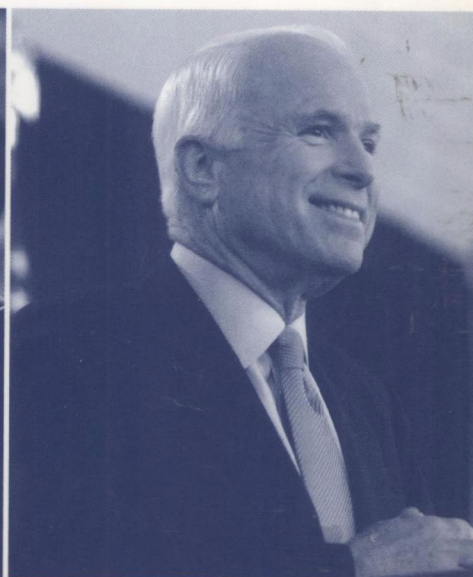
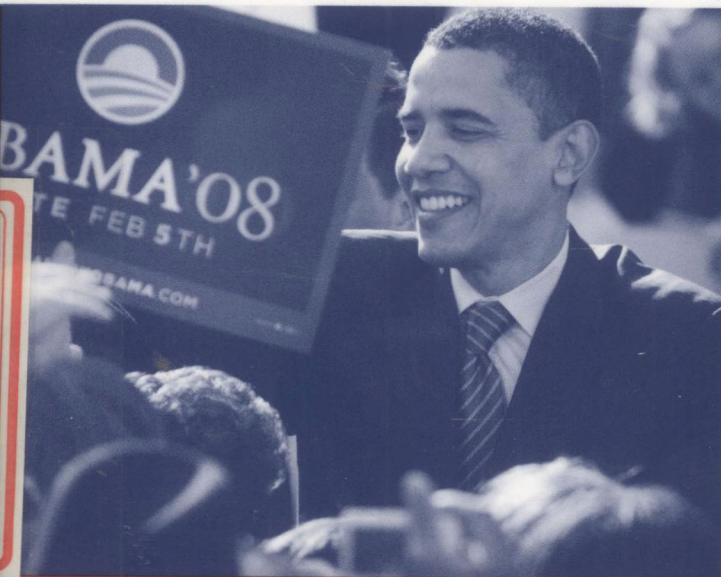


Politics, Parties, & Elections in America



by Brian F. Schaffner

7e



POLITICS, PARTIES, AND ELECTIONS IN AMERICA

SEVENTH EDITION

Brian F. Schaffner

University of Massachusetts, Amherst



WADSWORTH
CENGAGE Learning™

Australia • Brazil • Japan • Korea • Mexico • Singapore • Spain • United Kingdom • United States

**Politics, Parties, and Elections
in America, Seventh Edition**
Brian F. Schaffner

Assistant Editor: Katherine
Hayes

Editorial Assistant: Angela
Hodge

Marketing Manager: Amy
Whitaker

Marketing Coordinator: Josh
Hendrick

Marketing Communications
Manager: Heather Baxley

Content Project Management:
PreMediaGlobal

Art Director: Linda Helcher

Print Buyer: Fola Orekoya

Rights Acquisitions Account
Manager, Text: Katie Huha

Rights Acquisitions Account
Manager, Image: Mandy
Groszko

Production Service:
PreMediaGlobal

Cover Designer: Rokusek Design

© 2012, 2008 Wadsworth, Cengage Learning

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced, transmitted, stored, or used in any form or by any means graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including but not limited to photocopying, recording, scanning, digitizing, taping, Web distribution, information networks, or information storage and retrieval systems, except as permitted under Section 107 or 108 of the 1976 United States Copyright Act, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

For product information and technology assistance, contact us at
Cengage Learning Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706.

For permission to use material from this text or product,
submit all requests online at **www.cengage.com/permissions**.

Further permissions questions can be e-mailed to
permissionrequest@cengage.com.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2010929102

Student Edition:

ISBN-13: 978-0-495-89916-7

ISBN-10: 0-495-89916-X

Wadsworth

20 Channel Center Street,
Boston, MA 02210
USA

Cengage Learning is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with office locations around the globe, including Singapore, the United Kingdom, Australia, Mexico, Brazil, and Japan. Locate your local office at **www.cengage.com/global**.

