

**The State of the Party Elites: National Convention Delegates
1992 – 2004**

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Introduction

The state of the party elites can be succinctly summarized in one word, “polarized”. The party activists are now quite different from each other in both their ideological identification and their positions on the major issues of the day. They represent and advocate two quite different views on American government and their differences are deep and systematic. There is some variation in the level and scope of this divisiveness according to the particular item asked; however, overall there can be no mistaking the divisions at the elite level across the leadership echelons of the two major parties. This polarization is not entirely new. Our longitudinal data, spanning twelve years and four presidential elections indicates that such divisions have existed for more than a decade, standing in stark contrast to the predominantly pragmatic, non-ideological electoral machines they were in an earlier party era.

This chapter is built on an empirical base of eight surveys of party elites spread across the four national elections between 1992 and 2004. This twelve-year period took the nation from George H.W. Bush’s term to the beginning of the second term of his son, George W. Bush. On the Democratic side the period spanned the introduction on the national stage of Bill Clinton, the relatively unknown Governor of Arkansas, who was elected to his first term in 1992 to the unsuccessful 2004 quest for the presidency by Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts. Much has changed in this twelve-year period, especially on the foreign and defense policy fronts in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the ensuing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. But much has also remained relatively stable, especially with regard to the generic issues which dominate the domestic political agenda and discourse. In addition, as our data demonstrates the divisive nature of the major issues and the very different but stable ways that Democratic and Republican party activists handled them. We will demonstrate that such change that has occurred resides within some relatively narrow incremental parameters.

The Study Design

The data in this study are drawn from national surveys of the delegates to the Republican and Democratic National Conventions for the years of 1992 – 2004. In each year the methodology remained essentially the same. We obtained the official roster of the delegates, listed by state, from the Democratic and Republican National Committees. A systematic random sample was then drawn from each list using a skip interval designed to produce approximately 1,000 original names and addresses from each party list. The questionnaires were mailed initially the week after the national conventions were held. Each questionnaire contained a cover letter from the study directors explaining the study’s purpose. Approximately one month after the first wave of questionnaires was mailed a follow-up questionnaire was sent to non-respondents. The returned questionnaires were gathered up through the day of the national elections. Overall, we obtained a very respectable response rate in a range from 40 percent to 50 percent. In almost all cases those who responded were not systematically different from non-respondents. In the small number of instances where systematic differences were discovered, we weighed the data to overcome some demographic deficits among the respondents. Overall, we are convinced that the respondents to the eight surveys are representative of all delegates to the national conventions in the year studied. The surveys contained a series of questions which have been repeated, with their wording largely unchanged across the entire twelve years. In most cases, the questions were adopted from the American National Elections Study questions used on the mass voters. Thus, the results should be comparable across both parties and across time.

The advantages of using national convention delegates to study the parties as organizations are amply discussed and debated in the literature (Miller, 1988; Miller and Jennings, 1986; Kirkpatrick, 1976; Maggiotto and Wekkin, 2000; Rapoport, Abramowitz, and McGlennon, 1986). While there are admittedly some drawbacks and limitations to such an approach, there are also some significant advantages. These people constitute what Jeane Kirkpatrick called “the presidential elite” within the two national parties (Kirkpatrick, 1976). Once every four years they are the embodiment of the national parties. For one week, meeting at the designated time and place, they are the party’s highest plenary body exercising the power and authority of the entire national party. In addition to formally nominating the candidate for President and Vice President of the United States, they perform significant additional functions for the parties. These functions include adopting the party’s platform, adopting the rules under which the next presidential nominations will be conducted, and holding a giant “pep rally” for the party’s candidates (David, Goldman, and Bain, 1960). The success or failure of the national conventions goes far in signaling the extent to which the party is united and ready for the general election in the fall. So, these people are intrinsically important in their role as national convention delegates. They are also important as representatives since they can provide a window on the state and local political parties which are the constituent parts of the national conventions. These people are a slice of life at the party’s grassroots and they represent the larger activist pool, at least in the year of the presidential election. So, they are useful and interesting as they stand for that larger universe of party activists from which both the presidential campaigns and the state and local party leaders choose those who will get to attend the national conventions. In short, they can teach us much about the state of the presidential echelon of party activists in their election year.

The Values Divide: Culture Wars

Polarized political parties are only one manifestation of a larger “values divide” and “culture wars” theory of American society which has gained much notice and traction over the past decade. The concept of a “culture war” being endemic to the polity was widely discussed in the popular media and in many academic outlets during the decade of the 1990s.

The conservative commentator, Pat Buchanan, announced that America was in the throes of a “Culture War” from the Republican National Convention podium in Houston in 1992. He also announced the intention of his side using politics as a weapon in those wars. He was only announcing and giving a label to deep-seated cultural, religious, and political conflict which already existed. Other less partisan commentators, such as John K. White, have discussed in more academic terms a larger concept of a “Values Divided” in the American polity (White, 2003). That conflict only became deeper and broader in the wake of the 2000 and 2004 elections.

What does the values divide concept mean? Like all academic arguments there are two schools of thought here. One school argues that there is indeed deep division abroad in the land and it is increasingly being played out in our politics. Politics has degenerated into warring camps and there is little room for compromise and little middle ground. In contrast, a contrarian school says that such conflicts have always existed in American society and today’s divisions are no worse than the past. The concept of a “culture war” is much exaggerated, especially by the mass media, say these critics. We will start with the first school of thought.

The First School of Thought

The “red state” vs. “blue state” dichotomy has become very familiar, even ubiquitous. Everyone has heard of it. It is one of those shorthand symbols which has become instantly recognized, especially in television references. The map used on TV on election night represents the “Culture Wars” conflict. The map illustrates consistent voting patterns of most states during presidential elections. For example, if you compare the 2000 presidential election results with the 2004 results you will see much continuity and not much change at the state level. Only 3 states switched sides between 2000 and 2004 (New Mexico and Iowa to Bush from Gore and New Hampshire to Kerry from Bush in 2004). If one adopts a longer time frame, the level of stability at the state level is impressive. Most of our states very consistently support Republican candidates or Democratic candidates across several presidential elections. Only a handful constitutes the “marginal” or toss up states. Naturally they tend to attract the most attention from the candidates and the media. Since we vote by state in the Electoral College, that behavioral regularity alone is significant. This red state vs. blue state division is real and important. It is one indicator, and a blunt one to be sure, of a polarization of the mass electorate in their voting behavior. (On the other hand, if you do the red vs. blue analysis by county you get a different perspective. Generally this comparison shows the big counties for Kerry in 2004 and Gore in 2000 and the small counties for Bush both years. Here, too, there is more stability than change.)

A presidential candidate must build an electoral coalition of states to win. The Republicans start with a major advantage here because of the electoral realignment of the white south. They have more states that are consistently Republican than the Democrats have that are automatically Democratic. This is probably the most significant political change of the past 50 years. As a behavioral indicator this change is real and crucial. However, the Democrats have some small advantage in the bigger states which partially off-sets the Republicans’ natural electoral advantage if you count territory and number of states rather than population.

What does it mean otherwise? Those who support the “values divide” and “cultural wars” thesis maintain that:

- Americans are polarized into liberal vs. conservative warring camps and ideology is now very important and very different for those two camps. There is substantial poll data supporting this proposition.
- Americans are more polarized on many specific issues, e.g. gun control, abortion, taxes, defense, health insurance, Iraq, etc.
- We are particularly polarized in the areas of moral and religious values. “Religion” and “morals” issues seem to divide us especially, for example on Pro-Life vs. Pro-Choice issues, stem cell research, prayer in the public schools, and gay rights issues.

All of these are morals and values-based issues which divide the American people. There are behavioral indicators of these differences. For example, those attitudinal differences helped to drive the voting decisions in the 2004 elections. The level of church attendance and “religiosity” was one of the key explanatory variables in the 2004 presidential elections. Those who were the most faithful, attended church at least once per week heavily favored Bush over Kerry. The American people are very polarized over the war in Iraq and over job approval for President Bush, and those factors influenced the vote. Tom Patterson reported the following before the 2004 election: “The gap in George W. Bush’s approval ratings between Republicans and Democrats was the highest in the 70-year history of the Gallup Poll” (Patterson, 2002). Jeffrey Jones of the Gallup Poll said in their 21 October 2004 poll release: “Never before have so many people of one party held such strongly positive views of a

president at the same time that so many of the other party held such strongly negative views.” (71 percent of Republicans strongly approved Bush and 68 percent of Democrats strongly disapproved.) More than 90 percent of each party’s partisans voted for their party’s candidate for president.

