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STATE PARTY ORGANIZATION IN TEXAS: AN ANALYSIS  
OF THE MEMBERSHIP AND STAFF OF THE  
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES

THESIS

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## CHAPTER I

### THE STUDY OF POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION IN TEXAS

#### Concepts of Party Organization

The primary function of the American political party is to control and direct the struggle for political power. "It is one of the goals of democracy to bring the struggle for power and control into the open."<sup>1</sup> As Clinton Rossiter stated,

It is the great purpose of political parties, the hand maidens of democracy, to bring the struggle under control: to institutionalize it with organization, to channel it through nominations and elections, to publicize it by means of platforms and appeals, above all to stabilize it in the form of a traditional quadrille in which the Ins and Outs change places from time to time on a signal from the voters.<sup>2</sup>

While state and national constitutions provide for the election or appointment of persons to governmental office, it is the party which must operate the machinery that places these people into office. In accomplishing this placement, four activities of the political party are especially important. First, the party regulates and provides for the "nomination" of candidates for office "for they are organized to do the preliminary sifting of aspirants to elective office,

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<sup>1</sup>Clinton Rossiter, Parties and Politics in America (Ithaca, New York, 1960), p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

or, if necessary to go out and recruit them actively."<sup>3</sup> Second, the party must provide for the campaign, in which the party's candidates are made known to the public. Third, the party has the crucial responsibility for "elections," for only the party can provide ". . . the swarm of citizens needed to man the polls and count the votes."<sup>4</sup> Fourth, the party helps in the selection process in the determination of which persons are to receive "appointments." In practice, the party makes that which could be very disorderly into an orderly and workable process. Without the existence of such organizations to narrow the choices between candidates and issues, to support candidates and issues, and to literally "get out the vote," free elections could well become unworkable.

The American political party is often considered to be the single most important factor affecting the operation of American government and politics. Studies have been conducted regarding the ultimate effects of the interaction of a political party with other parties, with the public, and with the many governmental institutions that exist in the United States.<sup>5</sup> Many of these studies tend to concentrate upon the historical

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>For instance, see V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York, 1949); Wilfred E. Binkley, American Political Parties, Their Natural History, 4th ed. (New York, 1962); E. Pendleton Herring, Politics of Democracy, 1st ed., rev. (New York, 1965); and Avery Leiserson, Parties and Politics (New York, 1958). Other more recent works on political parties include Rossiter, Parties and Politics in America and Frank J. Sorauf, Political Parties in the American System (Boston, 1964).

significance of the "products" of party action and interaction with only a brief treatment of formal party organization.

On the other hand, the number of works which have described the actual organization of the political party as an entity in the governmental process, which attempt to describe and analyze the functional responsibility of the party organization, and which evaluate the role of the party leader are few indeed. Several authors have dealt with the organization, function, and leadership of the national party organization, such as Hugh A. Bone, who categorized the party's organizational structure according to the role of the committee, the role of the chairman, and the role of the professional staff organization.<sup>6</sup> He also analyzed each function and related the national party organization to the state parties. Another work on national party organization was written by Cornelius P. Cotter and Bernard Hennessy, Politics Without Power, which describes their impressions of the power of the national party committee.<sup>7</sup>

It would not be a gross exaggeration of fact to state that most recent works dealing with the power of the party organization refer to the state party, and, indeed, the local party as occupying the actual locus of power in party

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<sup>6</sup>Hugh A. Bone, Party Committees and National Politics (Seattle, Washington, 1958).

<sup>7</sup>Cornelius P. Cotter and Bernard C. Hennessy, Politics Without Power: The National Party Committees (New York, 1964).

politics. While the party hierarchy may be outlined in pyramid fashion with each level of party organization corresponding to a level of governmental organization, the implication that the power-relationship between levels of party organization corresponds to the power-relationship between levels of governmental organization is generally false. While the national government does have a legitimate realm of power over state and local governmental units and may preempt the state government's power in several areas, the national party has no real independent source of power over state party units.<sup>8</sup>

Most students of the American political system realize that the resemblance between the organizational hierarchy of the party system and the federal system is a fiction. The national party, instead of being "sovereign" in its own right, is a conglomeration of many parties. Each of the component parties is sovereign within its own territory. Policies advocated by the national party organization need not be adopted by the state party. Each state party is responsible solely for the conduct of the party within the state and for the election of its candidates to office. As a result, the interests of the national party organization are often secondary in importance.

Because of the poor integration of the levels of party organization and the resulting factor that the national party

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<sup>8</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, 5th ed. (New York, 1964), p. 316.

has little coercive power over state parties, it is reasonably safe to describe the American party system as it applies to the relationships between the state and national levels as a "confederation." Interestingly enough, the autonomy of the lower levels of party organization in the United States is due partially to the federal system of government--with the division of powers between national and state institutions, separation of powers, and the multiplicity of local elective offices.<sup>9</sup> The party system fulfils the definition of confederation in regard to the location of the center of power in many sovereign parts rather than in a sovereign whole.

In keeping with the assumption that lower echelon party organizations are not bound to the dictates of the upper echelon units, Samuel J. Eldersveld characterizes the party as a "reciprocal deference structure."<sup>10</sup> In other words, "contrary to the bureaucratic and authoritative models of social organizations, the party is not a precisely ordered system of authority and influence from the top down."<sup>11</sup> Party directives are not sent from the top levels of the party and immediately obeyed at the lower levels. It would probably be

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<sup>9</sup>Committee on Political Parties, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," supplement to American Political Science Review, XLIV (September, 1950), foreword and p. 18.

