



APPAM

Politics and Policy Making

If there is one thing analysts from across the political spectrum can agree on, it is that the political situation in Washington is highly polarized.

Moderator



Ron Haskins

Brookings Institution

A former White House and congressional advisor on welfare issues, Ron Haskins co-directs the Brookings Center on Children and Families and Budgeting for National Priorities Project.



Douglas McAdam

*The Ray Lyman Wilbur
Professor of Sociology
Stanford University*

He is the author or co-author of 18 books and some 85 other publications in the area of political sociology, with a special emphasis on race in the U.S., American politics, and the study of social movements and “contentious politics.”

Race, Region and the Origins of Today's Political Divisions

Doug McAdam
Stanford University

THE SHIFTING RACIAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE 2 MAJOR PARTIES: THEN.....

- The GOP on the eve of the '60s
 - Moderate-centrist in ideological orientation
 - Geographically centered in the northeast/midwest
 - Considerable ideological overlap with Democrats
 - And generally more liberal on racial matters
- The Democrats on the eve of the '60s
 - Moderate-centrist in ideological orientation
 - Geographically centered in the South
 - Considerable ideological overlap with GOP
 - And schizophrenic in their racial views

VOTING ON 1957 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

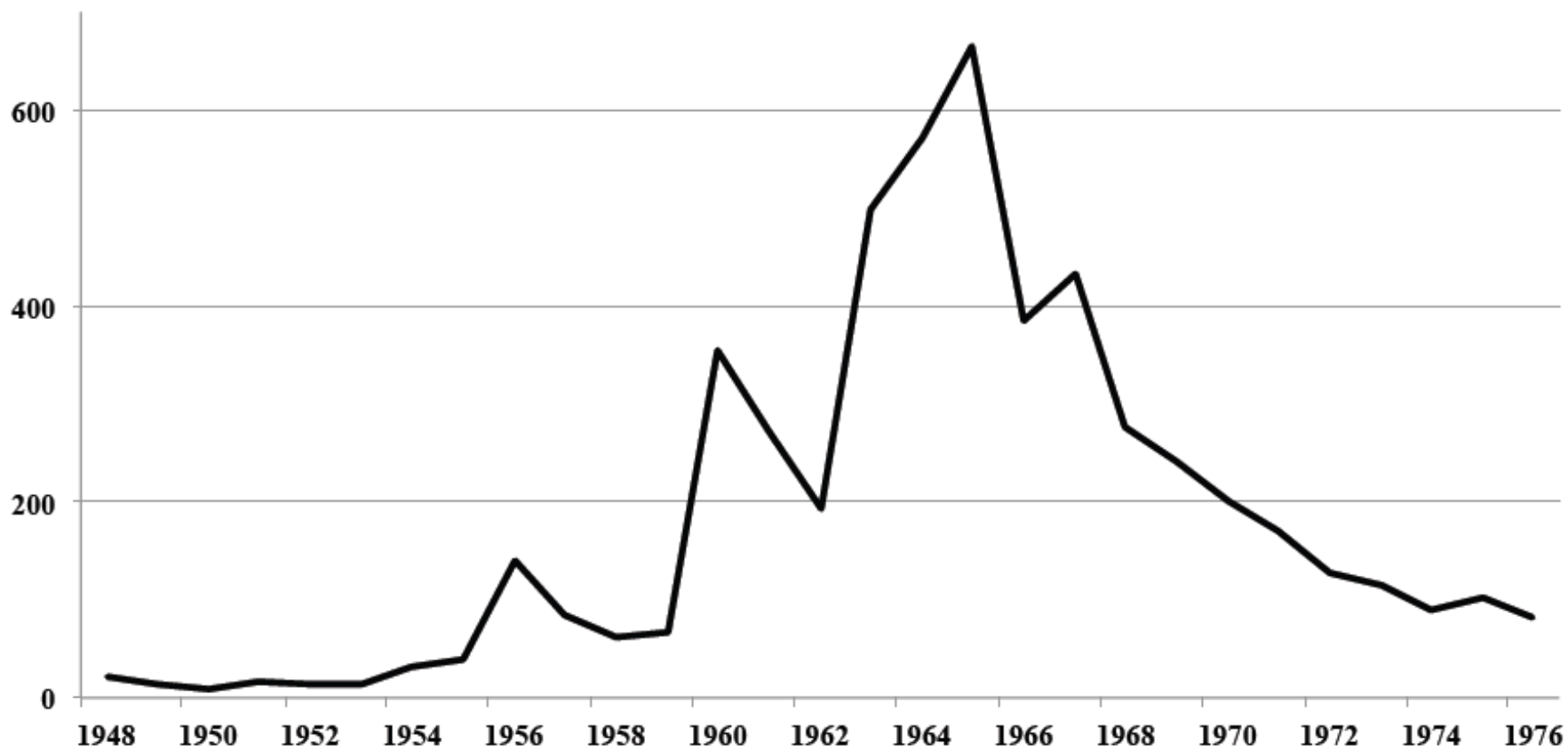
Table 3.1 Congressional Voting on 1957 Civil Rights Act

	House		Senate	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Democrats	118	107	29	18
Republicans	167	19	43	0

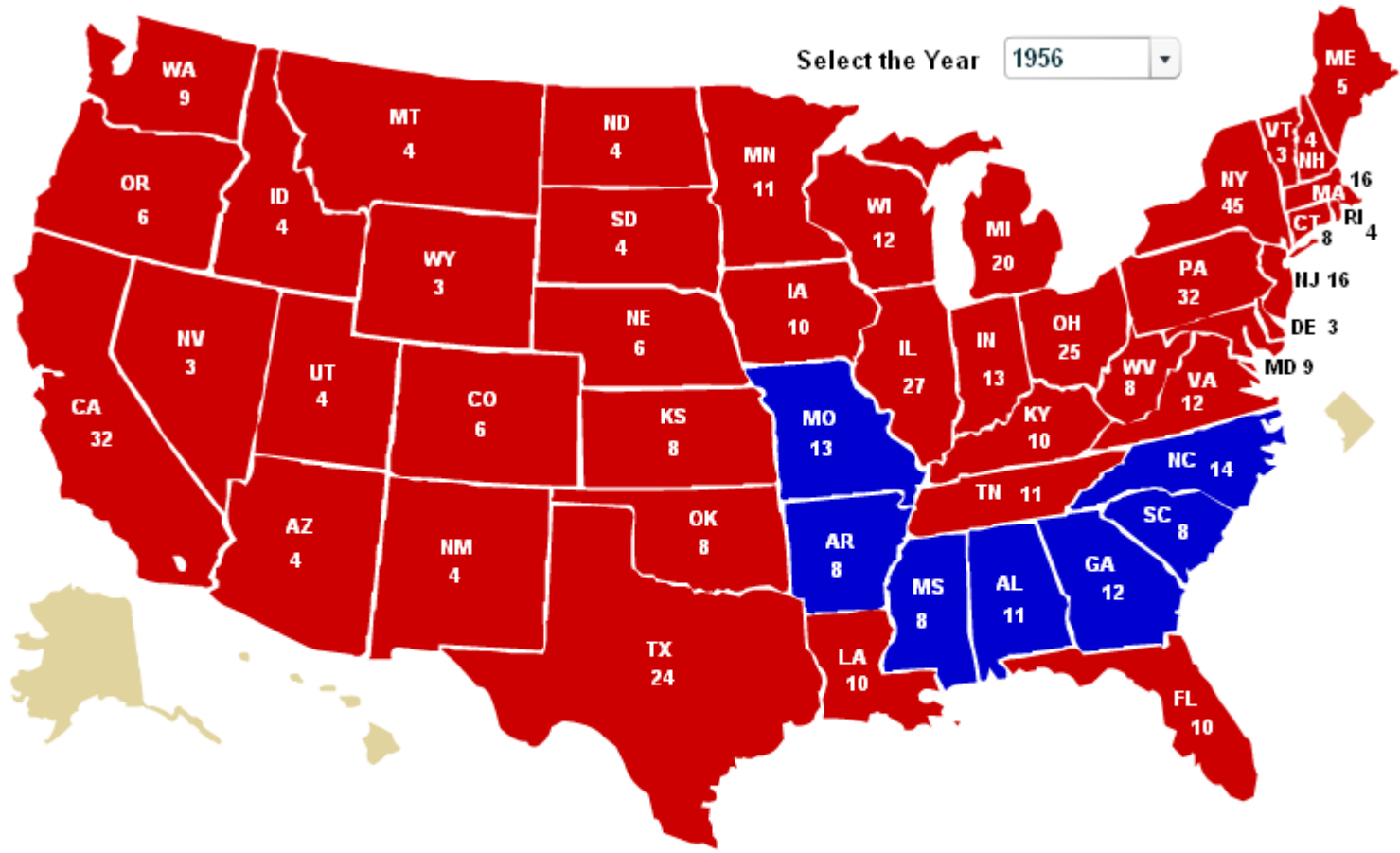
Racial Liberalism in 1958
(85th Congress)
(from Carmine and Stimson)

