm" debate (e.g., Banks 1985, Wæver 1996). For Wæver, the inter-paradigm debate covers a specific period of IR history, that is, from the late 1960s through the 1970s. It is characterized by "increasing criticism of the dominant realist paradigm [and especially] its image of the world, its alleged state-centrism, preoccupation with power and its blindness to various kinds of processes domestically, transnationally and beyond the political-military sphere" (Wæver 1996, 150). Replicating the revolutionary stage in Kuhn's previous model, Wæver also

indicates that the inter-paradigmatic debate in IR resulted in the field being organized around three incommensurable paradigms (i.e., realism, liberalism and radicalism), with each being a self-sustaining approach and containing "its own confirming stories, data and preferred issues" (1996, 150-151). During the 1980s, several other scholars (e.g., Alker and Biersteker 1984, Viotto and Kauppi 1987) also depicted IR as being organized around several – generally three – main paradigmatic approaches. These scholars mobilized (at least implicitly) Kuhn's notion of incommensurability to emphasize that theoretical pluralism was not only possible but the actuality of the field.

Interestingly, the two above-mentioned ways by which the notion of incommensurable paradigm is mobilized in IR scholarship emphasize two contradictory tendencies in the field. More precisely, IR scholars concurrently use the notion of paradigm to further a standardized or a pluralist understanding of the theoretical landscape of the field. It appears that the notion of paradigm does not provide the necessary thinking tools to clarify how such divergent understandings of scholarly knowledge can coexist and why diverse approaches to the production of knowledge can persist. Instead, Kuhn's idea has the disadvantage of being operational for contradictory perspectives on the way IR scholarship is organized. In doing so, these ideas also move the contention toward the interpretation of the actual stage of development of IR or, in other words, toward the question of whether IR is in a pre-paradigmatic, normal or revolutionary stage of scientific/scholarly development.

Beyond this issue, Kuhn's notion of incommensurable paradigms has also had the problematic effect of rendering communication between diverging positions in the field more – rather than less – difficult. For example, Colin Wight (1996) underscores how the notion of incommensurable paradigm can too easily and conveniently be mobilized in support of theoretical pluralism. "Uncritical acceptance of the incommensurability thesis," Wight writes, "can all too quickly become a legitimisation of apartheid for paradigms, a dialogue of the deaf which precludes any exploration of the possibility of synthesis, integration, or some other modes of unification among meta-theoretical approaches" (1996, 292). In following years, this argument has also been echoed by other IR scholars who critique the (over-)emphasis on paradigmatic commitments, "fortress-

like pluralism," or "paradigmatism," which limits scholars' ability to communicate and converse about common research interests (e.g., Lapid 2003, Lake 2011, Sil and Katzenstein 2010). While Kuhn's conceptualization provides important tools with which to think about the development of scholarly knowledge in IR, it has also brought about significant problems in associated debates, that is, an entrenchment of diverging views on the theoretical landscape of the field and increased difficulty in engaging in (inter-paradigmatic) dialogue.

From the previous illustrations, these problems appear to result from two particular dimensions in Kuhn's conceptual apparatus. First, the developmental conceptualization of scientific knowledge enables the justification of diverging views on the theoretical landscape of IR. Instead, I advance what I think can be a more useful conceptualization of knowledge production in this thesis by proposing that diverging understandings of appropriate scholarship can coexist in a field like American IR. This conceptualization can also, I suggest, further appraisals and exchanges on the reciprocal value of these diverse understandings of appropriate scholarship. In the next subsection, I review the work of Paul Feyerabend and propose that it can help us move beyond these issues by accounting for the continuous reproduction of heterogeneous epistemic approaches in American IR.

Feyerabend and Pluralism in the Development of Scientific Knowledge

Most famous for the provocative assertion "anything goes" [36] in the context of scientific inquiry, Feyerabend offers an understanding that moves beyond any standardized and developmental reconstruction of scientific knowledge. Feyerabend advocated that we abandon the search for a unitary understanding of scientific knowledge and instead highlight how science is characterized by theoretical heterogeneity and pluralism.[37] From this perspective, understanding the organization of scientific knowledge is therefore not a question of underlining how it moves through diverse developmental stages but of how it can be considered as one particular category of activities and practices.

[36] This famous utterance was included in Feyerabend's "Consolations for the Specialist" (1970).

[37] Here, I use the adjective "pluralist" instead of "anarchist" because, as Jonathan Y. Tsou (2003) underlines, it is more in line with Feyerabend's earlier works (e.g., 1965, 1970) and represents a less provocative and rhetorical account of his approach.

For Feyerabend, this pluralist understanding of scientific knowledge results primarily from the fact that "the events, procedures and results that constitute the sciences *have no common structure*; there are no elements that occur in every scientific investigation but are missing elsewhere" ([emphasis in original] Feyerabend 2010[1975], xix). Indeed, Feyerabend underscores how historical and philosophical studies on concrete scientific developments (e.g., the invention of atomism in antiquity, the Copernican Revolution, the discovery of DNA) have followed very distinctive patterns. These scientific breakthroughs, Feyerabend emphasizes, generally occurred "only because some thinkers either decided not to be bound by certain 'obvious' methodological rules, or because they *unwittingly broke* them" (ibid., 14). A more suitable depiction of scientific research – at least from the ways in which it has historically been practised – would necessitate illustrating how it does not entail coherent and converging theories and practices.

Instead of following particular standards, Feyerabend suggested that scientific knowledge advances in inherently diverse and often unexpected ways. Indeed, scientific knowledge should be conceived as "an ever increasing ocean of mutually incompatible alternatives, each single theory, each fairy-tale, each myth that is part of the collection forcing the others into greater articulation and all of them contributing, via this process of competition, to the development of our consciousness" (Feyerabend 2010[1975], 14). From this perspective, scientific research practices (e.g., experiments, observation and analyses) are constituted by a wide variety of approaches (e.g., meta-theoretical, theoretical, methodological), methods (e.g., quantitative, qualitative, experimental) and traditions (e.g., philosophical, institutional, stylistic), which contribute in diverse ways to their development. Now, despite Feyerabend's most famous and polemical statement, this variety of approaches does not mean adopting a 'relativist' concept of science, in the sense that any means of knowledge generation has equivalent value in any context. Instead, Feyerabend uses this argument to limit science's expansive claim to cognitive authority and to consider the reciprocal values of diverse means for generating knowledge.

These two key dimensions are translated as four "consequences" that Feyerabend draws from his pluralist understanding of scientific knowledge. The first of these consequences

is that any form of single-mindedness must be challenged. This attitude primarily results from the heterogeneous ways by which scientific knowledge evolves. As Feyerabend writes, "*scientific successes cannot be explained in a simple way*. We cannot say: 'structure of the atomic nucleus was found because people did A, B, C…' where A, B and C are procedures which can be understood independently of their use in nuclear physics" (emphasis in original; 2010[1975], xix). From this perspective, any scientific research or discovery is characterized by a particular historical, social and idiosyncratic setting. Beyond this heterogeneous aspect of scientific work, Feyerabend underscores that there are also a substantial number of facts for which empirical tests necessitate the mobilization of "whole set of partly overlapping factually adequate, but mutually inconsistent theories" (2010[1975], 20). Different methodological, theoretical, or, more broadly, epistemic alternatives are not only factually more exact but also necessary for the progress of knowledge. This argument is directly translated into the pluralist understanding of IR scholarship from elite US universities developed in this thesis.

The second consequence associated with Feyerabend's pluralist understanding of knowledge development is that science "chauvinism," i.e., authoritative claims about the superiority and unitary standards of scientific knowledge, must be countered. This consequence results from the account according to which all approaches used for knowledge production are limited in their ability to make sense of the world. From this perspective, Feyerabend stresses that "the success of 'science' cannot be used as an argument for treating as yet unresolved problems in a standardized way" (2010[1975], xix). Such a standardized approach would only be warranted if some scientific methods could be abstracted or detached from particular contexts and their usage would warrant success (an account that the historical record does not support). Recognition of the value of specific methods and approaches associated with scientific practices in resolving particular problems does not entail that these should be uniformly applied to other forms of inquiry – or for furthering any legitimate scholarly objective. Again, this argument is applied in the context of this thesis by the way it attempts to mitigate the chauvinism, or dominance, of a scientist understanding of scholarly work in American IR.

A third closely associated consequence of this pluralist conceptualization is that "non-scientific" approaches cannot be disregarded from a principled position (i.e., from the mere argument that they are not scientific). Since science is not always successful and does not entail a uniform set of procedures, we should consider other "world views" – like those provided in the Bible, the Gilgamesh epic, the Iliad, for example – as providing legitimate alternative cosmologies which, as Feyerabend writes, "can be used to modify, and even to replace, the 'scientific' cosmologies of a given period" (2010[1975], 27). From this perspective, one should accept the reciprocal value of plural approaches to the production of knowledge when attempting to make sense of the world. While this reciprocal value reflects the cognitive limits of the diverse potential approaches to knowledge production, it also leads one to adopt what Feyerabend refers to as a more "humanitarian" attitude in the context of associated activities.[38] By accounting for alternative categories of scholarly objectives in American IR, this thesis also promotes the type of open attitude that Feyerabend calls for.

A humanitarian attitude is closely associated with the fourth and final consequence associated with Feyerabend's pluralist conceptualization, i.e., that there can be different and legitimate forms of true or valid/scientific knowledge. Indeed, accepting that science's cognitive limitations and the reciprocal value of alternative cosmologies entails the possibility that "people starting from different backgrounds will approach the world in different ways and learn different things about it" (Feyerabend 2010 [1975], xx). From this perspective, science can be thought as an inherently and legitimately pluralist endeavour, that is, a form of activity that can be developed by mobilizing a wide diversity of epistemic approaches. This is not only a principled position but also a useful approach for Feyerabend, since developing a greater understanding of existing theories and concepts necessitates comparing insights from diverse theories and approaches, rather than discarding those views that appear to be disadvantaged in scientific debates. This fourth consequence advances epistemic pluralism as a necessary dimension of the ongoing knowledge production activities of scientists and scholars. This thesis also

[38] On this, see Chapter 3 in Feyerabend 2010[1975]. Feyerabend particularly refers to J.S. Mills' *On Liberty* for a "truly humanitarian defence of this position" (see footnote 2, 2010[1975], 27).

furthers this fourth consequence in the study of American IR by considering that the three proposed categories of objectives can equally advance valuable knowledge in the field.

In IR, some scholars have associated Feyerabend's and Kuhn's understandings of scientific knowledge by emphasizing their common views on the incommensurability of diverse paradigms or world views in the process of knowledge generation (Wight 2006, Sil and Katzenstein 2010).[39] However, no IR scholar has yet mobilized Feyerabend's views as a means of understanding how IR scholarship from elite US universities is being organized. Accordingly, I move forth in the context of this thesis that Feyerabend's arguments can inform our understanding of the diversity of scholarly approaches in the American field of IR.

As the previous consequences resulting from Feyerabend's proposal indicate, these arguments primarily contribute in depicting scholarly knowledge in a non-essentializing way. This non-essentialist perspective results from the arguments according to which science provides no privileged claim to cognitive authority; it is rather considered as one among several forms of scholarly objectives that can provide valuable knowledge on the world. In my examination of IR scholarship, I can therefore move beyond the claims according to which it is inherently distinct from other forms of knowledge or worldviews. Relying on Feyerabend's perspective, I account for the specificities of the knowledge produced in American IR as resulting from a contextual and heterogeneous form of endeavour (i.e. an endeavour guided by diverse purposes). In other words, this approach allows us to examine the plurality of scholarly approaches associated with IR scholarship from elite US universities as being related to specific and contextual intellectual, institutional and cultural configurations – rather than to standardized and universal principles warranting their epistemic value.

It is particularly important for this thesis project to contextualize the work of American IR scholars because it provides the means to examine a broader diversity of epistemic approaches. Following from this, I have developed a categorization that enables us to consider means of knowledge generation in American IR beyond the conventional

[39] It has also been used to discuss Patrick T. Jackson's proposal of a pluralist methodological framework in IR (Kirby 2011).

understanding of scientific (meta-) theories, methodologies and methods. Constructing a broader epistemic lexicon should help, in return, to make the generation of knowledge more intelligible by clarifying diverse objectives that these epistemic approaches translate in IR scholarship from elite US universities. As I explain in the following subsection, this broader lexicon can be understood by viewing IR scholarship as a broad set of practices where diverse approaches are related to the types of objectives underlying scholars' work.

As this subsection explained how Feyerabend's pluralist understanding of science informs my research project, the following subsections further this conceptualization with more recent arguments from IR scholars on how to make sense of the multiple forms of epistemic approaches in the field.

2.2 Assessing Heterogeneous Means of Knowledge Production in International Relations

This section builds on the previous conceptualizations of scientific knowledge by clarifying how the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives can be linked in IR scholarship from elite US universities with the diverse types of epistemic approaches being accounted for in this thesis categorization. To advance this discussion, the following subsections discuss two particular questions, i.e., how we can conceive an essentially heterogeneous set of epistemic approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities, and how we can examine these diverse epistemic approaches in the following analysis. To clarify these questions, the following subsection mobilizes a pragmatist philosophy of knowledge. Reviewing the recent literature that introduced pragmatism in IR, I explain how it provides a conceptual framework for analyzing a wide diversity of epistemic approaches as they practically emerge in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Building on this perspective, I propose that epistemic approaches can be conceived as useful devices for operationalizing the objectives guiding the work of American IR scholars. To explain this conceptualization, I mobilize recent literature that extends our understanding of research methods beyond their more conventional representations as neutral tools for knowledge production.

A Pragmatist Framework for Assessing Epistemic Approaches in American IR

While the development of pragmatism dates back to the work of scholars like Charles Peirce, William James and John Dewey in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, only in the two last decades has it received a sustained level of attention in IR (e.g., Puchala 1995, Widmaier 2004, Bauer and Brighi 2009). Among the IR scholars that focused on this philosophical perspective, Jörg Friedrichs and Friedrich Kratochwil (2009) provide a particularly synthetic definition of a pragmatist philosophy of knowledge by underlining the association between pragmatism and the notions of 'practicality' and 'usefulness,' that is, how this philosophy conceives knowledge generation as a practical activity that should be oriented toward the production of useful knowledge.

As with the concepts proposed by Kuhn and Feyerabend, pragmatism underscores that scientific knowledge should not be conceived from the perspective of particular sets of foundational, logical and predefined standards of validity. Rather than attempting to reproduce unattainable scientific standards such as "ontological realism and the correspondence theory of truth" (Friedrichs and Kratochwil 2009, 703), pragmatism proposes that knowledge be conceived as practical activities. In fact, the focus on practice – which has been identified as *the* core principle of the pragmatist philosophical perspective (Putnam 1995) – suggests that knowledge should be examined from its continuous and practical processes of production. Considering knowledge as a social practice underscores how it is characterized by diverse and contingent regularities and implicit rules, which guide actors' behaviours. Knowledge as practice is guided not by definitively and permanently established principles of validity, but by the practical and communicative processes whereby associated rules are continuously negotiated and corrected within particular communities.[40]

As this practical dimension indicates, thought and action are not separated by pragmatists; instead, "thinking and acting are two sides of the same coin" (Hellmann

[40] This, in Friedrichs and Kratochwil words, replaces the correspondence theory of truth with "a consensus theory of knowledge" (2009 705).

2009, 641).[41] Accordingly, knowledge as practice is generated by the way in which beliefs are continuously influenced and transformed by actors' concrete experiences, expectations and creative thinking (Dewey, in Hellmann 2009). At the collective level, pragmatism also underscores how actors continuously reconstruct their shared knowledge through active interaction and adaptation. In a field of study like American IR, these processes particularly concentrate on the types of questions and objectives that deserve scholars' attention and on the evaluation of appropriate methods and results from their professional activities. As with previous works in the philosophy and sociology of science, the pragmatic perspective reinstates the contextual and contingent character of scientific knowledge by embedding it in the constantly evolving activities of scholars and researchers.

This conceptualization of knowledge as practice guides my assessment of the diverse epistemic approaches used in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Indeed, a pragmatist perspective suggests that the selected scholarship can be examined by focusing on what Jackson terms "the creative action of concrete actors involved in concrete situations" (2009, 657). This involves considering American IR scholarship in the context of regular forms of professional activities such as, for example, research, teaching, or the administration of academic departments and education programs. As the previous explanations underscore, scholarship as practice is embedded in the modes of communication that scholars use to negotiate and evaluate what are appropriate problems, methods and results from scholarly work (e.g., academic articles, syllabi, or exchanges in departmental meetings). In the following examination, I concentrate on the practical development of the communication means regularly used by American IR scholars to clarify which epistemic approaches are regularly mobilized to further the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis.[42] As is further illustrated in Section 3.2 and in the analysis developed in chapters 5 and 6 of the thesis, this practice-focused approach for examining IR scholarship is also closely related with the work of poststructuralist

[41] As Hellman also underscores, several pragmatist scholars like Peirce and James have synthesized this continuous interplay between thought and action by suggesting that "beliefs are rules for action" (2009, 639).

[42] I delineate what precise communication means and documentary sources are examined for this thesis empirical analysis in Chapter 4.

scholars in IR (e.g. Shapiro 1981, George 1994, Hansen 2006), who have furthered diverse approaches for analyzing and re-interpreting scholarly discourses about international relations.

By emphasizing the practices associated with these modes of communication, pragmatism also underscores the reflexive dimensions of knowledge generation. For example, Paul Diesing (1991) explains how scientific knowledge – when conceived as social practices – can be viewed as being directed toward the improvement of its own methods of asking and answering questions, and solving problems that are deemed relevant by the scientific community. From this perspective, scientific practice is reflexive in the sense that it constantly questions "its own methods, its own theories, its own standards for evaluating solutions, its own standards for evaluating its methods" (Diesing 1991, 75). As they are embedded in such a reflexive process, scientists and scholars use a wide diversity of epistemic tools and strategies that they constantly adapt and re-formulate for coping with emerging tasks and problems.

According to a pragmatist perspective, the means used in activities of knowledge production are primarily guided by the particular purpose they pursue or problem they seek to resolve. This principle indicates that, in the context of a scholarly field such as American IR, scholars mobilize diverse epistemic approaches to cope with various objectives and sometimes novel problems. Using this perspective accordingly helps underscoring how the development of scholarly knowledge involves a wide range of intellectual means, or, to use the lexicon proposed in this thesis, epistemic approaches. As indicated in Chapter 1, the conceptualization advanced in this thesis proposes to categorize into nine particular types of epistemic approaches the diverse intellectual means by which American IR scholars further their different objectives.[43] Following a pragmatist philosophical perspective, this thesis proposes that these nine types of epistemic approaches are closely associated with the main objectives guiding scholarly activities. More precisely, I argue that the diverse types of epistemic approaches are mobilized in the examined scholarly work according to their *usefulness* in furthering the

[43] As previously indicated, these categories are the quantitative and statistical, formal, empirical, interpretative, reflexive, interdisciplinary and intellectually broad, case-specific and experiential epistemic approaches.

objectives pursued by American IR scholars. In the following examination, I illustrate the recurring links between the objectives pursued by American IR scholars and diverse epistemic approaches that are mobilized in the selected scholarship since, I contend, this can help us explain the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities and challenge the dominance of scientism in this area of the field.

In the pragmatist literature, the principle of usefulness also tends to result in normative assertions, that is, in claims according to which knowledge *should* be useful for a particular purpose. Friedrichs and Kratochwil (2009), for example, suggest that scholars *should* abandon their search for the timeless warrants of scholarly knowledge and instead concentrate on the production of useful knowledge. In advancing what they call "analytical eclecticism," Rudra Sil and Peter Katzenstein similarly propose that IR scholars should "resist the temptation to assume that one or another research tradition is inherently superior for posing and solving all problems" and instead delineate "relationships between concepts, observations, and causal stories originally constructed in different analytic perspectives" (2010, 2). More recently, Jérémie Cornut (2015) furthers this perspective by arguing that the production of knowledge always follows a logic of question. More precisely, he proposes that explanations are always constructed within a specific interrogatory context and according to a particular contrastive question, e.g. "why x *rather than* y?" ([emphasis in original] 2015, 51). Similarly, Friedrichs and Kratochwil write that from a pragmatist point of view, the purpose of social scientific knowledge

> *is not primarily knowledge for its own sake as in first philosophy, nor for the sake of money as in business, nor for the sake of beauty, nor for the sake of power, and so on. Its purpose is to enable orientation in the social world. Its utility consists in helping us to understand complex social phenomena and/or to explain observed social regularities*. (Friedrichs and Kratochwil 2009, 706)

Knowledge directed toward "orientation in the social world" entails an objective that can be interpreted in very diverse ways when translated as more concrete scholarly activities. This definition of appropriate objectives for scholarly and scientific activities simply moves the debate toward a determination of which questions and phenomena are most

relevant for helping actors orient themselves in the world and which actors should be prioritized in this process.

More broadly (and quite surprisingly), this definition is also contradicted by the diversity of scholarly activities that help produce knowledge in IR. IR scholars regularly engage in work that is guided by much more diverse objectives than those proposed by Friedrichs and Kratochwil. For example, IR scholars regularly focus on delineating appropriate philosophical, epistemological, or meta-theoretical principles to guide the production of valid and empirical knowledge in IR (as with Friedrichs and Kratochwil [2009]), on developing ideas applicable to other domains of professional practice, or on questioning the ethical dimension of particular phenomena or practices. This diversity of scholarly objectives indicates how the debate over the meaning of usefulness is largely dependent on pre-existing inclinations and on debatable interpretations of what stands as appropriate scholarly and scientific work.

Since my objective is not to determine what objectives are most useful but to explain why and how IR scholarship from elite US universities is developed by using diverse types of objectives and epistemic approaches, I use the pragmatist perspective as an analytical guide rather than as a normative standard in this thesis. I apply the usefulness principle (that is at the core of a pragmatist stance) to examine *why* and *how* American IR scholars further diverse types of scholarly objectives through their regular knowledge-generation practices. In that sense, the pragmatist perspective serves as an analytical basis for advancing the argument according to which we can connect the particular objectives underlying IR scholarship from elite US universities with diverse types of epistemic approaches, which are deemed useful in the context of the chosen objectives.

In the following empirical examination, I consider how American IR scholars pursue particular objectives in their scholarly work by mobilizing the nine proposed types of epistemic approaches. As I previously underscored, this examination focalizes on the regular activities by which IR scholars practice, formulate and communicate their scholarship, and especially the way graduate education programs and courses are presented (more on this in Part II). In the context of such activities, my examination illustrates how these diverse epistemic approaches are linked with different types of

scholarly objectives. As this subsection explained how a pragmatist philosophy of knowledge informs the following assessment, the next subsection details the associated understanding of epistemic approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Methods as Instrumental Devices for Advancing Scholars' Particular Objectives

Building on the previous explanations, this subsection clarifies how the nine types of epistemic approaches mobilized in IR scholarship from elite US universities are understood and assessed in the following chapters. Using a pragmatist perspective provides the means to conceive these epistemic approaches as being linked with different objectives in IR scholarship. In this subsection, I mobilize recent IR scholarship to complement our understanding of the nature and role played by these epistemic approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

From a pragmatist perspective, scholars constantly mobilize, generate and adapt diverse forms of epistemic approaches to cope with the problems and questions they face. Through this practical process, scholars constantly improve the set of epistemic approaches available to them for engaging with the objectives and problems motivating their scholarly activities. These explanations clarify how we can conceive the epistemic approaches that scholars regularly mobilize while generating knowledge. For example, Jackson explains that, from a pragmatist point of view, scholars constantly "[forge] instruments like 'the social network' or 'the process of legitimation' that express a particular, contemporary sensibility about the world − in our case, about the social world of global politics" (2009, 658). This indicates how epistemic approaches used in scholarly work can be understood as conceptual tools that help describe, as well as construct, the phenomena that they study.

Quoting Dewey's previous work, Gunther Hellman contributes to this conceptualization by stating that "[f]irst, (…) never is method something outside of the material. Rather, good scholarship (as "methodized" inquiry) is characterized by making intelligent connections between subject matter and method" (2009, 640). The methods and other epistemic approaches mobilized in scholarly work should be conceived as conceptual tools with which scholars encounter the world or, as Rorty (1991) proposes, "handle" the reality – rather than as neutral means for representing it. This conceptualization is

particularly important for developing the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. This pragmatist conceptualization provides the means to explain how epistemic approaches are tools not only to formulate results of their inquiry but also to embody and bring to the fore the particular objectives and questions that motivate their work. In this sense, the diverse epistemic approaches used by American IR scholars are intrinsically linked to their scholarly objectives, since they enable the development with their analyses.

The previous conceptualization of epistemic approaches is original in IR; yet, it can be associated with an emerging conversation about research methods in some areas of the field. While few scholars have explicitly mobilized a pragmatist perspective to consider the nature of the diverse methods used in American IR, related scholarship can inform and complement the previous explanations about this pragmatist perspective. This is primarily the case of Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea's (2015[2006]; see also Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012) pioneering work on "interpretive" research methods in IR and political science.[44] These scholars claim that interpretive methods emphasize the importance of contextualizing research methods historically, ontologically and epistemologically. In doing so, interpretive approaches serve as means for developing empirical but also reflexive perspectives on how meaning and knowledge are produced by – among others – scholars themselves. In this sense, Schwartz-Shea and Yanow's reflections can inform my own conceptualization of epistemic approaches by underscoring how research methods partake in constructing scholars' subject matter and reflect their own intellectual and practical stances in the world.

For example, Schwartz-Shea and Yanow underscore that interpretive methods are more explicit about the researchers' role in processes of knowledge production since they allow meaning to "emerge from data as the research progresses" (2015[2006], xix). This helps develop a greater reflexive sensibility about the ways by which researchers influence

[44] For Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, the emergence of interpretive approaches in IR and political science results from a broader "interpretive turn" in the social scientific fields of the latter 20th century, following the translation and dissemination of several Continental philosophers' thinking in the English-speaking world. More broadly, they carry similar meta-theoretical presuppositions to, for example "Continental interpretive philosophies or phenomenology and hermeneutics (and some critical theory) and their American counterparts of symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, and pragmatism, among others" (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2006, xx).

which sources are accessed, which data are analyzed and how. Schwartz-Shea and Yanow suggest that researchers using these approaches are particularly attentive to the influence of background knowledge, *a priori* assumptions, positionality and the "entanglements between consciousness and the embodiments of meaning in the form of texts, objects, and acts" (ibid., 1). Engagement with an interpretive approach provides the means to underscore that research methods not only describe the world being observed but also help scholars engage and connect with it from a particular position.

The language privileged by Schwartz-Shea and Yanow to describe scholarly activities also translates this reflexive stance. These scholars highlight their preference for the notion of data "generation" rather than the more common and objectivist notion of data "collection." This linguistic preference emphasizes the active and interpretive role of the researcher in the process whereby data are accessed and knowledge is developed. In the context of an interpretive approach, Schwartz-Shea and Yanow write that data is not "given" but instead "encountered, often by surprise, observed, and made sense or, interpreted" (2015[2006], xxi). This is an important linguistic distinction for illustrating the productive role of research practices and of the epistemic approaches mobilized by scholars in generating, and not only revealing, knowledge. However, despite their reflexive sensibility, Schwartz-Shea and Yanow do not detail how the particular stance of the researcher influences the research practices and approaches that are mobilized in scholarly activities.

To their credit, Schwartz-Shea and Yanow argue that empirical and analytical choices help expose a research community's values and priorities. They indicate that the choice of interpretive or other types of approaches is largely guided by "the set of ontological and epistemological presuppositions undergirding the initial shaping of the research question" (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2015[2006], xxii).[45] They also suggest that there "seems" to be a connection between the field of study and the approaches researchers choose and their *a priori* assumptions, inclinations and, more broadly, lived experience. To complement these scholars' proposals, it would be relevant to empirically examine the

[45] For Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, "presupposition" designates "what one must suppose-even if one does so un- or subconsciously-about social realities and their knowability in order logically to hold particular methodological positions" (2015[2006], xxii).

particular "connections" and relations between the researchers' positionality (which can be associated with the objectives underlying their work) and their approaches to research. In Chapter 3, my examination provides such a perspective by illustrating how the epistemic approaches mobilized in IR scholarship are linked with the three categories of scholarly objectives proposed in this thesis.

My examination can also be informed by Claudia Aradau and Jef Huysmans' (2014) recent explanations on the performative and political dimensions of research – and particularly "critical" – methods in IR. Aradau and Huysmans argue that the research methods used by scholars are performative because they "enact" rather than "represent" worlds of truth, "both in the sense of being acted upon and coming into being" (2014, 598).[46] Methods are not merely techniques for extracting information but rather "devices" by which scholars actively interfere and bring particular subjectivities into being. For these scholars, research methods are practices by which meta-theoretical assumptions, research procedures and the subject matter being studied are experientially and substantially connected. By viewing American IR scholars' research methods as practical devices in the context of associated activities, I propose that the following examination can move beyond questions regarding their truth or scientific value to consider their role in enacting different purposes and subjectivities in the world.

For Aradau and Huysmans, research methods are also political devices since they "are instruments not for creating common ground, but for power struggles, competing enactments of worlds and/or creating disruptive positions in the worlds of international politics" (2014, 598). This political dimension underscores the fact that research methods embody particular positions on social and political questions. Aradau and Huysmans also translate this perspective by conceptualizing methods as 'acts' that disrupt the social and political world in which they interfere. This dimension informs the conceptualization proposed in this thesis by underlining the conflictual effects of these devices and

[46] For Aradau and Huysmans, the notion of "enactment" − as opposed to construction or constitution − is particularly important to illustrate the fragility or instability of entities and meaning that is generated. Instead of treating methods as "simply a matter of bringing theory into contact with reality," these scholars write, they are hence understood as devices that "make and remake worlds, identities and things in a fragile, continuously changing way" (Aradau and Huysmans 2014, 605).

suggesting that the epistemic approaches that scholars mobilize further diverse political projects or objectives that compete in the context of American IR.

This political perspective is also important for problematizing a pluralist understanding of American IR in which any epistemic approach is depicted as receiving equal consideration. Indeed, for Aradau and Huysmans, the political dimension of research methods means that it is important but insufficient to reveal pluralism in American IR since it fails to recognize the "politicality" of scholars' choices. In effect, a pluralist understanding does not make explicit the "contestation and struggle" that a diversity of epistemic approaches involves in the field − "and not simply about what is the best way to do science, but also about what subjectivities and worlds are being brought forward in the enactment of methods" (Aradau and Huysmans 2014, 608). In this sense and if one accepts that methods enact worlds and that different methods enact different worlds in American IR, one must also recognize that diverse subjectivities not only coexist but also compete in the way knowledge is constantly produced in the field. As such, conceiving methods as political devices emphasizes how they are means by which American IR scholars pursue diverse and conflicting "goals" in the world.

As these explanations underscore, the performative and political dimensions of research methods provide important complements to the previous pragmatist conceptualization of epistemic approaches in American IR. They help emphasizing how epistemic approaches help enact the subject matter of American IR scholars and further diverse and diverging types of objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Accordingly, I view epistemic approaches in the following examination as intellectual means that help enact and advance the three proposed category of scholarly objectives, which also enact competing subjectivities in the field.

Conclusion to Chapter 2

Chapter 2 provided a set of concepts and explanations from which to develop my categorization of objectives and epistemic approaches in American IR. In this chapter, I explained how we can conceive scholarly activities and the epistemic approaches that are regularly mobilized by American IR scholars in a pluralist way, that is, beyond any standardized reconstructions of scientific knowledge production. This conceptualization

is important for supporting the argument according to which the proposed category of scholarly objectives are recurrently linked with diverse types of epistemic approaches in American IR, thereby making the diversity of American IR scholarship more intelligible. While I detailed this aspect of the thesis project more thoroughly in Part II of the thesis, these explanations also indicated how I operationalize my examination of the links between the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives and nine types of epistemic approaches in the following chapters.

To develop a pluralist conceptualization of the American field of IR, Chapter 2 primarily referred to the work of sociologists and philosophers of science Thomas Kuhn and Paul Feyerabend. As I previously explained, Kuhn (1970[1962]) has been particularly influential for proposing the concept of incommensurable paradigms, which provide scientists with a shared repertoire of knowledge on which to base their regular or normal scientific and scholarly activities. For Kuhn, the existence of paradigms also implies that traditional paradigms may be challenged during some 'revolutionary periods,' and hence that different paradigms may temporarily compete for pre-eminence in a particular field of study.

While he agrees with Kuhn on the existence of incommensurable paradigms, Feyerabend (2010[1975]) proposed that these did not provide – even temporarily – standardized means of knowledge production in scientific fields of study. Instead, Feyerabend observed that scientific activities were continually pluralistic (or anarchistic), since no uniform set of rules or procedures could explain the historical discoveries made by scientists. For Feyerabend, this factual dimension of scientific history has two main interrelated consequences, namely, to limit the cognitive authority of science for adjudicating and producing truth and to recognize that diverse approaches can be appropriate for generating knowledge. These conclusions help explain how I consider the potential contributions of the diverse types of epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis.

In Section 2.2, I clarified how epistemic approaches are conceived in the context of the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. More precisely, I focused primarily on the work of scholars like Jörg Friedrichs and Friedrich Kratochwil

(2009), who recently introduced a pragmatist philosophy of knowledge in IR, which underscores the notions of practicality and usefulness for understanding the process of knowledge production. The former notion highlights how knowledge can be considered from the point of view of actors' regular practices and communication activities. The latter notion considers knowledge to be useful in the context of the problems, questions and goals underlying the associated scholarly activities. It becomes clear from these perspectives that my examination should focus on the practical activities of American IR scholars (e.g., teaching, research and administration) and that the diverse epistemic approaches potentially observed in IR scholarship from elite US universities can be conceived as linked with the objectives underlying American scholars' work.

In the third subsection, I emphasized this instrumental understanding of epistemic approaches by clarifying how epistemic approaches can be conceived as means of encountering the world and enabling particular subjectivities. To inform this conception, I referred to recent IR scholarship that discusses how we can make sense of research methods. For example, Schwartz-Shea and Yanow's (2015[2006]) reflections on interpretive methods in IR complement previous insights by underscoring how research methods contribute to constructing scholars' subject matter and translating their particular stance in the world. Aradau and Huysmans (2014) suggest that research methods enact particular subjectivities, as well as political devices, i.e., that they have conflictual and disruptive effects in the social world. As such, Aradau and Huysmans' contribution clarifies that the objectives underlying IR scholarship from elite US universities must be conceived as competing subjectivities, which receive unequal attention in associated activities. Accordingly, this chapter clarifies how I examine, in the following chapters, the links or articulations in IR scholarship between the three categories of scholarly objectives and the nine epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis categorization.

PART II

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR A CATEGORIZATION OF SCHOLARLY OBJECTIVES IN AMERICAN IR

As outlined in Part I, this thesis proposes a categorization that can assist us in developing a better understanding of the diverse objectives that motivate American IR scholars' work. This categorization puts forth that IR scholarship from elite US universities is regularly guided by three distinct types of scholarly objectives namely science, application and critique. This categorization helps clarifying how and why the proposed objectives are reproduced by underlining their relevance and the particular types of epistemic approaches by which they are regularly articulated in American IR scholars' work. In doing so, the thesis formulates an original perspective on American IR scholarship diversity and helps mitigating the dominance of scientism in this field of research and study.

To develop this categorization, Chapter 1 primarily defined how we can conceive diverse forms of scholarly objectives in American IR as well as the principles and epistemic approaches associated with the three categories of scholarly objectives proposed in this thesis. Then, Chapter 2 explained the means by which we can conceptualize the diverse types of epistemic approaches and their articulations in IR scholarship from elite US universities. While these primary explanations have clarified the categorization developed in this thesis, it has not yet illustrated its explanatory value in the context of IR scholarship from elite US universities. More directly, we may ask how to go about highlighting the diversity of American IR by mobilizing the categorization developed in Part I of the thesis. Similarly, we may ask how to illustrate the recurring links between the proposed scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Chapters 3 and 4 start answering these questions by detailing four dimensions of the examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities presented in Part III of the thesis, that is, its literary context, theoretical approach, empirical focus and research methods for conducting the associated analysis.

More precisely, Chapter 3 connects my examination of the diversity of American IR to a longstanding and encompassing reflexive agenda in the transnational field of IR. Section 3.1 explains how this reflexive agenda has of late focused on the particular ways in which the field of IR has been developed and is currently organized. While this agenda has received continuous scholarly attention over the last half century of IR-related scholarship, I illustrate how it has received increasing attention over the last two decades. Moreover, mapping this research agenda helps detail the geo-epistemic focus associated with my examination (i.e., on *American* IR), situating my project within its broader literary context, and clarifying its relevance for reflexive studies and IR more broadly. Following this literary contextualization, section 3.2 details the analytical approach used for the empirical examination developed in Part III of the thesis. It outlines how post-structuralism conceives meaning-making in and beyond IR, and how this analytical approach inspires the examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities developed in Part III. I underscore how this analytical approach focuses on intertextual relations – or interrelations between sets of texts and statements – in the selected scholarship for illustrating the diversity of American IR.

Chapter 4 describes the particular field of scholarly activities that is the object of my empirical examination in the third part of the thesis, namely, the formal dimension of IR graduate education programs in elite American universities. Section 4.1 delimits the documentary sources mobilized to conduct the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities, i.e., the curricula and core course syllabi of elite American IR graduate programs. This set of empirical sources are appropriate, I argue, for developing a better understanding of the dominant ways by which particular views of international relations have been developed in the United States. Section 4.2 details the methods used to select the programs and specific documents examined in Chapters 5 and 6 - with complete lists of selected programs and documents - and indicate the specific dimension and questions that are assessed in my examination. Chapter 4 also furthers reflexive perspective on this thesis' project by stressing the analytical stakes associated with my empirical choices.

In conclusion to Part II, I discuss the main expected benefits associated with the examination developed in Chapters 5 and 6. I contend that this examination advances the reflexive agenda described in Chapter 3 by describing the diversity of epistemic approaches mobilized in American IR and mitigating the dominance of scientism in this important area of scholarship for the transnational field of IR.

CHAPTER 3

LITERARY CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL APPROACH FOR ILLUSTRATING A TYPOLOGY OF FUNCTIONAL PLURALISM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The categorization proposed in this thesis is developed within a specific literary and intellectual context. More precisely, my inquiry can be associated with an ensemble of scholarship that has taken both the transnational field of IR and scholarly practices in this field of study as its main object of study over the past two decades. This reflexive literature has been associated with increasingly diverse and sophisticated perspectives on the conditions of production, ethical posture and constitutive effects of knowledge being generated in IR. Chapter 3 maps the main perspectives developed in IR reflexive scholarship, which enables me to situate my examination of American IR in this literary context. This mapping helps me clarify how this thesis contributes to this reflexive agenda and to IR scholarship more broadly.

More precisely, this chapter is organized in two parts. Section 3.1 proposes a typology of the three main clusters of literature that have taken transnational IR and IR scholarship as their main object of study. While not exhaustive, this typology helps appraise the large body of increasingly complex reflexive literature that has developed in IR since the early 1980s and, especially, since the mid-1990s.[47] It also clarifies important dimensions of the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities and the way in which it mobilizes the categorization of objectives proposed in Part I. Building on this review, Section 3.2 focuses on the analytical approach use for the empirical examination developed in the remainder of the thesis. To do so, it primarily clarifies how the post-structuralist conception of meaning-making has been imported and developed in IR and how a related discourse analysis approach is mobilized in the following chapters for examining selected sources in American IR. My explanations on this discourse analysis approach indicate how these methods are used to inductively and incrementally develop the categorization that was presented in Part I of the thesis.

[47] Section 3.1 has been, in part, the object of a recent publication (see Grenier 2015).

3.1 Reflexive Studies in IR: The Geo-Epistemic, Historiographical and Sociological Perspectives

In order to situate my research project, it is important to explain the literary context in which it takes place. To do so, Section 3.1 assess the primary subfield of scholarship with which my thesis can be associated namely the increasingly broad scholarship that takes the academic field of IR as its main object of study. To help synthesize my literary contextualization, this subfield of scholarship is henceforth referred to as "reflexive studies in IR." This subfield can be understood as relying on constitutive theory namely, "a third order of inquiry that attempts to objectivate the 'discourse on IR discourse'" (Hamati-Ataya 2011a, 395). To understand what perspectives researchers have recently developed to study IR, the following section provides a state-of-the-art review of recent literature reflecting on the identity, traditional narratives and conditions of knowledge production in IR.[48] In doing so, this section helps define this thesis' research project and some of its main contributions to IR scholarship.

Recent literature associated with reflexive studies in IR is linked to the reflexive agenda imported into the field during the 1980s and 1990s by scholars who developed critical (or post-positivist) approaches in the field (e.g., Cox 1981, Enloe 2000 [1989], Hoffman 1987). The increasing awareness of the biased foundations, localized interests and constitutive roles through which IR scholarship had been developed led scholars to reflect on the conditions of knowledge production and traditional narratives in and on the academic field.[49] Despite the diverse usages associated with the notion of reflexivity in recent IR literature (Hamati-Ataya 2013), reflexive works developed along three core lines during the 1980s and 1990s. More specifically, these works generally considered reflexivity as

> *(1) self-awareness regarding underlying premises [of international relations theory]; (2) the recognition of the inherently politico-normative dimension of paradigms and the normal science tradition they sustain; and (3) the affirmation that reasoned judgments about*

[48] Accordingly, reflexive studies in IR reproduce questions and critical engagements directed against conventional historiographical understandings in other closely related academic fields like political science (e.g., Gunnell 1991, 2006, Monroe 2005).

[49] In this sense and using the lexicon developed in this thesis, we can also connect this reflexive agenda to the development of scholarship associated with a critical scholarly objectives from the 1980s onward.

> *the merits of contending paradigms are possible in the absence of a neutral observation language.* (Neufeld 1993, 55)

As this citation indicates, the challenging effects of this reflexive literature were particularly felt at the level of the dominant modes of (meta-)theorizing, that is as challenges against 'positivism,' 'rationalism' and associated theories such as neorealism and neo-liberalism/liberal institutionalism in IR.

During the 1990s, reflexive studies extended their analytical focus toward the more specific conditions of knowledge production in IR. More precisely, reflexive studies countered foundationalist epistemological perspectives by increasingly turning an analytical gaze toward the social interactions, contexts and processes that influence scholars' professional activities (e.g. teaching and research). In doing so, reflexive studies made increasingly explicit the historical and practical conditions by which IR scholarship has been and is being developed and organized. While this description of the evolution of reflexive studies is very general, I detail the main perspectives that have been developed in this subfield since the 1990s in the following subsections of this chapter.

A Typology of Reflexive Studies in IR

To understand the more recent development in reflexive studies in IR, and how my project relates to this research agenda, I develop a typology that presents the three main perspectives found within this area of literature,; these three perspectives are identified as the geo-epistemic, the historiographical and the sociological perspectives.

This typology is inspired by the categorization of reflexive and critical literature previously developed by other IR scholars. For example, Arlene Tickner proposed, at the beginning of the 2000s, that the reflexive literature had lately developed in "three distinct but complementary ways" (2003a, 295). This author groups the scholarship about the state of the field into post-positivist critique, historiography and sociology of science, and analyses of national variants of IR (especially in Europe and the United States). However, beyond short explanations on the different analytical focuses, Tickner does not detail who has made and what have been the main contributions in each of these scholarly categories or extend her examination to more recent perspectives in reflexive studies in IR.

In the introduction to their edited volume on geocultural epistemologies in IR, Ole Wæver and Arlene Tickner (2009) provide further details on the literature using the sociology of science/knowledge and historiography to study the development of the field. They underscore that – at the time – the sociology of science "has only been employed explicitly in very few cases" (2009, 11) and listed some of the scholarship associated with this field of study. They also mention that greater attention and a greater number of publications have been dedicated to IR historiography, including reflections on the internal or external causes of its development and the historical construction of the First Great Debate (*idem*). However, and as I further detail below, their volume is largely dedicated to detailing the conditions of IR scholarship development in diverse national settings and hence provides only limited analysis and comparison between these more diverse categories of reflexive works.

Inanna Hamati-Ataya (2012a) also provides a broad understanding of the reflexive agenda in IR by distinguishing three categories of recent critical work. She first delineates the post-positivist critiques – which emerged in the late 1970s (as I mentioned in the previous subsection) – that have mainly engaged with the discipline's core "foundational assumptions about truth, objectivity, theory and science" (2012a, 626). In her categorization, a second corpus of critical scholarship is associated with feminist and postcolonial literatures, which have "put forth the voices, interests and agendas of disciplinary and social 'minorities,' both within and outside of 'the West'" (*idem*). Finally, the third corpus in Hamati-Ataya's categorization includes more recent attempts to systematically study the structure, identity and rules that govern IR from historiographical and sociological perspectives. While this categorization of critical and reflexive works is also insightful, it provides only limited details on these more recent reflexive perspectives (e.g., historiographical and sociological).

Jonas Hagmann and Thomas Biersteker (2014) provide additional explanations on the emerging literature using a sociological perspective to study IR. These authors indicate that this literature has, since the late 1990s, focused on "the discipline's historical origins, analytical penchants, and political organization" (Hagmann and Biersteker 2014, 294). In their description of this reflexive scholarship, they also concentrate on the way in which

diverse IR scholars have studied diverse historical sources, institutions and narratives, economic, intellectual and political practices, and geo-epistemological contexts that have influenced the development and organization of IR (ibid., 295-296). This categorization provides greater detail on the recent perspectives developed in reflexive studies in IR. However, and since it concentrates on the relatively recent sociological perspective in IR, I suggest that this categorization offers limited comparative insights into the contributions of other emerging perspectives in reflexive studies (e.g., the historiographical and geo-epistemic approaches).

While recognizing the importance of these previous categorizations, I put forth in this chapter a typology that, in comparison, provides more details on the distinct contributions and reciprocal values associated with the main perspectives recently developed in reflexive studies in IR. My typology concentrates on the geo-epistemic, historiographical and sociological perspectives because they represent the main analytical objectives associated with the reflexive scholarship that has emerged since the end of the 1990s. Indeed, these three perspectives have recurred throughout the four previous categorizations and, more precisely, have been introduced in Tickner's (2003a) and Wæver and Tickner's (2009) succinct descriptions of the historiography and sociology of science, and in their more extensive development of geocultural epistemologies in IR. The historiographical and sociological perspectives are also explicitly associated with Hamati-Ataya's (2012a) third corpus of critical work. Finally, these three perspectives are concisely described *within* the sociology of IR in Hagmann and Biersteker's categorization (2014).

In the proposed typology, I conceive the geo-epistemic, historiographical and sociological perspectives as being integrated within an evolving and interconnected research agenda in IR; in this sense, each perspective contributes to other perspectives, which in turn contribute to reflexive studies in IR. Based on the previous categorizations, I contend that these three perspectives provide a simplified yet useful categorization of the main bodies of scholarship associated with recent reflexive studies on IR. Reminding that this typology provides a simplified account of reflexive studies on IR implies the existence of multiple links between these (and other) perspectives in this body of

scholarship, which I cannot be fully translated in my presentation. Despite these potential links, this typology is important because it helps contrast and clarify the diverse foci furthered in a significant portion of the scholarship associated with reflexive studies in IR. In the specific context of this thesis, this typology also helps situate my own examination and clarifies how it contributes to reflexive scholarship in IR.

Necessarily, it was not possible to fully represent the varieties, combinations and developments within the reflexive agenda in IR. For example, my typology does not highlight the specific contributions of post-positivist critiques (beyond the previous introductory explanations) or of feminist and postcolonial literatures (e.g. Tickner 2003a, Hamati-Ataya 2012a). While these perspectives can be understood as relatively earlier contributions to reflexive studies in IR in the previous categorizations, my typology nevertheless prioritizes the geo-epistemic, historiographical and sociological perspectives over these and other potential analytical focuses (e.g., generational, linguistic). Accordingly and while my focus on the geo-epistemic, historiographical and sociological perspectives is justified by their importance in the most recent reflexive scholarship in IR, I recognize that this typology does not exhaustively represent the diversity of scholarship associated with this subfield of study.

As this introductory subsection has presented the framework and rationale for developing my typological presentation of the geo-epistemic, historiographical and sociological perspectives in reflexive studies in IR, the following subsections assess these particular perspectives by concentrating on their core analytical project and on the way in which they inform the examination of American IR developed in this thesis.

The Geo-Epistemic Perspective

One of the main perspectives developed in the recent literature associated with reflexive studies in IR is founded upon geo-epistemic categories understood as spatial entities delimited by relatively conventional geographical or geopolitical limits, such as countries, continents, or other geopolitical regions (e.g., the West vs. the non-West, the core vs. the periphery). While such a perspective was used by some scholars before the 1990s (e.g., Grosser 1956, Palmer 1980, Lyons 1982), these studies did not result in a dense cluster of literature. By the end of the 1990s however, an increasing number of IR

scholars (e.g., Jørgensen 2000, Acharya 2011, Balzacq et Ramel 2013) had adopted this perspective to analyze IR in and beyond the traditional core of the field.

Stanley Hoffmann's widely distributed 1977 article provides an early and particularly influential geo-epistemic argument on IR by explaining the emergence of academic IR primarily as an American phenomenon. [50] Hoffmann identifies the local factors that converged and favoured the emergence, development and institutionalization of the academic study of IR in the United States during the decades following the Second World War. Consequently, Hoffmann associates the main intellectual traits of the academic study of IR with the parochially American origins, the American position in the post-Second World War world and the continued American dominance of the field.

More recently, Wæver and Tickner's previously mentioned volume on geocultural epistemologies (2009) helped re-examining Hoffmann's assessment by underlining the continued dominant influence of IR scholarship from elite US universities on the theoretical approaches used in the transnational field of IR. This dimension has largely been considered problematic because it does not translate internationally balanced or equitable scholarly practices and discourses on IR subject matter. To move beyond this state of affairs and illustrate the diversity of scholarship in IR at the transnational level, an increasing number of IR scholars – particularly since the end of the 1990s – have assessed how international relations have been theorized in other specific national, regional, or geocultural settings.

In the Canadian context some scholars have, for example, discussed how the academic study of IR could be differentiated from the American disciplinary core by mobilizing more critical approaches (e.g., Neufeld and Healy 2001). Differentiation from the American and, more broadly, Western core of the field has also led to numerous reflections on the development of IR scholarship in other countries such as India (Behera 2007), Iran (Moshirzadeh 2009), and Russia (Tsygankov and Tsygankov 2010). Perhaps because of the semi-peripheral position of Europe in the field, a geo-epistemic approach has generated a particularly prolific literature focused on national or regional schools

[50] On a previous and similar argument, see Grosser (1956).

from this continent and diverse European countries more specifically (e.g., Jørgensen 2000, Jørgensen and Knudsen 2006, Drulák 2009).

For example, several scholars recently analyzed the development of IR in France (e.g., Cornut and Batistella 2013, Chillaud 2009, 2014). Several of these scholars underscore the singular institutionalization and relative isolation of French IR from the transnational and mainly American-centred discipline. To explain these differences, Henrik Breitenbauch (2013) asserts that French IR has been influenced by a particular form of academic expression, *la dissertation*, which has historically been associated with the development of the French state. To support his argument, he conducts a comparative examination of the scholarly contributions – in terms of publications in major academic journals – of French IR to the transnational field. For this author, the distinctiveness of French IR must accordingly be understood as a combination of influence from the transnational/American-influenced field and the tendency of French scholars to construct arguments following a locally and historically constituted form of academic expression.

As with Hoffmann and other geo-epistemic analysts, Breitenbauch particularly examines IR scholarship from the point of view of its conditions of production in one country or geocultural setting. Interestingly, Hoffmann and Breitenbauch also stress how the relation with the state in each specific context (e.g. in the United States and in France) has influenced the development of IR locally and transnationally. These authors provide important externalist arguments (i.e. arguments on the influence of external actors and events) on the organization of IR scholarship. More broadly, Breitenbauch illustrates how the specificities of IR scholarship in France are connected to transnational patterns of knowledge production. Breitenbauch's work provides a better understanding of the way in which local conditions of knowledge production interact with the transnational field of IR and further the diversity of its scholarly genres.

Apart from the aforementioned contributions, a geo-epistemic perspective also presents risks associated with excesses of intellectual nationalism and parochialism, which particularly result from depictions of national or regional schools as "internally homogeneous or externally exclusive" (Acharya 2011, 624). Illustrating how it can be misleading to delineate national schools in IR, Tony Porter, for example, asks: "what do

Kenneth Waltz, Richard Ashley, Cynthia Enloe, and Craig Murphy have in common?" (2001, 131). While these scholars have all played significant roles in initiating new and very different IR theories and agendas, Porter points out that they "all happen to teach at American universities" (*idem*). As this example illustrates, a geo-epistemic perspective can reproduce a peculiar form of "territorial trap" (Agnew 1994) in the context of reflexive studies, namely, how specific territories enclose mutually exclusive and uniform intellectual schools in IR.

Beyond this homogenizing effect, the delineation of national schools in IR also tends to hide two significant dimensions of IR knowledge production, namely, its political and transnational dimensions. The political dimension that remains unaccounted by the national schools' approach is related with the complex set of relations between scholars and external/societal actors and events. For example, this political dimension is exemplified by Acharya, who indicates how the delimitation of national schools often serves as intellectual justification for specific forms of political projects or to rationalize a country's shift of (mis)fortune in international affairs, as with the English School or the recent flurry of literature on a Chinese school of IR. This dimension was also illustrated by Breitenbauch and Hoffmann's emphasis on the relation between IR scholarship in the United States and France and the specific position, configuration or needs of the American and French states. This political dimension accounts for localized conditions of knowledge production that extend beyond the scholarly field itself. By normalizing national schools, a geo-epistemic approach can hence fail to recognize the contribution of complex external influences in constituting particular forms of IR scholarship.

The second of these two dimensions underscores how IR knowledge is produced through complex processes of transnational exchange and hybridization. Amitav Acharya exemplifies this transnational dimension by underlining how the so-called 'English' school originates from a network of scholars located in several countries around the world. In Breitenbauch's aforementioned study of French IR, this dimension is also illustrated by the complex interactions between the local and transnational American disciplinary contexts of IR. More broadly, this dimension results from the current nature of academic disciplines that require what Martin Wight has called a "common set of

shared understandings" (Porter 2001, 136) or, in other words, an ensemble of propositions, theories and meta-theoretical claims that constitute disciplinary lexicon and discourses which are shared beyond national settings. In this sense, the delimitation of national schools risks misrecognizing how transnational interactions and conventions partake in the local development of IR scholarship.

Some contributions to a geo-epistemic approach have been particularly able to account for the transnational dimension of IR scholars' work. These contributions have focused primarily on the systemic and global patterns of interactions in IR and, hence, have been associated with a "world systemic" approach to the organization of the field (McMillan 2012). Holsti offered an early contribution of this kind by highlighting the unequal patterns of international scholarly exchanges favouring scholars situated in the Anglo-American core of the transnational field (1985, 103). For Holsti, these patterns of communication are far from ideal in terms of scholarly communications, with only two countries (the United States and the United Kingdom) out of a system of 155 (at the time) producing the vast majority of the "mutually acknowledged literature" (*idem*) in IR.

From the end of the 1990s, an increasing number of contributions similarly reflected a global understanding of IR scholarship. Associated with the Canadian context, Wayne S. Cox and Kim Richard Nossal (2009) use such a perspective to analyze IR scholarship in Canada and other post-imperial countries and regions outside of the United States. In doing so, Cox and Nossal suggest that the theoretical orientations developed in this semi-peripheral space are differentiated from the American core of the discipline and were influenced by their shared relative position toward this core. As with these two previous sources, the disciplinary core does not always appear in a similar form (e.g., American, Anglo-American, Western). Yet, these sources recurrently analyze the complex interactions constituting IR scholarship against such a core.

In this same period, this approach was also translated into an increasing number of publications displaying an awareness of American and Western dominance over IR in non-Western or more peripheral regions. For example, Donald Puchala underscores how "relatively few Western analysts of International Relations pay much attention to non-

Western thinking pertinent to their field" (1997, 129).[51] Detailing the complex effect of global disciplinary dominance over the modes of thinking associated with these non-Western worlds, Arlene Tickner underscores how "IR reinforces analytical categories and research programs that are systematically defined by academic communities within the core, and that determine what can be said, how it can be said, and whether or not what is said constitutes a pertinent or important contribution to knowledge" (2003a, 300). In these and other closely related sources, a geo-epistemic perspective is used to stress the culturally specific but largely prevalent character of core and Western understandings of IR. This global perspective is also associated with an empirical examination of patterns in core/periphery publication practices across major IR journals (Aydinli and Matthews 2000) and proposals for strategies of "homegrown theorising" that might help pluralize the field (Aydinli and Matthews 2008). As these examples illustrate, generic notions such as the core, the West, the non-West and the periphery pervade these global geo-epistemic analyses on the development of IR.

While these concepts certainly have heuristic value for reflecting on global patterns of interaction and domination in IR, they have also been affected by some of the problems associated with the territorial trap previously mentioned, i.e., the homogenizing effect on our understanding of scholarship. Discussing how the core vs. periphery opposition is used in IR literature, Inanna Hamati-Ataya underscores that "one runs the risk of assuming precisely what its usage is intended to test empirically namely, whether academic marginalisation (of ideas and scholars) is related to political/economic marginalisation (of their communities)" (2012a, 628). This risk illustrates how global geo-epistemic analyses tend to depict the actors associated with West/non-West and core/periphery binaries as relatively fixed and uniform in their (dis)positions in as well as outside of IR.

In addition to this homogenizing tendency, Kimberly Hutchings also stresses how binaries that oppose categories like West/non-West do not really provincialize the West since, "as soon as 'non-West' is identified with a 'what' or a 'where', then dialogue

[51] For Puchala, the 'non-Western world' could be accurately conceived as including "the unassimilated immigrant enclaves of Africans, Asians, Middle Easterners, Caribbeans and Latins found within Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Israel" (Puchala 1997, 129).

becomes constructed in terms of a governing difference or sameness" (2011, 645). To open up the possibilities of dialogue between genuinely diverse and equal voices in the field, this same author suggests moving away from notions like the West/non-West or similar binary categorizations and accounting for more plural positions and trajectories in the field. For this point of view, the process of opening dialogue in and about IR seems intrinsically linked to the development of more pluralist conceptualization of the field.

Developing a reflexive view on my contribution to IR scholarship, it is worth noting that the examination developed in this thesis simultaneously reflects and avoids some of the problems and traps associated with a geo-epistemic perspective. My examination can primarily be said to avoid the territorial trap previously mentioned by examining American IR not for constructing a distinct and uniform intellectual school of thought but instead as a particularly significant case for understanding the diversity of scholarship on international relations around the world. Indeed, this thesis empirical focus implies that the configuration of ideas, theories and scholarly work in elite universities producing IR scholarship in the United States will be partially reverberated in some other parts of the transnational field of IR.

It is important to underline that this thesis does not verify if and how the scholarship produced in these elite institutions reflects the configuration of the scholarly work produced in a broader set of American institutions, which emphasize the importance of the selected institutions. Similarly, the thesis does not provide any explicit account of the transnational influence of this scholarship over other Western, non-Western or more peripheral regions. In fact, it does not adopt any categorization that would help specifying the particular relations that are maintained between diverse categories of institutions in American IR and beyond. Instead, the thesis only assumes such relations. In doing so, I am conscious that this thesis examination can, at least implicitly, reinforce the influence of American IR and especially that of elite scholarly institutions on the transnational field.

To at least partially avoid this detrimental effect, I have consistently attempted throughout the research process and thesis to avoid naturalizing the configuration of scholarship in the selected institutions, that is, to avoid making these configuration

normal or a standard for other areas of American IR and of the transnational field of IR. In that sense, I have attempted to strike a fragile balance between considering the significant influence of elite institutions in American IR on other national fields and naturalizing the configuration of these same institutions in this national field and the transnational field of IR.

To support the assumption guiding the development of my examination, it is important to note that several other scholars have underlined the prominent influence of American scholarship on the transnational field of IR. In recent decades, many scholars have indeed referred to what Steve Smith has named the "dominance of the U.S. academic community in the world community of international relations" (2002, 68-69). This dominance is also underscored in Ole Wæver's (1998) examination of authorship and theoretical patterns in four of the leading IR journals. Wæver highlights that American scholars are largely prevalent in these major disciplinary outlets and concludes that "American hegemony exists and that it influences the theoretical profile of the discipline" (1998, 688). More recently, Tickner and Wæver conclude their exploration of IR in diverse national and regional settings by underlining the continued importance of American IR at the global level. More precisely, they write that "[IR] in a given place does not grow out of local soil alone, but rather, the U.S. brand of IR is always present as a reference point" (Tickner and Wæver 2009, 328). Accordingly, "the U.S. form of IR is simultaneously a single local instance of the field and an integral component of everyone else's universe" (*idem*), an understanding synthesized by Henrik Breitenbauch's identification of IR as a "transnational-American" discipline (2013).

Some IR scholars have also advanced important qualifications of this American-dominated self-image of IR. Particularly challenging is Helen Turton's (2015) recent examination of the notion of dominance and the diverse ways in which it may be embodied in the field. Using her conceptualization, Turton conducts an empirical examination of publication practices in a series of major IR journals and concludes that the American hegemony is not uniform across dimensions such as the agenda-setting, theoretical, methodological, institutional and gate-keeping conduct of IR scholarly

work.[52] This perspective is important as it indicates that the character of American 'influence' (if not dominance) on the transnational field of IR should be considered cautiously. Nevertheless, it does not contradict the significant level of influence that American scholars and institutions collectively exert on the field. With these precautions in mind while several other geo-epistemic perspectives could have been selected for this examination, the approach adopted in this thesis is justified by the peculiar position of the United States in the transnational field of IR. In that sense, it concentrates on the ways by which American IR scholars in elite universities further different objectives and epistemic approaches because it assumes these specific configurations are particularly influential on other national fields without making precise statements on this influence.

The second reason for concentrating on American IR in this thesis pertains to the recurring arguments according to which scholarship originating from this country is largely homogeneous. This argument is advanced for example by Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker who conducted a study of IR theory course syllabi from leading political scientists in the United States in the mid-1980s. From their examination, they concluded that the readings included in these syllabi were almost exclusively associated with "behavioural science" (Alker and Biersteker 1984), that is, one of the three main theoretical approaches identified by these authors in IR at the time. At the turn of the century, Steve Smith also argues, in a study about the relatively American character of IR, that "positivism dominates [IR], especially in the United States, and dominates to such extent that other epistemological positions remain peripheral" (2000, 375). Two years later, this same author reiterates that "most of the U.S. literature (…) tends to operate in the space defined by rationalism, and epistemologically it is empiricist and methodologically it is positivist" (Smith 2002, 72). Actualizing his previous examination with Alker, Biersteker then indicates in 2009 that "the leading departments today [in the U.S.] overwhelmingly assign readings with a rationalist and positivist orientation" (2009, 317).

[52] This argument is also supported by Breitenbauch (2013), who suggests that this American dominance is particularly transmitted through the form rather than the content of IR accredited scholarship.

While I do not argue that these scholars have misinterpreted the internal structure of American IR, they nevertheless repeatedly depict this field as largely homogeneous, which is somewhat surprising given the sheer extent of IR scholarship in this country. Another reason to examine the diverse objectives being furthered in American IR is accordingly to explore new perspectives by which we may understand the diversity of this national field. More precisely, I believe that we may find more intellectual pluralism if we broaden our gaze beyond theoretical and meta-theoretical approaches and toward the diverse sets of objectives that regularly underlie IR scholarship in the United States. I also propose that the categorization presented in the Part I of the thesis is a useful conceptual tool to underscore the diversity of objectives beyond the scientist standards of knowledge production in American IR. It should also help illustrate how scholarly discourse related with American IR is closely related to local power relations and conditions of knowledge production in the United States, especially with regard to the particular interests of this country's elites in international activities.

This subsection has detailed the main contributions associated with a geo-epistemic perspective in reflexive studies in IR and the way in which my thesis relates to this agenda. The next subsection similarly examines the historiographical perspective in reflexive studies in IR.

The Historiographical Perspective

Studies using a historiographical perspective analyze the way in which the history of IR has been written. Historiography studies how history is written because it recognizes that "history, in its various manifestations, plays an essential, constitutive, role in shaping the present" (Bell 2001, 116). Indeed, organizing events from the past enables scholars to give meaning to their (individual and collective) intellectual endeavour and to support specific conceptions of valid knowledge. Accordingly, considering the way IR history has been and is being written enables researchers to revisit previous representations of the field's origins and development. More importantly, this perspective is a means of *historicizing* specific representations of the collective identity, or, in other words, to highlight how particular intellectual conventions have been developed through complex social contexts and struggles.

IR scholars have traditionally narrated the history of the field through a series of three or four 'progressive' Great Debates between contending theoretical approaches.[53] This historiographical narrative has been recognized as the main conventional means to represent the history of the field (Wæver 1998). However, this historical narrative has been questioned and criticized – especially since the mid-1990s – by an increasing number of 'new,' 'critical,' or 'revisionist' historiographers in IR who have highlighted the much more complex origins and context of development of the field.

More particularly, scholars associated with this historiographical perspective in the last two decades have dedicated considerable attention to re-examining the traditional understanding of the interwar or First Great Debate. In revisiting early 20th century and interwar scholarship on IR, historiographers have, for example, contradicted the simplistic opposition between the 'idealist' and 'realist' schools of thought by underscoring the continuous importance of notions such as anarchy and state sovereignty (Schmidt 1998a, 1998b) in scholarship on international relations throughout the interwar and post-Second World War period. Casting doubt on this opposition, these scholars were also able to contradict the occurrence of a 'paradigm shift' in IR scholarship (from idealism and toward realism) following the outbreak of World War II, as was particularly proposed by E. H. Carr in *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, as well as by other realist scholars (Wilson 1998).

In emphasizing the construction of this discipline-defining 'myth,' several historiographers also contradicted the existence of an idealist or utopian paradigm of IR during that period (Ashworth 2006). Others also underscored how realist scholars appear to have *a posteriori* created "an unwritten, historical tradition of 'idealism' to serve as a foil for their own research program" (Thies 2002, 150; see also Schmidt 1994).

[53] Only as a means of recalling the conventional understanding these traditional historiographical narratives, these can be synthesised as such: The First Great Debate is conventionally understood as having unfolded between the First and Second World Wars between idealist and realist scholars (e.g., Mearsheimer 2005). The Second Great Debate would have been staged, for its part, between traditionalist and behaviouralist scholars and took place in the second half of the 1960s (e.g., Bull 1966, Knorr and Rosenau 1969). The third debate in this sequence (conventionally called the inter-paradigmatic debate) is embodied by a triple 'paradigmatic' opposition between realism, liberalism/pluralism, and radicalism/Marxism (e.g., Wæver 1996). Finally, the fourth debate in the sequence (conventionally called the Third Great Debate) refers to an opposition between rationalist/positivist and critical/postpositivist IR scholars (e.g., Lapid 1989).

Synthesizing these re-examinations, Joel Quirk and Darshan Vigneswaran conclude that "the concept of a 'First Debate' is not a detailed historical narrative that can be traced back to a single authoritative source, or group of sources, but rather an 'anecdote' that has been briefly recounted by a wide variety of authors" (2005, 90). These historiographic accounts highlight the historical and transnational inaccuracy of the First Great Debate narrative.

Beyond this primary analytical focus, several historiographers have also questioned the role of several conceptual or theoretical constructs in IR, such as that of "Eurocentrism" (Hobson 2012), "imperialism" (Long and Schmidt 2005), and "racism" (Vitalis 2000). These historiographical studies underscore how these constructs have taken diverse forms while playing fundamental roles in the development of IR scholarship during the 20th century and beyond. Given its importance in traditional historiographical narratives on IR, a significant level of attention is particularly dedicated to the development and role of realism in the academic field.[54]

As Lucian Ashworth explains, "Realism's claim to predominance rests on two claims: that its principles are timeless rules of history rooted in human nature, and that realism won the debate against an idealist paradigm in the interwar period" (2009, 21). On the contrary, those scholars who scrutinize the development of realism in IR underscore its historical diversity (Ashworth 2011), close connections to international politics and especially U.S. foreign policy (Guzzini 1998), and the specific institutional contexts that contributed to its development, particularly in the United States (Parmar 2007). In the same vein, Guilhot (2008) explains how realism was promoted as an alternative scientific approach in IR to generate a more autonomous discipline from the dominant trend of behavioural social and political sciences in the United States around the 1950s. By

[54] For an analysis on this historical dominance, see also Vasquez 1998 and Guzzini 1998. Interestingly, Maliniak et al. (2012) indicate that this traditional dominance may no longer be practically accurate. Indeed, the survey conducted by these scholars indicates that the proportion of surveyed IR scholars self-identifying as realists were outnumbered by constructivists (on a global scale and in most of the countries surveyed) and by diverse other approaches in specific countries. However, we should be cautious of drawing definitive conclusions based on these data because the methods used for this survey implies several potential biases for evaluating the intellectual status of the field.

scrutinizing how the identity of a realist theory or school has been constructed in IR, these scholars have been able to clarify its development and role within the field.

As this review underscores, recent developments in IR historiography help problematize the practice of writing history in IR. Beyond focuses on specific narratives, theories or concepts, recent historiographers indeed question the way in which history often serves the 'progressivist' reconstruction of IR development in a rationalized narrative of either success or decline of particular theoretical and meta-theoretical approaches (Bell 2009). Brian Schmidt illustrates these questions through the complex problem of 'presentism' (2010), which underscores how historical facts and narratives are always the result of a selective reconstruction or "always part of a story" (Kratochwil 2006, 8). In doing so, these new historiographies do not merely 'solve' the presentist problem but also advance more reflexive postures toward the use of historical narrative and knowledge in continual struggles over the definition of IR identity and the reciprocal value of diverse objectives and approaches in the field. These more reflexive postures are particularly perceptible from three particular arguments regarding the reproduction of disciplinary history in IR.

First, recent historiographies have revealed the historical complexity of several major conceptual and theoretical constructs in IR (Bell 2009). This argument is closely intertwined with the previous geo-epistemic perspective, since it emphasizes how the field developed differently in different geocultural contexts. For example, Ashworth (2006) underscores that, despite some overlaps, historical debates in the United Kingdom and the United States were different during the interwar period, which also suggests that the narrative of the First Great Debate was particularly developed in the United States (e.g., Schmidt 1998a). Similarly, these historiographical differences were repetitively underscored with regard to the development of IR in continental Europe. Several scholars for example stress that different debates have been important in different places (Wæver 1996) or, more specifically, that the German field of IR evolved toward idealism rather than toward realism in the 1950s (Jørgensen 2000) or that French IR developed unaffected by the Great Debates (Smouts 1989). The recent development of the historiographical perspective furthers the reflexive agenda in IR by illustrating the historical diversity of transnational IR.

Second, recent historiographies advance a more sophisticated account of the role of external actors and events in the production of disciplinary history and knowledge in IR. More precisely, recent historiographies have begun to devote more attention "to the relationship between text and historical *con*text" (Quirk and Vigneswaran 2005, 90) in discussing the history of the field. This new sensibility has led scholars to illustrate, for example, how diverse institutional contexts have contributed to the historical development of IR. In a way, this argument can be associated with a more sociological view of the historical development of IR. This sociological view is illustrated by studies focusing on the United States and that underscore the role of professional associations such as the American Political Science Association (Schmidt 1998), think tanks (Parmar 2007, Guilhot 2011) or of the broader context of social and political sciences in American universities (Guilhot 2008).

Still in the United States, several scholars also underscore how the reproduction of the major theoretical constructs and of the Great Debates have been closely connected to particular political and foreign policy interests. For example, Ashworth writes that the "construction of a realist-idealist debate is important because it justifies the marginalization of liberal institutionalism" (2002, 34) not only in studies in IR but also as a guide for foreign policy making. Wæver also writes that the pluralism associated with the inter-paradigm debate can be found in the "weakened mainstream: American IR was marked by self-doubt after the Vietnam War, the student revolt and the oil shock" (1996, 158). Schmidt also stresses that American scholars criticizing realism in the 1990s were "particularly interested in reviving the ideas of the interwar period in the belief that they not only offer a more accurate account of the practices shaping world politics today, but can also serve as a better guide to securing American foreign policy interests" (1998a, 434). In all of these cases, the historical development of IR theories and the reproduction of prevalent historiographical narratives were closely connected to their complex institutional and cultural context.

A third reflexive argument furthered by the recent historiographers helps us understand the traditional historiographical narratives in IR as what Duncan Bell names "discipline-defining mythologies" (2009, 5). As in other closely related academic fields (e.g.,

political science), IR historiographers underscore how disciplinary histories are core dimensions for defining the identity and sense of progress in academic disciplines (e.g., Thies 2002, Long and Schmidt 2005). More precisely, historiographical narratives delimit the field, legitimate some approaches and ideas and affect the self-understanding of scholars by categorizing which approaches, positions and ideas are associated with intellectual progress in a discipline and why "others are consigned for ever to the proverbial dustbin of history" (Bell 2009, 5).

While this ordering role is illustrated across the Great Debates narratives in IR, it has particularly been stressed with regard to the arguable interwar opposition between idealism and realism. Indeed, as Cameron Thies writes,

> *The history of the emerging discipline of International Relations was formulated to demonstrate the progress of the realist paradigm in explaining the empirical world of International Relations in comparison to the 'idealist' paradigm. This history also helped to forge a strong in-group identity for realists within an academic discipline characterized by scholars working from a wide variety of approaches*. (Thies 2002, 148)

As Thies emphasizes, the emergence of the First Great Debate narrative had the effect of constructing the disciplinary identity of IR scholars around the realist theory. This is also underscored by Guilhot, who details the academic context of realism's emergence as being connected to "a wider contest over the nature and the method of political science itself" (2008, 284), where this theory helps mobilize IR scholars around a distinctive understanding of their disciplinary identity. Accordingly, this third argument provides important insights to explain how historiographical narratives on IR theory and IR development have served and still serve to construct and order the field. More broadly, the previous review indicates the main contributions associated with this historiographical perspective to reflexive studies of IR.

The main arguments developed in this thesis do not 'directly' or primarily advance the historiography of IR, since the following examination focuses on relatively recent sources in American IR scholarship. However, I propose that the conceptualization advanced in Part I and original perspective in advances on the diversity of IR scholarship from elite

US universities could help develop new lines of arguments in historiographical works on IR. More precisely, the examination and explanations that I develop in this thesis concerning the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches that motivate IR scholarship from elite US universities could help generating new explanations on the historical development of the field.

Such potential is exemplified by Guilhot's depiction of the debates over the relative value of scientific rationalism among mainly American IR and political science scholars in the 1950s. Guilhot underscores how these debates led to the construction of a theory of IR against rationalization and behavioralism that can be understood as being relatively more oriented towards applied objectives in IR. Accordingly, the categorization developed in this thesis should help IR scholars make sense of the historical tensions between diverse scholarly objectives in American IR, as with those characterizing this particular period of this field history. As suggested in Chapter 2, this categorization should also help scholars identify the epistemic approaches (e.g., the methods associated with behavioralism, or more applied contributions) that can be used to further these three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis. In this sense, this categorization should be useful for analyzing the development of previous theories and historical narratives and, more broadly, the historical conditions of knowledge production in American IR. As this section assessed the historiographical perspective and how this thesis relates to the literature, the next section details the sociological perspective in reflexive studies in IR.

The Sociological Perspective

The sociological perspective explains the construction of IR by analyzing its relatively recent and current practical and institutional patterns. Introducing a forum on the sociology of IR, Anne-Marie D'Aoust emphasizes that this perspective enables IR scholars to be more attentive "to theoretical and methodological aspects involved in assessing the current practices, power structures, and configurations inside the discipline" (2012a, 93). Accordingly, associated literature helps contextualize IR by focusing on the social conditions of knowledge production and, especially, the institutions and practices that contribute to advancing IR scholarship.