The Second School of Thought

The advocates of the second school of thought generally believe there are polar points of view on issues, but also a large moderate in-between category of voters. That is, if you offer the American people poll questions with liberal and conservative response options, a solid core will take each option. However, there is also a very large middle of the road or moderate group on all of those issues. On most issues there is a bigger moderate group than there is liberal or conservative. Some segment of the public is in fact polarized. Another significant segment is not. From this perspective, the talk of “culture wars” is greatly exaggerated. Morris Fiorina is the leading advocate of the contrarian view. Fiorina and others place most of their emphasis on the large group of ideological moderates, who are neither liberal nor conservative (Fiorina, 2005). Fiorina calls the idea of a polarized America and the culture wars concept “a myth.” In addition, on many issue items the pollsters find a large group of middle-of-the-road people who reject either extreme. The widely recognized concept of the bell shaped curve to public opinion comes into play in Fiorina’s analysis. If the public is rarely polarized on issues, then what accounts for the fierce political divisions in the nation? Fiorina and his colleagues point to political elites and activists as the primary cause: both the values and incentives of the “political class” polarize a basically moderate electorate by offering starkly difference choices of candidates and issues, bolstered by harsh rhetoric.

The place where there is no doubt about the vast polarization in American life is in two important segments of the political class. Clearly there is a consistent difference between the mass voters on the one hand and the party leaders, or the party organization and the party in government on the other. In addition, it is well recognized that political elites often lead and help shape the opinions of the mass public. They also influence the images the public holds of the candidates and the parties. We will add to this debate about party polarization with the presentation of longitudinal data on the elites which are directly relevant to the issues in the literature relevant to the culture wars and values divide concept.

Party Division by Issues, 1992-2004

We begin with the ideology of the national convention delegates. The indicator used for overall ideological position is a question on the self-identification of the delegates’ positions on the ideological spectrum. The original question provided for Likert-type responses ranging from “very liberal” to “very conservative”, with a “moderate” option offered between the two ideological alternatives. Figure 1 provides the overall results for all the national convention delegates from 1992 through 2004.

(Figure 1 here)

The ideological gap between the two parties is notable. The dominance of those who call themselves conservatives among the Republicans is especially marked. That self-designation attracted from 71 percent to 81 percent of the Republican national convention delegates during these four elections. The remainder, from one-fifth to one-fourth of the delegates, called themselves “moderates” and there were almost no liberals in evidence. It is also interesting to note that 1996, Bob Dole’s convention, marked the apex of the conservative dominance, a pattern that declined slightly in George W. Bush’s conventions of 2000 and 2004.

On the Democratic Party's side the picture is much more mixed. Clearly the results in Figure 1 show that a majority called themselves "liberals"; however, it is a narrow majority. Of course, the term "liberal" was been stigmatized in the 1990s, so that Democratic activists may prefer labels such as "progressive" or "moderate," even if they hold liberal issue positions. In any event, there were almost as many "moderates" as liberals among the Democratic delegates in the last four presidential campaigns. In addition, the gap between the two categories (4 percent) was as narrow as it had ever been in John Kerry's 2004 convention. Indeed, this schism probably reflects some of the larger battles between the liberal wing of the party and the more moderate wing represented by the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC). This division goes back to the Carter versus Kennedy battle of 1980 and even back to McGovern versus Muskie and Daley in 1972. It has its roots in the Anti-War and Civil Rights eras of the 1960s and continues to provide internal tension within the Democratic Party's coalition. Clearly, "conservative" is not a popular term among the Democrats and there are very few conservatives over this period viable.

Thus, the facile stereotypes provided by the mass media depicting the Democrats as pure liberals is not borne out by these data. The Republican elites are a lot more pure on the symbolic level; for Republicans "conservative" is a very honorific symbol. Although the Republicans have their own internal fault lines, they are not centered on the label of being "conservative." They are more centered on what that label really entails. We will have more to say about the internal divisions within the core constituencies of the two parties in the second empirical section of this chapter. Nevertheless, symbolic politics is important as Murry Edelman demonstrated decades ago (Edelman, 1976). At the symbolic level it is much more comfortable to be a conservative than a liberal for the mass public and that discrepancy is also duplicated among the presidential elites of the two major parties.

We turn next to specific issues which divide the two parties. Converse demonstrated many years ago that the American people demonstrate relatively low levels of issue-based "constraint" (Converse, 1964). That is, at the mass level people do not exhibit positions on the issues which are mutually compatible and which cohere in a consistent ideological pattern. On the other hand, we are dealing with party activists, who are better educated and more interested in, and aware of, political matters. They fit the types of people who can be expected to demonstrate more issue-based constraint than the mass public. From our earlier studies we expected that this would be the case up to a point; however; we also expected that the party elites on both sides would be much more united on some issues than on others.

The issues analysis begins with a question about the scope of governmental services. In general this has been one of the defining differences between the two parties for many decades. Since the New Deal the Democrats have been known as the party which favors the government providing a higher level of public services, particularly to the poor and to those who need them most, while the Republicans call themselves the "small government" party. Certainly there are exceptions to this rule, and there are areas, especially in the governmental control of individual behavior and the "morality issues" where the Republicans favor a much more activist and intrusive governmental role than the Democrats do. Overall, however, the central tendencies are consistent and based on our past research we expected significant differences between the activists of the two parties. Figure 2 provides the results.

(Figure 2 here)

At the outset it is evident from Figure 2 that the question of providing more or fewer governmental services does divide the two parties markedly. For the past three national elections

80 percent, or more, of the Democratic delegates favored the “continue” or “provide more” government services position, with only a small percentage choosing the provide “fewer services” option. On the Republican side, well over a majority favored the more conservative “fewer services” position and this was the choice of over 80 percent of the 1992 and 1996 delegates. It is interesting to note, however, that the 2000 and the 2004 convention delegations were somewhat more moderate, with only 61 and 62 percent, respectively, in the cut government services category. Perhaps President Bush’s “compassionate conservatism” appeal had some resonance with these delegations. In addition, it may make a difference which services are invoked by this item. The potential for cutting farm subsidies and government support for American businesses have both been proposals which have engendered deep divisions within the Republican majority in Congress during the Bush Administration. It may also be a position more easily advocated by the “out party” than the party in power which is faced with the burden of actually governing, making policy and formulating budgets. Perhaps the Republicans have become more diverse as they have experienced electoral success and grown in numbers. Whatever the dynamics, it is notable that the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections, both of which the Republicans won, have produced somewhat more internal party division on this measure. The potential for more diversity within the party coalition is a theme we will return to in the second empirical section of this chapter.

Another deeply contentious issue between the two major parties has been the question of providing health care and health insurance. Harry Truman first proposed health care insurance for the elderly, but it was not until Lyndon Johnson led a large majority of Democrats in the Congress, twenty years later, that Medicare and Medicaid were adopted. Bill and Hillary Clinton attempted to extend this idea to all of the uninsured in 1993 and 1994; however, their plan for a complicated form of national health care failed in face of determined opposition from the insurance industry, many in the medical community, and a united Republican Party. Since then, there has been a constant chorus of complaints against the current health care system, particularly regarding the problems of forty-five million Americans who have no health insurance. That number has increased from the 40 million people without health insurance when the Clinton plan was advanced, so the problem is growing. More recently, some manufacturing industries, like the car companies, have become concerned about their ever increasing costs of health insurance for their workers and the competitive disadvantage they face in a global market. Those traditional Republican interests are causing some renewed interest among Republicans on this issue. Figure 3 provides the views of the delegates to the last four national conventions on this topic.

(Figure 3 here)

It is very evident that the elites of the two parties are very polarized on this issue. In 2004, 84 percent of the Republicans preferred private health insurance plans compared to 81 percent of the Democratic elites who preferred some form of government insurance. Only 9 percent of the Republican delegates, and 6 percent of the Democratic delegates, “misidentified” by taking the other party’s characteristic position on this item. In addition, the Democrats’ majority support for the government insurance position has increased steadily since its low point of 1996. That was immediately after the collapse of the Clinton health plan in 1994 and their significant mid-term congressional election losses of 1994. Even in face of that massive repudiation, fully 69 percent of the Democratic delegates supported a governmental insurance plan while 90 percent of the GOP delegates opposed it. On this matter the two parties’ elites

could hardly be more polarized. It is uncertain whether there could be middle ground found in such circumstances.

Another closely related domestic issue is whether government should provide aid or special assistance to minority groups. Race has long been a divisive issue in American politics and conflict over race has been difficult for the political system to process. The Civil War and the civil rights revolution of the 1950s and 1960s were among the most disrupted and conflict ridden periods in American history and we are still facing their legacy. More recently, conflict over affirmative action programs as an attempt to overcome the handicaps of past discrimination has divided the Republicans who are generally opposed, from the Democrats who are generally in favor of, such governmental remedies. African-Americans have become one of the bedrock components of the Democratic Party and they provide one of the most dependable block votes for the Democrats. White Southerners have become almost equally dedicated to the Republican Party. Thus, any question overtly dealing with race is likely to show very distinct differences. Figure 4 provides the results.

