

CHAPTER 34

QUALITATIVE AND
MULTI-METHOD
RESEARCH:
ORGANIZATIONS,
PUBLICATION, AND
REFLECTIONS ON
INTEGRATION

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QUALITATIVE methods in political science have undergone a remarkable transformation.¹ After two decades of relative quiescence, with a fairly stable canon consisting mainly of works published in the 1970s,² this branch of methodology has been experiencing a resurgence, and a considerable body of new research and writing has

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¹ For overviews of this transformation, see Munck (1998); Collier (1998); Bennett and Elman (2006); and *Comparative Political Studies* (2007).

² For example, Przeworski and Teune (1970); Sartori (1970); Lijphart (1971; 1975); Vallier (1971); Campbell (1975); Smelser (1976); George (1979).

appeared.³ The scholars concerned with qualitative research methods are a diverse community. This eclecticism is reflected in the broad range of methods which taken together constitute “qualitative research,” including, for example, concept analysis and ethnographic methods, as well as systematic small- to medium-*N* comparison. Eclecticism is further seen in the increasingly sophisticated use of multiple, complementary methods in composite research designs, based on nesting or the iterated use of alternative qualitative and quantitative strategies. Finally, this eclecticism is evident in the substantial overlap—and the strong interest in exploring the relationship—between what might be thought of as mainstream qualitative methods, and interpretative and constructivist methods. Given this diversity of analytic tools, it is appropriate to designate this area of methodology as involving “qualitative and multi-method research.”⁴

Operating as both a cause and an effect of this resurgence, new organizations have emerged to institutionalize these developments within political science. This chapter first provides an overview of the approach to methodology that underpins the idea of qualitative and multi-method work. It then discusses these new organizations, in particular the Organized Section on Qualitative and Multi-Method Research of the American Political Science Association, and the annual Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research. The chapter then reviews patterns of publication, and a conclusion considers briefly the merits of an integrative, versus a separate tracks, approach to coordinating alternative methodologies.

1. THREE MEANINGS OF MULTI-METHOD

Qualitative research methods are eclectic, both in their own right and even more so as one considers the links with other research traditions. This leads us to characterize the idea of multi-method in the three different ways just noted: in terms of the increasing diversity of techniques centered in the conventional qualitative tradition; the growing number of interconnections between qualitative and quantitative research tools; and the relationship to interpretative and constructivist approaches.

³ Examples of relevant studies from the 1990s include Fearon (1991); Collier (1993); King, Keohane, and Verba (1994); *Political Methodologist* (1995); *American Political Science Review* (1995); Lustick (1996); Tetlock and Belkin (1996); Van Evera (1997); and Wendt (1999). A small selection of the studies beginning in 2000 would include Ragin (2000); Finnemore and Sikkink (2001); Elman and Elman (2001; 2003); Gerring (2001; 2007); Goertz and Starr (2002); Wedeen (2002); Geddes (2003); Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003); Pierson (2004); Brady and Collier (2004); George and Bennett (2005); Goertz (2006); Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2006); and Guzzini and Leandner (2006).

⁴ The field of quantitative methods is, of course, also heterogeneous, and in that sense could also be characterized as multi-method. The key point emphasized throughout this chapter is that juxtaposing the terms “qualitative” and “multi-method” underscores the crucial fact that conventional qualitative methods are not intellectually isolated, but are strongly connected with other methodologies.

With the goal situating these three perspectives in relation to wider methodological alternatives, we first discuss briefly alternative understandings of qualitative versus quantitative. This simple dichotomy can sometimes be used unambiguously to differentiate contrasting types of research: for example, large-*N* studies utilizing structural equation modeling, versus in-depth case studies which might employ within-case process tracing, participant observation, or other forms of ethnographic work.

Yet it is also productive to disaggregate the qualitative-quantitative distinction in terms of four criteria: (1) level of measurement; (2) large versus small *N*; (3) use of statistical and mathematical tools; and (4) whether the analysis builds on a dense knowledge of one or a few cases, employing what may be called thick analysis,⁵ as opposed to the thin analysis characteristic of a great many large-*N* studies that would routinely be seen as quantitative.⁶

To a substantial extent, these criteria point to major overlaps between what might be understood as qualitative and quantitative approaches. (1) With regard to level of measurement, nominal scales have traditionally been distinctively identified with the qualitative tradition, yet variables at this level of measurement have become quite standard in quantitative research, given the widespread use of logit analysis, probit analysis, and dummy variables in regression studies. (2) Although the size of the *N* often serves as a good criterion for differentiation, some works of comparative-historical analysis that might be thought of as qualitative in fact analyze many cases,⁷ whereas a major tradition of quantitative research on the political economy of advanced industrial countries addresses a smaller number of cases.⁸ (3) Although the use of statistical and mathematical tools has long been a hallmark of quantitative research, the extensive use of such tools—for example, in Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), which is strongly anchored in the qualitative tradition—again blurs this distinction.

