American Political Parties

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NOTES

Preface: How We Got Here


5. Ipsos poll, January 21–30, 2021. Text of question: “Compared to past presidential elections during your lifetime, do you see the 2020 election as the single most important election of your lifetime, more important than most other elections, about as important as other elections, or less important than most other elections?” The single most important election of your lifetime, 28 percent; more important than most other elections, 38 percent; about as important as other elections, 28 percent; less important than most other elections, 4 percent; refused, 2 percent.


7. Suffolk University, poll, February 15–20, 2021. Text of question: “President Biden says he wants to pursue bipartisanship and reduce the nation’s polarization. Which comes closer to your view? Congressional Republicans should do their best to work with Biden on major policies, even if it means making compromises; congressional Republicans should do their best to stand up to Biden on major policies, even if it means little gets passed.” Work with Biden, 26 percent; stand up to Biden, 62 percent; undecided, 12 percent. Survey of Trump voters only.


Introduction: An Election Like No Other


22. Quinnipiac University, poll, February 11–14, 2021. Text of question: “Would you like to see Donald Trump play a prominent role in the Republican party, or not?” Republicans: yes, 75 percent; no, 21 percent; don’t know/no answer, 4 percent.


26. See Cox, “After the Ballots Are Counted.”


CHAPTER 1


18. NBC News/Wall Street Journal, poll, May 28–June 2, 2020. Text of question: “Do you consider yourself to be more a supporter of Donald Trump or more a supporter of the Republican party?” Supporter of Donald Trump, 52 percent; supporter of the Republican Party, 38 percent; both (volunteered), 4 percent; neither (volunteered), 4 percent; not sure, 2 percent.
25. In an unprecedented move, Republicans did not adopt a 2020 platform saying they stood by President Trump’s “America First agenda.” See Republican National


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2. Axios/Ipsos, poll, January 11–13, 2021. Text of question: “How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Traditional parties and politicians don’t care about people like me.” Strongly agree, 38 percent; somewhat agree, 40 percent; somewhat disagree, 17 percent; strongly disagree, 3 percent; no answer, 2 percent.


**CHAPTER 3**


5. On June 22, 2020, Trump tweeted: “Because of MAIL-IN BALLOTS, 2020 will be the most RIGGED election in our nations [sic] history—unless this stupidity is ended. We voted in World War One & World War Two with no problem, but now they are using Covid to cheat by using Mail-Ins,” CNN, June 22, 2020, https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/22/politics/trump-voter-fraud-lies-fact-check/index.html.


17. IPSOS, poll, June 5–8, 2020. Text of question: “Which of these is your main source of news?” Fox News, 12 percent; CNN, 7 percent; MSNBC, 3 percent; ABC/CBS/NBC News, 24 percent; New York Times or Washington Post, 2 percent; digital or online news, 17 percent; your local newspaper, 3 percent; public television or radio, 9 percent; social media, 10 percent; other, 5 percent; none of these, 7 percent.

### CHAPTER 4


2. Trump had three challengers for his renomination: former Massachusetts governor William Weld, radio talk show host Joe Walsh, and former representative Mark Sanford.

3. The Democratic candidates were former vice president Joe Biden; Vermont senator Bernie Sanders; Representative Tulsi Gabbard; Senator Elizabeth Warren; former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg; Senator Amy Klobuchar; former South Bend, Indiana, mayor Pete Buttigieg; Tom Steyer; former Massachusetts governor Duval Patrick; Andrew Yang; Senator Michael Bennet; Representative John Delaney; Senator Cory Booker; Marianne Williamson; former Housing and Urban Development (HUD) secretary Julian Castro; Senator Kamala Harris; Montana governor Steve Bullock, former representative Joe Sestak; Wayne Messam; former representative Beto O’Rourke, Representative Tim Ryan; New York City mayor Bill de Blasio; Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, Representative Seth Moulton; Washington governor Jay Inslee, former governor John Hickenlooper; Representative Eric Swalwell, and Richard Ojeda. See https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/us/politics/2020-presidential-candidates.html.


