

Political Parties and Ideology in a Diverse Society Part I



Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. From these great tasks both of the old parties have turned aside. Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare they have become the tools of corrupt interests, which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics, is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

Teddy Roosevelt

What Is A Political Party?



- ...a group of office holders, candidates, activists and voters who identify with a group label and seek to elect to public office individuals who run under that label ... central institution of democratic governments
- ...represents the primary connection between ordinary citizens and the public officials they elect
 - But many people do not consider political parties the heart of democracy.
 - Many seem to think government would be better without them.
- ...consists of three **separate but related parts**:
 - **party organization**
 - **party in government**
 - **party in the electorate**

The Role of Political Parties in a Democracy



- political parties
 - ...**recruit and run candidates** for public office under the party label
 - ...try to **organize and coordinate activities of government officials** under the party name
- Many believe that parties are essential to democracy.



The Role of Political Parties in a Democracy



- Parties enhance popular sovereignty and political equality by...
 - keeping elected **officials responsive**
 - including a **broad range** of groups
 - stimulating **political interest**
 - ensuring **accountability**
 - helping people **make sense of the complexity** in politics
 - making **government work**



The Role of Political Parties in a Democracy



- Parties enhance popular sovereignty and political equality by...
 - mobilizing **support** and gathering **power**
 - acting as forces for **stability** and **moderation**
 - promoting **unity** and **linkage**
 - enabling **voting** and **issue cues**
 - encouraging **policy** formation and promotion
 - **national party platform**: formal set of principal goals which are supported by the political party



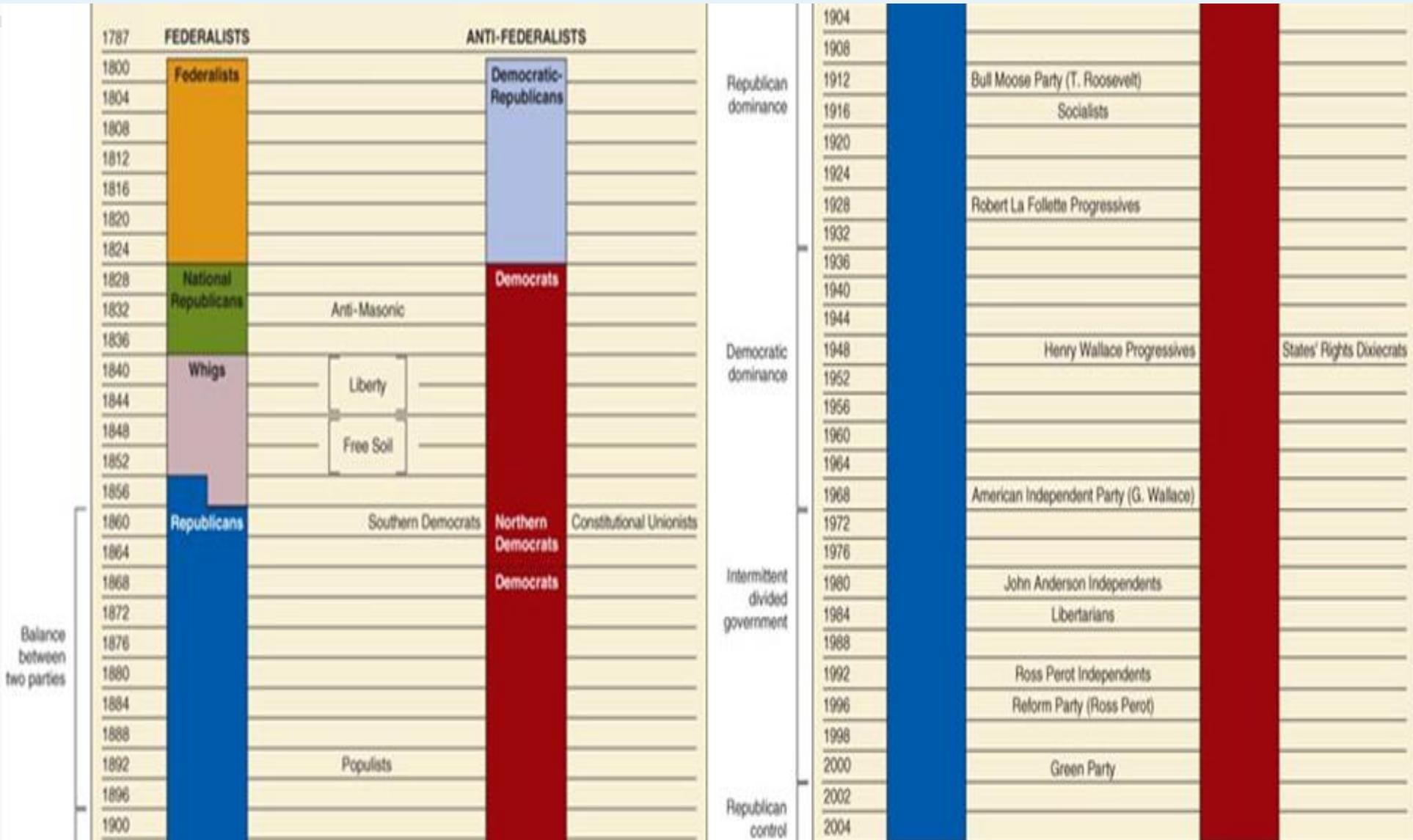
History of the Two-Party System



- Most nations have either a **one-party system** or a **multiparty system**.
- Most Western democracies have multiparty systems.
- Yet in the US, two parties have dominated the political scene since 1836.
- Democrats and Republicans have controlled the Presidency and Congress since **1860**.