It is specifically the final criterion, (4) thick analysis, which is especially important in identifying the key differentiating characteristic of qualitative research. Qualitative researchers routinely rely on rich, dense information concerning specific cases. This differentiating characteristic is, in turn, the point of departure for discussing our three contrasting understandings of “multi-method.”

1.1 Multi-Method: Diverse Approaches within Conventional Qualitative Methods

With the resurgence of qualitative methods, the suite of available qualitative techniques has expanded—in the framework of strong reliance on thick knowledge of

⁵ Thick analysis in this sense is understood as related to, but distinct from, Coppedge’s (1999) idea of thick concepts, and Geertz’s (1973) idea of thick description.

⁶ These distinctions are adapted from Collier, Brady, and Seawright (2004, 244–7).

⁷ e.g., Rueschemeyer, Stevens, and Stevens (1992); Collier (1999).

⁸ For example, a long succession of such studies grew out of the widely cited article by Lange and Garrett (1985).

cases. These different approaches, along with their practitioners, are increasingly viewed as belonging to a well-defined research community, although advocates of one or another approach may strongly prefer it to others—and may indeed have serious misgivings about some of the others. Relevant alternatives here include the closely related methods of controlled comparison and structured, focused comparison; case-study methodologies; within-case analysis that variously focuses on pattern matching and process tracing; studies with a strong qualitative, historical focus on a temporal dimension, as with research on path dependence; the use of counterfactual analysis; and a spectrum of techniques for data collection, including among many others semi-structured and unstructured interviews, participant observation, archival work, and the systematic analysis of secondary sources. The relevant set of qualitative tools is now sufficiently diverse, and the choices about evaluating and linking these tools sufficiently complex, that the idea of multi-method can certainly be applied to the standard domain of qualitative work.

1.2 Multi-Method: Linking Qualitative, Quantitative, and Statistical Tools

A second understanding refers to the many efforts to connect qualitative methods to quantitative and statistical research procedures. Scholars employ a variety of such tools to reason about necessary causes, and a number of discussions have used probability theory to guide case selection in small-*N* analysis. The idea of nested designs, the iterated use of qualitative and quantitative methods, and the role of qualitative anomalies in reorienting quantitative research are further examples of this bridging.

1.3 Multi-Method: Conventional Qualitative Methods Vis-à-vis Interpretativism and Constructivism

The third understanding of multi-methods concerns the relationship with interpretativism and constructivism. To simplify complex analytic traditions, interpretativism is the analysis of politics focused on the meanings entailed for the actors involved; it adopts an emic (actor-centered), rather than an etic (observer-centered) viewpoint. The related approach of constructivism, which has special importance in the field of international relations, focuses on how the world of politics is socially constituted (or constructed) by these same actors. These two approaches are connected, in that the adequate analysis of the social construction of politics is routinely seen as calling for interpretative tools.⁹

⁹ Scholars who are unfamiliar with, or skeptical about, interpretative methods might consider the kind of analytic work that goes into generating some major insights in the social sciences: for example, Weber's conception of the protestant ethic (Stryker 2002), Geertz's (1973) interpretation of Balinese social structure through the lens of the cockfight, or Jowitt's (1978) conceptualization of Soviet

Some political scientists would argue that these approaches are consistent with standard research practices.¹⁰ Others maintain it is possible to adopt a distinctive understanding of the subject matter of politics (i.e., ontology), without calling for different methods or stepping outside the domain of conventional social science.¹¹ Still others argue that a rigorous understanding of interpretativism and constructivism raises such distinctive questions of epistemology and ontology that the contribution of these approaches is lost if they are subsumed within a conventional framework, including the framework of standard qualitative methods.¹² The debate over these alternatives is the third way in which multimethod is a productive designation for the spectrum of methodological concerns under discussion here.

