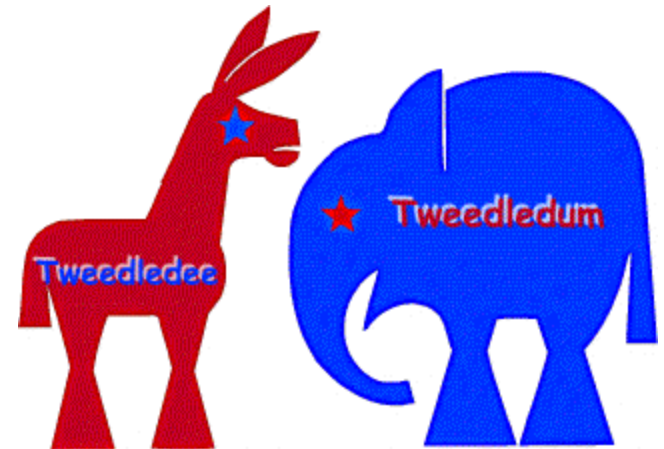


Political Parties and Congressional Leadership

17.251/252

Fall 2015



Lecture Organization

- Natural history of political parties in the U.S.
- Why do parties exist?
 - What explains varying levels of party cohesion
 - When are leaders “strong” and when are they “weak”?

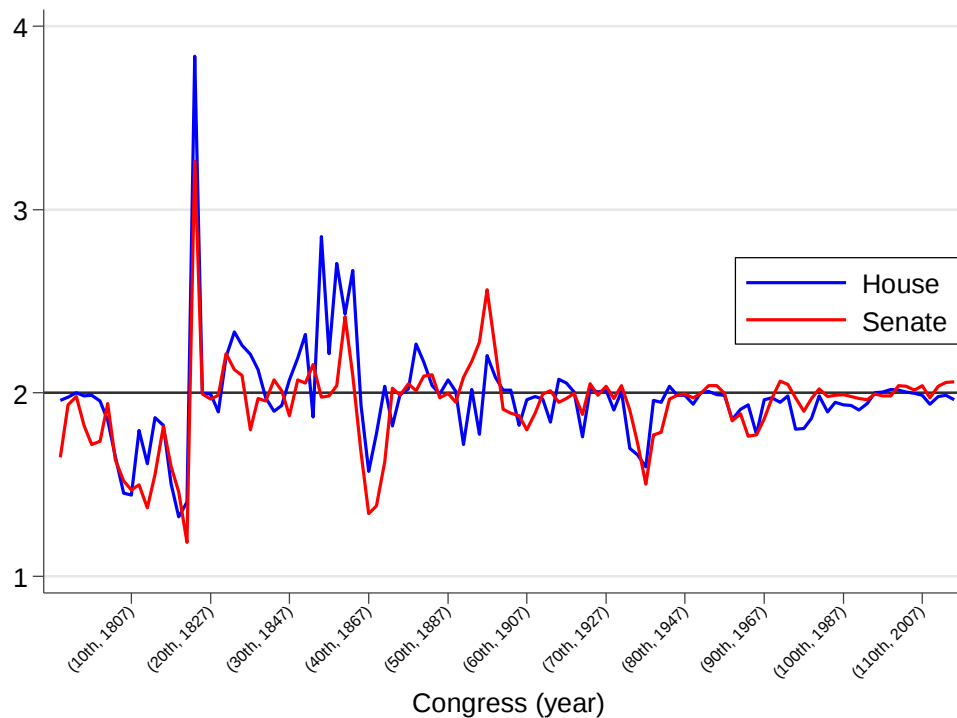
Interesting (and Important) Historical Aside

- Party membership originally arose in the chamber and spread to the electoral arena
- Now, party membership arises in the electoral arena and spreads to the institution
- Post-Gingrich world puts the emphasis back into institutions

Natural History of Political Parties

Period	Party of the “right”	Party of the “left”
1789—1823 (1 st —17 th Cong.)	Federalists	Republicans
1823—1837 (18 th —24 th Cong.)	Multifactionalism based on old party labels & new individual alliances	
1837—1857 (25 th —34 th Cong.)	Whigs	Democrats
1857—present (35 th —112 th Cong.)	Republicans	Democrats

Effective number of parties (Figure 7.1, revised to 2015)



113th/114th Cong:

Senate

53/44D

45/454R

2/2I

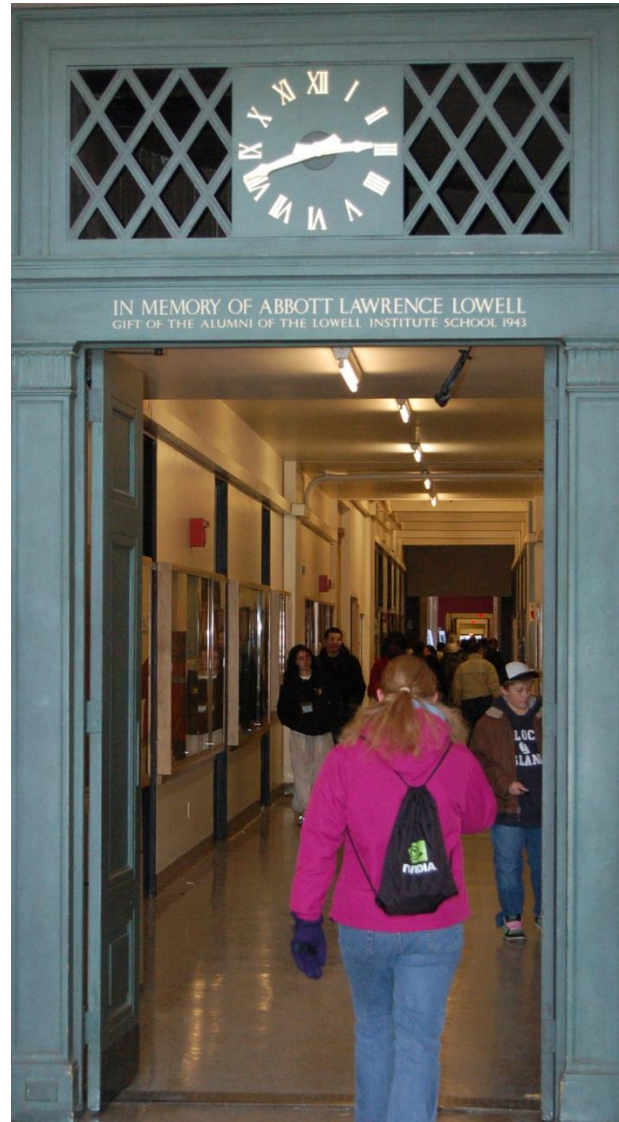
House

201/188D

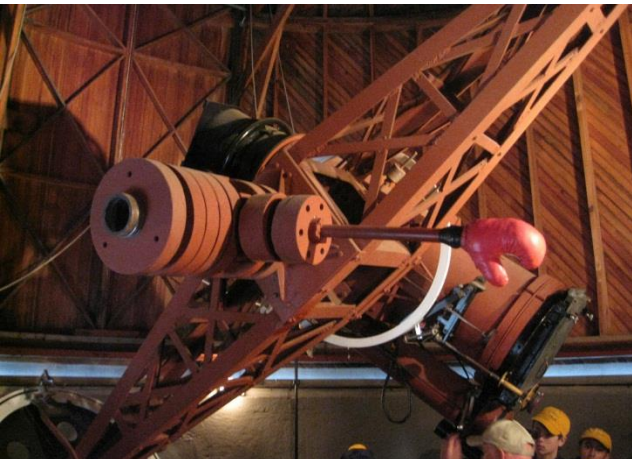
234/247R*

*Currently 3 R vac.

