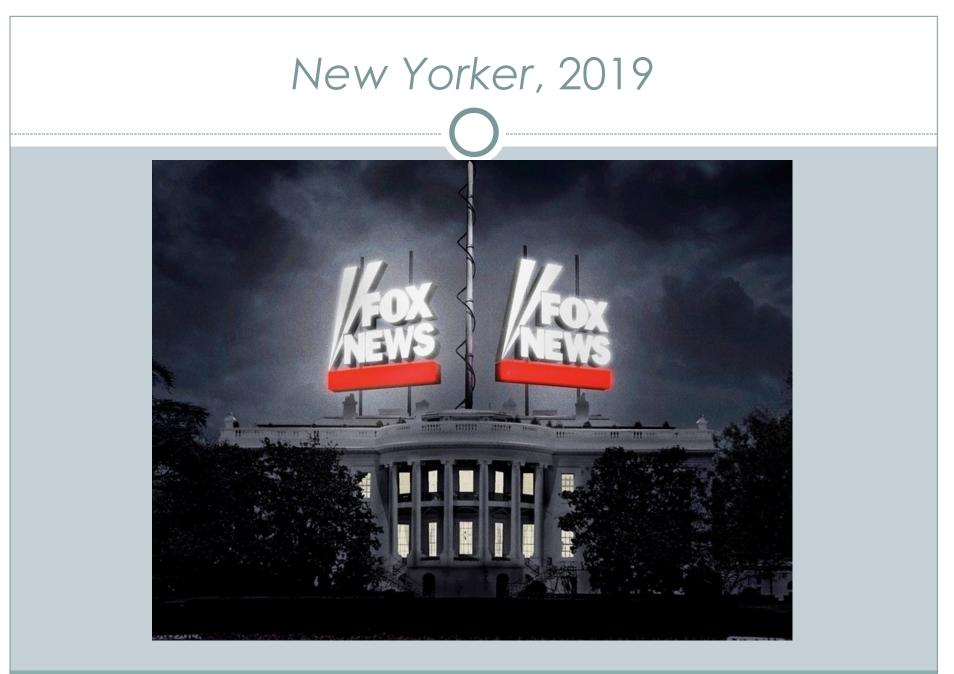
Rhetoric and Social Science in a Polarized Society

MARIO L. SMALL HARVARD UNIVERSITY

@MarioLuisSmall

Context

- "Fake news"
- Politicized news
- Political gaslighting



https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/03/11/the-making-of-the-fox-news-white-house

Context

- "Fake news"
- Polificized news
- Political gaslighting
- Bias in traditional media
- Failure to see Trump win
- Mueller report?

Need for—sober discourse, social science

Not just findings—habit of thought and reasoning

Something needed

Context

Qualitative literacy

The ability to understand, handle, and properly interpret qualitative evidence—specifically, ethnographic and interview evidence or data



Last two decades



• Remarkable rise in quantitative literacy

The New York Times

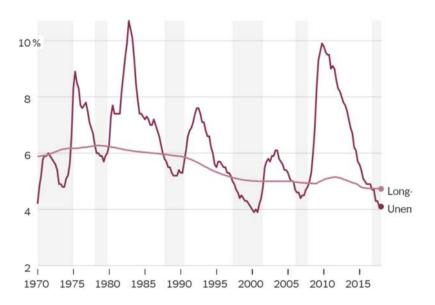
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TheUpshot

How Low Can Unemployment Really Go? Economists Have No Idea

It's an uncertainty that has huge economic consequences.

