

Effectively Distilling Your Argument

The Thesis, Model, and Hypothesis

As we proceed in this paper-writing marathon, finishing the Literature Review (LR) is like running the first eight miles. You've completed a little less than a third of the race, and you can see a long, slightly upward sloping stretch in front of you. But you are well trained and ready for this challenge. You will persevere by proceeding steadily and remembering that the parts of the paper are interrelated in ways that help you move from one phase to the next. The conclusion of the LR leads the writer to a bottom line: one answer to the Research Question (RQ) appears best to pursue. In effect, that conclusion is the fundamental *argument* or *thesis* you will be sustaining, evaluating, or testing in your research paper.¹ Stating this conclusion in the LR is often sufficient for guiding experienced writers through the rest of the process. For less tested authors or for particularly complex arguments, the Model and Hypothesis (M&H) section is brief but important. It forces the author to state precisely what she or he expects to find. In an empirical paper, that statement will come in two forms—in a picture or flow diagram (*model*) and in words (*hypothesis*).

THE THESIS

Almost all of the writing (except creative writing, i.e., fiction) you do in college will have a *thesis* or an *argument*, two terms used interchangeably in this book.² A thesis is a contentious statement, that is, a declaration or description with which reasonable people could disagree. A thesis can be either a normative claim or an empirically verifiable contention. For our purposes, a hypothesis is a special type of thesis that explores the connections between the key factors that it names. If you are investigating a hypothesis, you will try to determine whether these elements are correlated or causally connected.

You are used to reading works with theses, as you are exposed to them in the essays you read for classes. Op-ed pieces in newspapers, journals of opinion, and journals, particularly ones that minimize footnotes, may lack bibliographies and are written for more general audiences (such as *Social Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Current History*, and *Foreign Policy*).³ Political scientists, too, develop these types of arguments; however, we will see that to be published in the most prestigious journals, typically, authors in American, comparative, and global politics must assert hypotheses.

When writing your research paper, your thesis is both (1) your preferred answer to the RQ and, ultimately, (2) your assessment of whether the data show that it holds.⁴ You have examined potential replies in the Literature Review and concluded that one is most compelling. You made that judgment on the basis of your assessment of the quality of the argument's logic and its ability to account for similar occurrences of the phenomenon in question. Because there is debate about what is the best response, you know that this thesis is contentious. As we saw in chapter 4, Gabriela is arguing that party and electoral structures explain the polarization in contemporary U.S. politics, and Kevin is maintaining that social media enabled activists to topple governments in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) in 2011. Their Literature Reviews tell us that not all scholars agree with these claims. Gabriela found three competing arguments, and Kevin five. The goal now for these students is to state their hypotheses clearly so that each will be able to design an appropriate test for determining whether the available information supports her or his contention. Thus, only through the evaluation of data will the students be able to assert the second part of their full theses, which will appear in the Introductions of their papers.

THE MODEL

While *thesis* or *argument* is the broad term for the contention that you are investigating throughout your research, I will use another set of terms for work that is explicitly and self-consciously empirical. Theory-advancing research and public policy research explore correlations (the simultaneous varying of factors) and causations (when changes in one phenomenon lead to variations in another) and seek to chart carefully the relationships between variables. Frequently, scholars use the language of science when engaging in their research and explaining it to others. In chapter 2, we noted that your research should seek to explain a particular phenomenon or solve some puzzle. In its most basic form, an empirical argument can be reduced to relationships between *variables*, where a variable is anything that can vary or change in value. What you are trying to explain is the effect or the *dependent variable*. This effect depends on some other factors (the causes), and it is a variable because if the value of the causes change, so too will the effect. The cause is referred to as the *independent variable*.⁵

