Comparative Politics Newsletter

The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association

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Letter from the Editors

by Matt Golder & Sona N. Golder

The Pennsylvania State University

Welcome to the Spring 2016 issue of the Comparative Politics Newsletter. Our current issue includes a symposium on Data Access and Research Transparency (DA-RT), a symposium on the Politics of Space, and an overview of the *Ill-Treatment and Torture (ITT) Data Collection Project*.

I. Symposium on DA-RT

Over the last year or so, there has been a growing and often heated discussion about issues related to data access and research transparency (DA-RT) in political science. The primary catalysts for this discussion were the 2012 changes that were made to APSA's *Guide to Professional Ethics in Political Science* and the 2014 *Journal Editors Transparency Statement (JETS)*, which publicly committed signatory journal editors to develop policies and author guidelines by January 15, 2016 that would promote data access and research transparency. The JETS, in particular, has been the target of much criticism within the discipline.

Discussion about DA-RT has played out in multiple arenas. http://www.dartstatement.org/ is a website created by Arthur Lupia, Colin Elman, and Diana Kapiszewski to publicize and promote greater access to data and research transparency in the discipline. http://dialogueondart.org/ is a website created by several scholars — Nancy Hirschmann, Mala Htun, Jane Mansbridge, Kathleen Thelen, Lisa Wedeen, and Elisabeth Wood — who have been critical of the DA-RT idea and who have specifically called for a delay in the implementation of the JETS (see here). There have been two published symposia on DA-RT. The first was published in 2014 in *PS: Political Science and Politics* and can be found here. The second was published in 2015 in the *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research Newsletter* and can be found here. In addition, there have been numerous other publications and blog posts in which various scholars have weighed in on the DA-RT controversy (see the links found here). Given the importance of issues related to data access and research transparency, the President of APSA's Comparative Politics Section, Robert Kaufman, asked us to include a symposium on DA-RT in the *CP Newsletter*. We were happy to do so.

A Brief History of DA-RT

Our sense is that many scholars are unclear as to how the DA-RT controversy originated. We begin, therefore, with a brief history of DA-RT.

DA-RT began its life as an Ad Hoc Committee of the American Political Science Association in 2010. Issues related to data access and research transparency were discussed at the September 2010 APSA Council Meeting.[1] The issues discussed ranged "from finding mechanisms that serve both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, managing costs, protecting confidentiality, and respecting differences among research communities" (Gazette, 2011a, 478). At this meeting, Colin Elman and Arthur Lupia were asked to form the core of a small working group to investigate these issues further.[2] Thus was DA-RT born.

At the February 2011 APSA Council Meeting, Arthur Lupia noted that the "data access and research transparency ad hoc committee …has been formed and will have a full report at the next meeting" (Gazette, 2011b, 887). The Ad Hoc Committee included Arthur Lupia, Colin Elman, George Alter, Brian D. Humes, Di-

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[1] APSA's interest in these issues goes back further than this meeting. The APSA Council under president Henry Brady (2009-2010) had already called for an examination of research transparency issues following "growing concern that scholars could not replicate a significant number of empirical claims that were being made in the discipline's leading journals" (Lupia and Elman, 2014, 19). In 2009, APSA's Committee on Publications discussed a proposal "to encourage authors to deposit their data in a central repository to provide more centralized access for others seeking to replicate or extend prior work" (McDermott, 2010, 15). This specific discussion motivated the January 2010 *PS: Political Science and Politics* symposium on Data Collection and Collaboration. The goal of the symposium was to "stimulate some discussion of the value of data archiving for the cumulation of knowledge in our discipline" and there was a recognition that "qualitative and quantitative data may require alternate formats for effective archiving, and may necessitate different protections concerning confidentiality around sources" (McDermott, 2010, 15). The symposium was followed by a panel at the 2010 APSA Meeting and "everyone who is interested [was encouraged] to join in that conversation" (McDermott, 2010, 16).

[2] Council members in attendance at the September 2010 meeting included Cristina Beltrán, Jonathan Benjamin-Alvarado, Henry Brady, Michael Brintnall, Jodi Dean, Roxanne Euben, Mark Graber, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Evelyne Huber, Jeffrey Isaac, Michael Jones-Correa, Jane Junn, Atul Kohli, Arthur Lupia, Thomas Mann, Lisa Martin, Joseph McCormick, Rose McDermott, Maria Victoria Murillo, Julie Novkov, Carole Pateman, Mark Peterson, Ronald Rogowski, S. Laurel Weldon, and Franke Wilmer. Guests included Jeffrey Biggs, Regina Chavis, Robert Hauck, Polly Karpowicz, Michael Marriott, Kimberly Mealy, and Sean Twombly.

ana Kapiszewski, Rose McDermott, Ron Rogowski, S. Laurel Weldon, and Rick Wilson. At the August 2011 APSA Council Meeting, Arthur Lupia and Colin Elman "presented a proposal from the Data Access and Research Transparency group to amend APSA's ethics guide" (Gazette, 2012, 589). A motion to refer the proposal to the APSA's Ethics Committee "was approved" (Gazette, 2012, 589).[3]

The DA-RT proposal was reviewed and amended by APSA's Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights, and Freedoms. This committee included Richard G.C. Johnston, Michael Lienesch, Marion Smiley, Philip A. Schrodt, Sarah Birch, and Christian Davenport. The Ethics Committee's recommendation to amend APSA's *Guide to Professional Ethics in Political Science* to incorporate guidelines on data access and transparency was presented at the April 2012 APSA Council Meeting. Michael Brintnall "moved 'that the council accept the proposal as policy and, after consultation with the membership, be proposed for inclusion in the ethics guide.' The motion was approved" (Gazette, 2013a, 197).[4]

There then followed a period of review in which the proposed changes to APSA's *Ethics Guide* were posted on http://apsanet.org/ and circulated to the APSA membership for comments and suggestions. An example of one of the attempts to circulate the proposed changes can be found here. After this initial period of consultation, the proposed changes to the *Ethics Guide* were accepted at the October 2012 APSA Council Meeting.[5] As the minutes to this meeting indicate, "the new guidelines recognize sharing data access and research transparency as a common part of the research endeavor. It also recognizes a broader set of reasons for why researchers may not want to provide access to their data, including confidentiality, privacy, and human subjects protections. The updated language aims to attend to all the empirical research traditions within our discipline. The council urged continued work to communicate with the membership regarding these guidelines" (Gazette, 2013b, 707).

To promote a wider discussion of DA-RT, the April 2013 APSA Council Meeting reported that "activities undertaken and/or planned include: a DART short course conducted at the March 2013 Western Political Science Association Meeting; roundtables of proponents of the transparency project and editors of important political science journals at the MPSA and APSA Annual Meeting; a new module on 'Managing and Sharing Data' added to the curriculum of the Institute for Qualitative and Multi-method Research (IQMR) to be presented in June 2013; a short course planned for the 2013 APSA meeting to include an introduction of and instruction on DA-RT; a September 2013 University of Virginia conference on 'History, Method, and the Future of Security Studies' with one session focusing on transparency practices; and a symposium on DART scheduled for submission for the January 2014 issue of *PS: Political Science and Politics*" (Gazette, 2014, 262). For a comprehensive list of the workshops, short courses, presentations, and roundtables that have taken place to publicize and discuss ideas related to DA-RT, see here.

While accepting the proposed changes to APSA's *Ethics Guide* in October 2012, the APSA Council recognized that "research transparency is not a 'one-size-fits-all' proposition" (Gazette, 2014, 262) and authorized the DA-RT AD Hoc Committee to develop more fine-grained guidance for data access and research transparency within the different research traditions found in political science. Two sub-committees, one dealing with quantitative research and one dealing with qualitative research, were formed to draft guidelines and to coordi-

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[3]Council members in attendance at the August 2011 meeting included Larry Bartels, Cristina Beltrán, Jeffrey Berry, Michael Brintnall, Yun-han Chu, Michael Desch, Luis Fraga, Christopher Gelpi, Mark Graber, Frances Hagopian, Simon Hix, Mala Htun, Evelyne Huber, Jeffery Isaac, Arthur Lupia, Thomas Mann, Joseph McCormick, Anne Norton, Julie Novkov, Laura Olson, Carole Pateman, Bingham Powell, Ronald Rogowski, Dara Strolovitch, and S. Laurel Weldon. Guests included Adam Berinsky, Colin Elman, Ange-Marie Hancock, Jane Mansbridge, Kirstie McClure, Dianne Pinderhughes, and Michael Tomz.

[4]Council members in attendance at the April 2012 meeting included Jonathan Benjamin-Alvarado, Jeffrey Berry, Michael Brintnall, Michael Desch, Morris Fiorina, Christopher Gelpi, Paul Gronke, Kerstin Hamann, Ange-Marie Hancock, Simon Hix, Mala Htun, Jeffrey Isaac, Niraja Jayal, David Lake, Taeku Lee, Jane Mansbridge, Lisa Martin, Kenneth Meier, Anne Norton, Laura Olson, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Ronald Rogowski, Dara Strolovitch, Kathleen Thelen, Lynn Vavreck, Stephen Walt, and Angelia Wilson. Guests included Adam Berinsky, Colin Elman, and John Ishiyama.

[5]Council members in attendance at the October 2012 meeting included John Aldrich, Jonathan Benjamin-Alvarado, Michael Brintnall, Michael Desch, Paul Gronke, Kerstin Hamann, Ange-Marie Hancock, Mala Htun, Jeffrey Isaac, John Ishiyama, David Lake, Taeku Lee, Jane Mansbridge, Laura Olson, Ronald Rogowski, Dara Strolovitch, Kathleen Thelen, and Angelia Wilson. Guests included Archon Fung, Margaret Levi, Kay Schlozman, and Kaare Strøm.

nate feedback from scholars working in these different traditions. The quantitative sub-committee included George Alter (chair), Arthur Lupia, Brian Humes, Gary King, Christopher Zorn, Rick Wilson, Michael Alvarez, Dara Strolovitch, Thomas Carsey, and Valerie Martinez-Ebers. The qualitative sub-committee included Colin Elman (chair), Diana Kapiszewski, Rose McDermott, Andrew Moravcsik, Brian Humes, Elizabeth Saunders, and Marc Trachtenberg. The draft reports from the qualitative and quantitative sub-committees were released on August 7 and July 28, 2013, respectively. These reports, which are included in this Newsletter, were published in the symposium on DA-RT that appeared in the January 2014 issue of *PS: Political Science and Politics*.

In September 2014, a group of leading journal editors met at a workshop at the University of Michigan to discuss how to build an infrastructure and create incentives to enhance greater openness and transparency in political science research (see here). The workshop eventually resulted in a joint statement by several journal editors that articulated a shared commitment to making data access and research transparency a more valued component of political science publications.[6] This joint statement, which is not an official APSA document, is known as the *Journal Editors Transparency Statement (JETS)* and can be found here. Among other things, the JETS called on signatory journal editors to develop policies and author guidelines by January 15, 2016 that would provide data access and research transparency.[7] As of September 15, 2015, 27 journals had signed on to the JETS.[8]

Criticism of various aspects of the DA-RT initiative and the JETS began to surface during 2015. The Spring 2015 Qualitative & Multi-Method Research Newsletter included a symposium on Transparency in Qualitative and Multi-Method Research. The goal of this sympo-

sium was to "explore the role of research transparency in different forms of qualitative and multi-method research" (Büthe and Jacobs, 2015*b*, 2). Whereas some contributions were supportive of the DA-RT project, others were highly critical. Various concerns related to data access and research transparency were discussed at several workshops, roundtables, and section business meetings at APSA's 2015 Annual Meeting. These discussions involved both supporters and critics of DA-RT. On November 12, 2015, a petition urging a delay in the implementation of JETS until more consultation could occur about "the meaning and practicalities of transparency for different forms of qualitative empirical research" was sent to those journal editors who had signed on to the JETS. The petition was written by Nancy Hirschmann, Mala Htun, Jane Mansbridge, Kathleen Thelen, Lisa Wedeen, and Elisabeth Wood, and it was signed by 1,173 political science scholars (see here).

In January 2016, APSA's Qualitative and Multi-Method Research Section finished voting on a motion to initiate a process of deliberation over transparency in qualitative research (see here). This deliberative process, which is being referred to as the Qualitative Transparency Deliberations (QTD), is led by a Steering Committee that includes Andrew O. Bennett, Tim Büthe (co-chair), Erik Bleich, Mary Hawkesworth, Alan Jacobs (co-chair), Kimberley S. Johnson, Kimberly J. Morgan, Sarah Elizabeth Parkinson, Edward Schatz, and Deborah J. Yashar. These deliberations will produce a set of 'community transparency statements' that reflect current understandings of transparency within distinct qualitative research communities. At the time of writing this Newsletter, the Steering Committee is about to open a period of online public deliberation where scholars are invited to help shape the QTD agenda by identifying questions, dilemmas, practices, and concerns that merit discussion and examination. Following this ini-

[6]It took until approximately one month after the workshop before the precise language of the joint statement was agreed upon.

[7]Individuals who attended the Michigan workshop included George Alter, Michael Alvarez, Phillip Ardoin, Neal Beck, Sara Bowman, Janet Box-Steffensmeier, Elaine Brock, Tom Carsey, Logan Casey, Eleni Castro, Louise Corti, Jesse Crosson, Colin Elman, Leah Fargot-stein, Jeremy Gelman, Paul Gronke, Macartan Humphreys, Paul Huth, John Ishiyama, William G. Jacoby, Julia Kamin, Diana Kapiszewski, Ronald Kassimir, Jonathan N. Katz, Arthur Lupia, Sean Lynn-Jones, Walter Mebane, Andrew Moravcsik, James Moskowitz, Elizabeth Moss, Brian Nosek, David J. Samuels, Steven Rathgeb Smith, Barbara Walthall, and Mark Zadrozny.

[8]These journals include the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Research*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, the *European Journal of Political Research*, *European Political Science*, *European Union Politics*, *International Interactions*, *International Security*, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, the *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, the *Journal of European Public Policy*, the *Journal of Peace Research*, the *Journal of Politics*, the *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Party Politics*, *Political Analysis*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Communication*, the *Political Methodologist*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Research and Politics*, *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, and *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*.

tial period of deliberation, the Steering Committee will establish distinct working groups with different substantive remits to write the community transparency statements. It is hoped that these community transparency statements will be completed and made public by October 2016. For more information about the QTD and how to participate, see here.

As of March 2016, most signatories to JETS, including the *American Political Science Review* (see here and here), the *American Journal of Political Science* (see here, here, and here), the *British Journal of Political Science* (see here), *European Union Politics* (see here), *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* (see here), *Political Behavior* (see here), and other journals had implemented JETS. *Comparative Political Studies* is the only signatory journal that we are aware of that has delayed the implementation of JETS and here the delay is only with respect to articles involving qualitative research (see here). Some journals such as *World Politics* (see here) and *Perspectives on Politics* (see here, here, here, and here) have chosen not to sign on to JETS or endorse the DA-RT initiative. Meanwhile APSA's current leadership (APSA's president Jennifer Hochschild, APSA's president elect David Lake, and APSA's immediate past president Rodney Hero) has restated its support for the DA-RT initiative (see here).

What exactly is DA-RT?

As our brief history of DA-RT indicates, there are only two formal policies stemming from DA-RT activities.

1. **The 2012 Revisions to APSA's *Guide to Professional Ethics in Political Science***

   The responsibility for the 2012 changes to APSA's *Ethics Guide* rests with APSA's Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights, and Freedoms. These revisions indicate that "researchers have an ethical obligation to facilitate the evaluation of their evidence-based knowledge claims through data access, production transparency, and analytic transparency so that their work can be tested or replicated." In effect, these revisions indicate that there are three distinct aspects of DA-RT: (i) data access, (ii) production transparency, and (iii) analytic transparency. Broadly speaking, *data access* requires that scholars provide access to the data that underpin their evidence-based claims or explain why they cannot do so; *production*

transparency requires that scholars indicate exactly how they collected or generated their data; and *analytic transparency* requires that scholars indicate exactly how they draw their analytic conclusions from the data.

2. **The 2014 Journal Editors Transparency Statement (JETS)**

   The JETS, which is not an official APSA document, commits signatory journals to promoting greater data access and research transparency in political science publications. It calls on journals to implement "policies requiring authors to make as accessible as possible the empirical foundation and logic of inquiry of evidence-based research" by January 15, 2016.

Although these are the only formal policies stemming from DA-RT activities, there are two additional documents that are relevant for understanding the DA-RT initiative.

- **The 2013 Guidelines for Data Access and Research Transparency for Qualitative Research in Political Science**

  This draft report was produced by APSA's DA-RT sub-committee dealing with qualitative research. This report "is a resource for scholars, journal editors, and academic evaluators (reviewers, funders, or award committees) who seek assistance in satisfying …new data access and research transparency obligations in the context of qualitative research."

- **The 2013 Guidelines for Data Access and Research Transparency for Quantitative Research in Political Science.**

  This draft report was produced by APSA's DA-RT sub-committee dealing with quantitative research. This report elaborates on what data access, production transparency, and analytic transparency entail in the context of quantitative research.

Over the past year, many political scientists have indicated that they were unaware of the DA-RT initiative and there appears to be widespread confusion as to exactly what DA-RT entails. As a result, we have decided to include all four of the above-mentioned source doc-

uments at the very beginning of the symposium. If you are not familiar with DA-RT, we strongly encourage you to examine these source documents *before* reading the contributions to our symposium.

Myths about DA-RT

Many myths about DA-RT have developed over the past year. In the interests of promoting an informed discussion about the virtues and vices of DA-RT, we briefly address three of the more common myths here.

Myth 1: DA-RT ignores ethical, legal, and confidential concerns with data access.

Ethical, legal, and confidential concerns with data access are discussed in all four of the DA-RT documents. For example, they are discussed in paragraphs 6.4 and 6.8 of APSA's *Ethics Guide* and here in the JETS. A more extensive discussion of these concerns can be found in the two longer reports dealing with qualitative and quantitative research.

The report dealing with qualitative research states that "The two most important ethical and legal imperatives with which transparency can be in tension in qualitative research are human subject and copyright concerns. Sometimes data are collected in circumstances that require discretion to protect the rights and welfare of subjects. This will, quite properly, limit transparency." It goes on to note that "it is critically important that scholars sharing data comply with all legal and ethical obligations" and that "if scholars have promised the individuals whom they involved in their research confidentiality, it is incumbent upon them not to reveal those subjects' identities" either "directly …or indirectly." Significantly, the report also indicates that "there are instances in which a researcher who has obtained permission from a subject to share data should nonetheless not do so because, for example, the subject is not in a good position to evaluate the risk of information connected with him/her being made accessible, or the circumstances under which permission was granted have changed. Alternatively, the author may decide to impose additional safeguards not specified in the informed consent when sharing the data." Although somewhat less extensive, the report dealing with quantitative research also notes that "researchers may need to withhold access to data to protect subjects and comply with legal restrictions." You can find a full discussion of these concerns in the reports dealing with qualitative

and quantitative research here and here.

As you can see, DA-RT does not ignore ethical, legal, and confidential concerns with data access. Of course, the fact that these issues are discussed in the DA-RT source documents does not mean that they are necessarily discussed in a satisfactory manner. Given that these are vitally important issues, we encourage you to examine the relevant passages in these documents to see for yourself whether they provide adequate protections for ethical, legal, and confidential concerns as they relate to data access and research transparency.

Myth 2: DA-RT is a one-size-fits-all approach to data access and research transparency.

DA-RT explicitly recognizes that there can be no one-size-fits-all approach to data access and research transparency. Indeed, this is precisely why APSA's Council authorized the DA-RT Ad Hoc Committee at its October 2012 meeting to develop more fine-grained guidance with respect to data access and research transparency for the different traditions found in political science. This more fine-grained guidance appears in the two separate reports dealing with qualitative and quantitative research.

The report dealing with qualitative research notes that, "A shared commitment to openness …does not oblige all research traditions to adopt the same approach. Rather, transparency should be pursued in ways and for reasons that are consistent with the epistemology of the social inquiry being carried out. There are several reasons why qualitative scholars should not (and sometimes simply could not) adopt the transparency practices employed by quantitative political scientists, but must instead develop and follow their own." This same report, which addresses qualitative methods in general, also recognizes that "nothing here is intended to prevent or discourage the development of more fine-grained requirements attuned to a particular subset of research." In their 2014 *PS: Political Science and Politics* symposium on data access and research transparency, (Lupia and Elman, 2014, 20), the co-chairs of APSA's Ad Hoc Committee on DA-RT, write that "a critical attribute of DA-RT is that it does not impose a uniform standard on political scientists …Because social scientists use different methods, how a knowledge claim achieves credibility and legitimacy depends on the type of work."

The fact that DA-RT is not a one-size-fits-all approach to data access and research transparency means that there is no single DA-RT standard that all research must meet before being published. While DA-RT provides a broad framework for thinking about data access and research transparency, it does not mandate a particular set of procedures that all scholars must adopt. For example, there are no explicit demands made in the DA-RT documents that scholars must use *Active Citation* (Moravcsik, 2010), that they must translate and transcribe their interviews, or that they must provide digital access to their primary source documents. While these procedures can be helpful in many settings, there is a general recognition that exactly how DA-RT will be instantiated will be determined at the local level by individual journals and their editorial teams. For an interesting Q&A on these issues with the current *APSR* editorial team, see here.

Myth 3: DA-RT is a positivist project whose rationale rests on the belief that social processes are repeatable and replicable.

DA-RT explicitly recognizes that replication is not valued in all areas of political science and does not demand that all forms of research be replicable. It does, however, argue that greater data access and research transparency can be valuable for all types of political research irrespective of epistemological approach.

In this regard, the report dealing with qualitative research states that "For qualitative scholars who are comfortable with replication (i.e., the repetition of a research process or analysis in an attempt to reproduce findings), the case for transparency makes itself. Without transparency there can be no replication. Yet even qualitative scholars who do not share a commitment to replication should value greater visibility of data and methods. For instance, those who believe that an important social scientific task is to encourage recognition of the extent and importance of cultural, historical and social diversity should acknowledge the value of transparency in permitting the record of actors speaking in their own voices to reach readers of social scientific texts. …Transparency in qualitative research needs to be achieved and evaluated in ways that are sensitive to the nature of qualitative data, how they are gathered, and how they are employed."

This is entirely consistent with the claims made by Lupia and Elman (2014, 22) in their 2014 *PS: Political Science and Politics* symposium on the DA-RT project. They write that "For subfields that hold that inferential procedures are repeatable, openness is a necessary condition for replication. For these communities, replication of another's claims provides increased confidence in the validity of that work …Members of other research communities do not validate one another's claims by repeating the analyses that produced them. In these communities, the justification for transparency is not replication, but understandability and persuasiveness."

DA-RT values transparency and openness because it assumes (i) that scholarly research produces knowledge claims that are intended to be shared with others and (ii) that the content and meaning of these knowledge claims are contingent on how they are produced. The value of transparency and openness holds here no matter the underlying epistemological approach taken by the researcher.

While these particular concerns with DA-RT are myths, scholars have, over the last year, raised legitimate questions about the DA-RT initiative and how JETS will be implemented on a practical level. These questions provide the motivation for the current symposium on data access and research transparency.

Goal of the Symposium

Our symposium includes five contributions from critics of DA-RT. The first contribution comes from Lee Ann Fujii, who is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto in Canada. Our second contribution comes from Peter Hall, who is the Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies in the Department of Government at Harvard University, the current President of APSA's Qualitative and Multi-Method Research Section, and the person who appointed Tim Büthe and Alan Jacobs to head the 2016 Qualitative Transparency Deliberations. The third contribution comes from Mala Htun, who is a Professor of Political Science at the University of New Mexico, a co-author of the 2015 petition to delay the implementation of JETS, and a co-creator of the website http://dialogueondart.org/. The fourth contribution comes from Marc Lynch, who is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University. And our fifth contribution comes from Rudra Sil and Guzmán Castro, with Anna Calasanti. Rudra Sil is a Professor of Political Science and the SAS

Director of the Huntsman Program in International Studies and Business at the University of Pennsylvania, while Guzmán Castro and Anna Calasanti are doctoral candidates in the Departments of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of New Mexico.

We provided our contributors with the four source documents related to DA-RT that we discussed earlier. In addition, we also supplied them with the two symposia that had already been published on DA-RT in *PS: Political Science and Politics* and the *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research Newsletter*. We indicated that we did not wish to replicate what was done in previous symposia and that our contributors should focus their attention on issues that they felt had not been adequately addressed thus far. We asked that the contributors not only discuss their concerns with DA-RT (what they were against) but that they also make a positive argument for what they believed in with respect to data access and research transparency (what they were for). We expressed our hope that their contributions would push the debate forward in a positive and constructive manner that would be useful to scholars regardless of methodological approach.

The five contributions critical of DA-RT are followed by a response from Colin Elman and Arthur Lupia. Colin Elman is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Qualitative and Multi-Method Inquiry in the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. He is also co-director of the Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR) and the Qualitative Data Repository. Arthur Lupia is Hal R. Varian Collegiate Professor of Political Science and a Research Professor in the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. They are the co-chairs of APSA's Ad Hoc Committee on Data Access and Research Transparency and the co-creators, along with Diana Kapiszewski, of the website http://www.dartstatement.org/.

The symposium finishes with three contributions from journal editors. To a large extent, DA-RT will be implemented at the local level by individual journals. Exactly how will this occur? Although there has been considerable discussion about DA-RT over the past year, there has been little direct input from journal editors.[9]

As a result, we decided to approach three leading journals that publish comparative politics research and that hold a diverse set of positions with respect to DA-RT for their thoughts. One contribution comes from John Ishiyama who is the lead editor of the *American Political Science Review*. The *APSR* has publicly stated its support for JETS. A second contribution comes from Ben Ansell and David Samuels who are the co-editors of *Comparative Political Studies*. As indicated earlier, *CPS* has decided to delay the implementation of the JETS, at least with respect to qualitative research, until the Qualitative Transparency Deliberations are completed. Our final contribution comes from Deborah Yashar who is the editor at *World Politics* and a member of the Steering Committee for the 2016 Qualitative Transparency Deliberations. *World Politics* has chosen not to sign on to the JETS.

This is not the End of the Discussion

If you would like to comment on, or respond to, any of the contributions or issues raised in the DA-RT symposium, you can do so by emailing your comments to us at sgolder@psu.edu or mgolder@psu.edu. Our goal is to post unedited responses and comments to the symposium at http://comparativenewsletter.com/da-rt within 24 hours of their submission.[10] To ensure a high-quality and polite dialogue, we will require that respondents provide their name and affiliation, both of which will be published along with their comments.

II. Symposium on the Politics of Space

In addition to a symposium on DA-RT, we also have a very interesting symposium on the politics of space. In recent years, political scientists have increasingly come to recognize that social processes are embedded in particular spatial contexts. A consequence of this is that the politics of space has moved from the margins of our discipline towards the mainstream. Our symposium includes six pieces from scholars who address various substantive, theoretical, and methodological topics dealing with the politics of space.

Our first contribution comes from Molly Ariotti and Charles Crabtree, two doctoral students in the Department of Political Science at Pennsylvania State University. Their contribution ties in nicely with our symposium on DA-RT as it provides practical advice on how

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[9]For exceptions, see here (*AJPS*), here (*APSR*), here, here, and here (*Perspectives on Politics*), here (*Political Behavior*), and here (*SPPQ*).
[10]There may be some delay during the period of the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting.

scholars can improve the presentation and production transparency of maps. Among other things, they encourage scholars who use maps to include scale bars, inset maps, and data notes where map projection, data sources, and so on can be discussed. While these suggestions may sound obvious, their survey of the literature indicates that these features are routinely ignored to the detriment of scientific communication.

The second contribution comes from Robert J. Franzese and Jude C. Hays. Rob is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Michigan, while Jude is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh. While their previous work has emphasized the substantive importance of taking account of spatial dependence, their contribution here focuses on the statistical reasons for dealing with spatial dependence in one's observations. For those new to this area, Rob and Jude helpfully provide a succinct check-list for how scholars can go about dealing with distinct sources of spatial dependence in their empirical models.

Our third contribution comes from Iris Hui, who is the Associate Director of Academic Affairs at the Bill Lane Center for the American West at Stanford University. In her contribution, Iris examines residential sorting by race, income, and partisanship in the United States. She argues that scholars should pay more attention to residential sorting because of its long-term impact on inequality, in particular in relation to the growing spatial mismatch between the socio-economic resources of a community and its supply of natural resources. How can we design political institutions to ensure that disadvantaged communities get a fair share of economic and natural resources? If grant allocation is used as a mechanism to disperse government transfers, how can we specify the requirements so that disadvantaged communities can afford the high administrative startup costs associated with infrastructure projects? Iris is working on questions like these with her colleagues at the Bill Lane Center at Stanford University.

Ron Johnston, Kelvyn Jones, David Manley, and Charles Pattie provide the fourth contribution to our symposium on the politics of space. Ron is a Professor of Geography at the University of Bristol, Kelvyn is a Professor of Quantitative Human Geography and the Head of the School of Geographical Sciences at the University of Bristol, David is a Senior Lecturer in Quantita-

tive Geography at the University of Bristol, and Charles is a Professor of Geography at the University of Sheffield. Their contribution focuses on the changing nature of party competition in the United Kingdom. They argue that party systems scholars too often treat national territories as homogeneous blocks, thereby overlooking the spatial variations that can substantially undermine generalizations that assume national uniformity. Among other things, their examination of the 2015 British elections reveals strong evidence of Duvergerian dynamics operating at the constituency level.

Our fifth contribution comes from John O'Loughlin, who is a Professor in the Department of Geography and a Faculty Research Associate in the Institute of Behavioral Science at the University of Colorado, Boulder. John was also a long-time editor of the journal *Political Geography* (1981-2015). In his contribution, John suggests that the divide between political science and geography remains as wide as it has always been. Much of this divide has to do with how scholars in the two disciplines treat the distinct concepts of 'space' and 'place.' According to John, political scientists "retain a spatial analytic view that in its most extreme form can evolve into what I have called 'political geometry.' This is a Cartesian coordinate approach that privileges 'space' to the detriment of 'place' in understanding the geographies of politics." Whereas 'spatial analysis' is growing in political science, it remains a "minority camp in political geography."

Our last contribution comes from Carina Schmitt, who is an Associate Professor at the Research Center for Social Policy and Inequality at the University of Bremen in Germany. In her contribution, Carina looks at the diffusion of public policies, particularly as they relate to the welfare state. As she notes, most research on policy diffusion focuses on the recent diffusion of social and economic policies across advanced industrialized democracies. Carina suggests that diffusion research can be improved by expanding its focus in terms of both time and space. She illustrates this by describing some of her new research looking at the diffusion of social protection in former British and French colonies.

III. Data Set

Finally, Courtenay R. Conrad and Will Moore provide an overview of the Ill-Treatment and Torture (ITT) Data Collection Project. Courtenay is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California,

Merced, while Will is a Professor in the School of Politics and Global Studies and affiliated faculty with the Center on the Future of War at Arizona State University. As Courtenay and Will explain, the ITT Data Collection Project uses content analysis to measure a number of variables on more than 15,000 public allegations of government ill-treatment and torture made by Amnesty International from 1995 to 2005. Among other things, the dataset can be used to study both Amnesty International's naming and shaming behavior as well as states' (lack of) compliance with the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT). We think that the dataset will be of interest to a wide range of comparative political scientists.

We hope that you enjoy this issue of the Comparative Politics Newsletter. If you have ideas for possible symposia or special topics, or would like to publicize a dataset of broad appeal, please contact us. As always, you can contact us through the Contact page of our webpage at http://comparativenewsletter.com/contact or simply use our Penn State email addresses: (sgolder@psu.edu, mgolder@psu.edu). Finally, we'd like to thank our editorial assistants, Charles Crabtree and Yaoyao Dai, for the enormous amount of work that they have done putting this Newsletter together.

Matt and Sona

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Symposium I: Data Access and Research Transparency

Welcome to the symposium on DA-RT. The symposium has four parts.

1. Source Documents on DA-RT
2. Critics
3. Response
4. Editors' Thoughts

Source Documents on DA-RT

Below you will find four source documents related to DA-RT.

Source Document #1: 2012 DA-RT Changes to APSA's *Ethics Guide*

In October 2012, the APSA Council unanimously voted to include the following language in its *Guide to Professional Ethics* in Political Science (APSA Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms, 2012, 9-10).

6. Researchers have an ethical obligation to facilitate the evaluation of their evidence-based knowledge claims through data access, production transparency, and analytic transparency so that their work can be tested or replicated.

6.1 *Data Access*: Researchers making evidence-based knowledge claims should reference the data they used to make those claims. If these are data they themselves generated or collected, researchers should provide access to those data or explain why they cannot.

6.2 *Production Transparency*: Researchers providing access to data they themselves generated or collected, should offer a full account of the procedures used to collect or generate the data.

6.3 *Analytic Transparency*: Researchers making evidence-based knowledge claims should provide a full account of how they draw their analytic conclusions from the data, i.e., clearly explicate the links connecting data to conclusions.

6.4 Scholars may be exempted from Data Access and Production Transparency in order to (A) address well-founded privacy and confidentiality concerns, including abiding by relevant human subjects regulation; and/or (B) comply with relevant and applicable laws, including copyright. Decisions to withhold data and a full account of the procedures used to collect or generate them should be made in good faith and on reasonable grounds. Researchers must, however, exercise appropriate restraint in making claims as to the confidential nature of their sources, and resolve all reasonable doubts in favor of full disclosure.

6.5 Dependent upon how and where data are stored, access may involve additional costs to the requesting researcher.

6.6 Researchers who collect or generate data have the right to use those data first. Hence, scholars may postpone data access and production transparency for one year after publication of evidence-based knowledge claims relying on those data, or such period as may be specified by (1) the journal or press publishing the claims, or (2) the funding agency supporting the research through which the data were generated or collected.

6.7 Nothing in this section shall require researchers to transfer ownership or other proprietary rights they may have.

6.8 As citizens, researchers have an obligation to cooperate with grand juries, other law enforcement agencies, and institutional officials. Conversely, researchers also have a professional duty not to divulge the identity of confidential sources of information or data developed in the course of research, whether to governmental or non-governmental officials or bodies, even though in the present state of American law they run the risk of suffering an applicable penalty.

6.9 Where evidence-based knowledge claims are challenged, those challenges are to be specific rather than generalized or vague. Challengers are themselves in the status of authors in connection with the statements that they make, and therefore bear the same responsibilities regarding data access, production transparency, and analytic transparency as other authors.

Source Document #2: Journal Editors Transparency Statement (JETS)

In this joint statement, leading journals commit to greater data access and research transparency, and to implementing policies requiring authors to make as accessible as possible the empirical foundation and logic of inquiry of evidence-based research. Please visit dartstatement.org for more information.

Transparency requires making visible both the empirical foundation and the logic of inquiry of research. We agree that by January 15, 2016 we will:

- Require authors to ensure that cited data are available at the time of publication through a trusted digital repository. Journals may specify which trusted digital repository shall be used (for example if they have their own dataverse). If cited data are restricted (e.g., classified, require confidentiality protections, were obtained under a non-disclosure agreement, or have inherent logistical constraints), authors must notify the editor at the time of submission. The editor shall have full discretion to follow their journal's policy on restricted data, including declining to review the manuscript or granting an exemption with or without conditions. The editor shall inform the author of that decision prior to review.

- Require authors to delineate clearly the analytic procedures upon which their published claims rely, and where possible to provide access to all relevant analytic materials. If such materials are not published with the article, they must be shared to the greatest extent possible through institutions with demonstrated capacity to provide long-term access.

- Maintain a consistent data citation policy to increase the credit that data creators and suppliers receive for their work. These policies include using data citation practices that identify a dataset's author(s), title, date, version, and a persistent identifier. In sum, we will require authors who base their claims on data created by others to reference and cite those data as an intellectual product of value.

- Ensure that journal style guides, codes of ethics, publication manuals, and other forms of guidance are updated and expanded to include improved data access and research transparency requirements.

As of September 15, 2015, the following 27 journals have signed the joint statement:

- *American Journal of Political Science*
- *American Political Science Review*
- *American Politics Research*
- *British Journal of Political Science*
- *Comparative Political Studies*
- *Conflict Management and Peace Science*
- *Cooperation and Conflict*
- *European Journal of Political Research*
- *European Political Science*
- *European Union Politics*
- *International Interactions*
- *International Security*
- *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
- *Journal of Experimental Political Science*
- *Journal of European Public Policy*
- *Journal of Peace Research*
- *Journal of Theoretical Politics*
- *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*
- *Party Politics*
- *Political Analysis*
- *Political Behavior*
- *Political Communication*
- *Political Science Research and Methods*
- *Research and Politics*

- *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*
- *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*
- *The Journal of Politics*
- *The Political Methodologist*

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Source Document #3: Guidelines for Data Access and Research Transparency for Qualitative Research in Political Science[1]

In October 2012, the American Political Science Association (APSA) adopted new policies requiring transparency in political science research. The new policies have been integrated into Section 6 of the Association's *Guide to Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms*.

