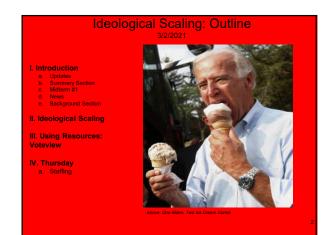


"Ideological Scaling" Prof. Anthony Madonna POLS 4790H Spring Semester 3/2/2021 University of Georgia





Format will stay roughly the same for Midterm #2, except fewer short essays, a few more Enactment Research Questions and a few more MC/fill in the blank.

- I'll have a "are you ready to submit this" page on the exam.
- Quick note on group studying...

If you struggled on the enactment research questions, set up a meeting with me! You will need to know that material.

Course Updates (3/2/21)

SUMMARY SECTIONS:

These have been graded and returned in the manner they were submitted (so if you uploaded them to ELC, I provided your feedback there).

Overall, these were good, but there was some variance. The average across the two classes was an 87. The grading does get a bit more challenging as we move into the substantive sections.

How to read feedback from me...

EXTENSIONS AND QUESTIONS:

I don't have a big issue with extensions, just let me know. But in general, if you have a question, please don't hesitate to ask.

EMAILS:

Will get any lingering e-mails back after today's meeting. Please don't hesitate to text me if you think I might have forgotten to get back to you or you need to know something quickly! I'm at 314-313-9937.

Again, please send reminder e-mails. This does not bother most faculty.



Above: According to my wife making these zoom lecture more entertaining by introducing a sock-puppet side kick named "Mr. Schlesinger" represented another terrible

Course Updates (3/2/21)



OFF-CAMPUS ACCESS:

A few of you all have asked about this. First, for CQ, it's likely that to access it you're going to have to go to the University's website, find CQ Almanac there and conduct a new search for the article.

Consult the "Using Resources" slides for a walk-through on that.

VEHICLES:

I understand this concept is tough but again, what we're interested in is tracking the policy history (defined fairly broadly in most enactments). So there's a good chance the policy content will move through multiple bills in the same way pieces of paper might pass through different folders. Don't get too caught up in worry about bill numbers.

FORMATTING:

Whenever possible, please get me the paper sections via e-mail/elc, single-spaced and in Microsoft Word. It won't hurt you grade-wise, it's just easier for me to get material back to you quickly.

Course Updates (3/2/21)



ON CITATIONS

Newspaper sources should be cited in footnotes. Scholarly citations should be presented in a Citations section at the end of the paper.

Consult the citation guide for questions and examples.

HOW TO FIND & ACCESS SCHOLARLY SOURCES:

Don't hesitate to broaden your search terms.

Second, more breadly, don't get discouraged if you whill on a search. You might need to by and number of different phrases if rest and ocean't provide satisfactor. There's so much out there in policy, political science and legal journals but it is bugh the second of the control of the contr

In terms of accessing academic sources, I love google scholar as a search engine and I think it's tough to top it. But not everything will be available. Here are some tips: First, start with google scholar. If you run into articles that are highly cited or have tilles that sound like they might be relevant, citics have tellasten button (the quotation button under the article). Then copy and paste it into a word document. Maybe grab a couple of them if there's more than one.

To find the article, my next step would be to run a straight google search. For more recent articles, many faculty will have versions on their verbeite despite the fact that these often violate publishing agreements. If that dosen't work, the odds are good USA has a subscription to the journal the article was published in .45TORs probably the best bet for this (you can find it on the University's webstel). For law review pieces, take a look at heironline's law journal library. It's located at the same spot you'd find the Congressional Record. A third option would be to plug the journal name into the USA bittery search function.

Finally, if you go through the Wikipedia on your bill, or do a simple google search on it and skim some material, you'll find citations to scholarly sources. That's another good way to drum up relevant work.

News 3/2 What do you guys have? CPAC, vaccines, COVID Relief, Amazon unionization Cuomo, Joe Manchin, minimum wage, the Senate parliamentarian's office, Russian sanctions, Iran deal,

Background Section

BACKGROUND SECTION: OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

A Background section that answers a specific question assigned by the instructor. Typically, this will necessitate contextualizing either the political climate the legislation was considered in or provide a history of the policy, Ideally, it will demonstrate who try the legislation was needed. The background section is due on Thursday, March 11th at 50m. March 11th at 5pm.

You have been assigned a specific question to focus on in your background section in your prompt sheets. PLEASE READ THESES so you shouldn't be following the exact Background Section format from the "Writing a Legislative History" slides.