Upon first consideration, thinking of concepts in political science as variables with values can be quite strange for students. Probably, you are used to conceiving of variables as something that you find only in math class— x or y —and values bring up the idea of numbers. Most political science majors are attracted to this subject because they believe, among other things, that this discipline will be about words, not manipulating equations with numbers. But concepts in political science can be variables and take on values. In saying that they can be variables I am simply noting that they can change. Take, for instance, the concept of party identification. In the United States, there is more than one party, and people identify with different ones or have no attachment to parties at all. Thus, the values that the variable party identification in the United States can be are Republican, Democratic, Independent, other, and none. While a large number of variables in political science cannot be measured in numbers, there are also many that can be quantified. Voter turnout, presidential popularity, educational outcomes, Supreme Court voting patterns, election results, and budget deficits are just a few examples. Other important concepts can vary by degree, for instance, partisanship (strong to weak) or level of violence (high to low). Given a particular time and place, these variables may take on different values.

In empirical research, literature reviews often divide the field into schools that identify one or more independent variables (key or causal factors) as more important than others. Moreover, the RQ asks about the dependent variable (effect). Thus, as a result of your Literature Review, you should be able to generate a number of independent variables that potentially have an impact on the phenomenon (a single dependent variable) in which you are interested. In effect, by performing a review of the literature, you have identified the information you need to develop a number of competing models. A model is the pictorial representation of your argument or thesis, reducing it to its bare bones.

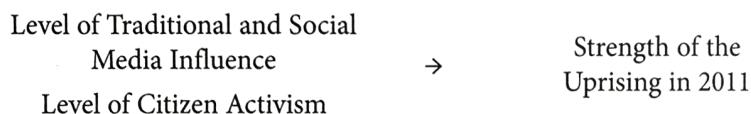
You may wonder why you must develop a model if it follows so nicely from the LR. Well, in one sense, the model is a check on your work; it makes sure that you have done a good job on your Literature Review. Unfortunately, students sometimes use the LR to discuss in very abstract terms the ways different schools of thought conceive of politics, instead of focusing on how each perspective answers the RQ at hand. If you have done your LR correctly (by following the advice of looking for fundamental factors and stating clear answers to the question), and your question is seeking to explore the relationship between concepts, coming up with the variables will be easy. If you have improperly written this section, developing models will be very difficult. So if you're stuck on the model, then you know that you need to go back and redo your LR before proceeding with your research.

Let's think back to Gabriela and use her interests to look at the relationship between the Literature Review, variable identification, and models. Gabriela asserts that party and electoral institutions affect polarization, and she can generate the following model:



Please notice that in formulating the model, Gabriela transformed the factors into variables, things that can change. Thus, in the model section, she added the words *type* and *level of*. While some models investigate correlations, this one asserts that causation flows in a particular direction. To find that the arrow is reversed would not substantiate this model and would compel Gabriela to make a different argument.⁶

Moving to another student, Kevin concludes his LR with “Together, the media and the people were most essential for challenging these regimes and account for the Arab Spring.” Like Gabriela, Kevin asserts two causal factors to explain uprisings in different states. His model would be as follows:



As Kevin writes his model, he begins to realize that he has some questions to consider. Does he want to explain the uprising and its size, or does he want to understand the success of the revolution itself, whether the regime was toppled? As he proceeds, he will have to refine that dependent variable and consider what impact any of his changes have for his LR. If necessary, he will have to make adjustments in that section.

Both of our students here have two independent variables, and you certainly do not need to advance two causes. In fact, for the ease of performing the research, I encourage students to be as simple or *parsimonious* as possible. The more variables you insist are important, the more you have to analyze. Particularly in qualitative studies, obtaining information on many concepts is very difficult, so that is one reason I tell my students to assert no more than two causal factors. Also, both students have one dependent variable, and this is typical for research, as scholars are interested in understanding one phenomenon at a time.

