



Everything one wants to know about international organizations? A critical biography of the Yearbook of International Organizations 1909-2017

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“Everything one wants to know about international organizations? A critical biography of the *Yearbook of International Organizations*, 1909–2017”

Pierre-Yves Saunier

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Those searching online for a current directory of international organizations will invariably come across the *Yearbook of International Organizations* edited by the Union of International Associations. Over the years, its publisher has repeatedly assured potential readers that this is the reference work they are looking for. For instance, a promotional brochure from 2011–12 describes the UIA as ‘a non-profit, independent, apolitical, and non-governmental institutions’ that operated ‘in the service of international associations’, undertaking such work ‘[s]ince its foundation in 1907’. The leaflet extolls the *Yearbook*’s virtues: ‘The approach is scientific, the result is quality. The information presented by the UIA is structured, comprehensive and concise.’¹

Statements of objectivity, independence, continuity and comprehensiveness are expected from any reference work, but the *Yearbook* and its publishers have shown a particular gusto for such claims. In the 1990s, its US distributor hailed it as ‘the most complete source of information on international bodies available *anywhere*’ and repeated a review proclaiming

‘here’s everything you could possibly want to know about international organizations’.² Such brazen statements have attracted little scrutiny. Commentators and scholars largely seem to take the comprehensiveness, accuracy, coverage and consistence of the UIA’s volumes for granted. Consider the *Yearbook of Civil Society* series, until recently the flagship of the Global Civil Society Programme at the London School of Economics. It relies heavily on the raw data and statistical visualizations of the *Yearbook of International Organizations* to assess, chart and map the rise and evolution of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs).³ But it does not comment about the data itself. We need to contrast this stance with Daniel Laqua’s comment that the UIA’s founders ‘sought to validate their efforts by demonstrating the extent of “international life” – and in so doing, generated data that has informed the work of subsequent generations’.⁴ This self-fulfilling prophecy often goes under the radar: the *Annuaire de la Vie Internationale* – published before the First World War and acknowledged as a forerunner of the *Yearbook* – was part and parcel of an attempt to organize, strengthen and support international life.⁵

This sends us back to the claim about the UIA being ‘apolitical’ and its work ‘scientific’. In fact, the organization’s internationalism was a political project that championed a specific version of global order, and was defended as such by its founders and subsequent leaders. The scientific investigation of internationalism that they claimed to pursue was meant to prove that international life expanded and mattered, and that their political internationalism was rooted in an objective observation of the world. The registration and categorization of organizations itself has been, and remains, a political project that embodies and shapes worldviews.⁶ Choices as to publication language – notably the switch to English in the 1950s – cannot be understood as apolitical either. The promotional material also stresses ‘independence’ – yet for decades, and in the very pages of the *Yearbook*, the UIA emphasized its close links with the United Nations Organization and its agencies. Furthermore, the 2011-

2012 brochure -implicitly suggests that the observation and registration of ‘international civil society’ has been going on since 1907 – which does not mesh with the patchy and uneven publication record of the *Yearbook* and its forerunners. Another descriptor, ‘non-profit’, places the Union out of the materialistic realm, on a par with the disinterested international organizations it purports to document. Yet, with a subscription fee of between € 2,200 and 2,600 for the last three editions, the *Yearbook* is also a commercial product. All claims made in the UIA’s promotional material thus beg for critical interrogation.

This chapter starts from a series of questions that emerge from my perception of contrasts between public presentation and liminal historical knowledge, between widespread usage and limited critical appraisal. What is the *Yearbook*’s publication history, and why did its style and substance change over time? What were the aims and methods of these data-gathering attempts, and how were they connected to a project of building up what was called ‘internationalism’ at the beginning of the twentieth century, and ‘transnational civil society’ or ‘global civil society’ in the early twenty-first century? Why were third parties interested by the identification and classification of international organizations that got involved in the publication of the *Yearbook* and predecessors? Who were the readers of the *Annuaire* and *Yearbook*, and how did they use these works? I will strive to answer these questions, assembling a critical biography of the *Yearbook* and other directories associated with the UIA, examining their production, diffusion and reception.

Publishing directories of international organizations

The *Annuaire* emerged from a series of actions and reflections launched in the late 1890s by the Belgians Paul Otlet and Henri La Fontaine. The two men sought to foster coordination and collaboration between international organizations based in Brussels, including those of their own creation (International Office of Bibliography, International Institute of Bibliography).⁷

Otlet's notes suggest that the idea crystallized in the summer of 1905, as he sketched the creation of a 'central body' that would 'group together and develop the existing or to be created international institutions'.⁸ The tasks of this *organisme* comprised the publication of *annuaires* (yearbooks) with a mission to document international scientific congresses, libraries, institutes and publications.⁹ Backed up by La Fontaine, Otlet discussed his ideas with several individuals. As noted in Boyd Rayward's contribution to this book, one of them was Cyril Van Overbergh, an eminent civil servant with responsibilities for higher learning, sciences and the arts as well as a protagonist of the sociological milieu to which Otlet and La Fontaine belonged.¹⁰ The other was Ernest Solvay, the leading private sponsor of scientific institutions in Belgium.¹¹ The latter's note of rejection, which indicted the vagueness and excessive remit of the project,¹² was compensated by the commitment of the former. Otlet and Van Overbergh pushed ahead in 1906, intertwining the idea with other endeavours.

The Office Central des Institutions Internationales (Central Office of International Institutions) was created in 1907. That year, Van Overbergh published a survey of a new sociological phenomenon: the international association.¹³ Its findings were based on a three-page questionnaire sent to 97 international bureaus, unions and societies – almost exclusively in Europe and overwhelmingly in French-speaking countries. Alfred Fried, who had edited an *Annuaire de la vie internationale* since 1905, likely provided the addresses for recipients of the questionnaire. Yet the connection with Fried was more than practical: Fried and the leaders of the Central Office shared a passion for bibliography, a commitment to peace activism and the vision of an increasingly interdependent planet.¹⁴ For them, the growing number of international associations and congresses was both proof and promise of that interdependence. Accordingly, a practical science of internationalism was needed to document and support this growth and help to 'organize the world', to use Fried's motto. As the vector for this practical science, the four men considered transforming Fried's volume, with its uneven entries about

international associations, into a systematization of Van Overbergh's detailed survey of international associations' organization, rules and activities. The resulting contract between Fried, La Fontaine and Otlet stipulated that the Central Office would assemble, print, sell and distribute the *Annuaire* each year from 1908 onwards, while Fried would keep the property of the title and receive an honorarium for his editorial contribution.¹⁵

The Central Office – transformed into the UIA in 1910–1911 – printed editions of the *Annuaire* for 1908–1909 and 1910–1911, portraying them as vehicles for the UIA's 'permanent enquiry into international organization'.¹⁶ They were published in French, like Fried's previous editions, but whereas the latter had between 160 and 250 pages, the former were hefty volumes of respectively 1,551 and 2,652 pages, providing information on about 300 and 500 organizations respectively. What remained similar was the distribution of organizations between 'official international life' – bureaus, unions and conferences borne out of agreements between governments – and 'private international life', that is, international associations. The new *Annuaire* had detailed entries for all: several pages packed with statutes, board and committees members, incomes and expenses, documentary and artefact collections. It also contained chapters documenting the work of the Central Office and the editors' take on international life. The research was not done in-house: in line with the notion of a permanent survey, and in view of the Office's limited resources, the *Annuaire*s relied on the organizations' self-reporting by way of questionnaires.

The increased content of the 1910–1911 edition was made possible by a 15,000 US \$ grant (75,000 Belgian francs) from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, provided in December 1911 for the year 1912. The Carnegie Endowment was just beginning its operations, and had decided to support selected peace organizations in Europe – a development that is also being discussed in Christophe Verbruggen's contribution to this volume.¹⁷ Carnegie funding was a boon to the meagre resources of the Office, amounting to 90 per cent of its 1912

income.¹⁸ Otlet and La Fontaine underlined that it was nowhere near their initial request of no less than 75,000 US \$, but took great care to send one of the first copies of the new and expanded *Annuaire* to Nicholas Murray Butler, the Endowment's president.

The 1912–1913 edition of the *Annuaire* was never published. With Otlet and La Fontaine having left Brussels early in the war, a small team kept on working under Van Overbergh.¹⁹ In the string of letters whereby he and Otlet begged for the Endowment's continued support, La Fontaine wrote in April 1915 that the new *Annuaire* had been 'nearly completed and the half of it was printed last July. It could have been published in November.'²⁰ Yet minutes of the meetings in Brussels make it clear that work was still ongoing, to a point where, as of October 1916, material grew so large that two volumes would have been necessary. In light of its limited resources, the Brussels team shifted gear and considered publishing a compact 300-page version, nicknamed '*Annuaire-résumé*'. Chapters for the *Annuaire-résumé* were being edited in spring 1917 when everything stalled: UIA resources had been strained beyond breaking point. When activities resumed after the war, neither the 1918–1919 minutes of the Union's bureau meetings, nor the many letters sent to the Carnegie Endowment to solicit funding, suggest that Union leaders considered the publication of this material, or any new edition of the *Annuaire*, as a future milestone. The Union's 'formidable tasks' lay elsewhere.

Otlet and La Fontaine's priority was to find a place for the Union within the new family of international organizations that developed after the Armistice, including inter-allied associations and the League of Nations. This concern to liaise with the League was at the origin of a new directory of international organizations. In 1919–1920, Inazō Nitobe, under-secretary of the League, was in charge of connecting with international associations as the fledgling League Secretariat was eager to make sense of its environment. After his first visit to Brussels, he saw the pre-war *Annuaire* as a navigation tool within the world of private associations, and asked Otlet and La Fontaine to revise their list of associations for the use of League staff and

delegates to the League Assembly.²¹ The correspondence offers no hints of a joint League-UIA endeavour to revive the *Annuaire*. Nor was the *Annuaire* anywhere in the plan that the Union sent to the League when La Fontaine and Otlet tried to counter the French proposal for the creation of a bureau for international intellectual work.²² Instead, this first list was the foundation for the League's own work in publishing a directory of international organizations.

In 1921, the League's 'International Bureaux' section published the *Répertoire des organisations internationales/Handbook of International Organizations*, which it expanded in subsequent editions. The *Répertoire/Handbook*, alternatively issued in French and English, or both, was a smaller in-octavo volume, which grew from 167 pages in 1921 to some 500 in the late 1930s. Unlike the UIA's earlier *Annuaire*, it did not carry editorial chapters. It did, however, feature informative sections about the League and encompassed private and governmental international organizations. Its compact entries, from a few lines to one page, compiled essential information as in figure 9.1.

