

AMATEURS AND PROFESSIONALS : A STUDY
OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS AT THE 1976
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For the last one hundred and fifty years of American history, the two major political parties have assembled every four years to nominate their preferences for President and Vice-President. The fact that such a ritual has lasted so long and continues to highlight American party activity is of itself a great tribute to the American political system. However, when one considers the time, energy and personal sacrifice which each delegate to these conventions must endure, the logical question arises - why do so many individuals feel a need to participate in conventions and other party activities?

The objective of this thesis is to examine this question in great detail by examining Republican Party participants at the 1976 National Convention. The justification for this research is that while a great deal of information has been accumulated pertaining to the mechanical functions performed by the delegates, little is known about what motivates these delegates to become politically active. In order to insure its survival, a political party must understand how to recruit members, how to retain their support over many years and how to broaden their appeal to the bulk of the electorate. To the political scientist, the interest lies in attaining an understanding of the party process as it pertains to the ultimate selection of political leaders, who in turn become the leaders of the American governmental process. Without this understanding the political party becomes a diffuse mass of indiv-

iduals instead of a distinct political organization. In short, the very survival of the party as a viable political institution is dependent upon the recruitment and maintenance of its active participants.

The solution to this problem is by no means simple. Any model which attempts to make sense out of political behavior is faced with the difficult task of correctly interpreting the complex thought patterns utilized by party activists. The recruitment and maintenance of activists is, therefore, a complex process which can be best understood when other dimensions are simultaneously dissected. The main variables which have comprised different models of recruitment and maintenance of activism are: ideology; motivation; attitudes; and incentives for organizational membership. Of secondary importance have been socio-economic variables such as race, sex, age, occupation, income and education.¹ Although the Republican Party is a predominantly homogeneous group, important socio-economic differences may still be observed when the data are analyzed and should therefore not be automatically eliminated from consideration. A third category without which a model of recruitment would not be complete is an analysis of the "Amateur" versus the "Professional" style of political participation.² Although these variables have often been examined in separate categories, I believe that by a simultaneous analysis of their effect on the delegates a better model of party participation can be achieved.

Upon close theoretical examination of these primary variables, the researcher immediately recognizes a certain degree of cohesion among the elements that comprise them. Specifically, the attitudes

which the political activist manifests are intimately related to the individual's own psychological personality.³ The ideology which one professes and the attitudes which he holds are very closely related. It is at best difficult and at worst impossible to determine if one's ideology determines his attitudes, or if his attitudes shape the ideology. David Minar states that "By any definition ideology is thought, whether it is specifically distinguished by content, structure, function or focus."⁴ The problem which always arises in any study concerned with ideology or attitudes is in identifying the linkage between this thought process and the action which the participant performs. The best indicator of this linkage is the incentive system which stimulates the individual to participate. By understanding what motivates an individual, the researcher is capable of constructing a model which depicts initial recruitment in the political process.

The socio-economic characteristics of activists are of importance because very frequently their social background provides valuable information in explaining why they chose to participate. If the individual comes from a family where the parents were politically involved then it is likely that this political interest will be transmitted to the children. Income, educational attainment and occupation also provide valuable clues in determining the motivation of the participant. Race and sex are also of importance in explaining the level of participation of the group being studied. The variables by themselves would certainly not provide an adequate explanation of party participation, but when coupled with other variables they may help in providing more complete information and ultimately a more precise model of participa-

tion.

The concept of "Amateur" and "Professional" participatory style is of great interest and importance in understanding both initial recruitment as well as in the maintenance of the base of participation. The incentives a party official would use to attract an "Amateur" would differ greatly from the incentives which would attract the political "Professional." Just as the initial recruitment incentives differ for these two groups so would the incentives for maintaining their participation in the future be different. The "Amateur-Professional" continuum therefore becomes a very helpful method of examining both the participation and ideology of party activists and leaders. This in turn provides a clearer understanding of how to motivate individuals to become initially involved in the party, and how to retain their participation in the future.

It is the goal of this thesis to integrate these variables, analyze the results, and attempt to establish a model which will provide a greater understanding of party recruitment and activism. This will be accomplished basically by replicating the study conducted by Roback with delegates to the 1972 Republican Convention. A secondary objective is to discuss Republican activity at the 1976 National Convention and what the future role of the Republican Party will be in the American political system. Being one of the two major parties in the United States, one does not have to agree with any of the strains of Republican philosophy in order to appreciate the importance of maintaining the Republican Party as an alternative to a one party political system. The key to a democratic form of government is the opportunity

to choose between opposing political ideas and the key to maintaining a viable political organization is understanding the people who comprise the active party elite.

NOTES

- ¹Previous researchers have had mixed opinions on the importance of these variables. Their opinions and findings, based upon their data, will be examined in the next chapter.
- ²The terms "amateur" and "professional" were first used in this context by James Q. Wilson in The Amateur Democrat, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Their meaning as utilized by this study will be discussed in Chapter 3.
- ³Lewis Bowman and G.R. Boynton, "Recruitment Patterns Among Local Party Officials: A Model and Some Preliminary Findings in Selected Locales," American Political Science Review, v. 60 (September, 1966), p. 669.
- ⁴David W. Minar, "Ideology and Political Behavior," Midwest Journal of Political Science, v. 5 (November, 1961), p. 326.

CHAPTER II

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON PARTY ACTIVISM

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the literature on party activism that preceded this study in order to provide adequate background for the research attempted in this study. Since the early 1960's, political scientists have shown increasing interest in understanding the phenomenon known as 'political participation.' The approaches and the findings have differed, but the search to find a unique, complete, and precise model of political participation continues. Although this study will not pretend to provide such a model, it does hope to provide a further understanding of the data which has already been accumulated in this area. Specifically, this study hopes to provide additional insight into three principal areas which have been investigated by previous researchers in this field. First, the social and economic characteristics of party activists will be examined to determine their effect on activist style. Second, the political background and socialization of the activists will be studied to determine correlations with activist style. Third, the incentives which motivate activists will be examined in terms of activist style.

Most research which examines party activism assumes that socio-economic characteristics must play some part in explaining political participation. These factors have rarely provided very much in the way of explaining political participation. While certain factors make political participation more likely, they fail to establish a clear-

cut reason for the participant's activity. At best, they have been found to provide a partial explanation as intervening factors in a much more complex model. As pointed out by Bowman and Boynton,¹ certain factors such as education, occupation and income may make participation more likely, however, many non-participants possessing these same characteristics may also be found. Although Wilson² and Soule and Clarke³ dismiss socio-economic characteristics as unimportant in setting apart party activists, their potential should not go unrecognized. Roback, in his study of the 1972 Republican National Convention, produced weak correlations between income and sex and activist style.⁴ Conway and Feigert also found differences based on such social characteristics as income, age, occupation, sex and educational attainment.⁵ Herbert Jacob contends that occupation plays an important role in explaining the initial recruitment of a political activist.⁶ It was based upon this hypothesis that Jacob developed the concept of "brokerage" roles. He maintained that certain occupations provide training in skills which are useful in politics.⁷ Therefore, background characteristics such as education and family income become important intervening variables in determining the occupation of the political activist. The very fact that the major research in this very important area is inconsistent makes future research necessary.

An area which is closely related to the social background factors is the political background variables which may lead to political participation. Many studies have espoused the hypothesis that certain social characteristics, when combined with proper political socialization, leads to political activism.⁸ Others, such as Soule and

Clarke,⁹ place a greater degree of emphasis solely upon the political backgrounds of the activists. They dismiss social characteristics as "very crude proxy variables for socialization experiences."¹⁰ They express greater confidence in the measurement of socialization by examining such factors as the number of years they were active in the party; how they were selected as delegates; the number of conventions they have attended; and the manner in which they became initially recruited into the party organization. These very same variables are utilized by Roback in his study of Republican delegates to the 1972 Convention.¹¹ The data produced by both pieces of literature indicate that delegates described as amateurs were more likely to come from politically inactive families; to have been persuaded to become involved more by events and issues rather than from family ties; to be elected rather than appointed to their delegate position; and to have served less than 10 years in the party organization. Although the data, in most instances, provides only weak correlations, the patterns are consistent with the Wilson typology.

Another important focus of the literature on party activism concerns the role that incentives play in determining why individuals initially seek party involvement and what factors contribute to the maintenance of this activism over a period of time. It has been hypothesized that there are three main components which contribute to and maintain a particular style of politics.¹² First, there are the incentives which are responsible for initially recruiting activists into the party organization. Second, there must be incentives which operate to reward the activists for their contributions to the organ-

ization's collective goal. Third, "the relationship between the incentives which recruit and those which retain party activists can be one of either congruence or incongruence. This component of the structure of incentives emphasizes the stability or change in incentives from initial recruitment to later retention."¹³ Gluck's findings are in perfect agreement with those of Wilson, Roback and the other previously mentioned researchers who have studied the political activist from the amateur-professional point of view. Gluck states that his study shows that the initial recruitment of urban activists who fit the professional style of politics are interested primarily in the tangible or intangible incentives, but with their orientation more toward "the self;" while the amateur is most concerned with the tangible or intangible incentives, but which are "other-oriented."¹⁴ However, Gluck's most interesting findings concern the relationship between initial and maintaining incentives. He finds that while 68 percent of those activists were recruited initially by the appeal of amateur-oriented incentives, they were subsequently rewarded and retained in the organization by professionally-oriented incentives.¹⁵ He further notes that while none of the activists who were recruited by professionally-oriented incentives were reoriented to the amateur style, two-thirds of the amateur-oriented recruits were reoriented to the professional style of participation, with only a small percentage of initially recruited amateurs being able to sustain that orientation over time.¹⁶ This appears to clearly substantiate Wilson's claim that amateurs eventually become professionals or else they cease to be political activists.¹⁷

Since the recruitment and maintenance of party activism is closely associated with the matching of the activists' motives with the incentives offered by the organization, a better understanding of these incentives must be developed. These incentives, for both recruitment and maintenance of support, are: material, solidary, and purposive incentives.¹⁸ Previously cited research has hypothesized that there exists a correlation between the political style of the activist and the particular incentive derived from the party. Specifically, the amateur is more likely to prefer purposive incentives since his primary motive is to achieve the ideological goal established by the party organization. The professional, however, would prefer material incentives, since his primary concern is not towards issues but rather towards his own self-interest. He may also derive motivation from solidary incentives since the very act of participation, in that it may confer status or prestige upon the participant, is an incentive in and of itself.