	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Liberal	42	21
Conservative	4	27

Figure 3.6 Civil Rights Movement Actions, 1948-1976



Source: New York Times



Racial Liberalism of Democrats and Republicans

85th (1958), 89th (1966) Congress

(Adopted from Carmines and Stimson)

	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>	
	<u>85th</u>	<u>89th</u>	<u>85th</u>	<u>89th</u>
Liberal	42	10	21	45
Conservative	4	22	27	21

THE GOP LOOKS SOUTH EVEN BEFORE 1968

Partisan Voting in the House of Representatives on the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1966 Open Housing Bill

	1964		1966	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Democrats	152	96	183	95
Republicans	138	34	76	62

Partisan Voting in the Senate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1966 Open Housing Bill

	1964		1966	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Democrats	44	23	42	21
Republicans	27	6	12	21

“Segregation Now...Segregation Forever”



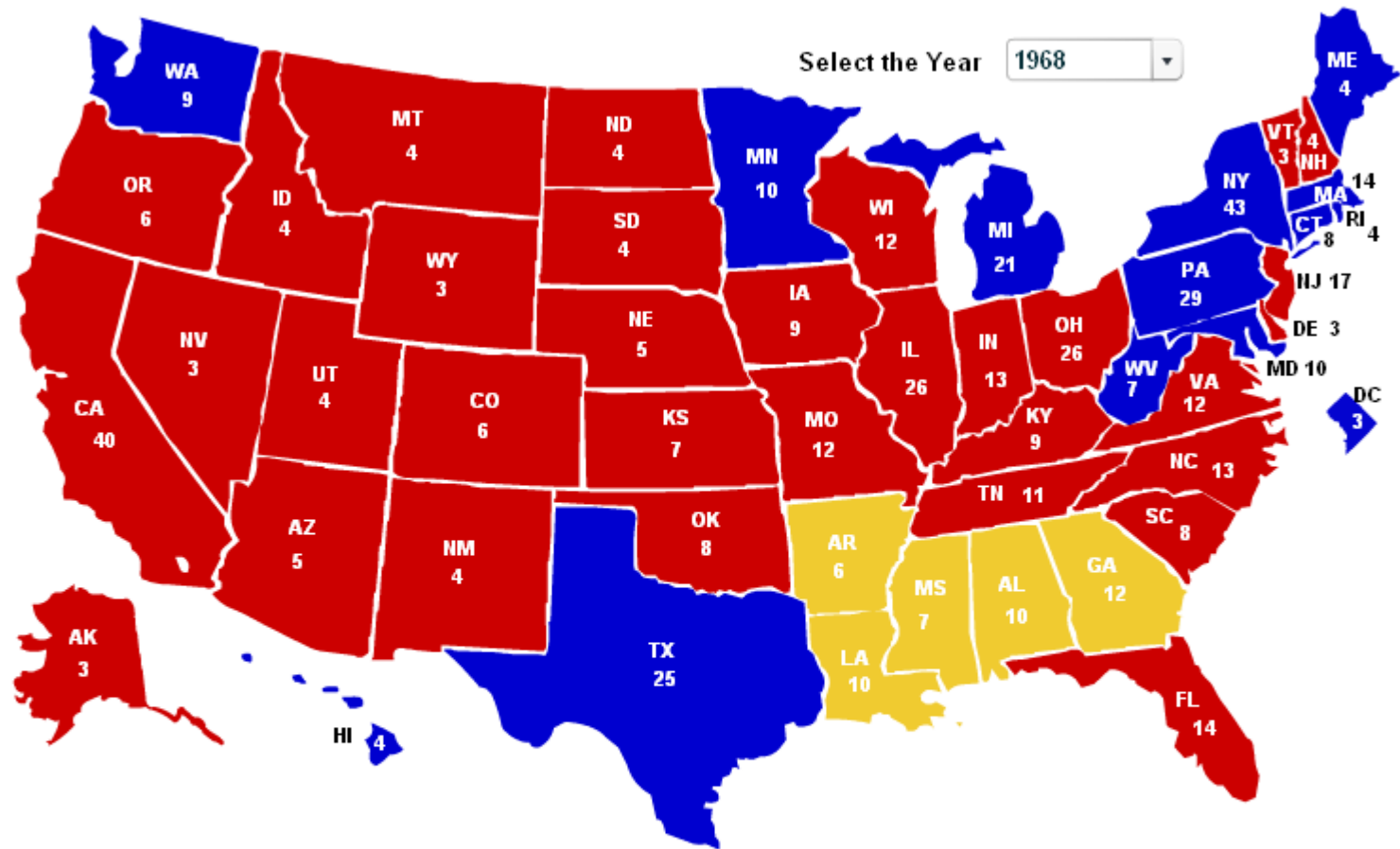
Gov. Wallace defying integration at the schoolhouse gates of the U. of Alabama



FROM “SOUTHERN RESISTANCE” TO NATIONWIDE “WHITE BACKLASH”: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GEORGE WALLACE

Wallace challenges LBJ for the 1964 Democratic nomination and enters 3 northern primaries:

- **Wisconsin: 33% of the vote**
- **Indiana: 31% of the vote**
- **Maryland: 47% of the vote**



