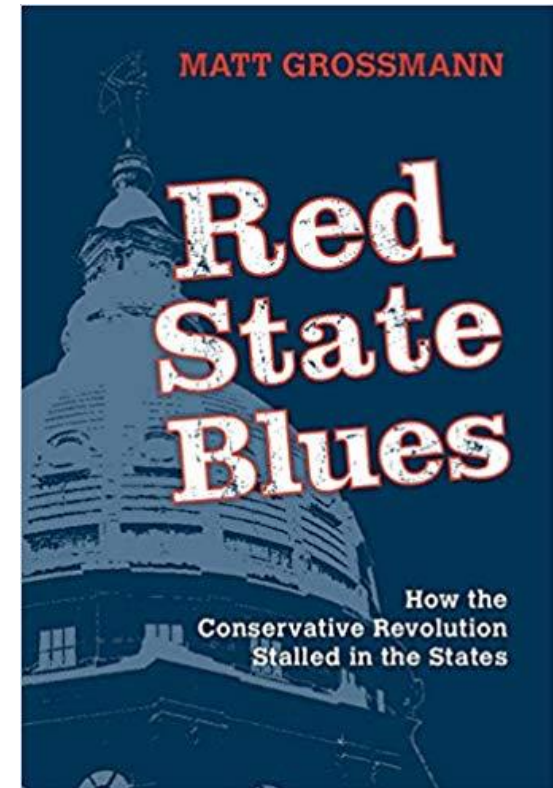


The Republican Agenda in the States

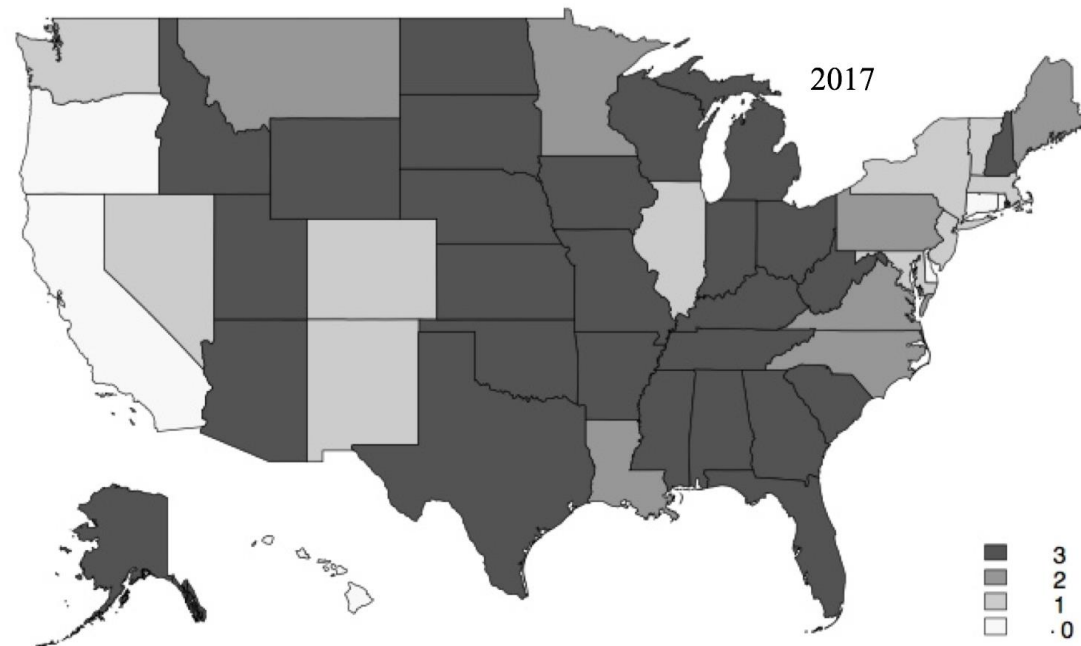
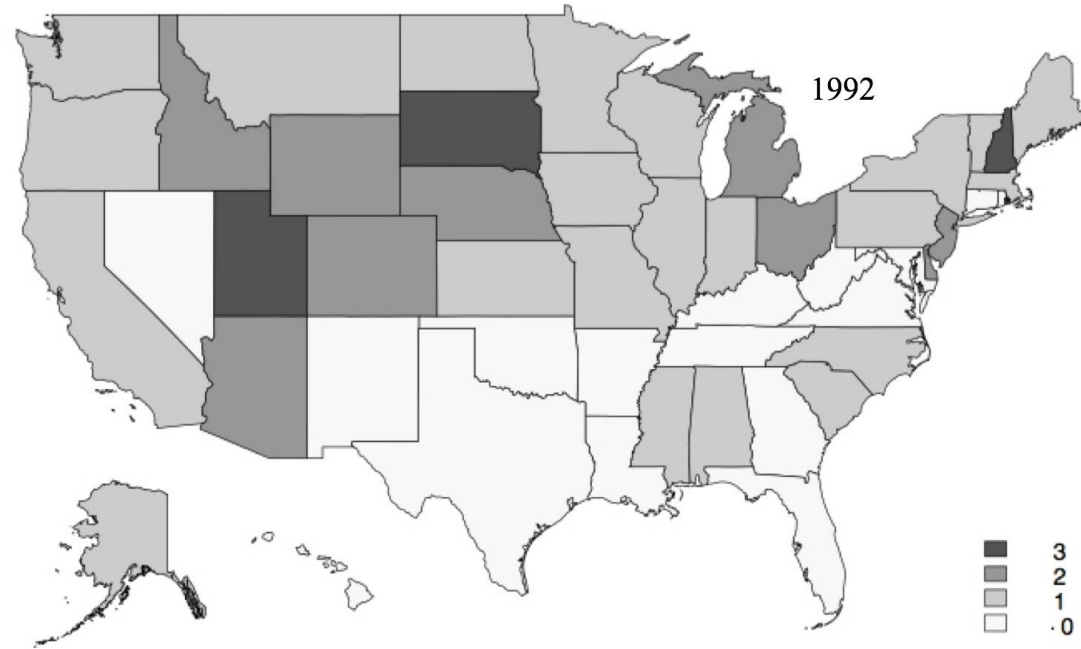
Matt Grossmann



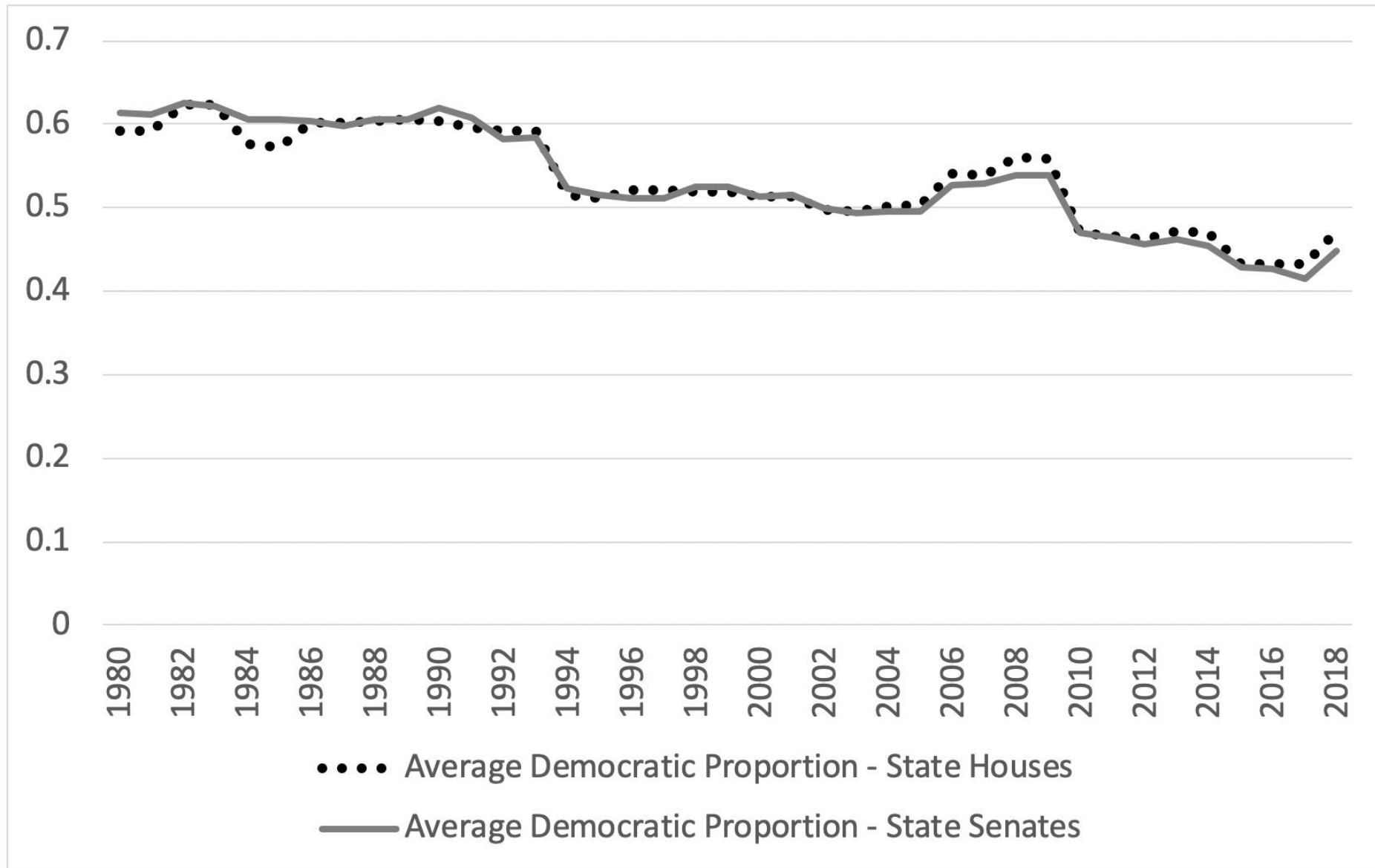
MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

Institute for Public Policy
and Social Research
Michigan Political Leadership Program