Before we move on, let’s remember our other two students from chapter 2, whose research we haven’t followed as closely, but who have continued refining their ideas. Max is investigating contemporary Russian foreign policy and why that country intervenes when it does, while Zoe wants to understand whether American female legislators are more likely to support legislation on women’s issues than are men. Those of you familiar with the global politics literature will find Max’s argument and model familiar. In doing his literature search, Max found schools of thought consistent with the realist (focusing on material power position), liberal/domestic politics (looking at Vladimir Putin’s links to powerful constituencies in Russia), and constructivist (emphasizing the role of

national identity and preferred global norms) paradigms.⁷ Convinced by the realists, Max asserted that the Russian power position determines whether it intervenes. When the balance of power favors Russia, it is likely to intervene. If not, it won't intervene. His model then is as follows:

Imbalance of Russia's Power Relative to Regional and Global Rivals → Likelihood of Intervention

Zoe's research was fundamentally concerned with whether electing women serves women's interests. Beginning with insights from Hanna Pitkin's (1967) classic work *The Concept of Representation* and working through the literature on minority representation, Zoe found two competing perspectives on what difference female legislators might make. The critical mass school asserted that underrepresented groups would have an influence on policy when their numbers reached a certain threshold in the legislature. An alternative approach, the critical action perspective, claimed that the "right type" of female representative was essential. Seconding that insight, Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook, and Kathleen A. Bratton, also found that just having a certain number of women was not enough, and the literature also suggested that ideologically sympathetic men could be advocates for women, too.⁸ Zoe, realizing that she would likely have to look at both contentions in order to convince anyone of her findings, offered two models, the first for critical mass and the second for critical action:

Critical Mass

Relative Size of Female Group within the Legislative Body → Number of Bills Offered That Improve Women's Lot (Women's Issues Bills)

Critical Action

Gender of Legislator → Number of Bills Offered That Improve Women's Lot (Women's Issues Bills)

Going back to our students, we discern a range of models, some with two independent variables, others with a single causal factor. We can also see how closely the cause is related to the name of the school (and that name should help us identify the factor), and the effect is the issue or phenomenon that inspired the research and question. The models, however, might seem incomplete to you because they do not provide explicit information about the direction of the causal relationship.

tion or the extent or the independent variables effect on the dependent variable. Gabriela's model on its own doesn't explain which party and electoral

institutions affect polarization and how. The same is true for the other student models, and that is why I ask you to communicate the nature of the relationship and the range of values the variables can take on in the hypothesis.

THE HYPOTHESIS

As noted before, the hypothesis is a particular type of thesis, one that asserts that a particular cause (or causes) either is correlated with or leads to certain effects. As a thesis, the hypothesis also provides an answer to the Research Question on the basis of what you learned in your Literature Review.

The easiest type of hypothesis⁹ to understand is often stated in the following terms:

For positive relationships: The more of X (the independent variable), the more of Y (the dependent variable).

For negative relationships: The more of X (the independent variable), the less of Y (the dependent variable).

Kevin's and Max's models assert these types of positive relationships between the independent and dependent variables. Their hypotheses follow below:

The greater the level of access to traditional and social media and the greater the people power (popular presence on the streets), the stronger will be the uprising against the government.

The greater the imbalance of power in favor of Russia, the more likely Russia will intervene in post-Soviet states.

Writing his hypothesis made Kevin think, Am I really saying that the level of media access and the citizen effects occur simultaneously, or do I want to change my argument to assert that the media affect citizen activism, which *then* influences how strong the uprising is? The model for that alternative line of reasoning would be as follows:



Kevin has restated his model to include not only independent and depen-

dent variables, but also an intervening one (level of citizen activism). As Kevin pondered his assertions, he began to wonder if level of citizen activism was distinguishable from the strength of the uprising and decided that he was really interested in whether the regime fell or not. Thus, he inserted two changes

here, to eliminate the intervening variable after all and to conceive of his dependent variable slightly differently:

Level of Citizen Access to
Traditional & Social Media → Likelihood of Toppling the Regime

Now, Kevin may tinker some more with both concepts, but his rethinking shows you why you need to take this stage seriously. It also reinforces the importance of spiraling through your work (thinking, writing, rethinking, and rewriting), in order to be absolutely clear about your ideas.

