**Presentation Pro** 

## Magruder's American Government

CHAPTER 5
Political Parties



## What Is a Party?

- A political party is a group of persons who seek to control government by winning elections and holding office.
- The two major parties in American politics are the Republican and Democratic parties.
- Parties can be principle-oriented, issueoriented, or election-oriented. The American parties are election-oriented.











#### **Party Mascots**

Democrats (rooster/donkey) v. Republicans (raccoon/elephant) (1854- Present)

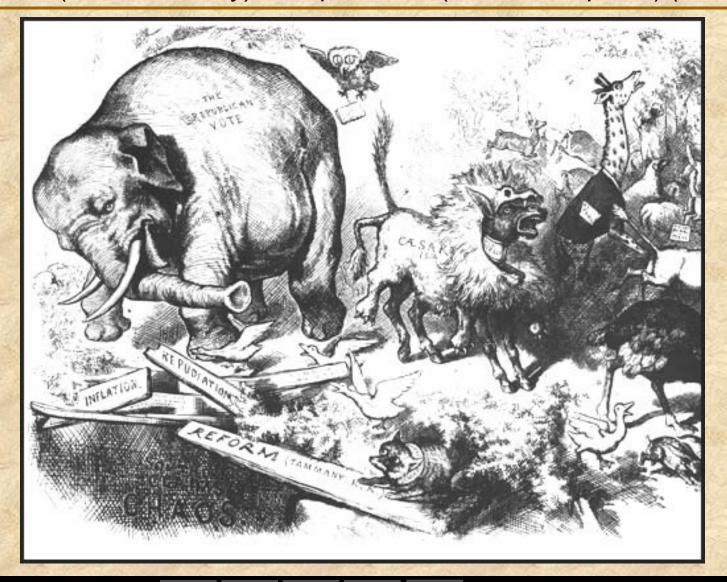




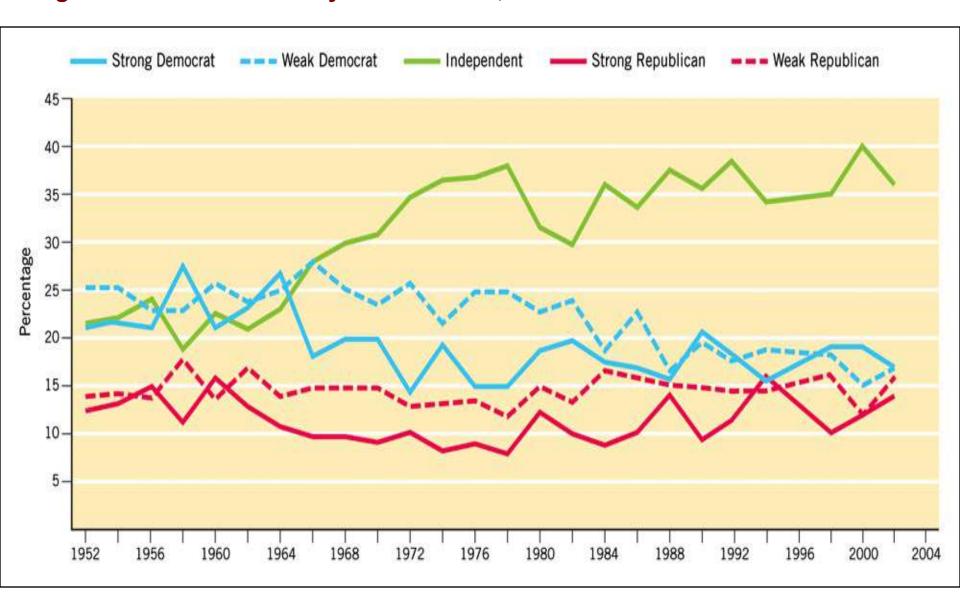
Table 8.1 Party Identification in the United States, 1952–2002<sup>a</sup>

YEAR	DEMOCRATS	INDEPENDENTS	REPUBLICANS	
1952	48.6	23.3	28.1	
1956	45.3	24.4	30.3	
1960	46.4	23.4	30.2	
1964	52.2	23.0	24.8	
1968	46.0	29.5	24.5	
1972	41.0	35.2	23.8	
1976	40.2	36.8	23.0	
1980	41.7	35.3	23.0	
1984	37.7	34.8	27.6	
1988	35.7	36.3	28.0	
1992	35.8	38.7	25.5	
1996	39.3	32.9	27.8	
2000	34.8	41.0	24.2	
2002	33.7	36.0	30.3	

Source: Authors' analysis of 1952-2002 American National Election Study data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>In percentage of people; the small percentage who identify with a minor party or who cannot answer the question are excluded.

Figure 9.1: Decline in Party Identification, 1952-2002



<sup>•</sup>National Election Studies, *The NES Guide to Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior, 1952-2000*, table 20.1, and data for 2002 updated by Marc Siegal.

#### **Table 9.4** The Public Rates the Two Parties

Question

Do you think the Republican party or the Democratic party would do a better job of dealing with each of the following issues and problems?

	Democrats	Republicans
Advantage Republicans		
National defense*	37%	53%
Foreign trade	35	48
Crime	36	43
Campaign finance reform	31	37
Split Between the Parties		
Economic prosperity	44	42
Taxes	43	42
Advantage Democrats		
Poverty*	61	27
Environment	54	31
Health care	51	34
Social Security	46	35

<sup>\*</sup>Question on this item asked as "Which party, the Democrats or the Republicans, do you trust to do a better job on . . . ?"

Source: The Public Perspective (April/May 1998): 13, reporting the results of a survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN/USA Today, October 27–28, 1997, and a survey by ABC News/Washington Post, January 15–19, 1998.

## **What Do Parties Do?**

- Nominate Candidates—Recruit, choose, and present candidates for public office.
- Inform and Activate Supporters—Campaign, define issues, and criticize other candidates.
- Act as a Bonding Agent—Guarantee that their candidate is worthy of the office.
- Govern—Members of government act according to their partisanship, or firm allegiance to a party.
- Act as a Watchdog—Parties that are out of power keep a close eye on the actions of the party in power for a blunder to use against them in the next election.











## Why a Two-Party System?

- The Historical Basis. The nation started out with two-parties: the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans.
- The Force of Tradition. America has a two-party system because it always has had one. Minor parties, lacking wide political support, have never made a successful showing, so people are reluctant to support them.
- The Electoral System. Certain features of government, such as single-member districts, are designed to favor two major parties.
- Ideological Consensus. Most Americans have a general agreement on fundamental matters. Conditions that would spark several strong rival parties do not exist in the United States.













