Ability to infer causality

1. Experimental

- Ansolabehere & Iyengar
- Susan Hyde: electoral observation
- Gerber & Green: turnout in U.S. elections

2. "Natural Experiments"

- Krosnick: Ohio ballot order
- Rainfall and conflict in Africa
- Strömberg: U.S. radio
- Broadcasting range (various)

7. Time series

- ANES, etc.
 (minimal consistency)
- 6. Cross-sectional analysis

5. Systematic comparison

- Lipset: US vs.Canada
- Art: Germany vs. Austria (MSS)
- Tocqueville: USA (internal comparisons)

4. Case study

- Abernethy: imperialism
- Allison: missile crisis
- de Soto: informality

3. Thought experiments

- Krehbiel, Tsebelis: veto players
- Downs: party positions
- Chandra: electoral institutions in multiethnic societies

N<30 1>N>30 N=1 N=0

Ability to generalize (inverse scale)

Hybrids: Putnam combines natural experiment, etc.

O'Donnell combines cross-sectional in L.A., paired comparison (Ar. / Ur.), case study (Brazil)

1. Experimental

- Ansolabehere & Iyengar: lab experiments on American voters exposed to negative advertising
- Susan Hyde: electoral observation in semi-democratic or democratizing political systems; random assignment of some of the electoral observers
- Gerber & Green: turnout in U.S. elections

American Political Science Review

Vol. 94, No. 3 September 2000

The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment

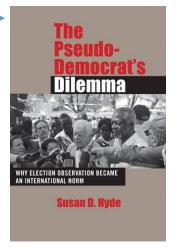
ALAN S. GERBER and DONALD P. GREEN Yale University

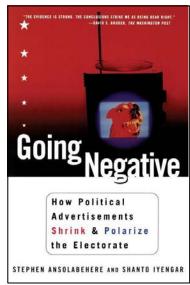
e report the results of a randomized field experiment involving approximately 30,000 registered voters in New Haven, Connecticut. Nonpariisan get-out-the-vote messages were conveyed through personal carwassing, direct mail, and telephone calls shortly before the November 1998 election. A variety of substantive messages were used. Voter turnout was increased substantially by personal carwassing, slightly by direct mail, and not at all by telephone calls. These findings support our hypothesis that the long-term retrenchment in voter turnout is partly attributable to the decline in face-to-face political mobilization.

uring the last half-century, a dramatic transformation has occurred in the manner in which voters are mobilized. The election campaigns (1900, chap. 6), and Wolfinger (1974, chap. 4) relied heavily on face-to-face contact between voters and those secking their support. Notably absent from such accounts are professional campaign consultants, direct mail vendors, and commercial phone banks, all of which have gradually replaced work performed by party activists. The advent of modern campaign tactics (Broder 1971; Ware 1985) has coincided with a decline in the proportion of adults who report working for a political party. Based on an annual aggregation of Roper surveys between 1973 and 1994. Putnam (2000, 41) reports a steady decline in this proportion: Whereas 6% of the public reported working for a political party in the early 1970s, just 3% did so in the mid-1900s.

activity. As Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde (1998, 85) point out in their discussion of Rosenstone and Hansen, there has been no clear trend over time in the proportion of American National Election Study (ANES) respondents who report some form of contact with political parties or campaigns, whether personal or impersonal. When read in conjunction with the trend lines compiled by Putmam, the ANES data are consistent with the view that campaigns are reaching as many people as ever but through less personal means.

Our hypothesis about declining turnout rates rests on the claim that personal canvassing mobilizes voters more effectively than other modes of contact that have taken its place, such as direct mail or telephone appeals. The literature on collective action and prosocial behavior supports this conjecture. Studies of blood donations, recycling, and "good deeds" underscore the importance of delivering urgent requests and making wind the obligation to act (Christensen et al. 1998;





Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Shanto Iyengar. *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink & Polarize the Electorate*. Free Press, 1997. © Free Press. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

Hyde, Susan D. *The Pseudo-Democrats Dilemma: Why Election Observation Became an International Norm.*Cornell University Press, 2015. © Cornell University Press. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

