The Coalition Merchants:
Political Ideologies and Political Parties

Hans Noel

Georgetown University
hcn4@georgetown.edu

University of Wisconsin
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The Tea Party
Occupy Wall Street

The Tea Party
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The Tea Party
A Theory of Ideology and Parties

Measuring Ideology

Ideology in Congress

Transformation on Race

Occupy Wall Street

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Political Ideologies and Political Parties

1 A Theory of Ideology and Parties
   • Ideology as Constraint
   • Ideology vs. Party

2 Measuring Ideology
   • Pundits in Political Publications
   • Item Response Model

3 Ideology in Congress
   • Ideology leads parties at aggregate level

4 Transformation on Race
   • Ideology leads parties at issue level
A Theory of Ideology and Parties
Ideology is constraint: “What goes with what.”

Issue positions of the highly politically informed.
Ideology comes from elites

“Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back.”

John Maynard Keynes (1936)
*The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*

“[T]he shaping of belief systems of any range into apparently logical wholes that are credible to large numbers of people is an act of creative synthesis characteristic of only a miniscule proportion of any population.”

Philip Converse (1964)
*The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics*
What is a party? What is an ideology?

Parties and Ideologies both . . .

- tell you who is on your side and who is not. Coalitions.
- tell you how to “vote” on an issue. Issue bundles.
What is a party? What is an ideology?

**Parties** and **Ideologies** both . . .

- tell you who is on your side and who is not. **Coalitions**.
- tell you how to “vote” on an issue. **Issue bundles**.

**Party** is an institution created by politicians to win and exercise power.

- Work through the coalition members.
- Who you stand with determines what you think.
- Built with institutions.

**Ideology** is the result of intellectuals, activists and others arguing about what should be.

- Work through the issues.
- What you think determines who you stand with.
- Built by internalizing preferences.
Ideology can be stronger than a party
Ideology can be stronger than a party

Parties are like a bundle of sticks, as in Aesop's fable. Institutions make many people stronger than they are individually.
Ideology can be stronger than a party

**Parties** are like a bundle of sticks, as in Aesop's fable. Institutions make many people stronger than they are individually.

**Ideologies** are like a laminated board. You *can’t* untie the bundle. You need fewer institutions to hold together people who already agree.
Ideology leads parties

Ideology shapes the issue space. Then party operates on it.

- A party might have a reason it wants power.
- That reason might be an ideology.
- Ideologues want to make their ideology be the party’s purpose.
- Ideologues can influence activists, other actors within the party to force the party to go along.
- Party leaders who are indifferent on policy have reason to go along with an ideology.
Measuring Ideology
Ideological Space of Pundits

- Pundits dataset
Ideological Space of Pundits

- Pundits dataset
  - Expressed opinions of pundits from magazines and newspapers
  - Create a “roll call” matrix of preferences on issues
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- Item Response Model
  - \( n \) actor’s choices on \( k \) items.
  - NOMINATE scores for Congress.
    \textit{Thus parallel to a measure for MC’s.}
  - Bayesian estimation using MCMC
Item Response Model

Each $ij^{th}$ article is a Bernoulli trial with a probability defined by parameters for the $j^{th}$ issue and the latent traits for the $i^{th}$ pundit:

$$y_{ij} \sim F_{\text{Bernoulli}}(\pi_{ij})$$

where $\pi$, the probability of a “1” response, is a function of the $x$'s:

$$\pi_{ij} = f_{\text{logit}}(\beta_j(x_i - \alpha_j))$$

$x$ is the respondent’s ideology score.  
$\alpha$ and $\beta$ are item-specific parameters.
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Modification 1: Hierarchical model

- Hierarchical to borrow strength from pundits writing in the same publication

$$x_{i,\text{journal}} \sim (\mu_{\text{journal}}, \tau_{\text{journal}})$$
Item Response Model

The graph shows the relationship between the probability of supporting civil rights (P(Support Civil Rights)) on a linear scale ranging from left to right. The graph includes two distinct regions:

1. **Relationship Region**: This area is indicated by a red arrow and represents a positive relationship between ideology and the probability of supporting civil rights. As ideology shifts to the left, the probability of supporting civil rights increases.
2. **No Relationship Region**: This area is indicated by a blue arrow and represents a neutral relationship between ideology and the probability of supporting civil rights. The probability remains constant regardless of ideology.

