The Newsletter of

Political Organizations & Parties

A Continuing Subfield of the American Political Science Association

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#### Results of Survey on APSA Affiliation

The Fall issue of VOX POP reported that the APSA Council decided at the 1982 Convention to recognize subfield interest groups, such as POP, as Official Sections of the APSA, providing they meet certain criteria and petition for section status. This matter was discussed at the POP Business meeting later at Although the 25 members of POP attending the meeting showed the Convention. considerable sentiment for affiliating with the APSA, we decided to put the decision to the full membership via our newsletter. A number of questions concerning membership were raised in the last issue, and members were invited to fill out a questionnaire expressing their views on these questions and on affiliation in general. A review of the 49 responses to the survey may prove helpful before members vote on affiliation using the ballot on the last page of this issue.

There would be several benefits from affilation with the APSA. Official Section, POP activities would be covered in a special section of PS and its panels would be given preferential treatment in the Convention Program, rather than being relegated to an "unaffiliated groups" section. Indeed, there is no guarantee that the APSA will continue to publish a courtesy listing of Similarly, Official Sections would be guaranteed meeting unaffiliated groups. rooms at the Convention, and they may not be continued for unaffiliated groups.

Affliation with the APSA would require that POP members also be members of the APSA. The APSA would charge \$3.00 extra for membership in each Official Section and would take on the maintenance of membership lists and membership mailings. Any extra dues beyond \$3 would be retained by POP to finance other activities--e.g., publishing a membership directory, producing a separate newsletter, paying for long-distance calls, or other expenses that attend operating a section.

The main question on the membership survey inquired whether the respondent

was also a member of the APSA. Nearly all (45 of 49) checked that they currently belonged to the APSA. When asked how much beyond the APSA dues of \$3 they would be willing to pay to belong to POP, only 3 replied nothing more, 5 said \$2, 22 said \$3, and 14 big spenders pledged to pay anything required to belong to beloved POP. Only 4 current members indicated that they did not belong to the APSA and would not join to continue in POP.

Three points came out of the survey. First, most POP members are already APSA members, and we do not stand to lose many members from affiliation. Second, most members would be willing to pay at least \$6 annually to belong to POP--\$3 to the APSA and \$3 extra to POP for additional services. Because not all respondents were willing to continue in POP if they had to join the APSA (and pay its high dues), it seems important to press the Association for some sort of "associate" membership (particularly for foreign members), should we vote to affiliate. Finally, most members seemed to favor the principle of affiliation by their survey responses and by comments returned with the form.

Alan Gitelson (Loyola University) wrote an especially thoughtful letter on the issue of Official Sections. He saw parallels with the American Psychological Association, which "has for some time used a division-type grouping of specialies for organizational purposes and for grouping papers at their annual conference" and "also sponsors a variety of specialized journals." He expressed concern, however, that the move toward specialized divisions has fractionalized the APA, leaving little sense of the "whole." On the other hand, he noted that the very existence of groups like POP reflects specialization within our discipline. In sum, Gitelson supports formal affiliation with the APSA though he expects that he may have to join other groups that focus on his other interests in political science.

Please cast your vote on affiliating with the APSA using the ballot on the last page. Because the APSA requires that groups wishing to affiliate submit a petition signed by 100 members, please sign your name on the ballot should you choose to vote in favor. The signed ballots will constitute a petition. It is much more important to return this ballot than to have responded to the fall questionnaire. We need a high level of participation to demonstrate the breadth of members' opinions on this matter, and we also need the positive votes of at least 100 APSA members to affiliate. Do your duty and vote, now.

### POP Panel at the 1983 APSA Convention

"Political Organizations in Comparative Perspective" is the title of the annual convention panel sponsored by POP. Andrew Nathan, POP Secretary, organized and will chair the panel. Kenneth Janda, POP Chair, will serve as discussant. Three papers will be presented:

Walter K. Anderson, <u>Department of State</u>
"Recruitment and Organizational Control in the Bharitiya Janata Party"

Christine M. Sadowski, <u>Hoover Institution</u>
"The Structure and Organization of Solidarity: Strategic Determinants"

Arturo Valenzuela, <u>Duke University</u>
"Party Organization under an Authoritarian Regime: Chile, 1973-82"

The tradition of POP panels at the annual meeting seems to be firmly established, and Andrew Nathan has contributed to that tradition by assembling an intriguing set of papers for this year's convention.