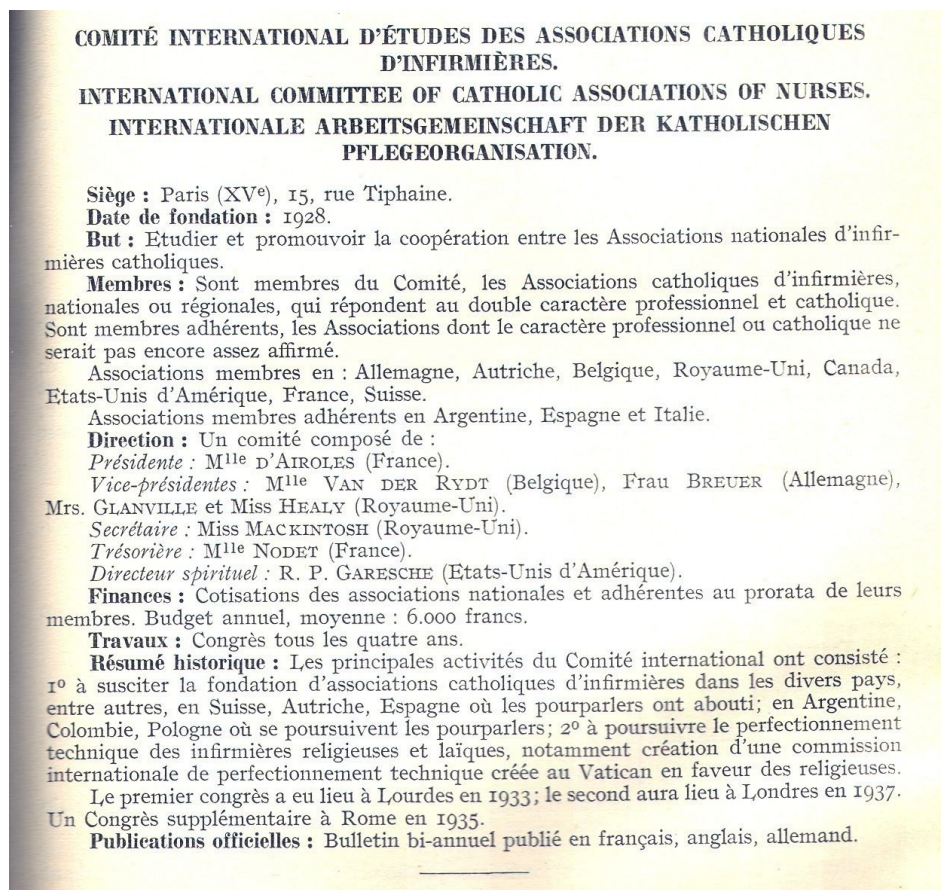


Figure 9.1 Extract from the League of Nations' *Handbook of International Organizations*.
Source: *Répertoire des organisations internationales (associations, bureaux, commissions, etc.)* (Geneva: Société des Nations, 1936), 197.

For the League Secretariat, documenting international groups went beyond the mere implementation of article 24 of the Covenant and its brief to collect information about international offices established by treaties between governments. It was a matter of identifying the League's supporters, constituency and partners beyond national governments. As the League's procedures and apparatus were developed, representatives and members of international associations were asked to contribute. Moreover, many of them did not wait for invitations from Geneva and began to press for their causes by targeting the new institutions. Within this context, it was vital to know who was who and who made what.²³ The *Handbook* answered this need, and during the interwar years it served as a low-intensity tool for international governance.²⁴ The UIA had no connection to the publication of these volumes, save for providing the 1919 list that was used by League people to send questionnaires for the 1921 *Handbook* (self-reporting was still the method for collecting information). Despite subsequent UIA claims that the League's publication 'prevented' the Union to resume the *Annuaire*'s publication after the Great War,²⁵ no mentions of such a project can be found while Otlet and La Fontaine focused on projects such as the Musée International, the Quinzaine Internationale, the Université Internationale and the Cité Mondiale.²⁶

The Second World War seriously affected all the organizations created by La Fontaine and Otlet.²⁷ The latter was ousted from his leadership positions in 1941, despite his attempts to entice German authorities to support its work. As noted in Christophe Verbruggen's chapter, the Union itself was taken over by the Nazi apparatus, as many other international associations in occupied Europe.²⁸ The UIA's library and files were raided by occupation authorities, destroyed or brought to Germany to be used by the Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale, a governmental agency in charge of managing German participation into international

associations and meetings.²⁹ With La Fontaine and Otlet having died in 1943 and 1944, the post-war UIA was very much an empty shell, unable to be a protagonist in the organization of a new international order. As Nico Randeraad and Philip Post have shown in the present volume, it was only at the beginning of 1948 that a provisory committee took the decision to revive its activities, thanks to a bequest by La Fontaine. By then, others had already taken the initiative in terms of directories of international organizations.

Two Swiss journalists, Marcel Henchoz and René-Henri Wust created a society to publish a directory whose first edition was published in Geneva in the spring of 1948.³⁰ This *Annuaire des organisations internationales / Yearbook of International Organizations* was presented as a guide for all those who had to find their bearings in the new and teeming international life. Entries with generic information covered the new United Nations Organization and its agencies, as well as older inter-governmental unions and ‘non-governmental organizations’. It alternated between French and English, matching the language in which the information was collected. The quality was uneven: the volume captured organizations created as recently as 1947, but many old organizations were not included and many entries were hardly documented.

The new publication boldly claimed to be the first to offer a synthesis of increasing relationships between nations, as embodied in international organizations. It did not acknowledge *Annuaire*s or *Handbooks*. This edition was followed by a second one in 1949, with 650 international organizations described. The third edition, in 1950, was still under the copyright of Henchoz and Wust’s society, but the UIA appeared as a co-editor.³¹ This agreement had been announced to the readers of the *Bulletin de l’Union des Associations internationales* in January 1950, following a teaser in December 1949.³² Yet, when it was published in June 1950, with 980 pages and entries for 1,000 organizations, the organization of the volume and the coverage of the entries were not significantly different from the previous

edition – save for the addition of a Universal Decimal Classification number for each organization in true UIA fashion. No traces have been found of further negotiations between the two parties, but in August 1951 the UIA’s periodical announced that the *Yearbook* was now the ‘sole property’ of the Union.³³ A new editorial process was presented in the same article, and trumpeted in subsequent advertisements carried by the Union’s *Bulletin* as in Figure 9.2: the material would initially be collected by the Union through questionnaires, and sent to the Non-Governmental Organizations section of the United Nations Secretariat for revision and additions. When published, in August 1951, the 1951–1952 edition amounted to 1,224 pages and included 345 additional international organizations and was much better documented.

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Figure 9.2 Advertisement for the *Yearbook of International Organizations* in the UIA’s *NGO Bulletin* (1951).

Source: NGO Bulletin 3, 8-9 (1951), backmatter. N.B.: at the time, ‘international non-governmental organizations’ and ‘non-governmental organizations’ were often used synonymously in UN parlance.

This new *Yearbook* embodies the UIA’s reinvention under the aegis of intergovernmental organizations. Between 1949 and 1950, the Union’s committee worked with representatives of the Interim Committee/General Conference of the Consultative Non-Governmental Organizations at the United Nations, liaised with United Nations officials in charge of NGOs and built strong connections with members of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC). In 1949, Aake Ording, a Norwegian member of the UN staff, was assigned to examine a new programme and structure for the UIA.³⁴ Results began to emerge one year later. In July 1950, the General Conference of Consultative Non-Governmental Organizations formally expressed its interest in transforming the UIA into a service centre for INGOs.³⁵ This was the emphasis of Ording’s plan, whose report listed the technical tasks such a centre would fulfil, including ‘to collect and distribute information on international NGOs, through a Bulletin, a Handbook and otherwise’.³⁶

Ording followed his scheme from inception to its adoption in United Nations meetings – a process that is discussed in greater depth in Nico Randeraad and Philip Post’s chapter.³⁷ In July 1950, ECOSOC adopted a resolution that sanctioned the scheme: the resolution thwarted the project of a UN-made handbook on non-governmental organizations. Instead, it asked the UN Secretary-General to rely on the UIA’s *Yearbook*, and to cooperate with the latter, firmly installing Ording’s scheme on the UN side.³⁸ The Union itself revised its statutes and published them in November 1950. There was a new name (‘Union of International Associations. Service Centre for International Non-Governmental Organizations’) and a new governing structure where representatives from inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations were prominent. There were specific missions too, including to ‘1) collect information about international, non-governmental, nonprofit making Organizations; 2) place this information in the hands (*sic*) and at the disposition of all interested persons and to ensure its distribution’.³⁹

This UN-driven reinvention needs to be understood in light of Article 71 of the United Nations charter, which called for ‘suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations’ as part of the ECOSOC’s operations – a scheme soon replicated with specialized UN agencies. As a result, the list of associations requesting or obtaining consultative status quickly swelled.⁴⁰ A minor element in this wider process, the *Yearbook* was necessary for the UN to steer its relations with other international organizations. It became the touchstone of the new UIA, whose redefined governance and brief ensured that it would provide services to the United Nations and to INGOs, and cooperate with the UN in publishing the *Yearbook*.⁴¹ This entailed constraints that have shaped the content of the *Yearbook* until today: the definition of criteria for inclusion in consultation with ECOSOC officials;⁴² the obligation to include in the *Yearbook*, regardless of other criteria, every INGO that received consultative status with the UN (a heavily politicized process during the Cold War);⁴³ and the coverage of both IGOs and INGOs alongside one another. But it also gave the Union a status as publisher of a directory with strong connections to the core of the international system. This role was valued, cherished and protected as a monopoly.⁴⁴

Until 1980, the Union published the *Yearbook* every two years, save for a three-year gap between the 1951–1952 and 1954–1955 editions. Except three editions in French, the other fifteen used English, sometimes with a supplementary index in French or other languages. Despite the growth in the number of entries, the individual entries kept the same framework over time.

Eyvind Siegfried Tew and Anthony Judge were the two UIA staff members who shaped the Union’s *Yearbook* publication during this period. From his obituaries, we can gain some glimpses of Tew’s background: coming from a Quaker family, seasoned traveller, a speaker of many different European languages (plus Esperanto), this British citizen spent the war years as a cryptographer for the British intelligence service. He was brought into the *Yearbook* set-up

for copy-editing work by Peter Hunot, H.G. Wells's former secretary and an advocate for world government, who edited the 1951–1952 edition. In 1956, a Ford Foundation grant made it possible to hire Tew on a permanent basis. He settled down in Brussels in October 1956 as editor of the *Yearbook* and other UIA publications until 1975. Anthony Judge is an Australian who was born in Egypt in 1940 and grew up in Zimbabwe.⁴⁵ Judge's first contact with the Union was in 1961–1963, when he worked as an intern assistant-editor for the *Yearbook*.⁴⁶ Five years later, aged 28, he returned as a consultant while finishing his MBA thesis at the University of Cape Town. He was then hired by the Union, editing its periodical *Transnational Associations* from 1969 to 1978, and in parallel developing computer-based resources that fuelled the *Yearbook* and other UIA publications. Judge became the major editorial force in the *Yearbook* after 1980 and occupied different executive positions, including that of acting general-secretary. These *Yearbook* editors – just as the Union's successive general secretaries (Georges Patrick Speeckaert, 1950–1970; Robert Fenaux, 1970–1985) – were not major internationalist authors in the vein of Otlet and La Fontaine, but their trajectories and their writings, including the *Yearbook's* forewords, underline that they were just as dedicated to the cause of cooperation through international organization.

