Thomas J. Volgy

Political Science
School of Government and Public Policy
University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721
U.S.A.
Telephone 520 621-1208
Fax 520 621-5051
Email volgy@email.arizona.edu

Web page: www.volgy.org

Education

B.A., Oakland University. Majors: Political Science and History.

M.A., University of Minnesota. Major: Political Science. **Ph.D.,** University of Minnesota. Major: Political Science.

National Security Seminar, Colorado College, 1972.

Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, University of Michigan, 1972.

Scholar-Diplomat Seminar, Department of State, 1973; 1974.

Political Leadership and Management Seminar, J.F. Kennedy School of

Government, Harvard University, 1983.

Leadership and Governance Seminar for Mayors, J.F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1987.

Professional Experience

Faculty member, Department of Political Science and School of Government and Public Policy, University of Arizona, 1971 to present. Full Professor.

Executive Director, International Studies Association, 1995 to 2015.

Mayor, City of Tucson, 1987--1991.

Councilmember, City of Tucson, 1977--1987.

Owner, Magellan International LLC, 1995—(consulting firm)

Research Associate, Pardee Center, University of Denver, 2016-

Visiting Professor, International Relations Faculty, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2012

Visiting Professor, School of International Relations, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), Moscow, Russia, 2014.

Visiting Professor, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, 2015.

Fellow, TransResearch Consortium, 2016--

Administrative Experience

Department Head, Department of Political Science, University of Arizona

Director, Teaching Center, University of Arizona

Mayor, City of Tucson

Executive Director, International Studies Association

Publications

Books and Monographs

Volgy, Thomas J., Jennifer L. Miller, Jacob Cramer, Megan Hauser, Paul Bezerra. 2013. *An Exploration Into Status Attribution in International Politics*. Occasional Paper Series on Political Science and Public Policy Research: School of Government and Public Policy (University of Arizona).

Volgy, Thomas J., Renato Corbetta, Keith A. Grant, and Ryan G. Baird (eds.). 2011. *Major Powers and the Quest for Status in International Politics*. Palgrave/MacMillan.

Volgy, Thomas J., Zlatko Sabic, Petra Roter and Andrea Gerlak (eds.), 2009. *Mapping the New World Order*. Cambridge: Wiley-Blackwell.

Konstantin Khudoley and Thomas J. Volgy (eds.). 2008. *Reflecting on a Wider Europe and Beyond: Norms, Rights and Interests*. St Petersburg: Saint-Petersburg University Press.

Volgy, Thomas J., and Alison Bailin. 2003. *International Politics and State Strength*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Volgy, Thomas J. 2001. *Politics in the Trenches: Citizens, Politicians, and the Fate of Democracy*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press (now in its third printing).

Schwarz, John E., Thomas J. Volgy. 1992. *The Forgotten Americans: Working Hard and Living Poor in the Land of Opportunity*. New York: W.W. Norton. This was chosen as one of five finalists for the Harry Chapin Award by the World Hunger Association in 1993; chosen as one of the best twenty five books on poverty since 1945, by Reinvesting in America; and was cited by the New York Times (December 26, 1993:20) as a "new and noteworthy" selection, as "its important revelations promise to challenge the conscience of Washington."

Volgy, Thomas J. 1976. *Exploring Relationships Between Mass Media and Political Culture: The Impact of Television and Music on American Society*. Tucson: Institute of Government Research (editor and contributor).

Articles and Book Chapters

Volgy, Thomas J., and Kelly Marie Gordell. 2019. "Rising Powers, Status Competition and Global Governance: Some Conceptual Challenges." *Comparative Politics* (forthcoming)

Volgy, Thomas J., Kelly Marie Gordell, and Paul Bezerra. 2019. "Crucial Fault Lines in the Middle East: Interstate Rivalries in Comparative Perspective." In Mansour and Thompson (eds.), *Shocks and Rivalry: Whatever Happened to Interstate Antagonisms in the Middle East?* Georgetown: Georgetown University Press.

