Where Did Our Two Major Parties Come From?

and

What Do They Represent?
A Brief History of Our Two Party System

Election Types
Maintaining
Deviating/Reinstating
Realigning
Origins: 1788-1816

**Federalists**
- Strong Gov.
- Gain loyalty of elites
- Economic Dev.

**Republicans**
- Jeffersonian
- Weak Gov.
- Serve the Common Man
- Agrarian Society

These were really loose coalitions in government rather than formal parties with organizations that ran candidates for office.
The ‘Era of Good Feelings’
1816-1824

Federalist “Party” Collapses by 1816
Alien and Sedition Acts
Opposition to War of 1812

No Organized Factions/Parties from 1816-1824.
The Messy Election of 1824

Three Candidates:

- John Quincy Adams - active gov.
- Henry Clay - active gov.
- Andrew Jackson - limited gov.

Jackson wins “popular vote”, but not a majority in the electoral college so, by Constitutional rule, the election went to the House of Representatives:

Who *ought* to become president?
The Messy Election of 1824

“The Corrupt Bargain” gives Adams the presidency.

----> Jackson forms the **Democratic Party** to win the 1828.

(America’s first and oldest modern party.)
Rise of Our Second Party System
(but perhaps our first “true” party system)

1824: John Quincy Adam’s “steals” the election.

1828: Jackson’s forms the Democratic Party and wins.

1832: Jackson’s opponents form the Whig Party to oppose the Democrats. (often called America’s first modern election)

Federalists vs. Jeff-Reps.
becomes Whigs vs. Democrats
Origins of Our 3rd Party System
The Turbulent 1850’s

• Issue of slavery divides the country and the parties. Any party that takes a position on it stands to lose half the country; yet the public demands the issue be addressed.

• The Democratic Party defends slavery and loses Northern support and becomes a Southern Party.

• The Whig party splits and dissolves. Most Northern Whigs gravitate to the new Republican Party.
Our 3rd Party System

1860
Abraham Lincoln wins to become our first Republican president.

Bitter partisanship and regionalism --> WAR 1860

1790’s; Federalists vs. Jeff-Reps.
1830’s; Whigs vs. Democrats
1860 on: Republicans vs. Democrats
1860-1896: Relative Parity

• Neither party dominates government.
• Parties mainly differentiated by region rather than ideology.
  – Republicans: dominate the North.
  – Democrats: Rule the “Solid South”.
• A handful of swing state in the middle determines who from election to election.
• Republicans take on moniker of the G.O.P.
• Race taken off the table (in 1876).
Election of 1896 - Realignment

• A Third Party Challenge:
  – The Populist (People’s Party) threatens to split the Democratic vote.
• The Democrats adopt the Populist’s key issue (the gold standard)
• The Democrats lost anyway to a well financed pro-business Republican.
• Ushers in an era of Republican Dominance that lasts until 1932.
1896 - 1928: Republican Dominance

- 1896: McKinley - Republican
- 1900: McKinley - Republican
- 1904: TR - Republican
- 1908: Taft - Republican
- 1912: Wilson Democrat (a deviation)
- 1916: Wilson - Democrat
- 1920: Harding - Republican (reinstatement)
- 1924: Coolidge - Republican
- 1928: Hoover - Republican

House controlled by Republicans for 26 of the 36 years.
Senate controlled by Republicans for 30 of the 36 years.
1932 - Realignement
(FDR and the New Deal Coalition)

- National Crises (the Great Depression) creates demand for change.
- F.D.R. builds the “New Deal Coalition’ which will dominate the country until 1968:
  - Labor (Including large immigrant base.)
  - Southern Whites
  - White Middle-class progressives

(Also Northern Blacks - but not a large voting block.)
1932-1968
Democratic Dominance

• Democrats Dominate of both Congress and the Presidency
  – 1952 a deviating election (I like Ike.)