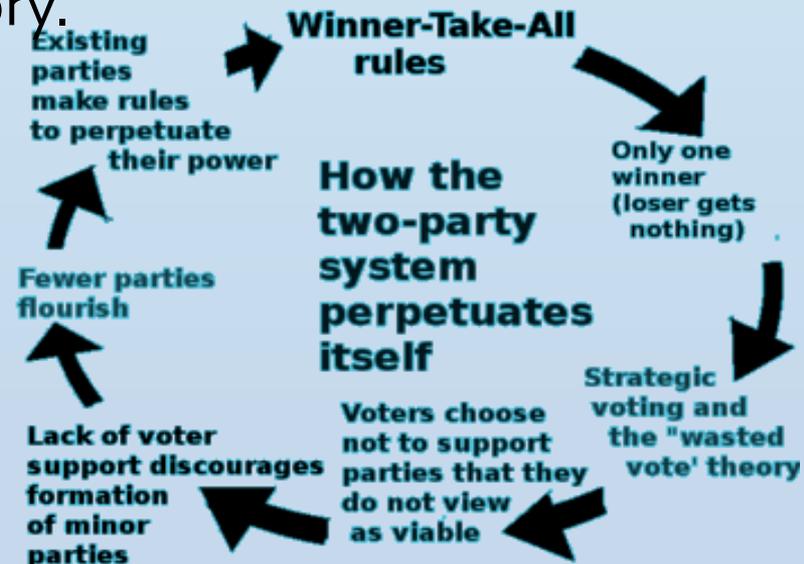
History of the Two-Party System



History of the Two-Party System



- American politics has been characterized by a series of **stable political party eras** punctuated by periods of **transition** – some sudden, others more sustained – from one party era to another.
- The present party system, characterized **by near parity between the parties** and a **large block of independent voters**, is unique in American history.



History of the Two-Party System



- Political change occurs constantly, but the system as a whole remains **relatively stable**.
- Occasionally, **dramatic events** can cause change to occur quickly.
 - Major changes in the system are called **realignments**.
- Four stable characteristics describe a party system:
 - the identity of the **major parties**
 - the parties' relative **balance of strength**
 - the **major issues**
 - the **party coalitions**

History of the Two-Party System



	Number of Presidential Elections Won by Each Party		Number of Times Each Party Won a Majority of Seats in the House of Representatives		Number of Times Each Party Won a Majority of Seats in the Senate		
First Party System 1796–1824	Democr-Republs	7	Democr-Republs	13	Democr-Republs	13	
	Federalists	1	Federalists	2	Federalists	2	
Second Party System 1826–1858	Democrats	6	Democrats	13	Democrats	15	
	Whigs	2	Whigs	2	Whigs	2	
			Republicans	2			
Third Party System 1860–1894	1860–1872	Republicans	4	Republicans	7	Republicans	7
		Democrats	0	Democrats	0	Democrats	0
	1874–1894	Republicans	3	Democrats	8	Republicans	9
		Democrats	2	Republicans	3	Democrats	
	Fourth Party System 1896–1930	Republicans	7	Republicans	13	Republicans	15
		Democrats	2	Democrats	5	Democrats	3
Fifth Party System 1932–1966	Democrats	7	Democrats	16	Democrats	16	
	Republicans	2	Republicans	2	Republicans	2	
Sixth Party System 1968–???	Republicans	7	Democrats	13	Democrats	10	
	Democrats	3	Republicans	6	Republicans	9	

The First Party System: Federalists vs. Democratic Republicans



- The US pioneered the mass parties that are considered vital in modern Europe.
- The Founders were hostile to parties in theory, yet created them almost immediately.
- The first parties were composed of **political notables** who supported Jefferson and Hamilton.
- **Federalists vs. Anti-Federalists**
- Alexander Hamilton vs. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison
 - Hamilton's group preferred a strong central government.
 - Jefferson's group (later the **Democratic Republicans**) preferred a federal system with more powerful states.
- No broad-based party organizations existed on either side to mobilize popular support.
- Congressional factions were primarily governmental party factions.
- Quickly these **personal followings became mass parties**.

