

Race and Threats to Democracy in Today's Divided America

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THE SHIFTING RACIAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE 2 MAJOR PARTIES: THEN.....

- The GOP on the eve of the '60s
 - Moderate-centrist in ideological orientation
 - Geographically centered in the northeast/midwest
 - Considerable ideological overlap with Democrats
 - And generally more liberal on racial matters
- The Democrats on the eve of the '60s
 - Moderate-centrist in ideological orientation
 - Geographically centered in the South
 - Considerable ideological overlap with GOP
 - And schizophrenic in their racial views

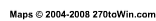
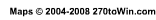
VOTING ON 1957 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Table 3.1 Congressional Voting on 1957 Civil Rights Act

	House		Senate	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Democrats	118	107	29	18
Republicans	167	19	43	0

Racial Liberalism in 1958 (85th Congress) (from Carmine and Stimson)

	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
Liberal	42	21
Conservative	4	27



Racial Liberalism of Democrats and Republicans
 85th (1958), 89th (1966) Congress
 (Adopted from Carmines and Stimson)

	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>	
	<u>85th</u>	<u>89th</u>	<u>85th</u>	<u>89th</u>
Liberal	42	10	21	45
Conservative	4	22	27	21

RACIAL POLARIZATION OF THE ELECTORATE

PERCENT OF BLACK VOTERS BY PARTY, 1956-68

	GOP	DEMOCRATS
1968	3%	97%
1960	25%	75%
1956	40%	60%

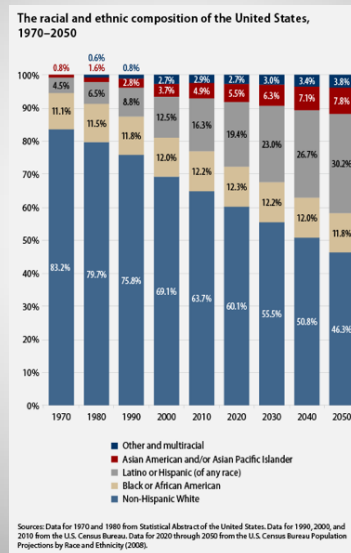
NEW RESTRICTIVE VOTING LAWS 2011-2012

- 180 bills introduced in 41 states
- 25 new laws adopted in 19 states
- Impacting 231 electoral votes, or 85 percent of those needed to be elected president

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE PARTIES

	GOP	DEMOCRATS
WHITE	90%	60%
BLACK	2	22
HISPANIC	5	13
ASIAN	1	2
OTHER	2	3

Projected Racial Composition of US

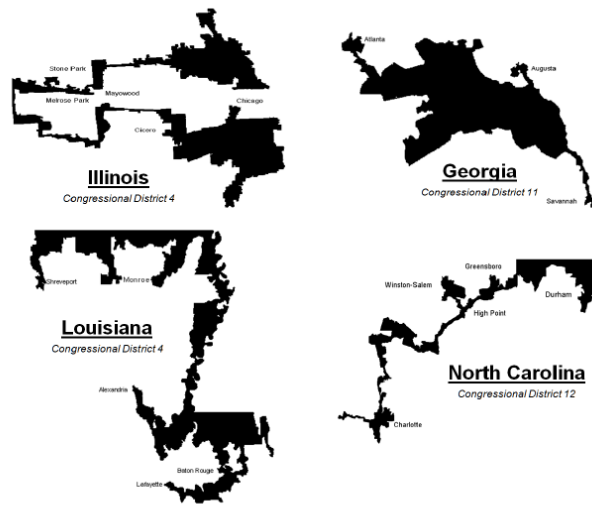


WHAT IS THE AIM OF THE NEW LAWS? (D'OH!!)

Aide to Ohio's Republican Governor: "we shouldn't contort the voting process to accommodate the urban—read African-American—voter turnout machine."

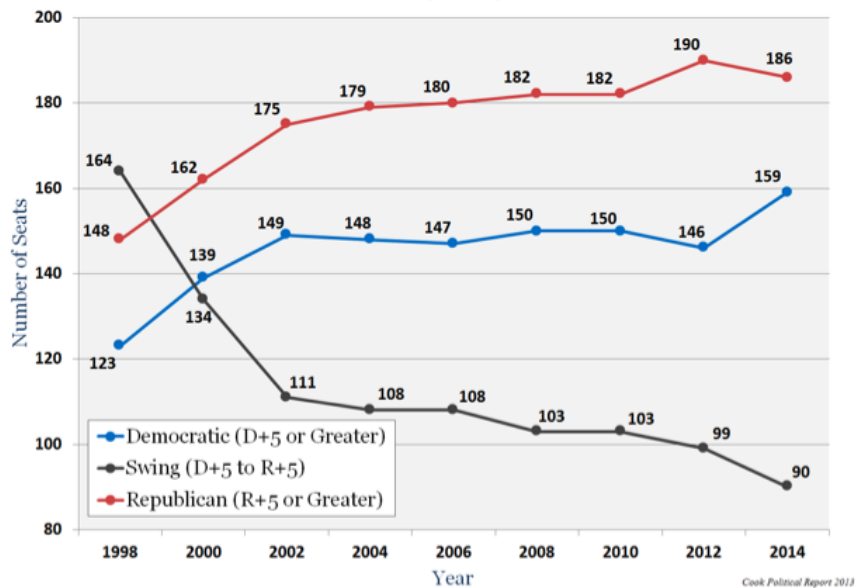
Republican official in North Carolina: the new ID cards are a way to reduce voting by "a bunch of lazy blacks that wants the government to give them everything."

