UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA SPRING 2003

Mastering Methodology Challenges and Rewards Students

"What? You're doing an article in the alumni newsletter on everyone's least favorite class?" This was the initial reaction of one of the professors interviewed. Certainly most students who take PS 104, "Introduction to Research in Political Science," do not find the material easy to learn. It is usually their first encounter with statistics and writing a research paper that tests hypotheses with quantitative methods. Yet it is important that students master this subject for three reasons: the material covered is a necessary basis for understanding other upper division courses they may take; for students who plan to go on to graduate school in Political Science, quantitative methodology is the discipline's research standard; and perhaps most importantly, there is great benefit in being able to understand and interpret quantitative information as it is presented in the real world. Because it is a difficult course, PS 104 instructors are challenged to come up with strategies for communicating this material to students and easing their anxieties about performing research and using statistics.

PS 104 STUDENTS IN THE LAB.

Professor Stephen Weatherford emphasizes that methodology is distinct from statistics: "It's how you ask questions, formulate inquiry, judge the quality of evidence, and put it all together." To get students to conceptualize, he uses not only examples from Political Science research, but also poetry, literature, and current newspaper topics. He tries to reduce anxiety about statistics by introducing complex topics in an intuitive way, and uses Neil Salkind's *Statistics for People Who Think They Hate Statistics* as text because of its "affable prose explanations" of statistical methods. Professor Eric Smith also focuses on the methodological aspects of the course, rather than the math. He keeps the level of interest up by using research examples from topics students care about, such as prejudice, the status of women in politics, or the environment. He prefers the text, *Adventures in Social Research* by Babbie and Halley, because it uses concrete examples in teaching statistics, with an emphasis on understanding the concept and using it properly to interpret the details of research.

All PS 104 students learn SPSS. This statistical program helps alleviate "math anxiety" by doing the actual computations and displaying results in tables, charts, or graphs. Professor Garrett Glasgow brings SPSS into his lectures from the beginning. He feels that by getting through basic statistics early on, students will have multiple opportunities to come back to difficult concepts and firm up their knowledge as they work on their class projects. He uses both Salkind's book and Joel Best's *Damn Lies and Statistics* to help students "learn the assumptions that percolate through the numbers and not take numbers at face value." Both he and

From the Chair Lorraine M. McDonnell

This newsletter differs from past years. Instead of introducing you to one of our more popular courses or programs, we are featuring our least popular course. Every quarter students tell us how difficult the required methods course is, and they express doubt about its relevance. The good news is that even while questioning the course content, students praise the quality of the teaching, especially the faculty and teaching assistants' ingenuity and patience in communicating challenging concepts and analytical skills. The even better news is that many students later tell us how valuable their methods training has been in preparing them to be critical users of social and political information, in evaluating the trade-offs they face in their choices as citizens and consumers, and in effectively marshalling evidence in their professional and community lives. Even if it diminishes our short-term popularity, the faculty has decided that requiring rigorous training in research methods is an example of the older generation knowing what's best.

Regardless of whether you are a member of an older or younger generation, I hope you will find the article about Kent Jennings' research on differences in political behavior across generations as interesting as his colleagues and students have. In another departure from past newsletters, we are featuring shorter pieces about more faculty research so that you can sample the range of new ideas being generated and enhancing the Department's teaching.

After five years as chair, I will be stepping down at the end of 2003. I want to thank all the Department's alumni and friends who have supported our work. As we wait for news of how California's budget crisis will affect us, it is reassuring to know that we can count on you to help maintain a strong program for our students even in fiscal bad times.

T.A. HECTOR GALANO HELPS A STUDENT IN LAB SECTION.

Professor Jim Adams also try to teach methodology within the context of interesting problems. Adams particularly likes to use examples from other arenas, such as sports, music, and movies, when illustrating statistics and methods. According to his Teaching Assistant Hector Galano, he also likes to involve the entire class in some form of participation, such as a game theory simulation, to make complex concepts easier to understand. Adams' philosophy about teaching methods is to help students learn that statistics are neither lies nor truth in themselves; rather statistical methods are tools to help them sift through evidence to find truth.

