

SECOND EDITION

THE PARTIES RESPOND

*Changes in
American Parties
and Campaigns*

edited by

L. SANDY MAISEL

WESTVIEW PRESS

The Parties Respond

CHANGES IN AMERICAN
PARTIES AND CAMPAIGNS

Second Edition

EDITED BY
L. Sandy Maisel

Colby College

Westview Press

BOULDER • SAN FRANCISCO • OXFORD

FOR PATTY AND LIZ

Transforming American Politics

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Copyright © 1990, 1994 by Westview Press, Inc.

Published in 1994 in the United States of America by Westview Press, Inc., 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, Colorado 80301-2877, and in the United Kingdom by Westview Press, 36 Lonsdale Road, Summertown, Oxford OX2 7EW

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The parties respond : changes in American parties and campaigns /
edited by L. Sandy Maisel. — 2nd ed.

p. cm. — (Transforming American politics)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8133-1722-3. — ISBN 0-8133-1723-1 (pbk.)

1. Political parties—United States. I. Maisel, Louis Sandy,

1945— . II. Series.

JK2261.P29 1994

324.273—dc20

93-39411
CIP

Printed and bound in the United States of America



The paper used in this publication meets the requirements
of the American National Standard for Permanence of Paper
for Printed Library Materials Z39.48-1984.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

The Parties Respond

TRANSFORMING AMERICAN POLITICS

Lawrence C. Dodd, Series Editor

Dramatic changes in political institutions and behavior over the past three decades have underscored the dynamic nature of American politics, confronting political scientists with a new and pressing intellectual agenda. The pioneering work of early postwar scholars, while laying a firm empirical foundation for contemporary scholarship, failed to consider how American politics might change or to recognize the forces that would make fundamental change inevitable. In reassessing the static interpretations fostered by these classic studies, political scientists are now examining the underlying dynamics that generate transformational change.

Transforming American Politics brings together texts and monographs that address four closely related aspects of change. A first concern is documenting and explaining recent changes in American politics—in institutions, processes, behavior, and policymaking. A second is reinterpreting classic studies and theories to provide a more accurate perspective on postwar politics. The series looks at historical change to identify recurring patterns of political transformation within and across the distinctive eras of American politics. Last and perhaps most importantly, the series presents new theories and interpretations that explain the dynamic processes at work and thus clarify the direction of contemporary politics. All of the books focus on the central theme of transformation—transformation in both the conduct of American politics and in the way we study and understand its many aspects.

FORTHCOMING TITLES

Broken Contract? Changing Relationships Between Citizens and Their Government in the United States, edited by Stephen C. Craig

Congress and the Administrative State, Second Edition, Lawrence C. Dodd and Richard L. Schott

The New American Politics, edited by Bryan D. Jones

Young Versus Old: Generational Gaps in Political Participation and Policy Preferences, Susan MacManus and Suzanne L. Parker

Campaigns and Elections, edited by James A. Thurber and Candice J. Nelson

Cold War Politics, John Kenneth White

Bureaucratic Dynamics: The Role of the Bureaucracy in a Democracy, B. Dan Wood and Richard W. Waterman

Acknowledgments

The second edition of a book, one would think, should not involve as much work or require as many thanks as did the first. In this case, I believe my debts have increased.

I again want to acknowledge the contribution of Larry Dodd, the editor of the marvelously conceived series of which this book is a part. Without ever being intrusive, Larry has provided leadership as a series editor that is a model I hope others will follow.

My greatest debt is to Jennifer Knerr. I have worked with many editors over many years. Jennifer's skill in seeing a project through from conceptualization to completion is unmatched. She is a careful and thoughtful critic, a gentle but persistent prodder. Other editors fill those roles; Jennifer is unique because of her knowledge of the field and uncanny instincts regarding what will work and what will not in a book of this type. And she is especially treasured because she is a helpful and understanding friend as well as a highly prized colleague, a combination that makes her a pleasure to work with. I think most highly of her colleagues at Westview who have played key roles in seeing this work through to completion: Ellen Kresky, Cindy Hirschfeld, and Diane Hess.

Any editor owes thanks to those who contributed to a book. And I do thank those whose work appears in the pages that follow. We sought to do something special with this book—to update a study of political parties and elections with data through the 1992 election and to do a thorough job of analyzing what that very interesting election meant in the long run instead of rushing to press with a quick turnaround job. All of the authors shared this goal; for some it was more difficult than for others, as needed data were slow in arriving. I want to express my continuing gratitude to my friends and colleagues whose hard work has made this volume as successful as its predecessor.

In the same vein I want to thank those who used the first volume of *The Parties Respond* and who shared their views of how that book worked in the classroom. Those of us who teach courses on parties and elections have long recognized the need for a collection of essays that brings together the work of scholars who study various aspects of partisan politics.

