#### **American Political Parties**

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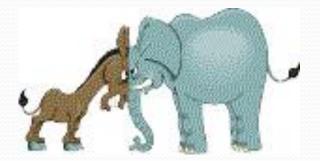


#### Overview

- Definition
- Functions
- Evolution of the American Party System
- The Two Party System
- Party Organization
- Campaign Finance

#### Definition

- Political Parties
  - A group of political activists who organize to win elections, operate the government, and determine public policy.





# Candidate Recruitment

- Parties need to find viable candidates for a whole range of elected positions at the federal and state level
- Obstacles to recruitment include:
  - time, privacy, finances, prospects





- Organizing and Running Elections
  - Providing resources for candidates
  - Providing ideas for candidates

- Presenting alternatives to the electorate
  - Voters need choices among candidates and among policy alternatives
  - Democratic Party Platform
  - Republican Party Platform



- Operating the government
  - legislative leadership positions
  - executive appointments
  - judicial appointments



- Providing organized "loyal" opposition to government (minority party or parties only)
  - Make sure, if not in power, that party is ready for next election
    - leaders
    - issues
    - policies

#### History of American Party System

- US developed the modern political party
- US relatively unique in the world in having a 2-Party System
  - most of the world is multiparty (with a few uniparty systems in non-democratic states)

- Founding Period
  - Federalists vs Antifederalists
    - issues
      - size and power of national government
    - base
      - Federalists primarily merchant/commerical/wealthy
      - Antifederalists primarily small farmer/craftsmen and south

#### Post Constitution/Post Washington

Federalists (Adams)
 vs Republicans (Jefferson)
 issues:

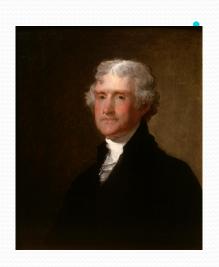
size and power of national government state rights





-Federalist: wealthy merchant and commerical intersests

-Republican: artisans farmers



#### "Era of Good Feelings"

- Following War of 1812,
   Federalists cease to be a major party at the national level, confined primarily to New England
- Enter period of One Party rule
  - 1816-1825 (Monroe)
  - Competition among individual Republican candidates, or factions within the Republican party, but not really different parties



#### Birth of the Modern Democratic Party



- 1824 Election the Republican Party splits, when Andrew Jackson leaves party to form own
- Republicans change name to National Republicans
- Jackson wing becomes the Democratic Party
  - This is the same Democratic Party we have today
- 1828 Jackson wins, National Republicans rename themselves Whigs

issues: "popular" democracy, federal power

base: Dems - rural/south, Whigs: north, urban

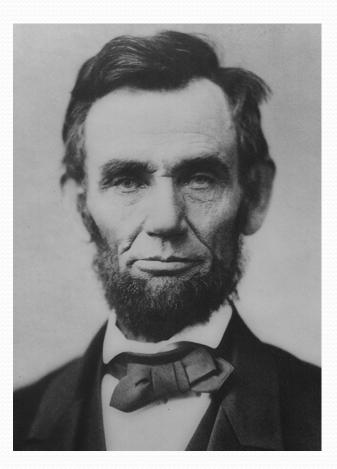
#### BORN TO COMMAND.



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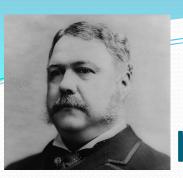
KING ANDREW THE FIRST.

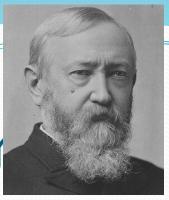
VETO MEMORY

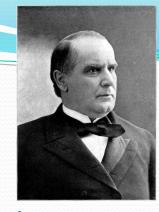


# Birth of the Republican Party

- 1856 modern
   Republican Party
   forms
- remnant of Whig party split, antislavery Democrats, and the Free Soil Party

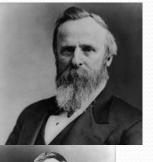
















- From 1860 through 1932
  - Republicans control White House
  - every presidential election cycle with the exception of
    - Grover Cleveland (1885-1889; 1883-1897)
    - Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921)















#### **Democratic Party Dominance**

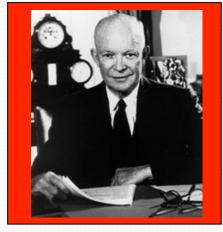


From 1932 to 1968 Democrats control White House (with the exception of Dwight Eisenhower (1952-1960)

Congress from 1932 to 1952

and they control





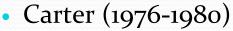




#### **Contemporary Party**

• Republican Ascendance?

