POLI 7960-001 / 8970-001: Parties and Polarization in the US

Spring 2021 | M 3:30 PM - 6:00 PM | Haley 2116

Instructor:	Soren Jordan	Email:	scj0014@auburn.edu
Office:	Haley 8024	Phone:	334.844.6265
Office Hours:	Zoom ID: 7720942787: TR 9:00 -	10:00 AM; C	r by appointment (email me)

Overview, **Objectives**, and **Outcomes**

In American politics, most political questions are colored by a single, overriding variable: *partisan-ship*, or *party identification*. This places understanding how individuals form party identifications, the evolution of party identification, and the effects of party identification at the top of any list of understanding the American political system. This course attempts to serve as an introduction to—**but not comprehensive account of**—party identification in American politics.

Concurrent with party identification is a relatively recent phenomenon: *polarization*. Party identification isn't just some stable, flat, boring energy. It ebbs and flows, it strengthens and weakens, and it has been an absolute force in American politics in the last twenty years. We will explore this evolution: how partisanship and ideology have become more closely intertwined, their joint and separate determinants, and the slew of things that both cause and are caused by party identification, ideology, and polarization.

Student Learning Outcomes:

- 1. Students will be able to explain the determinants of party identification.
- 2. Students will be able to identify how partial has evolved over time.
- 3. Students will be able to explain how common American political behaviors are formed through partial partial

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.

COVID

Attendance: This class is being offered *in person, as per Auburn's mandate*. On lecture days and at the scheduled time, class will meet in-person. You will need to attend class in-person. You must adhere to the following guidelines.

<u>Six-foot bubble</u>. As per University guidelines, you'll stay six feet apart for everyone's comfort and safety while we're indoors. That includes social distancing from me, unfortunately. It's not personal; it's just COVID. There will be no in-office meetings this semester; I will be available during office hours over Zoom.

<u>Masks</u>. Everyone in Haley will wear a mask that **covers your nose and mouth** at all times while indoors. **I will not provide masks**. Masks are required when you're indoors, no exceptions. Your vaccination status does not matter.

Office Hours: Haley is super old with approximately no air circulation in my office. As such, face-to-face meetings in closed quarters in my office are a bad idea, and I do not plan to be in my office this semester. One of my chief regrets this semester is that I won't be in the office to have conversations with all of you through the week. I mean this very sincerely: for graduate students I have an open-door policy, but that door will have to be virtual this semester. Instead, I will have a Zoom room open (ID: 7720942787) on Tuesday and Thursday from 9 AM to 10 AM. If you need to meet outside of this time, please email me to schedule a meeting. You are still very much encouraged to meet with me if you have questions about the course, graduate school more broadly, and so on.

Contingency plans:

If I get sick. Another instructor will continue to deliver lecture as scheduled in the syllabus, or I will continue to deliver materials (but exclusively online).

If the University moves to completely online at any point. Class will continue to be delivered online synchronously at the scheduled days and times.

If you get sick or must quarantine. Attend the class via Zoom. Let me know if this is not feasible. If you miss a class meeting or assignment due to illness, let me know as soon as possible and be prepared to document your absence. A University-approved and documented absence will be required to make up any assignment or exam.

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 for-

mally 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 partian, 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.

\mathbf{Text}

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%
Total	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. This will hopefully make the readings somewhat more of a guided exercise. The recommended reading is just that: recommended, but not required. I decided to give everyone some extra "leads" for each week, just in case that week sparks an idea for the Writing Assignment (below). 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. Partisanship and polarization are *huge* fields in American politics right now, and there is no way in the world we could do justice to them by just assigning three articles. (See Week 12 for an example!)

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 (Sunday). 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 (Literature Review [Masters] / Original Research Paper [Ph.D.])

Students enrolled in the MPA program will be required to complete an extended literature review. This literature review should center around the role of partisanship in *your area of focus in public administration*. Put differently: how do you expect that party identification, ideology, and polarization will implicate your ability to fulfill your role as a public administrator? This literature review should be 12-15 pages, must include at least 20 sources, and should include in your own personal assessment (based on the literature) of the role of partisanship in your field. Finally, you must find at least one dataset (poll, survey, etc.) that includes both variables about your field as well as partisanship. I want you to use this dataset to visualize the bivariate (correlation, plot, etc.) relationship between partisanship and your field.

Students enrolled in the Ph.D. program 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.

Both of these assignments will have a more complete set of instructions posted to Canvas. You will also be required to submit them in chunks through the semester to update on regular progress. Everything you submit will be submitted to Canvas for ease of feedback. The Writing Assignment is due on April 29, 2021. Students enrolled in the MPA program can complete the Ph.D. assignment, but not the other way around.

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. For MPA students, this is an **open-book exam**. For Ph.D. students, this is a **closed-book exam** (practice!). The final examination is on April 26, 2021.

