



# **ST. CLEMENT'S UNIVERSITY**

## **ST CLEMENTS INSTITUTE**

### **Professorial Diplomate Program**

#### **The Future Development of Political Science Over the Next 20 Years**

**Erdal FIRAT**

**2018**

## Research

Within political science, and academia in general, research productivity is the Holy Grail.<sup>2</sup> Career promotion and retention are largely based on research. Faculty prestige—and that of their universities—also is often based on it. Those of us who have sat through conversations about faculty research in relation to hiring or promotion often hear about a scholar’s “productivity” and “impact.” Productivity is most often defined by quantity and impact by citation levels or the relative rankings of the journals in which the work appeared. Rarely does the discussion around impact touch on whether or not the work has had a “real world” effect on alleviating inequality or advancing the cause of social justice. Yet, the world of the 21st century contains a growing set of societal problems that, because of a lack of focus on the impact of the scholarly work, political science seems ill-equipped to address in a sustained way. The result is that the concerns of many of the most marginal members of political communities around the world, and, even more important, the social, political, and economic processes that led to that marginalization, remain substantially unexplored and, therefore, unexplained, within the discipline.

This observation is not new. In the fall of 2009 the *New York Times* published a story asserting that political science was experiencing increasing difficulty making a case for its relevance in broader social and political discourse, with deep disagreements about the direction of the discipline, the questions that should be pursued, and the usefulness of much of the research undertaken (Cohen 2009). Jeffrey C. Isaac, a professor at Indiana University and current editor of *Perspectives on Politics*, is quoted in this article as saying: “[W]e’re kidding ourselves if we think this research typically has the obvious public benefit we claim for it. We political scientists can and should do a better job of making the public relevance of our work clearer and of doing more relevant work.” The article also noted that the methods used to study political questions often emphasize technical sophistication that can lead to greater and greater specialization, in which scholars pursue narrow questions rather than addressing “the large, sloppy and unmanageable problems that occur in real life.” These assessments of political science—the concerns about insufficient engagement with contemporary issues and about the overly narrow focus of much of the work in the discipline—have been raised in other APSA reports (see, for example, the APSA Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy 2004).

One way overspecialization and insufficient engagement are reflected is in what is published in the discipline’s flagship journals. One of the persistent complaints of organized dissent in the association is that its journals have not published a sufficient number of articles that reflect the demographic changes taking place in the United States and other countries, and the research questions they entail.<sup>3</sup> A number of studies have pointed out that the flagship journals have, on the whole, rarely addressed issues of race, ethnicity, and gender (Walton, Miller, and McCormick 1995; Orr and Johnson 2007; Smith 2004).<sup>4</sup> Another arena in which the absence of any discussion of the demographic changes taking place is noticeable is in the general introductory texts used to teach American politics to undergraduates; here, too, race, ethnicity, and gender are treated as marginal aspects of the political system, rather than seen as woven into the fabric of American politics (Aoki and Takeda 2004; Wallace and Allen 2008; Lavariega Monforti and McGlynn 2010; Novkov and Barclay 2010).

## Political Science Research: Training and Production

Again, these observations are not new. We would, however, like to offer two additional points to this long-standing discussion. First, we contend that *who* does the research matters and that political science still has a long way to go in diversifying the profession. We are not, in this in-stance, arguing for “diversity for diversity’s sake,” as an abstract progressive value, but rather for an understanding of how differently individuals are situated within society as a result of their race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. If the desire is to produce scholarship that reflects the power dynamics and political relationships that exist in all parts of society, as well as citizens prepared to deal with and advance democracy, then there needs to be a professoriate that reflects that range of experiences. The presumption that a group of individuals of mostly the same back-ground across all these parameters can comprehensively study the politics of those positionalities is deeply flawed and can limit the accuracy and relevance of the resulting work.

Our second observation is that *what* the research focus is also matters. Again, in many ways this has been covered in the works cited above. These empirical studies have shown that issues of race and inequality are not adequately represented in top journals in political science as compared to those of sociology, anthropology, and history (Frasure and Wilson 2007; Lee 2005). The basic patterns can be found in Figures 2 through 4. These figures show the differences among disciplinary flagship journals.

Figure 2: Articles and Book Reviews on Race in the APSR, 1906-2005

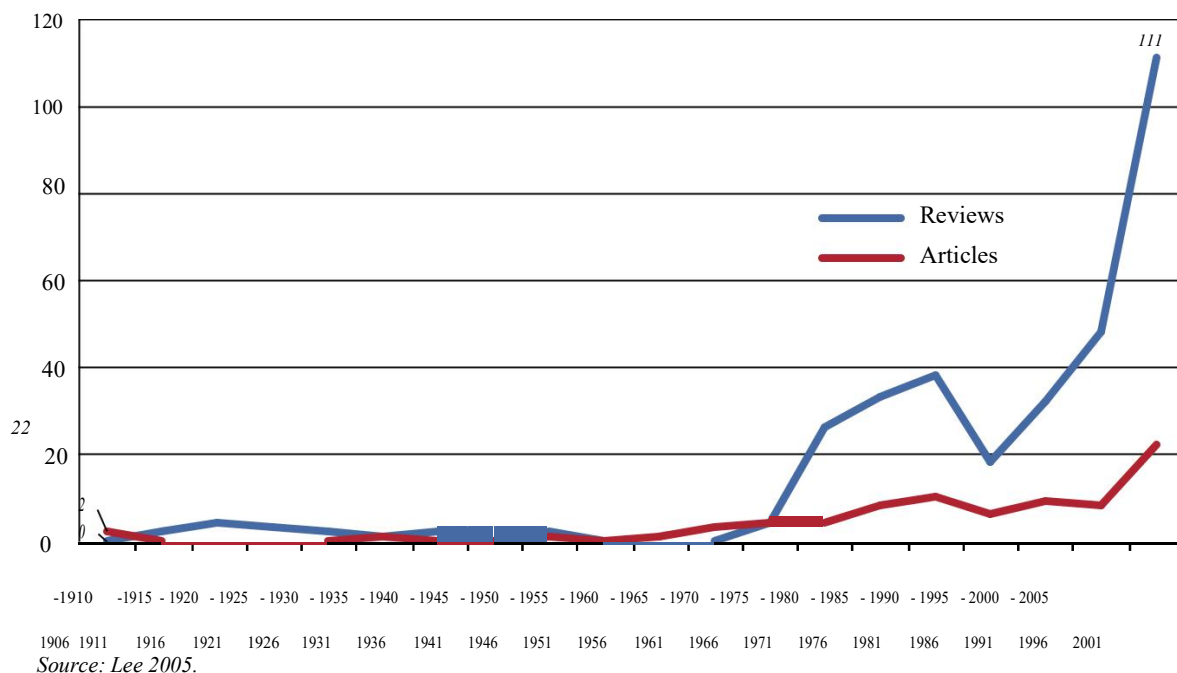
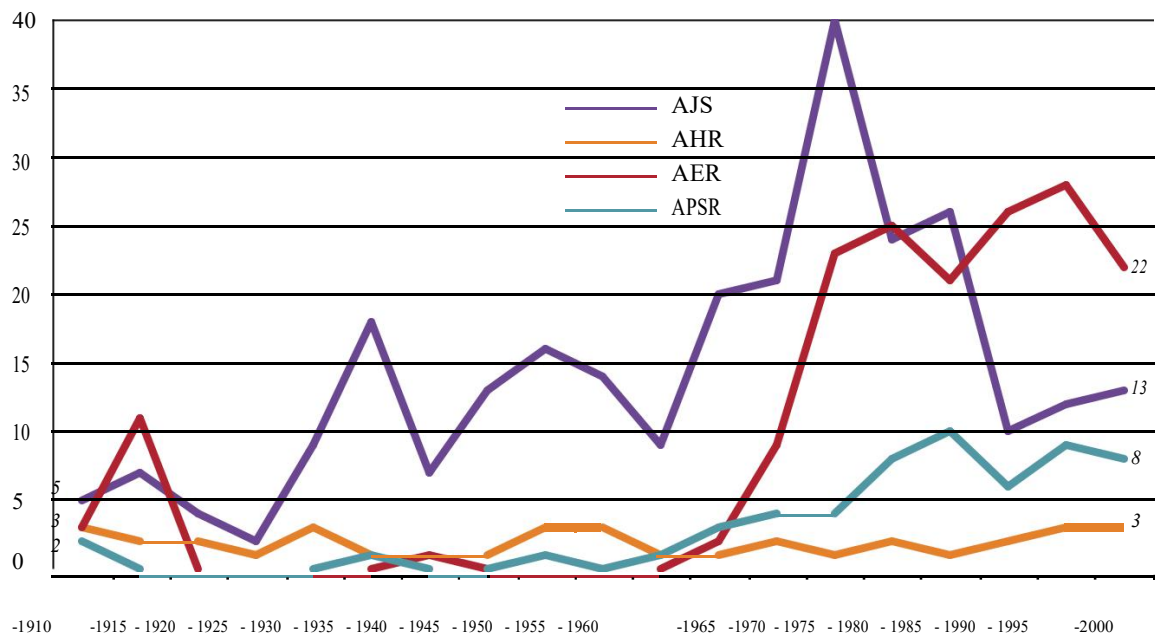
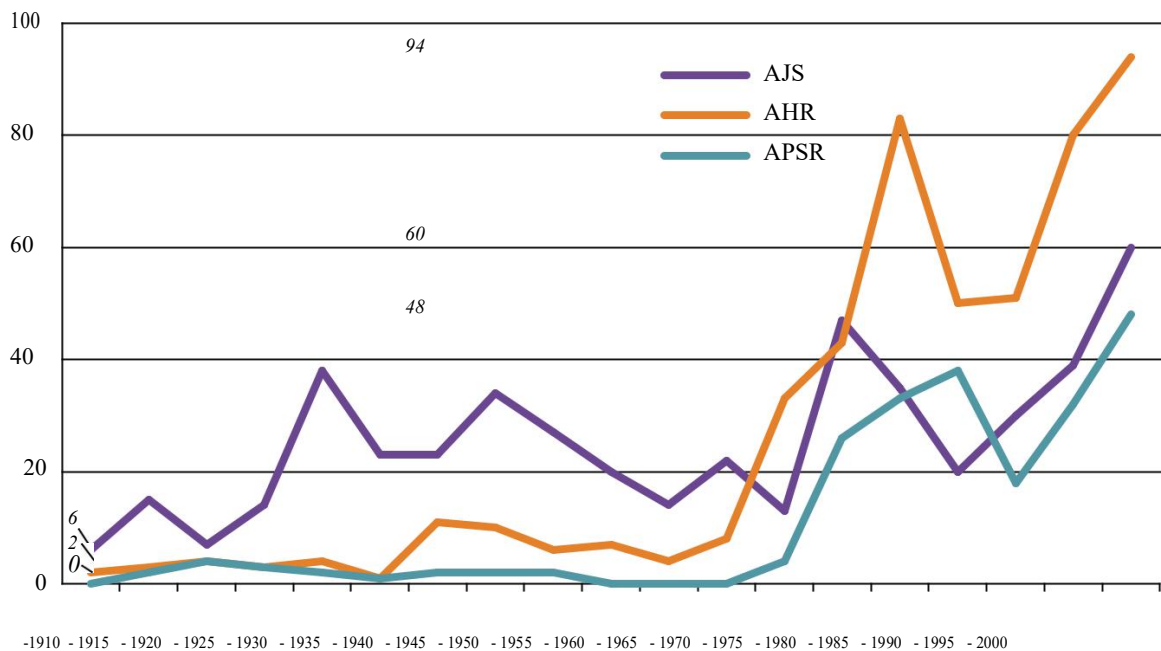


Figure 3: Journal Articles on Race/Ethnicity (APSR, AER, AHR, AJS), 1906-2000



Source: Lee 2005.

Figure 4: Book Reviews on Race in the APSR, AHR, and AJS, 1906-2000



Source: Lee 2005.

In addition, in their recent update to the “political science 400” list of the top political scientists in terms of citation, Masuoka, Grofman, and Feld found that female scholars and those of color are cited by their colleagues at rates disproportionately lower than would be expected given their representation in the field (2007). More disturbing, this discrepancy remains robust even when generational cohort is taken into consideration; in fact, representation is even less equal among younger cohorts, where there are presumably larger proportions of minorities.

The organization of disciplinary work might make a difference. This harkens back to Gabriel Almond’s point that those in political science like to sit at separate tables (1996). Since the study of race/ethnicity or inequality does not fit neatly within one “table,” it tends to fall somewhat outside of the organization of the discipline. One example of this is Robert Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann’s *A New Handbook of Political Science* (1996). In this work, the discipline is carved into the following sections: “Political Institutions,” “Political Behavior,” “Comparative Politics,” “International Relations,” “Political Theory,” “Public Policy and Administration,” “Political Economy,” and “Political Methodology.” In the APSA’s own *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, the discipline is organized differently, into “Theory and Method,” “Political Processes and Individual Political Behavior,” “Political Institutions of the State,” and “Nations and Their Relationships.” There is a chapter on race, but it is titled, “Expanding Disciplinary Boundaries” (Finifter 1993).

To what extent do these disciplinary divisions remain? To answer this question, we studied the extent to which these “tables” are still the dominant organizing principle within political science graduate programs and, more broadly, the degree to which issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and inequality are incorporated into political science graduate training. To do this, we conducted an overview of the kinds of coursework and readings being assigned to political science graduate students within fifteen highly ranked PhD departments and the three minority-serving institutions that grant political science PhDs (Howard University, Clark Atlanta University, and the University of California, Riverside).<sup>5</sup> Our research assistants checked each department’s website, called departmental personnel, and combed any other public documents to determine: (1) whether the departments include a subfield in race/ ethnicity, inequality, and/or gender; (2) if they do not offer such a subfield, whether these topics are incorporated into the pro-seminar courses for the other subfields; (3) what readings tend to be assigned; and (4) what elective courses are offered on these topics.

