

## Response to Michael K. Briand

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More or less repeating a piece of my talk at the University of Chicago last year, there are a couple of points I wish to make about the Kettering report.

1. Some sort of peer review should have preceded the Foundation's massive effort at publicizing the findings of its focus group studies. This peer review might have pointed out that there are standards that apply to the conduct of focus groups and could have found out whether in this case these standards were met. After reading Mr. Briand's communication, we still do not know. Until we find out, replication by others will be difficult.

2. The Foundation has it within its

resources to convert hypotheses generated by its focus groups into better, more carefully qualified findings, e.g., through the use of survey research, and should have done so.

3. There are good reasons—one or two of which I gave—to wonder if the findings as presented could bear the inferential burden the Foundation and its president were putting on them.

4. These observations merely invoke standards of inquiry familiar in the social sciences. My purpose in making them was to affirm the existence of these standards, and their relevance to contemporary social discourse.

Of course some of the comments

Briand makes I agree with. But I think I will pass on the questions he raises about my "honesty" and other "motives." I wonder at his readiness to patronize "experts" (whoever they might be), his groundless imputations that merely questioning the Kettering study constitutes an inappropriate claim about "truth" or an attempt to silence our fellow citizens, his gratuitous side-swipe at Sidney Verba, who makes his research designs and his questions available for collegial scrutiny, as Kettering does not, and so on. These passages in Briand's letter do not seem to me to show off "democratic dialogue" to good advantage, if that was his intention.

## An Assessment of Articles About Women in the "Top 15" Political Science Journals\*

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As the media and the voting public grow increasingly interested in politically active women, political scientists of all subdisciplines are well advised to take stock of the knowledge their discipline has accumulated about "women and politics." Though numerous social science journal articles discuss women's political activities, relatively few of these articles have been published in the leading political science journals. *The American Political Science Review*, for example, published a mere 24 articles related to women from its debut in 1906 through the fourth issue of 1991.

Here we explore the range, scope, and content of the articles dealing with women and women's issues published in the 15 political science journals receiving the highest impact

ratings from members of the field.<sup>1</sup> This assessment addresses the following questions:

- (1) What, if any, patterns exist within and between journals, and across decades?
- (2) What topics and perspectives are discussed?
- (3) What expertise would a person gain about women by reading only these journals?

### Methodology

The journals included in this study were identified by a 1990 Political Studies Association survey of journals as having the strongest impact on the discipline. For each journal, we examined all issues from the first publication through the final 1991

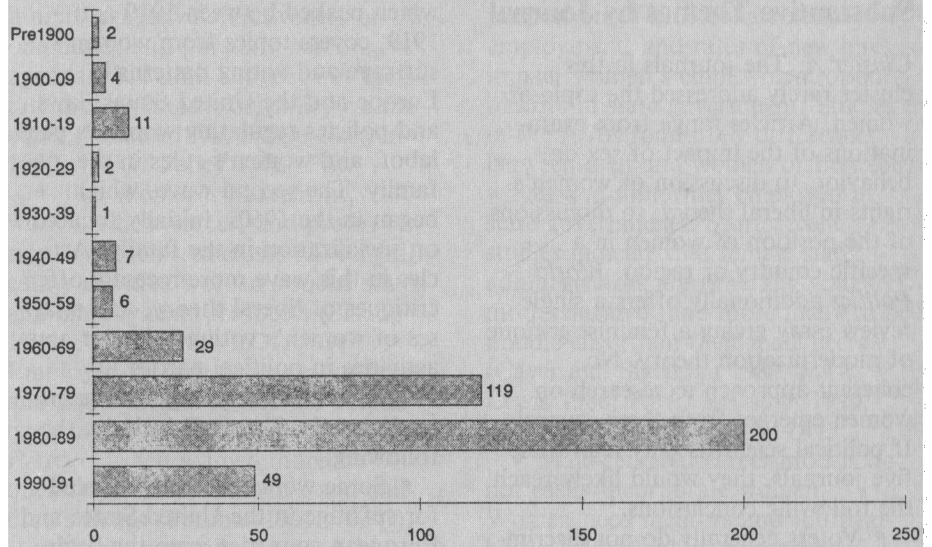
issue, identifying, annotating, and assessing each article in light of the above questions. (The journals and articles are listed in the appendix.) To be as inclusive as possible, we examined all articles containing the following words in their titles, subtitles, abstracts, or first paragraphs: women, female, feminism, lesbian, Equal Rights Amendment, or abortion; and those discussing a female theorist (such as Hannah Arendt) or political leader (such as Indira Gandhi). Articles whose titles, subtitles, abstracts, or first paragraphs contained these words—affirmative action, civil rights, equal rights, equality, sex, sexuality, pornography, gender, homosexuality, fertility, family planning, child care, or family—were scanned first for relevancy to women. Our search identified a total

