**Placing Parties in American Politics**, Appendix A --David R. Mayhew, Yale University, May 1986

Voting returns and other data on primaries for state legislative and U.S. House nominations, in the 50 American states, for the late 1960s and in many cases earlier. This is a guide to data entered on an accompanying tape.

[Author’s note, November 12, 1998. At this date I entered this old coding guide into a word processor for the first time. Hence this text. I made no changes in the 1986 writeup. But I should note that, in the1986 writeup, an entry (i.e., a row in the data set ) is defined as an instance where one or more candidates enter a party’s primary. Primaries that attract no candidates at all don’t count and don’t get entries. In fact, it is quite easy to generate entries for the zero-candidate primaries that go along with the one-or-more-candidate ones in this data set (that is, to couple instances where one party has one or more candidates running for an "open seat" with instances where the other party has none running). An entry for a zero-candidate primary can have an entry of zero for NCAND, yet, in other columns, include relevant information about the "open seat" in question. In the on-line dataset to which the 1986 writeup is a guide, such entries for zero-candidate primaries are in fact included. More complicated is the logic for inclusion of zero-candidate data in cases of multi-member districts, which is also done here, but I hope that that logic will be apparent to readers of the material below.]

The data universe is in fact a collection of 50 sub-universes, one for each of the 50 states. Each of the state sets is a collection of direct primary returns, for specified parties, for specified offices in specified years. Data are included for three offices—U.S. House, state senate, and state lower house. Data are included for only "open districts"—defining an "open district" as one without an incumbent of any party running for renomination (or, in the case of multi-member districts, a district where the number of incumbents running for renomination is less than the number of seats in the district). At the U.S. House level all states have complete sets of data for the years 1956-1970 inclusive. For the other offices data are given for selected years in the 1956-1972 period (usually in the late 1960s) for which figures were conveniently available. For any office-year (e.g., Missouri state senate in 1956), the data set is in principle a complete set of "open district" data for that office in that year. Exceptions to this principle are specified below. Even where the office-year universe is in fact complete, it often over-represents metropolitan areas because of the effects of redistricting in producing new metropolitan seats in many years. (Whether a state’s metro areas are over-represented can be checked by examining specific metropolitan COUNTY codings in COLS 19-21.)

For any "open district," both Democratic and Republican primary returns are given if each party supplied at least one primary candidate; in cases where one party fielded one or more primary candidates, but the other party fielded none, data are given for the former party but not the latter. An "entry," on the accompanying tape, is one party’s set of data for one "open district" primary; an entry ordinarily appears as one row of data, though in some instances one or more supplementary rows are required. Data are grouped on the tape by state, but within each state in state-office-year-blocks. Within each state-office-year block, pairs of entries (Democratic and Republican returns for the same district) are listed first, followed by entries for districts where only one party fielded a candidate(s).

In the cases of single-member "open districts," each entry can be said to yield one "observation"—i.e., an instance of a nomination made by a party for an "open" legislative seat. "Observations" are not coded for directly on the tape, though they may be abstracted from the coded data according to the logic presented in the Appendix below. Complexity arises because, if we are interested in instances of "open seat" nominations, a multi-member "open district" may present more than one case (or more than a pair of D-R cases) of an "open seat." Consider a 9-member district where no incumbents run for renomination and both parties field nine or more primary candidates; here two "entries" (D and R) ought to yield many more than two "observations"—perhaps eighteen "observations."

Entries are included on the tape for "open district" nominations conferred by party conventions or caucuses and unchallenged in subsequent primaries. These are treated as "uncontested." Thus, in the case of each of Connecticut’s many state legislative nominations conferred by party conventions or caucuses (and not challenged), the outcome is coded as if only one candidate entered a primary and won it unanimously.

There are no entries at any level of office for special elections—except in the cases of New York and Georgia where special legislative elections were held in districts throughout each state in 1965.

Data are included for nominations for the Minnesota and Nebraska state legislatures—both nonpartisan. In these cases there are twice as many primary winners as November winners—i.e., in a one-seat district, the two top primary contestants run against each other in November).

Data included here were collected mostly from official sources, but some from newspapers.

Exceptions to the principle of complete sets of data for state-office-district-year blocks:

Arkansas: universes 90 to 100% complete (scattered returns missing).

Connecticut: 1966 S&H returns only for larger cities.

Idaho: universes included data for Boise newspaper area and the panhandle area—i.e., something over half the state.