The new standards require researchers making evidence-based knowledge claims in their published work to provide data access, and engage in production transparency and analytic transparency.

- *Data access* requires authors to reference the data on which their descriptive and causal inferences and interpretations are based and, if they generated or collected those data, to make them available or explain why they cannot.

- *Production transparency* requires authors who collected and/or generated the data serving as evidence for their claims to explain the genesis of those data. Production transparency is necessary for other scholars to understand and interpret the data which authors have made available.

- *Analytic transparency* requires that authors demonstrate how they used cited data to arrive at evidence-based claims.

The promulgation of an APSA standard underscores a growing disciplinary (and multi-disciplinary) consensus that data access, production transparency and analytic transparency are all critical aspects of the research process. Transparency contributes to the credibility and legitimacy of political science research and facilitates the accumulation of knowledge. Assessing, critiquing, and debating evidence-based claims made in published research require access to the data cited to support them, documentation and metadata describing how those data were generated or collected, and an explanation of how the evidence and claims are connected. Providing access to data, and to documentation describing data generation or collection, also makes data more useful for testing new theories, for the development of new datasets and bodies of evidence, and for other forms of secondary data analysis.

Data access, production transparency, and analytic transparency are interconnected. Data access is a precondition for evaluating how data are used. Production transparency is a key prerequisite for evaluating author-provided data, and the connections that authors posit between those data and their inferences and interpretations. Conversely, one can more effectively evaluate an author's data generation or collection techniques (revealed through production transparency) when one knows for what analytical use the data are intended.

This document is a resource for scholars, journal editors and academic evaluators (reviewers, funders or award committees) who seek assistance in satisfying these new data access and research transparency obligations in the context of qualitative research.[2] Accordingly, the document provides prospective guidance for meeting the obligations, as well as for retrospectively assessing whether they have been satisfied. While the new standards encourage as much data sharing and research transparency as possible, they should not be viewed in all-or-nothing terms: these activities often face friction, for example in the form of human subjects or copyright concerns. Sharing some data and being as transparent as possible, within those or other limits, will generally be better than doing neither at all.

The document's contents apply to all qualitative analytic techniques employed to support evidence-based claims, as well as all qualitative source materials.[3] No matter which qualitative techniques scholars use, research-tradition specific standards of transparency allow scholars to demonstrate the richness and rigor of qualitative work, and make clear its considerable contributions to knowledge accumulation and theory generation.

The Argument for Research Tradition-Specific Transparency Practices

The need for transparency in qualitative political science research derives from the fundamental principles which underlie social science as a community-based activity. Enhancing transparency both augments the quality of qualitative political science and increases its salience in and contributions to the discipline. Transparency is best achieved in qualitative political science in ways that preserve and honor that research tradition. We argue each of these points in turn.

Why Adopt Transparency Practices?

Transparency is an indispensable element of rule-bound intersubjective knowledge. Scholarly communities in the social sciences, natural sciences and evidence-based humanities can only exist if their members openly share evidence, results and arguments. Transparency allows those communities to recognize when research has been conducted rigorously, to distinguish between valid and invalid propositions, to better comprehend the subjective social understandings underlying different interpretations, to expand the number of participants in disciplinary conversations, and to achieve scientific progress.

To date, this fundamental attribute of community-based knowledge generation has played out in political science primarily in the realm of replicating quantitative research. In contrast to the situation in legal academia, historical studies, classical philology and some other disciplines, in qualitative political science transparency norms have been weak or non-existent. To be sure, citations and references in qualitative research appear to assure openness. Nevertheless, imprecision in citation, the high transaction costs of actually locating cited evidence, and the opacity of links between data and conclusions, combine to make the critical evaluation of descriptive and causal inferences or cumulative deepening of data analysis a rare event.

The aim of transparency is to make the rigor and power of good qualitative research more visible, allowing and empowering each consumer to identify such research, and facilitating the awarding of appropriate credit. Further, increasing the ease with which a larger number of scholars can critically engage with qualitative research, and the depth with which they can do so, makes it more likely that such work will be incorporated into scholarly discussion and debate, and future research. In all these ways, enhancing understanding of the processes and products of quali-

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[2]A parallel set of guidelines intended primarily for quantitative data has also been developed. Of course, the guidance concerning ways in which research can be made more transparent offered in these documents is not exhaustive. In particular, nothing here is intended to prevent or discourage the development of more fine-grained requirements attuned to a particular subset of research, such as registering research designs involving experiments prior to conducting research with the aim of preventing publication and reporting bias.

[3]Such materials encompass traditional sources, such as primary textual documents and published primary sources; data from interviews, focus groups, or oral histories (in either audio or video form or transcripts from or summaries thereof); field notes (for instance from participant observation or ethnography); diaries and other personal records; and press clippings. The guidelines also apply to less conventional sources such as samples from bodies of secondary work; photographs; maps, posters and other representational work; and artwork.

tative research facilitates the accumulation of knowledge.

Why an Approach to Transparency that is Specific to Qualitative Research?

Transparency in any research tradition — whether quantitative or qualitative — requires that scholars show they followed the rules of data collection and analysis that guide the specific type of research in which they are engaged. That conformity is foundational to the validity of the resulting interpretations and inferences and its demonstration is a key component of social science.

A shared commitment to openness, however, does not oblige all research traditions to adopt the same approach. Rather, transparency should be pursued in ways and for reasons that are consistent with the epistemology of the social inquiry being carried out. There are several reasons why qualitative scholars should not (and sometimes simply could not) adopt the transparency practices employed by quantitative political scientists, but must instead develop and follow their own.

We begin from the position that qualitative research is invaluable, generating knowledge that could not be produced through any other form of inquiry. Such research generally entails close engagement with one or more cases, producing thick, rich and open-ended data. These data are collected and used by scholars with a range of epistemological beliefs, producing a wide variety of interpretations and inferences.

For qualitative scholars who are comfortable with replication (i.e., the repetition of a research process or analysis in an attempt to reproduce its findings), the case for transparency makes itself. Without transparency there can be no replication. Yet even qualitative scholars who do not share a commitment to replication should value greater visibility of data and methods. For instance, those who believe that an important social scientific task is to encourage recognition of the extent and importance of cultural, historical and social diversity should acknowledge the value of transparency in permitting the record of actors speaking in their own voices to reach readers of social scientific texts. In short, the more sense scholars can make of authors' arguments and evidence, the better they can engage them, the more varied techniques they can use to evaluate and document their legitimacy, and the more scholars can enter the conversation.

Transparency in qualitative research needs to be achieved and evaluated in ways that are sensitive to the nature of qualitative data, how they are gathered, and how they are employed. As the list offered previously suggests (see footnote 3), qualitative data take on more varied forms than quantitative data, and are less-structured. In terms of data collection/generation, qualitative scholars very commonly gather their own data, rather than rely solely on a shared dataset. Evaluating the processes used to obtain data is a key element in assessing qualitative work — not least because those processes have a critical effect on the research product. With respect to employment, qualitative data are used in a range of research designs, including single case studies, small-n case studies, and various mixed-method designs. A variety of methods are used to analyze qualitative data (e.g., narratives, counterfactual analysis, process tracing, Qualitative Comparative Analysis, content analysis, ethnographic analysis), and different inferential structures underpin each method. These fundamental facets of qualitative research have implications for how transparency can and should be achieved.

These epistemological considerations are reinforced by the especially acute ethical and legal imperatives, and the sociological framing of transparency, in qualitative research. The two most important ethical and legal imperatives with which transparency can be in tension in qualitative research are human subject and copyright concerns. Sometimes data are collected in circumstances that require discretion to protect the rights and welfare of subjects. This will, quite properly, limit transparency. Moreover, many sources are not, in their entirety, in the public domain, and there are limitations on how they can be shared. As noted below, scholars should only make qualitative data (and information about the decisions and processes that produced them) available in ways which conform to these social and legal imperatives.

Sociologically, no amount of written guidance will result in changes in transparency practices unless scholars believe that methods and research goals about which they care are being preserved and improved. A separate set of guidelines for qualitative research helps to establish that the aim of transparency is to demonstrate the power of qualitative research designs, data-collection techniques, interpretative modes, and analytic methods. In other words, rather than tacitly encouraging changes to qualitative research practices, the goal of enhanced transparency in qualitative research is precisely to preserve and deepen existing qualitative research traditions, render current qualitative research practices more accessible, and make clearer the tremendous value-added qualitative research already delivers.

In short, while transparency is a universal principle, for epistemological, ethical, and sociological reasons, its instantiation in qualitative research needs to conform to traditions specific to qualitative work.

Data Access

Clause 6.1 in the revised APSA *Ethics Guide* obliges a scholar who makes evidence-based claims in her published work to reference the data she used to make those claims. If the scholar generated or collected the data herself, then she should also make those data available or explain why she cannot.

What data should be referenced and/or made available, and how?

Researchers making evidence-based knowledge claims should clearly and completely reference the data on which they base their interpretations or their descriptive or causal inferences. Generally, these are the data the author explicitly cites to support those claims.

Referencing textual data requires a full and precise bibliographic citation including page numbers and any other information necessary for readers to locate the material cited and find within it the passage an author suggests is evidence for his claims. For primary archival sources, for instance, information about the archive and collection, and the number of the box in which the document was found should be included. For non-textual sources, information allowing an equivalent degree of precision should be included.[4] This information should be provided upon publication.

The new APSA standard entails a more stringent obligation for scholars who themselves generated or collected the data on which their evidence-based knowledge claims are based. Those scholars must, whenever possible, make those data available.[5] Later in this document, we discuss strategies for, and issues involved in, sharing qualitative data.

Sharing cited data is sufficient to meet the APSA standards. Nonetheless, for many qualitative researchers, cited data are often a small subset of the information collected and used in a research endeavor. As such, researchers are strongly encouraged to share data which are implicated in their research but not cited in their publication — for instance, additional data used to generate the argument (rather than test it), or to infirm alternative interpretations and inferences.

What limitations might there be on making qualitative data available?

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[4]To give an example, when citing an audio tape, scholars might indicate the exact moment during the interview at which the cited material was mentioned (i.e., cite the time stamp), or might provide an extract of the recording and cite where it came from within the interview (e.g. this clip is six minutes in).

[5]As noted later, scholars using Active Citation to achieve transparency must provide substantial excerpts from the data sources underlying their claims (and ideally provide the actual data sources) no matter whether they generated or collected those data or other scholars did so. If the source or the relevant portion thereof cannot be provided for ethical or legal reasons, a summary or redaction must be offered.

It is critically important that scholars sharing data comply with all legal and ethical obligations. As paragraph 6.4 of the *APSA Guide to Professional Ethics* notes, while it is incumbent upon researchers to accurately represent the research process and study participants' contributions, external constraints may require that they withhold data, for instance, in order to protect human subjects or to comply with legal restrictions.

Confidentiality and Human Subjects: If scholars have promised the individuals whom they involved in their research confidentiality, it is incumbent upon them not to reveal those subjects' identities. Personal identity can be disclosed both directly (for example, through divulging a participant's address, telephone number, age, sex, occupation, and/or geographic location) or indirectly (for example, by disclosing information about the person that, when linked with publicly available information, reveals his/her identity).

Data garnered from human subjects can often be shared legally and ethically if the appropriate informed consent is granted by project participants. Where necessary, additional protective steps can be taken including guaranteeing confidentiality when soliciting informed consent;[6] employing anonymization strategies;[7] carefully controlling access to data; and/or requiring that special measures to protect confidential information be clearly specified in a data-use agreement signed by anyone who wishes to view or analyze the data.

Documentary Data: Sometimes the owners or licensors of data collected through non-interactive techniques — archives or non-governmental organizations, for instance — place limitations on their use or dispersion. Likewise, such materials sometimes have copyright restrictions. Scholars should make every attempt to explain the value of data-sharing to those from whom they acquire documentary data, and investigate to what degree, and which, copyright law applies.

Proprietary Data: When research is based on proprietary data, authors should make available sufficient documentation so other scholars can evaluate their findings. Owners of proprietary data should be encouraged to provide access to bona fide researchers.

As the discussion of types of data 'friction' in this section makes clear, the exclusions and restrictions that can prevent authors from sharing the data that support their analytic claims are circumstantial, ethical and legal. Accordingly, where data cannot be shared, the author should clearly explain why not, and include as much information about those data as is ethically and legally possible, to help readers understand and evaluate the author's inferential and interpretive claims.

When should data be made available?

The APSA standards recognize that "Researchers who collect or generate data have the right to use those data first." A particular collection of data should be made available no more than one year after the earliest publication (either electronic or paper) of evidence-based statements made using that collection.

The APSA standards also recognize that journals and funding agencies may have different requirements (for instance, obliging researchers to make the data used in a book or article available prior to any publication). The one-year allowance specified by APSA does not alter any time limits established by journals and funding agencies.

Where and in what form should data be made available?

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[6]When seeking informed consent researchers should secure permission for data sharing where possible, and should avoid including statements in consent forms that purposefully preclude data sharing beyond the researchers or team.

[7]For instance, on some occasions scholars will only be able to characterize their source ('a senior government official'), but will be able to attribute full quotations to him or her; on other occasions, they will be able to indicate that they consulted with particular people, but will not be able to attribute any specific information to them.

The best practice is for digital data (e.g. PDFs of documents, audio files, video files) to be made accessible online, at an established repository that can be discovered by standard Internet search engines. Standard and non-proprietary file formats are preferable, because they are more likely to remain accessible over time. For non-digital data, scholars should provide a metadata record identifying the source.

When deciding on a venue for making their data available, scholars should consider multiple desiderata. These include: the practices and rules of the publishing venue, the transaction cost for the reader of accessing the evidence in context, the potential storing venue's ability to make the data accessible to all interested persons, as well as to support annotation of citations (on which, more below), the likely durability of the venue (i.e., whether it has stable and long-term funding sources), the availability and quality of assistance with curation, and the cost to data users.[8]

Scholars who anticipate incurring incremental costs when preparing data for sharing (e.g., for anonymizing to protect confidential information) should consider building those costs into funding applications, and/or they may request reimbursement (perhaps drawn from fees paid by researchers requesting to use shared data). Likewise, when distribution involves additional costs (e.g., for administration of special conditions of access to confidential information), data distributors may request reimbursement for the incremental costs of making data available (see Section 6.5 of the *Ethics Guide*).

What is a 'persistent identifier'? Why should I get one? Where can I get one?

A persistent identifier is a permanent link to a publication, data collection, or unique metadata instance that points to (and records versioning of) a data collection on the Internet. The publisher of the resource agrees to maintain the link to keep it active. Over time the link behind the persistent identifier may be updated, but the identifier itself remains stable. There are several kinds of persistent identifiers (DOI, URN, Handle, etc.).

Persistent identifiers are 'machine-actionable' and facilitate the harvesting of data references for online citation databases, like the Thomson-Reuters Data Citation Index. Scholars can easily track the impact of their data from citations in publications. An increasing number of journals are requiring persistent identifiers for data citations.

Persistent identifiers can be useful for keeping track of bodies of data. One way to obtain a persistent identifier for data is to deposit them in an established institutional or social science repository, for instance, members of Data-PASS (`http://www.data-pass.org/`).

Production Transparency

In order to achieve *production transparency*, researchers should provide comprehensive documentation and descriptive metadata detailing their project's empirical base, the context of data collection, and the procedures and protocols they used to access, select, collect, generate, and capture data. To offer three specific examples, authors should address basic issues of how documentary sources were selected or sampled, the terms under which interviews were granted, and how participant observation or ethnographic work was conducted.

Production transparency is a prerequisite for an author's data to be intelligible to other researchers. Providing information about decisions made and processes carried out in the course of collecting and generating data, selecting them for inclusion in published work, and presenting them makes it easier for other scholars to understand and interpret the data; allows them to assess whether those processes were carried out in an unbiased manner; and helps them to evaluate the validity of the claims made on the basis of the data.

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[8]Although university repositories will often meet these criteria, scholars are discouraged from hosting data themselves on local websites as such sites are notoriously unreliable. While doing so may be a good temporary measure, longer-term plans for storage in an established repository should be developed.

The production transparency requirement is triggered when scholars themselves collected or generated the data that support their evidence-based claims. Accordingly, the same timetable and constraints that apply to making those data available apply to production transparency in relation to those data. As noted previously, APSA allows scholars a one-year period for first use of data they collected and thus for describing the data-collection process.

If the data are subject to ethical or legal restrictions, it is likely that production transparency will be similarly constrained. Conforming production transparency to relevant limits helps to ensure that other scholars can evaluate or replicate authors' data-collection procedures legally and without threatening the privacy of human subjects.

Although documentation is often supplied in text files or spreadsheets, an advanced standard for documenting data (at the study level) in the social sciences is the Data Documentation Initiative (DDI). DDI is an XML markup standard designed for social science data. Since DDI is machine actionable, it can be used to create custom codebooks and to enable online search tools. A list of tools for creating DDI is available at the DDI Tools Registry (`http://www.ddialliance.org/resources/tools`). Original documents (e.g., technical reports, questionnaires, and showcards) can be submitted as text files or PDF/A.

Analytic Transparency

Achieving *analytic transparency* requires scholars to describe relevant aspects of the overall research process, detail the micro-connections between their data and claims (i.e., show how the specific evidence they cite supports those claims), and discuss how evidence was aggregated to support claims.

The APSA standard for analytic transparency prescribes no epistemology or methodology; it simply requires that authors be clear about the analytic processes they followed to derive claims from their data, and demonstrate how they followed the general rules that attend the interpretive or inferential approach they are using.

The Transparency Appendix and Active Citation

One way in which qualitative researchers can provide data access, achieve production transparency, and engage in analytic transparency, is by developing a transparency appendix to their published work. A transparency appendix typically consists of two elements: active citations and an overview section.

Active citations follow the format of traditional footnotes or endnotes, but are digitally augmented to include:

1. a precise and complete reference and any additional information that scholars will need to locate the cited source and find the relevant information within it;
2. excerpts from cited sources;
3. the cited sources themselves if the author possesses them and is in a position to share them, and/or hyperlinks thereto;
4. annotations that
   - explain how individual pieces of data, sources, citations, and facts were interpreted and why they were interpreted as they were;
   - illustrate precisely how those individual pieces support claims in the text;[9]
   - address any important interpretive ambiguities or counter-arguments;
   - explain how individual pieces of data aggregate to support broad interpretative and theoretical conclusions.

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[9]The standards the author may seek to meet or rules he may follow when detailing these micro-connections can vary: they may include the scholar's interpretation of the relative persuasiveness and consistency of evidence, explicit process-tracing, discussing narrative plausibility, making arguments about the plausibility of counterfactuals, advancing a systematic scheme for weighting data, mixed method approaches, etc.. Analytic transparency requires only that scholars be consistent and transparent, so that the reader can follow how their overall conclusions follow from smaller-scale findings.

Because active citations follow the format of traditional footnotes or endnotes, they are ideally suited to elucidate particular inferences or interpretations in the author's text. Certain aspects of research that should be explained if transparency is to be achieved, however, do not comfortably attach themselves to a particular subsection of text or footnote. These matters are instead best dealt with holistically. When such overarching concerns cannot be addressed in the main text, authors should include a brief 'overview' in the transparency appendix clarifying their overall research trajectory (e.g., how interpretations and hypotheses were generated and evaluated); outlining the data-generation process; and demonstrating how the analysis attends to the inferential/ interpretive rules and structures that underlie the type of analysis the author is doing.

Information provided in a transparency appendix *supplements* rather than replaces or repeats information offered in the text and footnotes of a book or article: it supplies additional context and background to authors' research efforts, offering an opportunity for authors to describe the rigor and thoroughness of their research (and field research), and allowing other scholars to understand and evaluate the appropriateness of their use (and, where relevant, generation) of data. What is 'appropriate' depends upon the interpretive or inferential structures implied by the author's underlying epistemology and employed in the type of qualitative research he or she is conducting.

With respect to data access, scholars using active citation provide excerpts from the data sources underlying their claims (and ideally provide the actual data sources). In terms of production transparency, authors who cannot provide basic information about data collection in the main text of their publications due to length-limitations can include additional information in an introductory overview.

As for analytic transparency, the traditional representation in qualitative research— elaboration of an argument in the text combined with a simple citation—is often inadequate to make the link between an argument and evidence apparent. The critical element in the evidence is often difficult to discern, and the evidence is often interpretable in multiple ways. Likewise, a passage in a source can often only be properly interpreted within a broader textual context. Moreover, abbreviated ('scientific' or endnote) footnote formats, shrinking word limits for published work, and unfamiliarity with careful textual interpretation have rendered traditional journals (and even books) inhospitable forums for achieving rigorous analytic transparency.

In sum, the introductory overview component of a transparency appendix empowers authors to enhance readers' understanding of the context, design and conduct of research. Using active citation empowers authors to clarify the micro-connections between data, analysis, and conclusions. Both enhance the rigor and persuasiveness of qualitative research.

Publishers' Responsibilities

Journals, editors, and publishers should assist authors in complying with data access and research transparency guidelines.

Publishers should:

- inform authors of options for meeting data access and research transparency requirements;
- host scholars' cited sources and transparency appendices on line, or guide authors to online archives which will house these materials, and provide links from articles (at the level of the individual citation, if needed) to those materials;
- provide guidelines for bibliographic citation of data;
- include consistent and complete data citations in all publications.

Resources

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- UK Data Archive:
  - Managing and Sharing Data: A Best Practice Guide for Researchers (http://data-archive.ac.uk/media/2894/managingsharing.pdf).
  - Create and Manage Data (http://data-archive.ac.uk/create-manage).
- UK Data Service:
  - Advice and Training (http://ukdataservice.ac.uk/use-data/advice.aspx).
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Source Document #4: Guidelines for Data Access and Research Transparency for Quantitative Research in Political Science

The *APSA Guide to Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms* recognizes that:

6. Researchers have an ethical obligation to facilitate the evaluation of their evidence-based knowledge claims through data access, production transparency, and analytic transparency so that their work can be tested or replicated.

6.1 *Data Access*: Researchers making evidence-based knowledge claims should reference the data they used to make those claims. If these are data they themselves generated or collected, researchers should provide access to those data or explain why they cannot.

6.2 *Production transparency*: Researchers providing access to data they themselves generated or collected, should offer a full account of the procedures used to collect or generate the data.

6.3 *Analytic Transparency*: Researchers making evidence-based knowledge claims should provide a full account of how they draw their analytic conclusions from the data, i.e., clearly explicate the links connecting data to conclusions.

Data Access, Production Transparency, and Analytic Transparency describe key stages of the research process. Data access is not sufficient without documentation of how data were prepared and how analysis was conducted. By meeting these requirements, researchers contribute to the credibility and legitimacy of Political Science.

While evidence comes in many forms, these guidelines refer primarily to numerical data that can be analyzed with quantitative and statistical methods.[1]

Data Access

What data should be accessible to other scholars? When an author makes evidence-based knowledge claims, all data required to replicate the results serving as evidence for statements and conclusions should be open to other scholars. Researchers who have generated or created their own data have an obligation to provide access to the data used in their analysis whenever possible. When the data were collected by others, an author is responsible for providing a clear path to the data through a full bibliographic citation. In both cases, the steps involved in deriving conclusions and inferences from data should be fully described.

Researchers are strongly encouraged to share data beyond those required for replication of published findings. It is particularly important for researchers to provide access to data used in the process of generating conclusions but not included in the final analysis. More generally, providing as much access as possible to existing data can increase its value and often attracts greater attention to the work of the people who produced it.

What data should be accessible to other scholars? The *APSA Guide to Professional Ethics* recognizes that "Researchers who collect or generate data have the right to use those data first." Data access should be provided no more than one year after public dissemination of evidence-based statements. Journals and funding agencies may have different requirements. Moreover, some funding agencies may require researchers to provide data access prior to any publication. Nothing in these guidelines should be read to contradict such requirements.

Where should data be made available? Data should be made available online at an established repository or a website that can be discovered by standard Internet search engines. When deciding on a venue for making their data available, scholars should consider multiple desiderata, including the venue's ability to make the data available to all interested persons, the likely durability of the venue (does it have stable and long-term funding sources), the availability of assistance with curation, and the cost to data users.

Where should data be made available? All data should be accompanied by:
1. Documentation describing the data in full.
2. A complete citation including a 'persistent identifier,' like 'digital object identifiers' (DOIs).
   Standard and non-proprietary formats are preferable, because they are more likely to remain accessible over time.

When distribution involves additional costs (e.g. for protection of confidential information), data distributors may request reimbursement for the incremental costs of making data available.

How do I share data that includes confidential information? As paragraph 6.4 of the *APSA Guide to Professional Ethics* notes, researchers may need to withhold access to data to protect subjects and comply with legal restrictions. However, secure methods of sharing confidential data are often available. When respondents might be re-identified by combining information in the data (e.g. age, sex, occupation, geographic location), a data use agreement specifying measures to protect confidential information can be required. Access may also be provided in a 'data enclave,' where information derived from the data can be reviewed before it is released.

What if I used proprietary data? When research is based on proprietary data, researchers should make available documentation that would allow other scholars to replicate their findings. Owners of proprietary data should be encouraged to provide access to all qualified researchers.

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[1] A parallel set of guidelines is in preparation which are intended primarily for qualitative data.

What is a 'persistent identifier'? Why should I get one? Where can I get one? A persistent identifier is a permanent link to a publication or a dataset on the Internet. The publisher of the resource agrees to maintain the link to keep it active. Over time the link behind the persistent identifier may be updated, but the identifier itself remains stable and does not change. There are several kinds of persistent identifiers (DOI, URN, Handle, etc.).

Persistent identifiers are 'machine-actionable' and facilitate the harvesting of data references for online citations databases, like the Thomson-Reuters Data Citation Index. You will be able to easily track the impact of your data from citations in publications. An increasing number of journals are requiring persistent identifiers for data citations.

The best way to obtain a persistent identifier is to deposit your data in an established repository. Social science repositories, like the members of Data-PASS, and institutional repositories assign persistent identifiers to their holdings. There are also agencies that will issue a persistent identifier to a website that you maintain yourself.

What are the obligations of scholars who use data collected by others? When the data were collected by others, an author is responsible for providing a full bibliographic citation in the same way that a publication or other scholarly product would be cited. Data citations should include author, title, date, and a persistent identifier (or other location information).

Production Transparency

Production transparency implies providing information about how original data were generated or collected, including a record of decisions the scholar made in the course of transforming their labor and capital into data points and similar recorded observations. In order for data to be understandable and effectively interpretable by other scholars, whether for replication or secondary analysis, they should be accompanied by comprehensive documentation and metadata detailing the context of data collection, and the processes employed to generate/collect the data. Production transparency should be thought of as a prerequisite for the content of one scholar's data to be truly accessible to other researchers.

What are the obligations of scholars who use data collected by others?

- Principal Investigator
- Title
- Purpose of the study
- Scope of the study
- Study design
- Sample
- Mode of data collection
- Instruments used
- Weighting
- Response rates
- Funding source

What should the codebook provide about each variable?

- Variable description
- Instrument, question text, or computation formula
- Valid values and their meanings
- Cases to which this variable applies
- Methods for imputing missing values

How should I prepare the documentation? Although data producers often supply documentation in text files or spreadsheets, the standard for documentation in the social sciences is the Data Documentation Initiative (DDI). DDI is an XML markup standard designed for social science data. Since DDI is machine actionable, it can be used to create custom codebooks and to enable online search tools. A list of tools for creating DDI is available at the DDI Tools Registry.

Analytic Transparency

Scholars making evidence based-knowledge claims should provide a full account of how they drew their conclusions, *clearly mapping the path from the data to the claims*. This path can be documented in many ways such as computer programs and scripts. Researchers should make available materials sufficient to allow others to reproduce their results. For example, when providing computer programs to satisfy an analytic transparency requirement, questions about sufficiency can be answered as follows:

Is the program that produced my tables enough?

Transparency involves documenting all of the steps from the original data to the results supporting your conclusions.

I have lots of programs. Do I need to provide all of them?

The best practice is to consolidate all data transformation and analysis steps in a single program. Program steps may be developed separately, but they should operate as an integrated workflow.

Publisher's Responsibilities

Journals, editors, and publishers should assist authors in complying with data access and research transparency guidelines.

Publishers should:

- inform authors of options for meeting data access and research transparency requirements;
- verify that data and program code are accessible, when appropriate;
- provide guidelines for bibliographic citations of data;
- include consistent and complete data citations in all publications.

Resources

- Australian National University - ANU Data Management Manual.
- Columbia University, Center for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN) - Guide to Managing Geospatial Electronic Records, June 2005.
- Council of European Social Science Data Archives (CESSDA) - Sharing Data Website.
- Gary King - Data Sharing and Replication.
- Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) - Guide to Social Science Data Preparation and Archiving.
- UK Data Archive - Managing and Sharing Data: A Best Practice Guide for Researchers, May 2011.
- UK Data Archive - Create and Manage Data Website.

The Dark Side of DA-RT[1]

by Lee Ann Fujii

University of Toronto

I have seen a lot of lynching photos in my life. They tend to follow a conventional form, with the victim's body in profile and the spectators often looking straight into the camera, their gaze proclaiming their pride—joy even—at being *sur place*, at the scene of the crime. Amy Louise Wood (2009) examines these visual artifacts of an American practice that has mostly, though not completely, died out (Rushdy, 2012). Her book analyzes the aspect of public lynchings that the photos capture so starkly—the large numbers of white people who strayed from normal routine to regale in the torture-murder of the victims, most of whom were black.

As a thought experiment, I have tried to envision Wood trying to publish an article from this research in the DA-RT-friendly *American Political Science Review*. She submits an article on spectatorship during violence. The editor tells her she must post the data she used to make key or controversial claims so that others might 'replicate' her study (Moravcsik, 2010). She is unsure what constitutes 'controversial.' She also cannot understand how anyone could 'replicate' her study with the subset of images she dutifully posts to the repository. The annotations she adds to the photos do not do justice to the enormity of reading, writing, and thinking she has done. But no matter. She needs a job and knows that getting published in this journal will increase her career prospects.

Though her work is on violence, Wood has not collected data by interviewing, observing, or interacting with live 'human subjects.' Because her work is based on historical materials, the editor knows there can be no IRB issues at play, for IRBs do not concern themselves with the rights of the dead, only the living.[2] The lack of IRB concerns helps move the process along quickly. The reviews are positive. The editor accepts the piece. A happy ending, no doubt, and confirmation of DA-RT's contribution to the discipline. Or is it?

I argue that this imagined scenario is not about the good that DA-RT can do, but the substantive issues that DA-RT misses in its tunnel vision search for a better 'science.' The story is more cautionary than celebratory; it is about the dangers of worshipping false gods and the need to wake up from our complacent slumber about issues that really do matter.

Let me unravel the threads. The fact that there are no IRB issues in this example does not mean there are no ethical questions at stake. The people depicted in Wood's sources may be dead in one way, but they live on in another—through the picture-postcards that lynching participants bought as prized keepsakes or mailed to friends with messages such as, 'This is the barbecue we had last night …' Taking these images out of their historical and political context is potentially problematic from an ethical standpoint. The victims never 'consented' to having their picture taken, after all; nor did they ever consent to the use of their images for 'scientific' purposes.

For those who have not seen lynching photos, the images are deeply troubling. As a scholar of violence, I have seen countless pictures of mass killing, torture, and mutilation and yet lynching photos are among the most difficult for me to look at, perhaps because it is 'my' neighbors who smile blithely at the camera and not some foreign figures in Syria or Rwanda. And for those who can imagine ourselves at the end of the rope or chained to the tree, the images live inside as much as on the page. As Richard Wright wrote so eloquently in *Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth*, published in 1945, long after mob executions in the U.S. had declined in number, but ten years before the lynchings of Emmett Till and Mack Charles Parker in Wright's home state of Mississippi: "The things that influenced my conduct as a Negro did not have to happen to me directly; I needed but to hear of them to feel their full effects in the deepest layers of my consciousness. Indeed, the white brutality that I had not seen was a more effective control of my behavior than that which I knew" (Wright, 1997, 197). The contribution of Wood's (2009) book is her careful and convincing explanation of why such terror lives "in the deepest layers of …consciousness" and why, even today, it lives there still.

Given the meanings and histories of these images,

[2] IRB stands for Institutional Review Board. In American universities, the IRB is the body that certifies research protocols as compliant with Federal rules concerning research with human subjects. For a critical look at IRBs, see Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2008) and Schrag (2010).

the very idea that issues of 'transparency,' 'verification,' and 'replicability' — defined in positivist terms — should take precedence over all other considerations is both absurd and offensive: absurd because it would deny the ethical issues that surround these and similar materials; and offensive because it would overlook the possibility that the uploading and viewing of a lynching postcard or its equivalent, such as an ISIS video or Abu Ghraib photo, is itself a highly charged act, and not a neutral, 'scientific' procedure that DA-RT claims it to be.[3] If we were really being 'transparent' about the issues at stake, we would ask instead: Do the torture and suffering of the victims preserved in these photos and videos no longer matter when it comes to 'science?' In what ways do we risk reproducing the original intent of these photos, which was to commodify the torture and mutilation of black bodies and the violent foundations of white supremacy? To what extent does posting these images promote the same kind of voyeurism and spectatorship that led to their circulation in the first place? Some of these questions go far beyond DA-RT and that is also the point.[4] DA-RT sidelines critically important ethical issues about the very practices it promotes. DA-RT would have scholars treat these and similar artifacts as simply 'objects' of 'scientific' inquiry. A more reflexive science would ask instead whether such treatment is justifiable on ethical or moral grounds.

The debate over DA-RT has been rigged from the start. Proponents would have us believe that there is one path to greater 'scientific' rigor and that path is making our data publically available and our citations uniformly 'active.' But DA-RT will not 'lift all boats' because it is firmly grounded in a positivist view of science that does not recognize other ways of being transparent, such as the type of reflexivity that already characterizes most interpretive work (Pachirat, 2015). Indeed, in its quest to remake political science in its own image, DA-RT has already led some colleagues to spend hours drafting methods appendices that report procedures followed— not out of concerns for rigor, but out of fear of compliance with DA-RT-ish requirements at various journals. From an interpretive standpoint, a discussion of methods devoid of deep and honest reflection about how the actual research unfolded, and with what consequences for participants (if any), is not a move toward greater

transparency, but an act of obfuscation.

DA-RT is not the way to the (Over)Promised Land.[5] It is but one scholarly value among many. It has meaning and value for some research and research traditions, but not others, and as such, cannot stand as the single barometer for 'rigor' in the discipline. Who can say, for example, that DA-RT styled transparency is unequivocally more important than the relevance of political science research to real world problems (Isaac, 2015), the quality of writing across the discipline (Becker, 2007; Isaac, 2016), the need to encourage graduate students to push boundaries, rather than reproduce them (Parkinson and Wood, 2015), and the importance of instilling greater reflexivity in the discipline?

> Real transparency would involve acknowledging the systems of patron-client ties, nepotism, and old boy's networks that keep our institutions stuck in time, resistant to change from within, and impervious to social problems from without.

Who can say that the very problem that DA-RT itself has constructed is more pressing or real than the sobering realities of power and privilege that run through the discipline—the very kinds of power and privilege that presented DA-RT as a *fait accompli* in the first place (Isaac, 2016)? Who can say that transparency is a more pressing problem than the entrenched forms of structural and agentic power that shape who and what gets published, who gets hired and promoted, and which methods and methodologies become anointed as the new 'gold' standard?

The problem with DA-RT, in my view, including the quest to fix or improve DA-RT, is its diversionary power. What if we had spent the same time and energy we have debating DA-RT discussing instead the abhorrent lack of diversity in the academy? What if we had asked ourselves how a recent article could appear in the *Washington Post* with the title: "It's 2015. Where Are All the Black College Faculty?" (Strauss, 2015). Had we taken time out from signing DA-RT petitions to

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[3] I thank Sarah Parkinson for this point.

[4] As Timothy Pachirat pointed out to me, these very questions are at the crux of the debate among visual theorists such as Sontag (2003) and Linfield (2011).

[5] The term "Overpromised Land" comes from David K. Cohen. I thank Dvora Yanow for introducing me to it (personal communication, 31 December 2015).

read Valerie Strauss's piece, we would learn that 96% of black faculty hold tenure at Historically Black Colleges or Universities (HBCUs). We would have been confronted with Strauss's sobering conclusion that "If HBCUs disappeared, so would most of the nation's black academics." Had we spent our collective energies debating this problem, we might be one step closer to coming clean about our own power-laden practices and privileged worldviews. We might begin to see parts of ourselves in the kind of white supremacy celebrated and inscribed in the photographs that form the basis of Professor Wood's study.

