

**THE 13th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN TRANSITION:
A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF REPRESENTATION**

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THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1962 the United States has been experiencing a political revolution within the framework of its democratic system. The Baker v. Carr (369 U. S. 186) decision of that year initiated a series of changes which have significantly altered the bases of representation for American legislative bodies. Several areas of study for political science have developed in the aftermath of that decision, and consequently a plethora of material is available which deals directly or indirectly with the implications of that case. Despite this fact, one avenue has not been sufficiently examined in the present literature. A close examination has not been made of the reaction of constituents to the transition which has been effected by the courts and by the legislative bodies themselves. This question, the relationship between the representative and the reapportioned district, is the central feature of the present study as it attempts to assess selected facets of the 13th Congressional District in transition.

The reapportionment of Texas Congressional Districts by the state legislature in 1965 produced a substantial change in the political patterns of several districts. In particular, the 13th District was enlarged at its southern end to include

a portion of Dallas County, thereby making an elongated district stretching from the West Texas county of Dickens to the metropolitan area of Dallas. The effect of this realignment was to create a district composed of widely dissimilar interests and political groupings ranging from rural-agrarian and Democratic areas to industrial-urban and Republican sections. The problem posed is one of representation: how can one congressman balance the opposing viewpoints of his constituents, and equally important, how do the constituents themselves react to the division of traditional political boundaries? Previous studies have dealt with the political divisions in communities and metropolitan areas, but few have analyzed the forces in congressional districts. The 13th District represents an unusual situation in which to test the prevailing theories of political behavior and interpret their validity.

CHAPTER I

REAPPORTIONMENT AND ITS EFFECT ON THE 13TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

The cardinal precedent set by the United States Supreme Court in reapportionment of congressional districts had come from Colegrove v. Green (328 U. S. 549). Decided in 1946, this case established the doctrine that questions about the drawing of legislative boundaries involved problems which were of a "political" nature and therefore could not be decided by an appointive body sitting in the courtroom. "Courts ought not to enter this political thicket. The remedy for unfairness in districting is to secure state legislatures that will apportion properly, or to invoke the ample powers of Congress."¹ This act of judicial restraint as voiced by Justice Frankfurter had its antithesis in 1962 when Baker v. Carr (369 U. S. 186) was decided by the Court. In this instance, the problem concerned state legislative boundaries and not congressional district lines, but the essential question remained the same: was reapportionment the proper province of the Court? This landmark decision ruled that under

¹Colegrove v. Green, 328 U. S., 556 (1946).

the 14th Amendment of the national Constitution, federal courts had the right to hear cases dealing with legislative apportionment whenever the question of equal protection of the laws was involved. By drawing into the area of judicial review the work of policymaking bodies in establishing district boundaries and stating that equal protection of the rights of all citizens must be observed in such proceedings, the Court established a precedent that has subsequently been carried to nearly every legislative body at the state and national level. In Congress such a result has occurred because after the Baker v. Carr decision in 1964, the implications of that case prompted other persons to think that congressional districts would no longer be exempt as they had been under Colegrove v. Green.

The test case was Wesberry v. Sanders (376 U. S. 1) which originated from constituents of Fulton County, Georgia. The congressional district involved was the 5th District of Georgia which in 1960 had a population of 823,680 compared to the average for the ten districts of 394,312.² The complainants argued that the then existent apportionment scheme violated (1) Article I, section 2 of the United States Constitution guaranteeing election of representatives, (2) the due process, equal protection, and privileges and

²Robert B. McKay, Reapportionment: The Law and Politics of Equal Representation (New York, 1965), p. 89.

immunities clauses of the 14th Amendment, and (3) section 2 of the 14th Amendment stating that representatives should be apportioned among the states according to their respective numbers. While it was obvious that discrepancies existed in the sizes of the various districts in gross proportions, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled upon the precedent of Colegrove v. Green and stated that for "want of equity" the federal court could not hear the complaint. On review of the Wesberry case, the Supreme Court again reaffirmed its conclusion in Baker v. Carr that the problem was justiciable. This part of the decision was more readily anticipated than was the basis used for invalidating the Georgia plan.

Instead of relying upon the equal protection portion of the 14th Amendment as had been done in the Baker case, Justice Black used Article I, section 2 of the Constitution to justify his argument. In this instance the Court relied upon the historical evidence of the Constitutional era, particularly the writings of Madison and the Federalist Papers and the Constitution itself, in deriving the principle of equality in congressional districts. Black's desire for rigid interpretation of the document led him to conclude, "We hold that, construed in its historical context, the command of Article I, section 2, that Representatives be chosen 'by the people of several states' means that as nearly as is practicable one man's vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much

as another's."³ Only Justice Harlan and Stewart dissented, saying that the matter should be left to the political process. They concluded that there was no historical justification in what Justice Black claimed.

The Constitution itself did not specify how the members of the lower house were to be chosen except that the same voter qualifications which existed in any state for the selection of members of that state's lower house were to apply in the federal election (Article I, section 2). Therefore, the states were free to have these representatives chosen at large if they wished. And, in 1962, thirteen states had at least one representative selected in this manner although it was necessary for Alaska, Delaware, Nevada, Vermont, and Wyoming to use this method because their population allowed only one representative to be apportioned to the state.⁴ The majority of representatives are selected from single-member districts drawn within the states. These boundaries have traditionally been set by the state legislatures although the Constitution did reserve the right for Congress to alter the "manner" of holding the elections of these representatives (Article I, section 4) which would conceivably mean the Congress could alter the redistricting itself. And, Congress has in the past set standards for reapportioning

³Wesberry v. Sanders, 376 U. S., 7-8 (1964).

⁴McKay, p. 223.

members' districts. A brief chronology of these events is included below.

1842--Congress established the provision that districts be contiguous. This section was dropped in 1852 and re-instated in 1862.

1872--The principle was adopted that districts be as equal as practicable in population.

1901--Compactness was added as a criterion for districts.

1911--The Reapportionment Act was passed saying that districts had to be compact, contiguous, and equal in size.

1929--All of the above provisions were dropped to insure passage of the Apportionment Act of 1929.

1932--The U. S. Supreme Court ruled the provisions of compactness, contiguity, and equality to be no longer valid in Broom v. Wood (287 U. S. 1).

The controversial anti-gerrymandering provisions were never widely enforced despite their presence in law as evidenced by the fact that in 1901 and in 1910 the House refused to reject members from districts which did not conform to these standards.⁵ Despite this lengthy history of failures by the Congress to establish consistent principles of apportionment. Representative Emanuel Celler for the past several years has introduced bills arguing for contiguous, compact

⁵ Congressional Quarterly Service, Congress and the Nation (Washington, 1965), p. 1529.

districts of less than fifteen per cent deviation. The bills have usually never gone beyond the House sub-committee, but in 1965 such a bill was passed by a voice vote in the House.

Because of the inability of Congress to act, the power to draw district lines has been the province of the states, and the states have neglected this area because their legislative bodies were also mired in reapportionment conflicts. Whatever the basis of the Supreme Court's ruling, either the 14th Amendment or Article I, the result is that the courts are now involved in the process of overseeing apportionment schemes, and both state legislative and national congressional districts are to be redrawn consistent with the ideal of "one man. one vote."

The paradox created by Baker v. Carr, Wesberry v. Sanders, as well as Brown v. Board of Education is that legislative bodies which were created within the system to be representative of the people did not act prior to these cases in order to insure the continuance of democratic practices. Instead, the courts have been the arena for these developments. The result of this situation has led Herman Pritchett to say, "Now Brown and Baker have again reminded us that judges who endeavor to speak for the constituency of reason and justice may truly represent the enduring principles of a democratic society."⁶

⁶Herman C. Pritchett, "Equal Protection and the Urban Majority," American Political Science Review, LVIII (December, 1964), 871.

The application of the Wesberry decision to the Texas congressional apportionment scheme came in the same year that the original precedent-setting case was heard. Bush v. Martin (376 U. S. 222) was handed down in a per curiam decision saying that the Texas Federal District Court was upheld in its ruling invalidating the Texas congressional districts. The circumstances surrounding this case were such that relief was granted to the Texas state government under a stay previously given by Justice Black. This restraint allowed the enforcement of the lower court's action to be enjoined pending reapportionment by the Texas Legislature. Justice Black justified this step ". . . in light of the present circumstances including the imminence of the forthcoming election and 'the operation of the election machinery of Texas.'"⁷ If this stay had not been granted, all twenty-three of the Texas Congressmen would have been forced into running at large in the 1966 general election. The Court simply took cognizance of the situation and offered the opportunity for redistricting to occur within the political processes of the state.

In hearing the original case in the district court, ample evidence was brought forth to show that the Texas Election Code, Article 197 (a) was clearly inconsistent with the apportionment principles formulated in the Baker and Wesberry cases. Only once since 1933 had Texas redistricted

⁷ Bush v. Martin, 376 U. S., 223 (1964).

and that occurred in 1957. That plan provided the basis for the case to be tried. An attempt was made in the 1963 session of the state legislature to pass a congressional redistricting bill, but it failed. The inequities in the then existent districting plan were extreme, ranging from a low population of 216,371 in District 4 to 951,527 in District 5, and one congressman elected at-large throughout the state. In terms of deviation from the average, District 5 (Dallas County) was under-represented by having a population of +128 per cent above the average size, and District 4 (Speaker Sam Rayburn's former district) was over-represented by -49 per cent deviation from the average.⁸ Such a plan was clearly a case of invidious discrimination chiefly against the metropolitan areas of the state and in particular Dallas County.

The stay granted the Texas government in reapportionment was effective until January 11, 1965. Therefore, the 1965 session of the state legislature had to pass a plan that would be acceptable to the courts, and this action had to be accomplished before August 1st of that year under the provisions of the court decision. In redrawing the district lines, the state legislature was without specific guidelines in determining the equality which had to exist among the districts. The Wesberry decision had used the phrase, "as nearly as is practicable," in trying to establish equality

⁸Texas Legislative Council, Congressional Redistricting (Austin, 1964), p. 25.

of population size among districts. In Reynolds v. Sims (377 U. S. 533) the Court had employed another phrase, "substantial equality of population." The very indefiniteness of these words created a situation of legislative limbo in which the legislators themselves would not know if the plan they intended to enact would meet the approval of the courts until the judges scrutinized the proposals after passage. But, it was clear that the existing disparities in size among the Texas districts could no longer remain. Consequently, in December of 1964 prior to the session of the legislature, the Legislative Council submitted a study report to the other members of the House and Senate which summarized the reapportionment events to date, outlined the problems, and suggested redistricting alternatives.⁹

The report stated that speculation had suggested that a five per cent tolerance in redistricting would be acceptable although no court had specified that number, and likewise no court had held such a figure unconstitutional. The redistricting itself was complicated by several factors including the fact that Texas possessed 262,840 square miles of land which had to be apportioned among twenty-three districts. The 1960 census listed 9,579,677 as the population of Texas, and these persons were not evenly distributed among the square mileage of the state. The metropolitan areas of Dallas,

⁹Ibid.

Harris, Tarrant, and Bexar Counties illustrated the problem. In each of these four counties the population exceeded the amount needed for the apportionment of a congressman. In Dallas the population justified the apportioning of two congressmen with 121,987 residents left over to be placed in other districts. Similar situations existed in the other areas; and, the technical aspects of redistricting were complex enough without considering the multitude of political implications.

Nevertheless, the Legislative Council submitted two alternative plans to the legislature. Of the two plans drawn, Plan B would have effected the greatest change in District 13. This scheme included a portion of Tarrant County and the metropolitan area of Fort Worth (see page 13). The eventual consequence was that in the session itself neither plan was enacted into law as it had been drawn by the study group, and the 13th District underwent a significant alteration.

Before reapportionment, the 13th District had a total population of 326,781. Therefore, this district deviated from the average by -22 per cent or 89,727 persons (see page 14). Originally the district stretched across the northern length of the state connecting north central Texas and west Texas. The largest city had been Wichita Falls, situated near the northern center of the district.

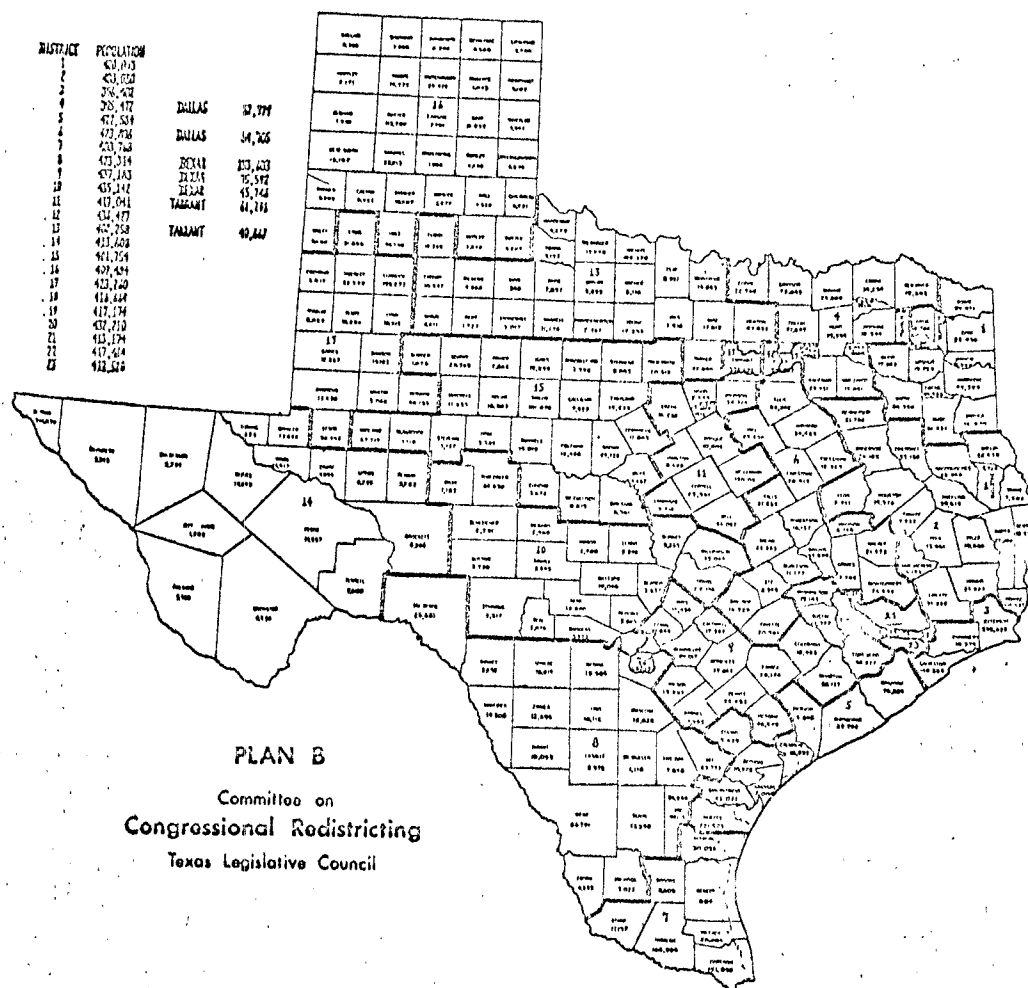


Figure 1. Plan "B" of Congressional Redistricting

Source: Texas Legislative Council, Congressional Redistricting (Austin, 1964), p. 10.

TABLE I
1960 POPULATION AND DEVIATION FROM AVERAGE
OF TEXAS CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS*

District Number	Former Districts		Reapportioned Districts	
	Population	Deviation	Population	Deviation
1	245,942	-41%	378,334	-9.2%
2	420,402	0%	387,794	-6.9%
3	293,942	-30%	410,622	-1.4%
4	216,371	-49%	411,041	-1.3%
5	951,527	+128%	417,174	+0.2%
6	248,149	-41%	382,639	-8.1%
7	265,629	-37%	417,283	+0.2%
8	568,193	+36%	408,479	-1.9%
9	498,775	+20%	457,092	+9.7%
10	353,454	-16%	456,301	+9.6%
11	322,484	-23%	389,954	-6.4%
12	538,495	+29%	438,578	+5.3%
13	326,781	-22%	381,829	-8.3%
14	539,272	+29%	456,742	+9.7%
15	515,716	+24%	418,183	+0.4%
16	573,438	+38%	394,679	-5.3%
17	287,889	-31%	376,200	-9.7%
18	363,596	-13%	394,582	-5.3%
19	424,774	+ 2%	425,517	+2.2%
20	687,151	+65%	449,303	+7.9%
21	262,742	-37%	453,334	+8.9%
22	674,965	+62%	417,396	+0.2%
23	at large	at large	456,621	+9.6%

*Source: Congressional Quarterly "Weekly Report"
(Washington, 1965), p. 2000.

