



**44. Economic Conference  
«Polarisierte Gesellschaften»  
Zurich, May 15th, 2017**

**Presentation Prof. Matt Grossmann**

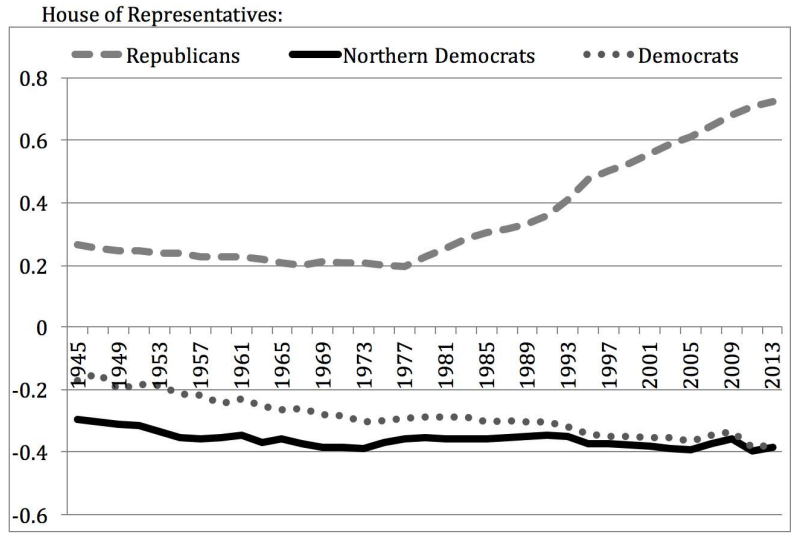
## **Asymmetric Polarization and Party Change**

**Matt Grossmann**

**MICHIGAN STATE**  
UNIVERSITY

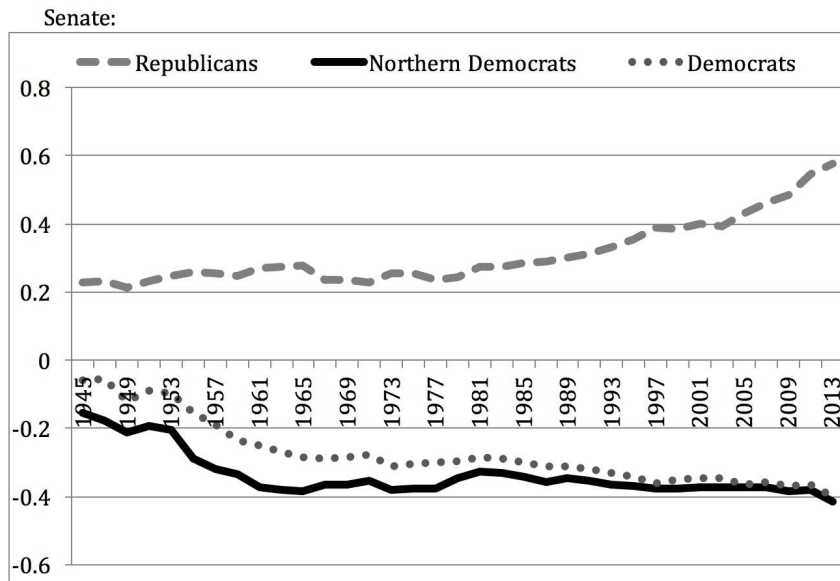
Institute for Public Policy  
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State of the State Survey

# Asymmetric Polarization Regional vs. Ideological Change



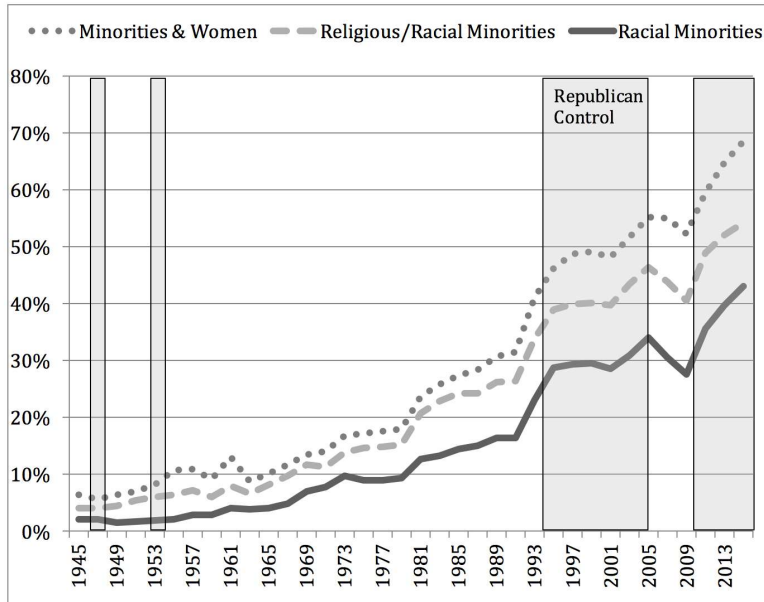
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# Senate Polarization



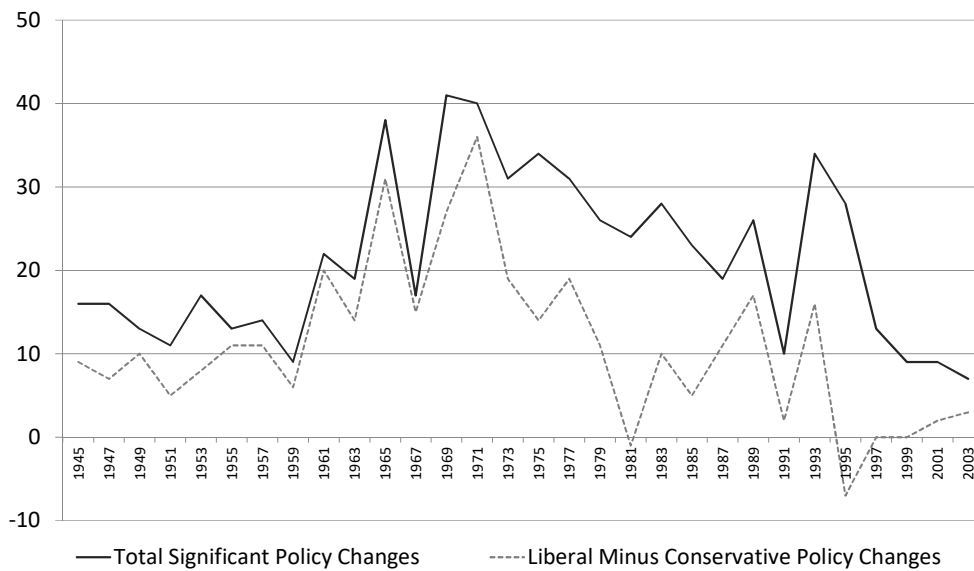
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## Diversification of Elected Democrats



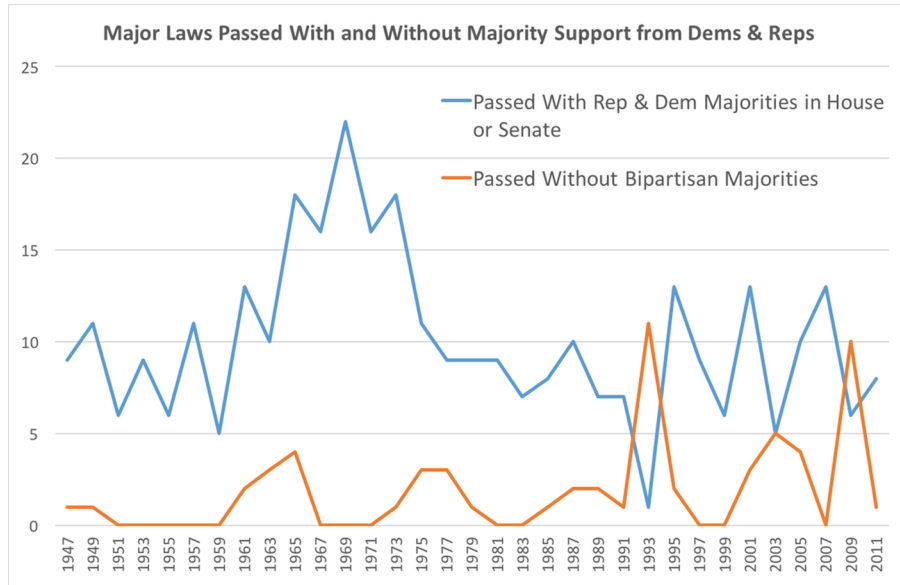
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## Policy Change & the Conservative Dilemma



