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An Interpretive Analysis of the Non-Voting Behavior of Registered Voters in the 01/01/1958 General Election, Hays, Kansas

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AN INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF THE NON-VOTING BEHAVIOR
OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN THE 1958
GENERAL ELECTION, HAYS, KANSAS

being

*Corrected May 6, 1960
by W.D.M.*

~~An abstract of A~~ thesis presented to the
Graduate Faculty of the Fort Hays Kansas State
College in partial fulfillment of the requirement for
the Degree of Master of Science

by

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Date July 14 1959

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ABSTRACT

An attempt has been made in this study to determine the relationship which exists between non-voting and the personal characteristics of sex, age, and occupation. An attempt was also made to discover some of the reasons why eligible voters do not vote.

The study was conducted in Hays, Kansas, immediately following the general election in the fall of 1958. The group that was studied was composed of 1,087 registered voters who failed to vote in the 1958 general election.

The research was conducted in two separate phases. First: a tabulation was made of the personal characteristics of the registered non-voters from the official registration lists in the city clerk's office in Hays. From these tabulations correlations were drawn between non-voting and the age, sex, and occupation of the non-voters. Second: from this group of non-voters a 12.5 percent sample was obtained through the use of a questionnaire with which to determine the possible reasons for non-voting.

The results of the study showed that women were poorer voters than men. Of the total group, there were more young people than old. Of particular interest was the definite correlation between non-voting and occupation. Businessmen were the best voters while those persons classified as

laborers were the poorest voters. The majority of women who were non-voters were housewives.

The study also revealed that apathy was probably the greatest one single factor influencing non-voting. Many of the non-voters failed to vote simply because they did not care. Of some significance was the fact that many people had not established sufficient residence.

FOREWORD

Politics is sometimes called "the great American game." Millions of people follow the election campaigns, and in the final analysis decide who shall be the victors and the losers. Yet the true nature of this so-called "game" remains to a great extent somewhat of a mystery. Why does one candidate win and the other lose? Why do some people vote at every election and others only periodically? What factors determine how a voter will vote? These and many other questions, which are just as puzzling, confront the student of politics. Yet it is this mysterious or unknown quality that makes the study of American politics so interesting.

Because the problems of the American political system are so varied and wide-ranging, no one single formula or method has been uncovered which will provide neat and concrete answers to them. Students of Political Science are constantly seeking out and testing new methods of research and study which will enable them to better understand the political process. This has been the purpose of this paper. To attempt to provide some insight into one of the many questions surrounding that process—Why do people, although eligible, fail to vote?

The following pages are devoted to a discussion of

the problem, and the methods of research used in analyzing and interpreting the problem in one single area, Hays, Kansas. It is hoped that the findings of the study, although of a local nature, might be applicable on a larger scale.

The writer is deeply appreciative for the service, constructive criticism, and encouragement of Dr. William D. Moreland, Head of the Political Science Department of Fort Hays Kansas State College, and Dr. Ivan L. Richardson, Professor of Political Science, Fort Hays Kansas State College, who gave so generously of their time in assisting with the preparation of this thesis. He also wishes to acknowledge the help of his graduate committee members whose careful perusal of the manuscript helped eliminate minor errors that might have otherwise gone unnoticed. Acknowledgement also must be made to the City Clerk of Hays, Kansas, and her helpful staff. Without their kind cooperation the collecting of data for this thesis would have been more difficult.

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CHAPTER I

PRESENTATION AND EXPLANATION OF THE STUDY

Popular government rests upon the principle that the will of the people shall prevail in the conduct of public affairs. An essential part of such a government is the provision of means through which this will may be expressed. The most workable avenue open for this purpose is the establishment of an electoral system, whereby the people, through the voting process, may make their will known in regard to the policies their government will adopt and the persons who shall have charge of the policy execution. This system in turn, requires a rather careful determination of those who should enjoy the right of voting, or as it is more technically expressed, the electoral franchise.¹

This determination of the voting right can be found in the basic document of the land, the Constitution of the United States, and in the constitutions and statutes of the different states. A study of these various documents indicates a gradual trend toward increasing the number of persons who are eligible for the electoral franchise. The removal of property qualifications, the establishment of

¹Joseph P. Harris, Registration of the Voters in the United States (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1929), p. 1.

universal suffrage for both sexes, abolishment of race barriers, and more recently, the lowering of the eligible voting age from twenty-one to eighteen by the state of Georgia and Kentucky, are only a few of the more important steps taken which indicate such a trend.

The trend or direction toward enlargement of the franchise has probably made the government of the United States more democratic in nature, but further examination of this particular feature of the political process reveals that although the number of eligible voters has increased the popular participation or voter turnout, when compared to the total of those qualified, has shown a tendency to decrease.² This facet of the voting behavior of the American populace is probably best illustrated by the information contained in Figure 1 on page 3. It may be readily ascertained from the graph in Figure 1, particularly since 1920, that a substantially decreasing proportion of the enfranchised electorate participated in presidential elections between the years 1896 to 1956. In the 1896 election nearly 80 percent of the potential electorate exercised their prerogative, while during the years 1920 to 1956, the percentage varied between 49 and 63 percent.

²Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, American Politics, a Study in Political Dynamics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 723.

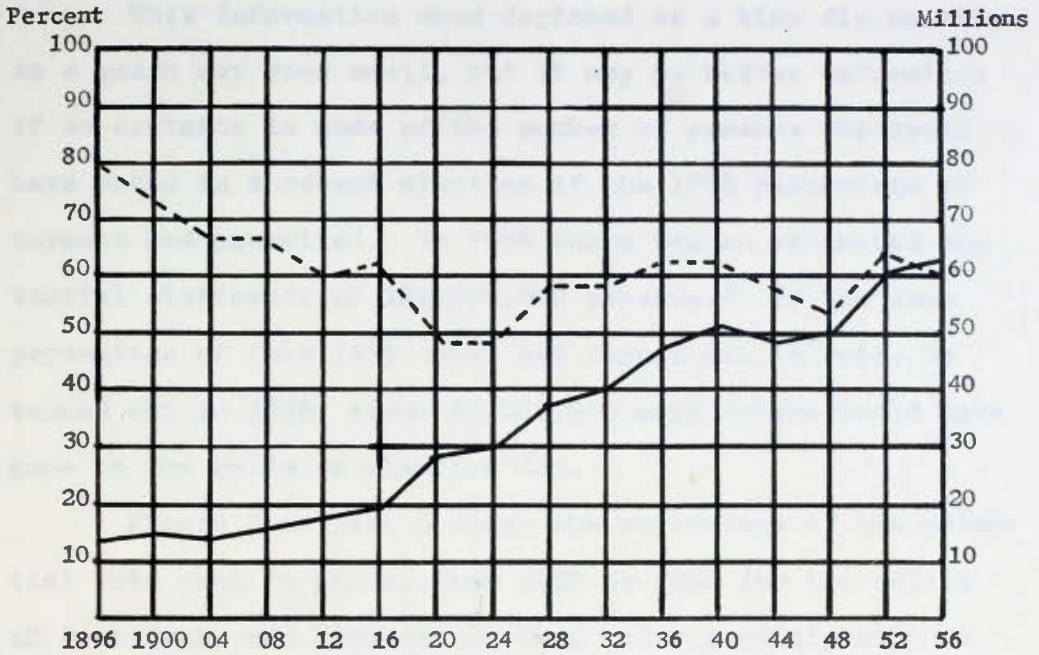


Figure 1. Total presidential vote as a percentage of the potential electorate, 1896-1956. (V. O. Key Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1958, p. 624.)

Vote as percentage of enfranchised population

Total vote in millions _____

This information when depicted as a tiny dip or rise on a graph may seem small, but it may be better understood if an estimate is made of the number of persons who would have voted in a recent election if the 1896 percentage of turnout had prevailed. In 1956 there was an estimated potential electorate of 102,000,000 persons.³ If the same percentage of this 1956 total had turned out to vote, as turned out in 1896, about 20,000,000 more voters would have gone to the polls on election day.

Figure 2 on page 5 shows the percentage of the potential vote cast in Kansas from 1920 to 1956 for the office of President, and illustrates that voter participation in the state of Kansas is no exception to the national trend already noted; at least for the years which figures are available. A comparison of the voting behavior of the potential electorate on the national level (Figure 1) with the voting behavior of the potential electorate representing Kansas (Figure 2), reveals a close similarity in design, except for the fact that the Kansas percentage of turnout generally tends to exceed the national average by several points.

One of the most interesting facts of electoral par-

³Harry Hansen (ed.), The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1958 (New York: New York World-Telegram, 1958), p. 261.



Figure 2. Percentage of potential vote cast in Kansas for the office of President, 1920-1956. (From June G. Cabe and Charles A. Sullivant, Kansas Votes, Lawrence: University of Kansas Governmental Research Center, 1957.)

ticipation in Kansas, and for the United States as a whole, is the variation in the number of votes cast in the presidential election years and the number cast in the so-called off years or elections in which presidential candidates do not appear on the ballot. This variation appears markedly when a comparison of the vote in presidential election years is made with the election vote in off years. The rather sharp rises and drops in the graph depicted in Figure 3 on page 7 points to the effect of a presidential election in drawing voters to the polls. In the gubernatorial elections held in the off years the voter turnout drops considerably; while if the election of a governor coincides with the presidential race, the total number of vote cast sharply increases. Evidently a large number of voters are attracted to the polls by a presidential contest, and as they vote for a president they incidently mark their ballots for governor.

Also of some significance is the primary election behavior presented in Figure 3 which shows the primary vote to be relatively stable, when compared to the general election vote, and much lower than the general election turnout. Since there is no presidential primary in Kansas to attract voters to the nominating process, the primary turnout seemingly is not affected by the presidential race.

