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CHARACTERISTICS OF TEXAS' 1964 NATIONAL POLITICAL
CONVENTION DELEGATIONS

THESIS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	v
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. SELECTION OF THE 1964 DELEGATES	9
Development of the Convention System	
National Regulation of State Delegations	
Methods of Delegate Selection	
1964 Delegate Selection in Texas	
1964 Texas Political Environment	
III. SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 1964 TEXAS DELEGATES	32
Questionnaire Design	
Bias of the Response	
Social Characteristics	
Ideological Characteristics	
Summary	
IV. POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS, ISSUE CHARACTER- ISTICS, AND ROLE PERCEPTION	55
Political Experience	
Role Perception	
Issue Characteristics	
Summary	
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	76
Characteristic Differences	
Relationship of Political Environment to Delegate Characteristics	
Representation of Delegates	
Conclusion	
APPENDIX	84
BIBLIOGRAPHY	88

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Characteristics of Sex, Age, Marital Status and Religion	39
II. Characteristics of Education, Occupation, Income, Race and Background	43
III. Ideological Characteristics	50
IV. Political Experience	56
V. Role Perception	61
VI. Issue Characteristics	72

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Ideological Dispersion	51
2. Relationship between voting allegiance to general public and highest public or party office gained	65
3. Relationship between voting allegiance to state or national party officers and highest public or party office gained.	66
4. Relationship of voting allegiance and highest party office gained	67
5. Relationship of voting allegiance and highest public office gained.	67
6. Relationship between convention information source and highest public or party office gained	69
7. Relationship of role perception characteristics and relative importance of delegates	71

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

National nominating convention delegates are involved in making, or at least ratifying and approving, some of the most significant decisions in American political life. One is surprised, therefore, at the limited amount of available knowledge which is concerned with national nominating convention delegates or their behavior. Recent students of the financial phase of national conventions have also noted the surprisingly limited amount of information concerned with national convention behavior.¹ Apart from the series of studies sponsored by The Brookings Institution,² there have been only scattered reports dealing with such behavior. These reports have dealt mainly with demographic aspects of convention delegations.³ To date little is known about such basic matters as delegates' perception of their role, delegates' ideological characteristics, the effect of a state's political situation on the choice of delegates,

¹John F. Bibby and Herbert Alexander, The Politics of National Convention Finances and Arrangements (Princeton, 1968), p. 1.

²Included are: Paul David, Malcolm Moos, and Ralph Goldman, Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952 (Baltimore, 1954); Paul David, Ralph Goldman and Richard Bain, The Politics of National Party Conventions (Washington, D. C., 1960); and Richard Bain, Convention Decisions and Voting Records (Washington, D. C., 1960).

³See below, Chapter III, for a discussion of these reports.

delegates' opinions on national issues, and the source and nature of delegates' convention information while attending the nominating convention.

The purpose of this study is to examine these characteristics of the delegates from Texas to the 1964 Democratic and Republican national nominating conventions, as well as to compare and contrast their demographic characteristics. It is a basic assumption of this study that the characteristics of national convention delegates are important in the determination of the character of the convention as an institution. Perhaps the most popular image of the national conventions is that they are "unwieldy, unrepresentative, and less than responsible," and that iron-clad control is exercised by party bosses.⁴ This study is not an attempt to lessen the importance of key convention figures or inner councils of party bosses, who may have tremendous influence in the shaping of convention agenda and decisions. Certainly it is true that some convention decisions are beyond the influence of the average delegate. Probably the degree of influence which an average delegate may wield depends on the nature and type of convention. Professor Nelson Polsby states that the rational delegate will be well-informed as to the degree of "political power" which he possesses and that he will behave in accordance with his position in the game and the goals he is

⁴American Political Science Association, Committee on Political Parties, Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System (New York, 1950), p. 28.

intent upon achieving. Polsby further states that individual delegates will probably have more political power at conventions which are not dominated by an incumbent President.⁵ Other political observers, Paul David, Ralph Goldman and Richard Bain, state that the average delegate certainly is not a member of the inner party structure; but, even if he is not a participant in a "smoke-filled room" at which bargains are concluded, he still is an individual and his vote is to be reckoned with.⁶

The act of casting his vote for one candidate or another is probably the most important source of influence available to the average delegate, and all delegates participate in this phase of convention decision-making. If a delegation's vote is contested, it is probable that the delegation will be polled to put individual delegate votes on record. Thus, when the balloting to nominate the President and Vice President of the United States begins, each delegate has an inescapable personal responsibility and power. This is true even under the unit rule, because the vote must be counted in the delegation before the rule can be applied.⁷

Average delegates participate in other phases of the convention process as well. David, Goldman and Bain suggest that a third or more of all delegates have definite job assignments

⁵Nelson W. Polsby, "Decision-Making at the National Conventions," Western Political Quarterly, XIII (September, 1960), 609-619.

⁶David, Goldman and Bain, The Politics of National Party Conventions, pp 376-380.

⁷Ibid., p. 377.

within the proceedings.⁸ These job assignments probably include service on the four committees of credentials, resolutions, permanent organization, and rules.

Perhaps Theodore White's description of Senator John Kennedy's 1960 convention behavior best describes the importance which the candidates, themselves, may attribute to the allegiance of individual delegates. White describes how Kennedy commanded a team of some forty "shepherds" who were assigned to state delegations and instructed to maintain the vote of delegates pledged to Kennedy before the convention and to attempt to solicit delegates pledged to other candidates. Each of Kennedy's shepherds was given a packet of information about each delegate, including his home town, religion, wife's name, hobby, and profession so that each might come to know the delegates on a personal basis. Each hour the shepherds were to re-poll their delegates and report changes of strength to Kennedy.⁹ In fact Kennedy's successful tactic of working more directly with individual delegates than any previous candidate had may signify that average delegates will become more and more important in the convention process. Speaking of Kennedy's nomination, Paul O'Neil has said:

No candidate before him ever indulged in so long or so relentless a courtship of county politicians and convention delegates (four years of Christmas cards, personal messages,

⁸Ibid., p. 35.

⁹Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1960 (New York, 1961), p. 188.

personal calls), or managed so accurate and penetrating a surveillance of delegations once a convention had begun (spies for every state, telephones at every floor station, hour-by-hour checks of every change in group sentiment, daily reports on the reaction of every change in group sentiment, daily reports of the reactions of every individual delegate). None of these lessons will be forgotten. Barry Goldwater used them with effectiveness at the last Republican convention.¹⁰

The above is not intended to over-emphasize the role of the average delegate, or under-emphasize the role of the party boss or national and state party leaders. It is intended, however, to indicate that the average delegate does have some means of expression and influence available to him; that characteristics of these delegates can, at least to some degree, shape the total characteristic of the national conventions; and that these characteristics are worthy of serious political study. Furthermore, it appears that what influence individual delegates do have seems to be increasing. Nelson Polsby and Aaron Wildavsky have stated that within delegations that are not bound to one candidate by a primary law, or by a state's instruction to vote by unit rule, the individual delegates, even though they may control only their own vote, have an opportunity to play significant roles at the convention.¹¹ The number of states which bind the delegations in some manner is declining. In the 1904 Democratic National Convention, for example, thirty-seven states voted as a unit on the first ballot. By 1956 only fourteen Democratic

¹⁰Paul O'Neil, "Nomination by Rain Dance," Life, 65 (July 5, 1968), 20-28.

¹¹Nelson Polsby and Aaron Wildavsky, Presidential Elections (New York, 1964), p. 81.

delegations were bound by the unit rule.¹² At the height of its popularity in 1916, the presidential primary was adopted by twenty-two states as the method of selection of national convention delegates. This number had dropped to sixteen in 1956, and in only three of these states was the mandate absolutely binding.¹³

Perhaps a more practical justification for this type of delegate analysis is suggested by Paul David, Ralph Goldman and Richard Bain. According to these scholars of the nominating process, "most previous attempts to assess the conventions and their behavior have begun with assumptions about the delegates, assumptions that were not always stated and that were probably often erroneous." These authors further suggest that "even simple descriptive facts, once established as authentic, might so change current notions that many of the more damaging questions would become irrelevant"¹⁴

If characteristics of national convention delegates are worthy of study, then, how is one to determine which characteristics should be examined? David, Goldman and Bain indicate that there are at least three areas of delegate behavior which are in critical need of inquiry. First they suggest that conventions are often attacked in terms that question the motives of the delegates. They suggest therefore that there is a need for information

¹²Bain, Convention Decisions and Voting Records, p. 327.

¹³David, Goldman and Bain, The Politics of National Party Conventions, p. 226.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 325.

on whether the delegates are reputable people who could be expected to make their decisions on reputable grounds.¹⁵

A second area of needed inquiry involves representation. Specifically, state David, Goldman and Bain, data need to be collected which can be used to determine if state delegations are selected which accurately reflect differences between the Democrats and Republicans within their state.¹⁶

The final needed area of inquiry suggested by David, Goldman, and Bain is the area of efficiency. These scholars suggest that data should be collected to indicate to what extent the delegates are competent to perform their convention functions.¹⁷

As will be discussed in the final chapter with regard to the 1964 delegations from Texas, it seems that an examination of social characteristics, political experience characteristics, issue and ideological characteristics, and role perceptual characteristics, and how all these are affected by the State's political environment, can help provide information pertaining to these three critically needed areas of inquiry.

In order to discover and contrast these characteristics of the 1964 delegates from Texas to the Democratic and Republican national nominating conventions, each delegate was asked to

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

complete a mailed questionnaire. The design of the questionnaire is discussed in Chapter III, and the questionnaire, itself, is included as the Appendix to this study.

It is a basic hypothesis of this study that characteristics of the 1964 delegates from Texas were related in some ways to the political situation in Texas at that time, and that any discussion of their characteristics would be incomplete without some discussion of this political situation. Relevant aspects of the 1964 political situation in Texas are discussed in Chapter II.

This study, then, is a comparative examination of pertinent characteristics of the 1964 Republican and Democratic delegates from Texas to determine to what extent there were differences between the two delegations, how these characteristics were affected by the State's political environment in 1964, and to what extent these delegates were representative of their party constituency within the State.

CHAPTER II

SELECTION OF THE 1964 DELEGATES

One basic determinant of the character of the delegates selected to national conventions is the manner of selection of those delegates.¹ This chapter explores the development of the convention system, discusses the method of delegate selection, and describes how the Texas political environment of 1964 influenced delegate selection in that State.

Development of the Convention System

The method by which both major American political parties select their Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates is the national convention system. This method was not the method envisioned by those who laid the framework of the government of the United States, but has evolved over a period of time. Indeed the party system itself was, if not abhorred, at least neglected as a part of the governing process by the founding fathers.² Political parties did arise almost immediately after the drafting of the Constitution, however. Perhaps the most important cause of the rise of political parties was the need

¹V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups (New York, 1964), p. 405.

²Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison, The Federalist: A Commentary on the Constitution of the United States, edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, (New York, 1907), Numbers 10 and 51, pp. 51-60 and 322-327.

for an improved way to nominate the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, and probably the most effective way to nominate the candidates which has developed is the process of the convention system.³

According to Article II, Section I, of the Constitution, it was the design of the framers of the Constitution that the President of the United States be elected by a "Number of Electors." These Electors were to be equal to a State's total number of Senators and Representatives and selected in whatever manner suited to the State, except that Congress could determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they should vote. The Electors were to meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, and the person receiving a majority of those votes thus cast would become President. The Constitution, then, makes no provision for nomination, leaving the choice of best man to the Electors.

Alexander Hamilton commented that this method of selecting the President and Vice President was a method "if not perfect at least excellent." Hamilton further explained that this small number of men (the Electors) who would be selected by their fellow-citizens would be most likely to possess the information and discernment needed to perform so complicated a task.⁴

³Key, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, p. 202.

⁴Hamilton, Jay and Madison, The Federalist, Number 68, p. 412.

However, political parties, when they did begin to emerge, desired and developed a method for nominating, from within the party, candidates for President and Vice President. Early nominations were made by party members from within Congress. This method was known as the party caucus.⁵

The Federalist Party never truly perfected the caucus method of nomination. When the Federalists were in power during the earliest periods of the Presidency, its need was not apparent; and when their representation in Congress was sharply reduced by Republican Party victories, the caucus could no longer represent the party as a whole.⁶ The Federalists then needed some other way of nominating their Presidential candidates, and, in 1808, Federalist leaders held a meeting in New York to nominate Thomas Pickney and Rufus King. This meeting has been called the first national nominating convention.⁷ The Democratic Party held its first national nominating convention in 1831, and the Republican Party held its first convention in 1856. Each major party has held a nominating convention in each Presidential election year since that time. The manner of choice of delegates to attend these conventions and the method of fixing the number of delegates to which each state is entitled are of basic importance in the

⁵David, Goldman and Bain, The Politics of National Party Conventions (Washington, D. C., 1960), p. 12.

⁶William Goodman, The Two Party System in the United States (New York, 1956), p. 70.

⁷"The First National Nominating Convention, 1808," American Historical Review, 17 (1912), 744.

determination of the character of the convention as an institution.⁸

National Regulation of State Delegations

Party delegates to the national conventions are selected within the states. The manner of selection of delegates is reserved to the states, but each national party committee determines the voting strength to which each state is entitled in that party's convention. Originally each state was entitled to voting strength proportionally equal to one vote for each of its two Senators and one vote for each member of the House of Representatives. However, the Republican Party in 1916 and the Democratic Party in 1936 adopted rules which had the effect of allocating convention voting strength in approximate accordance with a state's party strength.⁹ Thus states which are traditionally loyal to one party (such as the Solid South to the Democratic Party) have proportionally greater delegate voting strength in their party's convention than other states have. The size of delegations sent to the conventions has often varied with little regard to the number of votes allocated by the national party committees. The chief cause of this has been the pressure to find seats for all the influential party members who desire to attend. As a result, a number of states at times have selected a greater number of delegates than their allocated

⁸Key, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, p. 405.