H. B. 67, passed in the 59th session of the Texas Legislature, left the district in essentially the same geographical position that it had been before, but now the district had a different political, social, and economic composition because

the northern portion of Dallas County had been added to the 13th. The results of the total congressional reapportionment can be seen on page 16. It is important to note the way in which the four largest metropolitan counties were apportioned. Harris County itself was divided into three separate districts: 7, 8, and 22; Bexar County has one complete district, 20, and is part of 21 and 23; Tarrant County has one complete district, 12, and is part of the 6th. Dallas County received two complete districts, 3 and 5. In addition the rest of the population of the county was divided among districts 6 and 13. The situation which the Legislative Council had foreseen in its preliminary report was borne out when two districts were drawn in Dallas with 121,987 residents left over to be included elsewhere. In the present bill, these remaining persons were divided on a roughly equal basis between the 6th District which stretches to Grimes County north of the Houston metropolitan area and the 13th District which goes into West Texas to Dickens County east of the Lubbock metropolitan area. Therefore, the 64,026 persons who were counted in north Dallas County are now in a congressional district which unites a diversity of interests into a single area. That section of Dallas County included in the 13th can be roughly described as being north of Northwest Highway, east of Inwood Road, and west of the Garland city limits (see page 17). The 13th District itself is still over-represented

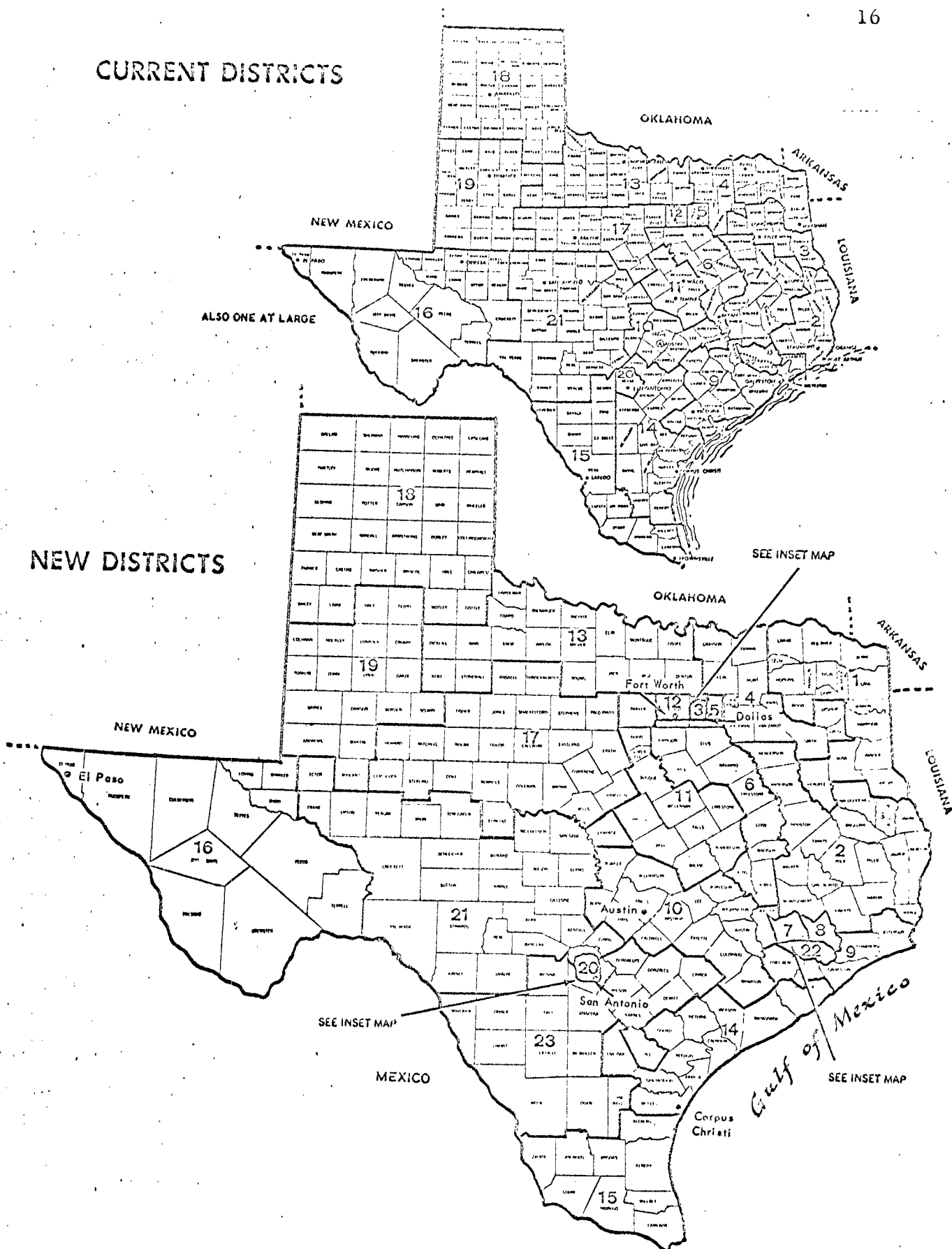


Figure 2. Reapportioned Congressional Districts of Texas

Source: Congressional Quarterly, "Weekly Report"

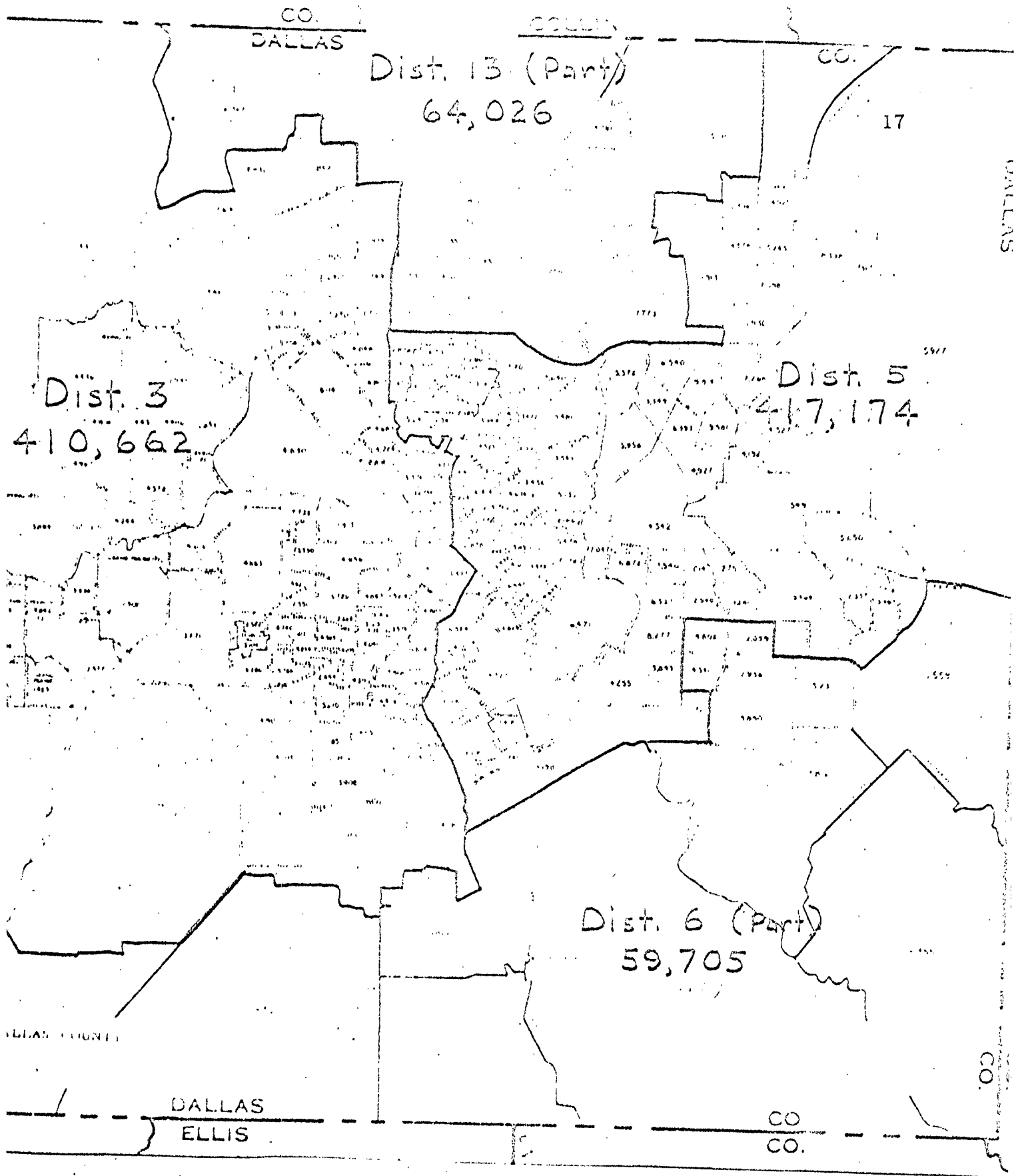


Figure 3. Dallas County as divided into the 3rd, 5th, 6th and 13th Congressional Districts.

because it deviates from the average size by -8.3 per cent and includes a total population of 381,829.

Despite the variance from the norm in district size by the 13th, this deviation was not the greatest among the twenty-three districts. The extremes found were differences of ± 9.7 per cent in the entire apportionment plan, but the federal court did not invalidate the congressional districts, and consequently these are effective for the 1966 general election.

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 13TH DISTRICT

One of the chief difficulties noted by the Texas Legislative Council in its report to the 59th session on the topic of reapportionment was the absence of reliable population data for redrawing district lines. There does not exist in Texas a statutory requirement that the United States Decennial Census be used as the source for congressional redistricting although such a rule does apply to the Texas House of Representatives. In 1965 at the meeting of the legislature, there were important deficiencies in the census statistics that diminished the reliability of this obvious source of information. The figures themselves were dated by five years, and it was feared that the inaccuracies in the statistics caused by the elapsed time would invalidate the usefulness of reapportionment in 1965 if the districts had to undergo drastic changes in 1970 to compensate for the errors of the redistricting of five years earlier. Despite this shortcoming, the legislature did use the 1960 figures for H. B. 67.

In its bearing on the 13th District, the use of the census material had great import because of the growth

experienced by the metropolitan area of Dallas. Particularly in the northern portion of the county has the population been undergoing substantial expansion. The reliability of the 64,026 population figure given for that part of the county included in the 13th is weighted heavily on the conservative side of the actual number.

H. B. 67 left the 13th District with the same number of counties that it had before redistricting, 19, but the overall population pattern of the district was significantly altered. The two North Texas counties, Haskell and Throckmorton, that were removed from the district had a combined population in 1960 of 13,941. By adding the West Texas county of Dickens and north Dallas County to the district, as many as 68,989 more persons have become constituents in the 13th, and the possibility exists that many more than that figure are now part of the new congressional district. The total district population of 381,829 set by the 1960 enumeration is broken down in Table II by counties to reveal the population of each from 1930 to 1960 and the per cent of change between 1960 and 1963.

Although column one of this table shows that the counties are roughly homogeneous in area size, it is clear that the population differences among the nineteen units are great. Because of this fact, the distribution of the district population is heavily concentrated in some counties and very light

TABLE II
COUNTY POPULATION DATA FOR NEW 13TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT*

County	Area (Sq.mi.)	Population			% Change 1950-60	Estimated Population			% Change 1960-63
		1930	1950	1960		1961	1962	1963	
1. Archer	907	9,684	6,816	6,110	-10.4	6,237	6,231	6,539	2.3
2. Baylor	857	7,418	6,875	5,893	-14.3	5,974	6,084	6,265	2.0
3. Clay	1,101	14,545	9,896	8,351	-15.6	7,841	8,065	8,201	-0.6
4. Cooke**	902	24,136	22,146	22,560	1.9	23,126	23,497	23,687	1.6
5. Dallas**	892	325,691	614,799	951,527	54.8	977,195	1,011,718	1,050,605	3.3
6. Denton	942	32,822	41,365	47,432	14.7	51,268	53,923	56,764	6.0
7. Dickens	930	8,601	7,177	4,963	-30.8	4,999	5,384	5,523	3.6
8. Foard	676	6,315	4,216	3,125	-25.9	2,991	3,131	3,065	-0.6
9. Hardeman	685	14,532	10,212	8,275	-19.0	8,028	8,706	9,052	3.0
10. Jack	944	9,046	7,755	7,418	-4.3	7,348	7,113	6,959	-2.1
11. Kent	901	3,851	2,249	1,727	-23.2	1,767	1,663	1,841	2.1
12. King	944	1,193	870	640	-26.4	609	558	581	-3.3
13. Knox	853	11,368	10,082	7,857	-22.1	7,677	7,855	7,921	0.3
14. Montague	934	19,159	17,070	14,893	-12.8	14,833	14,705	15,368	1.0
15. Stonewall	927	5,667	3,679	3,017	-18.0	2,974	3,029	2,989	-0.3
16. Wichita	612	74,416	98,493	123,528	25.4	129,938	133,097	134,301	2.8
17. Wilbarger	954	24,579	20,552	17,748	-13.6	18,180	18,577	18,315	1.0
18. Wise	909	19,178	16,141	17,012	5.4	17,506	17,538	17,751	1.4
19. Young	884	20,128	16,810	17,254	2.6	16,593	16,164	16,383	-1.7
Haskell**	881	16,669	13,736	11,174	-18.7	11,030	11,531	11,334	0.5
Throckmorton**	913	5,253	3,618	2,767	-23.5	2,764	2,891	2,960	2.2

*Source: Texas Legislative Council, Congressional Redistricting (Austin, 1964), pp. 27-37.

**Total County.

***Formerly in 13th District.

in others. The map on page 23 shows the district before the 1965 reapportionment and indicates the prominent position of Wichita County in the district, having 37 per cent of the total district population. On page 24 another map offers a basis of comparison by showing the population distribution by counties after reapportionment. (In each of these maps of the 13th District, the percentages are not carried to the first decimal place except where the figure is below 1.0 per cent; therefore, the total of these percentages will not equal 100.0 per cent.) After reapportionment, the district population is more heavily located in the eastern part of the district and shows a marked decline in concentration as the district goes westward within the state.

Wichita County is still the largest county in the district with 32 per cent of the population, but the inclusion of the northern portion of Dallas County meant that at least 16 per cent of the new constituency is now located in that area. This fact likewise diminished the proportionate size of Wichita County in comparison with the rest of the district. Also, the inclusion of Dallas County simply heightened the already existent concentration of constituents in the eastern part of the district and perpetuated the diminished proportion of the western section.

The racial composition of the district was altered only slightly by reapportionment. Prior to redistricting, five per

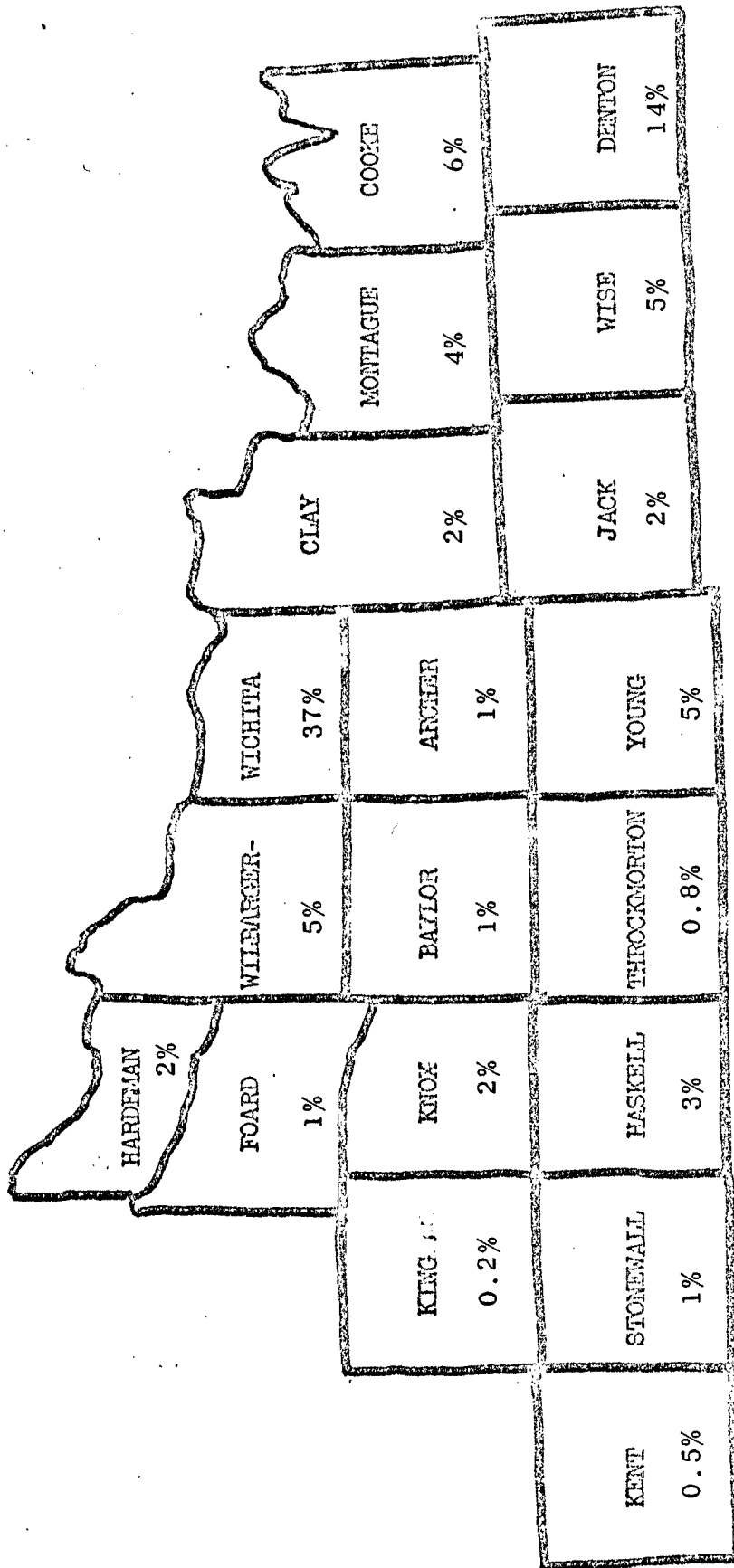


Figure 4. Population distribution of former 13th District

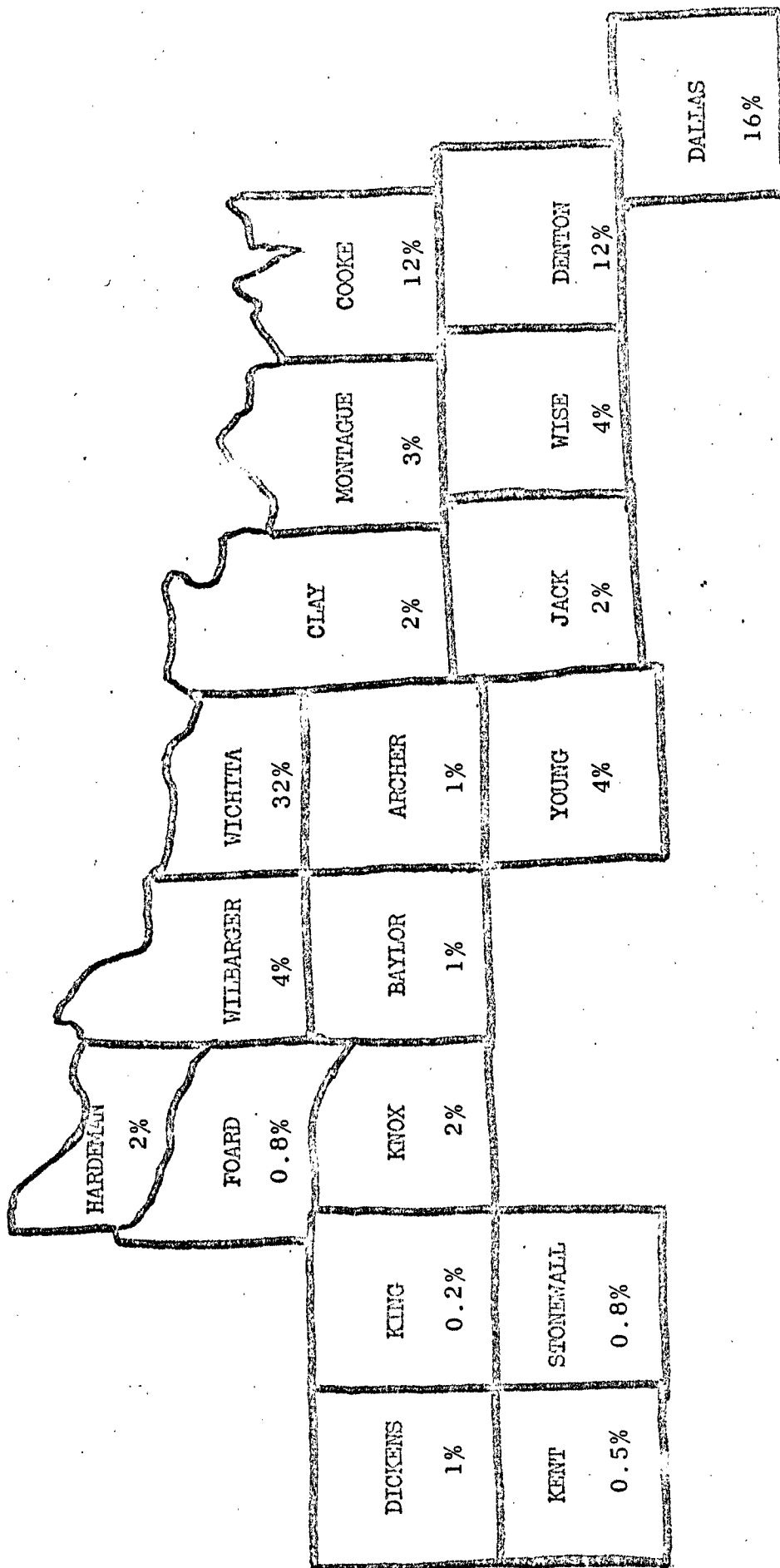


Figure 5. Population distribution of new 13th District

cent of the population was classified by the Census Bureau as nonwhite and three per cent were in the category of white population with Spanish surname.¹ In the new 13th District, the nonwhite population rises to six per cent and the population with Spanish surname declines to two per cent.² Therefore, it can be inferred that the metropolitan area of Dallas County that was selected for the 13th District did not contain a significantly large Negro or nonwhite population or persons with Spanish surname.

