Political Science *in the* 21st Century

Report of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century

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Task Force On Political Science
for the 21st Century

Task Force Members

Luis Ricardo Fraga, *University of Washington,* Co-Chair

Terri E. Givens, *University of Texas at Austin*, Co-Chair

Dianne M. Pinderhughes, *University of Notre Dame*
President, APSA, 2007-08

––––––––––––

Manuel Avalos, *University of North Carolina, Wilmington*

David Covin, *California State University, Sacramento*

Frances Hagopian, *University of Notre Dame*

Lisa García-Bedolla, *University of California, Berkeley*

Juan Carlos Huerta, *Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi*

Vincent L. Hutchings, *University of Michigan*

Michael A. Jones-Correa, *Cornell University*

Fae L. Korsmo, *National Science Foundation, Ex Officio*

Taeku Lee, *University of California, Berkeley*

Mark Q. Sawyer, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Sherri L. Wallace, *University of Louisville*

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Luis Ricardo Fraga
Co-chair

Terri E. Givens
Co-chair

Dianne M. Pinderhughes
President, APSA, 2007-08

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents

Executive Summary

Is political science positioned to embrace and incorporate the changing demographics, increasing multicultural diversity, and ever-growing disparities in the concentration of wealth present in many nation-states? Can political science do so within its research, teaching, and professional development? These two questions were the focus of the work of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century. To answer these questions, the Task Force assessed the practice of political science to determine whether it is living up to its full potential as a scholarly discipline to enrich the discourse, broaden the understanding, and model the behavior necessary to build strong nation-states in a rapidly changing world where population shifts and related issues regarding race, ethnicity, immigration, and equal opportunity structure some of the most significant conflicts affecting politics and policymaking.

Research

Political science is often ill-equipped to address in a sustained way why many of the most marginal members of political communities around the world are often unable to have their needs effectively addressed by governments. Just as importantly, political science is also ill-equipped to develop explanations for the social, political, and economic processes that lead to groups' marginalization. This limits the extent to which political science is relevant to broader social and political discourse.

Moreover, who does political science does not currently include scholars with backgrounds from the full range of positionalities including race, class, gender, and sexual orientation that are often the most marginalized in societies. Additionally, issues related to marginalization including race, gender, and inequality are not well represented in articles published in the discipline's flagship journals.

There are two primary explanations as to why this is the case. First, the discipline tends not to use "identity" as a core analytical category for understanding important aspects of political behavior, social movements, and the development of public policies. It tends to treat identity as given and outside of analysis. This limits the extent to which groups, both those that are marginalized and those that are privileged, and especially the relationship between the two, can be fundamental to understanding political processes and their consequences. Second, political science tends not to be self-reflective about the analytical limitations of many of its traditional methodological approaches. The tendency to accept its approaches as "objective" science, for example, tend to inhibit the development of a more critical debate about the potential phenomenological bases of much empirical social science.

Several recommendations are offered to build a more inclusive scholarship in political science.

- Political scientists need to be more intentional and systematic in using the APSA to develop training programs to encourage and support students from a broader range of backgrounds to consider political science as a profession and to complete graduate training in political science. The profession should look to other associations, both those that are scholarly and those that are more practice oriented, for further ideas that they can consider adapting to political science.

- Departments should expand their graduate training to include more of an emphasis on race and inequality. This may require the breaking down of traditional categories used to structure graduate training and rebuild areas in more substantive and social problem-solving categories. Methodological training must also be much more inclusive of critical analytical approaches and more self-reflective of potential biases in the use of accepted methodological categories.

- Departments should also be more inclusive of the types of journals valued in the assessment of scholarly productivity.

- Universities and university systems must be pushed to be more intentional in supporting a fuller range of interests and backgrounds of students who pursue graduate work in political science. They should also be more open to the ways that an accreditation process can work to provide incentives for departments and universities to increase their commitments to expand faculty diversity and inclusion.

Teaching and Pedagogy

The changing nature of student demographics in both K-12 public schools and undergraduate colleges and universities places special responsibilities on the teaching of political science. Here again the increased racial, ethnic, and class diversity of students in coming decades allows us to examine how issues of diversity and inclusion are taught in political science and what strategies can be pursued to better align the teaching of political science with this student diversity.

Utilizing data from the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE 2009) we find that:

- Political science compares favorably to other categories of disciplines in the teaching of diversity and inclusion. In response to the question about applying theories or concepts to practical problems or in new situations, political science falls just below the mean, and, not surprisingly, comes in below the categories of professional, engineering, biological or physical sciences, education, and other social sciences, but above the mean responses for business, other, and arts and humanities. However, for the specific questions regarding the inclusion of diverse perspectives in discussions or writing assignments and better understanding someone else's views from their perspective, political science scores well above the overall mean and has the highest score compared to all the other categories of majors.

- In comparison to other disciplines in the social sciences, political science scores above the mean regarding applying theories to problems. It comes in below social work, sociology, economics, and psychology, but above anthropology, gender studies, ethnic studies, other social sciences, and geography. Political science is just below the mean regarding diversity in discussions and assignments, coming in below gender studies, social work, anthropology, sociology, and ethnic studies. It is, however, above psychology, other social sciences, economics, and geography. On the final dimension of better understanding someone else's views, political science is again above the mean. Coming in below social work, anthropology, and gender studies, it is above sociology, other social sciences, ethnic studies, psychology, economics, and geography.

- African American, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, and American Indian/Alaska Native students perceive that the teaching of political science encourages application of theories to practical problems and encourages students to consider diverse perspectives in their classwork and in how individuals come to have the political views they do.

- The teaching of political science at the undergraduate level does not avoid encouraging students to apply what they learn to practical problems, include diverse perspectives in classwork, and better understand the views and perspectives of others, across all types of institutions of higher education, even those that are research-intensive. Moreover, students of color report having these experiences at rates very similar, and at times greater than, those reported by white/Caucasian students.

Reports and research from APSA Teaching and Learning committees and conferences offer a number of recommendations as to how political science can further incorporate issues of diversity and inclusion in the classroom. Among the recommendations are:

- Faculties must receive substantial technical, institutional, and departmental support if alternative strategies are to be widely developed, implemented, and assessed.

- Departments should offer courses in teaching strategies for their graduate students that incorporate more innovative approaches.

- Diversity, inclusiveness, and inequality should be incorporated as categories of analysis that inform each unit of study rather than be seen as a separate or supplementary unit in the curriculum.

- Political science faculty should be encouraged to actively engage in the process of deliberation/self-reflection by questioning their own assumptions and exploring their own views regarding diversity, inclusiveness, and inequality. Such self-assessment can serve as a model for students to follow.

- Political science should continue to internationalize its curriculum by, for example, encouraging open discussion and communication about sensitive issues in the world, particularly as they relate to people of different political environments, backgrounds, beliefs, and cultures. This can also be done by

emphasizing global citizenship that connects what is local and what is global and stresses the importance of breaking away from a purely Westernized view of the world.

■ Introductory textbooks should be modified to be more representative of issues related to ethnic, racial, gender, class, and other dimensions of diversity and inclusion.

Access and Inclusion

Data from 1980-2010 reveal that although gains have been made in the number of women and members of historically underrepresented groups in full time faculty positions at colleges and universities, gains have been small and glacial in their pace of improvement. In 1980, 10.3 percent of full time faculty were women; in 2010 it was 28.6 percent. In 1980, 93.4 percent of full time faculty were Caucasian and in 2010 it was 86.6 percent. Absent direct, intentional efforts to further diversify faculty, we should expect that the pace of progress will continue to be slow and that the rate of inclusion will also be very slow.

Among the major recommendations we make as to how the APSA and political science can make more progress toward greater access and inclusion are:

■ Baseline demographic longitudinal data of all political scientists in the profession should be maintained to track changes in faculty by race, ethnicity, and gender.

■ Although the above data are extremely useful, it would be very beneficial if these data also included several individual and contextual variables, such as years in the profession, type of college or university where the faculty member is currently employed, previous employment history as a faculty member, and when the faculty member secured tenure.

■ A set of questions within the annual APSA Department Survey needs to be developed to collect specific data addressing issues of mentoring and professional development.

■ A specific number of workshops on best practices for recruitment and retention strategies of diverse faculty that are targeted specifically to department chairs need to be developed.

■ A survey of political science graduate students needs to be instituted to develop early mentoring initiatives and pipeline issues for diverse graduate students.

■ The possibility of either collaborating with the COACHE survey or perhaps developing a similar survey that, with outside funding, the APSA would administer on a yearly basis needs to be explored. The APSA also should explore the possibility of applying for external grant money to do a longitudinal cohort study of faculty recruitment and retention, with a special emphasis on gender, race, and ethnicity.

■ All of these recommendations imply the need for the APSA to create a research department devoted to the development and examination of data on the profession.

Conclusion

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

- ■ The need for richer, more comprehensive, and systematic data regarding research, teaching and pedagogy, and access and inclusion within the profession.

- ■ The need for the APSA to fully consider whether its current good practices can be modified to serve as catalysts to departments to make more progress regarding issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and diversity more broadly.

- ■ The need for the APSA to partner with other associations or a subset of its own membership to solicit, secure, and utilize external funds to be a leader in developing new research, teaching, and career development paradigms. These can serve as models for departments of political science, universities, and colleges to embrace the rich intellectual opportunities presented in the study and teaching of issues related to diversity and inclusion.

Introduction

Is political science positioned to embrace and incorporate the changing demographics, increasing multicultural diversity, and ever-growing disparities in the concentration of wealth present in many nation-states? Can political science do so within its research, teaching, and professional development? These two questions are the focus of our work as members of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century. To answer these questions, we take stock of the practice of political science to determine whether it is living up to its full potential as a scholarly discipline by contributing to the enrichment of the discourse, the broadening of the understanding, and the modeling of the behavior necessary to build strong nation-states in a rapidly changing world in which population shifts and issues regarding race, ethnicity, immigration, and equal opportunity structure some of the most significant conflicts affecting politics and policymaking.

The charge given to us by American Political Science Association (APSA) President Dianne Pinderhughes reads:
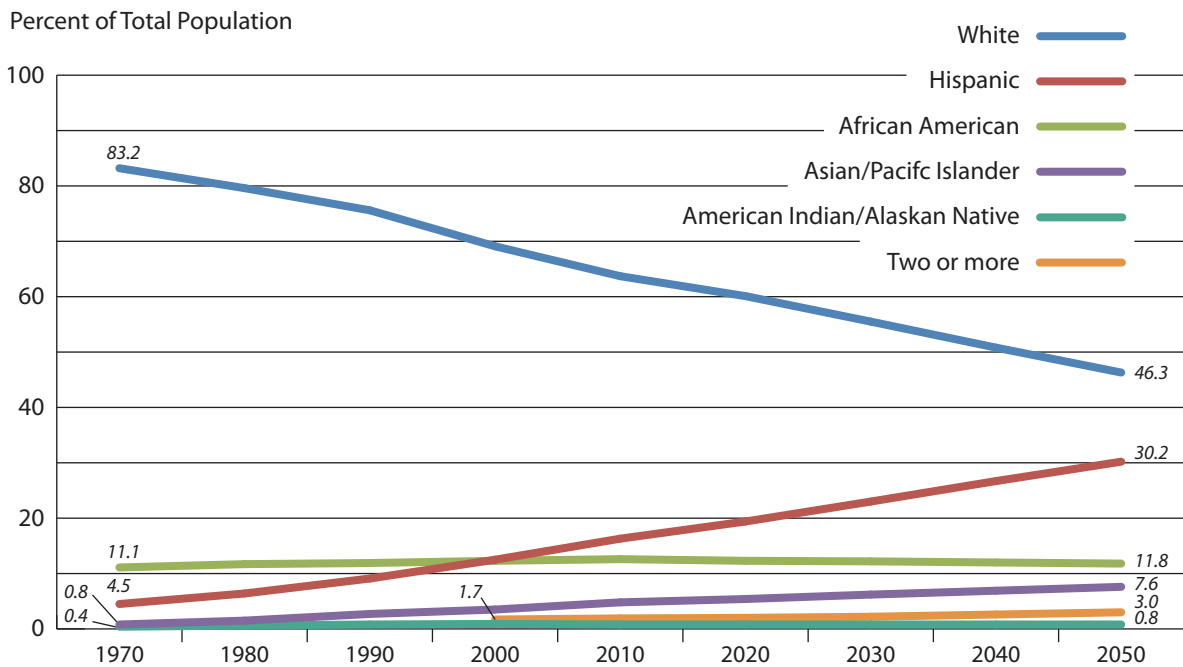
> This Task Force will address the continuing challenges associated with the disciplinary integration of Political Science in the 21st Century.... As the nation grows increasingly diverse, as national boundaries grow increasingly porous, how prepared is Political Science to interact with the changing American population, and how prepared is it to train the leadership of a rapidly diversifying nation?... [W]hat research issues might these changes pose for the profession?... For what kind of intellectual and organizational architecture should Political Science plan for the 21st Century?... The Task Force...should provide the Association and the Discipline with a broad understanding of the intellectual, methodological and organizational agendas for which it should plan (2007).

The underlying premise of this charge is that political science and the APSA may not be doing enough at present, and may not be sufficiently prepared for the future, as political scientists work in increasingly multicultural and interdependent nation-states.

The pace and magnitude of demographic change in the United States is well known. Figure 1 displays the changes in the ethnic and racial distribution of the population in the United States from 1970 to 2010 as well as projections to 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000, 2010, 2011). The white/Caucasian portion of the population was 83.2 percent in 1970; as of 2010 it was 63.7 percent. It is projected that in 2040 this group will barely be a majority of the population, and by 2050 it will likely be a plurality at 46.3 percent. This shift in the national population is driven primarily by dramatic growth in the Hispanic/Latino population. Latinos constituted 4.5 percent of the national population in 1970; in 2010 this group comprised 16.3 percent, a growth rate of just over 360 percent. The Asian population, like the Latino population, has grown substantially since 1970, when Asian individuals

composed 0.8 percent of the population; they now comprise 4.8 percent. It is estimated that this group will constitute as much as 7.6 percent of the U.S. population in 2050. By contrast, African Americans made up 11.1 percent of the nation's population in 1970, and this group had grown only slightly to 12.6 percent in 2010. It is estimated that this group will remain relatively stable at between 11–12 percent through 2050. American Indians and Alaska Natives are estimated to remain under 1 percent of the population through 2050. Persons of two or more races were 1.7 percent of the national population in 2000, the first year these data were gathered by the U.S. Census Bureau, and this number is projected to be as much as 3 percent in 2050. Stated differently, it is now estimated that the United States is likely to be a country equally comprised of whites/Caucasians and people of color in 2040, and it is very likely to be a "majority-minority" nation in 2050.[1]

Figure 1: **Population Growth in the U.S., 1970-2050**

Percent of Total Population

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000, 2010, 2011.

It is rare for academic disciplines to take stock of the practice of their profession to determine if they are realizing their full potential as effective contributors to society. One can argue that the relevance of such considerations varies by discipline and subdiscipline. It would, however, be difficult to argue that political science, the discipline devoted to the study of power and its consequences, should not have a clear expectation of its capacity to contribute to the better understanding of how changing demographics affect the contours of group identities and cleavage formations that structure many contemporary policy debates. By the very nature of the focus of political science on studying who wins, who loses, and how often, many of the questions pursued by political scientists in their research, the approaches used to teach political science, and the practice of professional development in political

science should contribute to expanding the range of choices and deepening the confidence in those choices made by all citizens and residents in exercising their civic responsibilities in participatory democracies.

The charge of our group was distinct from that of other presidential task forces that have focused on increasing the public presence of political science. Other reports have summarized what political science has to offer regarding issues confronting contemporary societies. For example, task forces have addressed such topics as the standing of the United States in the world; inequality, difference, and the challenges of development; the status of civic engagement in the United States; and American democracy in an age of inequality. Reports filled with insights and findings have been written, and a number have been widely circulated and received attention by thought leaders in and outside of the profession. By contrast, our task force was charged to look solely within our profession.

