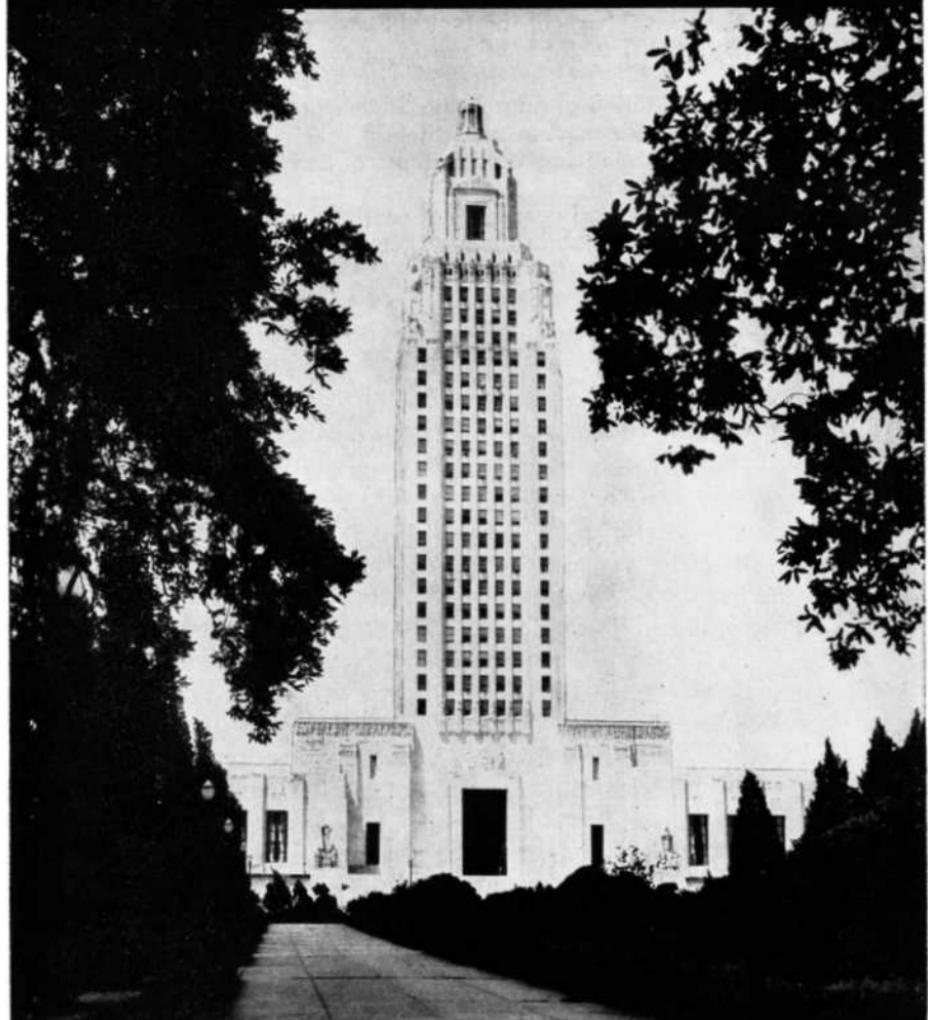
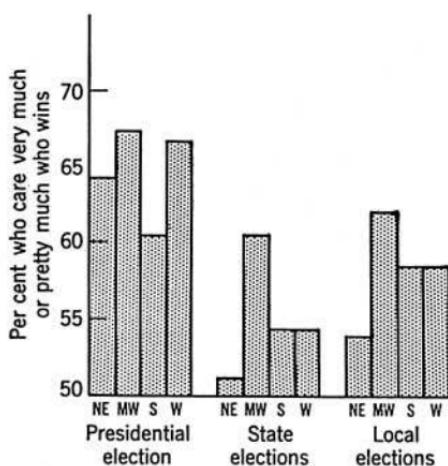


51. Politics and Elections



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THE politics of State and local governments are in part identical with national politics and in part separate and different in character. That is, many politicians and active citizens are in politics at all three levels. The State government creates the party structure and generally provides a single party system for all levels of government: thus, a county committeeman of the Republican Party has duties assigned to him in connection with the national, State, and local campaigns. In the people's mind, too, the distinction among the three levels of politics is not always clear: many a local campaign has been won on the issues of international politics, and many a national office has been captured by reason of popular revulsion against local corruption.



