

Political Parties and Congressional Leadership

17.251

Fall 2016

Lecture Organization

- Natural history of political parties in the U.S.
- Why do parties exist?
 - What explains varying levels of party cohesion
 - When are leaders “strong” and when are they “weak”?

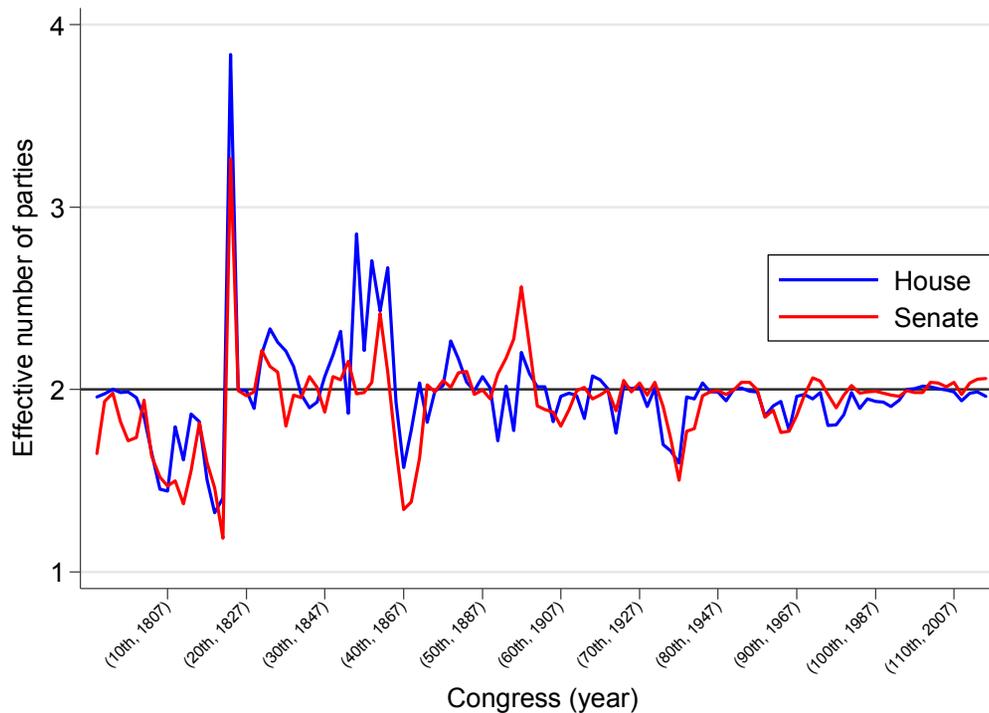
Interesting (and Important) Historical Aside

- Party membership originally arose in the chamber and spread to the electoral arena
- Now, party membership arises in the electoral arena and spreads to the institution
- Post-Gingrich world puts the emphasis back into institutions

Natural History of Political Parties

Period	Party of the “right”	Party of the “left”
1789—1823 (1 st —17 th Cong.)	Federalists	Republicans
1823—1837 (18 th —24 th Cong.)	Multifactionalism based on old party labels & new individual alliances	
1837—1857 (25 th —34 th Cong.)	Whigs	Democrats
1857—present (35 th —115 th Cong.)	Republicans	Democrats

Effective number of parties (Figure 7.1, revised to 2017)



114th/115th Cong:

Senate

44/46D

54/52R*

2/2I

House

186/193D

246/242R*

*Assuming LA
(3 vac. in 114th)

Current Organization of Congress

- Party responsibilities
 - Scheduling business
 - Distributing leadership among and within committees
 - Promoting attendance and spreading information
 - Facilitate bargaining
- Resources that parties possess
 - Knowledge of rules
 - Access to tangible benefits
 - Provide focal points (?)

Some notes about historical development

- Party control
 - Until roughly the Civil War, parties don't "organize" the chambers
 - After the Civil War, they do (first the House, then the Senate)
 - Even so, party control of committees is a 20th century phenomenon
- Over time formal party positions have proliferated and institutionalized
 - Institutionalization mostly a 20th century phenomenon

Note some things about historical development

- Regional/ideological balancing
- Emergence of career ladder

Regional balancing: House

	1965 (89 th Cong.)					2015 (114 th Cong.)			
Dems	Leader	St.	Prev.	dwnom.		Leader	St.	Prev.	dwnom.
Speaker/ Min. leader	John McCormack	MA	Maj. Leader	-.301/ .367		Nancy Pelosi	CA	Min. whip	-0.393
Maj. Leader/ min. whip	Carl Albert	OK	Maj. Whip	-0.381/ 0.603		Steny Hoyer	MD	Rank-and-file	-0.316
Reps									
Min. leader/ Speaker	Gerald Ford	MI	“Young Turk”	0.238/ -0.568		Paul Ryan	WI	Ways & Means	0.552
Min. whip/ Maj. Leader	Leslie Arends	IL	Rank-and-file	0.248/ -0.341		Kevin McCarthy	OH	Maj. Whip	0.666

Rare Wikipedia recommendation:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Party_leaders_of_the_United_States_House_of_Representatives

Regional balancing: Senate

	1965 (89 th Cong.)					2015 (114 th Cong.)			
Dems	Leader	St.	Prev.	dwnom.		Leader	St.	Prev.	dwnom.
Maj./min. leader	Mike Mansfield	MT	Maj. Whip	-0.440 / 0.556		Harry Reid	NV	Min. whip	-0.428
Maj./min. whip	Russell B. Long	LA	Rank-and-file	-0.139/ 0.843		Richard Durbin	MI	Asst. Dem. Whip	-0.496
Reps									
Min./maj. Leader	Everett M. Dirksen	IL	Min. whip	0.305 / -0.547		Mitch McConnell	KY	Maj. Whip	0.591
Min./maj. Whip	Thomas Kuchel	CA	Rank-and-file	0.077/ -0.615		John Cornyn	TX	Rank-and-file	0.645

Rare Wikipedia recommendation:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Party_leaders_of_the_United_States_Senate

Current Org Chart

Position	House	Senate
Constitutional head	Speaker	V.P.*/ President <i>pro tempore</i>
Floor leader	Majority/ minority leader	Majority/ minority leader
Whip	Majority/ minority whip	Majority/ minority whip
Caucus	Chair, v.chair, secy.	Chair, secy.
Policy committees		
Committees on committees		
Campaign committees		

*See next slide for Woodrow Wilson's take

It would, doubtless, be considered quite improper to omit from an essay on the Senate all mention of the Senate's President; and yet there is very little to be said about the Vice-President of the United States. His position is one of anomalous insignificance and curious uncertainty. Apparently he is not, strictly speaking, a part of the legislature,—he is clearly not a member,—yet neither is he an officer of the executive. It is one of the remarkable things about him, that it is hard to find in sketching the government any proper place to discuss him. He comes in most naturally along with the Senate to which he is tacked; but he does not come in there for any great consideration. He is simply a judicial officer set to moderate the proceedings of an assembly whose rules he has had no voice in framing and can have no voice in changing. His official stature is not to be compared with that of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. So long as he is Vice-President, he is inseparable officially from the Senate; his importance consists in the fact that he may cease to be Vice-President. His chief dignity, next to presiding over the Senate, lies in the circumstance that he is awaiting the death or disability of the President. And the chief embarrassment in discussing his office is, that in explaining how little there is to be said about it one has evidently said all there is to say.

