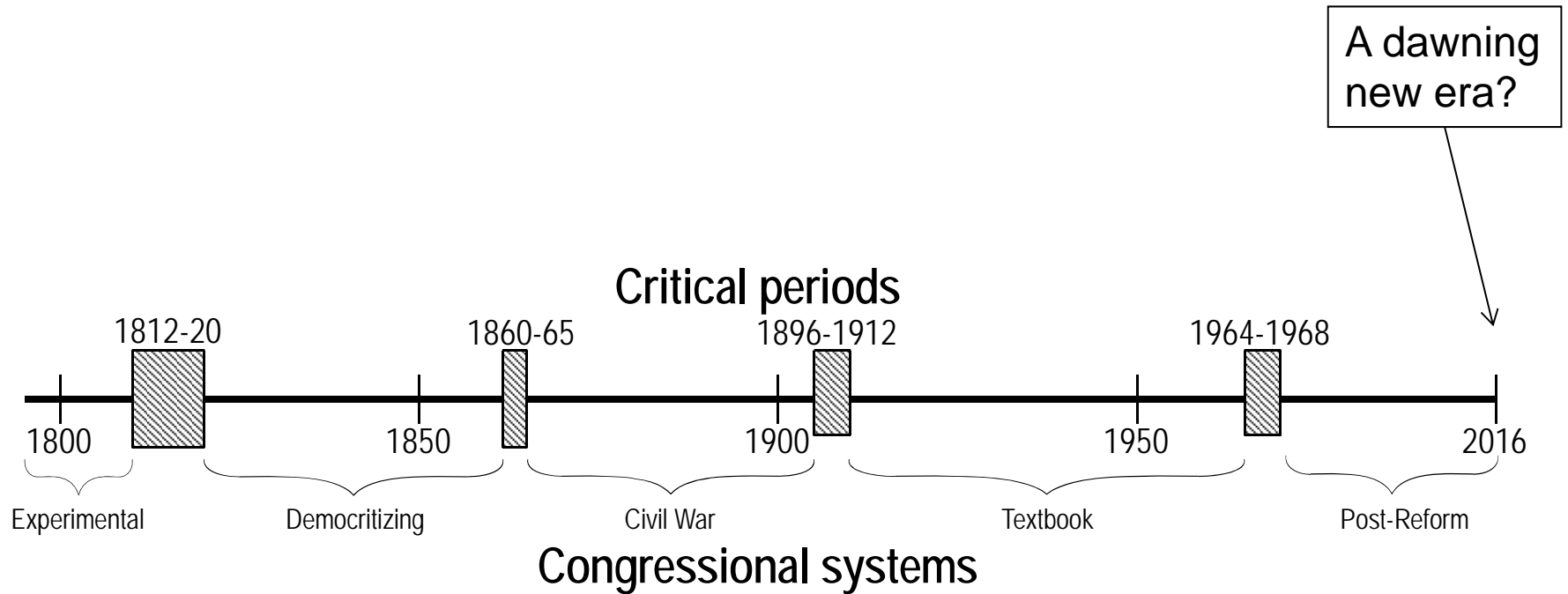


# Origins and Development of Congress

17.251

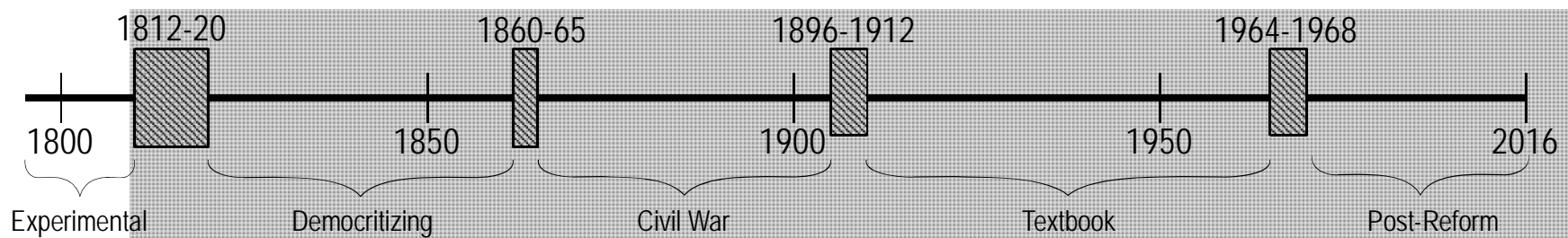
Spring 2016

# Congressional Historical Eras and Electoral Discontinuities



# 1789-1812 (Experimental system)

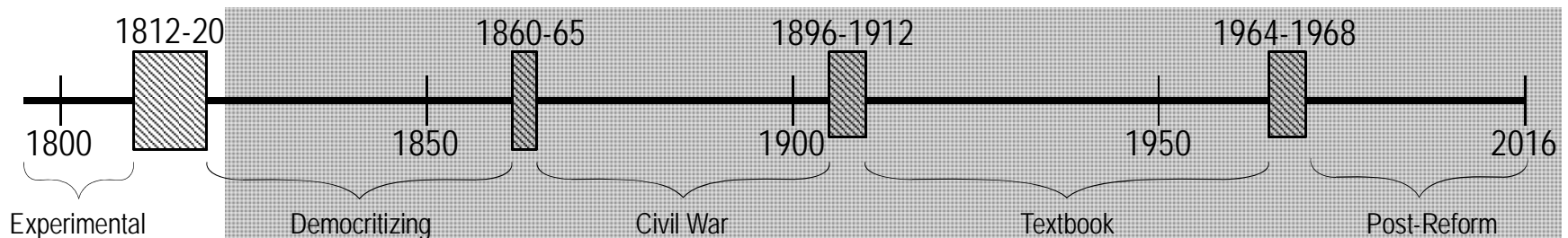
Electoral dynamics		Organizational dynamics		
During critical period	During cong'l system	Rules	Comms.	Party leadership
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Elite electorate (Table 3.2)</li> <li>-Feds vs. Reps.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Floor supreme</li> <li>-"previous q" developed in the House</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-<i>Ad hoc</i> select comms. dominate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Loose formal organization</li> </ul>



# 1812-20

(Transition from Experimental to Antebellum systems)

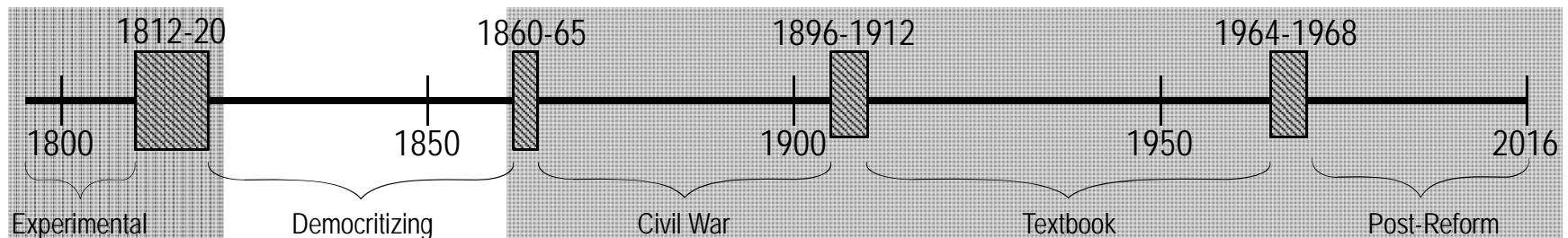
- -Electorate expands
- -Federalists discredited
- -Slavery now an issue
- -Napoleonic Wars end



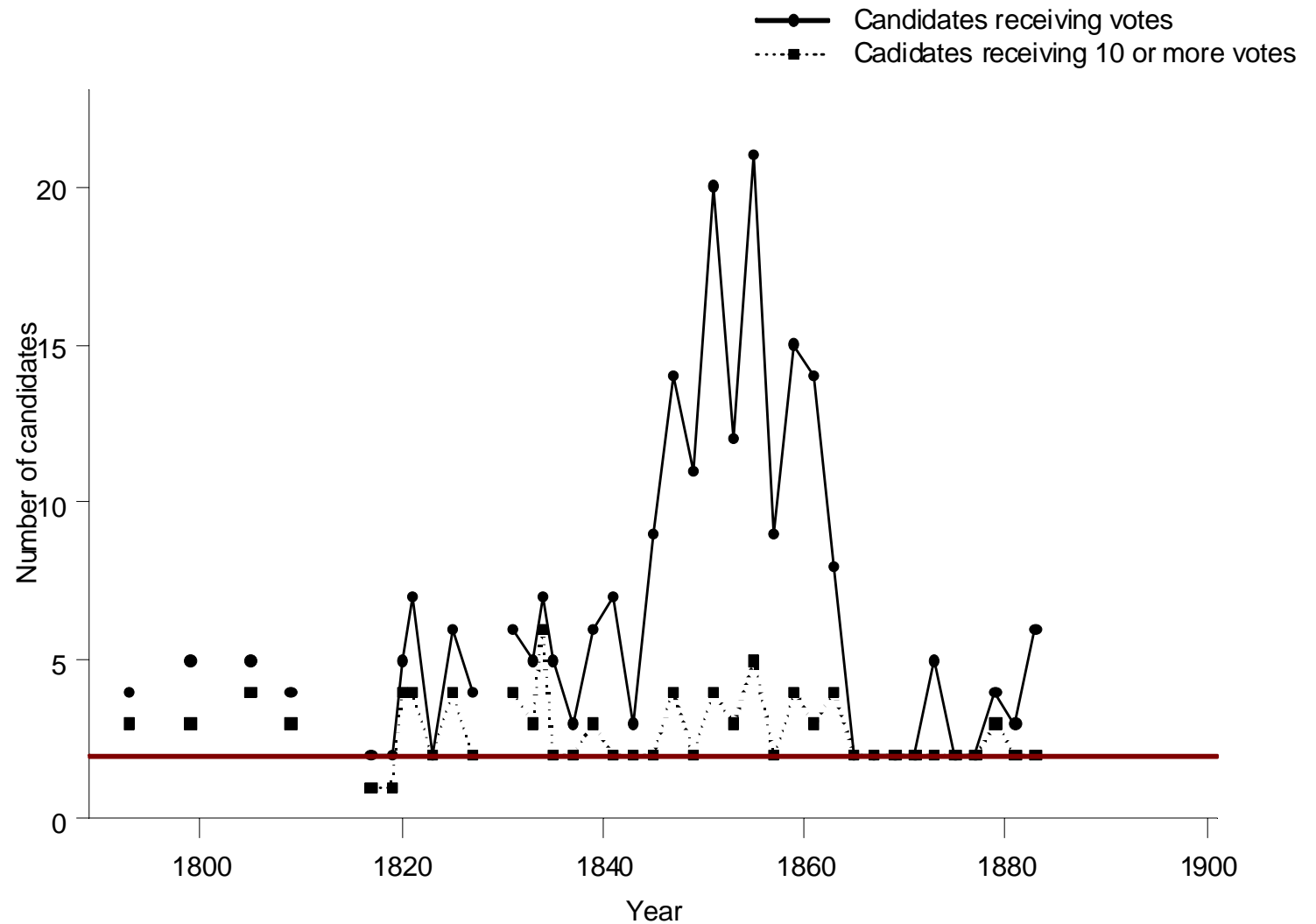
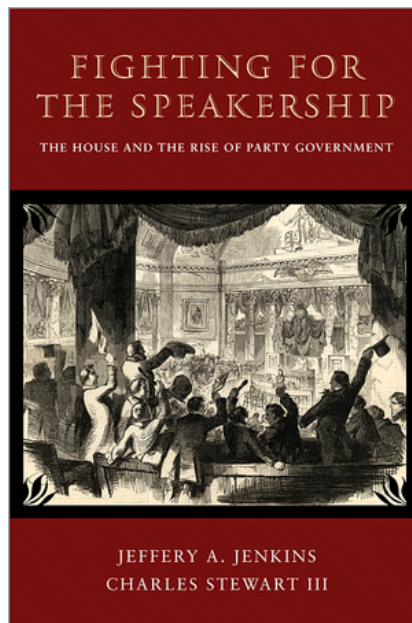
# 1820-60