In-house publishing stopped in 1981 with the *Yearbook's* nineteenth edition, co-published by the UIA and the International Chamber of Commerce. This one-off collaboration may have been connected with difficulties for the Union to edit and distribute the *Yearbook* on its own, as suggested by its next move. The venture with the Chamber of Commerce having been found unsatisfactory,⁴⁷ Judge asked Karl Saur, whose company had been distributing UIA publications in Germany since 1974, whether he would add the publication of the *Yearbook* to their joint activities. From 1983, the *Yearbook* was published by the Munich-based firm and reinvented in style and substance. Its size incrementally augmented with successive editions.

This expansion partly followed the increase in number of international organizations included in the *Yearbook*, but it chiefly resulted from a clear desire to create a gamut of products.

New volumes added to the ones that described international organizations according to the framework established by the *Handbook* (location, foundation, aims, activities, finance, members,...). From the 1983–1984 edition, there appeared a geographic volume listing organizations by places (membership and secretariats) and a subject volume arranging organizations by subjects, completed by a bibliographic volume in 1995–1996, and finally a volume of data analysis (statistics and visualizations) with the 2001–2002 set. From 1994 to 2008, the *Yearbook* was also published on CD-Rom (including a French version and some segments in Spanish and German), and in 2004 it went online. This growth in size and sophistication of data presentation was made possible by the 1972 decision to shift data management from the filing cabinet to the computer.⁴⁸ The transition materialized first in the printing production process, later in indexation and visualization, and eventually in the diffusion of the *Yearbook* itself. The contract with Saur and the computerization also resulted in other publications derived from *Yearbook* data: specialized directories of international organizations in Africa and the Arab world (1984–1985), a *World Guide to Religious and Spiritual Organizations*, a *Who's Who in International Organizations* from 2007 (later included in the *Yearbook* set) and more remotely the *Yearbook of World Problems and Human Potential*.⁴⁹ Although the imprint of K.G Saur Verlag was bought in 1987 by Reed International, sold to the Gale Group by the now Reed-Elsevier firm in 2000 and again to De Gruyter in 2006, the contract with the Union was maintained.

The title changed hands again in 2011: since then, it has been published by Brill–Nijhoff, without any salient change to the presentation and organization of the work. The *Yearbook* is now one of the assets showcased in presentations of Brill's portfolio,⁵⁰ amongst a number of series and periodicals connected to Public International Law, Human Rights,

Humanitarian Law and increasingly International Relations. This might have been the reason for publishers' interest for this reference work on international organizations, and this brings our attention to its trajectory as a commercial product.

Distributing directories of international organizations

In 1950, a footnote in the *Bulletin of the Union des Associations Internationales* mentioned that copies of the *Annuaire* were still available for sale. They could be obtained for 300 Belgian francs a piece, or 500 for the two editions, plus postal fees.⁵¹ There are no clues that customers rushed for the occasion, but it sounds surprising that the Union or its printer still held copies of the *Annuaire* some forty years after publication. One of the scarce archival clues about the distribution of the *Annuaire* is a 1929 buying order found in Paul Otlet's correspondence.⁵² The sender was the World Peace Foundation, a pacifist body connected to Tufts University in Massachusetts. Trying to trace this specific copy reveals that the current World Peace Foundation does not have an online library catalogue, which illustrates the difficulties of appraising the presence of the *Annuaire* in private libraries. The other clue is a note scribbled by a League of Nations employee in 1919: 'I am told that there are only three copies of this in England, and we are trying to borrow a copy from one of the owners.'⁵³ The library trail can be pursued further, though. As of April 2016, print copies of the *Annuaire* can be found into 101 public libraries in Europe and North America according to Worldcat.⁵⁴ Whether or not the *Annuaire* was bought by the public libraries who now hold it, when exactly, or whether other library copies of those big volumes with a fragile binding were discarded, owing to bad conditions or obsolescence, is not known. Likewise, we do not have any clues about the associations, diplomatic services, individual scholars and activists that may have obtained a copy of the *Annuaire*.

Can we appraise the dissemination of the *Annuaire* in the light of such limited information? The only tack for those 101 copies in public libraries is provided by the invoices of the printer who worked for Central Office in 1913: Oscar Lamberty bound exactly 202 volumes of the 1910–1911 *Annuaire*, in two runs, which added to a previous batch of 6 copies that were sent to very important personalities.⁵⁵ Thus, the *Annuaire* fares well when its presence in public libraries fares is compared to the print run of its first edition.⁵⁶ Public libraries catalogues provide other yardsticks through comparison with other volumes belonging to the internationalist sphere. One is the second edition of the *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung* (1911–1913). Written by one of the *Annuaire*'s authors, Alfred Fried, this specialized directory of the pacifist movement can be retraced to 126 libraries covered by Worldcat. Nicholas Murray Butler's *The International Mind*, published in English in 1912, is now on the shelves of some 400 Worldcat libraries around the world and Frédéric Passy's *Pour la paix* (1909) in 102. *L'Internationalisme scientifique*, a survey of scientific international organizations written by Otlet and La Fontaine's Dutch rival Pieter Eijkman, also published in French in 1911, is present in 69 of these libraries. Conversely, there are only some 40 hits for the *Annuaire du mouvement pacifiste* for the years 1910 to 1913, a yearbook published in Bern by the International Peace Bureau where La Fontaine was a major character. Such comparisons suggest that the *Annuaire* may not have found its way onto libraries shelves as often as pacifist bestsellers in English, but reached a robust presence when compared to other directories of international life or to pacifist essays in French. It also compares well with the *Handbook* published by the League of Nations during the 1920s and 1930s, with respectively 62 Worldcat hits for the English 1921 edition and 24 for the French one.

I might be chasing the wrong rabbit, though. If Otlet and La Fontaine papers do not include sales figures, customer lists or complaints about postal deliveries, this is not merely the result of archival mishaps. Sales were just not a priority. A note sheet of the budget of the

Office Central between 1907 and 1911 leaves a telling blank in the line ‘vente de l’*Annuaire*’ for the ‘income’ column.⁵⁷ Otlet and La Fontaine openly stated their position in their 1911 memorandum to the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment: ‘It was necessary to distribute a great number of complimentary [*Annuaire*] copies to persons and institutions which would have been obliged to buy the publication.’⁵⁸ As La Fontaine later wrote, the *Annuaire* belonged to ‘the category [of publications for which] it is impossible to rely on the usual publishers, and which can find buyers in sufficient numbers to cover their expenses only after several years of publication. Besides, they ought to be free of any mercantile concern, inadequate with the greatness of the movement they have to serve.’⁵⁹ True to such views, the 1912 report only included figures on ‘possible’ and ‘indispensable’ expenses, but none about income.⁶⁰ In addition to this elision of commercialization, the very conception of the *Annuaire* was barely conducive to it. Conceived as a ‘permanent inquiry’ about international associations, the *Annuaire* was to include ‘as many documents as possible’.⁶¹ This did not set the table for a regular, predictable and marketable publication. The absence of subscription campaigns, save for the first edition, as well as the absence of commercial advertisements in the *Annuaire*, confirm the impression: selling the *Annuaire*, or even covering its costs, was not a priority.

Conversely, the post-1945 *Yearbook* was conceived as a commercial venture. This was conspicuous in the typesetting of the first edition, with its many advertisements. Local advertisements such as those in Figure 9.3 suggest that it targeted people who, having come to Geneva to support the work of international organizations, sought information on that sphere of activity, or for services and goods serving the needs of visiting individuals and expatriated families.



Figure 9.3 Advertisements in the UIA's *Yearbook of International Organizations* (1948).
Source: *Annuaire des organisations internationales/ Yearbook of International Organizations* (Geneva : Société de l'Annuaire des Organisations Internationales, 1948), 279.

After returning to the UIA, the *Yearbook* maintained its identity of a practical volume to be sold to 'people in governmental and private positions of responsibility', 'all those in the diplomatic, governmental and intergovernmental services' as well as 'the sociologist, researcher, specialist and officer of international NGOs'.⁶² The revamped Union – now conceived as a service centre – marketed the *Yearbook* as a sober, reliable and easy-to-get product. Editorial statements about international cooperation were left to other UIA publications, while much was made to reach out to potential customers: the 1952 thank-you

note for the forty-eight newspapers and journals that had published a review of the 1951–1952 edition shows that the Union did not spare on review copies.⁶³ Advertisements were also published, with a consistent series in the journal *International Organization* beginning in 1952.⁶⁴ The journal, created in 1947 by the aforementioned World Peace Foundation, was a place of convergence for researchers, officials and activists who believed in the new structure of international organization and who sought information about its development, and thus a well chosen outlet for *Yearbook* advertisements. Besides other scientific journals in international relations, the UIA and its distributors also targeted the periodicals of the American Library Association from the early 1950s. In different languages and for different audiences, these advertisements invariably emphasized the patronage of inter-governmental organizations and their contribution to the robustness of the information, together with the practicality of the volume (see Figure 9.4).

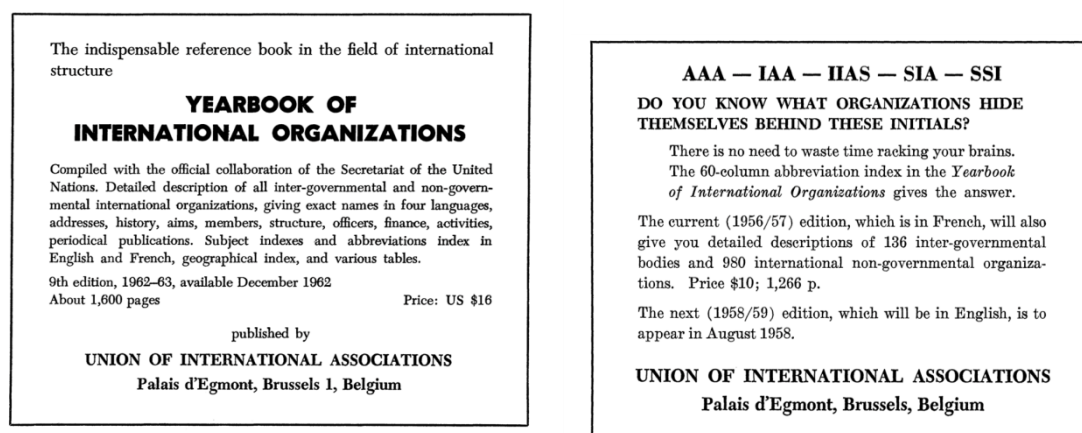


Figure 9.4: advertisements for the Yearbook of International Organizations in the IR journal *International Organization*.

Source: *International Organization* 12, no. 2 (1958) and 16, no. 4 (1962).

To get hold of this appealing volume, a wide array of methods of payment was offered – from transfers to UIA bank accounts in six different countries to subscription through post offices or UNESCO book coupons.⁶⁵ The new *Yearbook* was to be bought, and the Union attended to it earnestly.

Appraising the results of this commercial drive is deceptive. Locating the *Yearbook* in Worldcat is a quagmire: the publication has been catalogued in too many different fashions, serial or isolated holding of the title cannot be distinguished, and the development of the online subscription puts the cherry on the headache. All in all, no accurate figures can be established, but one edition or the other can be found in hundreds of libraries across the world, suggesting that it has effectively reached out to the ‘sociologist and researcher’. Diplomats also seem to have had access to the *Yearbook*: the 1949 and 1951–1952 *Yearbook* copies I consulted came by inter-library loan from the Department of External Affairs of Canada, while the 1950 edition in the library of Université Laval I used was a gift from the French General Consulate of Quebec.