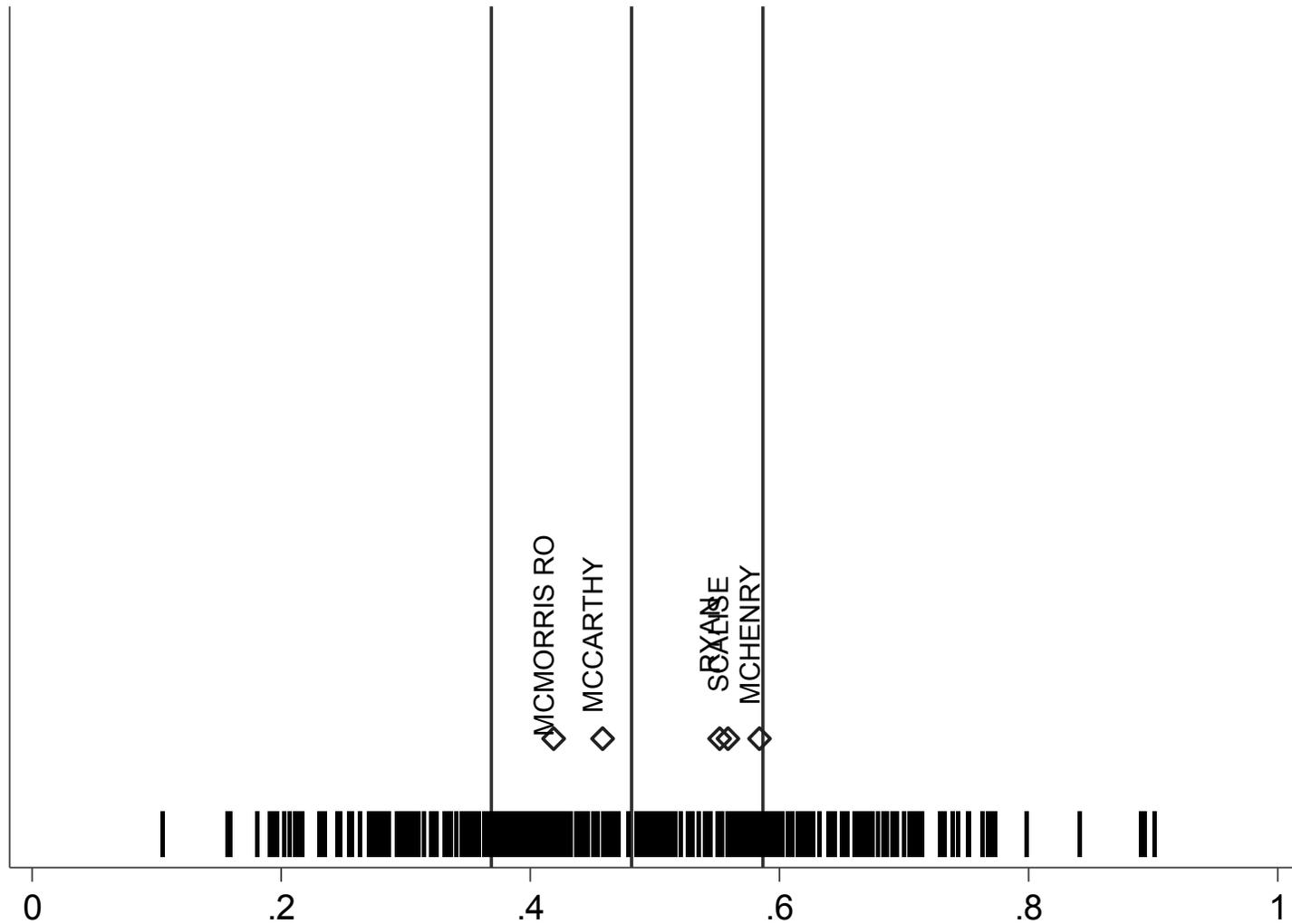
This quote is in the public domain.

From Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government*, chap. 4

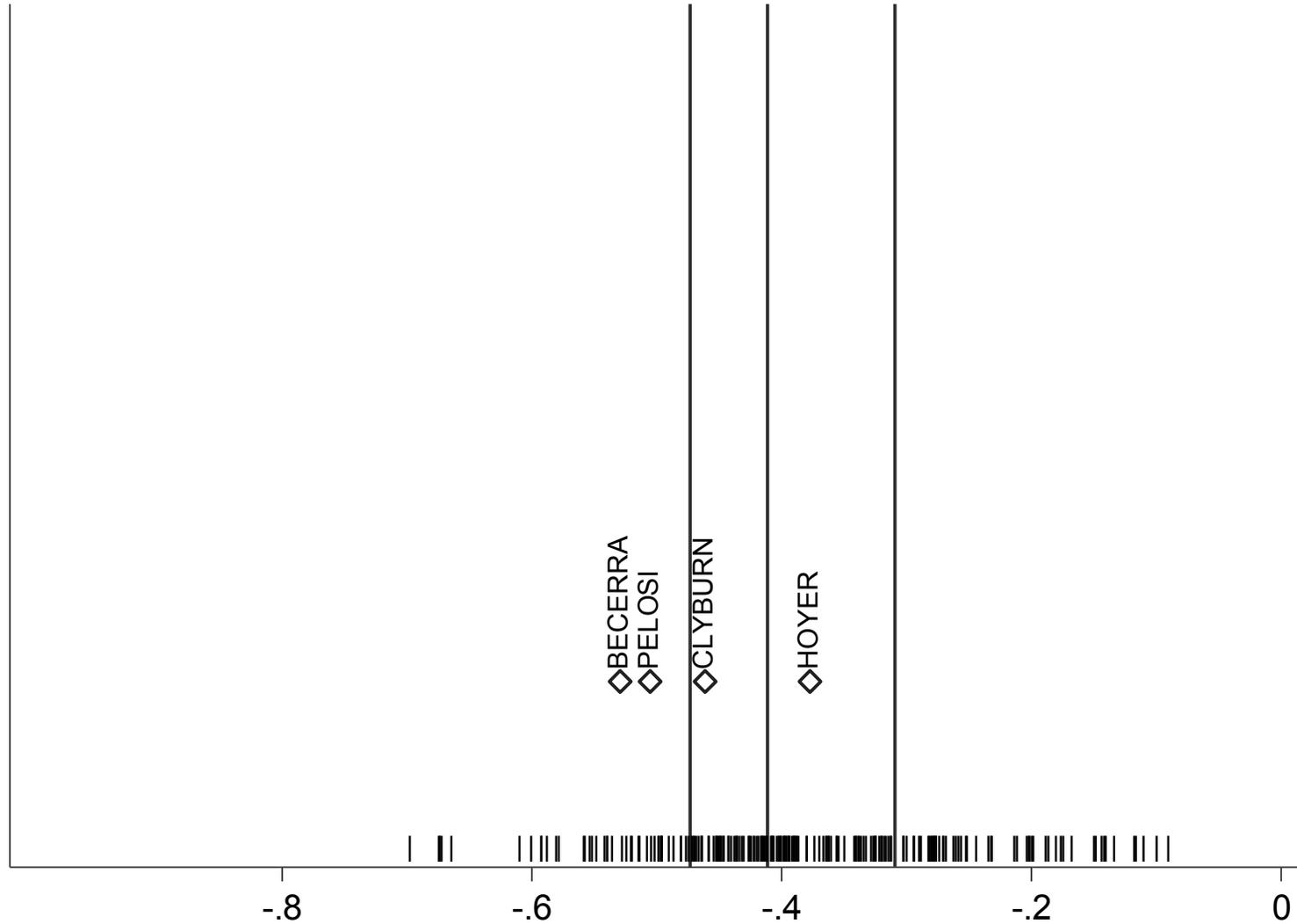
114th House

Position	Rep	Dem
Constitutional head	Speaker John Boehner (OH)	
Floor leader	Majority. Leader Kevin McCarthy (CA)	Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (CA)
Whip	Maj. Whip Steve Scalise (LA) Chief Deputy Whip Patrick McHenry (NC)	Min. Whip Steny Hoyer (MD) Asst. Leader James Clyburn (SC)
Caucus/Conference	Chairman: Cathy McMorris Rodgers (WA) Vice ch: Lynn Jenkins (KS) Secy: Virginia Foxx (NC)	Chairman: Xavier Becerra (CA) Vice chairman: Joseph Crowley (NY)
Committees on committees	Steering Committee Chair: Speaker	Steering and Policy Committee Co-Chairs: Rosa DeLauro (CT) [Steering], Donna Edwards (CA) [Policy]
Policy Committee	Chairman: Luke Messer (IN)	
Campaign committees	Nat. Rep. Campaign Comm. Chair: Greg Walden (OR)	Dem. Cong'l Campaign Comm. Chair: Ben Ray Lujan (NM)

House Rep. Leaders



House Dem. Leaders



Transition

Position	Rep
Constitutional head	Speaker Paul Ryan (WI)
Floor leader	Majority. Leader Kevin McCarthy (CA)
Whip	Maj. Whip Steve Scalise (LA) Chief Deputy Whip Patrick McHenry (NC)
Caucus/Conference	Chairman: Cathy McMorris Rodgers (WA) Vice ch: Lynn Jenkins (KS) (??) Secy: Virginia Foxx (NC) (Ed&W) (Jason Smith (MO))
Committees on committees	Steering Committee Chair: Speaker
Policy Committee	Chairman: Luke Messer (IN)
Campaign committees	Nat. Rep. Campaign Comm. Chair: Greg Walden (OR) (E&C) (Stivers (OH) vs. Williams (TX))

1. Elections on 11/15 (Tuesday)
2. Ryan seems safe for now
3. Jenkins didn't run
4. Walden is running for Energy & Commerce Chair
5. Fox running for Education & Workforce Chair
6. Weak showing by more conservative members running
7. Reduction in # of women in leadership

Steve Israel (NY)

Transition

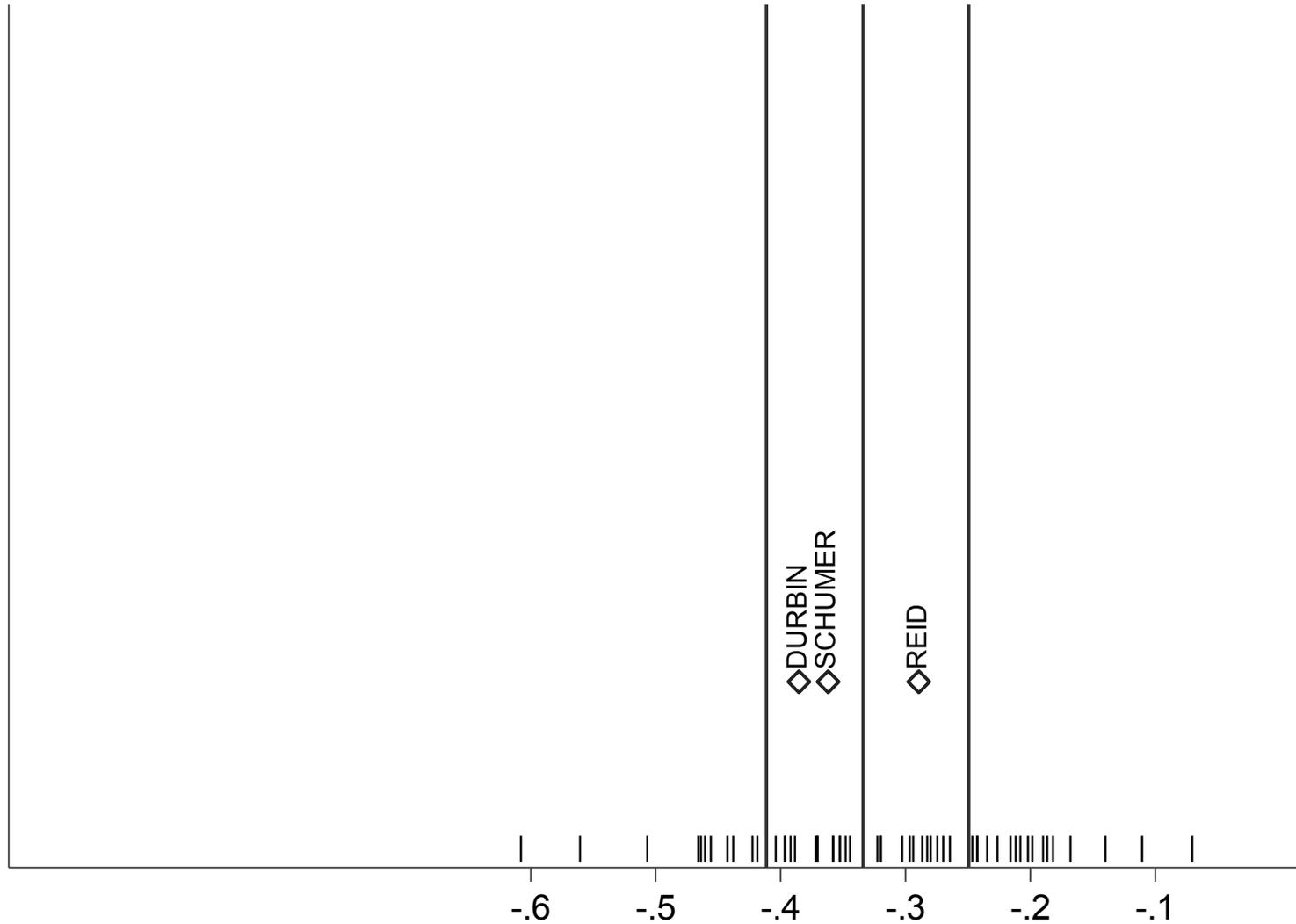
Position	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Elections delayed to 11/30 2. Pelosi under pressure; Tim Ryan could challenge 3. Age divide b/t leadership & rank-and-file an issue 4. Becerra term-limited 5. Crowley may run for chair 6. Vice chair: Lee (CA) vs. Sanchez (CA) 	Dem
Constitutional head		
Floor leader		Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (CA)
Whip		Min. Whip Steny Hoyer (MD) Asst. Leader James Clyburn (SC)
Caucus/Conference		Chairman: Xavier Becerra (CA) Vice chairman: Joseph Crowley (NY) (May run for chair)
Committees on committees		Steering and Policy Committee* Co-Chairs: Rosa DeLauro (CT) [Steering], Donna Edwards (CA) [Policy]
Policy Committee		
Campaign committees		Dem. Cong'l Campaign Comm. Chair: Ben Ray Lujan (NM)