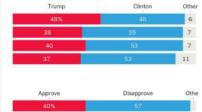
1d ago - By NEIL IRWIN





A Big Divergence Is Coming in Health Care Among States

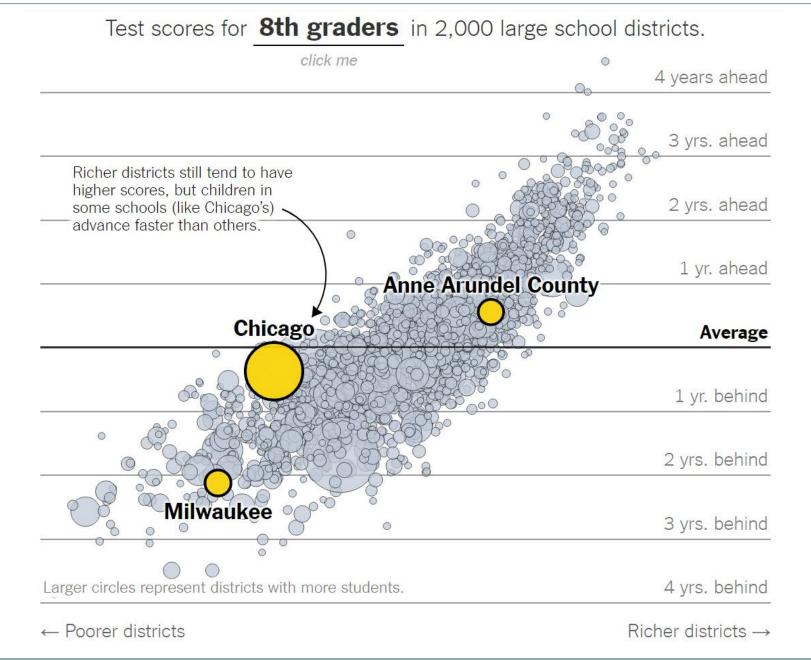
As the Trump administration chips away at Obamacare, some states are building it back up.



Trump Losing College-Educated Whites? He Never Won Them in the First Place



THE NEW HEALTH CARE What Happens When You Let Babies Feed Themselves? The hope was that they would naturally eat the right



https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/12/05/upshot/a-better-way-to-compare-public-schools.html

N.Y. / REGION

Residential Real Estate; Manhattan Rents Go Ever Upward

By DENNIS HEVESI NOV. 10, 2000

The average rent for apartments in Manhattan below 96th Street jumped 10.7 percent to nearly \$3,000 during the first six months of this year, according to one survey of the market, topping off a six-year period during which rents increased by nearly 46 percent.

At the end of June, the report said, the average rent for apartments of all sizes was \$2,984, compared with \$2,696 at the end of 1999. In December 1994, the average was \$2,046.

REAL ESTATE

Where Did Rents Rise the Most in 2017?

Calculator

By MICHAEL KOLOMATSKY FEB. 8, 2018

Most everywhere in the United States, rents stayed the same or went up last year. But not as much as in previous years: In 2017, median rents across the country rose an estimated 3.1 percent, continuing the steady trend of slowing increases that has been going on since 2012, according to a <u>study by Trulia</u>.