Cengage Learning products are represented in Canada by Nelson Education, Ltd.

To learn more about Wadsworth, visit **www.cengage.com/wadsworth**

Purchase any of our products at your local college store or at our preferred online store **www.cengagebrain.com**.

PREFACE

It is striking how quickly things can change in the world of politics. Just a decade ago, the dominant theme in political parties textbooks was one of party decline. Scholars and pundits questioned whether parties were relevant to citizens any longer and discussed the dire consequences of this irrelevance for the political system. But the increasing homogeneity of the party coalitions along with critical events such as the 2000 Florida recount, 9/11, the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the health-care reform legislation, have created a very different landscape. These changes, and others, hold important implications for how political parties function in our political system. The conversation about political parties is now focused on “red states” and “blue states” and the increasing partisan polarization in American politics. Indeed, rather than worry about the consequences of party decline, many pundits and scholars now wonder if parties matter *too* much. Clearly much has changed in the study of political parties and these changes have provided much of the material for the seventh edition of this book.

Through its first five editions, John F. Bibby did a fine job of producing one of the most comprehensive texts on political parties. One of the major strengths of this book has been its attention to historical context while also remaining contemporary in its focus. In taking over this book from Professor Bibby, I have endeavored to keep intact much of what has made this book so strong. The attention to historical context remains, as does the book’s central theme of parties influencing and being influenced by the electoral context within which they operate.

While the core concepts in the book carry over from previous editions, much has changed in recent years and the shifting political landscape has provided me with plenty of material with which to augment the previous work and add new insight to this seventh edition. Partisan polarization has become more than just a buzzword for politicians, pundits, and academics and the subject deserves serious attention in any contemporary parties text. This edition was written to incorporate

this new reality of American politics. Nearly every chapter has been further revised to incorporate information and research about the polarized political environment. This is particularly true for Chapters 7, 8, and 9, which expand on the causes and consequences of polarization among voters, candidates, and office holders. Polarization is also one of the themes of the book's conclusion in Chapter 10.

Of course, much has changed in the American political landscape even since the last edition of this book was published in 2007. The 2008 election proved to be one of the most fascinating and historical elections in decades. Previous editions of this book noted that modern presidential nomination campaigns tended to be won by the frontrunner and generally did not last long at all. Of course, the epic battle between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama for the Democratic Party's nomination turned that conventional wisdom on its head. This edition of the book focuses significant attention on how Obama was able to come from behind in the polls to win the nomination and why the nomination race carried on for so long without a clear winner.

Obama's 2008 campaign was also innovative in other ways as well. First, his fund-raising success was unprecedented and allowed him to become the first major party candidate to forego public funding during both the primary and general election campaigns. This edition of the text examines not only how Obama was able to raise such large sums, but also what it means for how future presidential campaigns are financed. Second, Obama was also highly entrepreneurial in how he used the Internet and other technological innovations to build support and target individuals during the campaign. A description of these innovations and what they mean for how parties approach future campaigns is an important part of this new edition. Third, Obama became the first African American ever elected to the presidency, and his campaign for that office challenged many Americans to reflect on the role of race in modern politics. This new edition describes some of the initial research that has debated whether race influenced voters' support for Obama.

Finally, Obama's first term in office has been an eventful one. He took office with large Democratic majorities in both the House and the Senate, and Democrats have used their unified control of government to pursue much of their agenda. Particularly controversial were Democratic efforts to reform the nation's health-care system. Over nearly a full year, Congress and the nation debated whether and how to reform health care and given the nature of modern politics, it is no surprise to find that politicians and the public were highly polarized on the issue. Nevertheless, with strong leadership from Nancy Pelosi and Harry Reid, Democrats were ultimately able to pass a health-care reform bill that the president signed into law. The efforts to pass this major legislation provide abundant material for a revised discussion of the role of party in government in Chapter 9.

