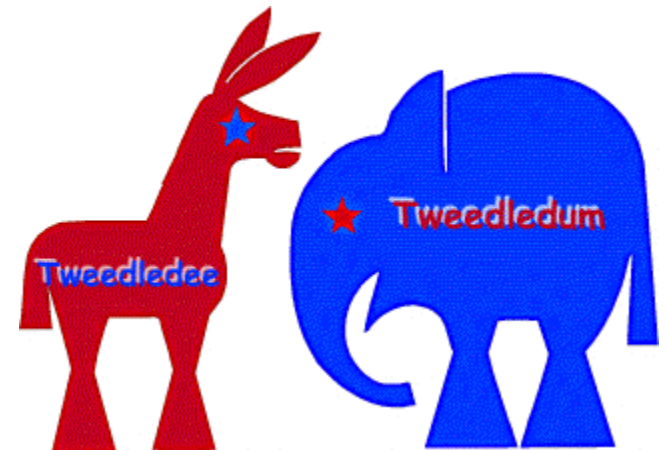


# Political Parties and Congressional Leadership

17.251/252

Fall 2004



# 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”?

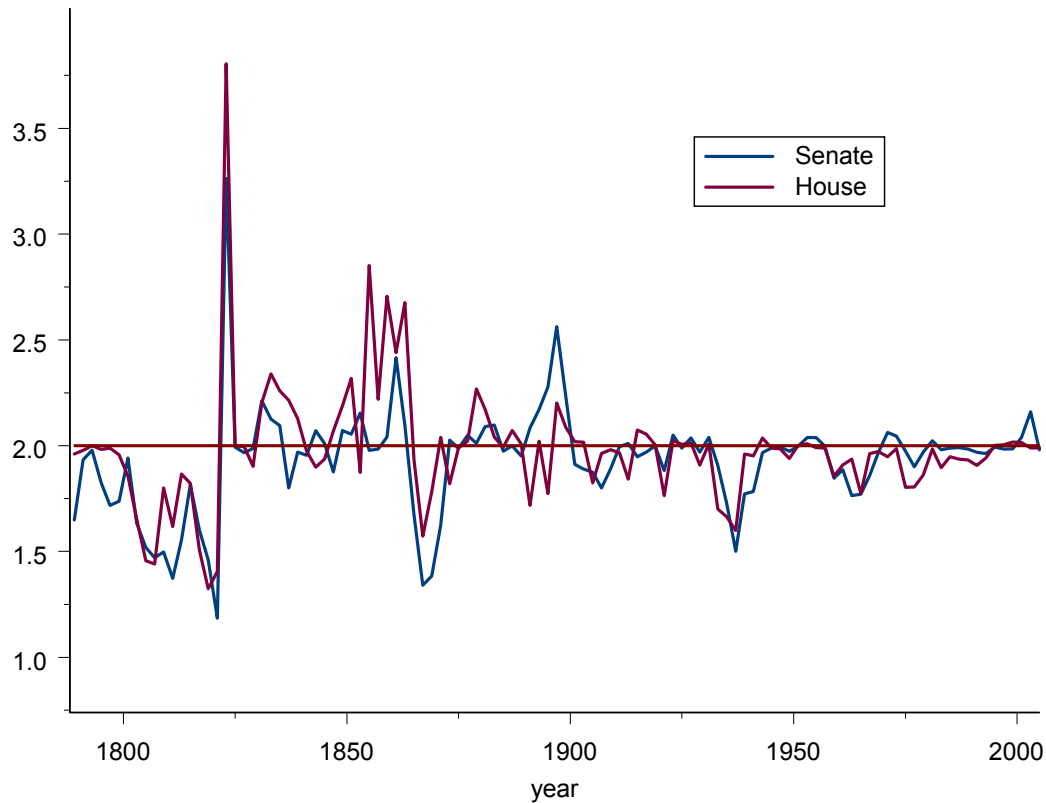
# Interesting (and Important) Historical Aside