To summarize, the idea of multi-method can be understood as encompassing three different meanings: the heterogeneity of qualitative methods, the interconnections between qualitative and quantitative research procedures, and the relationship with interpretative and constructivist methods. Notwithstanding the diverse character of these several approaches, ultimately they are all anchored in the thick analysis of cases that is distinctively associated with qualitative work.

2. ORGANIZATIONS

The emergence of new organizations in support of qualitative and multi-method research occurred against the backdrop of a larger movement in political science advocating greater methodological pluralism. This shift was reflected in a number of settings, deriving in part from initiatives launched by the Presidents and Council of the American Political Science Association. Beginning in the later 1990s, the *American Political Science Review* made a sustained and successful effort to publish articles on a broader range of topics, using a wider variety of methods. During the same period, the APSA inaugurated a new journal, *Perspectives in Politics*, which among other things published integrative review essays on an extensive array of subjects, again underscoring the commitment to a more diverse view of the discipline.

communism in terms of “charismatic impersonalism.” This form of conceptualization, which captures the meaning of political and social action from the standpoint of the actors, involves what may variously be thought of as the creation of ideal types, or the imaginative reconstruction of social action. This reconstruction may well depend on different criteria for evaluating evidence and inference than are found in conventional social science. Yet, it would be a great loss if this kind of conceptual work were not a component of the political science enterprise.

¹⁰ A classic, and engagingly overstated, formulation of this position is found in Abel (1977).

¹¹ Within the international relations literature, see Reus-Smit (2002), as well as various contributions to Katzenstein (1996).

¹² Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2006. A debate on these issues was published in the *APSA Qualitative Methods Newsletter* 1 (2) (2003): <<http://www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/Newsletter/Newsletter1.2.pdf>>.

This same perspective was articulated by an APSA Taskforce on Graduate Education, commissioned in 2002 and co-chaired by Christopher Achen and Rogers Smith. The task force's report, issued in March 2004, includes the observation that:

the complex subject matter of politics must be studied using many methods if we are to obtain the greatly varying sorts of data, form the wide range of descriptive and explanatory concepts, and engage in the many sorts of inferential testing that we need to achieve rigorous analysis.¹³

Relatedly, former APSA President Robert Keohane (2003), in an essay originally written for this task force, articulates the view that rigorous, scientific research is not exclusively the domain of quantitative methods. Keohane argues that:

Our discipline is divided, it seems to me, between those who identify "rigorous" scientific work with quantitative analysis, and those of us who define our field more broadly. . . . With respect to science, those of us in the latter camp define it not as requiring quantitative analysis but as research that seeks to make necessarily uncertain inferences by using publicly identified methods through public procedures.¹⁴ (2003, 9)

Correspondingly, Keohane distinguishes between the "technical specialization pole" of the discipline that builds on methods such as game theory and econometrics, and a "contextual knowledge" pole characterized, among other things, by a greater concern with qualitative methods—and he reflects on the initiatives that might help ensure that the latter approach has a secure position in the discipline.

In addition to these and other top-down institutional developments that have had important influence, there has been considerable grass-roots support and pressure for greater pluralism in a discipline that was seen as being increasingly narrow and over-specialized.¹⁵

2.1 APSA Organized Section for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research

The new qualitative/multi-method section¹⁶ emerged in parallel with these wider disciplinary developments, growing out a series of initiatives that started in 1997. Beginning in that year, the long-standing Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis—an official Related Group of APSA—was revitalized. The Committee began to sponsor a growing number of panels, and in 2000 the Committee adapted its name to reflect its wider focus, becoming the Committee on Concepts and Methods. That

¹³ See <<http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/Final Report Formatted for Distribution.pdf>> Emphasis in the original.

¹⁴ He cites here King, Keohane, and Verba (1994, 7–9).

¹⁵ Certainly the most important and best-known forum for expression of that discontent was the Perestroika discussion listserv (see Monroe).

¹⁶ Prior to the adoption of this name in January of 2007, it was called the APSA Qualitative Methods Section. Rather than referring to one name or the other according to the time period, the text below generally refers to the name as of 2007. The same practice is adopted in the discussion below of the ASU Training Institute.

same year it began offering a highly successful APSA short course on field methods, a course that as of 2008 was being led by a third cohort of instructors.