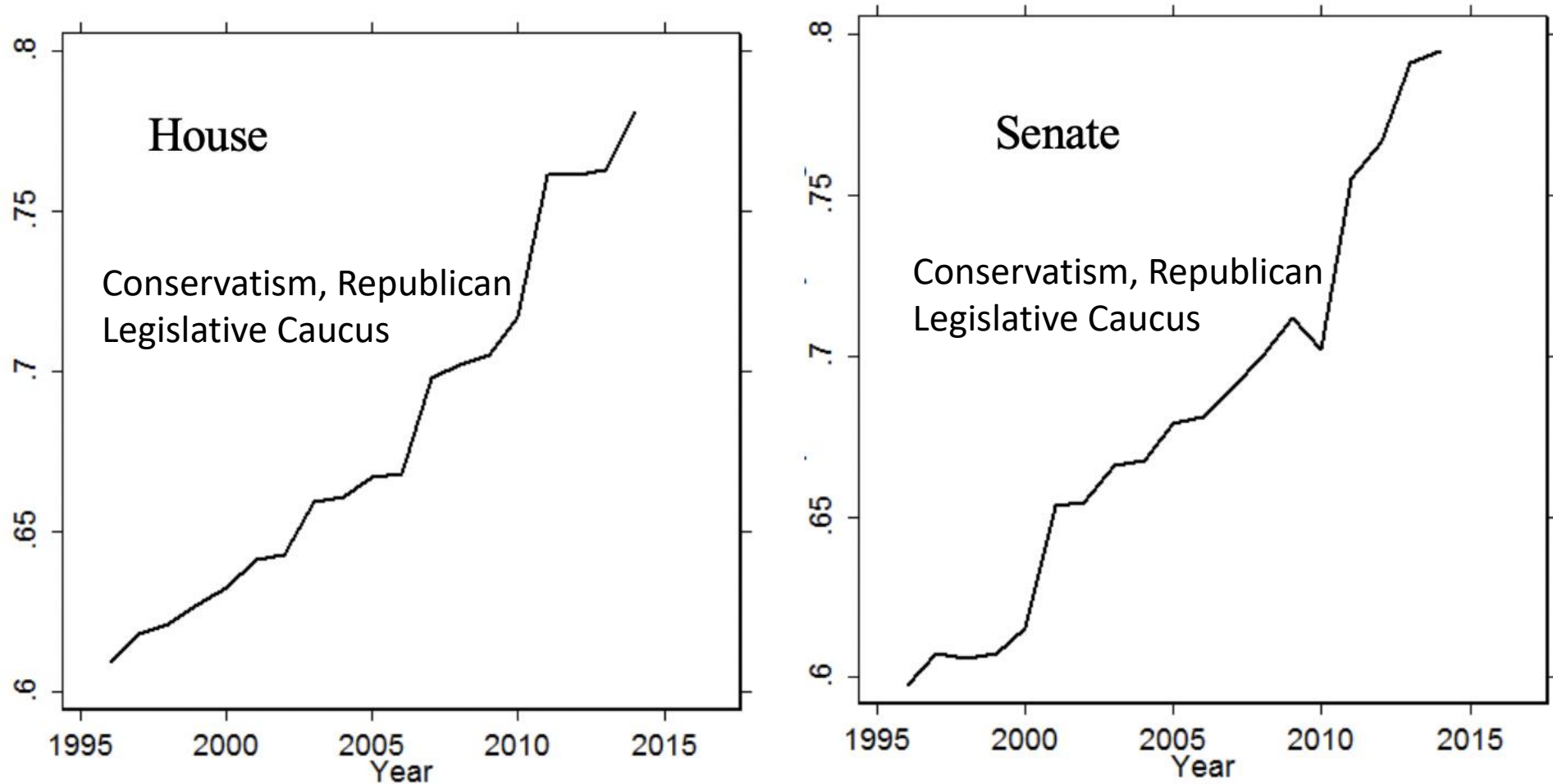
America Turned Red, 1992-2017



Declining Democratic Control of Legislatures

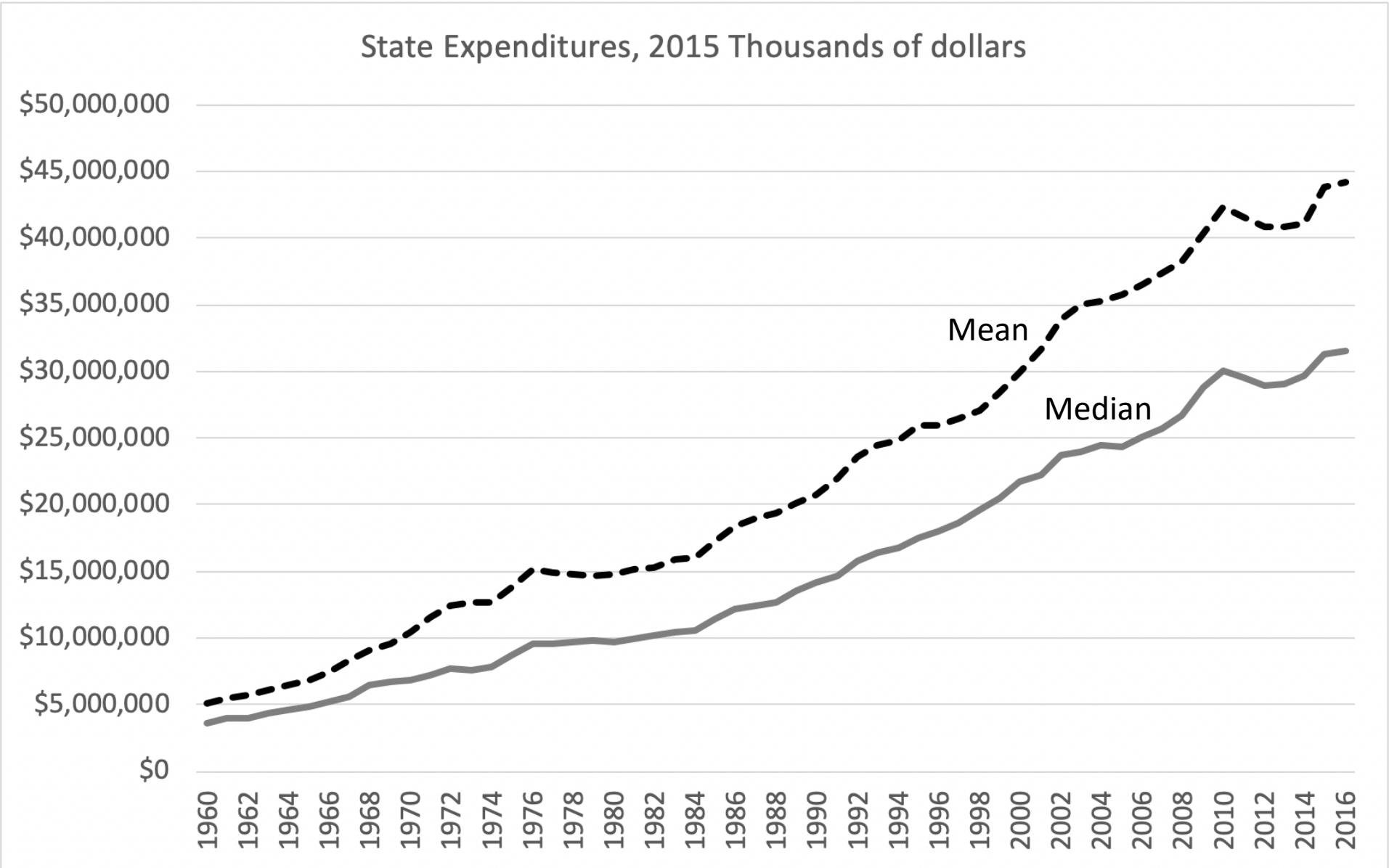


More Conservative State Republican Parties

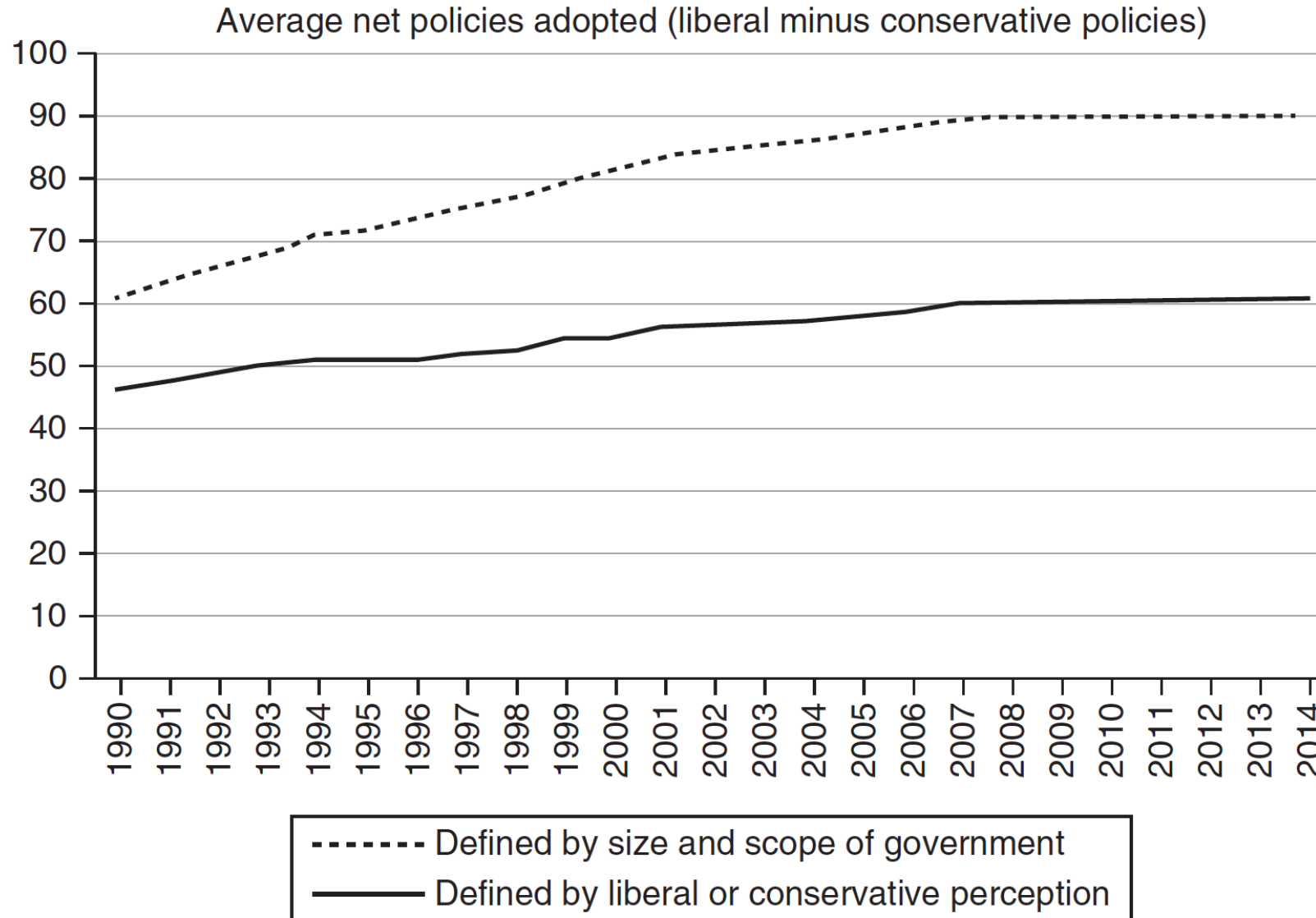


Shor and McCarty, Measuring American Legislatures, americanlegislatures.com

But Not-So-Conservative Policy Results

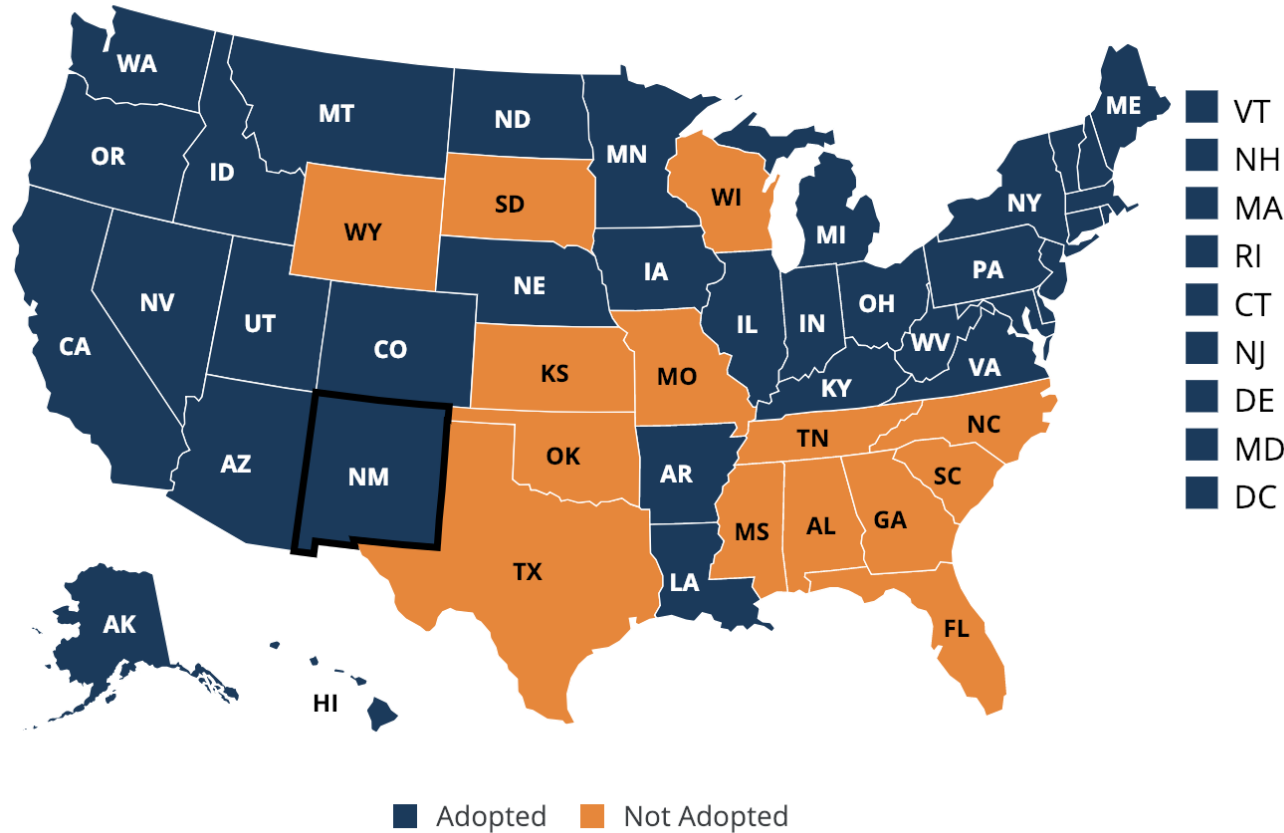


Not-So-Conservative Policy Adoptions



Results, But Not Conservative Trends

Status of State Action on the Medicaid Expansion Decision



Policy-Specific Absolute Measures

States Moving Leftward:

Campaign Finance, Civil Rights, Environment, Health, LGBT, Drugs, Taxes, Voting

States Polarizing:

Abortion, Guns, Immigration, Labor

States Moving Rightward:

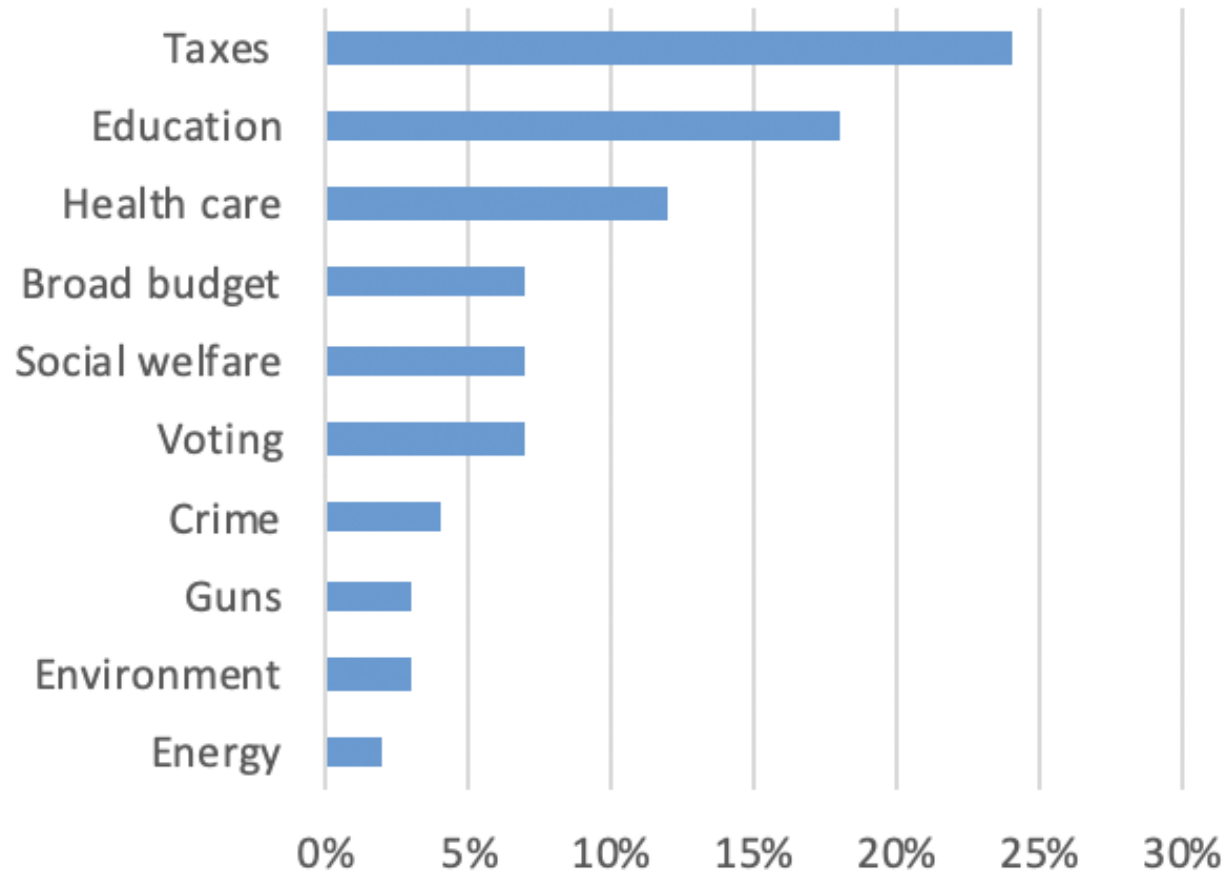
Education

No Move:

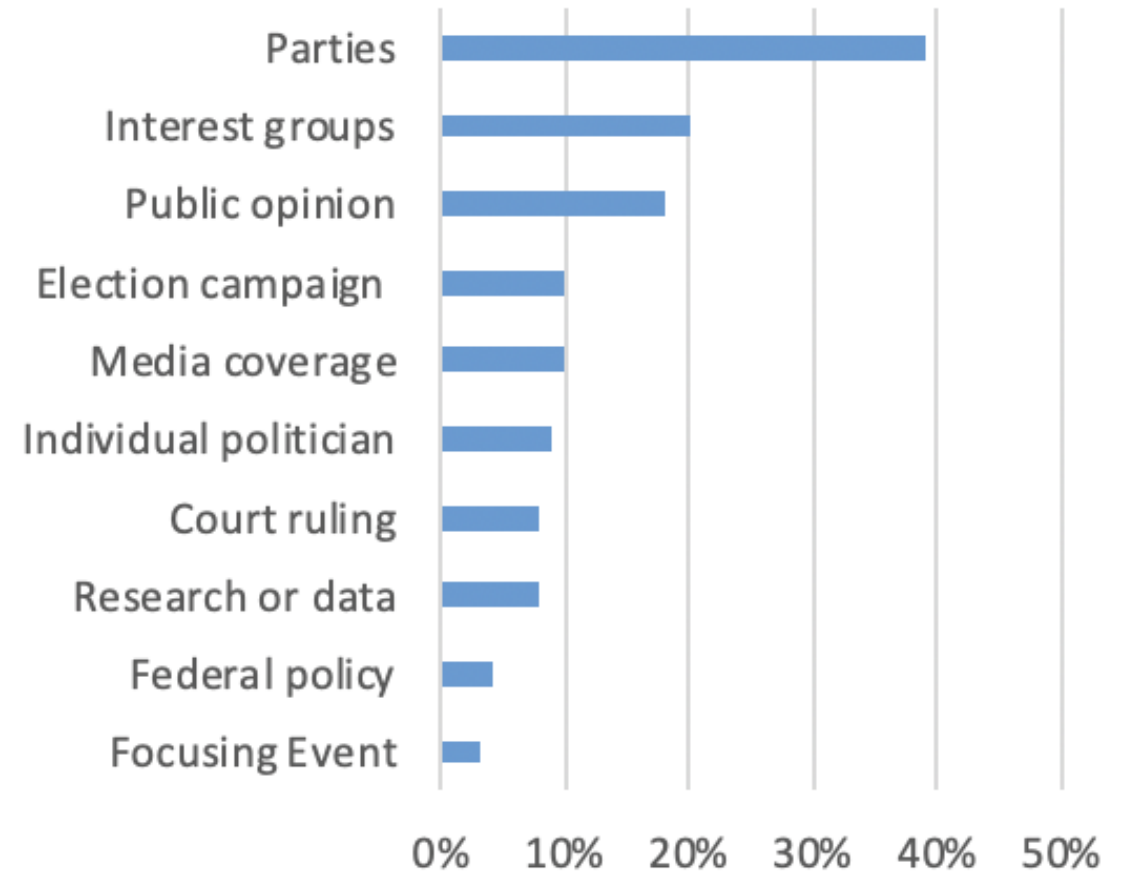
Criminal Justice, Housing

Major Policy Proposals in Qualitative Histories

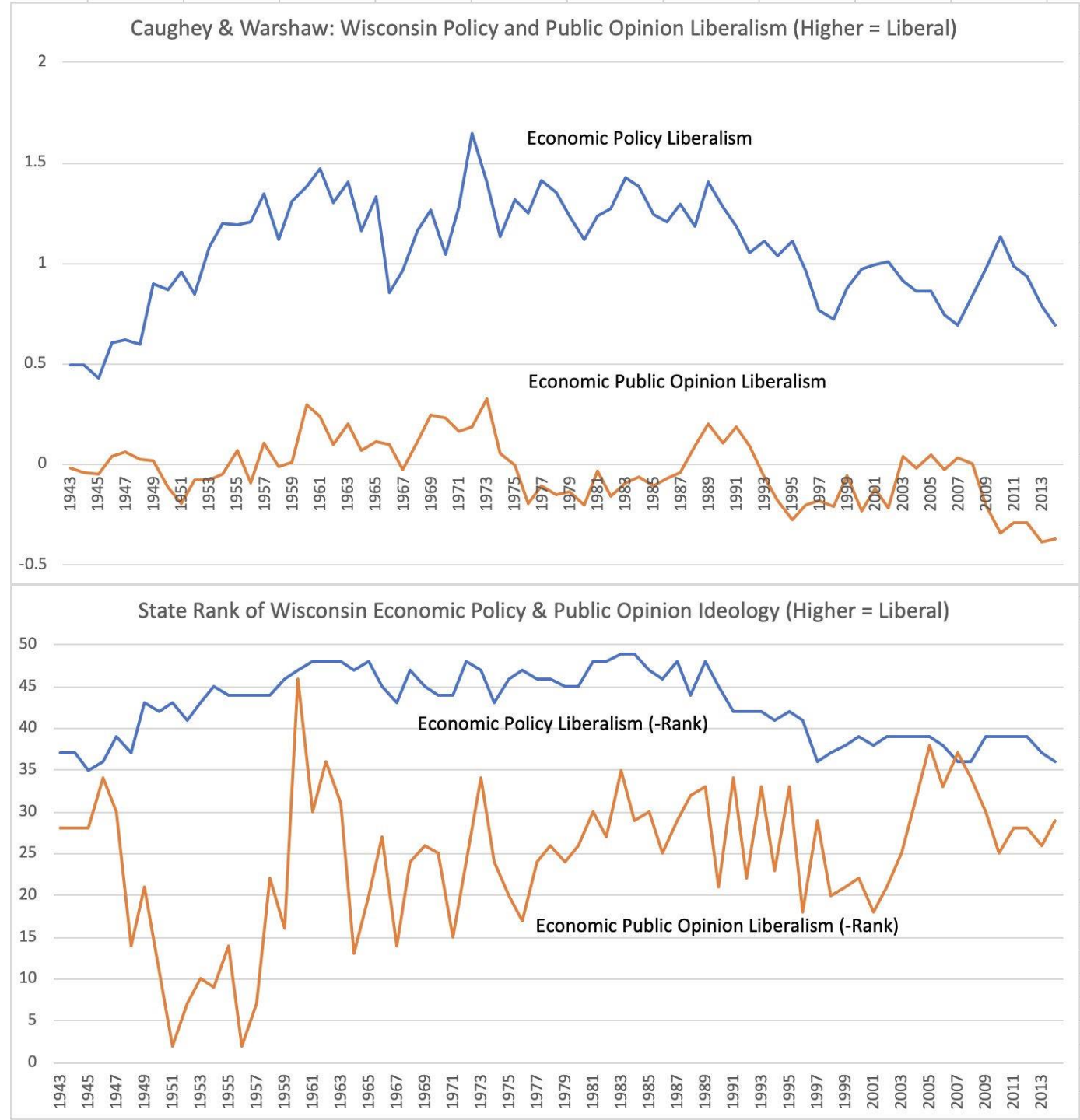
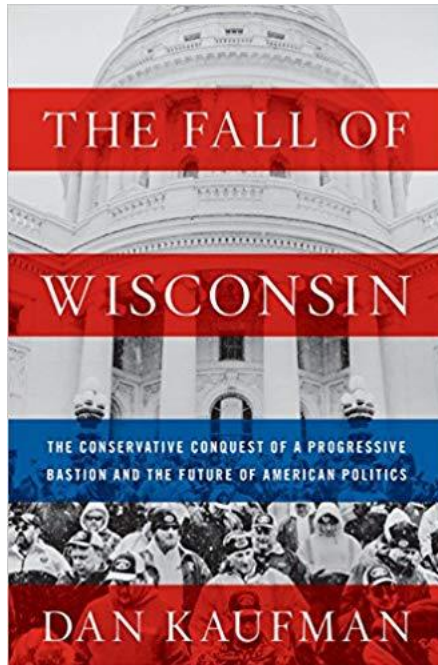
Issue Areas in Major State Policy Debates



Factors in Success of State Policy Proposals



The Fall of Wisconsin?



ALEC Takeover?

