

ATTITUDES OF PRECINCT CHAIRMEN TOWARD
PARTY ORGANIZATION

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Leo F. Kennedy

1964



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By

Leo F. Kennedy

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to
the College of Social Science of
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Political Science

1964

ABSTRACT

ATTITUDES OF PRECINCT CHAIRMEN TOWARD PARTY ORGANIZATION

by Leo F. Kennedy

This study was an examination of the organizational efforts within the Republican Party in Lansing, Michigan, that were directed toward the capture of elective offices during the 1962 campaign. The study focused upon a central problem: what were the conditions which generated closely cooperative efforts at the precinct level among the attempts to capture elective offices. The analysis focused upon the competitive and constituency conditions of the attempts to capture elective offices, and how these conditions generated closely cooperative efforts among the attempts to capture elective offices. The first objective of the study was to establish indicators of the cooperative efforts among the attempts to capture elective offices through four aspects of party organization at the precinct level. These aspects were the recruitment, the social origins, the incentives, and the activities of precinct chairmen. The second objective was to examine these aspects in depth.

In order to develop a background for the study interviews were conducted with Democratic and Republican party

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officials, labor union leaders, newspaper editors, and employees of the city, county, and state governments. However, the main focus in interviewing was upon fifty-one Republican precinct chairmen who served during the 1962 campaign.

In fulfilling the first objective of the study indicators of the cooperative efforts among the attempts to capture elective offices were established. It was established that the competitive condition of the attempts to capture the elective offices was a prime condition which generated closely cooperative efforts among the attempts. Although the competitive condition of the attempts generated closely cooperative efforts among the attempts, variations in their constituency condition did give rise to additional independent organizational efforts. The findings supported the major proposition of the study. Although variations in the constituencies among the attempts in competitive constituencies did give rise to additional independent organizational efforts at the precinct level; the attempts in the competitive constituencies were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts at the precinct level with each other, while the attempts in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts with each other or with the attempts in the competitive constituencies in a segment of their constituencies the attempts shared in common.

In examining the four aspects of party organization at the precinct level, the discussion focused upon the precinct chairmen of the Ingham County Republican Committee. The following findings were established in examining these aspects.

The overall recruitment process of the party was affected by its orientation to the national and state-wide offices. Conditions in the larger constituencies affect the ability of the local party to recruit. The long period of success of the party in Ingham County has created a sense of complacency among Republicans, and some fail to see the need to work for state-wide pluralities.

The county committee had to actively encourage individuals to become precinct chairmen. The recruitment process mainly was carried on by the appointed officials of the county committee through channels both inside and outside the formal party structure. The recruitment process was aided by a reliance upon friendship ties which existed among Republicans.

As a result of a rapid turnover among the ranks of the chairmen there was a rapid acceleration from other levels of involvement into the chairmanship for most of the respondents. The extent of their involvement in previous participation measured in terms of their previous activities and their period of apprenticeship was not very high.

The success in recruiting was related to the socio-economic composition of the precinct. The higher success in recruiting was related positively to precincts which had a higher socio-economic composition. This was established in the recruitment of precinct chairmen and precinct workers during the 1962 campaign as well as in the recruitment of participants from the 1958 through the 1960 period.

The county committee recruited disproportionately from the social strata of the community. Compared to the city as a whole the chairmen were from the higher social strata and the younger age groups. A high proportion of the chairmen were from the following social strata; college educated, white collar occupations (or their husbands), and higher income families. Also a higher proportion of the chairmen were from the younger age groups than from the other age groups. Although less than half of the chairmen were women, the majority of the precinct workers were women.

The research also examined the social origins of the chairmen and the residents of the individual precincts. It was established that there was an increasing divergence between the social origins of the chairmen and the social origins of the residents of the precincts as we proceeded from the higher to the lower end of a socio-economic scale of the precincts.

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Although the party leaders were aware of the narrowness of the segment of the social structure they mainly drew upon, they did not attempt to recruit individuals whose social origins were similar to those of the residents of the precincts. The type of campaigning carried on does not necessitate such a criteria.)

The discussion focused upon how involvement in voluntary organization competed for the time the chairmen could devote to campaign activity. The variation in the amount of time these organizations took during the campaign was not highly related to the number of organizations to which the respondents were members. However, there was a positive relationship between those who held leadership positions in these organizations and those who mentioned that these organizations took a great deal or some time during the campaign.

These organizations might be useful to the party, since discussion of politics at meetings of these organizations might increase the respondents interest in politics. However, the rewards received from these organizations as compared to the rewards received from party work possibly minimize the commitment to party work.

✓ The incentive complex which was provided the chairmen results in turnover among the ranks of the chairmen. The turnover among the ranks of the chairmen was related to

the orientation of the incentive complex to the national and state-wide offices. The incentive complex was related to conditions in the larger constituencies (state-wide and national), and was largely outside the control of the local organization. The conditions in the larger constituencies can result in differences in the amount and the nature of the incentive complex from campaign to campaign which can contribute to turnover among the ranks of the chairmen.

Although a multitude of incentives were provided the chairmen, the incentive complex was largely of a intangible nature. The largely intangible nature of the incentive complex possibly contributed to the degree of turnover among the ranks of the chairmen.

The incentive complex provided the chairmen does appear to provide a degree of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction which aids in maintaining continued participation. However, a number of conditions also appear to aid in maintaining continued participation. One condition which evidently aids in maintaining continued participation was the higher integration of individuals into the various components of the party. Another condition was the variation in the conceptualization processes of the respondents. Some conceptualization processes evidently provide more stability toward continued participation than others.

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The environmental conditions of the campaign workers and the electorate affected the type of campaigning carried on at the precinct level. The rate of turnover among the ranks of the campaign workers and the demographic conditions of the electorate decreases the likelihood of a stable relationship developing between the electorate and the workers. The campaigning mainly focuses upon contacting the electorate in an ad hoc manner in identifying their party preferences and other get out the vote measures. The period of contact between the electorate and the campaign workers was mainly during the campaign with little contact in the lull between campaigns.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his gratitude to the chairman of his guidance committee, Dr. Joseph Schlesinger, for his help and encouragement at all stages of this study; to Dr. Samuel Krislov, for his assistance given to this study; and to the other members of his committee, Dr. Leroy Ferguson, Dr. Alvin Sokolow, and Dr. Robert Scigiano, for their counsel.

The author is also indebted to Mr. Louis Legg, Chairman of the Ingham County Republican Committee, Mr. Jim Hyde, executive secretary of the Ingham County Republican Committee, and the many other Republican officials for their cooperation. He is also grateful to Mr. Lee Weber, for his assistance in interviewing.

The author will be forever grateful to his father, Leo, who introduced him into the mysteries of politics at an early age.

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This discussion is an examination of the organizational efforts within political parties that are directed toward the capture of elective offices. Various studies have indicated that separate attempts within the major political parties are organized to capture elective offices.¹ This discussion will focus upon a central problem: what are the conditions which generate closely cooperative efforts at the precinct level among the attempts to capture elective offices. Although there has been a number of studies that have dealt with this level of party organization, they have not dealt with this problem in depth.² The first objective is to establish indicators of the cooperative efforts among the attempts to capture elective offices through four aspects

¹V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York, 1950), p. 404. Don M. Muchmore, "Party and Candidate in California," in The Politics of California, ed. David Farrelly and Ivan Hinderaker (New York, 1951), p. 90.

²Harold P. Gosnell, Machine Politics: Chicago Model (Chicago, 1936). David H. Kurtzman, Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1935). Peter H. Rossi and Phillips Cutright, "The Impact of Party Organization in an Industrial Setting," in Community Political Systems, ed. Morris Janowitz (Glencoe, 1961), pp. 81-116. William E. Mosher, "Party and Government Control at the Grass Roots," National Municipal Review (January, 1935), pp. 15-18.

of party organization. These aspects are the recruitment, the social origins, the incentives, and the activities of precinct leaders. The second objective is to examine these aspects in depth in one political party organization.

Specifically, I shall concentrate upon the Republican Party in Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan, during the 1962 campaign. I shall attempt to find indicators of the co-operative efforts among the separate efforts to elect Republican candidates to elective offices through the four aspects of party organization. Secondly, I shall examine the recruitment, the social origins, the incentives and the activities of the Republican precinct chairmen.

The kinds of interrelationships that can develop among the separate attempts to capture elective offices has been given theoretical significance by Schlesinger in his discourse, "Political Party Organization." Schlesinger refers to the "collection of cooperative efforts engaged in the capture of a single office" as a nucleus.³ The principal goal of a nucleus is the capture of an elective office.⁴ Similarly it is assumed that a party organization has as its central goal the capture of elective offices. These various objectives for the nuclei can serve as a basis of conflict, and can result in tensions among the nuclei. The theory

³ Joseph A. Schlesinger, "Political Party Organization" (November, 1962), p. 13.

⁴ Ibid., p. 45.

"assumes that parties are formed, take their shape, and make decisions as a result of the tensions among office seekers."⁵ The cooperation among the various nuclei will depend upon how much they find this cooperation to be useful in achieving the satisfaction of their prime goals.⁶

Cooperation among the nuclei can be examined in context of two sets of relations, these are the constituency relation and the competitive relation. Schlesinger categorizes constituencies into three separate orders: congruent, enclaved, and disjoint.⁷ Constituencies where the sets of voters are the same would be congruent with each other. Constituencies of a gubernatorial and lieutenant gubernatorial nuclei or constituencies of a county clerk and a county treasurer nuclei are examples of congruent constituencies. In some cases, constituencies have an enclaved relation to other constituencies; that is, certain ones are the sub-sets of others. For example the constituency of a county clerk nucleus would be in an enclaved relationship with the constituency of a gubernatorial nucleus. Thirdly, there are disjoint constituencies where there are no overlapping voters. Such a case would be the constituency of a gubernatorial nucleus in Minnesota and a gubernatorial nucleus in New York.

⁵Ibid., p. 7.

⁶Ibid., p. 45.

⁷Ibid., p. 46.

The reaction of the voter may induce cooperation or non-cooperation between nuclei depending upon the impact of the voters on the electoral fates of the nuclei.⁸ If the voters react the same way towards different nuclei, this may tend to unite these nuclei in their organizational efforts. However, if the voters exhibit distinct differences in their reactions towards nuclei in various constituencies, it may lay the basis for differences in the degrees of cooperation among nuclei.

The extremes in the degrees of cooperation among nuclei according to constituencies may be found between those that have congruent relations and those that have disjoint relations. "It is in the congruent electorates which we would expect the least discrepancy in voting from office to office, and therefore the greatest organizational interdependence."⁹ On the other hand those nuclei that have disjoint relations "should be the most independent of each other."¹⁰

The enclaved relation among nuclei can provide for variations in multi-nuclear organizations depending upon the competitive status of the nuclei. It is assumed that the need for assistance is related to the competitive status of

⁸Ibid., p. 47.

⁹Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 55.

a nucleus. "A party which dominates its constituency is 'safe' and needs no aid at all. If it is weak no aid can help it. Thus, only if the constituency is competitive can we assume that the nuclear party will need and seek external help."¹¹

In Schlesinger's theory of party organization, four distinct relations can flow from the competitive structure of the respective constituencies. There would be little need for the development of a multi-nuclear organization when both constituencies are one-party constituencies (condition 4). However, in condition 1, where both constituencies are competitive, we would expect the greatest degree of cooperative efforts among the nuclei. In conditions 2 and 3, it is the competitive nucleus which will seek help from the one-party nucleus.

		Larger Constituency ¹²	
		Competitive	One Party
Smaller (enclaved) Constituency	Competitive	Mutually Inter- dependent ¹	Smaller dependent ² on the Larger
	One Party	Larger dependent ³ on the Smaller	No inter- dependence ⁴

¹¹Ibid., p. 50.

¹²Ibid.

The enclaved relation presents the problem as to the manner in which the nuclei can aid each other. The nuclei in the larger constituency can "provide the attractive leaders, the issues, and the general image, or 'coattails' on which the lesser candidates hope to ride to victory."¹³ On the other hand, the nuclei in the smaller constituency can provide the precinct workers and others in their organizations.¹⁴

In this research I am concerned about the relationship of the cooperative efforts among nuclei to the competitive and constituency conditions of the nuclei. Nuclei can be drawn into cooperative efforts, when they share some segment of their constituencies in common. It is assumed that their similarities in levels of competition and constituencies will establish the basis for how closely nuclei are drawn into cooperative efforts in a segment of their constituencies they share in common. The competitive condition of each nucleus is a prime variable affecting how closely each is drawn into cooperative efforts with the other. Thus, nuclei in competitive constituencies are more likely to be closely drawn into cooperative efforts with other nuclei at the precinct level, while nuclei in one-party constituencies are less likely to be closely drawn

¹³Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁴Ibid.

into cooperative efforts with other nuclei in a segment of their constituencies they share in common. Although nuclei could be in competitive constituencies, when there is a variation in the similarities of their total constituencies it would be expected that some independent organizational efforts would develop.

On the basis of the previous discussion I shall propose a major proposition concerning how closely nuclei are drawn into cooperative efforts with other nuclei in a segment of their constituencies they share in common. This proposition will be tested in the research dealing with the cooperative efforts among the Republican nuclei in Lansing during the 1962 campaign.

Major Proposition

Although variations in constituencies among nuclei in competitive constituencies can give rise to additional independent organizational efforts at the precinct level; nuclei in competitive constituencies are more likely to be closely drawn into cooperative efforts with other nuclei at the precinct level, while nuclei in one-party constituencies are less likely to be closely drawn into cooperative efforts with other nuclei at the precinct level in a segment of their constituencies the nuclei share in common.

The following four sections will be devoted to a development of the course of the study concerning four aspects of party organization. These aspects are the recruitment,

the social origins, the incentives, and the activities of the precinct leaders. I will indicate how I expect to apply Schlesinger's theory to these aspects, and how I will examine these aspects in detail. The discussion will provide a framework in which to examine the Republican Party during the 1962 campaign. The framework will be developed from literature dealing with precinct organizations.

Recruitment

This section will be devoted to the development of a framework dealing with the recruitment of precinct leaders. The section will focus upon the general factors that can affect recruitment, the recruitment process as it is related to particular nuclei, the variations in the success in recruiting as they are related to the socio-economic composition of precincts, the recruitment channels that are utilized in recruiting, and the involvement of individuals in campaign work before they became precinct leaders.

It has been clearly shown that the ability of a political party to attract individuals into campaign work varies from campaign to campaign. There are many possible reasons for this phenomenon. One reason might be the differences in the levels of offices contested.¹⁵ Another reason

¹⁵James Q. Wilson, The Amateur Democrat (Chicago, 1962), p. 230.

is that the perceived closeness of a particular contest might bring out the faithful.¹⁶

However, beyond the immediacy of any particular campaign there can be other conditions affecting the ability of a party to recruit activists. One such condition might be the perceived need on the part of many party loyalists to participate. The continued successes of the party candidates¹⁷ or the failures of the party candidates¹⁸ can affect the inclinations of individuals to participate in campaigns.

The actual recruitment of individuals into campaign work can take a variety of forms.¹⁹ In some areas candidates will recruit independently of each other, while in other areas party officials of a multi-nuclear organization will do the recruiting.²⁰ However, it also has been shown that candidates and party officials of a multi-nuclear organization can carry on separate recruiting activities in an area.²¹ The variations in the attempts to recruit may possibly be related to the competitive status of the candidates as well as a indication of their degrees of cooperation.

¹⁶David Greenstone, A Report on Politics in San Diego (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 11-55.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 11-55.

¹⁸Rossi and Cutright, p. 84.

¹⁹Charles W. Bender, A Report on Politics in Seattle (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 11-66.

²⁰Gosnell, p. 69.

²¹Rossi and Cutright, p. 87.

The success that nuclei have in recruiting appears to be related to factors distinctive to the precincts. Some precincts are a better source of campaign workers (i.e., precinct chairmen and precinct workers), than are other precincts. A socio-economic variation in the precincts can be a factor underlying the success in recruiting.²² Some have suggested that the types of incentives provided can partially explain this variation in recruiting. It is also suggested that incentives such as money or patronage are most attractive in lower income areas,²³ while appeals of personality and ideology have highest utility in middle income areas.²⁴ The difficulty in recruiting campaign workers from different types of precincts might create a problem for campaigning in these precincts, although campaign workers can be moved into such precincts.²⁵

The recruitment of individuals into campaign work can be carried on through a multitude of channels. A network of friendship and kinship ties can aid in recruitment. Nuclei have also recruited individuals from associations of

²²Leon D. Epstein, Politics in Wisconsin (Madison, 1958), p. 82.

²³Rossi and Cutright, p. 87.

²⁴Greenstone, pp. 11-58.

²⁵Ibid.

business and professional people,²⁶ and labor unions.²⁷ Channels inside the party such as a party club²⁸ can be utilized. Individuals can be brought along first acting as a precinct worker and then taking a position as a precinct leader.²⁹

The last part of the recruitment section will be concerned with the involvement of the precinct chairmen in campaign work before they became precinct chairmen. The period of involvement in campaign work before becoming a precinct leader varies from area to area. Gosnell reports that in Chicago, "a fairly long period of apprenticeship seems to be necessary for appointment as precinct captain,"³⁰ while others make note of a large number of novices in campaign work.³¹ The differences might be explained by such factors as the degree of organization before a particular campaign, the ability of the organization to maintain its workers from former campaigns, and the criteria of selectivity in selecting individuals.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 11-57.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 11-62.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 11-57.

²⁹Rossi and Cutright, p. 86.

³⁰Gosnell, p. 66.

³¹Hugh A. Bone, Grass Roots Party Leadership (Seattle, 1952), p. 13. Wilson, pp. 226-232.

Social Origins

This section is concerned with the development of a framework with which to examine the social origins of the Republican precinct chairmen in Lansing. The main objective is to establish how the social origins of precinct leaders might indicate the cooperative efforts among party nuclei. Secondly, I will pose some explanations for the variation in the segments of the social structure that nuclei have drawn upon. Thirdly, I will draw from inferences as to the relationship of social origins to campaigning.

Previous studies have indicated that nuclei draw upon different segments of the social structure. A partial explanation might be in the differences of the incentives that the nuclei provide. Many nuclei have relied primarily upon patronage and other financial rewards in attracting precinct leaders. Marvick and Nixon suggest that such nuclei draw uniformly from the lower strata of the social structure.³² Nuclei that rely upon issues and personalities draw heavily from professional and business groups.³³ Also such nuclei often attract a large number of women that operate in this milieu.³⁴ However, policy goals³⁵ can also attract

³²Dwaine Marvick and Charles Nixon, "Recruitment Contrasts in Rival Campaign Groups," in Political Decision Makers, ed. Dwaine Marvick (Glencoe, 1961), p. 204.

³³Wilson, p. 13. Epstein, p. 88.

³⁴Epstein, p. 88.

³⁵Stephen B. and Vera H. Sarasohn, Political Party Patterns in Michigan (Detroit, 1957), p. 69.

individuals from the blue collar occupations who can be compensated by their unions for the time lost from their jobs.³⁶ Although these are evidently the broad patterns, they are possibly affected by those who take part for the love of the game or for prestige. Likewise, the associational ties utilized in recruiting might affect the social patterns of the precinct leaders.

The social origins of the precinct leaders might indicate the manner in which the nuclei are cooperating. The presence of individuals of a particular social origin in one nucleus relatively lacking in other nuclei would be an indicator of low cooperation among the nuclei. It would also be a test as to whether nuclei can draw upon certain segments of the social structure more heavily than others.

A number of studies have indicated that nuclei attempt to recruit individuals who are well embedded in the social life³⁷ of the precinct and whose social origins are similar to those of the constituents.³⁸ This criterion may be dominant when the precinct is relatively stable and homogeneous. Individuals with these characteristics can best fulfill their function of establishing and maintaining contact with the voters.³⁹ However, in precincts where the

³⁶Ibid., p. 64.

³⁷Rossi and Cutright, p. 90.

³⁸Gosnell, p. 64.

³⁹Rossi and Cutright, p. 90.

voters are highly mobile and heterogeneous, such characteristics are not given such a high priority.⁴⁰ Such characteristics in a precinct would decrease the likelihood of building up a stable pattern of relationships of personal friendships with the voters.

I shall attempt to find by the use of a socio-economic scale of the Republican precinct chairmen and of the voters in their individual precincts the relationship between the social origins of the chairmen and the voters. This would indicate how the nuclei were able to draw from the segments of the social structure within the individual precincts. Secondly, it would indicate the degree of similarity between the social origins of the chairmen and the voters in the particular precincts. Thirdly, it allows us to make inferences as to the relationship it has to campaigning.