⁹Ibid., p. 404.

voting strength and delegates have then cast fractional votes.¹⁰

Rather elaborate and somewhat complicated formulas have been devised by each national party in their attempt to achieve national convention representation in proportion to party strength as it is distributed among the states. The selection of delegates to the Republican National Convention in 1964 held near San Francisco, California, was governed by rules 30, 31, and 32 adopted by the Republican National Convention held at Chicago, July 25, 1960. Rule 30 stated that all states were entitled to four delegates at large. In addition each state was entitled to two additional delegates at large for each Representative at Large in Congress from that state. Also, each state casting a majority of its electoral vote for the Republican nominee for President in 1960, or which had elected a United States Senator or Governor from the Republican Party since 1960 was entitled to six additional Delegates at Large. Finally each state was entitled to one delegate for each Congressional district which cast at least 2,000 votes. An extra vote was also allowed for each congressional district casting at least 10,000 votes for any Republican Elector for President in 1960 or for a Republican Congressman in the last election. A state was entitled to one alternate for each delegate which it selected. Rule 31 dealt with the manner of election of delegates and stated that delegates could be selected by primary elections, state conventions,

¹⁰David, Goldman and Bain, The Politics of National Party Conventions, p. 165.

or Republican state committees. Rule 32 provided that states were entitled to select only one delegate for each allocated vote, and therefore there would be no fractional voting.¹¹

The Democratic National Committee adopted on January 11, 1964, a resolution pertaining to 1964 allocation of delegate voting strength. This resolution stated that each state would be entitled to three convention votes for each Elector from that state. Furthermore each state would be entitled to one convention vote for each 100,000 popular votes cast in that state in 1960 for Electors who supported the nominee of the 1960 Democratic National Convention. Also each state was entitled to a bonus of ten convention votes if it cast its Electoral votes for the 1960 nominees of the Democratic Party. Finally each state was entitled to one vote for its national committeeman and one vote for its national committeewoman. This resolution also stated that each state was entitled to select at least as many delegates as it had in 1960. The resolution provided that if the voting strength allocated to a state in 1964 was smaller than the number of delegates selected by that state in 1960 then a number of delegates could cast half-votes to offset the difference. The Democratic resolution pertaining to allocation of delegates' voting strength

¹¹"Official Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Republican National Convention," p. 166, as reprinted by Felton Johnson, Richard Hupman, and Robert Tienken, Nomination and Election of the President and Vice President of the United States (Washington, 1964), pp. 40-41.

made no attempt to provide the method for selection within the states.¹²

Methods of Delegate Selection

Originally a variety of methods was used by states to select their delegates to the national conventions. In the mid 1800's, for example, Maine and Pennsylvania selected their delegates by district conventions; New Hampshire by legislative caucus; Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Maryland by state conventions; and Ohio by Congressional district caucuses. In other states a combination of the above methods was employed.¹³ In 1897 Frederick Dallinger, a student of the American political system, predicted that eventually "a uniform system of delegate selection will be adopted" throughout the states.¹⁴ However, there still is a variety of ways to select delegates, and some states even regulate their selection by statutes. Basically three patterns by which states select delegates may be identified. In 1964 some fifteen states (including the District of Columbia) selected their delegates by some type of a primary election. The remainder of the states selected their delegates either by some type of state convention system or by some type of party committee system.

¹²Resolution adopted by the Democratic National Committee, Ibid., p. 29.

¹³Frederick W. Dallinger, Nominations for Elective Office in the United States (London, 1897), pp. 43-45.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 44.

The least-used method of delegate selection, and the one which affords maximum party control, is the party committee method, used by only four states in 1964. Those states were Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Arizona. However, in Georgia and Louisiana only the Democratic Party used the committee method; the Republican Party used the convention method.¹⁵

Some fifteen states use some type of a primary system to select their national convention delegates. The Presidential primaries, as they are called, came into existence in the early 1900's to allow voters to have a more direct way to express their preference for their party's delegates than was afforded by the convention system.¹⁶

However the degree and extent to which a voter may influence the vote of the delegates which are chosen by the primary vary from state to state. V. O. Key has identified four types of Presidential primaries which are now in use. At one extreme delegates bound through the first ballot for one candidate are elected directly by the voters. At the other extreme voters simply express their preference for their party's Presidential candidate, and the delegates are chosen by party conventions which may or may not be influenced by the primary results.¹⁷

¹⁵Goodman, The Two-Party System in the United States, p. 188.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 190.

¹⁷Key, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, pp. 409-410.

The remainder of the states select their delegates to national nominating conventions by party conventions within the states. The convention system varies considerably in form throughout the states, but most commonly it is built on an indirect election system beginning with precinct meetings of voters who select delegates to county conventions who select the delegates to the state convention. The national convention delegates, then, are selected by the state convention. This method allows for a somewhat more direct influence by the voters on the system which will select national convention delegates than does the committee system, but ordinarily party professionals control the system to a great extent.¹⁸

1964 Delegate Selection in Texas

According to apportionment rules devised by each party prior to the national conventions, of 1308 delegates to the 1964 Republican National Convention, Texas was entitled to 56; and of 2,944 delegates to the Democratic National Convention, Texas was entitled to 120. The manner of delegate selection in Texas is specified by law to be the convention method. The State election code stated in 1964 that any political party which desired to elect delegates to a national convention would hold a state convention, at such hour and place as might be designated by the party's State Executive Committee, on the second Tuesday following the second primary. Also the State Executive Committee was required by law to notify the Secretary of State, in writing, as to the hour and place at which the State Convention would be held, at

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 408.

least ten days prior to the date of the convention. These state conventions were to be comprised of delegates elected at county conventions.¹⁹

The convention system used by both major parties in Texas is the typical indirect election system beginning with precinct conventions which select delegates to county conventions which, in turn, select delegates to state conventions. Texas law required in 1964 that precinct conventions be held on the same day as the first primary, the first Saturday in May. All party members voting in that party's primary were entitled to attend the party's precinct convention. These precinct conventions were to select delegates to the county conventions to be held one week later. The county conventions were to be composed of one delegate from each election precinct in that county for each twenty-five votes cast in that precinct for the party's candidate for Governor in 1962. In all cases the law allowed that each precinct was entitled to at least one delegate to the county convention. Each county convention then was responsible for election of one delegate for each three hundred votes cast in that county for the party's candidate for governor in 1962. These delegates would be delegates for all state conventions held the remainder of the year, including the

¹⁹Vernon's Annotated Revised Civil Statutes of the State of Texas, Volume 9, Election Code (Kansas City, 1967), Article 13.58, p. 517.

convention to select delegates to the national convention.²⁰

Dates of precinct, county and state conventions for selection of delegates to the national conventions from Texas in 1964 were: precinct conventions (comprised of all party voters participating) to select delegates to county conventions, Saturday, May 2, 1964, the same day as the first primary; county conventions (composed of delegates selected by precinct conventions), to select delegates to state conventions, Saturday May 9, 1964; state conventions (composed of delegates selected by county conventions) to select delegates to national conventions, June 16, 1964. The Democratic Party held its state convention in Houston, and the Republicans met in Dallas.

1964 Texas Political Environment

The Texas political situation in 1964 can best be understood in context of events beginning in 1952. In that year the growing support of Republicanism in Texas gave the State's electoral

²⁰Ibid., Article 13.54, pp. 478-484.

This article of the Texas Election Code was amended in 1967 to provide that in counties which comprise one Senatorial District, either in whole or in part, a convention would be held in each part of the county constituting all or part of a Senatorial District, in lieu of a county convention. The amendment also provided procedures for conducting the Senatorial District conventions, and altered the ratio of delegates to be elected to the State conventions. (Vernon's Annotated Revised Civil Statutes of the State of Texas, Volume IX, Cumulative Annual Pocket Part, 1967, pp. 89-91).

vote to the Presidential candidate of the Republican Party, Dwight Eisenhower.²¹ Regardless of Eisenhower's victory in Texas in 1952, the Democratic Party retained control in state and local politics. According to O. Douglas Weeks, "Presidential Republicans do not make for a state Republican organization" in Texas.²² In the Presidential election of 1956 Eisenhower carried the State by 55 percent of the vote cast as compared with his victory margin of 53 percent in 1952. However, in Congressional races, and again in state and local races, the Democratic Party retained its traditional victory margin, except for the victory of Republican Congressional candidate Bruce Alger in Dallas County. Professor Weeks explains the victories by hypothesizing that a large portion of Eisenhower voters were moderate and conservative Democrats who voted for Eisenhower because of his strong personal appeal, but Weeks also notes that most observers believed it was only Eisenhower's attraction which caused the shift and that it would not lead to a strong, permanent second party in Texas.²³

However, the elections of 1960 seemed to indicate that indeed there might be a trend toward a strong Republican

²¹Details of the growth of the Republican Party in Texas are treated by Professor O. Douglas Weeks in Texas Presidential Politics in 1952 (Austin, 1953) and by James Soukup, Clifton McClesky and Harry Hollaway in Party and Factional Division in Texas (Austin, 1964).

²²Weeks, Texas Presidential Politics in 1952, p. 111.

²³O. Douglas Weeks, Texas One-Party Politics in 1956 (Austin, 1957), p. 49.

Party in Texas. An article by Gladwin Hill appearing in the November 6, 1960, issue of the New York Times explained that "it is uncertain how strongly will weigh the powerful currents of Jeffersonian conservatism that swung Texas to the Republican side in 1952 and 1956." The article also stated that, although the Democratic Party usually "rules things" in the State, a number of newspapers had endorsed the Republican ticket and the outcome of the election then only a couple of weeks away remained uncertain.²⁴

Even though Senator John Kennedy carried the State in the 1960 election, Nixon polled more votes than had Eisenhower in either his 1952 or his 1956 victory. This strong showing by the Republican Party prompted Professor Weeks to speculate that the one-party tradition of Texas politics was "waning."²⁵

Perhaps the proudest achievement of the Republican Party in Texas was the election of Republican John Tower to the United States Senate in 1961. However encouraged the Republican Party may have been by these events, it still was not a real threat to the State's Democratic Party, especially on the state and local level. Recounting Republican Party history in Texas since World War II, Allen Duckworth, political editor of the Dallas Morning News, said after the election of John Tower that

²⁴New York Times, November 6, 1960, Sec. 1, p. 42.

²⁵O. Douglas Weeks, Texas in the 1960 Presidential Election (Austin, 1961), p. 80.

"the Republicans of Texas are a long, long way from conquering the state. But they have established a small beach-head."²⁶

The Republican Party which thrived in the elections of 1952 and 1960 is labeled by O. Douglas Weeks as "Eisenhower-Nixon Republicanism." This is to be distinguished from what later became "Goldwater Republicanism" in the State. Professor Weeks explains that the Eisenhower-Nixon Republicanism represented the moderate and liberal elements of the Republican Party. He further comments that it had not accepted everything that Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal" and Harry Truman's "Fair Deal" had embraced among the Democrats, but it had moved the Republican Party to the left of the party of Taft and Hoover. According to Weeks, many Texans were willing to desert the Democratic Party, which had increasingly been characterized as a party of dissension and factionalism, and were able to identify with the liberal attitude of the Eisenhower-Nixon brand of Republicanism.²⁷

Professor Weeks attributes the rise of Goldwater Republicanism basically to the civil rights issue and the "aggressive liberalism" of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations in general. Weeks also explains that the Republican Party of Goldwater assumed the role of the "Dixiecrats" in the southern states. In

²⁶The Dallas Morning News, June 18, 1961, Sec. 1, p. 8.

²⁷O. Douglas Weeks, "The Prospects of the Republican Party in the South," Public Affairs Comment, 21 (January, 1965), 1-4.

Texas these die-hard Dixiecrats infiltrated the Republican Party between 1960 and 1964 and pushed the Texas Republicans more and more to the conservative extreme.²⁸

Texas Republicans in 1964 were more than just pro-Goldwater, for the most part, reflecting a strongly conservative ideology. Perhaps Goldwater Republicans in Texas supported the Senator more strongly than Republicans in any other part of the country. Goldwater's top aide, Richard Kleindienst, said in June of 1964 that Goldwater would probably not even have entered the race had it not been for the support he received in Texas. According to Kleindienst, Texas became Goldwater's "power base."²⁹ In the first Republican primary, held May 2, 1964, a preferential poll showed Goldwater to be the overwhelming favorite, attracting 100,823 votes to 11,803 for Lodge and 5,998 for Rockefeller.³⁰

The overriding nature of the State's Democratic Party in the years 1952 to 1964 had been a constant struggle between those Democrats who were loyal to the liberal National Democratic Party, and those Democrats who were loyal to the more conservatively oriented State Democratic Party. This struggle had begun in 1944 when the party sent two delegations to the national convention, one selected by the "regular" state convention, the other selected by a minority liberal element loyal

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹The Texas Observer, August 21, 1964, p. 3.

³⁰Ibid., May 15, 1964, p. 6.

to President Roosevelt. The controversy had traditionally been most obvious in Presidential election years and again resulted in the sending of two rival delegations to the national convention in 1952. During the period of 1952 to 1960 the leader of the conservative element appeared to have been former Governor Allan Shivers, and the leaders of the liberal element seemed to be House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senator Lyndon Johnson.³¹

Party division in the Texas Democratic Party was not as obvious in 1964 as it had been in previous years. According to Weeks, "liberal and conservative Democrats were held together in a restless coalition to support a native son who was President of the United States and who sought re-nomination and re-election."³²

Liberal elements of the party did gather in Houston, on February 29, 1964, to form the Texas Organization of Liberal Democrats. The liberal meeting endorsed Don Yarborough for Governor, and approved a resolution which praised President Johnson for his "liberal approach" to the nation's domestic and foreign problems. The meeting further expressed disgust at the manner in which John Connally and Gordon McLendon had "teamed up" to oppose the liberal programs and policies advocated by Johnson

³¹Weeks, Texas in the 1960 Presidential Election, pp. 72-73.

³²O. Douglas Weeks, Texas in 1964 a One-Party State Again?, (Austin, 1965), pp. 6-7.

Ralph Yarborough, and Don Yarborough.³³

On March, 1964, the Democratic State Executive Committee met and adopted a resolution which deplored "any effort by any element or faction within the Democratic Party to diminish the party's strength and vigor by attempting to drive any other element or faction out of the party." On the contrary, the resolution stated, "We welcome in the Democratic Party people of all shades of political opinion--be they described as liberals, moderates, or conservatives--in order that the Democratic Party will continue to maintain its broad based adaptability to the needs of Texas." Also adopted was a resolution commending President Johnson for his outstanding leadership of the nation.³⁴

By and large the moderate-conservative faction of the Democratic Party retained control of the state offices in the 1964 elections. In the first Democratic primary held May 2, 1964, Governor Connally received 70 percent of the vote cast in the contest for Governor.