Was it enough for the *Yearbook* to cover its expenses, or even be profitable for its mother house? Consistent sales figures are not available: older numbers have still to be found in UIA archives, and recent ones are considered confidential by the Union.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, incidental sources of information suggest that the *Yearbook* was not an instant or permanent bestseller, but became the major asset in the UIA catalogue. A first snapshot captures the 1951–1952 edition, thanks to a grant application that the UIA filed with the Ford Foundation in July 1954. General secretary Speeckaert mentioned a 5,000 US \$ deficit for that edition, insisted on the extreme difficulty of covering the 1954–1955 edition’s costs, and warned that the next couple of editions would likely end up in deficit, jeopardizing the UIA’s very existence.⁶⁷ His next grant application suggests that Speeckaert had over-dramatized the situation – or misjudged the Ford Foundation grant-making criteria: the 1954–1955 edition had been ‘more than self-supporting’ according to an assessment of early 1956.⁶⁸

This, however, was not the beginning of a soaring sales trend, as we can gather from another vantage point in the late 1960s. In addition to his 1968 report about the use of computer data-processing methods at UIA, Anthony Judge studied the activities, image and organization

of the Union, including markets and competitors. His conclusion pinpointed the pivotal role of the *Yearbook*: ‘The UIA has one very good publication on which its reputation and income has been built, namely the *Yearbook of International Organizations*. The production of this and improvement in its quality is the most important activity of the UIA.’⁶⁹ This appraisal was supported by the UIA’s financial reports. They confirmed the Union’s difficulties during the 1950s, when support from governments dwindled – especially from Belgium.⁷⁰ The Union’s balance sheet was in the red between 1957 and 1961, recouped debts between 1962 and 1965 and returned to net profit in 1966. In addition to a three-year grant from the Ford Foundation that kept the organization afloat in 1956–1958, it was the growth of publication sales that put the Union back on its feet. Or, more accurately, the growth of *Yearbook* sales. Combined with low editorial cost, an increased print run and a rising price, shown in table 9.1, delivered a growing profit.⁷¹ This was not the case with other UIA publications: between 1958 and 1968, the *Yearbook* was profitable all but 2 years for a grand total three times superior to the magazines of the Union, which were its second source of income -and its major source of expenditure. Balance sheets leave no doubt that the Union survived thanks to the *Yearbook* (English) editions, which paid for its other activities.

Table 9.1: Sales Data on the *Yearbook of International Organizations*, 1952–1967

Yearbook edition	Print run	Number sold	Price in Belgian francs
1952-1953	3000	3000	350
1954-1955	3000	3000	500
1956-1957	2750	2750	500
1958-1959	3500	3500	580
1960-1961	3250	3150	700
1962-1963	4500	4100	700
1964-1965	4500	4150	800
1966-1967	5500	4800 (ongoing)	880

Source: Anthony Judge, ' Report of a Preliminary Investigation of the Possibility of Using Computer Data Processing Methods ', Appendix I, exhibit 21a. Available online: http://www.laetusinpraesens.org/uia/docs/thesis/appen/apprep_all.pdf (accessed 30 April 2018).

Using material from the Union's distribution department, Judge broke down the sales of the 1966–1967 edition by country/continent and by type of buyer.⁷² Among identified buyers, the largest portion were in the USA (30 per cent) and 78 per cent came from five countries (USA, France, UK, Belgium, Switzerland). Distribution by type suggests that the *Yearbook* actually reached the constituencies claimed by the 1950 introductions: one third of identified sales was made to governmental and inter-governmental bodies, another third went to libraries – chiefly in the USA – while 21 % were sold to private organizations (mostly commercial and airline firms, but also travel agents and congress bureaus). Geographical comparison with the 1954–1955 *Yearbook* shows that the increase had taken place in countries and regions that were at the core of the new international order (the North Atlantic world) or were joining it (Africa, Asia) while it failed to attract buyers in the communist block: the *Yearbook* thrived in the parameters of a Cold War context. The 1966–1967 figures also showed that, while INGOs made for most of the organizations covered in the *Yearbook*, they only contributed a little segment of its identified customers (5 per cent of that total, less than airline companies). If that weak presence was to be confirmed by more complete information about buyers, the *Yearbook* diffusion would certainly contrast sharply with the UIA's aim to be a 'service centre' for INGOs. According to Judge, and besides their financial limitations, many INGOs were reluctant to buy a volume for which they provided content: they saw the Union as a profit-making Belgian body with pretensions to organize INGOs and teach them what to do.⁷³

This failure to tap into the INGOs segment was one of the weaknesses identified by Judge, together with the fact that the Union had not maintained a satisfactory sales information system, that its publications in general were under-advertised and that there was no systematic

attempt to develop sales despite the increased interest in international affairs.⁷⁴ To Judge, this was alarming because a growing number of specialized directories and registries competed with the *Yearbook* in different segments of the market.⁷⁵ Besides a counterfeiting publication,⁷⁶ a more serious potential danger existed: *The Europa Yearbook*, published every year, identified organizations absent from the Union's *Yearbook*, provided information in much greater detail, included national organizations of international relevance, and was distributed in retail outlets. Moreover, it obviously drew some of its content from the *Yearbook* pages. The total number of organizations was still very inferior to that of the *Yearbook* – but if its publishers decided to expand their scope, then the Union's flagship might be in trouble, Judge warned. This seemed particularly problematic as little could be done to discourage a private publisher from walking on the Union's turf.

Undeterred by the recent disappointing direct mail campaign for the last edition (15,000 leaflets sent, nine order forms returned), Judge insisted that rising sales over the previous ten years showed that demand was robust and growing. Sales of the *Yearbook* were expandable if appropriate changes were made: a better connection with the *Yearbook's* information providers, an active search for correct, improved or missing information about international organizations, serious market research and sales analysis, new forms of advertisement, a larger staff, a wider remit to cover national organizations and a shrewd diversification plan – a *Yearbook* published every year and specialized directories that would prevent any newcomer to 'split the market'. Even the poor quality of the volume's cover called for improvement. In his final recommendations, Judge pushed the envelope further: 'The UIA should consolidate and cease production of all publications whose utility, readership or sales are unsatisfactory. It should concentrate on selling and improving the services related to the *Yearbook of International Organizations*.'⁷⁷ Given priority, the *Yearbook* would be the best tool for fulfilling what he deemed the best prospect for the Union at large: its work as a

facilitator in ‘bond formation within the world-system’, weaving formal and informal links between international organizations.⁷⁸

The continuously increasing size, content and price of the *Yearbook* suggest that it has remained the bread and butter of the Union’s visibility, revenues and activities until today. Some hints show that the Union ran into cash flow problems in the mid-2000s, and the proposed solution was increased subscriptions to the *Yearbook*.⁷⁹ In the absence of a robust series of sales figures, though, one can only speculate about the evolution of print and on line subscriptions, and the impact of new rival publications since 1968. According to Worldcat, the volume on international organizations that Gale Research added to its *Encyclopedia of Associations* in 1984 is now present in more US libraries than the *Yearbook*.⁸⁰ Anyhow, the *Yearbook*’s gauge of enduring success might lie elsewhere: in its usage.

Using directories of international organizations

Directories of international organizations are barely credited with shaping the worldviews of their readers the way that encyclopaedias or dictionaries are. Only the occasional librarian mentioned that the *Yearbook* played a pivotal role in his training.⁸¹ No clues have been found either about its daily use at airline companies and travel agencies, in governmental departments or in inter-governmental organizations. Yet, just as any other directory, the *Yearbook* was certainly often flicked through to find a telephone number, the name of an officer, or the aims of an organization. In his endorsement of the *Yearbook*, Wallace Atwood – director of the office of international relations at the US National Academy of Sciences and a member of the UIA’s executive council – claimed that the volume stood ‘at his fingertips’ and saved him ‘hundreds of hours’ when looking for accurate and current information on the organizations he had to deal with.⁸²

Besides such passing mentions, specific users have left more durable traces: scholars and activists interested in the causes of peace, internationalism and international organization. Accordingly, platforms of digitized academic journals can be used to recover their usage.⁸³ They provide a sample which, although overdetermined by digital availability, suggests how the *Annuaire* and *Yearbook* have been reviewed and cited. A systematic analysis of the pieces that mentioned these volumes shows that they have been used in three major ways: as a beacon pointing to the world's future, a certificate of accuracy for facts and numbers, and a pool of data to assess trends and patterns in international organization.

While digitized journal collections only offer the briefest of mentions regarding the *Annuaire*'s very first editions, the complimentary copies of the Central Office's 1908–1909 edition did reach a select number of go-betweens. These included protagonists of the peace movement where Fried, La Fontaine and Otlet were household names. Among those, none was more sanguine than William Stead, the English journalist and social reformer who – among other fiercely fought causes – advocated women's rights, peace and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race.

When I opened the box and took out the book I felt as if I had suddenly come into the possession of King Solomon's magic carpet, which enabled me to fly far into the future (...). When you read its pages you seem to be witnessing the erection of a new world. (...) An enormous multitude of forces are creating a new body in the shape of a highly complex international organization, and they are informing it with a new soul -the Conscience of Humanity. This is the greatest of all the miracles of our time,-the almost automatic evolution of one harmonious World State out of the multitudinous jarring congeries of national states which constitute the armed anarchy of this planet .

Stead's words, whose original place of publication I was unable to locate, were quoted in a couple of occasions by US pacifists.⁸⁴ The *Annuaire* was also hailed in other journals with pacifist or internationalist leanings (*Isis*, *American Journal of International Law*, *Revue*

internationale de droit privé). The ‘magic carpet’ still flew after the Second World War, with the 1951–1952 *Yearbook* edition being tagged in *World Affairs* as ‘an eloquent testimonial to the way in which men of good will by international organization are implementing understanding on the basis of mutual interest and need throughout the world’.⁸⁵ Much more recently, the opening note of a publication emanating from the American Society of International Law mentioned (wrongly) that the non-existence of an annual of international organizations ‘until 1957’ was a sign that the number and importance of international organizations had been insignificant up to that point.⁸⁶ The *Yearbook* and its growing content have thus been interpreted as a record of current trends in the international order, a ‘weighty evidence (in both senses of the term) of how trans-frontier cooperation has been speeding up’.⁸⁷ This analogon, which was also embedded in editorial texts within the *Yearbook* itself, made it possible for reviewers to vouch for the world’s evolution towards integration and cooperation. Such mentions, which often appeared in journals committed to the project of international organization or ‘peace research’, were nonetheless quite limited: they appeared in only a handful of the 42 reviews I identified in scientific journals. Most of them addressed the *Yearbook* on a different plane.

The most frequent qualification for the *Yearbook* was that of ‘reference’ – a tag that the earlier *Annuaire* had hardly received. Some reviewers undergirded the *Yearbook* with flowery metaphors, the most frequent being that of an international maze/labyrinth that the *Yearbook* helped modern Theseus to navigate. Most of them were more concise and insisted that the book was ‘useful’, ‘comprehensive’, ‘vollständigste’, ‘impressive’, ‘précieux’, ‘wertvoll’, ‘reliable’, ‘authoritative’: ‘the standard guide’ for all those who needed to identify, characterize or locate an international organization or the international organizations in a given domain. When the reviewer for *World Affairs* mentioned that the 1962–1963 edition had ‘the density and compactness of a good telephone directory’, he might not have written tongue-in-cheek.⁸⁸

Its growing status as a reference volume from the mid-1950s was enhanced by its presence in the 'research tips' or 'selected bibliographies' sections published by journals in international law or politics, and later by citations in scientific articles.