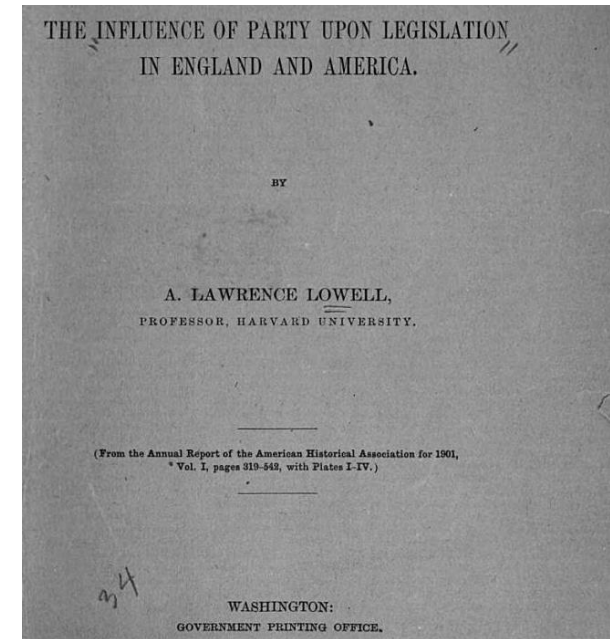
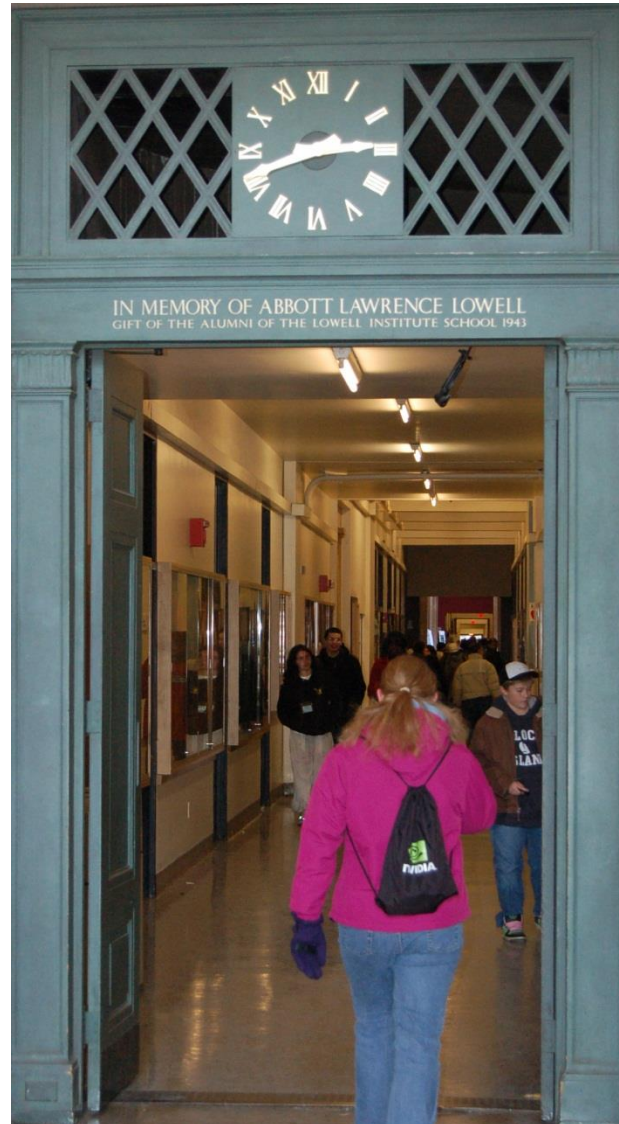
Parties Change in Their Cohesiveness