The final factor which comprises this study is an examination of the activist style which is referred to throughout this research. Wilson's idea of political style grew from his research dealing with the political club activities in three major American cities. His major premise is that there are basically two approaches to party activity, amateur and professional, and that the participants' perception of his role in the organization will determine which political style he will choose.¹⁹ Wilson specifies the major purpose of a political party as the recruitment of candidates, the mobilization of votes, and the facilitation of leadership to aggregate power in

the formal governmental structure.²⁰ While these functions are important to all who are politically active, their degree of importance varies depending upon the political style of the participants. Those who have studied the organization of political parties generally have found that the amateur organization tends to be concerned with reform and internal procedural democracy with specific attention focused upon the issues and procedures associated with the party. Professional organizations primarily are interested in winning elections, maintaining positions of power, and retaining member support.²¹ It therefore becomes quite obvious that amateurs and professionals differ drastically both in their self-image of what role individuals should play in the political process and in their definition of the role of the political party in the American political system. It is the amateur political style which is most concerned with intrinsic interest in politics while the professional stylist is most concerned with the extrinsic interests inherently associated with the political process.²² As Herbert McClosky notes, "some members of the political class have no more intellectual concern with politics than the masses do; they are in it for 'the game,' for personal reasons, or for almost any reason except ideology."²³ Other members go the opposite route, in that they fail to recognize any other role for a political party other than the adherence to a specific ideology from which divergence cannot be tolerated. To these activists the political ideology of their party becomes a strong conviction which cannot be compromised. This strong amateur style is frequently denoted by the extreme adherence to an explicit belief system, based upon abstract principles and

not concrete issues, with black and white answers to all questions, prevailing over all attempts to assimilate new information into their rigid philosophy.²⁴ To this group, remaining ideologically pure is much more important than winning an election at the expense of compromising their beliefs. In sharp contrast, the political professional is much more concerned with people and winning than in remaining consistent on ideological issues. Wilson points out that to the professional, "politics consists of concrete questions and specific persons who must be dealt with in a manner that will 'keep everybody happy' and thus minimize the possibility of defeat at the next election."²⁵ Many activists who fall into the professional category justify their lack of commitment to a specific ideology by claiming that one can do little to implement their ideology unless they first get elected. While this seems to be logically true, it is interesting to note that the amateur initially does not appear to be concerned with this logic. However, it has been pointed out, that often amateurs eventually lose interest in their ideological purity and either cease to be politically active, or else acquire the professionals' approach to playing the political game.²⁶

NOTES

- ¹Lewis Bowman and G.R. Boynton, "Recruitment Patterns Among Local Party Officials: A Model and Some Preliminary Findings in Selected Locales," American Political Science Review, v. 60 (September, 1966), p. 669.
- ²James Q. Wilson, The Amateur Democrat, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 2.
- ³John W. Soule and James W. Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," American Political Science Review, v. 63 (November, 1969), p. 888.
- ⁴Thomas H. Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Journal of Politics, v. 37 (May, 1975), p. 445.
- ⁵M. Margaret Conway and Frank B. Feigert, "Motivation Incentive Systems, and the Political Party Organization," American Political Science Review, v. 62 (December, 1968), p. 1165.
- ⁶Herbert Jacob, "Initial Recruitment of Elected Officials in the U.S. - A Model," Journal of Politics, v. 24 (November, 1962), p. 710.
- ⁷Ibid.
- ⁸This is the major contention of Bowman and Boynton, Conway and Feigert, and Roback.
- ⁹Soule and Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention."
- ¹⁰Ibid., p. 891.
- ¹¹Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention."
- ¹²Peter R. Gluck, "Research Note: Incentives and the Maintenance of Political Styles in Different Locales," Western Political Quarterly, v. 25 (December, 1972), p. 755.
- ¹³Ibid.
- ¹⁴Ibid.
- ¹⁵Ibid., p. 759.
- ¹⁶Ibid., p. 760.

- 17 Wilson, The Amateur Democrat, p. 5.
- 18 Conway and Feigert, "Motivation, Incentive Systems, and the Political Party Organization," p. 1162.
- 19 Wilson, The Amateur Democrat, p. 29.
- 20 James Q. Wilson, "The Amateur Democrat in American Politics," Parliamentary Affairs, v. 16 (October, 1962), p. 83.
- 21 C. Richard Hofstetter, "The Amateur Politician: A Problem in Construct Validation," Midwest Journal of Political Science, v. 15 (February, 1971), p. 35.
- 22 Dan Nimmo and Robert L. Savage, "The Amateur Democrat Revisited," Polity, v. 5 (Winter, 1972), p. 268.
- 23 Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review, v. 58 (June, 1964), p. 376.
- 24 Robert D. Putnam, "Studying Elite Political Culture: The Case of Ideology," American Political Science Review, v. 65 (September, 1971), p. 655.
- 25 Wilson, "The Amateur Democrat in American Politics," p. 75.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION OF HYPOTHESES AND DEFINITIONS

Before continuing with a discussion and analysis of the data, it is important to become familiar with the concepts which will be used throughout this study as well as the direction in which this study is headed. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to provide the conceptual framework upon which this study is built as well as the hypotheses which will be studied in the following chapters.

Since this study is a continuation of much of the previous research in this area, the concepts are very similar to those used by past researchers. In order to best understand these concepts, their origins will be studied and the result will be a composite definition which will be utilized by this study.

The original concepts of "Amateurs" and "Professionals" was constructed by James Q. Wilson in The Amateur Democrat. Although subsequent researchers altered his original definitions slightly, it is here that the concepts had their origins. Wilson defines a political Amateur as

one who finds politics intrinsically interesting because it expresses a conception of the public interest. The amateur politician sees the political world more in terms of ideas and principles than in terms of persons.¹

According to Soule and Clarke, the amateur

placed his highest political priorities on intra-party democracy and the party's commitment to specific substantive goals. He was not a dilettante or an inept practitioner of politics, nor did he regard politics as an avocation or

hobby. In sum then, the amateur Democrat described by Wilson was one who perceived politics as the determination of public policy in which issues are settled on their own merits and not simply on the basis of partisan advantage. Thus, the amateur was most reluctant to recognize the necessity of compromising issues for party advantage.²

As can be seen by these definitions, the amateur politician is a term used to discuss a political activist who prefers to participate because of ideas and principles and not because of any material rewards. His purpose is to fight for a cause in which he believes and he would much rather remain true to his beliefs than to compromise them for a victory. The term "Amateur" has nothing to do with political ability or qualifications. It simply refers to his style and orientation towards participation in politics.

At the other end of the continuum is the "Professional" politician. According to Wilson, politics to the professional consists of "concrete questions and specific persons who must be dealt with in a manner that will 'keep everybody happy' and thus minimize the possibility of defeat at the next election."⁴ Soule and Clarke defined the professional as being "not concerned with taking positions on controversial and abstract public policies. His preoccupation with winning allowed him to compromise substantive programs more easily than the amateur, although he may have been as liberal ideologically as the amateur."⁵ Conway and Feigert defined the professional model as "members who are male, oriented toward material rewards or a career in government and exhibit little concern for issues."⁶

One can clearly see that the professional politician differs greatly from his amateur counterpart. The professional is considered

to be more materially oriented, and less concerned with the ideological purity of the party. The professional does not fear compromise and feels justified in doing so for the sake of victory. Although the professional may have a cause to which he is dedicated, he realizes that in politics, one's major concern is to be elected. Finally, the professional recognizes the importance of party unity (for the sake of victory) and flexibility in order to appeal to the broadest spectrum of the electorate. Again, his title as a professional has nothing to do with political ability, but rather represents his approach to the political process.

It is this Amateur-Professional continuum which is referred to as Activist Style throughout this study. This term "refers to a mutually supportive set of attitudes about principles, procedures, and goals that relate to citizen and partisan political activity."⁷ The classification of activist style into more distinct sub-divisions will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Presentation of Hypotheses

The major hypothesis from which all subsequent hypotheses were generated is that significant differences can be noted when activist style is compared with other variables. The first hypothesis which was specifically generated from this contention was to determine whether or not amateurs and professionals could be distinguished by socio-economic background characteristics. Previous research on this subject has been contradictory and inconclusive and therefore it warrants further investigation. Specifically, the research conducted

by Conway and Feigert found differences based on income, age, occupation, sex and educational characteristics but not with race.⁸ Soule and Clarke hold with Wilson's belief that "The Amateur Democrat ... was not set apart from the more conventional party activists by his liberalism, his age, education or class."⁹ Unfortunately, they provide no empirical evidence to support this claim. The latest data on this subject are provided by the Roback study, in which significant relationships were found for income and sex but not for any of the other socio-economic characteristics.¹⁰ This indefiniteness leads to a need for further examination. Therefore, the following hypothesis has been produced:

It is hypothesized that activist style differentiates delegates according to the traditional socio-economic characteristics. Specifically, such characteristics include income, sex, age, education, occupation, religion and race.

The second principal area of interest concerns itself with the socialization process. Of particular interest is the political background differences which may be associated with different activist styles. Only in the past ten years has the political background factor become of much importance in explaining the initial recruitment of party activists. Soule and Clarke attempted to determine correlations between factors of socialization and activist style.¹¹ Their results, although in the hypothesized direction, are for the most part disappointing. The reason for this inconclusiveness is two-fold. First, their data base was too small to produce accurate results. Their second problem was that much of their data are based upon the use of gamma where nominal data are included in the analysis.

This unfortunately produces results which cannot be statistically evaluated. This study, therefore, leaves many questions about socialization unanswered. A much better evaluation of the socialization process is presented by Roback in his study of Republican delegates to the 1972 Convention.¹² Although many of his relationships are statistically weak, their direction and intensity fit the pattern expected if the hypothesis were true. This study will therefore attempt to substantiate Roback's findings in the area of political socialization. Therefore, the following hypothesis will be examined:

It is hypothesized that activist style differentiates delegates according to their political socialization and recruitment experiences. Specifically, it would be expected that delegates from politically active families would be more professional than delegates from less active backgrounds. Delegates with more years active in the party, more convention experience, and selected rather than elected would also tend to be professionally oriented.

The variables to be included in this hypothesis will be : family political activity; agents of initial political socialization; years active in the party; past convention experience and perception of their convention role.

The final area which will be investigated by this study will be the role incentives play in the recruitment and maintenance of party activists. As past research has indicated, a significant difference should be apparent between the incentives which would attract amateur activists as compared to those which would attract members from the professional end of the spectrum. Past research has been more consistent in the area of incentives than in the previously discussed hypotheses. The major proposition of all researchers in this area is

that professionals are attracted to party activism by material or solidary incentives, while amateurs participate more for the purposive rewards that come with party activism. The ability of the party to provide the appropriate rewards, whether for professionals or amateurs, appears to be the key to obtaining and retaining party activists. Therefore, the third hypothesis to be tested will concern the relationship between political activists and their preferences for the incentives provided by the party organization.

It is hypothesized that activist style differentiates delegates according to their preferences for the incentives offered by the political organization. Specifically, professionals will show a greater preference for material and solidary incentives, while amateurs will express a greater preference for purposive incentives.

NOTES

- ¹James Q. Wilson, "The Amateur Democrat in American Politics," Parliamentary Affairs, v. 16 (October, 1962), p. 74.
- ²John W. Soule and James W. Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," American Political Science Review, v. 64 (September, 1970), p. 888.
- ³M. Margaret Conway and Frank B. Feigert, "Motivation, Incentive Systems, and The Political Party Organization," American Political Science Review, v. 62 (December, 1968), p. 1159.
- ⁴Wilson, "The Amateur Democrat in American Politics," p. 75.
- ⁵Soule, Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," p. 888.
- ⁶Conway, Feigert, "Motivation, Incentive Systems, and The Political Party Organization," p. 1159.
- ⁷Thomas H. Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Journal of Politics, v. 37 (May, 1975), p. 439.
- ⁸Conway, Feigert, "Motivation, Incentive Systems, and The Political Party Organization," p. 1162.
- ⁹Soule, Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," p. 888.
- ¹⁰Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," p. 445.
- ¹¹Soule, Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," pp. 892-893.
- ¹²Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," pp. 446-454.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCE AND NATURE OF THE DATA: METHODOLOGY

The data upon which this study is dependent is the result of an extensive survey directed by Dr. Thomas H. Roback, Associate Professor of Political Science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. This research project was formally titled as The Bicentennial Republican Leadership Project. This survey was a continuation of the 1972 National Republican Leadership Project which was also directed by Dr. Roback.

The essence of this project was to survey the delegates to the 1976 National Republican Convention and to determine their viewpoints and opinions on many varied topics associated with politics in general, and specifically the 1976 Presidential Election. This was accomplished through the use of mail questionnaires which were sent immediately after the convention to each of the 2,259 delegates. Included with each questionnaire was a letter of explanation from the project director, a letter of endorsement by Republican Chairwoman Mary Louise Smith, and a personally signed letter from Republican Congressman William C. Wampler.

Although confidentiality was guaranteed each respondent, a follow-up code was instituted in order that those delegates who failed to respond to the initial mailing could be reminded with subsequent mailings and/or a second mailing of the questionnaire. Despite the fact that the questionnaire was thirteen pages long and consisted of

one hundred and one individual items, 1,240 useable questionnaires were eventually received. This total represents a response rate of 54.9 percent of the entire Republican delegation - a more than substantial response for mail survey research projects.¹

In order to be certain of the representativeness of this study, a comparison analysis with aggregate data accumulated by an Associated Press survey of the delegates was conducted.² The findings can be found in Table 4.1. As can be seen from this comparison, except for a few isolated items, the Associated Press survey mirrors the findings of the Bicentennial Republican Leadership Research Project's findings. Considering these findings, coupled with the high response rate reported earlier, the reader can place a great deal of confidence in the representativeness of the entire delegation based upon the data to be reported. This, in turn, affords the researcher greater confidence in generalizing about the entire Republican delegation based upon the data which has been accumulated.