of 430 articles,<sup>2</sup> which we annotated and entered on a computerized database.

**Results**

**Total Numbers.** We used the total numbers of articles in each journal, the number of articles in each decade by journal, the content of articles, and the general focus of each journal as criteria to divide the journals into four clusters (see Table 1). Journals focusing on international relations, comparative politics, and conflict resolution compose Cluster A. Cluster B includes the two longest-running journals, and Cluster C encompasses three of the four regional journals. Cluster D contains journals tending to focus on policy, public administration, public opinion, and the professional concerns of the discipline.<sup>3</sup> Journals in this latter cluster published 60% (257 of 430) of the articles pertaining to women. By comparison, *Women & Politics*, a journal created in 1980 to attract more scholarship on women, particularly work written from a

**FIGURE 1**  
Number of the 430 Female-Focused Articles Published in All 15 Journals in Each Decade



feminist perspective, has already published 216 articles.<sup>4</sup> The content of the articles varied within each cluster and often by decade as well.

**By Decade.** After an initial spurt of concern about women in the work

force and women's suffrage between 1900 and 1919, seven or fewer articles appeared each decade until the 1960s. Interest since that decade has steadily escalated, with over half of the articles appearing in the last

**TABLE 1**  
The Number of Female-Focused Articles by Decade in Each of the 15 Journals and 4 Clusters

	Pre-1900	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1991	Total
<b>Cluster A (mean = 7)</b>												
<i>British Journal of Political Science (BJPS)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	8	1	10
<i>Comparative Politics (CP)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	3	7	1	11
<i>Foreign Affairs (FA)</i>	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	5
<i>International Organization (IO)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Journal of Conflict Resolution (JCR)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	3	7	1	0	11
<i>World Politics (WP)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	2	1	0	3
<b>Total</b>	—	—	—	0	0	0	1	3	15	20	2	41
<b>Cluster B (mean = 22)</b>												
<i>American Political Science Review (APSR)</i>	—	1	7	1	0	1	0	0	3	7	4	24
<i>Political Science Quarterly (PSQ)</i>	2	3	4	1	0	0	0	1	3	6	0	20
<b>Total</b>	2	4	11	2	0	1	0	1	6	13	4	44
<b>Cluster C (mean = 29)</b>												
<i>American Journal of Political Science (AJPS)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	2	7	16	4	29
<i>Journal of Politics (JOP)</i>	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	2	15	15	4	36
<i>Polity (Polity)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	4	17	2	23
<b>Total</b>	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	4	26	48	10	88
<b>Cluster D (mean = 65)</b>												
<i>PS: Political Science &amp; Politics (PS)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	27	39	14	81
<i>Public Administration Review (PAR)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	2	19	18	3	43
<i>Public Opinion Quarterly (POQ)</i>	—	—	—	—	1	5	4	16	14	21	5	66
<i>Western Political Quarterly (WPQ)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	2	12	41	11	67
<b>Total</b>	—	—	—	—	1	6	5	21	72	120	33	257
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	2	4	11	2	1	7	6	29	119	200	49	430

twelve years. If this trend continues, the total for this decade will likely exceed the total of the 1980s.

