



EDITIONS DE L'UNIVERSITE DE BRUXELLES

# Political Science in Motion

EDITED BY  
RAMONA COMAN AND JEAN-FREDERIC MORIN

SCIENCE POLITIQUE  
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RAMONA COMAN AND JEAN-FREDERIC MORIN

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE SERIES « SCIENCE POLITIQUE »

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# List of acronyms

AJPS	American Journal of Political Science
APSR	American Political Science Review
BJPS	British Journal of Political Science
DI	Discursive Institutionalism
ECPR	European Consortium for Political Research
HI	Historical Institutionalism
IO	International Organization
IPSA	International Political Studies Association
IR	International Relations
IS	International Security
ISA	International Studies Association
ISS	International Security Studies
JCMS	Journal of Common Market Studies
LI	Liberal Intergovernmentalism
RCI	Rational Choice Institutionalism
RFSP	Revue française de science politique
SD	Security Dialogue
SI	Sociological Institutionalism
WEP	West European Politics





## INTRODUCTION

# Toward a More Eclectic, Pluralist and Cosmopolitan Political Science?

Ramona COMAN and Jean-Frédéric MORIN

The past, the present and the future of political science have always been a topic of inquiry for political scientists. This collection of essays is not the first to explore the evolution of the discipline. Since its inception, scholars of politics of all persuasions have (re)produced the story of the field as a discipline and as a profession (Farr et al. 1990: 598; Blondiaux 1997: 10; Gunnell 2002: 339; Dryzek 2002; 2006). They have explored the discipline's relation with its social and political environment, they have questioned its epistemological and ontological specificities, and more recently they have documented its professional standards, codes, and practices. As the discipline expands in different parts of the world, the attention devoted to its evolution and development has increased. Political science is a recognized object of study and "state of the discipline" studies are flourishing.

This book seeks to contribute to these recent debates about the evolution of the discipline by exploring three interrelated themes, namely (1) the discipline's co-evolution with politics, (2) its changing relations with sister disciplines, (3) and the transformation of its practices for knowledge production and dissemination. We argue in this volume that these topics are fundamental, as they directly address the core identity of political science.

Although this collection of essays builds on a growing body of scholarship and raises questions asked many times before, it is distinctive in three respects. Firstly, the volume focuses on the recent history of the discipline. We feel that the discipline's history before the end of the Cold War, and especially the behavioural revolution that took place in the 1950s and 1960s, are already well-documented by other studies (Hoffmann 1957; Easton 1953; 1969; Truman 1955; Dahl 1961). However, the most recent history of political science appears fuzzier and remains to be told in a structured manner.

Secondly, this volume explores the discipline in a resolutely empirical and methodologically-coherent manner. Some other accounts of the history of political science were written by key political scientists themselves, based on lifetime's observations and illustrated by anecdotal evidence (Almond 1988; Blyth and Varghese 1999; Deloye and Voutat 2002; Dryzek 1992; 2006; Leca 1982). Instead, contributions to this volume rely on academic journals as fields of investigation, as journals are arguably one of the most important sources of empirical data with which to document the evolution of a discipline. That said, the methods used by contributors are wide and diverse, ranging from content analysis of keywords and abstracts, statistical analysis patterns in authorship and semi-structured interviews with journal editors. In this sense, this collection of essays not only studies the empirical inclination and methodological eclecticism of contemporary political science, but is itself a reflection of these trends.

Thirdly, the volume looks at political science in its broad diversity. Most studies of political science focus on a specific country (Czaputowicz 2012; Eisfeld and Pal 2010; von Beyme 1991; Daalder 1991; Hayward 1991; Morlino 1991; Karlhofer and Pelinka 1991; Jobard 2002) or a specific subfield (Cini 2006; Jensen and Kristensen 2012; Vensesson 1998; Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner, 1998; Keeler 2005). In contrast, the geographical and thematic coverage of this volume is particularly wide. Some chapters look at journals which score very well in the international rankings, such as *American Political Science Review* and the *British Journal of Political Science*, while others look at journals that are limited to a national context, such as the *Revue française de science politique*, and still some others look at “niche journals”, such as *Security Dialogue*. Among the specialized journals studied in this volume, some have a thematic focus, like *Electoral Studies*, and others give preference to regional political realities, such as the *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Thus, despite this volume's narrow focus on journals, it does not sacrifice the geographical breadth and thematic depth of the discipline.

By exploring academic productivity as it is mirrored through academic journals, this volume shows that each journal is, in a way, a different island in a vast, rich and more or less connected archipelago. Some islands are better known than others, but they all contribute in their own way and through their diversity to the liveliness and the fertility of the discipline. The assumptions that each journal is deeply rooted in its own specific social context and is not isolated from the problems of politics inform the essays in this collection.

The remainder of this introduction is divided into three parts. The first discusses the three broad topics examined in this volume by scrutinizing the development and the current state of political science. The second section discusses the methodological benefits and challenges of studying the evolution of political science through an examination of scholarly journals. The third section briefly summarizes the content and the orientation of the chapters.

## **1. Politics, pluridisciplinarity and professionalization**

Over the last century, political science has witnessed different types of change, at different moments in time and with different intensities. Scholars with an interest in the

historiography of political science have depicted moments of intellectual enthusiasm and episodes of deception and disarray (Gunnell 2002: 341; Kaufman-Osborn 2006). The historiography of political science stresses not only progress and diversity, but also identity crises (Farr et al. 1990: 587). Political science has always been “in flux” and “in doubt” (Blondiaux 1997: 10).

To illustrate this incremental process of change punctuated by sudden revolutions, this book looks at three overarching themes in the evolution of political science: (1) the discipline’s co-evolution with politics, (2) its changing relations with sister disciplines, (3) and the transformation of its knowledge production and dissemination practices. Trying to scrutinize their implications, we argue in this chapter that these issues have important consequences for the ontological and epistemological identity of the discipline. They have always been determinant in the history of the discipline, and they remain crucial at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### ***1.1. Three challenges over the history of political science***

Although the exact periodization varies according to national contexts, three phases can be identified in the history of political science: its emergence, its development, and its widening. In what follows, we show that during each of these phases, questions arose regarding political science’s relations with its political context, its relations with other disciplines, and its scientific practices.

There is a shared consensus that the genesis of the discipline was dependent on the political and social context in which it took place. Political science was born in order to put forward new democratic values and principles. The appearance of the discipline went hand in hand with the construction of the nation state and the establishment of democratic political regimes, if under the influence of different conceptions of democracy (Diamandouros and Spourdalakis 1991; Newton and Vallès 1991: 235). Since its early stages, political science has had a mission such that each generation of scholars has brought its own contribution to the definition of its vocation. Arguably, the initial task attributed to political science was not only to “create a public” (Gunnell 2006: 482) but also to contribute to the formation of both political elites and citizens (Leca 1982).

Given that the first scholars of politics were historians and constitutional lawyers (Bevir 2006) and the first scientific theory of politics was as much sociological as it was political (Warleigh-Lack and Cini 2009: 7), the origins of the discipline were marked by claims for intellectual independence and institutional autonomy. This process of institutionalization entailed a series of choices that contributed to the delimitation of the theoretical boundaries and to the definition of the empirical scope of the discipline (Leca 1982; von Beyme 1991; Gunnell 2006: 480). In their attempts to overcome the status of “little sister”, if not Cinderella, vis-à-vis well-established disciplines, political science gradually insulated itself from other fields of research (Newton and Vallès 1991: 234)<sup>1</sup>. For example, in order to distinguish political science from

---

<sup>1</sup> The contributors to the special issue of *European Journal of Political Science* edited by Newton and Vallès in 1991 revealed that in some countries, the discipline rapidly grew up as a new field, outside the sphere of influence of other arts or social science traditions. In

sociology, topics such as inequality had been marginalized (Van Kersberben 2010: 50). In the same vein, in order to differentiate itself from history, political science focused on recent times and events. Put another way, during the first decades of the institutionalization of the discipline its “founding fathers” clearly gave preference to a series of specific research topics and pushed others to the margins. Both in terms of research and teaching, the onus was on political scientists to understand the role of the State in general and the role of government in particular (Leca 1982; McKay 1991; Dryzek 2006; Gunnell 2006). Disciplinary boundaries had been arbitrarily drawn (Hay 2002: 4).

This process of emancipation and institutionalization gave rise not only to crucial epistemological struggles, but also to a series of methodological concerns and debates about professionalization. Scholars endeavoured to define what constitute a “good discipline” and adequate research. They also tried to determine how to acquire scientific knowledge. They set themselves the daunting task of clarifying the relationship between political science and politics, as well as the relationship between normative judgments and empirical science.

The second episode in the history of the discipline is one of extensive development in the favourable context of the 1950s and 1960s. After the Second World War, the national communities of political scientists were relatively well established in most democratic political regimes. However, the Cold War favoured the centralization of the growing and expanding discipline around US academic circles. To political scientists dissatisfied with the traditional methods of the discipline, this post-war context and the ensuing Cold War offered new institutional opportunities (Dahl 1961). As Lowi pointed out, the intervention of the state in the development of the discipline explains why some topics became “hegemonic” (1992: 1). The US government, in particular, increased substantially its assistance to some subfields of political science in its fight against communism. As a result, area studies, game theory, cybernetics, political psychology, and comparative foreign policy all benefited from large public subsidies (Roberts 1964; Johnson 1974). As King put it, a country possessing weapons of mass destruction was of a special interest to foreign investors, governments, and scholars (1994: 292). Clearly, political science did not develop in a political vacuum. As Verdery notes, the Cold War was a form of knowledge and a cognitive organization of the world (1996: 330). Both the research agenda and the curriculum in political science were – directly or indirectly – under the influence of the ideological confrontation between East and West (see Verdery 1996; Czaputowicz 2012).

While in the former communist bloc social scientists tried to empirically demonstrate the advantages of communism over capitalism, in the United States and Western Europe political scientists started to devote particular attention to methods. Still in search of a distinct identity vis-à-vis other disciplines and eager to become “scientific”, some prominent scholars – most of them established in American universities – strongly advocated a certain kind of scientific rigour (Dahl 1961). This community of scholars contended that methods were supposed to “help to protect

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other national contexts, political scientists struggled for emancipation from the tutelage of law, history, sociology, and political philosophy (see Newton and Vallès 1991).

the professional scientists from the pressure of society for quick answers to urgent if complicated problems” (Easton 1969: 1054). Therefore, in order to increase the relevance of political science, they recommended the use of quantitative techniques in the analysis of political data. In so doing, they clearly showed a preference for explanation and a strict delineation between empirical research and normative statements (Blondiaux 1997: 13). This behaviourist movement grew into a major influence in the 1950s, to the extent that it became the origin myth of the American political science (Dahl 1961; Almond and Genco 1977; Blondiaux 1997; Dryzek 1992; 2006).

These attempts to discover laws and regularities when exploring the “heart of politics” had non-negligible consequences on the relationship with other disciplines and on internal specialization in subfields. As Almond and Genco put it, “political theory, public law and public administration and descriptive institutional analysis have all become defensive, peripheral and secondary subject matters” (1977: 510). On the other hand, this “scientific mood” brought political science into closer affiliation with psychology and economics (Dahl 1961: 86). Sceptics deplored the wrong turns taken by political science, referring in particular to the process of narrowing and technicization of academic curriculum and research agendas. The behaviourist credo was criticized for being a “historical deviation” and for its “flirtation with mistaken metaphors that temporarily captured the imagination of social scientists” (Almond and Genco 1977: 522). These contrasting views about the methodological tools to be used in order to illuminate research puzzles lead to the professionalization of the field in general and to the development of specific ways of designing social inquiry.

The third episode in the history of the discipline is a time of interconnectedness with different theoretical perspectives and fields of study. The revival of the discipline during this stage resulted from a series of overlapping processes. The creation of the European Communities and the increased transformation of Western Europe as well as the collapse of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union had non-negligible implications for the evolution of the discipline. New puzzles attracted scholarly attention and led to the widening and deepening of the discipline. The European Communities – largely ignored at the moment of their establishment by the community of scholars – became a topic of interest for both specialists of comparative politics and IR partly thanks to the EU-funded Jean Monnet lectureships (Cini 2006: 43). On the other hand, both in the US and Western Europe, the end of the “short 20<sup>th</sup> century” was marked by “offences” (King 1994) with regard to the ability of political scientists to foresee the 1989 revolutions and their implications for the international order. These major political events had implications for scholars in IR and comparative politics in terms of both theoretical and methodological approaches. Those who argued that the mission of the discipline is to explain and to predict have had to admit the limitations of their role.

Arguably, the new political realities at the domestic and international level as well as the self-examination of the limitations and achievements of the discipline gave rise to a series of reconceptualizations with regard to the nature of the state, the international order, the nature of the actors and the relationship between them (see also Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner 1998: 647). The conceptual and methodological renewal of

the discipline was both outward and inward-looking. It was outward-looking in the sense that political scientists have increasingly tried to find fruitful ideas elsewhere, in anthropology, linguistics, and neuroscience (Mahoney and Larkin 2008; Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner 1998: 646). Conversely, it was inward-looking in the sense that the theoretical and methodological *renaissance* of political science also consists of putting together conflicting approaches (see Johnson 2002) and attempts to provide a theoretical synthesis (see Cini 2006)<sup>2</sup>.

This theoretical renewal has been accompanied by methodological diversity. The sustained debates about what constitutes “good political science” allowed scholars to better understand their differences, and this clarification has in turn facilitated dialogue (Mahoney and Larkin 2008). On the one hand, the *rapprochement* between quantitative and qualitative methodologies has pacified one part of the field. On the other hand, more recently, postmodernism – which is known by a variety of names – became the new challenger to the discipline. The old cleavages of the discipline still exist, but political science is becoming organized around them to a lesser extent<sup>3</sup>. The image of a field dominated by warring factions and paradigm rivalry as well as the defence of a discipline isolated from other fields of research is old-fashioned (Dryzek 1992; 1996; Grant 2005: 979; Cini 2006). Instead of witnessing new attempts to demonstrate the superiority of one theoretical approach over another, political scientists are more inclined to promote theoretical and methodological dialogue and intra- and inter-disciplinary collaboration. Diversity is now embraced, praised and sought after rather than being a shameful flaw in the discipline (Sil and Katzenstein 2010). Political scientists express new ambitions in terms of research agenda, theoretical and methodological orientations and professionalization.

### ***1.2. Towards eclecticism, pluralism and cosmopolitanism?***

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, political science is in movement and the aim of this book is to explore its trajectories. What are the contours of the discipline? Is political science more inclined to advocate the dismantling of intellectual borders and new forms of dialogue with other disciplines? To what extent is the institutionalization of the discipline in different parts of the world giving rise to a more cosmopolitan profession? By addressing these questions, prominent political scientists have argued that the discipline is eclectic, pluralist and cosmopolitan as a result of (1) the discipline’s co-evolution with politics, (2) its changing relations with sister disciplines, (3) and the transformation of its knowledge production and dissemination practices. We argue in this volume that in spite of the rich and valuable contributions devoted to this topic, we still need more empirical evidence to shed more light on this new image for the discipline.

How eclectic is political science? The discipline is widening, integrating new areas and research topics (Trent 2011), under the influence of major political and social

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<sup>2</sup> One of the most quoted illustrations is the challenge of bridging rational choice and constructivist approaches.

<sup>3</sup> As Grant (2005: 385) pointed out, what brings together political scientists – in conferences, professional associations, research projects, and publications – is not an interest in similar methods, but their focus on similar topics.

changes. The 2008 financial crisis, the role of social media in political struggle, the rise of transnational actors and initiatives, the emergence of China and other economic powers, and growing concerns about climate change, for example, have pushed political scientists to revisit some of their previous assumptions and to investigate new empirical fields. This interplay between political science and the transformation of the “real world” remains however a challenge for the discipline. Keeping up with national and international transformations may have consequences for the boundaries of the field in general and for the topics to be addressed in particular (Smith 2004).

What are the concrete manifestations of this methodological and theoretical pluralism? Is pluralism an aspiration or an actual practice in the field? The answers to these questions are very diverse, reflecting the authors’ points of view and their field of research (see Flinders and John 2013). While Goodin and Klingemann (1996), followed by Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner (1998) portrayed the discipline as pluralist, more recently, Marsh and Savigny have argued that this is an “aspiration” rather than a reality (2004: 165). In the same vein, Johnson (2002: 234) has noted that “calls for methodological and theoretical pluralism” are more demanding than they often appear. There are countless examples of recent appeals to pluralism and interdisciplinary work – which is portrayed as an appropriate solution to the problems of the “real world’s” complexity and interdependence (Hay 2010). It has been argued that political science should rediscover political theory in order to “develop visions of how a good society might be designed and politically attained” (Eisfeld 2010: 220). It has also been suggested that political science should reconnect with psychology in order to understand dissatisfaction, disenchantment, disappointment, disaffection and disengagement in our democracies (Hay 2010). These synergies between disciplines vary from one field to another. While for some scholars interdisciplinarity is the new key to success, French political scientists retort that pluralism and interdisciplinarity are well-established practices in their field (see Favre 1995; Deloye and Voutat 2002; Billordo 2005: 186; Boncourt 2007: 292).

Last but not least, the widening of political science also has consequences on its knowledge production and dissemination practices. Political science has become a profession with well-defined standards for training and employment (Klingemann, Fuchs and Zielonka 2006; Klingemann 2007). It has established a common theoretical and methodological language as well as the means of critical assessment. This increased professionalization follows from a variety of national and international factors among which can be counted the establishment of new professional associations, academic journals, the increasing number of conferences facilitating dialogue between scholars from different parts of the world, the development of transnational research programs and teams, etc. However, it appears that at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, political science is predominantly Western and male (Trent 2011: 196); more precisely, in terms of publications, it appears to be dominated by American scholars in general and academics in particular. Although there is an increased interest in collaboration with practitioners, the field is led by academics (Boncourt 2007: 280).

This collection of essays brings new empirical evidence to shed more light on the accuracy of this new image for political science – eclectic, pluralist and cosmopolitan.



## 2. Investigating scholarly journals

Several data sources can be used to examine the relationship between political science and the problems of politics, the relationship between political science and other disciplines, and the effects of these developments on the professionalization of the community of scholars. This section discusses the benefits and the limitations of using journals articles as primary sources.

### 2.1. *The benefits of exploring a discipline through its journals*

Arguably, international journals are the most prestigious form of knowledge dissemination in political science. This recognition is drawn from their double-blinded peer review process. Since the number of submitted manuscripts is ever-increasing but available space remains scarce, some political science journals end up with rejection rates of up to 90% (ISQ 2013). This fierce competition combined with scrupulous scientific screening result in a high likelihood that accepted articles are truly at the cutting edge of scientific advancement. Several high-quality manuscripts are rejected for a variety of reasons, but those accepted are usually innovative, thought-provoking and rigorous.

Of course, the selection process in other forms of political science communication, including books, edited volumes and conference presentations, is also guided by scientific merit. However, non-scientific criteria, such as market potential, personal connections, name recognition, and funding prospects typically play a greater role in their acceptance for publication. Patronage practices partly explain that book authors are on average older and more likely to be trained in elite universities than article authors (Clemens et al. 1995; Breuning et al. 2007). In contrast, a study of the *American Journal of Political Science* concludes that contributors' past publication record and institutional affiliation are poor predictors of article acceptance. The only strong and statistically-significant predictors appear to be reviewers' and editors' evaluations (Lewis-Beck and Levy 1993). Thus, publishing in the top journals of the discipline is more competitive, but apparently more egalitarian than book publishing.

The role and prestige of political science journals has even increased in the last decades due to the diffusion of standardized modes of evaluation. In an ideal world, the evaluation of the performance of academics, graduate programs, and departments would be done by a close examination of their production, whatever the support they attract. In practice, however, hiring decisions, promotion reviews, and university rankings are increasingly based on quantitative and easily-comparable metrics. The most readily available of these metrics are the rankings of journals and the number of citations of articles, used as indirect indicators of the quality of scientific production. In China, financial rewards are even offered to scholars for each article published in highly-ranked journals (Fuyuno 2006). Thus, an increasing number of scholars in various parts of the world have direct incentives to submit their best work to journals rather than to other outlets.

In addition to their scientific importance and social prestige, journals also offer empirical advantages to researchers interested in tracing the evolution of the discipline. First and foremost, journals – as opposed to most books – are accessible in digitized format. For example, articles published more than a century ago in the

*American Political Science Review* are available at researchers' fingertips from the website of their university libraries. This facilitates access, treatment and analysis of data since researchers can use search queries based on authors, titles, abstracts, keywords, references or full text searches to systematically find specific information in large numbers of texts. The standardized format of articles, in length, layout, and writing style, also eases systematic comparative analysis. Comparisons over time are especially simplified, as journals are serial publications appearing with relatively high frequency, regularity, and stability.

Moreover, researchers using journals as data to investigate the evolution of political science benefit in their case selections from a relative consensus about the best journals in the discipline. In the vast majority of rankings, a small group of elite journals earn very high marks, including the *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, *Comparative Political Studies* and the *British Journal of Political Science*. The specific ranking of these journals varies, depending whether it is made according to the number of citations or to the journal's reputation among scholars (Giles and Garand 2007), the country of residence and the subfield of scholars surveyed (Garand 2005; Garand et al. 2009), or the year the ranking was established (Garand and Giles 2003). These variations, however, are moderate and there is a broad and stable consensus about the prestige and impact of a journal among political scientists from different subfields and different countries.

## **2.2. Limitations in the study of scholarly journals**

This being said, we readily acknowledge that scholarly journals are an incomplete data source with which to grasp and sketch the evolution of political science – as a discipline and as a profession. Publishing is only a subset of political scientists' activities, and journals are only one among several types of publication. Studies on the evolution of political science have looked at alternative data sources, including course syllabi (Robles 1993), textbooks and handbooks (Gunnell 2002), academic curricula (Bennet et al. 2003), PhD dissertations (Keller 2005), membership in political science associations (Grant 2005), panels at general conferences (Mead 2010), interviews with past presidents of political science associations (Hochschild et al. 2005), contributions to edited volumes (Mathews and Andersen 2001), and monographs (Rice et al. 2002).

One could argue that monographs, in particular, remain a significant vehicle for the publication of original ideas and analysis in political science. Since there is a slower pace of knowledge advancement in social sciences than in natural science, authors face less pressure from timeliness constraints when disseminating their results and are more inclined to cite relatively old literature. As a result, social sciences still heavily rely on books as venues for publication and as sources for citation. According to various estimates, books account for 40% to 50% of citations in social sciences (Huang and Chang 2008; Larivière et al. 2006; Nederhof et al. 2010). Social scientists write and read more books than do their colleagues in the natural sciences, and this difference is likely to continue.

Nonetheless, books are not simply longer and broader version of journal articles. Among other things, the former are more likely to favour qualitative approaches than the latter. Book authors are also more likely to cite other books while article authors

are more likely to cite other articles. In sum, books and journal articles belong to different publication worlds, each with their own distinct identity, and with only partial overlaps (Hicks 2004). Focusing solely on journal articles to make inferences about the entire discipline would miss not only a significant but also a distinctive share of the research output.

Another limitation of the exclusive use of journal articles to map the discipline regards the exclusion of locally-oriented publications. In social sciences, several publications address local issues, target a local audience, and use a local language (Norris 1997; Huan and Chang 2008). These publications include not only books and articles, but also blog posts, newspaper articles, and policy reports. Many of them neither engage in cross-country comparison nor aspire to universal generalization. Since most international journals are published exclusively in English and subscribe to a cosmopolitan view of political science, their collection of articles does not reflect this important stream of literature in political science.

A related issue concerns the bias in favour of North American contributors in internationally-recognized journals (Goldmann 1995; Waever 1998). Judging by the Social Science Citation Index, for example, it appears that Canadian scholars publish far more articles in scientific journals than their French colleagues despite the fact that France has nearly twice the population of Canada. This asymmetry has several causes, including an uneven propensity to write in English and variations in the prestige associated with publishing in journals. In a recent survey where scholars of International Relations were asked which kinds of research outputs are the most important in advancing their academic career, 89% of Americans and 87% of Canadians answered peer-reviewed journal articles compared with 74% of French scholars (Maliniak et al. 2012). Still, the overrepresentation of North American scholars in internationally-recognized journals also has causes endogenous to the journals themselves. Most leading political science journals have their editorial offices in the US and their editorial board is filled with American scholars. The path dependency pattern favouring American authors is further accentuated by the tendency to request reviews from scholars who have already published in the same journals, the overwhelming majority of these being American.

While European journals tend to have a better balance between American and European contributors, they remain nationally biased. For example, the British journal *Political Studies* rarely publishes articles authored by French scholars and the French *Revue française de science politique* rarely publishes the work of British scholars (Boncourt 2007). Moreover, American and European journals are alike in their common ignorance of the work written by political scientists based in developing countries (Aydinli and Matthews 2000).

Even a researcher interested in portraying only the landscape of US peer-reviewed articles might have difficulty in finding representative journals. Most journals are relatively specialized within a narrow niche and are centred on a tight-knit community of authors and readers. Few American journals appeal to the entire community of American political scientists. Neither the flagship journal of the American Political Science Association, the *American Political Science Review*, nor journals with a broad generic name, such as the *American Journal of Political Science*, is representative of

American political science. Despite their claim to publish articles from all subfields and areas of the discipline, some are better represented than others (Bennett et al. 2003).

Members of the editorial boards of leading journals often object that published articles broadly reflect submitted materials (Steinmo 2005). If few published articles have a heterodox approach, it is presumably because few heterodox manuscripts are submitted to these leading and generalist journals in the first place. This argument, however, points to yet another limitation in studying the discipline through its journals: we have access only to accepted manuscripts, not to those that are rejected. In view of this, it is quite difficult to assess the degree to which published articles reflect patterns of submission, whether scholars self-censor their submissions, and whether editors exercise a bias toward certain approaches.

These limitations raise important implications for the purpose of this collection of essays. The sample of journals studied here is certainly not representative of the entire discipline. At best, each journal is associated with a different community of political scientists.

### **3. Content and orientation of this book**

The chapters of this volume examine the widening and deepening of political science by looking at the emergence of new research topics and the transformation of the “real world”. Particular attention is paid to the relationship with other fields of study, disciplines and research traditions. The chapters question the myth of a unified, isolated and eclectic political science and its cosmopolitan appearance. Directly or indirectly, each contribution observes the professionalization of the field by looking at attempts at specialization and internationalization.

In Chapter 1 Clément Jadot examines the evolution of political science as it is reflected by *West European Politics (WEP)*. Drawing on keywords and on authors’ university affiliations, the chapter portrays the contours of comparative politics by looking at the topics addressed by the contributors. On the one hand, the chapter highlights the influence of two of the major phenomena of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – European construction and the collapse of communism – on the scope of the journal; on the other hand, it examines how *WEP* tries to find a balance between specialization and diversity. In order to counterbalance the dominant view according to which scholars located in UK and USA lead the field, the chapter explores the presence of European scholars in the pages of the journal. It demonstrates that political scientists are increasingly engaging in dialogue with one another and that the image of a journal dominated by scholars from UK and the United States is no longer accurate.

While in Chapter 1 Clément Jadot discusses the undisputed dominance of political parties in the pages of *West European Politics*, Chapter 2 examines the relationship between political parties and the problems of politics. Caroline Close argues that over the last decades several challenges have weakened traditional party organizations and have decreased the relevance of these organizations within the democratic process. For many, the “golden age” of political party literature appears to be behind us. Against this background, the chapter’s aim is to assess whether party research has experienced

a decline or resurgence in the last decades. Caroline Close verifies this assumption by drawing on an article published in the *British Journal of Political Science*.

In the same vein, in Chapter 3 Lidia Nunez discusses the pitfalls caused by the impact of the context on research. The chapter shows how the political context may impact on research in political science and how the context in which academics develop their research may have an impact on academic production. Three types of potential bias are discussed in the article: selection, specification and publication biases. In so doing, the chapter draws on an analysis of articles published in the journal *Electoral Studies* about the economic voting theory since 1984.

In Chapter 4 Manuel Cervera-Marzal examines the relationship between political science and political philosophy and illustrates the changing role of the latter within the discipline as a whole. Drawing on the articles published in the *Revue française de science politique*, the chapter explores the dialogue between Anglophone<sup>4</sup> and French philosophy. It emphasises the lack of hostility between political science and political philosophy and points out the pluralism of intellectual traditions, in spite of the clear preference of the journal for a liberal political philosophy.

In Chapter 5 Camille Kelbel scrutinizes the evolution of European studies as mirrored by the *Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS)*. By examining theoretical debates about the integration process, this chapter reflects the influence of mainstream political science on European studies. The author argues that existing debates regarding theoretical developments within the field are oversimplified. Drawing on articles published in *JCMS*, the chapter demonstrates that the community of Europeanists appears open to innovation and intellectual dialogue with other subfields of the discipline.

In Chapter 6 Lorenzo Angelini examines the evolution of one of the most influential journals in IR, *International Security (IS)*. Drawing on *who* publishes and *what* type of content is featured in this journal, the chapter scrutinizes the professional background of IS authors and the policy- and/or theory-driven character of the articles published. By doing so, it illustrates not only the interplay between policy and theory, but also the implications of the relationship between the problems of politics and security studies as regards professionalization. Although the author observes a steady decline of policy-oriented articles and an increasing interest in theory over time, the chapter emphasizes that the relationship between theory and policy recommendations remains important. With regard to the theoretical evolution of the journal, the chapter demonstrates that *IS* reflects the influence of mainstream IR rather than the most recent developments in security theory found in Europe.

In Chapter 7 Krystal Wanneau traces the evolution of the content of *Security Dialogue* articles in order to study the state of the international security studies (ISS) subfield of International Relations. This chapter shows how *Security Dialogue* mirrors both external contexts and internal debates amongst its epistemic community and

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<sup>4</sup> In this book we have used the term “Anglophone” in preference to the French-language usage “Anglo-Saxon” to refer to works originally published in English by scholars working in English-speaking countries, especially the UK and the USA.

demonstrates that the key to the co-transformation of the field and the journal lies in innovation.

In Chapter 8 Marie-Catherine Wavreille looks at foreign contributions to the study of American politics. To this end, the chapter scrutinizes the *American Political Science Review*. Drawing on the sociological background of a non-American who publishes in the pages of this academic journal, the author argues that professional socialization matters and that careers and reputations in the discipline of political science are made within the boundaries of one country. While many scholars claim the benefits of interdisciplinary work and pluralism, obstacles to internationalization still exist. Foreign-based authors do not populate American politics. In this chapter Wavreille shows that the study of American politics is still very much a field restricted to nationals and that “there is no Asian, European or Latin American science of American politics”.



## CHAPTER 1

# 30 Years of *West European Politics*: And The Winner Is...

Clément JADOT

### Introduction

There are many ways to tell a story, and when the story is about the state of Western Europe over 30 years, there are certainly numerous interpretations. Founded in 1978 by Gordon Smith and Vincent Wright, both lecturers at the LSE, the original goal of *West European Politics* was to offer a comparative journal on European politics, covering “all the major political and social developments in all West European countries”<sup>1</sup>. Three decades later, the journal has become a standard for all comparativists<sup>2</sup>.

In 2007, in order to celebrate *West European Politics*' 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary, leading scholars in political science gathered in Florence's European University Institute to discuss the social and political issues that have occurred in (West) European democracies over the last thirty years, and their impact on the discipline. For the world in general, and for political scientists in particular, those years have been marked by turbulence. At the macro level, the fall of the USSR, the globalization process, and the evolution of the European Communities into an enlarged political union have dramatically shifted research agendas to the point where even the journal's name was, for a while, questioned (Mény 2008). At the micro level, the study of the values and preferences of individuals has been an endless source of inspiration since Inglehart's pioneering work, *The Silent Revolution* (1977). The development of computers

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor & Francis Group online platform: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fwep20#.Ur1zkbQ09Bk>

<sup>2</sup> In 2012, according to *Web of Knowledge's Journal Citation Reports* for political science, *West European Politics* was the 35<sup>th</sup> most influential journal out of 157 ranked. Over the last ten years, it has almost doubled its impact factor (from 0.89 in 2002 to 1.368 in 2012). For further information about *Web of Knowledge's Journal Citation Reports*: [http://wokinfo.com/products\\_tools/analytical/jcr/](http://wokinfo.com/products_tools/analytical/jcr/)



and the Internet, by generalising the use and the generation of global data, has also largely sustained research in that way. At the meso level, the usual units of analysis have, in turn, been subjected to enormous pressure from both sides by the growing processes of individualization and globalization of European societies. Above all, political parties, yesterday's gatekeepers of politics, seem to have been fighting a losing battle since the beginning of the 1970s, i.e. the end of their "so-called Golden Age" (Mair 2008: 218). These are, of course, only brief descriptions of the upheavals experienced. Nonetheless, they help us to remember how "the passage of time can turn the unconventional into something fairly established" (Poguntke 2009: 457).

The 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *West European Politics* was also a good opportunity to look back at the discipline's achievements in Europe. Having emerged as a discipline in its own right not long after 1945, political science was, at that time, mainly driven by US academics. Retrospectively, the launch of *WEP* corresponds to a new stage in the development and the emancipation of political science in Europe. The 1970s witnessed the creation, one after the other, of the European Consortium for Political Research (1970) and of the European University Institute (1976), promoted by the six founding member states of the EEC. Originally, Gordon and Wright's ambition with *West European Politics* was to differentiate themselves from other political science journals – too often focused on single large-scale cases – by offering a platform taking account of smaller European democracies as well (Klaus et al. 2008: 1). In itself, comparative politics as taught in universities is a broadening exercise that emphasizes the need to look beyond national cases in order to test key political science theories and models. Together, these developments in the 1970s certainly attest to European political scientists' willingness to work more closely with each other. Thirty years later, Yves Mény, a former president of the EUI, in the foreword of the *WEP*'s special issue on the occasion of its 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary, recognized the progress achieved as well as the important role played by the journal in the internationalization of young scholars across Europe. As he stated, "*Splendide isolement* is not only a luxury that nobody can afford, but is an ever-poorer excuse for not addressing the challenges ahead of us" (Mény 2008).

Since 1978, European politics and European political science have indeed experienced dramatic changes. However, tracking such changes is a difficult task, as retrospective readings are often impacted by our knowledge of the subsequent course of events. In this chapter, I suggest that these difficulties may be overcome by implementing a systematic content analysis over time. I would also maintain that by not only focusing on what has changed over time, but also exploring what has remained constant, we can achieve a more balanced overview of the range of topics covered by *West European Politics* and the state of comparative politics in Europe. More precisely, my first objective in this chapter is to track variations and trends in the subjects addressed over time in *West European Politics*, in order to test to what extent the journal actually covers "all the major political and social developments in all West European countries", and may thus be considered a journal for "generalists". I am also interested in identifying the areas, if any, where it tends to specialize. My second research objective is to question what is meant by "West European countries" by looking at which countries have been studied. This will then allow us to verify if *WEP*

has fulfilled its role as a platform for both large and small European democracies. My third and final objective is to identify where the authors were based at the time of their publication and to use this as a means for measuring the use of *West European Politics* as a vehicle of exchange among European scholars. In short, my goal is to record what has been said, about which countries, and by whom during the first thirty years of publication of the journal.

This chapter is organized as follows: in the first part, I introduce the methodology used and the reasons that led me to conduct a content analysis based on the assignation of keywords to every article. In the second part, based on my empirical findings, I demonstrate that *West European Politics* is largely given over to the analysis of governmental issues – that is, the exercise of political authority – at the national level. More specifically, political parties, despite the tough times they are experiencing, constitute the journal’s unchallenged backbone and if the *WEP* were to award a prize for the most-covered subject matter, “political parties” would definitively receive it. Although lagging behind compared to political party issues, European Union topics have progressively gained in importance over the period analysed and today account for a significant number of the articles published. Following on from this, a careful analysis of the countries addressed gives a nuanced picture of the geographical coverage offered. Since its origins, *WEP* has been a window on Western democracies in general, and not only on the largest ones. However, until recently, large countries have received the lion’s share of coverage. Finally, a look at the authors’ geographical locations bears witness to the huge gap that exists in terms of publication between British and American institutions on the one hand, and continental Europe on the other. In the third part, I focus on the implications of the above-mentioned content analysis for comparative politics in Europe. Two points in particular are discussed: firstly, to what extent is the focus on political parties – doomed or not – and the European Union an indication of their importance within the discipline? Secondly, what can be learned from the *WEP*’s gradual opening up to encompass Eastern Europe?

### **1. Unlocking comparative politics through the use of keywords**

In view of the objectives adopted, I opted for a systematic analysis of the content of the journal over its first thirty years of publication. In the main, this choice is explained by the methodology’s ability to deal with emotionally-charged events in a rather disengaged and neutral way. However, with 157 issues published, each containing five to ten articles, penetrating *West European Politics* seems to be, at first sight, something of a treasure hunt. To keep track of topics addressed by the journal while enabling data to be collected in a manageable way, I based the longitudinal content analysis on the attribution of keywords to each article. I explain below why and how those keywords were chosen, what data they cover, and how they can be interpreted.

In academic journals, the attribution of a limited number of keywords to an article is a widespread practice. They serve as field markers and allow reviewers to quickly identify whether an article falls within their area of expertise. They also constitute a useful tool for anyone interested in skimming through a publication. However, articles published in *West European Politics* are not accompanied by a selection of keywords.

Hence, the only way for the reader to obtain a quick overview of the content of *WEP*'s articles is to read the abstract, which involves reading more than a hundred words instead of only a few. Elaborating on this, I chose to attribute keywords to articles as a way of summarizing their content. To allow both diversity and a manageable approach, I set a limit of three keywords per article, selected with the aim of highlighting the main topics addressed. Although not sufficient to identify the exact subject of an article, this is enough to get an idea of its core content. For instance, even without further knowledge, an article coded with the keywords "political parties", "social democracy" and "monetary and budgetary policy" may be classified as an article about political parties' positions on macroeconomic policy, with a likely focus on socialist parties.

Regarding the selection of keywords utilized, I referred to the Taylor & Francis index for Politics and International Relations<sup>3</sup>. There are two reasons behind this decision. Firstly, working with a closed sample of pre-identified descriptors has the advantage of avoiding an endless expansion of the range of potential classification terms. Secondly, Taylor & Francis Group – which owns Routledge, the publisher of *West European Politics* – offers an exhaustive index for Politics and International Relations that is easy to operationalize as it contains a little more than a hundred keywords divided into 21 categories. In the present case, and as most of the articles published in *West European Politics* are devoted to the study of just one or a few countries, I did not take into account the categories associated with a specific area<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, the question of the selection of cases is analysed separately, based on a precise count of the countries examined. In total I adopted 15 categories and 75 associated keywords. As categories themselves may act as general descriptors, articles have been coded on the basis of a total of 90 keywords (see Table 1.1). Taking into account the aims of this chapter, a choice was also made to focus only on those abstracts and titles of articles published in the first 141 issues in order to attribute the keywords. As they are limited to 150 words, abstracts allow the reader to get a general idea of the content of an article, and highlight its most important features. Hence, they constitute a valuable and convenient source of data for the present study. Finally, given the aim of the research, I did not include those reviews and analysis of electoral results which accompany every issue.

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<sup>3</sup> The online platform for Taylor & Francis Group content, <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/showPublications?category=43983500>, 07/01/2014.

<sup>4</sup> Respectively "Asian Politics", "Eastern European Politics", "French Politics", "German Politics", "International Politics", "Irish Politics", "Italian Politics", "Russian and Soviet Politics", "Scandinavian Politics", "US Politics".

**Table 1.1:** Taylor & Francis Group adapted index for Politics and International Relations

<b>Comparative Politics</b>	International Organizations	<b>Politics &amp; Technology</b>
<b>Environmental Politics</b>	International Relations Theory	Internet Politics
<b>European Union Politics</b>	Migration & Diaspora	<b>Politics &amp; the Media</b>
European Integration	Public Diplomacy	Film & Politics
European Union Expansion	Regionalism	Political Communication
European Union History	Transnationalism	<b>Public Administration &amp; Management</b>
European Union Institutions	<b>Introductory Politics</b>	Budgetary & Economic Policy
European Union Policy	<b>Political Behaviour &amp; Participation</b>	Policy Analysis
<b>Government</b>	Political Psychology	Program Evaluation
Devolution	Racial & Ethnic Politics	Publ. Adm. Research Methods
Elections	Social Movements	Public Policy
Executive Politics	<b>Political Philosophy</b>	<b>Regulatory Policies</b>
Federalism	Anarchism	Administrative Law
Governance	Conservatism	Bureaucratic Politics
Law & Courts	Democracy	Education Policy
Legislative Politics	Fascism & Nazism	Energy Policy
Local Government	Gender Politics	Health Policy
Political Institutions	Human Rights	Immigration Policy
Political Leaders	Liberalism	Organizational Theory & Behav.
Political Lobbying & Interest Groups	Marxism & Communism	Public Ethics
Political Parties	Nationalism	Public Management
Protest Movements	Political Ideologies	Science & Technology Policy
Revolution – Government	Social Democracy	Social Policy
Urban Politics	Socialism	<b>Security Studies</b>
<b>International Political Economy</b>	<b>Political Theory</b>	Conflict Resolution
Globalization	American Political Thought	Intelligence
Politics of International Trade	Ancient & Medieval Pol. Th.	Peace Studies
<b>International Relations</b>	Critical Theory	Peacekeeping
Foreign Policy	Modern Political Theory	Terrorism
Global Governance		War & Conflict Studies
International Law		

In the following sections, the content analysis is divided into three periods of ten years, each covering different sequences in the history of the journal and West European politics in general. The years 1978-1987 correspond to the launch of *West European Politics* and a decade of new hopes at the European level, starting with the

first European elections and given concrete form by the creation of a new agenda for Europe when the Single European Act came into effect in 1987. The years 1988-1997 were then years of laying down roots for *WEP*, and of great changes for Europe and the world. The collapse of the Soviet Union began a new era of transition for Eastern countries and led to the hegemony of market economy at the macro level. Retrospectively, the years 1988-1997 also appear to be resolutely European in the sense that they were characterized by a significant deepening of European integration. During the final period, 1998-2007, *West European Politics* increased the number of issues per year from four to five (and six since 2008), which demonstrates its degree of maturity. In contrast to the former period and despite achieving three waves of enlargement – including the Big Bang enlargement – the expansion of the EU is generally seen as having experienced a slowing down during the 2000s, with criticisms reaching a peak in the rejection by referendum of the European Constitutional Treaty by both France and the Netherlands. Although far from exhaustive, this division into three stages provides a framework for our analysis.

## 2. Issues that count: *West European Politics* through the prism of content analysis

### 2.1. 1978-1987: *WEP's* positioning between the one and the many

Ranging from commonly-encountered issues such as institutions, ideologies or social movements to less usual ones, such as “films and politics”, *WEP* made its initial mark on the discipline by offering a forum for open discussion in comparative politics. Empirically, 70% of the 90 keywords are addressed at least once (see Table 1.2, General Coverage Ratio). Higher thresholds indicate nonetheless that the general coverage is rather superficial. In fact, more robust indicators measure a drop-off in the ratios when multi-occurrence of a single keyword is measured. Over the period, during the second part (1983-1987) the journal is rather more tightly focused, as fewer issues are covered in a more extensive way.