The segments of the social structure drawn upon by nuclei probably produce differences in the problems nuclei must solve if they are to be successful in a campaign. The involvement of individuals in their occupations, their families, and their voluntary organizations can compete for their time. However, individuals who have a patronage position⁴¹ or can be compensated for the time lost from their

⁴⁰Wilson, p. 230.

⁴¹Rossi and Cutright, p. 114.

job⁴² might be willing to devote a good deal of time to campaigning. Nuclei that rely upon volunteers might not as easily solve the problem.

Precinct leaders in the folklore of the practical politician are "joiners".⁴³ However, the value of membership in these organizations might depend upon whether they utilize them to perform their political tasks.⁴⁴ Otherwise, they might create a multitude of activities that compete with political activities for the time of the precinct leader.⁴⁵

Our interest will be to find to what degree the Republican precinct chairmen are involved in voluntary organizations. Secondly, whether membership in such organizations are a means by which they perform their political tasks. Thirdly, the degree to which they compete for the time of the chairmen during a campaign. Fourthly, the degree to which they consider activities in these organizations rewarding as compared to activities in party work.

⁴²Sarasohn, p. 64.

⁴³Bone, p. 28.

⁴⁴Rossi and Cutright, p. 92.

⁴⁵David Greenstone, A Report on Politics in Detroit (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 11-34.

Incentives

I shall in this section follow the suggestion of March and Simon and look at the attempt of a party to attract precinct leaders in terms of an organization providing incentives or inducements. March and Simon state "each participant and each group of participants receives from the organization inducements in return for which he makes to the organization contributions."⁴⁶ Within this general perspective I shall point out how this aspect of precinct organization might indicate the relationship among the nuclei in their electoral efforts. My concern will also focus upon the incentive complexes provided to individuals in becoming a precinct leader, and the manner by which their activities can be maintained.

The incentives that are provided to individuals in return for campaign activities can come from many sources. Prime among these are nuclei. The differences in the ability of nuclei to provide incentives might be reflected in the differences in the levels of interest toward nuclei. Epstein's findings in Wisconsin indicate differences in the levels of interest of participants toward nuclei.⁴⁷ The differences in the levels of interest of precinct leaders might indicate variations in the cooperative attempts of

⁴⁶James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York, 1958), p. 84.

⁴⁷Epstein, p. 83.

nuclei to organize. Some nuclei might attempt to organize more than other nuclei, while other nuclei might organize independently. Their degree of cooperation could be reflected in the levels of interest of precinct leaders.

The differences in the ability of nuclei to provide interests that attract precinct leaders is the basis of the exchange among nuclei. As was pointed out earlier concerning the enclaved relation, the nuclei in the larger constituency can "provide the attractive leaders, the issues, and the general image, or the 'coattails' on which the lesser candidates hope to ride to victory."⁴⁸ The nuclei in the smaller constituency by utilizing the interest focused on the nuclei in the larger constituency can provide the apparatus by which precinct leaders can be established.

I shall by the use of a question concerning the levels of interest of Republican precinct chairmen, and other interviews attempt to draw some conclusions as to the cooperative efforts among Republican nuclei.

My concern is not merely with the general source of incentives, but also with the type of incentives provided. Nuclei can provide a multitude of incentives in return for the activity of an individual. However, the incentive complex provided by nuclei can differ. In some nuclei there

⁴⁸Schlesinger, p. 52.

can be a prevalence of one type of incentive such as patronage,⁴⁹ while it is relatively lacking in another.⁵⁰

It has been clearly shown that individuals have been attracted into campaign work by the use of patronage.⁵¹ Key has argued that patronage is decreasing in quantity and attractiveness.⁵² Even where it does exist, whether it is used probably is related to the perceived fate of the nuclei under whose control it is.

It has been shown that nuclei have used issues in attracting individuals into campaign work.⁵³ The differences in the levels of issues that attract individuals into campaign work⁵⁴ might indicate variations in organizational attempts of nuclei. Furthermore, these are the types of incentives that some nuclei can provide and other nuclei can utilize in establishing a precinct leadership network.

These are not the only reasons for participating in campaign work. Nuclei can attract individuals since it provides them with an opportunity to further their own political ambitions.⁵⁵ Other reasons for taking part in campaign work

⁴⁹Sonya, Forthal, Cogwheels of Democracy (New York, 1946), p. 39.

⁵⁰Wilson, pp. 200-225.

⁵¹Mosher, p. 18. Kurtzman, p. 47. Gosnell, p. 54.

⁵²V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups (New York, 1958), pp. 394-395.

⁵³Marvick and Nixon, p. 209.

⁵⁴Epstein, p. 83.

⁵⁵Epstein, p. 77.

can be sense of community obligation,⁵⁶ for social contacts,⁵⁷ and a strong sense of party loyalty.⁵⁸

My concern will be with the incentive complex that attracted individuals into the precinct chairmanship position during the 1962 campaign. I shall use a series of questions dealing with some common reasons for taking part in campaign work. Furthermore, I shall discuss how the incentive complex was affected by the cooperative efforts among the nuclei.

My interest will also focus upon the manner by which the commitment of the precinct chairmen can be maintained for further campaigns. The problem of turnover among precinct leaders is widespread.⁵⁹ Parties can use a variety of means in attempting to maintain the interest of its precinct leaders. They can use patronage and favors which will reward the leader personally.⁶⁰ Another method is by providing the leader with a means by which he can aspire to public office.⁶¹ They can also sustain interest by having frequent contacts among the precinct leaders and other party leaders and elective office holders.⁶²

⁵⁶Marvick and Nixon, p. 208.

⁵⁷Bone, p. 27.

⁵⁸Marvick and Nixon, p. 208.

⁵⁹Wilson, pp. 226-232. Bone, p. 14. Gosnell, p. 51.

⁶⁰Rossi and Cutright, p. 90.

⁶¹Epstein, p. 77.

⁶²Rossi and Cutright, p. 95.

I shall examine the problem of turnover among the ranks of the precinct chairmen within the Republican Party, and how the party is able to cope with the problem. I shall first establish the extent of turnover among the precinct chairmen, and the reasons given by the chairmen for leaving. Secondly, I shall attempt to establish if a measure of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction is related to withdrawing from the chairmanship. This would indicate whether the chairmanship by itself can give an individual enough rewards or perceived rewards to merit continued participation.

As pointed out earlier, contacts among the party members can be one way through which the party can maintain the interest of its participants. I shall attempt to establish whether the scope of contacts with other participants during the campaign is related to continued participation. Secondly, I shall attempt to find out whether participation in other components of the party is related to continued participation. Lastly, my interest will turn to whether continued participation is related to aspiration for public office and in the differences seen between the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

Activities

This section will present a framework by which to examine the organizational activities of the Republican precinct chairmen. The objective is to establish how the

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organizational activities of the precinct leaders might indicate the cooperative efforts among the party nuclei.

Secondly, I shall indicate how the organizational activities at the precinct level appear to be adapted to the environmental conditions of the electorate and the campaign workers.

The problem before us is establishing how we can find indicators of the cooperative efforts among nuclei in their organizational activities at the precinct level. I have discussed before how the cooperation among nuclei can be affected by their constituency and competitive relationships. Any complex of patterns can flow from the constituency and the competitive relationships. The nuclei may establish separate precinct leaders, or they may share precinct leaders, or a combination of both may exist. However, the degree to which a group of precinct leaders consider themselves a part of the various nuclei would indicate the cooperative efforts among the nuclei in their organizational activities at the precinct level.

Organizational activities at the precinct level appear to be adapted to the environmental conditions of the electorate and the campaign workers. It has been clearly shown that nuclei have attempted to reach the voter through precinct leaders who are well embedded in the social life of the precinct.⁶³ The precinct leader through the development of friendships and by distribution of small favors would

⁶³Rossi and Cutright, p. 90.

obtain a bond of personal loyalty from the voters.⁶⁴

Through this personal loyalty the precinct leader would get the support of the voters for the candidate of the nucleus.⁶⁵

There needs to be some stability among the precinct leaders in order to develop this personal loyalty. This type of campaigning is also most adaptable to certain areas of the constituency--the lower income areas.⁶⁶ When the constituency is highly mobile and there is a high rate of turnover among the precinct leaders, evidently nuclei adapt differently to the situation.⁶⁷ The emphasis is more on contacting the voter in an ad hoc manner for getting out the vote.

In the section dealing with organizational activities of the Republican nuclei in Lansing, I shall indicate the extent to which the precinct organizational efforts of the nuclei were coordinated. I shall also examine how the nuclei adapted to the environmental conditions of the electorate and the campaign workers. Furthermore, the conditions which affect the variation in organizational output at the precinct level will be examined.

The following sections will be presented to develop a background for the major research sections. I shall first

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Kurtzman, p. 32.

⁶⁶Rossi and Cutright, p. 93.

⁶⁷Wilson, p. 236.

deal with "The Historical Development and the Demographic Characteristics of Lansing": this section will serve as a basis for a later discussion as to the type of electoral activities carried on in such an electorate. In the "National, State and County Levels of Competition" section I shall draw inferences as to the orientation of the organizational efforts of the parties. The "Nonpartisan City Elections" section will be devoted to a discussion of the involvement of the parties in these elections. In the succeeding section, the "1962 Campaign," I shall focus upon the orientation toward certain offices, and briefly discuss the differences in the manner the parties carried on their campaigns at the precinct level in Lansing. The last section "Methodology" will be devoted to the sources used in examining the problem, and the methods utilized in performing the study.

The Historical Development and
the Demographic Characteristics
of Lansing

Lansing is located in Ingham County, Michigan. In 1960, the city had a population of 107,807 inhabitants.⁶⁸ It is an industrial, governmental, and commercial center largely inhabited by descendents of Northeastern migrants and immigrants from Germany.

⁶⁸Michigan General Social and Economic Characteristics, Department of the Commerce, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1962), pp. 24-262.

The Lansing area was first settled in the 1830's by migrants from western New York.⁶⁹ By 1848 it was chosen as the site of the state capital,⁷⁰ and in 1859 it was incorporated as a city.⁷¹ The early migration influx of individuals from western New York continued as individuals also came from eastern New York and New England.⁷² Later immigrants from Germany and more recently migrants from the rural South moved to the city.⁷³ The city has a relatively small foreign born and Negro population. In 1960 there were 4089 foreign born inhabitants and 6893 Negroes.⁷⁴ The inhabitants are generally Protestants, while individuals of the Catholic faith numbered about 23,000 at the time of the 1962 campaign.⁷⁵ In 1962 the Jewish population in the Lansing area was estimated to number at 700 individuals.⁷⁶

⁶⁹Lansing and Its Yesterdays, The Lansing State Journal (Lansing, 1930), p. 4.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 15.

⁷¹Today and Tomorrow in the Lansing Metropolitan area, The League of Women Voters of the Lansing Area (Lansing, 1961), p. 7.

⁷²Birt Darling, City in the Forest (New York, 1950), p. 34.

⁷³William H. Form, "Organized Labor's Place in the Community Power Structure," Industrial and Labor Relations Review (July, 1959), p. 528.

⁷⁴Michigan, General, Social and Economic Characteristics, pp. 24-262.

⁷⁵Chancery Office of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Lansing (January, 1963).

⁷⁶Alvin Chevkin, "Jewish Population in the United States in 1962," in American Jewish Yearbook (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 72.

The city in 1960 had a work force of 75,296⁷⁷ individuals, however 45.1%⁷⁸ of them resided outside of the city. The residents are mainly engaged in manufacturing, retailing, and governmental occupations. Better than half (52%) are engaged in white collar positions, while 48% are employed in blue collar occupations.⁷⁹ About 25,000 individuals employed in the Lansing area are organized into unions.⁸⁰

Although 20.4% of the employed worked for the various levels of government in 1960,⁸¹ the number of party appointees is reduced by a number of factors. One factor is the prevalence of the civil service system used by the State of Michigan. Another factor is that the selection process of employees in the nonpartisan city government appears to be outside the jurisdiction of the political parties.⁸² While there were 1157 individuals employed by the county government in 1963, only 83 individuals were employed in the offices of the elected county officials.⁸³

⁷⁷Michigan, General, Social and Economic Characteristics, pp. 24-235.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 24-240, 24-235.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 24-240.

⁸⁰Greater Lansing Labor Council.

⁸¹Michigan, General, Social and Economic Characteristics, pp. 24-240.

⁸²Respondent, 63.

⁸³Ingham County Controllers Office.

National, State, and County
Levels of Competition

It should first be known what the orientation of the organizational efforts of the parties in Lansing and Ingham County is, and whether or not the reaction of the voters in the city and the county explain the orientation of organizational efforts. Lansing has been traditionally Republican at the national, state and county levels. Although the Democrats carried the county in the 1854 campaign⁸⁴ since 1856, the Republicans have been successful with few exceptions. The city has voted Republican with two exceptions in all national elections,⁸⁵ while on only three occasions has it elected a Democrat to the state legislature.⁸⁶ Similarly, on the county level with one exception in 1924 and 1932, and three in 1936, the Republicans have been successful.⁸⁷

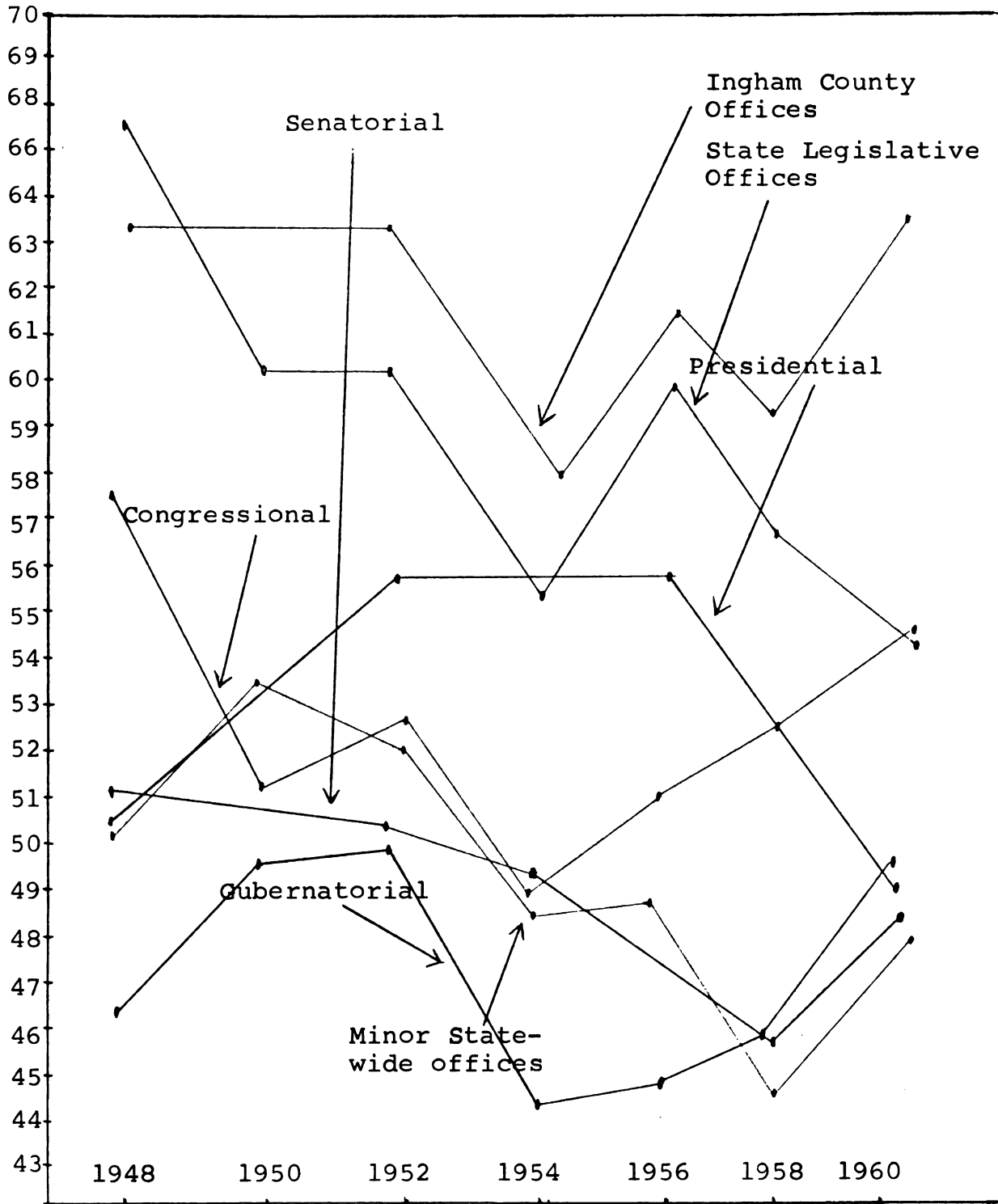
If we look at a more recent period--1948 through 1960--we can gain more insight as to the orientation of organizational efforts. Graph 1 indicates the percentage of the two-party vote of the Republican nuclei within the various constituencies. The table indicated that the voters reacted differently toward the nuclei. The nuclei, over the

⁸⁴Lansing and Its Yesterdays, p. 52.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Form, p. 528.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 533.



Graph 1. Republican Percentage of the Two-Party Vote In the Total Constituencies: 1948 - 1960.

period, faced different levels of competition. The Republican county nuclei, on an average, received 61.6% of the two-party vote over the period, while the Republican state legislative nuclei received 55.4% of the vote. The Republican presidential nucleus received 52.8% of the vote, and the congressional nucleus received on an average of 52.7% of the two-party vote. The Republican senatorial nucleus received 49.2% while the minor state-wide and the gubernatorial nuclei were receiving 49.2% and 47.1% of the two-party vote respectively.

The variations in the reaction of the voters can be partially explained by the differences in the sets of voters within the constituencies. The county nuclei constituency was restricted to Ingham County,⁸⁸ while the state legislative nuclei faced the voters in Ingham and an adjoining county.⁸⁹ The 6th district congressional nucleus ran in a constituency comprised of Ingham and two other counties. The presidential, senatorial, gubernatorial and minor state-wide nuclei⁹⁰ ran in state-wide constituencies.

⁸⁸ County nuclei. The offices included in this category are: prosecuting attorney, sheriff, county clerk, county treasurer, register of deeds, drain commissioner, coroner, county surveyor.

⁸⁹ State legislative nuclei. Three House of Representative districts and one Senate district are the offices included in this category.

⁹⁰ Minor state-wide nuclei. These nuclei include the lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general, state treasurer, and auditor general.

The variations in the reactions of the voters may establish the basis for the cooperation or non-cooperation among the nuclei. Following the theory suggested by Schlesinger, we would assume that it would be the competitive nuclei that would need and seek help.⁹¹ It is the enclaved relationship which is most applicable to our problem. The nuclei in the larger constituencies are in the closer levels of competition. The presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, minor state-wide and congressional nuclei should seek the help of the other. I do not assume that the county and the state legislative nuclei do not need organizational activity at the precinct level, merely that the other nuclei need it more.

Nonpartisan City Elections

The Lansing city government provides another level of offices toward which party organizational attempts could be directed. Since 1925 the city elections have been non-partisan. Even though the party label does not appear on the ballot, Republicans have been generally successful. One academician has claimed that Republican small businessmen have been able to control the city government under the non-partisan label. He suggests that they need not run as Republicans because they have been able to use the nonpartisan label as an easy avenue to electoral success.⁹²

⁹¹Schlesinger, p. 50.

⁹²Respondent, 68.

The question requiring examination is the degree to which the local party organizations get involved in city campaigns. My investigation indicates that the Republican and Democratic leaders generally do not perceive the capture of city offices as a party organizational goal. One Republican county committee member claimed that the party as an organization does not take part in city campaigns.⁹³ However, he did say that Republican workers do aid city office seekers. Similarly, Democratic ward leaders indicated that Democratic workers on an individual basis will aid known Democrats.⁹⁴

Evidently the Republican and the Democratic leaders do not perceive the capture of city offices as party organizational goals, since party organizational efforts toward city nuclei are not useful in fulfilling their prime party organizational goals. The involvement of party workers in city campaigns can create factionalism.⁹⁵ Also when the city and party campaigns are at the same time, activity devoted to city candidates is time away from aiding party candidates.⁹⁶

⁹³ Respondent, 64.

⁹⁴ Respondent, 72, 83.

⁹⁵ Respondent, 64.

⁹⁶ Respondent 61, 74.

The 1962 Campaign

The question before us is the orientation of the organizational activities of the political parties in Lansing during the 1962 campaign. The orientation as indicated by the differences in the levels of competition in Table 1 would be more towards the state-wide and congressional nuclei than towards the state legislative and county nuclei.