### The Legislative Studies Group

POP members might be interested in the Legislative Studies Group, which is an informal network of scholars interested in legislative studies. Now in its sixth year, the L.S.G. annually sponsors panels at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, publishes a quarterly newsletter reporting on professional conferences and activities, and issues annual a directory of scholars active in legislative studies. (L.S.G. has already decided to petition for APSA affiliation.)

Membership in the Legislative Studies Group runs from fall to fall of each year and entitles legislative scholars to participation in the professional activities of the group, receipt of the L.S.G. newsletter, and listing in the annual directory. Membership costs \$3. Those interested in joining may contact Lawrence D. Longley, Secretary/Treasurer; Legislative Studies Group; Department; of Government; Lawrence University; Appleton, Wisconsin 54912.

## Call for Research on Congressional Political Parties by Kenneth C. Martis

The national Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) is sponsoring a project of significance to historians, political scientists, geographers and others interested in American political parties, state and local history, and the history of the United States Congress. The Historical Atlas of Political Party Representation in the United States Congress: 1789-1987 will illustrate for the first time the geographical distribution of political parties represented in the United States Congress for each of the ninety-nine congresses. The centerpiece of this work will be color national-scale maps for each Congress, showing political party representation for each congressional district in the House and for every state in the Senate. The series of maps will illustrate the birth, growth, decline, and trends of congressional political parties for every two-year period in United States history.

The above publication will necessitate the first systematic research effort to identify the political party membership/affiliation, from a wide variety of sources, for every individual who ever served in the United States Congress. Often party membership/affiliation is ambig uous, particularly pre-1870 and for such items as local and state party labels, dual and fusion tickets, and minor party influence or dominance. Therefore, a national panel of contributors is being assembled for the accurate evaluation of the party membership/affil iation of individual representatives and senators. It is presently envisioned that these researchers will be either specialists on par ticular areas, parties. Specific examples of expertise might include: New York City 1820-1840, the state of Kansas, the midwest during the Populist era, the Jefferson Congresses, the 58th Congress, the Greenback Party, the Republican Party contributors will be the Free Soil Whig movement. A11 1912-1920, or acknowledged. Present research indicates most contributors will be responsible for identifying only a few key individuals. Those researchers making significant contributions will be formally recognized on the title page of the atlas.

The Historical Atlas of Political Party Representation in the United States Congress, 1789-1987 will be published as Volume II of a series of works titled the "United States Congressional Bicentennial Atlas Project." The initial volume of this series, The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789-1983, will be published in October 1982 by the Free Press division of Macmillan. Any individual wishing to participate in this project please write or telephone (304) 293-5603, Kenneth C. Martis, Associteate Professor of Geography, Department of Geology and Geography, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV 26506.

## Predicting Midterm Elections: CQ's Amazing Performance by Kenneth Janda

Evans Witt, an Associated Press reporter, reviewed political scientists' predictions of the 1982 congressional elections in "A Model Election?" [Public Opinion (December/January, 1983)] Witt summarized four prominent political science models, those of Edward Tufte, Gary Jacobson and Samuel Kernell, Douglas Hibbs, and Richard Brody—all of which relied on macro-level explanations of the two-party seat distribution following the election. Tufte's model was based on Reagan's job rating before election and the percent change in disposable income in the year before the election. The Jacobson-Kernell model utilized past congressional elections and allowed for candidates' pre-primary judgments of their likelihood of winning with strong Republican organizational help in 1982. Hibbs relied only on economic growth to predict voting percentages. Finally, Brody looked at changes in the President's popularity as shown in Gallup poll data.

None of these models performed very well in predicting Republican losses of 26 seats. Tufte, Jacobson and Kernell, and Hibbs all overestimated the Democratic gains by about 15 to 20 seats, while Richard Brody underestimated them by nearly 10 seats. Although Witt concluded that political science models "remain a fascinating method for examining and perhaps explaining" balloting in congressional elections, he couldn't help noting that pre-election estimates of "party professionals were right and the academic models were wrong."