Some might argue that issues of transparency within our scholarship and diversity within our ranks are two very different topics. That is exactly my point. The fact that one issue (DA-RT) is taking up all our time and the other (diversity) so little is exactly what is wrong with DA-RT. DA-RT is a political, not a 'scientific' project. Its hegemonic aspiration to reconfigure the discipline is a function of the social power of its backers and supporters. This is the power to set agendas, frame issues in particular ways, and endow some topics with supreme importance and others with none at all.[6]

A true effort at transparency, understood in the ethical sense, would start with a serious reckoning with who we really are. To look away from the ugly reality of a discipline that remains nearly all-white and highly privileged (read: out-of-touch) is to deny our own complicity in making and sustaining such a world. This is a world that is largely conservative and reactionary in its social and intellectual practices; a world that denies the humanity that must inhere in any science, lest that science become morally bankrupt (think Tuskegee syphilis experiment). Real transparency would involve acknowledging the systems of patron-client ties, nepotism, and old boy's networks that keep our institutions stuck in time, resistant to change from within, and impervious to social problems from without. Real transparency would have us ask how robust our knowledge base could be when our discipline sidelines and even excludes research and researchers who do not look like us, talk like us, or think like us. Real transparency would have us ask, as lynching apologists refused to do, Is this who we really want to be?

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[6]Bachrach and Baratz (1962) were making this same point over fifty years ago. I thank Timothy Pachirat for pointing me to this piece.

Transparency, Research Integrity and Multiple Methods

by Peter A. Hall

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Who could be opposed to transparency? Presumably only someone hostile to democracy, skeptical about motherhood, and allergic to apple pie. And there is something to be said for transparency, as thoughtful proponents of the DA-RT initiative have argued. No doubt this accounts for much of the momentum behind that initiative.

In my view, however, what social scientists should value most highly is not transparency, but the integrity of research, understood as research that reflects an honest and systematic search for truths about society, the economy, or politics. In its various dimensions, transparency is a means toward that end. But it is only one of several such means and, like most of them, its various modalities come laden with trade-offs. Therefore, as they seek to assure the integrity of research, the gatekeepers of the discipline should weigh the value of demanding certain kinds of transparency carefully against the costs of meeting those demands, and they should do so in light of the alternative means available for securing integrity.

We are not starting from ground-zero here. For some decades, the canons of good scholarship in political science, taught in all graduate schools and practiced by most scholars, have demanded a good deal of what is currently being described as analytic, production, and data transparency (Lupia and Elman, 2014). Scholars publishing empirical work in the discipline are generally asked by editors, reviewers, and readers to identify how their data was collected, how systematically and from where, with precise citations to the sources on which they base any contentious points. They are also called upon to spell out the logic behind their causal inferences and the scope conditions, in terms of familiar principles of case selection, inference in process analysis, and statistical estimation.

To the extent that the DA-RT initiative draws our attention to the importance of such matters, it has some value; and moderate steps to reinforce current practices should be welcomed. It makes sense, for example, to ensure that the citations supporting contentious claims reference specific pages and identify sources in terms that allow other scholars to find them (Trachtenberg, 2015). Published articles should specify the logic of inference which leads their authors to conclude that the data confirms or disconfirms their core propositions.

At issue today, however, is whether journals should demand more than this, notably, by requiring active citation in the form of links to excerpts from sources that are cited and notes explaining their relevance to the point at hand, by seeking appendices outlining in extensive detail how the observations bear on the argument, and by requiring authors to deposit in public digital repositories the source material on which a study is based, whether in the form of statistical data or qualitative material such as transcripts of interviews and documentary sources. Each of these measures has been suggested by some proponents of the DA-RT initiative, and it is now up to journal editors to decide what new requirements to impose on scholars submitting articles to them.

I will focus, in particular, on the requirement that the data gathered for a study be deposited in a publicly-available digital repository and that extensive notes about how the observations lead to the conclusions of the study be provided there or in an online appendix. Few would disagree with the desirability, where feasible, of making newly-collected data useful to other scholars available to them. APSA's *Ethics Guide* suggests that this should be done on a voluntary basis. The question is whether such steps should be required as a condition of publication.

This is where the issue of trade-offs comes in, and those trade-offs vary with the type of research being conducted. It may not be costly in terms of time or resources for an author whose work is based on statistical data gathered by others to include the data, meta-data, and estimation procedures used for the study in a public repository. Even a scholar who has spent some years assembling a new dataset should be encouraged to make it publicly available, as a recognized contribution of the research. But I think there are grounds for wondering whether the one-year time-frame for doing so now widely mooted as a requirement in the latter case is long enough to allow a young scholar to exploit the fruits of her own research before others with more time, resources, and job security do so. In my view, a three-year window seems more appropriate, especially if those who make their data available sooner are acknowledged for

doing so. Here, the potential cost is straightforward: if young scholars are not given ample time to publish on the basis of prodigious efforts at data collection, we will see fewer such efforts and the discipline as a whole will be the poorer for it.

However, the steepest trade-offs arise from requirements for the deposit of qualitative data — not only because it is more difficult to provide and prepare such data for deposit but because the gains to doing so are more meagre. Of course, much depends on the precise character of the qualitative research. But, compared to requirements for the deposit of quantitative data, the costs are greater and the gains smaller for virtually all types of qualitative data.

It is now widely-recognized that requirements for the public deposit of interview material would make qualitative research on topics of great personal or political sensitivity infeasible (Parkinson and Wood, 2015). However, even when the research topic is more prosaic, securing candid responses in interviews often requires offering respondents anonymity. Those doing research on the dynamics behind policy-making, for instance as I have, know that much will be left unsaid if respondents are not offered such anonymity; and securing their agreement to speak candidly is not as compatible with the deposit of interview transcripts as some assume.

A scholar whose study is based on twenty-five in-depth interviews that have been recorded in a digital format with respondents who have readily agreed to have their words used provided their identities are concealed may be able to put those audio files in a public repository with relative ease. But audio files do not adequately conceal identities and transcription is a costly process. Even when transcription is feasible and interviews are ostensibly anonymous, many potential respondents are going to worry that making a verbatim account of their interview publicly available will betray confidences or their identity.

Indeed, precisely for these reasons, many of the interviews qualitative researchers conduct are not recorded but written up in short-form or long-hand notes immediately afterward. Transcribing those notes for the sake of putting them in a public repository is a laborious process that offers little in the form of enhanced research integrity. In many cases, even when interviews are recorded, researchers often work from the audio

files rather than convert them into hundreds of pages of transcriptions. Requiring that all of those interviews be transcribed for digital deposit puts costly burdens on them. Those who have ample funds and research assistants for such tasks should be wary of imposing these requirements on resource-poor faculty members or graduate students in the name of some abstract principle of transparency.

Asking scholars who do qualitative research to put the documents on which their arguments are based into such a repository has a similarly sonorous — but empty — ring to it. In many cases, those documents will be from archives, whether publicly-accessible or private, that place limits on whether the materials can be deposited elsewhere. Anyone who has done such research knows that archivists can be extraordinarily proprietary about their materials, and the relationships one often has to build to secure access to the best materials can be destroyed if the latter are redistributed rather than simply consulted or selectively quoted. Providing clear citations to the relevant documents should be sufficient to allow others to follow up the research.

> Those who have ample funds and research assistants for such tasks should be wary of imposing these requirements on resource-poor faculty members or graduate students in the name of some abstract principle of transparency.

Given the burdens imposed by such requirements, one must ask: what does the other side of this trade-off look like? Precisely what would we gain from such requirements? Once again, the answer turns on the character of the research being done. I see an argument for requiring that the statistical data central to a study along with the protocols or meta-data necessary for analyzing it be made publicly-available (within an appropriate time-frame), not only because this is relatively easy, but because the core inferences in such studies often turn heavily on the results of estimations on that data. These are instances where the replication of the statistical results is relatively straightforward and judgements about the validity of the study are likely to turn on those results.

By contrast, the chain of inference in most studies based on qualitative research is much longer and more

complex. We would all like to find a 'smoking gun' but hardly anyone does. Instead, inferences are drawn from an accumulation of evidence, often of different types, such that examining a few interview transcripts or documents is not going to confirm or disconfirm the overall findings of the study. Indeed, many of the articles published from qualitative research are short-hand reports of larger projects in which the full panoply of evidence can be presented only in book form. The argument that the deposit of data will allow for ready replication does not hold for this kind of study, since replication would require another commensurate effort at field research. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the concept of replication is really meaningful for research of this type.

It makes more sense in the case of qualitative research to ask for enough information to allow for what Büthe and Jacobs (2015, 57) call 'replication-in-thought.' That is to say, scholars should provide enough information to permit readers to evaluate the processes of observation used in a study and to assess the overall reasoning leading from those observations to the conclusions. By and large, that task can be accomplished in the text and references of the article. Requiring the deposit of a multitude of documents or interview transcripts is not essential for this purpose; and the value of doing so is often overestimated given the extent to which the accurate interpretation of such materials depends on a lively knowledge of contextual factors that cannot readily be codified or deposited.

There are dangers in assuming that principles appropriate for quantitative research apply equally to qualitative research. It is surely appropriate to ask, in general terms, that both types of studies make the grounds for their causal inferences clear; and important work over the past two decades has improved the techniques for doing so when using qualitative methods (Brady and Collier, 2010; Mahoney, 2010). However, much of that literature points to the importance of handling the 'causal-process observations' in case-studies differently from the 'data-set observations' lying behind statistical studies (Collier, 2011). If the value of the latter is highly dependent on the quantity of observations available, the inferential value of the former turns more heavily on the quality of the observations, namely, the multiple ways in which they fit into a larger context (Bennett, 2008). Thus, effective comparative case-studies depend on observations married to a thick background knowledge that cannot readily be deposited in a library or fully

captured by active citation.

Of course, it is incumbent on those who draw conclusions from such research to report their basic logic of inference and how the principal observations underpin their core propositions. But calling on researchers who have made hundreds, if not thousands, of observations, often in the context of an extensive process analysis, to spell out the role that each of those observations plays in their inferences seeks something that is not only infeasible but misconstrued (Lupia and Elman, 2014, 33-34). It misrepresents as mechanical a process that involves complex forms of interpretation, in which each observation is weighed within the context of many others. Efforts to weigh the importance of every observation quickly make the text of an article cumbersome, rendering studies that might otherwise deserve a large audience virtually unreadable. The paradoxical effect would be to make major research findings less accessible just when the discipline is being asked to produce studies of interest to policy-makers and a wider public (Isaac, 2015). Demanding that such efforts be included in an online appendix, in effect asking qualitative researchers to write their articles twice — in short and then extended form — does not make the task any more feasible, as Fairfield's (2015) effort to do so indicates. The result can easily become a political science that smacks of scientism rather than science.

Where the conclusions of a study depend primarily on a quantitative analysis whose data and meta-data can readily be made available, there are strong arguments for asking scholars to do so (Lupia and Elman, 2014). But the relevant trade-offs for qualitative research are different. This does not mean that qualitative research is somehow less useful or less trustworthy. That kind of research allows the discipline to explore problems in the political world that are resistant to quantitative analysis or to delve more deeply into the causal mechanisms behind many political outcomes; and existing practices that require the authors of such studies to identify how they collected their data and why in aggregate it supports their inferences go a long way toward ensuring the integrity of what is published.

Indeed, before we enact an additional set of requirements that are especially onerous for scholars doing qualitative research and of dubious value for establishing its integrity, we should note that there are already significant mechanisms in place for promoting such in-

tegrity. Papers submitted for publication are generally reviewed by scholars familiar with the cases and issues addressed. I know from experience that these reviewers are a suspicious lot, prone to question any accounts that do not comport with their own deep knowledge of the cases. And then there is the test of time. Ours is a discipline organized around scientific research programs, in which each new study is questioned by scholars working on similar issues, whose investigations typically interrogate and revise the previous research. The consensus judgments in most fields rest on critical comparisons of studies of similar phenomena, which typically expose their limitations as well as their contributions.

For this process to operate well, researchers do not need access to the raw data on which a qualitative study is based but, rather, clear statements about the nature of that data, how it was collected, and why in aggregate it supports the core inferences of a study — of the sort that good journals have long demanded. The provision of such information allows scholars doing subsequent field research on these issues, in the same or parallel cases, to compare their findings to those of previous studies and to calibrate their own inferences in the light of prior research. This is the kind of 'practicable transparency' at which the discipline should aim and which it largely achieves.

These issues matter because there is a lot at stake here. Imposing a set of requirements that are especially onerous for scholars doing qualitative research, however well-intentioned, will discourage scholars from undertaking such research. That is especially true of requirements that force them to deposit the interviews they conduct and documents they collect in public repositories. It applies with lesser, albeit some, force to procedures for active citation unless these impose relatively-minimal requirements bearing only on the most crucial and contentious claims in a study. Younger scholars deciding what kind of research to conduct will find the costs of such requirements hardest to bear. The need to spend long months in the field, cajoling interviews out of people and taking notes from archival documents, already renders qualitative research more burdensome than many types of statistical research. Some may not lament the decline in the amount of qualitative research that steps to make such procedures mandatory are likely to precipitate, but I for one would miss the rich insights that this research tradition produces.

Of course, the discipline should demand, as it already does, that all empirical scholars conduct systematic research, cite with precision the sources on which they rely, and report the basis for their causal inferences. But imposing new requirements that put especially large burdens on scholars doing qualitative research without significantly enhancing the integrity of that research will ultimately weaken, rather than strengthen, the capacity of the discipline to identify and establish new truths about the political world.

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DA-RT and the Social Conditions of Knowledge Production in Political Science[1]

by Mala Htun

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Debating DA-RT should not be the only focus of comparative political scientists. We must also address the asymmetric conditions of knowledge production in the field. I come to this position after spending a great deal of my time and energy over the past eight months on DA-RT. I was one of the approximately two dozen scholars who wrote a letter to the APSA leadership in the summer of 2015 to request that APSA journals delay implementing DA-RT until broader agreement could be reached on what it meant to apply DA-RT to qualitative and multi-method research. Then I became part of a different group of some fifteen political scientists that sent a letter to the JETS editors requesting a modification of the DA-RT statement to clarify the journals' commitment to the protection of human subjects. Third, with five other colleagues I organized a signature campaign for a letter asking the JETS editors to delay implementing DA-RT until more consultation could occur about "the meaning and practicalities of transparency for different forms of qualitative empirical research." This letter was signed by 1,173 political scientists. Finally, those colleagues and I created the website Dialogue on DA-RT to facilitate an exchange of perspectives.

Why was I motivated to spend all that time on these various projects? DA-RT is fine in principle and transparency is good too, although others have raised important questions about whether the kind of transparency that is being discussed now is necessary (Isaac, 2015). In practice, however, DA-RT is potentially detrimental. I have been most concerned about DA-RT being applied by editors and reviewers not familiar with the ethical constraints and legal prohibitions involving human subject work in many contexts, especially in the absence of clear and consensual standards about data access and transparency appropriate to distinct research traditions.

Without broader understanding of these issues, DA-RT, particularly if it involves an overzealous and uninformed application of the data access requirement, has the potential to:

- Create incentives for authors to put human subjects at risk in order to get their work published.[2] Although proponents of DA-RT have insisted that no editor will ask an author to violate IRB requirements, cases already exist in which reviewers and editors have asked authors to make available their confidential transcripts and field notes as a condition of publication (Parkinson and Wood, 2015, 26). Editors and reviewers should recognize that researchers are in the best position to make ethical judgments about data access.

- Jeopardize ethical obligations that scholars have to their subjects, particularly in authoritarian regimes or situations of political violence (Monroe, 2015; Parkinson and Wood, 2015; Shih, 2015; Tripp, 2015), and make it more difficult for scholars to gain access to such subjects, for example, by putting at risk "the carefully cultivated networks of trust" scholars need to set up meetings (Cramer, 2015; Piscopo, 2015).

- Raise barriers to entry for a range of research involving qualitative and multi-method approaches (Büthe and Jacobs, 2015a). For example, the costs involved with referencing, scanning, and linking to every archival source document (Snyder, 2014), or with the anonymization of transcripts, may be prohibitive. The barriers to entry may be particularly acute at under-resourced institutions such as liberal arts colleges and for junior scholars (Piscopo, 2015).

- Discourage production of original data (Jones, 2015). Fewer scholars may be willing to incur the costs of providing this public good if the rest of the profession can reap the benefits without any expense or effort.

- Impose one interpretation of what counts as 'research' and what counts as 'data' on a profession with diverse approaches. Data access is relatively easy to facilitate

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[2] The JETS states: "If cited data are restricted …authors must notify the editor at the time of submission. The editor shall have full discretion to follow their journal's policy on restricted data, including declining to review the manuscript or granting an exemption with or without conditions." As the letter to the JETS editors, which was signed by some fifteen scholars who attended a pre-APSA workshop on DA-RT, puts it, this phrase "gives license to editors to refuse to review work that follows long-established mandates to protect human subjects …[and] creates incentives for authors seeking publication to violate their commitments to protect human subjects, while assigning the cost of such violations to the author, not to reviewers or editors."

if the 'data' consist of an Excel spreadsheet or Stata file. But for a significant number of scholars, research does not consist of 'extracting' information from the social world but is rather an "embodied, intersubjective, and inherently relational enterprise" (Pachirat, 2015, 30). It is hard to facilitate sharing raw data when 'data' exist, not in field notes or transcripts, but "in the act of spending time with and listening to people" (Cramer, 2015, 20).

Fortunately, civic mobilization around DA-RT has stimulated considerable discussion and raised awareness among journal editors. Editorial statements adopted after public deliberation on DA-RT, for example by the *American Political Science Review*, appear to have responded to some of the concerns expressed. In addition, APSA's section on Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (QMMR) is launching a deliberative process to consider and report on best practices related to transparency in different research communities. The QMMR section's deliberative process involves consultation with diverse groups throughout the discipline. It will identify the points on which people agree, and it will clarify the points on which they disagree. At least one important journal, *Comparative Political Studies*, has publicly stated that it will delay applying DA-RT to non-statistical research until the QMMR process has run its course. The results of the QMMR deliberations are sure to constitute a reference point for authors, reviewers, and editors throughout the discipline (and probably other disciplines).

We should all participate in these important processes. At the same time, we need to focus on other issues. Although it's important to regulate research, I would rather spend my time doing my own research, participating in important scholarly discussions, and stimulating and enabling others, particularly junior scholars and graduate students, to produce exciting and relevant research on pressing social and political problems in the U.S. and abroad. What is more, as Jeff Isaac points out, continuing to debate DA-RT runs the risk of reifying data access and research transparency as the most urgent issues facing political scientists (Isaac, 2016). They aren't. We have other, more pressing work to do.

The social conditions of research and the incentive structures in our profession have been worsening over the past few decades. Not all forms of inquiry are on an equal footing. The debate about DA-RT has put these problems into sharper relief, and an ardent application of data access and transparency standards without attention to the issues to be considered by the QMMR section's process will only make them worse.

For many departments, it is easier to put students in front of a computer terminal and try to teach them how to run regressions or build models than to send them into the field to practice ethnography, conduct interviews, interpret and code transcripts, or run a mock focus group. And it is easier for students to test hypotheses against existing datasets to gather original data. These departmental incentives create a tremendous loss to the discipline, as the Ph.D. phase is often the best opportunity that people have to spend long, uninterrupted periods in the field.

> DA-RT did not create the conditions of knowledge production in political science that encourage quantitative work and discourage qualitative and multi-method research, but neither does it mitigate these conditions. We need to move beyond DA-RT and tackle bigger questions of relative incentives, resources, costs, skills, and efforts.

Even for me, now a tenured full professor at an R1 university, the costs, skills, and effort involved in doing good qualitative and multi-method research are significant. Over time I have acquired important skills, such as how to take field notes, how to select and find people to interview, how to conduct an interview, how to moderate a focus group, how to code data, how to anonymize transcripts, how to handle data confidentially, and how to manage a research team, not to mention how to complete and submit an IRB application. I have, however, gained these skills in a haphazard and incomplete way. My own formal training on many of these issues, and my own training of students, has been inadequate. We are fortunate now to have the Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR) summer training program, but it serves only a minority of graduate students.

I went through these hoops, and encourage my students to do so, because I am convinced of the value of qualitative and multi-method research. Whereas I ap-

preciate the systematic patterns that large-*n* analysis can reveal, I believe that close contact with subjects and immersion in a context is necessary to produce the most valuable insights and revealing perspectives of social science.

Yet for those who have less sense of the rewards that can be balanced against the costs, or find themselves more ambivalent, the barriers to entry for qualitative and multi-method research, and gathering original data, may be discouragingly high. My fear, and that of many others, is that DA-RT could push such entry barriers higher (Büthe and Jacobs, 2015*b*). It is also likely to exacerbate inequalities in the discipline by increasing the costs of doing this kind of research (Piscopo, 2015).

A major barrier to scholars who want to gather original data, particularly abroad, is funding. At rich universities, there are pools of money available to help fund fieldwork for graduate students and faculty, even at the pre-dissertation and exploratory stages. In addition, the prestige of the university boosts the legitimacy of applications for external funding. Resource-challenged places have less money. Students and faculty are thus far more dependent on external funding, the sources for which are fewer in number today and more competitive.

Another barrier is IRB approval. The IRB process is critical to the protection of human subjects. But it can be difficult, since many political scientists lack familiarity with IRB language and methods (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2014). Many IRB applications are onerous and approval often evolves over a few iterations to correct errors in the original application and to answer staff and reviewer questions. It can take a long time. At the University of New Mexico, I know several students who were unable to do their research in the window they had planned (such as the summer) because of delays in IRB approval.

Finally, a great barrier is that the rewards to qualitative and multi-method research, as well as original data gathering, are potentially low, especially in the vast majority of departments that treat the quantity of articles published as a metric of accomplishment at tenure time. It is faster to produce articles based on the analysis of existing datasets or the development of formal models than it is to produce based on your own data. It is also faster for colleagues to evaluate your file by counting your publications than by reading them.

Fortunately, there are some concrete steps we can take to reduce the barriers to entry for original data gathering, research involving human subjects, and 'qualitative' work, although such measures will not be able to reduce greatly the tremendous inequality in resource endowments across universities and the disadvantage this places on the majority of the profession. Taking seriously the costs and rewards, however, may help raise awareness of the value of qualitative work and encourage reading over counting.

The first thing we can do is support, expand, and collaborate in the efforts of our colleagues in APSA's QMMR section to increase the quantity and quality of training on qualitative and multi-method research for political scientists. These include the IQMR summer training program mentioned earlier, which brings students in departments around the country into dialogue with one another and with the top scholars in the field; pre-APSA short courses, panels, and roundtables; and the dissemination of best practices through the bi-annual QMMR newsletter.

Second, we need to teach and require more courses on qualitative methods in our own departments and make sure these courses focus on data gathering. As Mahoney (2003) points out, training in methods of data gathering is distinct from training in methods of data analysis. My impression is that many political science graduate courses focus on the latter more than the former. In sociology, the opposite situation prevails (Mahoney, 2003). We need to emulate sociology's lead and add more material on data gathering.

Joe Soss's course at the University of Minnesota, for example, spends weeks on topics such as selecting and gaining access to research participants, focus groups and interviews, participant observation and ethnography, archival research, and field notes and transcripts. Tamara Kay's course in the sociology department at the University of New Mexico covers interviewing strategy and tactics, how to do an ethnography, how to transcribe an interview, how to moderate a focus group, how to conduct an experiment and experimental best practices, as well as analytical techniques, including how to use content analysis software such as ATLAS or Nvivo, and crucially, how to write up a methods section of a paper or a methods appendix. Students in Margaret Keck's course at Johns Hopkins discuss fieldwork, interviews, participant-observation, and research ethics.

It is important for these courses to address issues that may arise in the field related to gender, race, class, nationality, and sexual orientation. These include practical strategies to negotiate challenges that women, minorities, and/or LGBTI individuals may encounter, particularly involving threats to safety. It is also important to reflect on the ways that one's identity, and people's reactions to it, shape access to information and the experience of research (Henderson, 2009; Ortbals and Rincker, 2009; Townsend-Bell, 2009; Schwedler, 2006).

Right now, required methods courses in most departments focus only or primarily on quantitative methods. Advocates of this practice claim that we can't properly evaluate other scholars' work without such training. This position assumes implicitly that research based on qualitative methods can be appreciated intuitively without training. Yet the techniques covered by the courses mentioned above are not intuitive; they need to be taught or gained through years of experience.[3]

Courses on methods that we think of as 'qualitative' should be required of all graduate students. Such research constitutes an important part of political science; indeed, to a large extent all research, even that involving quantitative datasets, is based on qualitative inference (Büthe and Jacobs, 2015*b*; Moravcsik, 2014). But the more important reason is that political scientists need to have the tools to understand and evaluate diverse research traditions, not only their own. When departments offer these courses, it will lay the groundwork for more reading and not just counting during the evaluation of tenure files.

Third, we should develop and make public a manual on IRB submissions. The length of a standard IRB application can be overwhelming, particularly if one does not have a lot of experience. In our first submission to the University of New Mexico IRB, for example, my collaborators and I initially struggled, and then tapped our scholarly networks to see what people had said in answer to questions, for example, on the 'risks and benefits to subjects,' 'inclusion and exclusion criteria,' 'recruitment and screening,' 'quality control and quality assurance,' among others.

It would be a tremendous help to graduate students and faculty alike were an organization like the American Political Science Association or one of the research

sections to provide, on its website, guidelines for IRB submissions. The manual could include suggestions on a variety of topics such as what to include in informed consent documents, whether and under what conditions to request a waiver of consent documentation, how to discuss recruitment, risks, and benefits to subjects, and how to manage data to maintain subject confidentiality during analysis (such as creating pseudonyms, keeping a list of names in a locked cabinet separate from the data, and so forth), and other issues. Graduate students (and faculty) should not have to reinvent the wheel every time they submit an IRB.

DA-RT did not create the conditions of knowledge production in political science that encourage quantitative work and discourage qualitative and multi-method research, but neither does it mitigate these conditions. We need to tackle big questions of relative incentives, resources, costs, skills, and efforts. The world's problems and pressing questions demand analysis from a variety of perspectives and using multiple methods. Our job is to make sure our students and junior colleagues have what they need for this task.

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[3]I am grateful to Kendra Koivu for stressing this point.

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Area Studies and the Cost of Prematurely Implementing DA-RT

by Marc Lynch
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At the May 2015 annual meeting of the Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) at George Washington University, a plenary discussion convened to discuss the implications of the recently released Journal Editors Transparency Statement (JETS) signed by more than two dozen political science journal editors committing to new standards of data access and research transparency (DA-RT). Only one out of more than forty political scientists in attendance — including scholars versed in quantitative and qualitative methods, full professors and graduate students, even officers in APSA organized sections — had even heard of the DA-RT initiative. None had thought about how such blanket standards might affect their own research. All were horrified at the idea that such standards would come into effect in barely half a year with minimal input on their part, with a potentially major impact on their ability to publish in disciplinary journals.

Their response anticipated the intense public and private discussions about DA-RT which consumed the September 2015 annual conference of the APSA. The neglect of the concerns of scholars working in the developing world is perhaps explained by their near complete absence from the drafting process. Only three of the 34 named participants in the pivotal 2014 University of Michigan ICPSR workshop were comparativists specializing in any part of the non-Western world. Not a single political scientist specializing in the Middle East is identified as participating in any of the DA-RT deliberations listed on its website.[1] Scholars working on the Middle East have been grappling with issues related to data access, transparency, and research ethics for a long time (Lynch, 2014). They face issues common to many scholars working in authoritarian contexts and conflict zones (Parkinson and Wood, 2015; Fujii, 2012).

As both the director of POMEPS and a sitting member of the APSA Council, I support the call for a delay in the implementation of DA-RT standards that more

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[1]A very small number of such scholars did participate in private DA-RT workshops whose participant list is not available online. The list of workshops can be viewed at http://www.dartstatement.org/

than 1,200 political scientists have now signed.[2] The process to date has been insufficiently inclusive and deliberative, and it would be damaging to the discipline to prematurely implement standards that have not been fully vetted. Is there anything comparable in the history of political science of a top-down, rapid, multi-journal imposition of such a dramatic change in publication requirements? Fortunately, the year-long process for formal deliberation proposed by the former, current, and incoming Presidents of the APSA in a thoughtful recent statement offers a roadmap that could, if implemented appropriately, allow for the full inclusion of the petitioners' concerns in the process.[3]

As a scholar of Middle East politics, especially one deeply involved in policy debates, I see several issues that merit significantly more debate. Political scientists working in the Middle East have long been concerned about the protection of human subjects, and worry that new transparency requirements could go against painstakingly developed best practices. Most political scientists working in the region do not record interviews, for instance, because doing so will cause their interlocutors to heavily self-censor for fear of the recordings being used against them by omnipresent security services. To this point, Institutional Review Boards (IRB) have been the primary recourse for both supporters and critics of DA-RT. Critics warn that they legally cannot comply with the standards because of IRB restrictions, while supporters suggest that the standards could be waived when contradicted by a formal IRB mandate. This IRB-based discussion has been unsatisfying, however. IRB committees have widely divergent standards from institution to institution, however, and have not typically had positive associations for scholars working in the Middle East (Brown, 2014). IRBs often focus on the wrong issues, substituting bureaucratic checklists for the real challenges facing researchers and their interlocutors (Bhattacharya, 2014). There is also a real risk that, assurances aside, authors invoking IRB protections will be viewed as suspect or second-rate, subtly encouraging scholars to erode such protections in order to gain access to prestigious journals.

While necessary, IRB protections also do not substitute for a full discussion of research ethics and the complex requirements of protecting interlocutors in repressive, violent, and unpredictable contexts. The difficulty of guaranteeing confidentiality for materials deposited in a trusted repository are not hypothetical to those of us who conduct research in the Middle East and North Africa. Our interlocutors are often at deep personal risk of imprisonment, abuse, torture, or death at the hands of autocratic, repressive regimes. Conditions in such countries can change rapidly, and protections that seem exaggerated today may be essential tomorrow. In Egypt alone, at least three dozen people I have interviewed for research are currently in prison on political charges, often for critical statements or protest activities that seemed bold but safe during a revolutionary period of open politics but were criminalized following the July 2013 military coup. Details of seemingly safe interviews posted to a data repository in 2012 could easily now put other interlocutors at great personal risk. There is a reason that conflict-zone researchers go to extreme lengths to conceal identities of interview subjects: their lives could very well be at risk (Fujii, 2012). Any data archive which is accessible to peer reviewers could not be effectively inaccessible to prying governments seeking such information. Even worse, recent legal developments such as the opening of IRA oral histories deposited at Boston College raise important new doubts about such protections (Parkinson, 2014).

> While the implication of the JETS is that non-compliance will downgrade the reputation of non-DART journals and the research which appears in them, I suspect that the impact factor and quality of such journals will actually go up as top scholars unwilling or unable to comply with DA-RT requirements redirect their publications towards them.

A second concern raised by Middle East scholars is that DA-RT standards impose a genuinely burdensome amount of new work, particularly for ongoing projects begun under old standards (Saunders, 2014). Language, translation, and transliteration issues are not inconsiderable. For example, my active citation to an Arabic newspaper or video would be of little use to a

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[2] The petition, authored by Nancy Hirschmann, Mala Htun, Jane Mansbridge, Kathleen Thelen, Lisa Wedeen, and Elisabeth Wood can be found at http://dialogueondart.org

[3] The November 24, 2015, statement by Rodney Hero, Jennifer Hochschild, David Lake, and Steven Smith can be found at http://www.politicalsciencenow.com/data-access-and-research-transparency-initiative-da-rt/.

non-Arabic speaking reviewer, so does it become a best practice obligation that I fully translate the whole article? Must I transcribe and translate all of my interviews and interview notes, where in the past I kept them in my own files in the original Arabic? Who will pay for all of this time, effort, and archiving requirements, particularly for junior scholars or for scholars from institutions that lack the resources to subsidize such research practices (Kapiszewski and Kirilova, 2014)?

Scholars with long experience of research in the Middle East also raise serious questions about privileging the goal of reproducible results above other measures of valid and robust research.[4] My interview notes tell only part of any story developed through deep knowledge of local context, dense webs of interlocutors engaged over years, and immersion in distinctive narratives and interpretive worldviews. Of course any such scholar would include footnotes to specific quotes, tweets, or documents. But such 'smoking gun' quotes are only a window into a much broader process of interpretation rooted in years of deciphering political and interpretive context (Snyder, 2014). There are also deeper questions about the starting point for transparency to commence. Schwedler (2014) notes that transparency issues begin not with the construction or interpretation of a dataset but with the questions being asked and the methods chosen to study them. Would active citation or data repositories make transparent why a scholar chose to study the impact of drone strikes or the causes of Palestinian terrorism rather than some other topic?

One of the key arguments for DA-RT is that it is vital for the profession's public and policy engagement. But this is also one of its weakest legs. Public engagement by political scientists involves asking important questions relevant to the public policy arena, generating novel insights, presenting robust and compelling evidence, and communicating those insights and evidence quickly and effectively to relevant audiences (Druckman, 2015; Lynch, 2016). DA-RT has no impact at all on three of those four dimensions and could even have a negative impact if its requirements slow down publication times or deter scholars from asking certain types of questions or generating certain types of evidence. The strongest case for DA-RT's contribution to policy relevance lies with the third aspect, robust and compelling evidence, but even here there is (ironically) no

evidence to support the claim that DA-RT would in fact increase the credibility of political science's evidence-based claims. Policymakers and the engaged public do need to trust that journal editors and peer review have vetted research, but most are not particularly interested in the mechanics of the process by which that happens. There are more direct, useful ways to pursue the goal of policy relevance (Hochschild, 2015; Lupia and Aldrich, 2015; Lynch, 2016).

For all the sincere efforts to engage the concerns of qualitative scholars (Moravcsik, 2014; Elman and Kapiszewski, 2014), DA-RT poses much more profound conceptual and practical problems for qualitative researchers than it does for quantitative researchers. Whether intentional or not, the DA-RT standards will privilege some methodologies over others and influence publication patterns in the field. For quantitatively-oriented research communities, sharing data and code are relatively routinized practices associated with established norms. DA-RT actually asks more of qualitative scholars, for whom the 'thinking premium' and start-up costs for implementing DA-RT standards are much higher. This is not because they believe that such scholarship should not be held to standards of research transparency and analytical clarity. There has been an active caucus in the APSA working to advance such methodological standards for several years, and journals featuring qualitative research have long required high standards of research transparency.

One of the implications of the current process is likely to be the further distancing of disparate subfields and intellectual communities. While the implication of the JETS is that non-compliance will downgrade the reputation of non-DART journals and the research which appears in them, I suspect that the impact factor and quality of such journals will actually go up as top scholars unwilling or unable to comply with DA-RT requirements redirect their publications towards them. This may further encourage the fragmentation of the field.

Postponing DA-RT implementation to allow for a discipline-wide deliberative process makes eminent sense. There simply has not been adequate time or opportunity yet for such deliberation among all affected by these decisions, and there is little reason for a sense

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[4]These issues were discussed brilliantly by several scholars at the DA-RT special session at the September 2014 APSA conference; also see the essays in the 2015 QMMR Newsletter (Büthe and Jacobs, 2015).

of urgency about implementation. The January 2014 *PS: Political Science and Politics* DA-RT symposium effectively introduced the initiative, but there was little reason for others to expect that it had greater institutional standing than the many other similar symposia published on professional issues. The JETS was drafted at a private workshop in September 2014, and posted shortly thereafter (Elman and Lupia, 2015).[5] The maximum period of time in which political scientists could have realistically been aware of DA-RT before it was slated to come into effect, then, was fourteen months. In reality, the vast majority of political scientists became aware of DA-RT's implications only with the publication of Jeffrey Isaac's editorial statement in the June 2015 issue of *Perspectives on Politics*, six months before said implementation was set to begin (Isaac, 2015), with many key concerns circulated via the QMMR Newsletter (Büthe and Jacobs, 2015) in August 2015.

The intense formal and informal discussions of DA-RT in the September 2015 APSA conference halls should be the beginning, not the end, of a deliberative process. The process for consultation proposed by the APSA Presidents Letter, in my view, offers a path for doing so which is responsive to the petitioners calling for delay. Organized sections and diverse research constituencies should be fully engaged in this process. Concerned political scientists should take full advantage of this process, and the APSA leadership should for their part ensure that their arguments are fully included in an open, consultative deliberative process which does not prejudge the outcome. The call for more time to discuss a major change in the discipline that has not yet been fully vetted, discussed, or operationalized is well aligned with the normative principle of transparency. The current push for premature implementation risks turning a broadly consensual norm in favor of research transparency into a contested set of requirements that divides the discipline.