We worked hard to make the first edition a book that met those needs. We hope that our responses to the constructive comments of those who used the first edition have made this an even more useful tool for teachers and their students.

As I have done in the past, I want to thank those here at Colby who have worked with me in preparing this book for the publisher. Patricia Kick has been my secretary for more than twenty years; her organizational skills are legendary among those who have passed through our halls in Miller Library. My colleagues in the Government Department make this a terrific place to work and also constantly inform my own research. What is unique about Colby, of course, is our students. As I worked on this project I benefited from the help of Jay Hartshorn, Lisa Prenaveau, Chuck Thompson, and, especially, Stephanie Pennix, who served as my research assistant and, for many chapters, as co-editor of this book. I also want to thank Dana Maisel and Neil Sinclair for their help as my deadline approached.

Finally, my family is, as always, my most important source of support. It amazes me that Dana and Josh are now reading my books in their college classes, that they are the audience and the critics at whom my work is aimed, and that, whereas once I thanked them for staying quiet while I worked, now I thank them for editorial assistance and careful reading. My sisters, Patricia Cotsen and Elizabeth Schulman, to whom this book is dedicated, have been more important to me as my life has wound its complex way through the past decades than even they can know. I hope they know how much their love and support means to the one who will always be their little brother.

L. Sandy Maisel
Rome, Maine

Prologue

In 1992 Americans once again voiced their dislike of political parties. According to a survey conducted by the *Los Angeles Times* in March 1992, one in four American voters did not approve of the way we choose our national leaders. Four months later, a Gallup poll conducted for *USA Today* and CNN found that nearly one in three respondents felt that “political parties do not make democracy work better.” And, on election day 1992, Ross Perot, the independent, antiestablishment, and anti-major party candidate for the presidency, polled a higher percentage of votes than has any non-Democrat or non-Republican since Teddy Roosevelt ran as the Bull Moose party candidate in 1912—and Roosevelt, of course, was a former Republican president.

But Americans have always loved to hate political parties. The persistence of American political parties through nearly two centuries of criticism stands as a testimony to their role in our system of government. Despite the fact that they are never mentioned in the Constitution, parties have had an impact on virtually every aspect of American political life.

The role of political parties has deserved particular attention in recent decades as the parties have responded to ongoing transformations in American politics. Think of the environment in which political parties operate. In broadest terms, parties seek to attract voters to support candidates for office, based on allegiance to the party label and on agreement with the policy positions supported by the party. They do so within a legal and political context that is constantly changing because of world events, a context that varies from state to state and even from community to community within states. Rarely in this nation’s history have those changes been as marked as during the past forty years.

Four decades ago the civil rights movement was the major social and political force in the nation. In 1954 the Supreme Court had ruled, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, that separate was no longer legally equal; but government officials throughout the South were resisting integration as a matter of public policy, and northern society was nearly as segregated as southern. Politics reflected a society in which racial taboos still dominated. James Meredith had to be accompanied by federal marshals when

he integrated the University of Mississippi over the objections of Governor Ross Barnett in 1962; Sidney Poitier broke another racial barrier when he starred in and won the Best Actor Oscar for *Lilies of the Field* in 1963, a feat matched in television by Bill Cosby's Emmy-winning starring role in "I Spy" two years later (see Weisbrot, 1990).

A variety of Jim Crow laws kept black Americans from voting throughout the South; in Mississippi, less than 10 percent of the black population was registered to vote when John Kennedy was elected president. Even in the supposedly liberal North, few black politicians successfully sought elective office, and virtually none were elected except in areas where blacks constituted a racial majority.

The civil rights movement began to change American society in important ways. In 1964 the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the Constitution banned the Poll Tax, a lingering example of Jim Crowism. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 led directly to a dramatic increase in black participation in the political process; at the time of the passage of that act, fewer than 100 African Americans held elective office. According to the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, that number is now approaching 7,000, including 4,000 in the South. And the political parties have had to respond to those changes. The changes have been so profound that the chief beneficiary of a rule change to increase the influence of southern states in the Democratic party's nominating process in 1988 was Jesse Jackson, a black minister whose political roots were in the civil rights movement that brought about these changes.

But the civil rights movement has not been the only force influencing American politics in recent decades. Indeed, the Vietnam War dominated the political landscape for nearly ten years. Its political legacy included not only the Twenty-Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, which gave those old enough to fight in Vietnam the right to choose the governing officials who make foreign policy, but also a generation of young people who were uncertain if electoral politics and the traditional political parties could meet their needs. And, again, as the political landscape was transformed, parties had to respond.