In sum, this first look at models and hypotheses shows that the Literature Review defines the variables and helps you put forth a model, indicating how variables influence one another. You are not plucking these linkages from thin air, as you have uncovered them in your previous research. Still, explicitly writing this relationship out helps you think precisely about your argument and, again, allows you to verify that your LR accomplishes what it should as well as forces you to clarify precisely what you want to explain. Like Kevin, you may play with your model, make sure that your concepts are really distinct, and rethink your hypothesis, working between them to arrive at a clear statement of your argument. This consideration can take some time and can even occur as you move into the next stage of the process, but don't be afraid to refine. Also important to recognize is that Kevin and Max assert positive relationships between variables. Note that in making these contentions, each student is also asserting the converse: decreases in media access decrease the likelihood that the regime will fall, and a balance of power that is not in Russia's favor would make its intervention much less likely.¹⁰

For both of these hypotheses, we can think of all the values that the concepts can be—levels of citizen access to media, imbalance of power, and likelihoods—as occurring on a continuum, and thus we call these *continuous* (or *interval*) *variables*.¹¹ There are values for each that span a continuous spectrum and include all the gradations in between. But not all variables can be measured in this way; instead, some reflect *categories* in which we might be interested, and if you were wondering why we skipped the hypotheses from the other two students initially, the reason is that they use *category* or *discrete variables*.¹² For Gabriela's research, there are types of party and electoral systems (even within the U.S. context). From Edwards's work, what Gabriela learned is most important is the role party elites play in choosing

~~elites~~ elites is most important is the role party elites play in choosing candidates, funding elections, drawing districts, and disciplining members who stray from the party line. In essence, Edwards is saying that in the “old style,” elites had more of a role in choosing candidates and were less important in funding, establishing districts, and disciplining. This system allowed politicians more freedom to act according to their conscience and provided more opportunity for compromise which resulted in less polarization (Edwards 2012). The new framework is the opposite, and the modern way

leads to more polarization. So here, the hypothesis Gabriela would assert is that the contemporary party and election system lead to high levels of polarization, whereas the older system (which started breaking down in the Progressive era and continued to erode through the 1990s) causes less polarization. We would expect intermediate levels of polarization in that period of the transformation of the two systems during the twentieth century. As categories, Gabriela is saying that her independent variable (party and electoral system) can be new, old, or transitioning, and levels of polarization could take on the corresponding values of high, low, and intermediate. Note here that Gabriela is not looking for continuous, precise values for polarization but relative, category assessments of how badly divided U.S. politics is.

With Zoe, we see a model that links category concepts to continuous ones. Her competing independent variables—relative size of female legislative group and gender of legislator—are discrete variables. Depending on how fine a gradation Zoe wants, she can set the relative size in different ways. A simple way to begin is to think in terms of critical/noncritical (since that was the initial insight from the school, that there is a critical mass that matters), or she could choose high, medium, and low if she realizes that no one knows what the magic threshold is, so that she might be better off not trying to define it. For her second hypothesis, the insight is that certain types of women matter. There are a couple points here—that women make a difference and that some characteristic about them has an influence too. Thus, Zoe uses the term *gender*, not *sex*, here because for her, the issue is not just women or men but women identifying strongly with a feminist agenda. Here gender could have a range, distinguishing feminist and nonfeminist women and perhaps leaving men together in a single category. Zoe might have to explore that insight further and consider whether and where feminist men belong in her classification. Zoe, then, is investigating two hypotheses: if the number of women in the legislature is high, then the number of women's issues bills is high, while if the number of women is medium, then the number of women's issues bills is either high or very low (depending on whether this "medium" is enough to reach the critical mass), and if the number of women in the legislature is low, then the number of women's issues bills is very low. Again, with this argument, capturing the idea that there is a certain threshold that needs to be reached for anything to be achieved is important. That's why the drop-off as Zoe moves through the categories is not continuous but sudden. Regarding the critical issues, the hypothesis is that feminist women are more likely than other women and men to advance women's issue bills, so large numbers of feminist women will mean relatively many bills that improve the lot of girls and women. Notice that, here again, Zoe is reformulating the dependent variable in the second model because the case is different, not the size of the women's legislative group, but the representative herself or himself, and that requires the new focus on the probability of introducing legislation.