Gerber, Alan S., and Donald P. Green. "The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 3 (2000): 653–63. © Cambridge University Press. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

1. Experimental

Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach

> Edward Miguel University of California, Berkeley

> > Shanker Satyanath New York University

Ernest Sergenti New York University

July 2003

Abstract: Estimating the impact of economic conditions on the likelihood of civil conflict is difficult because of omitted variable bias and endogeneity. We use exogenous rainfall variation as an instrumental variable for economic growth in 41 Sub-Saharan African countries during 1981-1999, and use a new and comprehensive dataset of civil conflict. We find that economic growth is strongly negatively related to the incidence of civil conflict a negative growth shock of five percentage points increases the likelihood of conflict by one-half in the following year. Surprisingly, the impact of income shocks on civil conflict is not significantly different in richer more democratic, more ethnically diverse, or more mountainous African countries, or across a range of country political institutional characteristics.

Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach."

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2. "Natural Experiments"

- Krosnick: Ohio ballot order
- Rainfall and conflict (Africa)
- Broadcasting ranges (various)
- Strömberg: U.S. radio

American Economic Review 101 (December 2011): 3253-3285 http://www.aeaweb.org/articles.php?doi-10.1257/aer.101.7.3253 Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia By Ruben Enikolopov, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya This paper compares electoral outcomes of 1999 parliamentary elections in Russia among geographical areas with differential access to the only national TV channel independent from the government. It was available to three-quarters of Russia's population and its signal availability was idiosyncratic, conditional on observables. Independent TV decreased aggregate vote for the government party by 8.9 percentage points, increased the combined vote for major opposition parties by 6.3 percentage points, and decreased turnout by 3.8 percentage points. The probability of voting for opposition parties increased for individuals who watched independent TV even controlling for voting intentions measured one month before elections, (JEL D72, L82, P26) Contrary to a common perception, mass media is an instrument, rather than an — Vladimir Putin, to the director of independent radio station Echo Moscow.

Enikolopov, Ruben, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia." *American Economic Review* 101 (2011): 3253–85. © American Economic Association. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

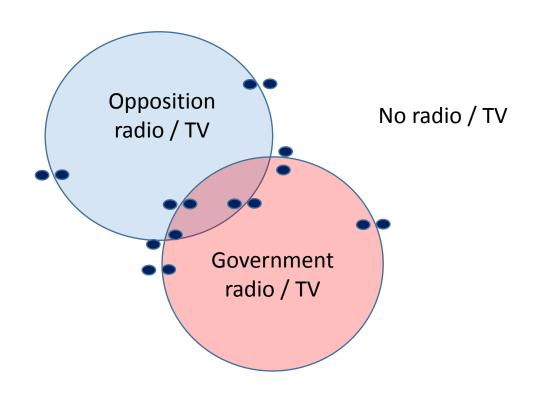


Miller, Joanne M., and Jon A. Krosnick. "The Impact of Candidate Name and Order on Election Outcomes." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 62 (1998): 291–330.

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Natural experiments using broadcasting ranges (e.g., Moehler)



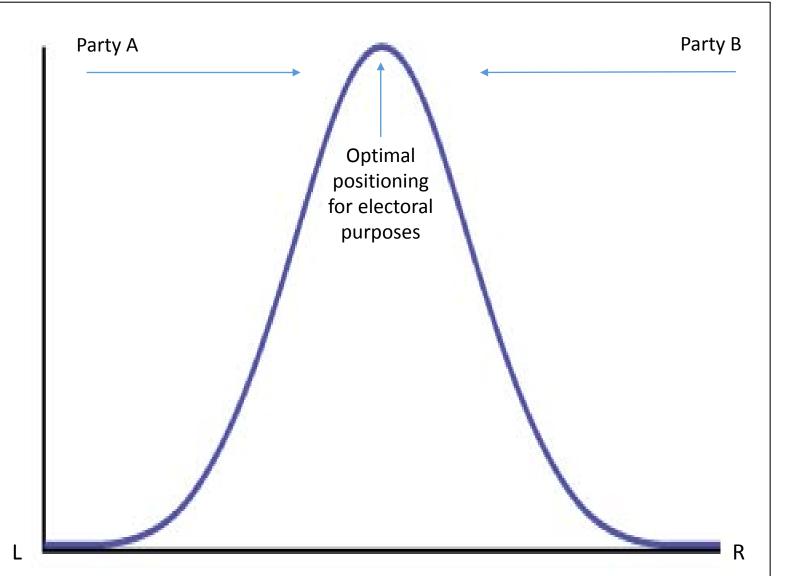
Strömberg: Radio and relief



The problem with claim that radio predicts turnout?

