THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL PARTY AND ITS PARTICIPANTS IN THE COMMUNITY: AN EXPLORATORY FIELD STUDY

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Inventory

The purpose of this study is to analyze and explain the behavior of the precinct committeemen and committeewomen of both political parties in a city of 12,000 population in the Pacific Northwest. The city can be characterized as a workingman's community in a larger metropolitan area of some 50,000 population. Close observation of the committeemen was carried on for a full year, during which period both parties underwent a process of complete reorganization in their efforts to win an important election.

Before investigating the role of the political party and its participants in Milltown,[1] it will be fruitful briefly to cover the mass of literature that has been accumulated concerning political parties in order to determine in perspective where this study belongs in relation to previous work. The political party as a topic of study and discussion did not appear

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[1] The community under investigation will be designated as Milltown throughout this study. All other names and places in this study likewise have been changed in order not to reveal the identities of those people who have been so generous with their time and confidence.

until the turn of the twentieth century. Before this period

> David Hume wrote two interesting short essays on parties. . . but he was content merely to deplore the portentous phenomenon, and generally, until near the end of the nineteenth century, the treatment of parties by writers of government was casual, curt, and rather derogatory.[1]

Edmund Burke formulated the classic definition of a political party as "a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed."[2]

This general lack of concern about political parties prior to the twentieth century indicates their relative newness to the scene. There were factions rather than parties as such in the earlier Greek and Roman times, but there was no party system prior to the English seventeenth-century approaches to political parties. The first clear development came in the eighteenth century, "and it was not until the nineteenth century that the party systems took their characteristic forms."[3] It is with the growth of popular government in the western world that the party system has developed.

Political party theory and literature at the turn of the twentieth century reflected the general condition and interest that prevailed in much of political science. Generally, those in the field of political science focused

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[1] R. M. MacIver, The Web of Government (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1952), p. 208-9.

[2] George H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1937), p. 611.

[3] MacIver, op. cit., p. 209.

most of their attention on the "state," which they considered and studied as a social entity. They studied the origin, theory and form of the "state." They classified the states in general terms and were not concerned with the dynamics of causation.

About the turn of the twentieth century there ensued a crude empirical reaction from the theoretical speculation, which resulted in a burst of enthusiasm for going out and gathering facts in the real world. Students described and reported on contemporary politics, developing such topics as party organization and structure, campaigns, conventions and caucuses and multi-party systems.

In their travels through America, such foreign writers as Bryce[1] and De Tocqueville[2] reported on the political system, including the aspects of corruption, election frauds, the political machines and the spoils of American democracy. Charles Dickens, who traveled about the same time as De Tocqueville in the 1840's, noted:

> Another prominent feature is the love of "smart" dealing: which gilds over many a swindle and gross breach of trust; many a defalcation, public and private; and enables many a knave to hold his head up with the best, who well deserves a halter; though it has not been without its retributive operation, for this smartness has done more in a few years to impair the public credit, and to cripple the public resources, than dull honesty, however rash, could have effected in a century.[3]

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[1] James Bryce, The American Commonwealth (New York: The Commonwealth Publishing Co., 1908).

[2] Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1954).

[3] Charles Dickens, American Notes (Bloomsbury, England: The Nonesuch Press, 1938), p. 243.

As the reform movement took shape in the United States, such topics as political corruption, machine politics, ballots and ballot reform and direct legislation were reported on.[1] With the growth of a large and complex society, pressure groups, party finances and public opinion became the foci of attention.

Most, if not all, political party discussion and study has been devoted to the role of the party in national and state legislative and administrative matters. It has centered about internal party structure and organization and generally has been concerned with the "extra-legal" character of the party in the democratic process. V. O. Key[2] has been chosen as representative of those currently writing on the subject of political parties and his theories are developed briefly concerning the role of the party in a democratic society, the nature of party organization and the role of the grass-roots leaders of the party.

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[1] The reform of American politics was reported by such commentators as Lester F. Ward, the pioneer in American sociology, who expressed his feelings against the role of parties and politicians by saying no man needs a political party to tell him when he is hungry. See Samuel Chugerman, Lester Ward, The American Aristotle (Durham: Duke University Press, 1939).

Just after the turn of the twentieth century a literary criticism was developed which attempted to portray a more realistic picture of the economic and political conditions in the United States. Most notable of these were the "muckrakers" led by journalist Lincoln Steffens. See Lincoln Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931).

[2] V. O. Key, Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1948), chapters 8 and 10.

Role of the Political Party in a Democratic Society

According to Key, the government derives its strength from the support or acquiescence of a combination of powerful elements in society. In democratic regimes there is the right to compete for control of the government by peaceful appeal to the electorate, as well as the right to seek to influence the temporary holders of power. Both pressure groups and political parties play an important part, since they are both concerned with the personnel and the policies of government. It is inevitable that cabels and cliques will develop outside the government to perform the functions of leadership selection and policy formation. In order to understand the nature of a political party, it is necessary to give attention to the inner core of organization which is not particularly concerned with matters of doctrine or even of principle, except as they bear upon the cause for their existence--success at the polls. Real power rests with a small compact body of men who formulate appeals, direct campaigns, discuss in advance and decide the nature of the program to be submitted to the voter.

Party Organization. The party bureaucracy carries on its affairs without a high degree of control by the mass of party membership. As in most ventures, when it takes one man to accomplish a task, the problem of organization arises. What will be the relationships between the superior officers and their subordinates? What will be the lines of authority and responsibility? The party is built around the divisions of the county for electoral purposes. The unit cell of the organism is the precinct committeeman, next up the ladder is the district (or area) leader, then come the county and state committees

and chairmen. At the apex of the party pyramid is the national committee. This structure, however, is not necessarily followed in practice. Patronage is an important factor in building up lines of command and maintaining internal cohesion and discipline. The lines of control do not run directly from each individual to his state or city leader. The organization tends to build informal clusters of personal loyalties about nuclear individuals, who in turn are bound to high persons by materialistic ties eventuating in a more or less rigid control of the whole by a few individuals at the top. The upshot of all this is that the persons who control the patronage have a highly organized and well-disciplined army of voters and campaigners ready to go into any campaign and wield a powerful influence. However, the ambitions of the more lowly within the party offer a continuous challenge to the powerful.

Role of the Precinct Committeeman. Key continues with his description of the precinct worker. In the mustering and disciplining of the vote, the chief worker is the precinct committeeman, whose labors are led and directed by the higher party officials. The precinct committeeman is the actual connecting link, the only man in the machine, who has any point of direct contact with the voters, who knows anything about them, who has any real influence with them. The precinct committeeman is the backbone of the political machine. When he is getting out the vote, he can begin with his own vote and those of his relatives and his personal friends. He can usually designate two or three election officials, thus annexing their votes. He can usually select the quarters to be rented for the polling place and pick up additional support. On election day he hires watchers, runners and other helpers to get out the vote. With each accession to his pay roll, a vote or two or more is added

to his little bloc. The precinct committeeman works throughout the year and adds to his strength by continuous service to the people in his precinct. In the poorer neighborhoods he is likely to become a sort of social agency, distributing food to the needy and from time to time paying rents and furnishing coal. In addition to performing such services, he acts as a buffer between governmental agencies and the voters, he steers aliens through the naturalization process, he aids in obtaining governmental employment, as well as private employment, for the people in his precinct. He makes contacts with public social agencies; he may see the judge and attempt to temper justice with mercy. The precinct committeeman knows the ropes. In any large city he can deliver 60 to 100 votes in any direction.

Lately, however, the emergence of the voting masses into political consciousness has changed the situation. Thousands of workers are now traveling the sidewalks in their precincts, doing favors, getting acquainted with the voters, reminding them to go to the polls on primary and election days, distributing literature and doing all the errands and odd jobs that are the lot of a private in the political army. On the whole, this kind of work appeals to those who want political jobs and to those who want to advance their private interests, law practices and other business in the process. The skills necessary to perform these party tasks are the same as those required for great popular leadership.

In bringing this brief survey up to date it is important to notice the current trend of research and study of political science in general and of political parties in particular. The most significant and most

challenging movement influencing political science today is the behavioral approach

> which is distinguished by its attempt to describe government as a process made up of the actions and interactions of men and groups of men. It is concerned, at the minimum—as is all political science—with the activities of governments, political parties, interest groups, and voters. The study of political behavior attempts to discover the extent and nature of uniformities in the actual behavior of men and groups of men in the political process.[1]

The behavioralists have redefined the universe for investigation. They attempt to relate people's actions in relation to one another. Arthur Bentley[2] emphasizes that the "raw material" for the study of the process of government consists of the specialized activities of men, the actions of men with and upon each other. John Dewey perceives the importance of human acts when he states, "We must in any case start from acts which are performed, not from hypothetical causes for those acts, and consider their consequences."[3] Lasswell states that

> The choice of these terms as a starting point results from the conception of political science as a branch of the study of human behavior. Central throughout are persons and their acts, not "governments" and "states." Terms like "state," "government," "law,"

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[1] Samuel J. Eldersveld et al, "Research in Political Behavior," American Political Science Review, XLVI (December, 1952), p. 1004.

[2] Arthur F. Bentley, The Process of Government (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908).

[3] John M. Dewey, The Public and Its Problems (Chicago: Gateway Books, 1946), p. 12.

> "power"—all the traditional vocabulary of political science—are words of ambiguous reference until it is clear how they are to be used in describing what people say and do. Of course, human behavior includes "subjectivity" as well as physical motions. "Thinking," "feeling," "willing" and the like are open to direct observation by the self, and may be inferred in others on the basis of words and gestures.[1]

The empirical investigations carried on during the past two decades have been mostly of the general survey method. V. O. Key in his Southern Politics utilizes interviews, statistical treatment of voting records and social and economic data to investigate the basis of the one-party system in the South, its variations from state to state and the stability of Democratic solidarity in Congress.[2] Harold Gosnell in his Machine Politics: Chicago Model employs a variety of social science techniques, including historical exposition and refined statistical analysis of the institutional aspects of political parties in Chicago.[3] Paul Lazarsfeld and others in The People's Choice use the panel method to trace development of opinion in an Ohio county during a presidential election campaign, bringing out the relationship between time of voting decision and pressures converging on the voter.[4] The Voter Decides, by Angus Campbell and others, undertakes

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[1] H. D. Lasswell and A. Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 4.

[2] V. O. Key, Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949).

[3] H. F. Gosnell, Machine Politics: Chicago Model (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

[4] Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

a pilot study for the definitive investigation of voting behavior by developing a scheme or theory for ordering the data on motivation of voters in terms of party identification, candidate orientation and issue orientation.[1]

As Key states in his foreword to The Voter Decides:

> The invention of the sample survey created a powerful new instrument for the observation of the political process. The most obvious applications are in the study of electoral behavior, but in the long run extensions will doubtless be made to many other matters such as those the political philosophers speculate about when they consider "the nature of the state." A great advance of the sampling method consists in the capacity it gives to make inferences about total populations from the characteristics of relatively few cases. Questions of frequency of occurrence, of magnitude, of incidence, become much more manageable. . . By its nature the survey permits the ready pooling of observations made by many men. The analytical techniques adaptable to the data make possible the identification of phenomena and the isolation of relationships otherwise perceptible chiefly by surmise, if indeed at all. The form of survey data facilitates internal checks on the correctness of interpretations as well as corroboration, refutation, or supplementation by other investigators.[2]

While most of the above studies and other recent surveys have focused their attention on public opinion and voter response, some work has been done on the political party and also on the grass-roots party leadership. J. T. Salter in his Boss Rule treats the division leader in biographical form in order to learn "much about the nature of the party organization and politicians."[3] Harold Zink in his article, A Case Study of a Political Boss,

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[1] Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1954).

[2] Ibid., p. ix-x.

[3] J. T. Salter, Boss Rule (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1935), p. 3.

makes an intensive study of a political boss who was prominent as a Ku Klux Klan leader.[1] Leon Weaver's article, Some Soundings in the Party System: Rural Precinct Committeemen, compares socio-economic data which W. E. Mosher had gathered in upper New York with a rural county in southern Illinois.[2] Sonya Forthal in Cogwheels of Democracy writes twenty-five closeups to illustrate "that many party workers appeal for votes not on the basis of the merit of their party candidates, on the basis of sympathy for themselves or the potential services which their party may render locally."[3] She has shown how common was the "bread and butter" argument in Chicago politics of two decades ago. Hugh Bone in his Grass Roots Party Leadership attempts to compare socio-economic data of precinct committeemen of Chicago (1928 and 1936), New York (1932), Philadelphia and rural Illinois with precinct committeemen in Seattle.[4]

While the study and literature in the field has been abundant, it is lacking in several respects with reference to contradictions the writer has observed during the present investigation.

1. The party cannot be considered a social or political entity to be reified. It is made up of individuals with differing notions, ideas or

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[1] Harold Zink, "A Case Study of a Political Boss," Psychiatry, I (1938), p. 527-33.

[2] Leon Weaver, "Some Soundings in the Party System: Rural Precinct Committeemen," American Political Science Review, XXXIV (1940), p. 76-84.

[3] Sonya Forthal, Cogwheels of Democracy (New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1946), p. 10.

[4] Hugh A. Bone, Grass Roots Party Leadership (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1952).

concepts as to their relation to the party, with differing degrees of participation, with differing motivations.

2. Although the "bread and butter" description of politics may have been typical of the larger urban centers in the depression era, it does not hold true in small western communities today.

3. The party literature on political party participants on the local level has been concerned only with their role in the party, whereas this may in most instances be one of the least important roles they play in the community.

The Problem

Generally, in the study of the role of the political party and its participants in the community, the problem becomes one of examining the role or roles of the participants. The participants or precinct committeemen have many roles. The two main areas which will concern us are the committeeman's role in relation to the political party and his role in the community as a result of his party activity. There are other roles that are important and reflect themselves in the participants' political activity: their roles as fathers and mothers, husbands and wives in the family and kinship systems, their roles as employers or employees on the job with work associates, their roles in the religious aspects of their lives and in the recreational aspects of their lives, their leisure time activities, and so on.

In examining the role of the participant in the political party, a whole series of questions take on significance and may prove revealing in the analysis of this role. Who are these individuals who assume the responsibilities

of precinct committeemen and women, what are their demographic characteristics and how do they compare with their counterparts in the opposing party? How were they recruited, what propelled them into the party? How do they perceive of their roles in the party, how do they regard the relationship (or the contest) between their party and the rival party? What functions does the individual committeeman perform, what practices does he manipulate? What values does he pursue? Why has he become the grass-roots leader in his precinct? What results does he anticipate in terms of the resolution of issues and conflicts as a result of his own activity? What set of relationships does he have with various kinds of people in the party as a result of his party position? To what extent is there an appraising function of others--co-workers, counterparts and self--taking part in the political process? What factors may be operating to explain differing degrees of political activity?

In examining the role of the participants as members of the community, a similar series of questions again may be helpful to illustrate and analyze this role. How do they compare in demographic characteristics with other members of the community? What functions do they perform in the community with regard to non-party matters? What sets of relationships do they have with what kinds of people in the community as a result of their party position or exclusive of their party position? What factors may be operating to explain differing degrees of community participation?

The Conceptual Framework

The behavioral approach involves two basic requirements.

> In the first place, it calls for the formulation of concepts, hypotheses, and explanations in systematic terms, borrowing wherever appropriate from other social sciences. Secondly, it depends upon empirical methods of research, whether adapted from other social sciences or developed distinctively, since the actions of men and groups cannot be known except through direct observation or through inference from other behavioral data.[1]

Theory construction becomes a most important and profitable function in the setting-up of a research design, as well as a device for improving the dependability of our knowledge. The conceptual scheme consists of the theories and assumptions which an investigator uses in undertaking an analysis. It serves as a theoretical model to test the relevance of research and it also serves as a generator of working hypotheses which help orient empirical research. It should be noted, however, that there is nothing sacrosanct about the conceptual scheme and that it need not be used for every problem. Its utility is that of describing, explaining and predicting behavior. David Easton lists three reasons why

> a theoretical framework is essential to analysis of the political system. In the first place, through such a theory it would be possible to identify the significant political variables and describe their mutual relations. . . In the second place, not only does theory facilitate comparison of research but it maps out the areas in which additional or new research is badly needed. . . In the third place, theory adds to the reliability of the results of both new and old research in a way impossible without the existence of a relatively consistent body of concepts.[2]

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[1] Eldersveld et al, op. cit., p. 1004.

[2] David Easton, The Political System (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 61-2.

This investigation attempts to focus attention on the role of the political party and of the individual participants as a social process in the community. The concern is with the specifics, the small units--in other words, the individual face-to-face acts and relationships that make up the generalities we commonly discuss as party, community, government. For it is by means of the intensive study of the particulars and by having a manageable research project, where the subject or subjects under study are observable in greater detail, that an empirical *grounding* to such generalities as party and community government takes on significance.

The conceptual scheme attempts to give a wholeness to the behavior of the participants of the party, dealing with them as a pattern of relationships that give evidence of structure, function and process. By way of preliminary definition, social or political structure means "the continuing arrangements by which power is shaped and shared within the community."[1] Function is the political or social role by means of which values are realized for the participants in the group, party and community. By process is meant the sequential pattern of political behavior carried on through a period of time. It might be added that this has a "from what to what" aspect.

The resulting proposition, which will be used to orient the research undertaking, is: Participants with Perspectives pursue Scope Values through Institutions; manipulate Practices by utilizing Base Values as a means of influencing the Outcome of an election.[2]

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[1] Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 200.

[2] This theoretical model is adapted from Harold D. Lasswell and Myres McDougal, Law, Science and Policy, an unpublished manuscript.

It is with this proposition as a concept that the present investigation attempts to explore and understand political behavior and possibly to advance this understanding to the point of prediction. In order to make the concept researchable, we must define the terminology used and cast the terms into empirical and recognizable indicators. The following, then, is a series of definitions pertaining to the above proposition, the purpose of which is to point out empirical indicators of the terms used in the study of the role of the political party and its participants in the community.

Participants. The person in the interactional situation is an actor acting and is characterized as to personality (personality being the principal traits displayed by an individual as a participating member). Without going into great detail and study of personality and personality systems, it is enough for our purposes to indicate that the person is the focus of attention, and as he relates himself with others there is composed, through a series of relationships, the political party. The participants under discussion in this study are the precinct committeemen and committeewomen who play a role in the election campaign in Milltown. (This study is not restricted to "political" party campaigns, as there are several "non-political" elections in the community, such as school board, park and recreation board, utility board and city council elections.)

Perspectives. Perspectives are designated as the inner life of the participant in the interactional situation and are distinguished from operations or practices which refer to his visible behavior. Perspectives are influenced by a given personality system which consists of: (1) "identification [which] is the process by which a symbol user symbolizes his ego

as a member of some aggregate or group of egos,"[1] (2) demand, which is the value sought by the participant, (3) expectation, which is designated as all assumptions about events--past, present or future. The precinct committeeman makes certain identification with his party in order to join and participate actively. These identifications are in terms of the perception of the individual; however, they are not exclusive of his work associates, family and neighbors. The precinct committeeman has certain values in mind which he is seeking in active party participation and certain expectations as to what he will gain or lose by participation. In addition, there are a whole series of identifications, demands and expectations in relation to others who play the game with him.

Scope Values. Scope values are goal events--events desired by the participants. Roughly speaking, they are the motives or values implicated in the campaign process. For the purposes of this study, Lasswell's eight values will provide the basic dimensions of implicated values. In determining what values are implicated, Lasswell finds that there are two important groups: (1) "by welfare values we mean those whose possession to a certain degree is a necessary condition for the maintenance of the physical activity of the person. . . (2) Deference values are those that consist in being taken into consideration (in the acts of others and of the self)."[2]

The eight values are:

Welfare Values

(1) Well-being: the "physical and psychological health and safety of the organism."

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[1] Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 55-56.

(2) Wealth: "income, services of goods and persons accruing to the individual in any way whatever."

(3) Skill: "proficiency in any practice whatever, whether in arts or crafts, trade or profession."

(4) Enlightenment: "knowledge, insight, and information concerning persons and cultural relations."

Deference Values

(5) Power: "is a choice or voice in decision making. The distinctive mark of a decision is the expectation that severe deprivations will be, or are being, imposed."

(6) Respect: "is the value of status, of honor, recognition, prestige, the 'glory' and reputation."

(7) Rectitude: "comprises the moral values--virtue, goodness, righteousness, etc."

(8) Affection: "includes the values of love and friendship."[1]

The values or motives which the participant implicates in the process of a campaign may be many. The values may change with time and as the result of influences upon their perspectives or frames of reference. They are recognizable in our culture and may be recognizable in other cultures. They are not an inventory of biological needs; however, in seeking for an explanation of responses, we look for significant factors in the environment and in the predispositions with which the person enters the environment. It is to be remembered that these are not final classifications, nor are they offered in a dogmatic spirit.

Institutions. A pattern of the practices which are specialized to a value constitutes an institution. "An institution is a pattern composed of

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[1] All the above definitions are from Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 55-56.

culture traits specialized to the shaping and distribution of a particular value or set of values."[1] The participant plays a role in many institutions in the community. For the purposes of this study, the role of the precinct committeeman in the political party, which is only one component of the many political institutions, will receive the most attention. The attention of the particular precinct committeeman may be focused upon other institutions. Generally, however, the perspectives held in the other institutions may become manifest in his party activity.

Practices. The pattern of perspectives and operations (overt behavior) that recurs in a social or political process is called a practice. Practice for the political party becomes tactics and strategy, the bidding for support with the use of vigorous propaganda, economic inducements and even physical intimidation. Practices are most generally directed toward the electorate; there is, however, a considerable amount of energy consumed by the activities of factions within the party structure. Thus, while the precinct committeeman may be directing his practices toward the accumulation of the vote, he may also be involved in the crossfire of factional strategies and tactics within the party.

Base Values. The base values have the same dimensions as the scope values. They differ, however, in that they are employed as means, while scope values are sought as ends. Base values are those resources which the precinct committeeman has at his command; he makes demands in order to fulfill or gratify those values he seeks. Base values may differ as to time

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[1] Ibid., p. 47.

and place and as to the variety of individuals in the process of the campaign. For instance, the precinct committeeman may use his financial position in the community to gratify his desire for influence, or he may use his intellectual and educational resources to increase his status.

Outcome. The outcome is a selected frame of reference in the continuing flow of past, present and future events. It is the end result of the campaign as reflected in the vote tabulation. The immediate outcome in voting terms, however, does not provide all that we need to know about the impact of the action upon the values. It is important to go on to the facts about compliance and enforcement and to consider the many shifts that may occur within the party relationships and revision of individual perspectives. It is important to know what the victory represents in terms of ascending values, for significant changes may be going on in the perspectives of the precinct committeeman at all times.[1]

Summary. In summation, then, when involving himself in the electoral process, the precinct committeeman pursues one or more values in differing combinations and varying as to the individual under study. The precinct committeeman uses the party as a vehicle to seek these values, whether he wishes respect, well-being, enlightenment, power, skill, affection or rectitude. These same values may also be secured by means of such human institutions as the family, school and church. However, the political party is

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[1] Ibid. For a lengthy discussion of the above definitions, see Lasswell and Kaplan, Power and Society, op. cit. The preliminary outline of H. D. Lasswell, Law, Science, Policy (unpublished), was also made available to the writer.

generally considered as an organization concerned with the function of power or the making of decisions in the human society. The degree of participation, or even whether the person participates at all, depends on the perspectives of that person. For a person to participate there must be some purpose, whether it is as the result of intense anxiety feelings or of what appears to be an accidental involvement. It is quite conceivable that the person in question may not be conscious of his motives or goal values. Also, involvement may develop as a function of the participant's referent group. In seeking these various values, the precinct committeeman performs many acts to influence others in order to gratify his desires. He trots around his precinct with party literature, he may speak of the issues involved and promote the candidates that his party puts forth, he appears at party functions to advance the interests which represent his own values. We can learn which value is at stake in the political process by examining the perspectives of the participants who have entered the situation and have begun to interact on one another. Underlying the basic proposition that this is taking as its concept is the dynamic principle of maximizing values. The individual or party selects alternatives, expecting to be in a position of the best net value.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The Community as an Observatory

This study, in contrast to most political party studies, places the continuous interaction of the participants within a relational framework and within a defined space--the community--as a contextual setting. Thus, the community study method

> . . . is aimed at studying behavior and attitudes as objects in vivo through observation rather than in vitro through isolation and abstraction or in a model through experiment. . . where the scientist can observe human beings acting and feeling in free institutions outside the laboratory. . . community study is a method of observation and exploration, comparison and verification. . . it is like other research methods, a device for coming to grips with social and psychological facts in the raw. It is a tool of social science, not a subject matter.[1]

The concern here is with the basic relationships between behavior and the circumstances in which this behavior occurs, with selected aspects of the great bulk of behavior which occurs in a community setting. However, the community is too complex to study in every detail, so certain functional subgroups have been selected which are manageable in terms of theory and method at the present time. Most field studies are made without relating the observed phenomena to the economic base, demographic variables or regional interrelationships, a step which is attempted in this investigation.

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[1] C. M. Arensberg, "The Community Study Method," American Journal of Sociology, 60#2 (September, 1954), p. 109.

During the past three years the University of Oregon Community Study of Policy Formation has been conducting a series of investigations consisting of two surveys of nearby communities and several intensive field research studies. The surveys have attempted to secure (1) standard demographic data, (2) information about a variety of political practices, (3) the identification of persons of influence and competence in performing selective public activities and (4) data about visiting patterns and social organization in the community of a randomly selected sample of the population. Specific questions also were asked to ascertain the respondents' perceptions of (1) the community, (2) the influence and power relationships and (3) themselves, in terms of their own influence in a variety of arenas in the community.