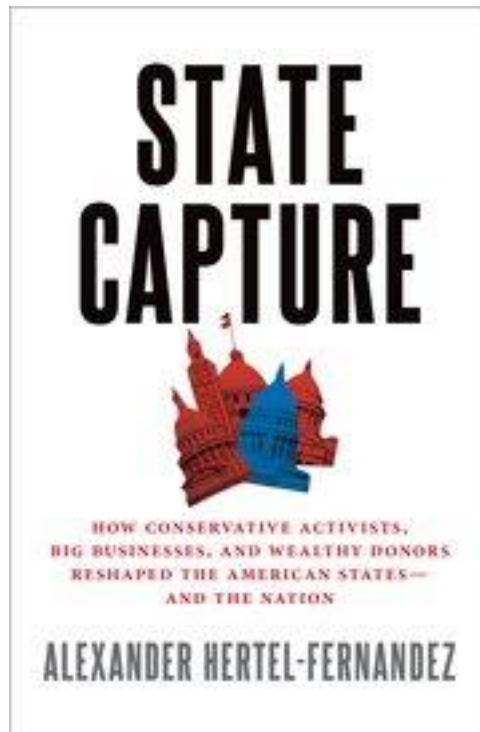


Table 2.3. Top ALEC Bills Enacted, 1995–2013.^a

<i>ALEC Bill</i>	<i>Enactments</i>
ALEC Education Reform Package ●●	314
Taking the Best: ALEC's Comprehensive Medical Liability Reform Proposal ●	178
Long-Term Care Insurance Act ●	56
High-Risk Health Insurance Pool Model Act ●	49
✗ Resolution Urging the Obama Administration to Launch Negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement with Taiwan	42
College Savings Account Act ●	41
✗ Resolution to Restate State Sovereignty	27
✗ Resolution Calling for a Federal Balanced Budget Amendment	23
Rescission External Review Act ●	20
✗ State Responses to Kyoto Climate Change Protocol	18
Vulnerable Adults Act ●	17
✗ Resolution in Favor of a US Constitutional Amendment on Judicial Taxation	16
Expanded Consumer Choice in Financial Services Act ●	16
✗ Resolution on Disease Management of Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease	16
The A-Plus Literacy Act ●●	16

Policy Evaluations of Proximate Outcomes

	Right-to-Work	Welfare Reform	Gun Access	Abortion Restriction	Income Tax Cuts
Clear Link		welfare rolls, recipient jobs & poverty	gun suicides	clinic closure, abortion travel	income growth
<i>Mixed, Conflicted, or Minimal</i>	<i>Unionization, worker injuries</i>	<i>income</i>	<i>child gun injuries, gun homicides, gun hospitalizations</i>	<i>abortions, timing, contraception</i>	
No Link					employment

Policy Evaluations of Broader Outcomes

	Right-to-Work	Welfare Reform	Gun Access	Abortion Restriction	Income Tax Cuts
Clear Link	Democratic vote, self-employment				
Mixed, Conflicted, or Minimal	wages, manufacturing, employment, firm growth, inequality, business	poverty rate, college, labor supply	robbery, assaults, crime	child death, injuries	firm growth, economic growth
No Link	home ownership	marriage, fertility, food consumption	non-firearm homicides		

Outcomes of Partisan Governance

	Association with Democratic Control
Voter Turnout	-
Felons Ineligible to Vote	0
Violent Crime Rate	+
Robbery Rate	0
Rape Rate	0
Property Crime Rate	+
Murder Rate	+
Car Theft Rate	+
Value Added by Agriculture	0
Unemployment rate	+
Top 1% Share of Income	-
Top 0.1% Share of Income	-
Consumer Price Index	-
Real Per Capita Income	-
Population Growth	0
Housing Price Index	-
Gross State Product Per Capita	-
High School Graduation Rate	-
School Attendance Rate	+
Residential Sector Energy Price	0
CO2 emissions	0
Commercial Energy Consumed	+
New Green Card Holders	0
Health Spending Per Capita	0
Divorce Rate	+
Birth Rate	-
Abortion Rate	+

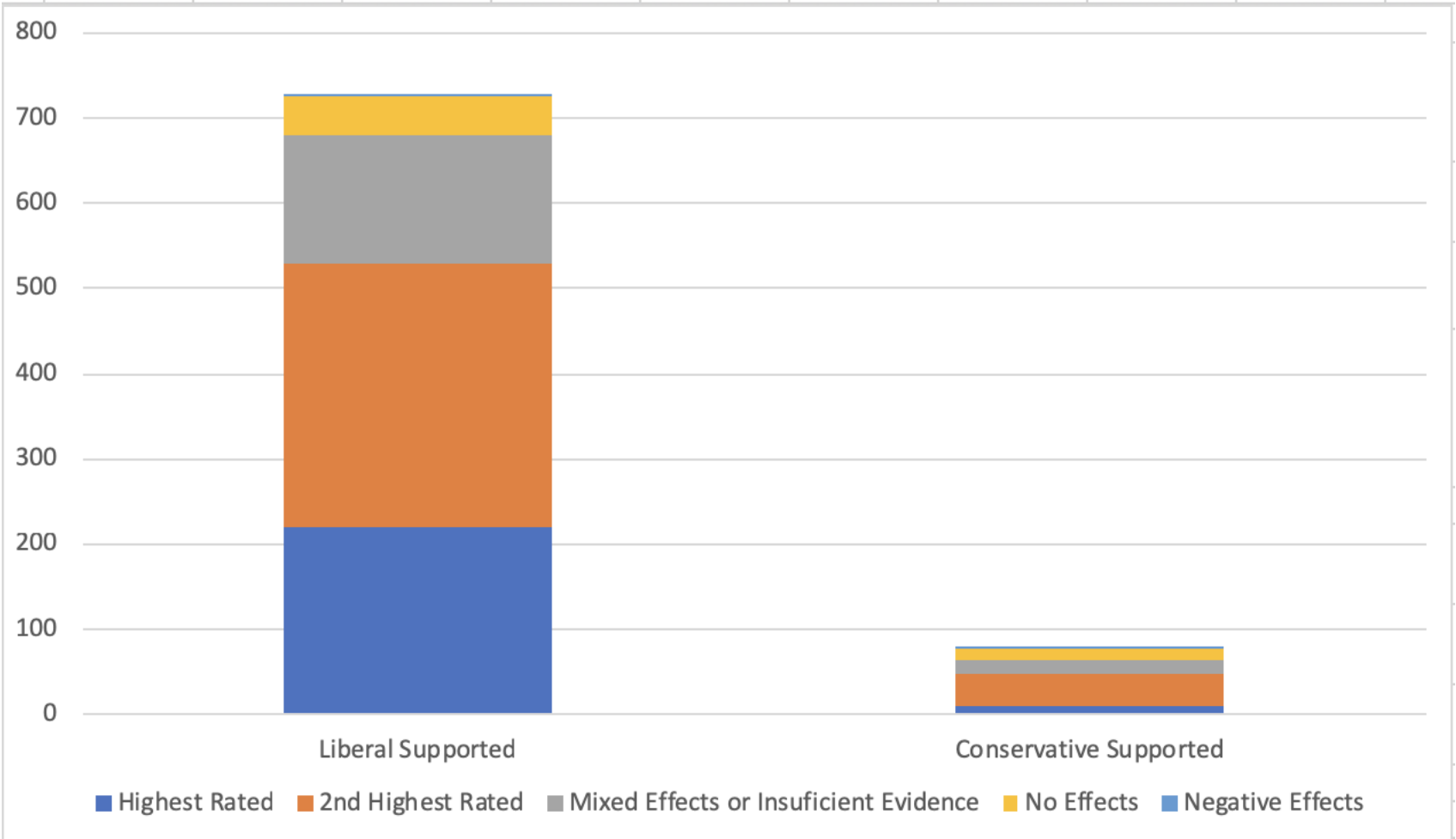
From Holbein and Dynes (2018). + and - indicate positive or negative control of state government. Zeros indicate no statistically significant

Outcomes of Partisan Governance

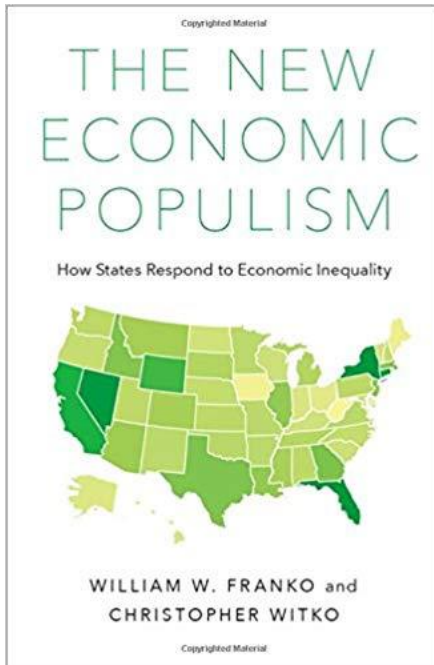
	Association with Democratic Control	Difference-in- Differences Causal Estimate	Regression Discontinuity Causal Estimate
Voter Turnout	-	0	0
Felons Ineligible to Vote	0	0	0
Violent Crime Rate	+	0	0
Robbery Rate	0	0	0
Rape Rate	0	0	0
Property Crime Rate	+	0	0
Murder Rate	+	0	0
Car Theft Rate	+	0	0
Value Added by Agriculture	0	0	0
Unemployment rate	+	0	0
Top 1% Share of Income	-	0	0
Top 0.1% Share of Income	-	0	0
Consumer Price Index	-	0	0
Real Per Capita Income	-	0	0
Population Growth	0	0	0
Housing Price Index	-	0	0
Gross State Product Per Capita	-	0	0
High School Graduation Rate	-	0	0
School Attendance Rate	+	0	0
Residential Sector Energy Price	0	0	0
CO2 emissions	0	0	0
Commercial Energy Consumed	+	0	0
New Green Card Holders	0	0	0
Health Spending Per Capita	0	0	0
Divorce Rate	+	0	0
Birth Rate	-	0	0
Abortion Rate	+	0	0

From Holbein and Dynes (2018). + and - indicate positive or negative relationships with full Democratic control of state government. Zeros indicate no statistically significant relationship.

Few “Evidence-Based” Policies are Conservative



Democratic Road Forward



New Wins, Bold Agendas... But Still Taking Half Measures

Lots of Lost Electoral Ground Not Easy to Win Back

Conclusions



Policy Results:

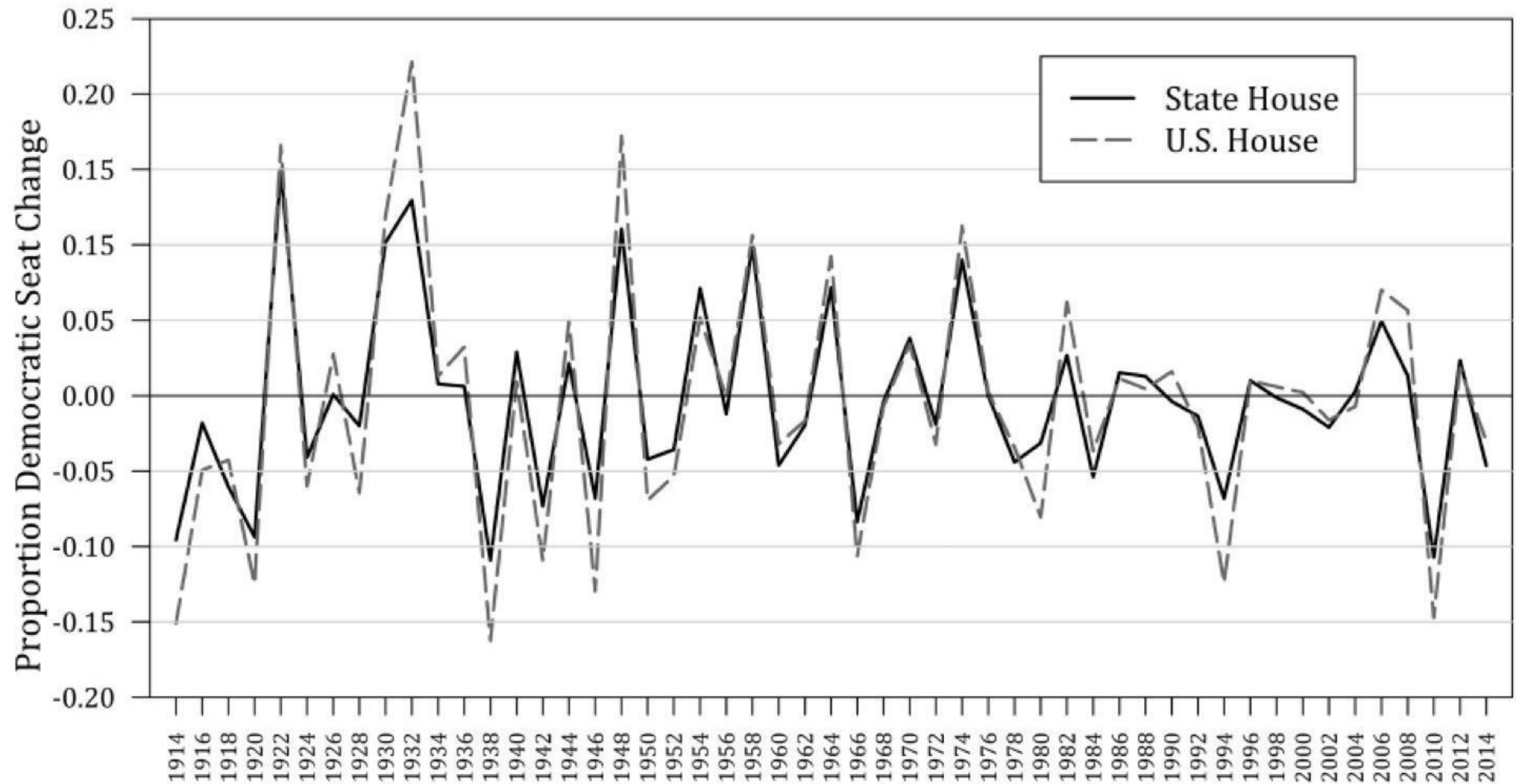
- Where most party influence, limited results: abortion, guns, immigration
- Where most results, limited party influence: education \$, taxes
- Real effects with lots of help: charter schools, criminal justice reform