Moreover, we know that not everyone will agree with the premise of our charge. Is it true that political science and the APSA are not sufficiently prepared to make contributions to helping societies cope with increasing diversity, multiculturalism, and wealth disparity? What evidence would one need to assess the premise of our charge? It is certainly the case that a number of political scientists, including most of the members of our task force, have written extensively about issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and immigration that are directly related to diversity and multiculturalism in the United States and abroad. Political scientists now customarily argue that issues related to group disparities in political influence, representation, opportunity, and income currently confront societies in both the advanced and developing worlds (see, for example, Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009). Many political scientists also argue that these disparities present significant challenges to nation-states regarding democratic inclusion, human rights, and long-term political stability. Moreover, some political scientists have argued for a number of years that global economic interdependence has led to major movements of capital, labor, and families that continue to transform the racial, ethnic, nationality, and religious character of nations in many parts of the world (Lee, Ramakrishnan, and Ramirez 2006; Sassen 1998). For instance, with the growth of a global economy, the United States and European nations are no longer the largely racially and ethnically homogeneous nation-states of the middle of the last century (Kastoryano 2002; Givens 2005). These realities reflect the growing diversity of interests by race, ethnicity, gender, religion, national origin, and class that are at the foundation of many of the most persistent challenges to patterns of political incorporation and long-term political stability present in many parts of the world as nations cope with increasing multiculturalism in their politics and policymaking (see, for example, Calhoun 1993; Hero 1998; Schuck 2003; Fraga et al. 2010, among others). Political science, as a research enterprise, has not been entirely absent in analyzing and discussing these issues.

It is also the case that in 1995, a group of political scientists who were active members of the APSA organized the Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (REP) Section. The founders of this section secured the necessary number of signatures of APSA members, developed an organizational structure, and selected the officers to establish this group. It has since grown substantially, consistently organizes panels for the annual meeting, and presents a number of annual paper, book, advising, and mentoring awards. The presence of REP within the APSA is a sign that a subgroup of scholars whose work primarily focuses on issues related to race,

ethnicity, and difference has been successful in bringing its work within the formal structure of the APSA and its annual meeting.

When the APSA, as a professional association, began to officially address issues related to diversity and inclusion some decades ago, those efforts were largely incremental and focused on increasing the diversity of the professoriate. These programs and founding dates include:

- The Minority Fellows Program, 1969;

- The Ralph Bunche Summer Institute, 1986;

- The Minority Identification Program, now called the Minority Student Recruitment Program (MSRP), 1989; and the

- APSA Status Committees:
    - Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, 1969;
    - Committee on the Status of Women, 1969;
    - Committee on the Status of Latinos y Latinas in the Profession (originally, the Committee on the Status of Mexican Americans in the Profession), 1970;
    - Committee on the Status of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transgendered in the Profession, 1992; and the
    - Committee on the Status of Asian Pacific Americans in the Profession, 2003.

President Margaret Levi appointed the APSA Minority Program Review Committee in 2005, which was chaired by Valerie Martinez-Ebers. The committee's final report concluded, "We also know, primarily from anecdotal evidence, that there is considerable variation in the diversity commitment and related efforts among political science departments." The report recommended strengthening existing programs in a variety of ways (Aoki et al. 2006). All of these actions are clear signs that the APSA, as an organization, has demonstrated commitment to working to help build more access and inclusion within the profession with a specific focus on race, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender.

We suggest that the primary value to the premise that drives our task force lies not in determining whether *any* progress has been made in research, teaching, and professional development in political science regarding the challenges of changing demographics and increasing multiculturalism. Progress has clearly been made. Rather, the question we pose is *why* research, teaching, and professional development addressing challenges of diversity and inclusion are still perceived by many within the profession to be largely marginalized and often tokenized. Claims are made about the infrequent presence of articles examining multiculturalism in its various forms in top-tier journals and major presses. Similar claims are made about the commitment of top departments to adequate graduate training in the study and teaching of issues related to identity, difference, gender, class, race, and ethnicity. Moreover, all of the available data demonstrate that the increased presence of members of historically underrepresented racial and ethnic groups is minimal in the profession and that the pace of change has been glacial. Our task is to assess why progress has been so limited and so slow in coming.

To address this question, our task force organized its work into three distinct sections: research, teaching and pedagogy, and access and inclusion. Research has always been, and should remain, a primary part of the work done by political scientists. No one can doubt that research remains the basis for determining the standing of highly ranked departments, acquisition of tenure, and the prestige of university presses and top-tier journals. Moreover, it is research-intensive departments that train the largest number of PhDs, who take jobs at universities and colleges throughout the nation. How can the research agendas and methodological approaches used in political science be enriched to more effectively integrate issues related to changing demographics and multiculturalism in political science research?

It is also the case that the primary venue through which research findings affect the largest number of students and citizens is the teaching of political science. Although teaching is often considered to be a distant cousin of the "real work" of a "true" political scientist, especially at research-intensive institutions, the greatest exposure that the largest number of people have to political science is not through publications, but through teaching. In addition, substantial numbers of undergraduate political science majors choose the field as a pathway to law school and then move into the legal profession, which often serves as a means to public office and government service. That said, it can be argued that the component of political science that most of our PhDs will practice is teaching. In addition, it is through teaching that prospective political scientists are first exposed to the profession, what it does, what it prioritizes, and what it accomplishes. It is this first exposure that directly affects who chooses to become a political scientist. Demographic changes in university student populations in the United States and many other nations that mirror larger changes in society bring a much more diverse set of students to university classrooms. The APSA has made great strides in its attention to teaching, through such efforts as the annual Teaching and Learning Conference, which has brought hundreds of political scientists together since 2004 to share and explore ideas regarding classroom teaching. The conference asks participants to consider how teaching pedagogies and related approaches can be enriched to best help faculty engage all students in the study of politics, and how new approaches can better inform all students as to how they can be effective participants in civic engagement.

Finally, despite major efforts of some within the discipline since the 1970s, progress in diversifying the professoriate in political science has been minimal. Why has progress in this area been especially small? What new and innovative policies and practices can departments of political science pursue to increase the diversity of students earning PhDs, the hiring of tenure-track junior faculty, and the promotion of women faculty and faculty from underrepresented backgrounds, as well as increasing the number of all faculty with research and teaching interests related to understudied, underserved, and underrepresented communities?

Unlike many approaches to studying the challenges of demographic change, increasing multiculturalism, and related diversity and inclusion within scholarly communities, this task force does not conceptualize diversity and inclusion as limited to simple "add-ons" to traditional approaches and practices within the profession. Rather, we see diversity and inclusion as concepts sufficiently rich to open a window to rigorous discussion of the ways that political science can consider to broaden its research agendas, reconceptualize its teaching techniques, and create new practices of professional development in the context of

the challenges posed by increased demographic, multicultural, and socioeconomic complexity. In this report, we systematically explore the possibility that the racial and ethnic integration of the discipline and society can develop hand in hand.

We are fully aware that there is likely to be fair critique of a number of the assessments and statements that we reach in our report. If this occurs, we have done our work well. Our goal is to initiate a thoughtful, spirited, and constructive discussion in our profession that can catalyze it to make more significant and sustained progress as it does its good work in an increasingly changing world. We expect strong, and at times passionate, debate about some of our conclusions. Nonetheless, we also expect that there will be little debate about the importance of the questions we pose and the challenges we give to our profession. In the tradition of political science at its best, it is only through the asking of hard, counter-intuitive questions that we bring the greatest light to our understanding of the profession and its impact on public life. It is to brighten that light more than ever before that we offer this report to the APSA.

Research

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

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

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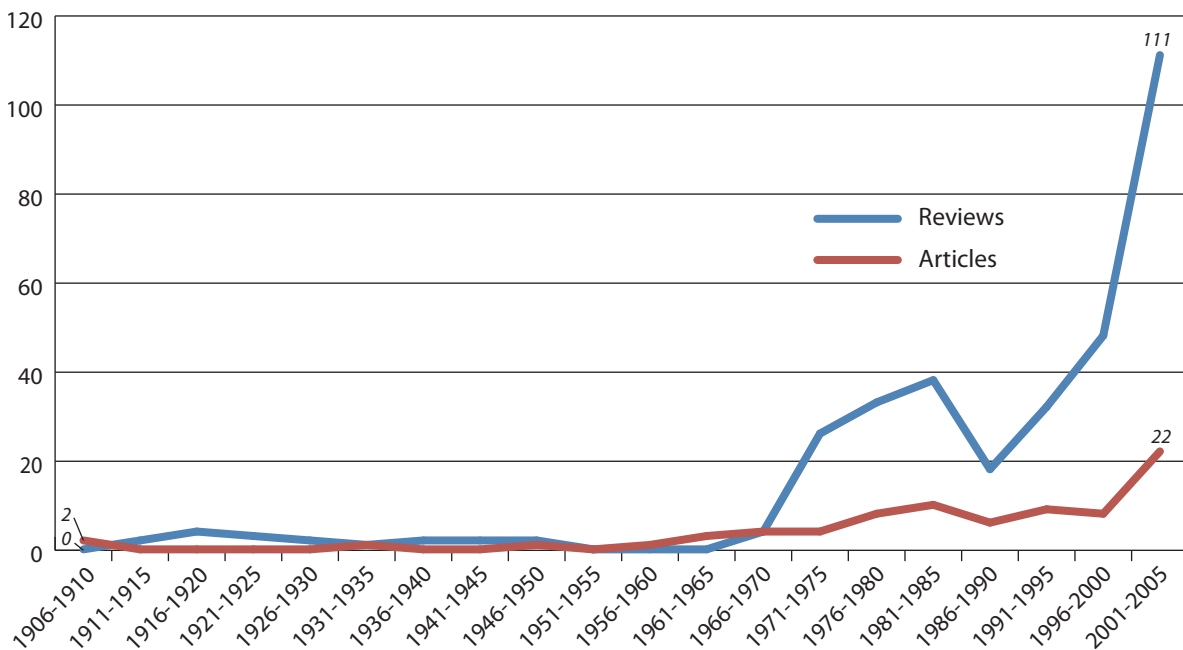
race, ethnicity, and gender are treated as marginal aspects of the political system, rather than seen as woven into the fabric of American politics (Aoki and Takeda 2004; Wallace and Allen 2008; Lavariega-Monforti and McGlynn 2010; Novkov and Barclay 2010).

Political Science Research: Training and Production

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

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

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

Source: Lee 2005.

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

Source: Lee 2005.

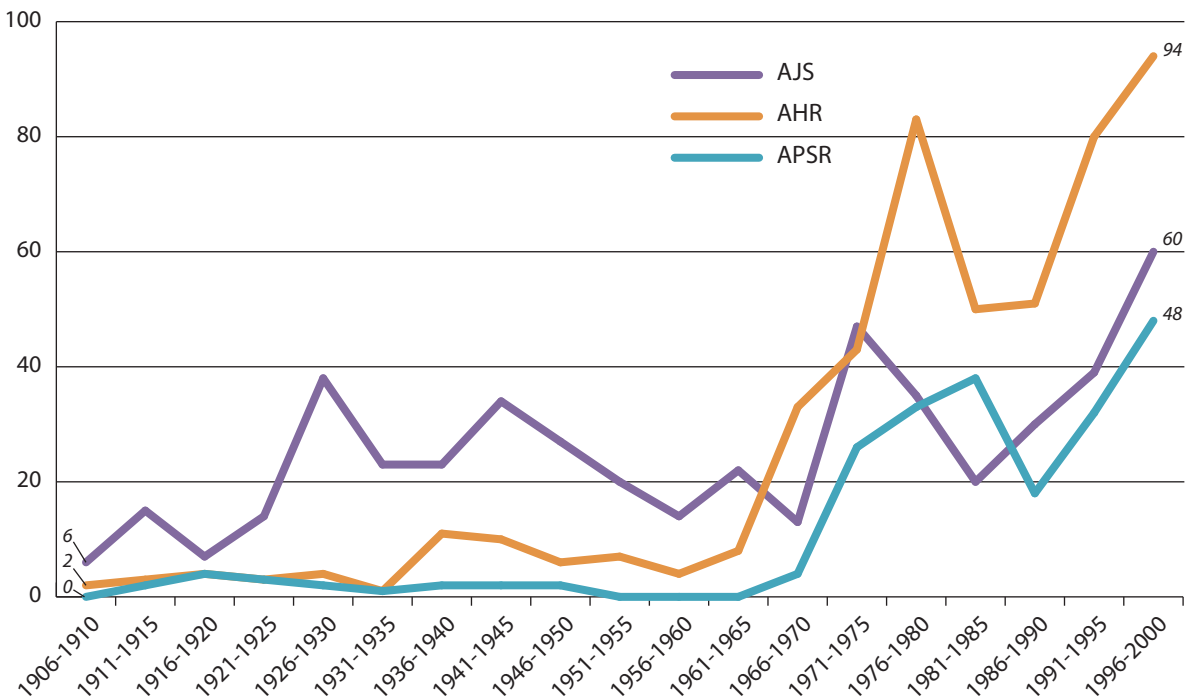Figure 4: **Book Reviews on Race in the APSR, AHR, and AJS, 1906-2005**

Source: Lee 2005.

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

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

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

Unfortunately, we had difficulty gaining access to actual syllabi, and departments varied in terms of how much information they provided on courses. While our analysis cannot be said to be exhaustive, it is instructive. Four of the eighteen—about one in five—of the programs have subfields that include race/ethnicity or gender—Howard University, Duke University, UCLA, and The Ohio State University. The University of Michigan also offers a race subfield that graduate students can choose to construct. Few pro-seminars cover these topics, except for those in comparative politics, which are more likely to include in their course descriptions language about the importance of inequality, gender differences, and/or ethnic divisions within nations. American politics pro-seminars very rarely emphasize these themes in their descriptions, however. Programs vary widely in terms of elective course offerings in these areas as well. Not surprisingly, those programs with faculty who have race/ethnicity or gender as areas of focus in their research also tend to have more course offerings that included

these topics. Those universities, of which there are many, that have only one or no faculty whose scholarship focused on difference and inequality are much less likely to provide this type of content to their graduate students.

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

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

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

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

Second,

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

Possible Explanations: Identity and Epistemology

As previously stated, studies conducted since the 1980s have consistently shown a bias against the study of race and inequality within political science as compared to most other social science disciplines. Our analysis of graduate training programs suggests that the newest cohort of students is not being trained in any significant way on these topics, making a major expansion in the discipline's research focus highly unlikely. This compelled our task force to consider what kinds of explanations there might be for why this is the case within political science. Previous work has focused on political science's emphasis on elites, and, therefore, its concomitant lack of focus on those "outside" the traditional halls of power. Others have argued that during the Cold War American political science saw its role as helping to defend American democracy and, for that reason, the discipline as a whole was less willing to address topics that could be seen as leading to a critique of that democracy (Smith 2009). We would like to add two other potential explanations: (1) political science's lack of acceptance of "identity" as an analytical category, and (2) political science's lack of epistemological self-critique and awareness about the role of "science" in driving research questions and answers. We address each of these explanations in turn.

Identity as an Analytical Category

Recently, a number of scholars within the discipline have made the argument for why identity needs to be one of the core concepts within political science. As Rogers Smith points out, in the past

> political scientists have tended to think of racial identities as things generated at root by biology and/or economics and/or culture and/or history and/or often unconscious or at least informal social psychological processes and social activities. Precisely because racial identities have been politically constructed in ways that served to legitimate racial inequalities, by making them seem natural and pre-political, even students of politics long did not treat racial identities as substantially created by formal laws and political institutions. Instead, most racial topics seemed more appropriate for other disciplines, both to practitioners of those disciplines and to political scientists (2004).

Yet Smith, along with others, has persuasively argued that racial, social, and political identities are not only key to political behavior, they also are fundamentally political products that are both shaped by and participate in shaping the political process. Understanding political behavior, social movements, and the development of particular public policies substantially depends on understanding how groups are constructed by the political process, how they see themselves vis-à-vis the political system, and what they believe it is appropriate for them to do or believe in response to those constructions. Treating these identity processes as "given," or at least outside analysis, can ignore central and dynamic aspects of politics. Moreover, perhaps somewhat ironically, white/Caucasian group identity is studied even more rarely in political science than the identities of racial and ethnic minorities.

Social Science Epistemology

The second and more controversial explanation is political science's relative inability to be self-reflective about the political impact of its different methodological approaches. This is not an argument about quantitative versus qualitative data, or one about empiricism versus its critics. Instead, some members of our task force felt strongly about the need to point out that the way that an uncritical emphasis on "science" allows the discipline to engage in research that is fundamentally exclusive, but still maintain the illusion of "objectivity." For example, in his history of the discipline, Almond argues that political science has focused on two fundamental questions: (1) the properties of political institutions and (2) the criteria used in evaluating them. He states that the essential object of political science is the creation of knowledge, deriving inferences or generalizations about politics drawn from evidence, inferences based on empirical information. For Almond, "objective, rigorous scholarship is indeed the privileged thread in our disciplinary history" (1996). Clearly, the idea of objective science is embedded within the language he uses to describe the discipline's focus.

Almond delineates the history of the discipline's development during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. According to his timeline, during the 19th century political science focused on issues of development and modernization, and scholars began focusing on defining, operationalizing, and measuring political phenomena. Concurrent with those in other scientific movements around the world, political scientists in the 19th century moved toward historical induction rather than writing about human nature. By the turn of the 20th century, political science was largely legal, philosophical, and historical in its methodology.