Unfortunately, we had difficulty gaining access to actual syllabi, and departments varied in terms of how much information they provided on courses. While our analysis cannot be said to be exhaustive, it is instructive. Four of the eighteen—about one in five—of the programs have subfields that include race/ethnicity or gender—Howard University, Duke University, UCLA, and The Ohio State University. The University of Michigan also offers a race subfield that graduate students can choose to construct. Few pro-seminars cover these topics, except for those in comparative politics, which are more likely to include in their course descriptions language about the importance of inequality, gender differences, and/or ethnic divisions within nations. American politics pro-seminars very rarely emphasize these themes in their descriptions, however. Programs vary widely in terms of elective course offerings in these areas as well. Not surprisingly, those programs with faculty who have race/ethnicity or gender as areas of focus in their research also tend to have more course offerings that included these topics. Those universities, of which there are many, that have only one or no faculty whose scholarship focused on difference and inequality are much less likely to provide this type of content to their graduate students.

Also not surprisingly, the two historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), Howard and Clark Atlanta, and the one Hispanic-serving institution (HSI), UC Riverside, have these concerns integrated much more deeply into their curricula. Howard offers a subfield in Political Theory and Black Politics—the only such area of study available in the country—and a variety of courses focusing on black politics, racial issues, inequality, and capitalist development. Although Clark Atlanta and UC Riverside do not offer a race subfield per se, the topics of race, gender, and inequality are integrated across many of their courses, both in terms of being part of the descriptions of more “general” courses across all subfields and also having a broad array of elective courses with these issues as a central area of focus.

We wanted to provide a snapshot of graduate training to get a better sense of what political science graduate students are currently being taught as the “core” aspects of the discipline. This framing is important in terms of the types of research questions students will choose to pursue in their dissertations and what kinds of readings and topics they will include in their own classes when they begin their teaching careers. Our analysis suggests that issues of race in American politics, for example, are not considered an essential part of what a student specializing in that subfield needs to know. While some departments offer electives that deal with these issues, few incorporate them into the core curriculum. Given that, it would be unrealistic to assume that most graduate students will, in turn, address these topics in their research and teaching after graduate school. Thus, there is little reason to think that the trends in publication and PhD production seen so far within the discipline will change dramatically among more recent cohorts of PhDs.

We note that APSA President Theda Skocpol’s Task Force on Graduate Education offered a number of principles for graduate education in political science that further support our claims. Two of the “beliefs and commitments” outlined in her report are of particular relevance. First,

Most if not all political scientists also affirm that *the complex subject matter of politics must be studied using many methods* if we are to obtain the greatly varying sorts of data, form the wide range of powerful descriptive and explanatory concepts, and engage in the many sorts of inferential testing that we need to achieve rigorous analyses (APSA Task Force on Graduate Education 2004; italics in original).

Second,

We also affirm that *the discipline today must address a diverse range of long-neglected subjects, including the political experiences of traditionally marginal groups*, using all appropriate methods. Doing so requires attracting to the discipline and aiding in the development of scholars with backgrounds and perspectives more varied than those that have long characterized our field (APSA Task Force on Graduate Education 2004; emphasis in original).

## **Institutional-level Approaches**

**Department-level** Given our findings regarding the lack of coverage of race and inequality in graduate training, we believe it may be useful for departments to at least begin a conversation about what gets lost within the current American/Comparative/IR/Theory/ Methods approach to organizing graduate curricula. Areas of inquiry that transcend these divisions, such as race and inequality, seem to receive little intellectual support within the current structure. Some programs have already begun making these sorts of changes, such as the department at Duke, which has eliminated these divisions and now organizes graduate work along more substantive lines. At the very least, political science faculty need to take seriously how this structure may be contributing to the current lack of emphasis on these issues within graduate programs.

At the faculty review level, given the lack of race-focused publications in top-tier political science journals, a requirement of publication in these journals for promotion creates a disincentive for individuals wanting to focus on this area of inquiry. In the short term, we suggest that departments recognize publications in interdisciplinary journals and other outlets that are more inclusive of this subject area in their annual reviews and tenure evaluations of faculty members. In the long term, the discipline needs to work to ensure that its top-tier journals reflect the substantive interests not only of its membership but also a focus on issues of normative importance to the well-being of society at large.

**University-level** On a broader level, universities across the country are engaging in innovative programs designed to increase diversity within the professoriate. One such program, run by the University of California, is called the UC President's Postdoctoral Program. The program was begun in 1984 with the goal of increasing the representation of women and minorities within the faculty of the University of California system. It became much more effective when, around the year 2000, the university added a hiring incentive to the postdoctoral package—the President's office pays the first five years of the fellow's salary, and units do not need to have an FTE (full-time equivalent) position available to make a recruitment. Former and current fellows are eligible for the incentive so long as they are untenured. Of the President's Postdoctoral Fellows appointed since 2001, approximately 75 percent are currently in tenure-track faculty appointments, and more than 40 percent have received faculty appointments at University of California campuses (President's Postdoctoral Fellowship Program 2010).

At the campus level, the University of California, Berkeley recently created the Berkeley Diversity Research Initiative, now called the Haas Diversity Research Center. Backed by a \$16 million award from the Evelyn and Walter Haas Jr. Fund, this model is based on the development of cross-disciplinary faculty clusters that engage in collective hiring efforts, at all levels, including multidisciplinary endowed chairs. These new faculty receive research support through these clusters and also are expected to engage in the work of the new Diversity Research Center. The idea is to facilitate collaboration and support across units to retain and support faculty and also to produce high-quality, innovative research on issues of diversity and inclusion within American society.

The efforts just described at UC Berkeley are worthy, but these programs alone that channel resources and commitments at the margin are unlikely to be transformative over the long term. We suggest that mechanisms are needed to redefine the academic commons itself and to provide incentives for many institutions to move forward together.

A core tool for such changes that can affect significant numbers of institutions simultaneously is the accreditation process. Regional accreditation of colleges and universities has been a tool for setting standards and organizing compliance in ways that have bolstered the quality, breadth, and consistency of the system of higher education in the United States, while assuring institutional autonomy (Ewell 2008). Distinctive features of the regional accreditation system have included a focus on quality, opportunity for self-improvement of institutions, possibilities for learning across institutions, and flexibility and entrepreneurship. These have been remarkable values for moving individual institutional advancement forward.

As a rule, however, accrediting bodies have not used standards prescriptively to advance goals across academia. The emphasis has been on achieving a respective institution's mission, not on reaching benchmarks or standards thought desirable nationwide. Indeed, standards often adopt language that grounds substantive action within the terms of an individual institution's mission and goals, rather than higher education-wide goals. With respect for faculty diversity and inclusion, for example, the standards of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, which accredits colleges and universities in that region, read: "The institution ensures equal employment opportunity consistent with legal requirements and any other dimensions of its own choosing; compatible with its mission and purposes, it *addresses its own goals* for the achievement of diversity among its faculty" (Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, 2011, emphasis added). This language and approach are important.

They presume an institution possesses goals for achieving diversity and being inclusive and that there must be some strategic effort to achieve these. But the language and approach fall short of benchmarking those goals against national and system needs for higher education, or of signaling that the achievement of these goals also will be measured against efforts of all other institutions to move forward.

Some professional accrediting and standard-setting bodies have done more—and have used the standard-setting process to mark ways in which all institutions can be motivated to change together to increase commitments to faculty diversity and inclusion, as well as other national objectives. The American Association of Law Schools (AALS) membership standards are one example. The AALS standards and standards review process are distinctive in their efforts to establish faculty diversity as a community-wide goal, rather than as a goal solely defined by an individual institution's mission. They take a similar position with respect to faculty research productivity in law schools.

When faculty diversity is seen as a goal faced only by individual departments or institutions, a typical commons problem may emerge, in which individual commitments to expand diversity and inclusion lack an incentive to expand opportunity across many institutions. When expressed as a goal and, indeed, a standard to be met by all, there can be a collective incentive to do more. As each of the academic disciplines moves forward in seeking to adapt to the expectations of the 21st century, it is important that political scientists join in discussions with higher education leaders about working together to enrich the commons. One area in which to work is in advancing standards for accreditation to set expectations for all institutions to make their faculties more diverse and inclusive. This, in turn, creates incentives for the higher education community to do more and to think more creatively about enriching capacities to diversify the academy in response to a transformed society by helping all institutions to achieve more.

A final example is that of the American Association of Medical Colleges (AAMC). This consortium of accredited medical schools from across the United States has established the Group on Diversity and Inclusion (GDI) within its national office, the primary goal of which is to



serve as a national forum and recognized resource to support the efforts of AAMC member institutions and academic medicine at the local, regional, and national levels to realize the benefits of diversity and inclusion in medicine and biomedical sciences.... The purpose of the GDI is to unite expertise, experience, and innovation to inform and guide the advancement of diversity and inclusion throughout academic medicine (2011).

The GDI organizes conferences, provides professional training, offers consulting, and shares data to directly help medical students, faculty, and schools of medicine better utilize expanding diversity to attain the goals of inclusion to directly address the challenges of attaining health equity in the United States. The intentionality of the GDI is clear and its integration with academic medicine is instructive.

## **Approaches to Teaching Political Science: Lecture, Seminar, and Service Learning**

Ultimately, decisions about how to balance traditional lecture and seminar approaches with service learning, participant observation, and other approaches to teaching about politics have to be made at the departmental level, based on the capacities of each department's faculty, the opportunities available at particular campuses, and the incentives departments and universities provide faculty to adopt innovative teaching methods. Some of the most salient findings from the Teaching and Learning Conferences about alternatives to traditional approaches to teaching and learning that can make political science attractive to undergraduates from increasingly diverse backgrounds include the following:

1. Faculties *must* receive substantial technical, institutional, and departmental support if alternative strategies are to be widely developed, implemented, and assessed.
2. Teaching should be recognized more in departmental tenure and promotion decisions.
3. Departments should offer courses in teaching strategies for their graduate students that incorporate more innovative approaches.
4. Innovative teaching approaches must be expressly designed as integral parts of a department's curriculum and formally incorporated within it.
5. The APSA should play an innovative and facilitative role with respect to the development and integration of innovative teaching practices into political science curricula. The means that the APSA can use to fulfill these objectives include: continued and expanded support for the Teaching and Learning Conference; support and encouragement of the development of networks formed through the conferences; and outreach to other disciplines and other countries, both to enable broader networking opportunities and to expand the search for new ideas.

## **Political Science and Current Issues of the Day**

A consistent theme throughout the various sections of the APSA Teaching and Learning Conferences is the vital importance of linking political science to real world events. This suggests that political scientists should be doing more to address current issues of the day in their teaching. Of course, some types of courses lend themselves more directly to addressing current issues of the day. Policy courses, courses addressing civic engagement, and courses addressing international issues are all examples of classes that can be deeply immersed in the current issues of the day to make political science immediately relevant to all students. Engaged citizens are familiar with the current issues of the day. Several track summaries note the importance of political scientists contributing to the development of such engaged citizens. As discussed in the summaries, this is because U.S. society is experiencing substantial demographic change and the world is increasingly connected, with events in other nations affecting the lives of students in the United States. Political science has the potential to be a key discipline in helping students understand a diverse world by linking our discipline to current issues of the day—both national and international.

## **The Inclusiveness of the Political Science Curriculum**

There are three general ways in which the teaching of political science can be modified to allow students from varied communities and backgrounds to see themselves reflected in the curriculum. These pedagogical techniques value and effectively integrate diversity, inclusiveness, and inequality in education (DIIE), internationalizing the political science curriculum and enriching introductory textbooks used in political science. Again, these recommendations come from discussions held at the APSA's Teaching and Learning Conferences.

First, the discipline should critically analyze and interrogate issues of diversity, inclusiveness, and inequality. As previous APSA TLC summaries have suggested, a diverse range of teaching techniques best encourages students to understand topics related to diverse populations (Stewart, Light, Pappas, and Rand 2005). Also, restructuring syllabi and course materials to more fully integrate DIIE exercises and strategies that help students unlearn preconceptions and feel less threatened by the "other," yet allow for effective self-reflection, should be encouraged. It is also recommended that diversity, inclusiveness, and inequality should be incorporated as categories of analysis that inform each unit of study rather than be seen as a separate or supplementary unit in the curriculum (Stein and Pinfari 2009). In addition, political science faculty should be encouraged to actively engage in the process of deliberation/ self-reflection by questioning their own assumptions and exploring their own views regarding diversity, inclusiveness, and inequality. Such self-assessment can serve as a model for students to follow (Stein and Pinfari 2009). The discipline needs to better understand how diversity, inclusiveness, and inequality are limited, shaped, and created through institutional and political processes that cut across disciplines as well as the institutions in which students and faculty learn and teach (Allen, Gordon, and Matthews-Gardner 2008). Finally, there is a need for more models that connect critical perspectives to mainstream theories and discourse in political science (Stewart, Light, Pappas, and Rand 2005).