One portion of the Community Study of Policy Formation has been devoted to a comparative analysis of the degree of participation of a representative sample of the population from the two communities surveyed. A scale of General Community Participation was developed which attempts to measure the form of behavior expressed by the respondents. These forms are: (1) voting patterns, (2) discussion of questions of public interest with families, associates and influential persons in the community, (3) associations with the various public officials, (4) attendance at meetings concerned with public policy, (5) membership in formal organizations and associations and (6) taking an "active part" in public issues or problems.

Much of the data thus gathered has been analyzed in terms of the correlation of the patterns of participation with certain demographic data. Further work is being done in correlating certain demographic data with frequency of practices performed in the community and with the social perception of the

respondents. The findings thus far have shown the importance of education, income and occupation as the factors most directly related to participation, which appears to be a measure of the potential awareness of problems and their solutions and the ability to participate in the solutions. In terms of Lasswell's eight values, education, income and occupation serve as an index to such values as enlightenment, wealth and skill respectively.

When the complete surveys have been examined, it becomes apparent that much work remains to be done with certain special groups in these communities.[1]

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[1] Thus far a series of articles and dissertations have been produced which will give some indication of the type of interest and the work that has been accomplished and is now being carried on by the Oregon Community Study. These include:

Vincent Ostrom, "An Approach to the Study of Political Behavior in the Local Community," presented to the Western Political Science Association in 1954. In this article and a paper to be presented to the American Political Science Association at Boulder, Colorado, in September, 1955, the author, who is Associate Director of the Oregon Community Study program, suggests the use of five dimensions--participation, structure, process, policy and the esprit or morale factor--in the analysis of political behavior. In addition, as a participating member of a projected study on "the lawyer in politics," he will utilize the local communities as a source of data.

John M. Foskett has written extensively on social participation: "New Facts about Lay Participation," Nation's Schools (August, 1954); "Social Structure and Social Participation," presented to the 1954 American Sociological Society; "The Referent of the Concept 'Social Participation,'" presented at the 1955 meeting of the Pacific Coast Sociological Society; and "The Differential Discussion of School Affairs," which will be presented to the 1955 meeting of the American Sociological Society. This work deals with the concept that there are several forms of informal participation patterns, as distinguished from the more formal approach of the Chapin Participation Scale.

Robert E. Agger, "The Dynamics of Local Political Participation: Empirical Research and Theoretical Inquiry" (unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1954). This is an investigation of the relationship between a number of perception and motivation variables and the local political participation of eleven businessmen who were the foci of attention.

While a portion of the attention of the Oregon Community Study has been focused on civic participation in these surveys, part of the attention has also been devoted to intensive field studies of special functional groups within the community. The past year's work has consisted mainly of an analysis of the decision-making process in a formal deliberative group such as the school board. The activities of other formal institutions also have been covered in terms of their general roles and areas of responsibility in the community, with particular emphasis on the problem-solving process.

Keith Goldhammer, "The Roles of School District Officials in Policy Determination in an Oregon Community" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1954). The author endeavors to ascertain the processes by which the school board made its decisions, determining the interpersonal relationships manifested and, in particular, the relationship of the superintendent of schools to his board.

Arnold J. Hagen, "An Exploratory Study of the Patterning and Structuring of the Roles Played by School Board Members through a Particular Time Sequence" (unpublished D. Ed. dissertation, Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1955). An attempt is made to discover some structure and some pattern in the roles practiced by school board members.

Thomas E. Moriarty, "A Study of Leadership Behavior in the Youth Serving Agencies of an Oregon Community" (unpublished D. Ed. dissertation, Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1955). This is a study of the adults who are the youth leaders in the community as they play their roles in the policy formation process which relates to the training of youth.

See also Donald E. Tope, Vincent Ostrom, John M. Foskett, Robert E. Agger and Keith Goldhammer, "Northwest CPEA," The School Executive (February, 1955).

The Oregon Community Study has set up a long-term research program which provides for continuity of research and facilitates an atmosphere of the interdisciplinary approach to the study of behavior in the community context. The staff for the past year has consisted of the faculty and six graduate assistants, one from psychology, one from sociology, two from education and two from political science.

Methodology

The task of conducting research in a community setting where the participants are acting within the contextual arrangement of the life process presents its special problems of theory, methods and techniques. For this reason some attention is given to the method utilized in such a venture. Another reason for discussing method is to provide a framework so explicitly stated that this study can be replicated in other research efforts. The need for concern about method is an increasingly important problem, as David Easton states:

> We might attribute part of the cause for the inching pace of political research to the relative lack of concern for questions of methodology, the logic behind the scientific procedures which political scientists often say they are using. Such questions of logic are as relevant to political science as they are to all the social sciences and, for that matter, as they are to all the biological and physical sciences as well.[1]

In the previous chapter, the focus has been on the theoretical aspects of this study. Before proceeding to the methods and techniques used, however, a note about the role of the observer as a social scientist may help illustrate the complex problem of gaining an insight into the behavior of the participants in the community. Lasswell has indicated that the role of the

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[1] Easton, op. cit., p. 48.

scientific investigator of the social process differs from that of the physical scientist and his subject in that the former must take into account the emotions and rationality of people, while the latter deals with categories of events which can be referred to without taking into consideration what people say or do. The efforts of the social scientists may contribute most by providing insights into the self-system and problems of those under study. Lasswell would conduct a social process investigation in three stages: probing, pretesting and intervening.[1]

The question arises how far an investigation into the social and political processes, such as the present study of the role of precinct committeemen, can proceed according to the three stages suggested by either Lasswell or Feigl. The problem becomes one of assessing the theory, methods and techniques available at the stage of the development of the social sciences to perform any of the suggested stages of investigation. While no such attempt has been made here, there is nevertheless a concern for the development of

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[1] H. Feigl, "Naturalism and Humanism," in H. Feigl and M. Brodbeck, The Philosophy of Science (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953). For an excellent discussion of the logical positivist position on the role of the social scientist, see p. 10-11 where he states:

"The aims of science are description, explanation, and prediction. The first aim is basic and indispensable, the second and third (closely related to each other) arise as the most desirable fruits of scientific labors whenever inquiry rises beyond the mere fact-gathering stage. History, often and nowadays quite fashionably declared an art, is scientific to the extent that it ascertains its facts concerning past events by a meticulous scrutiny of present evidence. Causal interpretation of these facts (in history, but similarly also in psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, and economics) is usually much more difficult than, but in principle not logically different from, causal interpretation (that is, explanation) in the natural sciences. The aims of the pure (empirical) sciences are then essentially the same throughout the whole field. What the scientists are seeking are description, explanations, and predictions which are as adequate and accurate as possible in the given context of research."

an interrelationship between theory and practice. In this study the principle of configurative analysis is utilized, which is "the adoption of both the manipulative and contemplative standpoints in inquiry. . . . The deliberate use of both standpoints is of value for both theory and practice."[1] The mutual feedback between the two tends to support the reliability of the theory and also to add intelligence to the variety of practices that are manifest in the "real" world, for it is from the manifest practices that most of the problems are derived which are the concern of many or most social investigations.

Three additional principles are used in this empirical study of political participants as they take part in an electoral campaign. The first is the principle of temporality, which is concerned with the state of affairs as a political process occurring through time. As the campaign progresses, it assumes a developmental aspect (this refers to the succession of events) and an equilibrium aspect (this refers to the maintenance of or disturbances affecting a given system). The second is the principle of interdetermination—the multiplicity of causes, effects and factors which makes it difficult to distinguish between cause and effect. The third is the principle of symbolization, or the part played by symbols in the political process.[2]

In order to implement the above principles of configurative analysis in terms of the research approach, the field study is used most extensively in this investigation. However, some evidence of the survey technique is

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[1] Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. xiii.

[2] Ibid. See a thorough discussion of these principles in the Introduction.

apparent in the comparison and discussion of demographic variables. Daniel Katz points out that "Both surveys and field studies permit the introduction of controls and research objectives into the data collection itself."[1] While a survey attempts to be representative of some known universe, it always asks about the relative incidence or distribution of social variables in the larger group.

The field study may or may not try to be representative of a known universe. It "attempts to study a single community or a single group in terms of its social structure, i.e., the interrelations of the parts of the structure and of the social interaction taking place."[2] To the extent that it deals with such interrelations and interaction, the survey does so through a study of the final outcome. The social processes are inferred from the end-effects. Thus, the advantages of the field study approach are: (1) that it tends to continue through time, (2) it utilizes direct observation of interaction and social relationships and (3) it goes beyond measures from a single research tool.

The types of field studies vary as to the degree of measurement they represent,

> . . . ranging from the extreme of the interpretative anthropological description of a primitive society to an investigation employing standardized quantification of data collection in the form of observational scales for recording behavior and attitude scales for the measurement of beliefs and feelings.[3]

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[1] Daniel Katz, "Field Studies," in Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz, Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Dryden Press, 1953), p. 56.

[2] Ibid., p. 57.

[3] Ibid., p. 59.

One can utilize "the anthropological approach as the initial stage in a field study. . . thus seeing the situation as a whole and attempting to grasp the fundamental relationships."[1]

Katz goes on to outline six general phases in carrying out a field study: (1) preliminary planning, (2) scouting, (3) formulating the research design, (4) pretesting the research tools, (5) the field operation and (6) analysis of material.[2]

It must be stated that the actual research in this study did not fall into any such clearcut phases; however, these steps do set out the general phases which were taken into consideration. Perhaps the most difficult and most important problem to present itself in this study was the formulation of an adequate and explicit theoretical framework from which to work. This has already been discussed in Chapter I in the section on Theoretical Orientation. Without such a framework, social inquiries tend to be descriptive in nature.

> The field study, then, is unique in enabling us to observe and measure social processes in their natural occurrence. On the one hand, it can give depth of understanding to survey findings. On the other hand, it can give to the experimenter rich insights and hypotheses for more rigorous experimentation and can prevent the laboratory from developing a system of concepts which have little to do with the way in which people behave.[3]

Techniques

In setting up a research design of an empirical nature, the concepts that the investigator takes with him into the field situation are of the utmost

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[1] Ibid., p. 65.

[2] Ibid., Chapter II.

[3] Ibid., p. 94.

importance. The development of specific research techniques is as necessary to the investigator as are the pick and shovel to the ditch digger.

In this study the specific techniques vary from the structured questionnaire (see Appendix A for the questions asked) to an extremely loose arrangement of social visiting with the precinct committeemen. During the course of the election campaign which covered a period of better than a full year--from the fall of 1953, when organizational meetings were held, to the spring of of 1955, when not only the general election was over, but several local elections had been held--the observer used a variety of approaches and viewpoints from which to study the political process. For the first six months most of the attention was given to establishing rapport with an active area group that held regular meetings. The initial concern was to look for both the formal and the informal leaders as well as for the types of questions which seem to be pertinent to the understanding of the role of the participants in the electoral process. An attempt was made to ascertain their interests, the degrees of participation in the party and in the community and to discover who saw whom about what sorts of problems and with what results.

During the summer of 1954, a schedule (see Appendix A) and an open-ended questionnaire (see Appendix B) were administered to the twenty Democratic and twelve Republican precinct committeemen. These interviews took from forty-five minutes to three hours. The conversations were not limited to the specific areas of the questionnaires, for many of the respondents were quite pleased to have an opportunity to talk about their interests.

As the campaign began in earnest, the agenda of the area meetings was expanded to include not only organizational problems but talks given by leaders

on the importance of committeemen to the party and their functions in the precincts. In addition, the party candidates began to appear and make brief statements of purpose and policy. These meetings were recorded on tape. At the same time some of the respondents were observed in other contexts, such as the Lions' club luncheons which one subject attends regularly. One committeeman held a position on the county executive committee and his behavior was observed on these occasions and at the planning sessions which were held once a week. There was a series of picnics, potlucks and formal political rallies, all of which were attended by the observer.

Just prior to election day, a caravan was organized and the observer was given the task of blowing a train whistle in order to accompany a full day of campaigning through a portion of the county. Election day was spent traveling around to the nineteen polling booths to ascertain the degree of compliance with instructions to provide pollwatchers and telephone committees and otherwise get people out to vote. Election night was spent visiting the Republican and the Democratic party headquarters to hear the election returns. It was necessary to spend the following evening at the headquarters also, for the return figures were reversing and the Democratic senatorial candidate finally won by a very small margin.

After the election there developed a factional struggle in one party which required close observance and attendance at many meetings. Several social visits with the various leaders proved helpful in determining the sources and effects of the factional struggle. The observer was given an opportunity to increase his understanding of the factors underlying much of this struggle when he became a participant observer as assistant director of a forum.

In order to collect data about the participation of precinct committeemen in local elections of a non-partisan character, it was necessary to attend meetings of many different groups. The observer covered the monthly power board meetings and city council meetings as a research assistant for the Oregon Community Study. Perhaps one of the most important aspects of this field study was the effort to spend as much time as possible in the field where the activity was taking place. Another important aspect was the formulation of an explicit theory from which to work.

An additional procedure, as suggested by Paul S. Dull in his work in Japan, was the checking of writeups with the respondents for their verification.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the community setting, keeping in mind the necessity of relating behavior to ecological and social structure, such as demographic features of the present and past populations, the economic base of the community and the possible regional interrelationships. The following elaboration about the community is not meant to state specific causal relationships of observed behavior; however, the laying out of such information about Milltown may be helpful in understanding what transpires in terms of observed behavior. In other words, it will be possible to locate the participants in the community as to time and space.

Milltown is situated in the upper reaches of a fertile river valley, some 120 miles south of the large metropolitan area of the state, at the confluence of several rivers and astride the main route of north- and southbound traffic.

> In the upper half of the valley the river system is characterized by 'meanders,' oxbow lakes or bayous and 'yazoo' streams which wander along parallel to the Willamette through miles of swampy country before finally effecting juncture with the main stream. These characteristics are such that nearly every year since the first recorded major flood in 1861 some portion of the valley has been flooded. . . Flood control remains today one of the major problems which the valley residents face.[1]

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[1] Walter T. Martin, The Rural-Urban Fringe (Eugene: The University of Oregon Press, 1953), p. 26.

Milltown's elevation is 456 feet; it has an average annual rainfall of 37.9 inches, which inoludes 5.2 inches of snow. The average maximum temperature is 62.9 degrees and the average minimum temperature is 42.1 degrees, which gives the area the reputation of having a mild climate.

In modern society, where mobility and communication have increased enormously, it is important to consider what means of contact Milltown has within the immediate area and within the larger framework of the state, the region, the nation and the world. Within the metropolitan area of Milltown and University City there are numerous rail, airline and highway facilities available. The area is served by five radio stations, one television station, one local daily newspaper, two daily papers from the largest city in the state and a bi-weekly paper published in Milltown.

It is difficult and usually unwise to make sweeping generalizations about such a complex subject as Milltown. However, for the purpose of studying the political party and its participants in Milltown, it may be fruitful to point out four significant threads that appear through this study. The first factor is the industrial character of Milltown. Almost from its founding, Milltown has attracted and encouraged industry. From the first utilization of available water power for the milling of flour to today's modern pulp paper and electro-chemical plants, industry is the most noticeable characteristic of Milltown. The seoond factor is the population movement. The developments in Milltown are closely tied to the changing in and out migration. Milltown's population trend is marked by long periods of plateaus, slight decreases and sudden increases. The third factor may be the consequence of the population movements; it manifests itself in the political turmoil of

of Milltown. There have been innumerable instances of recall movements, defeated city budgets and indecision on such matters as municipal power. The fourth factor is Milltown's proximity to University City, across the river, which can be characterized as the retail center of a large and prosperous region. University City, with a population of 35,000, is some 75 miles distant from any larger city and one of the state universities forms an integral part of its social and economic life. The city wields considerable influence on adjoining Milltown by competing very successfully for the retail trade in the area and attracting professional people who play many of the leadership roles in Milltown. This competition has led to more or less open conflict between the two towns, with Milltown being characterized as the workingman's city.

The following, then, is an attempt to weave together something of the quantity of the people who now make up Milltown and its environs as well as some of the quality (or character) of the people who have lived and are now living their lives in Milltown. With this picture in mind, we can better understand the role of the political parties and their participants in Milltown.

The Economic Base

Almost from the beginning, Milltown became known as an industrial community. As early as 1884, A. G. Walling predicted that it would be second to none in the state in manufacturing.[1] Within a few years after its

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[1] A. G. Walling, History of Lane County, Oregon (Portland, Oregon: Printing and Lithographing House of A. G. Walling, 1884).

founding, flour mills were built to utilize the water power that was abundantly available. Soon the area, as well as most of the Pacific Northwest, turned its attention to large-scale timber operations, becoming one of the largest producers of forest products in the United States. At the turn of the century a large lumber company employing 250 workers moved into Milltown. This lumber company and its officials by one means or another became the dominating force in the community; in fact, the community virtually became a company town. The company maintained the largest payroll in the community and kept the city government under control by placing its officials on the city council. The council posts were passed around from one employee to another, including sawyers, foremen and millwrights.

This influence diminished noticeably when other plants such as larger lumber companies, plywood plants, a pulp paper plant, a glue factory, an electro-metallurgic plant and a chemical plant began to move in just before the second world war. Expansion continued until by 1950, 37.1 per cent of the population of Milltown was engaged in manufacturing, with 84.2 per cent of that figure in turn employed in the furniture, lumber and wood products industries. This figure represents the highest per capita employment in manufacturing of any city in the state. Appendix C shows a complete breakdown of the percentage of persons employed in each industry and provides a basis for comparison with like figures for the state, University City and East City, which is similar in size to Milltown but located in the eastern part of the state.[1] University City was chosen because it has an integral relationship

[1]It should be noted that the state can be characterized as having two compartmental segments: one the arid, sparsely populated area of the east and the other the humid, fertile, more populated area running along the west coast, each separated from the other by the Cascade Range.

with Milltown and because the demographic data points out the striking workingman's character of the Milltown section of this metropolitan area. Although this breakdown does not provide a complete count of the various industries, the pattern developed reflects an accurate picture of the types of industries in which the inhabitants of Milltown gain their living. By no means can Milltown be identified with such eastern cities as Detroit, Chicago and Pittsburgh, and although it does not suffer their congested housing conditions and belching smoke stacks, nevertheless Milltown's population is clearly industrial when compared with the other cities of the state.

The functional distribution of the occupational structure of Milltown, which is of great importance in terms of voting and political behavior, reflects a sharp differentiation between function and social structure when compared to University City. Table I shows the preponderance of operatives, craftsmen, foremen and laborers in Milltown, while professional and technical personnel, managers, officials and proprietors are comparatively few in number. Conversely, University City has a higher percentage of professional and technical personnel, managers, officials and proprietors and a lower percentage of operatives, craftsmen, foremen and laborers. These figures again make apparent the workingman's atmosphere which prevails in Milltown in terms of social class and social structure. This is a crucial factor in determining Milltown's ability to solve its basic problem of growth and local government instability.

TABLE I

THE FUNCTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCUPATION STRUCTURE IN MILLTOWN

Variable	Milltown	East City	University City	State
Persons 14 or over in labor force	55.5	51.9	51.3	54.4
Not in the labor force	44.5	48.1	48.7	45.6
Major occupation groups:				
Professional, technical, etc.	5.9	8.9	14.5	8.7
Farmers, farm managers	0.2	1.3	0.3	6.9
Managers, officials, proprietors	8.8	14.4	14.2	10.9
Clerical, etc.	8.7	11.9	14.4	11.3
Sales workers	10.1	9.5	11.7	7.5
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	19.1	14.5	12.7	13.6
Operatives, etc.	22.2	15.9	12.0	15.4
Private household workers	2.1	1.5	2.7	1.7
Service workers	8.9	15.0	1.0	8.0
Farm labor, unpaid family workers	—	—	—	1.3
Farm labor, except unpaid	0.9	1.6	0.4	3.5
Laborers, except farm and mine workers	13.9	5.5	0.8	10.0
Not reported	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.2

Population Growth

Figure One shows the growth of Milltown in comparison with a town of approximate size in the eastern part of the state, with University Town across the river and with the state as a whole. While the state and East City have grown gradually, Milltown has had two periods of sharp increase, from 1900 to 1910 and from 1940 to 1950. It is the period from 1940 to 1950 that has seen the most rapid growth and has been the focus of current problems in Milltown. A growth of 184 per cent in a single decade has caused problems which have far-reaching social and political consequences.

Acquiring and developing a knowledge of the socio-economic variables about a voting population is a well-established investigative technique and interest.[1] Such information is offered here to indicate the known factors that exist in the make-up of Milltown, and the possible influence they may have upon both the milieu in which the party and its participants function and the resulting vote.

The information in Table II indicates that Milltown, in contrast to East City and University City, shows the lowest median age, median sex-ratio and median school years completed. In addition, Milltown has the lowest percentage of persons 65 years of age or older, the lowest percentage of women in the labor force and the lowest percentage of families having incomes of less than $2,000 of any of the cities of 10,000 or more in the state.

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[1] Calvin F. Schmid, Trends in Seattle (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1944).

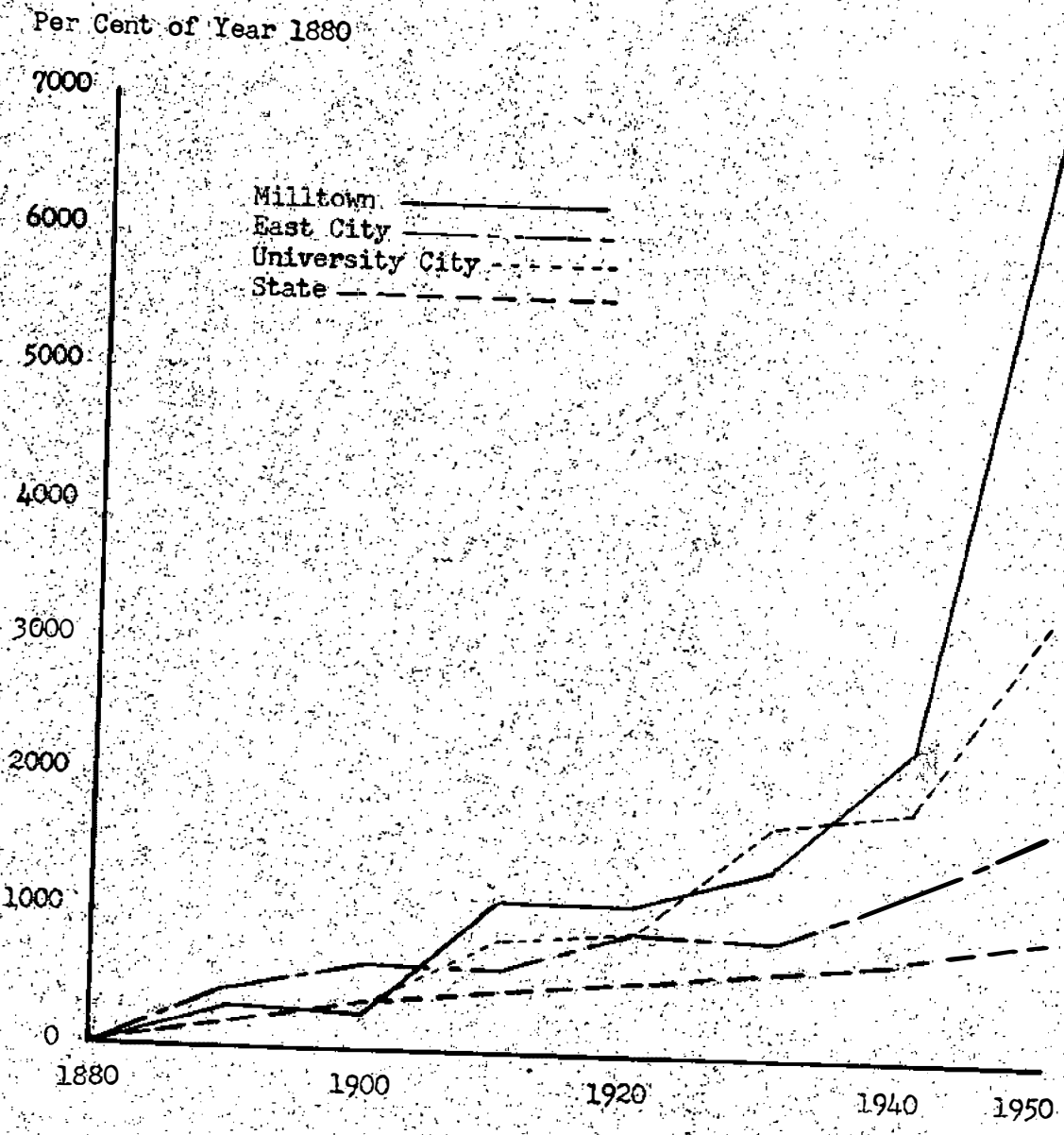

Fig. 1. Yearly Population in Terms of 1880 Population

Table II also indicates that Milltown has the highest median income level per capita and the greatest number of persons per household as compared to the other two cities. Milltown also shows the highest median income level, the highest percentage of people engaged in manufacturing, the highest percentage of persons per household and the largest increase in city population for the period 1940-1950 of any of the other cities of 10,000 or more in the state.