The First Party System: Federalists vs. Democratic Republicans

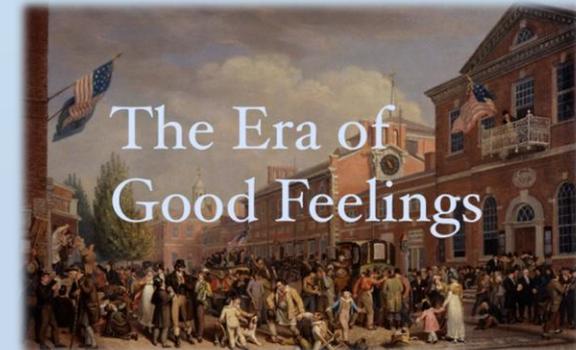


	<u>Federalist Beliefs</u>	<u>(former Anti-Federalists) Democratic-Republicans</u>
Leader	Alexander Hamilton John Adams	Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Patrick Henry
Appealed to	Manufacturers, merchants, wealthy and educated.... Favored seaboard cities	Farmers and Planters common man Favored the South and West
Ideas of Government	Strong government over states <u>Loose Construction</u> of Constitution • <u>Implied powers</u> Wealthy and educated involved Limit freedoms of speech & press Preferred govt. similar to a king	State's rights over National Govt. <u>Strict construction</u> of Constitution • <u>Expressed/Enumerated powers</u> Common man but educated Bill of Rights is sacred Lesser government the better
Domestic Policy	Supported National Bank—BUS Supported excise tax National debt good for country National govt. assume state debts Tariffs should be high	Against National Bank—BUS Against excise tax Against National debt States pay their own debts Tariffs should be low
Foreign Policy	Opposed French Revolution Wanted war with French Favored the British	Supported French Revolution Opposed war with French Favored the French

The Second Party System: Democrats vs. Whigs



- 1815-1825
- Federalists faded.
- **James Monroe's presidency**
 - **Era of Good Feelings**: reflected a sense of national purpose and a desire for unity among Americans in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, the collapse of the Federalist Party and an end to the bitter partisan disputes between it and the dominant Democratic-Republican Party
 - growth of **newspapers** closely linked to rise of a competitive party system



The Second Party System: Democrats vs. Whigs

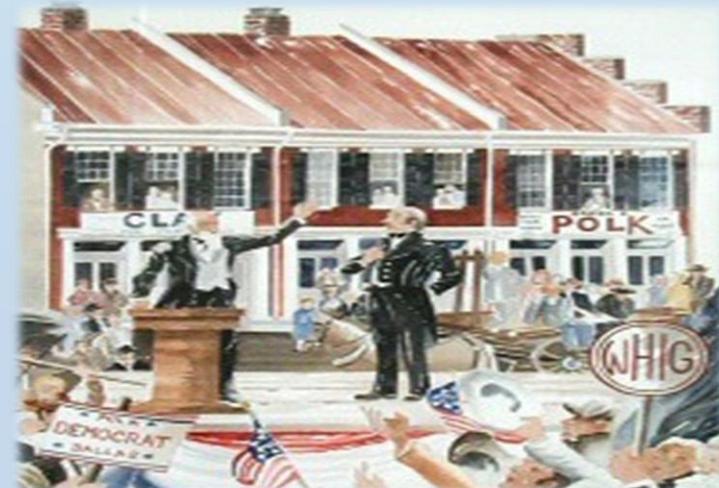


- **James Monroe's presidency**
 - party politics suspended at national level (Monroe: political parties are by their very nature incompatible with free government ... governing is best conducted by disinterested statesmen acting exclusively in the national interest ... **amalgamation**: end of party warfare and beginning of the "politics of consensus")
- **expansion of democracy**
 - States moved to choose electors through popular elections.
 - Party membership broadened.
 - national conventions
 - emergence of **Jacksonian Democrats** and opposition party, the **Whigs** (related to Federalists)

The Second Party System: Democrats vs. Whigs



- 1830s: **development of strong two-party system**
 - Democrats (formerly the Democratic Republicans)
 - Whigs
- very different parties from those in the first party system ... resulted from a significant **democratization** of American life
- The **Civil War split the parties** into northern and southern wings.