## (Antebellum system)

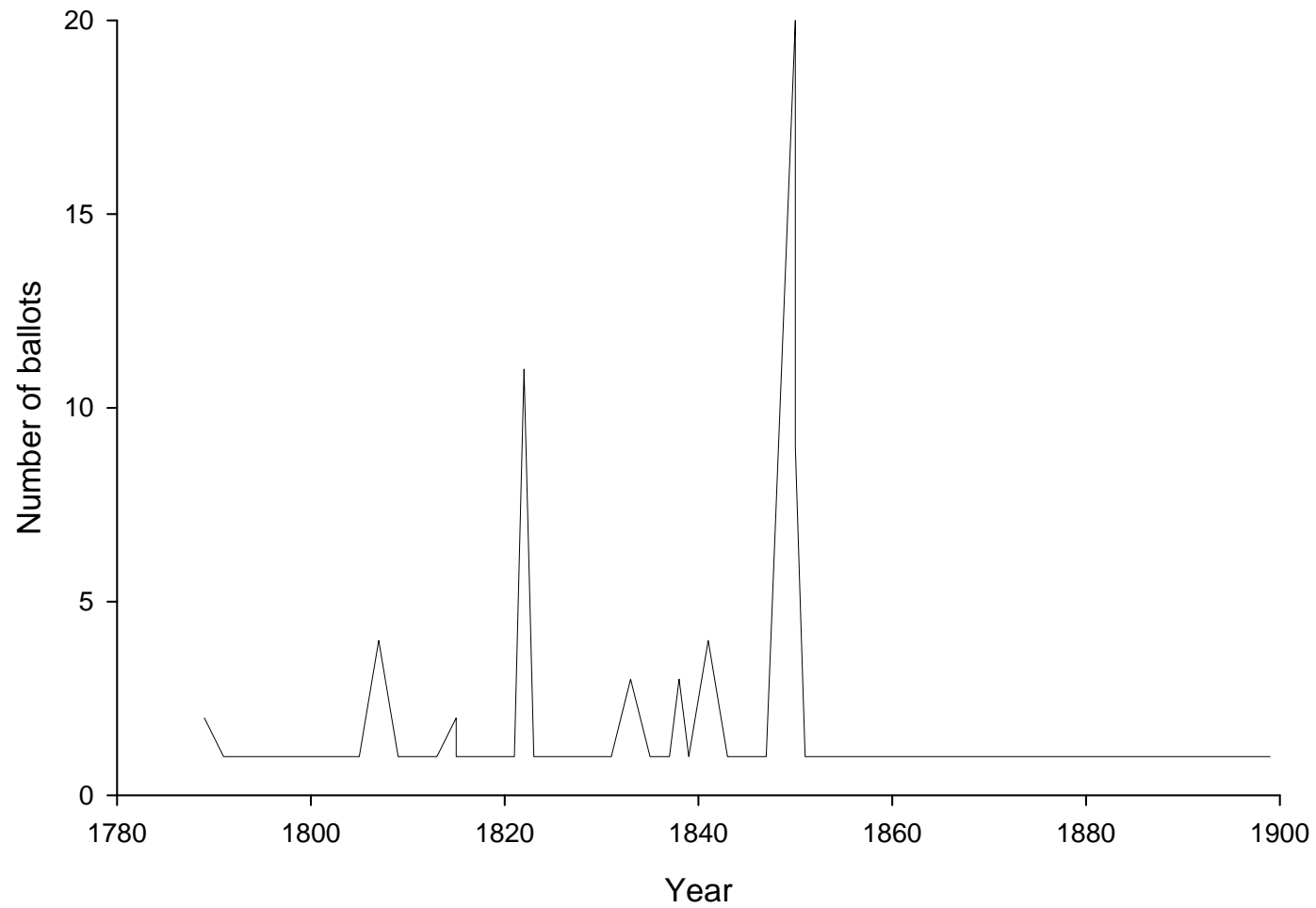
	Organizational dynamics		
Electoral dynamics	Rules	Comms.	Party leadership
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Mass electorate</li> <li>-Whigs vs. Dems.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Committees take agenda control</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Standings dominate selects</li> <li>-comm chairs compete w/ Speaker</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Van Buren tries to make Congress a partisan organ, but...</li> <li>-Regional divisions complicate Speakership selection (next slide)</li> <li>-Senate leadership remains weak</li> </ul>



# Balloting for Speaker



# Balloting for Clerk

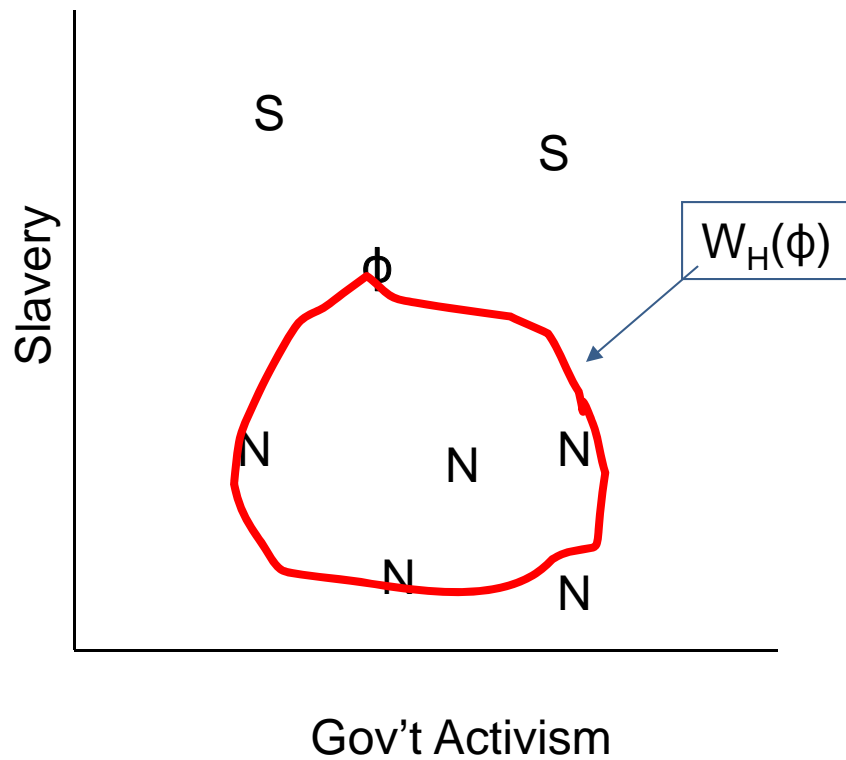


			Winning Speaker		Largest party	
Year	Cong.	Ballots	Name, State	Party	Name	Pct.
1825	19	2	John W. Taylor, N.Y.	Adams	Adams	51.2
1827	20	1	Andrew Stevenson, Va.	Jackson	Jackson	53.1
1829	21	1	Andrew Stevenson, Va.	Jackson	Jackson	63.8
1831	22	1	Andrew Stevenson, Va.	Jackson	Jackson	59.2
1833	23	1	Andrew Stevenson, Va.	Jackson	Jackson	59.6
1834	23	10	John Bell, Tenn.	Jackson	“	“
1835	24	1	James K. Polk. Tenn.	Jackson	Jackson	59.1
1837	25	1	James K. Polk. Tenn.	Dem.	Democrat	52.9
1839	26	11	Robert M.T. Hunter, Va.	Whig	Democrat	51.7
1841	27	1	John White, Ky.	Whig	Whig	58.7
1843	28	1	John W. Jones, Va.	Dem.	Democrat	65.9
1845	29	1	John W. Davis, Ind.	Dem.	Democrat	62.3
1847	30	3	Robert C. Winthrop, Mass.	Whig.	Whig	50.4
1849	31	63	Howell Cobb, Ga.	Dem.	Democrat	48.5
1851	32	1	Linn Boyd, Ky.	Dem.	Democrat	54.5
1853	33	1	Linn Boyd, Ky.	Dem.	Democrat	67.1
1855	34	133	Nathaniel Banks, Mass.	Amer.	Opposition	42.7

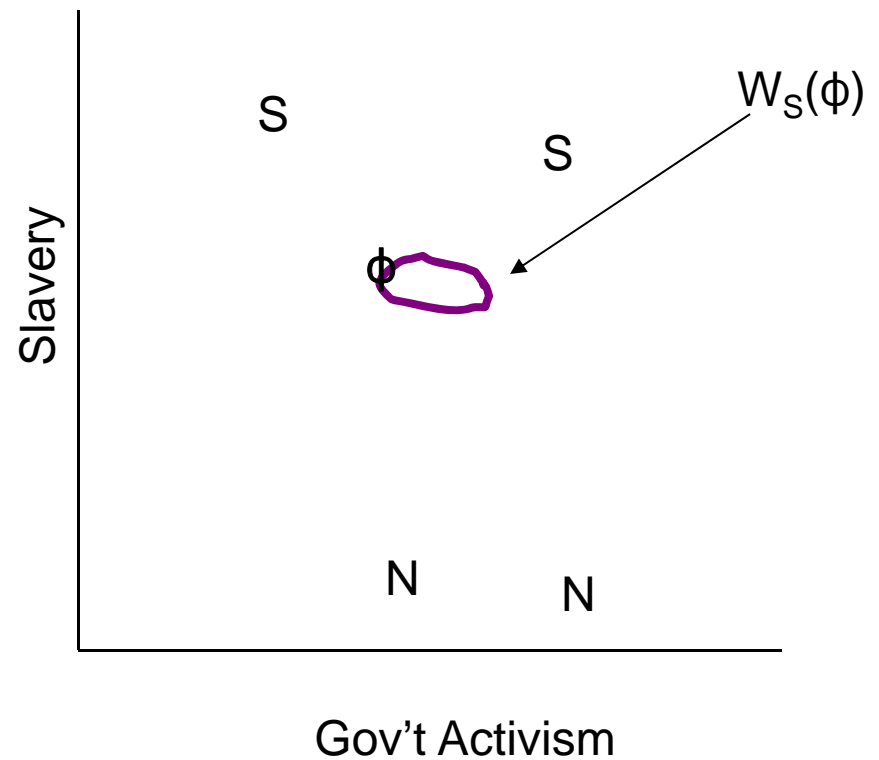


# The Effect of the Balance Rule

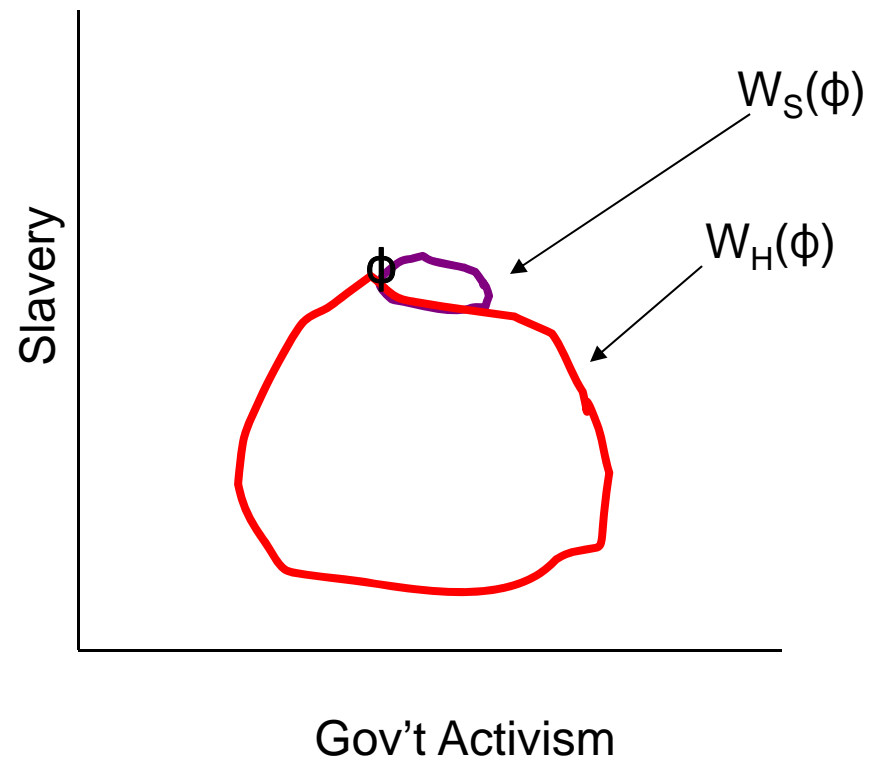
Stylized House



Stylized Senate



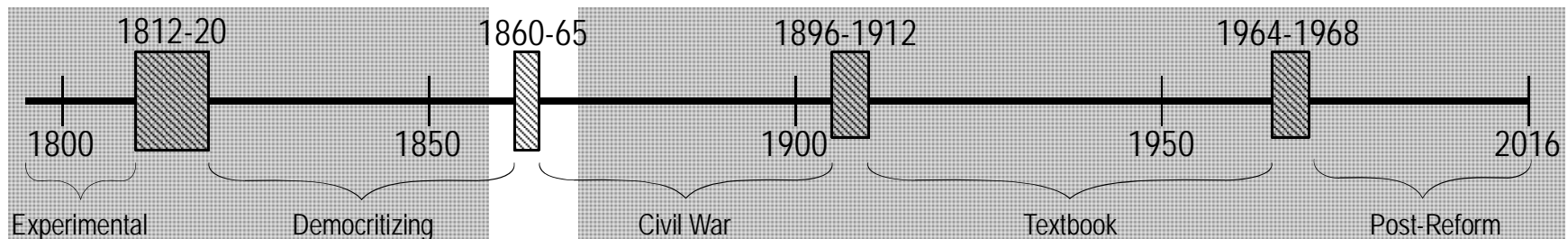
# The Effect of the Balance Rule



# 1860-1865

## (Transition from Antebellum to Civil War System)

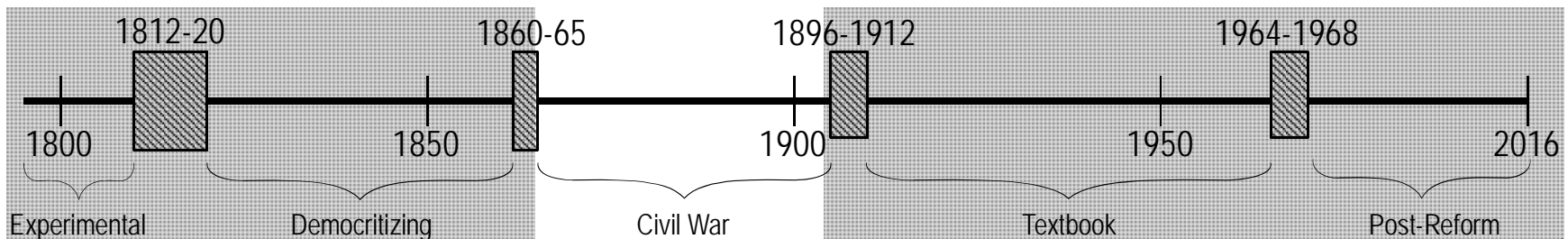
- South excluded from national elections
- Party support highly regionalized