This, then, was the background for the series of conventions beginning with the May 2 precinct conventions and which culminated June 16 in the selection of delegates to both parties' national conventions. The State's Republicans were fairly well united, and most supported Barry Goldwater as the party's Presidential nominee. The State Democratic Party on the other hand was more sharply divided over party aims. The main point of

³³Texas Observer, March 6, 1964, pp. 11-12.

³⁴Austin American, March 10, 1964, Sec. 1, p. 5.

division between the liberals and the moderate-conservative Democrats was over the liberal demand that the party pledge itself to support the policies of President Johnson, especially the liberal features of the pending civil rights bill and Medicare.³⁵

As indicated above, Texas election law gives each precinct one convention vote in a party's county convention for each twenty-five votes cast in that precinct for the party's nominee for governor in the last general election. In 1962 Jack Cox, the Republican candidate for Governor, opposing John Connally, the Democratic candidate, polled 715,000 votes. Most of those Texans who voted for Cox in 1962 lived in conservative precincts of the State. Thus it was assumed that these conservative precincts would be under-represented in the Democratic county conventions. This assumption caused some speculation that the liberal faction of the State Democratic Party might dominate the party's county conventions around the State and go on to gain control over the moderate-conservative branch of the party at the State convention. The Texas Observer said that "the liberal-loyalist faction will almost certainly regain control of the Democratic convention from the conservatives" in this election year. The article explained that projections showed that the liberals would have a majority of the delegates at

³⁵Weeks, Texas in 1964 A One-Party State Again?, pp. 16-18.

the State convention.³⁶

Governor Connally's landslide victory in the May 2 primary, however, gave the moderate-conservative faction an unexpected boost. The Dallas Morning News reported that this win would certainly help Connally control the Democratic State Convention and explained that "conservatives dominated the precinct conventions in Dallas and Tarrant Counties" and that Connally appeared to have gained strong support across the State. "The majority of the precincts in most of the key counties" passed resolutions favorable to Connally.³⁷

Democratic county conventions held on May 9, 1964, were in general accord; however, there were some notable exceptions. Governor Connally and the moderate-conservative branch of the Democratic Party claimed that their forces triumphed in 180 counties to assure them of 1650 of the 2834 state convention votes. However, this calculation included choices from conservative delegations which walked out of the Houston and San Antonio county conventions to hold rump conventions and select their own delegates to the state convention when it was apparent that liberals were in firm control of these counties. Also, liberal delegates to the Dallas County convention walked out to hold a separate convention and select a separate slate of delegates. In other parts of the State some liberal factions offered in their county conventions resolutions urging that

³⁶The Texas Observer, April 17, 1964, pp. 12-13.

³⁷The Dallas Morning News, May 3, 1964, Sec. 1, p. 12.

Senator Yarborough be named with Connally as head of the delegation to the national convention, but that issue generally failed. Governor Connally was reportedly "delighted with the overall results of the county conventions and felt that the trend was definitely established in his favor."³⁸

State-wide Republican precinct and county conventions were extremely harmonious compared to the Democratic conventions. According to The Dallas Morning News, the only order of business of Republican precinct and county conventions was "the selection of delegates favoring Senator Barry Goldwater, and the passing of resolutions endorsing Goldwater for the Presidential nomination."³⁹

The Texas Observer of June 12, 1964, had the following comments on the state pre-convention "landscape" of both parties: Concerning the Democratic State Convention to be held in Houston the Observer noted that President Johnson had refrained from taking any public position on what should happen at the convention. The Observer suggested, nevertheless, that one could assume (1) that the President did in fact communicate with the principals, and that he has been able to make some compromise "deals"; or (2) that his hands-off attitude enhanced Governor Connally's ability to have his own way altogether with

³⁸Houston Record Chronicle, May 10, 1968, Sec. II, p. 8.

³⁹The Dallas Morning News, May 10, 1964, Sec. 1, p. 12.

the convention; or (3) that there continued to be two main divisions which would meet at the convention, the conservatives, clustered around Governor Connally, and the liberals, clustered around Senator Yarborough.⁴⁰

Concerning the Republican State Convention to be held in Dallas, the Observer noted that there was apparently considerable harmony among all involved. The Observer noted further that this convention might be politically more important than the Democratic State Convention because it was possible that "Texas' 56 delegate votes could give Goldwater his needed total delegate strength for nomination."⁴¹

As expected, the Goldwater sentiment was in almost unanimous control of the Republican State Convention in Dallas. The first resolution which was passed "irrevocably committed" the Texas delegates to Goldwater. State Chairman Peter O'Donnell announced that this gave Senator Goldwater more than the 655 total needed for first ballot nomination and "virtual bedlam of enthusiasm broke out." The Goldwater sentiment was so predominant that not a word for Governor Scranton was said. Senator John Tower was named chairman of the delegation to San Francisco and Peter O'Donnell, Vice-Chairman.⁴²

The Democratic State Convention assembled in Houston and the moderate-conservative forces of Governor Connally were

⁴⁰The Texas Observer, June 12, 1964, p. 9.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²The Dallas Morning News, July 17, 1964, Sec. 1, p. 1.

obviously in control. Before the convention began, the State Executive Committee followed recommendations of the credentials subcommittee and seated the conservative delegates from Bexar, Dallas, and Grayson, and the disputed liberal delegates from Harris, Randall, and Hutchinson.⁴³ The only test vote before the convention centered on this action. The vote to follow the credentials subcommittee recommendation was 2137 to 664, showing Governor Connally in full control. The convention then passed without dissent a resolution praising President Johnson. Asked if this meant approval of Johnson's program, Connally replied, "We're for the President--period. I don't know what his program is."⁴⁴ The convention concluded by naming 120 delegates and 97 alternates to cast Texas' 99 votes at the national convention in August. The convention also named Governor Connally to head the delegation and instructed the delegates to "put forth every effort" for Johnson's nomination.⁴⁵

Thus ended what O. Douglas Weeks called a "relatively quiet Democratic Convention."⁴⁶ It was also apparent that although he worked only "behind the scenes," President Johnson arranged a number of compromises which prevented what would have been an embarrassing public airing of the bitter liberal-conservative fight of the Texas Democratic Party.⁴⁷

⁴³Houston Record Chronicle, June 16, 1964, Sec. 1, p. 1.

⁴⁴Ibid., June 17, 1964, Sec. 1, p. 7.

⁴⁵San Antonio Express, June 17, 1964, Sec. 1, p. 12.

⁴⁶Weeks, Texas in 1964 A One-Party State Again?, p. 17.

⁴⁷Austin American, June 18, 1964, Sec. 1, p. 8.

The following chapter will focus on social and ideological characteristics of the delegates selected by these two state conventions to attend the national nominating conventions and cast their party's vote for the 1964 Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

OF THE 1964 TEXAS DELEGATES

In recent years a few political studies have had as their focal point various characteristics of national nominating convention delegates. All of these studies have employed the questionnaire method of research and data gathering; but, as often seems to be the case, each study which has been undertaken has had its own unique concerns and thus, although the studies are informative, they seem to be rather limited as potential comparative studies of delegate characteristics over a period of time.

Perhaps the first study which was designed to focus solely on characteristics of convention delegates was undertaken in 1948 by Paul Meadows and Charles Braucher of the University of Nebraska. Their questionnaire survey of all of the delegates to the 1948 Democratic, Republican, and Progressive Party conventions dealt exclusively with social characteristics of these delegates. The purpose of the study was to determine what social characteristics could be discovered which separated on the basis of party membership delegates of national party conventions.¹

¹Paul Meadows and Charles Braucher, "Social Composition of the 1948 National Conventions," Sociology and Social Research, 36 (September-October, 1951), 31-35.

In 1960 Herbert McClosky, Paul Hoffmann and Rosemary O'Hara published their study which dealt with delegates to the 1952 and 1956 Democratic and Republican National Conventions. This research team was not concerned with social characteristics of the delegates, but did focus the study on issue differences. McClosky, Hoffman and O'Hara seemed concerned with the fact that American political parties were thought to be "ideologically void" and demonstrated that the party as personified by its national convention delegates did, in fact, have strong issue and ideological preferences and that a gulf did exist between Republican and Democratic delegates on a number of issues.²

In 1961 Dwaine Marvick and Samuel Eldersveld published a study dealing with state delegation leaders. Basically this team was concerned with political action characteristics of these leaders, including previous experience in public office, previous experience in party office, previous convention experience, and other similar characteristics.

The final published study which was designed to deal with delegate characteristics was undertaken by Gerald Pomper in 1964. Pomper focused his study on delegates from New Jersey to the

²Herbert McClosky, Paul Hoffman and Rosemary O'Hara, "Issue Conflict and Consensus among Party Leaders and Followers," American Political Science Review, LIV(June, 1960, 406-427).

³Dwaine Marvick and Samuel Eldersveld, "National Convention Leadership, 1952 and 1956," Western Political Quarterly, XIV (March, 1961), 176-194.

1964 national conventions and was concerned with social characteristics as well as political action characteristics.⁴

Questionnaire Design

Although the purpose of this study is not to compare results with previous studies, these studies, combined with personal interviews⁵, did provide suggestions relative to a questionnaire which was mailed to all Democratic and Republican delegates from Texas to the 1964 National Nominating Conventions. An identical follow-up questionnaire was also mailed, and the bulk of this study is an analysis of data provided by those questionnaires returned.

The questionnaire which was sent to these delegates was divided into three main sections. Section I dealt with social characteristics, section II dealt with issue and political characteristics and role perception, and section III dealt with ideological characteristics. On the basis of data provided by the questionnaire, this chapter is an analysis of social and ideological characteristics of the 1964 delegates. The items which comprise the social characteristics of section I were selected because in previous studies they had tended to indicate

⁴Gerald Pomper, "New Jersey Convention Delegates of 1964," Southwestern Social Sciences Quarterly, 48 (June, 1967), 24-33.

⁵Prior to the drafting of the questionnaire, interviews were conducted with five delegates from Texas to the 1964 conventions. There was no attempt to be selective regarding which delegates were interviewed, and all were from the Dallas area. Two of these delegates were Republican and three were Democrats. The interviews were generally informal and semistandardized, with an attempt being made to focus on prominent issues of 1964 and on role perception.

distinct differences between Republican and Democratic delegates; however they were altered occasionally in an attempt to be most applicable to the Texas social and political situation in 1964.

Section III is an ideological scale which was developed by Professors John Wright and Jack Hicks and presented in the Journal of Applied Psychology.⁶ Numerous ideological scales are available, but it was thought that this scale would be the most appropriate scale to administer to the 1964 delegates from Texas because its validity had originally been established by administration to a group of Young Democrats and Young Republicans in 1964 at a Southern college. Each delegate was asked, when completing the items, to respond after each statement of the scale in a manner which would indicate whether he strongly agreed, agree, disagreed, strongly disagreed, or was undecided with regard to the statement. In the typical Likert⁷ manner the responses were weighted from five if the respondent strongly agreed with the statement to one if the respondent strongly disagreed with the statement. The statements were so designed that the most liberal response to any statement would be "strongly agree" and the most conservative response would be "strongly disagree." For the purpose of this study the mean score of

⁶John Wright and Jack Hicks, "Construction and Validation of a Thrustone Scale of Liberalism-Conservatism," Journal of Applied Psychology, L (February, 1966), 9-12.

⁷Likert's technique for obtaining summated ratings is developed in G. Murphy and Rensis Likert, Public Opinion and the Individual (New York, 1964).

the total items was taken to be the delegate's "ideological score." Thus there were dozens of possible ideological scores within the range of one to five, most having fractional scores. To avoid the use of burdensome fractional scores, all the scores were regrouped on a scale from one to eight, so that delegates with the most liberal ideological scores were located in category eight, and those with the most conservative scores were located in category one.

As stated in the preceding chapter, Texas was entitled to 120 delegates to the 1964 Democratic National Convention and 56 delegates to the 1964 Republican National Convention. Of the 120 Democratic delegates, 91 returned their questionnaires, as did 39 of the 56 Republicans. In all there was a 71 percent total return comprised of a 66 percent Republican return from 16 of the State's 22 congressional districts, and a 75 percent Democratic return from 18 of the 22 congressional districts. Delegates were asked to answer all questions as they applied to them in 1964, and not to attempt to take into account those developments which might have occurred since 1964.

Bias of the Response

The questionnaire was designed to preserve anonymity; nevertheless, there are several known factors which tend to indicate the direction of the bias of the samples returned. Among the Republican delegates from Texas in 1964, 18 or 30 percent of the 56 delegates were women.⁸ Of those Republicans returning their

⁸Paul Casdorff, The Republican Party in Texas (Austin, 1965), pp. 265-266.

questionnaires, 10 were women, for a 25.5 percent of the total returned. Also three of the Republican delegates in 1964 held national elective offices⁹; however, only one questionnaire was returned from such a Republican. Finally twenty-eight Republican delegates in 1964 or 47 percent were from cities of over 100,000 population.¹⁰ However only 13, or 33 percent, of the returned questionnaires were from cities having a population of over 100,000 or more. Thus, on the basis of data which are available to determine the representativeness of the return, it appears that of the total Republican delegates in 1964, women, nationally elected officials, and delegates from the larger cities are under-represented in the sample which was returned for this study.

Among the 120 Democratic delegates in 1964, 6, or 5 percent, were women.¹¹ Five of the 91 Democratic delegates, or 5.5 percent, who returned their questionnaire were women. Also, 12, or 10 percent, of the Democratic delegates held a national elective office in 1964.¹² However only three, or 3.2 percent, of those questionnaires returned were from delegates who held a national elective office in 1964. Finally 49, or 41 percent, of the 120 Democratic delegates were from cities of over 100,000

⁹Texas Almanac, 1964, pp. 628-629.

¹⁰Casdorph, The Republican Party in Texas, pp. 265-266.

¹¹From delegate list obtained at State Democratic Headquarters, Austin.

¹²Texas Almanac, 1964, pp. 628-629.

population. Of the 91 Democrats who returned their questionnaire, 32, or 36 percent were from towns of over 100,000. Thus on the basis of data available, of the sample returned by the Democratic delegates, women are slightly over-represented. Elected national officials as well as delegates from cities of over 100,000 are under-represented, as is the case of the Republican delegation.