That changed in the early 20th century with the Chicago School. Almond credits Charles Merriam with ushering in modern political science. Through an interdisciplinary research strategy, the introduction of quantitative research methodologies, and organized research support, Merriam and his students were able to show that understanding of the political world could be significantly enhanced. Merriam and his colleagues were among the first to adopt statistical sampling techniques and use experimental research to study political activity. Political science was not alone in this movement, however; the shift within the discipline coincided with the development of survey research in general, which began with the Middletown studies, which examined life in a small Midwestern town, and exploded after World War II (Ito 2007). Within political science, this "behavioral revolution" intensified in the late 1950s and 1960s with the creation of the Institute of Social Research and establishment of the National Election Studies at the University of Michigan. Almond sees this behavioral revolution as a break from the legalism and historical approaches of the past. For him, political science's history is one of eclectic inclusion, rather than methodological absolutism or epistemological infighting.

The language of science—including objectivity, evidence, and quantification—is embedded throughout Almond's narrative. Implicit in that language is a valuation that these, in fact, are the tools and normative goals underlying good social and political science. Yet, as Jonathan Marks points out, modern science is not value-neutral. It is, in fact, a product and reflection of the cultures and societies that produced it. Thus, science does not begin with the objective collection of data. Instead, "science begins first with the perception of a

problem, and then with a decision about the kinds of information that might be appropriate to solving it" (2009). Both constrain and channel the collection of data. They also constrain who becomes (and does not become) the object of inquiry. For example, most quantitative approaches tend to focus on the norm, or "average," within a population. Sarah Ito, in *The Averaged American,* documents how the Middletown studies constituted a break from previous social scientific approaches precisely in their focus on "normal" Americans rather than "deviant" or "problem" populations. Ironically, the researchers chose Middletown because it was not the norm in terms of racial/ethnic diversity. It was, in fact, significantly whiter than most Midwestern towns at that time. Within political science, this tendency to focus on explaining average populations and/or events is reflected in discourses of "expected value," "maximizing sum of squared deviations from the mean," and "predicted probabilities, holding all other factors at their mean values." It is also reflected in the assumption that any phenomena, even those about which little is known, can be defined by a normal distribution. This focus, unfortunately, excludes groups that lie outside that norm, which can include racial/ethnic minorities, religious minorities, and any other movement or population that deviates in significant ways from the rest of the population. Ignoring these sectors of society has left political scientists ill-equipped to explain—or even to anticipate—non-average events like the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1980, the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, or Obama's election in 2008, or smaller events like the groundswell of protest in Iran that occurred in 2009.

Current social science methods can also often result in the selective elimination of particular ideas or certain explanations for why things are the way they are. The issue of power and an analysis of the structures underlying the creation of the status quo are notably absent in Almond's representation of the discipline's history. In his call for a "revolutionary research agenda" for political science, William Strickland argues that in the study of democracy in the United States, scholars must ask—and answer—the questions of what is meant by a democracy that practices slavery, denies civic participation to women, excludes population groups from its territory, and often governs for the benefit of the most wealthy. He argues that until these issues are explicitly explored, a full sense of what is being studied is not possible. This is equivalent to studying medicine without dissecting cadavers, chemistry without a laboratory, or biology by solely examining wax plants (2009).

This is not simply an argument against science. Quite the contrary—it is an argument for a more self-reflective science. There is a long and deep range of carefully considered scholarship in the sociology of knowledge and the field of science studies that rejects the binary between science and non-science and gives a compelling rendition to the inherent subjectivity of empirical social science inquiry. These authors argue that the consensus over "reality" is contingent on who gets to be part of the process of construction. (See, for example, Elazar Barkan's 1992 work on how the turn away from biological conceptions of race to more socially constructivist conceptions depends in large part on the influx of more women and Jews, among others, into the relevant disciplines.) Others argue that those using statistical methods need to consider the fact that these approaches arose with the rise of eugenics and the need to support inegalitarian racial hierarchies (Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva 2008). While we on the task force understand that these points can be controversial,

at the very least we trust everyone can agree that political science would benefit from an ongoing conversation about the phenomenological basis of "empirical social science." Such a conversation would only ensure that empirical work is more rigorous and, ideally, better able to accurately reflect the social processes being studied.

Again, this discussion is not meant to be a repeat of the same qualitative versus quantitative debate that is decades old within the political science discipline. The critique is not of empiricism per se, of science, or of quantitative methods writ large, but rather of scientifically oriented research that is not sensitive to the ways in which an emphasis on objectivity sometimes obfuscates the normative assumptions implicit in how a study is framed, carried out, and analyzed. The question is: Why are sociology and anthropology, both social sciences with similar emphases on "science," nevertheless able to be more inclusive in terms of their research agendas and their faculties? We believe that the role of science within political science research, and its impact on the kinds of questions believed to be appropriate for research, must be situated within the discipline's historical and sociological development and be considered in relation to the fact that the field has emphasized analysis of the state, in particular. As such, its disciplinary boundaries have been defined more narrowly than those of these other disciplines, and that may be part of the reason why the types of questions political scientists ask, particularly in reference to issues of diversity and inclusion, are more narrow than in these other fields.

The question of the relevance of political science's research questions to the broader world becomes especially important when considering the changes in the collegiate student bodies that faculties are serving.[6] Although there is still much progress to be made, college populations are increasingly comprised of non-Caucasian students who are more likely to be of immigrant descent and first generation college-goers. In terms of location, many students are moving away from attending research universities or even four-year institutions and toward attending community colleges. This raises a question: Is the political science currently being researched and taught going to be of use to these students and address their needs? Related to the issues raised above, there is a disconnect between the emphasis on the training and methods required to carry out a research agenda in political science that is the concern of the research-intensive institutions that produce most of the PhDs that become members of the professoriate, and the reality, which is that most undergraduate students of political science have no intention of becoming political scientists and are not taking political science in research-intensive institutions. Are most of the research questions that the profession addresses relevant to these students? How should the profession address the disjuncture between teaching undergraduates and the requirements and rewards for research productivity in the profession? Moreover, this question applies not only to the different requirements of community colleges and research-intensive institutions, but also to research-intensive institutions within which there exist tensions between hiring faculty who might teach broadly to undergraduates and the desire to have faculty who produce specialized, technically complex research.

Our point is that it is not by accident that political science has arrived at where it is now. It is only through a better understanding of these structural issues that scholars can begin to identify how to change the situation.

Possible Solutions

There are no easy or guaranteed solutions to address the ways that a lack of focus on identity and a more self-reflective epistemology limits the range of questions asked and approaches used in political science. Modifying graduate curricula to expand graduate training in these areas cannot be mandated. Historically, departmental faculty drive such modifications. Moreover, the peer review processes for publication, tenure, and promotion are entirely dependent on the criteria used by faculty in exercising their responsibilities to assess each other and each other's work. It is the faculty who are responsible for determining the scope of training of the next generation of scholars, what type of work is valued, and who advances within the profession. Our subsequent discussion focuses on ways that our profession can consider expanding who becomes a political scientist and what types of evaluative choices can be made to overcome the challenges outlined above that confront our profession.

Associational Approaches

National associational bodies are important because they set the tone for the profession as a whole and, through their programming, can provide incentives for individuals and institutions to diversify the professoriate and the scope of research seen as central within subfields. To this end, the American Economics Association (AEA) may be able to provide some useful examples. Like the APSA, during the 1970s the AEA created status committees for women and minorities in economics. Currently, these committees operate a number of programs intended to change the make-up of the economics profession: a summer training program, a summer fellows program, and a mentorship program.

The summer training program is comparable to the APSA's Ralph Bunche Program, but there are some significant differences. Students may participate in the AEA's program for more than one year. The program also rotates institutional location every three to six years. In terms of funding for this program, the AEA plays a significant role. According to the Committee on the Status of Minority Groups in the Economics Profession, the cost of the 2008 Summer Training Program was approximately $470,000; the two major expenses were faculty/staff salaries and student scholarships. The major funding came from UC Santa Barbara ($176,000), the AEA ($170,000), and other groups—the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Moody's Foundation, the National Science Foundation (NSF), and RAND, for a total of $150,000. In addition, textbook publishers contributed about $9,000 of in-kind support. The University of Texas–Pan American and North Carolina A&T University also helped disseminate information about the program. We emphasize that funding from the AEA provides the structure that underpins the entire summer training program. Without the AEA funding, the program would not exist (Rouse 2009).

The AEA Women's Status Committee and Minority Status Committee also jointly organize a summer fellows program. In 2008 this program was in its second year, its aim being

> to increase the participation and advancement of women and underrepresented minorities in economics by providing a summer in residence at a sponsoring research institution such as a Federal Reserve Bank or other public agency.

Eligibility is open to senior graduate students and junior faculty. Sponsoring institutions pay for the fellowship and administrative costs are covered by a grant from the NSF (Rouse 2009).

The chairs of the two status committees appoint the members of the ad hoc group that organizes the summer program. Although such a model may not be an exact fit for political science, it speaks to the need for providing professional development opportunities for women and people of color during their early career transitions.

Looking beyond early career transition, the AEA status committees like the APSA, run a mentorship program. This program, however, is organized quite differently than the APSA program:

The AEA status committee Mentoring Program, which is aimed at those starting or completing doctorate degrees in economics and new doctorates, matches African-American, Latino, and Native American economics PhD students with mentors in the field. It also facilitates networking between minority economists and students at all stages of the educational and professional pipeline. Participants must be US citizens or permanent residents. That said, the Pipeline Conference is the primary activity of the Mentoring Program. The Conference is held each summer during the...Summer [Training] Program....The Mentoring Program also provides funding for collaborative research projects between mentors and mentees. The awards range from $750 to $1,500 and the funds can serve a variety of purposes. For example, they can be used to cover the transportation and lodging costs that allow graduate students to travel to their mentor's location and spend several days working on the project, or cover the costs of data and supplies. An important component of the Mentoring Program is the sakai.rutgers.edu Web site that interconnects all mentoring program participants, and serves as a tool for disseminating information. This site has allowed us to disseminate over twenty opportunities for research, grants, job openings, and other initiatives. The cost of the Mentoring Program is about $40,000 per year, the majority of which is used to fund the annual Pipeline Conference. The program is currently funded by a new two-year grant from the NSF (Rouse 2009).

The status committees also hold mentoring workshops and other kinds of professional development programming at regional and national association meetings, providing further networking opportunities and another layer of support for faculty at all stages. Thus, although the general set of programming provided by the AEA is similar to that of the APSA, the AEA's work seems to include more structural and financial supports than the APSA programs. Most specifically, the AEA seems to have been more proactive than the APSA in soliciting funding from NSF to support this kind of work.[7]

One final aspect of the AEA programs that differs from that of the APSA's programs is the data reporting included in the status committee activities and the dissemination of that data through the association's flagship journal, *American Economic Review*. After each annual meeting, each status committee (along with other association committees) submits

reports that are published in the journal. Those reports not only list committee activities, but also present cumulative data on gender and race representation among economics PhDs and faculty in the United States. These data also include an annual survey of economics departments, for which the response rates are quite high. This type of data collection and dissemination allows a clear sense of the problem and allows for a better understanding of whether or not these institutional interventions are working. To date, it is still unclear as to how successful these programs have been in increasing diversity and inclusion within economics. They are, nonetheless, clear evidence of committed and focused effort on the part of this professional association.

We also examined the work of the American Bar Association (ABA) to see how a professional practitioner association has addressed issues of diversity and inclusion. An essay written by Dianne Pinderhughes on the history of affirmative action efforts among academic and professional associations in the United States notes:

> Both the AMA [American Medical Association] and the ABA have created bodies for a larger and longer investigation of the role of their organizations in the development of racially hierarchical, divided and problematic professions. The APSA and the ASA [American Sociological Association] have some programs, but have not engaged in a long-term investigation of the role of their organizations in shaping a racially distinct group of scholars (2008).

For example, the ABA has institutionalized the exploration of the status of minority lawyers since at least 1968. In that year, the Commission on Opportunities for Minorities in the Profession was replaced with the Commission on Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the Profession, which had responsibility for "pursu[ing] fulfillment of the ABA's Goal IX: 'To promote full and equal participation in the legal profession by minorities, women and persons with disabilities'" (2002). After the 1992 Rodney King riots in Los Angeles,

> a Presidential Task Force on Minorities in the Justice system was created.... The Task Force became the Coalition on Racial and Ethnic Justice in 1994.... Its primary goal is to serve as a catalyst for eliminating racial and ethnic bias in the justice system with a focus on systemic change" (2011a).

Moreover, in 2000 ABA President Bill Paul created the Council for Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the Educational Pipeline, which has a range of responsibilities to "enhance visibility for pipeline diversity programs and leadership in the legal profession" (2011b).

These three bodies sit in the ABA's Center for Racial and Ethnic Diversity, which coordinates

> the three major ABA entities that focus on racial and ethnic diversity issues.... Through the efforts of these three entities, the ABA addresses the issue of diversity with a three-pronged approach focusing on racial and ethnic issues in the legal profession, social justice system, and advancing students into the profession (2011c).

The Center also serves as a resource to work with the other bodies within the ABA in enhancing diversity. In addition, the 2010–2011 ABA President, Stephen Zack, is the

first Hispanic to hold that office. He has strongly reiterated the importance of continued commitment to diversity in the legal profession, has created a new Commission on Hispanic Rights and Legal Responsibilities, and has stated that "[a] priority of this commission is full integration of Hispanics into the profession" (2011). All of these efforts indicate a very intentional strategy to establish, support, and sustain the ABA's capacity to keep the issues of diversity and inclusion at the forefront of its members' thinking.[8]

Institutional-level Approaches

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

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

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

At the campus level, the University of California, Berkeley recently created the Berkeley Diversity Research Initiative, now called the Haas Diversity Research Center. Backed by a $16 million award from the Evelyn and Walter Haas Jr. Fund, this model is based on the development of cross-disciplinary faculty clusters that engage in collective hiring efforts,

at all levels, including multidisciplinary endowed chairs. These new faculty receive research support through these clusters and also are expected to engage in the work of the new Diversity Research Center. The idea is to facilitate collaboration and support across units to retain and support faculty and also to produce high-quality, innovative research on issues of diversity and inclusion within American society.

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

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

As a rule, however, accrediting bodies have not used standards prescriptively to advance goals across academia. The emphasis has been on achieving a respective institution's mission, not on reaching benchmarks or standards thought desirable nationwide. Indeed, standards often adopt language that grounds substantive action within the terms of an individual institution's mission and goals, rather than higher education–wide goals. With respect for faculty diversity and inclusion, for example, the standards of the New England Association of Schools and Colleges, which accredits colleges and universities in that region, read: "The institution ensures equal employment opportunity consistent with legal requirements and any other dimensions of its own choosing; compatible with its mission and purposes, it *addresses its own goals* for the achievement of diversity among its faculty" (New England Association of Schools and Colleges 2011, emphasis added). This language and approach are important. They presume an institution possesses goals for achieving diversity and being inclusive and that there must be some strategic effort to achieve these. But the language and approach fall short of benchmarking those goals against national and system needs for higher education, or of signaling that the achievement of these goals also will be measured against efforts of all other institutions to move forward.

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

When faculty diversity is seen as a goal faced only by individual departments or institutions, a typical commons problem may emerge, in which individual commitments

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

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

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

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

Teaching and Pedagogy

In his critical essay written in reaction to those who question the public value of funded research by political scientists, "The Public Responsibilities of Political Science," Smith challenges the discipline to make the necessary connection between what is done as "professional" political science and "critical" political science to the broader public (2010). He posits, "[W]e scholars of politics should emphasize and seek to strengthen another contribution we make to public life: teaching people knowledge and skills useful for understanding and participating in politics." If the opportunity to recognize the pedagogical significance of political science is missed, then the ability to sustain public and material support for research without ample evidence of the contributions made in the classroom, "may find [political scientists] in the decades ahead [with] many fewer resources and opportunities for any kind of contribution at all" (2010). Smith's argument is important for a discipline in which prestige in the profession still focuses overwhelmingly on "influential scholarship" produced by "professional" and "critical" political science largely to the exclusion of innovative teaching.

In 1990, in her Presidential Address to the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS), Dianne Pinderhughes raised a similar issue with respect to critical scholarship and classroom instruction on "race politics" in the profession, highlighting the significant need to produce more political scientists of color. In 2005, the APSA's Teaching and Learning Conference (TLC) ad hoc committee on Internationalizing the Undergraduate Curriculum was asked to investigate how to increase cross-cultural awareness in the discipline and collect best practices for teaching sensitivity to the demands of the global context. The report states:

> The committee's research suggests that the most effective practices are those that emphasize learning outcomes, motivate students by means of active learning strategies, motivate faculty with incentive and award programs, and seek to build complex communities of students, administrations, faculty, government and the private sector. Best practices build curricula, have institution- and department-wide visions, *and* are responsive to the specific concerns of individual students and faculty (Ingebritsen et al. 2006, emphasis in the original).