Graduate students come into the program with a different mindset. They recognize that quantitative methods are the norm of the profession at this point, and as Professor Glasgow states, "You may not use quantitative methods or models yourself, but your colleague down the hall may and therefore you will need to understand them to understand their work." Thus in PS 204, "Research Design and Data Collection," the emphasis is primarily on the quantitative approach; however, other methods are also discussed. The object of this course, according to Professor Kent Jennings, "is to get graduate students to understand that to do research, you start off with a question, then pick the most appropriate methodology to answer that question." All students in the program except those in the Political Theory subfield take three required methods courses, and may meet a skills requirement by taking additional methods courses. Courses offered include PS 231, "Comparative Methods," which covers qualitative methods such as case studies, historical research, and in-depth interviewing; and PS 594EM, a graduate seminar in experimental methods, offered for the first time this year. However, the majority of the optional methods courses are quantitative. This is important because as Jennings points out, the hardest skill for graduate students to acquire is to learn to make the numbers part of their argument, which in turn requires a lot of experience writing quantitative papers.

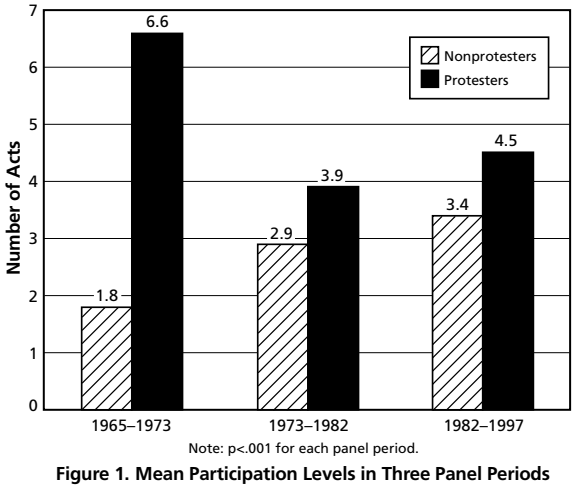
For those students who do not go on to graduate school, mastering the material taught in PS 104 can still bring tangible rewards. One alum, now a partner in a law firm, found the class to be excellent preparation for the LSAT, "because the analytic skills learned in class have as much to do with words as numbers." Others have found that knowledge of SPSS and the ability to collect and analyze data are highly marketable skills in the job arena, and have led to positions in politics such as designing election surveys or determining where to allocate policy resources. Finally, as Professor Weatherford points out, understanding research is a valuable part of a liberal arts education, for "it gets people into the habit of asking questions and structuring information. For example, if they read an article asserting that something is 'better,' I hope they will now realize it's important to ask, 'as compared to what?'"

The "Protest Generation" Remains Politically Active

Political socialization is defined as the process of preparing individuals to assume their role in the political world. Early studies on this topic were based on surveys of elementary school-age children, but in the 1960s, researchers at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research decided to try a different approach. Professor Kent Jennings, one of the project directors, describes its aim as "finding out what the world looked like to students as they were ready to leave high school, and how they got that way." To achieve that end, drawing on 97 public and private high schools in Michigan, each student (and at least one of their parents) in a group of 1,669 seniors from the class of 1965 completed a survey of their political beliefs and attitudes.

The original survey provided new data on political socialization and some interesting comparisons between the parents (Generation 1) and the students (Generation 2), but it soon became apparent that it would be extremely valuable to see how political beliefs and attitudes changed over time. By contacting as many individuals as could be located, the two groups were resurveyed in 1973 and 1982. In 1997, the remaining original students were surveyed one more time along with their own adolescent children (Generation 3). A total of 935 of these original students (55%) made it through all survey periods, providing a substantial record of their political beliefs as they moved through life.

