

PORTRAIT OF THE GRASS ROOTS:
A PROFILE OF DELAWARE COUNTY REPUBLICAN PRECINCT LEADERS

A SENIOR THESIS
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by

HARLAN A. WRIGHT

ADVISOR - DR. J. F. MENEZ

BALL STATE UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

As defined by the director of the Ball State Honors Program, an honors thesis is a first flight into independent scholarship for a student. The above defines what this short paper is--a simple, limited examination of a basic group in politics, the precinct personnel of a political party.

At this stage, a few words concerning the preparation of this thesis are in order. Basically, the information for this descriptive work on the precinct committeemen and vice committee of the Delaware County Republican Party was gathered by a written questionnaire mailed to 121 Republican precinct committeemen and vice committeemen. A questionnaire is included at the end of the paper.

The writer received seventy-two replies--a 60 per cent return. Considering that Delaware county is a focal point for anticensus feeling on the grounds that it invades personal privacy, the author finds a 60 per cent return for a private paper's purposes gratifying. Two factors insured the fairly high return rate. Firstly, the Delaware Republican County Chairman, Mr. Robert Holt, and Dr. Charles D. Wise, a state senator and sponsor of Ball State Young Republicans, were very kind to write an introductory letter explaining the purpose of the study and the identity of the author. Secondly, the author himself was marginally involved in the Delaware County G.O.P. when he served as president of Ball State Young

(Note: The words "committeemen" and "chairman" are inter-changeable; also, "committeemen" used alone includes vice committeemen unless otherwise noted.)

Republicans for two years.

Once received, tabulating the information was a task. This writer wishes to thank Miss Barbara Moore and Kenneth Wissman, two close friends, for their valuable assistance and support during this project.

Finally, the author wishes to express his appreciation to his two advisors, Dr. Joseph F. Menez and Mr. Peter Ostergren of the Ball State University Department of Political Science.

Harlan A. Wright
August 15, 1969

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CHAPTER I.

PRECINCT LEADERSHIP PROFILE: INTRODUCTION

Thesis Statement

"Portrait of the Grass Roots: A Profile of Delaware County Republican Precinct Leaders" basically describes a group of Republican precinct committeemen and vice committeemen. Central to its purpose is to provide an empirical test of the common model of Republican activists and of Republican voters in general. Do they really fit the mold of older, white, higher income citizens that is often used to define the typical Republican? Are they almost all college-educated and of professional occupational background or do other groups figure prominently into the ranks of grass roots leadership.¹

Secondly, do these Republicans live their lives intensely directed towards the Republican party? Are they involved in several party activities? Or, is membership a casual affair urged on upon them by friends?

Finally, are these grass roots leaders qualified to perform the traditional roles of transmitters of party and public policies to the voters and of articulators of public sentiment assigned to precinct committeemen?²

From his four years of observations of at least some of the people studied in this thesis, the writer feels that, while some stereotypes about Republicans are true, others are false. This paper will verify or discredit his impression by employing the precinct personnel's own responses

to answer these three questions.

These party officers are important and should be studied. Precinct personnel are, as their County Chairman Robert Holt states, "the blood and guts of the party." Their efforts to persuade citizens to vote Republican and to insure that those voters actually go to the polls do make the difference between victory and defeat in a marginal county as Delaware. Also, the precinct committeemen's backgrounds, identifications, and opinions restrict the higher levels of party leadership by setting the boundaries for permissible actions. Perhaps, the reader can better understand why Richard Nixon is very much an idol of these people--in contrast to Nelson Rockefeller--after reading this paper.

The State Setting

Before directing attention to their county and the committeemen themselves, a short political inspection of Indiana is needed. Indiana voters usually give their state's thirteen electoral votes to a Republican Presidential candidate. From 1896 through 1928, the state voted Democratic only once--1912. Since the first election of Franklin Roosevelt, Hoosier voters went Democratic in only 1932, 1936, and 1964. In 1968, they favored Nixon over Humphrey by a three to two margin, giving President Nixon his largest plurality for any one state; 261,000 votes plus.

However, Republican though it may be in national elections, Indiana becomes a scene of close political contests in state elections. Republicans have lost more senatorial and gubernatorial contests than they have won since 1932. But, the G.O.P. generally wins most Congressional

and General Assembly elections.

The election statistics given above indicate an interesting paradox. Indiana is a conservative state. However, it is often not Republican. Ideologically dedicated to anti-Communism, anti-government, and anti-socio-economic change, the conservative state Republican party is a faction-ridden and closed organization, offering generally unattractive candidates. Ironically, the greatest boost Indiana Republicans can receive for victory is the candidacy of more moderate national candidates such as Eisenhower and Nixon. When the Republican Presidential candidate was a man after the Hoosier Republicans' own hearts, he--Barry Goldwater--led the whole ticket to a disastrous defeat.

Government and party organization are traditionalistic. The state government is a Jacksonian one: nearly all major officials are elected; executive authority is divided among several boards and commissions, and patronage and contracts serve as the main motivation for party efforts. Both political parties are normally controlled by the dominating clique from the last state convention. There is no primary for state-wide nominations.

The political atmosphere of Indiana can be described as unfortunate. Since the Civil War, slogans, suspicions, and holy causes--and not issues--have dominated the rhetoric of Hoosier campaigns. The Republican party in Indiana is especially guilty. In the 1860's and 70's, the G.O.P. waved the bloody shirt; in the 1920's, the Klan-dominated party attacked "immoral people" such as Negroes, Jews, and Roman Catholics; during the 1940's and 50's many social and economic reform proposals were called subversive, Socialistic, and Communist-inspired.³ Even as recently as

1969, the governor of the state charged as being outside agitators college students and poor people who peacefully demonstrated.

Too striking to be coincidental is the resemblance between Indiana political attitudes and those of southern states. Personalities and platitudes dominate both. One reason for this resemblance can be traced to the fact that, of all the central Midwestern states, Indiana had the largest number of original settlers from the South and the fewest from New England.⁴

The practices and attitudes of the past must disappear. Indiana no longer is rural in population, being 63 per cent urban in 1960, and its total population has passed the five million mark. For its part, the Indiana Republican Party prefers to keep its political heart with the culture of James Whitcomb Riley's Indiana of family farms and small towns.

