CHAPTER 5:
IDEOLOGY RESHAPING PARTY

The previous chapter outlined the development of a strong, unidimensional ideological division among elite thinkers, pitting liberals against conservatives. This dimension emerged in the 1950s and has persisted through the 1990s, and strongly resembles the ideological divisions of today. Pundits have described two "coalitions," in the language of this book, one liberal and one conservative.

There is no reason these coalitions need to be the same as those defined by the major political parties, although today it seems they are. This chapter compares the coalitions defined by pundits with those defined by parties, and finds they are often at odds. Most importantly, the ideological coalitions that emerged in the 1950s were at odds with the prevailing partisan coalitions, but the partisan coalitions were reshaped to match the ideological coalition, in the manner in which Chapter 2 shows that ideologies can influence party coalitions.

This notion of ideological influence differs from most of the prevailing views of party position change in American political parties, which tend to focus on individual issues. Such research has the advantage of tractability, and that work necessarily delves more deeply into its issue than a comprehensive approach can. The argument here is that the important dynamics of the party system since the 1950s are not in the maneuverings on one issue or another, but in the way that all of these issues were organized by the ideological discourse before they affected the party system, as a whole.

This chapter proceeds as follows. First, it compares the organization of politics by parties to the ideological patterns introduced in the previous chapter. Since the

ideological coalition is not strong until the 1950s, section two delves more deeply into the interaction of partisan and ideological coalitions in the second half of the 20th century. We will see that the coalition defined by the intellectuals in the 1950s is adopted by the parties over the course of the next few generations. The final section then circles back to make more speculative observations about the earlier periods.

IDEOLOGICAL VS. PARTISAN ORGANIZATION:

Political parties are coalitions of interests, but where do we observe those coalitions? There are many venues in which parties induce actors to work together – among voters and among activists in nominations and in elections, among legislators, between branches and levels of government. Anywhere that political coordination is useful, parties may appear.

Some areas are less organized than others, and would be less useful to investigate. Voters, for instance, are influenced by many other factors, and who votes for a party is not the same as who benefits from it. For example, labor unions are most certainly a major part of the Democratic Party, if not its most important element. However, while union members are more likely to vote for Democrats, sizable minorities still vote Republican.[1] This is presumably because these union members care more about something else – social issues or foreign policy or immigration. Disentangling the various different identities of voters is complicated. Finally, many voters respond to fundamental background conditions, like the state of the economy or whether the United States is at war.

[1] Only 58% of respondents from union households identified with or leaned toward the Democrats in the 2004 American National Election Study.

When we say that parties are coalitions, we do not mean they are the particular groups that happened to vote for them in the most recent election, although we expect there is some relationship. Rather, we mean the issue constituencies that get what they want from government. That is to say, not who appears to help the party, but whom the party appears to help.

The approach taken here, then, is to look at the efforts of the legislature. What Congress does represents the final output of all the coalition formation efforts of the party. Attempts to influence policy by electing like-minded representatives can be successful because those representatives then fight for those policies. The long coalition is ultimately formed in the legislature, and those voting patterns thus define the coalition.

Additionally, we also have considerable data on Congressional voting patterns, and extensive measures designed to summarize those voting patterns. One natural measure is NOMINATE scores, a scaling procedure similar to that employed in the previous chapter. These scores locate legislators in a two-dimensional space, with the first dimension generally interpreted as either "liberal-conservative" ideology or alternatively as the primary partisan division between the major parties. Those two interpretations are generally not viewed as significantly at odds with one another, at least in the present period, but the argument here is that they are different.

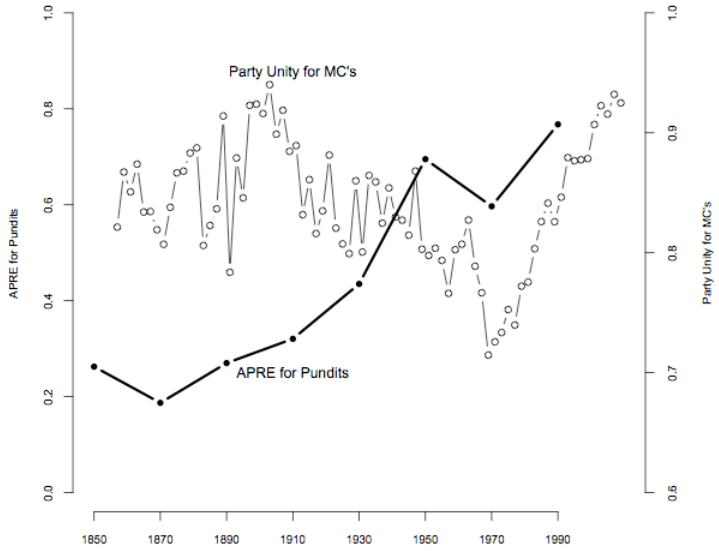
Since NOMINATE scores can be seen to absorb both ideology and party, we should also consider measures that are more closely connected to party, such as party unity scores. A party unity vote is one in which at least some threshold of Democrats (here 50 percent) vote against a similar number of Republicans. A member's party unity score is the percent of such votes on which the member votes with her party. So when most

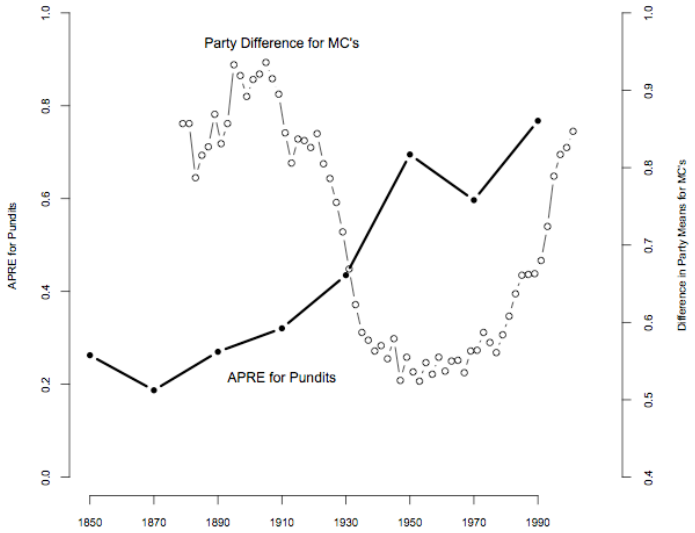
members are voting with their party, the mean party unity score will be close to 1, whereas when the parties are divided, the mean party unity score will be much lower. Other ways of tabulating the voting patterns will also be considered.

Additionally, we can consider party platforms and campaign rhetoric. These sources can supplement roll call data, but they do not allow for the richness of internal conflict that votes on the floor of Congress do.

