Theme — Parties and the 2000 Election

Cause for Cautious Optimism:
The Resurgence of American Political Parties
Melanie J. Blumberg
Kent State University

There remains a divide in the literature on political parties: One camp writes the obituary for American Political parties, arguing they have had their last hurrah as they have outlived their usefulness. The other side is cautiously optimistic, suggesting that American political parties have learned to be flexible in order to survive thus transforming themselves into service organizations and money machines.

John Kenneth White and Daniel M. Shea, in New Party Politics: From Jefferson and Hamilton to the Information Age, offer a glimpse of political parties in the technological era, explaining that their real worth is their ability to fund and organized party-building activities and sustain expensive issue-advocacy campaigns.

James W. Ceaser and Andrew E. Busch, in The Perfect Tie: The True Story of the 2000 Presidential Election, conclude that both Democrats and Republicans have “some reason for satisfaction” (167) given the 2000 election results. The Democratic Party is competitive at the presidential level, which is a significant feat given that many scholars have long written about a Republican realignment due to the party’s perceived lock on the electoral college. They also point to Democratic successes among urban residents, African-Americans, and organized labor in addition to its formation of a “bicoastal coalition” (167). Republicans, on the other hand, have George W. Bush to thank for stopping—at least for the time being—the Clinton-DLC momentum by breaking the Democratic cross-country coalition pieced together in 1992 and 1996. Although it is unclear whether voters signed onto the Bush agenda, Ceaser and Busch write that “[h]e touched the ‘electric third rail’ of American politics, Social Security, and lived to tell about it” (167). The authors, however, are skeptical whether any policy proposal receive clear mandates in presidential elections.

White and Shea’s New Party Politics is more than a traditional textbook: It is an attempt to understand how the two major political parties have responded to new technologies in an effort to cope with a changing political environment. Ceaser and Busch’s The Perfect Tie is perhaps the finest account to date of the 2000 presidential election, and is the third time the scholars have paired to write about the banner race. Both teams acknowledge the importance of American political parties, with White and Shea building a strong case to mute critics. Ceaser and Busch approach the issue from a different perspective as they integrate the importance of party rules and party loyalty, as well as strategic appeals to core constituencies, into their account. The

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FROM HEADQUARTERS

THANKS!

Dear POP Members

My term as chair of political Organizations and Parties is just about up and it’s time for me to say a simple but heartfelt thanks to all the members who have volunteered time to the organization during these last two years. There are too many people to thank by name so I hope all of you that I have called on will excuse this blanket expression of my appreciation. In these past two years, over sixty members of POP have served on committees, been a member of our Board, or taken on special projects for our section.

It’s been a wonderful time to serve as chair of POP. One of the highlights of last year’s APSA convention was the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the “Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System” report. John Green and Paul Herrnson organized that for POP and they are editing a book composed of the papers that were delivered at our workshop.

Under the leadership of Beth Leech, this fall’s workshop on elite interviewing promises to be equally strong. An innovation this year was the awarding of ten $100 scholarships to doctoral candidates interested in attending. These scholarships will offset some of the additional expenses incurred by coming to APSA a day early.

We have successfully implemented changes in our best book (Epstein) and best article (Walker) awards. Each now goes to a contemporary work rather than to a classic in the field. This fall we will also make the first award of our new best paper prize, jointly sponsored by POP and the journal, Party Politics.

Building on our successful web site created by John Coleman for the Responsible Parties celebration, Scott Furlong has constructed a general web site for POP. It’s just up and running and much more material will be added to the site over the coming year. Another project we have going is a collection of syllabi of courses on political parties or interest groups. Robin Kolodny is editing this set of reading lists and course outlines.

Our nominating committee made an excellent choice in selecting John Coleman to be the next chair of our section. John has worked long and hard for POP and there isn’t a better person for the job.

It was a privilege to serve as POP chair. Thank you all so much for giving me that opportunity.