While a sociological perspective was used by IR scholars prior to the mid-1990s to study academic teaching practices (e.g., Alker and Biersteker 1984, Robles 1993) and relations with external and policy actors (e.g., George 1993, Beshoff and Hill 1994), the following years have seen a rapid expansion of the studies informed by this perspective in the field. A major landmark in the recent growth of the sociological perspective in reflexive studies in IR has been the publication of Ole Wæver's article 'The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline' (1998). While Wæver assesses the differences in the construction of IR between the United States and several European countries, he analyses the sources of these differences by developing a comparative sociology of IR scholarship inspired by Peter Wagner's sociology of knowledge, which is founded on three layers of "intellectual, institutional, and political constellations" (Wagner and Wittrock 1991, 7). While the distinctions are often blurred, I suggest that this form of analytical model differentiates a sociological perspective in my categorization of reflexive studies by focusing scholars' attention on institutional and practical patterns in IR scholarship.

In Wæver's article, Wagner's model is broadened for the context of IR. More precisely, it is translated as the irreducible analytical levels of societal-political features (e.g., the form of state and foreign policy), standing and structure of social science (e.g., general conditions and disciplinary patterning) and internal intellectual activities in the field (e.g., social and intellectual structure of the discipline, its main theoretical traditions), which are applied to each country selected by Wæver (1998, 689 and 694-695). This revised sociological model enables Wæver to argue that IR scholarship in the United States and Europe is drifting apart, even if there remain important differences within European scholarship, which reflect diverse national traits and disciplinary structures. For Wæver, this transnational disciplinary trend is particularly observable at the level of theoretical and meta-theoretical postures, where American scholarship develops into increasingly coherent, liberal and rationalistic approaches and the global field of IR gradually becomes 'de-Americanized.'

In this thesis, my analysis complements Wæver's conclusions by examining the relative diversity in the intellectual structure of IR scholarship in the United States. More specifically, I analyze how this scholarship reproduces plural forms of scholarly

objectives and relatively diverse types of epistemic approaches, which moves our understanding beyond the theoretical and meta-theoretical approaches emphasized by Wæver. Beyond this contribution, Wæver's model also helps situate my own and others' contributions to a sociological perspective and reflexive studies in IR. This is particularly the case because from the end of the 1990s, an increasing number of scholars have used a sociological perspective to assess the development and organization of IR.

A first cluster of recent scholarship associated with a sociological perspective in reflexive studies has focused primarily on relations between IR and external, i.e., societal and political, actors and institutions. Exemplifying this form of relations, Ido Oren (2003), for example, questions the connections between foreign policy, political science and IR scholarship in the United States. More precisely, Oren illustrates how theoretical transformations in this academic field have historically followed or concurred with transformations in American foreign policy. Accordingly, Oren contradicts the representation of this discipline as "an objective science independent of national origins and historical context" (2003, 7) by underscoring recurring relations between political science scholarship (and scholars) in the United States and the American state.

Furthering the idea that IR scholarship is closely intertwined with policy and foreign policy orientations and practices, Christian Büger and Trine Villumsen examine "how theories of IR relate empirically to the practices of world politics" (2007, 418). More precisely, they mobilize practice theories inspired by Bruno Latour and Pierre Bourdieu to understand how scholars/scientists and policy practitioners are embedded in "dense webs of practices." To illustrate this approach, they focus on the way in which peace researchers, American foreign policy makers and NATO practitioners have been closely associated in constructing the democratic peace theory. As underscored by Büger and Villumsen, the development of a practice-inspired sociological perspective has been inspired by post-structuralist work in IR; yet, it has sought to develop empirical analyses beyond formal texts and toward other forms of practice that influence how IR knowledge is constructed (e.g., funding practices, the structure of education systems, the use technologies). In Section 3.2, I explain how the following examination is inspired by this

practice-oriented and post-structuralist conception of meaning-making to analyze IR scholarship.

While they are not exclusively associated with an external level of analysis, two approaches in particular have emerged within the practice-inspired sociological literature in reflexive studies in IR, namely, the pragmatist and critical approaches (Leander 2011). Inspired by science studies, a pragmatist approach generally focuses on the actions of any actors – but especially scientists/scholars – as they unfold, by asking questions concerning "what kind of actions they perform every day, and how they produce knowledge through these" (Büger and Gadinger 2007, 95). Accordingly, they study these actions to understand how diverse actors contribute to the production of knowledge associated with IR.

This pragmatist approach is illustrated, for example, by the recent work of Christian Büger and Felix Bethke, who use the actor-network theory to analyze the development of the concept of 'failed states' in and outside of IR. More precisely, these authors illustrate how the production of this concept has resulted from the interactions and struggles between multiple actors (i.e., policy makers, practitioners from international organisations, development agencies and think-tank staff and academics). The nature of these interactions, Bueger and Bethke argue, ultimately determines the "scope, aim and meaning of the concept" (2014, 2).[55] Accordingly, works using this pragmatist approach have understood the scholarly and other fields as cultural and practical formations. While my thesis primarily focuses on the internal structuration of IR practices and discourses in elite American universities, it is inspired by this pragmatist understanding that conceives American IR as a form of culture constituted through sets of particular practices.

For its part, the critical approach associated with a sociological perspective furthers analytical concerns with "power, domination and resistance" (Bueger and Gadinger 2013,

[55] A practice-oriented approach has also been associated with a prolific literature concentrating on diverse international fields of activity (beyond academia). For example, Iver Neumann (2005) examines how diplomatic practices are organized around the different unarticulated "scripts" by which diplomats perform their professional role. For other practice-inspired contributions in IR (outside of reflexive studies in IR), see, for example, Bigo (2002), Adler (2005), and Pouliot (2010).

12) in and beyond IR.[56] For example, Hamati-Ataya uses a Bourdieusian approach to highlight the practical and habitual structures that regulate the field of IR. She objectivates IR "as a field of international practice wherein the production of theoretical knowledge results from the meeting of different socio-academic habitus and their associated positions with the objective structures of [IR] and the international system" (2012a, 625). In doing so, Hamati-Ataya provides an examination enabling scholars – especially at the periphery of the field – to understand the disciplinary constraints that are imposed, as well as the possibilities offered, in IR.

Martin Müller (2011) advances a similar approach by examining education offered in diplomatic and specialized schools of IR and, especially, at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, from a Foucault-inspired sociological approach. While Hamati-Ataya examines the disciplinary patterns influencing IR from a transnational point of view, Müller focuses on the regular and day-to-day practical and discursive means by which students, scholars and scholarship are disciplined. Müller focuses on how these educational institutions train 'geopolitical subjects' through sets of disciplinary practices that order knowledge about the world. As this author emphasizes, "educational institutions instantiate truth regimes through a wide repertoire of techniques to regulate what counts as true knowledge, who is able to teach true knowledge, and how it is acquired" (2011, 8). Müller reconnects what counts as truth in these educational institutions – i.e., the accredited knowledge about IR – with regular instances of power and domination.

More broadly, these latter sources indicate how the critical approach in the sociology of IR is comparatively more focused on the practical mechanisms by which politico-normative patterns and hierarchies are reproduced in and beyond IR. Indeed, this perspective is particularly concerned with illustrating how IR scholarship is influenced by diverse forms of power relations at the local, institutional and transnational levels. Beyond the focus on education practices in American IR (a focus further detailed in

[56] I differentiate this critical sociological perspective from the Critical functional model proposed in this thesis by identifying the first with a sociological perspective used to understand IR scholarship and the second with a type of objectives that underlie, or function given to, IR scholarship. Nevertheless, they are closely linked since (and as further illustrated in part III of the thesis) the scholarship using a critical sociological perspective generally furthers a Critical scholarly function in the field.

Chapter 4), associated sources have been particularly influential in the development of my analytical framework for illustrating how we can examine scholarly discourses as politico-normative practices in this field. They have provided inspiration for advancing an understanding according to which the discursive and non-discursive practices of scholars constitute a means of ordering the appropriate objectives in American IR.

Beyond this connection, this thesis relates in several ways to scholarship associated with the recent sociology of IR focused on an external level of analysis. Related approaches have primarily informed my reflections on the possibility of plural scholarly objectives in American IR. As the aforementioned sociological studies have clarified how American IR scholars often co-produce knowledge in interaction with other fields of activities, I have acquired a more detailed understanding of the diverse functions that IR scholarship can fulfil. My examination also has the potential of furthering the scholarship associated with the previous approaches since it propose a conceptualization of scholarly objectives that can be used to develop novel examinations of regular scholarly practices and power relations in and beyond American IR.

A second cluster of recent scholarship furthering a sociological perspective in reflexive studies in IR can be associated with the level of academic institutions and related conditions of IR and social scientific knowledge production. Associated with such a level of analysis, Oliver Kessler and Xavier Guillaume (2012), for example, point toward the organizational and everyday dimensions of IR, that is, how IR scholarship (e.g., publishing and teaching) is inherently embedded in organizations such as universities, scholarly associations and state bureaucracies. Referring to Kafka, Kessler and Guillaume remind us how "organisations provide opportunities and constraints, foster inclusions and exclusion, openness and closure; they create a reality that is uncertain and hard to grasp" (2012, 112). In furthering this approach, these authors underscore the changing institutional context of IR, which is influenced by diverse networks of relations between academic actors, administrations and emerging trends in the way knowledge is produced and disseminated. Also focusing on the role of specific organizations in the development of IR, some scholars have described, for example, how IR has been established in

relatively specific institutional contexts, such as the universities of Aberystwyth and Oxford in the first half of the 20th century (Ceadel 2014). [57]

Developing arguments that are influenced by the previous geo-epistemic perspective in reflexive studies in IR, Steve Smith (2000) underscores a series of differences between the ways IR has been organized in the United Kingdom and the United States. For example, Smith writes how "the discipline in the US is usually part of political science" while in the UK, "IR is seen as having a number of strong intellectual connections with other disciplines" (2000, 396), which has resulted in a comparatively more pluralist field of study. Like this author, several other scholars have examined the establishment and development of IR in interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary contexts in recent years.

For example, Frank Plantan (2002) develops a thesis studying the emergence of IR as a field of study in the context of the American higher educational system. Referring to the continuing tension between the needs of professional specialization and demands for disciplinary coherence in the academic system, this author examines how IR particularly developed in the context of one graduate education program at the University of Pennsylvania between 1951 and 1984. In doing so, this study provides an understanding of IR at the intersection of regular scholarly and administrative practices. Also furthering our understanding of the organizational setting of IR, Pami Aalto, Vilho Harle, and Sami Moisio (2011) propose to develop the field of international studies (IS), conceived as a comparatively wider, more interdisciplinary and potentially more applied field than IR. To do so, this publication includes contributions studying the development of these closely connected fields, the implications and benefits of an interdisciplinary organization, and the application of this conception of academic work to diverse research agendas and topics.

The examination developed in this thesis is related in several ways to the scholarship associated with this institutional level of analysis. First, this level of analysis is especially important with regard to the selection of my empirical cases. Indeed, the cases examined

[57] Illustrating the close connection between a geo-epistemic and a sociological perspective, the previously described contribution of Henrik Breitenbauch (2013) on the development of IR in France – and its close connections to the French state – could also be associated with these reflections on the diverse institutional contexts of IR development.

in the following chapters are selected according to an institutional distinction between relatively more professionally and research-oriented graduate education programs in American IR. This analysis can improve our understanding of the scholarship associated with these two institutional contexts, and of the practical patterns by which these contexts advance diverse forms of scholarly objectives in the field. Second, the attention directed toward a broader diversity of scholarly practices that is advanced across the previous scholarly contributions and, particularly, those practices associated with the organization of IR education, influenced my choice of empirical sources (i.e. program curricula) for the following examination. This analytical focus broadens the more habitual focus on IR course syllabi (on this, see the following subsection) and provides important insights into the way in which diverse scholarly objectives are reproduced in American IR. Third, this institutional perspective also informs some of the epistemic approaches examined in the following chapters (e.g., an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach, more on this in Part III). Hence, this contribution helps us understand how some relatively unconventional epistemic approaches are mobilized in American IR.

A third level of analysis in studies furthering a sociological perspective in reflexive studies in IR focuses on the internal activities and intellectual structure of the field. As with the two previous sociological levels, a significant number of contributions have reproduced a micro-sociological approach to IR, namely, a focus on scholars' regular professional activities (i.e., teaching, publication, service to the community). By focusing on relatively individualized scholarly activities, studies associated with the sociological perspective highlight the particular intellectual patterns, knowledgeable forms and disciplinary orthodoxies that characterize IR scholars' practices.

Studies focusing on the regular activities of IR scholars have primarily analyzed the practices of publications in the field. For example, Marijke Breuning, Joseph Bredehoft, and Eugene Walton (2005) analyze three widely distributed IR journals according to authorship (e.g., affiliation, geographical location, discipline, gender and rank of first author) and subject matter (i.e., primary subject, methodology and geographic coverage) of published material between 1995 and 2004. In doing so, they emphasize how these

publication outlets include a relatively limited range of topics and authors, thereby countering arguments that IR is an eclectic field.[58]

Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews mobilize a relatively similar empirical approach and underscore how – from the point of view of its main leading publication outlets – the disciplinary core has failed "to generate a significant increase in scholarly dialogue between countries and […] been unable to break the dominance of the United States in the theoretical debate" (2000, 300). More recently, Peter Marcus Kristensen (2012) also analyzed the field from the perspective of co-citation patterns across 59 associated academic journals. His analysis underscores that, while several topical, geographical and functional divisions are reproduced across this citation network, the communication structure of the field remains largely centred on American, general and theoretical publication outlets. As previously mentioned, Helen Turton (2015) also examines publication practices and patterns in 12 academic journals in IR (between 1999 and 2009) as a means of examining the level of American dominance in the transnational field. In doing so, she explores five dimensions of IR scholars' practices (e.g., agenda-setting, gate-keeping, institutional, methodological and theoretical) and develops a more pluralist image of field-wide transnational relations than is conventionally recognized.

Using the cases of French-Canadian scholarship and German academic journals in IR, D'Aoust (2012b) also stresses how the prevalent use of the English language and specific structure of argumentation in IR scholarly publications illustrate pervasive power relations in the field (on this, see also Blouin-Genest and Grondin 2010). For her part, Jan Jindy Pettman (2001) underscores the gendered dimension of conventional IR scholarship and practices, particularly from the viewpoint of associated publication practices. Contributing to similar reflections, other scholars have discussed what are – from a feminist perspective – responsible and ethical research practices in IR (e.g., Tickner 2006, Ackerly and True 2008). While a number of these contributions stand at the intersection of several reflexive perspectives on the field, they contribute to developing a

[58] In her study of IR in Latin America, Arlene Tickner (2009) also provides a short review of thematic trends in journals and research in this area.

better sociological understanding of the internal and intellectual patterns and norms that partake in the organization and ordering of IR.

A second cluster of literature advancing a sociological perspective focuses on education and teaching activities in IR. For example, Kim Richard Nossal (2001) assesses the content of 14 American IR textbooks because they represent for this author important means by which scholars construct IR. In doing so, Nossal underscores the general parochialism (as in US-centrism) of these sources.[59] Recently, two studies also updated and expanded Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker's (1984) previous examination of core IR theory courses associated with major graduate programs in the United States. In updating this examination, Biersteker primarily indicates how course syllabi on IR theory in leading American universities reproduce a highly parochial field, not only by referring to very few authors outside of the United States and Western countries more broadly but also by "overwhelmingly assign[ing] readings with a rationalist and positivist orientation" (2009, 317).

In the same vein, Hagmann and Biersteker (2014) also expand this examination to leading graduate IR programs in American universities and European schools of IR. In doing so, they underscore that rationalist approaches (especially applied rational choice) were widely taught not only in the United States but also in Europe. However, they also identify distinct pedagogical profiles across European and American programs, where the former teach a greater diversity of approaches, including more constructivist, Marxist, feminist and post-structuralist approaches, and historical works on international politics, and the latter exhibit "less diversity and stronger cohort congruency in paradigmatic teaching" (Hagmann and Biersteker 2014, 302). Accordingly, beyond the relative diversity noted in European IR programs by Hagmann and Biersteker, most of the studies examining publication and education practices in IR underscore the relative parochialism and lack of diversity in American IR.[60]

[59] For studies on IR textbooks, see also Smith (2003), Matthews and Callaway (2015).
[60] Other scholarly practices in IR, such as hiring and the provenance of scholars' Ph.D. degrees, have also received attention (e.g., Nossal 2000 Tickner 2009). The TRIP surveys (e.g., Jordan et al. 2009, Maliniak et al. 2012) have also provided a significant amount of data on the academic practices, as well as policy views, of IR scholars in several countries.

This thesis relates in several ways to this third level of sociological analysis in IR. First and foremost, the contributions associated with this perspective inform the categorization developed in this thesis, since they focus primarily on the intellectual structure (or the organization of ideas) in IR. However, my own examination seeks to advance our understanding beyond the theoretical and methodological categories of approaches that have been used in most sources associated with an internal approach to the sociology of IR. Second, this internal sociological perspective and, especially, the literature that analyzes teaching and education practices in IR provide important indications, elements of comparison and inspirations for developing my analysis of scholarly practices in American IR. Accordingly and as is further detailed in Chapter 4, it is from this particular point of view that I develop the empirical illustration of this thesis.

Advancing the Reflexive Agenda in IR

In the previous section, I provided a broad assessment of the literature associated with reflexive studies in IR, namely, the main cluster of literature in which my thesis can be situated. I reviewed the geo-epistemic, historiographical and sociological perspectives that account for a significant proportion of the scholarship recently developed in reflexive studies of IR. Importantly, I indicated that my thesis is particularly connected to the geo-epistemic and, even more so, to the sociological perspectives in reflexive studies in IR. Moreover, within the latter sociological perspective, I clarified that the following examination is particularly associated with scholarship focusing on the internal activities (e.g., teaching and education) and intellectual structure of the field. In the next section, I further detail the theoretical approach mobilized in the following chapters to advance my examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities.

3.2 A Discourse Analysis Approach to Analyzing IR scholarship from elite US universities

In this section, I describe the analytical approach mobilized to develop my examination of scholarly objectives and associated epistemic approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities. It is important to provide details on this approach in order to clarify how the empirical sources that are accessed in this examination are conceived, and to justify the knowledge claims advanced in the following chapters. I use in the following examination an interpretative approach to describe the ways by which scholars give meaning to their scholarly endeavour. As opposed to (neo-)positivism, for example, this

interpretive approach concentrates on the way in which meaning is continuously constituted through multiple forms of meaning-making activities and practices. Implied in this interpretative approach is an understanding according to which meaning-making is at the same time individual and collective, i.e., generated by actors' regular practices and patterned forms of interactions among ensembles of actors.

As I indicated in Section 3.1, scholars associated with a sociological perspective in reflexive studies in IR concentrate on a diverse array of scholarly activities and practices to study the production of knowledge in IR. Some scholars particularly analyze non-linguistic or non-textual forms of practice such as "body-based activities and engagement with things" (Büger and Gadinger 2007, 97; cf. also Büger and Villumsen 2007). This approach has not, however, been adopted by scholars who analyze the internal configurations of IR scholarship. Indeed, most of these latter scholars concentrate on linguistic or 'textual' practices such as the publication of journal articles and citations in course syllabi (e.g., Breuning et al. 2005, D'Aoust 2012b, Hagmann and Biersteker 2014) as a means to understanding diverse dimensions of the field's intellectual structure.

Like Iver Neumann, who writes that "practice cannot be thought 'outside of' discourse" (2002, 628), I argue in this thesis that we must overcome an arguable separation between linguistic and non-linguistic practices by conceiving practice as discourse. Equating practice with discourse makes the point that any practice involves the generation of meaning through active inscription of subjectivities – which are necessarily mediated through specific collectives – rather than by restricting potential analyses to texts, speeches and linguistic 'acts'. Importantly, conceiving practice as discourse also helps reconnect the sociology of IR with post-structuralist theories, which have provided significant contributions to the reflexive agenda in IR over the last decades. The interpretative approach used in this thesis accordingly recombines the empirically oriented approach associated with the recent sociology of IR literature with discourse analysis methods inspired by the work of post-structuralist scholars.

To explain this analytical approach, the following subsection first details how post-structuralist authors conceive meaning-making activities. Next, I explain how related procedures and methods for analyzing discourses are useful in the context of the

following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. Finally, I detail how the notions of textuality and intertextuality underscore my conceptualization of the discursive practices associated with IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Post-Structuralist Conception of Meaning-Making

In the 1980s and early 1990s, a number of IR scholars began to question the dominant discourses of identity in IR by relying on perspectives from previous post-structuralist authors like Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Roland Barthes. These authors shared a general understanding according to which there is no possible meaning (let alone valid, objective, or true knowledge) beyond the language to which actors can refer (e.g., Phillips 1977, Shapiro 1981). These and other post-structuralist scholars have concurred that language is ontologically significant, since it gives meaning to all existing 'things', namely, "objects, subjects, states, living beings, and material structures" (Hansen 2006, 16). Importantly, language is not restricted to explicit linguistic expressions (e.g., texts, speeches) in related analysis but examines the broader discursive dimensions of the world, understood as "a broader matrix of social practices that gives meaning to the way that people understand themselves and their behavior" (George 1994, 29). From this perspective, discourses are productive and historically contingent systems of signification (Milliken 2001) that are generated by a diversity of meaning-making practices and artefacts ranging from verbal and textual statements (in their more explicit forms) to symbols, the shape of objects and bodily movements (in their more implicit forms).

The last three decades have seen increasing numbers of IR scholars develop the perspectives and concepts that this linguistic turn has introduced in social theory to study how meaning, identity and interests are constructed in IR. These scholars have developed a broad spectrum of research approaches that Lene Hansen (2006) organizes in the three closely related categories of post-structuralist discourse analysis, Wittgenstein-inspired approach to language games and structural linguistic or narrative approaches. According to this categorization, post-structuralist discourse analysis is associated with such diverse research procedures as Foucault's genealogy, Kristeva's intertextuality or Derrida's deconstruction (e.g., Der Derian 1987, Campbell 1998[1992], Walker 1993). This relatively broad cluster of approaches can be defined as concentrating on language as a

system of differential signs that precedes actors' intentions (Hansen 2006). From these perspectives, post-structuralist scholars open or deconstruct the structures of oppositions and juxtapositions to make sense of politico-normative and historical effects of language and discursive representations on society.

For its part, the language games approach has introduced the later philosophical work of Ludwig Wittgenstein in IR (i.e., his *Philosophical Investigations*). It particularly furthers this philosopher's view according to which language 'in use' is a form of action "analogous to making moves in a game" (Fierke 2002, 332; also Fierke 1998, Fierke and Jørgensen 2001). This approach analyzes the shared rules that structure linguistic games between actors in IR. For its part, the structural linguistic or narrative approaches concentrate on the discourses' "structures of signification, which construct social realities" (Milliken 1999, 235). For example, it analyzes the predicative dimension (Milliken 1999) or the representational force (Mattern 2001) of language used in IR. In the latter case, for example, Janice Bially Mattern underscores that "wielded through language, representational force enables a perpetrator to bluntly, self-interestedly and nonnegotiably compel his victim to abide by his version of some contested story" (2001, 351). This type of approach focuses on the deep structure of language that contributes to structuring social life.

While the previous distinctions among analytical approaches inspired by post-structuralism in IR are only indicative, they are useful for situating the methods mobilized to conduct the following examination. As the previous chapters underscore, the following chapters examine the reproduction of three categories of objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities. To that end language is primarily understood in this dissertation as a set of discursive interconnections and oppositional patterns that construct particular understandings of the world being observed (in this case, of the American field of IR).

As this subsection clarified the post-structuralist conception of meaning-making in and beyond IR, the next subsection specifies the related procedures that are used to analyze the scholarly discourses in the following chapters.

Discourse Analysis as Identification of Link-, Binary- and Boundary-Making Practices

It is possible to understand the productive effects of the linguistic interconnections that are reproduced in scholarly discourses by concentrating on the way they generate diverse *categories of understanding*. Categories of understanding (or, more simply, categories) are central to discourse analysis, since they provide the linguistic material by which 'reality' can be understood and explained, and that simultaneously establishes what is excluded or does not correspond with this reality (George 1994, 29-30). For example, if the discourse on gender in society only includes connections with the categories 'woman' and 'man,' it becomes impossible to think of other gendered identities or to exist in society beyond these two categories. Concentrating on the categories of understanding that are generated by discourse also helps clarify two basic dimensions of discourses, namely, their auto-referential and relational dimensions.

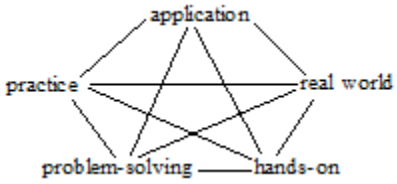
Discourses are auto-referential, since the categories they generate are necessarily embedded in some form of language. Using the previous example, the categories 'woman' and 'man' exist as possible genders in society because they are translated and used in language. Similarly, other gender categories ('transgender,' for example) can only start to exist – i.e., become meaningful – if they are translated linguistically. In other words, discourse can only refer to linguistic forms, since we cannot make sense outside of some form of language (conceived broadly). Similarly, discourses are relational, since the categories they generate are necessarily constructed in comparison with one another. Using the previous example, 'woman' is only meaningful through its (explicit or implicit) relation to 'man,' i.e., its linguistic category. Accordingly, there are no objective and meaningful definitions for the categories that are reproduced in discourse beyond their relations (e.g., associations and juxtapositions) with other categories.

However, linguistic relations between categories of understanding are not all alike. Indeed, we can understand at least three particular forms of discursive relations in scholarly discourse. A first form of discursive relations is associated with a process of linking or *link-making*. Linking constructs relations between clusters of terms, which constitute the 'positive' identity of a specific category of understanding. This process of link-making is exemplified by Hansen using the category of "woman," which has

traditionally been "defined through a positive process of linking emotional, motherly, reliant and simple" (2006, 17). Hansen illustrates this process of (positive) linking by showing how a network of terms (e.g., emotional, motherly, reliant) becomes associated with one main category (e.g., woman), which defines and identifies it.

In the following examination, I put forth that linking/link-making can also be examined with regard to the diverse objectives and epistemic approaches that are reproduced in IR scholarship from elite US universities. For example, my examination can underscore how a discourse associated with objectives of application is defined through a process linking notions such as 'practice,' 'problem-solving,' 'hands-on' and 'real world'. This type of linguistic networks indicates how the scholarship being examined furthers associated objectives by establishing positive links between series of statements and terms. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, I use diagrams to illustrate the diverse types of linguistic networks that are underlined in the following examination. Using the previous example, the associated network of linguistic links can accordingly be depicted as shown in Figure 3.1. [61]

Figure 3.1: Link-Making Network Associated with an objective of application



As with the other diagrams presented in Chapter 1 (e.g. figures 1.1 and 2.1), this type of graphic illustration helps visualize the link-making practices being examined and underlined my examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. More precisely, the figure indicates how meaning is attributed through relations between words and terms in use by indicating the links between each term associated with a particular concept, such as "application" in the assessed scholarship. In the following chapters, I present several similar diagrams illustrating linguistic networks furthering scientific, applied and critical objectives.

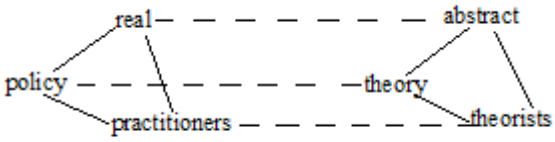
[61] This new type of graphical illustration is inspired by those developed in Hansen 2006.

A second form of relations that construct categories of understanding is binaries or *binary-making* practices. This form of discursive relations has been explained in diverse ways by previous scholars. For example, James Der Derian and Michael Shapiro underscore how "a particular text or argument depends on an oppositional structuring" (1989, xiv). For these scholars, categories of understanding are generally constructed as mutually exclusive binaries or antinomies (e.g., man/woman, rational/irrational, true/false). Binary-making also represents one dimension or relation embedded in the process of 'differentiation' that is explained by Hansen (2006, 17-18), namely, the juxtaposition of opposed signs, symbols, or terms (e.g., man/woman, rational/emotional, intellectual/motherly).

In the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities, I distinguish binary-making to provide a detailed illustration of the discursive relations by which categories are constructed. More specifically, I suggest that the combination of several binaries in a text or group of texts can result in both "positive" and "negative" meaning-making (i.e., the construction of positive and negative identities through networks of patterned relations between terms and statements). This justifies the distinction between binary- and boundary-making that is carried out in the following examination (more on this type of discursive relation below).

In the following assessment, I also examine how binaries/binary-making help reproduce the three proposed categories of scholarly objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities through the juxtaposition of several binaries/binary-making practices. For example, I underscore how juxtaposing binaries such as real/abstract, policy/theory and practitioners/theorists differentiates between applied and scientific objectives in American IR scholars' work. Using the previous example, the associated linguistic network can also be illustrated as in the following Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Network of Binaries Associated with Applied and Scientific Objectives[62]



As with the prior Figure 3.1, this type of illustrations synthesizes the relations entailed by the highlighted binaries. By indicating the relations between the terms associated with several closely related binaries in the assessed scholarship, Figure 3.2 indicates how meaning is practically constructed around the proposed categories of objectives (e.g., applied and scientific). In the following chapters, I present similar figures illustrating networks of binaries that are examined in the selected scholarship as a means of clarifying the explanations concerning my empirical analysis.

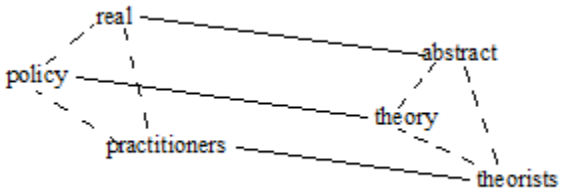
The third form of relations that construct categories of understanding is associated with the normative boundary entailed by binary categories, that is, what I term *boundary-making* practices. Highlighting how men's and women's identities were constructed during the 19th century in Europe, Hansen, for example, explains how meaning is constructed through binary categories that imply a normative valuation relation between the opposing terms. Der Derian and Shapiro also emphasize the normative relations implied by binary-making, writing that "the very differentiation and exclusion of [the] subordinate 'opposite' defines the dominant term, which, as it were, draws a boundary around itself and declares: '*This* I am, and not That.' 'That,' outside the boundary, is the Other, the not-self, upon which 'this' depends for its identity" (1989, xvi). Accordingly, binary-making practices generally imply the establishment of a normative boundary among categories of understanding, which helps prioritize and hierarchize the previously identified categories by devaluing one of the two opposed terms.

In the following illustration, I also examine how boundary-making constructs normative relations between the (binary) categories of understanding in use. For example, I underscore how the statements using the binaries previously mentioned, i.e., real/abstract,

[62] For illustrative purpose, this graphic emphasizes the links between terms associated with several juxtaposed binaries (straight lines) and the resulting positive meaning-making between associated terms, as opposed to the oppositional relations between these related terms (dotted line).

policy/theory, or practitioners/theorists, entail a priority or hierarchy in potential scholarly objectives. While this priority or hierarchy is not always clear in the assessed scholarship (which justifies the distinction between binary- and boundary-making), these relations construct valued against devalued terms and help reproduce different objectives in IR scholarship (especially when several boundary-making practices are juxtaposed). In chapters 5 and 6, I stress this form of normative boundary from the different binaries that are reproduced in the selected scholarship. Using the latter example, the associated linguistic network can also be illustrated as shown in Figure 3.3 below.

Figure 3.3: Boundary-Making Associated with Applied and Scientific Objectives[63]



This type of figure show points of articulations in the discourses of American IR, which helps concretize clarify how different objectives are translated in the examined scholarship. In the following chapters, I present similar illustrations of the linguistic networks examined in the selected scholarship.

From these explanations, I can synthesize the three forms of discursive relations that are examined in the following chapters. First, *link-making* stresses the (positive) association between several terms with one category of understanding (e.g., application, practice, problem-solving, hands-on, real-world). Second, *binary-making* underscores the production of mutually exclusive and opposing categories of understanding by the juxtaposition of several binaries (e.g., real/abstract, policy/theory, or practitioners/theorists). Third, *boundary-making* emphasizes the establishment of a normative boundary between related terms, where relation implies a priority or greater value for either one of the two terms (e.g., real over abstract, policy over theory,

[63] As with Figure 3.2, this graphical illustration emphasizes the juxtaposition of several boundary-making practices (straight lines) and the resulting oppositional relations and hierarchy between associated terms and objectives, as opposed to the positive meaning-making generated by the juxtaposition of several binaries (dotted lines).

practitioners over theorists). As Hansen (2006) underscores, the forms of discursive relations entailed by link-making, binary-making and boundary-making (or 'linking' and 'differentiating' in Hansen's terms) are only distinguished for analytic purposes, since they are most of the time simultaneous and intertwined throughout discourses in use.

In the following examination of American IR, I worked to identify where and how the analyzed scholarship translated the three aforementioned types of discursive relations to translate the categories of objectives and associated epistemic approaches that are proposed in this thesis categorization. To do so, I used a basic table developed from in an excel document and constituted of three columns (one for each type of discursive relations being assessed) to record the diverse discursive relations used by American IR scholars.[64] For each selected source (more details on these sources below), I used one basic table to record all textual expressions, formula or elements that related with the objectives advanced in the source and that reproduced either link-, binary, or boundary-making. When combined with the other tools for my discursive analysis, this record of discursive relations and expressions enabled me to explain the types of objectives and epistemic approaches that were used across the examined scholarship. The other tools used for my discursive analysis are further detailed in the following sections.

The three forms of discursive relations previously specified are important concepts for understanding how IR scholarship from elite US universities can generate meaning about the academic field as a social endeavour. Yet, I must remind that these forms of discursive relations should not be conceived as objective and objectifying tools that afford the observer the power to fix and measure the 'level' or standing of the proposed scholarly objectives in American IR. Instead, they are means of understanding how discourses continuously generate what is represented "as real, as identifiable, classifiable, knowable, and therefore, meaningful" (Klein, in George 1994, 30); in other words, they help us engage with the ways in which scholarly discourses continuously reproduce the means of knowing and existing in the context of American IR. As this subsection

[64] Table 3.1@ provides an illustration of this basic type of table. It can be consulted by following this link: https://www.dropbox.com/s/nkgdqguu2m1zftk/Table%203.1_Model%20table%20for%20identifying%20discursive%20relations.xlsx?dl=0.

explained the types of discursive relations that I examine in the following chapters, the next subsection describes how associated discursive practices translate the proposed categories of objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

An Intertextual Approach to Discourse Analysis of IR scholarship from elite US universities

Building on the previous explanations about the diverse types of discursive relations that contribute to generating meaning (e.g., link-, binary- and boundary-making), this subsection explains how these relations are analyzed for the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. Importantly, the relations constructed between the categories of understanding are rarely presented explicitly in scholarly language. Instead, these relations are often embedded and implied in language's *textuality*. Der Derian and Shapiro for example explain this notion by referring to "all those rhetorical dimensions of language that are bracketed off, obscured, denigrated and ignored by readers interested only in an author's intended or declared meanings, or in the stipulated information a text conveys" (1989, xviii). Identifying the categories of understanding and discursive relations by which language constructs meaning in American IR accordingly entails disclosing the "surfeit of meanings beyond what its author wanted to say" (*idem*) and a significant interpretative effort (which was also implied by the analyticist methodology adopted for this thesis).

One way to access the often implicit categories of understanding and linguistic relations in American IR scholarship is to connect diverse sources of scholarly discourse. This approach helps, I contend, to 'read through' the textuality of selected pieces of IR scholarship from elite US universities by intersecting the overarching discourses reproduced in several documentary sources of scholarly discourses (e.g., journal articles, program curricula and course syllabi). This approach is inspired by the concept of *intertextuality* – first proposed by Julia Kristeva (1980) – according to which meaning is derived from the continuous interconnections between several textual sources (e.g., Der Derian and Shapiro 1989, Hansen 2006).

Intertextuality explains how meaning is stabilized through the constant interactions between multiple distinct and interconnected sources of language in the social world. Hansen clarifies this concept in the following explanation:

> *[T]he inimitability of every individual text is always located within a shared textual space; all texts make references, explicitly or implicitly, to previous ones, and in doing so they both establish their own reading and become mediations on the meaning and status of others. The meaning of a text is thus never fully given by the text itself but is always a product of other readings and interpretations.* (Hansen 2006, 49)

Accordingly, each source of language constructs particular links, binaries and normative boundaries while being woven, traced and coupled through a wider linguistic web.

In the following chapters, this intertextual approach is translated through the assessment of several textual sources exemplifying the previously mentioned linguistic relations (e.g., link-, binary and boundary-making). More precisely, I illustrate how statements originating from diverse formal sources can be connected in order to indicate how associated linguistic networks reproduce the proposed categories of objectives and associated epistemic approaches. To access these linguistic networks in my discursive analysis, I used a second type of table that juxtaposes the discursive analysis of all sources related with the selected graduate education programs being examined (more below on the programs being examined). This second type of table helped me compare the discursive relations, formula and expressions found in the examined textual sources and identify the diverse objectives and epistemic approaches that are advanced across the examined sources. [65]

One important question regarding this intertextual approach pertains to the number of discursive sources that are necessary (or sufficient) to conclude that we have clarified the meaning of particular categories of understanding and discursive relations in a specific textual context. In other words, when can we ascertain that enough texts have been examined to claim knowledge of the associated discourses? In practice, it is impossible to arrive at an exhaustive assessment of the discourses and discursive relations reproduced in a textual space. According to Jennifer Milliken, however, a discourse analysis can be said to be complete – or at least satisfactory – when "upon adding new texts and comparing their object spaces, the researcher finds consistently that the theoretical

[65] Table 3.2@ provides an illustration of this type of table. It can be consulted by following this link: https://www.dropbox.com/s/hdkgwi19agcamd3/Table%203.2_Model%20table%20juxtaposing%20analysis%20of%20several%20sources.xlsx?dl=0.

categories she has generated work for those texts" (1999, 234). In the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities, I intend to intersect and compare a sufficient number of textual sources for illustrating recurring linguistic relations that reproduce the proposed categories of scholarly objectives and associated epistemic approaches.

Conclusion to Chapter 3

This chapter provided details on the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. In section 3.1, I primarily situated my research project in its broader literary and intellectual context, namely, within the reflexive agenda that has developed in IR particularly since the beginning of the 1980s. To do so, I reviewed three major and recent clusters of scholarship associated with reflexive studies in IR, i.e., the geo-epistemic, historiographical and sociological perspectives in the field. This assessment provided the means to explain how my own work relates to these three reflexive perspectives. For example, I underscored how my thesis particularly contributes to the geo-epistemic and sociological perspectives associated with reflexive studies in IR. I stressed that my illustration of the proposed categories of objectives and associated epistemic approaches should help map important dimensions of the intellectual structure associated with American IR.

In Section 3.2, I explained the discourse analysis approach used in the following examination of IR scholarship in the United States. First, I reviewed the theoretical propositions explaining how meaning is constructed from the perspective of such an approach and described the discourse analysis procedures that I use in the following examination. Second, three types of discursive relations (i.e., link-, binary- and boundary-making) were described as contributing to the reproduction of discourses and related categories of understanding. Thirdly, I explained how an intertextual approach is also mobilized as a means of reconstructing the proposed categories of scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches from webs of statements associated with the selected sources in American IR. With Chapter 4, which clarifies what documentary sources and associated components are selected, these explanations clarify how IR scholarship from elite US

universities are examined in Part III of the thesis, which contributes in mitigating the dominance of scientism and describing the diversity of this field of study.

CHAPTER 4

EMPIRICAL AGENDA AND METHODS FOR EXAMINING IR SCHOLARSHIP FROM ELITE US UNIVERSITIES

As previously indicated, this thesis undertakes to explain the diversity of American IR scholars' work by conceptualizing the plural objectives that regularly motivate it. It seeks to clarify how and why American IR can be associated with three categories of scholarly objectives and a diverse set of epistemic approaches that are closely related with these objectives. In doing so, the thesis can emphasize the relevance of these diverse forms of scholarship and challenge the current dominance of scientism in the field.

Building on the explanations provided in the previous pages, Chapter 4 presents a description of the specific empirical field and research procedures by which I conduct the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. I primarily indicate how my examination concentrates on the formal dimension of graduate education in IR scholarship from elite US universities. As I argue below, the formal dimension of graduate education programs is particularly useful because it is associated with diverse types of standardized documentary sources such as program curricula and course syllabi. Moreover, focusing on graduate education in American IR is particularly appropriate for my examination since it includes education programs that are explicitly differentiated in terms of the main training objectives they advance and, hence, helps illustrating the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis' categorization.

The following pages explain the research procedures by which I select graduate programs and documentary sources for my examination. In this chapter, I detail and justify the lists of education programs and associated documents (i.e., program curricula and course syllabi) selected to develop a comparative illustration of functional models and epistemic approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities. I underscore how the procedures adopted in this thesis to select graduate education programs and documentary sources favour a detailed assessment over a relatively small number of institutions rather than a large *n* comparative analysis of discursive practices in American IR. This approach is particularly relevant for providing explanations from concrete cases and examples of

scholarly practices, which is prioritized over a more comprehensive description of graduate education programs in American IR.

Beyond the selection of graduate programs and documentary sources, I also detail how the following examination translates the discourse analysis approach previously described. Importantly, the selected program curricula and course syllabi provide the texts and statements necessary for conducting a discourse analysis using the series of concepts and discursive relations (link-, binary- and boundary-making) described in Chapter 3. I clarify which components of the selected program curricula and course syllabi are examined and what I am looking for in each of these textual components.

As I explain below, the following examination provides important contributions to the recent literature developing reflexive studies and, particularly, to a sociological perspective on IR. Indeed, education practices have as yet received limited attention in recent reflexive scholarship and scholars have largely concentrated on the theoretical and methodological approaches used in IR course syllabi. My focus on the diverse categories of objectives and epistemic approaches that are reproduced in the selected documentary sources broadens the range of dimensions and of textual sources covered in this subfield.

This chapter is divided into two main sections. In Section 4.1, I detail the empirical specificities of my examination of graduate education in American IR, primarily by clarifying the main concepts used to define my objects of study and the contributions that are expected for the reflexive agenda and the field more broadly. In section 4.2, I build on this empirical delimitation and the previous theoretical framework to describe how discourse analysis is used in the detailed examination of American graduate education programs. I provide precise lists of the programs, program curricula and course syllabi selected for my assessment and detail how discourse analysis is applied to these textual sources. These two sections complete the explanations of the methods and procedures used in my examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. The examination itself is detailed in chapters 5 and 6.

4.1 Empirical Agenda: The Formal Dimension of Graduate Education in American IR

In this section, I first explain why the following examination concentrates on graduate education in American IR instead of other types of scholarly activities (e.g., research and

publication, service to the community) or other levels of education or professional training in the academic system (e.g., undergraduate, postdoctoral). Secondly, I substantiate my focus on the formal dimension of graduate education programs in American IR by clarifying the socializing role of formal graduate education among other stages in the development of graduate students and future IR experts. I also specify the documentary sources selected to explain why and how diverse categories of objectives are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Examining Graduate Education in American IR

As I previously outlined in my overview of the sociological perspective in reflexive studies in IR, a wide range of professional practices can be analyzed to understand the organization of IR scholarship from elite US universities and the intellectual structure of the field. This practice-oriented approach to American IR can also be informed by existing models of academic socialization that delineate key areas of professional practice by current and future scholars. For example, Susan K. Gardner and Pilar Mendoza (2010) delineate three key areas of scholarly practice in contemporary American universities namely teaching, research and service (see Tierney 1997). While the range and nature of these areas of scholarly practice can be discussed,[66] I use this model as a starting point for delineating my own empirical agenda because it helps synthesize the main professional activities regularly practised by American IR scholars and situate my own contribution to reflexive studies in the field.

As I explained in Chapter 3, a significant portion of recent contributions to the sociological perspective in reflexive studies in IR focuses on research activities by examining publishing patterns and practices in the field (e.g., Wæver 1998, Aydinli and Mathews 2000, Breuning et al. 2005). Accounts of scholars' publication practices provide important insights into the professional development and intellectual organization of the

[66] For example, the service area of scholars' practices may include a diverse array of professional scholarly activities. More specifically, service traditionally entails administrative and managerial activities in academic institutions (e.g., departments) and professional associations (e.g., the Canadian Political Science Association, International Studies Association). Yet, given the increasing importance of 'service' activities beyond academic settings, it also includes what is often termed 'consulting' services which, for example, refers to exchanges and relationships between universities and public or private organizations such as industries and governmental departments (e.g., Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 2000, Perkmann and Walsh 2007, Muiznieks 2009).

academic field. Indeed, as Hagmann and Biersteker write, "publication patterns point to what is considered valid research by the discipline and, as such, they are good indicators of recognized standards and existing intellectual power relations inside IR" (2014, 292). This perspective can notably be explained by the prominent role that is currently afforded to the publication of journals for the circulation of scholarly knowledge and the professional advancement of scholars.[67] This has led some sociologically inclined scholars in IR to view publication in leading journals as a "direct indicator of the discipline" (Kristensen 2012, 448; also Wæver 1998). According to this view, publication practices can be conceived as the most appropriate empirical focus for examining the intellectual structure of American IR particularly given the gate-keeping role that publication fulfils in professional communications among scholars.

However, a sociological perspective on IR should also examine the role of other key areas of scholarly activity. Indeed, education and service activities might provide rather different understandings of how scholars and other potential actors contribute to developing the field. For example, Hagmann and Biersteker write that a focus on publication patterns in leading journals often "elevates the practice of elite journal publishing to the supreme objective of scholarly activity in the field, thus obstructing discussions about other possible purposes of IR scholarship" (2014, 297). Accordingly, an analytical focus limited to academic publications would imply a relatively narrow representation of the diverse objectives and means by which scholars regularly construct and practice IR in the United States.

Like Hagmann and Biersteker, I put forth that complementing a focus on publication practices helps counter the current privileges attributed to research activities, scholars' professional interests, and intellectual competition in practice-oriented examinations of the intellectual structure of IR (in and beyond the United States). While publication practices are central means of sharing research outputs among scholars, it is important to consider other areas of professional activity, since these underscore the importance of

[67] The increasing importance given to publication and research in contemporary universities, at the cost of other scholarly functions and activities such as undergraduate teaching, has been discussed by several authors in and beyond IR (e.g., Hattie and Marsh 1996, Pocklington and Tupper 2002, Nossal 2006).

interaction with other actors (e.g., students) and of the dissemination of knowledge in relatively different contexts and for relatively different scholarly objectives. As I explain in the following subsections, a focus on education is particularly important for an understanding of the main professional discourses (e.g. scholarly objectives) that are reproduced in academic organizations associated with American IR.

Education as an Empirical Focus in the Sociology of IR

Other scholars have examined the role of education activities in the development of IR and the transmission of particular professional ideas and discourses. For example, Stefano Guzzini (2001) insists on the relevance of teaching IR theory in terms of developing students' intellectual autonomy, reflexivity and capacity to respond to shifting challenges in their future professional activities. For their part, Johan Eriksson and Bengt Sundelius underscore that the curricula and teaching methods in graduate schools of public policy are important sites for "showing the value of theory and research for policy" (2005, 62) and, more broadly, for transmitting research-based ideas to students and future practitioners. These contributions underscore the role of education activities – and especially those activities focused on theoretical knowledge – in transmitting ideas and discourse associated with IR to future scholars and IR practitioners.

Furthering an analytical focus on education activities and a geo-epistemic approach to IR, Alan Chong and Natasha Hamilton-Hart (2009) have collected a series of scholarly contributions that extends these analyses to Southeast Asia. Associated contributors have been developing historical reviews of the evolution of IR program curricula and associated academic institutions since approximately the mid-20th century, in Singapore (Chong and Seng Tan 2009), Indonesia (Hadiwinata 2009), Thailand (Prasirtsuk 2009), Malaysia (Balakrishnan 2009)[68] and Vietnam (Quang Minh 2009). While most authors mobilize a largely externalist perspective on the development of IR in these countries, Chong and Hamilton-Hart also conclude that education practices in these countries "tend to have been grafted onto the frameworks and theoretical preoccupations of mainstream western IR" (2009, 12). These examinations of IR education beyond North America and

[68] Balakrishnan (2009) also provides one general list of the main sources included in core IR courses in the four Malaysian universities surveyed in this article.

Europe underscore the lack of geo-epistemic diversity and the general prevalence of American and Western perspectives in IR education across these countries.

Examining IR scholarly practices from the point of view of education activities also helps account for a broader range of actors and social interactions. This focus on education is particularly relevant for clarifying how interactions between students and instructors contribute to the development and reproduction of particular professional discourses about the field. On this point, Hagmann and Biersteker stress that students are comparatively more influenced by scholars (than are policy makers or other scholars, for example) because they "are more directly dependent on the instructors' choice of topics and approaches" (2014, 294). Moreover, considering interactions with students may help account for more diverse objectives in scholars' practices, given that IR education will prepare students to apply their knowledge to a variety of professional spheres and activities in and beyond the academic sphere.

In this thesis, I examine education activities in diverse academic organizations (e.g., departments, schools) situated in the United States as a means of describing the diversity of the scholarship generated in American IR. More specifically, I use textual sources associated with education activities in a series of American universities providing IR graduate programs to clarify how and why the three categories of objectives and series of epistemic approaches previously delineated are formulated and reproduced in this field.

As this subsection explained how concentrating on education activities contributes to my examination of professional discourses in American IR, the next subsection clarifies why graduate education programs are particularly appropriate empirical sources for describing the diversity of objectives that are advanced in the field.

Focusing on Graduate Education in American IR

Education activities in a field like American IR encompass a diverse array of programs, sites, actors and practices. One of the dimensions that can clarify the activities and practices that are examined in the following chapters is the main level of education with which they are associated. This subsection explains how and why I examine *graduate* education activities in American IR as a means of the diversity of this field.

Scholars interested in understanding how education programs are organized have examined diverse levels of education or training activities in IR and closely related fields of study (e.g., undergraduate, graduate and postdoctoral[69]). For example, several scholars have focused on undergraduate programs in the interdisciplinary field of International Studies (IS) – which is increasingly understood as distinct from IR (e.g., Rosow 2003, Hey 2004) – as a means of evaluating the intellectual structure and organization of this emerging subfield. For example, John Ishiyama and Marike Breuning (2004) examine the occurrence and structure of majors in IS throughout sixty-six colleges and universities located in three American states (i.e., Illinois, Iowa and Missouri). They conclude that undergraduate programs in IS are diverse and that their development in the selected academic institutions is linked to the existence of a graduate program in international affairs or closely related fields. Similarly, Jonathan Brown, Scott Pegg and Jacob Shively (2006) extend this study to 140 undergraduate majors in IS in academic institutions located in the United States. By reviewing six features in each program curriculum, these authors underscore the main elements of convergence (e.g. introductory requirements, capstone course and language competency) and divergence (e.g. study abroad) in IS undergraduate education in the selected institutions.

Graduate education activities have also been the object of diverse studies in the United States and beyond in the last decades. For example, and as I previously indicated, Biersteker (2009) and Hagmann and Biersteker (2014) recently actualized and expanded Alker and Biersteker's (1984) previous analysis of graduate theory course syllabi in leading IR departments and schools in the United States. Otherwise, the postdoctoral stage and situation of new faculty members in IR have not received substantial attention in recent decades. To the best of my knowledge, only Bruce Jentleson and Ely Ratner (2011) have discussed some features associated with the professional structure of academic institutions (e.g., the tenure process) that devalue policy relevance in American

[69] Importantly, the segmentation of the organizational socialization between the undergraduate, graduate, and postdoctoral or new faculty stages probably reflects a Western model of professional and educational development. Other empirical focuses or socialization stages in sociology of education might be proposed from different geocultural locations or institutional points of views.

IR.[70] While my project has been inspired by the insights advanced on each of these levels of education in IR, I focus on graduate education activities in the following examination of American IR because they include programs that are terminal and, especially, differentiated in terms of the main vocational or professional objectives they advance.[71]

The relevance of graduate education for examining professional discourses in American IR is first warranted by the fact that they are – in most cases – 'terminal' forms of degree (Gardner and Mendoza 2010). The notion of terminal degree indicates that these programs are – among other things – meant to prepare students for subsequent participation in the labour market (whether in or beyond the academic sphere). This dimension helps explain why graduate programs are more *differentiated* and *diverse* than other types of programs on the basis of the main objectives they advance. In the United States, graduate programs in IR include at least two types of degrees that are distinguished in terms of their main scholarly objective or vocational orientation, that is, according to whether they are 'professional' or 'research-led' programs.

In this thesis, I name "professional graduate programs" those degrees that are typically meant to prepare students to be experts on matters related to IR outside of academia (e.g., in government, international organizations and business).[72] In most cases, these programs are organized within two-year master programs in the American academic system, and generally include course work and – in several cases – a form of internship or career-oriented experience. In the United States, most of these professional master programs have also been developed in relatively autonomous and specialized 'schools.' In most cases, this autonomy often translates in a relatively distinct (and non-disciplinary) identification or topical focus. For example, several of the professional master programs selected for the following examination are identified with closely related topics or subfields, such as international or global affairs, international studies and foreign service.

[70] On the organizational socialization and professionalization of postdoctoral researchers or new faculty members beyond IR per se, see, e.g., Tierney and Rhoads (1994) and Tierney (1997).
[71] In this thesis, the term "vocational" is used to designate the dimension by which education programs and activities more broadly are guided towards a particular professional purpose or goal, whether this goal is concentrated on academic positions or positions in non-academic institutions.
[72] Given their "salient role (…) in forming potential global decision makers," as Müller writes, "it is somewhat surprising that this topic has so far received scant attention in international relations, political geography, and cognate fields" (2011, 2)

As these titles indicate, these programs are connected to the study of IR, even if the academic study of IR is more conventionally organized as a subfield of the political science discipline in the United States (as is also illustrated in the following selection of research-led graduate programs - see below).

Given their increasing numbers in the United States,[73] these professional graduate schools have become important institutions for socializing graduate students to professional practice in fields of activities associated with IR in and especially *outside* of academia. My examination of professional master programs helps clarify the particular forms of world views that they reproduce and explain how and why they advance professional discourses that are associated with relatively distinct types of objectives and categories of epistemic approaches in American IR. I expect the sources associated with these graduate programs to reproduce scholarly discourses that are associated with applied objectives and related epistemic approaches. In the following examination, half of the graduate education programs being assessed are of a professional type.

For their part, research-led graduate programs in American IR and related fields are mainly – but not exclusively – organized as doctoral programs in the American academic system. These programs are mainly meant to prepare students for careers in the academic sphere (i.e. as professors and researchers). These programs generally include an initial stage of course work and general or comprehensive examination(s),[74] and a second stage focused on a dissertation. In the American context, PhD programs in IR are largely – but again not exclusively – developed within political science departments. Since these programs are largely organized to socialize future scholars, I expect PhD programs to

[73] Regarding this expansion, I can refer to the history of the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA) and documents detailing the increasing number of associated schools (e.g., Goodman et al. 1994, Grundahl 2002, APSIA 2015b). Information from these sources is specific to this association but seem illustrative of the expansive trend in professional graduate education in fields studying international relations. The importance of these programs is also illustrated by the inclusion of a closely related question in the TRIP survey 2011 (and 2014), which reads: "What are the five best masters programs in the world for a student who wants to pursue a policy career in international relations?" (Maliniak et al. 2012, 62). Here, I assume that a policy career implies professional activity mainly concentrated in policy-making organizations and hence a role, for these master programs, in socializing future international relations experts for professional practice outside of the academic sphere.

[74] In several institutions, this first stage is often identified as a master program, which is necessary to enter the PhD program. As a result, students who do not wish to become PhD candidates can complete the requirement of the master program (i.e., course work and examination) without pursuing the dissertation stage.

reproduce professional discourses that are particularly associated with objectives and approaches that are more conventionally related with the dominant disciplinary culture of American IR, that is, scientific objectives and associated epistemic approaches. This is particularly the case since, as Peregrine Schwartz-Shea underscores, the requirements associated with political science PhD programs in the United States "enact departments' judgements about what constitutes a "political scientists" above and beyond the substantive fields of American politics, comparative politics, international relations, and political theory" (2003, 379). In the following examination, half of the assessed graduate programs in the United States are associated with this research-oriented type of graduate education program.[75]

As the examination developed in chapters 5 and 6 makes clear, these two types of graduate programs are not completely distinct in scholarly practices. Similarly, they do not exhaust the potential types of graduate degrees that are offered in academic institutions in the United States. Yet, an examination of these two types of graduate programs can help reflect on the diversity of scholarship and objectives that are regularly reproduced in American IR. Indeed, since these two types of programs are mainly oriented towards different vocational purposes, they should help explain how and why the three categories of scholarly objectives proposed in this thesis are advanced in American IR.

Concentrating on graduate education programs should also provide an important means of examining the diverse epistemic approaches that are mobilized in IR scholarship from elite US universities. This is in fact the case since training in methodologies and methods is often an important component of graduate – and especially PhD – programs in IR and political science in the United States (e.g., Monroe 2005, chapter 29). Since what distinguishes political scientists from other specialists of politics is their ability to produce validated knowledge, examining PhD programs should be informative of the main categories of epistemic approaches that are considered important for furthering associated categories of scholarly objectives in American IR. Illustration of recurring epistemic approaches should also be an important dimension of professional master

[75] My procedures for selecting cases are more extensively explained in Section 4.2.

programs in the following examination. Indeed, and as Hagmann and Biersteker write, the specialized schools providing this type of graduate program instruct students "to adopt particular modes of thinking and approaches concerning world politics. In doing so, IR teaching plays a central role in pre-structuring foreign policy practices, as students will likely reproduce the syllogisms acquired in their training when taking up professional positions" (2014, 294). In this thesis, I accordingly propose that professional master programs also reproduce diverse and recurring epistemic approaches, which help us understand the diverse objectives that guide IR scholarship from elite US universities.

This subsection justified my empirical focus on two types of graduate degrees in American IR, that is, on professional master and research-led PhD programs. In the next section, I clarify the specific dimensions and textual sources that are used within these two types of education programs to conduct the following examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Accessing the Formal Dimension of Graduate Education Programs in American IR

As indicated in the previous subsection, the vast majority of master and PhD programs in IR and related fields include course work or formal education activities in the United States. As I explain in this subsection, dthe formal dimension of these graduate education programs is associated with common types of texts, which I can select to describe the professional discourses that are produced in each selected program.

The relevance of this formal dimension is supported by previous 'organic' conceptualizations of graduate education, which claim that graduate education is composed of several closely connected stages or development phases (Lovitts 2001). For example, John Weidman, Darla Twale, and Elizabeth Stein (2001) write that graduate education is organized along four typical stages or phases, namely, the anticipatory, formal, informal and personal. In this conceptualization, the formal dimension of graduate education is generally associated with the course work that is completed during the first and second years of PhD (and master) programs in the United States.[76] Moreover and as I previously underscored, several scholars who recently studied graduate education

[76] Closer to IR, the importance of this formal dimension of graduate education programs has been reflected in a recent and major overview of political science in the United States (see Monroe 2005, especially chapters 29 to 33).

in IR have focused on documentary sources (e.g., course syllabi) associated with the formal dimensions of these programs (e.g., Biersteker 2009, Hagmann and Biersteker 2014). Furthering this approach is hence a means of engaging in a constructive dialogue with the existing literature.

Beyond this literature, it is particularly appropriate to focus on the formal dimension of graduate education in order to apply the discourse analysis approach described in the previous chapter. The formal dimension of graduate programs in the United States is generally associated with common types of documentary sources, such as program curricula and course syllabi. From these documents, I can select specific forms of texts such as the general description of education objectives or published scholarly sources (e.g., books and articles) to assess the occurrence and nature of professional discourses associated with the categories of objectives and epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis conceptualization.

Importantly, my analytical focus on the formal dimension of graduate education programs in American IR implies that this dimension is an important vector for socializing future American IR scholars and specialists. However and *since the main objective of my analysis is to explain the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities*, the aim of the following examination is not to examine the relative importance of formal education against other stages in the socialization of American IR students (e.g., informal) or to assess the extent to which the categories of objectives proposed in this thesis affect – i.e., are internalized by – graduate students and future specialists of IR in the United States.[77] While such an examination would be a meaningful project for the broader sociology of education in IR, it would require a much closer focus on students' learning trajectories across associated graduate programs and other socialization contexts. Instead and as I indicated in the Introduction of this thesis, I focus on examining the diversity in the vocational trajectories, or scholarly objectives, underlying American scholarship as a means of describing the diversity of American IR

[77] Accordingly, I do not mean to imply that graduate course work "produces" (or is meant to produce) "automatons," i.e., that their content is automatically internatlized by graduate students. Instead, I focus on gradute course work because it involves relatively standardized and relevant empirical sources for clarifying - in an ideal-typical fashion – how plural functional orientations are regularly reproduced and formulated in IR scholarship.

(and by the same token mitigating the dominance of scientism in this field). Given the relative lack of attention that this particular dimension of American IR has received in the past decades, I suggest that the conceptualization of the diverse objectives and associated epistemic approaches that constitute IR scholarship from elite US universities – if still perfectible − provides a substantial contribution to the field and, more specifically, to reflexive studies in IR.

To that effect, I go on to analyze scholars' discursive practices from two specific types of documentary sources that recur across the vast majority of graduate education programs in the United States, namely, program curricula and course syllabi. As explained in Section 4.1, these documentary sources – and especially their different components – are analyzed intertextually, that is, by comparing the diverse discursive relations and relevant expressions that are found across these sources. To conduct a discursive analysis across these two types of documentary sources, I adapted the tables presented in Chapter 3 for comparing the discursive analysis of sources and components from curricula and syllabi in each of the selected education programs.[78] In the following subsections, I situate and compare my project within the recent literature on the formal dimension of education activities and programs in IR across a series of American universities. Next, I justify my focus on the program curriculum and one course syllabus in each selected PhD and master program for the following examination.

Types of Documentary Sources Associated with American IR Education

In the last three decades, scholars have examined the formal dimension of education in IR and related fields by focusing on the three main types of documentary sources namely textbooks, course syllabi and program curricula. As I have previously underscored, some scholars have focused primarily on the content of textbooks in IR. Beside Nossal's (2001) previously mentioned study of American IR textbooks, Kalevi Holsti has also provided a comparative analysis of the 'paradigmatic' orientation of IR textbooks in Australia, Canada, France, Great Britain, Korea, India, Japan and the United States in the mid-1980s. This study examines the reference sections of the selected textbooks since, for

[78] Table 4.1.1@ provides an illustration of this type of table. It can be consulted by following this link: https://www.dropbox.com/s/2tsulg75t34dyq8/Table%203.3_Model%20table%20juxtaposing%20analysis%20in%20each%20selected%20education%20program.xlsx?dl=0.

Holsti, these operate "as a barometer of the authors' general approach to the field, the works they esteem, and the other authors who they believe to lie outside the field" (1985, 85).

From this assessment, Holsti primarily concludes that the academic field of IR is organized along "an Anglo-American core of "producers" with small appendages in other Anglophone countries, Japan, Scandinavia and Europe" (1985, ix). This study underscores the – at least at the time – hierarchical organization of IR, since the vast majority of the literature "mutually acknowledged" by IR scholars in the selected countries originates in the United States and Great Britain. Such a state of affairs is problematic, Holsti notes, since it departs from an "ideal model of a community of scholars" (ibid., 13) in which communication would flow more symmetrically and would hence acknowledge more diverse perspectives.

While the conclusions from previous studies on IR textbooks provide important insights into the patterns of communication and intellectual structure of the transnational field of IR, it is important to note that textbooks are mainly used to teach IR at the undergraduate level. Accordingly, they are not the best documentary sources for illustrating how relatively distinct scholarly objectives are reproduced throughout IR graduate education programs in the United States. The following subsections explain why program curricula and course syllabi are more appropriate documentary sources for this thesis' analysis.

Graduate Program Curricula

In this thesis, I contend that graduate program curricula are more appropriate documentary sources than textbooks for examining the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities. The importance of this type of documentary source can be understood from the viewpoint of a faculty member's work and a graduate student's experience in education activities. For example, Schwartz-Shea suggests that "curricular requirements and offerings provide the structural parameters within which, on a daily basis, individual faculty work with and train those who will ultimately replace them in the discipline" (2005, 374). Similarly but from the perspective of graduate student socialization, Karri Holley underscores that a doctoral curriculum "provides a core reference point for all doctoral students as they progress through their program of study.

Regardless of specific research interests or faculty relationships, students share a common learning experience that provides a foundation for their future participation in the discipline" (2010, 107). From these two perspectives, the curriculum is an important documentary source for examining the diverse scholarly objectives that underlie IR graduate education programs in the United States.

The two previous perspectives also illustrate that the role of the curriculum – in translating the main objectives and epistemic approaches associated with a program – can be conceived on two main levels. The first is associated with the graduate students' concrete or shorter-term guidance throughout their program of study while the second relates to the transmission of the more implicit and diffuse norms and objectives associated with the program and field of study. While it is important in the context of studies on education in IR to examine how curricula bear on students' concrete learning trajectories (i.e., their primary 'guiding' role), my attention is focused in the following examination of the way in which these documentary sources reproduce relatively distinct scholarly objectives and associated epistemic approaches. Given the central role of curriculum in graduate education and the vocational differences between the two types of programs selected for the following examination, the associated curricula are expected to be appropriate empirical sources for illustrating the main categories of objectives that guide graduate education in American IR.

The role of curriculum in reproducing this diversity of scholarly objectives can also be understood by conceiving curricula as a form of 'text' that is historically constituted and located "within complex sets of relationships and processes in particular times and places" (Werner, in McLean 2011, 46). From this perspective, the textual content included in a curriculum can be examined for the meaning it reproduces in the social world − just like any other form of practice (linguistic or not) for that matter. On a broader level, conceiving graduate program curricula as "historically formed knowledge that inscribes rules and standards by which we 'reason' about the world and our 'self' as a productive member of that world" (Popkewitz 1997, 132) helps explain how these texts transmit particular types of scholarly objectives in the context of the selected programs and in American IR more broadly. From this point of view, program curricula are meant

to transmit societal discourses, that is, norms and objectives pertaining to the context of American IR (and more broadly).

Yet, the socializing role of curricula can also be conceived on a more institutional level as with the context of academic organizations and disciplines. For example, this approach is underscored by Chris Golde who proposes that a curriculum is generally structured to transmit "disciplinary content knowledge and skills" (2010, 84), which involves the reproduction of scholarly objectives that guide subsequent work. In light of this second – institutional – perspective, the following analysis seeks to understand how graduate program curricula translate the diversity of scholarly objectives and associated epistemic approaches in American IR.

To the best of my knowledge, two approaches have been used in the last decades for examining program curricula in IR and related fields. The first approach concentrates on the general structure of program curricula. Exemplifying this approach, John Ishiyama and Stephen Hartlaub (2003) examine how undergraduate program curricula influence students' modes of reasoning and decision-making. More precisely, these scholars compare 'flexible' and 'sequential' curricula in political science majors to validate previous claims (e.g., AAC 1985, Wahlke 1991) according to which only "sequential" curricula can promote sophisticated understanding and efforts at synthesis among students (Ishiyama and Hartlaub 2003, 83). Using a survey among a group of undergraduate students in two universities from Missouri (United States), Ishiyama and Hartlaub conclude that a sequential curriculum "promotes the development of abstract reasoning styles" (ibid. 85). Beyond this important conclusion, this study also illustrates a structural or general conception of the role of curricula in the education context, since the authors conceive them not only as a collection of education activities but also as based on the 'sequence' or general structure given to these activities (similarly, see also Sylvan et al. 1994).[79] However, it is noticeable that this structural approach does not account for the

[79] While teacher training program are only one dimension of PhD programs, another example of this structural approach to curricula is provided by the final section of Ishiyama et al. (2010). In this section, these authors compare two case PhD programs that exemplify two distinct 'types' of PhD programs designed to prepare students for teaching careers, namely, one program that integrates this teacher training as a "cornerstone" of the degree and another that adds it to the graduate curriculum as a structured but voluntary program.

textual dimension associated with program curricula, which seems a more explicit conveyor of professional discourse in the field.

The second analytical approach to the analysis of program curricula focuses on their specific components. Rather than examining the general organizing structure of program curricula, this approach considers their diverse and more specific education activities, such as compulsory and optional types of courses, possible concentrations and specializations and other associated activities, such as internships. This is the approach taken, for example, in the previously mentioned study by Schwartz-Shea (2003) on curricular requirements and offerings in terms of methodology in 57 American political science PhD programs. Using quantitative methods to analyze the occurrence of requirements associated with quantitative/statistical and qualitative methods, philosophy of science, scope/history of the discipline and language, this author underscores the dominance of quantitative methods among these programs.

Using a similar analytical approach, a series of previously mentioned studies also concentrates on IS undergraduate program curricula in the United States to examine the occurrence of diverse types of education activities and courses, such as introductory, capstone, or methods requirements (e.g., Ishiyama and Breuning 2004, Brown et al. 2006). In doing so, these studies underscore the level of convergence and the types of education activities that recur among programs associated with this field. Returning to graduate education, John Ishiyama, Tom Miles, and Christinne Balarezo (2010) also assess whether education activities preparing students for teaching are offered in 122 political science PhD-granting departments in the United States. Using statistical forms of analysis, these authors stress that dedicated courses on teaching are correlated with the size and ranking of departments and universities.[80] This second group of studies analyzes program curricula by focusing on their diverse and explicit components rather than their overall structure. In the following chapters, my examination is primarily inspired by this second approach.

[80] As I explain in the next subsection, these authors also combine this survey of specific components in programs' curricula with an examination of associated course syllabi.

However, my approach differs from the approach taken in these latter contributions since these leave the textuality of the examined curricula and their diverse components largely unaccounted for. By comparison, the discourse analysis approach mobilized for the examination developed in Chapters 5 and 6 allows me to consider program curricula and their various components as textual inscriptions that translate the broader intellectual organization of American IR. More specifically, I examine how the descriptions of programs curriculum and of their diverse components are *intertextually* related and contribute to illustrating the diversity of American IR in terms of scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches. I analyze the selected curricula as they are formally presented, that is, whether they are presented in a unique document, set of documents, single web page, or web arborescence. Using tables for discursive analyses similar to those described in the previous sections, I record all discursive relations that illustrate the scholarly objectives advanced in the descriptions or main components of the selected program curricula.[81] Moreover, this type of table helps me start synthesizing the main scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches that are translated in the selected program curricula.

Considering program curricula as texts helps develop a more detailed analysis of the productive role played by these documentary sources in American IR. Indeed, my examination highlights how the selected curricula practically articulate diverse scholarly objectives and associated epistemic approaches. In fact, the detailed type of discourse analysis presented in this thesis departs from the analytical approaches of most previous scholarship on IR education since prior studies largely, if not exclusively, surveyed the occurrence and distribution of activities in associated education programs. As illustrated in the following chapters, using the proposed discourse analysis approach provides the analytical means to open the curriculum to more detailed examination and to consider the ensemble of statements and means that contribute to reproducing diverse categories of objectives in American IR.

[81] Table 4.1.2@ exemplifies the discursive analysis of components associated with one of the curriculum selected for this thesis examination (the curriculum associated with the MA program in Foreign Service offered at Georgetown University). The following link leads to Table 4.1.2@: https://www.dropbox.com/s/3wg3txm9h560msd/Table%204.1%40_Model%20analysis%20for%20selected%20curricula.xlsx?dl=0.

Opening up the textual dimension of program curricula also provides a means of examining how more diverse curricular components provide meaningful statements in the context of American IR. By using this discourse analysis approach in the following examination, we can move beyond the occurrence of predetermined categories of education activities in departments' course listings (e.g., quantitative methods, qualitative methods) and examine how the diverse textual components in the selected program curricula translate the proposed categories of scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches. For example, I can analyze how the diverse textual components associated with the selected program curricula, e.g., descriptions of program rationales, course structures and requirements, compulsory and optional courses, specific courses (e.g., in department catalogues), possible concentrations and specializations, and other associated activities (e.g., internships) exemplify the proposed categories of scholarly objectives and related epistemic approaches. While this approach limits the number of programs that I can possibly analyze in the following examination, I can develop a relatively detailed understanding of the discursive articulations between categories of objectives and epistemic approaches in the examined curricula.[82] As this subsection explained why curricula are appropriate documentary sources for the following examination, the next indicates how this approach is complemented by an examination of selected course syllabi in IR graduate education programs from American universities.

Course Syllabi

In this subsection, I explain and justify an empirical focus on course syllabi to explain the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches constituting IR scholarship from elite US universities. To understand how course syllabi illustrate the scholarly objectives related with the three categories proposed in this thesis conceptualization, we can conceive them within the context of scholars' regular teaching practices. As compared with the heuristic perspective primarily used to make sense of the role of curricula, a focus on scholars' teaching practices is more closely related to students' concrete learning experience. From this point of view, scholars have used several approaches for

[82] In section 4.2, I detail the specific methods used to select program curricula and analyze associated statements and linguistic networks.

examining teaching practices and course syllabi in IR and related fields over the recent decades.

A growing body of literature primarily examines the role of diverse pedagogical methods used in teaching practices, an approach that has been identified with active teaching and learning in and beyond IR. Contributing scholars, for example, underscore how active teaching and learning methods further students' understanding of key concepts associated with IR (Kuzma and Haney 2001), increase their knowledge acquisition and retention (Brock and Cameron 1999) and give them more opportunities to express their voices (Lamy 2000). Similarly, other contributors indicate that an approach inspired by active teaching and learning can help scholars articulate educational objectives (Kille et al. 2008) and mobilize diverse and innovative pedagogical methods such as role-play scenarios and simulations (e.g., Shaw 2004, 2006). Accordingly, teaching and learning scholarship furthers examinations and explorations on the pedagogical methods and approaches used by scholars in IR classrooms. However, they provide a perspective that is significantly different from the goal of this thesis, since they neither examine the underlying objectives that are regularly reproduced in the syllabi nor consider these to be documentary sources for detailed empirical examination.

A second cluster of literature – largely inspired by critical pedagogy (e.g., Giroux 1997, Freire 2002) – develops more critical perspectives on the means used to teach IR. Associated contributions consider IR scholars' teaching practices with a closer look at their role in translating or challenging existing societal and disciplinary norms and discourses. This literature primarily examines what "worlds," or forms of international and societal relations, are constructed in IR teaching practices (Turenne Sjolander 1998). For example, Dan Bousfield (2011) relates participation in and outside of the IR classroom (as a teaching method and democratic device) to explore the notion of 'false choice' in current liberal-democratic and capitalist societies. Similarly, Debra DeLaet (2012) relates her use of pluralist and postmodern feminist approaches in her IR classroom to a reconstruction of students' perspectives on the diversity of other societies. In doing so, these (and other) scholars have examined IR teaching practices as a means of

reconnecting these with students' everyday experiences of global politics (Drainville 2003).

Critical pedagogy in IR also stresses how the teaching practices of IR scholars reproduce institutional and disciplinary norms and discourses. For example, scholars contributing to critical pedagogy in IR write that "classrooms are political spaces, subject to disciplinary practices and values" and that teaching can accordingly "reproduce and legitimize" or "disrupt and problematize the discipline" (Smith et al. 2012, 308). From this perspective, IR course syllabi are ordering devices that indicate to students what valuable and authoritative knowledge is in the field (Smith 2010). Contributions associated with critical pedagogy in IR constitute an important platform for reflecting how teaching practices – albeit not precisely course syllabi – reproduce norms and discourses prevalent in society as well as in students' institutional context. Moreover, scholars advancing critical pedagogy in the field have not hesitated to highlight how other scholars further disciplinary views in their teaching and research.