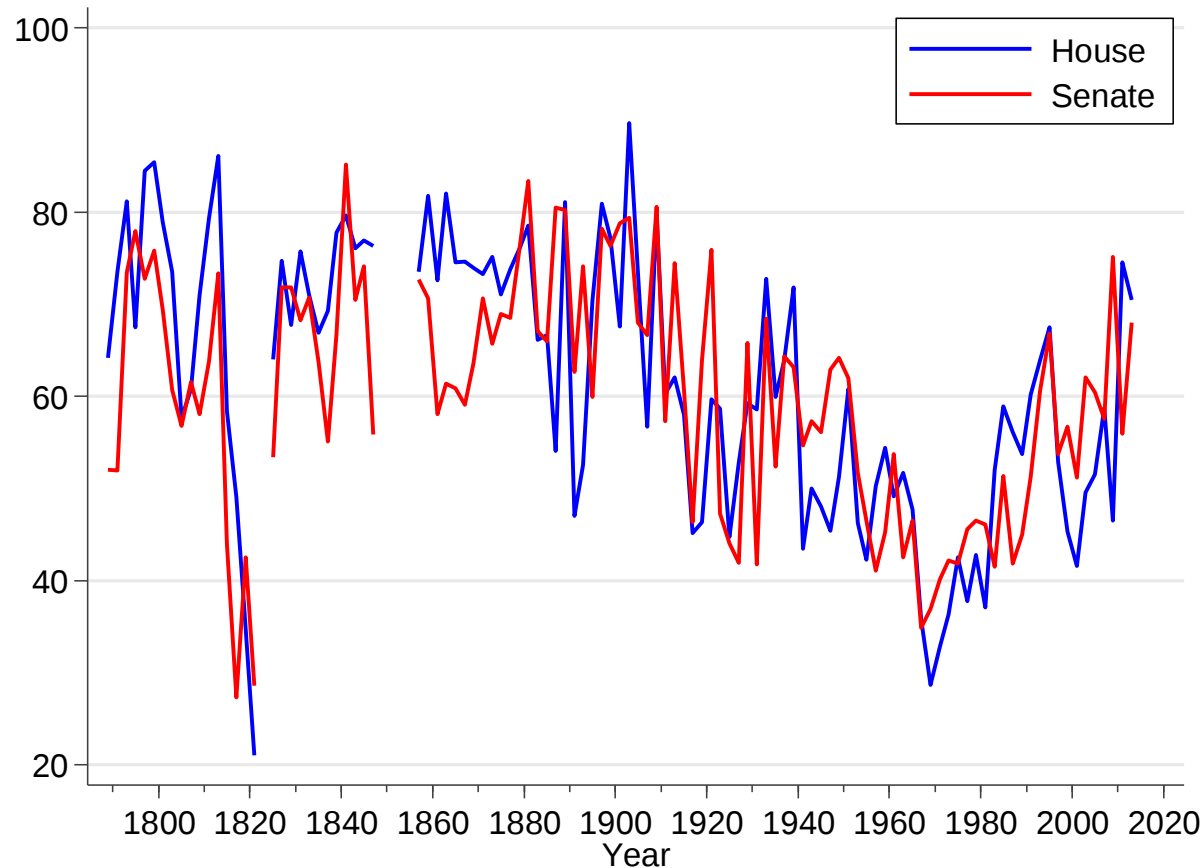
Parties Change in Their Cohesiveness



Parties Change in Their Cohesiveness

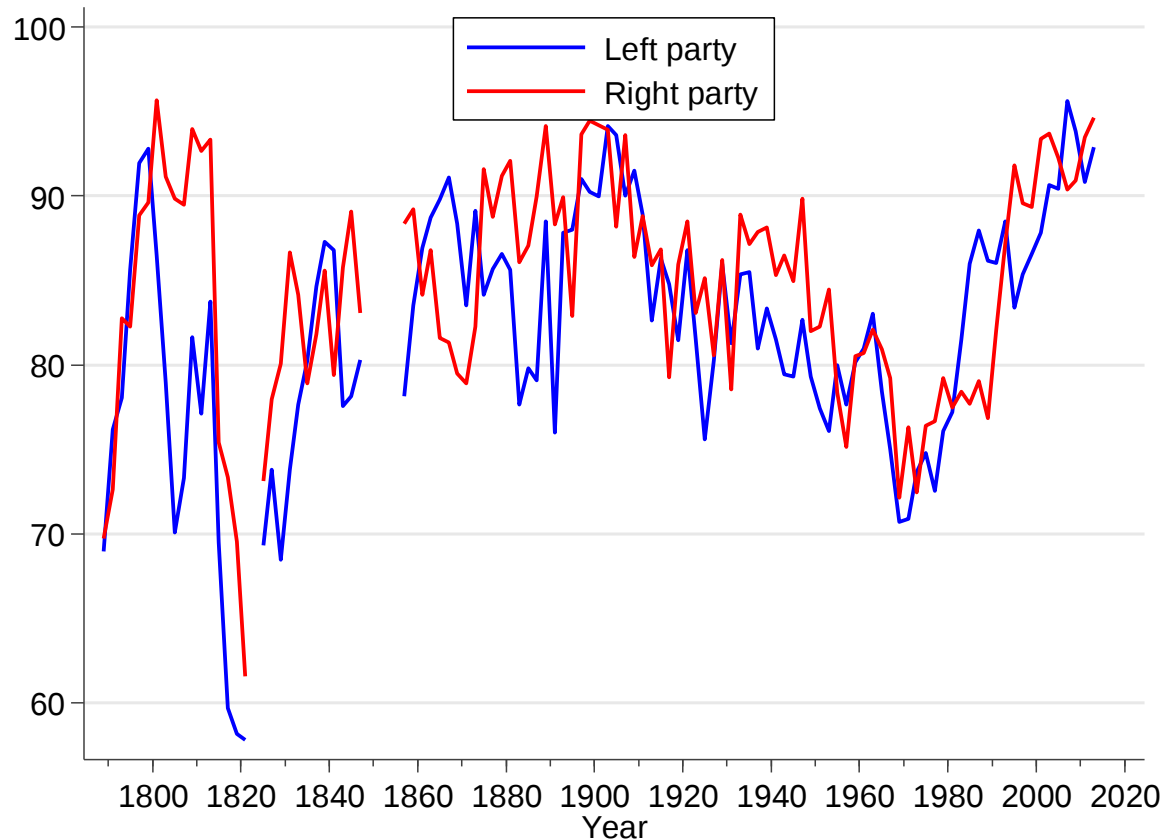


Party Unity Votes in Congress



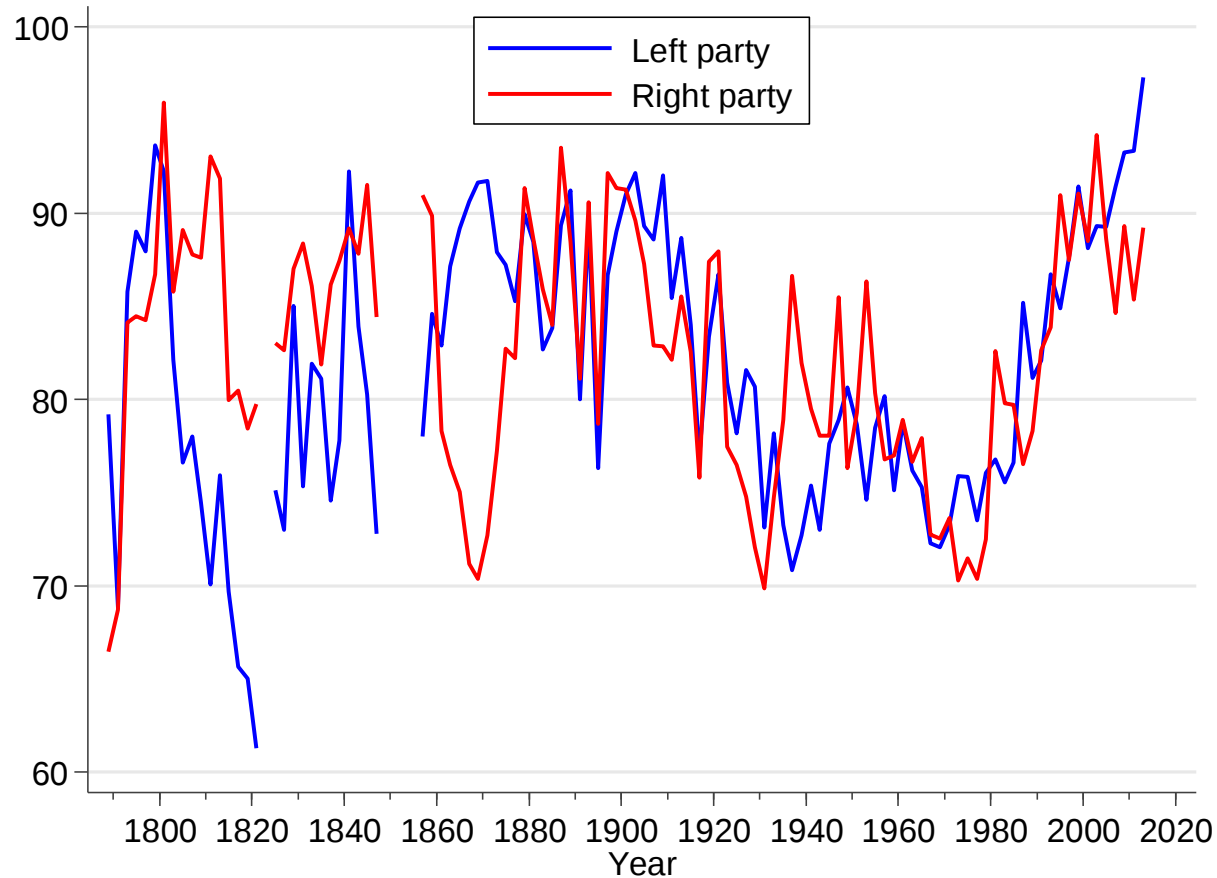
Party unity = 50% of one party voting against 50% of the other party

Avg. Party Unity Scores in the House through 113th



Party unity score = % of time a party member voted with his/her party on party unity votes

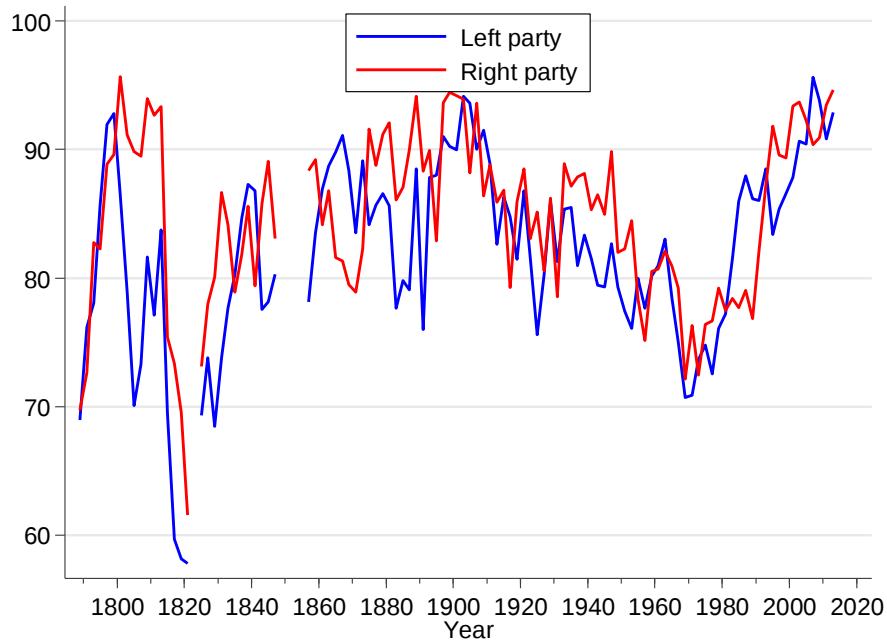
Avg. Party Unity Scores in the Senate through 113th