The data from which this study has been created is the result of an extensive and comprehensive questionnaire which deserves to be explained before the findings are reported. As previously mentioned, the questionnaire used for this project was an improved version of the questionnaire used at the 1972 Republican National Convention. The 1972 questionnaire, although geared specifically for that particular Republican convention, received some of the items from the Soule and Clarke study of the 1968 Democratic Convention.³ Parts of the 1976 questionnaire have therefore been successfully used in two previous studies. This questionnaire, however, was greatly expanded to provide

TABLE 4.1

Representativeness of the Data

(in percentages)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Associated Press</u>	<u>B.R.L.R.P.</u>
Sex - Female	31.0	31.0
Age - under 30	6.7	8.3
45 - 64	50.0	59.6*
Education - at least a college degree	65.0	63.4
Income - greater than \$25,000	66.0	61.0
Race - Black	3.1	2.2
Occupation - Homemaker	14.3	14.3
Lawyer	12.1	14.0
Elected Official	11.0	7.5
Student	.02	1.8

Candidate Preference (not part of the A.P. survey)		
Ford	52.5	46.4
Reagan	47.4	51.2

*

B.R.L.R.P. classification was established as 41-50 and 51-60.

a wealth of information concerning Republican delegates. Some of the 176 variables constructed from the questionnaire's 101 items are comparable to those variables used in the 1972 project, and can therefore be used for time-series analysis. Other variables were specifically designed for the issues surrounding the campaign of 1976.

The questionnaire itself was designed with both open and closed item questions. Among the general categories covered by the questionnaire were items designed to elicit responses concerning recruitment, incentives, issue-orientation, political socialization, and socio-economic and political background.

Each completed questionnaire was then carefully coded so that all responses could be accumulated in a data set for computer analysis. All statistical analyses were performed at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Computer Center with the use of its twin IBM 370 Computers, coupled with the packaged programs provided by the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).⁴

Although the questionnaire itself generated 176 variables, it was necessary to use these individual items to create new variables which were better suited for explaining the data. Specifically, items had to be intercorrelated and indices of general categories created. Since it would prove very little to base a respondent's position upon a single response many items were included which measured essentially the same underlying theme. In this way, a continuum index could be established and each respondent given a score placing him somewhere on this continuum. Since this is essential to the understanding of the data and the methods used to analyze this data, it is well worth

the time to explain in detail how these indices were created and the justification for their construction in the manner chosen.

The first index which was created dealt with measuring the intensity with which each delegate could be classified as an Amateur or a Professional. This was essentially a two-step process. The first step dealt with the creation of a raw score for each delegate based upon his responses to a battery of ten items on the questionnaire. The second step dealt with the assigning of each delegate to a specific category based upon the delimitation of the Amateur-Professional continuum.

The first step in creating the Amateur-Professional Index was to isolate the variables which would be used to create the raw score for each delegate. Since this index has been previously utilized in the Soule and Clarke study of Democrats in 1968⁵ and by Roback in his study of Republican in 1972,⁶ it was logical to remain consistent and use the same variables. The items used to establish this index, the basic amateur response and the stylistic theme each represents is as follows:⁷

1. My party leaders often make too many arbitrary decisions without consulting with sufficient numbers of party workers. (Agree. Intraparty democracy).
2. As a convention delegate basically my primary job is to choose a candidate who will win in November. (Disagree. Preoccupation with victory).
3. The principles of a candidate are just as important as winning or losing an election. (Agree. Commitment to issues).
4. Party organization and unity are more important than permitting free and total discussion which may divide the party. (Disagree. Intraparty democracy).

5. I would object to a presidential candidate who compromises on his basic values if that is necessary to win. (Agree. Willingness to compromise).
6. Controversial positions should be avoided in a party platform in order to insure party unity. (Disagree. Programmatic parties).
7. A good party worker must support any candidate nominated by the convention even if he basically disagrees with him. (Disagree. Willingness to compromise).
8. Party platforms should be deliberately vague in order to appeal to the broadest spectrum of voters. (Disagree. Programmatic parties).
9. Part-time volunteers play a more important role in the party's campaign than any other segment of a party. (Agree. Citizen's role).
10. Generally, I consider myself a party "regular" who wants to nominate a candidate who has the best chance to win even if issues must be compromised. (Disagree. Willingness to compromise).

The index was designed so that a continuum of Amateurism through Professionalism could be established. Since the respondent had the choice on each item to answer either Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree or Strongly Disagree; a four point scale was the most logical choice to be used in creating this index. Each item's response was recorded in such a manner that the low end of the index would represent a Strong Amateur, and a high score would designate a Strong Professional. These items were considered to be equivalent to each other in terms of measuring the desired stylistic theme and so these responses were coded three through six.⁸ Simply, the Strong Amateur response was given a value of 3; a Weak Amateur response was given a value of 4; a Weak Professional response was given a value of 5; and a Strong Professional response was given a value of 6. The last item (listed

as #10) was a new item which by definition differentiated Amateurs from Professionals. Therefore, for this item, a Strong Amateur response was given a value of 1; a Weak Amateur response was given a value of 2; a Weak Professional response was given a value of 7; and a Strong Professional response was given a value of 8. Through the use of this weighted item the raw score of Amateurs and Professionals could be more clearly differentiated.

Through the use of the computer program shown in Appendix I, a raw Amateur-Professional score for each delegate was computed. This scale, commonly known as a Likert-summed index, was chosen since it best describes the intensity with which each delegate can be considered an Amateur or a Professional. The use of the Likert-summed index provides the researcher greater accuracy and more information since it provides a score which intuitively corresponds to a position on a measurement continuum. Admittedly, the scale does not provide for interpretation in terms of absolutes, but rather, it provides information which places each delegate in a position relative to each other. Therefore, it should be understood that while delegates will be grouped into specific categories, these categories are merely scaled in relation to each other on the Amateur-Professionalism continuum. Although the groupings will by definition indicate either Strong or Weak Amateurs and Strong or Weak Professionals, a Weak Amateur should not be considered in absolute terms, but rather as someone who, by definition, does not possess as much of an intensity for Amateurism as a Strong Amateur, but who has greater Amateur leanings than a Weak Professional.

The second step in creating an Amateur-Professional Index was to carefully differentiate each delegate and to place similar delegates into the same classification. The raw scores previously established (see Table 4.2) aided in the construction of cut-points used to delineate Strong Amateurs from Weak Amateurs, Weak Amateurs from Weak Professionals, and Weak Professionals from Strong Professionals.

Ideally, each respondent would have received a "perfect" score which would automatically separate the group into distinct classifications. Realistically, few delegates fit perfectly into any one classification, and so the distribution, tempered by the meaning of the scores given each response, had to be carefully analyzed before cut-points could justifiably be established. Care was taken to avoid the methodological error of evenly distributing the population among the four categories. Intuition had to also be suspended to prevent preconceived notions from biasing the final distribution of the delegates. The following method was therefore used to create cut-points which would not only be methodologically sound, but would also provide an adequate sample in each classification for subsequent analysis. (See Appendix II for the computer program used to create this scale).

In order to assure uniformity as well as the best methodological creation of cut-points, the decision was made to take the range of possible scores, divide this by the number of intended categories, and to make this amount equal the range of each category. The range being equal to 3.086 and the desired number of categories being equal to

TABLE 4.2

Raw Distribution of Amateur-Professional Intensity Scores
Based Upon Ten Items
(AMPROS)

Intensity Score	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency(%)	Cumulative Frequency(%)
2.7143	1	0.1	0.1
2.8000	2	0.2	0.2
2.8889	2	0.2	0.4
2.9000	3	0.2	0.6
3.0000	10	0.8	1.5
3.1000	16	1.3	2.8
3.1250	1	0.1	2.8
3.2000	11	0.9	3.7
3.2222	1	0.1	3.8
3.2500	1	0.1	3.9
3.3000	29	2.3	6.3
3.3750	1	0.1	6.3
3.4000	33	2.7	9.0
3.4444	7	0.6	9.6
3.5000	52	4.2	13.8
3.5556	2	0.2	14.0
3.6000	59	4.8	18.8
3.6667	4	0.3	19.1
3.7000	58	4.7	23.8
3.7143	1	0.1	23.9
3.7500	2	0.2	24.0

TABLE 4.2 (Con't)

Intensity Score	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency(%)	Cumulative Frequency(%)
3.7778	6	0.5	24.5
3.8000	92	7.4	32.0
3.8571	2	0.2	32.1
3.8889	8	0.6	32.8
3.9000	92	7.4	40.3
4.0000	88	7.1	47.4
4.1000	79	6.4	53.8
4.1111	6	0.5	54.3
4.1250	2	0.2	54.5
4.1429	1	0.1	54.5
4.2000	60	4.8	59.4
4.2222	4	0.3	59.7
4.2500	1	0.1	59.8
4.2857	2	0.2	60.0
4.3000	42	3.4	63.4
4.3333	4	0.3	63.7
4.3750	3	0.2	64.0
4.4000	52	4.2	68.2
4.4286	1	0.1	68.3
4.4444	4	0.3	68.6
4.5000	49	4.0	72.6
4.5556	3	0.2	72.8

TABLE 4.2 (Con't)

Intensity Score	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency(%)	Cumulative Frequency(%)
4.5714	1	0.1	72.9
4.6000	50	4.0	76.9
4.6250	2	0.2	77.1
4.6667	1	0.1	77.2
4.7000	65	5.2	82.5
4.7500	1	0.1	82.5
4.7778	4	0.3	82.9
4.8000	55	4.4	87.3
4.8889	6	0.5	87.8
4.9000	37	3.0	90.8
5.0000	43	3.5	94.3
5.1000	21	1.7	96.0
5.1111	2	0.2	96.2
5.2000	18	1.5	97.6
5.2222	1	0.1	97.7
5.3000	8	0.6	98.4
5.4000	8	0.6	99.0
5.5000	6	0.5	99.5
5.5556	1	0.1	99.6
5.6000	4	0.3	99.9
5.8000	1	0.1	100.0

four results in the range for each category to be approximately .77. Upon investigation, the distribution of the scores appeared to be compatible with these cut-points and so the lowest score, 2.7143⁹ was added .77 to it to give the upper limit of the Strong Amateur at 3.4843. The lower limit for the Weak Amateur category was 3.4844 with the upper limit being set at 4.2544. The range for Weak Professionals was 4.2545 through 5.0245 and for Strong Professionals it was 5.0246 through 5.8000. This results in a distribution of 9.6 percent in the Strong Amateur category, 50.2 percent in the Weak Amateur category, 34.5 percent in the Weak Professional category, and 5.7 percent in the Strong Professional category. Intuitively, this distribution appears to be a good distribution of the delegates as to what would be expected. Although the extreme categories have less than 10 percent of the delegates each, this is both realistic as well as acceptable for making statistical inferences.

Since it is recognized that motives for participation are closely related to the incentives presented by the political organization, it is necessary to formulate a means of analyzing this relationship. To accomplish this, the delegates were asked to consider a series of thirteen statements as reasons for remaining involved in politics. The delegates were asked to respond to each statement as being:

1. Very Important;
2. Fairly Important;
3. Not Very Important;
4. Not Important At All.

As stated in the preceding chapter, the items were designed so that three broad classifications of incentives could be achieved. These are material incentives, solidary incentives and purposive incentives. The items themselves were identical to those

used in the 1972 Roback study with the exception that a fifth item was added to the material index.¹⁰ The responses to the following sets of items were used for creating the indices from which incentive scores for each delegate were created. The material items include: 1. Politics is a way of life in which I feel comfortable and enjoy; 2. I want to have a personal career in politics and run for office; 3. Party work gives one visibility, recognition and authority; 4. Party activism helps me make business or professional contacts; and the new item 5. The material rewards that come from having political influence. The solidary items include: 1. Family members or friends are active in the party (as officials, workers or officeholders); 2. I enjoy the excitement and drama of campaigns and conventions; 3. Party politics provides a way to fulfill my obligation to my community; 4. The friendship and social contacts provided by involvement in party activity. The purposive items include: 1. I feel a strong sense of loyalty to the purposes that my party stands for; 2. I feel that politics is a way to maintain or change certain things in society; 3. I want to get the party and candidates to support certain issues; 4. The appeal of the policy programs of particular candidates in my party.