The number of urban places with population of 10,000 or more is given below for the new congressional district.

TABLE III
URBAN PLACES OF 10,000 OR MORE IN 1960

City	Population
Wichita Falls	101,724
Dallas.	64,026*
Denton.	26,844
Richardson.	16,810**
Gainesville	13,083
Vernon.	12,141
Carrollton.	4,242***

*Includes only the portion added to the 13th District.

**The Richardson Chamber of Commerce estimated the population at double the census figure in 1965.

***The Carrollton Chamber of Commerce estimated the population at 12,500 in 1965 which places that city in the category.

¹U. S. Bureau of Census, Congressional District Data Book (Districts of the 88th Congress), A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington, 1963), p. 492.

²Letter from A. Ross Eckler, Director, Bureau of the Census, August 10, 1965.

From the above list it is apparent that reapportionment added three more urban places of 10,000 or more to the district: Carrollton, Richardson, and a portion of the city of Dallas itself. Consequently, the type of social situation of the new constituents is different from the rest of the district because of its more concentrated nature and close proximity to other urban places. Wichita Falls and Vernon are the only other urban places outside of the sixty mile radius of Dallas in the 13th District.

The inclusion of Dallas County also meant the addition of a part of the core city in the Dallas Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Now, two of these areas defined by the Census Bureau as a city having a population of 50,000 or more and the area surrounding it which meets certain criteria are included in the 13th. A comparison of the two SMSA's is included below.

TABLE IV
STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS IN 13TH DISTRICT*

SMSA	1960 Population	Estimated Population 1964	1960-1964 Average Annual % of Change
Dallas**	1,083,601	1,232,615	3.44
Wichita Falls***	129,638	134,040	0.85

*Source: University of Texas, Texas Business Review, Vol. 34 (March, 1965).

**Dallas SMSA includes Collin, Dallas, Denton, and Ellis Counties.

***Wichita Falls SMSA includes Archer and Wichita Counties.

While it is true that only a portion of the Dallas Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area is included within the new 13th District, four of the seven incorporated areas listed as urban places above are found in this prescribed area. Therefore, the fact that the entire statistical area is growing at the rate of 3.44 per cent annually and the Wichita Falls area is growing at a lesser rate of 0.65 per cent has significance in evaluating the populations of the different sections. The map on page 28 shows the annual growth rate for each of the nineteen counties in the district. It substantiates the same tendency shown in comparing the metropolitan areas that the counties nearest to the Dallas portion of the district are experiencing the greatest annual growth in comparison with the rest of the district. This trend is consistent with the population patterns of the rest of the United States as persons have left the rural, agricultural areas to go to the metropolitan complexes. If this trend continues, its importance for the 13th District is clear as the constituency will concentrate in the metropolitan areas to an even greater extent and particularly in the Dallas region.

The distribution of counties with percentages of families making under \$3,000 annually follows the same pattern as the county growth rates. This description is given in Table V.

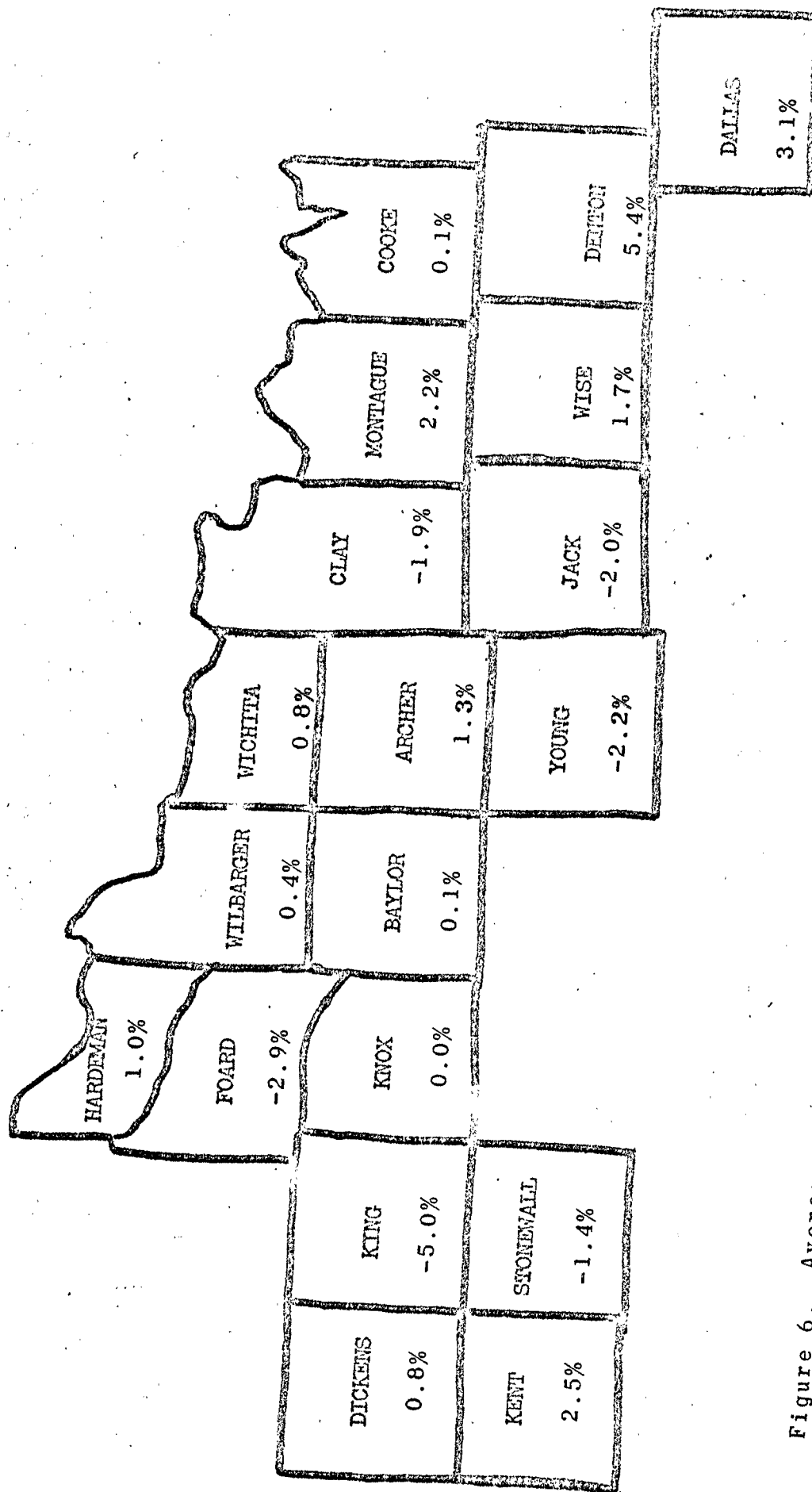


Figure 6. Average annual growth rate, 1960-1964, for counties in 13th District*

*Source: University of Texas, Texas Business Review, Vol. 34 (March, 1965).

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH INCOMES UNDER \$3,000*

County	Percentage
Archer, Dallas, Wichita	15-25
Clay, Cooke, Denton, Jack, Kent, Stonewall, Wilbarger, Young.	25-35
Baylor, Dickens, Foard, Hardeman, Knox, Montague, Wise	35-50
King.	50-65

*Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas (Washington, 1962).

While the correlation is not perfect, the tendency is consistent enough to show that those areas which exhibit all the characteristics associated with urbanism and high annual growth are also those areas which have the lowest percentage of families with \$3,000 annual incomes. The most impoverished county is King County in West Texas, and two of the counties with the lowest percentages of families in this category are the two most populous counties in the district: Wichita and Dallas.

In light of the relative importance and substantial size of the Dallas area over Dickens County, which had only a population of 4,963 in 1960, a discussion of this latter addition to the district will be kept to a minimum. One reason for the importance of the Dallas area is the fact that the Texas Legislature assigned 64,026 as the population in the Dallas area defined within the 13th District. The line

of the congressional boundary did not follow perfectly either the political boundaries of the cities involved or the census tracts drawn by the Bureau for calculating the population within the county. Consequently, it is difficult to determine the exact number of persons who are actually in the area despite the fact that the legislature arrived at a figure.

By counting the undivided census tracts within the area, it is possible to arrive at a total of 65,939 persons counted in the 1960 census tabulation. The Negro population within this total is 4,947 or 0.8 per cent. (The entire enumeration by tract is given in Table VI, page 31.) Despite the extreme minority of the Negro population, which drops to a low of eight persons out of a total of 4,781 in tract 191, which is part of the city of Richardson, there is a sizable community of Negroes within tract number 78. In this tract, which includes the Hamilton Park district, the proportion is 3,019 Negroes out of a total of 7,258, but this is the only area which contains any sizable concentration of Negroes in an otherwise homogeneous racial area. The percentage distribution of the total population is listed in Table VI, and a map shown on page 32 gives the Dallas County area by census tract, the population within each tract, and the percentage of the total population within the total census area. Again, the limitations of the census data used by the legislature must be recognized. This area is one of the fastest growing

in the nation, and, consequently, data are relatively scarce to determine the exact population of the entire section.

TABLE VI
CENSUS TRACTS IN DALLAS AREA, 1960*

Tract Number	Negro Population	Total Population	Tract Per Cent of Total	1964 Precincts
75	89	1,315	1%	116
76B	45	1,332	2%	118
76C	13	4,101	6%	113
77	39	5,807	8%	117
78	3,019	7,258	11%	117,114, 183
130	107	7,773	11%	183,239, 248
131	6	2,657	4%	118
132	255	1,872	2%	110
133	9	2,351	3%	112
134	5	1,772	2%	118
136	337	2,275	3%	110
137	485	6,047	9%	102
185	68	1,913	2%	248
190	120	3,087	4%	114,104 182
191	8	4,781	5%	104,182
192	17	11,597	17%	177,178 179,169
Total	4,947 (0.8%)	65,939		

*Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Housing: 1960, Vol. III, City Blocks, Series HC (3), No. 377 (Washington, 1961).

In light of the absence of authoritative estimates, the publications of the U. S. Census Bureau provide the most objective description of the growth patterns of the area and were used in the interview study of Dallas residents which is included in Chapter V.

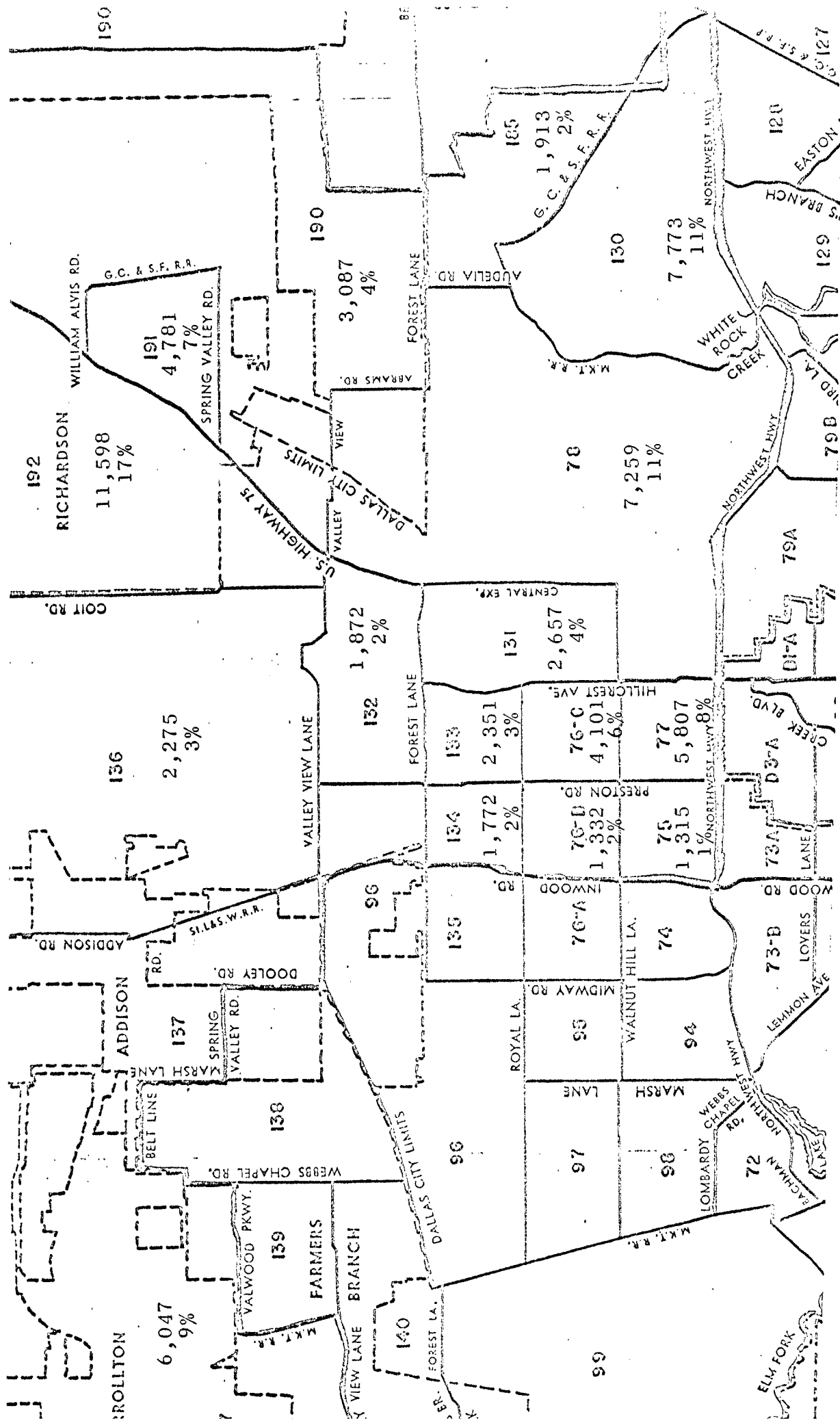


Figure 7. North Dallas County Census Tracts*
(Population Distribution of Area Included in 13th District)

*Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Housing: 1960.
City Blocks (Washington, 1961). Vol. III.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF
THE 13TH DISTRICT

The discussion about the demographic characteristics included in Chapter II has pertinence only as it can be shown to have a bearing upon the political events within the new district. Such a relationship is difficult to determine in precise terms. The fact that it can be shown graphically that the district is becoming more urbanized and metropolitan does not mean that the political impact of such a consequence can be likewise illustrated as well. Politics has a social basis, but there is not a perfect correlation between sociological characteristics and political behavior. It can be assumed on the basis of past studies that certain tendencies will now begin to develop within the political make-up of the district after the inclusion of the Dallas area. The change in demographic characteristics means that a different type of voter is now involved in electing representatives. Consequently, the interests of these new voters are not necessarily the same as those of the rest of the 13th District. If a significant difference does exist, it poses a problem for political science in analyzing the bases of the differences

and the implications which these in turn have on the process of representation.

The area of Dallas which was added to the 13th has a voting record which reveals the presence of an active Republican Party. This fact is definitely an anomaly in the experience of Texas politics, which has historically been the province of the Democratic Party since the Civil War. The infusion of Republican Party elements in Texas has largely been a post-World War II occurrence confined to the urbanized areas of the state. Dallas has played a noticeable role in that growth of this political development in the area of congressional representation. Prior to 1964, District 5, which included all of Dallas County, had elected a Republican congressman to the United States House for five consecutive terms beginning in 1955. In 1964 the incumbent Republican, Bruce Alger, lost to the Democratic candidate, Earle Cabell, who had served as the former mayor of the city. Therefore, before the 1964 congressional election, Dallas County had elected one of the only two Republican congressmen from among the twenty-three congressional districts in the state.

The explanations for the existence of this single area of Republican strength amidst a one-party pattern in the state are many. The entire area has been one of rapid growth and rising affluence; therefore, the theories which underlie the growth of Republicanism in the suburbs of American cities are

highly applicable. Robert Wood in Suburbia, Its People and Their Politics gave two explanations. First, the "conversion theory" stated that suburban residents were once attached to the New Deal, but in their rising affluence and homogeneous surroundings, they have been converted to the Republican Party as they try to assimilate with their total environment.¹ Second, the "transplantation theory" argued that suburban residents were Republican before they left the city and remained that way in their new environment.² Empirical studies have not been conclusive in verifying or rejecting either of these two theories and have even reached conflicting results.³ The entire point of "conversion" or "transplantation" has been clarified to some extent by Frederick Wirt's article, "The Political Sociology of American Suburbia: A Reinterpretation."⁴ Wirt concluded that not all suburbs are dominated by the Republican Party and that some suburbs have a different

¹Robert Wood, Suburbia, Its People and Their Politics (Boston, 1958), p. 135.

²Ibid., p. 141.

³Two different studies reached different conclusions. Raymond Wolfinger in "The Suburbs and Shifting Party Loyalties," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Winter, 1958-1959), 473-482, opted for the "conversion theory," but J. G. Manis and L. C. Stine in "Suburban Residence and Political Behavior," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Winter, 1958-1959), 483-489, advocated the "transplantation theory."

⁴Frederick Wirt, "The Political Sociology of American Suburbia: A Reinterpretation," Journal of Politics, XXVII (August, 1965), 647-666.

socio-economic composition which actually makes them areas of Democratic strength. Therefore, he relied chiefly upon economic and social factors in describing the type of political behavior exhibited by suburban cities.

The topic is germane to the Dallas situation because the area of north Dallas County included within the 13th District resembles many of the characteristics of suburban areas while it is still within the incorporated limits of Dallas. The Park Cities area of Dallas, Highland Park and University Park, are separate from the political boundaries of Dallas, but they have long since been left behind in the growth of Dallas when the city expanded around these areas. Northwest Highway, the southernmost boundary of the 13th District in Dallas County, was at one time the outermost limit of the city linked with the encircling road system called Loop Twelve. Consequently, the area beyond this roadway has developed in much the same way that suburbs have grown in other parts of the United States with the exception that parts of this section of the county are still within the city itself. Nevertheless, three prominent suburbs which are separate from Dallas are in existence there: Richardson, Carrollton, and Farmers Branch. These communities have experienced the stereotyped pattern of most suburbs: rapid influx of population in short periods of time.

The fact that this area is part of a county which has a history of Republican Party activity can be further detailed

by showing the voting record of this area in certain selected elections. The map on page 38 shows the precincts which were in effect for the 1964 general election. There was a total of twenty-one precincts at that time within the area added to the 13th. Three precincts, 107, 116, and 173, were divided by the congressional district line drawn by the legislature. As a result, the precinct boundaries that were in effect in 1964 were replaced by the Dallas County Commissioners' Court in the summer of 1965 with precincts that were in accord with the legislative boundaries. Therefore, the election results given in this paper are from precincts which no longer exist but were in effect only for the time of the specific elections cited. Table VII, page 39, lists the totals taken from only those precincts which have been included in the 13th District.

The Republicanism of the area is obvious from the election totals. The Democratic candidate for President, Lyndon Johnson, was the most successful vote-getter in the history of the party and a native son of the state, but in this area in Dallas, he was defeated when he polled only forty-three per cent of the total vote against the Republican candidate, Barry Goldwater. The other vote totals continue this established trend. The Republican candidate for U. S. Senator, George Bush, was the most successful of the entire slate of candidates in polling seventy per cent of the vote against the Democratic incumbent, Ralph Yarborough.