Social Characteristics

The social characteristics of the 1964 delegates appear in the following tables. It is not the purpose of the evidence which is presented in these tables to suggest that the characteristics of Texas' 1964 delegates apply to all delegates in 1964, or even that evidence from these delegates may establish conclusions valid for all delegations from the State of Texas. On the contrary, one of the central themes of this study is that the particular political situation in Texas in 1964 was a factor in causing these particular delegates to be selected rather than delegates with different characteristics and that different political situations would perhaps produce delegates with different social, ideological, and perceptual characteristics.

Data obtained from the first five items on Section I of the questionnaire appear in Table I on the following page.

TABLE I

CHARACTERISTICS OF SEX, AGE, MARITAL STATUS AND RELIGION

Characteristic	All Delegates (Democrats and Republicans) (N=130)	Democrats (N=91)	Republicans (N=39)
Sex			
Male	115 (88.4%)*	86 (94.5%)*	29 (74.3%)*
Female	15 (11.5%)	5 (5.4%)	10 (25.6%)
Age			
21-30	2 (1.5%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (5.1%)
31-40	25 (19.2%)	14 (15.3%)	11 (28.2%)
41-50	59 (45.3%)	37 (40.6%)	22 (56.4%)
51-60	24 (18.4%)	20 (21.9%)	4 (10.2%)
Over 61	20 (15.3%)	20 (21.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Marital Status			
Single	1 (.7%)	1 (1.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Married	128 (98.4%)	90 (98.9%)	38 (97.4%)
Divorced	1 (.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.5%)
Religious Preference			
Catholic	8 (6.1%)	7 (7.6%)	1 (2.5%)
Baptist	28 (21.5%)	20 (21.9%)	8 (20.5%)
Methodist	40 (30.7%)	26 (28.5%)	14 (35.8%)
Church of Christ	5 (3.8%)	4 (4.3%)	1 (2.5%)
Lutheran	1 (.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.5%)
Presbyterian	21 (16.1%)	18 (19.7%)	3 (7.6%)
Other Protestant	18 (13.8%)	11 (12.0%)	7 (16.9%)
Unitarian	4 (3.0%)	3 (3.2%)	1 (2.5%)
Other	5 (3.8%)	2 (2.1%)	3 (7.6%)
Church Attendance			
Weekly	82 (63.0%)	55 (60.4%)	27 (69.2%)
Monthly	29 (22.3%)	21 (23.0%)	8 (20.5%)
Less than once a month	19 (13.6%)	15 (16.5%)	4 (10.2%)

*All figures were rounded downward by the dropping of the second decimal place. Thus none of the percentages total 100, but range from 99.3 to 99.9.

Table I indicated that there are some noticeable differences between the two parties' 1964 delegates with regard to the five variables which are summarized above. Perhaps one of the noticeable differences occurs in the first characteristic, sex. Of the 91 Democratic delegates who responded to the questionnaire, five, or 5.4 percent, were women, whereas ten of the 39 Republican delegates who answered the questionnaire, or 25.6 percent were women. As indicated above, this percentage was actually even higher for the Republican Party which selected approximately 30 percent of its delegation as women and this percentage was also somewhat lower for the total Democratic delegation. However, this difference does not appear to be solely derived from the 1964 political situation. In fact there seems to have been a trend for some time in Texas politics for the Republican delegation to consist of more and more women. In the 1944 and 1948 Republican delegations from Texas there was a combined total of only three women. The 1952 Republican delegation contained four women. In 1956 the Republicans chose 11 of their 54 delegates, or 20 percent, from the female sex, and in 1960 22 percent of the delegates were women.¹³ The Democrats, however seem to have traditionally selected delegations made up almost entirely of men. In 1960 the Democrats selected eight women, or 6.6 percent of their total to be delegates.¹⁴

¹³Casdorph, The Republican Party in Texas, pp. 265-266.

¹⁴Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention and Committee (Washington, D. C., 1964), pp. 342-346.

The second characteristic, that of age, also presents a rather definite difference among the delegates. While most of the delegates of both parties were between 41 and 50 years of age, 33 percent of the Republicans were under 40 years of age, as compared with only 15.3 percent of the Democrats. In a similar pattern, 43.8 percent of the Democrats were over 51 years of age, as compared with only 10.2 percent of the Republican delegates. Again, this difference does not appear to be directly linked to the political situation in 1964, but perhaps is part of the total trend of political events beginning in 1952, as discussed in the preceding chapter. In 1953, O. Douglas Weeks said of the upsurging Republican Party that this "coalition" appeared to be relatively young, which partially explained its surprising "zeal."¹⁵ Furthermore, explains Weeks, those who for business reasons were being transferred into the large metropolitan areas of the State are young on the average, and "Republican at heart."¹⁶ Thus it would seem reasonable to expect that the Republican Party in Texas would be comprised of younger men and women than the Democratic Party, and would select younger delegates regardless of the political situation.

The remainder of the characteristics presented in Table I do not appear to indicate any appreciable difference among the two delegations. Almost 100 percent of all the

¹⁵Weeks, Texas Presidential Politics in 1952, p. 11.

¹⁶Ibid.

delegates were married, none had been widowed, and only one had been divorced. Also, more Republicans as well as more Democrats were Methodists than were members of any other denomination; Baptists comprised the second largest religious group. Overall, 87.1 percent of the Democrats were Protestant, as compared with 87.4 percent of the Republicans. The majority of each group attended church on a weekly basis. The religious characteristics of the 1964 delegates from Texas seem to coincide fairly well with the religious characteristics of Texans as a whole. A poll taken by the research team of Alex Louis, Walter Bowles, and Raymond Grace in 1967 indicated at that time that 76.3 percent of the voting population of Texas was Protestant.¹⁷ As with delegates, the Baptists and the Methodists were the largest groups; however, of the sample taken by Louis, Bowles, and Grace, the Baptist denomination, comprising 36.5 percent of the population, was larger than the Methodist denomination, comprising 22.2 percent of the population.

Table II presents the remainder of the social characteristics provided by Section I of the questionnaire.

¹⁷Alex Louis, Walter Bowles, and Raymond Grace, Texas Voter's Attitudes Toward State Issues (Dallas, 1967), p. 4.

TABLE II

CHARACTERISTICS OF EDUCATION, OCCUPATION, INCOME, RACE AND BACKGROUND

Characteristic	All Delegates (Democrats and Republicans) (N=130)	Democrats (N=91)	Republicans (N=39)
Education			
High School or less	31 (23.9%)	29 (31.8%)	2 (5.1%)
Some College	27 (20.7%)	19 (20.7%)	8 (20.5%)
College Graduate	38 (29.1%)	21 (23.1%)	17 (43.5%)
Post Graduate	34 (26.0%)	22 (24.0%)	12 (30.7%)
Chief Occupation			
Government and Law	33 (25.3%)	30 (32.9%)	3 (7.6%)
Banking, Insurance, and Real Estate	14 (10.7%)	13 (14.2%)	1 (2.5%)
Small Business	37 (28.4%)	19 (20.8%)	18 (46.1%)
Large Business	1 (.7%)	1 (1.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Labor Union	5 (3.8%)	5 (5.4%)	0 (0.0%)
Farming and Ranching	18 (13.8%)	15 (16.4%)	3 (7.6%)
Homemaking	9 (6.9%)	2 (2.0%)	7 (17.9%)
Education	4 (3.0%)	1 (1.0%)	3 (7.6%)
Retired and Other	9 (6.9%)	5 (5.4%)	4 (10.2%)
Income			
Under \$5,000	1 (.7%)	1 (1.0%)	0 (0.0%)
5 to \$7,000	3 (2.3%)	1 (1.0%)	2 (5.1%)
7 to \$12,000	14 (10.7%)	10 (10.9%)	4 (10.2%)
12 to \$15,000	12 (9.2%)	6 (6.5%)	6 (15.3%)
15 to \$17,000	11 (8.4%)	9 (9.8%)	2 (5.1%)
17 to \$25,000	22 (16.9%)	14 (15.4%)	8 (20.5%)
Above \$25,000	67 (51.5%)	50 (54.9%)	17 (43.5%)
Racial or Ethnic Background			
Negro	3 (2.3%)	3 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)
White	124 (95.3%)	85 (93.4%)	39 (100%)
Latin-American	3 (2.3%)	3 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)
Size of Home Town			
Farm	6 (4.6%)	5 (5.4%)	1 (2.5%)
Under 5,000	18 (13.8%)	15 (16.4%)	3 (7.6%)
5 to 50,000	51 (39.2%)	34 (37.3%)	17 (43.5%)
50 to 250,000	32 (24.6%)	22 (24.1%)	10 (25.6%)
Over 250,000	23 (17.6%)	15 (16.4%)	8 (20.5%)

Table II indicates further differences in social characteristics of the two delegations. A most striking gulf is displayed with regard to the characteristics of education. Although both groups appear relatively well educated, the Republican delegation of 1964 was clearly a group with more formal education than the Democratic delegation. Some 31.8 percent of the Democratic delegates had not attained more than a high school education, but only 5.1 percent of the Republican delegation was in this category. Furthermore some 74.2 percent of the Republican delegates had a college degree, compared with 47.1 percent of the Democratic delegates. Again it is suspected that these characteristics of education are not a result of circumstances peculiar to the 1964 environment, but possibly reflect an educational difference between Democrats and Republicans. Although there seems to be some difference of opinion among students of political behavior regarding the exact relationship between education and party affiliation, students of voting behavior generally agree that in the nation as a whole "a high proportion of the most educated people are Republicans and a majority of the least educated are Democrats."¹⁸

The characteristic of occupation presents another stereotype difference between the Democratic and Republican delegations. As Table II indicates, more Democratic delegates (32.9 percent) were engaged in "Law or Government" as a profession than in any of the other professions. Furthermore more Republicans (46.1 percent)

¹⁸Hugh Bone and Austin Ranney, Politics and Voters (New York, 1963), pp. 27-28.

indicated that they were engaged in "Small Business" as a profession than any other profession. More interesting, perhaps, are the professions which contain smaller proportions of the delegates. For example, only 1.0 percent of the Democratic delegates indicated that they were engaged in "Education" as a profession, but 7.6 percent of the Republican delegates indicated this to be their chief occupation in 1964. Furthermore, 16.4 percent of the Democratic delegates indicated that "Farming or Ranching" was their chief occupation; however, only 7.6 percent of the Republican delegates so indicated. Almost eighteen percent of the Republicans, and only 2.1 percent of the Democrats indicated "Homemaking" as their chief occupation, reflecting the greater number of women within the Republican delegation. Finally, 14.2 percent of the Democratic delegates indicated that their chief occupation was "Banking, Insurance, or Real Estate," but only 2.5 percent of the Republicans so indicated. Perhaps the most telling bit of evidence indicating that political environment affects delegate characteristics provided by this section of the questionnaire is the fact that only 5.4 percent of the Democratic delegates listed "Labor Union" as their chief occupation. Labor generally opposed¹⁹ and was therefore effectively "shut out" by the moderate-conservative element which controlled the State Democratic Convention in 1964. It would thus be expected that labor would have a proportionally

¹⁹Weeks, Texas in 1964 A One-Party State Again? (Austin, 1965), p. 12.

small number of delegate representation, as evidently was the case. One Democratic delegate whose occupation was labor, and who was interviewed for this study, said that he made no attempt to conceal his sympathy at the state convention and was "surprised that Connally did not reject" him.²⁰ It is interesting that, of the five labor delegates who returned their questionnaire, three were from the liberal Harris County delegation which was seated at the state convention. The implication for this study is that, had the 1964 political environment been more favorable to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, those in control of the state convention would have allowed the selection of a number of delegates from Texas whose occupation would have been classified as "Labor Union" more nearly reflective of their actual strength within the State.

Contrary to the stereotyped image of Republicans and Democrats, the characteristic of "Income" reflects no real difference between the two delegations. Perhaps the surprising find is the high income level of both delegations. As Table II indicates, only 12.9 percent of the Democrats and 15.3 percent of the Republicans reported their annual income in 1964 at less than \$12,000. At the same time, 54.9 percent of the Democrat and 43.5 percent of the Republican delegates reported their income at more than \$25,000. The evidence obtained from the characteristics of "Income" probably indicates that only the comparatively

²⁰James W. Holbrook, interview held in Dallas, April, 1968.

wealthy of either party or faction can afford to become delegates to that party's national convention. A financial study based on all 1964 convention delegates completed in 1968 by the Citizens' Research Foundation of Princeton indicated that "The delegates to national nominating conventions are, in the main, upper-income people who can personally afford the high costs of nation-level politics."²¹ The article concluded that money definitely appears to be a determinant of who can participate in this phase of the presidential nomination process. In the Citizens' Research Foundation study, the 1964 delegates reported their convention expenses to average \$445 for the Democrats and \$647 for the Republicans. The study also indicated that the average income level of the 1964 Republican delegates approached \$20,000 and the average income of the 1964 Democratic delegates was over \$18,000. For this study, dealing solely with the Texas delegations of 1964, it appears that the State's delegates to both conventions had incomes higher than that of the average national delegate of that year. Also it appears that the Democratic delegates from Texas had higher incomes than the Republicans from Texas, also contrary to the national average. However, Texas was probably not unique in this regard: in 1960 Paul David, Richard Bain, and Ralph Goldman estimated that in the one-party southern states, the Democratic

²¹Kelvin L. McKeough and John F. Bibby, The Costs of Political Participation: A Study of National Convention Delegates (New Jersey, 1968), p. 100.

delegates would have higher incomes because it could be supposed that more prosperous individuals would tend to congregate in the dominant party, and these would tend to select delegates wealthier than those of the opposition party.²²

The characteristic of "Racial or Ethnic" background indicates that both parties selected delegations which were predominantly white (100 percent of the Republican respondents were white, as were 93.4 percent of the Democratic). Even so, the Democratic delegates who returned their questionnaire were a more diverse group than the Republicans, with 3.2 percent of them consisting of Negro delegates and 3.3 percent consisting of Latin-American delegates. Apparently no public opinion poll concerned with social characteristics of Republicans and Democrats in general has yet been administered in the state, but a poll conducted by the research team of Louis, Bowles and Grace, Inc. indicated in 1967 that 70 percent of the State's Latin Americans and 84 percent of the State's Negroes considered themselves Democrats, but that only 3 percent of the State's Negro population and only 2 percent of the State's Latin American population considered themselves Republicans.²³ Thus it would be concluded that the Republican delegation from Texas in 1964 was as representative of the Texas party with regard to racial and ethnic background as any delegation would have been. It is tempting to assume, that, had liberal elements been allowed more voice in the State Democratic convention, a larger percentage of the Texas Democratic delegation

²² David, Goldman and Bain, The Politics of National Party Conventions, p. 333.