### Substantive Themes by Journal

*Cluster A.* The journals in this cluster rarely addressed the topic of women. Articles range from examinations of the impact of sex on behavior, to discussion of women's rights in liberal theory, to discussions of the position of women in a specific country or region. *World Politics* additionally offers a single review essay giving a feminist critique of modernization theory. No coherent approach to research on women emerges from these journals. If political scientists only read these five journals, they would likely reach the following conclusions.<sup>5</sup>

- Voters generally do not discriminate against female candidates, but other factors stymie the election of women (Kelley and McAllister 1983, *BJPS*; Welch and Studlar 1988, *BJPS*).

- Women are political actors in most countries and in revolutionary movements, but women's public roles remain subordinate to male roles (Reif 1986, *CP*; Whitaker 1975, *FA*; Leader 1973, *WP*; Bashevkin 1984, *BJPS*).

- A few women have served as heads of state, and others have written influential political theory (Burton 1987, *FA*; Douglas 1989, *BJPS*; Clarke 1980, *BJPS*).

- Feminist movements in many Western European countries exert some impact on public policies, especially those pertaining to reproduction and divorce (Norris and Lovenduski 1989, *BJPS*).

- Results of studies of competitive and cooperative behavioral strategies vary by decade, leaving in doubt the impact of sex on these behaviors (Lutzker 1961, *JCR*; Hartman 1980, *JCR*). Only Sapiro (1979, *BJPS*) concludes that gender differences rather than sex differences impact choices.

- A handful of women in political science argue that variants of modernization theory either offer little insight or provide destructive policy suggestions for women in developing countries. A few others assert that basic assumptions of Western liberal thought permit women's oppression

(Jaquette 1982, *WP*; O'Neill 1990, *BJPS*; Pateman 1989, *BJPS*).

*Cluster B.* Two waves of articles appear in this cluster. The first wave, which peaked between 1910 and 1919, covers topics from women's suffrage and voting patterns in Europe and the United States, laws and policies regulating women's paid labor, and women's roles in the family. The second wave, which began in the 1960s, initially focused on socialization in the family. Articles in this wave more recently offer critiques of liberal theory, and analyses of women's voting behavior and activities in political parties.

The limited knowledge one gains reading only Cluster B includes the following:

- Some women actively lobbied for suffrage in the United States and European countries from the beginning of the twentieth century. Women gradually moved into positions of political leadership, but they encountered structural and attitudinal obstacles that slowed their advancement (Ostrogorski 1891, *PSQ*; Turner 1913, *APSR*; McDonagh and Price 1985, *APSR*; Bledsoe and Herring 1990, *APSR*; Lee 1976, *PSQ*).

- State governments have historically regulated women's employment and welfare benefits to protect women's mothering roles (Flack 1911, *APSR*; Cleland 1913, *APSR*; Groat 1910, *PSQ*).

- Some female political scientists find feminist theory to be a valuable critical tool. A small but growing number of scholars have initiated dialogue between feminism and established political science perspectives (Hirschmann 1991, *APSR*; Sinopoli 1991, *APSR*).

*Cluster C.* Three of the four journals associated with regional political science associations fall into this cluster. Of the 11 journals discussed so far, the three in Cluster C provide the most comprehensive analysis of women as political actors and theorists, and of theoretical issues.

If Cluster C constituted the sole basis for knowledge, a scholar is likely to have amassed these conclusions:

- Few women win elections. Sex differences in political ambition, foreign policy attitudes, and competi-

tive strategy do not impede women's electoral success; however, single-member districts, nonincumbency, and a lesser ability to obtain campaign funds do. Paid employment increases women's political activity (Costantini 1990, *AJPS*; Young 1976, *JOP*; Welch 1990, *JOP*; Burrell 1987, *Polity*; Welch 1977, *AJPS*).

- Traditional western political philosophy does not empower women, but canonical theorists may not be as misogynist as once thought (Salkever 1986, *Polity*; Weiss 1990, *Polity*; Tenebaum 1982, *Polity*; Ring 1987, *AJPS*).