New to 2015: **Policy & Communications Committee**
Steve Israel (NY)

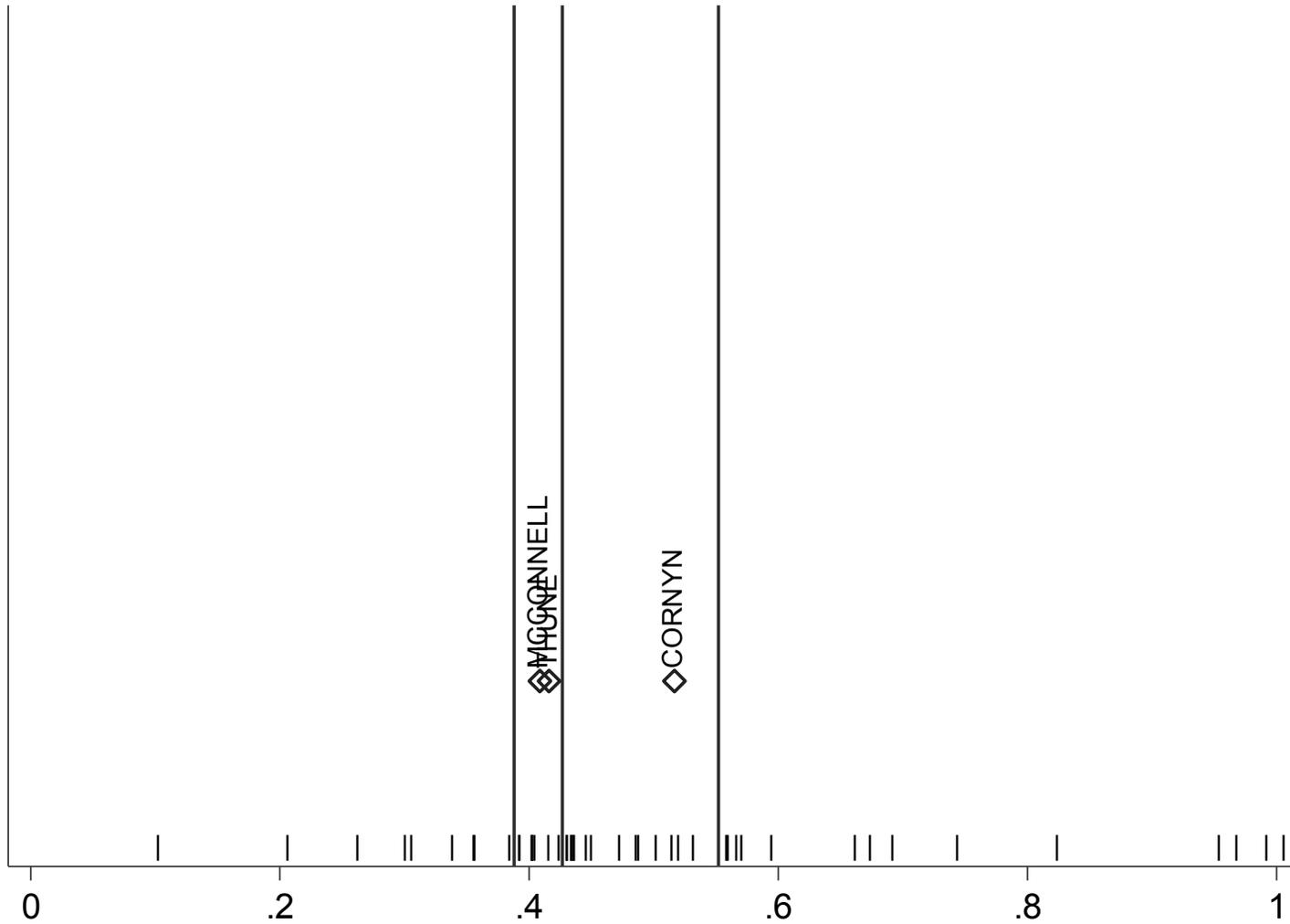
114th Senate

Position	Rep	Dem
Constitutional head	President <i>pro tempore</i>: Orin Hatch (UT)	Vice President: Joe Biden
Floor leader	Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (KY)	Minority leader Harry Reid (NV)
Whip	Asst. maj. Leader (whip): Jon Cornyn (TX) Chief dep. whip: Mike Crapo (ID)	Asst min. leader: Richard Durbin (IL) Chief dep. whip: Barbara Boxer (CA)
Caucus	Conf. chair: John Thune (SD) v. chair: Roy Bunt (MO)	Chair: Dem. Leader V. Chair: Charles Schumer (NY) Secretary: Patty Murray (WA)
Policy committees	Chair: John Barrasso (WY)	Chair: Chuck Schumer (NY) V. chair: Debbie Stabenow (MI) (Strategic advisor: Eliz. Warren (MA) Policy Development Advisor: Mark Warner (VA))
Committees on committees	Committee on Committees Chair: Mike Crapo (ID)	Steering & Outreach Comm. Ch: Amy Klobuchar (MN) V. ch: Jeanne Shaheen (NH)
Campaign committees	NRSC Ch: Roger Wicker (MS)	DSCC Ch: John Tester (MT)

Senate Dem. Leaders



Senate Rep. Leaders



Transitions

Position	Rep	
Constitutional head	President <i>pro tempore</i>: Orin Hatch (UT)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Great deal of stability 2. Wicker term limited 3. Cory Gardner (CO) chair of NRSC in 115th
Floor leader	Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (KY)	
Whip	Asst. maj. Leader (whip): Jon Cornyn (TX) Chief dep. whip: Mike Crapo (ID)	
Caucus	Conf. chair: John Thune (SD) v. chair: Roy Bunt (MO)	
Policy committees	Chair: John Barrasso (WY)	
Committees on committees	Committee on Committees Chair: Mike Crapo (ID)	
Campaign committees	NRSC Ch: Roger Wicker (MS)	