Volgy, Thomas J. 2018. "Rule by Referees: The Curious World of Academic Judgment." In Gofas, Hamati-Ataya, and Onuf (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of History, Philosophy and Sociology of International Relations*. New York: Sage Publications.

Volgy, Thomas J., Paul Bezerra, J. Patrick Rhamey, and Jacob Cramer. 2017. "The Case for Comparative Analysis in International Politics." *International Studies Review* (July) (DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/vix011).

Volgy, Thomas J., Kelly Gordell, J. Patrick Rhamey, and Paul Bezerra. 2017. "Conflicts, Regions, and Regional Hierarchies." In W.R. Thompson (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Empirical International Relations Theories*, New York: Oxford University Press (June; DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.310)

Miller, Jennifer, Jacob Cramer, Thomas J. Volgy, Paul Bezerra, Megan Hauser. 2015. "Norms, Behavioral Compliance and Status Attribution in International Politics." *International Interactions* 41 (5): 779-804.

Rhamey, J. Patrick, Michael Slobodchikoff, and Thomas J. Volgy. 2015. ""Order and Disorder across Geopolitical Space: The Effect of Declining Dominance on Interstate Conflict." *Journal of International Relations and Development*.

Bezerra, Paul, Jacob Cramer, Megan Hauser, Jennifer L. Miller, and Thomas J. Volgy. 2015. "Going for the Gold versus Distributing the Green: Foreign Policy Substitutability and Complementarity in Status Enhancement Strategies." *Foreign Policy Analysis.* 11: 253-272.

Rhamey, Patrick, William R. Thompson, and Thomas J. Volgy. 2014. "Distance, Size and Turmoil: North-South Mediterranean Interactions." *Cahiers de la Mediterranee*, 44.

Volgy, Thomas J., and J. Patrick Rhamey. 2014. "Regions in International Politics: A Framework for Integrating Systemic, Regional, and Monadic Approaches." *Vestnik MGIMO* (Journal of International Relations).

Volgy, Thomas J., Renato Corbetta, J. Patrick Rhamey, Ryan G. Baird, and Keith Grant. 2014. "Status Considerations in International Politics and the Rise of Regional Powers." In Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth (eds.), *Status in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Volgy, Thomas J. 2014. "A Cautious but Optimistic View from the Other Side of the Water's Edge." *European Review of International Studies* 1:141-146.

Corbetta, Renato, Thomas J. Volgy, and J. Patrick Rhamey. 2013. "Major Power Status (In)Consistency and Political Relevance in International Relations Studies." *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, 19:3.

Volgy, Thomas J, Elizabeth Fausett, and John Rhamey. 2012. "Is The Central European Region a Neighborhood?" in Sabic and Drulek (eds.), *Regional and International Relations of Central Europe*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Volgy, Thomas J., Renato Corbetta, Keith A. Grant, and Ryan G. Baird. 2011. "Major Power Status in International Politics." In Volgy, Corbetta, Grant, and Baird (eds.), Major Powers and the Quest for Status in International Politics. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Cline, Kirssa, Patrick Rhamey, Alexis Henshaw, Alesia Sedziaka, Aakriti Tandon, and Thomas J. Volgy. 2011. "Identifying Regional Powers and Their Status." In Volgy, Corbetta, Grant, and Baird (eds.), Major Powers and the Quest for Status in International Politics. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Elizabeth Fausett, and Thomas J. Volgy. 2010. "Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) and Interstate Conflict: Parsing Out IGO Effects for Alternative Dimensions of Conflict in Postcommunist Space." *International Studies Quarterly*.

Volgy, Thomas J, Elizabeth Fausett, and Keith Grant, 2009. "Changing Architecture and Post-Cold War Transition," in William Thompson, (ed.) *Systemic Transitions: Past, Present and Future*, Westport: Palgrave.

Fausett, Elizabeth, and Thomas J. Volgy. 2008. "IGOs and the Strategic Choice to Join: Europe's Post Cold War Architecture," in Khudoley and Volgy (eds.), *Reflecting on a Wider Europe and Beyond: Norms, Rights and Interests*.