Adapted from Alfred de Grazia, "The Western Public" (Stanford University Press, 1954), p. 172.

Figure 126. Regional Differences in Interest in Elections.

However, State, local, and national politics stand distinct in other ways. Some people are more interested in one level of government than another; most politicians and interest groups have a special interest in one level of government; issues tend to be different on the three levels; election systems are changed at the various levels; a party's strength in the State and local governments may not match the vote it gives to the party's national ticket. This chapter deals with such differences one by one.

POPULAR INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION

Fewer people are interested in State and local politics than are concerned with national politics. A survey in 1952 on this subject produced the results shown in Figure 126 for the four regions of the country—Northeast, Midwest, South, and West. It will be noted there that only about two-thirds of the population expressed interest in the presidential elections. Moreover, ten to fifteen per cent fewer people were interested generally in who won State elections. Interest in local elections was midway between the national and State levels. The same figure shows that somewhat more Midwesterners take an interest in State and local elections than do Americans of other regions.

The number of people who vote in State and local elections, *when those elections are held separately*, is also usually smaller than the number who vote in national elections. For instance, in Colorado, where the Governor is elected every two years, the total vote for Governor is greater in those years when a President is being elected. More people know elected executives than know legislators. From a sample of 149 persons on the voting lists of a "middle-class" Minneapolis legislative district, one study found that 98% knew the name of the Governor, 41% the Lieutenant Governor,

78% the name of one United States Senator, and 60% the other Senator, whereas 8% named their State Senator, and 7% and 4%, respectively, named one or the other of their two State representatives.

People who are interested in State or local government are not necessarily interested in national government, though the chances are good that they are at least partially informed about the national government. Among inactive and active citizens, and among politicians and interest groups as well, there are many who feel far less deeply involved in national affairs than in State affairs. Others are primarily oriented towards county, municipal, or school affairs. Hence, the interested, informed, and active public on municipal affairs is composed only partly of people who are similarly concerned with State or national affairs. The several publics overlap, but they are still distinct.

POLITICAL ISSUES IN STATES AND LOCALITIES

Popular attention varies as described partly because the State and local governments emphasize functions, problems, and issues that are unlike those of the national government. This is especially true of the municipal and county governments; their problems include sanitation, the care of roads, the maintenance of local law and order, the dispensing of aid to the poor and the aged, and the regulation of uses of business and residential areas. The State level, too, is likely to accent issues concerning highways, business licensing, liquor control, and regulation of corporations. Meanwhile, the federal government is more concerned with foreign affairs and national defense.

One might think that there would be three sets of political parties, each set dealing with the issues on one level of government; that, of course, is not the case. No matter how strained its reasoning may seem, each political party in any given locality will have a platform espousing issues on all three levels of government. For instance, the Democratic Party organization of Los Angeles may well take a stand on city, State, and national issues.

Why does this condition persist? In the first place, a person who is interested in both national and local affairs would be hard pressed to belong to two or three different political parties. In the second place, to achieve a goal on one level of government often requires the cooperation of other levels of government. Thirdly, some broad political principles, such as the desire for less government spending or the aim of protecting Negroes from discrimination in employment, can be advanced by concerted action at all levels of government.

Consequently, the political party strives to act in a coordinate manner in the town, State, and nation. It often falls far short of this goal. Ideas cannot hold together men and women who are independently chosen and not legally accountable to a party, unless the ideas are very strongly held. Hence, it is common to discover party organizations on a local level that are operated on the practical principles of a mutual benefit association, but which in their national capacity support ideological movements. Thus the

national "New Deal" of Franklin D. Roosevelt rested partly upon a base of city machines in Chicago, Boston, Jersey City, and New York, and of county and State machines of conservative and even hostile leaders in the South.

Many voters, of course, appreciate the differences between their local or State politics and national politics, and in presidential elections will find cause to split their ballots. Table 29 discloses how many voters in 1952 probably split their votes on the national level and on the State and local levels. It shows that more splitting occurred at the State-local level, where, to be sure, there were more offices to be filled and therefore more opportunities to move into the other party's column.