RACIAL POLARIZATION OF THE ELECTORATE

PERCENT OF BLACK VOTERS BY PARTY, 1956-68

	GOP	DEMOCRATS
1968	3%	97%
1960	25%	75%
1956	40%	60%

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE PARTIES

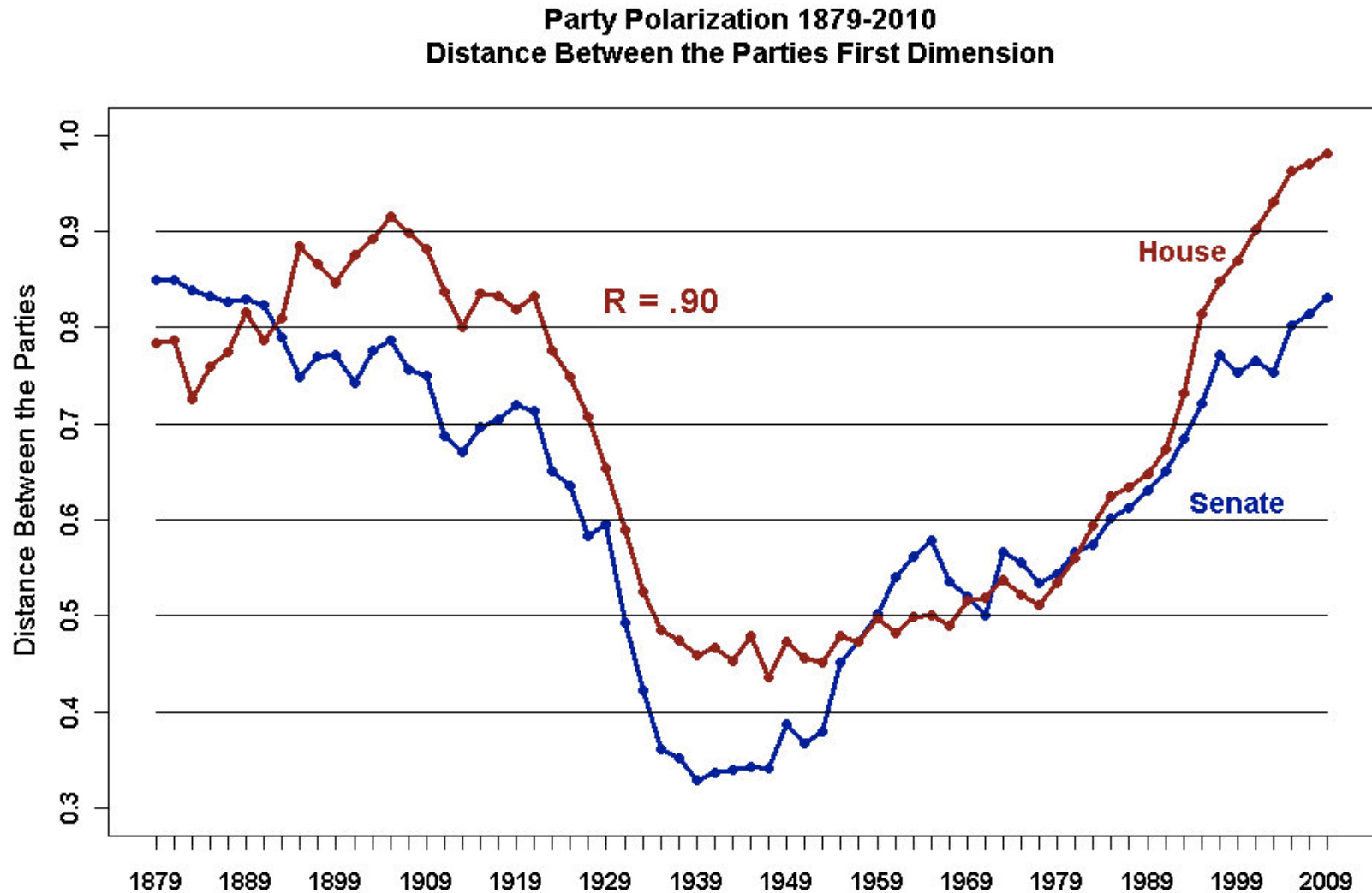
	GOP	DEMOCRATS
WHITE	90%	60%
BLACK	2	22
HISPANIC	5	13
ASIAN	1	2
OTHER	2	3

SHIFTING GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOUSE

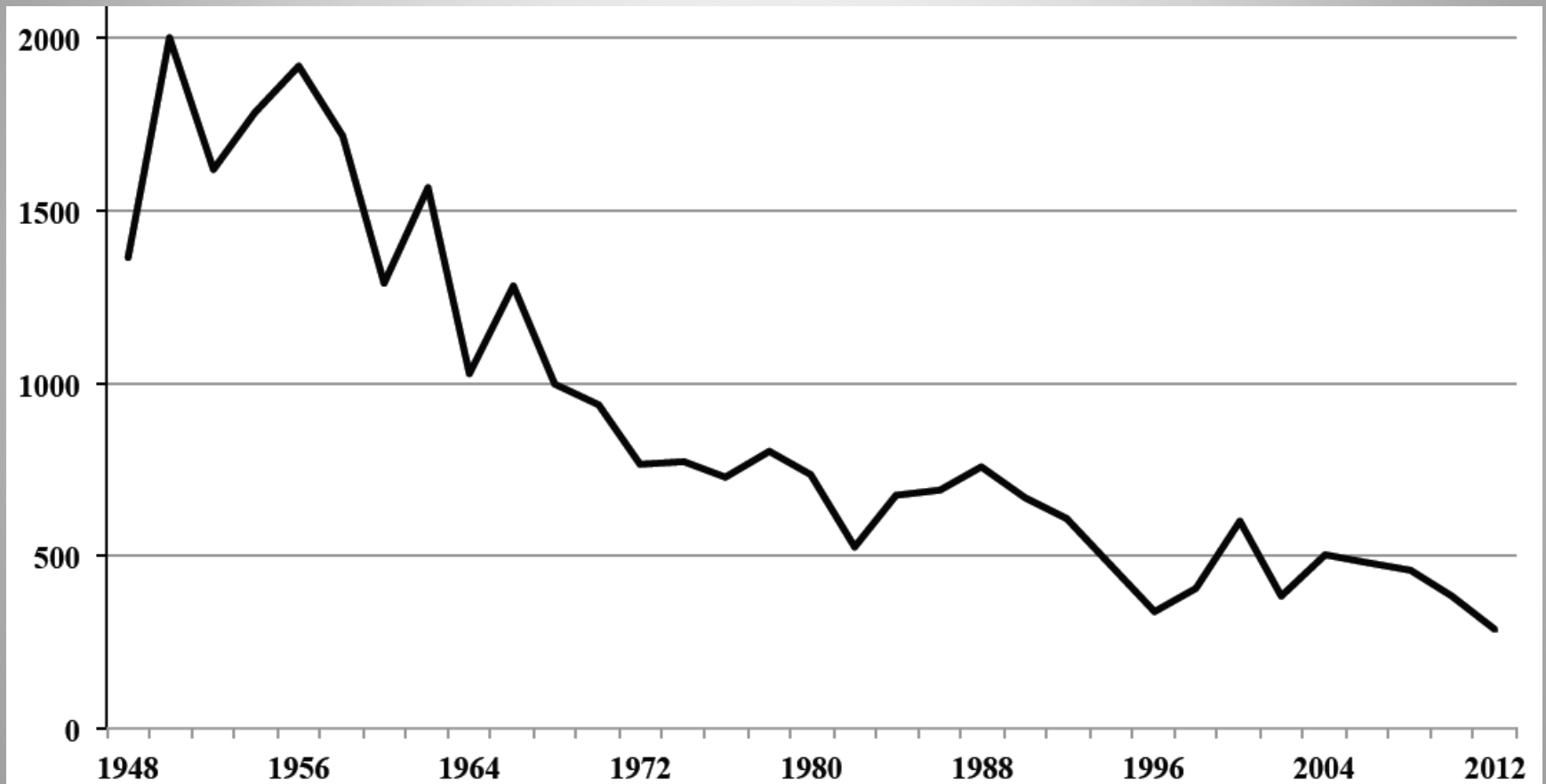
	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRAT	
	1963	2013	1963	2013
SOUTH	10	108	115	43
NON- SOUTH	163	126	149	158

Party Polarization

(Poole and Rosenthal, Voteview)