The previously mentioned information poses a major

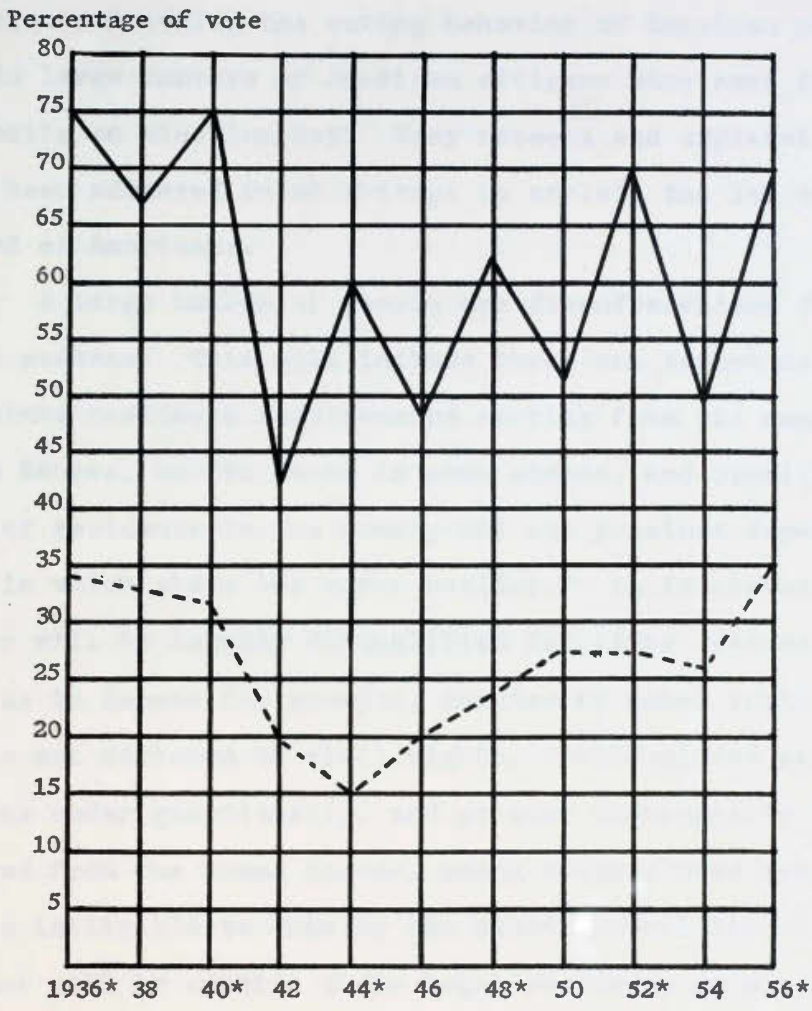


Figure 3. Percentage of potential vote cast in Kansas general elections and primary elections for the office of governor, 1936-1956. (Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Biennial Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1937-1957, Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1937-1957; and United States Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1937-1957, Seventy-ninth edition, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937-1957.)

Indicates presidential election year *

General elections _____

Primary elections

question concerning the voting behavior of American people. Why do large numbers of American citizens stay away from the polls on election day? Many reasons and explanations have been advanced in an attempt to explain the low voting record of Americans.

A large number of people are disenfranchised for legal reasons. This will include those who cannot meet the state residence requirements varying from six months, as in Kansas, to two years in some states, and usually periods of residence in the county and the precinct depending upon in which state the voter resides.⁴ An indeterminate number will be legally disqualified for other reasons. Such as in Kansas for example, inmates of penal institutions, felons not restored to civil rights, feeble-minded persons, persons under guardianship, and persons dishonorably discharged from the armed forces, among others, have been declared ineligible to vote by the state constitution.⁵ Many persons will be outside their legal residence on election day, and do not take the time to vote by absentee ballot. Others will lose their franchise through such things as failure to pass a literacy test or paying a poll tax.

⁴Frank Smothers (ed.), The Book of the States 1956-1957 (Chicago: The Council of State Governments, 1956), p. 84.

⁵Constitution of Kansas, Article 5, Paragraph 2.

However earlier research has shown that the largest number of persons who do not vote do so deliberately. Paul Lazarsfeld and his associates note in their study of the voting behavior of American people that, ". . . three-quarters of the non-voters stayed away from the polls deliberately because they were thoroughly unconcerned with the election."⁶ Thus it seems safe to say that the most important single cause of non-voting is apathy; which may be lack of interest and concern in the outcome of the election, or plain ignorance of the issues and candidates involved in the election.⁷

Why should this apathy or feeling of disinterest exist among such a large number of American voters? Some observers have suggested that American people tend to have an indifferent attitude toward politics and could be characterized as being non-political. David Riesman has noted that profound changes in the American character, brought about by an industrial society, may underlie an increasing apathy towards matters political. He also points out that as the individual becomes more identified with a mass society

⁶Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (second edition; New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 46-47.

⁷Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), pp. 37-39.

the role of the individual becomes less meaningful, thus bringing about less participation in such things as politics.⁸

Another point to explain the non-voting behavior of the American citizen has been advanced by Walter Sandelius which is quite interesting. In commenting upon this phenomenon he says that:

. . . apparently we are a nation with an unusually high percentage of voters who vote on the personal characteristics of candidates rather than on issues. This may be attributed primarily to the fact that American political parties, more than those of almost any other nation, are undisciplined and amorphous bodies. Neither of our major parties stands for a coherent and unified set of principles and policies which it is prepared to carry out upon assumption of power. As a consequence it may be that we often feel a responsibility to know more about each candidate than it is easy to find out, and the resultant frustration can lead to non-voting.⁹

Morris Rosenberg suggests that non-voting and non-participation generally go hand in hand. Observers of politics regularly discover a fairly large group of citizens who might be classified as chronic "know-nothings." These so-called "know-nothings" do not read the newspapers, do not join organizations, do not write letters to the editor, and

⁸David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denny, The Lonely Crowd (New York: Doubleday and Company, Incorporated, 1955), pp. 191-271; see also Morris Rosenberg, "The Meaning of Politics in Mass Society," Public Opinion Quarterly, XV (Spring, 1951), 5-15.

⁹Walter Sandelius, "Voter Participation in Kansas and the United States," Your Government, X (February 15, 1955), 4.

they also do not vote.¹⁰

Whatever the answer or explanation is for the non-voting behavior of Americans, it would seem that a closer examination of this phenomenon merits consideration. Evidently it is a basic feature of this nation's electoral process, and like other features of the electoral process it probably has certain characteristics and tendencies which are unidentifiable. Thus, operating under this assumption it was the purpose of this study to attempt to identify these characteristics and tendencies, if they exist, and to attempt to establish some correlation between those identifiable characteristics and other features of the society as a whole.

Three main questions were asked in the examination of the problem. First, is there a correlation between non-voting and age? Second, is there a correlation between non-voting and sex? And third, is there a correlation between non-voting and occupation? Because of the limited time element of this study the scope of it will also necessarily be limited. Although limited it is believed that this study reveals a few of the general tendencies characteristic to non-voting behavior.

¹⁰Morris Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII (Winter, 1954), 349-366.

The study is concerned with the registered non-voters of Hays, Kansas, following the general election of November 8, 1958. In other words the group studied was composed of those citizens of Hays who were registered prior to the November general election, but who failed to vote. The following chapters are devoted to an explanation and discussion of the methods and procedures used in studying the non-voting group, and of the findings and conclusions of the study. Also some discussion is made of previous studies which are of similar nature, and a comparison of the findings and conclusions of those studies is made with the findings and conclusions of the present study.

CHAPTER II

A DISCUSSION OF PREVIOUS VOTING STUDIES

A considerable amount of research has been done concerning voting behavior in the United States, but the area is so vast that many questions are still unanswered. Political scientists, sociologists, social psychologists, and others are constantly making new studies; and with their tools—questionnaires, voting statistics, polls, interviews, and so forth—they are obtaining new insights into the political behavior of the American citizen.

In the Preface to the second edition of The People's Choice the authors remark on the tendency of the social sciences not to repeat studies of the same concern.

Until recently the social sciences exhibited an unfortunate tendency to conduct a survey here and an experiment there, and to let it go at that. . . . Actually, the opposite trend should prevail. Results should be checked and rechecked under both identical and varying conditions. The complexity of social life requires that the same problems be studied many times before basic uniformities can be differentiated from transitory social occurrences.¹

It is hoped that this study will help to remedy that situation to some extent. The following pages of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of previous voting studies, which will be compared with the results of the present

¹Lazarsfeld, The People's Choice, p. viii.

research in a later chapter.

Since there is a considerable amount of published material concerning the voting behavior of Americans it would be almost impossible to give a thorough account of each study in this chapter. Instead, attention will be directed toward three major studies in the field of voting research. It is believed that these three represent the most important accomplishments in this area. These are The People's Choice, by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet; Voting, by Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William McPhee; and The Voter Decides, by Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller.

The People's Choice was first published in 1944, with a second edition in 1948.² The study reports on the presidential contest between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie in 1940. The study took place in Erie County, Ohio, and as designed was to have two main objectives. First, the researchers were interested in how people made up their minds during a presidential campaign, with special emphasis placed on the effect of mass media communications in this process. Secondly, they were interested in the methodological approach used in the study. At that time little was known about the effects of repeated interviewing, thus quite

²All references made in this chapter are to the second edition.

an elaborate sampling design was used consisting of a main panel of 600 persons, and four control groups consisting of 600 persons each. The main panel was interviewed seven times and the control groups were each interviewed twice.³

Built into the design was a model of voting behavior which later turned out to be rather invalid. The view incorporated into the study was that the voter is like the shopper in a store. The voter is confronted with an array of candidates, just as the shopper is confronted with various brands of goods in a store. The attitudes of the voter are acted upon by the mass media, just as advertising acts upon the shopper. It was believed that voting, like buying, was an individualistic act, influenced mainly by the voter's personality and his exposure to mass media.

The model broke down at several different points. It was discovered that a large number of voters on the so-called "electoral market" had strong "brand loyalties," (see Figure 4, page 16). If the voter identified himself with a certain political party before the election he was very likely to vote for that party's candidate. Also, as can be seen in Figure 5 on page 17, a majority of the voters made up their minds as to how they would vote quite early in the campaign.

³Ibid., pp. 1-9.