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Note one last and interesting point about hypotheses: when you state one, you always give a hint as to which values of the independent variable are associated with which particular values of the dependent variables. So that you can think about variables, values, and how the value of the independent variable affects the dependent variable (which is the assertion in the hypothesis), I have summarized our students' efforts in Table 5.1.

Each paper, then, will make a contentious statement. If that argument is a causal or correlational one, the student should also (1) posit a model that isolates the variables (or key factors) and (2) state a hypothesis that explains the nature of the relationship between them.

Table 5.1 Models and Variable Values

Model	Possible Independent Variable Values	Corresponding Dependent Variable Values
Level of Citizen Access to Nonofficial Traditional and Social Media → Likelihood Regime Will Fall	If access is high If access is low	Expect high likelihood of collapse Expect low likelihood of collapse
Level of Imbalance of Power → Likelihood of Russian Intervention	If high imbalance in Russia's favor If power is about balanced or in favor of the target	Expect high likelihood of intervention Expect low likelihood of intervention
Type of Party and Electoral Institutions → Level of Polarization	If type is modern If type is old If type is transitioning	Expect high polarization Expect low polarization Expect moderate polarization
Relative Size of Female Group in Legislature → Number of Women's Interest Bills	If size reaches critical mass If size doesn't reach critical mass	Expect relatively many women's interest bills Expect relatively few women's interest bills
Gender of Legislator → Propensity to Introduce a Women's Interest Bill	Feminist Women Nonfeminist Women and Men	Expect greater propensity Expect lesser propensity

APPLYING THESE INSIGHTS

As a result of your work in this chapter, you should be able to develop a thesis or M&H section of your paper. The conclusion of your Literature Review should contain the kernel of your thesis, and with a little work for an empirical paper, it can be developed into an M&H section. Why should this information already be in the conclusion of your LR? Because in that section, you put forth a preferred response to your RQ. Thus, in asserting that a specific answer is best (for some reasons), you are making a contentious statement with which others can disagree. Notice that you do not have to tell the reader explicitly, “The thesis is” By concluding that one answer appears best and defending that choice, you have effectively communicated that you have a thesis.

But what if you need to put forth a model and a hypothesis because you are investigating a correlation or causation? In that case, you have a little extra work to do and need an additional section to express these ideas. As with the Literature Review, you should develop a specific title that fits your purposes and your paper. Because this part is short, however, you do not need introductory and concluding sections. Still, you want to include an appropriate transition sentence to link the section with what came before. Similarly, write a strong concluding sentence at the end to wrap up this section. Here is how Kevin, excerpts of whose LR we read at the end of chapter 4, wrote his M&H section (after he revised the LR to reflect his decision to use one independent variable):

The Impact of Media Access on Activism and Their Effects on the Success of the Uprising

Nonofficial satellite television and social media helped revolutionize the atmosphere in the Middle East and North Africa by 2011. With the regimes no longer controlling the airwaves and citizens having ways of communicating with one another outside of the state's control, activists could more explicitly state their grievances, galvanize support, and organize opposition to the regime. The effects of the media, then, were to free more citizens to more intensely challenge the regime, and enormous demonstrations ultimately led to the toppling of the longtime leaders. Without the media and the people in the streets, the authoritarians would not have given up. In simple terms, this argument can be understood as:



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In other words, *the greater citizens' access to nonofficial traditional and social media, then the greater the likelihood the regime will fall*. The MENA revolutions show that the truth sets people free under authoritarian conditions, and tools to spread the truth, organize people, and bring them out on the streets in large numbers convince the repressive regime that it has no hope of holding on.