For example, Claire Turenne Sjolander (2007) illustrates how scholars contribute to constructing international affairs through their scholarly practices in two specific ways. She primarily introduces her argument by underlining how Michael Marks, in an article published in 2002, insists that American professors should inhibit students' habit of passionately using the word 'we' when studying American foreign policy. Indeed, Turenne Sjolander recalls how Murphy writes that "the dictates of the discipline demand that responsible educators ensure that students *understand* in a detached, neutral, scholarly, and unbiased manner, free of personal stakes in the subject, the nature of international affairs" ([emphasis in original] Marks 2002, in Turenne Sjolander 2007, 101). Underscoring how Marks' assertion furthers an objectivizing understanding of teaching in IR, Turenne Sjolander highlights how scholars instead contribute to "constructing political identity and defining citizenship, even while exposing students to the need to be self-reflexive and critical" (ibid., 102). Beyond this introductory explanation, this argument is also demonstrated through a comparative analysis of teaching practices in the specific subfield of Canadian foreign policy (CFP) studies.

Indeed, Turenne-Sjolander also illustrates how scholars construct relatively different understandings of the world – more particularly, in this case, of Canadian identity and foreign policy/relations – through their teaching practices, by examining a series (30) of syllabi for CFP courses offered in Canadian universities. In conducting this analysis, she underscores how "a number of patterns emerge with respect to the participation of foreign policy courses in the construction of a collective 'we' in foreign policy" (Turenne Sjolander 2007, 103). For example, this analysis highlights how CFP courses taught in French and English afford importance to relatively different topics (e.g., Canada-U.S. relations, multilateralism, constitutional mechanisms and bureaucratic arrangements associated with the CFP). It also indicates that English scholarship on CFP is largely distributed across the assessed syllabi while French scholarship is not used among their English counterparts. Beyond the significance of these results (especially in the Canadian context), this examination exemplifies a relatively different empirical approach from the two previous approaches (i.e., active teaching and learning, critical pedagogy).

Indeed, this approach – which I identify as a micro-sociological perspective on teaching practices – provides a means of developing a comparative and systematic examination of American IR scholars' regular teaching practices and, importantly, of their role in reproducing societal and disciplinary norms and discourses. Necessarily, the more generic perspective adopted in the context of this approach evades questions associated with practical modes of delivery (i.e. how IR is taught in the classroom) and the concrete effects of teaching on students learning trajectories. However, this approach provides significant insights, into the context of reflexive studies in IR, since it illustrates broader conditions of knowledge production and patterns in scholars' practices which contribute to generating the social and intellectual structure of the field. Given this potential, a similar (i.e., micro-sociological) approach has been used in a series of scholarly studies in IR over the last few decades.

As with the examination of program curricula in IR, most scholars who have examined course syllabi have focused on diverse associated components such as the key topics, number, authorship and theoretical approach of readings, and learning techniques and pedagogical activities that are included in the syllabi. Most of these scholars have

primarily assessed the reading lists associated with theory courses or general examinations in IR education programs. [83]

For example and as previously mentioned, Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker (1984) conducted a study of reading lists in 17 graduate IR theory courses by leading political scientists in the United States (one per leading political scientist). These scholars employed what they identified as a "behavioral science" method and classified all items listed in these syllabi into one of ten predetermined categories of theoretical approaches, i.e., realism, idealism, dialectical, neorealism, liberal internationalism, radical transnationalism, contextual nationalism, proletarian internationalism, non-Marxist dialectics, and others (Alker and Biersteker 1984, 130). From their analysis, Alker and Biersteker concluded that "behavioral-scientific approaches concerned with explaining and managing a complex world order have predominated in the United States" (1984, 123), a pattern that did not "do justice to the world-wide variety of substantively and politically significant approaches to international relations" (ibid., 128). Beyond the relevance of these conclusions for understanding the development of IR in the United States, the coding procedure used by these scholars provides a means of quantitative analysis and generalization about the distribution of, in this case, these theoretical approaches across (and beyond) the assessed course syllabi. However, the procedure does not enable these scholars to develop a detailed examination of the discursive means by which this dimension of American IR intellectual structure is reproduced.

Despite these limitations, this method has been mobilized in the majority of the studies generically and empirically analyzing IR course syllabi during the following years.[84] For example, Tickner (2003b) explores how IR has been developed at the level of teaching and research in seven Latin American countries (i.e., Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Trinidad and Tobago). In her exploration, she primarily

[83] Notably, a structural approach could also be used to analyze course syllabi. For example, Turenne-Sjolander writes that "two main organizing principles for [CFP] courses are evident when examining the 30 collected. Courses are either organized chronologically, most often by prime ministerial tenure, or by issue areas" (2007, 104). However, scholars examining course syllabi generically in IR and related fields have not - to the best of my knowledge - further developed this structural approach in their analyses.

[84] One exception to this methodological trend is Alfredo Robles' (1993) assessment of 12 syllabi of introductory IR courses in the United States, which also concludes that these reproduce a largely parochial and insufficiently "international" field. However, this very short study (slightly more than two pages in total) is based on a relatively anecdotal and non-systematic analysis.

analyzes the readings list of one course syllabus on IR theory in 12 academic institutions located in these countries. Each assigned reading in these syllabi is coded in accordance with one of nine categories of theoretical traditions, namely, classical state-centric, classical non-state-centric, general classical tradition, Marxist/neo-Marxist, postmodern, constructivist, Lain American hybrid, foreign policy analysis, and others (Tickner 2003b, 335).[85] From this assessment, Tickner indicates that the readings included in these IR theory courses overwhelmingly reproduce conventional theoretical approaches, which mainly originate from the United States and are written in English. She concludes that associated teaching practices are "largely fashioned after U.S. IR [and] fall short of being "international" in scope" (2003b, 336). These conclusions reproduce in the Latin American context the relatively standardized character of IR teaching practices previously underscored in the American context.

While Tickner's analysis and comparison with publishing practices provides important insights into understanding the conditions of knowledge reproduction in Latin American IR,[86] it is her method for analyzing teaching practices that is particularly important in the context of this chapter. For example, and as with Alker and Biersteker (1984), Tickner uses one course syllabus per selected Latin American institution, which avoids "overweighing institutions with more than one course offering in IR theory" (2003b, 335). Examining single course syllabus provides a means of advancing transversal examinations and generalizations about IR scholars' teaching practices in Latin America. However, using a coding method to examine IR syllabi reading lists limits the details possibly translated in Tickner's analysis.[87] Moreover, the predetermined theoretical categories limit the diversity of epistemic approaches that can be accounted for in this

[85] Tickner explains that her coding scheme accounts for the strengths and weaknesses of previous taxonomies of IR theories (e.g., Alker and Biersteker 1984, Holsti 1985, Wæver 1998) and for the "specific concerns of the countries of Latin America in terms of international political economy, and issues of development and dependency" (2003b, 335).

[86] More precisely, Tickner also conducts a content analysis over a sample of 180 journal articles in five specialized IR journals in Latin America (*Contexto Internacional*, *Estudios Internacionales*, *Colombia Internacional*, *Relaciones Internacionales*, and *Foro Internacional*). As with readings in course syllabi, each article is identified with one of the nine previous categories of theoretical tradition. This analysis helps her conclude that – as opposed to their teaching practices – the publishing practices of Latin American IR scholars "exhibit relatively high levels of theoretical eclecticism" (Tickner 2003b, 340).

[87] This element is underscored by Tickner who writes that "many items could arguably be classified in several categories" (2003b, 335).

examination. In fact, Tickner underscores an analogous concern by indicating that each category that she uses reflects relatively specific research assumptions while the methodologies, topics and issues may vary. This and other studies using a similar coding method emphasize specific types of theoretical approaches while failing to account for other generally less conventional approaches in the assessed scholarship.

This is also the case of the two previously mentioned studies that actualize and expand Alker and Biersteker's earlier analysis of graduate IR theory courses in the United States (i.e., Biersteker 2009, Hagmann and Biersteker 2014). Indeed, Hagmann and Biersteker also code the required readings included in one core IR theory syllabus or general examination in this field for each selected American and European academic institution. To do so, they use a classification scheme of seven meta-theoretical categories namely formal theory, quantitative, behavioral, applied rational choice, constructivism, radicals, and others (Biersteker 2009, 314-315).[88] Instead of reproducing Alker and Biersteker's previous coding categories, this new classification scheme was derived and adapted from Ole Wæver's (1998) study of meta-theoretical orientations in major IR journals.[89] As a result, the categories used in Biersteker (2009) and Hagmann and Biersteker (2014) reproduce Wæver's particular emphasis on the rationalist-reflectivist divide in IR scholarship (e.g., Wæver 1998, 701).

As I previously mentioned, this coding method enables these scholars to analyze the intellectual structure and levels of theoretical parochialism, convergence and divergence in and between American and European IR. As with previous studies, the classification scheme used by Biersteker and Hagmann however privileges specific (meta-) theoretical approaches at the expense of other less conventional means of knowledge reproduction in IR. In the same vein, this coding method restricts each assessed reading to one broad (meta-)theoretical approach, while it potentially incorporates more diverse articulations

[88] Beyond these seven theoretical categories, these two studies also code each listed item for the country where the author(s) is (are) located, author gender, as well as the original language, date of publication, and publishing organization's geographical location of each listed reading.

[89] As Biersteker underlines, the categories used by Alker and Biersteker reflected a very specific historical context and, with the end of the Cold War, there has been less scholarship inspired by a dialectical-materialist approach to international phenomena (2009, 312). Moreover, using Wæver's categories also allows for comparative assessment with this previous analysis on publication practices and accounting for new theoretical developments in IR, such as the emergence of constructivism (Biersteker 2009, 312-313).

of scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches.[90] More importantly in the context of this thesis, an exclusive focus on (meta-)theory privileges specific types of scholarly approaches and objectives namely those particularly associated with the conceptualization process and the reproduction of generalizable and transversal knowledge. In doing so, these studies may have left other scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches in the course syllabi largely unaccounted.

Some studies on course syllabi have recently focused on different dimensions of IR teaching practices. This is particularly the case of John Ishiyama, Tom Miles, and Christinne Balarezo's (2010) content analysis of 13 political science graduate course syllabi on teaching in the United States (including required and optional courses). To conduct their analysis, these scholars code a broad range of components, including the "list of requirements and assignments, the total number of assigned readings for the course, and whether the course planned to use guest lecturers, (…) the topical content of the courses (…), the types of teaching techniques discussed, and whether or not there was some attention paid to the development of a philosophy statement or teaching portfolio" (Ishiyama et al. 2010, 518). This quantitative assessment enables these authors to conclude, for example, that courses on teaching in American political science include varied types of assignments (e.g., student-designed syllabi, lesson plans), fewer readings than in typical graduate seminars, and education activities that regularly focus on topics such as teaching techniques, assignment preparation, course design and teaching philosophy. These results significantly improve our understanding of the diversity and main patterns in teaching practices to prepare graduate students for future teaching roles in political science graduate programs. Yet, even if these scholars highlight several types of assignments and teaching techniques in the assessed syllabi, their coding method also limits the range of textual details that they can study in these documentary sources.[91]

As with program curricula, it is my contention in this thesis that the previously mentioned limitations can be at least partially overcome by advancing a more detailed form of

[90] This concern is also implied by Wæver, who writes that the coding categories he uses "are rough and combine approaches that differ in other respects" (1998, 701).
[91] In fact, and as I previously mentioned, these scholars complement their quantitative analysis with a more detailed examination of two program curricula that are particularly relevant in the context of their study.

discursive analysis of course syllabi. As the explanations provided in the previous chapter underscore, this analytical approach departs from the coding method widely used across the previous scholarship using such empirical sources. Indeed, this approach analyzes the textuality of course syllabi, rather than the occurrence and distribution of specific and pre-determined categories of components such as meta-theoretical approaches, topics, or types of assignments. Considering course syllabi as texts helps develop a more detailed examination of the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches that are translated in these documentary sources. The following examination thus concentrates on the diverse texts and groups of statements by which scholars explicitly describe scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches in core IR course syllabi across the selected American universities. By comparing the relevant statements and expressions in several components and sources associated with the selected syllabi, the discursive analysis reconstructs the linguistic networks by which diverse objectives and epistemic approaches are advanced by associated American IR scholars. [92]

As for the program curricula, this approach provides more details on the diverse objectives that are reproduced in American IR syllabi than previous approaches used for examining IR syllabi. It also has the significant benefit of opening up the following examination to more diverse and unconventional types of epistemic approaches. In the context of this thesis, the greater analytical texture provided by this discourse analysis approach is particularly important for underlining the recurring articulations that can be found in American IR course syllabi between the three categories of objectives and the nine types of epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis categorization. As this subsection explained why course syllabi are appropriate empirical sources for advancing this thesis project of illustrating the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities, the next subsection concludes section 4.1 by detailing the intertextual approach used in the following examination.

[92] Table 4.1.3@ exemplifies the discursive analysis of components and sources associated with one of the syllabus selected for this thesis examination (the syllabus associated with the MA program in Foreign Service offered at Georgetown University). The following link leads to Table 4.1.3@: https://www.dropbox.com/s/10rd0w24weaitn7/Table%204.1.2%40_Model%20analysis%20of%20selected%20syllabi.xlsx?dl=0.

An Intertextual Analysis of Program Curricula and Course Syllabi in American IR

The previous subsections justified the selection of program curricula and course syllabi for the examination developed in chapters 5 and 6. Following the previously described discourse analysis approach, the next chapters develop an intertextual analysis that connects these two types of documentary sources. This approach provides the analytical means to consider the productive role of these textual sources and to intertextually reconnect them for describing the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches in American IR. To do so, the following analysis illustrates how these diverse sources entail particular linguistic networks that translate, in the context of American IR, the three categories of objectives and nine types of epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis categorization. To construct these linguistic networks, I have combined the previous tables used for conducting the discursive analysis of the selected curricula and syllabi associated with each of the selected graduate education program. [93]

The inclusion of program curricula and course syllabi in this intertextual analysis is facilitated by the complementary nature of these two documentary sources in the context of IR graduate education in the United States. As I previously underscored, program curricula generally provide a more long-term or institutional means of constructing and disseminating professional discourses. In comparison, course syllabi provide more detailed illustrations of the way in which scholarly discourses are translated by American IR regular teaching practices. Combining these two documentary sources provides rich illustrations of the diverse objectives and epistemic approaches advanced in American IR. As this section explained the empirical approach applied to conduct my discourse analysis, section 4.2 describes the detailed methods applied to select my cases and conduct my examination of graduate education programs in IR.

4.2 Case Selection and Procedures for Discursive Analysis of Graduate Education Programs in American IR

In section 4.1, I explained the empirical approach that is used in the following examination of IR curricula and syllabi from graduate education programs offered by American universities. To complete Part II of this thesis, section 4.2 clarifies how I select

[93] Practically, I have juxtaposed the tables 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 for each of the selected graduate education program, hence enabling me to compare the result of my discursive analysis on the curriculum and syllabi associated with each of the selected program.

and access a series of program curricula and associated syllabi, which paves the way for the analysis of American IR diversity in chapters 5 and 6.

Section 4.2 presents the series of 20 Master and PhD programs chosen to conduct the proposed analysis of IR scholarship from elite US universities and, more precisely, to explain the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches that are regularly advanced in this field. After explaining my selection methods, I list the programs selected and discuss some of their biases with regard to the examination of associated curricula. From this list of programs, I also detail how a series of graduate courses in IR were chosen for the following discursive analysis. I explain which types of graduate courses are prioritized for this examination and what these categories of education activities entail, and then list the resulting series of courses being assessed. In the second subsection, I clarify which components in each selected curriculum and syllabus are examined. I detail my methods for accessing these documents, as well as the relevant components and statements for conducting my examination. The benefits and limitations of my analytical choices are also discussed before concluding Part II of this thesis.

Selecting Twenty Graduate Education Programs and Courses

The following examination focuses on a series of 10 professional master and 10 research-oriented PhD programs, which are all associated with graduate education programs offered by academic institutions located in the United States. By using these two broad categories of graduate programs, I can compare these programs on the basis of their main guiding objectives, which should help me explain the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities beyond scientist standards.

Yet, the following assessment does not only provide for this type of generic comparison; it also advances detailed examinations of the professional discourses associated with the curriculum and one course syllabus associated with each of the selected graduate education program. Developing these case-specific examinations is one way to illustrate

the complex processes whereby diverse scholarly objectives and associated epistemic approaches are continually reproduced in scholars' education practices.[94]

Necessarily, the explanatory value of this approach is only relative to other methods of analysis. In the case of this thesis, the benefits of a case-focused approach are particularly afforded at the cost of field-wide comparisons of graduate education practices. The following assessment is meant to provide a useful explanation – rather than an exhaustive representation – of the ways in which diverse scholarly objectives are regularly reproduced and formulated in IR scholarship from elite US universities. With these specifications in mind, I now detail the series of graduate education programs selected for my examination.

Master and PhD programs in American IR

In the United States, a significant number of master programs in or closely associated with IR have been developed as professional education programs (distinct from more research-oriented programs) and are offered by autonomous 'schools' within higher education institutions. The distinct position of these education programs within the broader academic field has often been illustrated by the association with "International Affairs" education – even if their formal designations remain varied. Since the late 1980s, several of these professional master programs in the United States have been organized within the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA). For my inquiry, the selection of education programs associated with APSIA is particularly justified, since this organization certifies that "full" member schools "have undergone a rigorous review process" and meet four qualifications, i.e., that they offer an "educational program of high academic quality," demonstrate "commitment to the study of international affairs," provide "graduate professional training," and benefit from a "significant autonomy within a major university" (APSIA 2015a). Associated master programs exemplify the previously mentioned category of professional graduate programs in IR and closely related fields. Accordingly, these professional graduate

[94] In this sense, the selected curricula and syllabi do not illustrate the whole programs selected for the following examination – which is not the goal of the examination – but represent the specific and comparable textual sources used to exemplify the diversity of scholarly objectives and associated epistemic approaches that can be found in American IR scholarship.

programs should offer appropriate data set for exemplifying IR scholarship that is relatively more oriented towards applied objectives.

To select research-oriented PhD programs, I used the list of 25 PhD programs with the highest rating in response to the question "What are the five best PhD programs in the world for a student who wants to pursue an academic career in IR?" in the TRIP 2009 survey (Jordan et al. 2009, 64).[95] By using the TRIP list, I could access a selection of what a significant number of scholars located in the United States (i.e., those 1719 scholars working in an academic institutions located in the United States who participated in this survey) consider to be the best 'research-oriented' PhD programs in IR or closely associated fields.[96] Moreover, this list is highly similar to Biersteker's (2009) list of 10 leading departments of political science and/or government in the United States, for example, where the same departments figure in the top twelve PhD programs in the world, as suggests by the TRIP 2009 survey (the two exceptions being programs located outside of the United States). The concordance between these two recent lists of highly recognized PhD programs in the United States reinforces the value of the list of programs selected for this thesis, from which I accessed the textual sources necessary for the following discursive analysis.

While this list serves well the purpose of my inquiry, it also reproduces a particular image of the field of American IR, one that reflects the practice of elite institutions and programs. This selection method can accordingly contribute, indirectly, to reinforce the scholarly standards developed, applied and diffused from this type of institutions, rather than showing, for example, alternative standards that might be developed in other types of academic institutions and IR programs. Moreover, I expect the results of my examination to reflect corresponding biases, namely to exemplify the scholarly discourses that strictly originates from this type of elite American cultural context. Accordingly, I develop this examination while keeping in mind these biases and that

[95] I used the TRIP 2009 survey because, at the time of selecting my cases, the TRIP 2012 had not yet been published.
[96] Indeed, the institutions included in the TRIP 2009 list offer PhD programs in IR but also in other topics such as political science, politics, and international studies.

other selection criterion could be used, and might provide relatively different representations of the field.

One advantage of the TRIP over other similar lists is the larger number of highly recognized PhD programs listed and, hence, the relative flexibility it offers when selecting programs in the United States. As I explain below, this flexibility is particularly important for comparing professional master and research-oriented PhD programs in IR and related fields. However, before I explain the method used for this specific comparison, it is important to note that my use of the TRIP list of 'best' PhD programs by no means indicates that I concur with the evaluation of their relative value. This selection method certainly has its biases, which I further discuss before concluding this chapter; yet, it should be clear that these programs are selected because they are appropriate cases for representing close instances of the previous category of research-led PhD programs in IR in the United States. In other words, I refer to the list of PhD programs provided by the TRIP survey because it is useful for examining the diversity of objectives motivating IR scholarship from elite US universities, and especially those associated with scientific standards of scholarly work.

To select a list of professional master and research-oriented PhD-granting institutions that ensures the most effective comparison for my examination, I focus on institutions that offer the two previously described types of graduate programs in IR or closely related fields of study. My objective in using this selection criterion (i.e. two types of graduate programs in each institution) is to accentuate the potential differences in terms of vocational orientations across the assessed graduate curricula and syllabi. Accordingly, this mode of selecting master and PhD programs should help illustrate the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches that can be found in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

According to this selection criterion, I first accessed the list of full-member schools on the APSIA website (2015a) and selected all listed universities that were located in the United States. Next, I accessed the list of universities providing one of the most

recognized PhD programs according to the TRIP 2009 report [97] and selected those located in the United States. Then, comparing these two lists of universities, I found 10 universities hosting one of the 35 full member schools associated with APSIA and one of the 25 most highly rated PhD programs in IR listed in TRIP 2009. These 10 universities are (in alphabetic order) Columbia, Duke, Georgetown, Harvard and Johns Hopkins universities, the universities of Michigan and Minnesota, as well as Princeton, Tufts and Yale universities.

To conduct my examination, it is also necessary to select the appropriate school or department that delivers one of two predetermined types of graduate education programs in IR or related fields. For master programs, the APSIA list provides the name of specific schools or institutes offering relevant professional graduate programs in each university. However, the TRIP 2009 survey did not indicate a specific department or school for the listed PhD programs (only the hosting university). Accordingly, I searched each university's website to find the departments or school offering a research-oriented PhD program most closely associated with the study of international relations.

To select the most relevant academic institutions, I generally looked for a PhD-granting department or school in IR or political science with a concentration in IR since this is currently the most common mode of institutionalization of IR PhD degrees in the United States. Results from my search indicated that the most appropriate PhD-granting departments, within the selected universities, were associated with the fields of 'Political Science' (Columbia, Duke and John Hopkins Universities, the Universities of Michigan and Minnesota, and Yale University), 'Government' (Georgetown and Harvard universities), 'International Relations' (Tufts University), and 'Politics' (Princeton University).

Most of these departments or schools also offer several graduate programs or concentrations (e.g., fields or areas of specialization). I reviewed the curriculum of each selected master and PhD-granting department or school (as provided on each institution's website) to select the appropriate programs and concentrations (when necessary). When

[97] While the TRIP question points to PhD programs, the TRIP data present a list of 25 universities.

several graduate programs or concentrations were offered, I chose those whose titles and descriptions were the most closely associated with the study of IR or associated topics. I looked for programs or concentrations in 'International Relations' or, alternatively, any programs with titles including such terms as 'International', 'Global' or closely associated categories of understanding. The resulting list of 20 master and PhD-granting universities, departments or schools, programs and concentrations is provided in Table 4.1 hereinafter.

Table 4.1: List of Twenty Selected Universities, Academic Institutions and Graduate Programs

University	**School or Department**	**Program Name**	**Selected Concentration**
Columbia University	School of International and Public Affairs	Master of International Affairs	-
Columbia University	Department of Political Science	PhD in Political Science	International Relations
Duke University	Sanford School of Public Policy	Master of Public Policy	Global Policy
Duke University	Department of Political Science	PhD in Political Science	Security, Peace, and Conflict
Georgetown University	Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service	Master of Science in Foreign Service	-
Georgetown University	Department of Government	PhD in Political Science	International Relations
Harvard University	John F. Kennedy School of Government	Master in Public Policy	International & Global Affairs
Harvard University	Department of Government	PhD in Government	International Relations[98]
Johns Hopkins University	Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies	Master of Arts	International Relations/General
Johns Hopkins University	Department of Political Science	PhD in Political Science	International Relations
University of Michigan	Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy	Master of Public Policy	-
University of Michigan	Department of Political Science	PhD in Political Science	International Relations and World Politics
University of Minnesota	Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs	Master of Public Policy	Global Public Policy
University of Minnesota	Department of Political Science	PhD in Political Science	International Relations
Princeton University	Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs	Master in Public Affairs	International Relations
Princeton University	Department of Politics	PhD in Politics	International Relations
Tufts University	Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy	Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy	-
Tufts University	Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy	PhD in International Relations	-

[98] This assessment follows the new structure of the PhD in Government at Harvard University as per the changes made after Fall 2010.

Yale University	Jackson Institute for Global Affairs	Master of Arts in International Relations[99]	-
Yale University	Political Science Department	PhD in Political Science	International Relations

The selection of the programs and concentrations presented in Table 4.1 necessarily entails discerning – on my part – which programs and concentrations are more (and less) closely associated with the study of international relations and, by the same token, the field of American IR. As a result, my examination certainly reproduces pre-existing understandings of the fields' identity; yet, I consider that it does not reinforce a 'bordering' effect (of what is and is not IR) since it explicitly seeks to open our understanding of American IR by emphasizing its internal diversity. For each of the programs and concentrations listed in Table 4.1, I accessed and retrieved all available online information on the associated curriculum and graduate education activities, whether in the form of online brochures, graduate student guides, or texts directly presented on the website of the department or school. From these sources I was able to retrieve the necessary texts for the following discourse analysis of the selected curricula.

While the previous list is useful for analyzing professional discourse in professionally and research-oriented graduate programs in the United States, it is not without bias. For example, this list reflects a 'reputational' bias since to construct it, I used a 'reputational list' (particularly to select research-led PhD programs), namely, a list that builds on the opinion of the IR scholars surveyed to produce the TRIP 2009 report. This method for evaluating program quality is partially problematic since, as Simon Hix suggests while discussing political science programs, "the overall reputation of the university has an effect on the respondents' expected performance of a political science department – known as the 'halo effect' (Lowry and Silver, 1996; Jackman and Siverson, 1996)" (2004, 294). A reputational bias favours already known, elite programs because the judgment of people participating in the surveys is influenced by the reputation instead of the observed results of the organizations and programs.[100]

[99] The title of this MA program changed to "Global Affairs" after Fall 2013.

[100] Besides, the broad operational definition of "IR" and "IR scholars" adopted to conduct the TRIP 2009 survey included "political scientists specializing in American politics who study trade and immigration, (…) researchers who study regional integration, [and] many specialists of comparative politics who happen

This bias is reflected in my own sample as it is exclusively populated by widely recognized universities in the United States. Accordingly, my analysis tends to illustrate the scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches that are particularly reproduced in elite graduate education programs of IR in the United States. For example, this bias can be translated in the greater importance attributed to highly sophisticated research methods, which necessitate greater financial investment or specialized training from scholars and graduate students. It is also reflected in scholarly objectives that are probably less critical of and more consistent with the dominant interests of elite groups in the United States. As the following examination illustrates these selection effects, I discuss these biases at greater length in the Conclusion of the thesis. As this subsection detailed my method for selecting institutions of higher education and program curricula, I now turn to the list of course syllabi used for the following examination.

Selecting Core Graduate Courses

This subsection details the series of course syllabi that were selected in the list of graduate education programs listed in the previous subsection. To select these course syllabi, I have primarily surveyed the curricula and course lists of the selected master and PhD program as they are presented on the associated school's or department's website. Each selected program and concentration is characterized by a wide diversity of education activities. Among the diverse courses being offered, I concentrate on core IR courses, that is, courses that are ideally compulsory and general (e.g. field seminars, or field or foundational courses) in each program.

As with any selection process, this method has some limitations. For example, the selected graduate course syllabi represent only one type of education activity in associated programs that can reproduce professional discourses about the field. In other words, other types of courses (e.g. topical, methodological) could illustrate different forms of scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches. Yet, by examining one course per selected academic program, institution or scholar, I can complement the analysis of each program curriculum with a significant number of written sources. Focusing on one

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to teach IR courses," as well as a "substantial minority of [scholars] that do not self-identify as "international relations" scholars" (Jordan et al. 2009, 3). This broad definition probably favoured the inclusion of scholars who did not have a very close knowledge of IR graduate programs and hence a 'reputational' answer.

core course also reproduces the selection method used in several other related studies on IR education (e.g., Alker and Biersteker 1984, Tickner 2003a, Hagmann and Biersteker 2014).

Importantly, the core course selected in each education program represents a typical course or component across the selected program, which furthers a systematic examination of associated discourses. However, as opposed to several of the previously detailed studies on education in IR, I do not preselect 'theory' courses for my examination because this project does not particularly focuses on the (meta-)theoretical or paradigmatic orientations associate with American IR scholarship.[101] Instead, I focus on the most general or core IR courses because I expect these to include the most encompassing professional discourses about the main vocational orientations of IR scholarship from elite US universities in each of the selected programs and concentrations, and hence to illustrate a greater diversity of objectives and associated epistemic approaches. Indeed, these core IR course syllabi should provide the broadest understanding of the American field of IR and the main – if not the most diverse – scholarly objectives associated with this field in each selected graduate program. Moreover, core courses are often compulsory (or strongly recommended) for all graduate students engaged in the selected concentration or program, which makes them particularly exemplary of the general scholarly discourses that gets diffused among future IR scholars and experts. Accordingly, this type of course appears, by comparison, particularly appropriate for conducting the examination proposed in this thesis.

Necessarily, the selection of core IR courses also influences the scholarship and scholarly orientations that the following examination illustrates. Indeed, because they are core and general courses on IR, I expect their syllabi to emphasize, by comparison, more transversal and generic forms of perspectives (than other types of courses, such as those on more cutting-edge topics dealing with specific and current issues for example). As it will become clearer in the following two chapters, this type of perspective is particularly

[101] Yet, it is noticeable that general or core IR courses in several of the selected graduate programs were often focused on IR theories. More on this in Part III.

related to objectives of theorization and generalization, which can be explained by the advancement of scientific and, secondarily, critical forms of objectives in American IR.

Following these explanations, I access the main or core compulsory IR course in each of the selected master and PhD program curricula. Where no core or mandatory courses were explicitly associated with the study of international relations in the selected program and concentration, I looked for the elective courses most closely associated with this field of study by surveying curricula and available course syllabi on the department's websites. More specifically, I searched for course titles that translated a focus on 'International Relations', 'International' or 'Global' studies, 'International Affairs', or closely related topics. Table 4.2 hereinafter presents the full list of courses that were selected for the following discursive analysis.

Table 4.2: List of Selected International Relations Course Syllabi

University	**Program Name**	**Course Title**	**Instructor, Year**	**Status**[102]
Columbia University	Master of International Affairs	"Conceptual Foundations of International Politics"	Sestanovich 2011	Mandatory
Columbia University	PhD in Political Science	"Theories of International Relations"	Jervis 2011	Elective
Duke University	Master of Public Policy	"Globalization and Governance"	Jentleson 2011	Elective
Duke University	PhD in Political Science	"Core Seminar in Security Peace and Conflict"	Beardsley 2013	Mandatory
Georgetown University	Master of Science in Foreign Service	"International Relations: Theory and Practice"	Cha et al. 2011	Mandatory
Georgetown University	PhD in Political Science	"Fundamentals of International Relations"	McNamara 2011	Mandatory
Harvard University	Master in Public Policy	"International & Global Affairs: Concepts & Applications"	Walt 2012b	Mandatory
Harvard University	PhD in Government	"Field Seminar on International Relations"	Simmons and Kertzer 2014	Mandatory
Johns Hopkins University	Master of Arts	"Contemporary Theory of International Relations"	Doran 2012	Mandatory
Johns Hopkins University	PhD in Political Science	"Field Survey of International Relations"	Marlin-Bennett 2013	Elective
University of Michigan	Master of Public Policy	"Politics of Public Policy"	Waltz 2014	Mandatory
University of Michigan	PhD in Political Science	"Proseminar on World Politics"	Morrow 2009	Mandatory
University of Minnesota	MA in Public Policy	"Capstone Course in Global Policy"	Gray 2014	Mandatory

[102] Shown status applies for graduate students registered within the concentration indicated in Table 4.1.

University of Minnesota	PhD in Political Science	"Theories of International Relations"	Krebs 2013	Mandatory
Princeton University	Master in Public Affairs	"International Politics"	Ikenberry 2010	Mandatory
Princeton University	PhD in Politics	"Seminar in International Politics"	Davis and Moravcsik 2010	Mandatory
Tufts University	MA in Law and Diplomacy	"International Relations: Theory and Practice"	Pfaltzgraff 2011	Elective
Tufts University	PhD in International Relations	"International Relations: Theory and Practice"	Pfaltzgraff 2011	Elective
Yale University	MA in International Relations	"International Relations: Concepts and Theories"	Monteiro 2015	Elective
Yale University	PhD in Political Science	"International Relations Field Seminar"	Sambanis 2012	Mandatory

To verify the relevance of these courses and syllabi for my examination, I emailed some of the faculty members responsible of selected programs or concentrations.[103] As Table 4.2 above indicates, I have selected six elective courses across the chosen programs (i.e., in the selected master programs at Duke and Tufts, and the PhD program at Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Tufts and Yale). Some of these cases were partially problematic. For example, the master and PhD program curricula at Tufts University include not mandatory requirements but a similar list of elective courses associated with three broad course divisions.[104] To select the most appropriate syllabi for my examination of the two associated graduate programs, I surveyed the lists of courses associated with these three divisions. The list associated with the "Diplomacy, History and Politics" division appeared closer to the study of international relations with three courses particularly comparable to courses offered in other programs.[105] Despite my efforts, I could only retrieve the syllabi associated with the latter two courses. After reviewing both syllabi and each program curriculum, I concluded that Professor Robert Pfaltzgraff's "International Relations: Theory and Practice" courses (2011) provided more explicit and

[103] For example, I emailed Professor Richard Hall to clarify whether the course "Politics of Public Policy" was appropriate for my analysis of the master program at the Ford School of Public Policy of the University of Michigan. He indicated that several versions of the course "Politics of Public Policy (PubPol510)" are typically offered every fall (usually on U.S. domestic politics, comparative politics, and international affairs). To reflect the context of my examination, I accordingly focus on the latter version of this course.

[104] These three divisions are entitled "International Law and Organizations," "Diplomacy, History and Politics," and "Economics and International Business," The differences between these two graduate program curricula are more thoroughly discussed in the analyses presented in chapters 5 and 6.

[105] These courses were entitled "Diplomacy: History, Theory, and Practice," "Classics of International Relations," and "International Relations: Theory and Practice,"

broader illustrations of these programs' main objectives and associated epistemic approaches.

As these explanations illustrate, choosing the most appropriate elective course syllabi in the selected programs necessarily entails determining which courses are more (and less) closely associated with the study of international relations, and hence more closely corresponds to IR scholarship from elite US universities. In doing so, I (again) reproduce some form of pre-existing understanding of the identity or contours of American IR and, especially, its association with international and global issues and topics. Yet, I also consider that the selection method used to access these syllabi should help pluralize rather than re-inscribe disciplinary borders given that my examination is meant to highlight and explain the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities.

To access the syllabus associated with each course, I first looked into the department's website to locate copies of course syllabi. Several syllabi were downloaded directly from the department's or school's website, or from the individual instructor's web page. In instances where selected syllabi were not available online, the most recent course instructors who I could identify were contacted electronically. In these cases, I described my research project and asked for a copy of their latest syllabus.[106] The selected syllabi were generally from the most recent year available (e.g., according to the department's or instructor's website, or the answers provided) and all within a six-year range (i.e., between 2009 and 2015). Using these methods, I collected one syllabus for each of the selected courses.

Textual Components Assessed for Discursive Analysis

After selecting appropriate graduate programs and courses and retrieving available documents (e.g., information on web pages, graduate students' brochures, graduate students' guides, syllabi), I selected specific textual components across these sources to conduct my discursive analysis. This choice was necessary to focus my analysis on the components and statements most relevant for emphasizing the diversity of scholarly

[106] I am very appreciative of faculty members from Columbia University (Richard Betts, Robert Jervis, and John Mutter), Duke University (Bruce Jentleson), Georgetown University (Eric Voeten), Harvard University (Dustin Tingley and Joshua Kertzer), Johns Hopkins University (Renee Marlin-Bennett), University of Michigan (Richard Hall and Susan Waltz), Tufts University (Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.), and Yale (James Levinsohn), who replied to my requests.

objectives and epistemic approaches associated with IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Discursive Analysis of Program Curricula

Any consideration of the textuality of American IR program curricula presents the problem of textual profusion or multiplicity associated with this type of documentary source. More precisely, it raises the significant challenge of deciding which textual components are the most relevant for examination. For the following examination, I see two types of textual components to be particularly appropriate among the selected graduate program curricula for examining the diversity of objectives motivating IR scholarship from elite US universities more broadly, namely the general description of the associated program and the description of compulsory courses requirements for all registered graduate students.

Indeed and from my own assessment, the general description included in each program curriculum generally provides the main orientations given to the associated education program, an understanding of the field to which it contributes and the main purposes that it pursues. These elements can also be understood as the way in which each program curriculum illustrates the "set of beliefs that guides program development and instruction" and the "organizing theme that reflects the ultimate purpose of the program" (Galluzzo and Pankratz 1990, 8-10). The program description usually presents the main scholarly objectives of the associated education program; hence, it is particularly appropriate for examining these diverse objectives and explaining why, according to the categorization proposed in this thesis, they are advanced by American IR scholars.

Exemplifying associated statements, the general description of the Master program in International Relations at the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) of Columbia University states that it develops "international affairs professionals who understand complex transnational issues and can manage real-world organizations" (Columbia 2015a). This description of the program then underscores that the program will "provide students with (…) the hands-on management skills required by leaders in the major fields of international affairs" (*idem*). Using a detailed discursive analysis, I emphasize in the following chapters the usage and links between statements such as

"international affairs professionals," the "[management of] real-world organizations," and "hands-on management skills" (as well as the binaries and boundaries that they imply) in this and other program curricula. I also explain that this linguistic network furthers applied objectives as a means to connect the associated scholarship and make it more relevant to (current or future) international relations practitioners.

For their part, the descriptions of the compulsory activities generally define the purpose, content and principal means (e.g., methodologies, theories) that are used to reproduce knowledge in the context of the diverse activities associated with the associated education program. These elements can also be associated with the explicit description of "the knowledge, skills, and dispositions" (Galluzzo and Pankratz 1990, 11) transmitted in an education program. Accordingly, the descriptions of compulsory activities in the selected curricula are particularly useful for examining the epistemic approaches that are recurrently used by American IR scholars and for linking them with the main objectives underlying their work.

From my own assessment, it became clear that the main program requirements generally contain mandatory education activities that reproduce sets of epistemic approaches that are particularly linked with the main objectives of the associated education programs. For example, the "Core Curriculum" of the Master program in International Relations at SIPA (Columbia 2015b) includes one compulsory course on methodologies entitled "Quantitative Analysis for International & Public Affairs." The course description indicates that this survey course "examine[s] the principles and basic methods for analyzing quantitative data, with a focus on applications to problems in public policy, management, and the social sciences" (*idem*). In the following examination, I accordingly highlight the use, links and binaries and boundaries furthered through terms such as "quantitative data" and "applications to problems in public policy, management". In doing so, I can exemplify how and explain why this and other textual sources reproduce particular articulations between scientific objectives in American IR and epistemic tools like quantitative and statistical approaches. [107]

[107] Table 4.1.4@ illustrates the analysis of this specific curriculum (i.e. "Core Curriculum" of the Master program in International Relations at SIPA [Columbia 2015b]). It can be consulted by following this link:

For each program's general outline and description of mandatory course requirements, I looked for any statement or term that can illustrate particular forms of linguistic relations, whether link-, binary-, or boundary-making, associated with scientific, applied or critical objectives as well as related epistemic approaches. When available online (through the website of the department, school or individual instructor), I also reviewed the particular description of mandatory courses as it is provided. Each significant statement was registered in an excel file associated with the specific graduate program, analyzed within the ensemble of statements originating from the curriculum associated with each program, and compared with the results of my discursive analysis of other selected programs.

As this subsection explained my procedure for examining selected program curricula, the following subsection details the procedures used to examine the selected course syllabi.

Discursive Analysis of Course Syllabi

As with program curricula, course syllabi are composed of a multiplicity of texts and statements that can help us exemplify the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches that are furthered in American IR, which made it challenging to choose the most appropriate sections are texts for my examination. Fortunately, graduate course syllabi in the selected institutions are generally constructed according to a common format, including an introductory section describing the course objectives, sections describing the pedagogical methods and assignments, and a detailed description of each course session, including lists of compulsory and optional readings. Among these multiple textual components, the following examination concentrates on two particular types of texts, namely, the descriptions of the course and of individual session objectives, and the list of required readings associated with the main instructors' teaching activities. These two types of sections appeared to be the most likely to contain statements illustrating the main scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches advanced in the corresponding course and program more broadly.

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https://www.dropbox.com/s/24r8f743v83dy5m/Table%204.1.4%40_Analysis%20of%20SIPA%20master%20curriculum.xlsx?dl=0.

The general description of each course and individual session are particularly appropriate for examining the main scholarly objectives furthered in each the selected syllabi, since they generally situate the course within the broader field of study and include a statement of teaching objectives. Similarly, the descriptions of individual course sessions generally situate these sections within the broader context of the course and provide more detailed teaching objectives. In examining the descriptions of the course and individual session objectives in each selected syllabi, I looked for any statement that would illustrate the linguistic relations (link-, binary-, or boundary-making) related with the main scholarly objectives or epistemic approaches further in the course. As with the program curricula, each relevant statement was recorded in a file associated with the assessed program and then examined as a single ensemble and compared with statements from other selected programs.

As an example, the general description of the course entitled "Conceptual Foundations of International Politics" (Sestanovich 2011), which is associated with the Master program at SIPA (Columbia), indicates that this course "examines many of the central concepts, theories, and analytical tools used in contemporary social science," and is "designed to enhance students' abilities to think critically and analytically about current problems and challenges in international politics" (*idem*).[108] While these are preliminary illustrations, these statements exemplify a particular emphasis on epistemic approaches associated with "concepts, theories, and analytical tools used in contemporary social science" and on objectives such as "critical" and "analytical" thinking about "current problems and challenges in international politics." Using these and other statements, I can underscore how this syllabus illustrates and articulates diverse epistemic approaches and functional models in this graduate program.

For their part, the lists of required readings associated with the main instructors' teaching activities are particularly appropriate for illustrating the type and diversity of epistemic approaches that are mobilized in IR syllabi. These readings reflect the personal choices of

[108] Table 4.1.5@ illustrates the analysis of this specific syllabus (i.e. "Conceptual Foundations of International Politics" [Sestanovich 2011] in the Master program at SIPA, Columbia University). It can be consulted by following this link: https://www.dropbox.com/s/bbde1cd7qi85sx2/Table%204.1.5%40_Analysis%20of%20SIPA%20master%20syllabi.xlsx?dl=0.

the main instructor(s) regarding the literature that is most relevant to studying the subject matter pertaining to the course. I assert that they illustrate the epistemic approaches deemed by IR courses instructors most appropriate for advancing the main scholarly objectives associated with their course in IR. This approach reproduces the empirical focus of most of the previously mentioned studies on IR syllabi and reading lists, albeit by providing a more detailed discursive analysis of the diversity of epistemic approaches that are reproduced in these sources. This diversity is accounted for by examining the forms of epistemic approaches that are recurrently linked with the functional models proposed in this thesis, rather than by primarily searching for predetermined categories of approaches.

To facilitate the sort of detailed discursive analysis developed for other documentary components, I focused primarily on the list of required readings used for the whole – or at least several parts – of the selected courses, that is, when such transversal readings were listed. These transversal readings were generally provided before the individual course session descriptions as 'must-read' sources for the selected course. For example, the course syllabus for "Contemporary Theory of International Relations" (Doran 2012), which is associated with the Master program at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (Johns Hopkins), includes a list of 12 monographs and edited books that "[encompass] the themes of this course," "should be read in entirety," or "provide many required readings" associated with the individual course (Doran 2012). Where these required readings provided dense linguistic networks of statements associated with functional models and epistemic approaches that allowed me to move my analysis forward, I limited my assessment to this transversal list.

In other syllabi, no (or too few) transversal readings were listed and required readings were related to single course sessions. In these cases, I examined the entire list of mandatory references provided by the main instructor(s) in the selected syllabi (up to 53 references per syllabus). In cases where the main instructor(s) did not teach all the course sessions, I focused exclusively on the mandatory readings associated with those sessions

taught by the main instructors.[109] It sufficed to assess the required readings exclusively associated with these course sessions because I expected the main instructors to underscore the most important functional models and epistemic approaches in the context of their courses.

The assessed references were generally of two types, namely, books (or book chapters) and journal articles. For all the assessed journal articles, I primarily reviewed the introduction and any other parts of the text that would illustrate statements relevant for emphasizing the main objectives and epistemic approaches furthered in the associated course and program.[110] For books and book chapters, I reviewed the introduction and, when necessary, other parts and chapters to find relevant statements for my examination.[111] When accessible, each textual source was analyzed until I could synthesize the main functional models and epistemic approaches used by the author(s). As I did for the program curriculum components, each significant statement was registered in a file associated with the course and graduate program. I examined these statements within the ensemble of linguistic relations originating from each single program (i.e., curriculum and course syllabus) and compared them with the results from my discursive analysis of other selected programs.

Benefits and Limitations of Research Methods

The research procedures detailed in the previous subsections are characterized by diverse forms of limitations and benefits for my examination of American IR. For example, Hagmann and Biersteker remind us that, when using a distant metric, "the possibility remains that the readings are taught differently at different departments, such as with enthusiasm, indifference, sarcasm, or other, distinctly local or departmental, pitches" (2014, 8). Accordingly, my discourse analysis methods do not allow me to access any of

[109] For example, the syllabus of the course "International Relations: Theory and Practice" (Cha et al. 2011), associated with the master program at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service (Georgetown), indicates that the main instructors teach 13 of 14 course lectures.

[110] I accessed these abstracts and introductions through searches on the University of Ottawa Library website or, alternatively, other publicly available web search engines (e.g., Google Scholar).

[111] I accessed these books and book chapters through searches at the University of Ottawa and other university libraries (e.g., at the Université Laval and Université du Québec à Montréal), the University of Ottawa Library website and, alternatively, through other publicly available web search engines (e.g., Google Scholar).

the more direct means by which the selected education activities and discourses are reproduced.

As previously mentioned, the empirical choices made in developing this thesis implies that it furthers biases favoring focuses on perspectives associated with American IR and elite academic institutions in this country. These biases are relatively problematic since American perspectives are already largely privileged in the transnational field of IR, given their wide diffusion and significant influence. While I have given much emphasis on the importance of developing more open and diverse views on the development and organization of IR in and beyond the United States, the focus on American scholarship in the thesis necessarily reinforces this already existing bias. Nevertheless, I have tried to emphasize the fact that I examine American IR not to use it as a model for other national fields; instead, I focus on this field to criticize its dominant tendencies (i.e. scientism) and to advance a novel perspective that takes into consideration the value of the diverse objectives motivating IR scholars' work.

Similarly, the focus on education programs from largely recognized or elite institutions in the United States can reinforce the already disproportionate attention that these institutions and associated scholars receive. More precisely, the ideas and practices originating from these elite institutions already receive a significant amount of attention in and beyond the field of IR, which can often indicate that they are considered to be the center of the field, from which most important ideas necessarily emerge. Concentrating on these institutions can also have the effect of normalizing the practices and discourses of scholars in these institutions. As I hope the previous discussion made clear, I do not focus on these institutions to represent them as core locations of the field or normative models for other IR institutions in and beyond the United States; instead, I access the education programs offered in these institutions because they offer particular clear and accessible cases for exemplifying different guiding objectives and associated epistemic approaches in the American field of IR.

Despite these limitations, my research methods can provide a significant level of details on the professional discourses that are mobilized in American IR, especially with regard to related graduate education activities. As compared with previous research on IR

program curricula and course syllabi, for example, the proposed categorization and research methods should help opening up my examination to more diverse types of epistemic approaches than usually accounted for. Indeed and beyond the theoretical models that inspired the conceptualization advanced in this thesis, the categorization used to analyze IR scholarship from elite US universities is primarily resulting from the language and categories of understanding in use throughout the selected documentary sources.

Moreover, the previous subsections underscore how my research methods connect statements from program curricula and course syllabi in the selected IR graduate education programs from institutions located in the United States. This attention to several documentary sources helps me develop a broad and detailed examination, the main benefit of which is to emphasize and explain the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches regularly used by American IR scholars.

Conclusion to Part II

Chapters 3 and 4 explained four dimensions of the following examination of graduate education programs in the United States, providing important building blocks for developing my examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. In section 3.1, I located this project within the broader reflexive research agenda in IR to clarify the relevance of my analysis for IR scholars and students and its relations with current scholarship in the field. By delineating three broad perspectives (i.e., the geo-epistemic, historiographical and sociological) that have been advanced in reflexive studies in IR, I indicated how my own research compares with and contributes to these clusters of scholarly literature.

In section 3.2, I focused on describing how post-structuralist scholars in and beyond the IR field conceive the process of meaning-making. By probing the theoretical underpinnings of this theoretical approach, I clarified the main concepts and forms of meaning-making practices examined in the following chapters.[112] I used related authors' work in and beyond IR to explain how my discursive analysis focuses on three particular

[112] Here again, these clarifications do not mean that I label my examination as post-structuralist but merely that associated conception of meaning-making and analytical procedures inspired the methods used to conduct the following empirical examination.

forms of meaning-making practices or linguistic relations, namely, link-, binary and boundary-making. In the examination presented in chapters 5 and 6, I concentrated on these types of linguistic practices to examine the main objectives and epistemic approaches furthered in selected graduate education programs. To connect this conceptual apparatus to my empirical project, I also mobilized the concepts of textuality and intertextuality, which explain how the meaning of linguistic statements and relations remains generally implied in texts and can be recovered by reconnecting statements from diverse texts.

In Section 4.1, I explained and justified the empirical field of activity that is examined to analyze American IR. I highlighted the importance of the formal dimensions of graduate education activities and underscored the ways in which they contribute to the reproduction of the field and associated scholarly discourses. That section also delimited and justified the different types of graduate programs (i.e., professional master and research-oriented PhD) and empirical sources (i.e., program curricula and course syllabi) that I use for the following discursive analysis of IR graduate education programs in the United States.

In section 4.2, I delineated the methods used to select and examine these documentary sources. I detailed how a series of 20 professional master and research-oriented PhD programs located in the United States are selected from the APSIA list of full member schools and the TRIP 2009 list of highest-ranked IR PhD programs. From this list of universities and programs, I clarified how a series of graduate courses (ideally mandatory core IR courses) are selected. Finally, I used the previously mentioned concepts of intertextuality to explain and justify which particular components or sections of the selected program curricula and course syllabi are examined.

Part II of this thesis prepared the ground for presentation of my discursive analysis of American IR graduate education programs in chapters 5 and 6. Using the analytical framework provided in Part II, I examine the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches that are reproduced in these 20 graduate education programs. Moreover, I explain why American scholars further scientific, applied and critical objectives using diverse forms of related epistemic approaches. The following discursive analyses should

accordingly help underline the diversity of objectives furthered in American IR and, concomitantly, mitigate, if not challenge, the dominance of scientism in that field. As a result, the thesis should help scholars better recognize the distinct value of diverse objectives and approaches in American IR and more broadly.

PART III

EXAMINING THE DIVERSITY OF OBJECTIVES AND EPISTEMIC APPROACHES IN IR SCHOLARSHIP FROM ELITE US UNIVERSITIES

In this third part of the thesis, I develop my examination of the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches that can be found in IR scholarship from elite US universities. In describing the selected graduate programs, the following analysis helps mitigate the dominance of scientism in American IR and underscores the distinctive value of diverse forms of scholarship in this field. To further this project, the thesis relies on an analyticist methodology; this means that its main conceptual and analytical proposals are understood as an inductive and interpretative process over the complex empirical reality of American IR scholarship rather that a test of the proposed conceptualization. Indeed, and following the monist stance associated with an analyticist methodology, the proposed conceptualization is viewed as intertwined and concomitantly developed with the following empirical examination. This methodological approach also indicates that this thesis' purpose is to provide a useful description and interpretation of the configuration of IR scholarship from elite US universities; accordingly, the value of the propositions made in this thesis should be evaluated on the basis of their explanatory utility rather than their strict correspondence with the factual actuality of the field.

In chapters 5 and 6, I develop a detailed examination of the curriculum and one course syllabus from 20 IR graduate education programs, which are all located in widely recognized American universities. As I indicated in Chapter 3, my focus on programs located in the United States is justified by the transnational influence of the IR scholarship produced in this country but even more by the vocational differentiation across associated graduate education programs. Indeed, graduate education in American universities is characterized by a relatively high level of specialization, which makes it appropriate for exemplifying how IR scholarship from elite US universities regularly advances different categories of objectives. Using this differentiation is useful to describe how and why American IR scholars regularly advance different objectives in their work. By clarifying the diverging purposes and projects that are associated with these

objectives, the thesis also helps challenging the current dominance of scientist standards in the American field of IR.

The vocational differentiation of IR graduate education in the United States is directly translated in the types of programs that were selected for the following examination; indeed, the curricula and syllabi examined in chapters 5 and 6 are associated with education programs equally divided between professional master and research-oriented PhD graduate programs. As indicated in the previous chapters, the curriculum and syllabus selected in each program are examined using a discourse analysis approach. This approach emphasizes diverse forms of linguistic practices (e.g., link-, binary- and boundary-making) by which American IR scholars construct meaning in each curriculum and syllabus. By examining these linguistic practices in and across the curricula and syllabi selected for my examination (that is, intertextually), I explain how and why American IR scholars mobilize scientific, applied and critical objectives. Accordingly, the two following chapters emphasize the statements that clarify the principles and notions associated with these three categories of objectives and how they are articulated through recurring forms of linguistic networks with the nine types of epistemic approaches that were delineated in Part I of the thesis.

Building on the previous explanations, chapters 5 and 6 each examine one type of graduate education program. Chapter 5 focuses on 10 professional master programs and Chapter 6 addresses the 10 research-oriented PhD programs (the selection of these programs is explained in Chapter 4). In both chapters, I primarily develop a case-specific examination of the curriculum and one syllabus associated with each selected master or PhD program. Then, I provide transversal comparisons to synthetically describe the main objectives that are furthered across the selected sources. This examination focuses on the linguistic articulations by which American IR scholars translate scientific, applied and critical objectives and the nine types of epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis categorization. Accordingly, these chapters 5 and 6 explain the distinct value and competing goals related with these different categories of objectives and, in doing so, help counter the current privileges attributed to scientific standards in American IR.

CHAPTER 5

AN ALTERNATIVE PURPOSE FOR AMERICAN IR: APPLIED OBJECTIVES IN PROFESSIONAL GRADUATE EDUCATION

This chapter presents the first part of the empirical examination developed in this thesis by focusing on the 10 professional master programs that were selected in Part II.[113] Developing this examination enables me to underline the diverse categories of objectives that are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities and especially applied forms of objectives and related epistemic approaches. The importance of applied objectives in the context of these master programs is expected given their particular vocation to further professionally-oriented knowledge and abilities among students. By examining the linguistic networks that is accessed through the selected curricula and syllabi, the following analysis particularly details how an applied orientation is advanced in concrete scholarly activities, the distinct modes of thinking and sense of purpose that are associated with it in American IR and why these objectives are valuable for the field. This is an important contribution because American IR has traditionally privileged scientific objectives at the expense of other potential perspectives. Besides, it also starts clarifying how and why scientific and critical objectives are advanced in American IR. Accordingly, this chapter helps me emphasize the value of different categories of scholarly objectives and, more particularly, why I think applied scholarship should be given greater consideration than it is currently the case in the field.

As previously indicated, this thesis proposes a conceptualization that focuses on the categories of scientific, applied and critical objectives to help conceptualizing the different orientations that can be found in these education programs. As detailed in Chapter 1, each of these categories of objectives is associated with distinct principles, types of epistemic approaches and forms of value or relevance in the field. In broad terms, this categorization proposes that scientific objectives prioritize the production of

[113] These 10 master programs are offered at Columbia, Duke, Georgetown, Harvard, Johns Hopkins Princeton, Tufts, and Yale universities, as well as the universities of Michigan, and Minnesota. For a complete list of the selected schools, graduate programs, and associated concentrations, see Table 4.1 in Chapter 4.

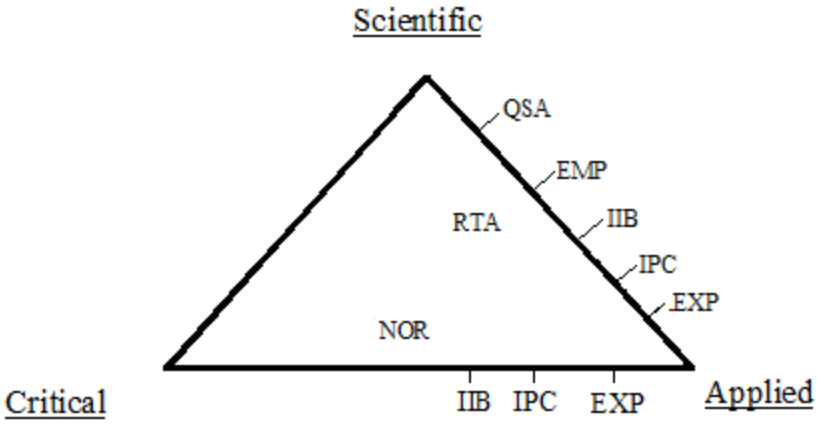
factual, generalized and explanatory knowledge. The particular value of scientific scholarship is to provide systematic and public explanations, as well as detailed empirical descriptions about the world. Applied objectives, for their part, are associated with a practical form of rationality, that is, activities that are organized to increase the usefulness of knowledge and ideas in concrete contexts of application. The distinct value of scholarship that is determined by its applicability or on the basis of its ability to contribute in the resolution of situated problems or issues. For their part, critical objectives are particularly associated with the enhancement of self-awareness and consciousness. In doing so, the relevance of associated scholarly work lies in informing ethical reflections, orienting moral judgements and helping actors free themselves from unwanted and unacknowledged constraints. Importantly, the goal of this thesis is not to prioritize one particular category of objectives but to help mitigate the current dominance of scientism in American IR by underlining the distinct value and equally legitimate purpose that other categories of objectives further in the field.

The following examination also details the types of epistemic approaches that are used in the selected master curricula and syllabi. In doing so, this examination starts clarifying the typology of epistemic approaches associated with this thesis categorization. To illustrate the inductive and incremental approach used to generate this categorization (see Chapter 1 for more details) the examination developed in this chapter focuses on a specific portion of the associated epistemic approaches. More specifically, it focuses on the epistemic approaches most closely associated with applied objectives (i.e. interdisciplinary and intellectually broad, issue-, policy- and case-specific and experiential approaches), two approaches most regularly related with scientific objectives (i.e. quantitative and statistical, as well as empirical approaches). I also use two temporary categories of epistemic approaches that appear less frequently and that are broadly associated with scientific or critical approaches, that is, rationalist and normative theoretical approaches.[114] Detailing these epistemic approaches helps describing the diverging worldviews and goals that are furthered by each categoriy of objectives in American IR.

[114] The epistemic approaches that are encompassed within these two temporary categories are further detailed in Chapter 6.

As indicated in Part I of the thesis, the following examination is supported by a series of diagrams, which help visualizing the linguistic networks and categories that are reproduced in the examined curricula and syllabi. More precisely, two types of diagrams are used, in the following subsections, to support the description of my analysis. In the more generic form of diagrams (i.e. see Figure 1.2, in Chapter 1), the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis categorization are positioned in each corner of the triangle-form diagram; then, each category of epistemic approaches is depicted by a particular acronym and positioned along each side of the diagram according to the procedures described in Chapter 1.[115] Figure 5.1 presents the more generic type of diagram that is used in the following subsection.

Figure 5.1: Main Epistemic Approaches Exemplified in the Selected Master Programs



At this point, Figure 5.1 is only meant to schematically depict the categorization that is used to describe and explain the articulations of discourses that are analyzed in the following examination of selected master curricula and syllabi. As this figure indicates, Chapter 5 particularly focuses on the epistemic approaches that are related with applied objectives in the proposed categorization. The other type of diagrams used in the following subsections help visualizing the specific linguistic networks that are examined

[115] These acronyms are "QSA" for the quantitative and statistical approaches, "EMP" for the empirical approaches, "IIB" for the interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approaches, "IPC" for the issue-, policy- and case-specific approaches, "EXP" for the experiential approaches, as well as "RTA" and "NOR" for the temporary categories of rationalist and normative theoretical approaches.

and by which particular objectives and epistemic approaches are furthered in the selected curricula and syllabi. [116]

This chapter is organized in two main sections. Section 5.1 provides a detailed examination of the curriculum and of one course syllabus in each selected master program. It uses the discourse analysis approach detailed in Chapter 4 to highlight statements and linguistic relations that clarify which categories of objectives and epistemic approaches are furthered in each textual source, as well as some of the reasons why American IR scholars adopt different orientations in the context of these programs. Section 5.2 presents a transversal comparison of the examinations presented in Section 5.1. This section synthesizes the examples that recurred across the examined curricula and syllabi on each of the proposed categories of objectives and the diverging modes of thinking that they entail. It particularly emphasizes the value and goal associated with an applied orientation for IR scholarship. In doing so, the chapter starts mitigating the dominance of scientism and argues for a greater consideration of alternative forms of scholarship in the field.

5.1: Discursive Analysis of Ten Master Programs in American IR

This section develops individual examinations on the ten master programs selected in Chapter 4. Focusing on each program curriculum and one selected syllabus, I highlight the network of statements and linguistic relations that help detail the different objectives and epistemic approaches that are advanced in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Since the relevant statements are potentially extensive in the selected curricula and syllabi, the discursive analysis of each master program necessarily filters those that appear the most relevant for incrementally developing my analysis.

Master of International Affairs at Columbia University

The Master of International Affairs at the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) of Columbia University is usually a two-year graduate program. Each student must complete a core course curriculum[117] and choose one among six policy

[116] These illustrations are particularly inspired by Hansen (2006). See, for example, figures 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 (in Chapter 3).

[117] These include courses in international economics, international politics, statistics, management, financial management and quantitative methodology, and a second-language proficiency requirement.

concentrations and three courses associated with a skill or area of specialized knowledge (SIPA 2015). In this program, I particularly examine the (online) description of the master's curriculum and the general description and mandatory readings associated with one recent syllabus for the core course on international politics (i.e., Professor Stephen Sestanovich's Fall 2011 course entitled "U6800: *Conceptual Foundations of International Politics"*). [118]

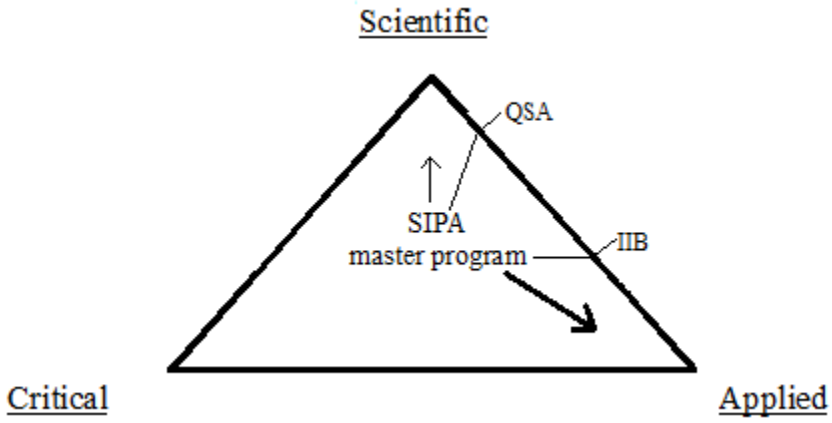
The professional master program at SIPA is an interesting case with which to begin my analysis. Indeed, the associated documentary sources reproduce diverse linguistic networks that can also be observed – albeit with minor differences – in several other master curricula and syllabi. To complement my examination, I provide three specific figures (i.e., Figures 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4) that illustrate linguistic networks that are particularly appropriate for specifying the categories of objectives that are advanced in this program. In the following subsections, similar diagrams are provided only when linguistic networks add new insights on the types of articulations that help further the proposed categories of objectives in the selected programs.

Figure 5.2 hereinafter provides a synthetic illustration of the scholarly objectives and epistemic approaches examined in the curriculum and syllabus associated with the SIPA master program.[119]

[118] I used this course syllabus since it was the most recent at the moment of collecting documentary sources about this master program.

[119] As with the following diagrams, the arrows, which symbolize the main vocational orientations interpreted from the examined documentary sources, and the lines are positioned in Figure 5.2 according to the procedures detailed in Chapter 1.

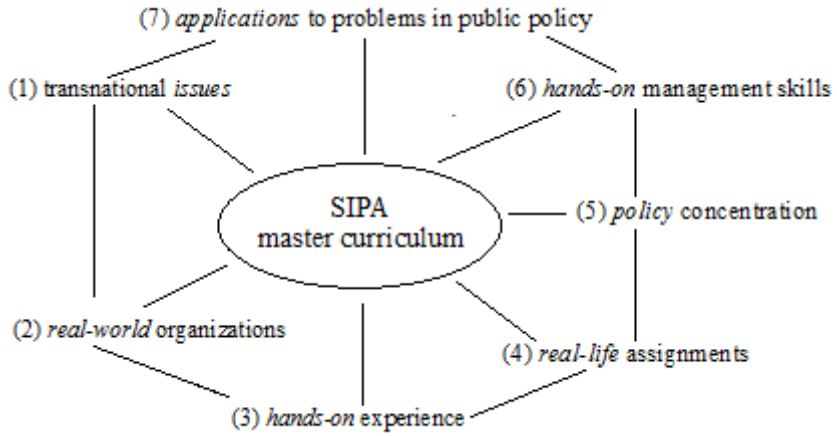
Figure 5.2: Main Scholarly Objectives and Epistemic Approaches in the SIPA Master Program Curriculum and Professor Sestanovich's Syllabus



Several statements and sources further applied objectives in the curriculum and syllabus associated with the SIPA master program. The statements and link-making practices that reproduce this type of objective are primarily observable in the general description of the SIPA master program curriculum. For example, this description underlines how the program furthers an "understand[ing] of complex transnational *issues*," the development of abilities to "manage *real-world* organizations," and the acquisition of "*hands-on* experience" through "*real-life* assignments" (SIPA 2015). In these statements, the terms "issues", but especially "real-world," "hands-on" and "real-life" indicate that the program seeks to transmit practical forms of experiences and knowledge of concrete contexts of practice associated with international relations. In that sense, they orient the program towards objectives and modes of thinking that prioritize the consideration of relatively concrete problems and experiences and the development of knowledge that can be useful in such context.

To illustrate the linguistic network generated by these and following statements in this curriculum, I indicate the main terms denoting applied objectives in the following Figure 5.3. The four previous statements are indicated as positions 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Figure 5.3: Linguistic Network Exemplifying Applied Objectives in the Professional Master Program Curriculum at SIPA



Other statements can be related with applied objectives in the description of specific components of the SIPA curriculum, namely, the development of "substantive knowledge of *policy* concentration" and "*hands-on* management skills" (*idem*). Similarly, the description of the mandatory course on quantitative methodology in this curriculum underlines a "focus on *applications* to problems in public policy, management, and the social sciences" (SIPA 2015). This last statement is particularly explicit about the importance of transmitting knowledge that is applicable to current problems that American IR scholars and students can encounter in their professional lives. More broadly, these statements indicate how applied objectives can help further scholarship translating experience in concrete contexts of practice. In Figure 5.3 above, I also depict these statements (i.e., at positions 5, 6 and 7) to clarify the linguistic network associated with applied objectives in this program curriculum.

The general description of the SIPA curriculum also makes explicit links to diverse epistemic approaches. First, the general description of the program states that it provides students with "*qualitative* and *quantitative* analytical skills" (SIPA 2015). Detailing these approaches, the description of the compulsory course on research methodology makes explicit links to approaches associated with "*statistics*," "*quantitative analysis*," "fundamentals of *statistical analysis*," "principles and basic methods for analyzing *quantitative data*" and "sophisticated techniques for drawing inferences from data and making predictions" (SIPA 2015). This series of statements recurrently emphasize ways

of mobilizing quantitative and statistical tools for analysis; they can hence be linked with what I have identified as quantitative and statistical approaches in this thesis categorization. In Figure 5.2 above, I have illustrated this discursive articulation by a line connecting "SIPA master program" to the symbol "QSA" (for quantitative and statistical approaches). Importantly, these approaches do not translate the type of objectives that were previously associated with an applied orientation and instead translate emphases on precise, systematic and neutral tools of analysis. Such emphases accordingly seem more closely linked with the category of scientific objectives in the context of this thesis conceptualization.

Another interesting feature of the discourses accessed in the SIPA master curriculum are the links with what I have termed an intellectually broad and interdisciplinary approach. More precisely, the general description of the program curriculum indicates that "every student in the [Master] program receives basic, *broad-based*, *interdisciplinary* training in international affairs," which particularly includes "graduate-level course work in economics, statistics, interstate relations and management" (SIPA 2015). Importantly, these statements emphasize an approach that is recurrently observable in other master programs and that emphasize abilities to mobilize knowledge from several fields of activities or studies. Importantly and even if this approach is not generally compared with more conventional research methodologies in IR, its recurrence among programs that are mainly guided by application principles indicated me that it constituted a distinct form of intellectual means that American IR scholars use for advancing applied objectives. It also suggests that applied objectives can be valuable in American IR for furthering scholarship that can connect insights originating from diverse fields of study and practice. In the previous Figure 5.2, this approach is depicted by the symbol "IIB".

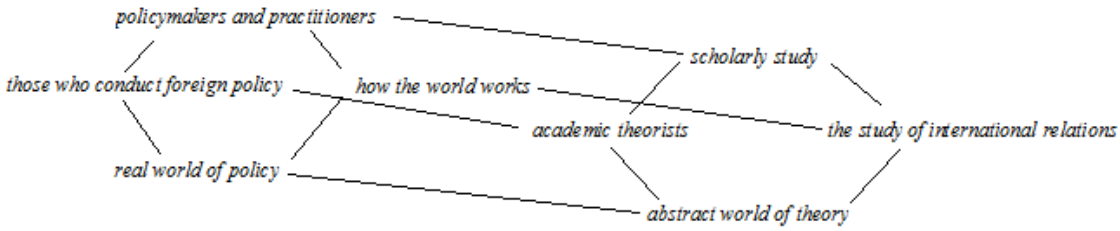
Turning to Professor Sestanovich's syllabus, I can highlight linguistic practices that reinforce and diverge from the discursive articulations examined in the general curriculum of the SIPA master program. The course description, for example, emphasizes activities such as the "review of major *academic* writings" and the study of "*analytical tools*" and "*theoretical literature*," as well as goals such as "*understand*[ing] and *explain*[ing] international affairs" and "enhance[ing] students' abilities to *think critically*

and *analytically*" (Sestanovich 2011, 1). This network of statements is also combined with a binary-making statement opposing the identity of Columbia's faculty as "*authorities* [in social scientific fields]" and "*experienced practitioners* in their own right" (*idem*). Notably, the knowledge gained as an experienced practitioner is relatively devalued in this later binary statement since it is placed inside brackets.[120]

When compared with the linguistic network reproduced in the previous Figure 5.3, the latter statements translate relatively different scholarly objectives. For example, it is difficult to specify what type of scholarly objectives, outside of application, the previous expressions refer to. Indeed, while links to terms such as academic writings, analytical tools and theoretical literature might be more closely associated with scientific objectives because of their tendency to suggest neutral and transversal approaches to the subject of IR scholarship, the statement emphasizing "critical thinking" (even if isolated) more explicitly links the syllabus to critical objectives.

Diverse scholarly objectives are also reproduced in the mandatory readings listed in Professor Sestanovich's syllabus.[121] Figure 5.4 depicts the binary linguistic network that is reproduced in these sources.

Figure 5.4: Binary Linguistic Networks in Professor Sestanovich's Mandatory Readings



The first two mandatory readings listed by Professor Sestanovich (i.e. Walt 1998, Snyder 2004) can also be related with some of the categories of objectives that were previously mentioned. In the first sources, for example, Stephen Walt asks "why should

[120] The full statement reads as follows: "the lecturers [invited in the course] include members of the Columbia faculty who are authorities in these fields (as well as, in many cases, experienced practitioners in their own right)" (Sestanovich 2011, 1).
[121] In this syllabus, no descriptions are provided for individual courses' sessions.

policymakers and *practitioners* care about the scholarly study of international affairs?" (1998, 29). In this same source, this author also proposes that "those who *conduct foreign policy* often dismiss *academic theorists* (frequently, one must admit, with good reason)" (*idem*). Nevertheless, these two sources also underline that there is "an inescapable link between the *abstract world of theory* and the *real world of policy*" (*idem*) or again that "the *study of international relations* is supposed to tell us how *the world works*" (Snyder 2004, 53). The most relevant terms or expressions associated with these four binary statements (italicized in the previous citations) are synthetically depicted in the previous Figure 5.4.

As depicted in Figure 5.4, I propose that the previous binary statements present a cluster of terms (located on the left side in Figure 5.4) that refer to actors (i.e. policy makers, practitioners), activities (i.e. foreign policy/policy making) and contexts (i.e. the 'workings' of the world) that further applied objectives, because it recurrently denotes application of knowledge and scholarship to relatively concrete problems and situations. This first cluster accordingly suggests that scholarship oriented towards application is particularly valuable for guiding scholarly work towards topics closely related with policymaking and current world issues. Conversely, a second cluster of terms and statements is more closely associated with scientific objectives (located on the right side of Figure 5.4). Indeed, it highlights links to actors (e.g., academic theorists), activities (e.g., scholarly study and theory) and contexts (e.g., abstract world of theory) that denote – or caricature because they are recurrently devalued – scholarship directed towards the production of factual and theoretical knowledge or, at the very least, devoid of any links to concrete applications or critical engagements. This second cluster suggest that the value of scientific scholarship is particularly related to the development and use of theoretical knowledge.

The previous statements also denote a boundary-making effect between actors, activities and contexts associated with each of the two clusters of statements, an effect that is particularly explicit in the way the verbs "care," "dismiss," and "supposed" are used by Walt and Snyder. What this means is that the previous linguistic network indicates a form of priority between applied and scientific objectives in the examined sources, which

favors the former over the later. As this priority between applied and scientific objectives recurred both in these sources and in the description of this master program curriculum, these vocational orientations are depicted by a major arrow pointing toward the Applied angle and a minor arrow pointing toward the Scientific angle in Figure 5.2.

Importantly, several other statements in the six mandatory readings examined in Professor Sestanovich's syllabus indicate the importance of applied objectives. For example, Kishore Mahbubani (2008) emphasizes how the centers of geopolitical powers are *currently* moving toward Asia. Joshua Goldstein (2011) also discusses how wars have *recently* been transformed in both intensity and deadliness. Similarly, Anne-Marie Slaughter (2011) argues that *contemporary* foreign *policy problems* (especially American ones) have fundamentally changed and hence require new tools and approaches. These statements and sources recurrently emphasize in Professor Sestanovich's syllabus the importance of current, recent and relatively concrete contexts, issues and problems, which is particularly relevant when furthering applied objectives.[122] Incidentally, these statements also underline the importance of the immediate or at least short-term and current context for advancing applied scholarship, and similarly of the relevance of such scholarship for understanding and handling current or short-term questions and issues.