Second, there is a continuing need for the discipline to further internationalize the political science curriculum. Previous APSA TLC track summaries found that "increasingly, the place of diversity and global perspectives in the classroom has impacted changes in teaching methodologies, materials and resources, and use of technology" (Lamborn and Martin 2004). In this area, the current political science curriculum, regardless of institution type, administrators, and faculty, can and should broaden to:

1. Encourage open discussion and communication about sensitive issues (Lamborn and Martin 2004) in the world, particularly as they relate to people of different political environments, backgrounds, beliefs, and cultures;
2. Emphasize active learning that engages students to apply concepts learned in class to real world situations (Lamborn and Martin 2004);
3. Move forward with internationalization (Babst, DeGarmo, Harth, and Reinalda 2006) to catch up with other disciplines;
4. Place a higher priority on expanding both the quantity and the quality of internalization efforts and offer students greater exposure to and knowledge about our world (Babst, DeGarmo, Harth, and Reinalda 2006);
5. Develop an increasing awareness among all students of the world's complexity and interdependence so that they may appreciate differences and acquire the ability to communicate across cultures (Nordyke, Wright, Kuchinsky, and Ediger 2007);
6. Emphasize the concept of global citizenship that connects what is local and what is global and stresses the importance of breaking away from a purely a Westernized view of the world (Nordyke, Wright, Kuchinsky, and Ediger 2007);

7. Move students beyond their comfort zones to see things from different perspectives through foreign and domestic situations of prejudice, racism, and nativism (Nordyke, Wright, Kuchinsky, and Ediger 2007);
8. Promote global internships that emphatically juxtapose theory and student experiences (Nordyke, Wright, Kuchinsky, and Ediger 2007);
9. Encourage and sustain enthusiasm for the international dimensions of politics (Zeiser, Jennings, Brooks, and Berg 2007);
10. Use resources and technology effectively and purposefully via simulations that improve students' knowledge of the world (Zeiser, Jennings, Brooks, and Berg 2007); and
11. Critically examine the overuse and misuse of such terms as internationalize, multicultural, intercultural, and tolerance to avoid their becoming meaningless buzzwords (Zeiser, Jennings, Brooks, and Berg 2007).

Third, there is a need to improve the textbooks used to instruct undergraduates. In particular, there is a need to modify introductory textbooks in American government and politics. These textbooks often employ the institutional and/or behavioral approach and lack diversity in their texts and images. They most often examine institutions and processes from a majority white perspective, with emphasis placed on the political actors who dominate these institutions, yet they lack the analytical perspective on U.S. institutions and culture that teaching DIIE provides. We know that textbooks are time-lagged measures of the state of the discipline, and the general trend in the discipline is toward more inclusion of racial and ethnic groups, but we may be in a position to more effectively build on and challenge dominant paradigms by advancing a more accurate perspective of diverse groups and cultures in the discipline. More research is needed to find ways to teach students how to critically examine images in textbooks, primary sources, and other resources to help them develop more complex and sophisticated understanding of groups around them (Wallace and Allen 2008; Allen and Wallace 2010). More important, as suggested by members of the APSA Standing Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, American government and politics textbooks must begin to create new frames of reference and political paradigms to:

1. Discuss the historical role of political parties and the impact of their positions on various groups and cultures in the American founding;
2. Focus on racial/ethnic and cultural issues in a global context, and in terms of involvements and interactions between various racial and ethnic groups in America and other countries;
3. More proactively utilize the lens of race/ethnicity and culture considerations in politics; and
4. Increase the number of conscientious scholars from various racial/ethnic backgrounds and cultures as co-authors in the conception, creation, and publication of American government and politics textbooks.

## **Teaching and Learning in Political Science**

All of the data on student enrollment point to the fact that the backgrounds students bring to political science classrooms is increasingly diverse and is likely to become even more so in the future. As noted earlier, Latino enrollment is the primary driver behind this increased diversity, and there is no doubt that classrooms are and will increasingly be populated by fewer and fewer students who are white/Caucasian.

Data from the NSSE (2009) reveal that the undergraduate teaching of political science compares reasonably well to other disciplines and even compared to other social sciences, to the extent to which it focuses on applying theories and concepts to problem solving, includes diverse perspectives in class discussions and writings, and encourages students to better understand someone else's views from his or her perspective. To be sure, political science can further improve in this regard and can learn from a number of the other social sciences; however, it has a considerable foundation on which it can build to further enrich the experiences of all students in the classroom, and especially those of students from historically underrepresented backgrounds.

The recommendations presented here are based on what has been learned from the research and related discussions at the APSA's Teaching and Learning Conferences and can guide the development of new teaching approaches that include both a focus on current issues of the day and making the curriculum of political science classes more inclusive. Political science is well positioned to take a leadership role in the social sciences to examine the challenging issues associated with the dramatic demographic transformations and related complexity of political interests occurring in the United States and many other countries around the world. The study of who wins and who loses in public policy—arguably the heart and soul of political science—gives the field great responsibility to directly contribute to helping citizens fully understand the consequences of the choices they and their governments make. The classroom is, perhaps, the arena in which political science has the greatest opportunity to demonstrate what it can contribute to make all citizens and residents more informed participants in defining their own futures.

## Political Science Faculty, 1980–2010

We examined data provided by the APSA that are originally from several sources that estimate the total number of faculty teaching at U.S. universities and colleges.<sup>12</sup> We were especially interested in examining the demographic characteristics of political science faculty and what has changed over time with regard to the recruitment and retention of women and faculty of color. What is most apparent is that the number of women and members of historically underrepresented groups in the profession has been increasing, but it has been at a very slow pace, especially among faculty of color.

Figures 7 and 8 reveal the total number of political science faculty members from 1980 to 2010. These data demonstrate that in 1980, of 7,473 total faculty members, 182 or 2.4 percent were African Americans, and 86 or 1.2 percent were Latina/o. In 2010, of a total of 9,302 faculty members, 461 or 5 percent were African American; 249 or 2.7 percent were Latina/o; and 319 or 3.4 percent were Asian Pacific Islander.<sup>14</sup> Stated differently, in 1980, 96.4 percent of political science faculty were Caucasian, whereas thirty years later in 2010, 88.9 percent of them were Caucasian. These data suggest that although the presence of historically underrepresented groups has improved, it is still extremely limited.

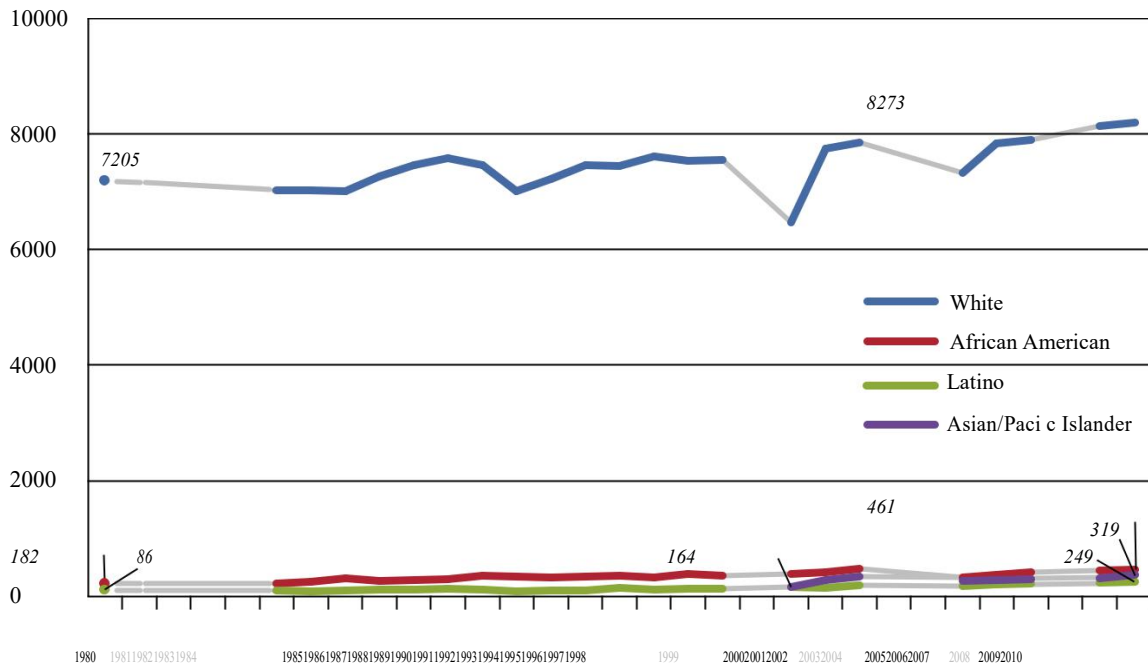
Figures 9 and 10 reveal that the number of women faculty has increased at a noticeably faster rate. In 1980 female faculty numbered 769 or 10.3 percent, whereas in 2010, that number had increased to 2,660 or 28.6 percent. Nonetheless, the overall faculty in political science are still overwhelmingly male: 89.7 percent of such members were men in 1980, and 71.4 percent were men in 2010.

The overwhelming majority of women political science faculty members are Caucasian, as demonstrated in Figures 11 and 12. The data for 1980 indicate that the racial ethnic breakdown of women faculty was 93.4 percent Caucasian, 4.3 percent African American, and 2.3 percent Latina. In 2010, the ethnic and racial breakdown among this group was 86.6 percent Caucasian, 6.1 percent African American, 3.0 percent Latina, and 4.4 percent Asian Pacific Islander. Again, progress is apparent but small.

The data in Figures 13 through 20 reveal gender differences within each ethnic and racial group. What is apparent is that there is a significant gender gap for each group. The trend data indicate that in each case the gap is narrowing, but it still remains substantial, even among Caucasians. In fact, the gender gap actually was greatest among Caucasians, where it was 50.4 percent, for African Americans it was 33.4 percent, for Latinas and Latinos it was 36.6 percent, and it was the least for Asian Pacific Islanders at 26.6 percent.<sup>15</sup>

**Figure 7: Political Science Faculty, 1980-2010**

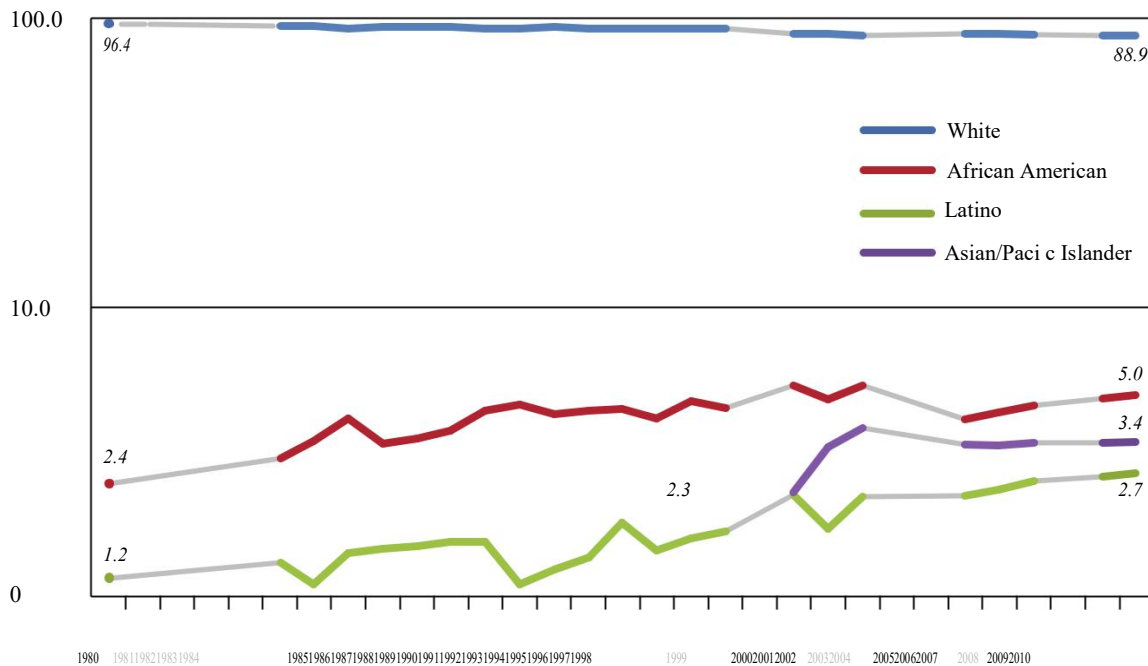
Total Political Science Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

**Figure 8: Political Science Faculty, 1980-2010**

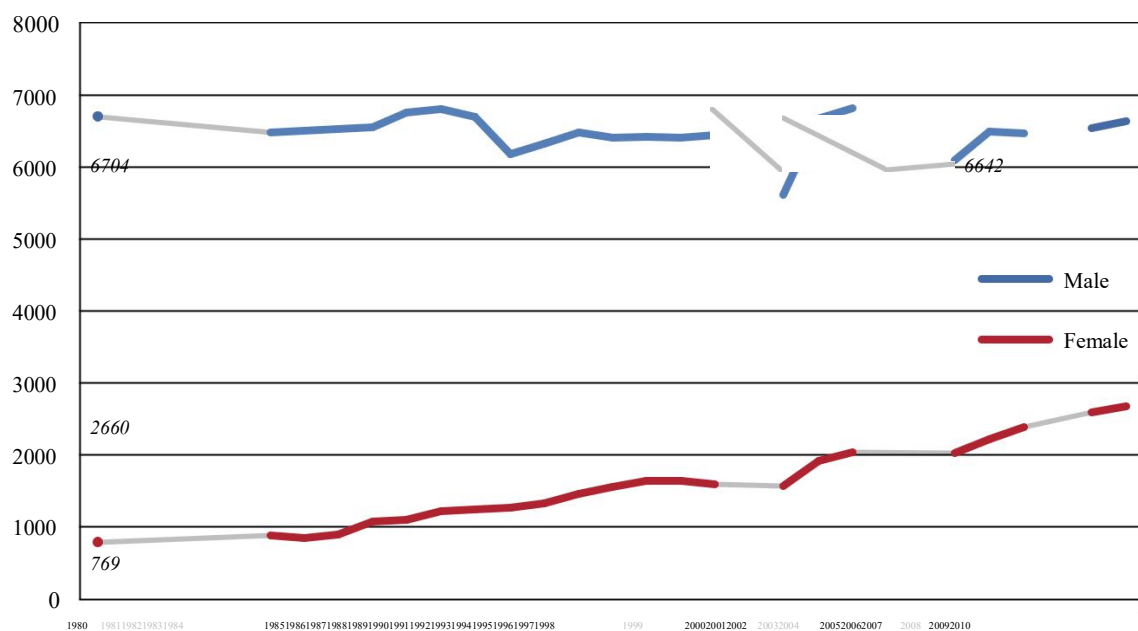
Percent of Total Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