(Figure 4 here)

Figure 4 indicates very distinct partisan differences on this difficult issue; however, the two parties are somewhat less polarized on this issue than they were on health insurance. This more modest level of polarization is due largely to the decline of the Republicans' responses from 75 percent in 1996 who opposed assistance to minority groups down to 60 and 61 percent in 2000 and 2004, respectively, who took the conservative position. By comparison, the Democrats were somewhat more consistently in favor of the liberal option with a steady support in the range of almost three-fourths of the delegates in each of the four presidential election years. Again, it is the two George W. Bush nominating conventions which provided some modicum of diversity on this matter. The Bush Administration has made a point of reaching out to minorities, especially Hispanics, and to a lesser degree African-Americans. If the GOP begins to make inroads in these communities, their internal heterogeneity is likely to increase.

Defense spending has been a particularly contentious issue which divides the parties internally as well as polarizing the parties. It is also an issue which seems to be particularly susceptible to changes over time depending on who is in the White House and what is happening in the external world. As the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union broke up in the early 1990s, there was a de-escalation of spending on defense and a reduction in the size of U.S. military forces. There was also much talk of a "peace dividend" which was projected savings from military expenditures which could be used for domestic purposes. This de-escalation was led by the first George Bush Administration, initially, followed by much of the Clinton era. Then in the wake of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, defense expenditures were ratcheted upward substantially by the George W. Bush Administration. The war in Iraq ensured that the increases would be for some duration. Republicans in Congress supported these increases while Democrats were critical or internally divided. Figure 5 reflects these long-term patterns.

(Figure 5 here)

In 1992, at the end of the George H. W. Bush's Administration, Democrats were heavily in favor of decreasing defense expenditures by a margin of 83 percent to 7 percent. The Republicans were deeply divided over what were then George H. W. Bush's policies of decreasing the budget of the Defense Department. In 1992, 30 percent of the Republican delegates wanted to decrease expenditures while 24 percent wanted to increase expenditures leaving 46 percent in the neutral category. This ambivalence may have resulted partially from a desire to support their own party's president, and it changed dramatically four years later at the

end of the first Clinton Administration, when fully two-thirds of the Republicans wanted defense expenditures increased and only 11 percent wanting them decreased. The number then increased to fully 90 percent favoring increases among Republicans in 2000. This unanimity undoubtedly reflected a near consensus among the GOP that Clinton had weakened the U.S. military, a charge which George W. Bush raised repeatedly against Al Gore in the 2000 campaign. Defense expenditures would probably have increased under Bush even in the absence of September 11 and the War in Iraq; however, those two influences combined to dramatically increase the defense budget by 2004. By that year, it was the Democrats who were deeply divided with 47 percent of the delegates advocating a decrease, only 18 percent advocating further increases, and 35 percent in the neutral category. This clearly contentious issue among Democratic Party elites and John Kerry's tentative and contradictory handling of the issue vis-à-vis his contradictory armaments funding votes in the U.S. Senate in the 2004 campaign only reflected the divisions among his own partisans.

In the parlance of the “values divide” and “the cultural wars” language, few issues have been as divisive as the battle over abortion. In fact, one could make the case that the Supreme Court's legalization of abortion in the first trimester of pregnancy in the landmark case of *Roe v. Wade* (1973) helped ignite the culture war and was the major stimulus for millions of evangelical Christians to enter the political process qua religious advocates for the first time. We initially expected rather pure polarization of the party elites on this dimension. The Republican platform is unequivocal in its Pro-Life position and the Democratic platform is just as unequivocal in its Pro-Choice advocacy over the period under study. Each of the two parties nominated presidential candidates who reflected their signature position during the campaign. Certainly the popular stereotypes of the two parties place them at loggerheads on this highly salient issue. Figure 6 provides the results.

(Figure 6 here)

The problem with the popular stereotype is that it contains some distortion. The Democrats generally live up to their Pro-Choice image. Over the first three national conventions in this era the Pro-Choice range was from 82 to 90 percent. Interestingly enough, only in 2004 was there some decline down to 76 percent Pro-Choice and 23 percent taking the more ambivalent position among the Democrats. On the other side of the aisle, ambivalence and moderation were the really popular positions. In all four conventions, well over a majority of the Republicans wanted to approve abortions in some cases and less than 20 percent took the pure Pro-Life position of the party's national platform and its presidential candidates. This is undoubtedly an issue where an intense minority is able to dominate the party's public policy position and public pronouncements. The Pro-Life components of the Republican Party's base are very vocal, very mobilized, and they are able to dominate the political discourse in speaking for the Republican Party. They are also predominantly the evangelicals who have become so crucial to the Republican core constituency. However, the data in Figure 6 indicate that they do not speak for the majority of Republican activists. At least on the Republican side of the equation, this is one values issue where the moderate do have some place to stand for those among the public who want to compromise on this contentious issue. The problem is that the Democrats do not offer much moderate cover here, and in addition, the Democrats are also not the governing party at this time. They only have the challenge of maintaining the status quo – which is much easier to do and which can be done with a minority of votes in the U.S. Senate – than it is to advocate fundamental change. The parties are certainly divided on this issue but not fully polarized: a strong Pro-Choice Democratic majority faces a moderate to Pro-Life range on

the Republican side. In fact, it may be the Republicans who better reflect the ambivalence about abortion evident in most mass public opinion polls. This fight will undoubtedly continue and will be focused in the second term when President Bush nominates new Supreme Court members.

Over the recent decade the question of school choice has come to be deeply divisive in the United States. It is an issue carrying the weight of concerns over education for school children overlaid with issues of race and religion. Should public tax money, in the form of vouchers, be provided to parents to transfer their children out of often troubled public schools, especially in the central cities, to more successful schools, public or private, and potentially religious schools, often in the suburbs? Democrats, who have a heavy contingent of teachers and their unions in their base, say “no”. Republicans with a heavy contingent of evangelical Christians say “yes” to school choice and to vouchers. The platforms and the candidates for each party follow their signature positions. Figure 7 provides the results for four elections.

(Figure 7 here)

The data paint a picture of a dramatically polarized party elite cadre. Well over 80 percent of the Democrats were opposed to school choice in the past three elections. Almost 80 percent of the Republicans favored school choice over three out of the four national elections. Only the Democrats in 1992 showed much variation in this monolithic party polarization. This issue will remain on the agenda since the Republican majority in Congress is in favor of some form of school choice and President Bush has persistently advocated it. The Democrats are reduced to a position of attempting to block change here and it is unclear how long their veto of some form of vouchers or school choice plans can be maintained. A number of school systems have already adopted some variation on this theme, and many others are considering this change with the active support of the U.S. Department of Education and the Bush Administration behind them.

(Figure 8 here)

The next item shows how a party’s position can wax and wane depending on the circumstances. In the early to mid-1990s, term limits were very popular especially among some conservatives and Republicans. Newt Gingrich’s 1994 “Contract with America” promised term-limits for Congress. Some 20 states adopted term limits for their legislative and executive branches. Most of those would probably have extended those same limits to the U.S. Congress if the Supreme Court had not declared such limits enacted by the states to be unconstitutional. Then the Republicans took over the majority in the Congress in 1994 and have maintained that majority ever since, except for a brief interlude in the Senate from January of 2001 to December 2002. Some states have even contemplated abandoning their term limits now that they have more experience, although the “roll back” position is not achieving widespread success. Figure 8 reflects those changes. Almost three-fourths of the GOP delegates in 1992 favored term limits, and by 2000, this position had declined to well below a majority. Clearly the Republicans are now deeply divided internally on this issue. A Democratic majority was always opposed to term limits and they have not changed much on this position. Democratic support for term limits started at 25 percent in 1992 and it has stood at 16 or 17 percent ever since. This seems to be an instance where the more the political elites learned about a policy and its application in the real world of practice politics, the less they liked it.

Issues Dimensions, 1992-2000

Just because the two parties are significantly polarized on particular issues does not mean that they are monolithic in their views internally. We have already seen some indicators of

internal partisan divisions. In Part II we will explore in great depth the composition of the coalitions which make up the two parties. We will also explore some of the sources of those internal divisions.

How did these attitudes fit together among Republican and Democratic delegates between 1992 and 2004, and how did the structure of opinion vary over time? To answer these questions, we performed a factor analysis on self-identified ideology and the seven issue questions found in all four surveys, for each year and then all four years combined.¹

In Table 1, we present the factor analysis results derived through combining both sets of party elites. The first column shows the results from 1992-2004 and the next three columns replicate the analysis for each year. The results confirm our previous finding that the rival party elites are quite polarized. The gulf between the parties is greatest on self-identified ideology, followed by social welfare issues like government services, national health insurance, and help for minorities. The social issues were modestly less polarizing overall, but abortion and school choice became more so after 1992. Defense spending and term limits were less important overall (1992-2004) largely because of the dramatic changes in the pattern of opinion already noted: defense spending had become more divisive by 2004 and term limits became less so. But regardless of specific issue patterns it is clear that major party elites sharply divided along liberal-conservative lines.

