"Congressional Elections and the Party System," at roundtable on "Political Parties in Transition," at conference of Northeastern PSA

David R Mayhew

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SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

NORTHEASTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

THURSDAY–FRIDAY–SATURDAY
NOVEMBER 7, 8, 9, 1974

Gideon Putnam Hotel
Saratoga Springs, New York
NORTHEASTERN
POLITICAL SCIENCE
ASSOCIATION

NEW ENGLAND POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
NEW JERSEY POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
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Polity – The quarterly Journal of the Association

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Panel B-2  POLITICAL PARTIES IN TRANSITION -Round Table-  (Game Room)
Presiding:  James L. Sundquist (Brookings)
Papers: Herbert E. Alexander (Citizens' Research Foundation) "Political Finance and Party Change"
         Marguerite Ross Barrett (Princeton), "The Black Congressional Caucus"
         Gerald R. Pomper (Rutgers), "The Decline in Party Identification in Recent Presidential Elections"
         David R. Mayhew (Yale), "Congressional Elections and the Party System"

Panel B-3  COMPARATIVE MILITARY REGIMES -Round Table-  (Estate Room)
Presiding:  Marion E. Doro (Connecticut College)
Papers: Valerie Bennett (Metropolitan College of Boston Univ.), "Crown-Army Relatives in Traditional Monarchies; Ethiopia"
        Miles Wolpin (SUNY, Potsdam), "Conservative Militarism and the Communist Subordination Model"
        Carlos Astiz (SUNY, Albany), "Peru - The Military Regime"

Panel B-4  JUDICIAL POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION -Round Table-  (Play Room)
Presiding:  Sheldon Goldman (Univ. of Mass/Amherst)
Papers: Howard Whitcomb (Lehigh), "Judicial Administration at the National Level"
        Samuel Domenic Conti (National Center for State Courts, N.E. Region), "Judicial Administration in the States"
Discussants: Harriet Pollack (John Jay College, CUNY)
            Joseph Tannenhaus (SUNY, Stony Brook)
Panel B-5 WOMEN IN POLITICS (Garden Room)
Presiding: Molly Shanley (Vassar)
Papers: Ann Webster (The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College), "Women and Contraceptive Reform in France"
        Sandra Koff (SUNY, Binghamton), "Women in the Italian Parliament"
        Patricia Taylor (SUNY, Brockport), "The American Voter, Sex Differences Reconsidered: A Longitudinal Study, 1956 - 72"
Discussants: Irene Diamond (Univ. of Vermont)
            Nancy Shilling (Hunter College)
            Marcia Lee (Rutgers)

FRIDAY - 4:00 p.m.
BUSINESS MEETING: WOMEN'S CAUCUS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE (Sun Room)

FRIDAY - 5:00 p.m.
WORKSHOP, "PRACTICUM FOR ACADEMIC SURVIVAL, "sponsored by the Women's Caucus for Political Science. (Game Rm.)
Presiding: Joan Rothschild (Lowell Technological Institute)
Participants: Marijane Goyer (Affirmative Action Counselor, SUNY, Albany)
             Britt Guttmann (Everywoman's Center, Univ. of Mass/Amherst)
             Adrienne Rogers (Russell Sage College; Troy NOW)
             Dolores Barracano Schmidt (Affirmative Action Officer, SUNY, Albany)
             Athena Theodore (Simmons College; President, Mass. WEAL)

FRIDAY - 5:45 p.m.
DUTCH TREAT SOCIAL HOUR(The Arches)

FRIDAY - 6:45 p.m.
DINNER MEETING (Garden and Georgian Rms.)
Presiding: James A. Riedel (SUNY, Albany), Pres. NPSA
Speaker: James T. Sundquist (Brookings)

SATURDAY, November 9, 1974 -8:00 a.m. - BREAKFAST MEETING; Open Meeting of the Status of Women Committee.
(Reserved corner of Georgian Room)
Presiding: Molly L. Shanley (Vassar), discussion of survey of Political Science Department Chairpersons in the Northeast region
I'd like to discuss briefly 2 different phenomena:

1) Both are phenomena that we should watch

- in City elections + the Party system.
- I want to point to things that are emerging.

2) In discussing both things I'll draw on the Congressional election returns of this week (assuming the data is available)

1) Declining marginality in House elections (not Senate)

A phenomenon I pointed to in my recent Politic article, and has been commented on by others:

- Ed Fein, Princeton
- Tony Kingsley, Cal Tech
- Tom Lins, SAGE

Over 10 years
House incumbents in both parties, running electoral
70's in lower dozen populations, in the

downward range

3rd long, some worry

For whatever reason, district
- broadening
- with population

Ascended feet, recent House elections

Now, last Tuesday

The returns:

House seat net 43 (47% 6%)

43 = 13 open seats: 36 more
6 = 2 open seats: Yanks lost against the trend

By the way, open seats all got it

52 = 39-13 D
62 = R-D
A big unfulfilled hope

- A considerable shift

What happens: How do the Tuesday facts square with the earlier perceived phenomenon of majority vs.
- A lot did, even after all

End seems to be: notional vote shift was truly critical

Week 90: Percentages

1) NBC - 82%
2) Local states

State 5 55.8 70.6 14.8
Coast 6 47.9 60.6 11.7
North 10 43.1 49.1 6.0
Northeast 11 70.0 77.3 7.3
Midwest 15 49.5 61.0 11.5
Total 47 52.1 61.9 9.8

Truly large - few nationwide
But easily be 80% if 10% here... etc.

Wide and very precocious: 587%

Here’s one broad way:
1926 = 6.2
1934 = 4.7
1948 = 7.6 - (15 seats)

Last place = 1932 = 10.9
Best million = 1922 = 12.5

What happens - limited pattern - 87% cut into GOP votes

Climbed everything to 60, so

Somehow muddled – real yield is low, by standards of earlier decades, given the vote shift:

1) Dems may begin, if no future shocks
2) But maybe shouldn’t count over 10-12% more...

47.0% 47.0%
2) Differentiated loyalty patterns between D & R: Steph Hill
   (I think: trend) (don't know)

   Come with the reform first (75 - 80)  
   Senate  R  
   D  |  R  
   20  16  6  17  2 
   60-70  39  18  27  19 
   80+  45  24  56  71 

   No serious differences with DP
   
   D who stay a long time, R's who don't
   -- a curious anomaly

   I don't know why.

Some evidence that has to do with different loyalty patterns
22 yrs. of data: (compared to US history)

   -- especially: a minority party--less reason to stay
   
  起草, reform, reforms

But I'm not sure of this as a reason--could be proximity
   electorate to clean up. Senate around GOP 1974 and 1976
   + 1988 Senate. When an axe is wielded
   
   Odd rate: an appointment in party, and a
   majority, relatively not good

One effect: GOP less divided in general to
   institutional institutional arrangements in Congress
   lobbying, 2-1 vs 5-2

   But it's 75-76--a crisis for the

   Constitution, career argument--on industry