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[5] The statement can be viewed at http://www.dartstatement.org/

Avant-Garde or Dogmatic? DA-RT in the Mirror of the Social Sciences

by Rudra Sil and Guzmán Castro,

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with Anna Calasanti

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In defending the DA-RT initiative, Lupia and Elman (2014) argue: "For subfields that hold that inferential procedures are repeatable, openness is a necessary condition for replication. For these communities, replication of another's claims provides increased confidence in the validity of that work." On the surface, the statement seems innocuous and commonsensical. Indeed, it is almost a truism: For scholars who see replication as a basis for increased confidence in truth-claims, it makes sense to encourage data and analytic transparency. The problem is that social science writ large is composed of several disciplines encompassing a wide range of research communities that have different views on the meaning of 'transparency' and the possibility of genuine 'replication.' These views stem from epistemological priors on a range of foundational issues: what constitutes an objective 'science' of the social world and whether it is even possible; the nature of whatever boundary may exist between scientific and other truth claims; whether social science should be primarily oriented towards explanation, understanding, critique, or praxis; and what criteria might be employed to assess the value of a given research product. In effect, the debate over DA-RT in political science is embedded in a broader, long-standing, and ultimately unresolvable struggle over foundational questions that social scientists cannot 'sidestep,' as King, Keohane and Verba (1994) once asked us to do. Indeed, answers to these questions, however tentative, form the basis for significant epistemological diversity across research communities in various social science disciplines.

This matters because political science is not a hermetically sealed enterprise. Political scientists studying certain problems self-consciously engage audiences and form networks encompassing scholars from other disciplines. Many research traditions in political science proceed from assumptions that have less in common with each other than with those that undergird established approaches in other disciplines. This is particularly true for the field of comparative politics, where research is differentiated not only by method and substantive topic, but also by expertise in a given country or geographic area.[1] Such expertise is an asset for producing case studies and comparisons that speak to problems in political science, but it also gives rise to scholarly conversations and research networks that include anthropologists, historians, and sociologists. For this reason, comparativists may want to approach the DA-RT debate with one eye on how other social science disciplines have approached the notions of transparency and replication.

The American Anthropological Association's 2012 statement on ethics calls upon scholars to conduct research in a way that is ethical and transparent. At most, this translates into broad injunctions to 'do no harm' and to be 'open and honest about your work.' There is nothing resembling specific procedures or requirements related to data sharing or research transparency in any of the top-ranking journals such as the *American Ethnologist*, *Cultural Anthropology*, *Current Anthropology*, and the *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Importantly, this does not suggest a lack of interest in being systematic or rigorous in substantiating claims. *Cultural Anthropology*, for example, says this about submissions: "we are looking for works that offer conceptual reach and comparative relevance …offer a rigorous approach and clear argument …build arguments with claims proportional to data offered …[and] suggest a reflexive attentiveness to issues of research, design, and methodology" (see here). These expectations convey that the journal still falls within a broad frame that is 'scientific,' but without necessitating data sharing via repositories or treating replicability as a defining component of 'analytic rigor.' Thus, when a comparativist doing ethnographic research declares that "I do not consider making my field notes publicly available to be a professional duty or necessity" (Cramer, 2015, 18), DA-RT proponents ought to treat this not as a marginal view in political science,[2] but as standard operating procedure for a style

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[1] Despite cutbacks in federal funding for area studies (King, 2015), most comparativists continue to invest in expertise in some country/area, to attend meetings of area-based associations, and to publish some of their work in area-focused journals with cross-disciplinary readerships (Hanson, 2008; Sil, 2009). Of the 29 dissertations awarded the Gabriel Almond Prize for the Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics between 1990 and 2015, all but three showcased qualitative fieldwork in a single area (even if some also included statistical analyses or field experiments).

[2] In fact, we see nothing marginal about political scientists who do ethnographic work as showcased in Schatz (2009), which was awarded the Giovanni Sartori Prize in 2010 for the best book in qualitative methods.

of research that is found in other social science disciplines — and would be considered quite mainstream in one of them.

For their part, historians certainly embrace the idea that sources employed to construct historical narratives should be accessible to other researchers. This does not, however, involve specific injunctions, since most primary source material is in archives that other scholars can access. There is an expectation that historians *producing* new sources, such as recently compiled oral histories, make such materials available in an archive or library, but this is a far cry from requirements that qualitative data be digitized and deposited so as to facilitate replication. Yet, this does not imply any lack of interest in rigor or transparency. Trachtenberg (2015), a political scientist originally trained as a historian, notes that the DA-RT statement presumes a need for scholars to alter their research practices to be more transparent when, in reality, good historical work *already* does this through precise footnoting and the clear interpretation of data (Lustick, 1996). This point is echoed in Carpenter's (2015) report on deliberations of the editorial board at *Social Science History*: "many historians and historical social scientists, including purely narrative or 'qualitative' scholars, already observe an ethic of transparency and replicability in their work. By following the citations from footnotes to exact archival locations, it is possible to find the exact document or material object that a scholar was interpreting or analyzing." Carpenter also points out that efforts to further promote transparency through digitization would skew the playing field against junior scholars and against institutions with fewer resources available to subsidize the costs of replication. The general sense among historians and historically-minded social scientists seems to be that programmatic efforts such as DA-RT are, at best, unnecessary, and at worst, likely to generate costs that will unevenly affect the incentives, output, and prospects for many perfectly capable historians.

In sociology, while scholars are increasingly engaging in debates over transparency, there has been very little progress on this front. According to Kathleen Blee, Chair of the Publications Committee of the American Sociological Association, discussions in sociology may be situated as somewhere between those in anthropology and political science in terms of developing rules and procedures related to data access and transparency.[3] To the extent that there is more discussion than in the past, it is in part a reaction to the controversy surrounding Goffman's (2014) ethnographic study *On the Run* (Parry, 2015) and in part a means to preempt funding agencies moving to mandate elaborate rules for projects they support. Even so, this issue has been less divisive than in political science, in part because leading journals continue to adopt flexible and varied approaches. The American Sociological Association journals, including the top-ranked *American Sociological Review*, are being asked by the ASA's Subcommittee on Ethics Related to Research in Journal Articles, to stipulate only this: "For authors who …plan to share the data in this article with the larger scholarly community, please indicate how these data can be accessed …Since data sharing is optional, please skip this item if you do not plan to share your data publicly" (see here). Also significant is that the *American Journal of Sociology*, a highly ranked journal where much qualitative research is showcased, is not managed by the American Sociological Association and makes no reference to data access or transparency at the time of either submission or publication.

> In effect, the debate over DA-RT in political science is embedded in a broader, long-standing, and ultimately unresolvable struggle over foundational questions that social scientists cannot 'sidestep,' as King, Keohane and Verba (1994) once asked us to do.

This brings us to economics, the discipline where we find the greatest proportion of leading journals with submission requirements resembling those noted in the JETS. These requirements emerged in response to an article published three decades ago (Dewald, Thursby and Anderson, 1986) that took the discipline to task for allowing inadvertent errors to stand due to the lack of replication practices, with the specific recommendation that journal editors insist on data and computer code being deposited in a public archive in advance of publication. This policy came to be adopted in 1986 by the editorial board of the *American Economic Review (AER)*, which decided that papers would only be published if "the data used in the analysis are clearly and precisely documented, are readily available to any researcher for purposes of replication, and where details

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[3]Personal communication with Rudra Sil, via telephone, from the Department of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh, January 22, 2016.

of the computations sufficient to permit replication are provided" (see here). This policy remained unique to *AER* for nearly two decades before several other top economics journals, including *Econometrica* and the *Review of Economic Studies*, adopted their own variants of this policy encouraging the sharing of data and code.

At the same time, there has been no standardized effort, whether within or beyond the American Economics Association, to establish uniform procedures across the editorial boards of journals. Each journal that has adopted a policy regulating data sharing and replication has done so independently. Consequently, even among the top journals, we find significant variation. The *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, a top-five journal that ranked first in the 2015 journal citation report, has no specific requirements related to data or analytic transparency in advance of publication. *Econometrica* does have a replication policy, but half of that policy consists of statements about possible exceptions in situations where there may be 'practical difficulties' or where there may be a 'particularly complicated cases.' Going beyond the top-five journals, one study finds that 101 out of s sample of 141 journals in North America and Europe (70% of the sample) have no data sharing or replication policy of any sort (Vlaeminck, 2012).

Three additional points are worth noting. First, to the extent that economics as a discipline has claimed significant advances on major theoretical problems (Dobrescu, 2012), these have little to do with transparency or replicability. Second, research on the scholarly output of the discipline suggests that, even with the proliferation of data access policies, replication is still not very commonly practiced (McCullough, McGeary and Harrison, 2006). Those who see a problem in the discipline focus not on uniform rules or threats of censorship, but on whether there is a 'demand' for access to data and code because scholars invest more in replications and journals make more space to publish them (Cochrane, 2015). Third, and most important, even where replications are attempted, as Chang and Li (2015) sought to do for a sample of 59 articles from twelve top-ranked economics journals, fewer than half turned out to be replicable — and barely a third without assistance from the original authors! In general, as economist Francis Diebold puts it, informal social pressures — such as the reputational costs for those who repeatedly ignore requests for data and code — are more useful than

standard rules imposed from above. Diebold also notes that transparency and replicability norms emerged as a way to identify errors in quantitative analysis; there is no indication that economists view such norms as generalizable to other approaches across the discipline (e.g. theoretical economics).[4] Economics as a discipline neither insists on uniform rules on data-sharing and transparency, nor gives us reason to believe that such rules increase either the frequency of replications or the likelihood they would succeed.

Throughout the social sciences, we find research communities that have broad commitments to transparency and, sometimes, replicability. But, various research communities have quite different understandings of what these mean in terms of the design and evaluation of research. Against this backdrop, the adoption of DA-RT and JETS to advance objectives on which there is no consensus within or across social science disciplines feels less like an *avant-garde* move and more like the latest crusade to consolidate a familiar yet dogmatic vision of social science. In no other discipline do we see the main professional association explicitly encouraging leading scholarly journals — the majority of which it does not even publish — to adopt uniform procedures predicated on a very narrow conception of data access, transparency, and replicability. Yet, even among communities that embrace this conception, the net benefits of implementing DA-RT would at best bring a slight improvement beyond the status quo. As the experience of economics suggests, specific transparency policies help neither to incentivize replications nor to consistently replicate findings. And in political science, existing practices — peer review at the submission stage; critiques of published work; confrontations between rival arguments based on different empirics; and even replications based on the *voluntary* sharing of data and codes — already go a long way towards ensuring a more general ethos of transparency. And they do so without imposing disproportionate costs on a sizable portion of researchers in the discipline.

In inviting us to contribute to this symposium, the editors asked us to advance the discussion in 'a positive and constructive way.' The most positive and constructive suggestion we can offer is to leave the idea of transparency as an abstract, generalized ethos and refrain from translating it into a common set of rules and procedures to be policed through journals. It does

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[4]Personal communication with Rudra Sil, on the University of Pennsylvania campus, Philadelphia, PA. December 16, 2015.

not take an oracle to see that such rules and procedures would end up disproportionately favoring certain styles of research, at least in terms of opportunities for frequent publications in flagship journals and prospects for employment, promotion, and funding at leading departments. Worse, they would sharply delimit the kinds of questions scholars are willing to pose, the tools they invest in, and the research designs they pursue. In the end, there would be even less space for research based on data and procedures that cannot be cheaply, efficiently, or ethically shared in repositories in the way that quantitative data sets and computer codes can. Ironically, a project that has its roots in efforts to promote a pluralistic vision of shared standards for quantitative and qualitative research (King, Keohane and Verba, 1994; Brady and Collier, 2004) will have tilted the playing field heavily towards the former, relegating to the margins qualitative research that is not designed on the basis of a 'quantitative worldview' (McKeown, 2004).

The greatest cost would be borne by qualitative comparativists who invest in training and expertise (including language skills) required to grapple with archival materials or carry out fieldwork in complex social environments. For them, DA-RT would reduce the likelihood of professional rewards within their discipline while increasing the costs and challenges of publishing in leading journals — all from having to conform to requirements that many do not see as necessary or sufficient for delivering results that are definitively 'better.' In the end, one need not be an ethnographer to agree with Pachirat (2015, 27) that DA-RT is essentially "an increasingly institutionalized and 'incentivized' *interpretation* of transparency and openness, one which draws its strength from a specific, and contestable, vision of what political science has been — and, equally important — what it should become." Comparativists — *cave, hic dragones*.

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DA-RT: Aspirations and Anxieties

by Colin Elman

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and Arthur Lupia

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We are very grateful to the editors of the Comparative Politics Newsletter for arranging a well-balanced forum on the topic of transparency and openness, and for including scholars holding very different perspectives.

Several important issues arise when individuals or organizations consider how to instantiate transparency and openness principles in the form of concrete proposals. For example, what levels of evidence or explanation provide more benefits than costs to a knowledge community (Hall, 2016)? There are questions about the protection of human subjects. There are questions of ownership of data and ideas. While conversations about these and cognate topics have been occurring for many years and in many places, it is terrific to see the Comparative Politics Newsletter further extending these dialogues. In their best moments, these types of conversations can help diverse communities of scholars understand and appreciate the different ways of knowing that make social inquiry so effective. We are glad to have the opportunity to make a contribution to this latest iteration.

I. The Case for Openness

Social inquiry involves gathering and using information derived through engagement with the social world. Different research traditions use different kinds of evidence, analysis, and interpretation to create, exchange, and accumulate intersubjective knowledge claims. Notwithstanding this diversity, every scholarly community holds that knowledge-generation is process-dependent.

Research communities develop rules or norms about what constitutes knowledge in their particular tradition. In a given community, the rules or norms offer guidance on what can be gained from scholarship, and on what needs to be done to make assertions that the community sees as legitimate. These rules and norms also allow a community to comprehend and evaluate a particular piece of research. They provide foundations for answering questions such as 'Is the set of research tasks itemized by the scholar capable of producing the answers she is seeking?' and 'Was the research described in the design conducted appropriately?' These rules and norms empower conversations about whether this is work of a particular kind, and if so whether it was done well from the community's perspective.

The process-dependence of knowledge generation has a transparency corollary: if there are stable practices for properly conducting investigation and analysis, and if the legitimacy of a knowledge claim depends on those practices being followed, then the less you can see of the process, the less access you have to the context from which the knowledge claim has been derived. This corollary determines the nature of openness. Visibility and access are tied to the epistemic levers that produce the claim.[1] This type of frankness, then, can be sharply distinguished from simply dropping the name of a technique or source as the legitimating basis for intersubjective knowledge.

Of course, scholarship involves much more than just the epistemologies that underpin the claim to 'know' something. Research communities also have technological and sociological dimensions. Computers, for example, empower intensive algorithmic analysis. Archives allow for artifacts to be accessible to research communities. Field research is governed by ethical constraints and is also shaped by the institutional forms of IRBs. Nevertheless, the epistemic commitments reflected in a research community's rules and norms are at the center of the knowledge bases that they seek to build.

II. No 'One-Size- Fits-All'

Different types of scholarship are motivated and shaped by diverse theories of knowledge. Our communities observe different things. We think about what we observe in different ways. We draw different kinds of conclusions from our investigations.

It follows then that DA-RT expects that different research communities will achieve openness in diverse ways. How DA-RT principles are instantiated in particular research practices and journal policies will be informed by the interests and concerns of local research communities. DA-RT is intended to enable scholars to demonstrate the qualities of their work in ways that are suitable to research of the type they conduct, and to em-

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[1] We explore the themes discussed in this section in Lupia and Elman (2014) and Elman and Kapiszewski (2014).

power research communities to celebrate work that is done well.

Accordingly, we can say unequivocally that anyone attempting to attach a procrustean, one-size-fits-all view of transparency to DA-RT either isn't paying attention to what we have been doing or is purposefully misrepresenting the project.

One of the most inspiring aspects of the first five years of DA-RT was the genuine willingness to listen and learn exhibited by participants representing a wide range of perspectives and epistemologies. Across many research traditions, there is a consensus that increased intersubjectivity, understandability, and evaluability are virtues that can be enhanced by openness. This consensus underpinned a truly joyful multi-year conversation among people who held very different views about what constitutes scholarship.

Perhaps the most distressing aspect of the last nine months has been how quickly some members of our discipline have managed to take what was a broadly inclusive and constructive conversation about how to better evaluate diverse kinds of work, and turn it into a filibustering rerun of some very old and tired methodological battles. Of course, disagreement is expected. Our discipline is fragmented, and some of the cleavages are irreducible and fractious. Moreover, some of these conflicts attach to the *raison d'être* for different traditions, conversations about how to evaluate what 'we' and 'others' claim to know. Nevertheless, we cannot stress the following point too strongly: most of these epistemic divisions are almost entirely irrelevant to DA-RT.

DA-RT acknowledges (and is entirely comfortable with) the existence of cleavages in our discipline by allowing openness to be shaped by research communities. It does so without favoring any particular side. In contrast to one popular but deeply misguided claim, DA-RT is neither a brief for quantitative and experimental approaches, nor a critique of qualitative and interpretive work. Beyond its commitment to the potential virtues of greater openness about processes and contexts that produce knowledge claims, DA-RT has no stake in any specific set of rules or what type of claims they produce. For this reason, we encourage people to focus on how to empower scholars to offer greater context about their work and, by so doing, give others greater access to its

meaning. In this sense, we agree with Htun's (2016) suggestions about constructive next steps that scholars can take to produce work that is of great value to others.

III. A Few Words About The Actual Content of DA-RT Policies

We have been dismayed by the strawman characterizations of DA-RT as imposing a categorical openness requirement that outranks all other concerns. These portrayals directly contradict the utterly unambiguous plain text reading of the source documents that DA-RT has produced. To be sure, DA-RT is based on the broad and epistemically neutral consensus that the content of empirical social inquiry depends on the processes that produce it. Offering others access to these processes makes conclusions of social inquiry more understandable, more evaluable, and more usable.

> Accordingly, we can say unequivocally that anyone attempting to attach a procrustean, one-size-fits-all view of transparency to DA-RT either isn't paying attention to what we have been doing or is purposefully misrepresenting the project.

Notwithstanding this broad principle, DA-RT explicitly envisions mechanisms for seeking balance between competing and irreducible considerations. While increasing openness may enhance understandability and evaluability, there may be ethical, legal, and logistical reasons to limit what is shared. Accordingly, some of the universal claims made by DA-RT skeptics are very puzzling. Take, for example, the idea that scholars undertaking field research will always have to share their field notes. That idea didn't come from us. In fact, the importance of human subjects concerns has been baked into DA-RT since its origin in 2010. Our conception of DA-RT realizes that the type and context of research will affect communities' choices about how openness is achieved and about how much openness is optimal. This point is not negotiable.

That said, it is worth considering why so much misinformation about DA-RT has been circulating. A number of commentators on DA-RT have responded and contributed to hearsay, rumor, and gossip, rather than to what the documents actually say. For this reason, we

were especially pleased that the newsletter editors decided to include several source documents in this forum for readers to consider.

There are only two formal policies stemming from DA-RT activities. The first policy is a revision to *APSA's Guide to Professional Ethics in Political Science*, the responsibility for which rests with APSA's standing Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights, and Freedoms. The revisions, which apply to APSA generally, were the product of an extended and broad consultation with a variety of APSA members. The APSA Council approved these changes by acclamation. The changes to the *Ethics Guide* were followed up by APSA-commissioned discussion documents whose purpose was to clarify different kinds of guidelines that might be considered by different research communities.

The second policy was in part catalyzed by the changes to the *APSA Ethics Guide* and the subsequent discussion documents, but is otherwise wholly separate. The Journal Editors Transparency Statement (JETS) arose after a lengthy conversation amongst the first group of signing journal editors. JETS applies only to participating journals, most of which are not APSA publications.

IV. Engagement and Inclusion

To claims by some critics that these policies were sprung on them without notice or an invitation to participate, we say the following: one can't be an APSA member since 2010 and claim that APSA did not try to make them aware of DA-RT activities or invite them to relevant events. Most DA-RT activities were organized at the request of, or in coordination with, APSA leadership and staff. As a result, information about these efforts has been freely available for years and has frequently been brought to the discipline's attention. This publicity goes back to the drafting of the changes to the *Ethics Guide*, an endeavor that took place over several years, and involved several APSA committees, including most notably multiple interactions with the APSA Council. The entire APSA membership was invited to comment on the drafting of the *Ethics Guide* changes.

In addition, over the years there have been many

public events focused on DA-RT activities. APSA, in particular, made considerable effort to publicize most of these events before, during, and after they occurred. The January 2014 issue of *PS: Political Science and Politics*, which included several DA-RT articles, was developed in response to requests about implications of the *Ethics Guide* changes. Pretty much every mode of communication short of carrier pigeons available to APSA (e.g. journal publication, email, website) have been used to draw attention to DA-RT and then the JETS.

It is also worth noting that some outreach focused explicitly on qualitative and interpretive groups. For example, a double-header roundtable series at APSA 2013 was the subject of a single-topic email sent to approximately 850 members of the QMMR section (including, incidentally, many of the 'delay DA-RT' petition signatories). The text of the email included the sentence "it is important for qualitative researchers to participate in the dialogue, so that it includes our interests and concerns."

We now know that despite these efforts many people were not paying attention to the discipline's DA-RT activities. A related example might place this aspect of DA-RT's history into clearer perspective. As Lynch (2016) notes, "intense public and private discussions about DA-RT …consumed the September 2015 annual conference of the APSA." A main theme at many of these meetings centered on concerns about whether increased transparency could endanger human subjects in vulnerable situations. Many people made heartfelt appeals on this point.[2]

At the same conference, there was an all member meeting on "Revising Ethics Guidelines for Human Subjects Research." APSA heavily publicized the meeting in the conference programs. It posted signs throughout the conference venue. The all-member meeting was scheduled in the early afternoon on Saturday, when most people were still at the conference site. Many of the documents emphasized this "APSA MEMBER DISCUSSION." This event was one of only a few of the events at the conference with such a designation. Given the many claims made about human subjects protection in the many private and public discussions about DA-RT to which Lynch refers, APSA reserved a room for

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[2]All of the editors with whom we have ever spoken are sensitive to this matter. In fact, as we note below, attending to this concern has been baked into DA-RT from the outset, and the JETS editors and editorial boards have been working to find a balance between transparency and ethics that fit the values of the research communities that they serve.

the gathering — a room that could seat about 40 people with space for others to stand if necessary. One of us attended the entire meeting, wanting to learn more about the discipline's interest in making real and concrete progress on human subjects concerns — including the concerns voiced repeatedly by DA-RT critics. In this large room, for the duration of the time reserved for the all member meeting, there were never more than eight people in attendance. Six people stayed for the entire meeting, one or two more wandered in and out.

Our belief, and this is all that it is, is that many members believe that human subjects protection, like transparency, is an important principle. Yet, until and unless there is a concrete proposal on the table, neither is a topic to which most people choose to devote their attention. Our experience before and after the JETS certainly bears this out.

So, we do not blame anyone for not being involved in earlier DA-RT activities. We understand that the professional incentives for attending to such matters are low for many people. At the same time, there is a very big difference between not being invited to participate in a conversation and choosing not to participate in a conversation to which one has been repeatedly invited.

Going forward, now that more people are paying attention to DA-RT, we hope that everyone can agree that it will make for a more productive conversation if we all engage with what the project has actually produced, and not a comic book version of it. We readily acknowledge that DA-RT is an ongoing process that will benefit greatly from the broader engagement of the larger group of scholars who now appear to be paying attention. But we hope that people will be as attentive to evidence and argument as they would want members of their own research communities to be when working on substantive problems and puzzles.

V. Journal Editors and their Constituents

Many of the interlocutors in DA-RT discussions have been academics for decades. They have interacted with journals and journal editors more times than we have

had hot dinners. Indeed, several of them have been journal editors and/or editorial board members. We are, therefore, truly puzzled at some of the characterizations of how DA-RT led to the JETS, and how the JETS affects relationships between editors and authors.

The JETS *does not usurp* editorial powers. It does not force editors to do anything. The JETS is a coordination mechanism, where journal editors express a common resolve to address transparency issues. On this point, it is important to note that editors signed onto the JETS because they wanted to. They joined JETS because doing so helped them achieve an aspiration for their journal.

Moreover, to sign on to the JETS, many of the editors sought and received the assent of their editorial boards. As a result, the claim that only 27 scholars signed the statement is misleading. With the exception of a few journals where the editor acts as a serial autocrat, the JETS was endorsed by editorial boards and not just by editors.[3]

> One of the oddest features of recent contributions by several DA-RT skeptics …is a steadfast belief that the most reliable guide for how best to conduct and represent research in the future is how it was done in the past.

Similarly, the JETS *does not augment* editorial powers. As before, journal editors decide what combinations of premises, evidence, methods, conclusions, and interpretations they will accept. This contrasts with the claim by a number of DA-RT skeptics that the JETS gives editors new authority.

The most prominent version of this misunderstanding is manifest in the way that some skeptics have reacted to the first JETS bullet point, part of which is quoted here: "If cited data are restricted (e.g., classified, require confidentiality protections, were obtained under a non-disclosure agreement, or have inherent logistical constraints), authors must notify the editor at

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[3]Still, some may want more information on how journals came to sign onto the JETS. Here it is. In a twelve day period in October 2014, we sent a single inquiry to the listed editors of about 40 journals. (We learned that many journals' websites were out of date on this matter.) Any follow-up conversation was initiated by the editors. One journal, *Perspectives on Politics*, said "no" right away. Many others said "yes" after consulting with their editorial boards. Others never responded. After that, several other journals reached out to us and asked to sign. We accepted all of these inquiries. In sum, editors signed the JETS because it helped them to clarify their practices and achieve their existing aspirations.

the time of submission. *The editor shall have full discretion to follow their journal's policy on restricted data, including declining to review the manuscript or granting an exemption with or without conditions.* The editor shall inform the author of that decision prior to review." Some scholars who conduct ethnographic research on vulnerable populations have read this section, and especially the italicized sentence, as giving editors a new power to insist that authors ignore their ethical and legal obligations to human subjects. Their view is that authors, and not the editors, should be able to determine when and with whom the evidence for their claim is shared.

It is surely worth noting that the discretion to follow their journal's own policy *is the same freedom the editors have always had.* The reason why the sentence allows for different responses depending on the journal's policy is that research traditions use different kinds of data for different kinds of analysis. For some approaches, data can be rendered more shareable using de-identification, masking, or similar strategies. For editors who commonly receive manuscripts of that type, they want to retain the authority to investigate whether a (albeit diminished) view of the data can be provided. In other research traditions, different strategies are available. This acknowledgement of diversity is consistent with DA-RT's long-standing commitment to allow different research traditions to follow their own rules and norms.

The practical upshot of this diversity is that for scholars engaging with vulnerable populations very little is likely to change. Most journals fit within one or a few fairly well-defined research traditions, and hence publish for particular audiences. Authors, editors, and audiences in that community understand the well-known and widely shared norms on what is acceptable practice. It follows that problems are only likely to arise where there is a mismatch of expectations between author and editor — a mismatch that DA-RT does not create. We can imagine three scenarios where such a mismatch might arise, and hence where, for example, an ethnographer might come under inappropriate pressure to disclose.

1. An author could send their manuscript to an out-of-brackets journal, i.e. a journal that does not typically speak to their audience, and hence is ignorant of the relevant norms. This could, for example, be the case when a hard-core political

methodology journal is on the brink of publishing an ethnography, but intimates it may not do so because of concerns about data access. We do not think this is a counterfactual that arises very often, however, not least because the mismatch in this out-of-brackets scenario runs much deeper than differences of opinion about openness.

2. Perhaps a little more realistically, the author could send their manuscript to a pluralist journal that services a very diffuse set of traditions. We would hope that the editorial team for such a journal would include people with the requisite diversity of background and skills, and hence a familiarity with the relevant research community's rules and norms. Indeed, in this context, bringing matters of openness out into the open, as the JETS does, provides another lever for pluralists to insist that editors of discipline-wide journals be attentive to all of its audiences.

3. Most realistically, a particular research community may not have a well-articulated sense of what is and is not appropriate. To be sure, there may be research communities that need to be more upfront about why they know what they claim to know and what evidence would be needed to persuade desired end-users of the same result. But for research communities that find themselves in this position, the issues pertaining to publishing a certain type of work run much deeper than transparency.

Our skepticism about the likelihood of mismatched expectations is borne out by the paucity of evidence that any unreasonable demands have been made. We have been having this conversation for more than five years. In all of that time we have never been presented with evidence of an identifiable case of a journal editor making an inappropriate request for data, let alone refusing to review or publish a manuscript on the basis that the author refused to provide this information. We know that hearsay on this topic circulates widely, but we have never seen a shred of evidence from an actual case.

To this end, it would be helpful for scholars who feel as if they are being asked to cross an ethical line to share with others the exact requests that are being made of them. To see what we are suggesting, in 2005, James Fowler, then an assistant professor, posted to a political

science discussion group a quote from a rejection letter he had received (see here). The letter said that the journal was no longer accepting formal theory papers without empirical work. The editor furthermore attributed the policy change to the EITM program. Fowler's post reached EITM's leadership. EITM's leadership was able to clarify that the journal's policy did not reflect their teachings or position. This clarification helped the journal's research community to voice its objections to the policy. As a result of this process, the policy change was quickly abandoned.[4]

If scholars — especially junior scholars — share their tangible experiences now, senior scholars can be a resource in consulting with journal editors where appropriate about the unintended consequences of the request, they can clarify to the scholar why they have misinterpreted the request, or they can do both. Having never seen one of these requests, we offer no judgment about whether and how many there have been. We have no factual basis for saying whether any such instances involve ethical overreach or an author's misinterpretation of an editor's request. To this end, we think that it is important for research communities not to reify stories of mismatched expectations until we know more about their actual content.

> DA-RT's goals are only viable if they result from each research community having an open conversation about their respective standards. Transparency can only be sustainable within a research community if it has honest discussions about the kinds of explanations that it is willing to accept.

As a historical note, we will also add that some scholars have sought to tie these stories about inappropriate requests to the JETS. The problem with these stories is that *they began to circulate well before most JETS journals announced or implemented new policies*. That said, if we focus on documented instances of the problem, the discipline will benefit from addressing it directly.

In sum, prior to DA-RT and the JETS, journal editors had the power to determine the types of manuscripts that they would accept and reject, as well as the type of documentation that they would require for published knowledge claims. Some editors are given power similar to serial autocrats over such matters, others make such decisions in consultation with editorial boards. In the same way that Oz never did give nothing to the Tin Man that he didn't already have[5], the JETS gives no new powers to editors. Instead, it represents their joint commitment to clarify decisions that they are making and want to make.

Going forward, DA-RT and the JETS will be carried out in ways that are consistent with the expectations of the research communities that the different journals serve. Any rules that an editor or editorial board adopts will in part be guided by what it typically publishes. To be sure, journals that publish multiple types of research must be sensitive to a broader range of concerns. Indeed, as we can now see, different JETS participants have made different choices about what to require, with the differences informed by the research communities they traditionally service.

In that spirit, we recognize that both the changes to the APSA's *Ethics Guide* and the JETS are focal moments in our discipline's conversation about how we know what we know. They are the result of years of consultation at dozens of public fora in which hundreds of scholars from different research traditions participated. And until last summer, the DA-RT project largely avoided the type of animus that characterized a number of other activities in the discipline.

The JETS changed the stakes. To the editors, the JETS is a concrete proposal written as a means of clarifying decisions that they were already empowered to make. The JETS provided editors with an opportunity to exchange ideas and learn from one another's experiences. The JETS represents a set of principles on which they could agree.

To others, the JETS represented other things. We have seen, and learned a great deal from, reasonable commentary about topics not covered in the JETS or about possible negative consequences of interpreting the JETS in particular ways. We have also seen multiple

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[4]A similar effort was recently sparked by a rejection letter from the BMJ (see here).
[5]This language borrows from America. 1974. 'Tin Man.' Holiday. Warner Brothers Records, Inc.

conspiracy theories, enemy narratives, and speculation about others' motives –– endeavors that seldom elevate scholarly debate and do not, in this case, merit a response. The debate about DA-RT and the JETS has brought out both high and low forms of discourse.

There is no doubt that by committing their journals to openness, the editors who signed the JETS have made the transparency conversation more immediate and more consequential for the discipline. Partly as a result of this, many more people are now engaging in the discussion, and bringing their expertise and experience to the table. This is a very welcome development, and one that is entirely consistent with the DA-RT project's long-standing commitment to outreach and engagement.

We hope that the increase in attention to openness, and especially the recent interest of more qualitative and interpretive scholars, will enhance and sustain the ongoing substantive dialogue about transparency. We invite those who are more skeptical of DA-RT and of journals' adoption of transparency requirements to learn about the history and content of the DA-RT project by reviewing the text and materials on the DA-RT web site. And we urge them to generate and join in conversations about how to address the challenging aspects of making social science research more transparent.

VI. Change is Not a Threat

The notion that scholarship is, at its core, epistemically-motivated compliance with community understandings is not new. Nor is the claim that process-dependent knowledge is only fully intersubjective to the extent that the guidelines the scholar used are public, and that she includes information about whether and how they were followed. Representations of social inquiry have always included markers to this effect. To be sure, different research traditions offer different types of signposts, but they invariably articulate the reason for the research project and an account of its conduct. DA-RT is suggesting that there are unrealized opportunities to achieve those goals more effectively, and in ways that would have hitherto been impossible or uneconomic.

One of the oddest features of recent contributions

by several DA-RT skeptics, by contrast, is a steadfast belief that the most reliable guide for how best to conduct and represent research in the future is how it was done in the past. At base, this unqualified faith in tradition is a claim that transparency has always been as good as it needs to be, and that that there has been nothing in recent societal or technological changes, or in the development of scholarly infrastructure and related practices, that would empower improvements in openness.

To be sure, we are both old enough to appreciate curmudgeonly reflections of the kind shared by Monty Python's Four Yorkshiremen, and the days when there "were a hundred and sixty of us living in a small shoebox in the middle of the road."[6] But this indulgence comes with a substantial cost. It means eschewing any potential gains from the now near-ubiquitous modern technology that provides an unparalleled ability to both generate and share information. Research data, documentation, and publications can now be stored, indexed, searched, and downloaded with an ease and immediacy that would have been previously inconceivable.

One example of better technology empowering enhanced openness is the promise of improved citation practices. Modern scholarly knowledge claims are now most often conveyed between researchers in digital formats (even the masters for almost all newly produced paper texts exist in digital form). The days when the primary way to locate an article was in a volume that was chronologically arranged on a library shelf are mostly over. One of the most significant building blocks in new capabilities in information management has been the development of permanent identifiers, notably Digital Object Identifiers (DOIs), which provide stable, persistent, and resolvable references.[7] Publishers commonly assign DOIs to articles, and downloads from journal websites are typically accompanied by an instruction to use them when citing. Most political science journals with a qualitative lean, however, use traditional citation practices that were designed when knowledge claims were printed on bound paper. Indeed, the advice given by some traditionalists on how to improve citation practices is made in just those terms, for example suggesting that accuracy consists of providing page numbers. This is of course partially true but, in the context of what is currently possible, imperfectly reflects the kind of

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[6]The sketch was popularized by Monty Python, but actually originated on the "At Last the 1948 Show," a 1967 television program on the BBC.

[7]http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2015/04/23/digital-object-identifiers-stability-for-citations/

precision now available (and of considerable potential benefit) to many authors.

The final point to mention about change is that, in the long run, social scientists are unlikely to have the option of remaining 'analog players in a digital world.' Evolving communication and other technologies, as well as more general societal trends, mean that many research processes and publications are going to be more accessible. Accordingly, for most scholarly communities a more productive strategy would be to grasp the opportunity to shape the forms that transparency will take so that they match their community's epistemic needs.

VII. Conclusion

We conclude by expressing our heartfelt admiration for the individual scholars, journal editors, and institutions who have contributed to the lively and promising conversations in political science about sharing data and pursuing research transparency. The conversation of course is oriented around an important milestone: the editors of 27 journals committed to clarifying their publication's expectations about data access and research transparency (DA-RT). The editors deserve the discipline's thanks and respect for willingly promoting, and graciously accepting the burden of instantiating, openness.

The journal editors' commitment is a milestone; however, it is not the end of the journey. As the discipline's journals and research communities gain more experience with openness, further clarifications and improvements are sure to follow. This growth is all the more likely now that transparency has sparked the interest of scholars across the discipline. This broad engagement has always been a necessary condition for DA-RT to achieve its original vision.

