

POLI 8970-001: Partisanship and Policy
Spring 2023 | W 6:30 PM - 9:00 PM | Haley 3226

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Office Hours:	W 12:00 PM - 1:15 PM; Appointment (email me; Zoom ID: 7720942787)		

Overview, Objectives, and Outcomes

In American politics, most political questions are colored by a single, overriding variable: *partisanship*, or *party identification*. This extends to elite behavior, especially with respect to policymaking at all levels of government. The two major political teams affect the policy that is (or isn't) made in legislatures, executive offices, agencies, and bureaucracies. These effects have only grown more severe as partisan and ideological competition has increased over time.

We will explore this evolution. We will observe an *extremely* basic introduction to party identification and ideology. We will then focus the majority of our time on how parties affect the creation of policy, the monitoring of policy by political actors, and the variety of levels of government at which these effects are observed.

Student Learning Outcomes:

1. Students will be able to identify how partisanship has evolved at the elite level over time.
2. Students will be able to identify the effects of partisanship in the lawmaking process.
3. Students will be able to describe how partisanship changes the outcome of policies that are made.
4. Students will be able to identify how partisanship changes oversight of policy agencies.

Official catalog description: Special Topics. (3). LEC. 3. Directed study of topics of interest. Course may be repeated for a maximum of 9 credit hours.

Prerequisites

Graduate classification.

Expectations

Graduate courses are intended to lay the foundation for your future as a researcher. Each one of you have elected to be here and to pursue a graduate degree, so it is to your benefit to attend class, do the outside readings, react to the readings, and, most importantly, *come to class prepared to discuss the material*. Graduate courses are built around an exchange of ideas, so come prepared with your ideas! I refuse to enable anyone to actively seek out a "C" grade in this class, and if you

plagiarize any portion of any assignment (including plagiarizing a fellow student's answers), it's an automatic zero.

I also expect that you make a reasonable effort to maintain classroom decorum by refraining from reading newspapers, doing crossword puzzles, sleeping, texting, or playing on Facebook (or whatever social network/game/trend that I'm oblivious to). Please silence all cell phones. These ideas are formally outlined in the Auburn University Classroom Behavior policy: see tinyurl.com/au-st-pol for more details. Consistent with Auburn University policy, I encourage class attendance from all students.

A note on decorum: We will be discussing a variety of political topics that, as we will learn, engineer an emotional response. Some of you might have very strong, even partisan, feelings about politics or one side of the political spectrum versus the other. We will not bring those personal emotional assessments into class. Specifically, I will not allow any cross-talk directed at another classmate's political opinions or other commentary that excessively abstracts away from the political science of the topic.

Texts

All of the texts are articles available from the Auburn University Library. I will not post the articles to **Canvas** unless the library doesn't provide access; learning how to acquire the full text of an article is an essential skill in graduate school. I included the DOI of every article: it will point you to the article's website if you "resolve" it at www.doi.org. All of the articles are ungated if you access them on Auburn's Wifi network. If you're at home, you can still get the full text by logging into the library and searching for the journal. If you cannot find one of the articles, let me know, and I'll make it available on **Canvas** or email.

Assignments

The course is divided into the following components:

Class participation	20%
Personal responses	20%
Writing assignment	35%
Final	25%
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 100%

In order, those components are ...

Class participation: Do. The. Reading. It is literally that simple. Do the reading and come to class prepared to discuss that reading. When I ask questions of the class, please answer the questions and contribute to the lecture. When you have questions, please ask them. From a student suggestion from previous semesters, I'll include 2-5 questions that will "prompt" you to read for particular content in the readings. It is not enough to simply answer the prompts. You must come prepared to discuss the readings. The maximum number of articles assigned in a week

is seven: I do not care and do not want to hear about how that's too many readings.

Personal responses: to help facilitate class discussion, I'm going to have you submit a *maximum* of 500 words of reactions to the weekly readings to **Canvas**, due at 11:59 PM the night before class (Tuesday). You do not need to react to every reading. I'm just looking for you to synthesize the content *across* the readings and *react critically* to at least one: suggesting areas for future study or deficiencies you noticed in the design or content. This exercise should help you prepare for comprehensive exams. **You should not simply summarize the readings.**

Writing assignment: students will be required to complete an original research project. This original research project must have a core theory that centers around partisanship, and partisanship (or ideology/polarization) must be one of the independent variables. You will then test your theory and report the results. The ultimate goal is to submit this paper for publication, so think about a way in which party identification implicates your substantive area of interest.