Delaware County

Located in east-central Indiana, Delaware County plays an important role in state politics. It is one of the largest counties in population with 115,000 people and has one of the state's largest cities, Muncie of Middletown fame with 67,000 people, inside its boundaries.

Economically, the county is dominated by Muncie, an industrial city. Because of this, the population is being augmented with southerners looking for better paying jobs than at home. This migration brings change to the political complexion of the county. But there are few foreign born living in the area and these are of northwestern European origin. Negroes, as of 1960, made up only 5 per cent of the population and are yet segregated into two precincts.

The two political parties are very evenly matched. From 1932, both

have won the county in five Presidential elections. Local elections are close; pluralities rarely exceed 5 to 7 per cent of the vote.

As with the rest of the state, Delaware county is Jacksonian in governmental organization and traditional in political attitudes. Conservatism abounds. A large John Birch Society exists in Muncie. Distrust of government is prevalent. Many voters automatically cast their ballots against the incumbent. For instance, Muncie rarely re-elects its mayor to a second term.⁵

For political purposes, the county is divided into sixty-two precincts; thirty-eight of which are located in the city of Muncie. Now, it is time to study the Republican officials of those precincts.

CHAPTER II.

PRECINCT LEADERS PROFILE: DEFINING THE GROUP

As with all studies, the population group studied in this thesis must be defined.

In the middle of April, 1969, the questionnaires used to collect the data used in this paper were sent to each of the 121 precinct committeemen and vice committeemen in Delaware County (62 precincts x 2 officials - 3 vacancies). Seventy-two of the precinct leaders, or not quite 60 per cent, completed and returned their questionnaires.

Fortunately, the returned questionnaires are a balanced sample of the total number of precinct committeemen and vice committeemen. Most categories--exact office, place of residence, and sex were individually very close to the 60 per cent average in completed questionnaires.

First, party office. Of the sixty precinct committeemen, thirty-four (57%) returned their questionnaires; of the 61 vice committeemen, thirty-eight (62%) cooperated.

Geographically, the sample used in this thesis was also in balance. Twenty-one of the thirty-six (58%) Muncie city precinct chairmen responded. Surrounding the city, occupying the rest of Center township, are seven semi-urban precincts. Four of these seven "suburban" precinct chairmen (57%) completed and returned the mailing. The remaining parts of Delaware County are either small towns or rural in character. Among the "rural" precinct chairmen, nine out of seventeen (53%) also responded.

Corresponding figures for the vice chairmen from the three geographic divisions are as follows: twenty-four out of thirty-seven city vice-chairmen (65%) reported; for the suburban area, seven of seven (100%), and the rural vice chairmen, seven out of seventeen (41%).

When one analyzes the completed questionnaires, he finds that forty-seven of the sixty-two precincts (77%) are represented by at least one official's response. Broken down by area, twenty-nine of the thirty-eight city precincts (73%) are covered, seven of seven suburban precincts (100%), and eleven of seventeen different rural precincts (65%). Thus, the proportion of city, suburban, and rural precincts in the thesis sample is about the same as for the actual group of 121 committeemen. Consequently, the varying economic and social sub-populations within the Republican precinct leader population, and the Republic party as a whole, are fairly accurately represented.

Is the sample for this paper over-representative of precincts in which the G.O.P. usually wins? No, on the contrary, twenty-one of the twenty-eight precincts (75%) which have gone Republican 3 out of 4 times, beginning with the 1964 election, reported, while twenty-six of the thirty-four Democratic precincts (76%) were represented by at least one official's response.

Lastly, the sexes were also well represented in the seventy-two responses. Of the men--forty-one serving as chairmen and twenty as vice chairmen--thirty-four out of a total sixty-one responded (56%). Women--nineteen serving as chairmen and forty-one as vice--cooperated more fully with thirty-eight out of sixty answering (63%).

Population Sub-Groups

As previously stated in the preface, this paper is only a description of the Delaware County Republican precinct officials in aggregate for the purpose of developing a more accurate concept of midwest G.O.P. grass roots. It does not attempt to show how certain variables interrelate. Yet, for a more accurate and detailed profile of these people, certain sub-groups will be compared. When information gathered by the questionnaire is examined, the answers of self-defined liberal and moderate Republicans will be contrasted to those of conservative Republicans. The answers of city, suburban, and rural chairmen and the vice-chairmen will be compared. Similarly, those committeemen from predominantly Democratic precincts will be compared to those from Republican areas.

Although the geographic breakdown of Delaware County has already been defined, some more facts need to be supplied for this sub-group analysis. None of the three divisions--city, suburban, or rural are uniform politically. Each has Republican precincts and Democratic ones. The basic purpose of examination here is to detect any differences between middle-sized city Republican grass roots and their small town and rural counterparts as a result of residency environment.

Now, let us examine a second factor of comparison: ideological breakdown. Not surprisingly, Delaware County Republican precinct leaders tend to identify themselves as conservatives. This general self-label is consistent with the Indiana State Republican party alignment and normal for a state of traditional (patronage and personality motivation) politics such as Indiana.⁶ Of the seventy-two Republicans who returned a questionnaire, a high number of them were unwilling or unable

to answer the ideology item. Ten people either did not answer or wrote that they were 'Republican' pure and simple. Of those who did answer, conservatives numbered forty-two out of sixty-two (68%). Moderates numbered seventeen (27%), while liberals were three in number (5%).

As a check upon the accuracy of the precinct leaders' self-identification and as a key to the ideological tendencies of the ten who did not answer the original question, the officials were asked to name the national Republicans they most admire and to name the three biggest problems threatening the United States. The exact responses to these two items will be given later in this thesis; for the present purpose, they showed six of the ten uncertain people to be moderate and four, conservative. Also, three self-styled moderates were actually conservative and three conservatives, moderates.

CHAPTER III.