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 Cauburn.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 <u>must</u> 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): Introduction

- Abramowitz, Alan I. and Kyle L. Saunders. 2008. "Is Polarization a Myth?" The Journal of Politics 70(2): 542-555. DOI: 10.1017/S0022381608080493
- Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes summary. tinyurl.com/ccms-is-old
- Fiorina, Morris P., Samuel A. Abrams, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2008. "Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings." *The Journal of Politics* 70(2): 556-560. DOI: 10.1017/S002238160808050X
- Lelkes, Yphtach. 2016. "The Polls-Review. Mass Polarization: Manifestations and Measurements." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(SI 1): 392-410. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfw005
- Theodoridis, Alexander G. 2017. "Me, Myself, and (I), (D), or (R)? Partisanship and Political Cognition through the Lens of Implicit Identity." *The Journal of Politics* 79(4): 1253-1267. DOI: 10.1086/692738

Recommended:

• Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Week 1.5 (January 18): No Class: MLK Day

Week 2 (January 25): Mass Polarization

- Baker, Andy and Lucio Renno. 2019. "Nonpartisans as False Negatives: The Mismeasurement of Party Identification in Public Opinion Surveys." The Journal of Politics 81(3): 906-922. DOI: 10.1086/703129
- Baldassarri, Delia and Barum Park. 2020. "Was There a Culture War? Partisan Polarization and Secular Trends in US Public Opinion." *The Journal of Politics* 82(3): 809-827. DOI: 10.1086/707306
- Hetherington, Marc J. 2001. "Resurgent Mass Polarization: The Role of Elite Polarization." American Political Science Review 95(3): 619-631. DOI: 10.1017/S0003055401003045
- Hetherington, Marc J., Meri T. Long, and Thomas J. Rudolph. 2016. "Revisiting the Myth: New Evidence of a Polarized Electorate." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(SI 1): 321-350. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfw003
- Hill, Seth J. and Chris Tausanovitch. 2015. "A Disconnect in Representation? Comparison of Trends in Congressional and Public Polarization." *The Journal of Politics* 77(4): 1058-1075. DOI: 10.1086/682398
- Lelkes, Ypthach and Paul A. Sniderman. 2016. "The Ideological Asymmetry of the American Party System." 46(4): 825-844. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123414000404

Recommended:

• Levendusky, Matthew S. 2009. The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Week 3 (February 1): Elite Polarization

- Albert, Zachary and David J. Barney. 2019. "The Party Reacts: The Strategic Nature of Endorsements of Donald Trump." *American Politics Research* 47(6): 1239-1258. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X18808022
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart, III. 2001. "Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(1): 136-159. DOI: 10.2307/2669364
- Brady, David W., Joseph Cooper, and Patricia A. Hurley. 1979. "The Decline of Party in the U. S. House of Representatives, 1887-1968." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* IV(3): 381-407. Broken DOI: jstor.org/stable/439581
- Fleisher, Richard and Jon R. Bond. 2004. "The Shrinking Middle in the US Congress." *British Journal of Political Science* 34(3): 429-451. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123404000122
- Harbridge, Laurel, Neil Malhotra, and Brian F. Harrison. 2014. "Public Preferences for Bipartisanship in the Policymaking Process." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* XXXIX(3): 327-355. DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12048
- Theriault, Sean M. 2006. "Party Polarization in the US Congress: Member Replacement and Member Adaptation." *Party Politics* 12(4): 483-503. DOI: 10.1177/1354068806064730

- Harbridge, Laurel and Neil Malhotra. 2011. "Electoral Incentives and Partisan Conflict in Congress: Evidence from Survey Experiments." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3): 494-510. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00517.x
- Howard, Nicholas O. and Jason M. Roberts. 2015. "The Politics of Obstruction: Republican Holds in the U.S. Senate." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 40(2): 273-294. DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12076
- Jones, David R. 2001. "Party Polarization and Legislative Gridlock." *Political Research Quarterly* 54(1): 125-141. DOI: 10.2307/449211
- King, Aaron S., Frank J. Orlando, and David Rohde. 2016. "Setting the Table: Majority Party Effects in the United States Senate." Congress & the Presidency 43(1): 55-81. DOI: 10.1080/07343469.2015.1117161
- McCarty, Nolan, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2006. *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Theriault, Sean M. 2008. *Party Polarization in Congress*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, B. Dan and Soren Jordan. *Party Polarization in America: The War Over Two Social Contracts.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Topic must be selected and submitted for Writing Assignment (literature review/original research paper).