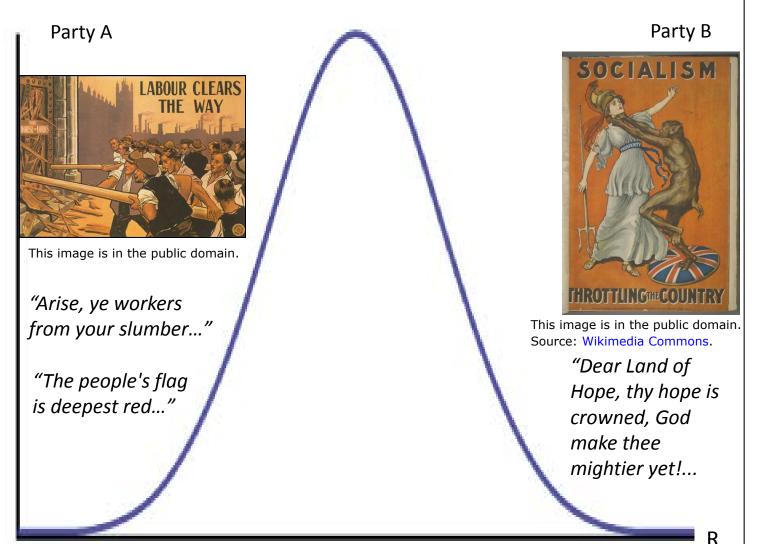
Strömberg's solution: Ground conductivity

Excellent research in political science has been done with all these methods: thought experiments (Downs)

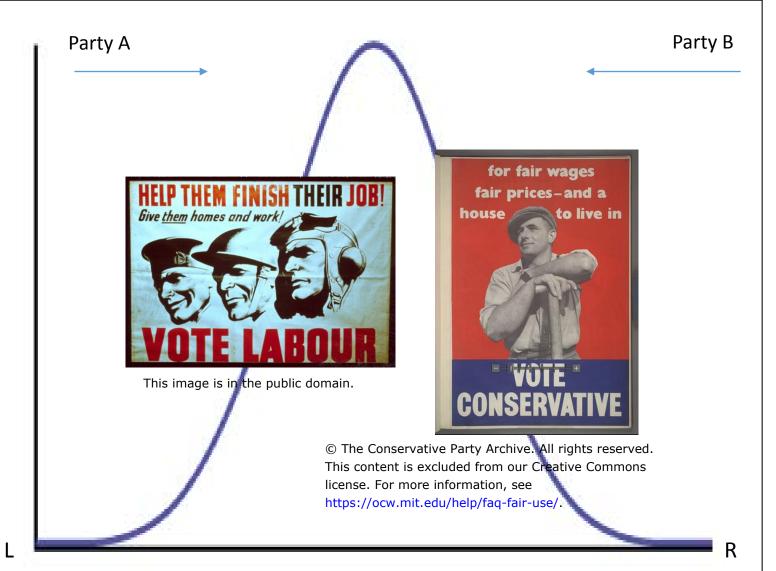


- Hoteling, Downs, Shepsle: party positions
- Krehbiel, Tsebelis: veto players
- Chandra: electoral institutions in multiethnic societies