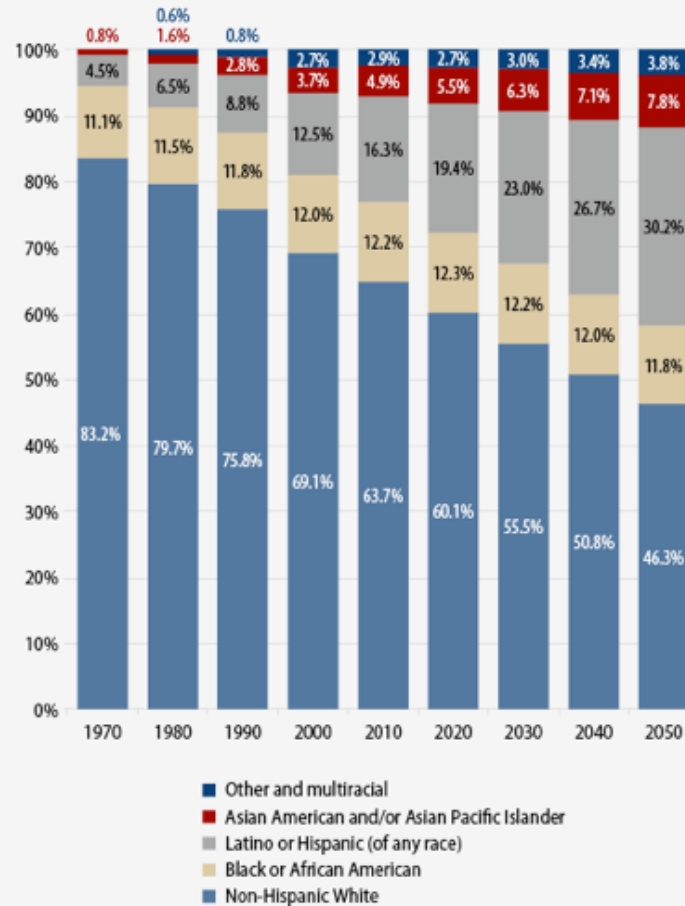
Number of Bills Passed by Congress, 1948-2012



Source: Office of the Clerk (library.clerk.house.gov/resume.aspx)

Projected Racial Composition of US

The racial and ethnic composition of the United States, 1970–2050



Sources: Data for 1970 and 1980 from Statistical Abstract of the United States. Data for 1990, 2000, and 2010 from the U.S. Census Bureau. Data for 2020 through 2050 from the U.S. Census Bureau Population Projections by Race and Ethnicity (2008).

CONCLUSION

- Today's deep partisan divisions have much older roots than we tend to think, going back to at least the early to mid-60s
- In large part they owe to the powerful force of 2 linked struggles—the civil rights movement and white resistance to same--pushing the two parties off center in the 1960s and beyond
- In turn, these movements transformed the racial geography of U.S. politics, fracturing the New Deal coalition and ushering in a period of policy dominance by an increasingly conservative GOP

FROM “SOUTHERN RESISTANCE” TO NATIONWIDE “WHITE BACKLASH”: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GEORGE WALLACE

Wallace challenges LBJ for the 1964 Democratic nomination and enters 3 northern primaries:

- **Michigan: 33% of the vote**
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Gabriel Sanchez

*Interim Executive Director,
Robert Wood Johnson
Foundation Center for Health
Policy at the University of New
Mexico*

His research explores the relationship between racial/ethnic identity and political engagement, Latino health policy, and minority legislative behavior.

The Changing Face of the American Electorate?

Gabriel R. Sanchez

Associate Professor of Political Science

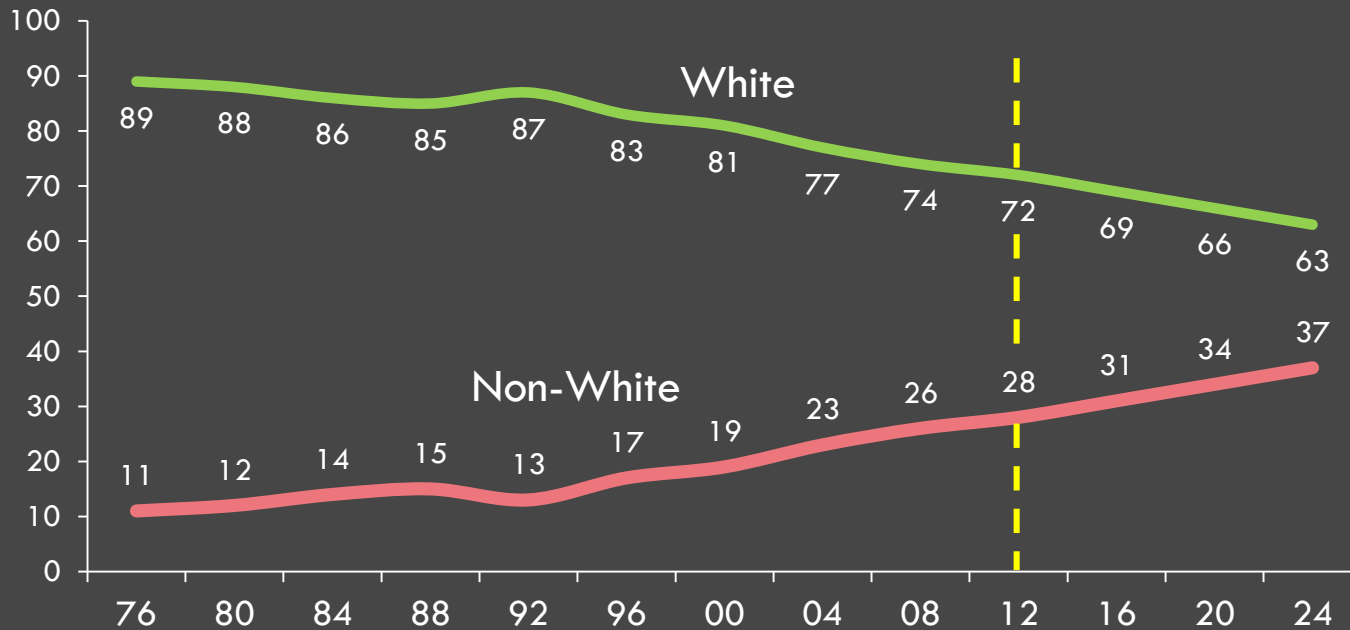
Executive Director, RWJF Center for Health Policy

Director of Research, Latino Decisions



THE CHANGING FACE OF THE AMERICAN VOTER

Racial composition of the American electorate 1976-2024





73,000

- The number of Latino citizens of the United States who turn 18 and enter the eligible electorate,

EVERY MONTH!

Presidential Vote Among Rising American Electorate 2008 to 2012

RAE Groups	Vote Share		Percent Change	Vote Choice		Gap
	% 08	% 12		Obama	Romney	
African American	12	13	+1	93	6	+87
Latino	9	10	+1	75	23	+52
Asian American	2	3	+1	75	25	+50
Youth	18	19	+1	60	37	+23
Unmarried women	21	23	+2	67	31	+36
LGBT	4	5	+1	76	22	+54
Non-RAE	53	49	-4	35	63	-28

Racially Polarized Voting

- Republican Presidential Candidates get most of their votes from non-Hispanic whites;
 - 87.6% in 2004, 88.5% in 2008, 89.4% in 2012
- Republican Congressional Candidates get an even greater share of their votes from non-Hispanic whites:
 - 89.5% in 2006, 90.0% in 2010



1.9%

- Share of all GOP state legislators that are Asian American, African American, Latino or Native American.