1968 to 2008 Republicans control White House for all except:



- Clinton (1992-2000)
- Obama (2009-?)









- Democratic Party controls both houses of Congress from 1955-1980, and the House from 1955 until 1994.
- Republicans control both houses of Congress from 1994-2000; House from 1994 to 2006.
- With 2008 results, too soon to say if we are moving to new Democratic era

- Election and Ballot Access Laws
  - State legislatures devise ballot access laws
  - State legislatures are dominated by the major parties
  - State legislatures make it difficult for minor parties to challenge the major party monopoly

- Neither major party is ideologically rigid
  - Both Democratic and Republican parties can shift platform to accomodate new social movements
  - Difficult for minor parties to find any room to maneuver between the 2 major parties

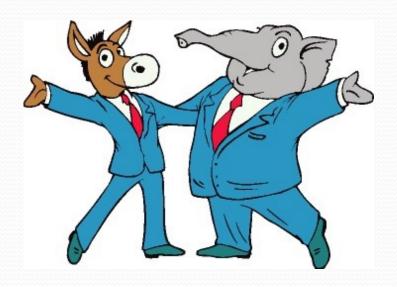
- Winner Take All vs. Proportional Representation (PR)
  - In PR systems, seats in the legislature are allocated to parties based on the percentage of vote they receive in the election
    - for example, if a party receives 15% of the votes, it would get roughly 15% of the seats in the legislature

- Winner Take All vs. Proportional Representation (PR)
  - In PR, parties do not need to "win" an election in order to have representation in the legislature
  - Seems to encourage multiple parties since even small parties can influence legislative process and bring some measure of "success" to its membership base

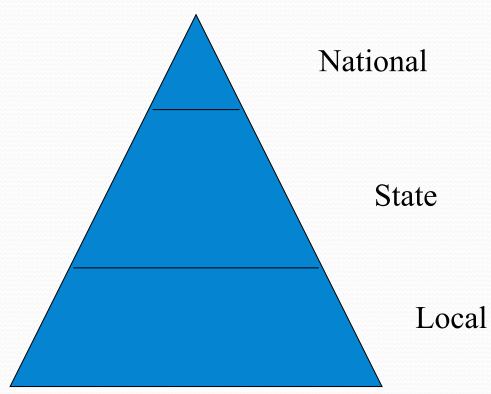
- Winner Take All (WTA)
   vs. Proportional
   Representation (PR)
  - In WTA, seats are allocated according to single member districts
  - Parties must "win" the election in order to win a seat
  - Undermines minor parties since they have little to show supporters after the election

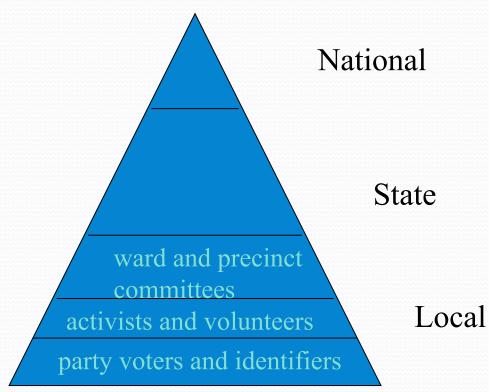


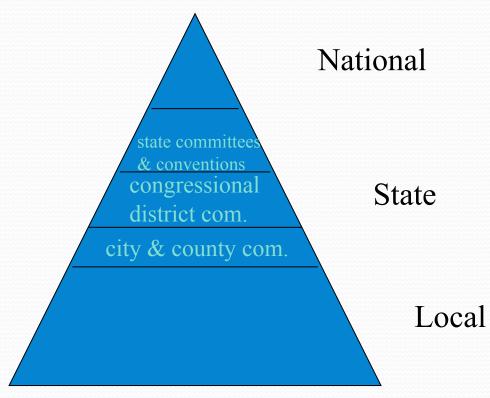
- Tradition
  - Both major American parties have deep roots in American political culture

