

Government 30

Lecture 12

Elections and Campaigns #1
[after finishing some material from Parties #2]

March 15, 2006

Announcements

Second papers due this Friday, 5PM.

Midterm examination: one week from today: March 22.

Terms for Concept IDs posted today. Will require preparation, but not immense time constraints.

Why Two Parties?

- (a) HISTORY -- early two-party division remains
- (b) ECONOMIC, GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS
- (c) lack of ethnic, racial, religious parties
- (d) INSTITUTIONS -- "DUVERGER'S LAW"
 - Plurality rule v proportional representation
 - Single-member districts
 - Sincere v. strategic voting -- strategic voting can eliminate 3rd parties (e.g., Gore/Kerry urging Green voters to vote Democratic).

Duverger's Portrait of Parties

Look at parties' internal organization: even in a democracy, can become oligarchic. This also supports "Duvergerian equilibria" (stable 2-party system).

"The development of vertical linking and the watertight compartments which are the result restrict the freedom of action of the base and increase the sphere of influence of the apex; they make possible a close regimentation of the party members that can prevent any move towards independence of the center and can preserve strict orthodoxy. Discipline among members is tightened both by these material means and by an even greater effort of propaganda and persuasion which leads them to venerate the Party and its leaders and to believe in their infallibility: the critical attitude gives way to an attitude of adoration" (S&W, 193).

Duverger's Portrait of Parties: A Portrait of American Polarization?

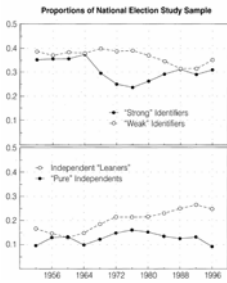
"Parliamentary representatives themselves are compelled to an obedience which transforms them into voting machines controlled by the leaders of the party. Thus there arise closed, disciplined, mechanized bodies, monolithic parties whose organization outwardly resembles that of an army, but whose methods of regimentation are infinitely more adaptable and efficient, being based on a training of minds rather than bodies. They require of their members closer adherence; they provide complete and final philosophies of the universe. Zeal, faith, enthusiasm and intolerance are the rule in these modern churches: party struggles turn into religious wars" (S&W, 193).

Decline of Parties (Why?)

- A. More multifaceted society -- fewer 2-issue divides to rent into one group or another.
- B. Decline of machines, urban and rural networks
- C. Decline of associationalism
- D. Technology --
 - 1. the professionalization of politics
 - 2. the dominance of individualistic campaign strategies in elections

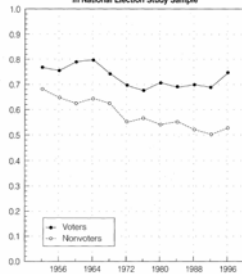
Party Resurgence? Yes and No.

Figure 1 The Distribution of Party Identification, 1952-1996



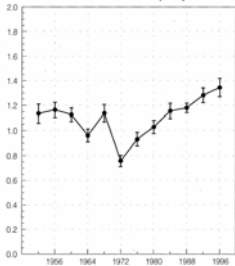
Party Resurgence? Yes and No.

Figure 2 Proportions of (Strong or Weak) Identifiers in National Election Study Sample



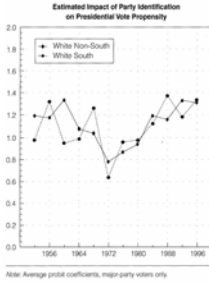
Party Resurgence? Yes and No.

Figure 3 Partisan Voting in Presidential Elections
Estimated Impact of Party Identification on Presidential Vote Propensity



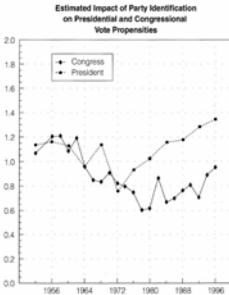
Party Resurgence? Yes and No.

Figure 4 Partisan Voting in Presidential Elections, White Southerners and White Non-Southerners



Party Resurgence? Yes and No.

Figure 5 Partisan Voting in Presidential and Congressional Elections



Voting and Elections

Learning about Voting and Campaigns thru 4 National Elections

1. 1992 Election -- retrospective voting
2. 1994 Election -- coalitions and turnout; the case of the vanishing marginals
3. 2000 Election -- rethinking retrospective voting?
4. 2004 election -- retrospective voting, polarization, or some combination?