• Yet, both parties have their liberal and conservative wings:
  – Conservative Southern Democrats
  – Liberal Northeastern Republicans (in the tradition of T.R. and Nelson Rockefeller)

  – The Two Party System works to provide moderate outcomes.
Same ol’ Song With a Twist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Party 1</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>Party 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1788</td>
<td>Federalists</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Jeff-Reps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strong gov.</td>
<td></td>
<td>weak gov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>promote bus.</td>
<td></td>
<td>common man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Whigs/Repubs.</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>weak gov.</td>
<td></td>
<td>strong gov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aid business</td>
<td></td>
<td>help the poor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1964 - Shakin’ It Up

• The Civil Rights Movement
  – L.B.J. - breaks up the New Deal Coalition by signing major Civil Rights legislation into law.
  – The Vietnam War divides the Democrats.

• Barry Goldwater:
  – Republican nominee (Senator from Arizona)
  – Unveils the “Southern Strategy”
  – Loses, but sets a new direction for the Republican Party.
The Rise of the Republicans
1968 - A Pivotal Year

• Democratic incumbent L.B.J. drops out of race, VP, HHH, becomes Democratic nominee.

• Republicans nominate and elect Richard Nixon!
  – The Silent Majority
  – Law and Order

• But, Democrats still control the House and most state governments.
1932-1976

- 1932: FDR - Dem.
- 1936: FDR - Dem.
- 1940: FDR - Dem.
- 1944: FDR - Dem.
- 1948: Truman - Dem.
- 1964: LBJ - Dem.
- 1976: Carter - Dem. (Deviation? Reinstatement?)

Republicans control Senate for only 4 years during this entire period.
The Rise of the Republicans

• 1980 - The Reagan Landslide
  – The Reagan Conservative Coalition:
    • Fiscal conservatives
    • Evangelicals (The Christian Coalition/Moral Majority)
    • National Security Conservatives
  – “Reagan Democrats” (stop the “welfare queens”)
    • Mostly Southern Democrats who were swayed by Reagan to vote Republican.
  – A Republican Senate and White House, and a compliant Democratic House of Rep.
The Rise of the Republicans

- 1980 - The Reagan Landside
  Reagan  Bush  (Clinton Clinton)  Bush  Bush

  Why Clinton?

- 1994 - Newt Gingrich and the “Contract for America”
  – Cut government, taxes, welfare, Soc. Sec. reform
  – Republicans win House for first time since 1954.

- White Southerners now firmly in the Republican camp. (Regional Realignment)

- Rise of the Religious Right: Republicans drop support for Roe vs. Wade and the ERA from their platform. (Also beginning of the gender gap.)
Have the Republicans been the Majority Party?

• Since 1968, only two Democratic Presidents.
• Republicans made steady gains in House and Senate since 1994, until 2006.
• Democrats lost their dominance of party identifiers (1/3, 1/3, 1/3 in 2004).
• They now have appointed a majority to the U.S. Supreme Court.
Have the Republicans been the Majority Party?

YET:

- Democrats always maintained a slight edge in voter identification and in 2008 built an edge of 37% to 28% due mostly to new young voters.
- Voters are align more closely with Democratic policies.
- Gore won the popular vote in 2000.
- Bush won in 2004 only by a hair’s edge.
- **Democrats retook House and Senate in 2006!**
Did 2006 mark the beginning of realignment?

Today’s Polarization

Whereas we used to have two parties that strove towards the center and tried to balance their liberal and conservative wings, we now clearly have a “liberal and “conservative” party.

• This occurred because:
  – Democrats lost their Southern conservative wing after adopting a strong civil rights stance.
  – Christian evangelicals flocked to the Republican Party which supports their social agenda
  – Republicans lost Ivy League liberal wing who become independent or Democratic.
Polarization and The Party Activists

- Activists tend to be more ideological than the general population.
- Activists tend to vote more, especially in the primaries.
Growth of the Independents
(Those who Decline to State)

• About 30% of the voters nationally, the fastest growing group.
• Mixture of ultra conservatives and extreme left, but most are in the political center.
• Are younger, more educated, and have higher incomes than average party identifiers.
• They tend to be somewhat economically conservative and socially liberal.