By 1973, the original group had lived through the political activity and controversy of the protest movement of the 1960s–70s. Realizing the unique opportunity this period of turmoil presented, the researchers added a question about participation in protests or demonstrations to the 1973 survey to determine what effect involvement in protest activity might have on subsequent political actions and beliefs. Because protests took place almost exclusively on college campuses, only those students in the original sample (G2) who had obtained a college degree by 1973 were included in this segment. Of this group, 316 individuals, 94 of whom (30%) protested, continued in the study through 1997. Data from their parents' surveys (G1) and their children's surveys (G3) were also extracted. The results demonstrated significant differences in political activism and beliefs between the protestors and non-protestors that persisted well into middle age.[1]



Note: p<.001 for each panel period.

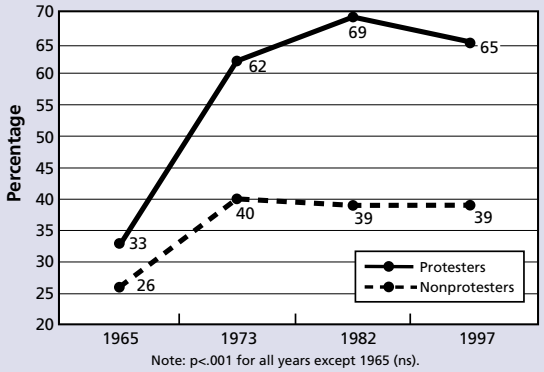
Figure 1. Mean Participation Levels in Three Panel Periods

Political Participation

Based on the number of times certain political activities were performed, the mean "political participation index" score for protestors indicates a higher level of general political activity than that of their non-protesting cohort, as shown in Figure 1. Apparently in the act of protesting, the participants acquired a habit of political participation that continued throughout their lives.

Political Issues

While the majority of protestors demonstrated against the Vietnam War, others demonstrated for civil rights or civil liberties. The researchers found that views of protestors and non-protestors on various social issues diverged sharply during the protest era, as shown in Figure 3.



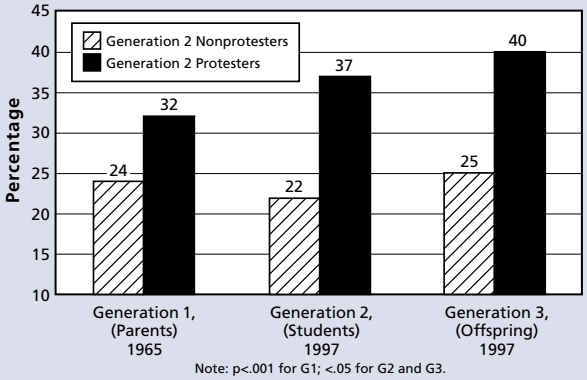
Note: p<.001 for all years except 1965 (ns).

Figure 3. Opposition to Prayers in School

On other topics, the issue positions of the non-protestors fluctuated, while those of the protestors remained relatively constant into middle age. These results do not mean that individual views did not change over time, but rather that the protest group maintained remarkable aggregate stability, setting it apart from non-protestors in readily identifiable ways.

Intergenerational Comparisons

The question of where these beliefs and attitudes may have come from was one of the reasons researchers surveyed the parents of the original student generation. One popular theory during the protest era was the "generation gap," which implies that student protestors were deliberately taking political positions that were diametrically opposed to those of their parents. Another explanation was the "red diaper" theory, which suggests that the protestors were offspring of radical parents, intent on overthrowing the government. With data extending over three generations, neither popular theory fits the results.

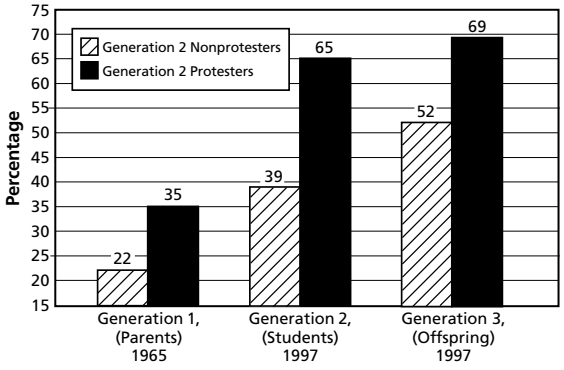


Note: p<.001 for G1; <.05 for G2 and G3.