## **Multiparty Systems**

## **Advantages**

- Provides broader representation of the people.
- More responsive to the will of the people.
- Give voters more choices at the polls.

## **Disadvantages**

- Cause parties to form coalitions, which can dissolve easily.
- Failure of coalitions can cause instability in government.





Prentice











## **One-Party Systems**

## **Types of One-Party**

One Party Systems where only one party is allowed.

#### **Example:**

Dictatorships such as Stalinist Russia

**Modified One-Party** Systems where one party regularly wins most elections

#### **Example:**

Republican North and Democratic South until the <u> 1950s</u>













## **Party Membership Patterns**

Factors that can influence party membership;

Family- Wost Important	Major events
Economic Status Higher your income the more GOP you get	Religion Dems- Jewish, Catholic GOP- Protestants
Occupation Dems- Teachers, Government workers, Union members; GOP- Business Owners, Doctors	Age Older you get, the more conservative you get
Race African Americans- Dems (>90%) Hispanics- Dems about 60% Anglos- GOP about 60%	Education Dems- HS grads and those with more than 4 years college; GOP some college and college grads
Gender Dems- Women; GOP- Men	







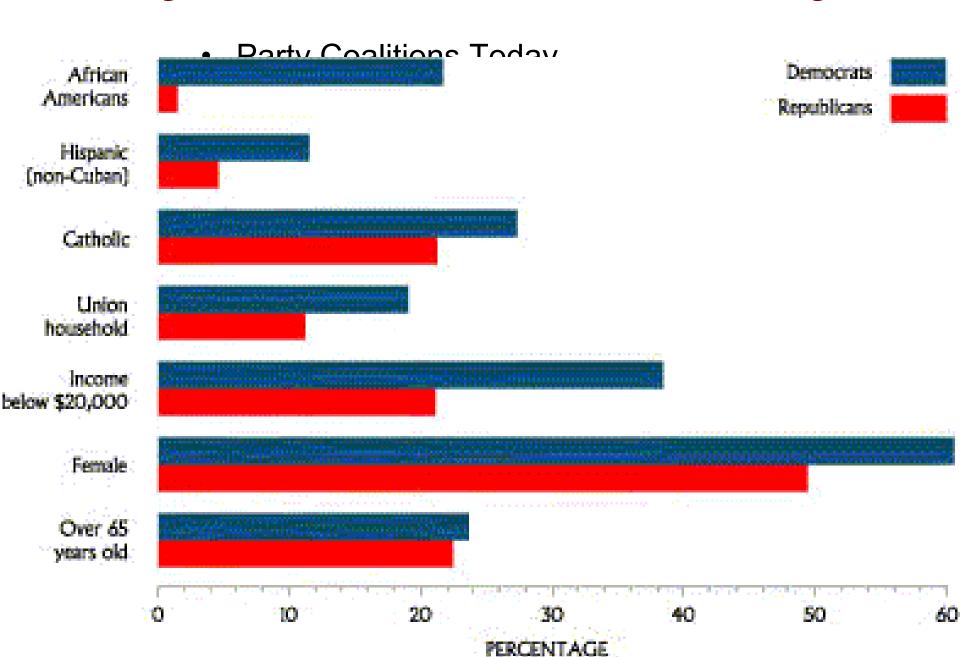








## Party Eras in American History



. Figure 1. Nonwhite Share of U.S. Electorate, 1992-2008

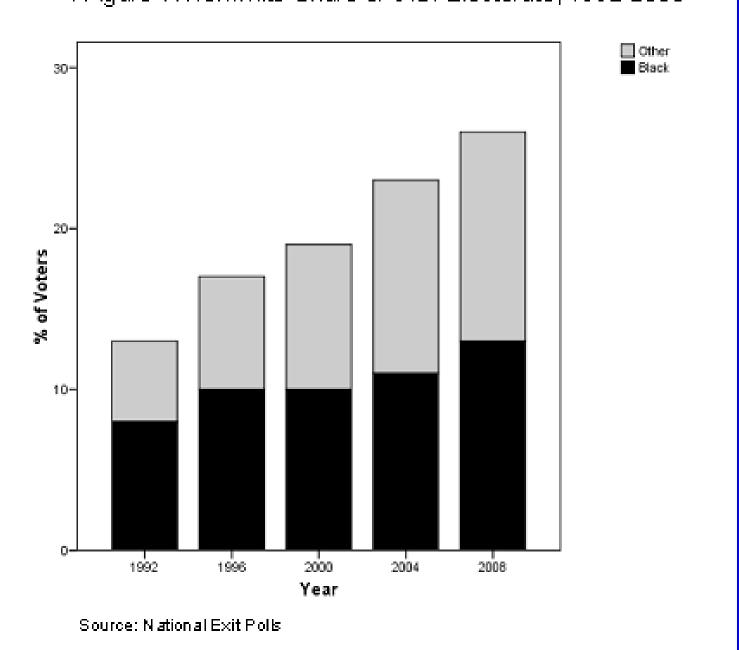


Table 1. The Changing Composition of the U.S. Electorate: 1976, 1992, and 2008

	1976	1992	2008
Democratic Base	25%	30%	41%
Swing Voters	45	43	32
Republican Base	30	27	27

Note: Democratic base = white liberals + nonwhites; swing voters = white moderates; Republican base = white conservatives

Source: National Exit Polls

Table 2. Generational Differences in Composition of U.S. Electorate in 2008

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-64	65 +
Democratic Base	54%	45%	44%	41%	25%
Swing Voters	23	29	25	30	31
Republican Base	23	26	31	29	44

Note: Democratic base = white liberals + nonwhites; swing voters = white moderates; Republican base = white conservatives

Source: 2008 National Election Study

Table 3. The Changing Party Coalitions: 1976, 1992, and 2008

	1976	1992	2008	
DEMOCRATS Liberal Whites Mod/Con Whites Nonwhites	21% 59 20	28% 42 31	28% 33 39	
REPUBLICANS Con Whites Mod/Liberal Whites Nonwhites	48% 47 4	54% 36 10	61% 33 6	

Source: American National Election Studies

Over the course of the last half century, New York Republicans have gone from parity with the Democrats in U.S. House seats to a situation where the GOP is now almost extinct at the congressional level. The collapse of the party was particularly severe during the presidency of George W. Bush, with the Republican total of House seats in the Empire State dropping from 12 to three. A GOP victory in the tightly contested March 31 special congressional election in the New York 20th would give the Republicans four of the state's 29 House seats.