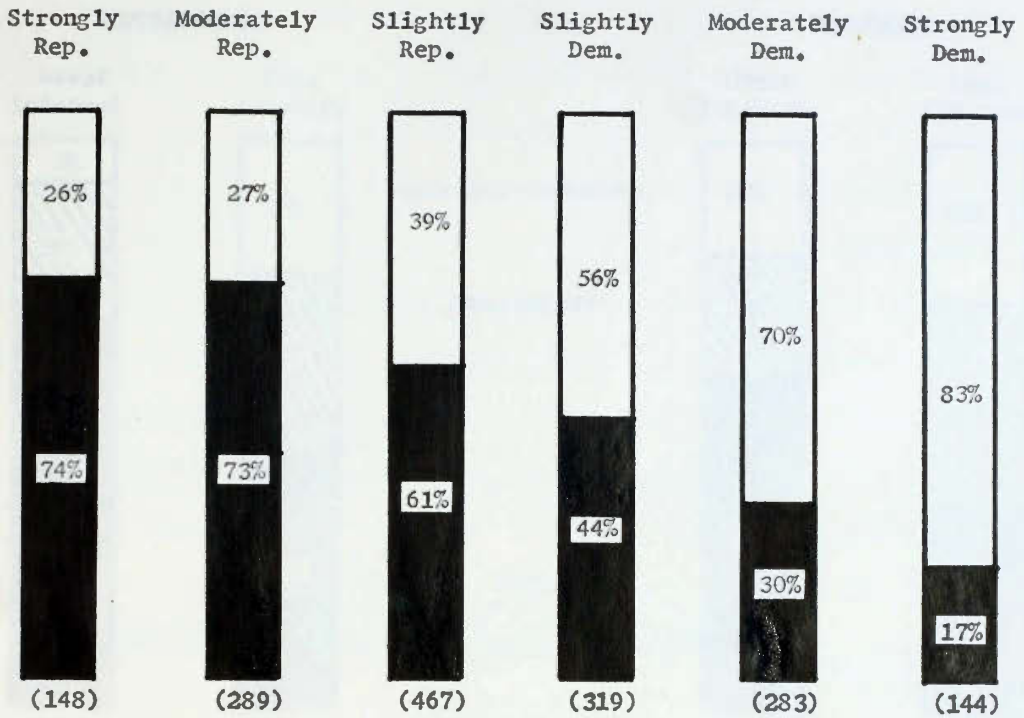


Figure 4. Political predisposition. (Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, Second edition, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 26.)

Voted Republican

Voted Democrat

Total cases ()

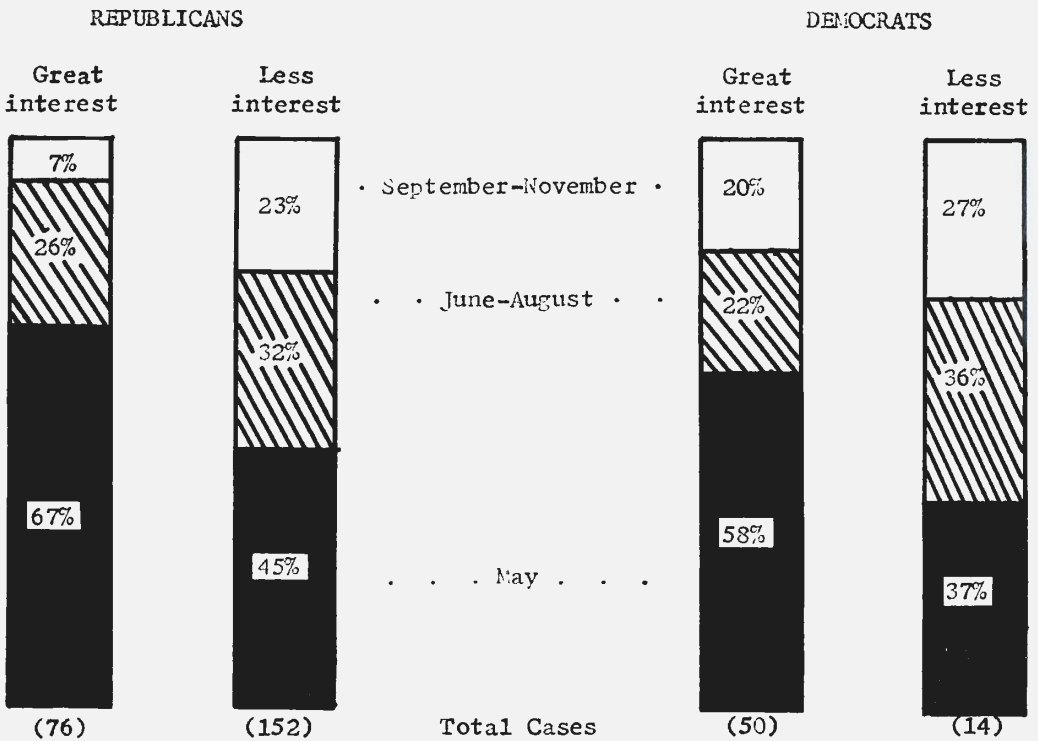


Figure 5. It is true for both parties: the higher the interest the earlier the decision is likely to be made. (Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, Second edition, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 54.)

Assuming that the information presented in Figures 4 and 5 is valid, the anticipated effect of the mass media was far over weighted. Although the initial model of the voting decision had envisioned voting as an individualistic act, it was found that such group factors as socioeconomic status and religious ties played an important role in the voting process. Also the political preference within a voter's family and personal contacts determined to a great extent which candidate the voter would prefer.⁴

The study showed that interest in the election is probably the biggest factor influencing non-voting, (see Figure 6, page 19). The report noted that:

The greatest proportion of non-voters was indeed found on the lowest interest level. People with no interest in the election were 18 times as likely not to vote as people with great interest.⁵

As far as the personal characteristics of the non-voters were concerned, (see Figure 7, page 20), it was found that:

. . . if a person is interested, he will vote irrespective of his formal educational level. . . .

A similar picture is obtained for people on different SES levels, for those with different residences, and for different age and religious groups. But the result is startlingly different for the sex of the respondents. . . .⁶

The more a group is disinterested in the election, the greater the number of non-voting women as compared to the number

⁴Ibid., pp. 17-24. ⁵Ibid., p. 45. ⁶Ibid., p. 48.

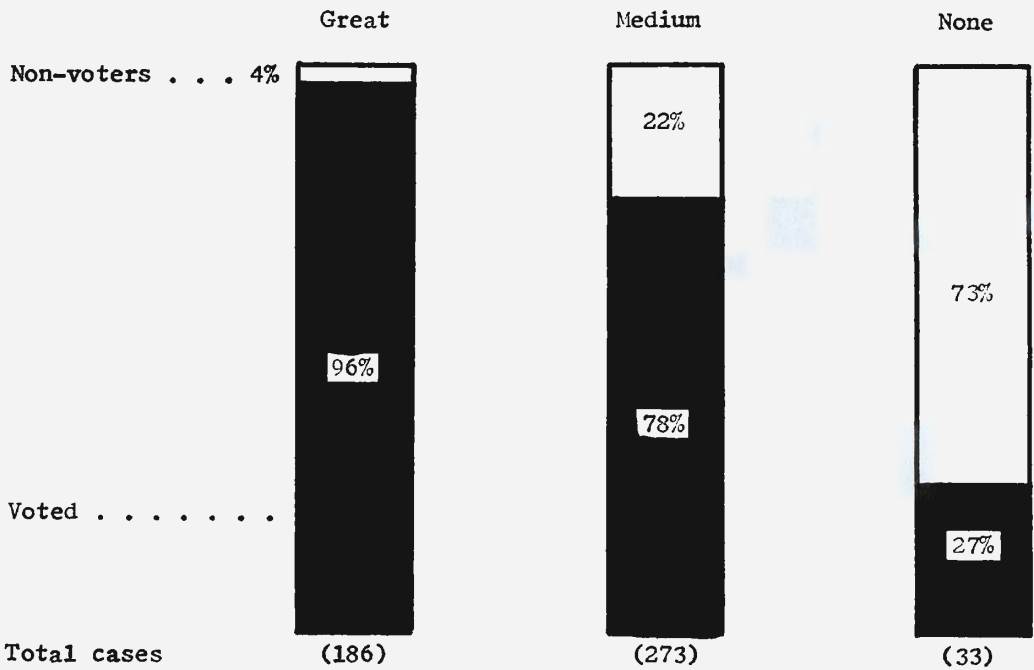


Figure 6. Non-voting is a function of the level of interest.
 (Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, Second Edition, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 46.)

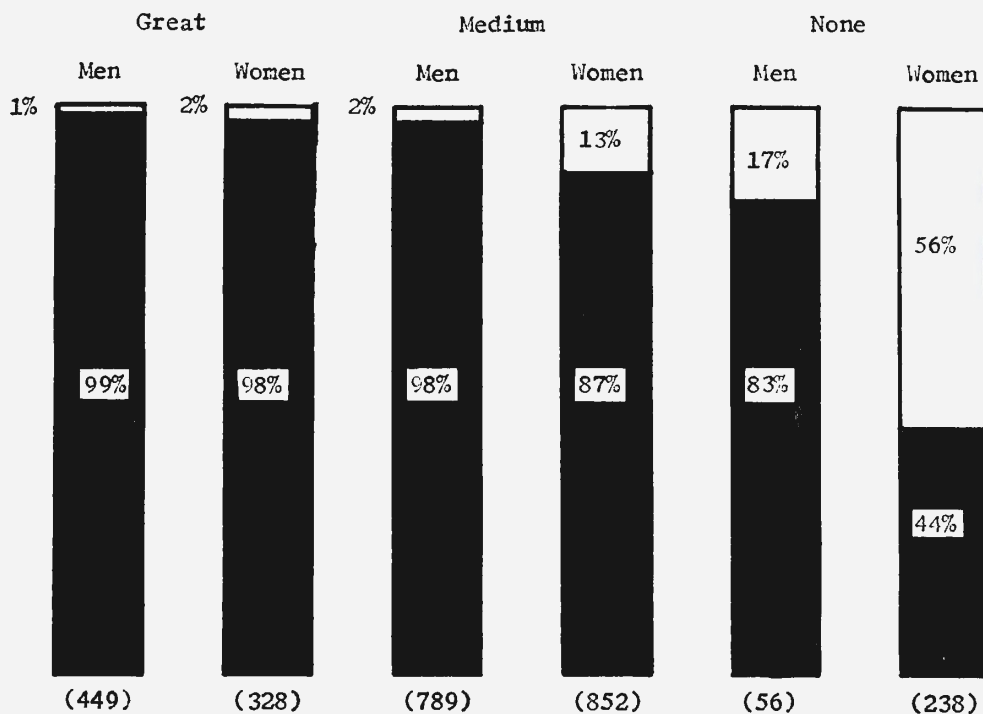


Figure 7. Sex is the only personal characteristic which affects non-voting, even if interest is held constant. (Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, Second edition, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 48.)

Will vote

Will not vote

Total cases ()

of non-voting men. Seemingly if a woman is not interested in the election she will not vote. Men however, evidently are under more social pressures which will cause them to go to the polls even if they are not interested in the campaign.

Voting, which appeared in 1954, is the final report of a study conducted over a six year period concerning the 1948 presidential election between Truman and Dewey. Bernard Berelson and Paul Lazarsfeld, the chief researchers, saw this study primarily as a repeat performance of the Erie County study, only in a different location. The main purpose being to see if the same results could be achieved in a different location covering a different election.

A few changes were made in the design and Elmira, New York, a small industrial city, was chosen as the site for the study. Like the previous research, the Elmira study used a panel design. The size of the panel was increased from 600 to 1,000 people, and the respondents were interviewed only four times, instead of seven as in the earlier case, but control groups were not used.⁷

After compiling the data gathered from the Elmira study it was found that the results were similar to those of the Erie County study.