In 2003, building on these expanded activities, the further initiative was taken to reorganize the APSA committee as an official Organized Section of the APSA. Support in the discipline for the new section was overwhelming. The petition to form the section was signed by 1,000 APSA members, including twenty-eight former APSA presidents and seven former *APSR* editors. Within a year of its formation the new section had more than 750 members; and as of February 2008 it ranked second in membership among the APSA sections, followed very closely by the Political Methodology Section—whose focus is primarily on quantitative methods.

The new methods section has a strong presence at the annual APSA meeting. The section began in 2003 with an allocation of six panels, and by 2008 the number had risen to twenty-two. The section has continued to sponsor short courses each year—in 2007 including the ongoing course on Research Design and Field Methods, a day-long course on Interpretative Methods, one on Qualitative Comparative Analysis, and one on Methodological Innovation at the Intersection of Qualitative and Quantitative Methods. In addition to the panels and short courses, the section has sponsored an innovative Methods Café, at which participants can consult with specialists on topics such as participant observation, discourse analysis, conversational interviewing, ethnography, feminist methods, research based on sources such as diaries and memoirs, reflexivity and positionality, and the teaching of qualitative-interpretative methods. The members of the section who organized this initiative thereby broke new ground in creating a distinctive approach to offering participants in the annual meeting advice and assistance on methodological issues.

In 2005 the section was one of the first to take part in a new APSA initiative, the annual meeting Working Group. Participants in a working group commit to attending a specified number of panels in a given area of enquiry, in combination with short courses in that same area, as well as one or more special discussion sessions arranged for the members of the working group. The working group thus serves to give greater intellectual coherence to the annual meeting for many attendees. For those who meet the specified requirements of attendance, the APSA awards a certificate. The working groups have proved to be an important forum for training and interaction in the areas of methodology of concern to the section.

Annual awards and the newsletter are other important section activities. Three awards are given for exemplary work that develops and/or applies qualitative and multi-methods in books, articles and book chapters, and APSA conference papers. The section publishes a very substantial newsletter. It appears twice a year and has presented what are widely viewed as engaging debates on methodology. John Gerring, as he ended his term as the first editor, observed that his goal had been to offer his readers “the most interesting, innovative, and (it follows) contentious issues in the field of political methodology” (Gerring 2006, 1). The newsletter has published symposia on a wide spectrum of topics, ranging from foundational epistemological issues, to technical questions regarding particular methodologies, to broader disciplinary trends (Table 34.1).

Table 34.1. Symposia published in the newsletter of the APSA section

Combining ethnography and rational choice methodologies. The potential compatibility, strengths, and limitations of the two methodologies, and leverage provided by each in the study of mechanisms.

Concept analysis. Essays on the tradition of concept analysis: exploration and clarification of meanings, and the role of concepts in explanation.

Content and discourse analysis. Comparison of content and discourse analysis as research methods, and discussion of their compatibility with other methods.

Field research strategies. Strengths and challenges of field research; strategies for undertaking and evaluating data collection.

Field research: richness, thickness, and participation. The challenges of, and tradeoffs between, different modes of field research. Thick ethnography and participant observation.

George and Bennett's *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Essays discussing the contributions and pitfalls of the volume.

Interpretativism. Interpretativism as a qualitative method, its meaning for political science, and its relationship to quantitative survey methods.

Multi-method Work. Essays focused on each subfield of political science, suggesting best practices and the challenges of multi-method research.

Necessary conditions. The challenge of evaluating necessary condition hypotheses, and the requisites for conducting probabilistic tests of necessary condition hypotheses.

The Perestroika movement. The movement for reform within the political science and its call for methodological pluralism.

Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). QCA as a research method, and a comparison of QCA with regression analysis.

Teaching qualitative methods. Approaches to training students in qualitative methods: Constraints and tradeoffs.

The quantitative/qualitative distinction. Alternative understandings of qualitative methods, the contrast with quantitative methods, and the quantitative/qualitative debate in the United States.

Shapiro's *The Flight from Reality in the Human Sciences*. Discussion of Shapiro's call for problem-driven approaches to political science and for a critical reappraisal in the social sciences.

Overall, the section has been successful beyond anyone's expectations, through its efforts to promote scholarly communication about diverse aspects of methodology, through providing training in research methods, and through preparing scholars to teach qualitative and multi-method research.