20 110036 3	cais.		
			% of NY's
	U.S. Hou	ise Seats	House Seats
Election	Democrats	Republicans	held by GOP
1950	23	22	49%
1960	22	21	49%
1970	24	17	41%
1980	22	17	44%
1990	21	13	38%
2000	19	12	39%
2002	19	10	34%
2004	20	9	31%
2006	23	6	21%
2008	26	3	10%

Note: U.S. House totals are after each election indicated.

Source: Guide to U.S. Elections, Vol. II (CQ Press).

### The Nation's First Parties

## **Federalists**

- Led by Alexander Hamilton
- Represented wealthy and upper-class interests
- Favored strong executive leadership and liberal interpretation of the Constitution

## **Democratic-Republicans**

- Led by Thomas Jefferson
- Represented the "common man"
- Favored Congress as the strongest arm of government and a strict interpretation of the Constitution













## **American Parties: Four Major Eras**

#### The Three Historical Eras

#### The Era of the Democratic-Republicans/ Democrats, 1800—1860

- Democratic-Republicans/ Democrats dominate all but two presidential elections.
- The Whig Party emerges in 1834, but declines by the 1850s, electing only two Presidents.
- The Republican Party is founded in 1854.

#### The Era of the Republicans, 1860—1932

- Republicans dominate all but four presidential elections.
- The Civil War disables the Democratic Party for the remainder of the 1800s.

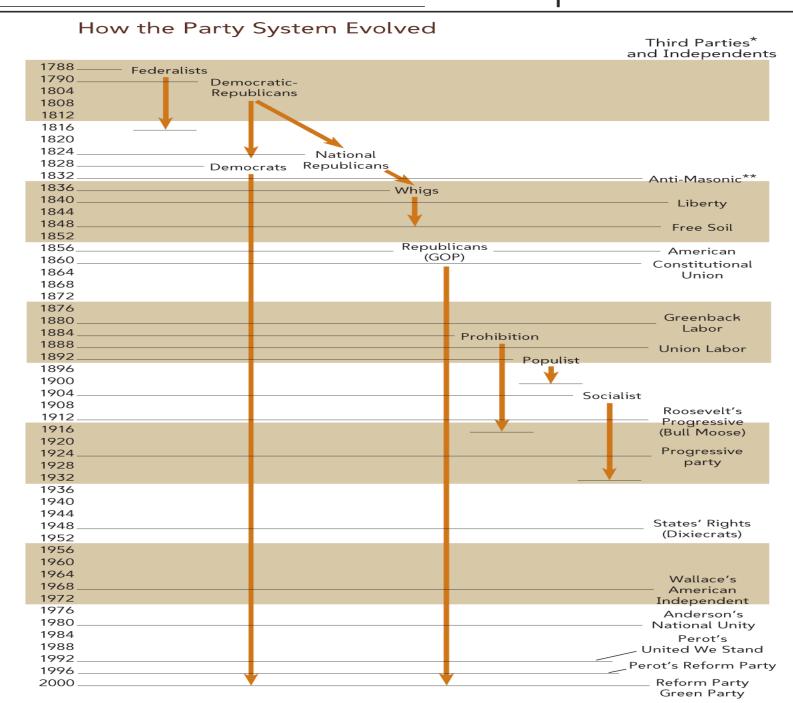
#### The Return of the Democrats, 1932—1968

Democrats dominate all but two presidential elections.





#### PROCESS BOX 11.1



## **American Parties: Parties Today**

#### The Start of a New Era: The Era of Divided Government

Since 1968, neither Republicans nor Democrats have dominated the presidency and Congress has often been controlled by the opposing party.

1968–1976

1976–1980

Republicans hold the presidency Congress is controlled by Democrats

Democrats hold the presidency Congress is controlled by Democrats

1980-1992

Republicans hold the presidency Senate controlled by Republicans 1980-1986, controlled by Democrats from 1986 to 1994 1992 - 2000

Democrats hold the presidency Congress controlled by Republicans, 1994 to present

2000

Republicans hold the presidency Congress is controlled by Republicans







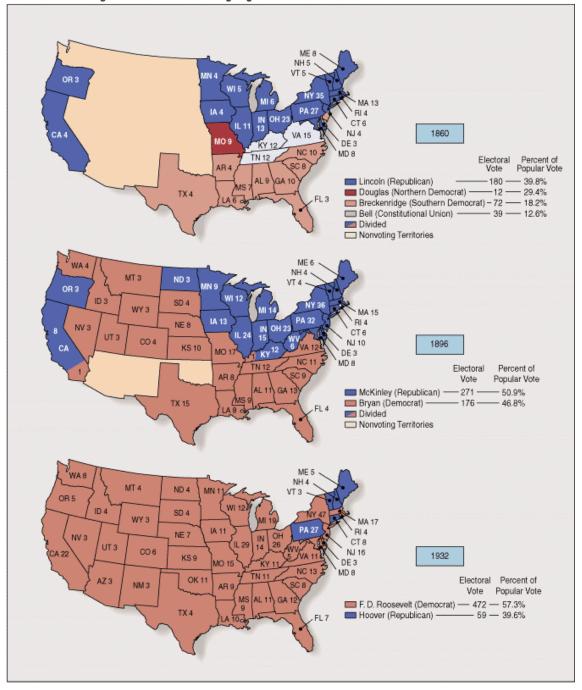








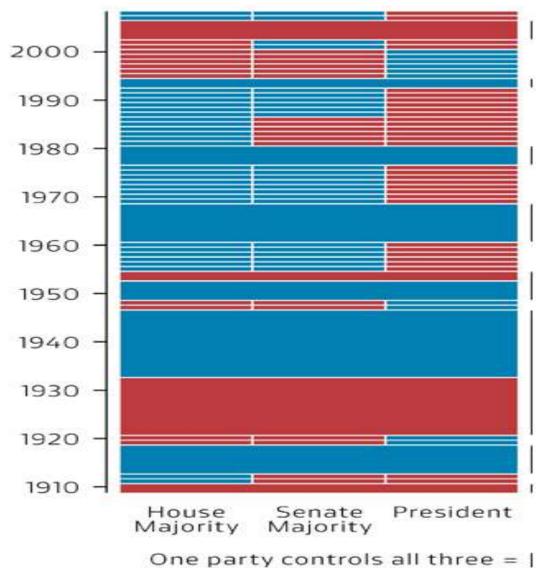
#### 13.3 Electoral College Results for Three Realigning Presidential Contests



This figure shows the electoral votes in three crucial elections of our century.

#### SPLIT TICKET

A table showing when Republicans and Democrats held the House, the Senate and the White House.



 Americans have liked divided government for the last 50-60 years.