Figure 9: Gender of Faculty, 1980-2010

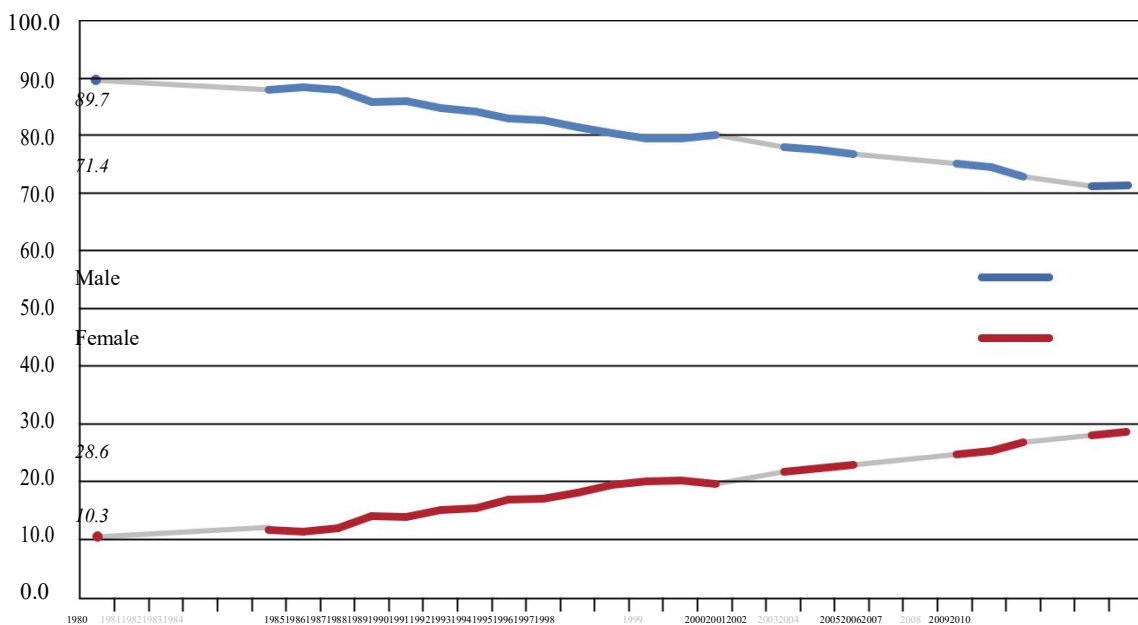
Total Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

Figure 10: Gender of Faculty, 1980-2010

Percent Total Faculty

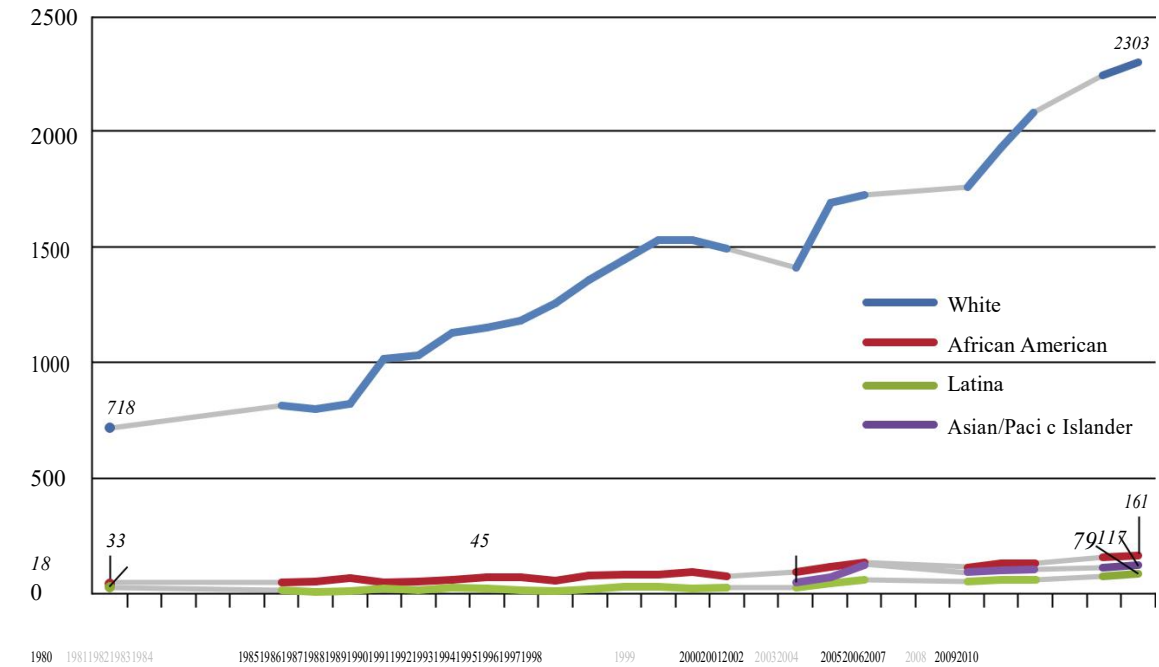


Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.



**Figure 11: Female Faculty by Race and Ethnicity, 1980-2010**

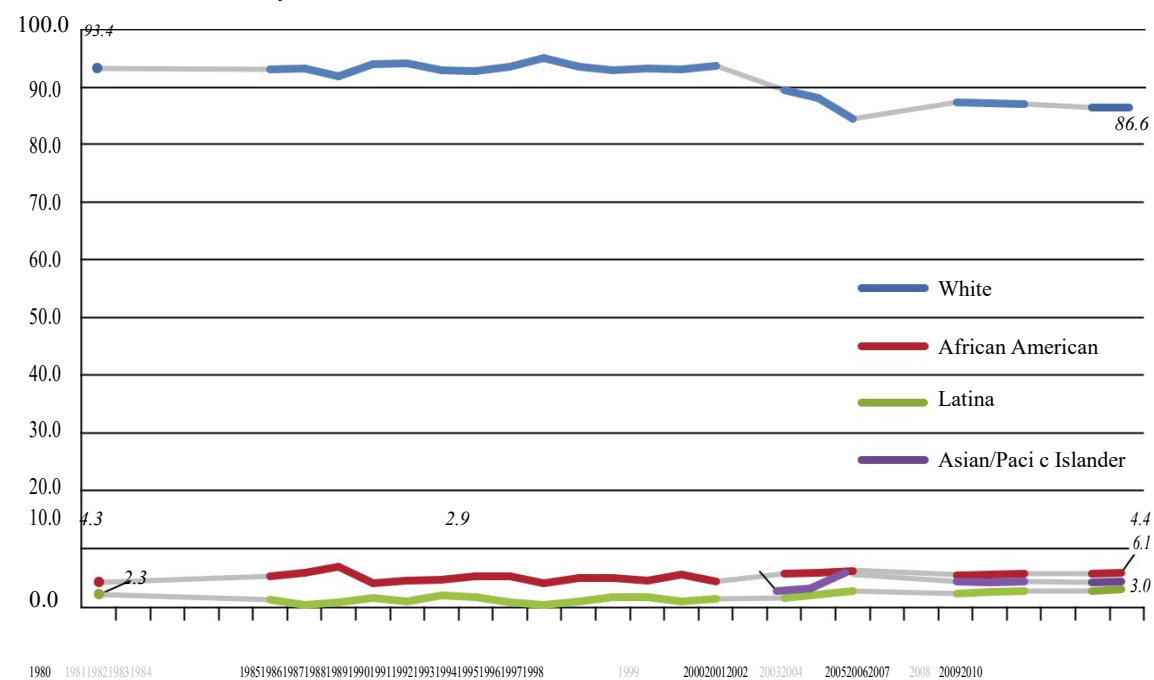
Total Female Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

Figure 12: Female Faculty by Race and Ethnicity, 1980-2010

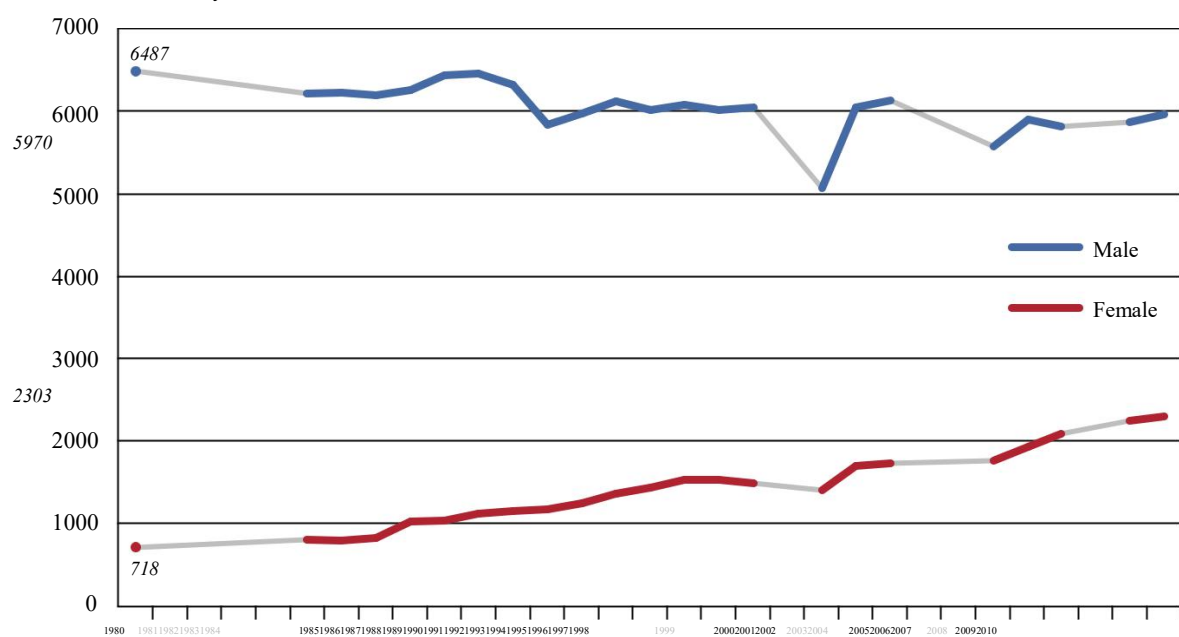
Percent Total Female Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

Figure 13: Gender of White Faculty, 1980-2010

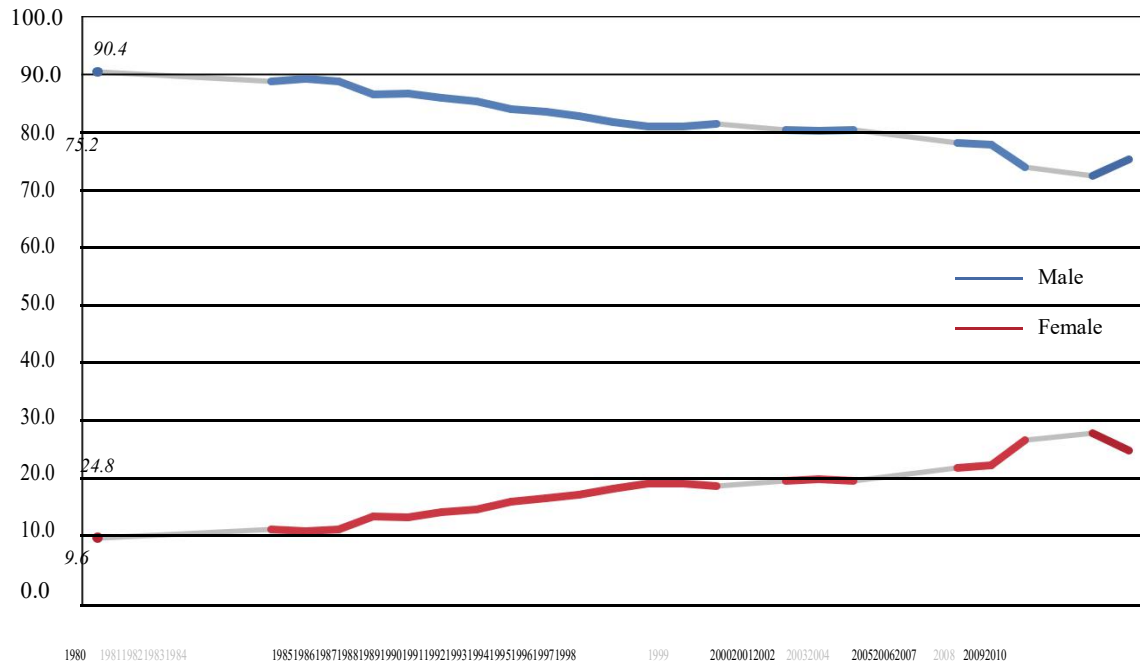
Total White Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