A final relevant feature of the mandatory reading list in this syllabus is the small network of link- and binary-making practices that emphasize the need for theoretical and intellectual breadth. More precisely, the first mandatory reading emphasizes that "*no single approach* can capture all the complexity of contemporary world politics" and that we "should welcome and encourage the *heterogeneity of contemporary scholarship*" (Walt 1998, 30). This same author also underlines that we "are better off with a di*verse array of competing ideas* rather than a *single theoretical orthodoxy*" (*idem*). Accordingly, these statements reinforce the links with the previously mentioned intellectually broad and interdisciplinary approaches and help clarify their value in further heterogeneity and pluralism in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

[122] Reinforcing this argument, several of the sources in Professor Sestanovich are published in what can be identified as knowledge-transfer outlets like the journals *Foreign Policy* (e.g., Walt 1998, Snyder 2004, and Goldstein 2011), *Foreign Affairs* (e.g., Mahbubani 2008) or *The Atlantic* (e.g., Slaughter 2011).

While partial, this first examination provides some examples of the diverse objectives and epistemic approaches that are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities. For example, several statements from the SIPA master program curriculum and selected syllabus emphasized the importance of application, and secondarily, of scientific objectives. The general description of this master program curriculum and several sources associated with Professor Sestanovich's syllabus also present several links that can clarify two epistemic approaches associated with these categories of objectives, that is, quantitative and statistical and interdisciplinary and intellectually broad epistemic approaches. This examination starts clarifying the particular value and modes of thinking associated with these different approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities. It especially indicates that applied objectives can help further interdisciplinary modes of thinking, real-life experiences and connections with concrete contexts of practice. This examination accordingly helps explain why American scholars may advance this type of objectives in IR.

Master of Public Policy at Duke University

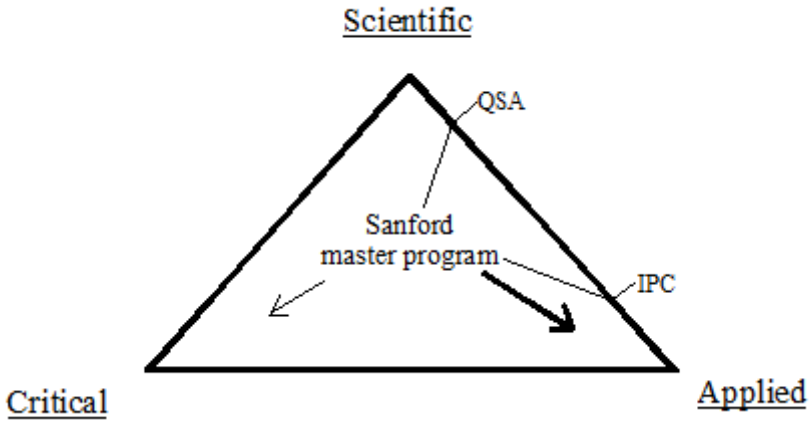
The Master of Public Policy at the Sanford School of Public Policy of Duke University is a two-year program which includes a general curriculum of ten compulsory semester courses,[123] a minimum of three elective courses and one capstone master's project. The program also includes seven policy-area specializations[124] (Sanford 2015). In this master program, I particularly examine the general master curriculum and a recent syllabus for the foundation course entitled "Globalization and Governance" (i.e., Professor Bruce Jentleson's Fall 2011 syllabus for this course).

The curriculum and syllabi associated with the master program at the Sanford School provide interesting similarities and contrasts with the previous master at SIPA. While this examination helps illustrate alternative vocational orientations in American IR, my discursive analysis of these sources primarily exemplifies statements associated with applied objectives. Also, several statements in these textual sources denote a particular focus on policy-oriented applications and topics, which informs the particular value of

[123] These cover topics such as policy analysis, microeconomics, ethics, statistics and quantitative methods.
[124] These policy-area specializations include Global Policy, Social Policy, Population Studies, National Security, Health Policy, Environment and Energy Policy, and Development Policy.

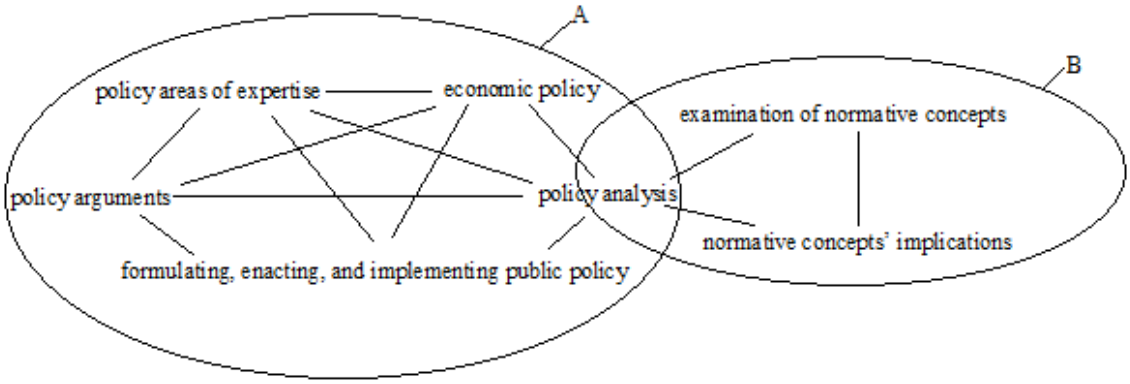
scholarship advancing this type of objectives in American IR. This orientation and the epistemic approaches that are particularly examined in the associated curriculum and syllabus are depicted in the following Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5: Main Scholarly Orientations and Epistemic Approaches in the Sanford School Master Curriculum and Professor Jentleson's Syllabus



Several statements associated with the description of the curriculum and some of the associated course requirements help illustrate some of the scholarly objectives advanced in this thesis. The program's general description, for example, emphasizes the Sanford School faculties' diverse policy areas of expertise, such as "environmental and energy *policy*, global governance and development *policy*, communications *policy*, child *policy*" (Sanford 2015, 2). Similarly, most of the compulsory courses associated with the program are explicitly described as being applied to policy issues. For example, the compulsory course on microeconomic analysis is linked to "both normative and positive aspects of *economic policy*," the course on data analysis and evaluation is associated with the evaluation and production of "evidence for *policy arguments*," the course on political analysis underlines scholars' and students' roles "in *formulating, enacting, and implementing public policy*," and the course on policy analysis is presented as training "students to approach *policy analysis*" (ibid., 4). To illustrate their network effect, I have translated the main notions advanced by the previous statements in the left-side cluster ("A") indicated in Figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Two Linguistic Networks Associated with the Sanford School Master Curriculum



As depicted in Figure 5.6, the previous statements recurrently emphasize the importance of linking scholarship with policy concerns, issues and contexts. By focusing on policy but also through active notions like "formulating, enacting and implementing", this cluster of statements accordingly emphasizes the role of application objectives in the associated program. More broadly, it also suggest that scholarship furthering applied objectives are particularly valuable for developing links with policy problems, contexts and policymaking more broadly.

As illustrated in Figure 5.6, other statements reproduced in this curriculum (grouped in cluster "B" in the previous figure) diverge from this primary orientation. This divergence is particularly notable in the description of the compulsory course on ethical analysis in the Sanford School master curriculum, which is said to be focused on the examination of "the *historical* and *philosophical* roots of *normative concepts* in politics, liberty, justice, and the public interest; (…) and their *implications* for domestic and international problems" (Sanford 2015, 4). These statements and, especially, the examination of the "implications" of concepts for international problems can fruitfully be contrasted with previous terms like as "formulating," "enacting," and "implementing" public policy, which strongly denoted application objectives.

In terms of underlying objectives, an examination of "the implications of normative concepts'" denotes a lesser emphasis on the application of scholarship to concrete situations or problems and, in contrast, a greater emphasis on developing (self-)awareness and ethical reflections. An emphasis on the historical and philosophical roots of

normative concepts similarly conveys objectives such as reflecting and questioning their ethical meaning and stakes. While these statements provide only partial details on this compulsory course, I suggest that they illustrate a diverging mode of thinking and sense of purpose in the field. More precisely, they help clarify how and why critical objectives are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities. To help visualize the different objectives that are furthered in the previous statements, I depict the dominant emphasis towards applied objectives by a major arrow and the minor emphasis towards critical objectives by a minor arrow in the previous Figure 5.5.

Beyond these vocational orientations, the description of the Sanford School master curriculum also illustrates a small network of link-making practices associated with quantitative and statistical approaches. For example, the general description of this program curriculum emphasizes the importance of training in "quantitative methods" (Sanford 2015, 4). In the description of several compulsory courses associated with the master curriculum, a number of statements also reproduce this type of epistemic approach. For example, the descriptions associated with the compulsory courses on microeconomic analysis and data analysis and evaluation state that associated "case studies illustrate microeconomic theory and *quantitative methods for analysis*" and courses provide "students with the *statistical skills*" (Sanford 2015). While statements associated with quantitative and statistical approaches appear in the description of only a minority of activities associated with this master program, they nevertheless illustrate recurring discursive articulations in the curriculum, which suggest that they are important in furthering objectives associated with this program. In the previous Figure 5.5, these articulations of discourses are depicted by a line connecting "Sanford Master program" to the symbol "QSA."[125]

Professor Jentleson's course syllabus for the foundation course "Globalization and Governance" also reproduces several statements that help exemplify applied objectives in this program. These statements are, for example, found in the general description of the course, which states that it focuses on "the *challenges of governance* amidst

[125] This discursive articulation is only illustrated toward the right side of the triangular schema to indicate that quantitative and statistical approaches are mainly linked with applied objectives in the examined sources associated with this program.

globalization" including "a range of economic, political, security, societal and cultural *issues*" (Jentleson 2011, 1). Moreover, while the first part of the course is dedicated to the development of an "*analytic framework* and *historical context* for understanding globalization and governance" (*idem*), the second and third parts are dedicated to the study of international institutions and policy areas associated with global governance. These diverse parts are also associated with a list of mandatory readings that largely furthers objectives of application.

For example, at least 13 of the 16 mandatory readings examined in the first part of the course focus primarily on current international issues, such as the role of economic globalization (Bhagwati 2007), financial globalization (Rodrick 2011) and the Network Society (Slaughter 2004) in the context of national and international policy making. While several historically and theoretically informed sources analyze contemporary issues of international or global politics such as, for example, the role of transnational policy networks (Keck and Sikkink 1998), at least 5 of 16 mandatory sources focus mainly, if not exclusively, on the application of knowledge to current problems and institutional contexts (e.g., international governmental organizations [IGOs] web pages, sections of the UN website, the UN Global Compact). These recurring links with objectives of application in these readings reinforce the importance of applied objectives in this program. Importantly, they also indicate how this orientation can help IR scholarship from elite US universities be connected with current international issues and organizations.

The 37 mandatory readings examined in the second and third parts of this syllabus largely reproduce similar scholarly objectives. For example, at least 28 of these 37 mandatory sources are linked to the websites of official organizations, such as IGOs (e.g., the European Union and the World Health Organization) and NGOs or other official sources (e.g., the Genocide Convention and Human Rights Watch). Other sources are simultaneously theoretically informed and applied to current international policy issues. For example, Nick Bisley and Raimo Väyrynen (2009) examine and offer recommendations on current security arrangements in Asia. Similarly, Peter Jones (2009-2010) discusses the creation of a mechanism for the promotion of regional co-operation

and security in the Middle East. Accordingly, these sources largely prioritize the advancement of applied scholarship. This indicates how a graduate education program can diverge from the dominant scientism in American IR by prioritizing other principles, standards and objectives and how associated scholarship can further connections with current issues and concrete contexts of practice.

Beyond this particular vocational orientation, examining these sources also enables me to clarify some of the associated epistemic approaches. For example, these sources repetitively focus on *specific* issues, policy problems and cases associated with international affairs and global governance. This, I contend, denotes a distinct approach to representing the world and producing knowledge in scholarly work, which is particularly relevant in the context of applied scholarship. Professor Jentleson's syllabus offers particularly explicit statements for exemplifying this epistemic approach in a section on "Other Readings." This section indeed indicates that students are expected to keep up with "*current events* and *policy debates* related to the course through a quality news source" (2011, 2). In the previous paragraphs, this epistemic approach is also exemplified by the number of sources focusing on *specific* organizational contexts or cases such as the European Union and the World Health Organization, *specific* global or international policy challenges such as the security arrangements *in Asia* (Bisley and Väyrynen 2009) and *specific* global issues such as the creation of more appropriate frameworks for global governance (Thakur and Van Langenhove 2006).

To better understand the specific value of the distinct epistemic approach implied in the previous series of statement, we can contrast them with an approach where scholars would have studied these organizations, challenges and issues using cross-case comparisons and generic or theoretical approaches. Using this contrast, the previous statements focus on specific, unique and individual cases represent very different approach for understanding the world and producing IR scholarship. In the previous sources, this approach is characterized by a focus on specific issues, policies and cases, which explain its designation as an issue-, policy- and case-specific epistemic approach in this thesis categorization. This approach also appears, in the previously examined statements and sources closely associated with applied objectives, which helps specify

the particular value of associated scholarship in accounting and adapting to the specificities of specific cases and contexts. The previous Figure 5.5 illustrates the recurring articulation between the issue-, policy- and case-specific approach and Professor Jentleson's syllabus by a line connecting "Sanford master program" to the symbol "IPC."

My examination of the curriculum and syllabus associated with the Sanford School master program further exemplifies how and why applied objectives are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities. It exemplifies how a master program can combine application and critical objectives, while privileging the former. This examination is accordingly significant for emphasizing the diversity of objectives that can be advanced in American IR scholarship despite the dominance of scientist standards across the field. Additionally, my examination of the curriculum and syllabus associated with the Sanford School master helps identify and exemplify specific epistemic approaches such as the quantitative and statistical and the issue-, policy-, and case-specific approaches. Highlighting the features of the later epistemic approach is particularly relevant to clarify the value of applied scholarship in understanding specific cases and situations in IR scholarship. This approach, I argue, can be particularly valuable for developing scholarship that is more adapted to specific and current issues and contexts (and educating students accordingly), making it more valuable for contributing to the resolution of existing societal problems. Accordingly, this examination helps emphasizing the value and distinct purpose of alternative categories of objectives and to mitigate the dominance of scientism in American IR.

Master of Science in Foreign Service at Georgetown University

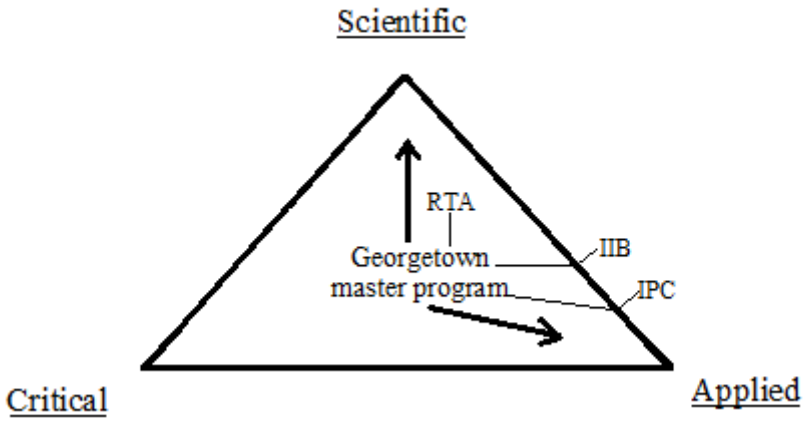
The Master of Science in Foreign Service from the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University is a two-year graduate program organized around a core curriculum of 16 semester courses. This core curriculum includes five compulsory courses,[126] five courses and one workshop in a chosen concentration, and five elective courses outside of the student's chosen concentration (Foreign Service 2015b). Students may choose from three main fields of professional concentration, namely, global politics

[126] These include courses on international trade, international relations, globalization, analytical and statistical skills, and international finance.

and security, international development, and global business and finance (Foreign Service 2015a). Students are also expected to pass a language proficiency examination and complete an internship in an international organization.

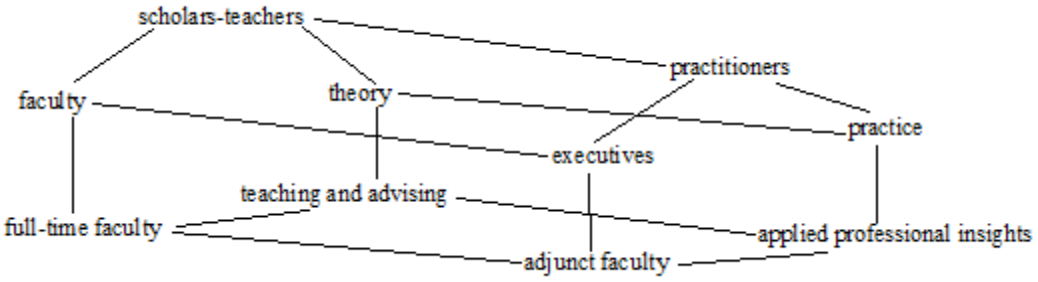
To examine this master program, I concentrate my examination on the description and requirements associated with the core curriculum and a recent syllabus for the compulsory IR course, namely, Professors Victor Cha, Charles Kupchan, Kathleen R. McNamara, Daniel Nexon, and Erik Voeten's Fall 2011 syllabus for the course entitled "MSFS 510 International Relations Theory and Practice." My examination of these textual sources indicates recurring links with two categories of objectives and three categories of epistemic approaches. These orientations and articulations with diverse epistemic approaches are depicted in Figure 5.7 below, that is, by arrows pointing from "Georgetown master program" toward the Scientific and Applied angles and by the links with the acronyms RTA, IIB and IPC.

Figure 5.7: Main Objectives and Epistemic Approaches in the School of Foreign Service Master Program at Georgetown University



Several of the objectives and epistemic approaches characterizing the master program curriculum and syllabus of the School of Foreign Service are similar to those highlighted in the examination of the Columbia and Duke master programs (two previous subsections). These similarities are primarily observable in a series of binary statements furthering particular categories of objectives in the description of the School of Foreign Service master program. The linguistic network generated by these statements is depicted in Figure 5.8.

Figure 5.8: Binary Linguistic Networks Associated with the School of Foreign Service Master Program Curriculum



The description of the School of Foreign Service master program primarily reproduces a series of binary statements that exemplifies two categories of scholarly objectives. For example, the master program's main stakeholders are identified as "*scholars-teachers*" and "*practitioners*," "*faculty*" and "*executives*," or "*full-time* faculty" and "*adjunct* faculty" in the general description of the master program (Foreign Service 2015a). As indicated by these titles and terms, this first series of binary statements distinguishes actors according to affiliation with the academic sphere and other non-academic fields of activities (e.g., scholars-teachers and faculty vs. practitioners and executives). To illustrate the recurring effect of these binary statements, these terms have been grouped in two different clusters in Figure 5.8.

Contributing to the binary effect generated by these two different clusters of statements, the previous titles and terms are also linked to distinct types of activities in the description of the School of Foreign Service master program. For example, faculty are associated with "*teaching*" and "*advising*," while practitioners are associated with "*applied professional insights*" (Foreign Service 2015a). These binaries can also be related to the statement according to which the master program "integrates *theory* and *practice*" (*idem*). What I propose is that these two clusters of terms refer to distinct types of objectives in these sources. More precisely, the right-side cluster can be conceived as linking actors and activities furthering application objectives (e.g., practitioners, executives, applied insights) while the left-side cluster is associated with less distinct but largely academically focused actors and activities (e.g., scholars-teachers, faculty, theory).

Beyond this diversity in the underlying orientations, I can also highlight how the description of the School of Foreign Service master program illustrates some form of boundary-making effect between the actors and activities associated with these two previous clusters of statements (as indicated in the relative position of the two clusters in Figure 5.8). This effect is particularly observable in the statement according to which practitioners (who are identified as *adjunct* faculty) "*complement*" the role of "full-time faculty" (Foreign Service 2015a). This statement inscribes a hierarchy that comparatively undermines the role and value of practitioners and associated scholarly objectives by suggesting that full-time faculty have a primary role in the context of this program.[127]

Importantly, Professors Cha, Kupchan, McNamara, Nexon, and Voeten's syllabus (2011) presents a significant level of coherence with the general description of the master program curriculum of the School of Foreign Service. For example, the course description included in this syllabus underlines objectives such as "gain[ing] *deep knowledge* of the dominant English-language theories of international relations" and "assess[ing] the *explanatory* power of these *theories*" (Cha et al. 2011, 1). These two statements illustrate objectives that explicitly prioritize the reproduction of theoretical knowledge and the evaluation of their explanatory capacities. According to the categorization proposed in this thesis, these objectives appear closely associated with scientific objectives and their focuses on factual, descriptive and explanatory knowledge.

In contrast, the general description of the course also emphasizes an objective such as "engag[ing] with the most *pressing contemporary policy debates* in international politics" (*idem*), hence emphasizing the importance of applying scholarship to current contexts and (policy) problems. This description also reproduces the effect of some of the previously mentioned binaries such as that between the "*study* and *practice* of international politics" (*idem*). Accordingly, these statements can be seen as furthering and contrasting scientific and applied objectives in the context of this master program (i.e. with the former statements and terms advancing scientific objectives and the latter furthering applied

[127] Notably, this boundary-making effect does not indicate the specific value or worth of associated actors in the context of graduate education in IR and related fields (i.e., faculty and practitioners). Instead, it only underlines which functional model and scholarly objective might be prioritized in the context of this specific master program.

objectives). This combination is an interesting example of the ways by which diverse scholarly objectives can be combined in American IR scholarship and the contracting principles and value they help moving forward.

These two vocational orientations are also translated in the list of approximately 55 mandatory readings examined in this syllabus. For example, this list includes a significant number of sources that focus primarily on general and theoretically oriented studies like Robert Putnam (1988) who analyzes the ratification of international treaties, William Wohlforth (1999) who examines the effects of unipolarity on international politics, and Kenneth Waltz (2007) who discusses systemic theories of international politics. Interestingly, several theoretically oriented sources focus on particular 'puzzles,' like John Ikenberry who states that "the postwar Western order is particularly a puzzle for neorealism" (1998, 43). These and several other readings in this syllabus illustrate how IR scholarship from elite US universities can be developed to clarify empirical regularities, generate theories with better explanatory power, and produce factual knowledge about the world. While more specifications are developed in the following pages, these sources help specifying the distinct modes of thinking and approaches that are associated with scientific objectives in this program and the American field of IR more broadly.

The scientific character of this type of theoretically oriented scholarship is particularly exemplified by one author, i.e. Thomas C. Schelling (listed in Cha et al. [2011]), who writes that "[t]he premise of "rational behavior" is a potent one for the production of theory. Whether the resulting theory provides good or poor insight into actual behavior is (…) a matter of subsequent judgement" (Schelling 1960, 4). This quote is particularly important because it highlights how IR scholarship can prioritize the production of theoretical knowledge and be accordingly distinct from other potential scholarly orientations (e.g., that which would focus on application of knowledge to specific contexts and problems). This distinction is particularly emphasized in the way Schelling underscores the secondary ("subsequent") importance of potential insights into the actual behavior of actors in the context of theory-oriented work. Instead, the focus on theory in

this source clarifies a particular dimension of the general goal and mode of thinking associated with scientific objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Yet, this orientation towards scientific objectives is far from exclusive in the selected syllabus, which allows ample space for what Daniel Drezner (2008) names a "public-policy perspective." In fact, a large proportion of the mandatory readings listed in this syllabus can also be identified as theoretically informed (rather than theory-oriented) analyses on problems of international politics. For example, several readings mobilize IR theories to analyze specific foreign policy issues, such as the effects of China's rise (Mearsheimer 2006) and the current and future relations between the United States and China (Friedberg 2005). Moreover, while these are proportionally less important than in Professor Jentleson's syllabus (in the previously examined Sanford School master program), several sources focus primarily on current and relatively concrete issues such as, for example, U.S. nuclear weapons policy (e.g., Blair et al. 2011, Woolf 2011) or Iceland's recent financial crash (Lewis 2009). The recurring focus of these sources on the application of knowledge and theories to relatively concrete and current situations and problems accordingly indicates the orientation towards applied objectives in this syllabus (an orientation also depicted in the previous Figure 5.7). These examples also help underlining the comparative value of scientific and applied objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities, one being that the former is directed towards the development of theoretical knowledge while the later uses theoretical knowledge for analyzing current and concrete issues and contexts.

Beyond these two vocational orientations, I can also underline how the previous series of mandatory readings generally focuses on a relatively specific context of application and particularly (but not exclusively) on the American context (i.e. the national context of the authors). This may suggest that scholarship furthering applied objectives in American IR tends to be directed toward relatively closer audiences and to mobilize more proximate cases and topics. This feature in fact reproduces one of the epistemic approaches proposed in the previous subsection namely the issue-, policy- and case-specific approach toward knowledge production.

In the case of the sources previously associated with applied objectives in this syllabus, it is indeed noticeable that most focus on application to relatively specific issues, policies, or cases (e.g., *U.S.* foreign or nuclear policies, *Iceland's* financial crash). Notably, this approach is also underlined by Professors Cha, Kupchan, McNamara, Nexon, and Voeten when they describe the course as being focused on "contemporary *theories* and *issues* in international relations" (2011, 1). In this binary statement, issues and theories appear as distinct intellectual means to produce knowledge in IR. These sources and statements illustrate an issue-, policy- and case-specific epistemic approach, which is particularly linked with objectives of application in this thesis categorization. The mobilization of this epistemic approach in the examined sources is also illustrated in Figure 5.7 by a line connecting "Georgetown master program" to the symbol "IPC."

In the latter binary statement, it is also noticeable that Professors Cha, Kupchan, McNamara, Nexon, and Voeten distinguish between issues and theories in their description of the course. As compared with the previous epistemic approach, this suggests that theories can be mobilized both to further scientific objectives (e.g. Schelling 1960) and as a specific means of producing knowledge in American IR. Among the above-mentioned sources, Wohlforth (1999), for example, illustrates this particular epistemic approach by using a systemic theoretical approach and related concepts (e.g. unipolarity) to explain features of international political life. Similarly, Aaron Friedberg (2005) explicitly mobilizes three theoretical approaches (realism, liberalism and constructivism) to examine potential future relations between the United States and China. As these sources illustrate, theories are recurring epistemic approaches or means to produce knowledge across this syllabus. Among the diverse sources that mobilize theory in Professors Cha, Kupchan, McNamara, Nexon, and Voeten's syllabus, a large proportion also mobilize theories more closely associated with causal and law-like forms of statements (e.g., Mearsheimer 2007, Waltz 2007, Reinhart and Rogoff 2008).[128] In this subsection, I temporarily identify these approaches as "rationalist theories" to indicate how these sources mobilize relatively diverse forms of theoretical approaches, which

[128] There are some exceptions that, for example, use what I can temporarily identify as more interpretive approaches; more precisely, these approaches use ideal-typical accounts (Nexon 2008) or popular culture analysis (Nexon and Neumann 2006).

nevertheless share broad rationalist (causal) assumptions. In Figure 5.7, I illustrate these rationalist theoretical approaches in the syllabus of Professors Cha et al. by a line connecting "Georgetown master program" to the symbol "RTA."

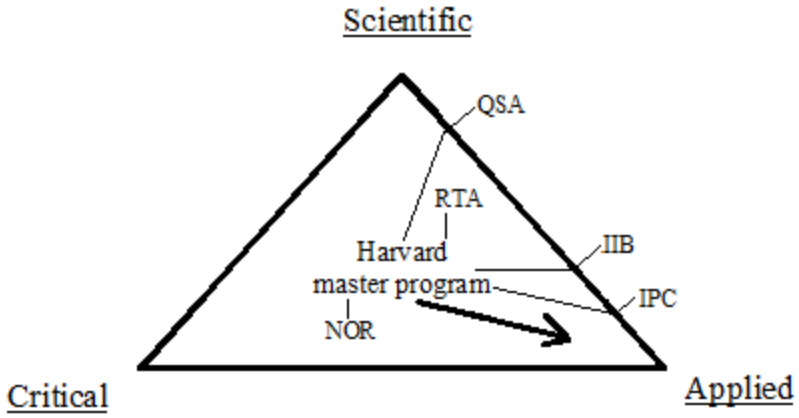
Besides these two epistemic approaches, the School of Foreign Service curriculum also illustrates a recurring emphasis on interdisciplinary and intellectual breadth. For example, the general description of the master program states that it uses "knowledge and skills that *transcend the confines of traditional academic disciplines*" and offers a "*multidisciplinary* course of study," as well as "core courses that provide *cross-disciplinary* insights" (Foreign Service 2015a). I underline this type of epistemic approaches because it is a recurring feature among the master programs examined in this chapter, and especially among those that further applied objectives. Because of this recurring articulation, these epistemic approaches can help clarifying the particular relevance of applied objectives in the context of American IR. The articulations of discourses that exemplify this epistemic approach are illustrated in the previous Figure 5.7 by a line connecting "Georgetown master program" to the symbol "IIB."

This examination of the documentary sources associated with this master program provides additional examples of the diversity of objectives that can be found in American IR. More precisely, the master program curriculum of the School of Foreign Service and the syllabus of Professors Cha, Kupchan, McNamara, Nexon, and Voeten illustrate several statements and sources that further and combine scientific and applied objectives. These sources also indicate how epistemic approaches like the issue-, policy- and case-specific, a rationalist theory, and an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach help furthering scientific and applied objectives. These approaches help clarify the specific value of these two categories of objectives in American IR and the diverging modes of thinking that are associated with each of them. Overall, examining the curriculum and syllabus associated with this master program provided important examples showing how American IR scholars can mobilize and combine different scholarly objectives and why they might do so.

Master in Public Policy at Harvard University

The Master program in Public Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University is a two-year graduate program requiring students to complete a core curriculum of compulsory courses and a policy area of concentration[129] (Kennedy 2015c). For this master program, I focus on the "Fact Sheet" describing the requirements associated with the "International and Global Affairs" (IGA) policy area concentration – since this concentration is the most closely associated with the study of international relations in this institution. I also focus on a recent syllabus for a mandatory course in this concentration, i.e., Professor Stephen Walt's Spring 2012 syllabus for the course entitled "International and Global Affairs (IGA-100)." The examination of these documentary sources provides additional examples of applied objectives and hence illustration of the diversity of orientation in American IR. The following examination also helps me detail the value of furthering applied scholarship in the field. The main articulations of discourse highlighted in this subsection are depicted in the following Figure 5.9.

Figure 5.9: Main Scholarly Objectives and Epistemic Approaches in the Kennedy School Master Program (Harvard)



The description of the IGA concentration associated with this master program presents a first network of statements that helps exemplify applied scholarship in American IR.[130] For example, this source indicates that the IGA concentration offers "intense *training*"

[129] These concentrations focus on topics such as Business and Government Policy, Democracy, Politics, and Institutions, International and Global Affairs, International Trade and Finance, Political and Economic Development, and Social and Urban Policy.

[130] This linguistic network reproduces the patterns depicted in previous figures (e.g., figures 5.3, 5.4 and 5.6), which explains why I have not translated it in another similar diagram.

for "*careers* addressing international and global *governance challenges*" and is intended for "students seeking to become *policy shapers*" in the "world of *contemporary* international and global *affairs*" (Kennedy 2015a). Notably, the concentration is also organized around concepts informing students of "opportunities and constraints for *changing the world*" as well as key "policy *issues*" (e.g., security, human rights) and "geographic *arenas*" (*idem*). As with some of the previous linguistic networks, this series of statements recurrently focuses on potential application of scholarship by highlighting the role of actors such as policy shapers and the importance of transferring knowledge to current activities like contemporary global affairs. They also help indicate how applied objectives entail a sense of purpose that prioritizes direct or short-term usefulness and applicability of one's work. In that sense, the description of this concentration is an excellent illustration of the way American IR scholars can further applied objectives in the context of graduate education programs and the field more broadly. The applied orientation that is translated in this network of statements is depicted in the previous Figure 5.9 by a major arrow pointing from toward the Applied angle.

Other components of this master's concentration curriculum also contribute to furthering applied objectives. The descriptions of the courses entitled "DPI-101 Political Institutions and Public Policy: Comparative Politics (for IGA)" and "API-102 Economic Analysis of Public Policy (for IGA)" offer prominent examples in that matter. For example, the IGA online course listing indicates that DPI-101 provides "an analytical toolkit for understanding and *acting on* the political dimensions of *policy problems*," especially within "the prism of American political institutions and the context they create for *policymaking*" (Kennedy 2015b). Similarly, the description of API-102 emphasizes that this course "develop[s] microeconomic tools of analysis for *policy problems* through various *policy applications*" (*idem*).[131] The emphasis on abilities to act on and analyze policy problems through applied scholarship indicates that the application of ideas and knowledge to concrete and current contexts and problems is a significant feature of these course descriptions. These statements also help emphasize the potential value of applied

[131] This policy-oriented discourse is also reinforced in the concentration curriculum by the fact that students are required to choose a "Policy Area of Concentration" and attend a "Policy Analysis Exercise" to complete their MA program.

scholarship in contributing to current policy problems and policymaking more broadly. These are important features that help detail why applied objectives are valuable in American IR.

Another significant dimension of the previous network of statements is the recurring focus on specific issues, policies or cases. For example, the description of the IGA concentration underlines the importance of knowing about specific issues and geographic context by including lists of policy issues and geographic arenas in the curriculum. Similarly, the previously mentioned emphasis on the "prism of American political institutions" (Kennedy 2015b) in the description of the DPI-101 course illustrates a case-specific approach to producing knowledge about policy problems. While limited, these statements exemplify again how an issue-, policy- and case-specific (or a 'casuistic') approach is mobilized to help further applied objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities. To depict this articulation, the previous Figure 5.9 connects the "Harvard master program" to the symbol "IPC," which is positioned close to the lower-right angle of the diagram.

In the previous series of statements, I also indicate how the course descriptions for DPI-101 and API-102 twice mobilized "tools" for analysis, i.e., in the form of an "analytical toolkit" and of "microeconomic tools of analysis." While there may be significant differences in the meanings attributed to these analytical tools, I suggest that microeconomic tools for analysis can be related to the description of the compulsory course entitled "API-202 Empirical Methods II (for IGA)" in the IGA master concentration (Kennedy 2015a). This course is described in the online course listing of Harvard's Kennedy School as covering "*regression analysis*, including multiple *regression*, *dummy variables*, and binary dependent variables; (…) the advantages and disadvantages of *experimental*, *quasi-experimental*, and *observational data*; and instrumental variable techniques" (Kennedy 2015b). While diverse, this series of terms and statements recurrently emphasize the importance of quantitative and statistical types of approaches. Accordingly, these statements illustrate how these epistemic approaches can be formulated in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

In terms of orientations, it also noteworthy that the previous terms and statements do not reproduce the applied orientations previously noticed in this master curriculum; instead, they imply a greater focus on producing factual, descriptive and exact knowledge, for example, through by organizing the teaching activities around the definition of dependent variables and observational data. While there are still few similar empirical illustrations, this type of epistemic approaches appears to translate more scientific forms of objectives than any others, notably by the implied objectivity and empirical nature of the proposed scholarship. To illustrate this distinct orientation and the connection with this type of epistemic approaches in this program, I positioned the symbol "QSA" on the top-right side of the previous Figure 5.9 and connected it with the symbol "Harvard master program".

The description of one other compulsory course in this master curriculum, namely, the ethics course entitled "DPI-201 The Responsibilities of Public Action (for IGA)," also exemplifies how applied objectives can be advanced in American IR. More precisely, the IGA online course listing indicates that this course focuses on the "*applications* of *theoretical concepts* from scholarly readings in *philosophy* and *political theory* to *practical issues* of public policy and *policymaker responsibility*" (Kennedy 2015b). The explicit emphasis on applications of scholarly knowledge to practical issues of public policy and policy maker responsibility in these statements translate again an applied orientation. Moreover and by underlining the role of IR scholars and (future) experts in attending to practical policy-making issues, these statements are informative of the particular relevance of applied scholarship for American IR.

The previous statements also exemplify another type of epistemic approach that is proposed in this thesis categorization. More precisely, the previous statement underlines the role of theoretical concepts from philosophy and political theory in the DPI-201 course. This type of approach was not explicitly mentioned in other components of this program curriculum. Interestingly, the description of this course also indicates that it focuses on furthering a "*philosophical examination* of the *responsibilities* of public policy makers in a democracy" (Kennedy 2015b). Noticeably, the context of application related with this last statement (e.g., policy makers in *a* democracy) is broad and

undefined; this indicates a more generic approach to knowledge production. Similarly, it translates other forms of scholarly objectives for instance through the focus on topics like philosophy, political theory and, especially, ethical questions.

Taken together, these statements further original emphases on the importance of reflecting about the responsibilities of policy makers. This objective appears closer to what I have categorized as critical scholarship in this thesis. The previous statements also indicate the potential value of this type of vocational orientation, that is, in developing greater self-awareness and consciousness among American IR scholars and students. Accordingly, this course description denotes an original epistemic approach, which appears to be connected with a critical orientation in the context of this thesis proposed categorization. Given the emphasis on philosophical and theoretical examinations and the broader or more generic context of application of the previous statements, I assert that they can be associated with an epistemic approach that I temporarily categorize as normative theoretical approaches. In the previous Figure 5.9, I depict this epistemic approach by the symbol "NOR", which is positioned closer to the lower-left angle of the diagram.

The general description of the IGA concentration also provides examples of what I have previously identified as an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad epistemic approach. For example, the IGA Fact Sheet emphasizes "the ability to think and work *across the "silos"* that have traditionally divided the field" (Kennedy 2015a). Moreover, graduate students are expected to achieve (among other things) "a *broad* understanding of all the program elements" (*idem*). These statements are particularly interesting because they reproduce particular forms of concerns for and approaches for apprehending the world that were also examined in previous master curricula. The statements also indicate the potential value of this type of approaches in American IR, for example, for transcending disciplinary frameworks and providing a comprehensive view of the topics being studied or researched. Figure 5.9 also depicts the reference to this type of epistemic approach by connecting the symbol "Harvard master program" to the symbol "IIB."

The selected syllabus in this master program also illustrates a significant level of coherence by reproducing some of the previous orientations and epistemic approaches.

Professor Walt's syllabus primarily illustrates objectives of application by stating that the course concentrates on studying "key *concepts* and *theories* of international relations and *basic principles* of policy analysis" as a way to "*apply* these ideas to a diverse set of *contemporary policy problems*" (Walt 2012b, 1). This syllabus accordingly highlights again the value of applied objectives by explicitly emphasizing the importance of applying scholarship to current policy problems.

The foregoing statements also emphasize how scholarly concepts, theories and basic principles can be mobilized as tools for advancing objectives of application in American IR. This articulation is also reproduced in at least 10 of the 21 mandatory readings examined in Professor Walt's syllabus. This articulation primarily recurs in several of Professor Walt's own publications, which, for example, assert the necessity of bridging the gap between the "conduct foreign policy," "practitioners" and the "real world of policy," on the one hand, and the "scholarly study of international affairs," "academic theorists" and "the abstract world of theory" on the other (1998, 29). In a more recent publication, Walt also underscores that, despite the fact that, generally, most IR theories are irrelevant to policy makers, there are several ways in which "theoretical scholarship *can help* policy makers" (Walt 2005, 29). In these recurring statements, Professor Walt re-inscribes an instrumental relation between theories in IR and objectives of policy applications.

Several other mandatory readings illustrate this theoretically informed approach. For example, Walt (2011) mobilizes a number of broad neorealist theoretical concepts, such as the balance of power, to discuss what U.S. foreign policy strategy should be for the 21st century. For his part, Richard Kugler (2006) discusses how policy analysis should be conducted in the context of U.S. national security affairs and policies. Similarly, Daniel Kahneman and Jonathan Renshon (2007) apply a broad theoretical framework (i.e., ideal-typical categories) regarding policy makers' psychological traits to discuss the conduct of foreign policy (especially in the United States). These sources illustrate how diverse theoretical approaches can be mobilized for analysis and, especially, for application to

relatively specific problems and contexts. They also indicate the relevance of such applied scholarship in informing policy practitioners and problems.[132]

Importantly, most of the previous sources mobilize theoretical approaches that can generally be associated with the previously proposed category of rationalist theory. These sources largely mobilize theoretical approaches that assume, at least implicitly, the existence of causal and law-like forms of relations in the world (e.g., Kahneman and Renshon 2007, Walt 2011). This specific understanding is underscored, for example, by Professor Walt, who defines an appropriate form of theory for informing policy-making activities as explaining "recurring relations between two or more phenomena" (2005, 26). While these are relatively more theory-focused,[133] John Mueller (1990) also uses a causal approach in discussing the disappearance of major wars among developed states and John Mearsheimer (2001) mobilizes a structural (and hence causal) theory to explain the relations between great powers. These examples offer interesting articulations between the main applied orientation in this master program and this type of rationalist theoretical approaches. This indicates that applied objectives can be advanced by using a wide diversity of epistemic approaches. Figure 5.9 also illustrates the relative position of these rationalist theoretical approaches ("RTA") and their articulation in the Harvard master program.

The examination of the documentary sources associated with this program provides several examples for detailing an applied orientation. Interestingly, this orientation appears coherent across the main components of the Kennedy School master curriculum and Professor Walt's syllabus. It also helped explaining its particular relevance for American IR scholars, for example by indicating its potential value for linking IR scholarship to diverse dimensions of policy-making practice, problems and contexts. This examination also contributed in exemplifying the issue-, policy- and case-specific ("IPC"), the quantitative and statistical ("QSA"), the interdisciplinary and intellectually

[132] Notably and as with previously examined syllabi, several of these theoretically informed sources are also published in what can be identified as knowledge-transfer outlets, such as the journals *Foreign Policy* (Walt 1998, Kahneman and Renshon 2007) and *The National Interest* (Walt 2011).

[133] By being theory-focused, some of these sources reproduce a relatively different functional discourse. However, since diverging objectives appeared largely peripheral in these sources and this syllabus, I did not consider it necessary to discuss them further.

broad ("IIB"), and normative and rationalist theoretical ("NOR," "RTA") approaches. While the associated statements were relatively limited, the examination indicated how these approaches translate critical objectives in this program, which by the same token helped clarify how these objectives emphasize the importance of reflective examinations and ethical questions. The following examinations of master and PhD programs will help clarify how and why these objectives are advanced in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

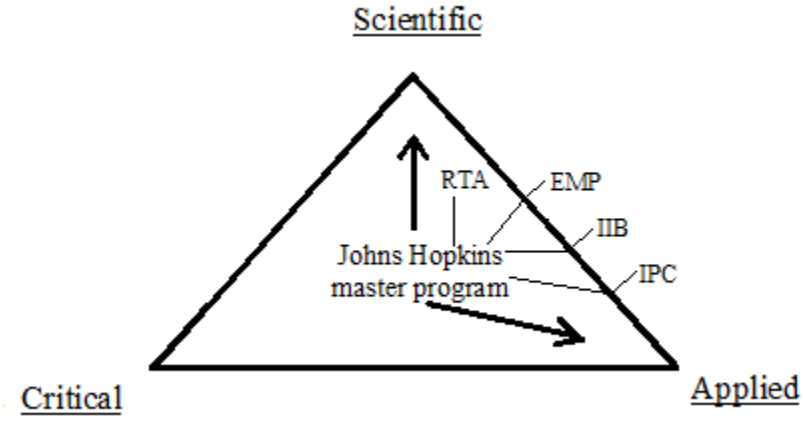
Master of Arts at Johns Hopkins University

The Master of Arts offered at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of Johns Hopkins University is a two-year graduate program organized around a core curriculum of compulsory economics courses, four core fields, policy and regional areas concentrations,[134] and other requirements associated with quantitative reasoning and foreign language proficiency. In examining the SAIS master program, I concentrate on the description of the general curriculum and the policy concentration in IR (general), and on Professor Charles Doran's Fall 2012 syllabus for the mandatory course entitled "Contemporary Theory of International Relations" in this specific master concentration.[135] These textual sources provide further illustrations of the diversity of objectives that motivates American IR scholarship and, especially, of the applied and scientific objectives. Moreover, they help clarifying several of the epistemic approaches included in this thesis proposed categorization. The articulations between these orientations and epistemic approaches are depicted in the following Figure 5.10.

[134] Each SAIS master student can choose one policy area concentration from the following: American foreign policy, conflict management, energy, resources and environment, global theory and history, international development, international law and organizations, international relations (general), and strategic studies.

[135] This syllabus was the most recent for this mandatory course at the time of accessing data for this examination. In this syllabus, I concentrate on the general description of the course and the 12 transversal and mandatory readings associated with Professor Doran's teaching activities.

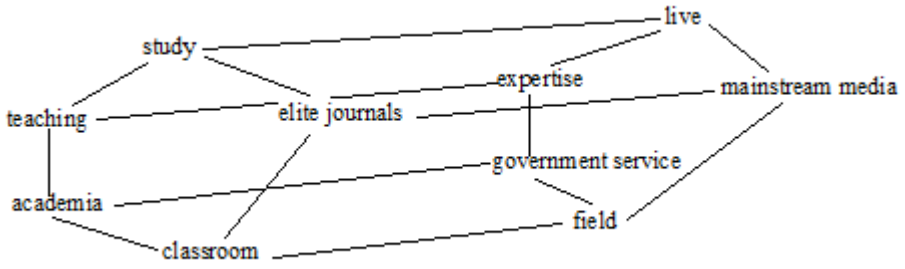
Figure 5.10: Main Scholarly Objectives and Epistemic Approaches in the SAIS Master Program (Johns Hopkins)



The description of the core curriculum provides an initial series of statements illustrating the scholarly objectives furthered in the SAIS master program. This description primarily presents several binary statements asserting, for example, that associated students "do more than *study* (…) – they *live* international relations" or that SAIS faculty "are world renowned for their *expertise* and commitment to *teaching*" (SAIS 2015a). In the latter statement, the notion of expertise emphasizes the role and value of more applied forms of knowledge (or know-how). Moreover, the binary statements that oppose expertise with teaching, and lived experiences with studying help contrast two distinct categories of scholarly objectives associated with this thesis categorization, i.e., on one side, activities furthering scholarship applicable to concrete problems and contexts, (e.g., lived experiences and expertise) and, on the other, activities furthering more conventional academic activities and knowledge (e.g., studying experiences and teaching).

The contrast between these two orientations is also reproduced in several other binary statements in the description of this master curriculum. The following Figure 5.11 illustrates the linguistic network generated by the previous and following statements in this program curriculum.

Figure 5.11: Binary Linguistic Networks of Statements Associated with the SAIS Master Curriculum



As depicted in Figure 5.11, the description of the SAIS master curriculum also underlines how associated faculty "transition seamlessly from *academia* to *government service*, from the *field* to the *classroom*, from *elite journals* to the *mainstream media*" (SAIS 2015a). As in the two statements previously highlighted, the three binaries in this statement emphasizes contexts and activities that emphasize distinct scholarly objectives i.e., objectives associated with application to relatively concrete contexts (e.g., government service, the field, mainstream media) or objectives furthering the reproduction of more conventional academic knowledge (e.g., academia, the classroom, elite journals).

Notably, the description of the SAIS master curriculum also denotes, in some instances, a form of boundary-making practice or a hierarchy between these two orientations. For example, the first of the previous statements indicates that students do "more" than study by gaining lived experiences of international relations (SAIS 2015a), thereby suggesting that the latter activity may have more value in the context of this program.[136] Moreover, the description of this master curriculum provides several indications of the potential applications of IR scholarship by, for example, listing a series of typical organizations where former SAIS graduates pursue careers – all of which are relatively applied contexts of practice (*idem*).[137] Similarly, this description indicates that students gain the "capacity to *apply theory* to *real-world problems*" (SAIS 2015b), which exemplifies how theories can be mobilized to advance objectives of application. These statements emphasize the potential relevance of applied scholarship in American IR, for example by furthering

[136] The previous Figure 5.11 illustrates this hierarchy by placing the linguistic network on an incline.
[137] These are mainly governmental organizations such as the U.S. Department of State, IGOs such as the United Nations, businesses such as JPMorgan Chase & Co, and think tanks such as the Brookings Institute.

concrete experiences and knowledge about national and international organizations with which IR students may have to collaborate. They also indicate that such objectives can be advanced using a wide diversity of epistemic approaches (and not only the three approaches that are particularly associated with it in this thesis categorization).

The orientations translated in the SAIS master program curriculum can be compared with the scholarly objectives reproduced in Professor Doran's mandatory course syllabus. His course description provides two main statements illustrating the categories of scholarly objectives that it furthers. More precisely, it states that "*theory* and *history* in international relations are necessary for *holistic interpretation*" and that "*historically grounded theoretical assessment* is only as strong as its *concepts* and *logic* are appropriate to the *substance* (*practice*) of international relations" (Doran 2012, 2). Two types of scholarly objectives are illustrated in these statements, namely, the development of holistic interpretation and its appropriateness for the practice of international relations. In coherence with the description of the SAIS master program, the appropriateness of scholarship to international relations practice can be understood as emphasizing the applicability of IR scholarship, that is, an ability to be transferable to concrete context and problems. While less explicit, the prior statements further holistic interpretation, which can be understood as comprehensive forms of understandings about general phenomena. This statement accordingly furthers objectives more closely associated with the reproduction of theoretical and explanatory knowledge. These two statements accordingly appear to oppose again an applied orientation with what is closer to scientific objectives, in the context of this thesis proposed categorization (especially given the lack of any reference to self-reflection or ethical concerns).

These dual objectives are also exemplified across the 12 mandatory readings associated with Professor Doran's teaching activities. At least two thirds of the sources associated with these teaching activities focus primarily on theoretical and general questions or 'puzzles' in the study of international relations. In the first compulsory reading from this syllabus, for example, Professor Doran (2011) presents a systemic theoretical approach (i.e. the "power cycle approach") explaining the occurrence of major wars in world politics. In another mandatory source, David Lake (2009) develops an approach to

explain the role of "international hierarchy" in order to improve our account and understanding of related patterns in the international system. Similarly, Manus Midlarsky (2000) presents the most recent research on the causes of war between states, focusing, *inter alia*, on the democratic peace, analyses on "dyadic" relations among states, terrorism, identity conflict and ancient warfare.

Underlying these sources is a relatively coherent orientation, which furthers the development of more exact, factual and systematic explanations of general phenomena in IR. In the context of this thesis categorization, this orientation accordingly appears motivated by the generation of scientific scholarship (e.g., rather than applicable scholarship). Accordingly, these sources help clarify how scientific objectives can be furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities as well as the particular value of such objectives for the field (i.e. in translating more exact, factual and systematic explanations). This orientation is depicted in the previous Figure 5.10 by a major arrow pointing from "John Hopkins master program" toward the Scientific angle.

Alternatively, a different orientation underlies several readings in this syllabus, which instead appear to focus on application to relatively specific contexts and problems. Illustrating this functional orientation, Zbigniew Brzezinski (2004), for example, discusses the main security issues currently facing the United States and potential global strategies for American policy makers. Joseph Nye (2011) provides a theoretically informed exploration and proposals specifically designed for U.S. foreign policy strategy in the 21st century. In an earlier source, Nye (2008) studies how concepts such as power and leadership are transformed in today's world. These sources illustrate how IR scholarship can be oriented toward the applied objectives. Moreover, Nye's proposals about the U.S foreign policy strategy offers a particularly explicit example of the particular value of applied scholarship for contributing to current and practical issues. This orientation is depicted in the previous Figure 5.10 by a major arrow pointing from "Johns Hopkins master program" toward the Applied angle.

As with the previous master programs, these textual sources can inform our understanding of the diverse ways by which applied and scientific objectives are furthered in American IR. For example, it is noticeable that the three latter sources

advancing applied objectives (Brzezinski 2004, Nye 2008, 2011) mobilize knowledge from, or focusing on, a specific case or context (e.g., the United States) and from relatively specific issue and policy areas (e.g., national security issues and foreign policy). While these links are relatively limited, they again illustrate how an issue-, policy- or case-specific epistemic approach can contribute in advancing applied scholarship in American IR. Reciprocally, these links indicate the particular value of associated scholarship for focusing and being applicable to specific issues and cases associated with international relations. Figure 5.10 also illustrates this recurring articulation by connecting the symbol "IPC" to the symbol "Johns Hopkins master."

The SAIS master curriculum also illustrates recurring links to an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach to knowledge. For example, the description of the core curriculum underlines that the master program includes "*interdisciplinary* course work in international relations, economics and languages" (SAIS 2015a) and the description of the associated policy and regional areas of concentration emphasizes the interdisciplinary nature of the SAIS program (SAIS 2015b). These statements again underscore the particular value of associated approaches, particularly for combining knowledge from several disciplinary fields and favoring the application of such knowledge to particular issues or contexts. Figure 5.10 also depicts these articulations of discourses through by the symbol "IIB."

Beyond the description of this master program curriculum, Professor Doran's syllabus also exemplifies links with diverse epistemic approaches like that associated with "historically grounded theoretical assessment" (2012, 2) in American IR. More precisely, several sources in Professor Doran's syllabus show links with systemic and structural forms of theoretical approaches (e.g. Lake 2009, Doran 2011, see also Cashman 1999) since they generally refer to theories that assume law-like forms of relations in the world and seek to define and explain them. Accordingly, these sources are associated with what I have broadly and temporarily identified as the rationalist theoretical approach, which can primarily contributes to advance scientific objectives but also – as previously illustrated – applied objectives. In any case, these approaches further abilities to provide more systematic and generalized explanations in the context of American IR. These links

are also depicted in the previous Figure 5.10 by a line connecting “Johns Hopkins master program” to the symbol “RTA.”

As suggested in this course description, Professor Doran also mobilizes sources that mobilize historical knowledge and historically grounded assessment. Among these sources, several scholars primarily use history as a repository of examples (e.g., Brzezinski 2004, Nye 2008). In these sources, a history-inspired approach can be associated with what I have previously defined as a case-specific approach, since scholars mainly extract specific examples from the process of historical evolution to illustrate more generic or theoretical arguments. Otherwise, Professor Doran’s list of mandatory readings also includes several sources that account for historical knowledge more heuristically. For example, Geoffrey Blainey (2006) provides a comprehensive review of historical events and changes in the 20th century. Similarly, in one source, Professor Doran (2011) studies history “holistically” using his power cycle approach, which is inspired by historical sociology. These two sources illustrate how scholars can examine history from a more generic, systematic and *empirical* perspective, that is, as a means of providing a better understanding or more exact explanations of past changes in the world. While these explanations are still relatively limited, they indicate how a historical perspective can be used to advance different objectives and other more specific epistemic approaches in American IR. More specifically, I suggest that the heuristical use of historical knowledge exemplifies a distinct type of epistemic approach, that is, empirical approaches in American IR. This approach is further detailed in the following subsections. This epistemic approach is also depicted in the previous Figure 5.11 by the symbol “EMP” and its connection with the symbol “Johns Hopkins master program.”

The textual sources associated with the SAIS master program further clarify the diversity of objectives underlying in American IR and the diverse ways by which the corresponding orientations and associated epistemic approaches can be combined. It particularly helps exemplify the applied and scientific orientations in IR scholarship from elite US universities. In doing so, they enable me to start compare their diverging goal and forms of value for the field namely for informing specific and current issues and contexts (like the U.S. foreign policy strategy) or developing more systematic and

generalizable knowledge. My analysis of textual sources from the SAIS master program also exemplifies diverse epistemic approaches, such as the issue-, policy- and case-specific, interdisciplinary and intellectually broad, rationalist theoretical and also empirical approaches. These examples further clarified what means American IR scholars can use to advance applied and scientific objectives and the diverse possible ways of mobilizing, for example, historical knowledge in scholarly work. Conceived in that way, we can start to understand how it appears inappropriate to essentially hierarchize these diverging orientations; instead, their usefulness and relevance in IR scholarship can only be evaluated against concrete questions and contexts. This examination accordingly helps me incrementally developing my argument for mitigating scientism in American IR namely by emphasizing the existence of diverse categories of objectives that further equally legitimate but diverging purposes and modes of thinking in the field.

Master of Public Policy at the University of Michigan

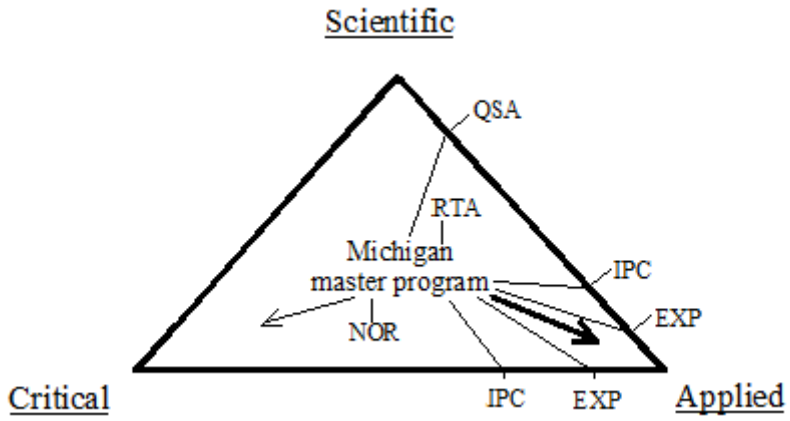
The Master of Public Policy at the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy of the University of Michigan is a two-year graduate program organized around a curriculum of approximately 16 semester courses. The program curriculum includes compulsory courses on core topics such as politics of public policy (offered in three versions every fall), calculus, statistics, microeconomics, values, ethics, and public policy, and public management, as well as an internship. Following the explanations provided in Chapter 4, I concentrate on the description of this program curriculum, the description of specific compulsory courses and Susan Waltz's Fall 2014 syllabus for the course entitled "Politics of Public Policy: Global Issues and International Relations." [138]

These textual sources provide several examples that help clarifying the diversity of objectives that are advanced in IR scholarship from elite US universities. First, they illustrate applied objectives. As expected, this orientation is shared across all of the selected professional master programs and appears like a distinctive feature in this type of education program. However, the Ford School master program also exemplifies statements and discursive articulations that are associated with critical objectives. The following examination also illustrates how these two orientations are linked and furthered

[138] Of the three versions offered in Fall 2014 for the compulsory course entitled "Politics of Public Policy," this syllabus is the version closest to the study of international relations.

through diverse types of epistemic approaches. The examination of the documentary sources associated with this master program accordingly provide particularly interesting illustrations of the ways by which American IR scholars can and do combine different scholarly orientations beyond the dominant scientific standards. The following Figure 5.12 depicts the main orientations and epistemic approaches examined in the curriculum and selected syllabus for this master program.

Figure 5.12: Main Scholarly Objectives and Epistemic Approaches in the Ford School Master Program (Michigan)



Applied and critical objectives are primarily advanced in the description of the Ford School master curriculum, which presents a dense network of related statements. For example, the general description of the curriculum states that it "*trains* students with a broad range of *policy interests*" and help students "*apply* what they have learned in the classroom, gaining *hands-on,* practical *policy experience*" (Ford 2015a). In these statements, the emphases on activities like training students and applying knowledge in practical experience explicitly underline the importance attributed to the application of scholarship to relatively concrete contexts and problems.[139] These statements similarly emphasize the value of applied scholarship in providing practical experience and comprehensive knowledge of policy issues.

[139] Similar objectives of scholarly application are reproduced by the inclusion of a "*policy-related* internship" and an (optional) "Applied Policy Seminar" in the master curriculum, which are described as enabling students to do "*real-world policy* consulting" (Ford 2015a).

The descriptions of the compulsory courses on politics of public policy, values, ethics, and public policy, and integrated policy exercise also exemplify similar scholarly objectives. For example, these courses are described in the Ford School online course catalogue as being focused on "the *policymaking* process (in the United States)" and as providing an "opportunity to work intensively on a *policy issue*," (Ford 2015b). In these statements, the emphasis on specific policy issues and associated processes again illustrates how to further applied objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities (e.g. by focusing on specific policy issues). The statements also help clarify how the scholarship furthering applied objectives particularly focuses on specific policy issues and policy-making processes.

Interestingly, Professor Waltz's syllabus also reproduces similar links with applied objectives. For example, this course is described as emphasizing questions regarding the "effective *strategies* for *dealing with* policy concerns" and the abilities of "policymakers [to] *shape* international processes" (Waltz 2014, 1). At least 11 of the 17 compulsory ("must- read") readings examined in this syllabus also exemplify statements reproducing similar objectives. Statements illustrate how the course concentrates on contexts for concrete and current application of knowledge and how developing potential application to specific policy processes and issues are important benefits from furthering applied scholarship in American IR.

For example, several of these sources focus on topics such as the U.S. government's potential response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Kendall 2012), decision-making processes related to the U.S. National Security Council (Rothkopf 2005) and the interrelations between U.S. military and trade policy on Pakistan after 2001 (Rosegrant 2006). These – and several other sources – apply their scholarship to relatively current (at the time of writing) and concrete contexts and problems. In other mandatory readings, this orientation is also illustrated by statements devaluing scholarly activities lacking a focus on concrete application, namely, by associating them with "academic jargon" (Hurd 2014) or by opposing "practitioners," "policy makers," and "political leaders" to IR "theorists" (Lepgold 1998, see also Walt 1998). Accordingly, these textual sources help clarify the distinct modes of thinking that can be associated with applied scholarship in

American IR, that is, modes that orient inquiries towards current and contexts issues and contexts of application. The previous Figure 5.12 illustrates this main orientation by the major arrow pointing from "Michigan master program" toward the Applied angle.

Interestingly, the description of the compulsory course on values, ethics, and public policy in the Ford School master curriculum illustrates relatively different scholarly objectives. Indeed, the Ford School's online course catalogue indicates that this course is focused on "*issues* and *dilemmas* in *professional ethics*" (Ford 2015d) as related to "*tensions* between ethics and politics" (*idem*). While these statements are limited, they help exemplify an alternative orientations in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Indeed, links to *issues* in professional ethics could be related to objectives of knowledge application to concrete policy-making contexts and problems (e.g., with regard to recent problems with policy makers' integrity). Yet, these problems and contexts remain unspecified in the description of this course. Moreover, the previous statements emphasize the study of dilemmas in professional ethics and tensions between politics and ethics, which departs from any form of direct application. Instead, I suggest that these terms imply a priority toward activities such as reflection and examination meant to improve students' understanding of the ethical stakes associated with professional and political activities. In the categorization delineated in Chapter 1 of this thesis, I associate this type of objectives is associated with a critical orientation, that is, scholarly objectives that further (self-)awareness, self-consciousness and ethical reflections. While the previous illustrations are limited and restricted to the description of one compulsory course in this master program, they nevertheless help exemplifying an alternative form of orientation in American IR. Moreover, they help emphasize the potential value of such orientation, for example in furthering reflections about potential problems with policy makers' integrity. The previous Figure 5.12 also illustrates this orientation in the examined master program using a minor arrow pointing from "Michigan master program" toward the "Critical" angle.

Beyond emphasizing this critical orientation, the description of the course on values, ethics, and public policy in the Ford School master curriculum also illustrates relatively original epistemic approaches in the context of this examination. More precisely, the

description indicates that the course mobilizes "*moral theories*" and "principal *values*" (Ford 2015d) to study the previously described ethical issues and dilemmas. Here and while these statements refer to theoretical and abstract forms of knowledge, moral theories are clearly distinct from the rationalist and causal types of theoretical approaches examined in previous subsections. Instead, these moral theories and value-focused approaches appear more closely linked to, and more usefully compared with epistemic approaches grounded in philosophy, political theory and, especially, ethics that are mobilized in previously examined Kennedy School's graduate course entitled "DPI-201 The Responsibilities of Public Action (for IGA)" (Kennedy 2015b). Juxtaposing the linguistic networks from these two documentary sources helps relate the moral theories illustrated in the description of the course on values, ethics, and public policy to normative theoretical approaches and specify this category of epistemic approach. At the very least, this association is coherent with the critical orientation that is partially reproduced in this course description. Accordingly, this linguistic network helps clarifying the types of intellectual means that can be used to further critical objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities. The articulation with this normative theoretical approach is illustrated in Figure 5.12 by a line connecting "Michigan master program" to the symbol "NOR."

The documentary sources examined in this master program illustrate several other epistemic approaches that indicate what intellectual means are used to further diverse scholarly objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities. One such approach is associated with knowledge *of* specific issues, policies and cases, which I distinguish from knowledge *applied to* specific issues, policies and case-specific contexts. For example, this approach pervades Professor Waltz's course description, which links the program to "knowledge about several *issues/problems* currently on the international agenda" (Waltz 2014, 1). Similarly, individual course sessions are, for example, described as focusing on "international (or global) *policy issues*," "the understanding, presentation, and analysis of *policy issues*," and "frameworks for international *policy-making*" (Waltz 2014, 3-6). [140]

[140] This approach is also illustrated in the description of some of the compulsory course in the Ford School master curriculum, which is specifically focused on the U.S. policy-making process or on one particular policy issue (Ford 2015b).

The recurring emphasis on relatively specific policy issues and cases across these statements indicates a particular type approach for formulating knowledge in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Beyond these descriptions, several sources associated with Professor Waltz's mandatory readings list (e.g., Kendall 2012, Rothkopf 2005, Rosegrant 2006) also further knowledge largely associated with the context of the U.S. government and specific policy and issue areas (e.g., the HIV/AIDS epidemic, decision-making at the National Security Council, and U.S. military and trade policy on Pakistan). What I suggest is that these series of statements and sources exemplify a particular epistemic approach for engaging with – or understanding – the world, i.e., an approach focusing on *specific* issues, policies and contexts. Notably, this epistemic approach is particularly associated with sources and statements that further applied objectives and can hence help clarifying the particular relevance of applied scholarship in American IR. This recurring articulation with an issue-, policy- and case-specific epistemic approach is illustrated in the previous Figure 5.13 by a line connecting "Michigan master program" to the symbol "IPC." As explained in Chapter 1, I indicate this epistemic approach at two locations in this figure to reflect the diverse potential articulations including this epistemic approach in the selected syllabus and master curriculum.

The aforementioned statements in the Michigan master curriculum also exemplify recurring emphasis on students' ability to learn about international relations and related subjects by *experiencing* related activities. In doing so, these statements reproduce a specific approach for engaging with and producing knowledge about the world. This epistemic approach is illustrated, for example, in the description of the Ford School master program, which underscores that students should gain "*hands-on*, practical *policy experience*," for example, through a policy-related internship and an optional applied policy seminar which engages students in "*real-world* policy consulting" (Ford 2015a).[141] Importantly, the knowledge gained by students is repetitively associated in these statements with their experience of concrete activities, which suggests that the associated

[141] A similar link/statement is reproduced in the Columbia master program (SIPA 2015) through one isolated reference to *hands-on* learning experience (which explains why I did not underscore it in the examination of this program).

perspective should be designated as an experiential approach. In an academic context dominated by scientism and hence by emphases on systematicity and generalization, this epistemic approach is certainly unconventional. Yet and as this type of epistemic approach appears closely associated with applied objectives in this and other graduate programs, it contributes in specifying the particular value of applied scholarship in American IR. In the previous Figure 5.12, this experiential approach is depicted by a line connecting "Michigan master program" to the symbol "EXP."[142]

Theories and concepts are also recurrently mobilized in the textual sources associated with the Ford School master program. For example, the descriptions of single or clusters of courses in Professor Waltz's syllabus indicates that it examines the "*theoretical* perspectives [lying] behind (…) policy publications" (2014, 3) and the "*concepts* and *analytical tools* [that] can help the policy analyst or advocate" (ibid. 6). It is important to note that these theoretical and conceptual approaches are, for the most part, mobilized instrumentally in these statements, that is, as means to the broader objectives of application to relatively concrete and current contexts and problems. This articulation is particularly explicit in several mandatory readings listed in Professor Waltz's syllabus.

For example, Ian Hurd (2014) considers diverse theories capable of informing us on the roles of international organizations bounded by interstate treaties in current IR. David Baldwin (2000) also studies concepts and analytical frameworks associated with foreign policy analysis to develop "policy-relevant knowledge" about the relative benefits of diverse foreign policy trajectories. Similarly, William Burke-White (2014) uses structural approaches to explain how international changes affect the current international legal system. While these sources use relatively different topical focuses, they illustrate a shared approach according to which theories and concepts are mobilized for application to current and relatively concrete contexts and problems (e.g., *current* IR, foreign policy-making, or legal system). Again, these articulations are interesting as they indicate how diverse theoretical approaches can be mobilized, often by being combined with other types of epistemic approaches, to further applied scholarship in American IR.

[142] I also indicate this epistemic approach at two locations in this figure to reflect the diverse potential articulations including this epistemic approach in the selected syllabus and master curriculum.

While it is difficult to synthesize which type of theory is used among this last cluster of sources, at least two of the sources mobilized by Professor Waltz are particularly explicit about the features of the theoretical approaches that can assist the objective of policy application. For example, Joseph Lepgold makes it clear that policy-relevant scholars and theories need to further our ability to "evaluate competing *causal claims*" and "*specify* more completely and *precisely* the defining characteristics of different theoretical arguments and the varied situations that confront policy makers" (1998, 43-44). In this statement, the emphasis on causal claims associates applicable theories with what I previously (and tentatively) identified as a rationalist theoretical approach. This form of theoretical approach is also explicitly illustrated in some of the previously mentioned sources that mobilize structural theories (e.g., Burke-White 2014). Accordingly, these sources exemplify rationalist forms of theoretical approaches in associated education activities; they also show how American IR scholars can mobilize such theoretical knowledge for furthering applied scholarship. This discursive articulation is illustrated in the previous Figure 5.12 by a line connecting "Michigan master program" to the symbol "RTA."

In my examination of the textual sources associated with the Ford School master program, I also noticed recurring links to quantitative and statistical approaches. For example, the description of the program curriculum states that "students receive serious *quantitative training* in data analysis and program evaluation" (Ford 2015a). These epistemic approaches are also reproduced in the core requirements for the master program and, particularly, in the description of the compulsory courses on calculus, statistics, quantitative methods of program evaluation and Applied Econometrics.[143] Across these course descriptions, I recorded several statements indicating, for example, a focus on "fundamental *mathematical tools*," "preparing competent users and consumers of *basic statistics*," or "multiple *regression analysis*" (Ford 2015b). These illustrate explicit links that help detail how quantitative and statistical approaches are formulated and the type of context in which American scholars mobilize them.

[143] Courses on quantitative methods of program evaluation and Applied Econometrics are semi-compulsory, as students are required to complete courses on at least one of these two subjects.

For example, beyond the previous statements, it is also noticeable that Professor Waltz's syllabus description and mandatory reading list do not reproduce any links to quantitative and statistical approaches. Moreover, the descriptions of the previous compulsory courses (e.g., calculus, statistics, quantitative methods of program evaluation and Applied Econometrics) provide few explicit links to objectives of knowledge application,[144] which is somewhat surprising among textual sources in which objectives of application are otherwise pervasive. Accordingly, the concentration of links to quantitative and statistical approaches in textual sources that only secondarily reproduce objectives of application suggests that these approaches are not the most closely associated with applied objectives. Figure 5.12 helps visualize these features (i.e., the links to quantitative and statistical approaches and their rare articulation with applied objectives) by connecting the "Michigan master program" symbol to the symbol "QSA," which is located at distance from the "Applied" angle.

The examination of the textual sources selected from the Ford School master program another series of significant illustrations for informing this thesis' inquiry. As with the five master programs previously examined, it primarily illustrates how applied scholarship can be furthered by American IR scholars and its value in connecting IR scholarship to policy issues and policy-making activities. Importantly, one of the compulsory courses associated with the core curriculum also advances critical objectives. This dimension exemplifies another way by which American IR scholars combine diverse scholarly objectives beyond strict scientific standards and principles. It also emphasizes some of the benefits of critical scholarship in the field like that of emphasizing the importance of reflecting on the ethical dimension of one's own professional practices. Beyond these different orientations, the Ford School curriculum and the selected syllabus also exemplify several of the epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis categorization (i.e. the issue-, policy- and case-specific, experiential, and quantitative and statistical approaches, as well as the rationalist and normative theoretical approaches). The examined textual sources provided more illustrations of the ways by

[144] In fact, knowledge application for policy analysis is explicitly mentioned only once in these course descriptions, i.e., in the description of the compulsory calculus course (Ford 2015c).

which these epistemic approaches are connected and used by American IR scholars to further diverse categories of objectives in the field.

Master of Public Policy at the University of Minnesota

The Master of Public Policy at the Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs of the University of Minnesota is usually a two-year program of study which includes a core curriculum of nine compulsory courses,[145] a predesigned or specific concentration,[146] elective courses, one professional paper, as well as an internship. In this subsection, I examine the descriptions of the program's general curriculum, the predesigned concentration in global public policy (GPP) and of Professor Sherry Gray's 2014 syllabus for the course entitled "Global Policy Area Capstone Workshop" (i.e. the core mandatory course in the GPP concentration). Importantly, this course focuses largely on a research project taking the form of a 'pro bono' consulting project negotiated with a client organization such as an NGO (e.g. Human Rights Watch) or a governmental organization (e.g. the U.S. Department of State). Since the students' projects are all very different, there is no mandatory reading list associated with this course; students, instructors and clients select readings according to the needs of each project.[147] Accordingly, my discursive analysis of this syllabus is limited to the extended description of associated objectives and activities.

The Humphrey School master program offers other interesting illustrations on the diversity of objectives and associated epistemic approaches that are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Particularly, this master curriculum and Professor Gray's syllabus complement the examples provided in previous subsections of the ways by which applied objectives can be advanced in this type of education programs. The examination of Professor Gray's syllabus also highlights links with critical and scientific objectives, making this program highly diversified with regards to the objectives it

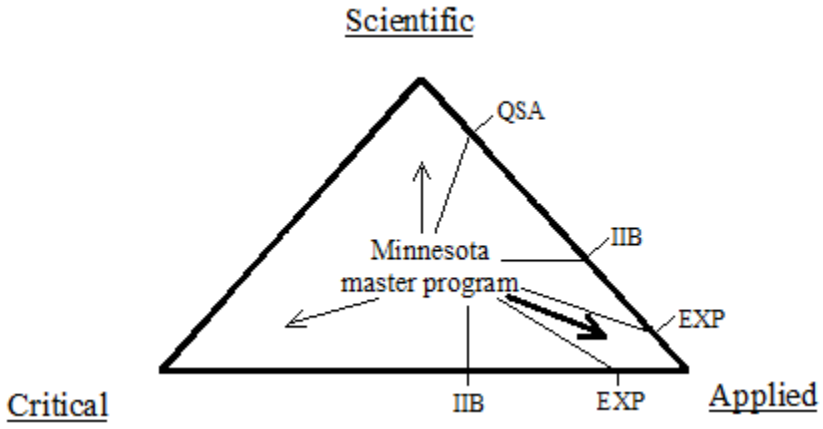
[145] Compulsory courses cover topics such as management of organizations, politics of public affairs, economics for policy analysis, empirical analysis, introduction of policy analysis, introduction to financial analysis and regression analysis (Humphrey 2015a, 2).

[146] While students may create their own concentration, they can also complete predesigned concentrations associated with topics such as policy analysis methods, economic and community development, global public policy, public and non-profit leadership and management, science, technology, and environmental policy, social policy, and women and public policy (Humphrey 2015a, 2).

[147] I would like to thank Professor Gray for confirming this information in an email exchange in January 2015.

advances. Various epistemic approaches are also exemplified across this curriculum and syllabus, several of which have recurred in association with applied objectives in the six previously examined master programs. In the context of this thesis argument, this subsection accordingly helps describing how diverse scholarly objectives are furthered in American IR and the specific value of the three proposed categories of objectives. The main discursive articulations examined in this subsection are depicted in the following Figure 5.13.