The original responses were coded in the following manner: Very Important as 1; Fairly Important as 2; Not Very Important as 3; and Not Important At All as 4. Since it is preferable to have the low end of the Likert-summed index as the Not Important responses, and the high end of the scale as the Very Important response, the first step in creating these indices was to recode each response so that Very Important became a score of 4; Fairly Important became 3; Not

Very Important became 2; and Not Important At All became 1. (See Appendix III for the computer programs used to create these indices). In each case, the item scores were summed and divided by the total number of questions answered. By use of this method, scores could range from a low of 1.0 to a high of 4.0. However, it should be noted that for a respondent's answers to be included in the aggregate analysis, at least three questions in each of the three categories had to be answered. This restriction was instituted to protect the data from being biased by respondents who did not answer enough questions to make their index score reliable.

The next step in creating these indices was to produce a distribution of these scores so that appropriate cut-points could be determined. (See Table 4.3). As is always the problem when creating cut-points for indices, the researcher must satisfy the two requirements of being both methodologically sound as well as providing adequate numbers in each category to make statistical analysis possible. Since the data can range from 1.0 to 4.0 and since three categories are desired (to be compatible and comparable with 1972 data) the best possible distribution would have cut-points ranging from 1.0 to 1.99; 2.0 to 2.99 and 3.0 to 4.0. However, since the data are not absolutely distinct from each other, but is rather a continuous scale index, slight variations from the norm are not only acceptable but at times preferable. Investigation of the distribution of the material incentive scores shows that the best cut-points¹¹ are : Not Important - 1.0000 thru 1.8000; Fairly Important - 1.8001 thru 2.6000; Very Important - 2.6001 thru 4.0000. Cut-points for the solidary incentive index are: Not Important -

TABLE 4.3

Raw Distribution of Incentive Item Scores
Material Incentive Scores

Intensity Score	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Relative Frequency(%)	Cumulative Frequency(%)
1.0000	69	5.7	5.7
1.2000	71	5.9	11.6
1.2500	1	0.1	11.7
1.4000	120	9.9	21.6
1.5000	1	0.1	21.7
1.6000	158	13.1	34.7
1.8000	154	12.7	47.5
2.0000	155	12.8	60.3
2.2000	132	10.9	71.2
2.2500	3	0.2	71.5
2.3333	1	0.1	71.5
2.4000	89	7.4	78.9
2.6000	75	6.2	85.1
2.7500	5	0.4	85.5
2.8000	54	4.5	90.0
3.0000	36	3.0	93.0
3.2000	25	2.1	95.0
3.2500	2	0.2	95.3
3.3333	1	0.1	95.3
3.4000	15	1.2	96.5
3.5000	3	0.2	96.8

TABLE 4.3 (Con't)

Intensity Score	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Relative Frequency (%)	Cumulative Frequency (%)
3.6000	6	0.5	97.3
3.7500	2	0.2	97.4
3.8000	13	1.1	98.5
4.0000	18	1.5	100.0

TABLE 4.3 (Con't)

Solidary Incentive Scores

Intensity Score	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Relative Frequency(%)	Cumulative Frequency(%)
1.0000	8	0.7	0.7
1.2500	14	1.2	1.8
1.5000	49	4.1	5.9
1.7500	65	5.4	11.3
2.0000	117	9.7	21.0
2.2500	163	13.5	34.6
2.3333	1	0.1	34.6
2.5000	184	15.3	49.9
2.6667	1	0.1	50.0
2.7500	189	15.7	65.7
3.0000	144	12.0	77.7
3.2500	110	9.1	86.8
3.3333	3	0.2	87.0
3.5000	63	5.2	92.3
3.6667	3	0.2	92.5
3.7500	39	3.2	95.8
4.0000	51	4.2	100.0

TABLE 4.3 (Con't)

Purposive Incentive Scores

Intensity Score	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Relative Frequency (%)	Cumulative Frequency (%)
1.0000	1	0.1	0.1
1.5000	1	0.1	0.2
1.7500	4	0.3	0.5
2.0000	9	0.7	1.2
2.2500	20	1.7	2.9
2.5000	47	3.9	6.8
2.6667	1	0.1	6.9
2.7500	78	6.5	13.4
3.0000	128	10.6	24.0
3.2500	197	16.3	40.3
3.5000	235	19.5	59.8
3.6667	2	0.2	60.0
3.7500	251	20.8	80.8
4.0000	231	19.2	100.0

1.0000 thru 2.0000; Fairly Important - 2.0001 thru 3.0000; Very Important - 3.0001 thru 4.0000. Cut-points for the purposive incentive index are: Not Important - 1.0000 thru 2.5000; Fairly Important - 2.5001 thru 3.2500; Very Important - 3.2501 thru 4.0000.

The use of these cut-points results in the following distribution of the respondents:

Material Incentive Index - 571 delegates were classified in the Not Important category, which comprises 46.3 percent of the total population; 455 delegates were classified in the Fairly Important category, which comprises 36.9 percent; and 206 delegates were classified in the Very Important category, which comprises 16.7 percent.

Solidary Incentive Index - 254 delegates were classified in the Not Important category, which comprises 20.6 percent; 683 delegates were classified in the Fairly Important category, which comprises 55.4 percent; and 295 delegates were classified in the Very Important category, which comprises 23.9 percent.

Purposive Incentive Index - 82 delegates were classified in the Not Important category, which comprises 6.7 percent; 406 delegates were classified in the Fairly Important category, which comprises 33.0 percent; and 744 delegates were classified in the Very Important category, which comprises 60.4 percent.

In conclusion, this chapter has provided the reader adequate knowledge of how the data were accumulated and prepared for the analyses which shall follow. As in any study, it is the relationship between the data and the hypotheses which is of greatest importance to the researcher. However, failure to explain the nature of the data or

how the data has been transformed into more useable form is a serious breach of the scientific method. Therefore, this chapter's specificity was necessitated by a desire to provide the reader adequate information about the study; not just to make the following chapters more readily understandable, but also to provide future studies the opportunity to replicate this study exactly as it was performed. Without this attention to detail, the reader could never be sure that the desired relationship between the theoretical and the empirical stages survived the transition from the conceptual to the operational levels of measurement. The testing of the hypotheses and the analysis of the data will comprise the next three chapters.

NOTES

- ¹It should be noted that although this is less than the 62 percent response rate of the Roback project for 1972 (See The Journal of Politics, v. 37, p. 442) it far exceeds the response rate achieved by Soule and Clarke in their Democratic study for 1968 (See American Political Science Review, v. 64, p. 891).
- ²The Associated Press survey was reported in The New York Times, "Survey Classifies G.O.P. Delegates," August 8, 1976, p. 31.
- ³John W. Soule, James W. Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," American Political Science Review, v. 64 (September, 1970), pp. 888-898.
- ⁴Norman H. Nie, C. Hadlai Hull, Jean G. Jenkins, Karin Steinbrenner and Dale H. Bent, Statistical Package for the Social Science, second edition, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.
- ⁵Soule, Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," p. 890.
- ⁶Thomas H. Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Journal of Politics, v. 37 (May, 1975), pp. 436-468.
- ⁷Ibid., p. 468.
- ⁸For the actual score given for each response, consult Appendix I, the Recode statement for each variable.
- ⁹Further analysis indicated that actually this score was slightly less when carried beyond four decimal points. This explains the use of 2.5000 as the lower limit in the computer program found in Appendix I.
- ¹⁰Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," footnote 27, p. 454.
- ¹¹This was determined by examining the raw distribution in Table 4.3 as well as taking into account the meaning of the scores provided to each response. In each instance the desire was to provide a sufficient number of cases in each category without distorting the accuracy of the classifications. These cut-points appear to satisfy these two requirements.

CHAPTER V

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DELEGATES

Before actually discussing the relationships between activist style and other variables of interest, an overall description of the 1976 Republican National Convention will be presented. By providing this information the reader should be in a position to better comprehend the population from which this data was obtained, and consequently, to better understand the analyses of the subclassified variables provided throughout this study.

Given the fact that the Republican delegates are basically a homogeneous group, one should look for patterns in characteristics and interpret the data accordingly. While relationships may not be exceptionally strong in some instances, they become of greater importance when compared with the characteristics of the group as a whole. The purpose of analyzing this demographic data is to provide a reference point from which analysis and interpretation of the data may be made.

Perhaps the best way of presenting this information is by comparing these facts with the delegates of the 1972 Republican National Convention. One columnist summarized the 1972 Convention in the following manner: "... the Republicans now assembling in the torpid political atmosphere of Miami Beach are white, middle-aged and prosperous."¹ Although some differences have occurred in the four years since this statement was made, it is basically still an accurate

description of the Republican delegates. The Republican Party boasted in 1972 that the most "reformed" aspect of the Republican Convention was the greatly increased participation of women.² Although the delegates only numbered 1,348 in 1972, 469 or 35 percent of the delegates were women. One would have expected that this "reform" movement would have persisted and that the 1976 Convention would have shown another increase in the representation of women. However, this was not the case. The total number of delegates to the Convention was increased to 2,259, almost a 40 percent increase over 1972, and yet women only represented 31 percent of the Convention delegates.

Concerning race, blacks represented 3.1 percent of the Convention, an increase over 1968 by 1.9 percent. In 1976, once again, 76 or 3.1 percent of the delegates to the Convention were black. Although the number of black delegates has increased since 1972, their percentage share of delegate seats remained the same. Although no data was provided for the 1972 Convention, it should be noted that 1.2 percent of the delegates had a Spanish surname; and approximately 1.0 percent were American Indian or Oriental.

Another characteristic which is frequently useful in interpreting data is age. In 1972, delegates under the age of 30 comprised 7.3 percent of the delegation, which was a significant increase over the 1 percent representation they received in 1968. In 1976, however, this number decreased to 6.7 percent. In 1972, 12 percent of the delegates were over the age of 65. At the 1976 Convention, 12.8 percent of the delegates were over the age of 60. It would appear that little change

by age had occurred since 1972. In 1976,³ only 1 percent of the delegates were between the ages of 18 and 20, 7.4 percent were between 21 and 30, 18.4 percent were between 31 and 40, 34.0 percent were between 41 and 50 and 25.5 percent were between 51 and 60. As can clearly be seen, the greatest number comprise the 41-50 category, with nearly 73 percent of the entire delegation being over the age of 40.

A factor which has been hypothesized to be of importance when discussing political participation is the amount of family income. As might be expected, approximately two-thirds of the delegates in 1976 earned or came from families with incomes of more than \$25,000 per year. In fact, approximately 23.5 percent of the delegates actually earned more than \$50,000 per year. Interestingly, only 2.9 percent of the delegates earned less than \$10,000 per year. 6.3 percent earned between \$10,000 and \$14,999, and 24.4 percent earned between \$15,000 and 24,999. According to the New York Times survey,⁴ 60 percent of the delegates who backed Governor Ronald Reagan earn incomes of \$25,000 or more, while 73 percent of President Gerald Ford's supporters earned \$25,000 or more. It was also reported that 5 percent of the Reagan delegates earned less than \$10,000 while only 3 percent of the Ford delegation earned less than this amount.