- Though conventional wisdom in the 1960s held that fathers more greatly influenced children's political attitudes and behavior, studies found that mothers exert greater influence. The most recent research finds that parents' influence on children's political preferences is minimal and diminishes over time (Jennings and Langston 1969, *JOP*; Beck and Jennings 1991, *JOP*).

- While the significance of the gender gap between the sexes is disputed, researchers have found significant variations in the attitudes of feminists and nonfeminists (Sapiro 1982, *AJPS*; Cook and Wilcox 1991, *JOP*; Conover 1988, *JOP*; Gilens 1988, *AJPS*).

*Cluster D.* Cluster D offers the largest quantity and the broadest range of articles on women and politics, and also assigns the greatest importance to feminism. Additionally, this cluster contains the only two journals in the top 15 which assess the status of women in the field of political science, *PS: Political Science & Politics* and *The Western Political Quarterly*.<sup>6</sup> *WPQ* additionally offers the highest number of articles guided by feminist theory of the 15 journals studied in this paper.

Broader social changes in the relations between the sexes have directly impacted each journal in Cluster D, which may partially explain why this group offers more extensive discussion of women. As journals covering public opinion and employment issues, *POQ* and *PAR* necessarily reflected rising interest in the opinions and job status of women and men. *PS* was founded to promote

changes in the field which included increased attention to the status of female and minority male political scientists. Women have served as president or program chair of the Western Political Science Association in 13 of the last 17 years. WPSA has also awarded a prize to the best paper on women and politics submitted to the association, and the papers awarded this prize have been published in *WPQ*.

Political scientists reading only these journals could draw these conclusions:

- Liberal political philosophers tend to ground theories of sex difference in biology. Theories of gender based on the study of power may prove more useful (Cook 1983, *WPQ*; Disch 1991, *PS*). Theories of citizenship, autonomy and consent drawn from liberal political philosophy do not adequately incorporate politically active women (Hartssock 1984, *PS*; Shanley 1979, *WPQ*; Rowland-Serdar and Schwartz-Shea 1991, *WPQ*).
- By the 1970s, a majority of U.S. women expressed some affinity for feminist ideas. Women do not express the same coherence of opinions expressed by other marginalized groups (Fulenwider 1981, *WPQ*; Wilcox 1989, *WPQ*; Gurin 1985, *POQ*; Kay 1985, *WPQ*).
- Women are more likely to reject the use of violence than men. Studies of sex differences on other issues are inconclusive. Though women voice distinctive conceptions of power and politics generally, men and women hold comparable attitudes about specific policy issues (Smith 1984, *POQ*; Mansbridge 1985, *POQ*; Shapiro and Mahajan 1986, *POQ*).
- Abortion attitudes vary across numerous demographic lines. Race, region of residence, and religious preference serve as better predictors of abortion attitudes than other variables (Tedrow and Mahoney 1979, *POQ*; Combs and Welch 1982, *POQ*; Wilcox 1990, *POQ*).
- Women have significantly influenced the debate over reproductive rights (Benjamin 1938, *POQ*). Dissemination of information about birth control increases willingness to practice family planning (Stycos 1964, *POQ*; Placek 1974-75, *POQ*).
- Issues of broad interest to

women tend to impact specific groups of women differently. Women's lobbies face the trade-off between pursuing broad agendas that attract more public support and inhibit legislative effectiveness on the one hand, and pursuing narrow agendas that limit support but facilitate greater impact on policy on the other (Wilcox 1990, *POQ*; Costain 1980, *WPQ*; Palley 1982, *PS*).