Figure 14: Gender of White Faculty, 1980-2010

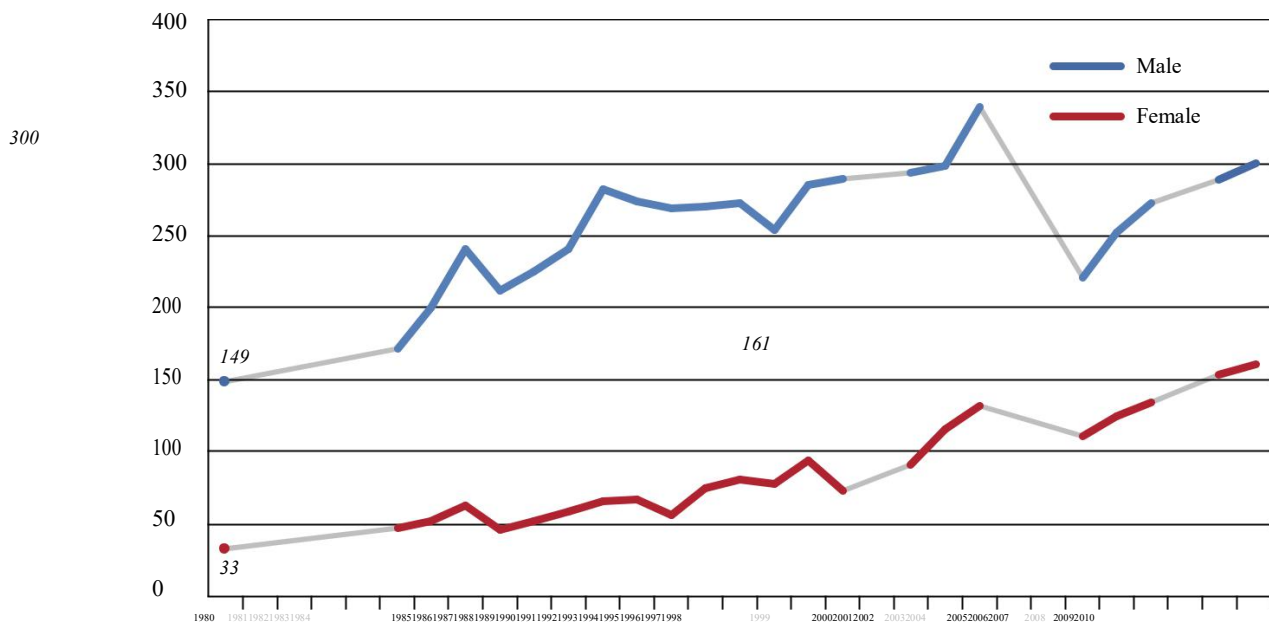
Percent Total White Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

Figure 15: Gender of African American Faculty, 1980-2010

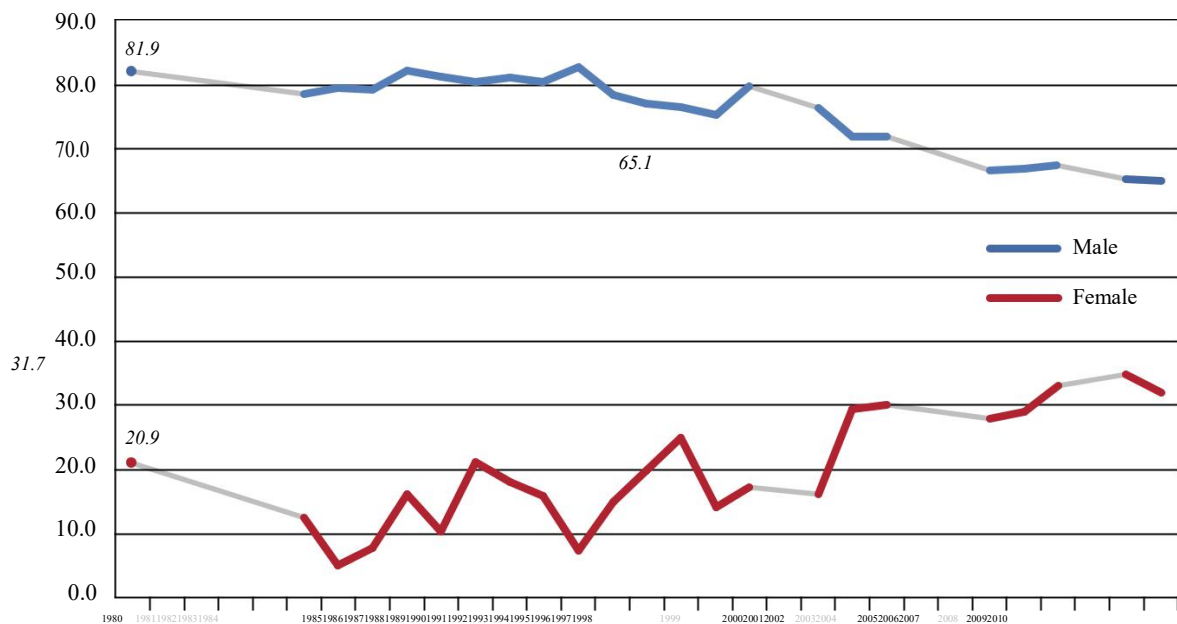
Total African American Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

**Figure 16: Gender of African American Faculty, 1980-2010**

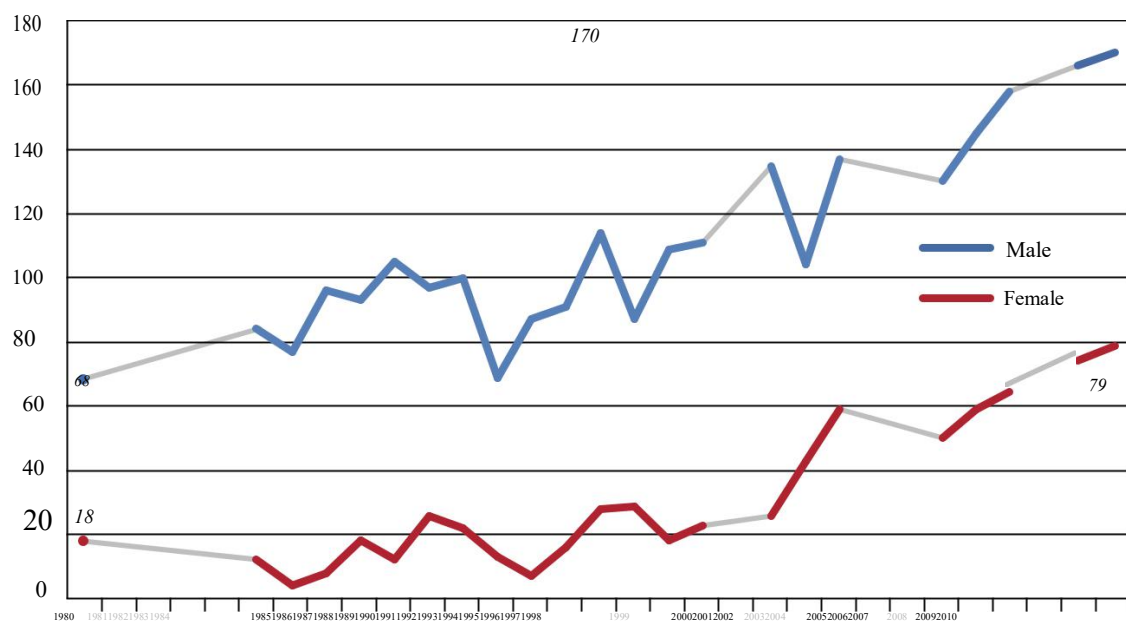
Percent Total African American Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

**Figure 17: Gender of Latina/o Faculty, 1980-2010**

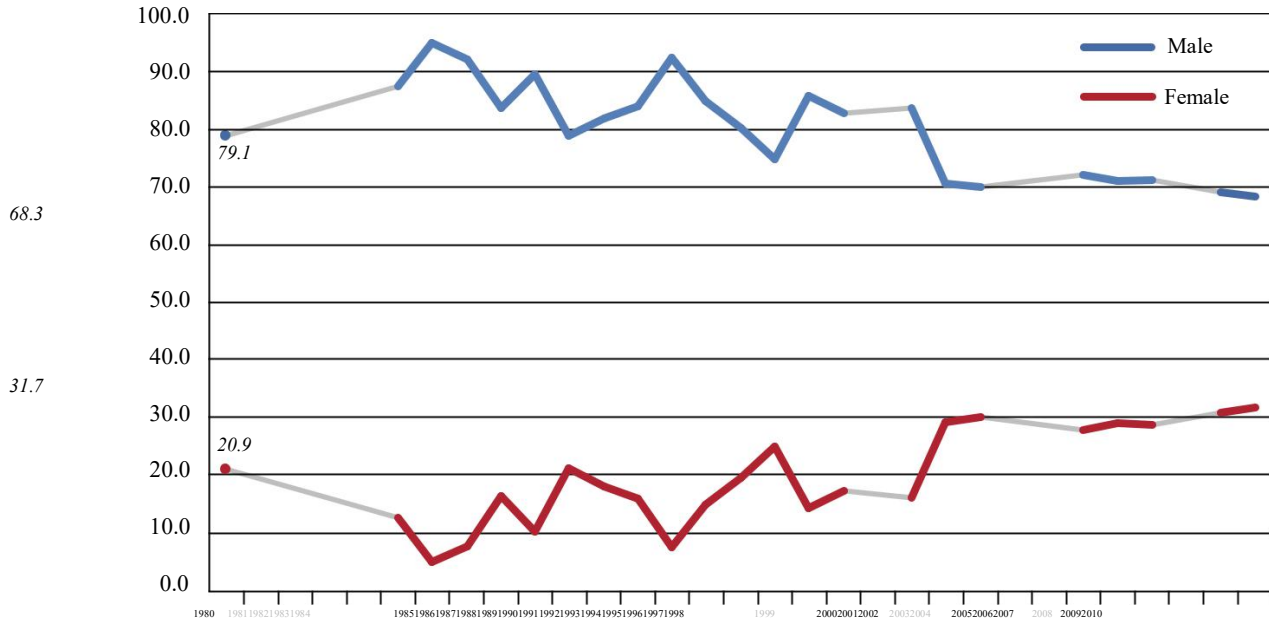
Total Latina/o Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

Figure 18: Gender of Latina/o Faculty, 1980-2010

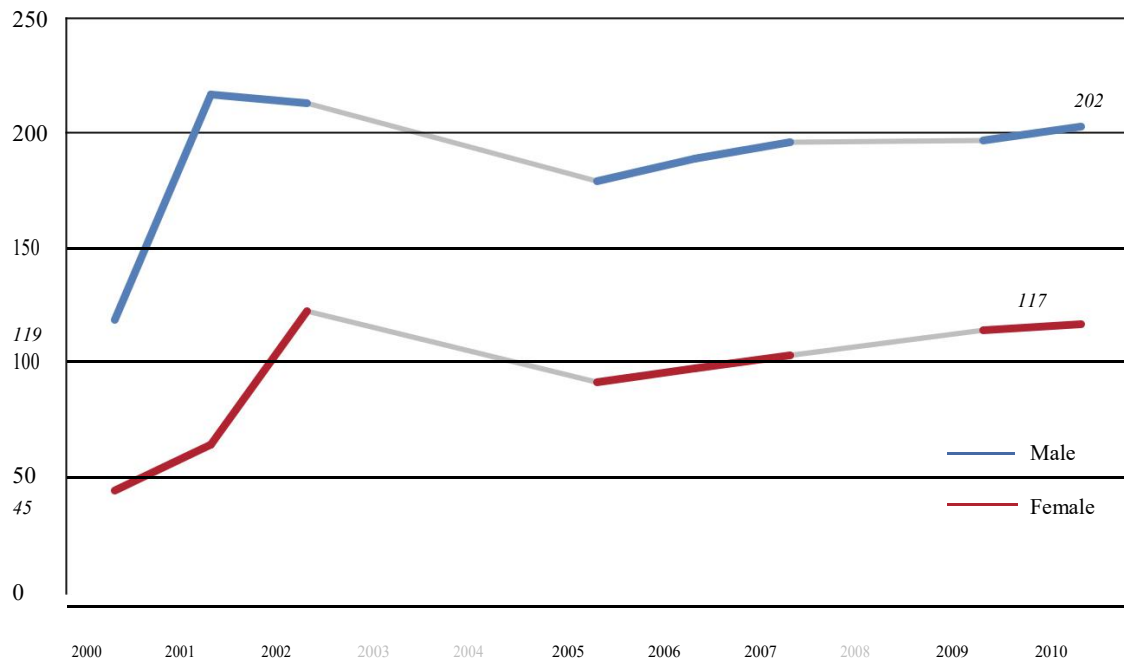
Percent Total Latina/o Faculty



Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.

Figure 19: Gender of Asian/Pacific Islander Faculty, 1980-2010

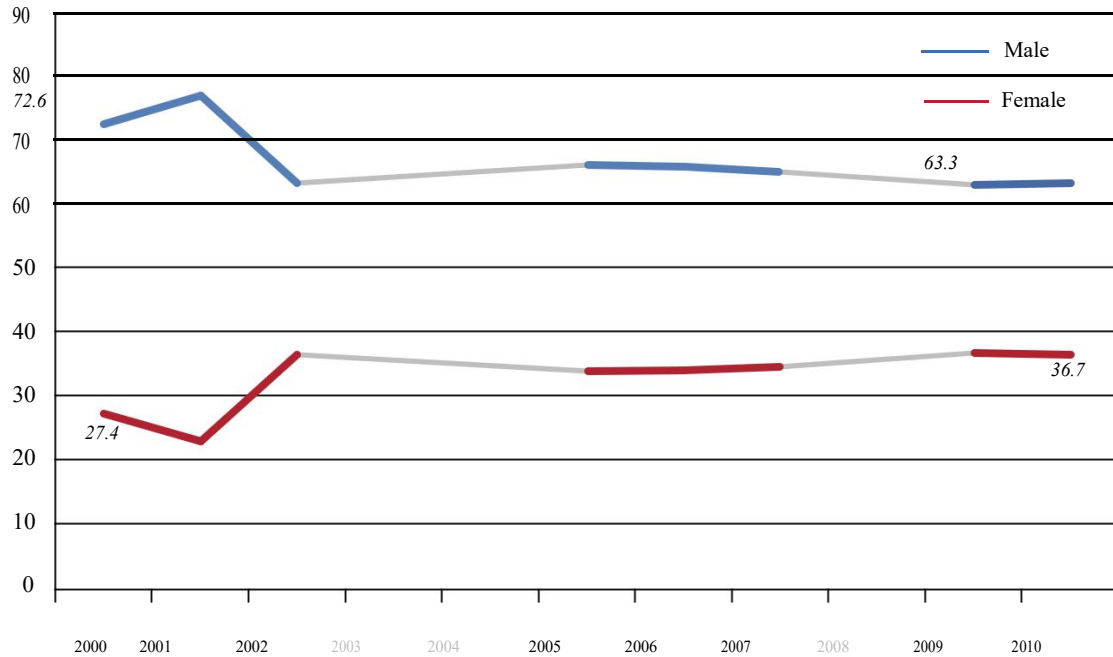
Total Asian/Pacific Islander Faculty



Source: APSA 2000-2002; APSA 2005-2010.