•Source- NY Times, 2008

#### **Minor Parties in the United States**

# Types of Minor Parties

Ideological Parties

Example: Libertarian <u>Party</u> Single-issue Parties

Example: Free Soil Party

**Economic Protest Parties** 

Example: The Greenback Party

**Splinter Party** 

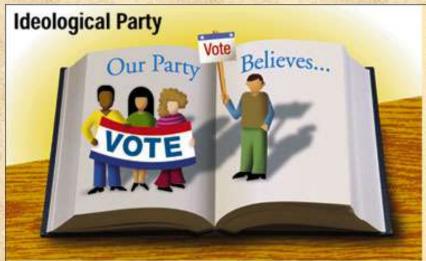
Example: "Bull Moose" Progressive
Party







### **Minor Parties in the United States**























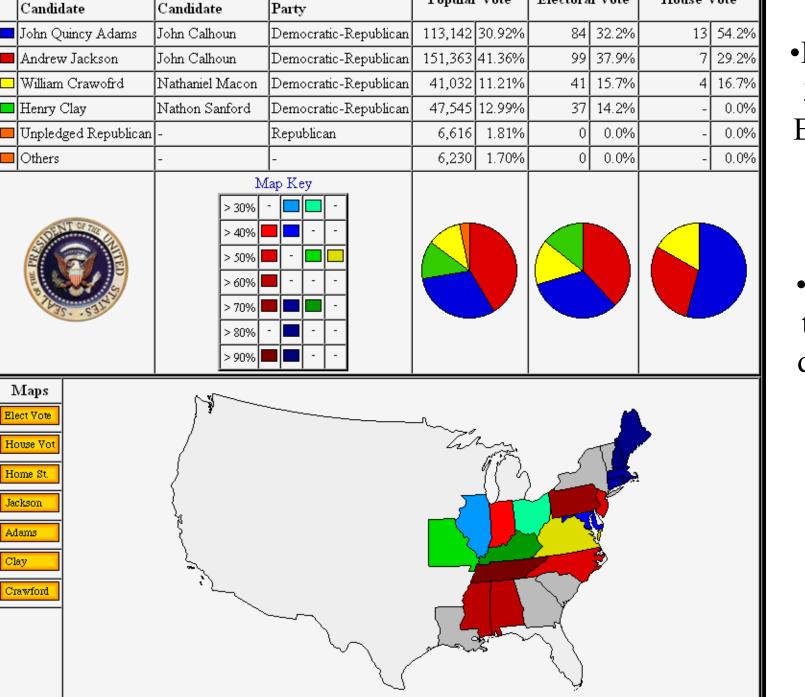




#### **TABLE 11.1**

#### Parties and Candidates in 2000

CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTE TOTAL	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE*
Al Gore	Democratic	50,996,116	48
George W. Bush	Republican	50,456,169	48
Ralph Nader	Green	2,831,066	3
Pat Buchanan	Reform	447,798	0
Harry Browne	Libertarian	385,515	0
Howard Phillips	Constitution	96,907	0
John Hagelin	Natural Law	83,134	0
James Harris	Socialist Workers	7,408	0
L. Neil Smith	Libertarian	5,775	0
Monica Moorehead	Workers World	5,335	0
David McReynolds	Socialist	4,233	0
Cathy Brown	Independent	1,606	0
Denny Lane	Grass Roots	1,044	0
Randall Venson	Independent	535	0
Earl Dodge	Prohibition	208	0
Louie Youngkeit	Independent	161	0
None of the above		3,315	О



Popular Vote

Electoral Vote

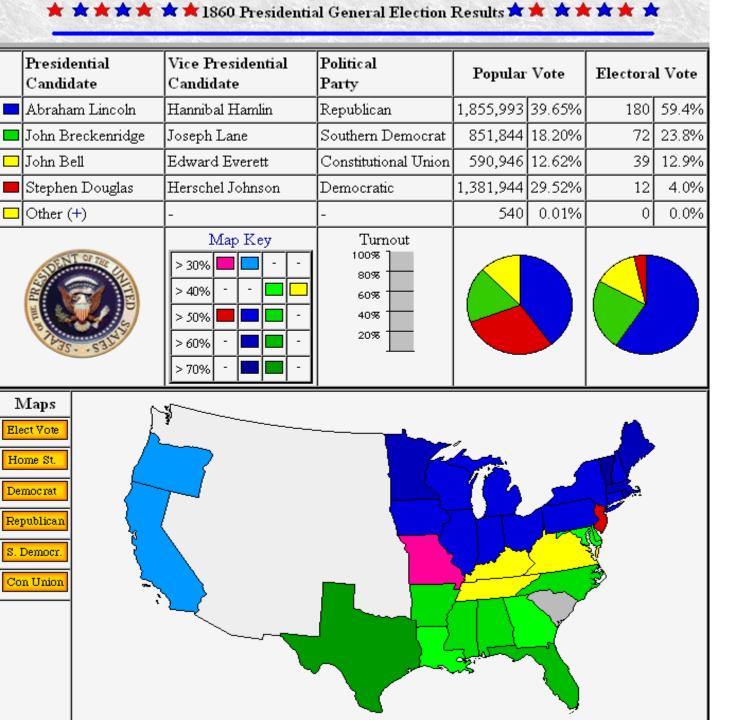
Presidential

Vice Presidential Political

•Important
3<sup>rd</sup> Party
Elections1824

House Vote

•Last Time the House decided an Election

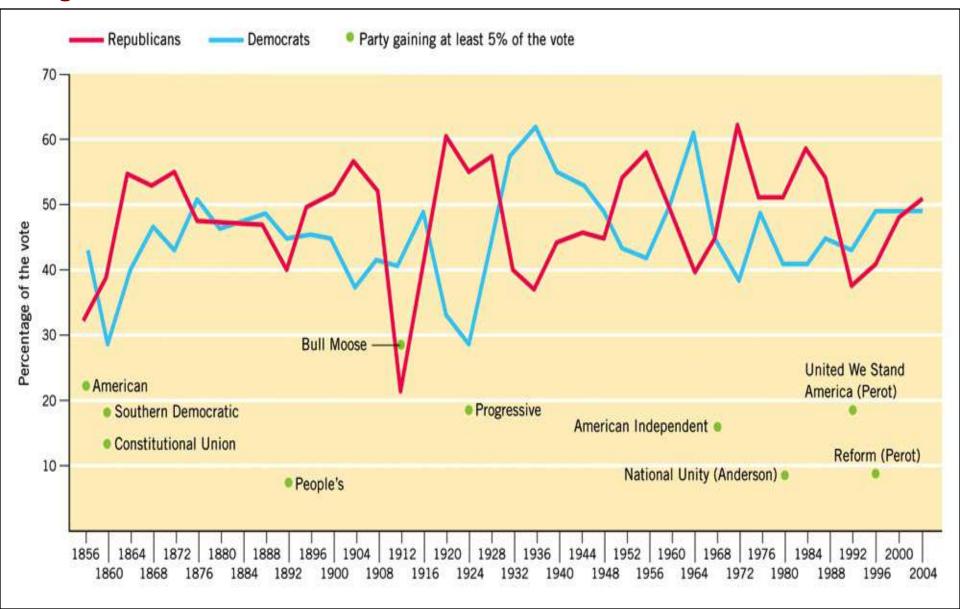


•Democratic split allowed Republicans to win.