Week 4 (February 8): Elite Polarization as a Supply-Side Problem

- Crowder-Meyer, Melody and Rosalyn Cooperman. 2018. "Can't Buy Them Love: How Party Culture among Donors Contributes to the Party Gap in Women's Representation." *The Journal of Politics* 80(4): 1211-1224. DOI: 10.1086/698848
- Hassell, Hans J. G. 2018. "Principled Moderation: Understanding Parties Support of Moderate Candidates." Legislative Studies Quarterly 43(2): 343-369. DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12197
- Hassell, Hans J. G. and Neil Visalvanich. 2019. "The Party's Primary Preferences: Race, Gender, and Party Support of Congressional Primary Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(4): 905-919. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12461
- Thomsen, Danielle M. 2014. "Ideological Moderates Won't Run: How Party Fit Matters for Partisan Polarization in Congress." *The Journal of Politics* 76(3): 786-797. DOI: 10.1017/s0022381614000243
- Thomsen, Danielle M. and Aaron S. King. 2020. "Women's Representation and the Gendered Pipeline to Power." American Political Science Review 114(4): 989-1000. DOI: 10.1017/S0003055420000404
- Utych, Stephen M. 2020. "Man Bites Blue Dog: Are Moderates Really More Electable than Ideologues?" *The Journal of Politics* 82(1): 392-393. DOI: 10.1086/706054

- Doherty, David, Conor M. Dowling, and Michael G. Miller. 2019. "Do Local Party Chairs Think Women and Minority Candidates Can Win? Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment." *The Journal of Politics* 81(4): 1282-1297. DOI: 10.1086/704698.
- Fulton, Sarah A. and Sarah Allen Gershon. 2018. "Too Liberal to Win? Race and Voter Perceptions of Candidate Ideology." *American Politics Research* 46(5): 909-939. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X18759642

Week 5 (February 15): Other Causes of Polarization

- Gimpel, James G., Nathan Lovin, Bryant Moy, and Andrew Reeves. 2020. "The Urban-Rural Gulf in American Political Behavior." *Political Behavior* 42: 1343-1368. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-020-09601-w
- Iyengar, Shanto, Tobias Konitzer, and Kent Tedin. 2018. "The Home as a Political Fortress: Family Agreement in an Era of Polarization." *The Journal of Politics* 80(4): 1326-1338. DOI: 10.1086/698929
- Layman, Geoffrey C. and Thomas M. Carsey. 2002. "Party Polarization and 'Conflict Extension' in the American Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(4): 786-802. DOI: 10.2307/3088434
- Martin, Gregory J. and Steven W. Webster. 2020. "Does Residential Sorting Explain Geographic Polarization?" *Political Science Research and Methods* 8(2): 215-231. DOI: 10.1017/psrm.2018.44
- Rogowski, Jon C. 2018. "Voter Decision-Making with Polarized Choices." British Journal of Political Science 48(1): 1-22. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123415000630
- Zingher, Joshua N. and Michael E. Flynn. 2018. "From on High: The Effect of Elite Polarization on Mass Attitudes and Behaviors, 1972-2012." British Journal of Political Science 48(1): 23-45. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123415000514

- Carsey, Thomas M. and Geoffrey C. Layman. 2006. "Changing Sides or Changing Minds? Party Identification and Policy Preferences in the American Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 464-477. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2006.00196.x
- Hirano, Shigeo, James M. Snyder, Jr., Stephen D. Ansolabehere, and John Mark Hansen. 2010. "Primary Elections and Partisan Polarization in the U.S. Congress." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5(2): 169-191. DOI: 10.1561/100.00008052
- Hobbs, William R. 2019. "Major Life Events and the Age-Partisan Stability Association." *Political Behavior* 41: 791-814. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-018-9472-6
- McCarty, Nolan, Jonathan Rodden, Boris Shor, Chris Tausanovitch, and Christopher Warshaw. 2019. "Geography, Uncertainty, and Polarization." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7(4): 775-794. DOI: 10.1017/psrm.2018.12
- Mummolo, Jonathan and Clayton Nall. 2017. "Why Partisans Do Not Sort: The Constraints on Political Segregation." *The Journal of Politics* 79(1): 45-59. DOI: 10.1086/687569
- Olson, Michael P. and Jon C. Rogowski. 2020. "Legislative Term Limits and Polarization." The Journal of Politics 82(2): 572-586. DOI: 10.1086/706764

• Wood, B. Dan and Soren Jordan. 2018. "Presidents and Polarization of the American Electorate." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 48(2): 248-270. DOI: 10.1111/psq.12444