TABLE II

SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA ON MILLTOWN

Variable	Milltown	East City	University City	State
Median age	28.3	35.7	28.8	31.6
Sex-ratio	96.9	101.7	100.8	
Per cent in school (age 14-17)	92.6		94.4	91.4
Median school years completed (by those 25 years or older)	10.1	11.8	12.3	10.9
Median annual income	$3503.00	3276.00	2667.00	2933.00
Mobility: per cent living in the same house since 1949-1950	64.7	62.4	66.6	72.5
Number of persons per household	3.29	2.86	2.86	3.06

Data showing the general character of the earlier residents of Milltown is not available except for a few historical reports. However, the Curator of the Oregon Historical Society has gathered information about some 7,000 early settlers of Oregon with regard to their birth, ancestry, home and place of departure. This information shows that the western migration was made in three general patterns, each consisting of three steps. Those starting out from New York stopped for a while in Illinois, then moved on to Iowa, and finally to Oregon; those starting from West Virginia stopped off in Ohio, then in Missouri and then moved on to Oregon; and those who started from North Carolina stopped first in Tennessee, then in Missouri, and then made the rest of the journey to Oregon. The farming element came largely from the Mississippi Valley region, while the business element came from New York and New England. This survey also shows that six per cent of these settlers came originally from New England, 50 per cent from the midwest, 33 per cent from south of the Mason-Dixon line and 11 per cent from 22 foreign countries. The great majority of the foreign-born came from the British Isles, Canada and Germany.[1] Their motives for moving west are difficult to ascertain; depressed economic conditions, expectation of finding fertile land and an instinct for adventure have been stated reasons for the westward migration. It was this group of immigrants that played a large part in developing and modifying the political institutions of the west.

Fortunately, the available material describing the character of the present population is large, systematically collected and well tabulated by

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[1] Walter C. Woodward, The Rise and Early History of Political Parties in Oregon (Portland, Oregon: J. K. Gill Co., 1913), p. 8.

the United States Census Bureau. From this material we can develop such demographic data as age composition, sex-ratio, education, income, occupational structure and mobility. In addition, the general housing conditions can be established for Milltown.

When the housing characteristics are examined in Table III, the most noticeable feature is the rapid increase in dwelling units built since 1940, which doubles that of East City and University City and reflects the sudden growth of Milltown. The percentage of owner-occupied dwellings is the highest of the three cities, while the percentage of dwellings with central heating is lowest of the three cities. The percentage of mortgaged owner-occupied dwellings is higher in Milltown, while the median value of one-dwelling units is lower. The median contract monthly and gross monthly rents are higher here than in the other two cities.

The Political Community

This rapid growth has been attended by a series of complex problems, conflicts and basic shifts in the power structure of the community. The problems have been in the nature of keeping up with the community expansion and the accompanying demands for more and better streets and street lighting, fire and police protection, electrical and sewage facilities, recreational facilities and general provision for increased physical facilities that are required of a growing community. With such demands a struggle has gone on which has at times developed into open conflict within the community. The basis of this conflict is the shifting character of the power structure in the community. It is in large part a struggle between the oldtimers and

TABLE III

THE HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS OF MILLTOWN

Variable	Milltown	East City	University City	State
All Dwelling Units				
Total number of dwelling units	3467	3640	11,636	524,003
Median number of rooms per dwelling	4.3	4.1	4.3	4.4
Per cent built since 1940	62.0	28.3	32.9	32.6
Per cent with hot running water, private toilet and bath, not dilapidated	78.6	87.2	86.5	74.0
Occupied Dwellings				
Per cent owner-occupied	71.2	48.9	54.9	65.3
Per cent with central heating	19.0	47.7	43.4	36.6
Per cent with mechanical refrigeration	82.3	88.3	88.0	80.6
Owner-Occupied, Non-Farm				
Per cent mortgaged	49.0	38.1	44.6	40.3
Median value, one-dwelling units	$6175.00	8188.00	9302.00	6846.00
Renter-Occupied, Non-Farm				
Median contract monthly rent	52.06	40.60	47.44	38.01
Median gross monthly rent	$59.15	51.30	40.64	44.19

the newcomers. No longer is Milltown a one-company town, no longer does the old lumber company dominate the city council and other agencies of local government; others have moved in and are vying for control. The newcomers have demanded and have won better streets, a new sewage plant, municipal power and a library. These have been gained at the expense of dividing the community, the oldtimers against the newcomers who have made it necessary to raise taxes.

Much that occurs politically on the local government level is supposedly on a non-partisan basis with the issues decided on the merits of "good" government practices. It is true that the issues are not solved by the Chicago type of machine politics, but there are many instances to persuade the observer that Democratic and Republican perspectives are in operation. The present mayor ran as a known "Democrat." A leading Republican supports the Democratic mayor on local issues because he knows the mayor voted for Eisenhower for president. The mayor, a county commissioner and the park and recreational superintendent—all relative newcomers—utilize the Democratic party workers to advance policies and programs they deem necessary, and thus the precinct committeemen become directly involved in the implementation of certain policies. As for the geographic distribution of the voters, the area lately developed by the newcomers has been predominantly Democratic, while the area of old Milltown remains the core of Republican strength in the community. Likewise, when it comes to non-partisan issues one finds the newcomers voting for additional services and facilities in the expanding new residential areas, while the oldtimers bitterly resist such developments.

Public Organization of Milltown

Milltown, like most other communities, has set up formal and legal arrangements to facilitate, control and harmonize the behavior of its inhabitants. Each portion is set up as an independent, discrete segment of the complex whole of the local government, with responsibility and jurisdiction for its particular area. Common to them all, however, are the mutual problems demanding considerable interrelationship in order for their required functions to be carried out. These agencies become the foci of attention of the inhabitants of Milltown in the solution of their problems. It can hardly be said that all the people of Milltown are equally aware of these institutions or are even concerned about their existence. Nevertheless, in a democratic society the inhabitants are brought to an awareness of the subtleties of many of the manifestations of these agencies by frequent elections of their officials, by the assessment of taxes to support the institutions and by the frequent or infrequent control of behavior.

Before proceeding to outline the specific agencies of local government which are called upon to solve the problems already mentioned of keeping up with the physical growth of Milltown, consideration should be given to the concept of the social community of Milltown. By social community is meant that area, irrespective of legal boundaries, that provides a series of relationships in which the inhabitants tend to identify themselves with the community in terms of trade, services, social visiting and other types of contact. The legal boundaries of Milltown do not coincide with the boundaries of the social community, for there are many common problems that involve the fringe area as well as Milltown. Many of the formal agencies that have been

set up cover not only Milltown proper but additional groups of people who refer themselves to such Milltown services as school and recreation.

The social community has solved many of its problems by resorting to methods of districting which disregard the legal boundaries of Milltown. While the area of city government responsibility remains within the legal limits of Milltown, problems concerning recreation, schools and water resources include not only Milltown but the rural-urban fringe which surrounds the city. One agency of the city government, the Milltown Municipal Utility, has extended its power lines beyond the legal limits to satisfy the desires and demands of its customers. In addition, two water districts have been set up to solve the problem of supplying water to the area just outside Milltown. This is a current problem, for the lack of adequate sewer facilities in these districts has sharpened the insistence of many inhabitants that additional areas be annexed to Milltown.

The concept of the social community is extremely important in studying the behavior of the party precinct committeemen who refer themselves to the many levels and areas of problems. Some committeemen are concerned primarily with their city government, others with the park and recreational district and still others with the school district. In addition to this concern about the local social community, their interests are focused on county, state, regional and national affairs.

1. The City Government. The first and foremost agency in the community is the city government, with its many functions and complex structure. Milltown has a city manager type of government with a common council of six

members, one councilman elected from each of the six wards for a term of four years.[1] While the common council sets the policy for the city government, the city manager supervises the executive functions of the many departments, such as police, fire and streets.

In the course of a recent movement to recall two of the councilmen, the unstable nature of popular participation in the recall was revealed as a rather common occurrence in Milltown. There have been some five attempted recalls and many more that have died as abortive movements. In addition, there has been a series of dismissals of police chiefs, city manager and other officials and a large number of similar resignations. For example, the city manager form of government has met with difficulty in being accepted by the people. In 1946, a move to adopt this type of government failed by a vote of 214 to 207; it was adopted later that year by a vote of 737 to 553. A move to abolish the city manager form of government was defeated in 1949 by a vote of 1,111 to 1,002.

✳ 2. The Municipal Power Board. The second agency--one which reflects the steady development of municipally owned utilities in the west--is the Municipal Power Board. This board derives its function and power from and is chartered by the city government. The board consists of five elected members who serve for four-year terms. Its function is to distribute electricity

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[1] The mayor's latest proposal is to have all councilmen elected by the city as a whole for terms of two years, thus eliminating the ward system.

for the city on a non-profit basis and to operate a modern sewage disposal plant. The power board has been a source of much conflict in the community. It took three referrals to the people over a period of fifteen years to acquire the electric system, and then the question carried only by a 65.4 per cent vote on the issuance and sale of bonds. The private utility refused to sell out its holdings, so the city set up a competing system. This competitive situation exists today and seems to be the more or less hidden source of many conflicts within the community.

3. The Park and Recreation Board. The third agency in this group is the Park and Recreation Board, which has jurisdiction over an area that includes Milltown and the surrounding fringe. This board is concerned with the youth activities of the area and consists of five elected members who serve for five-year terms. Its function is generally "to fill the child's play hours with interesting, creative, varied activities which make for full personality growth, and awareness of the joy of living and an appreciation for democratic processes under skilled leadership."[1] Its clientele includes children and adults, ages four to eighty-four, its activities range from swimming and tennis to handcrafts and charm courses. The board has an advisory council of representatives of thirty-five groups who meet once a month to express their views on the recreational needs of the people. The Park and Recreational District had considerable difficulty in getting established, since the oldtimers saw no need for such an innovation in the community.

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[1] Moriarty, op. cit. Information about the Park and Recreation Board is drawn largely from this source.

4. The School District.[1] The fourth agency--the largest in terms of budget and geographic jurisdiction--is the School District. Its geographic jurisdiction includes both Milltown and the surrounding fringe, which in this case extends out further than that of the Park and Recreation District. The school is concerned with educating and transmitting knowledge, skills, values and ideologies of culture to the youth of the community. The School District has a board of five elected members serving for five-year terms. In a community that shows so much evidence of conflict in terms of its governmental agencies, the school district follows an unusually stable pattern of behavior. While the city government has had to deal with recalls and difficulty in having its budgets passed, the School District has conducted its business with little fanfare. This may be due to the lack of attention focused on the board by the citizens, the small turnout in the electoral process, the inconvenience of voting in the special elections and the general atmosphere of things being under control.

Supra-Community Corporate Agencies

In addition to the formal local corporate agencies that operate and impinge upon the inhabitants of Milltown and its social community, there are three levels of supra-community governmental agencies which affect the inhabitants and which are responded to by them. These are the agencies of the county, state and federal government.

1. County Government. On the first level, and the most immediate, is the county government, which is active in the fields of health and welfare and in some aspects of law enforcement. The county has jurisdiction over the areas

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[1] Information on the School District is taken from Hagen, op. cit.

lying outside the Milltown boundaries, particularly in such matters as law enforcement and the attempt to solve the growing problem of sanitation for the section east of the city. Financial support for the services performed by the various county agencies is maintained by an assessed real estate property tax. Since much of the county has abundant forest lands, these are an important source of tax revenue. It should be noted that the fringe area, in terms of governmental services, has difficulty in placing responsibility with any specific agencies. It is on this level, however, that the people become active in the field of partisan politics, for the officials in the county courthouse are elected on a partisan basis. The precinct committeemen are quite active on this level of government.

2. The State Government. On the next level is the state government, which has interests in a vast number of areas ranging from commerce regulation to highway construction. The state derives its basic source of income for these services from the personal income tax. State boards and commissions set the policies in a variety of matters, perhaps the most important of which are those dealing with natural resources such as water and forests. The precinct committeemen participate extensively on this level by promoting party candidates and issues. However, the issues of state government are not nearly so well defined as those on the federal government level.

3. Federal Government. The federal government remains the most complex and farthest removed from the inhabitants of Milltown. It maintains such services as highways, irrigation, navigation, recreation and flood control, commerce regulation and external affairs. Its most important effect

upon the lives of local residents is in setting policies and reserving large areas for conservation of the country's natural resources. These regional resources form the backbone of the economy of the Pacific Northwest. The main source of revenue for the federal government is the graduated personal income tax. It is to this level of government, perhaps, that the committeemen most constantly refer themselves in terms of issues and candidates.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL PARTY CONTEXT

The Party as a System of Social Relationships

Just as important, perhaps, as outlining the community setting wherein the activity takes place is the outlining of the political party setting. For while the participants maintain themselves in a community which consists of a vast network of relationships, the participants also operate in another contextual arrangement--that of the political parties. Before outlining the specifics of party structure and development and the other factors that make up the party milieu, a definition of party will be helpful for the purposes of this investigation.

Although the party has been referred to as an institution in which the participants operate, the concept of institution is complex and requires further elaboration.

> The concept of social institution refers not to specific traits or items of culture, but to complexes of ideas and practices containing norms specifying conduct between persons. So viewed, a social institution is a relatively elaborate organization of norm-regulated social relations directed toward some interest or need.[1]

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[1] E. T. Hiller, Social Relations and Structure (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 73-74.

Of importance here is the fact that institutional norms revolve around a complex of values and that there is

> . . . in every society a set of functional problems centering around the coercion of some individuals by others. The problem of power is the central fact of political life, and it is convenient to group together the norms regulating power and the political institutions of the society.[1]

Thus, the political institution attempts to canalize human behavior along certain lines and prohibits other behavior in terms of accepted norms.

The main difficulty in defining the political party in terms of social relationships is that the parties show concurrently the characteristics of institutions, organizations, associations and groups. Insofar as the political party has a set pattern of behavior that is recognized, accepted and utilized, it exhibits all these characteristics at the same time. The party can be conceived of as an institution, since its status has been formalized. It also can be referred to as an organization, since it is characterized by the actions and interactions of its participants. As interaction continues over a period of time, a more or less recognizable pattern emerges. When this pattern is repeated often enough, constellations of social relationships develop in which conduct is defined and shaped by a definite system of norms. In addition, the party can be characterized as a group, particularly of certain functional clusters within the party hierarchy, from the national committee down to the area groups. A group may be described as

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[1] Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 29-30.

> those interacting aggregates of persons in which the participants regard themselves, for certain purposes, as a unit of solidarity possessing shared interests, values, or behavior patterns that set them off from other groups.[1]

The present definition, then, is that "the party involves organization--it is a group; and it is characterized not merely by its perspectives but by distinctive practices as well."[2] In addition, the party is an organization loosely knit along national lines, sectional or regional lines and interest lines, participating in the power arena by submitting candidates and formulating comprehensive issues. The party attempts to shape and share the values of daily life in an organizational context. Perhaps more important than the defining of the party as an institution--and/or an association, and/or an organization and/or a group--will be a knowledge of the perspectives (identifications, demands and expectations) of the participating party members and the extent and intensity of social relationships existing within the party.

Party Structure

The formal party structure provides the framework within which the committeemen function. From the point of view of the precinct committeemen, the party consists of a series of hierarchical levels within which they refer themselves. This hierarchy is well understood by the committeemen for they

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[1] Ibid., p. 446.

[2] Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 169.

are given charts similar to Figure II, depicting their position and role in relation to the "whole" of the party organization.

While the committeemen are elected (or appointed) in precincts varying in size from 195 to 492 registered voters, they also become attached to an area group which, in the case of the Democrats, has developed a schedule of monthly meetings with potlucks, speeches and work parties during the campaign. The closest degree of interrelationships takes place at this level. There is a running exchange of views, rumors and identifications. Although many of the remarks and evalutions concern the political party situation, a favorite subject is the conservatism of the local daily newspaper and a number of conversations may be concerned with such local affairs as the garbage collection issue, the various activities of the children of the committeemen, working conditions and so on. The area organization is an innovation on the part of local Democratic leaders who hope to intensify the grass-roots participation and activities of the party by forming smaller groups, more easily unified by local interests, within a county which is too large geographically and has too strongly varying agricultural and urban interests to permit effective communication.

The county central committee is the basic unit to which all elected and appointed committeemen automatically belong by virtue of their positions as committeemen and through which much of the business of the party organization is channeled. It is also the basic unit of the political party; county offices are the lowest partisan offices put before the voters. The county becomes the focal point of much party activity. The officers are elected by

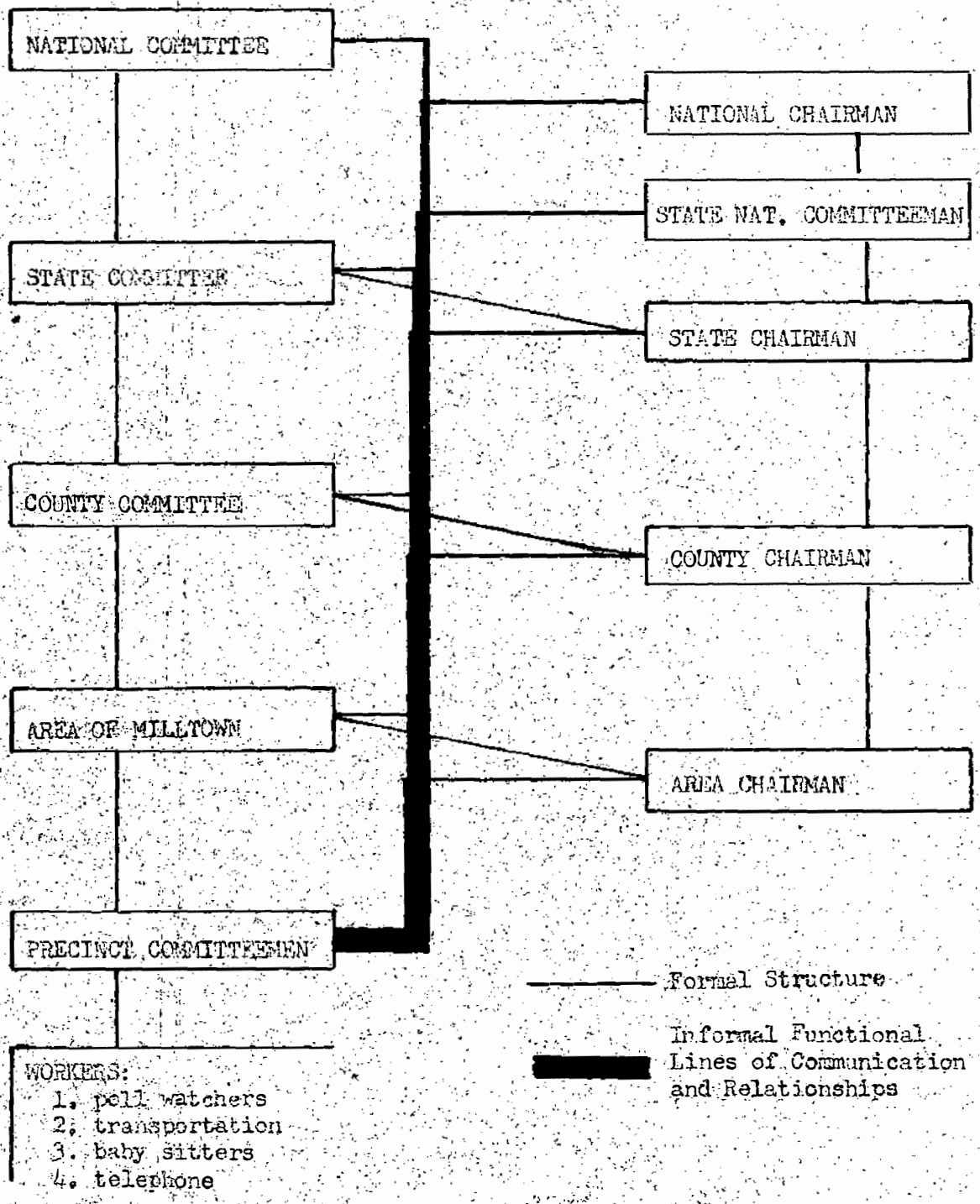

Fig. 2. A Structural and Functional Diagram of the Political Party

the members of the county central committee. Meetings are held infrequently on the county level, and then mostly for the purpose of electing officers or taking up crucial problems. Between county meetings much of the party business is conducted by the county executive committee, composed of the county officers and the appointed chairmen of various committees. The area chairmen are non-voting members of the executive committee at this time. Because of the infrequent county meetings, an attempt is made intermittently to publish a county newsletter in order to keep alive the interest and awareness of the committeemen. The county organization has not been known to have much to hand out in terms of rewards to party workers. There have been a few instances of votes taken by the full county central committee to make recommendation for the selection of a new postmaster, a position which is filled by appointment by the national party in power.

Each county committee is autonomous, and all are brought together by a state central committee composed of all the county chairmen and vice chairmen in the state. The state central committee is concerned with raising money and planning an effective over-all campaign for the entire party ticket. It should be noted that an individual candidate may also have his own parallel campaign committee which raises its own funds and arranges its own program. The county chairmen use their positions to enhance the prestige of their respective counties and possibly of themselves. As one county chairman expressed it, "I play tough and hard to get at the state meetings, so we get some recognition for our county and some help when we need it." On this level of the party, alignments are made that are entirely unknown to the bulk of committeemen. The state chairman travels extensively to study

and respond to the situations which are continuously developing in the various counties.

At the apex of the formal party structure is the national committee, composed of a committeeman and committeewoman from each state, which attempts to integrate the party activities of the forty-eight states. This task, it is well known, is extremely difficult because of the great amount of sectionalism and factionalism within the national and state organizations. In the case of Oregon, it is difficult sometimes to achieve harmony between the national committeeman and the state chairman, since the former is elected by the voters of the state and the latter is selected by the state central committee.

A functional analysis[1] reveals that the precinct committeeman plays a role as the working member of the party on the local precinct or neighborhood level. The committeeman has the task of understanding and responding to the wishes of the voter.[2] The county officials are responsible for planning the local campaign functions and then calling on the precinct committeemen to perform such tasks as decorating the halls, putting up chairs and

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[1] See Vincent Ostrom, op. cit., in the discussion of structure as one of the five dimensions in the study of political behavior, where he states that: "Formal organization or structure is characterized by the normative or authoritative relationships which seek to determine by explicit statement the patterns of responsibility among various positions. Informal patterns of organization on the other hand are to be characterized by the actual patterns existing in the order of person to person relationships, whether or not these conform to explicit expectations."

[2] It should be stated that this role is inadequately fulfilled by the committeemen of both parties in Milltown, where the task is usually simplified to the point of merely leaving party literature on the doorsteps.

selling tickets. The state and national leaders arrange for the speakers and information for these occasions and they also allocate the receipts.

The formal party structure and functional analysis, as outlined above, create the general framework within which a great deal of political activity may be observed. It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which the formal channels of communication within the party are observed and utilized. There is, however, some evidence to support the observation that deference is paid to the higher party offices by the committeemen. There are also numerous instances of functions being performed irrespective of formal party lines. In addition, there have been several instances of direct communications between certain aspiring committeemen and state officials, while the local party officials have been bypassed. In the factional struggle that developed in Milltown over the misuse of party finances after the national campaign, the dissident faction went directly to the state chairman for support, while the faction in power went to the senatorial candidate to have him call off the supporters of the defeated candidate for governor of the same party. The result was that the defeated gubernatorial candidate withdrew his support from the local dissident faction. In planning several of the county meetings, responsibility for arrangements was more or less usurped by persons other than those in authority.

The Background of the Oregon Political System

The purpose in developing briefly the background of political parties in the state, the county and Milltown itself is to show the early origin of party movements, to discover the extent to which the state reflects or leads national trends and developments and to outline the inter-party and intra-party conflicts.

Perhaps the most important feature of Oregon politics was the series of electoral reforms. In Oregon

> . . . men who believed that the source of political authority resided in the entire citizenry had lost confidence in their party leaders and public officials. Wrestling with the problem of making government responsive to the opinions of the majority, they brought forth political innovations which constitute an important development in American political history.[1]

These innovations consisted of direct election proposals such as the direct primary, the initiative, the referendum, the recall and the popular election of senators, all of which were instituted at the turn of the twentieth century. The forces which worked for these innovations at first were a few "cranks," Mr. U'Ren and his group who influenced the vast array of agrarian and labor interests, such as the Grangers, the Knights of Labor, the Greenbackers, the Farmers Alliance, the Populists, the Prohibitionists, the American Party and other disgruntled elements. This is not to indicate that the above labels necessarily represent diverse interests, for frequently a single individual could conceivably fit into almost all of these organizational groups.

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[1] Russell G. Hendricks, "The Effects of the Direct Primary upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909" (unpublished master's thesis, Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1951), p. i-ii.

The decision to incorporate the initiative and referendum into the Constitution won by the enormous vote of 62,024 to 5,668, a majority of about eleven to one. "In this quiet way, the people of Oregon took control of their government, a revolution momentous in the history of organized government."[1] The referendum was considered as an "obstacle to too much legislation; to surreptitious legislation; to legislation in particular interests; to partisan machine legislation; and to boss rule."[2] The above mentioned electoral reforms plus the Australian Ballot, the registration of voters and the adoption of salaries instead of fees as the means of paying certain officials had a profound influence on both the major political parties in Oregon. Both parties, Democratic and Republican alike, were maneuvered into accepting the reforms, and the behavior of both parties was to be considerably modified by the direct referral to the people of issues and candidates. It should be noted that men like U'Ren saw in the reform measures a machine which would put the people in control of their government and, perhaps of even greater importance, that they conceived of these measures as an instrument to "achieve the tax reforms of Henry George."[3]

In outlining the development of the two parties since this flurry of electoral reforms, a picture develops of a one-party dominated state. This

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[1]Cecil T. Thompson, "The Origin of Direct Legislation in Oregon"(unpublished master's thesis, Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1929), p. 81

[2]Ibid., p. 78-A.

[3]Ibid., p. 24.

picture, however, is not as rigid as most one-party systems. Ranney and Kendall[1] show Oregon to be a modified one-party system, the second party winning 23.5 per cent of the elections from 1914 to 1952. In addition, the second party garnered 30 per cent of the vote in 88.1 per cent of the elections, and 40 per cent of the vote in 55.8 per cent of the elections.