Recognizing the need to produce better teachers as well as research scholars, APSA launched a new conference on "Teaching and Learning in Political Science," held February 19–21, 2004. The purpose was to generate a greater understanding of cutting-edge approaches, techniques, and methodologies that could be applied in the political science classroom. Seven years later, the conference is proving to be valuable to the APSA as a means to learn and share innovative techniques in the classroom.[9]

Using the published APSA TLC summaries as a foundation, in addition to data collected from the NSF and National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE), we compared
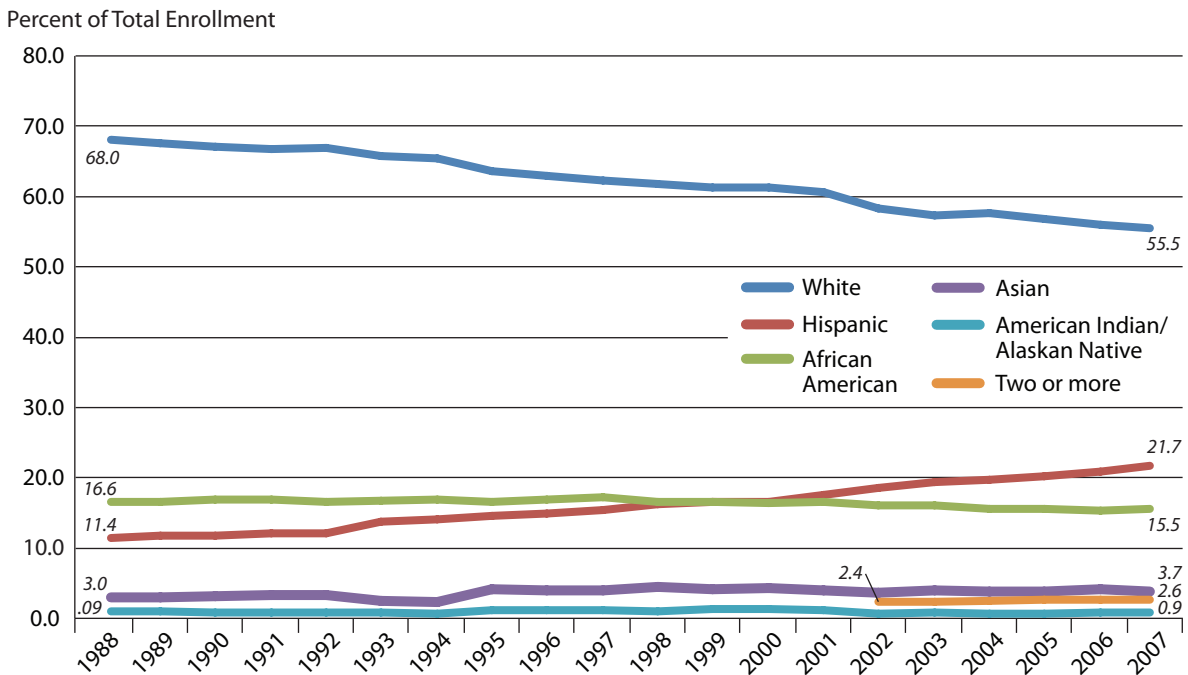
our discipline relative to others in the social sciences to gauge who and how issues of race, ethnicity, and difference are taught. We asked:

- ■ What patterns of demographic change are occurring in student enrollment at the K–12 and post-secondary levels?
- ■ What are the demographics of political science majors today?
- ■ Are political science majors getting exposed to issues of diversity and inclusion more or less than students in other undergraduate majors?
- ■ How can the teaching of political science be further enriched to be relevant to students of all backgrounds and interests?

Changing Demographics of Student Enrollment

Figure 5 reveals that—similar to the data presented earlier on overall shifts in the U.S. population—these population shifts are mirrored in public school enrollment, with direct implications for changing enrollment in colleges and universities. In 1988, 68 percent of all students enrolled in public schools in the United States were white/Caucasian. In 2007, that number was down to 55.5 percent. Again, it is Latino students who are the major source of growth in the diversity of students attending public schools. They were estimated to be only 11.4 percent of students enrolled in 1988; surpassed African Americans as the largest ethnic/racial minority group in 2000; and by 2007, their numbers had increased to more than one-fifth of all students, at 21.7 percent. The percentages of African American, Asian, American Indian/Alaska Native, and students of two or more races, by contrast, remain relatively constant over the same

Figure 5: **Total Public Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity, 1988-2007**
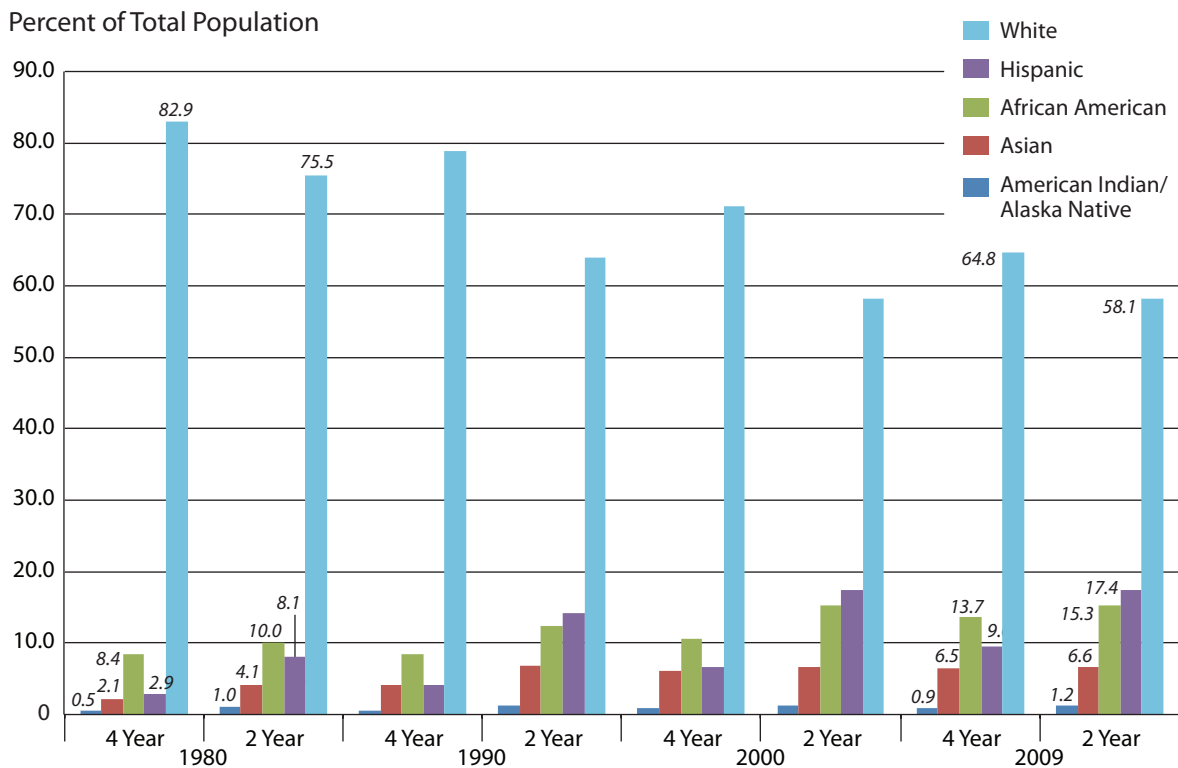
Percent of Total Enrollment

Sources: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Commerce, the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS), October Supplement, 1988–2008.

time period. The percentages of students in these groups enrolled in public schools in 2007 were 15.5 percent, 3.7 percent, 0.9 percent, and 2.6 percent, respectively. Inarguably, the change in enrollment is being driven by increases in the number of Latino students.

The data in Figure 6 reveal that shifts in enrollment in colleges and universities have occurred as well, although not as dramatically as the shifts in overall population and enrollment in K–12 public schools. The percentage of white/Caucasian students enrolled in both four-year and two-year institutions has dropped consistently since 1980, when this group comprised 82.9 percent of all students enrolled in post-secondary institutions; in 2009, students from this group constituted a noticeably smaller 64.8 percent of students in four-year colleges and universities and 58.1 percent of those in two-year colleges. The enrollment of African Americans in four-year institutions increased from 8.4 percent in 1980 to 13.7 percent in 2009. The percentage of Hispanics enrolled in post-secondary institutions increased as well, from a very small 2.9 percent in 1980 to 9.6 percent in 2009. The percentage of enrolled Asian/Pacific Islanders increased from 2.9 percent to 6.5 percent over the same period, and for American Indians/Alaska Natives the percentage of enrolled students increased from 0.5 percent to 1.2 percent. Even larger shifts have occurred in the diversity of students enrolled in two-year institutions. Whites/Caucasians accounted for 82.9 percent of students enrolled at this level in 1980, but were only 58.1 percent in 2009. African Americans made up 8.4 percent of

Figure 6: **Percent Enrolled by Race/Ethnicity and Type of Institution, 1980-2009**

Percent of Total Population

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities" surveys, 1976 and 1980; and 1990 through 2009 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Fall enrollment Survey" (IPEDS-EF:90), and Spring 2001 through Spring 2010.

enrolled students in 1980 and reached 15.3 percent in 2009. Again, the percentage of enrolled Hispanics grew by the largest margins, from 2.9 percent in 1980 to being the largest non-Caucasian group at 17.4 percent in 2009. The percentage of Asian/Pacific Islanders enrolled in post-secondary institutions also grew, from 2.1 percent to 6.6 percent, and the number of enrolled American Indians/Alaska Natives increased from 0.5 percent to 1.2 percent.

Undergraduate Majors in Political Science

Overall, compared to other social science disciplines,[10] political science ranks well in the distribution of bachelor's degrees for undergraduate majors. The data in Table 1 reveal that political science is by far the first-choice major of students from all selected racial-ethnic backgrounds, with sociology a close second. Latinos have the highest concentration of political science majors at 44.8 percent, followed by African Americans at 39.9 percent, and Caucasians at 38.3 percent. The pattern for Asian/Pacific Islanders is distinct in that only 32.1 percent of this group major in political science and a slightly higher 34.9 percent major in economics. Additionally, data from the NSSE (2009) reveal that a clear majority, 57.1 percent, of seniors majoring in political science are women.

Table 1. **Undergraduate Majors in the Social Sciences, 2009**

	Political Science	Sociology	Anthropology	Economics	Linguistics	History of Science	Ethnic Studies	Total N
African Americans	39.9%	37.8%	3.2%	10.8%	0.4%	0.1%	7.9%	12825
Latinos	44.8%	27.3%	6.0%	12.8%	1.0%	0.0%	8.1%	12022
Asian/Pacific Islanders	32.3%	17.6%	5.1%	35.2%	1.4%	0.6%	7.8%	11309
Caucasians	38.3%	30.8%	9.4%	16.5%	1.0%	0.1%	3.8%	93816

Source: NSF 2010

Diversity and Inclusion in the Undergraduate Teaching of Political Science

To examine how political science compares to other disciplines and social sciences in the teaching of issues related to diversity and inclusion, we utilized data from the NSSE (2009). Several questions were asked that allow us to begin to understand how much emphasis is placed on these issues; we utilized the following three:

■ "During the current school year, how much has your coursework emphasized the following mental activities: Applying theories or concepts to practical problems or in new situations." The possible responses were 1=very little, 2=some, 3=quite a bit, and 4=very much.

- ■ "In your experience at your institution during the current school year, about how often have you done each of the following: Included diverse perspectives (different races, religions, genders, political beliefs, etc.) in class discussions or writing assignments." The possible responses for this question were 1=never, 2=sometimes, 3=often, and 4=very often.

- ■ "During the current school year, about how often have you done the following: Tried to better understand someone else's views by imagining how an issue looks from his or her perspective." The possible responses for this question were also 1=never, 2=sometimes, 3=often, 4=very often.

Examination of Table 2 reveals that students report experiences in political science that compare favorably with experiences in other disciplines in the teaching of diversity and inclusion. In response to the question about applying theories or concepts to practical problems or in new situations, political science averages are just below the mean, and, not surprisingly, come in below the majors categories of professional, engineering, biological or physical sciences, education, and other social sciences, but above the mean responses for business, other, and arts and humanities. However, for the specific questions regarding the inclusion of diverse perspectives in discussions or writing assignments and better understanding someone else's views from his or her perspective, political science scores well above the overall mean and has the highest score compared to all the other categories of majors.

Table 2. **Undergraduate Experiences**

Undergraduate Major	Applied theories or concepts to practical problems or in new situations	Included diverse perspectives in class discussions or writing assignments	Tried to better understand someone else's views from his or her perspective	N
Political Science	3.2	3.2	3.1	2496
Arts and Humanities	3.1	3.0	3.0	3713
Biological and Physical Sciences	3.2	2.6	2.8	2450
Business	3.2	2.7	2.7	3908
Education	3.3	3.0	2.8	2489
Engineering	3.4	2.2	2.7	1334
Other	3.1	2.8	2.8	3760
Other Social Sciences	3.2	3.1	3.0	2496
Professional	3.5	2.9	2.9	2019
Average	3.2	2.9	2.9	Total N 24960

Source: NSSE 2009

The experiences of political science majors when compared to the experiences of those majoring in other specific social sciences appear in Table 3. Political science scores above the mean regarding application of theories to problems. It comes in below social work, sociology, economics, and psychology, but above anthropology, gender studies, ethnic studies, other social sciences, and geography. Political science is just below the mean regarding diversity in discussions and assignments—below gender studies, social work, anthropology, sociology, and ethnic studies. It is, however, above psychology, other social sciences, economics, and geography. On the final dimension of better understanding someone else's views, political science is again above the mean. Coming in below social work, anthropology, and gender studies, it is above sociology, other social sciences, ethnic studies, psychology, economics, and geography.

Table 3. **Undergraduate Experiences across the Social Sciences**

Undergraduate Major	Applied theories or concepts to practical problems or in new situations	Included diverse perspectives in class discussions or writing assignments	Tried to better under-stand someone else's views from his or her perspective	N
Political Science	3.2	3.2	3.1	235
Anthropology	3.1	3.5	3.3	42
Economics	3.2	2.8	2.9	108
Ethnic studies	3.1	3.3	3.0	13
Gender Studies	3.1	3.8	3.2	6
Geography	3.0	2.8	2.7	28
Other Social Science	3.0	3.0	3.0	21
Psychology	3.2	3.0	3.0	231
Social Work	3.5	3.5	3.3	60
Sociology	3.3	3.3	3.1	96
Average	3.2	3.2	3.1	Total N 840

Source: NSSE 2009

We secured an oversample of seniors majoring in political science from the NSSE to be able to examine if there were any significant differences in the experiences of students by race and ethnicity along the three dimensions noted above. These findings appear in Table 4. The data do not reveal any major differences across groups; however, some interesting patterns do emerge. Among major subgroups, African Americans report among the highest levels of experience with applying theories and concepts to practical problems, with a mean score of

3.3. By contrast, Hispanic political science majors report a mean score of 3.2; Asian/Pacific Islander students report a score of 3.2; and American Indian/Alaska Native students follow closely, with a score of 3.2, which is the same as the score for white/Caucasian students. African American students also have the highest mean score of 3.4 in response to whether diverse perspectives were included in class discussions or writing assignments. The mean score for Hispanics was 3.3, Asian/Pacific Islanders 3.2, American Indian/Alaska Natives 3.3, and for whites/Caucasians it was 3.2. American Indian/Alaska Native students, however, have the highest mean score—3.2—among major ethnic/racial groups in response to whether their classes had pushed them to better understand someone else's views and perspectives. The mean score for African Americans was 3.1, for Hispanics 3.0, Asian/Pacific Islanders 3.1, and whites/Caucasians 3.1.

These data are limited in that there is no control for type of institution, region of the country, and other relevant contextual factors that could explain the responses reported above. Nonetheless, the data do not reveal that students of color report experiences in the classroom that are significantly different from those of white/Caucasian students. What these data do suggest is that African American, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, and American Indian/Alaska Natives students perceive that the teaching of political science encourages application of theories to practical problems and encourages students to consider diverse perspectives in their classwork and in how individuals come to have the political views they do.