Volgy, Thomas J., Kristin Kanthak, Derrick V. Frazier, and Rob Stuart Ingersoll. 2008. "Resistance to Hegemony Within the Core: Domestic Politics, Terrorism, and

Divergence in the G7." In Davis Bobrow (ed.). *Hegemony Constrained: Evasion, Modification, and Resistance to American Foreign Policy*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Volgy, Thomas J., Elizabeth Fausett, Keith A. Grant, and Stuart Rodgers. 2008. "A New Database for Identifying Formal Intergovernmental Organizations." *Journal of Peace Research*.

Volgy, Thomas J., Kristin Kanthak, Derrick V. Frazier, and Robert Stewart Ingersoll. 2004. "The G7, International Terrorism, and Domestic Politics: Modeling Policy Cohesion in Response to Systemic Disturbances." *International Interactions* 30, 191-209.

Volgy, Thomas J., Derrick V. Frazier, and Robert Stewart Ingersoll. 2003. "Preference Similarities and Group Hegemony:G7 Voting Cohesion in the UN General Assembly." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 5: 51-70.

Volgy, Thomas J., and Lawrence E. Imwalle. 2000. "Two Faces of Hegemonic Strength: Structural versus Relational Capabilities." *International Interactions*, 26: 229-51.

Volgy, Thomas J., Lawrence E. Imwalle, and John E. Schwarz. 1999. "Where is the New World Order? Hegemony, State Strength, and Architectural Construction in International Politics." *Journal of International Relations and Development* (Fall).

Volgy, Thomas J., Lawrence E. Imwalle, and Jeff J. Corntassel. 1997. "Structural Determinants of International Terrorism: The Effects of Hegemony and Polarity on Terrorist Activity." *International Interactions* 23:207-31.

Volgy, Thomas J., and John E. Schwarz. 1997. "Free Trade, Economic Inequality and the Stability of Democracies in the Democratic Core of Peace." *European Journal of International Relations* 3:239-53.

Volgy, Thomas J., John E. Schwarz. 1996. Worker Power and Wages: The Influence of Productivity, International Trade, and Inflation in Ten Democratic Nations. *American Journal of Political Science*, November.

Volgy, Thomas J., Larry Imwalle. 1995. Hegemonic Perspectives on the New World Order. *American Journal of Political Science*, November.

Volgy, Thomas J., Stacey Mayhall. 1995. Status Inconsistency and International War: Exploring the Effects of Systemic Change. *International Studies Quarterly* 39, 1.

Volgy, Thomas J., John E. Schwarz. 1994. Foreign Policy Restructuring and the Myriad Webs of Restraint: Some Conceptual and Theoretical Issues. In Hagan, Sampson, Rosati (eds.), *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Schwarz, John E., Thomas J. Volgy. 1993. One-Fourth of the Nation: Above the Poverty Line--But Poor. *The Nation*, February 15, 1993.

Schwarz, John E., Thomas J. Volgy. 1992. Out of Line. *The New Republic*. November 23.

Schwarz, John E., Thomas J. Volgy. 1992. How Economic Development Succeeds and Fails at the Same Time. *Governing*, November.

Schwarz, John E., Thomas J. Volgy. 1992. Social Support for Self-Reliance. *The American Prospect*, Spring.

Volgy, Thomas J., John E. Schwarz. 1991. Does Politics Stop at the Water's Edge? Domestic Political Factors and Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Cases of Great Britain, France, and West Germany. *Journal of Politics*, 53, 3.

Schwarz, John E., Thomas J. Volgy. 1988. Experiments in Employment--A British Cure. *Harvard Business Review*, March/April.

Volgy, Thomas J., John E. Schwarz, Hildy Gottlieb. 1986. The Quest for Resources: Feminist Activism and Electoral Success. *Social Science Quarterly*, March.

Schwarz, John E., Thomas J. Volgy. 1985. The Myth of America's Economic Decline. *Harvard Business Review*, September/October.