The Third Party System: Republicans and Democrats in Balance

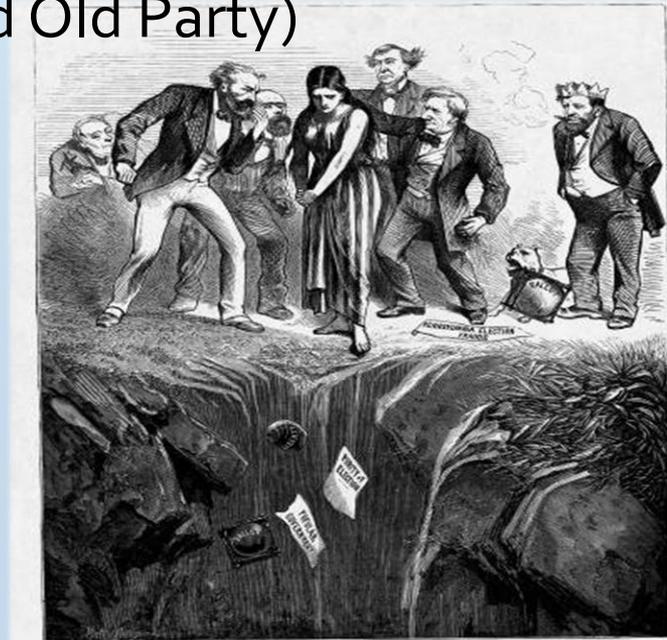


- from the Civil War to 1896
- Slavery **split the Whig support** across sectional lines.
- replaced by the **Republican Party**
 - John C. Fremont lost in 1856.
 - Lincoln won in 1860 with a fragmented vote.
 - South solidly for Democrats
 - Not a single southern state voted for a Republican president until 1920.
 - North for Republicans

The Third Party System: Republicans and Democrats in Balance



- **Republicans**
 - business
 - middle class
 - newly-enfranchised male African-Americans
 - often referred to as the GOP (Grand Old Party)
- **Democrats**
 - white southerners
 - northern urban workers
 - Catholics



THE REPUBLIC ON THE BRINK.
U. S. G.—“Push her off, boys. I’ll kick this thing over. We need her things for our own use.”

The Fourth Party System: Republican Dominance



- the party system of 1896-1928
- **rapid economic and social change in the late 19th century:** Economic and social changes following the industrialization of America posed new problems for the political system.
- **rise of the Populist party:** Democrats reacted to new economic challenges by adopting the People's Party (Populist) platform, initiating economic reforms ... Republicans received an infusion of support, especially in growing urban areas.
- **Presidential election of 1896:** Republican Wm McKinley defeated Democrat-Populist Wm Jennings Bryan ... one of most dramatic and complex races in American history.



The Fifth Party System: Democratic Party Dominance

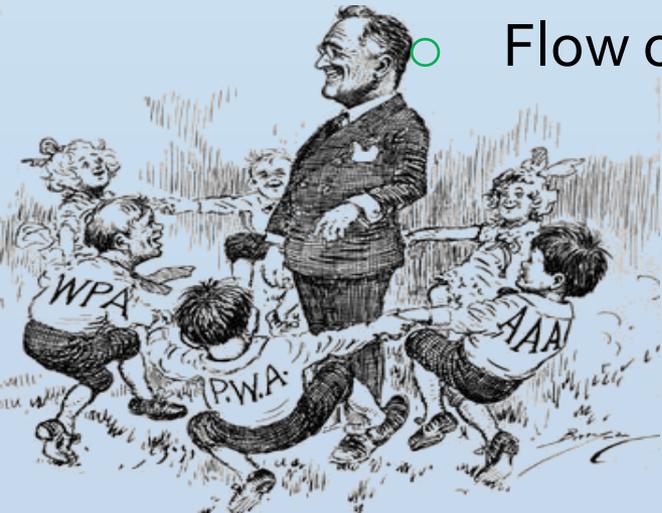


- the New Deal System
- **grew from the crisis of the Great Depression**: Following the Great Depression and the 1932 election, a new period of Democratic dominance began.
- Public reacted favorably to Democratic efforts to deal with the economic collapse.
- **New Deal coalition**: coalition that supported Franklin D. Roosevelt was formed, including a variety of groups ... New Deal social welfare policies further weakened **patronage-based urban party machine**, depriving them of their traditional service functions.

The Fifth Party System: Democratic Party Dominance



- Social, political, technological and governmental changes have contributed to **party decline since the 1920s**.
- Government assumed functions of the party.
 - printing **ballots**, conducting **elections**, providing **social welfare services**.
 - 1930s social services seen as a right, not a privilege, extended in exchange for support.
 - Flow of **immigrants** slowed dramatically.



The Sixth Party System: Dealignment and Parity

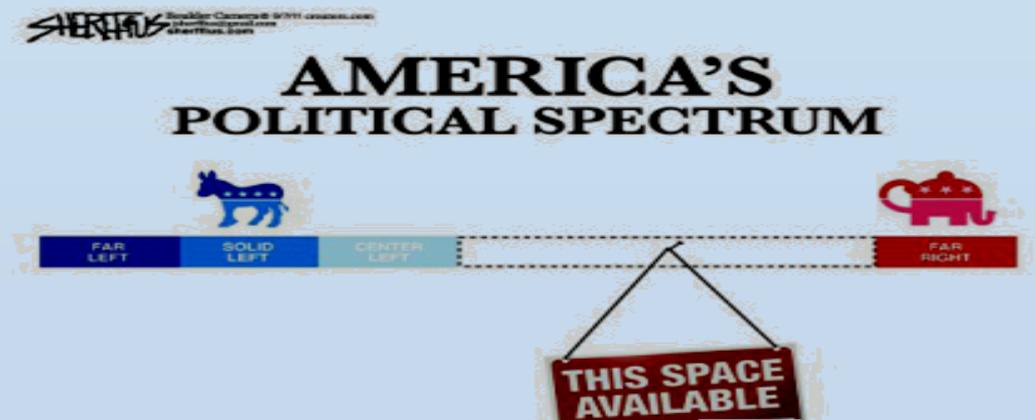


- In 1968, the **New Deal coalition began to deteriorate** ... In 1994, it collapsed.
- causes:
 - Democratic support for **civil rights** led to the defection of white southerners and blue-collar workers.
 - Democratic support for **feminists and gays**, as well as a strict **separation of church and state**, led to the defection of religious conservatives.
 - Democratic opposition to **Vietnam War** led to defection of foreign policy hawks.

