THE TEA PARTY
AND
OCCUPY WALL STREET:
THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS
IN THE AMERICAN TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

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THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE AMERICAN TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

1. Two Parties:
The U.S. has a two-party system, which affects the role of movements.

2. Ideology in History:
Ideological movements have shaped U.S. parties

3. Tea Party vs. Occupy Wall Street:
Mirror image goals, but different strategies
THE U.S. TWO-PARTY SYSTEM
Duverger’s Law:
“The simple-majority single-ballot system favors the two-party system”

Lijphart 1999, Vatter 2009
Duverger’s Law:
“The simple-majority single-ballot system favors the two-party system”

Works at the constituency level
U.S. DISPROPORTIONALITY

Top Two Parties’ Performance in U.S. House Elections

Seat Share

Aggregate Popular Vote Share

Top Two Candidate’s Performance in U.S. Presidential Elections

Electoral Vote Share

Popular Vote Share
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Liberal

ECONOMICS
Labor, intervention

SOCIAL ISSUES
Non-traditional, secular

RACE
Pro-ethnic minorities

FOREIGN POLICY
Multilateral

REPUBLICAN PARTY

Conservative

ECONOMICS
Business, free market

SOCIAL ISSUES
Traditional, religious

RACE
Color-blind

FOREIGN POLICY
Unilateral
HISTORICAL CONTEXT
PROGRESSIVES
AND THE ELECTION OF 1912

PROGRESSIVES
“Reform”
Especially economic

DEMOCRAT
WILSON

REPUBLICAN
ROOSEVELT
TAFT
PROGRESSIVES
AND THE ELECTION OF 1912

“BULL MOOSE” PROGRESSIVE
ROOSEVELT

DEMOCRAT
WILSON

REPUBLICAN
TAFT

PROGRESSIVES
“Reform”
Especially economic

Taft (R) 23.2%
Roosevelt (P) 27.4%
Wilson (D) 41.8%
Debs (S) 6.0%

} 50.6%
LIBERALS vs. CONSERVATIVES
DEMOCRATS vs. REPUBLICANS

LIBERALS
Economic justice
Race (civil rights)
anti-Vietnam War

McGOVERN
ROCKEFELLER

WALLACE
GOLDWATER

CONSERVATIVES
Reaction to liberals
Laissez faire
State’s Rights
Cold War
LIBERALS vs. CONSERVATIVES
DEMOCRATS vs. REPUBLICANS

McGOVERN  ROCKEFELLER  WALLACE  GOLDWATER
LIBERAL  CONSERVATIVE
LIBERALS vs. CONSERVATIVES
DEMOCRATS vs. REPUBLICANS

GORE  OBAMA  ROMNEY  BUSH
LIBERAL  CONSERVATIVE
1952-1954

DEMOCRATS

NORTH

LIBERALS

SOUTH

CONSERVATIVES

REPUBLICANS
THE TEA PARTY

DON'T TREAD ON ME

OCCUPY WALL STREET
THE TEA PARTY

Conservative or Right Wing
Economics focused (fighting government intervention), but not limited
Involved in elections
Taking ownership of the Republican Party

OCCUPY WALL STREET

Liberal or Left Wing
Economics focused (fighting income inequality), but not limited
Wants to reshape broader discourse
Disappointed in the Democratic Party
THE TEA PARTY

DONT TREAD ON ME

SANTELLI
BECK
PALIN
BACHMANN
DeMINT
CARENDE
KOCH
PAUL
THE TEA PARTY
RIGHT LEANING ACTIVISTS

Partisanship

Ideology

Usually vote for...

Tend to look like conservatives on abortion, gay marriage, immigration, the Iraq War, etc.

TEA PARTY IN ELECTION 2010

Tea Party Activists per District vs. Republican Vote Share

“Tea Party” affiliated Republican

Other Republican
TEA PARTY IN ELECTION 2010

Impact on GOP Two-Party Vote Share (Percentage Points)

From models in Bailey, Mummolo and Noel 2012

Estimating the effect of Tea Party measures on the Republican vote in the 2010 Midterm
Estimating the effect of Tea Party measures on the voting behavior in the 112th House

Change in Probability of Voting With Tea Party
From models in Bailey, Mummolo, and Noel 2012
OCCUPY WALL STREET
OCCUPY WALL STREET
LEFT LEANING ACTIVISTS

Tend to look like liberals on other issues.

SOURCE: Douglas Schoen Poll of 198 OWS activists, October 10, 2011
"I am not running from Occupy, I am not an Occupy candidate even though that's been used to describe me already. In fact, actually there might be a proposal tonight, …to make it clear that Occupy does not endorse candidates and if I don’t miss the vote, I'm planning to vote for that because I haven't sought the endorsement of Occupy Philadelphia and I never will. I haven’t sought the endorsement of Occupy Wall Street and I never will, though I intend to be involved in both as long as I am still welcome."

KLEINMAN
Ran unsuccessfully in the Democratic primary in Pennsylvania against incumbent Allyson Schwartz.
OCCUPY IN CONGRESS

DEUTCH

Proposed **OCCUPIED amendment**, (Outlawing Corporate Cash Undermining the Public Interest in our Elections and Democracy). Would reverse *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*

SANDERS

Proposed similar **Saving American Democracy amendment** in the Senate
THE TEA PARTY

DONT TREAD ON ME

OCCUPY WALL STREET
THANK YOU

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THE 2012 ELECTION

Presidential Vote vs. Economy, 1948-2008

Incumbent's Share of Two-Party Vote

% Change in RDI
The 2012 Election

Presidential Vote vs. Ideology, 1948-2008

Incumbent's Relative Moderation

Incumbent Party's Share of Two-Party Vote