- 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

# Natural History of Political Parties

<b>Period</b>	<b>Party of the “right”</b>	<b>Party of the “left”</b>
1789—1823 (1 <sup>st</sup> —17 <sup>th</sup> Cong.)	Federalists	Republicans
1823—1837 (18 <sup>th</sup> —24 <sup>th</sup> Cong.)	Multifactionalism based on old party labels & new individual alliances	
1837—1857 (25 <sup>th</sup> —34 <sup>th</sup> Cong.)	Whigs	Democrats
1857—present (35 <sup>th</sup> —108 <sup>th</sup> Cong.)	Republicans	Democrats

# Effective number of parties



108/9<sup>th</sup> Cong:

**Senate**

48/44D

51/55R

1/1I

**House**

205/200D

227/231R

1/1I

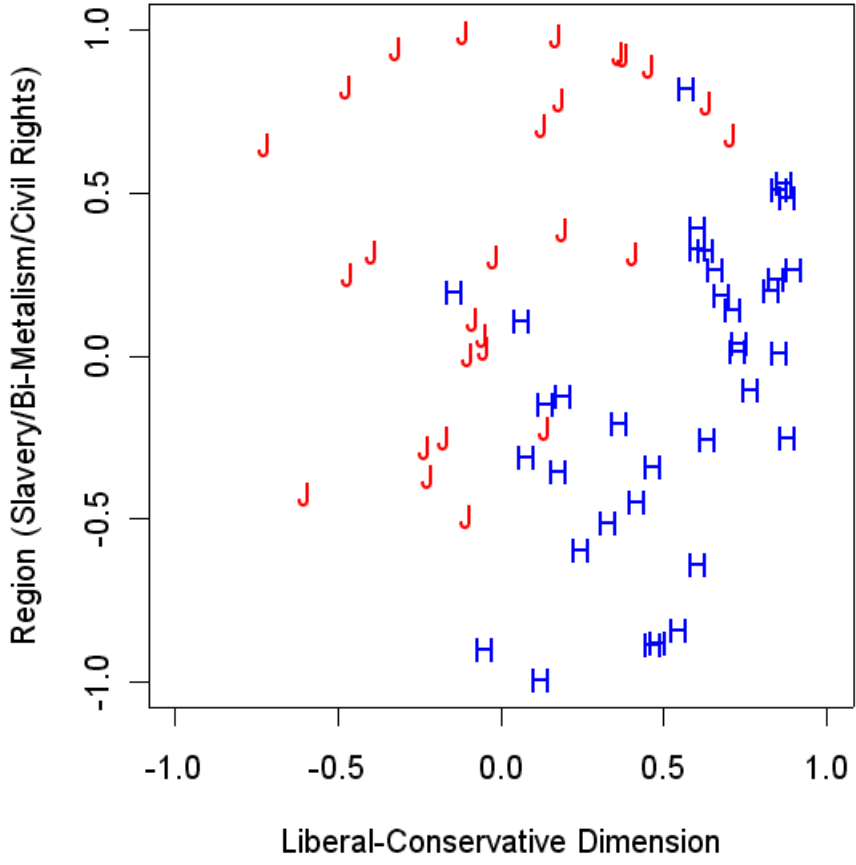
/3 Und.