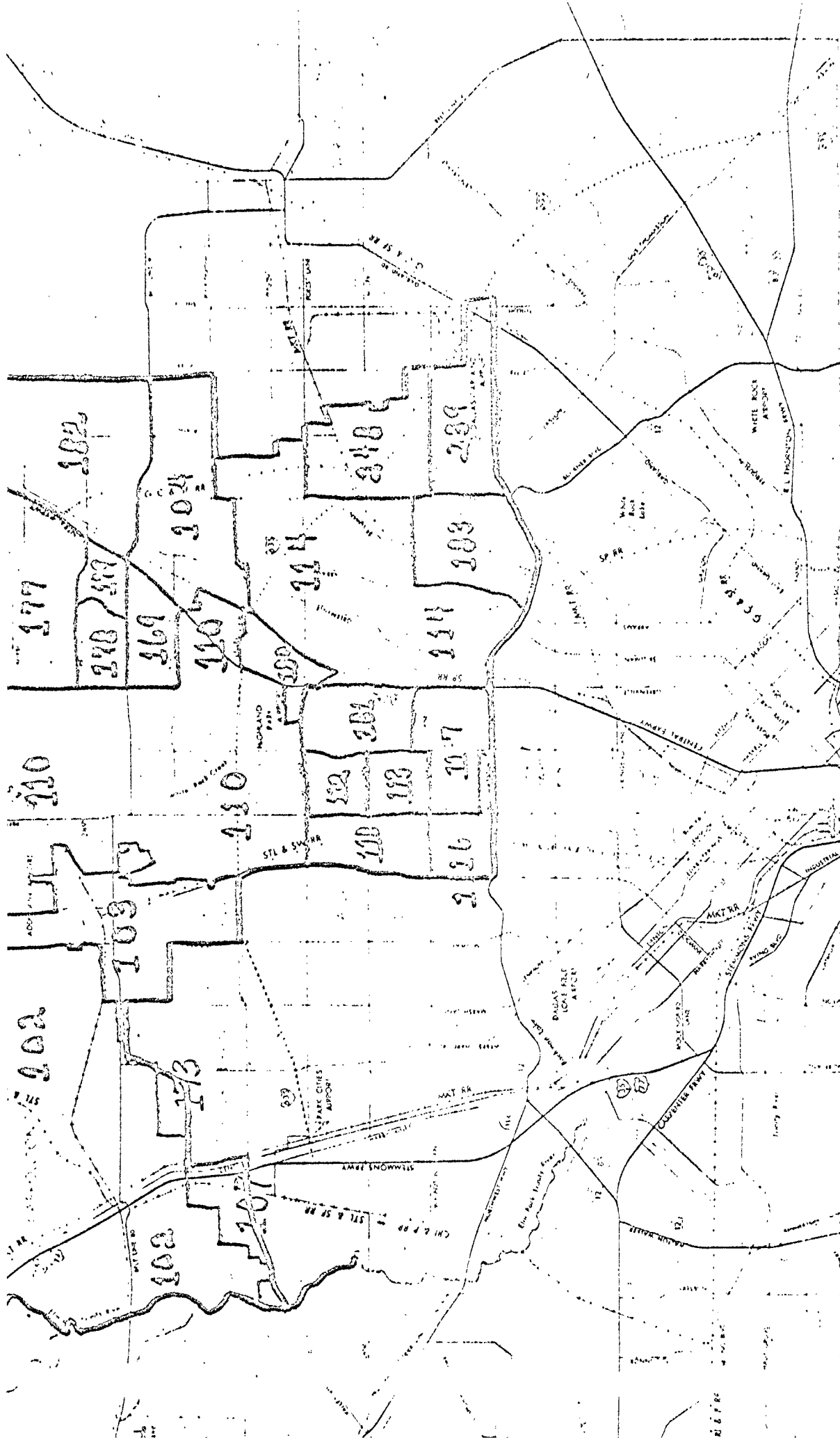


Figure 8. 1964 Precincts in North Dallas County

TABLE VII
ELECTION RESULTS IN DALLAS COUNTY PRECINCTS

Election	Per Cent	Vote	Total
President - 1965			
Johnson (D)	43	16,720	39,365
Goldwater (R)	57	22,645	
Senator - 1964			
Yarborough (D)	30	11,170	37,340
Bush (R)	70	26,170	
Congressman - 1964			
Cabell (D)	47	14,801	31,500
Alger (R)	53	16,699	
Governor - 1964			
Connally (D)	56	21,557	38,170
Crichton (R)	44	16,614	
Governor - 1962			
Connally (D)	30	7,129	23,441
Cox (R)	70	16,313	

The congressional election showed the same percentages found in the presidential election as the incumbent Republican, Bruce Alger, defeated the Democrat, Earle Cabell. This total was true for only these selected precincts because Cabell carried the county as a whole. In the race for state governor, a Democrat won in this area. The incumbent, John Connally won over his Republican opponent, Crichton, by a margin of 56 per cent to 44 per cent. This was the only Democratic victory from these twenty-one precincts and is contrasted by the showing that the same candidate, Connally,

made in the 1962 election for the same office. At that time he lost in this area to the Republican candidate, Cox, when he polled only 30 per cent of the total. Connally's ability to make such a dramatic alteration in voting trends can be attributed to many factors of which an important one is the fact that he was almost assassinated in Dallas while riding in the same car with President Kennedy on November 22, 1963.

Nevertheless, the overwhelming trend in these voting statistics is toward the Republican Party. To illustrate further the strength of the Republican candidates in this area, Table VIII on page 41 shows a breakdown of precincts on the basis of the percentage of Republican votes cast in the 1964 election for three principal offices. Four different categories are given based on precincts which voted (1) 60 per cent or more Republican, (2) 50-60 per cent, (3) 40-50 per cent, and (4) less than 40 per cent. Fifteen out of the twenty-one precincts fall in the categories of 50 per cent or more in Republican voting. It is a common characteristic of Republican voters that they vote in higher percentages on a national basis than do the voters in the Democratic Party. This trend is verified to some extent by showing the percentage of registered voters who voted in this area for the 1964 election and the 1962 election. (See Table IX.) When precincts have a 90 per cent turn-out, it is obvious that the area can be described by the generalizations

TABLE VIII

PRECINCTS GROUPED BY REPUBLICAN VOTING PERCENTAGES*

1. Precincts voting 60% or more for Republican candidates in all elections:

<u>Precinct</u>	<u>Voting Range</u>
110	60%-77%
177	60%-78%
178	65%-80%
179	65%-77%
183	62%-78%
248	60%-79%

2. Precincts voting 50% or more for Republican candidates in all elections:

<u>Precinct</u>	<u>Voting Range</u>
104	55%-71%
112	53%-70%
113	56%-72%
114	50%-66%
116	52%-73%
118	55%-77%
169	56%-75%
173	51%-78%
239	58%-76%

3. Precincts voting 40% or more for Republican candidates in all elections:

<u>Precinct</u>	<u>Voting Range</u>
107	46%-59%
181	48%-68%
182	49%-65%

4. Precincts voting less than 40% for Republican candidates in all elections:

<u>Precinct</u>	<u>Voting Range</u>
102	38%-50%
180	1%- 3%

*The elections involved in this grouping of precincts are the 1964 presidential, senatorial, and congressional races as well as the 1962 gubernatorial election. The 1964 election of the state governor is not included because of the extraordinary Democratic percentages which Connally polled. The Republican opponent, Crichton, was not able to keep the percentages of similar Republican candidates which would have forced a different grouping of precincts distorting the trend of the other elections.

which have been made about voting behavior which show that higher affluence and occupational ranking produce greater response at polling places.⁵

TABLE IX
PERCENTAGE OF VOTING AMONG REGISTERED VOTERS
IN DALLAS PRECINCTS

Total Vote from the 1964 Presidential Election			
Precinct	Total Vote	Registered Voters	Percentage
102	1976	2163	91%
104	1445	1665	86%
107	1717	2027	84%
110	3607	4210	86%
112	1347	1577	85%
113	1596	1825	87%
114	1633	1786	91%
116	2122	2584	82%
117	1614	1896	85%
118	1880	2209	85%
169	2276	2375	95%
173	2069	2216	93%
177	3277	3628	90%
178	1379	1519	90%
179	1479	1631	90%
180	1208	1298	93%
181	1402	1559	89%
182	1132	1233	91%
183	2438	2613	89%
239	3004	3363	89%
248	774	832	93%
Total	39,365	44,200	88%

⁵Hugh A. Bone and Austin Ranney, Politics and Voters (New York, 1963).

TABLE IX--Continued

Total Vote From the 1962 Gubernatorial Race			
Precinct	Total Vote	Registered Voters	Percentage
102	740	1187	62%
104	1018	1331	76%
107	826	1330	62%
110	1809	2301	78%
112	1043	1299	80%
113	1287	1604	80%
114	754	1051	71%
116	1526	1980	77%
117	1275	1569	81%
118	1555	1973	78%
169	1298	1572	82%
173	1407	1341	104%
177	1147	1322	86%
178	858	1095	78%
179	946	1131	83%
180	764	1073	71%
181	1012	1209	83%
182	624	795	78%
183	1295	1524	84%
239	1948	2352	82%
248	309	364	84%
Total	23,441	29,403	79%

Any attempt to explain the success of Republicanism in this area of Dallas County must take cognizance of the theory of the "Presidential Republicans" which states that persons may remain loyal to the Democratic Party in local elections, but in a national election these persons will split their ticket between local Democrats and national Republicans. This theory was used to explain the success of Eisenhower in

winning the electoral vote of Texas in the presidential elections of 1952 and 1956.⁶ It is applicable to the situation in north Dallas because of the Democratic history of the state. It would be necessary to ignore this history if some other explanation is offered for the sudden increase in Republican votes. In other words, while the voting records indicate the attractiveness of Republican candidates to the voters in the north Dallas area, it cannot be assumed that these same voters will not be attracted to Democratic candidates in certain state and local elections. It is true that this area of the city altered a pattern whereby Republican candidates have not been entered in local races. This was done by electing Frank Crowder as one of the four Dallas County Commissioners. But, it is also clear that some voters who supported Republican candidates also voted for Governor Connally in 1964 when he won in this area by 56 per cent of the vote. The result may be an improvisation of the "Presidential Republican" theory to include the idea of "Gubernatorial Democrats" or Republicans who vote for Republicans except for the office of Governor. While this idea is plausible in this instance, its validity has limited application. This fact is true because of the defeat which Connally suffered in this same area in 1962 when he polled only 30 per cent of the vote. His popularity was not immediate among the

⁶Clifton McCleskey, The Government and Politics of Texas (Boston, 1963), p. 75.

voters of this area, and the 1964 election can be explained more logically in other ways.

The unusual circumstances surrounding Connally's 1964 vote lie in the assassination attempt of 1963 and the record which he had established during his first term in office. A combination of these factors shows that the Republican Party does not have a complete monopoly upon the voting public of this area. Earle Cabell, the Democratic victor for the 5th District, polled 47 per cent of the area vote, which illustrates the closeness which occurred in this race against a Republican incumbent of five terms. Consequently, there is no indication that the Republican Party can command overwhelming majorities in every race. Again, Cabell had characteristics, such as his earlier success in mayoralty campaigns, which made him distinctive over other Democratic candidates, but these examples tender a more basic explanation than simply the principle of exceptional qualities of selected candidates. This idea is that the voters in this area are more ideologically oriented than committed to party affiliation in voting.

These two most notable successes of Democratic candidates have been achieved by candidates of moderate to conservative leanings. Conservative in this sense will be defined principally in terms of the role of government and especially the national government in altering the structure of society. This definition means that conservatives would seek to

minimize government activities, and the opposite would be true for liberals. Therefore, if candidates of the conservative type register the most consistent successes, it is then arguable that it is not as much the Republican Party label that brings success in this area as it is the candidates' espousal of conservative political ideas. An attempt to verify this hypothesis will be included in Chapter V, which reveals the results of a questionnaire study used on a limited number of Dallas residents who are now constituents of the 13th District.

Political Effects of Reapportionment on the District as a Whole

The effect of adding a sizable population to the district is shown not only in the per cent of population distribution throughout the district, but also in the way in which the per cent of the voting population is distributed. On page 47 is a map of the district before reapportionment. It lists the county-by-county percentages of the total congressional vote in 1964. The figures in this map are roughly similar to the 1960 population distribution of the district which is shown on page 23. The most important point to be observed is the place of Wichita County in both the voting and population illustrations. This county occupies the most prominent position in the district in both instances.

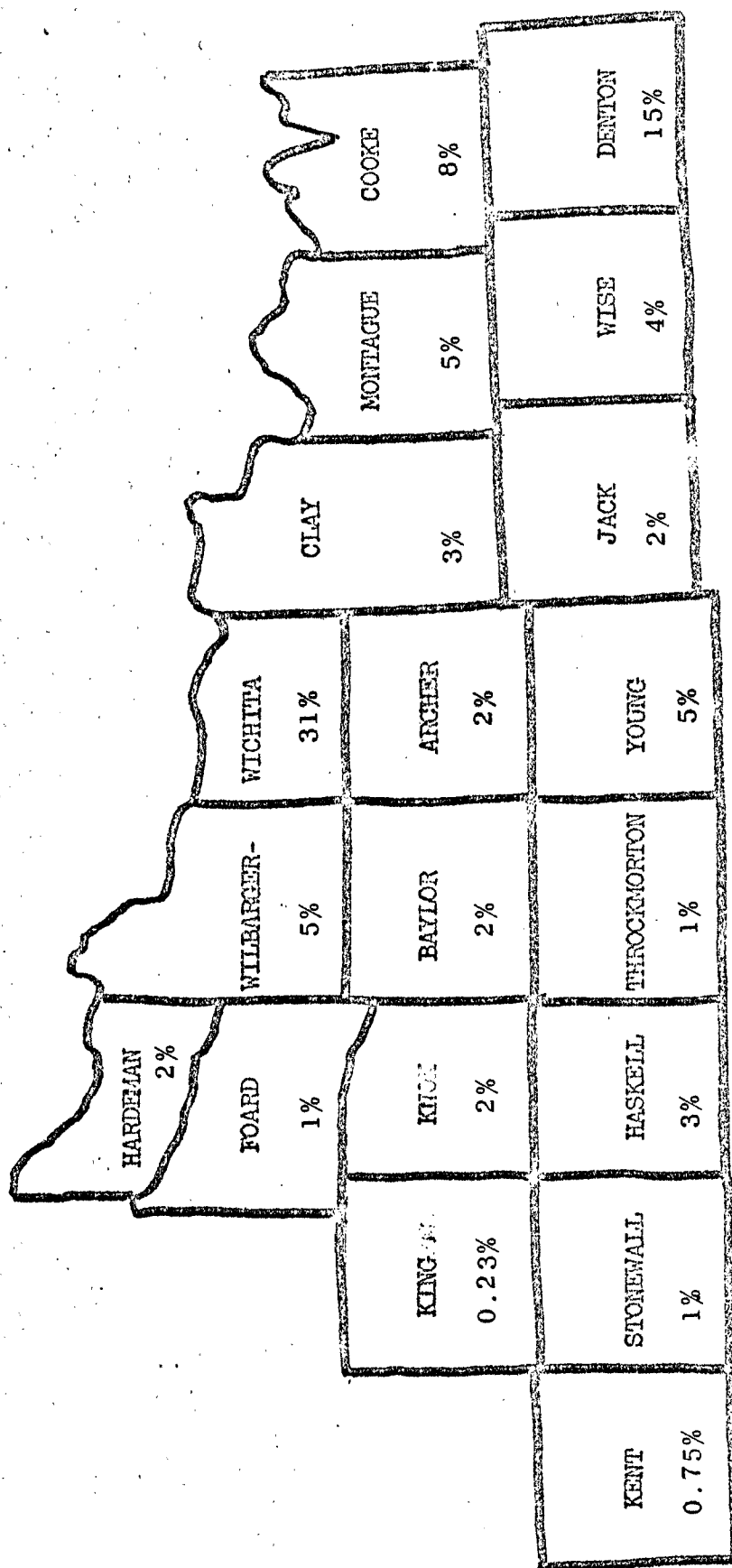


Figure 9. Percentage of total votes cast by each county in 1964 congressional election in former 13th District.

On page 49 is another illustration which allows a comparison between the old and new districts. Figure 10 shows the way in which the total votes cast in the 1964 congressional election would have been distributed throughout the nineteen counties had reapportionment occurred prior to that election. Dallas County had a total of 31,500 votes cast in 1964; therefore, its percentage exceeds that of Wichita County which had a total of 28,033 votes cast in the congressional race. Clearly then, the relative importance of the Dallas area assumes an even greater prominence in the reapportionment scheme because it now supersedes the traditional leadership role of Wichita County in providing the largest base of voters in the district. In 1964 Dallas County would have accounted for 26 per cent of the total district vote of 90,376 votes while Wichita County would have followed closely behind with 23 per cent of the total. The percentage of votes in the other counties is not materially affected by the inclusion of Dallas, or at least not to the extent that Wichita County has experienced.

This illustration of vote distribution again points out the inadequacies of using the 1960 census data for computing the population of the Dallas area. On the map of population distribution found in Figure 5, page 24, the population for that segment of Dallas County included in the 13th District constitutes only 16 per cent of the total for the district.

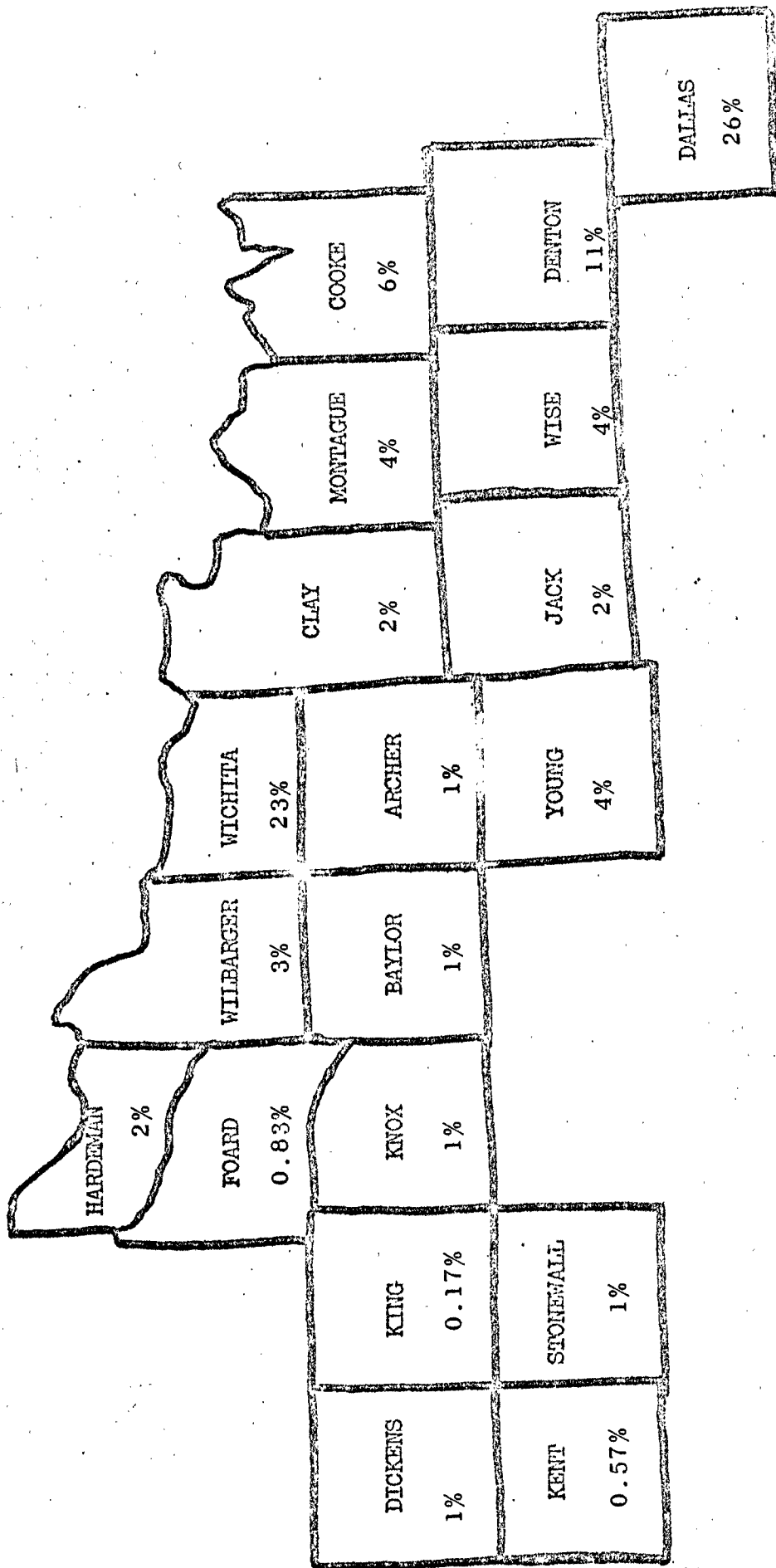


Figure 10. Percentage of total votes cast by each county in 1964 congressional election in reapportioned 13th District.