12. Associated Press-National Opinion Research Center, Money in Politics Survey, November 2015. Text of question one: “Here are some possible ways to change the current system of financing political campaigns in the United States. How effective do you think each of the following would be in reducing the influence of money in politics? Extremely effective, very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, not effective at all? Limits on how much an outside group can spend on a candidate’s campaign.” Extremely effective, 25 percent; very effective, 29 percent; somewhat effective, 33 percent; not very effective, 8 percent; not effective at all, 5 percent. Text of question two: “Here are some possible ways to change the current system of financing political campaigns in the United States. How effective do you think each of the following would be in reducing the influence of money in politics? Extremely effective, very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, not effective at all? Limits on how much a political party can spend on a candidate’s campaign.” Extremely effective, 23 percent; very effective, 29 percent; somewhat effective, 35 percent; not very effective, 8 percent; not effective at all, 5 percent. Text of question three: “Here are some possible ways to change the current system of financing political campaigns in the United States. How effective do you think each of the following would be in reducing the influence of money in politics? Extremely effective, very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, not effective at all? Limits on how much a candidate can spend on his or her campaign, regardless of the source of the money.” Extremely effective, 25 percent; very effective, 26 percent; somewhat effective, 33 percent; not very effective, 9 percent; not effective at all, 6 percent.


20. NBC News/Wall Street Journal, poll, April 28–May 1, 2019. Text of question: “U.S. presidential elections are determined by the Electoral College where the candidate
that wins a state receives votes based upon that state’s population. This means our constitution allows for a president to be elected without winning the national popular vote. Which approach do you prefer in electing a president...continuing to use the Electoral College or amending the constitution to determine the winner by national popular vote?” Continuing to use the electoral college, 43 percent; amending the constitution to determine the winner by national popular vote, 53 percent; not sure, 4 percent.

21. These included one Clinton elector from Hawaii (who voted for Bernie Sanders), four Clinton electors from Washington State (three who voted for Colin Powell and one for Faith Spotted Eagle, a Native American); and two Trump Texas electors (one who voted for John Kasich; another who sided with Libertarian Ron Paul).


24. If that had happened, there would have been a 269-269 tie in the Electoral College and the election would have been decided in the House of Representatives where each state delegation had one vote. Although Democrats controlled the House, Republicans controlled more state delegations which would have allowed Trump to win.


27. Ceaser, Presidential Selection, 147.


30. Reiter, Selecting the President, 134.


33. Some southern states, in a protest to the Democratic Party’s pro-civil rights stance, refused to list Democratic nominee Adlai Stevenson on the ballot in 1952.

the-president-address-the-nation-announcing-steps-limit-the-war-vietnam-and-reporting-his.


44. These were Alabama, American Samoa, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Democrats Abroad, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, and Virginia.


48. See “Republican Delegate Rules.”

CHAPTER 5

1. Quinnipiac poll, January 15–17, 2021. Text of question: “Do you think Joe Biden’s victory in the 2020 presidential election is legitimate or not legitimate?” Legitimate, 64 percent; not legitimate, 31 percent; don’t know/no answer, 5 percent. Democrats: Legitimate, 97 percent; not legitimate, 0 percent; don’t know/no answer, 2 percent. Republicans: Legitimate, 28 percent; not legitimate, 67 percent; don’t know/no answer, 5 percent.


5. Gallup poll, October 9–14, 1952. Text of question: “Which presidential candidate—Stevenson or Eisenhower—do you think could handle the Korean situation best?” Eisenhower, 65 percent; Stevenson, 19 percent; no difference (volunteered), 8 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.


10. NBC News/Wall Street Journal, survey, August 9–12, 2020. Text of question: “Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (If Democrat or Republican ask:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (If not sure, ask:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent?” Strong Democrat, 25 percent; not very strong Democrat, 6 percent; independent/lean Democrat, 11 percent; strictly independent, 13 percent; independent/lean Republican, 10 percent; not very strong Republican, 5 percent; strong Republican, 23 percent.