Presidential Candidate	Vice Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Popular	Vote	Electora	l Vote
Woodrow Wilson	Thomas Marshall	Democratic	6,296,284	41.84%	435	81.9%
Theodore Roosevelt	Hiram Johnson	Progressive	4,122,721	27.40%	88	16.6%
William Taft	Nicholas Butler	Republican	3,486,242	23.17%	8	1.5%
Eugene Debs	Emil Seidel	Socialist	901,551	5.99%	0	0.0%
Eugene Chafin	Aaron Watkins	Prohibition	208,156	1.38%	0	0.0%
Other (+)	-	-	33,880	0.23%	0	0.0%
**************************************	> 50%	20%				
Maps ect Vote me St. mocrat publican gressive						

•Only time a 3<sup>rd</sup> party has done better than one of the 2 major parties, mostly because TR was the Progressive Party candidate.

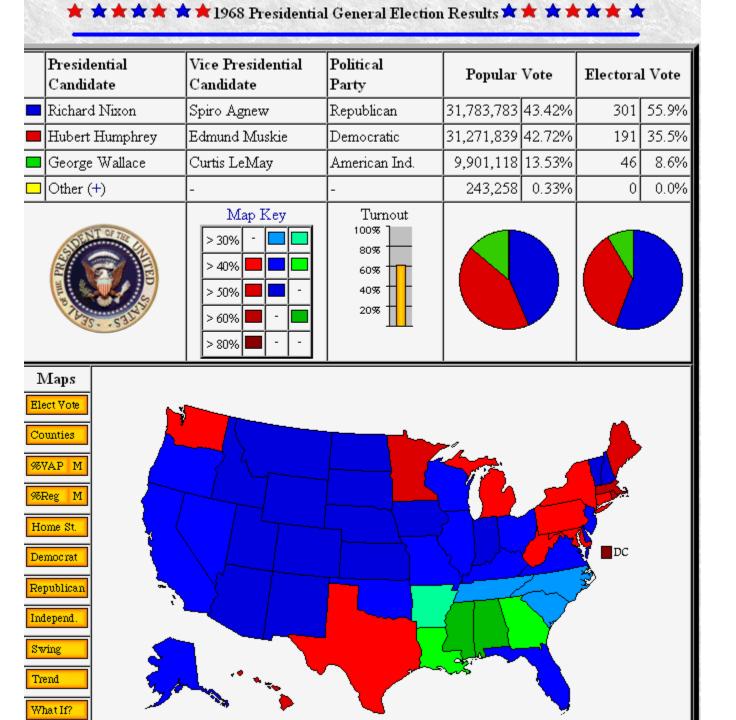
Figure 10.4: Partisan Division of Presidential Vote, 1856-2004



<sup>•</sup>Updated from Historical Data Archive, Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, as reported in William H. Flanigan and Nancy H. Zingale, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, 3rd ed., 32.

Presidential Candidate	Vice Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Popular	Vote	Electora	l Vote
Harry Truman	Alben Barkley	Democratic	24,179,347	49.55%	303	57.1%
Thomas Dewey	Earl Warren	Republican	21,991,292	45.07%	189	35.6%
J. Strom Thurmond	Fielding Wright	State's Rights	1,175,930	2.41%	39	7.3%
Henry Wallace	Glen Taylor	Progressive	1,157,328	2.37%	0	0.0%
Norman Thomas	Tucker Smith	Socialist	139,569	0.29%	0	0.0%
Other (+)	-	-	150,069	0.31%	0	0.0%
Maps	> 60%	20%				
ct Vote unties une St. mocrat publican Rights gressive						

Democratic split into 3 parties meant almost certain loss for Truman who scored the biggest upset in presidential election history.

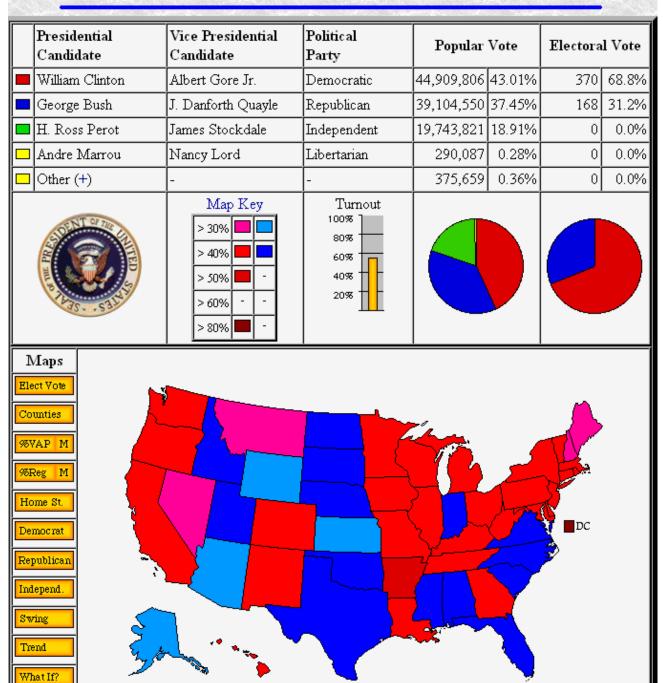


•Last Time a 3<sup>rd</sup> party won any electoral votes; George Wallace, American Independent Partysegregationist Dems

*	★★★★ ★★198	0 Presidential	General Election	Results 🖈 🖈	****

Presidential Candidate	Vice Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Popular	Vote	Electora	l Vote		
Ronald Reagan	George Bush	Republican	43,903,230	50.75%	489	90.9%		
James Carter	Walter Mondale	Democratic	35,480,115	41.01%	49	9.1%		
John Anderson	Patrick Lucey	Independent	5,719,850	6.61%	0	0.0%		
Edward Clark	David Koch	Libertarian	921,128	1.06%	0	0.0%		
Barry Commoner	LaDonna Harris	Citizens	233,052	0.27%	0	0.0%		
Other (+)	-	-	252,303	0.29%	0	0.0%		
	> 40%	100% 80% 60% 40% 20%						
Maps Elect Vote Counties  %VAP M  %Reg M  Home St  Democrat  Republican  Independ.  Swing  Trend								

•John
AndersonIndependent,
6% but NO
electoral votes!