Implications:

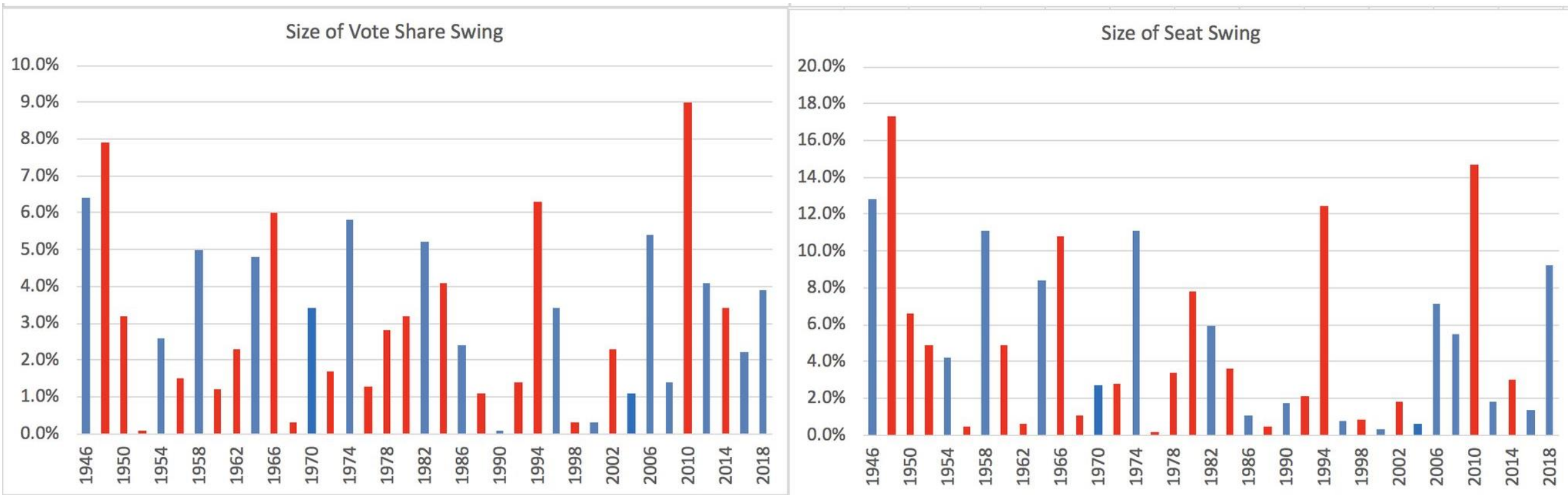
- Limits of conservative governance, stronger for size of government; dilemma
- Electoral results don't depend on policy success, might depend on failure
- No real "Red State" or "Blue State" model for state governance or outcomes

Partisan Elections and Partisan Change

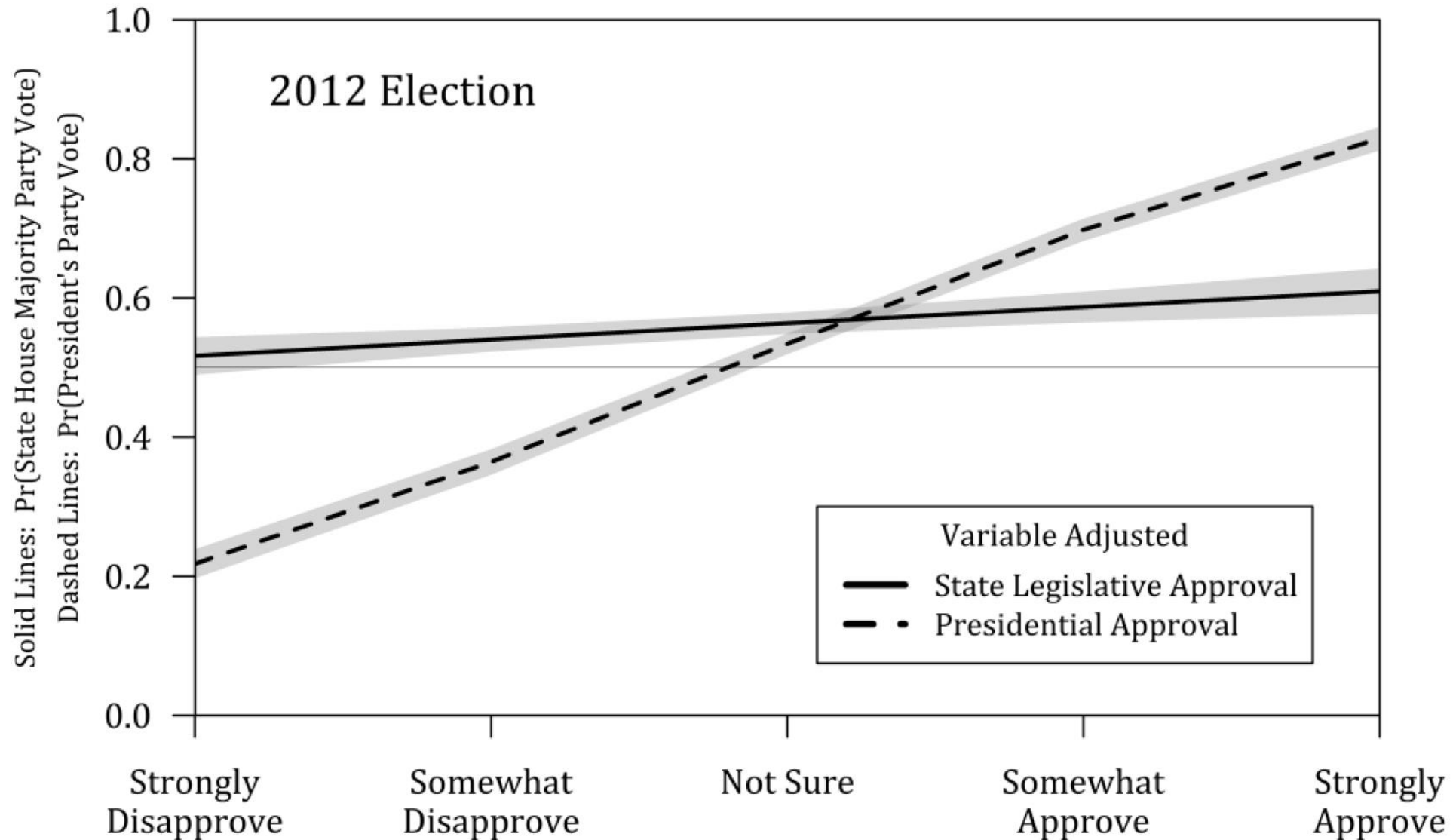
Democratic Seat Change in State House and U.S. House Elections



