

## CHAPTER 8

# How the World Speaks about American Politics: A Political Sociology of the *American Political Science Review*

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“Since there appear to be so many Americans willing to study American politics, what necessity is there for foreigners to do the same?” (Polsby 1972: 499).

### Introduction

Drawing a comparison with physics and genetics, in which researchers certified in one country can practice in another region, David McKay (1988, 1991) and Pippa Norris (1997) showed to what extent careers in political science are usually confined within the boundaries of a single country. Using data on the proportion of colleagues based in North America who attended ECPR conferences (European Consortium for Political Research), McKay discovered little support for the emergence of a trans-Atlantic community of political science (McKay 1991: 460). Indeed, between 1981 and 1985, only 3.6 per cent of ECPR participants originated from North America (Newton 1991). In addition, Norris (1997) examined patterns of convergence or divergence between the political science discipline in Europe and in America, based on journal articles. She reported a growing rift between the two regions in terms of methodological approaches, research agendas, and level of internationalization. With regard to the latter, the in-house journal of the American Political Science Association (APSA) was found to have resisted the trend towards internationalization (Norris 1997: 29). Moreover, Schmitter (2002), in a study testing the universality of American political science, suggested that the discipline “cannot be an American science” (2002: 36). In particular, Schmitter argued that “the contemporary gap between what is driving American politics and what is driving “other peoples’ politics” is growing wider, not narrower” (2002: 36).

However, more recent changes suggest a growing internationalization. Much has been written (Schmitter 2002) about the rising number of graduate students in political science, the increasing requirement for cross-national training and career experience in the discipline, and the strong incentive to attend international conferences in the field, such as the Annual Meeting of the APSA or the IPSA (International Political Science

Association) World Congress. These are clear signs of an internationalization of the discipline. Today, theories and findings transcend national barriers and boundaries. Consequently, one would expect to find signs of an increasingly globalized political profession and of an increase in the proportion of foreign-based scholars focusing on American politics. However, I could not discover such a trend in the *American Political Science Review*. The study of American politics is still very much a field restricted to nationals. There is no Asian, European or Latin American science of American politics.

Unsurprisingly, American politics are most often studied in the US, where thousands of American scholars engage in the study of their own political system. In comparison, the study of US politics remains a small-scale phenomenon in Europe (Ashbee 2013). Commenting on the research input of Europeans to American politics, Polsby (1972) and McKay (1988, 1991) are not flattering. In a review article surveying six books on the US political process by British authors, Polsby noted:

“The evidence of British contribution to the advanced study of American political and governmental institutions which they [the books] reveal is slight. There are no British contributors to the contemporary scholarly study of Congress, the Presidency, the executive branch, the parties or the courts. There are no British counterparts to Austin Ranney’s *Pathways to Parliament*, Harry Eckstein’s *Pressure Group Politics*, Samuel Beer’s *Treasury Control* or numerous works by Leon Epstein” (1972: 498).

Twenty years later, McKay’s words were no more favourable when he suggested that few Europeans have exerted any influence on the American debate (McKay 1991: 463).

Following the efforts by Polsby, McKay, Norris, and Schmitter, I aim in this chapter to continue a disciplinary conversation surrounding the contribution not only of European but also of foreign-based political scientists to the advanced study of American politics. To evaluate this contribution, I first conduct a longitudinal analysis of the official journal of APSA, the *American Political Science Review* (*APSR*) over the past three decades, with the objective of identifying non-American<sup>1</sup> authors. I ask: who are the scholars who generate knowledge on American politics from outside the United States? Secondly, I focus on their graduate and academic careers by offering a sociological study of scholars. In this chapter, I test the hypothesis that careers and reputations in the discipline of political science are made within the boundaries of one country (McKay 1991: 459).

In the analysis that follows, I firstly underline the importance of the intensive professional socialization process acquired by many of the European political scientists educated in American institutions and appointed as visiting scholars or professors in departments on the other side of the Atlantic. Next, I highlight the crucial role played by collaborative endeavours when it comes to publications in the sub-discipline of American politics. If we analyse European publications about American politics in the pages of the *Review*, we find that cross-national teams of authors prevail. Finally,

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<sup>1</sup> In this chapter I refer to “non-American” and “foreign-based” scholars interchangeably to designate contributors who are not based in an institution in the United States.

this chapter points out the scant interest shown in American politics by foreign-based scholars and European political departments.

### 1. Toward a merger of European and American political science?

Researchers in the field have long discussed whether there are one or several political sciences. Can political science be characterized as cosmopolitan or universal in character? Does the evidence rather suggest the existence of different political science communities? Focusing on a comparison of three political science journals from 1973 to 2002, Boncourt (2008) showed to what extent European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) political science differs from national political science traditions within Europe.

The same question can be asked on a larger scale, moving beyond the European landscape: Are we dealing with an internationally-integrated discipline or do different disciplines coexist on both sides of the Atlantic? This question has been addressed in the literature, on the basis of various indicators.