Latino Portion of U.S. Electorate

10%

Current Estimate

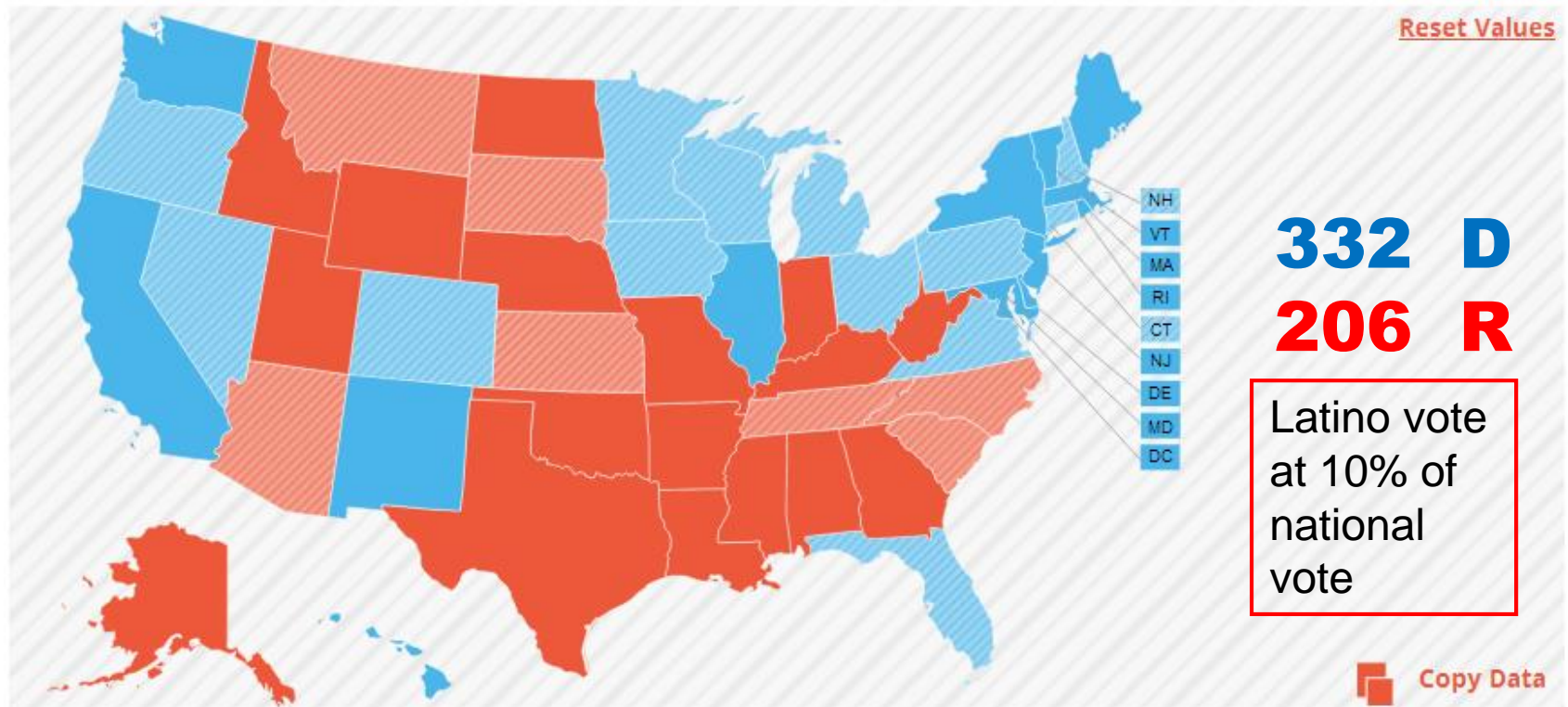
Tip Click on each state for state-specific estimates and data.

Percent Voting GOP Among Latinos

25%

Current Estimate

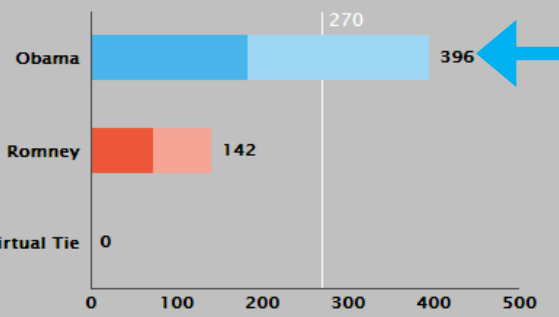
Last updated **Dec 10, 2012** . [About data](#)



LATINO INFLUENCE ON 2012 ELECTION: PRESIDENT Move the sliders below to simulate Latino turnout and vote choice in the 2012 Presidential election. As you move the sliders each state will update based on the most recent polling data. For political analysis of the Latino Vote, visit LatinoVoteMatters.org

Electoral Votes

Show who is leading virtual ties



Strongly Obama:	184
Obama Leaning:	212
Strongly Romney:	73
Romney Leaning:	69
Virtual Tie:	0

SHARE YOUR MAP

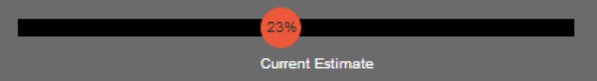


Latino Portion of U.S. Electorate



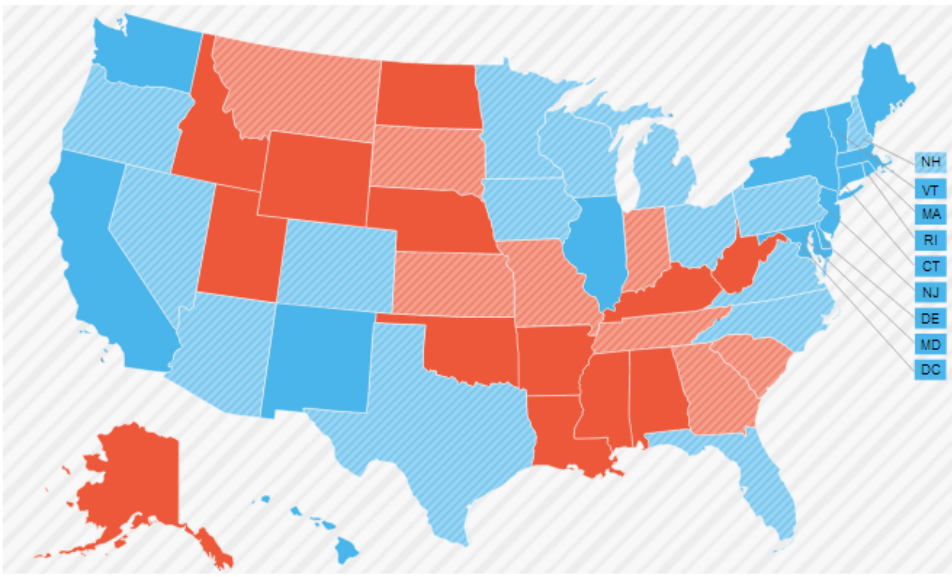
Tip Click on each state for state-specific estimates and data.

Percent Voting GOP Among Latinos



Last updated **Dec 10, 2012**. [About data](#)

[Reset Values](#)



Electoral College map Latino vote at 16% of national vote

[Copy Data](#)

State-by-State Level Summary of Electoral Votes Based on Your Current Map Configurations