PRECINCT LEADERS PROFILE: PORTRAIT OF THE GRASS ROOTS

Vital Statistics

To their neighbors, the committeemen and vice committeemen are a very real and significant members of the Republican party. Perhaps, only long-time preconceptions, handed down by one generation to another, and the activity of a few well-known national party leaders shape the G.O.P. public image more.

An opening generalization of these grass roots Republicans can be said in a few words. The precinct leaders in Delaware County are typical Americans.

To begin this descriptive paper a few basic personal and family statistics will be given. Firstly, the Republicans committeemen and their vice committeemen are not young. Only two of the seventy-two who replied to the questionnaire are under twenty-five years of age. Fifteen people are less than thirty-five years of age. In contrast, nearly three out of four are middle-aged--between thirty-five and sixty years old, while six more of the precinct officials were over sixty-five. President Nixon's campaign directed to the forgotten, older American appeals to these people.

The typical precinct leader is married. Of the seventy-two respondents, a mere three are single in contrast to the fifty-six men and women who are married and the six others who have been married. Politics

at any level demands a spouse because of social obligations.

Sixty-eight of the sixty-nine married grass roots leaders replied that they have children averaging out to 2.5 in each household. Muncie city Republicans have an average of 2.6 children, suburban Republicans have the smallest families with an average of two children, while rural precinct committeemen and vice committeemen have an average of 2.5 offspring. Moderate and liberal Republicans have a norm of two children compared to three for conservatives. Then too, liberals and moderates tend to space their family additions at wider intervals as their youngest children are younger than the conservatives', although a typical liberal's or moderate's oldest child is older than the typical conservative's.

As with the population of Delaware county as an aggregate, Republican precinct officials are overwhelmingly white. Two out of the 121 people are Black. Pertaining to religious preferences, they again accurately represent their precinct populations. Of the seventy-two who replied, sixty-nine are Protestant, two attend the Roman Catholic Church, while one other precinct committeeman belongs to another faith. Fifty-seven volunteered their specific denomination. Methodists, Baptists, and members of the Church of Christ made up over 80 per cent of these Republicans.

In age, family size, and religion Delaware county grass roots party officials conform to the model of typical Republicans.

Economic class, educational background, and occupation have traditionally been considered to be keys to identifying a person's political

party affiliation. "Every" freshman government student "knows" college-educated Republicans belong to the middle class or upper class while Democrats are poor or laboring people with a high school diploma at best.

Or are they? Do Republican precinct committeemen and vice committeemen universally fit this concept? No. If so, not nearly all of the people examined in this study would qualify to be Republicans, let alone, party officials. Party affiliation is not strictly determined by class and education in the United States as in many European nations. Other variables such as individual self-perception of status, family tradition, psychological orientation also shape party preferences.

To gather information on the topics of education and economic status, the respondents to this writer's questionnaire replied to items concerning their level of educational achievement, their major or most important academic subject, the vocations of themselves and their fathers, and their present family income.

Educational Background

Republican precinct committeemen and vice committeemen have higher levels of education than the average resident of the county. The average of county adults in 1960 was 10.8 years. For the total number of respondents in this study, the average number of years of formal education is 13.4--a high school diploma and three semesters of college or trade school. City committeemen have an average of 13.2 years; suburban, 15.75 years, and rural committeemen, 12.5 years. Liberal and moderate Republicans have studied fourteen years or one year longer than the conservatives who were in school thirteen years.

TABLE 1
LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Number of Years	Committeemen (N=70)	Graduated
8 Years or Less	2 (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)	2
12 Years or Less	34 (48 $\frac{2}{3}$ %)	29
16 Years or Less	25 (36 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)	8
Post Graduate Work	9 (13 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)	9
No Reply	2	2

The seven committeemen (10%) of those who answered who did not earn a high school diploma constitute a small number for people their age.⁷

Besides regular education, twenty-three (43%) of those who replied have attended trade, business, or technical schools for additional skills.

The analysis of the group's major subject matter reveals a strong tendency towards the liberal arts or business and commercial study.⁸

TABLE 2
MAJOR SUBJECT

Subject	Committeemen (N=68)
Practical Arts (Shop etc.)	9 (13 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Commercial	2 (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Business	14 (20 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Professional (Medicine)	3 (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Law	2 (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Social Sciences	8 (12 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Humanities (English)	12 (17 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Fine Arts	3 (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Education	5 (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Science	7 (10 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
General	3 (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
No Reply	4

A good education is necessary for a committeeman. More than a few words have been written about the educational role the party official

plays for the average voter, informing him of local issues and national party positions. Significantly, at a time when heavily technical issues such as anti-ballistic missile weaponry, the space program, and political-economic controls are being debated, only 10 per cent of the Delaware County Republican Party officers have been trained in the sciences or $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the social sciences. Although they could do background study to understand technical issues, most of the committeemen don't judging by their reading habits. Here is an example of the growing disparity between the complexity of issues and the ability of even politically active citizens to discuss them intelligently.

Occupation

In brief, the people replying to the questionnaires show little rising occupational status as compared to their fathers' occupations.

TABLE 3

VOCATIONS

Occupation	Committeemen (N=43)	Fathers (N=62)
General Laborer	5 ($11\frac{1}{2}\%$)	9 ($14\frac{1}{2}\%$)
Skilled Laborer	10 (23%)	12 ($19\frac{1}{2}\%$)
Services	4 ($9\frac{1}{2}\%$)	5 (8%)
Farmer	0 (0%)	15 ($24\frac{1}{2}\%$)
Sales	5 ($11\frac{1}{2}\%$)	3 (5%)
Office Worker	9 (21%)	1 (1 $\frac{1}{2}\%$)
Teacher	2 (5%)	2 (3 $\frac{1}{2}\%$)
Realtor	2 (5%)	1 (1 $\frac{1}{2}\%$)
Government	2 (5%)	1 (1 $\frac{1}{2}\%$)
Businessman	1 (2%)	7 ($11\frac{1}{2}\%$)
Professional	5 ($11\frac{1}{2}\%$)	5 (8%)
Invalid	0 (0%)	1 (1 $\frac{1}{2}\%$)
Housewife	27	0
Not Sure	0	2
No Reply	1	8

Once again, all of the Delaware County Republican committeemen do not conform to the stereo-type given to Republicans. They are not all professionals or businessmen. Many are not even employed in high status occupations.