• Remarkable rise in quantitative literacy

• No parallel rise in qualitative literacy



Our political discourse has often shown lack of qualitative literacy

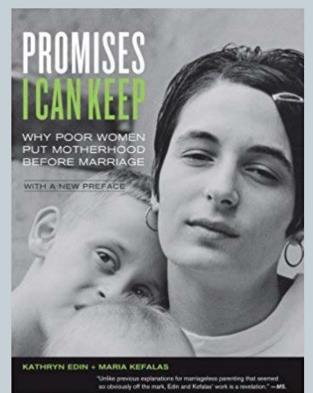
To the detriment of our discourse

Our job as social scientists to clarify, cultivate, and teach it

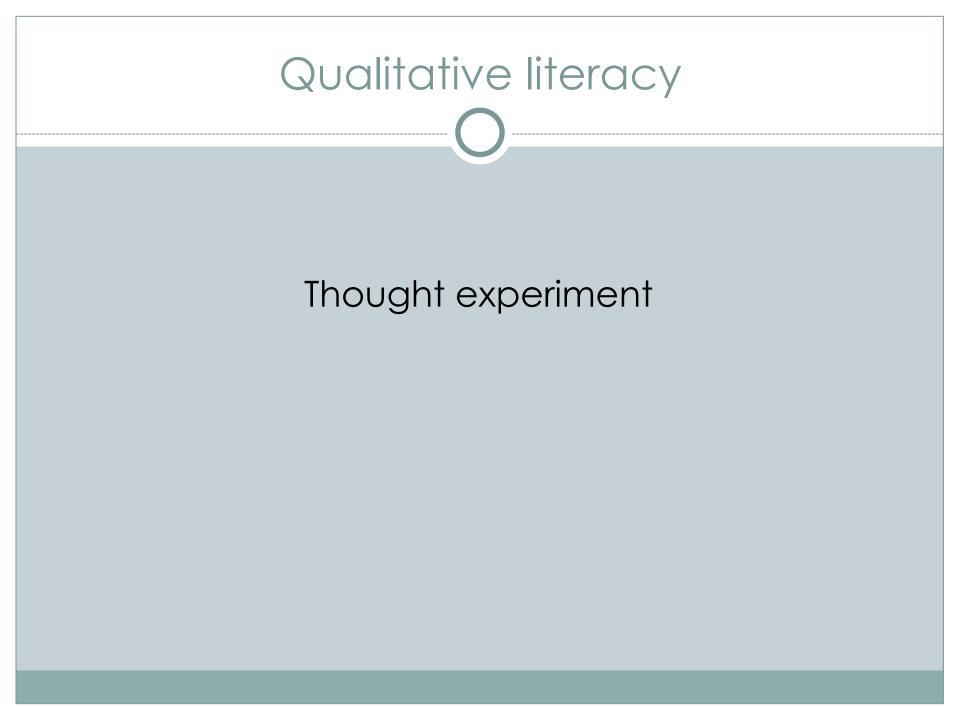
NEGOTIATING OPPORTUNITIES

How the Middle Class Secures Advantages in School

Jessica McCrory Calarco







Difference between an empirically convincing ethnography and an ethnography that is empirically weak but well-written?

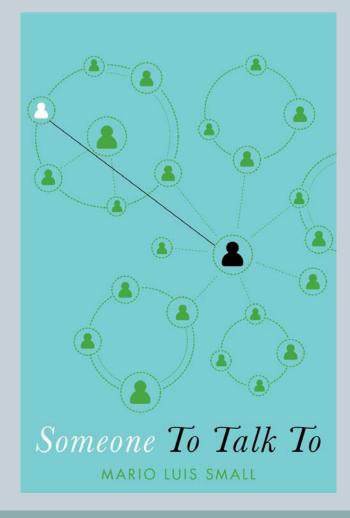
One—many answers

- Two—some resort to quantitative indicators (e.g., number of interviews)
- Three—some, "I don't know"

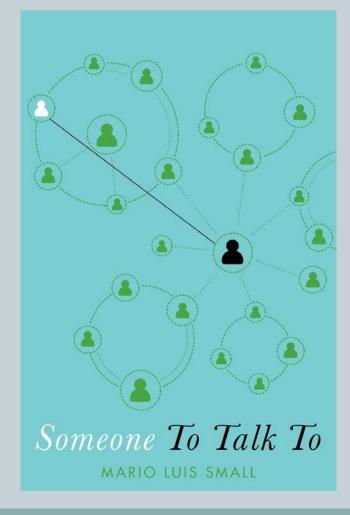
- Basic competence—social scientists and journalists
 - E.g., what is a regression, correlation ~= causation, etc.
 - Parallel?

Rest of the talk How I answer--just 3 (of many) indicators

Evidence of **cognitive empathy**: ability to understand another person's predicament as they understand it

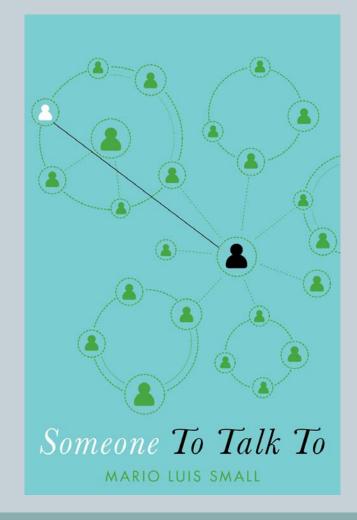


A good qual study: reader understands studied as they see themselves---not as author saw them ahead of time, not as author wished they were



Cognitive **empathy** is not **sympathy**

Cognitive empathy is not **emotional** empathy (Paul Bloom)