Another variable which deserves investigation concerns the number of years of education each delegate possesses. Approximately 65 percent of the delegates to the 1976 Convention held at least a college degree. Of this group, 22.3 percent were college graduates, 11.3 percent attended graduate school but did not receive a graduate

degree and 8.3 percent did receive a Masters degree. Of interest is that 21.5 percent of the delegates at the convention held an advanced degree, i.e. M.D., Ph.D., or LL.B., etc. of equal interest is the fact that only .7 percent of the delegates possess an educational attainment of grade school or less. When compared with their own father's level of education, 71.0 percent of the delegates would be considered to have made an upward movement in educational attainment and 16.1 percent would remain stable. Only 9.9 percent of the delegates had a decrease in educational attainment as compared to the level their fathers had attained.⁵

The last major social variable to be analyzed is occupation. Although many of the delegates were in a position where they could actually claim more than one occupation, the survey directed them to give what they considered as their primary occupation. The largest single category chosen was the professional classification. 34.5 percent of the delegates claimed that their occupation would be considered professional, and not unexpectedly, 41.8 percent of the professional group were members of the legal profession. The next largest group were those who classified themselves as being in business. This group encompassed both the small businessman as well as executives in large corporations. This group accounted for 30.2 percent of the Convention delegates. The last major group were those who classified themselves as housewives. 9.4 percent of the delegates comprised this category. Delegates whose major occupation was that of an elected official accounted for another 7.6 percent of the delegation. Most delegates who had been elected to an official position served on the local level

(47.4%) and state level (43.4%) with only a small number (9.2%) ever getting elected to a national office. Of all the various offices reported as being held by the delegates, State Legislator was by far (38.8%) the most frequently elected position held by these delegates. The next most frequent office was at the city council level, and the number was significantly less than for the state legislature (11.9%). Although the number was quite small, it should be noted that 39 delegates (1.7%) identified their major occupation as student. This group was predominantly comprised of Reagan supporters, presumably due to the congruence between their approaches to the practice of politics.⁶ It was also noted that while Ford had greater backing by delegates who were elected officials, presumably due to his 28 years in public service, Reagan was favored more by the self-employed businessmen or doctors.⁷

The last characteristic to be given consideration will be the religious preference of the delegates. It comes as a very little surprise that the vast majority of the delegates (74.8%) classify themselves as being a member of one of the Protestant sects. The next largest group (15.9%) classify themselves as being members of the Catholic Church. Only 1.9 percent of the delegates claim to belong to a religious faith which is not covered by the three previous groupings, and 2.1 percent claim not to belong to any religious group at all.

The aforementioned data are useful in understanding relationships with other variables. Kirkpatrick states that "Theories of democratic representation assume that a person's opinions will reflect his

'interests' which derive from his social position as well as from his idiosyncratic attributes."⁸ While we have already examined the general socio-economic status of the delegates, we must now become more specific in order to test the theories which relate social position to political participation.

In order to examine these relationships, contingency tables were generated between activist style and the social background characteristics of family income, sex, age, education, occupation, race, and religion. The correlations between these variables are presented in Table 5.1.

When compared with the Roback study of 1972, one can see that the findings are basically similar with a few slight variations.⁹ In both 1972 and 1976 the family income variable was found to be weakly associated with activist style. The relationship, however, was slightly reversed. Roback reported that 68 percent of the strong professionals earned more than \$25,000 per year, but that only 44 percent of the strong amateurs fall in this same category.¹⁰ In 1976, the number of Strong Professionals earning over \$25,000 had declined to 57 percent and the Strong Amateurs in this category had increased to 55 percent. Looking at the other end of the scale, Roback reported that 11 percent of the Strong Amateurs and 3 percent of the Strong Professionals earned less than \$10,000 per year.¹¹ In 1976, this relationship was again reversed. The number of Strong Amateurs had increased to 5 percent and the number of Strong Professionals had increased to 8 percent.

Although the study of 1972 failed to produce a significant

TABLE 5.1

Correlations (Gamma) Between Activist Style and
Social Background Characteristics

<u>Social Background Characteristics</u>	<u>Gamma with Activist Style</u>
Family Income	.10 (N=1167) p<.007
Sex	-.10 (N=1226) *
Age	.08 (N=1225) *
Education	.02 (N=1220) *
Occupation	-.03 (N=1196) *
Race	.59 (N=1211) p<.0001
Religion	.05 (N=1210) p<.0002

a

The subclassified income categories are: under \$10,000; \$10,001 to 24,999; \$25,000 or over. Education is divided into: high school degree or less; some college and college graduates; post-graduate-professional degrees. The occupation categories are: Professional (doctors, lawyers); Business (Banking, insurance, etc.); Clerical; Blue Collar (farm); Elected Official; Other (students, housewives, etc.). Race was classified simply as White; Black and Other (Mexican-American; Oriental; American Indian). Religion was left as Protestant; Catholic; Jewish; Other and None. Gamma is used because activist style is an ordinal variable. All significance levels to be reported in this investigation will be based on the chi-square test.

*

Not statistically significant at the .05 level. When relationships are found to be statistically significant, the actual level of significance will be reported.

relationship between activist style and race, this was not the case in 1976. The data shows that this variable had the greatest gamma and level of significance of all the variables considered. When compared with the 1972 data, significant differences can be noted. As reported in the study of 1972, 18 of the 30 black delegates were classified as amateurs and only 1 was considered a Strong Professional.¹² At the 1976 Convention, only 5 of the 27 (19%) black delegates were classified as amateurs (all Weak Amateurs) and the remaining 22 delegates were considered professionals (with 6 being classified as Strong Professionals). The 'other' category failed to produce any significant findings, but rather gave a general distribution among the four activist styles.

A possible explanation for these findings is that in an effort to meet "quotas" the party regulars have recruited members of the black race who hold similar viewpoints as themselves. This is somewhat reinforced by the fact that when black delegates were cross-tabulated with method of selection to be delegates only seven out of the twenty-two professional delegates were elected by primary election. It should also be noted that of the five delegates classified as amateurs, three were elected by primary election and none were appointed. These facts provide the possibility that minority professionals might have been recruited to retain the homogeneity already established by the professional members of the Republican Party.

The only other variable which was found to be statistically significant when cross-tabulated with activist style was religion.

The distribution would be as expected except for the category of Strong Professional. In this classification the percentage of Protestant representation decreased by approximately 20 percent from a normal distribution. Similarly, Catholic and Jewish Strong Professionals increased by about 10 and 7 percent respectively. The explanation for this phenomenon could also be the same as that given above for explaining the increase in the rate of minority race professionalism. Unfortunately, the data provided by this study is not sufficient to address itself to this hypothesis.

Although the remaining four variables failed to produce conclusive over-all associations with activist style, the patterns which may be developing should be mentioned so that future research may eventually show the significance of these variables in explaining party activism.

Unlike the 1972 data, sex did not produce a significant relationship with activist style. The findings, however, were in the same direction as found in 1972. In 1972, Roback reported that "when activist style was collapsed into two categories, 51 percent of the females were amateurs as compared to 39 percent of the males."¹³ The 1976 data shows that while the percentage of amateurs over-all increased, 63 percent of the women were amateurs compared to 59 percent of the males. Roback's hypothesis that this could be due to the greater number of women volunteers in state and local political organizations appears to be sustained, or at least not refuted, by this new set of data.¹⁴

Concerning age, little deviation from the expected can be noted. The only deviation strong enough to warrant mention is that approxi-

mately 6 percent more Strong Amateurs were under the age of 30 than would be expected by random distribution. While this finding is extremely slight statistically, it is at least in the direction which would be expected.

In terms of education, the amateurs and professionals were almost identical. The differences between the two groups were so insignificant that absolutely no predictive power can be attributed to this variable.

Occupation is another variable which provides very little information when cross-tabulated with activist style. The distribution among the various occupational categories appears to mirror very closely the distribution of these groups in the Convention without controlling for activist style.

Although this chapter attempted to provide correlations between activist style and various social background characteristics, its major function was to provide a detailed picture of the delegates to the 1976 Convention. The correlations were admittedly weak, but the data do provide some insight when patterns are observed. It is these patterns which will be helpful in the next chapter concerning the background and socialization of delegates.

NOTES

- ¹R.W.Apple, Jr., "G.O.P.Delegates Contrast With Democrats," The New York Times, August 20, 1972, p. 50.
- ²Ibid.
- ³These figures are based upon the 1976 survey, and thus may be inaccurate by a slight variation with the total population.
- ⁴"Survey Classifies G.O.P. Delegates," The New York Times, August 8, 1976, p. 31 (Survey conducted by the Associated Press).
- ⁵Although the actual statistics are not presented, this group is predominantly represented by the female members of the Convention.
- ⁶"Survey Classifies G.O.P. Delegates," The New York Times, August 8, 1976, p. 31 (Survey conducted by the Associated Press).
- ⁷Ibid.
- ⁸Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Representation in the American National Conventions: The Case of 1972," British Journal of Political Science, v. 5 (July, 1975), p. 271.
- ⁹Thomas H. Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Journal of Politics, v. 37 (May, 1975), p. 445.
- ¹⁰Ibid.
- ¹¹Ibid.
- ¹²Ibid., p. 446.
- ¹³Ibid., p. 445.
- ¹⁴Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL BACKGROUND AND THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE DELEGATES

The purpose of this chapter is to focus upon the factors which have had an effect upon the political socialization of the delegates to the 1976 Convention. While the socialization process is by nature a complex problem, the logical relationship between activist style and this process should begin with the family. Therefore, the first element of analysis will begin with the delegates' family political background and how this has effected their own political socialization.

The delegates were asked "Were one or both of your parents active in politics?" The data in Table 6.1 show that only a little better than one-third of all the delegates responding to the question came from politically active families. The distribution of the data, however, do not support the hypothesis that more professionals would come from politically active families than amateurs and vice-versa. In fact, while the data do show that nearly three-quarters of the Strong Amateurs came from politically inactive families, it also shows that the next highest group to fall in this category is the Strong Professional. This differs strongly with Roback's findings for the delegates to the 1972 Convention.¹ While the new data support the hypothesis very strongly when Strong and Weak Amateurs are considered, it fails when the professional groups are considered.² As would be expected, amateurs appear to receive their political socialization outside the family; however, it would appear that professionals also

TABLE 6.1

Parental Political Activity

Political Activity	Strong Amateurs (N=116) (in percentages)	Weak Amateurs (N=609)	Weak Pros. (N=420)	Strong Pros. (N=67)	Total (N=1212)
Active	26	33	41	33	35
Inactive	$\frac{74}{100}$	$\frac{67}{100}$	$\frac{59}{100}$	$\frac{67}{100}$	$\frac{65}{100}$

contingency coefficient = .10 $p < .006$

Cramers V = .10

receive less socialization at home than would be expected. It would seem that answers to the socialization question should be sought elsewhere than in the family-childhood experiences.

While parental political activity is not very useful in explaining the delegates' activist style, the party preference of the parents is significant enough to warrant being mentioned. As is shown in Table 6.2, only 50 percent of the Strong Amateur- have parents who are both active and Republican, while the Strong Professional and Weak Professional have 78 and 84 percent respectively in this same category. These findings tend to indicate that when the parents were politically active and both Republican, the offspring tended to acquire their political orientation and assume a more professional activist style. Likewise, when the parents were active but not Republican, the children tended to acquire a taste for party participation elsewhere and at a later date. This would tend to make them more susceptible to being exposed to the amateur conditions with which most party conversion processes are surrounded.³

In order to better evaluate this hypothesis, it would be necessary to determine what was the initial agent which caused the delegates to become politically involved. This was done by asking the delegates "Who would you say was most important in getting you interested in politics?" This was a closed question with the possible responses being: Family; adult peer group, with a place to specify; school experiences (high school and college); and events and issues (war, state of economy, social unrest, etc. - with a place to specify). The data accumulated from this question can be found in Table 6.3.

TABLE 6.2

Party Identification of Active Parents and Activist Style

Party	Strong Amateurs (N=29) (in percentages)	Weak Amateurs (N=195) (in percentages)	Weak Pros. (N=168)	Strong Pros. (N=21)	Total (N=413)
Republican	50	70	84	78	75
Democrat	$\frac{47}{97a}$	$\frac{27}{97}$	$\frac{13}{97}$	$\frac{13}{91}$	$\frac{22}{97}$

contingency coefficient = .24 $p < .0003$ Cramers V = .18

^a Bipartisan parents only amounted to 16, and their distribution was virtually equal to a random distribution, and so they have been eliminated from this table. This explains the failure to achieve a total of 100%.

Although the data are not statistically significant, the patterns which have developed are in the direction which supports the basic hypothesis. Specifically, that Strong Professionals are more likely than Strong Amateurs initially to be influenced by their families. Also, it would be expected that Strong Amateurs would be influenced more by events and issues than Strong Professionals. The fact, however, that all groups were influenced more by events and issues than any other agent would indicate that this group of delegates received a greater proportion of their primary political socialization outside the family and at a later age than what would be expected and was found in other studies.⁴

These socialization variables, although not as overwhelming as would be expected, do provide some understanding of the initial agents associated with becoming politically active. More important are those variables which are more concerned with the immediate factors to party involvement. Basically, this concerns the delegates' initial recruitment into the Republican Party.