At the present time the state is represented by two Democratic senators; one is Richard (E.) Neuberger, the first Democratic senator to be elected by the people in over forty years, and the other is Wayne Morse, who recently chose to change his party registration from Republican to Democrat. There are three Republican congressmen and one Democratic congresswoman in the United States House of Representatives. In the state legislature, the alignment is 80 per cent Republican in the Senate and 58.3 per cent Republican in the House of Representatives. The Board of Control, which consists of the governor, the secretary of state and the state treasurer, is completely Republican. This board dominates Oregon's entire administrative machinery. The attorney general and the labor commissioner are Democrats.

At the present time (1955) party influence and rivalry throughout the state on the county level has resulted in the Republican party holding 68.4 per cent of the total offices, including county commissioners, clerks, sheriffs, treasurers, assessors, surveyors, recorders, coroners and auditors. River County, where Milltown is located, long has been a solid Republican

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[1]Austin Ranney and Willmoore Kendall, "The American Party System," American Political Science Review, XLVIII (June, 1954), p. 477-485.

stronghold, retaining control even during the New Deal days when Democrats were successful in other sections of the state and the nation. This status was modified in 1954 when three Democrats were voted into county offices.

While all the elections for officials on the local level are non-partisan, there is considerable party participation in terms of the interests of the local committeemen. On the state level, the Democrats have won 23.5 per cent of the elections between 1914 and 1952 and they presently hold 31.6 per cent of the county offices throughout the state. In the case of the four Milltown agencies considered in Chapter III--the city council, the municipal power board, the park and recreation board and the school board--the stated political preference of 54.5 per cent of the board members is Democratic.

Rather than emphasizing the existence of one-party domination, it may be more rewarding for the purposes of this study to touch briefly upon the complexities and composition of both parties in the state today. The Civil War had a marked influence on the Democratic party, causing it to become divided along the lines of pro-slavery (in support of the South) and anti-slavery groups. The Agrarian Populist movement tended to draw its support away from the Republican party, thus causing division in their ranks. Both these situations reflect not only the national developments but the complexity or coalition of interests within both state parties as well.

Oregon's political system can be characterized by a relative one-party dominance, by much factionalism within both major parties, ostensible non-partisanship in local elections and by reforms which have led to a heavy

reliance upon frequent voter judgments. It is a system wherein the candidates tend to rely on the personal followings which form the principal organizational units, while the parties have remained neutral in the selection of candidates in the primary elections. The definition of party platform and program is set by the candidates by a feeler-response technique which avoids permanent programs and ideological doctrinaire commitments. The Oregon system can be described as an open political system, one which is flexible and in which the voters are apt to "vote the man rather than the ticket." There is considerable movement in and out of the party by voters and active participants.

It becomes increasingly important in the discussion of the political parties not merely to make a structural and functional analysis, but to conceive of the party as a dynamic movement of individuals who have clustered into an organizational framework. This movement of individuals and party can be analyzed as a temporal process. Vincent Ostrom states in his definition of the dimension of process in the study of policy formation already referred to:

> A third dimension of policy formation is process which may be defined as the patterned sequence of acts or events which have instrumental significance in formulating policies. In various forms of more or less rational activities, people seek to order relationships into a systematic pattern involving the sequence of acts. Various types of political phenomena, such as an election campaign or budgeting, take on their distinctive characteristics from the sequence of acts involved in the process. As a rational ordering of acts, every process must be viewed in terms of the end or product which is sought or the function which is being performed.[1]

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[1] Ostrom, op. cit.

Thus, the participants regulate their activities according to the set dates when elections are held. This matter of fixed elections has the effect upon the participants of requiring the development of issues and candidates to coincide with fixed dates, rather than allowing the spontaneous outburst of issues at irregular times.

The factors discussed in this chapter which have significance for the precinct committeemen are: the party as a series of social relationships, the formal party organization, the functional roles played by the committeemen, the historical development of governmental reform in Oregon, the frequent opportunity for voter judgments, one-party domination and Oregon's political system. These form the milieu in which the committeemen work. The great flexibility of this milieu has in many ways made the committeemen anchorless, without a clear understanding of what is expected of them by the voters, their fellow committeemen and the party.

The major contributor to this atmosphere of vagueness is, of course, the temporal aspect of political campaigns. Most of the committeemen's participation is regulated by the alternation of "election years" and "off years." The committeeman is either hell-bent for election or lost in a lack of activity which approaches oblivion. This alternation is one of the hazards of party organization which is difficult to overcome. The party makes repeated efforts to sustain interest at campaign pitch in the off-years, but these attempts remain largely unsuccessful, with the exception of the factional struggle for power in the River County central committee which flares up in one form or another every so often and provokes a high level of interest and participation for a brief time.

CHAPTER V

SOME DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES OF COMMITTEEMEN AND VOTERS

Demographic Variables

It is important in this investigation to know the committeeman who is being studied. It is not enough simply to state his mean age, education and income without attempting to compare him with his fellow citizen and with his counterpart in the opposition party or to show the selective factor which operates in attracting political party participants. By constructing frequency polygons to indicate the deviations and state the mean scores of the compared groups, it will be possible to depict an index of the socio-economic variables that partially explain the differences in the participants under study.[1] Three groups have been designated for purposes of comparing these data: the precinct committeemen of Milltown as compared to the voters; the Democratic precinct committeemen as compared to the Republican precinct committeemen; and the Democratic voters as compared to the Republican voters.

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[1] The data on the voters was obtained from randomly selected sample of 502 individuals in Milltown taken in 1953-54. The town was divided into areas, then blocks were selected at random. Within the block every other household was selected, then within the household the individuals were again chosen at random. Of the 502 individuals interviewed, 439 stated their political preference as being either Republican or Democratic. It is these 439 persons who are considered the "voters."

Age (Fig. 3). The mean age of the precinct committeemen is 49.1 years, as compared to 42.9 years for the voters, or a difference of 6.2 years. The Democratic committeemen show a mean age of 47.0 years, while the mean age of the Republican committeemen is 53.3 years, a difference of 6.3 years. The Democratic voters have a mean age of 41.3; the Republican voters have a mean age of 45.6, 4.3 years older than the Democrats. According to these statistics, then, the precinct committeemen as a group are considerably older than the voters; likewise, the Republican committeemen are considerably older than the Democratic precinct committeemen, and the Republican voters are somewhat older than the Democratic voters.

Education (Fig. 4). The difference in the level of formal education attained is very slight both between the committeemen and the voters and between Democratic committeemen and Republican committeemen. The mean level of education for committeemen is 11.6 grades, as compared to 10.2 grades for the voters. The Democratic precinct committeemen show a mean grade level of 11.1, while the Republican committeemen's educational mean is 12.8 grades. The Democratic voters have a mean education of 10.0 grades, while the Republican voters' mean is 10.5 grades.

While education is concerned primarily with the value of enlightenment, in terms of formal education, both parties apparently are on an equal footing. However, in assessing the enlightenment value that operates as a basic resource of the participants, something more than formal education is drawn upon by the participants in order to shape and share the perspectives and

Means:

Democratic (N-24) Committeemen = 47.0 years
Republican (N-12) Committeemen = 57.3 years
Total (N-36) Committeemen - 49.1 years

Democratic (N-271) Voters = 41.3 years
Republican (N-168) Voters = 45.6 years
Total (N-439) Voters = 42.9 years

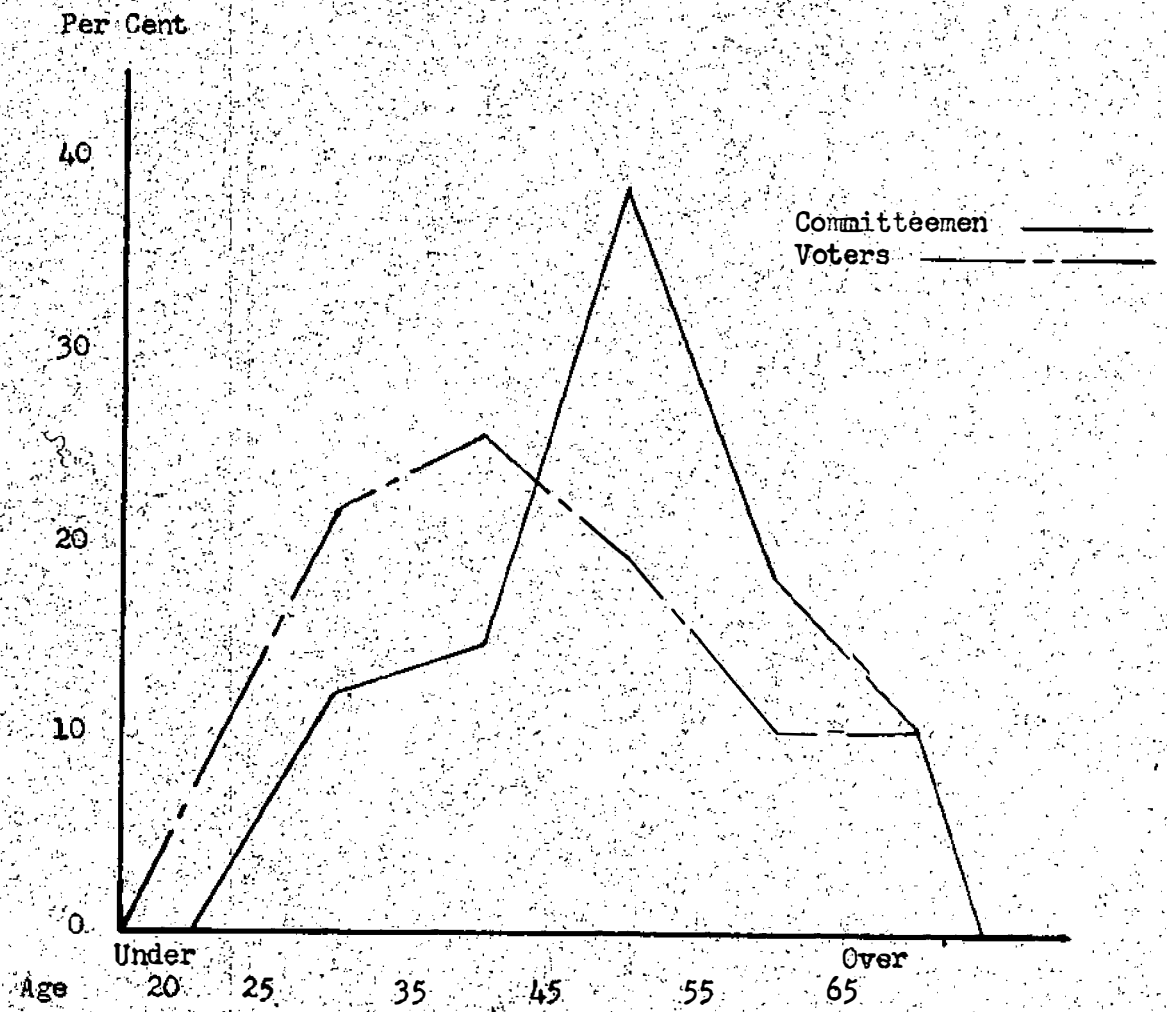

Fig. 3. The Age of Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters in Milltown

Means:

Democratic (N-24) Committeemen = 11.1 grades
Republican (N-12) Committeemen = 12.8 grades
Total (N-36) Committeemen = 11.7 grades

Democratic (N-271) Voters = 10.0 grades
Republican (N-168) Voters = 10.5 grades
Total (N-439) Voters = 10.2 grades

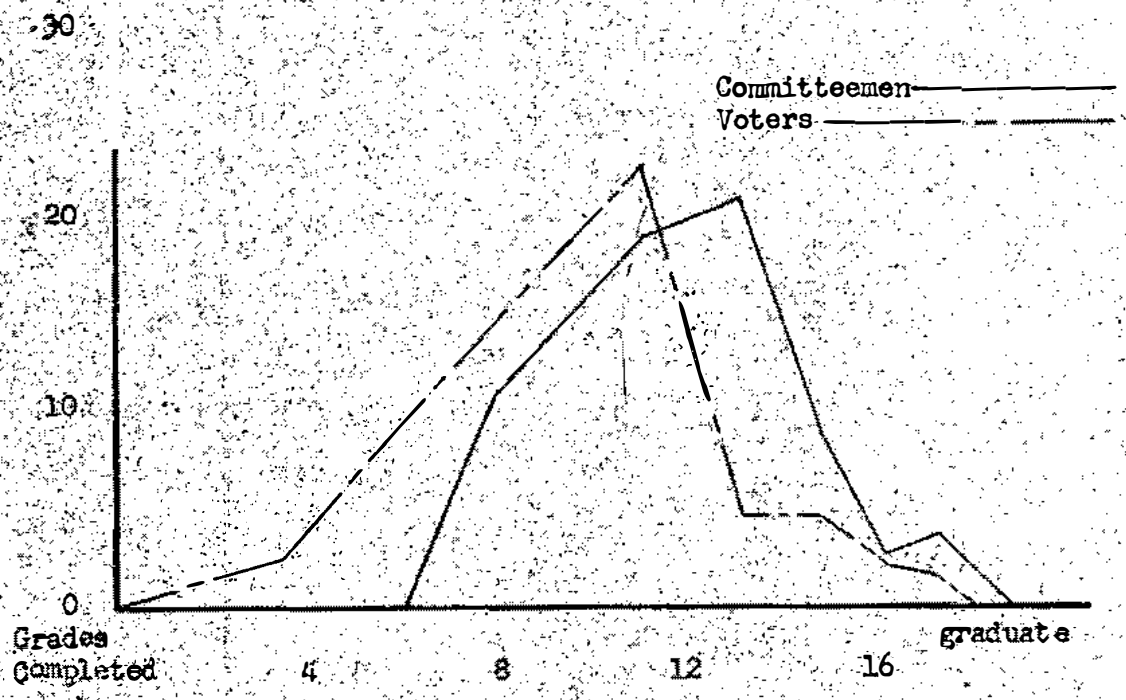

Fig. 4. The Education of Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters in Milltown

outcomes of populace and elections. In this regard, it is difficult to ascertain which party has the strategic advantage.

Occupation (Fig. 5). The housewives compose the largest occupational group in the community; they also represent about 33 per cent of the committeemen of both parties. No detailed analysis has yet been made of housewives; the data available, however, indicate that this is the largest group of non-voters in all Milltown elections—school, local, state and national. In addition, it should be noted that 76.6 per cent of the male population of Milltown is registered to vote, while there is a registration of only 64.9 per cent of the female population.

Craftsmen account for about 15 per cent and unskilled labor for about 10 per cent of the voters. In all the occupational classifications listed, Democratic and Republican voters are equally represented with two exceptions: there are twice as many Republicans (eight per cent) as Democrats (four per cent) in the proprietor group, and there are about three times as many Republicans (nine per cent) as Democrats (three per cent) who are retired.

In the group of Republican precinct committeemen, about 41 per cent are proprietors and managers, nine per cent are professional people, nine per cent are craftsmen and nine per cent have retired. In contrast, about 17 per cent of the group of Democratic precinct committeemen are professional workers, and the craftsmen, service and unskilled worker classifications each are represented by about 12 per cent.

The occupational position one holds in the community may well be more significant than the formal education level one has attained. There is a

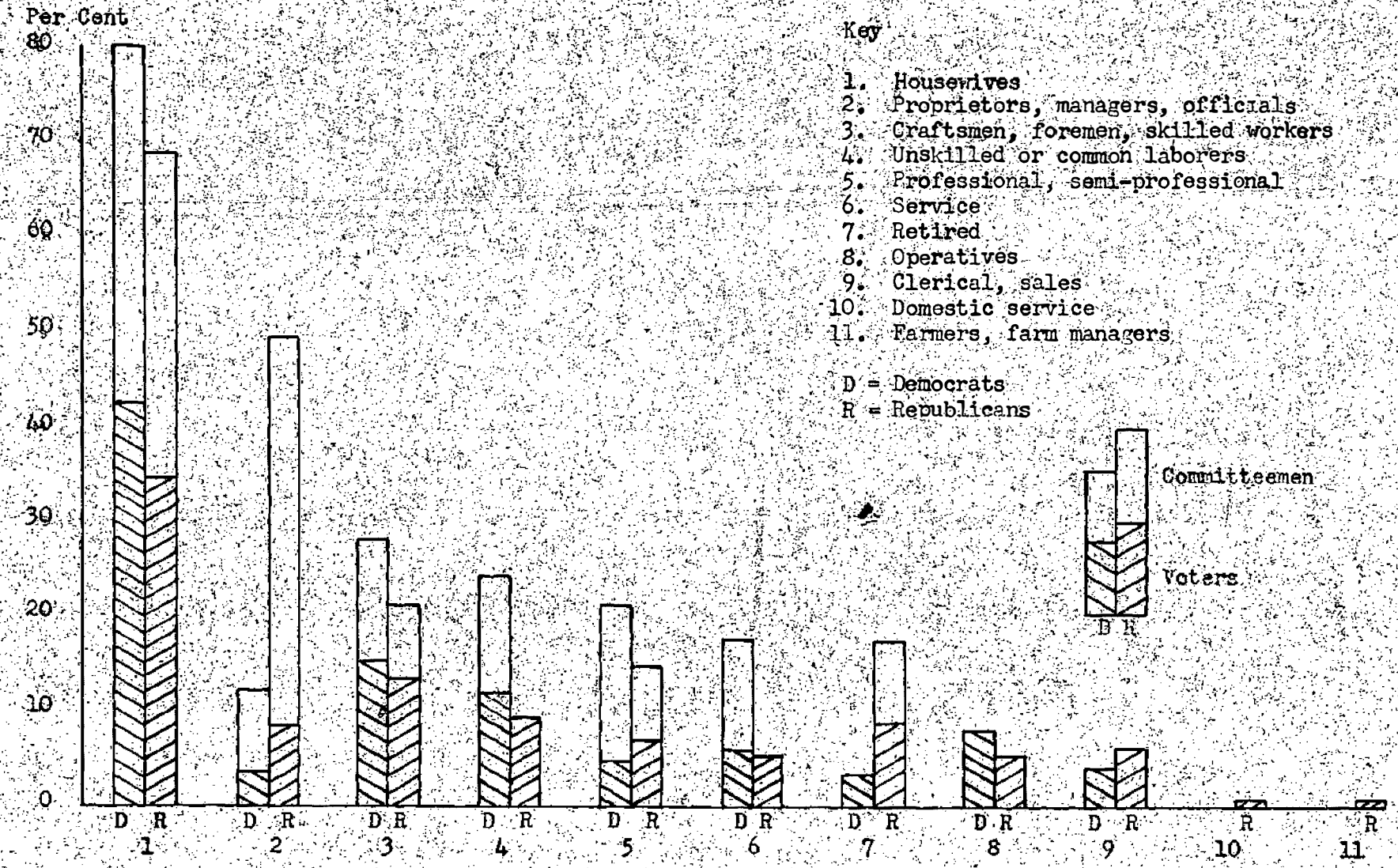

Fig. 5. The Occupational Composition of Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters in Milltown

continuous program in leadership education being conducted for the members of the business community. If this observation of education as opposed to occupation holds true, the Republicans enjoy a decided advantage in Milltown, for their membership is drawn almost exclusively from the proprietor, manager and official elements. The Democrats draw more heavily on the craftsmen, operatives and skilled and unskilled workers.

Income (Fig. 6). The mean annual income of committeemen is $5402.77, as compared to $5008.73 for the voters. This represents an annual income which is $394.07 higher for the precinct committeemen than for the voters. The Democratic committeemen have a mean annual income of $5156.25, while the mean income of the Republican committeemen is $5895.83, a difference resulting in an income which is $739.58 higher for the Republican committeemen. The Democratic voters have a mean annual income of $4904.13, while the mean income of Republican voters is $5179.45, or $275.32 higher for the Republicans than for the Democrats. The difference between the mean income of Democratic and Republican committeemen is the most significant in this comparison; no doubt it is reflected in the types of issues and candidates supported by both groups in the political arena. This factor is also apparent in the practices performed by the two parties; the Republicans utilize such campaign media as radio and television, which require considerable financial resources, while the Democrats rely upon the face-to-face doorbell-ringing techniques.

Number of Children (Fig. 7). The mean number of children in the families of precinct committeemen is 2.9; in the families of the voters it is 2.2 children. The mean number of children in the families of Democratic

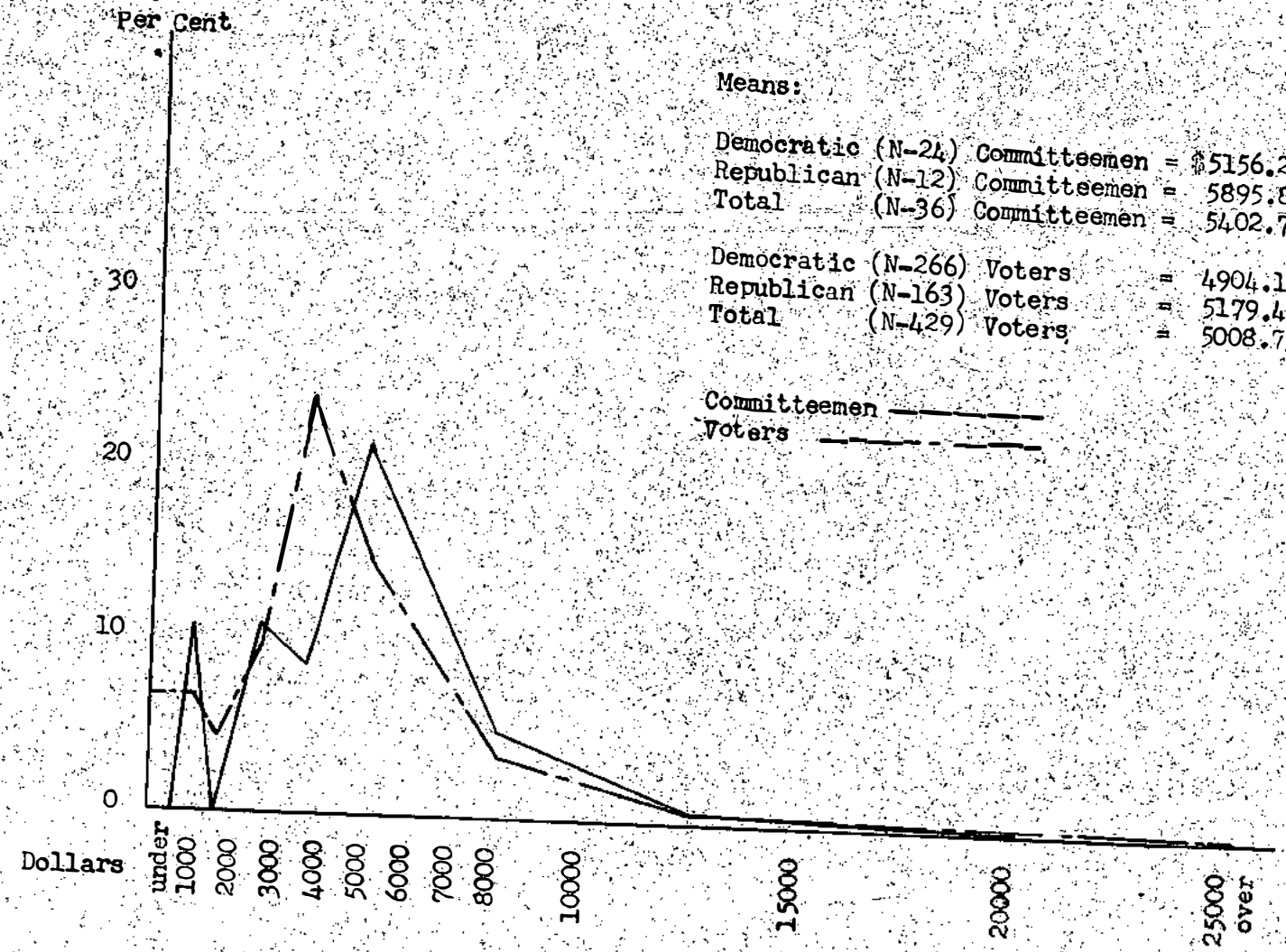

Fig. 6. The Income of Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters of Milltown

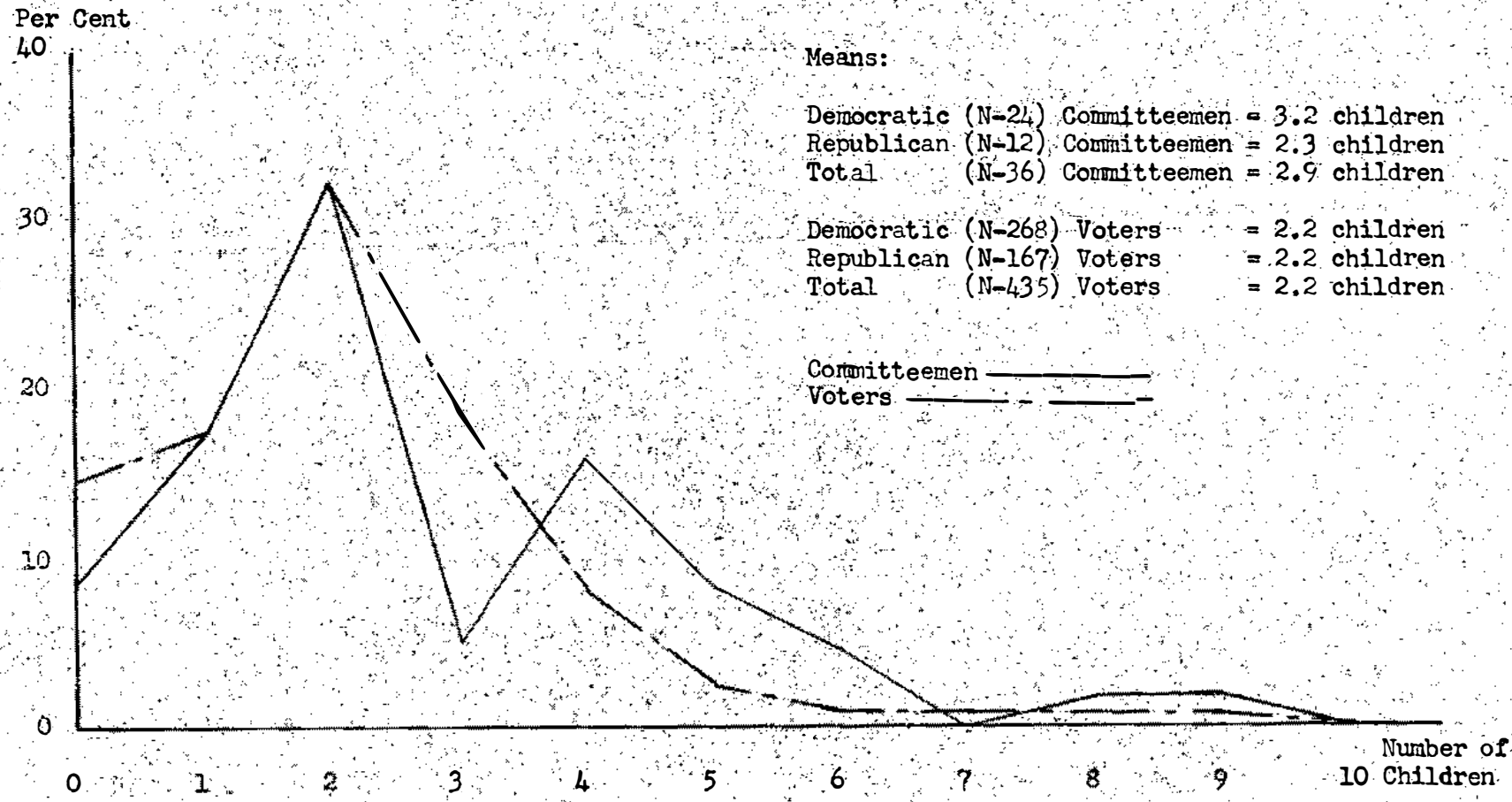

Fig. 7. The Number of Children of Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters in Milltown

and Republican voters is exactly the same: 2.2 children. The only marked difference in the number of children for the various groups is between the mean of 3.2 children for Democratic committeemen and the mean of 2.3 children for Republican committeemen. This represents a difference of almost one child more in the families of Democratic committeemen as compared to Republican committeemen.