²³ Louis, Bowles and Grace, Texas Voter's Attitudes Toward State Issues, p. 4.

would consist of these minority groups which generally tend to favor the liberal element of the party.²⁴ However, the cost of attending a national convention might act to keep their numbers at a minimum under any circumstances.

The final social characteristic, that of "size of town where delegate spent most of his life," indicated little difference between the two delegations. As a whole, more of the Republicans seemed to have lived in large towns. However, the differential was small, as only 4.1 percent more Republicans than Democrats had lived most of their lives in towns over 250,000, and only 2.9 percent more Democrats than Republicans had lived most of their lives on farms. More members of both delegations had lived most of their lives in towns of 5,000 to 50,000 population than in any other category.

For the most part, these social characteristics summarized above seem to indicate that there were variations between the delegates of the Democratic and Republican Parties from Texas to the 1964 national conventions, but only in a few cases do these social characteristics seem to be truly discrete. Perhaps those characteristics which most sharply differentiate the two delegations are those of sex, age, education and occupation. Overall, the Democratic delegation appeared to be a less homogeneous group, including a substantial number of delegates without a college education, and a broader range of racial and ethnic stocks. With regard to the social characteristics of

²⁴Weeks, Texas in 1964 A One-Party State Again?, (Austin, 1961), p. 12.

occupation, and perhaps racial and ethnic background, it could be suggested that a different political environment in 1964 perhaps would have produced a Democratic delegation with a different profile.

Ideological Characteristics

Table III indicates the findings of Section III of the questionnaire, which was designed to establish a conservative-liberal scale. Delegates were grouped according to their total score on a scale from one to eight; the most conservative total scores comprising category "one" and the most liberal total scores comprising category "eight." Projected to a scale from one to eight, the average Republican score was 2.05 and the average Democratic score was 5.38. Table III appears as follows:

TABLE III

IDEOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Category	All Delegates (Democrats and Republicans) (N=130)	Democrats (N=91)	Republicans (N=39)
	1 (Most Conservative)	16 (12.3%)	3 (3.2%)
2	19 (14.6%)	4 (4.3%)	15 (38.4%)
3	12 (9.3%)	5 (5.4%)	7 (17.9%)
4	22 (16.9%)	18 (19.7%)	4 (10.2%)
5	15 (11.5%)	15 (16.4%)	0 (0.0%)
6	30 (23.0%)	30 (32.9%)	0 (0.0%)
7	11 (8.4%)	11 (12.0%)	0 (0.0%)
8 (Most Liberal)	5 (3.8%)	5 (5.4%)	0 (0.0%)

As Table III indicates, the Republican delegates cluster in the two most conservative categories. Actually, 72.7 percent of Republican

delegates who responded to the questionnaire located in category one and two, and no Republican delegate located in a category more liberal than number four. The Democratic delegates who responded were more dispersed over the entire range, from one to eight. However, the Democratic delegates as a whole had decidedly more liberal scores, with 66.7 percent locating in categories from five to eight. Perhaps this dispersion of both delegations can be more clearly indicated by the following figure:

Percent of Delegation

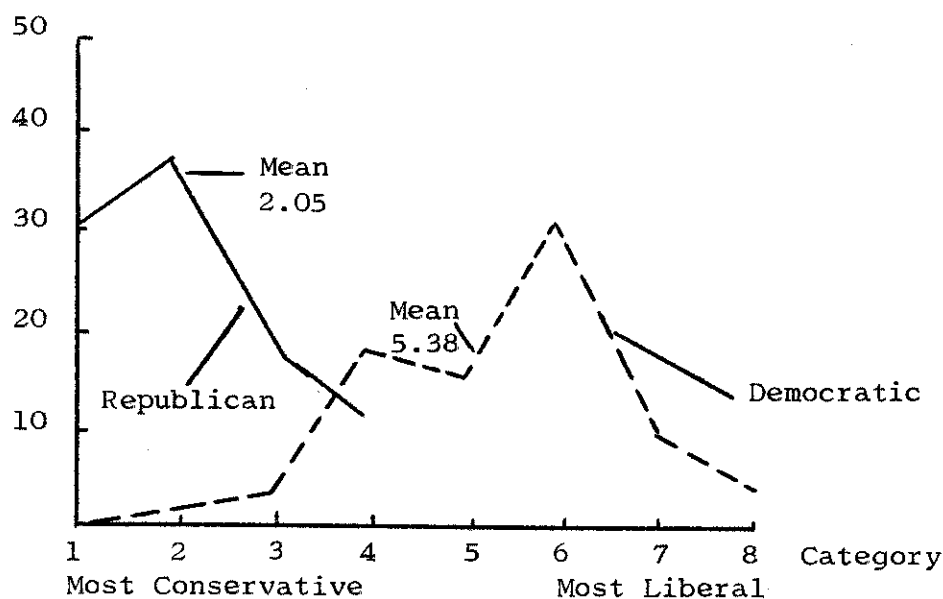


Fig. 1--Ideological Dispersion

Figure 1 indicates the range of dispersion over the eight categories of both delegations. This figure also indicates that the mean score for the Republican delegation was 2.05, and that the mean score for the Democratic delegates was 5.38. Earlier in this chapter, it was mentioned that from available information

it could be determined that the Republican response was under-represented in the following categories: women, elected officials (national), and delegates from cities over 100,000. A tabulation of these three groups on the conservative-liberal index indicates that of those women and of those delegates from towns of over 100,000 who did reply to the questionnaire, their mean score was slightly more liberal than the 2.05 mean. The elected official who replied had a score only very slightly below the 2.05 mean. Perhaps had these groups been fully represented the Republican mean score would have been slightly more liberal than Figure 1 indicates.

It was also mentioned earlier in the chapter that the Democratic delegates who responded slightly over-represented women, and under-represented delegates who were elected national officials and who were from cities of over 100,000 population. A tabulation of delegates from these categories indicates that women of the Democratic delegation who responded were again more liberal than the mean score, indicating that perhaps their over-representation biased Democratic scores in favor of the liberal end of the continuum. Also, those delegates who were elected officials, and those from cities of over 100,000 had scores considerably lower than the mean score of 5.38. Had these groups been more adequately represented in the Democratic return, the mean index of liberalism-conservatism would perhaps have been more conservative.

Even when this bias of returns is taken into consideration, it is clear, as indicated in Figure 1, that there was a wide

difference between the mean Democratic and mean Republican score. It is probable that the particular 1964 political situation in Texas caused this particular delegate pattern to emerge, and that in other convention years both parties would perhaps have selected delegates who possessed different liberal and conservative characteristics than those who were selected in 1964. In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that the liberal delegation of Harris County was seated at the predominantly conservative State Democratic Convention. It is interesting to note that those delegates selected to be national convention delegates from Houston had a mean score of 6.33, considerably more liberal than the 5.38 mean of the total respondents. Also those delegates selected who indicated that their chief occupation in 1964 was "Labor Union" had a higher mean score than the remainder of the delegation.

Interesting also is the fact that those Republican delegates who had been previous convention delegates eight had a mean score of 2.65 on the conservative-liberal scale as compared with the more conservative average of 2.05 registered by the entire response. As was pointed out in the preceding chapter, O. Douglas Weeks labeled the Eisenhower-Nixon Republicans more liberal than the Goldwater Republicans of 1964.

Summary

In summary, this chapter has indicated that there were differences between delegates to the 1964 Republican and Democratic national conventions from Texas with regard to social

characteristics and their location on a scale of conservatism-liberalism. For the most part, those differences of social characteristics do not seem to be linked to the particular political situation in 1964, but seem to reflect the general differences between the two parties within the State in 1964. With regard to the Democratic delegation, it is suspected that only the social characteristics of occupation and perhaps race could have been affected by a change of political control. Perhaps had the liberal faction been proportionally larger in the Democratic State Convention, a greater proportion of delegates affiliated with the State's labor unions and a higher proportion of Negroes and Latin Americans would have been selected.

With regard to their position on the index of conservatism-liberalism a sharp difference between the two delegations was recorded. It is suspected that the 1964 political situation had a very definite effect on the selection of delegates in this regard. Had not the Goldwater type of Republicanism, which O. Douglas Weeks describes as far more conservative than the Eisenhower-Nixon type, carried the State in 1964, a more liberal Republican delegation would probably have been sent to the Republican national convention. Likewise a more liberal Democratic delegation would probably have been selected to represent the party at the Democrats' national convention had not the conservative Connally forces gained control of the Democratic State Convention.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS, ISSUE CHARACTERISTICS AND ROLE PERCEPTIONS

The preceding chapter presented the social and ideological characteristics of the 1964 national nominating convention delegates from Texas. It is suggested that these characteristics have their effect on the total character of the convention; but characteristics which perhaps have even more important effects are those characteristics of political experience, role perception, and issue opinions (which should project the delegate ideological characteristics to actual issues of the 1964 campaign). These characteristics are presented in this chapter.

Political Experience

In their study of the politics of National Party Conventions, Paul David, Ralph Goldman, and Richard Bain indicate that both national conventions bring together a diverse cross section of officials--of all levels of government and all levels of party hierarchy.

Elective executives from mayor to governor and President; high appointive officials of state and federal government; city councilmen, state legislators, representatives in Congress, senators; party officials from county committeemen to national committee chairmen --all may serve as delegates if they can get themselves elected.¹

¹David, Goldman and Bain, The Politics of National Party Conventions, p. 342.

The extent to which the Republican and Democratic delegations from Texas in 1964 conformed to this description is presented in Table IV. To secure the information for this table, delegates were asked to indicate the highest public office (elected or appointed) they had gained by 1964, the highest party office gained by 1964, and whether or not they had previously been a national convention delegate. The information provided by their responses is contained in Table IV.

TABLE IV
POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Experience	All Delegates (Democrats and Republicans) (N=130)	Democrats (N=91)	Republicans (N=39)
Previous National Convention Delegate			
Yes	57 (43.8%)	44 (48.3%)	8 (20.5%)
No	73 (56.1%)	47 (51.6%)	31 (79.5%)
Highest Party Office			
None	52 (40.0%)	46 (50.5%)	6 (15.3%)
Within Precinct	9 (6.9%)	8 (8.7%)	1 (2.5%)
Within County	25 (19.2%)	11 (12.0%)	14 (35.8%)
Within State	38 (29.2%)	22 (24.5%)	16 (41.0%)
National office	6 (4.6%)	4 (4.3%)	2 (5.1%)
Highest Public Office			
None	65 (50.0%)	40 (43.9%)	25 (64.1%)
Appointed local	2 (1.5%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (5.1%)
Elected local	23 (17.6%)	15 (16.4%)	8 (20.5%)
Appointed state	20 (15.3%)	20 (21.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Elected state	12 (9.2%)	11 (12.0%)	1 (2.5%)
Appointed national	4 (3.0%)	2 (2.1%)	2 (5.1%)
Elected national	4 (3.0%)	3 (3.2%)	1 (2.5%)

Table IV indicates that there are some points of difference between the two delegations with regard to political experience. Almost half

of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention were experienced in this position. However, four-fifths of the Republican delegates had never had national convention experience before 1964.² This is probably explained by the Goldwater variety of Republicanism, which attracted new individuals into the Republican ranks and, perhaps more importantly, drove away some party members who had been loyal to the Eisenhower-Nixon type of Republicanism. An obvious example of this type of absentee from the Republican delegation of 1964 was former State Chairman Thad Hutcheson, who had strongly supported President Eisenhower. In fact, soon after the State Republican Convention in Dallas adjourned in 1964 some Texas Republicans who remained loyal to the Eisenhower-Nixon philosophy formed a group to oppose the election of Goldwater and actually supported the liberal policies of President Johnson. The chief organizer of this group was Edward Dicker, who had been elected on an Eisenhower platform to the Texas Legislature in 1952.³

The fact that so many Republicans had never had prior convention experience is in contrast to the pattern of holding party office, as indicated in the second characteristic of Table I. Almost eighty-five percent of those Republicans

²Actually, only ten of the fifty-six delegates, or 17 percent, had had prior convention experience. In contrast to this, in the 1960 Republican delegation there had been a total of 17 of the 54 delegates, or 33 percent, who had been national convention delegates before. See Casdorff, The Republican Party in Texas, pp. 262-266.

³New York Times, July 25, 1964.

returning their questionnaire had held some party office, as compared with only half of the Democratic return. A possible explanation is that Goldwater fever probably did not take over the Texas Republican Party in the single year of 1964, but had begun some years before, probably immediately after the Nixon defeat of 1960, thus allowing Goldwater Republicans the opportunity to capture many of the higher party positions in the State by 1964. An indication of this trend to Goldwater Republicanism during these years was the resolution passed at the 1962 Republican State Convention held in Ft. Worth, September 14, which endorsed Senator Goldwater two years before the 1964 Presidential campaign.⁴ It is interesting that the great majority of Democratic delegates were chosen from persons with no party office or from the lower ranks of the party hierarchy, but that the opposite is true of the Republican delegates. A possible explanation is that the increased size of the Democratic delegation apparently allows for greater participation by the rank and file party members, which is probably the main purpose of the increased size of the Democratic delegations throughout the states.

The final characteristic of Table IV, that of "Highest Public Office," seems to reflect the general strength of both parties in Texas as a whole. Sixty-four percent of the Republican delegates had never held a public office, but 56.1 percent of the Democrats had held some public office. In general both groups seemed to reflect

⁴Casdorph, The Republican Party in Texas, p. 231.

about what would be expected with regard to political experience. Certainly this make-up was more politically experienced than would have been a random selection of 120 or 59 men and women across the State. Furthermore, as the preceding chapter indicated, the questionnaire response of both groups underrepresented their true political strength with regard to elected national officials. Had these been fully included, the proportion of experienced political workers would have been greater for both parties. Probably this section can be summed up by saying that for both parties in the State, those who were actively engaged in party organization were most likely to turn up as delegates to the national conventions in 1964 and that, as David, Goldman and Bain indicated, the delegates represented all levels of the party hierarchy. The political experience characteristics as presented above of the 1964 delegates would probably have remained approximately the same had different political situations prevailed in the State, except it is suggested that a higher percentage of Republican delegates would have had previous convention experience had the Eisenhower-Nixon variety of Republicanism prevailed in 1964.