Volgy, Thomas J. 1985. Municipally Operated Public Access: Balancing a Paradoxical Relationship. *Community Television Review*, 8, 3.

Volgy, Thomas J., John E. Schwarz. 1984. Will the Real Participants Please Stand Up? Misreporting and Vicarious Participation at the Local Level. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Winter.

Volgy, Thomas J., Henry Kenski. 1982. Systems Theory and Foreign Policy Restructuring: Distance Change in Latin America, 1953-1970. *International Studies Quarterly*, September.

Volgy, Thomas J., John E. Schwarz. 1980. Television Entertainment Programming and the Sociopolitical Attitudes of the Audience. *Journalism Quarterly*, Fall.

Schwarz, John E., Thomas J. Volgy. 1980. Liberal and Conservative Voting in the House of Representatives: A National Model of Representation. *British Journal of Political Science*, Fall.

Volgy, Thomas J., John E. Schwarz. 1978. On Television Viewing and Citizens' Political Attitudes, Activity, and Knowledge: Another Look at the Impact of Media on Politics. *Western Political Quarterly*, December.

Fenmore, Barton, Thomas J. Volgy. 1978. Short Term Economic Change and Political Instability in Latin America. *Western Political Quarterly*, December.

Volgy, Thomas J., Hildy Gottleib. 1977. Some of My Best Friends are Letter-writers: Gladiators and Eccentrics Revisited. *Social Science Quarterly*, September.

Volgy, Thomas J., Henry Kenski. 1976. Toward an Exploration of Comparative Foreign Policy Distance. *International Studies Quarterly*, June.

Volgy, Thomas J., Karen Mashkin. 1975. Sociopolitical Attitudes and Musical Preferences. *Social Science Quarterly*, December.

Volgy, Thomas J., Sandra Sue Volgy. 1975. Women and Politics: Political Correlates of Sex-Role Acceptance. *Social Science Quarterly*, March.

Volgy, Thomas J., Jon Quistgaard. 1974. Correlates of Organizational Rewards in the United Nations: An Analysis of Environmental and Legislative Variables. *International Organization*, Spring.

Volgy, Thomas J. 1974. Reducing Conflict in International Politics: The Impact of Structural Variables. *International Studies Quarterly*, June.

Hughes, Barry B., Thomas J. Volgy. 1973. On the Difficult Business of Conducting Empirical, Descriptive Studies in a Data-Poor Area. *American Journal of Political Science*, August.

Volgy, Thomas J. 1973. The Role of the Outsider in Quasi-Legislative Systems: The Potential Utility of Legislative Models. *International Organization*, Winter.

Riggs, Robert E., Karen Feste, Barry Hughes, Thomas J. Volgy. 1970.

Behavioralism in the Study of the United Nations. World Politics, January.

Hughes, Barry B., Thomas J. Volgy. 1970. Distance in Foreign Policy Behavior: A Comparative Study of Eastern Europe. *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, August

Acknowledgments

The only person elected for four terms as Executive Director, International Studies Association, 1995-2015.

Co-chair, Standing Group on International Politics, International Political Science Association

Elected to the Executive Council by members of the Central and Eastern European International Studies Association, for the 2010-2012, 2013-2015 terms.

Sole recipient of the ISA Presidents Award, awarded for exemplary and outstanding service to both the International Studies Association and the field of international relations, 2003

One of two U.S. scholars invited to participate in the non-governmental counterpart to the six power talks on N. Korean nuclear proliferation, Seoul, September 2005

Robert O Burns Award for outstanding international public education, 2000.

Annual Public Service Award, National Association of Social Workers, 1999.

Common Cause, Public Service Award, 1997

U.S. State Department Delegate to the CSCE, 1994.

National Advisory Committee, Leadership for America's Cities, 1994---.

Selected for Who's Who in the United States, 1991--.

Selected for Who's Who in International Affairs, 1997--

Recipient of the University of Arizona's Distinguished Citizen Award, 1991.

Board of Directors, National League of Cities, 1989--1991.