Economic Status

Most contrary to the popular concept of the typical Republican is the economic status of these grass roots Republican leaders. Of the sixty-two working households who replied to the question on their present family income, thirty-four or over half had less than \$12,000 annual income. Fifteen peoples' families (24 $\frac{1}{2}$ %) had below the national moderate family income minimum of approximately \$9,100. When five retirement households are added to complete the total of sixty-seven who answered this item, thirty-nine (58 $\frac{1}{2}$ %) of the new total earned less than \$12,000 and eighteen (27 $\frac{1}{2}$ %) less than \$9,000.

The full breakdown of family income among Delaware County Republican precinct committeemen and vice committeemen including retirement households is as follows:

TABLE 4
INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Annual Family Income	Committeemen (N=66)
Under \$ 3,000	3 (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Over \$ 3,000	6 (9%)
Over \$ 6,000	9 (13 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Over \$ 9,000	20 (31%)
Over \$12,000	11 (16 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Over \$15,000	4 (6%)
Over \$18,000	13 (19 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
No Reply	6

The mode of the distribution is over the \$9,000 group with nearly one third of the total group.

For comparison, how do liberal and moderate Republicans differ from conservatives in income amounts? Do precinct committeemen from Democratic-voting precincts also differ from officials of usually Republican-voting ones? As a whole, the incomes of liberal and moderate Republicans are distributed among the higher income brackets than the total group. Their distribution centers in the over \$12,000 group. Incomes of precinct officials from Democratic-voting precincts are definitely lower than those living in Republican areas. While only two of the latter group (8⁷/₁₀₀) had incomes lower than \$9,000, sixteen of the ones from Democratic areas did. Twenty-eight of the thirty-nine people (72¹/₁₀₀) from Democratic precincts earned less than \$12,000 as opposed to only ten out of the twenty-seven people (27¹/₁₀₀) from Republican areas.

To reinforce the fact that these Republican officials are not exceptionally affluent, note that these figures are family incomes: these families often have more than one breadwinner. Eight spouses of the men in this group worked and seven of the women among these Republicans.⁷ Nearly one out of four of these families have two workers.

CHAPTER IV.

PRECINCT LEADERSHIP PROFILE: THEIR COMMUNITY LIFE

Length of Residence

Eugene Banfield in the book City Politics discusses the division of influential citizens into two groups: locals and cosmopolitans.¹⁰ The first are leaders from families which have lived in the local area for a long time and are imbued with its traditions. In contrast, the latter are community leaders who are originally from another location and who will not live the total remainder of their lives at their present residence. Locals tend to be more parochial and conservative in their outlook towards the political life of their area than the cosmopolitans.

The Delaware County precinct officers are not generally publically-known figures, identified with a great deal of power, nor are these living in a large city. Still, the division of active citizens into two leadership groups is thought to be a useful concept by the writer in the examination of local Republican leadership. Not surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of the seventy-two chairmen and vice chairmen are locals, having lived in Delaware County for over twenty years on the average.

Delaware Republican precinct committeemen and vice committeemen have lived in their precinct, that is, their neighborhood an average of 19.5 years. While there is little difference between liberal and moderate Republicans and conservatives in length of residence--eighteen as opposed

TABLE 5
RESIDENCE IN PRECINCT

Years	Committeemen (N=72)
1 to 4	7 (10 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
5 to 9	10 (14 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
10 to 14	14 (19 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
15 to 19	12 (16 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
20 to 24	12 (16 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
25+	17 (23 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)

to twenty years respectively-- , a greater variation appears between those committeemen and vice committeemen living in Republican-voting areas and Democratic areas--22.1 years to 17.9 years. These figures of residence for all types of Republican party people stand in stark contrast to those for the rest of the citizens of Delaware County. As recorded by the 1960 census, 54 per cent of the county's people over five years of age had moved within the county from 1955 to 1960. This fact poses the challenge to committeemen to meet and gain the trust of several new neighbors each year.

Figures for their length of residence in the county and the state of Indiana demonstrate that the G.O.P. grass roots are Hoosiers by birth or early adoption.

Nearly 60 per cent have lived in the county for thirty years or more, the average for all of the committeemen being 34.5 years. Again, there is little variation between conservatives and liberals and moderates: 35 to 33 years respectively. In reverse of precinct residence, committeemen from Democratic areas have lived in the county longer than those from Republican areas--37 to 30.5 years.

TABLE 6
RESIDENCE IN COUNTY

Years	Committeemen (N=72)
1 to 4	2 ($3\frac{1}{2}\%$)
5 to 9	4 ($5\frac{1}{2}\%$)
10 to 14	4 ($5\frac{1}{2}\%$)
15 to 19	2 ($2\frac{1}{2}\%$)
20 to 24	12 ($16\frac{1}{2}\%$)
25 to 29	6 ($8\frac{1}{2}\%$)
30 to 34	9 ($12\frac{1}{2}\%$)
35+	11 ($15\frac{1}{2}\%$)
50+	22 ($30\frac{1}{2}\%$)

Over half of these Republicans have lived in Indiana for over forty years. Many of these people in all age groups indicated on their questionnaire that they have lived in the state all of their lives. Once more, geography plays no significant part in explaining the division of the group in conservative and liberal-moderate sub-groups. However, Democratic area chairmen have resided in the state nearly six years longer than those from Republican-voting precincts. This is due to the fact

TABLE 7
RESIDENCE IN STATE

Years	Committeemen (N=72)
1 to 4	1 ($1\frac{1}{2}\%$)
5 to 9	2 ($2\frac{1}{2}\%$)
10 to 14	1 ($1\frac{1}{2}\%$)
15 to 19	2 ($2\frac{1}{2}\%$)
20 to 24	4 ($5\frac{1}{2}\%$)
25 to 29	4 ($5\frac{1}{2}\%$)
30 to 34	8 ($11\frac{1}{2}\%$)
35 to 39	12 ($17\frac{1}{2}\%$)
40 to 44	4 ($5\frac{1}{2}\%$)
45 to 49	11 ($15\frac{1}{2}\%$)
50 to 60	10 ($14\frac{1}{2}\%$)
60+	13 ($18\frac{1}{2}\%$)

that the generally city Democratic voting precincts have older populations.