Figure 5.13: Main Scholarly Objectives and Epistemic Approaches in the Humphrey School master program (Minnesota)



Statements advancing applied objectives are primarily reproduced in the general description of the Humphrey School master program. For example, the master program is described as being designed for students "committed to public *service*" and to prepare them to "*engage* in public policy," "*shape* policies," and "*design, manage, and advocate* for better policy *solutions*" (Humphrey 2015a, 1). By emphasizing students' commitment to public service (which implies professional activity in governmental organizations) and verbs/activities such as shaping, designing and managing policies and policy solutions, these statements underline objectives that are directly associated with the application of scholarship to policy problems and contexts. This recurring focus on policy application exemplifies some of the means by which American IR scholars can further applied scholarship and the value of this type of orientation for the field.

The textual sources examined in the Humphrey School master program also demonstrate a significant level of functional coherence. Indeed, statements emphasizing objectives of

application are also reproduced in the description of at least five of the nine compulsory courses in this master curriculum[148] as well as in Professor Gray's syllabus. These compulsory courses are, for example, described as focusing on the challenges faced by "higher-level *managers* in *public/non-profit organizations*," on the "*stages of policy making* from agenda setting to implementation" (Humphrey 2015b), and on providing students with "*tools useful* for public *policy*" (Humphrey 2015b). These statements recurrently link these courses to policy-related actors (e.g., public managers), activities (e.g., policy making) and contexts (e.g., public/non-profit organizations, public policy) and depict the knowledge transmitted in these courses as instrumental tools for the purpose of policy application. A similar orientation is also translated in Professor Gray's syllabus, which, for example, underlines that students will apply their knowledge in the concrete context of a "*project"* for clients/organizations that are *"engaged* in foreign and security policy, human rights, humanitarianism and other international *issues*" (2014, 3). This recurring emphasis on the application of knowledge to concrete (especially policy-related) contexts and problems helps to illustrate again how applied objectives are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities. This recurring orientation is illustrated in Figure 5.13 by the major arrow pointing from "Minnesota master program" toward the Applied angle.

These textual sources also exemplify other types of orientations. For example, Professor Gray's syllabus for the capstone course in global policy reproduces links with several types of scholarly objectives. These objectives are particularly exemplified in the statements according to which

> *Students will gain empirical knowledge and perhaps new facts about the challenges of international and/or institutional development, practice different methodologies to produce policy relevant information, and gain new interpersonal skills through students work with teammates and students clients. And in wrestling with complex problems and questions of fact and value, students will gain new insights into the ethical dimensions of professional practice.* (Gray 2014, 4)

[148] Such is the case with the courses on politics of public affairs, introduction to policy analysis, economics for policy analysis and planning (I and II), and management of organizations (Humphrey 2015b).

This quotation is particularly insightful for my analysis of American IR since they reproduce in a condensed form statements associated with the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis' categorization. By stating that students will acquire empirical knowledge and new facts, the first sentence in the above quotation indeed indicates that the activities associated with the course contribute to the production of factual knowledge, that is, knowledge developed for its exactitude, systematic dimension and explanatory value. In Professor Gray's syllabus, this type of objective is translated, for example, in activities such as the conduct of "complete research/analysis" on students' project topics (Gray 2014, 4). While limited, these statements accordingly help exemplify the category of scientific objectives as it is described in Chapter 1 of the thesis.

The second and third sections of the previous quotation also emphasize objectives such as producing policy-relevant knowledge and gaining interpersonal skills. In Professor Gray's syllabus, these objectives are, for example, translated in activities such as consultations to find appropriate responses to the needs and expectations of each project's stakeholders (*idem*). In these statements and related activities, students are expected to produce knowledge that prioritizes applicability to concrete contexts and problems (i.e., to each student's project and each client's expectations). Accordingly, these statements also further applied objectives in the context of this master program.

Finally, the last sentence of the previous quotation underscores how this course also engages with complex questions of fact and value, which particularly relate to the ethical dimension of each student's future professional practice. In Professor Gray's description of the course, this type of objective is also translated in activities such as reflections on the norms of one's discipline or profession, on one's experiences, and on one's performance during the capstone project (Gray 2014, 3-4). Accordingly, these statements and activities illustrate how at least some parts of the course are organized so that students concentrate on and develop knowledge about ethical questions and reflections on their own and others' work. While limited, these statements illustrate the critical category of objectives described in Chapter 1 by prioritizing the development of students' self-awareness and self-consciousness over other potential objectives (e.g. knowledge applicability).

Professor Gray's syllabus is particularly meaningful for supporting the claim that American IR can be and is at times motivated by several types of scholarly objectives. It also exemplifies some of the principles and intellectual means that are associated with each of the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis. These three orientations are depicted in the prior Figure 5.13, yet and since discourses furthering scientific and critical objectives are restricted to this syllabus (at least in the context of my examination), they are illustrated by a minor arrow pointing from "Minnesota master program" toward the associated angles.

In concordance with these diverse vocational orientations, the curriculum and selected syllabus in the Humphrey School master program also exemplifies several epistemic approaches associated with this thesis proposed categorization. A prime type of approach that is translated in the selected sources is associated with knowledge gained, generated, or resulting from particular and located *experiences*. The importance of this experiential approach is noted for example in the general description of the master program, which states that associated faculty members offer "*real-world* policy *experience* and connections" and that mentors "are *positioned* in policy fields all over the globe" (Humphrey 2015, 1). These citations underline the fact that faculty and mentors associated with the Humphrey School master program produce knowledge that has been acquired from their concrete experience of, and active position in, existing policy-making organizations.

A similar approach is exemplified in Professor Gray's syllabus, especially concerning the educative role of the capstone project in the program. Through this project, as the syllabus indicates, students learn "by *doing*," through "*exposure* to the policy process," and by "*practicing* skills learned in this and other courses" (2014, 3-4). As indicated by these statements, students participating in the capstone course and associated project are largely expected to learn, that is, to generate knowledge (at least for themselves) from their engagement and experience in applied forms of activity. This series of statements details how what I have termed an experiential approach can be mobilized in American IR scholarship and the reasons for doing so, that is, for students to develop more applied or

practical forms of knowledge. In the previous Figure 5.13, this discursive articulation is depicted by the lines connecting "Minnesota master program" to the symbols "EXP."

These textual sources also exemplify what I have previously termed interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approaches in this program. For example, the general description of the Humphrey School master program states that its different "concentrations [focus] on *interdisciplinary* study of international and transnational issue areas" by bringing together fields such as "political science, economics, statistics, management, and other social science *disciplines*" (Humphrey 2015a, 1).[149] Relatively similar links are also exemplified in Professor Gray's syllabus, which, for example, states that students learn that "all public policy issues of significance (…) are *multidisciplinary* and *cross-cultural*" (2014, 4). While these statements are limited, they reinforce the added-value of this epistemic approach namely that of combining and synthesizing the insights from different fields of study for improving their applicability to concrete and current issues (e.g. policy issues). This discursive articulation is also depicted in Figure 5.13 by the lines connecting "Minnesota master program" to the symbols "IIB."

Diverse sections of the Humphrey School master program also mobilize quantitative and statistical approaches. For example, the general description of the master program states that it mobilizes knowledge from statistics, that students develop "skills in using *quantitative* and qualitative data," and that they should commence the program with strong background in "*quantitative* and analytical skills" (Humphrey 2015, 1-2). Similarly, the description in the general program curriculum of the compulsory courses on empirical and regression analysis states that students will learn statistical tools such as "*frequency distributions*," "descriptive *statistics*," "elementary *probability/probability* distributions," "*statistical inference*," as well as "bivariate/multivariate models of *regression analysis*" (Humphrey 2015b). These statements exemplify the diversity of tools and methods associated with quantitative and statistical approaches. They also emphasize the value of this approach in furthering descriptive and analytic abilities, which are more closely associated with scientific objectives in the context of this thesis

[149] The mobilization of a broad range of disciplinary knowledge is also reproduced in the list of core course requirements for all concentrations, which are, for example, associated with the fields of management, politics, economics, policy analysis, financial analysis, and methods.

categorization. These discursive articulations are depicted in Figure 5.13 by the lines connecting "Minnesota master program" to the symbol "QSA."[150]

This subsection provides important insights for this thesis' examination of IR scholarship from elite US universities. This master program and particularly Professor Gray's syllabus illustrate the fact that diverse objectives can be simultaneously advanced in this field, while showing how applied objectives can be dominant in the context of a particular graduate education program. In emphasizing this vocational diversity, this subsection also underscores the relevance and principles associated with each of the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis categorization. Across the examined textual sources, this master program also exemplifies several of the means by which American IR scholars advance these three categories of objectives. More particularly, this subsection underlines the role of the experiential, interdisciplinary and intellectually broad, and the quantitative and statistical approaches in advancing applied and scientific objectives, which indicates the diverging perspectives and goals that are associated with these two orientations in the field. Accordingly, this subsection helps exemplifying the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities and clarifying the relevance of diverse categories of objectives in this field.

Master in Public Affairs at Princeton University

The Master in Public Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University is a two-year graduate program that includes a core curriculum of six compulsory courses,[151] one policy field of concentration, graduate policy workshops, integrated policy exercises and an internship. The main fields of concentration in this master program focus on international relations, international development, domestic policy, and economics and public policy. For this examination, I concentrate primarily on the descriptions and main courses requirements associated with

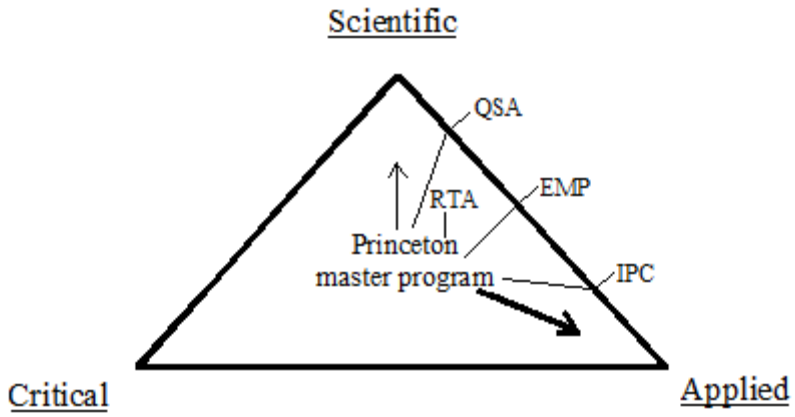
[150] Importantly, the statements illustrating this approach are (again) largely concentrated in the description of compulsory courses that do not reproduce explicit links to an Applied functional model. While surprising, given the prevalence of this functional model in most of the other components examined in the Humphrey School master program curriculum, I suggest that it again justifies the location of the symbol "QSA" in Figure 5.13 (and previous figures) and, notably, its distance from the "Applied" angle.

[151] Compulsory courses cover topics like politics of public policy, psychology for policy analysis and implementation, quantitative analysis, econometrics, as well as microeconomic and macroeconomic analysis (WWS 2015b).

the core curriculum and the IR field of concentration. Moreover, I assess Professor John Ikenberry's Fall 2010 syllabus for the mandatory ("gateway") course on "International Politics" in this IR concentration.

My examination helps provide additional illustrations of the relevance and ways by which applied and scientific objectives are advanced in IR scholarship from elite US universities. The selected textual sources also help detailing several epistemic approaches associated with this thesis' categorization. Accordingly, this subsection emphasizes again how diverse categories of objectives are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities and the distinct value that can be associated with each of them. These specific orientations and the epistemic approaches examined below are depicted in the following Figure 5.14.

Figure 5.14: Main Scholarly Objectives and Epistemic Approaches in the Woodrow Wilson School Master Program (Princeton)

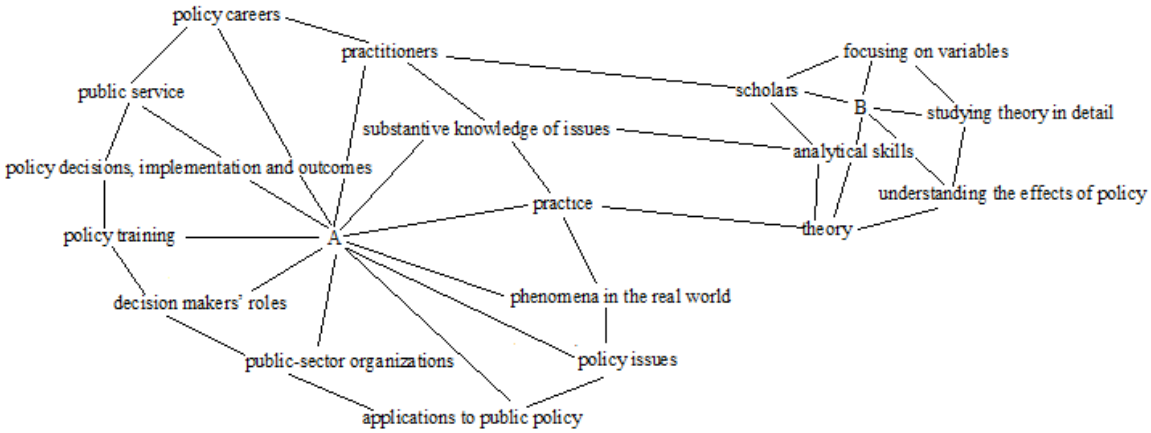


As with all of the previously examined graduate programs, the general description of the Woodrow Wilson master core curriculum furthers scholarly objectives associated with knowledge application. For example, this description states that the program prepares students for "*policy careers*," cultivates their commitment to "*public service*," helps them understand "policy *decisions, implementation* and *outcomes*," and provides them with the highest quality of "professional *policy training*" (WWS 2015a). These statements exemplify some of the means and potential goals of applied scholarship in American IR.

Similar statements are also reproduced in the description of the compulsory courses associated with the Woodrow Wilson master program. For example, the Fall 2014 Princeton course offerings describes the compulsory course on politics of public policy as being focused on "writing skills *as they apply* to the roles of *advisers* and *decision makers* in *public-sector organizations*" (WWS 2015c). Similarly, the Spring 2015 Princeton course offerings describe the compulsory courses on quantitative analysis and macroeconomic analysis as furthering learning objectives such as understanding "statistical analysis with *applications to public policy*," addressing "a number of *policy issues*" and discussing "several examples of macroeconomic phenomena in *the real world*" (*idem*). These statements illustrate objectives of knowledge application by recurrently emphasizing the importance and role of relatively concrete contexts (e.g., policy careers, public service and organizations, the real world), applied forms of activities (e.g., policy decisions, implementation and outcomes, policy issues) and associated actors (e.g., advisers, decision makers). Accordingly, this series of statements helps highlighting the means for advancing and the value of applied scholarship in American IR. The previous discursive articulations are depicted in Figure 5.14 *supra* by the major arrow pointing from "Princeton master program" toward the Applied angle.

Beyond this primary vocational orientation, the descriptions of the Woodrow Wilson master curriculum also indicate links to alternative scholarly objectives. The following Figure 5.15 depicts two clusters of statements associated with applied and scientific objectives (and related activities and actors). The statements previously highlighted in this master curriculum and associated with applied objectives are included (with other statements examined below) in cluster "A" (left-side).

Figure 5.15: Two Linguistic Networks Associated with the Princeton Master Curriculum



Links with scientific objectives are primarily exemplified by a series of binary statements that emphasize, for example, the "balance between *theory* and *practice*" in the Woodrow Wilson master program, and that students "not only develop *analytical skills* but also acquire *substantive knowledge about* (…) policy *issues*" (WWS 2015c). Similarly, the description of the program curriculum indicates that "lectures, seminars and workshops are taught by *renowned scholars* as well as *practitioners* who have served in *leadership positions* at all levels of government and in multilateral and non-profit organizations" (WWS 2015c). Comparing these three binary statements helps illustrate how they recurrently contrast objectives, activities and actors that further the production and use of knowledge either for its descriptive and explanatory value (e.g., theory, analytical skills, scholars) or for its applicability to concrete contexts and problems (e.g., practice, substantive knowledge about issues, practitioners). In that sense, I propose that they illustrate an opposition (and combination) of scientific and applied objectives in the context of this master program.

These binaries also underscore a hierarchy between applied and scientific objectives in the context of this master program. This hierarchy is primarily translated by the statement suggesting that developing analytical skills is not sufficient in the context of this graduate program and must be complemented by substantive knowledge about issues. It is also exemplified by the notable emphasis on practitioners' expertise (e.g. their leadership positions in diverse organizations). Accordingly, these three binary statements contrast and hierarchize applied and scientific objectives by attributing a higher value to activities

and actors associated with the former. The priority given to applied scholarship in this (and other) master program is interesting when compared with the broader dominance of scientism in American IR. It illustrates how scholarly institutions can adopted various vocational orientations and accordingly emphasize different forms of relevance. In the previous Figure 5.15, the three previous binary statements are depicted by clusters "A" and "B."

Other components of this master program curriculum also exemplify scientific objectives. For example, the description of the compulsory course on psychology for policy analysis and implementation states that it "contribute[s] to *an understanding of the effects of policy on human behavior and well-being*" (WWS 2015c). Similarly, the description of the compulsory course on macroeconomic analysis states that it covers "the theory of modern macroeconomics *in detail*" and focuses on "the determination of *macroeconomic variables* (…) in the short, medium, and long run" (*idem*). Each of these statements emphasizes scholarly activities that focus on the development of factual knowledge, generalizations and heuristic abilities, for example, by indicating that policy effects are studied in the general context of human behavior or by focusing on the details and variables associated with macroeconomic theory. By emphasizing the importance of such a factual, general and theoretical perspective on the program subject matter, these statements accordingly further scientific objectives in the context of this program. This orientation is depicted in Figure 5.15 above by the links between terms associated with the second (right-side) cluster of statements (i.e. cluster "B"). Since the statements advancing scientific objectives are largely restricted to the descriptions of specific compulsory courses in the Woodrow Wilson master curriculum, I also consider this as a secondary orientation in the context of this master program. In the previous Figure 5.14, this orientation is accordingly depicted by a minor arrow pointing from "Princeton master program" toward the Scientific angle.

The selected syllabus in this master program also demonstrates a significant level of coherence with the master curriculum. Professor Ikenberry's description of the course primarily contrasts objectives related to the study of "broad trends as interdependence and globalization" and emphasis on relatively more concrete policy issues such as "failed

states, democracy promotion, the rise of China" (Ikenberry 2010, 1). Similarly, at least 15 of the 37 mandatory readings examined in Professor Ikenberry's teaching activities focus on general and theoretical questions and puzzles such as the causes of terrorism, patterns of decision-making in foreign policy and the determinants of co-operation among states (e.g., Axelrod and Keohane 1985, Owen 1994, Abrahams 2008). Otherwise, at least 10 of the 37 mandatory sources emphasize application objectives by providing explicit recommendations for policy makers regarding, for example, approaches to containing terrorism (Richardson 2006) or means of preserving American leadership in the world (Ikenberry 2008).[152] In concordance with the orientations emphasized in this program curriculum, the way by which these sources emphasize relatively more general or concrete objectives and topics also exemplify a combination of applied and scientific orientations.

Related epistemic approaches are also exemplified in the textual sources associated with this master program. The description of the Woodrow Wilson curriculum, for example, states that the program concentrates (among other things) on "the *quantitative* (…) aspects of complex policy problems" (WWS 2015a). This link to a quantitative approach to knowledge is also exemplified in the description of the compulsory course on quantitative analysis, which links the program to "*statistical* analysis," "*statistical* methods" and "*regression* methods," and the course on microeconomic analysis, which links the program to "*algebra*" and "*calculus*" (WWS 2015c). These statements illustrate a significant number of methods and research procedures that can be associated with quantitative and statistical epistemic approaches. However, as with the previous program, the statements relating to these quantitative and statistical approaches are restricted to relatively specific courses/components of the master curriculum. I suggest, by comparison with other discursive articulations, that this indicates some form of disconnection between quantitative and statistical approaches and the dominant applied orientation pervading the other components of this program. These discursive

[152] As with previous syllabi, several of the readings that are particularly illustrative of an Applied discourse in this syllabus are published in outlets such as the *New York Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *The Economist* (e.g., Zakaria 1997, Ikenberry 2008, The Economist 2008).

articulations are depicted in Figure 5.14 *supra* by the relative position of the symbol "QSA" and a line connecting it to "Princeton master program."

The previous textual sources and, particularly, statements exemplifying a scientific orientation in this master program also entail recurring links to relatively empirical and/or topical understandings of scholarly subjects. This empirical approach is exemplified by Professor Ikenberry's course description, which focuses in part on broad trends in international politics (e.g., interdependence). From the same syllabus, I also mentioned how several sources study topics such as terrorism, decision making or interstate co-operation from an relatively general point of view, that is, by focusing on their generic causes, patterns and determinants (e.g., Axelrod and Keohane 1985, Owen 1994, Abrahams 2008; otherwise, see also Keck and Sikkink 1998). In contrast, I previously underlined how other sources in this syllabus analyze their topics from a more specific, concrete or casuistic perspectives (e.g., *U.S.* national security and foreign policy).

In this master curriculum, I also noted how the compulsory course on psychology for policy analysis and implementation focuses on policy *in general* for an understanding of its effects on human behavior (WWS 2015c). The description of this course also states that the "topics" included in related teaching activities, for example, cover "a descriptive analysis of boundedly rational judgment and decision making" (*idem*). Similarly, the compulsory course on macroeconomic analysis indicates that it conceives macroeconomics largely (but not exclusively) from the point of view of associated variables (*idem*) and hence, I suggest, as a field of *empirical* study. In the general description of this program, it is also noticeable that the identification of policy fields of concentration (e.g., IR, international development and domestic policy) are understood as general topics rather than as concrete and current policy issues. Accordingly, this series of statements and sources help detailing an empirical type of epistemic approach and its value in furthering a general and topical point of view in IR scholarship from elite US universities. This discursive articulation is depicted in the previous Figure 5.14 by a line connecting "Princeton master program" to the symbol "EMP."[153]

[153] The location of this symbol also represents the greater articulation between this epistemic approach and statements constructing Scientific discourse in this program.

Several of these same sources and components also include links to various theoretical and conceptual approaches. For example, the compulsory course on psychology for policy analysis and implementation states that it studies "basic *concepts* and experimental findings" which contribute to our understanding of policy effects on human behavior (WWS 2015c). Similarly, compulsory courses on macroeconomic analysis, quantitative analysis and microeconomic analysis explicitly link the program to related *theories* and *concepts* (*idem*). The description of Professor Ikenberry's course also explicitly underlines that it "introduces *theories* of international politics" (2010, 1). It also includes a large number of required readings that mobilize diverse forms of theoretical and conceptual approaches by focusing, for example, on the relationship between liberalism, democracy and peace (e.g., Doyle 1986, Owen 1994, Manfield and Snyder 1995), systemic explanations on alliances and co-operation in interstate relations (e.g., Jervis 1978, Axelrod and Keohane 1985, Walt 1985) or diverse types of liberal orders (Ikenberry 2009).

While the previous statements and sources are diverse, most of them can be associated with a rationalist theoretical approach. Indeed, I define this category of approach with a causal understanding of theories and associated relations in the world. This causal understanding is exemplified by a focus on macroeconomic variables (in the compulsory course on macroeconomic analysis) and systemic approaches used by sources listed in Professor Ikenberry's syllabus. While this remains a relatively broad category that will be detailed more thoroughly in the following chapter, these statements and sources accordingly help exemplify the value of these approaches in furthering systematic explanations of international phenomena, and hence their contribution to advancing scientific objectives in American IR. In Figure 5.14 *supra*, these discursive articulations are depicted by a line connecting "Princeton master program" to the symbol "RTA."

Other epistemic approaches appear more closely related with applied objectives in these textual sources. Several components of the Woodrow Wilson master curriculum, for example, illustrate a focus on specific issues, policies, or institutional contexts for producing knowledge. For example, the course on politics of public policy places particular emphasis on "the workings of *U.S.* governmental agencies" (WWS 2015c).

Similarly, the description of other compulsory courses on macroeconomic and microeconomic analyses focus on diverse policy issues and the way in which analytical tools can be used in the context of policy analysis.

Beyond these statements, an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach to knowledge is particularly explicit in Professor Ikenberry's syllabus, which mobilizes a list of relatively specific policy issues in the description of the course objectives (e.g., failed states, democracy promotion, the rise of China). A number of mandatory readings listed in this syllabus also exemplify a particular focus on relatively concrete and recent problems and contexts such as U.S.-China relations (e.g. Friedberg 2005, Ikenberry 2008), recent terrorist threats (Richardson 2006) and U.S. national security policy (Walt 1985). These statements and sources help detail the relevance of an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach. This type of approach notably helps advancing knowledge of specific, concrete as well as proximate events, problems and contexts in American IR scholarship for example by underlining the recurring focus on issues pertaining to *U.S.* national security and foreign policy. This also helps emphasizing the role of this type of epistemic approach in advancing applied scholarship in American IR. This discursive articulation is depicted in the previous Figure 5.14 by a line connecting "Princeton master program" to the symbol "IPC."

This subsection helps emphasize again how IR scholarship from elite US universities can advance diverse forms of scholarly objectives. More precisely, this examination indicates this master program prioritizes an applied orientation while simultaneously furthering scientific objectives. The distinct principles and approaches associated with these two orientations are again exemplified. This provides more illustrations of the ways by which the dominance of scientism can be mitigated in American IR. This subsection also exemplified several epistemic approaches associated with these two vocational orientations. In doing so, they help detailing the diverging modes of thinking and forms of relevance that can be associated with these two orientations in American IR.

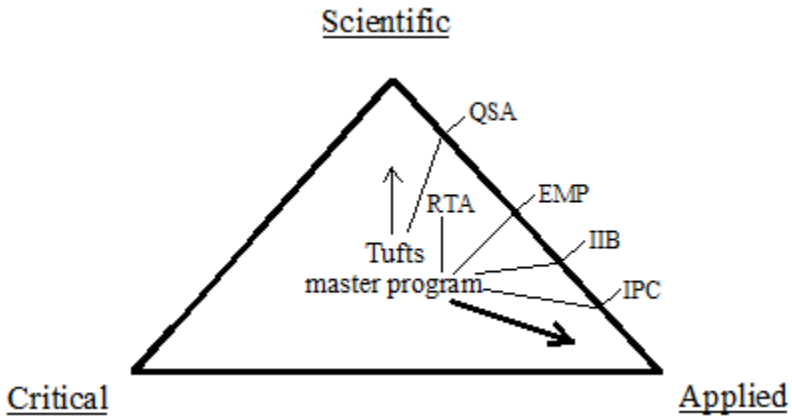
Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University

The Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy (MALD) at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University is a two-year program organized around a curriculum of

courses and other activities. Graduate students must complete courses in the school's three divisions,[154] two among the twenty-two more specific concentrations, and in quantitative reasoning. They must also complete a capstone project and a professional development program, and demonstrate proficiency in a second language. In this program, I examine the general description of the master program, the course curriculum and Professor Pfaltzgraff's Fall 2011 syllabus for the core course (in the Diplomacy, History, and Politics Division) entitled "International Relations: Theory and Practice."

These textual sources further illustrate the diversity of objectives that is translated in IR scholarship from elite US universities. They primarily translate applied and scientific objectives, and hence how American IR scholars can go beyond the dominance of scientist standards. Moreover, these orientations are linked with diverse types of epistemic approaches. This second feature indicates some patterns in the epistemic approaches that are linked with applied and scientific objectives in American IR. As I have done for previous cases, I depict the main orientations and epistemic approaches examined in this subsection in the following Figure 5.16.

Figure 5.16: Main Scholarly Objectives and Epistemic Approaches in the Fletcher School Master Program (Tufts)



[154] These three divisions focus on international law and organizations, diplomacy, history and politics, and economics and international business.

The description of the Fletcher School master program offers several examples of diverse scholarly objectives, which are primarily conveyed in a series of binary statements.[155] For example, the description of the Fletcher School master program states that the program is concerned with "connecting *theory* and *practice*" (Fletcher 2015a) and translates "political, economic, business, and legal *thinking* into *practical*, *successful actions*" (*idem*). Similarly, the description of this master curriculum underlines that the program is suited for students' "*academic* and *professional goals*" (Fletcher 2015b) and provides "both the *fundamental knowledge* and *practical skills* students need to pursue careers in IR" (Fletcher 2015b). This series of binaries repetitively contrasts two categories of scholarly objectives by opposing notions that connote a priority either toward application objectives and activities (e.g., practice, practical actions, professional goals, practical skills) or toward the objectives and activities associated with the production of more explanatory, comprehensive and factual knowledge (e.g., theory, thinking, academic goals, fundamental knowledge).[156]

Other statements denote more clearly a hierarchy between the two sets of objectives furthered in this curriculum. For example, the general description of the Fletcher School master program indicates that graduate students "learn from *leaders in global issues*—our faculty" (Fletcher 2015a). In this statement, Fletcher faculty members are primarily designated as leaders in global issues, which emphasizes their ability to apply knowledge to concrete and current problems and hence the importance of application in the context of this education program. Similarly, the description of the master program also emphasizes that Fletcher graduates have become "leaders the world over—from *heads of state* and *ambassadors* to renowned *figures in politics*, *international law*, *non-profit*, *business and global institutions*" (Fletcher 2015a). This list exclusively emphasizes roles

[155] As per the time of submitting the thesis (summer 2016), the description of the MA program on the Fletcher school website had been updated in comparison to the time of empirical analysis (winter 2015). Accordingly, and while the general orientations of the program have not changed, some of the formulations cited in this subsection are not available online anymore.

[156] The emphasis on careers in international relations in this last statement can also be associated with diverse objectives. Interestingly, the section "Your Career" on the Fletcher School website, clarifies what is implied by this statement, by indicating that Fletcher's recent graduates pursue "successful careers across a range of sectors: Applied Research, Business, Development, Economics, Foreign Affairs, International Law and Policy" (Fletcher 2015e). This listing of careers in *applied* research, along with other sectors of application outside of the academic sphere, indicates the relatively mixed but prominently applied objectives implied by this statement.

and fields of activity where knowledge is primarily developed to be applied in practice, which also emphasize the importance of applied scholarship in this program.

On the other hand, no statement explicitly prioritizes objectives associated with scientific objectives in this curriculum. One statement however indicates the relation between the applied and scientific objectives by stating that students at the Fletcher School have access to "numerous *academic centers and programs* that feature speaker events, conferences, and symposiums *tackling issues* ranging from microfinance and human rights to espionage and cultural change" (Fletcher 2015a). Even in this statement, the emphasis on academic centers, programs and activities is closely related to the objectives of tackling/engaging with concrete and current issues, which reinforces the priority attributed to applied objectives in this specific source.

As with other graduate programs previously examined, the selected syllabus and curriculum associated with this master program are characterized by a significant level of coherence. For example, this coherence is illustrated in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus, where the purpose and scope of the course is described as providing "surveys of international relations *theory* not only for the study of theory itself, but also to sharpen our understanding of *policy issues*" (Pfaltzgraff 2011, 1). This statement emphasizes how theories can primarily be studied as means to further students' knowledge of relatively concrete and current problems (especially policy-related). At least four of the 36 mandatory readings examined in this syllabus also illustrate this instrumental role of theoretical approaches and concepts for application to contexts and problems such as U.S. national security policy (Barnett 2005), the current effects of economic globalization (Friedman 2005) or U.S. foreign policy and global strategy (Kaplan 2009). Accordingly, these statements and sources exemplify how theoretical approaches can be mobilized to advance applied scholarship in American IR.

However, other statements and sources in this syllabus also exemplify more explanatory approaches and scientific objectives. For example, the description of Professor Pfaltzgraff's course asks how theory can help us "study, *understand*, and *explain* the [21st] century world" (2011, 1). Similarly, other mandatory readings focus primarily on understanding general phenomena of the world by focusing on or trying to improve

various theoretical approaches, such as neo- or structural realism (Waltz 1979), prospect theory (McDermott 2004) and neoclassical realism (Lobell 2009). In these statements and sources, theories are primarily mobilized not for their potential application to current issues but for their ability to provide a more exact, factual and explanatory understanding of the world. Accordingly and while applied objectives appear to be prioritized, this later series of statements and sources underline the relative importance of scientific objectives in the context of this program. These illustrations indicate again how diverse forms of scholarly objectives can be and are advanced in IR scholarship from elite US universities. These two orientations – and their relative importance in this program – are depicted in Figure 5.16 *supra* by a major arrow pointing from "Tufts master program" toward the Applied angle and a minor arrow pointing from "Tufts master program" toward the Scientific angle.

The previous textual sources also exemplify how diverse epistemic approaches are mobilized in the Fletcher School master program for advancing applied and scientific objectives. For example, a focus on specific issues, policies or cases is recurrently observable in the examined sources. Indeed, the description of the master curriculum states that "from the reconstruction of post-conflict societies and the creation of competitive markets in emerging economies to the analysis of terror threats and the promotion of human rights, *today's issues* become the topics of study for our students" (Fletcher 2015a). Similarly, several mandatory readings in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus mobilize knowledge of specific issues (e.g., the current global distribution of technology [Friedman 2005]), policies (e.g., American national security policy), or cases (e.g., the geopolitical situation and states' foreign policies in specific regions [Kaplan 2009]) to develop knowledge of IR. As in previous subsections, several of the sources exemplifying this issue-, policy- and case-specific approach focus on the specific case/context of the United States. Given the insistence on current, specific and situated cases and issues, these sources and statements exemplify how an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach can be mobilized to advance applied objectives in the context of this master program. This recurring articulation is depicted in the previous Figure 5.16 by a line connecting "Tufts master program" to the symbol "IPC."

In addition to the previous approaches, we also find statements and sources exemplifying an analytical focus on relatively broader or more general topics in the previous textual sources. For example, the difference between an epistemic approach focusing on specific issues and one focusing on more general or empirical topics is illustrated in the statement found in the description of the master program according to which Fletcher faculty are "leaders in global issues." This statement is complemented by a list of "*areas of interest,*" such as "climate change," "counter-terrorism," "Central Asia and the Middle East" and "global economics" (Fletcher 2015a). In this statement, knowledge does not result from engagement with *specific* issues (e.g., U.S. counter-terrorism policy or a current health crisis); instead, it translates a more generic or cross-case perspective on these topics.

This empirical approach is also exemplified in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus. For example, the description of this course underlines questions such as "what causes conflict and war?" or "when and how do we develop international cooperation and political community?" (Pfaltzgraff 2011, 1). In these questions, conflict, war, international co-operation and political community are not primarily understood in relation to specific contexts, problems or cases but as general topics or empirical fields of study. Several mandatory readings included in this syllabus also illustrate this type of epistemic approach. For example, Everett Dolman (2012) studies outer space as a new domain of realist and geopolitical analysis and Steven Lobell, Norrin Ripsman and Jeffrey Taliaferro (2009) study foreign policy by focusing on the influence of states' internal characteristics. In these two sources, scholars conceive their subject matter (e.g. politics in outer space, states' foreign policy) from a general, topical and empirical point of view. This series of statements and sources accordingly help illustrating how an empirical approach furthers generic knowledge and cross-case comparisons in IR scholarship from elite US universities. The generic and transversal view afforded by such an epistemic approach also indicates how it can contribute in advancing scientific objectives in the field. The recurring discursive articulations with this epistemic approach in the examined sources are depicted in the previous Figure 5.16 by a line connecting "Tufts master program" to the symbol "EMP."

As the previous statements indicate, the textual sources examined in this master program also provide several links to various theoretical approaches, which particularly recur in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus. For example, the description of Professor Pfaltzgraff's course lists the main goals of studying some major scholars' theorizations, general questions about the international system and answers to these general questions "from the [IR] *theory literature*" (Pfaltzgraff 2011, 1). The importance of theoretical knowledge is also indicated in the list of mandatory readings in this syllabus. As I previously mentioned, this list includes several sources that focus primarily on the development or improvement of theories (e.g., Waltz 1979, McDermott 2004, Lobell 2009).[157] Most of these sources consider causal forms of relations in the world, for example, by examining structural or systemic understandings of international relations. While this category of theoretical approaches is further detailed in Chapter 6, these sources help illustrate what I have temporarily termed rationalist theoretical approaches in this chapter as well as their role in furthering systematic explanations in IR. The recurring articulations with these epistemic approaches in these sources are depicted in Figure 5.16 *supra* by a line connecting "Tufts master program" to the symbol "RTA."

As with several of the previously examined master program, the selected documentary sources associated with the Fletcher master also emphasize the role of interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approaches. Links to this category of epistemic approach are, for example, reproduced in the statements according to which this program "trains *broadly knowledgeable* and curious leaders" (Fletcher 2015a), mobilizes knowledge from political, economic, business and legal field of studies/thinking (*idem*) and offers an "*interdisciplinary* curriculum" (Fletcher 2015b).[158] These statements also help clarify the value of these epistemic approaches in the field, for example, by emphasizing the quality such as intellectual broadness and ability for combining knowledge from different fields of study. Like in previous master program, the statements and links associated with this type of epistemic approach are mainly combined with statements and components

[157] Among these sources, Lobell et al. (2009) also exemplify how specific pieces of scholarship can articulate several epistemic approaches, in this case, empirical and rationalist theoretical approaches.
[158] A similar approach is also implicit in this master program's breadth requirements to the effect that each student must complete courses in each of the three multidisciplinary divisions associated with the Fletcher School.

advancing applied objectives, which suggest that they particularly contribute to such objectives. This recurring discursive articulation is depicted in the previous Figure 5.16 by a line connecting "Tufts master program" to the symbol "IIB," which is positioned on the lower right side of the figure.

The textual sources associated with the Fletcher School master program also recurrently illustrate quantitative and statistical approaches. For example, the general description of the program curriculum states that "*quantitative* offerings are vast, and the program allows students to determine the depth and type of *quantitative* knowledge desired" (Fletcher 2015b). Similarly, the description of the course on data analysis and statistical and quantitative methods (associated with the quantitative reasoning requirement) reproduces a link to "classical *statistical analysis* and inference" (Fletcher 2015c, 17) and "the *mathematical methods* that are used widely in economics" (ibid., 15). In this case again, illustrations of these quantitative and statistical approaches are never explicitly linked with applied objectives and are largely restricted to specific program components. More precisely, they are absent from the descriptions of the program's breadth and depth requirements and from Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus. This and their association with analytical skills indicate that these approaches are not closely linked with the prevalent applied orientation and rather contribute to furthering scientific objectives in the context of this program. This discursive articulation is again depicted in Figure 5.16 *supra* by a line connecting "Tufts master program" to the symbol "QSA".

This subsection provides additional illustrations for considering the diverse diverging objectives and epistemic approaches that are mobilized in IR scholarship from elite US universities. The textual sources associated with the Fletcher School master program primarily indicate how both applied and scientific objectives are furthered in the context of this program (the former being shared across the curriculum and selected syllabus while the latter being mainly reproduced in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus). This prevalence of applied objectives is a recurring feature across the master programs examined in this chapter, which underlines again how the dominance of scientism can be mitigated by alternative modes of thinking in the context of American IR. This subsection also highlights how several categories of epistemic approaches are used to further applied

and scientific objectives in the context of this education program. More precisely, the examination underlines how rationalist theoretical approaches, quantitative and statistical approaches and empirical approaches contribute to a scientific orientation. Similarly, is indicates how an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach and an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach illustrates some of the specific features of an applied orientation in the field. These examples help detail the distinct and diverging modes of thinking associated with the categories of applied and scientific objectives in American IR. Their features also underline some aspects of the particular value of these two orientations in the field, like the ability to focus on concrete, specific and situated cases and issues, or to further general, theoretical and systematic descriptions and explanations. These differences are discussed in more details in section 5.2.

Master of Arts in International Relations at Yale University

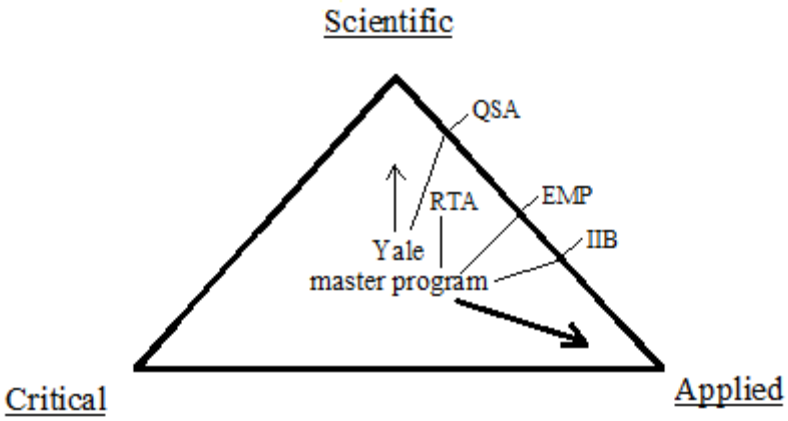
The Master of Arts degree in International Relations at the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs of Yale University is a two-year program of study that includes three core course requirements[159] and courses in a topical or functional concentration. Master students in this program must also demonstrate proficiency in a foreign language. Following the explanations provided in Chapter 4, I concentrate on the general description of the master program, the descriptions of the main requirements associated with the program curriculum and Professor Nuno P. Monteiro's Spring 2015 syllabus for the elective course entitled "International Relations: Concepts and Theories" for my examination of the diversity of objectives and epistemic approaches illustrated by this program.

This examination provides more examples of the means by which scholars can further diverse categories of objectives in American IR. For example, the description of the Jackson Institute master program and curriculum components provides additional illustrations of an applied orientation and associated epistemic approaches. Yet, Professor Monteiro's syllabus also furthers scientific objectives. By highlighting the features of the diverse epistemic approaches that are used to advance these two categories of scholarly objectives, this subsection also underlines their distinct value and purpose in the context of IR scholarship from elite US universities. As with the previous master programs, the

[159] These courses are entitled "History of the Present," "Economics: Principles and Applications" and "Applied Methods of Analysis" (Jackson 2015a).

main discursive articulations examined in this subsection are depicted in Figure 5.17 below.

Figure 5.17: Main Scholarly Objectives and Epistemic Approaches in the Jackson Institute Master Program (Yale)



The general description of the curriculum of the Jackson Institute master program provides particularly explicit illustration of the scholarly objectives advanced in this program. Associated statements indicate, for example, that the program prepares students "to *impact* the global community," assists them toward a "career in global *leadership* and *service*," and connects them with colleagues working in diverse fields of application such as "policy analysis, security analysis, trade and economic development, foreign affairs, human rights, international finance, and environmental policy" (Jackson 2015a). The recurring emphases in these statements on notions such as impact, service, and the diverse fields of activities emphasize some of the specific dimensions of an applied orientation. These statements also highlight the value of such an orientation for advancing scholarship that can more effectively be translated and be used in other / non-academic fields of practice.

Similar objectives are also exemplified in the description of specific components of this master curriculum. For example, the compulsory courses entitled "Economics: Principles and Applications" is described as "[dealing] with the *application* of basic microeconomic analysis to *public policy issues*" (Jackson 2015c). Similarly, the compulsory course on applied methods of analysis is described as being focused "on *useful* analytical

approaches in *public policy* and the social sciences" (Jackson 2015c). While the objectives that are associated with useful analytical approaches in the social sciences in this latter statement are less clear, their application to policy issues more clearly translates applied objectives in the context of this master program. These statements emphasize again the value of applied scholarship in American IR to further knowledge that focuses, impacts and is translated in policy activities and contexts.

This applied orientation is also reproduced in Professor Monteiro's syllabus. For example, the general description of this syllabus states that the course provides students with "the conceptual and theoretical *toolkit* necessary to *make* informed *decisions* and *recommendations* in the realm of international politics" (Monteiro 2015, 1). Similarly, this description indicates that "the *purpose* of the course [is] to give students the *tools* needed to identify, label, evaluate, criticize, and fine-tune *policy positions* on international topics" and to improve "the odds of success of whatever *course of action* is being *recommended* or *implemented*" (Monteiro 2015, 1). In these statements, notions such as making decisions, fine-tuning policy positions and implementing courses of action recurrently emphasize activities implying the application of knowledge to concrete contexts and problems. Emphasizing this orientation, the final statement of the course description in Professor Monteiro's syllabus clarifies that "the course is *not* focused on a *description* or *analysis* of the events, actors, institutions, or processes that make up contemporary IR. *Nor* is the purpose of this course to *expose* you to *cutting-edge academic work* in IR" (Monteiro 2015, 2). Instead, Monteiro insists, the readings "*focus* on the key *conceptual and theoretical tools* used in the *study* of international relations" and "on their *application* to enduring *issues* in world politics" (*idem*). Accordingly, these statements provide particularly explicit examples of the ways by which American scholars can mobilize theoretical literature to further applied objectives and scholarship in the field.

Yet, the vast majority of the 53 mandatory readings associated with Professor Monteiro's syllabus do not reproduce this articulation of theoretical works and applied objectives. Indeed, while Stephen Walt (2004) echoes this articulation by emphasizing a need to produce more policy-relevant theoretical work in IR, most other sources exemplify a

preference for broad theoretical questions and puzzles. For example, Robert Putnam (1988) develops a theory of international treaty ratification that accounts for the interaction between the "games" associated with domestic and international politics. In another mandatory reading, Thomas Schelling (1966) focuses on the use of arms and violence in international negotiation – not for policy application, as Schelling explicitly states, but to delineate its underlying and unchanging *principles*. Similarly, James Fearon (1994a) focuses on international crises by constructing a theoretical model explaining, across time and space, how audience costs may influence international leaders' evaluations during international crises.

Despite what Professor Monteiro suggests, these sources mainly conceive their subject matter (e.g., treaty ratification, violence diplomacy, international crises) in general, transversal and theoretical terms, rather than, for example, from the perspective of concrete and current problems and contexts. This feature is particularly illustrated by the recurring focus in the above-mentioned sources on notions such as theories, underlying principles and theoretical models. These sources emphasize the importance of developing explanatory, analytical and systematic knowledge, which is associated with scientific modes of thinking and objectives. However, this second orientation is largely restricted to the mandatory readings listed in Professor Monteiro's syllabus and hence seems to assume secondary importance in this master program. It nevertheless provides supplementary examples of the ways by which graduate education programs can advance diverse categories of objectives in American IR, as well as the distinct modes of thinking that are associated with each of them. These two orientations are depicted in Figure 5.17 *supra* by a major arrow pointing toward the Applied angle and a minor arrow pointing from "Yale master program" toward the Scientific angle, both from "Yale master program."

Differences also appear at the level of the epistemic approaches that are advanced by the curriculum and syllabus examined in this master program. For example, the description of the Jackson Institute master program states that it is an "academically rigorous yet flexible *interdisciplinary*" program and enables students to take courses with "faculty from *all disciplines*" (Jackson 2015a). These statements exemplify the previously

mentioned interdisciplinary and intellectually broad epistemic approach. Yet, similar exemplars do not appear (at least, not explicitly) in Professor Monteiro's syllabus and related sources. This again suggests that these epistemic approaches particularly contribute to advance the applied orientation that pervades the Jackson Institute master curriculum (and less Professor Monteiro's syllabus). They also indicate some aspects of the relevance of applied scholarship for the field, for instance in enabling IR scholars and students to combine knowledge originating from different fields of study. These recurring discursive articulations are also depicted in the previous Figure 5.17 by a line connecting "Yale master program" to the symbol "IIB."

At the same time, Professor Monteiro's syllabus repetitively mobilizes theoretical means of knowledge production. The description in the syllabus indicates that Professor Monteiro's course provides students with a "*conceptual* and *theoretical* toolkit" and that the first half of the course focuses exclusively on surveying IR theories (Monteiro 2015, 1). More than two thirds of the 52 mandatory sources included in this syllabus exemplify what I have termed rationalist theoretical approaches, namely, approaches characterized by the search for and evaluation of causal laws and explanations (e.g., Glaser 1997, Lake and Powell 1999, Snidal 2002). In the list of mandatory readings, this understanding of theory is particularly exemplified by one of Professor Monteiro's publications, which seeks to "identify *causal pathways* to war that are characteristic of a unipolar system" (Monteiro 2011/12, 12), David Singer`s (1961) emphasis on "systematic analysis" and different "levels of analysis," or Charles Glaser`s (1997) focus on the operation of "security dilemmas" between "rational actors" (similarly see Schelling 1966, Hardin 1968, Fearon 1995). While these illustrations are concentrated in Professor Monteiro's syllabus, they help detail what I have termed rational theoretical approaches. These illustrations also emphasize how the sources and statements mobilizing this type of epistemic approaches can help advance systematic and causal explanations in American IR, and hence contribute to further scientific objectives in the field. These articulations are also depicted in Figure 5.17 above by a line connecting "Yale master program" to the symbol "RTA."

The documentary sources associated with this master program also mobilize quantitative and statistical approaches. Several mandatory readings in Professor Monteiro's syllabus, for example, combine rationalist theoretical and quantitative approaches (e.g., Fearon 1994, Schultz 1999, Russett et al. 1998).[160] Links to quantitative approaches are also reproduced in the description of the Jackson Institute master curriculum, which states that the program provides an "appreciation of *quantitative* methods as tools for analysis in public affairs" (Jackson 2015b). At least one other link to a quantitative approach is underlined in the description of the compulsory course on applied methods of analysis, which indicates how this course "focuses on *mathematical skills*" (Jackson 2015c). Here again, this type of epistemic approach emphasize abilities to develop abilities for developing systematic analyses, which corresponds to scientific scholarship in the context of this thesis proposed categorization. However, the links with quantitative and statistical approaches are again restricted to a few components among the examined documentary sources, which suggest that this approach is relatively peripheral in this master program. This is another illustration of the ways by which American IR scholars can counter the dominance of scientism in the field, namely by prioritizing other (e.g. applied) objectives and related approaches. The discursive articulations with quantitative and statistical approaches are depicted in the previous Figure 5.17 by a line connecting "Yale master program" to the symbol "QSA."

In fact, only an empirical approach is exemplified across the curriculum and selected syllabus in the Jackson Institute master program. For example, the program curriculum description stresses that students complete their program by following a topical or functional specialization that focuses on general topics such as "international environmental studies," "human rights policy" and "the political economy of trade" (Jackson 2015b). Similarly, the description of the compulsory course on the history of the present in the master curriculum exemplifies this type of general and empirical focus by emphasizing the study of "the forces of dynamic change (…) that have shaped the modern world" (Jackson 2015c). An empirical approach is also reproduced across a significant number of sources included in Professor Monteiro's mandatory reading list,

[160] Notably, several sources mobilize formal theoretical approaches while avoiding quantification in this list of sources (e.g., Lake 1996, Glaser 1997). These differences are further explored in chapter 6.

which study, for example, international treaty ratification (Putnam 1988), the formation of alliances among states (Lake 1996), diplomatic activities using arms and violence (Schelling 1966) or the development and current transformation of the state (Spruyt 2002). Across these sources and statements, scholars do not focus on concrete, current and specific issues or cases but instead uses cross-case comparisons, generic topics and long-term perspectives. This primarily helps underline how empirical approaches can contribute to furthering scientific knowledge in American IR by providing the necessary general and transversal perspective for developing systematic explanatory knowledge. It also emphasizes some aspects of the specific relevance of scientific scholarship for advancing this type of cross-case and topical perspective in the field. This epistemic approach is also depicted in the previous Figure 5.17 by a line connecting "Yale master program" to the symbol "EMP."

This subsection provides additional exemplifications of the diverse categories of objectives and epistemic approaches that are furthered in American IR. It primarily exemplifies how applied objectives can be advanced and be prevalent in such education program and the value of such orientation in connecting IR scholarship with concrete activities and other fields of practice (especially policy-related). Otherwise, Professor Monteiro's mandatory reading list also exemplifies how s scientific objectives and associated epistemic approaches like the quantitative and statistical, rational theoretical, and the empirical approaches, can be furthered in the field. Related sources and statements also help emphasizing the particular relevance of this orientation and of these approaches in American IR, notably for furthering systematic analysis, precise results and transversal knowledge. While these illustrations are relatively limited at this point, they will be further detailed in Chapter 6. Nevertheless, this examination indicated again how diverse scholarly objectives can be combined in American IR and how scholars in that field may prioritize an applied orientation over the dominant scientific standards. It also helped clarifying the diverse approaches and modes of thinking that help advancing these different categories of objectives in the field.

Section 5.1 analyzed the textual sources associated with each of the ten individual master programs selected for this thesis examination. The following section compares the

patterns across these subsections in order to detail the diverse epistemic approaches that are mobilized by American IR scholars and to explain why these scholars further different objectives in the field.

5.2: Examining the Main Orientations Across the Selected Master Programs

In this section, I compare the examinations that were developed in section 5.1. This comparative analysis details the principles and notions that are associated with the diverse and diverging categories of objectives accessed across the selected graduate education programs and the different approaches and modes of thinking that are associated with them. It also underscores the particular value of applied, scientific and critical objectives and emphasizes how this diversity can help mitigate the dominance of scientism in American IR.

The following Table 5.1 provides a synthetic view of the different orientations that were underlined across the 10 selected Master programs. More precisely, it indicates all the major/prevalent and minor/secondary orientations underlined across the previous examinations of selected master programs.

Table 5.1: Synthetic View of the Main Categories of Objectives in the Examined Master Programs

	Categories of objectives		
Master Program	Applied	Scientific	Critical
Columbia	X [161]	x [162]	
Duke	X		X
Georgetown	X	X	
Harvard	X		
Johns Hopkins	X	X	
Michigan	X		x
Minnesota	X	X	X
Princeton	X	X	
Tufts	X	X	
Yale	X	X	

As the previous table indicates, the examinations developed in section 5.1 provide examples and details on each of the proposed categories of objectives, albeit in different

[161] An upper-case 'X' symbolizes major or prevalent functional discourse (e.g., statements prioritizing associated objective) in the assessed textual sources associated with the selected master program.

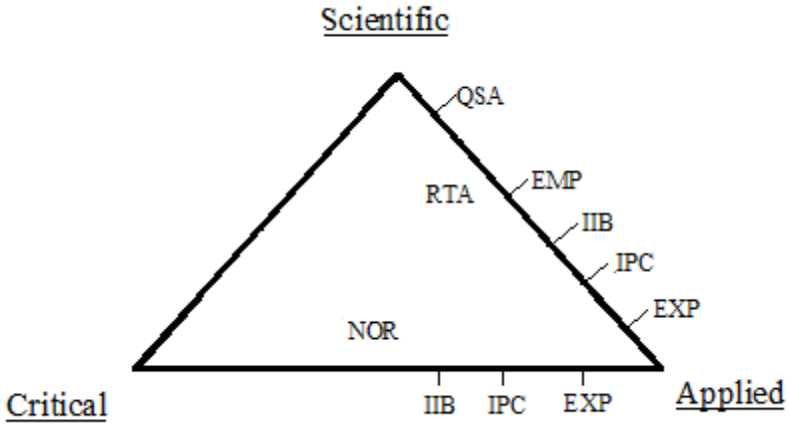
[162] A lower-case 'x' symbolizes minor or secondary functional discourses (e.g., statements denoting a comparatively lower priority to associated objectives) in the assessed textual sources associated with the selected master program.

measures. Indeed, applied and – to a lesser degree – scientific objectives were prevalent across the selected Master curricula and syllabi. Critical objectives, for their part, were marginally reproduced across the selected textual sources. Nevertheless, clarifying each of these categories helps discuss the main principles, notions and epistemic approaches that are associated with them in the examined curricula and syllabi.

Given their importance in the examined master programs and for underlining the vocational diversity of American IR, this section particularly emphasizes the role of an applied orientation and of associated epistemic approaches in the field (i.e. interdisciplinary and intellectually broad, issue-, policy- and case-specific and experiential approaches). In doing so, the section clarifies their particular value for the field and how American scholars can mobilize them to develop a different understanding of international relations. In doing so, I can underline the benefits that American IR scholars might reap from advancing more applied knowledge in their work and help mitigate the dominance of scientism in the field.

The discursive analysis of the 10 selected master curricula and syllabi also provides numerous examples of diverse types of epistemic approaches recurrently mobilized in IR scholarship from elite US universities. To visualize these epistemic approaches in the context of the proposed categorization, the following Figure 5.18 depicts each of them by using the previously mentioned acronyms and positioning them according to the previous examinations and location in previous similar figures.

Figure 5.18: Main Epistemic Approaches Across the Ten Selected Master Programs



As indicated in Figure 5.18, the section 6.1 has provided details on six categories of epistemic approaches, that is, the issue-, policy- and case-specific, experiential, interdisciplinary and intellectually broad, quantitative and statistical, and empirical, as well as the rationalist and normative theoretical approaches. Detailing these epistemic approaches helps clarify the particular modes of thinking that are associated with applied, scientific or critical objectives in American IR. As with previous figures, Figure 5.18 is meant to further the explanatory utility of this thesis' conceptualization by depicting the associated cognitive map and the means by which applied, scientific and critical objectives are practically furthered in American IR.

The following discussion details the patterned forms of linguistic articulations that further each of these six types of epistemic approaches across the previous examinations, their contribution to the proposed categories of objectives as well as their specific relevance in the context of IR scholarship from elite US universities. Since I have used an incremental and inductive approach to develop the proposed categorization of epistemic approaches, the level of detail provided on each epistemic approach is unequal. Moreover and as indicated in the previous pages, some of these categories (e.g., the rationalist theoretical approach) are temporary, having served to synthesize dimensions that were difficult to clarify at this point of my examination.

This section is divided in three subsections, each discussing one of the categories of objectives proposed in this thesis. More precisely, each of the following subsections emphasizes the main discursive patterns, principles and epistemic approaches associated with each of these categories of objectives. In conclusion, I provide general observations about the examination of the 10 selected Master programs and the way the analysis developed in Chapter 5 helps counter the dominance of scientism in American IR.

Applied Objectives in the 10 Selected Master Programs

While the discursive analysis developed in section 5.1 suggests a regular occurrence of applied objectives across the curriculum and syllabus selected in each master program, Table 5.1 emphasizes the recurrence of this particular orientation. Indeed, this table indicates that, from the perspective of the previous examinations, the 10 selected master programs prevalently further applied objectives. This tendency is not surprising given the

professional mission associated with the master education programs selected for this chapter analysis. Yet, illustrating this consistency helps clarifying how applied objectives are practically translated, their specific value and goal in the field and the resulting diversity of orientations in this area of IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Applied objectives are primarily furthered in the selected master programs through recurring emphases on the potential application and usefulness of IR scholarship in policy-related problems and contexts. For example, I underline in section 5.1 how the curriculum (Sanford 2015) and selected syllabus (Jentleson 2011) associated with the Sanford School Master program (Duke) are focused on relatively diverse types of policies (e.g. public, economic), policy-making activities (e.g. formulating, enacting, implementing) and policy-related issues and contexts (e.g. security arrangements in Asia, regional co-operation and security in the Middle East, specific IGOs such as the UN). I also indicate how the description of the Kennedy School master curriculum (Harvard) and associated syllabus explain how they further "policy applications" related, for example, to "governance challenges" and "contemporary global affairs" (Kennedy 2015b) and application to "contemporary policy problems" and, especially, problems associated with U.S. foreign policy (Walt 2012b). These and other examples of this pattern do not indicate that these programs and courses are strictly applied to these specific policy-related problems and contexts in their delivery. Instead, they underscore the recurring objectives, principles and notions that applied scholarship translates in American IR and the distinct goal and worldview that is associated with it.

More precisely, they indicate how an applied orientation in American IR can further a more instrumental view of scholarly work, one for which scholarship must be more directly usable by both academic and non-academic actors to cope with existing issues and challenges. Instrumentalism in the specific context of the examined master programs promotes raising the potential for associated scholarship to be useful in policy-related contexts and effective for contributing to the resolution of policy-related problems. Here, the specific policies and areas of application are not particularly important; it is the *priority* given to the usefulness and applicability of scholarly ideas in policy-related

contexts that distinguishes the particular goal and value of applied scholarship in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Emphasizing the importance of instrumentalism is important in the context of this since it goes against some of the dominant scientific impulse in American IR, like that of developing scholarship that is transversal and technically sophisticated. Discussing the broader context of American political science, Andrew Bennett and John Ikenberry explain that instead of raising the potential usefulness of IR scholarship, "the increasing technical specialization of the profession has made it more difficult for policymakers and citizens to understand and make direct use of political science research" (2006, 653). This is also one of the main conclusions of the survey conduct by Paul Avey and Michael Desch among senior American policymakers, who write that "while policymakers do use theory (what they refer to as background and frameworks), they are skeptical of much of academic social science which they see as jargon-ridden and overly focused on technique, at the expense of substantive findings" (2014, 228-229). Following this idea, the priority afforded to the usefulness of scholarship by applied objectives should lead American IR scholars to diverge from dominant scientist standards and translate their ideas into approaches and notions that are more easily understandable and applicable in other/non-academic fields of practice. This element also underlines how applied objectives are, comparatively, more externally-oriented than a scientific orientation would dictate in American IR, that is, relatively more focused on generating knowledge that is being relevant and transferable to external or non-academic actors (e.g. policymakers). Accordingly, this is an important aspect of applied scholarship, one that makes its value and associated modes of thinking essentially different from that promoted by the dominant scientist standards in American IR.

In several of the previously examined curricula and syllabi, an applied orientation is also associated with recurring emphases on concreteness of scholarly activities, that is, the concrete dimension of the activities by which knowledge is developed, transmitted and used. For example, this discursive pattern is stressed in statements from the SIPA master curriculum (Columbia) according to which students acquire "*hands-on* experience" and the ability to "manage *real-world* organizations" (SIPA 2015). Similarly, a source listed

in the master program's selected syllabus underscores the "inescapable link between the abstract world of theory and the *real world of policy*" (Walt 1998, 29). In the SAIS master program (Johns Hopkins), the description of the curriculum also underscores how students acquire the "capacity to *apply theory* to *real-world problems*" (SAIS 2015b). Again, these examples do not imply that the associated programs are restricted to concrete issues and means of knowledge production. Instead, they highlight a recurring feature of the discourses and modes of thinking that advance applied objectives.

As indicated in section 5.1, this particular feature of applied scholarship is often translated in an epistemic approach that I have identified as the experiential approach in this thesis proposed categorization. An experiential approach reproduces knowledge that is related with – or originates from – the concrete experiences of actors (e.g. students, professors). Beside the previously mentioned SIPA master curriculum, this approach was also exemplified in the description of the Ford School master curriculum (Michigan), which underscores the acquisition of "hands-on" and practical experience by graduate students, notably through activities of "real-world" policy consulting (Ford 2015a). The description of the Humphrey School master curriculum (Minnesota) also emphasizes that faculty members have acquired their knowledge at least partially from "real-world policy experience" and from their "positions in policy fields all over the globe" (Humphrey 2015, 1). Similarly, in Professor Gray's syllabus (2014), which is also associated with the Minnesota master program, students' learning is repetitively associated with experiences gained through exposure to and involvement in practical activities.

These examples indicate one specific aspect of an applied orientation, that is, that students' or scholars' *lived experiences* are legitimate sources of knowledge. From this point of view, concreteness indicates that applied scholarship can and should be developed *from* and *for being translated in* situated and practical activities. In the context of the examined master programs, statements emphasizing this approach recurrently link learning activities with such situated and practical experiences, that is, active involvement in specific activities associated with international relations. More broadly, this approach can accordingly be associated with a form of experiential education (Hopkins 1999). Yet and as the previous explanations indicate this approach can also be

applied in American IR scholars' research activities. In the other activities of American IR scholars (e.g., research), this might involve more direct interaction with non-academic actors or, more concretely, "programs and projects that connect academics and policy professionals in joint not just parallel efforts" (Jentleson 2011, 9). This emphasis on practical and situated experiences is another important aspect of an applied orientation since it particularly contrasts with the dominant scientific standards in American IR, which instead focus on developing transversal knowledge from systematic examinations across multiple empirical cases or situations. From this point of view and as the previous examples underline, a distinct aspect of an applied orientation is to encourage actors to value knowledge that is acquired through lived and situated experiences and to translate knowledge into concrete involvement in applied forms of activities. Accordingly, the mobilization of concrete and lived experiences in the selected master programs helps highlight one significant dimension of the distinct mode of thinking associated with applied objectives and another means by which more diverse scholarly orientations can be advanced in American IR (beyond the dominance of scientism).

Another recurring dimension of applied scholarship from the previous examinations is its propensity to focus on specific and often proximate situations and activities. This dimension is often translated in a focus on the specific American context, government, or foreign policy for scholars working in American higher education institutions. Several sources associated with the selected syllabus in this (and other) programs focus on specific issues and policies primarily pertaining to the American foreign policy-making context (e.g., Brzezinski 2004, Nye 2011). Examples of such a perspective can also be found in the master curricula at the Ford School at Michigan (Ford 2015a), the Humphrey School at Minnesota (Humphrey 2015a), and the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton (2015a), and the selected syllabi in the master program at Georgetown and Yale universities (Cha et al. 2011, Monteiro 2015). Beside the "local" focus translated by this perspective, it is the specific character or singleness of the elements being studied that differentiates it from the dominant scientific standards in American IR. Like for the previous emphasis on concreteness, a proximate and specific focus is also translated in a specific category of epistemic approaches across the previous examinations.

Indeed, section 5.1 underlines a particular category of epistemic approaches that is associated with a recurring focus on relatively specific cases, issues or policies. This epistemic approach is exemplified in several of the previously examined master program curricula. For example, the descriptions of the IGA concentration and the DPI-101 compulsory course in the Kennedy School master curriculum at Harvard underline learning objectives that focus on specific policy issues, geographic areas or American political institutions (Kennedy 2015a, 2015b). The description of Professor Jentleson's syllabus (Duke) also emphasizes that his course studies the challenges of governance from "a range of economic, political, security, societal and cultural issues" (Jentleson 2011, 1) and includes a significant number of mandatory readings providing knowledge of/from specific issues and contexts such as the World Health Organization, Human Rights Watch, or the current security arrangements in Asia (Bisley and Raimo Väyrynen 2009). Similarly, several of the examined sources in Professor Ikenberry's syllabus (Princeton) mobilize knowledge from specific issues, policies or cases to discuss relatively concrete applications, implementations and recommendations in the context, for example, of American foreign or security policy (e.g., Bisley and Raimo Väyrynen 2009, Richardson 2006 and Ikenberry 2008).

These examples underscore how an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach furthers a viewpoint of *specific* cases, contexts and – in the case of the examined sources – issues and policies. This perspective deviates from the dominant scientist standards in American IR, which promote transversal and general perspectives on international relations. Instead, the particular mode of thinking that an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach furthers is closer to that which characterizes area studies, which are recognized for developing knowledge about specific geographical and geo-cultural areas (e.g., Katzenstein 2001, Valbjørn 2004). Underscoring the role of this approach in the examined master programs also indicates how an applied orientation is valuable in American IR for emphasizing, for instance, the ability of applied scholarship to raise the idiosyncratic character of scholarly work by considering the particularities of specific cases. It can also help make scholarly work more useful for scholars and other actors by focusing on proximate contexts, that is, the contexts that they more directly and practically encounter. Hence, the specific and proximate perspective that is furthered by

such an epistemic approach can help further the general and distinct goal of an applied orientation in American IR namely that of raising the potential adaptability and usefulness of scholarship in concrete issues and contexts.

Another recurring aspect of the previous examination is the recurring emphases on the hybrid and encompassing dimension of the perspectives necessary to further applied scholarship. This particular feature can be associated with the interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach that was recurrently exemplified across the examined Master curricula and syllabi. Section 5.1 indeed indicates that the descriptions of several master curricula and associated learning activities further statements translating such a perspective. For example, the description of the SIPA master program (Columbia) states that students receive a "broad-based, interdisciplinary training" (SIPA 2015). The descriptions of the School of Foreign Service and SAIS master programs (Georgetown and Johns Hopkins) also emphasize a "multidisciplinary" and "interdisciplinary" course of study (Foreign Service 2015a, SAIS 2015a). Similarly, the description of the Fletcher School master curriculum (Tufts) indicates that it trains students to be "broadly knowledgeable" (Fletcher 2015a). The recurring appearance of this type of epistemic approach in these Master programs curricula is not particularly surprising since already in 1994 Louis W. Goodman, Kay King and Stephen F. Szabo recommended that APSIA member schools combine a "multidisciplinary" educational foundation within "policy-oriented degree programs" (1994, 2; see also Cisco Titi 1998).[163]

While these examples describe relatively diverse institutional contexts, they share an understanding of scholarly work and knowledge that is meant to be hybrid and encompassing complex situations in nature. This helps emphasize one of the distinct benefits of an applied orientation in American IR for furthering scholarship that can transcend disciplinary borders, combine ideas from diverse fields of activities and account for complex contexts of application. Notably, the role of such an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach in the context of applied scholarship is coherent with previous theorization of interdisciplinarity, such as that of J. T. Klein, who argues that

[163] Yet and beyond these program curricula, explicit statements relating to this interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach are reproduced in few selected syllabi and associated mandatory readings (e.g., Walt 1998 in Professor Sestanovich's syllabus [Columbia]).

interdisciplinary engagements generally arise "from the unresolved problems of society rather than science itself" (1990, 42). Accordingly, an interdisciplinary and intellectual broad approach is one perspective that contributes to the particular mode of thinking associated with an applied orientation in American IR. It also helps emphasize the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities and explain why American IR scholars further applied objectives in their work.

The previous explanations underscore that applied objectives are prevalent across the master curricula and syllabi examined in section 5.1. This is an important argument in itself for underlining the diversity of orientations regularly motivating IR scholarship from elite US universities beyond the dominance of scientist standards. More precisely, these explanations clarified the prevailing role of applied objectives in this area of the field, how these objectives diverge from the dominant scientific standards in American IR and the diverse means by which they are advanced by American IR scholars. The previous explanations indicate that the distinct mode of thinking associated with an applied orientation emphasizes an instrumental view of scholarship, focuses on concrete experiences and on specific and proximate cases as well as on the development of broad and hybrid perspectives. More importantly, this transversal analysis of the previous examinations of master curricula and syllabi help explain why American scholars advance applied objectives in their regular work by emphasizing the distinct value of associated scholarship.

From the analysis developed in this chapter, an applied orientation is primarily valuable in American IR for its ability to raise the usefulness of associated scholarship in policy-related context. As this dimension directs scholarly work towards the existing and concrete concerns of non-academic actors, an emphasis on the potential usefulness of IR scholarship can be important means to fulfill the "broader societal responsibilities" of American IR scholars" (Jentleson 2002, 170). As previously underlined, applied objectives also enable students and scholars to learn and generate legitimate knowledge from situated experience and active involvement in concrete activities. The regular emphasis on concreteness of learning and knowledge-producing activities also furthers a focus on specific contexts of application, practical engagement with such contexts and

abilities to translate knowledge into effective action, which helps clarifying the specific value of applied objectives in American IR. An applied orientation can also raise the ability of actors (scholars and others) to better understand their immediate context by furthering knowledge of more proximate issues. In the case of the master programs selected for this chapter examination, the focus on the American context can contribute in making scholarly ideas more easily usable and transferable into practice. Another important feature of applied objectives is to promote abilities for combining ideas from different sources as well as a broad view on the issues being studied. These diverse features indicate that the main distinctive goal of an applied orientation in American IR is to further scholarship that is more applicable and directly useful in concrete contexts of practice. This distinguishes an applied orientation from all other categories of objectives in American IR and underscores the specific value of pursuing this type of scholarship. They also indicate why applied objectives are furthered in American IR and why American IR scholars might considering using more epistemic approaches that help advancing such objectives in the field. As this subsection detailed the means that are used to further and benefits associated with applied objectives, the next subsection turns to explanations about scientific objectives in American IR.

Scientific Objectives in the 10 Selected Master Programs

The previous examinations of selected master curricula and syllabi also provide several examples for clarifying how scientific objectives are furthered in the regular discourses and practices of American IR scholars. However and as indicated in Table 5.1, these examples are less prevalent than those associated with the previous category of applied objectives across the selected master programs. More precisely, the previous examinations exemplify scientific objectives (as either a major or minor element) in seven out of ten of the selected master program. While more extensive explanations are developed in Chapter 6, it is possible to clarify some of the principles, notions and the epistemic approaches that are recurrently associated with this category of objectives.

Reviewing and comparing the examinations presented in section 5.1 primarily indicates that associated statements generally focus on academic actors and institutions. For example, the curriculum for the Master in Foreign Service at Georgetown University

underlines the role of "scholars-teachers and faculty" (Foreign Service 2015a) in the program. Similarly, the curriculum of the SAIS Master program, at Johns Hopkins University, emphasizes the importance of academia and elite journals (SAIS 2015a). These and other similar examples across the selected master programs indicate how American scholars motivated by scientific objectives primarily orient their work towards concerns and questions originating from the academic world. This means that pursuing scientific objectives influences scholars' practices and discourses towards being relevant primarily for academic actors (e.g. scholars and students) and only secondarily for non-academic actors (e.g., policy-makers). This feature helps distinguish the principles and particular value associated with a scientific orientation from, for example, the previous category of applied objectives. As a result, it also provides an important qualification about the specific value of a scientific orientation in American IR.

A second feature of the statements exemplifying a scientific orientation in section 5.1 is their recurring emphases on the development of analytical and theoretical explanations and knowledge. This type of objectives is for example translated by notions and activities like that of producing "fundamental knowledge" (Fletcher 2015b), assessing the "explanatory power" of theories of IR (Cha et al. 2011) and studying "analytical tools" and "theoretical literature" (Sestanovich 2011). These and other related statements underscore the importance of approaches that tend towards analytical and objective notions and concepts in American IR. As it orients scholarly work towards the definition of regular patterns across multiple cases and the adoption of a neutral position towards the object of study, this feature is particularly contrasting with the emphases on specific cases or concreteness of scholarly activities that was previously associated with an applied orientation. These features recall the systematic dimension of scientific knowledge as it was defined in the first chapter of this thesis. It also indicates the role associated with what can be designated as analytical or rational theories in developing more objective, transversal and universal knowledge in American IR, i.e. knowledge that can inform multiple similar questions and situations across time and space. Indeed and from the perspective of the previous examinations, the development of analytical or rational theories is a particularly important feature of a scientific orientation across the selected master programs.

Section 5.1 in effect underscores that scientific objectives are not related with all types of theoretical approaches in the examined master programs. While this specification is further detailed in Chapter 6, the previous examinations underline how scientific objectives were mainly directed towards the development of what I have temporarily categorized as rationalist theoretical approaches. This type of theoretical approach is most explicitly exemplified by sources from Professors Cha, Kupchan, McNamara, Nexon, and Voeten's syllabus stating, for example, that "[t]he premise of "rational behavior" is a potent one for the production of theory" (Schelling 1960, 4). Like Schelling, several other sources in this syllabus translate a perspective furthering law-like statements and structural or systemic forms of theories in IR scholarship from elite US universities (e.g., Mearsheimer 2007, Waltz 2007, Reinhart and Rogoff 2008). Among others, a similar approach is also reproduced in several mandatory readings listed in Professor Walt's syllabus, one that is oriented towards delineating and explaining nomothetic (law-like) and causal relations in the world (e.g., Kahneman and Renshon 2007, Walt 2005, 2011).

A focus on causal and nomothetic theoretical knowledge is an important feature to distinguish a scientific orientation in American IR since not all theoretical approaches that were examined across the selected master programs further a causal understanding of the world. Indeed, section 5.1 proposes that normative theoretical approaches instead further non-causal perspectives on the world. In the context of this thesis, this difference does not only distinguish these two types of theoretical approaches but also the main objectives that they help furthering in American IR. More precisely, I propose that theories assuming causal and law-like forms of relations in the world are more closely associated with scientific objectives because they generate more systematic forms of explanations and knowledge – an element that helps explaining their particular value in the field.