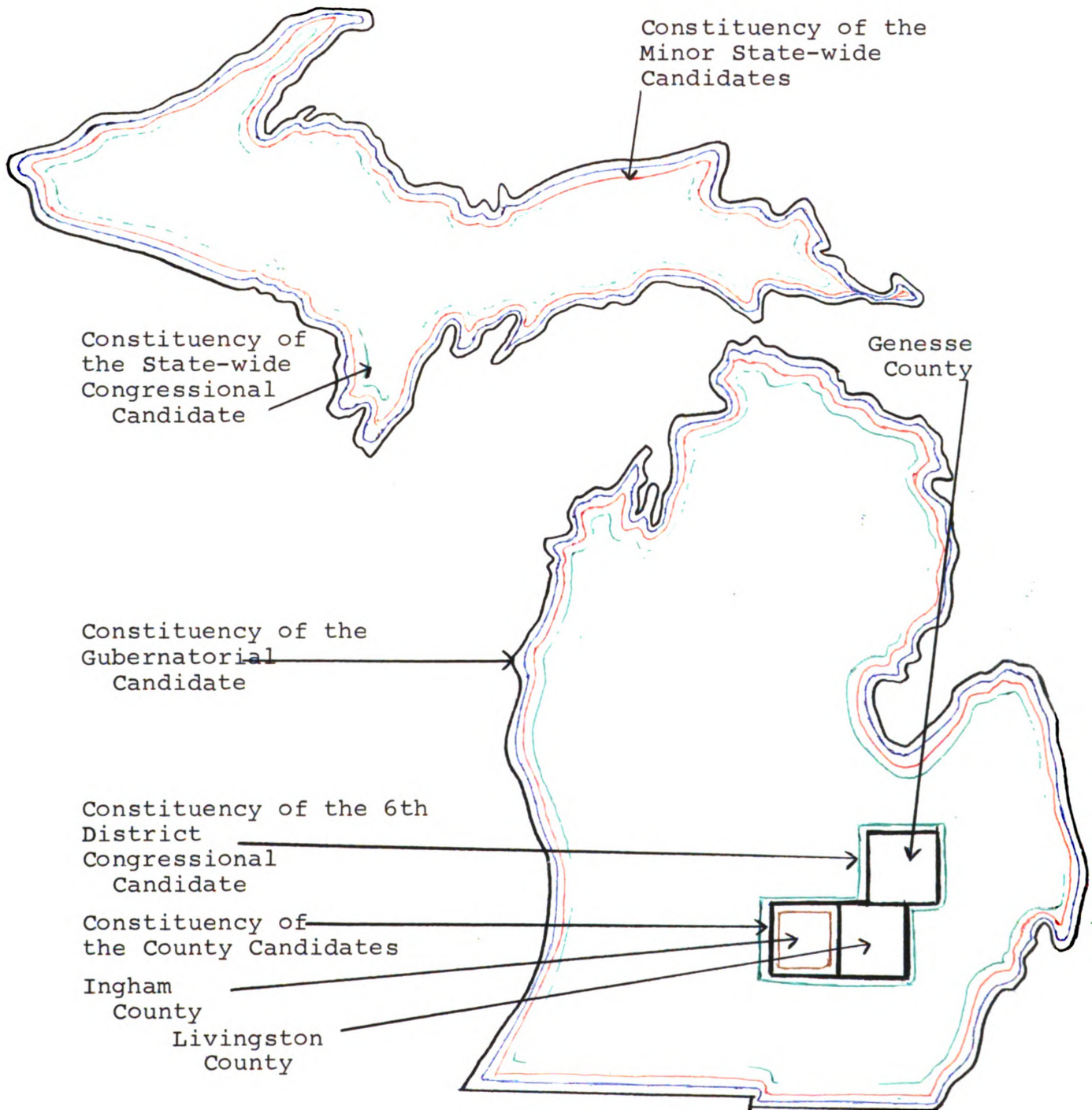
Table 1. The Republican percentages of the two-party vote in the city, county, and larger constituencies.

	City	County	Larger Constituencies
Gubernatorial	56.1	61.2	51.4
Minor State-Wide	52.6	57.8	48.0
6th District Congressional	58.1	61.5	54.5
State-Wide Congressional	53.5	57.7	47.6
State Legislative	55.7	58.9	59.6
County	61.1	63.1	

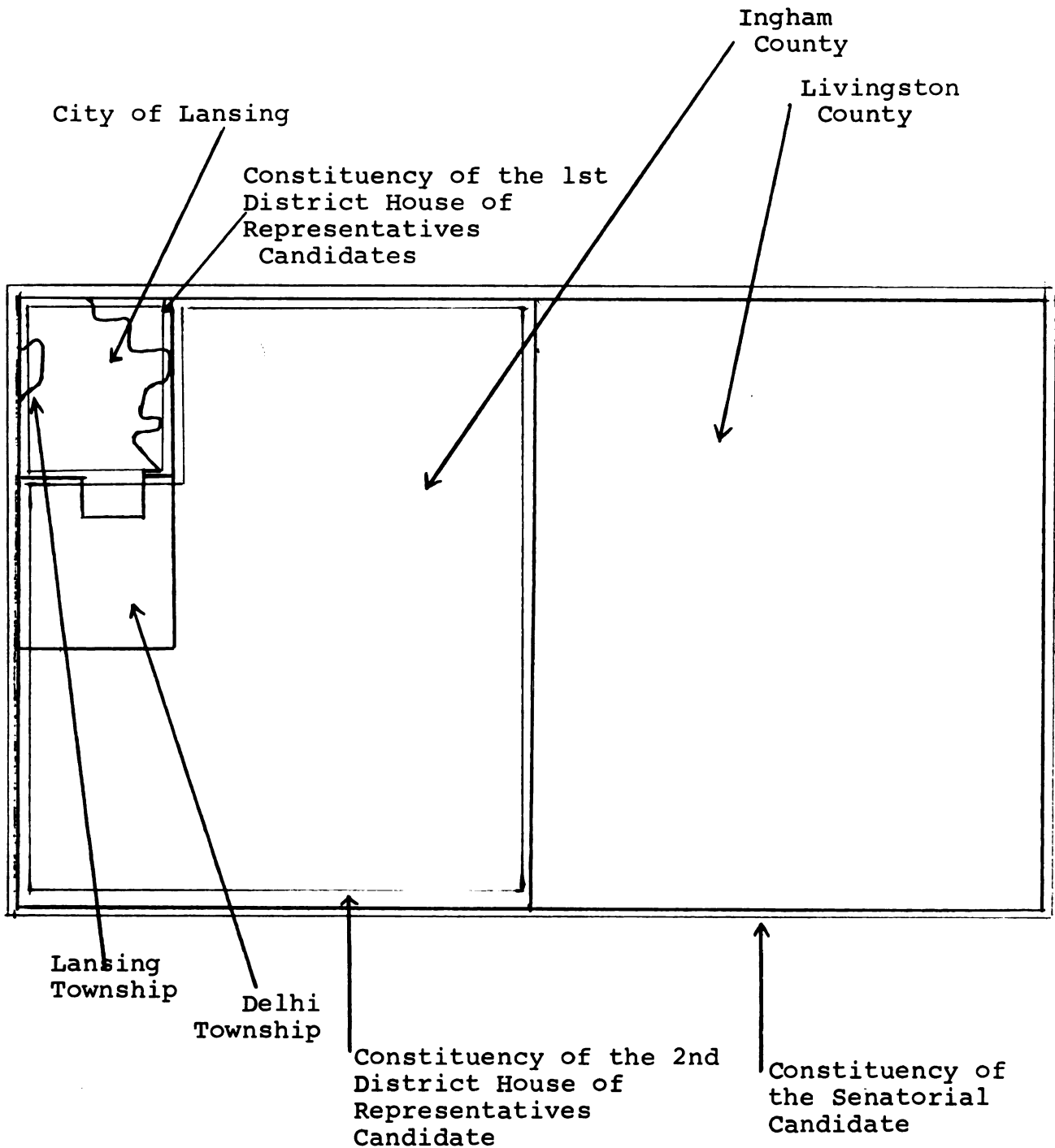
Organizational activities can have a greater effect upon the fate of the gubernatorial, minor state-wide, and congressional nuclei since they become more competitive in their total constituencies, while it would have less of an effect upon the fate of the state legislative and county nuclei since they become less competitive in their total constituencies.

Maps 1 and 2 demonstrate the constituencies of the Republican candidates during the 1962 campaign. Map 1 demonstrates that the constituencies of the candidates for the gubernatorial, minor state-wide, and state-wide congressional offices included all electoral units in Michigan. The candidate for the 6th district congressional office faced the voters in Genesee, Livingston, and Ingham Counties, while the county candidates appealed to the voters in Ingham County. Map 2 demonstrates that the constituency of the senatorial candidate included Livingston and Ingham Counties. The constituencies of the House of Representatives candidates included various parts of Ingham County. The 1st district House of Representatives candidates appealed to voters in Lansing Township. The City of Lansing was the greatest part of their constituency. The constituency of the candidate for the 2nd district House of Representatives office included the remainder of Ingham County, which included three precincts in the City of Lansing.

The orientation might also have been affected by the differences in incumbencies and the levels of offices being contested. The Republicans had office holders running for all county and legislative offices. Similarly the Republican candidate for the 6th district was an incumbent, while the state-wide congressional seat was a new district. On the other hand the Democratic candidates for the gubernatorial and the minor state-wide offices were the holders of these offices.



Map 1. Constituencies of the Gubernatorial, Minor State-wide, Congressional, and County Candidates.



Map 2. Constituencies of the State Legislative Candidates:
1962

In 1962, the presidential and the senatorial offices were not being contested, hence the gubernatorial office gained prominence. The Democrats had won the gubernatorial office with G. Mennen Williams from 1948 to the 1958 campaign and with John Swainson in the 1960 campaign. The Republican candidate for governor was George Romney who gained prominence in state politics through his connections with the Constitutional Convention.

Both parties established a formal organization to aid in the campaign. Each group of county and state legislative candidates, Democratic and Republican, appointed a county committee to assist them in their campaigns. The county committee then appointed individuals, who provided leadership at the precinct level.

For electoral purposes the county is divided into townships and cities. These are further subdivided into precincts. The precincts in Lansing are grouped into four wards. The wards contained from 15 to 21 precincts. In total there were 74 precincts existing in Lansing during the 1962 campaign.

The parties differed in the degree to which they appointed individuals to formal position in these electoral sub-divisions. The Democrats appointed ward chairmen in two of the four wards.⁹⁷ I was not able to ascertain the number

⁹⁷ Respondent 72.

of individuals who served as precinct chairmen for the Democratic Party. Rather than have party workers restricted to a particular precinct, the Democrats would move workers from precinct to precinct during the campaign. Often the efforts were simply those of the workers remaining in their homes and telephoning the voters in different precincts.⁹⁸ In contrast, the Republican County Committee appointed four ward chairmen and 62 precinct chairmen.

The selection of the Republican Party as the focus of the study was determined by two factors. First, the Republican Party had an ample number of individuals in formal leadership positions at the precinct level, while the Democratic Party evidently did not. Secondly, the Republican county committee officials cooperated to the fullest extent.

Methodology

I have utilized in this research a variety of sources in examining the problem. Literature, census data, voting data, newspapers, party and governmental files, and interviews were used.

However, the sources were used in different ways. The literature was used to develop the problem, and gave me a basis of comparison with other findings. The census data allowed me to establish a basis of comparison between the

⁹⁸ Respondent 84.

chairmen and the residents of the precincts as well as to establish a profile of the city. On the other hand the voting data were used to indicate differences in the levels of competition of the nuclei and to establish variations in political behavior within the precincts. Newspapers, party and governmental files were utilized in establishing a background for the study. However, the main source of data was obtained through interviews. The interview instrument was pre-tested in East Lansing, and in January, February, and March of 1963, it was utilized in interviewing in Lansing. The instrument was used in interviewing fifty-one Republican precinct chairmen. Interviews with Democratic and Republican party officials, labor union leaders, newspaper editors, academicians, and employees of the city, county, and state governments were included in the background explorations.

CHAPTER II

THE RECRUITMENT PROCESS

This chapter will focus upon the recruitment process of the Republican Party in Lansing during the 1962 campaign. The main objective is to find indicators of the cooperative efforts among the attempts to capture elective offices through the recruitment process. Secondly, I shall examine this aspect in detail following the framework presented in the first chapter.

The recruitment process of the Republican Party is affected by its orientation to national and state offices. The success that the party has in recruiting is related to conditions in the larger constituency. The number of individuals recruited varies from campaign to campaign. One factor that affects its success in recruiting is the levels of offices being contested. Party leaders generalize that it is easier to recruit individuals in presidential campaigns than in nonpresidential campaigns.¹ Even in nonpresidential years individuals are more inclined to participate in fall campaigns when the gubernatorial and the minor state-wide offices are being contested, than they are in the spring

¹ Respondents, 61 and 85.

campaigns when the contests are for the state-wide judicial and educational offices.² Other factors affecting recruitment are the attractiveness of a particular candidate, or the perceived closeness of an election. A former county chairman stated that during the 1952 campaign with the attractiveness of Eisenhower as a presidential candidate the Republican Party had little difficulty in recruiting.³ In some gubernatorial campaigns during the 1950's many Republicans felt that the election of a Democratic governor was a foregone conclusion, and hence were reluctant to take part in campaigning.⁴

The recruitment process also is affected by the long period of success that Republican candidates have had in Ingham County. One party leader said, that the long period of success has developed a sense of complacency among Republicans.⁵ A county committee member in addressing himself to the same problem stated that Republican leaders have been unable to convince some Republicans of the necessity of working for state-wide pluralities. As he put it, some say, "we are winning in Ingham County so why should we work?"⁶

²Respondent, 61.

³Respondent, 62.

⁴Respondent, 61.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Respondent, 64.

I shall narrow the discussion to the recruitment process of the Ingham County Republican Committee. The county committee recruited individuals who assisted all Republican candidates during the 1962 campaign. However, various nuclei also recruited individuals in Lansing. The gubernatorial nucleus recruited individuals into an organization referred to as the Romney Volunteers. The Romney Volunteers consisted of Republicans, Democrats, and Independents who wanted to aid Romney, but who did not desire to work through the regular organization.⁷ The congressional nuclei also recruited individuals to aid them at the precinct level.⁸ The gubernatorial and the congressional candidates were assisted by the county and state legislative candidates who established the county committee recruiting apparatus, however the gubernatorial and congressional candidates evidently found it necessary to have additional precinct workers in meeting the needs of their competitive and constituency conditions.

My concern focuses upon a segment of the campaign workers. There were about 1,000 individuals who assisted Republican candidates during the 1962 campaign,⁹ however I shall limit myself to the recruitment of the precinct

⁷ Respondent, 61.

⁸ Respondents, 9 & 61.

⁹ Respondent, 71.

chairmen and the precinct workers of the county committee participating in Lansing.

Tables 2 and 3 indicate the percentage of precincts with chairmen, and their tenure. Table 2 indicates that the county committee recruited chairmen in 83.75% of the precincts for the 1962 campaign.

Table 2. Percentage of chairmened precincts during the 1962 campaign.

		N
Precincts Where There Were Chairmen	83.75%	62
Precincts Where There Were No Chairmen	16.25%	12
	100%	74

Table 3 indicates that the vast majority of the respondents (74.48%) were serving their first term as chairmen, while 25.52% had served previously. The percentage of precincts with chairmen and the tenure of the chairmen reflects the size of the job the county committee has in recruiting new chairmen and retaining its former chairmen. The low tenure reflects the fact that former chairmen were dismissed when they did not reach the expected performance level.¹⁰ The large number of new chairmen can also be

¹⁰ Respondent, 70.

attributed to the appointment of chairmen in precincts where formerly individuals had not been appointed chairmen. Another factor affecting the level of tenure among chairmen is the voluntary withdrawal of individuals from the chairmanship.¹¹

Table 3. Tenure of the precinct chairmen.

		N
After the 1960 Campaign	74.48%	38
Since 1960 Campaign	9.80%	5
Since 1958 Campaign	7.84%	4
Since 1956 Campaign	1.96%	1
Since 1952 Campaign	5.88%	3
	100%	51

I have indicated in Chapter I that success in recruiting can be related to factors distinctive to the precincts. In the following section I shall attempt to establish whether the county committee success in recruiting is related to the socio-economic composition of the precincts.

¹¹ Respondents 61, 70, 71, 73. See Chapter III, pages 10 through 25 for the degree of turnover among the 1962 campaign chairmen, and the manner by which the commitment of the precinct chairmen is maintained for further campaigns.

My test will deal with the recruitment of precinct chairmen and precinct workers in the 1962 campaign and the recruitment of activists from the 1958 through 1960 period.

Each of the precincts in the city was assigned a socio-economic index score. Three characteristics of the residents of the precincts were used in determining the score. The characteristics were family income, education of individuals 24 years old and over, and the occupations of individuals 14 years old and over. The sub-divisions of the characteristics were separated into a roughly twenty percent distribution using the city distribution as a profile. The distribution of these twenty percent proportions among the residents was found by using the census tracts of the city. The census tracts did not match precinct lines, therefore the number of a precinct's blocks that were in a census tract as compared to the total number of blocks in the census tract was used to determine the percentage that the characteristics of the residents of the precinct represented of the total characteristics of the census tract. For example, if there were fifty blocks in the census tract and twenty-five of these blocks were in one precinct, then the precinct residents were assumed to have accounted for fifty percent of the characteristics. The percentage (50%) was multiplied by the total number in the census tract of each of the twenty percent proportions. I would multiply 50% times the number of families who had made less than \$3,999,

etc. In this way I found the total number of families in each of the proportions. I would then find the percentage of families that made less than \$3,999, etc., within the precinct. This percentage was then multiplied by the assigned weight of the proportion. The weights times the percentages of the proportions of the income characteristics gave me the income score for the precinct. Likewise scores were derived for occupation and education. The income, occupation, and education scores were added to give the total socio-economic score for the precinct.

I shall in the following three tables test the proposition that the higher success in recruiting was related positively to precincts which had a higher socio-economic composition. In Table 4 the proposition is supported. The higher success in recruiting precinct chairmen was related positively to precincts which had a higher socio-economic composition. The county committee had higher success in recruiting precinct chairmen from precincts with a 8.0 or more socio-economic score, while the county committee had lower success in recruiting precinct chairmen from precincts with a 7.9 or less socio-economic score.

Similarly the proposition is supported in Table 5 concerning the recruitment of precinct workers during the 1962 campaign. The test is statistically significant at the .05 level. The higher success in recruiting precinct workers during the 1962 campaign was related positively to precincts with a higher socio-economic composition. In precincts with

Table 4. Variations in the success in recruiting precinct chairmen as related to the socio-economic composition of the precinct.

		Socio-economic Score						
		11 or More	10.9 --10	9.9 --9	8.9 --8	7.9 --7	6.9 or less	N
Precincts Where There Were Chairmen	4.50%	9.45%	16.20%	13.50%	31.05%	8.10%	83.75%	62
Precincts Where There Were No Chairmen	0.00%	0.00%	2.70%	1.35%	6.75%	5.50%	16.25%	12
	4.50%	9.45%	18.90%	14.85%	37.80%	13.60%	100%	
N	4	7	14	11	28	10		74

a 9.0 or more socio-economic score the socio-economic score the county committee was more likely to recruit 11 or more precinct workers, while in precincts with a 8.9 or the county committee was more likely to recruit 10 or less precinct workers.

Table 5. Variation in the success in recruiting precinct workers as related to the socio-economic composition of the precinct.

Number of Precinct Workers	Socio-economic Score		N
	9.0 or More	8.9 or Less	
10 Precinct Workers or Less	7	19	26
11 Precinct Workers or More	13	6	19
N	20	26	45
2 X = 7.6			

In Table 6 I shall test whether the higher success in recruiting participants from the 1958 through the 1960 period was related positively to precincts which had a higher socio-economic composition. The number of participants during the period in each precinct was collected from the files of the county committee. It included the names of individuals who had helped the county committee in one way or another. Some of the individuals had helped financially,

while others acted as campaign workers. Here again the proposition is supported. The test is statistically significant at the .05 level. Although the higher success in recruiting participants was related positively to precincts which had a higher (9.0 or more) socio-economic composition, the most evident finding was the relationship between lower success in recruiting participants to precincts with a lower (8.9) or less socio-economic composition.

Table 6. Variation in the success in recruiting participants as related to the socio-economic composition of the precinct.

Number of Participants	Socio-economic Score		N
	9.0 or More	8.9 or Less	
30 or Less	10	39	49
31 or More	14	5	19
N	24	44	68
$\chi^2 = 18$			

Republican officials have stated that they find it necessary to recruit individuals to serve as party workers. One county committee member estimated that about 10% of the party workers approach the party while the others need to be recruited.¹² Similarly 11.76% approached the party who

¹² Respondent, 64.

served as a chairman during the 1962 campaign as indicated in Table 7. The vast majority (88.24%) were encouraged by other individuals to become a chairman. Many of these became chairmen under duress. A substantial proportion stated that they were "pressured" (11.76% very important, 11.76% important) into the chairmanship, while a larger proportion (19.60% very important, 15.58% important) mentioned that "no one else would take the chairmanship."