DIFFERENT ELECTION SYSTEMS

Non-partisan ballots

A number of states have tried to separate local, and, in Minnesota and Nebraska, even State, officers from national politics by means of non-partisan elections. In such elections, candidates for office are not permitted to attach party labels to their names on the ballot. For instance, in Santa Clara County, California, the city councils and county Board of Supervisors are chosen in non-partisan elections at the same time as State and national legislators and executives are chosen in partisan elections. Non-partisanship on the ballot does not guarantee non-partisanship in fact: at the most, it is colored by the shading of party politics from the political circles in which the "non-partisan" candidates move; at the least, it is a mere omission of a word, inasmuch as the party organizations may dominate the nomination and elections of the "non-partisan" candidates. For instance, in Santa Clara County, California, the "non-partisan" county supervisors move generally in either Republican or Democratic circles, and lend some force to one or another party group even in the absence of any controlling party machine. However, in Chicago the "non-partisan" aldermen are likely to be among the most powerful party officials in their wards.

The "long ballot"

Another common distinction between national and State or local politics concerns the number of independently elected officials who are provided for by the constitutions. The federal Constitution prescribes the election only of members of Congress, a President, and a Vice President, and the latter are to be indirectly chosen. By contrast, the state constitutions usually demand the election of Governors, Lieutenant Governors, secretaries of state, treasurers, auditors, superintendents of education, and attorneys general; they also provide for numerous elective county and municipal officials. Therefore, the voter faces a long ballot in most State and local elections; most voters know nothing about the candidates for most offices but vote by party label or by an impulse of the moment. Such integration among the executives as is accomplished under the circumstances comes usually from party or factional caucuses behind the scenes; they select and back

TABLE 29. SPLIT-TICKET VOTING BY REGION AND PARTY

Allocation of Votes for All Candidates in 1952 ¹	The South		All Other Regions		Entire Country		Total
	Eisenhower Voters	Stevenson Voters	Eisenhower Voters	Stevenson Voters	Eisenhower Voters	Stevenson Voters	
	26	93	65	69	59	75	66
Voted straight ticket							
Split away from their presidential votes:							
At national level only	8	3	2	4	3	4	3
At state or local level only	13	3	24	19	23	15	19
At both levels	53	1	9	8	15	6	12
Total	164	111	583	383	687	494	1,181
Number of cases							

¹ Those who voted a straight ticket except in the case of senator or congressman are categorized as splitting "at the national level only." Those who voted for the presidential and congressional candidates of one party, but for some or all of the state and local candidates of the other party, are shown as splitting "at state or local level only." Those who voted for the presidential candidate of one party, but for one or more candidates of the other party at both the national and local levels, are shown as "splitting at both levels." Source: Campbell, Angus; Gerald Gurin; and Warren E. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), p. 24.

certain candidates. A State or local candidate gains what is called a strong personal following when, to a roughly 50-50 division of the votes by random and party-label voting, there are added some hundreds or thousands of votes from personal acquaintances or distant admirers of his name, record, or conduct.

Initiative, referendum, and recall

The States and localities favor special types of election that are almost wholly foreign to the national government: the initiative, referendum, and recall. The recall is a special election, begun by a petition, to pass judgment of approval or rejection on an elective official before his term has expired. Sometimes the law declares that opposing candidates can run against the officer who is under attack. At other times, his name stands

TABLE 30. LAWS FOR THE RECALL OF PUBLIC OFFICERS^{1,2}

State	To Whom Applicable		% of Voters' Signatures Required
	State Officers	Local Officers	
Arizona	All	All	25
Arkansas	—	Cities	35
California	All	All	12-25
Colorado	All	All	25-40
Idaho	All	All	10-35
Illinois	—	Cities	55
Iowa	—	Cities	25
Kansas	All	All	10-25
Louisiana	All	All	25-33½
Michigan	All	All	25
Minnesota	—	Cities	Set by municipal charter
Mississippi	—	Cities	25
Missouri	—	Cities	20
Montana	—	Cities	25
Nebraska	—	All	25-30
Nevada	All	All	25
New Jersey	—	Cities	25
New Mexico	—	Cities	15
North Carolina	—	Cities	25
North Dakota	All	All	30
Ohio	—	Cities	15
Oregon	All	All	Not over 25
South Carolina	—	Cities	20-40
South Dakota	—	Cities	15
Washington	All	All	25-35
West Virginia	—	All	20
Wisconsin	All	All	25-33½
Wyoming	—	All	25

¹ Source: Graves, W. Brooke, *American State Government* (4th ed., Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1953), p. 152.