There are essentially two ways in which a delegate becomes initially involved in politics. Either he can be asked to join or else he was self-recruited. In order to obtain data on this variable, the following question was asked: "Which one of the following circumstances best describes your initial recruitment into the party?" This was a closed question, with possible responses being: "Primarily, because I was asked to join" or "Primarily, I was self-recruited." Table 6.4 provides the information obtained from this question. Although the data are not statistically significant, a pattern does

TABLE 6.3

Activist Style and Agent of Initial Political Socialization

Initial Agent	Strong Amateurs (N=117) (in percentages)	Weak Amateurs (N=609)	Weak Pros. (N=415)	Strong Pros. (N=67)	Total (N=1208)
Family	17	22	26	27	23
School Experience	9	10	12	10	12
Adult Peer Group	9	12	13	18	10
Events	$\frac{65}{100}$	$\frac{56}{100}$	$\frac{49}{100}$	$\frac{45}{100}$	$\frac{55}{100}$

contingency coefficient = .11

p>.05

Cramers V = .06

TABLE 6.4

Activist Style and Source of Initial Party Recruitment

Source of Initial Recruitment	Strong Amateurs (N=118) (in percentages)	Weak Amateurs (N=610) (in percentages)	Weak Pros. (N=420)	Strong Pros. (N=68)	Total (N=1216)
Asked by Party Official or Member	18	23	26	29	24
Self-recruited	$\frac{82}{100}$	$\frac{77}{100}$	$\frac{74}{100}$	$\frac{71}{100}$	$\frac{76}{100}$

contingency coefficient = .06 p>.05

Cramers V = .06

evolve. An overwhelming number of delegates (76%) claimed to have been self-recruited into the Party.⁵ While this was not to be expected, the pattern concerning activist style was expected. The number who were self-recruited decreases steadily from Strong Amateur through the scale to the Strong Professional. This would be consistent with the hypothesis that those of the Amateur persuasion would be more likely to be self-recruited than the professionals, who have political connections and are more likely to be asked to join. This provides some support to the theory that amateurs are more likely to join due to impersonal reasons while the professionals prefer the personal contact they have with members of the party.

In examining the relationship between activist style and the number of years spent active in the Party, one would expect a positive correlation between longevity and professionalism. This expectation is supported by the data provided in Table 6.5. The only surprise encountered in this table is the fact that up to fifteen years active in the Party is dominated by the Amateurs. The Professionals only dominate when more than fifteen years of service is recorded. It would seem that the change since 1972 has been in the 11-15 years category. Although the pattern is essentially the same as that reported in 1972,⁶ it can be seen that in this category the balance has been reversed in favor of the amateurs. This supports the trend which has been becoming more apparent, which is, that the delegates of the amateur persuasion are beginning to be more strongly involved in convention participation.

Another factor which would be considered useful in explaining the

TABLE 6.5

Activist Style and Years Active in the Party

Years Active	Strong Amateurs (N=118) (in percentages)	Weak Amateurs (N=614) (in percentages)	Weak Pros. (N=423)	Strong Pros. (N=70)	Total (N=1225)
1 - 5	13	10	8	3	9
6 - 10	19	18	15	7	16
11 - 15	34	31	23	27	28
Over 15	$\frac{34}{100}$	$\frac{41}{100}$	$\frac{54}{100}$	$\frac{63}{100}$	$\frac{47}{100}$

gamma = .21 p<.0001

Tau B = .12 p<.0001

recruitment of delegates in terms of activist style would be the number of previous conventions attended by the delegates. Data concerning this variable may be found in Table 6.6. Although the data obtained were not found to be statistically significant, the same pattern found in previously mentioned data is still apparent. Of those delegates for which 1976 was their first national convention, 81 percent were of the Strong Amateur classification as compared to 63 percent for the Strong Professionals. The expected pattern remains until those delegates who have attended five or more conventions are considered. Surprisingly, more Strong Amateurs than Strong Professionals have attended five or more national Conventions.⁷ Perhaps a more noteworthy finding is the fact that of the delegates who answered this question, 74 percent were attending a national Convention for the first time. This finding supports much of the data which this study has been producing, specifically, that the delegates to the 1976 Republican Convention were of a much more amateur style (by definition) than what would have been expected. While it is true that in 1972 70 percent of the delegates were attending their first Convention, it should be noted that only 54 percent of the Strong Professional group fell into this category.⁸ In 1976, this number had increased to 63 percent, while the Strong Amateur category was only increased by 1 percent. Although this data are not, by itself, overwhelming, it does provide support for the developing hypothesis that a shift in degree of activist style has taken place at the 1976 National Convention. This hypothesis will be considered further once all the relevant data have been examined.

TABLE 6.6

Number of Previous Conventions Attended by Activist Style

Number of Conventions	Strong Amateurs (N=118) (in percentages)	Weak Amateurs (N=618)	Weak Pros. (N=425)	Strong Pros. (N=70)	Total (N=1231)
None (1976 only)	81	74	73	63	74
One (1972)	5	9	10	13	10
One (other than 1972)	4	8	7	10	7
2 - 4	8	8	8	13	8
5 or more	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

gamma = .09 p > .05

Tau C = .05 p > .05

The data provided in Table 6.7 considers the method by which delegates were chosen for the 1976 Convention. The differences, although they are slight, are statistically significant. As is readily observable, in all instances in which the delegates were appointed, those selected were predominantly of the professional category. This would be expected, since it is assumed that appointment as a delegate could be a reward for loyal and long service to the party organization. Professionals, naturally, would best fit the description of providing long and loyal service to the party. Also to be expected is the fact that in primary elections, it is the Strong Amateur who dominates this category. It should be noted, however, that only 37 percent of the delegates report being elected as a delegate in a primary election. While this is consistent with the findings of Soule and Clarke,⁹ it differs with the data reported by Roback.¹⁰ It would appear that for at least 1976, the Republicans preferred to appoint rather than elect their delegates to the national convention.

The last variable to be considered a part of the political background of the delegate is his perception of his role as a delegate to the Convention. By examining the factors which led both to the delegates' recruitment into politics as well as his decision to participate in the 1976 Convention, we are better able to understand the motivation which exists beneath the activist style. It has been hypothesized that the differing activist styles will be of use in determining to whom the delegates felt most responsible at the convention. To use the terms of Robert K. Merton, an amateur's relation

TABLE 6.7

Delegate Selection Process by Activist Style

Method of Selection	Strong Amateurs (N=116) (in percentages)	Weak Amateurs (N=610)	Weak Pros. (N=420)	Strong Pros. (N=70)	Total (N=1216)
Appointment by State Convention	29	31	25	36	29
Appointment by Congressional District Convention	16	28	28	17	26
Primary Election	48	33	38	37	37
Appointment by State Committee or State Chairman	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{8}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{10}{100}$	$\frac{8}{100}$

contingency coefficient = .12

p<.03

Cramers V = .09

to politics is called a "cosmopolitan" while a professional is a "local."¹¹ The professional, as a "local," is most interested in local affairs to the exclusion of affairs outside his community. An amateur, on the other hand, is a "cosmopolitan," that is, his interests are broader and more representative of the group as a whole. In order to evaluate this hypothesis the following closed question was asked: "Besides your obligation to yourself, to whom did you feel most responsible at the Convention?" The possible responses were: Leader of my state delegation; delegation leaders for a candidate; people in my district; people in my state; other (with a space to specify). The three most popular responses to other were: my country; Ronald Reagan; and Gerald Ford. Table 6.8 contains the data obtained from this question. As can be seen, the data tends to support the hypothesis. Specifically, the fact that more than three times as many Strong Professional delegates felt most responsible to the leader of the state delegation than did the Strong Amateurs is a significant finding. It should also be noted that more than twice as many Strong Professionals felt most responsible to leaders for a candidate than did the Strong Amateurs. These findings support the hypothesis that professionals are more preoccupied with close, personal relationships than the amateur groups. Also supporting this interpretation is the fact that the amateurs are much more responsible to the people in their state, and to a lesser degree, the people in their district and the country. This would tend to indicate that their interests are much more representative of their constituency and less "personal" oriented. One interesting deviation which should

TABLE 6.8

Activist Style and Delegates' Perceptions of Convention Role

Party Segment	Strong Amateurs (N=117) (in percentages)	Weak Amateurs (N=611) (in percentages)	Weak Pros. (N=420)	Strong Pros. (N=65)	Total (N=1213)
Leader of State Delegation	6	11	12	20	11
Delegation Leaders for a Candidate	9	12	15	20	13
People in my District	44	39	41	36	40
People in my State	26	29	20	12	24
My Country	5	4	3	3	4
Reagan	7	3	3	3	3
Ford	2	1	2	3	2
Other	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$

contingency coefficient = .19 p<.002

Cramers V = .12

be noted is the small but obvious group of Strong Amateurs who felt most responsible to Ronald Reagan. This lone group would appear to present a theory that Reagan represented to the amateurs at the convention a non-personal, ideological message which generated much of his support. This factor goes far in explaining the heated feelings which arose throughout the Convention by the Reagan delegates. However, further inference would be mere speculation.

This concludes the discussion of the socialization and political background of the Convention delegates. Although much of the data which was presented failed to be statistically significant, the patterns which were generated are consistent with many of the hypotheses previously discussed. When considered with the data which was statistically significant, one can arrive at a very clear picture of the relationships between the various elements of socialization and political background characteristics of the delegates and their activist style.

NOTES

- ¹Thomas H. Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Journal of Politics, v. 37 (May, 1975), p. 447.
- ²Although the data do not resemble Roback's findings, the pattern of the data are somewhat similar. This pattern was also found by Soule and Clarke in their 1968 Democratic study (see American Political Science Review, v. 64, p. 892).
- ³Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," p. 447-448.
- ⁴See Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," p. 448 and John W. Soule and James W. Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," American Political Science Review, v. 64 (September, 1970), p. 892.
- ⁵These findings vary from what Roback reported in 1972 (see Journal of Politics, v. 37, p. 450). This was primarily due to the fact that the item from 1972 was not comparable to the 1976 item. In 1972, Dr. Roback reports that the categories had to be collapsed, therefore this study cannot provide a comparison with the 1972 data on this particular item.
- ⁶See Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Table 5, p. 451.
- ⁷It should be understood that when the categories are divided simply as Amateur and Professional, that the professional group has a slight advantage over the amateur group. Specifically, 8 professionals as compared to 5 amateurs. It should also be noted that such small numbers make statistical inference virtually impossible.
- ⁸Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Table 6, p. 452.
- ⁹Soule, Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," Table 4, p. 893.
- ¹⁰Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Table 6, p. 452.
- ¹¹Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials," Social Theory and Social Structure (rev. ed.; Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), pp. 387-420.

CHAPTER VII

INCENTIVES FOR SUSTAINED PARTY ACTIVISM

The principal concern of this chapter is to determine the reasons why political activists remain active in party politics. It is Sorauf's contention that "recruitment, in whatever form is a matching of the motives and goals of the individual with the incentives and expectations of the party organization."¹ In order to examine this relationship, the incentive items (see Chapters 3 and 4) have been crosstabulated with the delegates' activist style. It is expected that the delegates' activist style should be related to some extent by the specific motivations which are aroused by the incentives offered by party organizations. As Wilson states, "the principal reward of the professional is to be found in the extrinsic satisfactions of participation - power, income, status, or the fun of the game."² These rewards are defined as the material incentive items made available by participation in the party organization. The intangible rewards of the professional, according to Wilson, are to be found in the prestige, sociability and personal loyalties which politics can provide.³ These items are defined as the solidary incentive items. The amateur, however, is one who finds politics intrinsically appealing because it expresses a conception of the public interest.⁴ The amateur, therefore, finds his reward through achieving the goals of the political organization. This is referred to as the purposive incentive.