Figure 6. Scores in the Upper Quartiles of the Participation Indexes in Three Generations, by Protest Status of Student Generation

Looking at the most politically active members of each generation within the study group, Figure 6 indicates that a propensity for political activity is indeed carried forward from one generation to the next.

On issue positions, the difference between protestors and non-protestors continues across the generations, though it narrows in G3. The sharpest contrasts still occur in G2 (the original protest generation), even in 1997 as they approach middle age, as shown in Figure 7.



Note: p<.001 for G2; <.05 for G1; <.07 for G3.

Figure 7. Opposition to Prayer in School in Three Generations, by Protest Status of Student Generation

The continuities of issue positions and political participation across generations lends some support for the role of parents in political socialization; yet in Jennings' opinion, the data indicate that while "influenced by their parents, the two student groups—most particularly the protestors—carved out their own political identities as well." Thus for political socialization, the crucial formative years are those of young adulthood, not childhood.

Though the Vietnam War era may have been unique in its capacity to mobilize the young adult, it is still possible to draw the general conclusion from these data that intense political involvement at that age can result in lifelong political activity and awareness. The level of political activity over time for the non-protestors (Figure 1) follows the accepted norm that political activity tends to increase with maturity; however, it never reaches that of the protestors. Perhaps as Jennings points out, this is because "Political skills, experience, commitment, and networking are more likely to develop, flourish, and persist as a result of performance in manifestly political arenas." In his opinion, developing political skills is an important aspect of citizenship, because it is primarily through politics that one can effect change. We can't depend on the erratic occurrence of historical events such as the Vietnam War to achieve political involvement of the young adult: the challenge is to find other ways of instilling the valuable habit of political participation.

Professor M. Kent Jennings has been Professor of Political Science at UCSB since 1981. Previously he was Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan and Research Professor at the Institute for Social Research from 1963–81, and held a joint appointment at both the University of Michigan and UCSB from 1984 to 1996. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts & Science in 1982, and is a past President of the International Society of Political Psychology (1989–90) and the American Political Science Association (1997–98).

1 Charts, data, and excerpts are from M. Kent Jennings, "Generation Units and the Student Protest Movement in the United States: An Intra- and Intergenerational Analysis." *Political Psychology*, vol. 23, no.2, 2002: 303-324.

Faculty Research Profiles

Shifting Political Party Ideologies


JIM ADAMS

What influences leaders of political parties to try to shift a party's policy positions? This research question is a joint project of Professors Jim Adams and Garrett Glasgow, along with graduate students Lawrence Ezrow and Michael Clark. They analyzed election data from eight European countries during a twenty-year period in the 1970s through 1990s to determine if parties adjust their ideologies in response to shifts in public opinion and past election results. Their results indicate that shifts in public opinion only affect disadvantaged (underdog) parties and are significant only when that shift is clearly away from the party's position, while shifts in public opinion do not appear to influence parties in power. In addition, their data also indicate that neither parties in power nor parties out of power adjust their policy positions in response to past election results.

Adams admits that these results are "so surprising that they might be wrong"; nevertheless, the team has presented their research twice this year—by Michael Clark at the Public Choice Conference in March and by Lawrence Ezrow at the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting in April—and an article is now under preparation for submission to a journal. In the authors' words: "These findings have important implications for parties' election strategies and for models of political representation."

Gays in the U.S. Military: A Question of Public Policy


AARON BELKIN

As founder and Director of the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military, Professor Aaron Belkin has turned his attention to the theoretical arguments and objections to lifting the ban on homosexuals and lesbians in the U.S. military, "the issue no one wants to talk about" except scholars and those who have been negatively affected by it. One theory advanced for not lifting the current U.S. ban is that it would undermine unit cohesion and organizational effectiveness in the military. To test the validity of this assumption, Belkin has examined the military in other countries without such a ban or where a ban has been lifted, as well as cohesion in military-like organizations such as police forces that do not have bans against gays. His most recent book *Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Exploring the Gay Ban in the U.S. Military,* co-edited with Geoffrey Bateman (Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2003), is a compilation of his work and others' on this topic.