You don't need to answer all of the questions provided. Especially if one or two of them jump catch your eye and necessitate a lengthy answer.

A good background section for this assignment will likely run between six to ten paragraphs long. There's no maximum length on it. And don't worry about the suggested formatting in the "Writing a Legislative History" slides. This class is a bit different in the sense that you're writing this in a group. So you can just focus on answering your assigned key questions.

Definitely provide a Work Cited page.



Background Section

BACKGROUND SECTION: OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

A good example of a background section can be found in the Standard Time Act case on the Congress Project website:

https://www.thecongressproject.com/standard-time-act-of-1918

The long-term goal is to combine your background section with those of your "bill buddies" (this is not something you need to worry about). Ultimately, a good background section should provide the reader with enough information to understand the congressional debate. It should contextualize the political situation and the issue.

Understanding political context necessitates answering questions like:

What was the political climate like in this Congress? Who was the President? What party controlled the House and the Senate? Were there other key issues on the agenda when this measure was being considered? Was there a recent election that altered the two parties leverage in Congress? Could the President's party have pushed through a partisan legislative agenda?

Legislative politics scholars have found that laws past by fragmented coalitions under divided government are less durable than those passed by unified coalitions.

The rest of the background section focuses on questions related to the issue.



Background Section

BACKGROUND SECTION: STRUCTURE

Issue context necessitates answering questions like:

What was the problem Congress was attempting to solve? Why was it being considered in this Congress? Was it a key part of the President's agenda'? Did the policy solution originate in the United States' State governments? Other countries? What did newspapers say about the issue? Was the measure considered in previous congresses? What did scholarly sources think about the topic at the time?

It is important that the author let the reader know if this was an issue that Congress had been debating for awhile, whether it was a bill that was considered in response to a specific, recent event; whether it was a routine measure considered by Congress; or if the bill simply came together quickly on the floor.

The length of this second part varies by enactment substance. Students should pay attention to any "Key Questions" that were provided with by the instruct. If there's something in the Key Questions the instructor suggests be address in the background, look to address it.



Background Section



BACKGROUND SECTION: SOURCES

In addition to suggested sources supplied by the instructor (most of which will focus on the policy), there are some useful sources to consult for information on the Congress.

Stathis, Stephen W. 2014. Landmark Legislation, 1774-2012: Major U.S. Acts and Treaties, 2nd Edition. Washington: CQ Press.

The above Stathis book will provide information on landmark bills for each Congress, as well as background on the Congress. It is available online through UGA's website.

Additional useful information can be found on the Senate and House

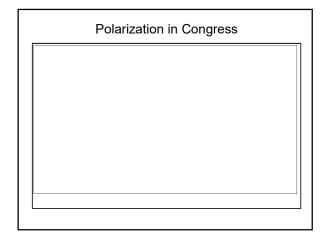
- https://www.senate.gov/history/partydiv.htm
- https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/101st/

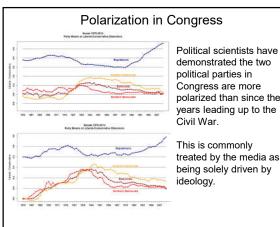
Above: During debate, Rep. Otis Wingo (D-AR) asserted the bill's supporters had "never seen the sun rise in 20 years" and predicted the measure would provide relief to "the slockers of the Nation who are too lazy to get up early."

I. Introduction

Voteview IV. Thursday a. Staffing

Ideological Scaling: Outline II. Ideological Scaling III. Using Resources:





demonstrated the two political parties in Congress are more polarized than since the years leading up to the Civil War. This is commonly treated by the media as being solely driven by

Polarization in Congress

If polarization is solely ideologically driven, the solution to fixing it is straight forward: "Vote the bums out! (and replace them with less ideological bums.)

This has not been an effective strategy. And there are many reasons to believe polarization is not ideologically driven.

2017 American Health Care Act



In November 2016, after holding their majorities in both the House and the Senate and winning the White House, Republican Party leaders declared their top priority would be to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act.

The House had cast over 50 roll call votes on the floor to repeal President Obama's signature healthcare act by March of 2014 and made it a focal point in campaigns.

One House Republican cited this as an "ironclad commitment" to repeal the law.

2017 American Health Care Act

The American Health Care Act was unveiled on March 6, 2017.

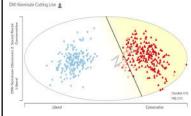
The House then voted on four procedural motions with passed on near party-line votes. Despite pledges of unity, House leaders than pulled the bill after determining they lacked a majority in favor of the measure.