Role Perception

By use of the technique of role perception analysis another very important characteristic of the 1964 Texas delegates may be analysed. This characteristic involves the way in which the individuals, as actors in the roles of national convention delegates, actually perceived their own situation and responsibilities. The

significance of determining how a delegate perceives his situation lies in the assumption that an actor's attitude about his role actually underlies his tendency to behave in a certain manner in that role. "An attitude is more than a state of mind. It is a tendency to act. A person's attitudes have a great deal to do with how he will behave."⁵ In most definitions and in most research using this technique, a person's role perception is treated as that individual's own definition of his situation.

A role, it would seem, is best reconstructed from performance. But this procedure, apparently so objective, ignores an important aspect of behavior, its meaning. Roles as expectations of an actor himself concerning his conduct. . . provide meaningful criteria of evaluation.⁶

It is important to point out that role perception theory does not attempt to predict with perfect accuracy an actor's behavior, but it attempts to suggest that the individual's attitude toward his role is an indication of his tendency to a particular kind of action. Heinz Eulau says that "Perceptions may or may not correspond to reality, but as the determination of reality is elusive, they may have to serve as substitutes."⁷

In an attempt to tap the 1964 Texas delegates' role perceptions, Section II of the questionnaire asked questions which were intended to allow the delegates, themselves, to express their attitude concerning their role. Their responses are summarized in Table IV.

⁵Stansfeld Sargent and Kenneth Stafford, Basic Teachings of the Great Psychologists (New York, 1965), pp. 303-306.

⁶Heinz Eulau, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics, (New York, 1963), p. 44.

⁷Ibid., p. 120.

The delegates were instructed to select more than one answer if they felt that they needed to do so to answer a question completely. Thus in Table V there appears a certain percentage of "combination of above" responses.

TABLE V
ROLE PERCEPTION

Question	All Delegates (Democrats and Republicans) (N=130)	Democrats (N=91)	Republicans (N=39)
Was it your opinion in 1964 that National Convention Delegates should be bound by a unit rule at least through the first ballot?			
Yes	106 (81.5%)	82 (90.1%)	24 (61.5%)
No	21 (16.1%)	6 (6.5%)	15 (38.4%)
Undecided	3 (2.3%)	3 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)
What is the principal reason which led you to seek to become a delegate?			
General interest in politics	56 (43.0%)	50 (54.9%)	6 (15.3%)
Desire to form a better government	47 (36.1%)	22 (24.1%)	25 (64.1%)
Desire to form a better party	9 (6.9%)	7 (7.6%)	2 (5.1%)
Combination of above	18 (13.6%)	12 (11.9%)	6 (15.2%)
As a convention delegate, to whom did you feel you most owed the allegiance of your vote?			
National party leaders	18 (13.8%)	18 (19.7%)	0 (0.0%)
State party leaders	31 (23.8%)	21 (23.0%)	10 (25.6%)
Yourself	14 (10.7%)	12 (13.1%)	2 (5.1%)
General public of your own area	57 (43.8%)	34 (37.3%)	23 (58.9%)
Combination of above	10 (7.5%)	6 (6.3%)	4 (10.2%)

TABLE V -- Continued

Question	All Delegates (Democrats and Republicans)	Democrats	Republicans
	(N=130)	(N=91)	(N=39)
While attending the 1964 convention what were your main sources of convention information?			
National party leaders	15 (11.5%)	14 (15.3%)	1 (2.5%)
State party leaders	47 (36.1%)	29 (31.8%)	18 (46.1%)
Caucuses of the state delegation	34 (26.1%)	22 (24.1%)	12 (30.7%)
Other delegates	1 (.7%)	1 (1.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Radio, Television, and Newspapers	11 (8.4%)	11 (12.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Combination of above	22 (16.8%)	14 (17.1%)	8 (20.0%)

As the first item indicates, 61.5 percent of the Republican delegates were of the opinion that national convention delegates should be bound to vote as a unit, while 90.1 percent of the Democratic delegates so indicated. On first glance this is a surprising response, because the Texas Republican delegation of 1964 seemed much more dedicated to the nomination of a particular personality than did the State's Democratic delegates of that year. In an earlier chapter it was mentioned that the Republican State Convention passed a resolution which "irrevocably committed" the Texas delegates to Barry Goldwater. However at the Democratic State Convention the wording of a similar resolution which was passed was no stronger than simply praising President Johnson, and it implied that the conservative Democratic convention did not completely agree with the President's programs.

Perhaps one reason that a lower percent of Republican delegates favored the unit rule than Democratic delegates is that the Republican national conventions do not recognize as enforceable a state's

instruction to its delegation to operate under the unit rule; however, the Democratic National Conventions actually enforce the right of a state to instruct its delegation to vote as a unit. This does not mean that state Republican parties never attempt to instruct their delegates, but that the Republican National Convention will not enforce this instruction.⁸ The resolution passed in Dallas in 1964 by the State's Republican Party indicated an intent to bind the delegation to cast its entire 56 delegate votes for Goldwater, but any delegate could have voted for another candidate had he so desired and national Republican rules provide no enforcement procedures to prevent this. Thus it is suggested that more Democratic delegates than Republican delegates were in favor of the unit rule because it is rather traditional in the Democratic conventions and is not enforceable in the Republican conventions. Also it is interesting that of the eight Republican delegates who had been national convention delegates during the Eisenhower-Nixon era of Texas politics, seven indicated that they were opposed to the unit rule, probably indicating that they were not as strongly in favor of Senator Goldwater as were the majority of the State's delegation.

The second item of Table IV, that of "What is the principal reason which led you to seek to become a delegate?" also presents rather interesting responses. Over half of the Democratic delegates indicated that general interest in politics was the principal motivating force which led them to become convention delegates. However,

⁸Key, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, pp. 427-428.

almost two-thirds of the Republican delegates indicated that their main reason for becoming delegates was a desire to form a better government. It is suggested that these responses would be typical of most delegates of "in" and "out" parties. It is probable that "in" party delegates would not be so concerned with forming a better government as they would be with maintaining the present system, but that "out" party delegates would understandably be concerned with changing the government with the opinion that their party could provide a better governmental system.

The third item, "To whom did you feel you most owed the allegiance of your vote," probes the heart of delegate role perception. The purpose of this question was to determine if these 1964 delegates from Texas thought of themselves as puppets with strings to be pulled by national or state party leaders, if they thought of themselves as representatives of their districts "back home," or if they thought of themselves as "their own men" free to cast their votes as they saw fit.

Significantly, it seems, the most popular response of both delegations was to indicate that they owed their allegiance to the general public of their own area. In an election year when at least the majority of both delegations appeared, well in advance of the convention, to be certain of the candidates for whom they would cast their vote, only 20 percent of the Democratic delegates and none of the Republican delegates felt that they owed the allegiance of that vote to their national party leaders. However nearly a fourth of both delegations did feel that they owed the allegiance of their

vote to state party leaders, indicating perhaps that state party leaders from Texas in 1964 commanded a fair amount of respect from their delegations and acquired the political weight which accompanies that respect. Finally, only 13.1 percent of the Democratic delegates and 5.1 percent of the Republican delegates believed that they owed their allegiance of their vote to themselves. Apparently the great majority of both delegations did not view their role as one of taking into their own hands the business of nominating the President and Vice President of the United States.

The following figures show the relationship between delegate role perception, as expressed as being the allegiance of their vote to the general public of their own area, and "political experience" as summarized in Table IV, above.

Percent of delegates who owed principal allegiance to general public

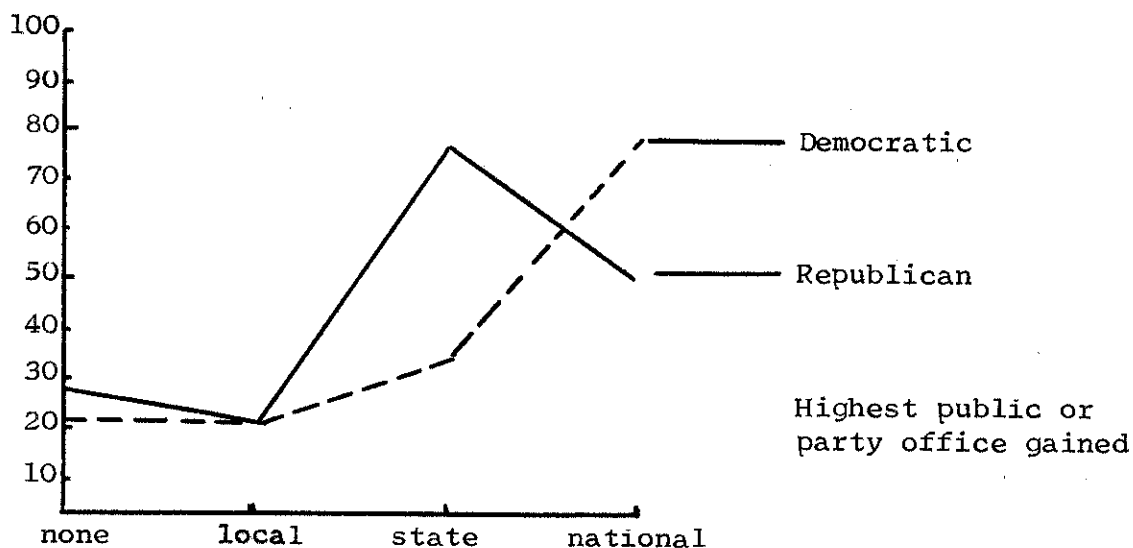


Fig. 2--Relationship between voting allegiance to general public and highest public or party office gained.

As figure 2 indicates, in general the higher public or party office a delegate had held, the more likely he was to indicate that his allegiance was to the general public of his own area. Conversely the lower a delegate's party or public office standing the more likely he was to indicate that his allegiance was owed to state or national leaders as indicated in figure 3,

Percent of delegates who owed principal allegiance to state or national party officers

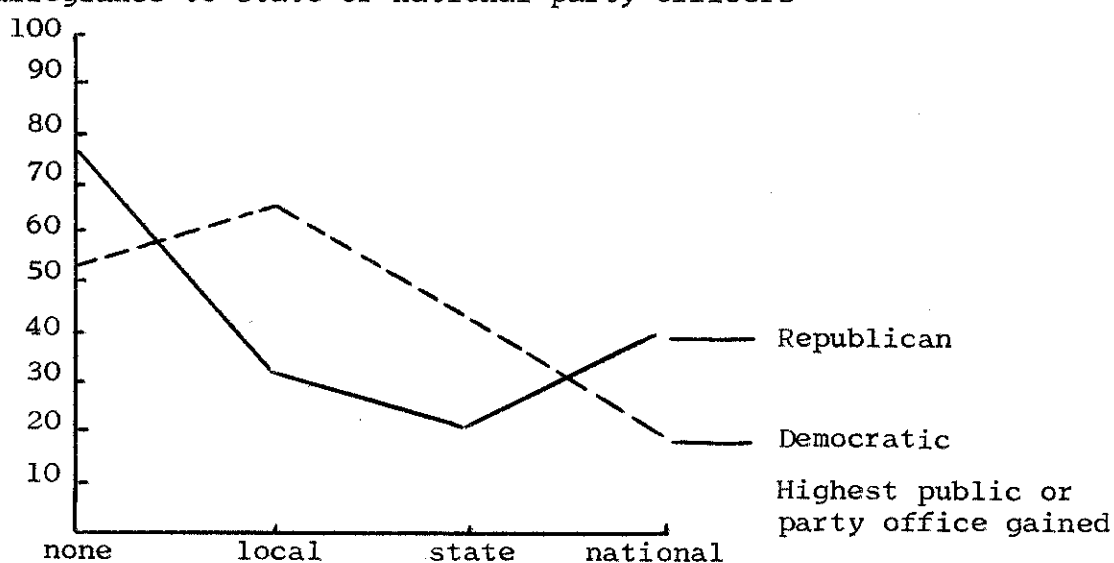


Fig. 3--Relationship between voting allegiance to state or national party officers and highest public or party office gained.

As figures 2 and 3 above indicate, there was a degree of correlation between a delegate's public or party office and his perceived voting allegiance. In general it appears that the higher a delegate was located in public or party office, the more likely he was to perceive his role as being a representative of the general public of his own area. And, conversely, the lower a delegate's party or public office standing, the more likely he was to perceive of his role as owing his voting allegiance to state and national party leaders. It might be suspected that delegates who held public offices, especially

elective offices, would tend to indicate that they owed allegiance to their general public in an attempt to sustain an image of being a representative of that public. Figures 4 and 5 below indicate the difference of allegiance of delegates who held public offices, and delegates who held party offices.

Percent of delegates who owed principal allegiance to general public

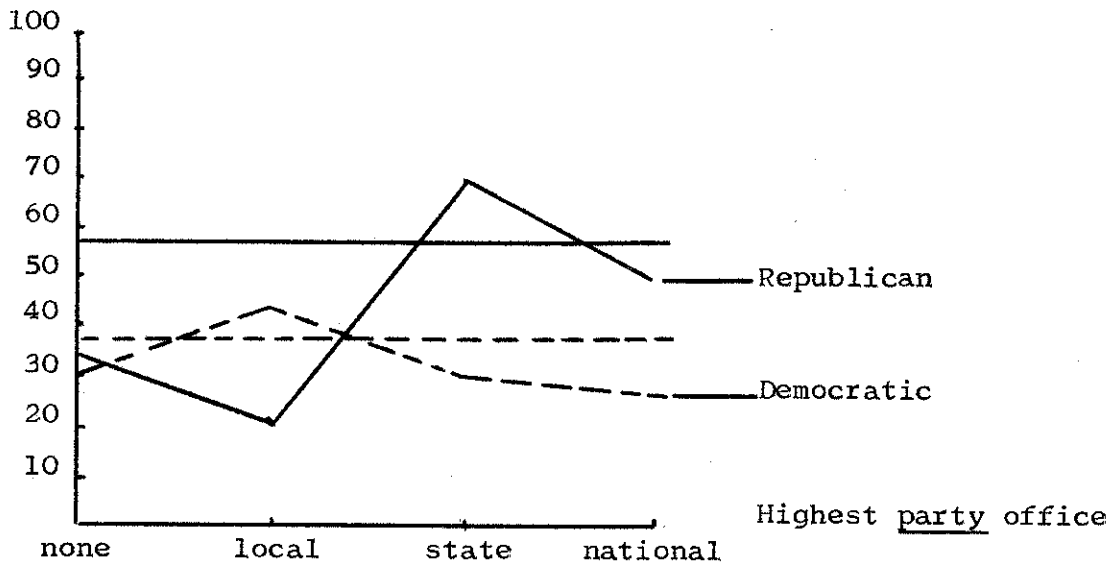


Fig. 4--Relationship of voting allegiance and highest party office gained.