The x-axis represents the left-right ideological spectrum, while the y-axis represents the probability of supporting civil rights.
Key measures

**APRE:** The Aggregate Proportional Reduction in Error measures how well the issue (or a set of issues) fits to the estimated dimension. It is the proportion of errors from a naive model (in which everyone votes the same) that are eliminated in the sophisticated model.

**Discrimination Parameters:** The fitted $\beta$’s from the model. They are how much a change in the ideological dimension relates to a change in the probability of a pro (or con) position on the issue.
Item Response Model Extensions

Modification 2: Project into same space as members of Congress

- Identify common items to bridge.
- Fix legislator’s ideal points to those from DW-NOMINATE.
- Estimate pundit ideal points in that space.
- Still use hierarchical parameters.
Item Response Model Extensions

Modification 3: Multinomial link

- Allows declining to speak to help us learn about the left and the right.

\[
P(y = \text{con}) = \frac{e^{\beta_{\text{con},j}x_i + \alpha_{\text{con},j}}}{e^{\beta_{\text{con},j}x_i + \alpha_{\text{con},j}} + e^{\beta_{\text{pro},j}x_i + \alpha_{\text{pro},j}} + e^{z_i}}
\]

\[
P(y = \text{pro}) = \frac{e^{\beta_{\text{pro},j}x_i + \alpha_{\text{pro},j}}}{e^{\beta_{\text{con},j}x_i + \alpha_{\text{con},j}} + e^{\beta_{\text{pro},j}x_i + \alpha_{\text{pro},j}} + e^{z_i}}
\]

\[
P(y = \text{abstain}) = \frac{e^{z_i}}{e^{\beta_{\text{con},j}x_i + \alpha_{\text{con},j}} + e^{\beta_{\text{pro},j}x_i + \alpha_{\text{pro},j}} + e^{z_i}}
\]
Multinomial Item Response Model
Multinomial Item Response Model

P(Support Civil Rights) | P(Oppose Civil Rights)

LEFT | RIGHT

PRO RELATIONSHIP

ANTI RELATIONSHIP

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Multinomial Item Response Model
Aggregate Fit of Item Response Model
Aggregate Fit of Item Response Model
Ideology in Congress
Ideology in Congress

1. Ideology and Party are independent forces in congressional voting
2. Ideology and Party have become more similar
3. Ideology leads that process
What does this picture mean?

81st Congress
(1949–1950)
What does this picture mean?

81st Congress (1949–1950)

RACE

ECONOMICS

Dimension 1

Dimension 2
Similarly ...

(from www.voteview.com)
and yet...

“In the three-party-system period [of Republicans, Southern Democrats and Northern Democrats], it is useful to think of a major-party loyalty dimension as defined by the axis through the space that captures party-line votes. This dimension can be thought of as ranging from strong loyalty to the Democrats to weak loyalty to either party and to strong loyalty to the Republicans. (In other periods, when party cutting lines are vertical, the horizontal dimension can be thought of as both a party-loyalty dimension and an economic dimension.) An axis perpendicular to the party-loyalty dimension would then express a liberal/conservative dimension that is independent of party loyalty. Votes with cutting lines that are on neither the party-loyalty axis nor the independent liberal/conservative axis represent votes in which legislators make a trade-off instead of voting on their liberal/conservative positions, they maintain some loyalty to their parties. Almost all votes reflect, to some degree, this type of tradeoff.” (Poole and Rosenthal 1997, pp. 45-46).
What does this picture mean?