This assignment will have a more complete set of instructions posted to **Canvas**. You will also be required to submit it in chunks through the semester to update on regular progress. Everything you submit will be submitted to **Canvas** for ease of feedback. The assignment is due on May 1, 2023.

Final examination: this will be a take home exam. It will mirror the content, structure, and rules of the American politics comprehensive exams at Auburn. You will have a choice of questions; you will respond to one of the questions within the time limit. You are not allowed to consult with your classmates on the exam. The final examination is on May 1, 2023.

Makeups and Grades

Makeup assignments/examinations will only be offered to those with a University excused absence, which can be found at tinyurl.com/au-st-pol. It is your responsibility to ensure that your absence is covered by the University, and it is your responsibility to comply with all policies. These policies require that you notify me of your absence prior to the date of absence if such notification is feasible, but within one week from the missed class. Your makeup examination must be scheduled within two weeks of this notification (though I recommend much, much earlier). If I need additional information on your absence (doctor's notes, for instance), you must provide this additional documentation within one week of the last date of the absence. Note that this policy also allows for makeup examinations for reasons deemed appropriate by the instructor. If you do not have a University excused absence, and you are going to miss an examination, it is much easier for me to work with you if you notify me promptly, especially if you can provide some sort of documentation.

89.5-100: A
 79.5-89.49: B
 69.5-79.49: C
 59.5-69.49: D
 59.49↓: F

I use the standard Auburn University grading scale. To maintain fairness, I do not change grades under any circumstances except when I make a mathematical error in computing your grade. There is no extra credit. All grades will be posted to Canvas.

Contacting Me

I'm in Haley every day, but especially during my listed office hours. I check my email very, very regularly. If you want to get in touch with me through email, I ask that follow three guidelines when attempting to contact me. First: include the course number and section number [8970-001] in the subject of your email. Your email will almost certainly get lost in the abyss if it missing this information. Second: wait at least 48 hours, not including weekends, to send a second email. I promise I will get to it, but it may not be immediate. Third: email me only from your Auburn University official email address. In the event that I need to contact you, it will almost certainly be at your @auburn.edu email address. You should check this email often!

Student Academic Honesty

Auburn University is a institution committed to integrity and honor. It is your job as a University citizen to uphold those values. I will not tolerate any cheating or plagiarism, broadly defined as using unauthorized aids during examinations or attempting to represent someone else's work as your own. You are not as sly as you think you are. With hundreds of heads facing forward, it is extremely easy to tell who is working alone and who is not. Be aware that academic dishonesty can lead directly to failing the course and being referred to the Academic Honesty Committee. Penalties include expulsion from Auburn, as per Chapter 1202 of Title XII. For additional information visit tinyurl.com/au-st-pol.

Emergency Contingency

If normal class is disrupted due to illness, emergency, or crisis situation, the syllabus and other course plans and assignments may be modified to allow completion of the course. If this occurs, an addendum to your syllabus and/or course assignments will replace the original materials.

Students with Disabilities

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please electronically submit your approved accommodations through AU Access and make an individual appointment with the me during the first week of classes (or as soon as possible if accommodations are needed immediately). If you have not established accommodations through the Office of Accessibility, but need accommodations, make an appointment with the Office of Accessibility, 1228 Haley Center, 844-2096 (V/TT).

Any requests or arrangements made with the instructor in person must be followed up with an

official email request for documentation. If you believe you may need an accommodation, it is your responsibility to secure it before the first exam.

Copyrighted Materials

The lectures, presentations (including slides), readings, and exams for this course are copyrighted, so you do not have the right to copy and distribute them. This includes recording class lectures.

Course Outline

Week 1 (January 11): Partisanship Basics (NOTE: Rescheduled to Tuesday, January 10 from 6:30 PM to 9:00 PM)

- Aldrich. 1995. Selections from *Why Parties?*. Chapter on Canvas.
- Primer on Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. 1960. Website: tinyurl.com/ccms-is-old
- Goidel, Kellstedt, and Lebo. 2022. “Macropartisanship with Independents.” DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfab073
- Hobbs. 2019. “Major Life Events and the Age-Partisan Stability Association.” DOI: 10.1007/s11109-018-9472-6
- Lelkes and Sniderman. 2016. “The Ideological Asymmetry of the American Party System.” DOI: 10.1017/S0007123414000404
- Theodoridis. 2017. “Me, Myself, and (I), (D), or (R)? Partisanship and Political Cognition through the Lens of Implicit Identity.” DOI: 10.1086/692738