The *Yearbook* thus became the place where lawyers, political scientists, sociologists, geographers, historians and other scholars found the certified information about international organizations. By contrast, the earlier *Annuaire* had had no such status – both because of its limited circulation and because the discipline of international relations was only just emerging in the 1920s and 1930s.⁸⁹ Footnotes that cited the *Yearbook* as their source of factual information became frequent after 1960. How many international organizations currently exist? How many INGOs deal with anthropology? Which countries are members of the European Broadcasting Union? How far do inter-governmental organizations include African countries? How many multinational companies have a subsidiary in Sri Lanka? Which INGOs hold consultative status with UN agencies? How large is the budget of a specific association? Do memberships of Taiwan and the People's Republic of China in international organizations overlap or exclude one another? Until today, researchers from many disciplines have relied on the *Yearbook* for answers to such questions, using it as a proxy for actual statutes of specific international organizations, a source of precise information on organizations and a spring of accurate numbers. The *Yearbook* has been treated as an authoritative voice in such matters. For instance, when a lecturer in law at the University of Salzburg found a contradiction between Russian sources and the *Yearbook* as to the membership of the Chamber of Commerce of the Uzbek Socialist Republic within the Afro-Asian Organization for Economic Co-operation, he ultimately relied on the *Yearbook*.⁹⁰

Reliance on the *Yearbook* became stronger when researchers tried to assess the changing number of international organizations, beginning in the late 1960s. A 1968 article by political scientist Edward Miles may have been the first to compare different editions of the

Yearbook to this end.⁹¹ In the process, he referred to the *Yearbook* as the ‘official count’ of international organizations. Subsequent scholars also adorned the *Yearbook* and its predecessors with official or semi-official status, and cited its ties with the United Nations and the League of Nations as a certificate of its accuracy.⁹² They referred to the ‘United Nations and the *Yearbook of International Organizations*’ section, which has invariably been included in every edition of the *Yearbook* from the 1951–1952 to the 2011–2012 edition.⁹³ This section astutely quoted a League document of 1921 and the aforementioned 1950 ECOSOC resolution to suggest official collaboration. It thus provided the *Yearbook* with a varnish of officialdom, even though it was only in 2007 that the Union signed an official agreement with an inter-governmental organization regarding the identification of INGOs.⁹⁴

The treatment of the *Yearbook* as an authoritative source was not limited to numbers and information: it extended to the definitions and categories that shaped these numbers. As any directory, the editorial team had to decide which organizations to include or omit. The decision had to be *ad hoc*, because there existed no official definition. For a long time, UN texts themselves did not go further than saying that an INGO was an organization not established by inter-governmental agreements.⁹⁵ The *Yearbook*’s content was thus defined by specific criteria, established in accordance with UN staff – likely in the mid-1950s. These criteria were only made explicit in the 1968–1969 edition: seven major characteristics decided whether non-governmental organizations were ‘genuinely international’ and could be included in the *Yearbook*.⁹⁶ Until the 1976 edition, this, for instance, altogether excluded organizations whose activities, budget and membership did not cover at least three countries. After 1976, such organizations could be included in the *Yearbook* but under different and shifting categories separated from ‘genuinely international’ organizations: the tag from the early 1980s was ‘internationally oriented national organizations’, whose number was comparable to the number of ‘genuinely international’ organizations, and in the 1990s new classes were created

to accommodate emergent and ‘non-conventional’ types of organizations (networks and virtual groups, religious orders, governmental and non-governmental bodies connected to inter-governmental organizations).⁹⁷

In almost every article I have found where *Yearbook* data has been used, authors have conflated the number of existing INGOs with the content of the *Yearbook*, and even more narrowly with the *Yearbook*’s category of ‘genuinely international bodies’. This suggests how the categorization of the *Yearbook*’s, and its content, have been framing the perimeter of most studies.⁹⁸ Only a handful of the identified 172 articles which have used figures or lists from the *Yearbook* include any acknowledgment of the ‘seven aspects’ used for inclusion and exclusion as ‘genuine international bodies’ and the consequences of such criteria for the research parameters, questions and conclusions. While it seems likely that most scholars were aware of the *Yearbook*’s limitations, they did not articulate their concerns: their choice to work with what they had seems to have muted their critical appraisal of their main source.

Just two articles about INGOs mention complementary research to establish lists of organizations in a given field.⁹⁹ One of these explains that the list of human rights organizations compiled from the *Yearbook* yielded 225 ‘genuinely international’ INGOs, before conversations with activists, the use of additional printed sources as well as the inclusion of relevant ‘internationally oriented national organizations’ mentioned in the *Yearbook* raised the number to a total of 325 organizations to which the research questionnaire was eventually sent. Yet, even these two articles did not question the *Yearbook*’s definitions and categories. Only two other scholarly articles seem to have done so.¹⁰⁰ Most significantly, sociologist Evelyn Bush insisted that the *Yearbook*’s definitions hindered a satisfactory identification of religious groups active in the domain of human rights for two main reasons. Firstly, the *Yearbook*’s association with the institutional needs of the UN, as well as the criteria ruling inclusion in the *Yearbook* and its ‘genuinely international organizations’ category, tended to sideline smaller,

informal INGOs with a financial or membership gravity centre in one or two countries whereas it over-represented organizations that enacted the organizational and normative principles shared by the United Nations and the UIA. Secondly, the *Yearbook*'s classification assumed that religion and secular contributions to civil society and international life were different by nature, with compassion and rationality being respectively the chief motivation for action. Through a comparison between the data from the *Yearbook* and the online Human Rights Directory (www.hri.ca), Bush concluded 'that research using the *Yearbook* (...) is indeed biased toward the more powerful organizations in the human rights field', and that the *Yearbook* 'religious organizations' category did not adequately capture the growth of religion motivated organizations engaging public issues such as human rights.¹⁰¹ Her points ring true when bearing in mind the publication's wider history and context: the UIA's commitment to support organized internationalism through its publication and the arrangement with the UN that shaped the criteria for inclusion.

The next question, then, is to evaluate how heavily research on international organizations has relied on the *Yearbook*. Indeed, researchers did not only use the *Yearbook* as a source for lists, facts and figures. International relations specialists and sociologists have also given it prominence as a source of data for their quantitative approaches.¹⁰² Within the sample of scholarly articles used for this chapter, and notwithstanding the sample bias, this peaked at two moments in time and in connection with specific disciplinary communities on the US social sciences scene. Firstly, between 1968 and 1980, it was chiefly American scholars of international relations who developed quantitative approaches based on *Yearbook*'s data as they tried to figure out the path to world order through international organization. Other disciplines chipped in, the very first article of that cluster being signed by a development sociologist.¹⁰³ INGOs were part of the picture,¹⁰⁴ but specialists working on intergovernmental

organizations clearly led this first phase. Twelve out of nineteen articles using *Yearbook* data dealt exclusively with inter-governmental organizations.¹⁰⁵

A second cluster appeared in the late 1990s, focusing on the place and role of international associations in globalization. Two strands of social scientists – whose work still dominates the field today – contributed to that spike. The first strand comprised specialists of transnational social movements such as Jackie Smith and Kathryn Sikkink.¹⁰⁶ The second group featured researchers who endorsed the global neo-institutionalist approach of US sociologist John Meyer and strived to establish the dynamics and genealogy of ‘world society’: they mined the *Yearbook* for data on INGOs, seam after seam, following its initial exploitation by John Boli and George Thomas. Within this large set of articles, the *Yearbook* is treated, in Jackie Smith’s words, as ‘the most comprehensive, annual census of international associations’.¹⁰⁷

In both clusters, *Yearbook* data fuelled different types of quantitative tools. Some were modest but widely adopted: counts of environmental INGOs per country to estimate pressure for environmental compliance in different countries;¹⁰⁸ creation rates of INGOs to trace the growing or diminishing strength of ‘world discourse’ within a specific subject domain;¹⁰⁹ country membership in IGOs and INGOs to assess the political autonomy of post-colonial states;¹¹⁰ country participation in INGOs to index support and incentives to ‘world order’ and international cooperation by different nations;¹¹¹ and the logging of national memberships in INGOs to estimate ‘linkage to world society’.¹¹² Together with the latter, ‘shared membership score’ – which measure a country’s membership in IGOs or INGOs as recorded in *Yearbook* entries – have frequently been used ever since Robert C. Angell’s introduction of the score in the late 1960s.¹¹³ A whole metrology was thus derived from the *Yearbook* and its data, some of it being described as ‘standard measure’.¹¹⁴ *Yearbook* data also fed into analytical statistics: scholars counted keywords in INGO names and descriptions,¹¹⁵ analysed membership

figures,¹¹⁶ drew from the ‘NGO relations’ section of the *Yearbook* to estimate the density of international civil society,¹¹⁷ or mapped the geographical repartition of secretariats offices.¹¹⁸ Those with a knack for more sophisticated quantitative analysis used *Yearbook* data to create dependent, independent or control variables about INGOs as they implemented regressive analysis or event history analysis to understand the development of international organization at large, or international organizations’ development in one domain after the other.¹¹⁹ The references in all these articles make it clear that the data extracted and coded from the *Yearbook* – alongside the indicators or variables it helped to build – was exchanged among individuals and generations of researchers.¹²⁰ The *Yearbook* and its data became part of a toolkit that circulated between collaborators, among colleagues and from masters to disciples, helping to create a research milieu. The reliance on *Yearbook* data extended beyond North America: when the London School of Economics team began to publish its *Global Civil Society Yearbook* in 2001, its researchers calculated a ‘membership density index’ for each country, based on the membership information of the *Yearbook* INGOs entries. More generally, their claim that INGOs were the embodiment of global civil society relied heavily on the *Yearbook* and its content – thus reproducing the justification loop installed by Fried and friends.¹²¹

How much has this reliance and presence led scholars to ponder the representativeness, consistency and accuracy of the data collected by the UIA and featured in the *Yearbook*? Here, a distinction needs to be made between researchers who used data about IGOs and data about INGOs. Canadian political scientist Michael Wallace and his US colleague David J. Singer, who assembled data about inter-governmental organizations between 1815 and 1964, were openly critical about the information provided by the *Annuaire*, the *Handbook* and the *Yearbook*. Vagueness of information, inaccuracies in the *Annuaire*, chronological publication gaps for the *Handbook*, as well as incomplete information and inconsistency of rules for the

Yearbook provided sufficient grounds for caution. More generally, they could not abide by the unspecified and inconsistent criteria for inclusion and the limited verification of information:

[I]t was clear that different rules had been used from year to year or even from page to page. In general, it seemed that the editors had largely permitted the organizations to categorize themselves as well as to define their own founding date, membership, and so forth (...)Such a procedure, of course, is not conducive to uniformity and comparability.¹²²

For these reasons, Wallace and Singer's 'Correlates of War' project incorporated additional data from many other sources. *Yearbook* data was again verified and complemented with other sources when this dataset was expanded in the early 2000s.¹²³ Despite the fact that, until the 2000s, scholars relied on *Yearbook* data to study shared membership in IGOs after 1964,¹²⁴ quantitative indicators about IGOs have usually been built from the expanded and corrected data of the 'Correlates of War' project.