Firstly, if we look at the theories mobilized by political scientists, the idea of two divided and hermetic perspectives of the discipline emerges. An investigation of four leading journals, two from each side of the Atlantic, in the field of International Relations is overwhelmingly clear: rational choice arguments are present in 77.9 per cent of the articles in *International Studies Quarterly* and 63.9 per cent in *International Organization*, as opposed to 42.3 per cent in the *European Journal of International Relations* and only 17.4 per cent in the *Review of International Studies* (Waever 1998: 701-702). Conversely, non-postmodern constructivism, post-structuralism, marxism, and feminism constitute the theoretical framework of 7.8 and 25.0 per cent of the articles in the two American journals; and 40.4 and 40.6 in the European journals (Waever 1998: 702).

More recently, studies have compared the profile of authors publishing in political science journals, with a specific focus on their geographical origin (Norris 1997; McCormick and Rice 2001; Munck and Snyder 2007; Boncourt 2007, 2008). A study by Klingemann on the ranking of graduate departments pointed out that even Canadian political scientists do not publish in American journals even though they do read and quote these publications (Klingemann 1986: 660). Like their Canadian colleagues, researchers in Europe usually do not publish in these journals (McKay 1991: 460). Previous work has suggested that researchers outside the US may “prefer publication in home-grown publications for purely instrumental reasons” (McKay 1991: 462). Admittedly, as McKay aptly phrased, “their careers can progress quite satisfactorily without going through the difficult business, including learning new skills, of publishing in what are regarded as the best US journals” (1991: 462). Similarly, as McKay’s interesting piece on European political science showed, European journals are rarely read and cited by American authors (McKay 1991: 460).

These examples show that there is little evidence of the two worlds of European and American political sciences forming a global and united perspective of the discipline. Rather, the evidence suggests the existence of two separate and closed political science professions.

However, other evidence suggests that American and European political science have regularly interacted over time. In the 1930s and 1940s, European émigrés left Europe and migrated to America to escape fascism and nazism. These scholars had an intellectual impact on various subfields of political science in America, including political theory<sup>2</sup> (Leo Strauss, Hannah Arendt), international relations (Hans Morgenthau, Ernst Haas, Stanley Hoffmann, and Karl Deutsch), social theory (Theodor W. Adorno), and comparative politics (Paul Lazarsfeld) (Loewenberg 2006: 597-598; Ruget 2000; Vennesson 1997: 178). A second illustration derives from the importance of English and German universities both for American political scientists and for American academic curriculums. Indeed, the first generation of US political scientists had received their training, and often PhD degrees, from German universities at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Besides, the English college curriculum tradition was exported to America's earliest colleges (Altbach 1998: 101). As US universities developed their own graduate programmes early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the imprint of academic models from 19<sup>th</sup>-century Germany was deeply present (Altbach 1998: 101). The curricula of the pioneering political science departments in the US were shaped by the scope and methods of *Staatswissenschaft*. As Loewenberg suggests, political science was primarily perceived as the science of the State (2006: 597).

But the influence goes both ways, with the American political science and its norms and practices being exported. As pointed out by Almond (1997), American-type political science has been exported in the 20<sup>th</sup> century to Europe, Latin America, Japan, and more surprisingly to the USSR and China (Almond 1997: 40). Referring to the American influence on European political science, Blondiaux (1997: 8) talks about a "process of Americanization". In addition, Waever's sociological report of a "not so international discipline" (Waever 1998) provides a broad picture of the hegemonic configuration centred on America in the field of International Relations throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and beginning of the 1990s (see also the chapter by Lorenzo Angelini in this volume). Some scholars have argued that the understanding of International Relations is monopolized or owned by the United States (see Aydinli and Mathews 2000) with US scholars, as Haftendorn has showed for international security affairs, defining the research topics, methodological tools, and funding priorities (Haftendorn 1988: 179). Moreover, when the ECPR started organizing summer schools at Budge's instigation, these summer schools were shaped on the American example of the Michigan-based Inter-University Consortium for Political Research (ICPR) (Boncourt 2009). Rather than suggesting the existence of two separate perspectives on the political science discipline, these examples constitute signs of mutual influence between American and European political science communities.

In line with these developments, but moving beyond the Europe-America relationship, the question raised in this chapter is the following: How do non-Americans contribute to the debate on American politics? In other words, I investigate the input of foreign-based scholars to the subfield of US politics. In a recent study on American politics in Europe, Ashbee shows to what extent American politics

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion on the influence of French thinkers on American political theory, see the chapter by Manuel Cervera-Marzal in this volume.

as a sub-discipline has always been a small-scale phenomenon in both the UK and continental Europe (Ashbee 2013: 2). Researchers listed in the Directory of European Political Scientists whose interests include American politics amounted for about 100 scholars (out of 2,500) in the late 1980s. Among these practitioners, as McKay (1991) noted, “only a handful (...) studied the US exclusively”. In contrast, more than “10,000 American political scientists are exclusively engaged in the study of their own country” (McKay 1988: 103). More significantly, in a 2002 survey conducted in Britain in which respondents were invited to indicate the primary geographical area covered in their research, only 3.8 per cent mentioned North America (Ashbee 2013: 2). This trend is also striking if one considers panels at European conferences. At both the ECPR and the Political Studies Association (PSA) in the UK, American politics is largely unrepresented. If one looks at the programme of the 2013 ECPR September conference, only two panels out of 410 addressed US politics, both in a comparative perspective. Besides, the Standing Groups concentrating on territorially-defined areas include Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, South-East Europe, but there is no mention of North America. In Western Europe, the American Politics Group is the only dedicated organization that focuses on U.S. politics.