Table 4. **Political Science Undergraduate Experiences by Race and Ethnicity**

Race or Ethnicity	Applied theories or concepts to practical problems or in new situations	Included diverse perspectives in class discussions or writing assignments	Tried to better understand someone else's views from his or her perspective	N
African American/Black	3.3	3.4	3.1	116
American Indian/Alaska Native	3.2	3.3	3.2	21
Asian/Pacific Islander	3.2	3.2	3.1	85
Caucasian/White	3.2	3.2	3.1	1579
Hispanic	3.2	3.3	3.0	134
Other	3.0	3.3	3.2	20
Foreign	3.1	3.4	3.3	57
Multi-racial/ethnic	3.4	3.6	3.0	5
Unknown	3.3	3.3	3.2	81
Average	3.2	3.2	3.1	Total N 2098

Source: NSSE 2009

The final way we examined how the teaching of political science at the undergraduate level includes issues of diversity and inclusion was by student responses across distinct types of institutions. The NSSE data organize colleges and universities into five distinct categories: research and doctoral research universities, master's colleges and universities (larger programs), master's colleges and universities (medium and smaller programs), baccalaureate colleges in arts and sciences, and baccalaureate colleges in diverse fields and business. Table 5 displays the reported experiences of students at each type of institution. In all but one category, mean scores reflect that students apply theories and concepts to practical problems, include diverse perspectives in classwork, and often try to better understand another's views and perspectives, with mean scores above 3.0. Research and doctoral research institutions scored below the mean in applying theories and concepts, at the mean in regard to including diverse perspectives in class, and above the mean—and, in fact, the highest at 3.1—in undergraduates reporting that they tried to understand diverse views and perspectives.

Based on these data, our analysis reveals that, overall, the teaching of political science at the undergraduate level does not avoid encouraging students to apply what they learn to practical problems, include diverse perspectives in classwork, and better understand the views and perspectives of others, even at research-intensive institutions. Moreover, students of color report having these experiences at rates very similar, and at times greater than, those reported by white/Caucasian students.

Table 5. **Political Science Undergraduate Experiences by Type of Institution**

	Applied theories or concepts to practical problems or in new situations	Included diverse perspectives in class discussions or writing assignments	Tried to better understand someone else's views from his or her perspective	N
Research Universities (high research activity) or Doctoral/ Research Universities	3.2	3.2	3.1	628
Masters Colleges and Universities (larger programs)	3.2	3.2	3.1	508
Masters Colleges and Universities (medium or smaller programs)	3.2	3.2	3.1	377
Baccalaureate Colleges-Arts & Sciences	3.3	3.2	3.1	648
Not classified, Baccalaureate Colleges-Diverse Fields, and Schools of Business and Management	3.2	3.2	3.0	48
Average	3.2	3.2	3.1	Total N 2209

Source: NSSE 2009

Reflections and Recommendations from the APSA Teaching and Learning Conferences (TLC)

We reviewed the work of the APSA TLC committees and annual conference summaries to develop a set of reflections and recommendations in regard to how we might further encourage political science to incorporate issues of diversity and inclusion in the classroom.[11] The subsequent discussion builds on the above findings and provides further guidance as to how departments can better strategize to adopt approaches, methods, and pedagogies that are likely to enrich the learning of all undergraduate students, and especially students from underrepresented backgrounds.

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

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

1. Faculties *must* receive substantial technical, institutional, and departmental support if alternative strategies are to be widely developed, implemented, and assessed.

2. Teaching should be recognized more in departmental tenure and promotion decisions.

3. Departments should offer courses in teaching strategies for their graduate students that incorporate more innovative approaches.

4. Innovative teaching approaches must be expressly designed as integral parts of a department's curriculum and formally incorporated within it.

5. The APSA should play an innovative and facilitative role with respect to the development and integration of innovative teaching practices into political science curricula. The means that the APSA can use to fulfill these objectives include: continued and expanded support for the Teaching and Learning Conference; support and encouragement of the development of networks formed through the conferences; and outreach to other disciplines and other countries, both to enable broader networking opportunities and to expand the search for new ideas.

Political Science and Current Issues of the Day

A consistent theme throughout the various sections of the APSA Teaching and Learning Conferences is the vital importance of linking political science to real world events. This suggests that political scientists should be doing more to address current issues of the day in their teaching. Of course, some types of courses lend themselves more directly to addressing

current issues of the day. Policy courses, courses addressing civic engagement, and courses addressing international issues are all examples of classes that can be deeply immersed in the current issues of the day to make political science immediately relevant to all students.

Engaged citizens are familiar with the current issues of the day. Several track summaries note the importance of political scientists contributing to the development of such engaged citizens. As discussed in the summaries, this is because U.S. society is experiencing substantial demographic change and the world is increasingly connected, with events in other nations affecting the lives of students in the United States. Political science has the potential to be a key discipline in helping students understand a diverse world by linking our discipline to current issues of the day—both national and international.

The Inclusiveness of the Political Science Curriculum

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

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

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

1. Encourage open discussion and communication about sensitive issues (Lamborn and Martin 2004) in the world, particularly as they relate to people of different political environments, backgrounds, beliefs, and cultures;

2. Emphasize active learning that engages students to apply concepts learned in class to real world situations (Lamborn and Martin 2004);

3. Move forward with internationalization (Babst, DeGarmo, Harth, and Reinalda 2006) to catch up with other disciplines;

4. Place a higher priority on expanding both the quantity and the quality of internalization efforts and offer students greater exposure to and knowledge about our world (Babst, DeGarmo, Harth, and Reinalda 2006);

5. Develop an increasing awareness among all students of the world's complexity and interdependence so that they may appreciate differences and acquire the ability to communicate across cultures (Nordyke, Wright, Kuchinsky, and Ediger 2007);

6. Emphasize the concept of global citizenship that connects what is local and what is global and stresses the importance of breaking away from a purely a Westernized view of the world (Nordyke, Wright, Kuchinsky, and Ediger 2007);

7. Move students beyond their comfort zones to see things from different perspectives through foreign and domestic situations of prejudice, racism, and nativism (Nordyke, Wright, Kuchinsky, and Ediger 2007);

8. Promote global internships that emphatically juxtapose theory and student experiences (Nordyke, Wright, Kuchinsky, and Ediger 2007);

9. Encourage and sustain enthusiasm for the international dimensions of politics (Zeiser, Jennings, Brooks, and Berg 2007);

10. Use resources and technology effectively and purposefully via simulations that improve students' knowledge of the world (Zeiser, Jennings, Brooks, and Berg 2007); and

11. Critically examine the overuse and misuse of such terms as internationalize, multicultural, intercultural, and tolerance to avoid their becoming meaningless buzzwords (Zeiser, Jennings, Brooks, and Berg 2007).

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

Wallace 2010). More important, as suggested by members of the APSA Standing Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, American government and politics textbooks must begin to create new frames of reference and political paradigms to:

1. Discuss the historical role of political parties and the impact of their positions on various groups and cultures in the American founding;

2. Focus on racial/ethnic and cultural issues in a global context, and in terms of involvements and interactions between various racial and ethnic groups in America and other countries;

3. More proactively utilize the lens of race/ethnicity and culture considerations in politics; and

4. Increase the number of conscientious scholars from various racial/ethnic backgrounds and cultures as co-authors in the conception, creation, and publication of American government and politics textbooks.

Teaching and Learning in Political Science

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

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

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

Access and Inclusion

One of the essential questions our task force posed at the beginning of its work was: Which innovative strategies of recruitment, retention, and promotion must key gatekeepers in political science pursue if the profession is to attain greater inclusion of members from historically underrepresented groups? The task force created a working group to study this question, and, after completing its analysis, this working group determined that one way to address this question was to focus on mentoring, leadership, and retention of faculty at both the untenured and associate ranks in the discipline. We believe that leadership at the chair level plays an especially significant role in both the recruitment and retention of diverse faculty in the profession.

With regard to mentoring, we asked the following questions: Are there formal faculty mentoring programs in place for political science faculty? If so, what is the design and structure of these programs? Where are they being implemented? Are mentoring programs available at all ranks? How are they made known to faculty? How and when are department promotion and tenure guidelines and expectations made known to untenured faculty?

In terms of leadership, we asked several related questions: How does the political science profession provide leadership training and support for department chairs? Has the profession ever done professional workshops for chairs on best practices for hiring and retaining diverse faculty?

When addressing retention, we asked the following: How can political science departments foster collegial environments that research suggests are critical to the successful retention of underrepresented faculty? Have any climate surveys of departments of political science been completed? Are there actual mechanisms in place to promote career development within political science departments? What evaluation and follow-up have been conducted to measure the impact of any actions taken?
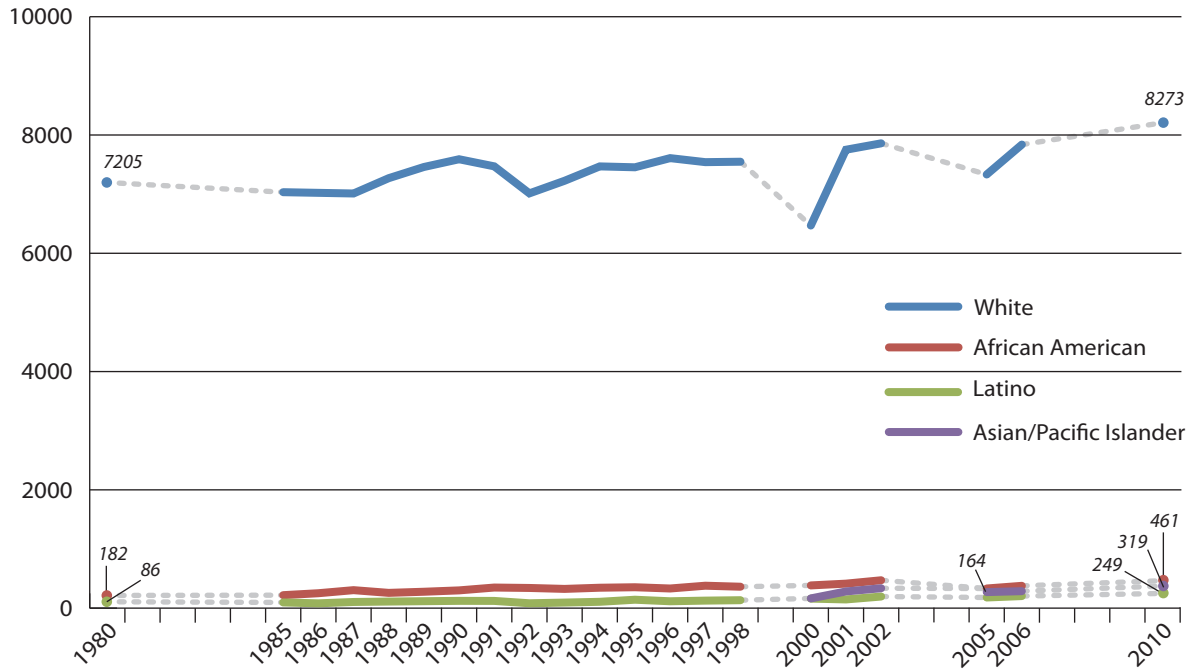
Political Science Faculty, 1980–2010

We examined data provided by the APSA that are originally from several sources that estimate the total number of faculty teaching at U.S. universities and colleges.[12] We were especially interested in examining the demographic characteristics of political science faculty and what has changed over time with regard to the recruitment and retention of women and faculty of color. What is most apparent is that the number of women and members of historically underrepresented groups in the profession has been increasing, but it has been at a very slow pace, especially among faculty of color.[13]

Figures 7 and 8 reveal the total number of political science faculty members from 1980 to 2010. These data demonstrate that in 1980, of 7,473 total faculty members, 182 or 2.4 percent were African Americans, and 86 or 1.2 percent were Latina/o. In 2010, of a total of 9,302 faculty members, 461 or 5 percent were African American; 249 or 2.7 percent were Latina/o; and 319 or

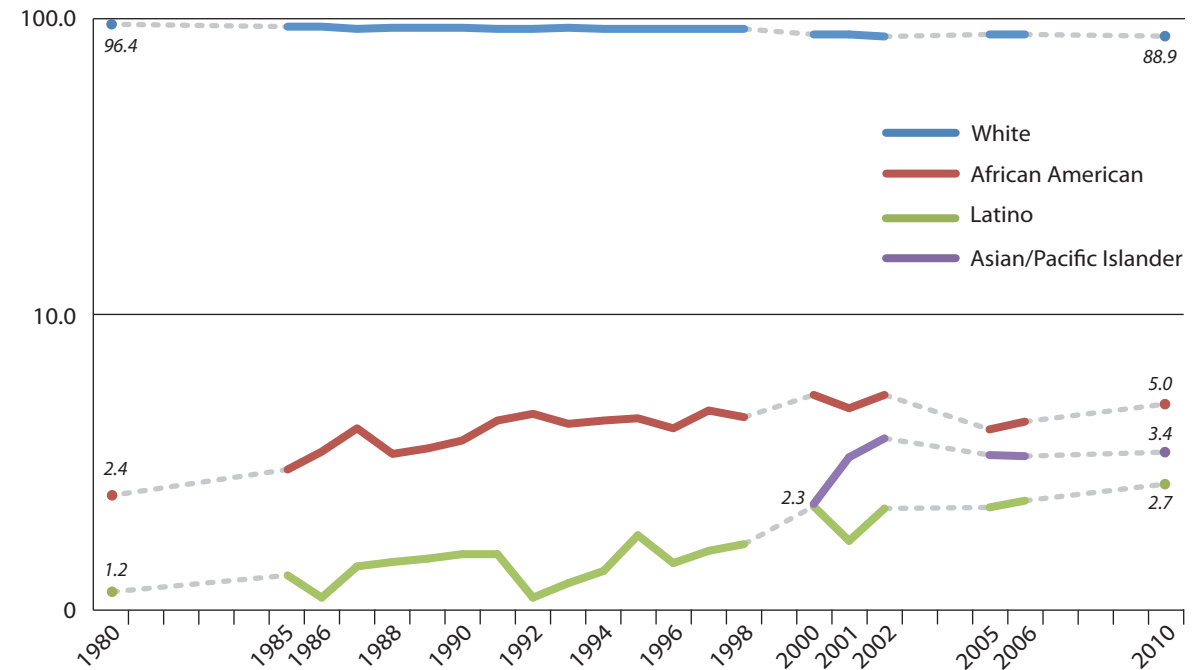Figure 7: **Political Science Faculty, 1980-2010**

Total Political Science Faculty

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

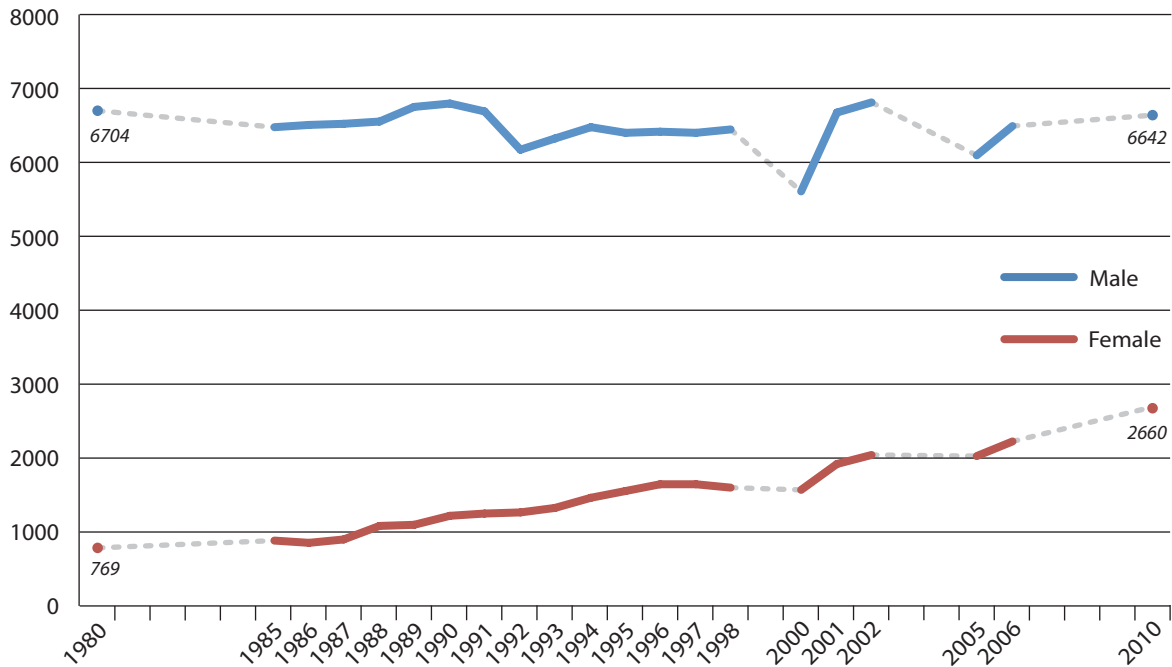Figure 8: **Political Science Faculty, 1980-2010**