What does this imply for the major parties?
**Capturing the youth vote**

A survey of 18- to 29-year-olds found large majorities believe Democrats do a far better job than Republicans in handling a variety of public policy issues. The findings are likely to influence the way the parties shape their messages as they move toward the 2008 elections.

**Question:** I am going to read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Democrats better</th>
<th>Republicans better</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paying attention to issues that affect younger people</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The environment</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The situation in Iraq</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becoming energy independent</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The federal budget</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The economy and jobs</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The war on terrorism</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing your values</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The gun issue</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The polling firm Greenberg Quinlan Rosner conducted the national survey of 1,017 18- to 26-year-olds from May 29 to June 16 using telephone interviews, surveys on the Internet and cell phone interviews.
Graphic Polarization

The 2000 Presidential Vote
Republican Challenges
(Overcoming the Bush Factor)

- Making the election about the future, not the past.
- Holding on to the Base (conservative vote).
- Winning Over Independents.
The Future

2008 could be a landmark election that re-establishes the dominance of the Republican Party

Or

Cements a Realignment begun in 2006
Republican Challenges
(Overcoming the Bush Factor)

• Holding on to the Base (conservative vote)
  – Budget deficits - Medicare expansion / earmarks / war
  – Violating the free market with the “bailout’ of Wallstreet.
  – Sex scandals - Haggard, Mark Foley and the page scandal (Halstert)
  – Little action on abortion, school prayer, gay marriage; yet recent S.C. decisions may counter this.
  – Corruption scandals (Tom Delay, Jack Abramhoff, Duke Cunningham
Republican Challenges

- Winning Over Independents
  - Overcoming a Bad Image on Civil Rights.
    - Trent Lott (Strom Thurmond tribute).
    - George Allen (“macaca”).
    - Immigration round ups (but plays well to base).
  - Assuring that Civil Liberties will not be trampled by the War on Terror.
    - Interrogation tactics, detainment of enemy combatants, surveillance w/o subpoenas
  - Reigning in the Imperial Presidency.
    - Dick Cheney’s secrecy.
    - Repeated claims of executive privilege.
    - The Alberto Gonzales Affair
    - The Scooter Libby Pardon
    - Belief in ultimate executive authority (ie. on torture)
Republican Challenges

- Wining over the Independents
  - Reclaiming themselves as the More Competent Party.
    - Iraq
      - Intelligence Failures
      - Reconstruction Failures (Halliburton, patronage)
      - Poor Planning for the insurgency
      - The Abu Ghrab scandal
      - Walter Reed (army sec. resigns) (vets not getting services)
  - Cracks on the War on terror:
    - North Korea and nuclear proliferation (however some recent progress)
    - Afghanistan/ Osama Bin Laden
    - Iran’s increased power resulting from overthrow of Hussein in Iraq
- Mismanagement of post-Katrina
- Weak picks for Sec. of Defense and Attorney General
  - Must gain credibility on issues of global warming, health care, and social security reform.
Democratic Challenges

When I said bitterness was the root of small town values, I meant bitterness in a good way! Like in a good beer!

I'm cutting you off...
Democratic Challenges

- Retaining/reclaiming the Middle America vote.
- Not being perceived as representing “Chardonnay brie loving” San Francisco elite liberals.
- Won’t surrender” in Iraq.
- Will be strong on national security.
- Won’t “tax and spend”.
- Won’t cave to special interests.
- Overcoming perception that congress has been ineffectual under their tenure in the last two years.
What will happen in Congress

• In 2006 Dems. picked up 29 seats in House and 6 in the Senate.
• 29 Republicans are retiring compared to only 6 Democrats. (That the numbers are the same as above is a mere coincidence.)
• Historically, a wave such as the above, is followed by a loss of some newly won seats in the subsequent election (even though 28 Dems. had retired).
• In spring of 2008, Democrats picked up 3 Republican seats in special Congressional elections.
2008

Obama’s Flips
- No mental exemption for later term abortion.
- Support for S.C. ruling on DC guns
- Supports FISA w/ immunity clause
  - 18 Months and out “refined”
- No end to Cheveron Burmese tax deduction.
  - Will then won’t take public funds
- For then against then for NAFTA/free trade