## **2. American-based scholars dominate journal articles on American politics**

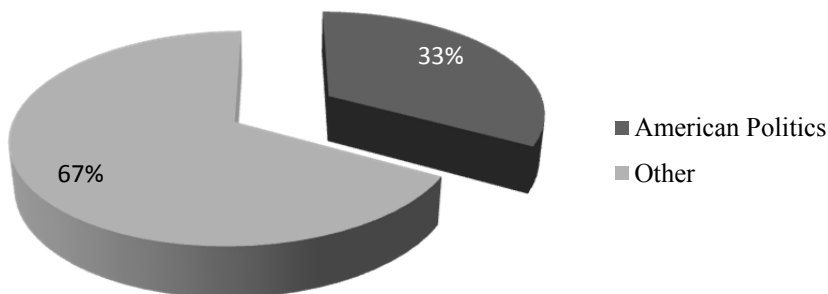
This chapter focuses on journal articles as suitable starting-points for an understanding of the contributions of foreign-based scholars to the subfield of American politics. The sociology of international relations, as Waeber has pointed out, uses journals as “the most direct measure of the discipline itself” (Waeber 1988: 697). Together with books, “scholarly journals constitute the primary media through which political scientists communicate the results of their research to their discipline” (Garand and Giles 2003: 293). Analysing these journal articles constitutes a suitable starting point for assessing the scholarly input of European political science practitioners to the subfield of US politics. In order to conduct this study, this chapter analyses the output of the *American Political Science Review* (*APSR*). As Sigelman explained: “Past issues of the *Review* provide a treasure trove of data about how the scholarly work of political science evolved over the century” (2006: 465). In addition, the *APSR* is one of the oldest journals in the discipline. It was first issued in November 1906 and has been published continuously ever since. The *Review* is widely regarded as political science’s top ranked and most prestigious research journal (Giles, Mizell and Patterson 1989; Garand 1990; Lester 1990; Kaba 2013; Ashbee 2013). More importantly, the *APSR* is the official publication of the American Political Science Association, and has a broad appeal. While American politics offered the main attraction of the *Review* during its early years (Sigelman 2006: 470), today, it provides quarterly peer-reviewed articles from various subfields across the discipline. However, the problems associated with selecting one journal are well known. As pointed out by Hix in his study of rankings of academic departments, “studying the content of one journal inevitably risks a high degree of error” (2004: 296).

For the purpose of this study, all articles published in the *APSR* since 1982 were reviewed. As in previous work on journals (Billordo 2005; Gottraux et al. 2000; Hix 2004), I excluded from consideration editorial comments, book reviews, controversies,

exchanges between critics and authors, symposium articles, and the forum. I also excluded the annual addresses by APSA presidents and the November 2006 centennial issue of the *Review*. With these exclusions, 1,383 articles and research notes remained for consideration.

In a first step, I identified in this corpus all articles in the subfield of American politics<sup>3</sup>, which amounts to 450 articles. This represents almost 33 per cent of all articles considered in the 1982-2013 period. This classification method appears reliable since it leads to proportions very close to the proportion published in the official editorial report of the *APSR*, although the latter displays fluctuations over the years. According to the report, articles on American politics represent 21 per cent of all articles in 2008-2009, 33 per cent in 2004-2005, but only 15 per cent in 2002-2003 (Sigelman 2004: 141; Sigelman 2006: 172; Rogowski 2010: 385).

**Figure 8.1:** Primary topic of articles (%)

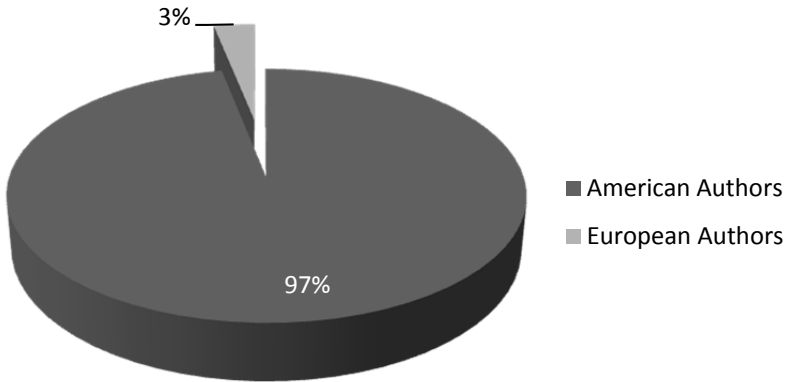


As a second step, data on the geographical dispersion of the authors was collected in order to distinguish foreign-based scholars from their colleagues based in American universities. While some studies consider the nationality of the authors (Schmitter 2002), most research studies use the criteria of the location of their listed institutional affiliation (Boncourt 2007, 2008; McCormick and Rice 2002; Norris 1997; Waever 1988). This chapter adopts a similar strategy and focuses on the institutional affiliation of contributors in order to draw a distinction between non-American and American researchers. Collecting information on the institutional affiliation of authors is much easier than on their nationality. Besides, it is well known that American universities are tremendously international and that a significant portion of what I define as “American scholars” were born abroad.

