



Josh Huder @joshHuder · Aug 2

Yes. But my whole point is that there is huge polarization in the late-1880s, early-1900s, in the absence of transparency reforms in committee or COW.

Basically, are you arguing transparency is THE reason for polarization? B/c procedural history doesn't support that hypothesis.



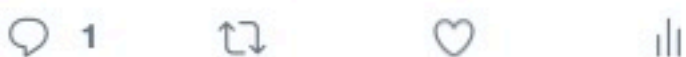
James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · Aug 3

1/ Of course there was another very important issue with transparency in the late 1800s that contributed substantially to powerful interests & likely polarization. The secret ballot was introduced in the US in the 1890s.



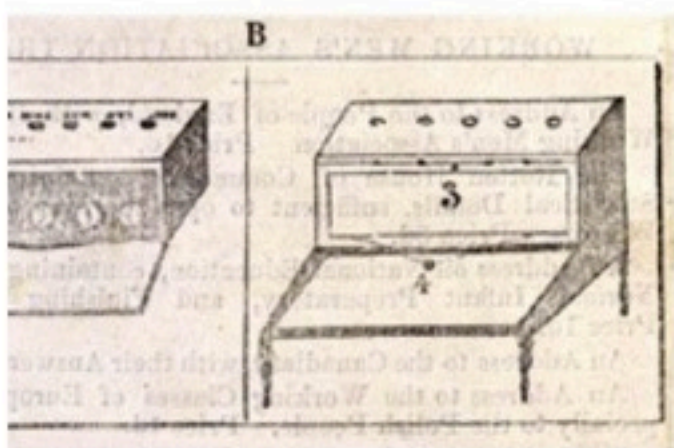
James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · Aug 3

2/ Not only does the introduction of the secret ballot correspond precisely with the end of the Gilded Age and the beginning of the Progressive Era, but it also greatly limited the power of political machines like Tammany Hall & others to throw elections.



James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · Aug 3

3/ And the dynamics of the secret ballot are related precisely to what is happening today. When voting is open, votes can be bought (campaign finance) and intimidated (attack ads). It is hard to read about the secret ballot without thinking about what is happening in Congress.



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t ballot allows voters to make confidential choices. An : ballot was to prevent intimidation and bribery by em ords, made possible by the public voting system.

nd for a secret ballot was one of the six points of the 'he 1938 petition stated that 'suffrage, to be exempt f of the wealthy and the violence of the powerful, mus

ense, the evolution of the overall package or all : secret ballot for three related reasons.² First, th ones of fair elections (e.g., Rokkan, 1961; Ell inson (2007, p. 140) note that "the introductio d vote buying, such as the Australian ballot, ap political development as the construction of eb id, gaining a better understanding of how the s ond, there is a straightforward causal mechanis : mechanism operates through the vote market. ' ng because this allows the buyer of a vote to ven idemization tends to erode social control and outside options for ordinary voters, or to under ties' appeals to voters were economic, sectional, ethnic, and n tion in the Gilded Age also featured vote buying: the exchange s other small items for votes. The 1888 election in Newark, New ich party operatives gave voters chips redeemable for cash, was y of New York City politics estimated that one-fifth of voters ears later, an investigation into bribery in Adams County, Ohio knowledge receiving payments for their votes, 20% of the coun dilitation was dealt a blow by ballot reform. Between 180 tes introduced the "official" (Australian) ballot. The ballot of the kind of exchange that Bense describes, especially in ru Since payments to individuals give them a selective incentive e surprising that the Australian ballot was followed by a declin k Figure is from W. H. Davis (1887), the Ohio figure is Blair (1912); both an



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4/ This article speaks precisely to how the open ballot of the late 1800s drove partisanship in Congress. And what is shocking is how similar the dynamics are...the robber barons and the wealthy controlled politics because of their ability to monitor...just as they do today.

changes during the final two decades of the nineteenth century. In response to the numerous excesses associated with the Gilded Age, progressives pushed for a variety of electoral and institutional reforms in an attempt to weaken the party bosses' control over the electorate. Adoption of the Australian (or secret) ballot was one such reform, which had an immediate and lasting impact on the U.S. electoral landscape. Secret ballots first appeared in the 1888 presidential election and were used in approximately 7% of all congressional elections that year. By 1892, over 75% of all congressional races were conducted using the secret ballot, and the number quickly approached 90% in subsequent elections.