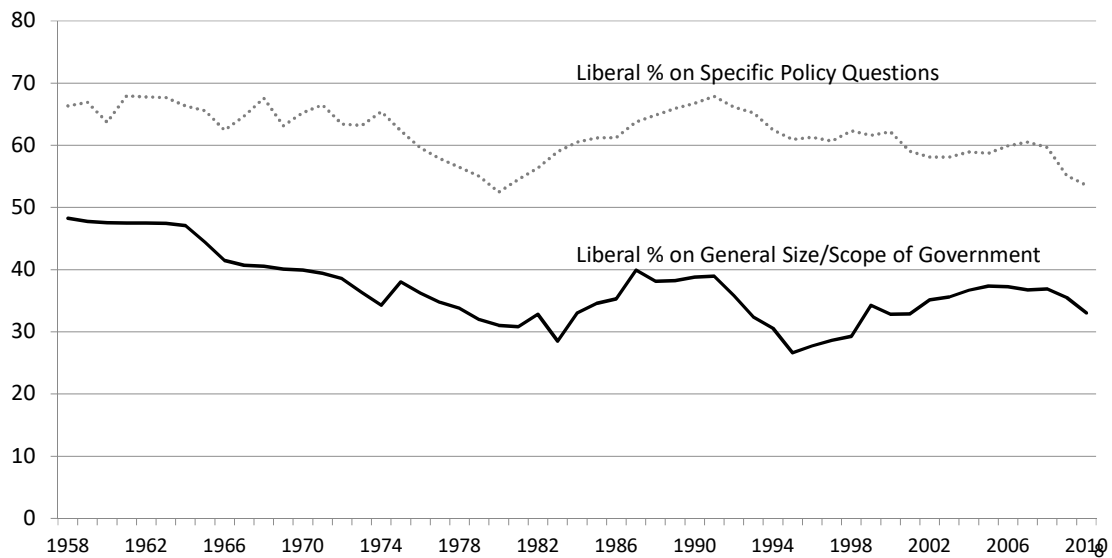
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## Most Major Laws Bipartisan

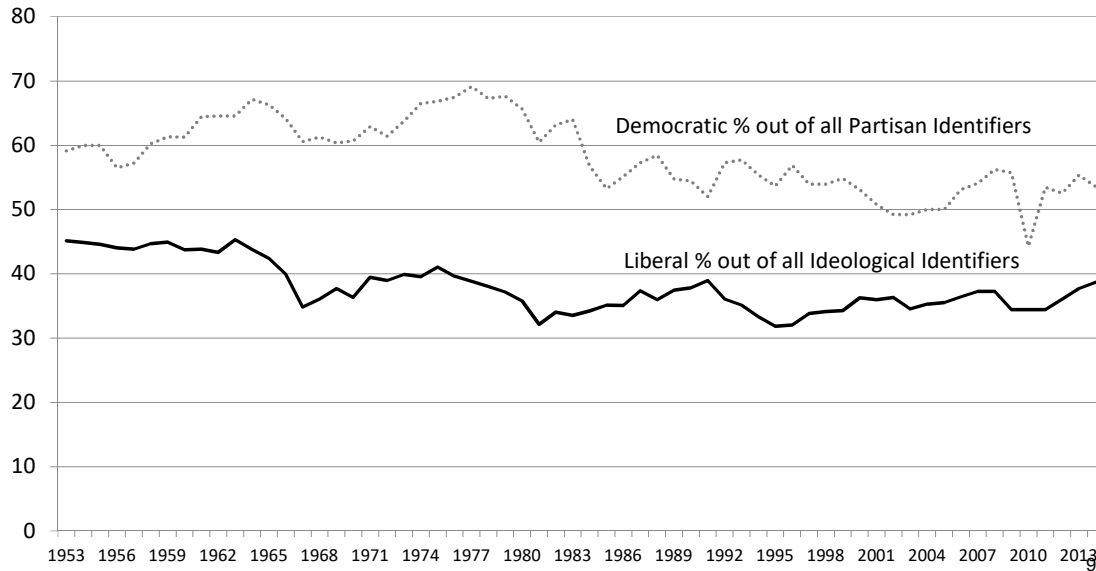


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## Public: Generally Conservative, Specifically Liberal

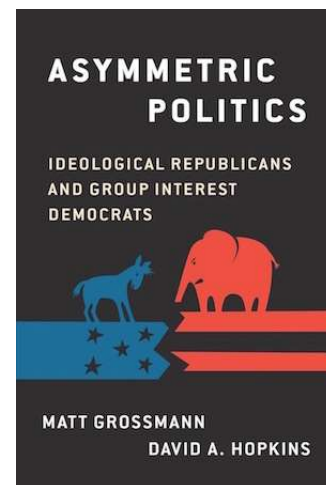


## More Democrats but More Conservatives



## Asymmetric Politics: Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats

Matt Grossmann  
and David Hopkins



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## Two Different Parties

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## How Democrats and Republicans Think

What Democratic Activists Say:

Democrats: "party of the common man,"