² In a number of States, judges are excepted from recall elections. In several States, local recall is confined to cities possessing the commission form of city government. All current provisions for recall were adopted in the period from 1907 to 1941.

alone on the recall ballot and a special election is held, usually at the same time, to fill his post should the voters reject him. The various provisions of the law of recall in the 28 states that permit its use are charted in Table 30. Some states allow the recall for all elective officers, some states only for certain local officials. The recall is rarely used.

TABLE 31. INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM LAWS
(FOR STATE-WIDE LEGISLATION)¹

State	Initiative			Referendum		
	Voters' Signatures Necessary for Petitions	Vote Required for Enactment	Submission by Petition	Legislative Action	Voters' Signatures Necessary for Petitions	Vote Required for Enactment
Arizona	15%	Majority	2	2	5%	Majority
Arkansas	8%	Majority	2	—	6%	Majority
California	8%	Majority	2	2	5%	Majority
Colorado	8%	Majority	2	2	5%	Majority
Idaho	10%	Majority	2	2	10%	Majority
Maine	10%	Majority	2	2	10%	Majority
Maryland	Does not use initiative system		2	—	10,000	Majority
Massachusetts	3%	Majority + 30 % of total votes cast at election	2	—	1½-2%	Majority
Michigan	8%	Majority	2	2	5%	Majority
Missouri	5%	Majority	2	2	5%	Majority
Montana	8%	Majority	2	2	5%	Majority
Nebraska	7%	Majority + 35% of total votes cast at election	2	—	5%	Majority + 35% of total votes cast at election
Nevada	10%	Majority	2	—	10%	Majority
New Mexico	Does not use initiative system		2	—	10%-25%	Majority
North Dakota	10,000	Majority	2	—	7,000	Majority
Ohio	3%	Majority	2	—	6%	Majority
Oklahoma	8%	Majority	2	2	5%	Majority
Oregon	8%	Majority	2	2	5%	Majority
South Dakota	5%	Majority	2	—	5%	Majority
Utah	10%	Majority	2	2	10%	Majority
Washington	50,000	Majority + 1/6 of total votes cast at election	2	2	30,000	Majority + 1/6 of total votes cast at election

¹ *The Book of the States, 1954-55.*

² Numerous special exceptions to requirements are not described here. A dash (—) indicates that the legislature cannot act.

Table 31 shows the different forms of initiative and referendum found among the States. The *initiative* is a means by which people can introduce legislation by petition. The *direct* type of initiative puts a measure onto the ballot for approval, without the intervention of the legislature. The *indirect* type places a measure before the legislature, where it must either be acted upon by the legislature and Governor within a specified period of time or else be referred back to the voters for approval or rejection. The *referendum* is a means of obtaining popular ratification of a measure. Often the measure is placed on the ballot by petition of a certain proportion of voters. Sometimes the legislature must refer certain kinds of measures to the voters for approval. Both devices are used liberally in many States and localities. The number of propositions referred to voters of counties, towns, and special districts in any single year amounts to some thousands. A referred bill or proposition is even less likely to be known to the voters than candidates are. Usually many fewer votes are cast on such matters than are cast for candidates, and, when an election is held solely to consider such propositions as a bond issue for a new school or a water conservation district, sometimes fewer than 20% of the registered voters participate.

Apportionment

Constitutional Provisions for Apportionment: In every State the constitution provides to a greater or lesser degree for the apportionment of the legislators. There are five general categories of methods for apportionment; as is apparent in the following discussion, most are based either upon population, area, or a combination of the two.¹ The capital letter after each heading in the outline furnishes the key to Table 32, which shows what method is used in each house of the legislature of every State.

ABSOLUTELY PROPORTIONATE TO POPULATION (A). In thirty-five of the ninety-five State legislative houses (the Nebraska legislature being unicameral, there is one fewer than twice forty-eight houses), apportionment is based absolutely on the population. That is, the population of the State is divided by the membership of the house, to fix a ratio of apportionment or representation. Now, the State may be divided into legislative districts, each with an equal number of representatives (often only one per district). On the other hand, the constituencies may be some fixed unit such as towns or counties, each of which shall be assigned one or more legislators as determined through dividing its population by the ratio.