Week 6 (February 22): Partisanship and Evaluation of Elite Institutions

- Ansolabehere, Stephen D. and Ariel White. 2020. "Policy, Politics, and Public Attitudes Toward the Supreme Court." *American Politics Research* 48(3): 365-376. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X18765189
- Banda, Kevin K. and Justin H. Kirkland. 2018. "Legislative Party Polarization and Trust in State Legislatures." *American Politics Research* 46(4): 596-628. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X17727317
- Broockman, David E. and Timothy J. Ryan. 2016. "Preaching to the Choir: Americans Prefer Communciating to Copartisan Elected Officials." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4): 1093-1107. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12228
- Christenson, Dino P. and David M. Glick. 2019. "Reassessing the Supreme Court: How Decisions and Negativity Bias Affect Legitimacy." *Political Research Quarterly* 72(3): 637-652. DOI: 10.1177/1065912918794906
- Kriner, Douglas and Liam Schwartz. 2009. "Partisan Dynamics and the Volatility of Presidential Approval." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(3): 609-631. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123409000647
- Ramirez, Mark D. 2009. "The Dynamics of Partisan Conflict on Congressional Approval." American Journal of Political Science 53(3): 681-694. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2009.00394.x

- Dancey, Logan, Matthew Tarpey, and Jonathan Woon. 2019. "The Macro-dynamics of Partisan Advantage." *Political Research Quarterly* 72(2): 450-489. DOI: 10.1177/1065912918793231
- Doherty, David and Laurel Harbridge-Yong. 2020. "The Effects of Blaming Others for Legislative Inaction on Individual and Collective Evaluations." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 45(1): 69-99. DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12252
- Flynn, D.J. and Laurel Harbridge. 2016. "How Partisan Conflict in Congress Affects Public Opinion: Strategies, Outcomes, and Issue Differences." *American Politics Research* 44(5): 875-902. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X15610425
- Haglin, Kathryn, Soren Jordan, Alison Higgins Merrill, and Joseph Daniel Ura. *Forthcoming.* "Ideology and Specific Support for the Supreme Court." *Political Research Quarterly.* DOI: 10.1177/1065912920950482
- Jones, David R. 2013. "Do Major Policy Enactments Affect Public Evaluations of Congress? The Case of Health Care Reform." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* XXXVIII(2): 185-204.
 10.1111/1sq.12010 (Really nice, clean research design)
- Mathew, Nicole Asmussen. 2018. "Evangelizing Congress: The Emergence of Evangelical Republicans and Party Polarization in Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 43(3): 409-455. DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12200

• Park, Hong Min and Steven S. Smith. 2016. "Partisanship, Sophistication, and Public Attitudes about Majority Rule and Minority Rights in Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 41(4): 841-871. DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12140

Week 7 (March 1): The Complex Relationship Between Individual Ideology and Partisanship

- Barber, Michael and Jeremy C. Pope. 2019. "Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America." *American Political Science Review* 113(1): 38-54. DOI: 10.1017/S0003055418000795
- Cassese, Erin C. 2020. "Straying from the Flock? A Look at How Americans Gender and Religious Identities Cross-Pressure Partisanship." *Political Research Quarterly* 73(1): 169-183. DOI: 10.1177/1065912919889681
- Egan, Patrick J. 2020. "Identity as Dependent Variable: How Americans Shift Their Identities to Align with Their Politics." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(3): 699-716. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12496
- Endres, Kyle and Costas Panagopoulos. 2019. "Cross-Pressure and Voting Behavior: Evidence from Randomized Experiments." *The Journal of Politics* 81(3): 1090-1095. DOI: 10.1086/703210
- Feldman, Stanley. 1988. "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: the Role of Core Beliefs and Values." *American Journal of Political Science* 32(2): 416-440. DOI: 10.2307/2111130
- Lupton, Robert N., Steven M. Smallpage, and Adam M. Enders. 2020. "Values and Political Predispositions in the Age of Polarization: Examining the Relationship between Partisanship and Ideology in the United States, 19882012." British Journal of Political Science 50(1): 241-260. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123417000370

- Coggins, Elizabeth, and James A. Stimson. 2019. "On the Dynamics of Ideological Identification: The Puzzle of Liberal Identification Decline." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7(4): 737-755. DOI: 10.1017/psrm.2017.38
- Ellis, Christopher and James A. Stimson. 2009. "Symbolic Ideology in the American Electorate." *Electoral Studies* 28(3): 388-402. DOI: 10.1016/j.electstud.2009.05.010
- Evans, Geoffrey and Anja Neundorf. 2020. "Core Political Values and the Long-Term Shaping of Partisanship." British Journal of Political Science 50(4): 1263-1281. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123418000339
- Gibson, Troy and Christopher Hare. 2016. "Moral Epistemology and Ideological Conflict in American Political Behavior." Social Science Quarterly 97(5): 1157-1173. DOI: 10.1111/ssqu.12217
- Lupton, Robert N., William M. Myers, and Judd R. Thornton. 2015. "Political Sophistication and the Dimensionality of Elite and Mass Attitudes, 1980-2004." *The Journal of Politics* 77(2): 368-380. DOI: 10.1086/679493
- Lupton, Robert N., William M. Myers, and Judd R. Thornton. 2017. "Party Animals: Asymmetric Ideological Constraint among Democratic and Republican Party Activists." *Political Research Quarterly* 70(4): 889-904. DOI: 10.1177/1065912917718960