Table 7 indicates the high proportion (61.72%) of respondents who were encouraged by party officials to become a precinct chairman. The ward officials (the ward and area chairmen) performing their functions as representatives of the county committee encouraged 53.88% of the respondents to become a chairman. Party officials outside the ward organization (7.84%) also encouraged individuals who they had known on a friendship basis.

The recruitment process clearly is aided by a reliance upon friendship ties. In total 41.16% of the respondents were encouraged to become chairmen by friends. The total is sub-divided into three friendship groups: friends who were party officials (29.40%), friends who were candidates (3.92%), and friends with no official political identification (11.76%). While associational ties aid in recruitment, nevertheless, reliance thereon probably limits the segment of the social structure that the party draws upon.

Table 7. Tenure and the sources in the recruitment process.

Sources in the Recruitment Process	Tenure						N	
	Oct.	Sept.	Aug.	July	Two Years or Less	1960 or Before		
Ward Officials	7.84%	11.76%	5.88%	0.00%	1.96%	9.80%	36.24%	19
Ward Officials Friends	1.96%	7.84%	3.92%	0.00%	0.00%	3.92%	17.64%	9
Officials Out- side the Ward Friends	1.96%	0.00%	1.96%	0.00%	0.00%	3.92%	7.84%	4
Candidate Friend	1.96%	1.96%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.92%	2
Candidate Representative	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.96%	0.00%	1.96%	1
Friends	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.92%	7.84%	11.76%	6
Approach	1.96%	1.96%	3.92%	1.96%	1.96%	0.00%	11.76%	6
Others	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.92%	3.92%	0.00%	7.84%	4
	<u>15.68%</u>	<u>23.52%</u>	<u>15.68%</u>	<u>5.88%</u>	<u>13.72%</u>	<u>25.48%</u>	<u>100%</u>	51
N	8	12	8	3	7	13		

Quite noticeable is the low percentage of respondents (5.88%) who were encouraged by candidates or their representatives to become a precinct chairman. The low percentage might indicate the distribution of functions in a general election campaign. That is, that party officials would carry on the recruiting function while candidates would devote their time and energy to other functions. However, the low percentage also can indicate the degree of cooperation among the nuclei. The precinct chairmen are needed more by the candidates in the larger constituency than they are by the candidates in the smaller constituencies. The smaller constituency candidates, the county and state legislative candidates exhibit their attempts to get assistance at the precinct level through the recruitment process. Even though they have established the apparatus for recruiting they did not take an active part in it. Neither did the smaller constituency candidates pass over to the county committee a list of the individuals who were part of their nuclei in the primaries.¹³ One candidate stated that he just doesn't encourage people to campaign for his candidacy in a general election for he saw little need to do it.¹⁴ He also stated that it is quite difficult to get individuals to work in both a primary and a general election campaign. Many individuals feel that the primary is the election that determines

¹³ Respondent, 61.

¹⁴ Respondent, 62.

the fate of the nucleus. Workers in a primary feel they have done their part and others should work in the general election. This is especially true for workers who are personal friends of a candidate.

The period of appointment of the precinct chairmen also indicates the manner by which nuclei cooperate. Candidates in the smaller constituencies established the apparatus to help the candidates in the larger constituency. Recruitment and training sessions were discouraged by the county and state legislative candidates in July and August in order to decrease the number of individuals taking part in the August primary.¹⁵

Table 7 indicates that 39.10% were appointed in October and September. It also indicates that 15.56% were appointed in August. Whether they were appointed before or after the primary was not established, however the likelihood exists that the majority were appointed after the primary. The smaller constituency candidates cooperated with the larger constituency candidates in recruiting precinct chairmen, however the degree of their cooperation was affected by how this cooperation affected their own fate.

The cooperative efforts among the nuclei supports the major proposition of the study. All of the attempts to capture the elective offices were drawn into cooperative efforts in varying degrees through the recruitment process,

¹⁵ Respondent, 61.

since they all shared the Lansing voters in common. The attempts to capture the offices in the competitive constituencies had a greater need of assistance from the county committee in recruiting precinct chairmen, than did the attempts to capture the offices in the one-party constituencies. The need of assistance that all of the attempts to capture elective offices had was met through the county committee's recruitment of precinct chairmen. However, the recruitment met essentially the greater need for assistance of the attempts to capture the offices in the competitive constituencies. Through a common recruitment process carried on by the county committee the attempts to capture the offices in the competitive constituencies were closely drawn into cooperative efforts. The recruitment process was carried on mainly by the appointed officials of the county committee with limited cooperation from the candidates for the offices in the one-party constituencies. These candidates because of their proximity to the city could have taken a more active role in the recruitment process. Their limited involvement in the recruitment process reflected their lesser need for assistance from the precinct chairmen to become part of the cooperative efforts to capture the offices in the one-party constituencies. Therefore, the recruitment process reflected how the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts among themselves at

the precinct level, while the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts at the precinct level among themselves or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies.

The additional recruitment by the gubernatorial and the congressional nuclei is a reflection of a common practice of nuclei to establish committees to recruit individuals who are particularly interested in working for a particular candidate. It is also a reflection of the variation of the constituency of the 6th district congressional nucleus from the constituencies of the other competitive nuclei.

While it was mainly the responsibility of the ward officials to recruit the precinct chairmen, the chairmen had the responsibility of recruiting precinct workers. The vast majority (90.19%) stated that they recruited precinct workers themselves.¹⁶ The recruiting of precinct workers was not limited to the chairmen, since others would help. A few chairmen mentioned they would call upon their friends to aid in campaigning.¹⁷ The chairmen also had the opportunity to recruit workers in their canvassing. They could ask, "Have you or any member of your household ever worked to turn out a Republican vote?" and "Would you help us in this campaign?"¹⁸

¹⁶Q. 35. Did you have to do some recruiting?

¹⁷Respondents, 38 and 45.

¹⁸Suggested Telephone Canvass Talk ## 1.

The respondents were brought into the chairmanship through several recruitment channels. The channels through which the respondents expressed their interest were both inside the formal party structure as well as outside the formal party structure.

Table 8 indicates that 43.12% of the respondents expressed their interest in taking part through formal structure of the party. Some respondents acted as precinct workers (15.68%), while others were members (7.84%) of a party club. A few served as chairmen or vice chairmen of other precincts (5.88%), while others had been precinct delegates (3.92%). The others expressed their interest through party work (3.92%), party meetings (3.92%), and the Romney Volunteers (1.96%).

Table 8 also indicates that (33.32%) of the respondents expressed their interest in becoming a precinct chairman through channels outside the formal structure. Conversations that developed from social contacts (19.60%), or occupational contacts (5.88%) can aid in recruiting. Similarly contacts at civic organizations (3.92%) and at churches (3.92%) were part of the recruitment process.

The county committee is able to rely upon individuals who have taken part in past campaigns in recruiting its precinct chairmen. As Table 9 demonstrated 86.28% of the respondents were involved in campaign activity before becoming chairmen. The larger percentage of the total (76.24%) had

Table 8. Recruitment channels.

Q. 27b. How do you think (he, she) learned that you were interested?		
Contributors in the Lansing Units		N
Precinct Workers	15.68%	8
Party Clubs	7.84%	4
Precinct Chairmen or Vice Chairmen of other Precincts	5.88%	3
Precinct Delegate	3.92%	2
Party Work	3.92%	2
Party Meetings	3.92%	2
Romney Volunteers	1.96%	1
	<u>43.12%</u>	<u>22</u>
Recruitment Channels Outside the Party		
Social Contacts	19.60%	10
Occupational Contacts	5.88%	3
Civic Organizations	3.92%	2
Church	3.92%	2
	<u>33.32%</u>	<u>17</u>
Did Not Know or Not Ascertained		
Did Not Know	15.68%	8
Not Ascertained	7.84%	4
	<u>23.52%</u>	<u>12</u>
	<u>100%</u>	<u>51</u>

helped the local party, while 9.80% were active either elsewhere in the United States or in Lansing city politics. However, involvement in former campaigns is not a prerequisite for the precinct chairmanships as evidenced by the fact that 13.72% were not involved in any earlier campaign work.

The extent of the involvement of the respondents in earlier campaign activity, measured in terms of the variety of previous political activities and their period of apprenticeship,¹⁹ is not very high. Table 9 indicates the scope of their former activities and the period of apprenticeship for the chairmen. The respondents were generally engaged in common campaign activities such as calling the voters, driving the voters to the polls on election day, acting as a challenger, and distributing literature. However, one chairman was a former county chairman and another had formerly been the chairman of a finance committee for a gubernatorial candidate. The scope of their former activities is related to their period of apprenticeship. The chairmen who served an apprenticeship of 11 years or longer performed three or more different types of activities during the period. While the chairmen who served an apprenticeship of 1-10 years were more likely to have performed in only one or two different activities.

¹⁹The period of apprenticeship is the difference between when the respondents became active in politics, and when they became a precinct chairman.

The overall periods of apprenticeship of the chairmen was not very long. As Table 9 indicates 15.68% served an apprenticeship during the campaigns, while 35.28% were active in politics 1-4 years before they became chairmen. Another 17.64% were active from 5-10 years, and 17.64% were involved from 11-21 years or more.

The reliance upon individuals who have had relatively limited former campaign activities indicates the adaptability of the county committee to its environment. The party has a high turnover among the ranks of its campaign workers and the quick acceleration of individuals into the precinct chairmanships is a result. The type of campaigning carried on, which amounts to mainly contacting the voters on an ad hoc basis, would not require individuals who have been involved in politics for a longer period. The county committee is trying to put new emphasis on precinct level organization and has by necessity had to recruit whomever it can.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORIGINS

The main objective in this chapter is to establish how the social origins of the precinct chairmen indicate the cooperative efforts among the attempts to elect party candidates. Secondly, I shall examine the social origins of the chairmen in depth, and thirdly, I shall indicate the relationship of social origins to campaigning.

Table 10 indicates the segment of the social structure in Lansing that Republican nuclei drew upon for their precinct chairmen. The characteristics of the chairmen are those at the time of the survey, and are not necessarily those at the time of recruitment.

The table demonstrates that the nuclei drew disproportionately from different social strata. The chairmen were drawn from the better educated segment of the social structure. While 60.78% (college, 31.37%, some college, 29.41%) of the chairmen attended college, only 18.46% (college, 10.48%, some college 7.98%) of the Lansing adults have pursued a college education. Few of the chairmen (3.92%) had less than four years of high school, while 51.35% (1-3 years of high school, 21.67%, 8 years of grammar school

Table 10. Social origins of the precinct chairmen as compared to the social origins of the adult population of Lansing.

	Chairmen	N	City	N
Education:				
College	31.3 %	16	7.98%	4747
Some College	29.41%	15	10.48%	6230
High School	35.28%	18	30.98%	18383
1-3 Years of High School	3.92%	2	21.67%	12580
8 Years of Grammer School or Less	0.00%	0	29.38%	17461
	100%	51	100%	59519
Family Income:				
\$10,000 or More	37.24%	19	16.64%	4685
\$ 9,999-\$8,000	21.56%	11	15.42%	4250
\$ 7,999-\$6,000	21.56%	11	23.73%	6539
\$ 5,999-\$4,000	11.76%	6	25.19%	6943
\$ 3,999 or Less	0.00%	0	18.63%	5134
N.A.	7.84%	4		
	100%	51	100%	27551
Occupation^a				
Professional and Managerial	41.16%	21	19.22%	8177
Clerical	33.22%	17	20.80%	8550

Table 10. Continued

	Chairmen	N	City	N
Sales & Crafts	21.56%	11	22.56%	9606
Operatives	3.92%	2	16.79%	7153
Other	0.00%	0	15.41%	6667
Not Reported	0.00%	0	5.06%	2399
	100%	51	100%	42562
Government Employment:				
County	1.96%	1		
Other	1.96%	1		
Total Governmental Employment	3.92%	2	20.40%	8698
Does Not Apply	96.08%	49	79.60%	33864
	100%	51	100%	42562
Age				
25-34	27.24%	14	24.36%	14396
35-44	35.28%	18	22.90%	13637
45-54	21.56%	11	19.92%	11862
55-64	7.84%	4	16.79%	9812
65 or more	7.84%	4	16.70%	9744
	100%	51	100%	59461

Table 10. Continued

		Chairman	N	City	N
Sex	25 Years and Over				
	Male	52.92%	27	47.45%	28108
	Female	47.04%	24	52.55%	31353
		100%	51	100%	59461

^aIn 21.58% of the cases, women classified their occupation as that of a housewife; therefore the occupation of the husband was substituted.

or less, 29.68%) of the adult population fall in this category. The Republican nuclei also attracted individuals whose family income fell in the higher categories. More than half (58.8%) (\$10,000 or more, 37.24%, \$9,999-\$8,000, 21.56%) of the respondents' families made over \$8,000, while only about a third (32.06%) (\$10,000 or more, 16.64%, \$9,999-\$8,000, 15.42%) of the families in the city had an income of more than \$8,000. Although the percentages of the \$7,999-\$6,000 category were quite similar (chairmen 21.56%, city as a whole, 23.73%), the nuclei drew a smaller percentage (11.76%) (\$5,999-\$4,000, 11.76%, \$3,999 or less, 0.00%) from the families that made less than \$5,999 than the percentage (43.82%) for the families of the city (\$5,999-\$4,000, 25.19%, \$3,999 or less, 18.63%). Table 10 demonstrates that while 74.38% of the chairmen or their husbands had professional,

managerial, or clerical positions (professional and managerial, 41.16%, clerical 33.32%), only 40.10% of the population of the city had similar occupations (professional and managerial, 19.20%, clerical 20.80%). On the other hand, the percentage (21.56%) of the chairmen or their husbands employed in either sales or craftsmen positions is quite similar to the average (22.56%) for the city, while the chairmen are far underrepresented in the remaining categories (operatives 3.92%, other, 0.00%) as compared to the city percentages (operatives 16.79%, other 15.41%). Quite noticeable is the underrepresentation of the chairmen among those employed in governmental positions; while 20.40% of the adult population of the city is employed in governmental positions only 3.92% of the chairmen were employed in the various branches of government. The chairmen on a whole are younger than the adult population of Lansing. While the chairmen are overrepresentative of the 35-44 category (chairmen 35.28%, city 22.90%) they are underrepresentative of the categories of age groups 55 years and over (chairmen 55-64, 7.84%, 65 or more 7.84%; city 55-64, 16.79%, 65 or more, 16.70%).

Although males were slightly overrepresented at the precinct chairmen level (chairmen 52.92%; city, 47.45%) the respondents stated that a high proportion of the precinct workers were women. Table 11 indicates that 78.70% of the chairmen stated that women were predominant among their

precinct workers. Party leaders similarly have indicated the predominance of women among the precinct workers. One leader claimed "If you really want to get things done, you must rely upon the women, they do about 85% of the work."¹

Table 11. Composition of the precinct workers.

Q. 40. Would you say that precinct workers are all women, mainly women, about half are women, mainly men, all men?		
		N
All Women	13.72%	7
Mainly Women	64.68%	33
Half are Women	11.76%	6
Mainly Men	1.96%	1
All Men	0.00	0
	92.12%	
No Workers	7.84%	4
	100.00%	51

The chairmen offered a diverstiy of responses as to why there were so many women. Some stated that women had more time or patience to carry on detail work. Others felt that campaign activities can provide a diversion from the dishes and the diapers. One chairman suggested that campaign

¹ Respondent, 62.

activities can have a liability for some men and less so if carried on by their wives.² Politics might be good for their business, but manifest campaign activities might not be good for business. The wife can participate by telephoning without necessarily being identified in doing so.

The social origins of the precinct chairmen lends support to the major proposition of the study. The social origins reflect how the various nuclei were drawn into cooperative efforts at the precinct level. It has been established that the county committee drew disproportionately from the younger age groups. The younger age groups are predominant in nuclear attempts which focus upon the national and state-wide offices.³ The predominance of the younger age groups among the precinct chairmen reflects the close drawing together of the cooperative efforts among the attempts to capture the offices in the competitive constituencies. The attempts to capture the offices in the one-party constituencies have a greater ability to attract older women into their nuclear attempts, as they often do during primary contests.⁴ The relative absence of older women among the ranks of the precinct chairmen reflects how these attempts were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts among

² Respondent, 28.

³ Respondent, 61.

⁴ Ibid.

themselves or with the attempts to capture the offices in the competitive constituencies.

In its additional organizational efforts the 6th district congressional nucleus recruits older women into the ranks of its campaign workers.⁵ It appears that in its additional organizational efforts the nucleus recruits from friendship networks different from those used by the county committee. The additional campaign workers of this nucleus were not integrated into the ranks of the campaign workers of the county committee.⁶ Although efforts were directed toward the success of the candidate for the 6th district congressional office through the county committee's efforts, its additional efforts reflects the divergence of its constituency from the constituencies of the other competitive nuclei.

The segment of the social structure that the nuclei recruited from for the 1962 campaign was affected by a number of additional factors. The first factor is that the college educated and fairly young white collar individual can be attracted into participation by the use of issue incentives as has been shown in other studies.⁷ Secondly, the voting literature indicates that Republican candidates attract

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Marvick and Nixon, p. 204. Wilson, pp. 258-288.

heavy voting support from this segment;⁸ therefore, it is not surprising that campaign workers would also come from this segment. Also, the reliance upon associational ties in recruiting further limits the segment of the social structure that the nuclei draw upon.

I have discussed in previous paragraphs the social origins of the chairmen as compared to the social origins of the adult population of the city. In this section I shall narrow the discussion to a comparison of the socio-economic scores of the chairmen and the adult residents in their precincts. I shall approach the discussion from three perspectives; the first being how the nuclei were able to draw from the segments of the social structure within the individual precincts; secondly, I shall indicate the similarity between the social origins of the chairmen and the adult residents of the precinct; thirdly, I shall indicate the relationship of the social origins of the chairmen to campaigning.

In order to establish a basis of comparison between the chairmen and the residents socio-economic scales were developed. I have discussed previously how the socio-economic scale for the residents was established. Similarly, the scale for the chairmen was composed of three characteristics, education, occupation, and family income. In the

⁸Angus Campbell, The Voter Decides (Evanston, 1954), pp. 70-73.

case of housewives, the husband's occupation was substituted. For example, if the respondent was engaged in a profession, I assigned the weight of 5 to this type of occupation. The weights also were assigned for the categories into which the respondents educational and family income levels fell. The scores for the education, occupation, and family income were totaled to give the socio-economic score for the chairmen.

Table 12 demonstrates the comparison of the socio-economic scores of the chairmen and the residents of their precincts. The table indicates that with only two exceptions, the nuclei attracted individuals who had higher socio-economic scores than the scores for the residents of the precincts. Particularly noticeable is the pattern of an increasing divergence of the socio-economic scores of the chairmen as we move from the higher to the lower socio-economic precincts. This pattern of divergence represents the overrepresentation of the segment of the social structure that the nuclei mainly drew upon. The sum of the percentages of the chairmen who had socio-economic scores from 15 through 11 (15, 7.84%; 14, 17.58%; 13, 19.60%; 12, 9.80%; 11, 17.58%) totals 72.40% of the respondents. The overrepresentation of this segment results in an increasing dissimilarity between the social origins of the chairmen and the residents of the precincts as Table 13 indicates. The difference between the socio-economic score of the chairmen and the socio-economic score of the precincts increases as we move from the higher to the lower socio-economic precincts.

Table 12. Comparison of the socio-economic scores of the precinct chairmen and the adult residents in their precincts.

Chairmen	Residents							N
	12.9-12	11.9-11	10.9-10	9.9-9	8.9-8	7.9-7	6.9- or Less	
15	5.88%	0.00%	1.96%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4
14	1.96%	1.96%	3.92%	3.92%	1.96%	3.92%	0.00%	9
13			0.00%	5.88%	7.84%	3.92%	1.96%	10
12			0.00%	5.88%	1.96%	1.96%	0.00%	5
11			0.00%	3.92%	0.00%	5.88%	7.84%	9
10			1.96%	0.00%	5.88%	3.92%	0.00%	6
9						1.96%	0.00%	1
8						3.92%	0.00%	2
7						1.96%	0.00%	1
N.A. 7.84%							7.84%	4
7.84%	7.84%	1.96%	7.84%	19.60%	17.58%	27.44%	9.80%	51
N	4	4	1	4	10	9	14	5
								51

Table 13. Difference between the socio-economic scores of the chairmen and the residents of the precinct.