To conclude the section of this paper on residence, the predominately conservative nature of the county G.O.P. may be due in part to the great number of years it's grass roots leaders have lived in Indiana. Indiana's political attitudes place confidence in an almost Jacksonian system of government and laissez faire economic and social relationships. However, residence does not explain why a minority identify themselves as liberals or moderates.

Community Activities

How else do these long term residents serve their community besides Republican party activities. Precinct workers have been pictured as active people--joiners and social mixers. In these respects, the group members are fulfilling their roles. The number and variety of organizations and civic activities in their lives are great. No geographic or ideological factors appear to affect which ones these people belong to.

In response to the item about their organizations and activities, the precinct chairmen and vice chairmen listed the following in Table 8.

Helping one's neighbor is good politics. Then too, the people who are active and interested in local politics usually are active and interested in civic activities. A person "desiring" to become involved in party work will find his contacts in some group activity. One final comment--in face of the great role veterans groups play in Indiana's politics (the American Legion's headquarters is in Indianapolis), it is somewhat surprising that so few committeemen mentioned veterans groups as activities to which they belonged.

(More than one answer per person)

TABLE 8

ORGANIZATIONS AND CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Activity	Committeemen (N=68)
Service (Lions etc.)	25
Fraternal (Moose)	9
Veterans (American Legion)	6
Republican (YR'S)	16
Religious	13
Artistic (Muncie Musicale)	7
Professional (Bar Association)	3
Civic (Boy Scouts)	27
Patriotic (D.A.R.)	4
Government (Park Board)	5
Social (Card Club)	11
Charity (March of Dimes)	3
Lobby Groups (Educational Lobby)	4
None	5
No Reply	4

CHAPTER V.

PRECINCT LEADERSHIP PROFILE: THEIR VIEW OF THE WORLD

Having probably lived his adult life in Delaware County and Indiana, the typical G.O.P. grass roots leader examined in this study has had a limited living environment. Large cities, ethnic groups, heavy industrialization--all are strange phenomenon. Yet, as a political leader and communicator, he must make judgments about the world situation in order to form party policy and inform voters.

How has and does the precinct personnel learn about the world? Generally he receives or received his information and impressions through travel, mass communications, and, in some cases, service in the armed forces. Of course, all of these avenues are open to the average citizen.

Travel

Despite their rather modest economic status and their deep roots in the community, these Republicans have traveled a surprising large number of times since the beginning of 1964.

As the precinct committeemen went to a great variety of locations, the author classified their destinations into five classes: None; Regional--East North Central states and Kentucky and West Virginia; National; North American--outside of the United States but within the continent; and Foreign. The result is as follows based on the widest range of travel.

TABLE 9
RANGE OF TRAVEL

Class	Committeemen (N=69)
None	3 (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Regional	11 (16%)
National	30 (43%)
North American	19 (27 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Foreign	6 (9%)
No Reply	3

From these figures, it is apparent that most of the group have seen different parts of their nation and have at least a small idea of its diversity of geographic, social, cultural, and economic traits. Fully 35 per cent have left the boundaries of the United States. Even a vacation trip such as a tour of Europe changes some concepts and perceptives.

Liberal and moderate Republicans tend to have traveled more and more widely than conservatives. Over 40 per cent of the former have gone outside the country as opposed to only 31 per cent for the conservatives. Of the fourteen respondents who have done no or only regional travel, all but two were conservatives.

Mass Communications

Mass media such as television and newspapers can expand the world a person lives in far more readily than a trip. What a person reads or watches from these sources of information shape his concept of the national and international situation.

After analyzing the reading and viewing tastes and habits of the men and women of the local G.O.P., the writer has come to the conclusion that while they have no exotic sources of facts, they do utilize the

information resources open to all people effectively. Only one person who replied to the item on reading habits could not name a minimum of one magazine or newspaper. Only one more could not name at least two regularly read publications. Not only do these people read, but they read serious material. Similarly, nearly all of the committeemen and their vice committeemen watch television and concentrate on news and special programming.

TABLE 10
TYPE OF READING MATERIAL IN ORDER OF CHOICE

Type	First	Second	Third	Total
Local Newspaper	50	10	3	63
Indiana Newspaper	0	4	1	5
National Newspaper	3	9	3	15
News Magazines	7	20	17	44
Home Magazines	1	4	10	15
Professional Magazines	1	0	4	5
Adventure Magazines	0	2	4	6
Womens Magazines	1	1	3	5
Literary Magazines	4	9	10	23
Religious Publication	1	2	3	6
Nature	0	0	3	3
Sports	1	0	0	1
Home Repair Magazines	1	0	0	1
Veterans Magazines	0	1	0	1
None	1 person			
No Reply	1 person			

(Note: each person could list three items)

There is no little similarity among all Delaware County Republicans in their reading habits. No matter what their ideological leanings or areas of residence or the political orientation of their precincts, the grass roots leaders display a common interest in politics, government, and current events. Surprisingly few committeemen named sports magazines

or veterans publications.

Likewise, Delaware County Republicans show little divergence among themselves in their television program preferences. They differ little from general public watching tastes but for a heavier emphasis on news. Of the seventy who answered the questionnaire item, only three of the group did not watch a minimum of a few hours of television a week.

TABLE 11

TELEVISION WATCHING HABITS

Type	First Choice	Second and Third	Total
News	32	12	44
Comedy Shows	9	17	26
Sports	5	5	10
Light Drama	4	11	15
Drama	2	2	4
Game Shows	0	2	2
News Specials	1	11	12
Variety	7	10	17
Interview Shows	1	3	4
Movies	6	7	13
Travel	0	1	1
Music	0	1	1
Other	0	1	1
No Television	1 person		
No Reply	2 persons		

Armed Service Experiences

Besides mass communications and vacation travel, life and travel in the course of serving in the armed forces is another means by which the men of the group could see and learn about the world. Because of the great visibility of the veterans groups in Republican Party of Indiana the writer expected that the great majority of the men in this grass roots study have served in a branch of the armed services. This is not the case. Furthermore, liberal and moderate Republicans served more

often than conservatives, who normally are associated with veterans' causes.