RELATIVELY PROPORTIONATE TO POPULATION (B). In fourteen legislative houses, apportionment is relatively proportionate to population, a situation achieved by a method that is termed "weighted ratios." Although this method has several distinct forms, its invariable consequence is to favor units with smaller populations.

EQUAL REPRESENTATION FOR EACH UNIT (C). In eight legislative houses the members are apportioned on the basis of one for each unit, regardless of its population.

¹ The following is adapted from Jewell, Malcolm E., "Constitutional Provisions for State Legislative Apportionment," *Western Political Quarterly*, 8 (1955), 271-279.

TABLE 32. CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR
LEGISLATIVE APPORTIONMENT

State	Upper House	Lower House	State	Upper House	Lower House
Alabama	D	D	Nebraska	A	(unicameral)
Arizona	C	D	Nevada	C	D
Arkansas	A	D	New Hampshire	E	B
California	D	A	New Jersey	C	D
Colorado	A	A	New Mexico	C	D
Connecticut	D	D	New York	B & D	D
Delaware	D	D	North Carolina	A	D
Florida	B	D	North Dakota	A	A
Georgia	A	D	Ohio	A	D
Idaho	C	D	Oklahoma	A	B & D
Illinois	D	A	Oregon	B	B
Indiana	A	A	Pennsylvania	B & D	B & D
Iowa	D	D	Rhode Island	D	D
Kansas	A	D	South Carolina	C	D
Kentucky	A	D	South Dakota	A	A
Louisiana	A	D	Tennessee	A	B
Maine	D	D	Texas		B
Maryland	D	B & D	Utah	A	D
Massachusetts	A	A	Vermont	D	C
Michigan	D	B	Virginia	A	A
Minnesota	A	A	Washington	A	A
Missouri	A	B & D	West Virginia	A	B
Mississippi	A	D	Wisconsin	A	A
Montana	C	A	Wyoming	D	D

BASED ON A COMBINATION OF AREA AND POPULATION FACTORS (D). In forty-five legislative houses apportionment is based on a combination of area and population factors. Sometimes apportionment is based upon population save that each unit is assured at least one representative. In other States a variety of devices are employed to give units with small populations an exceptionally large representation.

BASED ON TAX PAYMENTS (E). In a single legislative body, the New Hampshire senate, apportionment is based on the direct taxes paid by the people to the State government.

Multi-Member Districts: The State and local election systems, unlike the federal system and because of their more complicated systems of apportionment, provide many instances of multi-member districts. In both the single-member and multi-member districts, there may be numerous candidates on the ballot; however, in the single-member districts, only one candidate can be elected, whereas in the multi-member districts, the law prescribes that two or more candidates shall be elected and each voter can cast one vote for each candidate to be elected. A survey by Dr. Maurice Klain in 1955 reported that twelve per cent of all State senate seats and 45.4 per cent of all State assembly seats are filled from multi-member districts. Multi-member districts are common, too, in the counties, school districts, townships, and municipalities of America (see, for example, Table 46). In the vast majority of these districts those candidates who have received the highest numbers

of votes are declared elected. For example, in an election in which four candidates are to be elected and ten candidates are running for office, the results might be as follows:

A	11,000	F	7,000
B	10,000	G	6,000
C	9,500	H	5,000
D	7,500	I	4,000
E	7,000	J	1,000

Candidates A, B, C, and D would be declared the winners.

Evidence concerning the effects of multi-member by contrast with single-member plurality districts is scanty; some say that the multi-member districts, which are generally larger, excite "better" men to run, whereas others say that single-member districts allow the full attention of the voter to fix upon the choice and behavior of one man. One important trait of multi-member districts is that a party or group which attracts no more than fifty-one per cent of the popular vote in the district can elect *all* of the members from the district.

Apportioning and Districting Agency: Apportioning and districting must be carried out by some agency. In three States—Delaware, Michigan, and New Mexico—the State constitution itself fixes apportionment and districting for either one or both houses. In certain other States, although the constitution does not precisely set forth apportionment or districting, it may have provisions that affect them fundamentally; for example, some constitutions forbid subdividing counties into districts. Hence the constitutional convention is one of the most important agencies for apportioning and districting. However, in most States the constitution empowers the State legislature to reapportion the State after each federal census. Because legislatures are often loath to act, a few State constitutions have given the task to some other body. In Ohio, for instance, reapportionment is executed by a commission made up of the Governor, the auditor, and the secretary of state, or any two of them.