(Table 1 here)

The Internal Structure of Democratic Opinion

Within this overall pattern of inter-party division, there is considerable variation within each party. Such internal differences appear when the same analysis is applied to the Democratic and Republican delegates separately. In Table 2, we present the Democratic factor loadings for 1992-2004. Two dimensions of opinion emerge from the analysis. The first dimension might be called “welfare liberalism,” and it is composed of self-identified ideology, and attitudes on defense spending, national health insurance, and help for minorities. Delegates on one end of this dimension of opinion strongly identified as liberals and supported the central priorities of the welfare state (with reduced defense spending to free up resources for such domestic priorities). Delegates on the other end of this dimension were less likely to identify as liberals (mostly as “moderates”), less eager to cut defense spending, and skeptical of new welfare initiatives.²

(Table 2 here)

The second dimension can be cautiously labeled as “anti-government populism” and at its core were attitudes on school choice, term limits, and the scope of government services. We use the term “anti-government” to distinguish the targets of this populism, public officials, as opposed to business and corporate officials, another form of populism advocated by the left.³ This measure reveals that hostility to government elites was a significant part of the structure of opinion among some Democratic delegates. Delegates on one end of this dimension favored school vouchers, term limits, and modest reductions in the level of government services; delegates on the other end, who were much more numerous, had an unfavorable view of such limitations, implying a more positive view of government officials. It is worth noting that abortion loads on both factors, revealing the nearly uniform pro-choice positions of these delegates. Of course, abortion rights can be thought of as both an element of welfare liberalism and opposition to the power of government officials. These two dimensions of Democratic opinion were quite stable in the four years under study, with a slight weakening of the populist dimension by 2004 (data not shown).

The Internal Structure of Republican Opinion

The Republican delegates have a more complex structure of opinion. Readers accustomed to thinking of the Democrats as more diverse than the Republicans may find this result surprising, but other studies of Democratic and Republican elites in the 1980s found similar patterns (see Green and Guth 1991).

In Table 3 we present the factor loadings for the Republican Party 1992-2004, and the three dimensions that emerge from this analysis. The first dimension, which we label “anti-welfare state conservatism” is made up primarily of delegate opinion relating to minority assistance, government services, and national health insurance. In many respects, this dimension is the opposite of the “welfare liberalism” among the Democratic delegates. Republicans on one end of this dimension strongly opposed these public programs, while those on the other end expressed considerable support. Presumably, this conservatism is associated with support for free market ideology.⁵

The second dimension might be called “cultural conservatism” and included views on abortion, self-identified ideology, and to a lesser extent school choice. On one end of this continuum are the religious conservatives who became prominent in the GOP during the 1990s, and on the other end the cultural moderates once dominant in the party. Finally, the third Republican dimension is a counterpart to the “anti-government populism” found among the Democrats. For Republicans, this dimension is defined by support for term limits, and to a lesser extent school choice, and increased defense spending. So, these Republican populists supported some limits on public officials, but were also strongly nationalistic, while the non-populists were deeply skeptical of such limits on public officials and less supportive of a larger defense budget.

(Table 3 here)

Unlike the Democratic delegates, these Republican dimensions were much less stable overtime, varying considerably from year to year. The three basic dimensions appeared in 1992, 1996 and 2004, but with slightly different loading in each year. The most consistent dimension was anti-government populism, and the major exception was in 2000, when the welfare and cultural issues merged into a single dimension (thus paralleling the two-dimension structure of the Democrats). This bridging of the economic and social conservatism may well have arisen from the strong desire to win back the White House in 2000. However, in 2004, the GOP delegates were again divided along economic and social lines, much as in 1992 and 1996 (XX note on the past edition).

Factions among Party Elites, 1992-2000

To better visualize this structure of opinion among the delegates, we created a crude measure of factions among the party elites.⁴ Here we dichotomized the issue dimensions at the mean and then cross-tabulated them to group the delegates with various combinations of “high” and “low” scores. For the Democrats, the two issue dimensions produced four such “factions.” For the Republicans, this strategy produced eight groups, but upon inspection we combined three very similar categories, for a total of six “factions.”⁶

Democratic Factions

The four Democratic factions represent various combinations of welfare liberalism and anti-government populism. The most recognizable of these groups we labeled the “Traditional Liberals” because they scored high on welfare liberalism and low on populism. Another group was essentially the opposite, scoring low on welfare liberalism and high on anti-government populism; we called this group the “Traditional Centrists.”

The other two factions represent additions largely peculiar to the 1990s. We call one the “Populist Liberals” because they score high on welfare liberalism, but also high on anti-

government populism. With some caution, we label the remaining faction the “New Democrats”; they scored low on welfare liberalism (consistent with the fiscal restraint of the DLC) as well as low on the populist dimension (fitting with the pro-government vision of the DLC). Although these groupings—and their labels—should be viewed with caution, they allow us to observe the changes in the make up of the Democratic convention delegates 1992 to 2004 (see Figure 9).

(Figure 9 here)

The 1992 Democratic convention was a low point for the Traditional Liberals in the 1990s: they made up only about one-fifth of delegates that year. This situation may reflect some discouragement with liberal activism left over from three straight presidential defeats at the hands of Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush. However, the Traditional Liberals rebounded in 1996, rising to more than one-third of all delegates, and then declining to a bit under one-third in 2000 and remaining at about that level in 2004. This change reflects the polarization of the Democratic elites on social welfare issues we observed above.

The journey of the Traditional Liberals was influenced by the rise and fall of the Populist Liberals. In 1992, they were the single largest faction, making up more than two-fifths of the total. No doubt these delegates were influenced by the populism sweeping across the nation and the critique it offered of welfare liberalism. However, this faction declined sharply after 1992, making up between one-sixth and one-tenth of the delegates in subsequent years. This change was propelled by the decline in support for school choice, and to a lesser extent, term limits.

The Traditional Centrists made up about one-quarter of the delegates in 1992, outnumbering the Traditional Liberals. They remained essentially unchanged in 1996, declined slightly in 2000, and rebounding slightly in 2004 – ending the period with a little more than one-sixth of the delegates, almost one-half the size of the Traditional Liberals in 2000 and 2004. The decline of support for school choice hurt this faction, but it was buoyed by the shift in defense priorities among Democratic delegates.

The Traditional Centrists had to compete with a novel “centrist” faction during this period, the New Democrats. This faction was quite small in the 1992 convention, accounting for about one-eighth of the delegates. This suggests that Bill Clinton and Al Gore were first nominated by a variety of other Democratic factions, but they then apparently made numerous converts: the New Democratic delegates more than doubled by 1996, making up more than one-quarter of the total, and then expanded to more than two-fifths in 2000, to become the single largest faction among the Democrats. In 2004, the New Democrats experienced a slight decline (to 31%), but they remained the second largest faction within the party. Thus, the fortunes of the New Democrats are inversely related to the popularity of anti-government populism.

Overall, it appears that Bill Clinton fundamentally changed the Democratic Party. In 1992 populist and traditional liberals along with traditional centrists dominated the party elites. Since then, the New Democrats have gone on to challenge the more liberal wing of the party and have supplanted the anti-government populists. But this argument is far from settled and is likely to be on display in the 2008 election. Some, like former presidential candidate and DNC chair Howard Dean, argue that only by stressing core liberalism will the Democrats regain majorities in Congress and retake the White House. Others, perhaps including Hillary Clinton, argue that the New Democrat approach is the best way to regain power in a country that may have shifted to the right on at least some matters.

Republican Factions

The six Republican factions are displayed in Figure 10. The GOP was rife with factions in the early 1990s, representing both the successes and failures of the Reagan-Bush era. By 2000

and 2004, the Republicans had solidified around two dominant factions, even though the other minority factions did not disappear altogether.

Traditional Conservatives are those delegates who score low on both social welfare and cultural conservatism, but less so on anti-government populism issues. In partial contrast, the Populist Conservatives score high on all three dimensions, adding strong support for school choice and especially term limits to conservative positions on economic and social issues. The core of the Christian Right can be found among the Populist Conservatives, in addition to other elements of the “hard right,” such as gun owners and anti-tax advocates. But some of these constituencies are found among the Traditional Conservatives as well.

(Figure 10 here)

A similar division occurs among the historic rivals of the “hard right” in Republican circles. These factions include the “Moderates” and the “Populists Moderates”; both score relatively low on welfare and cultural conservatism, but the former are also low on anti-government populism, while the latter have high scores on populism. These two factions contain much of the traditional business and professional constituency of the Republican party. (Of course, these “moderates” were still far more conservative than the Democratic delegates.)