Percent of delegates who owed principal allegiance to general public

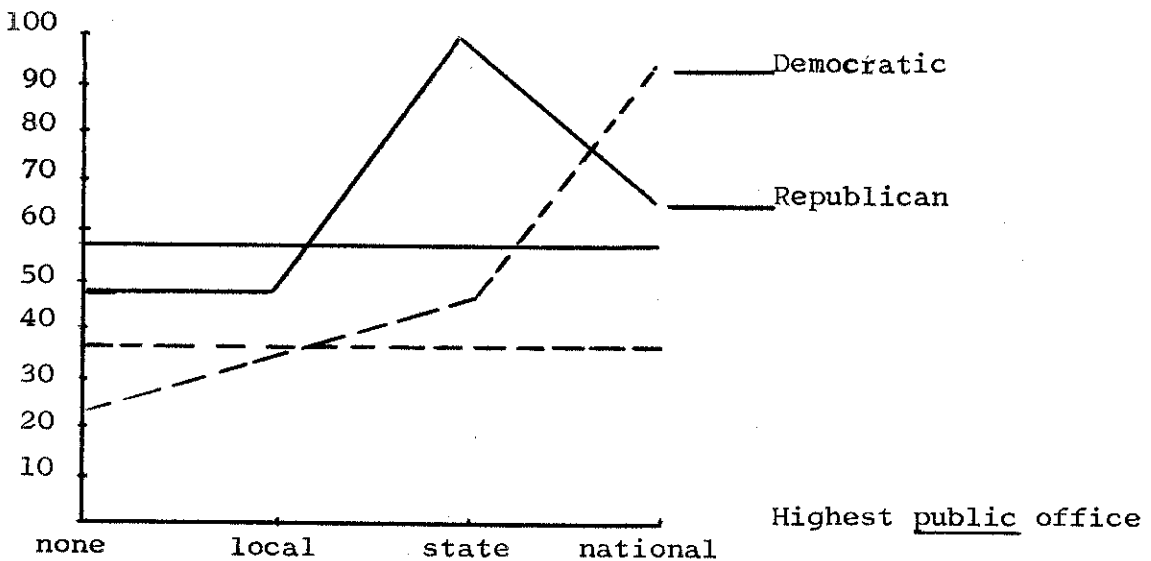


Fig. 5--Relationship of voting allegiance and highest public office gained.

The horizontal lines which are drawn into figures 4 and 5 represent the total percent of all responding delegates who indicated that their voting allegiance was owed mainly to the general public. As indicated in Table V, this percentage was 37.3 for the Democrats and 58.9 for the Republicans. Figures 4 and 5 indicate that delegates who held party office were more inclined to perceive of their allegiance as not being solely to the general public than were delegates who held public offices. In general, although the most popular response of all delegates was to indicate that they owed their principal allegiance to the general public of their own area, it appears that delegates who held lower public and party offices, and delegates who held party offices in general, were less inclined to respond in this manner.

The last item in Table V called for the delegates to indicate their main source of convention information while attending the national conventions. Effective communication is probably an extremely difficult matter to accomplish at a national nominating convention; and it is generally assumed that caucuses of state delegations provide, among others, a source of information for the delegates.⁹ Of those 1964 Texas delegates who responded to this study, a considerable percent of both delegations did indicate that the most important source of information was the delegate caucus; however, more delegates indicated that state party leaders were their main source of information than indicated any other source.

⁹Paul Tillett, editor, Inside Politics: The National Conventions, 1960 (New York, 1962), p. 140.

Also, 12 percent of the Democratic delegates indicated that their main source of convention information was the mass media of radio, television, and newspapers. As would probably be expected, a high degree of correlation existed with regard to a person's party standing and his source of convention information, as illustrated in Figure 6, below.

Percent who indicated state or national party leaders to be their main source of convention information

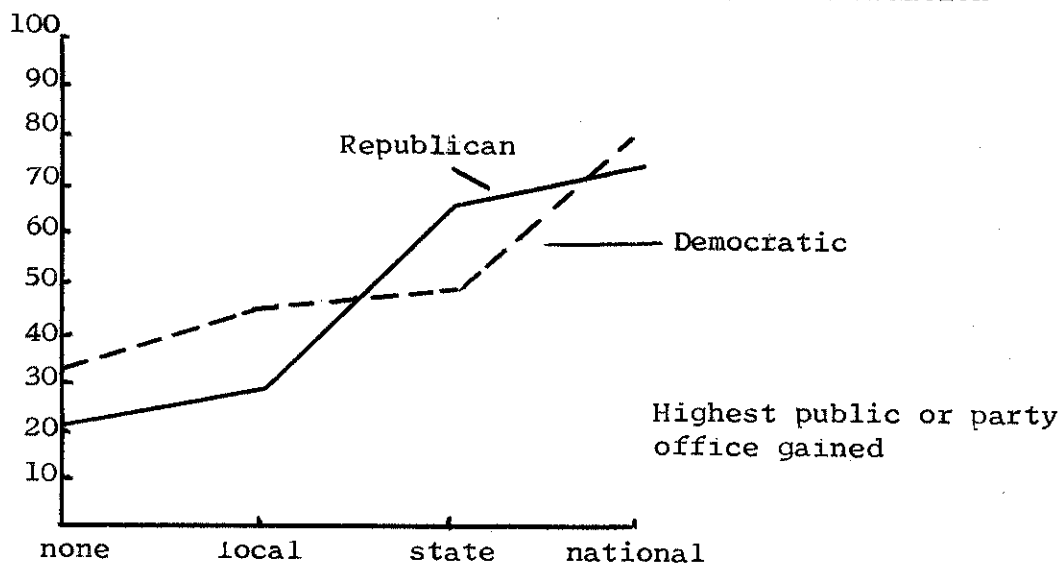


Fig. 6--Relationship between convention information source and highest public or party office gained.

As Figure 6 indicates, the great majority of those delegates who indicated that their main source of information was state or national leaders were themselves either elected or appointed to high public offices or held high party offices. Furthermore, among those Democrats who indicated that the mass media was their main source of information, the average party organizational standing tended to be low. Also, of those delegates who were attending their first national convention the main source of information

was indicated to be caucuses of the state delegation. In general it seems that those delegates of both parties who were high in the party hierarchy, or who had been national convention delegates before, were more likely to list as their main source of convention information high party officers, and those delegates who were attending a national convention for the first time or who were relatively low in the party were more likely to list caucuses of the state delegation or the mass media as their main source of information. There appeared to be little difference between the two delegations in this regard.

David, Goldman, and Bain have indicated that there are three categories of delegates who attend national nominating conventions. The largest category is made up of those delegates who are attending their first national convention, and who hold relatively minor party positions. According to David, Goldman and Bain, their role is largely passive and their duty consists of "attending, listening, and voting." A second category is comprised of those delegates who have had prior convention experience, and they at least may have definite assignments within the convention proceedings, even though they are probably not critical assignments. The third category is made up of the key convention figures, who hold high party or elective offices and who command much political as well as convention experience. These delegates, along with the major candidates, actually organize and direct the convention proceedings.¹⁰

¹⁰David, Goldman and Bain, The Politics of National Party Conventions, pp. 349-350.

Figure 7, below, illustrates the differences of role perception characteristics of the delegates from Texas in 1964 who were most likely to be in category I and those who were most likely to be in category III, as described by David, Goldman, and Bain.

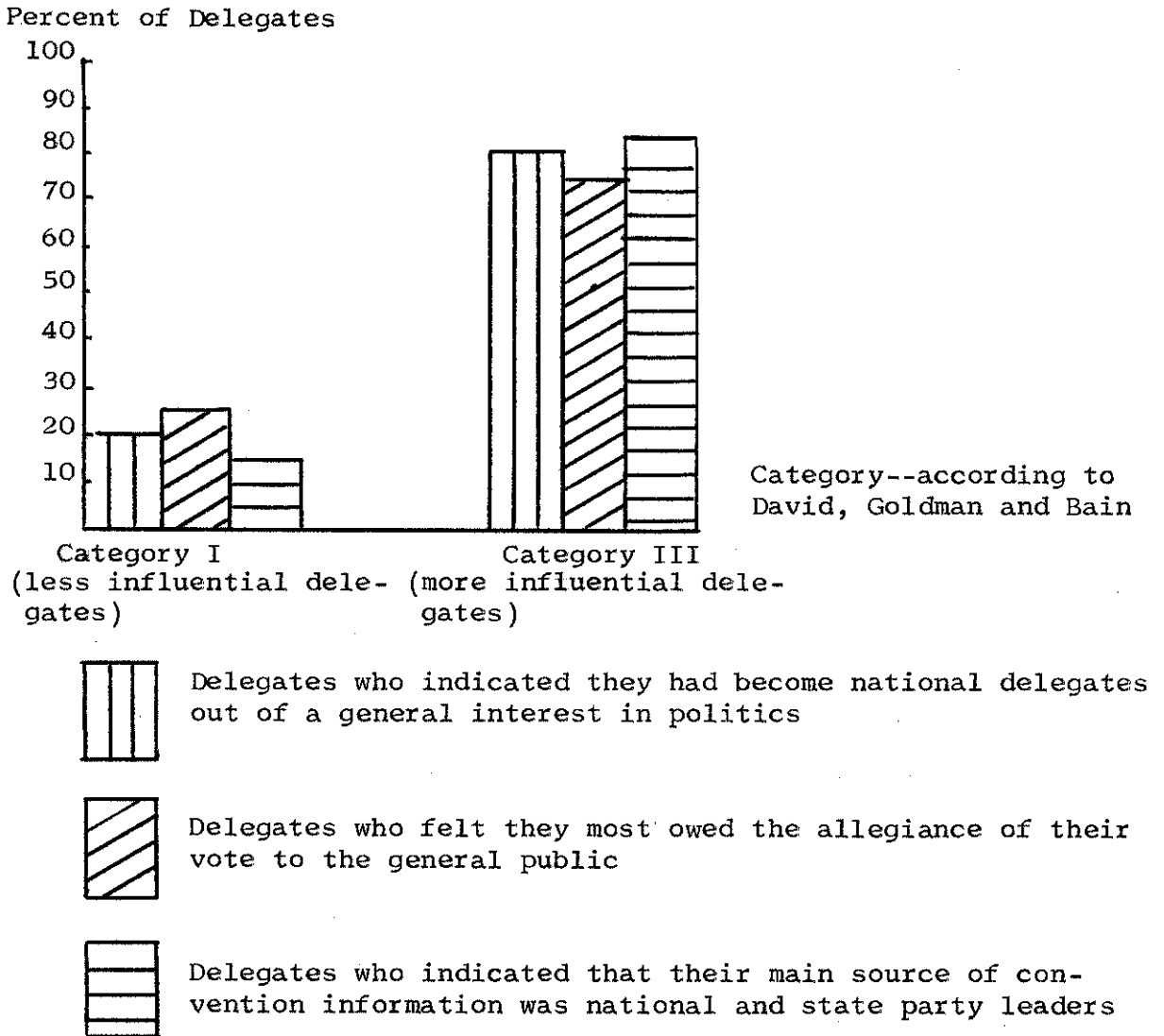


Fig 7--Relationship of role perception characteristics and relative importance of delegates.

As figure 7 indicates, a final cross-tabulation of Table VI points out that of those delegates of both of Texas' 1964 delegations who were most likely to be in the critical third category described above, the majority indicated that they had become

delegates because of a general interest in politics, that their main source of convention information was national and state party leaders, and that they felt that the allegiance of their vote was owed to the general public of their own area. Also of those delegates who were most likely to be in the relatively less important first category, the majority tended to indicate that they had become delegates out of a desire to form a better government, that their main source of information at the convention was delegate caucuses or the mass media, and that the allegiance of their vote was to state and national party leaders.

Issue Characteristics

The final section of the questionnaire asked the delegates to indicate their opinion on a number of basis issues of national policy in 1964. Percentages in Table VI below do not always total 100 percent because at times delegates indicated that they could not give an adequate response for one reason or another. The results for this section are indicated below.

TABLE VI
ISSUE CHARACTERISTICS

Issue	All Delegates (Democrats and Republicans) (N=130)	Democrats (N=91)	Republicans (N=39)
With regard to foreign aid in 1964 did you believe the United States should:			
Expand	8 (6.1%)	8 (8.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Maintain	49 (37.6%)	49 (53.8%)	0 (0.0%)
Reduce	73 (56.1%)	34 (37.3%)	39 (100%)

TABLE VI --Continued

Issue	All Delegates (Democrats and Republicans) (N=130)	Democrats (N=91)	Republicans (N=39)
Did you believe in 1964 that medical care for the aged should be provided by:			
Social Security	65 (49.2%)	62 (68.1%)	2 (5.1%)
Private Insurance	48 (36.9%)	17 (18.6%)	31 (79.4%)
Other	16 (12.5%)	12 (13.1%)	4 (10.8%)
With regard to military aid abroad in 1964 did you believe the United States should:			
Expand	8 (6.1%)	7 (7.6%)	1 (2.5%)
Maintain	93 (71.5%)	69 (75.8%)	24 (61.5%)
Reduce	27 (20.3%)	13 (14.5%)	14 (35.8%)
With regard to civil rights activities in 1964 what did you believe should have been the position of the Federal government?			
More active	32 (24.6%)	28 (30.7%)	4 (10.2%)
About the same	45 (33.3%)	36 (40.8%)	9 (23.0%)
More passive	51 (39.2%)	25 (27.4%)	26 (66.6%)
Did you believe in 1964 that there should be Federal aid to alleviate poverty?			
Yes	69 (53.0%)	63 (69.2%)	6 (15.3%)
No	56 (43.0%)	24 (26.3%)	32 (82.0%)
Undecided	5 (3.8%)	4 (4.3%)	1 (2.5%)

As an earlier chapter indicated that the Republican delegates were more homogeneous than the Democratic delegates with regard to social and ideological characteristics, Table VI indicates that the Republican delegation was more homogeneous with regard to issue opinions as well. In general, Republican deviations which were more liberal

than the median response were recorded by those who had been delegates to the more liberal Eisenhower and Nixon conventions, and who had scored more liberal on the conservative-liberal scale than the average Republican delegate. Over all, the Republican delegation appeared to reflect the Goldwater ideology and were very conservative in their response to issue opinions.

