

**VITA**  
**THOMAS J. VOLGY**

Professor of Political Science  
School of Government and Public Policy  
University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona 85721 USA  
Email [volgy@arizona.edu](mailto:volgy@arizona.edu)  
Web page [www.volgy.org](http://www.volgy.org)

**EDUCATION**

BA Oakland University. Majors: Political Science and History 1967

MA University of Minnesota. Major: Political Science 1969

PhD University of Minnesota. Major: Political Science 1972

National Security Seminar, Colorado College, 1973

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 and ADMINISTRATIVE 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 (consulting firm), 1995--

**Visiting Scholar**, International Relations Faculty, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2012

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

**Visiting Scholar**, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, 2015.

**Research Fellow**, Pardee Center, University of Denver 2014--

**Fellow**, TransResearch Consortium 2016—

**Department Head**, Department of Political Science, University of Arizona

**Director**, Teaching Center, University of Arizona

## **PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS**

Volgy, Thomas J. (co-author) 2023. *Shocks and Political Change: A Comparative Perspective on Foreign Policy Analysis* (Springer, scheduled for January 2023)

Volgy, Thomas J. (co-author). 2023. *Turmoil and Order in Regional International Politics* (Springer, scheduled for March 2023)

Volgy, Thomas J. (co-author) 2022. *Regions, Power and Conflict: Constrained Capabilities, Hierarchy, and Rivalry*. Springer (forthcoming).

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., and Thomas J. Volgy. 1992. *The Forgotten Americans: Working Hard and Living Poor in the Land of Opportunity*. New York: W.W. Norton. 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).

## **PUBLICATIONS: Refereed Articles and Book Chapters**

Kelly M., and Thomas J. Volgy. 2022. "Political Shocks in Foreign Policy and International Politics: An Alternative Approach," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, DOI: [10.1080/11926422.2021.2013911](https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2021.2013911)

Thomas J. Volgy and Kelly Gordell. 2022. "Rising Powers and the Challenges to the Liberal World Order" accepted as a chapter for a forthcoming book (due at the end of December 2022) on *Rising Powers: History and Strategy*.

Volgy, Thomas J., Kelly Marie Gordell, and Paul Bezerra. 2020. "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., and Kelly Marie Gordell. 2019. "Rising Powers, Status Competition and Global Governance: Some Conceptual Challenges." *Contemporary Politics*, 25:5, 512-531.

Volgy, Thomas J. 2018. "Rule by Referees: The Curious World of Academic Judgement." In Gofas, Hamati-Ataya, and Onuf (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of History, Philosophy and Sociology of International Relations*. 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*, 19,3: 452-480.

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](https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.310))

Volgy, Thomas J., and J. Patrick Rhamey. 2017. "Regions, Powers, and Hierarchy: A Comparative Regional Analysis of Conflicts in International Politics." In *W. R. Thompson (ed), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Empirical International Relations Theories*. New York: Oxford University Press.

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*, 54, 1:79-101.

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*, 39, 4: 819-834.

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

## **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

I have presented original research at scholarly, annual conferences at least twice every year since 1972. These conferences include the American Political Science Association, International Studies Association, European International Studies Association, International Political Science Association, Central and Eastern European International Studies Association, Russian International Studies Association, Brazilian International Studies Association, World International Studies Council, Midwest Political Science Association, Higher School of Economics (Moscow) Annual workshop on International Relations, Trans Research Consortium's annual meeting.

## **DATABASES**

**"FIGO"**: Formal intergovernmental Organizations Database (with Elizabeth Fausett)

**"DIPCON"**: Formal Diplomatic Database (with Patrick Rhamey, Kirska Cline, et al.)

**"POLSHOCKS"**: Political Shocks Database (with Kelly Gordell)

## **GRANTS**

Principal co-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).

## **EDITORIAL BOARDS:**

International Studies Quarterly

International Studies Perspectives  
International Studies Review  
Journal of International Relations and Development  
Foreign Policy Analysis  
International Political Sociology  
Global Governance  
International Interactions  
Global Society  
European Review of International Studies  
Vestnik MGIMO (Journal of International Relations)  
Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies  
Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Empirical Research (advisory board)

#### **MANUSCRIPT REVIEWER**

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, European Review of International Relations, Review of International Organizations, European Politics and Society

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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—

## **INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES**

External Reviewer, Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies, 2017-  
 External Reviewer, Israeli Science Foundation, 2017-  
 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 on 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 on behalf of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1995

Romania: Conducted training for mayors in democratization processes, for National Democratic 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--97.

Atlantic Council Fellow, 2001

#### **NATIONAL ACTIVITIES:**

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

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

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

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

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.

### **MEDIA 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 interviews/analysis for *Arizona Daily Star*; *Newsday*; *Newsweek*, *Tucson Citizen*; *New York Times*, *Politico*, *Le Monde*, *Arizona Republic*, *NBC*, *CBS*, *Associated Press*, *PBS*, *NPR*, *Fox*, *New Republic*, *Newsweek*, *Agence France-Press*, *BBC*, *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, *Courthouse News Service*, *USA Today*, *Reuters*, *Washington Post*, *Russian News Service*.