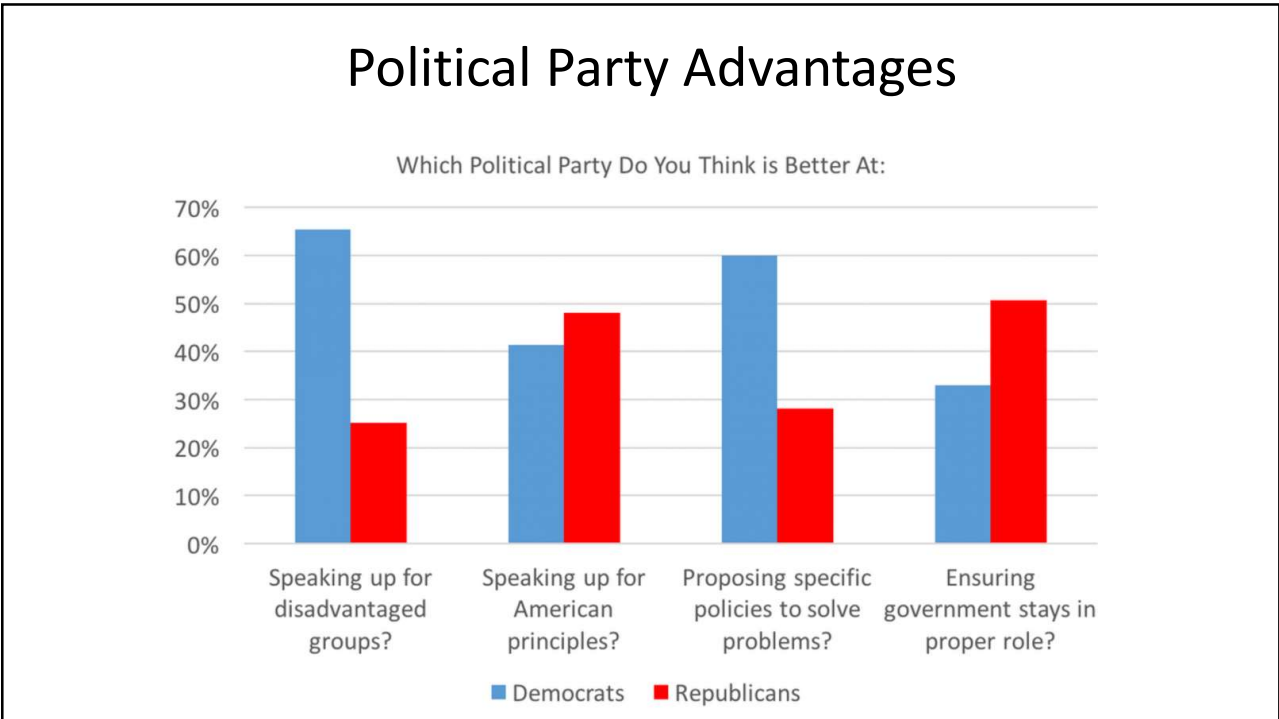
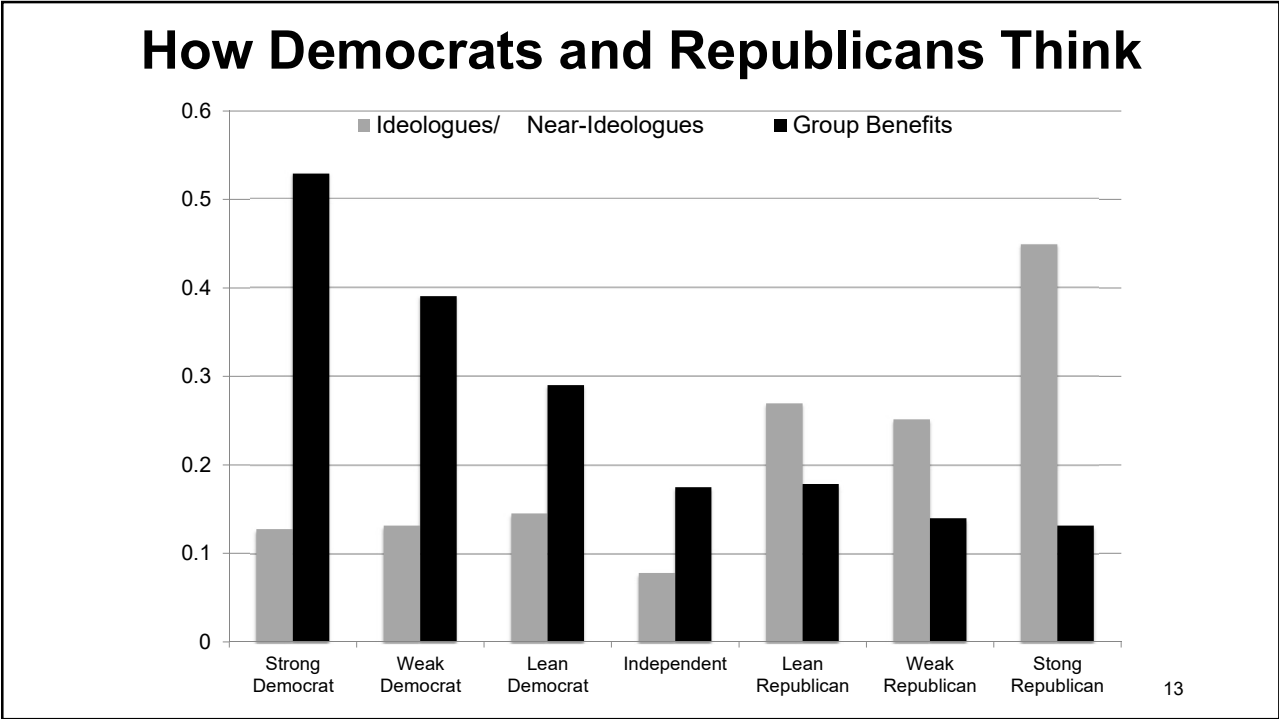
Republicans: "for rich, mainly white older folks, quite judgmental, unconcerned for their fellow Americans."

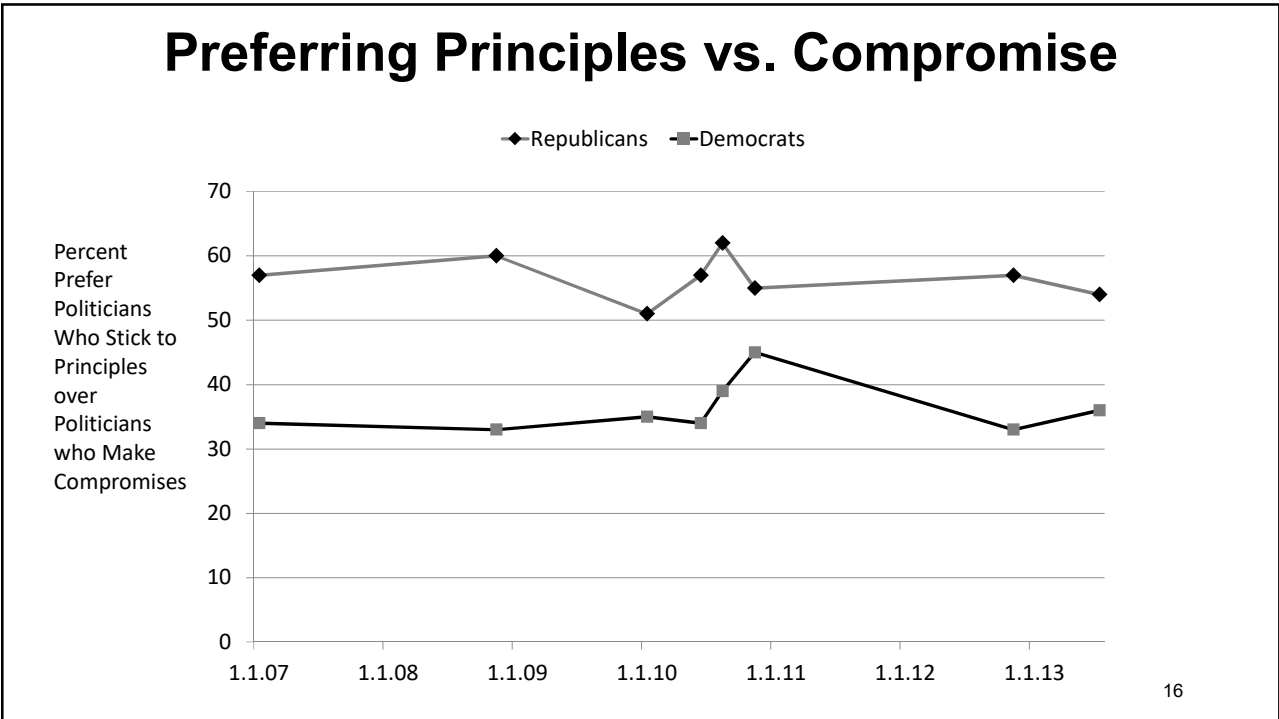
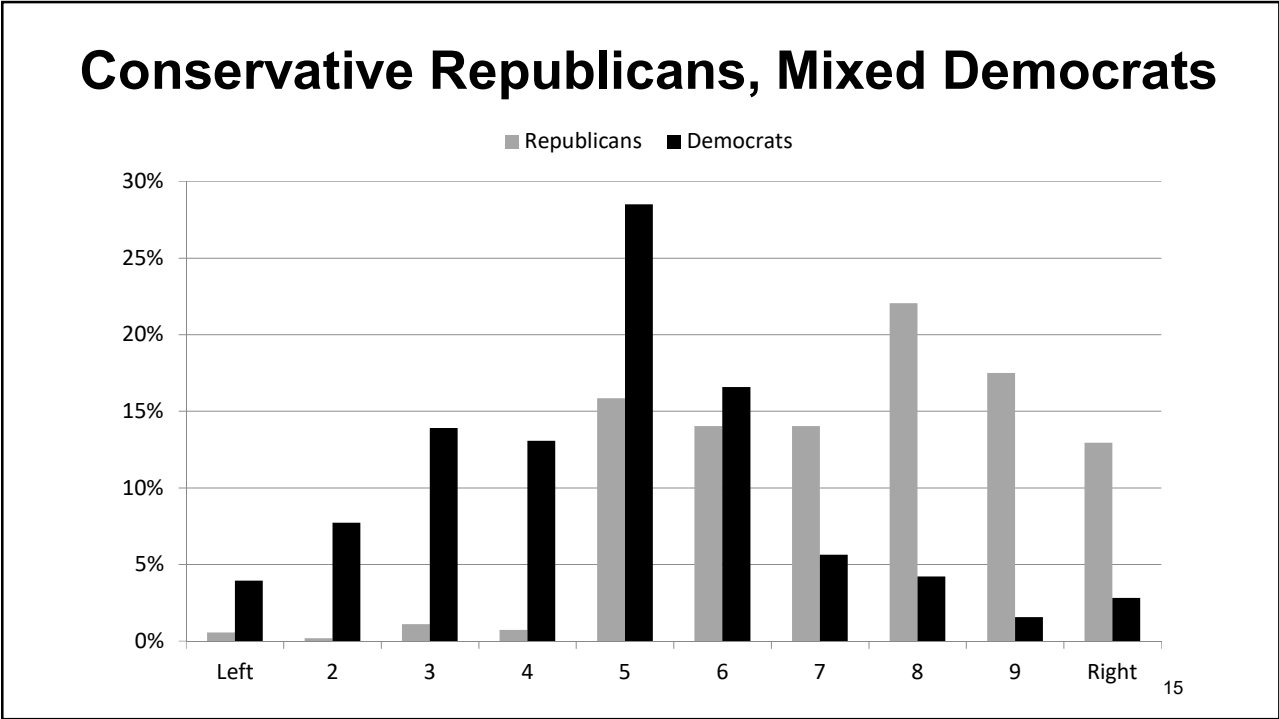
What Republican Activists Say:

Democrats: "promote big government, secularism, elitism, and collectivism."

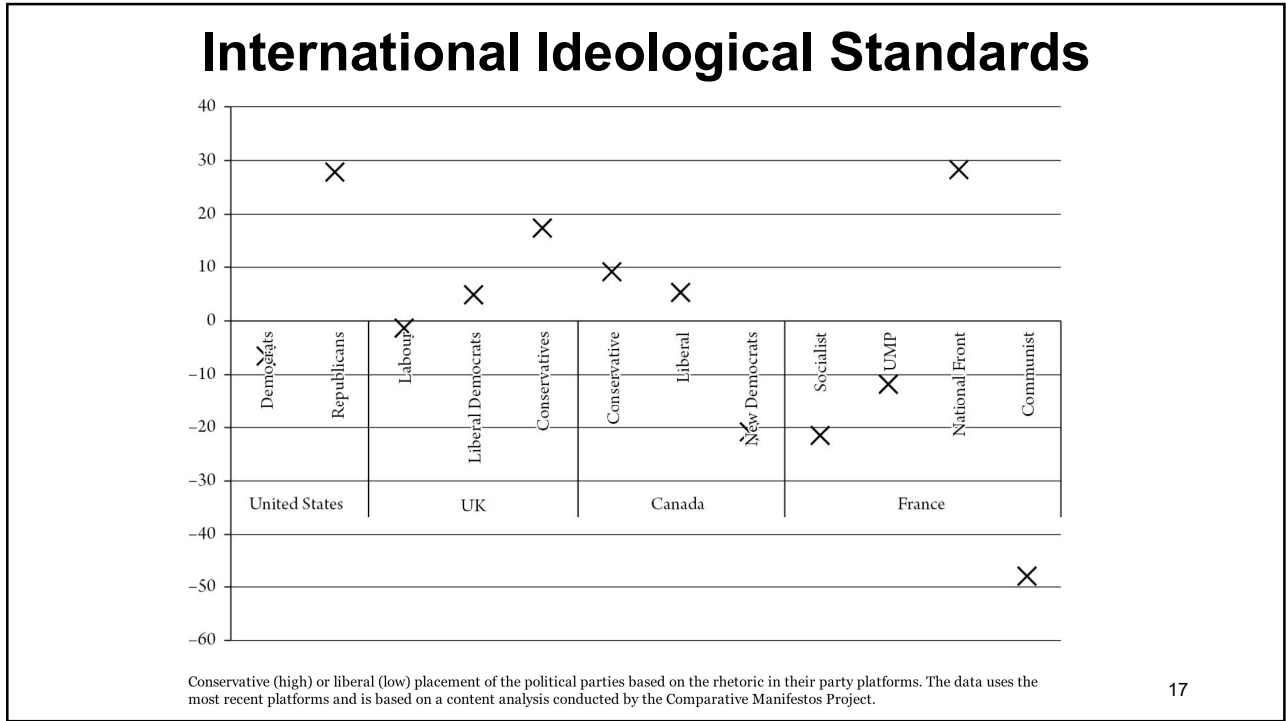
Republicans: "push for cutting the size of government."

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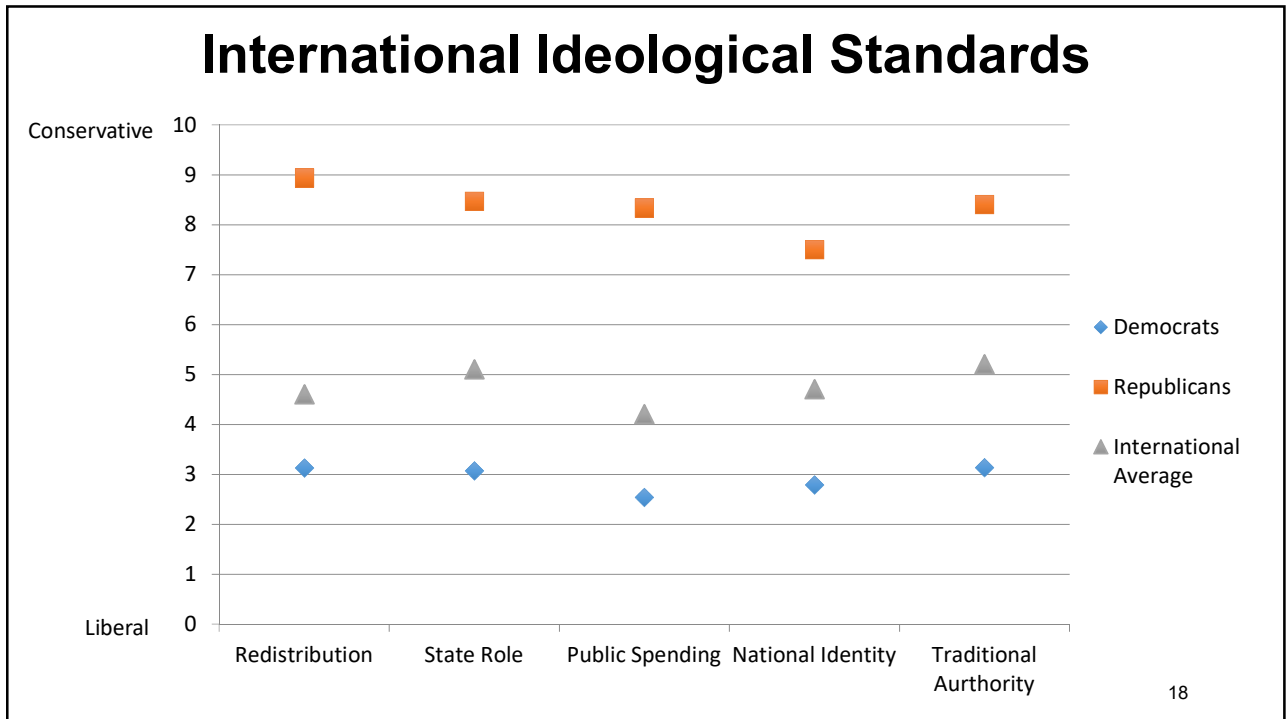