Week 2 (January 18): Affective Polarization (NOTE: Rescheduled to Tuesday, January 17 from 6:30 PM to 9:00 PM)

- Abramowitz and Webster. 2018. “Negative Partisanship: Why Americans Dislike Parties But Behave Like Rabid Partisans.” DOI: 10.1111/pops.12479
- Ahler and Sood. 2018. “The Parties in Our Heads: Misperceptions about Party Composition and Their Consequences.” DOI: 10.1086/697253
- Barber and Davis. 2022. “Partisanship and the trolley problem: Partisan willingness to sacrifice members of the other party.” DOI: 10.1177/20531680221137143
- Bougher. 2017. “The Correlates of Discord: Identity, Issue Alignment, and Political Hostility in Polarized America.” DOI: 10.1007/s11109-016-9377-1
- Dias and Lelkes. 2022. “The Nature of Affective Polarization: Disentangling Policy Disagreement from Partisan Identity.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12628

Week 3 (January 25): The Effect of Partisanship on Behavior I: What We Believe and Feel

- Clifford. 2020. “Compassionate Democrats and Tough Republicans: How Ideology Shapes Partisan Stereotypes.” DOI: 10.1007/s11109-019-09542-z
- Donovan, Kellstedt, Key, and Lebo. 2020. “Motivated Reasoning, Public Opinion, and Presidential Approval.” DOI: 10.1007/s11109-019-09539-8

- Guay and Johnston. 2022. “Ideological Asymmetries and the Determinants of Politically Motivated Reasoning.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12624
- Hopkins and Noel. 2022. “Trump and the Shifting Meaning of “Conservative”: Using Activists’ Pairwise Comparisons to Measure Politicians’ Perceived Ideologies.” DOI: 10.1017/S0003055421001416
- Levendusky and Malhotra. 2016. “(Mis)perceptions of Partisan Polarization in the American Public.” DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfv045
- Mason. 2018. “Ideologues without Issues: The Polarizing Consequences of Ideological Identities.” DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfy005
- Webster, Connors, and Sinclair. 2022. “The Social Consequences of Political Anger.” DOI: 10.1086/718979

Week 4 (February 1): The Effect of Partisanship on Behavior II: Values and Conflict

- Enders and Lupton. 2021. “Value extremity contributes to affective polarization in the US.” DOI: 10.1017/psrm.2020.27
- Feldman. 1988. “Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: the Role of Core Beliefs and Values.” DOI: 10.2307/2111130
- Gibson and Hare. 2016. “Moral Epistemology and Ideological Conflict in American Political Behavior.” DOI: 10.1111/ssqu.12217
- Graham and Svulik. 2020. “Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States.” DOI: 10.1017/S0003055420000052
- Lupton, Smallpage, and Enders. 2020. “Values and Political Predispositions in the Age of Polarization: Examining the Relationship between Partisanship and Ideology in the United States, 1988-2012.” DOI: 10.1017/S0007123417000370
- Ryan. 2017. “No Compromise: Political Consequences of Moralized Attitudes.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12248

Topic must be selected and submitted for writing assignment (original research paper).

Week 5 (February 8): Elite Polarization

- Ansolabehere, Snyder, and Stewart. 2001. “Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections.” DOI: 10.2307/2669364
- Brady, Cooper, and Hurley. 1979. “The Decline of Party in the U. S. House of Representatives, 1887-1968.” JSTOR: [jstor.org/stable/439581](https://www.jstor.org/stable/439581)
- Cayton. 2021. “The Policy Substance of Legislative Ideology.” DOI: 10.1111/lisq.12299
- Fleisher and Bond. 2003. “The Shrinking Middle in the US Congress.” DOI: 10.1017/S0007123404000122
- Theriault. 2006. “Party Polarization in the US Congress: Member Replacement and Member Adaptation.” DOI: 10.1177/1354068806064730
- Thomsen. 2014. “Ideological Moderates Wont Run: How Party Fit Matters for Partisan Polarization in Congress.” DOI: 10.1017/s0022381614000243

Week 6 (February 15): Policy Representation to Constituents as a Source of Polarization