- The Women's Movement, women's task forces, and professional women's caucuses have significantly elevated women's social status and employment prospects (Bishop 1976, *PAR*; Ferree 1974, *POQ*). Employed women pressure businesses and governments to address sexual harassment (Ross and England 1987, *PAR*). Elected women more frequently prioritize women's and children's issues (Thomas 1991, *WPQ*).
- Voters generally do not harbor biases against female candidates in most democracies. Certain electoral systems, limited female incumbency, a tendency of parties to nominate women for less winnable seats, and difficulty attracting campaign financing hamper women's electoral bids. Women fare best in single, plurality primaries, and multi-party, proportional representation districts. Women serving in the U.S. Congress tend to represent states with expanding female labor force participation, especially in professional fields, growing numbers of women's organizations, and increasing numbers of female legislators (Rule 1990, *WPQ*; Studlar and McAllister 1991, *WPQ*; Rule 1986, *PS*; Zipp and Plutzer 1985, *POQ*).
- Socialization, behavioral styles, and political structures create barriers to women's political participation in many countries (Shaul 1982, *PAR*; Aviel 1981, *WPQ*; Galey 1989, *PS*). Female officials more frequently prefer less hierarchical structures of authority, and they value harmonious relationships among their peers and interest groups more than their male counterparts (Thomas 1991, *WPQ*; Neuse 1978, *PAR*; Van Wagner and Swanson 1979, *PAR*).
- Women appointed to high-level offices tend to have broad-based experience rather than specific-issue expertise. Women advance through the grades in state governments at a

faster rate than white men, but women still receive significantly lower salaries. White men continue to receive the majority of appointments. Agency size, union strength, proportion of blue collar/clerical employment, and rates of new hires impact women's employment opportunities in state government. Studies in the 1970s found few differences between men and women or between whites and minorities employed in state governments. More recent studies indicate that female state administrators are generally younger, more educated, and more likely to be middle-class than their male peers (Cayer and Sigelman 1980, *PAR*; Lewis 1986, *PAR*; Kellough 1990, *PAR*; Kelly et al. 1991, *PAR*).

- Male-centered career models do not easily incorporate women. Women need mentors and job flexibility. Continued advancement of women into leadership roles will require adjustment of men's and women's social roles (Harrison 1964, *PAR*; Denhardt 1976, *PAR*; Bocher 1982, *PAR*; Col 1984, *PS*).
- Public sector employers have more successfully diversified the gender and racial composition of their work forces than private sector employers. Discriminatory practices continue in both sectors, however. Employers often judge female employees' options through the lens of traditional sex roles (Clynch and Gaudin 1982, *PAR*; Dometrius and Sigelman 1984, *PAR*).
- Many public administration theorists argue that both individual and group rights merit consideration in employment and promotion policies. Replacement of stratified competency tests with pass-fail tests, preferential hiring, and quotas can promote equality of access to the work force (Rosen 1974, *PAR*; Bremer and Howe 1988, *PAR*). Representative bureaucracies, which employ a work force approximating the demographic composition of the community served by the agency, can also promote more equitable social change (Wise 1990, *PAR*; Reh fuss 1986, *PAR*).

Laws passed to redress many women's issues, including domestic violence and child support, are both insufficient and poorly implemented and enforced (Gruhl and Welch

## The Profession

1984, *WPQ*; MacManus and Van Hightower 1989, *PAR*). Courts are generally more sympathetic to eliminating sex discrimination rather than elevating women's status relative to men (Baer 1978, *WPQ*; Lee 1989, *PAR*; Baer 1991, *WPQ*).

• Female political scientists have promoted increased attention to feminist theory and gender issues. Women have also drawn attention to problems with discrimination and sexual harassment in this profession. Women encounter greater obstacles in securing tenure than men (Finifter 1973, *PS*; Nelson 1990, *PS*; Silberg 1990, *WPQ*; Conover 1990, *PS*).

## Conclusion

The number of articles on women in political life is rising; the range and scope of the topics is expanding; and feminist thought is receiving more serious attention from the discipline. Considerable variation exists among the topics discussed, perspectives incorporated, and conclusions one could draw from each journal. If one were seriously interested in descriptions and explanations of women's role and position in political life, the women's movement, and feminist thought, only three of these 15 journals provide much of a comprehensive overview in the totality of their publications: *Western Political Quarterly*, *Journal of Politics*, and *Public Administration Review*.