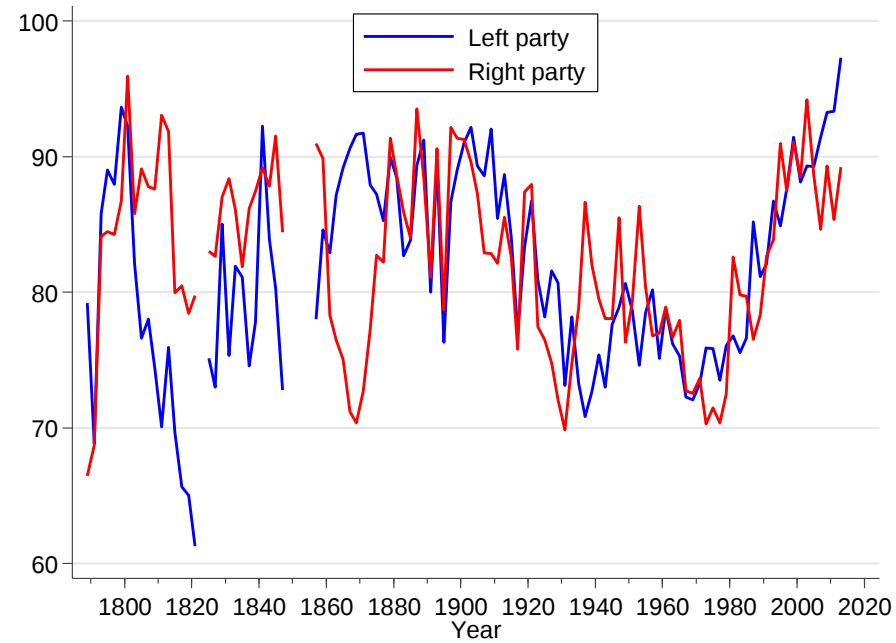
Party unity score = % of time a party member voted with his/her party on party unity votes

Side-by-side

House



Senate



Current Organization of Congress

- Party responsibilities
 - Scheduling business
 - Distributing leadership among and within committees
 - Promoting attendance and spreading information
 - Facilitate bargaining
- Resources that parties possess
 - Knowledge of rules
 - Access to tangible benefits
 - Provide focal points (?)

Some notes about historical development

- Party control
 - Until roughly the Civil War, parties don't "organize" the chambers
 - After the Civil War, they do (first the House, then the Senate)
 - Even so, party control of committees is a 20th century phenomenon
- Over time formal party positions have proliferated and institutionalized
 - Institutionalization mostly a 20th century phenomenon

Note some things about historical development

- Regional/ideological balancing
- Emergence of career ladder

Regional balancing: House

	1965 (89 th Cong.)					2015 (114 th Cong.)			
Dems	Leader	St.	Prev.	dwnom.		Leader	St.	Prev.	dwnom.
Speaker/ Min. leader	John McCormack	MA	Maj. Leader	-.301/ .367		Nancy Pelosi	CA	Min. whip	-0.393
Maj. Leader/ min. whip	Carl Albert	OK	Maj. Whip	-0.381/ 0.603		Steny Hoyer	MD	Rank-and-file	-0.316
Reps									
Min. leader/ Speaker	Gerald Ford	MI	“Young Turk”	0.238/ -0.568		John Boehner	OH	Rank-and-file	0.747
Min. whip/ Maj. Leader	Leslie Arends	IL	Rank-and-file	0.248/ -0.341		Kevin McCarthy	OH	Maj. Whip	0.666

Rare Wikipedia recommendation:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Party_leaders_of_the_United_States_House_of_Representatives

Regional balancing: Senate

	1965 (89 th Cong.)					2015 (114 th Cong.)			
Dems	Leader	St.	Prev.	dwnom.		Leader	St.	Prev.	dwnom.
Maj./min. leader	Mike Mansfield	MT	Maj. Whip	-0.440 / 0.556		Harry Reid	NV	Min. whip	-0.428
Maj./min. whip	Russell B. Long	LA	Rank-and-file	-0.139/ 0.843		Richard Durbin	MI	Asst. Dem. Whip	-0.496
Reps									
Min./maj. Leader	Everett M. Dirksen	IL	Min. whip	0.305 / -0.547		Mitch McConnell	KY	Maj. Whip	0.591
Min./maj. Whip	Thomas Kuchel	CA	Rank-and-file	0.077/ -0.615		John Cornyn	TX	Rank-and-file	0.645

Rare Wikipedia recommendation:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Party_leaders_of_the_United_States_Senate

Current Org Chart

Position	House	Senate
Constitutional head	Speaker	V.P.*/ President <i>pro tempore</i>
Floor leader	Majority/ minority leader	Majority/ minority leader
Whip	Majority/ minority whip	Majority/ minority whip
Caucus	Chair, v.chair, secy.	Chair, secy.
Policy committees		
Committees on committees		
Campaign committees		

*See next slide for Woodrow Wilson's take

It would, doubtless, be considered quite improper to omit from an essay on the Senate all mention of the Senate's President; and yet there is very little to be said about the Vice-President of the United States. His position is one of anomalous insignificance and curious uncertainty. Apparently he is not, strictly speaking, a part of the legislature,—he is clearly not a member,—yet neither is he an officer of the executive. It is one of the remarkable things about him, that it is hard to find in sketching the government any proper place to discuss him. He comes in most naturally along with the Senate to which he is tacked; but he does not come in there for any great consideration. He is simply a judicial officer set to moderate the proceedings of an assembly whose rules he has had no voice in framing and can have no voice in changing. His official stature is not to be compared with that of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. So long as he is Vice-President, he is inseparable officially from the Senate; his importance consists in the fact that he may cease to be Vice-President. His chief dignity, next to presiding over the Senate, lies in the circumstance that he is awaiting the death or disability of the President. And the chief embarrassment in discussing his office is, that in explaining how little there is to be said about it one has evidently said all there is to say.

114th House

Position	Rep	Dem
Constitutional head	Speaker John Boehner (OH)	
Floor leader	Majority. Leader Kevin McCarthy (CA)	Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (CA)
Whip	Maj. Whip Steve Scalise (LA) Chief Deputy Whip Patrick McHenry (NC)	Min. Whip Steny Hoyer (MD) Asst. Leader James Clyburn (SC)
Caucus/Conference	Chairman: Cathy McMorris Rodgers (WA) Vice ch: Lynn Jenkins (KS) Secy: Virginia Foxx (NC)	Chairman: Xavier Becerra (CA) Vice chairman: Joseph Crowley (NY)
Committees on committees	Steering Committee Chair: Speaker	Steering and Policy Committee* Co-Chairs: Rosa DeLauro (CT) [Steering], Donna Edwards (CA) [Policy]
Policy Committee	Chairman: Luke Messer (IN)	
Campaign committees	Nat. Rep. Campaign Comm. Chair: Greg Walden (OR)	Dem. Cong'l Campaign Comm. Chair: Ben Ray Lujan (NM)

*New to 2015: **Policy & Communications Committee**
Steve Israel (NY)