Causal forms of theories produce more systematic explanations as a result of the methodological view that is generally assumed in scholarship advancing scientific objectives. Indeed, causal theories generally imply a dualist methodological view, i.e. the (conceptual) separation between the researcher and his object of study. This does not mean that a dualist view on the world is necessary for furthering scientific objectives in

American IR but that it is more closely and frequently associated with such objectives. A dualist methodological view excludes the particular effects of the researchers' identity, positionality and emotions so it can provide more secure bases for developing structural and systemic explanations on the world. Accordingly, conceiving causal and law-like relations in the world makes it possible to construct more regular and patterned forms of relations in the world by focusing on the dimensions and variables strictly associated with the causal relations and avoids other less controllable, measurable or structural intervening factors (e.g. the researchers' identity, positionality and emotions). In that sense and while this dimension of the proposed categorization is further clarified in Chapter 6, rationalist theoretical approaches contribute to the development of more systematic knowledge, which is one important and distinct dimension of the particular mode of thinking characterizing scientific objectives in American IR.

Despite the fact that most of the selected master programs curricula and syllabi were predominantly oriented towards applied objectives, one type of approach that is closely associated with scientific objectives recurs across most of the previous examinations, that is, quantitative and statistical approaches. This type of approach is translated in the descriptions of compulsory courses in the SIPA master curriculum, which, for example, states that the program focuses on "statistics," "quantitative analysis" and "fundamentals of statistical analysis" (SIPA 2015). In the Sanford School master program, the general descriptions of the curriculum and of specific compulsory courses also emphasize the importance of training in "quantitative methods," "quantitative methods for analysis" and "statistical skills" (Sanford 2015). Similarly, the descriptions of the Ford School master curriculum and of specific compulsory courses indicate that the program mobilizes quantitative approaches (Ford 2015a) as well as "fundamental mathematical tools," "basic statistics" and "multiple regression analysis" (Ford 2015b). Across these examples, these approaches to knowledge production encompass diverse forms of quantification methods and statistic tools and models, which are conceived as systematic means for analyzing international relations phenomena.

These and other statements mobilizing quantitative and statistical approaches are also restricted to specific components and compulsory courses (e.g., on research

methodologies and methods) in most of the selected master program curriculum. Importantly, the descriptions of most of the components and courses that further quantitative and statistical approaches do not include explicit links to the otherwise largely prevalent applied objectives. Only in a few cases do quantitative and statistical approaches complement objectives of application. For example, the description of the course API-202 included in the Kennedy School master program (Harvard) complements the study of diverse forms of regression analyses with an "integrative exercise" in the final part of the course, in which students "have the opportunity to assess empirical analysis in an open-ended and professionally realistic project" (Kennedy 2015b). Accordingly, the mobilization of quantitative and statistical approaches rarely seems to partake in the advancement of applied objectives in the selected master programs.

While the previous explanations are not particularly explicit regarding the objectives that the quantitative and statistical approaches further in American IR, related examples in Professor Monteiro's syllabus help clarifying the particular role associated them in the context of the selected master programs. In this syllabus, most of the mandatory readings that mobilize quantitative and statistical approaches (e.g. Fearon 1994a, Schultz 1999, Russett et al. 1998) focus on broad theoretical questions and puzzles pertaining, for example, to the relations between audience costs and international crises or between domestic political institutions and international conflicts. Accordingly, these sources help further scientific objectives by mobilizing means to develop systematic procedures for producing factual knowledge about the world.

An important feature of these quantitative and statistical approaches can also help to clarify their distinct role and value in the context of a scientific orientation, that is, their translation into means of measuring and quantifying phenomena associated with international relations. As particular modes of thinking and analyzing, measurement and quantification can be understood as means for 'factualizing' the observed phenomena namely for making some specific dimensions of the observed reality into simplified, comparable and precise facts (or data). These are some of the main tools by which American IR scholars can develop scholarship that is technically sophisticated and precise. While the technical sophistication of quantitative and statistical approaches is

criticized by those who seek more applied scholarship in American IR, it constitutes a powerful tool for developing empirical analyses and to deduce causal and law-like forms of patterns and relations in the observed reality. In other words, these tools for measuring and quantifying the observed reality ease the deduction of patterned and causal forms of relations by generating more precise, patterned and usable data for analysis. Accordingly, quantitative and statistical further important features of the specific value and mode of thinking associated with scientific objectives in American IR.

Another recurring feature associated with a scientific orientation in the previous examinations is the reliance on a transversal and topical perspective to study international relations. Across the previous examinations, this feature of a scientific orientation has been associated with an empirical epistemic approach. This approach is for example exemplified in the descriptions of several compulsory courses in the Woodrow Wilson School master curriculum (Princeton), which focus on policy, decision-making processes or macroeconomic variables in broad and general terms (WWS 2015c). The course description and several sources included in Professor Ikenberry's syllabus (in the Woodrow Wilson School master curriculum) also focus on topics such as interdependence, terrorism and interstate co-operation, which they analyze in terms of broad trends and general processes (e.g., Axelrod and Keohane 1985, Abrahams 2008, Ikenberry 2012). The description of the Fletcher School master program (Tufts) also emphasizes the importance of associated faculty's broad "areas of interest" (Fletcher 2015a), and mandatory readings listed in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus, for example, focus on developing knowledge about interstate relations in outer space (Dolman 2012) or the influence of states' domestic features on their foreign policies (Lobell et al. 2009) in general and empirical terms.

These examples recurrently present a perspective that is generic, transversal and topical – an important feature of scholarship that advances scientific objectives. This perspective is used as a means of developing what is understood as empirical analyses and examinations, which can effectively be contrasted with the case-specific approach discussed in the previous subsection given that it avoids the particularities of specific cases, issues and contexts of application. Instead, an empirical approach favors a more

general and transversal level of analysis – a level that contributes in most forms of theorizing. Accordingly, this contrast can also help underscoring the specific value of an empirical approach and one dimension of the relevance attributed to scientific scholarship in American IR. This value lies principally in producing knowledge that is transversal, or, in other words, usable across time and space for understanding multiple similar processes, relations and the common dimensions of multiple past, existing or future cases and problems.

These explanations clarify the distinctive value of scholarship furthering scientific objectives and hence the reasons why American IR scholars mobilize such objectives and the related epistemic approaches in their work. According to the previous analysis, scientific objectives prioritize concerns and questions of academic actors; in that sense and while this does not exclude that scientific knowledge is used by other actors, scientific scholarship can be understood as being *primarily* relevant for academic actors and in academic contexts. The value of scientific scholarship is also in the distinctive perspective that it furthers on the world namely a perspective that focuses on analytical, theoretical and systematically produced knowledge. This form of scholarship is accordingly more prone to the development of causal explanations about international relations phenomena, at least when compared with scholarly work that prioritizes application. Causal explanations are also relevant for developing transversal and more portable insights, that is, a perspective that favors analyses that are usable across time and space in similar conditions. A scientific orientation also frequently mobilized quantitative and statistical tools, which contribute in generating more precise and comparable data as well as sophisticated analyses about the observed reality. The distinctiveness of scientific objectives in IR scholarship is accordingly to further the exactitude, systematicity and universality of scholarly analyses. While Chapter 6 provides richer examples on scientific objectives and associated epistemic approaches, these features explain why American IR scholars further scientific scholarship and its relevance in the field.

Critical Objectives in the 10 Selected Master Programs

The foregoing examination also helps clarify how American IR scholars further critical objectives across the selected master programs. However and as indicated in Table 5.1

supra, critical objectives were marginal in the examined sources since only three of the selected master programs provide examples of this type of orientation (i.e., Duke, Michigan and Minnesota). Nevertheless, comparing these examples can help underscoring some of the main principles and notions associated with critical objectives and the specific value associated with this scholarly orientation in American IR.

Across the previous examinations, the issues and notions associated with critical objectives are exemplified by the description of the compulsory course on values, ethics, and public policy in the Ford School master program, which indicates a focus on "issues and dilemmas in professional ethics" (Ford 2015d). Similarly, Professor Gray's syllabus in the Humphrey School master program states that this course engages with complex questions associated with the ethical dimension of students' future professional practice. Lastly, the compulsory course on ethical analysis in the Sanford School master curriculum (Sanford 2015) is described as being focused on examining the philosophical and historical roots of normative concepts and their implications for political problems.

While limited, these examples underscore the distinct mode of thinking and value of a critical orientation in American IR. For instance, it is noticeable that these statements recurrently underscore the role of ethical and normative reflection in the context of these master level courses. More precisely, these statements entail a recurring focus on ethically grounded questions about one's own and others' discourses and practices as well as reflections about the origins of normative concepts currently in use. Instead of focusing on translating scholarship into concrete applications or on generating systematic and factual knowledge, critical objectives accordingly entail a focus on the researcher himself, and more specifically on principles, notion and preconceptions that he uses to judge, act and analyze the observed reality. While these features are further detailed in Chapter 6, they distinguish a critical orientation from other categories of objectives in the context of this thesis and help clarifying the relevance of such orientation in the American field of IR.

One recurring feature across the selected number of statements and courses descriptions that furthers critical objectives is their emphasis on ethical reflection in the context of the students and scholars' current or future professional activities. For example, the

description of the compulsory course on values, ethics, and public policy in the Ford School master curriculum (Michigan), emphasizes the study of "dilemmas in professional ethics" (Ford 2015d) and "tensions between ethics and politics" (*idem*). While limited, these statements indicate a recurring feature of normative theories namely an emphasis on ethical dilemmas, tensions and reflections. This feature is clearly distinct from the scientist standards that are dominant in the field, which instead emphasize neutrality, objectivity and separation from the researcher's positionality and normative judgements. Accordingly, this is an important aspect of critical objectives specific value in the context of American IR and one that can explain, at least in part, why American IR scholars at times further critical objectives in the context of their scholarly activities.

Some statements across the previous examinations also exemplify some of the epistemic approaches that help furthering critical objectives in IR scholarship namely the approaches that were temporarily associated with normative theories in section 5.1. While equally limited, this (second) type of theoretical approach is exemplified by the description of the compulsory course on the responsibilities of public action (DPI-201) in the Kennedy School master curriculum (Harvard), which mobilizes "theoretical concepts from scholarly readings in philosophy and political theory" (Kennedy 2015b). It is also illustrated in the description of the compulsory course on values, ethics, and public policy in the Ford School master curriculum (Michigan), which underscores the role of "moral theories" in associated activities (Ford 2015d). The description of the compulsory course on ethical analysis in the Sanford school master program (Duke) also exemplifies this type of theoretical approaches by mobilizing "normative concepts in politics, liberty, justice, and the public interest" (Sanford 2015, 4). The intellectual tools mobilized by these statements do not appear in any way connected with scientific or applied objectives; on the opposite, they are tools the can help scholars and students further reflections on their and other's preconceptions and actions. Moreover, most of them appear in programs and textual components explicitly oriented towards critical objectives. Reflective abilities accordingly appear as distinctive dimensions of a critical orientation in American IR.

The fact that statements exemplifying critical objectives and normative theories and concepts are very limited across the textual sources examined in section 5.1 suggests that

this orientation contributes only marginally to the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities. While this observation is complemented by the examination developed in Chapter 6 on selected PhD programs, it nevertheless clarifies some important aspects of the current cultural and intellectual configuration of IR scholarship from elite US universitiesand especially professionally oriented education programs examined in this chapter.

Otherwise and while limited, the previous insights also clarify some important aspects of critical objectives, which particularly diverge from the dominant scientific standards in IR scholarship from elite US universities. More precisely and as suggested by the previous statements, normative theories and concepts can help focus scholars' and students' attention onto the values, norms and ethical stakes that underlie theirs and others' discourses and practices. These epistemic approaches direct scholarly work towards practices of reflection, critique and dialectical examinations. Again, this is a notable contrast when compared with the statements that exemplified other categories of scholarly objectives in this chapter and a feature that can help explain why and how American IR scholars at times mobilize such approach in their work.

Conclusion to Chapter 5

Chapter 5 presents my discursive analysis of the textual sources from the ten professional master programs selected for this thesis. Section 5.1 examines the curriculum and syllabus examined from each master program separately for exemplifying how and why the categories of applied, scientific and critical objectives were mobilized in this area of IR scholarship from elite US universities. Section 5.2 compares the examinations of these programs to explain the main principles, notions and epistemic approaches that are associated with each of these three orientations. In doing so, it underlines the relative importance of each of these three categories of scholarly objectives across the selected master programs and the specific value of these objectives and associated epistemic approaches for the field.

As expected, applied objectives appear prevalent in the selected master programs – a feature that is particularly consistent across the examined sources. The previous explanations also underlines the distinctive modes of thinking that regularly help

furthering these categories of objectives in American IR scholars' work and the value of this orientation in the field. More precisely, it emphasizes that applied objectives are particularly focused on the concerns of external actors – a distinctive features when compared with other vocational orientations in the field. They can also help increasing the instrumental value of IR scholarship from elite US universities (especially for policymaking activities), the concreteness of learning, teaching and knowledge-producing activities, the focus of scholarly activities on specific cases, issues or policies and the ability of academic actors to combine insights from diverse fields of study. Accordingly, an applied orientation appears particularly relevant to American IR scholars for connecting with non-academic actors by raising the usefulness, concreteness and ability to account for the specificities of individual and particularly proximate contexts.

These observations are important for underscoring the diverse purposes that can and are pursued in some areas of IR scholarship from elite US universities. This helps mitigate the dominance of scientism in American IR by highlighting intellectual means, concepts and objectives that academic actors can use to mitigate the dominance of scientist standards in the field. Similarly, they can inform the recurring debates about the opposition or difficult relation between theory and practice, and American IR scholars and international policy practitioners, by indicating how more applied scholarship can be advanced in the field. Accordingly, the previous examination provides significant arguments for furthering more applied scholarship in American IR and especially in scholarly activities that can help further connect the field with non-academic actors and activities.

Chapter 5 also indicates how American IR scholars mobilize scientific objectives in the examined master programs. It exemplifies the features of scientific objectives as well as the particular principles, notions and epistemic approaches that are associated with them. Using the examples accessed in the selected master programs, scientific objectives were particularly associated with the concerns and questions of academic actors (e.g. scholars and students). They were also identified with focuses on analytic and rational theoretical approaches, transversal and topical perspectives and abilities to generate objective, sophisticated and precise knowledge - notably through the use of quantitative and

statistical approaches. According to these characteristics, one of the main values of a scientific orientation is to advance more systematic and portable scholarship in American IR. Accordingly and while these explanations are further detailed in Chapter 6, the previous analysis nevertheless helps detail the approaches associated with a scientific orientation and the reasons for which American IR scholars regularly mobilize them in their work.

As previously mentioned, critical objectives were for their part only marginal across the selective master programs. The previous examination nevertheless helps clarifying how they are recurrently associated with ethical questions and normative reflections on one's and others' preconceptions, discourses and practices. It also provides some preliminary examples and means to delineate the epistemic approaches and notions that are recurrently mobilized to advance this category of objectives, and notably normative forms of theories and concepts and reflexive approaches, especially on scholars' and students' current and future professional practice. Accordingly and while these are further developed in Chapter 6, these explanations provide some insights on the value of critical objectives and on the means by which American IR scholars further them in their regular work. Given their marginality in the context of professional master programs related with IR in elite American universities, there also seems to be significant potential for diversifying the field by using such approach. Otherwise, this marginal situation is further analyzed and discussed in Chapter 6.

Beyond the explanations on these three specific scholarly orientations, the previous examinations also provided several examples of scholarly activities that combine diverse categories of objectives in American IR. For example, the previous examinations underscore that the textual sources associated with the Georgetown and Johns Hopkins master programs exemplify both applied and scientific objectives through a series of statements that simultaneously emphasize the role of actors, contexts and objectives associated with knowledge application and the production of theoretical and explanatory knowledge. Notably, the Humphrey School master program (Minnesota), which is examined in section 5.1, also provides a particularly interesting combination of vocational orientations. Indeed, the textual sources associated with this master program

exemplify the three categories of scholarly objectives proposed in this thesis. While scientific and critical objectives are restricted to the selected syllabus in this program (i.e., Professor Gray's syllabus) and hence remain secondary to the prevalent applied orientation, they nevertheless exemplify how such graduate education programs can simultaneously further several categories of objectives in the field. In this sense, this and other programs combining at least two types of vocational orientation provide insightful illustrations of the way American IR scholars can mitigate the dominance of scientism by mobilizing and valuing distinct yet equally legitimate scholarly orientation in the field.

Accordingly, Chapter 5 contributes in advancing a better understanding of the diverse purposes that American scholars can advance in IR. Importantly, considering the distinctiveness of the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis' categorization should help develop a better and broader account of the specific value of these orientations in the field. Given the extensive exemplification and examination of applied objectives in this chapter, the previous explanations are particularly useful for furthering associated modes of thinking and goals as means of diversifying IR scholarship from elite US universities and mitigating the dominance of scientism in this field.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH-ORIENTED GRADUATE EDUCATION: DIVERSITY AMIDST SCIENTISM DOMINANCE IN AMERICAN IR

Chapter 6 presents the second half of the empirical examination developed in this thesis. While Chapter 5 focused on 10 professional MA programs in IR and related fields, Chapter 6 concentrates on the 10 research-oriented PhD programs that were selected in Part II. By examining these two different types of graduate programs, Part III helps underscoring the diverse objectives that are regularly furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities. As expected, the following analysis indicate that scientific objectives are largely dominant across the examined PhD programs. This chapter helps explain this dominance as well as the particular notions, modes of thinking and purposes that characterize this orientation in American IR. Beyond this prime contribution to the thesis' project, the following examinations also present several cases where applied and critical objectives are furthered or combined with a scientific orientation in the selected PhD programs, despite their diverging purposes for the field. Accordingly, this chapter helps explain how and why a scientific orientation is prevalent in this area of American IR scholarship while emphasizing the value and distinct perspectives furthered by other categories of objectives, which indicates how scientism can be mitigated in the field.

As with Chapter 5, the following analysis focuses on the curriculum and one core course syllabus for each of the 10 selected PhD programs, all of which are offered in elite American universities.[164] As detailed in Part II, I use a discourse analysis method to underscore the means by which American IR scholars further applied, scientific and critical objectives as well as associated epistemic approaches in these textual sources. In doing so, I inductively worked from the statements, terms and notions used in the selected curricula and syllabi. More precisely, I highlight the relevant statements that exemplify link-, binary-, and boundary-making practices that help explain the distinct

[164] These 10 PhD programs are offered at Columbia, Duke, Georgetown, Harvard, Johns Hopkins Princeton, Tufts, and Yale universities, as well as the universities of Michigan, and Minnesota. For a complete list of the selected schools, graduate programs, and associated concentrations, see Table 4.1 in Chapter 4.

modes of thinking and perspectives associated with each category of objectives. This method helps define a broad lexicon of epistemic approaches, which accounts for the diverse principles, notions and means by which applied, scientific and critical objectives are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities. As explained in Chapter 3, these discursive practices are analyzed intertextually, that is, by connecting statements and terms across the selected textual sources from the 10 selected PhD programs.

As previously indicated, a focus on U.S.-based institutions and graduate programs in this chapter is warranted by the significant number of IR scholars educated as well as volume and influence of the scholarship produced in United States. In other words, elite American programs and universities have transnational relevance in terms of knowledge production in the broader academic field of IR. More importantly for the arguments developed in this thesis, graduate education in American IR is organized around relatively standardized types of programs that are particularly differentiated in terms of the main objectives that they advance. This vocational differentiation is useful for emphasizing the diversity of IR scholarship from elite US universities. Accordingly, reproducing this vocational differentiation in the selection of education programs examined in this thesis helps exemplify major differences in the modes of thinking and purposes that are advanced in the field.

While Chapter 5 focused on professional master programs as a means to exemplify applied objectives, Chapter 6 concentrates on research-oriented PhD programs because they are expected to provide particularly explicit and numerous examples of scientific objectives in American IR. Indeed, since scientific objectives are prominent in the internal standards − or specific norms that are shared among American IR scholars, it is expected that those education programs primarily meant to train future researchers and scholars will prominently reproduce the main modes of thinking and goals associated with this type of orientation. This chapter accordingly helps me underline what seems to be the main purpose of a scientific orientation, namely to generate certain or sure knowledge about the world. This main purpose is translated, across the examined sources, by recurring emphases on notions and epistemic approaches that further systematic analyses, precise methods and universally valid results in American IR (i.e.

results that are value-free and unaffected by time and space). This sense of purpose, I contend, helps understand why scientism is dominant in the American IR field.

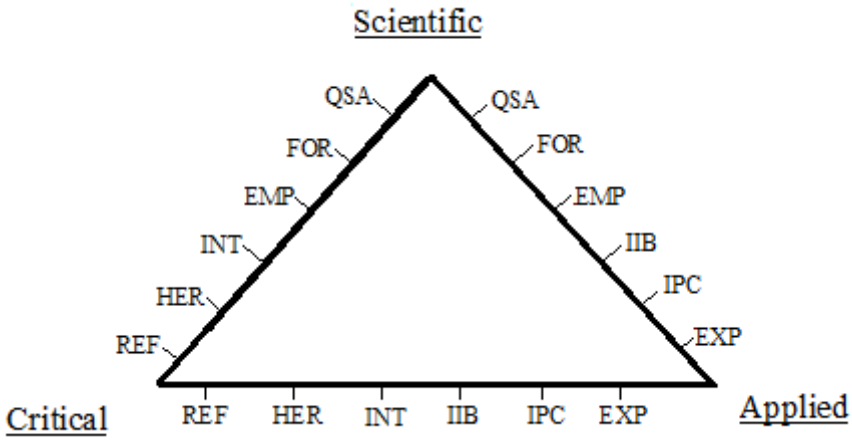
Besides this particular emphasis, this chapter also details how and why applied and critical objectives are mobilized and combined with a scientific orientation across the selected PhD programs. This helps underscore the distinct perspectives and value associated with these alternative categories of objectives, and especially how they further distinct goals in the field, such as the applicability of scholarly work or the development of reflective abilities. Yet and as with the examinations developed in Chapter 5, critical objectives appear particularly marginalized across the selected PhD programs, which limits my ability to explain how this orientation is translated in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Chapter 6 also provides important conceptual contributions to the project advanced in this thesis. More precisely, it presents more numerous and precise examples about the whole categorization of objectives and epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis. It first clarifies the two temporary types of theoretical approaches that were used in Chapter 5 (i.e. rational and normative theoretical approaches). It does so by detailing the more precise epistemic approaches that are associated with them in the examined scholarship namely what I have identified as formal models, interpretative, hermeneutical and reflective approaches in Chapter 1. Specifying these four epistemic approaches helps explain the distinct and diverging modes of thinking and goals that are related with scientific and critical objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

As with Chapter 5, the following subsections are supported by a series of graphical illustrations. The first type of diagrams depicts the detailed linguistic networks examined in the selected documentary sources (see figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). These figures help me schematize the specific links observed between diverse statements in the selected textual sources. The second type of diagrams depicts the general arguments regarding the main orientations and epistemic approaches that are examined in each of the selected PhD programs. These diagrams help visualize these orientations and approaches and map the proposed conceptual lexicon. As this chapter uses all the categories of objectives and

epistemic approaches that were outlined in Chapter 1, the following Figure 6.1 shows again the diagram depicting this whole categorization. [165]

Figure 6.1: Categorization of the Main Objectives and Associated Epistemic Approaches in the Selected PhD Programs



In the following subsections, diverse graphic elements (i.e. arrows and lines) are added to this generic diagram to help visualize the orientations and discursive articulations associated with each of the selected programs.[166] These diagrams help visualize the discursive relations and arguments that are developed in the following subsections.

Chapter 6 is divided in two main sections. Section 6.1 presents a detailed discursive analysis of the curriculum and syllabus from each of the 10 selected PhD programs. Each subsection details the main objectives and epistemic approaches that are mobilized in each of selected PhD program, which helps incrementally detail the notions, epistemic approaches and particular value associated with the categories of applied, scientific and critical objectives. Section 6.2 primarily presents a transversal examination of the distinct modes of thinking and goals associated with a scientific orientation in American IR. Then, it proposes similar but more synthetic transversal analyses for the categories of

[165] In this and similar figures, the main categories of epistemic approaches proposed in this thesis are depicted as follows: quantitative and statistical ("QSA"), formal ("FOR"), empirical ("EMP"), interpretative ("INT"), hermeneutical ((HER"), reflexive ("REF"), interdisciplinary and intellectually broad ("IIB"), issue-, policy- and case-specific ("IPC") and experiential ("EXP") approaches. As underlined in Chapter 1, each epistemic approach is depicted twice in Figure 6.1 to illustrate the potential diversity of association with the proposed scholarly objectives. The disposition of each epistemic approach and associated acronym in this figure is also discussed in Chapter 1.

[166] See Chapter 1 for more details on the procedures that guide their disposition across the following subsections.

applied and critical objectives. The conclusion reviews these explanations and accounts for some of the shortcomings in the proposed examinations.

6.1: Discursive Analysis of Ten PhD Programs in American IR

This first section presents the results of my discursive analyses of the curricula and course syllabi associated with each of the 10 selected PhD programs from elite American universities. Each subsection highlights the networks of statements and linguistic relations that exemplify the main categories of objectives furthered in each of these PhD program. As with the examinations developed in Chapter 5, the empirical data associated with these sources are potentially extensive. Hence and following the analyticist methodology adopted in this thesis, I highlight the statements that appear most relevant for detailing the notions, epistemic approaches and goals related with the three proposed categories of objectives and the distinct value of these diverse orientations for the American field of IR.

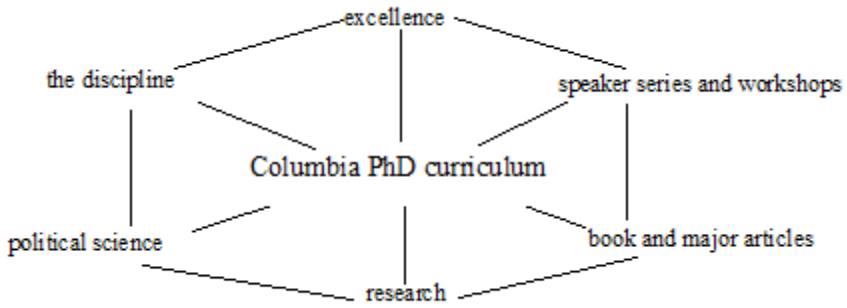
PhD in Political Science at Columbia University

The PhD program in Political Science offered at Columbia University is organized around six main subfields of study namely American politics, comparative politics, international relations, political theory, methodology and political economy theory. Before working on a PhD dissertation, graduate students complete a series of eight courses requirements, including two compulsory political science seminars, three courses in one subfield of study, and three additional courses in political science or a related field, as well as a series of research tool requirements (the "Sequential MA degree").

In examining this program, I concentrate on the description of the general PhD curriculum, the IR subfield requirements, and a recent syllabus for the core course in the IR subfield, i.e., Professor Robert Jervis' Fall 2011 syllabus for the course entitled "Theories of International Relations." This is an interesting case to start the series of examination of PhD programs since it exemplifies statements that contrast with the applied orientation, which were largely emphasized in Chapter 5. More precisely, they particularly help emphasize the category of scientific objectives as it is proposed in this thesis. To lay some basic references for the examinations developed in this chapter this subsection particularly concentrates on statements that exemplify notions and approaches

advancing a scientific orientation and contrast them with related with applied objectives. Figure 6.2 depicts the main statements that are underscored in this examination and that exemplify a scientific orientation in the Columbia's PhD program curriculum.

Figure 6.2: Linguistic Network Exemplifying Scientific Objectives in Columbia University's PhD Curriculum



As illustrated in Figure 6.2, the general description of the Columbia's PhD curriculum presents several statements linking the program to the specific or internal context of an academic discipline and associated actors and activities. For example, the curriculum indicates that the students have opportunities to "broaden and deepen their knowledge of *the discipline*" (Columbia 2015e) by completing a dual degree program (i.e. a program leading to the simultaneous completion of the PhD degree in two academic institutions). Similarly, the eight courses listed in the degree requirements leading to the PhD (the "Sequential MA degree") are associated with "*political science*," and related "*field[s]*" and "*subfields*" (Columbia 2015d). The general description of the IR field of study also emphasizes that the department's faculty "are all actively engaged in *research*, typically producing at least one *book* and several *major articles* each year," "involved in several *speaker series and workshops*," and – with the department as a whole – retain "a longstanding reputation of *excellence*" (Columbia 2015e).

All the previous statements emphasize the scholarly contexts (e.g. the discipline, political science), scholarly activities (e.g., research, speaker series and workshops) and scholarly objectives and 'outputs' (e.g., [research] excellence, books and major articles). These statements can be contrasted with the contexts, activities and objectives that exemplified an applied orientation throughout the textual sources examined in Chapter 5 (e.g. specific IGO, policy formulation and implementation, and application to contemporary policy

problems). As compared with the notions and approaches associated with applied objectives (particularly underscored across Chapter 5), this linguistic network furthers remarkably different and much more academically-focused orientation in terms of the objectives motivating the graduate program and related scholarly activities.

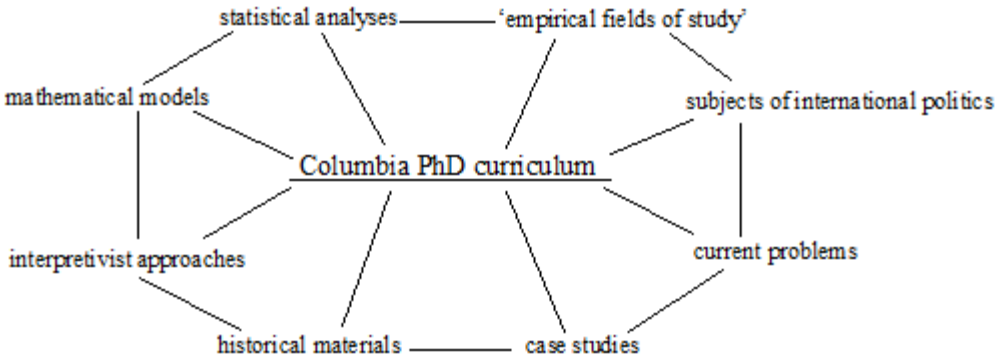
This contrast is also exemplified in the course syllabus selected in this program, which presents a recurring focus on the study of and questions pertaining to theoretical approaches and concepts. Indeed, the general description of Robert Jervis Fall 2011 syllabus synthetically states that "this course reviews the main strands of the *theoretical literature* in international politics" (Jervis 2011, 1). A large proportion of the diverse course session also reproduces this focus on theoretical approaches by relating the course to "*theories*, evidence, and inference," "power and *classical realism*," "*neorealism* and its competitors," "*constructivism* and *feminist theory*," "*game theory* and rational choices," and "*theories* of war" (Jervis 2011). These statements do not link the study of IR theories to any form of application, as it was the case in several of the examinations developed in Chapter 5. Instead, they suggest that developing an understanding of theoretical literature is appropriate and useful *in itself* in the context of the objectives pursued in this course. This type of emphasis on theoretical knowledge can accordingly be related with a different mode of thinking and objectives in American IR, which will be further clarified in the following examinations.

Unsurprisingly for a course focused on IR theories, at least half of the 32 mandatory readings examined in this syllabus mainly focus on theoretical approaches to international politics (e.g., Waltz 1954, Jervis 1976, Mearsheimer 1994/95) or related concepts such as power, co-operation or security (e.g., Dahl 1957, Jervis 1978, 2001). These sources largely focus on theoretical approaches and concepts in order to systematically answer transversal and general questions about international relations. While these features are further clarified in the following subsections, the systematic approach and transversal perspective that recur across these sources accordingly links them with the category of scientific objectives proposed in this thesis. In the few cases when potential applications are mobilized, they supplement the examination and development of theoretical constructs as they are restricted to the concluding sections of

each sources (e.g. Waltz 1979).[167] While such theory-oriented objectives and approaches are not surprising in the context of a core course on theory, they underscore a clear contrast with the applied orientation that was particularly exemplified across the textual sources examined in Chapter 5.

Several statements associated with the Columbia's PhD curriculum also exemplify various epistemic approaches, which helps to clarify the conceptual lexicon proposed in this thesis. These statements are synthetically depicted in the following Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3: Linguistic Network Exemplifying Diverse Epistemic Approaches in the Columbia University's PhD Program Curriculum



The description of the IR (sub)field associated with the Columbia's PhD curriculum for example states that "the range of methodologies used in the department is (…) large and includes *interpretivist approaches* to *case studies, statistical analyses* and *mathematical models*," and "many students work with *historical materials* and also study *current problems*" (Columbia 2015e).[168] These statements exemplify a significant diversity of epistemic approaches in American IR. The most relevant terms in these statements have been italicized and transposed unto Figure 6.3.

Some of these statements can be associated with categories of epistemic approaches that were previously detailed in Chapter 5. For example, they emphasize the role of "case

[167] Some sources in this syllabus also provide links to meta-theoretical questions and approaches (e.g. Kuhn 1970[1962], Almond and Genco 1977, Smith 1996). This particular category of epistemic approach is discussed in the thesis' conclusion.

[168] Some of these approaches are also reproduced in the research tools requirements included in the PhD curriculum. For example, these options enable the students to choose among approaches and methods linked with "quantitative analysis," "formal modeling," a combination of qualitative and "quantitative or formal modeling courses," as well as "a foreign language" (Columbia 2015d).

studies" and examination of "current problems" in the context of this program. This statement can be related to a focus on specific and situated issues, policies, or cases in the context of IR scholarship from elite US universities (e.g. a recent international conflict, a particular country foreign policy), which were previously related with the particular modes of thinking furthering applied objectives. The distinct character of this case-specific approach is also emphasized in some mandatory readings included in Professor Jervis' syllabus. One of these sources underscore the role of a case-specific approach along with other categories of research methods in political science by stating – while introducing a study of the comparative research method – that "the *comparative method* is defined here as one of the *basic methods* – the others being the *experimental*, *statistical*, and *case study* method – of establishing general empirical propositions" (Lijphart 1971, 682). This and the previous statements illustrate the role of an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach in the context of this and other scholarly activities associated with American IR (e.g., see the symbol "IPC" in Figure 5.18). They also underline the greater value of applied scholarship, in comparison with other orientation in American IR, to account for the specificities of specific cases in IR scholarship from elite US universities. This feature and its contrast with other modes of thinking are further detailed in the following subsections.

The foregoing statements also exemplify the role of quantitative and statistical approaches in the context of this graduate program. Indeed, the Columbia PhD curriculum emphasizes the role of statistical analyses and mathematical models in this program and Lijphart (1971) lists statistical methods as a distinctive and basic tool for political science research. Other sources in Professor Jervis' syllabus also use statistical methods (e.g. Page Fortuna 2004, Oxley, et al. 2008) to "test", for example, the hypothesis according to which "peacekeeping contributes to more durable peace" (Page Fortuna 2004, 270). Here, a quantitative and statistical approach is used as a means to further a hypothetico-deductive approach for conducting IR scholarship. While this particular articulation is further analyzed in the following subsection, these examples confirm the role of quantitative and statistical approaches in American IR and suggest that they are particularly valuable for verifying with some level of systematicity and exactitude particular hypotheses or questions in the field.

To help clarify the two previous epistemic approaches, it is useful to compare them with the statement according to which "faculty and students [associated with the Columbia PhD program] study almost the entire range of *subjects* of international politics" (Columbia 2015e). Studying subjects of international politics ranging from "non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other nonstate actors to the role of domestic politics to the international system" (Columbia 2015e) contrasts with an approaches that focus on specific problems, case studies or, alternatively, statistical tests of specific hypotheses. What I argue here is that these approaches fulfill different roles and help advance different objectives in IR scholarship, that is, objectives that necessitate analyzing topics associated with international relations from a general point of view, rather than by focusing on single and specific cases for example.

To help emphasize these differences, a similar contrast is observable in statements underlining that "*international security* and *political economy* are particular strengths [in the program]" or that "the *subfield* [of IR] sponsors continuing seminars and workshops in *political economy*, *security*, and *diplomatic history* and *international relations*" (Columbia 2015e). This latter series of statements also focus on relatively broad subjects or subfields of study (e.g., international security and political economy) that offer a particularly general, topical and transversal perspective on international relations. In Professor Jervis' syllabus, several mandatory readings also illustrate such a generic, transversal and empirical approach to the study of international politics by focusing, for example, on general topics such as the deployment of anti-ballistic missiles, states' acquisition of nuclear weapons and peacekeeping, that is, beyond specific cases (e.g., Halperin 1972, Sagan 1996-1997, Page Fortna 2004). These contrastive illustrations emphasize the particular value of this epistemic approach in furthering a more generic, topical and transversal perspective in American IR. Such a perspective is particularly − but not exclusively − useful for advancing factual and universally valid analyses (i.e. relevant across time and space), as in the context of scholarship guided by scientific objectives.

The prominent focus on theoretical questions and approaches in Professor Jervis' syllabus can also be associated with the rationalist theoretical approaches that were

discussed in Chapter 5. Indeed, the vast majority of the associated sources focus explicitly on delineating or evaluating causal laws, correlations and explanations (e.g., Oxley et al. 2008, Brunnschweiler and Bulte 2008).[169] Several of these sources connect a causal understanding of theory and explanations with qualitative research methods (e.g., King, Keohane and Verba 1994, Collier 2011) or with formal and structural forms of theories (e.g., Dahl 1957, Waltz 1979). While introductory, these examples help specify the approaches that are related with rationalist theoretical approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities. They also highlight the particular objectives that are associated with these theoretical approaches, that is, to delineate law-like and/or structural forms of explanations. As previously mentioned, such types of objectives particularly correspond to the systematic modes of thinking (i.e. procedures and methods for analysis) that is furthered by a scientific orientation in the field.

The statements and sources underlined in this subsection provide significant examples for clarifying some of the features, approaches and goals associated with a scientific orientation in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Scientific objectives can for example be associated with recurring emphases on academic context and activities, as well as theory-focused scholarship. Empirical and quantitative and statistical approaches also appear to be particularly related with this prevalent orientation in the context of this PhD program. These articulations help clarify the specific value of a scientific orientation in this context and American IR more broadly namely for furthering transversal perspectives as well as systematic and precise analyses on phenomena associated with international relations. The contrast between these features and those previously associated with an applied orientation (in Chapter 5) underscores distinctiveness of a scientific orientation in the field. The value and features associated with these orientations and epistemic approaches are further clarified in the following subsections.[170]

[169] Interestingly, these two mandatory readings are published in the journal *Science*, an outlet that was largely absent from the MA syllabi analyzed in Chapter 5 (similarly, see Platt 1964, Hoff 2010).
[170] Other epistemic approaches mentioned in the previous statements (e.g. a focus on historical materials and interpretivist approaches) are also discussed in more detail in the following subsections.

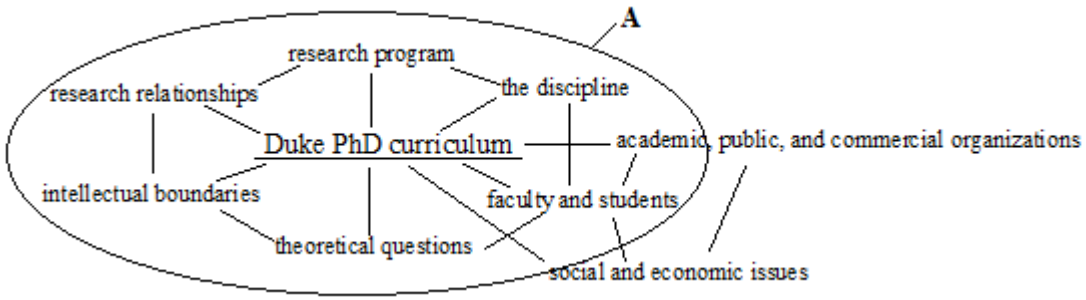
PhD in Political Science at Duke University

The PhD in Political Science offered at Duke University is a five-year program. Each student chooses two fields of study (one major and one minor) among the Normative Political Theory and Political Philosophy, Political Behavior and Identities, Political Economy, Political Institutions, Political Methodology, and Security, Peace and Conflict concentrations (e.g., Duke 2015c). Beyond examinations and a dissertation, students enrolling in the Security Peace and Conflict concentration must complete at least two compulsory research methods courses (see details below), one core seminar, one year-long field-specific workshop and three additional courses.

For this examination, I concentrate on the general PhD curriculum description, the requirements associated with the concentration in Security, Peace, and Conflict,[171] and Professor Kyle Beardsley Fall 2013 syllabus for the core seminar in Security Peace and Conflict. The textual sources associated with this PhD program primarily (but not exclusively) exemplify features and approaches associated with a scientific orientation, like the rationalist, quantitative and statistical, and empirical approaches. This examination accordingly helps detail the particular mode of thinking and the distinct value associated with this orientation in American IR.

The following Figure 6.4 depicts some of the statements exemplifying the main objectives that are translated in this PhD curriculum.

Figure 6.4: Linguistic Network Exemplifying a Scientific Orientation in the Duke University's PhD Curriculum



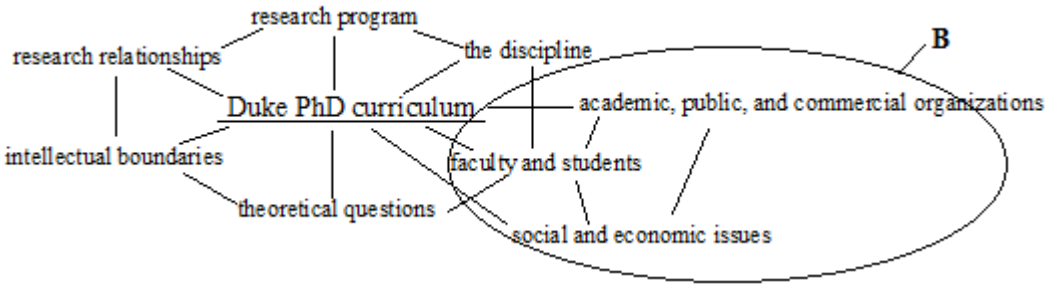
[171] The topical focus on "peace" and "conflict" associated with this concentration appears most closely related, among the other fields listed in this program, to topics conventionally associated with international relations.

The Duke PhD curriculum's general description primarily underlines the program's focus on research by stating that it is "a top ten *research program*," which provides "close and informal *research relationships* between *faculty and students*" (Duke 2015a). This general description also reproduces numerous links to specifically academic objectives and contexts, as when the program's general description underscores that the department "is organized around subfields that address major *theoretical questions* about political life, encourage collaboration across *intellectual boundaries*, and place us at the frontiers of *the discipline*" (*idem*). This primary linguistic network (located in cluster "A" of Figure 6.4) largely prioritizes research-oriented activities, scholarly actors and the production of theoretical knowledge.

Professor Beardsley's syllabus also reproduces a similar orientation by stating, for example, that the course introduces students to "the *literature* and *research agendas*," as well as a "spectrum of work from the *foundational studies* to the *state-of-the-art approaches*" related to security, peace and conflict studies (Beardsley 2013, 1). Similarly, the section describing the goals of the course indicates that "students will also be exposed to a variety of *research designs* and cultivate a sense for some *best practices in the field*" (*idem*). While the links to best practices might denote a form of application in this small linguistic network, these statements largely concentrate on research-oriented objectives and outputs (e.g., research agendas and designs, foundational studies). Notably, the previous statements prioritize theoretical knowledge and research for their own benefits and are devoid of any particular link to the application of knowledge to concrete and non-academic contexts, or critical form of engagement. While non-explicit, these statements accordingly seem to be closer to features associated with a scientific orientation in the context of this program and of American IR more broadly.

Beyond this first cluster of statements, a second series of statements helps contrast this first network by emphasizing different objectives and approaches in this program. This second linguistic network is located within cluster "B" of Figure 6.5 below.

Figure 6.5: Linguistic Network Exemplifying an Applied Orientation in the Duke University's PhD Curriculum



This second cluster of statements provide links with relatively different activities and contexts, particularly those statements underscoring how students and faculty "examine important *social and economic issues*" and that graduate students "achieve placement in the very best *academic, public, and commercial organizations*" (Duke 2015a). These two statements particularly emphasize the importance of concerns for non-strictly academic and more applied (e.g., social and economic) issues and topics and applications of knowledge to more concrete contexts (e.g., public and commercial organizations). In doing so, these statements exemplify objectives that are more focuses on specific means and contexts of application. This second cluster can accordingly be contrasted with the statements highlighted in the previous cluster of statements ("A" in Figure 6.4) to clarify the distinct modes of thinking and goals associated with the scientific and applied orientations, where the first focuses more squarely on theoretical questions, research-related activities and academic actors and the second concentrates on application of knowledge to more concrete and specific issues and non-academic or external contexts.

The Duke PhD program curriculum also exemplifies diverse epistemic approaches that help clarify the value of the scientific and applied objectives in American IR. The description of the Security, Peace, and Conflict concentration, for example, states that it is "dedicated to *the study of political violence* (…) and to the *study of politics* in the shadow of violence" (Duke 2015c). To achieve these objectives, the description of the program states that students work to "*understand* the *causes of armed conflict and violence*" and "*examine* the *policies and strategies used by states* and other political *agents* (…) to control, manage, contain or prevent the use of political violence" (*idem*). In this series of statements, the program curriculum primarily emphasizes a focus on generic

and transversal topics (e.g. political violence, armed conflict, state agents' policies) and fields of study (e.g. politics). One statement in the description of Professor Beardsley's syllabus also exemplifies a similar approach, declaring that the course covers a "wide array of *approaches* that relate to both *interstate and intrastate conflict and cooperation*" (Beardsley 2013, 1). Similarly, the vast majority of the 27 mandatory readings in Professor Beardsley's syllabus focus on generic topics such as civil war (e.g. Buhaug and Gleditsch 2008, Gleditsch, et al. 2008), interstate conflict (e.g. Powell 2004, Debs and Goemans 2010), or interstate co-operation (e.g. Jervis 1978, Kydd 2000). These statements and sources further a transversal, generic and topical perspective for the study of international relations, which is categorized under the label of empirical approach in this thesis. This transversal and general perspective is particularly useful in the context of a scientific orientation, which prioritizes systematicity and the universal value of the research results.

A similar approach is also exemplified by the requirement that students choose four courses focusing on "*security peace and conflict* between or among international actors" or "between international actors and subnational or transnational actors, or among subnational or transnational actors" (Duke 2015c). Again, these statements recurring topical, transversal and general perspective for studying 'security, peace and conflict' highlights the distinct value of this approach and distinguishes it from other potential modes of thinking about such subject-matter. Moreover, the use of the verbs "study," "understand (the causes)," and "examine" across the previous statements – as opposed to verbs such as "manage" (SIPA 2015) or "formulate, enact, and implement" (Sanford 2015) – also denotes objectives more closely associated with research activities and the production of transversal explanatory knowledge than with objectives of application for example. These statements suggest that an empirical approach is more closely linked with a scientific orientation in the context of this program and can hence inform us on the distinct value and goal of such an orientation for American IR.

The textual sources examined in this PhD program also provide recurring examples of rationalist theoretical approaches. For instance, the description of the course entitled "Deductive & Analytical Approaches to Political Phenomena" underlines a focus on

"fundamentals of non-cooperative *game theory*" (Duke 2015d). Professor Beardsley's extensive list of mandatory readings is also illustrative of similar approaches, which are exemplified by focuses on diverse formal theoretical models (e.g., Powell 2004, Debs and Goemans 2010), realist theories (e.g., Vasquez 1997, Waltz 2000), democratic peace or democratization theories (e.g., Oneal and Russett 1999, Gleditsch and Ward 2000), or theoretical concepts such as the offence-defence balance (e.g., Biddle 2001, Van Evera 1998). These sources exclusively mobilize theories associated with the identification of law-like relations and structural or causal explanations (see also Fearon 1995) and recurrently link their arguments to relatively general and theoretical questions or puzzles (e.g., Powell 2004, Crescenzi 2007). As more thoroughly detailed in following subsections, these features distinguish a rationalist approach from other theoretical approaches. Moreover, the previous statements and sources mobilize theoretical approaches and concepts for their own sake, or, in other words, for the intrinsic value of resolving and explaining theoretical questions and problems. Such a theoretically-focused approach can again be contrasted with scholarship that mobilizes IR theories for their potential application to concrete contexts or issues to specify some of the distinct features and goals of a scientific orientation in this PhD program and American IR more broadly.

The textual sources associated with the Duke PhD program also provide recurring examples of quantitative and statistical approaches, which also help to specify the means by which scientific objectives are further in American IR. These approaches are primarily exemplified in the short description of the mandatory course entitled "Empirical Methods for Political Science" (in the Security, Peace, and Conflict concentration), which states that this mandatory course introduces "*empirical methods* used in contemporary research in political science" and "[applies] understanding of the *linear regression model* in the context of political science research questions" (Duke 2015d). Similar epistemic approaches are also reproduced in several mandatory readings in Professor Beardsley's syllabus (e.g., Oneal and Russett 1999, Buhaug and Gleditsch 2008, Gleditsch, et al. 2008). Moreover, statistical approaches are recurrently linked with what can be identified

as a hypothetico-deductive – or hypothesis-testing – framework of analysis in sources listed in this syllabus (e.g., Gurr and Moore 1997, Crescenzi 2007, Weeks 2012).[172]

Using Patrick T. Jackson's typology of methodologies in IR, these quantitative and statistical approaches can be associated with a neopositivist methodology since they combine the necessary observation of phenomena with a separation between the observer and the world. This approach is translated into the necessity of testing with the highest possible level of precision the researcher's hypotheses, which are deduced from theoretical claims, against the observed reality. The relevance of these quantitative and statistical approaches are particularly explained by Erik Gartzke, who states that "*statistical testing* is necessary to substantiate *any theoretical claim* that is at variance with the established democratic peace observation" (2007, 168). While we may disagree about the exclusive role of statistical and quantitative approaches in substantiating theoretical claims, this and previous statements and examples emphasize the particular role of these approaches in advancing systematic, factual and precise explanatory knowledge in American IR. In turn, these are important aspects of the distinct value of a scientific orientation in this field.

While this examination is necessarily partial,[173] the textual sources assessed in this PhD program primarily clarify how scientific objectives can be advanced by statements and sources largely focused on research activities and theoretical and explanatory knowledge. Statements contrasting the scientific and applied orientations also help clarify the particular role and relevance of scientific objectives in American IR. Similarly, this examination underscores the features of the empirical, rationalist theoretical, and quantitative and statistical approaches and how they help furthering a scientific orientation in the context of IR scholarship from elite US universities. While I discuss more thoroughly why this orientation and these approaches appear prevalent in the

[172] Articles from the American Journal of Political Science are particularly illustrative of this analytical framework in this list as they are recurrently structured along four sections, namely "theory," "hypotheses," "methods" and "results."

[173] For example, some mandatory readings listed in Professor Beardsley's syllabus also illustrate epistemic approaches associated with meta-theoretical questions and debates (e.g., Lake 2011, Sil and Katzenstein 2011); the category of epistemic approaches associated with these methods and questions are discussed in the thesis' conclusion.

context of this and other IR PhD programs in American elite universities, this subsection helps clarify the distinct value of these objectives and approaches in the field.

PhD in Political Science at Georgetown University

The PhD in Political Science program offered by the Department of Government of Georgetown University is organized around four major fields of study namely American Government, Comparative Government, International Relations (IR) and Political Theory. Before doing their comprehensive examination and working on their PhD dissertation, graduate students must fulfil requirements associated with their major field of study, research methods, and courses distributed among other fields of political science. Students majoring in IR must enroll in two IR theory field or gateway courses (Georgetown 2014). As explained in Chapter 4, this subsection examines the descriptions of the general PhD program and IR concentrations,[174] and Professor Kathleen R. McNamara's Fall 2011 syllabus for one of two IR gateway courses (e.g., the course entitled "Fundamentals of International Relations" or GOVT 760).[175]

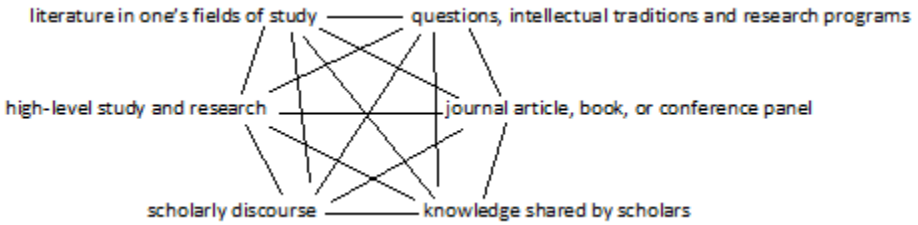
The examination of the textual sources associated with the Georgetown PhD program offers rich examples of a scientific orientation and of the empirical and quantitative and statistical epistemic approaches. While more marginal, this program also provides some insightful examples of critical objectives in American IR. This subsection helps me detail the distinct features and goals advanced by these orientations and the perspectives that associated epistemic approaches further in IR scholarship from elite US universities. These explanations provide some insights on the specific value associated with these orientations and help discuss the reasons why scientism is the prevailing orientation in this area of the field.

[174] The information about the PhD program curriculum at Georgetown University is presented in a Graduate handbook (downloadable on the Department of Political Science website), the most recent relating to the 2014-2015 academic year at the time of writing this chapter (Georgetown 2014).

[175] I could also have examined the other gateway course or major field seminar in the IR concentration, entitled "GOVT 761: International Relations: Applied Theories and Approaches." As this second gateway course is a more advanced course in IR theory, it might have provided rather different illustrations of functional models and epistemic approaches. I focused on the syllabus of GOVT 760 because, by comparison, it appeared more similar to the syllabus assessed in the other PhD programs.

Statements translating a scientific orientation are found in several of the textual sources from the Georgetown PhD curriculum. The associated linguistic network is depicted in the following Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6: Linguistic Network Exemplifying a Scientific Orientation in Georgetown University's PhD Curriculum



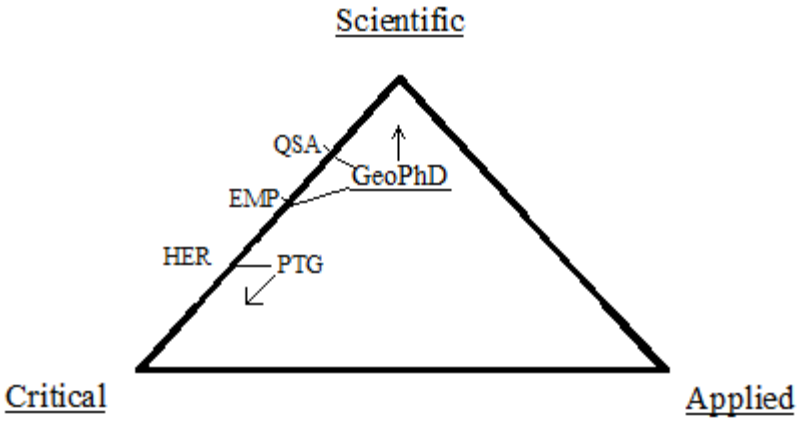
The Georgetown PhD program curriculum for example underlines that students are prepared "for *high-level study and research* in the relevant field," "to participate in the *scholarly discourse in the field* at a high professional level," and that the gateway courses "convey the *body of knowledge broadly shared by scholars* in each field" (Georgetown 2014, 5). These statements provide recurring links with academic and research activities, contexts and actors. Similar emphases are also reproduced in the descriptions of the IR gateway courses, the related comprehensive examination and the IR field requirements. For example, associated statements underline that students should "be able to not only understand but critique the arguments put forth in essentially any *journal article, book, or conference panel* in the field" (*idem*) during the gateway course, overview "the key *questions, major intellectual traditions and research programs*" in core courses associated with the IR field, and demonstrate "broad familiarity with the *literature in his or her fields of study*" (Georgetown 2014, 14) through completion of the comprehensive examination. Beyond one isolated reference to the practice of critique, this linguistic network exclusively translates focuses on academic or research activities, actors and contexts. A priority towards academic actors, activities and contexts generally translates a scientific orientation since associated standards are dominant in the American field of IR. While this argument is more thoroughly discussed in section 5.2, we can also suggest that scientific modes of thinking, like a focus on systematic and precise procedures for analysis and transversal validity of knowledge, are particularly relevant in the academic contexts and other orientations less representative of scholars' interests.

Similar objectives are translated in the description of the IR concentration in this PhD program, which indicates that two of the six related mandatory courses must be the "IR theory field courses GOVT 760 and 761" (Georgetown 2014, 5). While I provide a detailed examination of the GOVT 760 course below, the short description provided in the Georgetown University course catalogue states that the GOVT 761 course focuses on "the understanding and production of *international-relations theory*" (Georgetown 2015b), on enhancing "students' understanding of aspects of *international-relations theory* and contemporary *debates in the academic study* of international relations," and on preparing "students to be *producers of international-relations scholarship* by focusing their attention on issues in *epistemology, methodology, and research design*" (*idem*). This series of statements again further recurring emphases on research and academic activities (e.g., academic debate, the production of IR scholarship) and on theoretical and methodologically sophisticated scholarship. This suggests that an important feature of these activities – and of the scientific orientation underlying them – can be understood by clarifying the contributions of theoretical and methodologically sophisticated work in American IR.

Professor McNamara's course syllabus helps clarify these contributions. This syllabus' short description underlines objectives such as introducing "some of the main *theoretical debates and traditions* in the field of international politics" (McNamara 2011, 1). Also, more than three quarters of the 27 mandatory reading examined in this syllabus focuses primarily on IR theories such as realist explanations and theories (e.g., Morgenthau 1948, Waltz 1979, Mearsheimer 1994/95), theories of foreign policy (e.g., Rose 1998), or constructivism (e.g., Wendt 1992, 1999, Katzenstein 1996, Ruggie 1982). The recurring emphasis on IR theories and of notions such as explanations, puzzles and research agendas (e.g., Putnam 1988, Ikenberry 1988/89, Pape 2003) across this syllabus – and the contrast with terms like solutions or prescriptions to current problems for example – indicates the value of such scholarship for advancing comparatively more analytical, transversal and explanatory scholarship in the field. The previous network of statements and terms accordingly indicates some of the distinctive modes of thinking associated with a scientific orientation in American IR like that of focusing on theoretical knowledge, sophisticated methodological approaches and analytical puzzles. As this type of

orientation appears prevalent in the textual sources associated with the Georgetown PhD program, Figure 6.7 below depicts this orientation by an arrow pointing from "GeoPhD" (for Georgetown PhD) toward the "Scientific" angle. The figure also depicts the links with diverse epistemic approaches that are detailed below.

Figure 6.7: Scientific Orientation and Epistemic Approaches Exemplified in the Georgetown University's PhD Curriculum and Selected Syllabus



Other statements exemplifying distinctive objectives and modes of thinking are reproduced in the description of the Political Theory gateway course (GOVT 780, identified as PTG in Figure 6.7), which is associated with the five-course sequence in "Theory and Methods" required of all students in the IR concentration in this PhD program. This course description states that students engage in "*close reading* of seven *great works* in the *history of political thought*" in order to study the "particular *intractable question* [each author has] in mind" (Georgetown 2015b). In these statements, a close reading approach is emphasized and furthers the study of intractable questions. Such approach and objective contrast with the notions and features associated with the previously discussed scientific and applied orientations as it does not aim at the production of precise and explanatory or directly applicable knowledge.

A similar orientation is also exemplified in other statements associated with the gateway course description which, for example, indicates the following:

> *This class, unlike many others in political science, will suppose (as Aristotle did) that much of politics is an inexact science, the intention of which is more to deepen our understanding, and prepare us for*

> *prudent action, rather than formulate specific predictions or proposals. The method we shall be using in this course (…) will allow us, occasionally, to predict and propose; the burden of our energy will, however, be directed toward the deeper philosophical and even theological questions that undergird these works.* (Georgetown 2015b)

In this citation, several binary oppositions emphasize a set of objectives that differ from the scientific orientation prevalent in the previously examined sections of the Georgetown PhD curriculum.

For example, these binaries oppose the contexts of "political (or exact) science" and "inexact science," distinguish objectives such as "understanding and prudent action" from those of "specific predictions or proposals," and demarcate activities such as "philosophical and (…) theological questions" from potential "predictions and propositions" in scholars' and students' work. In doing so, these binaries contrast different sets of contexts, activities and objectives, some of which are clearly distinct from the scientific orientation previously underscored in this PhD program. More precisely, these statements emphasize the importance of modes of thinking associated with understanding and prudent action, philosophical and theological questions and of developing what is conceived as an inexact science. These statements appear much closer to critical objectives like that of furthering (self-)awareness, ethical reflection and moral evaluation since they underscore the importance of prudence (or reflexivity) in action, philosophical and theological knowledge and scholarship that does not prioritize exactitude. While this category of objectives is more detailed across the following subsections, I suggest that these statements further a critical orientation in the context of the Georgetown PhD program. In the same way, they help clarify some of the distinct modes of thinking and goals characterizing a critical orientation in American IR. As the statements emphasizing a critical orientation are limited to the Political Theory gateway course in this PhD program, they are illustrated in Figure 6.7 *supra* by an arrow pointing from the symbol "PTG" (for Political Theory Gateway) toward the "Critical" angle.

As previously mentioned, the statements describing the Political Theory gateway course articulate this orientation with a close reading of great scholarly works. Similarly, the longer citation from this course description emphasizes an approach by which students

focus on the philosophical and theological questions undergirding selected scholarly works. These statements help highlight an epistemic approach significantly different than the one previously underscored in chapters 5 and 6. More specifically, this approach appears characterized by two particular features: first it focuses primarily on existing scholarship and texts such as "great works in the history of political thought," and second it seeks to recollect their deeply embedded meanings or "the deeper philosophical and even theological questions that undergird these works" (Georgetown 2015b). While the related statements are relatively limited, I identify them and associated features with a hermeneutical approach in order to illustrate their recurring emphasis on the importance of examining and interpreting previous and major literary sources. As this epistemic approach also furthers objectives closely associated with questioning and reflecting on the meaning and effects of these work, it appears particularly related with the critical orientation proposed in this thesis categorization.[176] Accordingly, these explanations help clarify some of the means by which this orientation is furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities. While more details are provided one this epistemic approach in the following subsections, it is depicted in Figure 6.7 *supra* by a line connecting the symbol "HER" to "PTG."

The Georgetown PhD curriculum also exemplifies links to what are more conventionally understood as research methods in American IR. More precisely, the five-course sequence in "Theory and Methods" includes two courses focused on quantitative and statistical approaches, namely, GOVT 701: Quantitative Methods 1 and GOVT 702: Advanced Political Analysis (Georgetown 2014, 5). Several statements in these two course descriptions exemplify quantitative and statistical approaches in such context. For example, these course descriptions state that "students [in GOVT 701] will develop the technical and theoretical skills to read, evaluate and conduct *basic statistical research*" and that GOVT 702 "continues the study of *quantitative methods* begun in 701" with particular focuses on topics such as "GLS and other extensions of the *linear model*, *causal inference*, and maximum *likelihood estimation*" (Georgetown 2015b). This type of orientation is also exemplified by some mandatory readings in Professor McNamara's

[176] Moreover, links with this approach solely appear in the description of the Political Theory gateway course in this PhD program.

syllabus that mobilize statistical approaches (e.g., Krasner 1976, Wohlforth 1999). These statements underscore the role of quantitative and statistical approaches in the Georgetown PhD program and their role in furthering methods for generating exact knowledge. This also concords with the factual, theoretical and explanatory form of knowledge that quantitative and statistical approaches help further and with the clarifications elaborated in previous subsections on this epistemic approach. Similarly, these examples reinforce some the aforementioned features associated with scientific objectives and their ability for advancing precise, explanatory knowledge in American IR. These examples and explanations are depicted in Figure 6.7 *supra* by a line connecting the symbol "QSA" to "Geo PhD."

Another epistemic approach that recurs in the texts examined for the Georgetown PhD program furthers a relatively general, transversal and topical perspective on international phenomena which I previously identified as an empirical approach in American IR. For example, the assessed sources in the examined syllabus recurrently focus on topics such as war (e.g., Waltz 1954, Jervis 2002, Fearon and Laitin 2003), co-operation and international regimes (e.g., Jervis 1978, Krasner 1983, Oye 1986) and security communities (e.g., Barnett and Adler 1998) using a general and transversal approach. These approaches can for example be contrasted with the more applied or case-specific perspective of one source in Professor McNamara's list of mandatory readings, which more precisely focuses on the process of monetary integration in Europe (McNamara 1998). As I previously explained, an empirical approach furthers a general and transversal perspective, a perspective that appear particularly associated with scientific objectives like that of advancing systematic procedures and universally valid knowledge and explanations. The previous statements and examples of an empirical approach in this PhD program are depicted in Figure 6.7 *supra* by a line connecting the symbol "EMP" to "GeoPhD."

This examination provides several cases for clarifying how scientific objectives are furthered in IR scholarship from elite US universities. It relates this orientation with recurring focuses on theoretical knowledge and with epistemic approaches like quantitative and statistical as well as empirical approaches. This subsection accordingly

helps clarify the particular approaches and value associated with a scientific orientation in the field, notably for furthering more transversal, systematic and explanatory knowledge. Illustrating a relatively rare form of diversity in the examined PhD program, one component of the Georgetown PhD program curriculum also advances some of the objectives, notions and modes of thinking that appear closely related with a critical orientation. While limited, these examples indicate how this orientation furthers prudent action, philosophical and theological questions and does not prioritize the generation of exact knowledge. Some statements also help link it with a hermeneutical approach, which focuses on revisiting the meaning major textual sources and reflecting on other author's work. Accordingly and while selective, this examination provides more insights for explaining the distinct value and objectives associated with scientific and critical orientations in the American field of IR. [177]

PhD in Government at Harvard University

The PhD in Government program of Harvard University is organized along four fields of study (e.g., American Government, International Relations, Comparative Politics, and Political Theory). Before taking their general examination in two fields of study and working on their PhD dissertation, students must complete a series of course requirements including at least twelve half-courses, at least one course in research methods, and one course in political theory, and must also participate in at least one field-specific research workshop. As indicated in Chapter 4, this examination concentrates on the description of the PhD program curriculum, the description and requirements associated with the IR concentration, and one recent syllabus for the field seminar introducing the field of IR (i.e., Professors Beth Simmons and Joshua D. Kertzer's Fall 2014 syllabus for the course entitled "Government 2710: Field Seminar on International Relations").

The curriculum and syllabus examined in this PhD program provide more examples related with scientific orientation in American IR. In doing so, this subsection helps detail the particular notions, features and goals characterizing this orientation, and the diverse

[177] As in previous subsections, the textual sources examined in this PhD program could also have helped illustrating other epistemic approaches like formal theories (e.g., Jervis 1978, Oye 1986) and different forms of case studies and historical evidence (e.g., Pape 2003, Walt 1987, Kupchan 2010). These approaches are further examined in following subsections.

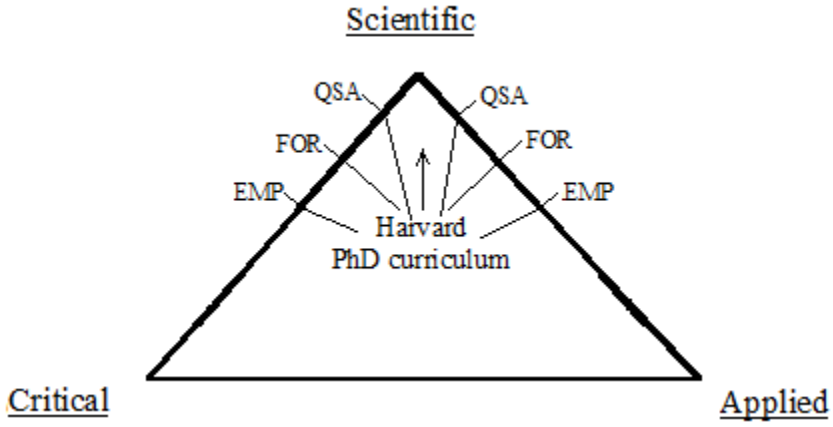
epistemic approaches that help further it in IR scholarship from elite US universities. The following explanations accordingly help explain the specificities of a scientific orientation and discussing why it is prevalent across the PhD programs selected for this thesis and in the field more broadly.

In the textual sources associated with the Harvard PhD in Government, a scientific orientation is primarily exemplified in the program curriculum. For example, the general description of the graduate program underlines the Department of Government's "dedication to *excellence in all fields of political science*" (Harvard 2015a). This general description also emphasizes that both "*scholars* and *practitioners*" contribute to the "almost limitless array of *research centers and institutes*" (Harvard 2015a) at Harvard University. Other sections of this PhD curriculum also include statements that are associated with a scientific orientation in American IR. For example, the short description of the mandatory course entitled "Gov 2001: Approaches to the Study of Politics" states that it "introduce[s] *research questions and frontiers* across *political science*" (Harvard 2015c). The description of the research tool requirements also emphasizes "*methodological expertise"* exclusively connected to every student's "areas of *research interest*" (Harvard 2015b). Similarly, the description of the dissertation requirements underlines an expectation that students will demonstrate an "ability to perform original *research* in political science" and make "a significant contribution to *knowledge in the field*" (Harvard 2015b). The vast majority of these statements exclusively emphasize research-oriented objectives and scholarly contexts. As I suggested in the previous subsection, this type of (academically-focused) emphases can be related with a scientific orientation since the dominant, internal or shared interests among American IR scholars correspond to associated standards and modes of thinking.

Professors Simmons and Kertzer's syllabus also furthers objectives that can be associated with a scientific orientation in American IR. For example, the general description included in this syllabus states that the "primary purpose [of the course] is to understand and evaluate the *main theories, arguments, claims,* and *conjectures* made by *scholars in the field*" (Simmons and Kertzer 2014, 1). These notions can all be related with analytical approach to the study of international relations rather to any form of applied or critical

approaches or objectives. The orientation furthered in that statement is also echoed in several mandatory readings listed in the syllabus that primarily focus on relatively broad, transversal and theoretical "puzzles," "questions," and "assertions" (e.g., Goldstein 2001, Rosen 2005, Powell 2006). These prior statements and sources emphasize the importance of theoretical, analytical and transversal modes of thinking and hence contribute to a scientific orientation in the context of that graduate program. This orientation is depicted in the following Figure 6.8 by an arrow pointing from the symbol "Harvard PhD curriculum" toward the "Scientific" angle). The figure also depicts the epistemic approaches that are exemplified and described in the following paragraphs.

Figure 6.8: The Scientific Orientation and Related Epistemic Approaches in Harvard University's PhD Curriculum



Several statements help detail the epistemic approaches by which scientific objectives are furthered in this PhD program. For example, the description of the general examination for the PhD program states that related requirements cover some of the "major *substantive fields* in political science" (Harvard 2015b). This statement is echoed in other sections of the PhD program description, which assert, for example, that the Department has strength in "American politics, political theory, comparative politics, and international relations" as well as "in *thematic areas* such as political economy" (Harvard 2015d). While delimiting diverse (sub)fields of study is relatively conventional in academic fields like IR or political science, it can also be related to a distinct form of epistemic approach, that is, one that studies international relations from a topical and transversal perspectives (as opposed, for example, to a focus on specific issues or cases).

Accordingly, these statements can be associated with what I previously identified as an empirical approach in American IR (see "EMP" in the previous Figure 6.8).

The general description of the Harvard PhD curriculum also emphasizes that the Department of Government has recently developed strength related to "*quantitative, behavioral, and formal theory approaches*" (Harvard 2015a). Statements related with similar epistemic approaches are also reproduced in the other components of the curriculum. For example, the description of the quantitative methods requirement states that every student "must successfully complete (…) at least one graduate-level course in *quantitative social science methods* relevant to political science" (Harvard 2015b). Similarly, the description of the general examination also states that students can substitute examinations associated with the main subfield of political science for examination in "*Formal Theory* or Political Methodology" (*idem*). These statements exemplify the role of quantitative and statistical approaches as well as formal models in the context of the Harvard PhD curriculum. They also emphasize that they appear as distinct categories of approaches, even if they both contribute to further scientific objectives in such context and American IR more broadly. They both do so by advancing systematic modes of analysis, while quantitative and statistical approaches prioritize the analytical precision and formal models the transversal or universal validity (or applicability) of associated conclusions (more details are given on these specific features in following subsections). To indicate their role in this PhD program, the latter two epistemic approaches are also depicted (as "QSA" and "FOR") in Figure 6.8 *supra* by a line connecting them to "Harvard PhD curriculum."

Statements and sources from Professor Simmons and Kertzer's syllabus also exemplify particularly diverse orientations and related epistemic approaches. Among the 36 mandatory sources examined in this syllabus, some are particularly relevant for exemplifying the means and modes of thinking that help further scientific and critical orientations in American IR.[178] Exemplifying the objectives and epistemic approaches associated with critical objectives, Professors Simmons and Kertzer for example include

[178] Because these examples are specific to single sources, the associated epistemic approaches and orientations are not necessarily depicted in the previous Figure 6.8.

a source that endeavors to "*problematiz*[*e*] prevalent interpretations of how the field has developed" in order to provide "insights [that] can have *critical purchase* in the present" (Schmidt 2012, 3-4). Similarly, a second source "[*reflects*] on what could be invoked by the term 'end' [of IR theory]" (Dunne et al. 2013, 407) and conclude their contribution by offering "*questions* that should *concern* 'us' as we think of IR's theory-driven future" (ibid., 419). Significantly, these statements emphasize objectives such as problematizing currently prevalent interpretations, producing critical insights for current scholarly activities, and reflecting, questioning and thinking about the future of the scholarly field. These objectives largely prioritize scholars' (self-)awareness and reflection by problematizing IR knowledge, developing critical engagements and questioning the current state of IR. By advancing these priorities, these statements and sources particularly reflect objectives and modes of thinking associated with a critical orientation in American IR, and hence help clarify this orientation particular value and contribution in the field.

Beyond these prior statements, the first source cited in the previous paragraph (Schmidt 2012) also exemplifies an epistemic approach that concentrate on the "*theoretical insights* [from] largely *forgotten scholars*," the "powerful *myths* regarding the evolution of the field," and "an adequate *understanding* of the *history of the field*" (2012, 4). These statements emphasize a focus on existing scholarship or on the literary work of former authors, and on the recollection of their deep or fundamental meaning(s). These statements accordingly reproduce similar features as those associated with a hermeneutical approach in the previous examination of the Georgetown PhD program. In this context, Schmidt (2012) exemplify this same approach by concentrating on former ("forgotten") scholars' contribution, revisiting on the powerful myths associated with these scholars' legacy and reflecting on an adequate understanding of the history of the field. These statements and the particular perspectives that they further can hence be related with the reflective objectives associated with a critical orientation and indicate how a hermeneutical approach can help advance such objectives in American IR.

In this syllabus, a significant number of mandatory readings also exemplify quantitative and statistical, and formal theoretical epistemic approaches. For example, several sources

mobilize descriptive quantitative data and statistical indexes (e.g., Hiscox 2001, Page Fortna 2004, Avey and Desch 2014) or game theoretical models (e.g., Morrow 1999, Gartzke 1999, Dai 2005) to support their knowledge claims. These diverse approaches share important features; for example, associated sources are largely linked to theoretical approaches for explaining general and transversal questions. Closely connected to this definition of theory, the aforesaid approaches are generally associated with causal forms of explanations and law-like statements (e.g., see also Rosen 2005, Brooks and Valentino 2011, Holmes 2013). One particularly relevant source for illustrating these discursive patterns concentrates on the "strategic choice *approach*" – which is inspired by game theoretic or formal models – in order to "[examine] how *strategic settings* affect *choices*" and "understand the complexities of *strategic interaction*" (Morrow 1999, 77). As indicated in these statements, this source focuses on one formal theoretical approach (i.e., the strategic choice approach) for the purpose of producing 'better' understanding of interactions in strategic settings, which are conceived in general and transversal terms. This source accordingly illustrates a typical articulation between scientific objectives and formal theoretical approaches. It also helps underscore some of the particular features and value associated with a scientific orientation in American IR, that is, its propensity to further the production of explanatory, theoretical and transversal knowledge in the field.