Jeff Berry

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NOMINATIONS

Report of the Nominations Committee:

The nominating committee offers the following recommendations for POP officers:

Chair:
John Coleman, University of Wisconsin

Council Members:
Sarah Morehouse, Yale University
Richard Niemi, University of Rochester
Jeff Stonecash, Syracuse University
Linda Fowler, Dartmouth College

The nominating committee was composed of:
Diana Dwyre, California State University, Chico
John Green, The University of Akron
Marian Palley, University of Delaware

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POP Workshop

“Elite Interviewing”

The POP short course on elite interviewing will be held from 1-5 p.m. on Wednesday, August 29, 2001, at the American Political Science Association annual meeting in San Francisco.

Panelists for the short course include: Joel Aberbach, Jeffrey Berry, David Farrell, Ken Goldstein, John Kessell, Beth Leech, H.W. Perry, Bert Rockman, and Laura Woliver.

There is no charge for the course, but participants must pre-register. Registration forms are available in the June issue of PS. If you have questions, please contact Diana Dwyre, 530-989-6041, DDwyre@cscuchico.edu, or Beth Leech, 732-729-1179, BethL@rci.rutgers.edu.

FROM THE FIELD

POP Members Invited to Attend the Party Politics Reception at APSA

The journal Party Politics is now in its seventh year of publication and has established itself as one of the most highly cited and widely read journals in political science. Please join our celebration at this year’s APSA convention in San Francisco on Thursday, August 30 at 6:30 p.m., venue to be announced in the program.

Complimentary wine, beer, and soft drinks will be available, as well as a cheese and fruit platter.

The reception is being hosted by Sage Publications and the editors of Party Politics.

We look forward to seeing you, your colleagues, and friends.
FROM THE FIELD

APSA Short Course

The Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies' (CCPS) Campaign Management Institute at American University is offering a short course at the APSA convention on the topic "Teaching About Campaigns and Elections II." This short course builds on the success of last year's offering and will also include materials assembled by CCPS as part of the Improving Campaign Conduct project we are conducting funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts.

Part of the workshop will involve small group discussions with workshop participants, leading academics in the study of campaigns and elections, and prominent practitioners who are members of the American Association of Political Consultants (AAPC) (see list below). Participants will engage in discussions of normative behavior in campaigns with professionals and will receive information about AAPC's mentoring program designed to get undergraduates and recent graduates matched with internship or job opportunities with these campaign professionals.

The workshop will also include a lunch time panel discussion with a number of scholars and practitioners engaged in reform efforts in the conduct of campaigns. Topics include normative issues for campaign professionals, coverage of campaigns by journalists, issue advocacy campaigns by interest groups and political parties, and the implications emerging technologies have on campaign practices.

We will host a lunch for all participants at the conclusion of the workshop. There are no registration fees for the workshop or luncheon. For more information or to reserve a place at the short course, please email us at ccps@american.edu or call 202-885-3970.

Short Course Participants:

James A. Thurber, American University
Paul S. Herrnson, University of Maryland
Kathleen Hall Jamieson, University of Pennsylvania
L. Sandy Maisel, Colby College
Diana Dwyre, California State University, Chico
David Magleby, Brigham Young University (invited)
Michael Cornfield, George Washington University
Robin Kolodny, Temple University
David A. Dulio, American University
Stephen K. Medvic, Old Dominion University
Paul Taylor, Alliance for Better Campaigns (invited)
Brad Rourke, Institute for Global Ethics
Dan Schnur, University of California, Berkeley and Technology Network
Tony Fazio, Campaign Data Center
Cathy Allen, Campaign Connection (invited)

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two books provide an excellent foundation for understanding American political parties in the twenty-first century, one focusing on party structures and the other concentrating on election outcomes.