T HOME Q SEARCH



Scared but Resilient, Stoneman Douglas Students Return to Class



Immigration Agency Rails Against Oakland Mayor's Warning of Raids



The New York Times

Ben \$31, His

Ben Carson's HUD Spends \$31,000 on Dining Set for His Office

s A Coo Mont

RACE/RELATED A Coda to Black History Month

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LOG IN

A Voice of Hate in America's Heartland

By RICHARD FAUSSET NOV. 25, 2017



Tony Hovater at his home in New Carlisle, Ohio. George Etheredge for The New York Times

 "Why did this man—intelligent, socially adroit and raised middle class amid the relatively wellintegrated environments of United States military bases—gravitate toward the furthest extremes of American political discourse?"

Skilled journalist

Eschewed easy explanations

- Bad childhood experience (pop psychology)
- Poverty background (pop sociology)
- Lots of time with the interviewee

 "Tony and Maria Hovater were married this fall. They registered at Target. On their list was a muffin pan, a four-drawer dresser and a pineapple slicer.... [H]is tattoos are innocuous pop-culture references: a slice of cherry pie adorns one arm, a homage to the TV show 'Twin Peaks'....He is a big 'Seinfeld' fan." (Fausset 2017)

 "The pasta was ready. Ms. Hovater talked about how frightening it was this summer to watch from home as the Charlottesville rally spun out of control. Mr. Hovater said he was glad the movement had grown. They spoke about their future—about moving to a bigger place, about their honeymoon, about having kids." (Fausset 2017)

Outrage

- "'How to normalize Nazis 101!' one reader wrote on Twitter. 'I'm both shocked and disgusted by this article'."
- "'You know who had nice manners?' Bess Kalb... said on Twitter. 'The Nazi who shaved my uncle Willie's head before escorting him into a cement chamber...'."

• Et cetera

 "He mentioned books by Charles Murray and Pat Buchanan. He talked about his presence on 4chan, the online message board and altright breeding ground ('That's where the scary memes come from,' he deadpanned). He spoke dispassionately about the injustice of affirmative action, about the 'malice directed toward white people' in popular media, about how the cartoon comedy 'King of the Hill' was the last TV show to portray 'a straight white male patriarch' in a positive light." (Fausset 2017)

Second indicator

Attentiveness to **outgroup homogeneity bias**: the tendency to think of one's own group as diverse and other groups as homogeneous

Villa Victoria

The TRANSFORMATION of SOCIAL CAPITAL in a BOSTON BARRIO



Mario Luis Small

Second indicator

Other individuals as homogeneous; other neighborhoods as homogeneous

Villa Victoria

The TRANSFORMATION of SOCIAL CAPITAL in a BOSTON BARRIO



Mario Luis Small

Second indicator

Other individuals as homogeneous; other neighborhoods as homogeneous

City Community



Ethnography, Neighborhood Effects, and the Rising Heterogeneity of Poor Neighborhoods across Cities