Can we say that the top 15 journals have contributed substantially to our theoretical knowledge about women in politics? Some progress has been made in the study of sex differences and the opportunities provided by various electoral systems to female candidates. Nevertheless, these journals create misleading impressions by covering certain topics and theories while ignoring others. Reading only these 15 journals, for example, one might infer that equality is women's major philosophical concern, and abortion their principal policy issue. One could also (falsely) conclude that few women write political theory, and that of the few who do, only Hannah Arendt, Rosa Luxemburg, Catherine MacKinnon, and Mary Parker Follet have contributed to the

academic understanding of politics and public policy. Articles in these journals create the impression that the central questions of political science regarding women and politics are: "How do women differ from men?" "How are sex roles within the family related to political behavior?" and "Does sex predict or strongly influence political attitudes?"

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Political scientists have retained an affection for research designs that simply break down data by sex. This sex-difference approach holds men as the norm and measures the degree to which women deviate from that norm. To date, very few of the authors publishing in these journals have used gender rather than sex as an organizing concept for analyses or inquired how social and political institutions impart different gender roles to women and men. Even fewer have incorporated a feminist epistemological or theoretical stance. Almost no attention has been given to the impact of the movement of women from the traditional, private realm into the public realm and the occasional movement of some men into the private realm. In other

words, most articles published in these journals imply that the concept of the "political man" subsumes the "political woman."

The publication of articles on feminism as an alternative political theory and as a focus of epistemological discussion presents some hope. Sex differences per se tend to be boring after a while. It is time we moved on to more theoretically significant analysis.

## Appendix

*American Journal of Political Science (AJPS)*

1965. Elliott, Charles F. Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and the Dilemma of the Non-Revolutionary Proletariat. 9(4): 327-38.
1968. Jennings, M. Kent, and Norman Thomas. Men and Women in Party Elites: Social Roles and Political Resources. 12(4): 469-92.
1973. Clarke, James W. Family Structure and Political Socialization Among Urban Black Children. 17(2): 302-15.
1973. Pierce, John C., William P. Avery, and Addison Carey Jr. Sex Differences in Black Political Beliefs and Behavior. 17(2): 422-30.
1975. Andersen, Kristi. Working Women and Political Participation, 1952-1972. 19(3): 439-53.
1976. Conrad, Thomas R. The Debate About Quota Systems: An Analysis. 20(1): 135-49.
1977. Merritt, Sharyne. Winners and Losers: Sex Differences in Municipal Elections. 21(4): 731-43.
1977. Oppenheim, Felix E. Equality, Groups, and Quotas. 21(1): 65-69.
1977. Welch, Susan. Women as Political Animals? A Test of Some Explanations for Male-Female Political Participation Differences. 21(4): 711-30.
1978. Nelson, John S. Politics and Truth: Arendt's Problematic. 22(2): 217-301.
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1981. Gruhl, John, Cassia Spohn, and Susan Welch. Women as Policy-Makers: The Case of Trial Judges. 25(2): 308-22.
1981. Jennings, M. Kent, and Barbara G. Farah. Social Roles and Political Resources: An Over-Time Study of Men and Women in Party Elites. 25(3): 462-482.
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1988. Yantek, Thom. Polity and Economy Under Extreme Economic Conditions: A Comparative Study of the Reagan and Thatcher Experiences. 32(1): 196-216.
1990. Costantini, Edmond. Political Women and Political Ambition. Closing the Gender Gap. 34(3): 741-70.
1990. Phelan, Shane. Foucault and Feminism. 34(2): 421-40.
1990. Rapoport, Ronald B., Walter J. Stone, and Alan I. Abramowitz. Sex and the Caucus Participant: The Gender Gap and Presidential Nominations. 34(3): 725-40.
1990. Steinberger, Peter J. Hannah Arendt on Judgement. 34(3): 803-21.
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1917. Clark, Evans. Woman Suffrage in Parliament. 11(2): 284-309.
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1919. Ogg, Frederic A. Foreign Governments and Politics. 13(1): 108-19.
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## The Profession

### *World Politics (WP)*

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## Notes

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1. See Ivor Crewe and Pippa Norris. 1991. "British and American Journal Evolution: Divergence or Convergence?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 24(3): 524-31. Crewe and Norris studied 74 journals that political scientists frequently read. Since our intent is to assess the state of research about women in political science, we examined 15 of their top 18 journals, excluding three journals whose foci lie outside the discipline: *The American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, and *Daedalus*.