We strongly believe that political science's epistemic pluralism and variety of methodological approaches should be celebrated as a source of strength. Similarly, from the outset, we have argued that there must and will be multiple ways to pursue and achieve transparency. Hence, DA-RT's goals are only viable if they result from each research community having an open conversation about their respective standards. Transparency can only be sustainable within a research community if it has honest discussions about the kinds of explanations

that it is willing to accept.

Indeed, each research community in our discipline that promulgates empirical-based knowledge claims regularly articulates rationales for others to view their claims as credible and legitimate. Because of the different audiences that political scientists seek to reach and the different ways in which communities produce knowledge, these rationales and the way they are communicated will vary widely. This diversity makes it all the more important that we be clear about our standards and that we seek to communicate them to others as clearly as we can. Not doing so limits the extent to which we can truly understand and access the meaning of one another's claims. This limitation in turn compromises our ability to learn important lessons from our discipline's variety of epistemologies and methods. Being compromised in this way reduces our ability to inform our discipline's actual and potential constituents, and our ability to provide them with insights that they can use to improve the quality of life.

Our capacity to be of service to others is why it is critical for our discipline, and different research communities within it, to discuss issues of transparency in many different venues. The emergence of a concrete proposal (JETS) brought new attention and energy to these discussions. The JETS and the events that it catalyzed are now a focal element of conversations about how the discipline can better serve its various constituencies in the coming years. The topic is also drawing a lot of attention from outside the discipline. While many disciplines are having discussions about transparency, few are having it in domains that have our brand of epistemic and methodological diversity. In many respects, our discipline is seen as a leader in how we are managing this issue.

Hence, January 15, 2016, the date featured in the JETS, is an important date: it led people to focus on the topic of transparency and on attempting to develop and clarify policies for making decisions that journal editors were already being forced to make. Yet, this date neither begins nor ends a conversation. All journal editors to whom we have spoken understand that there is still much to learn about how best to balance the costs and benefits of data sharing and research transparency for our discipline's vibrant and diverse collection of research communities. Like many people who have taken different positions on particular elements of ongoing

transparency discussions, we believe that these conversations can help the discipline as a whole have a greater social impact than it does today. These are difficult issues that require the ideas and focus of many minds to address. For that reason, we are grateful to everyone who is participating in these conversations. Our discipline has important differences that, if effectively capitalized on, make us stronger: we are much better together than we are apart. Thank you for your consideration and thank you for the contributions that you make to teaching, research, and public service.

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CPS Editors' Response to DA-RT Symposium

by Ben Ansell
Oxford University
and David Samuels
University of Minnesota

The DA-RT initiative was well-intentioned, but we found its implementation to be a challenge. After signing the Joint Editorial Transparency Statement (JETS), we consulted with our editorial board, seeking suggestions for best practices for qualitative research. The responses raised several issues we had not considered. Our experience trying to develop rules, guidelines, and procedures for authors to follow — particularly for authors of work with qualitative empirics — has revealed that moving from principles to practice will be much more difficult than we believe the originators of DA-RT and the signatories of the JETS had envisaged.

In response to the issues our board members raised, we decided to delay implementing any requirements for scholars of qualitative work until clearer 'best practices' have been developed, disseminated, and received with some consensus in the field. Many editors who signed the JETS edit journals that receive few qualitative submissions. These editors can largely continue doing what they have already been doing for several years: require authors of quantitative research to deposit replication files. Since *CPS* (rightly) has the reputation of being a mostly-quantitative journal, and since on taking over the journal in September 2013 we also began requiring receipt of (quantitative) replication materials before beginning the publication process, one might have imagined we would have had a similarly smooth experience implementing the DA-RT initiative.

However, *CPS* does in fact receive and publish many qualitative articles — and we would like to receive more — and it quickly became apparent to us that no simple analog existed that might 'replicate' the experience of quantitative data transparency for qualitative submissions. In particular, we found that no clear set of 'best practices' existed to which we might point qualitative scholars. We did seek to draw upon the published suggestions for data access and research transparency that many qualitative scholars have made, but it became clear to us that for some methods, few suggestions for concrete practices had been made — and that in any case, nothing close to consensus about best practices

existed.

This lack of consensus is problematic for authors and editors alike. Many opponents of the DA-RT initiative have interpreted it as a maximalist effort to impose requirements on qualitative scholars. Several contributors to this forum have raised concerns that obeying the 'letter of the law' would mean authors would have to compile and transcribe hours of oral recordings, link all quotes through active citation, and receive agreement from all interviewees that their conversations could be uploaded if the article were accepted for publication. It is not apparent that such materials would ever be used for replication — and not clear if the gain in terms of research transparency outweighs the costs. As Peter Hall remarks in his essay, although transparency is a laudable goal, like all such goals it comes with tradeoffs.

> We are not in the business of running a criminal justice system out to catch malfeasant researchers — we are in the business of publishing what we consider to be important, thought-provoking, and we hope honestly produced, research. It is not unreasonable that we should have concerns that the focus on honesty and transparency — or rather the fear of dishonesty — might have deleterious effects on our other goals as editors.

Those tradeoffs exist for editors too. How much ought we to require of qualitative scholars in terms of submitted transparency materials? Where would we store gigabytes of audio information and scanned materials? How would we know when 'enough' had been submitted to 'replicate' the article? What is the 'right' amount of transparency, particularly when human subjects are involved in the research? How would we deal with copyright and other legal issues associated with storing scanned information or recorded interviews? What could we be doing with our time instead of resolving these logistical issues?

As political scientists we are all familiar with the role of social norms like trust in reducing transaction costs. The above paragraph suggests a rather daunting level of transaction costs as a price to pay for generalized mistrust of the transparency of qualitative work. We are not

in the business of running a criminal justice system out to catch malfeasant researchers — we are in the business of publishing what we consider to be important, thought-provoking, and we hope honestly produced, research. It is not unreasonable that we should have concerns that the focus on honesty and transparency — or rather the fear of dishonesty — might have deleterious effects on our other goals as editors.

We have put on hold imposing any 'one-size-fits-all' DA-RT guidelines for qualitative submissions, and for now will work with authors on a case-by-case basis. Most basically, we have no plans to implement any 'maximalist' requirements for qualitative work, and we await the results of the QMMR section's efforts to find some consensus about best practices. However, as editors we do offer both authors and reviewers a set of guidelines for submissions. We will be posting what follows on *CPS*' website. The 7th point most closely reflects the concerns of the DA-RT initiative. However, to the degree that the DA-RT initiative ends up emphasizing that point over the other six, we believe it will be detrimental to the discipline.

Guidelines for *CPS* authors and reviewers:

1. Papers should explore an important political phenomenon or causal process.
2. Papers should clearly articulate a substantively important and theoretically relevant research question of subfield-wide interest and appeal.
3. Papers should locate the research within the appropriate literature on the subject.
4. Where appropriate, papers should explain their research design and logic of case selection. *CPS* is open to case-studies as well as large-n quantitative studies. Still, questions that might require answering include 'What were the criteria used to select cases or research sites?', 'How does the case selection help answer the paper's main question?', 'How might choosing other cases influence the paper's conclusion?', or 'How do the cases vary on independent and dependent variables?'
5. All submissions should clearly explain why the method or methods employed are appropriate to address the question the paper poses, and they should clearly explain the methodology adopted.
6. Papers should address issues of validation of evidence. This may involve the use of negative cases, counterfactuals, use of multiple methods, robustness checks, and comparisons with findings from

other published research (both qualitative and quantitative). The paper should convince readers that the findings are reliable, and trustworthy.

7. The paper must transparently explain the data analysis process. It should describe the coding procedures (if any), the procedures for understanding and interpreting evidence gathered to support the paper's argument, and the methodology used to establish and confirm (or disconfirm) the existence of themes and/or patterns in the data. Depending on the method and the data, some of this information may appear in footnotes or an (online-only) appendix.

Implementing DA-RT Principles in the *American Political Science Review*

by Marijke Breuning & John Ishiyama
University of North Texas

We would like to thank the editors of the Comparative Politics Newsletter, Matt Golder and Sona Golder, for this opportunity to address some questions that have arisen regarding how the *APSR* intends to implement data access and research transparency (DA-RT) guidelines. We very much welcome the opportunity to address some of the concerns regarding the implementation of the guidelines, which we have enacted effective March 1, 2016.

As we explained in our editors' notes for *APSR* Volume 110, issue 1 (2016), we have formally adopted the DA-RT principles in our submission guidelines (see here). This culminates a process that began in 2012, when changes were made to the *APSA Ethics Guide*, something that occurred prior to our team becoming editors of the *APSR*. In the Fall of 2014, we, along with many other journals in the discipline, committed to implementing the guidelines put forward by the DA-RT initiative. However, we fashioned the guidelines not only in light of DA-RT, but also after consulting with many constituencies in the *APSA*. We have very carefully taken into consideration the concerns expressed. We believe that the resulting guidelines will better promote transparency than the system we currently use (which, based on our first-hand experience, were quite problematic) and that they are sufficiently flexible to accommodate various research traditions and approaches. Finally, we firmly believe that it is our responsibility as

the current editors of the *Review* to implement these new guidelines, and this responsibility should not be left to a future editorial team.

We do understand that this represents a significant change from previous practice and therefore appears to be a 'daunting' proposition for many scholars. Indeed, many concerns have been expressed over the past few months, and we have paid close attention to these concerns. We have taken these into account in fashioning our guidelines. Although no set of submission guidelines can address every single circumstance, we believe that the current submission guidelines are flexible enough to address many of the concerns that have been voiced. Most importantly, as we clearly state in the guidelines, we will pay very close attention to human subjects concerns, as well as all concerns regarding the need for confidentiality of certain types of evidence.

To begin, and in terms of implementation, only those manuscripts we receive after March 1, 2016, are subject to the new submission guidelines. All those we received prior to that date will be governed by the previous guidelines. Also please note, we will only require that transparency documentation be provided to the editors of the *Review* after a paper has been conditionally accepted but before actual publication.

In this essay we focus on how DA-RT principles will be implemented regarding qualitative work. The discipline already has a good deal of experience implementing transparency guidelines regarding quantitative data. Suffice it to say, we expect quantitative researchers to provide access to the materials specified in our submission guidelines prior to publication of a paper, but after conditional acceptance of the piece. Further, we have no plans at this time, to 'preplicate' (i.e. in-house replication of the study's findings), but may do so in the future.

In the following, we address some of the more common concerns we have heard regarding the implementation of the guidelines we have adopted, particularly regarding qualitative work. We realize that qualitative work takes many different forms, therefore we do not believe that a one-size-fits-all solution is appropriate. That said, the editors would like authors to carefully consider what — and how much — information can be shared to show that the authors' assessments and conclusions are reasonable, given the evidence they have

collected.

I. Issues of Confidentiality and Anonymity

We have heard many concerns regarding how the editors will address issues of confidentiality and anonymity regarding human subjects. These concerns have included questions regarding, for instance, how the editors will treat Institutional Review Board (IRB) rules with respect to the use or dissemination of evidence, especially regarding requirements for confidentiality or the anonymity of respondents.

In response, we do expect that authors will be able to demonstrate that they did obtain IRB approval (or an institutional equivalent outside of the United States) at their academic institution for any research that involves human subjects and/or respondents. Such approval can be demonstrated by providing the editors with a copy of the letter that grants the approval to conduct research with a specified instrument, such as a questionnaire, experiment, and so on. Authors may also furnish evidence that the IRB has exempted their specific research from the requirement to obtain approval by sharing a copy of the communication that provided the authors with the exemption.

Authors should also describe the instrument in their paper or in an appendix, and may include the full instrument in an appendix if they choose. Authors may be asked to share general descriptive information regarding their subject pool, such as the number of respondents, the type of respondents (e.g., college students, state legislators, etc.), gender balance among respondents, and so on, as relevant to the study and to the degree possible while remaining in compliance with the rules of the IRB that granted the approval.

The editors recognize that there is variation among IRBs at different institutions (as well as across different national contexts) and expect authors to abide by the requirements for confidentiality and/or anonymity as specified by the institutional approval for the study. The materials will be used only to ascertain that the authors obtained IRB or equivalent approval and the conditions under which it was granted; these materials will not be published in the journal or in its online appendices. Published papers will note only that the IRB at the authors' institution(s) granted approval for the research.

There are of course concerns regarding confidentiality and anonymity beyond that which is covered by IRB or equivalent institutional rules. The editors understand that there are situations in which researchers have an ethical obligation to preserve the confidentiality and/or anonymity of their interview subjects. The editors will NOT ask authors to divulge information that may reveal the identities of interview subjects who spoke on condition of anonymity or to provide specific details that may endanger their interview subjects. However, the editors may ask authors to provide a general statement explaining why the preservation of confidentiality and/or anonymity is essential. Such a statement could explain the conditions under which the authors were granted interviews and the reasons why the information is sensitive. For example, the statement may reference the harm that could come to the interview subjects if their identities were revealed, and could note also that the authors have changed the interviewee(s) name(s) and/or other identifying details in order to protect their identities. The bottom line is that the editors will NOT ask authors to divulge data and details when doing so would violate their ethical obligation to ensure that no harm will come to their subjects.

II. What Should be Made Available for Transparency Purposes?

We have heard many questions regarding the issue of what should be made available to meet our submission guidelines. For instance, many scholars use quotations from qualitative interviews or from coded open-ended survey questions. Authors sometimes code open-ended survey questions to identify patterns in the responses. The coded open-ended responses may be used in quantitative analysis and the authors should provide a few examples to provide transparency regarding the manner in which the open-ended survey responses were coded, either in the text or in an online appendix. In such a case, these examples constitute the effort to make the coding rules transparent, and that is sufficient for our purposes.

There has also been a question regarding making available field notes, particularly if the researcher relies on interviews to support an empirical claim. In such cases, authors are encouraged to provide — either through footnotes or through an online methodological appendix — sufficient additional information about the qualitative interviews to be able to persuade the reader

that the quotations are a fair representation of the interview response(s). Here, transparency suggests that the authors provide sufficient information to demonstrate that the quotation(s) are interpreted in proper context — and that most reasonable scholars would draw similar conclusions from the evidence. THIS DOES NOT REQUIRE POSTING PUBLICLY ONE'S FIELD NOTES.

Of course, qualitative work often involves ethnographic or 'soaking and poking' techniques for which there is no precise interview protocol or systematic 'procedures used to collect and/or generate' research materials. In this case, rather than providing the complete notes or journal, the authors should produce a brief narrative that provides an account of the efforts in which they engaged. Such an effort at transparency should address the decision to engage in field work in a specific location. Even though there may not have been a precise interview protocol or specific data collection procedure, the authors of ethnographic or inductive work did choose to pursue insight into specific questions through immersion in a particular location. They can — and should — provide basic insight into the choices and questions that drove their inquiry. Authors should address why they chose the specific location, including an account of what made this location promising or attractive for the inquiry, and how immersion in this environment led to new insights. This, we believe, can normally be incorporated as part of the text of the manuscript, or if necessary, as a part of the online appendices to a piece.

A question has also arisen regarding the use of archival materials. For the current *APSR* editors, all that is required to meet our submission guidelines is that authors should endeavor to provide clear, detailed, and precise references to archival materials, with the objective of allowing others to locate the same materials by accessing the archives at which they are stored. Authors should provide sufficient information for others to be able to 'retrace their steps' and are not required to (but can if they so choose) use active citation or a transparency appendix (or TRAX) as discussed in our submission guidelines.

III. What about 'Limited Data'?

We have also faced several questions regarding 'limited data', which includes data limited by questions of legal status, proprietary or administrative data, or limits the authors wish to place on data (for the purposes of fair 'first use').

There may indeed be questions regarding the legality of the data used in a paper submitted to the *Review*. Our policy is to review such papers, and we will NOT desk reject a paper because it makes use of such data. We will process such paper in the same fashion as any other paper submitted to the *APSR*. However, if the paper is accepted for publication, the authors will need to ascertain that they may legally use the data prior to the article appearing in print.

> The editors will NOT ask authors to divulge information that may reveal the identities of interview subjects who spoke on condition of anonymity or to provide specific details that may endanger their interview subjects. However, the editors may ask authors to provide a general statement explaining why the preservation of confidentiality and/or anonymity is essential.

The editors note that the various academic institutions at which authors are employed have taken divergent points of view on the use of such data. If the employing institution finds that the authors may legally use the data in their scholarship, and if the authors can provide evidence of their employing institution's approval of the use of such data (for instance, by providing a letter from the institution that verifies approval for the use of the particular data), then the editors can proceed with publication.

A similar situation applies to the use of 'administrative' or 'proprietary' datasets. Authors are generally given access to administrative data for the purposes of a specific research project and are not free to share such data broadly with third parties. In such cases, authors can provide an appendix with guidance regarding the steps others can take to obtain the data for themselves. This means that the institution or agency that collected the data retains the right to grant access to the administrative data to scholars who can demonstrate that they plan to use the data in accordance with the institution's or agency's rules.

There is also the question of fair 'first use' of data for authors. In general, this issue relates to the ques-

tion of how long a researcher can keep their evidence or data private, either because there is an official embargo period, or because researchers wish to develop further publications before other scholars can obtain access to materials. As a general rule, the editors expect that authors will provide access to the evidence or data used to produce the results reported in the paper upon publication. This expectation is based on the idea that other authors should be able to ascertain how the authors employed the evidence to arrive at their assessment and conclusions or, for quantitative projects, others should have the opportunity to replicate the results. If the evidence or data are part of a larger project, the authors are NOT expected to provide access to the evidence or data for the entire project (so they can preserve the ability to develop further publications from the additional data), but only to the portion thereof that was used in producing the paper published in the *APSR*.

If authors believe that an exception should be made to these guidelines, they should contact the editors and explain why making public the evidence or data employed in the paper would create a disadvantage for the authors in their quest to develop additional publications from said evidence or data.

IV. Conclusion

In conclusion, we hope that the new submission guidelines that have implemented DA-RT principles achieve the goal of promoting data access and research transparency but do not impose an undue burden on authors. We hope that they encourage authors to make a good faith effort to be sufficiently transparent to show how they arrived at their assessments and conclusions. The editors anticipate that the responses to some of the above concerns mentioned above will help authors to evaluate what and how much to include. However, if authors are uncertain about what information should be included and how much detail they must provide, they should contact the editors to ask for clarification regarding their specific situation.

Finally, we should note that we take full responsibility for the current submission guidelines. However, to be consistent with the principle of editorial autonomy, which is essential for the operation of any professional journal, whether these are continued by future editors will have to be determined by the leadership of the association in conjunction with the future editors.

Editorial Trust, Gatekeeping, and Unintended Consequences

by Deborah J. Yashar
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Editing a journal is a privilege and a trust. It is a privilege to read original manuscripts by scholars across the discipline. In doing so, one is continually reminded of diversity. Diverse theoretical debates; diverse regional expertise; diverse methods; diverse writing styles; diverse authorship (although there is still a long way to go on this last point). The one unifying goal is that we seek to publish pieces about politics that significantly advance theoretical debates and present original empirical work; these pieces must do so by posing an interesting motivating question, making convincing arguments, and presenting compelling evidence. This is the standard that we use at *World Politics*; it is the one that we continually seek to uphold; it is our primary mission. Given the capacious terms just laid out, however, the privilege of editing a journal entails a great deal of trust in the process and the actors that oversee it.

> As a scholar, I remain concerned about the many unanswered questions and the incentive structures that DA-RT could create. I worry that it will constrain (perhaps even foreclose) diverse types of scholarship, ones that push the boundaries of what we know and how we know it. …I want to be sure we maintain the incentive structures to allow the next generation to continue to pursue the tough and unwieldy questions to the best of their ability.

In this brief essay, I lay out how I interpret an editor's trust (Part I), why DA-RT asks editors to overreach by gatekeeping an agenda that extends beyond what they have been entrusted to do (Part II), and why I am somber about the incentive structures and unintended consequences that the Journal Editors Transparency Statement (JETS, 2014) could have for the next generation of scholarship (Part III). Before proceeding, let me clarify two points up front. *World Politics* has declined to sign the DA-RT-inspired JETS statement, which outlines an expanded gatekeeping role that goes beyond

the *APSA Guide to Professional Ethics in Political Science*. This essay, however, is not an official *World Politics* document; it includes my own reflections as chair of the editorial committee.[1]

Part I: An Editor's Trust

An editor's trust requires a respect for process. At *World Politics*, we take the review process very seriously. This entails following a triple-blind process that ensures the anonymity of the author vis-à-vis reviewers; the anonymity of the authors vis-à-vis the editorial committee (the name is revealed only after a final decision is rendered), and the anonymity of the reviewer vis-à-vis the author. At *World Politics*, we follow this procedure to maintain a trustworthy process: one that ensures, to the best of our ability, that authors get a fair read; that reviewers can provide honest reviews; and that editors are not making judgments based on personal priors.

Second, trust is predicated on the expectation that we seek out appropriate reviewers, who in turn will carefully read a piece and convey the strengths and weaknesses of a manuscript. Our reviewers weigh the strength of the theory, empirics, and methods. They evaluate what Lupia and Elman (2014*a*) refer to as research transparency — if that is taken to mean clarifying their research design/process and the basis for making analytical claims. Reviewers in turn generally point out what is needed on empirical, theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and logical grounds (among others). They often call for more clarification — including but not limited to clarity about the data and causal inference. Reviewers generally seek to hold bias at bay; but since this is not entirely possible, we always work with more than one reviewer to assess any given piece that we are considering for publication.

Third, trust requires a presumption that editorial *deliberation* will take place based on the merits of a piece (recognizing that merit is itself debated) in dialogue with the reviews that have been submitted, and our own reading of a given piece. We consider the merit of the question, the originality of the research, the power of the theoretical argument, the strength of the evidence and logic (what DA-RT refers to as analytic

transparency), and the soundness of the research design and methods used (what DA-RT refers to as production transparency). Of course, this is not a mechanical process since it entails multiple expertise, sometimes conflicting evaluations, and differential foci on theory, empirics, and methods. As editors, therefore, we recognize that we have been entrusted to ensure not only a fair process but a fair hearing based on the evaluation and deliberation of any manuscript vis-à-vis the reviews that we have in hand.

Fourth, trust entails knowing our own limits, especially given that editors are entrusted with the power to decide what gets published and how. At *World Politics* we have a world class committee and board. The editors have a wealth of expertise. But no editorial board can claim comprehensive command of all knowledge domains across theory, empirics, and methods. For this reason, we rely readily and thankfully on the broader social science community to help us evaluate the range of scholarship that comes across our desk. This task is critical not only for the integrity of the review process; but it is also imperative because the stakes are so high for contributing authors. Careers can be made with an article placement in high-ranked journals; they can be crippled when journal publications are thin. While an editor should never make manuscript decisions with an eye towards advancing/crippling a career, they should recognize that their power is real in a profession where publications are the litmus test for advancement and recognition. And since with power comes responsibility, it is key that we know the limits of our own expertise and rely on the expertise of our broader intellectual community for the outstanding reviews that we have come to expect and are fortunate to receive. This complementarity of expertise allows for more robust and fair deliberations.

Viewed as a whole, editors are entrusted as gatekeepers. At *World Politics* we seek to oversee a process that publishes the highest quality scholarship. We interpret that trust as entailing a triple-blind review process, seeking high quality external reviewers, editorial deliberation, and knowing our limits.

Part II: Gatekeepers for DA-RT (and Other Questions)?

But should journal editors do more kinds of gatekeeping? Should we endow editors with more power to implement DA-RT? This is the question posed by DA-RT and the JETS. This is the core question that I raised in my presentation at a 2015 APSA panel, and it echoes the concerns raised by contributors to this symposium. For transparency, let me clarify that I was invited to the Fall 2014 Michigan meeting where editors were invited to discuss DA-RT, although I could not attend. I saw the subsequent editors' statement in draft form; I spoke at length with a few key participants; I was asked if *World Politics* would sign. I did not sign on in September 2014; I could not have, given that such decisions should be made after collective deliberation, not by individual editors. Moreover, I was personally unsettled by the many questions that this document raised but seemed to gloss over. *World Politics* is run by committee, one that values and practices deliberation. We thus decided to do what we do best — which is to read and discuss before making any decision. We spent time thinking carefully about these issues. In the process, we started updating our guidelines to clarify what we expect of authors and reviewers (something we had long discussed doing) — with some core guidelines followed by differentiated guidelines for quantitative and qualitative research; this process is ongoing. That said, we will not be signing the JETS. It oversteps what we understand as our editorial role and could create the wrong incentive structures for many kinds of social science research.

In our deliberations, we considered the following questions, which I also posed at the aforementioned 2015 APSA panel in San Francisco.

Question 1: Should editors be data access gatekeepers?[2]

DA-RT refers to data access (DA) and research transparency (RT). Who bears primary responsibility for these issues? APSA's *A Guide to Professional Ethics in Political Science* assumes that responsibility to determine how best to address data access resides with the *author*.[3] The author has the responsibility to make the

right ethical and professional choices given her field of expertise. *World Politics* has followed this principle as long as I have been on the board. It is the principle we use for all published work (although in practice most quantitative scholars have moved to make their data available, and we are moving to make that part of the standard practice at the journal).

The JETS wants editors to do more by assuming responsibility as gatekeepers of DA-RT.[4] There is an explicit assumption that journals should monitor this process — both providing the incentives for scholars to pursue DA-RT principles and making it difficult to publish unless they do so. There is arguably a tactical reason for choosing editors (as opposed to funding agencies, departments, universities, or other institutions), since they centralize the process and provide the do-or-die incentives for authors to abide by DA-RT. But at *WP* we asked not if we could play this role. Rather, we asked *should* editors also be gatekeepers for data access (DA) and research transparency (RT). Should they be responsible for determining and meeting 'accountability and transparency' guidelines, as outlined by DA-RT, particularly in light of the APSA ethics guidelines? Of equal importance, we asked why journals should play this role. What gives them the authority and expertise to make these judgments — especially since we were not generally elected by the profession to take on this kind of task?[5] If they do play this role, at what stage would they implement DA-RT (before a piece has even been reviewed? or as a condition of acceptance?). And in turn, who would hold journals to account? Since the JETS would empower editors to set the terms and make the final determination about data access requests and appeals, authors would have little recourse. But is there any recourse for editors to be held to account on this critical dimension?

If there is a debate about what to do, who is in the best position to determine if data should be made available, where it should be deposited, and for what uses it can be deployed? APSA's *Ethics Guide* suggests that authors have the responsibility to make these deter-

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[2] There is considerable debate on this issue, including in this symposium. For different views, see for example, DA-RT (2016), the JETS (2014), Dialogue on DA-RT (2016), the 2014 symposium on DA-RT in *PS: Political Science and Politics* (Lupia and Elman, 2014b), Isaac (2015), and the symposium on DA-RT in the 2015 *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research Newsletter* (Büthe and Jacobs, 2015b).

[3] See APSA Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms (2012, 8-10). This publication is also referred to here as APSA's *Ethics Guide*.

[4] Prior to the JETS, APSA conference panels about DA-RT deliberated about who should be the gatekeepers for data access. At the panels I attended, discussion seriously considered if universities, funding agencies, and/or journals should play this role.

[5] Even our profession's flagship journals are not subject to a vote on the part of the membership.

minations (APSA Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms, 2012, 8-10). Should editors appropriate this responsibility? Do they have the expertise to make these decisions, which are not simply logistical but sometimes also entail ethical challenges (particularly for certain kinds of research) alongside sometimes very high administrative burdens (especially for some qualitative researchers, junior scholars, and professors with limited research budgets)? Do editors have this intellectual, ethical, and legal training — a point also raised by Htun (2016)?

In other words, gatekeeping entails a lot of questions. The JETS assumes these questions away by identifying (entrusting) one group of unelected editors to shape the direction of the profession. For quantitative data, there is less debate (as it is standard practice to provide data access, and there are fewer logistical, ethical, and other demands; although the need to protect human subjects remains essential to the enterprise). The challenge is far greater for qualitative and multi-method research. We agree with APSA's *Ethics Guide* that in these latter cases the decision is best left to the author. This reason is further elaborated below.

Let me be clear. The *WP* editorial committee and board include a terrific group of editors and reviewers – on whom we rely. They have an impressive amount of expertise. Yet, we recognize the limits of what we have been entrusted to do. We do not see the need to appropriate and centralize more power in the hands of editors, who despite great judgment and impressive insight, are not best positioned to determine the professional, ethical, and even legal implications of requiring qualitative scholars to share their data. Not only could this lead to uninformed judgments, but moreover no editor can guarantee the safety of deposited materials (as noted further below). At *World Politics*, we unanimously agreed that we as editors should not appropriate this decision for qualitative research, which is best left to the scholar.

Question 2: What is DA-RT designed to do?

While we believe that journals should not play the gatekeeping role for questions of data access, this response begs the prior question of what DA-RT means and what it is designed to do. At *WP*, we deliberated

these questions as well.

Research transparency (RT) is a core part of the call. We found this to be familiar territory. It is part and parcel of the review process for any journal that evaluates a piece based on its theoretical originality, methodological strength, and empirical findings. To do this well, one must articulate and sustain a clear and logical argument; one should draw causal inferences that make sense and can be substantiated; and one should clarify one's research design and methods. This is standard fare for journal submissions; it is the heart of what most reviewers address. If theories are poorly specified, reviewers ask for more. If research designs and methods are unconvincing or unclear, they demand greater precision and refinement. If empirical findings and theoretical conclusions are not compelling, they ask for greater analytic clarity. Authors operating with different theoretical, methodological, and epistemological approaches will do so differently, as noted by all the authors in this symposium. Reviewers in turn will push them to do a better job. I find this part of the DA-RT agenda to be largely a restatement of what scholars and journals (as shorthand for editors and reviewers) do as standard practice — although we can always strive to do this better.[6]

But DA-RT asks for more. Data access and accountability is the second charge, and it is much more controversial, as noted by Hall (2016). Why? On the surface, access and accountability seem to be unalloyed goods. DA-RT outlines a vision where all scholars provide access to the data that they used to make their claims. So what could be concerning? As many contributors have highlighted, one's view of this charge is conditioned by method, area of inquiry, epistemological foundations of research, and stage of career.

I cannot address all of these concerns in this space, so I do so with an editor's concern for goals, process, and details. At *World Politics*, we not only asked about the proper boundaries of gatekeeping, we also asked the following fundamental questions:

1. *What is being advocated?* What do we mean by data access and accountability? Access to what? Accountability to whom? These simple questions do not lend themselves to simple answers, partic-

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[6]There are some within the DA-RT community who call for active citation (Moravcsik, 2014), which I do not discuss at length here. We are not requiring active citation at *WP*; at this point, it goes beyond what we expect of authors, reviewers, and staff.

ularly with respect to qualitative data.

2. *What is the purpose of data access?* If one is demanding greater access to data, there should be an associated goal. *Are we concerned about scholarly integrity?* If so, are we expecting our reviewers to delve into the original data sources to verify the data? *Are we concerned about replication* — a point debated in depth in the 2015 QMMR Newsletter symposium on DA-RT (Büthe and Jacobs, 2015a) and also questioned by Lynch (2016) and Sil, Castro and Calasanti (2016) in this symposium. If so, should we expect that recorded data across scholarly approaches easily lead to replicable results? *Are we doing this to provide a public good to support future research and new ideas?* Or something else? In the absence of clear or attainable goals, data access requirements seem to be putting the cart ahead of the horse.

3. *How many standards would/should one use to accommodate the diverse scholarly community outlined at the start of this essay? Should the same standards apply to quantitative data and/or to multi-method and qualitative research?* While requirements for data access have become increasingly commonplace for quantitative analysis, the more complicated question is if (and how) this standard should apply to qualitative and multi-method work — raising a host of ethical and professional concerns about what can (not) and should (not) be shared; whether the articulated standards are appropriate for all kinds of research; and if the standards being adopted will disadvantage some kinds of scholarly inquiry and disincentivize scholars from conducting certain kinds of original research. As noted above, *WP* applies a differentiated model for quantitative and qualitative/multi-method research.

4. *Should data access be an 'opt-in' or 'opt-out' policy?* At *WP*, we have historically used an 'opt-in' procedure, where authors can make their data available but are not required to do so. The JETS, by contrast, requires data access as a condition for publication; there is an opt-out procedure, but editors have final discretion. What are the implications of these two procedures? We know from behavioral economics, that opt-in and opt-out designs provide very different incentives, so it

is important to think about not only the goals but the incentive structures and opportunity costs of changing to an opt-out policy.

5. *If one were to uphold the standards of DA-RT, who should be responsible for upholding the standards?* This core issue brings us back to the first question about gatekeeping.

I outline these questions to emphasize that signing onto DA-RT is far from a simple nay or yea response. It raises core questions about meaning, goals, procedures, standards, and gatekeepers.

Question 3: What of staffing and oversight?

Even if editors were entrusted to implement DA-RT, how would they do so? What are the staffing implications? Who would edit and confirm the quality of additional appendices (or hyperlinks if one implemented active citation) and data sources? Who would check their viability? Who would check for copyright conditions? Equally important, who would review the data? And if one asked for 'more' research transparency via active citation and extended appendices, what would this do to the review process? Would one expect reviewers to evaluate this additional material? Would reviewers then take longer to submit their reviews? In turn, would they review fewer pieces — reluctant to take on the same number of pieces given the greater demands required for each submission (and associated appendices)? What of scholars who are completing projects that have been years in the making: would they be grandfathered? If so, what is the rule and who decides when it is invoked?

These are not small questions — especially for journals operating with a set budget and a small staff. It is also worth noting that the demands of editing have already increased as submission rates have skyrocketed in recent years (with online submissions) and as manuscripts have often ballooned in length (given the occasional practice of attaching appendices that are long, sometimes longer than the original submission); thus, the demands for editors and reviewers have increased while the staffing has not.

This last set of questions did *not* affect our decision about DA-RT, although they might have had we agreed to implement DA-RT. I pose them here because for those signing on, their ability to do a good job (and maintain the quality of their own journal) will rest on

their ability to address these logistical questions that might entail editing longer appendices, verifying links, getting reviewers to submit evaluations in a timely manner, verifying that data has been made accessible, and possibly verifying the quality of the data that is being deposited (otherwise the requirement might seem more like fiction than fact).

Part III: Incentive Structures and Unintended Consequences

In this final section, I speak in two authorial registers. I write as an editor and as a scholar who has worked under less than ideal research conditions — conducting field work in difficult political circumstances, interviewing politically disenfranchised people, and broaching politically sensitive topics. Many of my *WP* colleagues also conduct research under similarly challenging circumstances. The *WP* editorial committee therefore discussed the kinds of incentive structures and unintended consequences DA-RT and the JETS might generate for qualitative and multi-method researchers — particularly if journal editors demand data access as a prerequisite of publication.[7] Given how our profession is structured (with journal publications deeply affecting tenure prospects), we should not underplay how consequential the JETS could be for the direction of the field. These concerns were central to our *WP* deliberations.

Indeed, I am not sanguine, but rather somber, about the explicit incentives and unintended consequences that DA-RT and the JETS, in particular, could imply for important traditions within the profession. Many of these points have been laid out by the excellent QMMR symposium on DA-RT coedited by Büthe and Jacobs (2015*a*) and the current CP Newsletter. As the *WP* editorial committee thought about the next generation of scholarship, these are the concerns that came to mind.

1. *Sensitive Topics*: The *WP* editorial committee raised concerns that the JETS disincentivizes re-

search on sensitive topics — not least if scholars fear that they might have to make that data available. How do scholars guarantee the safety of those with whom they have worked? How do they share data without putting people at risk? The JETS, if implemented by editors insufficiently attuned to the limits of their own expertise and judgment or to the specifics of particular research environments, could create a conflict of interest for researchers committed to publication but also bound by ethical commitments to their human subjects (Parkinson and Wood, 2015);[8] additionally, it could create strong professional incentives to privilege data-ready questions over questions that require significant data generation. As a profession, we need to get the incentive structures right to ensure that scholars continue to have latitude to tackle all the big and difficult questions of our times — especially when it requires years of original qualitative and multi-method research, often in politically challenging and sensitive contexts (i.e., authoritarian rule, civil wars, violence, and discrimination). Publication would still require a rigorous review process to evaluate for politically consequential topics, methodologically rigorous research, empirically novel findings, and theoretically original contributions; however, it would continue to respect the expertise and judgment of our colleagues about if and when qualitative and multi-method data access is appropriate. On this point, it is worth remembering the guidelines in APSA's *Ethics Guide* and the AAUP Statement on Professional Ethics.[9]

2. *Multi-year Research*: We considered scholarship on topics that takes years to research but only a moment to require data access. Why would someone invest in this kind of research if they are required to turn it over before they are done using it — across many articles and perhaps books. A

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[7]Viewed optimistically, if the JETS is implemented to the letter, scholars will be forewarned of what is expected and will anticipate gathering their 'data' in an accessible and sharable form. That said, I am much less sanguine about what this implies for the kinds of research that will be pursued versus avoided. The contributors to this symposium and the 2015 QMMR Newsletter also raised these concerns.