Witt neglected evaluating one especially well-known source of congressional election prognostication: the "Special Report" on the 1982 Elections by Congressional Quarterly, which appeared as a supplement to the October 9 CQ Weekly Report. Based on a canvass of all 435 district races by CQ field reporters, Alan Ehrenhalt, one of the editors of this Special Report, wrote:

A month before Election Day, it is still plausible to argue that Democrats will gain 30 or more House seats for the 98th Congress. ...

But weeks of checking and rechecking by Congressional Quarterly in every state offers scarcely any clue to just where all these vulnerable Republican seats might be. ...

A district-by-district analysis does turn up some likely Democratic House gains -- 10 to 15 is a reasonable estimate -- but most of them are more the result of favorable redistricting than of any national mood.

In retrospect, CQ's forecast of the overall election outcome, based on the individual district predictions, seems little better than the political scientists' macro-models based on broad economic and political forces. But on closer examination, the CQ "micro" predictions are amazingly accurate.

The micro-macro distinction between CQ's predictions and the political scientists' deserves to be emphasized. None of the models that Witt reviewed actually made predictions about individual races; they only predicted results in the aggregate. CQ, on the other hand, actually classified all congressional districts in one of seven categories: "Safe Democratic," "Democrat Favored," "Leans Democratic," "No Clear Favorite," "Leans Republican," "Republican Favored," and "Safe Republican." Rarely do political scientists possess information that would allow such microscopic predictions. If a political scientist had the data, he or she would certainly raise the question left unanswered in the CQ Report: Precisely how did the 435 districts distribute across the seven CQ categories a month before the election?

Inexplicably (to a political scientist), CQ did not summarize its classifications for publication and apparently did not employ its district ratings in any systematic pre- or post-election analyses. Explicably (as a political scientist), I followed my natural tendency to translate classifications into rating scales and evaluated CQ's prediction record immediately after the election. The results are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1: CQ Pre-Election Predictions for 435 districts by Outcome

Winner:	Safe Demo	Democrat Favored	Leans Demo	No Clear Favorite	Leans Repub	Repub Favored	Safe Repub	TOTALS
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Democrat	164	44	27	21	8	4	1	269
Republican	0	0	2	12	15	29	108	166
TOTALS	164	44	2.9	33	23	33	109	

To learn just what CQ predicted, let us look first at the totals by category at the bottom of Table 1. CQ classified 237 seats as "leaning to "safe" Democratic, and 165 seats as "leaning" to "safe" Republican. CQ rated only 33 districts as "No Clear Favorite" and made no predictions in these cases. Dividing these close seats about evenly between the parties (17 to Democrats and 16 to Republicans) would give the Republicans 181 seats -- a loss of only 11 from the 192 they held in the 97th Congress. Apparently, this sort of calculation formed the basis of CQ's estimate of a GOP loss of from 10 to 15 seats.

CQ's low estimate of Republican losses before the election was at variance

with other predictions, but, according to a phone conversation with Ehrenhalt after the election, he had confidence in his individual district judgments. We see from Table 1 that his confidence was well-placed. Out of 237 judgments of probable Democratic victories one month before the election, CQ was wrong on only 2. Its record on Republicans was not quite as good, getting 13 wrong out of 165. The overall average of correct predictions is an eye-popping 96% right. (For those more statistically inclined, the simple correlation between the dichotomous party outcome and the CQ ranking, converted to a scale from 1 to 7, was a robust .89.)