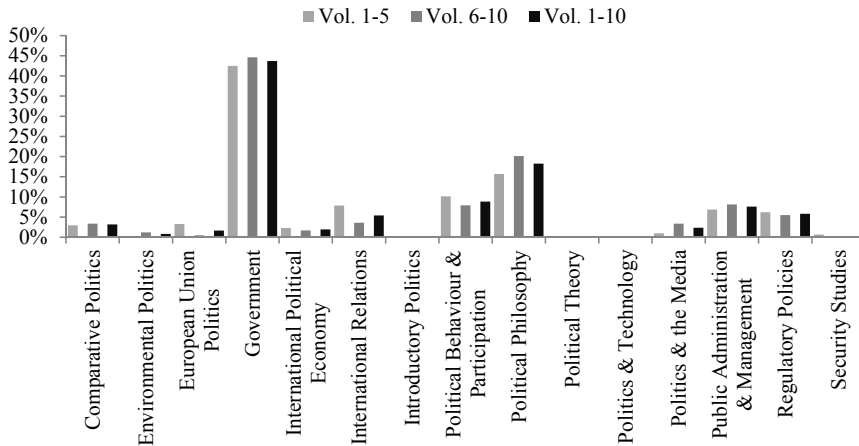
**Table 1.2:** Coverage ratios 1978-1987

	Vol. 1-5	Vol. 6-10	Vol. 1-10
General coverage ratio	0.67	0.58	0.70
≥ 5 coverage ratio	0.37	0.52	0.44
≥ 10 coverage ratio	0.18	0.29	0.27

Looking at the content of *WEP* articles, it appears that contributions are markedly dominated by a limited number of categories. As shown below (see Figure 1.1), the “government” category is very well represented and accounts for almost half of all keywords attributed (44%). To a much lesser extent, the “political philosophy” category is also over-represented (18%). In contrast with the sophisticated definition given by Manuel Cervera-Marzal in this book, political philosophy is here understood in a broader sense, as the general study of political ideologies, and is conceptually differentiated from political theory. While it may be objected that the success of government and political philosophy is explained by the fact that these are also the two largest categories in the Taylor & Francis index for Politics (see Table 1.1), the

gap is too important to ignore these observations. If we look at what the “government” category contains, the differences become even more contrasted. One single keyword, “political parties”, accounts for 27% of the “government” category and 12% of the general classification. Regarding the state of the discipline at that time, the strong emphasis on political parties is not surprising. After more than a decade of founding contributions to comparative party studies made by fathers of the discipline such as LaPalombara and Weiner (1996) or Lipset and Rokkan (2008), the 1970s were particularly stimulating years for the study of party politics. More than any other publication, Sartori’s *Parties and Party Systems* (1976), “perhaps the most important single contribution to the field”, is characteristic of that trend (Mair 2008: 211). The dominance of the study of political parties in *West European Politics* nonetheless deserves to be highlighted as a marked feature of the journal. Regarding the selection of cases, a certain imbalance can also be noticed. On the one hand, *WEP* does offer a forum for the study and the discussion of both large and small democracies in Europe. Every member of the European Communities has been addressed at least once during the period, in addition to other European states. The United States of America has also been discussed once, which indicates that *WEP* is not *sensu stricto* limited to the study of European countries. On the other hand, large member states received the lion’s share of coverage. Together, France, West Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy comprise 68% of the cases studied.

Figure 1.1: Percentage of keywords per category



Interestingly, it can be seen that *West European Politics* began as a journal of comparative politics with an open orientation, and with a very strong core devoted to the examination of the exercise of political authority and underlying ideologies in general, and of political parties in particular. In addition, although faithful to its commitment to be receptive not only to changes in large states, but to what happens in smaller ones too, *WEP* devoted most of its attention to the study of the largest. In the absence of further temporal benchmarks, *West European Politics*’ positioning over

its early years may be described as torn between examining the one and exploring the many.

## 2.2. 1988-1997: *WEP's tardy look at the EU*

Before 1993, EU-related topics were almost a non-issue for *West European Politics*. As we have seen, between 1978 and 1987 most of the categories we use in this chapter received only limited coverage and “European Union Politics” is certainly one of these (see Figure 1.1). Over the first ten years of publication, the average coverage EU topics was only 2%. At that time, European politics had not yet permeated beyond dedicated journals (see for instance Camille Kelbel’s chapter in this book). Considering the work in progress it represents, its *sui generis* nature, and the organization of the first European elections in 1979, the quasi-absence of contributions related to European integration is surprising. During the second period analysed, the implications of the Single European Act seem not to have brought about any major change in coverage as, up until 1993, saliency remained very low. However, the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty seems to have changed the situation. Between 1993 and 1997, “European Union Politics” became the second most important category and the third in the 1988-97 period overall, which leads us to two observations. Firstly, comparative politics is not a science of the present times, although in the medium term, it is not blind to contemporary events affecting its environment. Secondly, the attention paid to EU-related topics in the 1990s is not limited to *West European Politics*. The emergence of Europe as a political issue *per se* – from this period on, as a European economic and political union – is characteristic of a more general awareness. Henceforth, after previously being limited to international and EU studies, the EU entered a new comparative age. Considering the results for 1978-1987, it is no surprise either that pioneering work by comparativists on the subject emerged in combination with what constitutes their preferred research topic, i.e. political parties. This is the case with, for instance, Delwit’s *Socialists Parties and European Integration* (1995), Gaffney’s *Political Parties and the European Union* (1996), and Hix and Lord’s *Political Parties in the European Union* (1997).

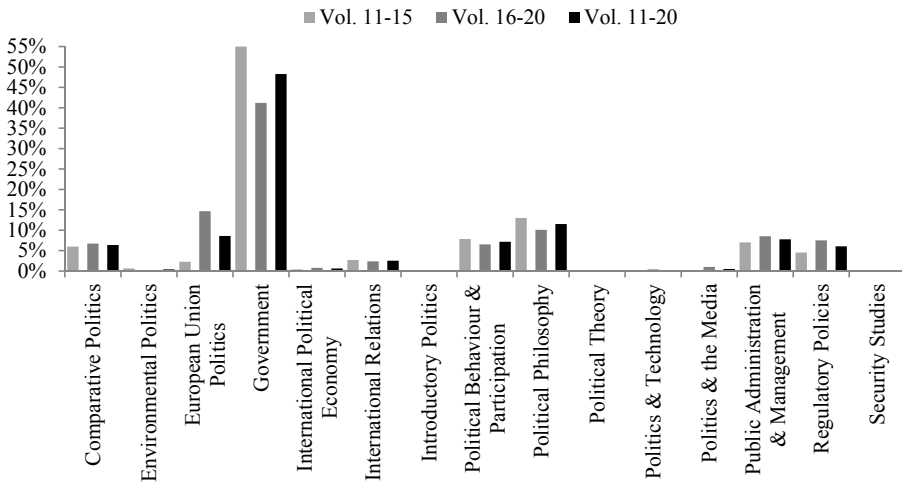
Besides the emergence of the EU, other developments in the journal, although less significant, deserve to be pointed out. Compared to 1978-1987, multi-occurrence ratios increase during the later periods, despite the general coverage ratio remaining consistent (Table 1.3). While this may be partly due to the rise in the number of issues published, it is also a sign that the journal was gaining maturity, in the sense that it was more likely to concentrate on a smaller number of related topics. It is also representative of a change to its original positioning.

**Table 1.3:** Coverage ratios 1988-1997

	Vol. 11-15	Vol. 16-20	Vol. 11-20
General coverage ratio	0.60	0.58	0.70
≥ 5 coverage ratio	0.44	0.52	0.59
≥ 10 coverage ratio	0.28	0.37	0.43

Concerning the representation of categories between 1988 and 1997, the rise of EU-related issues corresponds to a significant decrease in the salience of the “political philosophy” category (see Figure 1.2). Contrarily to what has been observed about EU developments, the collapse of the Soviet Union and its consequences did not feed explicit debates within the journal about the place of ideologies in a post-communist Europe. Aside from this, things remained rather similar to the previous period and confirm *WEP*'s orientation as a journal devoted to the exercise of political authority in various contexts and with a broad perspective. From 1988 to 1997, the domination of “government”-related issues in general and political parties in particular, was strengthened even further. Henceforth, the “government” category represents 48% of the keywords attributed (44% over 1978-1987) and political parties count for 14% (12% over 1978-1987). Regarding the selection of cases, we can observe a slight opening up of the journal to smaller states. While France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom occupy less importance (-14%), the Netherlands and Sweden were particularly discussed, as they together account for 15% of cases addressed (8% and 7% respectively). While this is largely explained by the publication of dedicated special issues, it also means that the saliency of a country is not (only) related to the size of its population. Accordingly, Spain, despite its size, does not receive a lot of attention, as was already the case during the former period. Finally, the inclusion of New Zealand confirms, as was previously the case with the United States of America, that *WEP* is not limited to the European continent, although focused on it.

Figure 1.2: Percentage of keywords per category



After ten years spent encouraging eclecticism, while defending a strong editorial line centred on political parties and government issues, *West European Politics* remained largely faithful to its original trajectory. During its second decade of existence, while preserving pluralism in its coverage, the journal was nonetheless evolving, and tended to be more centred on its core, despite opening up to smaller



European states. Above all, the period was characterized by one major change, which was the breakthrough of the EU.

### 2.3. 1998-2007: *Forging ahead*

In contrast to the previous decade, *WEP* did not experience any major changes in the topics addressed during the 1998-2007 period, thus confirming a certain normalization of the field covered. In 2003, after twenty-five years of existence, the shift from four to five issues was also a sign of good health, for a journal well on track. Performing without conforming, *West European Politics* also remained open to socio-economic developments in its environment. Beyond the general stability of the content analysed, the 1998-2007 years are first and foremost noteworthy for the range of countries studied. Most clearly, the period is marked by the opening of *WEP* to Central and Eastern democracies. While challenging the journal's geographical classification – to what extent does speaking of Western Europe still make any sense? – the inclusion of Central and Eastern European democracies represented recognition from the academic world. The presence of these countries in a journal devoted to the study of established democracies may be understood as independent recognition of the degree of the maturity which these states had reached. More than ten years after the dissolution of the Eastern bloc and two years before some of these countries acceded to the EU, their presence in the journal is representative of their reaching a certain stage on their roads towards (Western) democracy, and the end of the so-called “transition” period.

Among the three periods studied and despite the publication of a fifth annual issue since 2003, issues between 1988 and 2007 show the lowest ratio of general coverage. These are also the issues with the highest multi-occurrence ratios, which means that the articles published tended to cover a lower number of issues but to address them with higher regularity (see Table 1.4). These results from the 1988-1997 period are consistent with those previously observed for 1988-1997, which indicates the coherence of *WEP*'s editorial line.

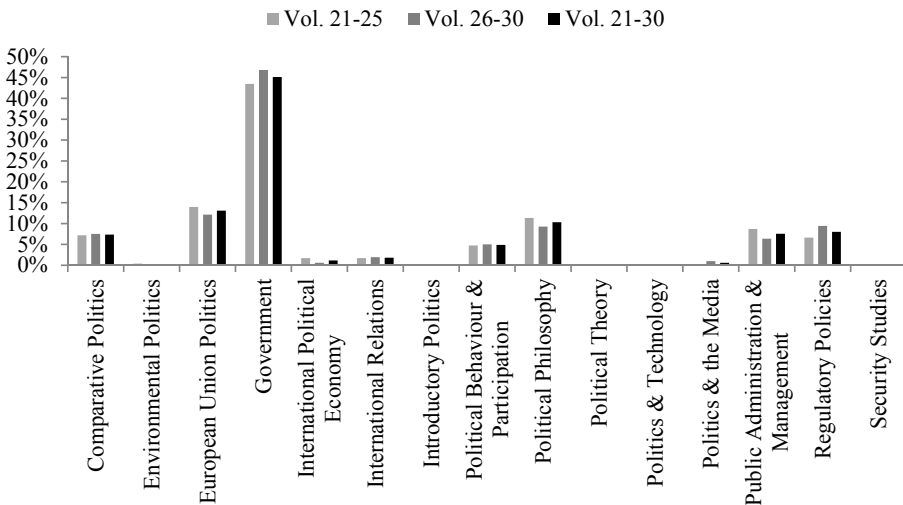
**Table 1.4:** Coverage ratios 1998-2007

	Vol. 21-25	Vol. 26-30	Vol. 21-30
General coverage ratio	0.56	0.57	0.66
≥ 5 coverage ratio	0.63	0.57	0.61
≥ 10 coverage ratio	0.44	0.45	0.51

Looking more closely at the data, the domination of the “government” category remains stable over time (45%, -3%). Five second-rank categories then occupy the rest of *WEP*'s agenda. Together, they account for 46% of keywords referenced (see Figure 1.3). Combined with the “government” category, this means that six categories out of the fifteen included in the index represent 95% of the descriptors attributed; that is to say, the remaining topics received only occasional attention, if any. This is the case with political theory for instance, which is largely absent from *West European Politics* and, to a lesser extent, International Relations. After a decade of increasing saliency, EU politics continues to be popular among comparativists

and, henceforth, the associated category is the second most often referenced. This confirms the dual trend already noticed between 1988 and 1997. Firstly, EU politics was becoming more mainstream, in the sense that it was no longer restricted to dedicated specialists. Secondly, as a consequence, the EU was increasingly discussed and analysed as “regular” politics through the comparative lens, and, in turn, was becoming increasingly normalized. During this period, although they remain the most addressed topic, political parties register a lower score, with an average of 21.8% of the “government” category (-7%) and 9.8% (-4%) of the total amount of keywords attributed. Finally, behind political parties, attention was concentrated around other popular keywords, namely “comparative politics” (7%), “European integration” (6%), “political institutions” (5%), “governance” (5%) and “budgetary and economic policy” (5%). Taken together, these topics constitute *West European Politics*’ DNA. By 2007, *West European Politics* had resolutely opened up to Eastern and Central Europe. Of the ten countries joining the EU in 2004, eight – i.e. the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia – were addressed at least once. Quantitatively, they only represented a small number of the cases selected, but this is mainly due to the fact that Central and Eastern countries were generally treated as a single bloc and were thus not included in the count. Once again, a few countries outside continental Europe such as Australia, Canada and the United States of America also appeared on the list between 1998 and 2007. Looking back at thirty years of publication, it appears that all the countries addressed which were located outside the strictly European environment (including Iceland, Norway and Switzerland) were English-speaking countries.

**Figure 1.3:** Percentage of keywords per category



#### 2.4. 1978-2008: *West European Politics*, from “*splendide isolement*” to ongoing internationalization

The story of *West European Politics* would not be complete without shedding light on those individuals who constitute its beating heart, i.e. the authors. In the following section, I identify the location of the contributing authors according to their university affiliation as given by the journal at the time of their publication. In accordance with what has been highlighted already, the journal once again appeared to be torn. Looking at the data collected (see Table 1.5), it is striking how predominant UK- and US-based authors are. Together, they represent 68% of the authors published over the three periods of time analysed (57% and 43% respectively). Over time, this situation was also changing, shedding light on the place occupied by European comparative politics.

**Table 1.5:** Authors' affiliation

	Vol. 1-10	Vol. 11-20	Vol. 21-30
UK/USA	0.68	0.57	0.43
FR/GE/IT	0.16	0.18	0.17
Others EEC/EU	0.06	0.16	0.26
Others non-EU	0.09	0.09	0.13
Total EEC/EU	<b>0.68</b>	<b>0.72</b>	<b>0.71</b>

It was during the early years of the journal that this situation was the most contrasting. Between 1978 and 1987, authors based in the United Kingdom and in the United States accounted for 68% of the articles published (45% and 23% respectively). At that time then, *West European Politics* was essentially a British and American journal about political and social changes in Europe. The fact that the journal was created by two lecturers based in London and that English is the language of publication is probably a facilitating factor for authors from those two countries. However, it is difficult to believe that language alone can explain the difference. Despite the editor's willingness to open up to smaller countries, the predominance of British and American authors is also indicative of both the compartmentalization between academic worlds and, to a certain extent, of the influence of research in comparative politics in these two countries. In the words of Yves Mény, the time was one of “*Splendide isolement*” (Mény 2008). However, over thirty years, things have progressively changed. Firstly, the proportion of the journal occupied by British and American authors is decreasing. This is particularly true for those from the United Kingdom, whose representation falls from 45% between 1978 and 1988 to 27% between 1997 and 2008. And while by the end of the third period the United Kingdom and the United States remain at the forefront, their relative withdrawal seems to have benefited small EU democracies; although the enlargement of the EU directly impacts on the results for this category, these countries gained visibility within the journal and accounted for one quarter of the contributions during the final period. However, despite their recent inclusion on WEP's agenda, it must be noted that, in the final period, among EU newcomers only Hungary and Slovakia were represented. The “other non-EU” category is rather stable over the period and is constituted by countries

that are now EU members but which were not at that time, European countries which have not joined the EU, Commonwealth countries, and other OECD members, such as Israel and Japan. In the long run, *West European Politics* seems to be opening up. Observations are also encouraging for European comparative politics. Wherever they come from, political scientists in Europe are increasingly engaging in dialogue with one another. In that sense, it seems fair to see in *WEP* some welcome promises of an “ongoing internationalization”.

### **3. From content to challenges: questioning the core values of European comparative politics**

#### **3.1. Political parties in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: old dogs, new tricks?**

Among the findings from the content analysis, the most persistent and robust is the undisputed dominance of political parties. For the past thirty years, these have been so central to the journal that it is now difficult to imagine what it would be without them. However, the future is shaping up to be no bed of roses for political parties in Europe. Among other issues, the individuation of societies, the transfer of sovereignty towards sub- and supranational entities, and the globalization of the economy are affecting political competition. Compared to “mass parties” of the past, their successors are said to have lost their ties with voters, to the point that the question of their relevance – “Do parties matter?” (Mair 2008: 217) – is being asked more than ever before.

From a disciplinary perspective, it is unlikely that we will see political parties disappear from research agendas, even in the long run. There is a variety of reasons for this. To start with, they remain fundamental actors in the exercise of political authority and, by extension, pillars of our democracies (Katz and Crotty 2006: 1). As reviewed by Caroline Close’s chapter in this book, the potential decline of political parties is also an important source for research. Organizationally, institutionally, or ideologically, the “crisis of political parties” has proved to be a recurring theme within the literature (Delwit 2013: 261). The different subfields related to the study of political parties themselves appear to be experiencing a different destiny (see Close in this volume). Finally, the passage of time itself is continuously adding new facts which deserve scientific attention. However, the centrality of political parties on the discipline’s agenda is a tricky issue. When combined with high saliency, centrality may lead to a monopolization of attention, which is often synonymous with conformity and doing “more of the same”. The risk of path dependency is even greater in an era where we have unprecedented capabilities for collecting and tracking data across time. Current research is nonetheless encouraging. Credit should be given to comparative European politics, and to *West European Politics* in particular, for the richness of the topics covered, the plurality of points of view gathered, and the variety of cases addressed. In turn, the success of *WEP* as a “generalist” journal covering a broad range of issues – although oriented around a well-identified core – illustrates the importance of flexibility in research. In particular, the increasing attention paid to the EU, in a journal not initially designed to study it, reveals comparativists’ awareness of this evolving political entity and their ability to cope with change. Based on the results of our content analysis, it is likely that political parties and the EU will increasingly be addressed together, as they now constitute the two largest categories. However,

according to the literature on Europeanization, national political parties are mostly “missing in action” at the EU level (Ladrech 2007).

Whatever the functions they perform, the organizational model they adopt, or the way they connect with civil society, “parties have always been in a process of change” (Katz and Crotty 2006: 1). Yet, in a pessimistic climate, marked by economic crisis and low levels of trust in political institutions<sup>5</sup>, the limited Europeanization they have experienced currently calls into question their ability to learn “new tricks”. Motivated by this question, various authors have entered the debate about what role they should play at the EU level (Hix and Bartolini 2006). Almost thirteen years after the publication of the Commission’s White Paper on Governance and the recognition of the need for more legitimacy at the EU level, the question of parties’ ability to find common ground with EU institutions – i.e. to what extent both act as mutual catalysts or burdens (Hix, Noury, Roland 2005; Moschonas 2009) – remains unresolved.

### ***3.2. West European Politics opening up: one step at a time***

Besides an analysis of the journal’s content, two other major changes in *West European Politics* have been previously highlighted: the enlargement of the geographical area covered by the journal and the opening up of the scientific community which contributes to it. In different ways, both provide insights about *WEP*’s editorial line.

Regarding the selection of cases to be addressed, *WEP* does not provide much information. On the website, no guidance is given about this question, except possibly the journal’s title. However, the analysis conducted above may help to clarify things. Of course, EU member states are extensively covered by the journal, and although not all of them have received specific attention over the thirty years studied, it may be expected that sooner or later they will do so. As noted already, several English-speaking countries across the world – i.e. the USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia – were also covered, although they represent a very limited number of contributions. Shifting attention to the remaining cases, it is strikingly obvious that only a small proportion of Continental Europe is covered. Iceland is the only country applying to join the EU that has been addressed over the period and, with the exception of Israel, none of the countries constituting the current EU neighbourhood were selected. Considering the previous remarks, their not being “Western” does not appear to explain their exclusion as, strictly speaking, the term has been largely blurred by the latest enlargements. However, this fact represents an indirect way of confirming the focus put on the study of liberal democracy. Indeed, it appears that to be a democracy is a necessary condition for selection as, in thirty years, no authoritarian regime has been addressed as such. Furthermore, although the journal used to cover young democracies, as was the case with Spain (Medhurst 1978), Portugal (Gallagher 1979) and Greece (Danopoulos and Patel 1980), being a mature democracy – although the term itself deserves more

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<sup>5</sup> Since 2007, the level of trust in the political institutions has continuously decreased among European citizens and in 2013 reached an average of 31% regarding the European Union, 25% in Parliaments and 23% in Governments. European Commission, DG for Communication, *Standard Eurobarometer 80* (autumn 2013), [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm), 16/01/2014.

attention – seems to have become a criterion of selection. Over time, the editorial board have thus become more reluctant to study “fresh” democratic regimes. It is true that defining a strong editorial line requires narrowing the scope of the journal’s coverage. Moreover, younger democracies are empirically challenging to study because less data is generally available. Nonetheless, those countries would certainly benefit from more attention from comparativists. In turn, they may constitute a source of inspiration to comparative politics and challenging fields for the application of the tools developed by political scientists.

The progressive inclusion of authors from different countries is also representative of how boundaries may evolve with the passage of time. In thirty years, *West European Politics* went from an arena dominated by the United Kingdom and the United States to a much more balanced place, where institutions from different countries receive better representation. This is certainly encouraging for political science in Europe and for non native English-speaking institutions. Despite academic rankings indicating the dominance of US and UK institutions, this demonstrates that quality research is not confined to these countries, and that it can even help develop effective transnational networks. Yet, up to now, Eastern countries have been largely excluded from this development. Although it would be unfair to put the blame on the editorial board, let us hope that these countries can join the *West European Politics* family as soon as possible, in order for it to go further in its mission of uniting not only states, but also people.

### **Conclusion**

Drawing its sources from the journal itself, this chapter is based on a content analysis of *WEP* articles’ abstracts using a system of keyword assignment. It thus constitutes an inductive piece of research, and must be understood as such. Hence, the data presented comes directly from the journal and is related to the content it addresses. As shown, the results highlight the way in which *West European Politics* promotes pluralism in the range of topics addressed, although at its core it is devoted to the study of political parties, which are overwhelmingly prevalent. The results also indicate how the EU, although emerging as an issue fairly late in the journal’s history, has become a major focal point. However, the analysis is not, strictly speaking, limited to the journal and *West European Politics* may be used with caution as a thermometer for measuring the evolution of comparative politics in Europe. Used in this way, the analysis indicates how the discipline and the community of researchers behind it are increasingly opening up and becoming more Europeanized. Based on the content analysis, I also came across what may constitute two challenges to the journal and to the discipline: specialising while avoiding conformity, and managing diversity in the selection of cases. Although the two may seem unconnected at first glance, they in all likelihood constitute pieces of the same larger puzzle. This chapter does not claim to have found the solution to these challenges, or to give an exhaustive description of developments in European comparative politics over the periods studied. As stated at the beginning, history is often subject to interpretation, and the history of European political science is no exception to the rule. This chapter is intended to deliver a rigorous and innovative reading of *WEP* and, in its own way, contribute to the debate.



## CHAPTER 2

# Assessing Party Research Decline: A View from the *British Journal of Political Science*

Caroline CLOSE

### Introduction

In contemporary political thinking, political parties are essential for the functioning of democratic government, and are even viewed as *inevitable* in modern representative democracy (Bryce 1921: 119; Schattschneider 1942: 1). From the birth of modern political science at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the study of political parties has been central in the discipline<sup>1</sup>. In the last decades, several works have tried to assess this prolific literature (see for instance, in chronological order: Crotty 1991<sup>2</sup>; Janda 1993<sup>3</sup>; Caramani and Hug 1998<sup>4</sup>; Karvonen and Ryssevik 2001<sup>5</sup>; Montero and

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<sup>1</sup> As shown in Jadot's chapter (in this volume), political parties have been central in European comparative politics during the last decades.

<sup>2</sup> Crotty (1991) examines party research in the American context. His qualitative analysis concentrates on parties as organizations, and pleads for an increasing effort at theorizing party research independently from normative assumptions.

<sup>3</sup> Janda (1993) reviews the *comparative* research on political parties through a qualitative analysis. The review concentrates on the theoretical aspects of the literature.

<sup>4</sup> Caramani and Hug's (1998) quantitative analysis of the literature on European parties and party systems since 1945 relies on a large bibliographical database gathering all references (monographs, edited volumes, journal articles and contributions to edited volumes) published on European parties since 1945.

<sup>5</sup> Karvonen and Ryssevik's (2001) chapter is not presented as a state of the art of the party politics literature, but is devoted to reviewing the impact of the development of new technologies and methods of data collection, analysis and presentation on the "the conditions of research and researchers" (Karvonen and Ryssevik 2001: 43) on parties, election and voters.



Gunther 2003<sup>6</sup>; Reiter 2006<sup>7</sup>). In view of these numerous references, reviewing – once again – the literature on political parties could appear useless. However, two arguments can be advanced that justify a new analysis of recent developments in party research. First, even if these works have provided relevant long-term analyses of the evolution of party research, they now appear quite outdated. Indeed, almost 10 years have passed since the most recent study. Second, these studies have developed two opposing views as far as the current and future state of the “political party literature” was concerned. Formulated at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, these claims need to be re-assessed given recent developments in party research.

On the one hand, scholars have expressed a quite sceptical and pessimistic view. At the end of the 1990s, Caramani and Hug (1998) suggested that the “golden age” of political party literature was definitely behind us, as they observed a peak in the number of publications on party politics in the late 1970s. In the 2000s, Reiter (2006) also suggested that the share of party-related articles in academic journals has dropped since 1980, while it had been continuously growing from the birth of political science until the mid-1970s.

This decreasing scholarly interest in the study of political parties has been partly attributed to the “party decline” thesis<sup>8</sup>, which claims that political parties have become increasingly irrelevant (Montero and Gunther 2003: 3-10). As explained in Jadot’s chapter (this volume), political parties have been said to be *doomed*. Parties have been declining *organizationally* (Katz 1990; Whiteley 2011); party identification has weakened, while popular dissatisfaction – and even distrust – with political parties has grown (Miller and Listhaug 1990). New issues – e.g. post materialism versus materialism – have emerged out of traditional cleavages (Ignazi 1996); partisan *dealignment* and *realignment* have weakened traditional parties (Dalton et al. 1984). According to the party decline thesis, parties have lost their function as a linkage between voters and their representatives, to the benefit of more direct contact between citizens and politicians and new political movements (Lawson and Merkl 1988). Besides, the decline in this linkage function has been deepened by direct democratic innovations, the use of new channels of communication and processes of state decentralization and supranationalization (Strøm and Svåsand 1997: 16-18).

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<sup>6</sup> Montero and Gunther’s (2003) working paper constitutes a shortened version of the introductory chapter included in Gunther et al. (2002). Their qualitative review addresses both the theme of party decline and the issue of strengthening party theory.

<sup>7</sup> Reiter (2006) analyses a hundred years of political party research (1906-2005) across several journals, with a special focus on the American literature (*American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Quarterly*/*American Politics Research*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Midwest Journal of Political Science*/*American Journal of Political Science*).

<sup>8</sup> Other reasons for this decreasing scholarly interest in the study of political parties have been suggested, among which the fact that party research is perceived as “narrow-gauged, methodologically unimaginative, and theoretically thin” (Reiter 2006: 616). Several scholars, while they acknowledge the lack of conceptual coherence between the different subfields of party research (Crotty 1991; Janda 1993; Montero and Gunther 2003) nevertheless demonstrate that party theory is no longer deficient, and propose several approaches to strengthen it.

In short, “as parties seemed to decline in recent decades, they may have seemed to many scholars to be less worth studying” (Reiter 2006: 616-617). Political parties are declining (Coleman 1996; Crotty 1984; Everson 1982), and, as a result, little may be left to say about these old-fashioned organizations. Consequently, in this view, party research is inexorably declining.

On the other hand, while admitting the contemporary challenges faced by parties and their potential impact on partisan organizations, a more optimistic view of the role played by parties in this changing world has been developed, and has offered more encouraging perspectives (Aldrich 1995; Dalton and Wattenberg 2000; Montero and Gunther 2003; Reiter 1989; Webb 1995). These scholars do not share the idea that parties are unable to cope with new socio-economic and political changes, nor do they think these changes will inevitably lead to parties’ disintegration. By contrast, these new challenges would “also give party organizations new political manoeuvrability” (Selle and Svåsand 1991: 459). Instead of disappearing, parties are said to be adapting, and would remain central in contemporary democratic systems. In this perspective, party adaptation and transformation as a reaction to 21<sup>st</sup> century social, political and economic changes instead constitutes a fertile ground on which new questions arise, and are likely to make party research all the more important (Montero and Gunther 2003: 3). Therefore, party research can be expected to experience a re-birth or “resurgence” (Strøm and Svåsand 1997: 4).

This chapter does not aim at assessing whether political parties in the contemporary era are declining or adapting. Neither does it aim to evaluate how this context of change has been translated into the work of political scientists. But it is this chapter’s purpose to assess whether party research has faced a decline or resurgence in the last decades. This chapter examines party research from the end of its alleged “golden age” until today, and should, if the party research decline hypothesis is right, observe a decreasing interest in the study of political parties. By contrast, if the opposite hypothesis is true, this chapter’s analysis should observe an increase in the amount of scholarly attention devoted to political parties’ adaptation and transformation. In order to test these hypotheses, the chapter will look at both the absolute and relative amount of scholarly attention devoted to political parties during the last decades.

Yet only looking at the amount of attention devoted to political parties seems insufficient, given that party research is far from being a homogeneous field – in terms of approach, research method, conceptualization or research problem (Crotty 1991: 137). Moreover, according to the party decline thesis, decline would affect in distinct ways the different aspects or *faces* of parties (Strøm and Svåsand 1997: 18-19) – party in the electorate, party in office, party organization<sup>9</sup>. The party in the electorate would be confronted mostly with changes in citizens’ resources, preferences and identities; the party in office would be affected primarily by institutional changes (decentralization, public financing), technological innovations and the development of mass media, as well as by the emergence of new social movements. Among the three faces of political parties, party organization would be that facing the most numerous challenges – i.e. almost all those cited above. Assessing the supposed decline in party

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<sup>9</sup> See Key’s (1964) classification.

research therefore requires examining *within* the field of party politics whether this decline – or resurgence – of party research has occurred uniformly or whether it has concerned particular aspects of parties, and especially, the party as organization. In addition to observing the variation of scholarly attention devoted to political parties in general, this research will divide the field of party research into three subfields according to the three *faces* of parties and will assess their separate evolution since the end of the golden 1970s.

This chapter's analysis is based on the examination of party-related articles published since 1980 in the *British Journal of Political Science* (*BJPS*). Launched in 1971, this journal quickly became a reference in the field, and has been regularly identified among the 30 most prominent journals in political science<sup>10</sup> (Garand et al. 2009; Giles and Garand 2007). The *BJPS* is defined as a generalist journal (Goodin 2010), covering all fields of political science<sup>11</sup> and political theory, and is permeable to related disciplines (among which can be counted economics, social psychology and philosophy). While a national journal, the *BJPS* adopts a comparative scope and aims at covering political issues across a wide range of countries. Its high quality, its broad audience and the diversity of its publications make the *BJPS* the ideal material for this chapter's analysis. In addition, what distinguishes the *BJPS* from other top academic journal in Britain and in the United States is its independence from any professional association (Nagel 2010)<sup>12</sup>; an independence that has contributed to "the remarkable continuity and unity of its editors" (Nagel 2010:713). Such a continuity and unity guarantee that developments and changes observed in *BJPS* issues are not merely changes resulting from editorial board turnover.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, it presents and discusses the data and methods used in this study. Second, the chapter relies on a quantitative analysis of party-related articles published by the *BJPS* since its launch, and tries to grasp which

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<sup>10</sup> According to Thomson Reuters' 2012 Journal Citation reports, the *BJPS*' impact factor scores at 1.477 (see on Cambridge website: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayMoreInfo?jid=JPS&type=if>). Garand et al. (2009) show that the *BJPS* is ranked among the top five academic journals by American, British and Canadian political scientists. Nagel (2010) also remarks that the *BJPS* particularly benefits from its prestigious reputation among political scientists in the United States, "which is still the centre of gravity for the profession worldwide" (Nagel 2010: 715).

<sup>11</sup> Including political sociology, international relations, comparative politics, public policy, etc. but excluding the history of political thought.

<sup>12</sup> In Britain, the *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* and *Political Studies* are dependent on the Political Studies Association (PSA). As exposed by Nagel (2010), the *BJPS* has been built precisely as a challenger to *Political Studies*. In the United States, the *American Political Science Review* is dependent on the American Political Science Association (APSA); the *American Journal of Political Science* is dependent on the Midwest Political Science Association; and the *Journal of Politics* is dependent on the Southern Political Science Association. In France, as shown in Cervera-Marzal's chapter (this volume), the *Revue française de science politique* is the main organ of the French Association of Political Scientists and was founded with the support of the National Foundation of Political Sciences. As argued by Cervera-Marzal, this dependence may have greatly influenced the ideological leaning of the journal.

of the two hypotheses – a decline or resurgence of party research – is confirmed. Third, the chapter combines quantitative and qualitative evaluations of the political party literature, and provides more detailed insights regarding the way the three faces of parties have been treated over the last decades.

## 1. Data and methods

This research relies on a content analysis of party-related articles published in the *British Journal of Political Science* during the last decades. Because of its high quality, broad audience and above all thanks to its generalist and international appeal, the *BJPS* constitutes an excellent tool with which to apprehend the evolution of party research within the broader field of political science. This research considers the *BJPS* as a journal representative of the main tendencies and trends within the discipline. Yet, as formulated by Goodin (2010: 1), the *BJPS* has its own “personality”. Entrenched in the British tradition (and to a lesser extent, in the American tradition)<sup>13</sup>, the journal was created as an empirically-oriented journal (Goodin 2010: 3, Nagel 2010: 714), in which models derived from political economy have been quite prominent, especially in the 1980s (Goodin 2010: 5; Nagel 2010: 724). The results presented in this chapter are therefore more related to the British (and American) political literature than to the very broad field of political science.

Since this chapter’s main question involves looking at how the absolute and relative share of party-related articles has evolved over the years, the analysis required delineating the field of party research. As often noticed in similar literature reviews, parties are ubiquitous in political science (Reiter 2006: 614) and are central to the study of democracy and political systems (Caramani and Hug 2010: 498); therefore, delimiting the field of party research in such a study necessitates drawing on a narrow conception of party. In order to identify relevant contributions, the research selected all articles whose titles included the word *party* or any derived term, such as *partisan* and *partisanship*, or which included the name of a particular party or party type. In addition to these contributions directly referring to political parties, the research also selected articles whose titles included any reference to “coalition government”, which “can only be interpreted in partisan terms” (Reiter 2006: 614)<sup>14</sup>. The total number of party-related articles examined in this chapter is 186 articles published between 1980 and 2013 in the *BJPS*, selected among a total of 1 067 contributions<sup>15</sup> (including

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<sup>13</sup> In its early years, the *BJPS* included a significant proportion of articles dealing with British (and Commonwealth) parties (around 35%), as well as with American ones (around 25%). Yet other countries were regularly considered over the years, among which France, Germany, Italy and Scandinavian states; and outside Europe, Japan. Publications in the 1980s and 1990s paid significant attention to communist systems (the USSR, China), and from the 1990s until today, to post-communist and transition contexts (Eastern Europe, Latin America). Note that the mid-1990s saw a significant increase in large-N comparative studies (mainly Western-centred), as explained in the analysis.

<sup>14</sup> The method used in this research for delineating party research is in reality close to that applied by Reiter (2006).

<sup>15</sup> In the analysis, some graphs also include publications of the 1971-1979 period (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2 in the analysis). These graphs are based on the examination of 233 party-

articles, research notes, comments as well as review articles). Once party-related articles were identified, the analysis calculated their absolute number and relative proportion per *volume* (the *BJPS* publishes one volume per year, in four issues).

In order to provide a more precise picture of what aspects of political parties have attracted scholarly attention over the years, each article has been coded into one of the four categories presented below: “party in the electorate”, “party organization”, “party in office” and “party system”. In addition, each article has been coded according to the party or type of parties investigated (e.g. British parties, Communist parties, comparative analysis of Western democracies’ parties etc.) and according to the theoretical approach(es) used.

1. “Party in the electorate”: whenever the article dealt primarily with voter-party relationships (e.g. partisanship, party identification, voting behaviour, party’s social support) or with parties’ strategies (e.g. campaigning) and competition in the electoral arena.
2. “Party organization” whenever the article dealt primarily with intraparty organizational structure and power, party members (members on the ground, activists, leaders), communication networks or party ideological objectives.
3. “Party in office” whenever the article dealt with legislative behaviour, coalition formation, government coalition or government public policies.
4. “Party system” whenever the article dealt with party system characteristics (e.g. effective number of parties), with the existence of structuring cleavages, or with parties as actors of a broader political system or regime (e.g. socialist systems, regimes in transition).

Once each article was identified within one of these categories, the analysis calculated the proportions of party-related articles that belong to each of them in each volume of the *BJPS*. Obviously, delineating between these four categories has sometimes proven problematic, as some articles treat several aspects of the party at the same time. In these situations, the article was coded according to the *main* aspect examined. Note that the fourth category “party system” will receive the least treatment in the analysis, as the chapter concentrates more on the study of parties than on the study of party systems.

## **2. Assessing the decline in party research: a view from the *British Journal of Political Science***

### **2.1. General perspectives**

If the hypothesis of a decline in party research is right, the analysis should reveal a decline in the amount of scholarly attention devoted to political parties since the end of the 1970s. Figure 2.1 below helps in assessing this trend, by looking at both the absolute and relative number of works devoted to political parties in the recent decades. The graph divides the decades investigated into successive five-year periods<sup>16</sup>. Although this study is primarily concerned with the post-1970s evolution of

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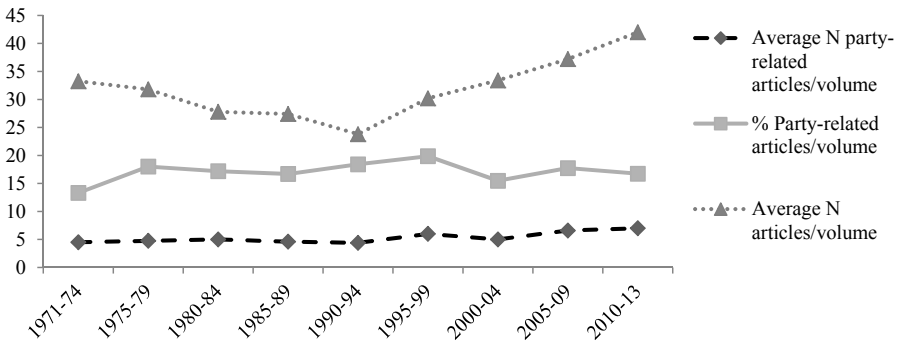
related articles, selected among a total of 1,359 articles published by the *BJPS* between 1971 and 2013.

<sup>16</sup> Except for the 1971-74 and 2010-13 periods, which are four-yearly.

the party literature, Figure 2.1 still includes data on the *BJPS*'s publications between 1971 (i.e. year after the journal was launched) and 1979. This allows better evaluation of how party research evolved in the following decades.

Figure 2.1 provides several types of information. A first line helps in grasping how the overall number of publications in the *BJPS* has evolved, by indicating the average absolute number of articles published in each volume. On average, the absolute number of articles (including notes and comments) published in each volume of the *BJPS* has varied from a minimum of 23.8 (in the 1990-94 period) to a maximum of 42 (2010-13 period), with a mean of 32. A second line indicates the absolute number of party-related articles published per volume on average. This number has varied from a minimum of 4.4 (1990-94) to a maximum of 7 (2010-13), with a mean of 5.3. Variations in the number of party-related articles seem to be linked to variations in the number of publications in the *BJPS*. Looking at the amount of scholarly attention devoted to political parties in absolute terms, no clear "decline" can be observed since the "golden" 1970s. By contrast, according to the peaks observed after 1995 (6 party-related articles per volume on average) and 2005 (6.5-7 party-related articles per volume), the trend seems to be quite the reverse: party research has increased in the last decades.

**Figure 2.1:** Number and percentage of party-related articles in the *British Journal of Political Science*, average by 5-year period, 1971-2013



If looking at party research in absolute terms provides valuable insights, assessing changes in the quantity of party-related publication in *relative* terms appears more appropriate. A third line drawn in Figure 2.1 indicates the average proportion of party-related article per volume in the *BJPS*, for each five-year period investigated. These proportions have varied from a minimum of 13% (1971-74) to a maximum of 20% (1995-99). On average, party-related articles have concerned 17% of the *BJPS*'s publications; or in other words, one out of six contributions in the *BJPS* since its launch has primarily dealt with parties. Note that these percentages corroborate those calculated by Reiter (1996)<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Analysing the proportion of party-related articles in six major political science journals, Reiter found that, from 1976 to 2005, between 16% and 18% of these journals' publications concerned political parties.

While Reiter's observations were computed on a 15-year period basis, this analysis gives more details regarding the variations within these periods, and allows the hypothesis of a decline in party research to be assessed more carefully. At the time when scholars were announcing that the "golden age" of party research had passed (Caramani and Hug 1998), party research was in fact reaching a peak: the proportion of party-related articles in the *BJPS* in the late 1990s was as high and even slightly higher than the proportions observed during the "golden" 1970s. These analyses tend to confirm Montero and Gunther's assertion that, by the end of the 1990s, a "revitalization of scholarly interest in parties has coincided with frequent assertions that parties have entered into an irreversible process of decline" (Montero and Gunther 2003:6).

However, it cannot be denied that the 1980s were somewhat less prolific than the 1975-79 period (16% of party-related article in 1985-89, 18% in 1975-79), which might have led some scholars at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century to be sceptical about the future of party research. Besides, a look at more recent developments does not definitively dispel the pessimism expressed by scholars. As presented in Figure 2.1, the 2000-2010 decade was confronted with a drop in the proportion of party-related articles that verged on the decline of the 1980s. Should we conclude that the golden age of party research is definitely behind us – and was in the 1990s –, and that party literature has lost its centrality in political science (Reiter 2006: 616)?

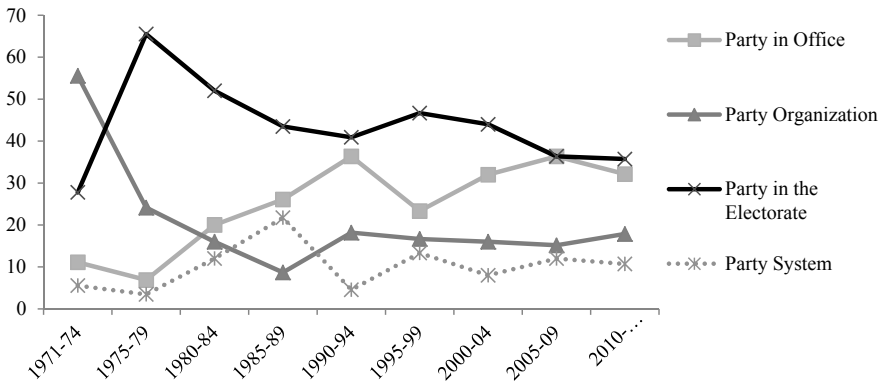
A more prudent stance should be adopted. Rather than coming down in favour of or against the party research decline thesis, an intermediate interpretation can be drawn from this analysis. Neither the 1970s nor the 1990s should be seen as any "golden age" for the study of political parties. Political parties have constituted a central concern in political science and do not seem to be disappearing from academic works. The late 1970s definitely marked the advent of a new area for party research. Before that period, growth in party research had been following a linear progression (Caramani and Hug 1998; Reiter 2006). Since then, party-related articles have represented around 17% of the overall number of publications in the discipline. Even if scholars' interest has varied over time, party research has remained quite stable in the contemporary era, with periodical peaks when significant societal changes raised new questions and pushed parties into transforming themselves and adapting to new situations.