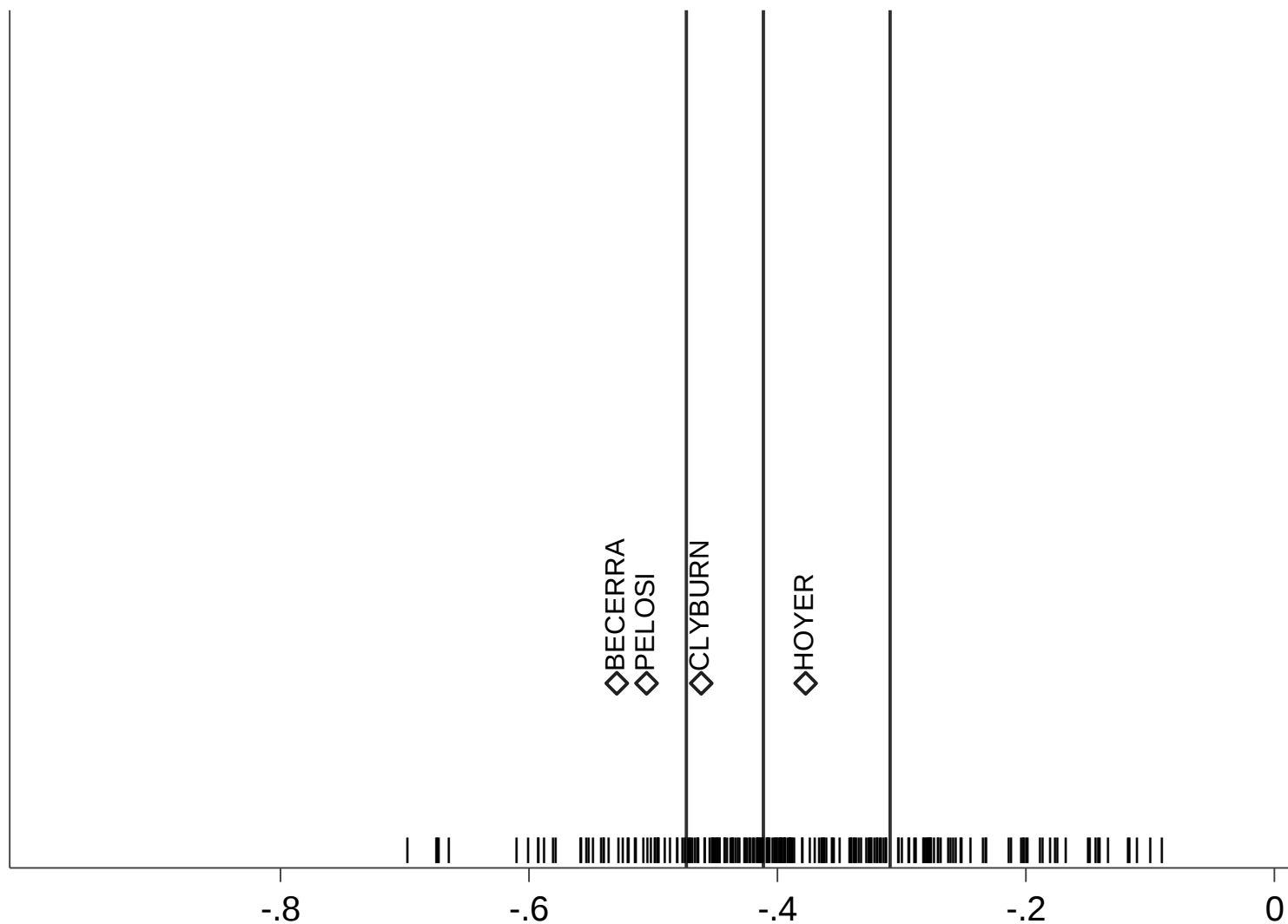
114th House

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House Rep. Leaders



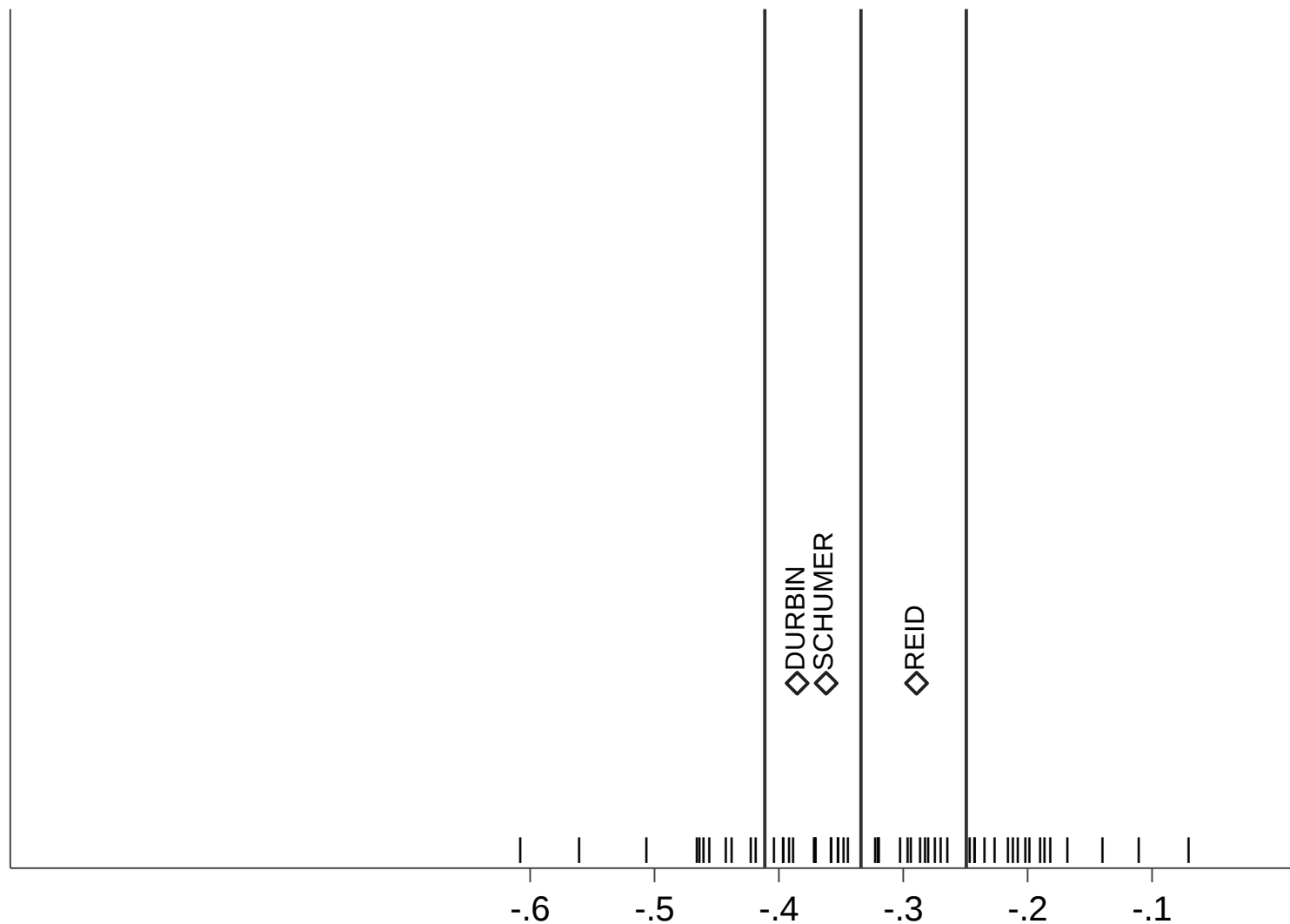
House Dem. Leaders



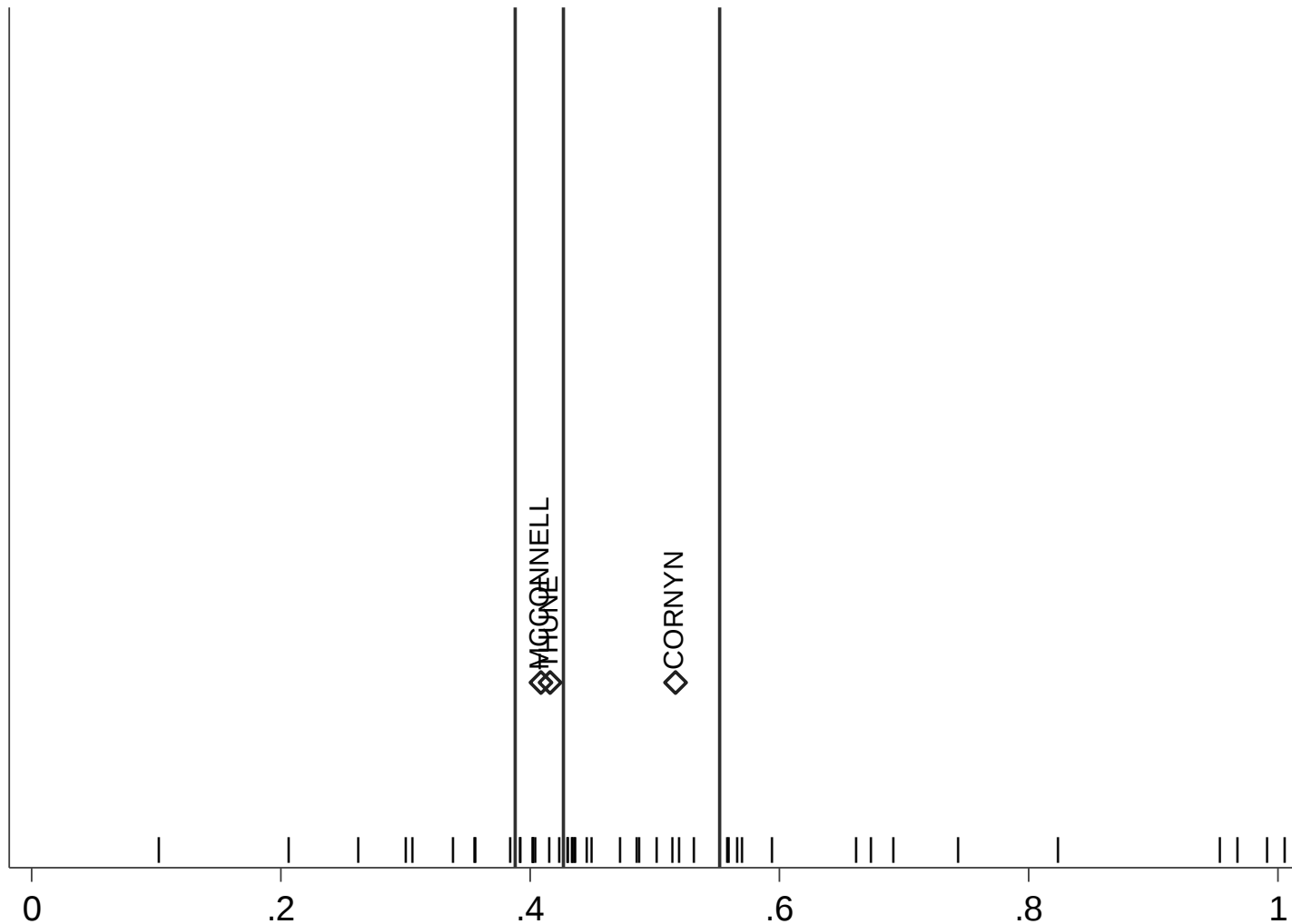
114th Senate

Position	Rep	Dem
Constitutional head	President <i>pro tempore</i>: Orin Hatch (UT)	Vice President: Joe Biden
Floor leader	Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (KY)	Majority leader Harry Reid (NV)
Whip	Asst. maj. Leader (whip): Jon Cornyn (TX) Chief dep. whip: Mike Crapo (ID)	Asst maj. leader: Richard Durbin (IL) Chief dep. whip: Barbara Boxer (CA)
Caucus	Conf. chair: John Thune (SD) v. chair: Roy Bunt (MO)	Chair: Dem. Leader V. Chair: Charles Schumer (NY) Secretary: Patty Murray (WA)
Policy committees	Chair: John Barrasso (WY)	Chair: Chuck Schumer (NY) V. chair: Debbie Stabenow (MI) (Strategic advisor: Eliz. Warren (MA) Policy Development Advisor: Mark Warner (VA))
Committees on committees	Committee on Committees Chair: Mike Crapo (ID)	Steering & Outreach Comm. Ch: Amy Klobuchar (MN) V. ch: Jeanne Shaheen (NH)