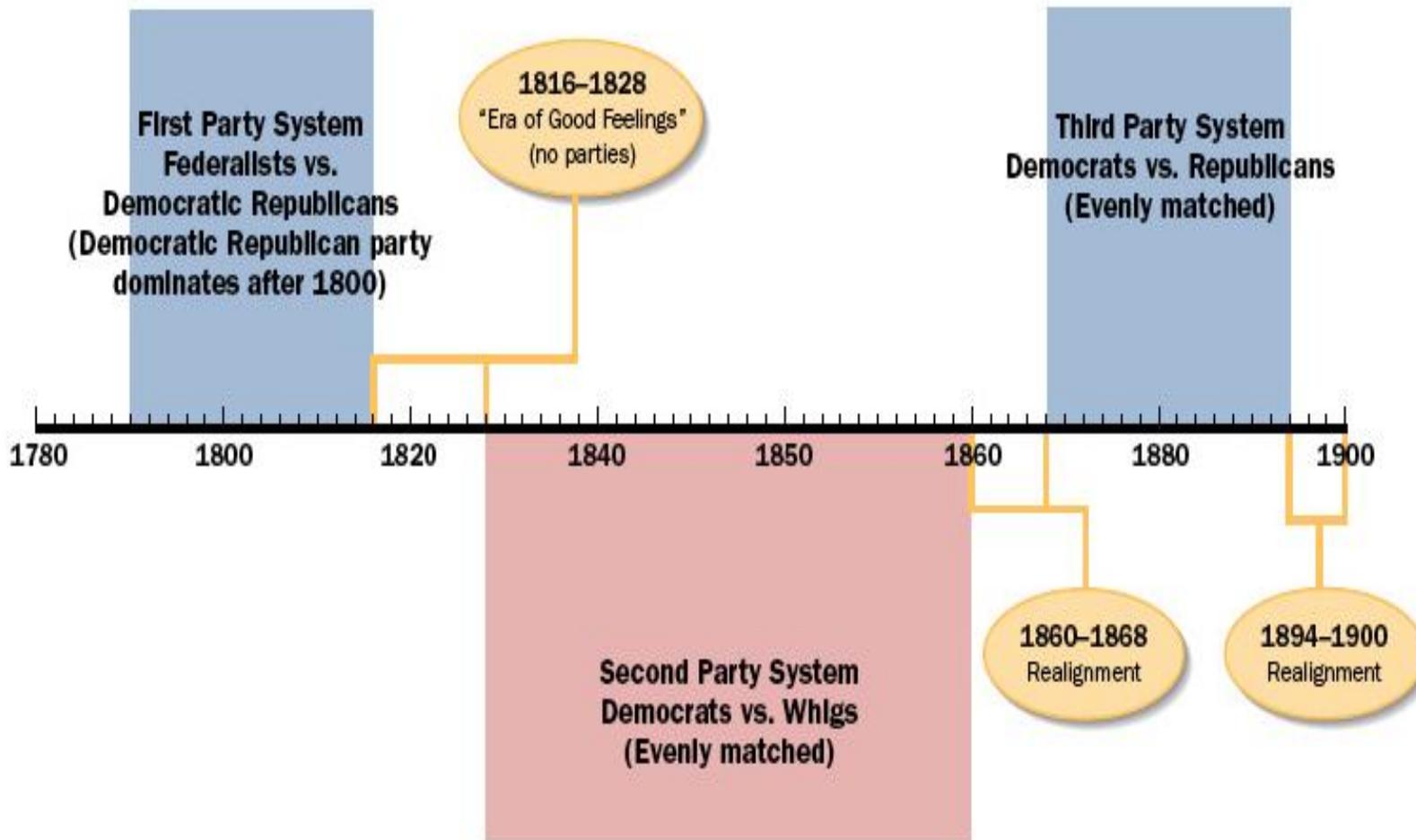
The Sixth Party System: Dealignment and Parity