This figure is wholly inconsistent with the 26 per cent garnered by the same area in the distribution of total votes. Although it can be inferred that the voters in the Dallas area are more apt to vote because of their Republican tendencies and all that is entailed in that preference, it is not conceivable that such a tendency could account for the extreme variance in population and vote distribution figures. Nevertheless, despite the shortcomings of the population statistics for reapportionment, it is now clear that the Dallas area which the Texas Legislature added to the 13th District is already of major significance in determining the political affairs of the new 13th District and offers the possibility for even greater importance in light of present growth patterns.

While the maps which have been discussed above reveal the relative change in total votes, the illustrations on the following pages show another dimension in revealing the qualitative change in the vote distribution among the Democratic and Republican Parties. On page 51 is shown the distribution among counties of the Democratic votes cast in the 1964 congressional election. It must be pointed out that the figures used for computing this map and the one for the Republican Party involved counting votes cast for different candidates in different congressional races. Involved in this process was the necessity of using the results of races in the 5th Congressional District in Dallas County and the

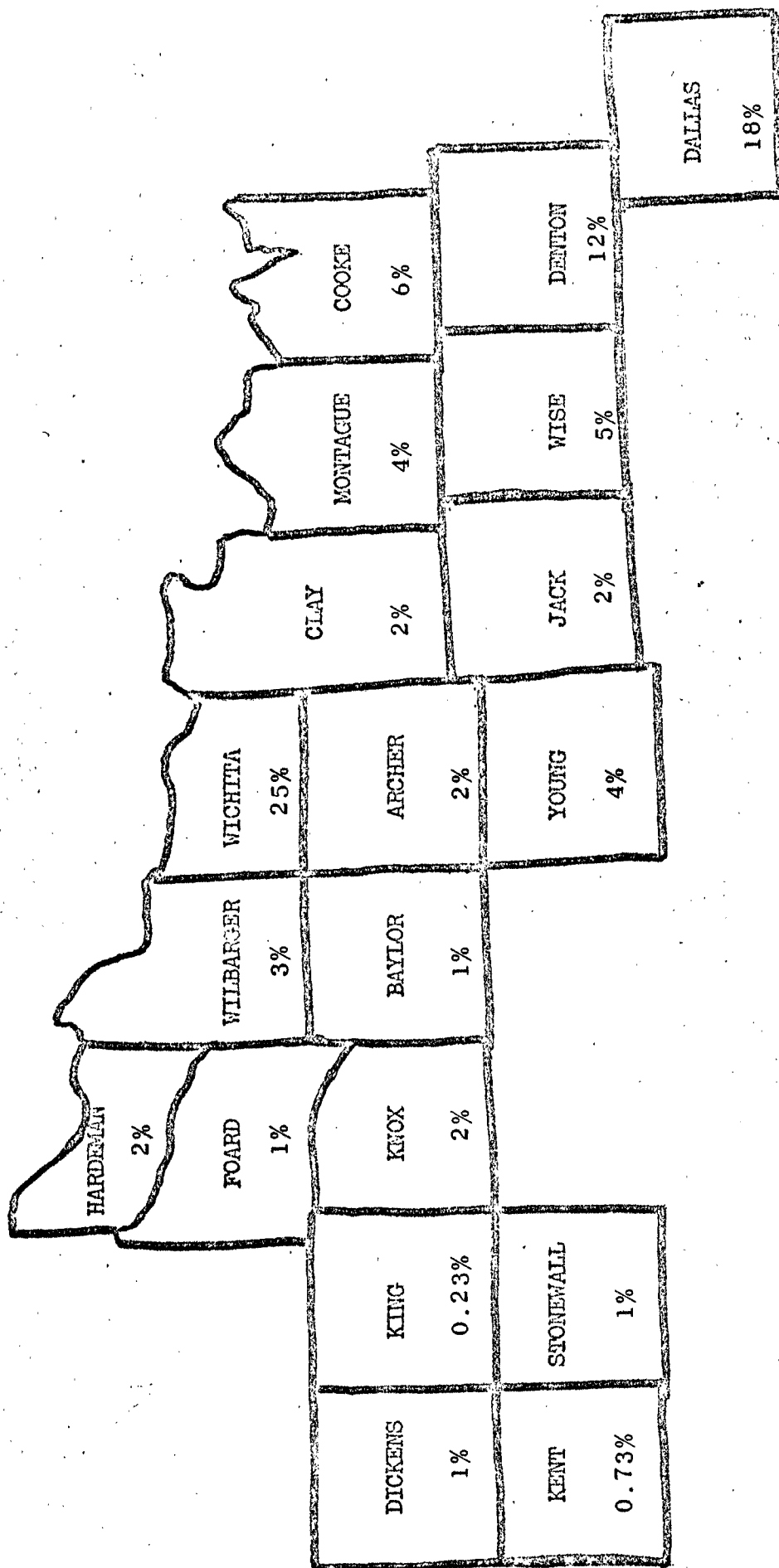


Figure 11. Percentage of total Democratic votes cast by each county in 1964 congressional election in reapportioned 13th District.

19th Congressional District in Dickens County. Despite the fact that these maps do mix candidates and possibly issues, the result is a rough calculation of the actual way in which the Democratic and Republican votes would have been distributed had the district been reapportioned before the last congressional election. The most important areas to examine are Wichita and Dallas Counties and the way in which these areas rise and fall in percentage points of party support. Wichita County is the most important area of the two in terms of relative number of Democratic votes cast with 18 per cent of the total. On the other hand, Dallas County is of overwhelming importance as a source of Republican votes with 45 per cent of the total as evidenced by Figure 12 on page 53. The traditional nature of the district means that Democratic support is more widely diffused throughout the counties, but Republicans have a following which is concentrated in more specific areas of the district and principally in that area of Dallas now added to the 13th.

In light of this last statement, the figures which have already been given for this area to show the Republican tendencies of the Dallas voters have added significance. The pattern of political leanings of the district emerges. The area in Dallas is composed of a different political environment from that in the rest of the district. The diffusion of Democratic support and the concentration of Republican voters clearly shows the attempt of the Texas Legislature

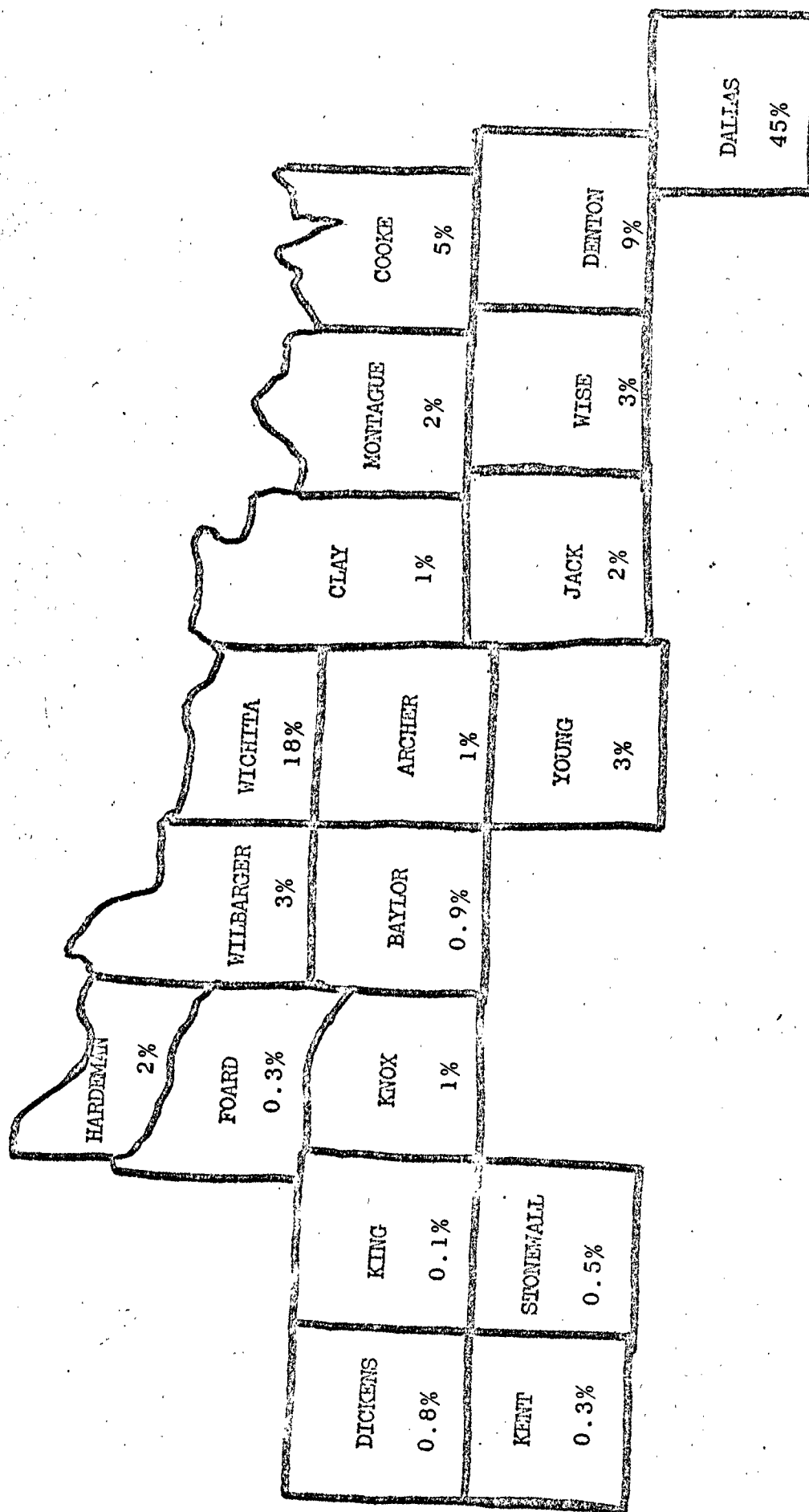


Figure 12. Percentage of total Republican votes cast by each county in 1964 congressional election in reappointed 13th District.

to gerrymander the 13th District so that the influence of the Republican voters in the northern part of Dallas County would be diluted among the preponderance of Democratic votes in the rest of the district.

This method of apportionment has a long history in the United States, which can be traced to 1812, when the term originated. The fact that the Texas Legislature was successful in drawing the district lines on this basis without substantial opposition is the result of a complex of factors. Therefore, only brief mention can be made of these causes at this time, but the overriding presence of one-party politics in Texas is the most obvious source of this situation. The election in 1964 only compounded the domination of the Democrats in the state legislature when only one Republican was returned to the Texas House of Representatives and none to the Texas Senate. It clearly was not necessary for the Democratic majority to bargain with a Republican minority in dividing the legislative and congressional districts on the basis of voting patterns. A close examination of the total congressional apportionment contained in H. B. 67 will reveal this fact. The 13th District is not an exception to the general practice in operation at the meeting of the 59th session. Wherever the Republican Party had been able to attract sizable numbers of voters to their candidates in areas around the state, the legislature moved to divide these areas among

stronger Democratic districts and prevent future Republican successes.

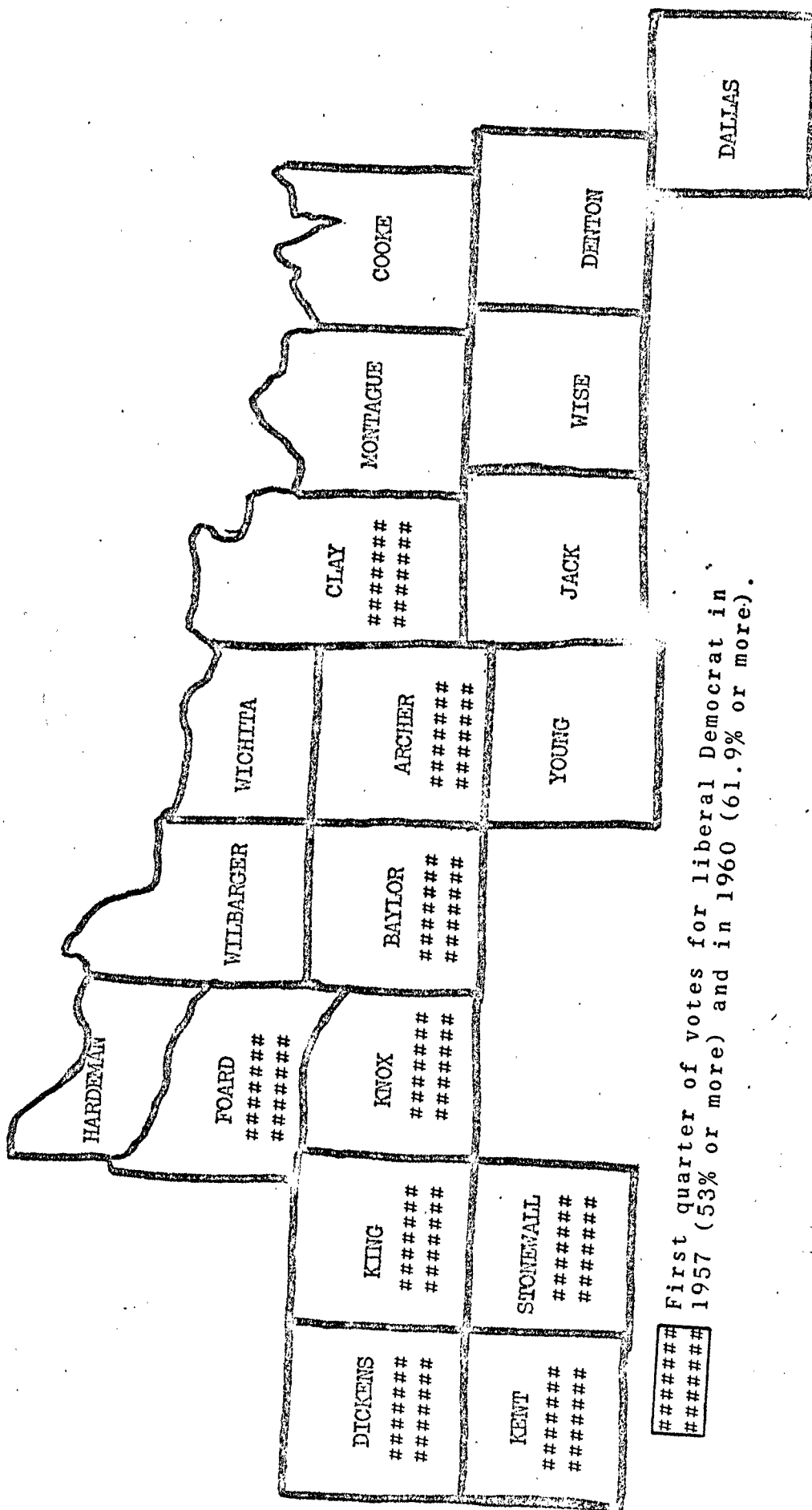
This topic is the subject of a statement by James M. Burns in his book, The Deadlock of Democracy, in which he stated,

The courts could compel each state legislature to create congressional districts of mathematically equal size and still not meet the problem of the non-competitive district. The two problems are of course interrelated, and in the long run reducing rural overrepresentation should make for more competition.⁷

Until the courts do move in the direction of viewing gerrymandering as a violation of the 14th Amendment, the situation that exists in Texas after the reapportionment of the congressional districts will continue as it will in other states in similar circumstances.

The overall pattern of the district is seen in the illustrations showing the areas in which the Liberal Democratic, Conservative Democratic, and Republican votes are concentrated. These maps are based on quartile distributions in selected elections. The first in this series shows the counties within the 13th District in which the Liberal Democratic faction has its greatest strength and appears in Figure 13. Ten out of the total of nineteen counties in the district are classified as liberal. While this number is a majority of the counties, it is not a majority of the population or of the voters.

⁷James M. Burns, The Deadlock of Democracy (Englewood Cliffs, 1963), p. 278.



 First quarter of votes for liberal Democrat in
 1957 (53% or more) and in 1960 (61.9% or more).

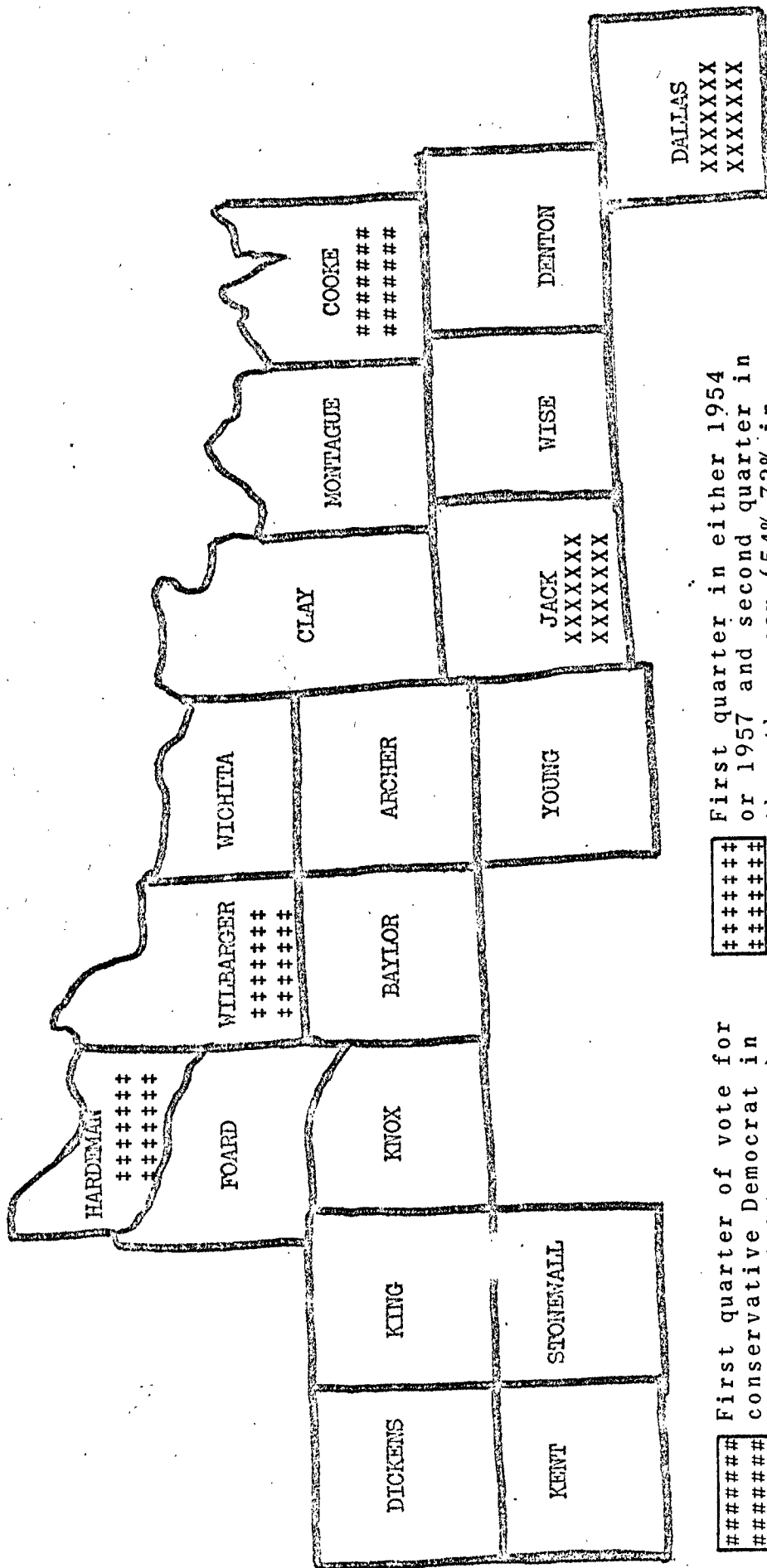
Figure 13. Liberal Democratic faction in 13th District* (Based on vote for Yarbrough in 1957 special Senate election and for Kennedy in 1960 presidential election.)