<sup>10</sup>Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties, A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago, 1964), p. 9.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 9 - 10.

a more accurate statement to maintain that the lower levels send "directives" to the upper levels of the party. Eldersveld attributes this condition to several factors, including " . . . sparsity of activists, voluntary nature of recruitment for party work, limited rewards available to activists, and irregularity of their loyalty."<sup>12</sup> Other factors, such as the drive for votes needed by the party and the crucial need by the upper levels of the party for the support of the local party organizations, make the party a "reciprocal deference structure."

The real power of the upper levels of party organization is dependent upon informal tools, such as persuasion, the establishment of rapport with local leaders, and voluntary cooperation.<sup>13</sup> The center of power, however, exists at the local level. The primary reason for this condition is the fact that the local organization is depended upon to perform the most vital functions of the party--getting out the vote, raising money, voter registration drives, and the general administration of party business.

Political party organization in the United States involves two basic aspects: the permanent organization and the temporary organization. Most students of politics are familiar with conventions every four years at the national level for the selection of the party's candidate for the Presidency, and at the state level for the selection of

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

delegates to the national convention, the selection of state party leaders, the drafting of a state party platform, and often the nomination of candidates for certain governmental offices. The conventions constitute the temporary organizations of the party machinery. The permanent organizations include the party committees at the national, state, and local levels. State and local committees are usually organized according to state statutes. While the total function of the party committees has not been precisely determined, it may be assumed that the committees do hold the party organization together between conventions. Other permanent organs of the party organization may include the party executive or chairman at the local, state, and national levels. The methods of selecting the executive vary from state to state with the office being elective by the voters in the party's primary or by the party convention.

Party organization in Texas involves the use of both permanent and temporary organs. State regulation of political parties in Texas is prescribed by the Terrell Election Law of 1905.<sup>14</sup> The temporary organizations of the parties include precinct conventions, county conventions, and a state convention every two years. In June of Presidential election years yet another state convention is held to select delegates to the national convention and to select the national committeeman

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<sup>14</sup>General Laws of Texas, Thirtieth Legislature, Regular Session, Chapter 177.

and committeewoman from Texas. Although a more detailed discussion of party organization in Texas is presented in Chapter Two, it is interesting at this point to note that each party's voters participating in the party primary have an opportunity to attend their precinct convention. The precinct convention selects delegates to the county convention and the county convention selects delegates to the state convention.

The permanent party leaders at the precinct and county levels also are selected at the primary election; both the precinct chairman and the county chairman are elected directly by party voters. The precinct chairmen are also members of the county executive committee. The chairman of the state party and the members of the state executive committee are selected by the party convention in September--called the "Governor's convention." Beyond the actual formal organization of the party apparatus in Texas, little is known about the internal organization and functions of the committees. The lack of data presents a serious problem for the student of political parties.

#### The Problem and Its Significance

The purpose of this study is to analyze the state executive committees of the two major political parties in Texas and to present facts regarding the membership of the committees (the policy-makers) and the professional staff of the state party organization (the administrators of party policy). Very

little information is available regarding political party organization in Texas. Most of the existing data is found in textbooks on Texas politics. No really intensive study of party organization has been attempted; consequently, many gaps exist in our knowledge of parties and their organization, functions, and leaders. Bernard Hennessy points out the fact that ". . . no general treatment of the state party chairman has ever been attempted despite the admitted importance of the office. About the members, duties, procedures, and importance of the state party executive committees, we know even less."<sup>15</sup> Some information about local party leaders has accumulated, but party organization at the state level remains a mystery to all except perhaps the party leaders themselves. Much work should be done to gather data about party leaders and levels of party organization if meaningful conclusions about the American political party may be made.

The parties in Texas have made some very significant developments in the past decade. The Republican Party has organized as a competitive party with much of its resources invested into a state-wide party organization. Democratic Party leaders have indicated that recent changes in the political status quo in Texas may force changes to be adopted in the Democratic organization. Republicans have elected

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<sup>15</sup>Bernard Hennessy, "On the Study of Party Organization," in William J. Crotty, ed., Approaches to the Study of Party Organization (Boston, 1968), pp. 20-21.

their candidates to a few state offices in the past decade-- an unheard-of phenomenon before the 1960's. The importance of the metropolitan vote has fostered the growth in some areas of well-organized county-wide metropolitan parties with their own complement of professional staff. Indeed, many changes have occurred in politics in the past decade; yet no studies exist which present data regarding the party leader at the county and state levels. How does the Democratic party leader differ from the Republican party leader? How does the party leader of the 1960's compare with the leader of the 1950's? Because little has been done in these areas, political scientists are unable to meaningfully and factually answer questions such as these.

Our problem has been stated. Our information regarding party organization and party leadership in Texas is inadequate. What, however, does this study intend to prove or disprove? While it is not too difficult to find several goals worthy of study, the emphasis of this work is upon the state executive committees of the two major parties in Texas as the nucleus of party organization. There should be certain differences between members of the State Democratic Executive Committee (the SDEC) and the members of the State Republican Executive Committee (the SREC). The Democratic Party has been the "in-party" in Texas since Reconstruction. Democratic leaders have not had to be concerned about a Republican threat to Democratic dominance. Because of the inferior position of the

Republican Party in Texas, Republicans may be expected to participate in politics not so much because they intend to win office, although that certainly is a goal, but because they wish to express their discontent with the policies of those in power and, perhaps, to inject competition into Texas politics. It may be assumed that the Republican and Democratic leaders conform to the widespread opinion that members of the upper-income groups are more likely to be Republican while lower-income groups tend to be Democratic.<sup>16</sup> While there is no hard and fast rule in this regard, the assumption may be advanced as a working supposition. If the assumption is valid, it may be further assumed that Republican leaders have made use of their wealth and are better educated than the average Democratic leader.

