Social Scientists' Views on the State of Research

Joshua Koss, Department of Political Science
Institute for Public Policy and Social Research
Michigan State University

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MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY | Institute for Public Policy and Social Research
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Survey Overview

A Spring 2020 survey conducted by the Institute for Public Policy and Social Research at Michigan State University assessed the views of social scientists on topics related to scientific research. The survey targeted tenure-track social science faculty at major research universities. Of particular interest was the perception of research trends occurring within the social science disciplines. Scholars were asked about the value of different types of studies in their discipline, the benefits of research reforms, changes in the direction of research, the extent to which various factors influence research, debates within the field, sources of bias in research, the scientific rigor of various disciplines, the quality of research discussion on different venues, and sources of optimism and pessimism for the future of research. This report discusses the responses to all of the substantive questions asked in the survey, breaking down results by social science disciplines, ranks, and whether the respondent engages in qualitative and/or quantitative work. Further analysis is available in the forthcoming book *How Social Science Got Better: Overcoming Bias with More Evidence, Diversity, and Self-Reflection* by Matt Grossmann.

The online survey emailed professors at major research universities across the United States in five core social science disciplines: anthropology, economics, political science, psychology, and sociology. The survey was launched by Michigan State University's Office for Survey Research (a unit of the Institute for Public Policy and Social Research) with the help of Karen Clark. Through department website lists and emails to department chairs, we sent multiple requests for participation to 8,863 tenure-track faculty members, of which we obtained a representative sample of 1,141 responses from 67 public and private universities. These universities are members of the American Association of Universities, considered to be in the top-tier of research universities on account of their volume of activity (and five additional universities that were rated highly in the social sciences but excluded from the organization for institutional reasons). Members of the American Association of Universities surveyed here, listed with the number of faculty there who responded, are: Boston University (17), Brandeis University (8), Brown University (15), Carnegie Mellon University (11), Case Western Reserve University (10), Columbia University (21), Cornell University (21), Dartmouth College (16), Duke University (21), Emory University (8), Georgia Institute of Technology (9), Harvard University (18), Indiana University (16), Iowa State University (28), Johns Hopkins University (7), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (7), Michigan State University (43), New York University (26), Northwestern University (29), Ohio State University (25), Pennsylvania State University (37), Princeton University (21), Purdue University (18), Rice University (4), Rutgers University (22), Stanford University (21), Stony Brook University (16), Texas A&M University (21), The University of Chicago (17), Tulane University (19), University at Buffalo (16), University of Arizona (30), University of California-Berkley (24), University of California-Davis (21), University of California-Irvine (22), University of California-San Diego (22), University of California-Santa Barbara (17), University of California-Santa Cruz (14), University of Colorado-Boulder (15), University of Florida (22), University of Illinois (21), University of Iowa (16), University of Kansas (16), University of Maryland (19), University of Michigan (47), University of Minnesota (21), University of North Carolina (23), University of Oregon (12), University of Pennsylvania (18), University of Pittsburgh (16), University of Rochester (9), University of Southern California (11), University of Texas at Austin (29), University of Utah (11), University of Virginia (18), University of Washington (12), University of Wisconsin Madison (18), Vanderbilt University (26), Washington University-St. Louis (21), Yale University (22). Five additional universities, who are not members of the American Association of Universities but are ranked highly in multiple social sciences, were also included in the survey: Boston College, Arizona State, Notre Dame, Georgetown, and Florida State. At the discipline level, political scientists (21%) and sociologists (18%) have the largest representation within our respondent sample, with anthropologists (10%), economists (9%), and psychologists (9%) not being as well-represented in the sample. This report provides results by discipline, personal research method, and tenure-track faculty rank.

Section A. Research on Social Science and Reform

The first substantive question asked in the survey was: "overall, how valuable is research in each of the following fields for scholars in [your discipline]?" This question had respondents rate the value of four areas of research on the research process: philosophy of science, history of science, science & technology studies, and higher education, on a 5-point scale, with a 1 indicating that the research is "not valuable at all" and a 5 signifying that it is "very valuable." The table below reports the average ratings of social scientists along with the number of respondents within each discipline. Averaging across fields, science & technology studies – observational and experimental studies that produce practical knowledge – were deemed the most valuable, especially among anthropologists and psychologists. Sociologists and economists place the greatest value on research related to higher education, while political scientists most value philosophy of science research. On average, research related to the history of science was ranked as the least valuable genre of research by social scientists.

How Valuable is Research in Each Field for Social Science, 1-5 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Philosophy of Science	3.74 // 1.06	3.52 // 1.19	3.89 // 1.05	3.53 // 1.13	2.75 // 1.2
History of Science	3.79 // 1.11	3.53 // 1.11	3.55 // 1.06	3.03 // 1.08	2.6 // 1.06
Science & Technology	4.36 // 0.73	3.76 // 1.08	4.08 // 1.0	3.2 // 1.12	3.23 // 1.15
Higher Education	3.44 // 1.2	3.82 // 0.98	3.56 // 1.07	2.85 // 1.13	3.36 // 1.13
# of Responses	122	247	190	380	169

**Standard Deviations are included after average values.*

In examining responses to this same question based on the methods the respondent claimed to personally use (qualitative, quantitative, or both), there is a trend of qualitative scholars finding more value in these studies on average than their quantitative colleagues. However, this is not to say quantitative researchers find little value in these studies as their average ratings still lean toward

the "valuable" side of the scale. Scholars who identified themselves as using both approaches, had average responses rating the value of these studies in between the exclusive-approach researchers.

How Valuable is Research in Each Field for Social Science, 1-5 Scale

	Qualitative Only	*Quantitative Only*	*Qualitative and Quantitative*
Philosophy of Science	3.72 // 1.09	3.51 // 1.18	3.5 // 1.16
History of Science	3.6 // 1.2	3.18 // 1.08	3.27 // 1.14
Science & Technology	3.93 // 1.09	3.57 // 1.08	3.63 // 1.14
Higher Education	3.46 // 1.2	3.34 // 1.1	3.34 // 1.18
# of Responses	134	326	435

**Standard Deviations are included after average values.*

Over the past several years, movements to improve the rigor, quality, and reproducibility of research have been gaining steam. We asked social scientists "how valuable have the following types of studies been for scholars in [your discipline] over that past ten years?" with respondents encouraged to indicate if the reforms were "not happening" within their discipline or if they were "unsure" about that particular type of study or its impact. The inquired reforms include: replications of previously published findings by many different teams, studies of "p-hacking" and searching for statistically significant results, meta-analyses of research findings across studies, qualitative reviews of findings in research literature, and studies of differences in research findings based on demographics of researchers. Once again, respondents were asked to rate these types of studies on a 5-point scale ranging from "not valuable at all" to "very valuable." The table below includes the average evaluations and number of observations for each discipline on these areas of study. Meta-analyses, a process in which the results of multiple scientific studies are combined into a single statistical analysis, were rated the most valuable on average across all disciplines, particularly among psychologists, economists, and political scientists, with dedicated literature reviews coming in a close second and being the favored form of study for anthropologists and sociologists. Studies examining differences based on researcher demographics (such as race and sex of researchers) are on average seen as the least valuable among the options. This question also had the greatest drop-off rate in respondent ratings; social scientists in some fields are not seeing widespread use of these studies.