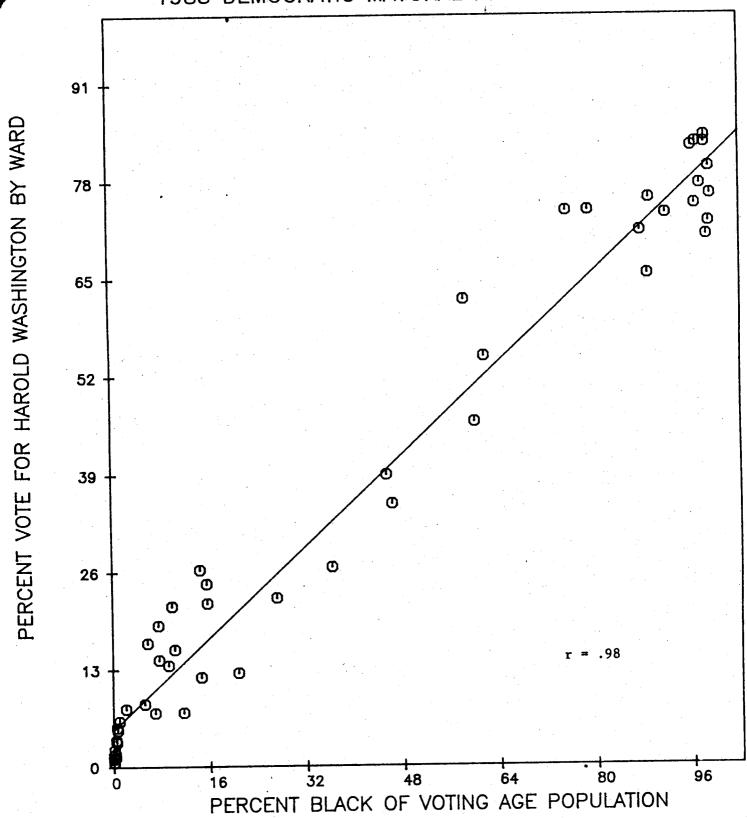
How did CQ do it? Not through sophisticated quantitative models, according to Ehrenhalt. Instead, CQ's field reporters made judgments of the quality and previous experience of the candidates, how well they were suited to their districts, how their campaigns were financed and managed, how the candidates fared in polls (when available), and, of course, how the districts voted in the past. (This last factor must have played a lesser role in 1982 due to redistricting.) This information was distilled by knowledgeable political observers who emerged with the district estimates.

CQ's success in predicting the election outcomes seems phenomenal, and indeed it is impressive. But one should be aware of two decision rules that would make even a casual observer of politics look like a wizard at predicting the outcomes of congressional elections. The first rule is AWARD ALL ONE-PARTY RACES TO THE PARTY WHOSE CANDIDATE IS RUNNING. There were 51 uncontested races in 1982, and one could claim 51 hits in 51 at bats by following that rule alone. The second rule is AWARD ALL RACES PITTING AN INCUMBENT AGAINST A CHALLENGER TO THE INCUMBENT. There were 322 such races in 1982, and the incumbents won 93 percent of them. (Democratic incumbents won 169 out of 170 and Republican incumbents 130 out of 152.) Alone, these two rules would have enabled one to predict 94 percent of 373 congressional races in 1982.

Clearly, the challenge for the naive prognosticator lies in predicting the other 62 races that had no incumbents (57) or two incumbents (5) due to redistricting. Surprisingly, only 12 of of CQ's 33 "no clear favorite" contests involved no or dual incumbents. Of the remaining 50 contests that could not be decided by our two rules, CQ got 42 right. So CQ's amazing success cannot be explained away by the two prediction rules, although they do account for the bulk of correction predictions.

This analysis makes two major points about predicting congressional elections. The first is that it seems worthwhile to pay close attention to CQ's district-by-district election predictions when you are asked by the campus newspaper to predict the outcome of the next congressional elections. CQ's analysis will incorporate incumbency, quality of candidate, and campaign factors into election judgments grounded in local conditions. The second is that macroanalyses of congressional elections should realize that the task is not really to predict the outcome of all 435 separate races, for more than 75 percent (86 percent in 1982) are likely to be either uncontested or dominated by incumbents. Future macroanalytic models of congressional elections would do well to incorporate a bit of microanalysis in their predictions.