- Ansolabehere and Kuriwaki. 2022. “Congressional Representation: Accountability from the Constituent’s Perspective.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12607
- Broockman and Ryan. 2016. “Preaching to the Choir: Americans Prefer Communicating to Copartisan Elected Officials.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12228
- Flavin and Nelson. 2017. “District Voter Turnout and Dyadic Representation in Congress.” DOI: 10.1080/07343469.2017.1294215
- Jordan, Hill, and Hurley. 2017. “Constituency Representation in Congress: In General and in Periods of Higher and Lower Partisan Polarization.” DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.5457960
- Kaslovsky. 2022. “Senators at Home: Local Attentiveness and Policy Representation in Congress.” DOI: 10.1017/S0003055421001088
- Zingher and Flynn. 2018. “From on High: The Effect of Elite Polarization on Mass Attitudes and Behaviors, 1972-2012.” DOI: 10.1017/S0007123415000514

Week 7 (February 22): Institutional Design and Constraint

- Barber, Bolton, and Thrower 2019. “Legislative Constraints on Executive Unilateralism in Separation of Powers Systems.” DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12232
- Bianco and Smyth. 2020. “The Bicameral Roots of Congressional Deadlock: Analyzing Divided Government Through the Lens of Majority Rule.” DOI: 10.1111/ssqu.12811
- Boushey and McGrath. 2020. “Does Partisan Conflict Lead to Increased Bureaucratic Policymaking? Evidence from the American States.” DOI: 10.1093/jopart/muz030
- Butcher and Gooch. 2021. “The Development of Representation in American Political Institutions.” DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12322
- Clinton and Lewis. 2008. “Expert Opinion, Agency Characteristics, and Agency Preferences.” DOI: 10.1093/pan/mpm009
- Selin. 2015. “What Makes an Agency Independent?” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12161

Week 8 (March 1): Partisan Oversight I: The Executive

- Bolton and Thrower. 2016. “Legislative Capacity and Executive Unilateralism.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12190
- Devins and Lewis. 2008. “Not-So-Independent Agencies: Party Polarization and the Limits of Institutional Design.” URL: scholarship.law.wm.edu/facpubs/157
- Fine and Warber. 2012. “Circumventing Adversity: Executive Orders and Divided Government.” DOI: 10.1111/j.1741-5705.2012.03965.x
- Krause and O’Connell. 2016. “Experiential Learning and Presidential Management of the U.S. Federal Bureaucracy: Logic and Evidence from Agency Leadership Appointments.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12232
- Green and Jennings. 2019. “Party Reputations and Policy Priorities: How Issue Ownership Shapes Executive and Legislative Agendas.” DOI: 10.1017/S0007123416000636

- Lowande and Shipan. 2022. “Where Is Presidential Power? Measuring Presidential Discretion Using Experts.” DOI: 10.1017/S0007123421000296
- Moynihan and Roberts. 2010. “The Triumph of Loyalty Over Competence: The Bush Administration and the Exhaustion of the Politicized Presidency.” DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-6210.2010.02178.x

Week 8.5 (March 8): No Class (Spring Break)

Week 9 (March 15): Partisan Oversight II: The Legislature

- Acs. 2019. “Congress and Administrative Policymaking: Identifying Congressional Veto Power.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12444
- Bolton. 2022. “Gridlock, Bureaucratic Control, and Nonstatutory Policymaking in Congress.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12621
- Epstein and O’Halloran. 1994. “Administrative Procedures, Information, and Agency Discretion.” DOI: 10.2307/2111603
- Kriner and Schickler. 2014. “Investigating the President: Committee Probes and Presidential Approval, 1953-2006.” DOI: 10.1017/S0022381613001448
- Lowande. 2018. “Who Polices the Administrative State?” DOI: 10.1017/S0003055418000497
- Ritchie. 2018. “Back-Channel Representation: A Study of the Strategic Communication of Senators with the US Department of Labor.” DOI: 10.1086/694395

Research project: must have rough draft of theory section of original research paper submitted for review.