[8]Lynch (2016) also raises concerns about protecting human subjects and a set of DA-RT related "requirements [that] could go against painstakingly developed best practices." Fujii (2016) further argues that making data available is not a neutral act but can itself be morally charged and ethically problematic.

[9]The AAUP Statement on Professional Ethics, which was endorsed by, and reprinted in, the APSA *Ethics Guide* (p. 5), states: "Professors, guided by a deep conviction of the worth and dignity of the advancement of knowledge, recognize the special responsibilities placed upon them. Their primary responsibility to their subject is to seek and to state the truth as they see it. To this end professors devote their energies to developing and improving their scholarly competence. They accept the obligation to exercise critical self-discipline and judgment in using, extending, and transmitting knowledge. They practice intellectual honesty. Although professors may follow subsidiary interests, these interests must never seriously hamper or compromise their freedom of inquiry."

one-year moratorium or even a three-year moratorium does not really address the concern if one expects to use one's data for longer than that. Moreover, qualitative data is not always parsed in ways that are so easily distinguished between data access for *this* claim versus *another* one. Finally, the administrative burdens could be daunting, especially for those who have already gathered this data.

3. *Junior Scholars:*[10] We were concerned about the incentives that we are creating for the next generation of scholars — the ones with few resources, no job security, and the imperative to publish. In choosing topics and methods, I suspect that the JETS would shape what they do and how. This is the goal, of course. But what of the disincentives it provides for taking on the politically sensitive questions that require sustained fieldwork with a range of methods, not all of which produce data that can, or arguably should, be made accessible (Fujii, 2016). Of course, the JETS allows for scholars to petition for exemption. But how many junior scholars have that wherewithal given the power asymmetries inherent in the author-editor relationship? How might this particularly disempower traditionally marginalized voices within the profession? As Htun (2016) also notes, how might it further disadvantage not only junior scholars but also those located at under-resourced institutions. The devil is in the details of DA-RT implementation. And details can privilege some scholarly approaches over others.

4. *Confidentiality*: We were deeply concerned that we could not guarantee the future confidentiality of data archives, no matter how entrusted they might seem today. Hackers and courts have known how to gain access to the most sensitive of information. How confident are we that qualitative data deposited in a trusted digital repository can guarantee confidentiality for sensitive information (Lynch, 2016)? The most powerful governments in the world have not proven infal-

lible to such efforts; university archives have not been able to protect confidentiality in courts (IRA oral histories at Boston College, as also noted by Lynch 2016); even companies whose (tawdry) businesses are predicated on confidentiality have not been able to meet the challenge (consider the Ashley Madison scandal). What makes us so confident that the scholarly community can protect anonymity and human subjects if we deposit interview transcripts, field notes, among other data sources? I am not sanguine that today's trusted digital repositories can guarantee that trust into the future.

In short, if we prioritize data access over scholarly inquiry, I fear that we will minimize the ability to publish manuscripts on difficult questions in politically complicated settings (where data standards often cannot be met) using a diverse range of methods (Parkinson and Wood 2015; Shih 2015; and the contributors to this symposium). As others have noted, I worry deeply that we are further discouraging scholars from addressing the big and difficult questions about authoritarianism, political instability, violence, inequality, among other politically important questions.[11] Let's be clear. It is very difficult to work on these topics — given personal safety, the safety of our interlocutors in the field, funding challenges, poor data access, among other issues. In this context, the review process is designed to confirm that scholars address standard concerns to pose a clear question, solid research design, original evidence, powerful theory, logical arguments and clear causal inference (relative to alternative arguments), and clear-headed analysis. These standards are given; they are standard fare. To add to this list that scholars must also make their data available is to discourage future scholars from doing this work given the ethical challenges of placing people at risk, the practical challenges of securing interviews if one cannot guarantee anonymity and confidentiality, and the administrative burdens of transcribing and making available field notes, interviews, archival material, and the like.[12]

What will we neglect to study in the process? And

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[10]Sil, Castro and Calasanti (2016) also raise concerns about what DA-RT implies for junior faculty.

[11]Isaac (2015) has asked a related question about whether we are foreclosing a public space by privileging DA-RT over intellectual substance.

[12]Serious fieldwork entails more than a good research design that is implemented and data that is shared. It requires time to forge relationships, understand tensions, interpret meaning, gain original insight, among others. Geertz's wink is a wonderful example of how important it is to know how to interpret a gesture. Fujii's (2016) discussion of lynching is another powerful and sobering example for us to consider.

what kinds of innovative research strategies might we foreclose? These are the questions we need to consider as a profession.

Conclusion

DA-RT has put forth an agenda. Over the past eighteen months, I have pondered not only the content of that agenda but also who is responsible for implementing it. For generating this debate, we can thank the many contributors to DA-RT and the JETS, as well as the many critics who have raised concerns about the why, what, where, and how of implementing this agenda.

As a scholar, I remain concerned about the many unanswered questions and the incentive structures that DA-RT could create. I worry that it will constrain (perhaps even foreclose) diverse types of scholarship, ones that push the boundaries of what we know and how we know it. As a young scholar I entered this profession with a passion to better understand politics. As a not-so-young scholar, I maintain that enthusiasm. I want to be sure we maintain the incentive structures to allow the next generation to continue to pursue the tough and unwieldy questions to the best of their ability. Research and analytic transparency are key (although what we mean by that varies across epistemological divides). Excellent methods and strong theory are presumed. Data access, however, is far from an unalloyed good. The devil is in the details — details that scholars, not editors, are best positioned to know. Let's not centralize this task at the risk of foreclosing the ability to pursue the big questions of our times. As Hall (2016) noted, we should prioritize the "integrity of research," one that "reflects an honest and systematic search for truths."

I thank the CP Newsletter editors for granting this space for deliberation. At *World Politics*, we seek to do the same. This is why we will continue to welcome submissions from all kinds of scholars, even if scholars conclude that qualitative and multi-method data cannot be made available.

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Symposium II: Politics of Space

Welcome to the symposium on the Politics of Space. We have six contributions addressing theoretical, substantive, and methodological issues related to the politics of space.

Improving the Interpretability and Research Transparency of Maps

by Molly Ariotti & Charles Crabtree

The Pennsylvania State University

I. Introduction

In a 1931 note published in the *American Political Science Review*, Harold Sprout bemoaned the lack of attention to geography on the part of his fellow political scientists, arguing that geographical knowledge is a "*sine qua non* for the political scientist who seeks to comprehend the foreign or domestic policies of any state" (Sprout, 1931, 442). More than 80 years later, Sprout would surely be pleased to see that political scientists are increasingly viewing the world through a geographer's lens.

Driven by the insight that social processes are embedded in particular spatial contexts, scholars have established new theories, created new methodological tools that account for spatial dependence and diffusion, and developed new research designs that take advantage of topographical and administrative barriers. Researchers who specialize in the 'politics of space' have made important contributions across various subfields, extending scholarship on a diverse range of subjects that includes things like economic development (Wallerstein, 1989), collective action (Crabtree, Darmofal and Kern, 2015; Kern and Hainmueller, 2009; Lyall, 2006; Trejo, 2009), preference aggregation (Cutler, 2007; Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008), state formation (Engstrom, Hammond and Scott, 2013; Stasavage, 2010), and conflict (Pierskalla and Hollenbach, 2013; Shapiro and Weidmann, 2015). While the politics of space was once a niche topic, there is now a growing recognition of its wide applicability.

One manifestation of this recognition has been the increased use of maps in political science articles. We examined all of the articles that have been published in the *American Journal of Political Science* (*AJPS*), the *American Political Science Review* (*APSR*), and the *Journal of Politics* (*JOP*) over the last three years. We found that the percentage of articles that include maps has more than doubled during this time. The developing practice of using maps to present political phenomena is in line with the more general trend toward increasing and improving the visual representation of data (Bertin, 1983; Card and Mackinlay, 1997; Cleveland and McGill, 1984; Cleveland, 1985, 1993; Edward, 1990; Harris, 1996; Huff, 1993; Rogowitz, Treinish and Bryson, 1996; Tufte and Graves-Morris, 1983).

The increased use of maps has been encouraged by two broad trends in data availability and software development. A growing number of digitized map boundaries (SEDAC; Weidmann, Kuse and Gleditsch 2010), geocoded datasets (Raleigh and Dowd, 2015; Bartusevičius, 2016; Tollefsen, Strand and Buhaug, 2012; Sundberg and Melander, 2013), and satellite images (Elvidge et al., 1997, 2001) have been made available by scholars, governments, non-governmental organizations, and corporations. The availability of these data have permitted political scientists to map new and theoretically interesting phenomena, like the relationship between cell phone coverage and episodes of violent collective action (Pierskalla and Hollenbach, 2013) or the relationship between the geographic location of ethnic groups and economic development as captured by satellite images of night lights (Alesina, Michalopoulos and Papaioannou, 2012).

There have also been tremendous advances in the software that researchers use to process spatial data. The number of features available in Geographic Information Systems (GIS) programs has multiplied, allowing political scientists to analyze and display spatial relationships in new ways. Inexpensive GIS programs are also now available. Less than a decade ago, Esri's costly application, ArcMap, was the only suitable option for applied researchers. Now, scholars can use, create, and edit spatial data in a variety of programs (R, QGIS, TileMill, Mapbox, CartoDB, and so on), many of which are freely available.

We consider the increased use of maps to illustrate political phenomena a welcome development (Wood and Fels, 1992). This is because maps can communicate important empirical findings to readers in a way that text or other figures often cannot (Ricketts, 2003; Tufte and Graves-Morris, 1983). Consider, for example,

John Snow's famous map of cholera cases in London. In 1855, Snow published an essay where he argued against miasma theory, the idea that diseases spread through 'bad air.' While he presented a wide range of evidence in his paper that water contamination led to the spread of cholera, it was his map of the water supply network in London's SoHo neighborhood that attracted and continues to attract the most attention. The intuition that maps can make complex phenomena easier to understand helps explain the growing use of maps by organizations like *Five Thirty Eight* and *The New York Times*, and the widespread popularity of maps that show the effects of climate change and the extent of political polarization in America.

> The modal map published in a top journal from 2012 to 2014 does not contain a scale bar, an inset map (where applicable), or a data note that describes the data source(s) used to create the map and the map's projection.

The effectiveness of maps, however, is dependent upon how researchers construct them. In this essay, we argue that political scientists can improve their maps by adding several additional elements to them. We first review the use of maps in the existing literature. We then discuss several problems that routinely appear in maps and outline actions researchers can take to address these issues. We show that if political scientists make several easy changes to how they present spatial relationships, they can substantially improve their scientific communication. We also demonstrate that these changes can help improve issues related to data access and research transparency (Nosek et al., 2015; Lupia and Elman, 2014; Elman and Lupia, 2016).

II. Use of Maps in the Existing Literature

In our survey of journal articles published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *American Political Science Review*, and the *Journal of Politics*, we found that the number of articles containing maps increased by 250% from 2012 to 2014.[1] There has not, however, been a commensurate increase in the field's application of map-making best practices. One way that maps in political science lag behind is in their use of

ancillary map features that provide information about the data being presented. These features are known as margin elements. The common margin elements used by researchers in other fields are listed in Table 1. The overwhelming majority of maps published in the *AJPS*, the *APSR*, and *JOP* during the last three years do not include these elements. Our concern here is twofold. First, the absence of these elements reduces the interpretability of maps, making it harder for the author to communicate her scientific findings. Second, their absence can leave the reader in the dark as to exactly how a map was produced.

Table 1: Common Margin Elemtents

Date
Data Note
Inset Maps
Legend
North Arrow
Scale Bar
Title

While all of the margin elements shown in Table 1 can enhance the usefulness of maps, we focus here on an important subset that includes scale bars, inset maps, and data notes. These margin elements are the most commonly used across fields because they provide vital information about the data being displayed. *Scale bars* tell viewers how to translate space in the map to space in the real world. *Inset maps*, also known as overview or locator maps, are small maps that place the primary map's location within context by zooming out from the primary map (Society, 2008). They help the reader identify the broader geographic context of the mapped place. *Data notes* present information about the data sources used to create map features, such as plotted points and country boundaries, and details about the map projection (Brewer, 2005). These notes provide readers with valuable information for evaluating the map and the spatial phenomena it visualizes. The degree to which a map can clearly convey information to the reader depends on the inclusion of these elements (Krygier and Wood, 2011).

It might seem obvious to include these elements with a map, but political scientists routinely overlook

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[1] In 2012, 8 of 174 articles included at least one map. The number of articles increased to 13 of 192 in 2013 and 20 of 194 in 2014. When counting maps, we treated figures with multiple maps as one map.

them, with several potentially negative consequences that we describe in the next section. Of the 54 maps that appeared in our sample of general discipline journals from 2012-2014, only 14 (26%) of them included scale bars and only 1 (2%) included a data note. Of the 19 maps that could have used an inset map, only 2 (11%) did.[2] In sum, the modal map published in a top journal from 2012 to 2014 does not contain a scale bar, inset map (where applicable), or a data note that describes the data source(s) used to create the map and the map's projection.

It is particularly odd that political scientists do not include data notes that describe the data and projection used in their maps. This is because it has become common practice for researchers to include long, descriptive notes in figures and tables. Arguably, detailed data notes are even more necessary for maps than they are for figures and tables because scholars often describe figures and tables in the main text but rarely do they describe their maps.

III. Two Reasons to Use Margin Elements

Improving Scientific Communication. Scholars should incorporate margin elements in their maps for two primary reasons. The first reason is because these elements make it easier for readers to interpret the maps. To ground our discussion of this point, we present two maps (Map 1a and Map 1b) of protest activity in the East German county of Ruppin during the 1953 Uprising (Crabtree, Kern and Pfaff, 2016). The map shows the location of municipalities that experienced at least one protest event from June 16–21, 1953. We first display the protest data in a manner similar to the modal map published in the *AJPS*, the *APSR*, and the *JOP* during the last three years.[3] Panel (a) in Figure 1 presents this version of the map.

A reader might have several questions when they see a map like this: Were cities that experienced protests close to each other? Where are these municipalities in the broader context of East Germany? What data were use to create this map? Unfortunately, the map does not provide the reader with enough information to answer these questions. Readers do not know the distance

between spatial units. Depending on their knowledge of European geography and history, readers might not know Ruppin's place in relation to other locations in East Germany. In addition, readers do not know the sources of the data used in the construction of the map, such as the data used to plot county borders and municipality locations.

To help the reader better interpret the map, we would suggest adding a scale bar, an inset map, and a detailed note that includes information about the data sources and projection used to create the map. It took us approximately five minutes to add these elements. This is an easy task that requires no additional specialized knowledge of GIS tools; many of these elements can be generated with the click of a button. Panel (b) in Figure 1 presents the revised map. With the addition of the margin elements, the reader can now answer the questions posed above, as well as many others that they might have.

Since the inclusion of these elements can substantially increase the information provided by the map, we think that researchers should almost always include them with the maps that they create. Maps, like models, serve specific purposes and should be evaluated depending on the degree to which they achieve those purposes. In some cases, it might be that the theoretical relationship illustrated in a map does not need the additional support of these margin elements. Virtually all maps, however, will benefit from including a scale bar, inset map, and a detailed data note. Our recommendation is in line with the consensus opinion among geographers, which is that these elements should nearly always be included in maps (Society, 2008).

One objection to our recommendation, of course, is that it is an obvious one and that scholars already understand the importance of these elements. Yet, our survey of journal articles suggests that if this is an obvious recommendation, it remains one that has not been widely adopted.

There are a couple of important exceptions to our general recommendation, however. The benefit of a

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[2]There was no variation in the use of margin elements within figures that contained multiple maps.

[3]Some might argue that it is unfair to present the map in this way as readers might be able to better interpret the map if it was presented in the context of a manuscript. This may be true in some instances. We see no reason, however, why maps should not be designed, like figures and tables, to stand alone.

Figure 1: Map Comparison

(a) Modal Map

Municipalities
Without protests

4
4 - 5
5 - 6
6 - 8
8 - 10

With protests

4
4 - 5
5 - 6
6 - 8
8 - 10

(b) Map with Margin Elements

0   5   10   20 Kilometers

Municipalities
Without protests

4
4 - 5
5 - 6
6 - 8
8 - 10

With protests

4
4 - 5
5 - 6
6 - 8
8 - 10
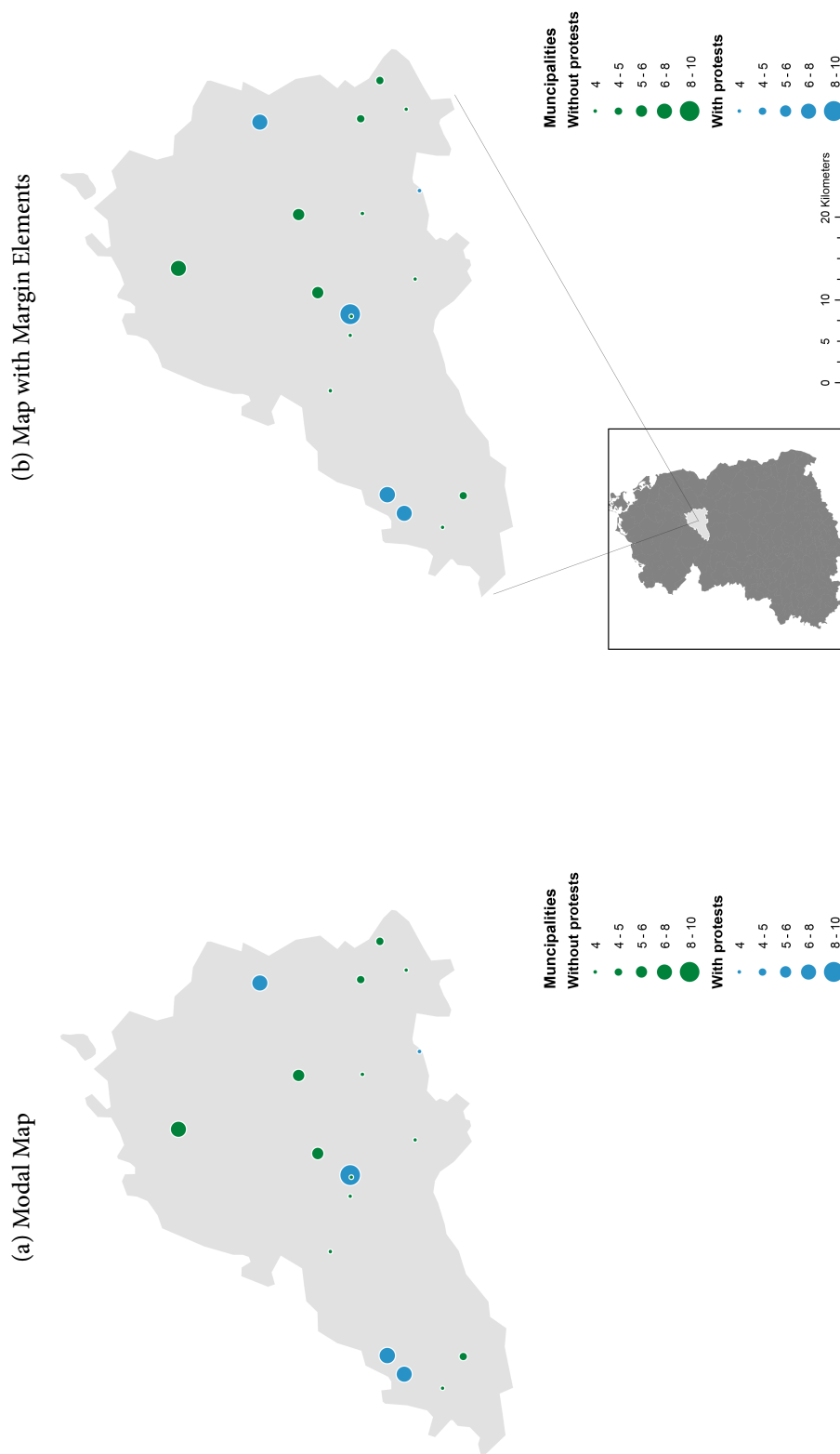
Note: Panel (b) shows the location of 18 municipalities in the East German county of Ruppin. The blue circles represent municipalities that experienced a protest during June 16–21, 1953. The green circles represent municipalities that did not experience a protest during that time period. Larger circles denote larger municipalities. Municipality size ranges across 7 classes and is coded from 4–10, with larger values indicating larger municipalities. Data for protest occurrence and municipality size come from *Bundesamt für Kartographie und Geodäsie 2011: VG 2500 Verwaltungsgebiete (Ebenen) 1:2,500,000* (2009). Data on municipality locations were taken from Wikipedia and verified in Google Earth. Data on the boundaries of East German counties come from Kowalczuk (2003). The map uses the Albers equal-area conic projection. It was created using ArcMap and TileMill.

Note: Figure 1 presents two maps of the 1953 East German Uprising. Panel (a) presents the map in a manner similar to the modal map published in the the *AJPS*, *APSR*, and the *JOP*. Panel (b) presents the same map but with a scale bar, an inset map, and a data note included.

scale bar decreases with the size of the geographic surface featured in a map. While the inclusion of scale bars can help readers when maps display subnational or national units, scale bars provide little useful information when maps display supranational regions, continents, or the entire Earth. Similarly, the benefit of an inset map is also lower when maps display supranational features. This is because the ability of readers to place the mapped area in context should weakly increase with the size of the area. For example, a researcher might reasonably expect that readers can place Russia in its international context, but they might not reasonably expect that readers can place Smolensk Oblast or Ekaterinburg within their respective contexts. On the other hand, scholars might not be able to reasonably expect that readers can place lesser known countries, such as Burkina Faso or Belarus, in their broader spatial contexts. This means that scholars must exercise some judgment when deciding whether to include an inset map. We cannot think, however, of one instance in which maps do not benefit from including a data note.

Our recommendations for improving the interpretation of maps are summarized below:

1. Scholars should always include detailed data notes.
2. While the inclusion of an inset map always benefits a map, this element provides the most benefit when scholars display subnational or national units in a map.
3. While the inclusion of a scale bar always benefits a map, this element provides the most benefit when scholars display subnational or national units in a map.

Improving Research Transparency. The second reason that scholars should include margin elements in their maps is because they increase production transparency. This is where data notes can be particularly useful. Current data access practices regarding maps are poor. Political scientists are rarely clear about how they produce the maps they use in their research. One area where scholars fall short is in describing the source of the spatial data that they use. In the context of our East Germany example, the modal researcher might describe where they obtained data on protest occurrence and municipality size but would not describe where they obtained data on municipality location or East German county boundaries. This is problematic because readers

are missing potentially important information that can help them judge the strength or even validity of scientific claims. Scholars should provide this information to the reader and the data note is an appropriate place to include it.

The data note is also an excellent place for scholars to discuss the map projection they use to display their spatial data. A map projection is a mathematical transformation of the three-dimensional Earth into a two-dimensional image (Kennedy and Koop, 1994, 17). There are many different types of projections, though only a few are frequently used. All, however, introduce some distortion to the mapped area (Miller and Shaw, 2001). Different projections preserve different map characteristics, such as area or distance (Bambrick, 2016). Our perceptions of the size of an afflicted area or prevalence of different phenomena can be drastically altered by the way a map projection presents information. This is akin to using axes to manipulate graphical representations of data — by stretching an axis, we can change the way patterns in the data appear. Figure 2 illustrates the visual effects of projection choice by showing how the shape and size of continents changes depending on the projection used. Since researchers do not provide information about their projections, readers cannot be sure of which projections are used and how that influences the presentation of data.

Projections are also important because they can influence how GIS software calculates the distance between plotted points. Under some circumstances, GIS programs measure distance via Euclidean geometry, which means that the program incorporates information from the map projection in the reported distance measure. Since each projection distorts the Earth in different ways, the choice of mapped projection can distort distances and lead to inaccurate measures (Lloyd, 2010). The concern here is that the results from statistical models that incorporate some measure of distance or aggregate data based on distances are to an extent dependent on the projection used to map the data (Bambrick, 2016).

Scholars should provide information about the projection used in their maps because different projections can affect the appearance of maps as well as the calculation of any distance measures used in the empirical analyses. They can do this by listing the map projection they used in a data note, where it is traditionally placed

Figure 2: Different Projections of the Earth
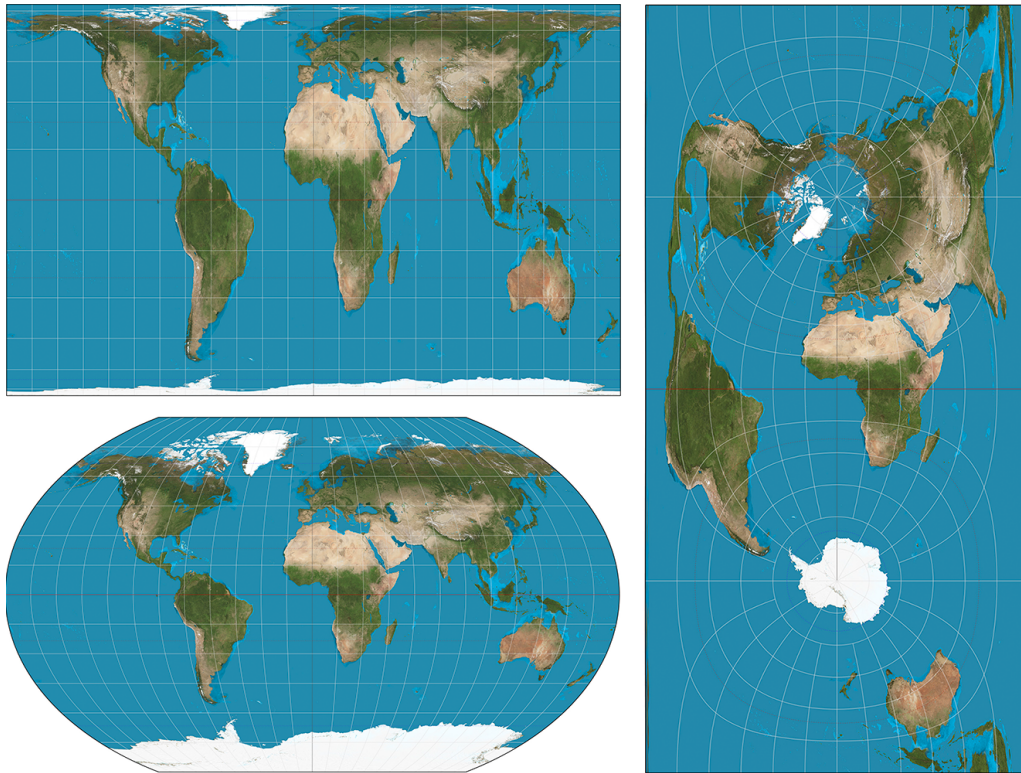
Note: Figure 2 shows global maps created with three common projections. The top-left map uses the Gall-Peters projection. The bottom-left map uses the Kavraiskiy VII projection. The right-side map uses the Cassini projection. This figure demonstrates that projections introduce distortions into spatial features. This can influence how distance measures are calculated and how readers evaluate spatial relationships. Projection images are taken from Wikipedia.

in other fields. Scholars can also present this information in the main text, but it is easier for the reader to interpret and evaluate maps if this information is presented next to the map it describes.

We think our recommendation that scholars provide information about the data and projection that they use in a data note is particularly important given current data access and production transparency practices regarding maps. None of the maps in our survey provided full information about the spatial data that they used and how they used it. Making matters worse, none of the replication files that we found for the articles in our survey contained the data necessary to replicate the maps in those articles. This means that not only do scholars generally fail to fully describe the spatial data that they use but they also fail to make that data available. This further underscores our belief in the importance of data notes, where scholars can provide detailed information about the sources from which the data were

gathered, and even procedures that other scholars might employ to gain access themselves.[4]

We think that presenting detailed information about data sources is a natural extension of the data transparency movement that has recently garnered a great deal of attention in the discipline. With many journal editors calling for the publication of data in repositories as well as clearer descriptions of methodological processes, it would be a mistake not to hold spatial data to similar standards. We think that the existence of different standards would seriously undermine the credibility of data visualization.

IV. Conclusion

The politics of space has left the margins of the discipline and entered into mainstream work. The impressive progress that scholars have made in incorporating space into their theories and empirical models belies,

[4]We recognize that privacy concerns might prevent scholars from sharing complete information about their data sources. The data note can be a good place to highlight these serious issues.

however, the progress that they have made with visualizing spatial patterns. While scholars can improve their maps in many ways, one key way that they can do this is by incorporating a number of vital margin elements in their maps. In particular, they can add scale bars, inset maps (when necessary), and detailed notes to their maps. The inclusion of these elements increases map interpertability, data access, and production transparency.

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Accounting for Space in Comparative Political Analysis

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Comparative politics scholars frequently analyze spatially dependent data, particularly when the units of analysis are geographical regions (countries, states, counties, districts, and so on). However, very few of these scholars account for this dependence in their empirical analyses. At best, this leads to overconfidence in their estimated relationships. At worst, it leads to badly biased estimates of these relationships. Accounting for spatial dependence is relatively easy to do. All of the commonly used software packages in political science research can produce geographic weights matrices, and they all have extensive spatial analysis packages. For example, there is the *spdep* package in **R** and the *sppack* and Tools for Spatial Data Analysis (TSDA) packages in Stata. One can no longer offer a defense of ignoring spatial dependence on the grounds that addressing it is too hard.

In previous work, we have emphasized the substantive importance of taking account of spatial dependence (Franzese and Hays, 2008), and that remains the most important reason for addressing spatial interdependence. Here, we stress a complementary message about the statistical importance of accounting for space in comparative political analysis. Non-spatial regressions can produce inflated t-statistics and unacceptably high levels of false positive inferences, either because standard errors are underestimated, coefficient estimates are overestimated, or both.

I. Two Sources of Spatial Clustering

Moran's *I* is often used to identify spatial clustering.[1] This statistic measures the strength of the relationship between an outcome in one unit and a weighted sum of

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[1] Moran's I is calculated using the moran.test command in **R** and the *spatgsa* command from the TSDA package for Stata.

the outcomes in its neighborhood. Typically, with outcome clustering, this relationship is positive—similar outcomes cluster together. Negative autocorrelation (think of a checkerboard pattern) is rare, but also possible. In comparative politics, outcomes will usually cluster geographically for two reasons: (i) interdependence in outcomes and (ii) clustering in covariates. Clustering in covariates can include both observed-covariate and unobserved-covariate possibilities.

Interdependence of outcomes implies that the probability of observing a particular outcome in one unit depends on the outcomes in surrounding units. Consequently, a change in an outcome in one place, in one observational unit, has effects that spill over to 'neighboring' observational units, and from those neighboring units onto their 'neighbors' (including the original unit), and so on and so on. In effect, interdependence of outcomes implies feedback and multiplier effects. *Clustering in covariates*, on the other hand, creates clustering in outcomes without such feedback and multiplier effects. As the popular tourism advertising campaign claims, 'What happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas.' With simple covariate clustering, if we are able to control for the relevant set of covariates, then the units are conditionally independent. There are two workhorse models in spatial econometrics that correspond to these two possible sources of clustering.

The spatial autoregression (SAR) model is useful when we have interdependent outcomes. It takes the following form,

$$\mathbf{y} = \rho \mathbf{W} \mathbf{y} + \mathbf{X}\beta + \mathbf{u},$$

where $\mathbf{y}$ is an $N \times 1$ vector of outcomes, $\mathbf{W}$ is an $N \times N$ spatial weights matrix, $\mathbf{X}$ is an $N \times k$ matrix of covariates, β is an $k \times 1$ vector of coefficients, and $\mathbf{u}$ is an $N \times 1$ vector of disturbances.

The spatial error (SEM) model is useful when clustered outcomes are caused by the clustering of observable covariates included in the $\mathbf{X}$ matrix and by the clustering (in a linear combination) of unobservable or omitted covariates included in the vector of disturbances $\mathbf{u}$. It takes the following form,

$$\mathbf{y} = \mathbf{X}\beta + \mathbf{u}, \text{ where } \mathbf{u} = \lambda \mathbf{W} \mathbf{u} + \varepsilon.$$

It is possible to test for the interdependence of outcomes and clustering in unobserved factors using the residuals from non-spatial regressions. Anselin et al.'s (1996) robust Lagrange multiplier tests, developed for both the SAR and SEM alternatives, are the best way to do this.[2] The beauty of these robust-LM tests is that they do not have power against the incorrect alternative. In principle, if the clustering in outcomes is driven by interdependence, the robust LM test for the SAR alternative will have good power, while the robust LM test for the SEM alternative will not reject (more than we would expect by chance under the null hypothesis). If the clustering in outcomes is driven by clustering in unobserved factors, then the reverse will be true. If both robust-LM tests reject the null hypothesis, then there is evidence of both interdependence in outcomes and clustering in unobserved covariates. Comparative researchers could, therefore, begin with traditional non-spatial analyses and then explore by these robust-LM tests whether the empirical reality of the context that they are studying requires one of the spatial models for valid estimates and inferences to be made.[3] Most contexts in comparative politics will require a spatial model as spatial clustering is ubiquitous.

It might help to make things more concrete. Consider the spatial clustering in democracy observed in Figure 1. Democracies cluster in North and South America and Europe; anocracies cluster in Africa; and autocracies cluster in the Middle East and Asia. Is this explained by the geographic contagion of democracy (outcome interdependence) or is it because observed (GDP per capita perhaps) and unobserved (culture perhaps) determinants of democracy cluster geographically? Identifying the source of clustering is both substantively and statistically important. Substantively, we learn whether democratization diffuses globally in a contagious process, implying feedback and multiplier effects. Statistically, we are better able to evaluate the relationship between democracy and important observed covariates, especially those that cluster spatially such as GDP per capita, when we get the underlying spatial process right. Non-spatial regressions will produce inaccurate standard errors and coefficient estimates that are either inefficient or biased.

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[2]These tests are calculated using the lm.LMtests command in **R** and the *spatgsa* command in Stata. The SAR and SEM models are estimated using the lagsarlm and errorsarlm commands respectively in **R** and the *spatgsa* command from the TSDA package in Stata.

[3]We will discuss how to appropriately model cases when we have both interdependence of outcomes *and* clustering in covariates shortly.

Figure 1: Regime Type Around the World in 2013
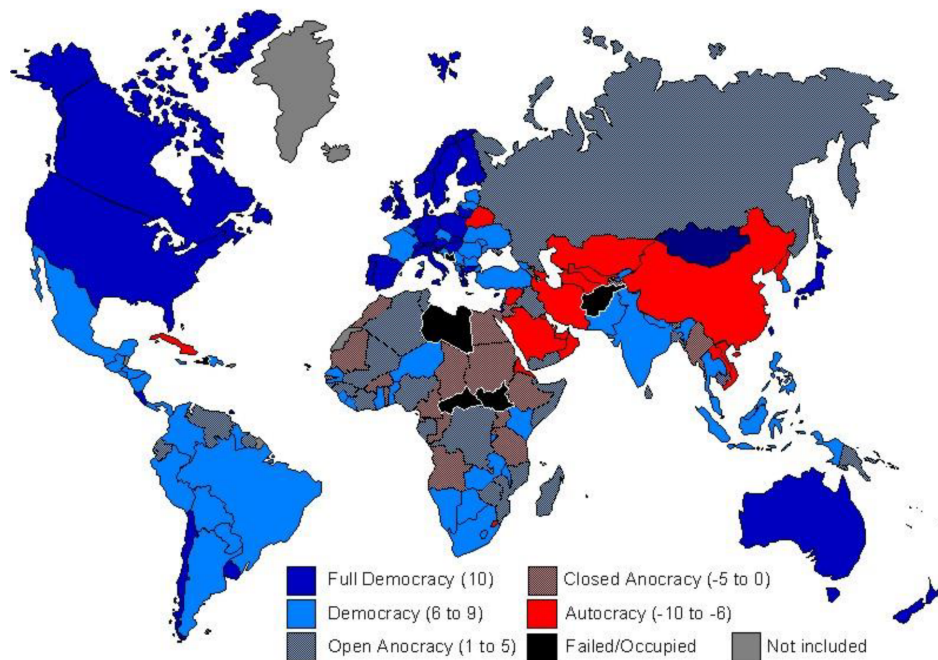
Source: Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013.

Note: Figure 1 classifies a country's regime based on its polity score. A country's polity score ranges from a minimum of -10 (autocracy) to a maximum of 10 (democracy).