Transitions

Position	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organizational meeting on 11/16 2. Big change: Reid retiring 3. Boxer retired 4. Durbin's title changed to Whip 5. Murray to be "Assist. Min leader." (avoids fight b/t her & Durbin) 6. Stabenow becomes chair of Dem. Policy & Comm. Committee 7. Manchin, DPCC vice chair 8. Warner Conf. Vice chair 9. Tammy Baldwin conf. secy 10. Roles for Warren & Sanders 	Dem
Constitutional head		Vice President: Joe Biden
Floor leader		Minority leader Harry Reid (NV)
Whip		Asst min. leader: Richard Durbin (IL) Chief dep. whip: Barbara Boxer (CA)
Caucus		Chair: Dem. Leader V. Chair: Charles Schumer (NY) Secretary: Patty Murray (WA)
Policy committees		Chair: Chuck Schumer (NY) — V. chair: Debbie Stabenow (MI) — (Strategic advisor: Eliz. Warren (MA) Policy Development Advisor: Mark Warner (VA)
Committees on committees		Steering & Outreach Comm. Ch: Amy Klobuchar (MN) V. ch: Jeanne Shaheen (NH)
Campaign committees		DSCC Ch: John Tester (MT)

Why Do Parties Exist?

- Anomalous position of parties in spatial models of legislatures
 - The chamber median should rule. Party is just a label
 - Who governs? Do leaders “boss” followers (common view) or do followers terrorize leaders?

Some perspectives on this question

- Krehbiel: Where's the party?
- Rohde: Conditional party government
- Calvert: Parties coordinate
- Cox, and McCubbins: Parties form a “cartel” that protects against defeat
- Gamm & Smith in D&O: Coordination and centralization differ in the House and Senate

Evidence that Parties Push Members Apart

Figures 1 and 2 from Ansolabehere, Stephen, James M. Snyder Jr, and Charles Stewart III. "[The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll-Call Voting](#)." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (2001): 533-572 removed due to copyright restrictions.

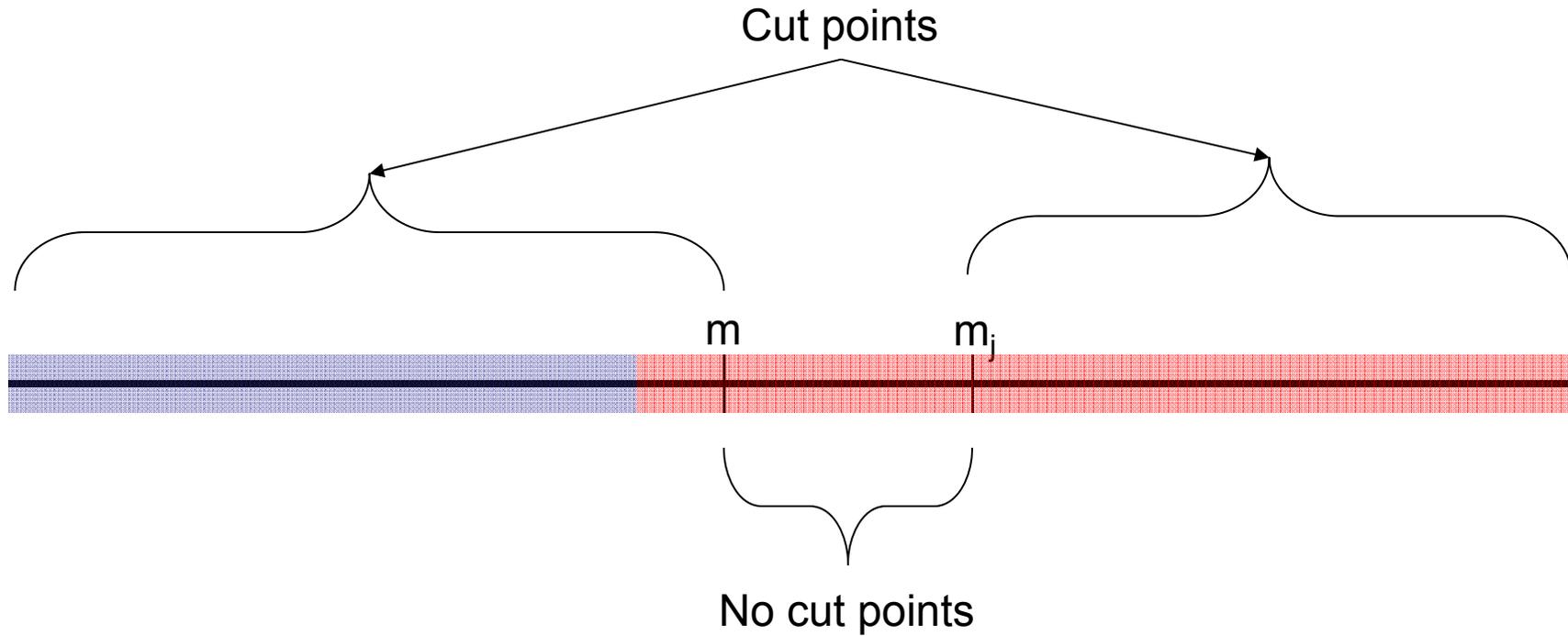
Evidence of “cartel activity” from cut points

- If there is no agenda control, then...
 - Motions should be distributed ~ ideal points
 - Cut lines should be distributed ~ ideal points
 - The median should win the most often
- If the majority party keeps motions off the agenda that split the majority, then...
 - Motions will not be distributed ~ ideal points
 - Cut lines will not be distributed ~ ideal points
 - The members in the interval from the floor median to the majority median should win most often

Assume the “Hastert Rule”