The Present Status of Apportionment: At present, the actual apportionment in most States displays close connections with the strongest social groupings within the State. In general the membership of legislatures is so apportioned that it favors less densely populated, rural areas. The simple refusal of a legislature to reapportion after a census favors the countryside, since urban population is increasing, whereas rural population is diminishing. Table 33 shows the considerable discrimination against urban centers that exists in the States.

When, as in most States, the legislature is entrusted with the duty of reapportionment, there is no means for compelling it to act even when it violates a constitutional order to carry out reapportionments at fixed intervals of time. By contrast, in the few States in which a commission of executive officers is directed to reapportion one or both houses, in case these officers neglect their constitutional or legal obligations they may be constrained to perform them by a writ of *mandamus*.

TABLE 33. REPRESENTATION OF PRINCIPAL URBAN AREAS¹
 (ranging generally from most severe to least severe distortions of equality
 of representation)

States	Selected Urban Areas	Per Cent of State Population	Per Cent of Lower House	Per Cent of Senate
Georgia	6 largest urban counties	32	9	7
Florida	9 most urban counties	60	23	24
Delaware	Wilmington urbanized area	59	23	24
Maryland	Baltimore & 3 largest urban counties	67	44	31
Connecticut	10 largest cities	46	7	46 ²
Rhode Island	10 largest cities	77	67	34
New Jersey	8 largest urban counties	75	73	38
California	4 largest urban counties	59	59	10
New York	New York City	53	43	43
Kansas	3 largest urban counties	26	7	8
Alabama	3 largest urban counties	30	13	9
Iowa	5 largest urban counties	24	10	10
Oklahoma	2 largest urban counties	26	12	6
Texas	4 largest urban counties	29	19	13
Minnesota	2 largest urban counties	35	23	22
New Mexico	largest urban county	21	11	3
Tennessee	4 largest urban counties	38	22	20
Arizona	2 largest urban counties	62	62	7
Nevada	2 largest urban counties	62	40	12
Michigan	Wayne County	38	35	21
Missouri	St. Louis & 2 largest urban counties	45	25	41
Illinois	Chicago	42	39	31
Ohio	8 largest urban counties	54	39	54
South Carolina	3 largest urban counties	22	22	7
Vermont	entire urban population	36	6	36 ²
Idaho	4 largest urban counties	28	19	9
North Dakota	4 largest cities	17	12	10
Montana	5 largest urban counties	37	32	9
North Carolina	4 largest counties	22	16	16 ²
Mississippi	2 largest urban counties	10	4	4
Utah	3 largest urban counties	64	48	48
Indiana	6 largest urban counties	46	32	34
Washington	3 largest urban counties	52	44	48
Colorado	Denver city	31	26	23
Oregon	largest urban county	31	27	23
Nebraska	2 largest urban counties	30		23
Kentucky	3 largest urban counties	23	17	18
Louisiana	3 largest urban parishes	34	26	26
Maine	8 largest cities	27	19	27 ²
Pennsylvania	2 largest urban counties	34	32	28
Virginia	8 largest cities & 4 largest urban counties	34	28	33
West Virginia	3 largest urban counties	21	19	12
Wyoming	5 most urban counties	48	41	33
South Dakota	6 largest urban counties	30	28	23
Arkansas	3 largest urban counties	16	12	14
New Hampshire	3 largest cities	27	25	29
Wisconsin	3 largest urban counties	33	32	33
Massachusetts	All cities over 50,000 population	50	50	50 ²

¹ Baker, Gordon E., *Rural versus Urban Political Power*, Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science (New York, 1955), p. 16-17.

² Approximate.

One typical method for distorting legislative apportionment is relatively uncommon in the States: gerrymandering. Of course, a number of States, by prohibiting such districting techniques as the subdivision of counties, rather effectively bar the drawing of constituencies with unusual shapes. Another important factor is that in many States party lines are either unclear or even non-existent—as in the one-party States—so that gerrymandering, as it is sometimes practiced in the case of congressional district boundaries, is needless. At the same time, however, since many State constitutions guarantee thinly populated areas an extraordinary representation in one or both houses of the State legislature, disproportionate rural strength is provided without the kind of gerrymandering that is practiced with respect to the national House of Representatives.