•Ross Perot-Independent/ UWSA, 19% but NO electoral votes!

Figure 1. THIRD PARTIES SINCE WORLD WAR II: AFFECTING THE ELECTION OUTCOME

In six of the 15 presidential elections since World War II, the overall third party vote has exceeded the Democratic or Republican margin of victory in the popular vote. Those half dozen elections are indicated below in **BOLD**. The number includes the trio of contests from 1992 through 2000, when none of the winners attained a majority of the popular vote.

Election	Third Party Share of Popular Vote	Dem. or Rep. Margin of Victory	Winner
1948	5.4%	4.5%	D - Truman*
1952	0.5%	10.7%	R - Eisenhower
1956	0.7%	15.4%	R - Eisenhower*
1960	0.7%	0.2%	D - Kennedy
1964	0.5%	22.6%	D - Johnson*
1968	13.9%	0.7%	R - Nixon
1972	1.8%	23.2%	R - Nixon*
1976	1.9%	2.1%	D - Carter#
1980	8.2%	9.7%	R - Reagan#
1984	0.7%	18.2%	R - Reagan*
1988	1.0%	7.8%	R - Bush
1992	19.5%	5.6%	D - Clinton#
1996	10.1%	8.5%	D - Clinton*
2000	3.7%	- 0.5%	R - G.W. Bush
2004	1.0%	2.4%	R - G.W. Bush*

Note: An asterisk (\*) indicates an incumbent president. A pound sign (#) denotes that the winner defeated an incumbent president. The third party total includes the vote cast for third party and independent candidates, miscellaneous write-in votes, and independent and unpledged Democratic slates of electors (in 1956, 1960 and 1964).

Source: America Votes (CQ Press).

Figure 2. WINNING THE BRONZE: TOP THIRD PARTY SHOWINGS IN EACH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SINCE WORLD WAR II

Party ("Bull Moose") run in 1912. Since World War II, an eclectic array of entities have captured the "bronze", from the Southern-based states' rights candidacies of Strom Thurmond and George Wallace to the recent campaigns of the liberal Ralph Nader. The Libertarian Party has been "the best of the rest" twice, most recently in 1988 when Ron Paul led the ticket. This year, Paul ran in the GOP primaries as a libertarian Republican, and received close to 1.2 million votes.

Vote for Leading Third Darty

% of Vote for Leading Third Darty

No third party or independent candidate has finished as high as second in any presidential election since former President Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive

Election	Candidate (Party)	Vote for Leading Third Party	% of Vote for Leading Third Party
1948	Strom Thurmond (States' Rights Democrat)	1,169,114	2.4%
1952	Vincent Hallinan (Progressive)	140,023	0.2%
1956	T. Coleman Andrews (Constitution)	111,178	0.2%
1960	Eric Haas (Socialist Labor)	47,522	0.1%
1964	Eric Haas (Socialist Labor)	45,219	0.1%
1968	George Wallace (American Independent)	9,906,473	13.5%
1972	John Schmitz (American)	1,099,482	1.4%
1976	Eugene McCarthy (Independent)	756,691	0.9%
1980	John Anderson (Independent)	5,720,060	6.6%
1984	David Bergland (Libertarian)	228,314	0.2%
1988	Ron Paul (Libertarian)	432,179	0.5%
1992	Ross Perot (Independent)	19,741,657	18.9%
1996	Ross Perot (Reform)	8,085,402	8.4%
2000	Ralph Nader (Green)	2,882,738	2.7%
2004	Ralph Nader (Independent)	465,650	0.4%

Note: In 1956, 1960 and 1964, targeted slates of independent and unpledged Democratic electors received more votes than the leading third party. Some sources list Strom Thurmond's vote in 1948 as 1,176,125, which includes uncertified results from several dozen counties in Texas.

Candidate (Darty)

Flaction

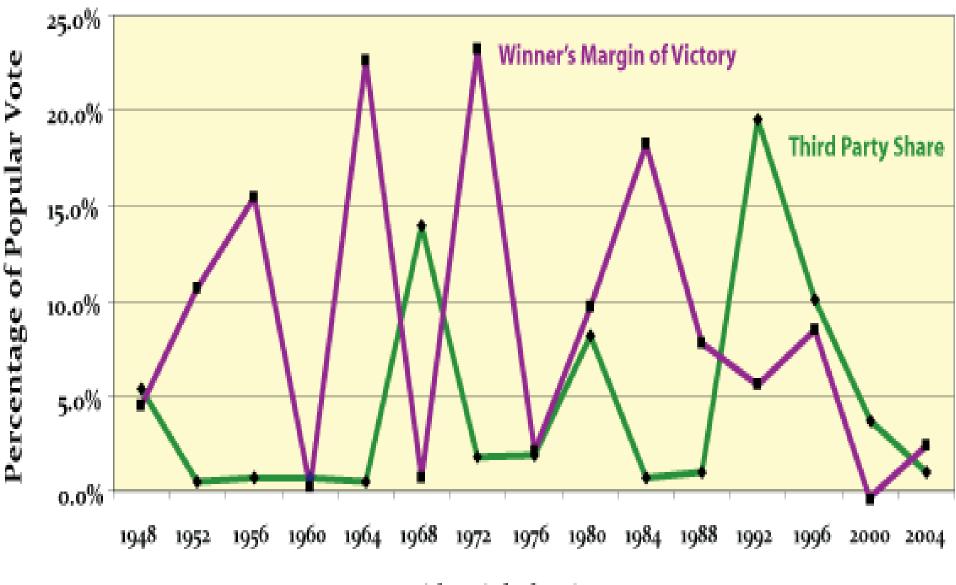
Figure 3. TOP THIRD PARTY CANDIDATES: THOSE THAT RECEIVED AT LEAST 5% OF THE TOTAL VOTE

The two-party monopoly in presidential elections has been difficult for third parties to crack. With virtually all the states employing winner-take-all in the awarding of their electoral votes, a third party or independent candidate must have a strong regional base in order to win any. It was a necessity that Ross Perot conspicuously lacked in 1992, when he won nearly 20 percent of the popular vote but not a single electoral vote. Altogether in the last two centuries, the number of third party and independent candidates who have drawn even 5 percent of the popular vote totals only a baker's dozen. And the list includes three former presidents--Theodore Roosevelt, Millard Fillmore and Martin Van Buren.