Socio-Economic Scores of the Precincts	12.9-12	11.9-11	10.9-10	9.9-9	8.9-8	7.9-7	6.9-6
Difference Between the Socio-Economic Score of the Chairmen & the Residents of the Precinct	2.36	2.51	2.75	3.01	3.51	3.51	5.76

Although party leaders are aware of the narrowness of the segment of the social structure that Republican nuclei draw upon, they do not attempt to recruit individuals whose social origins are similar to the social origins of the residents of the precinct.⁹ The type of campaigning carried on which relies heavily upon telephone canvassing does not necessitate attempting to recruit chairmen whose social origins are similar to the social origins of the residents of the precinct. Also, the fluidity of the chairmen and the residents of the precincts¹⁰ decreases the likelihood of a stable pattern of relationships developing between the chairmen and the residents, where a similarity of social origins would be most appropriate.

The Republican precinct chairmen are volunteers involved in other social relations: their occupations, their families, and their voluntary organizations. The precinct chairmanship is a part-time activity which competes for time of the chairmen with other commitments. Numerous respondents mentioned that the chairmanship took time from their occupational pursuits.¹¹ Similarly their commitment to their

⁹ Respondents, 64, 71, 72.

¹⁰ The degree of turnover among the precinct chairmen is discussed on page 92 in Chapter IV. The population of Lansing is highly mobile; during the 1959-60 period 25.04% of the population moved into their residence, while in 1958, 10.23% occupied their residence. Michigan, General Social and Economic Characteristics, p. 24-240.

¹¹ Respondents, 9, 13, 14, 22, 30.

families competes with the time they could devote to campaign activities. A number of women with small children spoke particularly of the demands the children made restricting their campaigning time.¹² On a number of occasions, party leaders have mentioned the problem created by the involvement of their campaign workers in voluntary organizations. The party leaders claim the activities of these organizations compete for the time of the campaign workers. They claim the campaign workers repeatedly give involvement in these organizations as an excuse for why they could not perform a certain task.¹³

I shall in the following section examine the involvement of the respondents in voluntary organizations and establish the degree to which membership in these organizations are beneficial to campaigning. I shall also establish the degree to which the chairmen consider activities in these voluntary organizations rewarding as compared to activities in party work.

As is indicated in Table 14, my discussion will not focus on all of the chairmen, since 35.28% of the chairmen did not belong to any voluntary organizations during the time of the campaign. However, involvement in these organizations did take considerable time from a number of the chairmen. Table 14 indicates that activities in these

¹² Respondents, 24, 25, 43.

¹³ Respondents, 62, 70, 71.

organizations took a great deal of time from 13.72% of the respondents, while 9.80% mentioned that they took some time during the campaign. The table also demonstrates that 19.60% said that these organizations took little time, while 21.56% mentioned that they took no time.

Table 14. The variation in the amount of time voluntary organizations took during the campaign as compared to the number of voluntary organizations to which the chairman was a member.

Q. 56. Do you belong to such organizations as the P.T.A., the Chamber of Commerce, or other service organizations?						
Q. 56c. Did you find that these organizations took a great deal, some, or little of your time during the campaign?						
The Amount of Time These Organizations Took During the Campaign	Number of Organizations to Which the Chairman is a Member					
	1	2	3	4 or More		N
Great Deal of Time	0.00%	5.88%	3.92%	3.92%	13.72%	7
Some Time	1.96%	1.96%	3.92%	1.96%	9.84%	5
Little Time	7.84%	9.80%	1.96%	0.00%	19.60%	10
No Time	5.88%	0.00%	3.92%	11.76%	21.36%	11
Did Not Belong to Any Organizations	35.28%				35.28%	18
	35.28%	15.48%	17.64%	13.72%	17.64%	100%
N	18	8	9	7	9	51

The distribution of the respondents among the categories is not quite what I expected after talking to party leaders concerning the matter. I had expected that many more would say these organizations took a great deal of time during the campaign. The percentages of those who mentioned that these organizations took a great deal of time (13.72%) and some time (9.84%) are not overwhelming; however, it must be emphasized that this is only one measurement of commitments intruding upon the time that can be devoted to the chairmanship. Further research, I am sure, can measure the encroachments that familial and occupational commitments have in limiting the time given on campaign activities.

The variation in the amount of time these organizations took during the campaign is not highly related to the number of organizations to which the respondents were members. Although those respondents who were members of one organization stated in a higher proportion that a voluntary organization took little (7.84%) or no (5.88%) time than some (1.96%) time, respondents who were members of two or more organizations did not indicate a relationship between the amount of time devoted to these organizations and the number of organizations to which they were members.

Table 15 indicates that it is from those who held an office in these organizations that are those who mentioned these organizations took a great or some time (held an office--great deal of time, 13.72% some time 7.84%, did not

hold an office--great deal of time 0.00%, some time 1.96%) during the campaign. However, holding an office in these organizations does not always result in these organizations taking a great deal or some time since 9.80% mentioned little time and 11.76% said no time of those who held an office.

Table 15. Variation in the amount of time voluntary organizations took during the campaign as related to holding an office in these organizations.

Q. 56b. Do you hold any offices in these organizations, or are you a member of a committee?

Q. 56c. Did you find that these organizations took a great deal, some, or little, of your time during the campaign?

The Amount of Time Voluntary Organi- zations Took During the Campaign	Variation in Holding an Office			N
	Held an Office	Did Not Hold An Office		
Great Deal of Time	13.72%	0	13.72%	7
Some Time	7.84%	1.96%	9.80%	5
Little Time	9.80%	9.80%	19.60%	10
No Time	11.76%	9.80%	21.56%	11
Was Not a Member of a Voluntary Organization			35.28%	18
			100%	51

The findings from Table 15 supports the analysis of a party leader concerning the involvement of chairmen in voluntary organizations.¹⁴ He said it was not merely a quantitative problem concerning the number of campaign

¹⁴ Respondent, 70.

workers involved in voluntary organizations, rather more of a qualitative problem concerning the type of campaign workers involved in voluntary organizations. The problem created is that the talents of those who have shown their leadership abilities in other organizations are being expended in these voluntary organizations rather than being totally utilized in party work.

It has been established that the voluntary organizations can intrude upon the time that the chairmen could have devoted to campaign work; however, they might also be beneficial in the sense that they can provide a means by which campaign workers can perform their political tasks. Table 16 demonstrates that 43.12% of the chairmen discuss politics at such meetings. On a whole the chairmen mentioned that the discussions took place in social context. After the meeting in a conversation with a few of their friends the discussion might turn to politics. With the exception of one chairman who mentioned that she would deliver speeches about public affairs at the meetings the chairmen did not give me the impression that they were trying to utilize these organizations as means by which they were performing their political tasks. Evidently the value of membership in these organizations lies not in the fact that they are utilized as a campaigning channel, rather that they probably increase the interest of the respondents in politics through these social conversations.

Table 16. Discussion of public affairs at meetings of voluntary organizations.

Q. 56d. Is there much of an opportunity to discuss public affairs at meetings of these organizations?

		N
Yes	43.12%	22
No	21.56%	11
Do Not Belong to Voluntary Organizations	35.28%	18
	100%	51

Given that many chairmen are involved in both party work and voluntary organizations, a comparison of the rewards they receive from each might give an indication of their commitments to voluntary organizations and party work. As Table 17 demonstrates 31.36% of the respondents said that activities in these voluntary organizations are more rewarding than party work, while 17.64% mentioned they received about the same rewards, and 3.92% calimed that they are less rewarding than party work. A few of the chairmen who mentioned that voluntary organizational activities are more rewarding said that "party work can become rather hum drum,"¹⁵ or that voluntary organization activities "are for everybody,

¹⁵ Respondent, 12.

Table 17. Rewards received from participation in voluntary organizations as compared to the rewards received from participation in party work.

Q. 56e. Do you find that activities in these organizations are more rewarding, about the same, or less, rewarding than party work?		
		N
More Rewarding than Party Work	31.36%	16
About the Same as Party Work	17.64%	9
Less Rewarding than Party Work	3.92%	2
Do Not Know	7.84%	4
N.A.	3.92%	2
Do Not Belong to Voluntary Organizations	35.28%	18
	100%	51

not just for a party."¹⁶ Another claimed the voluntary organizational activities are more continuous, and that an individual is only aware of party work at campaign time.¹⁷ A few chairmen mentioned that they felt voluntary organizational activities are more rewarding because in these activities they were dealing with people they knew, while in party work they were working with people they did not know.¹⁸ Those who said they were about the same in rewards were not

¹⁶ Respondent, 20.

¹⁷ Respondent, 11.

¹⁸ Respondents, 44, 47.

very vociferous in explaining their answers, while those who said voluntary organizational activities are less rewarding mentioned that "in party work you can see the results"¹⁹ and that party work can more easily lead to the "good life."²⁰ The findings indicate that voluntary organizational activities can deeply encroach into the commitment given to campaign work.

On a whole, these organizations have certain assets and liabilities. The assets are that they can possibly increase the interest of the respondents through the discussion of politics at meetings of the organizations. The liabilities are that they do take time away from campaigning, but most importantly from those who have exhibited leadership abilities in these organizations. Also, they develop among many a higher sense of reward which can possibly minimize the commitment to party work.

¹⁹ Respondent, 40.

²⁰ Respondent, 27.

CHAPTER IV

INCENTIVES

In this section on incentives the main concern is with the incentives provided to the respondents in return for their activities as precinct chairmen. The first objective is to establish how the incentives provided indicate the cooperative efforts among the nuclei in their electoral attempts. Secondly, I shall examine the incentives provided to the respondents for becoming a precinct chairman, and manner by which their participation can be maintained.

This discussion assumes that nuclei are the prime source of incentives attracting individuals into campaigning. The variations in the abilities of the various nuclei to provide incentives can be reflected in the differences in the levels of concern of the respondents toward the various nuclei.

Table 18 indicates the variations in levels of concern of the chairmen toward the gubernatorial, congressional, state legislative, and county candidates. The question was intended to measure an attitude, therefore their preferences

Table 18. Levels of concern of the chairmen toward party candidates.

Q. 55. About which election were you most concerned that your party's candidate should win in the 1962 campaign?				
Ranking	Candidates			
	Gubernatorial	Congressional	State Legislative	County
First	74.48%	5.88%	5.88%	1.96%
Second	9.80%	56.84%	3.92%	3.92%
Third	0.00%	7.84%	56.84%	1.92%
Fourth	0.00%	0.00%	3.92%	62.32%
All the same	3.92%	3.92%	3.92%	3.92%
Other	3.92%	17.64%	17.64%	17.64%
N.A.	7.84%	7.84%	7.84%	7.84%
	100%	100%	100%	100%
N 51				

concerning each particular candidates was not asked.¹ The table demonstrates that 74.48% of the respondents ranked the fate of the gubernatorial candidate as their first concern. The congressional candidates received by far the highest percentage (56.84%) in the ranking of the respondents second

¹The level of concern of the respondents toward the minor state-wide candidates was not asked; however, I assume these candidates would have received a high ranking.

concern. On the other hand, the state legislative candidates received the highest percentage (56.84%) in the third ranking. The fate of the county candidates were ranked highest (62.32%) at the fourth level of concern. A few of the respondents (3.92%) stated that they had the same concern toward all the candidates, while the "other" category represents a combination of the rankings. Some would rank the gubernatorial candidate as their first concern, while they ranked the congressional and state legislative as second and the county candidates as their last concern or some other combination.

The variations in the levels of concern towards the candidates of the nuclei established the basis for the exchange of services that one nuclei could give to another. The candidates in the larger constituencies, the gubernatorial and the congressional, provided more of the interest that attracted the respondents, while the state legislative and county candidates were able to utilize this concern in the fates of gubernatorial and congressional candidates by establishing the campaign apparatus in Lansing. The precinct chairmen and other campaign workers then became indirectly part of the county and state legislative nuclei, but they were more directly part of the nuclei larger constituencies.

The differences in the levels of concern toward the fate of the party's candidates can be attributed to many factors; however, prime among these are the variations in

the past levels of competition of these offices and the differences in the levels of competition during the 1962 campaign. The levels of competition of the candidates seem to be reflected in the differences in the levels of concern of the respondents. The gubernatorial office which was closely competitive (51.4% in the larger constituency) as shown received the highest ranking. The second ranking of the congressional candidates also seems to reflect their levels of competition. The state-wide congressional candidate received 47.6% in the larger constituency, while the 6th district candidate received 54.5% of the two party vote in the total district. The ranking of the state legislative in third and the county candidates in fourth similarly reflects their total levels of competition. The state legislative candidates received 59.6% in their constituencies and the county candidates got 63.1% of the two party vote in their total constituency.

Another factor which evidently affected the variations in the levels of concern of the respondents was the differentiation in emphasis placed upon the particular candidates. The county committee placed emphasis upon the gubernatorial candidate,² while the congressional candidates established other apparatuses to emphasize their candidacies. This is not to say that any candidate was neglected, rather

²Respondent, 61.

that the gubernatorial candidate was emphasized. A statement of one chairman possibly best reflects this emphasis. The chairman, in addressing herself to communications from other party officials, said that "We were fed information about Romney, while there was little information about the other candidates."³

My concern deals also with the types and scope of the incentives provided to attract the respondents into the chairmanship. The discussion certainly does not cover all of the incentives provided to the respondents; however, it probably does reflect the package of incentives provided. The incentives provided to the chairmen were not necessarily initially provided during the 1962 campaign, since 25.48% of the respondents served as chairmen in previous campaigns.

Table 19 illustrates the ranking of the importance of the various reasons in their decisions to become a precinct chairman. The incentives provided as exhibited through their reasons in taking the chairmanship are complex; however, they can be separated into a number of categories. Concern with public issues (60.76% very important, 29.40% important) and a sense of community obligation (58.88% very important, 23.52% important) fall in the highest category. A strong sense of party loyalty (29.40% very important, 29.40% important) and the fact that politics is a way of life

³ Respondent, 38.

Table 19. The ranking of the importance of the various reasons in the decisions of the respondents to become a precinct chairman.

Q. 28. I am interested in finding out some of the reasons you had in deciding to become a precinct chairman. I would like you to look at this card as I read each statement and tell me how important this factor was in your decision. How important would you say that was in your decision?	Very Important			Not Very Important		N.A.	N
	Important	Important	Important	Important	Important		
Concern with Public Issues	60.76%	29.40%	5.88%	0.00%	3.92%	100%	51
A Sense of Community Obligation	58.88%	23.52%	7.84%	7.84%	1.96%	100%	51
A Strong Sense of Party Loyalty	29.40%	29.40%	21.56%	15.68%	3.92%	100%	51
The Fact that Politics is a Way of Life	27.44%	19.60%	7.84%	41.16%	3.96%	100%	51
Fun and Excitement of a Campaign	19.60%	17.64%	9.80%	49.00%	3.92%	100%	51
No One Else Would Take the Chairmanship	19.60%	15.68%	1.96%	60.76%	1.96%	100%	51
Being Pressured into the Chairmanship	11.76%	11.76%	7.84%	64.68%	3.92%	100%	51
Making Social Contacts and Friends	17.64%	11.76%	9.80%	56.84%	3.92%	100%	51

Being a Personal Friend of a Candidate	7.84%	11.76%	11.76%	66.64%	1.96%	100%	51
Being Close to Influential People	5.88%	11.76%	11.76%	66.64%	3.92%	100%	51
Furthering Political Ambitions	1.96%	3.92%	7.84%	84.28%	1.96%	100%	51
Making Business Contacts	1.96%	5.88%	3.92%	84.28%	3.92%	100%	51

(27.44% very important, 19.60% important) can be grouped in the next highest category. Fun and excitement of the game (19.60% very important, 17.64% important), no one else would take the chairmanship (19.60% very important, 15.68% important), being pressured into the chairmanship (11.76% very important, 11.76% important), and making social contacts and friends (17.64% very important, 11.76% important) are grouped in the middle category. Being a personal friend of a candidate (7.84% very important, 11.76% important) and being close to influential people (5.88% very important, 11.76% important) fall in the next to the last category. Furthering political ambitions (1.96% very important, 3.92% important) and making business contacts (1.96% very important, 5.88% important) were the least cited reasons in becoming chairmen.

The respondents were also asked whether there were any other reasons for taking the chairmanship. Although 43.08% stated there were no other reasons as shown in Table 20, the others gave a wide variety of additional reasons for becoming chairmen. The highest percentage mentioned that their interest in the gubernatorial candidate (Romney) was an additional reason, while some (7.84%) repeated in one manner or another a statement about their sense of obligation. A few (5.88%) mentioned that a very important reason for becoming chairman was since someone asked them. The others

Table 20. Other reasons for becoming a precinct chairman.

Q. 28m. Were there any other reasons that were important in your decision to become a precinct chairman?		
		N
No other reason	45.08%	23
Gubernatorial Candidate	15.68%	8
"Sense of obligation to do something"	7.84%	4
"Someone asked me"	5.88%	3
"I wanted to see how the system worked"		
"Curiosity"	3.92%	2
"Further the interest I believe in"	1.96%	1
"The precinct has never been canvassed"	1.96%	1
"I like to influence people"	1.96%	1
"Let the voters know about the Republican Party"	1.96%	1
"You can't have anything to say until you have done your part"	1.96%	1
"To get acquainted with my neighbors"	1.96%	1
"Because of the evolution of big government and high taxes"	1.96%	1
"Good government for the boys"	1.96%	1
"Help the country"	1.96%	1
"Get the job done"	1.96%	1
"Strong desire to get into the swing of things, run for an office"	1.96%	1
	100%	51

gave a variety of reasons such as "I like to influence people," or, "to get acquainted with my neighbors."

The main objective of this chapter is to establish how the incentives provided indicate the cooperative efforts among the nuclei in their electoral attempts. I have indicated before that the variations in the levels of concern of the respondents is related to the differences in the abilities of the nuclei to provide incentives. The incentives that were provided to the respondents cannot in all cases be directly connected to the particular nuclei during the 1962 campaign, since 25.48% of the respondents were chairmen in former campaigns. However, it was the interest that was centered upon the national and state candidates and utilized by the local organization that gave form to the incentive complex.

I cannot relate each particular type of incentive to individual nuclei; however, in two cases I can show how the incentive complex was affected by the cooperative efforts among nuclei. One case is the relative absence of individuals employed by the county government as precinct chairmen. As has been indicated before, only 1.96% of the chairmen were employed in the offices of the county office holders. Many individuals in these offices evidently did not feel it was necessary to act as precinct chairmen in order to maintain their positions. I am told "people will not work, when they

do not see a need to work."⁴ The incentive complex provided potential precinct chairmen is affected by the relative absence of the office holders encouraging their employees to become precinct chairmen.⁵ Since their fate is evidently not at stake during the general election, we find the patronage position generally being outside the incentive complex provided potential chairmen.

Similarly the variations in the levels of issues that attracted the interest of the respondents during the 1962 campaign indicate the cooperative efforts among the nuclei. Table 21 demonstrates that a high proportion of the chairmen were interested in national and state issues during the 1962 campaign. As the table indicates 29.40% of the chairmen ranked national issues as their first level of interest, while 37.24% ranked the national issues as their second level of interest. Table 21 also demonstrates that although 41.16% of the respondents ranked state issues as their first level of interest, another 29.40% ranked state issues as their second level of interest. About one-tenth (11.76%) of the chairmen mentioned they had the same interest in all levels of issues. The county committee as representatives of the county and state legislative candidates was able to utilize the interest in national and state issues in developing the apparatus to aid all candidates.

⁴Respondent, 72.

⁵Respondent, 62.

Table 21. Issue orientation of the chairmen during the 1962 campaign.

Ranking	Levels of Interest					
	National	N	State	N	County	N
First	29.40%	15	41.16%	21	1.96%	1
Second	37.24%	19	29.40%	15	5.88%	3
Third	5.88%	3	1.96%	1	64.68%	33
All the Same	11.76%	6	11.76%	6	11.76%	6
N.A. & D.K.	15.68%	8	15.68%	8	15.68%	8
	100%	51	100%	51	100%	51

The incentive complex provided the precinct chairmen lends support to the major proposition of the study. The incentive complex took form more around the attempts to capture the offices in the competitive constituencies, than around the attempts to capture the offices in the one-party constituencies. The respondents as a group were far more concerned about the fates of the attempts to capture the offices in the competitive constituencies, than they were concerned about the fates of the attempts to capture the offices in the one-party constituencies. Therefore, as a group the chairmen were more concerned about becoming part of the cooperative efforts engaged in the capture of the offices, (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies, than they were concerned about becoming part of the cooperative

efforts engaged in the capture of the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies. The nuclei in the competitive constituencies were closely drawn into cooperative efforts among themselves at the precinct level through the cooperative efforts of the precinct chairmen. As a result of the lesser concern of the chairmen as a group about becoming part of the cooperative efforts engaged in the capture of the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies, the nuclei in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts among themselves or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies. Therefore, the nuclei in the competitive constituencies were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts among themselves at the precinct level, while the nuclei in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts among themselves or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies at the precinct level.