Mario L. Small* Harvard University

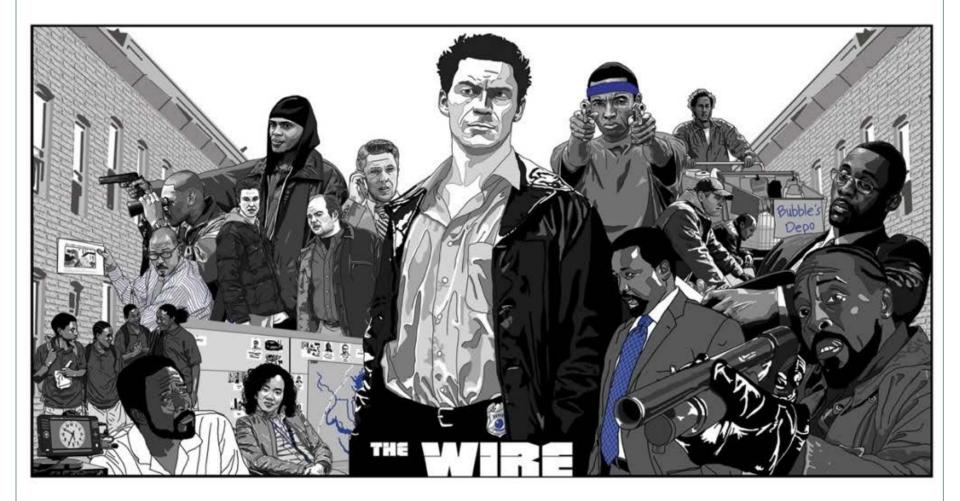
Robert A. Manduca Harvard University

William R. Johnston RAND Corporation

> In the 1980s and 1990s, researchers came to understand poor urban neighborhoods as blighted, depopulated areas, based on important ethnographic observations in a handful of cities. This image helped inform influential theories of social isolation and de-institutionalization. However, few scholars have examined whether those observations were representative of poor neighborhoods nationwide-and whether they are representative today. Based on a descriptive analysis of the largest 100 U.S. metropolitan areas using normalized census tract boundaries, we document an important transformation in the conditions of poor neighborhoods. We find that the depopulation in poor neighborhoods often reported in cities such as Chicago and Baltimore was, in fact, typical across cities in 1990. Today, it is not. Moreover, heterogeneity across cities has increased: The experience of neighborhood poverty is likely to depend more today than in 1990 on the city in question. In fact, the most typically studied cities, such as Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Milwaukee, are increasingly atypical in this respect. Addressing today's core questions about neighborhood effects, how and why they matter, requires paying far greater attention to heterogeneity, conducting more ethnographic observation in ostensibly unconventional cities, and addressing the historically extreme conditions in a newly unique subset of cities.



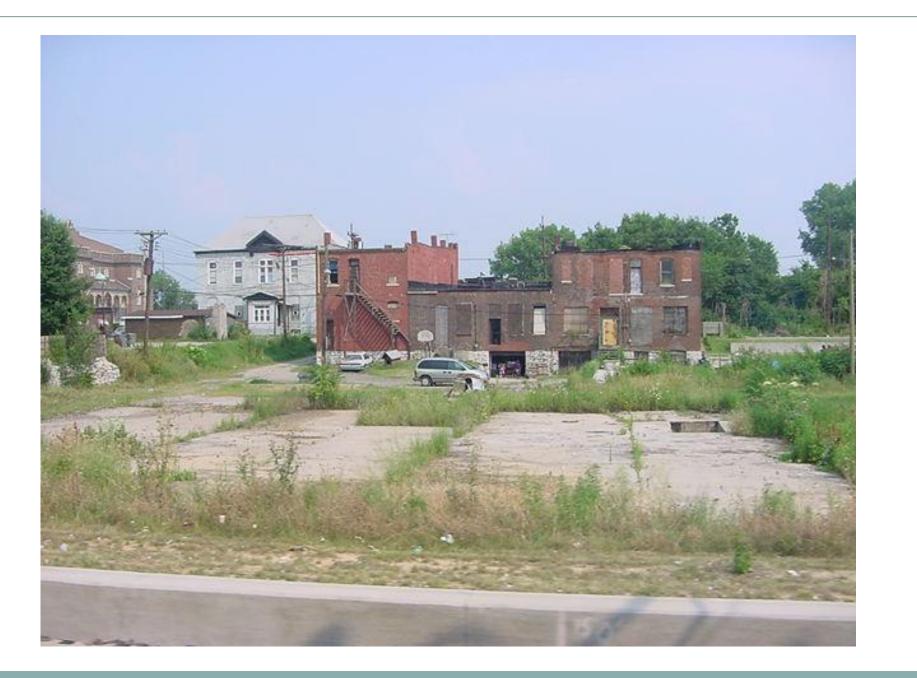
Baltimore, MD tft.ucla.edu/mediascape/Winter2012_TheWire.html