Ceser and Busch's detailed analysis provides support for much of White and Shea's thesis. The major point on which they differ relates to the importance of partisanship as a voting cue, with White and Shea arguing that it no longer structures choices as it did in the past: Increasingly, party brand loyalty has been replaced by voter neutrality" (160). Ceser and Busch perceive it quite the opposite based on the 2000 election voting patterns in which both Republican and Democratic identifiers held the party line "more... than in any election since modern polling has been measuring the electorate" (166).

According to White and Shea, American political parties in the Information Age can best be understood using the business firm analogy:

... [V]oters are likened to consumers that the firms (i.e., party organizations) attempt to attract each election. The goal of the party organizations is to instill party brand loyalty in order to expand their market share. Candidates are the products offered by the firm at each election cycle, and elected officials are the reluctant sales force' that the firm hopes to control. (306).

Profit is gauged by the number of votes—the election outcome—the firm receives. Although White and Shea are highly doubtful whether the two major political parties will ever attract a new cohort of loyal supporters, this does not mean they will become obsolete. Partisanship was bound to weaken as a voting cue for reasons outlined in numerous studies, the most often cited are: Progressive Era reforms, a more educated electorate, candidate-centered campaigns, media-driven politics, and professional consultants, none of which are entirely mutually exclusive.

The Republican National Committee (RNC), under the leadership of William Brock, was the first to respond to the changing conditions by building an Information Age "corporation" (91) based on four objectives: (1) to build the party's fundraising capacity, (2) to make organizational improvements, (3) to aggressively recruit quality candidates, and (4) to redefine the party's image. The Democratic National Committee (DNC), under the direction of Charles Mannett, did not respond immediately, and then it was not as successful as the GOP until much later. (The authors omit a discussion of DNC Chairman Ron Brown who is credited with innovations

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such as the coordinated campaign, a tragedy that set the stage for Bill Clinton’s success.)

The business-like approach was necessary as “party brand loyalty is no longer habit-forming” (142). Media-driven politics requires vast resources thereby making raising and distributing soft money what is tantamount to “a full-time occupation” (230) for the RNC, DNC, and Hill committees. The importance of soft money is reflected in the DNC’s decision to finance an eighteen-month media blitz of issue-advocacy spots in an attempt to halt any chance the opposition had to win the White House in 1996.

Presidential candidates, in the 2000 primaries, spent large sums on web site design and maintenance, which is not surprising given that nearly 25 percent of voters indicated that information on the Internet influenced their vote choice (140). Candidates and parties now use the medium to attract volunteers, register voters, mobilize activists, and raise money, all of which are party-building activities. Sophisticated computer technology also allows candidates and parties access to rich voter data bases. One question is whether Information Age politics is responsible for declining voter turnout and brand loyalty due to the impersonality of electronic communications. Herein lies the paradox: American political parties are vital as measured by fundraising success and organizational skill but, according to White and Shea, the strategies that parties and candidates employ to win elections may actually alienate voters (310). Another question is whether service-based parties can remain vital without loyal supporters. It may be the case that political parties, similar to any other business, must continually develop new and creative strategies in the hope consumers will “buy” their products.

Ceaser and Busch are more optimistic about party-line voting, in their detailed account of the 2000 presidential election cycle. The authors explain the “perfect tie” that occurred:

As the election returns for Congress showed the House and Senate moving toward parity between the two parties, the presidential race edged, eerily, toward an astonishing outcome: two candidates separated in the national popular tally by a few hundred thousand votes, an Electoral College result that without the state of Florida produced no majority, and a popular vote margin in Florida under 2,000 ballots. (1).

The Senate was evenly split and the House division was the fourth closest in history (1). There was some indication, in the mid-1990s., that a perfect tie could happen due to a near perfect tie in party identifiers.