⁷Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 3-13.

It was demonstrated again that most voters, if only through tradition, stay with one party, (see Figure 8, page 23). The authors remark that:

. . . votes undoubtedly move on larger time scales than current-issue opinions. For many people, votes are not perceived as decisions to be made in each specific election. For them, voting traditions are not changed much more often than careers are chosen, religions drifted into or away from, or tastes revised.⁸

This information can be interpreted in another way from the data contained in Figure 9 on page 24. It can be readily seen from Figure 9 that:

. . . the time of final decision, that point after which the voter does not change his intention, occurred prior to the campaign for most voters—and thus no "real decision" was made in the campaign in the sense of waiting to consider alternatives.⁹

As in the previous study, interest again proved to be probably one of the most important factors influencing the voter turnout, (see Figure 10, page 25). Generally speaking, as interest in the election decreases voting participation decreases. But, as pointed out by the authors:

It is often a mistake to give purely political explanations for non-participation (e.g., to consider failure to vote a politically motivated "choice" or "protest"). Non-voting is related to persistent social conditions having little to do with the candidates or the issues of the moment. For example, because Democrats are on the average less well educated and less

⁸Ibid., p. 17.

⁹Ibid., p. 18.

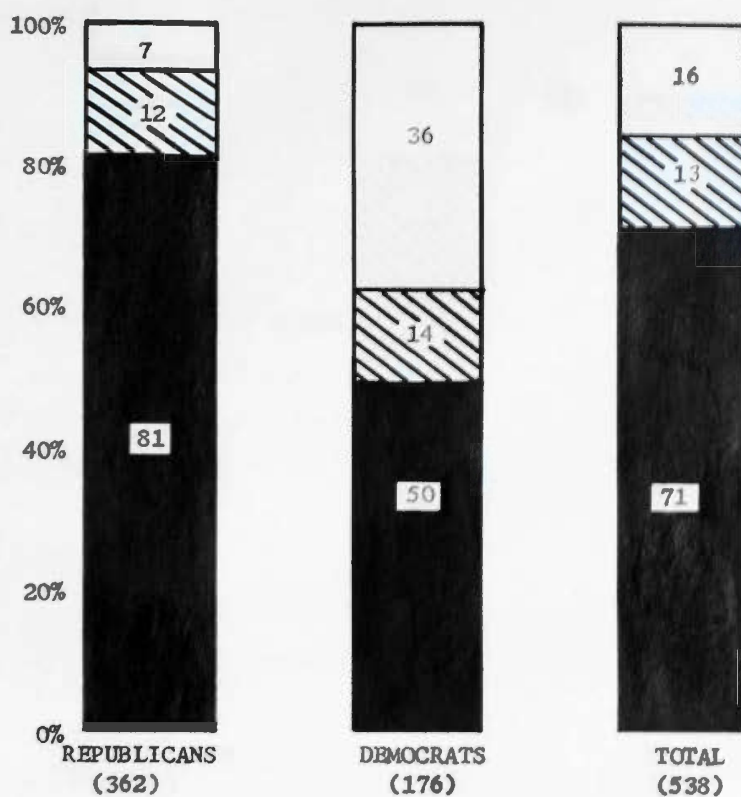



Figure 8. Most voters remained constant throughout the campaign; those shifting between parties ended up democratic. (Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, *Voting*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 17.)

Wavered between parties 

Wavered between party and neutral 

Constant party preference 

Total cases ()

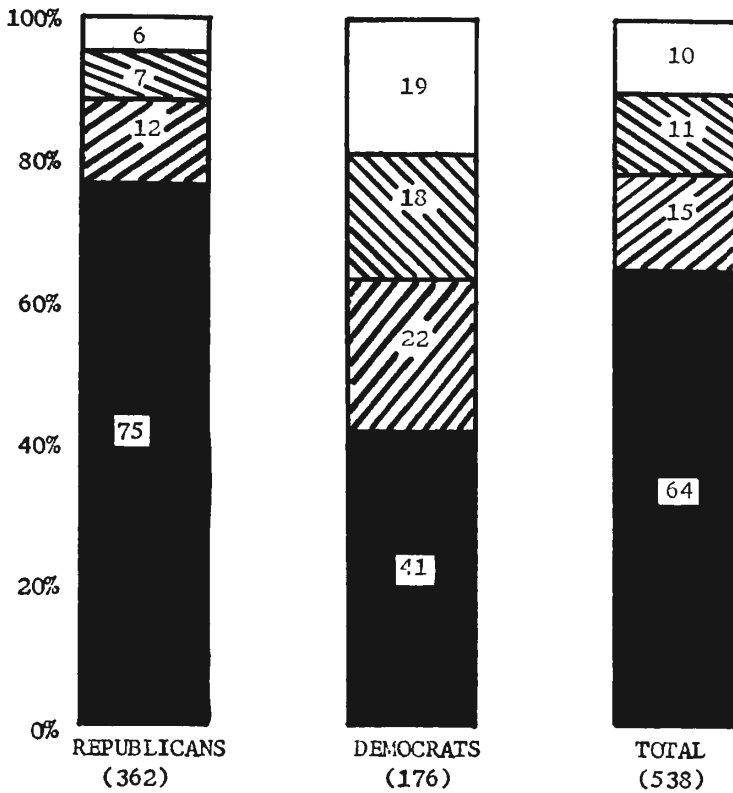





Figure 9. Time of final decision. (Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 18.)

November 

October 

August 

June 

Total cases ()

GREAT DEAL OF INTEREST IN AUGUST

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50%



(184)

(74)

QUITE A LOT OF INTEREST IN AUGUST

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50%



(133)

(129)

NOT MUCH OR NONE IN AUGUST

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50%





(62)

(131)

Figure 10. Failed to vote on election day. (Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 249.)

Communication exposure

Higher Lower 

Total cases

involved with dominant groups in the society than Republicans, they vote less on election day.¹⁰

This point is well illustrated by the evidence in Figure 11 on page 27. While there are occasional deviations, individual members of a family seem to adjust their views toward the views of the other members of the family. Hence the influence of the primary group or family seems to have some bearing on the voting decision.

The Voter Decides, published in 1954, is based on a nationwide survey conducted in 1952 on the presidential contest between Eisenhower and Stevenson. The study was conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, which is one of the foremost social research organizations in the United States.

The design of The Voter Decides differs considerably from that of the two previous studies discussed earlier. First of all the research is based on a national probability sample of 2,000 respondents, and the sample was interviewed only twice. The interviews taking place just before the election and immediately following the election. Also, unlike Voting and The People's Choice, the report can interpret the outcome of the election on a national scale, while the other two, strictly speaking, can only interpret the election for the areas studied. Although there were several

¹⁰Ibid., p. 32.

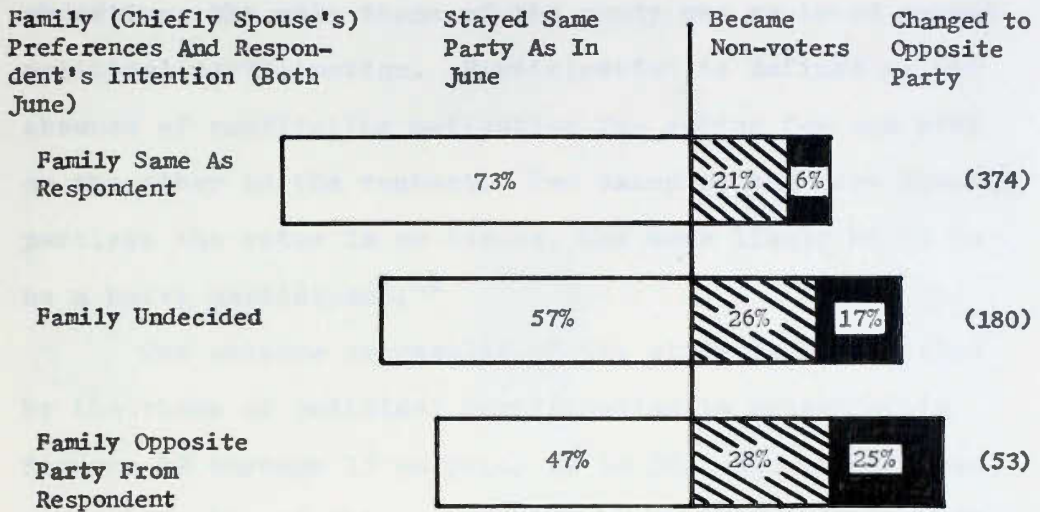


Figure 11. Voting change depends upon the distribution of family preferences. (Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 121.)

Total cases ()

objectives the main theme of the study was centered around political participation. Participation is defined as the absence of conflicting motivation for voting for one side or the other in the contest. For example, the more clearly partisan the voter is on issues, the more likely he is to be a heavy participant.¹¹

The outcome or results of the study as interpreted by the theme of political participation is presented in Figures 12 through 15 on pages 29 to 32. The authors sum up the results of this particular phase of the study when they say:

If we regard passive attention to radio or television speeches or newspaper articles as participation in the campaign, then it can be said that virtually the entire public took part in the 1952 election. . . . If we consider only the more individual, less institutionalized, forms of activity, we find that the proportion of political "actives" dropped off to a very small minority of the total population.

Despite the appearance of feverish public interest which characterized the 1952 campaign, it seems evident that the bulk of the political activity that went on during that period was concentrated in a fraction of perhaps one-tenth of the public. They were the meeting-goers, money-givers, party-workers. Most people took the campaign much more casually, and approximately one person in three did not seem interested enough to care which party won.¹²

In relation to political participation the study also considered the influence of personal characteristics of the

¹¹Campbell, The Voter Decides, pp. 1-8.

¹²Ibid., pp. 39-40.