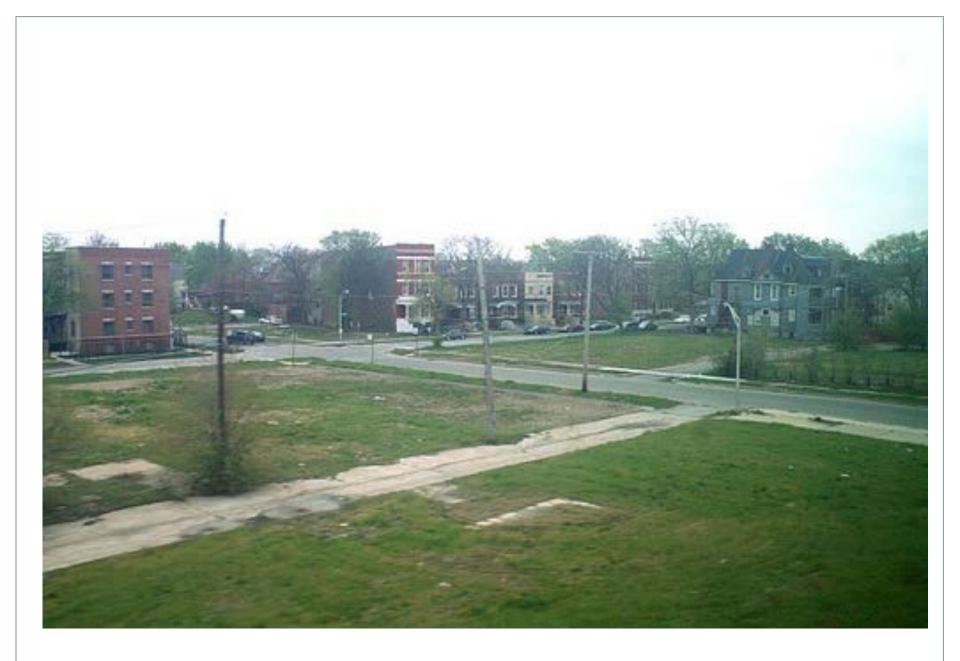
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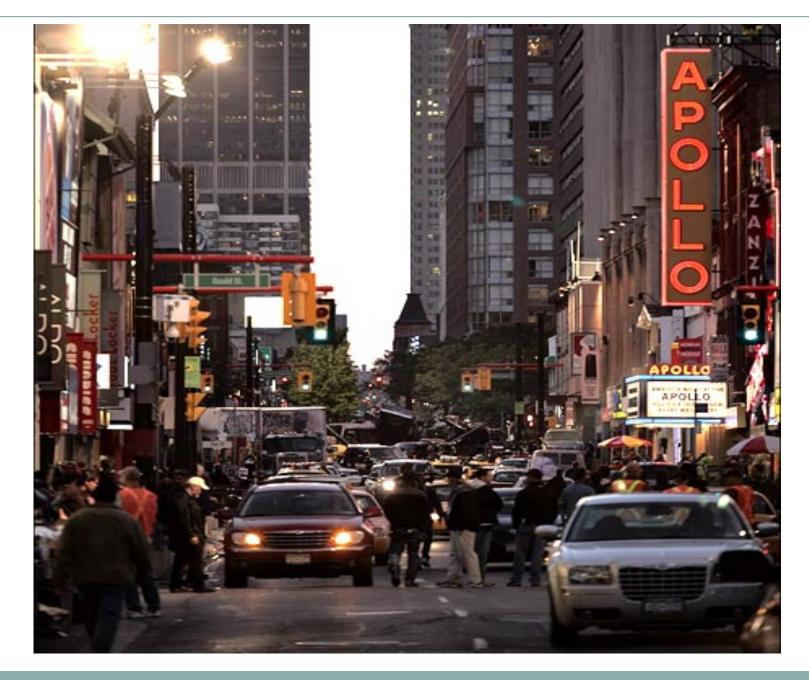