Kevin has provided a great example of the M&H section, which demonstrates that it is short and easy to write once you have thought through your model and hypothesis. Again notice that even this brief section has a heading, and this title puts the emphasis on the variables that Kevin is exploring. Because this section follows right after the LR, the first sentence moves Kevin forward in the job of identifying the model and the hypothesis. Notice that Kevin includes in the text both his flow diagram and his hypothesis (and I recommend that you, like him, italicize the hypothesis so that it is easy for you and your reader to spot). Also look at how Kevin actually positions his model on the page. He does not type his variables as if they were in a paragraph, but instead stacks up the concept names so that the model flows visually in an $X \rightarrow Y$ form. He also puts the model in boldface type and gives it blank space all around (above, below, and on the sides); all these actions help make the model noticeable.

Although the M&H section may be brief, do not shortchange the amount of thinking that is required to write a good one and the importance of paying close attention to the details. You have to be able to perform that step, as Kevin did, to identify the underlying factors. You are asking yourself, What do all those words in the Literature Review really mean is fundamentally at stake? What are authors signifying as crucial for explaining the phenomenon—the political issue or policy—I am interested in? The phenomenon is the dependent variable, and the key factor(s) is (are) the independent one(s). You also need to make your model look good on the page and use the proper terminology, including a value kind of term as well as the actual variables.

As you read this section and the LR excerpt, you may think that Kevin has repeated himself a bit. That may be true, but some repetition—of the main points—is good. While you never want to duplicate your words precisely, you will see that in this paper, you are often previewing what is to come or reminding readers of what you've done. In a longer paper that is concerned with complex issues, both you and the reader need a certain amount of reiteration to grasp all your ideas and understand their relation to the whole project.

Before proceeding with the rest of the paper, you need to be able to state your argument precisely. That succinct formulation of your argument is the thesis; it is a contentious statement that can be upheld on the basis of normative or logical principles and verified by data. If you are performing empirical causal or correlational research, your thesis will identify variables, and you will be interested in showing exactly why and how these factors are related. Thus, you will need a separate section in your paper that provides both your model (isolating the variables you will investigate and showing the direction in which causality operates) and your hypothesis (indicating the ways in which variables are related). If you are not making a causal or correlational argument, you still want to be sure to refine your thesis so that it is extremely clear. You will state that thesis at the end of your Literature Review if you do not need an M&H section. No matter which kind of research you are pursuing, however, you will also include your thesis or hypothesis in your paper's Introduction, which we learn about in chapter 9. Also please remember, the model is a diagram and the hypothesis is a statement, but the M&H section is a paragraph that includes both. Do not simply insert the model and hypothesis on their own in your text without providing the context. Kevin's example demonstrates what you are seeking and the challenges you will face. I suggest that you practice asserting basic models and hypotheses to prepare for the development of your own and for writing this section. Use the M&H handout available in the online resources for that precise purpose.

One last word of advice. My presentation of the students' efforts to state their models and hypotheses might make the tasks seem rather effortless. In the space of a few paragraphs, they move from ideas in their LRs to their flow diagrams and guiding arguments. These tasks, however, were neither easy nor automatic, and the students took a good deal of time to think about and refine their ideas. You get a small sense of that effort from Kevin's and Zoe's adjustments. Remember to give yourself that time to think. The writing of the section will be easy once you know what you want to express.