Since the Democratic Party has been in power in Texas for nearly a century, it may be expected that the Democratic leader (in this case, the SDEC member) has more "political" or governmental experience than Republican members. The Democrats would be expected to maintain closer contact with state governmental leaders, such as legislators, than Republicans because they generally belong to the same party. The Republican committee member may tend to give more time to his role as a committee member because the need is greater within the Republican Party.

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<sup>16</sup>Hugh A. Bone, American Politics and the Party System, 3rd ed. (New York, 1965), p. 114.

Another question concerns the relationship between the power position of the party in state politics and the amount of professional staff used in the party headquarters. Professional staff members often act as the administrative arm of the state party. Staff members will carry out the policies set by the state executive committee. In that respect, the staff is a tool of the committee. The position of the party, whether it is "in power" or "out of power," determines the amount of professional aid that is used in carrying out the state party's policies. The out-party will tend to employ more staff people than the in-party because the "outs" are involved in the process of getting into power. Efficient organization and campaign management would seem to demand a professional party organization staffed with persons competent in public relations, law, research, and general organizational techniques.

One restrictive factor in a study which proposes to analyze party leaders and to describe party organization is the limitation of the period of study. The focus of this study is primarily upon the committees selected in September, 1968. Analysis of the membership of the two committees and of the professional staff is made in the following chapters. In regard to average turnover rates of committee memberships, however, a longer period of time is required. For the computation of turnover rates, a period of twenty years (1948 - 1968) is used. By use of such a span of time, the stability of the two party organizations may be demonstrated.

### Sources of Data and Methodology

The methods used in gathering data needed to complete a successful study and to prove or disprove the hypotheses set forth were varied. Without doubt, techniques of gathering data were more refined at the end of the period of research than at the beginning. A great deal of information regarding party organization in the United States was obtained from several general works on political parties.<sup>17</sup> Information regarding party organization in Texas was provided by the party headquarters in the form of official party publications. The data received in this manner were generally incomplete for the purposes of the study; therefore, other sources had to be found. Texas statutes partially fulfilled the need for material. Since formal party organization is regulated by statute in Texas, the legal mode of party operation could be found in the Election Code.<sup>18</sup> Detailed analysis of the applicable statutes provided an outline of formal party organization. To fill other voids in the available data, interviews were scheduled with party officials, professional staff members of the parties, and various public officials

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<sup>17</sup>See Key, Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups; Bone, American Politics and the Party System; and Sorauf, Political Parties in the American System.

<sup>18</sup>The Election Code in Texas may be found in the general statutes of Texas, Acts 1951, 52nd Legislature, page 1097, chapter 492, article 216. An easier method, however, is to consult Vernon's Annotated Texas Statutes, Election Code.

of Texas. The interviews provided a great deal of information regarding the inner-workings of the state party machinery.

In addition, a questionnaire was used to gather data regarding certain characteristics of the committee members of both parties. Comparisons were made of the membership in regard to motives for initial entry into politics, basic biographical and socioeconomic data, political experience, and impressions of the function of the committee member. While the questionnaire method does have several shortcomings, the advantages of such a method, such as allowing a much larger sampling of a subject group than the interview method and its relative low cost, generally outweigh the shortcomings. The problem of questionnaire construction, return rates, and the problem of accurately reflecting the true nature of the subject will be discussed later in Chapter Three.

Before proper analysis of the membership of the state executive committees and the use of professional staff by the political parties in Texas may be made, the political setting or organizational environment in which the committee members and staff members operate must be described and briefly analyzed. There is a need for the analysis of the organization and function of the state executive committees. No adequate analysis of state party organization in Texas is available. That which is available is found primarily in college texts on Texas government and politics. In an effort to fill this

void in the literature and to prepare the way for further analysis of the membership of the committees, Chapter Two presents an analysis of state committee organization of the two major political parties of Texas.

Based upon these materials, this chapter should be divided along rather distinct lines. For instance, since political parties in Texas are organized under the authority of state statutes, the legal organization and function of the parties should be discussed. There have been serious questions raised regarding how successful the state has been in its regulation of party activities.

Moreover, the informal organization of the committees and, more specifically, the financial responsibility of the state party must be explored. While it is recognized that functions included under this heading are extremely important, the amount of available data is quite limited--especially in regard to budgetary information.<sup>2</sup>

The process of selecting the committee members is equally important. How are members selected? Does the procedure vary from the legally defined manner? While the selection process is regulated by statute, the machinations that actually occur in a party convention in the selection of a chairman or in the selection of a committee member are quite interesting and should be analyzed for an adequate understanding of the selection process. Related to this subject is the analysis of the turnover rates of the committee memberships and of what, if anything, the turnover rates might reflect.

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<sup>2</sup>Party leaders are very sensitive regarding party finance. The Republicans, who obviously have much financial backing, seem to fear that any publication of their budgeted income and expenditure would place them in an unfavorable political position. The Democrats, while giving assurances that they did not have nearly so much money as their Republican counterparts, were equally hesitant to reveal their budget.

While the items mentioned above are given some emphasis in this study, it must be pointed out that the treatment given them is necessarily general. The attempt in this chapter will be to present certain preliminary conclusions regarding the two party organizations and to prepare the way for a discussion of the committee members that follows in Chapter Three.