Candidate (Party)	Election	% of Popular Vote	<b>Electoral Vote</b>	States Carried
Theodore Roosevelt (Progressive)	1912	27.4%	88	6 - CA, MI, MN, PA, SD, WA
Millard Fillmore (Whig-American)	1856	21.5%	8	1 - MD
Ross Perot (Independent)	1992	18.9%	0	-
John Breckinridge (Southern Democrat)	1860	18.1%	72	11 - AL, AR, DE, FL, GA, LA, MD, MS, NC, SC, TX
Robert La Follette (Progressive)	1924	16.6%	13	1 - WI
George Wallace (American Independent)	1968	13.5%	46	5 - AL, AR, GA, LA, MS
John Bell (Constitutional Union)	1860	12.6%	39	3 - KY, TN, VA
Martin Van Buren (Free Soil)	1848	10.1%	0	-
James Weaver (Populist)	1892	8.5%	22	5 - CO, ID, KS, NV, ND
Ross Perot (Reform)	1996	8.4%	0	-
William Wirt (Anti-Masonic)	1832	7.8%	7	1 - VT
John Anderson (Independent)	1980	6.6%	0	
Eugene Debs (Socialist)	1912	6.0%	0	-

Note: In 1856 the fading Whig Party endorsed former President Millard Fillmore, who had been nominated earlier in the year by the American (or "Know-Nothing") Party.

# Winning Margins of Victory and Third Party Vote Shares



Presidential Election Year

# Why Minor Parties Are Important

### Minor parties play several important roles:

### "Spoiler Role"

 Minor party candidates can pull decisive votes away from one of the major parties' candidates, especially if the minor party candidate is from a splinter party.

#### Critic

 Minor parties, especially single-issue parties, often take stands on and draw attention to controversial issues that the major parties would prefer to ignore.

#### **Innovator**

 Often, minor parties will draw attention to important issues and propose innovative solutions to problems. If these proposals gain popular support, they are often integrated into the platforms of the two major parties.











## The Decentralized Nature of the Parties

# Both of the major parties are highly decentralized and fragmented.

# Why?

- The party out of power lacks a strong leader.
- The federal system distributes powers widely, in turn causing the parties to be decentralized.
- The nominating process pits party members against one another because only one person can chosen to be the party's presidential candidate.





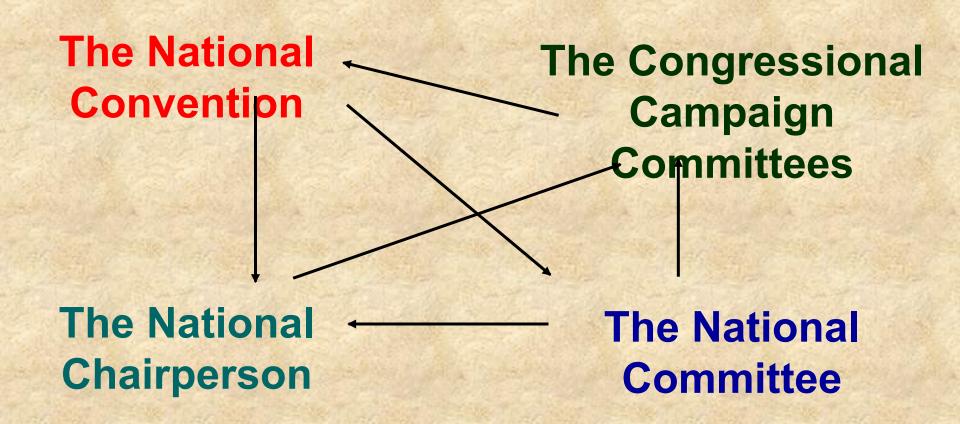








# **National Party Machinery**



All four elements of both major parties work together loosely to achieve the party's goals.







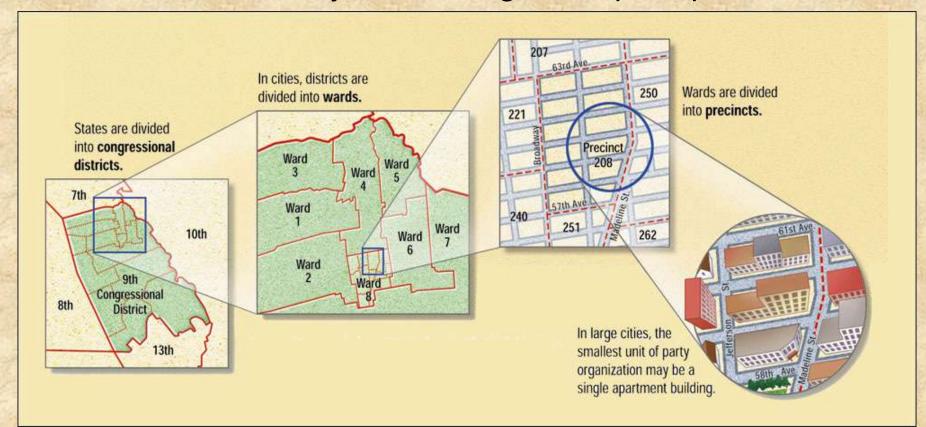




Chapter 5, Section 5

# **State and Local Party Machinery**

State and local party organization varies from State to State, but usually follow the general principles below.