Percent of Total Faculty

Source: APSA 1980-2001; APSA 2002-2010.
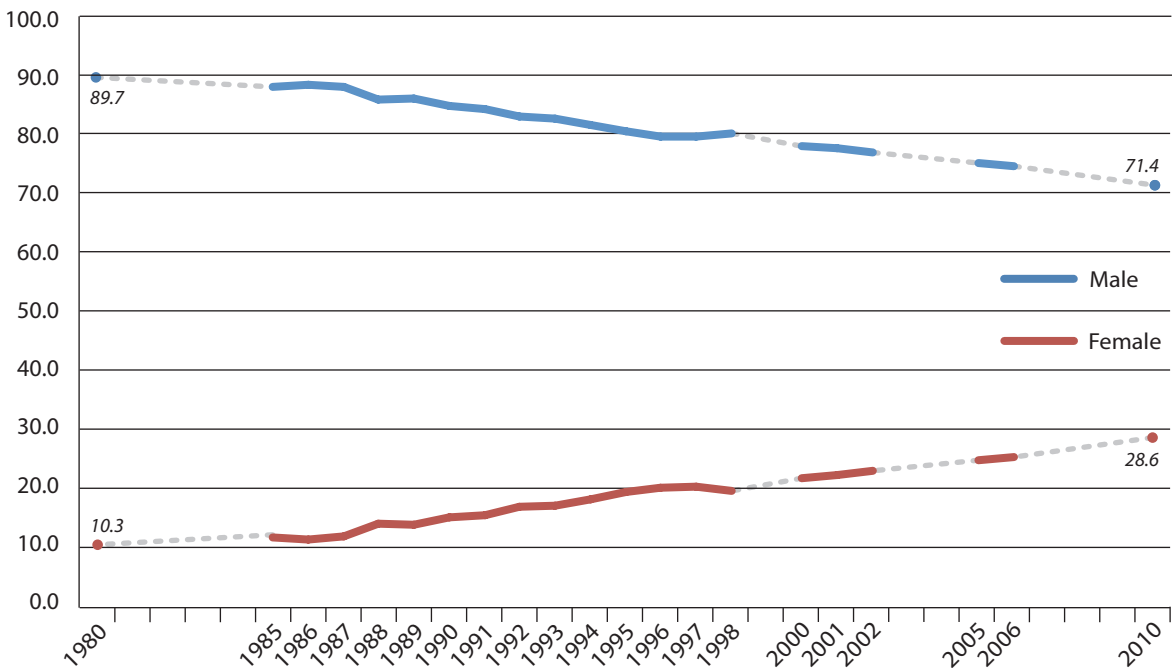
Figure 9: **Gender of Faculty, 1980-2010**

Total Faculty

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

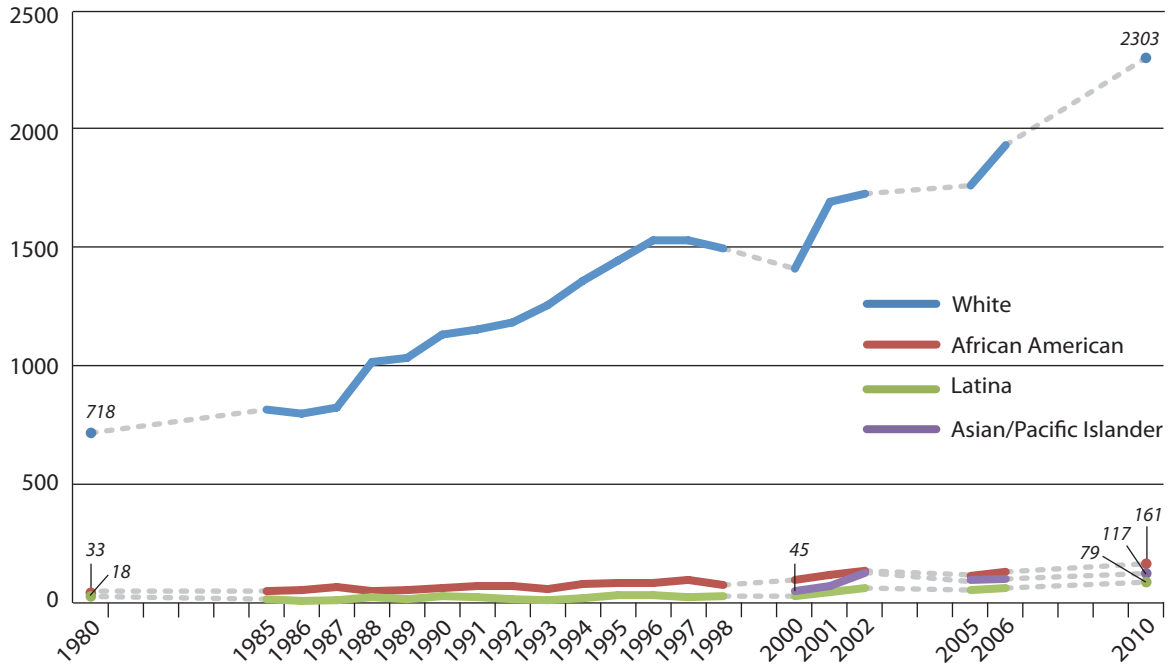Figure 10: **Gender of Faculty APSA Members, 1980-2010**

Percent Total Faculty

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

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

Total Female Faculty

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

3.4 percent were Asian Pacific Islander.[14] Stated differently, in 1980, 96.4 percent of political science faculty were Caucasian, whereas thirty years later in 2010, 88.9 percent of them were Caucasian. These data suggest that although the presence of historically underrepresented groups has improved, it is still extremely limited.
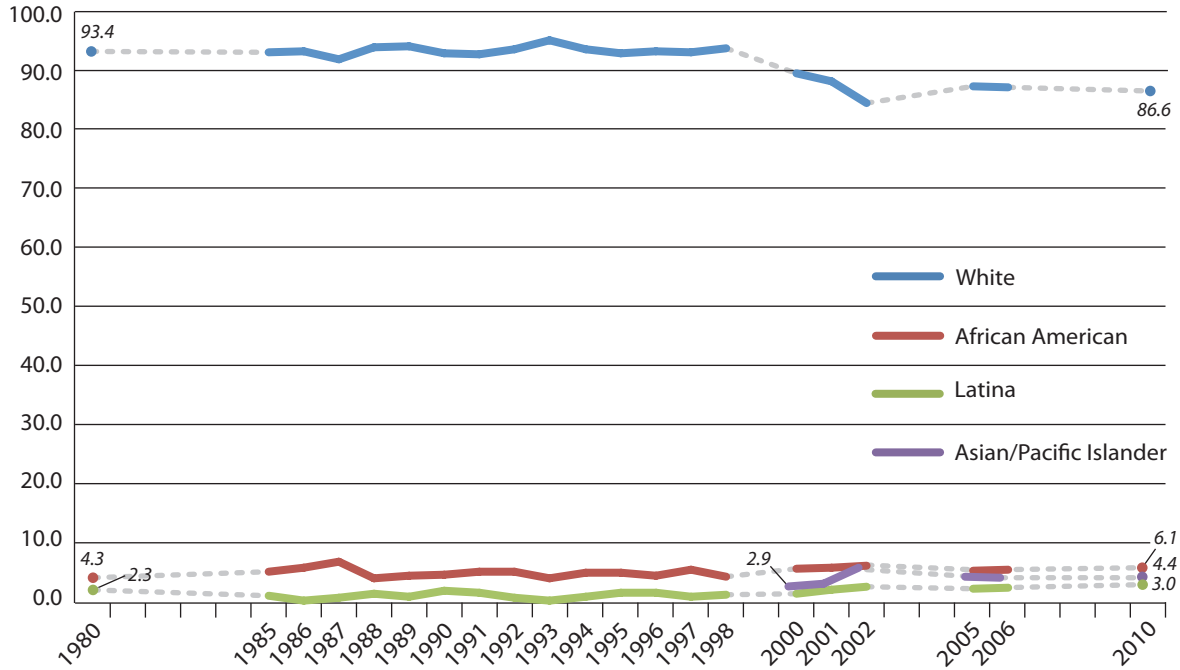
Figures 9 and 10 reveal that the number of women faculty has increased at a noticeably faster rate. In 1980 female faculty numbered 769 or 10.3 percent, whereas in 2010, that number had increased to 2,660 or 28.6 percent. Nonetheless, the overall faculty in political science are still overwhelmingly male: 89.7 percent of such members were men in 1980, and 71.4 percent were men in 2010.

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

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

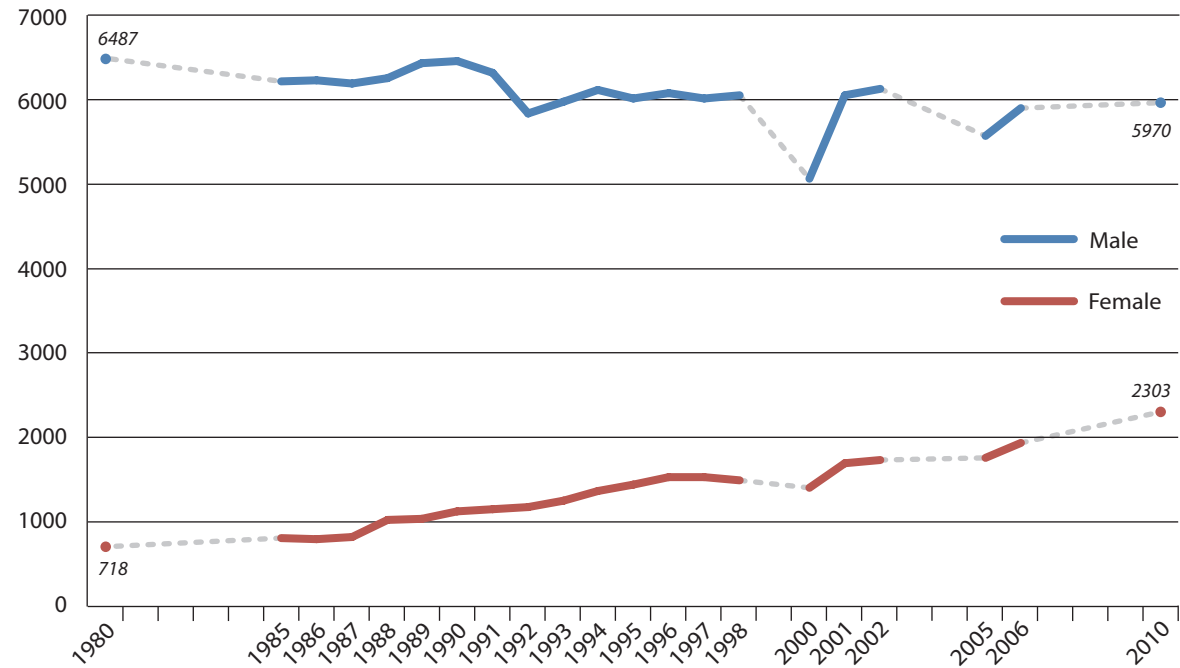## Figure 12: **Female Faculty by Race and Ethnicity, 1980-2010**

Percent Total Female Faculty

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

Figure 13: **Gender of White Faculty, 1980-2010**
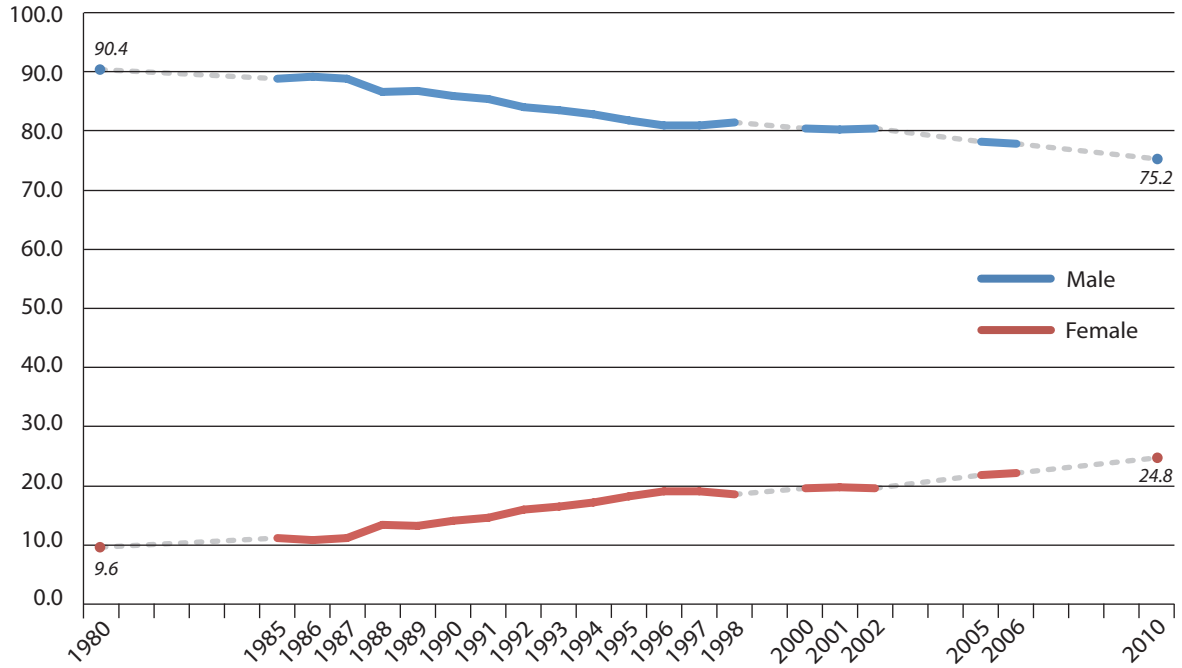
Total White Faculty

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

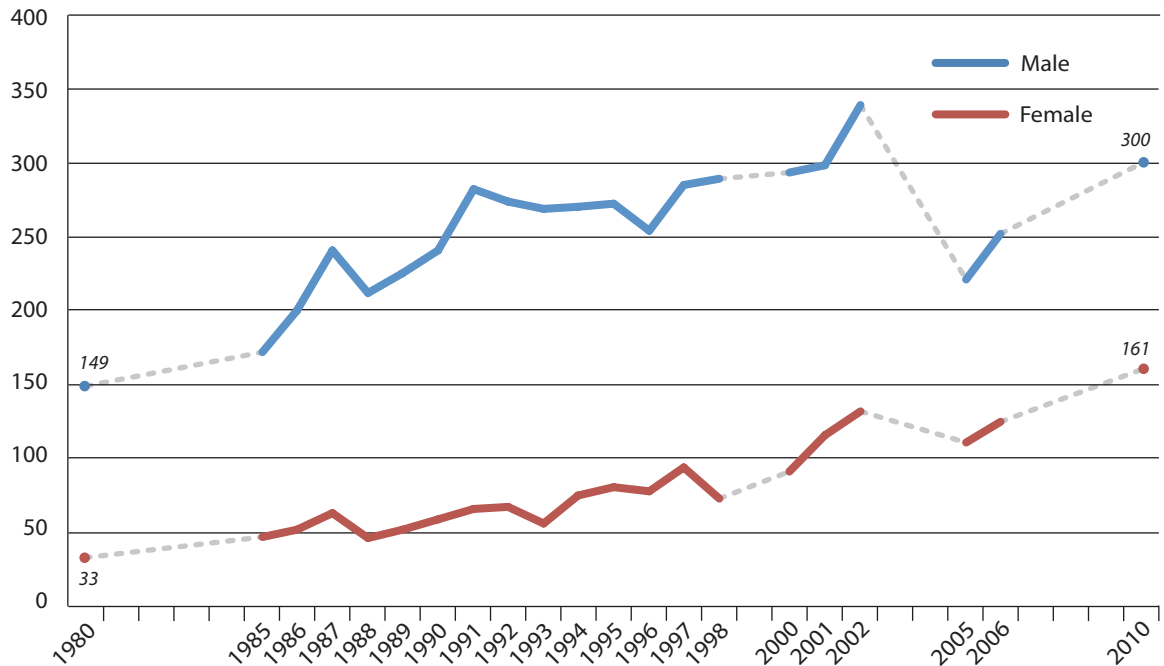## Figure 14: **Gender of White Faculty, 1980-2010**