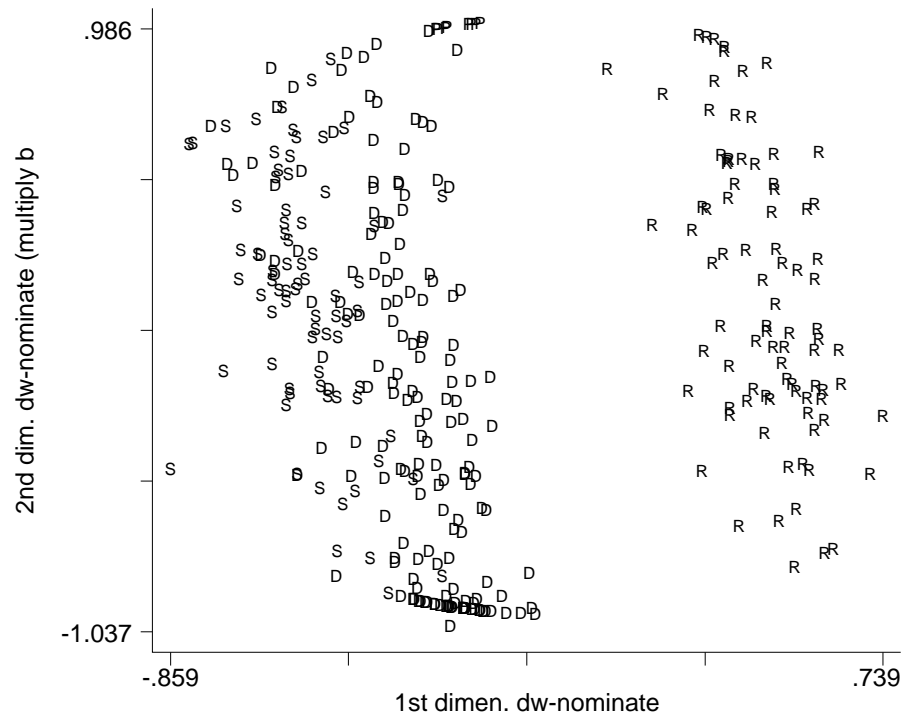
# 1865-1896

## (Civil War System)

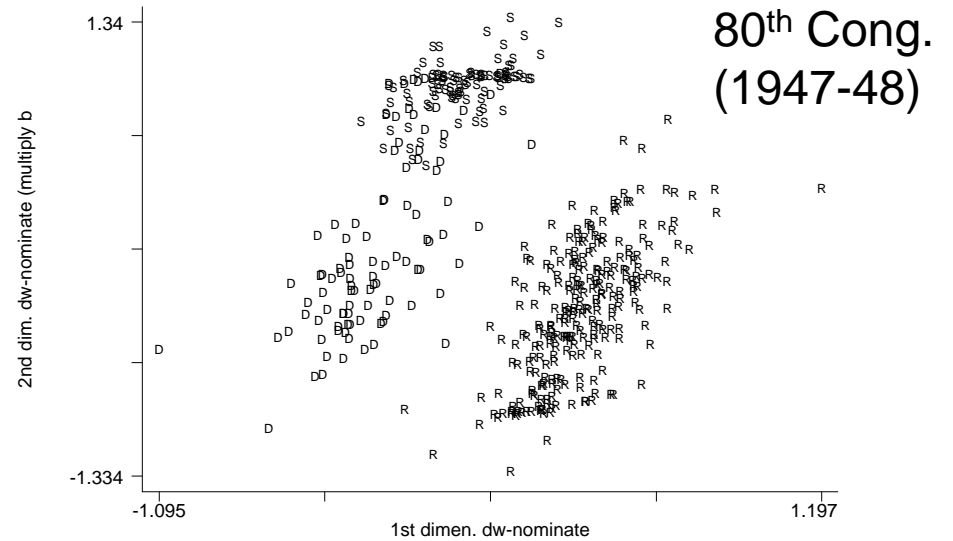
	Organizational dynamics		
Electoral dynamics	Rules	Comms.	Party leadership
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Dems. v. Reps.</li> <li>-Dem. Strength in the South</li> <li>-Rep. strength in the North</li> <li>-Knife-edged partisan margins</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-“Reed Rules” in the House</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Parties take control of committee rosters</li> <li>-Appr. devolution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Party polarization</li> <li>-Party “strong”</li> <li>-Caucus organization in House</li> <li>-Steering committee in the Senate</li> </ul>



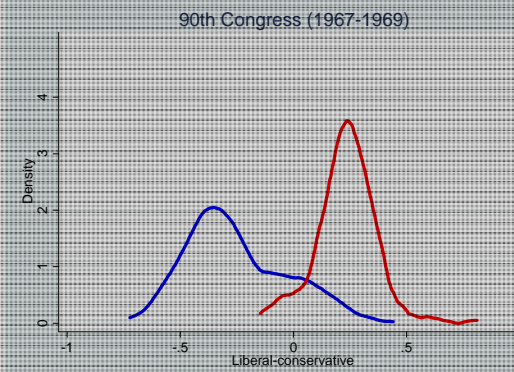
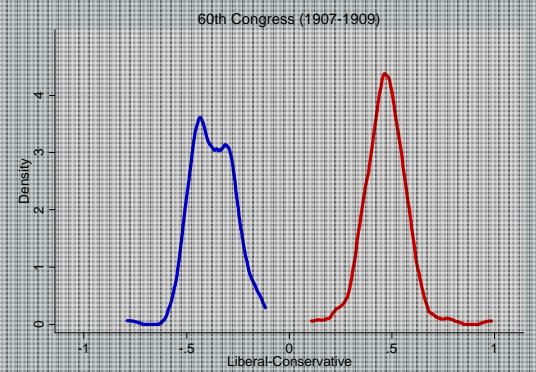
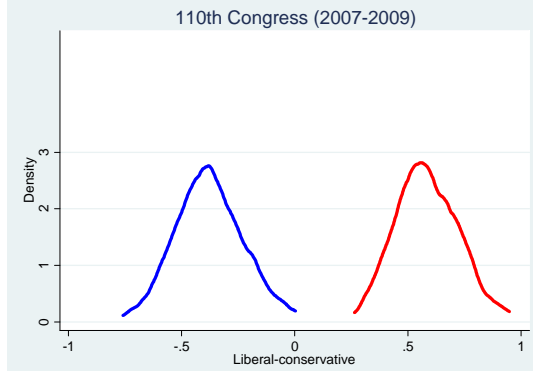
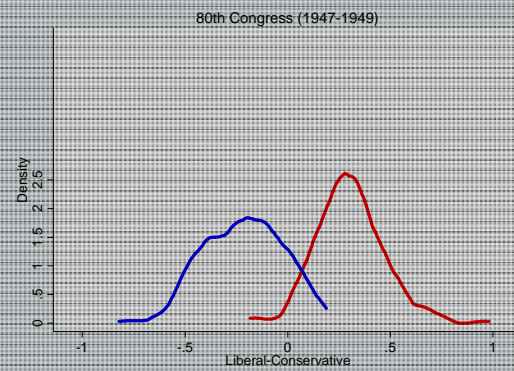
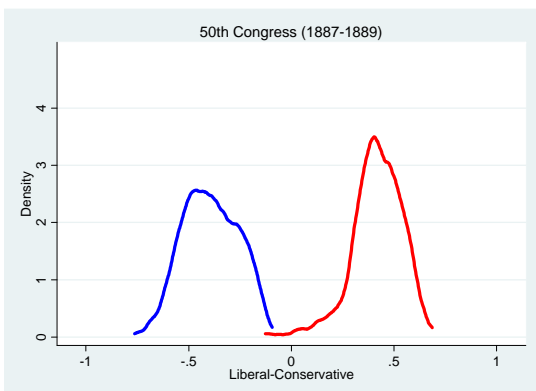
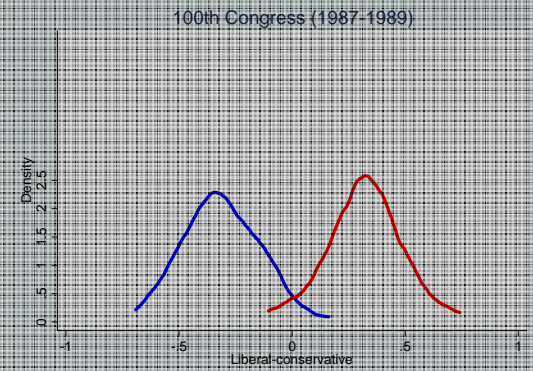
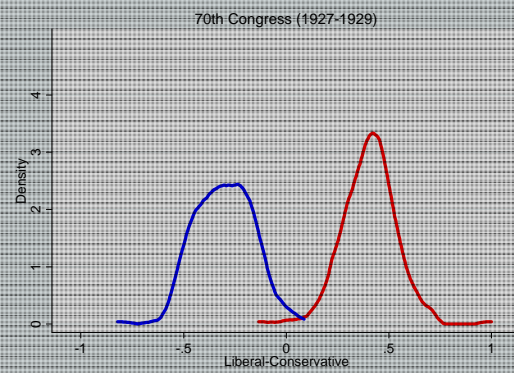
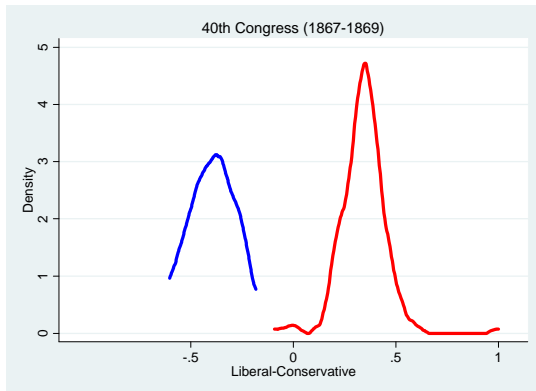
# Ideological divisions



52<sup>nd</sup> Cong.  
(1891-1893)



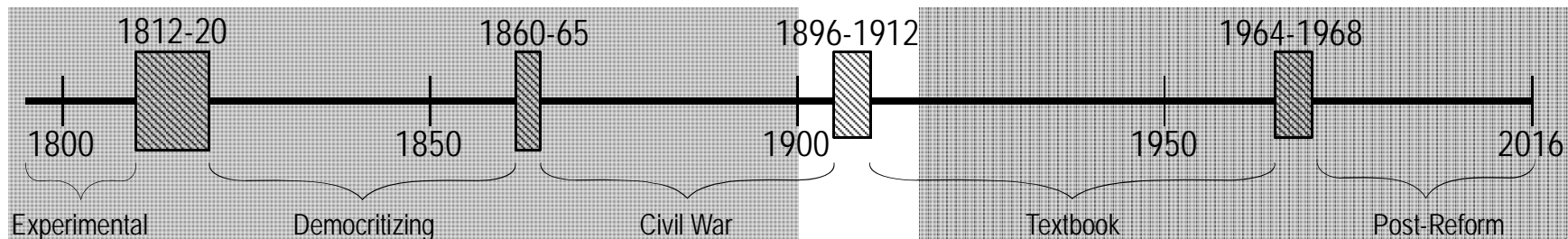
80<sup>th</sup> Cong.  
(1947-48)



# 1896-1912

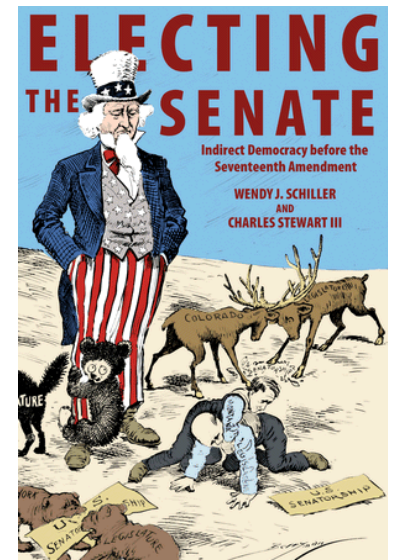
## (Transition from Civil War to Textbook systems)