RECIPE 4: MODEL AND HYPOTHESIS SECTION

INGREDIENTS

- Your LR, with special emphasis on its conclusion
- Access to the examples of models and hypotheses in this chapter
- Access to Table 5.1 to help you think more about values
- Access to Kevin's M&H section

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Return to the conclusion of your Literature Review, and look carefully at which school of thought you believed was the most important. By choosing one approach, you are asserting a thesis.
2. If you are working on empirical research, you would be well served to create an additional section to state the underlying argument of this approach—which factors affect the phenomenon at stake? Here you'll want to pay special attention to the exposition of your favorite school in the LR. Your discussion should explain which factors lead to what outcomes, why, and how. If these causes and the effect are not apparent after working on your LR, then you need to go back to it and rework that section so that it focuses on the factors that explain (possible independent variables) the development you are interested in studying (dependent variable). If you cannot, then you need help from your instructor.
3. You will present your argument in both its bare-bones (model) and its relational (hypothesis) forms. The model should appear on the page in a prominent way, with the independent variable(s) on the left and the dependent on the right, separated by an arrow. (See how all the student examples look in this chapter.) Be sure to use a value word—*level, type, strength*, and so forth—that is linked to the actual factor, for example, “level of citizen activism,” “type of party and electoral system systems,” “strength of uprising,” and “likelihood of intervention.” If you are having trouble, consult the M&H handout available in the online resources for extra practice.
4. Be sure that you know which kind of values (continuous or discrete) your variables will take on if you are performing empirical research. This information will help you more precisely state your hypothesis and might lead you to refine your concepts as you consider—what am I really trying to get at?
5. When you write your hypothesis, use the precise words from your model to express the hypothesis. If these terms don't capture what you wanted in your hypothesis, then you know you have a problem and need to rework one, either the model or the hypothesis. Look carefully at how both Kevin and Zoe rethought and refined their work. Also remember, your hypothesis should give you an idea of how relative values (for continuous variables) or actual values (for discrete variables) will be linked. If you are not sure, go back to your LR and look carefully at what the adherents of that approach argue. Also remember the basic formulas for the different kinds of values. For continuous variables, your hypothesis will typically be, “The more of X, the more of Y” (for positive relationships). For discrete variables, the hypothesis will be in the form “When X takes on one value, Y takes on another value.” (Table 5.1 helps here.)

6. Use a heading to separate the M&H section from the previous one. Try to pick a title that puts the focus on your variables. Then, try to create a section like Kevin's; mimic his example, even seeking to mirror what he does in each sentence. Remember, the overall section is short and consists of

- a. a transitional sentence to link this discussion with the Literature Review;
- b. some additional text to remind the reader of the thesis;
- c. the actual model;
- d. some text to explain the relationship you expect between the independent and the dependent variables—here, you are also reminding the reader of what you learned in the Literature Review; and
- e. the actual hypothesis, stated in basic form.

7. If your work on your Model and Hypothesis section caused you to restate your ideas, you must make the appropriate changes in your Literature Review so that your sections will be consistent.

8. Congratulate yourself for your accomplishment when you have written an M&H section that looks like Kevin's and accomplishes what his does. If your M&H section doesn't resemble the example above—for instance, it has no heading, is one sentence or two pages long, and has a model that is not arranged nicely on the page—then you have more work to do.

EXERCISES

1. Read the op-eds in a recent *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, or *Wall Street Journal*. Identify the thesis of at least one of the authors. Can you also develop a corresponding hypothesis and model for that argument? Why or why not?

2. Imagine that you wrote a Literature Review that contained these sentences in its conclusion:

The “Money Talks” approach appears to be the best one for explaining why congressional representatives in competitive districts vote the way they do. Lobbyists who and businesses that give enormous amounts of money receive access and sympathetic action on issues important to them from elected officials who are worried about staying in office. Constituent concerns, on the other hand, have less of an impact on these representatives when it is time to vote on legislation.

Develop a model and a hypothesis for this argument. What would you call the M&H section of this paper?

3. On the basis of the literature to which you have been exposed in this book, develop an alternative Model and Hypothesis for Gabriela.
4. Write a Model and Hypothesis section for Gabriela using either the Model and Hypothesis developed in the book or the pair you created in exercise 3. What would you call this section?