Figure 20: **Gender of Asian/Pacific Islander Faculty, 1980-2010**

Percent of Total Asian/Pacific Islander Faculty



Source: APSA 2000-2002; APSA 2005-2010.

### What We Know: The Challenges of Diversifying the Professoriate

Colleges and universities have undertaken efforts to diversify their faculties for decades (Shinnar and Williams 2008; Smith 2000). Nonetheless, as noted above, progress has been glacial at best. Research has revealed for quite some time that there are some persistent challenges that, for instance, faculty of color face in trying to succeed within the academy.

For example, in a national study of campus climate, retention, and satisfaction, Jayakumar et al. (2009) found that 75 percent of faculty of underrepresented backgrounds identified their campus climates as moderate to highly negative. Those conducting the study also found that an increased desire to leave the academy was associated with perceptions of high racial hostility on campus. Such perceived hostility was also associated with low job satisfaction. Interestingly, the study's authors found that institutions where the highest levels of hostility were perceived by faculty members of underrepresented backgrounds were also institutions where the retention rates of white/Caucasian faculty were highest.

Indicators of hostility are apparent to faculty of color through many of their professional responsibilities. When underrepresented faculty study race and ethnicity as part of their research, they worry that their work will be undervalued and their chances at tenure will be lessened. In one survey of law faculty, for example, many respondents reported receiving direct or indirect pressure to avoid including poverty law or race relations in their research (Delgado and Bell 1989). Women faculty of color, in particular, are most likely to feel scrutinized by their colleagues and report great concerns that their colleagues will not value their research (Thomas and Hollenshead 2002).

In addition, studies have shown that faculty of color, especially women faculty of color, can face unique challenges in the classroom. Several scholars have found that such faculty face more challenges to their authority in the classroom (Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2008; Thomas and Hollenshead 2002; Turner 2002). Faculty of underrepresented backgrounds are also more likely to have to be especially careful about their tone of voice, facial expressions, body language, and dress in the classroom because these choices can have direct consequences for perceived levels of competence (Constantine et al. 2008).

The service activities expected of faculty from underrepresented backgrounds also can serve as a barrier to successful career advancement. Such faculty frequently pay a sort of cultural or race tax in the form of being asked to serve on committees largely because of their race, ethnicity, and intersection with gender (Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2008). The result can be detrimental feelings of tokenism based on signals that the primary reason one was asked to serve on a committee was because of one's background (Cooper 2006). In addition, mentoring students from similar backgrounds is often expected of underrepresented faculty. For women faculty of color this can contribute to their being perceived as nurturing and maternal rather than as rigorous academics (Constantine et al. 2008).

Feelings of isolation also have been frequently reported by faculty of underrepresented backgrounds. These perceptions can have a detrimental effect on morale and lead to these faculty leaving the academy (Constantine et al. 2008; Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2008; Cooper 2006; Fries-Britt and Kelly 2005; Laden and Hagedorn 2000).

In recent years, a number of studies have examined issues of gender equity and the "leaky" pipeline issue for female faculty (Hesli and Burrell 1995; Monroe, Ozyurt, Wrigley, and Alexander 2008; Moore and Ritter 2008; Goulden, Frasch, and Mason 2009; Monroe and Chiu 2010). Within the discipline of political science, studies by Hesli and Burrell (1995); Monroe, Ozyurt, Wrigley, and Alexander (2008); and Monroe and Chiu (2010) have all documented disparities in male and female wages, career patterns, achievements, and perceptions of the job environment. In short, both individual and institutional discrimination continue to persist for female faculty in the discipline. In 1995, Hesli and Burrell examined the status of women faculty and graduate students in political science doctoral departments of Midwest universities for the period of 1965–1991. They found that women were disproportionately less likely than men to be employed in faculty positions and were significantly more likely than men to characterize their work environment as unequal in the way that males and females were treated. One of the highlights of this study was the report of the "chilly" climate that untenured women faced.

In a 2008 case study of UC Irvine, Monroe, Ozyurt, Wrigley, and Alexander found that despite the increase in the number of women in positions of authority, discrimination continues to "manifest itself through gender devaluation," a process in which the status and power of an authority position is downplayed when that position is held by a woman, and through penalties for those agitating for political change.

In a 2010 study by Monroe and Chiu, the authors reported that gender discrimination is certainly still occurring and that the pipeline argument that gender inequality is a function of insufficient numbers of women in the hiring pool for jobs was not the case. Analysis of the data from this study suggests that merely increasing the pool of qualified women has not led to women rising to the top in academia. Women still find themselves in lower-paying jobs, and they continue to earn less than men in comparable positions.

Numerous other case studies done within academia but outside the discipline of political science further highlight continuing gender inequity and pipeline issues. In 2008 a final report by a task force on gender equity at the University of Texas at Austin found a continued gender gap in faculty representation, disparities in promotion rates and in time to promotion, salary gaps between \$10,000–\$12,000 (depending on rank), climate concerns that included harassment and discrimination, attitudes about family-friendly policies, opportunities for administrative leadership, and a sense of isolation among senior women faculty members (Moore and Ritter 2008).

Lastly, a 2009 study out of UC Berkeley documented the leaky pipeline in the sciences for female faculty. The report makes an important contribution to understanding how family affects women's ability to make it to the highest level of the scientific community. The study examined the role of family formation (marriage and children) on leaks in the academic pipe-line through the tenure evaluation process, the experiences of doctoral students and postdoctoral scholars in career path decision-making, and the reputation of careers in academic settings (Goulden, Frasch, and Mason 2009).

### **Mentoring**

Mentoring is often cited in the literature of higher education as one of the few common characteristics of a successful faculty career, particularly for faculty of color and women (Van Emmerik 2004; Moody 2004; Alex-Assensoh et. al. 2005; Michelson 2006; Sorcinelli and Yun 2007; Yun and Sorcinelli 2008; Jayakumar et al. 2009; Blau, Currie, Croson, and Ginther 2010). Demonstrated benefits to mentees include the development of skills and intellectual abilities; engagement in meaningful, substantive tasks; entry into the world of career advancement opportunities; and access to advice, encouragement, and feedback (Sorcinelli and Yun 2007). With the changes occurring across the spectrum of higher education institutions today, one could argue that the need for mentoring and its benefits are greater now than ever before. Based on research by Sorcinelli and Yun (2007; 2008), we know that new and underrepresented faculty experience a number of significant challenges that can act as roadblocks to productivity and career advancement. These challenges include: 1) getting oriented to the institution, such as understanding the academic culture, identifying research and teaching resources, and creating a trusted network of colleagues; 2) excelling in research and teaching, including locating information on course design, technology, and teaching strategies; developing a research and writing plan; identifying sources of internal and external funding; and soliciting feedback on manuscripts and grant proposals; 3) managing expectations for performance, particularly the tenure process, which includes gaining an understanding of the specifics of the tenure process, learning about criteria, developing a tenure portfolio, and soliciting feedback through the annual faculty review process; 4) finding collegiality and community through the building of substantive career-enhancing relationships with faculty; and 5) creating a balance between professional roles and also between work and family life issues, including prioritizing and balancing teaching, research, service, and personal time.



## **Recent Multi-institutional Studies**

In the last decade a number of well-known universities, including UC Berkeley, UT Austin, Pennsylvania State University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), have examined various aspects of ethnic/racial and gender inequities in hiring and promotion. A large research initiative has also been undertaken to improve faculty recruitment, retention, and work/life quality. This study, the Collaborative On Academic Careers in Higher Education (COACHE), out of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, has yielded the most comprehensive longitudinal analysis to date of institutional survey data of job satisfaction of untenured faculty from more than 200 colleges and universities throughout the country (COACHE 2007). These data are particularly important because they further verify what has been reported through other surveys, case studies, and individual narratives for many years (see, for example, Diggs et al. 2009; Jayakumar et al. 2009; Antonio 2002).

All of the reports derived from the COACHE longitudinal survey point out in one way or another that many institutions struggle not only with the recruitment of diverse faculty, but, most important, with the retention of their diverse faculty. The pilot study in 2004 that led to the COACHE initiative specifically focused on an examination of the difference between job satisfaction among tenure-track faculty of color and white faculty (Trower and Bleak 2004). Significant differences by race were found in key areas of the perception of the tenure process, support for research, and mentoring. Among the primary findings were that faculty of color, when compared to Caucasian faculty, were less clear about the tenure process in their department and the body of evidence that would be required to achieve tenure and promotion. Secondly, untenured faculty of color were significantly more likely than white junior faculty to report that tenure decisions were based more on politics and relationships than performance. Junior faculty of color were more likely to feel pressure than white faculty to conform to departmental political views. Untenured faculty members of color were also significantly less satisfied than white junior faculty in the influence they had over their research focus. Junior faculty of color were significantly more likely than white faculty to report that they would find the following to be helpful: professional assistance to improve teaching skills, childcare, financial assistance with housing, mentoring, stopping the tenure clock, and personal leaves during the probationary period (Trower and Bleak 2004).

A subsequent COACHE report in 2008 more closely examined the perspectives of what pre-tenure faculty want and what research universities provide by interviewing pre-tenure faculty members, tenured faculty members, department chairs, and administrators at the dean level and above. While there were few surprises in the findings of what pre-tenured faculty want, these interviews articulated a number of needs that require the implementation of effective policies and practices. Among the areas of need were time and money, a clear and transparent tenure process and expectations, support for professional development, a climate of collegiality and collaboration, quality of life in terms of striking a balance between work and home, and workplace diversity.

When examining what pre-tenured faculty need to be successful, time is perhaps their most valuable commodity, and time management their greatest challenge. Faculty described the constant struggle to learn how to divide their time between teaching and service obligations and how to balance their professional obligations with their lives outside of work. Time was closely followed by the need to have a clearly defined, reasonable, and equitable path to tenure. Of clear importance to untenured faculty is the need for professional development support (grant writing assistance, assistance with improving teaching, and guidance about networking and marketability), and, finally, as we have seen in other studies, the importance of having a climate of collegiality, including formal and informal mentoring, is of high importance, particularly among faculty of color (COACHE 2008).

Subsequent reports from the longitudinal cohort analyses of faculty in the COACHE survey begun in 2006 continue to highlight several areas deemed critical to junior faculty success. These include: clarity and reasonableness of the tenure processes and review; workload and support for teaching and research; importance and effectiveness of common policies and practices; climate, culture, and collegiality on campus; and global satisfaction. In many of these areas, specifically clarity of the tenure process, climate, culture, collegiality, and mentoring support, there are significant differences between the perceptions of faculty of color and white faculty (COACHE 2007; 2008).

Other studies examining retention have come to similar conclusions. The 2010 report examining the Initiative for Faculty Race and Diversity at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology documents how the first three years are critical to successful retention of faculty of color. The report goes on to recommend that earlier intervention, more consistent mentoring and oversight, and a strong support structure during these critical first three years would make a significant difference in faculty retention (2010). Given the difference MIT found between mentoring experiences among underrepresented minority faculty (URM) and non-URM faculty, as well as the significant loss of URM faculty in the first three years of the tenure timeline, several recommendations were highlighted to specifically address mentoring in relation to the tenure and promotion process. Some of these recommendations included: 1) formal mentors (both in and outside the department unit) should be assigned to all junior faculty hires as part of an institute-wide policy on mentoring; 2) mentees should be trained and informed on what to expect from and how to use mentors; 3) mentors should be accountable to the department in their role; 4) mentors should be trained/informed of their role and expectations; 5) annual department reviews should be implemented for each faculty member, beginning in the first year, and the review should be followed by verbal and/or written feedback from the department chair/head; and 6) department heads, deans, and the provost must implement a comprehensive feedback and evaluation process (2010).

## **Bilding a More Inclusive Political Science for the 21st Century**

This report has highlighted many of the issues facing political scientists as they move forward into the 21st century. It is clear that the APSA as an association has, to a degree, been proactive in dealing with issues related to diversity and inclusion. The Association began constructing a foundation for changing the profession in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement at the end of the 1960s. However, as in many other areas of public life, progress has been slow, and there is always more to be done. Our primary goal in this report is to start a spirited and constructive debate about the profession's accomplishments, and especially about how an agenda might be framed for the 21st century to promote even greater progress. Our final recommendations are in three specific areas:

- n The need for richer, more comprehensive, and systematic data regarding research, teaching and pedagogy, and access and inclusion within the profession.
- n The need for the APSA to fully consider whether its current good practices can be modified to serve as a catalyst to departments to make more progress regarding issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and diversity more broadly.
- n The need for the APSA to partner with other associations or a subset of its own membership to solicit, secure, and utilize external funds to be a leader in developing new research, teaching, and career development paradigms that can serve as models for departments of political science, universities, and colleges to embrace the rich intellectual opportunities presented in the study and teaching of issues related to diversity and inclusion.

### **The Lack of Data**

Perhaps because we are social scientists, each of our three working groups began its investigation by trying to secure systematic data related to the questions it was asking. We were all impressed by the lack of available data critical to our better understanding the progress that has been made in our profession as its attempts to expand access, increase diversity, and become more inclusive in its research, teaching, and career development.