“Libertarians” score high on economic conservatism and low on social conservatism, as well as high on the issues related to populism, largely on the grounds of personal liberty. Finally, the Progressives are the once potent “liberal Republicans,” who score the most liberal on welfare and cultural issues and low on populism. The Progressives have shrunk to less than 10% of the total since 1992.

Much like the Democrats, the populism of the 1990s rearranged the factions within the GOP. The Traditional Conservatives made up only one-twentieth of the delegates in 1992, largely because of the Populist Conservatives, who made up one-fifth of the total. However, the Traditional Conservative made a rebound in 1996, more than tripling in size to make up over one-sixth of the delegates, and they grew further to about one-quarter of the delegates in 2000 and 2004. Fueled in part by the decline in support for term limits, this expansion was especially evident after the GOP victories in the 1994 elections. However, the Populist Conservatives maintained one-fifth of the delegates in 1996 before declining to less than one-tenth in 2000 and 2004.

The Moderates experienced a similar trajectory. In 1992, they made up about one-sixth of the delegates, eclipsed by the Populist Moderates at more than one-fifth. However, the Moderates made a big comeback in 1996, doubling in size to almost one-third. Much of this gain appears to have been at the expense of the Populist Moderates, whose numbers were cut by one-half, falling to about one-tenth of the GOP delegate pool. This trend continued in 2000, where the Moderate faction expanded to an outright majority of the GOP delegates, and the Populist Moderates declined to less than one-tenth. In 2004, the moderates slipped just below their outright majority, but remained the dominant faction. So the long-standing debate over how conservative the GOP should be was submerged briefly by a surge of populism in 1992, but then resurfaced once the surge subsided.

Both the Libertarians and Progressives suffered dramatic declines over the period. Each made up almost one-fifth of the delegates in 1992 and fell steadily to less than one-tenth by 2000 and remained at about that level in 2004. The merging of the economic and social conservatism in 2000 sharply reduced the distinctiveness of these small factions, but they did not entirely disappear.

Anatomy of the Factions

What types of delegates make up these different factions in each party? Using data from the 2004 survey of delegates, we present the makeup of the Democratic and Republican factions in Tables 4 and 5. As one would expect, the delegate factions differ in terms of demography, the special issues of the 2004 campaign, and the candidates they support.

The Democrats in 2004

Convention delegates are chosen at the state level, so it should come as no surprise that the factions had a distinctive regional distribution. The centrist Democratic factions were overrepresented by Midwestern and Southern delegates, while delegates from the liberal factions were mostly from the North and West. In part, this regional distribution represents the effects of political competition: Democratic delegates from safe Republican states were the most likely to come from the centrist factions of the party, while the more liberal factions dominated safe Democratic states. Interestingly, delegates from battleground states represented an almost even distribution of the Democratic factions.⁷

(Table 4 here)

In part, the regional distribution reflects different political cultures. Although there was no significant gender or racial differences among the delegates, there were important religious divisions across the factions. In general, Democratic delegates with any reported religious tradition were more likely to be of the centrist factions of the Party, while delegates of the more liberal traditions were less religious overall (with the notable exception of liberal Black Protestants).

We asked delegates which groups they were personally representing at the convention and for Democratic delegates the primary responses were Civil Rights Groups, Environmental Groups, Women's Groups, and Labor Unions. With the exception of Labor, delegates who reported representing these core Democratic constituencies were also more likely to be part of the more liberal factions of the Party. This finding may relate to the oft-cited distinction between party professionals and party amateurs (Wilson 1962; Wildavsky 1965; Roback 1975). Party professionals, sometimes called pragmatists, are primarily interested in using the party to win elections. On the other hand, party Amateurs, sometimes called purists, are more interested in pursuing a consistent ideological agenda and support likeminded nominees. Those delegates who represent specific ideological groups at the conventions are likely the party amateurs. Not surprisingly these delegates also turn out to comprise the more liberal factions of the party.

Democratic delegates in 2004 overwhelmingly felt that the war in Iraq was unjustified. The two moderate factions were only slightly less opposed to the war. Likewise, Democratic delegates united in their view that the use of a budget surplus for tax cuts was a bad idea. On the issue of gay marriage, however, the factions expressed considerable division. The two centrist factions were much more amiable to civil unions for gay Americans and a sizable group **were** for traditionally defined marriage only. As one would expect, the liberal factions of the Democratic Party were much more likely to support same-sex marriage.

By the time they convened in Boston at the end of July 2004, most Democratic delegates expressed strong support for John Kerry – their presumed nominee. However when asked which candidate they originally supported, the four Democratic factions expressed some notable differences. The two moderate factions (Traditional Centrists and New Democrats) were most likely to favor John Kerry or John Edwards. The Traditional and Populist Liberals were the most likely to support Howard Dean and Dennis Kucinich.

The Republicans in 2004

Like the Democrats, Republican delegates from safe Republican states were most likely

to represent a conservative faction within their party. The moderate factions were also likely to come from safe Republican states, while libertarians were overrepresented in battleground states and progressives in Democratic states. These more liberal factions, however, represent an extremely small portion of the Republican delegate pool overall (see Figure 10 in the previous section). Many of the more conservative Republican delegates came from the South, while Northern delegates were more likely to represent the Moderate and Libertarian traditions within the Republican Party.

(Table 5 here)

Evangelicals dominate all the Conservative and Populist factions within the Republican Party. Indeed, for these most conservative factions, evangelicals outnumber the next largest group by more than two-to-one. Moderates, Libertarians, and Progressives were most likely to identify as mainline Protestants. The few Republican delegates who identified themselves as Secular were most likely members of the Libertarian faction.

As one would expect, Republican delegates who report being members of anti-abortion groups were more likely to represent a conservative faction. Like their Democratic counterparts, these delegates are likely party amateurs whose focus is primarily ideological purity. Delegates who report membership in business groups, however, were much more evenly distributed among the different factions. As was the case with the Democrats, no important differences were found based on the race and gender of delegates.

Concerning key campaign issues, the more conservative factions of the Republican Party united behind their president in 2004. They felt the war in Iraq was justified, they thought using the surplus for tax cuts was a good idea and that marriage should be defined traditionally. The moderate, libertarian, and progressive factions of the Party also united with the president regarding the war in Iraq, but were more likely to split from their conservative colleagues on use of the surplus to fund tax cuts and the acceptability of civil unions or gay marriage.

Thus, neither party, circa 2004, is wholly united. The previous section revealed that each party has two sizable factions – one traditional and ideologically pure faction, and one faction that is more moderate – along with a number of smaller factions. In each party the push and pull between moderate and orthodox factions is taking place in a somewhat predictable manner. The question of which factions will dominate each party during the next four years is something both parties are struggling over. With control over all branches of the federal government, Republicans may be tempted to continue moving in a more orthodox direction, despite the overwhelming presence of self-described moderates within the party. The Democrats, however, seem to be making more of their own identity crisis than are their Republican counterparts. They have the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) to represent the moderate faction, and the DLC gives a tangible name and face to one enduring faction. Other factions are not so clearly identifiable in organizational terms. The decision for Democrats is strategic and there is no clear answer. Do they follow Howard Dean in the direction of traditional and liberal Democratic values or do they revert back to the moderation that typified the Clinton years now represented by the DLC? Their continued competitiveness as a national party may well depend on how they answer this question or on whether they force the issue to a definitive answer or decide to live with one another as the Republicans have done so far with their modus vivendi between their factions.

Conclusion

It has become one of the consistent findings in the literature to observe that the party elites are ideologically polarized. Our own previous research has demonstrated a consistent

pattern (Jackson, Bigelow and Green 2003; Green, Jackson, and Clayton, 1999; Jackson and Clayton, 1996). The older editions of standard textbooks in the field formerly described a predominantly non-ideological or “pragmatic party” system in the United States which set this country apart from the more ideological European countries (Sorauf, 1968). The new editions of those same texts have provided an up-to-date report on how much the American parties have changed and how ideologically polarized the party elites have become (Hershey, 2005). The fact that this finding is so consistent and commonplace does not diminish the importance of the change it represents. The two American parties of the first decade of the 21st century are not the same parties that prevailed for most of the 20th century. Clearly the party activists are different and much more ideological now and more polarized.

There is now considerable debate within the literature on what sort of new party system is emerging. Some leading scholars, such as Gerald Pomper, see a new American party system which exhibits many characteristics of the “Responsible Parties” model, originally advocated by the E.E. Schattschneider Committee of the American Political Party Association (Pomper, 2003; American Political Science Review, 1947; Green and Herrnson, 2002; White and Mileur, 1992). Obviously, the structural impediments built into the American constitutional system of separation of powers and federalism still exist and will always provide a major obstacle to the realization of a full-blown responsible parties model in the European parliamentary sense. The consistency of the findings of ideological polarization among the party elites is too persistent to miss the important changes in the party system which have occurred predominantly during the realignments of the 1980s and 1990s. The data presented here show how stable that realignment had become during the twelve years included in this study. The decade of the 1990s and the first half of the first decade of the 21st century produced a consolidation and maturation of a new party system in the United States.