2.2 Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research

The institute¹⁷ offers intensive instruction in qualitative/multi-methods approaches. It likewise provides participants¹⁸ with the opportunity to present and receive

¹⁷ The institute is co-organized by the national Consortium for Qualitative Research Methods.

¹⁸ The term participant rather than student is used here, in part because a significant portion of those who attend the institute are junior-level, and even senior-level, faculty.

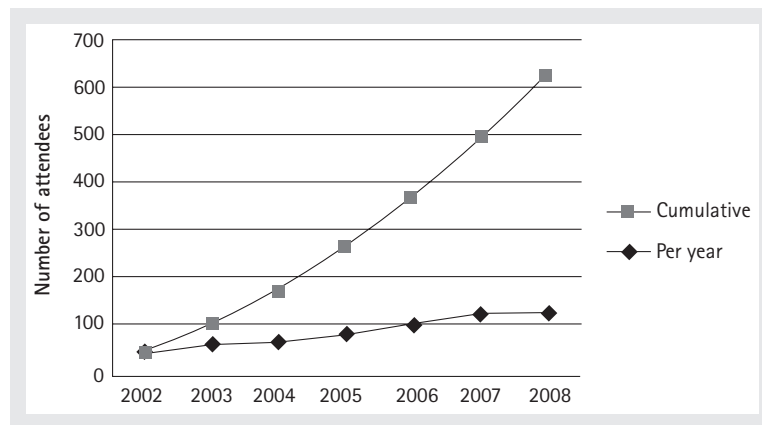


Fig. 34.1. Attendance at ASU Training Institute, 2002–2008

extensive feedback on research designs—which in most (though not all) cases involve doctoral dissertation research. Each year the sessions span two weeks, with a weekend break. Roughly twenty faculty, drawn from universities across the United States, teach at the institute each year, making it possible to incorporate diverse perspectives on methodology.

2.2.1 Overview of the Institute

The original idea for the institute arose from the striking disparity between the wide use of qualitative methods in political science research, and the scarcity in US political science departments of specialized graduate classes teaching these methods. Bennett, Barth, and Rutherford's article¹⁹ on this mismatch called attention to the major role of qualitative methods as a basis for research published in leading political science journals, in contrast to the limited number of qualitative methods courses offered in political science graduate programs. Among the courses offered, many were just one component of a broader scope and methods course, rather than a sustained introduction to qualitative approaches.

The institute has proactively addressed this mismatch. Beginning with forty-five participants in 2002, the number of participants increased to 129 by 2008 (Figure 34.1). The cumulative number of participants has grown accordingly, rising to 630 over the same period.

The curriculum covers a wide spectrum of qualitative/multi-method tools: case studies, field interviewing and ethnography, narrative and interpretative work, and nested research designs that link qualitative and quantitative methods, among many other approaches. The institute explores the uses, techniques, strengths, and limitations of qualitative methods, while emphasizing their complementarity with alternative approaches.

¹⁹ This article was widely circulated during the period when the institute was being formed, and was later published as Bennett, Barth, and Rutherford (2003).

Topics at the 2008 institute included: research design and fieldwork; debates about standards for causal inference and the logic(s) of explanation; typologies and measurement; concept analysis; process tracing; experiments and natural experiments; historiography and archival research; storing and accessing qualitative data; multi-method research; relationships between qualitative methods and statistical theory; Qualitative Comparative Analysis and fuzzy-set analysis (fs/QCA); conceptualizing culture; temporality, complexity and critical junctures; and philosophy of science issues relevant to qualitative research, and to understanding these diverse methodological tools.

In addition to lectures attended by all participants, the institute holds many break-out sessions, that cover topics of particular interest to subgroups of participants, as well as master classes in which authors of well-regarded books discuss how they designed and implemented their research. Examples are drawn from exemplary research in international relations, comparative politics, and American politics.

Participants in the institute are required to prepare a written research design in advance, and sessions focused on the research designs are one of the most valuable parts of the program. On most days, small groups come together for the presentation, discussion, and (constructive) critiquing of the research designs, and to receive feedback from at least one faculty member. These sessions help to reinforce many of the methodological ideas explored in the lectures and break-out sessions, showing how these ideas can be applied in ongoing research.