Figure 5.1 compares the organization of issues among pundits to the organization of votes among members of the House of Representatives. It adds the trend among pundits from Figure 4.X from the previous chapter to two measures of partisan division in the House. The top panel shows the mean party unity score, and the bottom panel shows the difference between the two parties on the first dimension of NOMINATE. For members of Congress, party-line voting is common in the nineteenth century. In the early 20th century, this begins to break down, and members begin to regularly vote against their party. The parties move closer to one another around this time as well.

Figure 5.1:





The party trends do not move with the pundits. Congress is strongly organized by party in the 1800s, when the pundits are unorganized. Then, just as the pundits are beginning to organize the issue space, members of the House become increasingly less

partisan. The nadir of party organization in the House occurs as the organization among pundits plateaus. Then congress rebounds.

This pattern first of all suggests that the organization of ideology does not match that of parties. Ideologues organize their issue space independently of the way parties in Congress do. This chapter will argue as follows: Congress was organized by political parties in the late 1800s. Ideologues did not offer much in the way of a counter-organization. But as pundits began to organize the issues, this alternative way of organization disrupted the partisan divisions in Congress and began to affect legislators' voting patterns. By the 1950s and 1960s, Members of Congress faced two competing organizational frameworks – ideology and party. And they had to balance them. As a result, party voting declined and was replaced by ideological voting. But then the ideological coalitions were adopted by the parties, and we came to have the parties we see today, partisan *and* ideological.

To demonstrate this argument, we need to show two things. First, we need to show that voting patterns in Congress became organized by a competing, ideological dimension, reaching its peak in the mid-twentieth century. Second, we need to show that the parties adopt that dimension, as it is organized in the 1950s. However, since the organization of the issues by pundits is weak before the 1950s, it is hard to detect its slow emergence. It is easy to see, however, that an ideological dimension is competing with the political parties by 1950. And it is easy to see that this dimension forms the basis for party organization over the course of the following several decades. The next section will take up these tasks, before the final section circles back to look for evidence of the emergence of this dimension before 1950.

IDEOLOGY AMONG MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

The ideological division among the pundits has preceded a similar division among elected officials. Liberalism and conservatism present a rival way of organizing issues that disrupts the party division.

Our understanding of partisan divisions, and many other questions that intersect Congress, owes much to the use of NOMINATE scores. The scores reduce each member's long voting record to one or two numbers, which can then be used in conjunction with whatever measures are relevant to the researcher's question. But the meaning of the scores comes from interpretation. Strictly speaking, the scores just tell us who has similar voting records. Two legislators with similar scores are likely to vote together. Without interpretation, the model does not tell us why. So scholars use the content of the votes to help parse which issues separate which members.

Consider figure 5.2, which shows the estimated NOMINATE ideal points for the House of Representatives in the 81st Congress (1949 to 1950) and 91st Congress (1969 to 1970). In both figures, the legislators are grouped into three clusters. In the lower right are Republicans, and in the lower left are Northern Democrats. In the top middle are Southern Democrats. These clusters indicate that representatives from these three groups tend to vote together. For most of Congressional history, there are only two major clusters, representing the two major parties. Here the internal division among Democrats has become large enough that there is actually a little space between Northern and Southern Democrats.

FIGURE 5.2 HERE

We can say more about the three groups by asking which votes are separating the three groups. On some votes, Southern Democrats vote with Northern Democrats and against Republicans. On others, Southern Democrats vote with Republicans and against Northern Democrats. On some, even, Northern Democrats and Republicans vote together against Southern Democrats. And there are votes that internally split some of these groups as well – or else all Northern Democrats, for instance, would have the same ideal point.

By looking at which votes align in which way, we can try to interpret the issue space in which the three groups are situated. This issue space is defined by the options the actors have, in this case the legislative agenda, and how they respond to that space. The typical interpretation of the two dimensions in figure 5.2 is that the first dimension, on the x-axis, is "liberal-conservative ideology," while the second dimension, on the y-axis, is "race." This interpretation is offered because economic cutting lines here are often more or less perpendicular to the first dimension, while cutting lines on civil rights tend to require the second dimension.

Interpreting the space as being defined by economic policy and race is not entirely inaccurate, but it does seem to miss the fact that many other issues besides race also have cutting lines that are off the first dimension. It also suggests that the economic cutting lines tend to be vertical, while the racial cutting lines are horizontal. This is not exactly accurate.

Poole and Rosenthal thus offer a slightly more nuanced interpretation of this period, worth quoting at length (emphasis mine):

> The three-party system of the mid-twentieth century: The period from the late New Deal unto the mid-1970s saw the development of the only

> genuine three-political-party system in American history. The southern and northern Democrats may have joined together to organize the House and Senate, but as the plots of the 83rd Senate (1953-54) and the 80th House (1947-48) show, they were widely separated on the second dimension. This dimension picked up the conflict over civil rights. The approximate inclination of 45° for the two parties reflects the high degree of conservative-coalition voting (southern Democrats and Republicans vs. northern Democrats) that occurred through this period on *a wide variety of non-race related matters*.
>
> In the three-party-system period , 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 iberal/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, p. 45-46; 2007, p. 54-55).

Poole and Rosenthal's interpretation here is not inconsistent with reading the first dimension as economics and the second as race. If every vote is a tradeoff, and legislators systematically choose party over ideology when it comes to economic issues, and ideology over party when it comes to race, then that is what the space will look like. But theoretically, there is a difference. In terms of the theory articulated in Chapter 2, the "three party" system is really a period of two conflicting sets of long coalitions.

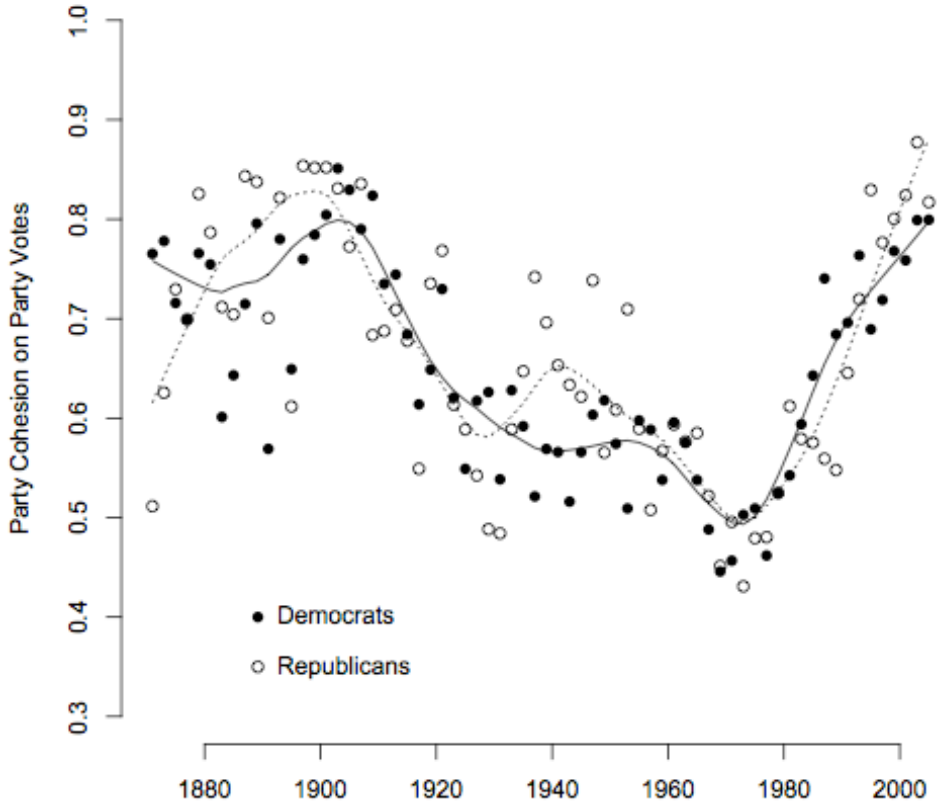
The partisan long coalitions are the Democrats and the Republicans. The Democratic coalition includes those who want the government to intervene in the economy, favor labor protections and other New Deal programs. The Republican coalition favors includes those who do not. Most southerners are in the Democratic