I am grateful to many people not only for their help with this text, but also for putting me in the position in my career to have this opportunity. With regard to the latter, my professors at Indiana University, including Pat Sellers, Jerry Wright, Bob Huckfeldt, Dave Weaver, Leroy Rieselbach, Margie Hershey, and John Williams, provided me with the highest quality training to enter the academic world. As an undergraduate, my very first upper division class in political science was on political parties and I owe much of my interest in the subject to John Clark who taught that class, sparked my interest in getting a PhD, and later became my colleague and

friend. At American University, Jim Thurber was a very supportive mentor and friend and my year at the National Science Foundation was enriched by my good fortune in working with so many smart and kind political scientists, including Susan Haire, Wendy Martinek, Frank Scioli, Harold Clarke, and especially Brian Humes. Since the last edition, I have moved to the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where my new colleagues have been extremely welcoming. In particular, I want to thank the members of our American politics group, Maryann Barakso, Ray La Raja, Tatishe Nteta, Jesse Rhodes, and Dean Robinson as well as John Hird, who is as supportive a department chair as one could ever hope for.

Several people contributed a great deal to this edition. John Bibby deserves my highest appreciation not only for creating a wonderful foundation upon which to build, but also for trusting me to take his book forward. I also want to thank the Wadsworth team, including Carolyn Merrill and Angela Hodge, as well as David Tatom and Janise Fry, who originally brought me in on this project. My research assistant, Mel Tarsi, was very important for the timely completion of the book.

Most of all, I would like to thank my family. My parents, John and Karen Schaffner, sparked my interest in politics at a young age, and my sisters, Laura and Georgia, have always been there to support me. I am particularly grateful to Maryann, Sarah, and Ellie, who patiently tolerated all of the late nights (and the laptop that seemed to be permanently attached to me) as the deadline approached. Without their love and support, none of this would be possible.

Brian F. Schaffner

CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

CHAPTER 1

Parties and Politics in America: An Overview 1

The Nature of Politics 3

The Nature of Party 4

The Functions of Parties 5

Parties as Competitors for Political Influence 12

Parties and Interest Groups: There Is a Difference! 13

The State of Parties in the Twenty-First Century 15

Notes 16

CHAPTER 2

The Party Battle in America 17

Party Realignments in American History 18

The First Party System, 1788–1824: Federalists, Republicans,
and One-Party Factionalism 19

The Second Party System, 1828–1854: Democrats versus
Whigs in Two-Party Competitive Politics 21

The Third Party System, 1856–1896: Ascendant Republicans
versus Democrats 22

The Fourth Party System, 1896–1928: Republican Dominance
Renewed 24

The Fifth Party System, 1932–1968:	
The Democratic New Deal Era	27
The Sixth Party System, 1968–2000:	
The Post–New Deal Era—Dealignment and Divided Government	29
Twenty-First Century Party Politics: A Renewed Era of Partisan Polarization?	32
Minor Parties in American Politics	33
Some Lessons from Party History	39
The State of American Parties in the Twenty-First Century	47
Notes	47

CHAPTER 3

Characteristics of the American Party System	51
Two-Party Competition with Variations	52
Decentralized Power Structures	57
Broadly Based Electoral Support	67
Nonprogrammatic Parties	67
Quasi-Public Institutions with Ambiguous Membership	71
Weak Parties, but Substantial Partisan Influence	72
Notes	72

CHAPTER 4

Party Organizations	75
The National Parties	79
State Parties	96
County and Local Parties	103
Does Party Organization Make a Difference?	104
The Party Activists	105
Party Organizations: Adaptable and Durable	111
Political Party Web Sites	111
Notes	112

CHAPTER 5

Nominations for State and Congressional Offices	117
The Evolution of the Direct Primary	119
State Regulation of the Direct Primary	122
Preprimary Endorsements	129
Competition in Primaries	132

Voter Turnout in Primaries	134
The National Party Organizations and Nominations in the States	137
The Direct Primary and the General Election	139
The Direct Primary and Political Parties	140
Notes	141

CHAPTER 6

Presidential Nominating Politics	143
Methods of Delegate Selection	144
Phases of the Nomination Process	150
The Ongoing Process of Party Reform	164
Participation in Presidential Nominating Politics	173
Media Politics in Presidential Nominations	177
A Lengthy, Expensive, Candidate-Centered, Primary-Focused, Participatory Process	179
<i>Presidential Nominating Politics Web Sites</i>	179
Notes	180

CHAPTER 7

Political Parties and the Voters	183
Voter Turnout	184
Party Identification	194
Parties, Citizens, and Issues	202
Social and Economic Bases of Partisanship and Voting	206
Partisanship and Polarization at the Turn of the Century	215
<i>Web Sites on the Party-in-the-Electorate</i>	217
Notes	217