*Source: Clifton McCleskey, The Government and Politics of Texas (Boston, 1963), p. 96.

These counties are concentrated in the western portion of the district, where the population reaches its lowest total in a single county. Nine out of the first ten counties ranked on the basis of ascending population are included in this category of counties where the liberal wing of the Texas Democratic Party has been most successful. Therefore, the base for this segment of the party is found in the rural, agricultural areas of the district. This fact is consistent with the generalizations which have been offered in explaining the sources of the dichotomy in the Democratic Party in Texas.⁸

The second map, on page 58, shows those areas of the state where the conservative faction of the Democratic Party has its greatest support in the district. Only five of the counties are involved in this category, and these are in varying degrees of support. It is important to note that Dallas County as a whole falls under one of the criteria used in determining Conservative Democratic tendencies. It is impossible on the basis of the information available at the time of this research to further locate the areas within Dallas County which contributed the most toward making the county part of this faction, but the observations which have been drawn from voting studies of Texas show that persons of higher incomes are attracted in greater numbers to this wing

⁸McCleskey, pp. 95-102.



First quarter of vote for conservative Democrat in both 1954 (72% or more) and 1957 (40% or more).

#####

Second quarter in both 1954 and 1957.

XXXXXXX
XXXXXXX

Figure 14. Conservative Democratic faction in 13th District* (Based on vote for Shivers in 1954 Democratic gubernatorial primary run-off and for Martin Dies in 1957 special Senate election.)

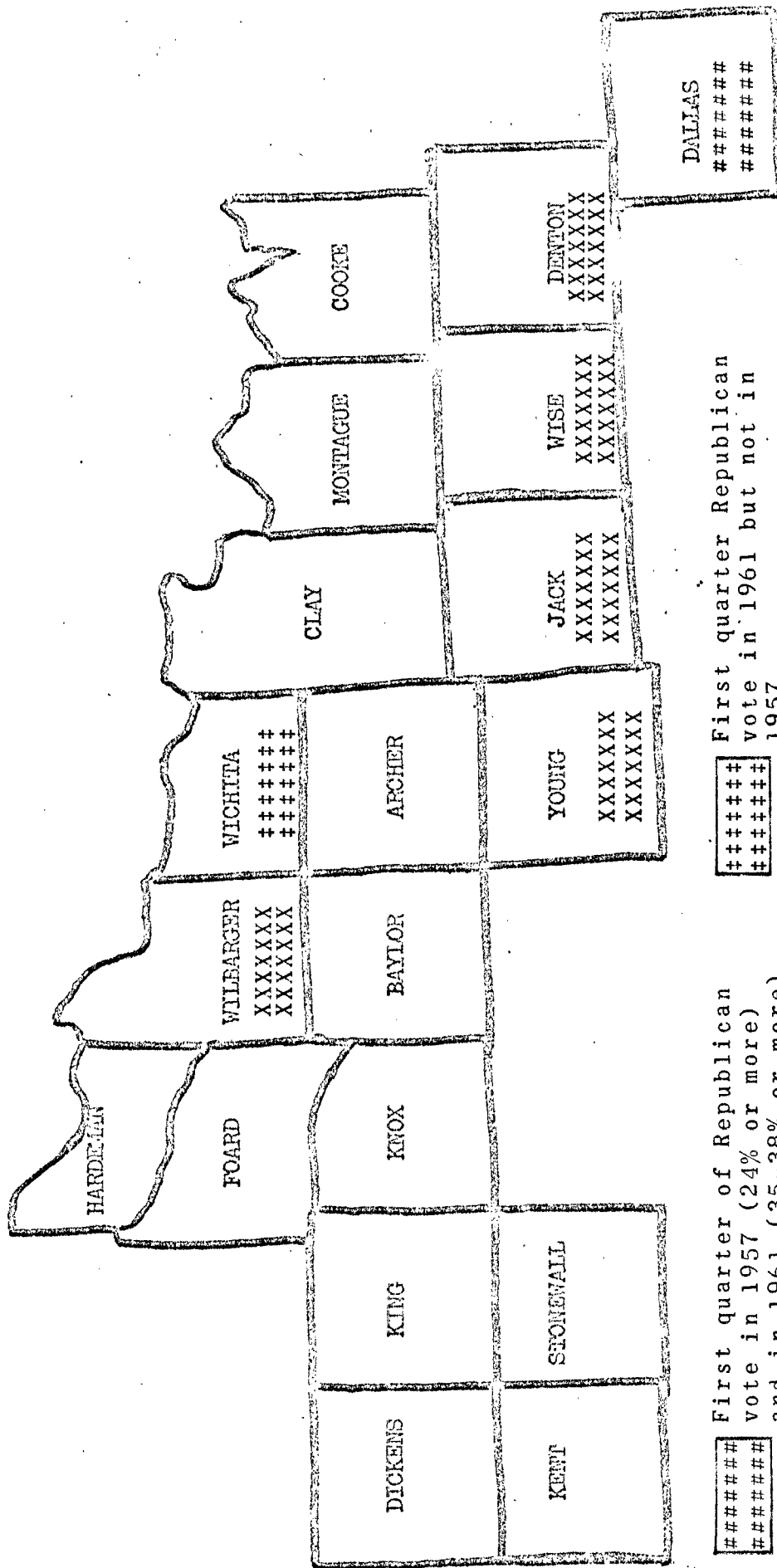
*Source: Clifton McCleskey, The Government and Politics of Texas (Boston, 1963), p. 104.

of the Democratic Party than to the liberal side.⁹ Economic groups like this are concentrated in the northern part of the county in the area added to the 13th.

The third map, shown on page 60, illustrates the counties which have contributed most to the support of the Republican Party. Of particular note is the fact that the two largest counties in the district, Wichita and Dallas, are found in this category with varying degrees of support. Dallas has a record of more consistent Republican support than Wichita, but they both fall into the same ranking for the most recent of the elections used, the senatorial election in 1961 in which Senator John Tower was elected to fill the position vacated by the then Vice-President, Lyndon Johnson. Tower was a resident of Wichita Falls prior to the election; therefore this fact undoubtedly had an impact on the voters in Wichita County, but nevertheless, the fact that Wichita Falls is a metropolitan area means that it is subject to the generalizations which have been offered in describing the growth of the Republican Party.¹⁰ Those persons who fall into the higher economic categories have been more attracted to both the conservative wing of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. And, in 1960 29 per cent of the families in the Wichita Falls SMSA had incomes of \$7000 or above, and

⁹Ibid., pp. 106-107.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 79-83.



First quarter Republican vote in 1961 but not in 1957.

First quarter of Republican vote in 1957 (24% or more) and in 1961 (35-38% or more).

Second quarter Republican vote in 1957 (17%-24%) and in 1961 (26%-35.8%).

Figure 15. Republican Party in 13th District* (Based on special Senate election votes for Hutcheson in 1957 and for Tower in 1961.)

*Source: Clifton McCleskey, The Government and Politics of Texas (Boston, 1963), p. 80.

in the Dallas SMSA, 38 per cent of the families fell into this category.¹¹ This overlapping in recruitment has meant that both of these counties are logical choices for identification with the success of the Republican Party.

It is important to note that while Wichita County does fall into a similar Republican ranking with Dallas County, it does not follow Dallas in its attraction to the conservative Democratic faction. This fact would seem to contradict the discussion above about similar social bases for conservative Democrats and Republicans except that a possible alternative explanation is available. It is conceivable that the liberal and conservative Democratic forces are in check with each other in Wichita County while no such system of countervailing powers exists in Dallas County. If this is true, then it is easy to understand why Wichita County would not fall into either the liberal or conservative camp, but would be in the Republican category since no ingroup split has developed within that party to the extent that it has in the Democratic. Likewise, it indicates the political tendencies of Dallas County when viewed as a whole. The conservative leanings of the Republican Party and the conservative Democratic wing enjoy greater success there than in Wichita County. A further statement about the type of voters who live in Dallas

¹¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas (Washington, 1962).

will be made in Chapter V in order to clarify certain points about the element of conservatism in Dallas.

The 1964 Elections in the Reapportioned District

A reference was made above to the distribution of total Democratic and Republican votes in the reapportioned district. On the basis of this computation, it is possible to examine the 1964 elections and infer the consequences had the district been redrawn prior to that election year. Again, this method involves mixing candidates and issues from the 19th and 5th Districts' congressional races, but it is a rough indication of the possible outcomes of a reapportioned election. Also, it is a valid description of the way in which voting percentages would have been altered for state-wide and national elections. The results of this method are given in Table X.

The incumbent Congressman, Graham Purcell, would have polled 67 per cent as opposed to his 75 per cent in the actual 1964 race. John Connally would have made the best showing with 72 per cent of the total against 80 per cent in the old district. Yarborough would have done poorest by polling 52 per cent compared to 63 per cent. President Johnson would have fallen between Purcell and Yarborough by polling 61 per cent over 71 per cent. Therefore, it seems apparent that the Democratic strength of the district is seriously challenged, but even the poorest vote-getter, Yarborough, would have won by 52 per cent.

TABLE X
REAPPORTIONED DISTRICT ELECTIONS

Election	Original Total	Minus* Votes	Added** Votes	New Total	New Per Cent	Old Per Cent
President (D) Johnson (R) Goldwater	63,612 26,759	3,786 759	18,373 22,984	78,199 48,638	61 39	71 29
Senator (D) Yarborough (R) Bush	56,674 32,831	3,586 982	12,376 26,615	65,464 58,464	52 48	63 37
Congressman (D) Purcell (R) Corse	67,947 22,429	4,021 572	16,308 16,888	80,234 38,745	67 33	75 25
Governor (D) Connally (R) Crichton	71,221 17,685	4,057 493	22,977 16,808	90,141 34,000	72 28	80 20

*Subtracted votes are from Haskell and Throckmorton Counties which were taken out of the 13th District.

**Added votes are from Dallas and Dickens Counties which were placed in the 13th District.

As a result, the gerrymandering that was effected by the state legislature probably would have been successful in the 1964 election in assuring the election of a Democratic congressman had it occurred before that time. Conjecture on the possible consequences of the 1966 election can be inferred from these results. The fact that the 13th was intended to remain Democratic is reinforced by the judgment of Congressional Quarterly when it said, "Incumbent Rep. Graham Purcell (D), a moderate, is believed to be very popular and is heavily favored to win re-election. Incumbent Purcell (D); Safe Democratic."¹² This conclusion has basis in the "election" described above, but it is difficult to assess the consequences of reapportionment for any longer amount of time.

Summary

H. B. 67 of the Texas State Legislature left the 13th District with the same number of counties that it had before redistricting, nineteen, but it significantly changed the political, social, and economic character of the congressional district. The two North Texas counties removed from the district, Haskell and Throckmorton, had a combined population of 13,941 in 1960. By adding Dickens and north Dallas County to the district, more than 68,989 persons have become

¹²Congressional Quarterly, "Weekly Report" (Washington, October 1, 1965), p. 2003.

constituents of the congressman of the 13th District. The contrast within the new district can best be illustrated by two extremes.

King County is a rural, agricultural area in the western part of the district with a population of 640 and a growth rate of -5.0 per cent. In 1960 between 50-65 per cent of the families there earned less than \$3000 as an annual income. In 1964 King County carried the Johnson-Humphrey ticket by 84 per cent with a 146 vote margin. In comparison with this area is Richardson in the center of the north Dallas County area. This suburban city had 16,810 people in 1960 and now is past 39,000 in population according to the Chamber of Commerce. Texas Instruments and Collins Radio are large employers in the area. In 1960, 34 per cent of the families in this city earned over \$10,000. Richardson's largest precinct, 177, supported the Goldwater-Miller ticket in 1964 by 65 per cent with a 1011 vote margin. Although these examples are acknowledged as extremes, they clearly show that the district has undergone an alteration that can accentuate urban-rural differences or show clearly the interdependence of agriculture and industry and towns and cities within a single-member congressional district.

In the 13th District, most of the liberal Democratic strength is located in the sparsely populated western counties. These counties supported Purcell with the highest Democratic percentages in 1964. Such counties as King with 88 per cent;

Foard, 86 per cent; Archer, 83 per cent indicate the strength of endorsement. The opposite situation is evident in the heavily populated north Dallas County area which voted for Johnson by only 43 per cent.

The next problem is to determine when the Dallas area will be able to influence the district vote to a greater degree than is now estimated. The rural, western counties will continue to decline if present trends proceed, and the Dallas area will continue to increase in population. The full weight of this fact is shown in the comparison of population growth rates between Wichita Falls, the traditional center of political power in the district, and Dallas County. The average annual per cent of population change between 1960-1964 for the Wichita Falls Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area was 0.85 per cent. In contrast, the Dallas SMSA grew at 3.44 per cent per year. In relation to the total district, Wichita County had 32 per cent of the total population based on 1960 figures and the Dallas County area was second with 16 per cent. The voting population was very different, in 1964 Wichita County had 23 per cent while Dallas had 25 per cent of the district total.

Regardless of what information is compiled about the new district area, there is still no single index to determine the amount of political power that has been added, shifted, or altered by reapportionment in the 13th District. The social, economic, and political structure of the district

has been changed significantly, but no single statistic shows the degree of change. Its complex character can only be analyzed in the other facets of representation which involve the constituents themselves.

CHAPTER IV

REPRESENTATION IN THE 13TH DISTRICT

The underlying assumption behind all of the above discussion is that there is a definite correlation between the social characteristics of a congressman's district and the type of voting record which the representative establishes in the House of Representatives. This question of linkage between the constituency of a representative and the political behavior which he exhibits is the subject of the next portion of this study.

Representation is a concept that is crucial to the theoretical framework of a democratic system. For the purposes of this paper, democracy will be defined as a "political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials, and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office."¹ Therefore, it is critical for the maintenance of a system devoted to the majoritarian interest of "the people" that their views be expressed in the governmental process.

¹Seymour Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, 1960), p. 45.

The complexities of societal arrangements makes it necessary that leadership be exercised not only in vocalizing the will of the majority of people, but also in contributing to the formulation of that will itself. In modern democratic systems such leaders are subject to election by the enfranchised population.

This topic of selecting leaders and the subsequent problem of representing the selectors themselves did not go unnoticed by the encyclopedic Aristotle, who mentioned in his Politics, "It is also in the interest of a democracy that the parts of the state should be represented in the deliberative body by an equal number of members, either elected for the purpose or appointed by the use of the lot."² Despite this fourth-century B.C. observation on representative democracy, the actual experience with large democratic systems has been confined largely to the twentieth century. The Greek polis was very different from the industrial nation-state of the 1960's, and consequently the comparatively recent development of representative bodies in these countries has meant that the workings of these bodies have not been fully explored or understood. But, even in their relative newness, representative bodies have proven to be problematical components in a complex system. Representation is a difficult task to

²Aristotle, The Politics of Aristotle, translated and edited by Ernest Barker (New York, 1962), p. 192.

accomplish, and the legislative bodies of the United States have not always distinguished themselves as models in this field. In fact, David Truman has been led to say, ". . . the trials of our national legislature are in part a reflection of the 'parliamentary crisis' that has affected the West for at least five decades."³ Implicit in what Truman has stated is that within the twentieth century, when conditions of literacy and economic progress have been most conducive toward the establishment of democratic institutions, legislative bodies have become the anachronisms of the system by failing to respond in an adequate manner to the challenges and complexities of urbanization and industrialization. Faced with the expertise, skill and ability of an executive bureaucracy, the legislature has at times lost and at other times ceded much of its political power to the administrators and consequently declined as a potent force within a democracy. This sad commentary on that body within a democracy which is supposed to be most reflective of the people and their needs also points out the need for further study in the area to assess the role which legislative bodies now play in the process of representation. Therefore, concomitant with this need is the necessity of analyzing the representatives themselves and how they function within the system.

³David Truman, The Congress and America's Future (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), p. 1.

Congressional Representation

From the field of normative political theory, three theoretical stereotypes of representatives have been developed. These theoretical models are usually associated with single-member districts which are the predominant types for selecting United States Congressmen. The first model is called the "agent" and is associated with the type of representative described by Edmund Burke as one who would receive his mandate in a popular election, but his responsibility as a representative required that he exercise independent judgment in acting for his constituency's interest instead of responding to their will. The second model is predicated upon the philosophy of Jacksonian Democracy and is referred to as the "delegate" or one who acts upon the instructions of his constituency. The third model depends upon a concept of "responsible" parties which are able to command sufficiently high voting records in support of the party position so that members' voting behavior can be accurately predicted on the basis of their affiliation.⁴

Each of these three representative models is formulated within the framework of a democratic system where majoritarian interests are the paramount concern. The "agent" and "responsible party" theories would simply expand the realm of the

⁴Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," American Political Science Review, LVII (March, 1963), 45-56.

represented interests to include a national scope. The "delegate" theory would allow the most parochial development of congressional attitudes in that representatives would bow only to the will of the district constituency. In reality none of the three models is perfectly represented in the experience of the United States House of Representatives because it is always composed of members who view their roles in a variety of perspectives and do not adhere to any one of these theories for every roll call vote.⁵

The situation is extremely complex in describing the factors which are involved in roll call voting as a facet of the representative process. Particularly difficult is the problem of analyzing the linkage of a representative's voting behavior with the political opinions of his district. V. O. Key, Jr., in his book, Public Opinion and American Democracy, reviewed most of the major research which has been devoted to this aspect of democratic systems and said, "From the data we have, however, about all that can be concluded is that constituency opinion--as inferred from the particular demographic characteristics--is only one of a complex of factors that bear on a legislator's vote."⁶ Therefore, at best, the discussion given above in relating the various changes in the

⁵Ibid., p. 56.

⁶V. O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York, 1961), p. 486.

constituency of the 13th Congressional District must be accepted as only one factor in analyzing the voting behavior of the present representative. This fact is true for several reasons. One is the gross ignorance expressed on the part of the American electorate about their congressmen. A Gallup Poll released November 7, 1965, revealed the following statistics:

57% did not know the name of their Congressman
 41% did not know his party
 70% did not know when he next stood for re-election
 81% did not know how he voted on any major legislation that year
 86% did not know of anything the Congressman had done for the district⁷

The results of this poll have been substantiated in several empirical studies. One of the most recent ones by Warren Miller and Donald Stokes concluded,

Far from looking over the shoulder of their Congressmen at the legislative game, most Americans are almost totally uninformed about legislative issues in Washington. At best the average citizen may be said to have some general ideas about how the country should be run, which he is able to use in responding to particular questions about what the government ought to do.⁸

Such a pessimistic conclusion diminishes greatly any prospect of the "delegate" model being realized on a majority of issues which arise in any one session of the Congress; but, the final analysis reached by these authors revealed that the

⁷Congressional Quarterly, "Weekly Report" (Washington, November 12, 1965), p. 2320.