Each delegate was asked to rate the importance of a set of state-

ments dealing with reasons for staying involved in politics.⁵ Table 7.1 contains the data obtained when activist style was crosstabulated with each of the incentives indices previously created. The first portion of the table concerns itself with the relationship between activist style and the material incentive index. This relationship is very strongly in the hypothesized direction ($\gamma = .31$). The differences between the amateurs and professionals are also very distinct. While 46 percent of all the delegates found material incentives not important at all, it should also be noted that 37 percent found them to be fairly important. This finding may indicate that some delegates find material incentives more important than they are willing to admit due to the negative connotation associated with the idea of "politics for personal profit." The direction of the data should also be carefully noted. While 59 percent and 54 percent of the Strong Amateurs and Weak Amateurs, respectively, found material incentives not important, only 34 percent and 28 percent of the Weak Professionals and Strong Professionals were in this category. Similarly, only 15 percent of the Strong Amateurs placed very much importance on material incentives while 39 percent of the Strong Professionals were in this category. It is obvious that the hypothesized relationship between activist style and material rewards does indeed exist.

The second portion of Table 7.1 concerns itself with the relationship between activist style and the solidary incentive index. The overall findings are very similar to those reported by Roback in 1972.⁶ He found that 44 percent of all the delegates placed a fair amount of

TABLE 7.1

Activist Style and Incentives for Maintenance of Party Activism

Incentive Categories	Strong Amateurs (N=118) (in percentages)	Weak Amateurs (N=619) (in percentages)	Weak Pros. (N=425)	Strong Pros. (N=70)	Total (N=1232)
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MATERIAL

Not Important	59	54	34	28	46
Fairly Important	26	33	46	33	37
Very Important	$\frac{15}{100}$	$\frac{13}{100}$	$\frac{20}{100}$	$\frac{39}{100}$	$\frac{17}{100}$
gamma = .31	p<.0001	Tau C = .19	p<.0001		

SOLIDARY

Not Important	37	26	11	6	21
Fairly Important	50	53	60	54	55
Very Important	$\frac{13}{100}$	$\frac{21}{100}$	$\frac{29}{100}$	$\frac{40}{100}$	$\frac{24}{100}$
gamma = .34	p<.0001	Tau C = .20	p<.0001		

PURPOSIVE

Not Important	5	4	9	24	7
Fairly Important	21	29	41	31	33
Very Important	$\frac{74}{100}$	$\frac{67}{100}$	$\frac{50}{100}$	$\frac{45}{100}$	$\frac{60}{100}$
gamma = -.33	p<.0001	Tau C = -.19	p<.0001		

importance upon solidary incentives. This number has increased to 55 percent. This should not be totally unexpected when one examines the statements used to create the solidary incentive index. Specifically, the fact that civic duty is included in this index would cause a greater number of delegates to place more importance on this item than what would ordinarily be hypothesized. It should be noted, however, that the direction and distribution of the data are still in conformity with Wilson's hypothesis. Specifically, only 6 percent of the Strong Professionals place no importance on solidary incentives, while 37 percent of the Strong Amateurs are in this category. It should also be noted that 40 percent of the Strong Professionals feel that solidary incentives are very important, while only 13 percent of the Strong Amateurs feel this way. The distribution of the delegates who place a fair amount of importance on solidary incentives is fairly uniform, with a slight preference being shown by the professional categories. The strength of this relationship ($\gamma = .34$) adds to the support for the Wilson hypothesis already generated by the relationship between activist style and material incentives.

The final portion of Table 7.1 consists of the data produced from the crosstabulation of activist style with purposive incentives. The purposive motives were considered by the delegates to be the most important of the three incentive categories considered. Only 7 percent of the delegates found the purposive items of no importance, while 60 percent attributed very much importance to them as reasons for maintaining party activism. As expected, the distribution and direction of the data support the hypothesis which has been previously

stated. Specifically, only 5 percent of the Strong Amateurs feel that purposive incentives are not important compared to 24 percent of the Strong Professionals who fall in this category. Similarly, 74 percent of the Strong Amateurs consider purposive incentives to be very important as opposed to 45 percent of the Strong Professionals. It should also be noted that the data support Roback's contention that "attitudinal and motivational ambiguity is not characteristic of the amateur orientation."⁷ As he noted in 1972, the "Fairly Important" response was given to purposive incentive items more frequently by Strong Professionals (31%) than by Strong Amateurs (21%). It tends to indicate that the amateurs feel much more strongly about purposive incentives than their professional counterparts. These relationships, coupled with a strong level of association ($\gamma = -.33$), provide additional strength to the Wilson hypothesis concerning activist style and the incentives for the maintenance of party activism.

The previous relationships were all controlled for income, age, education and ideological self-identification. As Roback found in 1972,⁸ little change occurred when each relationship was reinspected with controls being used. In most cases, the level of significance was greatly enhanced. While the major relationships have remained intact, it may be useful and of interest to the reader to be made aware of how these various control variables clarified the distribution of the data.

The first control variable to be considered will be family income. The group which produced the most interesting variation when material

incentives were considered was the \$10,000 to 14,999 category. Within this group, 25 percent of the delegates placed a level of much importance on material incentives while only 17 percent of the overall group felt this way. Of even greater significance is the fact that 80 percent of the Strong Professionals in this category thought material incentives were very important compared to only 39 percent of the Strong Professionals within the entire delegation. A very similar finding was found when this group was checked with solidary incentive items. Consistent with these findings is the fact that this group had only 20 percent feel that purposive incentives were very important while Strong Professionals as a whole had 45 percent feel this way.

The second control variable to be utilized was age. The groups under the age of 30 were evidently too small to produce findings which were statistically significant when material incentives were considered. The remaining groups, although statistically significant, failed to produce any significant differences than the group as a whole. Similar findings were found for solidary incentives, with one possible exception. The over 60 category placed a slightly greater level of importance on solidary incentives than the delegation as a whole. Activist style, however, failed to produce any notable differences. It would appear that the older members of the delegation found the opportunity to meet others and relieve their boredom as a more important reason for participating than what was found in other age groups. When purposive incentives were controlled for age, the relationships appeared virtually unchanged from that produced for the

delegation as a whole. In each case both the direction and the distribution of the data were similar to that found without the use of controls. Age is apparently not a significant variable when activist style and incentives are being considered.

When material incentives were controlled for education only slight variations could be observed. College graduates appeared to place a slightly lesser degree of importance on material incentives than the group as a whole. Although this group as a whole placed less importance on material incentives, the Strong Professionals in this group who placed much importance on material incentives numbered 50 percent. This was a good deal more than the 39 percent found when the relationship was left uncontrolled. A similar result occurred when those delegates with masters degrees were considered. Interestingly, the relationship returned to what was found for the entire delegation when delegates with professional degrees were examined. When solidary incentives were considered, similar findings were reported. College graduates tended to place less importance on solidary items than the delegation as a whole. This finding was especially apparent in the amateur categories. The other educational categories tended to correspond with the general distribution for the delegation as a whole. The most deviations from the general distribution were found in the purposive categories. The direction of the data remain constant, but the intensity is generally more pronounced. The college graduate tended to differ more than most groups. This group, especially the amateurs, tended to place less importance upon purposive incentives than the delegation as a whole. A similar finding could be found

among those delegates with a masters degree. This group, however, placed a fair amount of importance on purposive incentives. It would appear that those delegates with more than a high school diploma, but less than a Ph.D. or professional degree, failed to follow the previously observed distributions of data as closely as the other educational categories.

The last control variable to be utilized with incentive variables was ideological self-identification.⁹ This control provided some of the most interesting relationships. In each of the three incentive categories only slight variations were noticed when the control groups were Strong Conservative and Conservative. Moderates and liberals, however, showed a very different relationship between activist style and each of the incentive categories. It appears in the case of material incentives that as one moves along the continuum from Strong Conservative to Liberal, material incentives become of greater importance. In the case of Moderates, 19 percent claim that material incentives are very important. This figure jumps to 45 percent when the Liberal Republicans are considered. It should be noted that very little differentiation between amateurs and professionals can be noted in these two groups. Virtually the same pattern is noticed when solidary items are compared with activist style. The real shift is again noted in the Liberal category. In this instance 53 percent of the delegates feel that solidary incentives are very important compared to 24 percent of the delegation as a whole. The amateurs in this category tend to place considerably less importance on solidary incentives than do the professionals. In the case of purposive

incentives, the Strong Conservatives place a greater level of importance on purposive items than the delegation as a whole. The Conservative group tends to mirror the previously reported data for the delegates as a group. The Moderates begin to shift their degree of importance from very important to fairly important. In this instance very little distinction can be noted in terms of activist style. The Liberal category once again presents the greatest deviation from the findings presented for the group as a whole. The level of very important drops from 60 percent to only 40 percent; and the level of not important increases from 7 percent to 25 percent. In this instance the differences between amateurs and professionals are very important. While it is true that 33 percent of the Strong Amateurs in this category feel that purposive incentives are not important, the Strong Professionals number 89 percent in this category. It is interesting to note that apparently Liberal Republicans do not fit the hypothesis concerning activist style, but rather they seem to be a separate group who respond to incentive items as if they were professionals, regardless of their classification in the activist index.

In summary, the relationships between activist style and incentives appears to support both Wilson's conceptual definitions of amateurs and professionals as well as the previous research which has been conducted in this area. In each category the relationships were as hypothesized and the degree of association was considerably stronger than what was produced in past research. This evidence, therefore, is particularly useful in explaining why certain groups become politically involved, and what keeps them involved beyond their initial recruitment.

NOTES

- ¹Quoted by Thomas H. Roback, "Motivation and Recruitment Among National Republican Activists: The Utility of Elazar's Political Subcultures," Sage Professional Papers in American Politics, v. 2, series no. 04-013 (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1974), p.7.
- ²James Q. Wilson, "The Amateur Democrat in American Politics," Parliamentary Affairs, v. 16 (October, 1962), p. 75.
- ³Ibid., p. 79.
- ⁴Ibid., p. 74.
- ⁵See Chapter IV, p. 33.
- ⁶Thomas H. Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Journal of Politics, v.37 (May, 1975), Table 8, p. 456.
- ⁷Ibid., p. 457.
- ⁸Ibid., Footnote 28, p. 457.
- ⁹It should be noted that ideological self-identification, by itself, has a strong relationship with activist style ($\gamma = .50$). The general relationship is that the amateurs tended to be more conservative, while the professionals were more likely to be moderates or liberals. Only two delegates classified themselves as strong liberals, and so this group was added to the liberal category.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary purpose throughout this study has been to determine the relationship that exists between the "activist style" of the delegates to the 1976 Republican National Convention and numerous other factors. Such factors include the socio-economic background of the delegates; their political background and its effect on the socialization process; and the incentives which motivate these men and women to become and remain politically active. In summary, it must be reported that the basic hypothesis has been accepted. It is once again possible to utilize the Wilson conception of amateur and professional activists to establish an empirically defined activist among the delegates. Furthermore, this activist style has proven to be an effective means of differentiating delegates based on various background and attitudinal variables.

The first hypothesis generated in Chapter III dealt with the delegates' socio-economic background. The inconclusiveness which existed prior to this study unfortunately still remains. Although income once again proved to be statistically significant, the relationship previously reported with sex did not re-appear.¹ New relationships between race and religion, however, were found to be strongly related to activist style. The importance of social characteristics in influencing activist style remains inconclusive and subject to future scrutiny.

The second hypothesis dealt with the political background and socialization of the delegates. Although some variables failed to produce statistically significant relationships, the hypothesis must be considered to be confirmed. Those few variables which produced weak relationships (agents of socialization, previous conventions attended) still produced patterns which were in the hypothesized direction. The remaining variables all produced significant relationships which confirmed the hypothesis. Specifically, it was found that the family had a greater influence on the political activity of professionals while amateurs tended to be more influenced by events occurring later in their life. It is also of no surprise that amateurs tended to have less years active service with the party than their professional counterparts. Amateurs were also found to be less person oriented and more issue oriented than the professional members of the delegation. And finally, although this relationship was weak, the delegates who were classified as amateurs were more likely to have been selected through a popular election process than the professionals, who enjoyed a greater opportunity of being chosen by convention or by appointment. In none of the instances investigated was the data contrary to what would be expected based upon the hypothesized relationship.