Drawing on Paul Allen Beck’s work, they consider whether this is a “contemporary alignment” (4) with floating voters, who are generally more pragmatic than ideological, deciding election outcomes. If partisans remain faithful and nonpartisans are influenced by short-term factors that cause them to divide their votes equally between the two major contenders, “the result would approach parity” (5). Ceaser and Busch offer an absorbing and thought-provoking analysis of how the equilibrium was achieved in the Bush v. Gore presidential contest.

As striking, the authors mention the near perfect parity in state assemblies following the 2000 elections, with Republicans holding the only decisive advantage among governors. A significant reason for the Bush victory may be attributed to the twenty-nine GOP state chief executives who coalesced around Bush early in the game and campaigned for him non-stop.

This was an unparalleled election as the White House, Senate, and House elections could have tipped to either party. Ceaser and Busch write that voters normally opt for divided government, and “foreknowledge of what party would control which of the institutions has become a major factor influencing voter behavior” (19). It was extremely difficult, in 2000, to “connect the presidential and congressional race” (19) as the lead fluctuated. The situation was con-founded by decisions made by both presidential campaigns, especially Gore’s attempts at reinventing himself.

Ceaser and Busch suggest that the 2000 presidential campaign was decided on the basis of three criteria, the first two of which are attributed to Lord James Bryce: persona (Bryce’s personal qualities), issues and ideology (Bryce’s political professions), and national mood. Although Bush and Gore could not take their respective bases for granted, both candidates needed the center to win. Neither one had a decisive advantage over the other but, suffice to say, that Bush helped himself by staying on message and remaining disciplined throughout the campaign, never appearing rudderless. Although Gore eventually found his message, which had a populist appeal, earlier images he created during the “interregnum” period—from March to August—came to hurt him later, namely, “personal qualities of opportunism and insincerity” (130).

White and Shea’s book is a refreshing change from fact- pact textbooks. The historical perspective and critical information is more than adequate for class use; but, it is their explanation of how American political parties have adapted to the Information Age that sets the book apart from most other work. More important, readers get a real sense of the worth of parties. That the 2000

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presidential election is not included in the book should not dissuade scholars from reading it.

There is little doubt that Ceaser and Busch write the most incisive accounts of presidential elections. Anyone who cares to understand the dynamics of these elections cannot ignore their books. Their analysis of the interregnum period or "invisible campaign" is an important addition to the discussion of presidential campaigns and elections. The account of Gore's struggle to redefine himself and the subsequent impact it had on the election outcome is without equal. The Perfect Tie provides an outstanding example of Information Age politics and the selling of presidential candidates.

White and Shea and Ceaser and Busch may part company on the issue of partisanship, but both recognized the importance of political parties.


“Interest Group Incentives and Supreme Court Agenda Setting: The Case of Economic Policy.” Vanessa Baird, University of Colorado.


“Strategic Interest Group Behavior in the Context of Judicial Federalism” Darby Morrisroe, University of Virginia.

“The Substitutability of Judicial Tactics.” Rorie Spill, University of Northern Iowa, Eric Waltenburg, Purdue University.

“Comparing Interest Group and Institutional Influence Across Different Areas of State Regulation.” Paul Teske, SUNY-Stony Brook.


“Government Intervention in Interest Group–Company Conflicts.” David Kirchner, Washington University.

“Declining Voter Turnout.” Jack Citrin, University of California, Berkeley and Eric Schickler, University of California.

“Agent-Based Models of Voting Turnout.” Meredith Rolfe, University of Chicago.

“Voter Turnout as a Dynamic Process.” Gregory A. Pettis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.


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“Message Politics in the House and Senate.”
C. Lawrence Evans and Mark Oleszek,
College of William and Mary.

“Legislative Learning in the Modern Congress.”
T. Jens Feeley, University of Washington.

“Be Careful What You Wish For: House Democrats and the Permanent Campaign.” Burdett Loomis,
University of Kansas.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

“All for One and Each for Its Own? Charter Schools and Collective Action in the District of Columbia.”
Thomas Holyoke and Jeffery R. Henig, The
George Washington University.