In one important way, however, the rise of polarized party politics may be different than the one envisioned by responsible party scholars a half century ago. Our longitudinal data indicate that elite level polarization is particularly evident on culture war issues. The bimodal distributions of opinion, that are often difficult to find in public opinion, are the overwhelming norm at this elite level. Several non-culture war issues (including defense spending and term limits) show a certain amount of variation over time as the parties elite adjust to political circumstances. On culture war related issues, however, the bimodality of elite opinion is consistent and pronounced. That the gulf between the parties is increasingly defined by cultural issues, on which people have strong and emotional opinions, helps explain the increasing divisiveness that characterizes much of American politics at the beginning of the 21st century. Elite level culture wars have at least three important implications for American politics. First, to the extent that elites guide opinion formation, voters are led to the extremes (see Layman and Carsey 2002). Second, this polarization has the potential to influence the types of candidates that run for office. Those with moderate positions on cultural issues, vis-à-vis their party, likely find these entrenched partisan divisions difficult to negotiate. Third, and related to the second, the candidates who successfully reach office end up being quite different from their counterparts across the aisle with whom they must work to govern the country. This elite level polarization, based especially in cultural values, may have produced a uniquely American version of the well known responsible parties model. The signature divisions between the two parties have become fairly stable during the time included in our study, and the party elites seem to have become quite accepting of these distinctive inter-party divisions. Whether the parties which have now grown out of that polarization are a comfortable fit with the

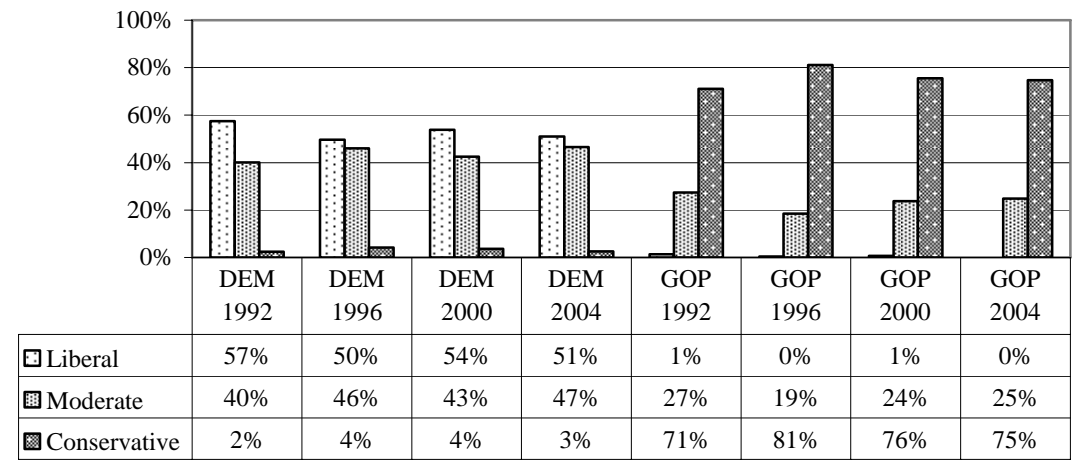
preferences of the mass public in the United States is more problematic at this point in party history

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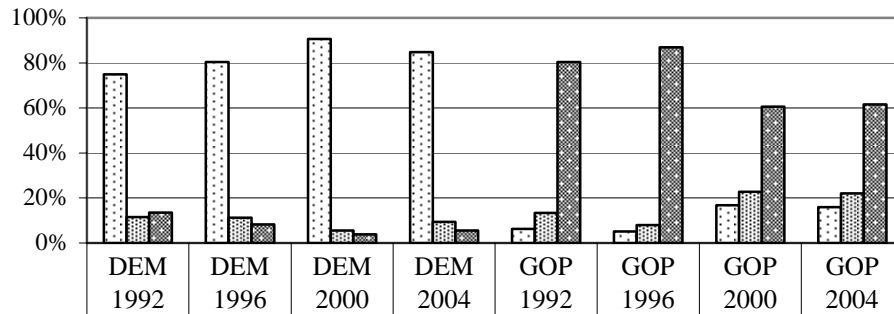
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Figure 1: Ideology



Source: Survey by the authors.

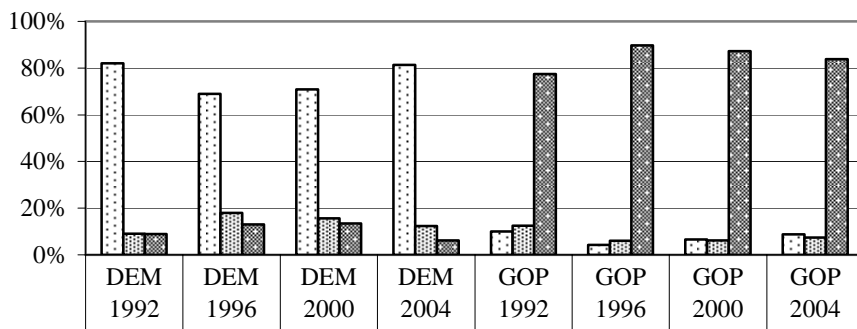
Figure 2: Government Services



| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Continue Services | 75% | 80% | 91% | 85% | 6% | 5% | 17% | 16% |
| Neutral | 11% | 11% | 6% | 9% | 13% | 8% | 23% | 22% |
| Fewer Services | 14% | 8% | 4% | 6% | 80% | 87% | 61% | 62% |

Source: Survey by the authors.

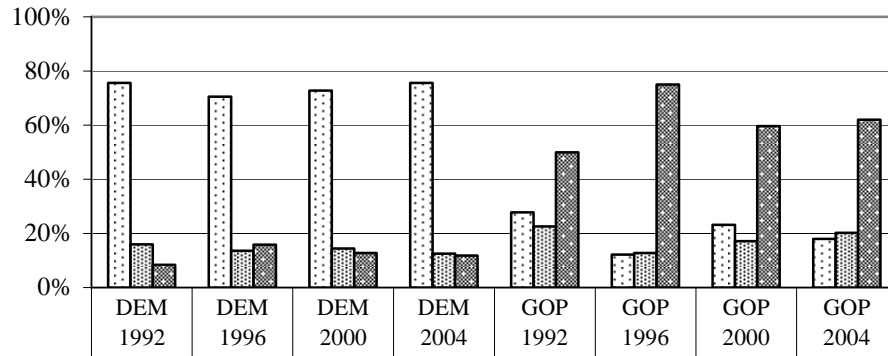
Figure 3: Health Insurance



| | DEM 1992 | DEM 1996 | DEM 2000 | DEM 2004 | GOP 1992 | GOP 1996 | GOP 2000 | GOP 2004 |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Government Insurance | 82% | 69% | 71% | 81% | 10% | 4% | 7% | 9% |
| Neutral | 9% | 18% | 16% | 12% | 13% | 6% | 6% | 7% |
| Private Insurance | 9% | 13% | 13% | 6% | 77% | 90% | 87% | 84% |

Source: Survey by the authors.

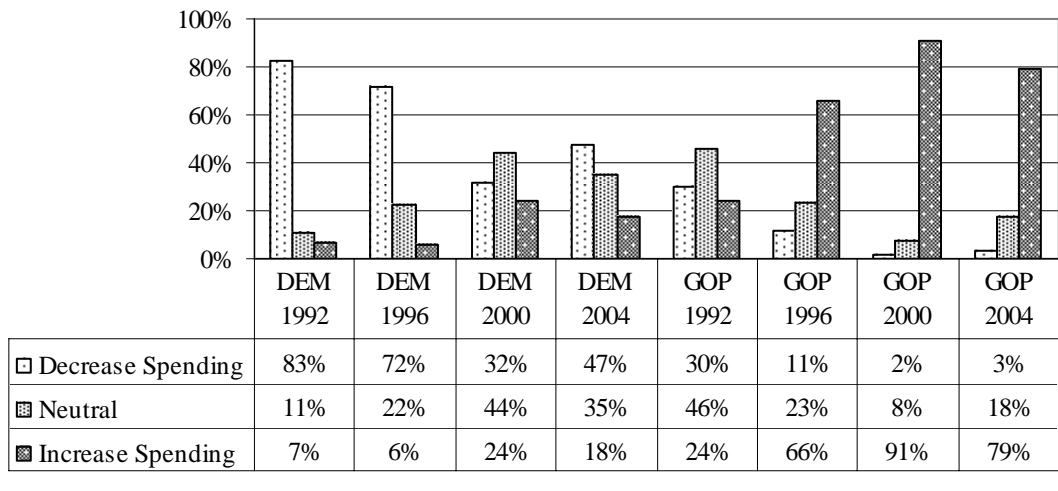
Figure 4: Minority Group Help



| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Help Minority Groups | 76% | 71% | 73% | 76% | 28% | 12% | 23% | 18% |
| Neutral | 16% | 14% | 14% | 13% | 23% | 13% | 17% | 20% |
| No Special Help | 8% | 16% | 13% | 12% | 50% | 75% | 60% | 62% |