Campaign committees	NRSC Ch: Roger Wicker (MS)	DSCC Ch: John Tester (MT)

Senate Dem. Leaders



Senate Rep. Leaders



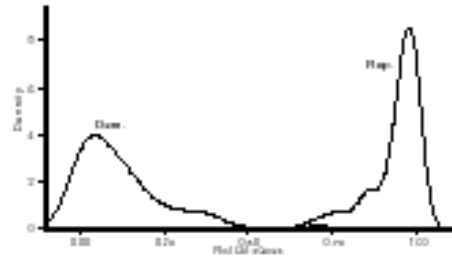
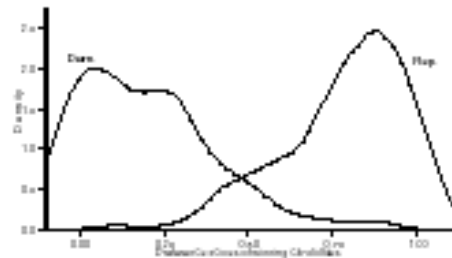
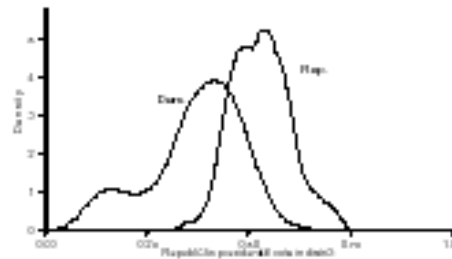
Why Do Parties Exist?

- Anomalous position of parties in spatial models of legislatures
 - The chamber median should rule. Party is just a label
 - Who governs? Do leaders “boss” followers (common view) or do followers terrorize leaders?

Some perspectives on this question

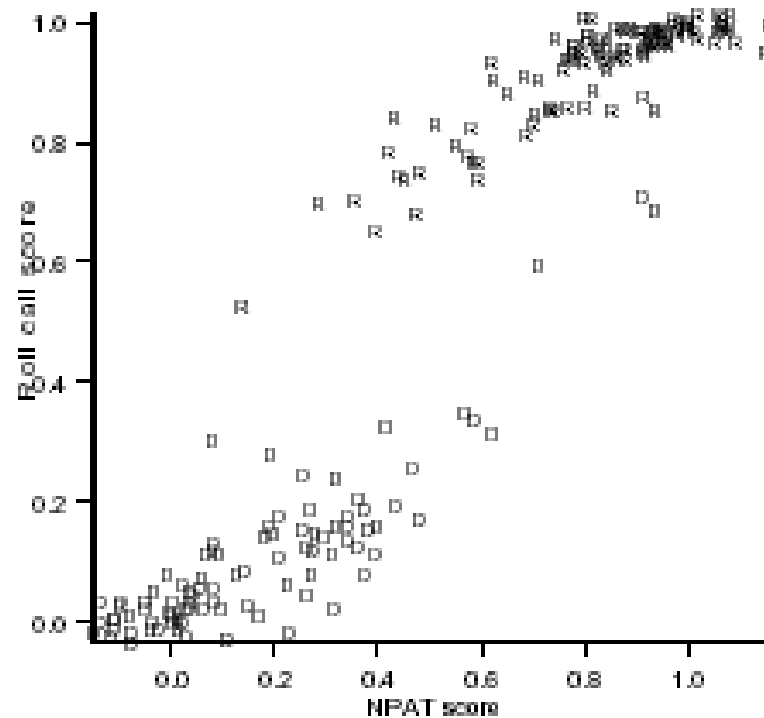
- Rohde: Conditional party government
- Krehbiel: Where's the party?
- Calvert: Parties coordinate
- Aldrich, Cox, and McCubbins: Parties help members get elected
- Gamm & Smith in D&O: Coordination and centralization differ in the House and Senate

Evidence that Parties Push Members Apart

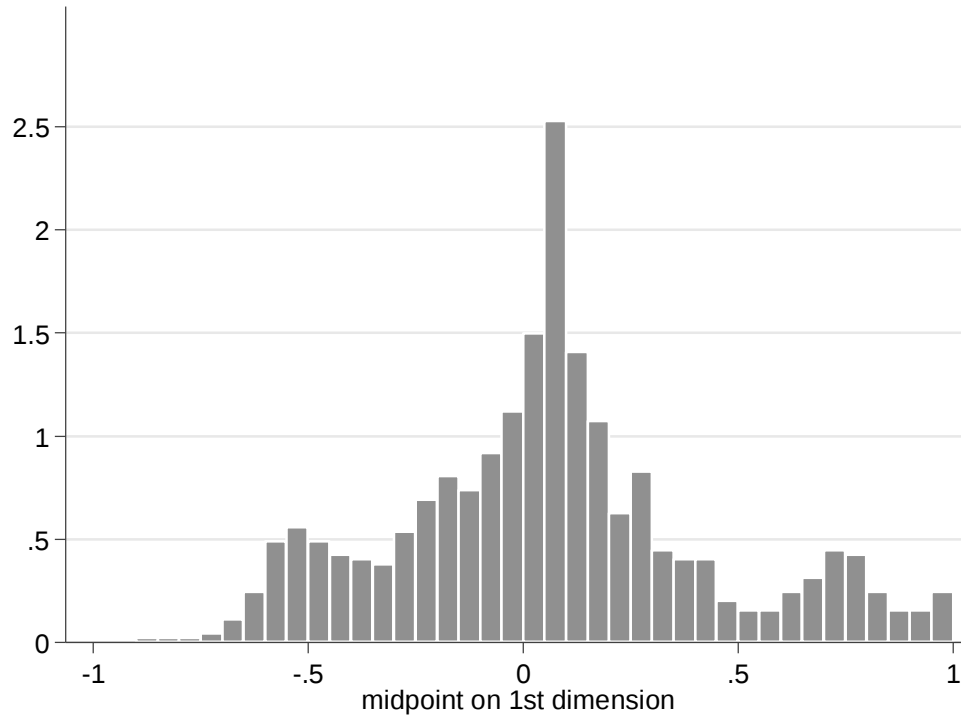


Source: Ansolabehere,
Snyder, and Stewart
(2001)