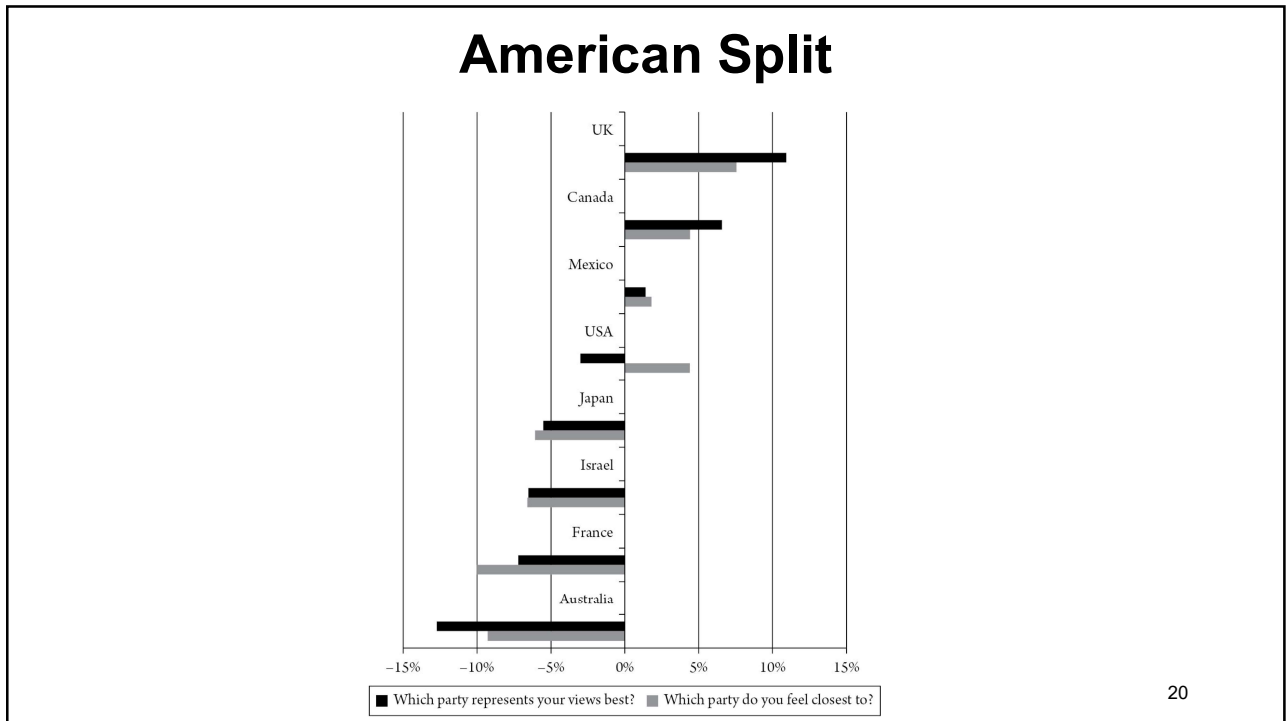
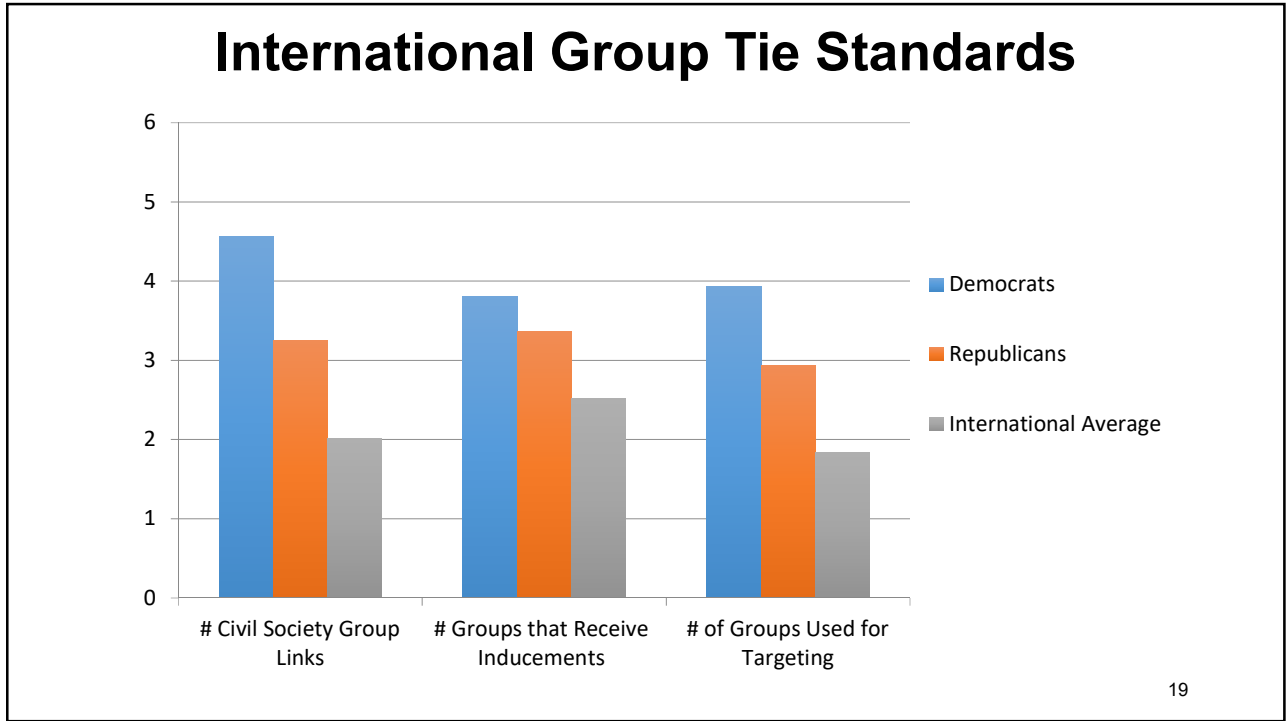




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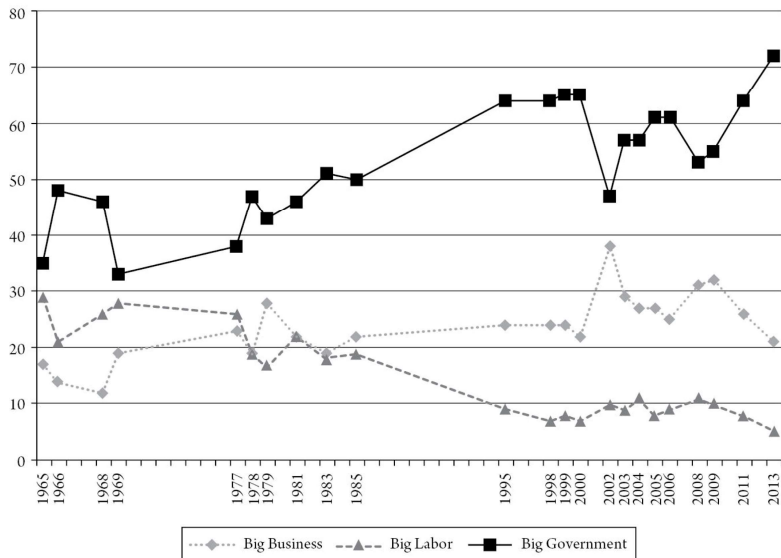