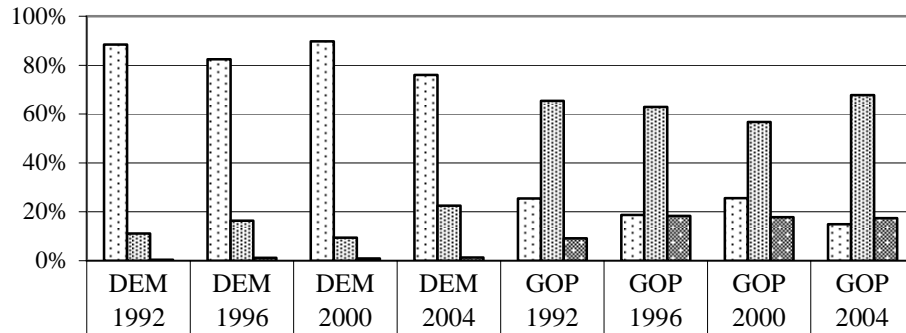
Source: Survey by the authors.

Figure 5: Defense Spending



Source: Survey by the authors.

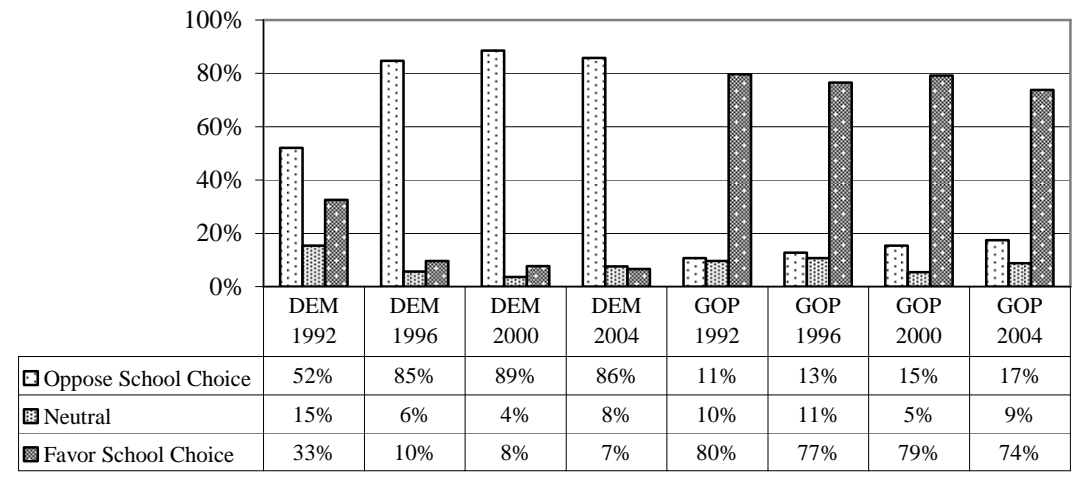
Figure 6: Abortion



| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| always permitted | 88% | 82% | 90% | 76% | 25% | 19% | 26% | 15% |
| need established | 11% | 16% | 9% | 23% | 65% | 63% | 57% | 68% |
| never permitted | 0% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 9% | 18% | 18% | 17% |

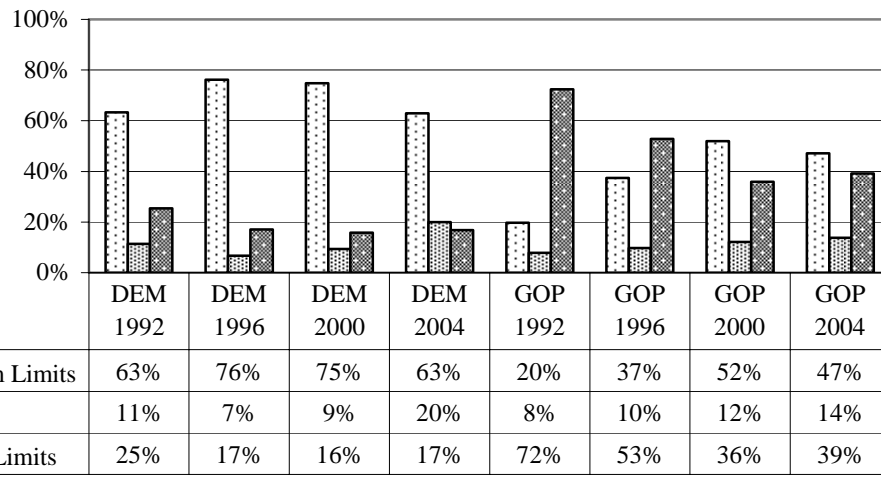
Source: Survey by the authors.

Figure 7: School Choice



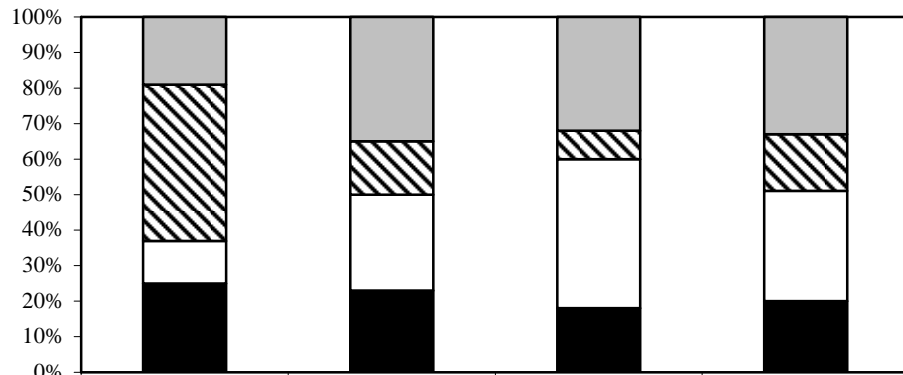
Source: Survey by the authors.

Figure 8: Term Limits



Source: Survey by the authors.

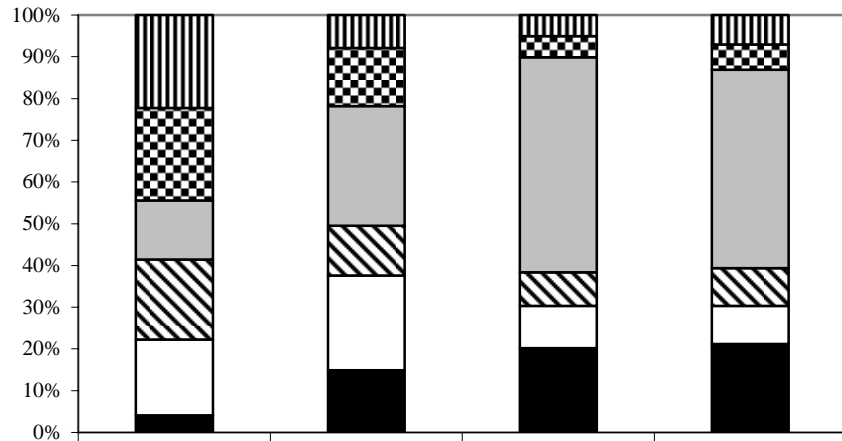
Figure 9: Democratic Faction Groups



| | 1992 | 1996 | 2000 | 2004 |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| ■ Traditional Liberals | 19% | 35% | 32% | 33% |
| ▨ Populist Liberals | 44% | 15% | 8% | 16% |
| □ New Democrats | 12% | 27% | 42% | 31% |
| ■ Traditional Centrists | 25% | 23% | 18% | 20% |

Source: Survey by the authors.

Figure 10: Republican Faction Groups



| | 1992 | 1996 | 2000 | 2004 |
|---------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Progressives | 22% | 8% | 5% | 7% |
| Libertarians | 22% | 14% | 5% | 6% |
| Moderates | 14% | 29% | 51% | 47% |
| Populist Moderates | 19% | 12% | 8% | 9% |
| Populist Conservatives | 18% | 23% | 10% | 9% |
| Traditional Conservatives | 4% | 15% | 20% | 21% |

Source: Survey by the authors.