Indiana: 1966, 1968, and 1970 S&H universes are about 75% complete; returns are missing for some of the larger counties; Marion County is complete.

Iowa: 1970 H&S returns for large metro counties only.

Kansas: 1970 H returns for large metro counties only.

Kentucky: universes 90 to 100% complete.

Louisiana: universes 90 to 100% complete.

Maine: 1968 H returns for Portland only.

Mississippi: universes 90 to 100% complete.

New York: S&H universes complete for 1965 only; otherwise, returns only for New York City and Buffalo newspaper areas (including suburbs).

North Carolina: universes 90 to 100% complete; 1968 H returns are complete.

Ohio: 1962 Cuyahoga Democratic primary returns missing.

South Carolina: no Republican returns for 1966 S; other universes 90 to 100% complete.

South Dakota: 1968 S&H returns only for 2 largest counties

Texas: no Republican returns for 1966 H; 1968 and 1970 Republican returns perhaps incomplete; 1966 H Democratic returns 90 to 100% complete.

Virginia: universes 90 to 100% complete.

West Virginia: universes include only a few House returns, from areas covered by big city newspapers; Senate returns are complete.

 Coding of data:

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| --- | --- | --- |
| item | column | explanation |
| N | 1-4  | Number of the entry (in sequence, from 0001 through 7460). |
| P | 5 | Has to do with nominating activities in the same district in the opposite party:1 - There was nominating activity in the opposite party, and returns are entered here in an entry adjacent to this one.2 - It is unknown where there was nominating activity in the opposite party; *or*the office is a nonpartisan office; *or*opposition data are unavailable.3 - It is definitely known that there was no nominating activity in the opposite party. |
| Year | 6-7 | Year in which primary took place, with first two digits left off. |
| Fee | 8-10  | Filing fee charged by state (or in some southern states, by party) for entrance into Filing fee charged by state (or in some southern states, by party) for entrance into primary. To nearest $10, last dollar digit left off. Returnable deposits (MI and OK) are treated as fees. Where candidates have a choice between petition signatures and fees, the lower requirement is entered here (or in later NSIG variable), with the arbitrarytranslation value of one dollar equals one signature. (Warning: Data for AR and LA may be incorrect.) |
| Dist | 11-13 | District number or, if no number, geographical location. The only alphanumeric variable. |
| Office | 14  | Office: 1 - Lower house of state legislature. Data for all states except NH and VT (no data available), IL (lower house ignored because of cumulative voting system), and NE unicameral legislature coded as a Senate).2 - Upper house of state legislature.3 - U.S. Congress. No data included for at-large elections in multi-member states. |
| State | 15-16 | State, coded in alphabetical order 1-50.  |
| Party | 17 | Party: 1 - Democratic primary 2 - Republican primary 3 - Nonpartisan primary |