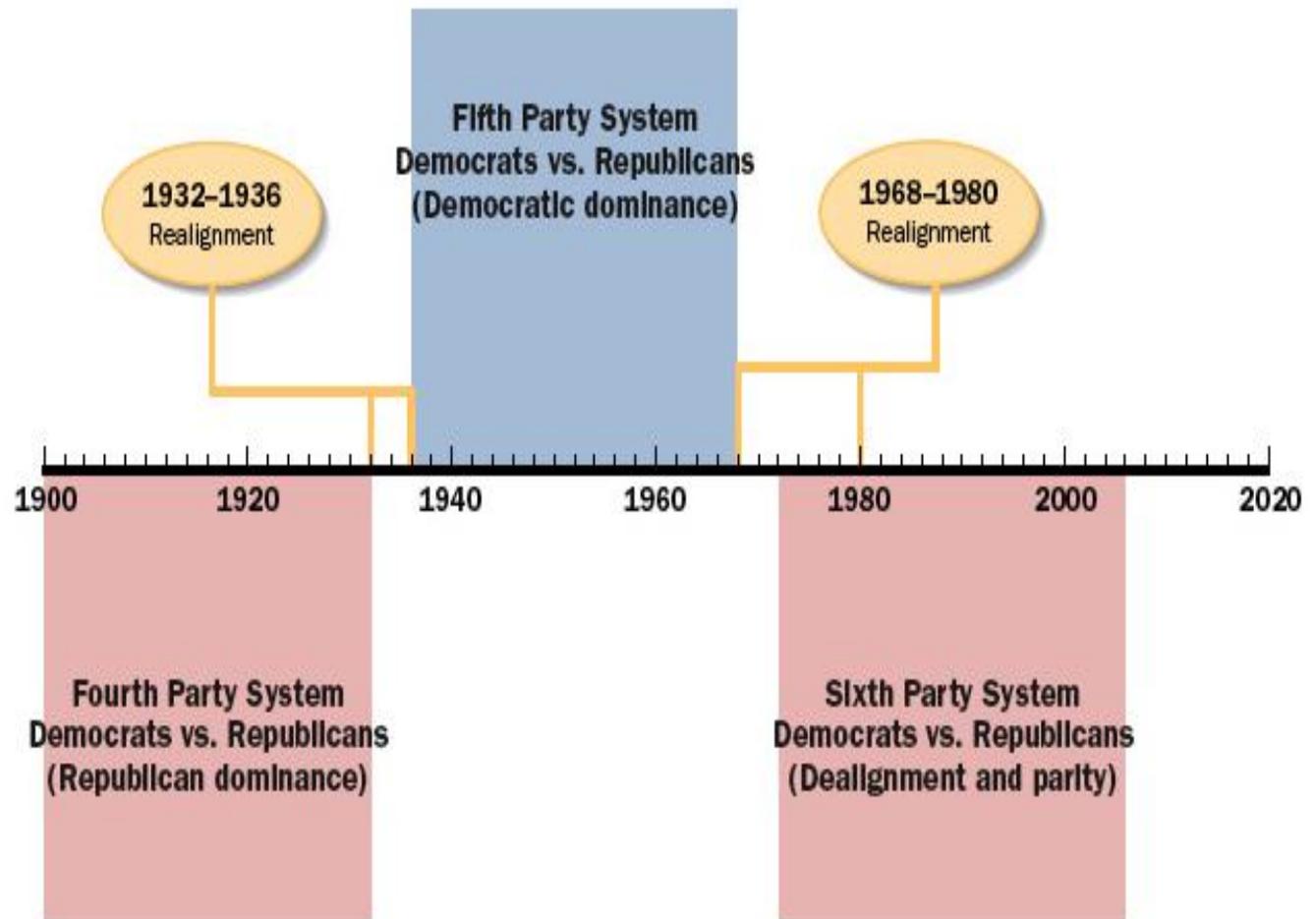
- features:
 - no new party has risen (**dealignment**)
 - near parity between the parties
 - declining party identification
 - more sharply divided views between Republicans and Democrats
 - Today, parties are weaker but still very important.



History of the Two-Party System



History of the Two-Party System



History of the Two-Party System



- parties evolved, changed form
- **reliable vehicles for mass participation** in a representative democracy
 - orchestrated the gradual **expansion of suffrage** in quest of new supporters
 - some efforts to **contract electorate**
 - southern Democrats and black participation
- **flexible** and **pragmatic**
- **competitive**
 - Of the 33 presidential elections from 1884 to 2012, Republicans have won 17 and Democrats 16.
 - bounced back from landslide defeats
 - Contemporary parties are starting to stand for very different pictures of political reality.

Two-Party and Multi-Party Systems



- **two-party system**

- ...system in which only two major parties compete for office
- Two-party systems are in the minority among world democracies. Most democracies have multi-party systems.