- Economic dislocations create Progressive/Populist movements



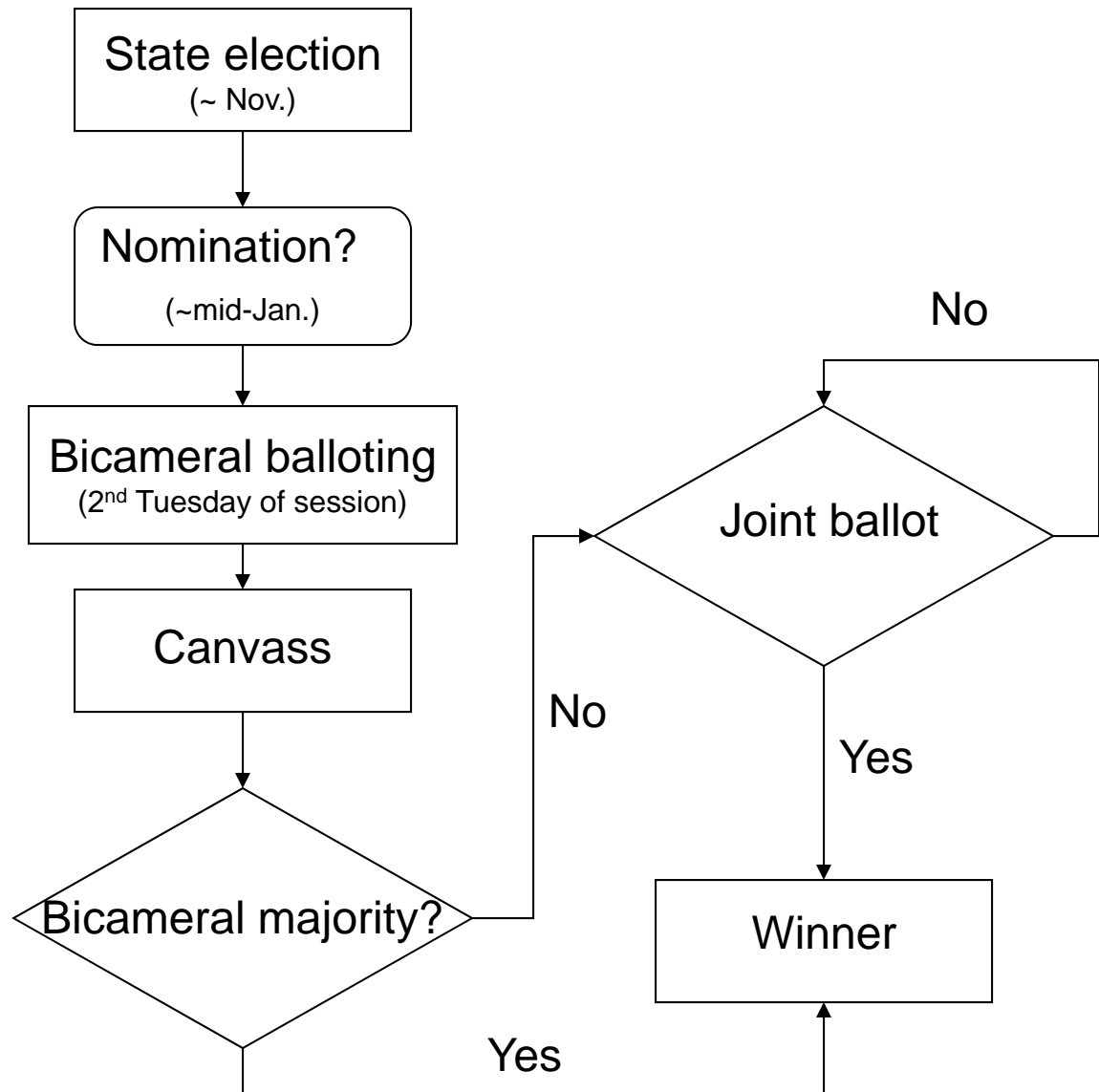
# A Word about Senate Elections

- State legislative elections often brought about chaotic balloting
- Stories of corruption in Senate elections led to Progressive calls for reform
- Rise of third parties gave major parties an incentive to create a duopoly of power
- 17th amendment: popular election of senators (1914)
- Still parties become more prominent