17. Yankelovich, Skelly, and White, survey, September 20–22, 1983. Text of question: “Do you feel that the Democratic Party or the Republican Party can do a better job of handling . . . or don’t you think there is any real difference between them?” The “no difference” results were as follows: reducing crime, 58 percent; stopping the spread of communism, 52 percent; dealing effectively with the USSR, 48 percent; providing quality education, 47 percent; reducing the risk of nuclear war, 46 percent; providing health care, 46 percent; reducing waste and inefficiency in government, 45 percent; protecting the environment, 45 percent.
CHAPTER 6


4. Raasch, “Political Parties Deploy Web Erratically.”


15. Bowers and Stoller, “Emergence of the Progressive Blogosphere.”


19. See, for instance, monthly reader polls conducted by the progressive website Daily Kos. Among community members, Biden consistently polled as an afterthought.


25. Trump, Donald (@realDonaldTrump). 2020. “Everyone is asking why the recent presidential polls were so inaccurate when it came to me. Because they are FAKE, just like much of the Lamestream Media!” Twitter, November 11, 2020, 6:51 p.m.


CHAPTER 7


4. As cited in Dinkin, Campaigning in America, 13.

5. Center for Responsive Politics, A Brief History of Money in Politics, 3.


7. As cited in Center for Responsive Politics, A Brief History of Money in Politics, 3.


15. The union leader mentioned here was Samuel Gompers, founder and first president of the American Federation of Labor; the senator was Boies Penrose. The quotation is cited in Center for Responsive Politics, *A Brief History of Money in Politics*, 5. See also George Thayer, *Who Shakes the Money Tree? American Campaign Practices from 1789 to the Present* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974).

16. The study was conducted by Louise Overacker. See Frank J. Sorauf, *Money in American Elections* (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman/Little Brown College Division, 1988), 16–25.


22. PACs are defined in the law as organizations that receive contributions from fifty or more individuals and contribute money to at least ten candidates for federal office.


27. Marquette Law School, poll, September 3–11, 2019. Text of question: “Do you favor or oppose the recent Supreme Court decisions that decided that corporations and unions can spend unlimited amounts of money to directly support or oppose political candidates?” Strongly favor, 3 percent; somewhat favor, 11 percent; somewhat oppose, 22 percent; strongly oppose, 53 percent; don’t know, 10 percent.

28. Pew Research Center, poll, July 27–August 2, 2020. Text of question: “Here’s a list of activities some people do and others do not. . . . Contributed money to a candidate running for public office or to a group working to elect a candidate.” Yes, in the past year, 20 percent; no, not in the past year, 80 percent.


30. Under the spoils system, it was common for public employees to kick back a portion of their salary to the party machine. This practice remained commonplace at the local level.


32. See Jost, “Campaign Finance Debates.”

33. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 applied only to congressional candidates. It said nothing about presidential campaigns.


40. The Supreme Court also ruled that only the president, not Congress, could appoint members of the Federal Election Commission.


42. Maisel and Brewer, *Parties and Elections in America*, 150.


44. Issue advocacy advertisements do not expressly tell voters to vote for or against a particular candidate. Rather, they imply such a position by featuring a candidate’s position on an important issue. Thus, an issue advocacy advertisement can say, “Candidate Jones supports a balanced budget amendment.” Or, “Candidate Smith opposes a balanced budget amendment.”

45. See Colorado Republican Federal Campaign Committee v. FEC, 518 U.S. 604 (1996). The Court ruled that as long as the issue advocacy advertisement did not say the words, “elect,” “vote for,” “defeat,” or “vote against,” they were permitted. Many believed that the Court’s decision erased the wall between issue advocacy and expressed
advocacy (i.e., vote for candidate X) that had been constructed in several previous court cases (including Buckley v. Valeo).