Of the thirty-four men, seventeen served in the armed forces; sixteen of those identified their branch--seven army, six navy, three air force personnel. No woman committee person was a member of any armed service.

CHAPTER VI.

PRECINCT LEADERSHIP PROFILE: FAMILY POLITICAL TRADITION

Traditional family, neighborhood, and geographical relationships are being shattered by present-day American turbulence and mobility. Political ties make no exception. Republican and Democratic candidates at all levels of politics win fairly regularly in states where their parties were ineffective minorities less than twenty-years ago.

Never-the-less, the axiom--family tradition is the most potent factor in determining a person's party affiliation--continues to have a great deal of validity. As might be expected, the Delaware County Republicans studied here come from Republican homes. However, these committeemen engaged in political activities much more commonly and to a greater degree than their parents.

Specifically, the party affiliations of the parents of seventy party officials are summed up as follows:

TABLE 12

Parents' Party Affiliations

Affiliation	Parents (N=70)
Both Parents Republican	47 (67 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Father Only Republican	1 (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Mother Only Republican	7 (10 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Neither Republican	15 (21 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
No Reply	2

In the case of a politically divided home, the mothers were the Republican; this fact is not in contrast to the report of the Gallop organization which stated that women until 1964 were more likely to be Republican than men.¹¹

Did the Republican party recruit many precinct leaders from families with both parents probably being Democrats. Yes.

TABLE 13

PARTY AFFILIATION OF NON-REPUBLICAN PARENTS

Affiliation	Parents (N=23)
Democrat	18 (81 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
Independent	3 (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ %)
Other	1 (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %)
No Reply	1

Comparing self-identified liberal and moderate Republicans with conservatives, liberals and moderates tend to originate from the more Republican homes. Among the liberals and moderates, 75 per cent had two Republican parents while only 60 per cent of the conservatives did. Furthermore, liberals and moderates are more likely to have considered themselves to be Republican all their adult lives. Of the total group, 90 per cent have considered themselves to be Republicans since twenty-one years of age. The figures for conservatives and liberals and moderates are 87 per cent and 95 per cent respectively. Chairmen representing Democratic-voting areas of the county also tend to be slightly more Republican in their family background than those from Republican areas.

The parents of the precinct officials, as mentioned before, are or were less active than their children in politics. Of the seventy-two who

returned questionnaires, twenty-one (30%) had at least one parent active in politics but forty-nine (70%) had no parent active. Two did not respond to the item.

Somewhat surprisingly, of those parents who took part in political functions, mothers made up the majority. Eleven of them participated as opposed to seven fathers. Five other precinct committeemen who had parents involved in politics did not indicate which parent.

These "active" parents restricted themselves in the aggregate to being helpers of the committeemen of their day at the polls or at rallies. Thirteen out of the twenty-one parents whose jobs are described fall in this category. Two of the rest did serve as committeemen themselves. Of the remaining six, two people held minor government offices, three others attended the state Republic convention as delegates, while one parent headed several party or candidate finance committees.

Although almost all of the parents of the Delaware County Republican Party officials were either not interested or merely marginally active in politics, other relatives of the committeemen serve as possible examples for them. Thirty-seven of the seventy grass roots leaders (53%) who replied to the question on relatives' involvement in politics indicated that at least one close relation worked in some manner for a political party. However, not all of these relatives were older than the committeemen.

To make a summation of the influence of their familys' traditional political allegiance, these Republicans had parents who were usually Republican. However, they were not often active, or, if active, not deeply involved in party affairs. More often, another relative provided a probable example for these grass roots leaders to follow.

TABLE 14
RELATIVES IN POLITICS

Relation	Committeemen (N=37)
Cousin	5
Sibling	12
Uncle	9
Aunt	1
Grandparent	6
Other	4

CHAPTER VII.

PRECINCT LEADERSHIP PROFILE: THE MAKING OF COMMITTEEMEN

How and when did these precinct chairmen and vice chairmen attain their present party posts are natural subjects to be asked in this thesis. Doubtlessly, previous political experience--in addition to family tradition and individual psychology--played a part in the grass roots leaders' decision to become precinct committeemen.

Before becoming a chairman or vice chairman, the typical Republican has held an interest in politics for several years. The average length of active interest in politics for these people was thirteen and three quarters years at the beginning of 1969. Typically, the precinct leader first seriously worked in the 1960 Presidential Election or later. But, in the cases of liberal and moderate Republicans, involvement came before 1962, that is, in the pre-Goldwater era. See Table 15.

One must readily observe that many of these leaders have only recently immersed themselves into politics to any great extent. The surface personnel changes in the Delaware County G.O.P. come quickly.

As previously reported, relatively few of these party officers had parents and only about one half had any relatives who made significant contributions of time and energy to politics. Consequently, who provided the direct motivation to these leaders to become committeemen? They responded as follows in Table 16.

Friendship and self-initiative are the main motives in becoming a

TABLE 15
ELECTION OF FIRST SERIOUS WORK

Election	Committeemen (N=60)	Election	Committeemen (N=60)
Pre 1946	8	1959	0
1946	2	1960	13
1948	2	1962	2
1950	0	1963	4
1951	1	1964	9
1952	2	1966	2
1954	1	1967	1
1955	1	1968	3
1956	6		
1958	3	No Reply	12
By Political Era			
		Pre 1946	8
		Pre 1952	5
		Eisenhower Elections	13
		1960-	34

TABLE 16
SOURCES OF MOTIVATION

Type	Committeemen (N=68)
Friend	34
Themselves	22
Parents	9
Husband	3
Other Relative	5
No Reply	4

(Note: sixty-eight people gave seventy-three responses).

precinct officer for the Republican party in Delaware County. While it may be true that family tends to determine one's political affiliation, peer influences bring about a more substantial commitment to the party.

The final step, accepting the post of committeemen or vice committeemen, came generally not too many years after the person first deeply involved himself to working in an election.