Selected by USA TODAY as one of six new mayors "to watch", 1987.

Pima County Bar Association Award for Outstanding Naturalized Citizen of the Year, 1987.

Recipient, Oasis Award for outstanding production in public affairs programming, 1987.

Recipient, Outstanding Teaching Award, School of Behavioral Sciences, 1987.

Recipient, "Outstanding Young American" national award, 1981.

As co-author of the book, The Forgotten Americans (W.W. Norton, 1992), selected as winner of the 1993 School of Behavioral Sciences best book author.

Selected as member of the international delegation to observe and validate

Hungary's first democratic national elections, 1990.

Board of Advisors, Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems, 1996—

Editorial Board, International Studies Quarterly, 1998--

Editorial Board, International Studies Perspectives, 2000--

Editorial Board, International Studies Review, 1999—

Editorial Board, Journal of International Relations and Development, 2000—

Editorial Board, Foreign Policy Analysis, 2004—

Editorial Board, International Political Sociology, 2005—

Editorial Board, Global Governance, 2009—

Editorial Board, International Interactions, 2010—

Editorial Board, Global Society 2013—

Editorial Board, European Review of International Studies, 2014—

Vestnik MGIMO (Journal of International Relations), 2014--

International Activities

External Reviewer, Russian Science Foundation, 2015—

External Reviewer, Slovenian Science Foundation, 2015—

External Reviewer, EU research programs, 2008, 2011

NATO fellowship, Brussels, Summer 2005.

State Department scholar, visiting; Slovenia, 2004; Bulgaria, 2004

State Department Delegate to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Prague, 1994.

Ukraine: Conducted training seminars for government leaders for the National Democratic Institute, 1991, 1994.

Russia: Conducted training seminars for government leaders for the National Democratic Institute, 1991.

Ukraine: Provided diagnostic assistance on local governance for the National Democratic Institute, 1992, 1993.

Ukraine: Assisted with drafts of the national constitution for the National Democratic Institute, 1993.

Kazakhstan: Conducted training seminars for national, regional and municipal leadership in behalf of USIA and IESC, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2002.

Estonia: Provided local government feasibility assessment for National Democratic Institute and USAID, 1993.

Estonia: Trained mayors and administrators for National Democratic Institute, 1994.

Hungary: Assisted on local governance and economic development in Pecs, in behalf of the City of Tucson, 1993.

Nicaragua: Trained mayors in developing local governmental infrastructure for Santa Cruz Institute and USIA, 1993.

Bulgaria: Trained representatives in local governance and ethnic relations for Santa Cruz Institute and USAID, 1995.

Hungary: Monitored the first national democratic elections for National Democratic Institute, 1990.

Guyana: Conducted democratization seminars in behalf of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1995

Romania: Conducted training for mayors in democratization processes, for National Democractic Institute, 1996

Slovakia: Trained Parliamentarians and party leaders in national election process, 1997.

Developed sister city programs between the City of Tucson and Almaty, Kazakhstan; Pecs, Hungary, 1987-1991.

Led economic development missions to Mexico, Taiwan, Germany, 1987-1991.

Board of Advisors, Democracy Institute, Washington DC, 1993--.

National Democratic Convention: Delegate, 1984; Delegate and Rules Committee 1992

Atlantic Council Fellow, 2001

Invitation to Academic Exchange Program, 2019.

National Invitations

Testimony given:

U.S. House of Representatives, Public Works Committee, on federal transportation policy, 1981.

National Governors Association, on transportation policy, 1982.

National Women's Political Caucus Convention, on telecommunications technologies and political socialization, 1983.

United States Congress, negotiator on behalf of the National League of Cities on Telecommunications Law (Senate Bill 66), enacted 1984.

United States Senate, Finance Committee, on federal transportation policy, 1985.

U.S. House of Representatives, Telecommunications Committee, on oversight needs for telecommunications, 1988.

U.S. Senate, Anti-Trust Committee, on cable legislation, 1989.

National Democratic Party, Rules Committee, 1992.