coalition. But the ideological long coalitions are different, as we saw in the previous chapter. The liberal long coalition includes those who care about economics, but also those who favor civil rights, and those who are skeptical of the Cold War and the Red Scare. The conservative long coalition opposes the New Deal, but also is opposed to the Civil Rights movement and is much more hawkish on the Cold War. The "conservative coalition" also persists in Congress well after the major civil rights legislation was passed in the 1960s. By the interpretation of Poole and Rosenthal, the second dimension has not been completely absorbed into the first until the mid 1980s (p. XX).

That there is a conservative coalition voting block in Congress at this time is widely understood. What is often less appreciated are two points. First, the conservative coalition is not just about Southern Democrats defecting to vote with Republicans. Many liberal Republicans also defect from their party. Party cohesion for both parties falls off in this period, as can be seen in figure 5.3. Republicans are slightly more cohesive in the early part of this period, but party cohesion is at an all time low for both by the end. There is a liberal coalition as well as a conservative one. Second, the conservative coalition is not solely about race. It is about a great number of issues, including some redistributive economic issues, as well as cultural and foreign policy issues. Southern Democrats are conservative on many of these as much as they are on race.

FIGURE 5.3 HERE[2]

[2] Party cohesion measures how much the party votes together. It is calculated as (%Aye-%Nay)/(%Aye+%Nay)

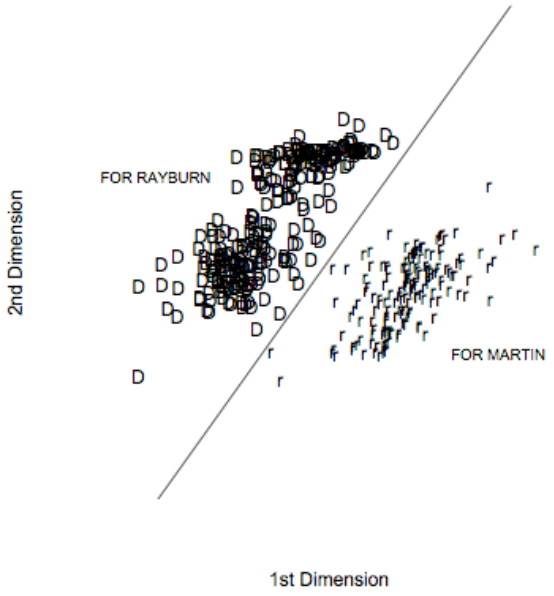


As a result, we tend to see two kinds of cutting lines dividing those who vote one way from the others in this space. Some will be party line votes, and they will be angled to slice between the two groups of Democrats and the Republicans. See for instance the first panel of figure 5.4 which is the vote to elect "Mr. Democrat" Samuel Rayburn as Speaker of the House in 1949, over Republican Joseph Martin. This is a perfect party line vote, and it separates Republicans from Democrats. Others are ideological, and they will tilt in the opposite direction, dividing Northern Democrats from everyone else. This is illustrated in the second panel of figure, which shows the vote in 1965 to create Medicare. (See also the vote on public employee wages mentioned in Appendix A4.)

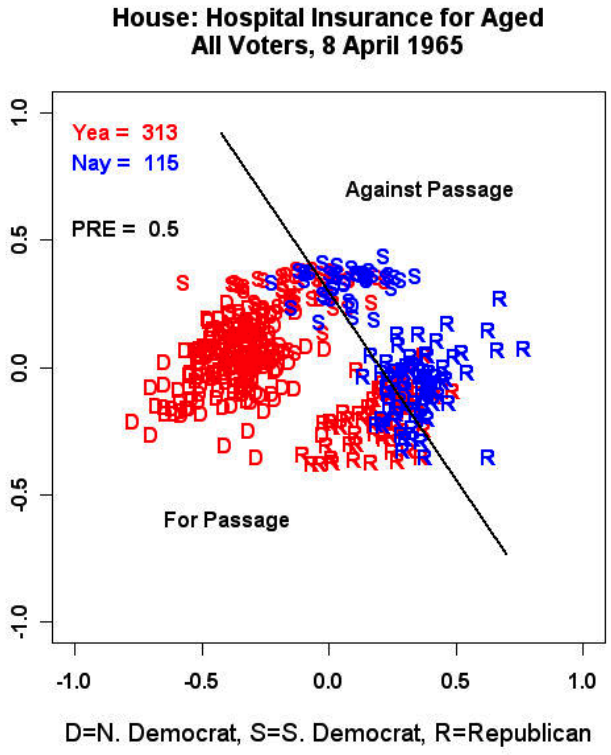
Here, the bill is supported by Northern Democrats, some Southern Democrats and some Republicans, and opposed by some Southern Democrats and some Republicans.

FIGURE 5.4

Panel 1



Panel 2



Note that Republicans are as divided over Medicare as much as Democrats are. Across the many issues, the Democrats are more frequently divided on perfect regional lines. The spread of Republican ideal points across the space represents a good deal of disagreement between the liberal and conservative wings of the party.

It might be useful to consider an analogy to the setting of educational testing, where item response models like NOMINATE have been most widely used. Your SAT or GRE score was calculated in a way comparable to the method used here to compute ideology scores. When you answer a question correctly, it is like voting on a bill in the way that conservatives (say) view as correct. Instead of simply tallying up the number correct, the item response model estimates how difficult (conservative) the question is, and how well it separates those who have the aptitude it is trying to measure (are conservative) from those who do not (are liberal).

In the context of educational testing, the underlying dimension being measured is student ability, and the items are test questions instead of votes. Often, these tests are divided into verbal and math components, which are scored separately. But students' scores on the Math SAT and the Verbal SAT, for example, are correlated with one another. High performing students tend to do well on both, but some students do perform better on one or another. If we chose to pool the answers to the Verbal and Math SAT and recover a single underlying dimension, that "first" dimension would be a combined quality score. If we then went to recover a second dimension, that dimension would differentiate between those who do better on math than on the verbal section. (The second dimension might also pick up other patterns across the questions.)