The CSSM website (*http://www.cssm.org*) states: "Analysis of sexual minorities in the armed forces is a critical window into the study of how actors and institutions shape and reinforce understandings of deviance. As a result, this topic is essential for examining broader processes that determine the allocation of protections and privileges." Belkin is exploring this window in a new graduate seminar this year, co-taught with Professor Christopher Parker, "Constructing Normal Citizens: Militarism, Race, Sexuality, and the State." In this seminar, the participants try to determine what effects the military's view of what constitutes normal citizenship may have on the rest of society, a topic Belkin feels will lead to new subjects for additional research.

Political Parties and Social Movements in Mexico and Brazil


KATHLEEN BRUHN

In doing research on the development of the New Left Party (PRD) in Mexico for her book, *Taking on Goliath* (see Spring 2000 Newsletter), Professor Kathleen Bruhn was struck by how unsuccessful the PRD was in creating alliances with social movements and unions. These relationships are important because they have the potential to affect election outcomes, representation, and political protests. She has therefore devoted several years of field research and data analysis to the interrelationships of social movements and political parties, comparing those of the social movements of Mexico and the PRD with those of the Workers' Party (PT) and social movements in Brazil. Unlike the Mexican PRD, which was formed by intellectuals and political elites, the Brazilian PT was formed by a coalition of unions and social movements and is now stronger than any of its supporting components. This comparison seeks to answer the following questions: (1) Do social movements and unions change once they become closely aligned with political parties? Do these protest groups then stop protesting? (2) What happens to aligned movements and protests when their party is out of favor? Do they return to protesting or is it only unaligned movements that protest?

Bruhn has compiled a large database of coded material from newspaper reports on protests in both countries, and is in the process of conducting field interviews with political elites and protest movement members to validate her data. These interviews have also given her a feel for how the people in protest movements relate to political parties. This year, she presented preliminary results of her research at the Latin American Studies Conference, and with the support of two writing fellowships, will spend the next year completing her book.

The Future of Money


BENJAMIN JERRY COHEN

In *The Geography of Money* (see Spring 2000 Newsletter), Professor Benjamin Jerry Cohen introduced the concept of "deterritorialization" of money—the breakdown of "neat historical monopolies" that nations have historically exercised over their respective currencies. In his sequel, *The Future of Money* (Princeton University Press, 2003), Cohen examines the implications of this breakdown, what options governments might have, and thus what the world of money may look like in the future.

In response to the spread of competition among currencies, governments have a choice of three possible strategies: "dollarization"—subordinating or replacing their national currency with another, as Ecuador and El Salvador have already done with the U.S. dollar; joining a monetary alliance and thereby creating a currency union or regional currency, such as the Euro; or continuing to defend their national currency. Many monetary experts predict that the net effect of these choices will be a sharp decline in the number of national currencies, from more than 150 at present to as few as 20 or 30. Cohen strongly disagrees with these predictions and argues that strategic variants of limited dollarization or regionalism will allow most nations to maintain their own currencies. He also notes that the widely held view about the future decline in the number of

Faculty Research Profiles *(Continued)*

currencies takes into account only state-issued currencies. He discusses the growth of "private monies" or electronic currencies, such as airline mileage accounts, which have the capacity of transcending national boundaries and regulations, and "diffusing authority outward to the emerging universe of cyberspace." As the world of e-commerce grows, we will see more and more of these private monies.

Cohen's conclusion is that taking all factors into account, the future world of money will probably have more currencies than it does now, bringing with it increasing risk of instability and challenges of governance. Sound fiscal and monetary policy at the national level and cooperation of international market leaders with such agencies as the International Monetary Fund will become increasingly important. "The future of money will be perilous, but it need not be chaotic."