Another topic requiring analysis is the manner by which the commitment of the precinct chairmen is maintained for further campaigns. The county committee has a problem of turnover among its precinct chairmen. As indicated before only 25.48% of the 1962 campaign precinct leaders had served as chairmen in earlier campaigns. The same problem existed among those who served during the 1962 campaign. A little less than half (49.04%) stated they planned to continue as chairmen, while 13.72% stated they could not

continue as chairmen, but would continue to help the party. Another 13.72% said they did not know whether they would continue, while 23.52% mentioned they would not continue.

I assume that the county committee through providing incentives and the mechanism by which the rewards of the incentives can be received can develop a sense of satisfaction among its precinct chairmen. Similarly the chairmen would continue if they perceived more incentives to be provided and further rewards to bring about a sense of further satisfaction. I shall attempt to establish whether the rewards received from participating in the 1962 campaign and perceived rewards that can be received from participating in further campaigns is related to an expression of a sense of satisfaction from participating in the 1962 campaign and a perceived sense of satisfaction from participating in further campaigns. In Table 22 the proposition that a higher degree of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction is related positively to continued participation will be tested.

The respondents who stated they would continue as chairmen were grouped with those who mentioned that they would continue to participate although not as chairmen. These individuals who said they could not continue as chairmen, but would continue to participate volunteered the information that they would continue to participate. They therefore expressed a difference in intent from those who stated they did not know whether they would continue. Respondents

Table 22. Degree of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction as related to variation in continued participation.

Q. 52. What do you think you would miss if you were not able to continue as precinct chairman?			
Q. 53. What do you feel you have accomplished in being precinct chairman?			
Variation in Continued Participation	Degree of Satisfaction and Perceived Satisfaction		
	+ 2	0 or -2	N
Will Continue to Participate	27	5	32
Did Not Know or Will Not Continue to Participate	11	8	19
N	38	13	51
χ^2 3.18			

who mentioned they did not know whether they would continue were grouped with those who stated they would not continue. A scale was developed dealing with their expressions of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction. A positive response was assigned a value of +1, and a negative response was given a value of -1. The answers of the chairmen presented a wide variety of responses. Positive responses included such statements as "getting Romney elected," "performing a citizen's responsibility," "making friends," "better understanding of politics," and "keeping busy." On the other hand, included among the negative responses were statements

such as, "I can't say I did anything," "nothing," "very little," and "not much." Two positive responses gave a total score of +2, while one negative and one positive response resulted in a 0 score. Two negative responses resulted in a -2 score. The 0 score and the -2 score were combined for use in the table.

Although the test is not statistically significant at the .05 level, the direction of the relationship is suggestive concerning the proposition that a higher degree of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction is related positively to continued participation. The county committee can benefit from the rewards received by the respondents in continuing to receive their participation.

Table 23 indicates the reasons given by the respondents as to why they would not or might not continue as chairmen of their present precincts as they are related to their scores of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction. Even though the respondents received a score of +2 such factors as moving from the precinct, or conflicts with their occupations, health, or lack of time are answers given by the respondents as the reasons as to why they could not or might not continue as chairmen. A few respondents with a +2 score stated they would rather have someone else take over. Their considerations of other commitments in their lives affects whether they will continue. However among those who received a score of 0 or -2 a different tone existed in

their answers as to why they would not continue as chairmen. A larger proportion of these respondents gave answers as to their disappointment, or the distastefulness of politics, or the thanklessness of the position. The reasons the respondents gave as to whether they might not or would not continue to participate is generally related to their satisfaction and perceived satisfaction of the chairmanship.

Table 23. Reasons given by the respondents as to why they would not or might not continue as chairmen of their present precincts as related to the degree of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction.

Q. 52. Do you plan to continue as precinct chairman? (If no) Why is that?			
Variation in Continued Participation	Degree of Satisfaction and Perceived Satisfaction		
	+2	0 or -2	N
Will Continue to Participate			
Moving	7.84%	0.00%	4
Occupation	3.92%	0.00%	2
Redistricting	0.00%	1.96%	1
	11.76%	1.96%	7
Did Not Know			
I would like to find someone else to take over	3.92%	1.96%	3
Occupation	3.92%	0.00%	2

Table 23. Continued

Variation in Continued Participation	Degree of Satisfaction and Perceived Satisfaction		
	+2	0 or -2	N
Did Not Know (Con't)			
Health	1.96%	0.00%	1
N.A.	0.00%	1.96%	1
	9.80%	3.92%	7
Will Not Continue			
Occupation	7.84%	0.00%	4
Lack of Time	1.96%	0.00%	1
Moving	1.96%	0.00%	1
Let the Younger People Do It	0.00%	1.96%	1
Thankless job	0.00%	1.96%	1
I know enough about this job	0.00%	1.96%	1
I find politics distasteful	0.00%	1.96%	1
The other workers didn't come through			
Disappointed	0.00%	1.96%	1
	11.76%	11.76%	12
Will Continue as Chairman	41.16%	7.84%	25
TOTAL	74.48%	25.48%	100% 51

I shall now deal with other measures of the conditions that affect some withdrawing from participation and others continuing to participate.

As suggested in the first chapter, contacts among party members could be one way by which a party might maintain the interest of its participants. By increasing the scope of the contacts among members, the participants reinforce within one another a sense of the importance of their activities. Those who are more involved with other participants during the campaign might well develop more interest which could be related to their continued participation. However, Table 24 indicates that the scope of involvement with fellow chairmen and other party officials is not related to continued participation. The scope of knowing fellow chairmen and other party officials evidently does not affect continued participation. The chairmen indicate that their contacts with fellow chairmen and often even with party officials during the campaign amounted to two or three contacts. They would meet fellow chairmen in various ways: at a coffee, or a gathering of the chairmen in the ward, or at training sessions held by the county committee for the precinct chairmen. Party leaders claim they have a difficult time getting campaign workers to come to meetings; hence they keep them to a minimum.

The precinct chairmanship is not the only mechanism through which incentives can be provided that can affect the

Table 24. Recognition of fellow precinct chairmen and party leaders as related to variation in continued participation.

Q. 42. I'm interested in finding out if people in politics know each other on a personal basis. I have a list of people in the party and I would like you to tell me if you know them.					
Q. 52. Do you plan to continue as precinct chairman?					
Percentage of Fellow Chair- men & Party Leaders Recognized	Variation in Continued Participation				N
	Will Continue As Chairman	Will Continue To Participate	Do Not Know	Will Not Continue	
50% or more	15.68%	1.96%	7.84%	7.84%	17
49% to 30%	23.52%	7.84%	5.88%	7.84%	23
29% or Less	11.76%	1.96%	3.92%	3.92%	11
	50.96%	11.76%	17.64%	19.80%	100%
N	26	6	9	10	51

continued participation of the respondents. As I have suggested in the first chapter, the involvement in other components of the party might be related to continued participation. Table 25 will test the proposition that involvement in other components of the party is related positively to continued participation. The test of the proposition is supported at the .05 level of significance. The incentives that are provided by belonging to these other components of the party organization can aid the county committee in maintaining the participation of its precinct chairmen.

The importance of the involvement in other components of the party becomes more evident, if it is analyzed according to when the respondents became chairmen. Table 26 indicates the relationship of continued participation to involvement in other components of the party as controlled for the time when the respondents became chairmen. The involvement in other components of the party has a greater relationship to continued participation concerning those individuals who had been chairmen during the 1960 campaign or before than it does with those respondents who became chairmen after the 1960 campaign. The inclination in continuing to participate evidently diminishes over time without involvement in other components of the party.

Continuation in participation can be related to the different components the respondents belong to or did belong

Table 25. Variation in continued participation as related to involvement in other components of the party.

-
- Q. 24. Do you hold at the present time another party position such as precinct delegate, state delegate, or as a member of a committee?
- Q. 25. Have you in the past held another party position such as precinct delegate, state delegate, or as a member of a committee?
- Q. 56. Do you belong to such organizations as the P.T.A., the Chamber of Commerce, or other service organizations?
- Q. 61a. Where are you employed?
- Q. 52. Do you plan to continue as precinct chairman?
-

Variation in Continued Participation	Variation in Involvement in Other Components		N
	One or More Other Component	No Other Component	
Will Continue as Chairman or Will Continue to Participate	23	9	32
Do Not Know or Will Not Continue	7	12	19
	30	21	51

 χ^2

6.04

Table 26. The relationship of continued participation to involvement in other components of the party as controlled for the time when the respondents became chairmen.

Q. 26. How long have you been precinct chairman?

Q. 52. Do you plan to continue as precinct chairman?

Questions 24, 25, 56, and 61a are indicated in Table 7.

Variation in Continued Participation	<u>Became Chairmen After the 1960 Campaign</u>			N
	One or More Components	Other	No Other Components	
Will Continue as Chairman or Will Continue To Participate	27.54%		17.64%	45.18% 23
Do Not Know or Will Not Continue	13.72%		15.58%	29.30% 15
	<u>Became Chairmen During the 1960 Campaign or Before the 1960 Campaign</u>			N
	One or More Components	Other	No Other Components	
Will Continue as Chairman or Will Continue To Participate	17.64%		0.00%	17.64% 9
Do Not Know or Will Not Continue	0.00%		7.84%	7.84% 4
				100% 51

to. As indicated in Table 27 it does not make any appreciable difference among those appointed after the 1960 campaign, if I control for whether the other component was the precinct delegateship or another component. However, among those respondents who have been chairmen since the 1960 campaign or before the larger percentage of these are involved in components other than the precinct delegateship. Included among these components of the Party are party clubs, ward, county, and state party positions. These components which might be more on going than the precinct delegateship possibly results in different types of incentives for the respondents and more incentives from party involvement.

I suggested in the first chapter that one of the ways a party could retain participation is by providing the members with a mechanism by which they could potentially fulfill their individual aspirations for public office. Table 28 will test the proposition that aspirations for public office is related positively to continued participation. The data supports the proposition that aspirations for public office is related positively to continued participation. The overall percentage (21.50%) of those who have thought of running for office is relatively meager. Even a smaller percentage mentioned that political ambitions (1.96% very important, 5.88% important) was one of the reasons for becoming chairmen.

Table 27. The relationship of continued participation to involvement in the precinct delegate component as compared to involvement in components other than the precinct delegate component as controlled for the time when the respondents became chairmen.

Variation in Continued Participation	<u>Became Chairmen After the 1960 Campaign</u>			N
	Precinct Delegate Component	Components Other Than the Precinct Delegateship		
Will Continue As Chairmen or Will Continue To Participate	13.72%	13.72%	27.54%	14
Do Not Know or Will Not Continue	7.84%	5.88%	13.72%	7
	<u>Became Chairmen During the 1960 Campaign or Before the 1960 Campaign</u>			N
	Precinct Delegate Component	Components Other Than the Precinct Delegateship		
Will Continue as Chairmen or Will Continue to Participate	3.92%	13.72%	17.64%	9
Do Not Know or Will Not Continue	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0
Do Not Belong To Another Component			41.06%	21
			100%	51

Table 28. The relationship of continuation in participation as related to having thought of running for an elective office.

Q. 23. Have you ever thought of running for an elective office?				
Q. 52. Do you plan to continue as precinct chairman?				
Variation in Aspirations for Public Office	Variation in Continued Participation			N
	Will Continue As Chairmen or Will Continue To Participate	Do Not Know or Will Not Continue		
Have Thought of Running for an Elective Office	15.68%	5.88%	21.56%	11
Have Not Thought of Running for An Elective Office	47.04%	31.16%	78.20%	40
	62.72%	37.04%	100%	
N	32	19		51

Individuals can certainly utilize the chairmanship as a mechanism to develop their own nuclei; however, few perceive it as such. A few respondents mentioned that the chairmanship was not the place to further political ambitions. Those who have political ambitions can more likely be found among those who are prominent at party gatherings, and those who hold higher positions in the party apparatus where the various segments of the party machinery are integrated.

My last section is concerned with the relationship of variations in continuation to the various manners of conceptualizing the differences between the Democratic and the Republican parties. The authors of The American Voter have developed a typology dealing with the various levels of conceptualization in assessing political events.⁶ Although their research differs greatly from mine in scope, my conceptual concern is quite similar to theirs. In utilizing their typology I must point out that my findings are only suggestive. The question was intended to develop rapport and the respondents were not deeply probed.

The typology in The American Voter comprised of four different levels of conceptualization. Level A comprised of respondents who "clearly perceived a fundamental liberal-conservative continuum on which various of the policy objects might shift relative positions over time."⁷ The mere mastery of the terms "liberal" or "conservative" was not necessary for inclusion in this category; however, some indication needed to be present to infer that "the respondent is sensitive to changes over time in the location of political objects on the underlying continuum."⁸ Included among the statements of the respondents placed in Level A were

⁶ Angus Campbell and others, The American Voter (New York, 1960), pp. 216-265.

⁷ Ibid., p. 227.

⁸ Ibid., p. 229.

references to the liberal and conservative tendencies of the parties. A few respondents mentioned the liberal and conservative factions within the major parties. Another said, "the Democrats believe in more government control, while the Republicans try to get the power back to the people."

Level B deals with those who perceive the parties as responding to the interest of different groupings in the population.⁹ A number of the chairmen mentioned that the Democratic Party was labor oriented, and the Republican Party was business oriented, while others would only mention the association of one party with a particular group. A few of the chairmen said that the Republican Party allows the people to do things for themselves, whereas the Democratic Party seeks to have the government do things for the people.

The third category, Level C, included individuals who saw the differences between the parties in terms of the "goodness" or "badness" of the times. Others would merely mention a single issue that they would not elaborate upon.¹⁰ Individuals placed in this category made such statements as "Democratic approach on the spending problem," or "The Democrats are too loose with money."

Included in the last category, Level D, are individuals whose perceptions of the parties are bound up in

⁹Ibid., p. 234.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 240.

moralistic terms, and whose discussion is devoted to the personal characteristics of the candidates.¹¹ Individuals in this category made statements as "Democrats are professional politicians," and "Romney is a good religious man," or "Swainson was a flop."

Table 29 indicates that continuation in participation is related to the variations in conceptualizing the differences between the parties. The table demonstrates that those respondents in Levels A and B are far more likely to continue participating than are those respondents in Levels C and D. A little less than two-thirds (64.68%) of the respondents fall in Levels A and B, although the majority (35.28%) of these fall in Level A. Individuals in Level A can possibly adjust to the different positions of Republican candidates from campaign to campaign, while respondents in Level B possibly perceive the Republican candidates maintaining their positions toward the same groupings in the population from campaign to campaign. There are no appreciable differences between those remaining and leaving in Level C. However, concerning the respondents falling in Level D, they are more likely not to continue participating. The table indicates that three-fourths of these respondents did not know or will not continue. Their perceptions of the parties in moralistic

¹¹Ibid., p. 241.

or mudslinging terms evidently does not create a sense of stability for continued participation.

Table 29. The relationship of continued participation to the variations in the differences as seen between the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

Variation in Continued Participation				
Variation in Conceptualization	Will Continue as Chairman or Will Continue to Participate	Do Not Know Or Will Not Continue		N
Level A	29.40%	5.88%	35.28%	18
Level B	21.56%	7.84%	29.40%	15
Level C	9.80%	7.84%	17.64%	9
Level D	1.96%	13.72%	15.68%	8
N.A.	0.00%	1.96%	1.96%	1
	62.72%	37.04%	100%	51

CHAPTER V

ACTIVITIES

In this chapter I shall focus upon the activities of the Republican precinct chairmen during the 1962 campaign. The main objective is to establish how the nuclear attempts were drawn into cooperative efforts through the activities of the precinct chairmen. Secondly, I shall examine how the activities of the party are adapted to the environmental conditions of the voters and the campaign workers.

The activities that the precinct chairmen carried on at the precinct level reflected a cluster of nuclear attempts to capture the state-wide, congressional, state legislative, and county offices. Within this cluster of nuclear attempts some attempts were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts, than were other attempts. This was established previously through the levels of concern of the chairmen toward the party candidates. As established through the levels of concern of the chairmen toward the party candidates, the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts among themselves at the precinct level through the cooperative efforts of the precinct chairmen, while the

attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts among themselves or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies at the precinct level. The chairmen as a group were more concerned about providing activities that were directed toward the success of the candidates for the offices in the competitive constituencies, than they were concerned about providing activities that were directed toward the candidates for the offices in the one-party constituencies. Therefore, the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts among themselves at the precinct level through the activities of the precinct chairmen, while the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts among themselves or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies at the precinct level.

Although the activities of the precinct chairmen reflected the closely drawing together of the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies, there was a greater emphasis placed upon the fate of the gubernatorial candidate through the county committee's efforts.¹ In canvassing the campaign workers could say, "I'm calling to remind some of the people in our neighborhood that your vote will be important on November 6 in helping

¹Respondent, 61.

elect George Romney and the entire Republican team."² Also the Romney Volunteers worked particularly close with the county committee. They shared the same campaign headquarters, and the efforts of the Romney Volunteers were integrated with the efforts of some (19.60%) of the precinct chairmen.³

Although the congressional nuclei were closely drawn into cooperative efforts with the other competitive nuclei through the activities of the precinct chairmen, committees were established which carried on additional activities directed toward aiding the candidates for the congressional offices. The county committee cooperated with these committees in such ways as; notifying the committees of various meetings to which they could send speakers who could speak for the candidates, or by having literature distributed through its campaign workers for the committees.

Although the committees of the 6th district congressional nucleus cooperated with the county committee, they were quite independent from the county committee. The campaign workers of the additional organizational efforts were not integrated into the county committee's efforts.⁴ The additional organizational activities of the 6th district congressional nucleus reflects the variation of its

²Special Telephone Instructions, Ingham County Republican Committee Files.

³Question 37. Were there any Romney Volunteers that helped?

⁴Respondent, 61.

constituency from the constituencies of the other competitive nuclei. The independence of the additional organizational activities also is affected by the existence of factionalism in one of the counties of the constituency. The problem created is how to receive the assistance of the faction in the county without alienating any of the factions. In meeting this situation an independent organizational effort is developed around the attempt to capture the congressional office which cooperates with the factions without committing the nucleus to any one faction.⁵ The efforts of the nucleus are coordinated into one organizational attempt that spans the three counties of the congressional nucleus.

The chairmen as a group were less concerned about providing activities that were directed toward the success of the candidates for the offices in the one-party constituencies, than they were concerned about providing activities directed toward the candidates for the offices in the competitive constituencies. Direct organizational activities directed toward the attempts to capture the offices in the one-party constituencies were rather dormant, since the candidates for these offices did not establish separate organizational activities.⁶ Rather the attempts to capture the offices in the one-party constituencies relied upon the

⁵ Respondent, 62.

⁶ Ibid.

activities focused upon the attempts to capture the offices in the competitive constituencies.

The environmental conditions of the voters and the campaign workers affects the type of organizational activities carried on at the precinct level. The type of campaigning carried on amounts to simply contacting the voters on an ad hoc basis, in identifying their party preference, and other get out the vote measures. The campaign was carried on by the chairmen mainly on a part time basis⁷ beginning at various points in time during the two months before the election day.⁸

The ad hoc get out the vote activities is evidently adapted to the environmental conditions of the voters and the campaign workers. The city generally lacks the demographic conditions which are conducive to the existence of the campaign worker who is a friend in need. The small proportion of foreign born and Negro residents as well as the mobility and general prosperity of the population are

⁷The respondents were asked in question 33, is the precinct chairmanship a full time, a half time, or a part time job during the campaign? They answered in the following proportions: full time 0.00%, half time 9.80%, and part time 90.20%.

⁸The chairmen in question 33a were asked, when does it (the precinct chairmanship) require the most time? Their answers were grouped into the following periods of time beginning: two months 17.64%, one week before the final day for registration and one week before the election day 7.84%, one month 23.52%, three weeks 7.84%, two weeks 23.52%, and one week 13.72%.

factors which would decrease the likelihood of developing stable patterns and relationships between the campaign worker and the voter. The rate of turnover among the campaign workers⁹ also decreases the probability of friendship ties developing between the voter and the worker. The campaign takes form in the context of the commitment of the workers in other personal relationships: their families, their occupations, their voluntary organizational memberships. The campaign workers are volunteers, and as one said, "you do as much as you want."¹⁰ As volunteers involved in other social relationships, the party leaders often have difficulty in getting them to do what they desire.¹¹ The county committee in recognition of the commitment of the campaign workers attempts to have the activities divided among the chairmen and the precinct workers.