How Valuable is Each Study Type for Social Science, 1-5 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Mass Replications	3.09 // 1.14	3.38 // 1.21	4.21 // 0.87	3.64 // 1.09	3.6 // 1.17
p-hacking studies	2.79 // 1.32	3.36 // 1.17	3.95 // 1.05	3.52 // 1.26	3.6 // 1.2
Meta-analyses	3.59 // 1.17	3.82 // 1.03	4.34 // 0.86	3.77 // 1.04	4.42 // 1.13
Literature reviews	4.04 // 1.04	4.03 // 0.98	3.72 // 1.04	3.75 // 1.04	3.53 // 1.12
Researcher demographics	3.39 // 1.19	3.08 // 1.24	3.4 // 1.22	2.87 // 1.17	2.51 // 1.22
# of Responses	110	236	195	361	168

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Dividing responses to this question based on research approach, quantitative scholars find most of these reforms to be particularly valuable with the exception of researcher demographic studies which leaned slightly towards the "not very valuable" side of the scale. While qualitative scholars on average rated most of these studies lower than quantitative scholars, this trend diverges for literature review papers and researcher demographic studies. Researchers who employ both methods in their personal works again gave average ratings that were between their approach-exclusive colleagues.

How Valuable is Each Study Type for Social Science, 1-5 Scale

	Qualitative Only	*Quantitative Only*	*Qualitative and Quantitative*
Mass Replications	3.16 // 1.26	3.87 // 1.05	3.5 // 1.12
p-hacking studies	3.17 // 1.35	3.71 // 1.2	3.38 // 1.2
Meta-analyses	3.69 // 1.14	3.82 // 1.05	3.8 // 1.07
Literature reviews	4.04 // 0.9	3.64 // 1.13	3.98 // 0.95
Researcher demographic studies	3.26 // 1.24	2.94 // 1.2	3.05 // 1.24
# of Responses	125	321	427

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Related to these types of studies in the reproducibility movement, we inquired more directly about disciplinary research reforms: "how beneficial have the following research reforms been in [your discipline]?" Social science scholars rated four of the major reform areas, public posting of replication data for published work, pre-registration of research designs, more stringent standards for statistical significance tests, and disclosure of funding sources and conflicts of interest, on a 5-point scale ranging from "not beneficial" to "very beneficial." Respondents were again encouraged to indicate if the reform was "not happening" in their discipline or if they were "unsure" of its impact or otherwise unfamiliar with the reform. In general, scholars in most disciplines find the increased presence of replication data to have been the most beneficial reform. The second most beneficial reform on average, and the most beneficial reform, according to anthropologists, has been the implementation of research funding disclosures. Pre-registering research designs fared poorly among anthropologists and sociologists but was viewed as fairly beneficial to psychologists, political scientists, and economists.

How Beneficial is Each Reform for Social Science, 1-5 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Replication data	3.32 // 1.36	4.01 // 1.0	4.25 // 0.96	4.44 // 0.93	4.54 // 0.75
Pre-registration	2.46 // 1.23	2.88 // 1.17	3.71 // 1.18	3.28 // 1.22	3.5 // 1.06
Higher p threshold	3.16 // 1.38	3.49 // 1.19	3.89 // 1.09	3.26 // 1.25	3.66 // 1.2
Funding disclosure	3.73 // 1.22	3.92 // 1.09	4.02 // 1.02	3.77 // 1.15	3.72 // 1.15
# of Responses	106	234	187	381	171

*Standard deviations are included after average values.

Examining this same question based on respondents' academic ranks — instead of by discipline — shows similar orderings in the degree to which social scientists find each of the reforms beneficial.

How Beneficial is Each Reform for Social Science, 1-5 Scale

	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
Replication Data	4.18 // 1.03	4.28 // 0.97	4.39 // 0.99
Pre-registration	3.19 // 1.22	3.49 // 1.15	3.47 // 1.23
Higher p threshold	3.51 // 1.21	3.35 // 1.25	3.5 // 1.28
Funding Disclosure	3.92 // 1.1	3.81 // 1.15	3.65 // 1.12
# of Responses	564	206	234

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Section B. Assessment of Research Trends

The survey also posed a series of questions related to directional changes in research that have occurred in academia over the past decade. The first question asked in this category – "over the last ten years, in which direction has research in [your discipline] moved, if at all, in each of the following areas?" – presented seven areas which respondents were to evaluate. These areas were presented as research dichotomies with two opposing sets of research evaluated on a 5-point scale in contrast to one another, where a -2 represented a strong shift towards the first listed type of research, a 0 represented no directional change, and a +2 reflected a shift towards the second type of research. The inquired areas included theoretical model building vs. empirical testing, descriptive analysis vs. assessment of causality, broad claims of global scope vs. specific claims about particular geographies, social determinants of human behavior vs. genetic determinants of human behavior, use of qualitative data vs. use of quantitative data, and single discipline research vs. interdisciplinary research.

The following table presents the results of this question and number of observations by discipline, using the second field as the baseline label. In general, the direction of research favors these later fields with the exception of behavioral research outside of the field of psychology which has shifted towards examination of social determinants rather than genetic ones. However, there is considerable difference in the degree to which different disciplines perceive some of these changes occurring. Anthropologists identified a decrease in most of the listed research changes with only slight increases in geographic and temporal specificity. All but political scientists and economists rate their discipline's greatest change in research direction in the move towards interdisciplinarity with members of the former field finding more movement in the direction of empirical and quantitative work with increased concentration on causal inference.

What Direction is Research Moving? -2 to +2 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
More Empirical	-0.08 // 0.9	0.47 // 0.9	0.25 // 0.9	0.86 // 0.97	1.03 // 0.91
More Causal	-0.21 // 1.07	0.43 // 0.93	0.43 // 0.79	1.25 // 0.93	1.18 // 0.92
More Geog. Specific	0.09 // 1.14	0.44 // 0.92	0.32 // 0.79	0.43 // 1.02	0.53 // 0.85
More Time Specific	0.32 // 1.12	0.67 // 0.86	0.29 // 0.81	0.47 // 0.97	0.55 // 0.87
More Genetic	-0.38 // 1.02	-0.11 // 1.01	0.22 // 0.87	-0.28 // 0.92	-0.29 // 0.86
More Quantitative	-0.03 // 1.05	0.04 // 0.89	0.65 // 0.93	0.96 // 1.0	0.95 // 1.0
More Interdisciplinary	0.93 // 1.05	0.76 // 0.86	1.01 // 0.79	0.36 // 0.98	0.54 // 0.83
# of Responses	117	255	196	390	177

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

The next question inquired social scientists about perception of changes in research approaches, asking – "how much of an increase or decrease, if any, have you seen in the use of each of the following research approaches in [your discipline] research over the past ten years?" This question presented respondents with six approaches that they were asked to rate on a 5-point scale with a 1 indicating that there has been a "significant decrease" in that approach over the past decade, a 3 indicating that "no change" has occurred, and a 5 indicating that there has been a "significant increase" in the utilization of that approach in the past decade. The six approaches include research that assumes rational choice decision-making, research that is relevant to current policy discussions, randomized controlled trials, quasi-experimental studies or natural experiments, use of "big data" analysis of text or online data, and relational data and networks. Results of this question, presented on a -2 to +2 scale to indicate the directional shift in approach, are presented in the following table. Studies related to rational choice theory are the only studies within this group decreasing in prevalence across all disciplines. The largest increase in studies on average has been in favor of examining big data sets, which likely owes its growth to improvements made in computational power over the past ten years. There are varying degrees to which members of each discipline evaluate an increase/decrease of other types of studies with some being met with relative consensus (political scientists and economists in randomized controlled trials and quasi-experiments) and others with serious divergence (anthropologists seeing a decrease or minimal increase in those aforementioned areas of research).