The women's movement also had a profound impact. Forty years ago most of the women active in electoral politics were widows of prominent politicians. Even the legendary Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME), so prominent early in the 1950s for her defiance of Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI), first sought office to fill a seat vacated by the death of her husband. But the role of women in American society and American politics was fundamentally transformed in the 1970s and 1980s. Female politicians, many of them initially drawn to politics through their participation in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam movements, became more and more prominent. And just as the civil rights movement led to increased participation by

black voters, to increased concern for political issues of particular importance to racial minorities, and to an increase in the number of black office holders, so too did the women's movement lead to the mobilization of women as active political participants, to definable differences (the so-called gender gap) between male and female voters, to a concern for issues of gender from the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to abortion to improved day-care facilities, and to an increase in prominent female politicians. Once again the parties had to respond as the body politic underwent a transformation. In 1993 more women won major party nominations for the House and Senate than had ever been the case before. "The year of the woman" ended with forty-seven female House members and six women sitting in the Senate, both record numbers.

Other changes could be added to this list—the Supreme Court rulings requiring appointment schemes that, to the extent possible, equalized the value of votes, the increase in the numbers of Hispanic and Asian Americans, an increased public concern about ethics in government largely as a result of the Watergate affair, the movement of the nation's population from the Snowbelt states to the Sunbelt states with consequent shifts in the size of congressional delegations—but the lessons remain the same. As the nation has undergone dramatic changes, the political parties, as institutions that must function within this changing context, have had to respond.

And there is no doubt that the parties—as well as the politicians who run under party labels and the institutions in which they serve—*have* responded. Some of their responses have been abrupt and some more subtle. Some have been successful, and some have failed. Some have been welcomed and some criticized. By any account, however, the list of reforms, many of which were promulgated during the turbulent 1970s, is impressive—major changes in the committee and seniority systems in the Congress, Government in Sunshine laws and sunset legislation to close the books on unneeded programs, imposition of more stringent ethical standards in the Congress and the executive branch, redefinition of the relationship between the executive and the legislature as they work on the federal budget and conduct foreign policy, public funding of presidential campaigns and restrictions on the financing of congressional campaigns and campaigns in nearly every state, restructuring of the delegate-selection process for national conventions (reflecting a move toward more popular and less organization influence), and, finally, the reactions to those reforms, such as affirmative action programs for women and minorities.

The Democrats and the Republicans have not always responded in the same way to these changes in American politics; partisan differences on some reforms have been pronounced. But the parties have been involved

in all of these matters, and neither party in the 1990s comes even close to what it was in the 1950s in terms of organization, membership, how it appeals to the electorate or serves its candidates, and its impact on governing. This book examines the parties' responses.

The essays written for this volume examine contemporary political parties. But the historical context of that examination is important as well. As Joel Silbey persuasively argues in the opening essay, the centrality of the party role has varied significantly over time. Not only the intensity of that role but also the locus of its impact has shifted.

The essays that follow Silbey's historical introduction do not examine political parties as a whole; rather, each chapter looks at one aspect of the role played by these resilient institutions as they have adapted to a changing political context. For instance, the second through fourth chapters look at party organization. The next two chapters focus on the role of the party in the electorate; the five after that examine the role of parties in the more broadly defined electoral arena. The three subsequent chapters on the role of party in government recognize the fact that party as an institution has more than an electoral role. And the final two essays speculate on how this role will change in the decades ahead.

The sixteen essays that make up this book represent the most recent thinking by leading scholars; yet they have been written with an undergraduate audience in mind. They not only cover the varying aspects of this topic from differing perspectives, but they also employ a range of research methods so that students can be exposed to the various modes of analysis used by contemporary researchers.

In Chapters 2 and 3, John Bibby and Paul Herrnson examine political parties as organizations in search of a role, at the state and national levels, respectively. In each case, the question is whether these organizations, once perceived as weak and ineffectual, have found a niche through which they can regain the influence they once had. And in each case, the answer is a qualified "yes." In Chapter 4, Walter Stone, Ronald Rapoport, and Alan Abramowitz refer to surveys of state convention delegates in their examination of the views of political activists who influence party decisions. When activists in the two parties, among them the party leaders, emphasize different issue positions and thus become further separated in ideological terms, their positions might well presage similar differences among their followers.