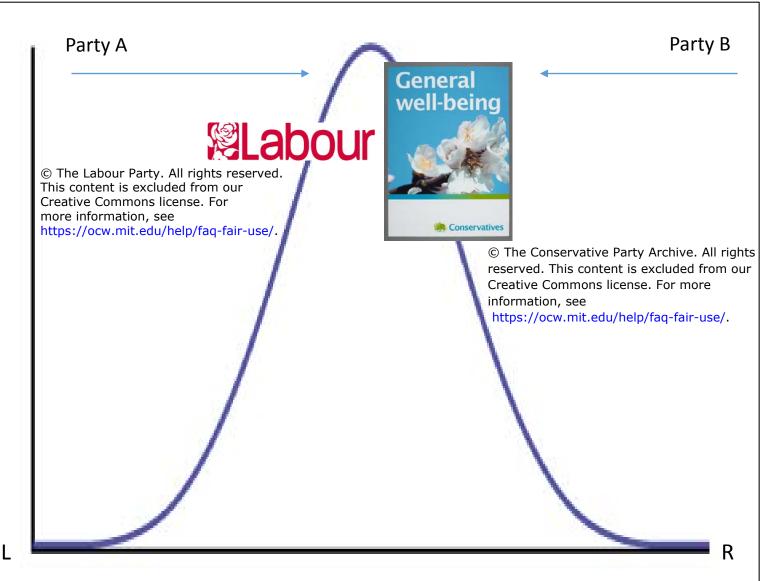
Excellent research in political science has been done with all these methods: thought experiments (Downs)



- Hoteling,Downs,Shepsle:partypositions
- Krehbiel, Tsebelis: veto players
- Chandra: electoral institutions in multiethnic societies

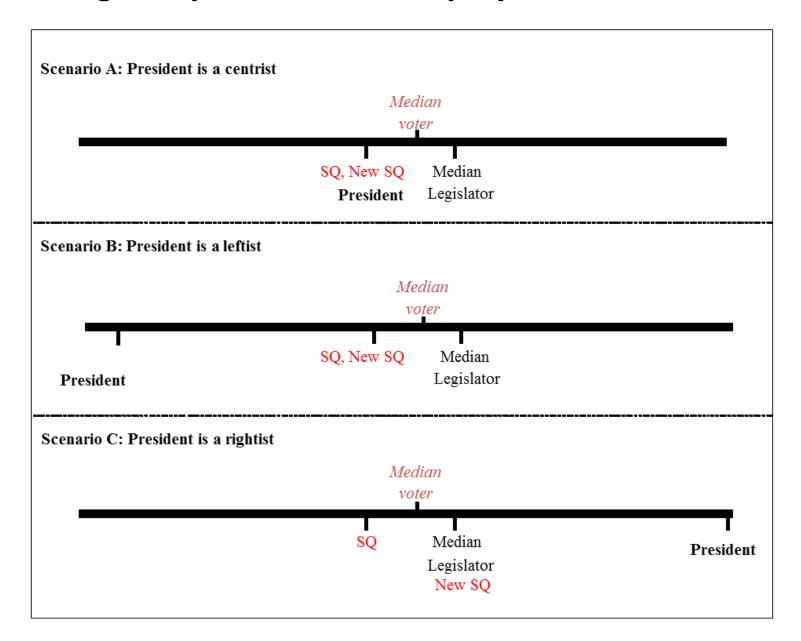


- Hoteling, Downs, Shepsle: party positions
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- Hoteling, Downs, Shepsle: party positions
- Krehbiel, Tsebelis: veto players
- Chandra: electoral institutions in multiethnic societies

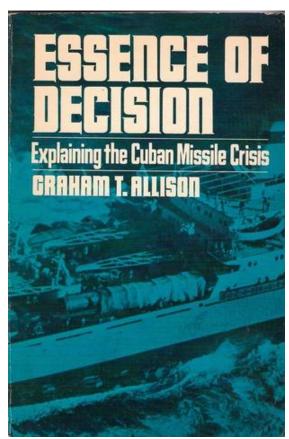
Thought experiments: Veto players

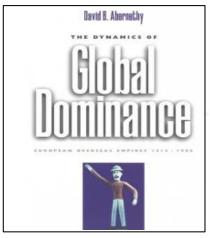


Though Experiment: Chandra's combinatorics

	Minority % of population	Electoral system	Percent disenfranchised
Country 1	10%	Winner-take-all	0% (0 or 20% of coalition)
Country 2	25%	Winner-take-all	0% (0 or 25% of coalition)
Country 3	35%	Winner-take-all	35% (always 0% of coalition)
Country 4	49%	Winner-take-all	49% (always 0% of coalition)
Country 5	10%	Proportional	0%
Country 6	25%	Proportional	0%
Country 7	49%	Proportional	0%

Bad combination: minority is big percentage of the population + institutions are non-proportional





Abernathy, David B. *The Dynamic of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires,* 1415–1980. Yale University Press, 2002. © Yale University Press. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.