⁸Miller and Stokes, p. 47.

democratic aspect of the process was not entirely negated by constituency indifference to congressional personnel. These authors concluded that it is the congressman's perception of the attitudes of his constituency which influences the linkage that exists between the people and their representative. Any one member of the House has very imperfect means of ascertaining the opinion of his constituency on any given issue; therefore, to the degree that his constituency does influence the voting behavior of the representative, that influence is manifested in the perceptive range of the congressman in assessing his constituents' thoughts on an aggregate basis.

Different congressmen use different means in attempting to study this problem, most of which are highly unscientific,⁹ but the congressmen themselves have not undertaken any attempt to provide better means of ascertaining public opinion information for the House. If constituency opinion were one of the vital criteria upon which congressmen decided their voting records, it would seem logical that the House of Representatives would seek to employ polling information for the congressmen from their districts. Because this is not the case, it is logical to conclude that the linkage factor of majority constituent opinion is not of overwhelming importance to the decision-making of that body, although it is obvious that it is a factor of considerable consequence.

⁹Key, p. 493.

The entire question of roll call voting analysis has been researched thoroughly by Duncan MacRae in Dimensions of Congressional Voting. In his study of this problem, MacRae listed seven separate methods of analyzing voting behavior.

1. Case Study of Roll Call Voting
2. A Priori Index
3. Interest Groups Indexes
4. Cohesion Index
5. Party Unity Index
6. Scaling or Bloc Analysis
7. Factor Analysis and Latent Structure Analysis¹⁰

Within the scope of this paper, the method described above by MacRae as an "arbitrary index" can be used. From the services provided by Congressional Quarterly, four different indices are given which graphically illustrate the reaction of Congressman Graham Purcell in his role as representative of the 13th District. The scales compare the voting record of Purcell in the first session of the 89th Congress with that of his term in the 88th Congress in 1963-1964. During the first session of the 89th, the Texas Legislature passed the reapportionment bill which realigned the 13th District making north Dallas County part of the congressional area. The results given in Table XI offer several avenues of interpretation.

On the basis of these three scales of the 1965 session, it is clear that Purcell's voting behavior experienced a decided change in comparison with his voting record in the

¹⁰Duncan MacRae, Jr., Dimensions of Congressional Voting (Berkeley, 1958), p. 301.

88th Congress. His record shows less of a willingness to expand the role of the national government, and this fact means that he is voting more as a conservative.

TABLE XI
ROLL CALL VOTE INDEX OF CONGRESSMAN GRAHAM PURCELL

	89th Session, 1st Term	88th Session
Larger Federal Role*		
For	77%	72%
Against	23%	28%
Support Johnson's Foreign Policy**		
Support	75%	87%
Opposition	13%	0%
Support Johnson's Domestic Policy***		
Support	60%	78%
Opposition	19%	12%
Over-all Support of Johnson****		
Support	63%	80%
Opposition	18%	9%

*Congressional Quarterly, "Weekly Report" (Washington, 1965), p. 2423.

**Ibid., pp. 2396-2397.

***Ibid., pp. 2394-2395.

****Ibid., pp. 2392-2393.

One contributing factor which must be mentioned in using the figures drawn from Congressional Quarterly is that lack of voting participation will lower a representative's score

in any category. Purcell dropped from an 86 per cent attendance in the 88th to 77 per cent in 1965.¹¹ This fact can be used to explain part of the voting shift, but one obvious conclusion is that as the district became more Republican in that the predominantly conservative or Republican area of north Dallas County was added to the existing district, Purcell tended to move away from the high support scores of President Johnson which he had made in the 88th Congress and move toward a more moderate support stand.

Conclusion

These results are only a preliminary analysis of the factors involved in the transition of the 13th Congressional District. Voting behavior is only one aspect involved in the task of being an elected representative from Texas. Other important areas are such things as the question of congressional committee assignments. Purcell is presently on the House Agriculture Committee and is chairman of the sub-committee on wheat. This committee has historically selected its membership on the basis of commodity representation and urban representatives have been noticeably absent.¹²

¹¹Congressional Quarterly, p. 2311.

¹²Charles Jones, "Representation in Congress: The Case of the House Agricultural Committee," American Political Science Review, LV (June, 1961), 359.

While such an assignment would have been well suited to the economic interests of the former 13th, the composition of the new district is definitely away from agricultural interests and in the direction of urban-industrial problems. While this is true on a population basis, geographically the new district is still spread over a large portion of the state which encompasses farming. The degree to which Purcell seeks a new committee assignment in the future will be of interest as the forces in the representative process come into play. The fact that Purcell is on the Agriculture Committee does not mean that the representative process will be frustrated. Having a congressman who is forced into reconciling the diverse interests of an urban-rural district can mean that a new dimension of representation can be introduced into the House. Samuel Huntington has concluded that "particular territorial interests are represented in Congress; particular functional interests are represented in the administration; and the national interest is represented territorially and functionally in the Presidency."¹³

The consequence is that a three-way system of representation has developed which culminates in the Presidency as arbiter between territorial and functional interests. The circumstances of reapportionment within the 13th District have

¹³Samuel Huntington, "Congressional Responses to the Twentieth Century," The Congress and America's Future by David Truman (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), p. 17.

meant that sheer territorial interests alone are more complex; therefore, the representative has to accommodate to pressures of varying types in order to fulfill this part of the representative scheme described by Huntington. It is politically unfeasible for the congressman from the 13th District to show preference to one territorial interest to the exclusion of the other. A balance must be achieved.

CHAPTER V

THE DALLAS CONSTITUENCY

The discussion in Chapter IV examined the role of the representative in his reaction to reapportionment. To test whether or not the present congressman, Graham Purcell, has accurately assessed the changes within his district, a sample was drawn from the area of Dallas added to the new district, and an interview study was conducted. The purpose of these interviews was to determine the social, economic, and political characteristics of the new constituents and to attempt an analysis based upon the results of such a study of the process of representation within the district.

The study itself was conducted during the weeks of June 1 through June 18, 1966. The questionnaire used is given in the Appendix. This instrument was employed by eight different interviewers as they gathered the information in the field. For the most part, the interviewers were students at North Texas State University who had completed the introductory course in American Government. These persons were not professionally trained, and this fact must be noted before attempting to evaluate the results of the study.

The sample for the survey was drawn at random according to the method described in Survey Research by Backstrom and Hursh.¹ U. S. Census material for the city of Dallas was employed to find enumerated blocks within the corporation limits of the city.² Fifteen total and partial census tracts are included in the area of Dallas placed in the new 13th District. These fifteen tracts contained 12,530 housing units in the 1960 census; the total population of these tracts was 39,604. The universe from which the sample was selected held only 57 per cent of the total population added to the new district from Dallas County.³ The result is that the suburban areas of Richardson, Carrollton, Farmers Branch, and other smaller incorporated areas are excluded from the sample. While this fact is definitely a limitation upon the scope of the survey, it was caused in part by the limitation of the census material which enumerated blocks only for the corporate limits of Dallas itself and did not include the entire county. Nevertheless, the universe did include an important portion of the new district by focusing upon the residents of Dallas itself.

¹Charles Backstrom and Gerald Hursh, Survey Research (Evanston, 1963).

²U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Housing.

³Ibid.

Referred to in different ways, the northern portion of the city has a reputation for its affluence and political viewpoint which has been noted by many observers as separate and distinct within the total make-up of the city.⁴ Statistics alone are not totally revealing on this point, but of the eleven census tracts within the entire city that had a median housing property value of \$25,000 and over (the highest classification used), all were located in close proximity to one another in the north-central section of the county.⁵ Six of these eleven tracts are included in the new 13th District. This fact has important bearing on the political process because it means that over one-third or six of the fifteen tracts from the city of Dallas included in the district have the highest estimated median value in the entire city. This characteristic of high affluence was borne out in the results of the study which will be mentioned later in greater detail. But, it is important to note from the outset that this area of the city is markedly exceptional in the amount of economic value represented; and, this high value achieves a homogeneity throughout the area included in the district. The median value for the tracts other than the six highest and for which information is available is \$20,800.⁶ This

⁴One of the more recent of the descriptions of this situation was included in Warren Leslie, Dallas Public and Private (New York, 1964).

⁵U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Housing.

⁶Ibid.

last fact is important in evaluating the results of this study because of the limited response obtained from persons living within the area. Consequently, while the sample drawn is not large in relation to the total population, it does allow for substantial inferences to be made about the population as a whole when the economic level is held constant.

The questionnaire was composed of forty-nine questions which ranged from demographic data about the respondents to political preference in upcoming elections. The questionnaire itself was formulated after the model given in the book, Survey Research, and the one used as the basis for The Voter Decides.⁷ A total of eighty-three respondents contributed to the information collected by the study. This figure is relatively low for surveying public opinion and especially low for a population base of over 65,000 persons, but various limitations forced the total number down to the level which was finally achieved. The inexperience of students in conducting interviews contributed greatly to a large number of unusable questionnaires, and the cost of this type of research prohibited more extensive work. Despite the small number of responses, the sample was selected at random, and the results contain an attempt at unbiased research.

A description of the sample itself is necessary in order to evaluate the results of the study. Of the eighty-three

⁷Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, 1954), pp. 215-226.

respondents, 62.6 per cent were white males; 33.7 per cent were white females; and 2.4 per cent were Negro females. While this fact means that the males are over-represented, the results were intended to reflect household preferences, and the sex of the respondents was of lesser importance than other factors. The proportion of Negroes was also larger than for the entire Dallas County area in 1960 when only 0.8 per cent of the total was enumerated as nonwhite. But, such a small statistical deviation should not bias the results significantly.

The most important determinates of political behavior have been related to the research done on social class indicators. Seymour Lipset's Political Man gave an extended discussion of the relationship between social status and political behavior.⁸ His summary of the previous research done in political sociology concluded that the higher the ranking of persons in the stratification system, the more interest and participation is elicited in political activities. This fact is manifested in the correlation that exists between high status and identification with the Republican Party.

A further examination of this relationship has been done by Gerhard Lenski in his analysis of "status

⁸ Lipset, Political Man, particularly Chapter Three on "Voting" and Chapter Five on "Political Parties."

crystallization."⁹ Using four criteria for status identification--income, occupation, education, and ethnic background--Lenski found that by charting the backgrounds of individuals it is possible to establish the "degree" of crystallization of status among persons by showing the degree of consistency among the four criteria for different persons. Lenski revealed that there was a correlation between status inconsistency and political liberalism and status consistency and political conservatism. In other words, if a person had a highly rated occupation, high income, high educational level, and came from Anglo-Saxon stock, that person was more likely to have a conservative political viewpoint than a person who was deficient in one category or another. This analysis has bearing on the study of Dallas residents because all four of these criteria are included in the results.

By using the same occupational categories as those designated by the Census Bureau, it was found that 33.7 per cent of the sample listed occupations which would fall into the professional group; 10.8 per cent gave managerial occupations.¹⁰ Therefore, 44.5 per cent of the total sample is listed in occupational categories which have the highest prestige ranking according to the North-Hatt occupational

⁹Gerhard Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, XIX (1954), 405-413.

¹⁰U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, p. xxi.

survey.¹¹ Prestigious occupations usually entail high incomes, and the result is shown in the fact that 36.1 per cent listed incomes of \$15,000 and over, and 21.6 per cent gave incomes of \$10,000 to \$14,999. This means that out of the total sample, 57.7 per cent of the respondents had incomes of over \$10,000 annually. The educational level is reflected in the statistics which show that 26.5 per cent had three to four years of college, and 22.8 per cent had more than four years of college so that a total of 49.3 per cent were persons with college background. The ethnic status can be inferred from the statistics which show that 97.6 per cent of the sample were listed as white as opposed to Negro.

On a collective basis, the sample evidences a consistent degree of higher class status. In every category almost half of the sample would show high status; but, while such a result does not prove that the same persons were represented in every category, and hence would have crystallized status, it does offer the possibility of inferring that a large percentage of the sample, theoretically slightly under 50 per cent, are subject to Lenski's analysis of political conservatism.

Other data on social characteristics were enumerated in the study, such as age, religious preference, number of

¹¹National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Public Opinion News, IX (1947), 3-13.

children, and living arrangements; but with the exception of age, their significance is usually of a dependent nature rather than independent. Therefore, little attempt was made to analyze the significance of this information in light of the more rewarding material mentioned earlier.

One question does have importance in relating to other social research. Each respondent was asked to place himself in one of four social classes. A total of 81.9 per cent stated that they were in the middle class; 13.2 per cent selected the working class; 3.6 per cent chose the upper class. This result corresponds closely to other studies which have asked such questions to determine the degree of class consciousness. In the United States, most studies have verified that about 80.0 per cent of the population will categorize themselves as being middle class despite the fact that this classification is contrary to social reality.¹² However, such a comparison does show that this sample was not atypical on this point and that the degree of class consciousness was similar to other samples studied.

With the above description having been given, it is now necessary to give the results of other questions more germane to the topic of congressional redistricting. The respondents divided along the lines of political affiliation in this manner:

¹²Bernard Barber, Social Stratification (New York, 1957), p. 209.

TABLE XII
POLITICAL AFFILIATION

Affiliation	Per Cent
Republican	33.7
Democratic	38.5
Independent.	24.0
Other Party.	1.2
Don't Know	2.4

These results indicate that the strength of the Republican Party in this area does not lie in a high degree of partisan identification. In fact, the percentage of Democratic choices actually outnumbers the Republican preferences by a slight margin. The clue to understanding this situation lies in the large number of independent voters who attempt to avoid party labels. These persons constitute 24.0 per cent of the sample and provide an important element in the political events within this area. Even the persons who identify themselves with parties do not maintain rigid adherence to party candidates, as is shown when these persons were asked if they would vote for candidates of the opposing party. Of the sample, 61.4 per cent stated that they would vote for a person of another party without hesitation. Therefore, even the party identifiers expressed an attitude of independence in the voting process by their willingness to desert party ranks.

While it is not possible to obtain figures from the exact areas from which the sample was drawn, there is a high degree of congruence between the precinct lines used in the

1964 election and the census tracts used in 1960. This comparison can be made by looking at the maps on pages 32 and 38, Figures 7 and 8, respectively. The result is the identification of eleven precincts: 110, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 180, 181, 183, and 239, which are in the city limits of Dallas and have significantly the same area as the census tracts employed in the study. The next step involves computing the voting averages for these precincts and comparing them with the results of the study in the average number of persons who said that they voted for Johnson or Goldwater. In the eleven precincts, 44.0 per cent voted for Johnson; 56.0 per cent voted for Goldwater. In the study, the vote was split evenly among the respondents at 42.1 per cent for each candidate. But, the number of non-responses on that question totalled 15.6 per cent, indicating that a large number of persons were reluctant to identify the candidate for whom they voted. The greatest number of non-respondents were independent voters who refused to disclose their vote, at the rate of 35.0 per cent of the total number of independents. If the sample is a reasonably close reflection of the population as a whole within the area, it is obvious that most of these undisclosed independent votes went for the Republican Barry Goldwater. Therefore, the nature of the electorate in this area can be judged on the basis of this race in which the Republican candidate won but only with the crucial aid of

the large number of independent voters who in this instance supported the Republican Party over the Democratic.

Consequently, any attempt to analyze the voting behavior of this area must consider the impact of the large number of independents. Although the area has all of the prerequisites for high Republican identification, the results of the survey show that the majority of persons in the area have not accorded loyalty to that one party. In fact, in the gubernatorial race in 1964, Connally carried the same area by a margin of 54.1 per cent to 45.8 per cent. Because the sample broke down into roughly one-third Republican, one-third Democratic, and one-third independent, it is possible to support the results of the survey by showing that a large percentage of the voters in this area do not adhere to party labels and tend to select an independent, conservative political course.

One possible explanation of this condition is the position of Texas as an industrializing southern state. The Democratic tradition of the state is experiencing the post-World War II changes wrought in the economy and society and is producing a conflict in political identification. Of the persons interviewed, 78.3 per cent stated that they had lived in Dallas for five years or more; therefore, these persons are familiar with the status of partisan politics in the state and the incipient rise of the Republicans. One consequence could be that the competition between conservative

Democratic candidates and Republican candidates in their appeal to the same socio-economic groups has produced a position of independence instead of party commitment. While such a hypothesis does not apply to the majority of voters in the area, it is possible that the sizable numbers of independent ones are experiencing such a condition. All of these implications are pertinent to the political ideology of the area.

Three different attitude questions were asked to determine the opinion of the area on the issues of civil rights for Negroes, social welfare legislation, and foreign policy in the Vietnamese war. When the sample was asked whether the government had assumed a proper role in the problems of the Negro race by passing legislation aimed expressly at alleviating these conditions, the respondents divided evenly: 46.9 per cent said that the government should have acted and an equal number said that the government should not have acted.

On the further question of social welfare for the population as a whole, a three-part response was attempted, and the results showed that 60.2 per cent of the sample thought that the national government had done too much in the area of welfare legislation; 31.3 per cent stated that what the national government had done was about right; and 7.2 per cent said that not enough had been done.

The most detailed question had to do with the situation in South Vietnam. Two separate questions were asked: (1) did the United States make the right decision in entering the war? and (2) what should be the present course for United States policy? Of the respondents, 59.0 per cent thought that the United States was correct in entering the war; 28.9 per cent thought that entering the war was wrong; and 12.0 per cent had no opinion. When three possible policy alternatives were offered, 54.2 per cent felt that a peaceful settlement should be sought; 31.3 per cent said that a stronger stand should be taken, which meant the bombing of Red China for 20.5 per cent of the sample; and 7.2 per cent felt that the United States should pull out of the war entirely.

The results of these questions do not give definitive answers about the political psychology of the voters in this area of Dallas. However, they are suggestive of certain patterns which can be determined. On the two issues of domestic policy, it appears that approximately half of the sample is opposed to expansion of the governmental role in regard to the American Negro and welfare legislation for the population as a whole. Similarly, a majority of the sample favors the foreign policy measure of entering the conflict in Vietnam.

If a simple dichotomy of liberal-conservative political identification is used, it becomes necessary to define these terms. Earlier it was said that the statement about the size of the role of government in altering the structure of the society would be used to determine liberalism or conservatism. Such a scheme is appropriate with such matters as domestic policy in civil rights and welfare legislation, but the crucial point comes in the case of the government's role in Vietnam. If the terms are to have validity they must be used consistently so that they can have a variety of applications. The problem created is that persons can be domestic liberals or conservatives and yet support the government's action in southeast Asia from a similar set of political assumptions. The result is an ideological problem in ascertaining whether the terms have any consistent value. For the purposes of this paper, an arbitrary step will be taken to say that conservatism will include endorsement of the government's activity in Vietnam and the reverse will be true for liberalism. With the inherent difficulties in such a move acknowledged, it is now possible to give a more lucid analysis of the results of the attitude polling.

As was mentioned earlier, each of the respondents was asked to indicate his preference in political parties. The sample divided into 33.7 per cent Republican, 38.5 per cent Democratic, and 24.0 per cent independent. Using these

categories as independent variables, it is possible to describe the sample in terms of opinion statements on this basis. For purposes of clarification, the following table shows the degree of conservatism among the persons in the sample. The percentage figures listed show the amount of support given this political position by advocating the entrance of the United States into the war in Vietnam, urging a smaller governmental role in regard to the civil rights of Negroes, and lessening the position of the national government in welfare legislation.