Latino Portion of U.S. Electorate

10%

Current Estimate

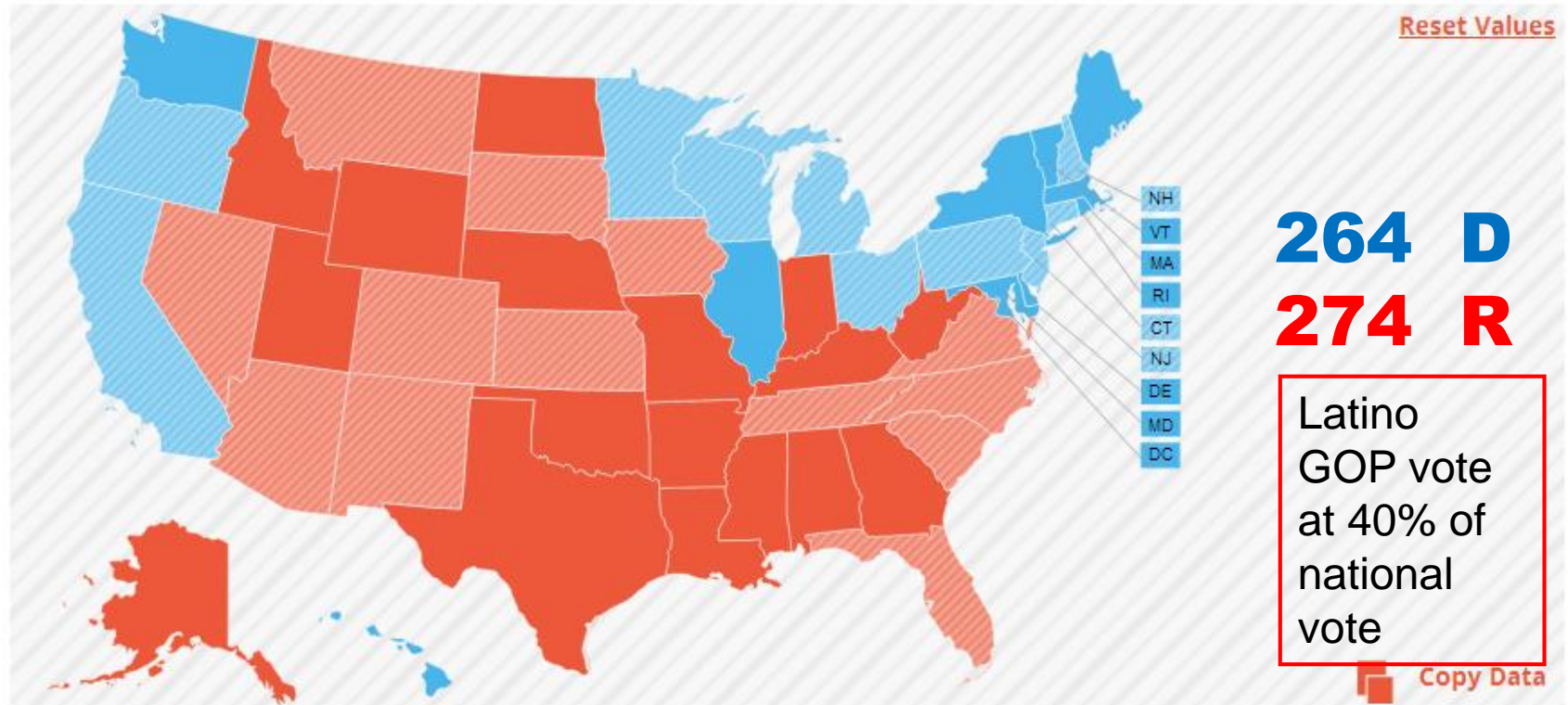
Percent Voting GOP Among Latinos

40%

Very High

Tip Click on each state for state-specific estimates and data.

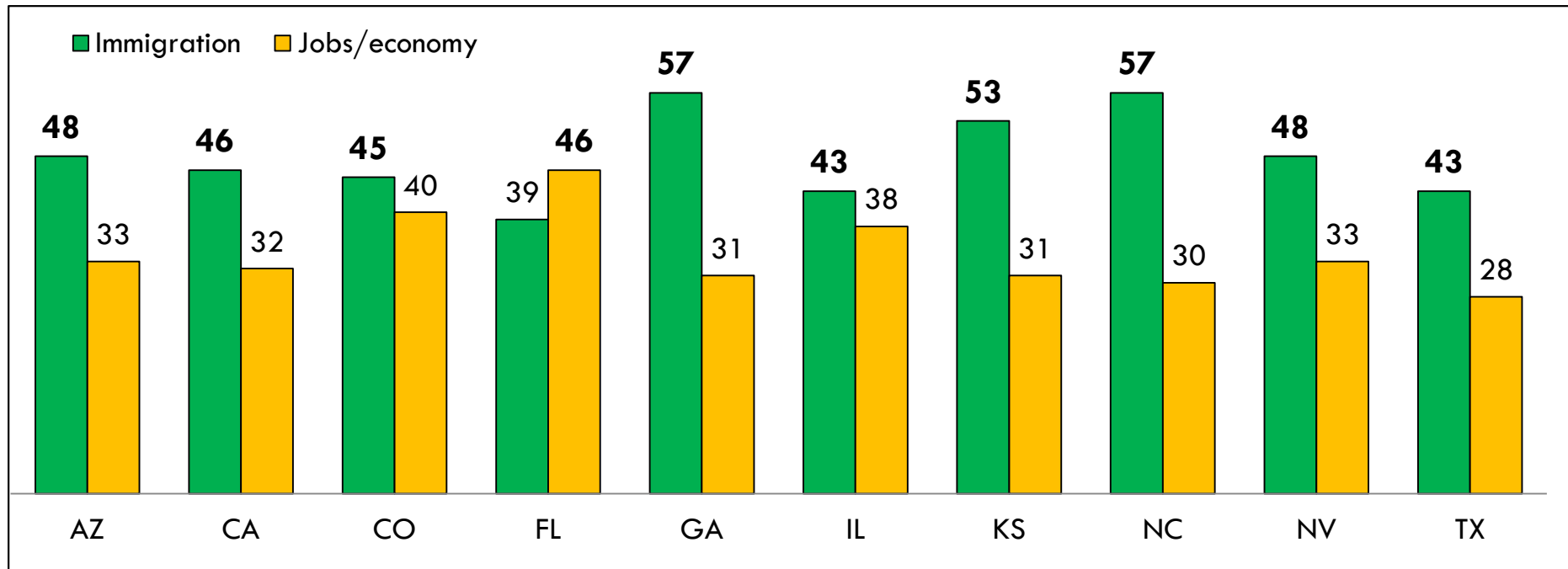
Last updated **Dec 10, 2012**. [About data](#)



So what happened this week?

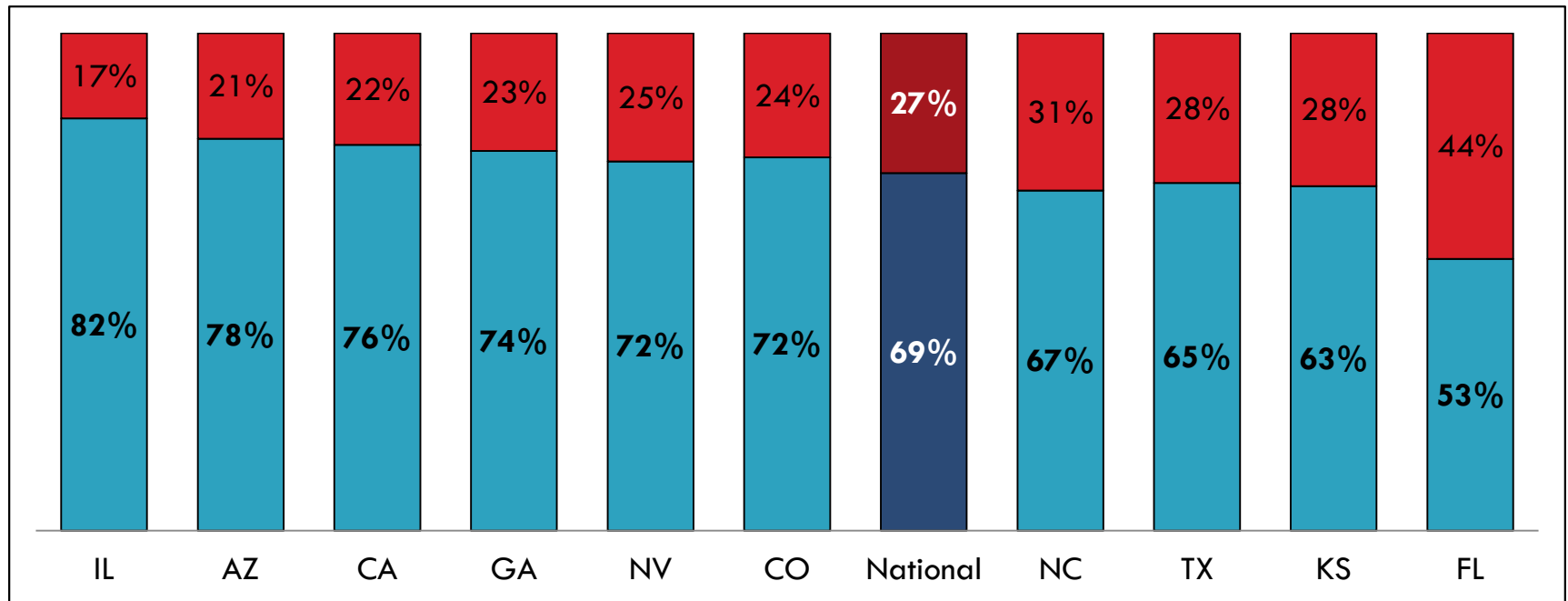
Latino lack of enthusiasm and lack of mobilization led to lower turnout and slight decrease in Democratic vote support.