The Status of the Children (Fig. 8). The concept of the family life cycle utilizes the status of children in school to distinguish the four stages, which are: (1) parents with pre-school children only; (2) parents with children in and beyond school only; (3) parents with children in school and beyond, or pre-school, in school and beyond, or pre-school and beyond; and (4) parents with children beyond school only. When the four stages are broken down arbitrarily into tenths of units, it is found that the mean stage of the family life cycle occupied by precinct committeemen (and their families) is 3.2, as compared to a mean of 2.5 stages for the voters, a difference of 0.7 stages later in the life cycle. This indicates that the committeemen are well into the third stage of the family life cycle, while the voter is only halfway through the second stage. There is no difference between the Democratic and Republican committeemen and Democratic and Republican voters. It is difficult to ascertain whether the difference between committeemen and voters is due to the status of the child in school, to a function of age or to the career status of the breadwinner. It may be all three.

Place of Birth (Fig. 9). Milltown's rapid growth reflects a heavy immigration from other sections of the United States which, in terms of

Means:

Democratic (N-24) Committeemen = 3.2 stage
Republican (N-12) Committeemen = 3.3 stage
Total (N-36) Committeemen = 3.2 stage

Democratic (N-233) Voters = 2.5 stage
Republican (N-144) Voters = 2.6 stage
Total (N-377) Voters = 2.5 stage

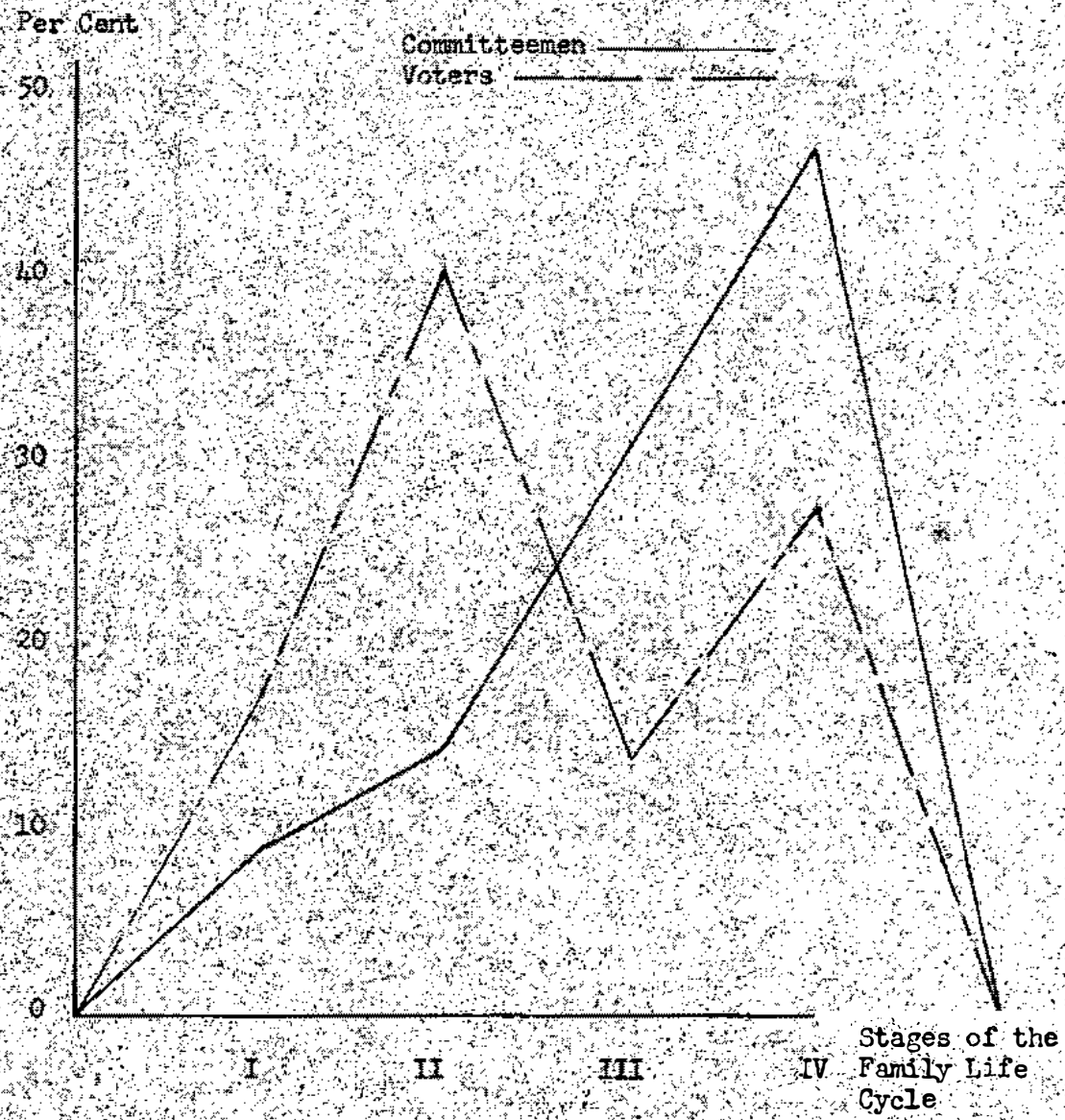

Fig. 8. The Status in School of the Children of Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters in Milltown.

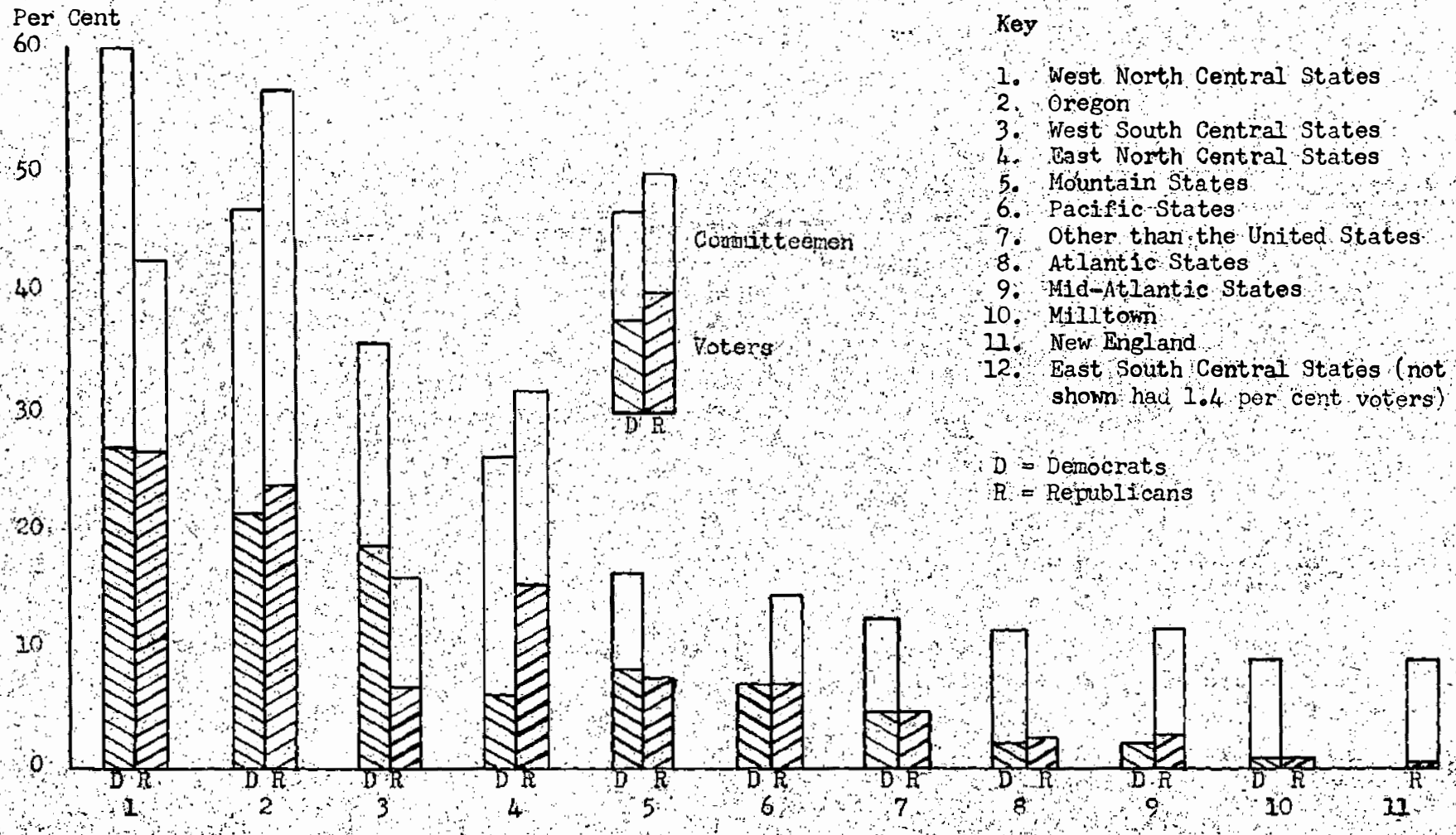

Fig. 9. The Place of Birth of Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters of Milltown

party preference and political behavior, has great impact on the community. For as people move about the country, they take with them past political preferences and perspectives about their parties and they appraise the new local political situation in terms of their antecedent regional perspectives. The largest percentage—33 per cent--of the Milltown Republican committeemen were born in Oregon, 16 per cent were born in the West North Central states (North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas and Missouri) and 16 per cent were born in the East North Central states (Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio). The largest percentage—33 per cent--of Democratic committeemen were born in the West North Central states, 25 per cent were born in Oregon and 20 per cent were born in the East North Central states.

On the whole, equal percentages of the Republican and Democratic voters in Milltown were born in each section of the United States. Some 27 per cent of the voters of both parties were both in the West North Central states and 22 per cent were born in Oregon. There are two exceptions to the generally equal percentages of voters of both parties coming from the different sections of the United States. Nineteen per cent of the Democratic voters were both in the West South Central states (Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana), while only seven per cent of the Republican voters were born in this area. Likewise, 25 per cent of the Republican voters were born in the East North Central states, while only six per cent of the Democratic voters were born in this section.

Length of Residence (Fig. 10). The mean period of residence of precinct committeemen in Milltown is 11.0 years, as compared to 8.8 years for

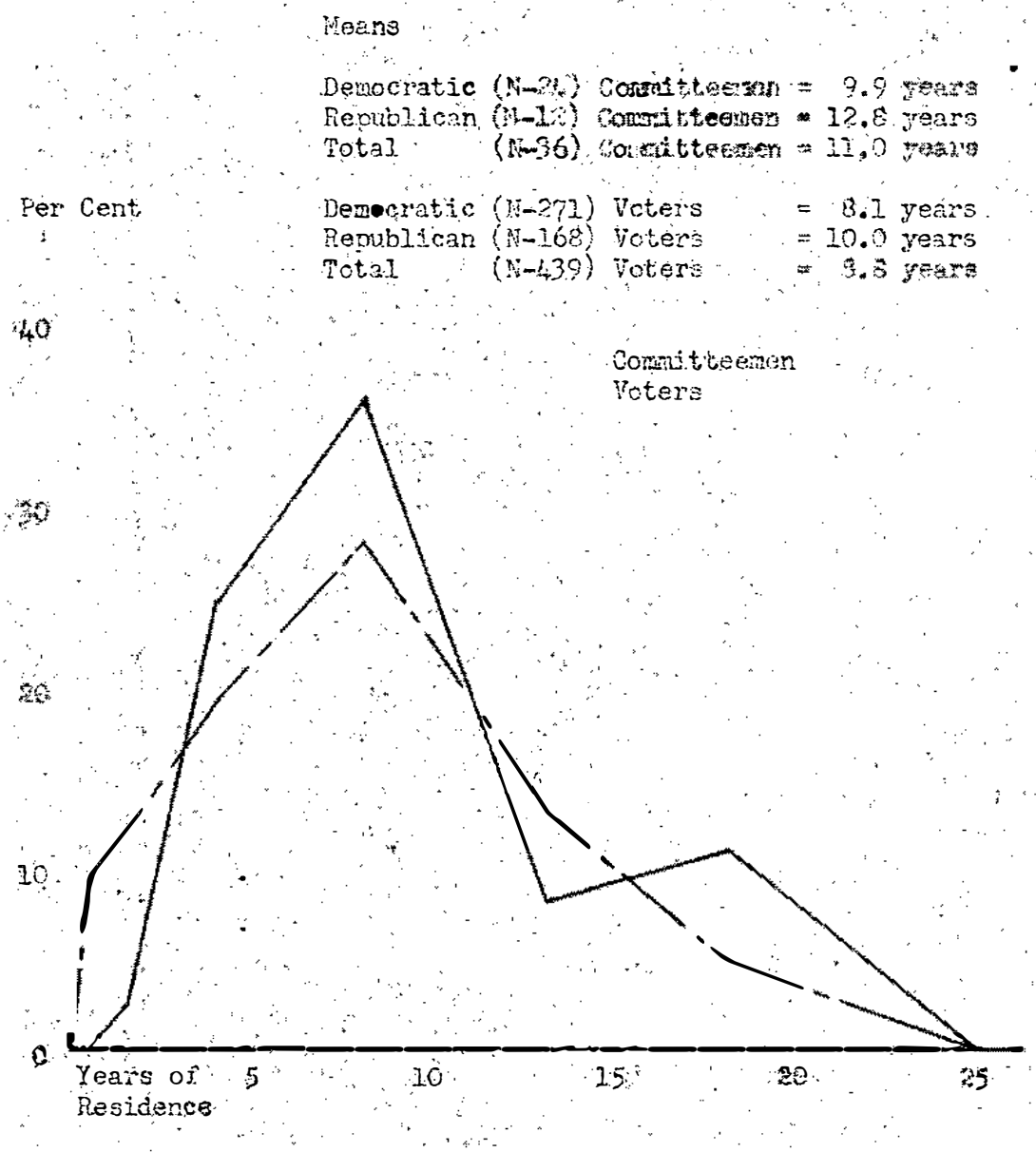

Fig. 10. The Length of Residence in Milltown of Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters

the voters; in other words, the committeeman's mean length of residence is 2.2 years greater than that of the voter. The Democratic committeemen have a mean residency of 9.9 years, while the mean for Republican committeemen is 12.8, or 2.9 years longer. The Democratic voters have a mean length of residence of 8.1 years, while the Republican voters have a mean length of residence of 10.0 years, 1.9 years longer than that of the Democratic voters. The fact that the committeemen have resided longer in Milltown indicates that they have had a better opportunity to find selective areas in which to participate and that there has been a longer time for their neighbors and the party to select them as representatives in their precincts.

Mobility (Fig. 11). The number of moves a person has made within the last nine years (1945-54) furnishes the index of mobility for this study. The mean of mobility for precinct committeemen is 1.4 moves, as compared to a mean of 2.1 moves for the voters. This represents an additional 0.7 of a move for the voters. There is only a slight difference between Democratic and Republican committeemen and between Democratic and Republican voters in terms of mobility. This slight difference in the rate of mobility of the Democratic and Republican voters was unexpected, since much of the Democratic campaign strategy has been based on the problem of reaching the supposedly highly mobile group of Democratic voters.

The General Community Participation Score (Fig. 12). A General Community Participation Scale has been developed by the Oregon Community Study. While the Chapin Scale measures participation in the formal organizations and associations in the community, the General Community Participation Scale not only

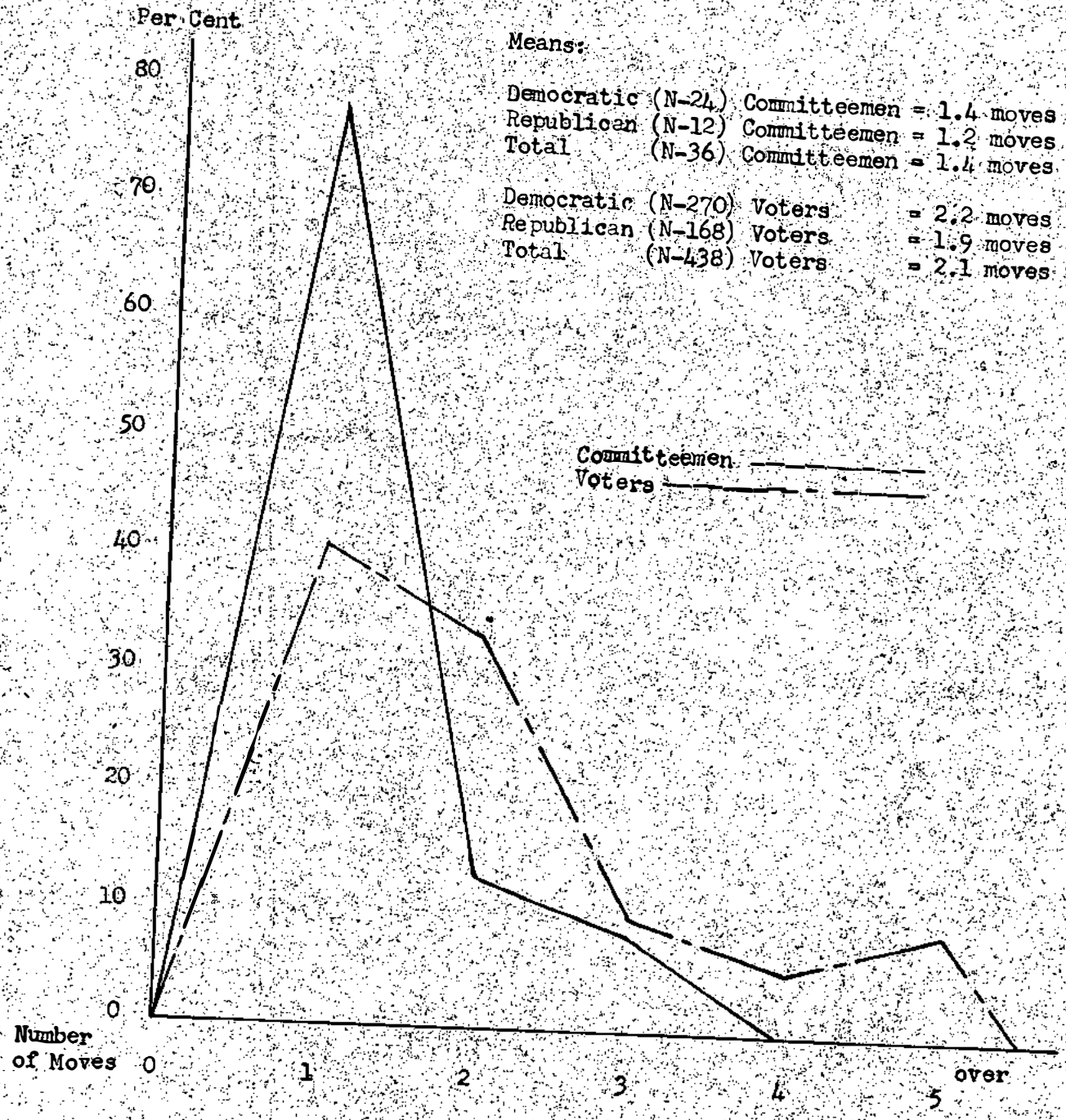

Fig. 11. The Mobility Factor of Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters in Milltown

Means:

Democratic (N-24) Committeemen = 8.0 points
Republican (N-12) Committeemen = 8.7 points
Total (N-36) Committeemen = 8.2 points

Democratic (N-271) Voters = 3.1 points
Republican (N-168) Voters = 3.5 points
Total (N-439) Voters = 3.3 points

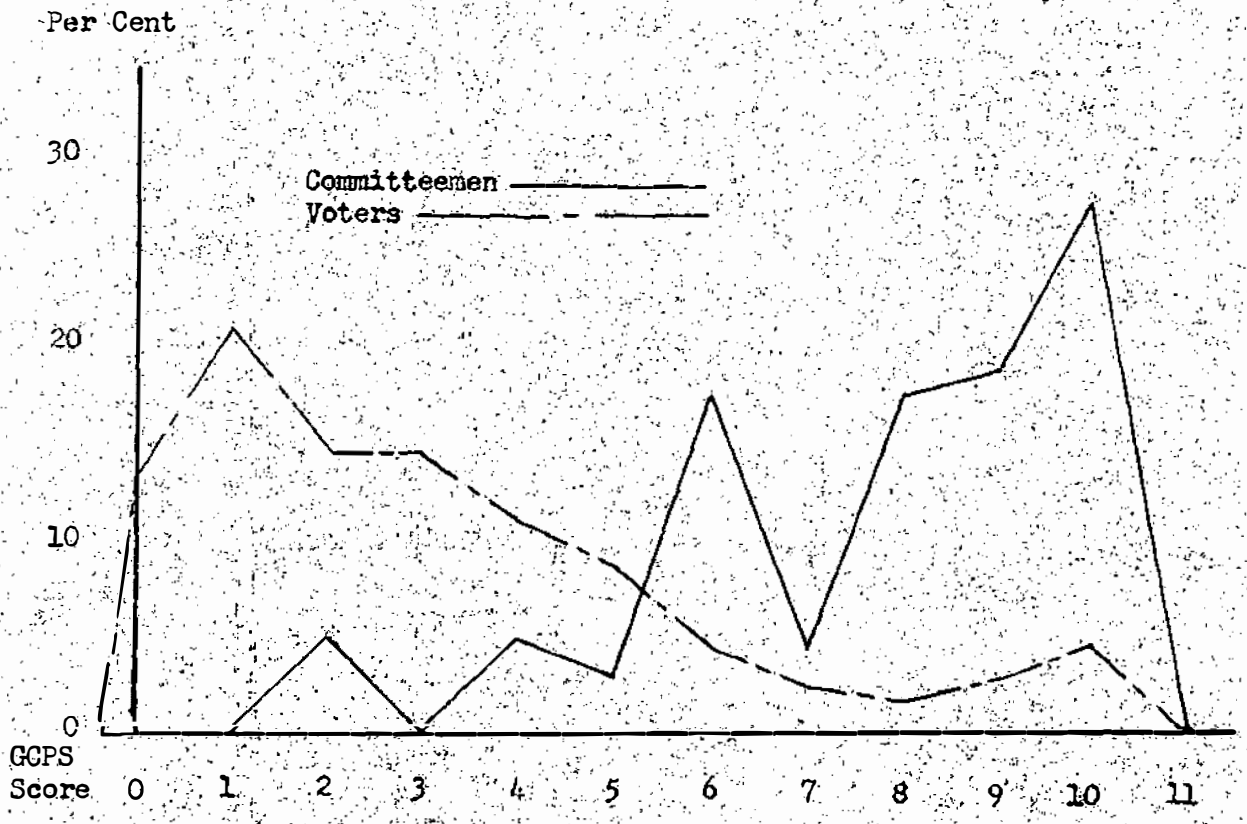

Fig. 12. The General Community Participation Scores for Democratic and Republican Precinct Committeemen and Democratic and Republican Voters in Milltown

measures the formal aspects of the individual's participation, but also attempts to measure such informal aspects as association with school and governmental officials, discussion of public problems with family, friends and officials, voting patterns and attendance at meetings that consider public problems.