## **2.2. The three faces of parties**

As suggested by Strøm and Svåsand (1997: 18-19), decline would affect the different aspects or *faces* of parties in distinct ways. Party organization, the party in the electorate and the party in office would be affected by distinct societal changes; and of these three faces, party organization would suffer the most damage. Because party organization would be the first to be hit by party decline, party organization research would be the first area of political party studies to suffer from decreasing scholarly interest. Therefore, this research should observe a significant decrease in the proportion of party-related articles focusing on party organization, compared to the two other faces of political parties.

Figure 2.2 below gives an overview of the evolution of research into these different aspects since the “golden” 1970s and adds information on the development of “party system” studies. Obviously, there have been significant differences in the amount of scholarly interest devoted to each face of the party. The story of party organization research is probably the most striking. While party organization research represented half of party-related studies at the beginning of the 1970s, they experienced a severe decline in the 1980s: less than 10% of party-related articles dealt with the party as organization in the 1985-89 period. In the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s, the proportion of party organization-related articles fluctuated between 15% and 18% – proportions that are far below the 1970s’ 50%.

**Figure 2.2:** Percentage of party-related articles dealing with specific aspects, average by 5-year period, 1971-2013



According to these figures, the “party research decline hypothesis” seems to apply quite well to the study of party organization. Besides, looking closer at the type of works published in recent decades, the party decline thesis appears *between the lines* of many studies on party organization: party activism and *demobilization* (Whiteley and Seyd 1998), *decline* of the French Communist Party (Bell and Criddle 1989), Italian Communist Party (Lange et al. 1990), British SDP (Social Democratic Party) (Denver and Bochel 1994) and Russian CPSU (Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) (White and McAllister 1996). These publications are concomitant with a slight increase in the number of party organization studies from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. In this way, the party decline thesis may have actually re-invigorated the study of party organization in the early 1990s.

If party organization research has experienced a significant decline since the 1970s, this decrease seems to have been *compensated* by the regular growth in the proportion of studies devoted to the party in office. From the early 1980s to the early 1990s, the proportion of party in office studies increased from 7% to 36%. Obviously, party in office studies constitute *the* expanding area of party research in recent decades. In addition, the party decline thesis appears very rarely *between the lines* in these publications – contrary to what occurs in the two other areas of party research.

The upsurge in party office studies cannot be understood without referring to the return of more institutional approaches within the whole Politics discipline in the



1980s and 1990s (Skocpol 1985). The party in office literature has been dominated by studies on coalition formation (Budge and Laver 1993; Diermeier and Roozendaal 1998; Laver and Shepsle 1990; Schofield and Laver 1985; Tsebelis 1988; Warwick 1996, 2005; Goodin et al. 2008), which mainly relied on rational choice models (e.g. Downs 1957; Riker 1962) in the 1970s and early 1980s, but gradually joined the neo-institutional (or rational-institutional) movement. To a lesser extent, party in office studies have concerned legislative behaviour (Schwartz et al. 1980; Crook and Hibbing 1985; Hix et al. 2005; Kam 2006; Krehbiel 1993; Patterson and Caldeira 1988) and have been clearly entrenched in the neo-institutional tradition. Note that, as Reiter remarked some years ago (2006: 617), public policy-making appears to be an understudied area, though a few works have recently been published on that topic (Clift and Tomlinson 2007; Lipsmeyer 2002).

If the rise of party in office research in recent decades can be explained by the prominence of neo-institutional approaches, another explanation of this success can be found at an empirical level. Contrary to intraparty organization structure and dynamics which are often of an informal nature and are thus hard to observe and measure, the party in office can be apprehended quite easily, as it operates in the public sphere. The formation of government coalitions constitutes a *visible* process, such that data is quite easy to collect. In the same vein, legislative studies have expanded thanks to the availability of published roll-call voting data, especially in the US Congress<sup>18</sup>. In addition, in contrast to party organization studies in which comparative cross-national data is still lacking, coalition building analyses were able quite early to rely on comparative cross-national data on Western coalition government (Browne et al. 1984; Budge and Laver 1993; Schofield and Laver 1985). As a result, formal models of coalition formation have been systematically tested on solid empirical material. Moreover, because such analytical and empirical-oriented studies were in line with the *BJPS*' editorial preferences, they have flourished in recent decades.

Similarly to what occurred to party in office studies, both the emergence of neo-institutional approaches and the development of cross-national comparative databases have influenced the evolution of party system studies in the 1990s and 2000s. In the 1980s, most of these works were devoted to the study of Communist regimes (Hill 1980; McAuley 1980; Welch 1987); or were interested in party system cleavages in Western democracies (Irvine and Gold 1980). With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, scholars' interest in communist regimes momentarily dropped at the beginning of the 1990s. Afterwards, attention to regimes in transition increased (Evans and Whitefield 1993); and especially, interest in the *institutional* conditions of democratic transition (Forewaker 1998; Scarritt 1996; Tavits 2008). The role of electoral systems in modelling party systems has attracted growing attention, both in the developing and the developed world, and comparative analytical works have prospered in the 2000s (Brancati 2008; Dow 2011; Esrow 2008) with the development of global

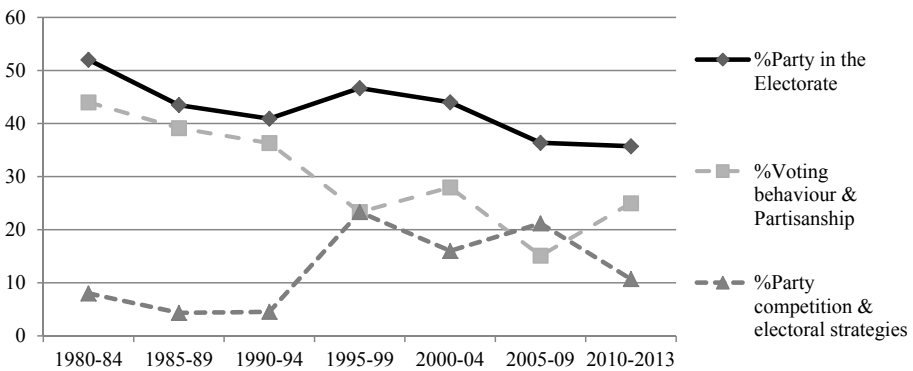
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<sup>18</sup> These legislative studies on roll-call voting are rooted in the American context, although legislative studies on the German Reichstag (Schonhardt-Bailey 1998) and the European Parliament (Hix et al. 2005) can also be found in the *BJPS*.

databases such as the *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES)*<sup>19</sup>. This type of comparative database has also contributed greatly to the study of the party in the electorate in a comparative perspective, by allowing systematic testing of the influence of institutional factors (e.g. the electoral system) on voter behaviour.

While party in office research shows the greatest increase, study of the party in the electorate still constitutes the dominant area of party research. However, as shown in Figure 2.2, this area of research has also experienced a slow decrease since the end of the golden 1970s. Understanding the evolution of party in the electorate research requires the delineation of two main areas which have had distinct fortunes: on the one hand, studies dealing with voter behaviour and partisanship; and on the other hand, studies investigating parties' competition and strategies in the electoral arena, given voters' preferences and institutional constraints (i.e. electoral rules). Figure 2.3 below illustrates the separate development of these two research areas with respect to the evolution of the general subfield "party in the electorate".

**Figure 2.3:** Percentage of "party in the electorate" articles, average by 5-year period, 1980-2013



Again, changes in these two areas of party research reflect the emergence and prominence of successive theoretical approaches in the whole of political science. Until the 1990s, the behavioural tradition had a continuous influence: the study of the party in the electorate was clearly dominated by studies on mass voting behaviour and on sociological and social-psychological determinants of voters' choices – party identification or *partisanship*, political socialization, socio-economic cleavages etc. (Brody and Rothenberg 1988; Brown 1981; Katz et al. 1980; McAllister 1984; Norpoth 1984). This is evident in Figure 2.3: the proportion of party in the electorate studies during the 1980s was closely related to the proportion of articles dealing with voting behaviour, partisanship and parties' social support. But this trend radically changed in the 1990s; and since then, the proportion of party in the electorate studies seems to be determined by the proportions of both "voting behaviour and partisanship" and "party competition and strategies" studies.

<sup>19</sup> The *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems* project has collected data across more than 50 countries on political institutions and on voters' opinions and behaviour (see Klingemann 2009).

In reaction to the decreasing relevance of the (psycho)sociological determinants of political behaviour, rational-institutional models of voting behaviour were developed in the 1980s and 1990s. But the second half of the 1990s was above all marked by the growing number of studies examining political parties' tactical behaviour and strategies (Budge 1994; Boyne 1998; Kollman et al. 1998). These studies were mostly inspired by economic theories of party competition (e.g. Downs 1957), but also progressively integrated notions derived from neo-institutional approaches. Note that the upsurge of studies testing spatial models of party competition was stimulated by the emergence of comparative cross-national and cross-temporal data on party performance and parties' election programmes under the auspices of the *Manifesto Research Group/Comparative Manifestos Project (MRG/CMP)*<sup>20</sup> (Budge 1994, 2001; Adams 2001; Adams et al. 2004; Adams and Somer-Topcu 2009). Again, the development of party research resulted from both theoretical and empirical stimuli.

According to Figure 2.3, the party research decline hypothesis seems well confirmed in the case of partisanship and voting behaviour studies. More evidence – not visible on the graph – is to be found in the increasing amount of articles dealing directly with topics related to the party decline thesis: 1980s and early 1990s' publications have often discussed partisan *dealignment* (Clarke and Suzuki 1994; Denardo 1987) or decline in partisanship (Klingemann and Wattenberg 1992; McLean and Miller 1983). These transformations have been attributed mainly to changes in the class structure (Alt and Turner 1982; Kitschelt 1993) and to the salience of new issues (Knutsen 1988).

But recently, some scholars have questioned theories of class de-alignment, arguing that the decline in partisanship has primarily resulted from ideological convergences between the main parties rather than from changes in the class structure (Evans and Telley 2012). Others have also revised the concept of “class”, arguing that it had been too narrowly defined and would benefit from more social *interactionist* perspectives (Fisher 2000; Prandy 2000). These works challenging the party decline thesis have re-invigorated the study of sociological models of voting behaviour. In addition, a growing number of articles have dealt with some *new* issues and challenges faced by the party in the electorate, such as the effect of campaigning on voter behaviour (Fieldhouse and Cutts 2009; Karp et al. 2008) and of mass media on both voters' preferences (Brandenburg and Egmond 2012) and parties' preferences (Green-Pedersen and Stubager 2010). In this way, the party decline thesis appears again as a fertile ground for party research.

### 3. Is party research in decline?

Since the emergence of political science at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, political parties have attracted an increasing amount of attention. They have appeared as essential for the functioning of modern representative democracy, and study of them quickly became inevitable. Undoubtedly, party research has become a central

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<sup>20</sup> The Manifesto Project is aimed at measuring the political preferences of parties' election programmes, through quantitative content analyses. The project covers all democratic elections since 1945 in more than 50 countries.

field in the political discipline. However, in recent decades, prominent scholars have expressed some doubts regarding the ability of traditional political parties to adapt to new social and political challenges. Changes in social structure and partisan support; the emergence of new issues, new cleavages and new forms of political engagement; technological changes and the increasing role of the media in influencing political behaviour; processes of state decentralization and of the devolution of power to supranational institutions... all these challenges are said to have weakened traditional party organizations and decreased the relevance of these organizations within the democratic process. This decline of parties is said to have lessened scholars' interest in the study of political parties, and, as a consequence, party research may have been undergoing an inexorable decline since the end of the 1970s.

This chapter has tried to assess the accuracy of this "party research decline" hypothesis, on the basis of a quantitative analysis of the *British Journal of Political Science's* publications. On the one hand, the chapter has shown that, while party research had been continuously growing from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-1970s, the relative share of party-related publications has remained relatively stable since that alleged "golden age". No dramatic decrease in attention from scholars has been observed.

On the other hand, the chapter has analysed how the different "faces" of parties have been treated in recent decades. Obviously, studies on party organization, party in the electorate and party in office have evolved in distinct, specific ways. Party organization and party in the electorate (i.e. voter behaviour and partisanship) studies appear as two declining fields, while party in office research has been continuously growing in the last decades. Along with their noticeable decline, party organization and party in the electorate studies have dealt with themes related to the party decline thesis. However, it would be wrong to conclude that the party decline thesis has given rise to an actual decline in party organization and party in the electorate research; by contrast, episodic discussions of several aspects of the party decline thesis actually re-invigorated these areas of party research.

This chapter suggests that two other factors related to the development of the political discipline itself can explain the separate evolution of each of the three subfields of party research. First, at the theoretical level, the advent of the neo-institutional tradition has stimulated research on the party in office, on parties' electoral strategies and on the effect of the electoral system on both voters and parties' tactical behaviour. Second, at the empirical level, the academic study of politics saw in the mid-1990s a significant increase in (mainly Western-centred) large-*N* comparative studies thanks to growing international collaboration, data availability and comparability (Karvonen and Ryssevik 2001; Norris 1997). These collaborations have been particularly fruitful for the study of coalition formation, parties' electoral strategies and the electoral system's impact on party and voter behaviour.

Party organization represented the dominant subfield of party research in the early years of political science (Reiter 2006: 615), but has become the most neglected in recent decades. Though it could be easy to attribute this decline to the fact that the relevance of these traditional political organizations has been decreasing, this chapter argues that party organization research might instead have suffered from a

lack of theoretical clarity and from a lack of available and comparable data. Indeed, as observed by Janda (1993: 170) twenty years ago, party organization suffered from a lack of theorizing. Whereas party in the electorate and party in office studies have developed their own explanatory models (e.g. the spatial model of party competition; models of coalition formation, etc.), party organization research has been stuck in descriptive studies that lacked any “organizational theory”. At the empirical level, while party in the electorate and party in office studies have benefited from the increasing availability of comparable data on voter behaviour, election results, legislative behaviour and government coalition dynamics, there have been few attempts to build any broad comparative dataset on the organizational structure of western political parties<sup>21</sup>.

While party organization research has been slowed by a lack of theorizing and of comparative empirical data, in the very close future this subfield is likely to experience a re-birth. There have been new initiatives at the empirical level, such as the *Political Party Database Project (PPDB)* (see Scarrow and Webb 2013) which has gathered party organizational data across 19 democracies. This type of initiative will surely give a new impulse to party organization research, and will make possible the systematic testing of middle-range theories including party organization as either a dependent or an independent variable. At a more general level, this type of project is also likely to participate in a merging of the three subfields of party research that have developed quite separately until very recently, by allowing “the inclusion of party organizational attributes in more general theories of representation and electoral behaviour” (Scarrow and Webb 2013: 2).

As suggested in the chapter by Jadot (this volume), it is very unlikely that political parties will disappear from the political research agenda, as they remain central to the contemporary democratic process. However, the nature of political participation has evolved, and new forms of political participation have emerged<sup>22</sup> that are challenging these obsolete organizations. Reacting to this, party organizations have changed over the last decades (Scarrow and Webb 2013), and have tried to adapt to these transformations. Among other changes, we are observing clear trends towards intra-party “democratization” processes (Cross and Katz 2013). But how do these changes in turn affect the representative democratic process and the quality of democracy? This broad question addresses a variety of research areas – social movements, political participation, quality of democracy etc. – but definitely requires a deeper understanding of the way parties are organized internally.

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<sup>21</sup> Among these few attempts, see for instance Katz and Mair’s (1992) Handbook.

<sup>22</sup> These new forms of political participation are becoming the focus of a growing number of studies. See for instance in the *BJPS* the recent work of Li and Marsh (2008).

## CHAPTER 3

# Context Sensitivity and Biases in Political Science: the Case of Economic Voting Studies in the Journal *Electoral Studies*

Lidia NÚÑEZ

### **Introduction**

There are two commonplaces in political science that have rarely been put to the test. The first of these is the fact that researchers' and editors' interests are guided by major contemporary political events. The second is that positive, statistically-significant results are more likely to be published than negative findings. Both facts may have important consequences, not only for the definition of what is published and how, but also for how theory develops. In this chapter these potential problems are considered to be the consequence of a lack of awareness within social sciences of the impact of context. On the one hand, I will show how the political context may have an impact on the content of studies. On the other hand, the chapter will address how the context in which researchers develop their careers may have an impact on their academic production. In so doing, three different types of potential biases related to this sensitivity to context will be mentioned: selection, specification and publication biases.

In order to show the pitfalls caused by the impact of the context on research, I will focus on a specific field of political science – economic voting theory – through an analysis of those articles published on this topic in the journal *Electoral Studies* since 1984. This subfield of voting behaviour theory is part of a broader trend in political science that relies on positivist standpoints. Its main purpose is the finding of law-like causal statements based on deductive logic and empirical observations (Neuman 2000). Quantitative research, often seen as “value -free”, aims at the study of phenomena which are assumed to exist independently of our knowledge and not to be socially created (Marsh and Furlong 2002; McNabb 2004). In this chapter I show how, paradoxically, the academic production of this type of research is indeed socially

created and that it is therefore to a certain extent contingent upon the interaction between individuals – researchers and editors – and the broader political context.

### 1. The impact of the context and its consequences

Several contributions to this book reflect how academic production can be influenced by the context in which it occurs (see Chapters 1, 2 and 7). However, the consequences of such an influence may not be so straightforward to grasp. In order to improve our knowledge about a lack or excess of dependency on context we need first of all to clarify what we understand by the term. Context can be interpreted as the set of events that constitute at the same time the object of study and contemporary socio-political events. This is exemplified in Chapter 1 where Jadot shows how the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty and the strengthening of European Integration entailed an increase in the attention the journal *West European Politics* devoted to European topics. In a similar vein, Wanneau's chapter reflects how different political episodes have framed the evolution of the concept of international security. However, context can also be considered as the frame within which researchers develop their studies, such as those organizational structures that frame academic activity (universities, research centres) or institutional dynamics (how researchers interact and knowledge is disseminated). In this sense, Close's detailed account of the evolution of research into political parties in this book reflects how growing international academic collaboration has facilitated the gathering and availability of comparable data on parties and political institutions, which has led to an increase in the number of large N analyses in this field. Thus, since it is hard to imagine a researcher or an editor who is completely independent from the context in which they find themselves, the question this chapter addresses is how and to what extent context has an impact on the content of published studies.

The fact that the objects of study in political science are often contemporary political events is something that appears to have scarcely been analyzed. Even if both the publishers' inclination to publish things at the apex of interest of certain coetaneous political events and the researchers' will to study them are completely understandable, these decisions may entail important consequences. In this sense, Barbara Geddes (2003) argued that the failure to generate much theory in studies of regime change was partly due to an eagerness to publish about the political events of the time. According to this scholar, researchers' interest in this type of regime change started to decline precisely when enough experience had been accumulated to start making significant improvements in theory development. This claim goes in line with Close's findings in Chapter 2 about the consequences of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which entailed a decrease in scholarly attention towards communist regimes and a shift towards the study of the institutional conditions for democratic transition.

However, this may not be the only drawback caused by the influence of contemporary political events in academic production. If attention to certain topics is contingent upon the political context, this will also affect the way in which theory develops. In the first place, this is because the cases under analysis will be determined by what is happening at that moment and not only by theoretically-driven arguments. Secondly, it is because the type of causal arguments and explanatory factors may also

be affected by the cases that attract scholarly attention. In this sense, failing to take account of the context when assessing a theory may lead to erroneous conclusions, because causal dependence may be contingent upon that context. For instance, let us suppose that a researcher hypothesizes that there is a relationship between event A and event B, such that every time there is A, B would occur. Before stating that A causes B, she should also search for the conditions where this relationship may hold. These conditions affect both the selection of cases that may be explained by the theory and the selection of explanatory factors which may account for the outcome under consideration across a set of cases.

On the one hand, the researcher has to test whether the case or cases under analysis reflect the entire range of possibilities of the existence of A and B in order to be able to draw a solid conclusion about the relationship between the two. If this is not the case, the conclusions will be likely to suffer from context sensitivity in the selection of cases, which may be thought of as a type of selection bias. In the methodological literature, this type of bias usually refers to a non-random selection of cases which generates inferences that are not statistically representative of the population (Collier 1995). This is therefore related only to the selection of cases and not to publishers' decisions. However, if in a certain subfield, the majority of studies only focus on the analysis of a particular set of cases while at the same time defending the generalizability of their conclusions, it would be easy to say that this subfield is in general terms potentially biased, since its hypotheses have not been tested in other settings.

On the other hand, when a theory calls upon a set of explanatory factors to explain an outcome of interest or a certain causal mechanism, these factors need to show enough variation within the case or across the cases under scrutiny before one can claim that they are really relevant to the explanation of the outcome or mechanism. It is difficult to show that a relationship between cause and effect exists if the cause (or the explanatory factors) shows little variation within the cases under analysis (Geddes 2003: 119). When this happens, there is an erroneous specification of the explanatory model based on a failure to adapt the hypotheses and causal explanations to the context that is studied. In these cases, the causal argument may suffer from what I term a specification bias, which is another of the consequences that context sensitivity may entail. In order to test a particular set of hypotheses, the impact of the context on case selection and explanatory factors are crucial. We cannot claim that a causal relationship holds if we have not controlled for the possibility of this kind of bias.

Apart from these drawbacks, the context may also have another perverse effect on the development of a theory. I refer here to the context in which academic production is developed. For instance, it has been shown that the structure of incentives within which researchers develop their work has an influence on their creativity, that is on the rate and direction of scientific exploration (Azoulay et al. 2011). However, the context may also deliver unwanted consequences. In this sense, the second question this chapter addresses concerns what is commonly known as publication bias. This "arises whenever the probability that a study is published depends on the statistical significance of its results" (Scargle 2000). Publication bias is a major issue in scientific



production<sup>1</sup> because if the publication decisions of academic journals are based on the statistical significance of the results, then the overall findings of the published literature may be biased and thus not reflect an accurate measure of the true effects of the variables, threatening the validity of the findings (Gerber and Malhotra 2008).

In many scientific disciplines, publication bias has a high saliency and one can easily find examples of studies analysing this issue in fields such as medicine or psychology (Gerber and Malhotra 2008). Unfortunately, publication bias has rarely been studied in the field of political science (Gerber and Malhotra 2008), but the discipline can nevertheless benefit from advances in other fields whose first insights date from the 1950s (Bakan 1966; McNemar 1960; Medawar 1963; Melton 1962; Sidman 1960; Sterling 1959). After all, if authors, editors and referees prefer results that confirm theory over those which are contradictory or inconclusive, controlling for this kind of bias is – or at least, should be – a major issue for any literature review in every field of scientific inquiry (Ludvigsen 2010).

In the first part of this chapter I will present the type of analysis that has been performed to test for the existence of these types of biases. The advantages of this approach compared to traditional narrative reviews will be highlighted. In the second part, I will present the field – economic voting theory – which has been scrutinized for the purposes of this chapter, together with its main characteristics. Once the basics of this theory have been presented, the hypotheses linked to each bias will be formulated. The intention is to put forward the idea of context sensitivity and the biases that may be linked to it and how these may have an impact on the development of the field of economic voting. After some methodological notes, the presentation of results will focus on a test of the hypotheses using those articles on economic voting which have been published in the journal *Electoral Studies* in the last 28 years.

## **2. The method: systematic analysis and its advantages**

The existence of these potential biases cannot be discovered merely by looking at each individual study separately, which is why this chapter analyses the existence of biases and their effects on the overall evolution of publications appearing in a specific journal. It is therefore important to keep in mind that the conclusions drawn from this chapter do not belittle either the authors or their arguments. Moreover, my intention in any case is to obtain conclusions likely to be generalizable to other journals. Instead, my aim is to find out if the evolution of a topic in a journal is affected by any of these potential biases, regardless of whether this has been consciously or unconsciously caused by editors' decisions or by researchers themselves when they decide to address a particular topic. After all, researchers try to conduct their investigations while drawing to the best of their ability upon their own know-how, capabilities and understanding of conventions. It is at the intersection of individual researchers, editors and the general context in which research takes place that these biases may arise.

In order to analyze the existence of these potential drawbacks I have performed a systematic analysis of those articles which deal with economic voting hypotheses

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<sup>1</sup> Other names for publication bias are the availability bias (Hunter and Schmidt 2004), file-drawer bias, retrieval bias, and source bias.

in the journal *Electoral Studies*. While a standard narrative literature review may be useful to track and summarize the principal findings and the development of a subfield, this is not suited to testing for the existence of the above-mentioned type of biases. Literature reviews are often drawn up from the perspective of a specific research question linked to the literature, with the review revealing the strengths and weaknesses of findings in that specific research area. At the same time, systematic analyses such as the study of the content of a journal provide additional insights. They provide a more analytical and disciplined perspective on research findings and at the same time enable the discovery of relationships between studies that may be obscured in standard literature reviews (Lipsey and Wilson 2001). Systematic analyses of research findings have the advantage of being able to include a larger number of studies than literature reviews and, more importantly, they are replicable and hence open to being refuted and improved. Finally, these systematic analyses can compensate for the fact that narrative reviewers “may ignore or discount statistical results when encountering inconsistent findings and possibly overemphasize the results when the findings are coherent” (Ludvigsen 2010; Leamer and Leonard 1983; Stanley and Jarrell 1989).

### 3. The theory put to the test: economic voting

Elections constitute the heart of representative democracy, which can be defined as “a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives” (Schmitter and Karl 1991: 76). Consequently, accountability is one of the core elements of modern representative democracies (Anderson 2007; Riker 1965; Powell 2000). Economic voting theories have built on this idea of accountability and representative democracy. “To support the Ins when things are going well; to support the Outs when they seem to be going badly, this...is the essence of popular government” (Walter Lippman quoted in Powell 2000: 269). In the same vein, the main hypotheses of economic voting are based on principles of punishment and reward: voters punish their government when the economy goes bad and reward them when the economy goes well. According to the postulates of this theory, economic voting is considered to be an individual-level phenomenon dealing with the impact of economic perceptions or situations on the probability of voting for incumbents or for any party (Duch and Stevenson 2006).

This field has attracted both political scientists and economists, who analyse elections by means of econometrics. It has traditionally been studied by means of either popularity functions<sup>2</sup> or vote functions<sup>3</sup> (Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier, 2000), generally known as the VP functions. The former are defined as support for the government or for the parties in the polls, while the latter refers to changes in the vote

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<sup>2</sup> The P-function was introduced simultaneously by Mueller (1970) and by Goodhart and Bhansali (1970).

<sup>3</sup> The V-function was introduced by Kramer (1971).

for incumbents or for parties. These VP functions include both economic and political variables as explanatory factors for the vote choice (Nannestad and Paldam 1994)<sup>4</sup>.

The choice of economic voting theory for this chapter was made for several reasons. On the one hand, hypotheses derived from this theory look for parsimony. On the other hand, these hypotheses are usually investigated through quantitative analyses and the statistical models applied share a common structure which allows comparison of the models and their results. I have chosen one specific journal which has focused on studies of elections and voting behaviour since 1984, *Electoral Studies*. The first article on economic voting in this journal dates from 1984, resulting in an evolutionary time-span of 28 years of publications on economic voting.

To sum up, the principal hypotheses I shall test in this article are as follows. The first hypothesis claims that publication of articles on economic voting theory is influenced by the general economic context. The more salient the economy is at a particular moment, the more articles will be published on this subject. The second hypothesis refers to the existence of selection bias. The results of the economic voting literature, as published by *Electoral Studies*, may not be statistically consistent due to a general bias in the selection of cases: they are too sensitive to the context. Researchers are expected to tend to look into cases involving economic crisis. The third hypothesis focuses on the explanatory factors' lack of variance and the risk of specification bias. If this turns out to be the case, the results of the economic voting literature, as published by *Electoral Studies*, would suffer from a bias due to the choice of independent variables: they are not sensitive enough to the context. Finally, publication bias will be examined. Several authors have already claimed that the findings in this literature show evidence (Gerber and Maholtra 2008) or signs (Ludvigsen 2010) of publication bias. I expect that context sensitivity may cause an overrepresentation of significant positive findings.

### 3.1. Methodological notes

Before presenting the findings of this research, some brief methodological notes are required. The scope of this analysis is the entirety of the articles that have been published in the journal *Electoral Studies* since 1982. Articles have been chosen following the logic of Boolean operators. The conditions for inclusion in the sample under analysis were that articles had to include the words "economic voting" or "economic vote" or include at least one of the following words: "sociotropic", "egotropic", "retrospective" or "prospective" associated with the word "economy" in the title, in the keywords or in the abstract<sup>5</sup>. The sample included 59 articles which covered the time period between 1984 and 2012 (The whole sample of studies is included in the Appendix).

In the following pages I will check for the existence of some of the abovementioned biases in this sample. Firstly, I will explore how publications related to economic

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<sup>4</sup> For literature reviews of economic voting theory see Paldam (1997), Norpoth et al. (1991), Norpoth (1996), Lewis-Beck (1988).

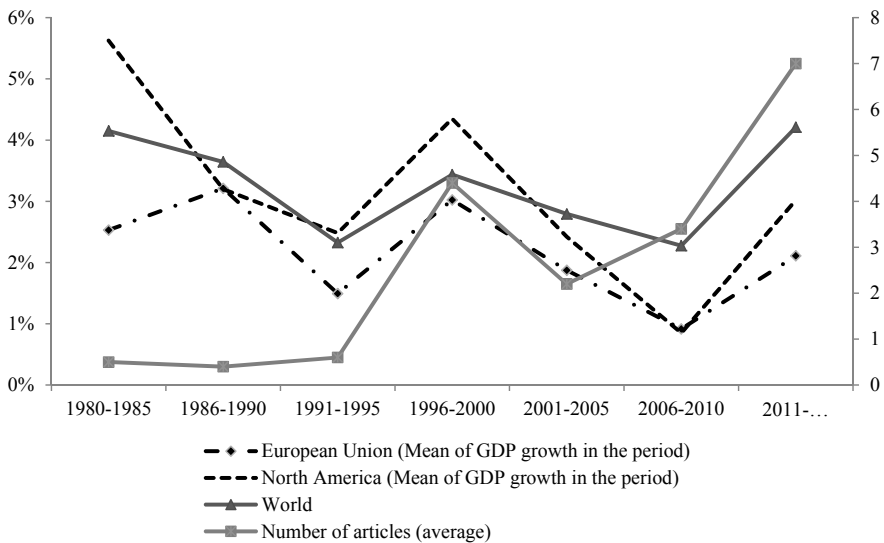
<sup>5</sup> The terms "sociotropic", "egotropic", "retrospective" and "prospective" were chosen because before 1995 the expression "economic voting" was in less common use and many articles addressing the issue did not include this expression in the text.

voting theory have evolved over time and to what extent the number of published studies is contingent upon the broader economic context. Then I will analyse whether these studies are sufficiently sensitive to variations in the context. Two aspects will be considered: the selection of cases and the selection of independent variables. Finally, the existence of selection and specification biases will be linked to the existence of publication bias.

**3.2. Changes in treatment of the issue in the journal: an unbiased evolution?**

The first studies on the relationship between economy and electoral behaviour were carried out in the early 1970s (Goodhart and Bhansali 1970; Mueller 1970; Kramer 1971). Since then, an astonishing amount of work has been undertaken in this field. The evolution of the publication of studies of the field in *Electoral Studies* has proceeded in line with the evolution of the field in general. In the 1970s, most of studies relied upon aggregate time series of vote results and economic indicators, such those based on Box-Jenkins models. At the end of the decade, the publication by Fiorina of two crucial articles (1979; 1981) led to a new period in the study of the relationship between the economy and elections. The term “economic voting” appeared for the first time in an article (Fiorina 1978) and electoral surveys thereafter became the main data sources. The 1980s also saw the emergence of two of the biggest controversies within the field: that between egotropic and sociotropic voting, (whether the most important factor explaining vote choice was the perception of the households’ economy or of the national economy), and that focusing on the effect of time (retrospective and prospective economic voting).

**Figure 3.1:** Five-year period average number of articles by year and GDP growth (mean of growth in percentage terms %) (N=56)



Note: The right-hand axis reflects the number of articles. The left-hand axis reflects the variation in the GDP mean.

Economic voting has been considered an established field in the study of electoral behaviour since the 1990s, although within the pages of *Electoral Studies* interest in the field has been far from linear. The distribution of the articles across time reflects a clear relationship between trends in economic growth and the space the journal devotes to the field of economic voting. In 2000, a special 18-chapter volume was devoted to the issue based upon a conference held in 1998, in the context of the Asian financial crisis and other major crises in countries such as Argentina and Brazil.

Even if research often develops in a wavelike fashion (Nannestad and Paldam 1994), this non-random distribution of the publication of the studies is puzzling and leads us to the second hypothesis of this chapter. The hypothesis refers to the possibility that researchers may be paying more attention to countries in the throes of economic crises. If this second hypothesis is confirmed, this would entail isles attention being given (whether by editors or by authors) to one core aspect of the theory: that voters reward incumbents when they provide good economic outcomes (Nannestad and Paldam 1997). We can find in the literature numerous attempts to explain why voters may react to poor government performance but not to good performance<sup>6</sup>. This has been called the grievance asymmetry. This lack of attention to prosperous economic periods has been explained through the argument that for some issues, such as economic development, good performance is more likely to go unnoticed (Yang and Holzer 2006) since bad news are usually more salient.

Nevertheless, it is important to consider variations in the economy across or within the cases examined because these may impact on the results. Kramer (1983) posited that a cross-sectional survey was not an appropriate method to deal with economic voting. He argued that there is no way to measure the impact of changes in the economy on voters' voting decisions when no real variance in the economic factors can be taken into consideration. When studies are based on one cross-sectional survey, there is only one economy being reported at one point in time. Yet the same problem would arise if studies are based on several cross sectional studies but no significant changes in the economic conditions have taken place.

In order to test this hypothesis I have established a measure of what I define as "economic crisis context" that allows us to apply a homogeneous condition for all the studies included in the sample, both for cross-country and case studies and for cross-sectional and time-series approaches. I define economic crisis context as a dynamic concept. It is measured on the basis of the differential rates of increase from time  $t-1$  to time  $t$  in unemployment and inflation rates. The underlying rationale is that people are more likely to react to changes in the economy and not to high but constant rates of unemployment or inflation. I have created a dichotomic variable, coding "1" for those studies whose sample of countries or periods under analysis undergo an increase in time  $t$  of more than 10% in unemployment or a 5% in inflation, and "0" for the rest. I have also created a variable which contains information on whether the studies focus their analyses on dynamics across time or across several elections or they analyse only

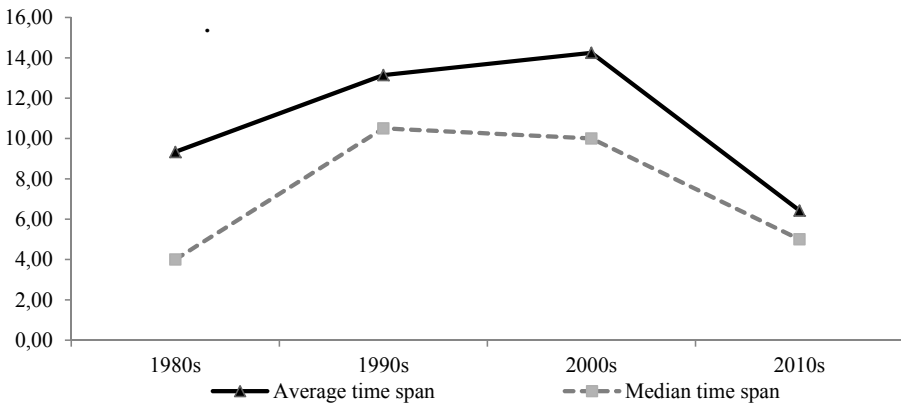
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<sup>6</sup> Lau (1985) focuses his explanations on basic psychological behaviour, while Corden (1986) gives an account of the grievance at work in economic policy making, and Krueger (1990) looks at trade policies.

one election, regardless of whether they have studied this election at two points in time by means of pre- and post-election surveys. This is because the main economic indicators (objective and subjective) are not likely to change substantially over such short periods of time.

The great majority of the articles published in *Electoral Studies* analyse whether there is economic voting under economic crisis conditions as I have defined them above (89.4%)<sup>7</sup>. However, it is worth noting that a third of the articles (34%) do not control for the effects of different economic conditions because they only analyse periods of time characterized by economic crisis (23.4%) or periods without crises (10.6%). The grievance asymmetry is therefore overlooked. The same amount of attention has not been paid to this aspect of the theory, whether by the authors or the editors. The same happens as regards testing the impact of variance in the economy (or the perceptions of the economy) on voting decisions. In the majority of cases only contexts of poor economic conditions are considered, while there is an overwhelming majority of cross-sectional studies (72.3%) and the time span covered by the articles shows a declining trend over the different decades (see Figure 3.2). Studies covering the longest time spans are concentrated in the 1990s, after which a decrease in the median number of years occurred. This was not because those articles with a longitudinal perspective took account of a fewer number of years but because a new wave of cross sectional studies emerged which only focused on the analysis of a single election. This trend is even clearer after 2010, with a great deal of attention being paid to the impact of the 2008-2012 economic crisis on vote behaviour.

**Figure 3.2:** Time-span covered by the articles



*Note:* The vertical axis reflects the number of years covered by the articles in the sample. The horizontal axis reflects the different decades.

<sup>7</sup> The sample contains 47 articles.

The third hypothesis I put forward concerns the sensitivity of the models to the context of the phenomenon under study. At the macro level<sup>8</sup>, researchers study the impact of indicators such as unemployment, inflation or growth on the evolution of electoral results or popularity scores. My third hypothesis thus addresses how well models are adapted to the case being studied. If variables showing no significant variation across the times of analysis are included in models, their results may suffer from being erroneously specified. While each study considered separately may test the explanatory factors proposed by the general theory, a failure to adapt these factors to the context can hinder innovation, lead to biased conclusions and jeopardize the validity of the overall findings.

I will firstly present the findings of an analysis which looks for the existence of these biases in publications examining the impact of macroeconomic indicators on citizens' voting choices. The most important indicators used in this field are inflation and unemployment rates. I begin by looking at the evolution of the use of these indicators in this field, the overall strength and statistical significance of these variables in the models published in *Electoral Studies*, and their possible dependency upon context. On the basis of this data, the existence of the three different types of biases in the publications focusing on this kind of factors will be assessed.

### 3.3. *The big two*

One of the main hypotheses of economic voting theory is often called the big two hypothesis. This refers to the study of the impact of unemployment and inflation in how voters evaluate their governments' performance. Nearly 40% of the studies analysed for this article include both variables in their models, whereas economic growth, mainly as GDP per capita, is only included in 10% of the models. The infrequent use of GDP as explanatory factor can be attributed mainly to the problems of multicollinearity which may appear with the other two variables.

Given that since the 1990s rates of inflation have been marginal in the West, it is understandable that the number of articles including this variable has decreased over time (see Figure 3.3). However, I consider that this decline is more attributable to an increase in the use of survey data and increasing attention being paid to citizens' perceptions of the economy<sup>9</sup>, to the detriment of objective economic indicators. What is more remarkable in these findings is that most of the models focusing on the

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<sup>8</sup> When studying the degree to which economic voting takes place at micro level, the focus is on the individual level factors that influence voting decisions. Consequently, surveys are the main source of information. Individuals are asked about their perceptions of the economy in general and their personal economic situation, with questioning focusing both on voters' perceptions about the past and about their future prospects. These aspects of the theory are not considered in this chapter.

<sup>9</sup> Economic voting studies have increasingly focused on the question of what voters have in mind when judging the economic performance of a government. It has been debated whether voters take into account their own economic situation (egotropic) as the frame of reference or if instead they are guided by their perception of the national or general economic situation (sociotropic). A second debate has centred on whether voters consider past experience (retrospective voting) or future expectations (prospective voting).

relationship between objective economic indicators and voting patterns include both inflation and unemployment data, regardless of when the models were published. This is also the case even in those studies that consider the crisis of 2008-2012, a period which has been characterized by low levels of inflation but a severe increase in levels of unemployment. This may be considered as a sign of specification bias due to a lack of context sensitivity. As Lewis-Beck and Paldam (2000) have pointed out, voters may pay more attention to different indicators at different times and the “selection of the ‘wrong’ economic variables will generate inconsistent results”.

**Figure 3.3:** Number of articles including in the models growth (as increase in GDP per capita), unemployment rate and inflation rate as independent variables



I have analysed a total of 130 statistical parameters included in the models referring to inflation, unemployment and growth. Among meta-analysis methods, the counting method is probably one of the weakest because it cannot take account of important issues such as error or strength. In this sense, Glass (1976) argued that simple summary and vote-counting are methodologically too weak for the complexity of the problem and that in order to carry out appropriate integrated analyses of research findings, the same statistical methods that are used in the individual studies should be applied. However, given the variation as regards the countries under analysis, as regards the independent variables that are used (often idiosyncratic ones such as the impact of the Falklands War on British voting behaviour), or even the evolution of statistical techniques across time, a straightforward statistical analysis remains unachievable with the type of data used for this chapter.

**Table 3.1:** Proportion of economic parameters in those models analysing vote for incumbents

Proportion of significant parameters	Parameters of inflation	Parameters of unemployment	Parameters of growth
0.05	8.3% (3)	11.5% (3)	25 % (2)
0.01	8.3% (3)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)
0.1	2.8 % (1)	3.8 % (1)	25 % (2)
Non-significant	80.6 % (29)	84.6 % (22)	50 % (4)
Total	100 % (36)	100% (26)	100 % (8)
	$\mu=0.17$	$\mu=0.15$	$\mu=0.71$
	$\sigma=0.77$	$\sigma=1.68$	$\sigma=0.58$



In Table 3.1 I have included all the coefficients related to three economic indicators from those models that only try to explain the vote for incumbents. The table shows the distribution of parameters according to their degree of statistical significance. We can observe how inflation and unemployment are the more effective variables in explaining vote choice (regardless of whether this is a vote function or a popularity function), but is worth noting that 80.6% and 84.6% respectively of the parameters remain non-significant. Besides, only 59% of parameters concerning inflation and 44% of parameters concerning unemployment yield results that are coherent with expectations, that is that voting for incumbents is less likely when inflation or unemployment rates are higher. Coherent with these mixed results are the averages of both parameters which show the weakness of the relationship between these variables in light of all the published parameters. In this sense, it is important to note that unemployment shows a positive correlation. Notwithstanding the impact of other variables on the models, this does not confirm the predictions of economic voting theory since it would mean that higher unemployment rates were related to a greater probability of voting for incumbents. Furthermore, taking the median as a more consistent measure, both sets of variables produce only weak overall results: parameters concerning inflation show a median of -0.035 and those concerning unemployment reflect a median of 0.157

In order to test whether these fairly weak results are due to the selection of cases I have looked at the relationship between these parameters and the context of the samples concerned. The aim is to check whether there is a relationship between the results and the fact of including cases (or periods of time) that include both economic crisis, as I have defined it above, and economic development, in order to control for economic change due to time effects. I discovered that 83.3% of the articles including inflation as independent variable looked at time periods that included good and bad economic times, and those including unemployment under the same conditions constituted 84.2% of the sample (n=16). Table 3.2 reflects how the significance of the parameters is distributed according to the type of contexts the studies take into account. Whereas in the 1990s, nearly 86% of the articles included cases of economic crisis and cases where there was no crisis, since 2010 this percentage has dropped to 50%, specially due to the attention the journal has paid to studies focusing only on those countries that have been especially hit by the 2008-2012 crisis.