“Local Land Use Initiatives: Exchanging Public Goods for Private Development Rights.” Elisabeth R.
Gerber, University of California-San Diego.

“Social Protest, Political Opportunity, and Private Firms.” David Kirchner, Washington University.

“The Emergence of Politically Experienced Candidates in Los Angeles and Chicago City Council Elections.” Timothy B. Krebs, University of North Carolina, Greensboro.

“Primary Priming: Modeling the impact of Mexico’s Presidential Primary on Voting Behavior in the 2000 Elections.” James McCann, Purdue University.

“Media Coverage and Media Effects in Mexico’s 2000 Campaign.” Chappell Lawson, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.


“Estimating and Explaining Turnout in Mexico’s Presidential Primary.” Federico Estevez and
Alejandro Poire, Instituto Tecnologico Autonomo de Mexico.

“The Dynamics of Ideological Realignment among Elite and Mass Partisans.” David W. Putz and
Adrian J. Shepard, University of Houston.

“Religion and Partisan Alignment Among Political Activists and Elites.” James L. Guth, Furman University and John C. Green, The University of Akron.

“Paying More For Less: The Declining Impact of Party Contact on Voter Turnout.” Paul S. Martin,
University of Oklahoma.

“Partisan Influences and Electoral Outcomes: Testing a Theory of Partisan Politics and Entry Deterrence in Electoral Competition.” Alan Wiseman,

Standford University.

“Strategic Senators: Incumbent Adaption to Revealed Constituency Preferences, 1952-96.” Brian R.
Sala, University of California, Davis and Timothy Nokken, University of Houston.

“Polling and Issue Representation in Congress.” Quin
Monson, Ohio State University.

“Agenda Setting in Congressional Elections: The Impact of Issues and Campaigns on Voting Behavior.” Kelly D. Patterson, Brigham Young University, Paul S. Herrnson and Owen Abbe,
University of Maryland.

“Pork’ Projects and the Ballot Box: Do Legislators Reward Their Strongest Supporters with Distributive Policy Projects or Do They Attempt to Persuade Swing Voters?” Christian Grose,
University of Rochester.

“Buying Democracy: Modeling the Effect of Money on Representation.” Michael Bailey, Georgetown University.

“Legislative Context, Legislator Quality and Campaign Contributions.” Walter R. Mebane, Jr., Cornell University, Michael W. Tofias, Duke University,
and Marc Ratkovic, Cornell University.

“External Validity in Experimental Tests of the Impact of Money on Access to Congress.” Michelle Chin,
Jon R. Bond, and Nehemia Geva, Texas A&M University.

“Can Low Turnout Groups be Mobilized? Results from Nationwide Field Experiments.” Alan Gerber
and Donald Green, Yale University.

“Alternative Ballot Techniques and Voter Turnout in the U.S., 1972-1998.” Mary Fitzgerald,
University of Maryland.

“Can Term Limits Really Invigorate Voters? A Comparative Analysis of Citizen Participation and Electoral Reforms.” Dalene Allebaugh and
Neil Pinney, Western Michigan University.

“Voter Turnout and the Accessibility of Polling Places.”
James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht,
University of Maryland, College Park.

“Party Elite Representation of the Public, Partisans, and Activists.” Jason Pigg, Louisiana Tech University.


“America’s Base-Less Party System and the 2000 Election.” Daniel M. Shea, Allegheny College and
John K. White, The Catholic University of America.

(Continued on page 7)
"Scholarly Precincts:"

"Has the Internet Leveled the Playing Field for the Minor Parties and Their Candidates? An Assessment of the Elections of 2000." Michael Margolis and David Resnick, University of Cincinnati.


"Actual Politics with Virtual Participation: Political Participation on the Internet During the 2000 Campaign." Brian Krueger, University of Connecticut.


"How Voters and Campaigns View Political Websites." Daron R. Shaw, University of Texas at Austin.