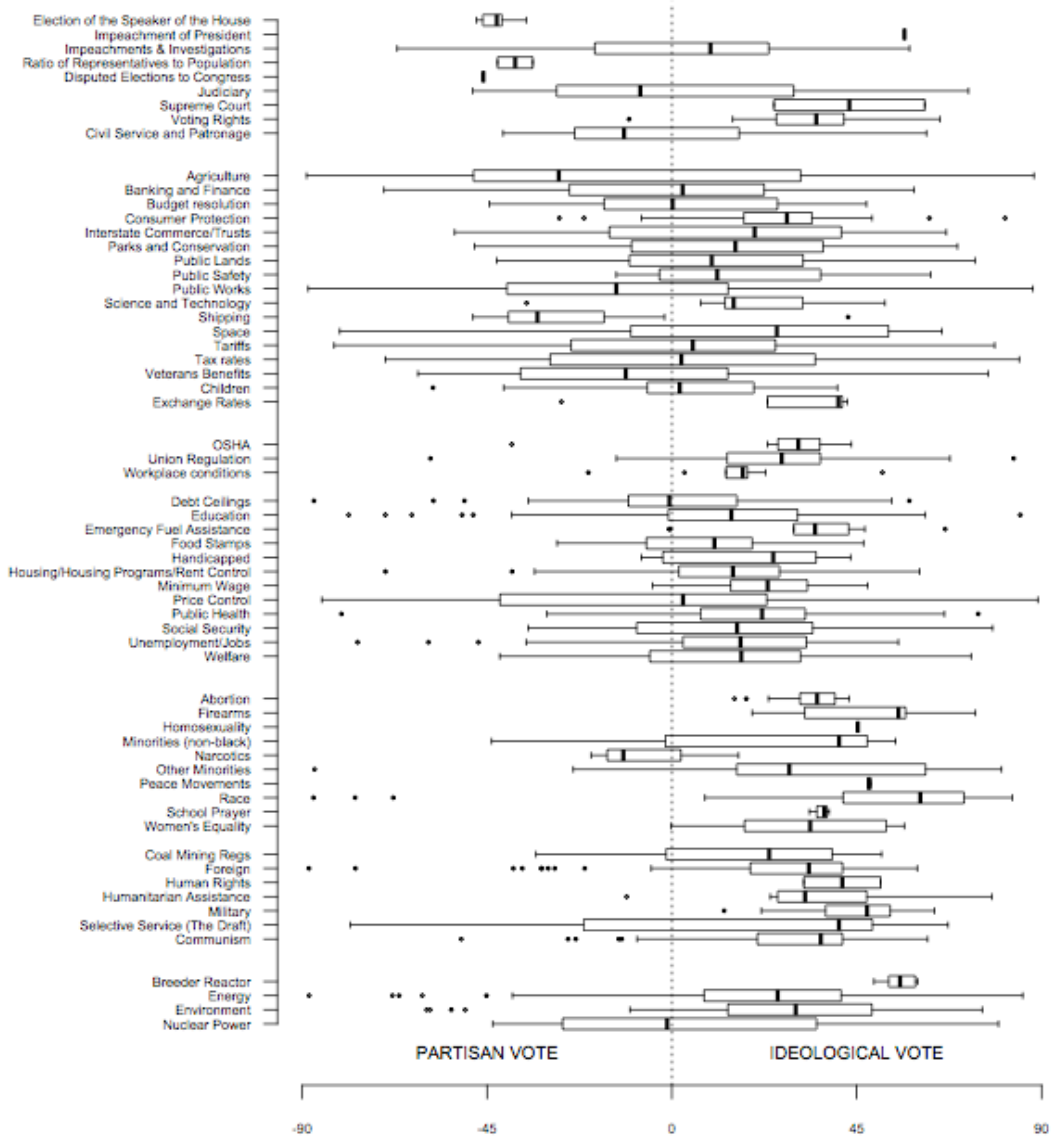
The first dimension of a multidimensional scale on congressional voting is the dimension that best captures the combined influences of ideology and party, which are correlated with one another. The second dimension measures the points of disagreement in the conflict between ideology and party.

In this sense, use of the first dimension of NOMINATE is not necessarily a problem for researchers not interested in teasing out the differences between these various influences. In the period since 1990, when ideology and party are highly related to one another, their combined influence may be an appropriate measure. It also appears that, since 1990, the first dimension closely maps the ideological dimension, while party is slightly on the second (see below). In the 1800s, when ideology does not appear to exert a strong counter-organization to that of political parties, then the party-organized division is all that matters.

This book, however, has aimed at understanding the role of ideology in shaping preferences independently of party, so it is necessary to attempt to tease out these differences. To that end, it matters whether the issue splits Democrats from Republicans, as in the upper panel of Figure 5.4, or liberals from conservatives, as in the lower panel of Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.5 compares the distribution of the angles of the cutting lines for a variety of issue areas from 1940 to 1980, representing the main era in which ideology and parties are cross-cutting. An angle that was perfectly vertical would be at 0 degrees. Those with positive angles lean toward the right and divide the two parties. Those with negative angles lean the other direction and divide liberals from conservatives.

Figure 5.5 HERE[3]



Looking across Figure 5.5, the majority of issue areas tend to have ideological votes. The election of the Speaker of the House and some other governing issues at the top of the figure are unambiguously partisan votes. Decisions about the Supreme Court and voting rights are ideological. A wide variety of general workload votes also tend to be either partisan or at least mixed. These include tax rates and budget resolutions, which

[3] Smaller figure with fewer boxes perhaps TK.

we might expect to be ideological today. But most other economic issues are ideological, including various welfare program votes and labor votes. Cultural votes like race, but also immigration, women's rights and abortion are all ideological, as are most foreign policy votes. The "conservative coalition" division was about much more than race.

And yet it was closely related to region. Conservatives among Democrats were mostly from the South, and liberals among Republicans are largely but not exclusively from the Northeast. This pattern persists after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but dissipates somewhat, as the solid Democratic South dissipates. It is for this reason that we tend to associate the conservative coalition with a regional conflict. And in many ways it was. But there is no reason that ideology cannot derive, in part, from region as much as a political party can. Ideology is about tying together ideas, including ideas that derive from regional cultures. Many of the elements of southern culture are deeply related to modern conservatism (Lowndes 2008). Conservative ideologues deliberately integrated racial arguments into economic arguments, as we shall see in Chapter 6. It is no surprise that region played a role in the connection of these ideas to one another.