Speaker and Participant, on campaign finance reform, for Center on Responsive Politics, 1992.

Television Productions and Media Activities

Politics and The Press: Media and Official Relations, 1987.

Politics and The Press: Print Media, 1990. Politics and the Press: Television, 1990.

Advertising Campaigns and Elections, 1990.

Television and the Future of New Technologies, 1990.

Op Ed pieces and guest columns for <u>Arizona Daily Star</u>; <u>Newsday</u>; <u>Tucson</u> Citizen; New York Times

Grants: Principal investigator, USAID grant for Impartial Oversight and Strategic

Guidance on Privatization Process in Central Asia, awarded November

1995 through 1997 (consortium award for \$7 million)

Academic Professional Activities

Editorial Board: International Studies Quarterly

International Studies Review International Studies Perspectives

Journal of International Relations and Development

International Political Sociology

International Interactions

Global Society

European Review of International Studies

Vestnik MGIMO (Journal of International Relations)

Manuscript reviewer for:

Houghton Mifflin, MacMillan, W.W. Norton, Prentice Hall, Cambridge

University Press

Social Science Quarterly

American Political Science Review

Journal of Conflict Resolution

Journal of Politics

International Organization

American Politics Quarterly

Western Political Quarterly

Political Review Quarterly

International Studies Quarterly

International Interactions

Journal of International Relations and Development

International Studies Review

International Interactions

European Review of International Relations

Review of International Organizations

School of International Relations, University of Denver Monograph Series

Project reviewer: National Science Foundation

Contributor: International Organization Data Archives, Indiana University

Contributor and Panel Chair:

International Studies Association

Midwest Political Science Association

Southwestern Social Science Association

Western Political Science Association

American Political Science Association

International Congress of Political Psychology

International Political Science Association

Central and Eastern European Studies Association

Board of Advisors, Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems

Teaching Areas:

Graduate level: International Politics Survey Seminar

Variety of Research seminars

Undergraduate level: Theories of International Relations

Contemporary International Politics

Mass Media and Politics

Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis

Problems of World Order Mass Media and Politics

International Organizations and Structures

U.S. Foreign Policy

Survey of Comparative and International Politics

Political/Community Activities

Democratic Candidate for Congress, 1998 Mayor, City of Tucson, 1987-1991 Tucson City Council, 1977-1987 Chair, Pima Association of Governments, 1990

Board of Directors, National League of Cities, 1989-1991

Chair, Telecommunications Committee, U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1988-1991

Chair, Pima County Economic Development Council, 1989

Vice-Chair, Greater Tucson Economic Council, 1990-1991

Chair, Transportation Committee, National League of Cities, 1986, 1988

National League of Cities Task Force on Telecommunications, 1984

National League of Cities Municipal Bonds Task Force, 1985

Pima Association of Governments, 1985-1991

Arizona Leadership Council, 1991

Governor's Airport Development Task Force, 1991

Governor's Urban Lands Task Force, 1979

Governor's Urban Lands Advisory Committee, 1982

Governor's Airspace Utilization Committee, 1982-1991

Governor's Task Force on Women and Poverty, 1986

Executive Committee, League of Arizona Cities and Towns, 1988-1991

Delegate, Democratic National Convention, 1984, 1992

Pima County Democratic Party Executive Committee, 1984-1992

City of Tucson Charter Advisory Commission, 2001

Board member of the following organizations:

Tucson Urban League

Ododo Theater

Tucson Cable Corporation

Human Services Coordinating Council

United Way SAC

Traveler's Aid

Southern Arizona Mental Health Center

Southern Arizona Red Cross

Arizona Center for Economic Conversion

National Federation of Local Cable Programmers

State of Arizona ACLU

State of Arizona Common Cause

Tucson Youth Center

Southern Arizona Housing Center

Community Partnership of Southern Arizona

Pima Council on Aging

Arizona League of Conservation Voters

Citizen Action

Neighborhood Coalition of Greater Tucson

Tucson Arts District, 2003

Tucson Council on Foreign Relations