Most Important Issue



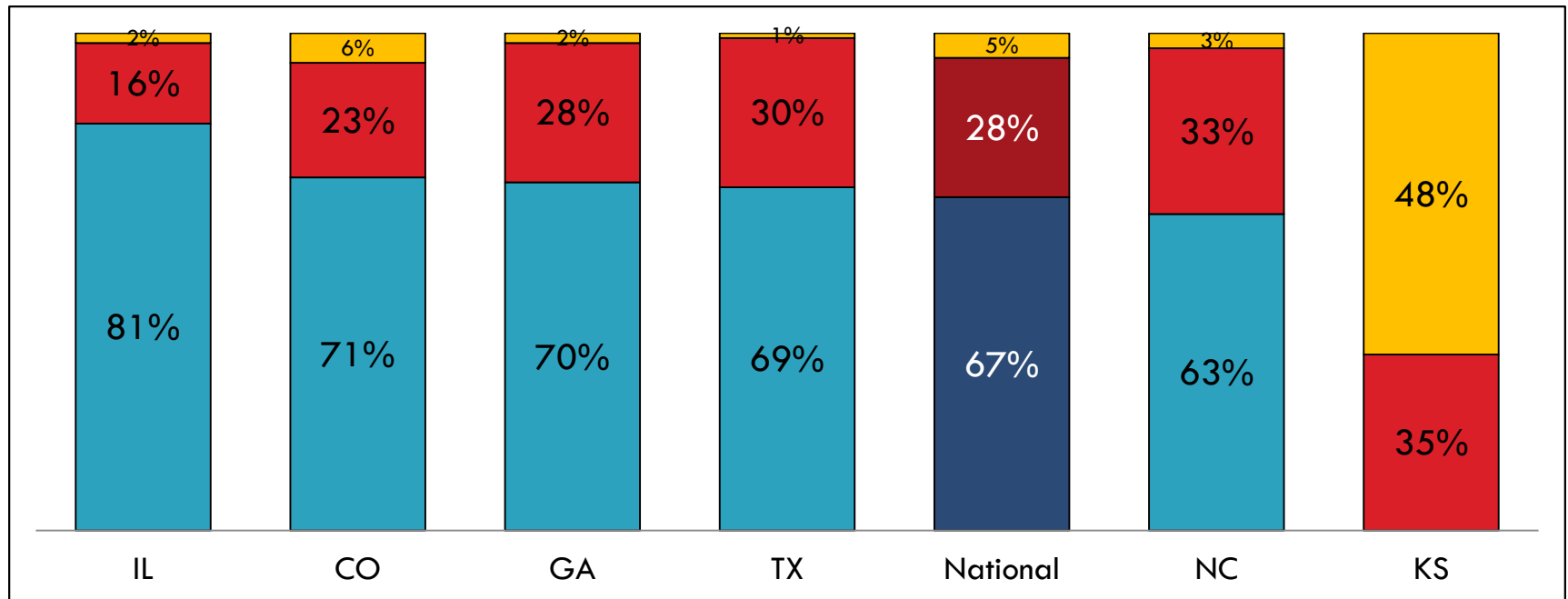
Source: Latino Decisions Election Eve 2014 Poll Sponsored by: LVP/NCLR/AV

House of Representatives



Source: Latino Decisions Election Eve 2014 Poll Sponsored by: LVP/NCLR/AV

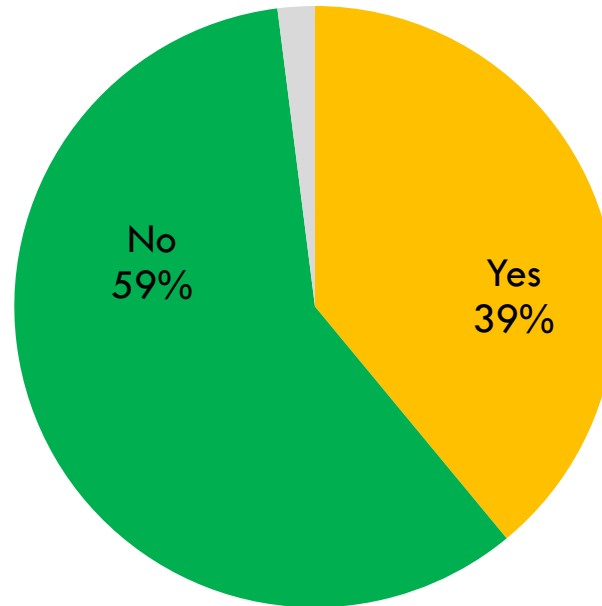
U. S. Senate



Source: Latino Decisions Election Eve 2014 Poll Sponsored by: LVP/NCLR/AV

Mobilization

Were you contacted about voting or registering to vote?



Source: Latino Decisions Election Eve 2014 Poll Sponsored by: LVP/NCLR/AV



Michele L. Swers

*Associate Professor of
American Government in the
Department of Government
Georgetown University*

Swers' research and teaching interests encompass Congress, Congressional elections, and Women and Politics.

Women in the Club: Democratic Women, Republican Women, and the Politics of Women's Issues