The trend data on faculty recruitment and retention provided by the APSA were extremely instructive. These data allow us to clearly see what many have alleged and what many have noted anecdotally. Although progress toward greater access and inclusion in the profession has clearly been made, the rate of that progress has been extremely slow for women and for those from historically underrepresented groups. Additional analysis is needed as to how these patterns vary by type of institution, including public and private, two-year and four-year, and research-intensive and teaching-intensive institutions, over time.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, analyses by region, ethnic and racial distribution of undergraduate enrollment, and ethnic and racial distribution of the larger community from which students tend to be recruited are also needed. As social scientists we know that the value of such study will be in allowing us to better understand why such limited progress has occurred. It is only with this knowledge that political scientists can improve and expand strategies for making the profession more inclusive. For example, is the field's pattern of limited progress regarding faculty inclusion due to lack of recruitment, challenges of securing tenure, or individuals choosing to leave the profession due to perceived chilly and at times hostile departmental and university climates?

Only richer data and better analyses utilizing these data will allow any chance of making more progress. It is counterintuitive that a profession that has made such progress in analyzing data with increasing technical sophistication has spent such little effort applying its considerable skills to understanding its own professional development. Stated differently, we as a profession make few attempts, if any, to practice on our own profession the good social science that we so effectively practice in studying many political phenomena around the world.

Similarly, there is a clear lack of data related to research productivity in the profession. As best we could determine, there is no consistent reporting of data by editors of flagship journals as to how many manuscripts are submitted that have issues of race, ethnicity, gender, difference, and multiculturalism as their focus; how many such manuscripts are rejected after first-round reviews; how many are sent for a revise and resubmit; how many are rejected on the second round; and how many finally appear in print. As we report here, several scholars have provided insightful analyses based on counts of articles and book reviews published in the discipline's journals. Without systematic data on submissions, however, the power of what we know from the counts is lessened considerably. What is unfortunate about the lack of such data is that it prevents the profession from developing strategic interventions that can enhance the likelihood that a more inclusive body of research will appear in print. The same sorts of counts should be made of university presses and commercial publishers that have a major presence in political science.

Our review also makes it abundantly clear that there is a need for far more systematic data on graduate curricula and training in political science. Following the recommendations of the Task Force on Graduate Education on a range of principles, including the use of multiple methods and the study of marginalized groups, we conclude that little progress has been made. Our effort to secure information on the presence of courses and course topics on race, ethnicity, gender, and multiculturalism in graduate training was instructive, but far from complete. Again, without such data, strategic interventions to broaden the range of topics that graduate students can study and in which they can be trained cannot be made. Is the challenge primarily one of access to course material, faculty training of graduate students, or student preferences? Without systematic data, we cannot know. Again, the acquiescence of so many of us in the profession to this lack of information perhaps makes us complicit in the glacial progress we see in expanding the inclusiveness of the profession to effectively respond to changing demographics.

Finally, it was in the area of teaching and pedagogy where the data challenges seemed to be less pronounced. The Teaching and Pedagogy subcommittee identified national surveys that generate reliable data on how many undergraduate students choose political science as a major; how this varies by race, ethnicity, and gender; and what political science majors tend to learn about diversity and inclusion. To address issues of expanding the pipeline, it would also be useful to know why more political science majors do not pursue graduate study and what it is they do choose to pursue after graduation. Useful data that address these issues and include racial, ethnic, gender, and other multicultural subsamples would begin to give us insight as to how to systematically expand the pipeline to our profession. Again, why is not knowing such basic facts acceptable to so many of us in the profession? We certainly hope that it is not also a sign of a lack of commitment by leaders and gatekeepers in our profession to make more progress in this regard.

## **Expanding the Capacity of Political Science**

We fully recognize that the APSA has limited resources of money and personnel to engage in new areas of professional development and support. The APSA staff already works tirelessly to provide its members with services and support in many areas. We therefore recommend that it partner with other professional associations or a subset of its own membership to secure outside funds to identify best practices in the areas of research, teaching, and professional development regarding diversity and inclusion. In our section on research we made reference to several programs of the American Economic Association. What does the American Sociological Association or the American Anthropological Association do in this regard? What is there to further learn from the actions and activities of professional associations such the American Medical Association or the American Bar Association that may be adaptable to the APSA? Without a doubt, the challenges of producing inclusive research, providing culturally relevant teaching, enriching the pipeline, and enhancing the recruitment and retention of underrepresented faculty are not unique to political science. We should expand our base of knowledge to incorporate views and experiences that go beyond those most familiar to us.

Our point here is simple: what the APSA has been doing in the past as a professional association has not led to substantial progress over the last forty-one years. Progress in research, teaching, and professional development to expand diversity and inclusion has occurred, but the progress is small and certainly does not put political science in a leadership role in integrating expanding multiculturalism within its professional activities. The profession that studies power and its consequences, the profession that knows more about democracy and effective civic engagement than any other, and the profession that studies the consequences for social stability and human rights resulting from the absence of access and inclusion for all segments of a society's population should take a strong leadership role in advancing its own intellectual, professional, and demographic development. New actions must be taken if the discipline of political science is to have the chance of accepting the responsibilities of leadership in this regard.

In conclusion, we hope that all who read our report will appreciate the great respect and admiration each of our committee members has for our profession. We chose to become political scientists because we were confident that it would provide us the theory, history, research training, and critical thinking to make insightful contributions to scholarship. Some of us also saw in political science the possibility of making contributions to how our nation and the world think about and respond to the most challenging policy questions that societies face. We are firmly convinced that it was in this spirit of appreciating the rich potential of political science to provide ways to better attain peace, economic opportunity, human rights, participatory democracy, and, ultimately, individual fulfillment. We respect our discipline and our profession enough to see its ever-expanding potential. We hope that our report pushes political science and political scientists to realize this potential as well.

## Future Directions in Political Science

The recent discussion about the current and future state of the discipline is a welcome and healthy development. While some of the discussion has generated unnecessary acrimony, my general impression is that this is an excellent time to engage seriously in a critique as well as an effort to reconstruct and move in a more positive direction.

Personally, I would like to see a radical change in the decades ahead. We need a clearer conception of our core concerns. My own way of thinking about this is consistent with that of many of the classic philosophers who focused on the study of rules, rule-governed behavior, and the effort to change rules through force or through discussion, debate, and choice. So, let me make an argument for returning to this very broad conception of the core of our discipline.

By studying rules and rule-governed behavior, we can study decisions and actions taken within differently structured systems of authority relationships at many scales, from a small neighborhood to international bodies, as well as within private organizations of all kinds and through time. From this approach, the most general core questions are:

- How do different combinations of rules used to structure governmental and non-governmental organizations at multiple scales affect perceptions, actions, and the distribution of values including political and economic power over time?
- How do rules affect the perceived structure of incentives within diverse cultures?
- What cumulative knowledge can we develop about the factors affecting the choice of rule combinations at diverse scales and historical eras?
- In addition to self-conscious choice of rules in assemblies, by executives and by courts, how do rules evolve over time in self-organizing patterns of relationships?

All of these questions unpack into a large bundle of related questions that may focus on specific eras, scales of organization, geographic domains, or sectors of life. I open the syllabus for my own graduate seminar, for example, with the following question:

How can fallible human beings achieve and sustain self-governing entities and self-governing ways of life? In other words, how can individuals influence the rules that structure their lives? This is a particularly challenging question in an era when global concerns have moved onto the political agenda of most international, national, and even local governing bodies. (Y673 Syllabus, Fall 2001)

Similar questions were asked by Aristotle and other foundational political philosophers. These were the concerns of de Tocqueville, Madison, and Hamilton. These central questions unite contemporary political philosophers with those who study the effect of diverse rules on citizen, executive, legislative, or judicial behavior in various countries or at different geographic scales. They also link both to scholars who use game theory to model the effect of rules in order to predict behavior and outcomes and to those who conduct laboratory experiments to ascertain the empirical consequences of carefully controlled changes of rules. They link as well to those using agent-based computational models. In other words, I think it is essential to develop general, core research questions that unpack into a diverse set of special questions for which it is then appropriate to use many tools of data collection and analysis.

Viewing the central enterprise of the discipline in this way has radical implications. Instead of organizing our fields, text-books, and comprehensives in divisions that do not make any theoretical sense, we could move toward the development of two broad fields: (1) theory and (2) empirical applications. Every Ph.D. student would be expected to take at least one theory field and one or two empirical fields. Some examples of fields for a Ph.D. student might look like:

<b>Theory Field</b>	Possible Organizing Questions for Empirical Fields
<b>Theories of voting</b>	How do different voting rules affect citizen behavior over time and geographic scales and within a single country or across countries? What are the consequences for differing kinds of policy decisions of using diverse legislative rules? How have voting rules in local councils changed over time and what factors have led to these changes and resulting outcomes?
<b>Collective-action theories</b>	What kind of rules and other factors affect whether and how users relying heavily on a resource system (e.g., farmers using an irrigation canal or harvesting from a forest) are able to overcome collective-action problems and organize themselves in relationship to a resource? Within diverse constitutional regimes, what factors affect the success or failure of political protest movements or the organization of charitable organizations and their impacts?
<b>Multicultural group theories</b>	How do multicultural groups achieve peaceful and productive relationships in an increasingly urban and global society and avoid conflict-ridden relationships? How do different regimes at multiple scales affect the behavior of gangs in urban areas in developing and/or developed countries? How have changes in ethnic, religious, and racial characteristics of cities affected residential patterns, intergroup cooperation and conflict, and political participation?

If we were to adopt something like this vision of an integrated political science, what type of data collection and analysis methods would be appropriate? My response is that most well-trained political scientists need to know how to use a variety of research methods that are both qualitative and quantitative. If one studies legislative behavior, for example, one can use qualitative methods including the conduct of in-depth semistructured interviews in the style that Dick Fenno perfected. Or, one can gather voting data over time or space and do multivariate statistical analysis. One can study archival materials including congressional hearings, diaries, committee reports, etc. One can design an experiment where everything but the voting rules are constant while voting rules are systematically varied. All of these types of studies are currently going on—but many of the researchers using one form of data collection and analysis are not talking with others using diverse approaches.

We can all learn something from all of these approaches. We need to develop these multiple ways of testing theory and then to learn enough of these approaches so that we actually learn from others using tools that we ourselves are not using. If theory is at the heart of our research designs—rather than the study of things like the president, or Congress, or an area of the world—we have more of a chance to make our discipline cumulative and to learn from one another. Further, we need to ensure that our discipline contributes to the education of future citizens, entrepreneurs in the public and private spheres, and officials at all levels of government. Democratic governance is always a fragile enterprise. Future citizens need to understand that they participate in the constitution and reconstitution of rule-governed polities and to learn the “art and science of association,” to draw on the Tocquevillian concept.

We have a distinct obligation to participate in this educational process as well as to engage in the research enterprise so that we build a cumulative knowledge base that may be used to sustain democratic life rather than destroy it. Having learned so much from colleagues in diverse fields working on a similar set of theoretical questions, I fervently hope that opening our discipline to debate, critique, and change will lead us toward the development of a more coherent and cumulative body of knowledge. And, I hope to participate over this next decade in the refocusing of our discipline on the theoretical and empirical study of rules and their consequences. The relationship of ideas to deeds in artisan/artifact relationships suggests that theoretical and empirical considerations are necessary complements to one another.



## Experiments in Political Science

As in economics, some political scientists are beginning to use experimentation to test formal models in a controlled empirical setting. The three main areas of research in this area are (a) voting and elections, (b) committee and jury decision making, and (c) problems of coordination and cooperation (Palfrey 1991). This third area is similar in some theoretical ways to work on coordination in behavioral economics, but the domains of application differ. Palfrey (1991) argues that these topics have produced at least three important themes in the relationship between formal modeling and experimental research in political science. These include the importance of strategic behavior in studying complex political actions and actors; the critical significance of incomplete or asymmetric information, especially as related to issues of reputation, communication, and signaling; and finally, the importance of explicitly building dynamic models, which are aided by experimental methods and impact problems related to party identification, realignments, incumbency, and political business cycles.

***Experimental voting and elections*** Since Downs's *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, many scholars have tried to examine the foundations of democratic elections with formal models. Increasingly, these models are being tested experimentally (Palfrey 1991). Plott (1991), for one, tested the spatial model to examine certain aspects of elections, including voter turnout.

Voter turnout lends itself nicely to experimental investigation. For example, Palfrey & Rosenthal (1985) argued that according to game theoretic analysis under assumptions of complete information, analysts should expect equilibria of high turnout, even when the costs of voting are high. Instead, they demonstrated experimentally that under conditions of uncertainty about the preferences and costs of others for voting, only voters with very low voting costs will vote in a large election. In other work on voter turnout, Green and colleagues have attempted to rehabilitate the use of field experiments begun by Gosnell (1926). In a study on the effects of canvassing, phone calls, and direct mail on voter turnout, Gerber & Green found that personal canvassing increased voter turnout, whereas phone calls appeared to have no impact. Direct mail appeared to have a slight impact on voter turnout. In addition, they found that asking voters whether they could be "counted on" to vote increased the impact of personal canvassing.

Other topics that have been investigated experimentally under the rubric of voting and elections include candidate competition (Plott 1991), retrospective voting (McKelvey et al. 1987), political competition (Boylan et al. 1991), and voter information costs.

Lau and Sears have used experiments to examine related topics. Their study of the evaluation of public figures (Lau et al. 1979) concluded that the so-called positivity bias often found in survey results is not an artifact of the measurement process alone but rests on some real bias in assessment. Related work on political preferences (Sears & Lau 1983) showed that self-interest may result from political and personal cues in surveys that trigger artifactual results. Finally, these authors have experimentally explored the nature of political beliefs (Lau et al. 1991).

Political party identification has also been examined experimentally (Cowden & McDermott 2000). We were intrigued by previous work, using different methodologies, that achieved somewhat contradictory results regarding the long-term stability of party identification. We designed an experiment that assessed student subjects' party identification, among other things, early in the semester. Later, after participating in one experiment that manipulated the extremity of real candidates in experimental elections, or another in which subjects role-played either the prosecutor or defender of Clinton in the impeachment hearing, subjects filled out a second, standard party identification measure. Our results indicated that party identification, even in a young population that should have had less time to develop strong associations, showed remarkable stability.