Is This Research Increasing? -2 to +2 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Rational Choice	-0.33 // 0.77	-0.54 // 0.85	-0.03 // 0.88	-0.21 // 0.91	-0.42 // 0.82
Policy Relevant	0.99 // 0.81	0.8 // 0.84	0.73 // 0.71	0.5 // 0.94	0.9 // 0.89
RCTs	-0.24 // 0.72	0.28 // 0.72	0.47 // 0.78	1.32 // 0.84	1.41 // 0.76
Quasi-experiment	0.04 // 0.9	0.73 // 0.81	0.2 // 0.9	1.35 // 0.77	1.33 // 0.73
Big Data	0.83 // 0.88	1.57 // 0.62	1.55 // 0.63	1.55 // 0.66	1.58 // 0.59
Networks	0.77 // 0.91	1.16 // 0.8	0.92 // 0.71	0.89 // 0.82	0.99 // 0.72
# of Responses	116	255	195	392	178

Standard deviations are included after average values.

Linked to the discussion of the direction of social science research is the perception of disciplinary conflict and debate over different types of studies. Respondents were asked about whether conflicts over several areas had increased or decreased over the past decade within their discipline. As seen in the aggregated results in the following table these conflicts have generally been trending in a downward direction. The largest area of increased disciplinary conflict is between broad claims on a global scope versus claims limited to particular geographies. Anthropology seems to be witnessing the greatest increases in conflict, seeing a rise in conflict in all but nature versus nurture debates, though psychologists also reported considerable rises in conflict in two areas.

Conflict Up or Down? -2 to +2 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Qual/Quant	0.12 // 0.97	-0.16 // 0.99	-0.08 // 1.01	-0.27 // 1.16	-0.23 // 0.97
Historical/ Present	0.2 // 0.89	-0.16 // 0.77	-0.23 // 0.81	-0.23 // 0.89	-0.16 // 0.81
Global/Specific	0.45 // 0.91	0.22 // 0.84	0.51 // 0.82	0.08 // 0.93	0.18 // 0.72
Nature/Nurture	-0.31 // 0.96	-0.15 // 1.03	-0.29 // 1.02	-0.18 // 0.87	-0.06 // 0.74
Individual/ Contextual	0.23 // 0.83	0.1 // 0.81	0.44 // 0.92	0.1 // 0.81	0.27 // 0.81
# of Responses	114	250	187	380	162

*Standard deviations are included after average values.

Delving beyond the reforms and related changes in research, we asked scholars whether they agreed with several claims that referred motivations for these changes to take place: "to what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following claims about research in [your discipline]?" Respondents were asked to evaluate each of the following claims on a scale of "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" – "there is a replication crisis," "'p-hacking,' repeated undisclosed tests to search for statistical significance, is widespread," "most findings generalize across countries," "most findings generalize across time periods," "researchers search mainly for confirming evidence," "new generations of scholars are more varied in their theoretical orientations," and "new generations of scholars are more varied in their methodologies." The following table presents the results of this question with the average ratings of agree vs. disagree for each question across the 5 disciplines. The largest areas of consensus across disciplines are the methodological diversity of new generations of scholars and disagreement over cross-national and temporal generalization being prevalent in social science research. Responses from anthropologists again suggest that their discipline is witnessing different trends from other social science fields, as demonstrated by their sole disagreements over claims that replication, p-hacking, and focusing on confirmation evidence are widespread concerns. Another noteworthy area of difference is that political scientists are the only field that does not believe its new generations of scholars are more diverse in their theoretical positionings.

Agree Minus Disagree, Claims about Social Science Disciplines

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Replication Crisis	-0.54 // 1.22	0.13 // 1.11	0.53 // 1.2	0.02 // 1.12	0.07 // 1.1
P-hacking widespread	-0.86 // 1.15	0.36 // 1.08	0.56 // 1.08	0.66 // 1.03	0.59 // 1.03
Cross-national generalization	-0.73 // 0.99	-0.91 // 0.87	-0.28 // 0.91	-0.54 // 0.97	-0.36 // 0.88
Temporal generalization	-0.75 // 1.01	-0.79 // 0.91	-0.31 // 0.86	-0.65 // 0.92	-0.33 // 0.87
Search for confirming evidence	-0.24 // 1.16	0.39 // 1.08	0.74 // 0.95	0.61 // 1.0	0.14 // 1.12
New generation theory pluralist	0.58 // 1.21	0.19 // 1.02	0.26 // 0.94	-0.12 // 1.02	0.21 // 1.04
New generation method pluralist	0.81 // 1.1	0.79 // 1.12	0.95 // 1.18	0.23 // 1.18	0.33 // 1.12
# of Responses	118	255	194	392	177

*Standard deviations are included after average values.

Dividing by academic rank, there is consensus across each group. The only disparity between groups is a small preference toward disagreement from full professors who believe there is not a replication crisis, but even here it is small and the modal response across all ranks was to "neither agree nor disagree" with that statement. The general trends in agreement/disagreement also match the discipline divisions, with scholars largely disagreeing with claims that studies generalize across nations and time.

Agree Minus Disagree, Claims about Social Science Disciplines

	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
Replication Crisis	-0.03 // 1.16	0.04 // 1.12	0.3 // 1.19
P-hacking widespread	0.3 // 1.15	0.46 // 1.11	0.61 // 1.15
Cross-national generalization	-0.49 // 0.93	-0.59 // 0.96	-0.7 // 0.96
Temporal generalization	-0.5 // 0.92	-0.67 // 0.88	-0.64 // 0.94
Search for confirming evidence	0.41 // 1.08	0.42 // 1.09	0.46 // 1.07
New generation theory pluralist	0.15 // 1.05	0.14 // 1.06	0.11 // 1.06
New generation method pluralist	0.48 // 1.11	0.63 // 1.17	0.68 // 1.08
# of Responses	596	218	254

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Section C. Biases in Research

Professors were asked to rate several factors on a 5-point scale, ranging from "not at all" to "a lot," on the basis of their influence on research within their discipline: "to what extent do you believe each of the following factors influence the content of research in [your discipline]?" Specifically, we inquired about the influences of the following factors – funding available from government agencies, nationalities of researchers, political ideology of researchers, racial and ethnic composition of researchers, gender distribution of researchers, topical interests of the public and media, and topical interests of students. The table below shows the average ratings of the different sources of influence perceived by social scientists as affecting the content of research in their disciplines. While there is recognition of considerable influence for all of the identified factors, the most significant source of influence on average, is access to government funding for research. At the discipline level, there is considerable variation in the extent to which social scientists consider these sources influential in research. Political Scientists and Anthropologists have the most even-keeled assessment of influencers, having minimal differences in how they rate the significance of each influence at the aggregate level. In contrast, economists and psychologists identify considerable differences in the extent to which they consider each factor as influencing research in their field. Economists see the public and media's interests as the greatest influence on their research with less perceived influence from researcher nationality, while psychologists share a common recognition of government funding with sociologists and anthropologists as the most influential source of influence on research. Students' topical interests have but middling influence on the content of research and was seen as the weakest source of influence in all disciplines outside of psychology.