VOTED FOR OR PREFERRED

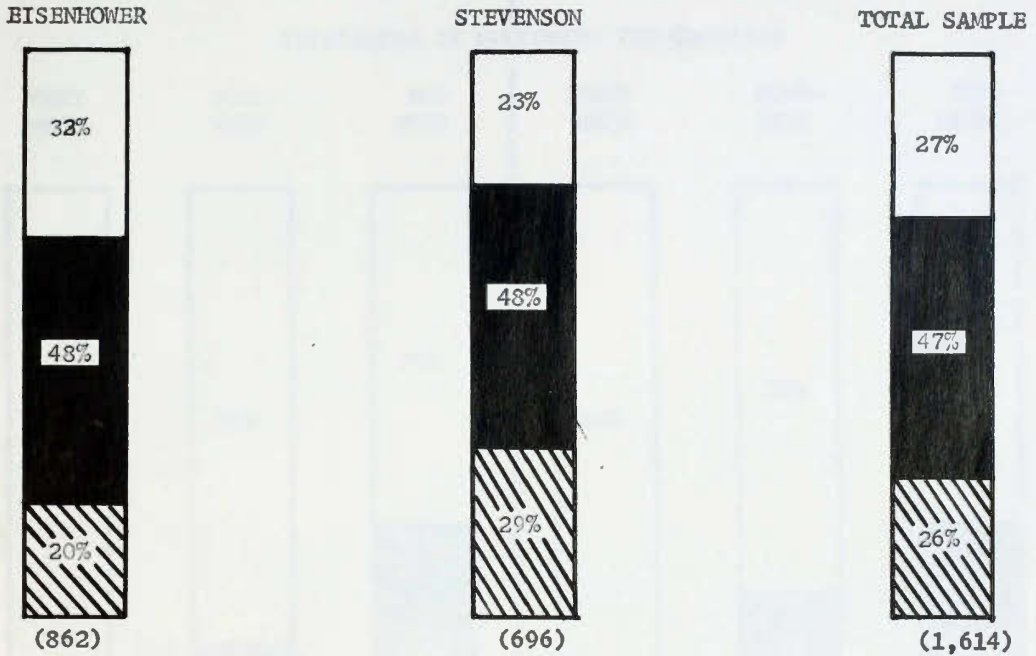




Figure 12. Degree of participation. (Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides, New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954, p. 31.)

Degree of participation

High (voted, and engaged in other political activity) 

Medium (voted, but did not engage in other activity) 

Low (did not vote) 

Number of cases

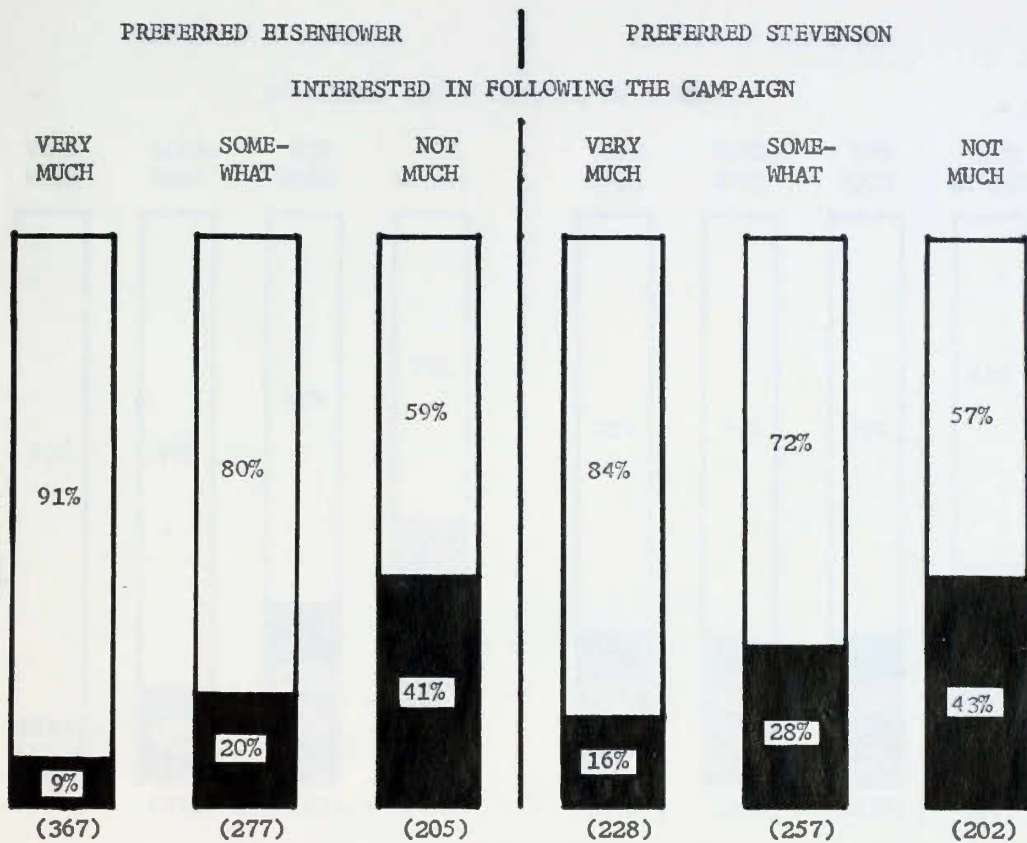


Figure 13. Relation of presidential preference and interest in the campaign to voting behavior. (Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren B. Miller, The Voter Decides, New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954, p. 35.)

Voted

Did not vote

Number of cases ()

PREFERRED EISENHOWER

PREFERRED STEVENSON

CONCERNED ABOUT OUTCOME OF ELECTION

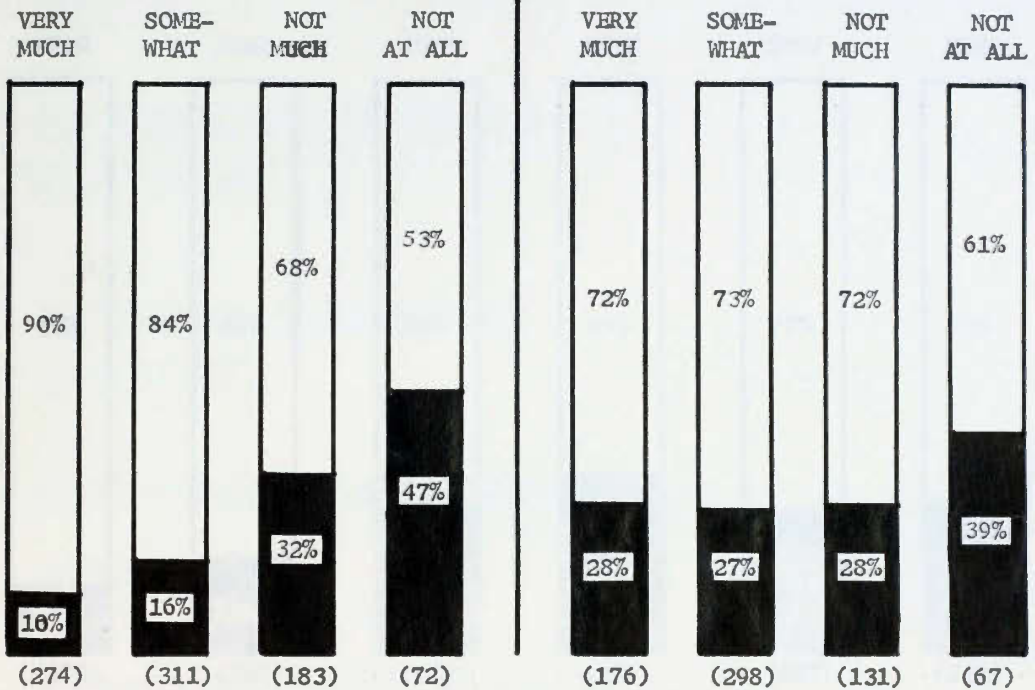


Figure 14. Relation of presidential preference and concern about outcome of presidential election to voting behavior. (Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides, New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954, p. 37.)

Voted

Did not vote

Number of cases

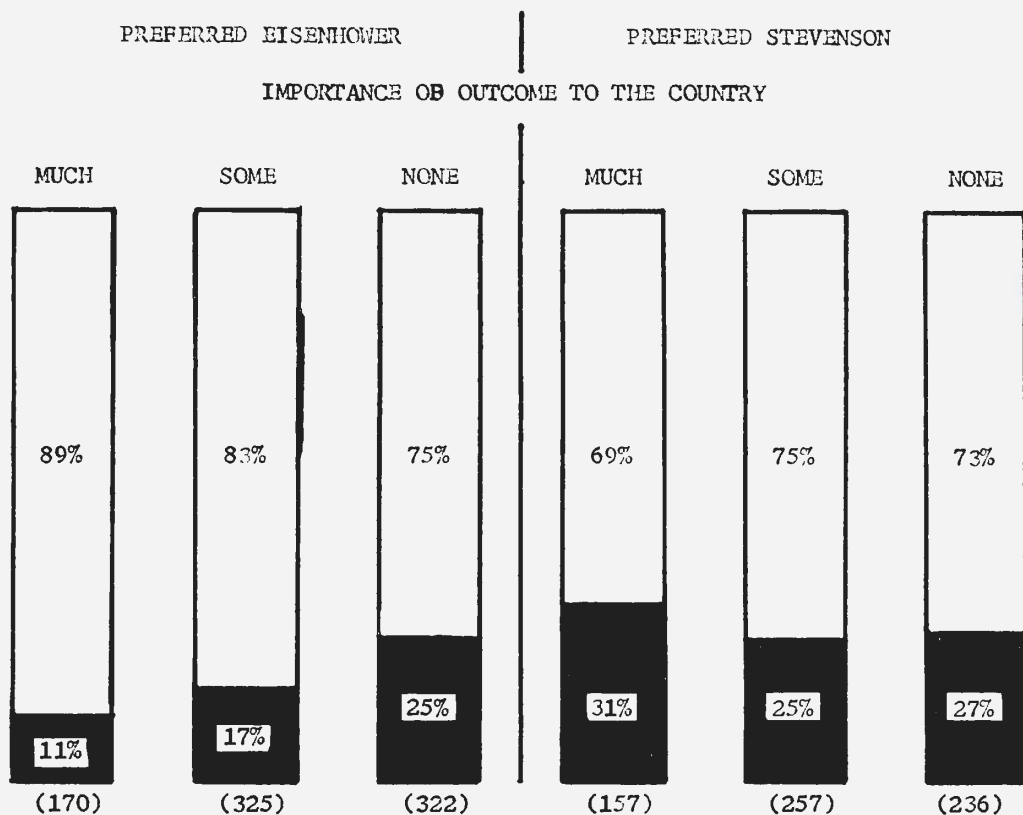


Figure 15. Relation of presidential preference and perception of importance of election to the country to voting behavior. (Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides, New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954, p. 39.)