Table 1: Structure of Opinion, National Convention Delegates, 1992-2004

| <i>Factor Loadings</i> | <i>1992-2004</i> | <i>1992</i> | <i>1996</i> | <i>2000</i> | <i>2004</i> |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Liberal Ideology | .87 | .87 | .88 | .87 | .87 |
| Maintain government services | .84 | .83 | .87 | .86 | .83 |
| Support national health insurance | .83 | .82 | .83 | .83 | .85 |
| Support minority assistance | .75 | .74 | .77 | .73 | .75 |
| Oppose school choice | .76 | .66 | .82 | .81 | .80 |
| Support abortion rights | .73 | .69 | .73 | .76 | .73 |
| Decrease defense spending | .69 | .67 | .78 | .76 | .75 |
| Oppose term limits | .44 | .60 | .54 | .37 | .25 |
| Eigenvalue | 4.5 | 4.4 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 4.5 |
| % variance explained | 56% | 55% | 61% | 58% | 57% |
| Weighted N | 4000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 |

Extraction Method: Principal Components
Rotation Method Varimax

Source: Survey by the authors.

Table 2: Structure of Opinion, Democratic National Convention Delegates, 1992-2004

| <i>Rotated Component Matrix</i> | Component | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|
| | Economic | Populist |
| Liberal Ideology | .70 | |
| Decrease defense spending | .65 | |
| Support national health insurance | .64 | |
| Support minority assistance | .62 | |
| Support abortion rights | .36 | |
| Oppose school choice | | .75 |
| Oppose term limits | | .64 |
| Maintain government services | .36 | .58 |
| Eigenvalue | 2.10 | 1.30 |
| Variance explained | 26% | 16% |
| Weighted N | 2000 | |

Extraction Method: Principal Component
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converges in 3 iterations.
 Coefficients of less than .3 not shown.

Source: Survey by the authors

Table 3: Structure of Opinion, Republican National Convention Delegates, 1992-2004

| <i>Rotated Component Matrix</i> | Component | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Economic | Social | Populist |
| Support minority assistance | -.77 | | |
| Maintain government services | -.71 | | -.38 |
| Oppose national health insurance | -.70 | | |
| Support abortion rights | | -.82 | |
| Liberal Ideology | -.38 | -.73 | |
| Oppose school choice | | -.54 | -.44 |
| Oppose term limits | | | -.76 |
| Decrease defense spending | | -.41 | .63 |
| Eigenvalue | 2.50 | 1.30 | 1.00 |
| % variance | 31% | 17% | 13% |
| Weighted N | | 2000 | |

Extraction Method: Principal Component

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converges in 4 iterations.

Coefficients of less than .3 not shown

Source: Survey by the authors.

Table 4: Anatomy of the 2004 Democratic Party Factions

| | Traditional Liberals | Populist Liberals | New Democrats | Traditional Centrists | |
|---|-------------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Delegate from: | | | | | |
| North | 25% | 19% | 15% | 18% | |
| Midwest | 25 | 21 | 36 | 56 | |
| West | 30 | 33 | 22 | 19 | |
| South | 21 | 27 | 27 | 37 | Chi-Square = .012 |
| Delegate from: | | | | | |
| Safe Republican State | 29% | 33% | 40% | 51% | |
| Battleground State | 26 | 29 | 29 | 24 | |
| Safe Democratic State | 45 | 39 | 32 | 26 | Chi-Square = .012 |
| Delegate religious tradition | | | | | |
| Evangelical | 5% | 7% | 9% | 14% | |
| Mainline Protestant | 19 | 17 | 20 | 23 | |
| Catholic | 28 | 18 | 33 | 31 | |
| Black Protestant | 12 | 18 | 18 | 12 | |
| Jewish | 7 | 5 | 8 | 4 | |
| Secular | 19 | 12 | 9 | 11 | |
| Other | 10 | 23 | 4 | 4 | Chi-Square = .001 |
| Delegate representing: | | | | | |
| Civil Rights | 46% | 42% | 37% | 24% | Chi-Square = .003 |
| Environment | 40% | 33% | 24% | 22% | Chi-Square = .005 |
| Pro-Choice/Feminist | 51% | 49% | 34% | 26% | Chi-Square = .001 |
| Labor | 30% | 28% | 29% | 24% | Chi-Square = .692 |
| Delegate attitudes towards key 2004 campaign issues | | | | | |
| War in Iraq | | | | | |
| War justified | 1% | 0% | 5% | 7% | |
| War unjustified | 99 | 100 | 95 | 93 | Chi-Square = .015 |
| Use surplus for tax cuts | | | | | |
| Good idea | 1% | 0% | 2% | 3% | |
| Maybe | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | |
| Bad idea | 99 | 100 | 97 | 95 | Chi-Square = .148 |
| Marriage | | | | | |
| Traditional marriage only | 8% | 5% | 16% | 19% | |
| Civil unions acceptable | 23 | 28 | 57 | 52 | |
| Gay marriage acceptable | 69 | 67 | 26 | 29 | Chi-Square = .001 |
| Delegate supporting: | | | | | |
| Kerry | 38% | 33% | 45% | 50% | |
| Edwards | 9 | 15 | 19 | 22 | |
| Dean | 23 | 19 | 16 | 7 | |
| Clark | 4 | 5 | 4 | 7 | |
| Gephardt | 6 | 4 | 5 | 2 | |
| Kucinich | 5 | 18 | 1 | 3 | |
| Others | 14 | 8 | 10 | 10 | Chi-Square = .001 |

Source: Survey by the authors.

Table 5: Anatomy of the 2004 Republican Party Factions

| | Traditional Conservatives | Populist Conservatives | Populist Moderates | Moderates | Libertarians | Progressives | |
|---|------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Delegate from: | | | | | | | |
| North | 8% | 7% | 30% | 20% | 24% | 35% | |
| Midwest | 24 | 22 | 16 | 27 | 28 | 15 | |
| West | 29 | 26 | 18 | 22 | 14 | 18 | |
| South | 40 | 46 | 36 | 30 | 35 | 32 | Chi-Square = .009 |
| Delegate from: | | | | | | | |
| Safe Republican State | 62% | 67% | 46% | 50% | 31% | 47% | |
| Battleground State | 20 | 24 | 25 | 24 | 38 | 13 | |
| Safe Democratic State | 18 | 9 | 30 | 26 | 31 | 41 | Chi-Square = .010 |
| Delegate religious tradition | | | | | | | |
| Evangelical | 49% | 43% | 38% | 20% | 17% | 14% | |
| Mainline Protestant | 23 | 17 | 20 | 39 | 35 | 34 | |
| Catholic | 9 | 26 | 29 | 26 | 31 | 34 | |
| Black Protestant | 7 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 0 | |
| Jewish | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | |
| Secular | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 10 | 6 | |
| Other | 8 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 9 | Chi-Square = .001 |
| Delegate representing: | | | | | | | |
| Anti-Abortion | 52% | 68% | 49% | 28% | 24% | 14% | Chi-Square = .001 |
| Business | 47% | 51% | 42% | 50% | 45% | 31% | Chi-Square = .353 |
| Delegate attitudes towards key 2004 campaign issues | | | | | | | |
| War in Iraq | | | | | | | |
| War justified | 100% | 96% | 96% | 97% | 93% | 94% | |
| War unjustified | 0% | 4 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 6 | Chi-Square = .231 |
| Use Surplus for tax cuts | | | | | | | |
| Good idea | 94% | 98% | 91% | 78% | 86% | 82% | |
| Maybe | 4 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 6 | |
| Bad idea | 2 | 0 | 5 | 16 | 10 | 12 | Chi-Square = .003 |
| Marriage | | | | | | | |
| Traditional marriage only | 88% | 85% | 70% | 70% | 55% | 39% | |
| Civil unions acceptable | 8 | 11 | 26 | 28 | 28 | 61 | |
| Gay marriage acceptable | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 17 | 0 | Chi-Square = .001 |

Source: Survey by the authors.

Notes

1. For purposes of this analysis, we used the full range of the survey items. To assure the number of cases in each of the studies did not bias the results, we weighted each set of party delegates and each year equally.
2. To assure the validity of this claim we assessed delegate support for tax cuts in 2004 survey. As expected, significant difference exist in the level of support for tax cuts between those in the upper half of the factor and the lower half.
3. Items for the individual surveys suggest that opposition to corporate elites is likely to be strongly associated with welfare liberalism.
4. Again using the same method described in footnote 2, significant differences exist.
5. Here we define factions by issue positions rather than membership in or affect toward factional organizations. Of course, issue positions and affiliation with such organizations are highly correlated (Green, Jackson, and Clayton 1999; Baer and Dolan 1994).
6. For these purposes, we used factor scores generated by pooling all three surveys. For the Democrats, the results are straightforward because the same two-factor solution emerged in the pooled data. The Republicans were more complicated: the pooled data generated a three-factor solution, with an economic conservatism factor (government services, national health insurance, and help for minorities), social issue conservatism (ideology, abortion, school choice), and populism (term limits, school choice, and defense spending). We used factor scores from this analysis to define the GOP factions.
7. We define battleground states as those in which the presidential election in 2004 was decided by a margin of 10 percent or less. Safe Republican states were those won by George W. Bush by a margin of greater than 10 percent. Safe Democratic states were those won by John Kerry by margin of greater than 10 percent.