| Popden | 18 | Urban-suburban-rural complexion of district:1 - District is in a country containing a city of over 200,000 population (1960 Census); or, in New England, in a city of over 200,000 population.2 - Generally suburban. District is in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area containing one or more cities of over 200,000, but district is not in a county containing such a city; or, in New England, district is in an SMSA containing a city of over 200,000, but district is not in the city itself.3 - District is in an SMSA which contains no city of over 200,000.4 - District is not in an SMSA. |
| County | 19-21 | A district that is located in any one of the metropolitan counties listed below (or in any other metropolitan unit or assemblage of units, if such is specified) receives the accompanying three-digit code. All other districts are coded 000.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| AL | 109 Jefferson 110 Mobile 111 Montgomery |
| AK | 001 City of Anchorage 002 City of Fairbanks |
| AZ  | 003 Pima 004 Maricopa |
| HI  | 024 Oahu |
| ID  | 025 Ada |
| IL | 026 City of Chicago 027 Cook outside Chicago |
| IN  | 130 Marion 131 Allen 132 St. Joseph 133 Vanderburgh 134 Lake |
| IA  | 028 Polk 029 6 metro counties (Woodbury, Pottawatamie, Black Hawk, Dubuque, Linn, Scott) |
| KS | 030 Johnson 031 Wyandotte 032 Shawnee 033 Sedgwick |
| KY | 034 Jefferson |
| LA | 138 Caddo 139 East Baton Rouge 140 Jefferson 141 Orleans |
| ME | 035 City of Portland |
| MD  | 036 Baltimore City 037 Baltimore County 038 Montgomery 039 Prince Georges |
| MA | 040 City of Boston 041 20 cities of over 50,000 population (1960 Census) excluding Boston |
| MI | 042 Wayne 043 Oakland 044 Macomb 045 Genesee, Kent |
| MN | 046 Hennepin 047 Ramsey |
| MS | 124 Hinds |
| MO | 048 St. Louis City 049 St. Louis County 050 Jackson |
| MT | 051 Yellowstone 052 Cascade 053 Silver Bow 054 Missoula |
| NE | 055 Douglas |
| NV | 056 Clark 057 Washoe |
| NH | 058 City of Manchester |
| NJ | 059 Camden 060 Middlesex 061 Union 062 Essex 063 Hudson 064 Bergen 065 Passaic |
| NM | 066 Bernalillo |
| NY | 067 Queens 068 Kings 069 New York 070 Bronx 071 Richmond 072 Suffolk 073 Nassau 074 Westchester 075 Erie |
| NC | 136 Guilford 137 Mecklenburg |
| ND | 120 Ward 121 Grand Forks 122 Cass 123 Burleigh |
| OH | 076 Cuyahoga 077 Franklin 078 Hamilton 079 Lucas 080 Montgomery 081 Summit |
| OK | 082 Oklahoma 083 Tulsa |
| OR | 084 Multnomah |
| PA | 085 City of Pittsburgh 086 Allegheny County outside Pittsburgh 087 Bucks 088 Montgomery 089 Delaware 090 Philadelphia |
| RI | 091 City of Providence |
| SC | 119 4 metro counties (Charleston, Greenville, Spartanburg, Richmond) |
| SD | 092 Minnehaha 093 Pennington |
| TN | 094 Knox 095 Hamilton 096 Davidson 097 Shelby |
| TX | 125 Harris 126 Dallas 127 Tarrant 128 Bexar 129 El Paso |
| UT | 098 Salt Lake  |
| VT | 099 Chittenden |
| VA | 100 Cities of Alexandria, Fairfax, Falls Church; Counties of Arlington, Fairfax 101 City of Norfolk 102 Cities of Chesapeake, Portsmouth, Virginia Beach 103 City of Richmond 104 Chesterfield, Hanover, Henrico |
| WA | 105 King  |
| WV | 135 Kanawha |
| WI | 106 Milwaukee |
| WY | 107 Laramie 108 Natrona |