Figure 8.12 Gerrymandered



Source: Graphics from "1990s Supreme Court Redistricting Decisions", Peter S. Watson;

The Incredible Shrinking Swing Seat, 1998-2014

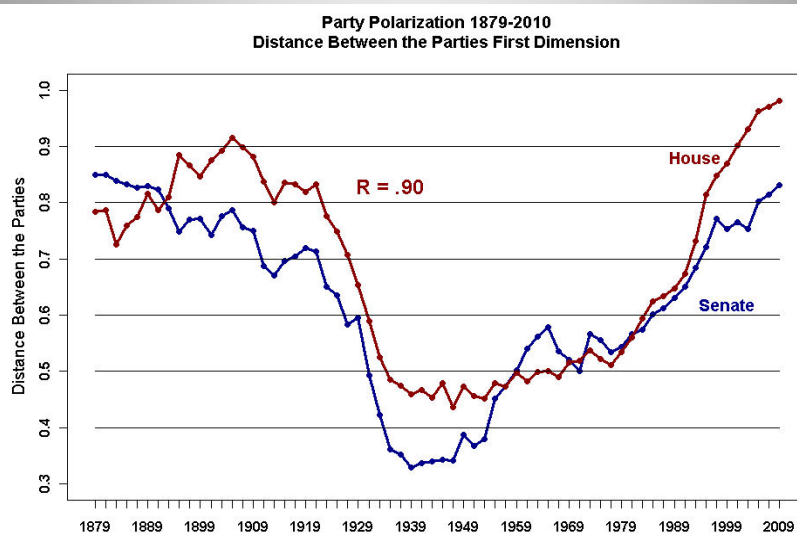


SHIFTING GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOUSE

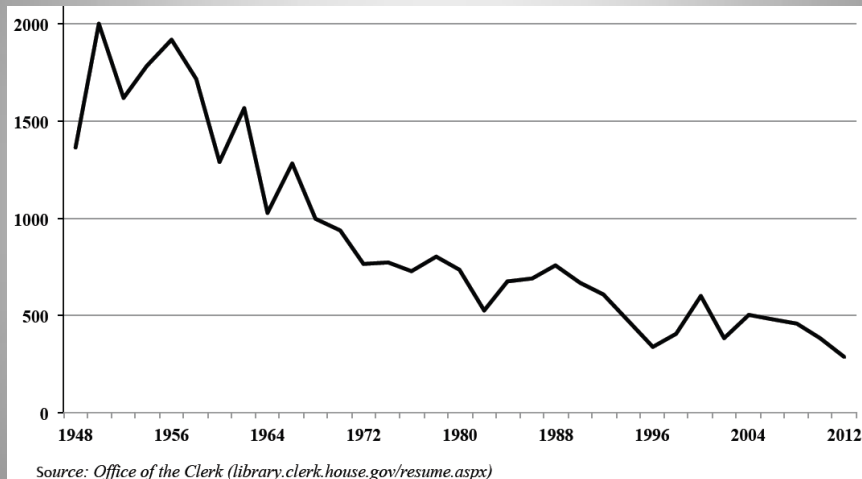
	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRAT	
	1963	2013	1963	2013
SOUTH	10	108	115	43
NON-SOUTH	163	126	149	158

Party Polarization

(Poole and Rosenthal, Voteview)



Number of Bills Passed by Congress, 1948-2012



CONCLUSION

- Today's deep partisan divisions have much older roots than we tend to think, going back to at least the early to mid-60s
- In large part they owe to the powerful force of 2 linked struggles—the civil rights movement and white resistance to same--pushing the two parties off center in the 1960s and beyond
- In turn, these movements transformed the racial geography of U.S. politics, fracturing the New Deal coalition and ushering in a period of policy dominance by an increasingly conservative GOP

THE GOP LOOKS SOUTH EVEN BEFORE 1968

Partisan Voting in the House of Representatives on the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1966 Open Housing Bill