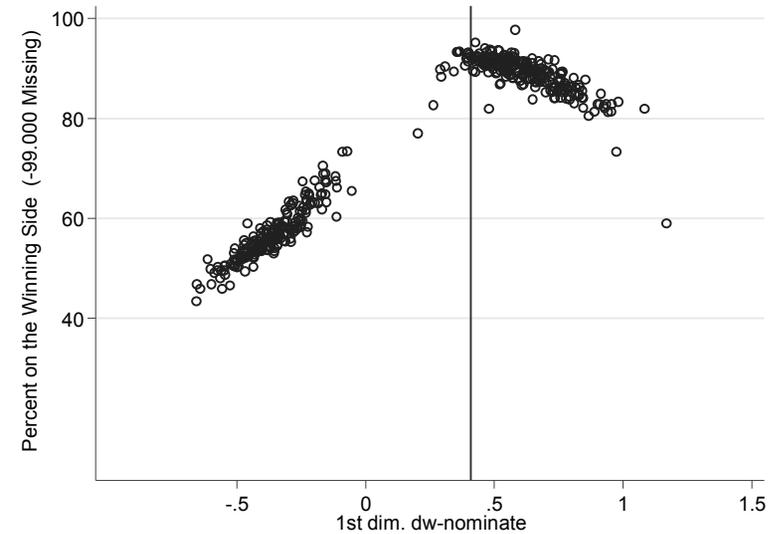
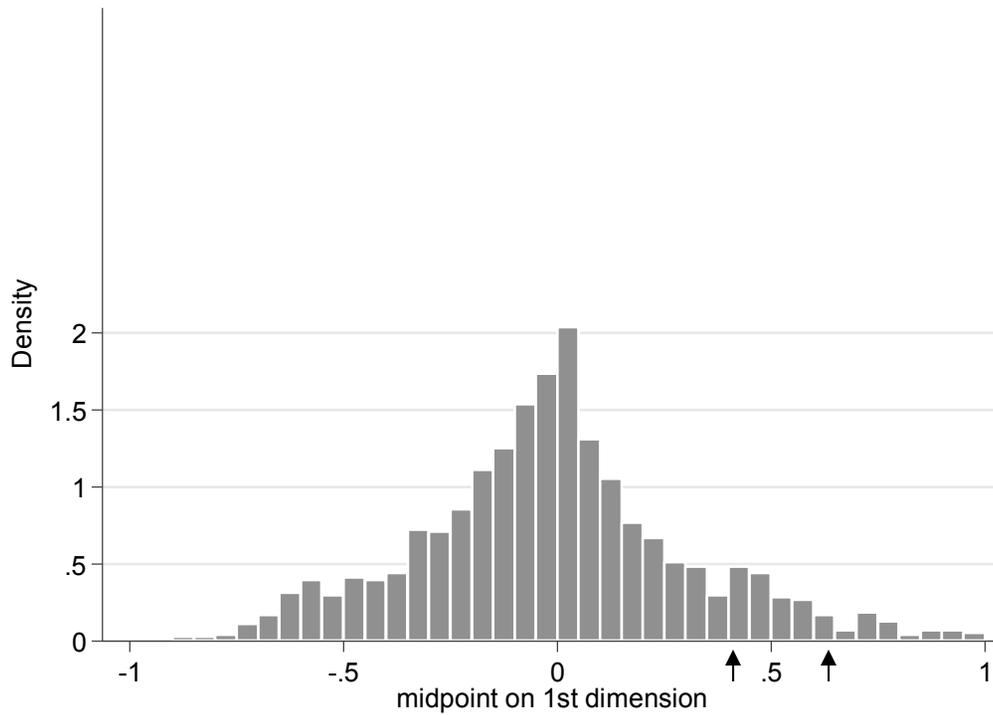
Assume the “Hastert Rule”



Evidence from cut points: 109th Cong. (R)

Med. cutpoint: 0.054
Mean cutpoint: 0.060

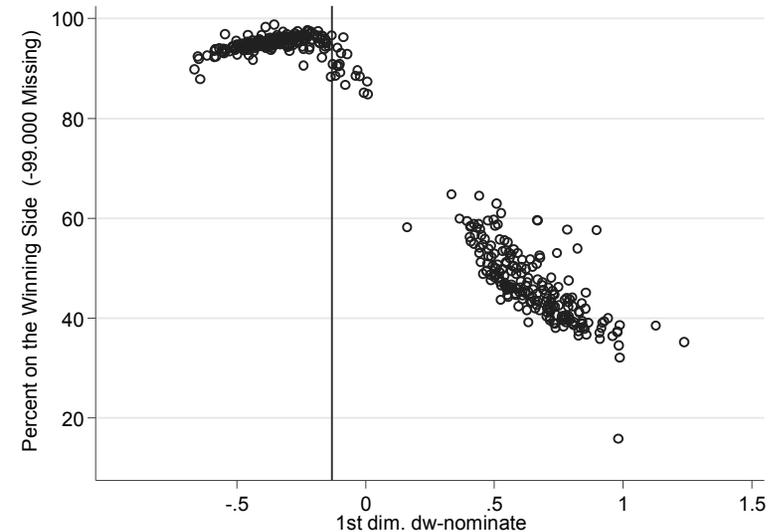
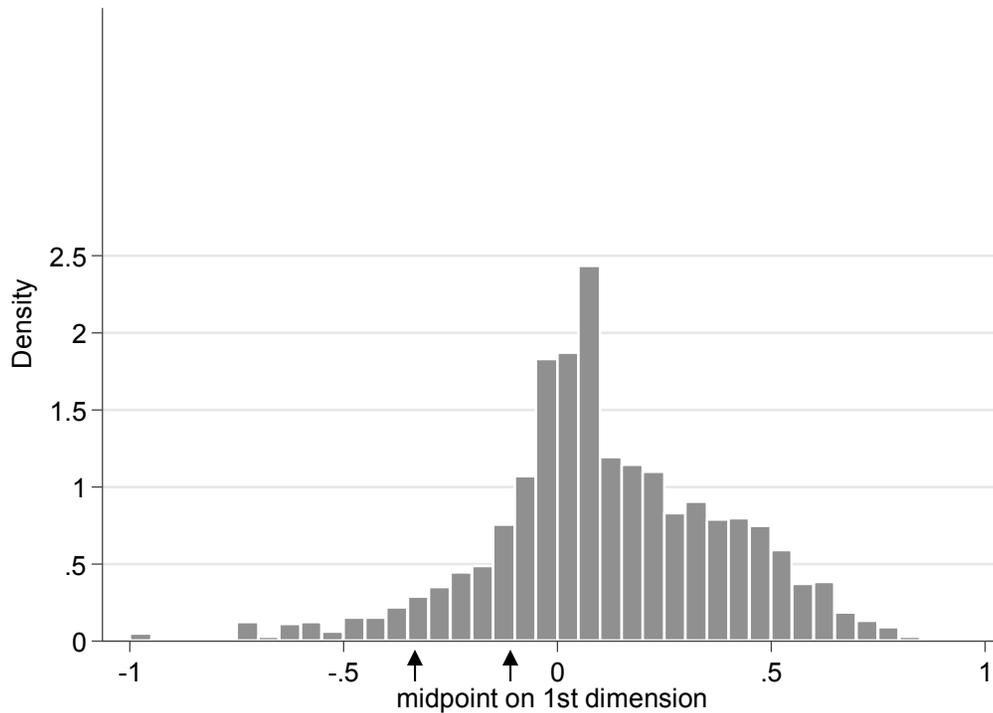
Median house member: .408
Median Rep: .597
Median Dem: - .356