The final hypothesis to be considered was concerned with the incentives which initiated and sustained the activism of the delegates. It was this hypothesis which enjoyed the greatest degree of confirmation produced by the data. In each of the three incentive categories considered, the data conformed to what had been hypothesized. Specifi-

cally, the material incentives, although eschewed by many of the delegates, found least favor among those in the amateur categories. The solidary incentives, although more popular with the delegation than material incentives, were found to be most popular among the professionals. The purposive incentives were considered very important by a majority of the delegates. The greatest proportion of this group, however, was found in the amateur classification. Controlling for income, education, age, and ideological self-identification produced only slight differences. The only significant difference was the way liberal Republicans totally failed to be differentiated by activist style. This was the only relationship which was totally unexpected and not easily explained by previous theories. One explanation is that so few liberals exist within the Republican Party that those few tend to become the mavericks of the party, at least in terms of activist style.²

In conclusion, one must assess this thesis in its entirety. Although each piece of data did not statistically support the hypotheses, no piece of data were contradictory to the hypotheses. Because the basic variable to this study, activist style, was an index based on a continuum, perfect relationships could not be expected. For this reason much of the data are concerned only with the extreme categories. It must not be forgotten that on any continuum, all labels are relative to each other. By looking principally at the extreme categories we are forcing ourselves to look at delegates who are different from each other. Also, considering the homogeneity of the Republican Party, added weight must be given to whatever relation-

ships have been found. Therefore, it is these relationships which make it possible to draw the following conclusions about the delegates to the 1976 Republican National Convention. As compared to their counterparts at the 1972 Convention, the 1976 delegates appeared to be more ideological and purposively-oriented. Generally speaking, the delegates seemed to shift down the activist style towards the amateur end of the continuum. Considering the differences surrounding the 1976 Convention as compared to the 1972 Convention, this should not be surprising. In 1972, Nixon was guaranteed the nomination as well as virtually being assured the election in November. The Nixon people could be assured a relatively tranquil convention and look beyond to their next administration. In 1976, the circumstances were entirely different. Gerald Ford, incumbent as a result of the Watergate problem, faced a stiff ideological foe in Ronald Reagan. The fact that Reagan supporters were primarily ideological purists, as well as the fact that they numbered almost 50 percent of the delegates to the Convention, would help explain the vast shift towards the amateur end of the continuum. Although the Ford people had to be interested in the ideological message of the party, they also wished to be prepared to face Carter in the general election. They were clearly playing the professional end of the game. Perhaps the outcome of both the nominating contest as well as the general election came down to the inconsistency of the candidates in the manner in which they played out their roles.³ Reagan achieved his greatest support by appearing to be the ideological purist, determined not to play the political game of the professionals. "I don't believe in

the old tradition of picking someone at the opposite end of the political spectrum because he can get some votes you can't get yourself."⁴ However, Reagan appeared hypocritical to many of his supporters when he gambled on the selection of liberal Senator Richard Schweiker. "The biggest shock to me is that Reagan could be sold on something so incongruous with what he has always told us. There's no doubt that this hurts his credibility."⁵ Not only had Reagan apparently compromised his ideology by choosing someone at the other end of the political spectrum, but the fact that he did this prior to the convention made it apparent that his tactic was solely intended to gain support which he could not gain for himself. It would appear that this shift in role hurt more than helped Ronald Reagan at the convention.

In the final analysis, one must consider how these events will affect the future of the Republican Party, and ultimately the American political system itself. The Republican Party has been steadily declining for the last twenty-five years. Their slow resurgence in the South has begun to turn against them. Many feel that the party must change in both direction and appeal. Talk of rebuilding the party from the base up has become a popular game plan. The question is can the party broaden its appeal without losing the support it currently enjoys. Many Republicans feel that the ideological purity of the amateurs in the party will prevent this much needed reconstruction. As an unsuccessful Republican mayoral candidate in Jackson, Mississippi stated, "There's a faction that is hellbent on being ideologically pure and would rather be right than win an election. If

that keeps up, the party will go down the tube."⁶ This group claims that the party's only chance for survival is to present a real difference to the Democratic platforms. Only time will tell which faction is correct.

NOTES

- ¹Thomas H. Roback, "Amateurs and Professionals: Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Journal of Politics, v. 37 (May, 1975), p. 445.
- ²This tends to support the findings reported in Thomas H. Roback, "Party Reform Attitudes Among Delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention," Polity, v. 8 (Fall, 1975), p. 183. He reports that "intense ideological gelief appears to have an independent effect on the relationship between activist style and attitudes on party reform."
- ³This is only a partial explanation. It is understood that mistakes made in the primaries, debates, etc. had a significant effect on the final outcome.
- ⁴Sandra Salmans, Jeff B. Copeland and John J. Lindsay, "Reagan's Last Gamble," Newsweek, v.88, August 9, 1976, p. 14. Ronald Reagan on choosing a running mate - July 9, 1976.
- ⁵Ibid., p. 15. Former Reagan operative in Colorado.
- ⁶Jack Bass, "Southern Republicans: Their Plight Is Getting Worse," The Washington Post, July 12, 1977, p. A-4.

APPENDIX I

Program Computing The Raw Amateur-Professional Score

(AMPROS)

```

RECODE          VAR106(1=3) (2=4) (3=5) (4=6)/VAR107(1=6) (2=5) (3=4)
                (4=3)/VAR108(1=3) (2=4) (3=5) (4=6)/VAR109(1=6) (2=5)
                (3=4) (4=3)/VAR110(1=3) (2=4) (3=5) (4=6)/VAR111(1=6)
                (2=5) (3=4) (4=3)/VAR112(1=6) (2=5) (3=4) (4=3)/VAR113
                (1=6) (2=5) (3=4) (4=3)/VAR114(1=3) (2=4) (3=5) (4=6)/
                VAR115(1=8) (2=7) (3=2) (4=1)

COMPUTE        AMPROS = 0
IF             (VAR106 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR106
IF             (VAR107 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR107
IF             (VAR108 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR108
IF             (VAR109 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR109
IF             (VAR110 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR110
IF             (VAR111 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR111
IF             (VAR112 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR112
IF             (VAR113 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR113
IF             (VAR114 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR114
IF             (VAR115 NE 9) AMPROS = AMPROS + VAR115
COUNT        NMISSING = VAR106 TO VAR115(9)
COMPUTE        NVALID = 10 - NMISSING
IF             (NVALID GE 5) AMPROS = AMPROS/NVALID
IF             (NVALID LT 5) AMPROS = 9
MISSING VALUES AMPROS(9)
DELETE VARS   VAR106 TO VAR115, NMISSING, NVALID
SAVE FILE

```

APPENDIX II

Program Computing The Amateur-Professional 4 Scale Index

(AMPRO4)

```
COMPUTE          AMPRO4 = AMPROS
MISSING VALUES  AMPRO4(9)
RECODE          AMPRO4(2.5000 THRU 3.4843 = 1)(3.4844 THRU 4.2544
                = 2)(4.2545 THRU 5.0245 = 3)(5.0246 THRU 5.8000 = 4)
VAR LABELS      AMPRO4, AMATEUR-PROFESSIONAL 4 SCALE INDEX
VALUE LABELS    AMPRO4(1)STRONG AMATEUR(2)WEAK AMATEUR(3)WEAK
                PROFESSIONAL(4)STRONG PROFESSIONAL
SAVE FILE
```

APPENDIX III

Computer Programs For The Creation Of The Incentive Indices

A. Material Incentives - MATINCEN

```

RECODE          VAR083 TO VAR095(1=4)(2=3)(3=2)(4=1)
COMPUTE        MATINCEN = 0
IF             (VAR084 NE 0 OR 9) MATINCEN = MATINCEN + VAR084
IF             (VAR086 NE 0 OR 9) MATINCEN = MATINCEN + VAR086
IF             (VAR089 NE 0 OR 9) MATINCEN = MATINCEN + VAR089
IF             (VAR091 NE 0 OR 9) MATINCEN = MATINCEN + VAR091
IF             (VAR094 NE 0 OR 9) MATINCEN = MATINCEN + VAR094
COUNT        NMISSING = VAR084 TO VAR094(0,9)
COMPUTE        NVALID = 5 - NMISSING
IF             (NVALID GE 3) MATINCEN = MATINCEN/NVALID
IF             (NVALID LT 3) MATINCEN = 9
MISSING VALUES MATINCEN(9)
RECODE        MATINCEN(LOWEST THRU 1.8000 = 1)(1.8001 THRU 2.6000
              = 2)(2.6001 THRU HIGHEST = 3)
VAR LABELS    MATINCEN, MATERIAL INCENTIVE INDEX
VALUE LABELS  MATINCEN(1)NOT IMPORTANT(2)FAIRLY IMPORTANT(3)VERY
              IMPORTANT
SAVE FILE

```

B. Solidary Incentives - SOLINCEN

```

COMPUTE        SOLINCEN = 0
IF             (VAR083 NE 0 OR 9) SOLINCEN = SOLINCEN + VAR083
IF             (VAR088 NE 0 OR 9) SOLINCEN = SOLINCEN + VAR088
IF             (VAR092 NE 0 OR 9) SOLINCEN = SOLINCEN + VAR092
IF             (VAR093 NE 0 OR 9) SOLINCEN = SOLINCEN + VAR093
COUNT        NMISSING = VAR083 TO VAR093(0,9)
COMPUTE        NVALID = 4 - NMISSING
IF             (NVALID GE 3) SOLINCEN = SOLINCEN/NVALID
IF             (NVALID LT 3) SOLINCEN = 9
MISSING VALUES SOLINCEN(9)
RECODE        SOLINCEN(1.0000 THRU 2.0000 = 1)(2.0001 THRU 3.0000
              = 2)(3.0001 THRU HIGHEST = 3)
VAR LABELS    SOLINCEN, SOLIDARY INCENTIVE INDEX
VALUE LABELS  SOLINCEN(1)NOT IMPORTANT(2)FAIRLY IMPORTANT(3)VERY
              IMPORTANT
SAVE FILE

```

APPENDIX III (Con't)

C. Purposive Incentives - PURINCEN

```
COMPUTE      PURINCEN = 0
IF           (VAR085 NE 0 OR 9) PURINCEN = PURINCEN + VAR085
IF           (VAR087 NE 0 OR 9) PURINCEN = PURINCEN + VAR087
IF           (VAR090 NE 0 OR 9) PURINCEN = PURINCEN + VAR090
IF           (VAR095 NE 0 OR 9) PURINCEN = PURINCEN + VAR095
COUNT      NMISSING = VAR085 TO VAR095(0,9)
COMPUTE      NVALID = 4 - NMISSING
IF           (NVALID GE 3) PURINCEN = PURINCEN/NVALID
IF           (NVALID LT 3) PURINCEN = 9
MISSING VALUES PURINCEN(9)
RECODE      PURINCEN(1.0000 THRU 2.5000 = 1)(2.5001 THRU 3.2500
            = 2)(3.2501 THRU HIGHEST = 3)
VAR LABELS  PURINCEN, PURPOSIVE INCENTIVE INDEX
VALUE LABELS PURINCEN(1)NOT IMPORTANT(2)FAIRLY IMPORTANT(3)VERY
            IMPORTANT
SAVE FILE
```


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AMATEURS AND PROFESSIONALS : A STUDY
OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS AT THE 1976
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

by

ROBERT JOSEPH CASSIDY

(ABSTRACT)

The objective of this thesis was to utilize the Amateur-Professional typology, as defined by James Q. Wilson, to examine party activism among delegates to the 1976 Republican National Convention. Specifically, correlations between socio-economic variables, political socialization experiences, and the incentives which motivated the delegates were to be studied.

The first hypothesis was tested by crosstabulating the Amateur-Professional Index with the traditional socio-economic characteristics. Essentially, the data confirmed past research which indicated that socio-economic variables are not significantly related to activist style.

The second hypothesis examined the relationships between activist style and family political activity, agents of initial political socialization, years of activity in the party, past convention experience, and perception of their role as a delegate. The results produced tended to indicate that those delegates with politically active

families, more years active in the party, greater participation in past conventions and a more "person" rather than "issue" orientation, were likely to be more professionally oriented than the delegates who possessed an opposite political background. This finding was essentially in keeping with past research and therefore confirmed the hypothesis.

The last hypothesis examined the delegates' preferences for incentives for maintaining their party activity. Although most delegates expressed a greater preference for purposive rather than material incentives, it was found that more amateurs preferred purposive incentives, while more professionals preferred the material incentives. This finding was consistent with previous research and the hypothesis was confirmed.