<sup>3</sup> I opted here for my own methodology despite the existence of pre-existing categorization provided by the *APSR*’s editors. This choice is justified by the addition over the years of new categories to the classification offered by the *APSR*, which complicate comparison over time. Our methodology includes in the subfield of American politics all articles with an explicit reference to American politics either in the publication’s title or in the abstract. Most of the coding was relatively easy: almost every time the words “America” or “US” appeared, it was in isolation from any other country. However, this methodology also led to the inclusion of some comparative studies in which the United States was not the only country under study.

This analysis highlights the organization of the political science community in the U.S. (Gottraux et al. 2000: 301). If one analyses the provenance of articles on American politics, the results reveal a striking pattern: non-American scholars represent only 3.11 per cent of articles dealing with US politics (n=14). This shows very clearly that, unsurprisingly, few European authors<sup>4</sup> contribute to the field of American politics.

**Figure 8.2:** Institutional affiliation of authors (%)



The scant presence of foreign-based contributors has also been highlighted in previous research. A study by McCormick and Rice (2002) of five American political science journals between 1994 and 1998 found that scholars from foreign institutions wrote only 4.7 per cent of the publications (McCormick and Rice 2002: 676). In the most comprehensive examination of the publications in the *Review*, Miller et al. (1996) reported that less than five per cent of all articles were authored by foreign-based contributors in the 1979-1983 period. In the next decade, this proportion remained stable with only two per cent of the authors originating from Western Europe (Norris 1997). As Norris aptly phrased it: “The *APSR* represents the main forum where American political scientists are speaking to each other, but not where the world speaks to American political science” (Norris 1997: 30).

By contrast, America is today more strongly represented in European political science journals. However, this has not always been the case. In the 1970s, the *EJPR* (*European Journal of Political Research*) drew almost exclusively (94 per cent) on articles written by colleagues based in Western European universities. Over the decades, the *EJPR* saw a rise in contributions from North America (Norris 1997; Boncourt 2008). While Americans amounted to 6 per cent of the *EJPR*'s authors in the 1970s, a fifth of the authors in the 1990s came from this region (Norris 1997: 29). Further evidence of a more international and cosmopolitan profession can be found in *Political Studies*. In the 1990s, more than a quarter (26 per cent) of the contributors

<sup>4</sup> In what follows, I refer to non-American based authors as “European” authors. In fact, among those 14 authors, three are not based in European institutions. Nevertheless, I decided to include them in order to provide a richer analysis.



in *PS* was American, 59 per cent Western European, and the remaining 15 per cent were scholars based in other regions of the world (Norris 1997: 29). More recent trends in *Political Studies* point a rise in submissions originating from other regions of the world (22 per cent) and a slight decrease in the proportion of contributions by American authors (15 per cent) (Pierson et al. 2013). Finally, the proportion of non-American contributors rises even further if one looks at the official journal of the *International Studies Association* (ISA), the *International Studies Quarterly* (*ISQ*). For 2004-2007, almost a third of the submitted contributions were authored by scholars based in institutions outside the US (Mason 2007). In 2007, the large majority of publications originated from the United States (70 per cent). However, publications from scholars in Asia (3.9 per cent), Europe (14.9 per cent), the Middle East (4.3 per cent) and Latin America (1.4 per cent) were also present.

This section has identified the proportion of foreign-based authors contributing on US politics in *APSR*. The next section provides a sociological profile of those non-Americans who contribute to the debate on American politics, using authors' curriculum vitae.

### **3. A sociological profile: who are the non-Americans contributing to American politics?**

This section provides an academic biography of each of the 14 non-American authors identified in the previous section, based on an extensive analysis of their résumé or curriculum vitae and their institutions' websites. These biographies are presented chronologically in three parts, based on the date of their publication in the *Review*.

#### **3.1. The 1980s: Olsen, Shamir, Opp, Kawato, Hibbs, Budge and Laver**

The 1980s saw the highest number of foreign-based authors, with seven political scientists having contributed to the subfield of American politics. Born in Tromsø, Norway and trained at the University of Oslo and the University of Bergen, Johan P. Olsen held visiting appointments at the University of California, Irvine in the late 1960s when the social science department was led by James G. March. Olsen and March have been co-authors for more than 40 years. When March moved to Stanford University in 1970, Stanford became, in Olsen's words, his second academic home which he visited on numerous occasions between 1972 and 1991. In 2003 and 2009, Olsen's work was recognized by the American profession when he was granted an award from both the American and the Midwest Political Science Associations. His latest book, *Governing through Institution Building* (2010), offers as case studies the experience of European Union institutions. Olsen has published extensively on organizational decision-making, democracy, and new institutionalism, the latter being the object of three other journal articles in *APSR*.

Michal Shamir obtained her PhD from the University of Minnesota in 1979. Based today at Tel-Aviv University, she holds a chair in political science. She is an expert on Israeli politics and elections and is involved in national and international research projects. Shamir co-authored several key contributions on political tolerance



among politicians in established democracies. In addition, Shamir focuses on political behaviour, political psychology, and comparative politics.

Karl-Dieter Opp, born in Germany, obtained his PhD in economics from the University of Cologne in 1967. Since 2002 he is an Emeritus Professor at the University of Leipzig and, since 2007, an affiliate professor at the University of Washington, Seattle. He first held a visiting appointment at Indiana University in 1983. In 1991-1992, he was Theodor Heuss Professor at the New School for Social Research in New York. He returned to the US on several occasions in the 2000s as visiting professor at the University of Washington, Seattle. His research focuses on rational actor theory, revolution, social movements, crime, and political protest. He co-authored several works published in the *APSR* with the late Edward N. Muller.