TABLE 17

YEAR BECAME COMMITTEEMAN

Election	People (N=71)	Election	People (N=71)
Pre 1940	1	1958	1
Pre 1946	3	1959	2
1946	0	1960	4
1947	0	1961	0
1948	1	1962	5
1949	1	1963	4
1950	0	1964	8
1951	0	1965	3
1952	0	1966	5
1953	0	1967	8
1954	2	1968	19
1955	0		
1956	3	No Reply	2
1957	0		
	Pre 1946	4	
	1946-1951	2	
	1952-1959	8	
	1960-1969	56	

Each year at the Lincoln Day Banquet the county chairman describes the job of committeeman as an exhausting, thankless job. The figures given here seem to confirm his description--the positions are not held with relish. One half of the precinct positions have changed hands since 1964.

Being a precinct representative for the G.O.P. monopolizes the

time most of these people devote to politics. Among the seventy-two, only nine had or have party positions besides their precinct one. Three have been county party officials; two people were delegates to the state convention, one served on a campaign staff, and three are or have been officers of Women's Republicans or Young Republicans. Fifteen stated that they had run for public office in either the primary or general election.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRECINCT LEADERSHIP PROFILE: OPINIONS
ON ISSUES AND PERSONALITIES

To conclude the body of this paper, the perceptions and opinions of the Delaware County G.O.P. grass roots leadership on national issues the state issue of patronage, along with their evaluation of national party leaders will be given.

Opinions of Personalities

The primary purpose for asking the committeemen which national Republican leaders they admired was to validate or invalidate their own self-labelings of liberal, moderate, or conservative. Generally there was agreement between self-labels and personalities admired. Self-styled conservatives admire conservative national Republicans. The relationship is parallel for liberals and moderates.

If one admires those who speak for his bias, then the precinct chairmen and vice chairmen indicated a moderate conservative leaning by their admiration of Republican leaders. Each person could name three national leaders. The incumbent Republican President is, as expected, the most admired Republican, but Nixon always has been a Hoosier favorite. Barry Goldwater also is close to their hearts. The author has heard more than one committeeman praise the Arizona Senator for his honesty and courage. Then too, Mrs. Goldwater's family are natives of Muncie.

TABLE 18
 MOST ADMIRED REPUBLICANS¹²

Leader	First Reference (N=63)	Total References (N=175)
Lincoln	1 ($1\frac{1}{2}\%$)	1
Theodore Roosevelt	1 ($1\frac{1}{2}\%$)	1
Percy	0	1
Rockefeller	0	2
Lodge	0	2
Hatfield	0	1
Lugar	0	1
Romney	0	2
Agnew	0	4
Eisenhower	6 ($9\frac{1}{2}\%$)	12
Nixon	34 (54%)	52
Rogers	0	1
Bliss	0	1
Ford	0	7
Dirkson	6 ($9\frac{1}{2}\%$)	32
Mitchell	0	1
Reagen	4 ($6\frac{1}{2}\%$)	17
Tower	0	3
Goldwater	10 (16%)	24
Dennis	0	2
Buckley	0	1
Roudebush	1 ($1\frac{1}{2}\%$)	7
No Reply	9 people	

National Issue Perception

In the naming of the three national problems they feel are major in importance, the sub-groups within the Delaware precinct population did not significantly differ. No matter what ideological persuasion or area of residence, committeemen named the same issues. Once again, the problems named like the personalities admired, show judgment by middle class people, who are basically conservative. This group of people, middle aged, middle class, middlewestern had a status quo attitude in naming national problems.

TABLE 19

THE THREE BIG PROBLEMS FACING AMERICA

Problem	Committeemen Mentioning (N=134)
Race	18
College Students' Behavior	7
Riots	5
Law and Order	22
Supreme Court	2
Debt	8
Inflation	19
Taxes	16
Dollar Drain	2
Poverty	6
Education	4
Pollution	1
Draft	1
Loss of Freedom	3
Socialism	4
Unions	1
Immorality	4
Drugs	1
Credibility of Government	2
Apathy	1
National Unity	4
Subversion	3

Patronage

Indiana's political attitude is conservative. Traditionally, jobs and contracts and not issues have been the motivation for Hoosier political parties. But signs of a lessening of this motivation in Delaware County are appearing. Firstly, Republicans do not flock to obtain a public job after the party's victories. In an era of prosperity and growing worker skills, states jobs seem low-paying and unfulfilling. Secondly, County Chairman Robert Hott has waged a campaign to abolish traditional sources of patronage.

In as much as precinct workers often directly benefit from a

party's winning control of jobs for which the main qualification is party loyalty, their present feelings on this state political phenomenon are an important indicator of whether a basic motivation is politics is really disappearing. Surprisingly, the most apparent response to a question asking how many government jobs in the future should be patronage ones was apathy. Many respondents to the questionnaire had no opinion.

TABLE 20
PATRONAGE ATTITUDES

Favor:	Committeemen (N=46)
No Patronage Jobs	8
Fewer Patronage Jobs	7 (33%)
Same Number	17 (37%)
More Patronage Jobs	3
All Patronage Jobs	11 (30%)
No Reply	26

No significant differences existed among Republicans of differing ideological or residential backgrounds in their attitudes towards patronage.

In summary, the picture communicated by Delaware County Republican grass roots leaders is a party loyal to moderate conservative leadership, status quo oriented on perceptions of national problems, and less anxious to use the age-old spoils of political victory, patronage jobs.

CHAPTER IX.

PRECINCT LEADERSHIP PROFILE: CONCLUSION

Several questions concerning the commonly accepted models of Republicans and precinct committeemen were posed in the introduction to this paper. The best way to finish this investigation and description of a group of committeemen is to provide a summary of the answers to those first questions.

Do the precinct committeemen and vice committeemen of the Republican Party of Delaware County conform to the accepted stereo-type of Republicans. Yes and No. They are white, middle-aged, Protestant, and basically conservative in their attitudes. However, economically and occupationally, they could be as easily Democrats.