- **electoral system**

- ...a means of translating popular votes into control of public offices



Two-Party and Multi-Party Systems



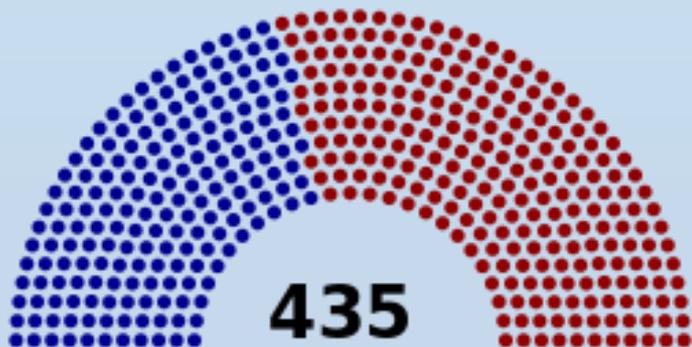
- **single-member, simple plurality system (SMSP)**
 - ...electoral system in which the country is divided into geographic districts, and the candidates who win the most votes within their districts are elected to the legislature
 - The almost exclusive use of the SMSP electoral system in the US is an important part of the explanation for the American two-party system.
- **proportional representation (PR)**
 - ...electoral system in which parties receive a share of seats in the legislature that is proportional to the popular vote they receive ... European democracies

Why a Two-Party System?

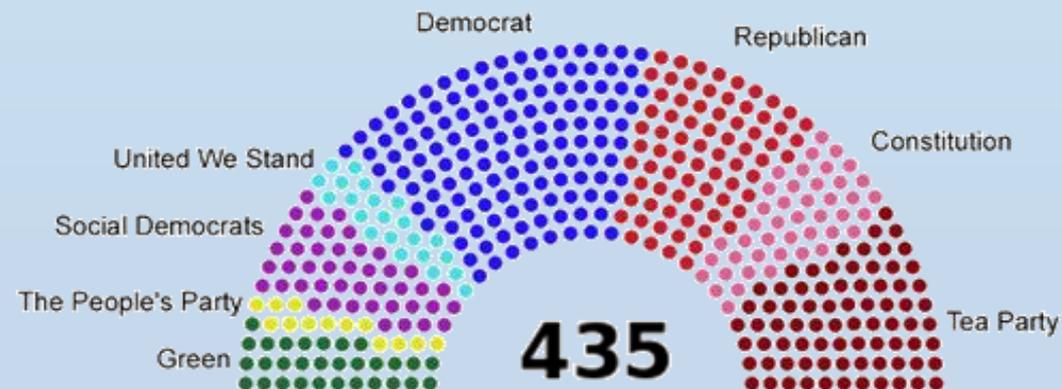


- US two-party system **unique among Western democracies**. Why?
 - **electoral rules**
 - multi-member districts vs. single-member districts
 - proportional representation vs. winner-take-all
 - plurality elections
 - For example, below are *two possible outcomes to House elections under the two systems*.

current winner-take-all system



proportional system



Why a Two-Party System?



- In addition to the SMSP system, other factors hurt the development of minor parties in the US.
 - plethora of varying **state regulations**, including **ballot access laws** that determine whether and how a candidate or party can get on the ballot
 - **federal campaign finance laws**, including ineligibility for federal campaign funds
 - rules that dictate who can enter presidential **debates**
 - lack of **media** attention

Why a Two-Party System?



- In addition to the SMSP system, other factors hurt the development of minor parties in the US.
 - a *significant* amount of **paperwork** is required, including huge numbers of **petition signatures**
 - Democrats and Republicans in **state legislatures protect their interests**.
 - **can't win syndrome**: voters worry that a vote for a minor party candidate is "wasted" since he or she is unlikely to win
 - In the winner-take-all system, there's **no reward for second place** and a minor party has trouble winning first.



The Role of Minor Parties in the Two-Party System



- Minor parties have played a less-important role in the US than in virtually any other democratic nation.
- In our entire history, only the Republican party has managed to replace one of the major parties.
- Still minor parties have a tendency to rise with some regularity in a two-party system and fulfill some important roles in the US.
 - articulate and popularize **new ideas** that are eventually taken over by one or both major parties
 - change the outcome of presidential campaigns by changing the outcome of the **electoral vote**

The Role of Minor Parties in the Two-Party System



- important roles in the US
 - major influence on US **policy** and political **debate**
 - incorporate **alienated groups**
 - act as a **gadfly**: push issues that are being neglected or purposely excluded from national debate because neither major party wants to face the political criticism that they might bring ... Slavery is a perfect example.
- Minor parties make electoral progress in direct proportion to the failure of the two major parties.



Types of Minor Parties



- **economic protest parties:** parties rooted in poor economic times, lacking a clear ideological base, dissatisfied with current conditions and demanding better times ... example: *Greenback Party (1876-1884)*