Voted

Did not vote

Number of cases

SEX

male

79%

voted

cases

21%

did not vote

(738)

female

69%

voted

31%

did not vote

(876)

AGE

21-34

68%

voted

32%

did not vote

(485)

35-44

76%

voted

24%

did not vote

(381)

45-54

79%

voted

21%

did not vote

(284)

55 and over

77%

voted

23%

did not vote

(442)

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY
professional and managerial

88%

voted

12%

did not vote

(333)

other white collar

81%

voted

19%

did not vote

(155)

Continued from page 33

skilled and semi-skilled



unskilled



farm operators



Figure 16. Relation of personal characteristics to voting behavior. (Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides, New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954, pp. 70-72.)

voter. And the study demonstrated that seemingly a correlation exists between voter participation or turnout, and such personal characteristics as age, sex, and occupation, (see Figure 16, pages 33-34).

Thus in a comparison of these three major voting studies, several general trends stand out. First, all three agree that interest is probably one of the most important single factors influencing voting behavior. Second, such things as socioeconomic status, religion, occupation, and sex have a direct effect upon the political behavior of the American citizen. And third, there seems to be no general or standard answer which can be used to explain the voting behavior of Americans.

CHAPTER III

DETERMINATION OF THE UNIVERSE

METHODS-PROCEDURES-FINDINGS

Once a particular problem concerning social behavior is chosen as a topic for research the person or persons conducting the study must decide several things. Probably among the more important of these is the determination of the universe. The researcher may be concerned with the population as a whole, or only some small segment of the total population may be studied. The total population or fraction of that total to be studied is known, in the vernacular of the social sciences, as the universe.

Research problems in the area of the social sciences usually require the systematic collection of data from populations or samples of the population. This collection of data can be accomplished by several different methods, for example: personal interviews, mailed questionnaires, or information gathered from official documents and records. Many times it may be a combination of a number of different methods. But the method or methods used dictate to a great extent the design of the universe.¹

¹A. Angus Campbell and George Katona, Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, eds. Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (New York: The Dryden Press, 1953), p. 17.

The universe of the present study, those persons who were registered to vote but did not vote in the 1958 general election in Hays, Kansas, was chosen for several reasons. First, and probably self-evident, was the primary objective of the study itself; an analysis of non-voting in Hays, Kansas. In that this particular group could be quickly identified following the election as being non-voters by checking the registration lists available in the city clerk's office in Hays.² Second, and this is related in part to the first reason, the correlation factors concerning the group to be studied were also readily available from the voting registration records. These were age, sex, and occupation, (see Figure 17, page 38). Third, it was assumed that this group represented a reliable sample of the non-voting population in the city of Hays.³ Fourth, it was decided that due to the limited time element and restricted resources of money and personnel, that this group would be the easiest and least expensive to handle.

²All eligible voters residing in cities of the first and second class in Kansas must be registered in the office of the city clerk in their respective cities. Kansas, General Statutes (1949), chapt. 12, sec. 904. On election day it is recorded on the registration lists whether the registered persons have voted. This may be seen in Figure 17, on page 38, which shows a registration slip.

³This assumption was arrived at in the belief that the different correlative factors to be studied would be reliably represented in the non-voting sample, in that this group amounted to about twenty percent of the total registered.

MR. JOHN DOE			
Name			
Ward	2nd	Precinct	1st
Age	39	Sex	Occupation
Last Voting Residence		236	Lincoln Dr
Hays, Kansas		AUGUST 23	1958

Figure 17. The official registration slip used by the city of Hays, Kansas. The numbers on the right hand side of the slip correspond to particular elections. Number nine corresponds to the election held in 1958. Since the box next to number nine is not checked that person failed to vote.

After the universe was decided upon the next step was to gather the information which would compose the correlative factors to be studied concerning the non-voting groups. This was done following the general election in November, and involved the systematic checking of each one of the registration slips on file in the city clerk's office. If the slips indicated that the person registered had failed to vote, his or her name, residence,⁴ occupation, age, and sex were recorded by the researcher.

With the completion of this task the next step was to compile this raw information into statistical form for easier comprehension and future use in comparisons. Once this had been accomplished the information was transcribed into chart form for presentation and discussion. The following pages of this chapter will be devoted to this presentation and discussion.

Preceding the 1958 general election in Hays, Kansas, there were 5,114 people registered as voters in that city. Out of that total number, 1,087 persons failed to vote, or approximately twenty-one percent. Of this 1,087 persons, forty-six percent were men and fifty-four percent were women, (see Figure 18, page 40).

⁴The reason for recording the non-voter's name and residence will be discussed in a later chapter.

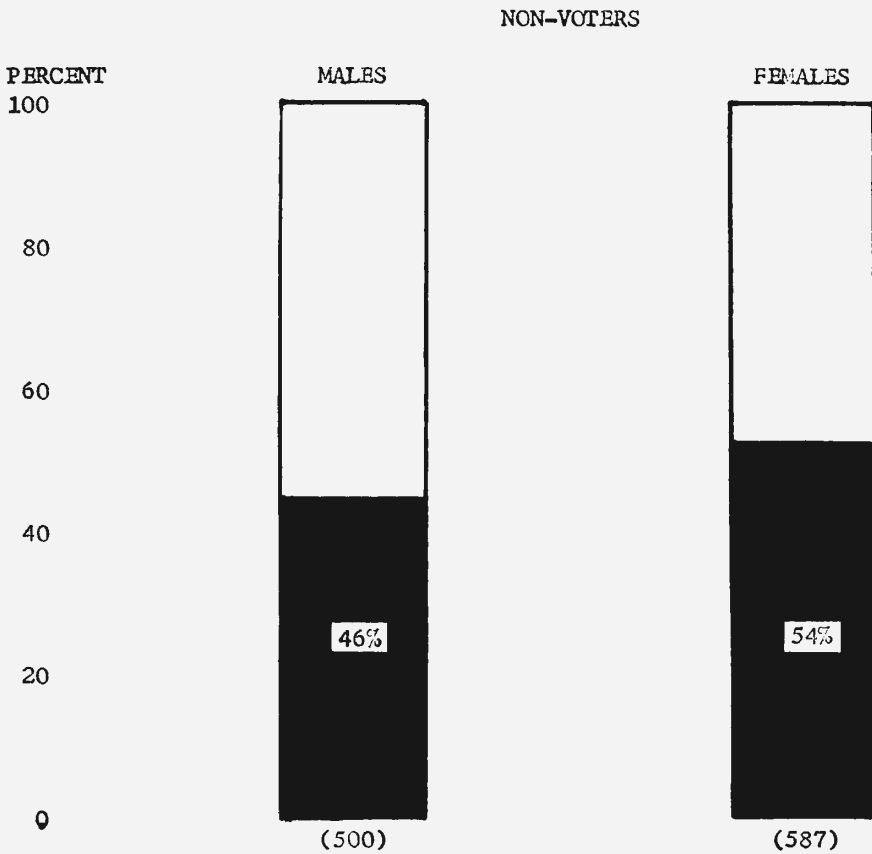


Figure 18. Percentage of non-voters—males and females—1958 general election in Hays, Kansas.

Total cases ()

Figure 19 on page 42 presents the age distribution of the non-voters. The non-voters were charted in age groups of five years each beginning with age twenty-one. The results of this show several things. If the information were graphed it would tend to draw a curve trend which would slope downward as the age of the non-voter increased. This reveals that younger people tend to be poorer voters, but this fact is off-set somewhat in that younger people comprise a larger percentage of the population which might account for their larger number of non-voters. Evidently the "first time vote" is not as great as might be believed.

Futher illustration of the relationship between non-voting and age is shown in Figure 20 on pages 43 and 44. This particular Figure uses the same age distribution as Figure 19, but goes one step further. It breaks the various age groupings into percentages concerning the sex of the groups. This chart reveals that the different age groups, with the added factor of sexes, generally tend to duplicate the information contained in Figure 18, in that each group is about evenly split. There are two major exceptions: ages twenty-one to twenty-five and fifty-six to sixty. The first suggests that evidently women outnumber men almost three to one as non-voters in this group. This fact reveals that probably a large percentage of the women that are non-voters are in the younger age group, while men

NON-VOTERS

AGE

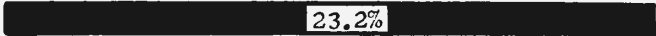
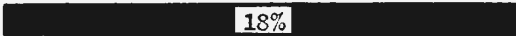
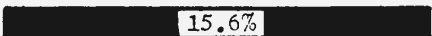
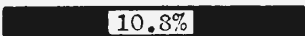
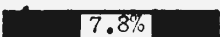
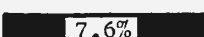
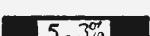



21-25		(252)
26-30		(196)
31-35		(169)
36-40		(117)
41-45		(85)
46-50		(83)
51-55		(57)
56-60		(44)
61-65		(36)
65 and over		(43)

Figure 19. Percentage of non-voters—age distribution—1958 general election in Hays, Kansas.

Total cases ()

NON-VOTERS

AGE

21-25

35.7%

64.3%

(252)

26-30

52.5%

47.5%

(196)

31-35

49.7%

50.3%

(169)

36-40

43.6%

56.4%

(117)

41-45

55.3%

44.7%

(85)

46-50

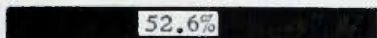
53%

47%

(83)

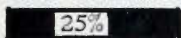
Continued from page 43

51-55



(57)

56-60



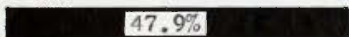
(44)

61-65



(36)

66 and over



(48)

Figure 20. Percentage of non-voters—age distribution of males and females—1958 general election in Hays, Kansas.

Males

Females

Total cases ()

evidently vote rather well in the younger age group. The second exception, ages fifty-six to sixty, also shows a rather heavy concentration of women. It is very possible that this split might be best explained as being something that just happened. This group comprises only four percent of the total universe and with such a low number of cases (44) a definite trend could not be established. It is very probable that this group also follows the general trend indicated by the others, outside of the first.

Also of interest is the relationship between occupation and non-voting suggested by the information contained in Figure 21 on page 46. The non-voters were placed in five rather general categories. These were business, professional, labor, housewives, and others. All are rather self-explanatory, with the exception maybe of business and others. Along with the owners of businesses were placed those of who could be called the managerial class. The others category contains those who listed no occupation, such as retired and unemployed, servicemen, and farmers.