Nearly two months later, the House cast two more party-line votes on procedural motions. The bill than passed by a much more narrow 217-213 margin, with 20 defections.





2017 American Health Care Act



The six procedural votes in the House demonstrated a very unified Republican Party that cast 1396 "yes" votes with just 12 "noes", for a party coalition of 99.25%.

This was consistent with the previous 50 repeal votes. But the final passage vote—and later defeat in the Senate—on a bill that was not a full repeal demonstrated a much more divided chamber.

This internal divide among Republicans was consistent with media coverage.

Polarization in Congress

The 2017 American Health Care Act is one of many examples that should make us question how we treat polarization in Congress. This talk addresses this topic as follows:



- I. What is Ideological Polarization?
- II. How do we Measure It?
- III. Why is this Flawed?
- IV. Why have we Done? (featuring numerous plugs to our book project!)
- V. How do we Solve the Problems Facing Congress?



Above: The good old days were rarely that good.

What is Ideological Polarization?

What is Ideology? We like to think of it as a consistent way to organize ideas on politics and policy.

But we know amongst the general public, ideas on policy are rarely consistent and mitigated by things like parties and identity.



For example, in 2008-2009, Gallup conducted a poll on confidence in then-Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke.

Year	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
2008	40	43	<u>61</u>
2009	<u>64</u>	44	36

What is Ideological Polarization?

IDEOLOGY |



VOTES

IDEOLOGY 4



VOTES

This is no different for members of Congress. Party loyalty, electoral concerns (in general and primary elections) and substantive knowledge all mitigate the effect of ideology on member behavior.

Moreover, while we often conceptualize ideology as a factor that influences how members of Congress vote in the chamber, scholars, interest groups and the media often measure it using votes.

How Do We Measure It?



There are positives and negatives with using votes to measure ideology.

Positives: Its easy to conceptualize, can be less arbitrary and does an excellent job characterizing member behavior.



Negatives: It is influenced by things other than ideology, over simplifies differences within specific issues and vulnerable to selection biases. The latter point has been well established when we examine interest group scores.

How might an environmental interest group "score" these legislators?

One approach would be to eliminate votes not related to the issue, count up supporting votes and present a support percentage.

Interest Group Scores

Under the first approach, Susan Collins (R-ME), appears to be quite moderate on environmental issues. She scores a 50%.

Under the second, she looks far more extreme, scoring only 25%.

What is the incentive for interest groups to isolate centrists like Collins and make them look more extreme?



The Political Science Approach



Most scholars and media coverage measure polarization by examining all votes cast using the roll call record.

This approach is superior to the interest group approach in the sense that it minimizes obvious selection biases.

We also have easy access to these data.

ı										
	9		1	NO.						
Bill	Marco	Rand	Lisa	Joe	David	Cory	Bernie			
Cut Taxes	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO			
Ban Abortions	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO			
Single Payer Health Care	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES			
Increase Military Spending	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO			
National Taco Day	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES			
Cut Food Stamps	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO			
Increase Unemployment	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES			
Eliminate Net Neutrality	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO			

	The P	olitica	al Scie	ence A	Approa	ach	
			1				(F)
Bill	Marco	Rand	Lisa	Joe	David	Cory	Bernie
Cut Taxes	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Ban Abortions	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
Single Payer Health Care	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
ncrease Military Spending	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
National Taco Day	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Cut Food Stamps	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
ncrease Unemployment	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
Eliminate Net Neutrality	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

	The F	Politica	al Scie	ence A	Approa	ach	
			P				(E)
Bill	Marco	Rand	Lisa	Joe	David	Cory	Bernie
Cut Taxes	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Ban Abortions	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
Single Payer Health Care	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Increase Military Spending	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
National Taco Day	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Cut Food Stamps	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Increase Unemployment	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
			NO	NO	WS	NO	NO.

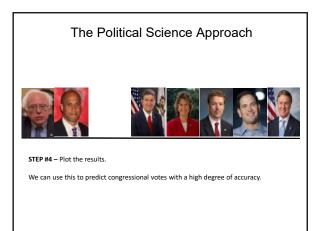
STEP #2 – Identify the anchors. What does this mean? Which is conservative? Which is liberal? Arbitrary?