CHAPTER 8

The General Election: Campaign Finance and Campaign Strategy	221
Financing Elections	222
The Electoral College	240
The General Election Campaign	246
Election Outcomes	262
Campaigns, Elections, and Governance	269
<i>Web Sites on Campaigns and Elections</i>	269
Notes	270

CHAPTER 9

Parties in the Government 273

The President as Party Leader 275

The Party, the President, and Congress 278

The Party, the President, and the Executive Branch 285

The Party, the President, and the Judiciary 288

Parties in Congress 291

A Party-Influenced Government, but Not a Party-Dominated
Government 312

Party-in-Government Web Sites 313

Notes 314

CHAPTER 10

Political Parties: Important and Resurgent 317

Politics Without Parties: What Are the Consequences? 318

The Relevance of Parties for the American Public 320

The Effects of Partisan Polarization 323

The Contradictory Nature of Political Parties 326

Notes 327

INDEX TO REFERENCES 329

INDEX 332

PARTIES AND POLITICS IN AMERICA: AN OVERVIEW

CHAPTER

I



CHAPTER CONTENTS

The Nature of Politics

The Nature of Party

The Functions of Parties

- Serving as Intermediaries
- Nominating Candidates
- Contesting Elections and Channeling the Vote
- Organizing the Government
- Providing Public Accountability
- Managing Conflict

Parties as Competitors for Political Influence

Parties and Interest Groups: There Is a Difference!

- Parties Run Candidates under Their Own Labels
- Parties Have Broad Issue Concerns
- Parties Give Priority to Controlling the Personnel of Government
- Parties Are Quasi-Public Organizations
- Parties Have a Unique Relationship to Their Clientele

The State of Parties in the Twenty-First Century

Anyone who seriously studies American political parties is confronted with a series of seeming contradictions and confusing conditions. The framers of the Constitution feared parties—James Madison attacked them in the *Federalist Papers* and George Washington warned against them in his farewell address—and citizens and political commentators continue to blame parties for much that appears to be wrong with politics. At the same time, parties thrive in America, and many scholars believe that they are absolutely necessary for the functioning of democracy.

If your general outlook toward political parties and the two-party system is negative, you are hardly alone. Nearly two-thirds of American citizens believe that the United States needs a viable third party, and in 2007, only 37 percent said that “the two-party system does a pretty good job of addressing the issues that are most important.” In the past, a common complaint about American parties was that they were about as different from each other as Tweedledum and Tweedledee. That is, “there’s not a dime’s worth of difference between them.” In recent decades, voters have become concerned that the parties are too different, have too many disagreements, and are generally not willing to compromise with each other. Thus, in a recent poll, 81 percent of Americans agreed that 2009 was “a period of division where the parties held fast to their positions and showed little willingness to compromise.”

Despite Americans’ complaints about the parties, they are clearly relevant to the political system. In the 2008 election, fewer than 2 percent of the voters actually cast ballots for third-party candidates. Well over half of the citizenry consider themselves either Republicans or Democrats, while a majority of those who claim to be independents actually lean toward one of the major parties and demonstrate considerable party loyalty in their voting. The Republican and Democratic party organizations have developed broadly based and relatively stable followings. Only the nominees of the Republican and Democratic parties stand a reasonable chance to win the presidency, congressional seats, governorships, or positions in the state legislatures. Furthermore, these bodies are organized on a partisan basis, with key power positions allocated to members of the majority party.

It also makes an important difference which party wins elections. The vast expansion of social welfare programs that occurred under President Johnson was possible only because of the Democrats’ landslide victory of 1964. Similarly, President Reagan’s program of lower taxes and retrenchment of domestic programs was possible because Republicans won the presidency in 1980 and 1984 and controlled the Senate from 1981 to 1986. And when President Obama took office along with a Democratic majority in Congress, a broad-sweeping reform of the health care system was made possible. These patterns point to the unique character of American political parties. They count among their affiliates the vast majority of the voters. They nominate candidates and contest the major offices in the land. They staff formal organizational structures at the national level and in the fifty states. They organize the executive and legislative branches in Washington and the states. And they exert tremendous influence on governmental policy. Despite these signs of strength and pervasiveness, American parties have few formal (“card-carrying”) members, are often understaffed and in financial straits, are sometimes disunited in terms of policy direction, and are fragmented in terms of

power. These puzzling aspects of American political parties dramatize many of the major concerns of this book:

- The unique character of political parties as institutions for aggregating political influence
- The functions performed by political parties within the American political system
- The impact of institutional factors (e.g., separation of powers, direct primaries) on American parties
- The relationship of parties to voters, candidates, officeholders, and interest groups
- The ongoing processes of change in the party system
- The impact of parties on governmental policy
- The changing role of parties in the American political system

THE NATURE OF POLITICS

What is politics? In common usage, it is the unseemly machinations of the ambitious and self-serving to gain advantage over others; it is the subverting of the public welfare for group or partisan advantage; it is the never-ending struggle between the Republicans and the Democrats; and it is what happens in government—in Washington or the statehouses of Sacramento, Harrisburg, Springfield, Baton Rouge, or Cheyenne. Generally, when one is accused of acting politically, there is a suspicion that less than wholesome activities are afoot.

But when these pejorative connotations are removed, the essence of politics is *power*—the ability of one person to get another person to behave in a desired manner. Politics and the use of power inevitably involve *conflict* because what people want from life differs—they have different values—and because there is a scarcity of life's prized objectives (e.g., wealth, security, prestige, and power). In its most basic sense, then, politics is concerned with "Who Gets What, When, and How."¹

Whether a political system works depends to a large degree upon whether society's inevitable political conflicts among competing interests can be resolved and managed via bargaining and compromise. If the processes of bargaining and compromise enable competing interests to get enough of what they want, it is possible for these interests to continue to cooperate and not disrupt the whole legal structure of government. Politics, therefore, can be viewed as a process of conflict management.

The political process, however, involves more than keeping the lid on the passions of social conflict. It is also the process through which individuals and groups organize and act collectively to achieve social goals—individual freedom, public health, quality education, national security, economic opportunity, clean air, and water.

When politics is stripped of its unsavory normative connotations and viewed in its essentials, it can be seen as a basic social process involving (1) the acquisition, retention, and exercise of power; (2) the expression and management of conflicts; and (3) collective action. In each of these aspects of politics, political parties play a central role. Parties help determine who governs, who wins or loses public policy disputes, and the extent of the win or loss.

THE NATURE OF PARTY

In spite of their acknowledged impact on American government, political parties have proved to be elusive creatures for social commentators to define. One famous characterization was that of Edmund Burke, the British philosopher and member of Parliament, who in 1770 offered a classic ideologically oriented definition: “Party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed.”² Whatever relevance this conception of party had for eighteenth-century England, it is clearly inappropriate for American political parties, which have never been noted for their ideological purity. Conservatives, moderates, and liberals are found in both the Republican and Democratic parties, albeit not in the same proportions. Furthermore, it is not uncommon for senators and representatives to vote in opposition to their party colleagues in excess of 40 percent of the time. Definitions stressing organizational structure (i.e., the existence of a hierarchy of organizations—county committees, state central committees, and national committees) are also inadequate because parties include masses of voters as well as dues-paying members, officials or staff, candidates, their supporters, campaign consultants, and government officials.

A definition of parties better adapted to the modern American and Western democratic contexts is that provided by political scientist Leon D. Epstein: “Any group, however loosely organized, seeking to elect government officeholders under a given label.”³ This definition allows for the lack of ideological and policy unity so apparent in American parties. It also accommodates the wide variety of party organizations in the country, which range from the disciplined urban machines of the Mayor Richard J. Daley era in Chicago to the well-financed and professionally staffed Republican and Democratic National Committees, to the underfinanced and disorganized, but loyal, bands of volunteers who run local party organizations in regions where their party has virtually no chance of winning elections. The Epstein conception of party also takes into account two special aspects of parties: (1) their preoccupation with contesting elections and (2) the fact that it is only parties that run candidates on their own labels.