The Democratic delegates appear to be best described as moderate to conservative in their opinions, and not as uniform in their opinions as the Republican delegates. As would be expected from their responses to items presented in an earlier chapter, the delegates from Harris County consistently responded with more liberal opinions than did the others of the Democratic delegation.

Summary

This chapter has indicated that there were noticeable differences between the two delegations with regard to the characteristics here discussed. As with those discussed in the preceding chapter, it seems that these particular characteristics of the two delegations are only partially explained by the 1964 political environment. Concerning political experience it appears that the new Goldwater variety of Republicanism in 1964 excluded many former Republican delegates and thus made for a relatively inexperienced group of delegates. It was indicated that a higher percentage of Republican delegates held high party offices than the Democrats and that a higher percentage of Democratic than Republican delegates held elective public offices, but that these differences were probably caused by factors other than the 1964 political climate.

With regard to role perception, it was again noted that there were pronounced differences between the delegations. However, it appears that the convention experience of the delegate and his party standing have more to do with this characteristic than any other factor investigated. It does not appear that the political situation of 1964 had any appreciable effect upon the delegate's own perception of his role.

With regard to the issues presented to each delegate, it was noted that a definite difference between the delegations existed and that the opinions of the Republican delegates seemed more homogeneous than those of the Democratic delegation. This is, of course, probably due to the more unified nature of the Republican delegation in 1964, as discussed in the preceding chapter. It is suggested that the political situation in 1964 had a very definite effect on the delegates' opinions. Moreover it is probable that Republicans in the State as a whole were not as homogeneous as their party's delegates appeared and that the Democrats in the State were not as heterogeneous as their delegation appeared. It is suggested that unique circumstances in Texas in 1964 contributed to this variation between the general party membership and the nature of the delegations to the national conventions.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has indicated with regard to the 1964 national convention delegates from Texas that, of those characteristics here examined, there were differences between the two delegations; that these characteristics were in part determined by circumstances peculiar to this particular election year and in part unrelated to this particular election year; and that in 1964 the characteristics of these delegates were not truly representative of the general character of their party as a whole within the State. These characteristics were broadly categorized as social characteristics, political experience characteristics, role perceptual characteristics, issue characteristics, and ideological characteristics. The significance of these characteristics was discussed in Chapter I. As was suggested at the outset of this study, these delegate characteristics can have an effect on the total character of the national nomination conventions; and these are the type of characteristics which can help to provide the information which Paul David, Ralph Goldman and Richard Bain say is needed to explore the reputability, the representativeness, and the competency of national convention delegates as a whole.

Characteristic Differences

Tables I and II of Chapter III indicated that there were some differences in the social characteristics of the two delegations.

Generally the Republican delegates were younger, better educated, and more inclined to consider their occupation as being involved in "Small Business" than the Democrats. Also a much larger percent of the Republicans consisted of women delegates. As a whole, more of the Republicans lived in larger towns. However, this differential was small, as only 4.1 percent more Republicans than Democrats had lived most of their lives in towns of over 250,000, and only 2.9 percent more Democrats than Republicans had lived most of their lives on farms. Finally, the characteristics of "Racial or Ethnic" background indicated that, although both parties selected delegations which were predominantly white, the Democrats were a more diverse group than the Republicans in this regard.

In general, those differences which did occur with regard to social characteristics of the two delegations seem to reflect the generally accepted images of these parties. Only with regard to the characteristics of "Income" did there appear to be some violation of the traditional image of the Republican and Democratic Party. Both groups had surprisingly high average income levels. Perhaps those social characteristics which most sharply differentiated between the two delegations were those of age, sex, education, and occupation.

Table III of Chapter III indicated that the Republican delegates scored much more conservatively on a scale of liberalism-conservatism than the Democratic delegates. Furthermore, the Democratic scores were widely scattered over the entire range of the

scale, but the Republican scores clustered in a few categories, indicating that the Republican delegates were more homogeneous in their ideological characteristics than the Democratic delegates. As would be expected, delegates' opinions on a number of national issues presented to them generally reflect their ideological nature, as Table VI of Chapter IV indicated. The Republicans tended to express the more conservative opinions, and, generally, tended to be in more agreement with one another than did the Democrats.

Table IV of Chapter IV indicated the political experience characteristics of the two delegations. Many more Democrats than Republicans had been previous national convention delegates, the Republican delegation consisted of a higher proportion of high party officers, and the Democratic delegation contained more public officials.

Table V of Chapter IV indicated the delegates' responses to a number of role perceptual questions. It was found that there were noticeable differences between the delegations concerning the matter of role perception; however, it appears that a delegate's convention experience and his party standing have more to do with his role perception than does his party identification. In general those delegates who were relatively high in the party hierarchy and those delegates who had had previous convention experience indicated that their source of information was high party officers, that they owed their voting allegiance to the general public of their own area, and that they had become national convention

delegates because of a general interest in politics. Those delegates who were relatively low in their party hierarchy and those who were attending their first national convention tended to indicate that their main source of convention information was caucuses of the state delegation or the mass media, that they owed their voting allegiance to state and national party leaders, and that they had become national convention delegates out of a desire to form a better government.

Relationship of Political Environment

To Delegate Characteristics

With regard to social characteristics, the 1964 political environment may have had more of an effect than is apparent, but it seems safe to conclude only that the characteristics of occupation, and racial or ethnic background would probably have been affected by a political change of climate. In this regard it seems that had the liberal faction of the Texas Democratic Party controlled the State's political machinery in 1964, it would have been more likely that there would have been a greater number of delegates who would have listed "Labor Union" as their chief occupation, and more Democratic delegates who would have been of racial minority groups. However, as was mentioned in Chapter III, the cost of attending a national convention might, itself, serve to prohibit greater representation of racial minority groups.

The political situation of 1964 probably had its greatest effect upon issue opinions and ideological characteristics. It appears that because the Goldwater forces were able to dominate

the Republican State Convention almost completely, they were able to select delegates who were relatively very homogeneous in their ideological nature and opinions. On the other hand the members of the liberal faction of the Democratic Party which was seated at the Democratic State Convention either were able to force some of their delegates to be chosen, or caused the conservative majority to select some liberal delegates in an attempt to preserve a semblance of harmony within the party. The presence of these liberal delegates within the Democratic delegation caused a very heterogeneous appearing delegation with regard to issue opinions and ideological characteristics. It is suggested that had the conservative element of the Democratic Party been able to prevent this representation of the liberal elements in the State convention the total delegation would have approached the homogeneous make-up of the Republican delegation in this regard.

With regard to the characteristics of political experience, it seems that the specific situation of 1964 had a rather minor role. In so far as public office-holding is concerned, each delegation seemed to reflect its party's strength in Texas as a whole; and of course the Republican delegation had proportionally fewer elected officials. Perhaps on the other hand because the Republicans in the State were allowed a much smaller delegation by their national committee than were the Democrats, Republicans had proportionally more high party officers. It is suggested that the political situation in Texas in 1964 caused the Republican

delegation to contain fewer delegates who had had prior convention experience than if the Eisenhower-Nixon variety of Republicanism had been able to prevail in 1964.

Finally it seems that the political environment in 1964 had its least effect on delegates with regard to their role perception. What differences did occur appeared to be related more to the delegate's convention experience and party standing than any other factor.

Representation of Delegates

Concerning the representativeness of those delegates it does appear that these two groups reflected broad differences which existed between the Republicans and Democrats within the State of Texas; however, as has been indicated throughout this study, these delegates conspicuously failed as really true representatives of their party constituents within the State. Within both delegations, liberal elements of the parties were under-represented. Governor Connally and the conservative wing of the Democratic party were able to bring a majority of delegates sympathetic to the conservative faction to the Democratic State Convention and seat conservative delegations of contested counties, and thus were able to dominate the proceedings. From the data obtained from these delegates it is impossible to detect exactly what percent were of the liberal faction of the Democratic Party, but their forces undoubtedly did not approach their proportionate strength within the State, as pointed out by O. Douglas Weeks.¹ Likewise Goldwater

¹Weeks, Texas in 1964 A One-Party State Again?, pp. 10-17, and above, Chapter II.

forces for the most part were able to exclude from the Republican State Convention in 1964 the liberal influence of the Eisenhower-Nixon philosophy and, thus, were able to select a delegation which was almost unanimously in favor of Goldwater, but which failed to represent the feelings of many Republicans within the State.²

Conclusion

If these characteristics, then, can help provide the information which David, Goldman, and Bain say is critically needed to assess the reputability and motives, representativeness, and efficiency of delegates, what now can be said of the 1964 delegates from Texas regarding these areas? With regard to motives, the facts seem to indicate that the majority of these individuals sought to become delegates out of a general interest in politics and a desire to form a better government, not out of a desire of personal gain or even prestige. The data on social characteristics seem to indicate that these were individuals of high calibre, for the most part, and would seemingly be capable of doing their part to deal with the problems which confront national conventions. David, Goldman, and Bain, themselves, point out that all elements of the area of reputability may never be capable of absolute proof but if such traditional indices as good education, mature age, stable family life, high income, good job, and such traditional traits as "church-goer" can in any way be considered indications of reputability, these delegates appear to be about as reputable

²Ibid., pp. 18-19.

a group of individuals as could be gathered. Little more need be said regarding the area of representation, except to recall that characteristics of these delegates were not representative of their parties in the State as a whole and as a result all elements of both Texas parties were not fully represented at the national conventions. Finally with regard to the area of efficiency and competency it seems that the Democratic delegates were somewhat better equipped than the Republican delegates to participate in the nominating function and especially the platform-drafting function because of their greater number of elected national officials and delegates who had had prior convention experience.

In conclusion it is suggested that only when more information such as the above is available can the national convention as an institution be accurately assessed. Collection of data in this manner allows the political analyst to be able more accurately to assess the nature of delegates on the basis of known facts rather than assumptions.

APPENDIX

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This appendix presents the questionnaire which was sent to the 176 Democratic and Republican delegates from Texas to the 1964 national nominating conventions. A cover letter which explained to the delegate the nature of the study was mailed with the questionnaire.

Section I

Social Characteristics

Answer these questions as they applied to you at the time of the National Nominating Conventions in 1964, rather than as they may apply to you today.

- A. Political party which selected you as a delegate: Republican (). Democrat ().
- B. Sex: Male (). Female ().
- C. Age (in 1964): 21-30 (). 31-40 (). 41-50 ().
51-60 (). 61 or above ().
- D. Marital status in 1964: Single (). Married (). Divorced ().
Separated (). Widowed ().
- E. Religious preference (in 1964): Catholic (). Jewish (). Baptist ().
Methodist (). Church of Christ ().
Lutheran (). Presbyterian ().
Other Protestant (). Unitarian ().
other (). no preference ().
- F. Church attendance (in 1964): Weekly (). Monthly (). Less than
once a month ().
- G. Educational attainment (by 1964): High school or less ().
Some college (). College graduate ().
Post graduate ().

- H. Chief occupation in 1964: Government (). Banking and Insurance (). Law (). Elected official (). Small business (). Large business (). Labor union (). Ranching (). Farming (). Homemaking (). Education (). Real estate (). Religion (). Retired (). other ().
- I. Income (in 1964): Under \$5,000 (). \$5-7,000 (). \$7-12,000 (). \$12-15,000 (). \$15-17,000 (). \$17-25,000 (). Above \$25,000. ().
- J. Racial or ethnic background: Negro (). White (). Latin-American ().
- K. Size of town where you have spent most of your life: On farm (). City under 5,000 (). City 5-50,000 (). 50-250,000 (). City over 250,000 ().

Section II

Political and Issue Differences

As accurately as possible answer these questions as they applied to you at the time of the 1964 national convention. Do not take into account those developments which may have occurred since your selection as a convention delegate.

- A. Highest party office gained by 1964:
None (). Within precinct (). Within county ().
Within state (). National office ().
- B. Had you ever been a national convention delegate before 1964?
Yes (). No ().
- C. Highest public office gained by 1964:
None (). Appointed local (). Elected local ().
Appointed state (). Elected state (). Appointed national (). Elected national ().
- D. What is the principal reason or reasons which led you to seek to become a delegate to the 1964 convention?
Prestige (). General interest in politics ().
Desire to do your part to form a better government ().
Desire to do your part to form a better party ().
Other or no principal reason ().

- E. As a convention delegate, to whom did you feel you most owed the allegiance of your vote?
 State party leaders (). National party leaders ().
 Yourself (). The general public of your own area ().
 Other ().
- F. While attending the 1964 convention, what was your main source or sources of convention information?
 Leaders of the national party (). Leaders of the state party ().
 Caucuses of the state delegation (). Other delegates ().
 Radio, Television, and newspapers ().
 Other or no main source ().
- G. Was it your opinion in 1964 that National Convention delegates should be bound by a unit rule at least through the first ballot?
 Yes (). No (). Undecided ().
- H. With regard to the issue of foreign economic aid in 1964, did you believe the United States Government should:
 Expand (). Maintain (). Reduce ().
- I. With regard to military aid abroad in 1964, did you believe the United States Government should:
 Expand (). Maintain (). Reduce ().
- J. Did you believe in 1964 that medical care for the aged should be provided by:
 Social Security (). Private insurance (). Other ().
- K. With regard to civil rights activities in 1964, what did you believe should have been the position of the Federal Government?
 More active (). About the same (). More passive ().
- L. Did you believe in 1964 that there should be Federal aid to alleviate poverty?
 Yes (). No (). Undecided ().

Section III

Ideological Differences

These questions are designed to measure the degree of conservatism or liberalism in your philosophy. Please answer these questions as they apply to your thinking today.

- A. All old people should be taken care of by the government.
 Strongly agree (). Agree (). Undecided ().
 Disagree (). Strongly disagree ().
- B. The government should finance college education.
 Strongly agree (). Agree (). Undecided ().
 Disagree (). Strongly disagree ().

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