Finally, and most importantly, the "conservative coalition" division was organized outside the legislature, and outside party system. It is not simply that the liberal-conservative dimension has many issues on it. It is common to note that one or another issue does not match the primary dimension. For instance, Poole and Rosenthal (1991) examine the relationship of the minimum wage to the NOMINATE space, and note that it had been a significant cross-cutting issue, but that over time becomes associated with the first dimension. They make a similar argument about civil rights issues and

abortion. This is true, but it is also true that all three of these issues – as well as most of the issues with positive cutting lines in figure 5.5 – are all associated with each other among pundits first, and then are absorbed, over the course of several decades, into the party system.[4]

This is not just a set of ill-fitting issues. They do not fit the first dimension of NOMINATE (and certainly not the party system), but they do fit *each other*. The issues along this dimension, at an angle through the first and second dimensions, represent ideology as it was organized by pundits outside of government. This is exactly the primary dimension as defined by pundits in 1950 (and 1970 and 1990 as well).

As important as this ideological dimension is, however, ideology is clearly not the only force organizing Congress at this time. The ideological dimension is consistently organizing a vast swath of issues, but Democrats and Republicans are estimated to have very divergent ideal points in the nominate space. The issues that define this dimension most obviously strictly partisan – the election of the Speaker of the House, votes on contested elections, civil service and another partisan matters. Procedural matters also tend to break on party lines (e.g. Cox and McCubbins 1993, Den Hartog and Monroe 2006, Theriault 2006, Lee 2010). Conservative Democrats vote with liberal Democrats, and likewise liberal and conservative Republicans, because the votes are about the parties. Other issues that have more substantive character and are often on the partisan dimension include budget resolutions and other matters that are very related to the business of governing. Ideologues may have opinions about the levels of spending, for

[4] Generally, this process happens for all of these issues more or less together, but there are some issues of timing. Abortion as an issue is introduced to ideology later than civil rights, but it too is first organized by ideology and then by the party. See chapter 6.

instance, but budgets are bargained out through the party system. They include exactly those logrolls that parties are meant to manage. Ideology can tell you that you want the total budget to be low, and it might even tell you which programs to support, but it can't always tell you how to vote on a compromise across those various issues. Such compromises can occur on any number of issues, but they are especially likely on these omnibus measures.

This observation wades into the well-worn debate in the literature, discussed in previous chapters, on parties versus preferences (e.g. Aldrich, et al. 1999, Bawn 1998, Brady and Epstein 1997, Cox and McCubbins 1993, 2005, Krehbiel 1993, Lawrence, et al. 1999, Lee 2010, Marshall 1999, McCarty 1999, Schickler 1997, Sinclair 1995, 2000, Smith 2000, Snyder 2000, Stewart 1999). Some argue that political parties exert little influence on members' voting behavior, beyond perhaps helping us distinguish between liberals and conservatives since most Democrats are liberal and most Republicans are conservative. Party pressure, on this view, means that a member votes differently than they would have absent party pressure. Those who claim that party does have an effect have observed that member's NOMINATE scores shift when they change parties (McCarty, Poole and Rosenthal 2001), or when they are estimated in the cases where there is less party pressure (Snyder and Groseclose 2000), and that partisan division exists on voters where ideology is unlikely to be implicated (Lee 2010).

This happens because parties are a way of organizing politics, at times at odds with ideology. Just as ideology has organized issues into two long coalitions, so too has the party system. Southern Democrats know they differ from their Northern co-partisans

on a lot, but they also are in a coalition that organizes logrolls and competes for office. They have strong attachments to the Democratic Party institutions.

The interpretation offered here is further evidence that ideology and party are distinct forces, and that parties exert influence beyond ideology. If we interpret the NOMINATE space as merely preferences, then we have to account for the party votes by saying that Southern and Northern Democrats have the same preference for the logroll that the Democrats have put together, or for electing a Speaker who is nominally a Democrat, even though that Speaker may disagree with them on many issues. The effect of party, in the interpretation offered here, is measured by channel between the two parties that separates one group of liberals-to-conservatives from another group of liberals-to-conservatives, as defined by the ideological dimension running from the lower left to the upper right in the NOMINATE space.

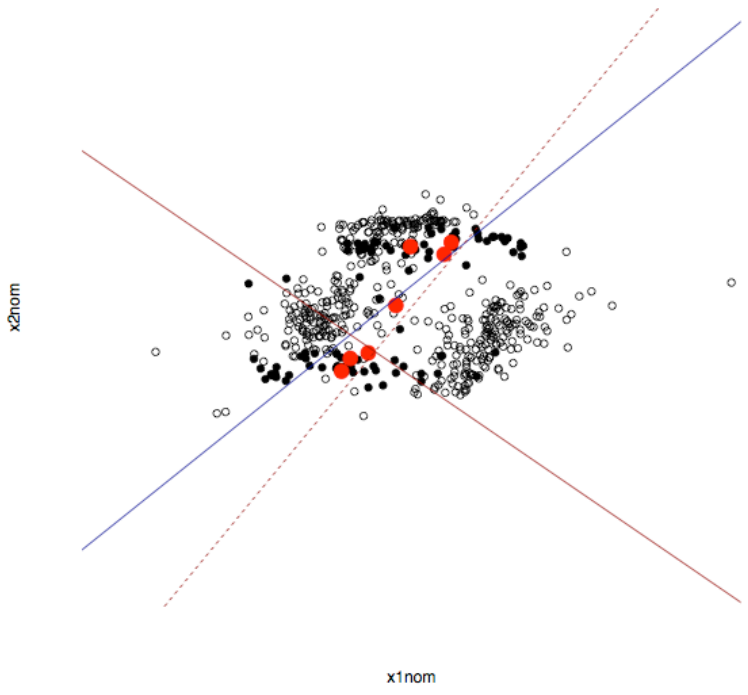
Putting Pundits in the Space

This ideological dimension is exactly the dimension defined by the pundits outside the legislature. The pundits are not cross-cut by a partisan division, because they are not subject to any partisan loyalties. To see just how well the ideological dimension defined by the pundits fits this ideological dimension, we can project the pundits into the issue space defined by Congress. To do so, I identify votes that match, as much as possible, to opinions expressed by the pundits. So, for example, when a pundit says he is in favor of labor unions, then he is presumed to vote aye on a vote for regulations protecting labor unions. In many cases, this means making a judgment call about what

counts as a connection, but it is similar to other attempts to bridge different samples to estimate a common space (CITES ; See appendix 4A for more details).

Figure 5.6 puts pundits from the 1950s sample into the NOMINATE space for the 81st Congress (1949-1950). As with members of Congress, there is considerable noise spreading the pundits around. The majority are clustered either among the liberal Northern Democrats or nestled into the "conservative coalition," with the Southern Democrats. Each cluster defines a pole of the ideological dimension. The hierarchical parameters for the journals are depicted as larger dots, and they define an almost perfect line along the ideological dimension.