**Table 3.2:** Evolution of the significance of the parameters on inflation according to the context under analysis per decade (N=60)

	The sample includes non-crisis context	The sample includes crisis context
1980s	33.3%	66.7%
1990s	14.3%	85.7%
2000s	37.5%	62.5%
2010s	50.0%	50.0%

**Table 3.3:** Evolution of the significance of the parameters on inflation per decade (N=60)

	Non-significant	Level of significance 0,05 or inferior
1980s	87.50	12.50
1990s	81.82	18.18
2000s	62.50	37.50
2010s	25.00	75.00

However, looking at how results have been published across time, I have found that the percentage of positive results increases with time. In Table 3.3 I have remained agnostic about the models. There is a clear trend towards including only positive and significant results in the published studies. As this table shows, whereas in the 1980s the percentage of positive and significant parameters referring to inflation was 12.5%, in the 2000s the percentage rises to 37% and in the following decade to 75%<sup>10</sup>. These findings are puzzling, since in OECD countries since 1998 their annual differential rates show a stable trend (below 5% inter-annual change). In consequence, the inflation variable is from this perspective a factor that would not be expected to deliver positive results, or at least not so frequently. Besides, the number of years taken into consideration is on average much lower in the 2000 decade than ever before, which makes this finding even more surprising. The existence of such a trend shows that the likelihood of being published is at least partly related to the positiveness and significance of the results.

### Conclusions

Research in political science is often intimately linked to the broader political context, as is shown in several contributions to this book and often the topics that are studied and how they are analysed are also contingent upon the institutional incentives and constraints of the academic profession (see for instance the consequences of international collaboration in political party research found by Close in Chapter 2). Through a systematic study of the evolution of some of the main hypotheses of economic voting theory in articles published by *Electoral Study* I have found several shortcomings linked to a lack or excess of dependence from the context. This would have been difficult to discover by means of an analysis of single studies or through narrative reviews. In so doing, I have demonstrated that there are some worrying trends in the last decade. In the first place, studies tend to concentrate their analysis on cases affected by economic crisis, which may be considered a selection bias. In other words, I have found that the body of articles published in this journal overlooks the grievance asymmetry hypothesis by avoiding analysis of cases affected by good economic conditions. Besides, the time spans considered in the articles tend to be smaller as time passes by, which may mean that studies only analyse the economy as a short-term determinant of the vote. In addition, and even more importantly, any

<sup>10</sup> 75% of the parameters on inflation published in 2010 were positive and significant, but the time-span covered by the sample – only three years (2010, 2011 and 2012) – is too small to draw conclusions.

variance in the economic indicators or in perceptions is likely to suffer from a lack of variation across smaller periods of time. This may mean that results are less consistent and more susceptible to change when the factors within the model are altered.

Furthermore, I have found that there is a paradox in the evolution of these studies. On the one hand, the studies seem to be too context-sensitive in the selection of cases (case selection bias), but on the other hand, they seem not to be sensitive enough to the context when selecting the independent variables (specification bias). Inflation and unemployment may be good predictors in the general theory, but researchers should be more aware of the evolution of these variables over the long term. The inclusion of both variables in their models when only one of these shows a significant change, whereas the other remains stable for decades (such as inflation in the West) may detract from the strength of their conclusions through the inclusion of non-relevant variables within the model. Moreover, the results presented in this chapter show that there are signs of a second alarming trend: the publication of studies seems to be increasingly linked to the number of positive and significant empirical results, which may be driving an overall publication bias in the results for this subfield.

Some solutions could be envisaged to minimize the impact of these biases in quantitative research. Firstly, case selection and the time span of studies should be as carefully and theoretically justified as ought to be the case in qualitative research. Even if the focus is at the individual level, the existence of a relationship between variables should include controls for the absence of variation in the context. The choice of independent factors, while contingent upon the literature, should also be adapted to the case being studied. An absence of variation in the causal factors jeopardizes the validity of any conclusions and should be carefully addressed in quantitative research.

Furthermore, political science needs to be more aware of publication bias and the dangers this may entail. Some researchers have proposed the existence of registries, similar to those used in other sciences, where researchers can put forward their models before data becomes available (Gerber and Malhotra 2008). From my point of view, however, replication still constitutes the major firewall for publication bias in political science (for an interesting discussion on the need for replication see King, 1995). There should be more encouragement for replication and, in this sense, academic journals may become the key actors in this process by encouraging and institutionalizing the replication of the findings they publish.

In conclusion, these results show the need to research in greater depth the evolution of scientific production in published journals. This kind of systematic analysis allows for an evaluation of the shortcomings or pitfalls from which a specific subfield may be suffering, and which may be obscured in narrative reviews. The results I present here suggest that further research should be carried out by analysing the results of quantitative research published in other journals and in other fields of political science in the same systematic fashion. In so doing, it would be possible to discover whether these results are linked to this specific field, as published in *Electoral Studies*, or are symptomatic of a more generalized problem.

# Toward the Inclusion of Political-Philosophical Articles in the *Revue Française de Science Politique*: Is a Return Possible?

Manuel CERVERA-MARZAL

## Introduction

Two specific concerns have guided this longitudinal analysis of the *Revue française de science politique* (French Journal of Political Science, *RFSP*). Knowing that political philosophy is one of the four sub-fields of political science<sup>1</sup>, I first wanted to assess the importance of this sub-field within the discipline as a whole. Indeed, as Krystel Wanneau shows in her chapter, these sub-disciplines can be analysed using Bourdieu's notion of "fields" (Bourdieu 1984). Each seeks to protect its autonomy with regard to the others. Their position in the general field of political science is a real matter of existence, in that each one does in fact exist independently of the others<sup>2</sup> (Leca 1982). While it seems obvious to us that electoral sociology has always been a major concern of French political scientists, it is difficult to get an idea of the position occupied by political philosophy and how this particular position has evolved over the past six decades. In order to obtain precise objective data on this matter, I have chosen to study the importance of political philosophy in the *RFSP* – this despite the fact that the *RFSP* is not identified with by French political science in its entirety<sup>3</sup>. However, given the superior quality of its writing, and the fact that it has long been

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<sup>1</sup> According to Philippe Braud (2012: 8-9) political science covers four areas: political theory, international relations, political sociology, and administrative science. One could also add comparative politics and the study of public policy.

<sup>2</sup> This competition between subfields of a discipline is evidenced for example by power struggles to place "representatives" of "your" field on bodies recruiting new researchers and teachers. Indeed, these places of renewal of the corps of political scientists represent a key challenge for the defence of the autonomy of each sub-discipline.

<sup>3</sup> Because there are several important journals such as *Le Mouvement social*, the *Revue française d'administration publique*, *Raisons politiques*, *Critique internationale* and *Le Débat*.

a fixture on the French social science scene, this review can legitimately claim some degree of representativeness<sup>4</sup> of the discipline which it is named after. As can be seen in Lorenzo Angelini's chapter, studying the scientific journal recognized as the most influential in its discipline provides fruitful information about the evolution of the discipline itself. This chapter is thus a continuation of several studies of the evolution of French political science (Favre 1981; Leca 1991; Daguerre 2004; Billordo 2005).

Our second concern relates to the thematic and ideological path taken by political philosophy, regardless of its importance to the field of political science as a whole. Through the prism of the *RFSP* I would like, on the one hand, to provide a reliable overview of the changing role of political philosophy in the post-war French political science scene and examine how this role has played out even into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. I will then seek to draw several conclusions about internal developments in French political philosophy by examining the subjects studied, the approaches taken, and the authors published.

Simultaneous consideration of these two issues provides the main focus of this chapter and our principal theoretical question: Does political philosophy in French political science – particularly in its principal organ of publication, the *RFSP* – focus on issues similar to those which Anglophone political philosophy holds dear? And is the liveliness of English-speaking philosophical debates and the response to it by French researchers likely to increase the importance of political philosophy in the *RFSP*? Whereas *a priori* there was no indication of the existence of any link between the two dimensions, of external and internal evolution, inductive analysis tells us that changes specific to political philosophy and the place allotted to it by the French political science field are ultimately intertwined.

Founded in 1951 by Jean Maynaud, the *Revue française de science politique* (*RFSP*) is now in its 62<sup>nd</sup> year of publication. It has published six issues per year since 1963 and has been available in English since 2010. This review is without a doubt the main French publication in the field of political science. With Yves Déloye as Publication Director and published by the Presses de Sciences Po, the journal is fully available via the *Persée*<sup>5</sup> and *Cairn*<sup>6</sup> portals.

At this point, it is important to clearly define terms for the reader. Political philosophy can be referred to using the following variations: political thought, political theory, or, more rarely, history of political ideas. These four terms are not

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<sup>4</sup> Generalization of the results obtained from the *RFSP* to the entire French political science scene must be undertaken with extreme caution, as behoves any sort of intellectual endeavour. However, this generalization is legitimate insofar as the *RFSP* combines a set of features that make it clear that what is true for it is also true beyond it. Indeed, the *RFSP* is the oldest and most frequently-consulted political science journal in France. It is the main organ of the French Association of Political Scientists and it was founded with the support of the National Foundation of Political Sciences, which directs the number one educational and research political science institution in France: the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris. Finally, the *RFSP* is one of the few journals which covers all objects and research areas within political science.

<sup>5</sup> See <http://www.persee.fr>.

<sup>6</sup> See <http://www.cairn.info>.

synonymous and a preference for any one of them is never neutral. We should not ignore the depth of thinking that led Hannah Arendt to advocate the term “political theory” or Claude Lefort that of “political thought”, nor should one too quickly assimilate the term “political philosophy” to that of “history of political ideas” (Philp 2008). However, the purpose of this work is not to reproduce the entire content of these – exciting – terminological discussions. Moreover, even those who argue over the most appropriate designation mutually agree that these four expressions cover roughly the same reality. Because a decision has to be made – and because my view is that “political thought” and “political theory” are too broad, while “the history of political ideas” is too restrictive<sup>7</sup> – I will use the expression “political philosophy.”

The results of my study contradict two fairly commonly-held ideas. The first claims that there is fundamental opposition between political philosophy and political science. Readers of Claude Lefort recognize here the thesis he put forward in a famous text on “The permanence of the theological-political” (Lefort 2001). According to this scholar of Machiavelli, there are two distinct views to which most seekers of knowledge subscribe. While a political scientist would approach his subject in order to extract objective knowledge of the workings of political realities, political philosophy considers politics to be a problematic entity that basically gives rise to endless questioning. Such questioning and reflection, while inherent in philosophical “uncertainty”, seems incompatible with any form of certainty in scientific knowledge. For this reason, Lefort criticizes the positivist approach – in its Marxist, structuralist and behaviourist variants – an approach which dominated political science from 1950 to 1970. More generally, I note that the alleged opposition between philosophy and political science is based on the idea that philosophy deals with the normative and that political science – guided by ethical neutrality – would be take the form of neutral and purely objective knowledge. From my data, I will show that throughout its sixty years of existence, *RFSP* has given a regular and often significant place to political philosophy in the articles it chose to publish. This fact does much to discredit the idea that a fundamental hostility exists between these two fields of research.

The second idea that I would like to question claims that French political philosophy is hermetically-sealed against the debates of its Anglophone counterparts. François Cusset teaches us that thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Gilles Deleuze have had a paramount influence on the American intellectual field<sup>8</sup> (Cusset 2003). And though deconstructionist, post-positivist and post-structuralist

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<sup>7</sup> Every piece of political science research is a work of thought and is elaborated through a theorization of social reality, so we can say that it is political science as a whole which constitutes “political thought” or “political theory”. Thus, I prefer to use the term “political philosophy” which is more precise. In this sense, the history of political ideas is both a sub-category of political philosophy and a discipline used by political philosophers to address new debates in light of the past. The term “political theory” is generally used to describe contemporary Anglophone political philosophy (especially Rawlsian studies).

<sup>8</sup> In the article by Loïc Blondiaux concerning “The historical turn of American political science” (1997) we will also find valuable information about reciprocal influences between French and American political science. Jean Leca also mentions world-renowned (including in the US) aspects of the French history of political ideas (1982: 655).

“French theory” saw its heyday between 1960 and 1980, it does not appear that the French influence on the American scene has declined. Nowadays, thinkers such as Jacques Rancière, Etienne Balibar, Alain Badiou, Pierre Manent and Bruno Latour are widely translated and discussed in English and regularly lecture in Anglophone universities<sup>9</sup>. That said, it is common to hear that the relationship between France and the English-speaking world is one way<sup>10</sup>, and that because of this, French political philosophy remains impervious to themes developed on the other side of the Channel and the Atlantic<sup>11</sup>. According to this view, concerns about distributive justice and deliberative democracy remain foreign to French-centred discussions. Similarly, French debates are said to address very specific topics such as the role of human rights, the future of the nation, the status of the event or the fate of criticism. Is this really so? Does the famous “French exception” – so often mentioned when describing its culture – also hold true for the field of political philosophy? If one examines the articles published in the *RFSP*, it seems evident that the assertion that French political philosophy is closed off from British and North American debates is more of a myth than a reality<sup>12</sup>.

The place of political philosophy in the *RFSP* has undergone significant changes over the sixty years’ life of the journal. Following a methodological description of how this longitudinal study was conducted, the second part of this paper will report on the changing role of political philosophy in the pages of the *RFSP*. Then, while focusing on the internal developments of political philosophy as it can be seen in the articles of the *RFSP*, I will, in the third part, examine the dominance of liberal thinking

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<sup>9</sup> For example Pierre Manent is a visiting teacher in the Department of Political Science at Boston College and Bernard Manin is a professor at New York University.

<sup>10</sup> All the articles in the dossier “American Theory: French receptions”, 126 (4), 2010 of the *Journal of American Studies* in French provide an illustration. In the introduction to the issue (“The reversal of flow theory: towards an intellectual Gulf Stream”), François Cusset opposes the “isolationism” of the French intellectual field to American “openness”. He writes that “As proofs of this we would want to see significant gaps in French translations of American works, a longer delay than for other major European languages in the translation into French of classic American works in philosophy and social science, a resistance on the part of French intellectual circles to the fields of critical interdisciplinary studies developed on the other side of the Atlantic over the last forty years (Cultural Studies, Minority Studies, Postcolonial Studies, etc.), and conversely the zeal with which North American publishers and mediators have introduced French thought in all its diversity to the United States – from Pierre Lévy or even Pierre Teilhard de Chardin to Michel Foucault or Jacques Derrida, the last two of these having a greater number of entries in Books in Print 2009 than in its French equivalent, the Electre database” (pp. 5-6, our translation).

<sup>11</sup> In his article mentioned above, Loïc Blondiaux does very explicitly note the reluctance of French political science to open up to US influence. In particular, he writes that “for a long time French political science has ceased to confuse itself with the history of American political science, and has found its own roots”. The price of this “intellectual emancipation”, he adds, is “a growing indifference to debates and controversies which interest our American colleagues” (Blondiaux, 1997: 8).

<sup>12</sup> In this regard one can consult Bourdieu’s study on the nationalization and denationalization of concepts (2002: 3-8).

over conservative thought and critical thought. In the fourth part of the paper, I will highlight the acute receptivity of French political philosophy to issues of Anglophone origin. Finally, I will conclude by trying to answer the central question of this chapter: is the importance of political philosophy in French political science – particularly in its principal publication outlet, the *RFSP* – dependent upon the questions that drive Anglophone political philosophy? In other words, is the liveliness of British and North American, etc., philosophical debates and responses to them by French researchers likely to increase the importance of political philosophy in the *RFSP*?

## 1. Methodological clarifications

In this work I analyse the 334 issues of the journal published between 1951 and 2010, equivalent to 1,988 articles. Working papers, research notes and book reviews have not been taken into account. Only articles in the strictest sense have been analysed.

The first task was to select and count the items pertaining to the field of political philosophy. To do this, the title of the articles concerned served as the main criteria. When a title was ambiguous, I read the introduction, headings and conclusion. 106 articles were identified. One aspect of my categorization could be contested: should field articles such as “The neo-liberal moment of the RPR: an attempt at interpretation” be considered as being within the realm of political philosophy? Five articles of this type convey the political ideas of a political organization, a national community or a social movement. These types of articles which belong more or less to the realm of “the sociology of ideas” have not been included in the analysis (for instance, I did not include “Political ideas of the ecologist movement”, 1979/2). In fact, these five articles aim to benefit a political collectivity rather than delve into the internal consistency and the systematicity of philosophy in the strict sense. While the ideology of a party is obviously related to political philosophy, one cannot equate one with the other.

Following this, the 106 articles selected were classified according to three criteria: their ideological tendency, the thematic content of the article and the geographic origin of the issue under consideration.

Concerning the ideological bent<sup>13</sup> of the article, I have adopted a tripartite typology inspired by Jean-Fabien Spitz’s preface to *The Machiavellian Moment* by JGA Pocock (1997: V-XLV)<sup>14</sup>. This typology distinguishes articles as belonging to the following categories: liberal (e.g., “The Justification of Liberalism by F. Von Hayek”,

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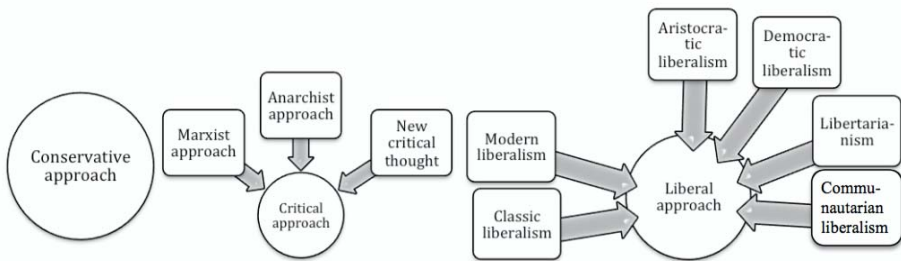
<sup>13</sup> I employ the concept of “ideology” without any negative connotation. For me, the term does not imply a wrong or distorted relation to reality. It simply helps in identifying various trends and schools of thought which coexist and sometimes compete in political philosophy discussions. In addition, I prefer to speak of an “ideological tendency” rather than “ideology” given that many articles reviewed cannot be locked into a systematic and fully coherent set of ideas and values. Finally, I might add that the notion of “ideological leanings” allows one to distinguish articles according to their normative orientations (those inherent in any piece of political philosophy writing).

<sup>14</sup> Spitz applies a typology similar to the one I am using here to his historiography of political ideas.



1989), conservative (e.g. “Leo Strauss, Neoconservative Affiliation or Philosophical Conservatism?”, 2009), critical (e.g. “War and Revolution in Lenin’s Thought,” 1971). Some articles (about 10%) describe one approach which they severely criticize. For example, “The Return of Enlightenment” by Pierre Clastres (1977) is an attack on liberal thought<sup>15</sup>. Within liberalism, I distinguished articles belonging to classical liberalism (Kant, Locke, Tocqueville, Constant, etc.) from those belonging to modern liberal thought (Berlin, Rawls, Popper, etc.). I also distinguished between aristocratic liberalism (Tocqueville, Constant), democratic liberalism (Rawls, Habermas, Bobbio), libertarianism (Hayek, Nozick, Popper) and communitarian liberalism (Charles Taylor). Within the realm of critical thought I distinguished between articles pertaining to Marxism (e.g. “Gramsci in France”, 1979), anarchist thought (e.g. articles by Jacques Ellul) and new critical thought (e.g. Mouffe, 1992).

**Figure 4.1:** Ideological leanings



A methodological problem emerges here: should an article written by a critical thinker but devoted to liberal democracy be placed within the “critical thought” category or into the “liberal” category of articles? Similarly, in which category should I place an article written by a liberal which is devoted to Carl Schmitt: in the “liberal approach” or the “conservative approach” category? I chose the second solution: 15% of articles displaying this sort of ambiguity were not classified in the category corresponding to the views of the author but in that corresponding to the ideological tendency commented on and discussed in the article. This is despite the fact that the author has sought to refute this ideology<sup>16</sup>. One could argue that the fact that the *RFSP* chooses to publish more articles devoted to one of these three approaches rather than to the two others does not prove that the journal gives its preference to that thought since it would be possible for 90% of the articles devoted to this approach could aim to refute and denounce it. To address this problem, I have identified the

<sup>15</sup> In this case, and in much the same way as for other cases, I include the Clastres article in the category of articles devoted to the “liberal approach”. Following this, for each of the three approaches, I made a subdivision between articles that defend the approach in question and those that criticize it. In this way, the resulting statistics leave no room for ambiguous interpretation.

<sup>16</sup> Again, “ideology” has no negative connotation for me. The term is used as a synonym for “philosophical school”, “school of thought” or “theoretical tradition”.

“negative” articles, the “neutral” articles and the “laudatory” articles for each of the three ideological tendencies.

In terms of thematic content, I have made two sets of distinctions:

1. intellectual monographs / conceptual articles: intellectual monographs refer to articles whose title clearly indicates that they are devoted to the thought of a particular author (e.g. “Tocqueville and the Problem of the New Aristocracy”, 2006/6); conceptual articles are those whose title suggests that they are devoted to one of the major concepts of political philosophy (e.g. “Equality or Priority?”, 1996/2); some articles may fall into both categories (e.g. “Revolution and Democracy: Rosa Luxemburg”, 1991/1);
2. classics in the history of political ideas / social contract theories / political theology / in-depth reflective articles: “classics in the history of political ideas” refers to articles devoted to authors such as Plato, Kant, Marx or Tocqueville (e.g. “Reading Marx”, 1970/4); “social contract theories” concerns articles devoted to Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Rawls or Habermas (e.g. “Jean-Jacques Rousseau or the Absolutism of the General Will”, 1953/1); “political theology” concerns the political philosophy of a specific religion (e.g. “The Political Philosophy of Muslim Hellenism: The thought of Nasir al-Din Tusi”, 1977/2). Finally, “reflective” articles are intended to study political philosophy itself (e.g. “Political Philosophy, Political Theory”, 1961/2).

Lastly, concerning the geographical origin of the topic addressed by the article, I have distinguished “Franco-French” articles – those devoted to issues that have little resonance beyond the academic confines of French Higher Education (e.g. “The Political Philosophy of Eric Weil”, 1958/2) – from articles directly influenced by Anglophone political philosophy (e.g. “Rawls and Political Liberalism”, 1996/2). This second, rather fuzzy category is exclusively geographical and does not attempt to measure or evaluate the Anglophone political philosophy considered here in either theoretical or methodological terms. The expression only aims to designate articles written by or about thinkers who lived and taught in the United States or Great Britain. In this sense, this second category is useful for measuring the openness of French political science to debates and ideas originating from elsewhere. It does not in any way deepen our knowledge of the Anglophone intellectual field.

For each of these 106 articles I read the abstract (where available), introduction, conclusion, and headings, together with the introductions to each section of the article. I also tried, whenever possible, to obtain a maximum amount of information about the author of the article in terms of his or her nationality, university affiliation, academic discipline, research themes and ideological and philosophical commitment.

Let me remind the reader that I began this study with two questions in mind. The first concerns the changing role of political philosophy in the *RFSP* in particular, and in French political science in general. The second question concerns the internal thematic and ideological directions taken by French political philosophy<sup>17</sup>. Having

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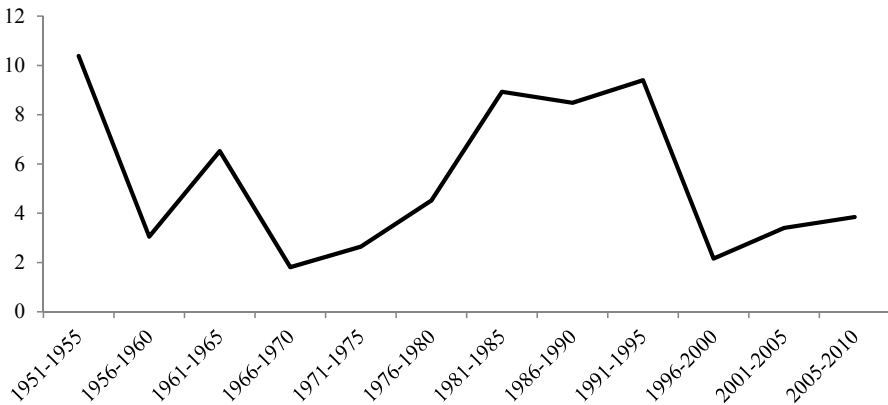
<sup>17</sup> For further details about the evolution of or directions taken by a scientific discipline, one can refer to Camille Kelbel’s chapter in this book. She examines the points of view of Thomas Kuhn, Karl Popper and Imre Lakatos.

established the different categorizations mentioned above (ideological, thematic and geographical) and following a comparative analysis of the statistics and graphs obtained, three observations merit particular attention.

First, it is noteworthy that during the sixty years of publication of the *RFSP*, political philosophy seems to exhibit three distinct phases. Further, it can be observed that, excepting the 1970s and their Marxist orientation, liberal political philosophy has maintained a continuous superiority over its conservative and critical counterparts throughout the history of the journal. Finally, it can be seen that during the first four decades, the number of articles directly influenced by Anglophone political philosophy is on par with the “Franco-French” articles. Nevertheless, since 1990, British and North American themes are largely predominant, in contrast to specifically French debates.

## 2. Political philosophy in the *RFSP*: subject to fluctuating tendencies

**Figure 4.2:** Proportion of political philosophy articles (%) in the *RFSP*



Political philosophy has never had a prominent place in the *RFSP*, since only 5.3% of articles published (or 106 of 1988) belong to this sub-discipline of political science. This rate confirms the observation made by Lilia Bollordo (2005: 183-186). In her study of the representation of the various sub-fields within the *RFSP*, her results show (as do mine) that “political theory” articles represent 5% of the total. In her typology, “political sociology” (29%), “comparative sociology” (15%) and “international relations” (14%) hold the top three positions. However, though the pages devoted to political philosophy may be few, there has always been space reserved for this discipline. We note that no more than three years could go by prior to the publication of another political philosophy article (1998-2000 for example) but that at several times there have been more frequent publications of such articles. On five occasions the *RFSP* reserved at least a fifth of its pages for political philosophy (1952, 1961, 1983, 1987 and 1991).

Concerning the role of political philosophy in the *RFSP*, three phases can be clearly distinguished in the history of the journal: the slow decline of 1951-1974, the

“glorious twenty (years)” of 1975-1996 and an inexorable decline from 1997 to 2010. During its first three years of publication, the journal devoted 15% of its articles to political philosophy, yet from 1951 to 1974 the proportion of political philosophy articles dropped gradually to 2%. This drop is distorted on the graph by the peak of 1961 which shows a record of 27% of articles as being devoted to political philosophy. This momentary high point is due to the publication of a thematic number (2/1961) entitled “Political Theory” which contains seven articles on political philosophy. Then comes a second phase that I call the “glorious twenty” (1975-1996). This heyday can be divided into two stages: a continuous increase in political philosophy articles between 1975 and 1982, followed by a decade-long apogee (1983-1996) during which the rate of articles in political philosophy remained securely around 9%, almost double the average for the history of the journal. Finally, there comes the third and final phase (1997-2010). This phase can be clearly identified as signalling a decline in political philosophy, in that between 1997 and 2007 only 7 articles out of 311 (2%) were devoted to political philosophy. A slight increase in 2008-2009 (6.5%, 5 articles) does not put a halt to this trend, given that in 2010 and 2011, political philosophy entirely disappeared from the pages of the journal.

How can these marked changes be explained? The slow decline of 1951-1974 is understandable considering the academic and intellectual context of the time. The post-war decades were characterized by the rise of the social sciences, especially the positivist schools mentioned above. These decades were trying ones for philosophers, Claude Lefort being one such. As they sought to increase “scientificity” and imitate the objectivity of the natural sciences (Rancière 1974), the social sciences were strongly resistant to the inherently normative dimension of any philosophical enterprise. To be convinced of this, one has only to refer to the well-known Weberian principle of axiological neutrality and the Durkheimian injunction to take social facts “as things” (Weber 2003; Durkheim 2007). The lure of the social sciences for most intellectuals of the time significantly affected the interest and the resources devoted to philosophy in general and political philosophy in particular. Political science was at this time a hybrid discipline whose “unified approach” was found not so much in the means of addressing the subject, whether the approach were either historical, sociological, economic, anthropological, legal or philosophical. Instead, “unity” was found in the study of the subject itself, namely political phenomena (Déloye and Voutat 2002). Consequently, this discipline was itself divided between the positivism of the social sciences and the normativism of philosophy (Braud 2012: 92). The predominance of the first over the second also held true for political science. If one agrees with this analysis, one can then understand the slow disappearance of political philosophy in the *RFSP* (1951-1974) as being the result of a larger process, namely the decline of the older philosophical tradition (which was being replaced by the new social sciences).

Although we can explain that the decline of political philosophy in the *RFSP* (1951-1974) was due to the rise of positivist social science, we cannot say that the “glorious twenty” (1975-1996) was subsequently due to a so-called “crisis of the social sciences” since no data corroborates the idea of such a crisis. If this be so, how can we understand the revival of political philosophy (1976-1996), and its sudden disappearance from the columns of the journal beginning in 1997?

### 3. A preference for liberal political philosophy?

While it is extremely difficult to determine the political views of an author writing on electoral sociology or the Cameroonian Constitution, the ideological leaning of a political philosophy article is readily apparent, in many instances being explicitly claimed by its author. For this study, it was thus necessary to adopt a typology that did not clash with the positions adopted by the authors concerned. This is to say that during classification it was important not to include an author within a category where he would not recognize himself. But this typology also needed to be precise enough to be able to provide useful lessons about the philosophical and ideological orientation of the *RFSP*<sup>18</sup>. I believe that the tripartite division between conservative thought/liberal thought/critical thought is the best for reconciling these two requirements and achieving a categorization that is neither too narrow nor too broad.

The results are clear and leave little room for interpretation. Seven articles concern conservatism, 39 liberalism (including 14 for classical liberalism and 25 for modern liberalism) and 28 relate to critical thought (including 18 for Marxism). 28% of articles devoted to conservative philosophy clearly intend to challenge it. This rate is 18% for critical thought (22% for the Marxist approach) but only 12% for liberal philosophy (and 0% seeks to refute classical liberalism). There are thus two noteworthy aspects here. On the one hand, a large majority of articles is devoted to liberalism, which on its own accounts for more articles than critical thought and conservative thought taken together. On the other hand, liberalism is challenged 50% less often than conservative and critical philosophies. Considered together, this data leads me to conclude that the *RFSP* has a certain ideological and political preference for liberal philosophy, particularly for the classical liberalism of Constant or Tocqueville, since none of the 14 articles devoted to these figures is motivated by a desire to criticize. Moreover, it may be noted that the only four authors who have written at least four articles for the journal concerning political philosophy are prominent representatives of French liberalism (Raymond Aron, Bertrand de Jouvenel, Pierre Hassner and Lucien Jaume).

The liberal leaning of the *RFSP* highlighted by the statistical data seen above is corroborated by several aspects of the history of the journal. Indeed, at its foundation, the journal developed out of an intellectual circle to which Raymond Aron belonged<sup>19</sup>. Aron, like Bertrand de Jouvenel and Pierre Hassner, published many contributions in the pages of the journal. Furthermore, the role of the National Foundation of Political Sciences (*Fondation nationale des sciences politiques*, FNSP) in the creation of the *RFSP* also partly explains the liberal tendencies of the journal (between 1945 and 1954, Jean Maynaud directed the journal and the Foundation). As a private foundation created by a government statute in 1945, the FNSP's main missions involved housing the *Institut d'études politiques de Paris*, working towards the formation of French political elites and developing and promoting liberal thought (Chapsal and Rain 1963). More recently, the journal has collaborated with authors such as Lucien Jaume and Bertrand Guillarme (a member of the editorial board of the *RFSP* and also a

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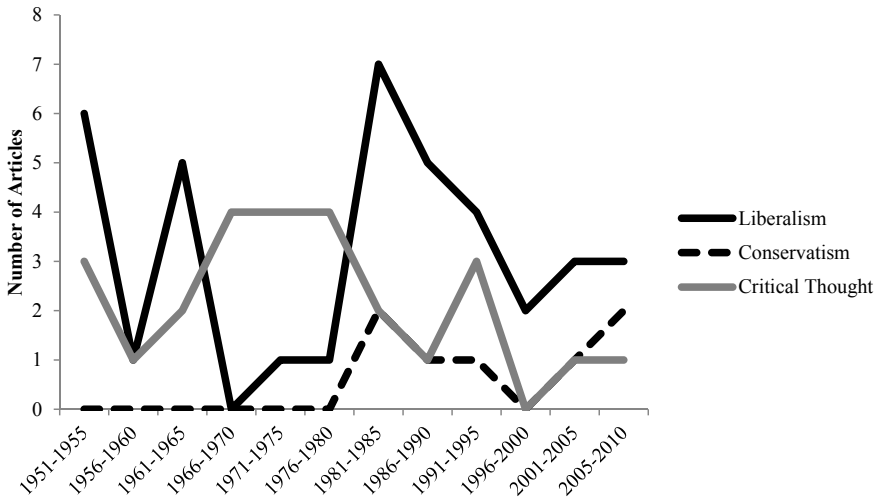
<sup>18</sup> On how to develop a typology in political science see Seiler (1986) and Sartori (1976).

<sup>19</sup> Aron, a notable figure in French liberalism, wrote *L'opium des intellectuels* in 1955, in which he sought to refute Marxist thinkers.

student, scholar and translator of John Rawls), which shows the long-lasting nature of the relationship between the *RFSP* and active members of the French liberal thought.

Nevertheless, this “preference” for liberalism must be doubly nuanced. On the one hand, although they are less present and more criticized, the two other forms of philosophy (critical and conservative) nevertheless represent 47% of the articles published. Of these, more than two thirds of the cases are neutral or laudatory articles. So it is important to note that the *RFSP* still guaranteed a certain ideological pluralism<sup>20</sup>. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that there was a break of ten years in the prevalence of liberal domination. Between 1965 and 1975, when no article was devoted to conservatism, critical philosophy – especially in its Marxist version – was four times more often represented than was liberal philosophy. This loss of hegemony was probably linked to the social context of the time. Indeed, as suggested by Jean Leca, “the way in which a scientific discipline organizes and controls its sub-fields is largely determined by its social position, particularly its relationship to other key social fields” (Leca 1991: 323). Thus it can reasonably be said that the political agitation of May 1968 had an impact on the columns of the *RFSP*. The “1968 way of thinking” (Ferry and Renaut 1988) had permeated all institutions within French society. The political agitation which began in March 1968 in the student community deeply affected the academic world. This is attested by the creation of the University of Vincennes in the autumn of 1969. All of the above factors thus led to the temporary loss of the prevalence of liberal philosophy in the pages of the *RFSP*.

**Figure 4.3:** Ideological bent of articles



The thesis of a *RFSP* “liberal preference” helps us to understand the changes in the editorial policy of the journal. In the previous section, we pointed out the almost total disappearance of political philosophy in the *RFSP* between 1997 and 2011. No socio-political reason seems able to explain this occurrence. Indeed, it does not seem

<sup>20</sup> Insofar as liberalism is characterized by the defence of value pluralism and a diversity of opinion which can be freely expressed.

that the election of Jacques Chirac or the September 11 attacks could have had an impact on this matter. Therefore, possible reasons originating in the academic field of political thought should be examined. Indeed, it is clear that, for the last fifteen years, political philosophy, whether French or not, has been affected by a rise in what can be termed “new critical thought” (Keucheyan 2010). This phenomenon has been accompanied by a certain return of liberal thought. In France, one can refer to the writings of Jacques Rancière, Alain Badiou, Etienne Balibar and Miguel Abensour. The rise of critical thinkers outside France includes authors such as Slavoj Žižek, Gayatri Spivak, Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe and Axel Honneth. Nowadays, it seems that if you are interested in political philosophy you are obliged to make room for critical thought. This is not to say that liberal and conservative thought has disappeared, but to show that most academics are no longer interested in the Theory of Justice (Rawls 1971), the Machiavellian Moment (Pocock 1975) or the Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas 1986). In this new intellectual context of a rise in critical political philosophy (Abensour 2009), the “liberal preference” of the *RFSP* caused the journal to face a choice between either opening its doors to contemporary critical political philosophy or gradually abandoning articles on political philosophy. Ceasing to publish articles on political philosophy may turn out to be a temporary choice pending a hypothetical resurgence of liberal thought. If this were to happen, the *RFSP* would again allow political philosophy to regain its former place. Moreover, if it were not for its liberal preferences, how could one explain why the *RFSP* never published articles by Badiou, Rancière or Balibar, given the international reputation of these philosophers. However, full responsibility for this should not be attributed to the *RFSP*’s editorial policy. The fact that the journal did not publish any articles by Rancière or Badiou does not mean that it refused their articles. It is more plausible that the critical thinkers themselves chose to submit their articles to other journals. Thus, one must hypothesize that the editorial policy of the journal is conditioned by the proposals for articles that it receives.

The decline of the role of political philosophy in the *RFSP* <sup>21</sup> since 1991 can be partly explained by the gap between the “liberal preference” of the journal and the relative weakening of “liberal philosophy” since the 1990s. This lack of fit created an unprecedented situation in which the editorial board of the journal received fewer articles matching its “ideological” expectations. In other words, supply did not match the demand for articles. But we should not attribute a merely mono-causal explanation. A second factor has probably contributed to the slow disappearance of political philosophy in the *RFSP*. This aspect concerns developments within political science itself. In France, the discipline gradually became institutionalized in the 1970s, notably through the creation of *Agrégation* examinations and of a specific section within university faculties. In 1982 the discipline acquired its autonomy within the National Centre of Scientific Research (*Centre national de la recherche scientifique*,

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<sup>21</sup> It is important to note that the three main French journals specializing in political philosophy were created precisely during the decade in which this discipline disappeared from the columns of the *RFSP*. In fact, *Tumultes* was created in 1992, the *Revue française d’histoire des idées politiques* in 1995 and *Raisons politiques* in 2000.

CNRS) with the creation of a “Political Science” section. In 1991, this became known as “Section 40: Politics, Power, Organization”. In the early 1990s, after twenty years of progressive institutionalization, political science had become a fully autonomous discipline. At the same time, the *RFSP* was becoming more specialized between 1973 and 1990, under the direction of Georges Lavau. This “empowerment of political science“, as it has been termed by Pierre Favre (1981), Philippe Braud (1982) and Jean Leca (1982), has logically led to a weaker dependence of the discipline – and its journal, the *RFSP* – on adjacent disciplines, including political philosophy. In 1990, there were over 200 political scientists (university professors and lecturers). To fill its columns, the journal no longer needs to appeal to philosophers (the same holds true for historians and lawyers). The journal *Raisons politiques* was established in 2001 and is specifically devoted to “political theory and political thought”. Under the direction of Jean-Marie Donegani, it now welcomes political philosophy articles which, in the 1990s, seemed to have definitively disappeared from the *RFSP*.

#### 4. The myth of ethnocentrism

If French political ethnocentrism – diagnosed by François Cusset as a form of “isolationism” (2010: 5-6) – really exists, it cannot be attributed to the *RFSP*. While I identified 31 articles directly influenced by Anglophone political philosophy, only 16 are devoted to topics which are specifically French. It is noticeable that no article deals with Human Rights, which in France was still a favourite subject giving rise to numerous theoretical contributions (Claude Lefort, Marcel Gauchet, Cornelius Castoriadis). Nothing more is said on the issue of the “event” which mobilized the intellectual energy of Gilles Deleuze, Alain Badiou and Daniel Bensaid. And several authors, such as Alain Renaut, Jacques Rancière and Pierre Manent have never published in the *RFSP*<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, no article is devoted to their thought. Excepting Raymond Aron (who published five articles; three more comment on his ideas), everything seems to indicate that the *RFSP* has neglected the great figures of French political philosophy and specifically “Franco-French” debates.

One could say that this neglect does not matter if it also affects Anglophone political philosophy. However, and this is precisely my point, this is not the case. Indeed, British and North American thought is represented twice as often as its French counterpart in the columns of the *RFSP*. The major Anglophone political philosophers have all been discussed in the journal, which is not the case for French thinkers<sup>23</sup>. At least one article has been devoted to Rawls, Nozick, Hayek, Popper, Schumpeter, Strauss, Arendt, MacIntyre, Berlin and Taylor<sup>24</sup>. It is true that one could point to the

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<sup>22</sup> The low frequency of articles written by French political philosophers is partly explained by their tendency to write more for books and less in article form. In fact, Jacques Rancière is the author of 32 books and Alain Badiou of 47, which is well above the average for political scientists.

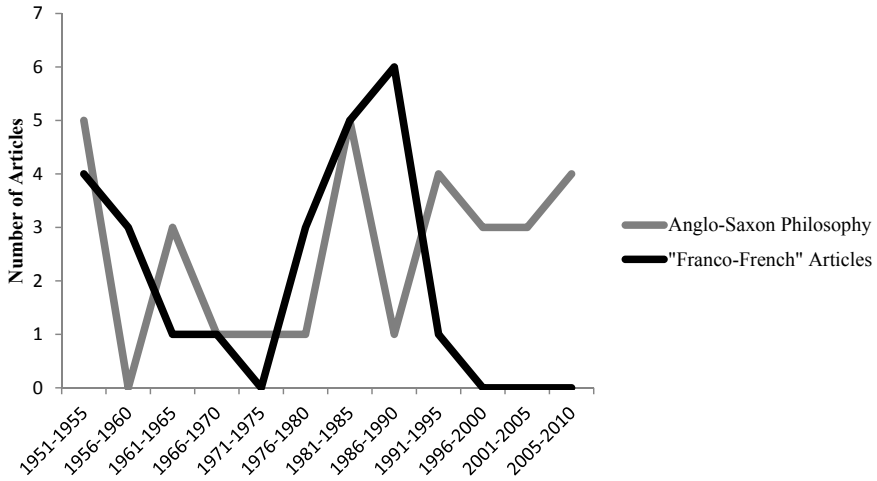
<sup>23</sup> This is linked to the composition of the editorial board of the journal. The presence of Bertrand Guillaume, for example, has had an impact on the publication of articles devoted to the thought of John Rawls (Guillaume was his assistant and French translator).

<sup>24</sup> That we include Arendt, Strauss, Schumpeter, Hayek and Popper as representatives of Anglophone philosophy is not contradicted by their German-Austrian origin since they all



absence of Pocock, Walzer, Dworkin, Sandel or Pettit and continue with a long list of representatives of contemporary Anglophone political philosophy. But this does not detract from the fact that generally speaking, these thinkers and the debates to which they contributed (distributive justice, deliberative democracy, and utilitarianism) were included by the *RFSP* to a greater extent than were their French counterparts.

**Figure 4.4:** Which Anglo-Saxon influence on the French political philosophy?



Since 1991 and Yolène Dilas-Rocherieux's study devoted to the communism of Etienne Cabet (1991), no more Franco-French articles have appear in the *RFSP*. Over the same period, fifteen articles were related to Anglophone political philosophy. Given that 25 articles were published during this period, this means that from 1991 to 2010 Anglophone themes and philosophers directly influenced exactly 60% of the articles on political philosophy in the *RFSP*. This rate is particularly high compared to the average of Anglophone articles (29%) observed during the whole period (1951-2010).

Finally, the "liberal preference" of the *RFSP* seems to be accompanied by an "Anglophone preference". However, this finding must be nuanced. First, 16 specifically French articles do exist. Moreover, while many articles are devoted to Anglophone philosophy, the *RFSP* did not open its pages to these authors and has neither published nor translated their writings. Of the 79 political philosophers who wrote in the *RFSP*, the overwhelming majority (66) are French, 13 are foreigners, and only five are Anglophone (three British and two Americans). Thus it is more often the exegesis of Anglophone philosophy than the philosophy itself which can be read in the columns of the *RFSP*.

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emigrated to the United States, most of them acquired American nationality and most ended their lives there.