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## Fear of Big Government

Figure 2-14 Percent of the Public Most Fearful of Big Business, Big Labor, and Big Government



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## Reinforcement of Party Asymmetry

Different  
Electorates

Different Public  
Reputations

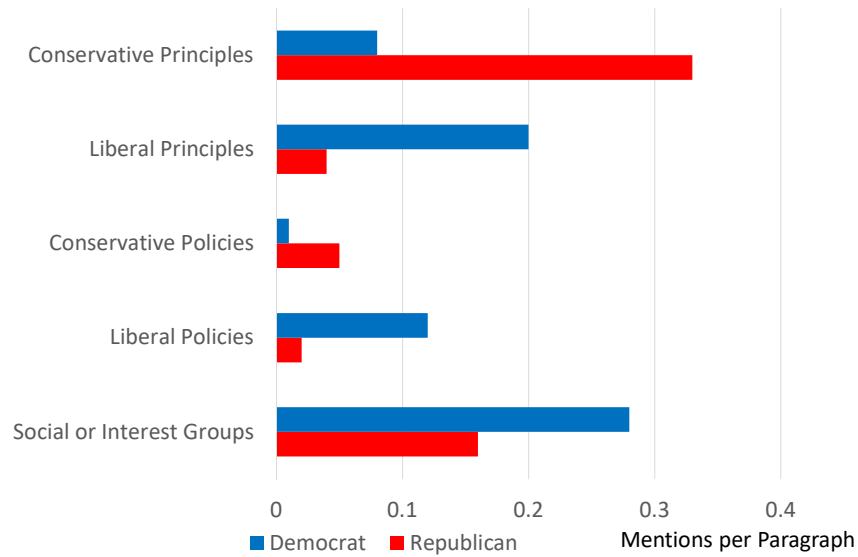
Different  
Information  
Sources

Different  
Governing  
Styles

Different  
Campaign  
Messages

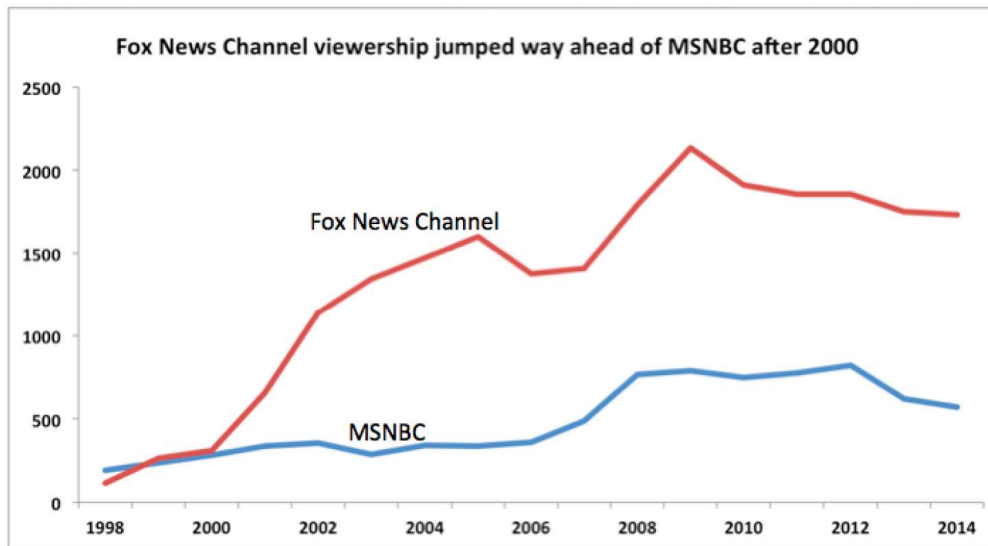
Different  
Policymaking  
Goals

## Nomination Speeches Since 1948



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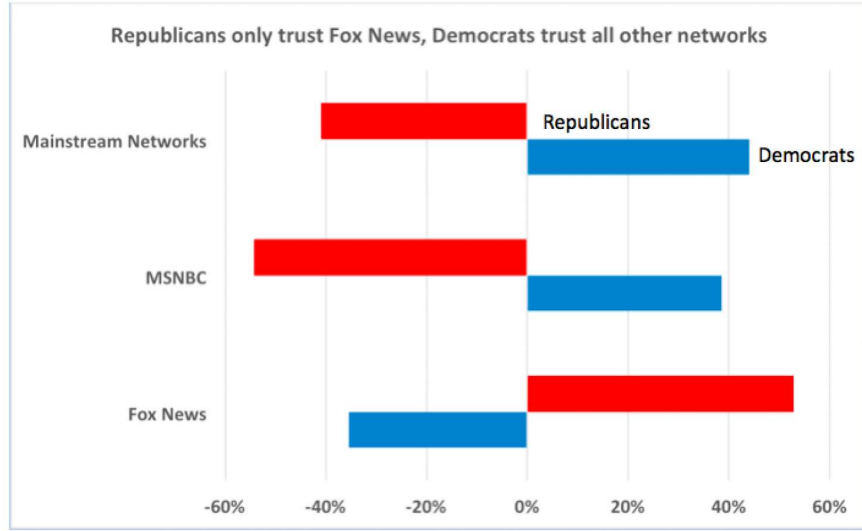
## Conservative Media Success



Median monthly primetime viewership in thousands by year. Data from Nielson made available by the Pew Research Center.

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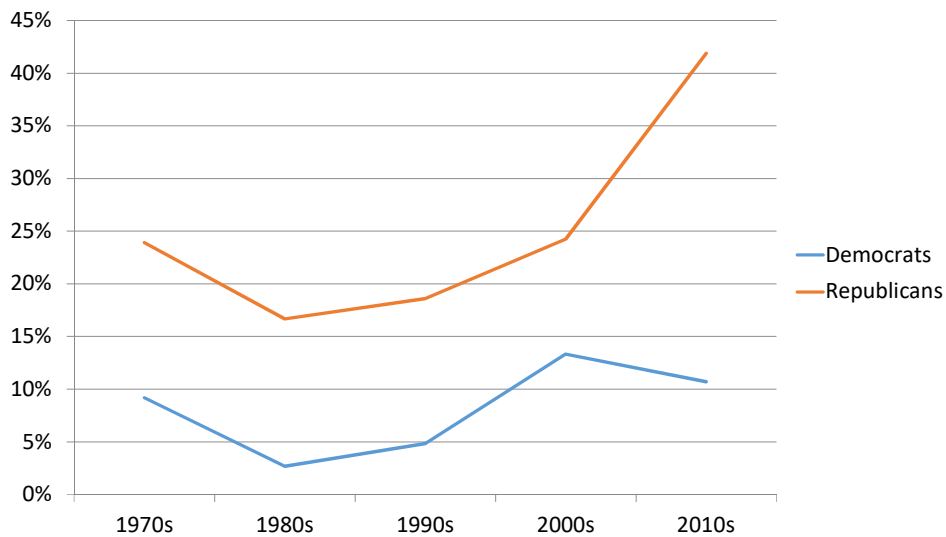
# Republicans Only Trust Conservative Media



Average percent trusting minus percent distrusting mainstream news networks (NBC, ABC, CBS, PBS), MSNBC, and Fox News Channel. Public Policy Polling surveys, 2010-2015.