Baltimore, MD https://the-city-space.com/2013/12/17/baltimore-beyond-the-wire/



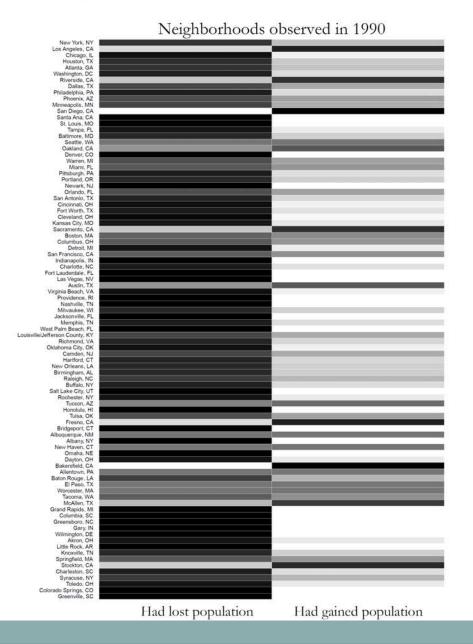
East St. Louis, IL http://photos1.blogger.com/blogger/6282/2506/1600/esl28.jpg





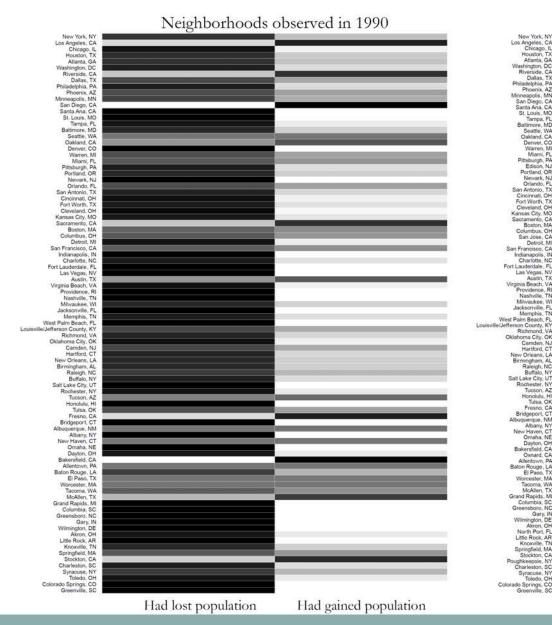
graffitiwritten.blogspot.com

Figure 1. Proportion of poor tracts that had experienced population loss or gain when compared to the tract's population two decades earlier, 100 largest cities, 1990 and 2010.



Small, Manduca, and Johnston 2018

Figure 1. Proportion of poor tracts that had experienced population loss or gain when compared to the tract's population two decades earlier, 100 largest cities, 1990 and 2010.





Neighborhoods observed in 2010

Small, Manduca, and Johnston 2018

• The "Trump voter"

The "Trump voter"

- White
- Racist
- Poor or working class
- Voting against own interest
- Voting reaction against black president
- Voting against immigrants

Becomes filter through which evidence read

The New York Times

The Women Who Helped Donald Trump to Victory



Debbie Biro said it was difficult to talk to female friends about voting for Donald J. Trump. Mark Makela for The New York Times

 "Daphne Goggins, 53, an African-American community activist and ardent Republican... said she believed decades of Democratic efforts had done little for black people. When Mr. Trump invited her to a minority outreach meeting, she told him tearfully that 'for the first time in my life, I feel like my vote is going to count.'"



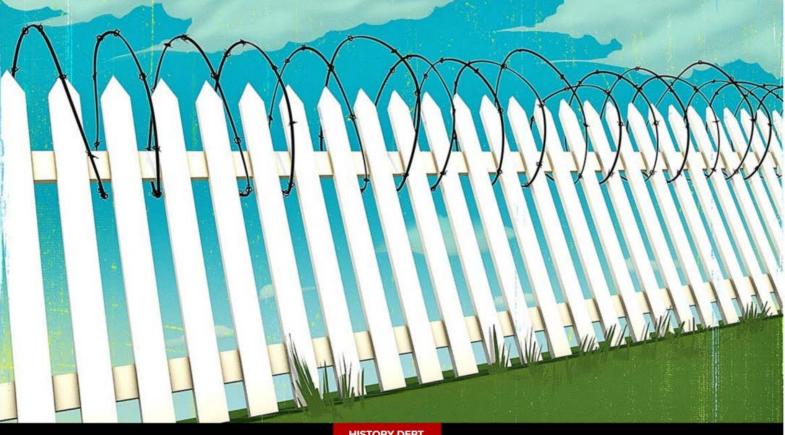
 "'I've seen America fall down,' [Ostendorf] said, 'and a big part of Trump that appealed to me was his business plan'."