51. The five justices in the majority were Anthony Kennedy, John Roberts, Clarence Thomas, Antonin Scalia, and Samuel Alito. The four dissenters were John Paul Stevens, Ruth Bader Ginsberg, Sonya Sotomayor, and Stephen Breyer.
52. McCain-Feingold restricted television advertisements that were capable of reaching fifty thousand people in the thirty-or-sixty-day period prior to a primary or a general election. These advertisements were banned if there was “no reasonable interpretation other than as an appeal to vote for or against a specific candidate.”
61. McCutcheon v. FEC, 572 U.S. (2014). The five justices in the majority were John Roberts, Antonin Scalia, Anthony Kennedy, Clarence Thomas, and Samuel Alito. The four justices in the majority were Ruth Bader Ginsberg, Stephen Breyer, Sonya Sotomayor, and Elena Kagan.
64. Year 2000 Republican presidential candidate Steve Forbes also refused to accept federal matching funds.
68. See https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/taxvox/rethinking-presidential-election-
69. See https://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/summ.php?cycle=2020&disp=
70. See Maisel and Brewer, Parties and Elections in America, 188.
71. See Jane Mayer, Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the
72. See https://www.axios.com/newsletters/axios-sneak-peek-d7bc6417-0f8a-4ea4-
b27f-4c9a860687c.html?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_camp-
73. Ellen Weintraub, “Trump’s Pick for White House Counsel Is Wrong for the
i-worked-with-trumps-pick-for-white-house-counsel-he-doesnt-care-about-
corruption/2016/12/09/76f0793c-bcac-11e6-94ac-3d324840106c_story.html. Ac-
cessed September 1, 2021.

CHAPTER 8

1. Harry Stevens, Daniela Santamarina, Kate Rabinowitz, Kevin Uhrmacher, and
John Muyskens, “How Members of Congress Voted on Counting the Electoral Col-
graphics/2021/politics/congress-electoral-college-count-tracker/.
2. See Thomas Kaplan and Alan Rappeport, “Republican Tax Bill Passes Senate in
us/politics/tax-bill-vote-congress.html and Christina Wilkie and Jacob Pramuk, “House
Votes to Send Massive Tax Overhaul to Trump’s Desk,” CNBC, December 20, 2017.
inagural-address-47
4. Kaplan and Rappeport, “Republican Tax Bill Passes Senate in 51-48 Vote” and
Wilkie and Pramuk, “House Votes to Send Massive Tax Overhaul to Trump’s Desk.”
5. Woodrow Wilson, Inaugural Address, Washington, DC, March 4, 1913. For a transcript of the speech, see https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/
inagural-address-47
Press, 1983), 127.
8. Adam Cohen, Nothing to Fear: FDR’s Inner Circle and the Hundred Days That


11. Republican control of the Senate was short-circuited when Vermont senator Jim Jeffords left the GOP to become an independent and affiliated himself with the Democrats.


14. Interestingly, the provision does not require that this person be an actual member of the House, although all Speakers have been members.


25. See John H. Aldrich and David W. Rohde, “The Transition to Republican Rule in the House: Implications for Theories of Congressional Politics,” *Political Science Quarterly* 112 (Winter 1997–1998), 563. In fewer than a hundred days, eight of the contract’s ten items had been approved by the House, thanks to nearly unanimous support from the GOP freshmen. Only two measures failed: term limits, thanks to the opposition of Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde, and a provision prohibiting the Pentagon from using funds for UN peacekeeping operations.
26. These were Henry Hyde and Thomas Bliley.
27. This was Robert Livingston of Louisiana.
30. See Kaplan and Rappeport, “Republican Tax Bill Passes Senate.”
43. Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, poll, January 28–February 1, 2021. Text of question: “Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job? Would you say you approve of the way Congress is handling its job strongly or just somewhat? Would you say you disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job strongly or just somewhat?” Strongly approve, 7 percent; somewhat approve, 29 percent; strongly disapprove, 25 percent; somewhat disapprove, 25 percent.
44. Monmouth Polling Institute, January 21–24, 2021. Text of question: “Do you think it is more important for Republicans in Congress to find ways to work together with Joe Biden or more important for them to keep Biden in check?” Find ways to work together with Joe Biden, 71 percent; keep Biden in check, 25 percent; don’t know, 4 percent.
CHAPTER 9

1. NBC News/Wall Street Journal/Telemundo, poll, September 13–16, 2020. Text of question: “If the choice in your district had the following, would you be more likely to vote for a Republican candidate for Congress, a Democratic candidate for Congress or an independent third-party candidate for Congress?” Republican candidate, 20 percent; Democratic candidate, 51 percent; independent/third-party candidate, 20 percent; not sure, 9 percent.