Influences on the Content of Research, 1-5 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Government Funding	3.9 // 1.01	3.98 // 0.86	4.43 // 0.77	3.65 // 0.99	3.44 // 1.0
Researcher Nationalities	3.51 // 1.0	3.38 // 1.09	2.98 // 1.01	3.26 // 1.14	2.75 // 1.06
Partisanship/ideology	3.38 // 1.17	3.63 // 1.04	3.06 // 1.06	3.14 // 1.11	2.98 // 1.04
Researcher Race/Ethnicity	3.82 // 0.91	3.75 // 0.99	3.42 // 1.03	3.48 // 1.08	2.87 // 1.03
Researcher Gender	3.8 // 0.89	3.68 // 0.98	3.21 // 1.06	3.45 // 1.04	3.01 // 1.03
Public/Media Interests	3.5 // 0.99	3.38 // 0.87	2.98 // 0.92	3.26 // 1.0	2.75 // 0.91
Student Interests	3.25 // 1.08	3.06 // 1.13	3.09 // 1.06	2.61 // 1.19	2.57 // 1.14
# of Responses	117	254	195	389	175

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Linked to the discussion of content influencers, we asked social scientists to assess the degree to which researchers have been increasingly recognizing various biases in research: "in the last ten years, how much more, if at all, have researchers increasingly recognized the following potential biases in [your discipline] research?" Respondents were to rate recognition of biases based on race/gender, partisanship/ideology, nationality/geography, temporal focus/contemporary time period, confirmation bias, convenience samples, and the search for statistical significance on a 5-point scale ranging from "not at all" to "a lot." The first two sets of biases, race/gender and partisanship/ideology contrast from the rest in that they reflect attributes related to researchers themselves rather than choices in approach made to these studies. These biases are of particular note due to the overwhelming majority of researchers being white, males, and politically liberal, raising potential concerns that these bias research questions and interpretations. The following table displays the average ratings of bias recognitions at the discipline level. On average the greatest recognition of bias is centered around race/gender and the search for statistical significance. Racial and gender biases was the most recognized area among anthropologists and sociologists, while psychologists, political scientists, and economists believed their disciplines most recognized bias was towards finding statistical significance.

Increasing Disciplinary Recognition of Biases, 1-5 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Race/Gender	3.83 // 1.01	3.62 // 1.08	3.53 // 0.99	3.41 // 1.11	3.11 // 1.13
Partisanship/ Ideology	3 // 1.22	2.87 // 1.04	2.94 // 1.05	2.78 // 1.09	2.72 // 1.04
Nationality/ Geography	3.33 // 1.1	2.96 // 1.07	3.1 // 0.98	2.73 // 1.0	2.52 // 1.01
Temporal Focus	3.1 // 1.11	2.97 // 1.07	2.88 // 1.09	2.84 // 1.06	2.63 // 1.12
Confirmation bias	2.88 // 1.13	3.17 // 1.04	3.73 // 1.01	3.59 // 0.95	3.23 // 0.99
Convenience Samples	3 // 1.22	3.27 // 1.1	3.75 // 0.98	3.6 // 1.06	3.3 // 1.16
Search for Significance	2.44 // 1.17	3.4 // 0.98	4.23 // 0.93	3.89 // 0.99	3.8 // 1.0
# of Responses	112	239	192	377	162

*Standard deviations are included after average values.

We also asked respondents to rate several disciplines on a 5-point scale by how "scientific" they interpret that field to be, with a 1 indicating that the field is "not scientific at all" and a 5 indicating that it is "very scientific." The survey did not define what "scientific" means in this context, allowing respondents to develop their own interpretations. As a result, we do not know whether respondents classifying a discipline as more or less scientific has any negative implications. In addition to the five social science disciplines, we asked professors to rate the additional fields of biology, physics, education, and history. The results, seen in the figure below, show that the traditional "hard" science disciplines of biology and physics are seen as the most scientific, with physics rated the highest by social scientists in all disciplines. Education and history are seen as the least scientific with history viewed as the most unscientific discipline by social scientists. Within the social science disciplines there is more variation in the degree to which members of each discipline recognize how scientific the others are. Perhaps unsurprisingly, members of three of the five disciplines see their own as the most scientific social science discipline, with only anthropologists and political scientists rating other disciplines as more scientific than their own. On average, anthropology is seen as the least scientific social science discipline, while psychology is seen as the most scientific.

How Scientific is Each Discipline? 1-5 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Anthropology	3.17 // 0.97	3.03 // 0.88	3.35 // 1.05	2.71 // 0.93	2.93 // 0.87
Sociology	3.26 // 1.12	3.62 // 1.06	3.36 // 0.95	3.28 // 0.88	2.84 // 1.06
Psychology	3.65 // 0.95	3.75 // 0.93	4.2 // 0.72	3.85 // 0.86	3.53 // 0.9
Political Science	2.93 // 1.06	3.55 // 0.93	3.21 // 1.02	3.6 // 0.8	3.16 // 0.88
Economics	3.29 // 0.88	3.52 // 1.1	3.6 // 1.07	3.83 // 1.09	3.9 // 1.01
Biology	4.72 // 0.5	4.56 // 0.57	4.73 // 0.46	4.74 // 0.39	4.78 // 0.36
Physics	4.77 // 0.53	4.7 // 0.65	4.83 // 0.47	4.87 // 0.51	4.86 // 0.43
Education	2.65 // 0.94	2.86 // 1.06	2.86 // 0.99	2.76 // 1.02	2.59 // 0.98
History	2.15 // 0.88	2.62 // 1.07	2.22 // 1.03	2.14 // 1.01	2.45 // 1.03
# of Responses	112	238	194	371	168

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Section D. Future of Social Science Research

The dialogue surrounding social science research has expanded across several forums in recent years. To gauge the quality of scholarly discussion on these platforms we asked respondents to use a 5-point scale, ranging from "poor" to "excellent," to evaluate several platforms in terms of the quality of disciplinary research discussion in that venue. These venues include discussions on Twitter threads, disciplinary Facebook groups, mainstream news stories, op-eds and opinion journalism, scholarly blogs, podcasts, radio & television interviews with academics, and "TED-style" public talks. Average ratings in each discipline are shown in the next table. Scholars in most disciplines found blogs to be the home of the highest quality research discussions, with economists finding podcasts and the brief expert-informed and evidence-based format of TED talks to produce superior discussion. Facebook is seen as the weakest forum for research discussion among professors in all social science disciplines. The rival social media platform of Twitter fares somewhat better in respondent evaluations but is still rated as having middling quality of discussions. Compared to previous questions, there is considerably more variation in response rate for each media platform, with considerable drop-offs for social media and podcasts in particular. This may be because these venues are less popular, particularly with older generations of scholars.