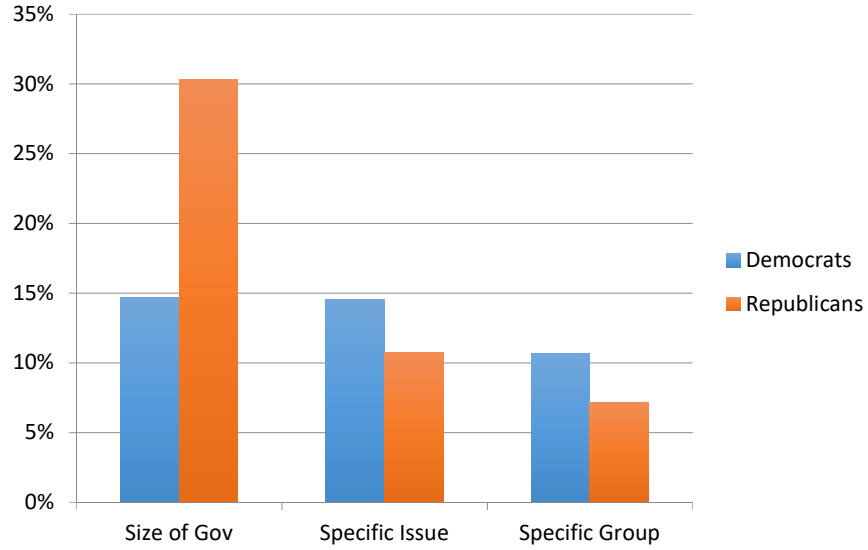
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# Ideological Congressional Primary Challengers



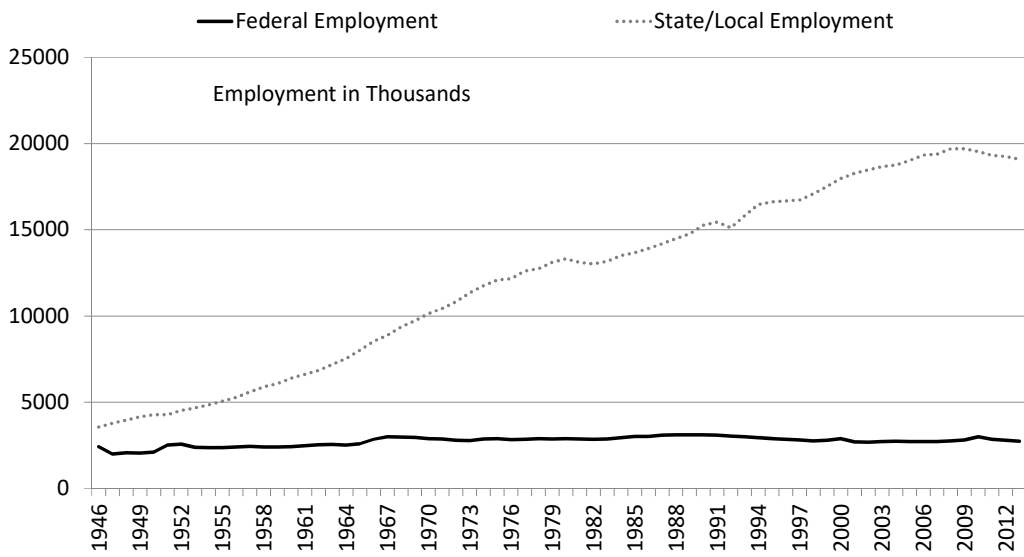
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## Themes in Congressional Advertising



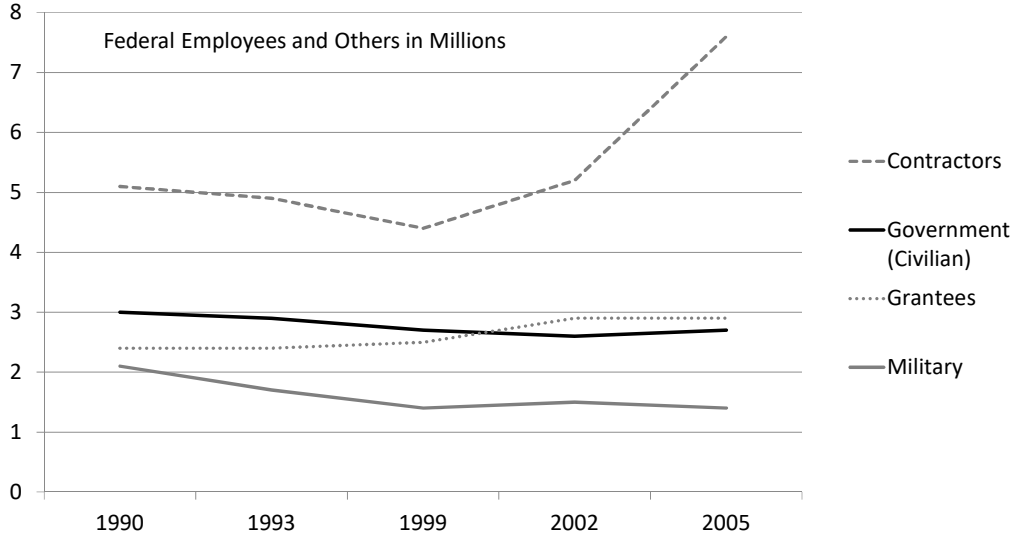
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## Policy Consequences: Devolution



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## Policy Consequences: Hollowing Out

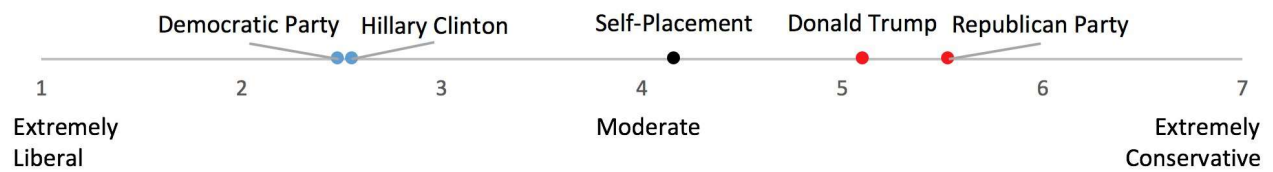


## Does 2016 Change Everything?

## Other Asymmetric Contests: Downsian?

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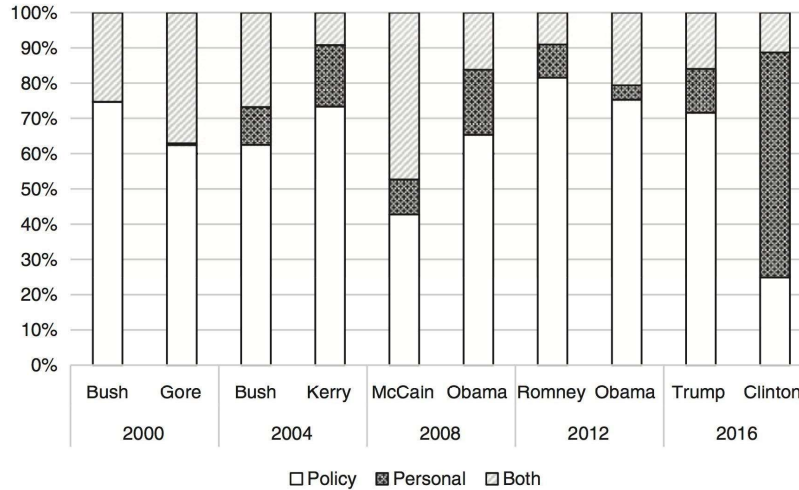
## Donald Trump: Moderate?



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## Odd Clinton Campaign



**Figure 9:** Substance of Presidential Advertising over Time (June 8–Election Day).  
Source: Kantar Media/CMAG with analysis by the Wesleyan Media Project.