Beyond the immediate benefits of directly providing participants with training in qualitative/multi-method techniques and helping them with their own research, the institute has had a broader impact. For example, intensive interactions at the institute have established networks of participants who share methodological and substantive interests and who stay closely in touch, often for many years after the institute. In addition, many of the participants go on to teach qualitative and multi-methods research tools, and even those who do not directly teach these methods become members of a much enlarged community of scholars trained to use them.

The institute's primary source of funding involves a membership model, parallel to that of the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan. However, in the case of ICPSR it is the university that is a member, whereas the institute relies on persuading political science departments to pay for memberships. The expectation was that there was sufficient pent-up demand for training in qualitative methods that political science departments—as well as some research centers on university campuses—would be willing to commit their own funds to pay for membership. They could then nominate one, two, or three of their own students or faculty to attend the institute, according to their level of membership. These membership fees covered all costs of participation, including lodging and meals for twelve days.

This model has been a great success. In the first year twenty political science departments and research centers became members, and by the January 2008 the number of institutional members had risen to sixty. Participants are also admitted through an

open-pool competition for those who either are enrolled in member institutions but are not nominated by them, or who are from non-member institutions. Using various sources of funding, it is possible to support nine or ten participants per year from this pool. Further evidence of the scope of pent-up demand for this methods training is the fact that each year, the institute has received approximately ten applications for each space in the open-pool.

In addition to member subscriptions, financial support has included four grants from the National Science Foundation and funding from Arizona State University.

2.2.2 *Supporting Advanced Research on Methodology*

From the beginning, the institute has provided a forum in which methodologists from around the country—including institute faculty, as well as some student/participants with advanced methodological skills—have come together to discuss their own writing and publications. These interactions have led to co-authored publications, and the institute sees this as a key way in which it fosters methodological innovation.

This interaction has been institutionalized through the formation of a Research Group in Qualitative and Multi-Method Analysis. Each year, this Research Group convenes scholars—especially younger scholars—for intensive discussion of one another's research. These meetings are held on the weekend between the week-long sessions of the regular institute, thereby making it easier—in terms of the logistics of travel—to bring together a strong group of participants. The goal is to create a forum that further improves the quality and analytic value of new work produced in this branch of methodology. NSF support was crucial in launching this initiative.

2.3 Other Organizations Concerned with Qualitative and Multi-Method Work

Other organizations have also been significant venues for new work on qualitative methods. The IPSA Committee on Concepts and Methods, which is Research Committee No. 1 of the International Political Science Association, is currently housed at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico, and is dedicated to the promotion of conceptual and methodological discussion in political science. Recognized in 1976 by IPSA at its first research committee (under its former title of Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis), this committee is also affiliated with the International Sociological Association.

Another relevant group is the COMPASSS Research Group (Comparative Methods for the Advancement of Systematic Cross-Case Analysis and Small-n Studies). Its goal is to bring together “scholars and practitioners who share a common interest in theoretical, methodological and practical advancements in a systematic comparative

case approach to research which stresses the use of a configurational logic, the existence of multiple causality and the importance of a careful construction of research populations.”²⁰ COMPASSS is headquartered at four Belgian universities—the Université Catholique de Louvain, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, and Universiteit Antwerpen—and it also has an active presence at the University of Arizona. An important feature of the research strategies advanced by COMPASSS is Charles Ragin’s (1987; 2000) Qualitative Comparative Analysis, and its further development in the form of fuzzy-set analysis (fs/QCA).

In Europe, the University of Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis and Collection is also a significant venue for methods training. Compared for example with ICPSR at the University of Michigan, the Essex summer school has placed greater emphasis on a diverse set of qualitative methods.²¹

3. PUBLICATION

The trajectories of publication in quantitative methods in political science, as opposed to that of the qualitative/multi-method field, have been distinct. As Michael Lewis-Beck and Charles Franklin emphasize in this Handbook, at various points quantitative methodologists found it difficult to publish in standard journals the cutting-edge articles that presented their most important, innovative research.

By contrast, this problem has generally not arisen with qualitative/multi-method work. Certainly, there have been occasional disconnects in the review process with journals. In the 1990s, a journal editor might send out a qualitative concept analysis article to two reviewers—one a political theorist and one quantitative methodologist. Both reviewers, possibly with the best of intentions, might have found the article quite remote from what they saw as standard concerns in work on concepts, or on methodology.

Yet in recent years, mainstream journals have published numerous methodological articles involving qualitative and multi-method approaches, including: the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *International Organization*, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *Theory and Society*, and *Political Research Quarterly*—as well as the *Annual Review of Political Science*.