### **Conclusion: back to the “glorious twenty” years of political philosophy in the *RFSP***

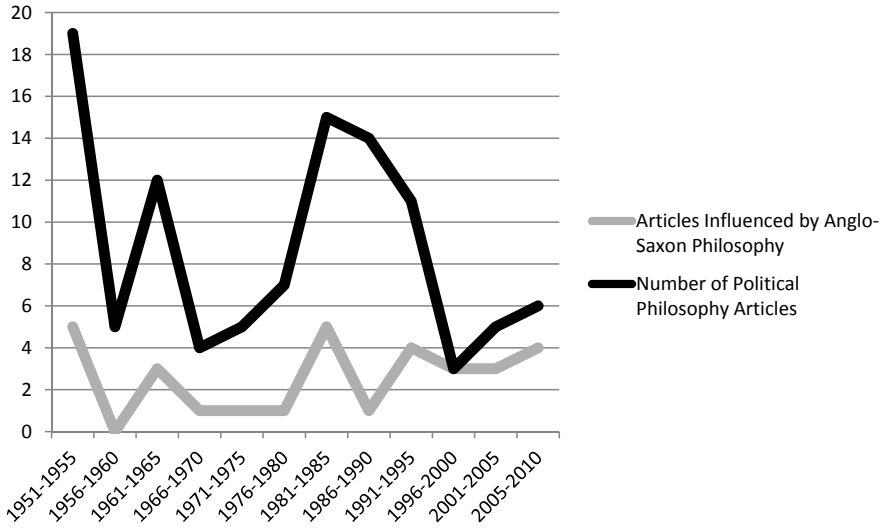
I have been able to explain two of the three phases pertaining to the importance of political philosophy in the *RFSP*. The slow decline of 1951-1974 could be understood as a consequence of the rise of positivism in the social sciences. The second decline began in 1997 and continues today with the near-disappearance of political philosophy from the journal. This seems to result from a combination of two phenomena: the liberal preference of the *RFSP* and the domination of the critical approach in contemporary political philosophy, which has caused the journal to neglect the emphasis it had previously placed on this discipline, as current theoretical pieces did not match the *RFSP*'s ideological expectations. In other words, a mismatch between supply and demand is the cause of this decline. A second phenomenon caused the decline of the importance of philosophy articles in the *RFSP*: the process of empowerment and autonomization of political science which began in the 1970s and reached its peak in 1990. In 1981, Pierre Favre relied on the trajectories taken by journals, associations, seminars and courses to take stock of political science in France since 1945. It was with great historical accuracy that he described the quest for its “disciplinary autonomy and scientific character” (1981: 95) within French political science. In 1982, Jean Leca drew a similar conclusion, considering that political science and its institutions (including the CNRS, university departments, and political science journals) had become “an independent scientific subfield” (Leca 1982: 654). Having reached full autonomy, political science and the *RFSP* have been leaving less and less space for political philosophy and related disciplines, which were once accepted in the journal at a time when disciplinary boundaries remained almost non-existent.

We still need to understand why there was a transient but lasting phase – between two periods of decline, that is to say between 1975 and 1996 – during which political philosophy acquired a leading position within the *RFSP*. My explicative hypothesis is that this derives from the renewal of Anglophone philosophy initiated in 1971 with the publication of John Rawls' masterpiece, *A Theory of Justice*. This had a significant impact on the *RFSP*, which was especially prepared to welcome the work of Rawls and his commentators, in particular because of its dual Anglophone and liberal preference. The new vitality of American political philosophy<sup>25</sup> could not fail to influence a journal which throughout its history had shown a special affinity for Anglophone theoretical articles. So the *RFSP* took a particular interest in Rawlsian theory and criticism – whether libertarian, communitarian or republican. This interest then led to a rise in the proportion of political philosophy articles in the journal. It is symptomatic that these “glorious twenty” years began in 1975 with the publication of an article by Raymond Boudon “Social Justice and Public Interest: About Rawls' Theory of Justice” (1975) and ended in 1996 with Bertrand Guillaume's article entitled “Rawls and Political Liberalism” (1996).

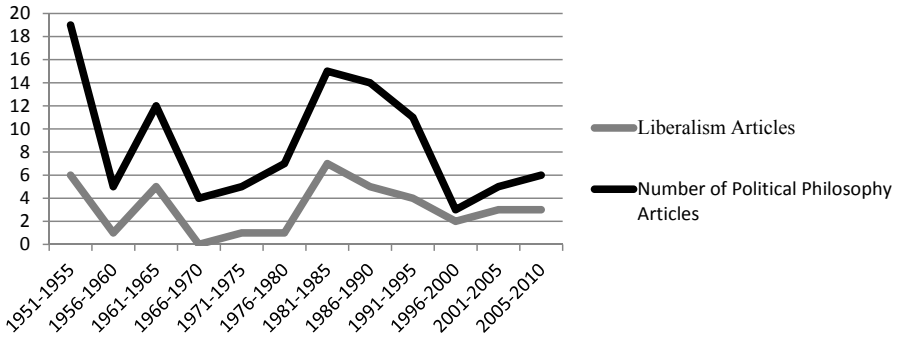
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<sup>25</sup> This vitality is mainly due to the discussions prompted by the publication of two major works, the *Theory of Justice* (Rawls 1971) and *The Machiavellian Moment* (Pocock 1975). Robert Nozick (1974), Stanley Cavell and many others are among their main commentators.

**Figure 4.5:** Influence of Anglo-Saxon articles on the place of political philosophy in the *RFSP*



**Figure 4.6:** Influence of liberal approach on the place of political philosophy in the *RFSP*



These two graphs corroborate the idea that it is the Anglophone liberal preferences of the *RFSP* – combined with the renewal of Anglophone liberal philosophy initiated by Rawls – which are most able to account for the “glorious twenty” years. Indeed, throughout the history of the journal, three curves overlap almost perfectly and have almost identical time variations: the proportion of political philosophy articles in the *RFSP*, the number of articles devoted to liberal thought and the number of articles directly influenced by the Anglophone approach. None of the twelve other statistical curves I developed from my data correspond, even approximately, to the changes in the curves showing the proportion of political philosophy articles. Why do these three tables have curves which overlap, while the twelve others do not? Two explanations are possible. Either it is a coincidence – and one cannot logically exclude

this hypothesis – but if it is so, this coincidence is particularly troubling. Or, following my hypothesis, the number of articles stemming from a liberal approach and having an Anglophone theme is one of the explanations. I have again shown that there are other explanations as to the evolution of the place of political philosophy in the *RFSP*. It is thus the liberal/Anglo Saxon factor which is particularly useful for understanding the “glorious twenty” years (1975-1996), since other elements such as positivism in the social sciences, the rise of contemporary critical political philosophy, etc., already explain the first phase (1951-1975) and the third phase (1997-2010).

I cannot complete this chapter without pleading the case for political philosophy. It is my hope that in the coming years the *RFSP* will again grant political philosophy the space that it legitimately deserves<sup>26</sup>. Whether or not such political philosophical articles are liberal, conservative or critical is of little importance. This sub-discipline of political science has the merit of introducing debate on normative concerns into the pages of the journal, and these have been too often lacking. The study of social and political reality must of course be carried out with rigour and objectivity. We must not forget that reality is always closed in on itself, and that which is given to the political scientist to analyse is only one aspect of social history. However, it does seem that how one “should be” is irreducible to the question of “being”. If this were to occur, it is the link between democracy and political science that will be endangered. Political science can always claim axiological neutrality and refuse to serve partisan causes – and it would be wrong to behave differently. Even so, political science should never forget that it has meaning only insofar as it contributes to the promotion of democracy. Political philosophy is needed to remind democracy of its *raison d'être*.

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<sup>26</sup> I agree with Jean Leca’s plea wherein he asked political philosophy to rescue political science in order to make clear what political science can teach us. He also hopes political science will stimulate reflection on the meaning of the social sciences (their *raison d'être*).



## CHAPTER 5

# Elmer Recast: the Patchwork of EU Theories within the *Journal of Common Market Studies*

Camille KELBEL

### **Introduction**

“Several blind men approached an elephant and each touched the animal in an effort to discover what the beast looked like. Each blind man, however, touched a different part of the large animal and each concluded that the elephant had the appearance of the part he had touched. (...) The total result was that no man arrived at a very accurate depiction of the elephant. Yet, each man had gained enough evidence from his own experience to disbelieve his fellows and to maintain a lively debate” (Puchala 1971: 267).

The European Union (EU) is far from operating in a theoretical vacuum. The situation depicted over forty years ago regarding integration theories has not vanished. Similar situations have arguably arisen within as well as across various schools of thought, although they have had their critics (see for instance Risse 1996; Jupille and Caporaso 1999; Méndez et al. 2006). This is indeed problematic: it brings conceptual confusion, and this confusion has been worsened by the development and the complexity of the EU. Questioning the “nature of the beast” (Puchala 1971), many EU scholars have tried to assess the development of EU studies since their inception, not least because the novelty, originality and political significance of the EU integration project has been compelling. In doing so, they have recurrently shifted the debate toward normative considerations: questioning what the EU should be represents a dangerous pitfall for anyone who wants to assess what the EU in fact is.

Trying to explain the absence of a satisfactory conceptualization, one will undoubtedly be confronted with the compartmentalization of the field. Research is often assumed to remain centred on particular subjects in some national contexts, such as law in France (Bailleux 2012; Vauchez 2013), on specific networks, such as those of EU specialized journals (Popa 2008; Jensen and Kristensen 2012) or on

major figures (Cohen 1998; 2011). Research in fact lacks an interdisciplinary and continuous view of how the field has actually been constituted. This chapter aims to develop a systematic approach to the genesis and process of institutionalization of European studies in theoretical terms. Analysing how this theoretical pluralism has actually developed, I ask how the *Journal of Common Market Studies* has reflected and built upon the main theoretical orientations within EU studies. Based on the 889 original articles making up the core of the journal over the past thirty years, from 1983 to 2012, this chapter proposes to assess the EU's theoretical evolution by considering the journal as reflected by the existing literature. In particular, it aims to look beyond the so-called founders of the discipline, the theoretical antagonism often identified between them, such as Haas versus Hoffmann in political science (Mangenot 2013) or the theoretical breakthroughs their work has created<sup>1</sup>. In sum, it answers to the call for “more content-sensitive studies (...) to illuminate the constitutive features of the (...) theoretical divides in EU studies” (Jensen and Kristensen 2012).

Established as the very first journal devoted to European studies (first issued in 1962 – i.e. only four years after the founding of the European Economic Community), the *Journal of Common Market Studies* (*JCMS*) enables us to reconcile most of the above-mentioned aspects. On the one hand, pre-eminent articles have been published over the years. To name but a few, theoretical concepts which are very familiar to students of EU integration such as “normative power Europe”, “the capability-expectations gap”, or “liberal intergovernmentalism” all emerged as part of *JCMS* articles. On the other hand, and central to our concern, the *JCMS* as a whole has been and arguably remains one of the most influential journals and sources on European integration, both in its own depictions and according to citation indexes<sup>2</sup>, despite the massive increase in the number of publications related to its subject matter. Besides, Jensen and Kristensen find that “journal sources make up most of the top-cited sources” in EU studies, with the *JCMS* ranking second (Jensen and Kristensen 2012). Exploring the network structure arising from the citation practices of journals, they show that the *JCMS* also constitutes one of the main nodes of communication networks within EU studies<sup>3</sup>.

Conducting a longitudinal study focusing on a journal's theoretical aspects is relevant in several respects. Theories can be seen as “tools available to make sense of the event that is being witnessed, or at least to attribute meaning to that event”

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<sup>1</sup> While synthesising advances in the field, the literature has often come to depict developments based on these theoretical breakthroughs rather than long-term empirical evidence, as can be seen by the resounding response to books such as Ernst Haas' *The Uniting of Europe* (1958), Alan Milward's *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (1992), Andrew's Moravcsik's *The Choice for Europe* (1998).

<sup>2</sup> See: SJR SCImago Journal & Country Rank, Citation Indexes of the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, <http://www.scimagojr.com/journalsearch.php?q=19875&tip=sid>.

<sup>3</sup> “The high betweenness centrality of *JEPP* and *JCMS* in particular indicates their general and integrating function as nodes that hold the various subfields of EU studies together”. “A few core journals, in particular *JEPP* and *JCMS*, constitute the key nodal points for EU communication practice. They hold the field together and give it a common language” (Jensen and Kristensen 2012: 9 and 16).

(Rosamond 2000: 4). In this context, the appeal is two-fold: it allows the theoretical orientations taken by EU studies to be empirically tested – in other words, as a mean of examining the broader discipline – while at the same time assessing the role played by a specific journal in driving or following trends in the domain. After all, articles published in its various journals largely constitute and articulate a field. Searching for patterns in a discipline, Ole Wæver includes scientific journals among the various possible sources (Wæver 1998: 696-697). Others have defended the methodological relevance of analysing journals, based on the regularity and availability of data (Breuning, Bredehoft and Walton 2005). In the same way, for Jensen and Kristensen, “journals are not only the largest component of EU studies as measured by the number of citations (...) they also make up the central part of the elephant” (Jensen and Kristensen 2012: 9).

This chapter subscribes to the book’s questioning of contemporary political science research, in particular regarding the evolution of theoretical approaches. The object of this study concerns the production of EU studies and the specificity of this research field. As such, it also relates to the epistemological question of the autonomy of the object of study as a discipline in its own right. This chapter therefore aims at understanding the theoretical evolution of EU studies as reflected in the *JCMS* over a thirty-year period. Section 1 establishes how political science research on the EU has evolved, identifying trends by means of a literature review. Section 2 sets out the methodology and provides details of the data set used. The main findings, detailing the contours, shifts and overlaps of the different approaches seen in the journal, are presented in Section 3, before I conclude.

### **1. One train may conceal another: a theoretical framework to the study of theories**

Focusing on the production of European Studies, I intend to examine here the theoretical specificity of this field of study within political science research, as well as its evolution.

The first question that almost automatically comes to mind is that of the meaning of the notion of “EU studies” itself and of its relationship to political science more broadly speaking. European integration, Europeanization and EU studies have sometimes been considered as part of the same process, if not confused (Howell 2002). This leads the debate to epistemological considerations regarding the autonomy or heteronomy of the subject matter. Indeed, the interest of political scientists in the EU is historically inseparable from a certain amount of rallying to the European project. This accompaniment to the process of integration has often been criticized as intrinsically normative (e.g. the concept of “integration” itself), with legal and political concepts playing a key role in the progressive objectification of the EU, its institutions and future. Europe has been thought to be the result of a politico-academic co-production (Robert and Vauchez 2010). This heteronomy has been challenged in many ways, with developments pointing toward a “normalization” of European studies. “Normalization” refers to scholarship on the EU having shifted away from a US-centred field of research underpinned by a few central theoretical premises toward an academic field marked by an increasing level of scholarship by



European academics, dealing with a broad range of topics. This evolution of the literature focused on the EU has been accounted for by the evolution of the EU polity itself, increasingly developing “state-like” characteristics (Kreppel 2012). The extent of this evolution is so great that some authors have come to consider EU studies as being not dissimilar to other state-based political science fields such as American or French politics.

While this debate on how to define EU studies in political science can be fed by a reflection on the diversity of geographical and disciplinary anchors of the researchers, as can be seen in Marie-Catherine Wavreille’s study of *American Political Science Review* in Chapter 8 of this book), it is also closely linked to a theoretical questioning of the nature of the EU itself. After all, the ontological positioning of the researcher as to what the EU is affects the above-mentioned epistemological considerations. Conceptualising the EU as a *sui generis* political system, a (regional) state, a (con)federation, an international organization or part of all of the above, may require the use of several different tools. Equally, the theories and conceptual frameworks thus applied are not without consequences for the way one thinks about the EU.

In an effort to classify theories about the European Union, Pollack distinguishes between: (a) theories of European integration associated with International Relations (IR), (b) comparative politics approaches and (c) a governance approach (Pollack 2005). This kind of classification appears particularly fruitful when trying to untie the various theoretical nodes, while acknowledging possible overlaps. From the 1950s to the 1990s, EU studies have mainly been envisaged, both in isolation and under the International Relations umbrella, as a regional integration or international organization model (Rosamond 2000; Pollack 2005). From the 1990s onwards, a shift has occurred, which is essentially three-fold: within the International Relations framework, the neo-functionalism/intergovernmentalism debate has been replaced by a rationalism/constructivism debate. At the same time, two other streams have developed alongside these: a comparativist framework which tends to consider the EU as a normal political system and a governance framework building on both previous approaches to encapsulate an array of concepts depicting the uniqueness and novelty of the EU political system. The central claim of this study is borrowed from Ben Rosamond’s argument that “the processes of European integration are just too complex to be captured by a single theoretical prospectus” (2000: 7). This succession of approaches to studying the evolution of the discipline will now be detailed and explained.

### ***1.1. European integration theories and their internal shifts: the EU as an international organization***

Seeking to explain the process of European integration, and despite early schools of thought having turned to federalism, functionalism or transactionalism, most theorists have relied heavily on so-called Grand Theories of European integration. While the idea of “Grand Theory” refers to a form of highly abstract theorizing, in which the focus is on the formal organization and arrangement of concepts, “Grand Theories of European integration” more specifically refer in EU studies to intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism (see for instance: Dietz and Wiener

2004; Rosamond 2000). Despite their origins in the field of International Relations, they are based on different assumptions which are often seen as antagonistic and competitive. On the one hand, Ernst Haas' *The Uniting of Europe* is often associated with the launch of neo-functional theory, essentially explaining the process of integration through (functional) spillovers – which, simplifying slightly, constitutes a conceptualization of Monnet's *méthode des petits pas* – and elite socialization (Haas 1958). On the other hand, political events in the mid-1960s – most famously the “empty chair crisis” – and throughout the following decade, have led some scholars to postulate the inability of neo-functionalism to explain the reassertion of the nation-state (Hoffmann 1966), or even its obsolescence, as Haas himself recognized in 1976. Not only did member states resist any loss in sovereignty (Taylor 1983; Wallace 1983), but intergovernmentalism culminated in the idea that European integration is in fact synonymous with *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (Milward 1992). However, major steps in integration during the 1990s reinstated neo-functionalism, which was enriched by applying to the European integration process other types of spillover such as cultivated spillover (Nye 1971; Tranholm-Mikkelsen 1991) and the notion of “spill-back” (Schmitter 1971: 240).

This debate has been further contributed to and ultimately taken over by Moravcsik's liberal intergovernmentalism (LI), which was in fact introduced in a 1993 article in the *JCMS*. His three-fold model combines “a liberal theory of national preference formation, with an intergovernmental model of EU-level bargaining and a [rational choice theory of] institutional choice” (Pollack 2005). This model can be seen as pivotal to the major turn in IR theories of European integration; while new institutionalists under the rational choice (RCI) and historical (HI) labels acknowledged its theoretical assumptions, sociological institutionalists and by extension constructivists rejected the very basis of LI (*Ibid.*). Different conceptions of the rationality of action are in fact often deemed to constitute the red line between rationalists and constructivists (Sending 2002), allowing Pollack to encompass several theories under the “rationalist” denomination, although echoing different explanations of EU decision-making (Pollack 2001). First, LI can be traced back to neoliberal views concerning the centrality of domestic and economic factors. It eventually came to encompass Putnam's two-level game, drawing a link between domestic politics and European integration (Putnam 1988). Second, RCI builds on the principal-agent theory to encompass models in which member states calculate their interests mainly based on the reduction of transaction costs, while EU institutions (mostly the Commission) constitute the product of conscious MS design. While borrowing RCI's assumptions of endogenous preference formation, HI mainly revolves around the concept of path-dependence (Pierson 1996). Finally, realism can be applied to the EU, notably through interests derived from the perceptions of the EU executive of the constraints posed by the anarchic international system (Rosamond 2000: 135). In brief, a rationalist framework conceives political order as arising from bargaining among rational actors pursuing preferences or interests, where gains can be achieved through coordinated action: political integration would thus be seen as a sum of contracts. In an essentially different research direction, constructivism delineates unfixed national preferences, and points to the independent role of norms and ideas in affecting policy outcomes

(Wendt 1999; Checkel 2001). More precisely, in sociological institutionalism, actions are driven by a “logic of appropriateness” set in specific institutional arenas: “Rules are followed because they are seen as natural, rightful, expected, and legitimate. Actors seek to fulfil the obligations encapsulated in a role, an identity, a membership in a political community or group, and the ethos, practices and expectations of its institutions” (March and Olsen 2004: 2).

Although March and Olsen (2010) analyse the reinstatement of institutions using different definitions, the rationalist/constructivist debate appears as much broader than an intra-neo-institutionalist one. Indeed, while Hall and Taylor (1996) compare the three new institutionalisms and argue for a rapprochement, Jupille, Caporaso and Checkel (2003) develop a framework for analysing the theoretical dialogue between constructivism and rationalism, bearing four different models. Taken together and originating from the American political science, these “approaches to social enquiry” (Jupille et al. 2003) have gained considerable ground in EU studies, aiming to grasp the dynamics and potential for a transformation of the EU, explaining EU decision-making and changes in the autonomy of supranational actors depending on the time, issues and institutions considered. In fact, rationalism and constructivism may be considered as second-order meta-theories. As stated by Wendt, this means that they are essentially dealing with ontological and epistemological questionings about “the nature of human agency and its relationship to social structures, the role of ideas and material forces in social life, [or] the proper form of social explanation” (Wendt 1999: 6). This stands in sharp contrast to domain-specific and more substantive first-order theories which make specific social systems, like the EU, the direct object under scrutiny, making assumptions and claims about them and their actors.

All in all, the EU retains a dual character (as international organization and international actor) and the International Relations literature has looked at how this influences EU policies, both internal and external (e.g. Rhodes 1998), especially including EU’s capacity in external negotiations (e.g. Meunier 2005).

### ***1.2. Comparative and governance approaches: the EU as an experiment in political science research***

Seeking to understand EU politics, comparative theories tend to consider the EU as a “normal” political system. Because comparativists rely on the theories and methods used in other political science domains, they have largely been associated with the “mainstream” (Hix 1999: 2). They argue that the EU displays characteristics of national political systems, such as stable institutions whose interactions are rule-driven; allocates norms and economic resources; and is based on strong output legitimacy (Hix 1999). In this view, attempts such as Clément Jadot’s in Chapter 1 to analyse the concepts used in the literature are revealing. In the same vein, if the EU retains state-like characteristics, then the theoretical perspectives employed to analyse it can be drawn from schools of thought that analyse nation-states: the so called “middle-range theories”. More precisely, two theoretical strands have drawn from this perspective; federalism, allowing comparisons between the EU and other federal systems (Capelletti et al. 1986; Scharpf 1988; Sbragia 1993), and systemism (Lindberg and Scheingold 1970). This means that a possible internal distinction can be

made (Pollack 2005) between theoretical conceptions related to the vertical separation of power, explaining the functioning of the EU as a political system by focusing on the level of government, the careful alternation of national and EU levels, and the domination of the “regulatory state” (Majone 1996) and the horizontal separation of power, explaining legislative, executive and judicial behaviours. Nevertheless some authors, most notably Jupille et al. (2003), have argued that the divide between International Relations and comparative studies is irrelevant given the “in-between” nature of the EU. Although it is not the aim of this chapter to detail the grounds for such criticism, if we look at theoretical developments, a possible overlap between IR and comparative frameworks is a case in point. Besides, the comparative framework also has rather diffuse roots, some of which encompass rationalist assumptions:

“In other subfields of political science, researchers may commonly work with general research programs that provide base-level assumptions for formulating testable theories. For example, scholarship in the field of international relations is often organized around research programs such as neo-realism, liberalism, and constructivism (Bennett and Elman, 2007; see also Elman and Elman, 2003). But in comparative politics, analysts usually do not draw on such encompassing research programs. Instead, they find theoretical inspiration in a wide variety of orienting approaches – strategic choice models, state-centric approaches, patron-client models, theories of internal dependency, and many more –” (Mahoney 2007: 124).

“Governance” can be presented as an encompassing macro-theory (and hence an approach), essentially made up of meso- and micro-elements or even concepts as working tools of the literature. In the words of Jachtenfuchs (2001), if the shape of the Euro-polity is elsewhere considered as the dependent variable, governance considers it to be the independent one. Thus, governance seeks to analyse how the EU works as a *sui generis* system (Marks 1993; Hooghe and Marks 2001; Jachtenfuchs 2001; Kohler-Koch and Eising 2004). It often depicts the flexibility and room for manoeuvre of the EU’s decision-making. Theoretical insights into the “governance turn” include: multi-level governance (Marks and Hooghe 2001), policy networks, Europeanization (Börzel and Risse 2000; Cowles et al. 2001; Radaelli 2003), literature dealing with effectiveness and democratic legitimacy – including a normative critique of the EU – (Scharpf 1999; Schmitter 2000), and the “deliberation turn” and the “logic of arguing” (see in particular: Habermas 1998; Risse 2000: 7-11). An array of tools is thus encompassed, showing that the micro-physics of governance does in fact matter.

In sum, the relationship between EU studies and traditional political science fields is a rather complicated one (Jupille et al. 2003). This chapter only indicates the major trends. Ontological debates are maybe best summarized in the portrayal of the EU as “less than a federation, more than a regime” (Wallace 1983), acknowledging scholars’ possible use of analytical tools borrowed from international relations, policy analysis, or those of their own devising. This largely reflects considerations regarding the EU’s (non-)need for its own grammar (Bartolini 2005). Trying to develop the theoretical storyline behind these claims, which are often presented as contradictory, two major shifts have been delineated: from IR to comparative and governance approaches, and within IR theories, from a neo-functional/intergovernmentalist toward a constructivist/rationalist framework, which itself entails several variations. Still,

overlaps have been postulated by the literature. On the one hand, the comparative perspective is likely to entail rational choice and other IR-related elements (Jupille and Caporaso 1999). On the other hand, “governance draws from both international relations and comparative politics” (Pollack 2005). In any case, the general trends forming this research agenda deserve further empirical evidence. This chapter contributes to filling this gap by analysing the evolution of the theoretical approaches used in the *JCMS* over the last thirty years. It asks whether their evolution is marked by continuity, progressive change or sudden breakthroughs; in other words, it questions the existence and nature of the theoretical shifts and overlaps discussed above. Although a more in-depth delineation of the theoretical developments would have allowed for a refined use of the data set, the publication format and other restrictions have circumscribed the analysis to core developments.

## 2. Methodology

### 2.1. Research question and hypotheses

This chapter asks how EU theories have developed in concrete terms in relation to the storyline depicted above. How has the *Journal of Common Market Studies* reflected and built upon the main theoretical orientations within EU studies? Despite the journal’s self-depiction as “multi-disciplinary”, I investigate the ways in which EU studies in the journal are associated with political science and its subfields and study the role of theories therein. The chapter thus assumes that the *JCMS* is a relevant, indeed crucial test-bed for assessing the evolution of political science theories related to the EU.

Discussions on how knowledge moves forward are an epistemological prerequisite when we attempt to unravel the evolution of political science. In particular, while Popper saw science as progressing through falsification (with theories whose predictions conflict with experimental observation being discarded), Kuhn viewed science as alternating between periods of normality (experiment and theory being performed within a particular paradigm) and occasional shifts. Taking a stance somewhere in between, Lakatos advanced the concept of “research programmes” to suggest a succession of only slightly different theories and experimental techniques which have developed over time but share a similar backbone. My research here builds on these epistemological considerations to analyse the progressive nature of political science in general and EU studies in particular. It separates out the growth, shifts and overlaps of theories in this field of study. We have seen that the literature has relied upon diverse and sometimes fiercely-debated theoretical frameworks which are often linked to specific authors and presented in an antagonistic manner. Nevertheless, Pollack rather vaguely traces back the appearance of comparative approaches to around the mid-1990s (Pollack 2005: 368), while governance approaches appear to be extremely heterogeneous. The first hypothesis thus challenges claims of sudden theoretical breakthroughs made by individual authors.

H1: The *JCMS* has witnessed a gradual emergence of comparative and governance approaches, rather than clear-cut theoretical breakthroughs.

Arguably, a single rationalist model based on fixed preference and the rational behaviour of actors can encompass liberal intergovernmentalism, rational choice

institutionalism and historical institutionalism as well as realist approaches to the EU (Pollack, 2001). In addition, a number of studies have contributed towards filling the gap between rationalism and constructivism (e.g. Beyers and Dierckx 1998; Lewis 1998; 2003), postulating that the rationalist/constructivist debate is marked by dialogue rather than cleavage. Jupille, Caporaso and Checkel have in particular put forward a framework for such a theoretical dialogue composed of four models: competitive testing, “domain of application” approach, sequencing approach, “incorporation” (Jupille et al. 2003).

H2: Among the theories of EU integration, Grand Theories (neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism) have been largely replaced by a meta-theoretical debate (rationalism/constructivism), which is increasingly marked by specific forms of dialogue.

## **2.2. Data collection**

This chapter aims to chart the theoretical evolution of the *JCMS* arising from the various EU theoretical frameworks in political science research used in all 889 articles of the 135 issues published between 1983 and 2012. In doing so, frameworks were coded through a careful examination of the theoretical nuances<sup>4</sup> in the articles rather than merely relying upon the titles and abstract, which are often misleading (either not encompassing any theoretical orientation or focusing solely on the overarching framework). The study only considers so-called “original articles”<sup>5</sup>.

For each of the 889 articles from 1983 to 2012, the first item to be coded was the presence or absence of a clear theoretical framework (absent or irrelevant; diffuse or latent; clear/present; purely or mainly theoretical). The latter two respectively concern on the one hand what has been qualified elsewhere as full-testing (Franchino 2005) – whereby hypotheses are derived from a comprehensive literature review and empirically tested – and on the other hand articles engaging in theory formulation or description, hence containing a purely theoretical stance. It should further be noted that these categories are mutually exclusive. Purely economic articles have been discarded. Second, when the article is informed by a particular framework, the approach used was detailed: international relations – comparative – governance. The use of concomitant approaches was also acknowledged, and the theoretical framework not considered to be limited to one single approach, but to possibly encompass several, provided

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<sup>4</sup> Since coding is essentially based on qualitative elements and because it has been carried out by the author, it does not claim to be entirely free of bias. Undoubtedly, there is an element of subjectivity in the classifications used and applied, the more so as I cannot claim to be an expert in all the theories being tracked.

<sup>5</sup> Although book reviews would provide an interesting means of measuring any evolution in that they highlight the standing and topicality of certain issues, they often lack a theoretical focus properly speaking (other than that of the book reviewed). To the same extent, “European agendas”, research notes, “*JCMS* lectures”, “annual reviews” and “supplements” do not fall within the scope of this research. Although “special issues” are incorporated, some of their introductions or editorials are excluded as they repeat the focus already present in the articles, summarising them or establishing a state of the art in a given domain – and in this sense would constitute double-coding.

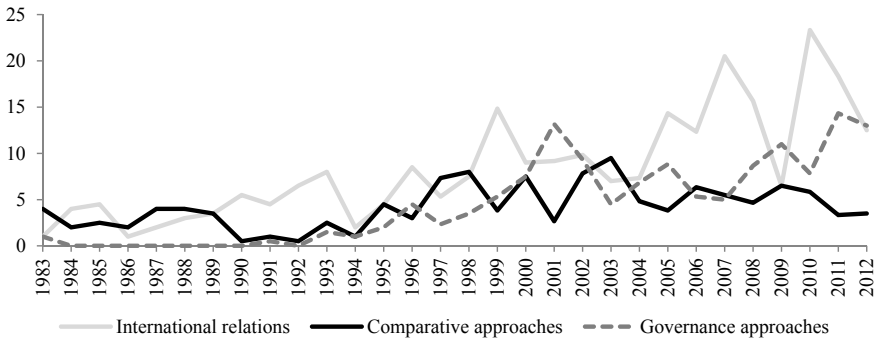
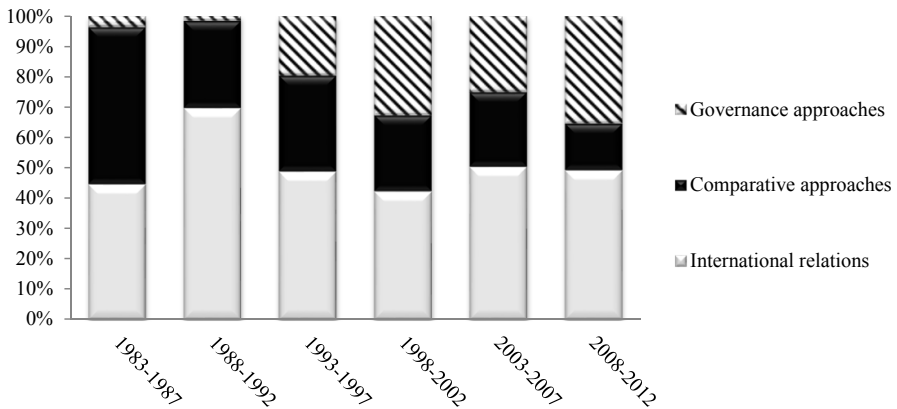
that these were explicitly presented (e.g. international relations + comparative), and unless one framework was over-dominant. Nevertheless, this research does not seek to evaluate the nature of the relationship of the three fields toward each other, but much more simply any concomitant use (whether alternation or dialogue). Third, within international relations approaches, a distinction was made between articles encompassing Grand Theories (neo-functionalism/intergovernmentalism) and those building on meta-theories (rationalism/constructivism). Again, overlaps were coded as well. Within rationalist frameworks, a distinction was made between liberal intergovernmentalism (LI), realism (R), rational choice and historical institutionalism (respectively RCI and HI). In the presence of rationalist and/or constructivist approaches the absence of the opposing framework (delineating a cleavage) was coded, as was the concomitant presence of both frameworks (dialogue). Moreover, based on the above-mentioned typology, the dialogue models used were delineated (competitive testing; domain of application; sequencing approach; incorporation). Fourth, within comparative approaches, a distinction was made between articles drawing on the vertical and horizontal separation of powers. Finally, within the governance approach, main theories and concepts present in the corresponding articles were reproduced. In sum, this chapter sets out the time span and scope of the theoretical evolution of EU scholarship within the pages of the *JCMS*.

### **3. Analysis and findings**

Looking at the presence or absence of the above-mentioned theories, I find that a majority of all the articles published over the period under analysis do indeed possess a clear framework. The number of articles for which further analysis on the nature of the theoretical shifts and overlaps can be conducted amounts to 523 – a figure amounting to 765 if we include articles presenting a diffuse or latent framework, representing 86% of all articles. This overwhelming occurrence of a framework of some kind, whether latent or explicit, perhaps argues against a separation between theory and policy-driven articles.

#### ***3.1. Patchwork or mosaic?***

Having assessed the importance of theories within the journal, the question naturally arises as to which theory dominates, when, and how. Schematically, a theoretical change can be described in terms of a sudden shift and neat delineations (the overall theoretical picture thus being formed by a mosaic of disjointed frameworks) or a porosity of the theoretical borders marked by overlaps (with concomitant uses making up a patchwork). Indeed, the study of the main theoretical approaches over time reveals not only the evolution of the theoretical orientation of the journal, but also the time span and extent of this evolution.

**Figure 5.1:** Evolution of the theoretical approaches (number of articles per year) (N=523)**Figure 5.2:** Relative evolution of the different theoretical approaches (percentage of articles per 5-year period) (N=523)

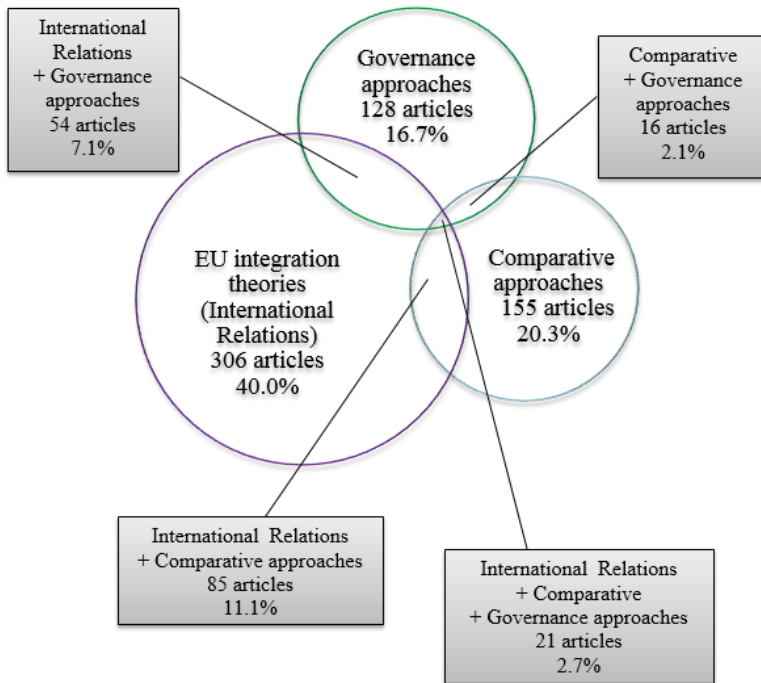
The first remark to be made is clearly that IR theories of European integration dominate overall in the journal during the period considered. Nevertheless, the take-off of comparative and governance approaches can be observed, although this occurs in the early rather than the mid-1990s, as identified by Pollack (2005). In fact, despite the relatively late recognition of the “governance” concept, micro-theories that can be associated with it were present beforehand. Nonetheless, the use of a governance framework in a 1983 article can be considered an outlier (with its explicit focus on “policy networks”, as well as further notes on the fragmentation and diversity of policy processes or the multilevel nature of the system)<sup>6</sup>. Articles with a comparative perspective can however be identified since the beginning of the period, perhaps not least because of the diffuse nature of this framework, as pointed out by Mahoney (2007: 124). Their proportion is steady overall, but with a downward trend. Their

<sup>6</sup> Laffan, Brigid (1983). “Policy Implementation in the European Community: The European Social Fund as a Case Study”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 21: 389-408.



focus is almost equally split between a vertical and horizontal separation of power (85 *versus* 74 articles over the period considered, with 15 presenting both).

**Figure 5.3:** Distribution of articles according to their theoretical framework (N=765)



Note : Includes articles with a diffuse or latent theoretical framework (1), a clear theoretical framework (2) as well as purely or mainly theoretical (3), in order to better grasp the entirety of the frameworks present.

Although any exploration of the mechanisms bridging international relations and comparative approaches falls beyond the scope of this study, questioning the occurrence of such a link appears to be promising:

“Converging empirical and intellectual trends (...) increasingly undermined the distinction between comparative and international. (...) These developments rendered subfield distinctions increasingly anachronistic and potentially counterproductive. Institutionalism especially seemed to provide an intellectual bridge, promising, according to its advocates, a general theory applicable to comparative, international, and American politics” (Jupille et al. 2003: 10).

Despite evidence of overlaps between all approaches, as reported in Figure 5.3, I find in line with Jupille and Caporaso (1999: 431) that the international relations and comparative combination is by far the most frequently represented (74 articles if one considers only articles with a clear theoretical framework or which are purely or mainly theoretical, or 85 including those with a latent framework, i.e. 11.1% of the 765 articles considered). Thus, “the comparative politics approach to the study of the

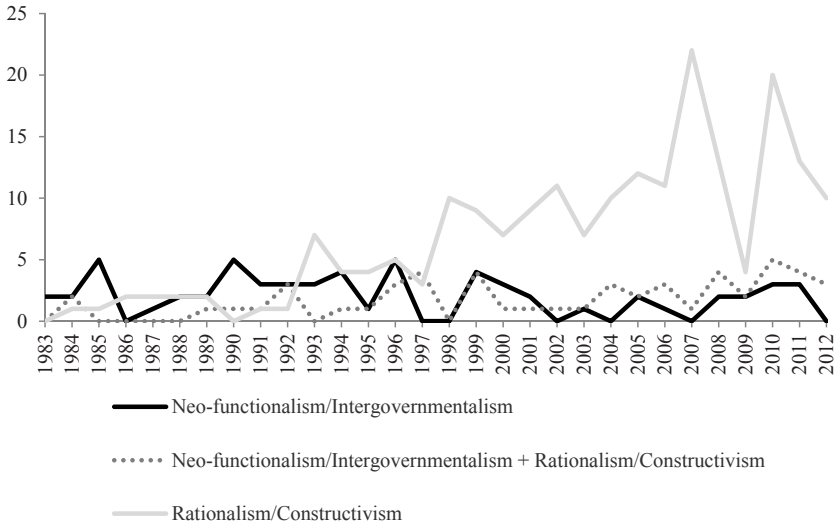
EU has not replaced the international relations study of regional integration, but now exists alongside it” (Pollack 2005: 380). Pollack (2005) seems to (rightly) suggest that this link between international relations and comparative approaches revolves around rational choice approaches – partly confirmed by the presence of a RCI framework in 28 out of the 74 articles (37.8%), and Jupille et al. on “institutionalisms” more broadly defined (2003: 10) – rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism and sociological institutionalism broadly defined together making up 50 out of the 74 articles, that is, over two-thirds (67.6%). Yet I also find that in a significant number of cases comparisons are also concomitant to the Grand Theories of European integration (neo-functionalism/intergovernmentalism). Overall, the division introduced by Hix (1999) between international relations and comparative tools holds only partly true in the case of the *JCMS*, although a large majority of articles still falls within one specific category according to the coding used (60.3% of the articles under scrutiny deal distinctively either with international relations or comparative approaches, 77% when adding governance approaches). Complementing Pollack, for whom “the traditional international relations and comparative politics approaches to the EU now coexist with yet a third approach, typically labelled the governance approach, which draws from both international relations and comparative politics” (2005:380), it can be seen that the former approach is much more widespread and possibly influent than the latter as an anchor to theories of governance (the international relations-governance duet making up 7.1% of the articles as against only 2.1% for articles mixing comparative and governance approaches). However, the number of articles published remains too small to assess the evolution of these various overlaps over time. It nonetheless confirms that the evolution of political science in the *JCMS* is best depicted by a twofold patchwork: the side by side use of different theories over time in different articles, as well as theoretical combinations within articles.

Summarising the main relevant elements, EU integration theories constitute the leading research tradition in the *JCMS*, despite the gradual and significant rise in comparative and governance approaches. The data also reveals the blurred nature of the delineation between the three approaches through their multiple imbrications. In sum, the pattern provided by the data strongly resembles a patchwork, one piecing together various theoretical blocks.

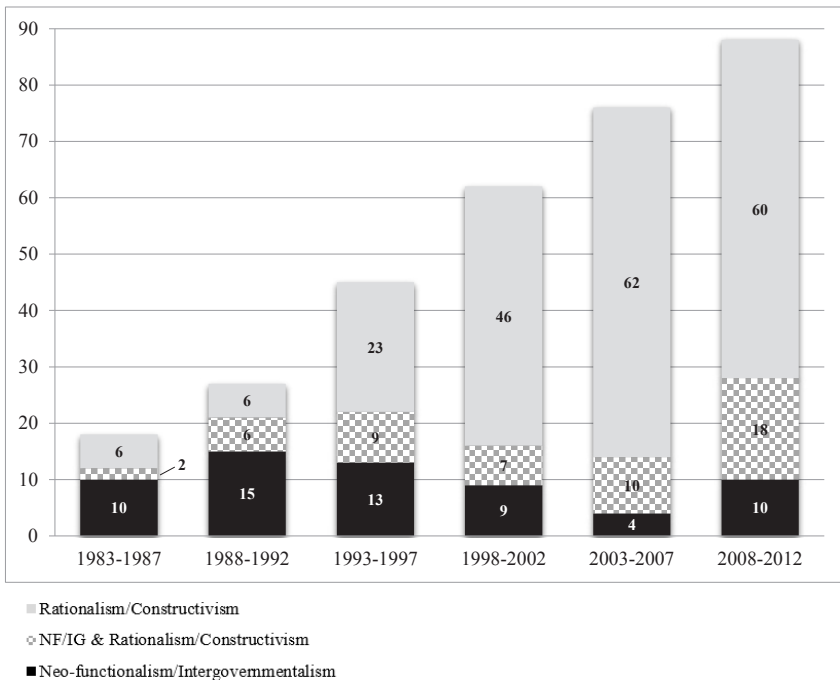
### **3.2. *The state of the original elephant***

In his famous depiction of “the elephant and blind men”, Puchala (1971) only considered (with dismay) the state of affairs within international integration theories. Given the previously-mentioned pre-eminent role of IR theories within the *JCMS*, I emphasize here their evolution in an effort to understand whether Puchala’s vision still holds. With the theories and their divides put forward by the literature at hand, I empirically explore here the extent to which the neo-functionalism/intergovernmentalism debate has given way to a rationalist/constructivist one. I then go further by refining the characteristics of the latter, in particular looking more in depth at the nature of the debate.