Further Evidence



Evidence from cut points: 109th Cong. (R)



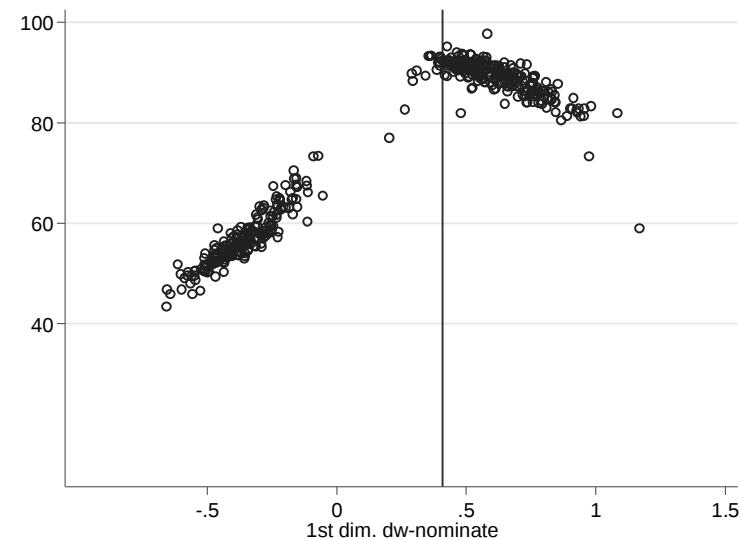
Med. cutpoint: 0.054

Mean cutpoint: 0.060

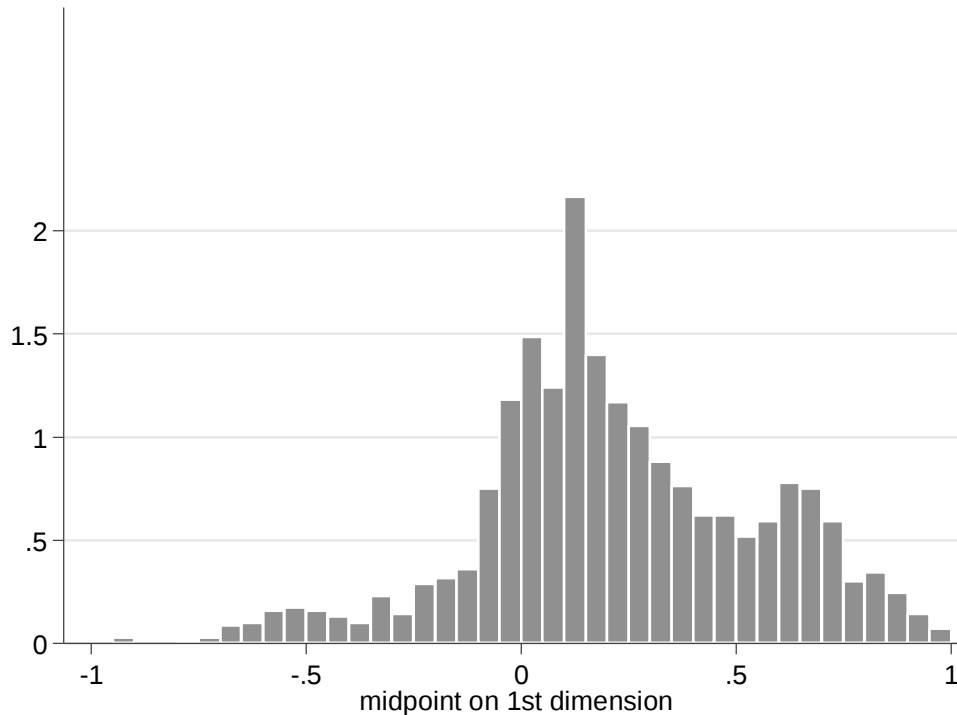
Median house member: .408

Median Rep: .597

Median Dem: - .356



Evidence from cut points: 110th Cong. (D)