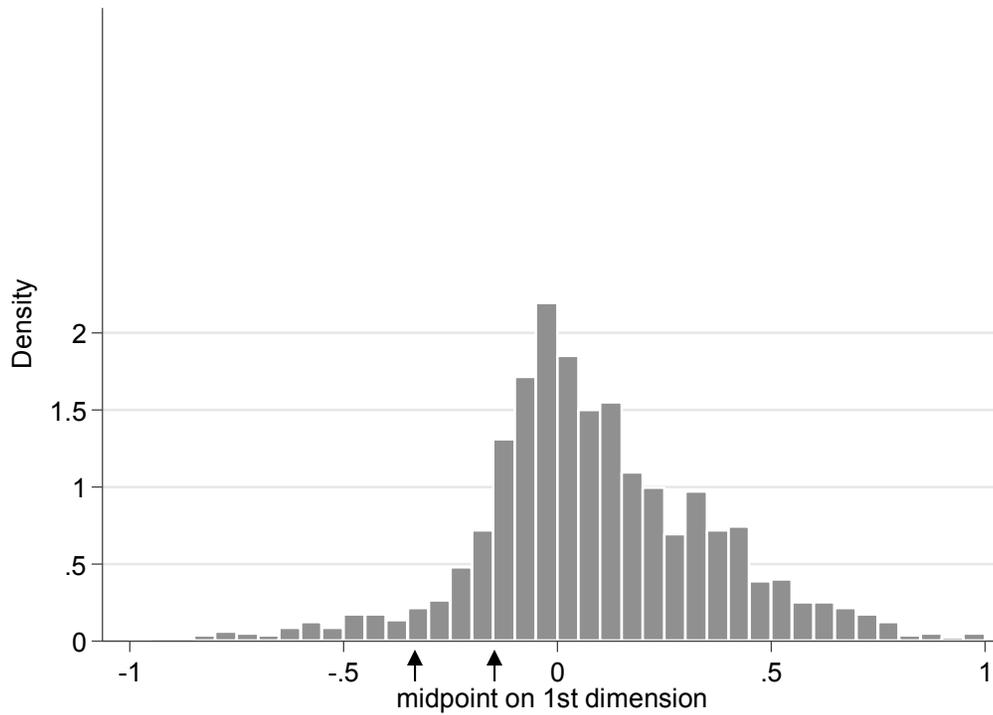
Evidence from cut points: 110th Cong. (D)

Med. cutpoint: 0.181
Mean cutpoint: 0.220

Median house member: -0.132
Median Rep: .637
Median Dem: - .345

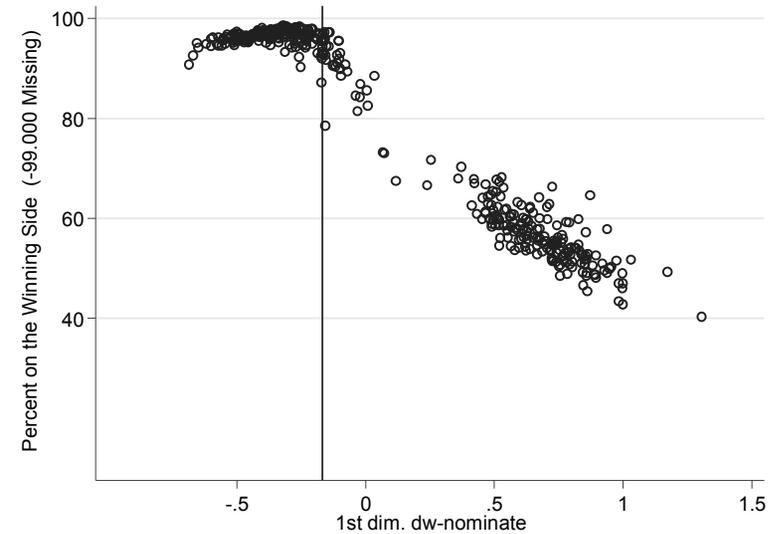


Evidence from cut points: 111th Cong. (D)

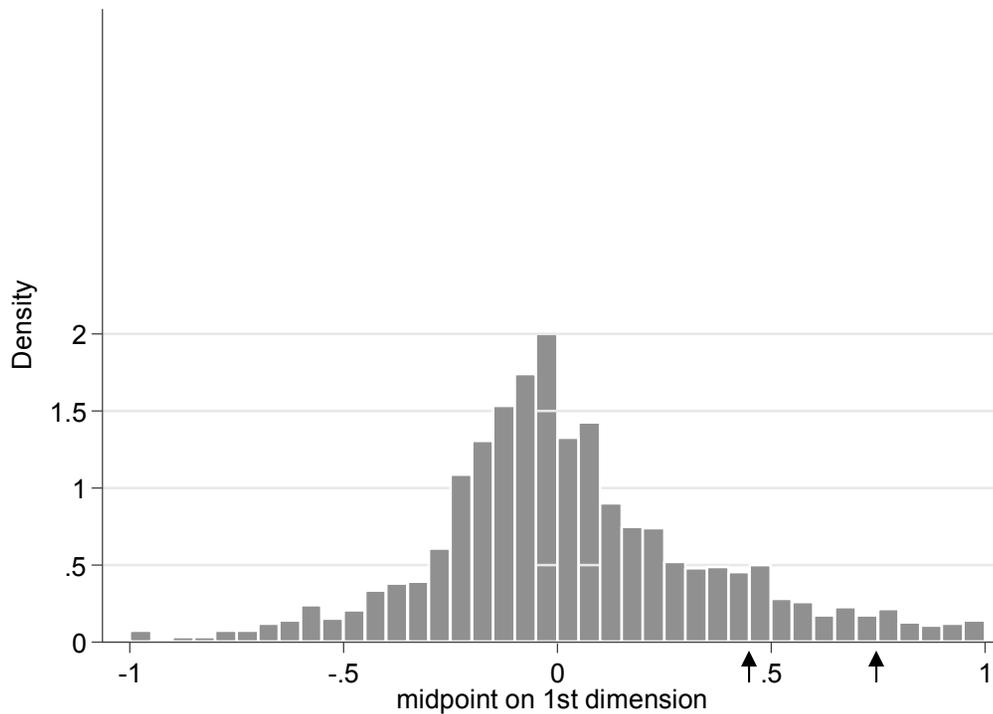


Med. cutpoint: 0.039
Mean cutpoint: 0.095

Median house member: -0.169
Median Rep: .686
Median Dem: - .336

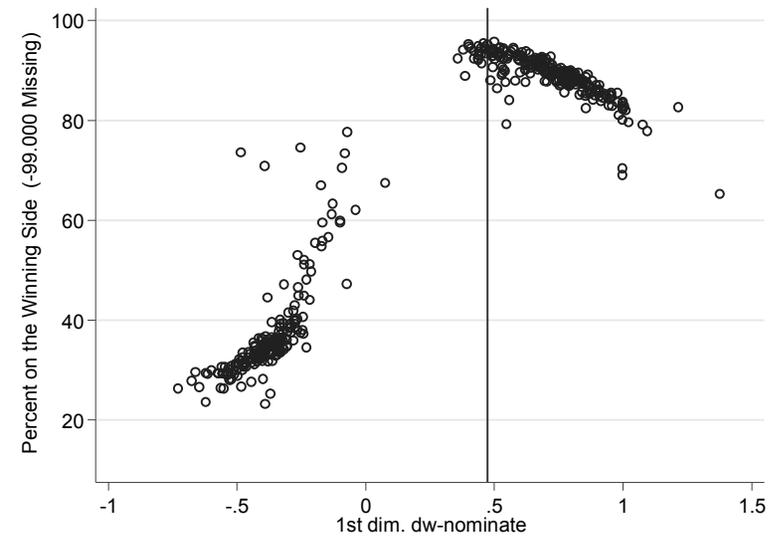


112th Congress (R)