The situation is quite different in the literature on INGOs, where *Yearbook* data reigns supreme. John Boli and George Thomas's forged the crown with their original statement that the *Yearbook* data was 'adequate for meaningful analysis' because of semi-official status of the *Yearbook*, continuous contact with 13,000 organizations, and annual revision and addition of information by UIA staff.¹²⁵ The very same year, Jackie Smith also endorsed *Yearbook* data, insisting on the use of various sources by the *Yearbook* staff in order to identify and characterize INGOs.¹²⁶ Such endorsements invite us to return to the Union's collection method. From Fried's first *Annuaire*s to the current edition of the *Yearbook*, information has come from the organizations themselves by way of questionnaires. Both the origins of the *Annuaire*s in the survey technique and the limited resources of the UIA conspired to leave it to international organizations to provide information. These questionnaires have never been included in the *Yearbooks*, but some can be found in archives.¹²⁷

The articles that I have consulted do not confront the questions that arise from this situation. How many INGOs have been able to commit enough staff's energy, competence and

time to complete the UIA's questionnaires sent by the Union? What has been the response rate for these surveys, especially when the updating of an existing entry was required? To what extent have organizations provided up-to-date and accurate facts or figures about such sensitive matters as membership distribution by country, budget amount or connections to other international organizations, considering the likely consequences for both their inclusion in the *Yearbook* and their public image? What has been the capacity of the *Yearbook* editorial team to fact-check this information or to complete questionnaire items that were not filled by the organizations? How far were UIA staff members able to chase organizations that had not yet been included in the *Yearbook* or to follow up with organizations that did not return questionnaires? These questions are important to appraise the coverage, accuracy and consistency of the *Yearbook*'s content – and, consequently, of the data researchers derived from it. They are not part of the critical apparatus of the articles in my sample, though.

Answers to these questions are scarce. Some clues, however, are offered by the 1968 'Judge report' and by the appendixes published since the *Yearbook*'s 1983–1984. From the former, we learn that 'the quality cannot be controlled because the UIA only includes what it gets and does not make, or cannot make, extensive efforts to improve the quality of individual entries'.¹²⁸ Judge blamed this incapacity to upgrade data quality to the lack of mechanisms for searching missing or additional information; the poor quality of existing files at UIA; the dearth of staff and time to gather information from external sources; the belatedness of questionnaire campaigns; and the costs involved in modifying existing text between different editions.¹²⁹ The UIA's shoe-string operation was taking its toll. Judge's conclusion was stern: data for many organizations was insufficient, the accuracy of information was diminishing and chances to reverse this development were complicated by the *Yearbook*'s principle to only include information approved by the organization concerned.

This remained a constant challenge, as confirmed by appendixes present since the 1983–1984 edition, chiefly the ‘Editorial Problems and Policies’ section. It acknowledged the under-reporting of INGOs that did not fit with the ‘genuinely international’ category and the fact that some organizations did not want to provide information on their budget or other items they deemed confidential. Some appendixes claimed that editors made their best to corroborate inflated statements and claims, but the method for collecting and publishing information remained unchanged: ‘the guiding principle has been to portray the organization as its sees itself usually from its own documents (...). The editors cannot verify the claims made in documents received.’¹³⁰ Although the wording and location changed slightly between editions, these caveats have been repeated over time between 1981 and 2015. The *Yearbook*’s ‘Warning’ section, published since the 1986–1987 volume, notes that ‘[the] final evaluation of the information presented here must be left to the users of this volume’.¹³¹ As with insurance contracts clauses written in small fonts, we may not have paid enough attention to this warning. More recently, the *Yearbook* has presented, for the first time, an evaluation of its data collection process: the 2014–2015 edition includes a (discreet) mention that the annual questionnaire to INGOs has had a response rate of 35 to 40 per cent: as such, it hardly amounts to an annual comprehensive census.¹³²

Conclusion

Having considered the chain that has been presented here – from production to consumption of the *Yearbook* and other directories of international organizations – I argue that their value has been overstated. Overstated by the UIA itself, and its publishers, who have staged a narrative of continuity, objectivity and consistency that leaves no place for the more tumultuous history of discontinuity, activism, institutionalization and difficulties that have marked the history of the *Annuaire*, *Handbook* and *Yearbook*. Overstated by us scholars, who have largely

accepted and used the *Yearbook* as an official or semi-official source of comprehensive, accurate and fine-tuned fact and data pool. This stance has been at its strongest for data concerning INGOs that political scientists and sociologists have been using in the last twenty years or so, especially through quantitative approaches to civil society.

What's next? Evelyn Bush's remarks about the biases embedded within the *Yearbook* do not seem to have been fully taken aboard yet. As of February 2018, her 2007 article has only been cited 3 times in the journals available on JSTOR, 4 times according to Web of Science, and only one of the 47 citations mentioned in Google Scholar acknowledges or follows up on her analysis of the *Yearbook's* data.¹³³ This is the case although, as early as 2007, John Boli and David Brevington pointed readers to Bush's piece in order to assess 'general problems and limitations that are bound to afflict any data source of this nature'.¹³⁴ Interestingly, Boli and Brevington's piece included an unprecedented critical appraisal of *Yearbook's* data: UIA's 'seven rules' used for inclusion were explicitly mentioned, as well as the availability rate rate of the information used in the chapter (membership numbers, for instance, were only available for 51.3 per cent of the organizations studied).¹³⁵ It was, to my knowledge, the first time that qualifications of the *Yearbook's* INGOs data were made public.

Other clues suggest that INGOs researchers are developing a more critical take on the *Yearbook*. Elizabeth Bloodgood and Hans Peter Schmitz have underlined that this most common source for quantitative data on INGOs has been problematic for 'the definition of INGOs which affects the conceptual assumptions shaping the dataset and the number of INGOs reported' and that 'a large part of the more detailed information is plagued by missing values, as UIA relies on self-reporting'.¹³⁶ They follow these remarks with a panorama of the attempts by NGO scholars to build their own *ad hoc* databases, using but not being bound by *Yearbook* material, and tailored to their research questions. It remains to be seen whether the insights of scholars like Bush or Bloodgood will blossom into a thorough critical examination, or if the

Yearbook, in the absence of other easily accessible cross sector options for INGOs data, is too unique to be failed.

Notes

Several people have been very generous in helping me write this chapter: *grand merci* to Christoph Verbruggen, Stéphanie Manfroid, Daiana Torres, Gregory Meyer, Michele Hiltzik, Elisabeth Bloodgood, Davide Rodogno and Daniel Laqua.

¹ The brochure was online on the website of publisher Brill-Nijhoff until July 2017 and can now be accessed at <<https://www.dropbox.com/s/gtyqxdqj1uglgl/Brill%20yearbook%20promotional%20material%202011.pdf>>.

² *Reference & User Services Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (1998).

³ Published between 2001 and 2012, beginning with Helmut Anheier et al., eds, *Global Civil Society 2001*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). See <http://www.gcsknowledgebase.org/> (accessed 3 July 2017).

⁴ Daniel Laqua, 'Alfred H. Fried and the Challenges for "Scientific Pacifism" in the Belle Époque', in Boyd W. Rayward, ed., *Information Beyond Borders: International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 182.

⁵ Anne Rasmussen, 'L'Internationale scientifique 1890–1914' (PhD diss., École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1995); Boyd Rayward, *The Universe of Information: the Work of Paul Otlet for Documentation and international Organization* (Moscow: Viniti, 1975).

⁶ Patrick Tort, *La Raison classificatoire* (Paris: Aubier, 1989).

⁷ See Rasmussen, 'L'Internationale scientifique', chap 5 and Rayward, *The Universe of Information*, chap 7.

⁸ Otlet, 9 août 1905, 'Chemise I. La fondation de l'UAI. A. Origines-historiques-membres. 1 Origines', box 242, Papiers Otlet, Mundaneum archives, Mons (hereafter: 'PO, Mundaneum').

⁹ Folder 'Septembre 1905. Congrès mondial' in 'Chemise I. La fondation de l'UAI...1 Origines', box 242, PO, Mundaneum.

¹⁰ Wouter van Acker, 'Sociology in Brussels, Organicism and the Idea of a World Society in the Period before the First World War', in *Information Beyond Borders*, ed. Rayward, 143–68.

¹¹ Nicolas Coupain, 'Ernest Solvay's Scientific Networks: From Personal Research to Academic Patronage', *The European Physical Journal Special Topics*, 224, no. 10 (2015): 2075–89; Andrée Despy-Meyer and Didier Devriese, eds, *Ernest Solvay et son temps* (Brussels: Archives de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1997).

¹² Solvay to Otlet, 17 September 1905, Folder 'Septembre 1905. Congrès Mondial' in 'Chemise I. La fondation de l'UAI... 1. Origines', box 242, PO, Mundaneum

¹³ Cyrille van Overbergh, 'L'association internationale', *Le Mouvement Sociologique international* 8, no. 3 (1907), 615–927 and *L'Association internationale* (Brussels: De Witt, 1907).

¹⁴ Laqua 'Alfred H. Fried'.

¹⁵ Convention entre M. A. Fried, et MM. La Fontaine et Otlet, 218 D6 O6, Papiers Personnels Henri La Fontaine, Mundaneum, Mons (hereafter HLF, Mundaneum). '1905.08.04' has been handwritten on the document, but the content refers to the 1907 edition of the *Annuaire*. Laqua, 'Alfred Fried' details the convention between the three men.

¹⁶ *Annuaire de la vie internationale 1910–1911* (Brussels: Union des Associations Internationales, 1913), 42.

¹⁷ Butler to La Fontaine, 15 December 1911, series III Division of Intercourse and education, subseries B, vol. 178, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Records, Butler Library, Rare books and manuscripts library, Columbia University, New York City (hereafter CEIP, Columbia). Another 15,000 \$ were granted by the Endowment in April 1913, amidst Endowment trustees' growing irritation in front of aggressive attempts by European peace societies to receive more funds.

¹⁸ 'Rapport présenté par l'Office des Associations internationales à la Carnegie Endowment for International Peace', November 1912, III, B, 178, CEIP, Columbia.

¹⁹ Minutes of the meetings of the administrative committee of the Union between 1915 and 1919, boxes 315–19, Union des associations internationales 1910–1937, Germany Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale 1870–1943, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University. For the origins of that collection, Madeleine Herren-Oesch "'Outwardly... an Innocuous Conference Authority": National Socialism and the Logistics of International Information Management', *German History* 20 no. 1 (2002): 67–92.

²⁰ Lafontaine to Haskell, 28 April 1915, CEIP, Columbia.

²¹ Nitobe to Otlet, 6 September and 11 October 1919, 'List of international bureaux etc', Registry Files 1919–1927, R 1004, Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva. The translated index was published as *Liste des Unions*,

Associations, Institutions, Commissions, Bureaux Internationaux, etc. List of International Unions, Associations, Institutions, Commissions, Bureaux, etc., publiée par la Société des Nations - League of Nations, établie par l'Union des Associations Internationales, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 4 November 1919.