Michele Swers
Georgetown University



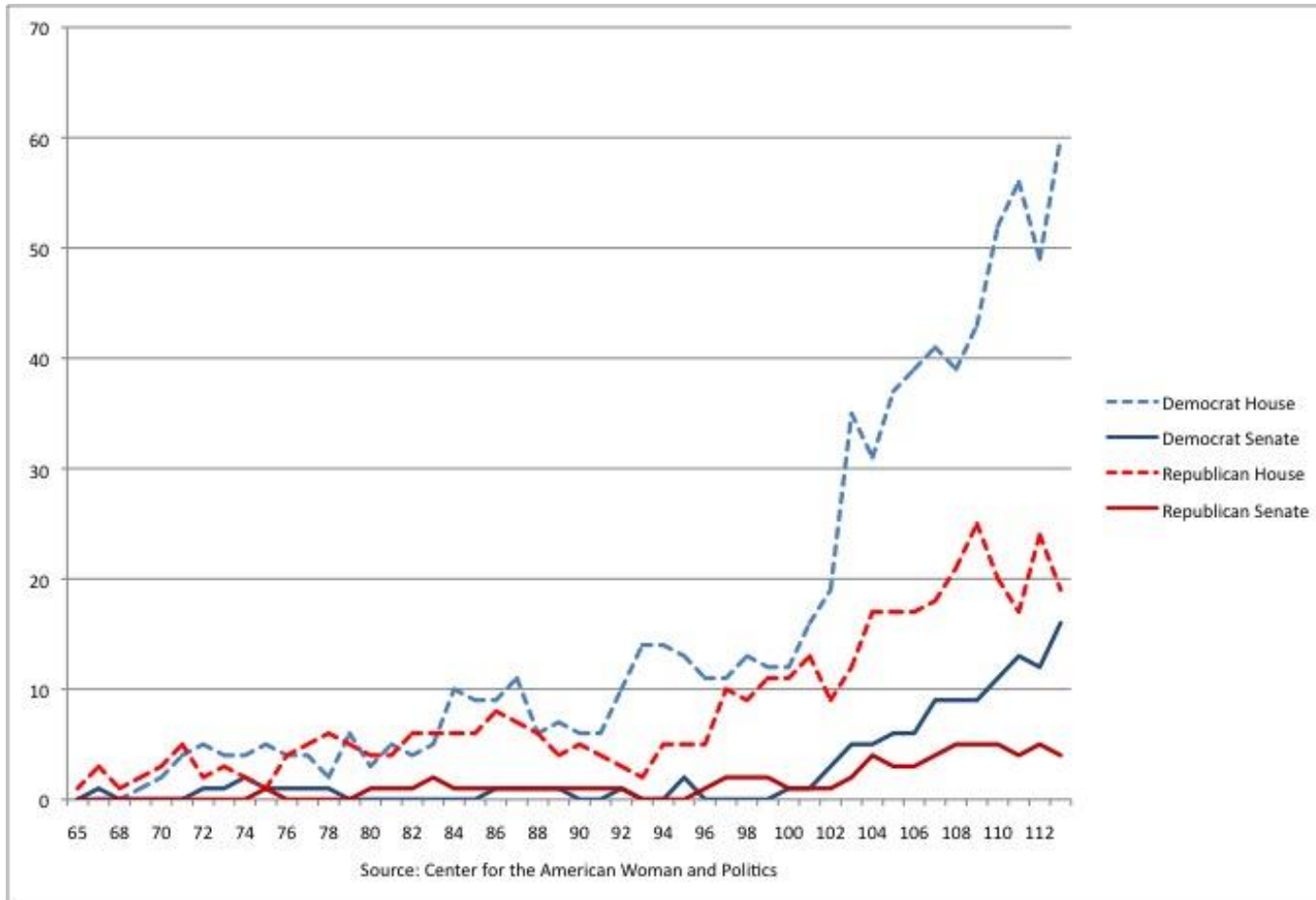


MICHELE L. SWERS

Gender and Policy Making in the Senate

WOMEN IN THE CLUB

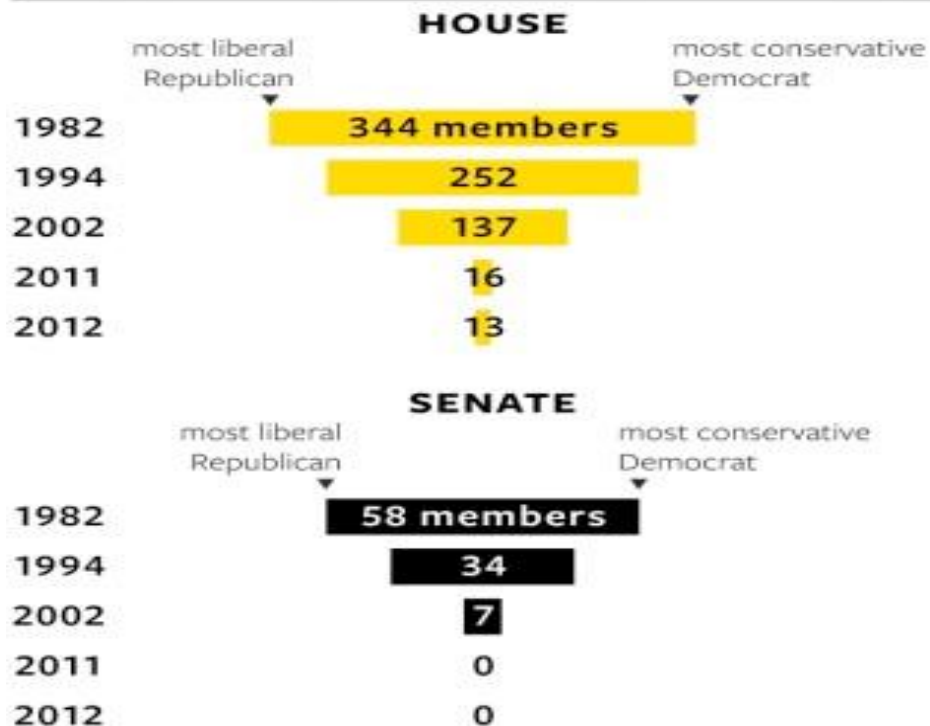
Women in the House and Senate by Party



Party Polarization

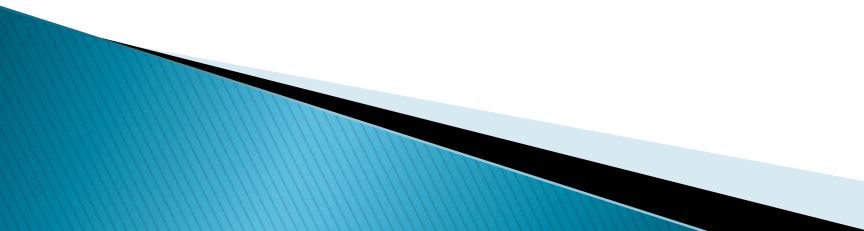
Sorting Out

Thirty years ago, most lawmakers' *National Journal* vote ratings put them between their chamber's most conservative Democrat and most liberal Republican. Few now occupy that ground.



Source: *National Journal* vote ratings

Gender and Partisanship

- ▶ Since the 1970s women's issues became more central to the partisan divide especially abortion.
 - ▶ Women's groups increasingly aligned with the Democratic Party and became pivotal to the coalition. Provide activists to mobilize the vote, focus attention on issues.
 - ▶ Democratic Party adopted rules to require women, minorities, and youth to get greater representation among delegates at their presidential convention. Nominated Geraldine Ferraro for VP in 1984.
 - ▶ Beginning in 1980s a gender gap emerges in voting in which women are more likely to favor Democratic candidates.
- 

Pursuing Women's Issues on Partisan Teams

- ▶ **Party Messaging and Issue Ownership:**
- ▶ Democratic women help their party and pursue own preferences when legislate on women's issues.
 - Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay
 - Contraceptive coverage in health plan
 - Violence Against Women Act.
- ▶ Use their status as women to help Democrats attack Republican policies as anti-women in media and fundraising (ex. War on Women 2012 & 2014)



Republican Women and the Politics of Women's Issues

- ▶ Women's Issues are not Republican issues.
- ▶ Women's issues that tap partisan divisions create cross-pressures for Republican women.
 - Moderate women try not to hurt the party when they support Democratic bills on contraception, equal pay.
 - Conservative women who support party position must decide how much to engage the issue
- ▶ Conservatives and moderates sought out to defend the party against Democratic attacks. Both fear being portrayed as women against women.
 - Ex, Lilly Ledbetter, VAWA, contraception in the Obama health plan



Women and Sexual Assault in the Military

- ▶ 7 of 26 (27%) members of Armed Services are women.
- ▶ Jointly and individually are pressing for changes to how military investigates and prosecutes sexual assaults.
- ▶ Women forced a hearing with heads of all branches of military service. Gillibrand (D-NY) proposal takes prosecution out of the chain of command. McCaskill (D-MO) proposal keeps the chain of command but does not allow commanders to overturn convictions.



Looking to the Future

- ▶ Women currently have greater influence within the Democratic Party=Greater influence on policies of Democratic President Barack Obama and agenda of Democratic-controlled Senate. Will change if Republicans control Senate after 2014 election. Could have greater influence in a Hilary Clinton presidency.
 - ▶ Women have more seniority and hold more leadership roles in Democratic Party.
 - ▶ Small numbers limits influence of Republican women in Congress on their party caucus. Cathy McMorris Rogers is Conference Chair and there is a Republican Women's Policy Committee.
 - ▶ Women will continue to cooperate on issues that are not central to the partisan divide, ex. Sexual assault in the military
 - ▶ As Senate becomes more partisan and polarized, expect to see women utilizing gender to benefit their partisan team.
- 