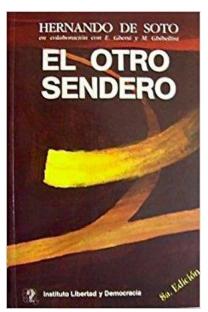
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• Abernethy: imperialism

• Allison: missile crisis

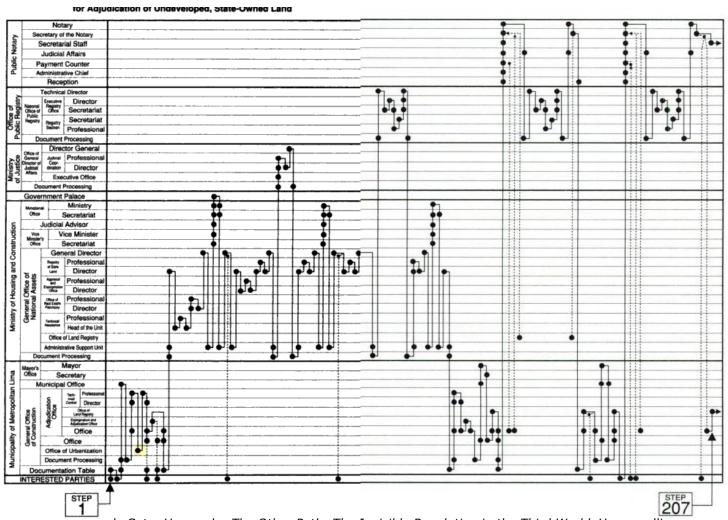
• de Soto: informality



Allison, Graham T. Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile 7f]g]g" Little Brown, 1971. © Little Brown. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

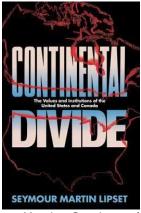
de Soto, Hernando. *El Otro Sendero*. Instituto Libertad y Democracia, 1990. © Instituto Libertad y Democracia. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

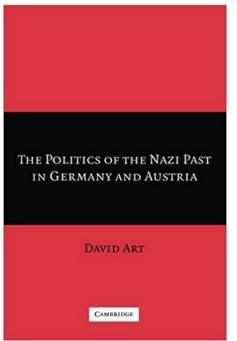
Example of a case study: informal economies in Lima Administrative requirements for adjudication of state-owned land



de Soto, Hernando. *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World*. Harpercollins, 1989. © Harpercollins. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

See also, Hernando de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (London, Bantam Press, 2000): 1-37.





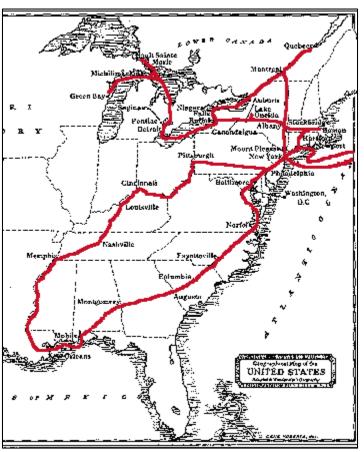
Lipset, Seymour Martin. Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada. Routledge, 1990. © Routledge. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

5. Systematic comparison

- Lipset: US vs.
 Canada
- Art: Germany vs. Austria

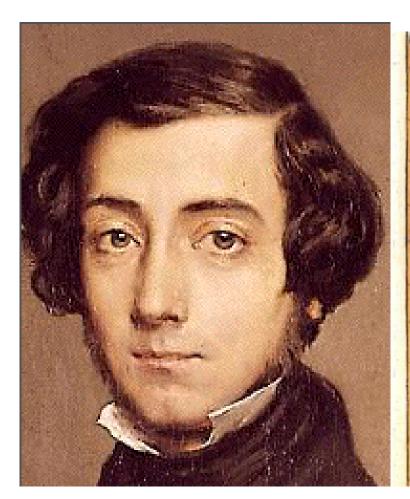
Tocqueville: USA (1831-2)

Art, David. *The Politics of the Nazi Past in Germany and Austria*. Cambridge University Press, 2005. © Cambridge University Press. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.