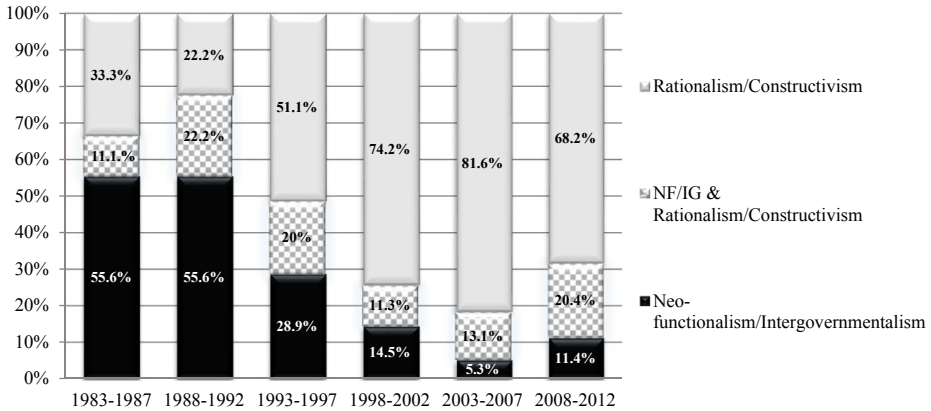
**Figure 5.4:** Evolution of the two fundamental debates within EU integration theories: NF/IG v. rationalism/constructivism (number of articles per year) (N=316)



**Figure 5.5:** Evolution of the two fundamental debates within EU integration theories (number of articles per five-year period) (N=316)



**Figure 5.6:** Relative evolution of the two fundamental debates within EU integration IR-driven theories (percentage of articles per 5-year period) (N=316)

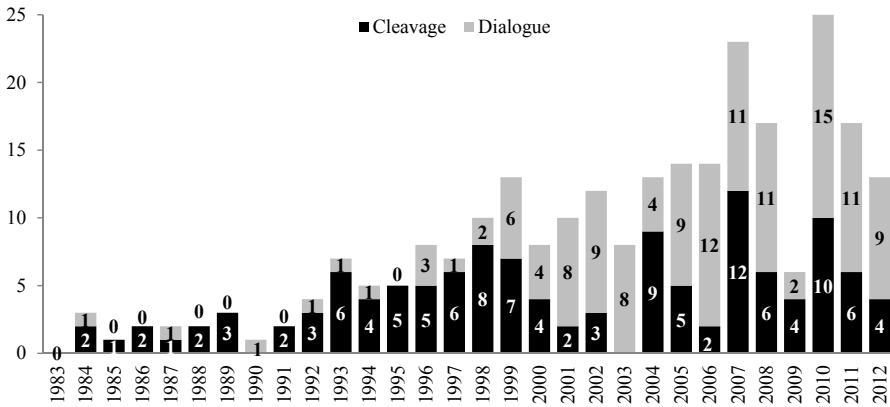


The findings largely confirm a rise in meta-theoretical debate at the expense of the “Grand Theories” of European integration, as often noted in the literature (Pollack 2005). This debate has sharply increased since the early 1990s, representing up to 81.6% of all IR-based *JCMS* articles during the 2003-2007 period. Most striking is the peak observed in the detailed per year evolution, with 1993 arguably appearing as a critical juncture. From that year onward, the rationalist/constructivist debate has been dominant, calling for a link with the introduction of Moravcsik’s liberal intergovernmentalism<sup>7</sup>. This does not preclude a kind of nostalgia for the neo-functionalism/intergovernmentalism debate, witnessed through its growingly concomitant presence with rationalist and/or constructivist frameworks (since 2004, the association of neo-functionalism/intergovernmentalism with rationalism/constructivism has been more consistently evident than the neo-functionalism/intergovernmentalism debate alone).

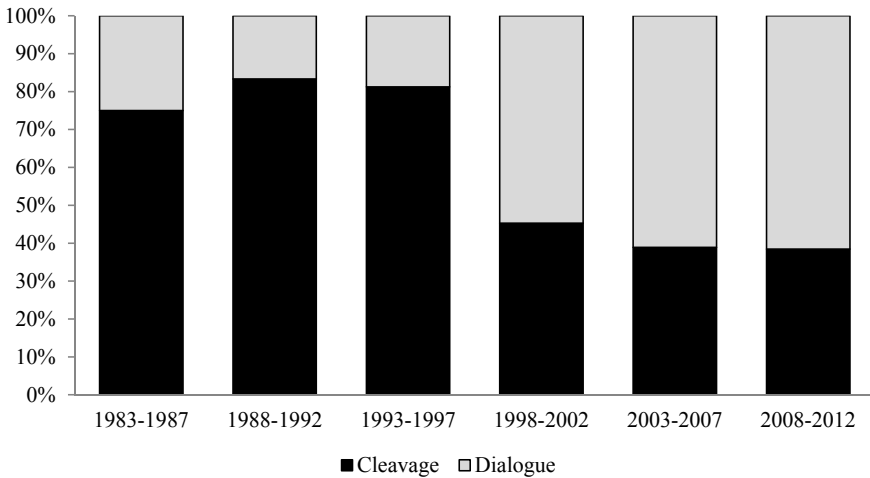
How should we qualify the rationalist/constructivist debate? While authors often oppose the two positions (see for instance: Pollack, 1999), I use my data set to analyse whether a reconciliation is taking place. I find that overall dialogue (concomitant use of both) and cleavage (use of rationalism only or constructivism only) are almost equally present (in 51% *versus* 49% of the articles using a rationalist/constructivist framework). Nevertheless, the evolution presented in Figures 7 and 8 points to the growing importance of dialogue, with this culminating over the last decade, while articles presenting an “either/or” approach have undergone a relative decline.

<sup>7</sup> Moravcsik, Andrew (1993). “Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31: 473-524.

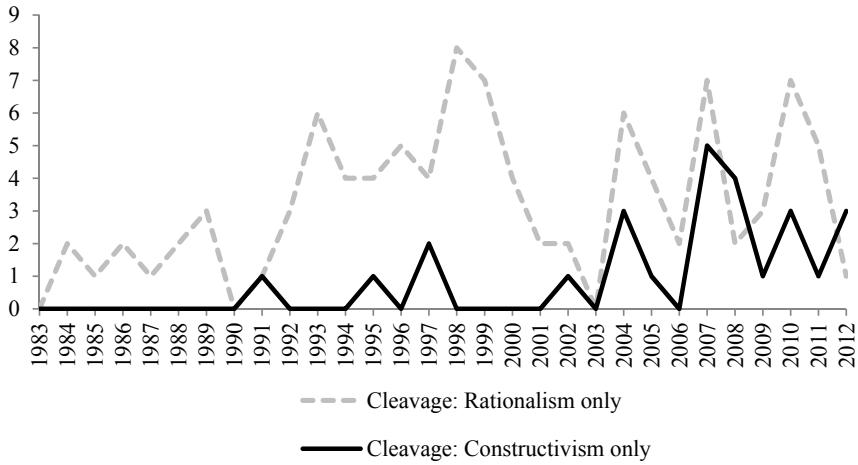
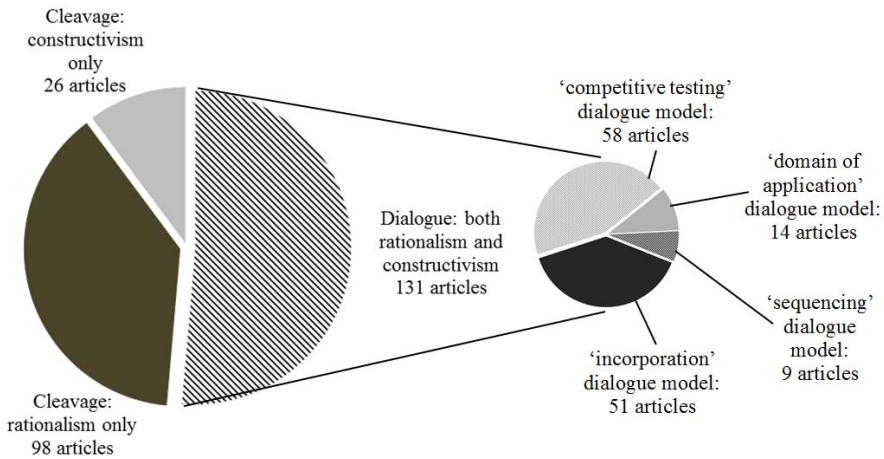
**Figure 5.7:** Evolution of the rationalism/constructivism debate (number of articles per year) (N=255)\*



**Figure 5.8:** Relative evolution of the rationalism/constructivism debate (percentage of articles per 5-year period) (N=255)



On the one hand, while initially almost all articles presenting a cleavage were based upon a rationalist approach, articles with a constructivist framework have gradually come to be as numerous as rationalist ones. This largely confirms Pollack’s thesis at his time of writing (1999) that the “rationalist approach is now the dominant approach to the study of European integration in international relations theory, with constructivism remaining as the primary rival, but less developed”, a thesis which does not fit well with the following years of *JCMS* publication. On the other hand, although Jupille, Caporaso and Checkel identify inferences enabled by different research designs for each type of dialogue (2003), I simply employ their four models to highlight the nature of the dialogue. The results show that the “competitive

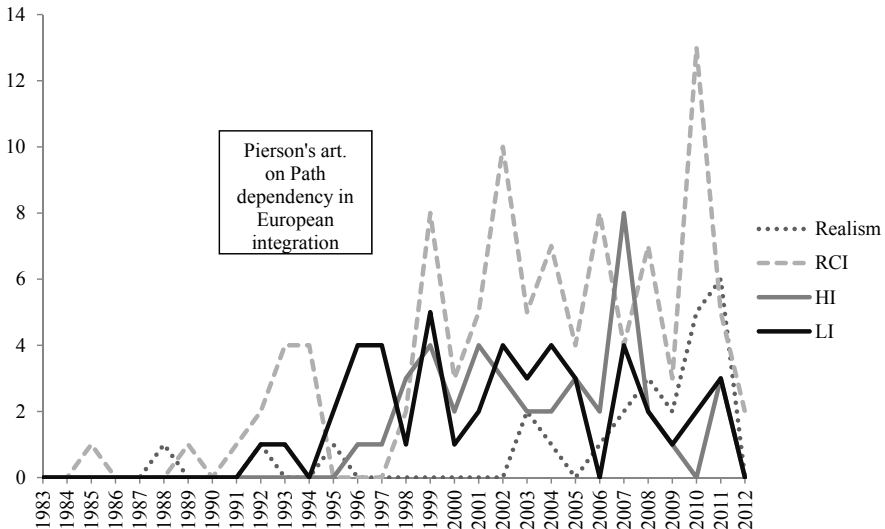
**Figure 5.9:** Evolution of the rationalism/constructivism cleavage (number of articles per year) (N=124)**Figure 5.10:** Models of cleavages and dialogues within the rationalism/constructivism debate (N=255)

testing” and “incorporation” models are those most used in the *JCMS*<sup>8</sup>. A further note could be made on the competitive testing model; when one of the two meta-theories that are tested is found to dominate the other, it potentially feeds back in the cleavage category (or at least the link is tenuous). Although the evolution of the dialogue over time is not presented here because of the small number of cases, I find that among the

<sup>8</sup> It should be noted however that a number of articles do not explicitly fit any one of the models, and that the coding has then been carried out based on the author’s interpretation rather than on explicit mention of the dialogue in the articles themselves.

58 articles displaying a competitive testing model, 13 authors explicitly take the side of constructivism *versus* only 7 that of rationalism.

**Figure 5.11:** Evolution of the rationalist approach (number of articles per year)



Finally, breaking down the “rationalist framework” as has been done elsewhere (Pollack 1999), and despite numerous articles which do not explicitly refer to any of the four theories spotlighted here, the importance of new institutionalist theories based on rationalist assumptions (both rational choice and historical institutionalisms) can be highlighted. The link between the different types of enquiry could however lead to further analysis. This could deal with how the different rationalist approaches themselves engage in a dialogue (according to Pollack’s assumption that they can be grouped within a single model), or the kind of rationalism used to engage in dialogue with constructivism. In particular, it could investigate further whether this dialogue is mainly based on new institutionalisms (i.e. a historical institutionalism or rational choice institutionalism dialogue with sociological institutionalism), or whether liberal intergovernmentalism is reconcilable with or at least testable against constructivism. This would allow empirical testing of Moravcsik’s claim that constructivists do not allow for empirical falsification of their hypotheses, especially against alternative theories such as rationalism (Moravcsik 1999: 669).

## Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the theoretical evolution within European Union (EU) studies as a crucial field in political science research is often oversimplified in the literature and needs to be backed up by empirical research investigating the actual publication frameworks. It would be presumptuous to claim that this chapter can provide definite answers to the question of what has been and is the “nature of the beast”, which is by essence indefinite. Instead, on the basis of the data generated by

the research, the objective has been to revisit a number of implicit assumptions that tend to be used when academics think about developments in EU theory.

In line with the assumption that “it is impossible to make any statement about social phenomena in a theoretical vacuum” (Rosamond, 2000: 4), the empirical material collected has shown that original articles published in the *JCMS* have overall reflected general trends identified in the literature, but that these trends need to be further refined. First, assuming that the *JCMS* can be considered pivotal to any empirical assessment of the evolution of political science theories related to the EU, the preliminary delineation conducted through this research has established that most articles present a clear framework involving theories of the EC/EU (with a separation between theory and policy-oriented articles seldom applying). However, this does not necessarily mean that the literature was examined in a fully-fledged, systematic theory-testing fashion. The results nevertheless appear in sharp contrast to atheoretical studies which have been detected elsewhere, notably where the focus of the study concerns relatively new or secondary policies for which data is lacking as much as theories (Franchino 2005).

Second and central to our claim, this overarching account can be characterized by a steady rise of comparative and governance approaches, which does not necessarily or only occur at the expense of IR-theories, but also occur in combination(s) with the latter. Categories of theories are not mutually exclusive and there is no reason why theory-testing exercises should be limited in their scope, despite the format of the articles considered here. To that extent, the boundaries between international relations and comparative approaches appear particularly porous. They contribute to the idea of an overlapping rather than a neat separation of approaches: in other words, a patchwork rather than a mosaic. Well characterising these circumstances, and in contrast to Hix (2005), Jupille has argued that “it would be perverse if the erosion of such disciplinary boundaries were to be resisted in EU Studies, the object of study of which seems precisely to fall in the interstices of the two subfields” (Jupille 2005). Further investigating the softening of this theoretical borderline, I found, much in line with Jupille and Caporaso (1999), that institutionalist approaches often appear at the crossroads. Third, although the neo-functional/intergovernmentalist debate has to some extent stalled, the rationalist/constructivist debate largely took off in the early to mid-1990s, offering renewed perspectives. Among these, EU studies in general and *JCMS* articles in particular have borne witness to increased theoretical reconciliation: a dialogue between constructivism and rationalism now forms as much a part of the picture as do cleavages. In this context, the “incorporation” model under which rationalism embraces constructivist assumptions constitutes the main alternative to “competitive testing”, pitting them against each other.

This study has tried to shed light on the main theoretical developments in EU Studies and has revealed their diffuse nature and softened edges, without denying theoretical breakthroughs in the field, a number of which have emerged from articles originally published in the *JCMS*. To our knowledge this research is the sole of this kind, building on empirical material systematically gathered in a journal, and contributes to new ways forward in the delineation of EU studies, whether in terms of networks, policies, or authors.



Further research could however attempt to expound the existing data set more systematically, as well as to explore other paths. One of these paths concerns in particular the theoretical orientations of authors, and the assumption often found in the literature that their geographical origin matters when it comes to endorsing specific outlooks. This would also allow further reflection on the often-assumed methodological and epistemological gap between positivism and non- or post-positivism (Jensen and Kristensen 2012: 14). Envisaging the theoretical tradition of the authors would indeed contribute to the mapping of the evolution of the foundations of EU studies. This seems very much in line with the thrust of this chapter, which holds that giving lenses to blind men is a useless venture; one should rather try to help them recover their sight of the overall picture. As such, “theory building is complex and ongoing. Theories need to be constantly tested and the underlying constructs explored, as knowledge of a field evolves” (Shearer 2009). EU studies largely subscribe to this enterprise, as much as political science in general does.

## CHAPTER 6

# *International Security* and the Evolution of Security Studies: Between Mutual Influence and Autonomy

Lorenzo ANGELINI \*

### **Introduction**

As a field of research, international security studies (ISS) has evolved considerably since its emergence in the period following the end of the Second World War. As Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen (2009) clearly establish in their seminal book *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, developments in the field have concerned both its object of study and the theoretical and analytical lenses through which it is approached<sup>1</sup>. Generally seen as a subfield of International Relations (at least in its present form), ISS has not escaped some of the latest theoretical debates which have marked the evolution of the broader discipline, and theoretical innovations (and divergences) more specific to ISS have accompanied them (Cavelty and Mauer 2010).

In this chapter, I examine to what extent some aspects of the evolution of international security studies can be observed in the pages of the journal which is widely recognized as the most influential in the field: *International Security*. Evidence of the journal's influence can be found in a 2009 survey of 2724 IR scholars, which saw *International Security* rank second in two categories: “journals in IR that publish articles with the greatest influence on the way IR scholars think about international relations” and “journals that publish the best research in your area of expertise” (Jordan et al. 2009 – *International Organization* finished first in both categories, but it does not belong to the specific field of ISS). With an impact factor of 2.739, *International*

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\* I would like to thank Jean-Frédéric Morin, Ramona Coman, Barbara Delcourt, Camille Kelbel and Manuel Cervera-Marzal for their comments on previous drafts of this chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Like Buzan and Hansen, I use the name “international security studies” to include work produced under labels such as “strategic studies”, “security studies”, “international security”, “peace research”, etc.

*Security* was also ranked second in the “International Relations” category in Thomson Reuters’ *Journal Citation Report* for 2012 (again behind *IO*)<sup>2</sup>. In addition, Bruce Russett and Taylor Arnold (2010) recently included *IS* among the journals at the core of what the authors identified as the (loose) network of journals characterizing the field of ISS. Since the editors of *International Security* stated in the Foreword to the journal’s first issue in 1976 that they hoped its contents would “contribute to the disciplined discourse that distinguishes a profession” (*International Security* 1976: 2), it is clear that this objective has been met.

As Jean-Frédéric Morin and Ramona Coman explain in the Introduction to this book, looking at relevant academic journals can be particularly fruitful for a researcher interested in the study of the intellectual production of a given field of research. This view has been echoed by several International Relations scholars. In his well-known article “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline”, Ole Wæver (1998: 696-697) argues that scientific journals constitute a prime example of the sources one can turn to in order to look for patterns in a discipline. Indeed, according to him, journals are “the most direct measure of the discipline itself”<sup>3</sup>. Breuning, Bredehoft and Walton (2005: 447-448) similarly defend the merits of the analysis of journals in their own study of the field of IR, including the methodological advantages that journals come out regularly and that the data set is easy to identify. As mentioned by Wæver (1998: 697) in his article, however, journals are more than useful reflections of a discipline, since they actively contribute to shaping the discipline itself. In that respect, he sees them as “the crucial institution of modern sciences”: it is largely through the articles published in journals that the field of IR itself is constituted. Goldmann (1995: 247) speaks of the *gatekeeping function* of journals: they “determine what will be widely read and hence what kind of research will be socially rewarded”. In *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, Buzan and Hansen (2009) draw on this argument and integrate it into their model of the five forces that drive the evolution of ISS. According to them, the ISS literature is influenced by *great power politics* (i.e. changes – or the lack of change – in the way power is distributed among states), by the *technological imperative* (i.e. how new technologies available to decision-makers impact existing strategic relationships between political actors), by *events*, by the *international dynamics of academic debates* (since there is no agreement on the scientific model to be used) and by *institutionalization*. This last force, which is obviously not particular to ISS, is used by the authors as an umbrella for a series of variables: organizational structures (e.g. university departments and programs), available funding, research networks (e.g. visiting positions) and dissemination of knowledge (e.g. conferences, books and journals). Because top journals have rigorous reviewing procedures, the articles they publish are “what becomes considered, and institutionalized, as legitimate research” (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 64). In this perspective, examining the scientific journals recognized as those most influential in a discipline is in itself extremely interesting for the researcher who wishes to understand how the discipline

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<sup>2</sup> Thomson Reuters, *Journal Citation Report for 2012*, <http://thomsonreuters.com/journal-citation-reports/>.

<sup>3</sup> Wæver also asserts that “for practitioners, the field exists mostly in the journals”.

evolves. The two views of journals presented here are, of course, complementary. As Buzan and Hansen explain, journals are not the only pathway to institutionalization, let alone the only driving force behind the evolution of a discipline – which means that they both *influence* and *reflect* this evolution.

Given the significant role played by *International Security* in ISS intellectual production, my objective in this chapter is to examine the evolution of the journal since its creation, and how it compares to the evolution of international security studies itself. I will do so by looking at *who* publishes in *International Security* and *what* type of content is featured in the journal. The *who?* question pertains to the professions of *IS* authors (in particular whether or not they work in academia, and if so to which scientific discipline they belong) and to where they conduct their research (in the context of what some have identified as a US-Europe divide within ISS). The *what?* question refers to the policy- and/or theory-oriented character of the articles published, and, where relevant, to the types of theoretical approaches that are studied/used/commented on by the authors<sup>4</sup>. As we will see below, these two questions are central to the evolution of the discipline, and they are also very much interlinked. One's professional background and affiliation can play a significant role in determining what one considers to be legitimate or "relevant" research in a given field. Similarly, research traditions prevalent in particular geographical zones can contribute towards restrictions on the scope of what is studied and/or how it is studied by researchers. Given the debates and changes which have marked international security studies in terms of its object(s) of study, purpose(s) of research and disciplinary foundations, exploring the "who?" and the "what?" of *International Security* will allow us to reach a better understanding of its place in, and its impact on the general evolution of ISS.

I will start by presenting some comments on methodology, in particular with respect to the data used in the study. In the second section I will examine the authorship of *IS*, and put its evolution in perspective, showing how the initially heterogeneous professional backgrounds of the authors involved in ISS have gradually given way to a preponderance of contributors working in academia and political science. In the third section, I will examine the types of articles published in *IS*, and how the rise of theory-driven articles occurred as part of the theoretical debates in ISS and IR found on the North American side of the Atlantic. Finally, I will present some concluding remarks on the results obtained. More specifically, I will argue that the evolution in the content and authorship of *International Security* has accompanied, and been influenced by, several of the trends and changes that have marked the history of the broader ISS, but that it has also been the result of editorial choices which have, in particular, separated the journal from certain currents of research within ISS.

## 1. Methodology and preliminary comments

A few remarks regarding both the methodology adopted and the data are in order. First of all, it was beyond the scope of this study to analyze the entirety of the articles published in *International Security* over the chosen period of 1976-2012, for practical reasons. The journal being a quarterly, I decided to examine all four issues published

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<sup>4</sup> I will, however, not examine the types of policy topics studied in the articles.

during a year, every three years. I therefore selected the years 1976 (two issues), 1979, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009 and 2012, reviewing a total of fifty issues (each containing between five and eleven articles) and 325 articles. Review articles were included in the sample (as well as articles described as “commentaries”), but correspondence was not<sup>5</sup>.

For the second section, I collected data pertaining to the country of residence of the authors, understood as the country in which was/is located the institution where the authors were conducting their research/work at the time they wrote their articles, either directly from the journal itself or through additional research<sup>6</sup>. I chose to categorize authors by their country of residence rather than by their country of origin because this chapter tackles some of the general tendencies in terms of the types of content produced on each side of the Atlantic, which means that my interest lies with the scientific community the authors under study belong to rather than with their nationality<sup>7</sup>. When an article had several authors, I included them all, which brought the total number of contributors to 386 (those who published several articles in the pages of *IS* appear as many times in the total). In the first half of the third section (in which I study the contents of the articles published in *International Security*), the following article categories are used: “policy-oriented”, “theory-oriented”, “both” and “other”. Articles are qualified as “policy-oriented” when they address policy concerns, contain or seek to provide possible guidance to policymakers, and do not engage in theoretical work. Those articles classified as “theory-oriented” seek instead to develop/comment on/examine theories and theoretical approaches, and do not include recommendations for policymakers or comments on what would constitute optimal policy with regards to a given issue. The articles included in the “both” category combine theoretical work with policy concern and possible guidance<sup>8</sup>, while those in “other” do not qualify for any of the first three categories (they include, in particular, contributions by historians and atheoretical essays about various foreign-policy- and defence-related topics which do not engage in policy recommendation)<sup>9</sup>. Categorization of the articles was carried out by me. Since abstracts were not always available and were not detailed enough for the purpose of this research, I read part or all of each article in order

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<sup>5</sup> Official documents published in the journal, such as the “White House Tapes and Minutes of the Cuban Missile Crisis” (*International Security* 10(1), 1985), were also excluded from the sample.

<sup>6</sup> When available, the location of the first institution listed for each author was used.

<sup>7</sup> See also Wæver (1998) who argues that American dominance over the field can be seen in, and reinforced by, the phenomenon of scholars being attracted to North America and moving there for their research.

<sup>8</sup> These articles often contained theoretical analyses which were followed by a section – sometimes in the conclusion – covering “policy implications”. See for example Mastanduno (1997).

<sup>9</sup> Of course, not being classified as policy-oriented does not preclude an article from being potentially useful to someone thinking about policy. I examined whether the authors themselves decided to formulate policy recommendations/explore policy options/present possible policy implications of their findings. Since this typology risks obscuring some of the links between theory and policy, see for example Biersteker (2010) for a view on the interrelationships between theory and policy practices.

to determine the category I considered appropriate. The same is true of the second half of the third section of this article, in which I classify the theory-oriented articles according to the types of theoretical approaches that the authors use or comment on. Most of the time, these approaches were explicitly named by the authors, and when they were not, I analyzed the theoretical developments set out in the articles in order to carry out the categorization. When an article debated the merits of two or more approaches, it was counted once for each approach it covered. It is common practice to have two people carry out such classifications, to then compare the data sets and resolve discrepancies. This enables a reduction in potential errors of classification due to subjective judgment. Since the categorization was conducted by me alone, one has to be mindful of possible biases. My sample was however sufficiently large to reduce the impact of potential errors, since the aim was to uncover general patterns rather than to study precise numbers.

Data on the professions of the authors was shared with me by the editorial offices of *International Security*, and compiled by Wendy Leutert<sup>10</sup>. Contrary to the rest of the data presented in this chapter, it takes into account every article published in the journal over the 1976-2005 period, which brings the total to 975 authors (again, those who published several articles were counted as many times in the total) for this point of study.

Finally, I relied heavily on the work done by Barry Buzan, Lene Hansen and Ole Wæver on the history and evolution of international security studies. Since these authors are themselves part of the scholarly community which shapes ISS, some have argued that a history of ISS would look different if told from a different perspective within that community (see Miller 2010). Although this is a valid concern, I do not believe that this chapter suffers from its reliance on these authors, given that the general historical trends and changes in ISS which are studied here are relatively noncontroversial.

## **2. *International Security: who publishes?***

Although the origins of international security studies can be traced to the interwar period (Baldwin 1995), the emergence of ISS as a distinctive field of research can be dated to the period which followed the end of the Second World War (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: Ch. 1; Wæver and Buzan 2013: 395). One of the key aspects defining its emergence was that topics which largely related to military issues were now being studied through civilian expertise as well (Wæver 2010a: 651-652). This civilian expertise was provided by individuals with widely-varying professional backgrounds, both academic and non-academic. Scholars came from mathematics, natural sciences (in particular physics and chemistry), psychology, sociology, economics, political science, sociology, etc. (Wæver and Buzan 2013: 399). Hugh Gusterson (1999: 320) described the initial development of ISS by using the concept of a *trading zone*, referring to an intellectual space “developed by people from different disciplinary backgrounds who nonetheless share a set of thematic interests around which they interact from their different disciplinary vantage points”. The interdisciplinary

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<sup>10</sup> I sincerely thank them for their help.

character of the field was recognized by its members as one of its key aspects (Nye and Lynn-Jones 1988: 6). Gradually, however, political science confirmed itself as the principal overarching discipline to ISS, firstly because of the increasing proportion of political scientists among ISS scholars, then in terms of the diffusion of the perception of ISS (and, in particular, of security theory) as a subfield of International Relations and, more broadly, of political science (Nye and Lynn-Jones 1988: 6; Jervis et al. 1986; Wæver 2010a: 654-655; Wæver and Buzan 2013: 399). This is despite the fact that ISS has been influenced by several disciplines, and that the view remains that it retains its specificity with regards to the broader IR (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 16-19). Nevertheless, certain specific characteristics of ISS, which differentiate it from IR in terms of institutionalization, have to be highlighted: while the United States and Western Europe saw university-based research become the major (albeit not single) driving force in IR relatively early in the development of the field (Wæver 1998: 714; Kahler 1993: 398-402)<sup>11</sup>, the role that private institutes, research centres and think tanks still play in the production of international security studies output is far from negligible (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 60-65).

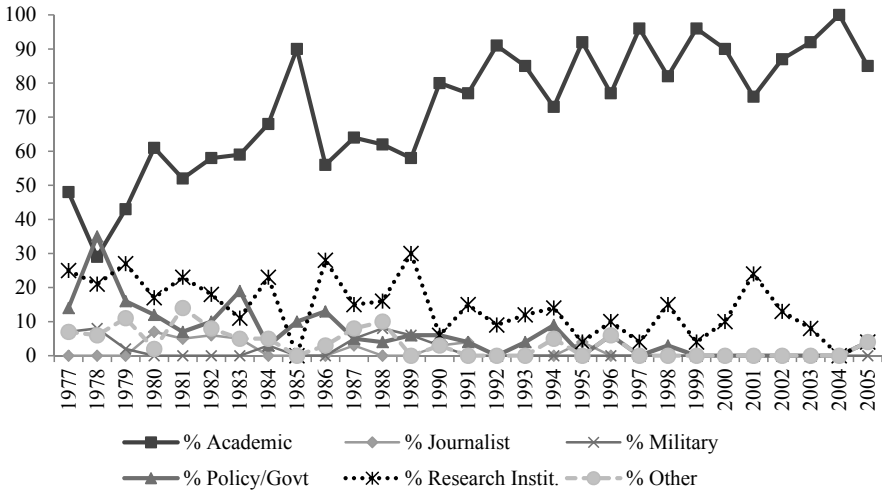
How does *International Security* compare to ISS in terms of the professional backgrounds of its authors? In the Foreword published in the first issue of the journal, the editors stated that their objective was to allow “varied professional experiences” to contribute to what was to be an “interdisciplinary journal”. The targeted professions of contributors included “scholars, scientists, industrialists, military and government officials, and members of the public” (*International Security* 1(1), 1976: 2). In a review article published for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the journal, Steven Miller (then editor-in-chief) likewise asserted that the editors of *IS* still made “a serious effort to publish articles that reflect the diversity of the field, including history, technology, political science, and policy analysis” (Miller 2001: 8).

The evolution of the professional sectors represented among the authors published in *International Security* is displayed in Figure 6.1. As can be clearly seen, the pattern which rapidly emerged was that of a dominance of academia among the different groups of authors. The proportion of academic contributors particularly increased towards the end of the Cold War, and never dropped below 70% in the years which followed 1990. Overall, the second group in terms of importance was that formed by authors working in research institutes and think tanks. Their numbers, however, remained significantly lower than those of academic contributors throughout the entire period (with the exception of the first three years, during which their numbers were only slightly lower). The absolute and proportional weight of authors working in research institutes and think tanks even decreased over time, with the key shift also occurring in 1990. Other groups scored even smaller numbers on average, and likewise followed a downwards trend.

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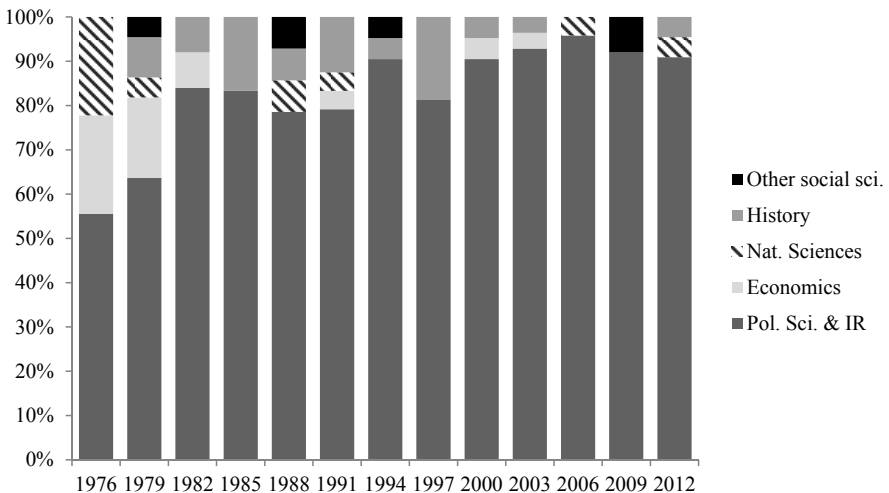
<sup>11</sup> See also Breuning et al. (2005: 457-458) for a look at the overwhelming preponderance of academic authors in the most prestigious IR journals.

**Figure 6.1:** Professional sectors of *International Security* authors



As Figure 6.2 illustrates, not only did academic authors gradually come to dominate the output of the journal, but the distribution of the disciplines of the authors from the academic sector also changed over time. Although academics with a background in natural sciences (mostly physics and chemistry), economics, history and other social sciences were initially represented in sizeable numbers, the proportion of political scientists rose rapidly. It stabilized at around 80% in the 1980s and early 1990s, and then increased even further to stabilize again at around 90%. Academics from other disciplines still occasionally contribute to *International Security*, but political scientists outnumber them by a wide margin.

**Figure 6.2:** Disciplines of *IS* academic authors





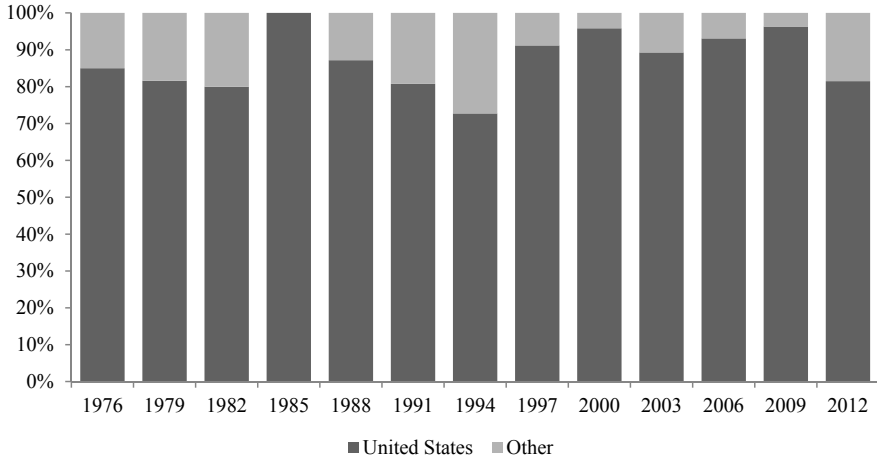
In both cases, the numbers presented here are broadly consistent with the evolution of the field of international security described earlier. The initial relative heterogeneity of the professional occupations of the contributors to *International Security*, and to ISS in general, gradually gave way to predominance of academia (Walt 1991: 219-220), and, within academia, of political scientists. This hegemony of academia can also be found in IR; indeed, Breuning et al. (2005: 457-458) found similar results for the three IR journals they studied – in fact, in comparison, *International Security* seems to have featured more articles, proportionally, from authors affiliated with think tanks and private research centres. This is consistent with the more important role played by think tanks in ISS than in IR, even though the space they occupy in *International Security* may be smaller than in the field of international security studies as a whole.

In his seminal 1977 article on the discipline of International Relations, Stanley Hoffmann (1977) argued that it was largely an “American social science” – one of the reasons being that the vast majority of prominent IR scholars worked in the United States. Since then, numerous authors have examined the reasons for this supremacy, as well as its consequences (Holsti 1985; Jarvis and Crawford 2001; Smith 2002). In his in-depth study of six IR journals (three American and three European), which I mentioned earlier, Wæver (1998) similarly concluded that the discipline of International Relations was characterized by American hegemony, and that American journals, in particular, overwhelmingly published articles by American contributors (see also Goldman 1995, and, in the present book, Marie-Catherine Wavreille’s chapter on non-American scholars engaging in the study of American politics). The same predominance of American authors can be observed in the field of international security studies (Nye and Lynn-Jones, 1988: 14-15). Of course, this certainly does not mean that the United States is the only source of scientific production in IR and ISS, or even that significant theoretical innovations do not appear in other regions. Wæver (2010b: 305) described the IR world as “a mix of a US/global system and national/regional ones with varying degrees of independence”, and we will see that, in international security studies, many of the theoretical challengers to the traditionalist approaches to security emerged outside the United States (Buzan 2009; see also the contributions in Cavelti and Mauer 2010).

How does *International Security*, an American journal, compare with the aforementioned IR journals in terms of the countries of residence of its authors, and has the situation evolved over time? Unsurprisingly, as Figure 6.3 indicates, the overwhelming majority of *IS* contributors are based in the United States<sup>12</sup>. *International Security* does not seem to have become more “international” over the years – in fact, since 1997, the proportion of American authors has been slightly higher on average than in the previous period. The journal’s authorship therefore points towards, and contributes towards reproducing, American predominance in the field.

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<sup>12</sup> Authors working in Canada were included in the “other” category.

**Figure 6.3:** Countries of residence of *IS* authors

What do these results concerning the attributes of *International Security* contributors tell us about the journal itself and, beyond that, the discipline? A first important point is that the tendencies identified with regards to the professional sectors of the authors have to be considered in light of Buzan and Hansen’s analysis of the fifth force driving the evolution of the field, namely its institutionalization. If a certain type of authors are published and therefore receive credit and gain prestige for their work, this fosters the growth of a community which “self-identifies as, for example, security scholars” (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 60), through the mutual recognition of these authors. In our case, the predominance of academic contributors, and of political scientists, certainly played a part in the gradual absorption of ISS into IR and political science. This, in turn, is linked to a second important point, namely the impact of the attributes of the authors on the type of output of the field. As Buzan and Hansen (2009: 60-63) argue, academic institutions tend to have a less explicitly political agenda than think tanks, and the latter tend to put significantly more emphasis on policy-oriented research – this became especially true for ISS after leading think tanks such as the RAND corporation progressively turned away from theory and towards the production of policy guidance that could answer the needs of decision-makers (Wæver and Buzan 2013: 399). In addition, chemists and physicists (for example) can be considered less likely to engage in the type of theoretical analysis that is a central feature of political science (Miller 2001: 33). According to Wæver (1998: 714), the growth of university-based research was a key factor in International Relations as a discipline, reducing its emphasis on policy concerns. This is not to say, however, that ISS scholars have abandoned policy-oriented research, or that the theoretical analyses produced are never formulated with policy concerns in mind (Wæver 2010a: 654-655). The point is simply that the changes we highlighted in the typical professional background of *IS* and, more broadly, ISS authors, brought with them noteworthy implications for the development of the field itself, both in terms of its institutionalization and in the

general tendencies marking its intellectual production, a matter I will explore further in the next section<sup>13</sup>.

The geographical situation of authors can likewise be considered to play a role in the type of output they put forward. The scope and focus of the theoretical analyses and debates produced in the field, in particular, have since the end of the Cold War been significantly different in North America and in Europe. Schematically, and as we will also see in the following section, the American ISS institutional setting favours rationalist approaches, and theoretical discussions closely follow those found in the broader US-based IR (Wæver 1998: 701-703), with relatively little attention paid to European schools of thought (Wæver 2012). The latter follow a more reflectivist research agenda, with critical reflections on the concept of security itself at the core of the development of the field (Buzan 2009: 57; Wæver and Buzan 2013: 407). This leads me to the second question explored in this chapter, namely that of the types of content found in the pages of *International Security*, as compared to ISS as a whole.

### 3. *International Security* articles – between policy and theory

At its inception, international security studies mainly tackled topics linked to military capabilities and issues, and to East-West relations (Nye and Lynn-Jones 1988: 6). Within the context of the beginning of the Cold War, ISS authors largely produced policy-relevant research. Indeed, ISS literature was, at the time, “driven by the policy problems facing mainly the US, and to a lesser extent those of its allies” (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 99). There was a particular focus on long-term strategy, especially nuclear strategy. The policy-oriented nature of much of the intellectual production at the time did not, however, preclude the emergence of theory (Wæver and Buzan 2013: 396). In fact, as Betts (1997: 14) points out, “Nuclear war spurred theorizing because it was inherently more theoretical than empirical: none had ever occurred”. Policy and theory were therefore particularly intertwined – theories of deterrence, for example, were formulated in particular because it was deemed important to determine which path should be taken by the United States in its Cold War with the USSR. Although the field continued to be characterized by the duality of policy and (mainly policy-relevant) theory throughout much of the Cold War, albeit with fluctuations, a more distinct division of labour between think tanks and universities occurred when, as mentioned earlier, the former ceased to engage as often in theoretical thinking towards the end of the 1960s (Wæver and Buzan 2013: 397-401). In the early 1970s, ISS suffered from a degree of theoretical fatigue, and there was a turn towards more

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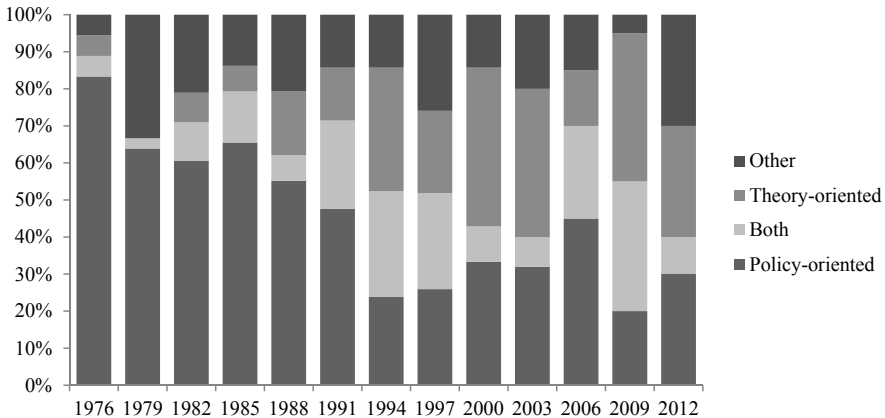
<sup>13</sup> I do not examine the topic of the gender of the contributors to *International Security* in this article, but it is interesting to note that, even though the percentage of women among published authors has increased since the early years of the journal, male authors still make up the overwhelming majority of contributors. Indeed, data compiled by Wendy Leutert for the period 1976-2005 (and shared with me by the editorial offices of *IS*) indicates that the percentage of female authors per volume only crossed the 10% mark on two occasions during the first fifteen years of publication, and that this percentage oscillated between 13% and 19% for the volumes published in the 2001-2005 period. For a more extensive look at the representation of women in IR journals, see for example Breuning et al. (2006: 458-459).

empiricism (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 88). Still, a “dual demand from political and academic rationality” was a key feature of the field (Wæver 2010a: 654).

In the period which preceded the end of the 1980s, international security studies witnessed a debate between scholars favouring a widening of the concept of security and others committed to a traditionalist state-centric and military view of the concept (Buzan and Hansen 2009: 162-163). The debate was accompanied by a theoretical relaunch which saw the development and adoption of new approaches, some of which did not necessarily concern themselves with immediate policy relevance (Wæver and Buzan 2013: 402). Since ISS had essentially become accepted as a subfield of International Relations, several of these theoretical approaches came to ISS from IR, and many ISS scholars engaged in theoretical discussions with the broader IR discipline. Before delving deeper into the nature of the theoretical developments themselves, it is sufficient at this point to underline that theoretical thinking gained traction at the time, and that security theory further developed as a subfield of ISS (Buzan and Hansen 2009: Chapter 7).