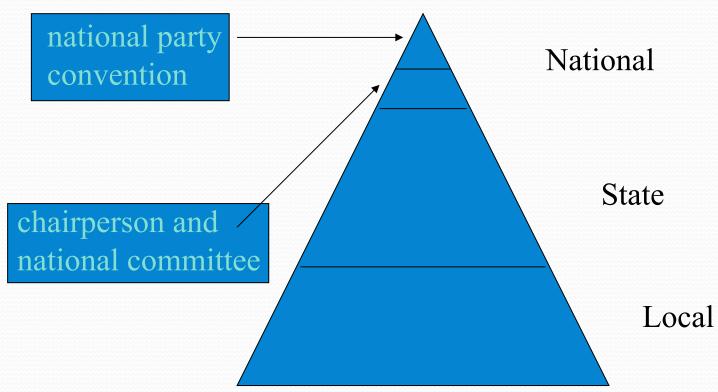


- The two party model we've described is only partly accurate in that federalism creates something more like 52 parties with 2 common names
- That is, we have two national parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) and 50 state versions of these parties





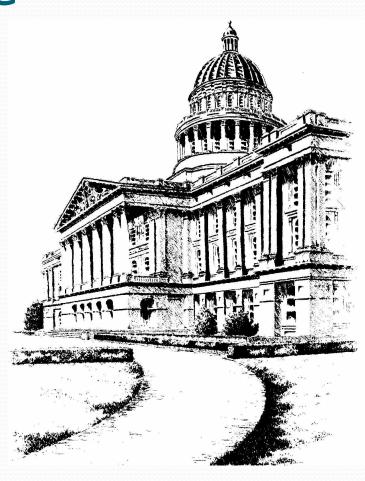




- Traditional vs. "Professional" Campaigns
  - More expertise
    - media consultants
    - pollsters
    - strategists
    - communications directors
    - fundraisers
  - More expensive

# Campaign Finance





#### 1974 Federal Election Campaign Act

- Public financing of presidential elections
- Limits on spending if accept public finance
- Created Federal Election Commission
- Required candidates and donors to report donations to the FEC, with caps now on donations
- Required candidates and donors to establish Political Action Committees (PACs) to handle money end of the campaigns
- Limited amount of personal wealth candidates could spend

Buckley vs. Valeo (1976)

- restrictions on personal spending violate the First Amendment
- caps on contributions, however, do not
- federal finance of campaign do not, as long as it is voluntary (that is, candidates can opt to accept the money -- and the limits -- or not)

#### Loopholes within the FECA

- No limits on donations to party ("soft money")
- No limits on party spending for "get out the vote" drives ("soft money")
- No limits on number of political action committees
- "bundling"

2002 Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA)

- Closed soft money loophole
- Raised the limits on PAC contributions and other donations
- Bans "group sponsored" ads 30 days prior to a primary and 60 days prior to general election

- Loopholes
  - PACs can raise unlimited amounts of money
  - 527 Organizations -- nonprofit issue advocacy groups

- In 2008 House elections, in only 2% of the races did the candidate with lower campaign contributions win
- In 2008 Senate races, in only 6% of the races did the candidate with lower campaign contributions win.

- Better financed campaigns generally have a better chance of success
  - They can hire better talent
  - They can buy <u>advertising</u> to rebut or make charges
  - They can extend the campaign longer and respond to changes in the election atmosphere
- Efforts to curtail influence of money in campaigns began in earnest with post-Watergate reforms

- Our concern depends on why people or organizations contribute
- Do they contribute for policy/electoral reasons or for "service" reasons?
- Who contributes?

### Elections

- Types of Elections
  - National and State Level
    - Primary: elect nominees for party
    - General: elect candidates to office
  - State Only
    - Initiative: Citizen initiated legislation
    - Referendum: Voters asked to approve legislation
    - Recall: Voters asked to retain/remove official from office
    - Ratification: Voters asked to approve constitutional changes

# **Voting Paradox**

- Recall, democratic theory predicated on the idea that somehow the vote reveals "the will of the people"
- That means we need to be able to move from individual preferences to something like a "social preference"
- The winner of the election is in some meaningful sense reflective of what "the people" want