Sadafumi Kawato obtained a PhD from the University of Tokyo in 1993. In 2006-2007, he held a visiting professorship appointment at the University of Michigan. Kawato has published journal articles and books on Japanese politics, party politics and elections, and parliamentary democracy. His works have appeared in the *Japanese Journal of Political Science* and *History of Contemporary Japanese Party Politics*.

A Swedish and American citizen, Douglas A. Hibbs Jr. was trained in the US with a doctorate from the University of Madison, Wisconsin in 1971. Hibbs first held professorship appointment at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology before being awarded a chair at Harvard University as professor of government. At both MIT and Harvard, Hibbs specialized in macro-political economy. In the second half of the 1980s, Hibbs was appointed professor of economics in Sweden. He retired from the chair of professor of economics at the University of Gothenburg (Sweden) in 2005. He returned to the US on several occasions as visiting scholar or professor, including at the University of California, Berkeley, and University of California, Los Angeles. He published extensively in the field of political economy, labour economics, economic growth and development. In *The American Political Economy: Macroeconomics and Electoral Politics* (1987), Hibbs examined the relationship between economics and politics from the Eisenhower era to the Reagan years. His “Bread and Peace” model of presidential voting outcomes was applied to every US presidential election since 1992. The model claims that two variables, growth of disposable income and US military casualties, determine votes for president.

Ian Budge is Emeritus Professor in the Department of Government at the University of Essex, UK where he has held a continuous professorship position since 1967. He was trained in history and political science at the University of Edinburgh and at Yale University with a PhD awarded in 1967. Active for more than 40 years as political scientist, Budge is the author and co-author of some 30 volumes and 60 monographs on democratic theory and practice. His latest research includes *Mapping Policy Preferences* (2002), the recipient of the APSA Comparative Data Set Prize in 2002, and *Organizing Democratic Choice* (2012), co-authored with Keman, McDonald, and Pennings. In his earliest research, Budge also contributed to studies on both Glasgow and Belfast. He has also published on party behaviour, elections, party systems and government formation from a comparative perspective. He has held visiting professorships and fellowships in Europe, the United States, and recently, in

Australia. In 2013, his research was honoured by the Lifetime Achievement Award of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR).

Educated in the UK, Michael J. Laver obtained his PhD in political theory and institutions from the University of Liverpool. He first went to the U.S. in 1980 when he held a visiting professor appointment at the University of Texas at Austin. He returned for visiting appointments at Harvard in 1988 and at Duke University in 1994. He has held a professorship at New York University since 2005. He has collaborated with Ian Budge on numerous occasions in the field of coalition formation, including *Party Politics and Coalition Policy in Europe* (1992). Laver is the recipient of two APSA awards for his contributions to research in political economy (1996) and on political organizations and parties (2006). His research in the field of Irish politics is extensive and he has more recently published in the field of Japanese electoral politics.

### **3.2. The 1990s: Lissowski, Zemsky, and Stark**

From 1992 to 2001, three non-American scholars contributed to the subfield of US politics by their research input being published in *APSR*. Grzegorz Lissowski obtained a PhD from the University of Warsaw in 1975. He conducted an experiment with Polish students to analyse the notion of distributive justice, whose results were published in 1991. In 1995, he co-authored with Piotr Swistak a journal article entitled “Choosing the Best Social Order: New Principles of Justice and Normative Dimensions of Choice”. They subsequently collaborated on the 1993 Polish parliamentary elections and on the role of formal theory in comparative research.

Peter Zemsky, educated at the University of Pennsylvania and Stanford University where he received a PhD in business in 1995, is currently Professor of Strategy and Deputy Dean at INSEAD. He spent a year as visiting associate professor at the University of Pennsylvania in 2002-2003, where his teaching skills were recognized with an award. Zemsky is a contributor to value-based strategy, strategy analysis, and competitive advantage. His work has appeared in leading economic and strategy journals including *Management Science*, *Strategic Management Journal*, *American Economic Review*, and *Games and Economic Behavior*.

Sharing with Peter Zemsky this interest for research on strategy, Andrew Stark is currently Professor of Strategic Management at the University of Toronto. He completed his education in Europe and North America. Before holding a permanent faculty position at the University of Toronto, Stark held visiting appointments at both Harvard University and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. In his research, Stark focuses on business, government and medical ethics, corporate governance, business-government relations, public administration and public policy in the US and Canada. His latest book, *Drawing the Line: Public and Private in America* (2010), explores how Americans debate the border between government and individual responsibilities by examining policy debates, especially on welfare, education, health care, and land use.

### **3.3. The 2000s: Jennings, King, Petrova, and Lauderdale**

The most recent contributions by foreign-based political science scholars to the field of American politics were published in the *Review* between 2002 and 2013.