II. 1992 Election Campaign

A. Perot -- a 3rd Party Emergent?

B. Fluidity

1. Bush's Loss of Support
2. Perot's Rise, then Fall
3. Clinton's Weak Mandate

II. 1992 Election Campaign (cont.)

C. Position Politics versus Valence Politics.

1. Position Politics -- "Spatial Voting"
e.g., the minimum wage, environmental regulation,
abortion, slavery in the 1850s.

2. Valence Politics.
E.g., the economy, war, and character.

V.O. Key-Morris Fiorina: *retrospective voting* ("vote your pocketbook"). Like party, an informational shortcut.

II. 1994 Election Campaign

1. Before 1994, Incumbent and Democratic Power

- Jacobson: avg House incumbent adv in Postwar Era: approximately 9% of vote.

OK, so why are most House elections blowouts?

The Case of the Vanishing Marginals...(Morris Fiorina).

The Case of the Vanishing Marginals

Fact: close races in House districts have become rarer since 1930, very rare since 1960.

Qs: (1) are we really in a democracy? (2) Why?

Explanation #1: Redistricting.

Problem: We've had redistricting for a long time, and members in redrawn districts do no better.

Explanation #2: Knowledge/Frinking. "To be known at all is to be known favorably."

Problem: We've always had franking. And voter information is no higher now than before.

The Case of the Vanishing Marginals

Explanation #3: Weakening Party ID. "Vote Incumbent" as a shortcut.

Problem: trust in government has declined.

Explanation #4: **The Bureaucracy Did It**

With a bigger bureaucracy, members can bring home the bacon like never before.

Problem: Bureaucracy has been shrinking, but incumbent advantage remains

II. 1994 Election Campaign

2. When Minority Parties Can Win: The Republican Landslide of 1994.

- a. When Incumbents Support an Unpopular President
- b. When the Economy is Poor
- c. When Majority Party Incumbents Retire
- d. When Challengers and Minority-Party Candidates are Known & Well-Financed.
 - Steve Largent, J.C. Watts, Dick Chrysler
 - Fred Thompson, George/Jeb Bush

II. 1994 Election Campaign

3. The Role of Money (PACs, Parties, & “soft” \$)

- “To the victors go the spoils”; incumbents rule
- “Give Early, Give Often.” (EMILY’s List)
- EMILY -- Early Money is Like Yeast
 - (1) can use it to build early notoriety
 - (2) functions as a signal to other donors -- think about early investments in a .com startup, e.g.

Hard v. Soft Money

1. Hard Money -- donated by individuals and parties to campaigns and PACS. Strictly regulated by FEC.
2. Soft money -- raised by parties and then spent on party ads; circumvent fed law.
3. Issue ads -- “tell Ted Kennedy to stop raising our taxes,” “call Senator Santorum and tell him to support the minimum wage increase. PA workers need it.”

III. 2000 and 2004 Election Campaigns

A. Nominations – Party Still Powerful: The Case of South Carolina

B. Iowa and New Hampshire – How They Privilege Quirky Candidates

C. Voting:

1. Issue-Oriented: Prospective
2. Results-Oriented: Retrospective
 - no incumbent president wins w/ growth of less than 2%
 - healthy economy is necessary, BUT not sufficient

III. 2000 and 2004 Election Campaigns

D. Coalitions: Turn out the Core, court the Variables.

What I said six years ago...

- the problem for the Republicans: (1) the core is disenchanted; (2) poor candidates (Dole)
- the problem for the Democrats: (1) candidates stronger than party; (2) what if economic downturn?

What I might say today...

- For Reps, (1) and (2) were solved in 2004. Dems still facing problem (1), but candidate Kerry was part of their problem in 2004.

IV. How Elections Have Changed

Or, Some Help with Midterm Concepts

A. Decline of partisan voting

1. Ballot changes

Australian ballot [can split ticket] v. office-bloc ballot [can't].

2. Growth of independent voters

B. Fewer critical elections in U.S. politics

- Critical election: one in which a stable shift in party affiliation results (e.g., 1896, 1932).