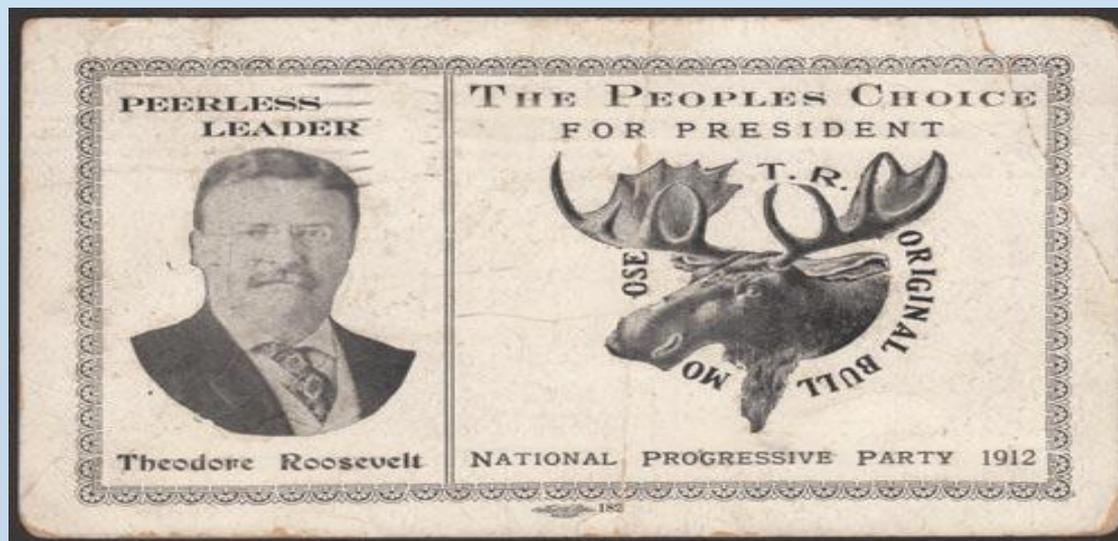


- **ideological parties:** parties based on a particular set of beliefs, a comprehensive view of social, economic and political matters ... example: *Libertarians*
- **single-issue parties:** parties that concentrate on only one public policy matter ... party name usually indicates the issue ... generally fail to gain voters and eventually fade away ... example: *Right to Life Party* which focused on abortion

Types of Minor Parties



- **splinter parties**: parties that have split away from one of the major parties ... most have formed around a strong personality, most often someone who has failed to win his major party's presidential nomination ... most of more important minor parties have been splinter parties ... example: Theodore Roosevelt's *Bull Moose Progressive Party* (1912)



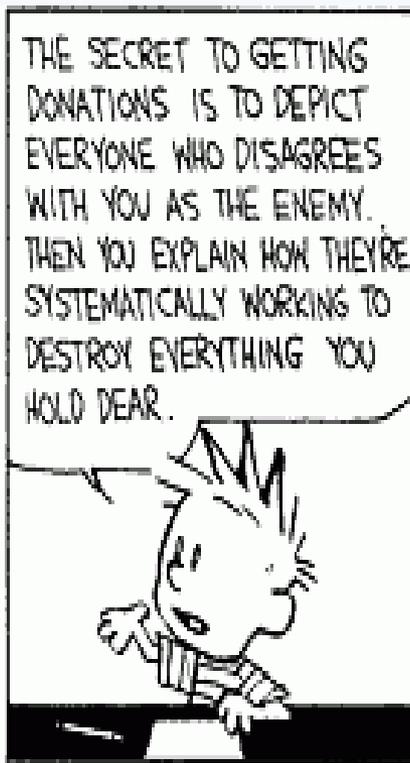
Minor Parties by Popular Support



Year	Candidate	Party	Popular Vote (%)	Electoral Votes	Subsequent Events
1912	T. Roosevelt	Progressive	27.4	88	Supported GOP nominee in 1916
1992	R. Perot	Independent	18.7	0	Created Reform party, which failed.
1924	R. LaFollette	Progressive	16.6	13	Robert LaFollette died in 1925.
1968	G. Wallace	American Independent	13.5	46	Dropped from 1972 election after being maimed in assassination attempt.
1848	M. Van Buren	Free Soul	10.1	0	Supporters eventually merged with Republican Party.
1892	J.B. Weaver	Populist	8.5	22	Party supported Democratic ticket in 1896.
1996	R. Perot	Reform	8.5	0	Party collapsed in 2000 elections.
1980	J. Anderson	National Unity	6.6	0	Candidate withdrew from politics.
2000	R. Nader	Green	3.0	0	Failed to qualify for 2004 federal funding.
1948	S. Thurmond	States' Rights	2.4	38	Democrats picked slate acceptable to South in 1952.
1948	H. A. Wallace	Progressive	2.4	6	Party disappeared.



I'M WRITING A FUND-RAISING LETTER.



THE SECRET TO GETTING DONATIONS IS TO DEPICT EVERYONE WHO DISAGREES WITH YOU AS THE ENEMY. THEN YOU EXPLAIN HOW THEY'RE SYSTEMATICALLY WORKING TO DESTROY EVERYTHING YOU HOLD DEAR.



IT'S A WAR OF VALUES! RATIONAL DISCUSSION IS HOPELESS! COMPROMISE IS UNTHINKABLE! OUR ONLY HOPE IS WELL-FUNDED ANTAGONISM, SO WE NEED YOUR MONEY TO KEEP UP THE FIGHT!



HOW CYNICALLY UNCONSTRUCTIVE.

ENMITY SELLS.

Continued in Political Parties and Ideology in a Diverse Society Part II