It may be quickly determined that business men are by far the best voters, while just the opposite is true of housewives, in that they are the poorest voters. Of some surprise is the sizeable percentage of professional people that are non-voters. Labor ranks second as far as total

NON-VOTERS

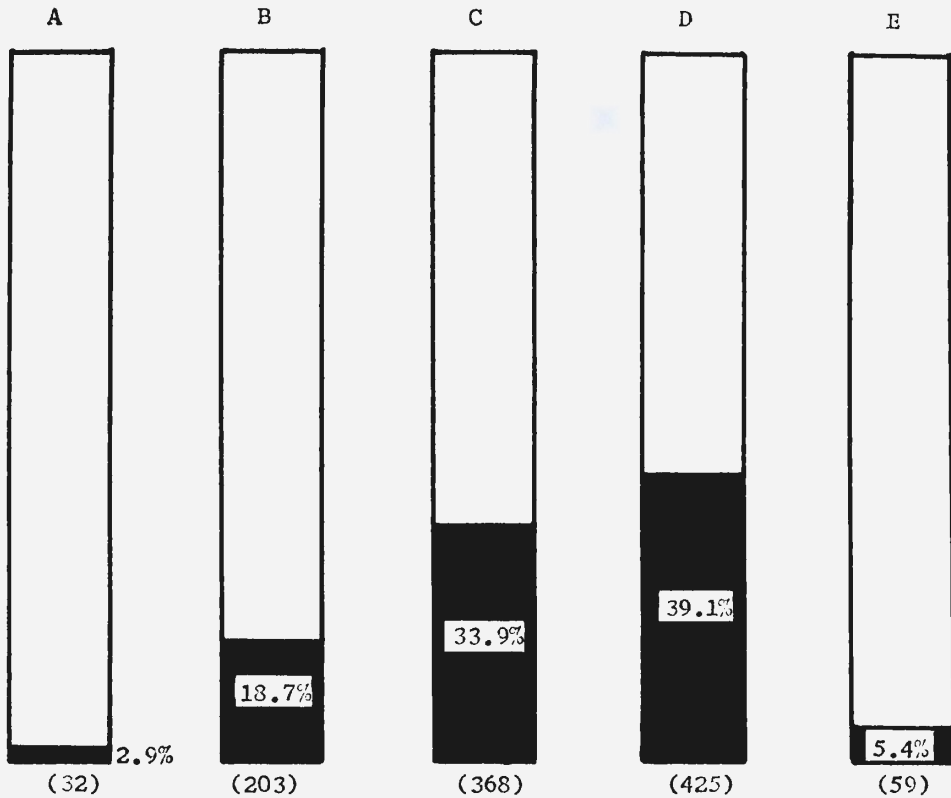


Figure 21. Percentage of non-voters--by occupation--1958 general election in Hays, Kansas.

A... Business

B... Professional

C... Labor

D... Housewives

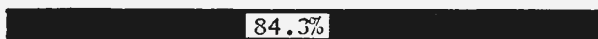
E... Others

Total cases ()

NON-VOTERS

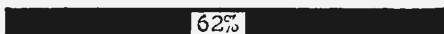
OCCUPATION

Business



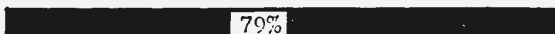
(32)

Professional



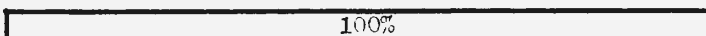
(203)

Labor



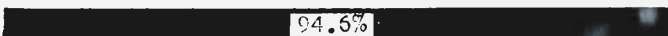
(368)

Housewives





(425)

Others



(59)

Figure 22. Percentage of non-voters—males and females by occupation—1958 general election in Hays, Kansas.

Males Females 

Total cases ()

percentage of non-voters is concerned, but this is probably about what the reader would expect.

Of further significance concerning the correlation between non-voting and occupation is the data presented in Figure 22 on page 47. Once again it is well demonstrated that the heaviest concentration of non-voting is among the housewives, in that the percentage of female non-voters in the other groups is relatively low when compared to the men.

The preceding information has shown some rather definite correlations between non-voting and the social characteristics of sex, age, and occupation. To show that these correlations are not just phenomena characteristic to the election studied or to the city of Hays, these findings will be compared to similar studies conducted in other places in the country.

CHAPTER IV

SURVEY OF UNIVERSE

METHODS-PROCEDURES-FINDINGS

As soon as the early part of the present study had been completed, that of gathering and compiling the information concerning the non-voters, a second phase was initiated. This was a survey of the non-voter's reasons for his failure to vote. This second phase was undertaken in an attempt to answer several questions. First, can it be shown that apathy is probably the major cause for non-voting? Second, if apathy is the major factor in non-voting, can any general theme be detected which might be noteworthy pertaining to the initial phase? Particularly to the three previously studied correlative factors of sex, age, and occupation. And third, if apathy is not the major cause for non-voting, do non-voters usually have rather legitimate reasons in failing to cast their vote?

Two possible avenues of approach could be taken in the investigation necessary for this second phase of the study. First, the respondents of the universe could each be interviewed separately for their reason or reasons as to why they did not vote, or some type of sampling design could be set up, based on the universe, and only those respondents making up the population of the sample would be personally

contacted for an interview.¹ Second, the non-voting group could be surveyed through the application of a mailed questionnaire. Either the entire group could be polled, or a sampling design could be utilized once again.² Both methods have their strengths and weaknesses, but the decision was made to use the second, or that of the mailed questionnaire technique.

The use of the personal interview probably lends itself better to the more involved study, where the ascertainment of the respondent's reactions to certain questions is of utmost importance. Also the chances of the average person filling out a long and involved questionnaire are quite slim. The mailed questionnaire works rather well when the information desired is not too involved, and if the questionnaire can be easily understood and filled out by the average respondent. The personal interview technique is rather difficult to handle, in that it requires a considerable amount of time, money, and personnel to administer it. The mailed questionnaire technique is quite easily administered. Once the questionnaire to be used has been designed, it is only

¹Charles F. Cannell and Robert L. Kahn, Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, eds. Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (New York: The Dryden Press, 1953), pp. 327-379.

²Claire Selltitz and others, Research Methods in Social Relations (revised edition; New York: Henry Holt and Company, Incorporated, 1958), pp. 235-278.

a simple process to send the questionnaire through the mails. Contact is thereby established and there is a cutting down on much of the money, time, and personnel required by the method or design employed when using the personal interview.³

After it was decided to use the mailed questionnaire to survey the universe, the next step was to design a questionnaire that would lend itself to this approach. This required, as previously noted, a questionnaire which could be easily interpreted and completed by the respondents. Following some careful consideration, a questionnaire was built along lines which would fulfill this requirement.

The questionnaire which was employed was designed on a double postcard. This was chosen over the usual paper and envelope, in that it was thought that it would facilitate in easier handling, not only for the respondents, but also in the tabulation of the returns for the researcher. Of further consideration was the factor that the usage of a postcard would result in a better return from the respondents.

On one side of the card was placed a short explanation of the study being conducted and the return address, (see

³Roland A. Young, Approaches to the Study of Politics Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1958), pp. 305-382.

Figure 23, page 53). On the opposite side appeared the actual questionnaire and the name and address of the respondent, (see Figure 24, page 54). After the respondents received the questionnaires they were to fill in the appropriate information, check their answer or answers as to why they did not vote, detach that information from the other half of the card, and mail it.

Since the questionnaire was designed on a double postcard, this meant that the questions asked had to be short and to the point, and also cover the points which were being investigated. As the space available did not allow for many long and written out answers to the questions asked, a check type answer was devised to eliminate any great deal of writing. It also served another purpose. It was believed that the respondents would be more likely to answer the questionnaire if they were required only to check their responses, rather than write out their answers.

The respondents were asked to supply their occupation, sex, and age, but they were not asked to identify themselves. The latter point was employed in the belief that it would result in a larger return of the questionnaires. Seemingly, people have a mental aversion to answering questionnaires if they are identified. In addition to the above, the respondents were asked to check one or more of a series of twenty reasons as to why they may have failed to vote.

You are receiving this short questionnaire in connection with a study I am conducting of the non-voting behavior of the citizens of Hays. The study is being made under the direction of the Political Science Department at Fort Hays Kansas State College, and is a part of my program leading to a Masters degree. Would you please complete the appropriate blanks, check the reason or reasons why you did not vote in the last election, detach the lower half of the card, and deposit it in the return mail.

Thanking you very much.

Donald W. Black
Graduate Student
Fort Hays State

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Donald W. Black
Lewis Field Apt. 53
Hays, Kansas

Figure 23. Example of the questionnaire used to survey the universe of non-voters following the 1958 general election in Hays, Kansas.

OCCUPATION _____ MALE _____ FEMALE _____ AGE _____

REASONS FOR NOT VOTING--PLEASE CHECK THOSE THAT APPLY

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Absent from city | <input type="checkbox"/> Forgot |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Did not understand issues | <input type="checkbox"/> No transportation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Disgust with politics | <input type="checkbox"/> Failed to re-register |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Congestion at the polls | <input type="checkbox"/> No difference between parties |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Objections of husband or wife | <input type="checkbox"/> Illness |
| <input type="checkbox"/> No baby sitter | <input type="checkbox"/> Disgust with own party |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Insufficient residence | <input type="checkbox"/> Poor location of the polls |
| <input type="checkbox"/> No interest in politics | <input type="checkbox"/> Did not like either candidate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Loss of wages or business while voting | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Those elected will do a good job regardless of party | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> One party state, thought my vote would be lost | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wrong candidate won the nomination, would'nt vote for other party | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other reasons | |



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. John Doe
 124 Elm Street
 Hays, Kansas

Figure 24. Example of the questionnaire used to survey the universe of non-voters following the 1958 general election in Hays, Kansas.

If none of the reasons supplied on the questionnaire were applicable, a space was provided for "other reasons," and the respondent could write in a different reason, (see Figure 24, page 54).

Once the questionnaire had been designed and prepared, the next step was to administer it in an attempt to survey the universe. To accomplish this, some attention was given to the manner of distribution or sending of the questionnaires. This was done to eliminate some of the biases which occur in a simple random poll of the respondents. In other words, if some attention is not given to the selection of the respondents it is very possible that the sample might be biased in one way or another, such as a disproportion of males over females. With this in mind, the different factors concerning the respondents, such as sex, age, occupation, and residence, were tabulated in percentage form, and the distribution of the questionnaires was based on this information.⁴

Since particular care was taken to achieve a sound cross section of the universe for the application of the questionnaire, it was decided that a ten percent sample of the universe would be sufficient for the purposes of the

⁴Leslie Kish, Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, eds. Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (New York: The Dryden Press, 1953), pp. 193-198.

study. This was achieved in two pollings. Each polling consisted of 300 respondents. Thus, questionnaires were sent to 600 respondents, or approximately half of the universe. The return from these 600 respondents resulted in a 12.5 percent sample of the universe, and slightly exceeded the required percentage.⁵

After the required sample of the universe had been achieved, the information received from this group was tabulated into percentages and placed on charts for presentation and discussion. Once the charting had been accomplished several significant points could be determined concerning the non-voting group.