Week 8 (March 8): Individual-Level Determinants of Partisanship and Ideology

- Gillion, Daniel Q., Jonathan M. Ladd, and Marc Meredith. 2020. "Party Polarization, Ideological Sorting and the Emergence of the US Partisan Gender Gap." British Journal of Political Science 50(4): 1217-1243. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123418000285
- Groenendyk, Eric. 2019. "Of Two Minds, But One Heart: A Good 'Gut' Feeling Moderates the Effect of Ambivalence on Attitude Formation and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(2): 368-384. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12419
- Harsgor, Liran. 2018. "The Partisan Gender Gap in the United States: A Generational Replacement?" Public Opinion Quarterly 82(2): 231-251. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfy013
- Harteveld, Eelco and Elisabeth Ivarsflaten. 2018. "Why Women Avoid the Radical Right: Internalized Norms and Party Reputations." *British Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 369-384. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123415000745
- Lupton, Robert N. and Seth C. McKee. 2020. "Dixie's Drivers: Core Values and the Southern Republican Realignment." *The Journal of Politics* 82(3): 921-936. DOI: 10.1086/707489
- Zingher, Joshua N. 2018. "Polarization, Demographic Change, and White Flight from the Democratic Party." *The Journal of Politics* 80(3): 860-872. DOI: 10.1086/696994

Recommended:

- Castle, Jeremiah. 2019. "New Fronts in the Culture Wars? Religion, Partisanship, and Polarization on Religious Liberty and Transgender Rights in the United States." *American Politics Research* 47(3): 650-679. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X18818169
- Clifford, Scott. 2017. "Individual Differences in Group Loyalty Predict Partisan Strength." *Political Behavior* 39: 531-552. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-016-9367-3
- Defenderfer, Jessy. 2019. "The Effect of Human Values on Party Identification and Ideology for Black and White Partisans." *Social Science Quarterly* 100(6): 2240-2255. DOI: 10.1111/ssqu.12717
- Groenendyk, Eric. 2016. "The Anxious and Ambivalent Partisan: The Effect of Incidental Anxiety on Partisan Motivated Recall and Ambivalence." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(2): 460-479. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfv083
- Margolis, Michele F. 2016. 2016. "Cognitive Dissonance, Elections, and Religion: How Partisanship and the Political Landscape Shape Religious Behaviors." *Political Opinion Quarterly* 80(3): 717-740. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfw023
- Simas, Elizabeth N., Scott Clifford, and Justin H. Kirkland. 2020. "How Empathic Concern Fuels Political Polarization." American Political Science Review 114(1): 258-269. DOI: 10.1017/S0003055419000534

Literature review: must have at least 10 sources located and submitted for review. Research project: must have rough draft of theory section of original research paper submitted for review.

Week 9 (March 15): Media and Polarization

- Arceneaux, Kevin, Martin Johnson, and Chad Murphy. 2012. "Polarized Political Communication, Oppositional Media Hostility, and Selective Exposure." *The Journal of Politics* 74(1): 174-186. DOI: 10.1017/s002238161100123x
- Clayton, Katherine, Spencer Blair, Jonathan A. Busam, Samuel Forstner, John Glance, Guy Green, Anna Kawata, Akhila Kovvuri, Jonathan Martin, Evan Morgan, Morgan Sandhu, Rachel Sang, Rachel ScholzBright, Austin T. Welch, Andrew G. Wolff, Amanda Zhou, and Brendan Nyhan. 2020. "Real Solutions for Fake News? Measuring the Effectiveness of General Warnings and FactCheck Tags in Reducing Belief in False Stories on Social Media." *Political Behavior* 42: 1073-1095. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-019-09533-0
- Davis, Nicholas T. and Johanna L. Dunaway. 2016. "Party Polarization, Media Choice, and Mass Partisan-Ideological Sorting." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(s1): 272-297. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfw002
- Druckman, James N., S. R. Gubitz, Matthew S. Levendusky, and Ashley M. Lloyd. 2019. "How Incivility on Partisan Media (De)Polarizes the Electorate." *The Journal of Politics* 81(1): 291-295. DOI: 10.1086/699912
- Druckman, James N., Matthew S. Levendusky, and Audrey McLain. 2018. "No Need to Watch: How the Effects of Partisan Media Can Spread via Interpersonal Discussions." American Journal of Political Science 62(1): 99-112. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12325
- Feezell, Jessica T. 2018. "Agenda Setting through Social Media: The Importance of Incidental News Exposure and Social Filtering in the Digital Era." *Political Science Quarterly* 71(2): 482-494. DOI: 10.1177/1065912917744895
- Kane, John V. 2020. "Fight Clubs: Media Coverage of Party (Dis)unity and Citizens Selective Exposure to It." *Political Research Quarterly* 73(2): 276-292. DOI: 10.1177/1065912919827106