²² Takashi Saikawa, 'From Intellectual Co-operation to International Cultural Exchange: Japan and China in the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, 1922–1939' (PhD diss., Universität Heidelberg, 2014), chap. 1 and esp. p. 28.

²³ Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c. 1918–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Jean Michel Chaumont, *Le Mythe de la traite des blanches: Enquête sur la fabrication d'un fléau* (Paris: La Découverte, 2009).

²⁴ Other repertoires were published at the time: one example is a competing handbook on international cultural organisations published in Japanese and English by the Japanese government. See Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch and Christiane Sibille, *Transcultural History: Theories, Methods, Sources* (Berlin: Springer, 2012), 39.

²⁵ Georges Patrick Speeckaert, 'A Glance at Sixty Years of Activity (1910–1970) of the Union of International Associations', in Union Internationale des Associations, *Union of International Associations 1910–1970: Past, Present, Future* (Brussels: Union des Associations Internationales, 1970), 32 and 35.

²⁶ Van Acker, *Universalism*, chap. 7 and 8.

²⁷ Françoise Lévie, *L'homme qui voulait classer le monde: Paul Otlet et le Mundaneum* (Brussels: Les impressions nouvelles, 2006), chap. 14.

²⁸ Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (London: Penguin, 2012), chap. 6.

²⁹ Herren 'Outwardly', esp. 72 – 3 and 82–6.

³⁰ Wust took up journalism after the war, during which he was a close collaborator of Général Guisan. He had been a member of the far-right party Union Nationale in the 1930s. See Luc Van Dongen, *La Suisse face à la Seconde Guerre mondiale, 1945–1948, émergence et construction d'une mémoire publique* (Geneva: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève, 1997), 144 and 178.

³¹ UIA general secretary Georges Patrick Speeckaert later wrote that the Geneva publishers approached the Union: 'Ouvrages de référence sur les organisations et réunions internationales', *Bulletin des bibliothèques de France* 5, no. 11 (1960), 7.

³² 'We shall hope to publish quite soon, a Hand-book with remarks on the organisations actually active at the moment': 'Statistical and Chronological Table of International Organisations', *Bulletin Mensuel* 2, no. 10 (1949): 155.

³³ 'Échos du centre de service UAI', *NGO Bulletin* 3, no. 6–7 (1951): 180–1.

³⁴ Speeckaert, 'A Glance', 34.

³⁵ 'The Third Conference of Consultative Non-Governmental Organizations', *Bulletin Mensuel* 2, nos. 8–9 (1950): 189.

³⁶ Aake Ording 'In the Service of International Progress', *Bulletin Mensuel* 2, no. (1950): 144–46.

³⁷ In 1950 and 1951, Ording applied for grants by the Ford Foundation for turning the UIA into a 'service center for INGOs'. Ford Foundation memos mention Ording's 'extreme aggressiveness' in this occasion. 'Union of International Associations. Summary & background statement', 19 November 1954, Ford PA 05600305, reel 0509, section 4, Ford Foundation Papers, Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown (hereafter FFP, RAC).

³⁸ Resolution 334, part B, United Nations, *Economic and Social Council records, 5th year, 11th session, supplement n°1 Resolutions*, p. 81 (available through Unbisnet.un.org). No official agreement was ever signed following this resolution.

³⁹ 'Revised status for the UIA', *Bulletin Mensuel* 2, no. 11 (1950): 252–6.

⁴⁰ Cf. the growing list of organizations with consultative status in *Yearbook of the United Nations* in 1946–1947, 1947–1948 and 1948–1949.

⁴¹ Actual cooperation, in the form of revision of entries by the UN staff, disappeared from advertisements with the 1962–1963 edition, while the annual *UN Report of the Secretary General on the Work of the Organization* dropped the ritual mention of cooperation between the UN and the Union after 1976. Every *Yearbook* edition since 1951–1952 has highlighted UN endorsement.

⁴² Anthony Judge, 'Report of a preliminary investigation of the possibility of using computer data processing methods', appendix 1 'Analysis of internal and external factors which may influence the future of the organization', exhibit 38, p. 1. All the documents written by Judge and used in this chapter are available on his website (www.laetusinpraesens.org), and were downloaded in November 2015.

⁴³ First mention in 'Types of organization', *Yearbook of International Organizations* 1978 (Brussels: Union of International Associations, 1979).

⁴⁴ In November 1952, the 1953 edition of the *Répertoire des organisations scientifiques internationales* was being finalized by UNESCO when the UIA secretary launched a campaign of direct and indirect political pressures to persuade UNESCO to terminate that publication and instead provide a subsidy to the Union for the *Yearbook*. See correspondence in 061 A 01 UIA/31, 'Yearbook of International Organizations, Yearbook of International

Organizations edited by Union of Intern. Associations, Bureau of general services', registry and mail division, Index of inactive correspondence files, series 1946–1956, Archives de l'UNESCO, Paris.

⁴⁵ Himself being reluctant to answer further questions, Anthony Judge's trajectory is reconstructed from his publications and his Wikipedia entry. He left the Union in 2007.

⁴⁶ 'The Union of International Associations A Profile', *World Union-Goodwill* 2, no. 3 (1962): 40–3. World-Union was published in India by followers of Sri Aurobindo and his 'word union' project.

⁴⁷ Anthony Judge, 'Sharing a Documentary Pilgrimage. UIA/Saur Relations 1982–2000', July 2001.

⁴⁸ Anthony Judge, 'Information Culture of the Union of International Associations, a Historical Review', 4 February 2005.

⁴⁹ The latter resulting from a joint endeavour launched in 1972 with the Mankind 2000/Humanity 2000 group, see Jenny Andersson, *The Future of the World: Futurists, Futurology, and the Post Cold War World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁵⁰ Presentation by Brill representative for Eastern Europe, Russia, June 2013. Available online: <http://slideplayer.com/slide/4665450/> (accessed 3 July 2017).

⁵¹ *Union des associations internationales. Bulletin mensuel* (juin–juillet 1950, p.162.

⁵² Otlar to Wouters, 30 April 1929, folder 56, box 918, PO, Mundaneum.

⁵³ Lloyd to Leak, 17 July 1919, R1004, Registry Files 1919–1927, League of Nations Archives, Geneva. In 1926, another League memo clarified that there had only been two copies in England, one in the Foreign Office and one elsewhere.

⁵⁴ The URL for Worldcat is <http://www.worldcat.org>. As with other serials, the *Annuaire*'s identification is difficult because of catalogues' confusion or lack of precision regarding the presence of one or both the two editions. Moreover, Worldcat only aggregates a limited numbers of public libraries catalogues, with uneven coverage of and within countries, and has a strong bias for university libraries. These searches were made in April 2016.

⁵⁵ 'Facture au 31 décembre 1913', 218 D3 SD 1-58, HLF, Mundaneum.

⁵⁶ Not much can be done of the national or regional distribution of holdings because their presence or absence is biased by the multiple filters embedded into Worldcat.

⁵⁷ 'Recettes 1907–1911', 218 D3 SD 1-25, HLF, Mundaneum.

⁵⁸ 'Note', appended to La Fontaine to Scott, 30 April 1911, series III Division of Intercourse and education, subseries B, vol. 178, CEIP, Columbia.

⁵⁹ 'Rapport sur l'Office central des associations internationales présenté à la Carnegie endowment for international peace', 21 October 1912, p.6, series III, Division of Intercourse and education, subseries B, vol. 178, CEIP, Columbia. My translation.

⁶⁰ The back matter is rarely included in the digitised version available from the Union's website, but no insert with information for obtaining the *Annuaire* is present between 1912 and 1914. This would only happen in the first post-war issue of the journal, in 1921.

⁶¹ *La vie internationale*, 2, 1912, p. 312.

⁶² 'Introduction', *Yearbook of International Organizations, 1951–1952* (Brussels: Union of International Associations, 1952), 11.

⁶³ 'Échos de l'UAI centre de service', *NGO Bulletin* 4, no. 8–9 (1952): 314.

⁶⁴ Advertisements have been found through the search engines of several platforms for digital versions of scientific journals (see below). Digitalization does not always include non editorial pages (whence a bias for US journals, for JSTOR carries them and Hein on line does not).

⁶⁵ *NGO Bulletin* 3, nos. 6–7 (1951), backmatter.

⁶⁶ Correspondence of this researcher with UIA, December 2015.

⁶⁷ Georges Patrick Speckaert to Shepard Stone, 19 July 1954 and 16 September 1954, PA 05600305 reel 0509 section 4, FFP, RAC.

⁶⁸ 'The development of the UIA's resources coming from its publications', PA 05600305 reel 0509 section 4, FFP, RAC.

⁶⁹ Judge, 'Report of a Preliminary Investigation', appendix 1: 'Analysis on internal and external factors which may influence the future of the organization', p.101.

⁷⁰ Judge, 'Report of a Preliminary Investigation', appendix 1 and appendix 1 exhibits 30 to 33.

⁷¹ The flip side was a financial low every two years, between editions of the *Yearbook*, and a shrinking cash-flow during the months pending publication of the new edition.

⁷² Judge, 'Report', appendix I, exhibit 21, Note that figures are not comprehensive or coherent.

⁷³ One may also wonder why INGOs would have trusted the content of a volume when their own self-reporting was left unchecked.

⁷⁴ Judge, 'Report', Appendix 1, p. 34.

⁷⁵ Those published by the Library of Congress in 1962 (science organizations) and by the International Council of Voluntary Agencies in 1967 (development organizations) were considered hostile and most damaging.