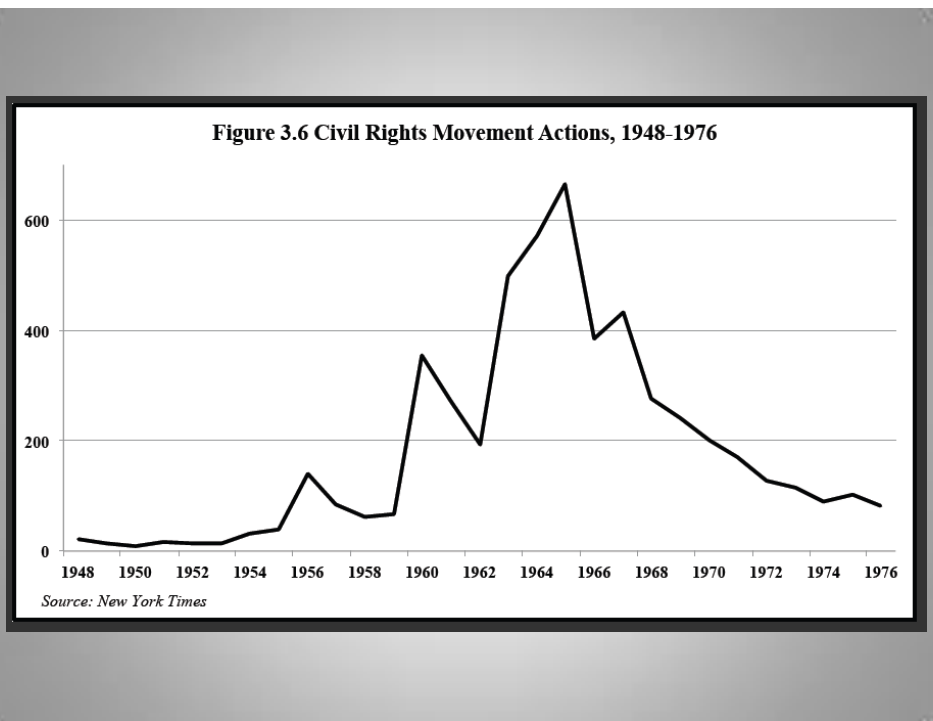
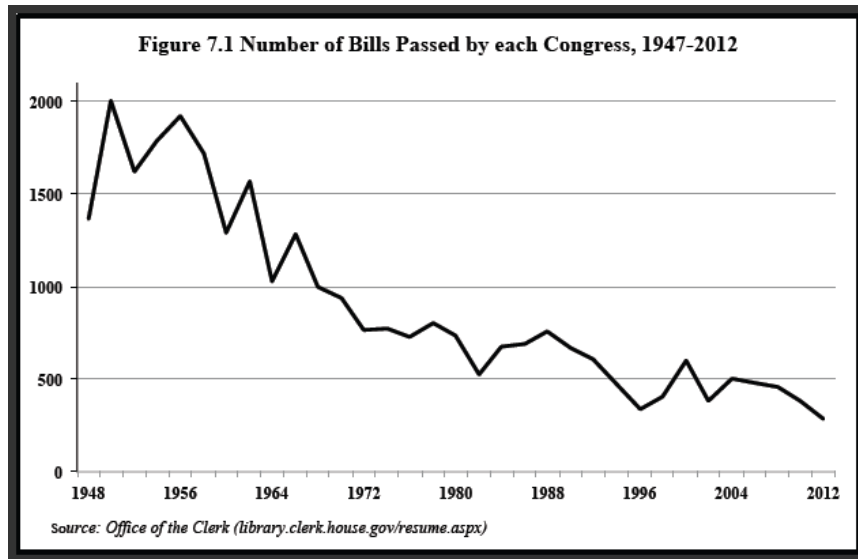
	1964		1966	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Democrats	152	96	183	95
Republicans	138	34	76	62

Partisan Voting in the Senate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1966 Open Housing Bill

	1964		1966	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Democrats	44	23	42	21
Republicans	27	6	12	21

AND THE TREND CONTINUES: ADDITIONAL LAWS SINCE 2014

- 40 restrictive bills proposed in 17 states
- 8 restrictive bills passed in 3 states
- The most common of these bills would require new ID cards to vote, but others would:
 1. Make voter registration harder
 2. Make it harder for students to vote
 3. And one that would actually make lines at polling places longer



“Segregation Now...Segregation Forever”



Gov. Wallace defying integration at the schoolhouse gates of the U. of Alabama



FROM “SOUTHERN RESISTANCE” TO NATIONWIDE “WHITE BACKLASH”: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GEORGE WALLACE

Wallace challenges LBJ for the 1964 Democratic nomination and enters 3 northern primaries:

- **Wisconsin: 33% of the vote**
- **Indiana: 31% of the vote**
- **Maryland: 47% of the vote**