2. We have studied articles *about* women. Our bibliography only partially overlaps, but is distinct from the set of articles written *by* women.

3. *Polity* is more like the journals in Cluster C in its decade of first publication, patterns of article publication, time-frame when the majority of articles appeared, and journal audience, and hence was placed in that category. The content of *PAR* articles more closely resembles the content of articles in Cluster D, and thus was included in that cluster.

4. Compared with the top 15 journals, *Women & Politics* contains roughly the same total number of articles on topics commonly identified as "women's issues," including alimony, abortion, child care, domestic violence, the Equal Rights Amendment, rape, and sexual harassment. *W&P* has also published 68 articles discussing feminism and feminist theory, compared with 30 such articles in the set of 15. Additionally, *W&P* considers topics which have been virtually ignored in the top 15 journals: women and aging; women's health care; women scientists and the treatment of women in scientific research; and lesbian literature. More importantly, *W&P* authors acknowledge female theorists nearly ignored in other political science journals, including Luce Irigaray, Simone de Beauvoir, and Carol Gilligan. For a more detailed analysis of the contributions of *W&P*, see Rita Mae Kelly, Linda M. Williams, and Kimberly Fisher, "*Women &*

*Politics, An Assessment of Its Role Within the Discipline of Political Science*," forthcoming.

5. The references cited after each of the general knowledge statements are only examples of some of the articles addressing each topic. An exhaustive list would render this article too long for publication in *PS*. The articles referenced from our study appear in the complete bibliography of all study articles following this article.

6. Reports of the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession represent 31 of the total 82 pieces on women in *PS*.

## About the Authors

Rita Mae Kelly chairs the School of Justice Studies at Arizona State University. She is the recipient of the Distinguished Research Award of the American Society for Public Administration (1991), a Fulbright Fellowship Award to Brazil (1991), and the Outstanding Mentor in the Discipline Award, given by the Women's Caucus of Political Science (1991).

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## Correlates of Publication Success: Some AJPS Results

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Dena Levy, *University of Iowa*

Publication in the *American Journal of Political Science (AJPS)* is highly valued, largely because of the journal's scholarly reputation. In a recent survey, *AJPS* placed second among general political science journals. [Looking at their top 20 social science journals, American political scientists gave the following quality ranking, from No. 1 to No. 6: *World Politics*, *American Sociological Review*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *AJPS*, *Journal of Politics*; see Crewe and Norris (1991, 525, Table 1).] This reputation for quality helps account for the great number of submissions (an annual average of about 265 papers, for the years 1991-92).

Of these submissions, only about one in ten receives initial acceptance (another one in ten receives a revise-and-resubmit, the remaining eight a rejection). Despite these heavy odds against acceptance, some authors overcome them. What predicts publication success in *AJPS*? Below, we assess what does *not* help predict it, and what does. These findings, we conclude, lay bare "the paradox of editorship."

### Poor Predictors of Manuscript Acceptance

The following five hypotheses are commonly advanced for publication success.

- H1: Past Success. (Those who published before are much more likely to be accepted again.)
- H2: Field. (Certain fields such as American Politics are favored; certain others such as Political Philosophy are not favored.)
- H3: School. (Scholars from prestige schools do better.)
- H4: Timing. (The volume of submissions is cyclical, so submission in heavy seasons works against acceptance.)
- H5: Turnaround. (The faster the decision letter comes back, the more likely it will be a rejection.)

To test H1, on Past Success, we