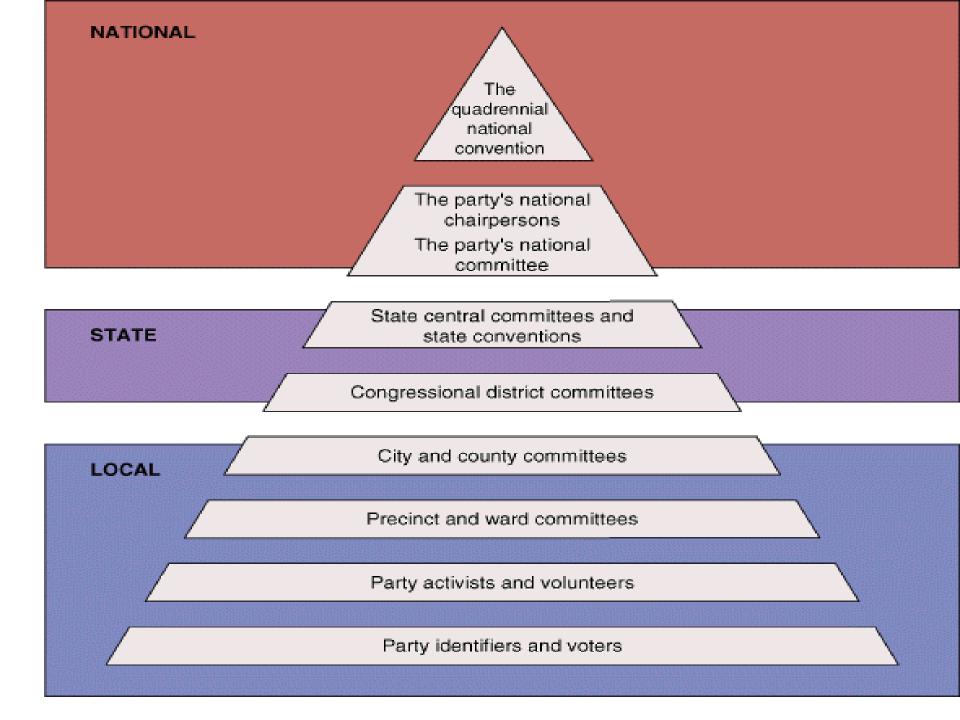












# The Three Components of the Party

# Party Components

# The Party Organization:

Those who run and control the party machinery.

# The Party in the Electorate

Those who always or almost always vote for party candidates.

# The Party in Government

Those who hold office in the government.





# The Future of Major Parties

# Weakened connections to political parties:

#### For voters:

- More people are unwilling to label themselves as "Democrats" or "Republicans"
- Split-ticket voting—voting for candidates of different parties for different offices at the same election

#### For candidates:

- Structural changes have increased conflict and disorganization within parties
- Changes in the technology of campaigning, especially the use of television and the Internet, have made candidates more independent of the party organization
- The growth of single-issue organizations provides candidates with another source of financial support









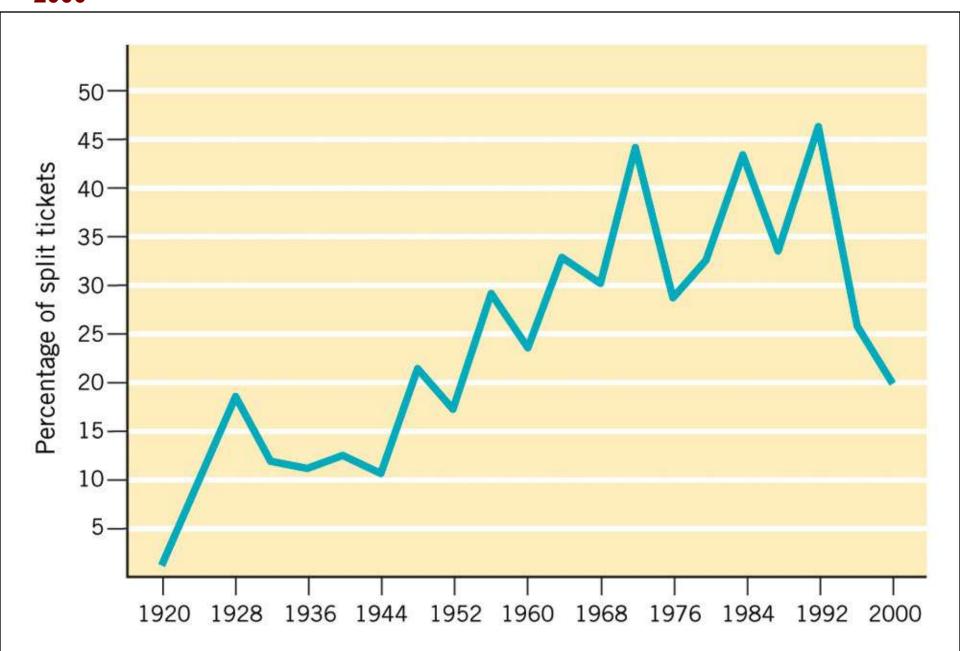








Figure 9.2: Trends in Split-Ticket Voting For President and Congress, 1920-2000



# **Political Parties**

**SECTION 1** Parties and What They Do

**SECTION 2** The Two-Party System

**SECTION 3** The Two-Party System in American History

**SECTION 4** The Minor Parties

**SECTION 5** Party Organization

### **Section 1 Review**

#### 1. A political party can be

- (a) principle-oriented.
- (b) issue-oriented.
- (c) election-oriented.
- (d) all of the above.

#### 2. Political parties fulfill all of the following functions EXCEPT

- (a) acting as watchdog.
- (b) informing and activating supporters.
- (c) supplying all campaign funding.
- (d) governing by partisanship.











# The Two-Party System

- Why does the United States have a twoparty system?
- How do multiparty and one-party systems function and what are their influences on government?
- What membership characteristics do American parties have?











# **Section 2 Review**

- 1. When Democrats and Republicans cooperate with one another, they are acting in a way.
  - (a) strange
  - (b) pluralistic
  - (c) bipartisan
  - (d) typical
- 2. The outlook of the two parties could be described as
  - (a) "too little, too late."
  - (b) "middle of the road."
  - (c) "a day late and a dollar short."
  - (d) "jumping on the bandwagon."





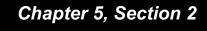














# **Section 3 Review**

#### 1. The nation's first two parties were

- (a) the Democrats and the Republicans.
- (b) the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists.
- (c) the Democratic-Republicans and the Republican-Democrats.
- (d) the Federalists and the Republicans.

#### 2. The Republican Party dominated the presidency from

- (a) 1932–1968.
- (b) 1860-1932.
- (c) 1800-1860.
- (d) 1783-1800.







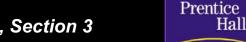












### **Section 4 Review**

- 1. Types of minor parties in the United States include all of the following EXCEPT
  - (a) ideological parties.
  - (b) single-issue parties.
  - (c) regulatory parties.
  - (d) splinter parties.
- 2. Ross Perot, who ran as a third-party candidate in 1992 and 1996, falls into which minor party category?
  - (a) single-issue party
  - (b) splinter party
  - (c) economic protest party
  - (d) none of the above













### **Section 5 Review**

- 1. Where did the decentralized structure of the two major parties originate?
  - (a) with the Fourteenth Amendment
  - (b) popular opinion demanded decentralization
  - (c) the Federalist nature of the government
  - (d) all of the above
- 2. All of the following are factors in the present, weakened state of parties EXCEPT
  - (a) split-ticket voting.
  - (b) changes in the technology of campaigning.
  - (c) scandal surrounding national conventions.
  - (d) the growth of single-issue organizations.