### The Parties and Factions in Texas Politics

Texas politics is a complex topic of discussion and, to provide a better basis for understanding Texas politics, a brief description of the state and its politics will be useful. As is well known, Texas was a member of the Confederate States of America, and like other states in the South developed into a one-party state dominated by the Democratic Party.<sup>3</sup> From the late nineteenth century until the 1930's, there was little division of the Democratic Party along ideological lines. Politics in that period was dominated by personalities rather than ideologies.<sup>4</sup> In the late 1930's, however, political competition between liberals and conservatives within the Democratic Party began to grow. The liberal-conservative fight was heightened in 1944 due to a squabble in the Party over whether to support Franklin D. Roosevelt for a fourth

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<sup>3</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York, 1949), pp. 3-12.

<sup>4</sup>James R. Soukup, Clifton McCleskey, and Harry Holloway, Party and Factional Division in Texas (Austin, 1964), p. xiv.

term as the President of the United States.<sup>5</sup> Since that time, Texas has been dominated by conservatives. It has maintained, however, a rather strong liberal faction. The point should be made that the early history of political parties in Texas is the history of the Democratic Party. The Republican Party of Texas has not posed much of a challenge until quite recent times. Indeed, even as late as 1969, the Republican threat is limited to a few Congressional and state legislative districts and one United States Senate seat. Local and district elections are almost totally dominated by Democrats.

Among the assorted phenomena of politics in Texas is the "Presidential Republican." V. O. Key, in his study of Southern politics in 1949, remarked:

Indigenous to the South is a strange political schizophrenic, the Presidential Republican. He votes in Democratic primaries to have a voice in state and local matters, but when the Presidential election rolls around, he casts a ballot for the Republican presidential nominee. Locally he is a Democrat; nationally a Republican.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, in every presidential election year since 1912, with the exception of three years, the Republican candidate for President has outpolled the Republican candidate for Governor in Texas. Although the Republican Party of Texas has had its greatest success in presidential elections, it has gradually bettered its position in state and local contests.

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<sup>5</sup>Fred Gantt, Jr., The Chief Executive in Texas, A Study in Gubernatorial Leadership (Austin, 1964), pp. 309-313.

<sup>6</sup>Key, Southern Politics, p. 278.

The greatest opportunities of Texas Republicans for the advancement of party fortunes have occurred since World War II in the factionalization of the Democratic Party. In addition to this, James R. Soukup pointed out that

. . . social dislocations and psychological tensions that inevitably accompany transition from agrarian to industrial society, the weakness of organized labor, the growing rise and influence of middle-class white collar groups, and the heavy influx of young managerial, professional, and technical people from Republican states . . .

have tended to shake traditional party loyalties and have contributed materially to the development of a strong and viable organization by the Republican Party in Texas. The new Republicans were able to elect a United States Senator in 1961 and 1966, thus electing the first Republican in a state-wide election since Reconstruction. Republicans won two special elections for the Texas House of Representatives in 1961 and enlarged that number to seven in 1962. After the smashing defeat of the party in 1964, Republicans had to rebuild their legislative minority. By 1969, there were eight Republicans in the Texas House of Representatives and two in the Texas Senate. The Republicans also elected three United States Congressmen from Texas in 1968. Although they expected much more from the elections of 1968 (due to the widespread disenchantment with the Johnson administration and the growth of George Wallace's American Independent Party), the Party managed to hold its own in numbers of state officials elected.

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<sup>7</sup>Soukup, et al, Party and Factional Division, p. 24.

The Democratic Party has not had to be very concerned with the sporadic Republican growth in Texas. It would seem, however, that time is on the side of the Republican Party. It cannot help but continue to grow, albeit very slowly. This means that Democratic officeholders will face increasingly strong challenges from Republican contenders.

In the past few decades, the Democratic officeholder has had to contend with liberal challenges from his own party. The Party has been dominated by conservatives continually since World War II. Probably the most powerful and most conservative of recent governors was Allan Shivers, who led the state in 1952 for the Republican presidential candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower. To the dismay of liberal Democrats in Texas, Shivers ran as governor on both the Democratic and Republican tickets.<sup>8</sup> The Shivers group was effectively challenged, however, in 1956 when a liberal-moderate coalition led by United States Senator Lyndon B. Johnson and United States Representative Sam Rayburn gained control of the state convention and of the State Democratic Executive Committee. Johnson's ambition to be the Democratic presidential nominee in 1960 made it necessary that a friendly group control the SDEC. The next convention in 1958 could be controlled by the SDEC in its authority over temporary rules and in its capacity of making decisions in cases of contested delegations. The

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<sup>8</sup>O. Douglas Weeks, Texas Presidential Politics in 1952 (Austin, 1953), p. 4.

Johnson group wanted a 1958 convention that would support him in 1960 in his bid for the Texas delegation's national convention votes.<sup>9</sup> The Texas liberals that had joined with the Johnson-Rayburn group to gain control of the SDEC did not receive the powerful party positions that they desired after the 1956 convention; therefore, the liberal-conservative fight was on again.

The Democratic Party managed to carry Texas for the "liberal" national Democratic ticket in 1960; and, through tragic circumstances involving the death of President John F. Kennedy, had the opportunity to carry the state for President Lyndon B. Johnson by a great majority in 1964. Although the liberal-conservative fight cooled somewhat in the late 1960's, the potential for conflict still exists. Probably as a result of more liberal-sounding words and deeds by Governors Price Daniel and John Connally, and a more moderate approach to the political issues of the day by the leadership of the party, Texas liberals have generally remained within the main Democratic party structure--leaving only to support Republican John Tower in his bid for the United States Senate in 1961 and 1966 because of their inability to support the conservative Democratic nominees.

It is practically impossible to adequately provide a brief treatment of recent Texas politics and still do the

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<sup>9</sup>Interview with United States Representative J. J. Pickle, former Executive Secretary of the SDEC, in Austin, Texas, December 16, 1968.

subject justice. With a very brief description of recent political history in Texas, it is appropriate to delve into a more restricted and, heretofore, uncharted area of political parties in Texas--the organization of the state executive committees of the Democratic and Republican parties.