Figure 25 on page 57 indicates the percentage of males and females answering the questionnaire. It also shows the number of questionnaires which were returned that did not indicate whether the respondents were male or female. Assuming that the unknowns would contain about the same percentage of men and women as the known respondents, it can be seen that the percentages would compare rather favorably with the sex distribution of the universe as a whole. Evidently neither sex is more likely to complete a questionnaire and return it than the other. This demonstrates that a bias that might have developed toward one

⁵Ibid., pp. 175-189.

NON-VOTERS

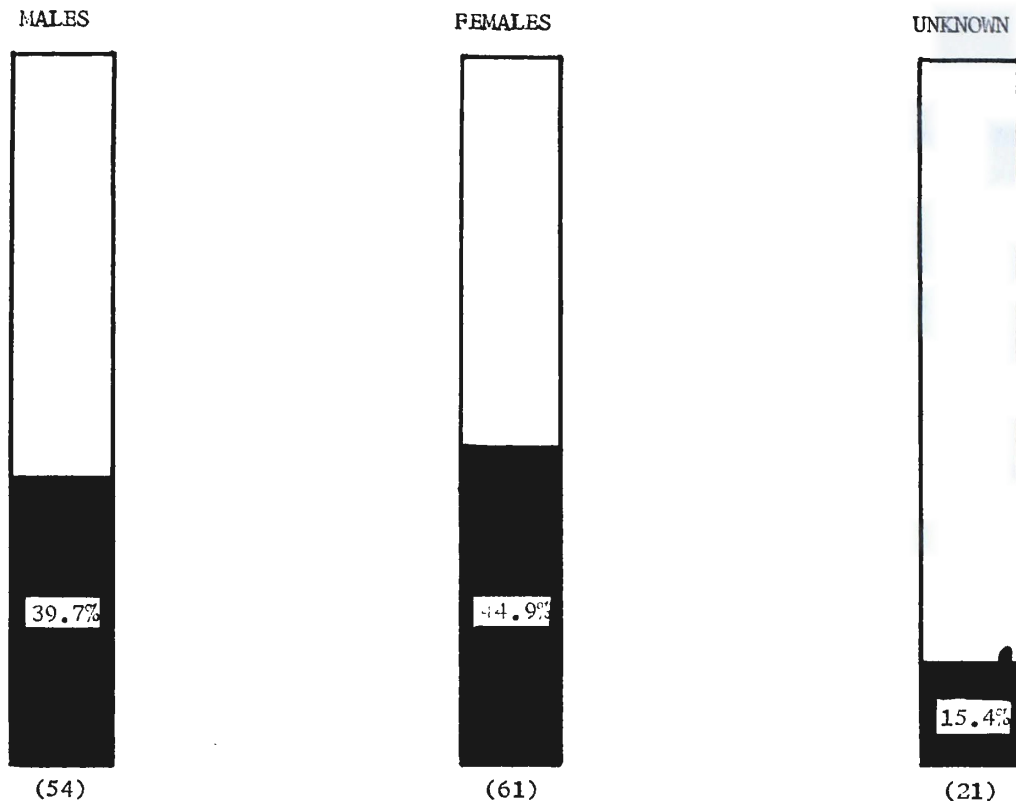


Figure 25. Distribution of males-females-and unknowns in sample obtained from questionnaire returned by non-voters of the 1958 general election in Hays, Kansas.

Total cases ()

sex or the other probably does not exist in the sample. This fact also gives some evidence that the design for obtaining the sample was fairly reliable.

On page 59, Figure 26 shows the percentage of response given to the reasons of why the non-voters failed to cast their ballots. It can readily be seen that three of the reasons, "Absent from city", "Illness", and "Failed to register", make up the largest percentage of the return; with one of these, "Absent from city", receiving the greatest attention. This raises some speculation as to why these three were checked more often than the others.

If the non-voters were honest in their response to the questionnaire, then apathy was not the major cause in their failure to vote, as the three answers checked most often are fairly legitimate reasons for being absent at the polls on election day. Assuming again that the non-voters gave honest responses to the questionnaire, it would follow that a feeling of apathy among the group would have caused the answers to be clustered in the reasons which would indicate that such a feeling existed. But after considering the percentages in Figure 26, the assumption above would be misleading. Assuming that the sample is fairly reliable, it is hard to believe that 55.9 percent of the non-voters were absent from the city on election day, or that 13.3

REASONS FOR NON-VOTING

Reasons

Absent from city

55.9%

(75)

Illness

13.3%

(18)

Failed to re-register

13.3%

(18)

Deceased

4.4%

(6)

No interest in politics

2.9%

(4)

Forgot

2.2%

(3)

Insufficient residence

2.2%

(3)

Congestion at the polls

1%

(1)

No transportation

1%

(1)

Loss of wages

1%

(1)

Continued from page 59

Other

3.7%

Figure 26. Reasons given by sample of non-voters as to why they did not vote in the 1958 general election in Hays, Kansas.

Total cases ()

percent of them were ill or had failed to re-register. Thus some other factor must enter in to cause those three reasons to be most often given as answers for failing to vote by the respondents.

This other factor is most likely apathy. As noted earlier, these three responses are relatively legitimate reasons for failure to vote, and they might just possibly be used by the respondents to cover-up a real position or feeling of apathy. It is very possible that non-voters would not admit that they really just do not care one way or another about government and politics, and thus do not take the time to vote as they feel it is a waste of time.

But the percentages revealed in Figure 26 on page 59 must be given some credence, particularly "Absent from city" and "Failure to re-register". Of the seventy-five cards returned which indicated "Absent from city" as the reason for failure to vote, forty-three of them had post marks from other cities. This number is well over half of the total marked as "Absent from city". There is the possibility that some of these people moved after the election and used their move as a convenient excuse for failing to vote, but this number is probably relatively small. Thus it may be safe to assume that many of this group did not vote in the election at Hays, Kansas, for the simple reason that they did not reside there at the time.

Of the remaining thirty-two cards which were marked "Absent from city," at least some must be accepted as being valid. Many of these people were truck drivers and salesmen and quite possibly could have been out of the city on election day. Thus, although the percentage of non-voters indicated in the sample may be misleading, the number of non-voters which may be attributed to "Absent from city," is rather substantial.

As can be noted from Figure 26 on page 59, eighteen persons indicated on their cards that they had not voted because they had "Failed to re-register". Again the percentage shown, 13.3 percent, is probably too high, in that some of the respondents answering in such a manner probably used the answer to conceal their real reason for not voting, most likely apathy. As previously noted, the population is evidently rather mobile, doing a considerable amount of moving around from one place to another. And in Kansas if a person moves from one residence in the city to another, he must re-register. And if the people are no more acquainted with the registration procedure in Kansas than they are with the other aspects of their government, it is very likely that many of them were unable to vote because they had "Failed to re-register." In other words, a good percentage of this group may have dis-enfranchised themselves through ignorance of the law.

Of some interest were several points determined concerning the social characteristics of age, sex, and occupation. As already mentioned, men were about as likely to complete the questionnaire as women when their over-all percentages are considered. Men and women are both fairly well distributed when a correlation is made between sex and the responses given by both sexes, except for two of the answers. These were "Absent from city" which was dominated by men, and "Illness" which was dominated by the women. These might be explained by the fact that occupations which take people from the city are more often held by men than women, and illness is probably more attractive to women than men when using it as an excuse for failure to vote.

In summary, it can be said that the questionnaire revealed several things. First, apathy is probably the major cause of non-voting. In other words, a feeling of disinterest among the voters or a do-not care attitude toward government. Secondly, although apathy plays a leading role in non-voting, it is probably over-emphasized by the casual observer. Due to the mobility of the population in this great nation, a large number of people did not vote because they had either moved away or they were away from the city on election day. And thirdly, a sizeable number of people evidently disfranchise themselves through ignorance of the laws, although they may have intended to vote all along.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARIZATION AND CONCLUSIONS

Democratic government is not perfect, in America or anywhere else. To believe that a government is perfect and that it does not require constant examination and re-evaluation by its citizens is probably wishful thinking. But evidently millions of American citizens are guilty of this type of thinking. This is demonstrated by the fact that millions of American voters take no part in the political process, not even as voters. Government by the people implies government elected by and responsive to the wishes of the voters, but in practice many American citizens have no part in the political process—as they are non-voters—which elect their government.

This paper has attempted to point out who these people are, and some of the reasons of why they do not participate in the political process as voters. This was accomplished by reviewing voting research which had been conducted in other areas of the United States, and the application of a study design to analyze the voting behavior in an unstudied area. The results were quite fruitful.

Several points of interest were indicated by the study concerning those people who compose the non-voting group. The group included more women than men, or speaking

in percentages there were about ten percent more women in the non-voting group than men. Generally speaking, the group was composed of more people of the younger age groups than of people of the older age brackets. This could be interpreted as indicating that the younger people were poorer voters than their older counterparts, but this factor is outweighed somewhat in that people comprising the younger age level tend to outnumber the older people in the entire voting population.

Of great interest is the definite correlation between non-voting and occupational level. Those of the business and managerial class are by far the best voters, while at the other end it is shown that laborers are the poorest voters. The voting turnout among the people classified as being in the professions may be surprising to some. The casual observer might have guessed that they would be better voters than they seem to demonstrate due to generally high educational level of this group. The Hays study reveals that the majority of women who are non-voters are housewives.

All four studies agree that interest level is probably the greatest factor influencing turnout at the polls. A low level of interest or a general feeling of apathy seemed to be the reason why a majority of the non-voting group failed to cast their ballot. But the study conducted in Hays suggests that apathy may tend to be overstressed as

a reason for not voting by some observers.

This point is indicated when a closer study is made of the mobility of the American population. The Hays research shows that there is seemingly a great deal of moving around by the possible voters in this country. Although the study made of the voting behavior in Hays, Kansas, is strictly of a local nature, there is every reason to believe that other areas of the country have a similar mobile population. Thus, it may be concluded that many people who may have been classified as non-voters because of apathy may in reality be unable to vote because of legal restrictions brought about by their moving from one place to another.

The present study also reveals, indirectly, some other factors. Since the political process, voting included, is primarily directed by human thoughts and actions, it is an ever changing phenomenon. To systematically classify and categorize the ideas and thinking of human beings is rather difficult to say the least. This makes the study of problems which fall into this area also difficult, which in turn limits the results and the concreteness of the findings of such study.

The results which develop from this situation allow for only partial answers to many of the problems concerning American government. This makes the challenge of study that much greater, in the hope that if enough partial

answers are found, some complete answers may be pieced together. It is hoped that the findings of the present study may help in this process.

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