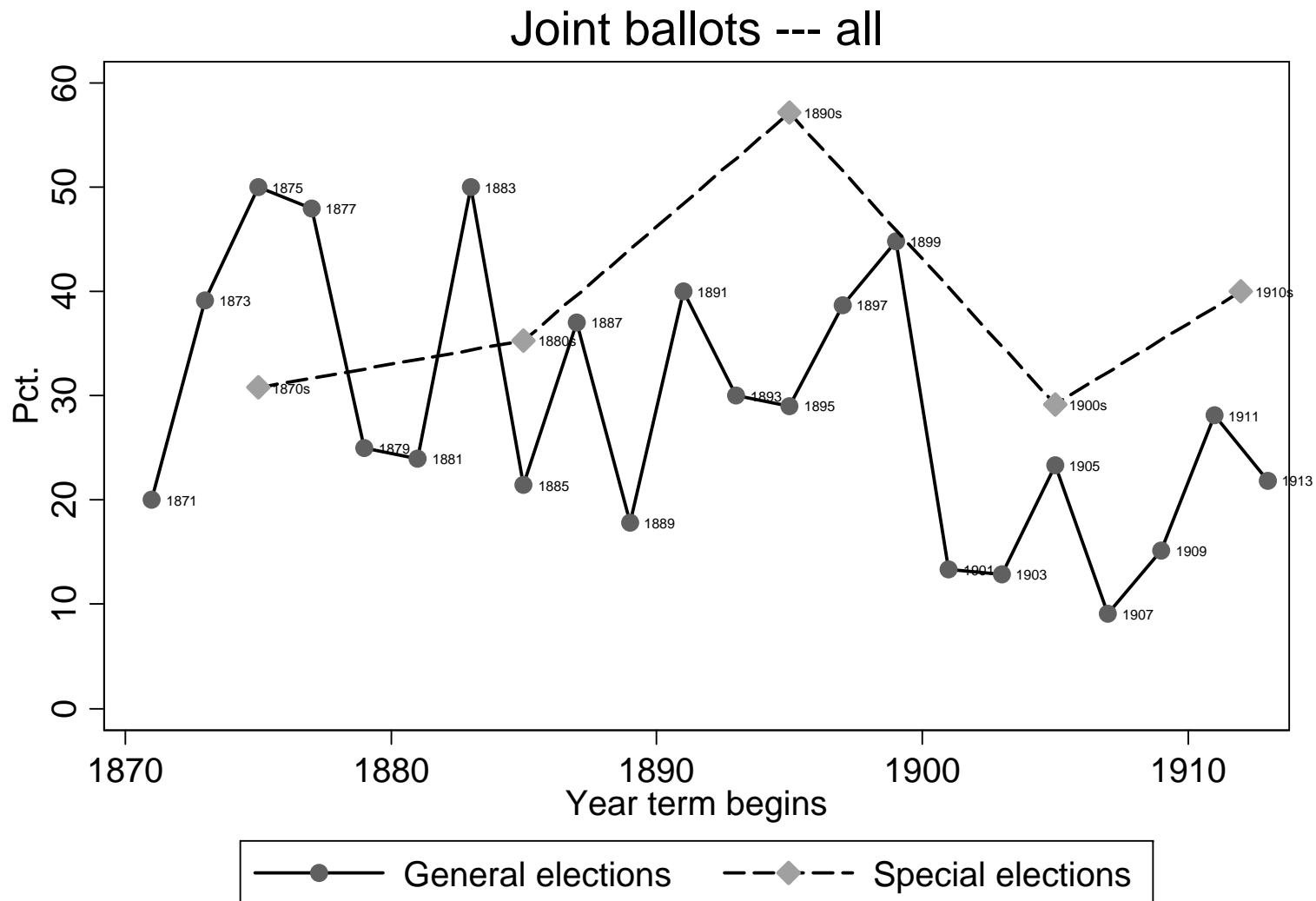




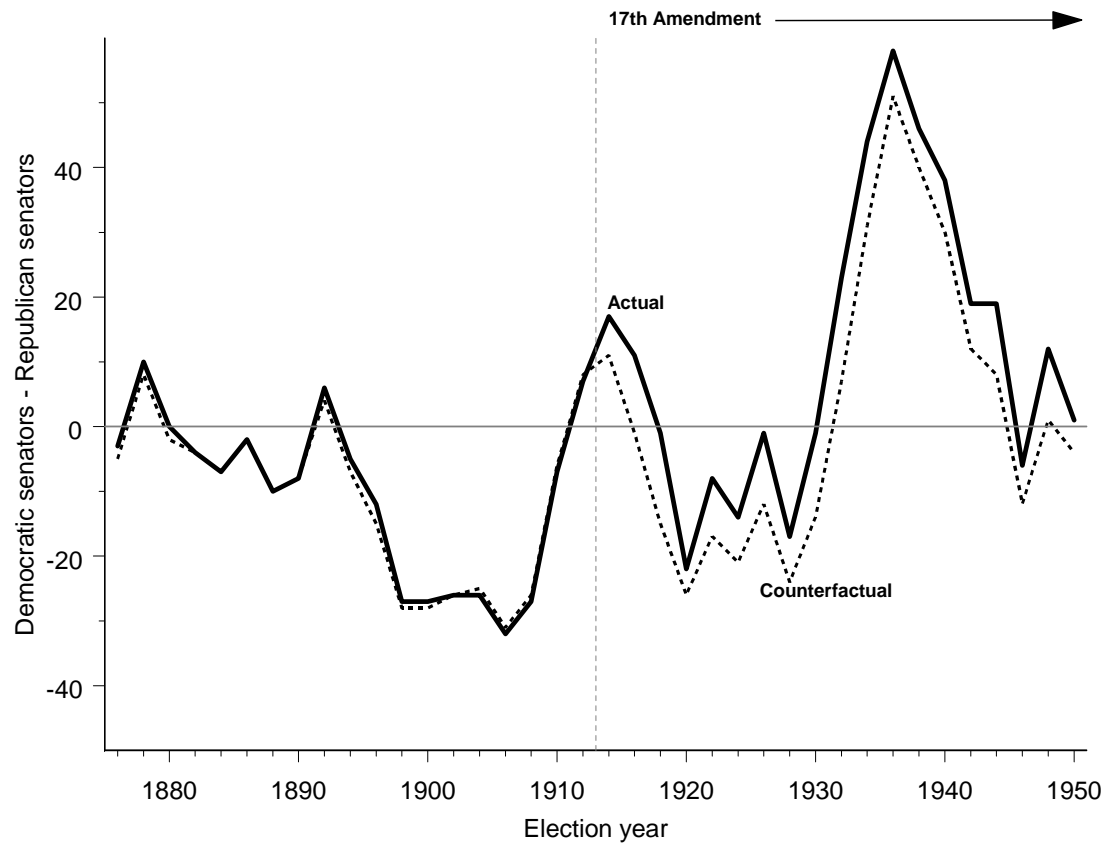
# The Process



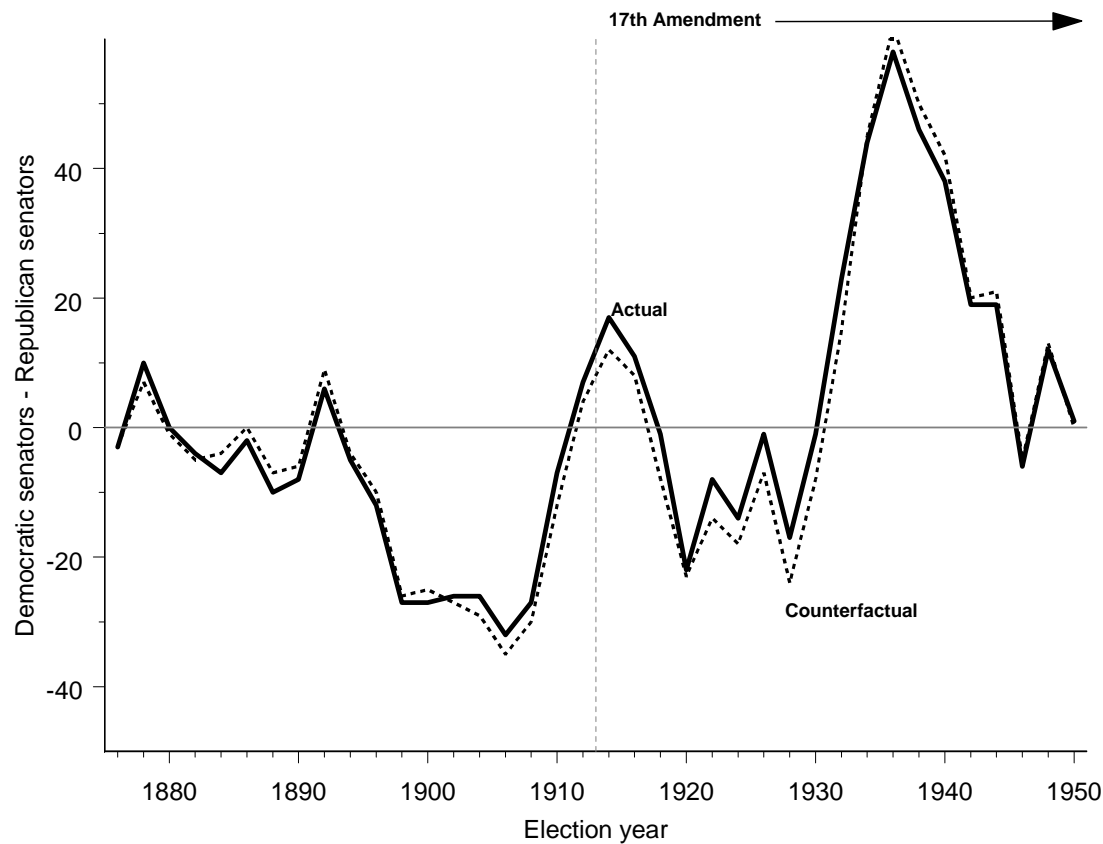
# % joint ballot elections for Senate



# Counterfactual: What If No Popular Elections?



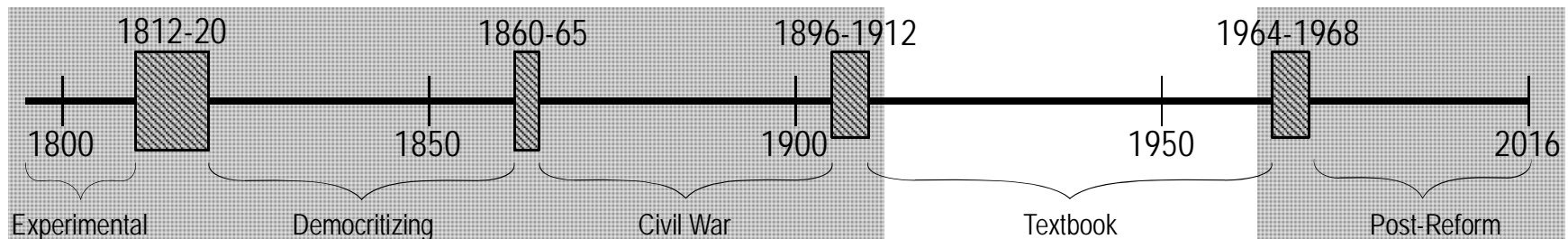
# Counterfactual: What If Popular Election before 1917?



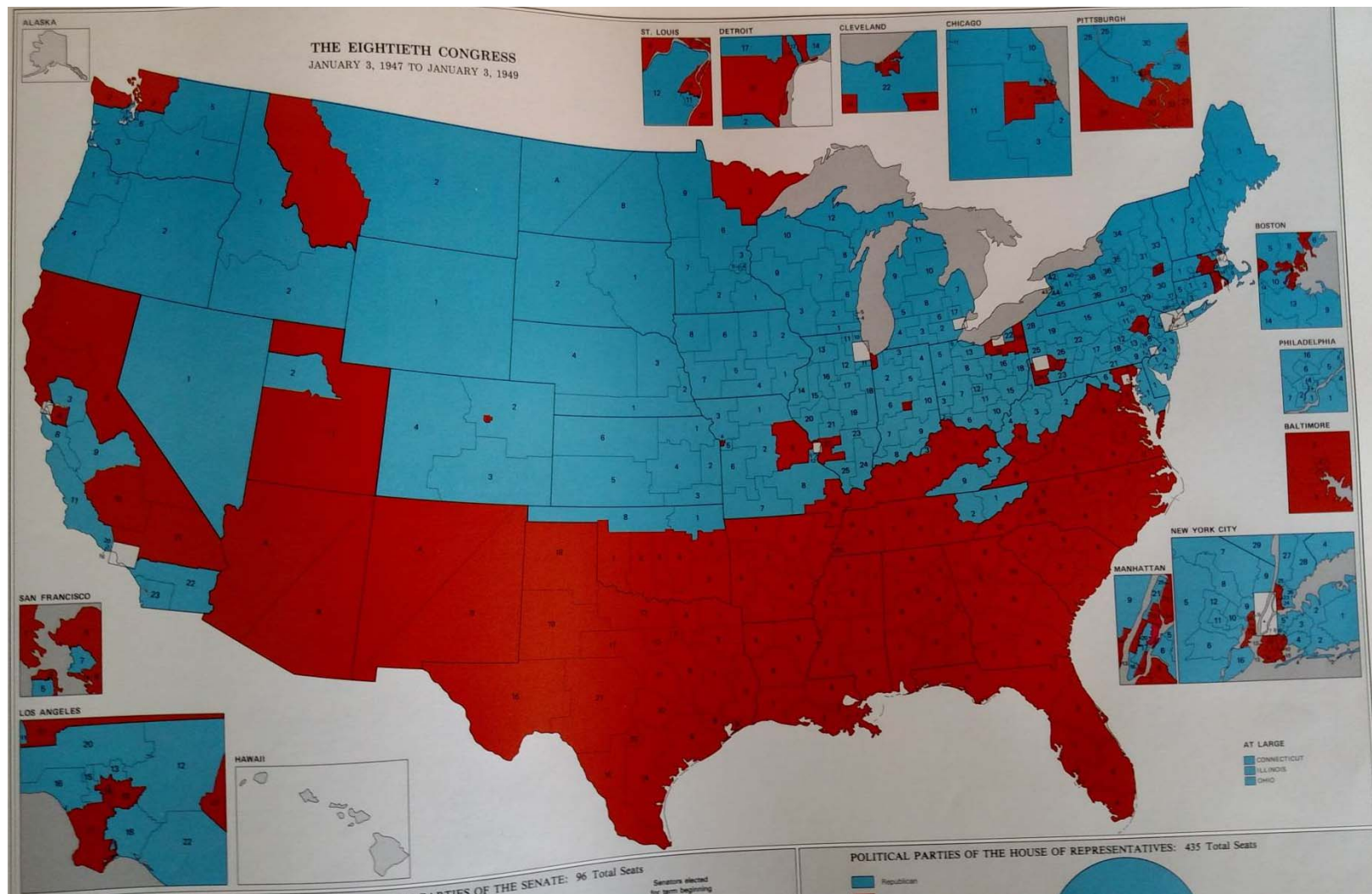
# 1912-1968

## (Textbook system)

	Organizational dynamics		
Electoral dynamics	Rules	Comms.	Party leadership
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Regional support for parties</li> <li>-Dems pick up progressives and cities</li> </ul>	Battles over filibuster prominent in the Senate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Comms. dominate legislating &amp; careers</li> <li>-consol. in 1946</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Party cohesion diminishes</li> <li>-party leaders brokers</li> </ul>

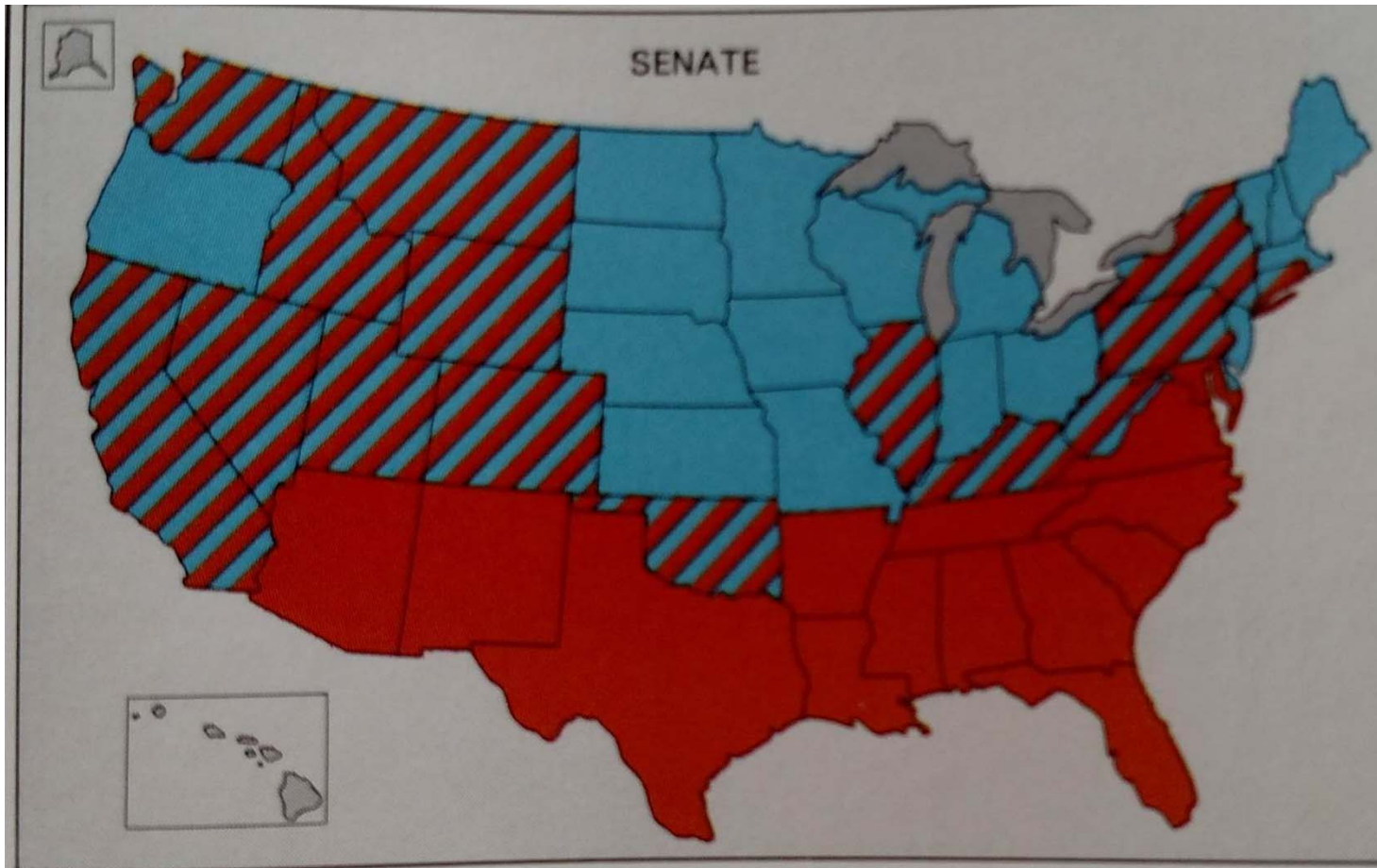


# Regional parties

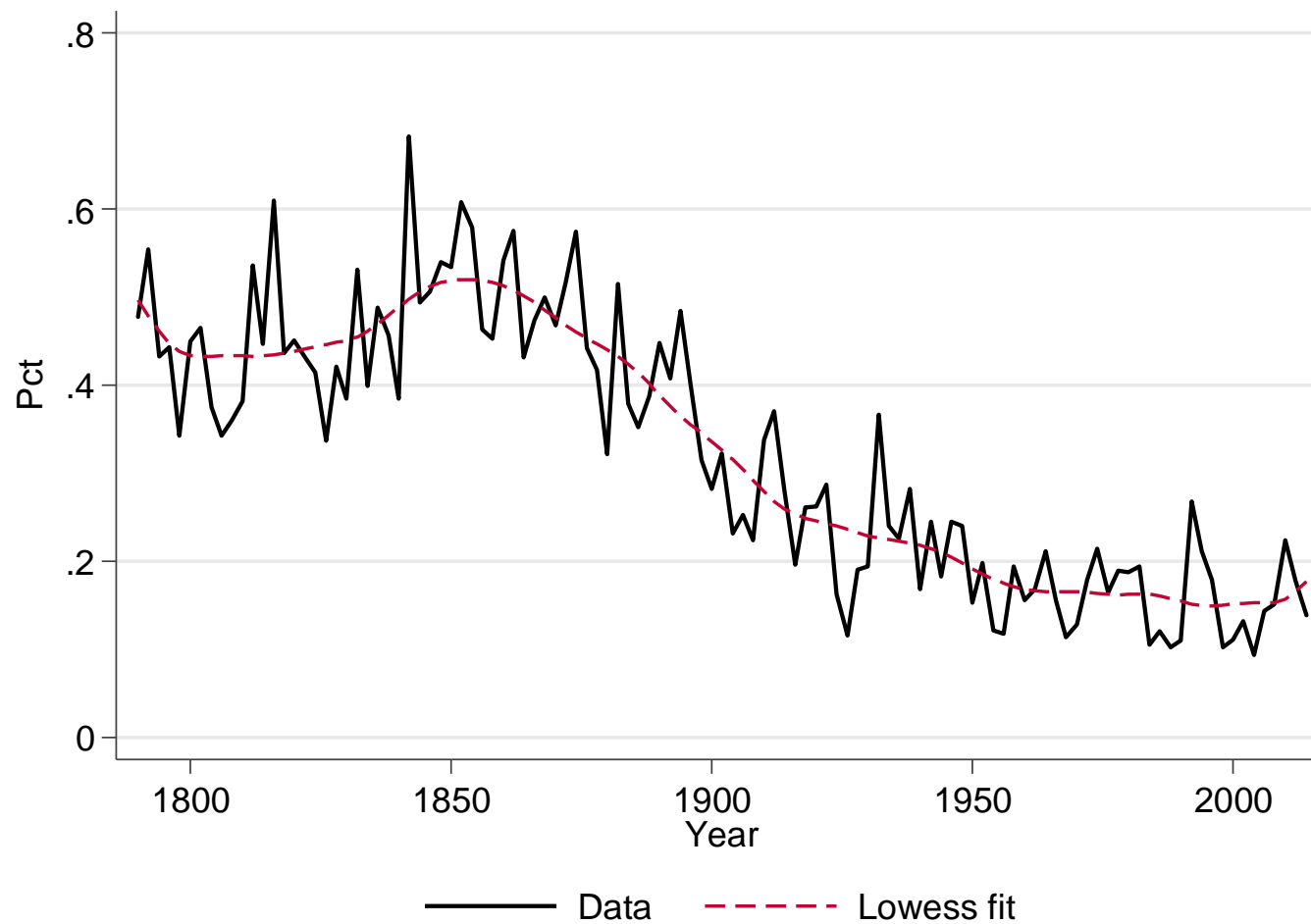


Source: Kenneth Martis, *Historical Atlas of Congressional Parties in the United States Congress*