### The Structure and Function of the State Executive Committees

Statutes establish the state executive committees as the highest organs of the state organizations of the political parties in Texas. Texas is unlike many states in that the state executive committees are responsible to their respective state conventions which meet every two years in September--which have come to be called the "Governor's Convention." In most states, each committee is composed of representatives chosen by the next lower political unit; in other words, the state committee is selected by the county committees and the county committees are selected by the precinct committees.<sup>10</sup> The Election Code of Texas, however, provides for the selection of sixty-two members of the state executive committees by the conventions of the parties. The procedure is described in a general manner by the Election Code in the following terms:

The state convention shall elect a chairman and a vice-chairman of the state executive committee, one of whom

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<sup>10</sup>Claudius O. Johnson, et al, American State and Local Government, 3rd ed. (New York, 1961), p. 62.

shall be a man and the other a woman, and sixty-two members thereof, two from each senatorial district of the state, one of whom shall be a man and the other a woman, the members of the Committee to be those who shall be recommended by the delegates representing the counties composing the senatorial districts . . .<sup>11</sup>

Texas also differs from most states in the representation accorded local political units in the state convention. In many states, the local political units are represented equally. In Texas, however, local units are represented according to the party's voting strength in the locality in the last preceding gubernatorial election.<sup>12</sup> For instance, all persons that voted in the party primary may attend the precinct convention. "These meetings provide the rank-and-file member with his only direct opportunity to view his sentiments and to be an active participant in formal party deliberations."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Acts 1951, 52nd Legislature, page 1097, chapter 492, article 216 or Vernon's Annotated Texas Statutes, Election Code, Article 13.38. Hereafter, material from this source shall be cited as Election Code and the article number from Vernon's Annotated Texas Statutes (V.A.T.S.).

<sup>12</sup>Texas differs in another respect from committees in other states. The state executive committee in Texas is rather small when compared to the more than 600 members of the State Central Committees of California which include each party's county chairmen and all candidates for state and national office at the last election. V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, 4th ed. (New York, 1958), pp. 357-358.

<sup>13</sup>McCleskey, Government and Politics of Texas, p. 59.

### The County Convention

Delegates for the county convention are selected at the precinct convention on a basis of one delegate for every twenty-five votes cast for that party's gubernatorial candidate at the "last preceding general election."<sup>14</sup> The county conventions then elect delegates to the state conventions on a basis set by the state executive committee of "one delegate for not less than three hundred votes and not more than each six hundred votes cast for the party's candidate for Governor in each county or in each part of a county forming all or part of a senatorial district."<sup>15</sup>

The metropolitan areas, such as Dallas, Fort Worth, San Antonio, and Houston, would seem to have an obvious advantage at the state convention. With the delegates to the state convention based on the standard 1:300 ratio, there were 3,454 delegates to the Democratic convention of 1968 while there were only 1,275 delegates to the state Republican convention. Bexar, Dallas, Harris, and Tarrant counties controlled thirty-eight per cent of the Democratic delegates and forty-three per cent of the Republican delegates.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Election Code, Article 13.34.

<sup>15</sup>Election Code, Article 13.34b.

<sup>16</sup>These computations were made on the basis of figures drawn from mimeographed materials provided by the Democratic and Republican Parties, N. D.

### The Party Executives

In addition to the selection of the convention delegates every two years, the permanent leaders of the party are also selected. On the precinct level, the precinct chairman is elected by his party's voters in the primary. He presides over the precinct convention and serves as a member of the county executive committee or senatorial district committee. The county chairman of the party is also chosen by his party's voters in the party primary held on the first Saturday in May in even numbered years.<sup>17</sup>

The county chairman, especially in metropolitan counties, has become a very powerful party figure--perhaps the party's most powerful individual figure. The keys to the conduct of the party's business, the execution of most of the party's policy, and the successful culmination of the party's campaign for its candidates rest with the county chairman. If the chairman is not induced to actively work for the party, the chances for victory in a closely divided election may be decidedly less.

Because it is difficult for the county chairman to fulfill his task alone in the metropolitan counties, there is a trend toward utilization of professional staff and active recruitment of suitable party candidates and party workers. Although this is not a new phenomenon in many states, in Texas it is almost unbelievable. Even the Democratic Party

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<sup>17</sup>Election Code, Article 13.03.

has begun to feel the pressure of the Republican push in the metropolitan counties, such as Dallas and Harris.

### The State Party Organization

The permanent party organization on the state level consists of the state executive committees. The sixty-two members, the Chairman, and the Vice-Chairman constitute the party's top state leadership. Statutes do not specifically set out the internal organization of the committees and the state party headquarters, that being left to the parties themselves. The Republican Party, the better organized of the two parties, makes use of an internal organizational hierarchy composed of (1) state officials, including the state chairman, national committeeman, national committeewoman, state vice-chairman, assistant state chairman, state treasurer, secretary, general counsel, and the Finance Committee's state chairman; (2) regional officials, including a deputy state chairman, deputy state vice-chairman, and deputy state finance chairman in each of five geographic (regional) divisions of the state; and (3) a well organized professional staff located in Austin, Texas, and in the five regional divisions.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>This information is drawn from mimeographed materials provided by the Research Division of the Republican Party of Texas (Austin, 1968) and interview with John Stokes, Executive Director of the Republican Party of Texas, in Austin, Texas, November 18, 1968.