"Congressional Leadership PACs: Who Benefits?" Kathryn Pearson, University of California, Berkeley.

"Spending Independently." Margaret Carne, University of California, Berkeley.

"Fat Cat Political Contributors: Are They Different?" John McAdams, Marquette University.

"Special Interests:"

Democracy Matters: Connecting Students to Politics Through The Classroom

Adam Weinberg, Colgate University

How do we ensure that students take the enthusiasm enveloped in our classes and transform it into active citizenship? Democracy Matters is a new project that is giving students a reason to participate and the tools to make that participation meaningful. I would like to have you join us in this exciting endeavor.

Democracy Matters is funded by a former student, who convinced me to work with a group of faculty to start a non-profit organization called Democracy Matters. Our goal is to work on college campuses around the issue of money in politics (or campaign finance reform). By fall, we will be on about 30 campuses.

Part of our work is with more traditional student social action groups, but the other part is working with faculty through service learning classes. Last year, we piloted a service learning exercise at Northwestern and Colgate. The exercise takes three class periods over a semester. The exercise challenges students to examine data and formulate ideas about the current system of campaign financing, to work in groups piloting strategies for informing other students on campus about the things they have learned, and then to collectively work together to formulate a strategic plan for a semester-long political campaign that would raise awareness and action on campus.

Students piloted a range of actions. They tabled (setting up a table at the student union); created a flyer on the problem of money in politics; acted out skits as part of public theatre; lectured in classes/dorms/frats; wrote letters to school papers. For most of the students it was their first time ever taking a political action. They found the experience incredibly challenging and rewarding. One student wrote, "This class made me think about social and political issues in a completely new way, and helped me find my own political voice." A group of students at Colgate got motivated to move off campus. They started lecturing in local high schools, and went to Albany to debate a member of the Governor's staff.

Thanks to my former student, we have ample funding and a great staff. We are actively looking for faculty who would like to be part of Democracy Matters service-learning project. We can provide to interested faculty much of the support work for the class exercise including speakers and materials. We would also encourage faculty to work with students on independent study projects that facilitate the work of Democracy Matters.

We can also offer support for students who want to continue their projects after the class ends. After the service-learning pilots, we agreed to support interested students the following semester to enact the plan. We are providing some financial support and other sorts of organizing help. For example: we recently took students from 12 campuses to a conference in DC on organizing around money in politics. We have also hired students to work on campuses.

Any interested faculty should contact me through Democracy Matters at adamw@democracymatters.org. You can find more specific information about the exercise and the larger project of Democracy Matters at www.democracymatters.org. There is a service learning section on the site.

As this project is new, we would also appreciate any advice on the exercise and/or suggestions for people to contact.

Adam Weinberg is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Colgate University, where he also serves as the Director of Service Learning.
October 17-19, 2001
Akron, Ohio

The 2000 election was one of the closest and most controversial in American history. Republicans won the US House and the Presidency, while Democrats captured the national popular vote and ultimately the US Senate.

What role did political parties play in these events? How did the party organizations fare? What are the implications for the future? The third "State of the Parties" conference on October 17-19, 2001, will seek to answer these questions.

**Keynote Address:**
"ASSESSING THE 2000 CAMPAIGN"
E. J. Dionne, Jr., The Washington Post

Conference sessions will cover the activity of local, state, and national party organizations in the 2000 elections; minor parties, responsible parties; the battle for the legislature; and party in government. Papers will be presented by Paul Beck, John Coleman, Anthony Corrado, Paul Herrinson, John Jackson, Gerald Pomper, Ron Rapoport, James Reichley, Daniel Shea, Walter Stone, and James Thurber, among others.

For further information and conference registration contact the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, The University of Akron, Akron, Ohio 44325-1914, 330-972-5182; bliss@uakron.edu; www.uakron.edu/bliss/parties.

Ray C. Bliss
Institute of
Applied Politics

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