Prior to the adoption of the Australian ballot in the late nineteenth century, the political parties, rather than individual states, printed and distributed ballots for voters to use when they went to the polls. These

ballots first appeared in the 1888 presidential election and were used in approximately 7% of all congressional elections that year. By 1892, over 75% of all congressional races were conducted using the secret ballot, and the number quickly approached 90% in subsequent elections.

Prior to the adoption of the Australian ballot in the late nineteenth century, the political parties, rather than individual states, printed and distributed ballots for voters to use when they went to the polls. These party-controlled ballots provided the parties with considerable influence over access to the ballot (Carson and Roberts 2013). For instance, parties could regulate who participated in the elections as well as monitor who individual citizens were voting for when they showed up at the polls on

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83

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84

Jamie L. Carson and Joel Sievert

Election Day. This arrangement made voters, candidates, and elected officials more dependent on the parties in a way not found in the contemporary electoral system.

1 ↻ ♥ ||



James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · 23h

Josh, I was actually really interested to hear your response to this. To me this looks like strong evidence in support of the idea that the late 1800s partisanship was driven by another institutional problem concerning transparency. Is this really a non-factor to you?

1 ↻ ♥ ||



Josh Huder @joshHuder · 20h

For me, there's not a direct enough causal connection b/t the Australian ballot and roll call voting partisanship and polarization. Not saying it doesn't exist. I'm just not very familiar with that argument.

1 ↻ ♥ ✉



Josh Huder

@joshHuder

Following

Replying to @joshHuder @JamesGDAngelo @jennifernvictor

But beyond that, it still does not explain the decades of depolarized legislating from the 1930s-1970s. If the Australian ballot was a driver of polarization, why were roll call votes so bipartisan over those decades when Australian ballot was still in use?

6:36 AM - 4 Aug 2018

1 ↻ ♥ ✉



Tweet your reply



James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · 19h

Replying to @joshHuder @jennifernvictor

1/ I think we've got things jumbled. The Australia Ballot (secret ballot) is first employed in the US in 1888, and within a decade or so, its adoption is near complete. It is used for most federal, local and congressional elections.

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1 1



James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · 18h

2/ Early 1900s there is still a ton of election violence, kidnapping, beatings, deaths etc, but it does diminish starting w the secret ballot. By the 20s things have subsided substantially, incumbents are dying off & leaving, political machines (Tammany Hall etc) are losing power

1 1



James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · 18h

3/ Then comes the Great Depression (1929), a massive impetus for reform, which occurs when we have a secret Congress voted in by a secret ballot (and better policing of election violence). And what a glorious period that is.

1 2



James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · 18h

4/ Unlike what Drutman might claim, corporate interests in 1930s were furious and organized. The DuPonts etc spend big on lobbying. But they are getting stomped by the secret Congress and the secret ballot right up until 1970 (and the LRA).

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James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · 18h

5/ And what is shocking is that there is a near complete academic consensus on these ideas if you are willing to dig deep enough. From Mansbridge, to Fukuyama, to Rieselbach, to Douglas Arnold, to the press, to members of Congress, to the Founding Fathers, they all state this.

1 1



James G. D'Angelo @JamesGDAngelo · 18h

6/ In short, transparency often exclusively benefits the powerful, be them party leaders, interest groups, the President, foreign pharmaceutical companies, etc. And it always drives contention, hard-lining and disagreement.

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