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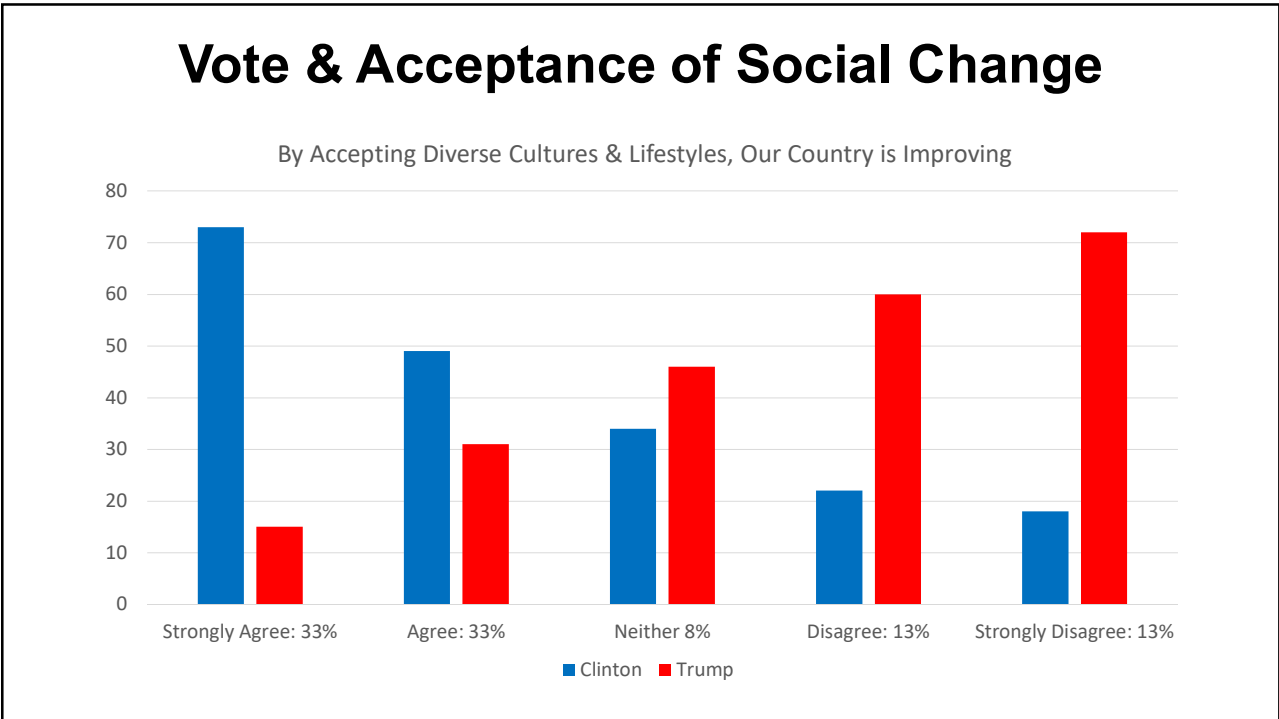
## Changing Class Politics?

Table 2.4 Top image for Democratic and Republican likes and dislikes, 1952–2004

Year	Democratic like	Democratic dislike	Republican like	Republican dislike
1952	Party of <b>working class</b>	Corruption/graft/dishonest	Time for change	Party of big business and upper class
1956	Party of <b>working class</b>	Negative campaign	Dwight Eisenhower	Party of big business and upper class
1960	Party of <b>working class</b>	Too much government spending	Republicans peace party	Party of big business and upper class
1964	Party of <b>working class</b>	Too much government spending	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
1968	Party of <b>working class</b>	Too much government spending	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
1972	Party of <b>working class</b>	George McGovern	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
1976	Party of <b>working class</b>	Too much government spending	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
1980	Party of <b>working class</b>	Welfare/poverty policies	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
1984	Party of <b>working class</b>	Too liberal	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
1988	Party of <b>working class</b>	Too liberal	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
1992	Party of <b>working class</b>	Too much government spending	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
1996	Party of <b>working class</b>	In favor of big government	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
2000	Party of <b>working class</b>	In favor of big government	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class
2004	Party of <b>working class</b>	Too liberal	Conservatism	Party of big business and upper class

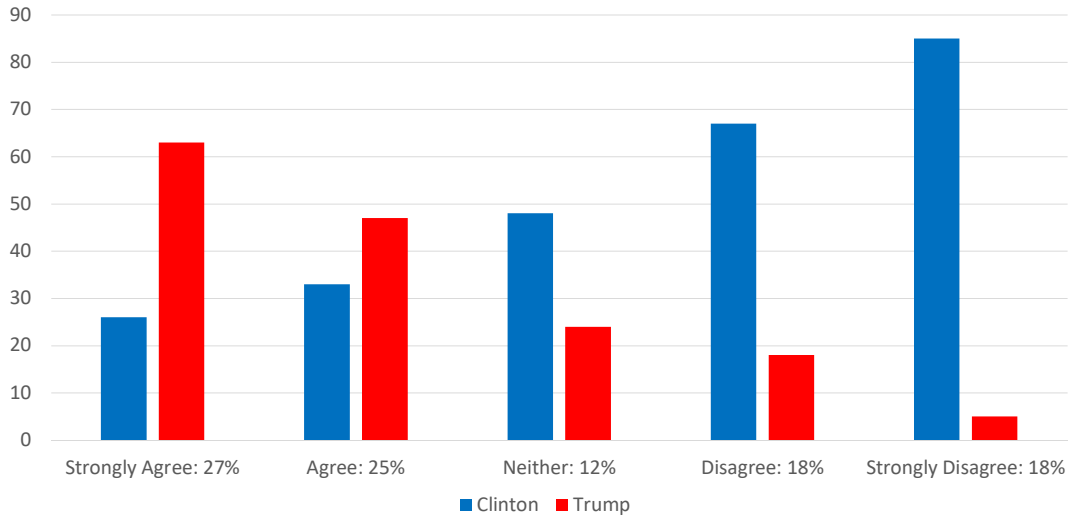
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# Shifting Areas



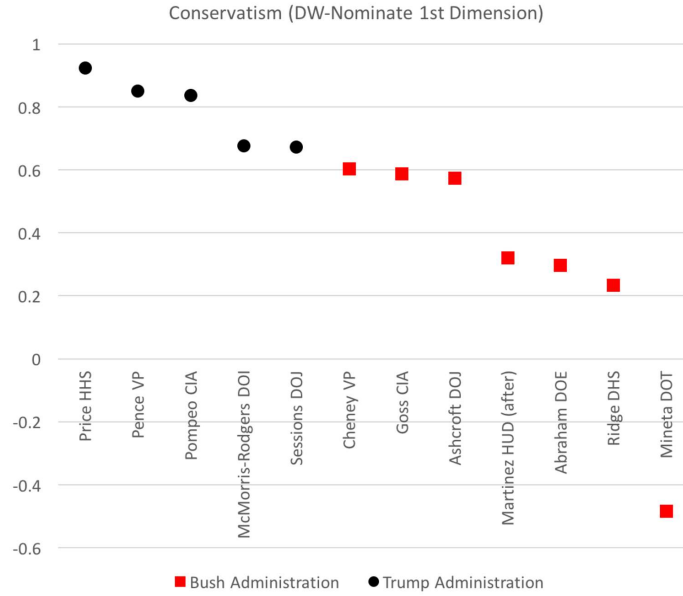
## Presidential Vote by Racial Attitudes

Many Minorities Overcame Prejudice, Blacks Should Do Same Without Favors



## Congressional Polarization by Issue

# Conservative Trump Administration



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# Trump Agenda and Public Response

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## **Trump Unpopularity**

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## **Partisan Elections and Partisan Change**

## Change in Unmatched Parties

- Symbolic conservative base vs. coalition of loyal minorities
- Majorities with broad principles vs. many specific programs
- Ideological media vs. diverse sources & trusted mainstream
- Purist symbolic campaigns vs. demographic group alignment
- Battle over scope of government vs. programs for problems
- Perpetual unmet promises vs. expanding agenda & priorities
- Broad move to the right vs. changing constituency politics

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