 "'I think that women see the big picture women are smart,' Mrs. Gauta said. 'The fact that he said something crude,' she said 'is not going to change my mind about the good he can do for our country. Did I like that, no,' she went on. 'But do I think he can do a better job than Hillary? Absolutely'."

- In 2016 paucity
- Scholars, pundits caught unaware
- Where does bias play a role now?

Acute sensitivity to which kinds of argument require qualitative data—and what precise types of qualitative data

- Context
- Economists, demographers, psychologists
 Vs
- Qualitative researchers (in education, inequality, poverty, immigration, organizational analysis)



HISTORY DEPT.

Does the White Working Class Really Vote Against Its Own Interests?

Trump's first year in office revived an age-old debate about why some people choose race over class—and how far they will go to protect the system.

By JOSHUA ZEITZ | December 31, 2017

Illustration by Daniel Downey, Jr.

First indicator

Thoughtful researcher

 Properly traced idea to W.E.B. DuBois (plantation owners, wages low)

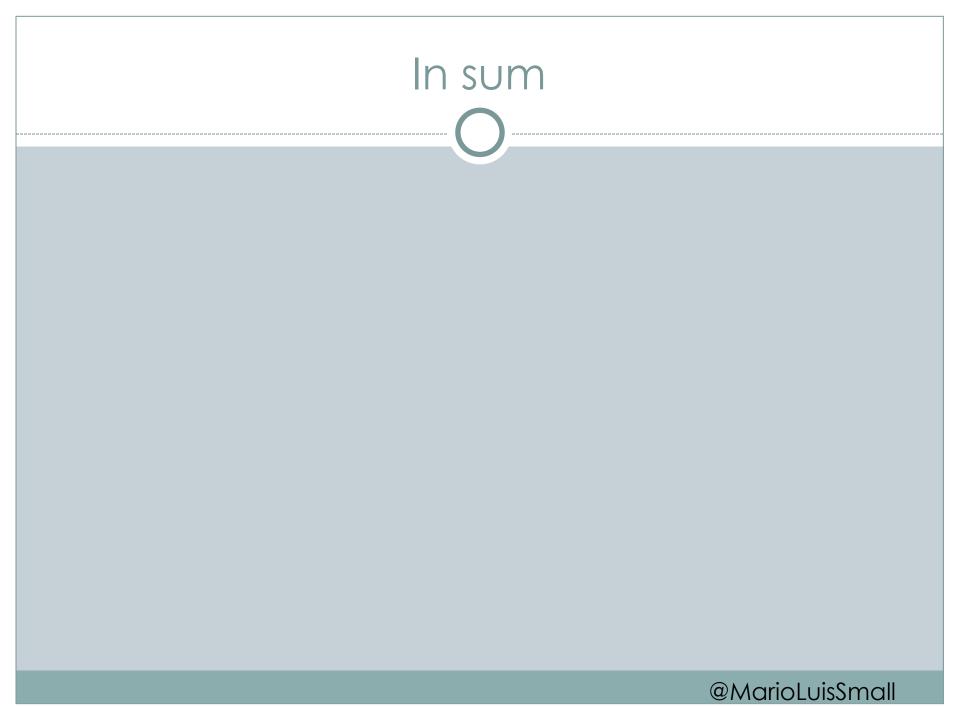
Traces history of idea

 "[W]orking-class whites historically derived both psychological and citizenship wages by privileging race over class." (Zeitz 2017)

 Author thesis: They vote against their interests (e.g, for Trump) because they get psychological benefits from doing so

- Author thesis: They vote against their interests (e.g, for Trump) because they get psychological benefits from doing so
- In 4,000 word piece, not a single interview with a white working class person about what motivated their voting

- "Does the White Working Class Really Vote against Its Own Interests?"
- "What Theorists Have Proposed about How the Working Class Votes"



In sum

For qualitative literacy Clarify, cultivate, teach

Fundamental to evidence-based reasoning

Critical for democratic discourse

@MarioLuisSmall