Proportional Representation: One more distinguishing mark of State and local election systems may be mentioned. That is the occasional use of methods of proportional representation. Proportional representation is a system of voting and counting votes that grants a candidate of a minority group special advantages. These advantages consist in general of setting up a multi-member district in which the largest bloc of voters cannot elect all of the officers to be chosen and a fair-sized minority can elect at least one of its candidates. Behind the procedure rests an idea that it is unjust to give voice in the governing of a district solely to the majority or plurality of voters; instead, the minority, which may number as many as 49%, should also have representation in the council or legislature. Hence methods have been devised not only to let several candidates be elected from any given ward, city, or district, but to insure that at least one of those elected comes from the second largest party or group in the area. The Illinois House of Representatives is filled by one kind of proportional representation. In Cincinnati and some other cities the council is elected by another type of "P.R."

VARIATIONS IN PARTY STRENGTH AND CONTROL

In an earlier section of this book, it was shown in what respects the federal government does and does not have party government; the conclusion was reached that the Democrats and Republicans in Congress often cross party lines in voting on many issues but hold together as parties in organizing the Congress and in voting on many bills and motions. The same might be said of the State legislatures as a whole. However, there are forty-eight State legislatures, and they vary greatly in the degree to which party ties govern the behavior of their members.

In the first place, eleven southern States operate under a single-party system so that issues that agitate politics in and out of the legislature are espoused by two or more factions of the Democratic Party. Moreover, in two midwestern States the legislatures are elected on a non-partisan ballot, so that party government is made feeble. In twelve other States in recent years, one party has been so strong that the party bond has had little influence on the behavior of the legislatures. Wisconsin has been governed

TABLE 34. PARTY VOTING ON ISSUES IN STATE LEGISLATURES¹

Type of Issue	Number of Party Votes ²	% of Party Votes out of Total Roll Calls on Issue
Elections and reapportionment	65	44
Appointments	12	44
National issues	12	44
Labor	52	41
Appropriations	68	38
Legislative procedure and organization	47	37
Taxation	62	29
Veterans affairs	8	28
Welfare, health, education	79	22
Civil service	28	21
State administration	16	19
Local administration	15	14
Judicial and legal	21	11
Business regulation	14	6
Other issues	84	11
Total:	583	Average 21%

¹ Source: "Party Voting in American State Legislatures," *American Political Science Review*, XLIX (1955), 788.

² Party votes are those on which the parties are opposed and both have an index of cohesion of at least 80. [An index of 80 results when 90% of a party vote one way and 10% vote the other way.]

largely by a Republican and Progressive coalition and the Democrats in the legislature have adjusted their habits to the dominant faction. Among the remaining twenty-two States, something resembling two-party government has colored the conduct of the legislative branch of government over the past twenty years.

A recent study by Dr. Malcolm E. Jewell uncovered facts concerning the degree of party government that is found in eight of these last twenty-two States at times when there is a fairly close division of the legislature between the Republicans and Democrats. Table 34 presents the extent to which the members of each party rallied to their party's stand on different kinds of issues in one or two sessions of recent years in all of the eight States.

The unit of measure of party difference was called a "party vote." A "party vote" was achieved on a roll-call vote in the legislature whenever 90% or more of the members of one party voted oppositely to 90% or more of the members of the other party. Take all roll-call votes on questions concerning labor, for example; should 90% of the members of the two parties hold opposing sides on every one of such votes, there would without doubt be very strong party discipline and party government in those eight legislatures. In point of fact, the table shows that the party members were so aligned on only 41% of all labor issue roll-calls. The sharpest party divisions, 44% of the total roll-calls, occurred on the subjects of elections and reapportionment, confirmation of appointments, and resolutions on national issues.

TABLE 35. EXTENT OF PARTY CONTROL IN THE STATES¹

States According to Number of Years, 1931-1952, in which Governorship and One or Both Legislative Houses were Controlled by Opposite Parties²

Division of Control Number of Years	States		Names of States
	Number	Per Cent	
0	15	32.6	Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, New Hampshire, Vermont, South Dakota
2	4	8.7	Arizona, Iowa, West Virginia, Wisconsin ³
4	6	13.0	New Mexico, Kansas, Maine, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Kentucky
6	5	10.9	California, Idaho, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan
8	3	6.5	North Dakota, Ohio, Utah
9	1	2.2	New Jersey
10	5	10.9	Colorado, Delaware, Montana, Washington, Missouri
12	4	8.7	Rhode Island, Wyoming, Indiana, New York
14	2	4.3	Massachusetts, Nevada
16	1	2.2	Connecticut ⁴
Total:	46 ⁵	100.00	

¹ Key, V. O., Jr., and Corinne Silverman, *Party and Separation of Powers: A Panorama of Practice in the States*, reprinted from *Public Policy*, V (1954).