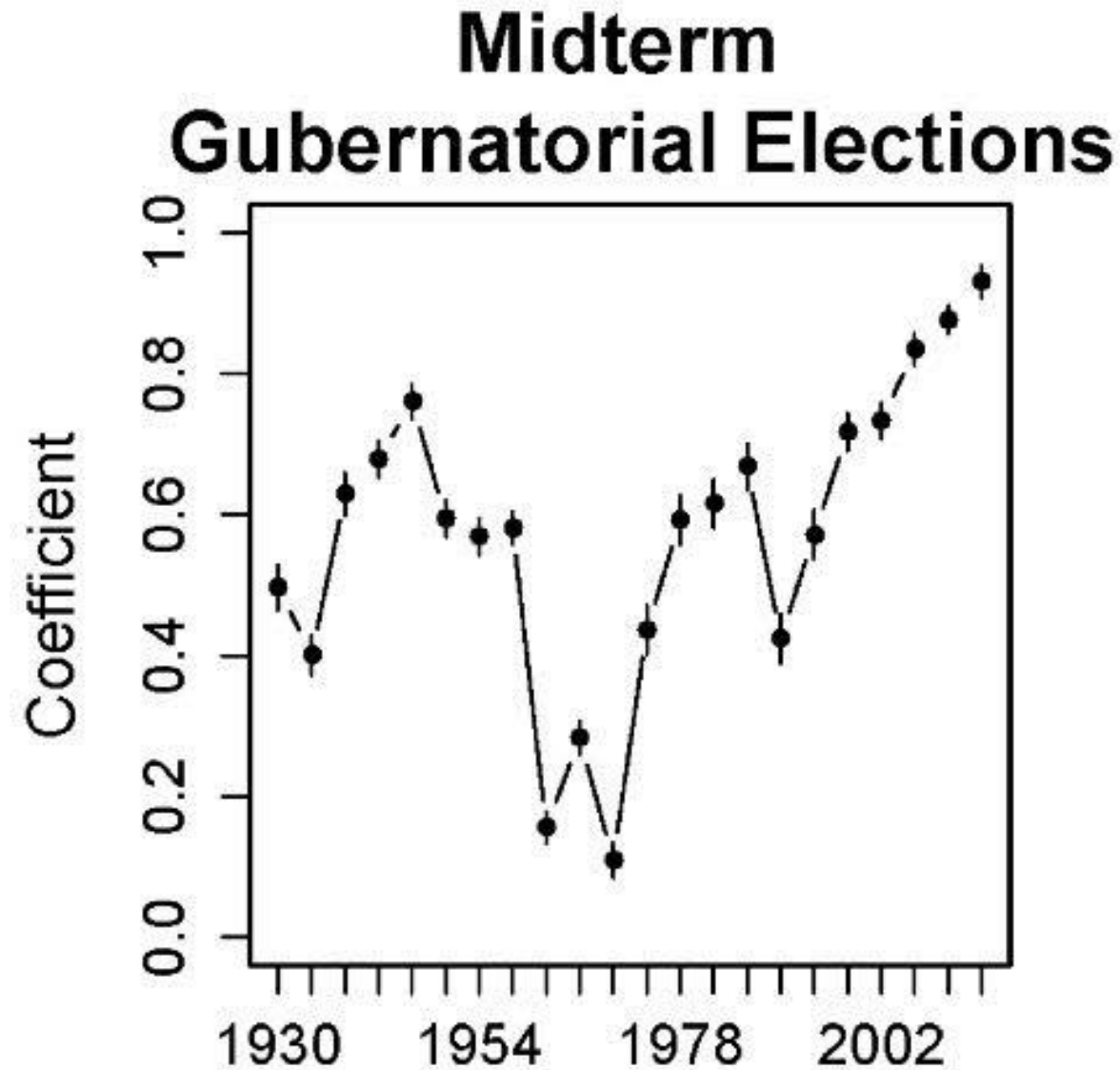
2018: Typical Midterm Backlash



State Legislative Votes & Presidential Approval



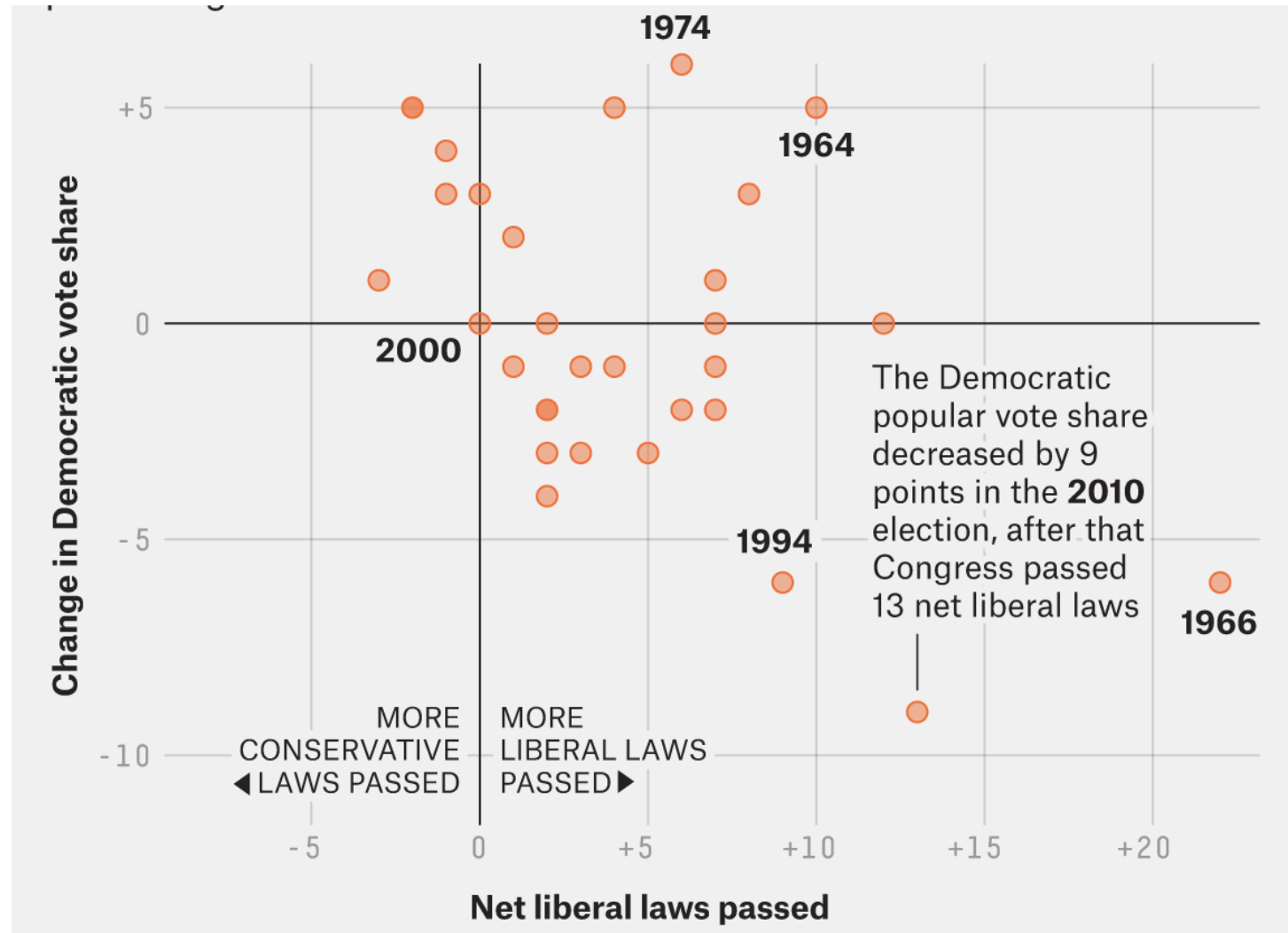
Nationalization of Politics



More Conservative Laws -> Liberal Backlash

Democrats Gain

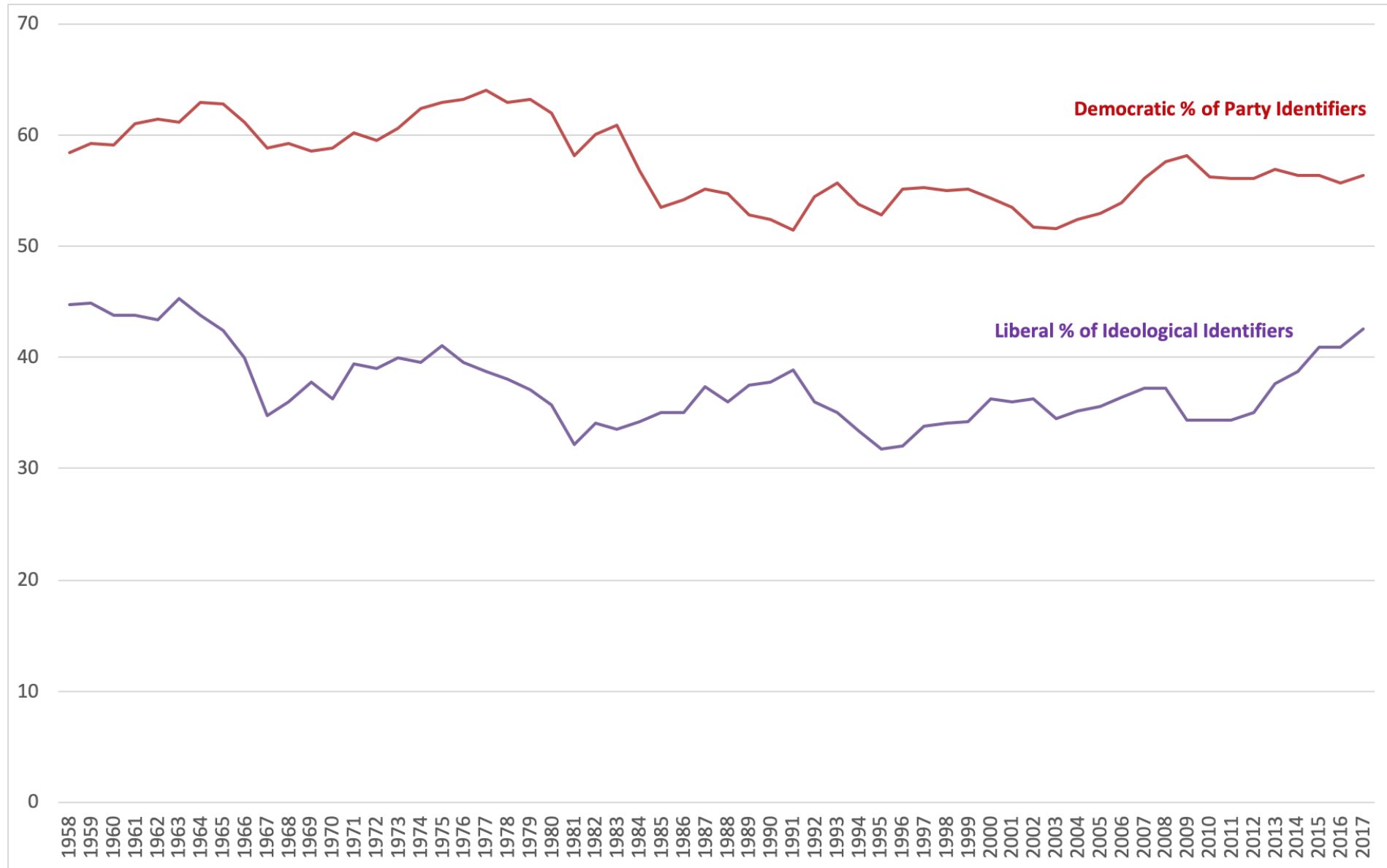
Republicans Gain



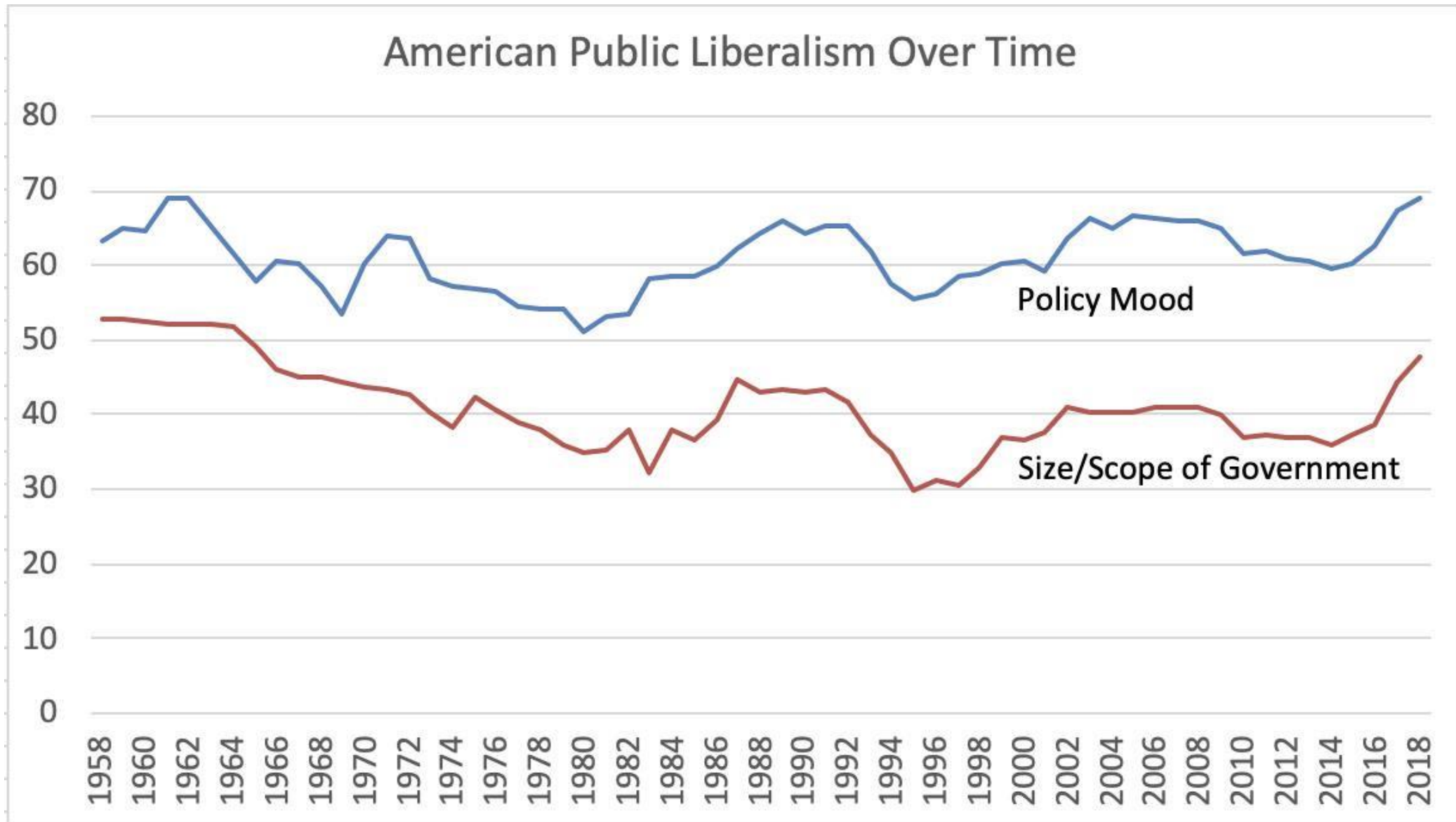
More conservative laws