The mean participation scorefor precinct committeemen is 8.2 points on a 10-point scale, as compared to a mean score of 3.3 points for the voters. This is a difference of 4.9 points, or a conspicuously higher score for the committeemen. In other words, the mean participation score for the voters occurs very low on the participation scale, while the committeemen rate extremely high. There is little difference between the scores of Democratic and Republican committeemen, or between Democratic and Republican voters. By means of the General Participation Scale it has been shown that the variable which manifests the most significant difference between precinct committeemen as local leaders and the voters whom they represent is the relative degree of community participation.

Multi-Variate Analysis

During the year-long period of observation of the precinct committeemen and voters of Milltown, this investigator repeatedly made informal attempts to discover whether or not there are any significant differences between the committeemen and the voters as groups. Accordingly, a multivariate analysis has been conducted to test the following hypotheses:

> There is no difference in mean value of the four[1] variables—general community participation score, income, education and age—for the two populations of precinct committeemen and voters of Milltown.[2]

At the conclusion of the test, this hypothesis had to be rejected.

As a result of rejecting the hypothesis, it can be predicted unhesitatingly that those persons who assume the role of precinct committeeman will be individuals who are older, have a higher annual income, a slightly higher degree of formal education and a much larger degree of community participation. Other demographic variables such as a greater amount of stability in the community, for instance, or a longer period of residence

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[1] John M. Foskett, in a series of participation studies of Milltown and another nearby city (supra), has stated that income, education and age are the most significant demographic variables in determining the degree of participation in the community.

[2] There follows a summary of the multi-variate analysis as compiled and computed by Pearl Van Natta:

"Assumptions. 1. The variances and covariances are the same in the two populations. 2. The variables have a multi-variate normal distribution.

"Technique. The Mahalanobis D^2 technique has been used to test the hypothesis specifying no difference in mean values of the characters for the two populations with a statistic which can be used as a variance ratio with p and $(N_{\cdot} - 1 - p)$ degrees of freedom.

"Results. This statistic gave a value of 25.418 which is highly significant beyond the .01 per cent level of confidence. There is less than one chance in one hundred of getting a value larger than 3.34 with this statistic if there is no difference in the two populations for these variables. We therefore very confidently reject the hypothesis that there is no difference between the two populations with regard to the four variables tested."

and less moving about from one location to another are important. In addition, the particular characteristics that each party takes on locally may be the result of the regional antecedents of those people who have migrated into Milltown.

When Lasswell's value system is applied to these demographic variables--i.e., income as an index of wealth, education as an index of enlightenment, occupation as an index of skill and general community participation as an index of power or influence in the community--it can be stated with equal confidence that the precinct committeemen are in a position of more strategic net value than are the voters. It may also be stated that the Republicans hold a slight advantage over the Democrats with regard to these variables in that they are in a better position to influence the shaping and sharing of values in the community. Thus, the committeemen have assumed the role of leadership among the voters in their precincts with regard to political party affairs because potentially they are in a better net value position to take such a role.

Committeemen Compared to Youth and School Leaders. While the present study has been limited to an investigation of the political party leaders of Milltown, two other studies have been completed in connection with the Oregon Community Study which are of value here for comparison of leadership groups. One is a study of the school board in Milltown,[1] the other is a study of the adult leaders of youth activities.[2] In all three leadership groups--party leaders, school leaders and youth activity leaders--the same pattern

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[1] Hagen, op. cit., Chapter IV.

[2] Moriarty, op. cit., p. 88.

develops with regard to the demographic variables. The school leaders hold better jobs, earn higher incomes, have had better education, live in a more stable family atmosphere, spend longer periods of residence in Milltown and show greater interest in community activitiy. Likewise, the youth activity leaders tend to be older, have higher incomes, to be better educated and to hold better positions than the average Milltown citizen. They are more stable, residing in Milltown for a longer period of time, and show a greater readiness to belong to community associations and to become a vital part of the community. Thus, the net value position of the different groups of leaders is much the same in relation to the general population, although they have concentrated their efforts in differing arenas within the context of the community.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL PARTY PARTICIPATION

In the previous chapter the demography of participation has been analyzed by comparing committeemen and voters, Democratic committeemen and Republican committeemen and Democratic voters and Republican voters. It has been shown that party leadership roles have been allocated in relation to the net strategic value positions of committeemen as compared with their neighbors. The committeemen are older, have a slightly higher degree of formal education, a higher income, a slightly larger number of children, a tendency for their children to be further advanced in the educational process, a longer period of residency, less tendency to move about from one location to another and an extremely high degree of general community participation.

This information is helpful in indicating socio-economic characteristics of the committeemen in relation to the voters. However, mere compilation of demographic characteristics does not offer any particular insight into what has attracted the committeemen into the party and power arenas, what values they are attempting to maximize, what practices they perform in this arena or what resources they have at their command in maximizing these values. At this point, then, the theoretical model formulated in Chapter I[1] —

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[1] Participants with perspectives pursue scope values through institutions; manipulate practices by utilizing base values as a means of influencing the outcome of an election.

becomes an important tool in conceptualizing what occurs in terms of practices manipulated and resources utilized in the winning of an important election and why the party has been chosen to implement the desired values.

Perspectives

The perspectives of the individual committeemen vary greatly with regard to the identifications, demands and expectations made in relation to the party. In addition, the committeemen make self-appraisals of their own degree of influence within the power arena and constant evaluations of issues and candidates that become prominent during the course of an election. There also exists the question of the social organization within which they refer themselves, i.e., group, area, community, county, state, region and national levels.

Perspectives of Party

The reasons given by the respondents for participation in political party activities range from no stated reasons for aligning with a particular party to choosing the party which advances the views and policies already held by the individual. It appears that the respondents tend to form into two general groups: the Republicans regard their party as being "more economically sound," "making few mistakes since 1856," and "having good principles"; while the Democrats consider their party as "striving for the elimination of inequalities among men," being "the party of the common people" and "the party that works for the laboring people." As might be expected, their respective opinions of the opposition are equally strong. The Republicans picture the Democrats as "radicals, preferring war rather than a depression," while the

Democrats consider the Republican party as "the money and businessman party" and are "thoroughly disgusted with Hoover and his hogfood."[1]

If more concise self-definitions are sought, it is found that the Republicans generally label themselves conservative while the Democrats for the most part call themselves liberal. Below this surface of labels lies a vast reservoir of untapped and unstudied emotions, identifications, demands and expectations on and about the party that revolve around the concept of deference and welfare values proposed by Lasswell. In replying to the question "Why have you chosen your particular party?" the respondents again tend to form into two general groups: those who conceive of their party as reflecting deference values and those who conceive of their party as reflecting welfare values. The "elimination of inequalities among men" is an example of deference values, for it expresses concern with the acts of others and of the self; while "our party is more economically sound" is an example of welfare values, since it reflects concern with those conditions which are to a certain degree necessary for the maintenance of the physical activity of the person or a state of well-being for the society.

On the basis of the perspectives which the participants have of their parties in terms of values, it is possible to explain the varying degrees of party participation and the conflicts of interests that occur within a party when certain identifications, demands and expectations are not fulfilled. It should be added that one party does not represent only deference values while the other party represents only welfare values. What is important is that the

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[1] All such quotations in this chapter are taken from the personal interviews with 36 precinct committeemen and committeewomen of Milltown which form the basis for this study.

participants perceive that their party and the opposing party reflect certain values with which they agree or disagree.

Perspectives of Self and of Others in the Party

The committeemen were asked specifically to rate themselves as to their own effectiveness in influencing the actions and opinions of others or in getting certain policies adopted. They were asked to compare themselves in this respect with most other people in the community, and on the whole their replies were representative of the roles they themselves play in formal and informal political party situations. Some 52.8 per cent of the committeemen felt that they have about average influence in the political party, 30.5 per cent felt they are more influential than most and 17.7 per cent that they are very influential in party affairs.

It should be noted that while on this occasion the committeemen were asked only to evaluate their own influence in the party, there is a constant evaluation of one another as to effectiveness in carrying out specific responsibilities, where one person stands on certain issues and party alignments, the labeling of being "too conservative" or "too liberal" and the gathering of an enormous amount of information about the other committeemen with whom they are associated.

The appraisal of others in the immediate context is an entirely different process from dealing with the issues of the campaign and the candidates. In discussions about other committeemen the opinions become sharp and direct. The conversations that take place among committeemen are complex and often difficult to follow. Many of them indicate a lack of information with which to pursue a thorough discussion of the facts in a given situation or reveal the fear of

sanctions being imposed for unexpected comments. Many conversations about issues and candidates consist of such harmless statements as, "I guess Dick is running ahead in the polls." For a time one popular opening question was, "What do you think of the Formosa situation?" The reply would be, "I don't know; it looks kind of bad, doesn't it?" With few exceptions there is a decided lack of penetrating analysis of the political situation; the atmosphere is simply one of attempting to maintain friendly relations with as many others as possible in the internal party arena.

Level of Political Orientation.

The orientation of the participants to the level of their interests and problems has been partly measured by having them rank the relative importance of the various elections--school district, park and recreation district, municipal or city, county, state and national. In ranking the various elections in the order of chosen importance, four categories were established: (1) Locally oriented when school district, park and recreational district and city elections were ranked in the first four choices; (2) nationally oriented when state and national elections were ranked in the first two; (3) mixed when neither of the above rankings was adhered to; and (4) no difference when the respondent specifically stated that in his opinion no difference existed as to the relative importance of the various elections.

In ranking the various elections in the order of importance, 61 per cent of the committeemen indicated that there was no difference as to which election was most important, that they considered all elections of equal importance. Seventeen per cent of the committeemen replied with a mixed ranking, 19 per cent were nationally oriented, while three per cent were locally oriented. This compares with the 25 per cent of the voters who thought that

there was no difference as to the importance of elections, 31 per cent who gave a mixed ranking, 41 per cent who were nationally oriented and three per cent who were locally oriented.

When asked what policies were of particular interest to them when they were working for the party, the committeemen gave answers varying from specific county problems to international problems of collective security. The overwhelming majority of the committeemen's replies indicated an awareness of the national problems which frequently take precedence over the more immediate local problems.

This preponderant concern for the solution to national problems may be explained by the fact that the political parties make alignments on the national level that have force, meaning and consequence on the local level as well. Whatever the source of this domination of national problems, the campaign observed was highlighted by one prominent issue which riveted the attention of party personnel and voters alike. The issue was the development of the vast natural resources of the United States, in general, and of the Pacific Northwest in particular. The senatorial campaign became the battleground for the protagonists, who were Democrat Richard L. Neuberger, a conservationist and a proponent of federally constructed multi-purpose dams, and the incumbent, Republican Guy Cordon, a proponent of the "partnership" program of bringing the government and private utilities together to build dams and produce power respectively. The senatorial campaign became the foremost party struggle; the stakes were high and both sides made an all-out effort to win.[1]

[1]This senatorial campaign cost approximately $250,000, the highest campaign expenditure in the United States in the 1954 elections. The Cordon expenditures accounted for about $160,000; Neuberger's expenditures were $90,000.

Not only was the problem of the development of natural resources the dominant issue, but the solutions offered involved all levels of public agencies, with a very heavy reliance on the federal financing of the large multi-purpose dams. The situation is similar to that involved in the administration of the Colorado River, upon which Vincent Ostrom comments:

> The complexity of water resources administration on an interstate stream, such as the Colorado River, creates a relative vacuum plagued with uncertainty and insecurity in the resolution of political conflicts and the establishment of public policies. If the states are not able to agree among themselves as to the allocation of water rights and the planning of water works, some agency of government must be available to adjudicate and resolve the difference.[1]

The formulation of a public policy in the development of the natural resources is in a state of flux. Many interest groups are concerned and participation is widespread, for not only is the development of water and forest resources involved, but the future control of atomic energy is also at stake. The parties have chosen to make this a political issue and thus it has been presented to the voters and commiteemen.

Summary of Perspectives

It is seen that the participants make certain identifications with their parties, with other participants and with candidates and issues. In some instances this identification is so complete that the individual seems unable to increase or modify his conceptual picture of the party, issue and candidates. For example, in the interviews absolutely no criticism of the party was offered as such. However, during the observation of the campaign there was specific criticism of the overemphasis given certain issues and some direct criticism

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[1] Vincent Ostrom, Water and Politics (Los Angeles: The Haynes Foundation, 1953), p. 237.

of candidates as, for instance, one candidate's recommendation for the recognition of Red China, and the complete inadequacy of a whole slate of state legislative candidates. It is important to recognize that the individual identifications reflect the value patterns that the participants perceive in relation to the parties, groups, issues and candidates.

The committeemen make demands of the party and candidates that again reflect value patterns with varying degrees of clarity. While the specific demands made by the committeemen may not be as articulate as the demands made by those who hold higher positions of leadership in the party, nevertheless the committeemen make demands on the leadership of the party and candidates by the mere fact that they are needed in the party organization. The candidates, particularly the victorious candidates, attempt to keep the lines of communication open between themselves and those who have worked for them by sending many bulletins and clippings to keep the committeemen abreast of public affairs. This continued acknowledgment of their services during the campaign and afterward may be the most important reward the committeemen actually receive.

The committeemen have also established a series of expectations about the party, their co-workers and the candidates. They vary greatly with regard to these expectations, from those who want no more than recognition for the job done to those who have positive expectations of securing a job with the government or a position which offers further opportunities of exerting influence.

Scope Values or Motives

In determining the scope values or desired goals of the participants, it is extremely difficult to infer the validity of the answers from the respondents'

replies to direct questions. It is the task of the investigator to choose suitable methods to discover the real reasons why committeemen are active in party affairs and then to utilize his data with the utmost caution. An index of the individual scope values was obtained by asking the committeemen such questions as: Why are you a committeemen? Are you trying to advance the party organization or certain policies? What kind of policies do you think are the most important for your party to pursue?[1]

When the precinct committeemen were asked directly why they became committeemen and why they continue to perform this office, their replies were vague and made with obvious difficulty, as though they had not thought out this question before. Their replies ranged from "no response" to "wanting to change the government" to "curiosity." About 60 per cent of the Republican committeemen felt that they had been pressured into the job or faced with the "fact" that it was a duty and a necessity. The reasons given by the Democratic committeemen revolve around an "interest in government," "a community of common feeling" and "advancing my ideals." Such replies indicate that there are many values being sought by the committeemen entering the political arena. They reflect the values of power--"the advancement of my ideals"; of rectitude--"it is a duty"; of affection--"a community of common feeling"; and of enlightenment--"an interest in government."

The replies to the direct question, "Why are you a precinct committeeman?" suggest the necessity of probing deeper into the thoughts, activities and goals of the respondents. A partial index of the many facets of the committeemen's interests can be obtained by asking such questions as, "Within

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[1] See Appendix B for complete questionnaire.

the party are you interested in the policy or the organizational aspect of party activity?" and, "What kinds of policies do you think are the most important for your party to pursue?" The replies can be utilized for the expression of scope value; they show that half of the committeemen are interested in promoting the cause of the party rather than advancing any specific policies, which indicates the importance of having their party in a position of power. Whether this includes a situation in which the individual committeemen may have more influence and whether they will be satisfied with the policies once their party is in control have not been ascertained.

When we consider what types of policies most attracted the committeemen and were of immediate concern in their entrance into active participation, we again find an index of the values that have significance for them. When the replies are classified in terms of Lasswell's eight values, we find that the Republicans, who have policy interests, reflect an interest in wealth values. They are concerned with "balancing the budget, and the national debt limitation," "getting away from spending money" and "free enterprise." Every Democrat interviewed had some policy in mind; even if one was interested primarily in the organization of the party, still he reflected a concern for the values of well-being, power, skill, wealth, prestige and affection. Democrats are interested in "social welfare," "the New Deal welfare program," "a complete change in county and state offices," "the elimination of inequalities in taxation," "the most effective use of our national resources," "a housing program" and "working for the good of most people, therefore, for the world."

In effect, then, these questions determine the scope values in terms of expressed interests. It should be kept in mind that this is only a probing attempt and that underlying much of this analysis of implemented values is the principle of maximization of value, with a net gain or loss in mind.

The Party as an Organization

The use of the political party as an organization wherein are expressed organized demands and scope values is a complex problem to analyze, and what has been attempted in this study can be only exploratory in nature. Two selective factors seem to be in operation: one, the individual's choice of the party as his vehicle of expression in preference to such organizational groupings as the school, church and economic units; and the other, the party's active search for supporters.

Recruitment into the active ranks of the party can be divided into three general groups. First, the individual may go out and seek the nomination; second, he may be elected by one or two "write-in" votes from wife, husband or neighbor; and third, he may have been contacted during an intensive search for workers and persuaded to accept an appointment.

In the last general election campaign, the Milltown Democrats organized an intensive search for personnel to fill the precinct vacancies. They contacted all the local people who were already active for leads to anyone else who might be interested in party activity. They searched the membership files of other organizations that were in any way sympathetic to their policies.

One group that responded was the local labor unions, whose leaders had promoted such a move toward the Democratic party. Some of the union personnel were not too useful on the precinct level, however, because of a heavy load

of union activities which took precedence. In fact, there were expressions of disappointment at their lack of participation, particularly in one case in which an active committeeman had been replaced when he was narrowly defeated by a union business agent. The result was that the committeemen became discouraged from further activity, while the union agent did nothing in the precinct position he had won.

Another example of the recruiting process is the canvassing of the entire county by one woman, who inquired of grocers and postmasters for people who might show an interest in Democratic politics. They responded with a fairly accurate estimate of likely prospects, with the result that she produced nearly one hundred new committeemen in a county which has a total of about four hundred precinct positions.

An index of the efforts of the Democratic party in this instance and of the success of the recruitment process shows that 75 per cent of the Democrats holding office filed formally for the position of committeeman. This compares to a 33 per cent filing by the Republican committeemen; the remainder were elected by write-in votes. The election laws of the state provide an opportunity for the committeeman to be appointed by his party organization between election periods. There is a widespread practice of this sort of recruitment, although none of the committeemen in the Hilltown sample were appointees.[1] A pattern also was evolved in the recruitment of committeemen in the Republican party. Two persons, oldtimers in the community and the party, seemed to be

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[1] This survey took place just after the primary, at which time the committeemen had just been elected and there had been no opportunity to appoint additional committeemen.

mainly responsible for finding workers, in each case pointing out to the prospect his duty and responsibilities as a citizen.

Recruitment into the party gives some indication of how the committeeman chose his party, or how the party chose him. At this point it is important to know to what other arenas the committeemen refer themselves for the expression of desired goals. The committeemen were asked to describe themselves in terms of their activitiy in the following fields: religion, organized labor, local government, school affairs, civic affairs, fraternal organizations, recreational activities, business and professional associations and political party affairs. Of the committeemen interviewed, 41.7 per cent rated themselves as very active in party affairs, 47.2 per cent were somewhat active in party affairs while 11.1 per cent felt they were somewhat inactive. No committeemen rated themselves as very inactive.

Those committeemen who rated themselves as very active in party affairs also rated themselves as somewhat active or very active in the other arenas; 60 per cent of this group felt they were somewhat active or very active in recreational activities, 53 per cent felt that they were active in labor organizations, local government, school affairs and civic affairs respectively (see Table IV). Of those committeemen who considered themselves somewhat active in party affairs, 65 per cent were active in religious and civic affairs and 53 per cent were active in local government. Thus, it is apparent that at the same time the party is being utilized by the committeemen, they are also referring themselves to other community arenas.

TABLE IV

AREAS OF NON-POLITICAL ACTIVITY TO WHICH PRECINCT COMMITTEEMEN REFER THEMSELVES

Areas	Very Active (N-15)	Somewhat Active (N-17)	Somewhat Inactive (N-4)
Religion	40.0	65.0	100.0
Labor organization	53.0	24.0	0.0
Local government	53.0	53.0	100.0
Education (school affairs)	53.0	47.0	50.0
Civic affairs	53.0	65.0	50.0
Fraternal organization	40.0	29.0	75.0
Recreational activities	60.0	37.0	0.0
Business and professional associations	27.0	12.0	0.0

Resources and Base Values

On the precinct level, it is difficult to assess the particular resources which the committeemen have at their command to influence the voting pattern of the voters. There is not only great variance in the degree of identification with party, but even more variance in the level of knowledge about the subject matter of politics and specific issues and the skill in utilizing these resources strategically. It is clear that on this level of the political ladder there are few or no wealthy persons to contribute large sums of money; however, the committeemen are constant contributors of small sums to the party. The party officials consider the committeemen's most valuable resource the close relations they have with the voter which provide them with an opportunity to furnish information about the party on a face-to-face basis. One of the party pamphlets states:

> Your position as precinct leader is a position of honor, of trust, and of responsibility. Of honor because you are one of the pillars of democracy. Of trust because your neighbors look to you for information and assistance. Of responsibility because this trust carries with it important duties.[1]

There was a noticeable difference between the campaign strategies of the Democrats and the Republicans. The Democrats relied more heavily on the face-to-face contacts of committeemen with the voters. The Democrats also made an effort to "take the issues to the people," which meant they placed a heavy reliance on the enlightenment value. The Republicans, on the other hand, depended more upon the mass media such as newspapers, radio and television, which they were well able to do because of their almost unlimited financial resources.

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[1] "Victory in Your Precinct," Democratic Party, Washington, D.C. Mimeographed.

Practices

The practices performed by the precinct committeemen of Milltown vary from doing nothing in the precinct and party affairs to participating as officials on the county executive committee of the party. When asked what they consider their functions as precinct committeemen, the replies were remarkably uniform and the answers were given as though they had been well rehearsed. This is understandable, since many of the area meetings had been devoted to discussions of activity in the precincts during the approaching campaign. The procedure recommended for the committeemen to follow involves a system of poll watchers, telephone committees, baby sitters and persons to transport voters to the polls. The typical reply was that the committeeman's task is to see that every eligible person is registered to vote and that he gets out to vote on election day. Some committeemen added, "I try to get the information on issues and party candidates to the people," "I'm supposed to keep in touch with the people, watch when they move into the precinct," and "I'm the party representative in this area."

In general, there is no evidence of the precinct committeemen running errands for the citizen or performing favors such as are reported in the larger metropolitan centers, e.g., fixing traffic tickets, supplying foodstuffs and handing on information about patronage jobs. In fact, when one committeewoman was asked what could be done to remedy the open gutter system in the area, she was at a loss to know where to go for information. They understand their job as one of going around their precincts distributing candidates' literature, seeing that the voters are properly registered and

getting them out to the polling places for elections. On the area and county levels the committeemen are called upon for housekeeping services like folding chairs and sweeping up halls after everyone has gone from a political rally or meeting.

Some Personal Sketches

While the above information constitutes a generalization of information about the thirty-six precinct committeemen, it will prove helpful to apply the theoretical model to individual committeemen in order to provide further insight into their behavior. The individuals were chosen for this purpose on the basis of their activities, ranges of interest and degrees of participation.

Mr. Everett, Democrat. Mr. Everett is a young lawyer with a high degree of general community participation; he has a comparatively low degree of party participation. He has identified himself with the party from an early period in his life. His primary motive for keeping in contact with the party is to enhance his personal power. He has been characterized by those around him as an opportunist who works only for Mr. Everett. Together with the other young men in his clique, he utilizes the party and the other committeemen extensively to further his own aims and policies. Mr. Everett does not function on the precinct level; he is brought into the party on a higher level for consultation on a variety of policies. His basic resource is his skill in matching wits with his opponents, one of whom once remarked, "You can't get anywhere talking with that smart lawyer."

Mr. Ellwood, Democrat. Mr. Ellwood has been associated with law enforcement for many years. He ranks very high in both party participation and general community participation. He identifies strongly with the party and has made such personal demands as asking for support in his candidacy for a county office. His identification with the party is so pronounced that his immediate superior in the city government requested that he resign his post on the County Central Executive Committee. This action was initiated by a leading businessman in the community who is very active in the Republican party.

Mr. Ellwood seeks personal power within the party structure, but more important to him is the prestige value. He feels that the party is an arena in which others have need of his enlightenment, when actually they use him for his skill and friendly manner in meeting people when they attend political meetings. Mr. Ellwood did not function on the precinct level, but was the official greeter at most party functions.

Mrs. Morrison, Republican. Mrs. Morrison is the wife of a retired merchant and has been an active party worker for some twenty years. Her scope values are identified with the well-being of society and she concerns herself with such matters as the growing national debt. She considers the party as an instrument to help shape and share the values of the kind of society she desires. Her base value is the respect which she commands in the community. Mrs. Morrison is not particularly active in her precinct but she does recruit younger persons to fill other precinct vacancies.

Mrs. Vernon, Democrat. Mrs. Vernon is the wife of a school teacher and she has always "lived off the tax dollar." The days of the depression were

influential in her decision to switch to the Democratic party. Her scope values are those of skill and enlightenment. At present her thoughts reflect a basic shift in values from a concern for personal power to an interest in the development of leadership skills in other younger people. She is very influential in many community arenas and brings with her into these other arenas perspectives that enhance her own policies and candidates. She is perhaps the most effective of the entire group of committeemen studied, not only in party affairs but often as an advisor to her friends and neighbors in their dealings with local officials.

Mr. Olson, Democrat. Mr. Olson has made a most intensive identification with the party, to which he devotes most of his energy. He makes very exacting demands on other party participants and strives constantly to involve everyone in his many new projects. He has a highly rigid set of expectations regarding his own role as well as the roles of others in the party. He brought with him to Milltown a set political behavior pattern that had been developed in a large urban center where politics proceeded at a much faster pace. Mr. Olson's scope values are complex. He desires to occupy a position of power. This position of power will be used to advance what he considers his "real" scope values: skill--he dreams of a technocratic society which will be dedicated to efficiency; enlightenment--he plans that this technocratic society will be motivated by a fundamental understanding of the purposes of man; wealth--there should be an equitable economic system, with no rich or poor classes; well-being--planning for healthy bodies and a healthy society is an absolute must; and respect--for the dignity of man.