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| For  | 22-27 | November vote. The first six digits (FOR) give the popular vote won by the party in question (the party for which the entry records primary returns) in voting for the office in question in the last preceding general election when the office was filled. The figure is zero if the party did not contest the election at that time.  |
| Against | 28-33 | The second six digits (AGAINST) give the vote for the opposite party in that same election (or, in a very few cases, the vote for independent candidate if that candidate won more votes than the candidate of the other major party). In the nonpartisan districts, the FOR-AGAINST figures give votes cast for competing nonpartisan candidates in the last election. In multi-member districts the FOR-AGAINST figures give votes for the front-running candidates of each party in the preceding election.The above description is in principle an accurate account of what the FOR-AGAINST figures are. However, in a great many cases-because of a) redistricting, or b) unavailability of data-it is impossible to record votes for the last preceding general election. The fallback decision in these cases is to record other popular vote figures which give a fair indication of the partisan complexion of the district; almost always these fallback data give votes cast for the office in the general election just after the primary in question (but in a few cases other fair measures of complexion). In the following instances the data are "pure"-i.e., they follow completely the decision rule outlined at the start above: All U.S. House data except where lines have been redrawn since the last electionAK entireAZ 1968 S&HCA all except 60 S&H, 66 S&HCO 1960 S&H, 1962 S&H, 1970 HCT 1968 S&H, 1970 S&HDE 1970 HHI 1968 HID 1968 S&H, 1970 S&HIL all except 1958 S, 1960 S, 1966 SIN 1968 H, 1970 S&HIA 1966 HKS 1968 H, 1970 HKY 1967 HME 1968 HMD 1970 HMA all except 1970 SMI all except 1964 S&HMN all except 1962 S&H, 1966 S&HMO all except 1966 HMT 1968 S&H, 1970 S&HNE all except 1964 S, 1966 S, 1968 SNV 1962 H, 1968 S&H, 1970 HNH 1964 S, 1968 S, 1970 SNJ 1969 HNM 1966 H, 1968 HNY 1962 S&H, 1964 S&H, 1968 S&H, 1970 S&HNC 1968 S&H, 1970 S&HND 1968 S&H, 1970 S&HOH all except 1966 HOK 1968 HOR 1960 H, 1968 S, 1970 S&HPA 1960 S&H, 1970 HRI 19689 S&HSC 1970 HSD 1968 S&H, 1970 S&HTN 1968 S&H, 1970 S&HTX 1970 HUT entireVT 1968 S, 1970 SVA all except 1965 S&HWA all except 1966 S&HWV all except 1966 SWI all except 1964 S&H, 1966 SWY all except 1966 S |
| Size | 34-36 | Total membership of the legislative house for which election being held |
| Turnov | 37-38 | A rough measure of general membership turnover in the legislative house for which election being held. Specifically, the complement of the proportion of members of the house in early 1971 who had also been members in early 1967; i.e.: 100 multiplied by [1 minus (Number of 1971 members who had been members in 1967 divided by Total number of members of house in 1971)] |
| Salary | 39-41 | Annual salary, including maximum expense allowance offered by statute, to be paid to members of the legislative house for which election being held, in the legislative session just after the electoral season in question. To the nearest $100, last two $ digits left off. |
| Runoff | 42 | Whether the state mandates a runoff primary for the office in question, between the two top contenders, when no candidate wins a majority of votes cast in the initial primary.0 - No runoff mandated (or, a nonpartisan office) 1 - Runoff mandated |
| Seats | 43-44 | Number of seats to be filled in the house in question in the district in question in the general election in question; *also*, the number of votes each voter can cast (one per candidate) in the primary in question for the office in question (except in nonpartisan districts). In short, this variable reads one in single-member districts (and also one where election is "by position"), but gives number of seats there are in multi-member districts. |
| Ncand | 45-46 | Number of candidates entered in the primary in question of the party in question. |
| Nincum | 47-48 | Number of NCAND who are incumbents. (This is always zero in single-member districts, and zero where election is "by position," and is always less than SEATS in multi-member districts.) |
| Npos | 49-50 | Number of positions. Some states arrange it so that, from some districts, the number of members elected to a legislative house is greater than one. But they run the elections for the 1 legislators as entirely separate elections, with candidates specifically entering contests for particular positions, and with voters allowed one vote per position in both primary and general elections. Position-elections are treated here as discrete single-member district elections, each with its own entry. But NPOS gives, for each entry in the dataset, the number of position-elections that are simultaneously being held in a given district. Where there is no positioning arrangement, NPOS = 1 (whether the district is single-member or multi-member). |