Quality of Research Discussion by Platform, 1-5 Scale

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Twitter	2.53 // 1.36	2.68 // 1.24	2.67 // 1.27	2.79 // 1.19	2.59 // 1.37
Facebook	2.12 // 1.21	2.15 // 1.06	1.91 // 0.94	2.04 // 1.0	1.63 // 0.8
News Stories	2.21 // 0.91	2.75 // 1.04	2.43 // 0.99	2.57 // 0.98	2.42 // 0.98
Op-eds	2.74 // 1.05	3.25 // 1.01	2.66 // 1.01	2.98 // 1.02	2.67 // 1.07
Blogs	3.78 // 0.9	3.57 // 0.99	3.64 // 0.91	3.79 // 0.92	2.66 // 0.91
Podcasts	3.1 // 0.99	3.34 // 1.11	3.22 // 0.85	3.39 // 1.03	3.19 // 1.09
Radio/TV	2.58 // 1.09	2.94 // 1.05	2.68 // 0.86	2.7 // 1.0	2.48 // 0.95
Ted Talks	3.12 // 1.05	2.98 // 1.11	2.9 // 1.08	2.7 // 1.07	2.79 // 1.02
Responses	106	236	183	373	168

*Standard deviations are included after average values.

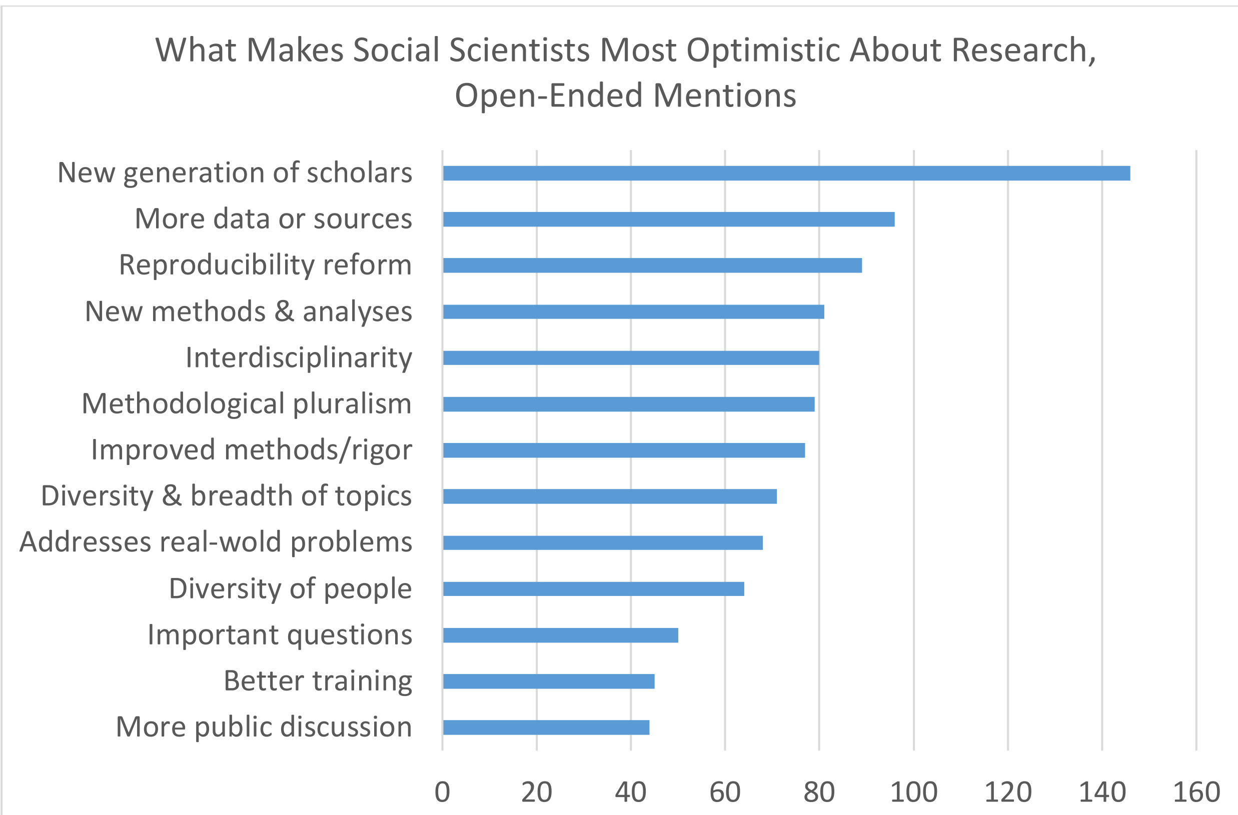
Dividing respondent evaluations of the platforms, based on academic rank, finds some generational divide in how scholars rate the quality of discussion. In particular, Twitter is evaluated much more poorly by full professors than it is by more junior scholars in their discipline, though it is generally the case that full professors have an average rating that is poorer than their junior counterparts. A notable exception is news stories which are actually viewed as lower in quality among assistant professors.