Parties Change in Their  
Cohesiveness

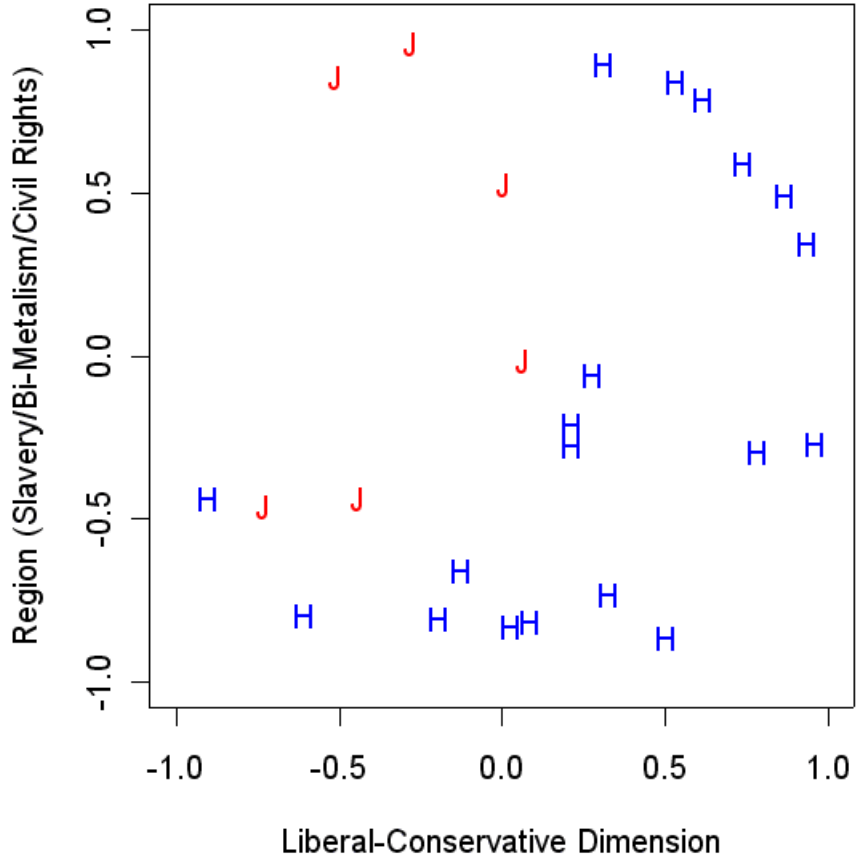
**Congress**

The text 'The Movie' is rendered in a 3D, blocky font with a white-to-gray gradient and a dark shadow, slanted diagonally across the page. It overlaps with the word 'Congress'.

**House 1  
1789-1790**



**Senate 1  
1789-1790**



# 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

# 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 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon
- Over time formal party positions have proliferated and institutionalized
  - Institutionalization mostly a 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon

# 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		

# House

Position	Rep	Dem
Constitutional head	<b>Speaker</b> Dennis Hastert (IL)	
Floor leader	<b>Maj. Leader</b> Tom Delay (TX)	<b>Min. Leader</b> Nancy Pelosi (CA)
Whip	<b>Maj. Whip</b> Roy Blunt (MO) <b>Chief Deputy Whip</b> Roy Blunt (MO)	<b>Min. Whip</b> Steny Hoyer (MD) <b>Chief Deputy Whips</b> John Lewis (GA), Joseph Crowley (NY), Ron Kind (WI), Ed Pastor (AZ), Max Sandlin (TX), Janice Schawkowsky (IL), Maxine Waters (GA)
Caucus	<b>Chairman:</b> Deborah Pryce (OH) <b>Vice ch:</b> Jack Kingston (GA)	<b>Chairman:</b> Robert Menendez (NJ) <b>Vice ch:</b> Jim Clyburn (SC)
Committees on committees	<b>Steering Committee</b> <b>Chair:</b> Speaker	<b>Steering Committee</b> Chair: Minority leader
Campaign committees	<b>Nat. Rep. Campaign Comm.</b> <b>Chair:</b> Thomas Reynolds (NY)	<b>Dem. Cong'l Campaign Comm.</b> Chair: Robert Matsui (CA) (?)

# Senate

Position	Rep	Dem
Constitutional head	<b>Vice President:</b> Dick Cheney <b>President <i>pro tempore</i>:</b> Ted Stevens (AK)	
Floor leader	<b>Maj./min. Leader</b> Bill Frist (TN)	<b>Min./maj. leader</b> Tom Daschle (SD) To be Harry Reid (NV)
Whip	<b>Asst. Maj./Min. leader</b> Mitch McConnell (KY)	<b>Asst. min./maj. leader:</b> Harry Reid (NV) To be
Caucus	<b>Conf. chair:</b> Rick Santorum (PA) <b>Vice chair:</b> Kay Bailey Hutchison (TX)	<b>Chair:</b> Dem. Leader <b>Secretary:</b> Barbara Mikulski (MD)
Policy committees	<b>Chair:</b> John Kyle (AZ)	<b>Chair:</b> Bryon Dorgan (ND)
Committees on committees	<b>Steering Committee ch:</b>	<b>Steering &amp; Coord. Comm. Ch:</b> Hillary Clinton (NY)
Campaign committees	<b>NRSC</b> <b>Ch:</b> George Allen (VA)	<b>DSCC</b> Ch: Jon Corzine (NJ) To be Charles Schumer (NY)