Are these grass roots leaders qualified to do their jobs. They are established in their community and show concern in improving it. But, educationally, they have no special qualifications. The era of the precinct worker as the main carrier of the party attack is over; candidates on television, not friendly conversations, must convert the voters to the G.O.P.'s position.

To summarize, these party grass roots leaders are "just folks" with a special hobby. They have little in common with the old organization precinct captains who lived by and for the party. Neither do they possess the attributes of any affluent, well-educated, heavily involved leader that seem to be arising from college-age groups. Perhaps,

personal self-evaluation of oneself and his world determine political allegiance more than economics in this age of greater and greater prosperity.

Do they involve themselves heart and soul in Republican party work. No, although more active than their usually Republican parents, politics is an avocation--a casual hobby. Often, the advice of a friend caused them to become interested. They have no "political-ins" but rather perform the work involved for non-political rewards or for intangibles such as making friends and feeling good for being an active citizen.

NOTES

¹Charles O. Jones, The Republican Party in American Politics (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 70.

²Hugh A. Bone, American Politics and the Party System (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p. 168.

³John H. Fenton, Midwest Politics (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), p. 162.

⁴Ibid., p. 155.

⁵Paul Rozycki (ed.), Muncie, Indiana: People and Politics (Muncie: by the editor, 1968), p. 17.

⁶Fenton, op. cit., p. 155.

⁷Dan Golenpaul (ed.), Information Please Almanac-1967. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 354.

⁸These figures are for all levels of schooling.

⁹Those women who are precinct officers and wives of other respondents do not have their answers to this question included.

¹⁰Edward Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), p. 56.

¹¹Research Division Republican National Committee. The 1968 Elections. (Washington: The National Committee, 1969), p. 217.

¹²Although Roosevelt, Lincoln and Eisenhower are deceased they are included for purposes of showing ideological identification. Lugar is naturally recognized as Mayor of Indianapolis. Rogers is Secretary of State. Bliss is a former National Chairman. Mitchell is Attorney General. Dennis and Roudebush are Indiana Republican Congressmen.

The questions below are very critical for my thesis. Please remember that my thesis will be on you as a group, not one or a few of you. No names will be mentioned; only the most general descriptions will be given, such as "a committeeman in the wealthiest part of Muncie." I shall be the only person who will work with your questionnaires; it will be held in the strictest confidence. In a professional matter such as this, a political scientist's attitude toward's personal information is like that of a doctor towards his client.

PRECINCT# _____ (optional)

AGE 21-25 26-35 35-50 50-65 65+

SEX Male Female

ARE YOU A. Protestant Roman Catholic Jew Other

IF YOU DESIRE, WOULD YOU PLEASE LIST THE DENOMINATION OF YOUR CHOICE _____

WHAT IS YOUR MARITAL STATUS? Single Married Other

HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE? _____ AGES _____

WOULD YOU PLEASE TELL ME HOW MANY YEARS OF SCHOOL YOU ATTENDED? _____

WHAT WAS THE LAST SCHOOL YOU ATTENDED? _____

DID YOU GRADUATE? Yes No

WHAT WAS YOUR MAJOR SUBJECT? _____

HAVE YOU EVER GONE TO A BUSINESS, TECHNICAL, OR TRADE SCHOOL? Yes No

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN YOUR PRECINCT? _____ YEARS

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN DELAWARE COUNTY? _____ YEARS

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN INDIANA? _____ YEARS

WHERE HAVE YOU TRAVELED SINCE JANUARY, 1964? _____

ARE YOU A VETERAN? Yes No

IF YOU ARE, IN WHICH SERVICE DID YOU SERVE? _____

WHICH TELEVISION SHOWS DO YOU USUALLY WATCH? _____

WHICH NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES DO YOU READ REGULARLY? _____

WHICH CELEB. PROJECTS AND WHAT ORGANIZATIONS DO YOU TAKE PART IN AND BELONG TO? _____

Now that you have helped me to learn about the typical Republican precinct official, will you please give me some general information about your family background.

WHAT OCCUPATION DID YOUR FATHER HAVE WHEN YOU WERE A TEENAGER? _____

WHAT WERE YOUR FATHER'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS? Yes both Father Mother Neither

IF NOT, WHAT (THEY ARE OR) Democrat Independent Other

2.

DID YOUR FATHER MOTHER TAKE PART IN POLITICAL
ACTIVITIES? Yes No

IF SO, WHAT JOBS DID THEY DO? _____

ARE OR WERE ANY RELATIVES OF YOURS ACTIVE IN POLITICS? YES No

IF SO, WHO? Uncle Aunt Grandparent Cousin Brother

Sister Other

HAVE YOU ALWAYS BEEN A REPUBLICAN SINCE 21 YEARS OF AGE? YES No

PEOPLE SOMETIMES CLASSIFY THEMSELVES, DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF
TO BE A Liberal Moderate Conservative REPUBLICAN?

WHICH THREE NATIONAL REPUBLICANS DO YOU ADMIRE THE MOST? _____

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN ACTIVE IN POLITICS? _____ YEARS

WHICH WAS THE FIRST ELECTION YOU WORKED IN? _____

WHO GOT YOU INTERESTED? Parent Relative Friend Yourself

IN WHAT YEAR DID YOU BECOME A TRIBUTOR CONTRIBUTOR? _____

HAVE YOU HELD ANY OTHER JOBS IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY? Yes No
IF SO, WHAT WERE THEY? _____

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A CANDIDATE FOR OFFICE? Yes No

WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE THREE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS FACING
THE UNITED STATES TODAY? _____

ARE YOU FOR PAYROLLS BEING COLLECTED FROM No Fewer Same
MORE ALL WORKERS IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIANA?

WHAT HAS BEEN YOUR MAIN LIFETIME OCCUPATION? _____

DOES YOUR STATE USE MONEY? Yes No

WHAT IS YOUR FAMILY INCOME APPROXIMATELY:

() 3,000 to 6,000

() 6,001 to 9,000

() 9,001 to 12,000

() 12,001 to 15,000

() 15,001 to 18,000

() 18,001 +

Thank you very much for your cooperation. Please send this
form to Harlan Wright, 240 Kilcore; Nuncio, in the stamped
envelope.

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