## 1983 DEMOCRATIC MAYORAL PRIMARY IN CHICAGO



(Interested??? -- See article on the next page)

# $\frac{\text{Preliminary Analysis}}{\text{by Kenneth Janda}} \, \frac{\text{of the 1983 Chicago}}{\text{by Kenneth Janda}} \, \frac{\text{Mayoral Election}}{\text{Mayoral Preliminary Mayoral Preliminary$

On February 22, Congressman Harold Washington made political history in Chicago by defeating Mayor Jane Byrne and State's Attorney Richard Daley in the Democratic mayoral primary, thus becoming the party's first black candidate for mayor in the nation's second largest city. Washington won the nomination with 36.5% of the vote to Byrne's 33.4% and Daley's 29.7%.

One does not need to be a political scientist to surmise that Washington did better in wards that were heavily black than in those heavily white. But being a political scientist helps to describe precisely the relationship between the percent of voting age blacks in a ward and the percent vote for Washington. The distribution of these two variables for all 50 wards is plotted on the preceding page. Political scientists are inclined to express such relationships succinctly in numbers. The correlation coefficient between these two variables is .98, a value rarely reached in social research for a simple bivariate analysis.

As is well known, ecological correlations between election returns and census data on groups cannot be translated directly into statements on voting behavior of individuals. The near-perfect correlation of .98 would seem to suggest that virtually all blacks voted for Washington and that no whites did. In fact, Washington received no more than 84% of the vote in wards that were virtually all black. The analysis does show, however, that the vote for Washington by ward was a direct function of the proportion of blacks, not just minorities. Washington's vote was actually negatively correlated at r=-.36 with percent Hispanic. No doubt this election will be analyzed inside-out, upside-down, and sideways in the forthcoming months as scholars try to learn more about the changing nature of Chicago politics.

# Index to Articles on Political Parties Listed in ABC POL SCI for 1982 by Kenneth Janda and Eric Ellison

We continue in this issue a service offered in the first issue of VOX POP last Winter. ABC POL SCI publishes the tables of contents of current issues of hundreds of journals pertaining to political science and legal studies. Published in six issues annually, ABC POL SCI not only lists the titles by journals but also indexes the articles by topics. "Political Parties" had 143 entries in 1982 and "interest groups" had 9. This index includes only the 110 English-language titles under both headings. It is divided into two parts. Part I lists the titles alphabetized by keywords embedded in context. (Hence, this is called a keyword-in-context or "KWIC" index.) The average title is indexed by 5.3 keywords. Once can learn the complete citation by consulting the author list in the right-hand column and then turning to Part II, which is an author-alphabetized bibliography. This index should bring the reader up-to-date on journal articles published in English during the last half of 1981 and the first half of 1982 that dealt with parties and interest groups.