As V. O. Key, Jr., pointed out, “The fundamental difficulty about the term ‘political party’ is that it is applied without discrimination to many groups and near groups.”⁴ He therefore urged students of parties to recognize them as tripartite social structures composed of the following elements (Figure 1.1):

- *The party in the electorate:* voters with a sense of loyalty to and identification with the party
- *The party organization:* party officials, committees, volunteer workers, and paid staff
- *The party in government:* party candidates for governmental office and public officeholders at the local, state, and national levels

American parties, therefore, are structures that contain a variety of components: from the weakly committed voter who usually supports the party’s candidates to the dedicated activist with an ideological commitment who volunteers time and treasure; from the party boss seeking to run a disciplined patronage-dispensing organization to the public official who, while elected on a party level, seeks to project an image independent of party. As Paul Allen Beck

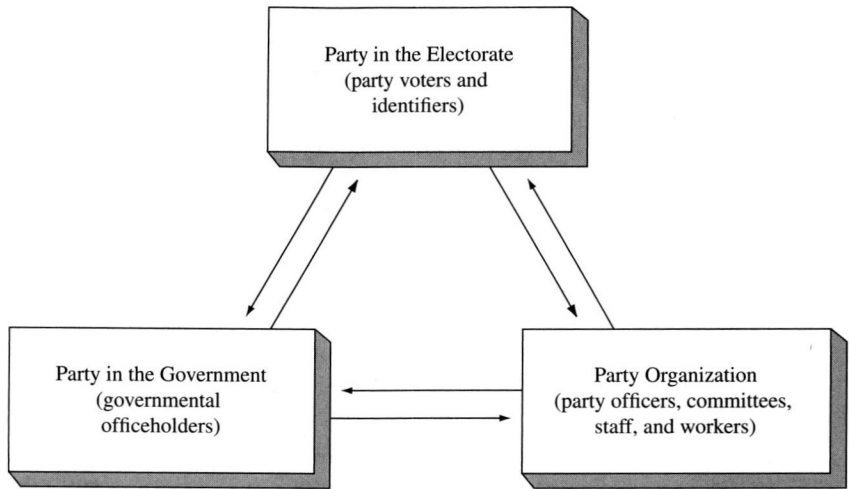


FIGURE 1.1 | THE TRIPARTITE STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Source: "The three-part political party," p. 12, from *Party Politics in America*, 8th ed., by Paul Allen Beck. Copyright © 1997 by Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Pearson Education, Inc.

has noted, the political party "embraces the widest range of involvement and commitment."⁵

THE FUNCTIONS OF PARTIES

Parties serve many functions in the United States, including:

- Serving as intermediaries between citizens and government
- Nominating candidates for office
- Contesting elections
- Organizing government
- Providing accountability
- Managing conflict

SERVING AS INTERMEDIARIES

Wherever free elections have been conducted on a continuing basis at the national or regional level, political parties exist. This basic fact is suggestive of the fundamental role of parties in a democratic society. They are intermediary or linkage mechanisms between the mass of the citizenry and their government. Parties function as institutions to bring scattered elements of the public together, to define objectives, and to work collectively to achieve those objectives through governmental policy. Parties, therefore, are involved in aggregating societal interests, recruiting leadership, compromising competing demands, contesting elections, and seeking to organize governments.

Parties developed as the old bases of governmental authority (e.g., divine right of kings) crumbled before the democratic revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and governments came to be seen as deriving their powers from the people. To legitimize their positions, leaders were compelled to appeal to the voters. Such appeals required the development of organizations to communicate with and mobilize the masses. V. O. Key, Jr., summarized the process of party development in the Western democracies as follows:

As democratic theory spread, those dissatisfied with the old order rallied the masses ... against the established holders of authority. In effect the outs played demagogue, lined up the unwashed in their support, and, at the elections, by superiority of numbers and organization they bested those dominant in government. Those who suffered such indignities were compelled in self-defense to defer to the people, no matter how distasteful it was, and to form organizations to solicit electoral support.⁶

As will be discussed in the following chapter, the development of American parties generally follows the pattern Key outlined. America was the first nation to transfer executive power from one faction to another via an election (the election of 1800), and this feat was accomplished by a political party. The United States thereby became the first nation with modern political parties organized on a national basis with broad membership, in contrast to the parliamentary factions that existed in Great Britain.