| Nsig | 51-52 | Number of petition signatures required by state (or by party) for entrance into primary. Where candidates have a choice between fees and signatures, the lower requirement is entered here (or in earlier FEE variable), with the translation value of $1 = one signature.0 - 0-99 1 - 100-199 2 - 200-299 3 - 300-399 4 - 400-499 5 - 500-599 6 - 600-699 7 - 700-799 8 - 800-899 9 - 900-999 10 - 1000-1099 11 - 1100-1199 12 - 1200-1299 |
| Conven | 53 | Convention processes:1 - State mandates primaries, legally recognizes no pre-primary endorsement procedures for the office in question; or, state gives party discretion to choose nominating procedures, but party has a long tradition of nominating by primary (i.e., Democrats in AL, GA, SC, VA).2 - State law establishes nominating procedures for the office in question in which actions by conventions, caucuses, or party officials are sufficient to nominate; but state law also allows candidates to force and enter primaries without seeking nominations through the established extra-primary routes. (States here are CO; ND; and CT in districts entirely within one township. In CO and in some such CT townships candidates may also force primaries by seeking nominations through convention processes and winning given minimal proportions of the convention vote.)3 - State law establishes nominating procedures for the office in question in which actions by conventions are sufficient to nominate; but state law allows losing convention entries to force primaries if they win a given minimal proportion of the convention vote. There is no way to get into a primary except by going through the convention process. (States here are UT; CT in all districts that contain parts of more than one township; DE at the U.S. House level; ID at the U.S. House level.)4 - State law gives party discretion to choose nominating procedures, and party does not have a long tradition of nominating by primary (i.e., Republicans in AL, GA, SC, VA). |
| Ballot | 54 | 2 - State law gives candidates who run first in pre-primary conventions first-place listing on the primary ballot (i.e., CO), or state law mandates designation of convention endorsees by asterisk on the primary ballot (i.e., CT and RI), or state law allows candidates to state group identifications beside their names on the primary ballot (i.e., NJ, as in "Regular Republican Organization").1 - State law allows none of the above, and no other ballot advantages or designations can be of use to party organizations or other groups. |
| Slating | 55 | 1 - State newspapers offer substantial evidence that party organizations or other groups publicly support candidates in primaries for the office in question.0 - State newspapers offer no such substantial evidence. Coverage emphasizes the fortunes of individual candidates and of incumbents as such.(In each state, all the entries receive either a 1 or a zero. I.e., the AL entries are all coded as zero, the NY entries are all coded as one, etc.) |
| Ncont | 56-57 | For a given entry, NCONT = SEATS minus IBP, unless (NCAND minus NINCUM) is less than (SEATS minus IBP), in which case NCONT = NCAND minus NINCUM. |
| Mag | 58 | This is a key for reading the primary vote totals cast for primary candidates (see VOTE(I) below). MAG, if 0, 1, 2, or 3, gives the number of integers dropped from the vote totals for all the primary candidates contesting in a given primary. (Thus, if there are two candidates contesting a primary with vote totals of 25,393 and 824, the totals appearhere as 254 and 008 with MAG = 2.) MAG = 9 when NCAND is equal to or less than SEATS, and either the primary vote totals for all candidates in the entry are unknown *or* a nomination was conferred by party caucus or convention without primary challenge; in entries where MAG = 9, all vote totals are entered in VOTE(I) as 001. |
| IBP | 59-60 | Incumbents in both parties. IBP is the sum of NINCUM for the entry in question and NINCUM for an adjacent entry (if there is one) giving data on primary activity in the opposite party for the same office. |
| Vote(I) | 61+ | Primary vote totals. This gives primary votes cast, in integer triplets, for all candidates entered in the primary in question. (To read this see MAG above.) The totals for incumbent candidates are always listed first (whether or not the incumbents ran ahead in votes), followed by totals for non-incumbent candidates. Non-incumbent totals are almost always listed in declining order of magnitude, but there are scattered exceptions to this rule.The first integer triplet appears in Columns 61-63, the second (if there is one) appears after a two-space gap in Columns 66-68, the third in Columns 71-73, the fourth in Columns 76-78. Additional triplets (if there are any) appear in one or more immediately subsequent rows, beginning in Columns 6-8 and continuing separated by two-space gaps.In any row used for such followup purposes, a zero appears in Column 5. |