NOTES

1. This thesis will also appear prominently in your Introduction, as you will see in chapter 8, but as we saw, your LR has its own thesis, which is essential for writing a good section and which is located, like the paper's thesis, at the outset of the section.
2. Two exceptions to the universal claim at the opening of this sentence include some types of journals and journalism.
3. Please note that textbooks frequently do not have theses, instead describing the state of a field without taking a position that one approach is best. Of course, some texts do have embedded theses. Most famously, Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson's (1985) *Politics among Nations* is a text in international politics that puts forth a realist view of the field.
4. Janet Buttolph Johnson and Richard A. Joslyn, *Political Science Research Methods*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1995), 53–54.
5. Certainly, there can be multiple causes or several independent variables. For simplicity's sake, I will be talking about a single cause here. Also, technically, when first stated these are concepts, and through operationalization they become variables. See chapter 6 for more about operationalization.
6. Theodore J. Lowi made a mark early in his career by reversing the causal arrow and claiming that "policies cause politics," not the other way around. That politics caused policy had been the conventional wisdom before Lowi came along. See his "American Business, Public Policy, Case Studies and Political Theory," *World Politics* 16 (1964): 677–715 and *The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1979).
7. In the case of Russia, Andrei Tsygankov (2014) does an excellent job of explaining these schools for accounting for Russian foreign policy. The important works in the field of international relations, in general, come from Kenneth Waltz (1979) and John Mearsheimer (1990) in the realist field, Michael Doyle (1986) in this brand of liberalism (and George Kennan [1947] for the Soviet/Russia case), and Alexander Wendt (1995) for constructivism.
8. For the critical mass school, see Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 1977) and Drude Dahlerup, "The Story of the Theory of Critical Mass," *Politics & Gender* 2, no. 4 (2006). The most important proponents of critical action for Zoe were M. Tremblay and R. Pelletier, "More

reminists or more women? *International Political Science Review* 21, no. 4 (October 2000): 381–405; Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook, “Critical Mass

Theory and Women’s Political Representation,” *Political Studies* 56, no. 3 (2008): 725–36; Kathleen A. Bratton, “Critical Mass Theory Revisited: The Behavior and Success of Token Women in State Legislatures,” *Politics & Gender* 1, no. 1 (2005): 97–125; and Karin L. Tamerius, “Sex, Gender and Leadership in the Representation of Women,” in *Gender Power, Leadership, and Governance*, eds. Georgia Duerst Lahti and Rita Mae Kelley (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

9. This form applies to variables that take on continuous or interval values. The generic statement for hypotheses for data that are expressed as categories (nominal or ordinal data) will be discussed later in this chapter as well as in chapter 8, regarding performing the Analysis and Assessment of the thesis.
10. We could, however, generate a hypotheses that has the same meaning but posits a negative relationship. For instance, Max could say that the greater the imbalance of power in favor of Russia’s target of intervention, the less likely Russia is to intervene.
11. Please see W. Phillips Shively, *The Craft of Political Research*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002), 61–62, for a discussion of continuous and discrete variables and the way these are linked to types of data—nominal, ordinal, and interval.
12. As Gabriela and Zoe are using them, type of party and electoral system and gender are ranked or ordinal variables because there is an underlying understanding that certain party and electoral system combinations and gender identities have more of a certain quality that affects the dependent variable. For Gabriela, the issue is the extent to which the institutions promote extremism—the newer system promotes more extremism than the older one. For Zoe, the underlying ranking is about ideology—how feminist is a legislator. Discrete variables can also be unranked or nominal (such as party affiliation), so that the issue is simply in what category a respondent belongs. In addition to continuous and discrete variables, researchers also identify dichotomous variables—variables that can take on only one of two variables, such as yes or no and on or off. In social science, we typically call these *dummy variables*, and they measure the presence or absence of a characteristic. For instance, we might be looking at female or not (i.e., male), Caucasian or not, or Catholic or not.