# Note some things about historical development

- Regional/ideological balancing
- Emergence of career ladder

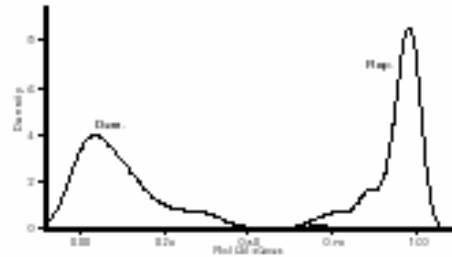
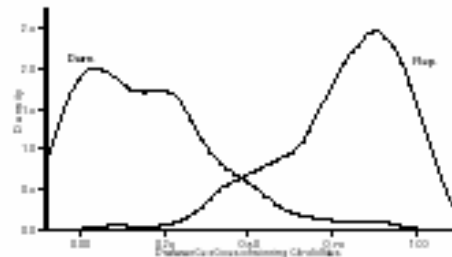
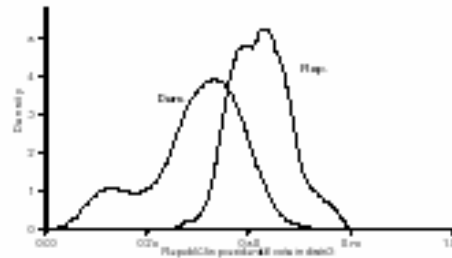
# Why Do Parties Exist?

- 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

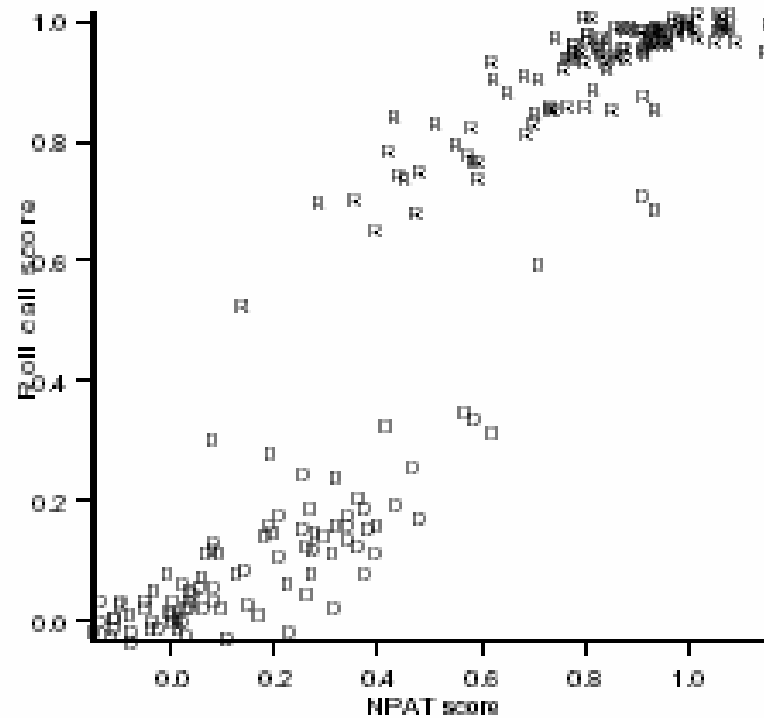
- Rohde: Conditional party government
- Krehbiel: Where's the party?
  - MIT3: Rules and distinguishing policy
- Calvert: Parties coordinate
- Aldrich, Cox, and McCubbins: Parties help members get elected

# Evidence that Parties Push Members Apart



Source: Ansolabehere,  
Snyder, and Stewart  
(2001)

# Further Evidence



# Rohde & “Conditional Party Government”

- Observation: parties more prevalent
- Claim: “strong” parties don’t “boss”
- Democratic party
  - Greater heterogeneity over time
  - Greater “power” given party organs
  - This reform was “conditional party government” (pp. 31—34): greater power if agreement
- Republican party
  - Defensive to Democratic resurgence
  - Events since 1991 only confirm the point