8. Barack Obama became the first major party nominee not to accept federal funding in 2008, as Obama was able to raise a total of $747.8 million for his entire campaign. Today, the Federal Election Campaign Act is essentially null and void, as neither major party is willing to accept public funding for either the primaries or the general election.


17. But in a strange twist, the Populists refused to endorse the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, Arthur Sewall, a banker from Maine.


25. Thurmond’s record stood until 2010, when Lisa Murkowski won reelection to her US Senate seat from Alaska on a write-in campaign. Murkowski had been defeated in the Republican primary after former governor Sarah Palin endorsed Murkowski’s challenger, Joe Miller.


31. Fox News, poll, October 3–6, 2016. Text of question: “If the 2016 presidential election were held today, how would you vote if the candidates were Democrats Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine, Republicans Donald Trump and Mike Pence, Libertarians Gary Johnson and Bill Weld, and Green Party candidates Jill Stein and Ajamu Baraka? (If don’t know ask:) Well, which way do you lean?” Democrats Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine including leaners, 42 percent; Republicans Donald Trump and Mike Pence
including leaners, 40 percent; Libertarians Gary Johnson and Bill Weld including leaners, 7 percent; Green Party candidates Jill Stein and Ajamu Baraka including leaners, 3 percent; other (volunteered), 1 percent; wouldn’t vote (volunteered), 2 percent; don’t know, 6 percent.


Conclusion


3. Roosevelt, “Inaugural Address.”


9. ABC News/Washington Post, poll, January 11–16, 1985. Text of question: “Some people think the government in Washington is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and private businesses. Others disagree and think the government should do more to solve our country’s problems. Which of these two views is closer to
your own?” Many things should be left to individuals and private businesses, 57 percent; government should do more, 38 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.


17. Associated Press-NORC, poll, June 10–14, 2021. Text of approval question: “Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president? Would you say you approve of the way Joe Biden is handling his presidency strongly or do you approve just somewhat? Would you say you disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his presidency strongly or do you disapprove just somewhat? (If don’t know/refused ask:) If you had to choose, do you lean more toward approving or disapproving of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president?” Strongly approve, 26 percent; somewhat approve, 29 percent; do not lean either way, 1 percent; lean toward disapproving, 1 percent; somewhat disapprove, 14 percent; strongly disapprove, 29 percent. Text of coronavirus question: “Overall, do you approve of the way Joe Biden is handling the coronavirus pandemic?” Approve, 68 percent; disapprove, 31 percent; skipped/refused, 1 percent.


19. Politico/Harvard Public Health poll, December 15–20, 2020. Text of question: “Here are some things being discussed as possible priorities for President-Elect Joe Biden and the new Congress. For each one, please tell me whether or not you think it should be an extremely important priority. How about keeping the Affordable Care Act, also known as the ACA or Obamacare, and making improvements in it? Should that be an
extremely important priority or not?” Extremely important priority, 68 percent; not an extremely important priority, 30 percent; don’t know/refused, 2 percent.

20. NPR/PBS News Hour Marist poll, April 7–13, 2021. Text of question: “President Joe Biden announced his American Jobs Plan, a $2.3 trillion plan intended to address infrastructure, climate change, and job creation. From what you’ve read or heard, do you support or oppose this plan?” Support, 56 percent; oppose, 34 percent; heard of it and unsure, 4 percent; have not heard about it, 6 percent.


23. Gallup poll, August 31–September 13, 2020. Text of question: “Some people think the government is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and businesses. Others think that government should do more to solve our country’s problems. Which comes closer to your view?” Doing too much, 41 percent; should do more, 54 percent; mixed (volunteered), 4 percent; no opinion, 1 percent.