Quality of Research Discussion by Platform, 1-5 Scale

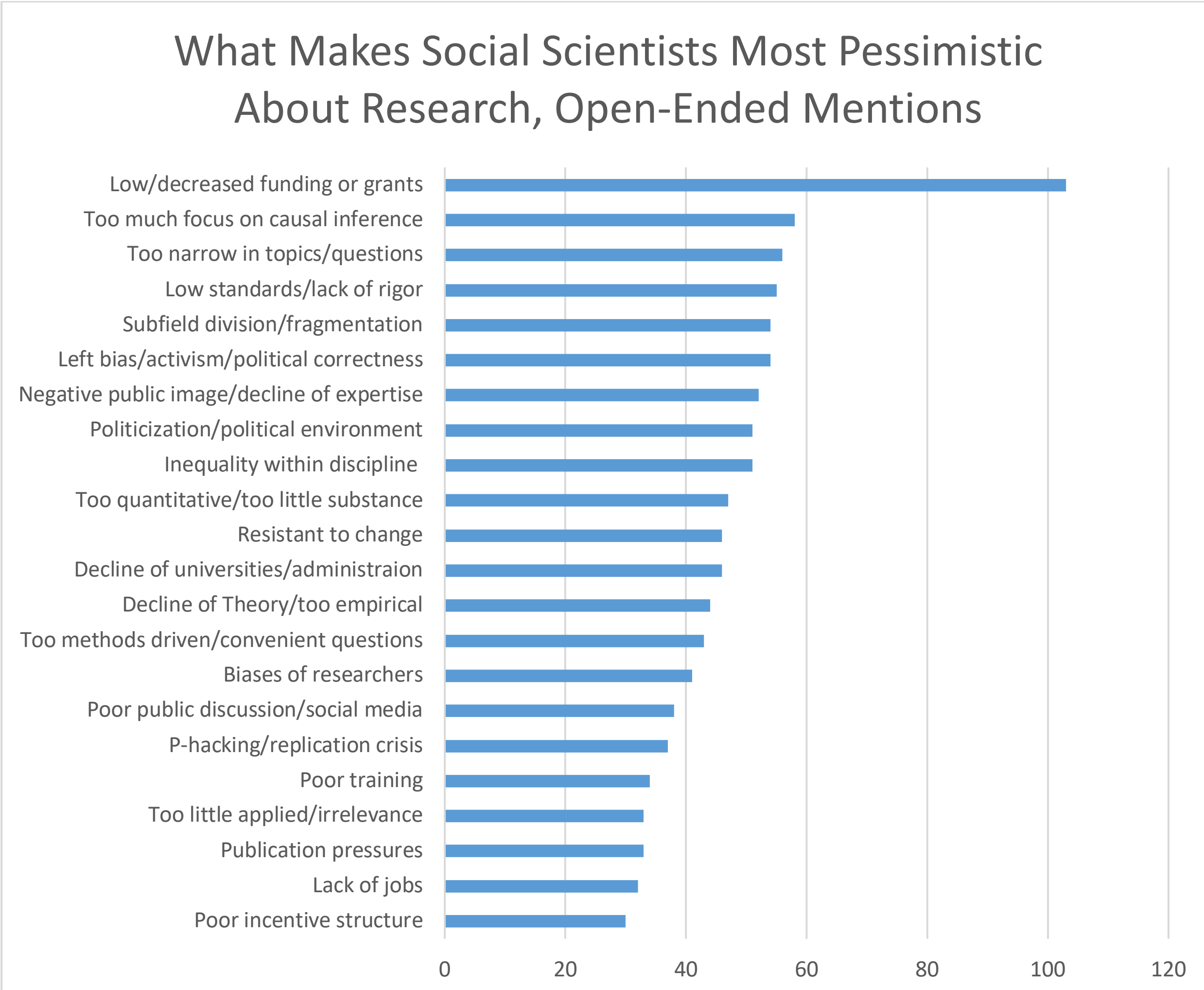
	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
Twitter	2.45 // 1.19	2.9 // 1.27	3.02 // 1.25
Facebook	1.93 // 0.97	2.18 // 1.13	1.98 // 0.96
News Stories	2.56 // 1.0	2.67 // 1.04	2.37 // 0.96
Op-eds	2.88 // 1.05	3.09 // 0.99	2.87 // 1.06
Blogs	3.62 // 0.94	3.79 // 0.85	3.79 // 0.96
Podcasts	3.18 // 1.03	3.45 // 0.93	3.4 // 1.0
Radio/TV	2.64 // 1.01	2.92 // 0.96	2.7 // 0.97
Ted Talks	2.91 // 1.09	2.97 // 1.02	2.63 // 1.08
Responses	566	206	239

*Standard deviations are included after average values.

Two open-ended questions were asked of professors regarding the trends that made them feel the most optimistic about future research in their discipline, and which ones made them feel pessimistic about the future. The following figure presents a collection of the most common themes across the responses to the prompt of what made respondents the most optimistic about research. The single greatest source of optimism is attributed to the upcoming generation of social science scholars, a topic that likely encapsulates many of the other promising trends mentioned in responses as well as the positive outlook professors have on the students they are training to join their disciplines. Other sources of optimism pertain more directly to research tools such as the increased volume and variety of data readily available for scholars as more datasets become publicly available. Many of the reforms touched on earlier in the survey are also seen as a source of optimism for future research as research becomes easier to reproduce and results easier to verify. Research methods were frequently discussed in various forms as a source of optimism as scholars develop new and improved methodological approaches and become pluralistic in their implementation within their research.



Examining sources of pessimism about research across the social science disciplines suggests that many of these areas are controversial in terms of what impact scientists believe they are having on their discipline. Many topics mentioned as a source of optimism for social scientists are mirrored in the sources of pessimism such as the rigor of research, fragmentation between subfields and disciplines, and the quality of research topics and questions. Despite the division on the positive/negative direction of certain trends in the discipline, there are several unrelated issues that have raised gloom about social science research. Decreased access to funding is by far the most voiced concern among respondents. Other issues identified in the open-ended responses include the level of focus placed on causal inference and quantitative research (often at the expense of qualitative work), political bias of researchers affecting studies, the decline of reverence for expertise, and researcher inequality within disciplines as funding and publication gaps grow between more established and upcoming scholars. Concerns over the pressure to publish, lack of jobs, and the incentive structure of academia were mentioned relatively infrequently.



Section E. Characteristics of Social Scientists

We asked a series of political questions to gauge partisanship and ideology among respondents. Three questions inquired about individuals' self-identified partisanship. The first asked about raw Democratic (72%), Republican (2%), and independent (14%) identification. A follow-up question for independents regarding which of the two main parties they were closest too, which raised Democratic identification to 84.7% and Republican identification to 3.6%, which aligns with the specification of respondents who selected "something else" (7%) on the first partisanship question (where many more identified themselves as "progressive," "socialist," or otherwise left of the Democratic Party than identified themselves as "libertarian" or other right-wing equivalent). This partisan breakdown is far more Democratic than the American public, the American National Election Studies last recorded Democratic partisanship at 46% in 2016. A final follow-up question asked about the strength of partisan support. As seen in the following table, professors across social science disciplines overwhelmingly identify as a "Strong Democrat," with only economics professors (47.9%) falling below 60% of respondents in that classification. When combining partisans across the "strong," "weak," and "lean" spectrum, political scientists are most affiliated with the Democratic party with 87% self-reporting as a Democrat, while economists are the most Republican group in our sample with 8% identifying themselves as a Republican in some capacity.

Self-Reported Partisanship of Research University Professors

	Anthropologists	Sociologists	Psychologists	Political Scientists	Economists
Strong Democrat	68.69%	72.29%	64.20%	64.16%	47.92%
Weak Democrat	7.84%	6.06%	13.64%	14.74%	18.75%
Lean Democrat	9.80%	8.23%	7.95%	8.38%	13.89%
Pure Independent	3.92%	3.46%	6.25%	3.76%	8.33%
Lean Republican	0%	0.43%	1.14%	0.87%	2.78%
Weak Republican	0%	0.43%	1.7%	1.73%	2.78%
Strong Republican	0.98%	0.87%	1.14%	0.58%	2.78%

Looking beyond partisanship, professors were asked where they would place their political views on a seven-point scale from left/liberal to right/conservative. While the overall trend of self-reported ideology is leftward, in alignment with partisan identification, there is more variation across the spectrum than there was for self-reported partisanship, and more moderate responses that the "strong Democrat" identification may have suggested at first glance. As shown in the following table, more respondents identified their ideology as "middle of the road" (10%) and conservative/right-wing (5%) than reported themselves as pure independent (5%) or Republican (3.6%). At the individual discipline level, anthropologists are the most left/liberal group (93.8%) and economists are the most right/conservative group (12.9%) and the most moderate group with 19% identifying their political views as being in the middle of the ideological spectrum.