Mr. Olson seeks "a utopia where there will be peace, happiness, mental tranquillity, joy and contentment," without the worry of "poverty, old age or illness--a world in which our thinking is clean, moral, constructive and wholesome."

Mr. Olson firmly believes that the Democratic party is the only instrument which can bring this ideal society into being. He perceives man as a product of his environment and believes that the only way society can be remodeled into his utopia is to work on man's environment. This can be achieved only by economic and political maneuvers. Mr. Olson perceives his base values as enlightenment and skill--"I have an ability to organize and to get along with people; I understand them and can get them to work." Others in the party differ constantly with him on this point and feel that his perspectives are derived from his experience in urban politics and a basic "WPA" approach to most problems. He has a good deal of influence in the party, and he leaves his precinct activities largely for his wife to perform.

Outcome

The effect of the practices performed by the party committeemen on the precinct level is difficult to ascertain, since there are other factors like the modern communication media of radio, television and newspapers operating concurrently. One index of the outcome is the tabulation of the vote. There are other outcomes, however, such as shifting perspectives and values.

One measure of the effectiveness of committeemen in their precincts is the number of new registrations. During the period from the May, 1954,

primary until the registration books closed four months later, 162 additional Democrats and 67 additional Republicans had registered to vote in the nineteen precincts in Milltown. Whether these additional registrations indicate activity on the part of the committeemen is not clear. However, in analyzing the precincts with the largest increase in registrations, some confusion is evident. Precinct 17, which is not represented by committeemen from either party, had an increase in registration of 22 per cent. This was a result of the growth of a new residential section located within the precinct boundaries. Three precincts show positive evidence of influence of committeemen in additional registrations which increased the total registration by 10 per cent.

In analyzing the voting data of Milltown, a marked change is seen. In 1952, Eisenhower received 55.2 per cent of the vote, winning a majority in all but two precincts which were the consistently Democratic precincts in which many newcomers reside. In 1954, the voting pattern was reversed, with Neuberger, the senatorial candidate, winning by a 58.5 per cent majority in Milltown. Neuberger captured all the Milltown precincts except the one heavily populated by oldtimers.

The change came about because of a variety of factors, most of which could not be measured in this investigation. However, those factors which were analyzed clearly indicate the effectiveness of activity on the part of committeemen. Of the top ten precincts which gave Neuberger a 60 per cent or better majority, all were represented by Democratic precinct committeemen, nine of whom had arranged for poll watchers on election day. There were

Republican committeemen in only five of these same precincts, and there were no Republican poll watchers in the entire city of Milltown.

As another index of the effectiveness of the committeemen in an election campaign, an analysis was made of the vote in the contest between Richard Neuberger, Democratic candidate for the United States Senate, and his opponent, Guy Cordon, the incumbent. This campaign was chosen for study because it was the considered opinion of the local press, the leaders of both parties and people in general that the Democratic committeemen worked far more diligently than their counterparts in the Milltown Republican party. The total results substantiate this opinion, for Neuberger received more total votes than Cordon. However, upon analyzing the percentage of the Democratic vote and Neuberger's majorities in the individual precincts, a relationship was discovered which proved to be the opposite of what had been expected. Neuberger beat Cordon by larger majorities in those precincts where a smaller percentage of the registered Democrats turned out to vote than he did in those precincts where higher percentages of the registered Democrats turned out. In other words, there is a negative relationship between the percentage of registered Democrats who voted and Neuberger's majority. (The rank difference correlation coefficient equals -.44.)

On the surface, these results seem to contradict the observation that the Democratic precinct committeemen work with greater diligence and effectiveness. However, by means of a more thorough analysis it can be shown that this negative relationship was to be expected.

As an illustration consider a Democratic committeeman in precinct A, which has more registered Republicans than Democrats, and a Democratic

committeeman in precinct B, which has a heavier Democratic than Republican registration. Assume that a certain percentage of the registered Democrats will turn out in each precinct, regardless of what practices the committeemen perform. If the committeemen are effective, it can be expected that they will be able to persuade more voters to vote than would have been the case had they not been active. If both our hypothetical committeemen work with the same degree of enthusiasm, it can be expected that each committeeman will persuade approximately the same number of voters to turn out in addition to those who would vote regardless of the activity of the committeemen.

From one standpoint, the committeeman in precinct B could be expected to get out more additional voters, since he had a larger pool of registered voters from which to draw. From another standpoint, however, it could be expected that he would succeed in getting fewer additional voters, since more of his efforts are wasted on the voters who would turn out anyway than in precinct A, where there are fewer Democrats. In precinct A a much larger percentage of registered voters will turn out over the initial fixed number than will be the case in precinct B. This is because the fixed number of additional voters raises the percentage higher when added to a small original number than when added to a larger original number.

However, Neuberger will not end up with as large a majority in precinct A as in precinct B. The additional votes brought in by the first committeeman might have swung the precinct over to Neuberger, but it would be by a narrow margin in comparison to precinct B where the committeeman would have a heavy margin regardless of his efforts. Thus, precinct A has a high percentage of registered Democrats actually turning out, but a very small majority for

Neuberger, whereas precinct B has a lower percentage of registered Democrats actually turning out, with a very high majority of votes for Neuberger.

When we apply this illustration to the election returns in Milltown, it is evident that the activity of Democratic committeemen did have its effect, for there was a high percentage of registered Democrats voting in precincts that were primarily Republican. The opposite is true of the Republican committeemen. (The rank difference correlation coefficient equals +.55.) As expected, the Republicans had their best turnout in the precincts where there was a heavy Republican registration, which shows no evidence of effectiveness on the part of Republican committeemen.

One further example will serve to illustrate the effectiveness of the face-to-face contacts in the precinct. Milltown precinct 12 has 66 registered Democrats and 127 registered Republicans; of these registered voters, 29 Democrats and 101 Republicans voted, or 43.9 per cent and 79.5 per cent respectively. The final vote was 81 for Neuberger, the Democratic candidate, and 49 for Cordon, or 62.3 per cent for Neuberger and 37.7 per cent for Condon. This result is all the more confusing when it is found that there are two Republican committeemen in the precinct, but no Democratic committeemen. The explanation is that just two days before the election the Democratic candidate for county treasurer went from door to door through the precinct urging everyone to vote the Democratic ticket. The result was that she beat her opponent by a higher margin than Neuberger won over his opponent.

Factions

One significant outcome of the 1954 general election in Milltown was the development of factionalism in the victorious Democratic party. The factional

split represented a noticeable shift in the perspectives held by several committeemen. The emerging minority faction can be described as the result of alignments within the party: the gambling interests as opposed to the good government faction; the Catholic and fundamental religious interests as opposed to the more liberal religious interests; and the liberal versus the conservative political faction. In part, all these groups were assembled into one pattern, for in the ensuing situation the gambling interests were working with or on the Catholic and fundamental religious group and the conservative interests. Likewise, the liberals who form the majority are held together by their good government and liberal religious interests. It should be noted that many of the participants were unaware of the alignments and would not have known with what interests groups they were identified.

The factionalism developed over the supposed misuse of party funds. Not only did the resulting alignments reveal the existence of such factions as conservative versus liberal participants, but those in the minority showed many signs of strong anxiety about the need for a thorough housecleaning of the county organization. The most important aspect of this factionalism is the patterning of acts, which includes an analysis of the web of communications that took place. The question, Who says What to Whom with what Effect? would lead to a better insight into the basis of the factions.

Conclusions

In this chapter the theoretical model has been utilized to analyze the behavior of thirty-six committeemen in the process of an election campaign. It has been shown: that the committeemen have considerably varied perspectives of the party, of other committeemen, of issues and candidates; that

they have differing scope values, ranging from the seeking of power to the finding of affection; that although the party is utilized as an organizational framework within which they pursue these values, they also refer themselves to many other arenas, such as religious, labor, fraternal and recreational groups; that the base values which the committeemen draw upon as resources range from occupying a more influential position, enjoying more wealth to increased skills and enlightenment; that the practices manipulated range from housekeeping acts to participating in planning sessions; and that some committeemen wielded considerable influence in affecting the outcome of the election studied.

The committeemen are voluntary participants in the rather loose arrangement of the political party. They enter the party for widely differing reasons, and once they hold positions in the party they make widely varying use of the party for their own purposes. With this diversity of perspectives, scope and base values and practices on the part of the committeeman, the party assumes the character of an organization and must perform the role of integrating this manifest diversity. Thus the party organizes the behavior of its participants in attempting to win an election, and in its actions, "though diversified, it is integrated, and the integration extends not only to the operations but to the perspectives in which the operations are performed as well."[1]

[1] Lasswell, op. cit., p. 31.

CHAPTER VII

"NON-PARTISAN" POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Attention thus far has been focused on the participation of the precinct committeemen within the party context. There remains an explanation of the activities of the committeemen in relation to specific non-partisan issues in the community and to the variety of elections held for the selection of board and council members of such public agencies as the city council, the power board, the park and recreational board and the school board. For while the committeemen are active in their political parties, they also refer themselves to many local issues that supposedly have no relation to the Democratic and Republican parties.

During the one-year period covered by this investigation, two budget elections took place which were not contested, and there were four elections in which contests did occur. Most important of these four was the 1954 general election for such offices as United States Senator, United States Congressman, Governor and other high state and county offices. This was the only partisan election. The remaining three elections were conducted on a local "non-partisan" basis to select members of the park and recreationbboard and the school board and to decide whether to recall two city councilmen. The committeemen were not concerned with the two budget elections.

The School Board Elections

The general pattern of selecting school board members was revealed in Arnold Hagen's intensive study of the individuals who served as school board members over a period of fifteen years.[1] The same man served as superintendent during this entire period. Hagen asked a series of questions which concerned how and by whom school board members were selected, what policy interests they represented and what degree of citizen attendance at public board meetings was encouraged. The replies indicate what types of people and groups are concerned with school affairs. Decisions by individuals to run for the school board can be classified into three categories: those who were self-initiated, 26.6 per cent; those who were supported by community organizations and groups such as the Methodist Church, the mayor and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, 20 per cent; and those who were encouraged by the other members of the school board, 53.4 per dent. It should be noted that prospective board members were encouraged to run by other board members during a period when there was a low degree of criticism and a high degree of confidence in the superintendent. However, as the degree of criticism among board members increased, the newer members were not selected by the school board but by other groups in the community.

As for the policy interests of the school board members who assumed the role of formulating educational policy, 10 per cent felt they had personal interests to further, 10 per cent had no interests in mind, 40 per cent intended to support the school board status quo and 40 per cent were concerned

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[1] Hagen, op. cit.

with such community problems as taxation and seeing that their areas of the school district were represented. When asked whether they favored public attendance at board meetings, 26.6 per cent felt they would discourage such attention and 53.2 expressed no opinion. However, most of the board members felt that public attendance does have a tendency to complicate the discussion of issues.

Hagen found that the school board member tends to be selected by other board members to support the status quo and that this tendency changes when there is evidence of severe criticism of the school superintendent and the school policy, at which times other groups such as the downtown businessmen organize to exert their influence. Other groups also organize to implement their values in the educational policy. In the recent school election in Milltown, the teachers set up a committee to support a specific candidate who was an ex-teacher. This group called upon several committeemen for assistance.

These several committeemen became quite active in the school board election, telephoning and writing letters and generally creating an interest in the election. Several factors drew them into action. One was the general conflict between the superintendent of schools and the citizenry of Milltown. Another was the personal interest of one committeewoman whose husband had come into conflict with the superintendent several years earlier over the use of school facilities for recreational purposes and who since has kept a close eye on the school situation. The final reason, one which led to the writing of the letter below, was a series of long-distance telephone calls

from a young lawyer in the community to the wife of a leading citizen, who was in Washington, D. C., at the time, persuading her to run for the position of board member.

These incidents, with the accompanying perspectives of the situation, produced a series of sequential acts which induced several committeemen to devise a strategy to place their chosen candidate on the school board. Several of the Democratic committeemen worked with the committee of school teachers, providing names of those who would be interested in the candidate, calling friends and neighbors on the telephone and writing the following letter:

> Dear _____:
>
> In my opinion, we can perform a very worthwhile civic function by supporting _____ for High School Board member to be elected Monday, June 20th. Not only is he a Democrat but he is a former teacher of the High School, is a business man and has children in the school. He is well liked by the teachers.
>
> Mr. _____ [husband of the woman opponent] was on Cordon's Campaign Committee!

The result of the three-way race was the election of the candidate favored by the Democratic precinct committeemen by a better than two to one majority with a total vote of 12.8 per cent of the Milltown official registration.

The Park and Recreation Board Election

There appears to have been little direct participation by precinct committeemen in the park and recreation board election. Instead, three groups promoted the candidacy of the incumbent. The Rotary Club had 65 votes available, the Jaycees were expected to promote 30 to 40 votes and the Lions Club was expected to have a good bloc of votes at their command. In addition, a

staff member of the park district knew a committeewoman who had "several voters at her fingertips" and the superintendent furnished transportation for voters and had several persons making telephone calls. Also, the Boy Scout den mothers were contacted to get out and vote. The result was a three to one vote for the incumbent with 5.6 per cent of the registered voters voting.

The City Council Election

City councilmen are elected in the general election along with other partisan positions, and it is difficult to assess the role played by committeemen in the councilmen's election. It is apparent, however, that several committeemen consider themselves as likely candidates for the council. One Republican committeeman ran and was defeated this last year; one Democratic committeeman now sits as a councilman. During the 1952 presidential election, several councilmen and the mayor were active as precinct committeemen. In 1955, Milltown had a recall election of two councilmen in which both Democratic and Republican committeemen played active parts. Milltown, which has a pattern of frequent recalls of public officials and resignations of civil servants, again resorted to the recall procedure in order to retire the two councilmen.

The Recall

Events Leading to the Recall. For some time the city council had been holding regular meetings with only minor divisions taking place in the open council meetings. The mayor, a young lawyer and a newcomer, had presented a ten-point program for the modernization of the city government, which

included improving the streets and library facilities and the elimination of the single-member ward system of electing councilmen in favor of the election of all councilmen at large, the method by which the mayor is elected at present. This progressive program for Milltown was not agreed to by all councilmen. Three council members formed the opposition which resisted many of the mayor's proposed innovations.

Along with this general conflict there developed a financial shortage in the police department, which was brought to the attention of the city government by one of the group of councilmen in opposition to the mayor. Both city and county officials conducted a series of conferences and investigations to uncover the source of the shortage, which eventually was traced to an individual in the police department. In the process, the opposition councilmen began to put pressure on the city manager. They had differed with him in the past and were not in sympathy with the city manager plan of government, since it took many of the decisions out of their hands.[1]

Two other issues were developing in the community about this time. The first was the matter of the Milltown Municipal Utility, which was competing with the private power company. The two were competing for the same customers on the same streets of Milltown. MMU was finally established by a vote of 56.4 per cent of the voters in 1950, but the private power company refused to sell out its facilities. The competition was becoming intense, with both sides going so far as to hire public relations men to assure their own survival

[1] It should be remembered that there had been three elections in Milltown concerning the manager plan of government. Two elections were for the purpose of adopting the city manager plan of government; one was to remove it.

and the elimination of the competing system. The private utility even offered free floorwaxing and the first month's electricity free to new subscribers and intimidated local operators of concerns which had their headquarters in the large metropolitan city. The mayor set up a committee to study the situation and recommend whether the city ought to force the sale of the private company, sell the MMU or let things remain as they were. The MMU board and staff were anxiously awaiting the findings of the mayor's committee; in fact, they were actively pushing for a decision as soon as possible.

The other issue developing in the community was the problem of annexing an area east of Milltown, a move which was being urgently requested by some of the citizens living there. A severe sewage problem in the area required immediate attention. The proposal was to annex a large territory including many industrial sites, a move which was strenuously resisted by the owner of the largest industrial plant in town.

These, then, were the issues at stake: "modernization" of the city government as proposed by the mayor, the shortage of funds, the retention of the city manager form of government, the MMU versus the private power fight and the annexation of a large area east of the city.

The open break came over the shortage of funds in the police department. The first overt act was the removal of the city manager, who had already announced his resignation and given a month's notice. Before the month was up, however, the council, with one member absent and a vote of three to two, resolved to remove the city manager. Then, by a vote of four to nothing, one councilman abstaining, the council voted to hire a person who had served temporarily as city manager for a nine-month period in 1950.

Interest of the Precinct Committeemen. This was an explosive situation involving local "non-partisan" city government. During the previous six months there had been an absence of precinct committeemen at the council meetings, but as the issue developed, the committeemen began again to attend. They met one another in the hall and talked the situation over, they began to ask questions of one another and of the councilmen. One committeeman, who considered himself a candidate for the position of one of the councilmen who was being recalled, asked pointed questions at the open council meetings in order to bring out the facts. The facts in some instances were in favor of his opponent, so much so that he changed his mind about the man and supported him, saying that he would not run against the man on such an issue when he was right.

One councilman, also a committeeman, expressed his concern about the status of the MMU as a result of this recall. He cited examples of what had happened in another city that had tried a municipal power program. He identified the council members in terms of their support of MMU and decided that the mayor could not be counted on to support MMU but that the two councilmen under attack were "good" men for MMU.

While many of the precinct committeemen were interested in the recall of the two councilmen for its own sake, their interest intensified to a determination to discover to what extent MMU system was involved in the controversy. Most of the Democratic committeemen were anxious that MMU be developed to its full capacity, for they perceived the integral relationship of regional public power and the municipal distribution systems. They considered MMU an

opportunity to implement their policy of public power which brings down the cost of electricity and provides a public yardstick to determine the cost. Hgwnsh

One committeeman expressed confusion as to whether MMU was an issue. He was concerned about the way the previous city manager was dismissed, yet he was not sure just how MMU fitted into the picture. He had been asked to carry petitions for the recall by one of the county commissioners and the park superintendent, both Democrats and both close to the mayor. In order to resolve his own and his wife's confusion, the committeeman personally contacted the mayor, two of the mayor's supporters on the council, a member of the MMU staff who was also a committeeman and others.

The Staff of Milltown Municipal Utility. By this time confusion had spread through the ranks of the active Democratic precinct committeemen. They were committed to public power and would resist any attempt to curtail its activities. The staff of MMU, sensing this and in supposed need for supporters, turned their attention to converting some of the active, leading Democrats to their side. The staff viewed the whole recall movement as a direct move by the private utility to secure a friendly city council, thereby gaining the advantage in future negotiations over the possible sale of their facilities or the buying of MMU facilities as a result of the mayor's committee recommendations.

The MMU staff based their point of view upon several incidents and factors. One was the combination of the Chamber of Commerce, whose president is general manager of the private utility, and the large lumber company that was being threatened by annexation. The Chamber of Commerce came through at

a strategic moment with a request for a preliminary survey of the area, which would delay the annexation movement several months. This move not only was calculated to help the large lumber company, but also resulted in assistance to the private utility which was trying to block any further growth of MMU in the direction east of the city. The Chamber of Commerce president had been observed in close conference with the councilman most susceptible to persuasion. The chairman of the mayor's committee, who had been quite friendly to MMU in the past, had been markedly absent from the MMU office and a popular restaurant where they all frequently had lunch. The MMU staff suspected that his secretary, who was the wife of the public relations man for the private utility, had been able to persuade him to accept the private power point of view. The staff members also knew that one of the councilmen being recalled had been among the first to help bring MMU into existence and that he was now an ardent supporter. In addition, the staff had been told by the mayor when he took office some two years earlier that he would support MMU only because it represented an investment by the city of nearly one million dollars. They therefore considered the mayor as as weak supporter in the inevitable fight to buy out the private utility.

With these clues and having taken the perspective that the recall fight was an attempt to curtail MMU, the staff looked around for support. They knew, because one of the staff members was a precinct committeeman, that many of the Democratic committeemen would participate in the controversy if they were convinced that MMU was involved.[1]

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[1] Incidentally, almost all the homes of Democratic precinct committeemen were utilizing municipal power, while this was true of only half the homes of Republican committeemen.

Rumors. Rumors were spreading in every direction, from every source. There was no checking them--indeed, they came so fast and traveled so far that they seemed almost to have neither direction nor source. Little attempt was made to track down these rumors. Two patterns, however, appeared to run through the ranks of the Democratic committeemen. One could be traced to the staff of MMU and the other to the Good Government Committee, which was fighting the recall and whose advisor was an ex-county Democratic chairman.

Most of the rumors were centered around the involvement of MMU in the recall fight. Some of the rumors which reached the committeemen were:

1. The private utility is behind this; look at what happened in Columbia City.
2. The mayor and the city attorney stand to gain $50,000 if the recall succeeds and they beat MMU.
3. The recall committee threatened one businessman to sign the petition or else.
4. The private utility wants to stack the council; they will buy out the council; they have unlimited funds.
5. One of the councilmen being recalled hires non-union labor.
6. One of the councilmen (a supporter of the mayor) is a real estate operator who builds shoddy houses.
7. The county commissioner, the park superintendent and the mayor are misusing the Democratic party; they are trying to run things.
8. One of the county commissioners is very close to the large lumber company; although he won on the Democratic ticket, we are not sure he is a Democrat.
9. The next time the mayor runs for partisan office[1] it will be as a Republican.

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[1]The mayor ran successfully as a "Democrat" in a non-partisan election.

10. There is a tie-up between the private utility, the large lumber company, the county commissioner, the park superintendent, the mayor and some influential downtown businessmen to break MMU.

For the purposes of this study it is not necessary to verify these rumors or to do more than point out the sort of information that was being circulated.

Clarification of the Confusion. In an attempt to clear up the confusion, sort facts from fiction and particularly to ascertain whether MMU was involved in the recall fight, the committeemen searched for answers to these problems. One committeewoman went to the park superintendent to hear his reasoning. Many of them called one another to learn the latest developments.

Finally, one committeeman called a meeting at his home just two days prior to the election. He called on the mayor to clear up the confusion and to attend the meeting so others could hear what he had to say, and he made it clear to the mayor that if the power question was involved, he would throw his weight in the other direction. This committeeman appraised the situation from the start as one in which the mayor, the park superintendent and the county commissioner were young fellows just out of college, cutting their teeth in politics and in need of a little advice from the older men who had this sort of political experience under their belts.

This was a closed meeting. Only trusted committeemen were invited. One overt opponent of the recall was included in this group. Toward the end of the meeting the mayor made his appearance to explain his position in the situation. The meeting broke up with the participants making few comments as to what they thought.

Election Day. The campaign got into full swing with the local radio station dominated by spot announcements which repeated charges and counter-charges. The telephone committees were active on both sides of the issue. A Democratic committeewoman, as secretary of the recall committee, was formally in charge of the election day activities. A Republican precinct committeewoman's office became the headquarters for the recall committee. The superintendent of the municipal power utility had his office staff calling voters.

The Outcome. The outcome was revealed in two stages, with some continued activity on the part of precinct committeemen in the two weeks that elapsed between the election and the appointment of new councilmen. The first stage was the resulting official recall of the two councilmen by a margin of three and one-half to one. The councilmen were unable to carry their own wards, and one lost his own precinct by 78.8 per cent of the vote. They lost heavily in every precinct, by as much as 85 per cent in one precinct. The turnout of registered voters ranged from 23.7 per cent in one precinct to 46.2 per cent in one councilman's own precinct, with a total of 33 per cent of the voters voting.

Once the tally was in, the Democratic precinct committeemen again began communicating with each other to see who they could bring forth as candidates for appointment by the city council. The mayor had previously indicated that they should submit their suggestions for candidates and encourage persons to run. Immediately another meeting was held at the same home to discuss possible candidates and programs of action to support these candidates. It was

decided to support the ex-councilman, a former Democratic precinct committeeman, in one ward and an active Democratic committeewoman and a Democratic businessman in the other ward. All these people were strong supporters of MMU. A letter was prepared indorsing the candidates and submitting their names to the council for its consideration. These proposed candidates were only three among a total of eight candidates, two of whom were associated with the private utility. The final vote of the council was unanimous; none of the proposed Democratic candidates was chosen, nor were any of the candidates associated with the private utility.

Partisan Perspectives in Formulating Community Policy

The preceding studies of three local non-partisan elections reflect organizational strength in behalf of issues and candidates that include not only the party precinct committeemen, but also such formal organizations as the Rotary Club, the Lions Club and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. While party labels are not printed on the ballots for the local board elections, there is clear evidence that the participants have identified the issues and candidates as reflecting value situations with which they agree or disagree.

The elections considered in this chapter have illustrated the extent of participation of most of the Democratic committeemen. The Republican party relies less heavily upon its precinct committeemen and more upon the business community and the local power structure to implement the desired values. The Republicans dominate such influential associations in the community as the Chamber of Commerce, which is 89 per cent Republican in its leadership.

Republican domination also is evident among the influential community leaders; of the twenty-five key community leaders, 72 per cent are Republicans, 20 per cent are Democrats and eight per cent are Independents.