Table 30 indicates the type and scope of activities carried on at the precinct level during the 1962

⁹I have already dealt with the scope of turnover among the precinct chairmen, similarly there is a high degree of turnover among the precinct workers. The precinct chairmen were asked in question 36, would you say that precinct workers work from election to election or do they drop out? The proportions of their responses were the following: the precinct workers will drop out 33.32%, one half will continue to participate and one half will not continue to participate 17.64%, they will work from election to election 29.4%, I do not know 11.76%, and N.A.'s amounted to 7.84% of the total.

¹⁰Respondent, 11.

¹¹Respondents, 61 and 85.

campaign.¹² These activities were performed by the precinct chairmen and other campaign workers. The table also contains a ranking of the campaign activities by a panel of judges. The panel of judges consisted of ward and county party officials. They were asked to rank the value of each of the activities as compared to the other activities on a ten point scale. The variations in the voter identification activity were ranked on a separate scale.

Emphasis was placed upon voter identification activities during the campaign. The registration laws in Michigan do not require the voters to identify their party preference, therefore the campaign workers spend a good deal of their time identifying the party preferences of the voters. One party official estimated that voter identification activities took about 85% of the time of the campaign workers.¹³ A higher proportion (86.24%) of the respondents stated that telephone canvassing was carried on in their precincts than was the case with door to door canvassing (41.16%) in order to identify the voters' party preference. On the other hand door to door canvassing was given a higher ranking by the panel of judges (9.9%), than was telephone canvassing (7.5%). One of the judges explained that door to door canvassing was

¹²Daniel Katz and Samuel J. Eldersveld, "The Impact of Local Party Activity Upon the Electorate," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Spring, 1961), p. 5. The questions on activities were adapted from questions in their article.

¹³Respondent, 70.

Table 30. Activities at the precinct level.

Q.	Chairmen	Yes	No	Total Percentage	N	Panel Average Score
Q. 32.	Some precincts because of their make-up require certain types of work, while other kinds of work are not necessary. Did you or your workers find it necessary to carry on the following activities in the fall campaign?					
Q. 38.	Are precinct workers eager to get together to talk over the campaign?					
Q. 32d.	Did you find it necessary to contact the voters by phone before election day?	86.24%	13.66%	100%	51	7.5
Q. 32j.	Did you find it necessary to carry on door to door canvassing?	41.16%	58.80%	100%	51	9.9
Q. 32b.	Did you find it necessary to keep a file on the voters?	94.08%	5.88%	100%	51	9.9
Percentage of voters in the precinct whose party preference was identified						
	Identified less than 20% of the voter	17.64%		9		2.5
	Identified 21-40% of the voters	9.80%		5		4.3
	Identified 41-60% of the voters	15.68%		8		6.3

	Identified 61-80% of the voters	17.64%	9	8.5
	Identified more than 81% of the voters	25.48%	13	9.9
	N.A.	13.72%	7	
	Total Percentage	100.00%	51	
Q. 32a.	Did you find it necessary to get the voters registered?	54.88%	45.11%	100%
Q. 38.	Are precinct workers eager to get together to talk over the campaign?	17.64%	82.36%	100%
Q. 32e.	How about a coffee?	32.28%	67.62%	100%
Q. 32h.	How about selling tickets to the Romney Rally?	19.60%	80.36%	100%
Q. 32i.	What about taking part in the "Neighbor to Neighbor" campaign?	13.72%	86.24%	100%
Q. 32f.	Was any literature distributed?	80.36%	19.60%	100%
Q. 32g.	Did you find it necessary to drive the voters to the polls on election day?	41.16%	58.80%	100%
Q. 32k.	Did you call the voters on election day?	74.48%	25.48%	100%

^aMost of this data was obtained from the County Committee files. Some of the data was gathered by phone from the chairmen.

theoretically preferred, since the campaign worker can selectively distribute literature in this manner.¹⁴ During the campaign the judges encouraged telephone canvassing because the workers could identify more voters in a shorter period of time than they could with door to door canvassing.¹⁵ They felt the workers would mainly campaign in the few weeks before election day, and by telephoning the voters the workers could most effectively utilize their time. One judge also said that telephoning was encouraged, because the woman workers found it more convenient to canvass in this manner.¹⁶

A number of the chairmen stated that they did not try to sell the Republican message at the precinct level.¹⁷ The campaign workers were encouraged not to disagree with the voter and to move along quickly.¹⁸ If the contact with the voter is for a few minutes, the voter is less likely to be disturbed by the infringement upon his privacy. Campaign workers in both parties reported that some voters expressed displeasure at being contacted by the parties.¹⁹ The county

¹⁴ Respondent, 73.

¹⁵ Respondents, 61, 70, 71, 73.

¹⁶ Respondent, 71.

¹⁷ Respondents, 24, 25, 36, 39, 43, 46, 51.

¹⁸ Special Telephone Instructions, Ingham County Republican Committee files.

¹⁹ Respondents, 26, 85, 86.

committee seems to have concluded that the rather indirect and quick method of identifying the voter's party preference is most sensible in context of the degree of turnover among the campaign workers and the mobility of the voters. The factors of turnover and mobility decrease the likelihood of a stable pattern of relationships or personal friendships with the voters.

Table 30 also shows the high percentage of the respondents (94.08%) who maintained a file on the voters. The judges gave this activity a 9.9 score. In this manner the organization is able to maintain its memory function.²⁰ The filed information obtained in activities in one campaign can be passed on to the chairmen for the next campaign.²¹ The fluid nature of the campaign workers and the voters evidently necessitates emphasis being placed on the performance of this clerical service. In an area where the voters and precinct leaders are in a more stable situation, such clerical services might not be as highly emphasized. The performance of the memory function in such a situation might be maintained in the recollection capacity of the precinct leader.

The percentage of voters identified varied from precinct to precinct. The initial identification of the

²⁰Schlesinger, p. 25.

²¹Respondent, 71.

voter would not have necessarily occurred in the 1962 campaign. The availability of the memory function allows for the passage of activities from former campaigns.

Table 30 indicates that 54.88% of the respondents reported registration activity in their precincts. The registration activity was given a ranking of 5.2 by the judges. The value placed on the registration activity is possibly based on a number of assumptions expressed by the judges. In the first place, the percentage of registrants is fairly high in the city.²² It was assumed by one judge that the Democratic Party carried on an effective registration campaign.²³ This assumption was supported by my investigation.²⁴ It was mentioned by another judge that Republicans do not emphasize registration activity because the campaign workers mainly participate in the few weeks just prior to the election day.²⁵ This would be after the registration period.

Relatively few (17.64%) of the respondents brought their precinct workers together. The judges gave this activity a 5.5 score. A more common method of communication was via the telephone or a short personal visit. I find a higher percentage of the respondents (32.28%) stating that

²²Respondent, 73.

²³Respondent, 61.

²⁴Respondent, 76.

²⁵Respondent, 70.

coffees were held in their precincts. The coffee was an attempt to bring together potential voters. The judges gave coffees a 2.2 ranking. The value of coffees are a source of discord in the organization. Somebody must have wanted them for there were certainly many, but their value was questioned. The energy utilized in providing them is possibly greater than the results received from them. The difficulty created is that coffees utilize talent that could possibly have been used for other functions.²⁶ The county candidates or their representatives in attending the coffees can associate their candidacy with their counter-part on the state-wide ticket.²⁷ The smaller coffees attract mainly Republicans, while few outsiders attend.²⁸ Some utility can be derived from these in the sense that they can act as "pep rallies" for campaign workers.²⁹ The larger coffees where participants from the state-wide nuclei can be brought in, do attract a greater scope of individuals. In this manner the organization can supply itself with "new blood."³⁰

²⁶ Respondent, 61.

²⁷ Respondents, 62, 71.

²⁸ Respondent, 61.

²⁹ Respondent, 6.

³⁰ Respondent, 61.

The solicitation of financial donations through the precinct chairmen was quite low.³¹ Nearly twenty per cent (19.60%) of the respondents mentioned that Romeny Rally tickets were sold. The judges gave this activity a 2.2 score. The Romeny Rally was held in August, which was before many of the chairmen were appointed. The selling of these tickets was not a ward function,³² rather the tickets were sold on an individual basis.

Another method in soliciting donations was the "Neighbor to Neighbor" campaign. A campaign worker would attempt to solicit financial donations from voters in the precinct. The judges gave this activity a 3.5 score. Table 30 indicates that 13.72% of the respondents mentioned that an attempt was made to solicit such donations in their precincts. A few of the respondents who took part in the "Neighbor to Neighbor" campaign, were scattered throughout the city. The remaining respondents were clustered in one area. The solicitation of these donations in one area, I am told, was the result of the encouragement by one ward leader.³³

³¹ Respondents 54, 55, 56, 57. In a pre-test in East Lansing one respondent mentioned that tickets to the Romney Rally were sold. Three of the respondents mentioned that the "Neighbor to Neighbor" campaign was carried on in their precincts.

³² Respondent, 71.

³³ Respondents 61, 77.

The Republican organization evidently mainly solicits financial donations through other channels.³⁴ Republicans, I am told, have financial means,³⁵ but financial donations are hard to come by.³⁶ The difficulty evidently is utilizing their potential expertise in soliciting financial donations.³⁷

As the election day neared the chairmen could prepare for the final set of activities. Literature which could have been handed out in door to door canvassing could have been passed out on the Saturday before the election day.³⁸ This often provided an opportunity for the younger generation to participate. As indicated in Table 30 many (80.36%) of the respondents reported that literature was passed out in their precincts. Literature was given a score of 7.2 by the panel of judges. The literature distribution activity is a vital part of the campaign, if it is selectively distributed.³⁹ The difficulty is that it often winds up in the wrong places, that is, in possession of Democrats.⁴⁰

³⁴ Respondents 9, 51. These respondents reported that they take part in the "Dollar a Month Club" drive; how prevalent this was with other respondents was not established.

³⁵ Respondent, 70.

³⁶ Respondent, 73.

³⁷ Respondent, 61.

³⁸ Respondents, 61, 70.

³⁹ Respondent, 70.

⁴⁰ Respondent, 61.

The precinct chairmen could offer to the voters a ride to the polling place on election day. Table 30 demonstrates 41.16% of the respondents provided rides for voters. The percentage is fairly high, however, I think the value is better reflected in the score (3.0) assigned the activity by the panel of judges. As one judge said "we shame a few Republicans into voting by providing them with a ride."⁴¹ It seems to me, on the basis of side comments on the interview schedules, that the actual number of rides was not very high.

Lastly, a most important activity (9.5) was calling of the voters on election day. Table 30 demonstrates that 75.48% of the respondents stated that such calls were made in their precincts. Even though this is a vital activity, it often was not performed due to broken promises. Challengers were to keep a list of the voters who had voted during the day. At a certain period during the day, voters who had not voted could be called and reminded to vote. Some challengers would promise repeatedly to appear at the polls, but somehow failed to do so.

I have discussed in the previous section the type and scope of activities at the precinct level. However I have not as yet dealt with the analysis of the variation in activities within the precincts. The problem I am concerned

⁴¹Respondent, 70.

about is whether the Republican Party can maximize the effect of its activities at the precinct level. That is, it is the variation in the amount of activities at the precinct level related to the number of Republican voters in the precinct.⁴² Secondly, I shall be concerned about the conditions under which the variation in activities occur; whether the variation in activities is related to the number of workers within the precinct.

I have utilized the values assigned to the various activities by the panel of judges in constructing a scale of the variations in the amount of activities among the precincts. In constructing a scale score for each of the precincts the positive responses of the respondents except for the voter identification activity were assigned the value for the activity as decided by the panel of judges. In the case of the voter identification activity the value of the percentage of the voters that were identified was multiplied by the value of the telephoning, or door to door canvassing activity. The preference was given to the telephoning value, since it was the more common method of identifying the voters. For example, if 50% of the voters were identified in the precinct, the value (6.3) for this percentage was multiplied by the value for telephoning (7.5). To this total (47.25) was added the value for door to door

⁴²The number of individuals who voted for the Republican gubernatorial candidate in the 1962 general election was used.

canvassing (9.9). Then if the chairmen reported a registration activity 5.2 was added to the total, and if the chairmen stated that tickets were sold to the Romney Rally 2.2 was added to the total, etcetera. The various sets of data that were needed in order to establish an activity score were available for 44 out of the 51 precincts. The scores for the precincts ranged from 11.1 to 125.8 points. They were placed into high activity (125.8 - 96.0) precincts, medium activity (95.9 - 50) precincts, and low activity (49.9 - 11.1) precincts.

Table 31 indicates the variation in activities as related to the number of voters in the precincts. The table demonstrates that the party is generally able to maximize its activities at the precinct level. Nearly three-fourths (74.97%) of the low activity precinct organizations are in precincts where the party has the least number (299 or less) of votes. On the other hand better than three-fourths (78.54%) of the medium activity precinct organizations exist in precincts where there are 300 or more Republican voters. However, the high activity precinct organizations are distributed rather evenly between those of 299 or less Republican voters and those 300 or more Republican voters. The table demonstrates that 44.40% of the high precinct organizations exist in precincts of 299 or less Republican voters, while 55.50% exist in precincts of 300 or more Republican voters.

Table 31. The variation in activities as related to the number of Republican voters in the precinct.

Number of Republican Voters	Variation in Activities					
	High	N	Medium	N	Low	N
Less than 299	44.40%	(8)	21.42%	(3)	74.97%	(9)
300-399	22.20%	(4)	42.84%	(6)	16.66%	(2)
400 or More	33.30%	(6)	35.70%	(5)	8.33%	(1)
	100%	(18)	100%	(14)	100%	(12)

Secondly, I am concerned with whether the variation in activities is related to the number of workers in the precinct. Table 32 demonstrates that 80% of the low activity precinct organizations had 0-7 workers. However, 41.65% of the medium activity precinct organizations operated with 0-7 workers. The medium activity precinct organizations are not as related to the number of workers as the low activity precinct organizations. On the other hand the high activity precinct organizations are more related to the number of workers. The table indicates that they can exist with 0-7 workers (29.40%) while 17.64% of them had 8-12 workers and 52.92% had 13 or more workers. The extremes in the number of workers do indicate the number of workers is related to the variations in activities; however, a large number of

workers is not always necessary to produce a good proportion of activities.

Table 32. Variation in activities as related to the number of workers in the precinct.

Q. 39a. How many precinct workers did you finally have?						
Variation in the Number of Precinct Workers	Variation in Activities					
	High	N	Medium	N	Low	N
0-7	29.40%	5	41.65%	5	80.00%	8
8-12	17.64%	3	33.32%	4	10.00%	1
13 or More	52.92%	9	24.99%	3	10.00%	1
Total Percentage	100%	17	100%	12	100%	10

I have just discussed the activities of the precinct chairmen during a campaign, and now I shall focus the discussion on the activities of the chairmen in the lull between campaigns. I have indicated before that the environmental conditions of the voters and the campaign workers decrease the likelihood of a stable relationship developing among the chairmen and the voters. There is, however, some relationship between the chairmen and the voters in the lull between campaigns. About one fifth (19.60%)⁴³ of the

⁴³ Question 43. In the lull between campaigns is there much of an opportunity to see the voters?

respondents mentioned that they see the voters between campaigns. The elaborations of some of the respondents indicated that these contacts were more of a social than of a political nature. One stated that he would introduce himself as a neighbor when someone moved into the precinct, and later the party contact was made. Others stated that they always talked about political events, or were involved in local improvement projects.

A smaller percentage (7.84%) mentioned that someone had come to them for some sort of aid in the last month.⁴⁴ A few mentioned that the requests would center on how to vote in an upcoming election. On the whole the chairmen do not perform services for the voters. Their attitudes towards performing services was possibly best expressed by one chairman who stated concerning a request to have a street light fixed, "I received one of those crazy calls; the caller must have had me confused with Alderman _____."⁴⁵ With so many different individuals carrying on the campaign in the precinct the possibility is decreased that many voters even know who their precinct chairman is. One Party leader suggested that only about 10% of the voters know who is their chairman.⁴⁶ Another factor decreasing the likelihood

⁴⁴Question 44. Have there been many in the last month that have come to you for some sort of aid?

⁴⁵Respondent, 28.

⁴⁶Respondent, 64.

of the chairmen carrying on services for the voters is the fact that party leaders do not consider it to be necessary.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Respondents, 61, 64.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this discussion I have focused upon the cooperative efforts at the precinct level among the attempts to capture elective offices. The attempts to capture elective offices were drawn together in cooperative efforts in varying degrees in a multi-nuclear organization. However, within this cluster of nuclear attempts some nuclei were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts than were other nuclei. A prime condition which generated closely cooperative efforts among the attempts to capture elective offices was the competitive condition of the nuclei. The nuclei in the competitive constituencies were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts at the precinct level, while the nuclei in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts at the precinct level with one another or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies. Although the competitive condition of nuclei in competitive constituencies generated closely cooperative efforts among the nuclei, variations in their constituency condition did give rise to additional independent organizational efforts.

The findings support the major proposition of the study. Although variations in constituencies among the nuclei in competitive constituencies (gubernatorial, congressional) did give rise to additional independent organizational efforts at the precinct level; the nuclei in the competitive constituencies (state-wide, congressional) were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts at the precinct level with each other, while the nuclei in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts at the precinct level with each other or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies in a segment of their constituencies the nuclei shared in common.

In order to establish a basis for the acceptance or the rejection of the major proposition of the study, I posed the first objective of the study. The first objective was to establish indicators of the cooperative efforts among the attempts to elect candidates to elective offices through four aspects of party organization at the precinct level.

Indicators of how the attempts to capture the offices in the competitive constituencies were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts were established through the four aspects of party organization at the precinct level. Although the county committee tried to recruit individuals who would serve as precinct chairmen of all the candidates, the recruitment process met essentially the greater need for assistance of the competitive constituencies. The attempts

to capture the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts than the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies through a common recruitment process carried on by the county committee.

The closely cooperative efforts among the competitive nuclei in the county committee's recruitment process was reflected through the predominance of younger age groups among the ranks of the precinct chairmen. In this campaign as well as in others younger age groups are predominant among nuclear attempts that focus upon the national and state-wide offices.

The attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies were more closely drawn into cooperative efforts, than were the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies through the incentive complex provided the chairmen and the activities of the chairmen. The incentive complex took form more around the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies, than around the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies. The chairmen as a group were more concerned about becoming part of the cooperative efforts engaged in directing activities toward the capture of the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies, than they were concerned about becoming part of the cooperative efforts engaged in directing activities

toward the capture of the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies.

Although the condition of the nuclei in the competitive constituencies generated closely cooperative efforts among these nuclei, committees were established in Lansing to aid the gubernatorial and congressional candidates. This is a reflection of a common practice of committees being formed around the attempts to capture particular offices. Although nuclei are appealing to voters in the same constituency as in the case of the gubernatorial and state-wide congressional nuclei, separate committees can be formed around each attempt. The county committee cooperated with both of these committees, however, it placed more emphasis upon the gubernatorial office. The Romney Volunteers the committee which aided the gubernatorial candidate worked particularly closely with the county committee.

Although the attempt to capture the 6th district congressional office was closely drawn into cooperative efforts with the other competitive nuclei through the efforts of the precinct chairmen, the additional organizational efforts directed toward the capture of this office were quite independent from the efforts of the precinct chairmen and the other committees. Although this nucleus was in a competitive constituency like the other competitive nuclei, the variation of its constituency from the constituencies of the

other competitive nuclei was a condition which gave rise to these additional independent organizational efforts.

Indicators of how the attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts with each other or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies were established through the four aspects of party organization at the precinct level. The recruitment process was carried on mainly by the appointed officials of the county committee with limited cooperation from the candidates for the offices in the one-party constituencies. The candidates did not pass over to the county committee a list of their workers in the primaries, or did the county office holders generally encourage the employees in their offices to become precinct chairmen.

The social origins of the chairmen also reflects how the nuclei in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts with other nuclei at the precinct level. The attempts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies have a greater ability to attract older women into their nuclear attempts, as they often do during primary contests. The relative absence of older women among the ranks of the precinct chairmen reflects how these nuclei were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts with each other or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies.

The chairmen as a group were less concerned about the fates of the nuclei in the one-party constituencies, than they were about the fates of the nuclei in the competitive constituencies. Therefore the incentive complex flowed less from the nuclei in the one-party constituencies than from the nuclei in the competitive constituencies. The chairmen as a group were less concerned about becoming part of the cooperative efforts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies, than they were concerned about becoming part of the cooperative efforts to capture the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies.