Percent Total White Faculty

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

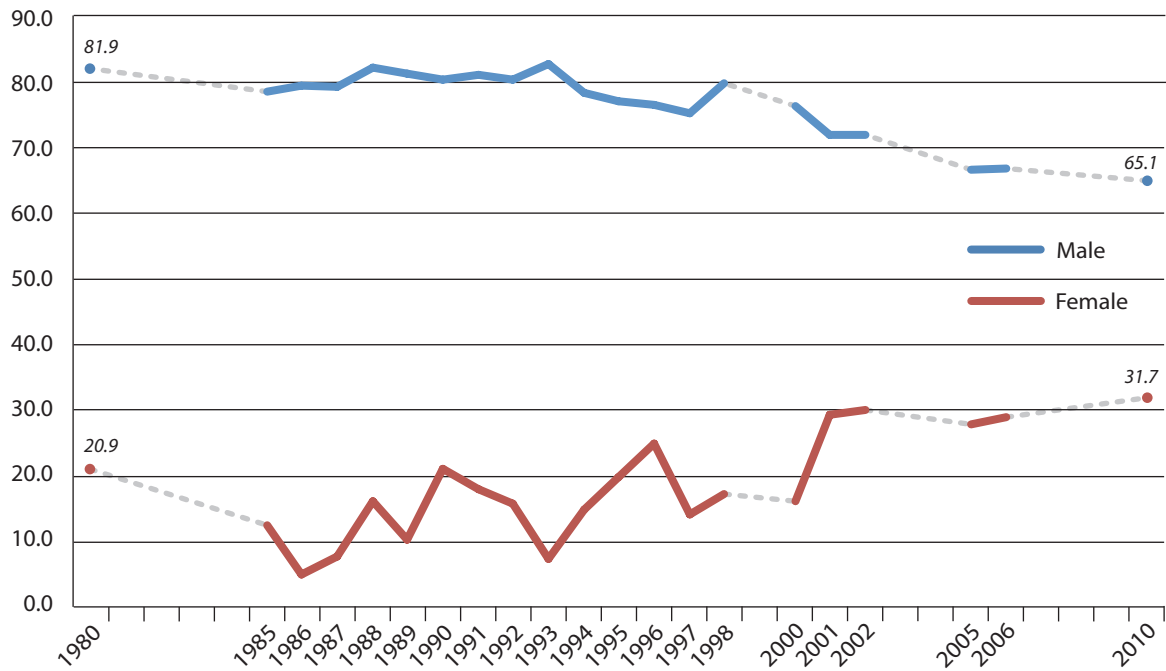## Figure 15: **Gender of African American Faculty, 1980-2010**

Total African American Faculty

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

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

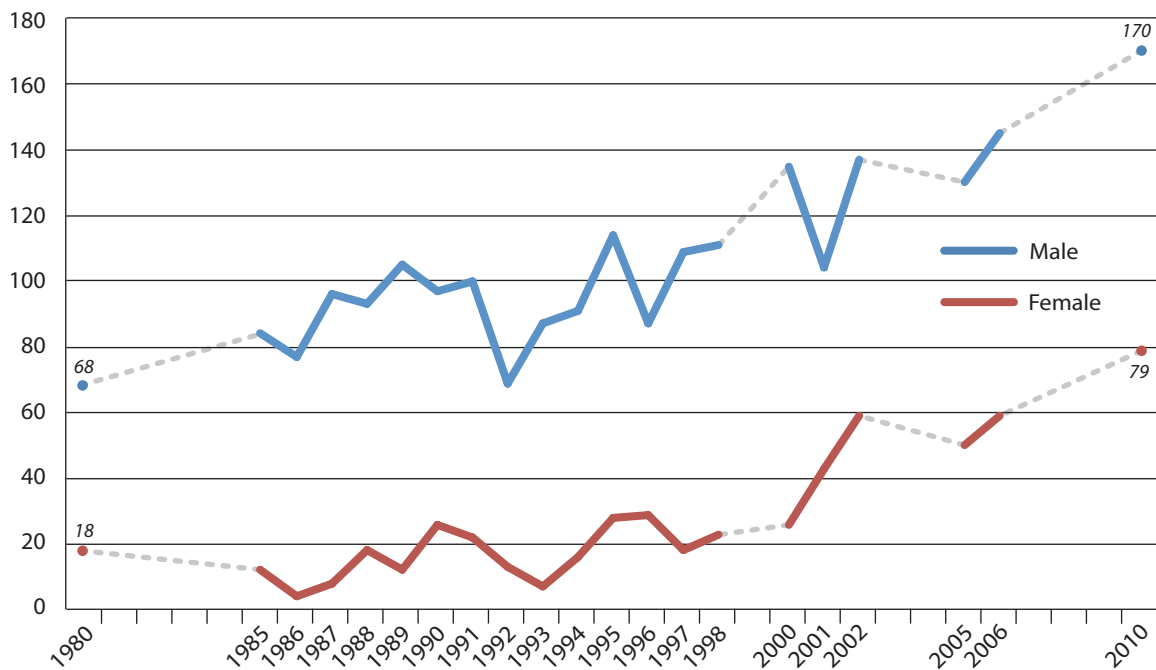Percent Total African American Faculty

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

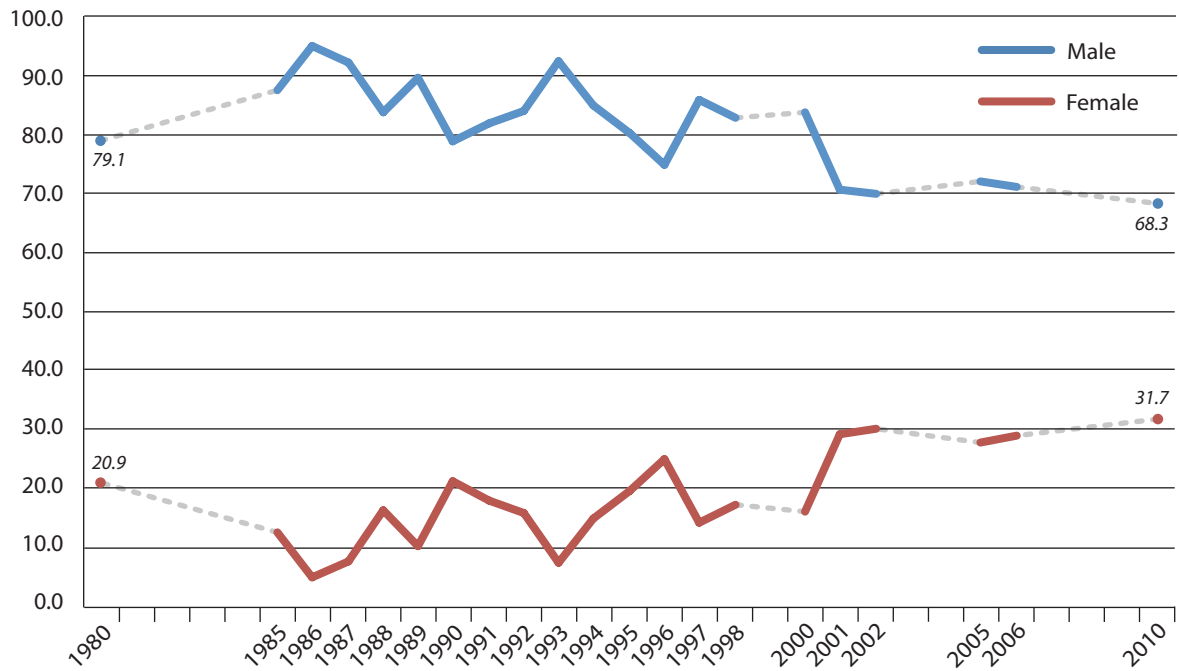Figure 17: **Gender of Latina/o Faculty, 1980-2010**

Total Latina/o Faculty

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

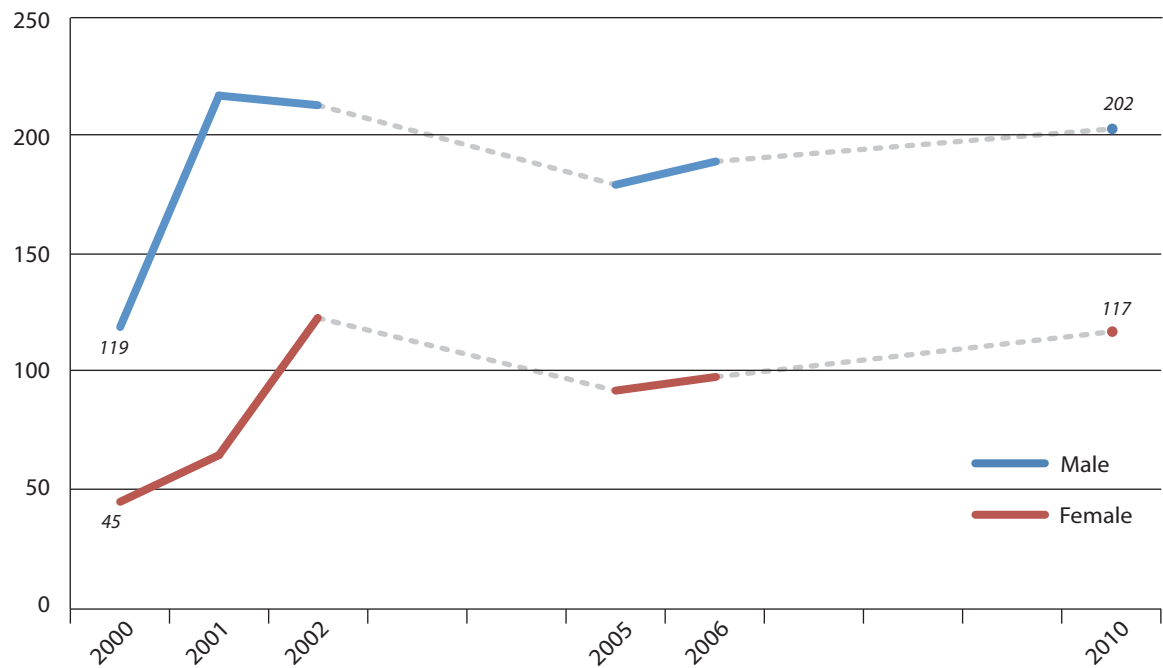Figure 18: **Gender of Latina/o Faculty, 1980-2010**

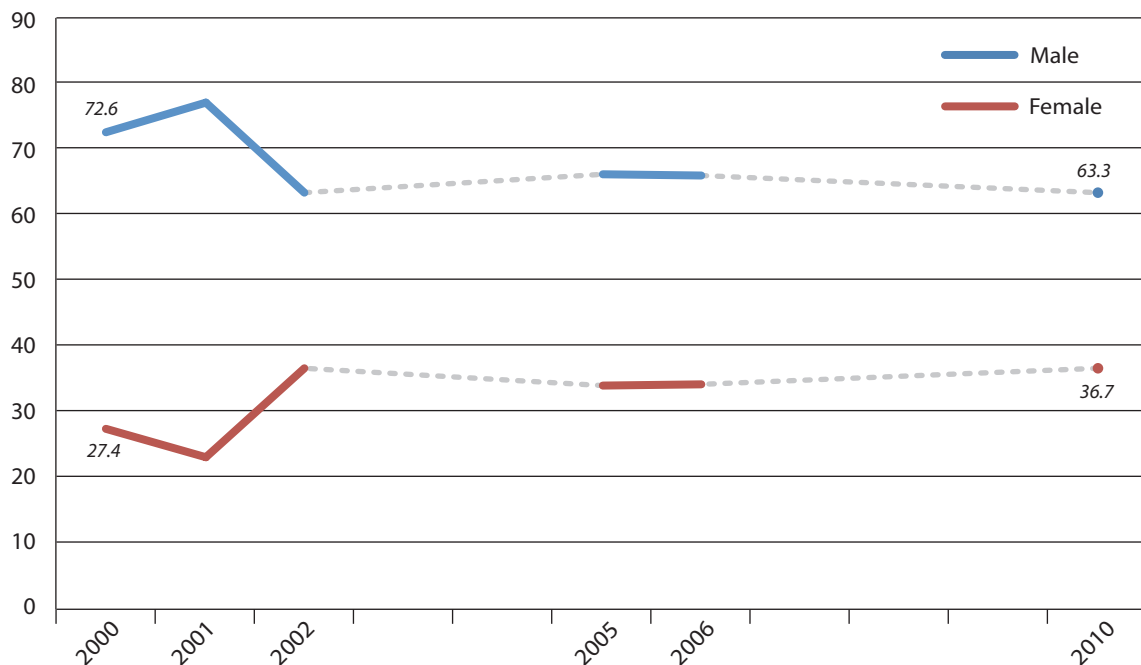Percent Total Latina/o Faculty

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

Total Asian/Pacific Islander Faculty

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

Percent of Total Asian/Pacific Islander Faculty

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

What We Know: The Challenges of Diversifying the Professoriate

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

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

Indicators of hostility are apparent to faculty of color through many of their professional responsibilities. When underrepresented faculty study race and ethnicity as part of their research, they worry that their work will be undervalued and their chances at tenure will be lessened. In one survey of law faculty, for example, many respondents reported receiving direct or indirect pressure to avoid including poverty law or race relations in their research (Delgado and Bell 1989). Women faculty of color, in particular, are most likely to

feel scrutinized by their colleagues and report great concerns that their colleagues will not value their research (Thomas and Hollenshead 2002).

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

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

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

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

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

In a 2010 study by Monroe and Chiu, the authors reported that gender discrimination is certainly still occurring and that the pipeline argument that gender inequality is a function

of insufficient numbers of women in the hiring pool for jobs was not the case. Analysis of the data from this study suggests that merely increasing the pool of qualified women has not led to women rising to the top in academia. Women still find themselves in lower-paying jobs, and they continue to earn less than men in comparable positions.

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

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

Mentoring

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

Recent Multi-institutional Studies

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

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

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

When examining what pre-tenured faculty need to be successful, time is perhaps their most valuable commodity, and time management their greatest challenge. Faculty described the constant struggle to learn how to divide their time between teaching and service

obligations and how to balance their professional obligations with their lives outside of work. Time was closely followed by the need to have a clearly defined, reasonable, and equitable path to tenure. Of clear importance to untenured faculty is the need for professional development support (grant writing assistance, assistance with improving teaching, and guidance about networking and marketability), and, finally, as we have seen in other studies, the importance of having a climate of collegiality, including formal and informal mentoring, is of high importance, particularly among faculty of color (COACHE 2008).

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

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

Recommendations

Given the findings of the aforementioned studies, we recommend the following in regard to how the APSA might make further progress toward greater access and inclusion.

- Baseline demographic longitudinal data of all political scientists in the profession should be maintained to track changes in faculty by race, ethnicity, and gender.

- Although the above data are extremely useful, it would be very beneficial if these data also included several individual and contextual variables, such as years in the profession, type of college or university where the faculty member is currently

employed, previous employment history as a faculty member, and when the faculty member secured tenure.

■ A set of questions within the annual APSA Department Survey needs to be developed to collect specific data addressing issues of mentoring and professional development at the departmental level.

■ A specific number of workshops on best practices for recruitment and retention strategies of diverse faculty that are targeted specifically to department chairs need to be developed.

■ A survey of political science graduate students needs to be instituted to develop early mentoring initiatives and pipeline issues for diverse graduate students.

■ The possibility of either collaborating with the COACHE survey or perhaps developing a similar survey that, with outside funding, the APSA would administer on a yearly basis needs to be explored. The APSA also should explore the possibility of applying for external grant money to do a longitudinal cohort study of faculty recruitment and retention, with a special emphasis on gender, race, and ethnicity.

■ All of these recommendations imply the need for the APSA to create a research department devoted to the development and examination of data on the profession.

Building a More Inclusive Political Science for the 21st Century

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

- The need for richer, more comprehensive, and systematic data regarding research, teaching and pedagogy, and access and inclusion within the profession.

- The need for the APSA to fully consider whether its current good practices can be modified to serve as a catalyst to departments to make more progress regarding issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and diversity more broadly.

- The need for the APSA to partner with other associations or a subset of its own membership to solicit, secure, and utilize external funds to be a leader in developing new research, teaching, and career development paradigms that can serve as models for departments of political science, universities, and colleges to embrace the rich intellectual opportunities presented in the study and teaching of issues related to diversity and inclusion.

The Lack of Data

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

The trend data on faculty recruitment and retention provided by the APSA were extremely instructive. These data allow us to clearly see what many have alleged and what many have noted anecdotally. Although progress toward greater access and inclusion in the profession has clearly been made, the rate of that progress has been extremely slow for women and for those from historically underrepresented groups. Additional analysis is needed as to how these patterns vary by type of institution, including public and private, two-year and four-year, and research-intensive and teaching-intensive institutions, over time.[16] Moreover, analyses by region, ethnic and racial distribution of undergraduate enrollment, and ethnic and racial distribution of the larger community from which students tend to be recruited are

also needed. As social scientists we know that the value of such study will be in allowing us to better understand why such limited progress has occurred. It is only with this knowledge that political scientists can improve and expand strategies for making the profession more inclusive. For example, is the field's pattern of limited progress regarding faculty inclusion due to lack of recruitment, challenges of securing tenure, or individuals choosing to leave the profession due to perceived chilly and at times hostile departmental and university climates? Only richer data and better analyses utilizing these data will allow any chance of making more progress. It is counterintuitive that a profession that has made such progress in analyzing data with increasing technical sophistication has spent such little effort applying its considerable skills to understanding its own professional development. Stated differently, we as a profession make few attempts, if any, to practice on our own profession the good social science that we so effectively practice in studying many political phenomena around the world.