II. Complications

There are a number of complications that can arise when accounting for spatial dependence in comparative politics research. Most of these are relatively simple to address, and therefore should not prevent analysts from using spatial regressions. We address several of these complications here. First, much of the quantitative empirical research in comparative politics involves time-series-cross-sectional (TSCS) data. How do we account for both temporal and spatial dependence? Estimating models with spatio-temporal dependence is not as daunting as it may seem. In fact, to the extent that temporal dependence is modeled correctly in the non-spatial regression, one does not need to change much (if anything) to estimate the spatio-temporal model. Any temporal autoregressive structure, for example, can be added to a spatial regression. Only a slight adjustment to the spatial weights matrix **W** is necessary.[4]

Second, what if there is both interdependence in outcomes *and* clustering in unobserved factors? This seems possible theoretically, and specification tests such as the LM tests described above may sometimes, or often, indicate that both are present in the data. In this case, one would want to combine the SAR and SEM models from above. This produces the combined spatial autoregressive lag and error (SARE) model. It turns out that the parameters of this model are identified, even with a common **W**, and estimation is relatively straightforward.[5]

Third, observed covariates may have direct effects on outcomes in 'neighboring' units. How does one choose between outcome interdependence and direct covariate spillovers? Some spatial econometricians prefer to model spillovers in the latter way, using what is called the spatial-lag X (SLX) model (Halleck Vega and Elhorst, 2015). This model has the advantage that spatially lagged covariates (independent variables) are not

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[4]Specifically, the spatial weights matrix **W** becomes $NT \times NT$ with $N \times N$ blocks of contemporaneous spatial weights down the main diagonal, while the temporal-dependence model can typically remain as it was in the non-spatial model (simply including the time-lagged dependent-variable as a regressor, for instance).

[5]This model can be estimated, for example, using the *spreg* command from the *sppack* module for Stata.

necessarily endogenous, whereas spatially lagged outcomes (dependent variables) are. Consequently, estimating the SLX model is easier than estimating the SAR model. But that is obviously not a good reason for choosing one specification over another. In the end, analysts need to rely on theory and commonsense (as informed by the best possible evidence). On the one hand, when outcomes are social aggregates such as country-level unemployment rates, it makes good sense to believe that the determinants of unemployment (observed covariates) in one country spill over and affect unemployment in surrounding countries. This calls for an SLX model carefully specifying the exogenous domestic and foreign determinants of unemployment. On the other hand, when outcomes are policy choices such as corporate tax-rates, then the competition for capital and resulting externalities will drive outcome interdependence, which is best represented with a SAR model.[6]

> All of the commonly used software packages in political science research can produce geographic weights matrices, and they all have extensive spatial analysis packages …One can no longer offer a defense of ignoring spatial dependence on the grounds that addressing it is too hard.

Fourth, much of the quantitative empirical research in comparative politics involves limited and qualitative dependent variables. Estimating the SAR and SEM versions of models with limited or qualitative dependent variables involves integrating over multivariate probability density functions or summing over multivariate probability mass functions, which is computationally intensive, time consuming, and usually requires a considerable amount of programming. An easier approach, developed by Daniel Griffith, is to spatially filter the data. His spatial-filtering approach "seeks to transform a variable containing spatial dependence into one free of it by partitioning the original georeferenced attribute variable into two synthetic variates: a spatial-filter variate capturing latent spatial dependency that otherwise would remain in the response residuals and a nonspatial-variate that is free of spatial dependence"

(Griffith and Haining, 2006, p. 166). Procedurally, Griffith's filtering begins with the eigenvector decomposition of the centered (demeaned) connectivity matrix, $\mathbf{W}$.[7] These eigenvectors — some highest-eigenvalue subset of them — then 'filter' the desired variable exhibiting spatial dependence simply by regressing that variable on these eigenvectors of $\mathbf{W}$.

Filtering is quick and does not require much programming. For example, the Stata code below will calculate the eigenvectors and rank them according to the absolute value of their associated Moran's I statistics. Table 1 lists the first seven eigenvectors from decomposing the row-standardized binary contiguity weights matrix for the forty-eight contiguous US states. The first eigenvector (X_1) contains values for each of the forty-eight states such that the resulting Moran's I statistic is .971. Note that a Moran's I statistic of 1.0 would imply no heterogeneity within neighborhoods, so this eigenvector could be used to filter strong spatial clustering. In practice, filtering spatial dependence is a lot like using time series autoregressive moving-average (ARMA) models to filter temporal dependence. Getting the right specification — that is, the combination of eigenvectors that removes the spatial dependence from the data — involves trial and error. This is a reasonable strategy for dealing with spatial dependence in limited and qualitative dependent variables. The limitations are that we do not learn anything about the source of spatial clustering, and we lose any estimation of feedback and multiplier effects if the source is interdependence. The upside, though, is that filtering can help protect against the dangers from making inferences from analyses of spatial data using non-spatial regressions.

Table 1: Moran's I

Eigenvector	Statistic
X_1	0.971
X_2	0.928
X_3	0.862
X_4	0.821
X_5	0.751
X_6	-0.718
X_7	0.683

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[6]Unfortunately, the general model with outcome interdependence, covariate spillovers, and clustering in unobservable covariates (combining SAR, SLX, and SEM models) is not identified. This precludes a general-to-restricted model-specification testing strategy.

[7]Eigenvector decomposition is also known as *principle-components analysis* or *factor analysis*, by which names it will be more familiar to comparativists.

III. Conclusion

In previous work, we have emphasized the substantive importance of spatial dependence. To the extent that clustering is driven by interdependence, important feedback and multiplier effects are implied; and we have argued that political scientists, particularly those who study comparative politics, should take an interest in these relationships and try to model and understand them.

Our message here is different, but complementary. There are also strong statistical reasons for using spatial regressions to analyze spatially dependent data. Given that important outcomes in the study of comparative politics and their determinants cluster spatially, we worry that many studies have mistakenly concluded that there is statistically significant evidence of systematic relationships when, in fact, no such evidence exists. Importantly, basic spatial-analytic methods are now easily accessed and implemented in the software that comparativists already use. Analysts can and should conduct the simple tests for clustering in their outcomes; if present, they should seek to identify the source and estimate the appropriate spatial-analytic model. Since most (all?) of what comparativists study does indeed cluster spatially, these basics should become a standard part of comparative empirical analysis.

```
1 ***STATA Code
  set type double
3 spatwmat using "PATH\weights_matrix.dta", name(W)
       eigenval(E) standardize
  ***generate eigenvectors
5 svmat W, n(W)
  local nobs = rowsof(W)
7 putmata W2 = (W1-W'nobs'), replace

9 mata
  ones = J('nobs',1,1)
11 I = I('nobs')
  A = (I-(ones*ones')/'nobs')*W2*(I-(ones*ones')/'
      nobs')
13   X = .
     L = .
15 eigensystem(A,X, L)
  X=Re(X)
17 end

19 forvalues i=1/'nobs' {
  getmata X'i'
21 }
  spatgsa X1-X'nobs', weights(W) m
```

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The Politics of Residential Choice

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When the book *The Big Sort* first came out, the main thesis that Americans are now sorting themselves residentially based on partisanship was met with skepticism. The idea was even ridiculed at times. It seems ludicrous to suggest people would consult an electoral map to locate clusters of Democrats or Republicans before deciding where to live. As we live in the age of the internet, cell phones, and headphones, it also seems unlikely that we would care about our neighbors' political preferences or even know them on a personal level to begin with (Abrams and Fiorina, 2012).

The thesis in *The Big Sort* may be flawed, but the idea that people engage in residential sorting based on a range of non-racial and non-economic preferences, including political preferences, is not entirely inconceivable. In this article, I will briefly outline research that examines two predominant types of residential sorting, namely, sorting by income and sorting by race. Then I will discuss some recent research that examines political preferences as a driver for residential choice. This research lays out a more comprehensive theoretical framework for thinking about how politics affects residential choice. Finally, I will end with a discussion of some of the political consequences of residential choice. As my own research is on American politics, my discussion will focus primarily on the United States. However, I will also draw on work done on residential choice and

migration behavior in other advanced industrial countries.

I. Residential Sorting By Race and Income

The notion of selective migration is deeply ingrained in the social sciences. Residents in war-torn countries or living under oppressed regimes probably do not have the luxury of choosing where to live, but one would expect citizens in advanced industrial countries to have a lot of freedom to express themselves. Citizens are free to choose to reside in places that fit their needs and preferences. Tiebout (1956) argues that people 'move with their feet' and self-sort into neighborhoods according to their willingness and ability to pay for local public goods. As households with similar tastes and abilities to pay for these goods choose to locate in the same communities, residential mobility will stratify and segregate communities along characteristics associated with demand, such as income, socio-economic status, or family size.

There are two predominant types of residential sorting. The first is residential sorting (or residential segregation, a term I use interchangeably here) by race. The so-called 'white flight' characterizes the massive migration trend that emerged in the United States after desegregation in the middle of the 20th Century. White residents fled their urban homes in favor of more racially homogeneous communities in the suburbs. Although racial segregation has shown some signs of weakening in recent decades (Fischer et al., 2004), racial composition remains the single most important factor in relocation decisions in America today (Clark, 1992; Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996; Emerson, Chai and Yancey, 2001; Eric Oliver and Wong, 2003; Bader and Krysan, 2015).

Racial residential preference is highly asymmetric in nature. Non-white minorities prefer to reside in more racially integrated neighborhoods with a significant presence of whites. But white residents prefer neighborhoods that are relatively racially homogeneous (Farley, Fielding and Krysan, 1997; Emerson, Chai and Yancey, 2001; Charles, 2000). The influx of residents of another race or ethnicity can stir up heated contests over the ownership of a place and who 'belongs' there. These contests are hard to resolve as the disagreement is often not about legal legitimacy but rather about a sense of belonging and ownership (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974; Green, Strolovich and Wong, 1998).

Schelling (1971) offers a key theoretical insight on racial residential sorting that links individual behavior with societal impact. Migration is largely a private act. Families decide their desired level of neighborhood racial composition independently. Yet micro motives can have macro implications. Even if only a small fraction of the population engages in sorting behavior, Schelling shows that this can result in total racial segregation in the long run.

In recent decades, with the rise in income inequality, studies have found evidence of increasing residential sorting by income (Fischer et al., 2004; Reardon and Bischoff, 2011). The increase in residential segregation by income happens through different mechanisms (Watson, 2007). In fully developed supply-tight areas, which are typically large metropolitan areas with thriving local economies, residential segregation by income occurs through gentrification. With rising rent or increasing property taxes stemming from higher property values, existing residents in cheaper communities get priced out. Those who cannot afford the high cost of living are the ones who exit the communities. In supply-abundant areas, the reverse happens. Residential sorting occurs through selective out-migration of the rich and middle class. Those who can afford to are the ones who leave in search of a better quality of life. The poor are the ones who get left behind.

Although both mechanisms increase residential segregation by income, they have vastly different political implications. The supply-tight areas will experience positive income growth, whereas communities in the supply-abundant areas will struggle with declining property values and shrinking tax bases. These mechanisms in turn create different local political demands, priorities, and dynamics (Chinni and Gimpel, 2011).

II.Residential Sorting Beyond Race and Income

Recently, scholars have begun to ask whether the population is sorting on non-racial and non-economic criteria as well.

People sort themselves into places that best fit them. Measures of 'fit' can be both subjective and objective. Economic resources and the affordability of housing limit people's residential options. In addition, a host of objective criteria, including job opportunities, proximity to family, quality of school district, and other pub-

lic services constrain their choices. Subjectively, people are attracted to different places for a variety of reasons. Racial composition, as discussed, remains the most important determinant of residential choice. Other factors can enter into the consideration as well. These factors can either be observed directly (such as features of the built environment) or indirectly (such as culture).

> While migration may not leave much impact on our political landscape in a year or two, its impact is evident over the span of a few decades. By now, the accumulation of residential sorting has already widened the spatial disparity in economic, natural resources, and social capital. In the future, the disparity will only worsen.

It is not uncommon to hear people talk about the natural or built environment in their relocation decision (Weichhart, 1983; Chatman, 2009). Indeed, the nature lovers (I want to be close to rivers/mountains/outdoor activities) and the city lovers (I want to be close to shops/museums/restaurants) are sorted into two ends of the rural-urban spectrum. Studies find that these locational preferences are rooted in personality (Walmsley, 1982; Whitfield et al., 2005; McCann, 2015; Oishi, 2015; Jokela et al., 2015). Similarly, a preference for aesthetics also has a deep root in personality (Jansen, 2014). The choice over the type of housing (modern, rustic, or country, for example) is another form of self expression.

While few Americans would profess themselves to be strong partisans, political socialization begins at an early age and political identity is a key component of one's social identity. If politics and political preferences can affect one's choice of friends, dates, and spouses (Jennings and Stoker, 2001; McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001; Alford et al., 2011; Klofstad, McDermott and Hatemi, 2013; Huber and Malhotra, 2013), is it really that hard to imagine that political preferences might enter into consideration for housing as well?

One objection to the partisan residential sorting thesis is that it seems unlikely for people to have a 'neighborhood partisan metric' in their head. There are two ways to address this skepticism. First, such a metric is probably a crude instrument that does not require much political information or sophistication to operate.

Cities are generally liberal, rural areas are typically conservative. This is common knowledge. The information is likely to present in one's sub-consciousness and subtly influence relocation decisions.

Second, studies show that people resort to easily accessible contextual cues to gauge political climate (Wong et al., 2012). Even at the local neighborhood level, there are tell-tale signs of political climate. Campaign signs or bumper stickers give obvious partisan cues. In the absence of that, people associate the presence of churches and the concentration of white residents with a more conservative political environment (Gimpel and Hui, 2015b). Gimpel and Hui's preliminary analyses find that retail shops such as Walmart are positively correlated with support for the Republican Party. In contrast, organic, life-style oriented stores such as Whole Foods are associated with support for the Democratic Party.

When people are asked directly if they consider neighborhood partisan composition in their relocation decision, many deny doing so. Yet in different experiments, when people are given stimuli about neighborhood partisan composition, they respond in a perfectly partisan manner. They are more likely to prefer neighborhoods with more co-partisans (Gimpel and Hui, 2015b). They are more likely to express a higher sense of residential satisfaction when informed that their neighbors share their political preferences (Hui, 2013). Such partisan residential preference is evident among respondents who self-identify with the two political parties. Self-reported non-partisans, in contrast, are less selective and sensitive to the political environment.

In real life observational data, evidence suggests people are relocating to areas with a higher presence of co-partisans. Such a partisan sorting tendency is more evident among long-haul movers and movers with greater means (Tam Cho, Gimpel and Hui, 2013). A recent longitudinal study done in Britain shows that self-selection into places largely explains the close connection between residents' political preferences and their neighborhood political climate (Gallego et al., forthcoming). Other studies track neighborhood partisan composition in different parts of the United States and report evidence of small but noticeable increases in partisan residential segregation in recent decades (Sussell, 2013; Lang and Pearson-Merkowitz, 2015; Kinsella, McTague and Raleigh, 2015).

The study of the role of politics in residential choice is also hampered by the confusion over the causal mechanism. *The Big Sort* thesis seems to suggest an active and conscious linkage between political preference and residential choice; that is, people deliberately choose to find neighbors who share their political views. The alternative mechanism suggests that the linkage is merely incidental; that is, people of similar backgrounds have similar preferences and they just happen to end up in the same community. Gimpel and Hui (2015a) argue that the accumulating political biases visible in many neighborhoods appear to be the effect of some mixture of intentional movement to a politically compatible neighborhood as well as inadvertent sorting based on an array of factors that are incidentally related to partisanship. They show that whether queried directly, or asked via an unobtrusive list experiment, partisan compatibility has a limited influence when it comes to residential choice. People are more likely to express a preference for residential environments with features that just happen to be correlated with partisanship, but are not necessarily driven directly by partisanship.

Moreover, residential choice is a constrained decision with a hierarchical tier of factors. Affordability, neighborhood safety, racial composition, proximity to work —the conventional factors — remain the top priorities (Gimpel and Hui, 2015a; Nall and Mummolo, 2013). Crime-ridden inner cities are undesirable, and few individuals would live there just to be with their co-partisans. Prime neighborhoods attract everyone alike regardless of partisanship. Economic opportunities cluster in metropolitan areas. Even if one's preference is to live in a remote rural area, one may not act upon the desire. Therefore the final relocation decision is a compromise outcome driven by conflicting priorities and constraints. This explains why the mapping between preference and actual behavior is weak (Schwanen and Mokhtarian, 2004). It also explains why in reality we observe more partisan mixing than sorting (Tam Cho, Gimpel and Hui, 2013; Gimpel and Hui, 2015a). We will probably never observe complete residential segregation by partisanship as predicted in the theoretical Schelling model. In the long run, we can at most expect a moderate increase in partisan residential sorting.

Do Americans sort on partisanship or not? To me, the question is akin to the analogy of whether the glass is half full or half empty. One thing we know for sure is that partisan preference never trumps race in importance when it comes to relocation decisions (Gimpel and Hui, 2015a). But it is not entirely irrelevant either. To say Americans consider partisanship in residential choice to a certain extent is not substantively different from concluding that Americans do not sort themselves residentially primarily on partisanship.

III. Linking Residential Choice to Politics

In this last section, I want to take up the 'so what' issue. Given so many competing topics to study, why should political scientists pay attention to residential sorting?

As a result of residential self-selection, places become more differentiated over time in terms of racial and socio-economic resources (Massey and Denton, 1993; Sampson and Sharkey, 2008; Sharkey, 2012) that are correlated with political preferences. We know that increased geographic sorting has electoral consequences. In the United States, for example, the concentration of Democrats in urban areas and Republicans in suburbs skews the seat-to-vote ratio in elections (Chen and Rodden, 2013). Over time, the Democratic Party gains strength in metropolitan areas and the Republican Party solidifies support in areas of more dispersed settlement. Such geographic disparity at the constituency level shapes electoral competition in state legislatures and federal elected offices. Residential sorting of the electorate may have contributed to the growing number of safe electoral districts. And the decline in electoral competitiveness may have partially contributed to the growing elite polarization in Congress (Polsby, 2003; Theriault, 2008).

Apart from that, I argue that the politics of residential choice can have a major impact on the redistribution of natural resources. Uneven population growth exacerbates the spatial mismatch between population and natural resources. To overcome such a mismatch, the redistribution of resources across jurisdictions becomes necessary. Residential sorting can hinder and complicate the redistribution process. Without active intervention and appropriate institutional design, disadvantaged communities will suffer perpetual resource deprivation.

Consider the following simplified reality shown in Figure 1. In scenario one, shaded in grey, we have two

Figure 1: Inequality in Natural and Socio-Economic Resources: Two Different Scenarios

		Socio-Economic Resources	
		Rich	Poor
Natural Resources	Rich	A	B
	Poor	C	D

Note: Figure 1 shows two possible scenarios. In one scenario, shaded in grey, jurisdictions, A and D, have an incentive to trade with each other. In the other scenario, the unshaded cells, jurisdiction B is self-sufficient and has no incentive to trade with jurisdiction C.

jurisdictions, A and D. Jurisdiction A is a resource-rich place but it has low socio-economic power; jurisdiction D is the opposite. In this scenario, the two jurisdictions can trade. In scenario two, with jurisdiction B and C, socio-economic resources and natural resources overlap. Jurisdictions B is self-sufficient, and there is little incentive for it to do anything to help jurisdiction C.

Scenario two, the unshaded cells, is the political reality with which my own research wrestles. There is a spatial mismatch between the distribution of natural resources and population settlement. Take the American West, for example. It is an arid region with limited precipitation. Naturally, the land is not ideal for expansive farming or for sustaining a large population, yet population growth and major farming industry has concentrated heavily in the region during the 20th century. The spatial mismatch exacerbates the need to redistribute resources.

Residential sorting complicates the redistribution process. In particular, sorting by race and income widens economic disparity across geography. Richer citizens select themselves out of neighborhoods with poor resources. They cluster in places that have a better quality of life and public services. Through city expansion and the incorporation process, city boundaries are often intentionally formed to exclude service dependent populations (Miller, 1981). The concentration of wealth in turn allows their local governments to acquire the resources they need. Poor communities, on the other hand, have a smaller tax base and less financial capacity to acquire natural resources.

As in the case of water, cash-strapped communities often have limited clean water sources. These communities also face an additional constellation of problems, including chemical contamination in water, out of control surface water run-off, and groundwater depletion. Groundwater depletion can subsequently lead to a de-

clining water table and land subsidence. In coastal communities, groundwater depletion can induce saltwater or seawater intrusion that makes the land unsuitable for agriculture. Solving both water supply and water quality problems would require enormous financial investment in infrastructure beyond the means of these communities. The only way to at least partially mitigate the problems is through place-based policy solutions, such as building infrastructure to provide a clean and reliable water supply. These policy solutions would require the transfer of both economic and natural resources to needy communities.

Political scientists have a lot to offer here. For example, how can one design a political institution to ensure that disadvantaged communities get a fair share of economic and natural resources? If grant allocation is used as a mechanism to disperse government transfers, how can one specify the requirements so that disadvantaged communities can afford the high administrative startup costs associated with infrastructure projects? How can the state appeal to voters in well-off communities to support transferring government resources to poor communities? These are just some of the research projects my colleagues and I are working on at the Bill Lane Center for the American West at Stanford University. Our goal is to combine political science insights with rigorous methodological tools to tackle questions stemming from the spatial mismatch of population and resources.

IV. Conclusion

Is residential sorting a new phenomenon? Definitely not. From the Western expansion, to the Dust Bowl migration, to the Sun Belt migration, to white flight, America has always been a country 'on the move'. Historically, between 10-20% of Americans move annually (see here). Residential mobility is a perennial feature in American politics.

If it is not new, then why do we need to worry about it now? Residential sorting is a gradual and unwavering social process. One important lesson we learn from Schelling is that though the decisions to move and where to resettle are private, un-orchestrated moves by individuals can have lasting societal impacts. While migration may not leave much impact on our political landscape in a year or two, its impact is evident over the span of a few decades. By now, the accumulation of residential sorting has already widened the spatial disparity in economic, natural resources, and social capital. In the future, the disparity will only worsen. The growing spatial disparity in resources creates a more fundamental problem than simply the biases that are produced in electoral representation. It engraves and perpetuates the division of 'haves' versus 'have-nots' on the landscape of the nation. It increasingly pits communities against each other over the redistribution of resources and causes more political contestation across geography.

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From Votes to Seats in Multi-Party Plurality Electoral Systems: Great Britain 2010-2020

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There is a growing realization among political scientists and other psephologists that geography can have an important impact on both the conduct and the outcomes of elections (Johnston and Pattie, 2006). Too often national territories are treated — implicitly, if not explicitly — as homogeneous blocks, with insufficient realisation that spatial variations can substantially undermine generalisations that assume national uniformity. General elections in the United Kingdom, for example, are at one level national contests between the parties and their leaders (aspiring Prime Ministers) but their outcome is the result of over 600 separate contests between those parties' local candidates in the constituencies, each of which returns one Member of Parliament (MP). Geography, therefore, matters as a major determinant of British election outcomes; every campaign is an intensely geographical affair. We illustrate that case here using the example of the 2015 British general election, which was fought on a very heterogeneous geographical foundation; geography had a major impact on this election. Geographical heterogeneity is likely to be even

greater at the next general election, which is due in 2020.

I. Great Britain's Emerging Multi-party System

In the 1950s, Great Britain had a two-party system. Between them, the Conservative and Labour parties won over 90 per cent of the votes cast and virtually every seat.[1] By the 1970s this two-party predominance in *vote share* had disappeared — the two parties now won only about 75 per cent of the votes; but they still gained the great majority of the seats. In 2010 and 2015, they won only around two-thirds of the votes, but gained 89 per cent of the seats on each occasion.

This major shift led Calvo and Rodden (2015) to characterise Britain as going from a two-party system to a multi-party system. Although they suggested that Britain had moved to a multi-party system, they implicitly characterized it as a three-party system as they analyzed the vote shares of only the Conservative, Labour, and Liberal Democrat parties when clarifying the relationship between the territorial spread of each party's vote share and its votes-to-seats ratio.[2] But by treating the country as a single unit, they not only discounted the strength of other parties in particular parts of Britain — notably the Scottish National Party (SNP) in Scotland and Plaid Cymru in Wales — but they also assumed that *all parts of the country are multi-party*.

This is far from the case. As Johnston and Pattie (2011) showed, in the elections up to and including 2010, Britain may have had a three-party system nationally (see the vote percentages in Table 1), but at the constituency level — where the votes-to-seats translation actually occurs — it did not. Rather it had three two-party systems covering all but 45 of Great Britain's 632 constituencies in 2010. As Table 2 indicates, the largest component of the three two-party systems in 2010 comprised seats where the Conservative and Labour candidates occupied the first and second places, with the Liberal Democrat candidates typically coming a distant third; the next largest component had the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats in the first two places, with Labour languishing well behind; and the third component was contested by Labour and the Liberal Democrats, with the Conservatives well behind in third place. Duverger's Law, under which plural-

ity systems electing a single MP for each constituency are expected to produce a two-party contest (Duverger, 1954; Cox, 1997), applied — just differentially in different areas and constituency types. There were virtually no three-party marginal seats, constituencies in which the third-placed party was within ten percentage points of the winner.

II. The 2015 General Election Result

And then we had the 2015 election, characterised by five main features:

1. Very little change in support for the two largest parties (Conservative and Labour): their joint share of the votes cast was 65.1 per cent in 2010 and 68.9 per cent in 2015, with just a 0.4 per cent swing to Labour from the Conservatives between the two contests;
2. The Liberal Democrat vote collapsed from 23.6 to 8.1 per cent, and 49 of the 57 seats won in 2010 were lost;
3. The Scottish National Party (SNP) national vote share increased from 1.7 to 4.9 per cent (20.0 to 50.1 per cent in Scotland, the only region in which the party contested seats) and it won 56 of the 59 Scottish seats, having won only six in 2010;
4. The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) won 12.9 per cent of the votes, compared to 3.2 per cent five years earlier, and became the third largest party in England, but gained just a single seat;
5. The Green Party increased its vote share from 1.0 to 3.8 per cent, but gained no further seats beyond the single constituency won in 2010.

Little changed, therefore, at the core of the country's party system. The Conservatives and Labour parties both gained substantially in terms of the number of MPs because of the Liberal Democrat rout (27 and 12 seats respectively), but only 18 seats changed hands between the two of them: Labour won 10 from the Conservatives, but lost 8 to them. Labour also lost 40 seats to the SNP (the Liberal Democrats lost 10). But the changes at the system's 'periphery' (i.e. outside of the two largest parties) produced two major shifts in the overall nature of the country's electoral geography — shifts that

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[1] Throughout this paper, we discuss the situation in Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales) only; the separate Northern Ireland party system is excluded.

[2] Calvo and Rodden's analysis here built on the classic study of Gudgin and Taylor (1979).

Table 1: Vote Share and Seats in British Elections, 1997–2015

		Con	Lab	LibDem	UKIP	Green	SNP
1997							
	Votes (%)	31.4	44.4	17.2	0.3	0.2	2.0
	Seats (#)	165	419	46	0	0	6
2001							
	Votes (%)	32.7	42.0	18.8	1.5	0.7	1.8
	Seats (#)	166	413	52	0	0	5
2005							
	Votes (%)	33.2	36.1	22.6	1.1	2.3	1.6
	Seats (#)	198	356	62	0	0	6
2010							
	Votes (%)	37.3	30.0	23.8	3.2	1.0	1.7
	Seats (#)	307	258	57	0	1	6
2015							
	Votes (%)	37.7	31.2	8.1	12.9	3.8	4.9
	Seats (#)	331	232	8	1	1	50

Source: Cowley and Kavanaugh (2015, 433).

both reflected and altered the 'three two-party systems' which had emerged after the 2010 contest.

The first of those shifts was a consequence of the Liberal Democrat collapse. After the 2010 contest there were 286 seats where the Conservatives and Labour occupied the first two places and the Liberal Democrats on average came a poor third (see Table 2); after 2015 there were 376 seats in that category — except that UKIP was as likely to come third as the Liberal Democrats (see Table 3). As a corollary of those shifts, the number of seats with the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats occupying first and second places fell from 204 to 50 and the number with Labour and the Liberal Democrats occupying first and second places fell from 95 to just 11. Furthermore, as a result of these changes, Great Britain now had *six* 'two party systems'. There were 76 constituencies where the first two places were occupied by the Conservatives and UKIP, for example, and 44 where UKIP came second and Labour came first — previously there were none in either category. Additionally, in Scotland, whereas there were 30 constituencies where

Labour and the SNP occupied the first two places in 2010, there were 42 in 2015.

And yet, despite the growing complexity of the party system and its geographies, there were only two three-way marginals in 2015. Each of the six main contest types was a separate Duvergerian outcome. These distinct two-party systems were concentrated in different parts of the country, as the two cartograms (which show all of the 632 constituencies as having the same area) in Figures 1a and 1b illustrate. In 2010 (Figure 1a), England and Wales were dominated by three separate two-party systems. Those constituencies where the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats occupied the first two places were concentrated in the south of England (excluding London); those where Labour and the Liberal Democrats dominated were concentrated in London and the northern regions; and those with the Conservative and Labour parties occupying the first two places were concentrated in the same areas.[3] Much of Scotland comprised constituencies with Labour and the SNP occupying the first two places.

[3] Most of the seats where Labour and the Liberal Democrats came first and second were in large cities with substantial student populations; the Liberal Democrats won substantial support there because of their opposition to the second Iraq War and increases in university fees.

Table 2: Vote Share by Type of Two-Party District in 2010

Contest Type 2010	Con	Lab	LibDem	UKIP	Green	SNP
1. Conservative - Labour (*N*=286)						
2010	36.4	37.5	16.8	3.1	0.8	-
2015	37.0	39.1	3.5	14.8	2.9	-
UKIP Second to Conservative (*N*=12)	48.4	19.5	3.0	25.9	2.6	-
UKIP Second to Labour (*N*=21)	18.6	50.7	2.6	23.5	2.0	-
2. Conservative - Liberal Democrat (*N*=205)						
2010	48.1	12.7	31.5	4.0	1.0	-
2015	50.8	15.7	13.6	13.7	4.5	-
LD Second (*N*=49)	44.8	11.2	26.2	10.6	4.4	-
Lab Second (*N*=86)	52.6	20.2	9.1	13.1	4.3	-
UKIP Second (*N*=64)	54.9	13.6	8.3	17.1	4.9	-
3. Labour - Liberal Democrat (*N*=94)						
2010	16.5	44.4	28.8	2.2	1.4	-
2015	16.3	50.2	9.9	11.0	5.5	-
LD Second (*N*=12)	11.2	33.2	29.7	7.4	3.2	-
Con Second (*N*=48)	19.6	54.3	7.3	10.5	6.7	-
UKIP Second (*N*=23)	13.9	56.5	5.3	17.8	3.0	-
4. Labour - SNP (*N*=30)						
2010	10.5	53.0	10.8	0.6	0.5	22.8
2015	9.9	30.4	2.0	1.4	0.8	54.8

Note: Cells contain the average percentage of the vote received by political parties base don the type of two-party district in 2010. Each two-party district indicates the two parties that dominate party competition in that district.

At the 2015 election (Figure 1b), there was a much larger number of constituencies where the Conservatives and Labour occupied the first two places. These constituencies were widely distributed across England and Wales, except in southwestern England. Seats where the Conservatives shared the first two places with UKIP (which won only one) were all in southern England (though with only one in London); those where the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats occupied first and second places had a similar distribution. Labour-UKIP seats were almost all in northern England;[4] Scotland was dominated by SNP-Labour contests, with the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats challenging SNP in the country's northern and southern fringes. As in 2010, there was a small number of Welsh constituencies where Plaid Cymru (which won three seats at each election) contested the seat with one of the Conservatives, Labour, and the Liberal Democrats.

From a country in the three post-World War II decades where virtually every constituency was contested by the Conservatives and Labour, Great Britain is now electorally fragmented: a nationalized pattern has been denationalized. In addition, over the same period the number of two-party marginal seats has declined. Using one definition of a marginal seat — where the Conservative share of the (Conservative plus Labour) vote total was between 45 and 55 per cent — Curtice (2015) shows that in 2015 the number of marginal seats was at its lowest level, with just 74 seats — almost randomly distributed across the country's regions — where one of those parties could replace the other with a swing of less than five percentage points. Sixty years earlier, there had been 166 such seats.

A corollary of fewer marginal seats is more safe ones for all three of the parties with more than a handful of seats in the House of Commons. Of the SNP's current 56, for example, 28 were won by margins of more than 20 percentage points and only six by less than ten.

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[4]See Goodwin and Milazzo (2015) for a discussion of the geography of UKIP's support.

Table 3: Vote Share by Type of Two-Party District in 2015

Contest Type 2015	Con	Lab	LibDem	UKIP	Green	SNP
1. Conservative - Labour (*N*=376)						
2010	37.5	33.5	20.6	3.1	1.0	-
2015	39.4	37.1	5.2	13.3	3.8	-
2. Conservative - Liberal Democrat (*N*=50)						
2010	42.1	7.7	44.4	3.4	0.7	-
2015	45.5	10.9	26.9	11.3	4.3	-
3. Labour - Liberal Democrat (*N*=11)						
2010	19.9	29.4	43.2	1.8	1.6	-
2015	13.5	41.8	30.2	9.0	4.5	-
4. Conservative - UKIP (*N*=77)						
2010	52.8	13.8	24.7	4.9	0.9	-
2015	53.6	14.5	7.4	18.8	4.5	-
5. Labour - UKIP (*N*=44)						
2010	18.2	49.1	18.6	3.5	0.2	-
2015	16.2	53.7	4.0	20.5	2.5	-
6. Labour - SNP (*N*=42)						
2010	12.9	50.5	13.9	0.5	0.8	20.0
2015	12.0	30.2	2.3	1.4	1.4	52.2

Note: Cells contain the average percentage of the vote each party received in 2010 and 2015 based on the type of two-party district in 2015. Each two-party district indicates the two parties that dominate party competition in that district.

From a country in the three post-World War II decades when virtually every constituency was contested by the Conservatives and Labour, Great Britain is now electorally fragmented: a nationalized pattern has been denationalized. In addition, over the same period the number of two-party marginal seats has declined.

The situations for the Conservatives and Labour are shown in Figures 2a and 2b. We have placed constituencies in six groups according to the election result: the first three (on the left of the horizontal axis) are those that are very safe for their main opponent (won by more than 20 per cent of the vote, and so 'hope-less' for the party under consideration), fairly safe (won by 10-19 points), or marginal (won by 0-9 points); the other three on the right of the horizontal axis are the seats they won (by the same margins).

For both parties, the number of very safe seats (both lost and won) has increased, whereas the numbers in the other categories have declined. For the Conservatives (Figure 2a), the 2015 result produced more than 400 very safe seats — either won or lost — out of 632; for Labour (Figure 2b) the number was slightly larger — although as the smaller of the two parties it had many more where it lost than where it won. Meanwhile the number of marginal seats fell: the Conservatives won 81 by less than ten percentage points in 2010, for example, but only 46 five years later. The comparable figures for Labour were 79 and 59.

Figure 1: The Geographic Distribution of Two-Party Systems in Great Britain

(a) 2010 General Elections
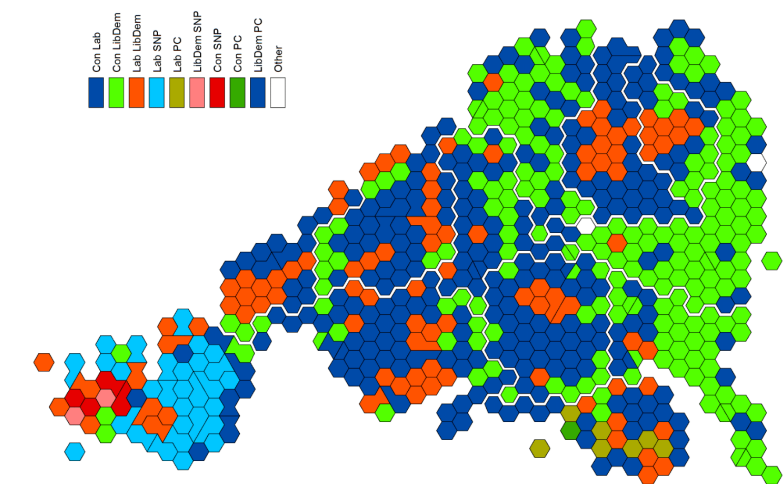
(b) 2015 General Election
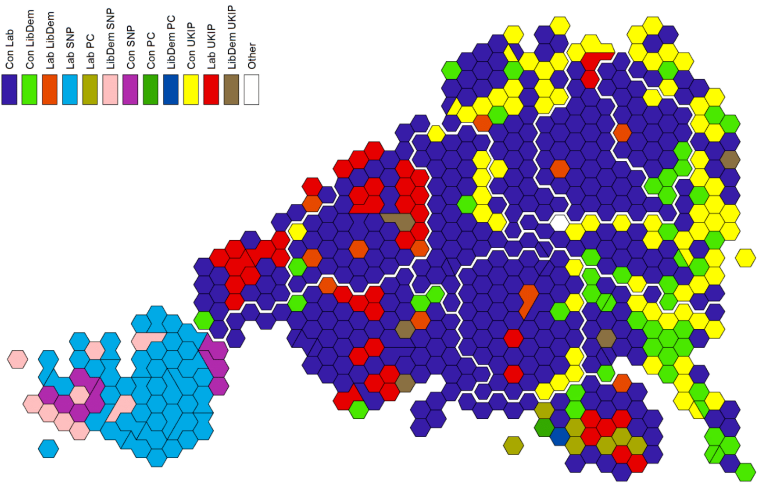
Note: The figure presents two cartograms that show the geographic distribution of two-party systems across Great Britain following the 2010 general elections (panel a) and the 2015 general elections (panel b). A cartogram shows each of the constituencies as having the same areas. Regional boundaries are shown in white.