As exhibited through the levels of concern of the chairmen the nuclei in the one-party constituencies were less closely drawn into cooperative efforts with each other or with the nuclei in the competitive constituencies. The chairmen as a group were less concerned about providing activities that were directed toward the capture of the offices (nuclei) in the one-party constituencies, than they were concerned about providing activities that were directed toward the capture of the offices (nuclei) in the competitive constituencies. Separate organizational efforts were not formed around the attempts to capture these offices, rather they relied upon the activities focused upon the competitive nuclei.

My second objective was to examine the four aspects of party organization at the precinct level in detail. The

findings concerning the four aspects are not unrelated to the cooperative efforts among the nuclei, however, the following findings were not established as indicators of the cooperative efforts among the nuclei.

The recruitment process of the Republican Party in Lansing is affected by its orientation to national and state-wide offices. The success that the party has in recruiting is related to conditions in the larger constituencies. The number of individuals recruited can be affected by such conditions in the larger constituencies as; the levels of offices being contested, the attractiveness of a particular candidate, or the perceived closeness of an election.

The recruitment process is also affected by the long period of success that Republican candidates have had in Ingham County. This success has created a sense of complacency among Republicans, and some Republicans fail to see the need to work for state-wide pluralities.

The recruitment process mainly takes the form of individuals being encouraged to become precinct chairmen. In total 88.24% of the respondents were encouraged to become a precinct chairman, while only 11.76% of the respondents approached the party in becoming a chairman. The county committee relies heavily upon its appointed officials to encourage individuals to become a chairman. The encouragement of individuals to become a chairman by others is aided by the existence of friendship ties among the participants.

The actual recruitment takes form through channels inside the formal party structure as well as through channels outside the formal party structure. Less than half (43.12%) of the respondents expressed an interest in becoming a chairman through channels inside the formal party structure, while a third (33.32%) expressed an interest through channels outside the formal party structure.

As a result of a high turnover among the ranks of the chairmen, there was a rapid acceleration of most (88.28%) of the respondents from other levels of involvement into the chairmanship. Furthermore, the extent of their involvement in previous participation measured in terms of their previous activities and their period of apprenticeship was not very high.

The success in recruiting is related to the socio-economic composition of the precinct. The higher success in recruiting was related positively to precincts which had a higher socio-economic composition. This was established in the recruitment of precinct chairmen and precinct workers during the 1962 campaign as well as in the recruitment of participants from the 1958 through the 1960 period.

The county committee recruited disproportionately from the social strata of the community. Compared to the city as a whole the chairmen were from the higher social strata and younger age groups. A high proportion of the chairmen were from the following social strata; college

educated, white collar occupations (or their husbands), and higher income families. Also a higher proportion of the chairmen were from the younger age groups than from the other age groups. Although less than half of the chairmen were women, the majority of the precinct workers were women.

In a comparison of the socio-economic scores of the chairmen and the residents of the precincts it was established that with only two exceptions the chairmen had higher socio-economic scores than the residents of the precinct. The overrepresentation of the respondents from the upper third of the chairmen's socio-economic scale was reflected in the increasing divergence of the difference between the scores of the chairmen and the residents of the precincts.

Although the party leaders were aware of the narrowness of the segment of the social structure they mainly drew upon, they did not attempt to recruit individuals whose social origins were similar to those of the residents of the precincts. The type of campaigning carried on does not necessitate such criteria.

The chairmen are volunteers involved in other social relations: their occupations, their families, and their voluntary organizations. Involvement in each of these social relations can compete for the time that can be devoted to campaign work, however the discussion focused upon how involvement in voluntary organizations competed for the time the chairmen could devote to campaign activity. The

variation in the amount of time these organizations took during the campaign is not highly related to the number of organizations to which the respondents were members; however there is a positive relationship between those who held leadership positions in these organizations, and those who mentioned that these organizations took a great deal or some time during the campaign. The talents of those who held leadership positions in voluntary organizations might have been more completely utilized in party work, if it were not for the time taken by these organizations. These organizations might be useful to the party, since discussion of politics at meetings of these organizations might increase the respondents interest in politics. However, the rewards received from these organizations as compared to the rewards received from party work possibly minimize the commitment to party work.

The incentive complex which is provided the chairmen results in turnover among the ranks of the chairmen. As was established only 25.48% of the respondents served as chairmen in the previous campaign, while 37.24% of the respondents stated that they would not continue or did not know whether they would continue to participate. The turnover among the ranks of the chairmen is related to the orientation of the incentive complex to the national and state-wide offices. The incentive complex is related to conditions in the larger constituencies, and it is largely outside the control of the

local organization. The conditions in the larger constituencies can result in differences in the amount and nature of the incentive complex from campaign to campaign which can contribute to the turnover among the ranks of the chairmen.

Although a multitude of incentives are provided individuals in return for their activities as chairmen; the incentive complex is more of a intangible nature, than it is of a tangible nature. Such intangible incentives as public issues or a strong sense of party loyalty are far more prevalent, than are tangible incentives such as making business contacts. The largely intangible nature of the incentive complex undoubtedly contributes to the high degree of turnover among the ranks of the chairmen.

Although a high degree of turnover is a consequence of the incentive complex provided the chairmen, the incentive complex does appear to provide a degree of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction which aids in maintaining continued participation. Although the test is not significant at the .05 level, the direction of the relationship is suggestive concerning the proposition that a higher degree of satisfaction and perceived satisfaction is related positively to continued participation. Furthermore, a number of conditions appear to aid in developing continued participation among individuals. One condition is the involvement of individuals in other components of the party. Although the importance of involvement in other components is related to the length

of service and type of component, a higher integration of an individual into the components of the party aids in developing continued participation. The increase in scope of involvement of respondents in party organizational life evidently results in more and different types of incentives which aid in maintaining the organization. Also, aspirations for public office is another condition which aids in developing continued participation. Another factor of significant importance is the variation in the conceptualization processes of the respondents as to the differences seen between the major political parties. This condition gains importance, because of the primacy of issues as an incentive provided chairmen. Some conceptualization processes evidently provide more stability toward continued participation than others. Individuals who conceptualize the positions of the parties as existing on a liberal-conservative continuum on which various of the policy objects might shift relative positions over time are more likely to continue to participate. These individuals can possibly adjust to the different positions of the candidates from campaign to campaign. Respondents who perceive the parties as responding to the interest of different groupings in the population are also more likely to continue. These individuals evidently perceived the Republican candidates maintaining their positions toward the same groupings in the population from campaign to campaign. There was no difference as to the variation in

continued participation concerning those who perceived the parties in terms of the goodness or badness of the times, while those who perceived the parties in moralistic or mud-slinging terms were more likely not to continue.

The environmental conditions of the voters and the campaign workers affects the type of campaigning carried on at the precinct level. The demographic conditions of the voters and the rate of turnover among the campaign workers decreases the likelihood of a stable relationship developing between the voters and the workers. Therefore, the county committee mainly relies upon contacting the voter in an ad hoc manner in identifying their party preferences and other get out the vote measures. The contact with the voter is on the whole during the campaign period with little contact in the lull between campaigns.

This examination of the cooperative efforts among nuclei at the precinct level has resulted in significant results. However, in context of the time, effort, and money this examination required I am rather cautious in suggesting to others comparable research. Rather I think other approaches can be utilized in examining the cooperative efforts among the attempts to capture elective offices.

One approach I am suggesting could examine the cooperative efforts among nuclei from a more encompassing perspective. Such a study would examine the variations in the cooperative efforts among nuclei in context of their

competitive and constituency conditions. It would focus upon the cooperative efforts among national, state-wide, state legislative, and county nuclei along a competitive continuum ranging from one-party minority to one-party dominant in various counties in a state.

The study would focus upon the more integral components of nuclear attempts. It would take the form of interviewing candidates and the immediate members of their nuclei. For example, the campaign managers, the "right hand man," and the immediate representatives in the various counties would be interviewed. Leaders of various committees formed to aid particular attempts would also be interviewed. Furthermore, in order to gain a more integral knowledge of how the various attempts were coordinated interviews would be conducted with party officials at the state, county, city, and township levels.

In interviewing the candidates and the immediate members of the nuclear attempts the following topics would be included: what they did to foster the nuclear attempts, as well as how they solicited cooperation from members of the other nuclear attempts and from party leaders. Party leaders at the state, county, city, and township levels would be questioned about: how they cooperated with the members of the nuclear attempts, as well as toward which offices did they place organizational emphasis. Indicators of the

cooperative efforts among the nuclei would be established dealing with the following topics: campaign oratory, advertising, finances, and campaign workers.

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I am working on the Michigan State University Study on Groups and Leadership. We are interested in the views of Republican precinct chairmen toward their precinct position and politics in general.

Your answers to our questions will be confidential, and your name will not be in any report from the study.

Name _____
Address _____
Ward _____ Precinct _____

First of all, I would like to ask a number of questions about your background.

1. Where were you born? (city, county, state)

2. Would you describe the area as a city, a small town, or a farm area?

A city_____ A small town_____ A farm_____

3. How would you describe the area in which you lived when you were growing up?

A City___ A small town___ A farm___ A combination___

4. About how long have you lived in Lansing?_____

5. About how long have you lived in this precinct?_____

We are interested in finding out at what age people begin to take an interest in politics.

6. What is your earliest recollection of having an interest in politics? (The interviewer should probe for the period in his or her life, childhood, grammar school, etc., and specific instances.)

I'd like to ask you about members of your family or relatives who are active in politics.

7. Are there any members of your family or relatives who are active in politics such as holding an elective office or taking part in party work?

Yes_____ No_____ (If No, go to No. 8)

(If Yes)

a. Does (he or she) hold an elective office?

Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes)

What office is that?

b. How does (he or she) take part in party work?

8. Have there been any members of your family or relatives who were active in politics such as holding an elective office or taking part in party work?

Yes_____ No_____ (If No, go on to No. 9)

(If Yes)

a. Did (he or she) hold an elective office?

Yes_____ No_____ (If No, go on to No. 8b)

(If Yes) What office was that?_____

b. Did (he or she) work for a party? Yes___ No___

(If Yes) How was that?_____

And now I would like to ask a few questions about your parents' interest in politics.

9. Would you say that both of your parents were Democrats, both were Republicans, or that your parents had no consistent partisanship.

Both were Democrats_____

Both were Republicans_____

Both had no consistent partisanship_____

Other_____

10. Would you say that your parents had a great interest, some interest, a casual interest, or no interest in politics?

Great interest_____ Some interest_____

Casual interest_____ No interest_____

11. What was your father's occupation?_____

And now about yourself.

12. Have you always been a Republican?_____

13. How did you decide to be a Republican?_____

14. In your opinion, what important differences do you see between the Democratic party and the Republican party?_____

15. Do you feel that these differences are more clear on the national level than on the state level? (Why is that?)_____

16. In your opinion, are these differences more clear on the state level than on the county level?

17. What is your opinion about this statement? "Politics on the county level is mainly based on personalities."

Agree_____ Disagree_____ Can't Decide_____

18. Were there any particular events, conditions, or persons that stimulated your interest in politics?

19. How long have you been active in politics?_____

(If the (R) states that (he or she) has lived elsewhere.)

20. Have you been active in politics elsewhere in the United States?

Yes_____ No_____

a. (If Yes) where was that?_____

b. In what capacity?_____

21. Have you ever held an elective office on the national, state, county, or local level?

Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes) What office was that?_____

When was that?_____

22. Have you ever ran for an elective office?

Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes) What office was that?_____

When was that?_____

23. Have you ever thought of running for an elective office?

Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes) Very seriously_____ Seriously_____

Somewhat_____

24. Do you hold at the present time another party position such as precinct delegate, state delegate, or as a member of a committee?

Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes) Precinct delegate_____ State delegate_____

Member of a committee_____ Other_____

25. Have you in the past held another party position such as precinct delegate, state delegate, or as a member of a committee?

Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes) Precinct delegate_____ State delegate_____

Member of a committee_____ Other_____

- 25a. Before you became precinct chairman did you help the party in such ways as distributing literature, phoning the voters, or working as a challenger?

Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes) Distributing literature_____ Phoning_____

Challenger_____ Other (specify)_____

26. How long have you been precinct chairman? (If less than one year probe for the month that (he or she) became chairman)

27. Who encouraged you to become a precinct chairman?
(Probe and code)

A friend encouraged me_____

A friend who was a candidate encouraged me_____

A friend who was a party official encouraged
me _____

A candidate encouraged me_____

A party official encouraged me_____

A member of the family encouraged me_____

I approached the party myself_____

Other_____

a. What is (his, her) office in the party?

b. How do you think (he, she) learned that you were
interested?

I am interested in finding out some of the reasons you had
in deciding to become a precinct chairman. I would like you
to look at this card as I read each statement and tell me
how important this factor was in your decision.

28. How important would you say that was in your
decision?

a. Being close to influential people?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

b. Being pressured into the chairmanship?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

c. Concern with public issues?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

d. Making business contacts?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

e. A strong sense of party loyalty?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

f. Furthering political ambitions?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

g. Being a personal friend of a candidate?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

How important would you say that was in your decision?

h. Because no one else would take the chairmanship?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

i. A sense of community obligation?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

j. The fact that politics is a way of life?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

k. The fun and excitement of a campaign?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

l. Making social contacts and friends?

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

Were there any other reasons that were important in your decision to become a precinct chairman?

Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes) What is that

m. _____

Very important_____ Important_____

Not very important_____ Not important_____

29. What do you consider to be the chief responsibilities of a precinct chairman?

(Probe and code)

Organize block workers_____

Fund raising_____

Registration_____

Keep records of party affiliation of voters_____

Canvassing_____

Contacting people by phone_____

30. In a primary, do party workers take a very active part, an active part, a small part, or no part?

Very active_____ Active part_____ Small part_____

No part_____ Don't know_____

Why is that? _____

Has this been true in past years? _____

31. In the last election would you say that all of your efforts were concentrated in your precinct, or did you help out elsewhere?

a. All of your efforts were concentrated in your precinct _____

b. Helped out elsewhere _____

(If b) How was that? _____

32. Some precincts because of their make-up require certain types of work, while other kinds of work are not necessary. Did you or your workers find it necessary to carry on the following activities in the fall campaign.

a. Did you find it necessary to get voters registered?

Yes _____ No _____

b. Did you find it necessary to keep a file on the voters?

Yes _____ No _____

c. (If Yes) Would this file be used to keep a record of the party affiliations of the voters?

Yes _____ No _____

- d. Did you find it necessary to contact the voters by phone before election day?

Yes_____ No_____

- e. How about a coffee?

Yes_____ No_____

- f. Was any literature distributed?

Yes_____ No_____

- g. Did you find it necessary to drive the voters to the polls on election day?

Yes_____ No_____

- h. How about selling tickets to the Romney Rally?

Yes_____ No_____

- i. What about taking part in the "Neighbor to Neighbor" campaign? Did you find that necessary?

Yes_____ No_____

- j. Did you find it necessary to carry on door to door canvassing?

Yes_____ No_____

- k. Did you call the voters on election day?

Yes_____ No_____

33. Is a precinct chairmanship a full time, a half time, or a part time job during a campaign?

Full time_____ Half Time_____ Part time_____

- a. When does it require the most time?_____

- b. Generally speaking, how many hours a week of your time would you say that precinct work took during the campaign?

1-3_____ 3-5_____ 5-10_____ 10-15_____ 15-20_____

Other_____ Don't know_____

34. Do many people volunteer to help a campaign (Why is that?)

Yes _____ No _____

35. Did you have to do some recruiting?

Yes _____ No _____

(If Yes) Did you have great difficulty, some difficulty, little difficulty, or no difficulty in recruiting the precinct workers?

Great difficulty _____ Some difficulty _____

Little difficulty _____ No difficulty _____

36. Would you say that precinct workers work from election to election, or do they drop out?

a. Work from election to election (Why is that?)

b. They drop out (Why is that?)

37. Were there any Romney Volunteers that helped?

Yes _____ No _____

38. Are precinct workers eager to get together to talk over the campaign?

Yes _____ No _____

39. Were there enough people interested so that there were workers in all, many, some, or a few of the blocks?

All_____ Many_____ Some_____ Few_____

- 39a. How many precinct workers did you finally have?_____

40. Would you say that precinct workers are all women, mainly women, about half are women, mainly men, all men? (Why is that?)

All women_____ Mainly women_____ About half are
women_____ Mainly men_____ All men_____

41. (If (R) male)

- a. Do you and your wife work as a team in precinct work? Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes) (Probe and code)

Was she a

Great help_____ Some help_____ Little Help_____?

(If No) Why is that?_____

- b. (If (R) female)

Do you and your husband work as a team in precinct work? Yes_____ No_____

(If Yes) (Probe and code)

Was he a

Great help_____ Some help_____ Little help_____?

(If No) Why is that?_____

42. I'm interested in finding out if people in politics know each other on a personal basis. I have a list of people in the party, and would like you to tell me if you know them. (The list included county, ward, and precinct party personnel.)

43. In the lull between the campaigns, such as now, do you talk to voters? Yes_____ No_____
44. Have there been many in the last month that have come to you for some form of aid? Yes_____ No_____
- (If Yes) How many? For what reason?_____
- _____
45. We have a city election coming up, have you thought of helping one of the candidates? Yes_____ No_____
- a. (If Yes) Who is that?_____
- _____
- b. What do you think you will be able to do?_____
- _____
- _____
46. Would you be in favor of partisan city elections?
- Yes_____ No_____
- Why is that?_____
47. Do you feel that the non-partisan city election creates a situation favorable for the Republican Party? Yes_____ No_____
- Why is that?_____
- _____
48. Do you have many occasions to contact city officials?
- Yes_____ No_____
- Why is that?_____
49. In your opinion what important issues are there in city government?
- _____
- _____
50. Are there many occasions when you discuss politics with labor officials?_____

51. Are there many occasions when you discuss politics with people in the business world? _____

52. Do you plan to continue as precinct chairman?

Yes _____ No _____

(If Yes) What do you think you would miss if you were not able to continue as precinct chairman? _____

(If No) Why is that? _____

53. What do you feel you have accomplished in being precinct chairman? _____

54. How would you rank the importance of national, state, county, and local issues? Which would you rank first, second, third, and fourth in importance?

National _____ State _____ County _____ Local _____

How would you rank the issues during the 1962 campaign?

National _____ State _____ County _____

55. About which election are you most concerned that your party candidate should win? (rank)

President _____ Governor _____ U.S. Senator _____

U.S. Congressman _____ State Legislator _____

County Courthouse _____

About which election were you most concerned that your party candidate should win during the 1962 campaign? (rank)

Governor _____ U.S. Congressman _____

State Legislator _____ County Courthouse _____

56. Do you belong to such organizations as the P.T.A., the Chamber of Commerce, Church or other service organizations? Yes _____ No _____

(If Yes)

- a. What organizations? _____

- b. Do you hold any offices in these organizations, or are you a member of a committee? _____

- c. Do you feel that these organizations took a great deal, some, or little of your time during the campaign.

Great deal _____ Some _____ Little _____

- d. Is there much of an opportunity to discuss public affairs at meetings of these organizations? _____

- e. Do you find that activities in these organizations are more rewarding, about the same, or less rewarding than party work?

More rewarding _____ About the same _____ Less
rewarding _____

57. What is your age? _____

58. Are you: Single _____ Married _____ Separated _____

Divorced _____ Widow _____ Widower _____

59. Do you have any children? Yes _____ No _____

How many? _____ (If Yes) What are their ages? _____

60. Would you mind telling me your religious preference?

Protestant _____ What denomination is that? _____

Catholic _____ Jewish _____ Other _____

61. What type of work do you do, I mean what is your occupation?_____

62. Would you mind telling me a bit about your education?

Grammar school_____

Some high school_____

High school_____

Business or technical school_____

Some college_____

College_____

Graduate training_____

63. Would you mind telling me into which of the following categories your total family income would fall?

Under \$1,000 _____

\$2,000 to 2,999 _____

\$3,000 to 3,999 _____

\$4,000 to 4,999 _____

\$5,000 to 5,999 _____

\$6,000 to 6,999 _____

\$7,000 to 7,999 _____

\$8,000 to 8,999 _____

\$9,000 to 9,999 _____

\$10,000 to 14,999 _____

\$15,000 to 24,999 _____

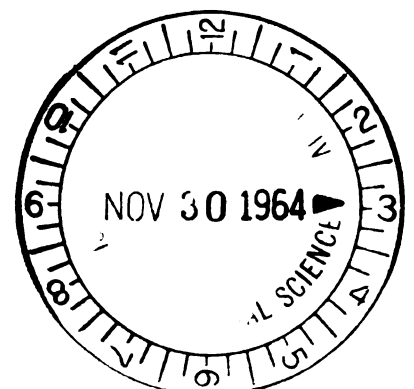
\$25,000 and over _____

64. Sex: Male_____ Female_____ (by observation)

Race: White_____ Negro_____ (by observation)

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