# Regional parties



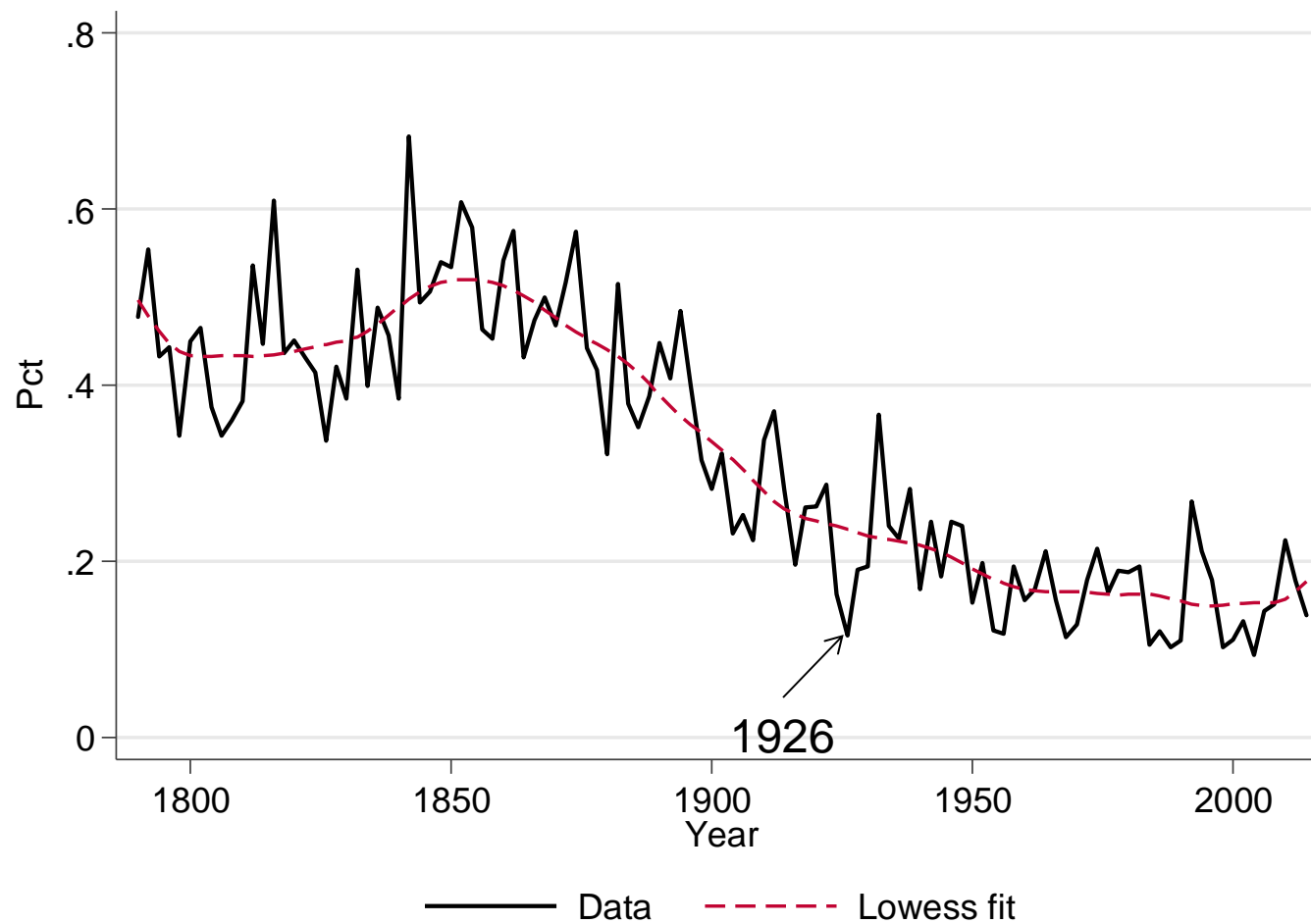
# Rise of careerism: The House



Update of Figure 3.5

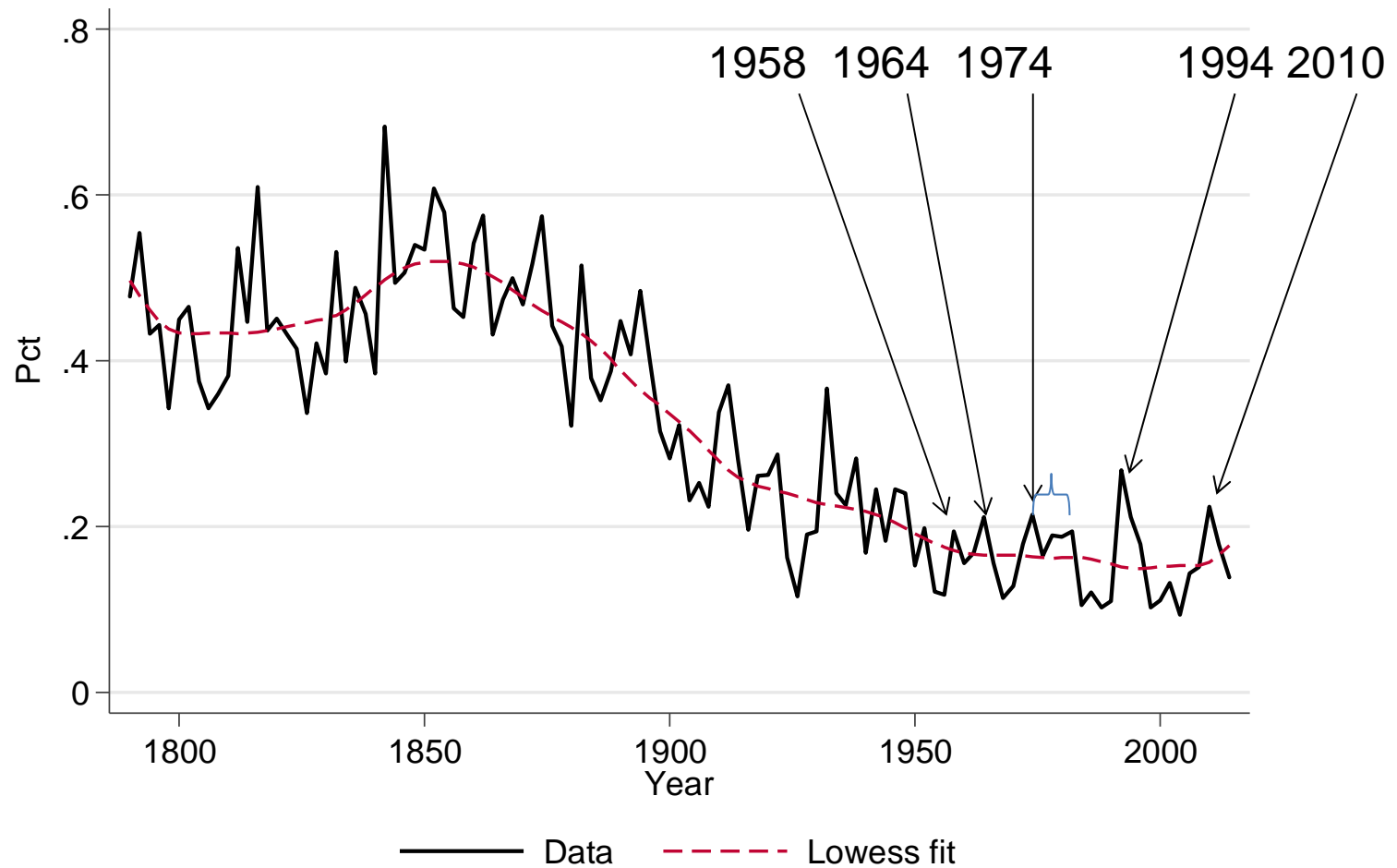


# Rise of careerism



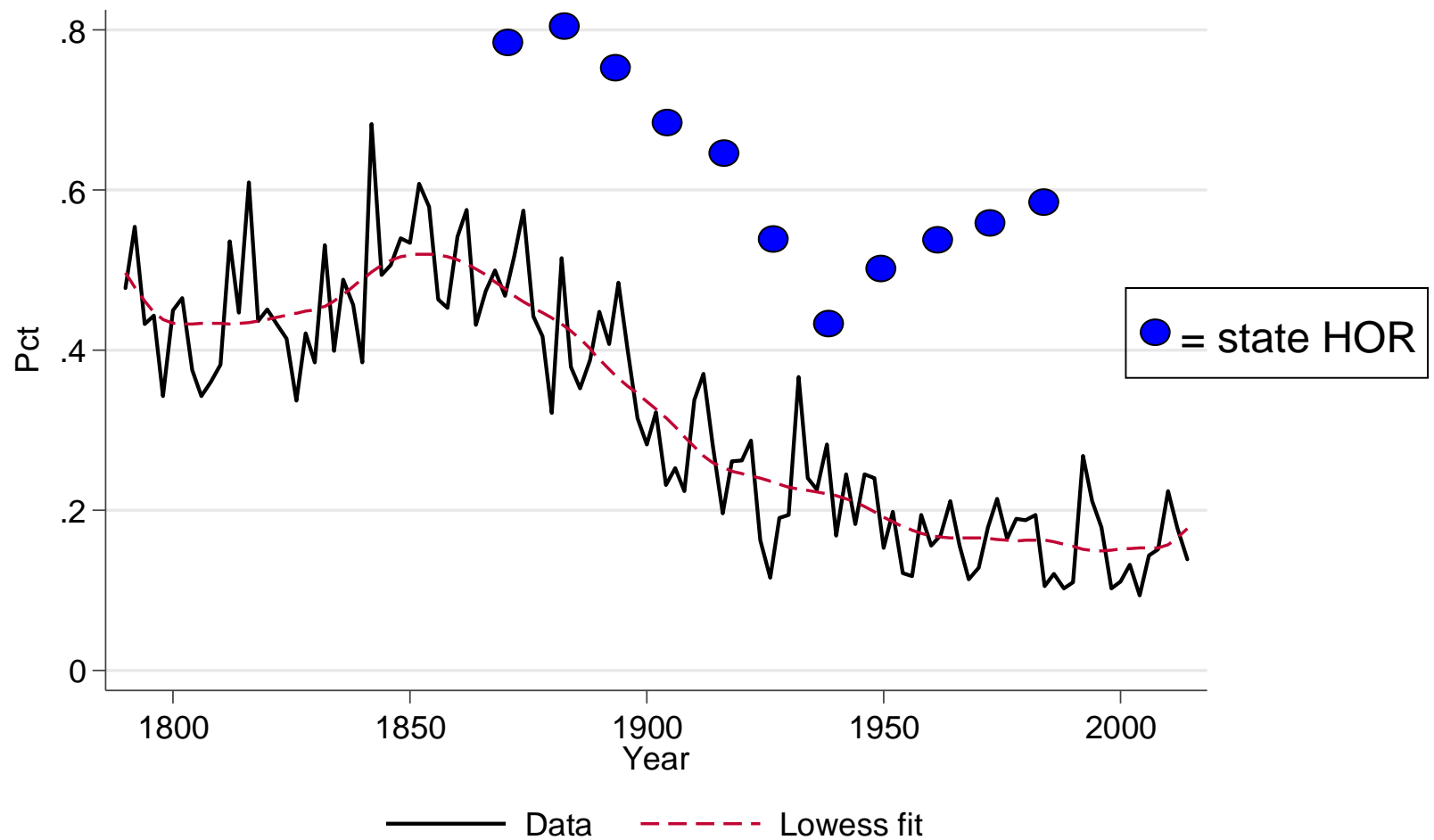
Update of Figure 3.5

# Rise of careerism



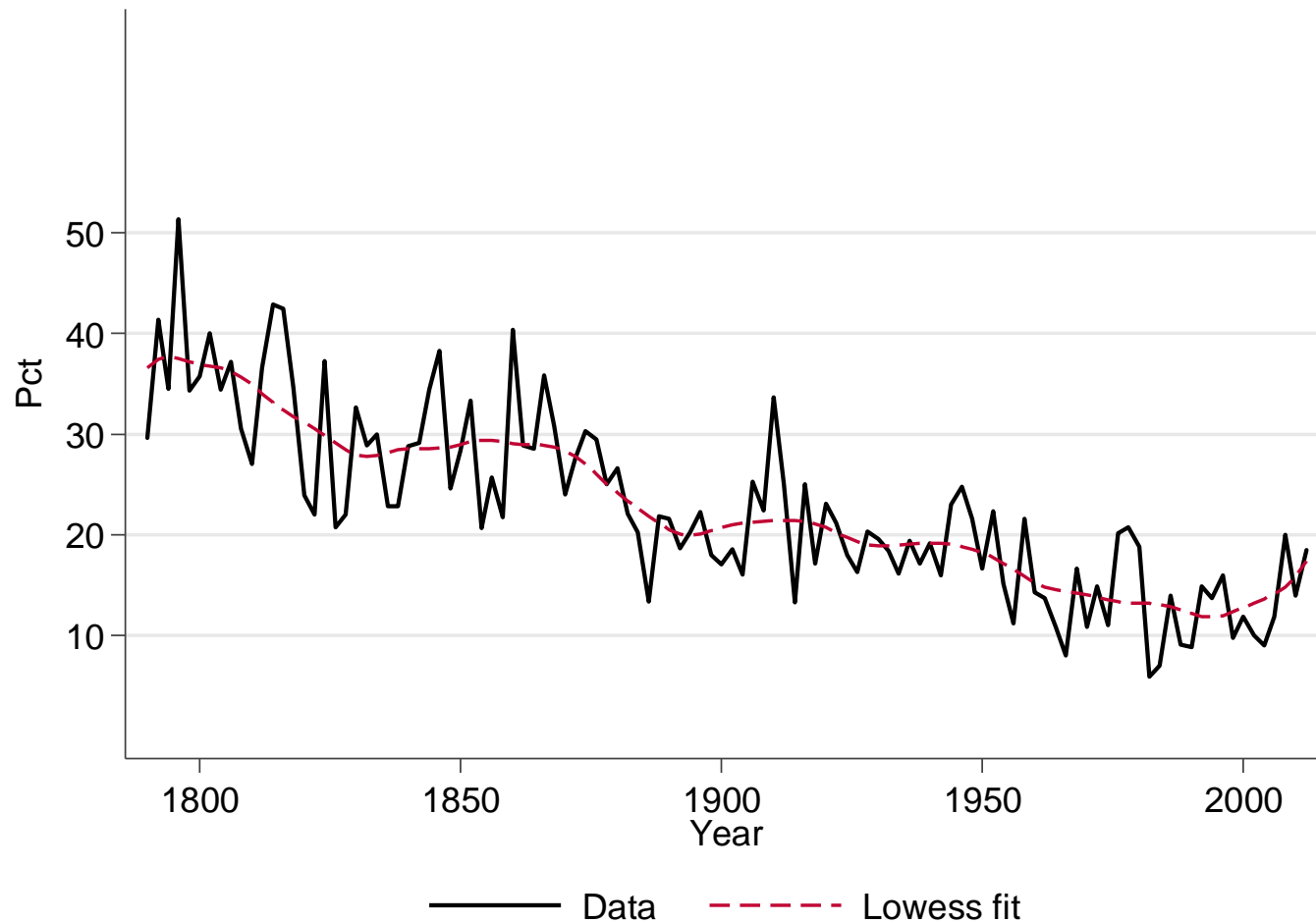
Update of Figure 3.5

# Rise of careerism

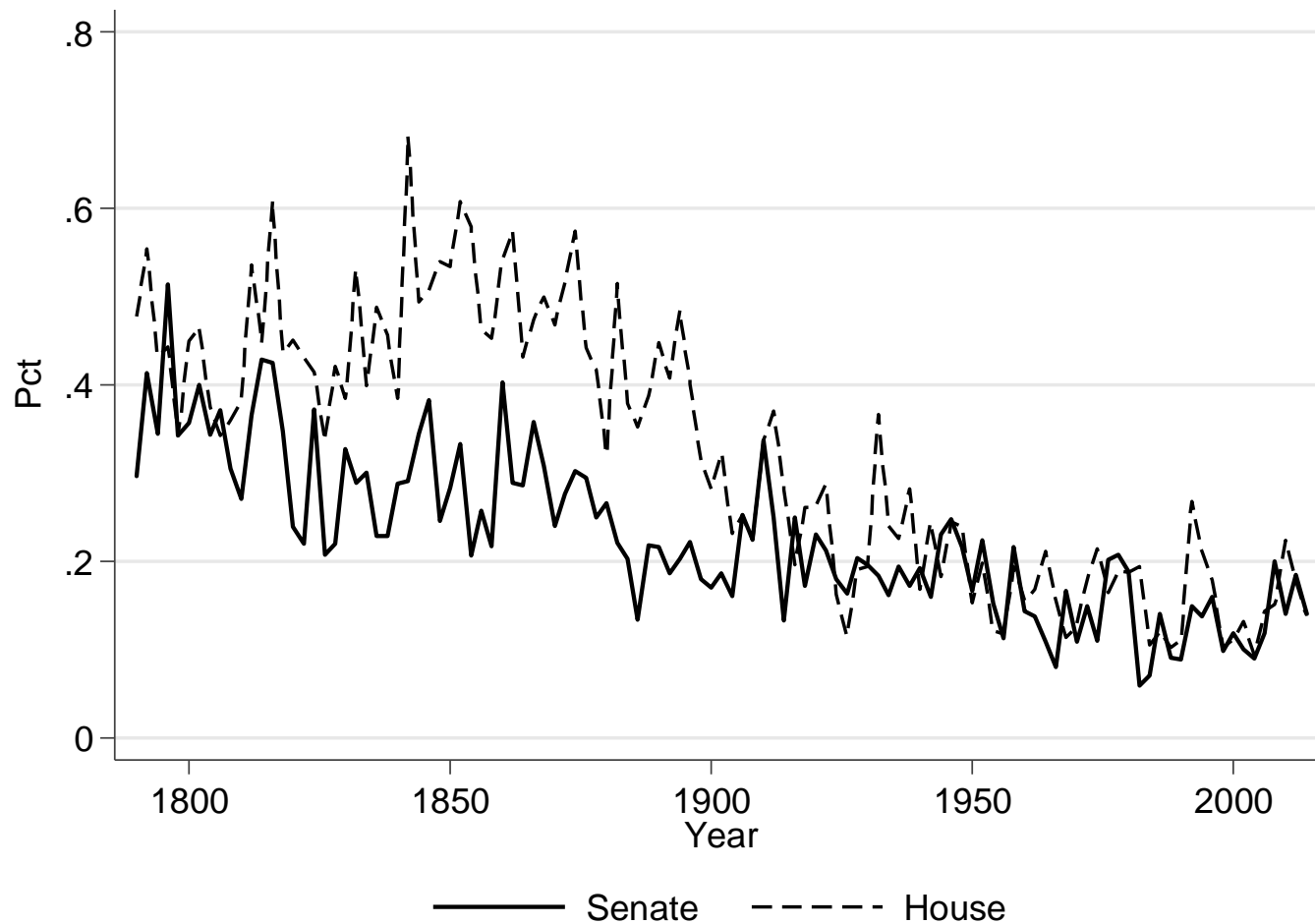


Update of Figure 3.5

# Rise of careerism: The Senate



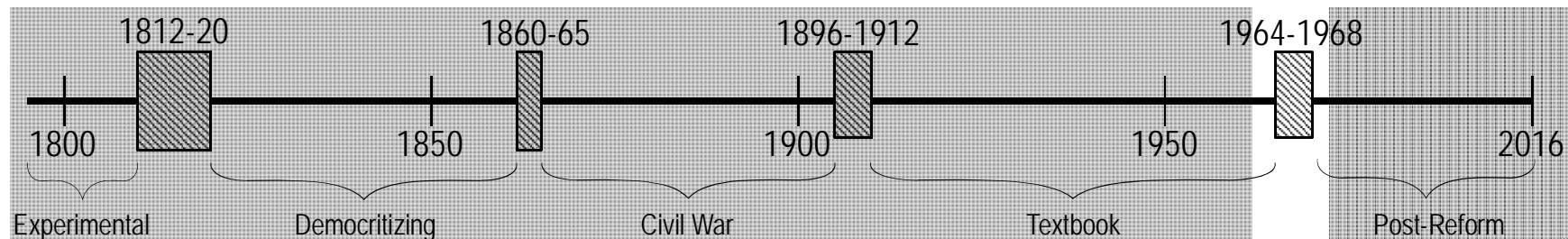
# Senate & House Careerism Compared



# 1968-1974

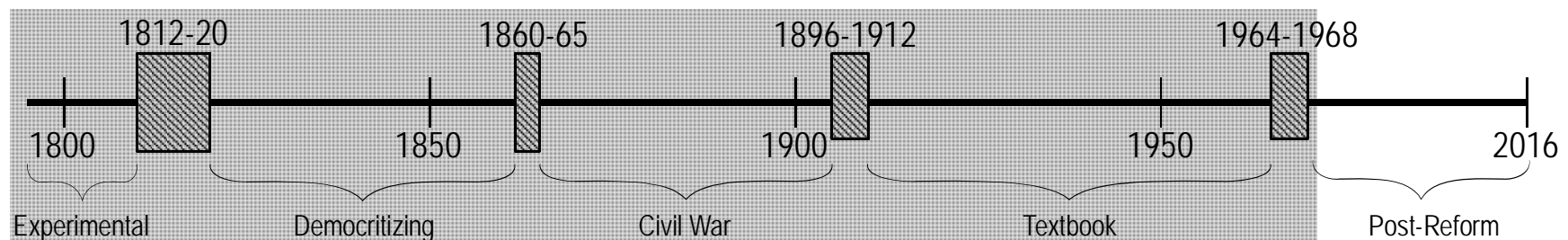
