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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>House</th>
<th></th>
<th>Senate</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Republicans</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>43</td>
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Racial Liberalism in 1958 (85\textsuperscript{th} Congress) (from Carmine and Stimson)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th></th>
<th>Democrats</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85th</td>
<td>89th</td>
<td>85th</td>
<td>89th</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>1966</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“Segregation Now...Segregation Forever”
Gov. Wallace defying integration at the schoolhouse gates of the U. of Alabama
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>GOP</th>
<th>DEMOCRATS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Racial Composition of the Parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GOP</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# SHIFTING GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>REPUBLICAN</th>
<th>DEMOCRAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>10 108</td>
<td>115 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-SOUTH</td>
<td>163 126</td>
<td>149 158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Year: 1963 2013
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

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

- Michigan: 33% of the vote
- Indiana: 31% of the vote
- Maryland: 47% of the vote
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

White

Non-White

1976: 89%
1980: 88%
1984: 86%
1988: 85%
1992: 87%
1996: 83%
2000: 81%
2004: 77%
2008: 74%
2012: 72%
2016: 69%
2020: 66%
2024: 63%

1976: 11%
1980: 12%
1984: 14%
1988: 15%
1992: 13%
1996: 17%
2000: 19%
2004: 23%
2008: 26%
2012: 28%
2016: 31%
2020: 34%
2024: 37%

Latino Decisions
Everything Latino Politics
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RAE Groups</th>
<th>Vote Share % 08</th>
<th>% 12</th>
<th>Percent Change</th>
<th>Vote Choice</th>
<th>Gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Obama</td>
<td>Romney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried women</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-RAE</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
Share of all GOP state legislators that are Asian American, African American, Latino or Native American.
Latino vote at 10% of national vote
Electoral College map Latino vote at 16% of national vote
Latino portion of U.S. electorate: 10% current estimate.

Percent voting GOP among Latinos: 40% very high.

Map of U.S. showing states with varying shades of red and blue, indicating political affiliation.

264 D
274 R

Latino GOP vote at 40% of national vote.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Immigration</th>
<th>Jobs/economy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AZ</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FL</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TX</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

- Yes: 39%
- No: 59%

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
WOMEN IN THE CLUB
Women in the House and Senate by Party

Source: Center for the American Woman and Politics
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
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-pressure 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
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.