FIGURE 5.6



In addition to addition the locations of the pundits, Figure 5.6 includes a dotted line for the cutting line of the vote to elect the Speaker of the House. A solid line is

presented orthogonal to that line, showing what would be the party dimension. Another solid line summarizes the ideological dimension. It is the orthogonal regression line through the pundit ideal points. The angle of this ideological dimension is almost exactly as Poole and Rosenthal describe it. The pundits are generally estimated to be a little more to the left than we might expect, but in general, this figure confirms that ideology, in 1950, was pretty much orthogonal to party as an organizing principle in Congress. And that dimension was as it was defined by contemporary pundits.

We can do the same thing for 1970 and 1990, which are in Figures 5.7 and 5.8. In the 91st Congress (1969-1970), the pundits are more spread over the first dimension, and the line through them is largely on that first dimension. The parties themselves have rotated in the space, so that the channel running between the two parties is now even less on the first dimension. By the 101st Congress (1989-1990), the pundits are generally on the first dimension, while the parties have rotated back. Now the difference between the party dimension and the ideology dimension has shrunk.

Figure 5.7

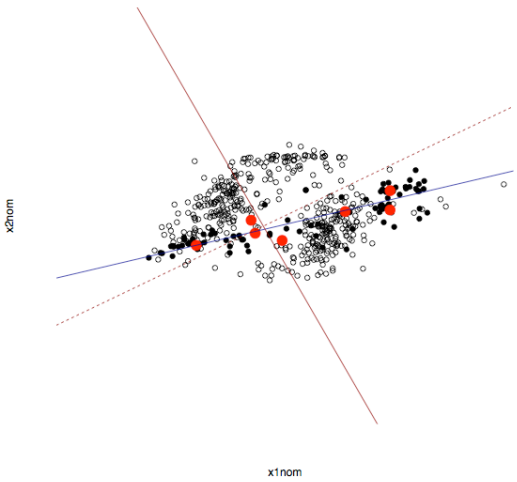
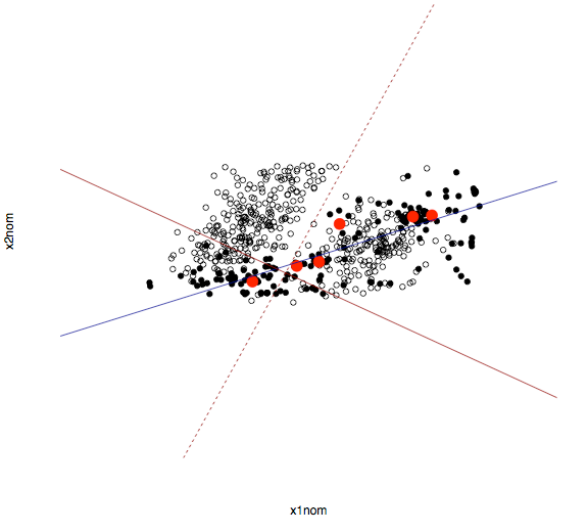


Figure 5.8



This, too, is not very surprising, because we know that more and more issues have become associated with the first dimension over time. And if we interpret these off-dimensional issues as "ideology," there, too, we know that the parties have become more distinct ideologically. That is, the ideological dimension and the party dimension have collapsed into one dimension that more or less measures both. The argument here is more specific. I claim that the parties have adopted the coalition defined by ideologues. The parties have collapsed into the ideological dimension, not the other way around. The first dimension in the 101st Congress is not merely the dimension as defined by pundits in 1990. It is the dimension defined by pundits *earlier*, which the parties have had to respond to.

To make this claim, we need to compare not only contemporary pundits, but earlier pundits. Just as we can project the pundits from contemporary periods into Congress by identifying common items, so too can we project pundits into different time periods.

This requires an even greater assumption: that the votes that come up on labor regulations or civil rights in the 1990s are analogous to the issues debated by pundits in the 1950s. In some cases, it is reasonable to make this claim, but as with all bridging exercises, and the links here are no more onerous than those made by other bridging attempts in the literature (e.g. Bailey 2007, Bailey and Malzman 2008, Shor, Berry and McCarty 2010, Bonica 2010, Masket and Noel 2012).

Figure 5.9 shows the projection of 1950s pundits into the House of Representatives for four Congresses, the 81st (1949-1950), the 91st (1969-1970), the 101st (1989-1990) and the 106th (1999-2000). The space has been rotated in each case so

that the ideological dimension is horizontal, so that we can see the parties rotate with respect to the fixed pundit space. Over the course of the last part of the 20th Century, the party divide has rotated to come into increasing alignment with the ideological space. But not completely. Even in the most recent Congress, the parties are at an angle, and a perfect partisan vote is at some slight angle to the first dimension. By and large, the party system has aligned itself to the ideological division developed in the 1950s.

We can repeat this exercise for pundits from other periods. If the party system is shifting to match ideology, then it should follow the pundits from 1970 and 1990 as well. The left panel of Figure 5.10 plots the angle between the party dimension (defined by the Speaker election vote), and the ideology dimension (defined by the pundits), projecting 1950, 1970 and 1990 into the NOMINATE space, going forward. The angle drops off considerably between the 1970 and 1990 Congresses, just when we would expect.

The alternative, however, is that the ideological dimension is rotating in part toward the party dimension. We could check that by holding Congress fixed and projecting into it future pundits. If the pundits are responding to the parties, they should move toward it. It is possible that both modes of organization are moving toward one another. That is not what we see in the right panel of Figure 5.10, which compares the angle of the future pundits in the 81st and 91st Congresses. The pundits in 1970 and 1990 fit into the NOMINATE space in 1950 much the same as the pundits from 1950 do.

The traditional way of interpreting the collapse of the issue space in Congress is to say something like the first dimension "absorbed" the off-dimensional issues. As a mathematical matter, that is not inaccurate. If we interpret the off-dimensional issues as an ideological dimension that was at times at odds with the partisan dimension, however,

then we could also say that the first dimension has "absorbed" both the party and ideology dimensions. But the most accurate description would be that the ideological dimension has reoriented and largely absorbed the party dimension. Even in the most recent Congresses, the party divisions are at a slight angle. But the separation between the parties makes this a less important division. There may be some votes that define a small difference between the party division and the ideological division, but the organization of the parties is largely complementary to that of ideology today.

This chapter has so far claimed that two competing organizing principles operated on the U.S. Congress in the middle part of the 20th Century, and that eventually, the ideological one overpowered the partisan one. I argue that this is inevitable, because the ideological coalition pervades political activists and other political relevant actors. The organizational framework of the Congress also matters. Perhaps the best explanation of this mechanism comes from Rohde (1991), who argues that the Democratic Party reorganized the rules of the House in response to increasing homogeneity among them. As more and more liberal Democrats were elected to Congress, they began pressuring their leadership to reorganize the chamber to enable them to pass laws, sidestepping more senior but now less numerous conservative Southern Democrats in the process.