Self-Reported Political Ideology of Research University Professors

	Anthropologists	Sociologists	Psychologists	Political Scientists	Economists
Left	38.05%	36.1%	22.75%	16.53%	7.36%
	44.25%	42.32%	45.5%	39.3%	26.38%
	11.5%	13.69%	16.4%	28.18%	34.36%
Middle	5.3%	4.98%	11.11%	11.11%	19.02%
	0%	2.9%	3.7%	3.79%	9.2%
	0.88%	0%	0.53%	1.08%	2.45%
Right	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.23%

As would be expected based on current trends in political attitudes in the public at large, social scientists are well sorted with their partisan-ideological identities. Even when counting independent leaners, only 8 Democrats and Republicans reported ideological leanings that do not align with their partisanship. Looking at partisanship from additional demographic angles, the majority of self-reported Republicans are white males.

Among our respondents in the five social science disciplines, the majority identified themselves as racially/ethnically white (85.3%). By discipline, the most racially/ethnically diverse respondents came from sociology with 17.5% identifying themselves as a racial or ethnic minority, followed by economics (17.1%), anthropology (14.2%), psychology (13.4%), and political science (11.6%).

The majority of respondents across all five disciplines were self-identified males (64.6%). Across social science disciplines, the smallest gender gap within a single discipline is in anthropology (3.8%), with increasingly larger disparities in the gender of respondents for sociology (14.5%), psychology (20.7%), political science (44.8%), and economics (62.2%).

The following table provides additional information about the racial/ethnic and gender divisions within the respondent sample of this survey. As a whole, white men are the dominant demographic group across social science disciplines while minority women are the least represented group in our sample.

Race/Ethnicity & Gender of Research University Professors

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
White Men	43.4%	47.44%	52.51%	64.79%	67.68%
White Women	42.45%	35.04%	34.08%	23.66%	15.24%
Minority Men	8.49%	9.83%	7.82%	7.61%	13.41%
Minority Women	5.66%	7.69%	5.59%	3.94%	3.66%

Examining the rank of our respondents in the following table, the vast majority are in senior positions within their departments. In the aggregate, 53.7% of respondents reported that they had achieved full professor rank and an additional 19.6% were tenured at the Associate rank. Proportionally, political scientists are the least tenured discipline among respondents.

Social Scientists by Rank

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
(Full) Professor	53.04%	52.82%	58.46%	48.96%	60.34%
Associate	21.74%	22.58%	17.95%	22.14%	10.34%
Assistant	19.13%	20.97%	20.00%	26.56%	22.99%
Non-Tenure	5.22%	2.02%	3.59%	1.56%	7.69%
Other	0.87%	0.4%	0%	0.26%	0.57%
Emeritus	0%	1.21%	0%	0.52%	0.57%

Social scientists were asked about the methods they personally employ in their research and given the option to select any number of approaches within the seven areas provided. The results are presented in the following graph. The inquired methods included qualitative research based on first-hand observation such as interviews, focus-groups, and questionnaires, descriptive quantitative analysis of observational data, associational analysis of observational data to assess causal claims, observational data analysis with causal identification strategies, randomized experiments with control groups to assess causal effects of different variables, mathematical theoretical models, and computer simulations designed to replicate real-world observations to make predictions.

There is considerable diversity in the popularity of each research practice among scholars in the different disciplines. As a whole, descriptive quantitative analysis of observational data is the most common approach to research, particularly among political scientists. Sociologists are equally likely to engage with qualitative research, the top choice of anthropologists as well, as they are quantitative research as their preferred research method. Psychologists most commonly employed experiments, and economists most commonly use observational data analysis. Simulations are currently the least frequently used research method among social scientists.

Reported Research Methods of Social Scientists

	Anthropologists	*Sociologists*	*Psychologists*	*Political Scientists*	*Economists*
Qualitative	92	177	55	234	35
Quantitative	79	177	124	304	113
Associational Analysis	47	150	104	266	68
Observational Data Analysis	43	130	82	255	135
Experiments	12	37	154	175	52
Theoretical Models	22	33	60	99	102
Simulations	22	32	62	65	81

Section F. Conclusion

IPPSR's survey gathered perspectives of social scientists across the fields of anthropology, sociology, psychology, political science on a number of topics relevant to research conducted across scientific disciplines. Responses to this survey suggest that most social science scholars are witnessing similar trends in their research discipline in terms of adopting more empirical and quantitative approaches, and many of the concerns scholars have developed about research over the past decade are being addressed with many different reforms. There is general consensus on the general direction social science research is taking, but between disciplines there is variation in the extent to which their scholars are witnessing the impact of these changes. Assessments of disciplinary conflict and the presence or lack thereof of different reforms in their own discipline suggest that anthropology is unique in many areas compared to its fellow social science fields with anthropologists reporting some trends in the opposite direction of other fields. Dividing scholars by rank and research approaches (see Appendix for further details) establishes similar patterns of consensus in terms of research direction and reform benefits. Further analysis of these survey data is available in the forthcoming book *How Social Science Got Better: Overcoming Bias with More Evidence, Diversity, and Self-Reflection* by Matt Grossmann.

Appendix: Additional Cross-Tabulations

Rank Tables

How Valuable is Research in Each Field for Social Science, 1-5 Scale

	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
Philosophy of Science	3.38 // 1.18	3.69 // 1.11	3.56 // 1.22
History of Science	3.16 // 1.16	3.44 // 1.08	3.24 // 1.16
Science & Technology	3.52 // 1.15	3.63 // 1.15	3.72 // 1.09
Higher Education	3.26 // 1.18	3.45 // 1.12	3.38 // 1.14
# of Responses	571	211	242

**Standard Deviations are included after average values.*

How Valuable is Each Study Type for Social Science, 1-5 Scale

	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
Mass Replications	3.58 // 1.13	3.71 // 1.12	3.76 // 1.18
p-hacking studies	3.37 // 1.23	3.74 // 1.18	3.72 // 1.23
Meta-analyses	3.74 // 1.09	3.88 // 1.09	3.86 // 1.02
Literature reviews	3.79 // 1.05	3.7 // 1.06	3.93 // 1.0
Researcher demographics	2.86 // 1.25	3.24 // 1.18	3.17 // 1.17
# of Responses	569	203	229

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

What Direction is Research Moving? -2 to +2 Scale

	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
More Empirical	0.49 // 1.0	0.63 // 0.9	0.82 // 1.01
More Causal	0.68 // 1.02	0.81 // 1.06	0.94 // 1.06
More Geog. Specific	0.3 // 0.92	0.48 // 1.0	0.56 // 0.98
More Time Specific	0.39 // 0.89	0.54 // 0.97	0.62 // 0.94
More Genetic	-0.08 // 0.95	-0.19 // 0.92	-0.35 // 0.97
More Quantitative	0.49 // 1.05	0.58 // 1.0	0.91 // 1.04
More Interdisciplinary	0.58 // 0.95	0.78 // 0.88	0.67 // 0.98
# of Responses	596	219	254