Several sources cited in Professors Simmons and Kertzer's syllabus also exemplify the empirical approaches illustrated in previous subsections. These sources, for example, focus on generic topics such as war, international conflicts and states' behaviors and foreign policies (e.g., Fearon 1995, Goldstein 2001, Mitzen 2006) and co-operation and institutions in international politics (e.g., Axelrod 1981, Keohane 1984, Koremenos et al. 2001). A particularly relevant case among these sources for illustrating the articulation between these empirical approaches and the Scientific functional orientation seeks to rigorously test "whether peace is *more likely to last in cases* where peacekeepers are present" or, more precisely, the hypothesis according to which "*peacekeeping* contributes to more *durable peace* (Page Fortna 2004, 269-270). According to these statements, this source considers the notions of peace, peacekeepers and, especially, peacekeeping to be general and empirical topics (i.e., across "cases") rather than with regards to individual or specific cases. This empirical approach is also illustrated by the quantitative data that

Page Fortna mobilizes on international conflicts and peacekeeping operations (over the last seven decades), which are compared transversally and largely removed from their more concrete contexts. By its focus on a generic and hypothetico-deductive research framework, this source is also associated with the development of analytical and causal form of knowledge. In doing so, this source (Page Fortna 2004) exemplifies a typical articulation between an empirical approach and a scientific orientation and some of the particular features of such orientation in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

While the orientation and approaches associated with other sources and statements could have been highlighted in this subsection,[179] it helps clarify several dimensions of a scientific orientation in American IR. It particularly underscores how scientific objectives are furthered through recurring emphases on research-oriented, academic contexts and activities, and the production of theoretical and analytical knowledge. Examining the curriculum in this PhD program, I also discussed how the empirical, formal, and quantitative and statistical approaches recurrently help advance scientific objectives, which clarifies the modes of thinking and particular benefits associated with these objectives in American IR. Using these clarifications, I have also started to explain, in tentative terms, why these objectives appear dominant in this type of program and the field more broadly. Selecting some particular sources from the selected syllabus, I also detailed some features of critical objectives and one associated epistemic approach (i.e. the hermeneutical approach) in this PhD program. While this example appears marginal in the context of this program, it nevertheless provides some important insights on the specific goals and modes of thinking associated with this alternative category of objectives in American IR.

PhD in Political Science at Johns Hopkins University

The PhD in Political Science program at Johns Hopkins University comprises five main fields, namely, American Politics, Comparative Politics, International Relations, Law and Politics, and Political Theory (Johns Hopkins 2015). Before taking their general examinations, graduate students must complete a minimum of 12 semester courses and

[179] For example, some sources in Professor Simmons and Kertzer's syllabus also illustrate recurring links to diverse meta-theoretical questions in American IR (e.g., Jackson and Nexon 1999, Tickner 2001, Wendt 1999); meta-theoretical approaches are discussed in the thesis' conclusion.

some language requirements (see below). Graduate students generally choose one major and one minor field for their general examinations, which (when successful) lead to the work on the PhD dissertation. In this subsection, I focus on the description and requirements associated with the general PhD program curriculum and the concentration in IR, and on Professor Renée Marlin-Bennett`s Fall 2013 syllabus for the field seminar in IR entitled "Field Survey of International Relations." Examining these textual sources helps exemplify scientific and critical objectives. This subsection accordingly contributed in clarifying the distinct modes of thinking and value of these two orientations and how they can be combined, which indicates some ways by which scientism might be mitigated in the field.

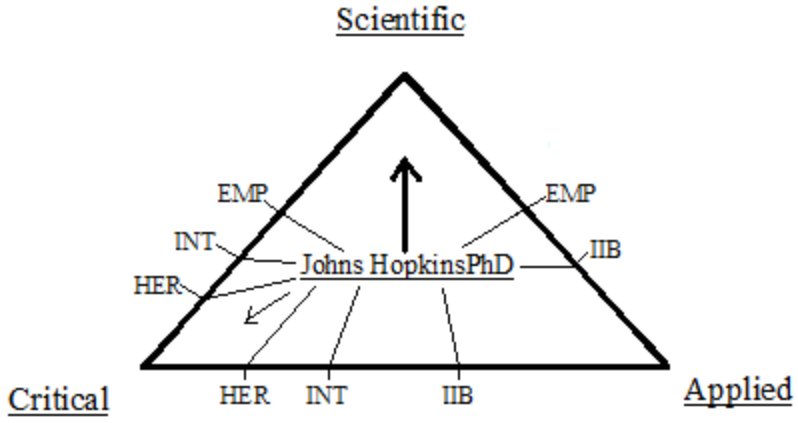
The Johns Hopkins PhD curriculum primarily provides a series of examples illustrating scientific objectives. For example, the general description of this PhD program states that "the preparation of the *next generation of scholars* in the field of political science is a key part of the Political Science Department faculty's commitment to *research* and advancing the *understanding of politics*" (John Hopkins 2015). Similarly, the descriptions of the IR field-specific and dissertation requirements indicate that students must become "conversant with the major *theoretical*, *substantive*, and *methodological themes* and debates of the field" (*idem*) and produce "a substantial work of *independent scholarship* that contributes to *knowledge* in [their] field of study" (*idem*). The general description of the curriculum also states that the Department of Political Science is "known for its strength in *theory*" (Johns Hopkins 2015). These statements illustrate a recurring emphasis on academic actors (e.g., scholars), scholarly activities (e.g., research and independent scholarship) and objectives relating to the production of theoretical and explanatory knowledge (e.g., theoretical, substantive and methodological themes), features that can be related with a scientific orientation in the field.

Professor Marlin-Bennett's syllabus also exemplifies similar features. For example, the syllabus' main description emphasizes that the course constitutes "a survey of *international relations theory*," the purpose of which is to "gain a familiarity with several important *works of IR theory*" and to acquire "the keys to the literature [needed for] future *research* and *professional life*" (Martin-Bennett 2013, 1). The objectives implied

by the link to students' future professional life is unspecific, but the recurring emphasis on research-oriented activities and the production of theoretical knowledge recurrently align the course with scientific objectives. At least a third of the 30 mandatory readings examined in this syllabus also focus explicitly and primarily on discussing, improving, or evaluating theories and theoretical explanations. These sources and series of statements accordingly reinstate the links between features like theory-focused scholarship and recurring emphases on research activities and a scientific orientation, and the scientific orientation in this PhD program.

This recurring orientation in the Johns Hopkins PhD program is depicted in Figure 6.9 below by a major arrow pointing toward the "Scientific" angle (since it is exemplified across all the examined sources from this PhD program). I also depict a critical orientation using a minor arrow and the links with the diverse epistemic approaches exemplified in this subsection.

Figure 6.9: Scientific and Critical Orientations and Related Epistemic Approaches Exemplified in the Johns Hopkins University's PhD Curriculum and Selected Syllabus



While more isolated and limited, several sources and statements in Professor Marlin-Bennett's syllabus also exemplify critical objectives. For example, the description of this course emphasizes that it furthers a "*critical*" form of reading. Several sources among the 30 mandatory readings examined in this syllabus also mobilize modes of thinking that translate this type of orientation. For example, some authors use an archeological approach for "looking deeply within the realm of being for *contradictions in the essence of things*" (Alker and Biersteker 1984, 122), study how particular types of women (or

women's actions) "*interrupt* gender *stereotypes*" (Sjoberg and Caron Gantry 2008, 5) or mobilize utopianist "*critical imaginary*" as a "heuristic device to reveal *the fissures in existing reality*" and to act as "an *ideational motivating force* for progressive change in world politics" (2009, 581). By emphasizing ways of questioning and reflecting on current cultural norms, practices and furthering critical thinking, these sources can accordingly help exemplify the diverging modes of thinking and goals associated with a critical orientation in American IR.

More specifically, these sources focus, for example, on revealing contradictions in fundamental means of signification, disturbing stereotypical and conventional social understandings, and developing critical ideas for revealing existing tensions and instilling emancipatory transformations in the world. When put together, these intellectual means contrast with previous the previous categories of objectives translating focuses on applications to concrete problems or the production of transversal, systematic and precise knowledge. Accordingly and while limited, these examples help underscore some of the distinct features and objectives associated with a critical orientation in American IR like, for example, critical or dialectical examinations with existing norms and the advancement of emancipatory projects. This critical orientation is depicted in the previous Figure 6.10 by a minor arrow pointing toward the "Critical" angle (since it is relatively marginal across the sources examined in this PhD program).

The textual sources examined in the Johns Hopkins PhD also provide recurring examples associated with a series of epistemic approaches, which contribute to the scientific and critical orientations previously underscored. A first series of statements illustrate the role of an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach in this PhD program ("IIB"). For example, the general description of the PhD program states that the Department is known for its strength in "*trans-disciplinary approaches* to uncovering new knowledge" and that graduate students benefit "from strong *connections with colleagues in other social science and humanities disciplines"* (Johns Hopkins 2015). Links to an interdisciplinary approach are also reproduced in the Department of political science's graduate handbook, which encourages students to "do work in *allied departments* such as Anthropology, Economics, German and Romance Languages and Literatures, History, the Humanities

Center, Philosophy, Public Policy, and Sociology" (Johns Hopkins 2014). These statements emphasize how students and scholars are encouraged to mobilize knowledge across disciplinary borders and combine insights from different fields of study. While an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach is generally associated with applied objectives in American IR, these statements are interesting because they indicate how it can be articulated in a PhD program curriculum that is otherwise mainly oriented toward scientific objectives. While this is a limited illustration, it nevertheless suggests how diverse objectives and corresponding approaches can be simultaneously mobilized in the context of scholarly activities like the Johns Hopkins PhD program. This discursive articulation is illustrated in Figure 6.10 *supra* by a line connecting "Johns Hopkins PhD" to the symbol "IIB."

This PhD curriculum also provides recurring examples associated with an empirical approach. This approach is for example illustrated in statements to the effect that the Department of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University has distinctive strengths encompassing for instance "the *themes* of power and inequality, identities and allegiances, agency and structure, and borders and flows" (Johns Hopkins 2015). An empirical approach is also illustrated in the recurring links, in diverse parts of the program description, to a series of *fields* within political science (*idem*; see also Johns Hopkins 2014) and subfields of IR such as International Politics, International Law and Diplomacy, IR Theory, International Security Studies, and Global Political Economy (Johns Hopkins 2015). In Professor Marlin-Bennett's list of mandatory readings, an empirical approach is also exemplified by a recurring focus on generic and transversal themes such as conflicts and alliances (e.g., Wright 1951, Walt 1985) and co-operation and international regimes (e.g., Axelrod 1984, Keohane 1984). These statements underscore again how this particular approach furthers a transversal and topical perspective on IR subject matter. As it can particularly be related with scientific objectives (i.e. systematic analysis and transversal validity), it also helps clarify a particular mode of thinking that regularly contributes in advancing these objectives. In Figure 6.10, I depict these recurring statements by a line connecting "Johns Hopkins PhD" to the symbol "EMP."

Professor Marlin-Bennett's syllabus also exemplifies other epistemic approaches that are more closely associated with the previously mentioned category of critical objectives. For example, the general description of the syllabus indicates that, in fulfilling the course objectives, students "engage in *close and critical reading* of seminal texts" (Marlin-Bennett 2013, 1). Here, close and critical reading is particularly mobilized as an intellectual tool for generating knowledge rather than as an end, that is, as an epistemic approach supporting the scholarly objectives advanced in this syllabus. To specify the epistemic approach being mobilized here, it is useful to connect this statement to the numerous sources in Professor Marlin-Bennett's mandatory readings list that focus on somewhat remote historical or cultural contexts. For example, recurring attention to works by Sun Tzu, Kahldun and Plato to the Ancient and New Testament, and to writings from Adam Smith, Immanuel Kant and Thomas Hobbes suggest that close attention to longstanding traditions of thought, literature and authors−particularly for the purpose of inquiring into their deep meaning−is a prominent dimension of this syllabus. While the theories and concepts reproduced in these texts are diverse, I suggest that these sources and the previous statement reproduce the main features previously associated with a hermeneutical approach in the context of this thesis' categorization (e.g., focus on existing texts and their fundamental and embedded meaning). Emphasizing the role of this approach in this PhD program accordingly helps specify the distinct modes of thinking associated with a critical orientation in American IR. The links with this epistemic approach are depicted in the previous Figure 6.10 by a line connecting "Johns Hopkins PhD" to the symbol "HER".

Other sources associated with Professor Marlin-Bennett's mandatory reading list help exemplify another epistemic approach that was not specified in previous subsections. For example, Shannon Brincat seeks "to reinvigorate the *utopian imagination* as a vital and necessary component in IR theory" (2009, 581). Similarly, Laura Sjoberg and Gantry consider how "two *types* of whore narrative" have consistently been "employed historically and cross-culturally" to identify "a culture-based dimension unique to the war on terror" (2008, 5). While these represent a limited number of examples, they exemplify how American IR scholars regularly use non-causal forms of theories and concepts, e.g., the notion of utopian imagination and the two types of narratives, to develop better

understandings of broad objects associated with international relations (e.g., world politics, the war on terror). What I suggest here is that these statements illustrate a distinct epistemic approach that furthers non-causal theoretical constructs to assist in the interpretation of the empirical phenomena from the world. In this sense, this interpretative approach contrasts with the other categories of epistemic approaches by the particular form of theoretical constructs it uses (i.e., non-causal) and the purpose of the interpretative efforts (i.e., it does not seek precision and universal validity). More details are developed about this specific approach in the following subsections. The links with this interpretative approach are depicted in the previous Figure 6.10 by a line connecting "Johns Hopkins PhD" to the symbol "INT."

Professor Marlin-Bennett's list of mandatory readings also includes a significant number of other theory-oriented sources. However, these theoretical approaches are difficult to categorize because they involve particularly different understandings of theoretical knowledge. While the related illustrations are limited, I distinguish between two definitions of theories, in the scholarship examined from Professor Marlin-Bennett's list of mandatory readings, as a means to incrementally specify diverse and more detailed categories of theoretical approaches in the typology proposed here. A first definition is exemplified by a proposal according to which theories are "collections or sets of *laws* pertaining to a particular behavior or phenomenon" (Waltz 1979, 2). This definition of theory subsumed law-like or causal relations in the world within theoretical constructs by arguing that "laws identify invariant or probable associations [while] theories show why those associations obtain" (ibid., 4). While further clarified in subsequent subsections,[180] this first definition of theoretical knowledge can accordingly be typified as a causal understanding of theories. In Professor Marlin-Bennett's syllabus, this particular understanding of theories is also illustrated by other sources using formal approaches for developing their argument (e.g., Axelrod 1984, Keohane 1984).

On the other hand, other theoretically focused sources listed in Professor Marlin-Bennett's syllabus help exemplify a different understanding of theories. One source, for

[180] Waltz also distinguishes laws from theories, which leads him to contest what he names the "inductivist illusion." This is a debate to which I return in following subsections.

example, emphasizes this definitional distinction by indicating that theoretical ideas represent "*generalizations* based on *observations of historical experience* rather than a set of *hypotheses* that have been tested scientifically by *historical evidence*" (Gilpin 1981, 2). This binary statement contrasts two different definitions of the role and construction of theories by opposing those understood as generalizations based on observations to evidence-based hypothesis testing. Here, the opposition between historical experience and evidence suggests a relatively greater attention to the specific and concrete details associated with different historical cases. Furthering this distinction, Gilpin also underlines that, in mobilizing theories as generalizations, he makes "no claim to have discovered the "*laws* of change" that determine when political change will occur or what course it will take" (ibid., 3). While these statements might not represent Gilpin's main theoretical contributions in American IR, they nevertheless help contrast two definitions of theories, which mobilize or not law-like and causal understandings of international relations (and the observed phenomena more broadly).

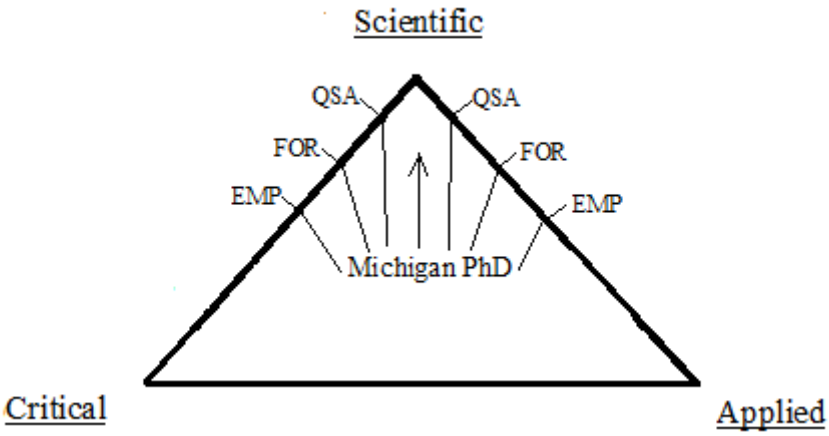
Indeed, Gilpin (1981) explicitly denies any claim to describe, explain, or subsume particular laws but emphasizes the role of theories (as generalization) in providing a "systematic" understanding of international politics and ordering and explaining human experience. This second understanding of theories as generalizations can also be related to other sources from Professor Marlin-Bennett's mandatory reading list. For example, Quincy Wright explains his conceptual study of conflict by stating that "perhaps an analysis of the broader concept [of conflict] will help *better understand* the lesser [concept of war]" (1951, 193). Hedley Bull also examines "institutions of the society of states as the balance of power, international law, [and] diplomacy" by considering them as "*pseudo*-institutions" or "[more *fundamental*] *sources* of international order" (2002, xxxv). These sources also help exemplify theoretical constructs that provide general forms of explanations (or generalizations), but that avoid defining law-like statements, structural frameworks and causal forms of relations. While these two types of theoretical approach need further clarifications, these statements and sources help identify relatively distinct types of epistemic approaches based on their contrasting understandings of the role of theory in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

The examination of the Johns Hopkins PhD curriculum and selected syllabus provides several contributions to this thesis' argument. Primarily, it helps specify how the scientific and critical orientations are recurrently translated by emphases on research activities and theoretical knowledge or, alternatively, on critical engagements, dialectical examinations and emancipatory projects. These details help explain the diverging role, value and purposes that are embodied by these two categories of objectives in the field. Several examples also help detail several epistemic approaches associated with this thesis' categorization (i.e., interdisciplinary and intellectually broad, empirical, hermeneutical and interpretative) and contrasts two particular understandings of theoretical knowledge (i.e., as causal theories and generalizations). While these explanations are still limited, they contribute in clarifying the different approaches and modes of thinking that American IR scholars regularly use to further scientific, applied or critical objectives.

PhD in Political Science at the University of Michigan

The PhD in Political Science program of the University of Michigan is mainly organized around six major fields (e.g., American Government and Politics, Comparative Government and Politics, International Relations [IR] and World Politics, Law and Courts, Political Theory, and Research Methods) and several minor and modular subfields. Before moving to the PhD candidacy level and work on the dissertation, students complete a course work program of about 14 courses (divided among major, minor, second minor and other fields), specialized courses in research methods and preliminary examinations in a major and minor subfield. This subsection focuses on the descriptions of this PhD curriculum, the description and requirements associated with the concentration in IR and World Politics, and Professor Jim Morrow's Fall 2009 syllabus for the core seminar in this concentration (entitled "Proseminar on World Politics"). This examination helps exemplify the objectives and benefits associated with a scientific orientation as well as several epistemic approaches that help further in in IR scholarship from elite US universities. The main categories of objectives and epistemic approaches exemplified in this subsection are depicted in the following Figure 6.10.

Figure 6.10: Scientific Orientation and Associated Epistemic Approaches in the University of Michigan PhD Curriculum and Selected Syllabus



The Michigan PhD curriculum provides several examples of statements exemplifying a scientific orientation in American IR. For example, it underlines how the program "develop[s] *scholars* who manifest a high level of *excellence in teaching and research* as *professional social scientists*" (Michigan 2015). The PhD program guide also emphasizes how the main dimensions of the program are organized to "prepare students to participate as *research scholars* in particular *fields within political science*" (Michigan 2011, 6). Similarly, the preliminary examinations are described as being meant for "determin[ing] whether the student is adequately prepared to *teach undergraduate and graduate courses* in the field" and to prepare students "to conduct *advanced scholarly research* in that field" (Michigan 2011, 20). Students' level of preparation is evaluated according to their familiarity with, for example, "the principal *literature* relating to the subfield," "trends in *findings*," and "the *cutting edge* [of research]" (*idem*); in synthesis, students must be familiar not only "with what we think we do know, but also with what we do not know, *within the subfield*" (*idem*). This series of statements largely – if not exclusively – illustrates research-oriented and scholarly activities, contexts and objectives, which indicates the role of a scientific orientation in the context of this PhD program.

Professor Morrow's syllabus also exemplifies a similar form of orientation in the field. Its general description states, for example, that each course session focuses on "what *novel research* could and should be done in [an] area" (Morrow 2009, 1) and that the course "introduces the graduate student to *research in world politics*" (*idem*). Research-oriented

objectives are also explicitly reproduced in at least half of the 27 mandatory readings examined in this syllabus. These sources focus on broad theoretical questions or puzzles (e.g., Jervis 1978, Fearon 1995, Powell 2006). Most explicitly, theory-focused objectives are illustrated by statements suggesting that scholars seek to advance a "process of *clarification* and *augmentation* required for the formulation of *better theories* of international politics" (Lemke and Kugler 1996, 4). These recurring emphases on research and theory-focused activities stand in contrast with the objectives and approaches previously associated with, for example, an applied orientation in the field.[181] They accordingly underscore again distinct features and modes of thinking that help further scientific objectives in American IR. This orientation is depicted in the previous Figure 6.11 by an arrow pointing from "Michigan PhD" toward the "Scientific" angle.

The curriculum and selected syllabi examined in the Michigan PhD program also provide illustrations of several epistemic approaches associated with a scientific orientation in American IR. For example, diverse statements emphasize how the PhD program is "distinguished by a wide variety of *areas of specialization*" (Michigan 2015) and are echoed in the Michigan PhD graduate program guide, which indicates that the pre-candidacy stage focuses "on three *subfields*" (Michigan 2011, 6) among a range of modular subfields and the major and minor subfields (*idem*). One statement in this program guide also underlines that the courses included in the PhD curriculum cover subjects such as "*international organizations,* open conflict, the domestic politics of foreign relations, foreign economic policy and law, and peace and security affairs" (Michigan 2011, 10). In this statement, international organizations and the following elements (e.g., open conflict, domestic politics) are again understood as general and transversal topics associated with international politics.

A similar approach is also exemplified in Professor Morrow's syllabus. For example, the general description in the syllabus indicates that the course focuses on "important *areas of interest*" that nevertheless leaves aside some "omitted *topics* [like] ethnic conflict,

[181] In fact, I recorded only one mandatory reading in Professor Morrow's syllabus that explicitly emphasizes potential applications to concrete problems and contexts (e.g., Walt 1985) but these objectives appear complementary to the main research-oriented objectives, since they are developed in the final or concluding section of this source.

crossnational nonstate actors, [and] international environment affairs" (Morrow 2009, 1). A similar approach is also exemplified in at least two thirds of the listed mandatory readings in this syllabus. For example, Waltz proposes delimiting an empirical *area* or field of study since, as he writes, "*to isolate a realm* is a precondition to developing a theory that will explain what goes on within it" (1979, 8, see also 39). Other sources also focus on general topics such as war and international crises (e.g., Fearon 1995, Lake and Rothchild 1996, Fearon and Laitin 2003), alliances (e.g., Morrow 1991, 1993, Leeds et al. 2000) and international institutions, regimes and co-operation (e.g., Ruggie 1982, Axelrod and Keohane 1985, Koremenos et al. 2001). In all of these cases, international relations are studied from a general, topical and transversal perspective. While this presentation of scholarly work and research activities may appear relatively conventional among the examined PhD programs, it nevertheless illustrates a particular way to organize knowledge, one that can be distinguished from other epistemic approaches lie an issue-, policy and case-specific approach. Detailing this empirical approach helps highlight their specific value in IR scholarship, and how it contributes to advancing the scientific objective of providing knowledge that is universally valid (i.e., across time and space). The recurring illustrations associated with an empirical epistemic approach are depicted in the previous Figure 6.11 by a line connecting "Michigan PhD" to the symbols "EMP."

In the previous subsection, I indicate how Waltz (1979) emphasizes a definition of theories that accounts for and subsumes law-like relations and statements. From the diverse textual sources examined in the Michigan PhD program, two particular types of theoretical approaches focusing on and explaining law-like and causal relations can be distinguished. This distinction is also illustrated in the description of the subfields associated with the Michigan PhD program, which indicates that the study of IR and World Politics (at Michigan) is linked to "*formal* and *game theoretic models* of human behavior, macroeconomic policy and international institutions and the *quantitative study* of conflict" (Michigan 2011, 10). Professor Morrow's list of mandatory readings also helps further detail these two same categories of theoretical approaches.

In Professor Morrow's syllabus, one third of the mandatory readings mobilize quantitative and statistical approaches as a means of conducting their analyses and supporting their knowledge claims, with several sources using large data sets such as the Correlates of War Project or Polity III (e.g., Morrow 1991, Bueno de Mesquita and Siverson 1995, Reiter and Stam 1998). In addition to the association with quantitative and statistical approaches, these sources recurrently reproduce a patterned argumentation structure, which is typically organized along the description of a causal theoretical framework, hypothesis-making, empirical testing and discussion of results of analyses (e.g., Morrow 1991, Fearon and Laitin 1996, Reiter and Stam 1998). These sources help delineate a particular understanding of causal theories in IR, that is, a hypothetico-deductive understanding according to which "a theory is comprised of a *hypothesis* stipulating an association between an *independent and a dependent variable* and a *causal logic* that explains the connection between those two variables" (Rosato 2003, 585; see also Fearon 1995).

These examples clarify the distinct modes of thinking (i.e., argumentative structure and understanding of theory) that characterize quantitative and statistical approaches in American IR. Implicit in the previous explanations is the fact that these approaches are particularly focused on mobilizing systematic procedures for analysis and producing precise factual knowledge. Necessarily, a hypothetico-deductive understanding of causal theory is not restricted to studies using quantitative and statistical approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities (i.e., hypothesis-testing can be used without quantitative and statistical data and vice-versa.) Yet, underscoring the previous articulation helps illustrate their particular value for generating causal and nomothetic explanations based on systematically analyzed empirical data. The recurring illustrations of the quantitative and statistical approaches in the examined sources are also depicted in the previous Figure 6.11 by the lines connecting "Michigan PhD" to the symbols "QSA."

Formal theoretical models are also exemplified by several sources listed in Professor Morrow's syllabus (e.g., Jervis 1978, Fearon and Laitin 1996, Morrow 1994). In these sources, formal models are particularly exemplified by 'games' and rational choice theoretical approaches (e.g., the "prisoner's dilemma" [Jervis 1978] or the "battle of the

sexes" [Morrow 1994]). As these cases illustrate, formal models further a structural or systemic understanding of causal theories and explanations. In contrast to the previously discussed (hypothetico-deductive) understanding of causal theory, these formal theories do not focus on the empirical and quantitative verification or test of law-like relations and statements; instead, they account for these law-like relations within the context of theoretical systems or structures, which are meant to explain general phenomena associated with a particular dimension of the world. While the diverse levels of formalization associated with these approaches are further clarify in subsequent subsections, the previous explanations provide some details about the specific features and value of formal theoretical models in IR scholarship from elite US universities. The recurring links with these formal approaches in this PhD program are depicted in the previous Figure 6.10 by the lines connecting "Michigan PhD" to the symbols "FOR."

Selected sources in Professor Morrow's also exemplify other categories of epistemic approaches; while they appear peripheral in this PhD program (and hence are not depicted in the previous Figure 6.10), they can inform the diversity of approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities. In one particularly illustrative source, Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal for example distinguish between what they term a "full theory" and other explanatory approaches that "contribute to a *better understanding* [of the world]" (2000, 421). Importantly, the value of this second form of theory is grounded not in causal and law-like relations but instead, in Abbott and Snidal's terms, in the *plausibility* of the related knowledge claim (ibid., 423-424). This particular (and non-causal) understanding of theoretical knowledge is also translated in the particular analysis by these scholars, in which they construct "different *types* of legalization" that suggest "hypotheses regarding the circumstances that lead actors to select specific forms [of legalization]" (Abbott and Snidal 2000, 421).

Using Jackson's methodological categorization, Abbott and Snidal's approach can be associated with an analyticist methodology. Indeed, this particular approach is characterized primarily by the development of conceptual or theoretical constructs (i.e., types of legalization) meant to interpret and explain observed phenomena, that is, to illustrate empirical phenomena from the world. Moreover, while Abbott and Snidal

mobilize the concept of hypothesis, they use this as a means of interpreting actors' practices across "a range of examples" (ibid., 423) that are not detached from the researcher's own position, rather than as being organized according to the previously discussed hypothetico-deductive argumentative structure. This source accordingly helps clarify the features of a distinct epistemic approach (i.e., non-causal explanatory constructs focused on world phenomena), which correspond to the previously mentioned interpretative type of approach in the context of this thesis' categorization.

A few sources in Professor Morrow's syllabus also exemplify recurring links to meta-theoretical questions and topics in American IR (e.g., Wendt 1987, Wight 2002, Fearon and Wendt 2002). In these sources, scholars develop causal and non-causal arguments to question the diverse ontological or epistemological principles grounding the different theoretical claims made by other IR scholars. While this epistemic category was overlooked in previous subsections, these sources provide a relatively distinct type of perspective for studying international relations in American IR, one more remote from any specific empirical observation and focused on the principles and methods founding the researcher's analysis. While associated illustrations are limited at this point, it is worth mentioning their specificity as a means to clarify the diverse forms of intellectual means that American IR scholars mobilize in their work.

This subsection detailed the main orientation and diverse epistemic approaches that are furthered in the PhD in Political Science program of the University of Michigan, a program in which scientific objectives appeared largely prevalent. It first provides several examples indicating how the curriculum and selected syllabus in this PhD program emphasize research- and theory-oriented objectives, which help clarify the particular value and purpose of a scientific orientation in American IR. Second, this examination details several epistemic approaches which help clarify the particular modes of thinking that contribute in advancing a scientific orientation. More precisely, two diverging understandings of causal theories (i.e., nomothetic vs. structural) have been specified, the first underlying quantitative and statistical approaches, while the second is associated with formal theoretical models in American IR. Third, the subsection also highlights examples illustrating less frequent and more peripheral epistemic approaches in these

sources (e.g., interpretative and meta-theoretical). Together, these explanations underline how and why a scientific orientation is advanced in American IR and the specificities of some less recurring approaches in the field, which are further detailed in following subsections.

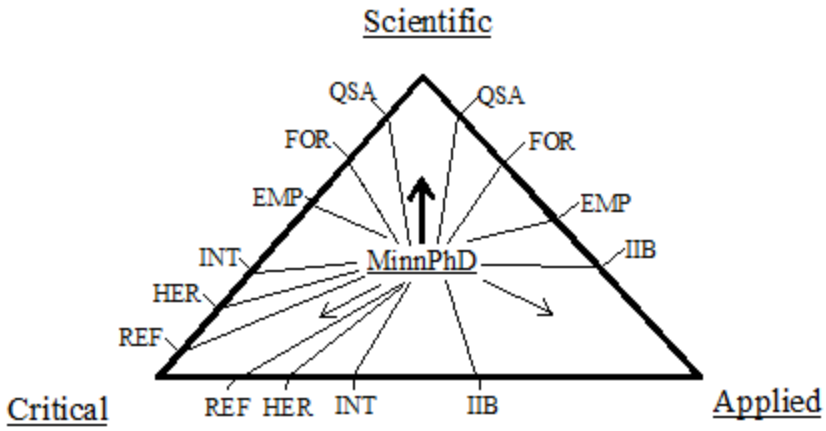
PhD in Political Science at the University of Minnesota

Graduate students enrolled in the PhD in Political Science program at the University of Minnesota choose two fields of study among the eight delineated by the Department of Political Science (i.e., American Politics, Comparative Politics, International Politics, Political Theory, Political Economy, Political Psychology, Human Rights, and Political Methodology [Minnesota 2014a]). Graduate students must fulfil a course work program including five to seven seminars and two core seminars in their chosen field of study, one seminar in scope and methods, and a one-year seminar on political science as a profession. This subsection examines the description of the general PhD curriculum, the requirements associated with the concentration in International Politics and Professor Ronald R. Krebs' Fall 2013 syllabus for the core seminar in this field (i.e., "POL 8401 Theories of International Relations").

This PhD program is characterized by a significant diversity of objectives, which helps clarify their distinct features and purposes and some of the means by which scientism can be mitigated in the field. More precisely, this subsection provides additional examples on the categories of scientific, applied and critical objectives as well as seven related epistemic approaches. The following explanations accordingly help detail the distinct modes of thinking that are use to further these different categories of objectives and their value in the field. Figure 6.11 below depicts the orientations and epistemic approaches that are detailed in this subsection.[182]

[182] As with other diagrams, the major arrow in this figure illustrates a prevalent orientation across the examined sources in the Minnesota PhD program while the minor arrows illustrate more peripheral orientations.

Figure 6.11: Main Orientations and Epistemic Approaches Exemplified in the University of Minnesota PhD Curriculum and Syllabus



Emphasizing some aspects associated with a scientific orientation in American IR, the general description of Minnesota PhD program makes the point that faculty members in the department regularly publish their work "in *the discipline's leading journals* and various *university presses*" (Minnesota 2014a). Similarly, this general description states that graduate students have opportunities to collaborate with faculty members on "*research* projects," to "develop *teaching* skills" and to travel to "*professional meetings*" (Minnesota 2014a). The importance of producing theoretical knowledge is also emphasized by statements according to which the teaching associated with this PhD program is "grounded in the mainstream [while being] responsive to the *latest theoretical and methodological developments*" (Minnesota 2014a). Professor Krebs' syllabus also emphasizes that his course introduces students to the "central" and "contemporary *theories*, debates, and major *scholarly traditions* in international relations" (Krebs 2013, 1). This type of academically- and theory-focused objective is also explicitly illustrated in more than two thirds of the 37 mandatory readings examined in the syllabus by the recurring emphasis on developing, describing, and improving on better explanatory theories (e.g., Singer 1961, Jervis 1976, Waltz 1979). These statements largely emphasize the role of scholarly actors (e.g., faculties), activities (e.g., publication, research, teaching, theoretical and methodological developments) and contexts (e.g., the discipline, [academic] professional meetings), which illustrate again features that are associated with a scientific orientation in American IR. These recurring illustrations are depicted in Figure 6.12 by the major arrow pointing toward the "Scientific" angle.

Contrasting with this primary orientation, a limited number of sources listed in Professor Krebs' syllabus also exemplify critical objectives in the context of this PhD program. Among these sources, Ido Oren (1995), for example, questions the theoretical claims regarding the democratic peace in American IR by underscoring how such claim is less about the notion of democracy and more about the American perceptions of other countries. In another source, Oren (2009) also rereads classical IR realist authors (i.e., Carr and Morgenthau) to underscore the contradiction between the will of contemporary realists to influence their governments' policies and their commitment "to naturalistic methodological and epistemological postulates" (2009, 283). Smith, for example, mobilizes a Foucault-inspired "archeological" approach to examine the "relationship between the way *the discipline* of International Relations (IR) *is studied* in the U.S. and U.S. *foreign policy* itself" (2002, 67).

While they account for only a limited number of sources and statements in the textual sources associated with this PhD program, a distinctive feature associated with these sources is the recurring emphasis on the development of reflective abilities and "*self-consciousness*" (Smith 2002, 69) among American IR students and scholars. More broadly, these sources and statements underscore how objectives like that of furthering scholars' self-awareness, critical engagements and dialectical reflections can be furthered in American IR scholarship, which distinguishes the distinct modes of thinking and purpose of a critical orientation in the field. In turn, specifying a critical orientation helps clarify some of the ways by which the dominance of scientism in American IR may be mitigated by mobilizing diverging categories of objectives and related epistemic approaches. These illustrations of a critical orientation in this PhD program are also depicted in Figure 6.12 *supra* by the minor arrow pointing toward the "Critical" angle.

In addition to clarifying this particular category of objectives, the previous sources and statements help make sense of some of the practical ways by which American IR scholars further a critical orientation in the field. The previous sources and statements, for example, underscore how they recurrently re-examine the work and practices of IR scholars, that is, how they further approaches such as critical questioning and rereading, or an archeological/genealogical approach toward existing scholarship. In doing so, these

sources illustrate a relatively specific category of epistemic approach that was previously overlooked in this and the previous chapter. Based on Smith, this approach can be understood as one focused on reflecting and "*thinking* about the relationship between *how we study the world* out of *our own location, context, and identity*," as opposed to "trying to offer "*the truth*" about the nature of the discipline" (Smith 2002, 69). While specifying a distinct epistemic approach, these statements also underscore some particular modes of thinking that are associated with a critical orientation in American IR. To echo Smith's identification of related approaches in IR with "reflectivism" and Jackson's closely related "reflexivity" methodology,[183] I identified the epistemic approach mobilized in these latter sources as a reflexive approach in this thesis' categorization. The previous illustrations are also depicted in Figure 6.12 *supra* by the lines connecting "MinnPhD" to the symbols "REF." Given their close connection to a critical orientation across the examined sources, the symbols ("REF") are situated beside the "Critical" angle in this and other similar figures.

The scientific and critical orientations that are exemplified in this PhD program can also be contrasted with a series of statements limited to a description of the human rights field of study in the Minnesota PhD. These statements indicate, for example, that students in this field are educated by being connected "with *academic* and *real-world experience*" and by furthering a threefold mission of interdisciplinary education, human rights *advocacy* and connection between "*students*, *faculty*, *professionals* and *experts working in the field* of human rights" (Minnesota 2014d). In contrast to the previous scientifically-oriented statements, this latter section of the PhD curriculum according emphasizes a significant diversity of academic and non-academic contexts, activities and actors. It also exemplifies links to contexts, activities and actors that are, by comparison, more closely associated with objectives of knowledge application (e.g., real-world experience, advocacy, and professionals and experts). While limited, these statements can accordingly help illustrate applied objectives and contrast them with other categories of

[183] Indeed, Jackson associates Reflexivity as a methodological category in IR with a common attempt to question and "theorize researcher[s'] social conditions" and develop more "self-awareness" (2010, 198) among IR students and scholars.

objectives in this PhD program and American IR. These illustrations are depicted in the previous Figure 6.12 by a minor arrow pointing toward the "Applied" angle.

While contributing to an applied orientation, statements associated with an interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach also appear in a relatively peripheral position in this PhD curriculum. The curriculum includes a series of statements that emphasize, for example, how the faculty for the Political Psychology field of study is "drawn from ten departments within the Graduate School and Law School" (Minnesota 2014b). However, this and other similar statements are all restricted to the descriptions of specific fields of study such as the Political Economy, Political Psychology, and Human Rights subfields (e.g., Minnesota 2014a, 2014b). Accordingly, the peripheral position of the statements furthering this particular epistemic approach seem to suggest that this epistemic approach is only remotely related to this PhD program's main scientific objectives and instead contributes to a more peripheral category of objectives in the context of this program. This second epistemic approach is also depicted in the previous Figure 6.12 by the lines connecting MinnPhD" to the symbols "IIB."

The Minnesota PhD curriculum also provides other examples detailing specific epistemic approaches which contribute to the aforementioned categories of objectives. For example, associated textual sources underscore that the program offers courses distributed among the eight previously mentioned *subfields* of political science (Minnesota 2014a) and that students concentrate on "two *subfields*" of study (Minnesota 2014b). A similar approach is echoed in the description of the International Politics subfield, which is described as including the study of general topics such as "international politics and international relations theory, international political economy, international conflict, [and] international organizations" (Minnesota 2014c). These examples emphasize the generic, transversal and topical perspectives furthered by an empirical approach and highlights some of the features associated with a scientific orientation in American IR. This epistemic approach is also depicted in the previous Figure 6.12 by the lines connecting "MinnPhD" to the symbols "EMP."

Another series of illustrations can also be associated with the hermeneutical approach exemplified earlier (e.g., in the context of the Georgetown PhD program). As previously

underlined, this epistemic approach can be conceived as focusing on re-readings of traditional works (in and beyond IR) as a means of improving our knowledge of their deep meaning. In Professor Krebs' syllabus, this approach is exemplified by statements indicating an approach directed at "*reconstructing an understanding* (…) that would bring out (and bring together) the concerns of [previous] thinkers [like Carr and Morgenthau]" (Williams 2005, 5). Similarly, Boucoyannis (2007) revisits the writings of Liberal thinkers like Adam Smith, Kant and Madison to illustrate how this theory integrates as a core principle the notion of the balance of power. For her part, Charlotte Epstein uses a Lacanian approach to re-read the "individualist understandings of agency that were first incarnated in the discipline's self-understandings by Hobbes's natural individual" (2013, 287).

Across these statements and sources, a hermeneutical approach is embodied by recurring re-examinations that are directed toward challenging and improving – in addition to questioning – current *understandings* of traditional scholarly works, theories and authors (e.g., Williams 2005, Boucoyannis 2007). The distinction with the previously mentioned reflexive approach is one of degree in the way they re-examine previous literature and scholarly works. More precisely, both approaches encounter their subject matter by being inherently embedded into it, that is, they study scholarly discourses and practices to which they themselves contribute. Yet, a hermeneutical approach typifies approaches that are comparatively less directed toward increasing scholars' self-consciousness and more toward recovering the deep meaning of previous texts and scholarly works. While these illustrations remain limited, they nevertheless help distinguish and emphasize the distinctive perspectives associated with these two approaches and some valuable aspects of a critical orientation in IR scholarship from elite US universities. The previous illustrations of a hermeneutical approach are also depicted in Figure 6.12 *supra* by the lines connecting MinnPhD to the symbol "HER."

Another cluster of mandatory readings in Professor Krebs' syllabus helps detail the interpretative approach mentioned in previous subsections. For example, several sources listed in this syllabus mobilize diverse forms of non-causal theoretical constructs (especially ideal-typical categories) to explain phenomena in the world. Illustrating this

particular type of epistemic approach, scholars study examples such as the diverse imperial myths furthering states' tendencies to overexpansion (Snyder 1991), diverse stages or kinds of liberal international orders (Ikenberry 2009) and diverse logics of social interaction in international politics (Risse 2000). Similarly, other scholars mobilize general theoretical concepts such as legalization (Kahler 2000), symbolic technologies (Laffey and Weldes 1997), and democratic identities and norms (Hayes 2012) in order to question and explain – in non-causal manners – important dimensions of international politics and world affairs. While these sources account for a diverse array of objects in international relations, they can all be associated with an interpretative approach because they are all meant to question and explain phenomenal features of international politics through (non-causal) theoretical interpretation and concepts. These illustrations help detail the particular perspective furthered by this epistemic approach in IR scholarship from elite US universities. It is also depicted in the previous Figure 6.12 by lines connecting "MinnPhD" to the symbol "INT."

Several sources in Professor Krebs' mandatory reading list are also associated with a causal understanding of theories in American IR. More particularly, some of these sources mobilize formal theoretical models (e.g., Jervis 1978, 1988, Oye 1986) while other sources exemplify quantitative and statistical approaches and/or a hypothetico-deductive argumentative structure and understanding of theories (e.g., Rosato 2003, Downes and Sechser 2012). These two approaches help specifying again the diverse and distinct modes of thinking associated with scientific objectives in American IR. The links with these two approaches are also depicted in the previous Figure 6.12 by the lines connecting "MinnPhD" to the symbols "QSA" and "FOR."

Finally, certain elements in the textual sources associated with this PhD program challenge the categorization developed in this and the foregoing examinations. For example, several sources in Professor Krebs' syllabus illustrate recurring links to a meta-theoretical approach in IR. A meta-theoretical approach is exemplified by a statement according to which "alterations in the *ontology* of the world polity have also shifted the *epistemology* of world politics – that is, how we study – encouraging scholars to move beyond a narrow conception of the "scientific" enterprise and adopt a diversity of

epistemological positions" (Barnett and Sikkink 2008, 63). More broadly, sources linking the program with meta-theoretical questions constitute a particular epistemic approach in the context of my examination by focusing on the philosophical and methodological frameworks grounding scholarly work (e.g., Almond and Genco 1977, Hollis and Smith 1990, Wendt 1999). However, it is not particularly clear – at least from the previous illustrations – what categories of objectives this epistemic approach helps furthering. This is particularly the case because a meta-theoretical approach appears to provide what can be understood as another 'level' of abstraction and conceptualization, which can be related to almost any other epistemic approach previously illustrated in this and earlier chapters. Accordingly, this approach presents a particular conceptual challenge in the context of this thesis conceptualization about IR scholarship from elite US universities, a challenge is further discussed in this thesis' conclusion.

This examination provides a significant amount of details about the diverse orientations and epistemic approaches that are exemplified across the curriculum and the selected syllabus in the Minnesota PhD program. These textual sources primarily help detail and contrast the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis' categorization. In doing so, this subsection indicates the distinct value, modes of thinking and goals associated with each of these categories of objectives and illustrate some of the main means by which the dominance of scientism can be challenged in American IR. This examination also helps detailing seven related epistemic approaches, including some that were previously overlooked, such as the reflexive approach, which appear closely associated with a critical orientation in the examined sources. In supplying these details, this examination helps illustrate the diversity of epistemic approaches that contribute in furthering the proposed categories of objectives and the cognitive map that is provided by this thesis' proposed categorization (which is depicted in Figure 6.11 *supra*). Yet, the examination also identifies some challenging elements, which are further discussed in the following subsections.

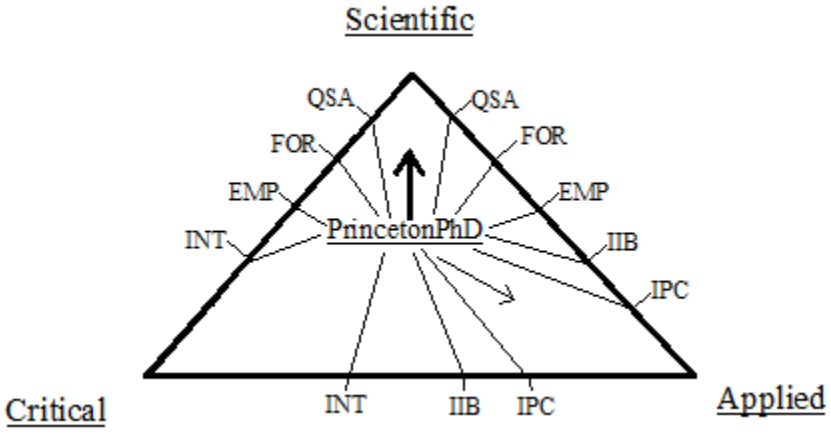
PhD in Politics at Princeton University

The PhD program in Politics of Princeton University is organized around four main subfields (Political Theory, American Politics, Comparative Politics and International

Relations [IR]), and a series of minor and interdisciplinary fields (Princeton 2012a). Besides working on their PhD dissertation, graduate students enrolled in this PhD program must complete 12 to 14 courses, four field research seminars and a course on research ethics. This subsection concentrates on the description and requirements associated with the general PhD program and the IR subfield, and Professors Christina Davis and Andrew Moravcsik's Fall 2010 syllabus for one of the mandatory research seminars in the subfield of IR (i.e., the "Seminar in International Politics - POL 551").

This subsection provides more examples of scientific and applied orientations and associated epistemic approaches in American IR. In doing so, it contrasts these two categories of objectives, which underscores their distinctive value for IR scholarship from elite US universities. It also indicates how American IR scholars can combine these two categories of objectives and hence mitigate the dominance of scientism in the field. The main categories of objectives and epistemic approaches being exemplified in this subsection are depicted in the following Figure 6.12.

Figure 6.12: Main Orientations and Epistemic Approaches Exemplified in Princeton University's PhD Curriculum and Selected Syllabus



The sources examined in the Princeton PhD program primarily exemplify statements that further scientific objectives. For example, the general description of this program states that the Department "offers graduate students an opportunity to work with *prominent scholars* in almost every part of *the discipline*" and is recognized for its "commitment to *excellence in research and teaching*, [and] respect for a variety of methods and approaches to *political research*" (Princeton 2014). A similar emphasis is also

reproduced in the program description, when it underscores the support students receive for "pursuing a range of *substantive research* in *the discipline*" (Princeton 2012a). A similar orientation is also exemplified in Professor Davis and Moravcsik's syllabus, which indicates that, in the context of the main assignment associated with the course, students must "address an important *issue in general international relations theory*" (Davis and Moravcsik 2010, 1-2). Moreover, at least half of the 30 mandatory readings examined in this syllabus' mandatory reading list explicitly prioritize analyses about theories, theoretical questions and, more broadly, the production of factual and transversal analyses on diverse topics related with international relations (e.g., Bendor and Hammond 1992, Fearon 1995, Hiscox 2002). This series of sources and statements largely emphasize research-oriented and scholarly activities (e.g., political research), actors (e.g., prominent scholars) and contexts (e.g., the discipline) as well as theory-focused analyses. These emphases illustrate the dominant scientific orientation in American IR and underline its value for advancing this particular form of scholarship in the field.

Beyond these diverse statements and sources, this orientation is also made explicit by Robert Keohane's discussion on the purpose and relevance of theory (understood as a distinctive scholarly output) in the study of world politics. Keohane for example emphasizes the "widespread acceptance [of realist and neorealist IR theories] in contemporary *scholarship* and in *policy circles*" (1986, 4). However, while this statement might suggest that a focus on theory can be useful for diverse types of actors and purposes in American IR, Keohane develops neither critical questions about the development of these theories nor any specific perspective on how these theories can be concretely applied. Instead, Keohane emphasizes the importance of studying IR theories as a tool for producing better explanatory and generalizable knowledge about international affairs. Such emphasis on theoretical work for its own value is more closely associated with scientific objectives like that of developing systematic procedures for analysis and transversally valid knowledge. Accordingly, this source underscores again a dimension of the distinct modes of thinking that helps furthering scientific objectives in American IR. This recurring orientation in this PhD program is depicted in the previous Figure 6.13 by a major arrow pointing toward the "Scientific" angle.

Clarifying the distinct value of this scientific orientation in American IR, other statements and sources in this PhD program also exemplify applied objectives. For example, the PhD program description ends with a list of research centers, programs and, especially, policy-related projects associated with the Politics Department (e.g., the Princeton Project on National Security [Princeton 2012a]). Similarly, some mandatory readings in Professors Davis and Moravcsik's syllabus translate such objectives for example by underscoring that "scholars and analysts *lack* the kinds of powerful *predictive tools* that would allow them to say with *any degree of assurance* what the state of relations between the United States and China will be in five years time, to say nothing of ten or twenty" (Friedberg 2005, 8-9). In this statement, the value of American IR scholars' knowledge is undermined by its lack of predictive capabilities, i.e., by scholars' inability to apply their knowledge to foresee the future of a relatively concrete and specific issue associated with international relations. A similar stance is also illustrated by the binary opposition between what Friedberg names the main "*camps* in contemporary international relations *theorizing*" and "the *real world*" of international relations practice (2005, 9-10). One other source focuses on potential application in this syllabus (i.e., Waltz 1979) but only in the conclusion to its mainly theoretical arguments.

By emphasizing the importance of application contexts (e.g., the Princeton Project on National Security, the "real world"), applied activities or tools (e.g., predictions), and current problems or issues of particular concern for American scholars (e.g., U.S.-China relations), these sources and statements accordingly help underscoring a distinct feature of an applied orientation in the context of American IR. However, these examples translate a secondary orientation since they mainly appear in relatively peripheral or complementary positions in the examined sources (i.e., they appear in the concluding parts of these sources and in few of them). The previous Figure 6.13 accordingly depicts this orientation by a minor arrow pointing toward the "Applied" angle.

Several epistemic approaches related with a scientific or applied orientation are also exemplified in the textual sources associated with the Princeton PhD program. An interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach is for instance exemplified in the description of the IR field of study in this PhD curriculum, which states that the

associated "faculty is tightly *connected to* scholars in *other areas of political science* and *other disciplines*" (Princeton 2012b). The general description of the PhD in Princeton's Department of Politics also states that students are encouraged "to pursue *interdisciplinary* work" and "*interdisciplinary* training and research" (Princeton 2012a). These statements reproduce and detail the interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approach highlighted in previous subsections. These statements emphasize, for example, how activities associated with this program and American IR more broadly might help scholars and students to work and communicate across disciplinary borders. As previously mentioned, this appear like a mode of thinking particularly appropriate for furthering applied objectives, and hence appear like one of the features associated with such an orientation. This epistemic approach is depicted in the previous Figure 6.13 by the lines connecting "PrincetonPhD" to the symbol "IIB."

An empirical approach is more broadly reproduced across the textual sources examined in this program. For example, the PhD curriculum is organized according to a series of major and minor subfields of study. A similar perspective toward IR subject matter is also exemplified in a significant number of mandatory readings in Professors Davis and Moravcsik's syllabus. For example, the seminar's main assignment (i.e., a 10-page research paper) is described as being meant to enable students to develop "empirical work" about an issue in IR theory (Davis and Moravcsik 2010, 1-2). Similarly, a number of sources focus on topics such as international capital mobility (Frieden 1991), humanitarian interventions (Bass 2008), patterns of great power overexpansion (Snyder 1991) and interstate relations (Milner 1997). In these cases again, these sources and illustrations translate a generic and transversal perspective on international relations. These examples accordingly underscore again one of the main discursive and practical means by which American scholars advance scientific objectives in the field. This epistemic approach is also depicted in the previous Figure 6.13 by the lines connecting Princeton PhD to the symbol "EMP."

Several epistemic approaches associated with a causal understanding of theoretical explanations are also exemplified in the textual sources examined in the PhD program. Professors Davis and Moravcsik's syllabus, for example, states that theories are

particularly associated with "the specification of *causal mechanisms*" (Davis and Moravcsik 2010, 1-2) in their course. This understanding is also reproduced in one of the mandatory sources that emphasizes how "social scientific theory" in American IR advances general and parsimonious claims that are "grounded in a set of positive assumptions from which arguments, explanations, and predictions can be derived" (Moravcsik 1997, 514). This understanding of theory can particularly be related with scientific objectives like that of generating systematic analytical procedures and results that have transversal validity. Beyond these relatively broad definitions and following the previous categorization, two main types of approaches can be distinguished among the sources focusing on causal forms of theories in this syllabus.

A first category of sources furthering causal theories is primarily associated with quantitative and statistical approaches in this syllabus (e.g., Lohmann and O'Halloran 1994, Scheve and Slaughter 2001, Hiscox 2002). While I depict the recurring links to this category of epistemic approach in Figure 6.13 *supra,* I postpone a more detailed examination of associated sources, methods and objectives to the following subsections. In this subsection, I particularly concentrate on the sources that further formal theoretical approaches or models in order to detail their diverse rendering in IR scholarship from elite US universities. For example, Susanne Lohmann and Sharyn O'Halloran develop a formal "model of the *strategic interaction*" (1994, 600), which synthesizes the main strands of theoretical literature on U.S. trade policy (e.g., the presidential and congressional dominance approaches). Lohmann and O'Halloran also formulate their model as mathematical equations and test a specific proposition resulting from their formal model using an econometric analysis (i.e., statistics). This source accordingly mobilizes a formal theoretical approach and complements it with quantitative and statistical approaches.

Other sources in Professors Davis and Moravcsik's reading list also mobilize formal theoretical approaches but that appear in less quantified forms. For example, James Fearon (1995) develops a formal theoretical model for understanding the causes of interstate wars. Fearon's model is formulated through mathematical equations and illustrated through non-statistical graphical representations (1995, 386-87) and a simple

quantitative exemplification. Yet, this author does not formally test his model (in full or in part) using statistical data, which represents a degree difference from the approach previously mentioned and used by Lohmann and O'Halloran (1994).

Jervis (1978), Putnam (1988) and Milner (1997) also mobilize formal theoretical models, which are in their cases associated with game theory, rational choice theory or two-level games models. While these sources do not mobilize any form of quantitative and statistical tools, they share a commitment toward causal and law-like forms of statements (e.g., *ceteris paribus* conditions [Putnam 1988, 437]) and structural forms of explanatory theories. This is also the case of even less formalized and non-quantified formal approaches that further causal forms of explanations through structural or systemic forms of theories in IR (e.g., Waltz 1979, Ruggie 1986).[184] These diverse sources illustrate degree differences among formal theoretical approaches relying on diverse measures of quantitative, formalized, and structural means for developing causal theoretical claims and knowledge. These degree differences help clarify the diverse forms of causal theoretical approaches in the context of this thesis' categorization and – more importantly – the diverse ways by which they further analytical, systematic and explanatory knowledge in American IR. These explanations accordingly help detailing the diverse modes of thinking that are associated with a scientific orientation in American IR and their distinct value for the field. The recurring illustrations associated with formal theoretical approaches are also depicted in the previous Figure 6.13 by the lines connecting "PrincetonPhD" to the symbol "FOR."

More degree difference is observed between the previous set of formal theoretical approaches and the interpretative approach exemplified by several other sources in this same syllabus. In one sense, sources associated with these two types of epistemic approaches develop theoretical proposals, namely, theoretical and conceptual constructs meant to explain observable phenomena associated with international relations. Yet, all of the previous formal approaches are associated with causal forms of theoretical explanations. In contrast, other scholars develop theories as a means of developing

[184] Comparatively, this last form of formal approach can be associated with the categories of "Applied rational choice" used by Biersteker (2009) and "nonformalized rationalism" used by Wæver (1998).

general interpretations of non-causal patterns in the world. For example, Peter Gourevitch (1978) studies how states' domestic structure can help explain their foreign policy, John G. Ruggie uses the concept of "international regimes" to interpret "central features of the postwar international economic order" (1982, 382) and Mark Hass (2005) considers how "ideologies" influenced great power's foreign policy during the 19th century. Across these sources, theories are conceived as non-formalized, non-causal and non-structural forms of explanations, which develop conceptual interpretations regarding the phenomena from the world. In doing so, these non-causal and interpretative approaches are more closely associated with the researcher's own experience and context and more open to the complexity of the world, while being less parsimonious than formal models and approaches.

A similar degree difference is also observable with other sources that reproduce an interpretative approach and develop ideal types as an explanatory tool. For example, this form of interpretative approach is used by Jack Snyder (1991) to organize three typical models of great power expansion myths, Jonathan Bendor and Thomas Hammond (1992) for constructing a typology of policy-making models (from Graham Allison's models), and Andrew Moravcsik (1997) for delineating three types of scientific liberal theories. In all three illustrative sources, scholars develop a series of non-causal and non-structural theoretical constructs (i.e., types) for interpreting, explaining and illustrating patterns in the empirical world. However, since these patterns are the result of an explicit interpretation or construction by these scholars, they cannot describe causal relations in the world they interpret and explain (i.e., as with the typology proposed in this thesis, these ideal-typical constructs must be grounded in a mind-world monist stance). These illustrations help clarify the specific features associated with an interpretative approach in American IR and its particular value for the field. The recurring illustrations associated with this epistemic approach in this subsection are also depicted in the previous Figure 6.13 by the lines connecting "PrincetonPhD" to the symbol "INT."

Professors Davis and Moravcsik also help exemplify what I previously identified as an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach in American IR. In sources associated with this syllabus, Snyder (1991), for example, develops his theoretical concepts (i.e., models of

great power expansion myths) using three historical case studies (i.e., of Germany, Japan, Britain). Alternatively, other scholars use relatively short case-specific exemplifications and illustrations in support of diverse analytical and theoretical arguments (e.g., Waltz 1954, Jervis 1978, Bass 2008). Snyder (1991) and these latter sources mobilize case-specific studies, examples and knowledge in quite different ways. While they focus on different objects, these sources share a perspective according to which scholarship about international relations can (at least partially) be formulated by case-specific explanations and illustrations. Accordingly, these sources help detail the features associated with this issue-, policy- and case-specific approach and its specific value for IR scholarship from elite US universities. The illustrations associated with this epistemic approach are also depicted in Figure 6.13 *supra* by the lines connecting "PrincetonPhD" to the symbol "IPC."

This subsection provides illustrations that this PhD program furthers scientific and applied objectives. It primarily exemplifies scientific objectives through recurring emphases on research activities and the production of theoretical knowledge in the selected textual sources. In contrast, a few sources and statements exemplify the association between applied objectives and context, activities and specific problems for knowledge application in American IR. This examination also exemplifies six epistemic approaches that are used by American IR scholars to advance these two categories of objectives. It particularly details diverse forms of formal, interpretative and case-specific approaches, which helps differentiate the distinct modes of thinking related with these two categories of objectives in the field. Accordingly, this subsection this subsection helps clarify the distinct features and goals associated with scientific and applied objectives and underlines one way of mitigating the dominance of scientism by combining diverse orientations in the organization of IR scholarship from elite US universities.

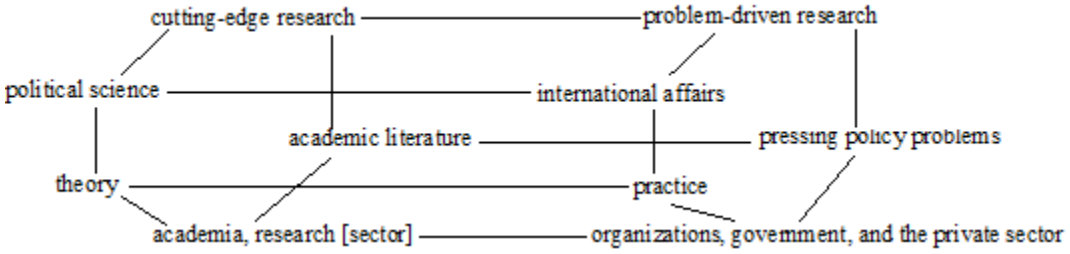
PhD in International Relations at Tufts University

The PhD in International Relations program offered at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University is mainly organized around three original fields of study (or divisions) associated with the study of "Diplomacy, History and Politics,"

"International Law and Organizations," or "Economics and International Business." Before working on the PhD dissertation, graduate students complete approximately 12 courses, as well as comprehensive and oral examinations in each selected field of study. This subsection examines the description of the PhD curriculum and Professor Robert Pfaltzgraff's Fall 2011 syllabus for a core seminar closely related to IR (i.e., the seminar entitled "International Relations: Theory and Practice"). This is the same syllabus as that assessed in Chapter 5 in the professional master program at Tufts, since it appears the closest to IR in the list of courses associated with the two graduate programs. Nevertheless, this subsection helps further detail and contrast the specific modes of thinking associated with the scientific and applied orientations that are exemplified in this PhD program. It for instance underscores a recurring emphasis on diverse forms of theoretical knowledge across this and previous examinations in this chapter. By highlighting this tendency, the following explanations can distinguish some of the main diverging features associated with the applied, scientific and critical objectives in American IR. Three figures also depict the explanations developed in this subsection.

The general description of the PhD curriculum provides a first series of statements that exemplify scientific and applied orientations in this program. This series of statements – and particularly the recurring binaries that it includes – are depicted in the following Figure 6.13.

Figure 6.13: Linguistic Networks in the Description of the Tufts University's PhD Curriculum



Contrasting objectives are primarily exemplified in this PhD curriculum by a statement according to which the "[PhD] Program in International Relations has a comparative advantage in training scholars to engage in *cutting-edge, problem-driven*, interdisciplinary *research* in international affairs and political science" (Tufts 2015a). In this statement, the binaries between "cutting-edge" and "problem-driven" research, and

between research in "international affairs" and "political science," help contrast two different types of objectives in this curriculum, that is, objectives associated either with the production of explanatory and academic knowledge and activities (i.e., cutting-edge research and political science) or applied knowledge and activities (i.e., problem-driven research, international affairs).

Contrasting orientations are also reproduced in other binary statements in this PhD curriculum. For example, these statements underline the point that PhD students at the Fletcher School contribute to "*academic literature*, but also to resolving *pressing policy problems*," "to both *theory* and *practice*" and "go on to high-level careers in *academia, research*, non-profit *organizations, government, and the private sector*" (Tufts 2015a). These statements also exemplify recurring emphases in diverging types of activities, actors and contexts, which can either be associated with scientific or applied objectives in American IR. This series of binary statements is depicted in Figure 6.14 *supra*.

These two orientations are also illustrated in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus. Furthering the examination of this syllabus developed in Chapter 5, I can indicate how other dimensions of the course description reproduce the two orientations previously exemplified in this PhD curriculum. The course description in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus, for example, indicates how attending students are organized in four teams, the purpose of which is to consider IR theoretical approaches "as a basis for understanding and explaining *issue areas* set forth for each of the teams" (Pfaltzgraff 2011, 2). More specifically, this section of the syllabus associates each of the four student teams to one major theoretical cluster in IR[185] in order for students to assess "the utility of a *theory* for helping us understand recent and present *issue areas*" such as the end of the Cold War or "the nature of twenty-first-century armed conflict" (ibid., 2-3). While Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus mobilizes theoretical approaches in American IR, the previous statements indicate that these approaches can also be applied to the study of current and concrete issues (and hence contribute in furthering applied objectives in the field).

[185] These four theoretical clusters are associated with "Realist/Norealist Theory," "Liberal/Institutional Theory," "Democratic Peace Theory," and "Constructivist Approaches."

This orientation is also illustrated in Professor Pfaltzgraff's description of individual sessions, which exemplify a few links to relatively concrete issues such as the implications of recent technological changes for international conflicts, emerging cyber deterrence challenges, or the 21st-century security dilemma. In the mandatory reading list for this syllabus, Thomas Barnett also provides a particularly rich illustration of an applied orientation when he states that the purpose of his work is to propose "a new grand strategy, [namely] a new context within which to explain strategic choices that America *now faces*" (2005, 7). The relatively situated and concrete objectives exemplified in this statement are also reinforced by a binary statement devaluing experts' knowledge (implicitly opposed to that of non-experts), who generally "love to use *jargon*, vague language that *obscures* rather than *illuminates* the *issues at hand*" (ibid., 10).[186] By emphasizing the importance of being useful for attending current issues, these examples accordingly emphasize the some of the specific objectives and features associated with an applied orientation in American IR. Besides this illustrative example, however, only 4 of the 36 mandatory readings examined in this syllabus explicitly reproduce applied objectives through the development of policy advice (e.g., Huntington 1996, Payne 2008) or emphasis on concrete issues pertaining to U.S. foreign policy (Kaplan 2009) or the effects of economic globalization (Friedman 2005). In this sense and while these are informative examples for exemplifying applied objectives in this PhD program, these appear relatively peripheral in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus.

On the other hand, Professor Pfaltzgraff's list of mandatory readings also illustrates a recurring emphasis on theoretical approaches and questions, and general empirical problems. For example, at least half of the mandatory readings listed in this syllabus focus primarily on IR theories and, more broadly, scholarly debates, actors and questions (e.g., Bendor and Hammond 1992, Brown et al. 1996, Lobell et al. 2009). Similar emphases on academic and theory-focused objectives are largely reproduced in the individual sessions descriptions, with recurring topics focused on specific theoretical

[186] Using the typology developed in this thesis, it is also possible to highlight that Barnett largely develops his argument using experiential knowledge (e.g., his experience as national security analyst), interpretative approaches (e.g., non-written rules set in national security), and case-specific illustrations (e.g., regarding the U.S. foreign policy and specific institutions like the Pentagon), which indicates how these particular approaches contribute to the articulation of applied objectives in the field.

approaches and debates, specific scholars, or general and topical questions (e.g., factors influencing decision making, interstate conflict, or the cohesiveness of political communities). These recurring emphases highlight distinct features associated with a scientific orientation in IR scholarship from elite US universities and the contrast with the previously underscored applied orientation. These differences are further clarified in the transversal discussion provided in Section 6.2.

Along with these two particular orientations, the textual sources examined in this PhD program also exemplify several associated epistemic approaches. Some statements in the Tufts PhD curriculum primarily exemplify the previously mentioned interdisciplinary and intellectually broad approaches. These statements for example emphasize the importance of "*interdisciplinary* research" (Tufts 2015a) or indicate how the Fletcher School's PhD program reflects "the *breadth* that is characteristic of the *interdisciplinary approach* to international relations" (Tufts 2015b). They also underscore that students in this program must "fulfill the PhD *breadth requirement*" and that the program offers "the option of pursuing a *broader interdisciplinary degree*" (Tufts 2015c). These statements emphasize the role of scholarly activities that cross disciplinary boundaries and intellectual breadth in the context of this program and hence their specific value for combining associated insights in American IR. This, in turn, helps highlight a particular feature of the modes of thinking furthering applied objectives in the field.

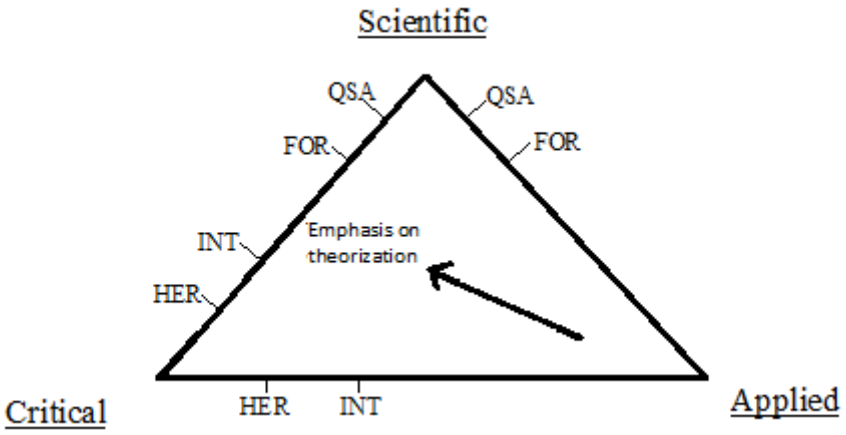
A number of other statements in this PhD curriculum also exemplify an empirical approach in American IR scholarship. For example, the Fletcher PhD curriculum focuses on "selected *Fields of Study*" (Tufts 2015b) associated with "Diplomacy, History and Politics," "International Law and Organizations," or "Economics and International Business." Students in this program are also asked to complete "a written comprehensive examination in each of the student's selected *fields of study*" (Tufts 2015c). A similar perspective is also reproduced in at least one third of the mandatory readings listed in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus, which focus on generic topics such as international regimes (Krasner 1983), foreign policy (Lobell et al. 2009), the state (Evans 1997), or "Astropolitik" (Dolman 2002). While the organization of graduate education along this or other (sub)fields appears relatively conventional among the PhD curricula examined in

this chapter, these sources and statements nevertheless translate a particularly generic, topical and transversal perspective on international relations. These examples accordingly help clarify the role and features associated with an empirical approach and contrast it with other epistemic approaches in the field.

The examination of the curriculum and selected syllabi in the Tufts PhD can also help clarify a recurring tendency in the epistemic approaches illustrated across the previous subsections and Chapter 5. More specifically, Chapter 5 helped emphasize a tension between the modes of thinking associated with the prominent applied orientation across the selected graduate programs and the recurring emphasis on the production of theoretical knowledge in some of the examined textual sources. Revisiting Professor Pfaltzgraff's mandatory list by focusing on the contrasting understandings of theory that are translated by different categories of epistemic approaches can help specify this tension and what it tells us about the different modes of thinking associated with scientific, applied and critical objectives.

At a broad level, four epistemic approaches in the proposed categorization share a common emphasis on a process of theorization, that is, on the translation of knowledge into theoretical constructs, illustrations and explanations (i.e., hermeneutical, interpretative, formal models and quantitative and statistical approaches). While specificities and differences are more thoroughly described below, this common feature is depicted in the following Figure 6.14.

Figure 6.14: Emphasis on Theorization among Functional Orientations and Associated Epistemic Approaches



In the previous subsections and in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus, several sources exemplify formal theoretical approaches (e.g., Waltz 1979, 2000, Allison and Zelikow 1999). Across these sources, formal approaches further structural and systemic, (or parsimonious) theoretical constructs based on causal explanations and law-like statements. However, as previously illustrated, a number of sources associated with formal approaches are not 'fully' formalized – in the sense of being translated in quantified, statistical and graphical forms. This difference among formal models and approaches underlines a fundamental debate about the value of, for example, quantification in the development of causal and theoretical explanations.[187]

One source in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus makes the relative value of formal approaches particularly explicit by explaining that "*rational choice* and *game theoretic* practitioners argue that if they can produce greater accuracy in prediction, then that is all is required to show the superiority of their models" (McDermott 2004, 291-292). Recognizing the importance of prediction in political science (and, implicitly, of the ability of formal models to predict), McDermott also suggests that quantified and behavioral approaches can offer "richer and more *descriptively accurate [characterizations*]" (ibid., 292). These examples emphasize how formal and quantitative

[187] For example, Kenneth Waltz justifies the explanatory value of a formal theoretical approach that does not mobilize quantitative and statistical data by stating that "we have no reason to believe that the association of events provides a basis for inferring the presence of a causal relation" (2000, 9).

and statistical approaches are not only differentiated on the basis of their diverse levels of quantification but also with regards to the predictive or descriptive roles they attribute to explanatory knowledge and theories in American IR.

Underlining the more descriptive abilities of quantitative and statistical approaches and more predictive abilities of formal models and approaches is useful for understanding their distinctive contributions to American IR. Yet, this specification also helps specify the different goals and benefits that are advanced by the associated orientation in the field. More precisely, the previous examples can also help underscore how descriptive and predictive abilities are particularly relevant for furthering objectives like that of producing precise and transversally valid results. Accordingly, developing descriptive and prescriptive abilities can be understood as modes of thinking that are relatively specific to a scientific orientation in American IR.

In the previous subsections and in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus, several other sources also help exemplify an interpretative approach in the categorization proposed in this thesis. These sources particularly further non-systemic theoretical constructs for interpreting and illustrating particular features in the world, such as typologies (Bendor and Hammond 1992), ideas and identities (Ruggie 1998), or civilizations (Huntington 1996). As this and previous sources exemplifying this approach indicate, associated theoretical constructs provide non-causal but general explanations on diverse questions, topics and phenomena associated with IR. One of these sources provides particularly explicit clarifications on the distinctive features of interpretative approaches by stating that neoclassical realism emphasizes the importance of systemic features such as the "anarchic international system, relative power distributions, and pervasive uncertainty" but sees "anarchy as a *permissive condition*, rather than as *independent causal force*" (Lobell et al. 2009, 7). As the previous subsection indicated, this binary statement underlines how interpretative approaches conceive theories as permissive (or plausible) means of explaining complex and non-causal patterns (rather than causal and nomothetic relations in the world).

Other sources listed in Professor Pfaltzgraff's syllabus help contrast interpretative and other related approaches like the hermeneutical approach in this thesis' proposed

categorization. For instance, Barry Buzan, Charles Jones, and Richard Little (1993) state that they wish to combine "hermeneutic" and "structuralist" traditions to reconstruct a "structural realist" approach. To do so, these scholars largely focus on Kenneth Waltz's 1979 *Theory of International Politics*. Moreover, Buzan, Jones, and Little "identify the useful *core of Neorealist theory*" in order to "[redesign] the *philosophical framework* of Waltz's analogy with economics, and opens up the historical and sociological dimensions of structuralist thinking about the international system" (Buzan et al. 1993, 6-7). These statements help illustrate a different understanding of theories in this thesis. Departing from previous approaches, these statements particularly focus on previous authors' work and on recovering their deep or fundamental meanings. This type of approach can help scholars question currently prevalent understandings of previous authors' ideas.