How did the relationship between policy and theory evolve in the pages of *International Security*? In the first issue of the journal, the editors underlined that it offered “a combination of professional and policy-relevant articles”, and that their intent for future issues was to “balance articles of assessment and opinion with those of analysis and research” (*International Security*, 1(1) 1976: 2). Hugh Gusterson (1999: 325) explains that *International Security* was launched in reaction against the style of other journals in the field (such as *Foreign Affairs*), since the aim was to “[deal] with policy issues in a more scholarly way” than other publications. Reflecting on the journal in 2001, Steven Miller (2001: 37) wrote that there was “still a mix of theory and policy”, even though the balance had shifted in favour of more theory. Nevertheless, he remarked that the authors of theoretical articles were still encouraged “to address the policy implications of their analyses”. As Figure 6.4 shows, this evolution of the balance between theory and policy can be clearly observed in the changes in proportions of policy-oriented and/or theory-oriented articles.

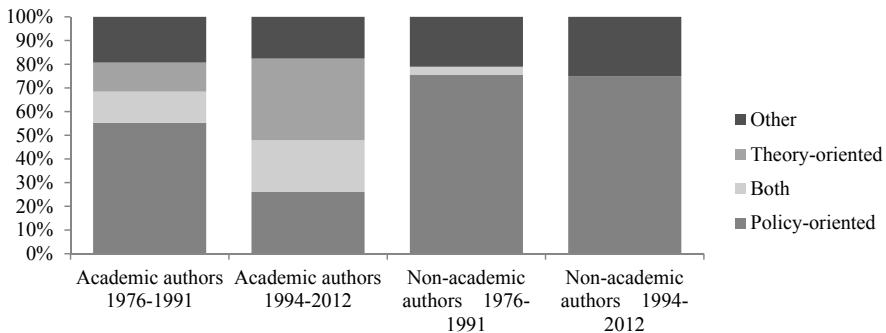
**Figure 6.4:** Types of articles published in *IS*



Several comments are in order here. First, a decline in policy-oriented articles can indeed be observed from 1976 to 1991-1994, but the proportion of purely theory-driven articles only came to occupy significant space in the journal after 1991. Although one can observe some degree of fluctuation over the last fifteen years in the number of articles which are both policy- and theory-oriented, these now make up between about ten and thirty per cent of total articles. The proportion of strictly policy-oriented articles, meanwhile, stopped declining in the early to mid-1990s, and has remained relatively steady since then. Overall, these findings are consistent with the theoretical relaunch which happened in ISS around the end of the Cold War, although the increase in the number of articles which include theoretical developments is in this case particularly substantial due to the relative lack of space devoted to theory-oriented articles prior to the 1990s. Nevertheless, the attention given to policy-oriented research, and to the links between policy and theory, still remains a significant characteristic of much of the content published in the pages of the journal.

Another interesting piece of data can be found in Figure 6.5, which shows that the increase in articles featuring theory after 1991 came virtually exclusively from academic authors. In fact, non-academic authors almost never made use of theoretical approaches for the years under review. To go back to my earlier comments on the links between professional sectors and types of output, we can see that the former indeed appears to be a key factor in the type of content published, even though it is not the only variable to be taken into account: academic contributors turned to theory considerably more often after 1991 than in the previous period. In addition to the fact that the theoretical relaunch only began in the discipline in the 1980s, a possible explanation for the proportionally low number of theory-oriented articles published by academics in the journal before the 1990s could be, of course, that the editors themselves favoured allocating relatively limited space to theory-oriented articles.

**Figure 6.5:** Types of articles by academic and non-academic authors



The renewed interest in theory within ISS which accompanied the end of the Cold War, however, went beyond simply putting more emphasis on the kind of theoretical analyses that had been formulated in the past. Indeed, ISS theory had until then been marked by a relative absence of epistemological debates, and international security studies almost uniformly followed a “deeply positivist” epistemology (Gusterson 1999: 321). In reaction, many of the new approaches which emerged at the end of the

1980s challenged the positivism of the traditionalist literature. As stated previously, several of them reached ISS through International Relations, in which a similar debate pitting positivism/rationalism against post-positivism/reflectivism had begun (Kurki and Wight, 2010).

The positivist/rationalist epistemological stance is based on the assumptions that there exists a social reality which can be discovered and observed by social science, that social phenomena can be explained through causal relations, and, in an IR context, that the foreign policy of states can largely be explained “by reference to goal-seeking behaviour” (Fearon and Wendt 2002: 54). This stance underpins a variety of theoretical approaches, in particular different strands of realism (notably classical, structural, neoclassical, offensive and defensive realism – see Wohlforth (2010) and Elman and Jensen (2013)) and liberalism (Rousseau and Walker 2010; Navari 2013), formal rational choice theory and game theory (which has itself informed realist and liberal research – see Zagare (2013)) and much of the research done in foreign policy analysis<sup>14</sup>. On the other side of the spectrum, the post-positivist/reflectivist epistemological standpoint is, instead, that social science cannot pretend to observe reality “from the outside” since reality itself is also shaped and constructed by the lenses through which we look at it, and by the very output of social science research. Authors which defend this stance generally reject the idea that causal relations can be identified in social reality (Kurki and Wight 2010). Post-structuralism, feminism, post-colonialism, critical security studies, the Copenhagen school, critical constructivism and post-modernism are examples of approaches and theoretical schools which embrace this position (Buzan and Hansen, 2009; see also the contributions to Cavelti and Mauer 2010 and Williams 2013). They have notably engaged, among various other research agendas, in the questioning of the “nature and scope” of the very concept and idea of security, and of its use by practitioners and scholars (Mutimer 2013). Finally, conventional constructivism is generally described as a sort of “middle ground” between the two stances, in particular because many conventional constructivists tend to combine a positivist epistemology with a post-positivist ontology (putting ideational factor such as ideas, beliefs, identities and norms at the centre of the analysis) (Fearon and Wendt 2002; Fierke 2010; Battistella 2012).

As mentioned earlier, however, this theoretical clash took very different turns in the North American and European academic communities. IR and ISS production in North America has remained overwhelmingly rooted in rationalism, even though a significant (albeit smaller) part of the literature is characterized by the use of conventional constructivism (Smith 2000)<sup>15</sup>. As explained by Wæver and Buzan (2013: 402), “cause-effect statements backed up either by statistical data or more

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<sup>14</sup> Note that the production of researchers working with FPA models and theories which do not consider actors as fully rational, such as those related to bounded rationality, poliheuristic theory, and organization theory, is included in this positivist/rationalist category. See Fearon and Wendt (2002).

<sup>15</sup> This is certainly not to say, of course, that North American scholars who embrace a post-positivist/reflectivist epistemological stance cannot be found. They are simply very much in the minority with respect to the rest of the American field.

often by historical case studies” constitute the predominant form of knowledge produced and seen as legitimate in North American ISS (see also Wæver 1998, 2012; Buzan 2009). On the other side of the Atlantic, meanwhile, the theoretical agenda is more reflectivist. European debates between theoretical approaches have been driven by discussions over the concept of security itself, and individual schools of thought – such as the Copenhagen school – developed from within ISS rather than the broader IR (Buzan 2009: Chapter 7; for an analysis of the editorial line of a prominent European ISS journal, *Security Dialogue*, see Krystel Wanneau’s chapter in the present book). Although Europeans do tend to keep themselves informed about theoretical developments which originate in North America, this is less the case for American scholars with regards to European security theory (Wæver 2012).

On which side of this divide does *International Security*, an American journal, fall? Despite insisting that it welcomes a multiplicity of point-of-views, *IS* overwhelmingly publishes articles with theories which belong to the rationalist side of the debate. Indeed, as Figure 6.6 shows, a positivist/rationalist approach (the various types of realism and liberalism, formal rational choice/game theory, and positivist/rationalist foreign policy analysis) was adopted or discussed in the vast majority of the articles which featured theory. The other type of theoretical approach included in articles was conventional constructivism (sometimes through the lenses of foreign policy analysis), with the proportion of articles using (or commenting on) the approach remaining relatively stable since the mid-1990s. Only a single article in the sample mentioned reflectivist theory, namely feminist security studies, but this was merely to state that the authors would *not* adopt a post-positivist stance (Hudson et al. 2009). Overall, the journal only reflected, and participated in, the theoretical debate which dominated the North American part of the field<sup>16</sup>.

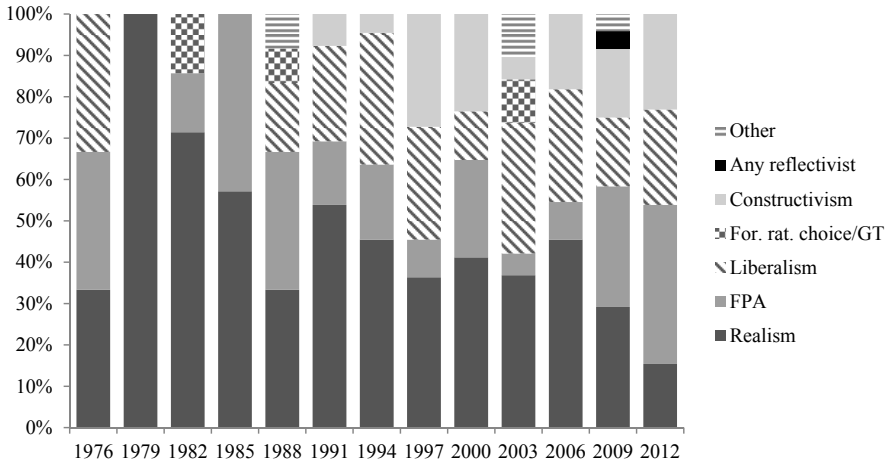
Several conclusions can be drawn from these results about the types of content published in the pages of *International Security*. In both cases (the policy/theory balance and the types of theories featured), the journal was simultaneously influenced by the development of the broader discipline and followed its own path. Although the interconnection between theory and policy which has been an integral characteristic of the field of ISS can be found in *International Security* as well, the journal initially placed significant emphasis on policy-oriented articles, following both its own editorial philosophy and the empiricist trend of part of the 1970s. Later on, after the theoretical relaunch which occurred in ISS towards the end of the 1980s, *International Security* followed suit and put significantly more emphasis on theory, albeit without abandoning policy-oriented articles and policy relevance in general. This turn towards more theory can essentially be seen as a reaction to the evolution of the field rather than as a proactive change initiated by the journal. With regards to the kind of theoretical stances featured in *IS*, one can both identify a strong influence from the general American institutional setting and community, which is resolutely on the rationalist side of the rationalist/reflectivist divide, and assume a conscious choice by the journal itself, given the virtual absence of articles featuring critical theory.

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<sup>16</sup> It is, however, interesting to note that only a very small number of articles used formal rational choice modelling (in 1982, 1988 and 2003).

The pages of *International Security* have still hosted and continue to host theoretical debates, but on the positivist/post-positivist spectrum, these do not go beyond discussions between positivists/rationalists and conventional constructivists. In this respect, *IS* has chosen to embrace, and contribute to, the debates which characterize mainstream IR as well, rather than the more recent developments in security theory which have been particularly studied in Europe.

Figure 6.6: Theoretical approaches featured in *IS* articles



Included in the sample are only the articles which were theory-oriented or both theory-oriented and policy-oriented. Theories in the "other" category included democratic transition theory and economic analyses (belonging to the positivist/rationalist end of the spectrum).

## Conclusion

This chapter's aim was to document and examine patterns of change and stability in the pages of *International Security*, and to compare them to the broader evolution of international security studies. In this regard, it is useful to examine in conjunction, rather than separately, the answers to the *who?* and *what?* questions with which I looked at the journal. One of the trends which *IS* followed was a transformation from a platform for authors of varied professional backgrounds to publish mostly scholarly work, into a space occupied essentially by academic contributors, political scientists in particular. In this, it followed the already ongoing evolution of international security studies authorship as a whole, which took part in the process through which *ISS* became recognized as a subfield of International Relations. This relatively rapid predominance of academics in *IS* was not, however, the result of (or synonymous with) a theory-oriented editorial line. Although the empiricism which marked the early 1970s probably played a role in influencing the content of the journal after its creation in 1975, *International Security* had its own philosophy which was clearly centred on policy-oriented/relevant output produced through scholarly analysis. Yet, especially because of the integration of international security studies within the broader discipline of International Relations, starting towards the end of the 1980s the former underwent



a theoretical relaunch which was partly inspired by the IR debate between positivism/rationalism and post-positivism/reflectivism. *International Security* reacted to this development by shifting towards a greater emphasis on theory (a transition which was made easier by, and was consistent with, the fact that its authorship was already dominated by academia), and embraced its place as an influential platform for mainstream ISS-IR theoretical debates, publishing articles by positivist/rationalist and conventional constructivist authors. The interest in policy-relevance did not disappear, however, and the journal chose not to explore the development of less mainstream and more reflectivist theoretical approaches (which, it is worth mentioning, were generally less interested in, or were directly critical of, the possibility of establishing causal relationships in social phenomena). *IS* therefore sided with most of North American academia, which continues to publish in its pages, while these approaches grew and found a proportionally more interested audience in Europe. To sum up, *International Security* authorship and content have, to a significant extent, evolved in conjunction with international security studies as a whole, yet the particular attention paid by the journal to policy relevance, and its ignoring of developments in post-positivist theory, can be traced back not only to this mutual influence (more distinctively, in this case, to some of the tendencies characterizing the American field) but also to deliberate choices made by the editors with regards to the aims and identity of the journal.

A few final words are in order. This chapter's look at *International Security* remains modest in scope; I have tried to identify patterns at a relatively macro level, and a more in-depth investigation of the policy topics touched upon in the articles featured in the journal would undoubtedly yield very interesting results with regards to how *IS* positions itself in the field. It would also allow for a better understanding of the relations between the different structuring forces of international security studies highlighted by Buzan and Hansen (2009). Indeed, using the journal to study the attention given to *current events* and *global politics*, for example, would surely shed additional light on these forces' influence on *academic debates* and on *institutionalization*, and more broadly on the evolution of the discipline itself. Looking in more detail at the individual authors who publish in *International Security*, the institutions they belong to, and the networks they constitute, would also be likely to prove a very fruitful way of answering Wæver's (2010a) call for a more sociological analysis of ISS, which would notably provide valuable insight into the aforementioned theoretical divide between the United States and Europe, as well as into the exceptions to the rule. Since the evolution of international security studies is obviously far from over, these various avenues of research offer promising possibilities for further exploration of the inner workings of the field.

## CHAPTER 7

# *Security Dialogue* on the Edge of International Security Studies: Uncovering a Process of Innovation

Krystel WANNEAU

### **Introduction**

Between the 1970s and 1990s, security studies have moved from being a traditional strategy-oriented subfield to a contested International Security Studies<sup>1</sup> (ISS) subfield of International Relations (IR). A certain vision inherited from the sociology of knowledge holds that changes affecting a field follow a set of practices pertaining to academic journals (Aguinis and Vaschetto 2011; Baruch et al. 2008; Michaux Bellaire 2013; Schmidt 2002; Vennesson 1998; Waever 1998). For instance, journals offer descriptions of rival schools of thought, conceptual and paradigm development, and the results of research programs: in sum, they produce and disseminate knowledge (Kuhn 1970). Journals act in many ways to organize the coherence of a field – or a subfield. The combination of these practices with a changing international context offers an entry point from which to question ISS (see Close and Jadot in this volume), the other key subfield of IR alongside International Political Economy (IPE).

The institutionalization of the field ISS is a particularly salient question, because it developed as a subfield autonomous from political sciences in these decades. Unlike a discipline, a field is not an indissoluble sociological and epistemological nexus and its institutionalization can be traced historically (Favre 1995). The evolution of ISS can be portrayed as a maturation process, stemming from internal and external factors (see Angelini in this volume). For instance, theoretical developments were fostered by major events in international relations (Allison 1971), which make the context a

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<sup>1</sup> ISS is understood following Buzan and Hansen (2009) as encompassing “several distinct but inter-related flows of literature”. In addition to traditional, military-centred Strategic Studies and Peace Research, there is also Critical Security Studies, Feminist Security Studies, the Copenhagen School, Poststructuralism and Constructivist Security Studies.

variable of a field (Lowi 1992). A second reason is that *security* is a contested concept among IR scholars and across disciplines (Gallie 1956; Baldwin 1997). Security thus is a transdisciplinary object found in political science, psychology, criminology or anthropology just to name a few. Defining its very meaning has acted as a spur to the transformation of ISS, at least in the two last decades. These aspects are not always visible in the field, but their ambiguities abound in *Security Dialogue*, a journal of ISS situated at the borders of IR. Its publications and editorial line have therefore been studied at length in this chapter in order to uncover the journal's process of innovation.

We focus on journals, the gatekeepers of knowledge production and dissemination (Aguinis and Vaschetto 2011; Beyer 1978; Yoels 1974). Innovations within a field appear within academic journals because they act both as a place and as a means of competition for scientific authority (Bourdieu 1976). The *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* was created in 1970 to foster innovative peace solutions to international crises, while *Security Dialogue* was only launched in 1992. It continues the work of the *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, although at a more ambitious international level both in terms of dissemination and of the input of new and even more challenging contributions. In general terms, journals possess a technical capacity to disseminate contributions and the authority to attract and assert the knowledge produced by researchers in the field. In its modern form, *Security Dialogue* possesses key features to provide a global impact in ISS. It is recognized as a highly-ranked peer-reviewed journal in IR (12/82). It also possesses a significant scientific identity constituted by an ideology and ontology, although journals do not always officially recognize this identity. The critical and transdisciplinary identity of *Security Dialogue* locates it on the edge of ISS journals. Its editorial line encourages multiple strands of literature ranging from traditionalist to feminist security studies. It aims, as it describes itself, to “combine cutting-edge advances in theory with new empirical findings across a range of fields relevant to the study of security”<sup>2</sup>. For these reasons, the journal occupies a niche-type position in ISS.

It is surprising that a non-mainstream journal should have experienced such growth in the field, both in terms of number of contributions and audience, while remaining at the edge of the field. This chapter intends to track the evolution of this journal by focusing on its editorship and editorial line. This implies both looking at how this line has been defined internally and how external factors such as the IR field may have contributed towards forging this reputation (see Close and Jadot in this volume). The chapter thus asks how the journal's process of innovation explains the success of *Security Dialogue*'s niche position within ISS. The hypotheses explore three dimensions of this process. First, the widening and deepening of ISS has led the editorial line of the journal to encompass a plurality of securities and practices (H1). *Security Dialogue* participated in the maturation of the ISS subfield because its process of innovation offers a critical journal within the field (H2). Finally, rather than competing with mainstream ISS journals, *SD* has continuously reaffirmed its niche identity, giving this Scandinavian journal a reputation for innovation at the edge of the

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<sup>2</sup> Online access to the journal *Security Dialogue* SAGE journals website: <http://sdi.sagepub.com> (consulted 6 May 2013).

field (H3). It was initially defined as a place for practitioners to empirically innovate without theoretical ambitions. The journal then prolonged this “edgy” theoretical tradition by embracing a critical posture and a transdisciplinary approach to security.

This chapter analyses *Security Dialogue*’s contributions over thirty years, together with its editorial process. Its third editor Magne Barth stresses how intertwined the editorial line is with the IR context: “the transformation of the international political system; the political fusion and fragmentation of states; military, economic and environmental dimensions of regional and global security” (Barth 1992). The journal’s history is thus embedded in what was then the emerging post Cold-War ISS field centred around challenges to the “security” principle (Buzan and Hansen 2009). In order to understand its editorial line, the chapter analyses the plural definitions of “security”, which became influential in the 1990s. Although the origins of this extension of the concept can be traced to the Cold War period (Wolfers 1952), Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde later formalized this development by framing security issues into five sectors – military, political, economical, societal and environmental (Buzan et al. 1998). Their new framing of security mirrored the restructuring of the field and offered theoretical guidelines about the objects of study (Smith 1998). How security would be defined and with what practical effects would constitute the research agenda for the next thirty years – and still does (Rothschild 1995). Indeed, one core epistemological fracture in ISS divides researchers wishing to broaden the agenda of ISS research from those fearing that this would reduce the analytical value of the term by making every issue one of security, especially in national security debates (Deudney 1990; Levy 1995). This sectoral framing of the contributions takes account of this necessary bias in order to reflect the plurality of definitions of “security”.

In line with Bourdieu’s notion of “reflexive science” (Bourdieu 2004), this chapter aims to validate the assertion that “*Security Dialogue* encourages ground-breaking reflection on new and traditional security issues”, as stated by the journal itself<sup>3</sup>. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first reveals those socio-institutional attributes of a journal, which explain the process of innovation. Drawing on the sociology of knowledge, it provides an explanation of the evolution of the editorial line by reference to the role of journals in a field. This preliminary discussion offers a reflexive study of *Security Dialogue* before developing a theoretical framework suited to the longitudinal method of content analysis. The method used in this second section was to explore at length the content of the editorial line on security sectors over thirty years. The title of each article was assigned to one of the five security sectors set out in Buzan’s and al. framework. Finally, the results show how the content has evolved in the past thirty years. In this way, the research method questions the widening and deepening of the journal’s content, while the historical review of its socio-institutional development uncovers how the editorial line is adopted. It hopes to bring new evidence of the evolution of the field of ISS.

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

## 1. The editorial line: journals as the gatekeepers of a scientific field

Before tracing the evolution of the editorial line of *Security Dialogue*, the first part of the section which follows examines the role of academic journals within a field and discusses the features of an editorial line. It provides a basis for understanding the position of *Security Dialogue* within ISS by revealing the role of the journal and the editorial process. The discussion emphasizes the journal from the dual perspective of its editorial “black box” and field to which it belongs.

### 1.1. Blurred lines: journals, disciplines and the field

A reflexive approach to the study of journals therefore implies understanding how a journal institutionalizes a field. Journals and disciplines constitute the boundaries of a field. Even if these frontiers are often blurred by evolving editorial lines, the chapter argues that journal articles found a scientific field through one or more institutionalized disciplines (Michaux Bellaire 2013).

The role of a journal goes beyond being a showcase; journals play a part in constituting a field. As mechanisms of knowledge dissemination, journals are the cornerstone of the institutionalization of a field (Favre 1995). According to modern scientific requirements, an academic journal does not exist separately from a discipline and a field. Favre stresses for that matter the indissoluble sociological and epistemological nature of a discipline. It is within this specific relation to disciplines and its objects that a journal plays a part in the institutionalization of a field. The discipline thus acts as an institution within which journals are one instrument – others being job position at universities, courses, etc. These instruments socially embody the discipline in a unique context co-constituted by national intellectual climates along with “access to information, research support, links between government and academia, and the general structure and character of the university system” (Simpson 1998 cited in Smith 2000: 6). To a certain extent, a discipline is the result of a fortunate coincidence of institutional and historical contexts that allow its emergence. It is formalized by academics as they write the history of a particular science or set boundaries between disciplines. Favre describes a field as more like a mosaic of research studies that combine at a given moment, a moving map of disciplines composed of unresolved issues and migrating concepts that define new sites of research.

The idea of the maturation of a field composed of one or more disciplines stem from these epistemological and ontological claims. For a transdisciplinary journal focused on the principle of *security*, the scientifically constructed object of study belongs to several disciplines. While it is common sense to say that innovations occur across disciplinary boundaries, it is important to stress the disciplinary affiliations of a journal in order to understand the process of innovation. A journal stabilizes the object of research within a field that gains visibility. The results of the content analysis confirms this by tracking articles that put an object on the research agenda, followed by a process of development of the object – perhaps scientific controversies, perhaps competition among approaches, etc. As a consequence, the state of a field and its history are important for situating a journal within its field. There are three approaches to studying the history of a field: a historiographical approach (e.g. Schmidt and his critical internal discursive history), a historical sociological approach (e.g. Waever

and his sociology of science view), and a genealogical method informed by the work of Foucault (e.g., Smith and his comparison of IR handbooks).

A growing literature portrays IR in the 1990s as a “discipline in ferment, a field dominated by one “Great Debate” after another, an arena in which two or three fundamentally different schools or approaches fight out their differences, or an area of scholarship characterized by the incessant questioning of its proper object of study and even of the proper meaning of knowledge” (Goldmann 1995: 245). Goldmann argues against this idea because the usual suspects of the main discourse of IR are pictured as *clichés* of a more controversial history. This paradox of IR history is also supported by Smith, who argues that the discipline of IR has been in better shape and more reflexive than its self-image suggests (Smith 1996). In spite of these arguments, two main factors of IR’s institutionalization holds true. First, in his historiography and history of IR, Schmidt situates the “Great Debates”<sup>4</sup> as the *story of IR* which provides one of the most dominant self-images of the field (Schmidt 2002). Secondly, Vennesson concludes that how these three “Great Debates” were formulated remains inspired by American IR in its desire to grasp world political dynamics (Vennesson 1998). How does *Security Dialogue* participate in the institutionalization of IR and its subfield ISS?

First of all, the journal is part of the historical subfield within IR. *Security Dialogue* has contributed towards building the legitimacy of ISS. According to Goldmann, there are two subfields within IR, International Political Economy (IPE), and Peace and Security Studies, to which *Security Dialogue* belongs. Up until the 1970s, causes of war and conditions for peace/security/order were the prevailing objects. It could be argued that an evolution of IR happened under the Cold War paradigm. Between 1972 and 1992, articles in the IR field became more theoretical and based on empirical evidence. Goldmann also identifies two types of concepts in IR that explain a faddish feature of the discipline. Some concepts, such as “institution”, remain stable, whereas others support an object of study, but evolve in line with trends. An example of this is the way “imperialism” has been replaced by “hegemony” in the literature. Journals seek to move with the times by innovating through concepts. In his last *Letter from the Editor*, Marek Thee stressed both the evolution of the aim of the journal as well as giving a hint on how the journal would be evolving in the next years. “A distinct goal of the journal was to make more transparent the nature and dynamics of armaments and disarmament, of underdevelopment and development, of the struggle for human rights and for the betterment of the human condition, all so as to move public opinion and governments to genuine action for peaceful change” (Thee 1988). He called for efforts to achieve this research agenda, noting after 18 years of publishing that *BPP* had only partially succeeded in accomplishing its aims. The fierce arms race context and stupendous imbalance in the resources available for military research on the one hand, and for peace research on the other, had limited the journal in its role. Moving

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<sup>4</sup> The three Great Debates are as follows: 1) the “foundational myth of the field”, as termed by Miles Kahler in 1997, positioned between interwar idealists and post-war realists; 2) the debate about the scientific identity of the field opposing Hedley Bull to Morton Kaplan in the middle of the behavioural revolution; and 3) the inter-paradigm debate of the early 1980s between realists, pluralists and structuralists.

“with the times” the journal acted as an outlet, “a means of legitimizing the new field and seeking to ensure its continued existence” (Dunn 2005: 66).

Secondly, this chapter follows Waever’s seminal sociology of the IR discipline to explain variations amongst national IRs (Waever 1998). These factors are not at the core of this study, but they inform us that the search for reflexivity within a field is a crucial process if a discipline is to become recognized. This chapter borrows Waever’s third variable – the internal intellectual and social structures of the IR discipline, including its theories and forms of debate – to study it within one Scandinavian journal. According to Waever, Scandinavia represents the second or third largest IR community in Europe today, which makes the study of a Scandinavian journal in this field all the more relevant. The role of leading journals in IR is absolutely central to the sociology of IR. The hierarchy among them supports the claim that so far, these have served American IR more than European IR, where power rests either in subfields or in local universities. Besides, IR communities each form a more independent core in Europe. European journals develop more independently, even if they meet international scientific standards. For instance, in 2011, *Security Dialogue* put out a special issue on the “Politics of Securitization”, a theory developed by the Copenhagen School of ISS. This not only demonstrates the evolution of the journal toward international academic standards, but makes it a factor in the evolution of the field. It responded to controversial critiques of the Copenhagen School formulated a decade ago such as the lack of causal inference in theory (Skidmore 1999). It corresponds to what Bourdieu named the “art of inventing” (Bourdieu 1976). It acknowledges the rise of new approaches to ISS developed in universities while continuing to scrutinize other epistemologies. However, the sociology of science warns of epistemological positions that hide ideological strategies in order to maintain representations of science or discredit opponents and their strategies (Bourdieu 1976).

In spite of these remarks about the field, Hoffmann’s first review of American academic production remains central (Hoffmann 1977). American production is the most often cited and officially channelled through modern science, meaning that to study a European journal is to adopt a heterodox position within IR.

### ***1.2. A niche journal: identity, prestige and satisfaction***

This chapter proposes a sociology of journals where articles and their content, as much as the publishing process, editorship, committees and peer review are all matters of importance. These mechanisms ensure epistemological and methodological vigilance to provide a validation process of scientific knowledge. They furthermore transmit knowledge under specific intertwined processes: an innovation process, an informational process and an advisory process (Michaux Bellaire 2013). This chapter only focuses on the first type, where innovation is associated with academic practices. These rely at their core on articles that look at reality not as it is seen by lay people, but in an attempt to understand and explain underlying realities. Scientific articles can be recognized by a cluster of indications such as a cognitive ambition or an interpretation of reality referring to a valid theoretical or methodological apparatus: in sum investigational principles and practices rather than mere exposition of facts. This scientific knowledge competes with other products of social representations

(Bourdieu 1995), but the aim here is only to be able to associate innovations with journals' characteristics.

Among the wide set of scientific, expert and professional publications, academic journals became central vectors of knowledge, because they provide the most convenient tool of modern science to innovate. In reviewing French IR journals, Michaux Bellaire notes that scientific journals are born from the difficulty other academic forms of communication have in adapting to the new requirements of modern science. These include faster, wider dissemination combined with an official scientific recognition (Michaux Bellaire 2013). Journals disseminate scientifically-approved results or on-going work. They monitor scientific quality, under the peer review process, and protect data through intellectual property. They are archives and play a part in creating *scientific memory* of innovations that is traceable. For instance, theoretical frameworks and paradigms change over time. The epistemological and ontological claims of researchers gain or lose relevance. As such, journals are creative galleries of points of view, a place where the viability of a scientific claim is determined. With regard to innovation, this means that "a journal is not a desirable adjunct to an evolving movement: it is a necessity, and without it the movement for innovation would be less equipped for the task of innovation" (Dunn 2005: 66). In sum, a field matures and journals mirror this process.

A journal brings about innovations in the field in two ways. On the one hand, innovation is the renewal of knowledge based on existing knowledge in a continuous progression of science through sets of disciplines and fields in constant composition and re-composition. On the other hand, innovation also lies in scientific breakthroughs, or Kuhn's concept of scientific revolutions (Kuhn 1970). Paradigm development in this second mode renews knowledge through disruptions with past practices and breakthroughs in knowledge. The establishment of objects of study illustrates this process at length. An object is defined in response to a *problématique* and thus has a limited lifetime before it changes. These objects become visible through the constitution of a scientific literature, which cannot make itself heard in the absence of supporters, outside any social consideration of its acceptance (Favre 1995). As a consequence, knowledge – and even more, innovation – does not exist without communication and successful dissemination. Journals make these processes visible, first disseminating knowledge and then guaranteeing its acceptance as legitimate by the epistemic community. An object arrives at a time ripe for scientific innovation, and reveals the maturation process pertaining to scientific research. The paragraphs which follow discuss how *Security Dialogue* pursues these aims of innovation in the production of knowledge.

The innovatory character of a journal can be traced in the first place through its contribution to the field in terms of scientific identity. In its earlier form, the *Bulletin of Peace Proposals (BPP)* disseminated expertise, a form of knowledge which aimed at forecasting and advising policymakers. The aim of the *BPP* was to offer the possibility for innovative policy-oriented peace solutions to emerge. Launched in 1970 under the editorship of Marek Thee, the *BPP* was supported by Johan Galtung, the editor of the other Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) *Journal of Peace Research (JPR)* (Galtung 1970). The new journal, following the PRIO's institutional leadership in



*Peace Research*, aimed “to present systematically, to compare and discuss in the light of general peace theory [which it was clearly now assumed to exist after two decades of work] various plans, proposals and ideas for justice, development and peace” (Thee 1970). Under the aegis of this Norwegian institute, the journal was in itself an innovation for the ISS field, the institutionalization of a scientific identity. Jonsson argues that “Scandinavian researchers do not share the American preoccupation with theories predicated on bilateral and symmetrical relationships. Moreover, they are more prone to focus on subnational actors, they are more embedded in political science, they are generalists rather than specialists, their primary role is that of being observers rather than advisers, and they are in a better position to escape from the entrapment of an ahistorical current-events approach” (Jonsson 1993: 145).

Innovation is not only about scientific identity; it is also about the journal’s assets or its prestige. Baruch and al. define categories of journals according to how a journal preserves and enhances its social capital over the years. These may enlist *top academic* journals seeking challenges and gratifications; *global* journals rather than regional ones; *independent* journals as opposed to those under the “cover” of a major publisher or association; journals offering a *bridge* between policy and academia; *newcomers* in the journal market; and strictly *electronic* journals. According to their categorization, *Security Dialogue* went from being a bridge journal to a top global journal (Baruch et al., 2008). *SD* transformed itself from a Scandinavian-based, PRIO-supported publication into a truly international journal, although it should be made clear that *SD* has retained a Scandinavian identity. The point has been made that Scandinavian IR had developed its own particularities compared to the hegemonic American IR community. The uniqueness of *Security Dialogue* lies in its capacity for worldwide dissemination and its international audience for its Scandinavian identity. It has achieved its internationalization “both in terms of ambitions for its dissemination, and in terms of input of new and even more challenging contributions” (Barth 1992).

This strategic repositioning of the journal provides compelling evidence of modern science described by Bourdieu (2004). *SD* enjoys a certain degree of independence from the state’s bureaucracy, religious, economic and political powers because it is jointly published by a university, PRIO, and an academic publishing house, SAGE Publications. Its editors have successfully promoted the journal and seek new authors at international congresses, while the editing committee rotates on a regular basis. It meets the standards of an international journal of IR, mainly through anonymous peer reviewing. Although this is not the core aspect of the methodology of this chapter (see Angelini and Wavreille in this volume for a micro analysis of authors’ professional background), the authors publish not according to an institutional or geographic affiliation, but the *guiding ethos* of the editorial line. The international scale of the journal guarantees the development of an epistemic community whether a national or regional one (Michaux Bellaire 2013).

In becoming a prestigious academic journal, *SD* has succeeded in its transformation from a non-peer reviewed bridge-type journal mediating between academic and practitioner communities to a fully peer-reviewed one in the 1990s.

Evidence from the interview with the Editor<sup>5</sup> indicates that *Security Dialogue* could even be described as a niche-type journal, meaning that it focuses on one political science principle, *security*, and objects of study from the discipline of IR. However, he stressed the transdisciplinarity of the journal's approach to security<sup>6</sup>. This chapter defines a niche journal as meeting two conditions: firstly it is one supported by a major publisher, university or association, and secondly, its editorial line mainly focuses on understanding one single political science object. This object has legitimacy in the field because it is supported by an active, identified epistemic community, but is only one stable concept, although a contested one in essence. Under these combinations of features, *Security Dialogue* is generally recognized as a top niche journal.

By adopting a certain specialization, journals play a necessary role in satisfying the claims of researchers. Their satisfaction lies in the recognition of a journal's prestige and identity. Indeed, each journal has its own particular ideology, whether this be openly claimed or barely recognized, as was argued during the above-mentioned interview. This satisfaction is encouraged by the invisible struggle for scientific domination (Bourdieu 1976). Journals are also part of researchers' strategy to ensure satisfaction as scientists. If researchers undertake what they consider to be important research, their intrinsic satisfaction and interest in a discipline or a method does not only bring recognition by peers or a wider audience. Journals thus act as resonance chamber for scientific satisfaction. They have a research agenda embedded in both theoretical development and the practices of academics. Discussing the goal of the *BPP*, the chief editor stresses the intention to share the scientific satisfaction which authors could obtain through collaboration with this journal. "Establishing the *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* as a scholarly, value-based and policy-oriented journal of peace research, my aim was to deepen and disseminate knowledge on the causes of conflict and war, and on conditions for the maximization of the values of peace" (Thee 1988).

A niche journal contributes to institutionalize a field and its boundaries. This process relies on the identity and prestige of the journal in relation with the authors' satisfaction.

### ***1.3. A gatekeeper and social performer: the editorship of Security Dialogue***

The journal's content and how this has evolved constitute the core element of the rest of this chapter. This justifies some precautions, both as regards what the editorial line is and as regards constraints surrounding the editorship. Several authors have emphasized the dual "gatekeeper" role of scientific journals editors (Beyer 1978). Behind a journal lies an editorial process that demonstrates how journals are much more than just a collection of academic contributions. Rather, the editorship is pictured as a relationship between its chief editor, a board and contributors. It is a legitimacy-building process. Researchers build up the legitimacy of the journal and the journal builds up the legitimacy of a researcher. For instance, *Security Dialogue*

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<sup>5</sup> Interview, 26 January 2014

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

published several articles by Thomas G. Weiss<sup>7</sup> while he co-directed the United Nations Intellectual History Project from 1999 until 2010<sup>8</sup>.

Defined by Konrad, the goal of editing is “to adjudicate the intersubjective knowledge-conversion process whereby a manuscript representing the personal knowledge of the author(s) becomes part of the common body of knowledge in the field” (Baruch et al. 2008). Baruch and al. describe various facets of effective editorship, encompassing setting up and managing the peer review process, communicating with authors, staffing the editorial board and securing ad hoc reviewers, using technology to improve the editorial process and moving a journal up the rankings. Their discussion about the roles of editors and the processes of editorship in knowledge creation and dissemination sums up the relationship between journals and their field. For instance, the editorship is composed of several teams around the editor in chief without whom the process would be incomplete and lacking scientific support (Baruch et al. 2008). These constituencies of the journal revolve around a direction, the editorial line, given by the editorial team. As recalled during the interview, the increased number of contributions sent to *Security Dialogue* in the early 2000s could not have been successfully managed without the creation of associate editorial positions<sup>9</sup>. Being part of a team of editors induces a clear agreement upon the editorial line and selection criteria for evaluating articles.

Editorship covers several fundamental roles pertaining to the ongoing life of a journal. In the frontline, the editor is responsible for the decision-making inherent in the *publish or perish* environment of modern science. Editorship encompasses ambassadorial, mentorship, and managerial aspects of editing. The editor acts as an evaluator, while also being a style coach, fostering incremental and revolutionary change, providing the conditions for knowledge development, framed around the creation and the shifting of consensus. Consensus building is important in that the editorial line gives the editor a direction shared with authors wishing to publish in the journal. It is one of the tools with which to manage tensions arising within the editorship. While editors have a certain leverage, they are also dependent on what comes in from authors. They hold significant power over the selection of manuscripts to be published, but they are equally dependent on what they receive from authors. They occupy a key position in the publishing process that influences the shape of future knowledge, in relation to the field and discipline. Editorship carries with it a prominent scholarly position and prestige. The editor must earn the trust of the community, while the honour and responsibility of the position are accompanied by substantial hard work which often includes facing severe dilemmas (Baruch et al. 2008), such as whether to accept investment in the journal in order to build up an

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<sup>7</sup> Publications by Thomas G. Weiss in *Security Dialogue*: “Humanitarian Shell Games: Whither UN Reform?” (1998), “The Politics of Humanitarian Ideas” (2000), “The Sunset of Humanitarian Intervention? The Responsibility to Protect in a Unipolar Era” (2004), “Compromise and Credibility: Security Council Reform?” (2005), “An Unchanged Security Council: The Sky Ain’t Falling” (2005).

<sup>8</sup> Online access to the project description and data: <http://www.unhistory.org> (consulted 6 May, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> Interview, 24 January 2014.

international audience. The journal appears from this angle as cooperation around the identity, prestige and satisfaction.

There is an ethical dilemma surrounding the position of editorship. Aguinis and Vachetto describe this unsolvable trade-off for editors as one between doing *good* (outstanding editorial performance) and doing *well* (maximizing their research performance) (Aguinis and Vaschetto 2011). This dilemma was confirmed in the study interview as a matter of reconciling incoming articles and the editor's own agenda. In this model, the editor is caught in the middle of a world of invisible competition, along with reviewers and editorial board members, the journals they serve, and a journal's sponsors such as publishers and professional organizations. This relationship between journal editors and stakeholders is framed at multiple levels of analysis to include a consideration of editorial economic, social, and environmental performance.

Applied to *Security Dialogue*, the social performance of the first two editors, Marek Thee and Magne Barth, was a practical affair. The editorial line of the *BPP* as defined by Marek Thee was purely policy, where practitioners around the world would come up with ideas about solving some practical peace conflict problems. The editors spent much time in conferences, trying to meet people who had knowledge about conflicts and get them to write and publish in the journal. When Pavel Baev took over in 1995, the journal was still described as PRIO's policy-oriented quarterly journal. The journal itself had begun to evolve because SAGE took a half-ownership in 1994 and the journal became more academic, with the introduction of peer reviewing. From its non-peer reviewed days, the journal retained one-third of non peer-reviewed content, together with a book review section. At this stage, the journal maintained an open editorial line. Practically anything was published about security provided it had some scientific quality. At this stage, the legitimacy building intended to build *Security Dialogue*'s reputation rather than a satisfactory reward for its contributors in the field of ISS.

Under the editorship of Peter Burgess, this social performance evolved toward a type of family-bonded editorship. The editor was constrained by the incoming flow of articles, so the first task was to build confidence and an identity. He defines the editorial line like a research question to which academics were invited to answer. In order to produce knowledge following a sharp editorial line, the editor has to show leadership, bravado and courage. In 2002, Peter Burgess changed the entire editorial board, a symbolic change that also represented an opportunity to change the conditions under which the board worked. The board was not used as a pool of referees and had guarantees that it would not be asked to perform this service, except under emergency conditions. The task of the board is however to suggest articles and give advice in general terms, for instance in cases of reservations about a particular article or in the production of special issues. PRIO also sponsored small-scale biennial conferences with the board.

After a certain period following the introduction of these changes, the number of submissions drastically increased and PRIO had to insert a new level of management with associate editors, of which there are five today. The editor organizes regular Skype meetings to ensure the continuity of the editorial process with his team. Communication has created an active and personal, family-like style of editorship. The

articles and their object of study progressively started to form a niche-type journal. The overall high quality of the articles received increased the work of the selection process and quality was no longer the main editorial requirement, with the editorial line being used as a selection criterion. This social performance of editorial functions may in fact lead to the creation of a social network that in turn has an effect on the number and quality of future submissions. “Laband and Piette (1994) and Medoff (2003) have shown that an editor’s personal and institutional connections contributed to the identification and submission of high-quality and high-impact papers to the journal” (Aguinis and Vaschetto 2011: 417).

Since the editorship is a paid position at PRIO, the editorial line of *Security Dialogue* falls on the shoulders of the editor. During the interview, the chief editor defined this as having been a research question from the outset: “What is security?”<sup>10</sup>. The editorial line is not neutral; rather it reflects a set of values, of preferences, an ideology, assumptions and questions. The editorial line is subjective as regards content and includes epistemological considerations of two kinds. Coming as it does from a different discipline to political science or even a sub-discipline of IR, the editorial line reflects dissatisfaction with the existing definition of security within these disciplines. The journal’s process of innovation can be thus defined as the quest for transdisciplinary definitions of an object. In addition, the editorial line of *Security Dialogue* is characterized by its positioning within the field of IR. The journal wanted to be *critical* not in the sense of the cottage industry of Critical Security Studies (CSS), but in a sense inspired by Luc Boltansky as discussed in-depth during the interview.