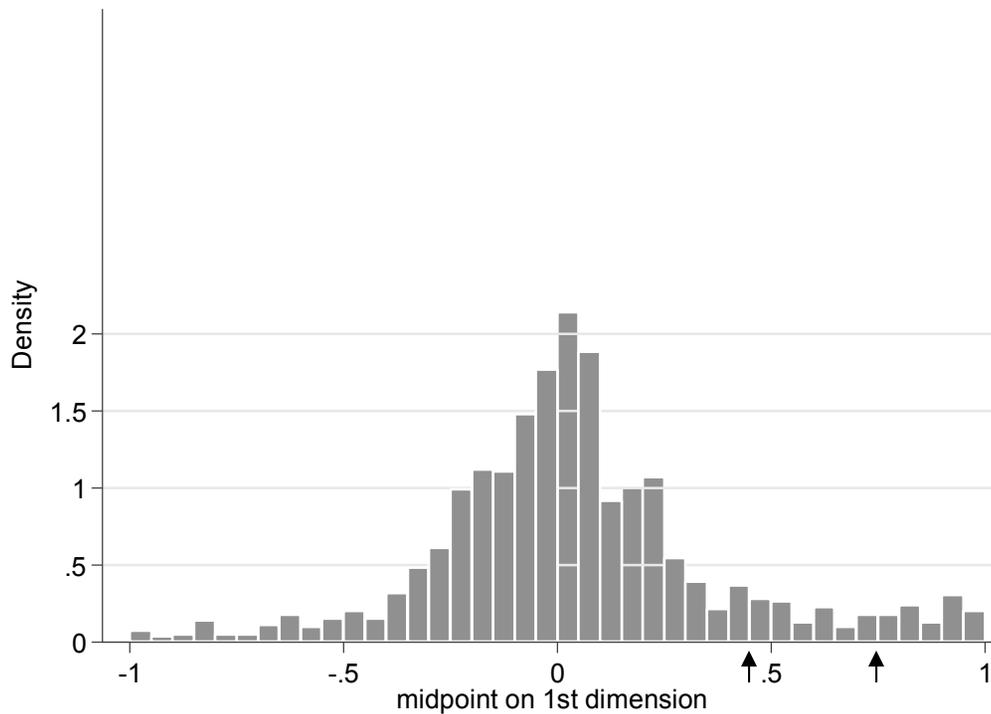


Med. cutpoint: 0.181
Mean cutpoint: 0.243

Median house member: 0.474
Median Rep: .726
Median Dem: - .384

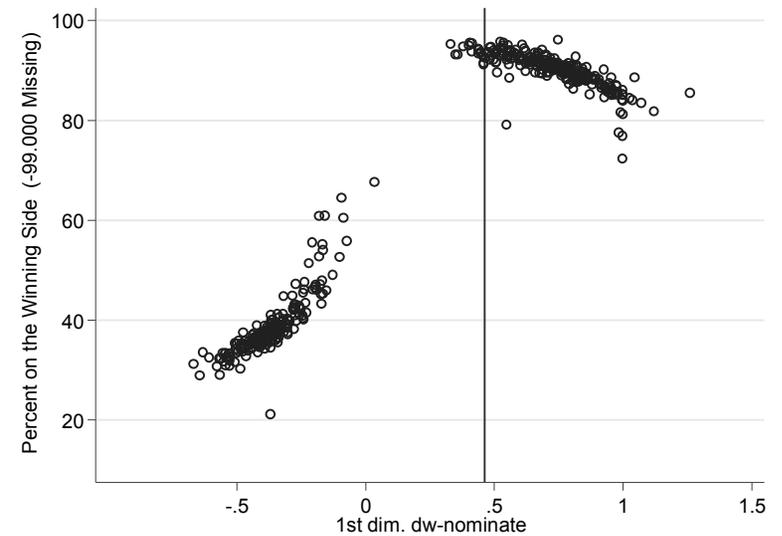


113th Congress (R)

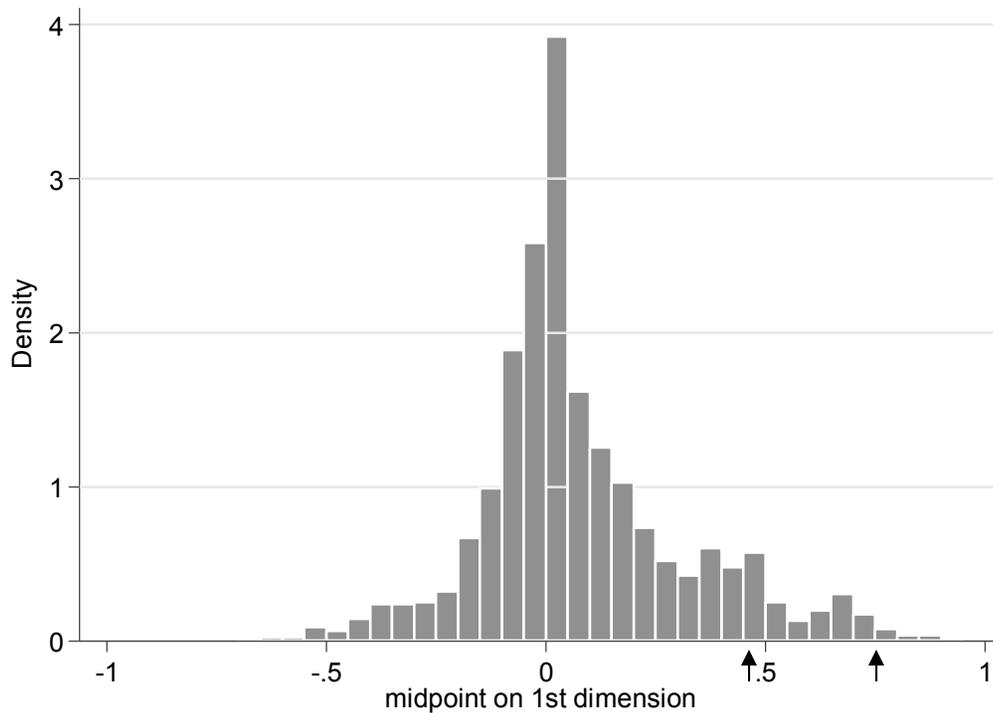


Med. cutpoint: 0.038
Mean cutpoint: 0.091

Median house member: .462
Median Rep: .735
Median Dem: - .383



114th Congress (R)



Med. cutpoint: 0.018
Mean cutpoint: 0.078

Median house member: .462
Median Rep: .735
Median Dem: - .383

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