	The P	olitica	l Scie	nce A	pproa	ach	
		1	P				(B)
Bill	Marco	Rand	Lisa	Joe	David	Cory	Bernie
Cut Taxes	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Ban Abortions	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
Single Payer Health Care	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Increase Military Spending	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
National Taco Day	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Cut Food Stamps	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Increase Unemployment	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
Eliminate Net Neutrality	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Conservative Votes	6	5	4	3	7		
Conservative Score	0.857142857	0.714285714	0.571428571	0.428571429	1	0.142857143	

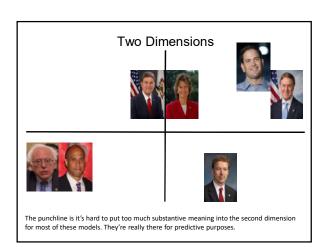
The Political Science Approach

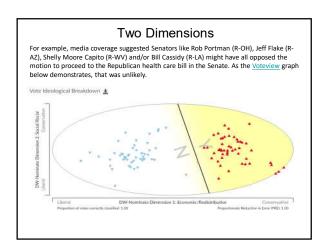
STEP #4 - Plot the results.

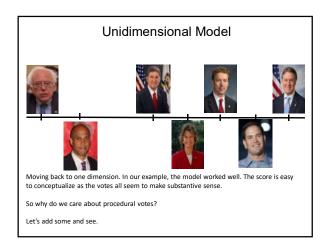
We can use this to predict congressional votes with a high degree of accuracy.



		I wo	Dime	ension	S		
	9	1	P				(1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1)
Vote	Marco	Rand	Lisa	Joe	David	Cory	Bernie
Cut Taxes	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Ban Abortions	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
Tax Break for Church Attendees	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
Single Payer Health Care	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Ban Reality TV	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
Increase Military Spending	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
National Taco Day	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Cut Food Stamps	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Bailout Olive Garden	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
increase Unemployment	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
Eliminate Net Neutrality	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Dimension 1 Score	0.86	0.71	0.57	0.43	1.00	0.14	0.00
Dimension 2 Score	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.33	0.33







		Proc	edura	il Vote	es		
		1	P				(1)(1)(1)(1)(1)(1)(1)(1)(1)(1)(1)(1)(1)(
Vote	Marco	Rand	Lisa	Joe	David	Cory	Bernie
Cut Taxes	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Previous Question on SR #1	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Passage of Rule #1	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Motion to Recommit#1	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES
Ban Abortions	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
Single Payer Health Care	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Increase Military Spending	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
National Taco Day	YES	YES	YES	YES	224	YES	YES
Previous Question on SR #2	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Passage of Rule #2	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Motion to Recommit #2	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES
Cut Food Stamps	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
increase Unemployment	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
Eliminate Net Neutrality	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Dimension 1 Score	0.92	0.85	0.77	0.15	1.00	0.08	0.00

Procedural Votes

Again, the rank doesn't change—but notice the huge gap now between Manchin and Murkowski. This model will still predict votes extremely well, but it's very difficult to substantively interpret.

There are other Problems Too

The Record was intended to serve as the transparent conduit between elected politicians and voting.

But not all congressional votes are recorded.

And little attention has been given to changes.

 114^{th} Congress – 329 public laws. 80% of them were not subjected to a recorded vote.



Again, Why Do We Care?



Evidence suggests that the observed high level of polarization are driven by changing electoral dynamics and institutions governing legislative procedures (i.e. more procedural and position-taking votes, more recorded votes).

This does not alter the primary products of polarization—crippling gridlock on salient issue and anemic legislative productivity—it does suggest alternative means of reform



In the absence of specific procedural reforms and increased public education about how Congress operates, "voting the bums out" will only led to the creation of new "bums"

Ideological Scaling: Outline 3/2/2021 I. Introduction a. Updates b. Summary Section c. Michem #1 d. Nees e. Background Section II. Ideological Scaling III. Using Resources: Voteview IV. Thursday a. Staffing



"Using Resources: Voteview"

Roll Call Votes: Voteview

Roll call votes are not a panacea (this is discussed below). But they often tell us interesting things about an issue or a point in time.

Many issues we might consider conservative or liberal today were not ideological or at least differed years ago. Roll call votes can help us characterize the ideology of an issue or vote. Comparing two votes on the same or a similar issue can tell us how affultudes have shifted.

For example, the figure on the left is a Senate vote on the assault weapons ban in 1993. It passed 57.43. The red triangles pointed up represent the 10 Republican votes in support. The blue triangles pointed down are the nine Democrats who voted no.

The figure on the right is a Senate vote on the assault weapons ban twenty years later. It failed 41-60. Only one Senate Republican voted yes. 15 Democrats voted no. These figures suggest that the Senate has gotten more conservative on this issue.