81st Congress (1949–1950)
A Theory of Ideology and Parties

Election of the Speaker of the House
Impeachment of President
Impeachments & Investigations
Ratio of Representatives to Population
Disputed Elections to Congress
Judiciary
Supreme Court
Voting Rights
Civil Service and Patronage
Agriculture
Banking and Finance
Budget Resolution
Consumer Protection
Interstate Commerce/Trusts
Parks and Conservation
Public Lands
Public Safety
Public Works
Science and Technology
Shipping
Space
Tariffs
Tax rates
Veterans Benefits
Children
Exchange Rates
OSHA
Union Regulation
Workplace conditions
Debt ceilings
Education
Emergency Fuel Assistance
Food Stamps
Handicapped
Housing/Housing Programs/Rent Control
Minimum Wage
Price Control
Public Health
Social Security
Unemployment/Unemployment
Welfare
Abortion
Firearm
Homosexuality
Minorities (non-black)
Narcotics
Other Minorities
Peace Movements
Race
School Prayer
Women's Equality
Foreign Human Rights
Humanitarian Assistance
Military
Selective Service (The Draft)
Communism
Breeder Reactor
Energy
Environment
Nuclear Power

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1950’s Pundits projected into 1949-1950 Congress

- - - Cutting Line of Speaker Vote
- Orthogonal to Speaker Vote
- Best Fit for Pundits

- - - Cutting Line of Speaker Vote
- Orthogonal to Speaker Vote
- Best Fit for Pundits
1990’s Pundits projected into 1989-1990 Congress

- - - Cutting Line of Speaker Vote
  - Orthogonal to Speaker Vote
  - Best Fit for Pundits
1950’s Pundits projected into 81st through 106th Congress

- Orthogonal to Speaker Vote
- Best Fit for Pundits
Transformation on Race
Transformation on Race

1. Racial issues gradually became associated with ideology.
2. Ideological transformation leads party transformation.
1910: A Debate on the Left about Race

NOTE: Discrimination parameters measure the importance of an issue for the ideological dimension. As the scale of the space is arbitrary, their magnitudes are not readily comparable across models.
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Appears unrelated ...
1910: A Debate on the Left about Race

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Appears unrelated . . .

. . . but driven by the “left”
1930: The Left becomes “Liberal” on Race

ESTIMATED ISSUE DISCRIMINATION PARAMETERS

BINARY MODEL

MULTINOMIAL MODEL

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1930: The Left becomes “Liberal” on Race

Both now related . . .
1930: The Left becomes “Liberal” on Race

Both now related . . .

. . . but still driven by the “left”
1950: A Left and Right are Polarized on Race

ESTIMATED ISSUE DISCRIMINATION PARAMETERS

**BINARY MODEL**

- SEGREGATION
- CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
- ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS

**MULTINOMIAL MODEL**

- SEGREGATION
- CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
- ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS

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1950: A Left and Right are Polarized on Race

Now strongly related ...
1950: A Left and Right are Polarized on Race

ESTIMATED ISSUE DISCRIMINATION PARAMETERS

BINARY MODEL

MULTINOMIAL MODEL

Now strongly related . . .

. . . and still strongest on the “left”
20th Century re-alignment on Race

In Congress...
Ideology Precedes Party

![Graph showing ideology and party alignment over time.](Graph.png)
Recap

1. A Theory of Ideology and Parties
   - Ideology as Constraint
   - Ideology vs. Party

2. Measuring Ideology
   - Pundits in Political Publications
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3. Ideology in Congress
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4. Transformation on Race
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Why it matters

“The each party has a platform, a *prix fixe* menu of beliefs making up its worldview. The candidate can choose one of the platforms, but remember – no substitutions. For example, do you support universal health care? Then you must want a ban on assault weapons. Pro-limited government? Congratulations, you are also anti-abortion. Luckily, all human opinion falls neatly into one of these two clearly defined camps. Thus the two-party system elegantly reflects the bichromatic rainbow that is American political thought.”

– *America (The Book)*
The Daily Show with Jon Stewart