Week 10 (March 22): Gridlock

- Binder. 1999. “The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-96.” DOI: 10.2307/2585572
- Coleman. 1999. “Unified Government, Divided Government, and Party Responsiveness.” DOI: 10.2307/2586115
- Hughes and Carlson. 2015. “Divided Government and Delay in the Legislative Process: Evidence From Important Bills, 1949-2010.” DOI: 10.1177/1532673X15574594
- Jones. 2001. “Party Polarization and Legislative Gridlock.” DOI: 10.2307/449211
- Lee 2012. “Contingent Party Pressure and Legislative Gridlock.” DOI: 10.1177/1532673X12453757

Week 11 (March 29): Polarized Lawmaking

- Binder. 2015. “The Dysfunctional Congress.” DOI: 10.1146/annurev-polisci-110813-032156
- Bussing. 2021. “Majority Party Strategy and Suspension of the Rules in the House.” DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12302

- Curry and Lee. 2020. “What Is Regular Order Worth? Partisan Lawmaking and Congressional Processes.” DOI: 10.1086/706893
- Harbridge-Yong and Paris. 2021. “You Cant Always Get What You Want: How Majority-Party Agenda Setting and Ignored Alternatives Shape Public Attitudes.” DOI: 10.1111/1sq.12279
- Lynch, Madonna, and Roberts. 2016. “The Cost of Majority-Party Bias: Amending Activity under Structured Rules.” DOI: 10.1111/1sq.12133
- Napolio and Grose. 2022. “Crossing Over: Majority Party Control Affects Legislator Behavior and the Agenda.” DOI: 10.1017/S0003055421000721
- Ryan. 2018. “Constructing Congressional Activity: Uncertainty and the Dynamics of Legislative Attention.” DOI: 10.1017/psrm.2015.66

Research project: must have dataset for analysis located and submitted for review.

Week 12 (April 5): Polarized Interest Groups

- Garlick. 2022. “Interest group lobbying and partisan polarization in the United States: 1999-2016.” DOI: 10.1017/psrm.2021.5
- Garlick. 2017. “National Policies, Agendas, and Polarization in American State Legislatures: 2011 to 2014.” DOI: 10.1177/1532673X17719719
- Grossman, Mahmood, and Isaac. 2021. “Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Unequal Class Influence in American Policy.” DOI: 10.1086/711900
- Heaney and Leifeld. 2018. “Contributions by Interest Groups to Lobbying Coalitions.” DOI: 10.1086/694545
- Robison 2022. “Partisan Influence in Suspicious Times.” DOI: 10.1086/717085

Research project: analysis submitted for review.

Week 13 (April 12): No Class (Instructor at Midwest Political Science Association)

Week 14 (April 19): Partisanship in Subnational Policies

- Butler, Volden, Dynes, and Shor. 2017. “Ideology, Learning, and Policy Diffusion: Experimental Evidence.” DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12213
- Caughey, Warshaw, and Xu. 2017. “Incremental Democracy: The Policy Effects of Partisan Control of State Government.” DOI: 10.1086/692669
- de Benedictis-Kessner and Warshaw. 2016. “Mayoral Partisanship and Municipal Fiscal Policy.” DOI: 10.1086/686308
- de Benedictis-Kessner and Warshaw. 2020. “Politics in Forgotten Governments: The Partisan Composition of County Legislatures and County Fiscal Policies.” DOI: 10.1086/706458
- Dynes, Adam M. and John B. Holbein. 2020. “Noisy Retrospection: The Effect of Party Control on Policy Outcomes.” DOI: 10.1017/S0003055419000649
- Marble and Nall. 2021. “Where Self-Interest Trumps Ideology: Liberal Homeowners and Local Opposition to Housing Development.” DOI: 10.1086/711717

- Miras and Rouse. 2022. “Partisan Misalignment and the Counter-Partisan Response: How National Politics Conditions Majority-Party Policy Making in the American States.” DOI: 10.1017/S0007123420000745

Week 15 (April 26): Ameliorating Partisanship

- Ash, Morellin and Vannoni. 2022. “Divided government, delegation, and civil service reform.” DOI: 10.1017/psrm.2020.51
- Druckman, Klar, Krupnikov, Levendusky, and Ryan. 2022. “(Mis)estimating Affective Polarization.” DOI: 10.1086/715603
- Lee. 2022. “Do Policy Makers Listen to Experts? Evidence from a National Survey of Local and State Policy Makers.” DOI: 10.1017/S0003055421000800
- Mullinix. 2018. “Civic Duty and Political Preference Formation.” DOI: 10.1177/1065912917729037
- Paris. 2017. “Breaking Down Bipartisanship: When and Why Citizens React to Cooperation across Party Lines.” DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfw089
- Volden and Wiseman. 2018. “Legislative Effectiveness in the United States Senate.” DOI: 10.1086/697121

May 1 (Monday): Final Exam.

May 1 (Monday): Writing assignment due.