Currently, the online journal describes the scope and aim of the journal<sup>11</sup>. *Security Dialogue* is a fully peer-reviewed and highly ranked international bi-monthly journal. The editorial line supports articles that combine contemporary theoretical analysis with challenges to public policy across a wide ranging field of security studies. Indeed, it encourages ground-breaking reflection on new and traditional security issues. It covers “globalization, nationalism, ethnic conflict and civil war, information technology, biological and chemical warfare, resource conflicts, pandemics, global terrorism, non-state actors and environmental and human security”<sup>12</sup>. Another aim of the journal is to revisit and recast the concept of security through new approaches and methodologies, echoing the interview. The journal aims to promote analysis of the normative dimensions of security, theoretical and practical aspects of identity and identity-based conflict, gender aspects of security and critical security studies. The editorial line was not defined outside the field at all. As recalled by the chief editor interviewed, they tried to capture the big fields, and within these, they paid attentive care to what the authors submit. “Even if they’re not acceptable articles, we listen to what the ideas are. And then we just try to use our intuitions, and our instincts, and

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<sup>10</sup> Interview, 26 January 2014: “That’s the question. I put my feet on the floor every morning asking what is security. And I only, as a general rule, really generally speaking, we only published articles that provide an answer to, that asks the same question, and to some sense, a little sense, provide an answer to that”.

<sup>11</sup> Online access to the journal *Security Dialogue* SAGE journals website: <http://sdi.sagepub.com> (consulted 6 May 2013)

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

our taste to look into the future”<sup>13</sup>. Special issues were also organized around objects within the field. These features of the editorial line and editorship build the legitimacy of the knowledge produced.

The editorial line plays a role in determining the rules by which scientists play. It delineates the limits of what can be discussed, and what issues or theories or methods are outside the field boundaries. Launched in the post-Cold War context, the journal in its previous form was no longer able to cope with the enormous ongoing flux and rapid changes. This period of dramatic historical change influenced the journal’s new guidelines. The exercise carried the risk of proposing an editorial line made irrelevant by the turn of the events. The editors deliberately chose dimensions which they believed would “remain central in the debate – and consequently within the pages of *Security Dialogue*: the transformation of the international political system; the political fusion and fragmentation of states; military, economic and environmental dimensions of regional and global security” (Barth 1992). However, a journal’s editorial line is in no way equivalent to the field itself, which includes several journals. It is worthy of note that *SD* was not the only ISS journal opening out to encompass other dimensions of security. The editors of *International Security* observe the evolving direction of international security policies as nations increasingly define their security “not only in the conventional modes of military strength, economic vigour, and governmental stability, but also in terms of capabilities previously less central: energy supplies, science and technology, food, and natural resources” (*International Security* 1976: 2). Journals navigate within a field, setting boundaries and innovation channels. They share the “big field”, but dig in different waters to fulfil their ethos.

## **2. Theoretical framework and method of the longitudinal study: quantitative data for qualitative analysis**

### ***2.1. Reflexive theoretical framework***

This chapter approaches the principle of *security* through a sectoral classification of the object of study. The methodology takes stock of the dense literature that discusses the principle itself or its practices, particularly recent publications that delve into the epistemological evolution of the principle (Gros 2012). It focuses on one specific discussion – the broadening of security into a plurality of security sectors and referents – because this has fed the research agenda of the ISS epistemic community.

Unlike some mythic stories about the development of ISS, these widening approaches were not caused by the ending of the Cold War as can be seen from the first articles published on this issue (Baldwin 1997; Buzan 1991; Rothschild 1995; Ullman 1983; Wolfers 1952). This perception reflects a self-understanding of the discipline as one following the international context. Buzan and Hansen argue that in reality, the literature that laid the groundwork for the rise of widening and deepening approaches in the 1990s was developed in the 1980s<sup>14</sup>. The first call for a theorization of widening was made in 1983 by Barry Buzan, and emerged through the work of the Copenhagen School, in particular Wæver on societal security. Barry Buzan, Ole

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<sup>13</sup> Interview, 14 January 2014.

<sup>14</sup> This assumption is discussed in the results of this research.

Waever and Jaap de Wilde proposed a new framework with which to analyse security in 1998. This opposed a narrow vision of security that only concerned the military sector and took states as its actors. They identified five security sectors to organize their research agenda: military, political, economic, environmental, and societal.

“Generally speaking, the military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and states’ perceptions of each other’s intentions. Political security concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic security concerns access to the resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Societal security concerns the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture and religious and national identity and custom. Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend” (Buzan et al. 1998).

This was strengthened in 1998 in a comprehensive new security framework viewing security as “a particular type of politics applicable to a wide range of issues” (Buzan et al. 1998). Through an analysis of five sectors, this framework “offers a constructivist operational method for distinguishing the process of securitization from that of politicization – for understanding who can securitize what and under what conditions” (Buzan et al., 1998). Each sector represents specific types of interactions: the military as relationships of forceful coercion; the political of authority, governing status, and recognition; the economic as the interaction of trade, production and finance; the societal of collective identity; and the environmental as relationships between human activity and the planetary biosphere.

The methodology of this study is based upon the widening and deepening theoretical framework proposed by Buzan and al. (Buzan et al. 1998). Indeed, the data used in this study was produced by scientists who depended to a large extent on the philosophy of the science of the day. Furthermore, a reflexive sociology of science challenges the legitimacy of science and the legitimate use of science. A longitudinal study of a journal contributes in its humble way to shed the light to more reflexivity within a field. It intends to throw into question scientific knowledge and its associated normative epistemology. As pointed out by Gaston Bachelard, a normative epistemology thinks “too much about the truths of established science and not enough about the errors of science in progress, scientific activity as it actually is” (Bourdieu 2004: 3).

This widening is part of a process of change and evolution within ISS. In this way, there is no normative pronouncement from these authors as what security should be. ISS has been well suited to acting as a home to multiple perspectives rather than to providing a deterministic grand theory (Buzan and Hansen 2009). However, there has been a rather normative call concerning whether issues should or should not be securitized. The securitization theory developed views the securitization process as a negative one.

Four main critiques have been made of the framework developed by Buzan and his colleagues (Skidmore 1999). As a result of beginning with definitional and

methodological questions, the framework permitted unfocused conceptual wandering and identified no compelling or concrete puzzle. Secondly, the framework eschewed causal analysis, preferring to give a complex conceptual framework without a complementary causal theory. Consequently, efforts to specify cause and effect were rendered far too arduous in such a broadly gauged exercise. Security issues are always contested and had to be proven to be security matters. For instance, to be able to talk about environmental security, research first has to prove that the issue at stake is a security one, which represents a weakness of the field. It also underlines the difficult integration of ISS within political sciences. The five security sectors are still not widely accepted today in political science. The third critique concerns the constructivist epistemology of the framework. The emphasis on discursive practices rather than what political actors are “able and willing to do as a predictable consequence of their words” was criticized (Skidmore 1999). Finally, the distinction between politicization and securitization was problematic. Securitization processes were differentiated in three ways from politicization: a special kind of politics, beyond politics, and an extreme version of politicization. Indeed, security is not necessarily characterized as beyond the normal political rules of the game.

Critiques targeted actual areas of theoretical weaknesses besides the conceptual widening and deepening. To some extent, this only emphasized the contested nature of the concept itself (Battistella 2006). Above all, these critiques stressed the renewal of the ISS research agenda for the coming decades. In less than 20 years, securitization theory has gained enough maturity for instance to develop a causal mechanism methodology, to foster debates beyond the *act* or to use it as a normative theory (Floyd 2011; Guzzini 2011; Huysmans 2011). There is therefore relevance in analysing *Security Dialogue* through the framework developed by Buzan and his colleagues in spite of the initial critiques<sup>15</sup>. This supports a reflexive longitudinal study of the ISS field.

## **2.2. Data collection and coding**

The main issues defined by the journal’s editorial line served as guidelines for classifying the articles: globalization, nationalism, ethnic conflict and civil war, information technology, biological and chemical warfare, resource conflicts, pandemics, global terrorism, non-state actors and environmental and human security. To complement this approach, other recurrent issues discussed by the articles were also classified empirically into the sectors. The following categories were created for each sector.

1. Military: means of war and strategic weapons (nuclear, information technology and biological and chemical warfare); global terrorism;

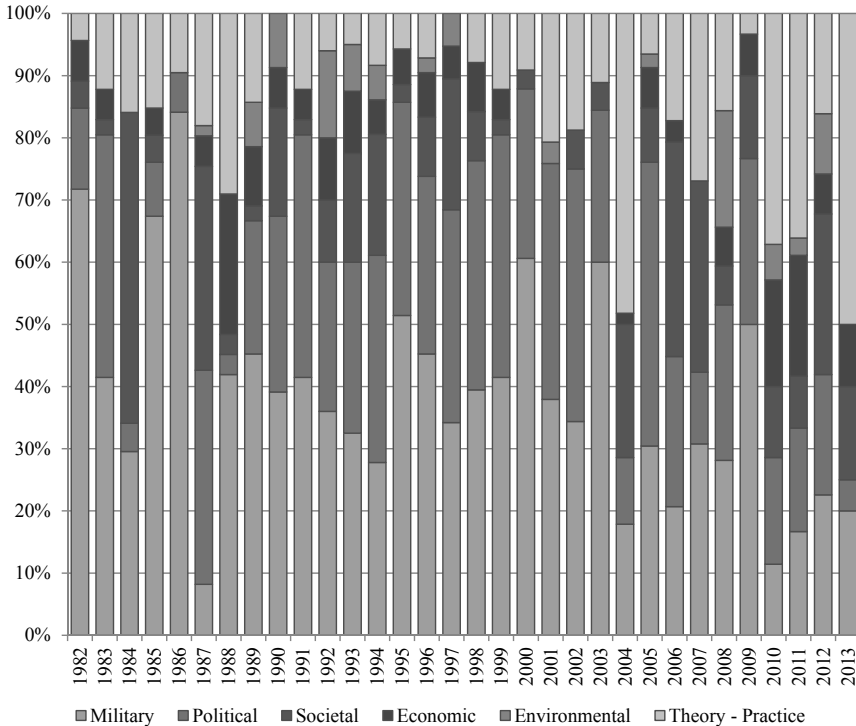
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<sup>15</sup> “The most useful aspect of this analysis is the initial insight that perceptions of threat and insecurity are not limited to states alone or to military competition. Intimately shaped by the Cold War context in which it was born, the field of security studies should indeed broaden its horizons and sharpen its analytical tools. Yet, the contribution of this study to that broader goal is not very significant”. D. SKIDMORE (1999). “Review Security: a new framework for analysis”, *American Political Science Review* 93: 1010-1011.



2. Political: nationalism; international organizations actors, mainly UN and NATO, and their policies such as intervention; political violence manifestation; non-state actors;
3. Societal: human security; causes of ethnic conflict and civil war; migration, forced displacement and mobility; humanitarianism, emancipation and post-colonial analysis; elements of identity, divisions or undermining groups or individuals' identities, especially women and the most vulnerable;
4. Economic: globalization; finance and market;
5. Environmental: resource conflicts; pandemics; environmental security.

**Figure 7.1:** Sectorial classification of *Security Dialogue's* contributions from 1982 to 2013



This study takes each article's title, assigns it to at least one category and calculates the number of occurrences in each category per year over the 30 years from 1982 until 2013 (see Figure 7.1). The titles reflect a content orientation through the concepts used, scientific recognition from the peer-reviewed process and an indication of the focus of the editorial line. Each publication is coded into one category only, according to the title. This data enables a qualitative interpretation of the publication content. The *theory-practice* category complements the five security sectoral categories. It was added due to the large amount of articles debating theoretical and practices of security, rather than empirical sectors. The objective is to identify the evolution of the editorial

line. The focus of the results analysis is how the editorial line changed over 30 years of publication.

The main challenge of the exercise was the difficulty in classifying some articles. It was also the strength of this chapter than to be able to provide a comprehensive picture of the sectoral distribution of *Security Dialogue* articles. When contradictions or hesitations remained after reading the title, a careful reading of the abstract or introduction was carried out. The sector was decided on the basis of the object addressed by the article, the means by which it was addressed, or its theoretical value. For instance, the article *Genealogies of resilience: From systems ecology to the political economy of crisis adaptation* could have been classified either in an environmental, economic or theoretical category (Walker and Cooper 2011). It was decided to place it in the environmental category as it studies the influence of ecological resilience over political economy explained by theoretical resemblances. The added value was more important in environmental security because it provided information about the increasing legitimacy of this sector. A second reason was that it demonstrated the impact of environmental security studies over the whole ISS research field. Indeed, the new logic of security in the 2000s results from the transformation of the question “how do we keep threats out?” to “how do we manage threats?” Security has become a matter of society’s *resilience* to security threats.

### 3. Results analysis

This chapter develops a comprehensive double-headed analysis. A quantitative reading of the data was complemented by a qualitative investigation of the journal’s articles conceptual content. Both analyse the evolution of ISS between 1982 and 2013. The results provide information on the editorial line in complementary ways.

#### 3.1. Trends in the editorial line and the profusion of concepts

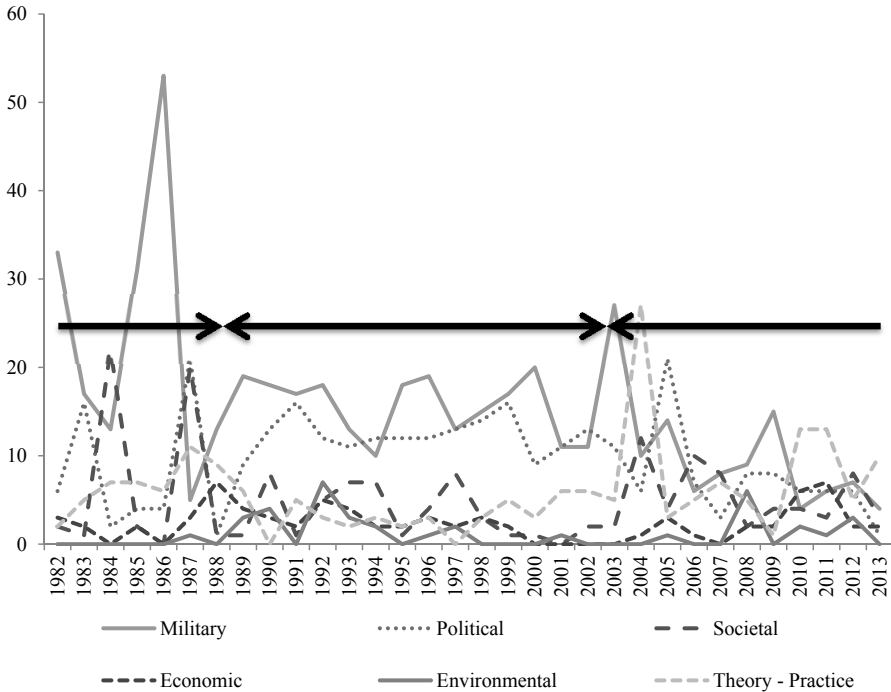
Patterns for each sector were identified over the 30 years of the study. Explanations of the amount of articles published in each sector were deduced from elements external to the editorial line mission statement. Variables from the international context and special issues reflecting the research agenda of the epistemic community were particularly valuable. These were of great use in explaining the evolution of the sectoral distribution and the definition of trends.

Figure 7.2 reveals 3 periods of analysis that can be related to the international context: the end of the Cold War, 1990s patterns, and post 9/11.

Each period also corresponds to a trend in the amount of contributions devoted to one or more categories (see Figure 7.2). The first one ends around 1988 and corresponds to the Cold War context. It reflects the domination of more traditional security and peace studies through the three sectors (military, societal and political). According to the figure, the military sector takes the lion’s share in the 1980s and 1990s compared to the other categories. The political sector is also significantly represented and accounts for the second major ISS sector during the first two periods. A few societal peaks also regularly appear. The variations in their representation are explained either by an editorial choice to cover a special issue or a specific momentum within the international context. In 1987 for instance, there was a series

of articles stemming from an International Seminar on *Ethnic Conflict and Human Rights* (societal) and a special issue about Humanitarian Organization-Building in the Third World (political). Being a reflection of the editorial priority of the journal, they partly explain peaks for societal security. These results, rather than surprising ISS field researchers, confirm the focus of the research agenda of ISS researchers and the contested meanings of security. “Military” is not the only traditional meaning of security. Political and societal sectors were already part of ISS prior to any formal splitting of the security concept into multiple sectors.

**Figure 7.2:** Two editorial lines, three trends: variations in the sectorial repartition of *Security Dialogue*'s contributions from 1982 to 2013



Attempts to more clearly define sectors emerged in the second period. Sectors such as societal or environmental appear heterogeneously on the figure, but other publications in the field testify to their emergence not only within the PRIO network<sup>16</sup> but also in the American IR literature (Deudney 1990; Homer-Dixon 1994; Homer-

<sup>16</sup> Researchers at PRIO work to identify new trends in global conflict, as well as to formulate and document new understandings of and responses to armed conflict. Founded in 1959, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) is an independent research institution known for its effective synergy of basic and policy-relevant research. The diversity of disciplines at PRIO creates a thriving research community that attracts both scholars and funding from around the world. The Institute owns and hosts the editorial offices of two international peer-reviewed journals – *Journal of Peace Research* and *Security Dialogue* – both of which are

Dixon and Levy 2011; Levy 1995; Mische 1989). The figure suggests that the editorial line was almost equally shared between political and military preoccupations, but this second period was also characterized by the rise of “hyphenated security” concepts. It runs from 1989 until 2002.

This period ended after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on US territory that reflects a renewal of interest in the *contested* qualification of security: what does security consist of and how do actors make political uses of security? Debates arose for instance about *insecurities* (Huysmans) and *creeping vulnerabilities* (Liotta)<sup>17</sup>. These reflect epistemological concerns about what constitutes security, and why this issue is a threat, to whom and for what reasons, rather than what is a threat. Above all, it stresses the growing theorization that the subfield is going through. This last period has seen the rise of a number of debates within the ISS research field of. Theory-practice, economic, societal, political and military sectors receive more equal attention, while environment is less represented than the others. The maturity of the ISS field grew as the research agenda of academic ISS expanded in both deepening and widening directions.

In reading this figure, the editorial line of *Security Dialogue* responds to its commitment to its audience to show the plural nature of debates. These discussions embedded within the wider field of ISS research reveal the stage of maturity of the field. These developments support the widening of the ISS agenda and the position of the editorial line.

The concepts contained in article titles support the figure readings and also enable development of another key argument. They reflect the three categories of concepts which have spun off from security: *complementary* concepts (deterrence for example), *parallel* concepts (like power) and *oppositional* concepts (such as peace) (Buzan and Hansen, 2009). These concepts surround the core concept of security and define the spectrum for each sector.

For instance, the military themes of nuclear weapons, arms control and the arms race, the ban on chemical weapons, space, deterrence, conflict management and trust-building dominate the journal’s research agenda during the Cold War. The consistent number of political security articles can be seen in concepts of sovereignty and legitimacy related to interventions by states, IOs and the role of the United Nations. Questions of intervention in internal conflict and of the institutionalization of international cooperation gain in importance by the end of the Cold War and still occupy a central place in the field of ISS. These were particularly acute issues in the 1990s due to the increasing number of international peace missions, such as those in

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edited at PRIO and published by Sage Publications in London. Information provided by PRIO website. Consulted 24 January, 2014 at <http://www.prio.no/About/>.

<sup>17</sup> Huysman’s article was even part of a special section “Theorizing the Liberty-Security Relation: Sovereignty, Liberalism and Exceptionalism” of the volume that stresses the growing theorization of ISS in the journal. J. HUYSMANS (2006). “International Politics of Insecurity: Normativity, Inwardness and the Exception”, *Security Dialogue* 37: 11-29; Ph. LIOTTA (2005). “Through the Looking Glass: Creeping Vulnerabilities and the Reordering of Security”, *Ibid.* 36: 49-70.

Kosovo, Albania and post-USSR states, as well as violence in fragile states such as Rwanda or Liberia.

These two themes coexisted with societal security themes that include the role of Churches (1984 special issue), peace education and movements with an emphasis on human rights in the 1980s. The editorial line was consistent with regards to the military sector in the first instance, but societal and political security sectors have shaped the research agenda of the emerging ISS.

The profusion of security concepts also relates to the deepening of the field. The development of human security for instance shown in the title of numerous articles demonstrates two points. This follows the launch of the concept of human security with the publication in 1994 of the annual UN Human Development Report, which sheds light on a key trend within the field: the deepening of security through acknowledging levels of security and the all-encompassing presence of security in society.

These tremendous developments reveal the profusion of ISS concepts over this period. These concepts define the boundaries of ISS research agendas. Furthermore, by covering several contexts, they assert which truths in the political world scientists struggle to uncover. As Bourdieu notes, when scientists explore concepts, they help to increase the maturity of a field without necessarily knowing so. The question of intervention remains a structuring truth within ISS. The number of truths that have already been discovered can thus define the maturity of a field. However Bourdieu, with a certain modesty, also reminds us that the struggle for the truth is necessarily endless.

### ***3.2. Choices made: an implicit hierarchy amongst sectors?***

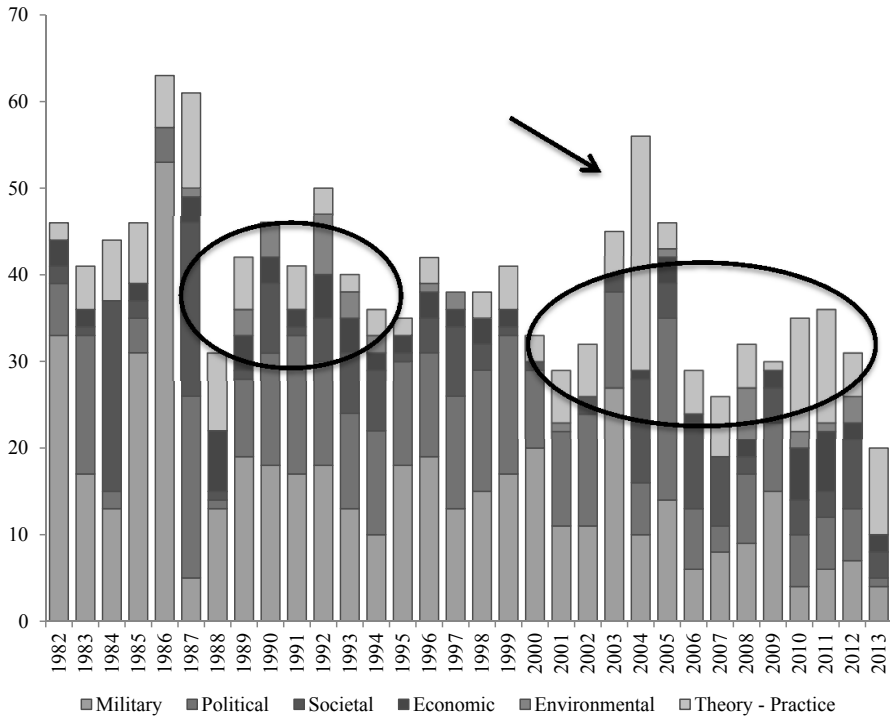
Apart from the confrontation of the context with the qualitative representation of each sector, what else is new in the post-Cold War agenda?

The environmental sector emerged in the late 1980s (see Figure 7.3 circle). It first appeared in 1987 in an article titled “The Quest for a Disaster Early Warning System Giving a Voice to the Vulnerable”. This reflects a more general turn in the international community’s attitude toward humanitarian natural or man-made disasters interventions. The preparedness and human security agendas pertaining to the most vulnerable has impacted more widely on ISS and practices of intervention: “The vital debate on the foundations and frontiers of humanitarian intervention – of which this special section on the ethics of humanitarian intervention can only scratch the surface – is perhaps the greatest political question of our time, involving a renegotiation of the fundamental ideas by which modern Western civilization understands itself” (Burgess 2002)<sup>18</sup>. It furthermore marks the first reflexions on disasters and risks, which are certainly on the agenda of contemporary academics.

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<sup>18</sup> A key article making a call for the development of the intervention paradigm is *Resilience and human security: The post-interventionist paradigm* (2012).

**Figure 7.3:** What titles say about the editorial line: an analysis of *Security Dialogue* contributions' title from 1982 to 2013



Later, between 1989 and 1993, the environmental security research agenda was strengthened by the context of the first Rio conference in 1992 and the recognition within Earth Sciences of dangerous global environmental changes such as global warming. Contextual arguments are not the only explanatory variables. The first environmental security articles were published in 1989 and discussed this hyphenated concept's foundations, the need for international governance of the security of environment and the evolution of security as a contested concept. Three key articles were published in *Security Dialogue* under the titles “Security and the Environment: A Preliminary Exploration”, “International Organization for Environmental Security” and “The Environmental Component of Comprehensive Security”. However, there are almost no existing traces of debates on environmental conflict, scarcity and the tragedy of the commons, which were vivid at this moment. This reveals an editorial choice either not to promote these research efforts which were spawning the controversies over the constitution of a research agenda after the end of the Cold War or not receiving enough scientific high quality contributions. It was indeed during this period that Homer-Dixon published the first results of his landmark, but contested research project on violence and environment (Homer-Dixon 1994; Homer-Dixon 1991).

The analysis of this sector clearly reveals three elements that shape the trend of evolution of the research agenda: contextual events, research-based events and impacts

from other sciences. The reflexivity aroused by this claim is quite significant because it shows that the definition of what constitutes security is a structuring question for this field of research. The major added value of this analysis is the recognition of the role of other sciences in the security agenda. The latter is today the least valued argument while its impact has actually been more profound on the definition of the security research agenda. Nuclear and chemical weapons would not have emerged without the technological availability and the economic promises they compounded. Environmental concerns would not have grown into security issues if earth system sciences had not proved anthropic climatic changes. Reflexivity recognises the transdisciplinary nature of ISS not only in terms of method of analysis and theory, but also in terms of the data used to identify those threats, risks and urgencies that affect policy-making<sup>19</sup>.

The theory-practice nexus was initially added due to the importance of non-sectoral articles in the 2000s (see Figure 7.3 circle and arrow). It is worth noting that theoretical articles have taken a more prominent place in the last decade, fostered by longstanding debates on human security, critical security studies and securitization theory. Nonetheless, if there are no more theory-practice nexus articles, this is justified by the method used. Articles were ranked in priority within a sector even if they provided a discussion of the theory or security practices. The bias thus produced can also be regarded as a methodological advantage because theory-practice articles only discuss the emergence of new security practices or theoretical debates.

### ***3.3 Qualitative interpretations: the journal as a research practice, field maturity and the widening and deepening of security***

A first general comment of the qualitative analysis of the titles concerns the vitality and diversity of the theoretical debates<sup>20</sup>. Beyond reflecting the vast range of these discussions, the titles provide a gauge of the field's maturity. Furthermore, when editorials have been written for special issues or due to specific events on the international scene, they proved to be valuable readings with which to interpret dialogues among ISS researchers.

The content of titles enables refinement of the definition of each sector. Political stability is not only about state legitimacy. It is about the legitimacy brought by state

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<sup>19</sup> A special issue focused on Security, Technologies of Risk, and the Political (2008).

<sup>20</sup> Key examples of Human Security debates emerge in these titles: "Human Security as Political Resource: A Response to David Chandler's Human Security: The Dog That Didn't Bark" (2008), "The Critique That Doesn't Bite: A Response to David Chandler's Human Security: The Dog That Didn't Bark" (2008), "Human Security II: Waiting for the Tail To Wag the Dog – A Rejoinder to Ambrosetti, Owen and Wibben" (2008). Another landmark is the controversial boomerang effect of 9/11: "Converging Interests and Agendas: the Boomerang Returns" (2002), "Securitization and the Boomerang Debate: A Rejoinder to Liotta and Smith-Windsor" (2003), "Through the Looking Glass: Creeping Vulnerabilities and the Reordering of Security" (2005). The key argument is "that terrorism is one of a number of vulnerability issues, that vulnerabilities left unchecked over time can become threats, and that we must focus on a long-term security agenda do not justify his allegations of 'inconsistencies [and] ill-developed or uncorroborated contentions and concepts'" (Liotta, 2002: 489).

and non-state actors to the political institutionalization associated with building peace. The analysis also shows how theoretical and philosophical debates are embedded in security sectors. The legitimacy arguments within the political sector implicitly question who obtains and *who doesn't obtain* security. These are embedded in a discussion of the relationship between liberty and security which is crucial to the political sector and confirmed in the editorial line.

“One of the constitutive problems of modern political life has been the relationship between claims about security and claims about liberty. This problem may be traced to various attempts to think about philosophical and theological questions about free will in an apparently determinate universe in relation to the emerging authority of the modern state and system of states in early modern Europe. It may also be traced to the more specifically liberal aspiration to cultivate subjects capable of thinking and acting for themselves within the determinations and legal jurisdictions of sovereign states acting in a system of sovereign states” (Walker 2006).

The titles offer compelling evidence that sectors provide only a narrow representation of the widening and the deepening of ISS. A particularity of ISS is the profusion of conceptual innovations. These may emerge from theoretical deepening such as the concepts of resiliency or biosecurity. Moreover, the vast increase in intellectual references within political science indicates an effort to broaden the affiliation of ISS to a wider field of research<sup>21</sup>.

Deepening has triggered theoretical and methodological innovations. ISS methods include discourse analyses as much as media framing, sociological analysis of practices or analyses of images<sup>22</sup>. New objects and places of violence emerge with the observation of security practices. Their presence in the title demonstrates a stage of maturity of a field of research able to theorize within a reflexive science. Marieke de Goede for instance studies how “premediation” as a new security practice of the media self-consciously deploys imagination to feed economies of both anxiety and desire<sup>23</sup>. These arguments reveal a mature state of development in the ISS research field. The practice of reflexivity develops the maturity of a field, defined when a generalized relativity of points of view actively constitutes the field. In other words, it is when the space of points of view widens to reach closer truth, the “view without a point of view” as defined by Bourdieu. This space where all the points of view meet is what constitutes a field. A field is where “the antagonistic points of view clash in accordance with regulated procedures and are gradually integrated, through rational confrontation” (Bourdieu 2004: 116). This leads to an understanding of the maturation

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<sup>21</sup> Examples of articles with these references are “Towards a Political Sociology of Security Studies” (2010); “Foucault’s Legacy: Security, War and Violence in the 21st Century” (2010), and “Foucault in Guantánamo: Towards an Archaeology of the Exception” (2006).

<sup>22</sup> For instance, “Performing Identity: The Danish cartoon crisis and discourses of identity and security” (2013), “Militarization and Visual Culture in the Worlds of Post-9/11” (2007), “Steve Bell’s Eye: Cartoons, Geopolitics and the Visualization of the War on Terror” (2007), and “Digitized Virtuosity: Video War Games and Post-9/11 Cyber-Deterrence” (2007).

<sup>23</sup> The title of the article reflects the theory-practice nexus: “Beyond Risk: Premediation and the Post-9/11 Security Imagination” (2008).



of a field within a path of confrontations. The notion of path-dependency can explain the way a field matures toward a truth.

Nonetheless, qualitative interpretation of the titles has its own limits. While it reflects the content, and conceptual and sectoral evolution of the widening and deepening of ISS, it does not provide us with sociology of that widening. Who are the editors? Why do we have these special issues? How can we explain the domination of certain authors and schools within ISS? These questions remain unanswered by this chapter. A longitudinal study of the process of publishing a special issue would require a different, but complementary method of research based on interviews with the other chief editors and assessment of the authors' biography. Finally, a comparison of editorships between journals of one field would be a way to analyse domination patterns within the subfield. To provide more reflexivity engages researchers to deliver a refined sociology of the field.

Despite this complementary remark, what is missing from this single-heading title analysis is an appreciation of a given article's content. Because in several cases a short reading of the title did not provide sufficient information to enable an article to be classified within a security sector, reading most of the abstracts or introductions increased the value of the analysis, but this was not done systematically. Finally, a systematic analysis of the concept would also have brought a more refined analysis of the conceptual geography of ISS beyond these five sectors. Indeed, by using a complementary method, this study could draw a map of *complementary*, *parallel* and *oppositional* concepts to security and assess the evolution of their use. This would leave the sectoral analysis aside, but would draw a refined picture of the conceptual understanding of ISS.

### Conclusion

This chapter analysed *Security Dialogue*, a global academic journal recognized in the IR subfield of international security studies (ISS). It stressed how a journal mirrors both external contexts and internal debates amongst its epistemic community and assessed thirty years of its existence in order to categorize these developments. Both of these features of a journal were supported by the findings of the study. The methodology combined quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide complementary interpretations of the innovation process within ISS, understood as the widening and deepening of the object of study *security*. It provided compelling evidence of how *Security Dialogue* as an academic journal fulfils a role in the subfield by promoting the "art of innovating". The journal in fact plays on two chords to study security and these have shaped its editorial line over the past 30 years. Under the Cold War paradigm, security became a legitimate object of International Relations. Meanwhile, security also developed within other disciplines, making it a transdisciplinary object of study. The editorial line of the journal has made room for both discussions to interact and thus produce innovation in an ISS subfield that does not intend to enter into competition with mainstream ISS journals. In the 1990s, its repositioning as a theory journal supported by empirical research studies explains the current burst of contributions received by the editors.

The chapter questioned how the process of innovation of a journal explains the success of *Security Dialogue* in ISS. Apart from the first hypothesis, the last two have been verified by the study. First, the widening and deepening of ISS has not constituted the editorial line of the journal; instead, the chapter supports the idea that the context of IR and the co-constitution of the field and disciplines have been hosted by the journal (H1). In fact, the journal's identity and its editorial ideology have created the process of innovation in the pages of *Security Dialogue* (H3). The broadening of the concept of *security* has been influenced by external factors, mainly the IR context and internal factors within the field, namely researchers' satisfaction to impose their epistemological and ontological claims. It is not surprising to note that the evolution of ISS subfield is wider than the mere evolution of one journal's editorial line. Indeed, the editorial line of *Security Dialogue* has not been defined in terms of widening and deepening of security, but being part of the evolution of ISS, it reflects this widening and deepening, but only partially. It supports that the historiography and reflexivity of the field is the result of a co-construction by its journals and authors. Besides, some features of the evolution of its editorial line, such as the shift from a policy- to theory-oriented journal, reflect not only the evolution of the subfield, but of IR at large. These elements justify how editorial lines play a role in the maturation of the ISS subfield. As a process of innovation, it provides a niche journal located within the field (H2). In this socio-institutional process, it can be assumed that rather than competing with mainstream ISS journals, *SD* continuously reaffirms its "edgy" identity. Its editorial line acts as the gatekeeper of innovation, in guaranteeing the Scandinavian journal a rather independent process of innovation at the edge of the IR field. *Security Dialogue* contributes to the emergence of debates at the edge of ISS while keeping track of mainstream discussions.

This study of the relationship between a journal and its field confirmed existing historiographies and histories of IR. Indeed, our finding shows that the field gained maturity not only in the aftermath of the ending of the Cold War, but that this trend started even under the Cold War paradigm. Reviewing *Security Dialogue's* contributions from 1982 until 2013, the results show that the context acts as if it provides new insights with which to forge and frame the concept of security. The Cold War period gave birth to ISS through strategic and peace research studies. Complementary, parallel and oppositional concepts have set the boundaries of the subfield within a paradigm. These concepts have changed between the Cold War and post 9/11 paradigms, the latter being representative of the age of insecurities. In fact, a paradigm is helpful when revisiting and recasting the concept of security through new approaches and methodologies. The proliferation of security concepts has played an important part in the maturation of the field. It defines a space of points of view where concepts aggregate towards truth. Moreover, by addressing issues of enmity and threat not only in a moment of war, the development of ISS has given more relevance to this subfield. With regards to the sectoral distribution of ISS, the study supports the view that ISS is organized into a plurality of securities with no hierarchy between them. However, it was obvious that ISS derives from a more military – political – societal axis of securities. The development of a plural ISS remains even today a challenging conceptualization for the field.

Finally, although the chapter does not wish to generalize too widely, it also offers information about the evolution of political science as a discipline. Political science relies upon its fields and subfields, and their particular concepts that challenge the principles of political science. The maturity of the subfield depends on the capacity of its researchers to innovate theoretically, but the art of innovation is not restricted to one discipline. On the contrary, innovation can be stimulated by other disciplines within social and natural sciences. It has been argued that ISS field is more transdisciplinary because what makes a threat depends on the sciences related to each of the sectors. Cultural studies, ethnology and psychology are assets for societal security. Earth system science, cultural studies, risks studies and geography are assets for environmental security. Political theory, law and philosophy are assets for political security. This transdisciplinarity is another demonstration of the evolution of the subfield. Ripeness for innovation within a field not only derives from contextual changes in dominant structures or scientific breakthrough in the discipline of research. It also derives from communicating outside the core discipline.

This study of *Security Dialogue* tends to support the idea that within this niche-type journal, scientific breakthrough is the product of the association of critical ontology and transdisciplinary research studies. A nuance which should be made to this study concerns the epistemology bias induced by focusing on one core concept of political science. Indeed, looking at what security is, as a set of practices or as a discursive act, offers little information about what makes security a contested concept in political science. A niche-type journal only participates on the margins of what happens in the rest of the discipline. It mainly focuses on its editorial line and may leave to one side debates that animate the rest of political science. A journal aims to bring reflexivity to the field in many ways, but it appears from this study that a key to success is striking a balance between the ideology of the editorial line and its core discipline.

## CHAPTER 8

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

Marie-Catherine WAVREILLE

“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; Ruger 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 Waever has pointed out, uses journals as “the most direct measure of the discipline itself” (Waever 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).

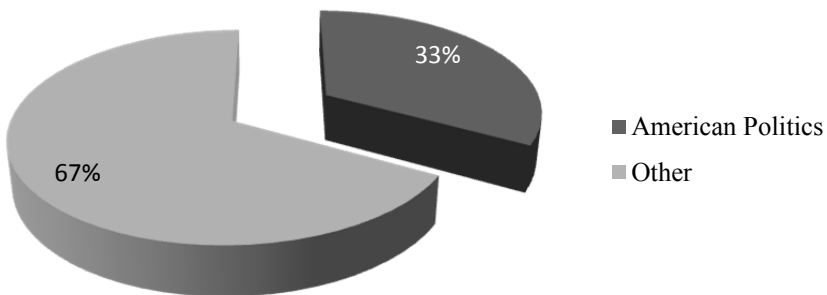
For the purpose of this study, all articles published in the *APSR* since 1982 were reviewed. As in previous work on journals (Billordo 2005; Gottraux et al. 2000; Hix 2004), I excluded from consideration editorial comments, book reviews, controversies,



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 (%)

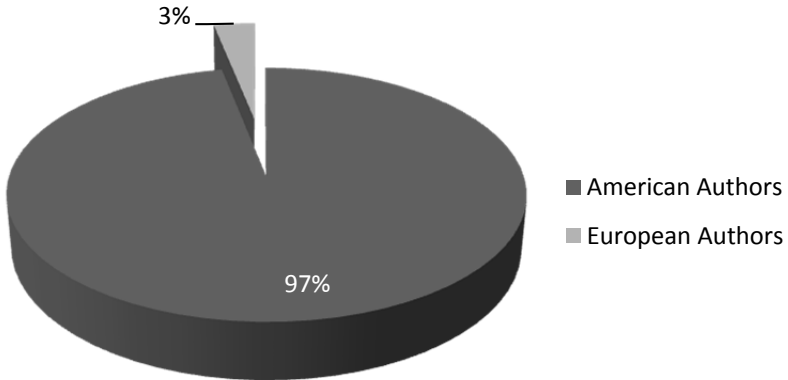


As a second step, data on the geographical dispersion of the authors was collected in order to distinguish foreign-based scholars from their colleagues based in American universities. While some studies consider the nationality of the authors (Schmitter 2002), most research studies use the criteria of 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
Sadatumi 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 Zemsky	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 McDaniels 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 Rothermere 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.



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# Contributors

**Lorenzo Angelini** is an FRS-FNRS Research Fellow and a PhD Candidate at the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB) – REPI. In his PhD thesis, he studies civil-military relations within EU institutions and their impact on views of the European Union as an international actor among EU personnel. His principal research interests include civil-military relations, the EU's external action and Common Security and Defence Policy, IR theory, and the foreign policy of the United States.

**Manuel Cervera-Marzal** is a researcher at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) where he teaches several courses. He received his PhD degree in Political Science from the Université libre de Bruxelles and the Université Paris Diderot. He previously completed his Master's degree at Sciences Po. He has published several scientific articles and six books including *Gandhi. Politique de la non-violence* (Michalon, 2015) and *Autonomie ou barbarie. La démocratie radicale de Cornelius Castoriadis et ses défis contemporains* (Le Passager clandestin, 2015, with Eric Fabri).

**Caroline Close** is a FRS-FNRS Postdoctoral Researcher at the Université libre de Bruxelles. She is a member of the Centre d'étude de la vie politique (CEVIPOL). Her doctoral dissertation investigated the institutional and sociological causes of parliamentary party dissent. Her main research interests include party organization, intraparty politics, party ideology, and legislative studies. She is also interested in the causes and effects of different forms of democratic innovations.

**Ramona Coman** is Professor assistant in Political Science at the Université libre de Bruxelles. Before her nomination as Director of the Institute for European Studies in 2014, she served as Deputy Director of the Centre d'étude de la vie politique (CEVIPOL). She received her PhD in political science from the ULB and she was post-doctoral fellow at the University of Bologna in 2008. Her research interests relate to Europeanization, European integration, and judicial reforms. Her work has been published in peer-reviewed journals including the *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, the *Journal of European Integration*, *Perspective*

on *European Politics and Societies*, *Revue française de science politique*, and *Politique européenne*.

**Clément Jadot** is a PhD student at the Centre d'étude de la vie politique at the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), where he has also been a teaching assistant since 2010. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Politics and a Masters in European Studies. His research is mainly devoted to the study of national political parties' attitudes towards the European Union, with a particular focus on Belgian political parties.

**Camille Kelbel** is a PhD candidate at the ULB, taking part in the "PartiRep" Interuniversity Attraction Pole. Prior to joining the ULB, Camille Kelbel was an academic assistant at the College of Europe, Bruges. She completed her undergraduate studies at Sciences Po Lyon and also holds a Master's degree in European Politics from Sciences Po Strasbourg. Her PhD project focuses on candidate selection for European elections. More generally, her research interests lie in EU politics, political parties and elections.

**Jean-Frédéric Morin** is Associate Professor at Laval University, where he holds the Canada Research Chair in International Political Economy. Before being invited to hold this research chair, he was professor at Université libre de Bruxelles from 2008 to 2014 and post-doctoral researcher at McGill University from 2006 to 2008. His most recent research projects look at global institutional complexes, transnational expert networks and policy diffusion in the fields of trade, intellectual property and environment. His recent publications have appeared in leading journals such as *International Studies Quarterly*, *European Journal of International Relations*, and *Review of International Political Economy*. His current working papers can be downloaded from [www.chaire-epi.ulaval.ca](http://www.chaire-epi.ulaval.ca).

**Lidia Núñez** holds a PhD from the Université libre de Bruxelles. She is a member of the Centre d'étude de la vie politique (CEVIPOL) and works as a researcher in the "PartiRep" Interuniversity Attraction Pole. She holds an MA in Political and Administration Sciences and an MA in Sociology from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, and an MA in Applied Statistics and Statistics of the Public Sector from the Universidad de Alcalá. Her research interests include electoral systems, political parties and elections.

**Krystel Wanneau** received her MA in Political Science from Sciences Po Grenoble in 2010. Before joining the Université libre de Bruxelles, she worked for several international organizations and think tanks. She is teaching assistant at the ULB and she conducts a joint PhD with the Université libre de Bruxelles and the Université Laval. She is a member of the REPI (Recherche et Enseignement en Politique Internationale). Her PhD deals with knowledge circulation and innovation orchestrated by international actors. Her main research interests are in International Relations Theory and Science and Technologies Studies.

**Marie-Catherine Wavreille** holds a BA in political science and a BA in sociology and anthropology, both from Université Saint-Louis, Brussels, and a MA in political science from Université libre de Bruxelles. She is a PhD student at Université libre de Bruxelles with the support of the Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique (FRS-FNRS) and is currently a visiting graduate student at the Department of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego. Her research interests include political campaigns, direct democracy, with special attention to American politics.



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