- ⁷⁶ Heinz Adamczyk et al, eds, *Handbuch der internationalen Organisationen* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1967) [The German Common library catalogue only includes a 1969 version.]
- ⁷⁷ Judge, 'Report of a Preliminary Investigation', Appendix 1, 114.
- ⁷⁸ Diagnoses, statements and directions in this report seem to have been partly a blueprint for Judge's action during his following four decades of editorial work and supervision for the Union.
- ⁷⁹ Anthony Judge 'UIA Survival: Separate Siamese Twins?', 30 January 2005.
- ⁸⁰ Note that Gale became the publisher of the *Yearbook* in the early 2000s.
- ⁸¹ Louis-Jacques Lyonette, 'In Memoriam: Adolf Sprudz', *International Journal of Legal Information* 31, no. 2 (2003): xxxvi–xxxvii.
- ⁸² 'Foreword', *Yearbook of International Organizations 1958–1959* (Brussels: Union of International Associations, 1958), 9.
- ⁸³ Explicit mentions of *Annuaire* and *Yearbook* have been searched systematically in Academic Search Complete, SocIndex, PAIS Archive, Sociological Abstracts, Academic on File, JSTOR, Web of Science, Hein on Line, Persée, Cairn (available at the Université Laval library). The search for mentions of the *Annuaire* returned a few dozen hits, and a few hundreds for the *Yearbook*. Major biases derive from the remit of these resources and glitches in digitization. Online search did not return every relevant article, when compared with Chadwick F. Alger 'Research on Research: A Decade of Quantitative and Field Research on International Organizations', *International Organization* 24, no. 3 (1970): 414–50. Secondly, results are overwhelmingly from journals in French and English, and published in the USA. Note that a systematic search of monographs and collections of essays was excluded for lack of digital platforms allowing the full-text exploration of coherent series of books over time.
- ⁸⁴ A.W. Allen, 'International Peace through Enlightened Self-Interest', *The Advocate of Peace* 73, no. 2 (1911): 42; Lucia Ames Mead, *Swords and Ploughshares or the Supplanting of the System of War* (New York: Putnam, 1912), 56.
- ⁸⁵ Elmer Louis Kayser, 'Books', *World Affairs* 115, no. 3 (1952), 92.
- ⁸⁶ *Studies in Transnational Legal Policy*, vol. 31 (1999), 1.
- ⁸⁷ *Civilisations* 14, no. 4 (1964): 414.
- ⁸⁸ *World Affairs* 126, no. 2 (1963): 150.
- ⁸⁹ Only 12 footnotes refer to the *Annuaire* as a source of information. The *Annuaire* was acknowledged, though, in the first systematic book-length academic studies of international organizations, such as John C. Faries, 'The Rise of Internationalism' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1915) and Lyman C. White, *The Structure of Private International Organizations* (Philadelphia, PA: George S. Ferguson, 1933).
- ⁹⁰ Henn-Jüri Uibopuu, 'International Legal Personality of Union Republics of U.S.S.R.', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1975): 834.
- ⁹¹ Edward Miles 'Organizations and Integration in International Systems', *International Studies Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1968): 196.
- ⁹² See e.g. John Boli and George M. Thomas, 'World Culture in the World Polity: A Century of International Non-Governmental Organization', *American Sociological Review* 62, no. 2 (1997): 174.
- ⁹³ This section disappeared in the first editions published by Brill. The mention of cooperation between the UN and the Union resurfaced in the 2014–2015 edition, in a more discreet phrasing.
- ⁹⁴ The agreement stipulated that the Union would manage UNESCO NGO section's database.
- ⁹⁵ Ecosoc, Resolution 288 (X), 27 February 1950. Subsequent Ecosoc resolutions did establish some criteria for awarding consultative status, but they did not define INGOs as such.
- ⁹⁶ 'What kind of organizations are included', *Yearbook of International Organizations 1968–1969* (Brussels: Union of International Associations, 1969), 11–12.
- ⁹⁷ The table 'Phases and emphases of international organization data series', allows us to appraise reallocation of organizations among new types ('Before you start' section in the 2014–2015 edition of the statistics and visualization volume).
- ⁹⁸ Including Boli and Thomas, 'World Culture', 174, whose section about the *Yearbook* and INGOs data was reprinted as chapter in their influential co-edited volume *Constructing World Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- ⁹⁹ Jackie Smith, Ron Pagnucco and George A. Lopez, 'Globalizing Human Rights: The Work of Transnational Human Rights NGOs in the 1990s', *Human Rights Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1998): 379–412; Corinne Lennox and Anna-Maria Biro, 'Introductory Study: Civil Society organisations and the International Protection Regime for Minorities', *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights* 18, no. 2 (2011): 135–160.
- ¹⁰⁰ Evelyn L. Bush, 'Measuring Religion in Global Civil Society', *Social Forces* 85, no. 4 (2007): 1645–65. Patricia Bromley also described the 'well-known weaknesses' of the *Yearbook* but stopped there ('The Rationalization of Educational Development: Scientific Activity among International Nongovernmental Organizations', *Comparative Education Review* 54, no. 4 (2010): 577–601).
- ¹⁰¹ Bush, 'Measuring', 1657.

- ¹⁰² For a survey of statistical studies of non-state actors and their conclusions, see Elizabeth Bloodgood, 'The Yearbook of International Organizations and Quantitative Non-State Actor Research', in Bob Reinalda, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Non-State Actors* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 19–33.
- ¹⁰³ Ruth C. Young, 'Structural Approach to Development', *The Journal of Developing Areas* 2, no. 3 (1968): 363–76.
- ¹⁰⁴ Kjell Skjelsbaek, 'The Growth of International Nongovernmental Organization in the Twentieth Century', *International Organization* 25, no. 3 (1971): 420–42.
- ¹⁰⁵ Michael Wallace and J. David Singer, 'Intergovernmental Organization in the Global System, 1815–1964: A Quantitative Description', *International Organization* 24, no. 2 (1970): 239–87.
- ¹⁰⁶ Both researchers used the *Yearbook* to constitute their data base, and cooperated to code data.
- ¹⁰⁷ Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest, 'The Uneven Geography of Global Civil Society: National and Global Influences on Transnational Association', *Social Forces* 84, no. 2 (2005): 629.
- ¹⁰⁸ Andrew B. Whitford and Karen Wong, 'Political and Social Foundations for Environmental Sustainability', *Political Research Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (2009): 190–204.
- ¹⁰⁹ See e.g. Yong Suk Jang, 'The Worldwide Founding of Ministries of Science and Technology, 1950–1990', *Sociological Perspectives* 43, no. 2 (2000): 247–70.
- ¹¹⁰ Ruth C. Young, 'Political Autonomy and Economic Development in the Caribbean Islands', *Caribbean Studies* 16, no. 1 (1976): 86–114.
- ¹¹¹ See the research by Robert C. Angell, esp. *Peace on the March: Transnational Participation* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1969). When discussing Angell's conclusions, other researchers have relied and continue to rely on *Yearbook* data: Michael P. Sullivan 'International Organizations and World Order: A Reappraisal', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 22, no. 1 (1978): 105–20; Bruce Russett, John R. O'Neal and David R. Davis, 'The Third Leg of the Kantian Tripod for Peace: International Organizations and Militarized Disputes, 1950–85', *International Organization* 52, no. 3 (1998): 441–67.
- ¹¹² John W. Meyer, Patricia Bromley and Francisco O. Ramirez, 'Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks: Cross-national Analyses, 1970–2008', *Sociology of Education* 83, no. 2 (2010): 121. The measure was established in John Boli, Thomas A. Loya and Teresa Loftin, 'National Participation in World-Polity Organization', in *Constructing World Culture*, ed. Boli and Thomas, 50–77.
- ¹¹³ 'Shared membership' score is used as a proxy for commitment or influence of a country and its citizens in the international system or in international social movements. See Robert C. Angell, 'An Analysis of Trends in International Organizations', *Peace Research Society International Papers* 3 (1965), 185–95. Note that this piece was not available for the sample used in this study.
- ¹¹⁴ John W. Meyer et al. 'Human Rights', p.121.
- ¹¹⁵ David John Frank, in his single or co-authored pieces 'Science, Nature, and the Globalization of the Environment, 1870–1990', *Social Forces* 76, no. 2 (1997): 409–35; 'The Individualization of Society and the Liberalization of State Policies on Same-Sex Sexual Relations, 1984–1995', *Social Forces* 77, no. 3 (1999): 911–43; 'The Global Dimensions of Rape-Law Reform: A Cross-National Study of Policy Outcomes', *American Sociological Review* 74, no. 2 (2009): 272–90.
- ¹¹⁶ Mark J. Schafer, 'International Nongovernmental Organizations and Third World Education in 1990: A Cross-National Study', *Sociology of Education* 72, no. 2 (1999): 69–88; Kiyoteru Tsutsui and Christine Min Wotipka, 'Global Civil Society and the International Human Rights Movement: Citizen Participation in Human Rights International Nongovernmental Organizations', *Social Forces* 83, no. 2 (2004): 587–620; Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest, 'The Uneven Geography of Global Civil Society', *Social Forces*, 84, no. 2 (2005): 621–52.
- ¹¹⁷ Jackie Smith. 'Characteristics of the Modern Transnational Social Movement Sector' in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield and Ron Pagnucco, eds, *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity beyond the State* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press), 42–58.
- ¹¹⁸ Howard Ramos, James Ron and Oskar N. T. Thoms, 'Shaping the Northern Media's Human Rights Coverage, 1986–2000', *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 4 (2007): 385–406.
- ¹¹⁹ Jason Beckfield, 'Inequality in the World Polity: The Structure of International Organization', *American Sociological Review* 68, no. 3 (2003): 401–24.
- ¹²⁰ This was also true for the large databases that used *Yearbook* data and have been subsequently used by many researchers: 'Correlates of War', now considerably expanded and available at www.correlatesofwar.org, was started by political scientists Michael Wallace and J. David Singer in the 1960s. The 'Transnational Social Movement Organization Dataset, 1953–2003', made public under the aegis of the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, was created in 2003–2005 by sociologists Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest.
- ¹²¹ Helmut Anheier, 'Measuring Global Civil Society', in *Global Civil Society 2001*, ed. Anheier et al., 221–4; Helmut Anheier and Sally Stares, 'Introducing the Global Civil Society Index', in *Global Civil Society 2002*, ed. Anheier et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 241–54.
- ¹²² Wallace and Singer, 'Intergovernmental Organization in the Global System', 245.

¹²³ Jon C. Pevehouse, Timothy Nordstrom, and Kevin Warnke, 'The COW-2 International Organizations Dataset Version 2.0', *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 21, no. 2 (2004), 101–19.

¹²⁴ E.g. Charles W. Kegley Jr. and Llewellyn D. Howell, 'The Dimensionality of Regional Integration: Construct Validation in the Southeast Asian Context', *International Organization* 29, no. 4 (1975): 997–1020; Harold K. Jacobson, William M. Reisinger and Todd Mathers, 'National Entanglements in International Governmental Organizations', *The American Political Science Review* 80, no. 1 (1986): 141–59.

¹²⁵ Boli and Thomas 'World Culture', 174.

¹²⁶ Smith, 'Characteristics of the Modern Transnational Social Movement'.

¹²⁷ See questionnaire for the 1951 edition,

<<https://www.dropbox.com/s/46zu53r86r9a1zz/1951%2008%20UIA%20%20to%20UNESCO%20questionnaire%20yearbook.JPG>> and, for the 1955–1956 edition,

<<https://www.dropbox.com/s/8f1gs25suqt9znl/1954%2001%20yearbook%20Questionnaire%20form.pdf>>

'Yearbook of International Organizations, Yearbook of International Organizations edited by Union of Intern. Associations', Bureau of General Services, Registry and Mail Division, 'Index of inactive correspondence files', series 1946–1956, 061 A 01 UIA/31, UNESCO archives.

¹²⁸ Judge, 'Report for a Preliminary Investigation', appendix 1 'Analysis of international and external factors which may influence the future of the organization', p.51.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 53.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 1777.

¹³¹ *Yearbook of International Organizations 2014–2015*, vol. 1A (Leiden: Brill, 2015), x.

¹³² Ibid., vol.5, 444.

¹³³ Stephanie A. Limoncelli, 'What in the World Are Anti-Trafficking NGOs Doing? Findings from a Global Study', *Journal of Human Trafficking* 2, no. 4 (2016): 316–28.

¹³⁴ John Boli and David V. Brewington 'Religious Organizations', in Peter Beyer and Lori Gail Beaman, eds, *Religion, Globalization and Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 206.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 207.

¹³⁶ Elizabeth A. Bloodgood and Hans Peter Schmitz, 'The INGO Research Agenda: A Community Approach to Challenges in Method and Theory', in *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*, ed. Bob REinalda (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 73.