The less-developed Democratic committee has not invested as much money and energy into an organizational hierarchy as the Republicans. This may partially be explained through the limited resources available to the Democratic organization after Democratic candidates have raided party donors. A better explanation, however, exists in the fact that the Democrats have not yet seen the need to make use of a highly developed party organization. After all, the Democratic Party has been in solid control of the state since Reconstruction. Because of the absoluteness of its control, the party has not been forced to act as a party in a competitive, partisan sense. The party's candidates have almost always won the general election contest. The real contested election has been the Democratic party primary where the determination was made regarding to whom the Democratic Party's banner should go. Because of the dependence upon decision-making by the party member (the voter) in the primary, the Democratic Party apparatus has become a "non-partisan" organization. It does not normally make a choice between candidates in the primary. Indeed, after the primary, the candidate receives little support from the party--even when he has a Republican opponent.

One might suspect that the days of acting as a "non-partisan" organization may soon be over for the Democratic Party. The Republican Party has made significant gains in the past ten years. Indeed, several Democratic party leaders have commented upon the need for the Party to respond as a

"party" to the threat of growing Republicanism in Texas. Will Davis, chairman of the SDEC during Governor John Connally's tenure, and Elmer Baum, chairman of the SDEC during the administration of Governor Preston Smith, have called for reorganization of party machinery and concentration of resources in a strong statewide party organization.<sup>19</sup>

The organizational framework of the SDEC has remained somewhat unchanged although plans have been revealed that indicate that professional staff is to be employed to specialize in youth activities, women's activities, and communications.<sup>20</sup> The present organizational arrangement of the SDEC, however, consists of several sub-committees with certain members of the overall committee serving as chairmen of the sub-committees. The committees are concerned with a variety of functions, including such obviously important party functions as budget and finance, nominations and organization, publicity, registration, and meeting and state convention sites. Other party matters are covered by sub-committees on canvassing, legal matters, resolutions, and rules. If the use of the sub-committee system seems inefficient, it might be pointed out that most of the work of the sub-committees is carried out by the chairmen and by the

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<sup>19</sup>Interview with Elmer Baum, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, in Austin, Texas, February 5, 1969.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

small staff at the state headquarters. The obvious function of the sub-committees is to set policy in their respective areas or to perform certain specific tasks--for instance, finding a suitable convention site for the party's conventions every two years. While the sub-committees determine or recommend policy to the full committee, it is not fully known how much the SDEC combines its policy-making function with an executive or administrative function.

The differences between the organizational hierarchy of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party are quite easily discerned. Indeed, they are so apparent as to be shocking. Because the two parties have been so unequal, they have developed in different ways. The well-developed Republican organization with its functional and regional divisions and its efficient professional staff seems quite sophisticated when compared to the much smaller, less organized Democratic organization. To the untrained observer, the GOP organization would seem to be the stronger of the two. To the student of Texas politics, however, the knowledge that Texas is a one-party state would explain many of the differences between the two parties.

#### Functions of the State Parties

When considering the various functions of the state executive committees, it is easy to become overly concerned with functions that are, in effect, "means" to an overall "end"

instead of the "end" itself. For instance, one of the most important functions of the party organization is the raising of funds to finance party activities. Entire studies could be, and have been, made on the manner in which parties gather and dispose of their financial resources. Concentration upon fund-raising by parties, however important, does not satisfy a need for an overall description of party functions.<sup>21</sup>

The purpose of the state executive committees seems to differ from party to party. The Republican Party, with its large and well-trained organization, is primarily interested in gaining political power in Texas. In the pursuit of that goal, the Republican Party of Texas, and specifically the SREC, must recruit candidates,<sup>22</sup> raise money for campaign and organizational expense, provide party leaders and members with certain information regarding election law and organizational recommendations, and, in some cases, find loyal Republicans to fill patronage posts.

The Democratic organization is "in power" in Texas and need not concern itself largely with candidate recruitment, nor with fund-raising on a large scale. Since the party is primarily "personality-oriented," most contributions to the party are made directly to candidates. The Democratic Party

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<sup>21</sup>For an extensive analysis of money in politics, see Alexander Heard, The Costs of Democracy (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1960).

<sup>22</sup>Sal Levatino, "Legislators," an unpublished manuscript prepared in connection with the 1968-1969 Texas Legislative Internship Program, Austin, Texas, 1968, p. 5.

has hardly been a party organization at all in the strictest sense of the definition of "party." In the words of a former SDEC member, the SDEC is not worth a "hill of beans as it is now set up."<sup>23</sup> It signifies little in the management of party affairs and in its relationship with state officers. Whether his comments are entirely indicative of the position of the SDEC in the overall Democratic organization in Texas remains to be seen. One can remark, however, that the SDEC has not enjoyed the same level of control over the Democratic apparatus as its GOP counterpart has experienced over Republican organization in Texas.

It may be stated that the general function of the state executive committee is to act as the policy-making body for the state party. Although both party organizations do set certain general policies, neither is in a strong position to coerce lower level organizations to comply with or carry out its policies. As was pointed out in Chapter One, the American party is a "reciprocal deference structure" with no absolute control emanating from the upper levels of party organization to the lower levels. The party is not a "precisely ordered system of authority and influence from the top down . . ."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Interview with Crawford Martin, Attorney General of the State of Texas and former SDEC member, in Austin, Texas, January 6, 1969.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties, A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago, 1964), p. 9.

The state party must rely upon informal relationships in order to have its policies carried out by lower echelon organizations.

The state executive committee acts as the governing body of the state party while the biennial state party convention is not in session. In some states, the committee may set dates of primary elections, coordinate campaigns for state-wide offices, act as a "clearing house" for patronage directed to the state, "establish dates for state and local party conventions," and act as a campaign fund-raiser and fund-distributor.<sup>25</sup> Needs vary from state to state.