The results in this chapter add context to Rohde's argument. It is not simply that the Democratic caucus shifted to the left in this period. It was reorganized around the ideological coalition, which included issues that the New Deal coalition did not address. Those who were part of the old coalition had to be defeated. It is not simply that the newcomers decided to seize power. They found themselves fundamentally at odds with a

part of their own party coalition, and so one of the two had to win. Ideology is too strong of a force for the party to attempt to continue to paper it over.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS WITHOUT IDEOLOGY:

The preceding section demonstrated that ideology, as defined in 1950, has remade congressional parties in its own image. But where did it come from? Projecting the pundits into the Congress space is labor intensive, relying on careful classification of votes. It does not make much sense to do this exercise where the ideology among the pundits is not well-defined. We can look at the activity within Congress for other evidence of a unified, cross-cutting coalition before the liberal-conservative one emerged. There is little such evidence. The issues that define a progressive division do not seem to systematically define a particular rival dimension within the NOMINATE space.

Notably, there is no period in the post-war era in which the majority of the cutting angles for votes in Congress are so at odds with the division between the parties. Some issues do cross-cut the party space before the mid-1900s. Poole and Rosenthal (1997, 2001) trace the nature of several issues as they relate to the first dimension of NOMINATE. They find that many issues that were cross-cutting in one period are "absorbed" into the first dimension later on. These include abortion and the minimum wage, which are among those I argued in the previous section were united into a common ideological dimension, contrary to party. What about the others? Debates on currency and prohibition, for instance, also were second-dimensional and then later were absorbed. And these issues were also ideological issues, to the extent that ideology organized issues in the 1800s. Do they represent ideological influence on Congress?

It is not clear. Certainly these issues were not well organized into a common ideological dimension before they were organized in Congress. Explanations that focus on their independent relationship to the party-defined policy space are probably reasonable.

Consider the currency issue, which was among the most important among ideologues in the late 1800s. The parties resisted the currency issue throughout the period, and so votes on it tend to be off-dimensional. They are part of what helps to define the second dimension in this period. They do not appear to represent a larger economic ideological dimension. Many other economic issues, notably the tariff, among the most important in the period, do divide the parties. Instead, what most unites the various cross-cutting divisions in the previous period is region. This regional divisions does not shape a well-defined ideology, like the liberal-conservative division that included but was not limited to the South.

On its own, the currency issue might still have reshaped the parties in the way that ideology did after the 1950s. Bimetallism did, eventually, become a signature issue for Democratic nominee William Jennings Bryan in 1896. But even that association was short-lived. More accurately, the parties bounced back and forth on the issue throughout the late 19th century, trying their best to avoid it.

And yet congressional voting in this period is incredibly structured. Party cohesion is volatile in the latter part of the 1800s (see Figure 5.1, above), but it increases to reach one of its peaks around 1900. This is right in the middle of the progressive era, when the intellectual organization of politics was much more disorganized. How did the parties manage this level of control?

A big part of the answer is strong party leadership. Rep. Thomas Brackett Reed, (R-Maine), was elected Speaker of the House in the 51st Congress (1889-1890), and quickly set out to use the position to control the chamber. Before Reed, dilatory motions an other practices, like the disappearing quorum, allowed the minority to prevent the passage of legislation it objected to. Within the first few weeks of his speakership, Reed began practicing and then had formally adopted a series of rules that empowered the Speaker to ignore or overpower dilatory practices. Reed quickly used that power to pass, over the objections of minority Democrats, a tariff bill and a bill enforcing the voting rights allowed for in the 15th Amendment.[5]

The cross-cutting issue of silver threatened those bills in the Senate. There, pro-silver Republicans insisted on a vote first on a free silver measure, which would have required the government to mint silver. They might also have traded away support for the voting rights bill for southern support for free silver. To prevent this, Reed and other Republican leaders sought to placate their silver faction with the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which required the purchase of silver included a few other nods to bimetallism, without actually upending the gold standard. Reed also had to sacrifice the Force Bill.

The compromise succeeded in preventing the issue from breaking apart Reed's Republican coalition. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act passed both chambers by a party line vote. By this sort of maneuvering, Reed was able to keep his party together, even against important cross-cutting cleavages. And these cleavages cross-cut each other as well. Unlike the conservative coalition in the late 20th century, currency was not

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[5] This section draws on Williams (1978), Poole and Rosenthal (1997), Ritter (1997), Koger (2010) …

organized into a common alternative framework with every other regional and cross-cutting issue. Reed and the Republican leadership had to arrange a logroll on the silver issue to keep the party from splitting, but they could do so because the likely cleavages were not uniform.

Leadership continued to play a role into the Progressive Era. Republican Joseph Gurney Cannon served as Speaker of the House from 1903 to 1911, and like Reed he used his powers to prevent schisms within his party, notably his position as chair of the Rules Committee. His primary concern was to prevent the growing progressive faction of Republicans from enacting policy. He kept progressives out of committee seats and controlled the legislative agenda.

Strong party leadership makes it difficult to detect cross-cutting ideological patterns in the voting records of Congress. Votes that would split the majority party do not come to the floor (Cox & McCubbins 2005), and other methods of party discipline can keep likely defectors in line. Voting records reflect this, giving the impression of a great deal more agreement among partisans than may have occurred.

At the same time, it is probably not the case that all of the organization in Congress is due to explicit partisan pressure. There existed among partisans a commitment to the program of their party, and there were real differences between the party platforms. Gerring (1998) identifies a coherent agenda for both parties throughout American history, and partisan actors would have identified with it.[6] There is just not overwhelming evidence that these differences were created in – or even echoed by – the language of political commentators at the time.

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[6] Gerring calls these agendas "ideologies," but this usage does not match the distinctions I have drawn in Chapter 2.

Progressive ideology and the party system

There was an underlying tension within at least the Republican Party, toward the end of the period. This progressive movement marks the beginning of something that might seem to be an ideological organization of issues that cross-cut the parties. As discussed in chapter 4, progressivism had a great many internal divisions, so it is not surprising that we do not see overwhelming evidence of a progressive organization within Congress. The one thread that began to emerge in the 1910s was an economic dimension. This economic division occurs at the same time that the Republican Party was most successfully disrupted by its progressive wing. Progressive Republicans, uniting with Democrats, led a revolt against Speaker Cannon in 1910, stripping him of some of his most significant powers. Cannon lost his bid for re-election that that year, ending his reign as Speaker. (Cannon was later elected again and served in the House but not as Speaker until 1922). (CITES)

There is only scant evidence of a progressive dimension emerging in Congress at this time. The progressive Republicans who led the revolt against Cannon do tend to have similar NOMINATE scores, and they are clustered with high measures on the second dimension. They also tend to vote with the Democrats more often, even on other issues, suggesting the beginning of a new Progressive cross-cutting cleavage. However, the handful of members elected to Congress from the Progressive Party, over the next few years, tend to have ideal points in the center of the space, but otherwise distributed along the second dimension. Economic issues are reliably on the first dimension throughout this period, according to Poole and Rosenthal.