TABLE XIII
CONSERVATIVE TENDENCIES OF THE SAMPLE, (A)

Political Identification	Issues		
	Vietnam	Welfare	Civil Rights
Republicans	53.5%	78.5%	57.1%
Independents	70.0%	80.0%	40.0%
Democrats	59.3%	34.3%	43.7%

Because of the limitations which must be placed upon the interpretation of the statistics gathered in the sample, a rougher indication of political tendencies can be used to reveal the attitudes of the persons interviewed. If the 50.0 per cent level is used to divide categories, it is possible to describe the results in terms of conservatism or

nonconservatism. In other words, because the groups of persons in the Republican category have a percentage of support for the U. S. role in Vietnam that is beyond 50.0 per cent, this position will be indicated by a plus. Conversely, the Democrats have only a 34.3 per cent support rating for reduction of welfare programs of the national government. Therefore, in this description, the Democrats will receive a minus in conservative tendencies. Using this analysis, the following table shows how the sample would divide itself.

TABLE XIV
CONSERVATIVE TENDENCIES OF THE SAMPLE, (B)

Political Identification	Issues		
	Vietnam	Welfare	Civil Rights
Republicans	+	+	+
Independents	+	+	-
Democrats	+	-	-

The above scheme shows that out of nine possible positions of conservatism, the sample reflected a majority support six times and an opposite tendency three times. The Republican identifiers had a perfect conservative ranking while the independent group defected on the issue of civil rights and the Democrats on the two points of welfare and civil rights.

The identification of partisan preference itself was subject to co-variance with income. Of those persons who favored the Republican Party, 67.7 per cent had incomes of \$10,000 or above. The independent identifiers had 50.0 per cent in the income bracket of \$10,000 or above, and the Democrats had 40.0 per cent in this ranking. The result is that conservatism in the above table can be evaluated on the same basis by substituting income groups in the place of party labels. As a result, one conclusion is that a neo-Marxian interpretation can be employed to show that income levels determine political attitudes. While such a statement must be tempered with several provisos to show that income is not the only variable operating as a causal factor, in this one instance it has proved to be an important indicator of political opinion.

While one of the chief aims of the interview study was to assess the political opinions of the people of north Dallas on three policy issues, an attempt was also made to evaluate this area in terms of congressional representation. One way in which this problem was treated was to ask the persons in the sample if they felt that they had anything in common with residents in Wichita Falls. A total of 60.2 per cent said that they did have some feeling of commonality with persons in the city which has been the dominant political force in the 13th District. The reasons for this response

from this segment of the sample were too diverse for categorization; there seemed to be no one central idea which promoted this particular attitude. Therefore, a clue was not forthcoming in this question to the complex problem of reconciling differences between separate geographical areas.

Because of the recent date of the reapportionment measure in Texas congressional districts, it is important to know the amount of information which the electorate possesses in regard to changes which have been made. The Dallas County line had been the boundary of the old 5th District, but now four congressional districts are within some part of the county. Such a situation is crucial to new congressmen who are attempting to represent new constituents. Consequently, two information questions were asked to see if the persons interviewed knew in which district they lived and if they knew the name of their new representative. Within the sample, 81.9 per cent said that they did not know the number of their congressional district. In addition, 10.8 per cent said that they knew, when in fact they were incorrect. Therefore, a total of 92.7 per cent of the respondents were ignorant of their new congressional district number. In addition to this question was one which asked the name of the congressman. In this instance, 53.0 per cent confessed no knowledge of his name while 27.7 per cent said that they knew, but were wrong. Consequently, 80.7 per cent of the sample were without the

name of their new representative in Congress. These statistics are important in light of the fact that 79.5 per cent of those interviewed stated that they were aware that the Texas Legislature had changed the congressional boundaries in Dallas County. It is apparent that some confusion does exist on the part of the new constituency of the 13th District in knowing that reapportionment occurred, but they are without specific knowledge of its application to them.

In comparison with the statistics mentioned in Chapter III in which it was stated that 57 per cent of a national sample tested by the Gallup Poll in 1965 did not know the name of their Congressman, these residents in Dallas have an inordinate degree of ignorance. Upon closer inspection it can be inferred that the situation in Dallas may not be atypical if the comparison is based solely upon those persons who do not claim to know the name of their representative. If this is the only criterion, then the Dallas sample is close to the national average with 53.0 per cent. But, it is nevertheless clear that reapportionment has affected the accuracy with which the constituency perceives information when the overwhelming majority cannot give the name of a congressman assigned to that area a year ago.

As a further indication of the reaction of the constituents to reapportionment, the question was asked about which candidate was preferred for the congressional seat from the

13th District. Because the interview was conducted after the spring party primaries in which the Republican and Democratic candidates ran unopposed, it was possible to offer the two names which will appear on the November ballot. Out of the total number of persons interviewed, whether they were able to vote or not, 26.5 per cent favored the incumbent Democrat, Graham Purcell, and 14.4 per cent favored the Republican, D. C. Norwood. The majority of persons, 57.8 per cent, were undecided at that early date in the election contest. Among persons who were registered to vote (80.7 per cent of the total sample), the preference ran slightly higher for Purcell with 32.8 per cent over Norwood, who polled 16.4 per cent; but there was still 49.2 per cent of the electorate which would not commit itself at that time. While it is obvious that so early in the year the voters would be reluctant to make a choice in this race, in the one for the U. S. Senatorial seat in which John Tower is opposing Waggoner Carr, only 19.4 per cent of the persons eligible to vote were undecided. Therefore, in comparing the percentages between the two races it is possible to conclude that the fact of reapportionment probably has had a significant impact in promoting voter indecision in the congressional race.

In discussing the process of representation in Chapter III, it was brought out that generally three different types of representatives have been developed in the field of

normative political theory: the Burkean "agent," the Jacksonian "delegate," and the responsible party member. Each of these three types was translated into questions for the purpose of ascertaining which theoretical model was most acceptable to the persons in the sample. The respondents were asked which type they favored the most and which the least.

TABLE XV
TYPE OF REPRESENTATIVE

Favored Most		Favored Least	
Type	Per Cent	Type	Per Cent
Delegate	65.0	Party	73.4
Agent	31.3	Agent	20.4
Party	2.4	Delegate	3.6

It is clear that the most popular type was the delegate model, which has the greatest emphasis upon the democratic process in representation because a representative is bound by the majority will of the constituency. The most unpopular type was the responsible party member who would follow the instructions of the party leadership. The agent, or one who votes and acts in the interests of his constituents without adhering directly to their will, maintains a very

secondary position among the typologies both in popularity and aversion. Therefore, the conservatism on the part of the sample, which has been cited earlier, is advocated within the framework of democratic principles and is not strongly attached to the more authoritarian Burkean model.

The results of this question also present a paradox in the representative process. Because of the affirmation given to the delegate model, it is implicit that the sample would be a highly informed citizenry in order to instruct the representative in his actions. Such a situation does not appear to exist if the percentage of respondents who knew the name of the congressman is any indication. But, their espousal of the delegate theory and their ignorance of the delegate himself still has importance for an analysis of representation. Miller and Stokes in their article on constituency influence on Congress pointed out that no one theory of representation is ever perfectly realized.¹³ Consequently, in face of the obvious contradiction that exists between the theory and reality of delegate representation, it is clear that the other models must influence the behavior of the representative, and that the fact of constituent ignorance has a consequence in the representative process making these other models imperative.

¹³Miller and Stokes, p. 50.

Summary

One conclusion which can be reached about the results of this interview study is that the constituency to be represented is oriented toward conservatism. Any assessment of the impact of such an influence upon the present Congressman, Graham Purcell, and any subsequent representative must be prefaced by several statements which have bearing upon the question of constituency influence.

In an article entitled, "The Representative and His District," Dexter stated,

Within the limits of the morally and sociologically conceivable (no congressman from Alabama in 1942 could have advocated racial integration, for instance!), a congressman has a very wide range of choices on any given issue, so far as his constituency is concerned. His relationships in the House or Senate and with party leadership, of course, limit these choices severely. It is a fact, however, that there is no district viewpoint as such to be represented on the overwhelming majority of issues.¹⁴

His conclusion is that the idea of constituency influence as a tangible political reality exerting pressure upon most of the decisions of a congressman is largely over-rated. For the great bulk of issues confronting the representative, there is not a coalesced opinion among his constituents which can be brought to bear.

Such a pessimistic conclusion was reached in part by the Miller and Stokes' article which attempted to verify by

¹⁴H. Dexter, "The Representative and His District," Politics and Social Life (Boston, 1963), p. 498.

empirical means the cause and effect relationship between constituent opinion and roll call voting in the House. It must be carefully stated that the absence of vocal, organized constituent pressure does not apply to every issue, and Miller and Stokes tested their hypotheses upon an issue which did have significant public reaction: the civil rights bills. But, the fact that constituent opinion is not quantified for every action which the congressman must take does not mean that the process is undemocratic. Other variables enter into the decision-making of the representative, and one of the most important is the institutional setting itself in which the congressman operates. The committee assignments, party leadership, rank in seniority, and the state delegation are some of the factors which have been explored in determining the voting of congressmen.¹⁵ All of these elements are especially important in view of the fact that the role of congressman is becoming more "professionalized" through the years. There are fewer and fewer freshmen seats to be filled as the century progresses, as evidenced by the fact that, as late as the 87th Congress, 87 per cent of the members had been elected more than once, and year after year approximately three-fourths of the House districts are "safe."¹⁶

¹⁵Among the most notable of these studies are Julius Turner, Party and Constituency (Baltimore, 1951) and David Truman, The Congressional Party (New York, 1959).

¹⁶Douglas Price, "The Electoral Arena," The Congress and America's Future by David Truman (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), pp. 9, 33.

As far as the relationship between the congressman and his district is concerned, the problem of representation is extremely complex. Despite the statements which have been made about the absence of constituent pressure, it must be noted that the evaluations which the representative makes about the attitudes of his constituents are an important element which contributes toward making the process democratic. Even if the population of the district is ignorant of the issues presented in pending legislation, the representative may attempt to estimate what the public opinion might be if it were formed.

All of this is done for many reasons, but one of the chief ones is that the representative is perennially faced with the prospect of running for re-election, and despite the fact that more congressmen than ever before are being returned to the House, the specter of opposition at the polls keeps the representative aware of the constituency. This facet of the process was summarized by Douglas Price when he stated the following:

The possibility of opposition, however, remains a powerful factor in attuning the incumbent to the third process of representation. This is the more subtle process by which constituents can express opinions and exert influence in such a manner that the politically sophisticated legislator can, if he desires, make an estimate of the amount of local backing (in terms of influence, not counting noses) and adapt his position accordingly.

Thus the incumbent can often adjust to changes in the make-up of his constituency, to shifts in

the national climate, or to new and urgent demands from individuals or groups that are important to him or to his district.¹⁷

Therefore, the element of the election and the possibility of opposition forces the congressman into close contact with the persons in his district and makes him aware of their needs. In view of this fact, it is important to note a statement made by the present Congressman from the 13th District when asked about the effect of reapportionment upon his voting. He said, "Knowing that the politics of Dallas County is a little more conservative than the rest of the district, I will probably vote differently on some issues in 1966."¹⁸

It is clear that after attempting to analyze some of the opinions and voting behavior of persons living in the area of Dallas added to the 13th, Graham Purcell has accurately perceived the political attitudes of his new constituents. It has been illustrated in a variety of ways that this area is indeed conservative, and this conservatism has been analyzed on a qualitative and quantitative basis. The effect of this conservatism can be seen in the voting record which Purcell established even in the first session of the 89th Congress in 1965.

This more conservative voting record is contrary to many reactions which greeted the Baker v. Carr and Wesberry v.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 35-36.

¹⁸The Texas Observer, July 8, 1966, p. 3.

Sanders decisions. Popular opinion held that taking votes from the rural areas and distributing them among metropolitan centers meant that these votes would automatically convert from historically conservative to liberal ones. An extreme example of this attitude is shown by the action of the conservative Dallas County state legislative delegation to the 57th session in 1961. In that session the entire delegation voted against a reapportionment plan for the legislature which would have increased the representation of the urban Dallas area by two seats.¹⁹

Affected in reapportionment are the suburban areas of the United States which are oriented toward the Republican Party and conservative candidates. Therefore, the 13th District is one example of the representative process becoming more conservative than liberal as a result of reapportionment. With the election facing the representative in 1966, it is predictable that the incumbent would acknowledge his changing representation. The development of a more conservative voting record on the part of the Congressman from the 13th District is a reflection of the essence of the democratic nature of this political system. The relationship between the constituency and the representative is not a simple one-to-one correlation between opinion

¹⁹Dick Cherry, "Texas: Factions in a One-Party Setting," The Politics of Reapportionment, edited by Malcolm E. Jewell (New York, 1962), p. 125.

and congressional voting, and the purpose of this paper has been to analyze some of the complexities inherent in the democratic process of representation and illustrate how in this instance it has proved to be operable.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

(Introduction):

"Hello . . . I'm an interviewer from the Research Department at North Texas State University. They're doing a study of some of the political attitudes of people in Dallas. Would you help me by answering a few questions?"

"How many people . . . 21 years old or older . . . presently are living in your household?"

(Circle) 0 1 2 3 4 or more

IF 0 TERMINATE INTERVIEW

"How many of these adults are citizens of the United States?"

(Circle) 0 1 2 3 4 or more

IF 0 TERMINATE INTERVIEW

"How many of these adults are residents of Dallas?"

(Circle) 0 1 2 3 4 or more

"How long have you lived in Dallas?"

_____ Less than a year

_____ 1-2 years

_____ 3-4 years

_____ 5 years or more

IF LESS THAN 5 YEARS ASK:

"In which city did you live before moving to Dallas?"

"Do you own your own home, or are you renting it?"

_____ Own

_____ Rent

"Do you have any children living at home?"

_____ Yes

_____ No

IF ANSWER IS YES, ASK:

"How many?" _____

"Would you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, or a member of some other party?"

_____ Republican

_____ Democrat

_____ Other party

Which Party? _____

_____ Independent

_____ Don't know

_____ Refused

IF ANSWER IS REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT, ASK:

"Would you say you were a strong (Republican or Democrat) or a not very strong (Republican or Democrat)?"

_____ Strong Republican

_____ Not very strong Republican

_____ Strong Democrat

_____ Not very strong Democrat

_____ Don't know

_____ Refused

IF ANSWER IS OTHER THAN DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN, ASK:

"Would you say you lean more toward the Republican side or the Democratic side?"

- _____ Republican
- _____ Democratic
- _____ Independent
- _____ Don't know
- _____ Refused

"Suppose there was an election where your party was running a candidate that you didn't like or you didn't agree with. Which of the following things comes closest to what you think you would do?"

- _____ I probably would vote for him anyway because a person should be loyal to his party.
- _____ I probably would not vote for either candidate in that election.
- _____ I probably would vote for the other party's candidate.

IF LAST ANSWER IS GIVEN:

"How would you feel about voting for the other party--would it bother you in any way?"

- _____ Yes
- _____ No

"Did you know that the Texas Legislature changed the congressional boundaries in Dallas County?"

- _____ Yes
- _____ No

"Do you know in which congressional district you now live?"

- _____ Yes
- _____ No

IF ANSWER IS YES, ASK:

"Which one?" _____

"Do you know the name of your present Congressman?"

_____ Yes

_____ No

IF ANSWER IS YES, ASK:

"Who?" _____

"From this list of three different types of Congressmen, select the one you favor the MOST:"

_____ A Congressman who votes the way he himself thinks is best.

_____ A Congressman who votes the way the majority of people in his district feel that he should vote.

_____ A Congressman who votes the way his party's leadership tells him to vote.

"Which type of Congressman do you favor the LEAST?"

_____ A Congressman who votes the way he himself thinks is best.

_____ A Congressman who votes the way the majority of people in his district feel that he should vote.

_____ A Congressman who votes the way his Party's leadership tells him to vote.

"Some people think the national government should do more in trying to deal with such problems as unemployment, education, housing, and so on. Others think that the government is already doing too much. On the whole, would you say that what the government has done has been about right, too much, or not enough?"

_____ About right

_____ Too much

_____ Not enough

"Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Viet Nam, or should we have stayed out?"

_____ Right thing

_____ Stayed out

"Which of the following things do you think it would be best for us to do NOW in Viet Nam? Should we

_____ Pull out of Viet Nam entirely?

_____ Keep on trying to get a peaceful settlement?

_____ Take a stronger stand and bomb China?

Qualifying statements _____

"There is a lot of talk these days about discrimination, that is, people having trouble getting jobs, voting, and buying homes because of their race. Do you think the government ought to take an interest in whether Negroes have trouble in these matters or should it stay out of these problems?"

_____ Government ought to take an interest

_____ Government ought to stay out

IF ANSWER IS "TAKE AN INTEREST," ASK:

"Do you think the national government should handle this or do you think it should be left for each state to handle it in its own way?"

_____ National government

_____ State

IF ANSWER IS GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO STAY OUT, ASK:

"Do you think the state government should do something about this problem or should they stay out of it also?"

_____ State ought to do something

_____ State ought to stay out, too.

"What do you rely on most for your source of news about political affairs?"

_____ Television

_____ Newspaper

_____ Radio

"Do you read a Dallas paper?"

_____ Yes

_____ No

IF ANSWER IS YES, ASK:

"Which paper?"

_____ Dallas Morning News

_____ Dallas Times Herald

"Do you feel that you have much in common with, say, a person living in Wichita Falls?"

_____ Yes

_____ No

IF ANSWER IS YES, ASK:

"What?" _____

"In 1964, you remember that Johnson ran against Goldwater. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election?"

_____ Yes

_____ No

IF ANSWER IS YES, ASK:

"Which one did you vote for?"

_____ Johnson

_____ Goldwater

"Now how about the election this November? Do you know if you are (registered) (eligible to vote) so that you could vote in the November election if you wanted to?"

_____ Registered

_____ Not registered

"As far as you know now, do you expect to vote in November or not?"

_____ Yes

_____ No

IF ANSWER IS YES, ASK:

"Who do you plan to vote for as United States Senator as of right now?"

_____ Waggoner Carr

_____ John Tower

"Who do you plan to vote for as Congressman as of right now?"

_____ Graham Purcell

_____ D. C. Norwood

IF ANSWER IS NO, ASK THE SAME QUESTION BUT ADD:

_____ If you were going to vote, how do you think you would vote . . .

"How sure are you that you would vote for Norwood or Purcell?"

_____ Very sure

_____ Fairly sure

_____ Not very sure

"There is quite a bit of talk these days about different social classes, which would you say you belonged in?"

_____ Middle class

_____ Lower class

_____ Working class

_____ Upper class

"What is the name of the last school you attended?"

_____ High School

_____ Elementary school

_____ University or college

_____ Junior High

_____ Trade school

"What was the last grade you completed in school?"

_____ 0-8

_____ 1-2 years high school

_____ 3-4 years high school

_____ 1-2 years college

_____ 3-4 years college

_____ more than 4 years of college

other: SPECIFY _____

"What is your occupation?" _____

"Have you ever been a member of any union?"

_____ Yes

_____ No

"Whether or not you do to church regularly, what is your religious preference?"

"Here is a card showing different income groups--HAND CARD TO PERSON--Just give me the letter of the group your family is in."

_____ Letter of group

"What is your age?" (ASK ONLY ONCE AND IF REFUSED GIVE AN ESTIMATE)

_____ 21-29

_____ 30-39

_____ 40-49

_____ 50-59

_____ 60-70

_____ 70 and up

DO NOT ASK BUT GIVE:

_____ Race

_____ Sex

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