The previous explanations also contrast the particular perspectives that are advanced and resulting value of the interpretative and hermeneutical approaches for IR scholarship from elite US universities. They particularly underline their diverging emphases on the interpretation of international relations phenomena or on the literature in which the researcher is embedded. These explanations can also help underline how these two approaches, despite their contrast, further the reflective stance associated with critical objectives in the field by being associated with a (mind-world) monist stance. Beyond their differences, the explanations developed on the formal, quantitative, interpretative and hermeneutical approaches also clarify their shared emphasis on the process of theorization in scholars' work (even if the associated theories are of a different nature). Accordingly, this shared emphasis and the diverging feature of these four epistemic approaches clarify the diverging modes of thinking that can be associated with the scientific, applied and critical orientation in American IR as well as their different value for the field.

This subsection provides significant elements for clarifying the different features, modes of thinking and purposes associated with scientific, applied and critical objectives in American IR. It primarily provides additional details on the scientific and applied orientations and their respective association with cutting-edge or policy-driven research, and academic literature or pressing policy problems. The explanations developed in this

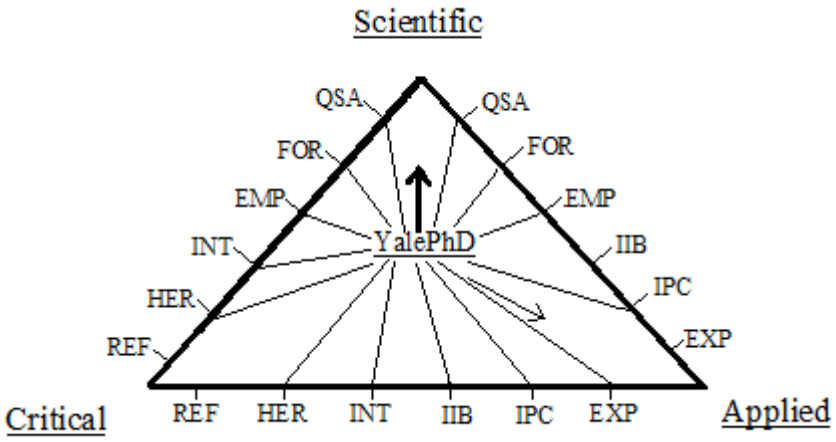
subsection also help distinguish and clarify the particular value of the empirical and interdisciplinary and intellectual broad approaches in American IR, and specifying the differences and shared emphases on theorization of the formal, quantitative, interpretative and hermeneutical approaches. In doing so, this subsection details the diverging modes of thinking and goals that are associated with scientific, applied and critical objectives in American IR.

PhD in Political Science at Yale University

Graduate students in the PhD program offered by the Department of Political Science of Yale University must complete sixteen term courses and demonstrate competence in three substantive or methods fields of study (the main substantive fields are associated with American politics, comparative politics, IR, political economy and political theory). Moreover, students must take two transversal courses (compulsory for all political science graduate students) and complete the requirements associated with the PhD dissertation. This tenth and last individual examination in this chapter focuses on the descriptions associated with the general political science program curriculum, the requirements associated with the IR subfield, and Professor Nicholas Sambanis' Spring 2012 syllabus for the compulsory field seminar for graduate students in the IR concentration (i.e., "International Relations Field Seminar, PLSC 679").

This examination provides further exemplifies how a scientific and an applied orientation are translated in American IR. This subsection also exemplifies six related epistemic approaches and particularly the recurring theory-oriented approaches previously described. Accordingly, this subsection provides more details on the particular modes of thinking and goals associated with these two diverging orientations in the field. The main orientations and epistemic approaches examined in this subsection are depicted in the following Figure 6.15.

Figure 6.15: Main Orientations and Epistemic Approaches Exemplified in Yale University's PhD Curriculum and Selected Syllabus



Several statements in the description of the Yale PhD curriculum provide examples associated with a scientific orientation in American IR. The general description of the program, for example, states that the Yale PhD "has a strong historical record of producing *leading scholars* in the *field of Political Science*" and offers opportunities to "observe the work of *leading scholars* [and] develop [students'] own *research*" (Yale 2015a). Similarly, the description of the program's requirements states that the Department aims at "preparing the next generation of *scholars and teachers*," which explains why "*teaching* and gaining *teaching experience* are essential components of graduate education" (Yale 2015b). Emphasizing features associated with a scientific orientation, these statements recurrently underline the role of scholarly contexts (e.g., the field of Political Science), actors (e.g., leading scholars) and activities (e.g., research, teaching). Notably, these statements present a relatively unique emphasis on teaching experiences among the PhD curricula previously examined.

Statements in Professor Sambanis' syllabus also exemplify a similar orientation. The general description of the associated Field Seminar primarily indicates that it prepares graduate students to "*assess the state of knowledge*" and "*conduct research*" in IR, to "*think critically* about IR theory," and to "identify new questions and approaches to *move the literature forward*" (Sambanis 2012, 1). Moreover, the first half of this seminar focuses on "classic works of structural realism, liberalism, and constructivism" (Sambanis 2012, 1). While the link to a "critical" mode of thinking in this description

might suggest a relatively diverging orientation, these statements recurrently and exclusively emphasize scholarly and theory-focused activities (e.g., research, assessing disciplinary knowledge) and objectives (e.g., furthering the academic literature). Other relevant statements also largely focus on similar objectives and outputs, such as academic debates, "big" theories, "key" questions in IR (ibid., 1-2). These recurring emphases on scholarly activities and theoretical or explanatory knowledge help detail again some of the features associated with a scientific orientation in the field.

A similar orientation is also exemplified in Professor Nicholas Sambanis' syllabus. Indeed, 30 of the 34 mandatory readings examined in this syllabus mainly focus on diverse types of research-oriented and theoretical approaches, questions and "puzzles" (e.g., Putnam 1988, Fearon and Wendt 2002, Glaser 2010). Among these sources, Robert Powell exemplifies this type of objective by indicating that the model he develops "aims primarily at *conceptual clarification* not empirical *application*" (1991, 1305). This binary statement illustrates how this and other sources prioritize research-oriented objectives (e.g., conceptual clarification) or, in other words, the development of theoretical and explanatory knowledge largely for their analytical and explanatory value (rather than for any particular application). These statements and sources accordingly distinguish some of the modes of thinking and goals associated with a scientific orientation in American IR. This orientation in this PhD program is depicted in the previous Figure 6.15 by the major arrow pointing toward the "Scientific" angle.

Some sources in Professor Sambanis' syllabus help illustrate a contrasting category of objectives in this PhD program. In one illustrative source, John Mearsheimer for example emphasizes the role of prediction and policy prescription in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Indeed, Mearsheimer claims that these two objectives are closely connected by writing that "social science *should* offer *predictions* on the occurrence of momentous and fluid events like those now unfolding in Europe. *Predictions* can inform *policy* discourse" (1990, 9). This statement highlights the connections – in terms of the diverse objectives motivating American IR scholarship – between objectives of predictions and policy applications. Yet, predictive objectives were particularly associated with causal forms of theories and, especially, formal approaches in the previous subsection.

To understand the potential connection between predictive objectives and application objectives, I surveyed all sources in this syllabus that explicitly mention concerns with predictions (or "forecasting"), prescriptions, applications and even (more mildly) implications associated with policy-making activities, contexts and issues. Beyond Mearsheimer (1990), three other sources explicitly emphasize concerns with predictive and policy-related objectives (i.e., Huth et al. 1993, Monteiro 2011/12, Gaddis 1992/93). More precisely, John Gaddis underlines the forecasting role of Morgenthau's classic realist work. He also indicates how David Singer emphasizes, after Morgenthau, the importance of "reliable *prediction*" in political scientists' work by stating that "the better our *predictions* will be, and therefore, the fewer *policy* disagreements we will have" (Singer 1969, in Gaddis 1992/93, 8). As indicated by this statement, this source only emphasizes the *potential* or indirect (rather than necessary) role of prediction in policy-making activities. In other words, this (and Singer's) statement does not clarify how these predictions can be applied to policy-making contexts and instead assumes an application potential (which diminish their value in furthering applied objectives in the field).

This potential type of application is also illustrated by Mearsheimer's previous statements according to which scholarly predictions "can inform" policy – where terms like "must" or "should" would have indicated a much more direct form of connection with policy activities. A potential or indirect connection with policy application is also illustrated in the other sources previously mentioned. For example, Huth et al. (1993) mainly focuses on a quantitative test of explanatory models on the causes of international conflict, while Monteiro (2011/12) develops a typology of international systems and uses descriptive statistics and case-specific illustrations. In these two sources, it is only in the final or concluding sections that the potential policy "implications" of these scholars' findings and theory are discussed (e.g., Huth et al. 1993, 609; Monteiro 2011/12, 12). These examples indicate how applied objectives can be combined in different measures, according to the wording and approaches that are used by American IR scholars, with other diverging categories of objectives, hence providing some means to mitigate the dominance of scientism in the field. They also suggest a more secondary role of policy applications in these sources and this program more broadly. This secondary role is

depicted in the previous Figure 6.15 by a minor arrow pointing from "YalePhD" toward the "Applied" angle.

In addition to exemplifying the scientific and applied orientations in the Yale PhD program, the selected curriculum and syllabus also exemplify several related epistemic approaches. These textual sources primarily exemplify the empirical approach previously highlighted. For example, this PhD curriculum states that the Department is organized along "five *substantive fields*" (Yale 2015a). Moreover, the curriculum indicates that faculty focus on "the foundational work in *these areas*" and "current active *research topics*," and organize diverse "*topical seminars*" at the Department (Yale 2015a). A similar approach is also illustrated in Professor Sambanis' syllabus, in which the second half of the related seminar is described as concentrating on "major *themes*," "active *areas* of research," and "questions (…) that are generating some of the most important new theoretical and *empirical* debates in [IR]" such as the democratic peace, audience costs and humanitarian intervention (Sambanis 2012, 1-2).

More than half of the mandatory sources in this syllabus also further a generic, transversal and topical approach to international relations (e.g., Organski and Kugler 1980, Fearon 1994b, 1995). These examples indicate the importance of this empirical approach in the context of this PhD program and help highlight some of the main features of a scientific orientation in IR scholarship from elite US universities, that is, for furthering generic and transversal knowledge about international relations. These recurring illustrations are depicted in the previous Figure 6.15 by the lines connecting "Yale PhD" to the symbols "EMP."

A second series of illustration helps contrast this previous epistemic approach. For example, at least one third of the mandatory readings in Professor's Sambanis' syllabus mobilize case-specific examples and illustrations. Several sources use this case-specific form of knowledge primarily to support broader theoretical claims (e.g., Jervis 1976, 1978, Ikenberry 2001). Exemplifying this type of usage, Robert Putnam writes that "one *illuminating example* of how diplomacy and domestic politics can become entangled culminated at the Bonn summit conference in 1978" (1988, 427). Similarly, Professor Sambanis' syllabus describes the associated seminar by stating that "while our focus will

remain on *broad concepts/theories* as opposed to *historical detail of particular cases*, we will dedicate one week to a particularly important *case-study*" (Sambanis 2012, 1). In these statements, a case-specific approach (i.e., illuminating example, particular historical case, case study) is recurrently used as a complementary approach to other (more theorized) epistemic approaches.

Other sources in this syllabus are more centrally focused on current and specific issues, policies, or cases studies. Two particularly illustrative sources, for example, focus on "exploring *in detail* the consequences *for Europe* of an end of the Cold War" (Mearsheimer 1990, 5) and analyzing the future of *American* foreign policy (Mearsheimer 2001). While these two sources also mobilize theoretical approaches to inform their demonstration, they particularly emphasize the consequences or occurrences of relatively specific or historically located issues (e.g., the Cold War) and policies (e.g., the U.S. foreign policy) in specific settings (e.g., Europe, the United States). In this second series of statements and sources, a case-specific approach furthers much more applied forms of objectives. These two series specific examples help detail that an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach may be mobilized in American IR scholarship for diverse purposes namely for supporting theoretical explanations or furthering applied and situated arguments. These illustrations also help contrast the features associated with this epistemic approach and that associated with the previous empirical approach in IR scholarship from elite US universities, hence distinguishing their respective contributions in the field. The examples associated with an issue-, policy- and case-specific approach are depicted in the previous Figure 6.15 by the lines connecting "Yale PhD" to the symbols "IPC."

As with previous examinations, these textual sources also provide several examples for detailing quantitative and formal approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities. For example, the general description of the PhD curriculum indicates that the program includes "a four-course sequence in *quantitative methodology* and *research design (statistics)*, a two course sequence in *formal theory*, courses on *experimental design*, implementation and analysis, and a training program in *qualitative and archival methodology*" (Yale 2015a). The focus on quantitative and statistical approaches

exemplified in these features is also reproduced in more than a quarter of the mandatory readings listed in this syllabus. Two main types of usage of quantitative and statistical knowledge can be underlined among these sources. A first cluster of sources particularly mobilizes statistical data and quantitative approaches in combination with a hypothetico-deductive approach, or, in other words, to test with precision specific hypotheses about international relations phenomena (e.g., Huth et al. 1993, Gelpi and Griesdorf 2001, Gartzke 2007). A second smaller group of source mobilizes these types of approaches largely to illustrate a more general theoretical argument, that is, by avoiding a hypothetico-deductive argumentative structure (e.g., Monteiro 2011/12, Wohlforth 1999). While these sources all more or less clearly convey scientific objectives, they nevertheless indicate how quantitative and statistical approaches can be organized in relatively diverse ways in IR scholarship from elite US universities. The recurring illustrations of the third epistemic approach examined in this subsection are also depicted in the previous Figure 6.15 by the lines connecting "Yale PhD" to the symbol "QSA."

Some diversity is also observable among the illustrations of formal approaches provided in Professor Sambanis' syllabus. For example, several associated sources illustrate the formal models that they developed through graphics, quantitative examples and/or mathematical formulas (e.g., Powell 1991, Fearon 1995). In these cases, quantitative and statistical data is mainly used to illustrate rather than test the formal theoretical claims or models. In contrast, other scholars develop formal models without quantifying their models; among them, some graphically illustrate their models (Jervis 1978) while others do not (e.g., Waltz 1979, Putnam 1988, Mearsheimer 1990). Beyond these degree differences, these sources can all be associated with formal theoretical models and approaches because they share a systemic understanding of theoretical knowledge in IR, that is, a commitment to causal forms of structural explanations (e.g., dependent and independent variables) and law-like forms of statements (e.g., *ceteris paribus* conditions).

Among the latter cluster of readings, one source provides particularly interesting explanations concerning the contention regarding quantification among scholars using formal (and quantitative) approaches. Indeed and while Robert Jervis uses a systemic model, he also indicates that in the context of decision-makers' perceptions "there are too

many variables at work to claim more [than probabilistic knowledge]" (1976, 31). In this sense, he adds, "generalizations in this area are difficult to develop" (*idem*). These statements suggest that the difference between scholars using formal or non-formal quantitative approaches and scholars using non-quantified formal approaches is largely a question of the researcher's perceived ability to reduce the number and complexity of causal relations to reach parsimonious models and nomothetic statements (instead of a difference being grounded in distinct understandings of the nature of these relations). In this sense, these examples can provide further details on the category of formal theoretical models and approaches and their diverse possible contributions to IR scholarship from elite US universities. The recurring illustrations associated with this fourth epistemic approach examined in this subsection are depicted in Figure 6.17 by the lines connecting "Yale PhD" to the symbols "FOR."

Sources associated with Professor Sambanis' syllabus can also illustrate an interpretative approach in American IR. Indeed, at least one quarter of the mandatory readings listed in this syllabus can be associated with this approach (e.g., Gourevitch 1978, Ruggie 1998, Ikenberry 2001). Particularly useful illustrations are provided by Alexander Wendt's focus on the constitutive effects of ideas on power and interests (1999, 96) or by Michael Barnett and Raymond Duval's urge to consider the "connections between [multiple concepts] in order to generate more robust understandings of how power works in international politics" (2005, 39). In these cases, scholars mobilize non-systemic theoretical constructs (e.g., concepts and ideal types) resulting from processes of theorization and abstractions. Accordingly and following previous explanations, an interpretative approach for instance contrasts with formal and quantitative or hypothetico-deductive approaches given the non-causal character of the associated theoretical constructs. These illustrations further detail the specific value of this epistemic approach for IR scholarship from elite US universities. The recurring illustrations associated with this fifth epistemic approach examined in this subsection are depicted in Figure 6.17 by the lines connecting "Yale PhD" to the symbol "INT."

The latter epistemic approach can also be contrasted with a few exemplifications of a hermeneutical approach in Professor Sambanis' syllabus. More precisely, at least two

sources (e.g., Doyle 1986, Gaddis 1992/93) reproduce the features previously highlighted, namely, an analytical re-reading of previous authors' work as a means of recovering their deep and fundamental meaning. Among these sources, Michael Doyle, for example, focuses on "three distinct *theoretical traditions* of liberalism" to determine which of these liberal theoretical traditions "leave a coherent legacy on foreign affairs" (1986, 1151). In this source, the theories Doyle considers are not defined as parsimonious causal explanations or as specific law-like statements. Instead, he studies theories as broad and meaningful constructs that have a long-term intellectual or cultural legacy in the world. These theoretical traditions are particularly associated with the work of previous authors/theorists (i.e., Schumpeter, Machiavelli and Kant) and their deep or fundamental meaning. The theoretical constructs generated in these last sources remain closely connected to the textual sources being analyzed and with the scholars' interpretations of their deep meaning, which highlights the distinctive features and value of this approach in the field. While limited, the illustrations associated with this sixth epistemic approach examined in this subsection are depicted in Figure 6.17 by the lines connecting "Yale PhD" to the symbol "HER."

This subsection underlines the features associated with diverse categories of objectives and related epistemic in the Jackson Institute PhD program at Yale University. First, it details how associated textual sources recurrently focus on scholarly activities (e.g., research, teaching) and the production of theoretical and explanatory knowledge, which contributes in furthering scientific objectives. While more limited, other examples indicate that applied objectives are also advanced through recurring emphases on concrete and located issues and the recurring, albeit relatively indirect, connection to objectives of prediction. Next, the subsection further details six epistemic approaches associated with this thesis' categorization, that is, the empirical, issue-, policy- and case-specific, quantitative and statistical, formal models, interpretative and hermeneutical approaches. In specifying and contrasting these approaches, this subsection accordingly helps clarify their particular value for IR scholarship and how they contribute to the scientific and applied orientations in the field.

As this subsection concludes the individual examinations of the textual sources associated with the 10 PhD programs selected for this chapter, Section 6.2 provides a transversal discussion of associated examples and results.

6.2: Examining the Main Orientations Across the Selected PhD Programs

Section 6.2 furthers this thesis' analysis on the diverse orientations that are exemplified in IR scholarship from elite US universities by comparing the main results from the previous examinations of individual PhD programs. It reviews the main notions, objectives and epistemic approaches that were recurrently underscored across the examined PhD curricula and syllabi to explain the distinct modes of thinking, value and purposes associated with the scientific, applied and critical orientations in American IR. Table 6.1 synthesizes the main categories of objectives that were underlined either as major/prevalent or minor/secondary across the PhD programs examined in section 6.1.

Table 6.1: Synthetic View of the Main Categories of Objectives in the Ten Selected PhD Programs

	Categories of Objectives		
PhD Program	Applied	Scientific	Critical
Columbia		X[188]	
Duke	X	X	
Georgetown		X	X
Harvard		X	X
Johns Hopkins		X	X
Michigan		X	
Minnesota		X	X
Princeton	x	X	
Tufts	X	X	
Yale	x	X	

As indicated in the previous table, scientific objectives are particularly prevalent across the selected PhD programs. This prevalence is not particularly surprising since these graduate programs were explicitly selected for their research orientation. Given the prominent status of scientific standards in American IR more broadly since at least the mid-20th century (as underscored in the thesis' introduction), it is unsurprising that programs meant to train future IR researchers and scholars in American universities primarily advance corresponding objectives. Underscoring this prominence is however useful in the context of this thesis for explaining this enduring state-of-affairs and for detailing the epistemic approaches that are recurrently used to translate scientific objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities. In this section, I accordingly detail the perspectives and notions associated with the three epistemic approaches particularly associated with a scientific orientation (i.e., formal theoretical models, the quantitative and statistical approaches and the empirical approach) by comparing the results of the ten previous examinations of PhD programs. While specifying the modes of thinking that these approaches further in scholars' work, I can also clarify the distinct

[188] As with Table 5.1, an upper-case 'X' symbolizes major or prevalent functional orientations (e.g., statements prioritizing associated objectives) while a lower-case 'x' symbolizes minor or secondary functional orientations (e.g., statements denoting a comparatively lower priority given to associated objectives) in the textual sources examined in the previous PhD programs.

goals and value associated with a scientific orientation in American IR, which helps explain why they are prominent in the field.

As indicated in the Table 6.1, applied and critical objectives are also furthered across the textual sources examined in the ten selected PhD programs, albeit more marginally. While they essentially diverge from the prevalent scientific orientation in the field, both applied and critical objectives are combined with scientific objectives in four of the ten examined programs (either as major or minor orientations). By referring to the examples provided across the previous examinations and comparing them with the explanations developed in Chapter 5, this section also specifies the notions, epistemic approaches and main goals associated with these two other categories of objectives in American IR. Since the epistemic approaches associated with applied objectives were extensively discussed in Chapter 5, I only underline elements that supplement these previous explanations in the following discussion. While they are associated with a relatively limited number of examples, I also underscore the characteristics of three epistemic approaches that were associated with critical objectives in the previous subsections, that is, the interpretative, hermeneutical and reflexive epistemic approaches. Clarifying the modes of thinking associated with these more marginal yet recurring orientations in the selected PhD programs helps underscore the distinct and diverging goals and worldviews they advance in the field. It also underlines how scientism can be mitigated in this and other areas of the field.

Section 6.2 is divided into four subsections. Each of the three first subsection focuses on the analysis of the discursive patterns associated with one particular category of objectives, that is, the scientific, the applied and finally the critical objectives. Each of these three subsections details the notions, modes of thinking and specific purposes associated with these categories of objectives in American IR. It also emphasizes how these details can help us explain the dominance of scientism in American IR, and how it can be mitigated.

Scientific Objectives in the Selected PhD Programs

As indicated in Table 6.1, the previous examinations provide recurring and prevalent examples of scientific objectives across the selected IR PhD curricula and syllabi from

elite American universities. In this subsection, I compare this series of examples to complement the explanations developed in Chapter 5 about scientific objectives in American IR. More precisely, I first detail in this subsection the particular notions and epistemic approaches that were underscored across section 6.1 and by which American IR scholars furthered scientific objectives in the examined textual sources. Then, I specify the distinct goals that a scientific orientation advances in American IR, that is, the general purposes that essentially differentiate scientifically-oriented scholarship in the field. Using this discussion, I reflect on the reasons why scientific standards remain prevalent across the 10 PhD programs selected for this thesis' examination and in the field more broadly.

Modes of thinking associated with scientific objectives

Across the 10 selected PhD programs, scientific objectives are primarily furthered through recurring emphases on research-oriented and theory-focused activities, actors and goals for their own value (e.g., as general explanatory tools), rather than as means for analyzing specific international relations issues or problems, for instance. Illustrating this pattern, the description of the Duke PhD program curriculum for example states that the department "is organized around subfields that address major *theoretical questions* about political life (…) and place us at the frontiers of *the discipline*" (Duke 2015a). In the Georgetown PhD curriculum, the two field or gateway seminars associated with the field of IR are also focused on theories or, explicitly, on "the understanding and production of *international-relations theory*" (Georgetown 2015b) and "the main *theoretical debates and traditions* in the field of international politics" (McNamara 2011, 1). The description of the Minnesota PhD program also emphasizes theory-oriented objectives by underlining how teaching in the program is "responsive to the *latest theoretical and methodological developments*" (Minnesota 2014a).

Similar emphases are also underlined in the core IR course syllabi previously examined. For example, Professors Davis and Moravcsik's syllabus for the mandatory "Seminar in International Politics" in the Princeton PhD program describes the main related assignment as requiring students to "address an important *issue in general international relations theory*" (Davis and Moravcsik 2010, 1-2). One source in Professor Morrow's

"Proseminar on World Politics" (Michigan) also makes explicit the type of priority underlying this type of theory-oriented scholarship in IR by focusing on a "process of *clarification* and *augmentation* required for the formulation of *better theories* of international politics" (Lemke and Kugler 1996, 4). Across the previously examined source, this contrast is also emphasized by recurring binary statements that oppose theoretical or conceptual explanations to "*practice*" (Tufts 2015a) or "empirical *application*" (Powell 1991). Furthermore, a significant proportion of the examined mandatory readings in the selected syllabi also focus primarily or exclusively on diverse types of theory-oriented questions, problems and "puzzles."

These illustrations exemplify how American IR scholars mobilize research- and theory-focused approaches as means of advancing general or transversal forms of explanations and questions. As previously mentioned, these statements reproduce concerns and interests that are primarily and mainly shared by academic actors in the United States and only secondarily by external or non-academic actors. This helps indicate one dimension of the particular value of the scholarship oriented towards scientific objectives in American IR especially for furthering notions and ideas that are particularly relevant to an audience of American IR scholars (or future scholars, in the context of the examined graduate programs).

Another aspect of the epistemic approaches associated with scientific objectives across the previous examinations is the recurring emphases on causal and nomothetic (law-like) understandings of international relations phenomena. In the categorization proposed in this thesis, this perspective is particularly translated by two types of epistemic approaches namely the quantitative and statistical approaches and formal theoretical models, which encompass a diverse array of tools and frameworks for generating knowledge in the previous examinations. One feature associated with the quantitative and statistical approaches is their particular focus on the detailed descriptions and empirical tests of nomothetic relations in the empirical world. The previous examination of Professor Beardsley (Duke), Professor Morrow (Michigan), Professor Krebs (Minnesota), and Professor Sambanis' (Yale) course syllabi, for example, exemplifies how several sources

mobilize quantitative and statistical approaches to systematically test hypotheses related with law-like forms of theoretical claims about international relations.

Some specific sources are also useful in describing the particular features and value of these approaches for IR scholarship from elite US universities. For example, Rosato (2003) explicitly explains how these hypotheses and claims generally take the form of statements defining a causal relation between one dependent and independent variables. Gartzke (2007) also contends that statistical tests are necessary to support any new theoretical claim that varies from previously observed nomothetic relations in the empirical world. Importantly, this argument underlines that one if not the main priority in mobilizing this type of statistical approach is not to *explain* these law-like relations but to verify their empirical validity. According to this argument, quantitative and statistical approaches represent tools by which American IR scholars can – or should – verify with the highest possible level of precision the empirical validity of these claims (or what McDermott [2004] names their descriptive accuracy).

As illustrated in the previous examinations, the form of engagement with law-like statements and relations differs among those sources mobilizing formal theoretical approaches and models. As exemplified in Professor Morrow (Michigan), Professor Krebs (Minnesota), and Professors Davis and Moravcsik's (Princeton) syllabi, formal approaches particularly focus on developing or evaluating systemic and structural models and arguments associated, for example, with game, rational choice and applied rational choice theories. While the previously examined sources indicate that sources using formal approaches demonstrate diverse degrees of formalization (e.g., through graphical illustration for example), they share a reliance on general and parsimonious models for systematically explaining law-like relations in international relations. It is this priority towards the general and systematic explanations of law-like relations that distinguishes these formal approaches from quantitative and statistical approaches and indicates their particular value for American IR.

For example, an emphasis on generalization was previously exemplified by James Morrow (1999) who mobilizes formal theoretical approaches to study actors' interactions in "strategic settings." When scholars like Morrow use formal theoretical approaches, it is

assumed that causal laws exist and underlie actor's interactions. Thus, scholars can concentrate on constructing general theoretical tools and frameworks to systematically explain these law-like forms of interactions (instead, for example, of testing them as scholars often do when using quantitative and statistical approaches). Similarly, Kenneth Waltz (1979) illustrates such an understanding of formal theoretical approaches by arguing that associated models define causal frameworks that can explain sets of laws in the social world. Again for Waltz (2000), this form of structural explanatory theory contrasts with quantitative approaches since the latter generally infer causal relations by verifying the co-occurrence of observed phenomena. To clarify the relative value of this type of epistemic approach (as compared with quantitative and statistical approaches), I can hence state that formal approaches have a greater ability to systematically explain law-like relations in the world by parsimoniously organizing causal relations, yet that this ability is gained at the expense of their lesser capacity to precisely describe and verify these law-like relations.

The particular value of formal theoretical models and approaches can also be explained by referring to McDermott's (2004) argument about their predictive ability. Indeed, theories that concentrate on general explanatory frameworks can be understood as being more amenable to predictions across different cases and contexts, since they can indicate the underlying and systematic causes of particular phenomena (again, as compared with quantitative and statistical approaches for example). While the quality of the associated predictions is sometimes questioned (as is done by Friedberg [2005] for example), suffice for this argument to underline the particular ability and hence value of formal approaches to further predictions of international relations phenomena based on their systematic explanatory framework. Necessarily, the explanations on the features and epistemic approaches associated with a scientific orientation simplify the complexity of the scholarship examined in the selected PhD programs. Nevertheless, they help characterize the distinct modes of thinking and goals that are associated with scientific objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

The main goals associated with science in American IR

From the previous explanations, three main objectives or goals appear particularly important in the context of IR scholarship furthering a scientific orientation. These three goals are closely related with the Weberian definition of scientific knowledge provided in Chapter 1; yet, specifying them from the perspectives advanced in the previous explanations helps make them more concrete and specific to the context of IR scholarship from elite US universities. By characterizing these features as goals, I hope to make clear that these are never fully accomplished but work instead as ideal standards towards which scientific scholarship tends more or less consistently. Since they are used as ideal standards, these goals also frame the general and essential purpose that is attributed to IR scholarship by those actors who consciously or unconsciously further this orientation in the field.

The first of these three goals is related with the recurring emphases on the development of systematic procedures for describing and explaining international relations phenomena. From this perspective, scholarship advancing scientific objectives tends towards the development of methodical, explicit and patterned ways of organizing the factors and means for analyzing the observed reality. As it promotes the development of systematic analyses, this goal also explains why scientific objectives more readily further causal understandings of relations and interactions in the empirical world. As previously underlined, systematicity is especially translated in the way formal theoretical models as well as quantitative and statistical approaches are articulated in the examined scholarship, which underscores again why these approaches are mobilized in American IR.

A second goal that is translated through scientific modes of thinking in American IR is the recurring emphases on precise empirical methods and results. Precision underscores how scholarship furthering scientific objectives seeks to precisely depict and reproduce the observed reality. In doing so, scientifically-oriented scholarship advances epistemic approaches that tend towards as much factual exactitude as possible on the observed phenomena. Similarly, this goal furthers methods that precisely help verify the existence of causal and nomothetic relations in the world. As previously underlined, this feature is particularly, yet not exclusively, translated by the mobilization of quantitative and statistical approaches in the examined PhD programs.

A third goal associated with scientific modes of thinking is the recurring emphases on the universal validity of scientific knowledge. This goal is particularly associated with the transversal, topical and empirical perspective that is advanced in scholarship furthering scientific objectives, where scientific scholarship ideally seeks to discover regularities about general phenomena that would always recur in similar conditions. This goal entails that examinations guided by scientific objectives would ideally provide results that are value-free, that is, results that are unaffected by time, space and the identity or positionality of the researcher. Value-freeness particularly explains that scientific objectives are more closely associated with dualist methodologies (i.e., methodologies conceiving the researcher and the world as separated) since these frameworks seek to exclude any effects from the researcher positionality and identity on the research results. It is also these features (i.e., value-freeness and universality) that embody the objective character that is sought for in IR scholarship advancing a scientific orientation. What this means is that scholars furthering scientific objectives seek to generate, through appropriate procedures and methods, results that would ideally be recognized as valid by anyone, anywhere.

Taken together, these three goals advance an essentially distinct purpose for IR scholarship, one that distinguishes scientific from other forms of objectives in the field. This purpose emphasizes a will− never fully realized− to generate certain or sure knowledge or, in other words, a point of view from which international relations can be described and explained as certainly as possible. Indeed, the three main goals previously underlined guide scholarly work towards the general purpose of producing certain knowledge about international relations, that is, by using systematic procedures and exact methods for generating universally valid (or objective) results. Detailing this main purpose can help, in the context of this thesis' examination, to reflect on the reasons why scientific objectives and associated modes of thinking are so prevalent across the examined PhD programs and in American IR more broadly.

In the previous examinations, I for example proposed that scientific objectives and associated epistemic approaches were representative of the norms and standards that are particularly shared among American IR scholars. From this perspective, the main purpose

associated with a scientific orientation (i.e., the advancement of certain knowledge about the empirical world) would represent the concerns and interests that are−comparatively− the most common among American IR scholars. Identifying scientific objectives with the norms and standards most commonly shared among American scholars helps explain the particular prevalence of associated modes of thinking across the examined PhD programs. More precisely, it explains that scientific objectives are more prevalent across graduate education programs meant to train future scholars-researchers to the norms and standards of the field, than across programs that are meant to train practitioners that will be active in more diverse fields of international relations, for example.

Explaining why American IR scholars particularly share interests and norms associated with a scientific orientation would necessitate more genealogical work into the development of the field. Nevertheless and as suggested in the thesis' introduction, we can underscore the role of deeply rooted intellectual predispositions in the American scholarly context that contribute in valuing scientific objectives and modes of thinking. While analyzing the history of social sciences, Dorothy Ross for example underscores the role of different predispositions in twentieth-century America, which influenced the development of social sciences in this country. For example, she underscores the role of "liberal values, practical bent, shallow historical vision, and technocratic confidence" that have had particular influence on the development of American social sciences. These features, Ross argues, have lead American social sciences towards the "quantitative and technocratic manipulation of nature and an idealized liberal vision of American society" (Ross, 1991: xiii-xiv). In the context of this chapter inquiry, the liberal faith in science seems particularly useful to explain the prevalence of a scientific orientation and related epistemic approaches in the previously examined IR PhD programs and American IR more broadly.

This predisposition particularly suggests that any societal problem can be solved with the development and application of appropriate scientific procedures and knowledge. In the previous examinations, David Singer provides a particularly explicit illustration of this predisposition by stating that "the better our *predictions* will be, and therefore, the fewer *policy* disagreements we will have" (Singer 1969, in Gaddis 1992/93, 8). Indeed, this

quote underlines the significant societal and political role (and predictive power) that is attributed to scientific knowledge by scholars like Singer in American IR. As indicated in the thesis' introduction, other scholars like Stanley Hoffmann have already underscored the importance of this predisposition in American IR. Hoffmann for example emphasized how this faith in science in the United States lead to the belief that "all problems can be resolved, that the way to resolve them is to apply the scientific method assumed to be value free, and to combine empirical investigation, hypothesis formation, and testing and that the resort to science will yield practical applications that will bring progress" (1977, 45). From this perspective, it is unsurprising that the PhD programs previously examined consistently and largely prioritized scholarship furthering scientific objectives and associated modes of thinking.

As previously indicated however, other orientations are also recurrently advanced in these graduate programs. By detailing these orientations, it is hence possible to underscore their diverging role and purpose in American IR and to provide the means for mitigating the dominance of scientism in the field. As this subsection discussed how scientific objectives are furthered in the previously examined PhD curricula and syllabi, the following subsections focuses on the examination of an applied orientation in these same textual sources.

Applied Objectives in the Selected PhD Programs

As indicated in Table 6.1, section 6.1 also provides several – albeit more limited – illustrations associated with applied objectives in the ten previously examined IR PhD programs. Despite its more peripheral role across the selected PhD curricula and syllabi, these examinations help detail the notions and approaches that are recurrently used to further these objectives and underline the distinct purpose that underlies them. Since Chapter 5 has extensively discussed the main features of an applied orientation in American IR, this subsection focuses on the relatively original features associated with this orientation that have been underlined throughout section 6.1. It also underscores the main purpose that is furthered by an applied orientation, and hence how emphasizing the value of such an orientation can help diversify IR scholarship from elite US universities.

A first feature that contributes in furthering applied objectives across the previously examined PhD programs is the recurring focus on current problems and issues. For instance, the description of the Duke PhD curriculum underscores how students and faculty "examine important *social and economic issues*" (Duke 2015a). The Tufts PhD curriculum also exemplifies several binary statements opposing, for example, "cutting-edge" and "problem-driven" research, research in "international affairs" and "political science," and stressing that scholars associated with this program contribute to "*academic literature*, but also to resolving *pressing policy problems*" (Tufts 2015a). Some sources among the selected PhD IR course syllabi also provide exemplifications that are particularly useful for illustrating this feature.

For instance, Thomas Barnett focuses on the development of "a new grand strategy, [namely] a new context within which to explain strategic choices that America *now faces*" (2005, 7). Barnett also discusses the potential value of experts' knowledge by suggesting that their language generally "*obscures* rather than *illuminates* the *issues at hand*" (ibid., 10). He accordingly suggests that advices from non-experts might be more relevant for understanding current issues. These statements and this source underscore how applied scholarship in American IR can further a recurring focus on current and situated issues and problems. These statements recall how Chapter 5 underlined the way applied scholarship promotes the useful character of scholars' work for non-academic or external actors. In other words, I suggest that the recurring focus on current issues and problems that is associated with applied scholarship helps focus American IR scholars on the potential usefulness of their work for a broader diversity of actors, and especially those that are concerned with current societal issues and problems. This is an important dimension of applied scholarship since it can increase the value of American IR scholars' work by contributing to its diffusion beyond academic audiences and circles.

As underlined in Chapter 5, a case-specific approach is a typical way of engaging with the empirical world which is recurrently associated with an applied orientation in the field. It particularly furthers idiosyncratic and contextualized examples and explanations on international relations phenomena. However, the examples underlined in section 6.1 indicate that it can serve two relatively distinct objectives in IR scholarship from elite US

universities. A case-specific approach primarily can illustrate a principal, theoretical argument that is defined in the context of a generic or empirical field of inquiry. This role is exemplified by Robert Putnam (1988) who illustrates his theorization of patterns in the entanglement of diplomacy and domestic politics through the specific example of the 1978 Bonn Summit. In this type of argument, a case-specific illustration (i.e., the context of the Bonn Summit) appears complementary to the researcher's main theoretical argument about a generic topic or field of activity (i.e., interstate diplomacy).

In addition to this first typical usage, other previously examined sources also indicate how a focus on specific cases and examples can fulfil a more central role in American IR scholars' arguments. For example, some of the sources included in Professor Sambanis' mandatory reading list focus on relatively recent and specific issues of international politics, such as the effects of the end of the Cold War in Europe (Mearsheimer 1990) and the future of American foreign policy (Mearsheimer 2001). This more central role afforded to the a case-specific approach is also exemplified in the description of the Duke PhD curriculum (Duke 2015a), which indicates that the examination of social and economic issues is an important aspect of the program. In these latter cases, examinations of specific issues, policies and cases are not only illustrative of broader theoretical arguments but rather correspond to these sources' main objectives. These two usages highlight how a case-specific approach can serve in the context of more theory-focused arguments or as the main focus of scholars' work. In this later usage only, a case-specific approach makes a contribution to applied scholarship and can hence help specify its particular value and purpose in American IR. More specifically, a case-specific approach can help scholars consider the particularities of idiosyncratic and concrete contexts and raise the usefulness of scholars' work by making it more applicable in similar contexts.

These explanations recall and detail some of the main features of scholarship furthering applied objectives in the previous examinations. In doing so, they help clarify the purpose of applied scholarship in American IR. Complementing the analysis developed in Chapter 5, the previous features particularly emphasize how an applied orientation is associated with standards that advance the societal usefulness and idiosyncratic character of the associated scholarship. The societal usefulness is related with the way applied scholarship

focuses on current and concrete issues that can equally concern non-academic actors. In doing so, this orientation diverges from the main scientific standards by directing scholars' attention towards more concrete, short-term and changing subjects of analysis, and away from more theoretical and transversal topics. It also involves more diverse audiences in the diffusion and evaluation of scholarly work, which contrast with the more academically-focused orientation of scientific objectives.

For its part, the idiosyncratic character of applied scholarship is related in the previous examples to the particular empirical focus and means used for analyzing the observed phenomena. By furthering a focus on specific cases or issues, applied scholarship entail abilities to account for and adapt to the particularities of the individual cases being considered. It also privileges the detailed examination the diverse dimensions of individualized or particular cases over the transversal analysis of one dimension associated with multiple cases. In doing so, applied scholarship is characterized by a greater applicability, i.e., ability to be applied in concrete contexts of practice (which are always individualized, or specific). These explanations also indicate how applied scholarship provides perspectives that essentially diverge from its scientific counterpart. More precisely, the value of applied scholarship is evaluated on different standards (e.g., concreteness, instrumentalism) and in relation to different audiences (i.e., academic and non-academic) since its main purpose is to further greater usefulness and applicability in IR scholars' work.

While limited, these explanations should be considered as complementary to the more extensive discussion that was developed in Chapter 5 about an applied orientation in American IR. As this subsection analyzed how applied objectives were translated in the PhD programs examined in section 6.1, the following subsection focuses on the examples related to the category of critical objectives.

Critical Objectives in the Selected PhD Programs

The previous series of examinations of PhD programs also provides as series of examples illustrating how critical objectives are advanced in IR scholarship from elite US universities. However and as Table 6.1 indicates, selected curricula and syllabi from only four of the 10 PhD programs translate this category of objectives, that is, the PhD

programs from Georgetown, Johns Hopkins, Harvard universities and from the University of Minnesota. Accordingly and as with the master programs examined in Chapter 5, this category of objectives appears marginal in IR PhD programs from elite American universities.

This marginalization can be interpreted as an important side-effect of scientism dominance across these PhD programs given the essential divergence between critical and scientific objectives. More precisely, I propose in this section that critical objectives' emphasis on reflexivity essentially contradicts some of scientism' primary modes of thinking, such as the will to develop objective and universally valid knowledge, by furthering interrogations about the influence of the researchers' positionality and point of view in process by which he generates knowledge about international relations. Besides advancing this explanation, reviewing the examples that translate critical objectives across the previous examinations clarifies the particular approaches by which American IR scholars advance them, the distinct value of associated modes of thinking and how they essentially diverge from the prevalent scientist orientation in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

A first series of notions associated with critical objectives is exemplified in the description of the compulsory Political Theory course associated with the Georgetown PhD curriculum. This description for example focuses on intractable questions associated with diverse "*great works* in the *history of political thought*" (Georgetown 2015b). Through a series of binary statements, it also emphasizes the importance of developing abilities for "understanding and prudent action" and of activities focused on "philosophical and (…) theological questions" (*idem*). Across the mandatory readings associated with the syllabi of Professor Marlin-Bennett at Johns Hopkins University, some sources also reproduce a similar emphasis on the necessity to interrogate current cultural norms, power relations and understandings. For example, the authors of these sources use an archeological approach for questioning contradictions in the "*the essence of things*" (Alker and Biersteker 1984), inquire about the ways in which actors (and especially women) can "*interrupt* gender *stereotypes*" (Sjoberg and Caron Gantry 2008),

or further critical concepts and reveal existing "fissures" in our reality as a means of generating emancipatory transformations in the world (Brincat 2009).

The emphases on notions like that of intractable questions, prudent action, philosophical questions, resistance to dominant norms, fundamental contradictions and emancipatory projects indicates that these statements further goals that essentially diverges from the scientific and applied orientation previously discussed. Indeed, these statements illustrate a type of scholarship that is guided by alternative objectives like that of developing reflective practices, enhancing actors' (self-)awareness and exercising habits of ethical questioning. These are goals that essentially contrast with the dominant scientific orientation in the examined PhD programs, and with the more peripheral applied orientation. This divergence is particularly embodied by the way these statements focus on the researcher's own position, role and practices whether it is in the research process or otherwise. In doing so, the critical orientation advanced by these statements makes it impossible to advance scholarship conceived as objective or strictly focused on its potential applicability; instead, it imposes questions about the process itself by which American scholars generate knowledge about international relations. As further explained below, the divergence of critical objectives can particularly be associated with the methodological framework that such questions imply for IR scholarship from elite US universities.

A critical orientation is also illustrated across the previous examinations by some of the sources associated with Professor Krebs' syllabus at the University of Minnesota, which recurrently emphasize the importance of developing (*self-) consciousness* (Smith 2002) and *reflective practices* in IR scholarship. To do so, scholars authoring related sources for example question the normative role played by theoretical claims such as the democratic peace (Oren 1995), highlight the contradictions between IR scholars' claims to neutrality and the practice of advising policy makers (Oren 2009), or propose to reflect on the relationship between the production of IR scholarship in the United States and that country's foreign policy (Smith 2002). By emphasizing the importance of questioning the epistemological standards that are generally taken for granted by scholars pursuing

scientific objectives in American IR, these sources further modes of thinking and goals based on distinct methodological and epistemological foundations.

For example, questions about theoretical claims' normative role in and beyond the research process make it impossible to concomitantly adhere to standards of neutrality, objectivity and universal validity in scholarly work. In other words, a critical orientation does not allow American scholars to mobilize a dualist methodology, i.e. one in which the researcher is conceived as separated and hence potentially neutral from his object of study. Instead, critical objectives imply a monist methodology for American scholars' work, i.e. a framework in which the observer and the observed reality are inherently linked and mutually influenced. In the context of a field dominated by scientific objectives and standards, this methodological posture – monism – is important to distinguish the particular value of a critical orientation for American scholars, namely in furthering questions and perspectives that largely remain unasked or evaded in the dominant dualist methodological framework.

Across the previously examined PhD curricula and syllabi, critical objectives are also associated with three recurring category of epistemic approaches. Following the monist dualist posture associated with this orientation, these approaches primarily share an understanding of theoretical knowledge that is not meant to capture causal and law-like types of relations in the world and instead further different understandings of theories, concepts and explanations. Across the previous examinations, associated modes of thinking were grouped among the interpretative, hermeneutical and reflexive approaches, each of which advances distinct contributions for IR scholarship from elite US universities.

At one end of this spectrum of epistemic approaches, Lobell et al. (2009) differentiate non-causal approaches by the way in which they consider theories as illustrating and explaining the "permissive" – rather than law-like – conditions for recurring forms of phenomena in the world. Under such conception, scholars particularly focus on creating concepts and thinking tools that are illustrative and enlightening for our understanding of patterns and recurring features in international relations. At the other end of this spectrum of approaches, Smith (2002) and Oren (2009) mobilize a theoretical mindset for

questioning their positionality as scholars as well as performative effects in the world (e.g., of policy practice). While these approaches further very different forms of engagement with international relations, they share a commitment toward generating knowledge based on a non-causal understanding of associated phenomena and relations, which diverges from the main approaches advancing scientific objectives in the field.

One particular way of differentiating the interpretative, hermeneutical and reflexive approaches is by underlining how they differently engage with their object of study. The previous subsections for example propose that interpretative approaches are associated with the development of non-structural forms of theoretical constructs which are meant to illustrate and explain patterned forms of phenomena in international relations. This epistemic approach is exemplified by Jack Snyder (1991) who uses diverse types of ideological myths to explain the tendencies of great powers toward overexpansion. In this study, the ideal-typical categories constructed by Snyder provide useful illustrations of the diverse tendencies and patterns associated with the overexpansion of great powers, while the concept of myth provides a non-causal form of explanation of the phenomena.

In other cases, scholars advance the concept of legalization as a means of analyzing the role of domestic politics in the development of international (legalized) institutions (Kahler 2000) or use the concept of ideologies to understand the great powers' foreign policies and relations in 19th-century Europe (Hass 2005). Across these and other sources, the theoretical constructs developed by these scholars are meant to illustrate and help understand non-law-like patterns and phenomena in international relations (e.g., overexpansion of great powers, development of international institutions). The specific value of an interpretative approach is hence in providing useful concepts and thinking tools for clarifying, categorizing and comprehending empirical phenomena associated with international relations. In this definition, the engagement with phenomena associated with international relations is an important dimension, which helps contrast the interpretative approach from other non-causal categories of epistemic approaches.

For example, this engagement with international relations phenomena can help differentiate the hermeneutical and the interpretative approaches, among approaches furthering critical objectives across the previously examined PhD curricula and syllabi.

As was previously emphasized, a hermeneutical approach focuses mainly on textual sources and, more precisely, on the work of previous authors and thinkers as embodied in theoretical or intellectual traditions. Moreover, associated sources generally seek to reread, revisit and – more metaphorically – excavate the deep and often forgotten meanings of these texts to advance understanding and knowledge of these sources. In the previous subsections, a hermeneutical approach is illustrated by Brian Schmidt (2012), for example, who concentrates on the insights provided by "largely forgotten scholars" and the way in which they can help us recover a historical understanding of the academic field of IR. Focusing on a somewhat less forgotten scholar Barry Buzan, Charles Jones, and Richard Little (1993) for their parts revisit the philosophical groundings of Kenneth Waltz's neorealist theory in order to reconstruct structuralist thinking in IR. Similarly, Michael Doyle (1986) focuses on the distinct liberal theoretical traditions underscored in the *oeuvres* of Kant, Machiavelli and Schumpeter, to explain the legacy of each tradition in world affairs.[189]

These examples indicate the distinct and value of a hermeneutical approach in IR scholarship, especially for engaging and recovering the meaning of foundational texts in the field. Here, the focus is not on international relations phenomena per see but instead on existing texts on associated topics. What this means is that a hermeneutical approach cannot further a causal understanding of international relations as it concentrates on the (inter)subjective perspectives that other scholars have developed on these and other related phenomena or questions. This approach necessarily entails a monist methodological framework and a consideration of the scholars' role and positionality in understanding international relations. Accordingly, a hermeneutical approach is particularly valuable, in comparison with other approaches, for clarifying or (re-) interpreting the work and intellectual legacy of previous authors, a contribution that is particularly associated with the reflexive goals of a critical orientation in American IR.

The way in which a reflexive approach engages with the world can also help contrast it with the two epistemic approaches previously detailed, even if few examples were provided across the examinations developed in section 6.1. Illustrating this reflexive

[189] See also the detailed analyses of Professor Marlin-Bennett's syllabus, in the Johns Hopkins PhD.

approach, some of the examined sources emphasize the role of a reflexive focus on current or recent scholarly practices, discourses and theories as a means of questioning and problematizing their relations with − and effects on − the world. As previously underlined, Steve Smith (2002), for example, proposes reflecting on the relationship between the location, context, and identity of IR scholars and the knowledge they produce on the world. Similarly, Ido Oren (1995) underscores the normative origins and role of theoretical claims such as the democratic peace theory in the American context. In another previously mentioned source (Oren 2009), this same author also questions the contradictory practices of IR realist scholars whereby they claim to generate objective knowledge about international relations (i.e., they mobilize a naturalistic or dualist epistemological posture) and simultaneously attempt to influence foreign and international policies.

Across these sources, scholars further an engagement with the ongoing practices and discourses by which scholars and other actors simultaneously generate knowledge about international relations and interact with the world. More precisely, a reflexive approach interrogates these two processes to understand how they influence each other in non-causal manner. From this point of view, a dualist understanding of scholarly work is obviously impossible and non-sensical. These explanations also help underline the particular value of reflexive approaches in IR scholarship from elite US universities namely for furthering questions and self-reflections about the regular practices and discourses of American IR scholars and students.

As these explanations also underscore, a reflexive approach contributes in advancing critical objectives in American IR. In fact, they indicate how critical scholarship furthers essentially distinct modes of thinking and goals from the two previously examined categories of objectives in American IR. Associated approaches and modes of thinking diverge from the dominant scientist standards across the examined PhD programs by making it impossible to conceive knowledge that is potentially objective and universally valid. More precisely, the previous explanations indicate how critical scholarship is based on monist methodological framework that does not consider causal forms of relations in

the world; instead, such posture considers, more or less explicitly, the role of the interactions between the scholars in the world in the scholarship being generated.

This reflexive posture is also an important dimension that distinguishes a critical from an applied orientation in American IR by evading questions about the practical usefulness and applicability of scholarly work and focusing on improving the self-awareness of actors and raising ethical questions. These emphases and goals accordingly indicate the essentially distinct purpose of a critical orientation and the distinct value that it can furthers in American IR. Clarifying this value and the related modes of thinking also provides keys for American IR scholars who would want to increasingly mobilize critical objectives and, in doing so, mitigate the current dominance of scientific objectives in the field.

Conclusion to Chapter 6

This chapter examined the curricula and syllabi associated with the 10 PhD programs selected for this thesis as a means of clarifying the diversity of objectives underlying IR scholarship from elite US universities. It emphasized the prevalence of scientific objectives and the marginal attention that is dedicated to applied and critical objectives across the selected PhD programs. Doing so helped me explain why scientific objectives are dominant in American IR, the distinct value of the modes of thinking associated with the three proposed categories of objectives and the means by which American IR scholars can further these different objectives in the field.

More precisely, section 6.1 examined the curriculum and syllabus associated with each selected PhD program. The most relevant statements and sources included in each examined sources were highlighted and compared to exemplify the categories of applied, scientific and critical objectives and related epistemic approaches. Further detailing the diverse modes of thinking that are mobilized in IR scholarship from elite US universities, this section detailed nine categories of epistemic approaches namely the quantitative and statistical, formal theoretical, empirical, interpretative, hermeneutical, reflexive, interdisciplinary and intellectually broad, issue-, policy- and case-specific, and experiential approaches (see Figure 6.1 for a picture of these approaches and proposed categories of objectives). Thus, section 6.1 detailed the objectives and approaches

mobilized in each selected PhD programs, which helped gradually clarify the distinct modes of thinking, value and goals associated with the three proposed categories of objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Section 6.2 compared the previous examinations of selected PhD programs. This section analyzed how the three proposed categories of objectives are exemplified and their relative importance across the examined sources. Illustrating the dominance of scientism in the American field of IR, this analysis primarily underlines the recurrence of statements and sources illustrating scientific objectives and epistemic approaches in the selected PhD programs. These objectives are particularly focused on providing universally valid knowledge through systematic procedures and precise empirical methods. To explain the prevalence of scientific objectives across the selected PhD programs, I contend that they are closely associated with the norms and standards that are primarily shared in the American field of IR, which are influenced by the liberal predispositions that accompanied the constitution of social sciences in the United States. According to these explanations, the particular purpose that is attributed to IR scholarship through a scientific orientation, i.e. to provide objective and certain knowledge about international relations reality, represents an ideal that is the most common among American IR scholars. Henceforth, we can expect associated notions and modes of thinking to be prevalent in education programs that are primarily dedicated at training future IR scholars and researchers in elite American universities.

The examination of selected PhD programs' curricula and syllabi also provided examples associated with applied and critical objectives in IR scholarship from elite US universities. This illustrated the relative diversity of orientations in this area of the field, despite the dominance of scientific objectives and standards in American IR. Indicating their more marginal position, these examples were however less numerous or secondary in the selected PhD programs. Nevertheless, this transversal comparison helped detail the particular epistemic approaches, value and goals that are associated with these two alternative orientations. Furthering the results from chapter 5 analysis, section 6.2 confirmed how applied objectives emphases usefulness and applicability of scholarly work, for example through links towards policy-related, concrete and relatively

proximate issues. In doing so, an applied orientation helps advance scholarship that is more closely associated with external, that is, non-academic actors' interests and concerns. This analysis accordingly confirmed the modes of thinking that can be used to translate applied objectives and the relative value of applied scholarship, despite it being undermined by the currently dominant scientist norms in the field.

While relatively marginal across the selected PhD programs, section 6.2 also analyzes the distinct modes of thinking and goals that are furthered by a critical orientation in IR scholarship from elite US universities. It particularly underlines how critical objectives are translated by a monist methodological framework and emphases on goals like that of raising reflective habits and self-awareness in some of the examined PhD curricula and syllabi. The divergences between critical modes of thinking and the dominant scientific standards help explain the marginality of critical objectives in American IR. More precisely, the previous analysis underscores how a critical orientation involves a consideration towards the influence of the researcher's identity and positionality in the knowledge generation process, which makes it non-sensical to aim at universal validity and objectivity. This divergence is particularly translated at the level of the methodological frameworks that are mobilized in the context of critical and scientifically-oriented scholarship, which influence the objectives that can logically and practically be pursued by American IR scholars (e.g., objectivity or self-awareness). Accordingly and while describing these essential divergences, this analysis clarifies the particular value of critical objectives and the modes of thinking that can be used to advance these in American IR.

This chapter furthered the explanations developed in chapter 5 about the diverging goals and modes of thinking that the scientific, applied and critical orientation help translate in IR scholarship from elite US universities. It particularly underlines the dominance of scientific objectives and its marginalizing effects in the context of the selected PhD programs. Yet, it also clarified the distinct value of applied and critical orientations for accounting for different questions and concerns in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Underscoring this diversity helps support the argument motivating this thesis' project namely that scientism dominance is unfortunate in American IR because

applied and critical scholarship further objectives and modes of thinking that are also relevant for the field. They can particularly help raise the usefulness of IR scholarship for coping with external/non-academic concerns and issues and for raising the level of self-awareness among American IR scholars and students. As this chapter completes the analysis developed in the thesis, this argument is further discussed in the following conclusion.

CONCLUSION

This thesis analyzes how international relations are studied, taught and represented in elite American universities. This topic is important because of the significant influence that ideas and theories developed in the United States have on the transnational field of IR. While the thesis does not specify the ways by which ideas travel from academic to policymaking settings, I also contend that the previous analysis helps understand the modes of thinking by which American elite view and influence world affairs.

To answer this thesis question, the previous chapters examined textual sources from a series of MA and PhD IR programs in 10 elite universities in the United States. Conducting this examination helped me illustrate the scientist stance that still dominates the American field of IR and the interests it furthered in the field. In doing so, the previous examination underscored how this scientist stance has privileged the generation of knowledge conceived as objective and value-free. They also put forth that the principles and approaches associated with this scientist stance reproduce the liberal predispositions that have by and large guided the development of social sciences in the United States. In conducting this examination, the primary goals motivating this thesis were hence to illustrate the ongoing dominance of a scientist understanding of legitimate knowledge in IR scholarship from elite US institutions.

By emphasizing that different objectives are regularly used and equally valuable for the field, the thesis also implicity challenged the dominance of scientism in that field. To provide this more diverse perspective on American IR, the thesis clarified three main categories of objectives, namely scientific, applied and critical objectives. By applying them to the examination of the selected IR graduate education programs, the previous chapters underscored the value of these different objectives and the diverging interests and visions of the world that they advance in the field. They also underlined how the different methodological and theoretical approaches used by scholars become practical means by which they advance diverging objectives in the field. In that sense, I contend that this thesis helps to develop an original and useful perspective on the ongoing debates

about the appropriate means, organization and orientations for IR scholarship from elite US universities.

Revisiting the prevalence of scientific objectives in American IR

The previous examination primarily helped emphasize the features associated with scientific objectives in American IR. It particularly underscored how a scientific orientation prioritizes goals like systematicity, precision and universal validity. As for other categories of objectives, these goals are meant as ideal standards, never fully achieved but nevertheless indicating the particular sense of purpose that is associated with a scientific orientation in the field. Emphasizing these particular goals and purposes helps making sense of the arguments of American IR scholars who further a unitary vision of science and valid knowledge in the field (and who discipline the field accordingly). These goals also illustrate the particular value of scientific approaches in IR scholarship, namely for advancing what are conceived as systematic procedures, precise empirical methods and universally valid results.

To do so, scientific objectives are regularly advanced through relatively sophisticated epistemic approaches that assume and examine law-like and causal forms of relations in the world. In the categorization proposed in this thesis, these approaches were identified as quantitative and statistical approaches and formal models and theories. These approaches further a dualist methodological framework (i.e. in which the observer-researcher and the observed world are separated), which can be conceived as favoring systematic procedures and universally valid results. The previous examinations also underlined how scientific objectives were consistently furthered through an empirical approach, that is, one prioritizing a general, transversal and topical perspective on international relations.

The thesis confirmed that scientific objectives, standards and approaches largely dominate how scholars currently teach IR, especially, but not exclusively, across the selected PhD programs from the elite American universities selected for this thesis. The dominance of scientist standards across the selected PhD programs is not particularly surprising given the "location" of most of these programs within Political Science

departments in the United States[190] and the traditional dominance of scientist orientations in this American discipline. Yet, the previous examinations help illustrate, beyond the cultural prestige attributed to science, the concrete commitment to a scientist understanding of scholarly knowledge in the examined American IR scholars' work. In doing so, the thesis explains the type of objectives, intellectual standards and interests that have largely influenced American scholars' discourses and practices at least since the mid-20th century and up to this day.

Clarifying the prevalence of scientific objectives and standards in American IR was also important to underscore how scientific approaches can be normalized, or, in other words, considered as the main if not the *only* legitimate means for advancing valuable scholarship in the field. Indicating how such state-of-affairs can often lead to parochial attitudes, Thomas Biersteker underscores, for example, how it is important to "reflect upon just how much of what are assumed by many U.S. scholars to be global, timeless patterns, experiences, or universalizing tendencies are in fact the product of a particular American concern and perspectives at a given point in time" (2009, 321). Using exemplary and largely recognized sets of theoretical works in American IR (e.g., the hegemonic stability and regimes theories), Biersteker underlines how corresponding approaches are intellectual and practical products that are embedded in the American state's interests and foreign policy concerns. This relation can be particularly surprising in the case of approaches furthering a causal understanding of theories (i.e., quantitative and statistical, and formal approaches), since these are generally constructed as systematic tools focusing on the production of factual and theoretical knowledge about international relations.

To explain this connection with the American state's interests, it is valuable to quote Biersteker at length as he underscores how causal forms of explanations

> [*conform*] *to the complex needs of U.S. global hegemony and the challenges of "managing" the international system. From the vantage point of the state currently residing at the pinnacle of the global hierarchy in structural terms, there is a strong interest in managing*

[190] The only exceptions being the department of Government at Harvard University, the department of Politics at Princeton University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

> *economic interdependence and maintaining international peace and security. To manage is to control, and the responsible "manager" that tries to lead the world needs to understand its dynamics in causal terms. Scholars become engaged in this larger project, not because they all necessarily want to "advise the Prince" (…) but because they tend to share the assumptions of the political leadership that the world needs to be managed, that we should conceptualize and address issues on a global scale, and that it is important to try to make the world a better place*. (Biersteker 2009, 323)

This quote underlines how positioning the examined scholarship in the specific context of the American state, elite American institutions and related interests and concerns helps highlight the prevalence and potential normalization of scientific objectives and standards. It also underscores how these scientific objectives and standards do not have to similarly apply in other areas of the transnational field of IR, given that they prevail in elite academic institutions in the United States for their specific role in attending to associated actors' concerns and interests. Accordingly, mitigating the dominance of scientism in American IR appears of prime importance for limiting the normalization of associated objectives and standards but also of American elite's interests and concerns.

Mitigating scientism's dominance: Applied objectives in IR scholarship from elite US institutions

To mitigate the dominance of scientist objectives and standards, the previous examinations also underscored that there are other legitimate orientations in IR scholarship from elite US universities. Particularly across the 10 MA programs examined in chapter 5, applied objectives were prominent and scientist objectives and standards appeared secondary. This part of my examination emphasized that an applied orientation presents an alternative vision of IR scholarship in the elite universities selected for this thesis, i.e. one that furthers a more practical understanding of international politics and that takes more directly into account the concerns of non-academic practitioners (especially policymakers). From this perspective, the main goal of an applied orientation is to further scholarship that is useful in concrete contexts of application.

Using the proposed categorization in the previous examination helped emphasize how applied scholarship involves a much more normative, prescriptive and responsive stance

in scholarly work, which essentially contradicts scientism's attempt to further neutral analyses on international relations. This perspective also clarified the recurring arguments and oppositions that have emerged around what has been named the theory vs. practice debate in American IR over the last decades. As outlined in the thesis' introduction, it can also help making sense of the divergences between more practically- and theoretically-oriented approaches in American IR over the last decades (e.g., classical Realist approaches vs. behaviouralist approaches). In that sense, it is the priority towards applicability and usefulness of scholarly work that distinguishes the value of applied scholarship from the dominant scientist orientation (and other alternative orientations) in American IR.

More specifically, the previous chapters indicated how applied objectives advance a more instrumentalist view in the sense that IR scholars' work should be more directly usable by academic and non-academic actors to cope with or resolve situated problems. Across the examined scholarship, applied scholarship was particularly directed towards policy-related problems and contexts and focused on specific cases and proximate contexts (i.e. the U.S. for scholars in American universities). Applied scholarship also involved less technical sophistication (than scientific approaches) but more emphases on concreteness (e.g., in learning and teaching activities and contexts of application) and on hybrid and encompassing perspectives for translating scholarship into action. Accordingly, the previous examinations indicated how American IR scholars can prioritizes the applicability of IR scholarship in concrete situations, which distinguishes an applied stance from other orientations in this field. They also illustrate how such alternative objectives can be mixed and combined with scientific objectives (especially in the examined MA programs) even while furthering diverging goals and views of the world.

The relative importance of applied objectives and the recurring combination between applied and scientific objectives (in professional MA programs) can also be situated in the particular context of the American state and American elites' peculiar concerns and interests for managing world affairs. More concretely, we can conceive the importance of teaching knowledge of international relations that is more directly translatable into concrete contexts of application− and especially proximate policymaking contexts −

importance for institutions that seek to prepare the next generation of American and international policy leaders. For furthering our understanding of American IR, it seems particularly significant to underscore the level of vocational and institutional differentiation between professional MA and PhD programs and how these areas of the field translate different purposes, despite the fact that they both serve American elites' concerns and interests. In that sense and as has already been proposed by Jackson (2014), this thesis helps explain how and why the advancement of applied objectives (or practical knowledge) represents a second strong impulse in American IR. It also suggests that applied objectives and approaches also correspond to American elites' particular concerns and interests despite the fact that they often appear devalued in the more specifically academic context of American IR.

Underlining the marginality of critical objectives in American IR

The previous chapters also helped clarify the features associated with critical objectives. While the related examples were much more limited across the selected MA and PhD programs, they nevertheless specified the distinct goals, approaches and value of a critical orientation in American IR. The previous examinations underscored critical approaches' particular emphases on the advancement of reflective practices, actor's (self-)awareness and the exercise of ethical questioning. These emphases indicate how a critical orientation imposes questions about the epistemological standards and processes by which American scholars generate knowledge about international relations, that is, questions that are generally taken for granted in the context of scientific or applied orientations.

Even if related examples were relatively limited, the previous examinations also helped specify the types of epistemic approaches that are regularly mobilized by American IR scholars to further critical objectives. The three categories of approaches associated with a critical orientation, i.e., the interpretative, hermeneutical and reflexive approaches, concentrate on non-causal relations and statements about international relations and assume a monist methodological stance (i.e., where the observer-researcher is embedded in the observed world). By constructing conceptual tools and typologies, reviewing previous interpretations of foundational texts or reflecting on IR scholars' influence on

international relations, these epistemic approaches are essentially distinguished from the dominant scientific standards by the way they consider the scholars' own position and role − whether it is in the research process or otherwise. Accordingly, the particular purpose and value of a critical orientation in American IR is precisely in the development of this reflexive stance towards one's and other's position and effect in/on the world.

While the previous examination helped clarify the features associated with critical objectives in American IR, it was also important to explain why they appear marginalized across the examined graduate education programs. Several factors can help explain the marginalization of critical objectives. A first factor that can be considered is the procedures used to select the textual sources associated with the above-mentioned MA and PhD programs. Indeed, the selection methods detailed in Chapter 4 favoured the examination of core IR courses in what are generally recognized as elite graduate programs and universities in the United States. As previously mentioned, core course were examined across the selected MA and PhD programs, because they appeared particularly appropriate for revealing the main orientation and objectives associated with these areas of the field.

It is however possible that other dimensions associated with the selected programs (e.g., optional courses or seminars) would have provided a different image of the field and more examples related with critical objectives. More precisely, core IR courses may not be the prime setting for furthering (self-)reflective objectives since they often provide a broad preliminary overview of the field's main concepts, theories and approaches. The selected syllabi from core IR courses primarily focus on more conventional topics, issues and theories in American IR, as opposed, for example, to reflecting on the process of conceptualization itself and its effect on scholarly activities and society more broadly.

Beyond the choice of core courses, the selection procedures used for the previous examination are also characterized by a reputational bias that likely influenced the type of orientations primarily examined in the foregoing chapters. Indeed, the graduate education programs selected for the previous examinations are exclusively offered in elite universities in the United States. While this choice was justified on the basis of the vocational differentiation between the MA and PhD programs that are offered in these

institutions and of the greater transnational relevance of associated scholarship, it has probably limited my ability to examine critical objectives.

More explicitly, we can consider that elite American universities are particularly prone to prioritize objectives and epistemic approaches that are closer to the concerns and interests of elite groups in the United States and, more broadly, of the American state. As previously proposed, this bias can particularly be associated with the prevalence of scientific objectives in PhD programs and of applied objectives in MA programs. These priorities are for instance translated in the recurring focus, in the series of education programs examined across the previous chapters, on current and relatively concrete American foreign policy issues in sources reproducing an applied orientation (e.g., current U.S.-China relations). A similar connection with the American elite's concerns and interests was also emphasized in the way a scientific orientation provide means to causally understand international relations and help govern international problems.

Inversely, the previous chapters also suggest that the marginalization of critical objectives can be explained through the particular purpose and worldview that they help further in American IR. They particularly explained that critical objectives recurring emphasis on reflexivity and (self-)awareness essentially contradicts the primary modes of thinking and methodological perspectives of the dominant orientations in American IR (i.e., scientific and, to secondarily, applied). A critical orientation particularly contradicts the ideals of objective and universally valid knowledge associated with scientific orientation by furthering interrogations about the influence of the researchers' position in the process by which he generates knowledge about international relations. In other words, a critical orientation denies the possibility of adopting the dualist methodological stance that enables American IR scholars to further scientific goals and worldviews. Similarly, the previous examination indicates how a critical orientation imposes questions devoid of the instrumental value that is prioritized by applied scholarship and limits scholars' ability to focus on approaches more directly useable for coping with actors' problems.

As this discussion indicates and despite the selection biases that characterized it, the explanations developed across the previous chapters helped reflect on the dominance of scientism and, more broadly, on the relative imbalance between the three proposed

categories of objectives in American IR. Despite these imbalances, the previous chapters helped clarify the diversity of objectives that is regularly furthered in American IR and explain the particular value of the three categories of objectives proposed in this thesis. The previous explanations also suggested that focusing on other types of education programs, institutions or areas of American IR could help present a different image of the field and further detail the orientations that appeared marginal in this thesis (i.e. a critical orientation). Inversely, they underscored how the dominant orientations associated with IR scholarship from elite US universities (i.e. scientific and, secondarily, applied) can be related with the particular purposes and worldviews advanced in associated scholarship. In doing so, this thesis emphasized how these dominant orientations should not be normalized and instead be situated and assessed in the context of the particular interests that they serve in the American society.

Principal arguments

Beyond the providing important analytical views on the current state-of-affairs of American IR in elite unversities, the previous chapters also indicate my own position with regard to the desirable organization and evolution of IR scholarship in the United States and beyond. The main argument resulting from the previous examinations is thus that the scientific, applied and critical categories of objectives are all legitimate and valuable perspectives from which to further IR scholarship. In fact, one of the main arguments underlying this thesis' examination is that the diversity of objectives enriches American IR because they are useful in the context of different actors' concerns and interests by the way they advance different types of questions and worldviews. In line with this argument, the previous chapters have clarified and emphasized the distinct value, modes of thinking and purposes associated with these different categories of objectives in American IR.

Yet and beyond this pluralist argument, this thesis also intended to mitigate the current dominance of scientism in American IR. To do so, it primarily contextualized the dominance and usefulness of scientific objectives in elite institutions providing IR graduate education in the United States (especially in relation to the American state and elite concerns and interests), which helps challenge the normalization of associated

standards in the field. Moreover, it suggested, at least implicitly, that the dominance of scientism restricts the development of other legitimate orientations in the context of the examined PhD programs, which is unfortunate since these could help improve the societal value of associated scholarship and raise more critical questions. The thesis also contended and exemplified through the examined MA programs that different orientations and modes of thinking might well appear useful and relevant in other areas of the field as means to attend to different questions and concerns.

Here, the previous examination has particularly attempted to underscore the valuable goals that are furthered by alternative orientations in the field (i.e., applied and critical). By analyzing professional MA programs in elite American institutions and the modes of thinking associated with applied objectives, it illustrated how IR scholars in and beyond the selected institutions can further scholarship that would have more tangible value for non-academic actors and greater usefulness in coping with current international challenges. This dimension of the thesis appears particularly important for answering recurring and mounting critiques against the increasing technical sophistication of IR research and the inability of scholars to translate it into concrete benefits for the broader society. Similarly and despite the marginalization of critical objectives in the selected graduate education programs, the thesis suggests that a greater attention is necessary towards associated approaches and modes of thinking. Such attention could indeed elicit greatly needed ethical questioning, (self-)awareness and reflexive habits among IR scholars and students and, most of all, in a context where the emerging international and transnational problems increasingly find their causes in the collective effects of individual behaviors.

Reflective perspectives and further inquiries

Reflecting back on the development of this examination, it seems important to underline how I came to reproduce some of the same scientific criteria and modes of thinking that I wanted to criticize in American IR scholarship. The second half of the thesis particularly concentrates on developing rigorous methods for providing a systematic empirical analysis of sources of IR scholarship from elite universities in the United States. In developing the thesis, I came to dedicate a significant amount of attention to these

methods and types of analysis as part of the process of building scientific legitimacy for my argument, which appeared necessary to get my argument accepted in the field. So even while attempting to illustrate and challenge the dominance of scientism in American IR, and despite working from a Canadian institution, I felt compelled to bend to these criteria in my work to have it recognized in the field.

The fact that this doctoral thesis is written in English, my second langage, is another important aspect illustrating such socializing influence. English largely dominates exchanges among IR scholars, a consequence of the central and dominant position of American scholars and American institutions in the development and organization of the field. Despite the significant challenges associated with this decision, and while I tried to limit normalizing the standards associated with the American field in my work, I proceed accordingly to ensure that IR scholars around the world could eventually read and access my work. In that sense, this thesis reproduced some of the core standards, scientific/analytical and linguistic, resulting from the central position enjoyed by American scholars and institutions in the transnational field of IR.

While this thesis advanced detailed answers to the research question raised in introduction and significant analytical tools and critiques in the context of the American field of IR, it also opened up to several lines of inquiry on the development and organization of IR scholarship in and beyond the United States. To further help mitigating the dominance of scientism in American IR and beyond, it would be relevant to extend this thesis' examination towards other areas of the American or transnational field of IR that might exemplify in greater detail how and why alternative−and especially critical−objectives are advanced in scholarly work. This could provide useful conceptual and practical tools to adapt current scholarly practices in and beyond American IR and further currently marginal yet valuable approaches, questions and concerns.

Another important line of inquiry would be to further detail the transmission of IR scholarly ideas to other fields of practice in the United States (or beyond). This line of inwuiry would extend the reach of this thesis' project to clarify how the dominant orientations in the American field of IR concretely serve the American elite and American state's interests and concerns. More precisely, it could help detail how, why

and to what effects IR scholars advancing scientific and, secondarily, applied scholarship transmit their ideas and knowledge to fields of policy practice, beyond the context of education programs. Raising such questions would primarily translate the previously mentioned concerns about the application of academic work by clarifying the influence (and potential usefulness) of IR scholarship in concrete contexts of application (e.g., contexts associated with American foreign policy practice). This line of inquiry would also further a particularly reflexive outlook and a series of critical questions about the current state of American IR and associated scholars' practices. In doing so, this inquiry might demonstrate in practice the benefits resulting from a greater attention towards critical objectives in this field.

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