**Table 8.1:** Sociological profile of the European authors

Authors' Name	PhD Institution (& Year)	Institutional Affiliation as Listed in APSR	Cohort <sup>a</sup>	Research Interests
Johan P. Olsen <sup>1</sup>	University of Bergen (1971)	University of Bergen (Norway)	3	Organizational decision-making, democracy, and new institutionalism
Michal Shamir	University of Minnesota (1979)	Tel-Aviv University (Israel)	2	Israeli politics and elections, political tolerance, political behaviour, political psychology, and comparative politics.
Karl-Dieter Opp	University of Cologne (1967)	University of Hamburg (Germany)	3	Rational actor theory, revolution, social movements, crime and political protest
Sadaatumi Kawato	University of Tokyo (1993)	Hokkaido University (Japan)	1	Japanese politics, party politics and elections, and parliamentary democracy
Douglas A. Hibbs Jr.	University of Wisconsin, Madison (1971)	Göteborg University (Sweden)	2	Political economy, labour economics, economic growth and development
Ian Budge	Yale University (1967)	University of Essex (UK)	2	Democratic theory and practice, party behaviour, elections, party systems and government formation
Michael Laver	University of Liverpool (1981)	University College (Ireland)	2	Coalition formation, Irish politics, Japanese politics
Grzegorz Lissowski	University of Warsaw (1975)	University of Warsaw (Poland)	2	Principles of justice, Polish elections, formal theory
Peter Zernsky	Stanford University (1995)	INSEAD (France)	3	Value-based strategy, strategy analysis and competitive advantage
Andrew Stark	Harvard University (1985)	University of Toronto (Canada)	1	Business, government and medical ethics, corporate governance, business-government relations, public administration and public policy in the U.S. and Canada
Jeremy Jennings	University of Oxford (1980)	University of Birmingham (UK)	3	History of political thought in France
Desmond S. King	Northwestern University (1985)	University of Oxford (UK)	2	American politics and political development, public policy, comparative government
Maria Petrova	Harvard University (2008)	New Economic School (Russia)	1	Political economics, mass media economics, and Internet economics
Benjamin E. Lauderdale	Princeton University (2010)	London School of Economics and Political Science (UK)	2	Judicial politics and American political institutions

Source: Author's own compilation. <sup>a</sup> Cohort = 1 for single author; 2 for primary author in a joint publication; and 3 for secondary author in a joint publication.

<sup>6</sup> Johan P. Olsen's name was incorrectly spelled "Olson" in the *ASPR*, thereafter creating confusion over the correct spelling of his name.

Jeremy Jennings was trained in the UK with a PhD from the University of Oxford in 1980. Previous to his current position as Professor of Political Theory at King's College London, he taught in various academic institutions in the UK. He has held visiting appointments in Paris. His research focuses on the history of political thought in France. In 2011, he published *Revolution and the Republic: A History of Political Thought in France since the Eighteenth Century*.

Desmond S. King, born in Dublin, educated at Trinity College Dublin and at Northwestern University, has been Professor of American Government at the University of Oxford since 2002. At Oxford, King holds one of the five university chairs at the Rothermere American Institute. He has held visiting scholar appointments at Cornell University and the University of Colorado, Boulder. He has contributed extensively to the field of American politics and political development as a sole author as well as in collaborative works. His latest publications include *Sterilized by the State: Eugenics, Race and the Population Scare in Twentieth Century North America* (2013), *Obama at the Crossroads: Politics, Markets, and the Battle for America's Future* (2012) and *Still a House Divided: Race and Politics in Obama's America* (2011).

Maria Petrova is currently adjunct professor of economics at Pompeu Fabra University. She was trained in economics in Moscow and received a PhD from Harvard University in 2008. Before holding her current position in Barcelona, she spent a year at Princeton University as visiting associate research scholar. Her research interests lie in the field of political economics, mass media economics, and Internet economics.

Finally, the most recent non-American contributor on American politics is Benjamin E. Lauderdale. Educated at Harvard University and Princeton University where he obtained a PhD in politics in 2010, Lauderdale is now an Associate Professor at London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Prior to his current position at LSE, he was College Fellow at Harvard University. He co-authored several publications in the field of judicial politics and American political institutions with Tom S. Clark, a former colleague at Princeton University. Their work "The Supreme Court's Many Median Justices" (2012) won the best journal article award for the Law and Courts Section from APSA in 2013.

#### 4. Analysis

The profiles of the authors provided in the previous section allow us to draw several conclusions about the input of foreign-based scholars to the field of U.S. politics. Our first finding stresses the importance of the professional socialization process<sup>5</sup>. Secondly, the analysis underlines the importance of intellectual collaborations. Finally, American politics does not constitute a research interest for most, if not all, foreign-based authors.

##### 4.1. Professional socialization into US standards and norms

Among the foreign-based authors contributing to the sub-discipline of American politics between 1982 and 2013, eight – Lauderdale, Petrova, Zemsky, King, Stark,

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<sup>5</sup> In this chapter, I adopt the definition of socialization as developed by Austin and McDaniels: "socialization is a process of internalizing the expectations, standards, and norms of a given society" (2006: 400).