Effects of Illness on Foreign Policy Decision-Making


ROSE MCDERMOTT

Professor Rose McDermott is a specialist in international relations and American foreign policy who joined the faculty in 2002 after serving as an assistant professor of Government at Cornell. Under a three-year grant from the Department of Defense, she is researching the impact of illness on national leaders' foreign policy decisions. Though the project is still in the data-gathering stage, she recently presented some of her findings at a community forum hosted by UCSB. McDermott has identified three "illness" factors that have the potential to affect decision-making: physical and mental illness, the effects of aging, and addiction. So far, she has used material gleaned from presidential libraries and physicians' medical records to try to answer the following questions:

- Did a series of strokes influence Woodrow Wilson's intransigence about the Treaty of Versailles, leading to the eventual collapse of the League of Nations?
- Did arteriosclerosis and long-standing effects of polio affect Franklin D. Roosevelt's decisions at the Tehran Conference of 1943 and Yalta in 1945?
- Did John F. Kennedy's Addison's disease and the high dosages of medication to control his pain influence his behavior at the 1961 Vienna Conference with Khrushchev (an event that may have precipitated the Cuban missile crisis)?

Other researchers have also tackled these issues; however, because vital medical records have been destroyed or withheld, the published results are contradictory. McDermott hopes to be more successful in locating sufficient documentation to settle some of the controversies surrounding these leaders and others that she plans to include in her study.

Veterans, Citizenship, and Voting Rights


CHRISTOPHER PARKER

Professor Christopher Parker joined the faculty in 2001 as a specialist in American minority politics. His current research looks at American culture and values, and how race and military service can affect the concepts and practice of citizenship. He recently received a grant from the Institute of Social and Behavioral Research (ISBER) to complete his book, "Fighting for Democracy: Race, Military Service, and Political Engagement." In this book, Parker focuses on the political activities of African American veterans of World War II and Korea. During their military service, these veterans learned that a presumption of full citizenship was automatic for white servicemen, and this experience led African American veterans to return to the pre-voting rights era of the South with a new concept of citizenship and sense of entitlement to these rights. Even though participation in politics was dangerous for them at that time, this group's strong belief in their right to all of the benefits of citizenship, including the right to vote, created a "political insurgency" long before the protest-based movements of the civil rights era.

When this book is completed, Parker plans work on a new book about national identity and race. He postulates that a person's sense of national identity has two components: a cognitive component based on identification with the values on which the country is based, and an affective component—how one feels about one's country (what we commonly call "patriotism"). He plans to discuss how race can influence both the cognitive and affective components of national identity, and how both racial and national identity can affect political judgment.

New Explorations of the Meaning of Citizenship


DANA VILLA

Since completing publication of *The Cambridge Companion to Hannah Arendt* (see Spring 2001 Newsletter), Professor Dana Villa has turned his attention from this 20th Century political thinker to earlier theorists and their writings on the role and nature of citizenship. In *Socratic Citizenship* (Princeton University Press, 2001), Villa analyzes the Socratic ideal of philosophical citizenship, and how this ideal is critically assessed in the late 19th century writings of John Stuart Mill, Max Weber, and Friedrich Nietzsche. The Socratic view sees the best moments of citizenship as necessarily "questioning the unquestionable"—namely, the truisms that pervade and seem to define the public realm. It places greater emphasis on the role of dissent and non-compliance than upon fulfillment of civic duty. The Socratic vision is almost the direct antithesis of Arendt's civic republican belief that politics and public action are privileged expressions of freedom and equality.

In his next book, "The Space of Freedom: State, Civil Society, and Citizenship in Hegel and Tocqueville," Villa will be looking at the early 19th century. This period witnesses the rise of what we have come to call "civil society"—the sphere of the market, as well as professional, religious, political and social voluntary associations. Both Hegel and Tocqueville were deeply concerned with civil society, and with the possibility that it might fragment the political order. Thus, while they both hailed the pluralism civil society introduced, they also stressed the need for a "shared moral consensus" to prevent growing alienation from public life. Hegel looked to a strong and rationalized state to prevent this possibility, while Tocqueville placed his hopes on active citizenship and shared mores. Villa will assess their conclusions through a discussion of freedom in the modern world, a world that he believes "leads a more de-centered, dispersed, and pluralistic existence than either Hegel or Tocqueville could have imagined."

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