The ambivalent American party system has focused its attention on the formal party office holders and has left most of the party participants without insight into the day-to-day operations of governmental affairs. Factionalism within the party also prevents effective involvement of the party in local issues, for frequently one faction is able to work out a suitable modus vivendi with the leaders in the community power structure and will not tolerate further involvement of the party by those who would disturb this equilibrium. Thus, the party takes no formal stand in regard to the local candidates and issues with which individual committeemen become quite concerned. This polarity--the party requiring its volunteer workers to advance the national party cause, and the more immediate desire of committeemen to be instrumental in formulating local policy needs--severely hampers the effectiveness with which the precinct committeemen might be able to relate public policy to the interests of the individual voters during the electoral process.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This investigation was initiated because of a desire to analyze and explain the behavior of the political participants on the lowest level in both the political party and the community context. An explicit theoretical model was utilized as a conceptual tool in order to orient the research and to formulate a series of questions the answers to which would promote an insight into what transpires when the precinct committeemen and committeewomen play their roles of performing certain political practices in helping to win an important election. While most studies of the political parties have dealt with the functional roles performed and the possible influence of party leaders on the voters, the purpose here was to relate certain information—the immediate community context, the party context and the Oregon political system, the comparative demography of precinct leaders and voters and the extent of participation in local non-partisan issues—to the values implemented by the participants in the election process.

Analysis of the Findings

Community Setting

Milltown can be characterized as a small industrial community which suffers from severe growing pains. An increase in population of 184 per cent in only one decade has been the direct cause of many conflicts within

the community. The resistance of the oldtimers in the town to necessary and rapid changes and improvements has created a pronounced schism within the community. This schism is manifested in the alignment of the oldtimers against the newcomers, a division which has resulted in political instability and basic shifts in the power structure of the community. One additional aspect, which is of critical importance, is the relationship of Milltown to the larger metropolitan area of which it is an integral part. Across the river is a larger university town of 35,000 population which not only has become the retail center for a total population of 150,000 people within the accessible trading area, but, because of its cultural and social assets, has attracted as residents many of the persons who play leadership roles in Milltown. So crucial is the lack of a permanent and resident leadership group that serious doubts have been expressed by some observers as to Milltown's ability to become a well-integrated community in the future.

Party Context

For the purposes of this study the party is conceived of as a system of social relationships involving a structural arrangement from which functional tasks and informal communication lines emerge. The position of the political party in society appears to be broad enough so that it may be defined at one time as an institution, an organization and an association. Most important to its well-being are the perspectives of it held by the participants and the extent and intensity of the social relationships that exist within its framework.

The Oregon political system is the particular party context within which the Milltown committeemen operate. It can be characterized by a

relative one-party dominance, much factionalism within both major parties, ostensible non-partisanship in local elections and reforms which have led to heavy reliance upon frequent voter judgments. These factors tend to place the party in the position of having to organize the diversity of perspectives, values and practices of the party participants so that they may be utilized most effectively in the shaping and sharing of values for public policy.

Demography of Precinct Committeemen

The socio-economic data developed from a comparison of committeemen and voters in Milltown indicates that the committeemen possess characteristics in degrees sufficient to distinguish them as a group from the voters. The committeemen are older, have only a slightly higher degree of formal education, hold positions in the occupational structure which may offer better leadership potentialities, earn higher incomes, have more children per family and children who are further along in the educational process, occupy more stable positions in the community with longer periods of residence and less moving about, and show a markedly higher degree of general community participation than the voters of Milltown. This information infers that the committeemen are in a better net strategic value position with regard to the shaping and sharing of values in the community and party context, a position which is of the utmost importance in influencing the voters during an election.

Political Party Participation

An analysis of observed behavior and of the replies given to questions concerning roles played and reasons for participating clearly indicates

that values are implicated in the shaping and sharing of values to obtain a favorable public policy. The implicit and explicit perspectives of their party and the opposition party held by the committeemen reflect a value situation. The desired goals of the committeemen can be indicated in terms of the values of power, enlightenment, skill, wealth, respect, well-being, affection and rectitude. No attempt has been made in this investigation to generalize about the concern of one party with a particular set of values and of the other party with an entirely different set of values. This study attempts only to point out the varying and differing degrees of implicated values among committeemen. This mixed pattern of values reflects the lack of integration of the committeemen in the party. The policies and interests of the party are constantly changing and the participants' perspectives change accordingly. While the party is identified as reflecting certain values, there is very little agreement within the aggregate of committeemen as to what these values are. This lack of a clearly defined party policy may be due to the temporal aspect of electoral campaigns and the formulation of party policy by the candidates according to a feeler-response process which tends toward impermanence and lack of many ideological commitments.

The party is utilized for the expression of desired values within an organizational context. Some committeemen use the party more extensively than others, whether for personal aggrandizement, to maximize power values or to seek affection or enlightenment. However, the committeemen also refer themselves to other areas of interest in the community. They are active in religious, labor, fraternal, recreational, educational, business and

professional and civic affairs within the community. The committeemen are the leaders in the political party arena, and their net resources are comparable to those of such other community leadership groups as the school leaders and adult youth leaders in their relation to the population of Milltown. The most important factors to be considered in analyzing the party and its role in the community are the diversity of perspectives, values and practices of the participants and the fact that the party, as an organization, attempts to integrate this diversity.

Non-Partisan Local Elections

It has been clearly indicated that local non-partisan elections are decided on the basis of organizational strength. Since it is the custom of the American political system to avoid party involvement in local elections, other organizations fill this vacuum. It is also apparent that those groups in the community which influence the local elections are concerned primarily with the shaping and sharing of values in the community context. While policy formation in local issues is not based on party preference, two other factors are in operation. The first factor is that the committeemen tend to be nationally oriented by the national strategy of the two dominant American parties, and thus their awareness on the local level is inadequate and their effectiveness consequently restricted. The committeemen alternate between intensive activity during a national election campaign and an almost total lack of activity between campaigns, which results in the precincts being worked simply to gain votes rather than to utilize the feeler-response technique of defining and implementing the interests and desires of the voters. This also results in the committeemen being regarded more as strangers than

as agents or representatives of the voters in their precincts. The second fact is the lack of an agent or representative on the ~~precinct level whom~~ the voter can expect to bring back reports on local ~~policy formulation~~, to reflect the voters' interests in the formulation of policy, and to encourage the ~~voters to participate in local issues~~ and elections. The ~~committeemen usually are not available to help inform~~ the voters so they may become articulate in the formulation of local policy.

Implications of the Findings

The implications of this investigation are directed to three interest groups: one is the party practitioners, the second is the community leaders and the third, those who have further research in mind.

Party Practitioners. The basic task of maximizing the voting strength in the precinct has been allotted to the committeeman, who may not be any better informed on public policy than many of the voters. The political practice of leaving party literature at the door of the voter's home has little more effect than the impersonal contact offered by mass media of communication such as the radio and newspapers. The committeeman is not utilized to learn and communicate the wishes of the voters nor as a skillful and enlightened party representative in his precinct. Perhaps the crucial problem for the political parties is the heavy turnover in personnel, which is the result of the lack of reward for being a committeeman. The reward need not be monetary, but there must be some recognition for services performed as well as increased insights into and opportunity to participate in the formation of public policy.

Community Leaders. Some Community leaders, fearful of having the equilibrium of the local power structure upset, tend to formulate policy among themselves and then to decry the apathetic interest of the citizens. In order to promote a well-integrated community in a democratic society, it is important that the agent on the precinct level be well informed so that he may encourage an articulate voter response to the formation of local public policy. No apparent solution is easily available to secure more widespread participation and still avoid party labels, for good government does not follow from the withdrawal of parties and the filling of the resulting vacuum by a small group within the power structure. It might be suggested that "stewards" be set up in the precincts or that observation groups be encouraged to attend public meetings and to develop an interest in the day-to-day problems of local government. This is not meant to be a guise to manipulate the citizen into taking over full responsibility, but he should be made to feel free to bring his interest to bear on local problems.

Future Research Implications. There are several areas in which further probing may lead to significant research problems. Some of these problems became apparent as this investigation progressed to its conclusion.

1. Web of Communication. One problem is tracing the web of communication in both the internal and external arenas of the party to see what effect communication has upon the setting of public policy. It is important to note that there is a difference between internal and external communication. Three questions have significance here: the first is within the party--the internal arena--who makes what sorts of demands upon whom, how and with what effect? the second is which citizens make what sorts of demands upon whom, how and

with what results? and the third question is what effect do these communications have upon the shaping and sharing of values for public policy.

2. Demographic Data. A further analysis of the demographic data is necessary to understand, for example, the role of housewives in a modern democracy and what effect increased independence and leisure time have upon their voting and political behavior. Another problem, and one which became evident in this study, is the effect of antecedent regional differences and occupations upon voting and political behavior.

3. Other Arenas. In this study of participation the Oregon Community Policy Formation Study has focused its attention on both the formal and informal degrees of participation. Data now are being assembled to investigate the arenas to which citizens refer themselves. The comparison of the population to the leadership groups would be useful. In addition, some consideration of the effectiveness of participation would be highly significant, for this study has shown the importance of the function of appraising self and others.

4. Social Perception. The social perception of the party participants about local, regional and national power structures would be beneficial in understanding what information they utilize in the political arena. Then it will be desirable to investigate the relationship between this social perception and the political practices that are manipulated by party participants in ~~maximizing their~~ strategic leadership ~~in the formulation~~ of public policy.

5. Political Personality. There is a critical need for a general probing to discover what personality systems operate in the political arena. The

factionalism that developed in the Democratic party after the election campaign was caused more by a clustering of party participants with personal anxieties than by alignment of liberal versus conservative members. At this stage of the investigation a development perspective may prove most insightful in the study of the political personality.

While this investigation has been in the nature of an exploratory field study and a preliminary probing into the behavior of precinct committeemen, it can also be helpful in the formation of operationally defined indicators in order to pre-test the value systems that are implicated in the process of formulating public policy. The next step after pre-testing would be an attempt to intervene in the process, with adequate insights, in order to restructure the perspectives and practices.

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APPENDIX A

General Interview Schedule II

1. - 3. Schedule No. _____

4. Area No. _____

5. 0) Male
   1) Female

6. Age
   0) Under 21
   1) 21 - 24
   2) 25 - 34
   3) 35 - 44
   4) 45 - 54
   5) 55 - 64
   6) 65 or over

7. Place of birth _____

8. Marital status
   0) Single
   1) Widowed
   2) Married (living with spouse)
   3) Married (not living with spouse)
   4) Divorced

9. Are you a veteran?
   0) Yes
   1) No

10. Number of living children _____

11. Status of children
   0) No children
   1) Pre-school only
   2) Public school only
   3) Beyond school only
   4) Pre-school and public school
   5) Public school and beyond
   6) Pre-school, public school and behond
   7) Pre-school and beyond

12. How many grades of school have you completed?
   Grades: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   College: 1 2 3 4

13. What communities have you lived in since the end of World War II (June 1945)? (List in order of time.)

	City and State	How Long? (dates)
1)		
2)		
3)		
4)		
5)		

14. How long have you lived in Springfield and vicinity?
_____ years.

15. Within which of the following income categories did your total income fall (before taxes) for 1952?

0) Under $500
1) $500 - $999
2) $1,000 - $1,999
3) $2,000 - $2,999
4) $3,000 - $3,999
5) $4,000 - $5,999
6) $6,000 - $9,999
7) $10,000 - $14,999
8) $15,000 - $24,999
9) $25,000 and over

16. What is your regular occupation of job? (Make your statement sufficiently specific so it will be clear as to what you do.)
a) What kind of work do you do? _____
b) What kind of business or industry do you work in? _____

17. What is the regular occupation or job of spouse?
a) What kind of work does he (she) do? _____
b) What kind of business or industry does he (she) work in? _____

18. - 20. What is the principal source of income for your family? What is your second most important source of income? Your third source? Etc.? (Please indicate by ranking the following in order of importance.)

	Order of Importance
0) Husband's salary or wages from employer	
1) Wife's salary or wages from employer	
2) Income from own business or professions	
3) Rentals of property to others	
4) Annuities or pensions	
5) Interest or dividends on investments	
6) Farming	
7) Other income	

21. Housing: 0) Rent home _____ 1) Own or buying own home _____

22. What newspapers do you read regularly?
1) _____ 3) _____
2) _____ 4) _____

23. Are you now a registered voter? 0) Yes 1) No

24. What is your political preference?
0) Republican 2) Independent
1) Democrat 3) Other _____

II.

25. We are interested in the extent to which people have contacts with relatives. Would you tell us how many adult relatives you have in the Springfield-Eugene area and about how often you see them. (Do not include if you live in the same household.)

Relationship	Frequency of Contact

26, 27, 28. Do you belong to any organizations or associations?

Name of Organization	1. Attend Regularly 2. Hold Office 3. Member of Committee 4. Length of Time a Member 5. Financial Contributions
	1 2 3 4 5
General:	
Religious:	
Labor:	

29. Do you associate frequently with any school officials, teachers, or employees? 0) Yes 1) No

Name
a) _____
b) _____

30. Do you associate frequently with any city, county, or other government officials? 0) Yes 1) No

Name
a) _____
b) _____

III.

31. In general, how do you feel about living in Springfield? Would you say it is:
0) An excellent community to live in?
1) A very good community to live in?
2) A good community to live in?
3) Not a very good community to live in?
4) A poor community to live in?

32. As a further measure of the way you feel about Springfield, which of the following statements would be the most true for you?
0) I would like to move away from this community.
1) I really do not care whether I stay here or move away.
2) I would like to continue living in this community.

33. How would you rate Springfield for each of the factors listed below?

1. Excellent
2. Very good
3. Good
4. Not very good
5. Poor

	1	2	3	4	5
0) Professional services available					
1) Climate					
2) Educational opportunity					
3) Opportunities for religious worship					
4) Business or employment opportunity					
5) Freedom from pressure to do the things you don't care to do					
6) Housing					
7) Friendliness of people					
8) Community spirit or attitude of people toward the community?					
9) Willingness of the people to undertake and support action to meet community needs and problems					

34. If you were free to choose from among these factors, which would you rate as the most important and least important for a community where you would prefer to live. Would you indicate your choice among the following by listing the three items most important to you and the three items least important to you.

1. Three most important items
2. Three least important items

	1	2
0)		
1) Climate		
2) Educational opportunity		
3) Opportunities for religious worship		
4) Business or employment opportunity		
5) Freedom from pressure to do the things you don't care to do		
6) Housing		
7) Friendliness of people		
8) Community spirit or attitude of people toward the community		
9) Willingness of the people to under take and support action to meet community needs and problems		

35 - 36. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with each of the following?

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Somewhat dissatisfied
4. Very dissatisfied
5. Undecided
6. Not concerned

	1	2	3	4	5	6
0) The public recreation program						
1) Police protection						
2) Fire protection						
3) Water service						
4) Electric power and light service						
5) Planning for community development						
6) The local public school system						
7) Street construction and maintenance						
8) Other:						

37. How often have you seriously discussed public school matters with members of your family during the past year?
0) Often 1) Once in awhile 2) Not at all

38. How often have you seriously discussed public school matters with friends during the past year?
0) Often 1) Once in awhile 2) Not at all

39. How often have you seriously discussed public school matters with public school teachers during the past year?
0) Often 1) Once in awhile 2) Not at all

40. How often have you seriously discussed public school matters with school officials during the past year?
0) Often 1) Once in awhile 2) Not at all

41. How often have you discussed local government or community matters with members of your family during the past year?
0) Often 1) Once in awhile 2) Not at all

42. How often have you discussed local government or community matters with friends during the past year?
0) Often 1) Once in awhile 2) Not at all

43. How often have you discussed local government or community matters with civic or community leaders (prominent citizens but not officials) during the past year?
0) Often 1) Once in awhile 2) Not at all

44. How often have you discussed local government or community matters with city or county officials during the past year?
0) Often 1) Once in awhile 2) Not at all

V.

45. Whom do you regard as the most influential person as far as having a say or determining what decisions shall be made in regard to school matters?
Name _____

46. Local government matters?
Name _____

47. Community welfare?
Name _____

48. Probably the person who is generally the most influential in this community is:
Name _____

49. With regard to the person named above, do you feel free to discuss community problems with him (or her)?
0) Yes 1) No

50. If you were not able to name someone above, whom among your acquaintances would know who the most influential person is?
Name _____

51. In some communities there are prominent families made up of several households and often more than one generation. These families often come to be recognized as having a great deal of influence and come to be identified with the community. An example would be the Taft family of Cincinnati, Ohio. Is there any family in your community that is particularly associated withthe community?
1) Name of family _____
2) Name of family _____
3) Name of family _____

52. Whom do you consider the best informed and best qualified to judge whether existing or proposed policies are good or bad in regard to school matters?
Name _____

53. Local government?
Name _____

54. Community welfare?
Name _____

VI.

55. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your voting activity? School elections?
0) I vote in all school elections.
1) I vote in most school elections.
2) I vote in some school elections.
3) I vote in no school elections.

56. Would you give us the same information for local (city, coutny, recreation and water district) elections?
0) I vote in all local elections.
1) I vote in most local elections.
2) I vote in some local elections.
3) I vote in no local elections.

57. Would you also give us the same information for state and national elections?
0) I vote in all state and national elections.
1) I vote in most state and national elections.
2) I vote in some state and national elections.
3) I vote in no state and national elections.

58. Have you taken an active part on any public school issue during the past two or three years?
0) Yes 1) No
a) Nature of the issues _____
b) Nature of efforts _____

59. Have you taken an active part on any local government or community issue during the past two or three years?
0) Yes 1) No
a) Nature of the issues _____
b) Nature of efforts _____

60. Have you attended any meetings or gatherings during the past two or three years in which public school matters were a major subject of consideration?
0) Yes 1) No
a) Group _____
b) Group _____
c) Group _____

61. Have you attended any meetings or gatherings during the past two or three years in which city government matters were a major subject of consideration?
0) Yes 1) No
a) Group _____
b) Group _____
c) Group _____

62. We would like to know how you look upon yourself in regard to being active or inactive in community affairs. Which one of the following statements best describes you as you see yourself?
0) Very active in community affairs
1) Somewhat active in community affairs
2) Somewhat inactive in community affairs
3) Very inactive in community affairs

63. ~~65.~~ Some people are active in one way and some in another. Would you tell us how you would describe yourself in each of the following fields of activity?

	Very Active	Somewhat Active	Somewhat Inactive	Very Inactive
Religion				
Labor organization				
Local government				
Education (school affairs)				
Civic affairs				
Fraternal organization				
Recreational activities				
Business and professional association				
Political party affairs				

65. In your best judgment how influential would you say you are?
0) You are very influential
1) You are more influential than most people
2) You are about average as far as influence is concerned
3) You have less influence than most people

66. It may be easier for you to answer this question by selecting specific areas of influence. How would you rate yourself in each of the following areas?

	Very Influential	More than most	Average	Less than most	Not Related
Religion					
Labor Organization					
Local Government					
Education					
Civic Affairs					
Fraternal Organization					
Recreational Activities					
Business and Professional Association					
Political Party Affairs					

67. The first activity has to do with the establishment of a city-owned electric light and power utility. Which of the following statements best described your relation to the proposal and adoption of the utility?

0) I was not very much concerned one way or another and pretty much remained on the sidelines.
1) I became quite interested and discussed the subject on many occasions with friends and acquaintances.
2) I became very much concerned and actually tried to influence my friends and acquaintances one way or another whenever the subject came up.
3) I felt the decision was very important and became actively engaged in support of one side or the other by helping get signatures, making special calls on individuals, writing letters, talking to officials, speaking to groups, or some other means or seeking to affect the outcome.
4) I was not in the community at the time.

68. The second activity was the recent hospital drive. Again, which of the following statements best describes your relation to the drive?
0) I was not very concerned one way or another and pretty much remained on the sidelines.
1) I became quite interested and discussed the subject on many occasions with friends and acquaintances.
2) I became very much concerned and actually tried to influence my friends and acquaintances one way or another whenever the subject came up.
3) I felt the decision was very important and became actively engaged in support of one side or the other by helping get signatures, making special calls on individuals, writing letters, talking to officials, speaking to groups, or some other means of seeking to affect the outcome.
4) I was not in the community at the time.

VIII.

69. Which of the following statements do you think best applies to the local government officials in the areas indicated?

1. School officials
2. City officials
3. Park and recreational officials
4. County officials

	1	2	3	4
a) They do pretty much what the citizens want				
b) They do what <u>some</u> of the more influential people want				
c) They do not pay much attention to what the people want but tend to do what they themselves think best				

70. If you were concerned about a local community problem and contacted the appropriate local officials, how do you think they would react? Which of the following statements best describes the way the officials in each group would respond to you?

1. School officials
2. City officials
3. Park and recreation officials
4. County officials

	1	2	3	4
a) They would try to understand my problem and do what they could about it				
b) They would listen to me but would try to avoid doing anything—would try to pass the buck				
c) They would ignore me or would dismiss me as soon as they could				

71. Have you ever had this kind of experience?
0) Yes 1) No
If so, which group or groups of officials? _____

72. Something that frequently puzzles all of us is the question as to how much difference it really makes asto who wins local elections. In order to get some indication of the prevailing opinion in this community we would like to have you indicate which of the following statements is most nearly true as far as you are able to judge.
0) It makes a great deal of difference as to who wins the local elections.
1) It isn't of much consequence as to which candidate is elected.

73. Which of the following statements best indicates your idea as to what a school superintendent should do?
0) The superintendent of schools should be a representative of the school board. He should carry out its policies and wishes. He should spend most of his time running an orderly and well-disciplined school.
1) The superintendent of schools should be the educational leader in the community. He should analyze its educational needs and work with others to secure those needs.
2) The superintendent of schools should be the educational specialist or expert. He should assume responsibility for all matters dealing with education.

74. Which of the above statements best indicates the way in which the school superintendent actually performs his duties?
0) 1) 2)

75. Should individuals in any of the following groups be eligible for exemption from jury duty because of occupation or profession?

0) Doctors _____
1) Police _____
2) Teachers _____
3) Mothers with young children _____
4) Wage earners _____
5) Businessmen _____

76. In your judgment, which of the following things do you believe a citizen should feel an obligation to do? (As far as he may be able.)

0) Vote in national elections
1) Vote in state elections
2) Vote in local elections
3) Contribute funds to a political party
4) Take an active part in political campaigns
5) Serve as a precinct committeemen for a political party
6) Take an active part in civic organizations
7) Contribute work or services to community projects
8) Live own life and leave public responsibilities to proper officials

77. What kinds of elections do you think it is most important for citizens to vote in? Next most important? Etc.?

Kind of Election	Rank Order
~~0) School district elections~~	
1) Park and recreation district elections	
2) Municipal or city elections	
3) County elections	
4) State elections	
5) National elections	
6) No difference as to which	

APPENDIX B

1. How long have you been a precinct committeeman? Did you file or were you a write-in?

2. Why have you decided to be a precinct committeeman? Why have you taken this step into active politics?

3. Why have you chosen your particular party, whether Democrat or Republican?

4. Within the party are you interested in the policy or the organizational side?

5. What particular policies interest you most in the party?

6. Do you consider yourself a conservative, a liberal, or what?

7. What are the functions a precinct committeeman should perform in the party?

8. Do you work for a straight party ticket or do you recommend certain candidates and issues?

9. Have you had any door-to-door experience in contacting people, such as in various community drives?

10. Is there any conflict with your spouse over political issues or candidates?

11. Do you often mention that you are a member of your party to your friends and acquaintances?

12. In the current lumber strike, which side do you support?

13. Concerning the current Army-McCarthy hearings, do you approve or disapprove McCarthy's methods and/or aims?

APPENDIX C

COMPARATIVE INDEX OF EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION

Industry	Milltown	East City	University City	State
Agriculture	1.4	3.2	1.0	12.0
Forestry, fisheries	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.6
Mining	0.6	--	0.2	0.3
Construction	9.1	8.4	6.2	7.4
Manufacturing (see breakdown below)	37.1	13.4	13.6	22.7
Railroad, railway express	2.1	5.2	4.9	2.7
Trucking, warehousing	1.8	1.4	1.2	1.4
Other transportation	0.8	2.2	1.8	1.2
Telecommunications	0.8	2.2	1.8	1.2
Utilities, sanitary service	2.1	1.3	1.3	1.6
Wholesale trade	2.6	3.2	5.9	4.1
Food, dairy produce	3.4	2.9	3.5	2.8
Eating, drinking places	4.0	5.5	3.7	3.6
Other retail trade	11.1	13.0	15.2	10.0
Finance, insurance, real estate	2.5	3.6	5.0	3.4
Business service	0.5	1.0	1.6	0.8
Repair service	2.7	3.9	2.3	2.3
Private households	2.3	1.9	3.5	2.1
Hotels, lodging places	0.9	2.2	2.6	1.3
Other personal services	2.6	3.7	2.8	2.2
Entertainment, recreation services	0.3	1.2	1.2	1.1
Medical, other health services	1.8	8.6	3.9	3.1
Educational services (government)	3.3	2.8	9.2	3.3
Educational services (private)	0.5	0.2	1.2	0.9
Other professional, related services	1.8	2.0	2.7	1.8
Public administration	2.5	4.5	3.5	4.1
Industry not reported	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.4

COMPARATIVE INDEX OF EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Industry	Milltown	East City	University City	State
Durable goods				
Furniture, lumber, wood products	84.2	54.3	62.2	59.1
Primary metal	0.1	—	0.5	2.5
Fabricate metal	0.5	0.7	1.3	2.6
Machinery, except electrical	1.6	1.3	3.3	2.9
Electrical machinery	0.1	—	0.4	0.7
Motor vehicle, equipment	—	—	0.3	0.4
Transportation, equipment, except motor	0.1	—	0.3	0.6
Other durable goods	0.7			
Food and kindred products	5.2	18.1	13.8	10.2
Textile mill products	0.1	12.5	0.9	2.2
Apparel, other fabricated textiles	0.1	0.1	0.2	1.5
Printing, publishing, allied industries	2.2	9.4	11.4	5.7
Chemicals, allied products	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.2
Other nondurable goods	4.0	1.9	1.9	4.8
Unspecified	—	—	0.5	0.6

Typed by Jean H. Swanson