Shamir, Hibbs Jr., and Budge – received their highest degree in institutions in the US. To paraphrase Schmitter, they all made the “obligatory pilgrimage to the Meccas of US scholarship” (Schmitter 2002: 30): they were trained respectively at Princeton, Harvard, Stanford, Northwestern, Harvard, the University of Minnesota, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Yale. The majority of these institutions are part of the so-called “Ivy League”. The socialization process that occurred during their graduate education helped these scholars to internalize the expectations and standards, as well as the system of rewards and sanctions of the profession (Austin and McDaniel 2006: 402). As suggested by McCormick and Rice, “students accustomed to professional scholarly norms in their graduate institutions are likely to continue to follow those norms, regardless of their present institutional affiliation” (2001: 675). Some of the authors were acquainted with these professional norms and standards as early as during their undergraduate studies. Hibbs, Lauderdale, and Zemsky completed their entire education in the US. Others<sup>7</sup> were trained both in the U.S. and in foreign universities (King, Stark, Petrova, and Budge). Prior to their professorship appointments in non-American institutions, or during their academic career, some of these American-educated authors (Hibbs, King, Lauderdale, Stark, and Petrova) returned to the U.S. for visiting professorship appointments.

The six remaining scholars earned their PhD degrees outside the United States. Five of them were trained in Europe (Laver, Jennings, Lissowski, Olsen and Opp). Sadafumi Kawato, the only author not trained in the US or in Europe, obtained his PhD from the University of Tokyo in 1993. Thus, only an extremely small group of researchers contributed to the subfield of American politics and published their work in the *Review* without having been acquainted with the standards and norms of US institutions during their doctoral studies. Nonetheless, an examination of the career of these authors reveals that the majority of them (Olsen, Opp, and Laver) have held visiting positions in U.S. institutions during their academic career<sup>8</sup>. Thus, while educated outside of the United States, these political scientists have been familiarized one way or another with professional norms prevailing in U.S. departments. One of them, Laver, has held a professorship position at New York University since 2005. Socialization also entails meeting colleagues with expertise in a mutual area of study. Hibbs, in the preface to *The American Political Economy* (1987), tells the reader about his personal experience while at Harvard:

“It is a genuine pleasure for me to acknowledge the contribution of Doug Rivers, once a graduate student and teaching fellow of mine at Harvard and then, for all too brief a time, a faculty colleague at the same institution. Before Doug left to join the faculty of the California Institute of Technology, he and I collaborated on a number of articles on macroeconomic performance and mass political support” (Hibbs 1987: vii).

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<sup>7</sup> Information on education before her PhD is not available for one author, Michal Shamir.

<sup>8</sup> Information on detailed academic career is not available for two authors: Grzegorz Lissowski and Sadafumi Kawato.

#### 4.2. “Under multiple skulls”: co-authoring as a norm among foreign-based authors

When foreign-based scholars write on American politics in *APSR*, they almost exclusively work in pairs. Eleven publications out of the 14 under study were collaborative endeavours. The explanations offered for this high proportion of co-authored articles point to four phenomena: internationalization, a willingness to produce high-quality research contributions, technological developments, and research funding. I consider this as a sign that the internationalization of political science is indeed in motion. This is, however, not to say that individual work is uniformly poorer than collaborative efforts. It assuredly is not, but “authors who work with others are more likely to write higher quality papers, regardless of discipline” (Presser 1980: 97). Technological developments have made collaborative efforts easier through the use of emails and teleconferencing. Moreover, research funding is more extensive, as multiple authors are involved. While the sample is too small to draw conclusions on co-authorship, the findings are congruent with past research reporting a tendency toward an increase of co-authored articles in the political science discipline (Endersby 1996; Miller et al. 1996; Fisher et al. 1998). But the proportions found in past research are less important than those I found for the sub-discipline of American politics. In a study of three leading journals in the discipline (*APSR*, *AJPS*, and *JoP*) between 1990 and 1996, Fisher et al. (1998) found that nearly half of the articles published had multiple authors.

When collaboration occurs in the field of American politics, it exclusively involves different universities rather than different authors from the same institution. Between 1982 and 2013, all eleven co-authored articles were written by collaborators at different universities, and they all involve transatlantic collaborations. This is not surprising, from a non-American perspective, as scholars based in US universities have direct access to data and sources. The rationale for working with others may be distinct depending on the author’s area of expertise. On the one hand, researchers may engage in what Leahey and Reikowsky (2008) refer to as “the reinforcing specialist model”. In this particular situation, scholars who come from the same area of specialization collaborate. Desmond S. King and Rogers S. Smith, for instance, were engaged in collaborative work on the issue of race. The opposite logic supposes that scholars with non-overlapping skills engage in collaborative work. An illustration is the collaborative enterprises on the subject of political tolerance in the US and Israel by Michal Shamir and John Sullivan. While they are both experts on political tolerance, the former is a specialist on Israeli politics and the latter on American politics. They combined their complementary research skills to offer a comparative contribution.

In seven articles<sup>9</sup>, the foreign-based scholar was the primary author whereas in the remaining four publications, the first author was based in America. Interestingly, none of the scientific collaboration occurred between two foreign-based political scientists. In some regards, this is not surprising. The journal under consideration

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<sup>9</sup> In two journal articles, the alphabetical order was reversed, suggesting that the contribution of the first-listed author (here the foreign-based author) was more substantial.



is an English-language journal issued in the US and run by editors affiliated with US universities. Findings reported in this chapter suggest that foreign-based scholars intensively collaborate with American scholars. The same cannot be seen with regards to American-based authors. Indeed, only 11 out of 450 articles on American politics were cross-Atlantic collaborations. This latter finding is consistent with a research study on comparative politics journals. In 2007, Munck and Snyder found that American-based authors rarely engage in collaborative research with foreign-based authors.