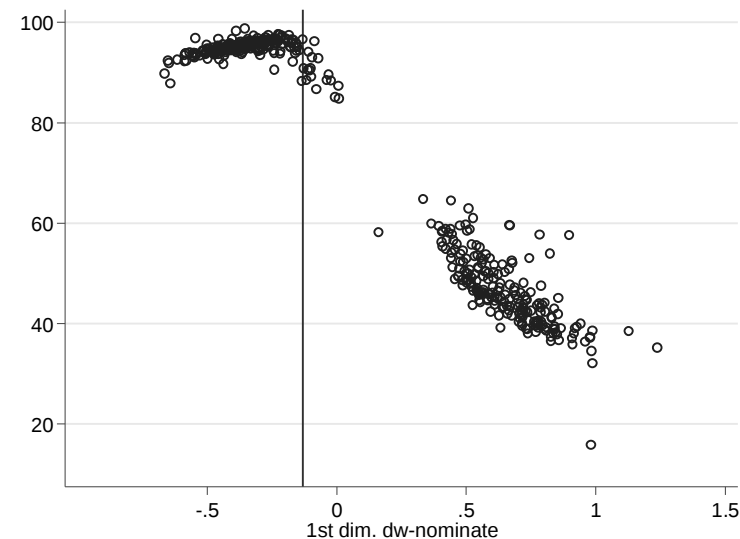
Med. cutpoint: 0.181

Mean cutpoint: 0.220

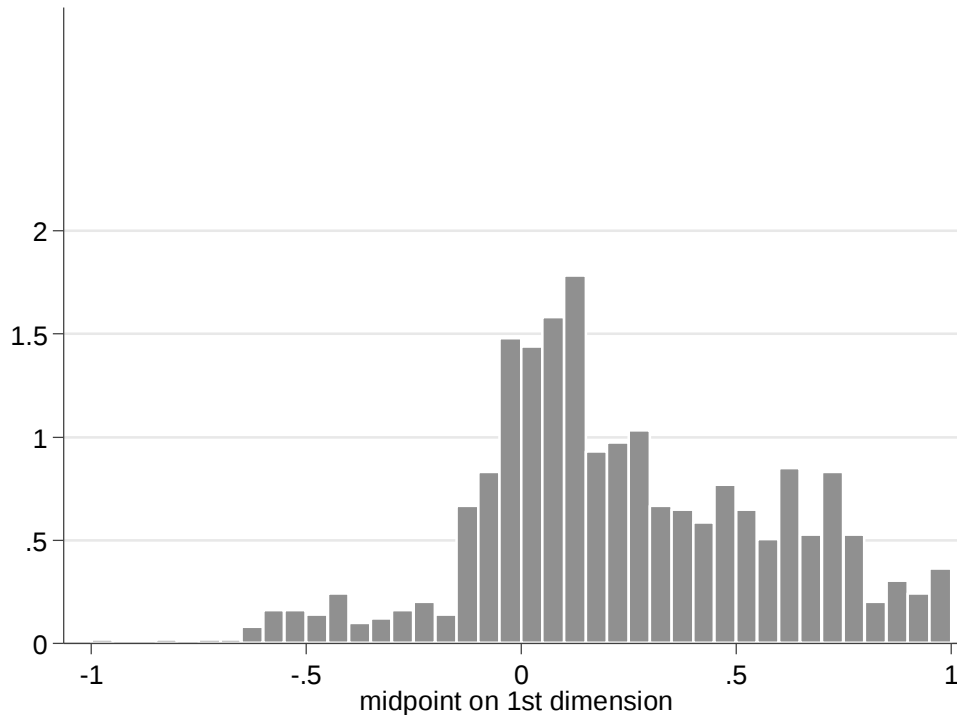
Median house member: -0.132

Median Rep: .637

Median Dem: - .345

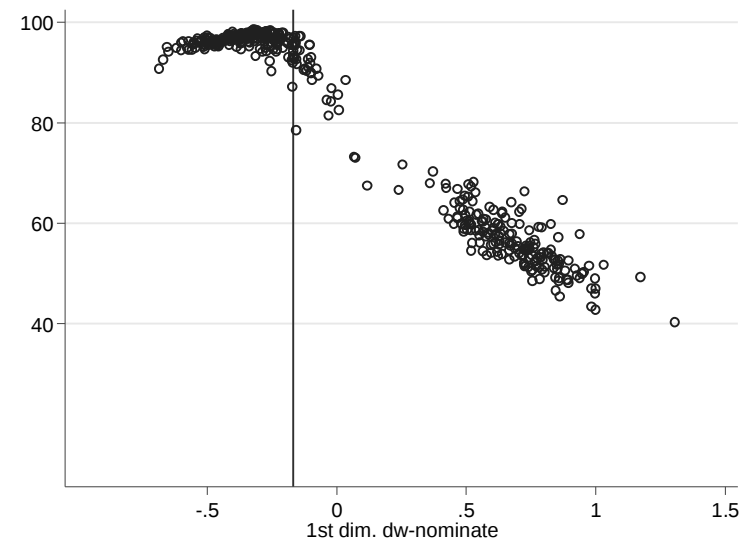


Evidence from cut points: 111th Cong. (D)

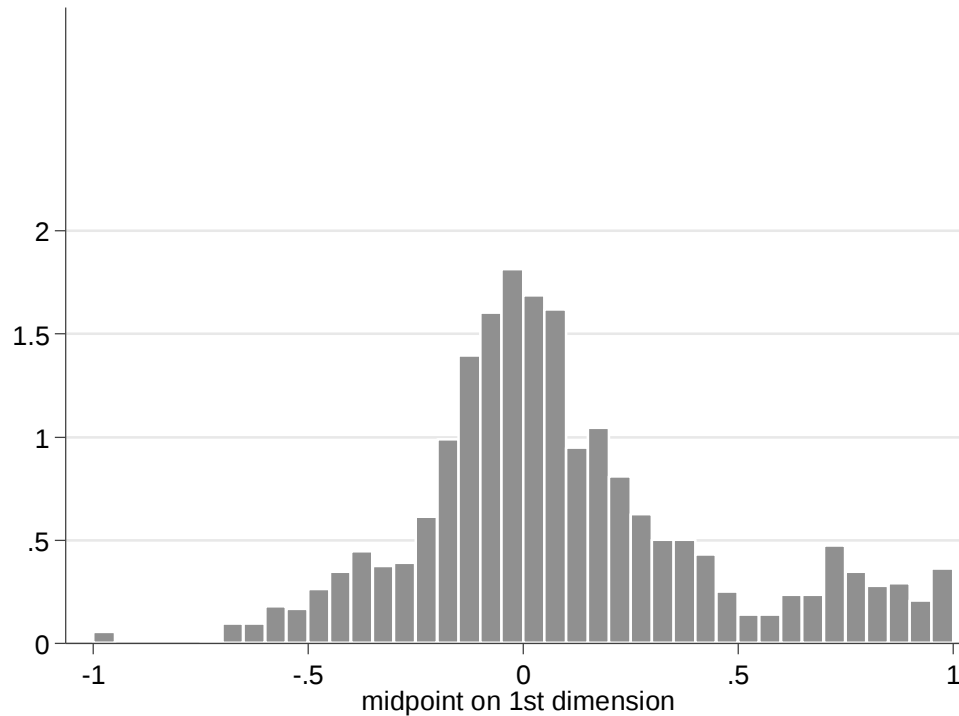


Med. cutpoint: 0.039
Mean cutpoint: 0.095

Median house member: -0.169
Median Rep: .686
Median Dem: - .336



112th Congress (R)



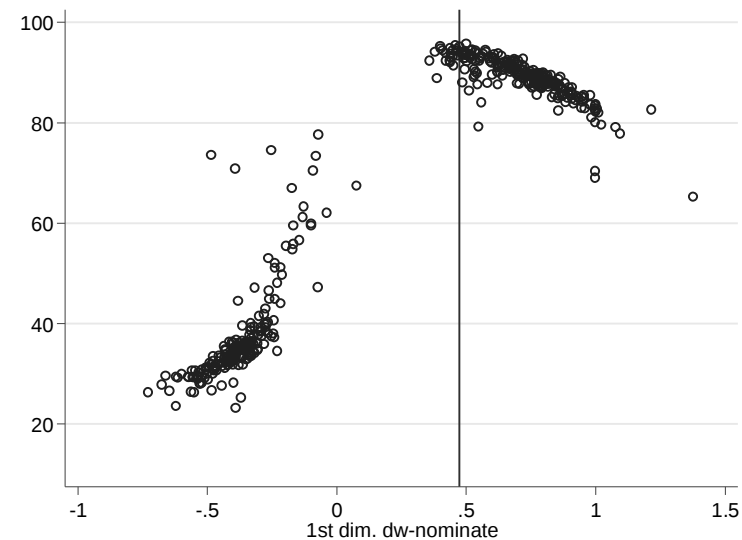
Med. cutpoint: 0.181

Mean cutpoint: 0.243

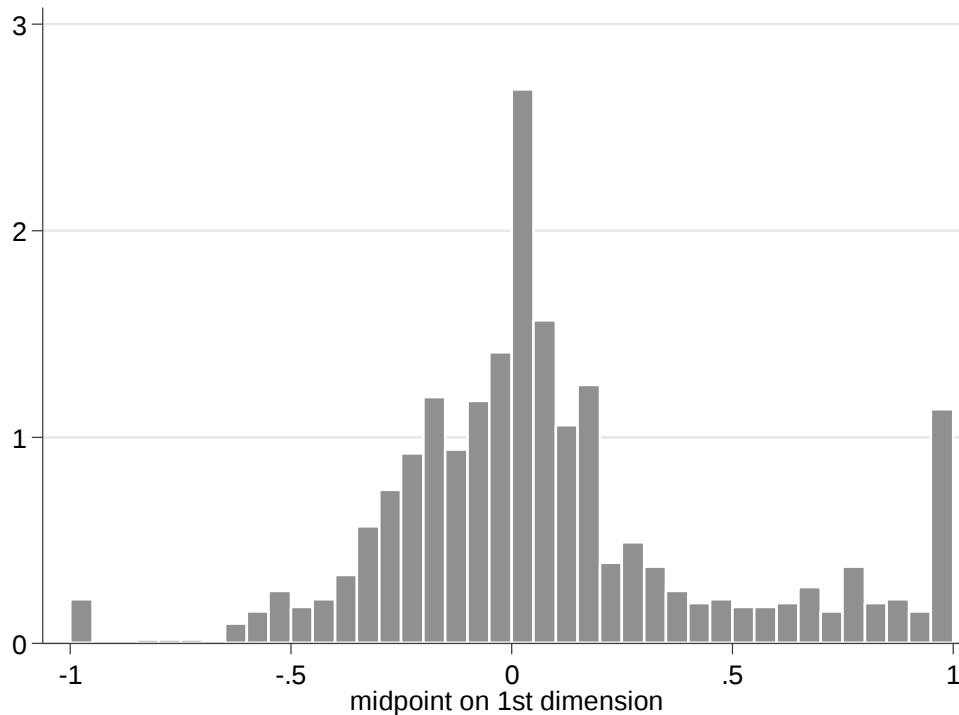
Median house member: 0.474

Median Rep: .726

Median Dem: - .384



113th Congress (R)



Med. cutpoint: 0.038

Mean cutpoint: 0.091

Median house member: .462

Median Rep: .735

Median Dem: - .383