#### PART I:

#### Keywords

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PTOWARD A HODEL FOR REAPPORTID NMENT: REVITALIZATION OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM." SYSTEM: HOMEN'S POLITICS IN A DECADE OF TURMOIL, # 8-1979--FEMINISH AND THE ITALIAN PARTY TAHLM SYSTEM? . " EVER IS HAPPENING TO THE BRITISH PARTY TAIWANT GROUP FORMATION WITHIN THE RULING PARTY AN "POLITICAL DIFFERENTIATION IN TERRITORIAL VERSUS A CLASS APPEALT THE LABOUR PART IES OF THE BRITISH ISLES! TEST CASE FOR THE LIBERTARIAN." MPSYCHOJELICS! A STATE POW THEOPIES OF PARTY COMPETITION." ER SOME INTERNAL PRUBLEMS OF ECONOMIC THEORY OF PARTY ALIGNMENT: A RESEARCH NOTE. "TOWARDS A THOPN: THE PCF. " MMITTERRAND\*S TIME STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN IN PARTY ELITES." DLES AND POLITICAL RESOURCES! AN OVER-MINTERPARTY COMPET ITION IN THE AMERICAN STATES: ONE MORE TIME," TRADE UNIONIST AND BRANCH MEMBERS OF THE AUSTRALIA **MAFFILIATED** N LABOR PARTY," TREADMILL TO OBLIVION: THE FATE OF APPOINTED SENAT ORS,\* EMINISM AND THE ITALIAN PARTY S TURMOIL, " YSTEM: WOMEN'S POLITICS IN A DECADE OF TURNOUT! A COMPARATIVE STATE ANALYSIS." WINC EFFECTS OF INITIATIVES ON VOTER TWO APPROACHES TO THE HISTORY OF POWER # HIC INTEREST GROUPS AND PATH ANALYSISE TWO PARTY BLUES?," MTOWARD A MODEL FOR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM. PEAPPORTIONMENT: REVITALIZATION OF THE TYPOLOGY OF PARTY LIFESPANS AND MINOR PARTIES, " MIGUARDS A NEW UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND OUTLAWID POLITICAL PARTIES! A GERMAN-AMERICAN COMPARISON UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT IN POLIND, 1944-1945,\* LINO VERSUS "LONDON"-THE PARTY AND THE UNIONIST AND BRANCH MEMBERS OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABO MAFFILIATED TRADE R PARTY." \*DILEM UNION." MAS OF SINGLE-PARTY RULE IN THE SOVIET ANIZATION AND MINGRITY N ATIONALISH: A. COMPARATIVE STUDY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, \* LIDITY OF PARTY UNITED STATES COMPARED, IDENTIFICATION : GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITS IN THE NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENT," PPARTY RESEARCH UCRACY: T URBAN PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY." HE INFLUENCE OF INTERMEDIARY PROUPS ON USSRI A STUDY IN CENTRE-REPUBLICAN RELATIONSHIPS. CRUITMENT AND THE NATIONALITIES IN THE VALIDITY OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION & GREAT BRITAIN A #THE CROSS-NATIONAL NO THE UN VALUES AND POLICY ORIENTATIONS AMONG POLITICAL PAR MELITE MELIEF SYSTEMS PEVISITED: MSOCIALIST ALTERNATIVES: THE ITALIAN VARIANT," VERSUS A CLASS APPEAL? THE LABOUR PARTIES OF THE B MA TERRITORIAL KITISH ISLES! VERSUS \*LONDON\*-THE PARTY AND THE UNDERGROUND MOVE \*\*LUBLIN\* WENT IN POLAND, 194 VIEW OF BOTH PARTIES." "A \*REPUBLICAN\* VIOLENCE IN CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRACIES.\* PATION. GOVERNMENT STABILITY, AND MASS VOTER PREFERENCES AND PARTIES WITH STATE POWERS SO **\*EXOGENOUS** ME INTERNAL PROBLE VOTER TURNOUT: A COMPARATIVE STATE ANALYSIS." WITHE EFFECTS OF INITIATIVES ON VOTER: ORGANIZATIONAL ENCAPSULATION AND SOCIALIST HEORPORATION OF THE NEWLY ENFRANCHISED VOTING PARTICIPATION, GOVERNMENT STABILITY, AND MA TERS AND POLITICAL SYSTEM PERFORMANCES VOTING RECORDS OF MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS." TEREST GROUPS SELECT ISSUES FOR RATING WA COUNTRY PARTY," MDECLINE AND DIVISION IN THE WAKE OF THRE ELECTION OF 1977." MENT MOVE MENTS OF THE ISRAEL LABOR PARTY IN THE WELLINGTON CITY LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS, 1974 AND 197 MPATTERNS OF PARTY SJPPORT IN WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS." **MFACTIUNALISM IN** WESTERN EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEMS! A DIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS, " WESTERN EUROPE." MECOLOGY PARTIES IN WHATEVER IS HAPPENING TO THE BRITISH PARTY SYSTEMS WHITHERED AWAY: THE CLUB MOVEMENT, PARTY REFORM, A MANY AMATEUR PARTY POLITICS HAS WHY AMATEUR PARTY POLITICS HAS WHITHERED AWAY: THE CLUB MOVEMENT, PARTY REFOR WILDERNESS PROTECTION. WTHE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INTEREST IN WINTER 1982," WREADING NOTES, WOHEN AND PARTY POLITICS IN AUSTRALIA," AND POLITICAL RE WOMEN IN PARTY ELITES." SUURCES: AN OVER-TIME STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN'S POLITICS IN A DECADE OF TURMOIL, # FEMINISM AND THE ITALIAN PARTY SYSTEMS WORKERS MATTER? THE EVIDENCE FROM CROSBY, " "DO PARTY WORKER-PARTY CONFLICT IN ROMANIA,"

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