In Chapters 5 and 6, Warren Miller and Morris Fiorina analyze the relationship between parties and voters. Using national survey data from the presidential elections of the 1980s, Miller refutes the arguments of those who claim that the electorate has lost its allegiance to the major political parties. He maintains that the voters (as opposed to citizens who do not vote) retain party as an important referent group and that the evidence

points to a realignment toward the Republicans that began during the Reagan administration and was cemented in the election of 1988. He also looks at the 1992 election in light of this finding. Fiorina, looking at how voters decide on the array of choices with which they are presented on each election day, and contrasting the elections of the 1980s and of 1992 with those a half-century earlier, concludes that elections, once party-centered, are now office-centered (i.e., voters view presidential elections and congressional elections in different ways) and person-centered (i.e., voters relate to those candidates they come to know). Now that ticket splitting and divided government are accepted parts of the electoral scene, the traditional concept of realignment caused by divisive issues is no longer meaningful.

The next five chapters concern the role of political parties in the conduct of elections. In Chapter 7, Sandy Maisel, Linda Fowler, Ruth Jones, and Walter Stone present a model to explain candidate decisionmaking and explore the limitations of the role that party can play in determining who will be candidates in state and local elections. The authors also speculate on how that role can be enhanced. In Chapter 8, Elaine Kamarck and Kenneth Goldstein demonstrate the effect of national party rules on the strategies and outcomes of recent presidential nominations. They conclude with a discussion of the party context in which future nominating contests will occur. Anthony Corrado reviews the 1992 election in Chapter 9 and examines the extent to which the most recent election signifies a major change for political parties as they compete for the nation's highest office. In Chapter 10, Frank Sorauf and Scott Wilson explore the means by which political parties have responded to the evolving cash economy of modern campaigns. As modern campaigns require more money and less manpower, parties have found a new niche; but Sorauf and Wilson reveal evidence that this new role may prove to be as transitory as previous ones. Then, in Chapter 11, Andrew Gelman and Gary King explore how media messages influence presidential elections; they derive a theory of media impacts on two-party competition from their examination of political scientists' and pollsters' election forecasts.

Decades ago, V. O. Key directed political scientists to look at the role of political parties in government as well as in the electoral arena. In Chapters 12 and 13, accordingly, Barbara Sinclair and David Brady and Kara Buckley analyze the complex impact of party on Congress. Drawing on her experiences as a participant observer, Sinclair shows evidence of re-emerging strength in party leadership in the process by which the legislature defines the policy agenda and structures the two chambers. But Brady and Buckley claim that, despite evidence of increased party voting in recent Congresses, structural factors and many of the same political factors on which Fiorina commented lead one to conclude that one must in-

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Prologue</i>	xiii

PART ONE PARTIES IN THE AMERICAN CONTEXT

1	The Rise and Fall of American Political Parties 1790–1993 <i>Joel H. Silbey</i>	3
---	---	---

PART TWO THE EVOLVING STATE OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

2	State Party Organizations: Coping and Adapting <i>John F. Bibby</i>	21
3	The Revitalization of National Party Organizations <i>Paul S. Herrnson</i>	45
4	Party Polarization: The Reagan Revolution and Beyond <i>Walter J. Stone</i> <i>Ronald B. Rapoport</i> <i>Alan I. Abramowitz</i>	69

PART THREE THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTIES AND VOTERS

5	Party Identification and the Electorate of the 1990s <i>Warren E. Miller</i>	103
6	The Electorate at the Polls in the 1990s <i>Morris P. Fiorina</i>	123

PART FOUR
THE ELECTORAL ARENA

- 7 Nomination Politics: The Roles of Institutional, Contextual,
and Personal Variables 145
L. Sandy Maisel
Linda L. Fowler
Ruth S. Jones
Walter J. Stone
- 8 The Rules Do Matter: Post-Reform Presidential
Nominating Politics 169
Elaine Ciulla Kamarck
Kenneth M. Goldstein
- 9 The 1992 Presidential Election: A Time for Change? 197
Anthony J. Corrado
- ✓ 10 Political Parties and Campaign Finance: Adaptation and
Accommodation Toward a Changing Role 235
Frank J. Sorauf
Scott A. Wilson
- 11 Party Competition and Media Messages in U.S.
Presidential Elections 255
Andrew Gelman
Gary King

PART FIVE
THE PARTIES IN GOVERNMENT

- ✓ 12 Parties in Congress: New Roles and Leadership Trends 299
Barbara Sinclair
- ✓ 13 Coalitions and Policy in the U.S. Congress 319
David W. Brady
Kara M. Buckley
- 14 Partisan Leadership Through Presidential Appointments 341
G. Calvin Mackenzie

PART SIX
TOWARD THE FUTURE

15	Deconstructing Bill Clinton's Victory <i>David M. Shribman</i>	365
✓ 16	Political Parties at the Century's End <i>L. Sandy Maisel</i>	379
	<i>List of Acronyms</i>	397
	<i>References</i>	399
	<i>About the Book and Editor</i>	425
	<i>About the Contributors</i>	427
	<i>Index</i>	431

PART ONE

Parties in the American Context