Media effects on candidate evaluation and voting have been another extremely productive research topic. Some of the best and most imaginative experimentation has been conducted in the area of media studies and political communication by Iyengar and colleagues. Their creative studies have demonstrated that television news influences how viewers weight problems and evaluate candidates (Iyengar et al. 1982); that television news frames individuals' explanation of events (Iyengar 1987); that negative advertising reduces voter turnout (Ansolabehere et al. 1994); and that candidates gain the most by advertising on issues over which they can claim "ownership" (Ansolabehere & Iyengar 1994). Iyengar continues to advance the methodology of experimentation itself as well, with recent studies that use new technology and field strategies to ameliorate some of the traditional criticisms of external validity problems (Iyengar 2000). These strategies include bringing the experiments into natural settings by creating living room environments in shopping malls and asking subjects to watch television in those settings, with experiments embedded in the programming. Further, Iyengar has begun to use the internet to reach more diverse populations, which increases experimenter access to more representative samples.

Experimental studies of candidate evaluation by gender have produced some interesting findings as well. In an evaluation of campaign coverage of senatorial candidates, Kahn (1992) found that the press presented male and female candidates in systematically different ways. Such differences appeared to benefit male candidates, who were seen as more viable; this may disadvantage female candidates at the polls. Nevertheless, sex stereotypes sometimes benefit women because they were judged more frequently than men to be compassionate and honest. Further work by Kahn (1994) examining both gubernatorial and senatorial candidates found that voter perceptions were affected by both news coverage and sex stereotypes. Interestingly, these factors appear to affect incumbents differently from challengers, and gubernatorial candidates differently from senatorial candidates. In particular, gender differences in press coverage were more pronounced in the senate race and for incumbents. This pattern appears to hurt female senatorial candidates. On the other hand, sex stereotypes produce more positive evaluations of women and appear to benefit gubernatorial candidates the most. Note that Kahn's further experimental testing of her earlier findings allowed her to further refine and conditionalize her results. The findings of Huddy & Terkildsen (1993) on gender stereotyping in the perception of candidates are consistent with Kahn's. They too find that female candidates are seen in a positive light on traits such as compassion, whereas men are perceived to be more competent on military issues. Huddy & Terkildsen suggest that a gender trait approach best explains the differences they find.

***Committee and Jury Decision Making*** A second arena of systematic research in political science considers committee and jury decision making. Experiments on committee decision making are typically modeled on legislatures in which results emerge from a combination of bargaining and voting. Much research thus focuses on how the bargaining process and the voting rules affect the outcome of committee decision making, especially under different decision rules. Various scholars have examined committee decision making under majority rule (Fiorina & Plott 1978, McKelvey & Ordeshook 1979), plurality (Neimi & Frank 1985), approval voting (Neimi 1984), noncooperative games (Felsenthal et al. 1988), competitive solutions (McKelvey & Ordeshook 1983), and universalism (Miller & Oppenheimer 1982). In particular, agenda setting (Levine & Plott 1977, Wilson 1986) and time constraints (Wilson 1986) offer perfect topics for experimental investigation based on strategic models. Guarnaschelli et al. (2000), among others, have recently used experimental work in the investigation of jury decision-making analysis as well.

Work on committee decision making often uses the ultimatum game as an experimental tool. Typically, two players must divide a sum of money, such as \$10. The procedure requires one player to offer an amount to the second, who can then accept or reject it. If the second player rejects it, no one gets the money, whereas if the player accepts it, both players split the money in the percentage agreed. The theoretical question investigated is whether something about a subject's partner will affect either person's willingness to bargain.

Much work on committee decision making grew out of observations about the problems inherent in conventional game theory's treatment of these issues. The results of many experimental bargaining games seemed askew (Ostrom 1998) and players often exhibited consistent behavioral play (Camerer 1997), neither of which should be true according to traditional models. In particular, self-interest does not always work or dominate in these ultimatum games. This was also found in so-called dictator games, where the first player can solely dictate the division of goods. Specifically, unequal splits tend to be rejected in favor of "fair" splits. This outcome should not happen under subgame perfect backward induction equilibria, which would be predicted by expected utility models.

The promise of behavioral game theory rests on its ability to explore various aspects of this conundrum experimentally. In particular, experimental work can build on previous anomalous findings from ultimatum games to examine altruism, inequality aversion, and so-called mind reading (Wilson 2001). Altruism refers to a consistent desire to help others, even when it might hurt oneself. Numerous models of altruism (Forsythe et al. 1994, Eckel & Grossman 1996) typically assume that altruism is an embedded character trait within a given individual. Altruism succeeds because it gives people a positive feeling about themselves as a result of their actions. From an evolutionary standpoint, altruism may exist within communities because it advances the ability of the society to survive and prosper even when key individuals, such as mothers after childbirth, are too overwhelmed to perform their normal tasks successfully. Altruism in this sense may amount to little more than reciprocal selfishness.

Inequality aversion refers to many individuals' empirical preference for equal over unequal distributions of goods, even when extreme self-interest is possible, as in the dictator game. Examinations of this phenomenon explore how the same individual might act differently in different situations. What constraints control the extent to which an individual might cooperate in one circumstance but not in another? Early indications suggest that meaningful comparisons are important (Bolton & Ockenfels 2000) and that at least some inequality aversion derives from concerns surrounding relative status (Fehr & Schmidt 1999).

Mind reading refers to discerning the intentions of others (Rabin 1993; Levine 1998; Falk & Fischbacher, unpublished manuscript<sup>2</sup>). Unlike altruism, mind reading allows for the emergence of both positive and negative emotions (Frank 1988, Smith 1998). Once another person's intentions have been determined through an empirical process, people will tend to treat a nice person nicely and a mean person as they deserve.

Wilson (2001) has conducted a series of experiments investigating these phenomena. He demonstrates the ideal experimental procedures by learning from the experiences of previous studies and designing future studies to address past anomalies or to ameliorate procedural difficulties. He finds that beliefs about others are important and can change over time. These beliefs appear to be contingent on cues that individuals receive over time about others. In this way, interaction develops lasting reputations and labels. Wilson's work suggests that theoretical models of individual choice might be impaired by their failure to incorporate such seemingly nonrational factors as altruism, inequality aversion, and mind reading.

***Coordination and Cooperation*** Work on coordination and cooperation in political science resembles similar work in behavioral economics, discussed above. However, applications differ, and work on cooperation in political science can easily be applied to problems in security as well as political economy. Topics include alliances, arms races, trade wars, and sanctions. For example, Geva and Skorick have used experimentation to test their cognitive calculus model of decision making in foreign policy (Geva & Skorick 1999, Geva et al. 2000, Geva & Skorick 2000). These authors use experimentation to test the predictions of their model against actual behavior in a laboratory setting.

Work on coordination and cooperation remains closely tied to work in social psychology and behavioral economics. Typically, scholars investigate this topic using noncooperative game theory (Palfrey 1991). Experimentalists seek to provide data related to certain models and push those models further by presenting evidence that might either refute or extend the current theoretical claims. Specific results indicate that communication increases group cooperation. Ostrom and colleagues (e.g., Ostrom & Walker 1991) have demonstrated that face-to-face communication, particularly in repeated-play settings involving common pool resources, exerts a powerful impact on propensity for cooperation.

Palfrey and colleagues have undertaken a systematic program of experimental research on topics related to coordination and cooperation. In one experiment, discounted repeated play proved more effective in generating cooperation than a single shot trial in a public goods game with incomplete information; however, results depended on the ability to monitor others and on the specific environmental conditions (Palfrey & Rosenthal 1994). Palfrey and colleagues have concentrated on the centipede game, in which two players alternately have a chance to take a larger portion of a continually escalating amount of money (McKelvey & Palfrey 1992, Fey et al. 1996). Once one person takes the money, the game ends. According to game theory predictions under assumptions of complete information, the first player should take the larger pile in the first round of play. However, this does not happen in reality. Rather, subjects operating under conditions of uncertainty and incomplete information about the payoff appear willing to consider the small possibility that they are playing against an altruistic opponent. Although the probability increases over time that a player will take the pile of money, the game typically continues into subsequent rounds. Palfrey has also investigated choice in other games (McKelvey & Palfrey 1995). This work shows great richness in its ability to combine formal modeling with experimental testing of such models.

The combination of methods allows greater confidence in results that point in the same direction.

Experimental work by Miller and colleagues has explored a variety of topics, including committees (Miller & Oppenheimer 1982). In work on games, Eavey & Miller (1984a) demonstrate that when universalist options, which offer “something for everyone,” exist in legislatures, concerns about fairness go beyond what expected value expectations would predict. Further, Miller & Oppenheimer (1982) find that competitive coalitions with a minimum winning coalition occur only when universal options are unavailable. In work on bargaining, Eavey & Miller (1984b) show that a bureaucratic monopoly on agenda setting allows bargaining with a voting body without necessarily imposing the agenda setter’s preferences on all. They conclude that bureaucratic agenda control in legislative bodies supports a bargaining model over an imposition one. Although some of this work (Miller & Oppenheimer 1982, Palfrey & Rosenthal 1994) points out the discrepancies between rational choice theory and the behavior of individuals in the real world, experiments are used not only to test and critique existing formal models but also to discover anomalies and challenges that are then incorporated into the next generation of model development.

Bolton (1991) has used experimentation to investigate how actual bargaining behavior differs from game theoretic predictions. Bolton & Zwick (1995) demonstrate that the opportunity to punish an opponent who treats you unfairly presents a more accurate explanation for deviations from perfect equilibrium solutions than the existence of anonymity for the subject. Note that although experimental findings may be at odds with some predictions of formal theory, the overall relationship between game theoretic modeling and experimentation in these exercises is collaborative; experiments empirically test formal models and suggest discrepancies as well as validations, and then formal modelers can attempt to incorporate these empirical demonstrations into later, more sophisticated models.

In our work on topics related to international relations, we investigate the impact of factors such as sex, uncertainty, and framing effects on arms races and aggression. In one experiment involving three rounds of a simulated crisis (McDermott & Cowden, forthcoming), we find that although uncertainty exerts no systematic effect on weapons procurement or likelihood of war, men are significantly more likely to purchase weapons and engage in aggressive action than women. In another experiment involving a simulated crisis game (McDermott et al. 2002), we examine the impact of framing in terms of striving for superiority or parity with the opponent, two kinds of uncertainty, and the tone of messages on weapons procurement. We find that embracing the frame of striving for superiority does indeed increase weapons procurement on the part of subjects. The tone of the message exerts a tremendous impact as well; recipients of hostile messages are much more likely to procure weapons than recipients of friendly messages. As in our other work, uncertainty appears to have no effect on weapons procurement. Finally, in more recent work, as yet unanalyzed, we manipulated the incentive to go to war to further examine the impact of sex differences on levels of aggression. We plan to expand this paradigm to include other populations, including military officers, to further explore the impact of factors such as hormones, including testosterone, and nonverbal gestures on tendencies toward aggression.

## Conclusion

Experimentation is one of many methods that can be used to examine political phenomena. Experiments have a long and distinguished history of effective usage in other disciplines, including hard sciences such as physics and biology, medicine, and social sciences such as psychology and economics. Unfortunately, experiments have been slower to acquire a dedicated following of practitioners in political science, mostly because of concerns about external validity. In many cases, this concern merely reflects a misunderstanding of the replication requirements necessary to establish external validity. But this concern may also indicate a failure to understand the difference between experimental realism, which is essential and requires the subject to be actively engaged in the process under investigation, and mundane realism, which refers to inessential trappings of the experimental situation that increase only the appearance, not the reality, of external validity (McDermott, under review<sup>3</sup>).

The primary advantage of experiments is that they offer unparalleled control over the variables of interest. This is because the experimental method permits the systematic manipulation of variables in a controlled environment with randomly assigned subjects. Experiments thus offer the highest degree of internal validity; experimenters can be pretty confident that outcomes differ on the basis of the variables manipulated systematically within the experimental conditions. This enables experimenters to make causal arguments about which factors cause certain outcomes, or contribute to them, and which do not.

Another advantage of experiments results from the scientific rigor built into the process. Experimenters remain aware of, and retain control over, the independent variables of interest. Experimenters carefully record results as dependent variables. Later statistical analysis allows the detailed testing of the relationships between these variables and any interactions among them. With this process, results that might not have been obvious to less systematic or large-scale analysis become prominent. Experiments allow causal inference, precise measurement and control, and clarity of detail.

Unfortunately, many political scientists assume that experimental results in political science need to be able to stand on their own, as in biology, and that if they cannot, they are useless. Nothing could be further from the truth. Experimentation can readily dovetail with other methodologies to produce systemic bodies of knowledge. As demonstrated by much of the work in behavioral economics and some of the work in political science, the intersection of formal modeling and experimental testing is highly productive. Experiments can be, and have been, effectively used to test formal models, demonstrate unpredicted anomalies in outcomes that then provoke more sophisticated models, and suggest extensions and limitations of existing models under particular conditions.

In addition, experiments provide effective methodological help in examining areas in which other methodologies have produced inconsistent or contradictory findings, as was the case in our work on party identification. Experiments also offer clear advantages over other methods in particular areas of investigation, such as the validation of theories developed by formal modeling, or in further theory testing and refinement. Experiments offer useful insights in work that investigates the underlying process of a particular phenomenon as opposed to its outcome. Finally, invoking multiple methods, including experimentation, in investigating a phenomenon allows greater confidence in consensual results. In this way, experiments can help in triangulating

in on research questions. Indeed, experimentation can serve a useful purpose, as it has in behavioral economics, to advance knowledge in political science more quickly and systematically and to cumulate such knowledge through the process of building on previous experimental work.

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