III. A More Spatially Polarised Country?

So why has the British electoral map become so much more polarised? The main reason is the Liberal Democrat collapse, which was not fully matched by the UKIP surge. This is shown by the average percentages won by each party in each contest type in Tables 2 and 3. In the 376 constituencies where the Conservatives and Labour occupied the first two places in 2015 (Table 3), the collapse of the Liberal Democrats' average to just one-quarter of their 2010 percentage vote share was not matched by UKIP's rise; the latter party's vote quadrupled on average, but it was much further behind the front runners than the Liberal Democrats had been in 2010. Labour won 50 of those seats by more than 20 points in 2010, and 87 of them in 2015; the comparable figures for seats won by the Conservatives were 82 and 118.

The Liberal Democrats lost 47 seats by less than ten points in 2010, but only 7 in 2015. Many of them became safe for either the Conservatives or Labour as a consequence. In some, the Liberal Democrats remained in second place, but much weaker than was the case in 2010, as the data in Table 2 suggest. In 2010, the Liberal Democrats averaged 31.5 per cent of the votes in the seats where they and the Conservatives occupied the first two places, and Labour averaged 12.7 per cent. Five years later, their respective average shares in those 205 seats were 13.6 and 15.7. The Liberal Democrats' share more than halved (and fell by more than three-quarters in the 150 seats where it no longer occupied second place), but there was no Labour surge as a consequence and UKIP's average share was almost exactly the same as the Liberal Democrats'. The result was more Conservative safe seats, even though the party's average vote share increased only slightly. And the same happened in the 94 seats contested by Labour and the Liberal Democrats in 2010.

UKIP's advance meant that in 2015 it became the second-placed party in 33 seats where the Conservatives and Labour had occupied the first two places in 2010 — but it came a poor second on average (more than 20 percentage points behind the leading party), with the consequence again being more safe seats for the two largest parties (Table 2). In addition to the one seat won from the Conservatives, UKIP was runner-up in 120, but on average was very poorly-placed there (Table 3): it came within 10 percentage points of the winning party in only four seats, and within 10-20 points in a further 22.

IV. Towards the 2020 General Election

So Britain has become a more complexly divided country between different pairs of political parties, and also a more polarised country. Its two largest parties, plus the largest party in Scotland, are well-entrenched in their heartlands, with large numbers of very safe seats that should remain theirs at the next general election (due in 2020), and a very few that might change hands. Because the Conservatives now have a majority in the House of Commons (and 98 seats more than their main opponent) and few of their seats are vulnerable to a swing of 5 percentage points to Labour, they are likely to remain the largest party there.

Two things could change that situation, however. The first is that there will not only be a redistribution of constituency boundaries before 2020 but the number of MPs will also be reduced from 650 to 600, with all seats having electorates within +/-5 per cent of the national average (previously there was no limit: the Boundary Commissions were merely required to make constituency electorates as 'equal as practicable', given other guidelines).[5] This is likely to advantage the Conservatives over Labour — a conclusion reached on the basis of an aborted attempt to undertake that exercise before the 2015 election (Johnston, 2015). The new electoral map, with many more areas very safe for one party, will undoubtedly enhance that situation; a new electoral geography is unlikely to emerge.

The second is that the support for the parties could well be as volatile between 2015 and 2020 as it was in the previous five years. On the 'periphery' the Liberal Democrat decline could be partly reversed and the SNP and UKIP advances turned back; if they can change by that much in one five-year period, why can't they again? Much will depend on the outcome of the European Union membership referendum, to be held on

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[5]The government changed the rules for constituency redistributions in 2011, and 600 new constituencies were supposed to be in place in time for the 2015 general election (Johnston and Pattie, 2012). That redistribution was halted by Parliament in 2013 when the Liberal Democrat MPs voted against their Conservative coalition partners (in 'revenge' for the latter's failure to agree to House of Lords reform), however, and the first redistribution under the new rules will begin in 2016, producing 600 new constituencies in time for the 2020 election.

Figure 2: The Distribution of Hopeless, Safe, and Marginal Seats in 2010 and 2015

(a) Conservative party
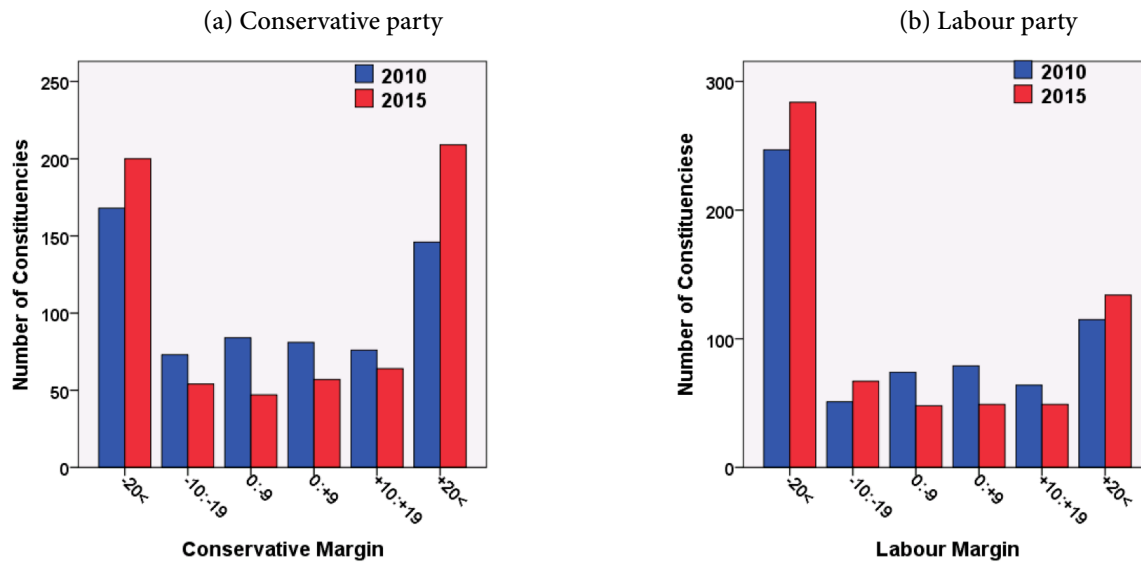
(b) Labour party

June 23, 2016, and on the cohesion of the Labour party under its new leadership. Yet another new electoral geography is, therefore, possible in 2020.

V. Conclusion

Calvo and Rodden (2015) have made an important contribution to the extension of Gudgin and Taylor's (1979) classic analysis of the votes-to-seats translation in plurality systems. But their analysis of the three-party situation that characterised Great Britain to a greater-or-lesser extent from the 1974 to 2010 elections ignored the operation of the Duvergerian effect. Basically, much of Great Britain split into three, unequal parts, in each of which only two of the three parties was likely to win seats. A fourth substantial part emerged in Scotland with the growth of the SNP. In each of those parts, as Johnston and Pattie (2011) reported, the usual patterns of disproportionality and bias emerged in the translation of votes into seats. And then, in 2015, Britain truly went multi-party and the country was split into six different segments: two different parties dominated in each of those groups of constituencies, with the others merely also-rans. And the way this has fallen out — notably with the reduction of the number of marginal seats and an increase in those that are very safe — has strongly favoured the Conservative party, making it much easier for them to be the largest party again at the 2020 general election. In this, as in so many other electoral situations, geography matters deeply.

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Space and Place in Political Geography

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Fifteen years ago, I published a commentary on a paper by an international relations scholar to a geography audience in which I claimed that the divide between political science and political geography was wide due to divergent disciplinary emphases and norms (O'Loughlin, 2000). If anything, this gap has widened in the intervening years. This is despite the efforts of a small handful of individuals who have attempted to bridge the gap by paying close attention to the methods, theories, and literature in the other discipline and by publishing in its journals. If one were to summarize the disciplines in caricatures, one could claim with substantiation from the papers published in the respective journals that political geography is becoming more like anthropology while political science is becoming more like economics.

My perspective on the resonance of the disciplines for each other is strongly influenced by my 35-year stint as editor of *Political Geography* that ended in December 2015. Since its founding in 1981, *Political Geography* was mooted as a journal that would appeal to non-geographers interested in the geographic aspects of politics across many scales — from community level land struggles to the geopolitical relations of great powers in the Cold War world. It is my opinion that the journal has only been partially successful in meeting this goal. About 30-40% of the submissions in recent years have come from non-geographers, but their acceptance rate is quite low due to the lack of engagement or understanding of the core tenets of geography on the part of the authors from other disciplines. It's possible, even likely, that these core tenets are not clearly established and from the outside it might appear as if one is trying to hit a shifting or clouded target.

Setting aside issues of quality and proper research design and analysis, the main reason why papers from political scientists did not get accepted in *Political Geography* was due to their narrow and outmoded conception of space. On average, most of these submissions were much more sophisticated and analytically-careful than those of geographers and would have a higher success rate in a journal with a broader remit. But a political

geography journal obviously has a goal and an orientation that demands attention to its core tenets. The issue then revolves around the definition and clarification of these tenets.

Editors can be accused — sometimes with reason — of disciplining authors by rejecting works as outside the remit of their journals or by dismissing authors as not appreciating or conceiving of key concepts in a certain manner. Unless authors make a sincere effort to engage with the perspectives and literature of the discipline to which they wish to contribute, it should not be surprising that their submissions will be harshly judged. In the case of *Political Geography*, unfortunately, many outside the discipline retain a spatial analytic view that in its most extreme form can evolve into what I have called 'political geometry'. This is a Cartesian coordinate approach that privileges 'space' to the detriment of 'place' in understanding the geographies of politics.

The distinction between space and place has been extensively discussed and debated in human geography for the past three decades. It harks back to the arguments in Anglo-American geography in the 1950s and 1960s about whether the discipline should emphasize and study the complexity and unique features of the Earth's human and physical mosaic (its traditional niche in the academic institutions) or whether it should become more 'scientific', concerned with comparison, generalization, and nomothetic emphases (Johnston and Sidaway, 2016). This dispute will be familiar to comparativists in political science, and it was especially heartfelt after the end of the Communist regimes in the early 1990s. Place has taken on the aura of exceptionality while space retains the appearance of connectivity, exemplified in idioms like 'spatial relations', 'spatial contiguity' or 'spatial distance'. It is this latter trait of geographic study that has found an audience in some quarters of political science. A handful of political scientists like Mike Ward, Kristian Gleditsch, Harvey Starr, Halvard Buhaug, Robert Franzese, and Jude Hays have probed the statistical properties and empirical impact of multiple measures of spatial effects. Like geographers for over 40 years, they have noted the bewildering range of influences that depend on the measure of 'geography' that is chosen (the choice of spatial weights).

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[1] See the contents in a major recent review of the field in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Political Geography* (Agnew et al., 2015); only one chapter of the 37 is allocated to this approach, though one might argue that elements of the theoretical chapters are highly relevant to spatial analysis

It's accurate to assert that 'spatial analysis' is a minority camp in political geography despite its systematic appeal and investigative tools.[1] Like political science, the chasm between so-called quantitative and qualitative research is getting wider. Unlike political science, the majority of work in political geography can properly be categorized as qualitative. Since the 'cultural turn' of the early 1980s, human geography generally, and political geography more specifically, has been more similar to cultural anthropology, and most researchers have decisively turned away from spatial statistical analysis. Ironically, this development occurred at the same time that there was a powerful integration of spatial analytical methods into geographical information science, especially in the advancement of user-friendly software that allows a ready cartographic display and exploration of the coefficients and values of the typical regressions (Goodchild et al., 2000).

> In the case of *Political Geography*, unfortunately, many outside the discipline retain a spatial analytic view that in its most extreme form can evolve into what I have called 'political geometry'. This is a Cartesian coordinate approach that privileges 'space' to the detriment of 'place' in understanding the geographies of politics.

Spatial analysts in political geography find themselves departing from the dominant view in political science that seeks generalization and relationships that hold in all settings, since as geographers we remain interested in local and sub-national trends. In this respect, we are more similar to our compatriots who do qualitative work focused on localities. Most and Starr's (2015) consideration of 'domain-specific' laws is the closest that political scientists come to this view. We abhor 'fixed effects' modeling of geographically-based information because of its obsession with controlling for unknown, and even unknowable, factors that complicate the straightforward test of the key relationship of interest. It is these complications and heterogeneities that drive our research. The difference in mentality was evident two decades ago in the difference of opinion between Agnew (1996) and King (1996). In modern parlance, King's critique of our contextual fixation was the familiar 'omitted variable bias' one. While the technical repair of fixed effects modeling might resolve the

bias to the satisfaction of methodologists, it erases the enticement of places and the meaning of regions that drives our discipline.

Persuasive statements about the meaning of places, regions, and contexts for understanding human activities and attitudes have been evident for the past four decades. According to Johnston's framing of the regional project, regions are constantly engaged in the processes of self-reproduction, context-definition, autonomy-definition, resource structure, and conflict-mediation. This does not mean the kind of search for proper and accurate regional definitions that consumed human geography before the 1960s. As Johnston (1991, 67) reasoned "we do not need regional geography, but we do need regions in geography."

But if context remains a mantra in political geography, how do we measure its importance? What spatial or distance range (spatial weights) around the point of interest should we use? Let's suppose the point is a voter's residence; what is her neighborhood or social 'milieu' as determined by her networks of friends and neighbors? What about non-neighborhood influences such as workplaces or even recreational spots? The lack of precision on these matters has bedeviled spatial analysis and frustrated political scientists trying to get to grips with what is increasingly accepted as an identifiable omitted variable — a knowable unknown in Rumsfeld parlance.

The demarcation of context is generally understood to be a specific case of the Modifiable Areal Unit Problem (MAUP) in geography. Depending on the scale of analysis and the chosen aggregation of smaller spatial units (including points) into larger ones, the statistical results can vary greatly, as first highlighted by Openshaw and Taylor (1979). Using an empirical example of attitudes about violence in the North Caucasus of Russia, a colleague and I showed that the regression coefficients for the context measure (the amount of violence in the respondent's locality) varied a lot depending on the distance metric used to define his/her context (Linke and O'Loughlin, 2015). Even more noteworthy, the choice of a distance metric — say for a control measure — changes the coefficients for other predictors (in our case) from insignificant to highly significant. No doubt such results are frustrating for researchers who are searching for generalizable results, but viewed another way, they can be the beginning of a different style

of work. Understanding why a confined geographic range is more important than a wider definition in affecting political attitudes and why the effects are heterogeneous across a region starts to probe the implications of place effects. Geographers hold that the uneven patterns of such effects should be examined with an eye to appreciating 'historically contingent processes' (Pred, 1984) that transpire in places. A similar emphasis on "articulations of social relations …which are not only internal to that locale but which link them to elsewhere" (Massey, 1995, 182) in a historical context runs through the writings of geographers who elaborate the sense of place. What should be especially noted is that places are never non-dynamic, isolated, or singular in their character.

Not all geographers have been enamored by the lure of place as a disciplinary marker. Though Taylor (1999) claims that places are 'enabling' since they can provide a setting for progressive social movements, others worry that this mentality can easily devolve into a kind of NIMBYism (Not in My Back Yard) that is hostile to perceived outsiders and undermines the solidarity of class interests that transcend regions (Smith, 1988). It is fair to claim that while this dispute remains unresolved, there remains widespread dissatisfaction with the instinctive acceptance in political science of existing borders and territorial lines. Agnew (1994) refers to this as the 'territorial trap', which is predicated on three assumptions: namely, states as fixed units of sovereign space, the domestic/foreign polarity in analysis, and states as containers of societies. While the original article was written as an invective against the mainstream IR perspective in a globalizing world where fixities were collapsing, the critique has been broadened to motivate scholars to question the immutability of borders and lines, to understand the effects of political-territorial divisions on the lives of citizens, to study the historical circumstances that led to a particular formation, and to examine the political uses of borders.

In 2000, I wrote that "The distinction between place and space is a crucial one for geographers, not only because place tends towards the singular (every place is unique) and space to the general (since places are erased by a pure spatial focus) but also because the two terms evoke different emotions and emphases. Space is associated with abstractness …while place is associated with familiarity (and) security" (O'Loughlin, 2000, 133). That statement is still accurate and still under-

pins the dominant geographic perspective that marks the distinction with political science.

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The Diffusion of Public Policies: Expanding the Focus in Time and in Space

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Policy diffusion is a concept that has become popular in recent decades and "is defined as one government's policy choices being influenced by the choices of other governments" (Shipan and Volden, 2012, 788). While scholars have addressed policy diffusion at the subnational level in the U.S. for decades (Walker, 1969; Berry and Berry, 1990; Gray, 1973), research on the *cross-national* diffusion of public policies did not really take off until the late 1990s.[1] The existing literature on cross-national policy diffusion focuses on different policy areas such as social policies (Brooks, 2007; Gilardi, 2010; Schmitt and Obinger, 2013), tax and fiscal policies (Plümper, Troeger and Winner, 2009; Swank, 2006; Gilardi and Wasserfallen, 2016), or environmental policies (Biesenbender and Tosun, 2014; Cao and Prakash, 2012; Holzinger, Knill and Sommerer, 2008). These studies demonstrate that policy diffusion is an important phenomenon in nearly all fields of public policy. Through the use of spatial econometric techniques, scholars have found that governments emulate policy trends of their peers (Schmitt et al., 2015), learn from successful pioneers abroad (Gilardi, Füglister and Luyet, 2009), strategically interact in competitive situations (Obinger and Schmitt, 2016a), and implement policy strategies pushed by international organizations or powerful nations (Orenstein, 2008).[2]

Most existing studies dealing with policy diffusion have analyzed how the interdependencies that exist among OECD-countries influence public policies in rich democracies since the 1980s. Relationships with non-OECD countries, diffusion across countries in the Global South, and diffusion processes going further back in time, have been relatively understudied. It is important to recognize, though, that diffusion is not a product of the recent wave of globalization and it is also not restricted to OECD countries. It is for this reason that I believe that more research is needed that analyzes diffusion in countries beyond the OECD and that elucidates the historical roots of diffusion. Expanding the focus in time and space would provide us with a more comprehensive understanding of policy diffusion — how and when it occurs and between which actors.

I begin by briefly sketching out the main findings of my previous work on the diffusion of social and economic policies in rich democracies. In doing so, I also summarize the state of the art in the existing literature. I then illustrate how diffusion research might be expanded in terms of time and space. I do this by looking at the diffusion of social protection in former British and French colonies, the subject of one of my current research projects.

I. The Diffusion of Social and Economic Policies in Advanced Democracies

In my previous work, I have focused on the diffusion of economic and social policies in OECD-countries. One main finding is that economic relationships constitute the primary channel for policy diffusion. Trade relations increase the level of competition and the exchange of information, and they turn out to be more important when it comes to diffusion than cultural ties or policy learning platforms at the EU level (Schmitt, 2011, 2013; Schmitt and Obinger, 2013). For example, governments tend to privatize big companies when major trading partners do so, or increase replacement rates when economically-related countries do the opposite.

> The existing literature mainly discusses the diffusion of public policies in the last 30 years, emphasizing the importance of the recent wave of globalization. However, the diffusion of policies is not a new phenomenon, but is instead something that has been going on for a much longer period of time.

A second finding is that the importance of different diffusion mechanisms varies over time. For example, in the formative phase of the welfare state in Western Europe, diffusion largely occurred via learning and emulation. Many countries sent out expert commissions in the late 19th century, travelling to Germany and Austria to study the local social insurance institu-

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[1] For an exception, see Collier and Messick (1975)

[2] In the following, I mainly refer to studies analyzing cross-national diffusion in a quantitative framework. Besides this strand of literature, there are numerous studies focusing on policy diffusion at the subnational level (e.g., Gilardi, 2010; Volden, 2006) or within a qualitative methodological framework (e.g., Seeleib-Kaiser and Fleckenstein, 2007; Weyland, 2009).

tions in order to inform the design of social protection at home (Obinger and Schmitt, 2016*b*). Additionally, in the decades after World War II when the welfare state was expanded, competition between capitalist countries in the West and communist countries in the East led to social policy diffusion. Particularly in the 1970s, the welfare state was the battleground for regime competition, with the rivalry between the East and the West acting as a driving force for welfare state expansion (Obinger and Schmitt, 2016*a*). In the wake of the economic stagflation of the 1970s and against the backdrop of the global spread of neoliberal ideas, diffusion seems instead to have been triggered by economic competition. In the course of privatization, for example, strategic alliances between West European countries have been forged aiming at transforming public enterprises into global transnational corporations that are capable of achieving an extensive share of the worldwide market (Schmitt, 2014). In sum, how policy diffusion occurs, and between which countries, varies over time.

II. State of the Art

Existing studies of cross-national policy diffusion have focused almost entirely on the interdependencies that exist between the advanced industrialized countries in the OECD. However, the public policies in OECD countries are not only influenced by the interdependencies that exist with other OECD countries. They are also shaped by the interdependent relationships that exist with many different countries in other regions of the world. For example, the labor migration that originated from the countries of the former Soviet bloc in the 1990s and 2000s has resulted in a situation where the long term care in many European countries is largely provided by informal workers (Kilkey, Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2010).

Diffusion is also a common phenomenon in low- and middle-income countries. In a recent special issue in *Politics and Society*, various contributions show that the continuities and changes in social protection that we observe in the developing world are only understandable when we take policy diffusion into account (Schmitt et al., 2015; Rudra, 2015; Brooks, 2007). For example, Brooks (2007) shows that the introduction of conditional cash transfers is influenced by horizontal channels of communication across developing countries that empower governments to evaluate the financial and institutional resources required for social security re-

forms. In contrast to OECD countries, international actors play a more decisive role when it comes to policy diffusion in countries of the Global South. "The primary and most consistent advocates for expansionism across the developing world have been international actors rather than domestic players" (Rudra, 2015, 464). Diffusion is also relevant for transformations of revenue mobilization in the developing world resulting from the increased integration in the world economy. International relations not only influence levels of revenue mobilization, but also the composition of public revenues (Li, 2016; Seelkopf, Lierse and Schmitt, 2016). These examples illustrate that it is necessary to break up the focus that currently exists on specific regions of the world and to take account of all the relevant interdependencies that matter for national policy making.

Moreover, the existing literature mainly discusses the diffusion of public policies in the last 30 years, emphasizing the importance of the recent wave of globalization. However, the diffusion of policies is not a new phenomenon, but is instead something that has been going on for a much longer period of time. For example, numerous historical inquiries have shed light on the mutual exchange of social-reformist ideas during the formative phase of the welfare state in the 19th century (Rodgers, 1998; Petersen, 2011). The historical roots of diffusion not only influenced the nature of cross-national interdependencies, but they also created path dependencies that inform contemporary policies. For example, the contemporary Japanese welfare state, which is not captured very well by existing typologies (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Castles, 1993), is only comprehensible when the relationships with Prussia at the end of the 19th century and the American occupation after World War II are taken into account (Obinger and Schmitt, 2016*a*).

III. The Diffusion of Social Security in Former Colonies

In a current project, I analyze the historical roots of social protection in countries outside of the OECD. These roots are predominantly shaped by colonial interdependencies. I argue that the colonial heritage is a crucial factor to take into account when explaining social policy beyond the OECD-world. This is because most developing countries have a colonial history and more than half of all social security programs in former colonies were introduced before those countries gained independence (Schmitt, 2015). More concretely, it is the

interplay between the colonized societies and the colonial powers that helps to explain differences in social policy and postcolonial social outcomes. Surprisingly, neither policy diffusion nor comparative welfare state research has analyzed the influence of colonialism on social policy.

My research indicates that each former colonial power influenced the pathway and configuration of social security systems in their colonies in a specific way according to the state principles and policy models used at home (Schmitt, 2015). For example, due to the decentralized imperial strategy applied by the British Empire, social security programs are more heterogeneous across former British colonies than they are across former French colonies. In former Spanish colonies, retirement schemes have been especially strongly shaped by the colonial legacy. This is due to the fact that most colonies established a pension system according to the Spanish model of the early 19th century.

My research also indicates that the level of economic prosperity has been more important for the emergence of social security systems in British colonies than in French colonies (Schmitt, 2015). Rich colonies in the British Empire introduced social security legislation earlier than poor ones, while French colonies implemented social security legislation at approximately the same time independently of their economic situation. The British colonial power held the view that the colonies should raise the revenues necessary to pay for social security themselves (Cooper, 1996; MacLean, 2002). Under British rule, "the colonies were required to meet the costs of their domestic programs, and resource constraints often precluded the introduction of services even when the need for these services was accepted" (Midgley and Piachaud, 2011, 39).

Once social security has been introduced, however, the economic situation is less influential in former British colonies as opposed to former French colonies. This is particularly the case with respect to the coverage of social protection. The reason for this is that economic prosperity is associated with a greater share of employment in the formal labor market. Within earning-related schemes, which have been almost exclusively introduced in French colonies, the level of economic prosperity and the respective size of the formal sector is directly translated into the coverage of social security programs (Schmitt, 2016). In British colonies, this rela-

tionship is far less prominent due to the highly heterogeneous schemes that have been adopted; these schemes are associated with different economic and financial preconditions. For example, once a non-contributory pension system has been established, the number of beneficiaries is less strongly influenced by the economic situation than in an earnings-related system where having no job or being informally employed often implies no protection at all. In British colonies, economic prosperity therefore plays a greater role for the introduction of social security systems but less so for the coverage of social security than in French colonies.

Figure 1 illustrates the importance of the interdependencies that existed between former colonies and imperial powers for social security systems. It shows the influence of economic prosperity on work injury legislation in former British and French colonial spheres of influence. The horizonal axis reflects the year that a work injury program was introduced. The vertical axis displays the GDP per capita in a colony minus the average GDP per capita across all of the colonies of the respective imperial sphere in the year of program adoption. The figure is based on multivariate regression analyses that include a set of control variables that account for possible alternative explanations (Schmitt, 2015, 388-389). The figure demonstrates that economic prosperity is a crucial factor for the establishment of work injury schemes in former British colonies, since affluent colonies introduced work injury programs much earlier than poor territories. In contrast, economic development did not fuel work injury legislation in French colonies. The figure illustrates how colonial powers influenced social security in former colonies in a way that reflects their notion of state intervention and the policies implemented at home.

Colonial interdependencies are one example for how relations between European countries and non-OECD countries have shaped public policy making outside of the OECD, but in turn also influence public policies in the former imperial powers, for example, via labor migration from former colonies. Expanding the focus in time and space on the one hand, and narrowing the focus to policy-specific interdependencies on the other hand, will help to overcome shortcomings in the existing literature. For example, it may be the case that complex, expertise-intensive policy innovations are transmitted and communicated via expert networks while low complex policies such as privati-

Figure 1: Economic Prosperity and the Introduction of Work Injury Programs in Former British and French colonies
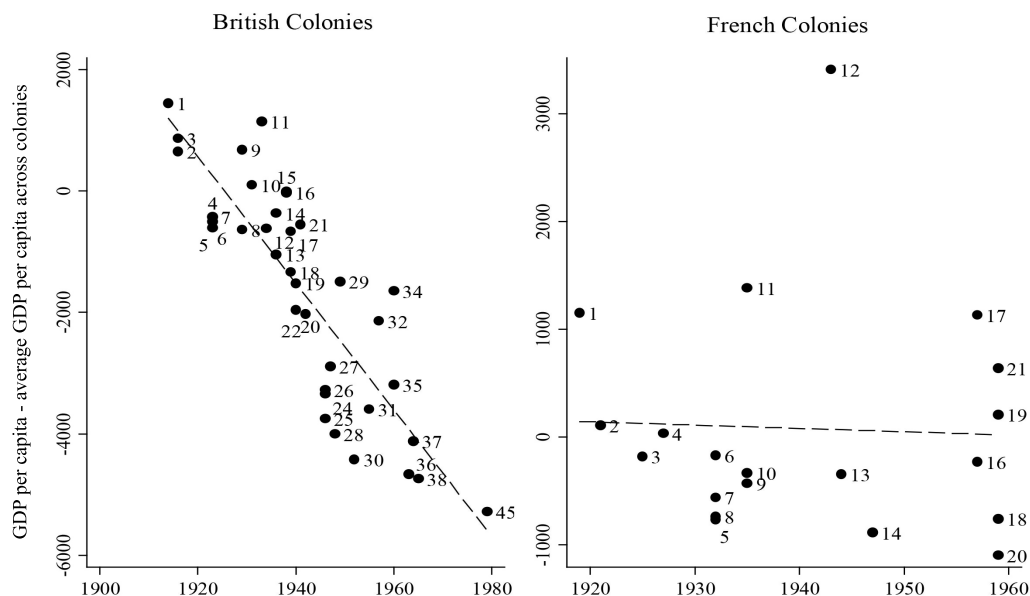
Note: The vertical axis captures a colony's GDP per capita minus the average GDP per capita across British (left-panel) and French (right panel) colonies. Positive values indicate that the colony is wealthier than the average colony, while negative values indicate that the colony is poorer than the average colony. The black circles indicate the introduction of a work injury program. The dashed lines indicate the predicted values from a model where I regress the relative economic position of a colony to the cross-colonial average of the respective imperial sphere on several variables such as GDP per capita, ILO membership, regional diffusion, past experience, and colonial variables. See Schmitt (2015, 388) for more details.

zation are instead triggered by economic competitive linkages. To be more flexible and concrete at the same time will deepen our understanding of how public policies are diffused across nations.

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Dataset: Introducing the Ill Treatment & Torture (ITT) Data

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The Ill-Treatment and Torture (ITT) Data Collection Project uses content analysis to measure a number of variables on more than $15,000$ public allegations of government ill-treatment and torture made by Amnesty International (AI) from 1995 to 2005. The data are distributed at two levels of aggregation. The ITT's country-year data quantify AI allegations of ill-treatment and torture at the country-year unit of observation and further across responsible government agents and econo-socio-political groups of alleged victims. The ITT specific allegation (SA) event data use the torture allegation as the unit of observation, thus permitting users to manipulate them for a wide variety of purposes. In this article, we introduce the ITT specific allegation data. The ITT SA data can be used to study not only AI's naming and shaming behavior, but also states' (lack of) compliance with the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT).

Several well-known data collection efforts have made valuable contributions utilizing the reports of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) to create ordinal data about government human rights abuses. Although important, these data suffer from a failure to seriously engage the undercount bias inherent in such data collection efforts. The ITT data are different than other data on government violations in human rights in at least two ways. First, rather than conceptualize INGO reports about human rights as evocative of the performance of states vis-à-vis their international obligations, ITT quantifies Amnesty International allegations of ill-treatment and torture. Allegations are distinguishable from 'true' levels of state human rights violations, which are inherently unobservable. This is of theoretical and empirical import, as the activity of INGOs is of considerable interest to a broad research community within international relations and international law. Although differences between actual violations of human rights and allegations of that behavior result in validity and reliability challenges, human rights data collection projects to date have not grounded their efforts conceptually in allegations of rights violations.

Second, in addition to producing an ordinal measure of AI allegations of torture in all countries with populations over one million persons, the Ill-Treatment and Torture data include information on a number of additional characteristics of the allegations advanced in AI publications. More specifically, the ITT project performed content analysis of all AI publications from 1995 to 2005 to measure allegations of torture at two units of observation: specific allegations (SA) and country-year (CY) allegations. The distinction between these two units of analysis involves the breadth of their spatial-temporal domain. Country-year allegations concern the general use of torture across a country throughout a year by a particular government agency (if specified). They are more general in nature than specific allegations, and they apply only to reports that describe torture occurring across an entire country over an entire year. The ITT project refers to allegations of torture occurring within a limited time (that is, less than a year) or space (for example, a region or a specific prison) as specific allegations.

Space constraints prohibit us from providing descriptive statistics about the ITT data, but accessible overviews can be found at Mapping Torture Allegations using ITT (a blog post by K. Chad Clay at The Quantitative Peace) and in this brief movie (created by Andreas Beger). We also introduce the CY ITT data in a 2013 article in *International Studies Perspectives* and the SA ITT data in a 2014 article in the *Journal of Peace Research*.

The ITT data make possible research into previously unexplored questions about government violations of human rights.

- Which individuals and groups in society are subject to human rights abuse, and why?
- What explains the cross-national variation in the government agencies that abuse detainees?
- What outcomes follow state-led investigations in response to AI allegations?

For example, we have a working paper (with Daniel W. Hill) that examines the impact of competitive elections upon government decisions to employ scarring versus stealth torture. Readers may be surprised by the results: Because torture is often targeted at minorities, institutions that protect the majority—like contested elections—do not encourage leaders to prioritize plau-

sible deniability. As such, states with elections engage in more scarring torture. Other institutions—like courts—were created to protect minority rights, such that leaders in states with powerful courts demonstrate higher levels of stealth torture. In addition to our own work, other scholars have found innovative ways to use the ITT data. Ursula Daxecker recently published an article in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* arguing that scarring torture is consistently associated with increased terrorism. Peter Haschke uses the ITT data to explore the ways in which democracies systematically violate rights to repress dissent.

All open-source data on conflict events, including (lack of) respect for human rights, suffer from an unknowable undercount bias. The actual number of violations, protests, killings, bombings, illegal detentions, and so on in any spatial-temporal domain of any political consequence is unknowable. It follows that we must treat all measurement of such activity as an estimate of a latent quantity/quality. The ITT project tackles this issue head on and proposes two different statistical modeling approaches to produce estimates of the impact of covariates upon the unobservable level of state compliance with the CAT conditional upon AI allegations. Statistical modeling is but one possible solution, and the two modeling strategies we recommend are only two such strategies. We hope the ITT project stimulates others to stop sweeping the problem under the rug, road test our suggested strategies, and more importantly, propose alternative strategies to improve future research on political conflict.

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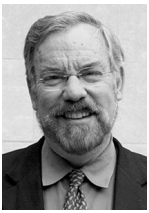
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Announcements

- We are pleased to announce that the Section in Comparative Politics will provide up to ten travel stipends of $500 for graduate student members of the Section whose papers have been accepted for presentation at the 2016 Annual Meeting of the APSA. It is open to all students who are members of the Comparative Politics Section and who provide confirmation of their acceptance as a paper presenter. Preference will be given to papers scheduled for presentation on any panel sponsored by the comparative politics section (Section 11 in the program). Winners within this pool will be selected at random. If additional stipends remain to be distributed, a second lottery will award stipends for papers presented on panels sponsored by other sections.

  Please send applications no later than April 15 to Robert Kaufman, kaufrutger@aol.com.

  Submissions must include the following items:

  1. Title of paper and panel.
  2. Screenshot of the APSA page indicating you have accepted your role in the program.

About the Section

The Organized Section in Comparative Politics is the largest organized section in the American Political Science Association (APSA) with over 1,300 members. The purpose of the Section is to promote the comparative, especially cross-national, study of politics and to integrate the work of comparativists, area studies specialists, and those interested in American politics. The Section organizes panels for APSA's annual meetings; awards annual prizes for best paper, best article, best book, and best dataset; and oversees and helps finance the publication of the Newsletter. For more information, please visit the Section's website.

About the Newsletter

The goal of the Comparative Politics Newsletter is to engender a sense of community among comparative politics scholars around the world. To this end, the Newsletter publishes symposia on various substantive and methodological issues, highlights new datasets of broad appeal, prints short comments from readers in response to materials in the previous issue, and generally informs the community about field-specific developments. Recent symposia have looked at graduate training in comparative politics and the politics of space. It is published twice a year — once during the Spring and once during the Fall. The Newsletter is currently edited by Matt Golder and Sona N. Golder at The Pennsylvania State University.

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