Many political scientists believe that parties are the principal intermediary between the citizens and their government. E. E. Schattschneider, for example, opened his 1942 classic study with the assertion that “political parties created democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties.”⁷ And more recently, Samuel Huntington, in a cross-national study, observed that parties were distinctive institutions of the modern state whose function “is to organize participation, to aggregate interests, to serve as the link between social forces and the government.”⁸ Even if such statements overstate the role of parties, parties do permeate every aspect of national and state government and politics. As Sarah McCally Morehouse has reminded us, it is Republicans and Democrats who “make the major decisions regarding who pays and who receives.”⁹

In their role as intermediaries, parties must compete with other institutions. They share the linkage functions with interest groups, which exist in infinite variety—labor unions; business and trade associations; professional organizations; racial, ethnic, and religious groups; single-issue groups; ideological groups. The electronic media, including television and the Internet, also function as an intermediary between government and the people. The party’s place in the political system as an intermediary institution is illustrated in Figure 1.2.

NOMINATING CANDIDATES

The determination of which names shall appear on the general election ballot—the narrowing of the voter’s choice—is a critical stage in the electoral process. The nominating process controls the voter’s range of choice and thus severely limits who is eligible for public office. For the candidate—both incumbent and challenger—the nomination is a hurdle that must be cleared if entry into elective politics is to be

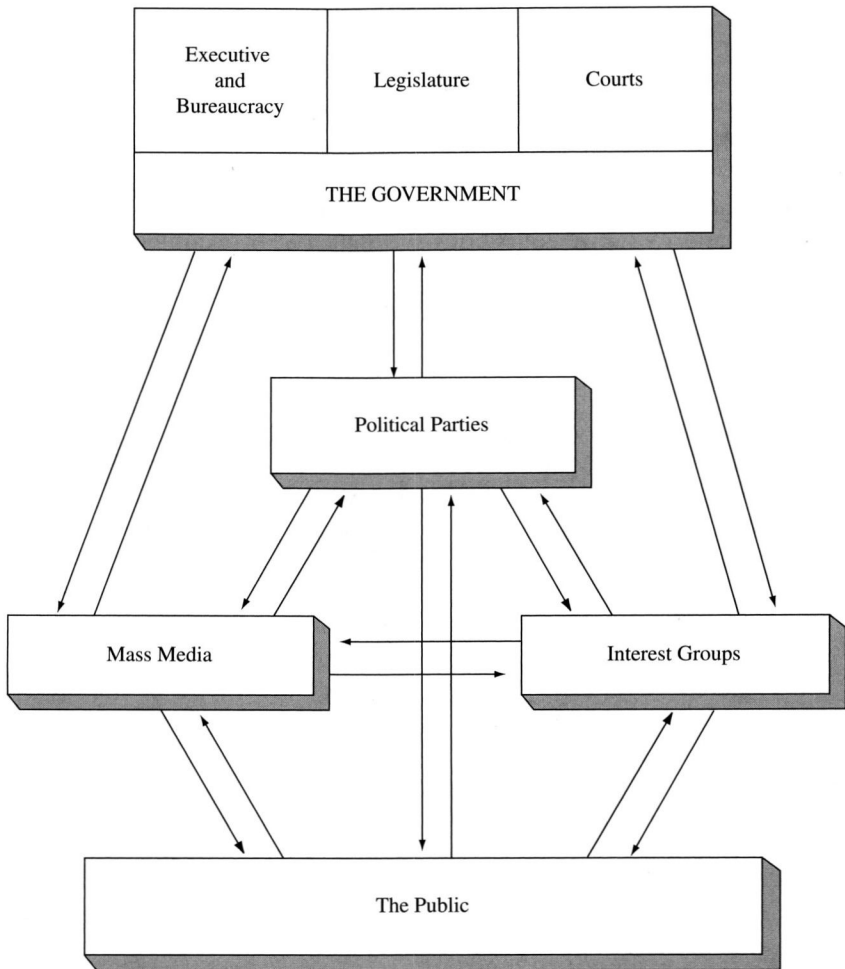


FIGURE 1.2

POLITICAL PARTIES AS INTERMEDIARIES

achieved. In the United States, virtually all national and most major state elected officials are nominated by political parties. So crucial is the nomination process to the parties that Schattschneider concluded:

Unless the party makes authoritative and effective nominations, it cannot stay in business.... The nature of the nominating procedure determines the nature of the party; he who can make nominations is the owner of the party.¹⁰

Although interest groups, political action committees (PACs), pollsters, campaign consultants, and candidate organizations seek to influence nominating decisions, it is ultimately the party that makes nominations. And without a party nomination, the record demonstrates that it is virtually impossible to gain major elected office. No one has been elected president since the development of modern parties in the early 1800s without a partisan nomination. Following the