## (Transition from Textbook to Post-Reform system)

- Anti-war sentiment divorces supporters of strong defense from Dems.
- Civil Rights movement divorces southern Whites from Dems, but reinforces Black affiliation with Dems.



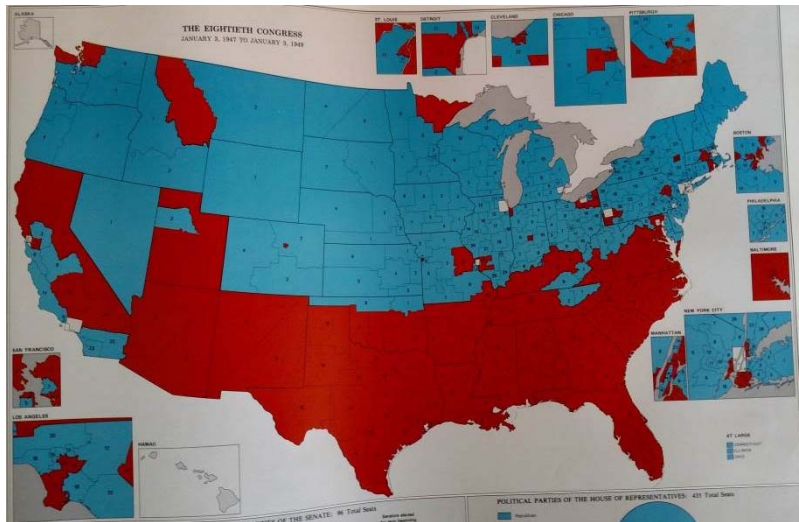
# 1974-now (Post-Reform System)

	Organizational dynamics		
Electoral dynamics	Rules	Comms.	Party leadership
-Reps conservative, Dems. Liberal -Regionalism <i>per se</i> deemphasized	Floor proceedings open up	-Comms important, but....	-Parties resurgent -Leaders more assertive (Republicans esp.)