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Is This Research Increasing? -2 to +2 Scale

	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
More Rational Choice	-0.3 // 0.87	-0.35 // 0.91	-0.3 // 0.87
More Policy Relevant	0.67 // 0.89	0.71 // 0.81	0.85 // 0.87
More RCTs	0.77 // 0.96	0.69 // 0.91	0.98 // 1.01
More Quasi-experiment	0.84 // 0.96	0.92 // 0.91	1.0 // 0.97
More Big Data	1.45 // 0.7	1.54 // 0.65	1.6 // 0.63
More Networks	0.91 // 0.79	0.98 // 0.8	1.08 // 0.82
# of Responses	594	219	254

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Conflict Up or Down? -2 to +2 Scale

	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
Qual/Quant	-0.15 // 1.0	-0.24 // 1.0	-0.17 // 1.2
Historical/Present	-0.14 // 0.86	-0.11 // 0.79	-0.21 // 0.87
Global/Specific	0.25 // 0.83	0.26 // 0.86	0.16 // 0.99
Nature/Nurture	-0.14 // 0.92	-0.27 // 0.95	-0.25 // 0.97
Individual/Contextual	0.21 // 0.82	0.24 // 0.87	0.17 // 0.92
# of Responses	579	212	238

*Standard deviations are included after average values.

Influences on the Content of Research, 1-5 Scale

	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
Government Funding	3.89 // 0.94	3.84 // 1.06	3.78 // 1.01
Researcher Nationalities	3.1 // 1.06	3.28 // 1.11	3.36 // 1.17
Partisanship/ideology	3.21 // 1.08	3.29 // 1.1	3.23 // 1.67
Researcher Race/Ethnicity	3.4 // 1.05	3.56 // 1.06	3.58 // 1.06
Researcher Gender	3.35 // 1.04	3.53 // 1.02	3.52 // 1.05
Public/Media Interests	3.56 // 0.94	3.55 // 0.93	3.66 // 0.98
Student Interests	2.83 // 1.14	2.83 // 1.18	2.9 // 1.2
# of Responses	588	218	251

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

How Scientific Is Each Discipline? 1-5 Scale

	Full Professor	*Associate Professor*	*Assistant Professor*
Anthropology	2.98 // 1.06	2.98 // 1.09	2.95 // 1.13
Sociology	3.27 // 0.94	3.31 // 0.98	3.35 // 1.01
Psychology	3.88 // 0.87	3.77 // 0.91	3.72 // 0.93
Political Science	3.34 // 0.94	3.43 // 0.88	3.43 // 0.98
Economics	3.7 // 0.93	3.62 // 0.99	3.65 // 0.99
Biology	4.68 // 0.56	4.75 // 0.5	4.74 // 0.5
Physics	4.81 // 0.47	4.84 // 0.43	4.81 // 0.48
Education	2.7 // 0.97	2.83 // 1.05	2.84 // 1.05
History	2.24 // 0.96	2.25 // 1.02	2.45 // 1.19
# of Responses	572	213	233

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Methodology Tables

What Direction Is Research Moving? -2 to +2 Scale

	Qualitative Only	*Quantitative Only*	*Qualitative and Quantitative*
More Empirical	0.36 // 0.95	0.72 // 0.97	0.6 // 0.98
More Causal	0.33 // 1.07	0.89 // 1.01	0.74 // 1.05
More Geog. Specific	0.36 // 1.02	0.41 // 0.93	0.41 // 0.97
More Time Specific	0.61 // 0.93	0.48 // 0.95	0.47 // 0.92
More Genetic	-0.21 // 0.97	-0.12 // 0.91	-0.19 // 1.0
More Quantitative	0.2 // 1.09	0.8 // 0.98	0.5 // 1.07
More Interdisciplinary	0.54 // 1.03	0.76 // 0.84	0.57 // 1.0
# of Responses	138	342	452

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Is This Research Increasing? -2 to +2 Scale

	Qualitative Only	*Quantitative Only*	*Qualitative and Quantitative*
More Rational Choice	-0.35 // 0.86	-0.32 // 0.88	-0.3 // 0.88
More Policy Relevant	0.76 // 0.94	0.76 // 0.79	0.69 // 0.93
More RCTs	0.32 // 0.98	0.96 // 0.91	0.75 // 0.98
More Quasi-experiment	0.56 // 1.04	0.99 // 0.9	0.92 // 0.9
More Big Data	1.26 // 0.74	1.6 // 0.61	1.47 // 0.7
More Networks	0.78 // 0.81	1.05 // 0.76	0.96 // 0.81
# of Responses	137	343	451

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

Conflict Up or Down? -2 to +2 Scale

	Qualitative Only	*Quantitative Only*	*Qualitative and Quantitative*
Qual/Quant	0.04 // 1.07	-0.27 // 1.09	-0.13 // 1.04
Historical/Present	-0.11 // 0.94	-0.13 // 0.82	-0.16 // 0.86
Global/Specific	0.37 // 0.96	0.29 // 0.86	0.19 // 0.87
Nature/Nurture	-0.24 // 0.95	-0.19 // 0.96	-0.17 // 0.93
Individual/Contextual	0.03 // 0.85	0.3 // 0.87	0.19 // 0.81
# of Responses	134	327	442

*Standard deviations are included after average values.

Influences on the Content of Research, 1-5 Scale

	Qualitative Only	*Quantitative Only*	*Qualitative and Quantitative*
Government Funding	3.86 // 1.0	3.8 // 1.03	3.93 // 0.87
Researcher Nationalities	3.42 // 1.03	3.09 // 1.08	3.31 // 1.12
Partisanship/ideology	3.46 // 1.02	3.17 // 1.11	3.29 // 1.12
Researcher Race/Ethnicity	3.74 // 1.01	3.37 // 1.01	3.61 // 1.07
Researcher Gender	3.74 // 0.98	3.27 // 1.02	3.58 // 1.05
Public/Media Interests	3.68 // 0.91	3.65 // 0.96	3.55 // 0.96
Student Interests	-0.21 // 1.18	-0.22 // 1.13	-0.06 // 1.16
# of Responses	138	336	448

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*

How Scientific is Each Discipline? 1-5 Scale

	Qualitative Only	*Quantitative Only*	*Qualitative and Quantitative*
Anthropology	2.99 // 1.12	2.97 // 1.05	2.98 // 1.07
Sociology	3.35 // 1.03	3.22 // 0.95	3.41 // 0.91
Psychology	3.61 // 1.05	3.84 // 0.88	3.85 // 0.85
Political Science	3.15 // 1.09	3.4 // 0.91	3.43 // 0.89
Economics	3.33 // 1.15	3.84 // 0.8	3.89 // 0.99
Biology	4.77 // 0.46	4.77 // 0.46	4.65 // 0.57
Physics	4.71 // 0.62	4.88 // 0.39	4.77 // 0.49
Education	2.75 // 1.05	2.71 // 1.03	2.79 // 0.96
History	2.48 // 1.09	2.25 // 1.05	2.31 // 0.98
# of Responses	128	330	431

**Standard deviations are included after average values.*