In Texas, state statutes not only provide for the general organization of the state executive committees and the lower echelon party committees, but also direct the committees to perform certain functions. Generally, the committee must (1) make arrangements for state conventions,<sup>26</sup> (2) make official certification of state-office candidates,<sup>27</sup> (3) canvass election returns,<sup>28</sup> and (4) compile a roster of the delegates to the state convention.<sup>29</sup> Contrary to the practice in many states, the state executive committees in Texas do not set the dates of primary elections, for those dates are set by statute.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>See Ivan Hinderack, Party Politics (New York, 1956), pp. 138-139.

<sup>26</sup>Election Code, Article 13.35.    <sup>27</sup>Ibid., Article 13.12.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., Article 13.27.    <sup>29</sup>Ibid., Article 13.34.    <sup>30</sup>Ibid.

Other than the general functions which designate the committee as the "policy-maker" and "governing body" of the state party, it is difficult to define exactly what the state executive committees do. Certainly they occupy a seemingly important position in the party hierarchy, but what do they do? A pamphlet distributed by one of the parties emphasizes "individual" or "personal" duties of the committee members and the chairman in the description of the function of the state executive committee.<sup>31</sup> Although the two party organizations differ somewhat, the duties described in the pamphlet are applicable to committees of both parties. "Establishing policy" and "conducting party business" were rated high on the list of functions.<sup>32</sup> The remainder of the functions were listed in the following order: recruitment of county chairmen and vice-chairmen; fund-raising; recruitment of candidates; service as party spokesman, especially in one's district; "serve as liason from counties in their district to the state party;" represent and promote state programs to local party leadership; and aid in coordinating state and multi-county campaigns.<sup>33</sup>

Crucial to the operation of the party is the financial process--the attraction of and disbursement of funds.

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<sup>31</sup> Republican Party of Texas, "Your Job in the Republican Party of Texas," unpublished official Republican material, Austin, 1968, p. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Without doubt, "funds are vital to the successful operation of any party organization."<sup>34</sup> The party must finance salaries for staff members, office space, state party conventions, public relations, and printing and mailing costs. These costs are borne by both state party organizations. The GOP organization, however, takes much of the responsibility for financing the campaigns of candidates for state-wide office and an undisclosed number of legislative candidates.<sup>35</sup> The Democratic organization makes no such expenditures, but leaves it to the party's candidate to raise his own funds.<sup>36</sup>

Party finances come from a variety of sources. Contributions make up the bulk of the funds at one level or another of the party organization. Contributions may be presented to the local organizations--precinct or county, the state organization, or directly to the candidate. Another means of obtaining funds is through the use of "dinners" or cocktail parties at which a charge of twenty-five to one hundred dollars is made. Normally, a famous party or entertainment figure appears at these functions, and the price of admission becomes in actuality a donation to the party treasury. The

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<sup>34</sup>Ray C. Bliss, "The Role of the State Chairman," in James M. Cannon, ed., Politics USA, A Practical Guide to the Winning of Public Office (Garden City, 1960), p. 166.

<sup>35</sup>Interview with Stokes, November 18, 1968.

<sup>36</sup>Of course, the Democratic organization may provide some direction for its state-wide office candidates in their search for campaign funds, if that aid is required. The Republican Party performs that function also.

principal means by which the state party receives funds, however, is the county quota, which each party normally assesses to each county. The amount of the quota is determined by a formula that takes into account the population of the county, the gubernatorial vote, and, in the Republican Party, the effective personal buying income in the county and the number of households in which the annual income exceeds \$10,000.<sup>37</sup> The various factors are combined by a mathematical process, weighted, and a final factor is determined--the county factor. The Republican Party determines its "county factor" by use of four factors: "(A) 'population;' (B) 'effective buying income;' (C) 'Republican gubernatorial vote;' and (D) 'above average incomes.'" <sup>38</sup> The factors are weighted and divided thus:

$$\frac{1A + 1B + 4C + 4D}{10} = \text{county factor}$$

"The factor for each county is determined in this manner by computer and then multiplied times the state budget to arrive at each individual county quota."<sup>39</sup> The Republican Party met ninety per cent of its budgeted quota from 1963 until 1969.<sup>40</sup> It would appear, therefore, that the quota system works reasonably well for the Republican Party of Texas.

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<sup>37</sup>Texas Republican Finance Committee, "Texas Republican Fund-Raising Guide," official unpublished Republican Party document, Austin, Texas, 1968, p. 31.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Interview with Paul Desrochers, Executive Director, Republican Finance Committee, in Austin, Texas, December 17, 1968.

### The State Chairman

Little research has been done regarding the chairman of the state executive committee. As Bernard Hennessy points out, ". . . no general treatment of the state party chairman has ever been attempted despite the admitted importance of the office. About the members, duties, procedures, and importance of the state executive committees we know even less."<sup>41</sup> While this study does not attempt a "general treatment" of the office of chairman, a brief treatment of the role of the chairman is necessary to complete the discussion of the organization and function of the state executive committee.

The chairman is selected by the September convention of the party.<sup>42</sup> The mode of selection, however, actually differs between the two parties. The Republican Party has relied much more heavily upon the statutory provisions; *i. e.*, the party convention actually comes closer to selecting the chairman. In the Democratic Party, however, another situation is found. The state chairman in the Democratic Party has traditionally been the "Governor's man" in the SDEC. Because the Governor (since Reconstruction, always a Democrat) must give his full time to his duties as Governor, he must have his party behind him and supporting him.<sup>43</sup> The Governor

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<sup>41</sup>Bernard Hennessy, "On the Study of Party Organization," in William J. Crotty, ed., Approaches to the Study of Party Organization (Boston, 1968), p. 21.