Outside of Congress, however, there is ample evidence that the growing Progressive movement reshaped the party system. The movement was diverse in its goals, but its economics-oriented core did peel off many Republicans, first into a third party, and eventually establishing the Democratic Party as the home of progressivism.

More importantly, the element of the Progressivism that became attached to the Democratic Party over this period concerns the role of the state. Democrats had favored the "people" for some time. Even before the populism of Bryan, the party had favored farmers and laborers. But this meant small-government policies. The major Republican policies were the tariff, which intervened in the economy, and extensive government spending for internal improvements. These policies, following their Whig predecessors, used the power of government to aid businesses and build the economy. In his analysis of Republican Party platforms, Gerring argues that the Republican Party consistently upheld the power of the government to regulate through what he calls its "National Epoch." (1828-1924). The Democratic Party, on the other hand, viewed much of this power as advantaging the haves and not hard-working farmers and other workers. Gerring characterizes the Republican attitude toward the state as "neo-mercantilism," which mandates "the subordination of economic activity to the interests of the state and the nation." These interests were often defined in terms of growing businesses and so government interventions were not designed to prevent businesses from doing harm, but to aid them in their growth. It is nevertheless natural that the Progressive movement might expect to find a home among the Republicans who understood that the state could be used to steer the economy.

But the Progressive use of the state was different. As we saw in the previous chapter, however, thinkers as early as Lester Ward in the 1880s began to argue that state power could and should be used to advantage the less well off. Herbert Croly popularized this position in his *The Promise of American Life* (1909), and later in *the New Republic*. Support for government intervention in the economy is among the elements of the economic dimensions that begin to be associated with the "left" in the 1910 pundit data. ("Progressives" favor government intervention in the 1890 data as well, but the discrimination parameter for that issue is not statistically significant.)

It is hard to distinguish this development among politicians from its development among intellectuals. Certainly the idea that the state could be a friend of the less well off instead of his enemy is articulated by Ward before it becomes central to the populist elements of the Democratic Party. Since the economic ideological cleavage is not dominant among the pundits before 1910, we cannot say with confidence from these data that it was organized outside the party system, as we can with the liberal-conservative division in the 1950s. But it is clear that progressivism itself was not the creature of the political parties, since the parties' dominance of politics was at least one element of the movement. That strain within Progressivism, at the very least, was not first shaped by parties.

What is clear is that a progressive element cross-cut the parties and eventually reshaped them. The struggle began within the dominant Republican Party. The revolt against Cannon in 1910 was the first major blow. Next was the revolt against incumbent president William Howard Taft at the Republican national convention. Progressives supportive of former president Theodore Roosevelt were sent to the convention in the

first widespread use of primaries for convention delegates. While Roosevelt won 9 of 12 states' primaries, and Taft won only one (Wisconsin Senator and fellow progressive Robert M. La Follette won the other two), most delegates were still selected directly by state party conventions. These overwhelmingly backed Taft, and Taft won the nomination.

Progressive delegates bolted the convention, and reconvened to nominate Roosevelt as the Progressive Party candidate. The split was surely in part about ego, as many things in politics are. But there were clear policy divisions as well, particularly in the area of disrupting business trusts. That is, the progressive economic ideology that appears to be emerging in the 1910s was central to their dispute. The conservative or "Old Guard" wing of the Republican Party was less supportive.

With Roosevelt running as a "Bull Moose" Progressive, the 1912 election featured three major party candidates, Taft, Roosevelt and Democrat Woodrow Wilson. All three candidates, however, claimed the Progressive mantle. And not only because "progressivism" could mean so many things. All three candidates supported the 16th Amendment, which gave Congress the power to collect an income tax, and Taft had been central to efforts to create the income tax. Taft had also worked to break up monopolies, just not enough to have satisfied Roosevelt.

With popular Roosevelt drawing away Republican votes, Taft stood little chance of re-election. The contest pitted Roosevelt against Wilson, and the campaign presented two different visions of progressivism. Roosevelt's, termed "The New Nationalism," was far more interventionist. Wilson's, "The New Freedom," depended much more on individualism. In this way, the role of the state is consistent with that of the earlier period.

Both The New Nationalism and The New Freedom were oriented toward progressive goals, including breaking up trusts, but Wilson's approach leaned heavily on laissez faire notions, rather than the statist intervention of Roosevelt.

After his election, Wilson gradually shifted policy in the direction of Roosevelt's approach. Wilson attempted to implement his original vision, but was pressured from various more progressive reformers in and outside his administration. Trust-regulating policy was reoriented toward the New Nationalism, for instance. Still, Wilson never completely embraced The New Nationalism, and near the end of his first term, he declared in a public letter that most of the progressive goals were accomplished, despite the feeling to the contrary from most of the movement (Link 1954).

The Republican Party, meanwhile, began to abandon its attachment to statism. Gerring (1998) identified 1928 as a break point in the ideologies that were adopted by the Republican Party. After that date, the Republican Party entered its "Neoliberal Epoch," in which it embraces a laissez faire approach. By this point, according to Gerring, the party has also eliminated many of its progressive elements. While some progressive elements lingered in the party for years to come, the heart of progressivism was no longer in the Republican Party.

By the election of Franklin Deleno Roosevelt in 1932, the transformation is almost complete. Progressives served as advisors to Roosevelt, encouraging him to adopt progressive policies in response to the Great Depression. The response of Roosevelt's predecessor Herbert Hoover, had included some government interventions. And Roosevelt's initial response also included some less interventionist methods. By the end

of Roosevelt's first term, however, the attitudes of the parties on statist interventions had switched.

Progressivism thus reshaped the party coalitions, but not in the way that liberalism and conservatism would later reshape them after the 1950s. Progressive reformers pressured both parties, and they succeeded in taking control of the Democratic Party. But they did not do so by constructing a wholly new coalition around the issues. Their success focused on one set of issues, using the state to aid the less fortunate.

This mechanism sounds somewhat like that coalition maintenance described by Karol (2009). Karol argues, consistent with the argument in this book, that parties are coalitions of interests. When what is in the interests of one interest change, the party will change its policy positions to match. The agricultural and working classes whom the Democratic Party once served had been advantaged by a weak government, since government power had largely been used to support business interests. As government power could be redirected to help the less wealthy, the party changed on this.

Key to this change, however, is the argument that the government could be used to help the less fortunate. This argument did not come from labor union halls or fields, even if activists there may have felt it. It was articulated by early progressive thinkers, whose ideas were eventually adopted. It became central to the ideological divide in the country first, before the parties sorted on it. This is not the wholesale adoption of a new coalition, but it is the influence of a particular ideological idea, and the one that formed the core of the liberal ideological package.

That package later came to absorb racial and other social reforms, as well as a new view on foreign policy. This chapter has focused on the aggregate relationship

between ideology and party coalitions. The next chapter gives the issue of race a closer look, as well as looking at patterns in a few other issues.