### **Voting Paradox**

- Yet as we examine the various voting systems put forth in the world we need to keep in mind some conceptual problems with voting theory
- It may not be possible to move from individual to group preferences smoothly or meaningfully

### **Voting Systems**

- Plurality (one person, one vote, most votes win)
- Majority (one person, one vote, winner needs a majority of votes cast
- Ranked (voters rank their candidate preferences
- Non ranked (voters simply express a preference in a vote)

### Ranked Systems

- Majority Preferential (Sequential Elimination)
  - Winning candidate needs to have a majority of votes
  - Voters rank candidates from most preferred to least preferred
  - Count everybody's first place votes, if no candidate has a majority, eliminate the lowest vote-getter and transfer votes to next candidate on each voter's preference list

### Ranked Systems

### Borda Count

- Voters rank candidates, most preferred to least preferred
- Point values are assigned for each position
- Add the point values for each candidate and candidate with most points wins

#### Number of Delegates

	18	12	10	9	4	2
First Choice	A	В	C	D	E	E
Second Choice	D	E	В	C	В	C
Third Choice	E	D	E	E	D	D
Fourth Choice	C	C	D	В	C	В
Fifth Choice	В	A	A	A	A	A

# Other Systems

- Approval Voting
  - Voters receive "x" number of votes, corresponding to the number of candidates in the election
    - e.g., if 3 candidates, voters get 3 votes
  - Voters allocate those votes however they want among the candidates
  - Winning candidate is the one with the most votes

### Other Systems

- Negative Voting
  - Voters receive one vote, but that vote can be either a vote for (+) or a vote against (-) a candidate
  - Voters cast a single ballot (+ or )
  - Winning candidate is the one with the most votes

### Other Systems

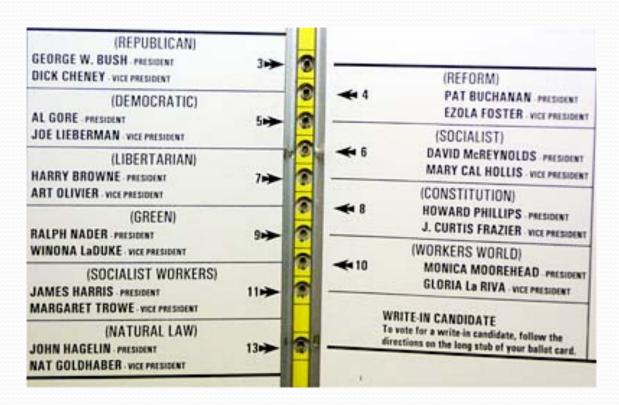
- Weighted Voting
  - Voters receive extra votes based on some predetermined relevant criteria
  - Voters cast a single ballot with all their votes to a single candidate
  - Winning candidate is the one with the most votes

### Methods of Voting

- Secret vs. Public Ballot
  - Australian or secret ballot introduced in U.S. in the 1880s
  - Prior to that, ballots were colored coded by party
  - Voters asked for the ballot of a particular party

### Methods of Voting

Ballot Design and Voting



2000 ballot in West Palm Beach, Florida

### Methods of Voting

- Elections are the responsibility of state, rather than the federal government
- States then give that power to counties to determine election protocol
  - voter registration
  - polling places
  - ballot design
  - voting method

Methods of Voting

OFFICIAL PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT
GENERAL ELECTION - NOVEMBER 2, 2004
CUYAHOGA COUNTY

#### For President and Vice-President

To Vote for President and Vice-President punch the hole beside the number for the set of candidates of your choice. Your you will be counted for each of the confidutes for presidential elector whose names have been certified to the Secretary of State

(Vote not more than ONCE)

For President: For Vice-President: JOHN EDWARDS JOHN F. KERRY Democratic For President: For Vice-President: CANDIDATE CANDIDATE For President: For Vice-President: and CHUCK MICHAEL A. PEROUTKA BALDWIN Other-Party Candidate For Vice-President: and RICHARD V. For President: MICHAEL BADNARIK CAMPAGNA Other-Party Candidate For President: For Vice-President: GEORGE W. BUSH and DICK CHENEY Republican

2004 Ballot in Cuyahoga County, Ohio



### Parties, Elections, and Democracy

- Elections are crucial to democracy politics
- Parties play an essential role in both the electoral and governing process
- The increasing costs of campaigning, though, and the