² The basic data for this table are from the New York *Legislative Manual* and George Gallup's *Political Almanac*, 1952. The computations for this table rest on a comparison of the political affiliation of legislators and Governors from the election of 1930 through that of 1950. For States holding elections in odd years, the period 1929-1949 was used except for Kentucky, for which the elections of 1931-1947 were used.

³ Third party and independent Governors were excluded. The exclusion includes the 1930 Oregon election, the 1936 North Dakota election, and the elections of 1934, 1936, 1940, and 1942 in Wisconsin.

⁴ The elections of 1934 and 1938 gave the Republicans minorities in the State Senate but by coalition with the handful of Socialists they obtained working control. These elections were considered as having resulted in Republican control. Throughout, in situations of a 50-50 division between Republicans and Democrats, the assignment of party control was determined by the party affiliation of the presiding officer and the party affiliations of committee chairmen.

⁵ Minnesota and Nebraska are excluded from this tabulation, since their legislators are elected on a non-partisan ballot.

On the subject of business regulation, judicial and legal affairs, and State and local administration, party lines almost dissolved, for a party vote occurred in fewer than 20% of all roll-calls. In fact, the proportion of party votes of all roll-call votes came only to 21%. Considering that the eight legislatures are among the 22 with the greatest chance of providing party government of the 48 states, the general picture of party operations is one of weakness rather than strength. At least this is true of the legislative branches of government.

The slackness of party lines in the legislatures is both the result and the cause of weak party government in the structure of State politics as a whole. "Responsible party government" is defined as the ability of a party to control the machinery of government to the extent necessary to carry out its policies. A recent study by Dr. V. O. Key, Jr., and Corinne Silverman demonstrates that opportunities for such responsible party government are the exception rather than the rule in State politics. Even supposing that the politicians of one or the other party generally were in favor of and prepared to support a party program, they would be faced with the hard fact that many years might go by in many States without their ever being able to swing into effective action as a party government. As Table 35 reveals, in a good many States in recent years the governorship and one or both houses of the legislature were in the hands of opposing parties a large part of the time and hence the government had to be conducted according to bipartisan principles, or not conducted at all.

It is especially important to note that those States where party government was most possible in the period surveyed are States in which one party is overwhelmingly strong. By contrast, those States that have the least chance of party government are States where the two-party system is "healthiest." One concludes, therefore, that the State political systems are so constructed that they repress any tendencies of politics to develop and put into effect one or the other of two competing programs of legislation or administration. In short, the State political systems impede party government. The study of the national government has shown how the same impediments exist in national politics; but they do not exist to the same extent as in the States. The study of the structure and operations of State and local governments must therefore be conducted in full awareness of the fact that, in most States at most times, either party lines are loose within the parties or else the parties cannot control the whole government. Probably the greatest part of State politics and government can be called bipartisan or non-partisan.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. List the general ways in which State politics and elections differ from national politics and elections.
2. Referring back to Chapter 11 (Public Opinion and Activity), list from there the major points that pertain to, or are also true of, State and local politics.
3. What major points of Chapter 13 (Composition and Structure of Political Parties) are also true of State and local politics?

4. What major points of Chapter 14 (Party Functions) are also true of State and local politics?
5. What major points of Chapter 15 (Nominations and Elections) are also true of State and local politics?
6. Define briefly: non-partisan elections; a "long ballot"; initiative; referendum; recall; multi-member district; proportional representation.
7. What types of initiative, referendum, and recall—if any—are used in your home State? Are they typical of those used in other States? How often are they employed?
8. What mode of apportionment does your home State's law provide for? Is this typical of the States generally?
9. Does your home State have districts of equal population in both houses (except Nebraska) or are rural districts smaller? Is the situation more or less extreme than is generally the case?
10. To what extent does a two-party system govern the 48 States?
11. On what issues do the legislators of two-party States seem to divide along party lines? Can you explain the reasons for differences among the issues?