More liberal laws

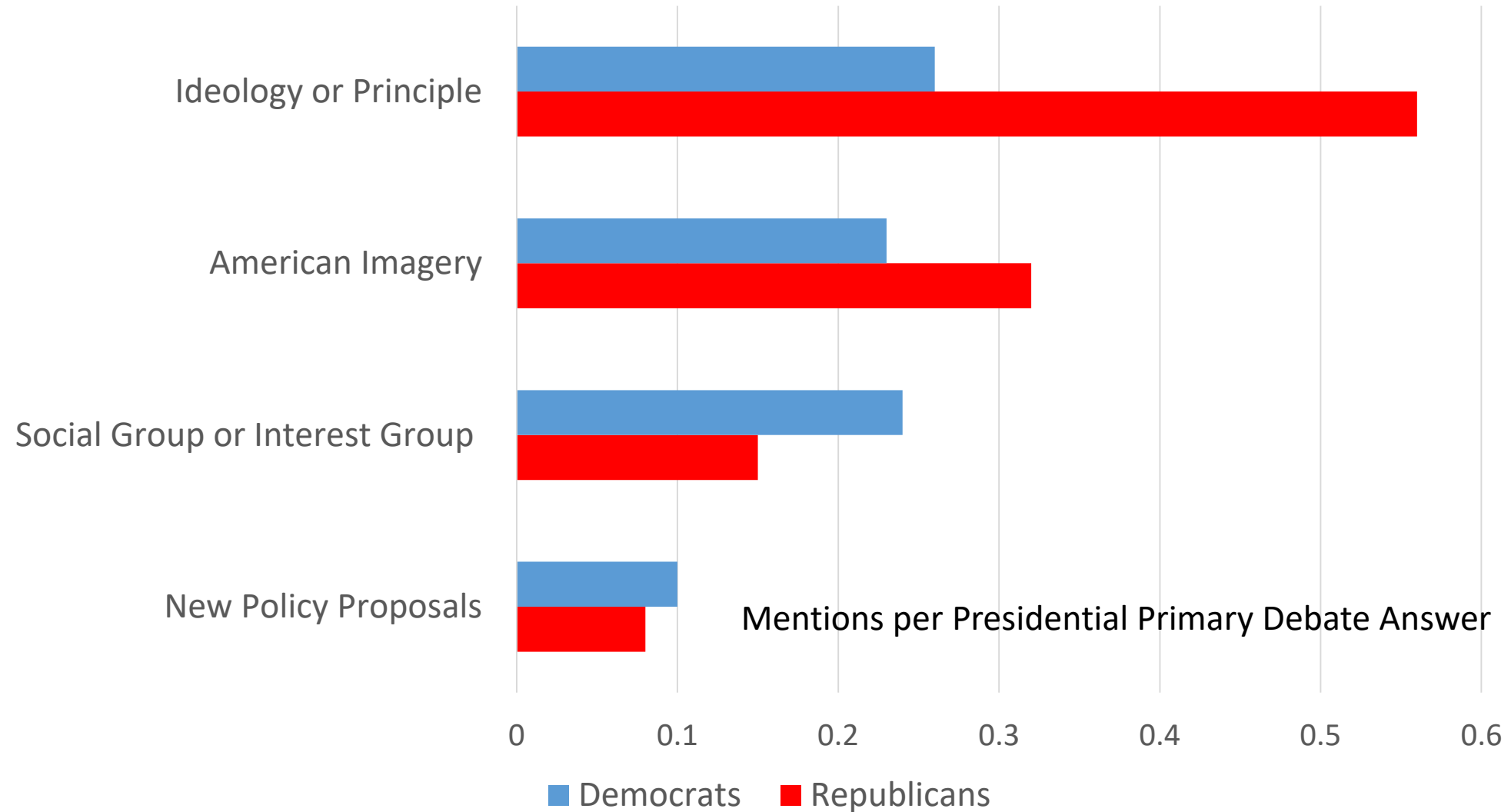
More Democrats but More Conservatives



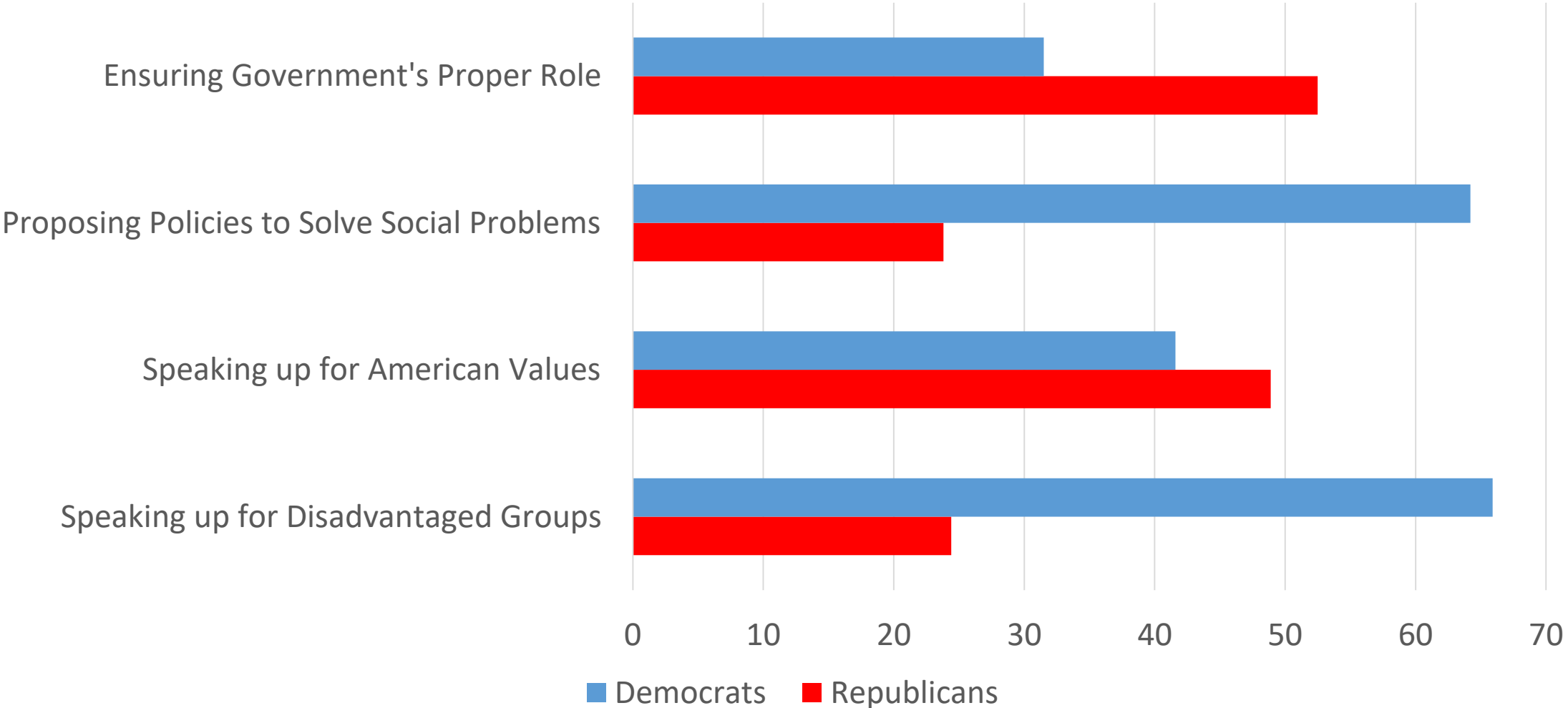
Generally Conservative, Specifically Liberal



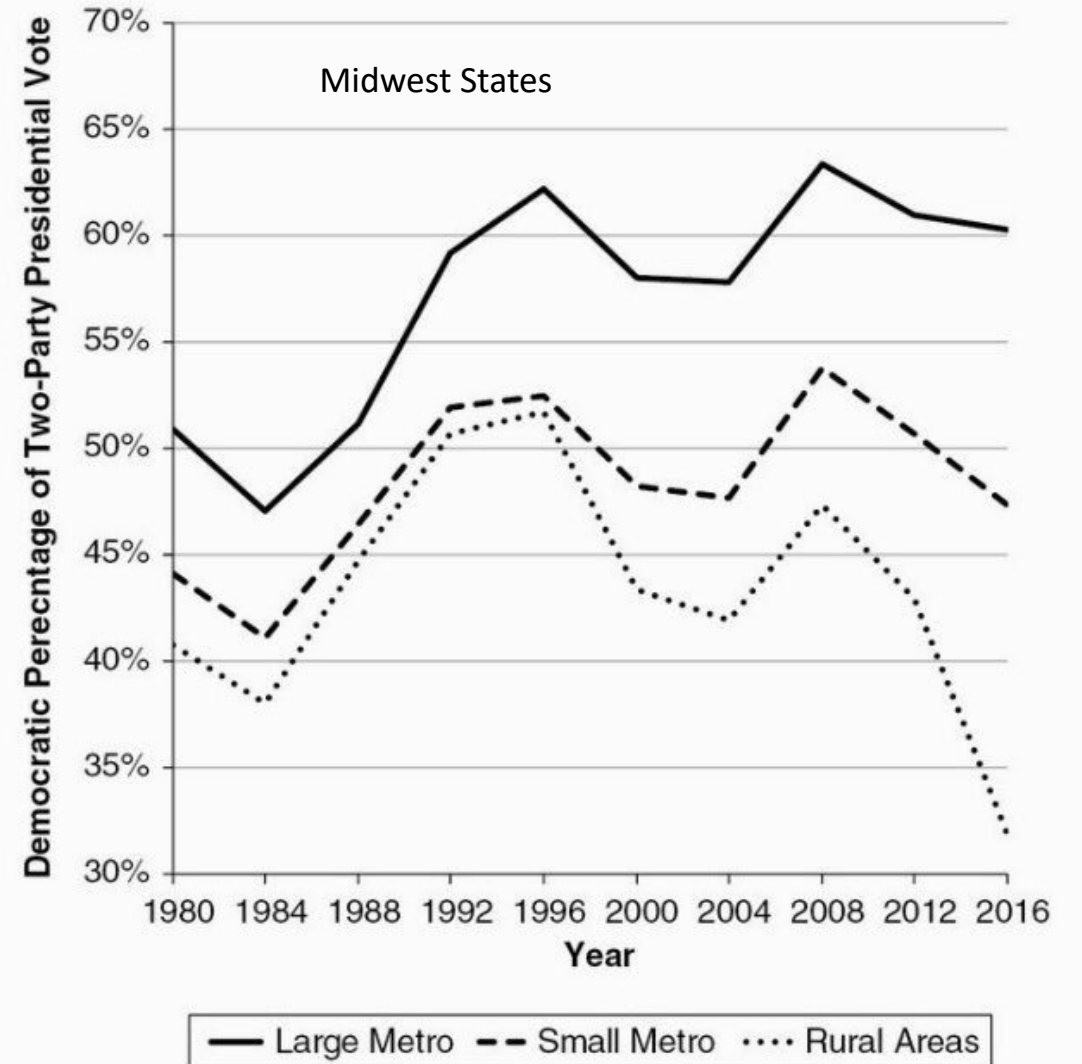
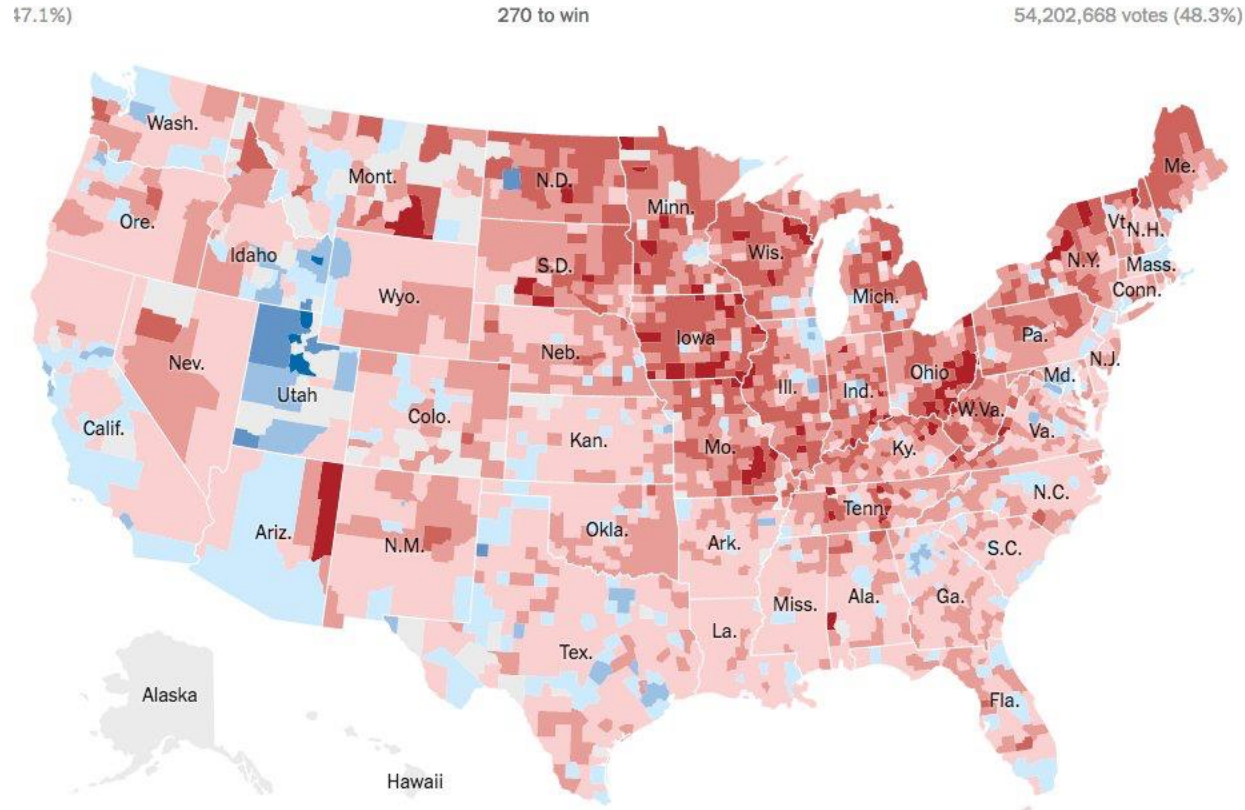
Democratic and Republican Debate Messages



Our Michigan Survey: Which Party is Better at:



2016: The Midwest



Odd Clinton Campaign

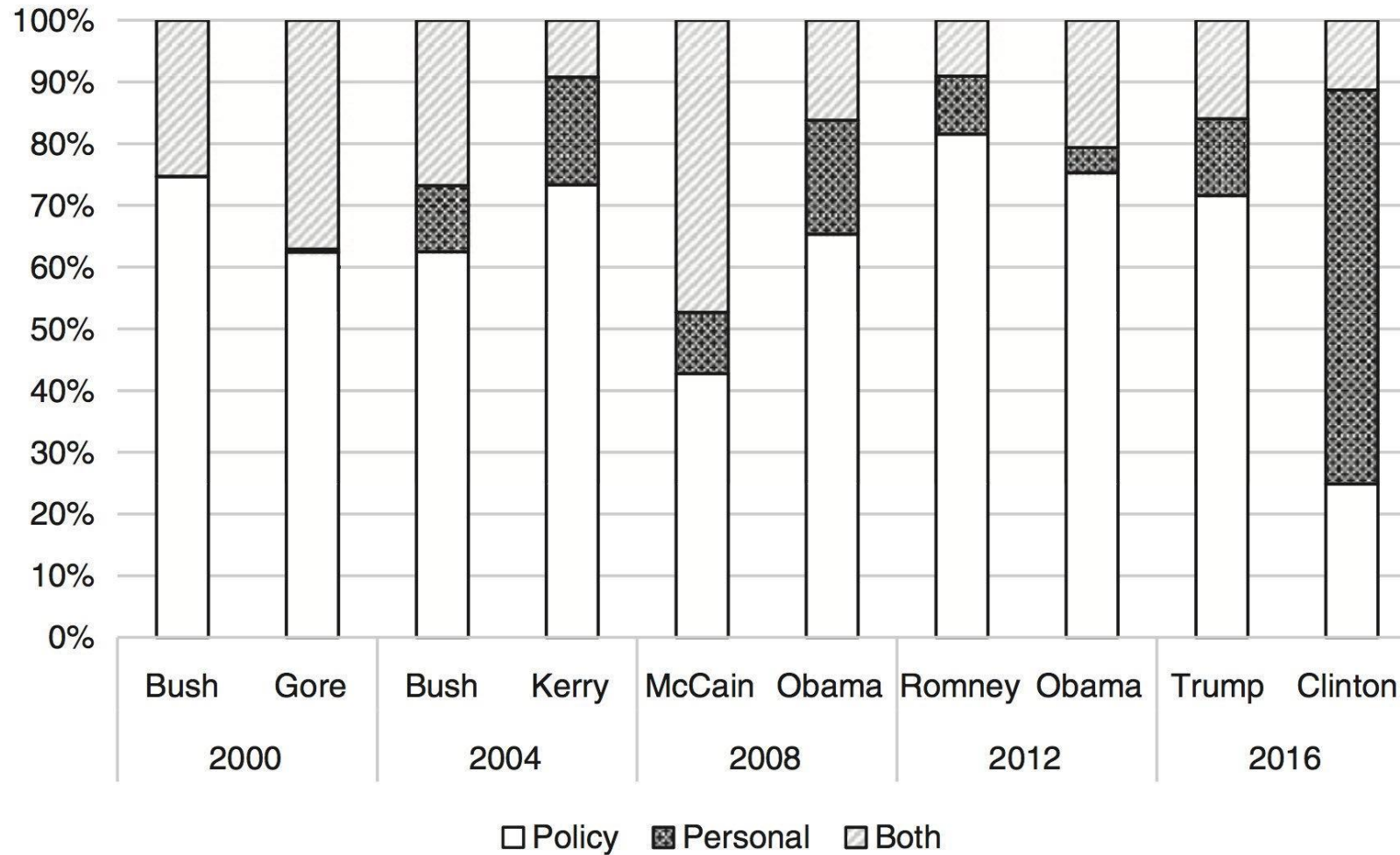


Figure 9: Substance of Presidential Advertising over Time (June 8–Election Day).

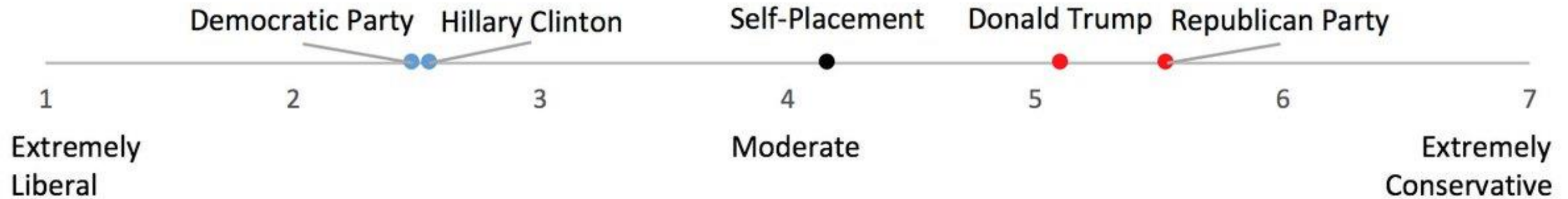
Source: Kantar Media/CMAG with analysis by the Wesleyan Media Project.

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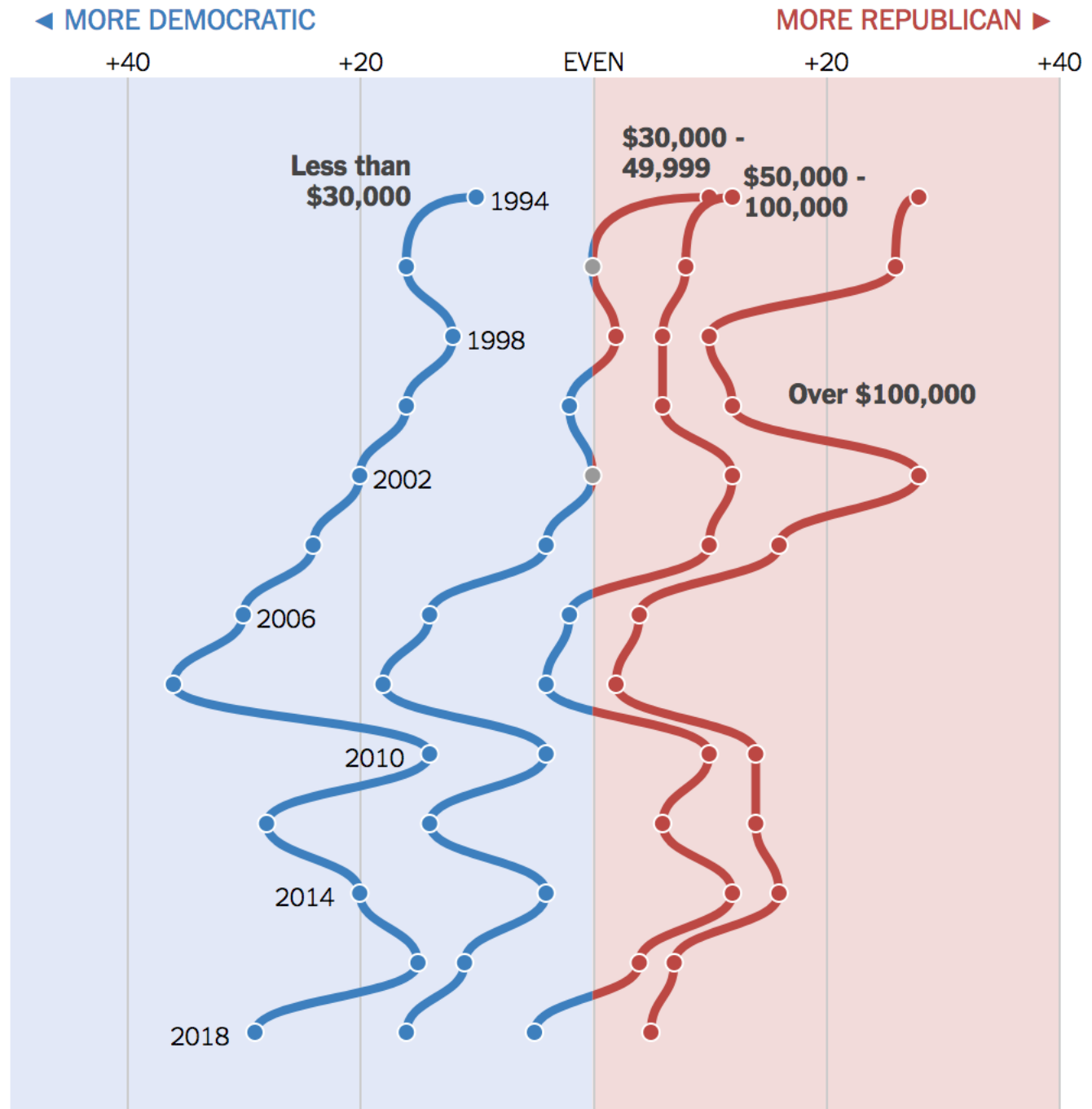
Different Candidates

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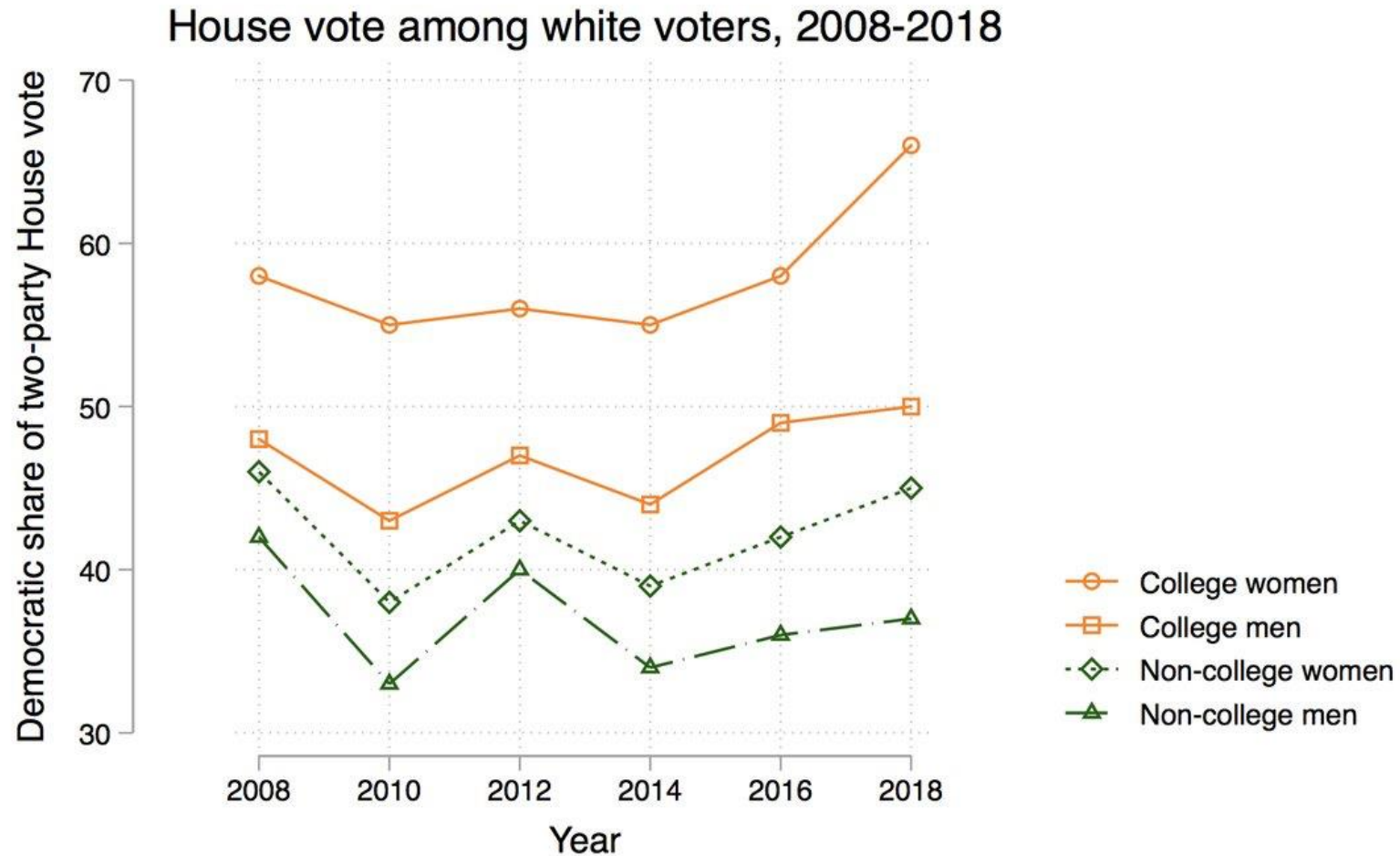
Candidate Placement – 2016 For 2020?



2108: Returning Class Divide



White College-Educated Women Moved



Data: Cooperative Congressional Election Studies.
2008-2016 based on validated voters.
2018 based on likely voter model developed by Anthony Rentsch.