APPENDIX

 Number of "open seat" observations by state\*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| State | Years of State Legislative Reading | Total Observation | State Lower House | State Senate | U.S. House | Singlemember district | Multi-member district: by position | Multi-member district: multiple vote |
| AL | 62,66 | 224 | 142 | 74 | 8 | 80 | 142 | 2 |
| AK | 62,64,66 | 111 | 79 | 28 | 4 | 45 | 4 | 62 |
| AZ | 68,70 | 75 | 50 | 23 | 2 | 22 | -- | 53 |
| AR | 66,70 | 105 | 78 | 23 | 4 | 29 | 76 | -- |
| CA | 60,64,66,68,70 | 197 | 101 | 59 | 37 | 197 | -- | -- |
| CO | 60,62,64,66,68,70 | 309 | 216 | 89 | 4 | 228 | -- | 81 |
| CT | 66, 68, 70 | 240 | 200 | 30 | 10 | 240 | -- | -- |
| DE | 66, 68, 70 | 89 | 77 | 10 | 2 | 89 | -- | -- |
| FL | 64,66,68 | 339 | 241 | 82 | 16 | 47 | 292 | -- |
| GA | 65,66,68,70 | 288 | 227 | 48 | 13 | 148 | 140 | -- |
| HI | 66,68,70 | 104 | 66 | 30 | 8 | 4 | -- | 100 |
| ID | 66,68,70 | 106 | 62 | 42 | 2 | 56 | -- | 50 |
| IL | 56,58,60,62,66,68,70 | 156 | -- | 122 | 34 | 156 | -- | -- |
| IN | 66,68,70,72 | 229 | 167 | 52 | 10 | 93 | -- | 136 |
| IA | 66, 68,70 | 195 | 141 | 50 | 4 | 149 | -- | 46 |
| KS | 66, 68, 70 | 200 | 162 | 26 | 12 | 184 | 15 | -- |
| KY | 67,71 | 119 | 91 | 22 | 6 | 119 | -- | -- |
| LA | 67,71 | 149 | 118 | 30 | 1 | 90 | -- | 59 |
| ME | 66,68 | 154 | 98 | 48 | 8 | 98 | -- | 56 |
| MD | 66,70 | 279 | 199 | 68 | 12 | 41 | -- | 238 |
| MA | 62, 64,66,68,70 | 243 | 191 | 44 | 8 | 139 | -- | 104 |
| MI | 62,64,66,68 | 196 | 118 | 60 | 18 | 192 | -- | 4 |
| MN | 60,62,64,66,68 | 127 | 94 | 27 | 6 | 108 | -- | 19 |
| MS | 67,71 | 98 | 59 | 37 | 2 | 18 | 80 | -- |
| MO | 64,66,70 | 150 | 138 | 4 | 8 | 150 | -- | -- |
| MT | 66,68,70 | 227 | 160 | 63 | 4 | 22 | -- | 205 |
| NE | 60,62,64,66,68,70 | 61 | -- | 59 | 2 | 61 | -- | -- |
| NV | 62,64,66,68,70 | 137 | 107 | 28 | 2 | 26 | -- | 111 |
| NH | 62,64,66,68,70 | 82 | -- | 78 | 4 | 82 | -- | -- |
| NJ | 65,67,69 | 232 | 146 | 66 | 20 | 40 | -- | 192 |
| NM | 66,68 | 115 | 72 | 41 | 2 | 113 | 2 | -- |
| NY | 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70 | 307 | 190 | 62 | 55 | 307 | -- | -- |
| NC | 66, 68, 70 | 215 | 135 | 69 | 11 | 40 | 48 | 127 |
| ND | 66, 68, 70 | 182 | 128 | 46 | 8 | 21 | -- | 161 |
| OH | 62,66,68 | 216 | 158 | 28 | 30 | 193 | -- | 23 |
| OK | 64,66,68 | 161 | 106 | 55 | -- | 161 | -- | -- |
| OR | 60,66,68, 70 | 131 | 114 | 13 | 4 | 32 | 81 | 18 |
| PA | 60,66,70 | 233 | 161 | 48 | 24 | 215 | -- | 18 |
| RI | 66,68 | 138 | 87 | 49 | 2 | 134 | -- | -- |
| SC | 66,68,70 | 94 | 66 | 19 | 9 | 13 | 17 | 64 |
| SD | 66,68,70 | 135 | 88 | 41 | 6 | 46 | -- | 89 |
| TN | 66,68,70 | 223 | 175 | 40 | 8 | 183 | 40 | -- |
| TX | 66,68,70 | 159 | 129 | 18 | 12 | 66 | 93 | -- |
| UT | 68,70 | 82 | 62 | 12 | 8 | 82 | -- | -- |
| VT | 64,66,68, 70 | 61 | -- | 59 | 2 | 8 | -- | 53 |
| VA | 65, 67, 69 | 132 | 104 | 18 | 10 | 37 | -- | 95 |
| WA | 62,66,68 | 125 | 98 | 23 | 4 | 35 | 71 | 19 |
| WV | 56,58,60,62,64, 66,68,70 | 107 | 50 | 49 | 8 | 60 | 4 | 43 |
| WI | 60,64,66,68 | 166 | 126 | 32 | 8 | 166 | -- | -- |
| WY | 64,66,68,70 | 173 | 128 | 39 | 6 | 25 | -- | 148 |

\* In principle an "observation" tracks an instance of a nomination by a party for an "open" legislative seat (i.e., a seat that no incumbent of either party is trying to keep by running for renomination). In single-member districts the logic for counting observations is straightforward; an "open" seat yields an observation for each of the two parties if each fields at least one primary candidate (or confers a nomination by convention); it yields only one observation if only one party fields any primary candidates (or confers a nomination by convention). The logic for multi-member districts is more complicated, and it can perhaps most usefully be set out by example. Suppose that, in a 9-member district, 5 incumbens—including 3 Democrats and 2 Republicans—seek renomination. Four "openings" occur, so to speak, paving the way for four "observations" in each of the two parties. This is the logic followed here, with a qualification: in this circumstance a party can generate up to four observations—anywhere from zero to 4. It gets as many observations (up to four) as it generates nonincumbent candidates (or convention nominees). Thus, for example, if the Republicans in this district field their two incumbent primary candidates as well as only one nonincumbent primary candidate, they are credited with only one observation.