Given the receptivity of these journals, scholars have not felt the need to establish a journal of their own, although they certainly view the newsletter of the APSA

²⁰ See <[http://www.compass.org/Who are we.htm](http://www.compass.org/Who%20are%20we.htm)>.

²¹ Qualitative Methods are also taught at the European Consortium for Political Research’s Summer School in Methods and Techniques.

Section—with its wide-ranging debates on methodological issues—as a critical supplement to publications in standard journals.

With respect to book publication, important scholarly presses have also been receptive to qualitative and multi-method work, including Princeton, Cambridge, Chicago, MIT, Cornell, Columbia, Rowman and Littlefield, M. E. Sharpe, Routledge, and Palgrave.

A discussion of publication in the qualitative/multi-method tradition cannot fail to mention the remarkable contribution of Sage Publications in releasing valuable books and monographs, and also publishing journals. One of Sage's newest journals, the *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, is a good example. In addition to providing an outlet for methodological work by political scientists—for example, Sartori (1984) and Yanow (2000)—the publications by Sage in this area are a major resource for those teaching qualitative and multi-methods approaches.

4. CONCLUSION: TOWARD INTEGRATION?

What is the most productive relationship between the qualitative/multi-method field, on the one hand, and quantitative methods, on the other? Is the integration of methodological agendas a plausible future direction, or should these two branches of methodology proceed on what might be thought of as parallel, yet separate, tracks? Our answer, briefly, is both.

With regard to integration, the single most important, shared accomplishment should immediately be underscored: helping political scientists become more methodologically grounded and rigorous. The objective here is emphatically not to burden the discipline with methodological preoccupations to a degree that is counter-productive. Rather, it is to provide tools for addressing the substantive questions that make political science a worthwhile enterprise.

Major progress in developing such tools has been achieved in recent years. Within this Handbook, the coverage of a wide spectrum of quantitative approaches attests to advances in the techniques that this set of methodologists can offer to the discipline. On the qualitative, multi-method side, more than a dozen chapters reflect new research techniques and the integration of older ones into a valuable—and increasingly coherent—set of methodological tools. Together, these two branches of methodology provide substantial new leverage for addressing important substantive topics.

Integration has also been achieved through cooperative efforts at the level of organizations. The relationship between the two corresponding APSA sections has been cordial, and one of mutual support. Evidence of integration includes the joint sponsorship of APSA panels; the Summer 2006 special issue of *Political Analysis*, which focused on the relation between qualitative and quantitative methods; and

the fact that the faculty at the ASU Institute regularly includes scholars who have advanced statistical skills.

Looking beyond these accomplishments, we argue that the objective of integration, of sustaining dialogue among diverse forms of methodology, should be to develop coherent standards for good research. Scholars should seek shared norms for valuable work—at the same time recognizing that distinct areas of methodology have different standards for evidence and inference, and different criteria for what constitutes rigor. The productive evolution of methodology depends on a shared effort to understand and debate these standards and these differences.

While integration is important, for some purposes the idea of separate tracks is appropriate. Charles Franklin (in this volume) observes that one goal in forming the APSA Political Methodology Section was to create for quantitative methodologists an organization within which they could “speak to their peers in the technical language of [their] field.” This objective is achieved by supporting institutional settings in which the mathematical foundation of their work is well established as a shared language, and in which—within that framework—there is to a reasonable degree a common agenda for future innovation in methods.

The formation of the organizations associated with qualitative/multi-method work reflected in part this same priority: the need for methodologists with convergent skills and objectives to have a meaningful forum for dialogue. Although this group includes some who work with statistical and mathematical tools, for many others the “technical language of their field” is distinct. For a number of scholars, there is a strong and self-conscious commitment to methodological rigor, but of a different kind. This is certainly the case for interpretative approaches, and also for some other practitioners of qualitative methods who have a strong interest in exploring alternative logics-of-inference. Hence, for scholars working with qualitative and multi-method approaches, as for quantitative methodologists, it is valuable to have a separate forum for pursuing their partially distinctive methodological concerns.

Within this framework of parallel organizations, scholars in both traditions receive strong intellectual support for their most fundamental contribution: maintaining a forward-looking dialogue about methodology, and offering to the discipline analytic tools that help answer basic substantive questions about politics.

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