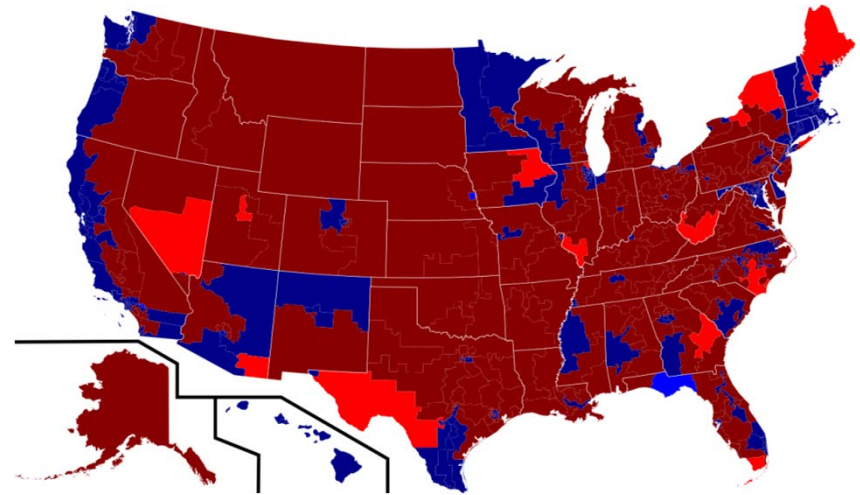
# Loss of regionalism in parties

80<sup>th</sup> Congress  
(1947-1948)



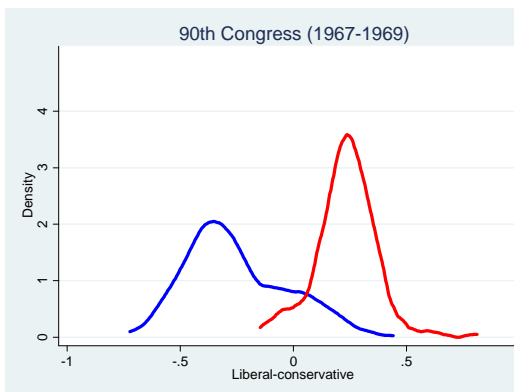
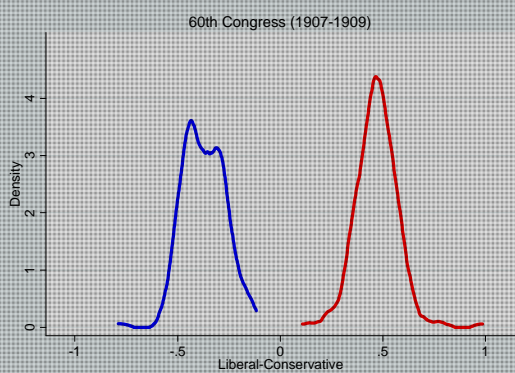
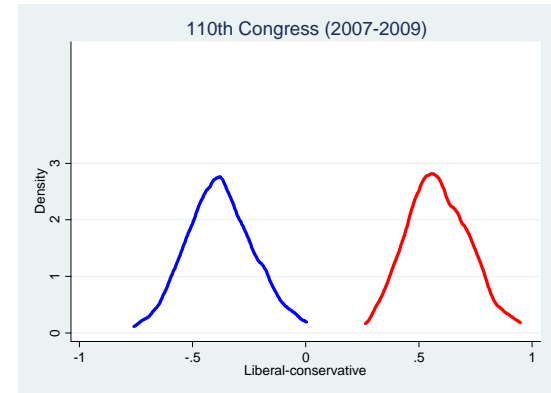
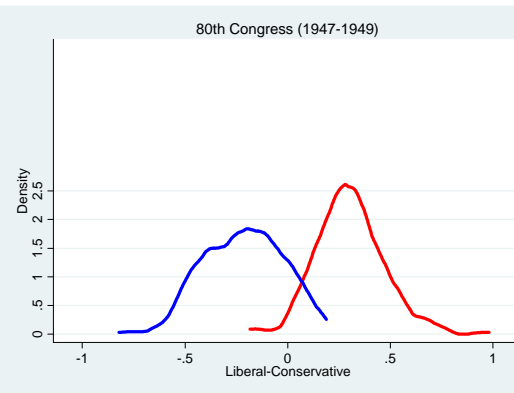
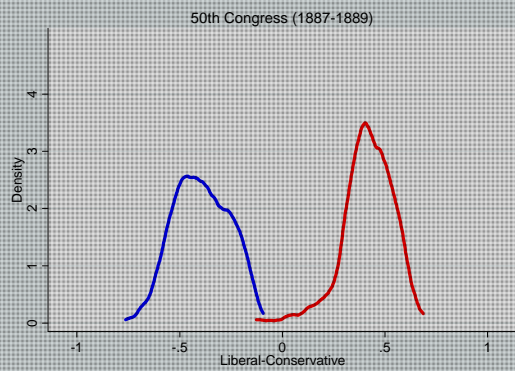
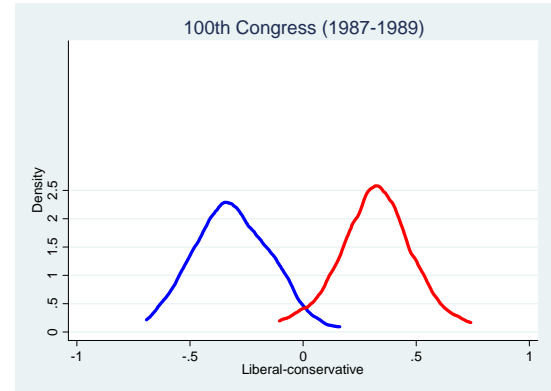
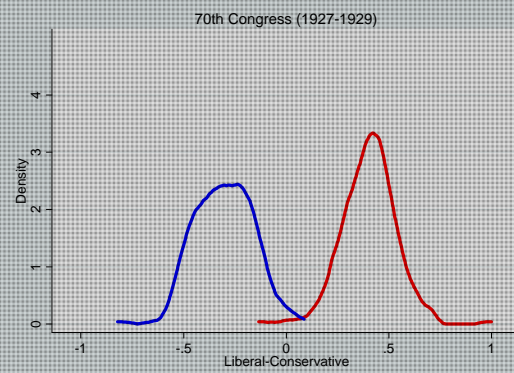
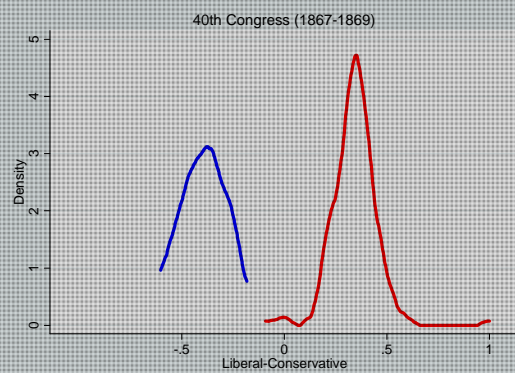
Source: Martis atlas

114<sup>th</sup> Congress  
(2015-2016)

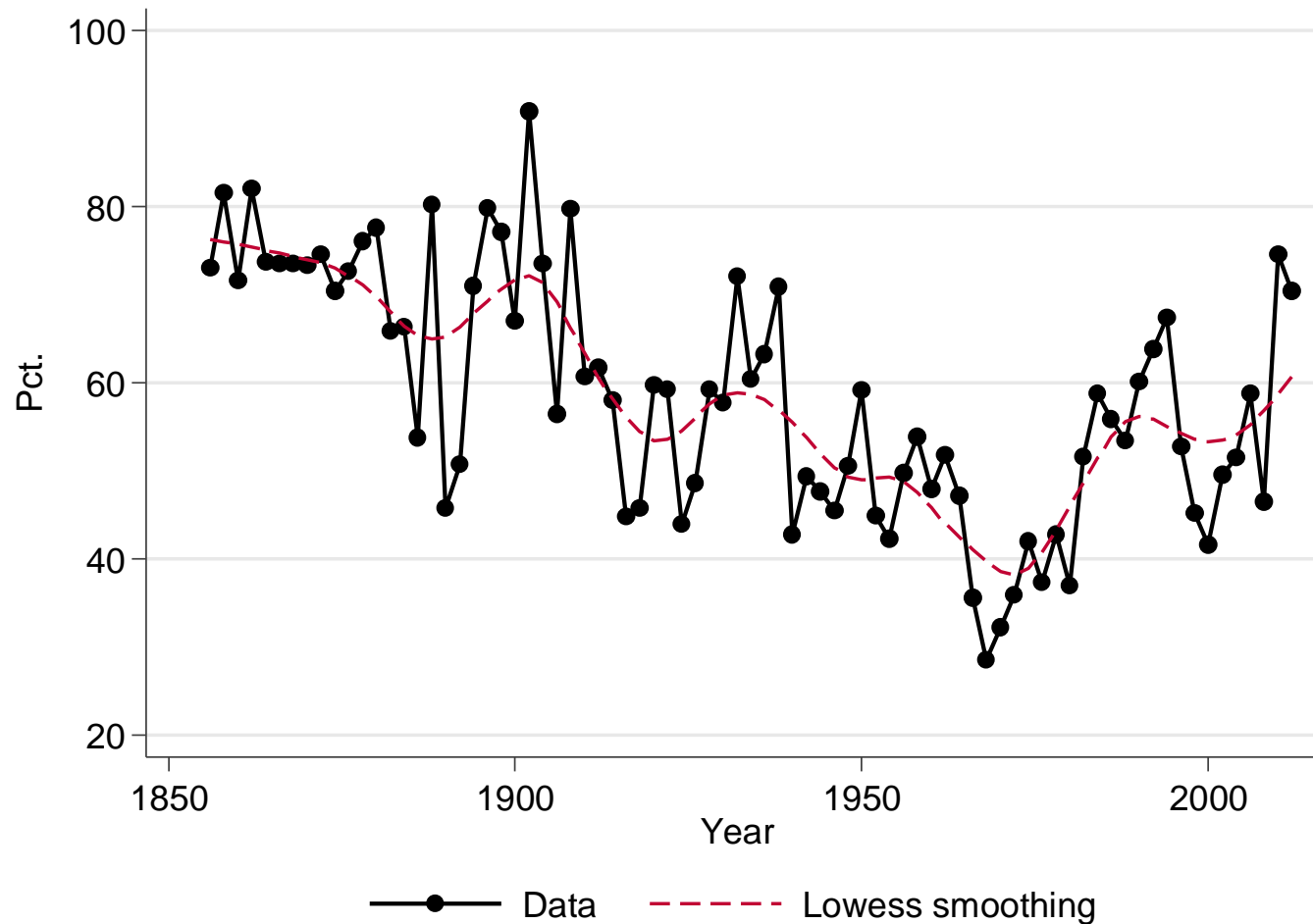


Composition of the House by district (2014 election results). Light red are pick-ups by Republicans, Light blue are pick-ups by Democrats.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/114th\\_United\\_States\\_Congress#/media/File:US\\_House\\_2014.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/114th_United_States_Congress#/media/File:US_House_2014.svg)

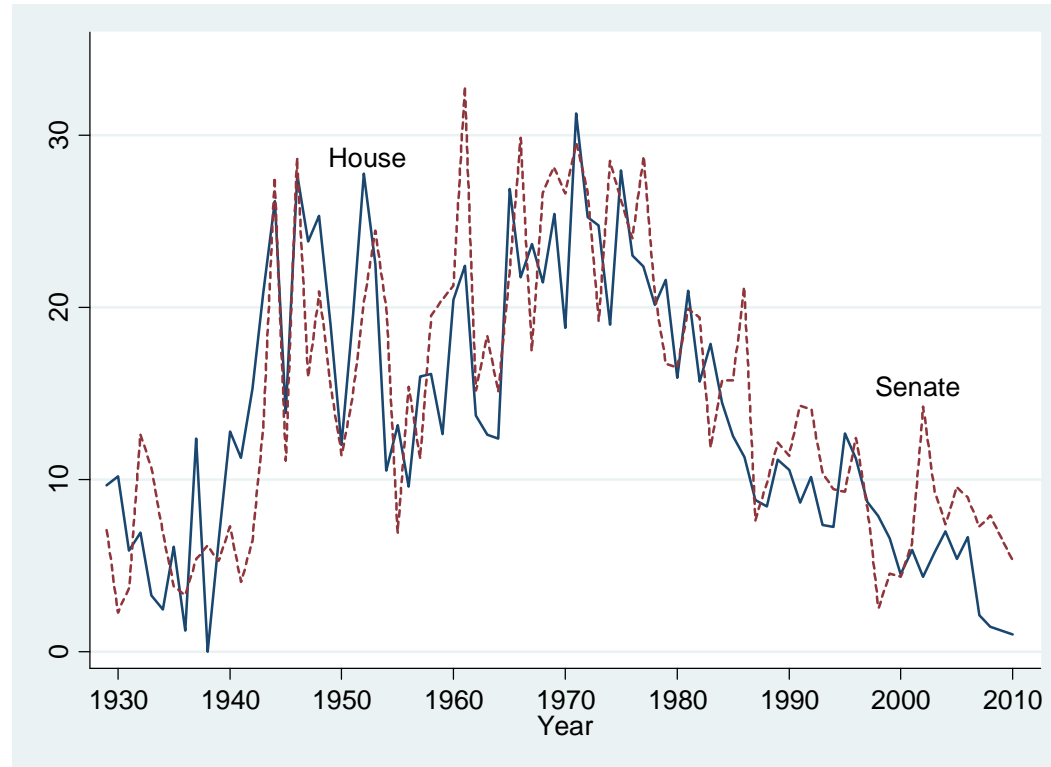




# Rise of Party Unity Voting (Update of Figure 3.4)



# Decline of Conservative Coalition (Update of Figure 3.7)



# New Electoral Environment?

## New Organizational Environment?

- Election
  - Voters more partisan
  - Districts more partisan
  - Party committees play greater role
- Organization
  - Party leaders more prominent & partisan
  - Committee membership more partisan
    - Chairs
    - Seats
    - Link to finance

# Congressional Historical Eras and Electoral Discontinuities