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

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

Finally, it was in the area of teaching and pedagogy where the data challenges seemed to be less pronounced. The Teaching and Pedagogy subcommittee identified national surveys that generate reliable data on how many undergraduate students choose political science as a major; how this varies by race, ethnicity, and gender; and what political science

majors tend to learn about diversity and inclusion. To address issues of expanding the pipeline, it would also be useful to know why more political science majors do not pursue graduate study and what it is they do choose to pursue after graduation. Useful data that address these issues and include racial, ethnic, gender, and other multicultural subsamples would begin to give us insight as to how to systematically expand the pipeline to our profession. Again, why is not knowing such basic facts acceptable to so many of us in the profession? We certainly hope that it is not also a sign of a lack of commitment by leaders and gatekeepers in our profession to make more progress in this regard.

Current Practices and Programs within the APSA

We fully endorse the current practices of the APSA through our Minority Fellows Program, the extremely beneficial Bunche Summer Institute, and the limited effectiveness of the Minority Student Recruitment Program. Several members of our profession have worked tirelessly over the years to make one or another of these programs successful. We are indebted to these colleagues.

It seems to us, however, that there are two efforts within the APSA that need to be expanded to better guide the profession to make more progress toward greater access and inclusion. The meetings held twice a year with department chairs—one is held in conjunction with the Teaching and Learning Conference and the other during the APSA annual meeting—are ideal opportunities for the APSA to provide arenas for discussion and training to chairs regarding the issues we address in this report. In our view, chairs are critical decision-makers and gatekeepers regarding curriculum, graduate training, recruitment of new faculty, and retention and promotion of current faculty. The APSA should consider taking a leadership role in considering a long-term process for framing disciplinary leadership and providing information to department chairs. While it is advisable for the Association to prompt broader activities with departmental chairs, we also recognize that chairs are also accountable to their institutions, which can have competing incentives to those that may come from the discipline. The APSA should consider appointing a subcommittee of chairs with current experience and expertise in the areas of access and inclusion to develop workshops for their department chair colleagues. Again, the absence of such a focus in chairs' meetings is yet another sign of the profession not addressing the issues of access and inclusion to the fullest extent possible.

It is also the case that the status committees need to be reinvigorated to take leadership roles in working collaboratively with the APSA Council and APSA staff to help the profession make more progress in preparing the profession for the multicultural reality that is the 21st century. As examples, each status committee could submit a formal report to the APSA Council that represents the work it has completed to make the profession more inclusive over the past year. Each committee could also gather data related to its specific group regarding PhD students, junior faculty, faculty promotion, and faculty retention to structure discussion within the APSA. In addition, each group should issue a report regarding research productivity and success in publishing in flagship journals and major university presses. We well appreciate that these data are not readily available. Our purpose here is to suggest that the status committees consider being important catalysts to making such data available.

Expanding the Capacity of Political Science

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

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

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

Endnotes

1. Many other nations have also experienced significant increases in the racial, ethnic, and religious diversity of their populations. See the discussion of shifts in the populations in many European nations in Hochschild and Mollenkopf (2009).

2. We are well aware that not everyone agrees that this "should" be the case.

3. It is possible that there are differences by subfield of political science. Theorists may be more open to questions of race, ethnicity, and gender than those in other subfields. Marginalized groups have often found theory to be an entrance into the mainstream; think about feminist and queer theory, which gained acceptance sooner than did empirical work on women's movements and gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender issues. Arguably, many scholars in comparative politics engage questions of inequality, popular protest, and race/ethnicity to a greater extent than Americanists and international relations scholars.

4. There have been calls for more broadly representative journals. This criticism was one of the factors behind the creation of the most recent APSA-sponsored journal, *Perspectives on Politics*, though with many rationales behind its creation, and many constituencies to satisfy, it is unclear that the journal has successfully included truly new voices, methods, or approaches into the study of political science. It is also the case that the small number of manuscripts submitted that address issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and difference has historically been noted by journal editors as another reason that few articles appear. More important than the number of manuscripts submitted is their acceptance rate, and data on differential acceptance rates for such manuscripts are not readily available.

5. The programs included in our evaluation were: Harvard, Yale, and Princeton Universities; the University of California, Berkeley; Stanford University; the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA); Michigan and Cornell Universities; the University of Chicago; the University of Rochester; Duke University; the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities; The Ohio State University; the University of Wisconsin, Madison; the University of California, San Diego (UCSD); Howard University; Clark Atlanta University; and the University of California, Riverside (UC Riverside).

6. We discuss these changes in college and university enrollment more fully in the next section.

7. We note that the APSA's very strong Bunche program is also supported by the National Science Foundation. We are referring to funding for gender equity and minority-focused programs beyond the Bunche, such as the mentoring program and/or a new Pipeline Conference.

8. The American Medical Association has a somewhat different history. In a review of "African American Physicians and Organized Medicine, 1846–1968," published by the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 2008, Baker et al. reported:

   > African Americans in 2006 represented 12.3% of the US population, but just 2.2% of physicians and medical students.... *This is less than the proportion in 1910 (2.5%),* when the Flexner Report was released.... The care of African Americans remains largely segregated, which contributes powerfully to racial disparities in care.... And, not surprisingly given this history, African Americans remain underrepresented in the AMA (Baker et al. 2008, emphasis added).

   In 2008 the AMA's immediate Past President, Ronald M. Davis, M.D., apologized for the association's "past history of racial inequality toward African-American physicians,... In 2005, the AMA convened

and supported an independent panel of experts to study the history of the racial divide in organized medicine, and the culmination of this work prompted the apology" (AMA 2008). The Baker et al. (2008) report was a result of this panel's work, which, as noted, resulted in Davis's apology (Ibid).

9. Please see the APSA Teaching and Learning Conference summaries, 2004–2010, published each year in the July issue of *PS: Political Science & Politics*, respectively.

10. The NSF reports define the social sciences disciplines as anthropology, area and ethnic studies, economics, history of science, linguistics, political science and public administration, sociology, and interdisciplinary studies (2010).

11. Information is taken from the APSA Teaching and Learning Conference summaries, 2004-2009, published each year in the July issue of *PS: Political Science & Politics*, respectively.

12. Data for 1980–2001 were derived from APSA departmental surveys administered by the central office of the APSA. In these years, department chairs completed a survey that asked them to report how many faculty they had in specified categories. Data are weighted to be representative of all departments and all full-time faculty. Data for 2002–2010 were developed by the APSA central office from faculty rosters that were online or submitted by departments. These data are referred to as the APSA Faculty Database.

13. These data are self-reported. We calculated the number of white/other faculty APSA members by subtracting the number of African American, Latina/o, and Asian Pacific Islander (API) members from the total. Subsequent analyses will include the relatively small numbers of those who identified as other or not appropriate.

14. Asian Pacific Islanders (APIs) were only categorized as a separate group beginning in 2000. There are no data on the number of API members prior to that time.

15. Data on doctorates conferred in the social sciences from 1988 to 2006 appear in Appendix 1. Data for doctorates conferred in political science and public administration from 1999 to 2006 appear in Appendix 2.

16. The APSA staff requested these data for us, but for the moment there is only one data point for 2010.

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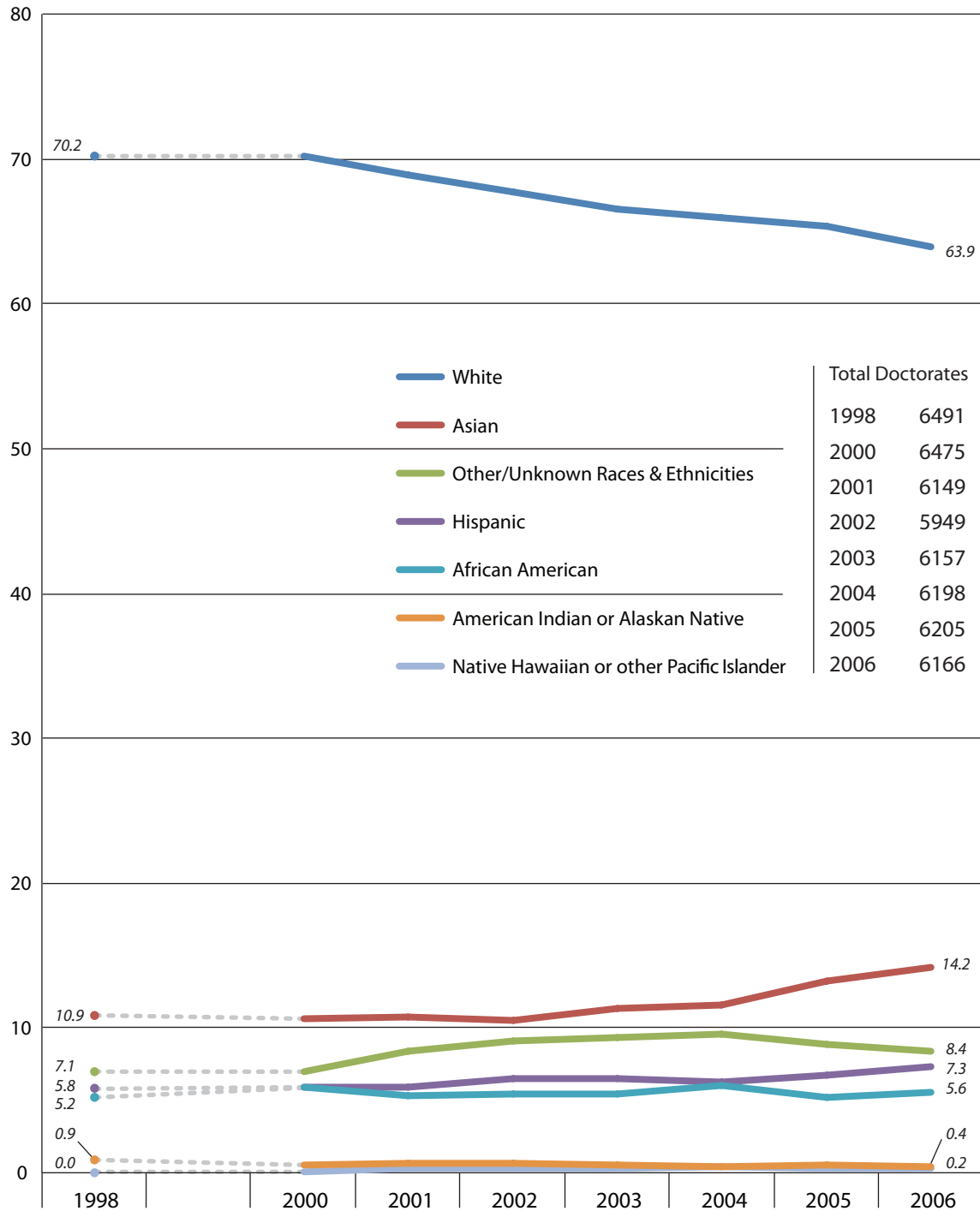
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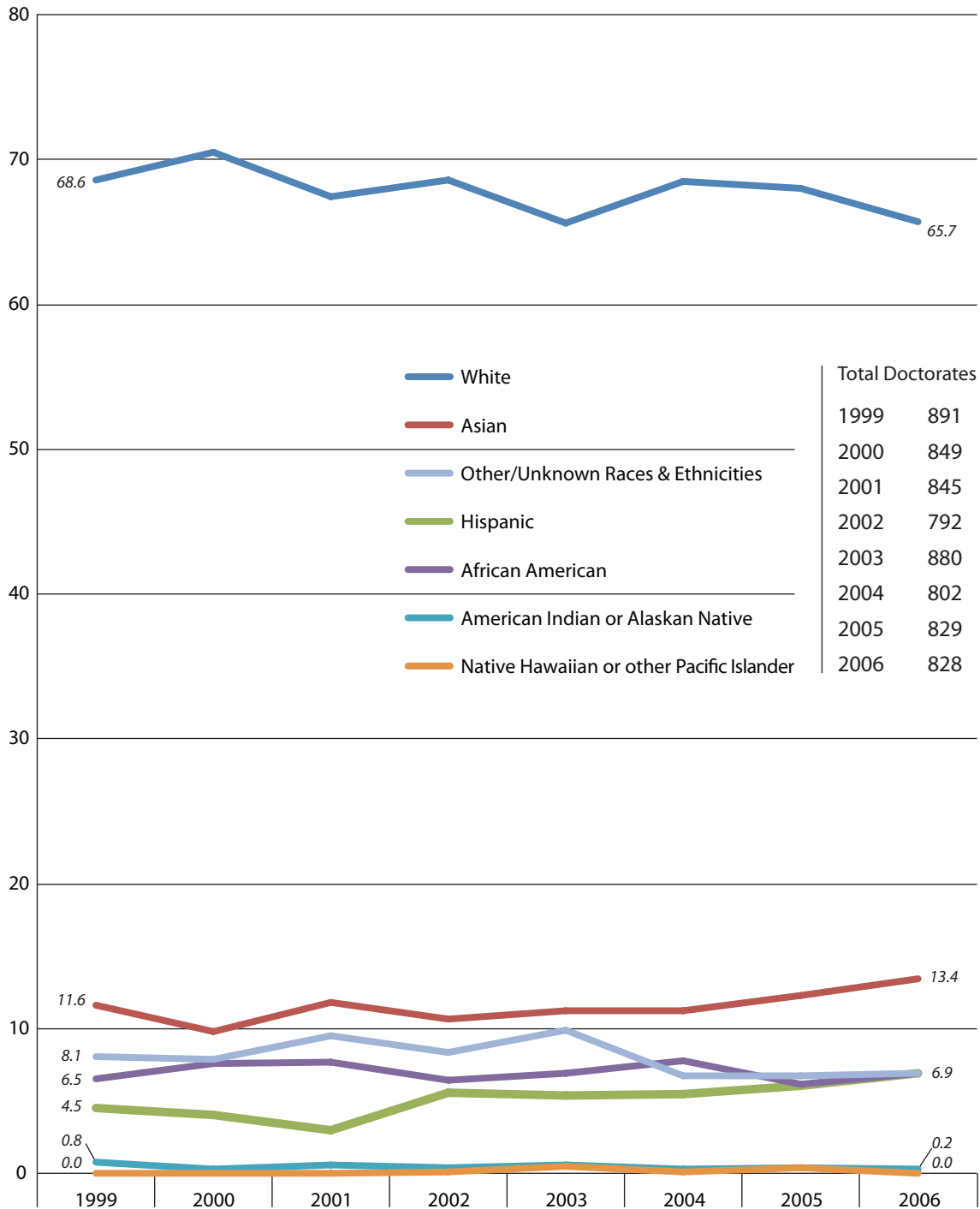# Appendix 1: Social Sciences Doctorates Conferred by Race/Ethnicity, 1998-2006

Percent of Total Doctorates

Total Doctorates	
1998	6491
2000	6475
2001	6149
2002	5949
2003	6157
2004	6198
2005	6205
2006	6166

Legend:
- White
- Asian
- Other/Unknown Races & Ethnicities
- Hispanic
- African American
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

Source: National Science Foundation, Division of Science Resources and Statistics, Survey of Earned Doctorates/Doctorate Records File.

Appendix 2: Political Science and Public Administration Doctorates Confirmed, 1999-2006

Percent of Total Doctorates

Legend:
- White
- Asian
- Other/Unknown Races & Ethnicities
- Hispanic
- African American
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

Total Doctorates	
1999	891
2000	849
2001	845
2002	792
2003	880
2004	802
2005	829
2006	828

Source: National Science Foundation, Division of Science Resources and Statistics, Survey of Earned Doctorates/Doctorate Records File.

Political Science *in the* 21st Century

Report of the Task Force on
Political Science in the 21st Century

American Political Science Association

Is political science positioned to embrace and incorporate the changing demographics, increasing multicultural diversity, and ever-growing disparities in the concentration of wealth present in many nation-states? Can political science do so within its research, teaching, and professional development? These two questions were the focus of the work of the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century.

To answer these questions, the Task Force assessed the practice of political science to determine whether it is living up to its full potential as a scholarly discipline to enrich the discourse, broaden the understanding, and model the behavior necessary to build strong nation-states in a rapidly changing world where population shifts and related issues regarding race, ethnicity, immigration, and equal opportunity structure some of the most significant conflicts affecting politics and policymaking.

The report concludes that political science, the discipline devoted to the study and teaching of power and its consequences, has the capacity to build more inclusive scholarship, approaches to teaching, and paths to professional development if it takes an honest and transparent look at itself. Specific recommendations are made to guide the discipline and profession to make progress along each of these dimensions of scholarly activity.