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Tocqueville uses international comparisons to assess effect of culture on democracy in the U.S.



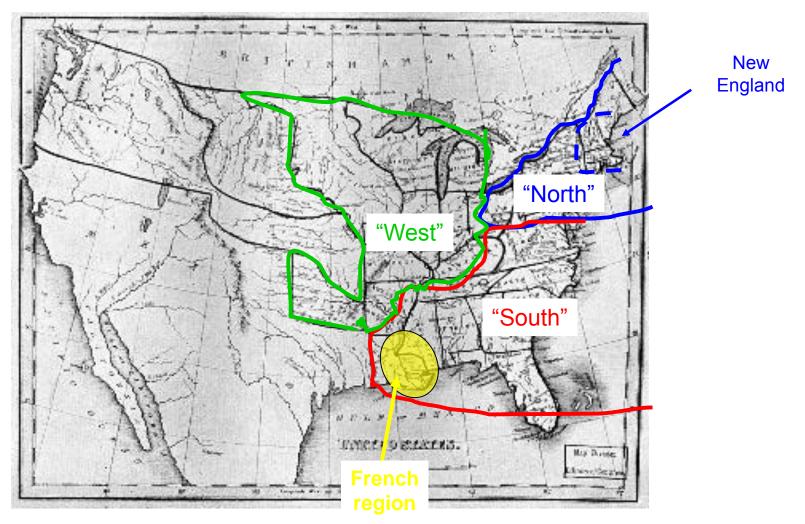
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He also uses internal comparisons to assess effect of culture on democracy in the U.S.

The U.S. in 1830



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7. Time series

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, et al. *The American Voter: Unabridged Edition*. University of Chicago Press, 1990. © University of Chicago Press. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

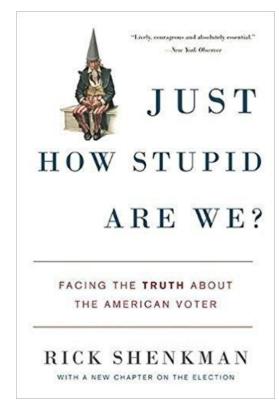
6. Cross-sectional analysis

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, et al. *The American Voter: An Abridgment*. Wiley, 1967. © Wiley. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

Example: minimalism

- Minimal knowledge
- Minimal concept recognition
- Minimal consistency
- Minimal constraint





Shenkman, Rick. *Just How Stupid Are We?:* Facing the Truth About the American Voter. Basic Books, 2009. © Basic Books. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.

Lewis-Beck, Michael S., William G. Jacoby, Helmut Norpoth, et al. *The American Voter Revisited*. University of Michigan Press, 2008. © University of Michigan Press. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/.



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Multi-method design: Putnam

- 1. Italian
 decentralization in
 1970s as natural
 experiment in
 government (with
 lots of measures of
 governmental
 effectiveness and
 legitimacy)
- Case comparisons (e.g., Milano)



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How scientific can we be? Should we be?

- 1. Description versus causation
- 2. The collapse of the Soviet Union
- 3. Capturing context
 - As in other departments of science, so in politics, the compound should always be disaggregated into the simplest elements, or essential parts, of the whole. We must therefore look at the elements of which the state is composed, in order to see how the different kinds of rule differ from one another and whether any scientific result can be attained about each one of them. (Aristotle, The Politics, Book 1, Chapter 1, c.350 BCE)
 - Political scientists should "turn proper names into variables" Przeworski & Teune (1970)
- 4. General failure of prediction
- 5. Scope conditions and "theory decay"
- 6. Conducting *actual* research
- 7. Knowledge accumulation

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