- Asker, David and Elias Dinas. 2019. "Thinking Fast and Furious: Emotional Intensity and Opinion Polarization in Online Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83(3): 487-509. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfz042
- Bryanov, Kirill, Brian K. Watson, Raymond J. Pingree, and Martina Santia. 2020. "Effects of Partisan Personalization in a News Portal Experiment." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 84(S1): 216-235. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfaa011
- de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin, Matthew A. Baum, Adam J. Berinsky, and Teppei Yamamoto. 2019. "Persuading the Enemy: Estimating the Persuasive Effects of Partisan Media with the Preference-Incorporating Choice and Assignment Design." *American Political Science Review* 113(4): 902-916. DOI: 10.1017/S0003055419000418
- Lelkes, Yphtach, Gaurav Sood, and Shanto Iyengar. 2017. "The Hostile Audience: The Effect of Access to Broadband Internet on Partisan Affect." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(1): 5-20. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12237

Week 10 (March 22): Polarization in Policy and Sub-national Government

- Butler, Daniel M., Craig Volden, Adam M. Dynes, and Boris Shor. 2017. "Ideology, Learning, and Policy Diffusion: Experimental Evidence." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(1): 37-49. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12213
- Caughey, Devin, Christopher Warshaw, and Yiqing Xu. 2017. "Incremental Democracy: The Policy Effects of Partisan Control of State Government." *The Journal of Politics* 79(4): 1342-1358. DOI: 10.1086/692669
- de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin, and Christopher Warshaw. 2016. "Mayoral Partisanship and Municipal Fiscal Policy." *The Journal of Politics* 78(4): 1124-1138. DOI: 10.1086/686308
- de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin, and Christopher Warshaw. 2020. "Politics in Forgotten Governments: The Partisan Composition of County Legislatures and County Fiscal Policies." *The Journal of Politics* 82(2): 460-475. DOI: 10.1086/706458
- Garlick, Alex. 2017. "National Policies, Agendas, and Polarization in American State Legislatures: 2011 to 2014." *American Politics Research* 45(6): 939-979. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X17719719
- McBrayer, Markie, R. Lucas Williams, and Andrea Eckelman. 2020. "Local Officials as Partisan Operatives: The Effect of County Officials on Early Voting Administration." *Social Science Quarterly* 101(4): 1475-1488. DOI: 10.1111/ssqu.12815

Recommended:

- Dynes, Adam M. and John B. Holbein. 2020. "Noisy Retrospection: The Effect of Party Control on Policy Outcomes." *American Political Science Review* 114(1): 237-257. DOI: 10.1017/S0003055419000649
- MacDonald, Jason A. and Robert J. McGrath. 2019. "A Race for the Regs: Unified Government, Statutory Deadlines, and Federal Agency Rulemaking." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44(2): 345-381. DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12228

Week 11 (March 29): The Newest Frontier: Affective Polarization and Negative Partisanship

- Abramowitz, Alan I. and Steven W. Webster. 2018. "The Rise of Negative Partisanship and the Nationalization of U.S. Elections in the 21st Century." *Electoral Studies* 41: 12-22. DOI: 10.1016/j.electstud.2015.11.001
- Abramowitz, Alan I. and Steven W. Webster. 2018. "Negative Partisanship: Why Americans Dislike Parties But Behave Like Rabid Partisans." Advances in Political Psychology 39(S1): 119-135. DOI: 10.1111/pops.12479
- Bougher, Lori D. 2017. "The Correlates of Discord: Identity, Issue Alignment, and Political Hostility in Polarized America." *Political Behavior* 39: 731-762. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-016-9377-1
- Druckman, James N. and Matthew S. Levendusky. 2019. "What Do We Measure When We Measure Affective Polarization?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83(1): 114-122. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfz003

- Iyengar, Shanto and Sean J. Westwood. 2015. "Fear and Loathing across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 690-707. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12152
- Robison, Joshua and Rachel L. Moskowitz. 2019. "The Group Basis of Partisan Affective Polarization." *The Journal of Politics* 81(3): 1075-1079. DOI: 10.1086/703069

Recommended:

- Garrett, Kristin N. and Alexa Bankert. 2020. "The Moral Roots of Partisan Division: How Moral Conviction Heightens Affective Polarization." British Journal of Political Science 50(2): 621-640. DOI: 10.1017/S000712341700059X
- Lehr, Steven A., Meghan L. Ferreira, and Mahzarin R. Banaji. 2017. "When Outgroup Negativity Trumps Ingroup Positivity: Fans of the Boston Red Sox and New York Yankees Place Greater Value on Rival Losses than Own-Team Gains." Group Processes & Intergroup Relations 22(1): 26-42. DOI: 10.1177/1368430217712834
- Luttig, Matthew D. 2017. "Authoritarianism and Affective Polarization: A New View on the Origins of Partisan Extremism." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 81(4): 866-895. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfx023
- Mason, Lilliana. 2016. "A Cross-Cutting Calm: How Social Sorting Drives Affective Polarization." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(S1): 351-377. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfw001
- McLaughlin, Bryan, Derrick Holland, Bailey A. Thompson, and Abby Koenig. 2020. "Emotions and Affective Polarization: How Enthusiasm and Anxiety About Presidential Candidates Affect Interparty Attitudes." *American Politics Research* 48(2): 308-316. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X19891423
- Rogowski, Jon C. and Joseph L. Sutherland. 2016. "How Ideology Fuels Affective Polarization." *Political Behavior* 38: 485-508. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-015-9323-7

Literature review: must have dataset for analysis located and plan for analysis submitted for review.

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

Week 12 (April 5): Downstream Effects of Partisanship I (Political Effects)

- Ahler, Douglas J. and Gaurav Sood. 2018. "The Parties in Our Heads: Misperceptions about Party Composition and Their Consequences." *The Journal of Politics* 80(3): 964-891. DOI: 10.1086/697253
- Branham, J. Alexander. 2018. "Partisan Feedback: Heterogeneity in Opinion Responsiveness." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 82(4): 625-640. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfy040
- Condon, Meghan, Christopher W. Larimer, and Costas Panagopoulos. 2016. "Partisan Social Pressure and Voter Mobilization." *American Politics Research* 44(6): 982-1007. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X15620482
- Davis, Nicholas T. 2019. "Identity Sorting and Political Compromise." American Politics Research 47(2): 391-414. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X18799273

- Donovan, Kathleen, Paul M. Kellstedt, Ellen M. Key, and Matthew J. Lebo. 2020. "Motivated Reasoning, Public Opinion, and Presidential Approval." *Political Behavior* 42: 1201-1221. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-019-09539-8
- Levendusky, Matthew S. and Neil Malhotra. 2016. "(Mis)perceptions of Partisan Polarization in the American Public." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(S1): 378-391. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfv045
- Ryan, Timothy J. 2017. "No Compromise: Political Consequences of Moralized Attitudes." American Journal of Political Science 61(2): 409-423. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12248

Recommended (Not Even Close to Exhaustive: Just Ideas for Projects!):

- Abramowtiz, Alan I., Brad Alexander, and Matthew Gunning. 2006. "Incumbency, Redistricting, and the Decline of Competition in U.S. House Elections." *The Journal of Politics* 68(1): 75-88. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00371.x
- Anson, Ian G. 2018. "Partisanship, Political Knowledge, and the Dunning-Kruger Effect." Political Psychology 39(5): 1173-1192. DOI: 10.1111/pops.12490
- Avdan, Nazil and Clayton Webb. 2019. "Not in My Back Yard: Public Perceptions and Terrorism." *Political Research Quarterly* 72(1): 90-103. DOI: 10.1177/1065912918776118
- Bisgaard, Martin. 2019. "How Getting the Facts Right Can Fuel Partisan-Motivated Reasoning." American Journal of Political Science 63(4): 824-839. DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12432
- Carson, Jamie L., Joel Sievert, and Ryan D. Williamson. 2020. "Nationalization and the Incumbency Advantage." *Political Research Quarterly* 73(1): 156-168. DOI: 10.1177/1065912919883696
- Cavari, Amnon and Guy Freedman. 2019. "Partisan Cues and Opinion Formation on Foreign Policy." American Politics Research 47(1): 29-57. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X17745632
- Claassen, Ryan L. and Michael J. Ensley. 2016. "Motivated Reasoning and Yard-Sign-Stealing Partisans: Mine is a Likable Rogue, Yours is a Degenerate Criminal." *Political Behavior* 38: 317-335. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-015-9313-9
- Clifford, Scott. 2020. "Compassionate Democrats and Tough Republicans: How Ideology Shapes Partisan Stereotypes." *Political Behavior* 42: 1269-1293. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-019-09542-z
- Enders, Adam M. and Miles T. Armaly. 2019. "The Differential Effects of Actual and Perceived Polarization." *Political Behavior* 41: 815-839. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-018-9476-2
- Goff, Sean and Daniel J. Lee. 2019. "Prospects for Third Party Electoral Success in a Polarized Era." American Politics Research 47(6): 1324-1344. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X18814479
- Goggin, Stephen N., John A. Henderson, and Alexander G. Theodoridis. 2020. "What Goes with Red and Blue? Mapping Partisan and Ideological Associations in the Minds of Voters." *Political Behavior* 42: 985-1013. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-018-09525-6
- Graham, Matthew H. and Milan W. Svolik. 2020. "Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 392-409. DOI: 10.1017/S0003055420000052
- Huddy, Leonie, Lilliana Mason, and Lene Aaroe. 2015. "Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity." *American Political Science Review* 109(1): 1-17. DOI: 10.1017/S0003055414000604