#### ***4.3. American politics outside of the United States: the “No Man’s Land”***

A third and last conclusion drawn from this sociological analysis of foreign authors is that American politics does not constitute a research interest for most, if not all, non-Americans. Among the scholars considered here, only a small group explicitly mentions American politics in their research interests. Douglas A. Hibbs Jr, Desmond S. King, Benjamin E. Lauderdale, and Andrew Stark all acknowledge a strong interest in American politics in their curriculum vitae. Accordingly, their scholarly records include several works in this subfield published in *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Public Choice*, *Perspectives on Politics*, and *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Hibbs and King are probably the two scholars with the most extensive research input in the field of American politics out of the group.

On the other hand, the areas of expertise of the other non-Americans include various combinations of research interests, among which American politics is not always central. Peter Zemsky and Maria Petrova both clearly have a background in economics and business. Accordingly, their publications are mainly in this direction. Jeremy Jennings pursues research in political thought. In her research Michal Shamir focuses on Israeli politics, comparative politics and political psychology. The study of democracy is a topic of interest of both Johan P. Olsen and Ian Budge. Ian Budge and Michael Laver are engaged in research on political and party competition, and they have jointly authored several articles. Karl-Dieter Opp has been engaged in research on revolution, political protests and social movements. Finally, Grzegorz Lissowski has published on Polish elections as well as on principles of distributive justice while Sadafumi Kawato focuses on Japanese politics.

I have shown that the small group of contributors to the *APSR* from outside of the US are mostly from Europe. Therefore, I examine here the structure of the departments of politics and international studies in the top 10 European universities (see Table 8.2). Such an analysis reveals the absence of any research centre, school or department devoted to American politics. I should be cautious here: the lack of any structure fully devoted to research on American politics does not entail the absence of any faculty member who specializes in this subfield. This latter assertion would be erroneous. At Oxford, for instance, Yuen Foong Khong, Alan Ware, and of course Desmond S. King (see *supra* for the latter) all focus on US politics. At the University of Manchester, an expert group has been created, which gathers specialists on U.S. foreign policy, race in America, and American elections among others, yet its size is quite limited in terms of human capital.



**Table 8.2:** Top 10 universities in Europe for Politics and International Studies

	University	Country
1	London School of Economics and Political Science	UK
2	University of Oxford	UK
3	University of Cambridge	UK
4	Sciences Po Paris	France
5	University of Manchester	UK
6	University of Warwick	UK
7	King's College London	UK
8	Trinity College Dublin	Ireland
9	University of Edinburgh	UK
10	Leiden University	The Netherlands

Source: QS World University Rankings 2013, <http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/university-subject-rankings/2013/politics>.

Among the top 10 universities, some have centres of area studies: African Studies at the University of Edinburgh and the University of Cambridge; Latin America at Oxford and Cambridge; Canada at the University of Edinburgh. However, none devote specific consideration to American politics. Interestingly, America receives more consideration in the humanities department than in political science, and US politics is more often than not an adjunct to literature and history. For example at the University of Oxford, the Rothmere American Institute has since 2001 brought together faculty members who specialize in American culture, history, politics, and international relations. Similarly, at the University of Warwick, the Department of History hosts the School of Comparative American Studies. Along with Latin America, Canada, the Caribbean, and the US, the School focuses on the interdisciplinary study of this region.

### Concluding remarks

My intention in this chapter was to provide the reader with a comprehensive account of the foreign contribution to the field of American politics. The following question was asked: To what extent do non-American political scientists contribute to the sub-discipline of American politics? To answer this question, I first identified non-American authors by conducting a longitudinal analysis of the *APSR* during the last three decades. Secondly, I used both scholars' résumés or curriculum vitae as well as their institutional websites to offer a sociological profile, including biographical data and academic information.

This chapter underlines three aspects which provide elements of a response to this question. First of all, I highlighted the crucial role played by the professional socialization process by which graduate students acquire values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge pertaining to a professional organization. In addition, this chapter has emphasized the importance of collaborative endeavours. The data shows to what extent co-authorship has become the norm, at least with respect to foreign-based

scholars publishing in the sub-discipline of American politics. Finally, this analysis has revealed that only about three per cent of foreign-based political scientists contributed to the field of US politics over the last three decades. This low figure shows that American politics is not becoming more “global” – that is, densely populated by foreign-based authors. While certain topics have held the attention of foreign-based scholars during the most recent decades, American politics has failed to attract much of their time or interest. This analysis has also shown that top European universities and their departments of political science give no specific priority to the study of American politics.

Admittedly, these conclusions are derived from a relatively small number of authors. Replication is necessary in order to establish the extent to which the findings may be generalizable to other scholarly journals, which underlines the need for further research. Indeed, the *APSR* should not be treated as representative of the entire subfield of American politics. Research on American politics is disseminated in numerous journal articles, books, and edited volumes. One avenue to consider for further research would be a comparison between the *APSR* and the *AJPS*. It may be the case that foreign-based scholars prefer to publish their work via home-grown publishers. Therefore, one could also make an argument for incorporating journals not based in the United States. These scientific endeavours would then continue the tradition of reflecting on the evolution and state of political science.