- Jones, Philip Edward. 2020. "Partisanship, Political Awareness, and Retrospective Evaluations, 1956-2016." *Political Behavior* 42: 1295-1317. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-019-09543-y
- Loepp, Eric. 2020. "Who Else Is Running? Reference Dependence in Candidate Evaluations." American Politics Research 48(2): 238-251. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X18803881
- Marinova, Dani M. and Eva Anduiza. 2020. "When Bad News is Good News: Information Acquisition in Times of Economic Crisis." *Political Behavior* 42: 465-486. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-018-9503-3
- Rothschild, Jacob E., Adam J. Howat, Richard M. Shafranek, and Ethan C. Busby. 2019. "Pigeonholing Partisans: Stereotypes of Party Supporters and Partisan Polarization." *Political Behavior* 41: 423-443. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-018-9457-5
- Strickler, Ryan. 2018. "Deliberate with the Enemy? Polarization, Social Identity, and Attitudes toward Disagreement." *Political Research Quarterly* 71(1): 3-18. DOI: 10.1177/1065912917721371
- Webster, Steven W. 2018. "Anger and Declining Trust in Government in the American Electorate." *Political Behavior* 40: 933-964. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-017-9431-7
- Zingher, Joshua N. and Jesse Richman. 2019. "Polarization and the Nationalization of State Legislative Elections." *American Politics Research* 47(5): 1036-1054. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X18788050

Literature review: must have all sources submitted for review. Research project: analysis submitted for review.

Week 13 (April 12): Downstream Effects of Partisanship II (Fun [Ridiculous?] Effects)

- Banda, Kevin K., Thomas M. Carsey, and Serge Severenchuk. 2020. "Evidence of Conflict Extension in Partisans' Evaluations of People and Inanimate Objects." *American Politics Research* 48(2): 275-285. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X19858002
- Huber, Gregory A. and Neil Malhotra. 2017. "Political Homophily in Social Relationships: Evidence from Online Dating Behavior." *The Journal of Politics* 79(1): 269-283. DOI: 10.1086/687533
- Madson, Gabriel J. and D. Sunshine Hillygus. 2020. "All the Best Polls Agree with Me: Bias in Evaluations of Political Polling." *Political Behavior* 42(6): 1055-1072. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-019-09532-1
- Margolis, Michele F. and Michael W. Sances. 2017. "Partisan Differences in Nonpartisan Activity: The Case of Charitable Giving." *Political Behavior* 39: 839-864. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-016-9382-4
- Mason, Lilliana. 2018. "Ideologues without Issues: The Polarizing Consequences of Ideological Identities." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 82(S1): 866-887. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfy005
- Nicholson, Stephen P., Chelsea M. Coe, Jason Emory, and Anna V. Song. 2016. "The Politics of Beauty: The Effects of Partisan Bias on Physical Attractiveness." *Political Behavior* 38: 883-898. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-016-9339-7

Week 14 (April 19): Abating Partisanship and Polarization

- Butler, Daniel M. and Adam M. Dynes. 2020. "Do Republican and Democratic Legislators Have Polarized Views of Their District's Demographics?" *Research and Politics* July-September: 1-9. DOI: 10.1177/2053168020953307
- Groenendyk, Eric, Michael W. Sances, and Kirill Zhirkov. 2020. "Intraparty Polarization in American Politics." The Journal of Politics 82(4): 1616-1620. DOI: 10.1086/708780
- Levendusky, Matthew S. 2018. "Americans, Not Partisans: Can Priming American National Identity Reduce Affective Polarization?" *The Journal of Politics* 80(1): 59-70. DOI: 10.1086/693987
- McCabe, Katherine T. 2016. "Attitude Responsiveness and Partisan Bias: Direct Experience with the Affordable Care Act." *Political Behavior* 38: 861-882. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-016-9337-9
- Mullinix, Kevin J. 2016. "Partisanship and Preference Formation: Competing Motivations, Elite Polarization, and Issue Importance." *Political Behavior* 38: 383-411. DOI: 10.1007/s11109-015-9318-4
- Mullinix, Kevin J. 2018. "Civic Duty and Political Preference Formation." *Political Research Quarterly* 71(1): 199-214. DOI: 10.1177/1065912917729037
- Westwood, Sean J., Erik Peterson, and Yphtach Lelkes. 2019. "Are There Still Limits on Partisan Prejudice?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83(3): 584-897. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfz034

April 26 (Monday): Final Exam. April 29 (Thursday): Writing Assignment due.