<sup>42</sup>Election Code, Article 13.38.

<sup>43</sup>Interview with Will Davis, Chairman of the SDEC from 1965 until 1968, in Austin, Texas, December 18, 1968.

depends upon the chairman of the SDEC as his personal representative to the committee. The Democratic chairman is relied upon as the political leader of the party in place of the Governor. An expression of the wishes of the chairman may rightly be thought of as an expression by the Governor. The Democratic chairman performs such "political" duties as approving suggested patronage appointments and helping to maintain the political organization of the Governor and of the party.<sup>44</sup>

The Republican chairman is much more the leader of his party in Texas. He does not usually owe his position in the party to the Republican gubernatorial candidate. United States Senator John Tower, the only Republican state-wide office holder, could probably control Republican Party affairs in a manner quite like the control exercised by the Governor in the Democratic organization. Tower has not, however, chosen to exercise such control during his tenure as a United States Senator.<sup>45</sup>

The position of the chairmanship has certain duties. Generally, "the primary role of a state chairman, whether he be a Republican or Democrat, is to build a party organization dedicated to good government and victory at the polls."<sup>46</sup> A

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Interview with Jack Cox, former Republican candidate for Governor, in Austin, Texas, January 16, 1969.

<sup>46</sup>Bliss, "The Role of the State Chairman," p. 160.

state chairman may perform his role in a variety of manners dependent upon the personality of the individual holding the office. According to Ray Bliss, a state chairman may be an "office chairman" who manages party affairs from the state headquarters or he may be a "speaking chairman," or one who is the party's chief spokesman. The chairman should be concerned with building and maintaining "an effective year-round organization" that operates continuously. He must be the link between the national and county party levels; therefore, he must be able to establish rapport with both levels to communicate effectively with each level. Bliss pointed out that the chairman should direct his efforts at attracting good candidates, building a favorable party image, building a strong party organization, and electing the party's nominees.<sup>47</sup> The role of the chairman in the party hierarchy may be compared to the ". . . hub of a wheel. Each spoke in this wheel represents a particular segment of the organization."<sup>48</sup>

Whether all of Bliss's observations are valid in Texas politics may be questioned. Without doubt, however, most of them do stand the test of observation. The chairman is (or can be) a powerful organizational figure in Texas. To be absolutely frank, however, the role of chairman depends largely upon the personality of the person that fills the position. An aggressive person would probably command a

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

stronger position in the party than a more reticent person. One might assume that the role of the chairman of the state executive committee in Texas follows the description of the role of the party's national chairman in a volume entitled Politics Without Power;<sup>49</sup> the authors indicated that the position of the national chairman of the Democratic or Republican parties depended largely upon the personality of the person holding the office for its power and influence.<sup>50</sup>

#### The Committee Members

The Election Code provides that the party's state convention in September shall select the members of the state executive committee, ". . . two from each senatorial district of the state, one of whom shall be a man and the other a woman, the members of the Committee to be those who shall be recommended by the delegates representing the counties composing the senatorial district . . ."<sup>51</sup> Statutes provide only a general description of how members of the state executive committees are to be selected. The maneuvering and "politicizing" to gain a position on the prestigious committee is quite interesting. It might be pointed out that the process of selection frequently differs markedly between the Democratic and Republican parties. Again, as in the selection of the

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<sup>49</sup>Cornelius P. Cotter and Bernard C. Hennessy, Politics Without Power: The National Party Committees (New York, 1964).

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>51</sup>Election Code, Article 13.38.

chairman, the Republican organization appears to follow the statutes more closely than the Democratic organization, which has upon occasion been dominated in the selection process by the Governor.

Because he needs a friendly committee, the executive has imposed his choice of committee members on the Democratic convention.<sup>52</sup> Governor Allan Shivers, for instance, used a Committee on Nominations to consider the recommendations for membership on the SDEC made by the caucuses of the various senatorial district delegations. The committee had the authority to approve or disapprove of persons nominated for the position of committeeman or committeewoman. Governor Price Daniel, however, did not initially concern himself with the control of the SDEC in 1956 because he was involved in a close race for the gubernatorial nomination of the party. Governor John Connally did exert some amount of active control over the selection process during 1962 and 1963 after his accession to the office of Governor. Governor Preston Smith, however, had little need to control the selection process in 1968 and 1969; the resulting SDEC was nevertheless pro-Smith.<sup>53</sup> Factors such as the need for unity in the party or the power position of the gubernatorial candidate of the

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<sup>52</sup>Interview with Pickle, December 16, 1968; also, see Gantt, Chief Executive in Texas, pp. 301-332, for a discussion of the type of control maintained over the SDEC by Democratic governors of Texas.

<sup>53</sup>Interview with Baum, February 5, 1969.

party have a great effect upon the ability and tendency of a Governor to dominate the selection process.

While committee members who are generally compatible with the gubernatorial nominee are selected in the Democratic Party, such is not the case in the Republican Party.<sup>54</sup> One possible reason for this difference between the parties is the slim chance that the GOP nominee will be elected; therefore, his power position is not as strong as his Democratic counterpart. Another reason for the difference is the dominance of the Republican Party by the state chairman rather than the gubernatorial nominee.

The actual role of the member has some effect upon whom is selected for membership. The committee member's role was described by Jack Cox, a former Republican gubernatorial nominee, as (1) to aid in financing the party and (2) to help determine the policy of the party.<sup>55</sup> It helps if the committee members are financially well-to-do and if their political philosophy conforms to that of the leadership of the party.

In regard to the question of how are committee members selected, one might point out again that the procedure differs from party to party; and, perhaps, from leadership to leadership. The procedure that is normally followed in the

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<sup>54</sup>Interview with Stokes, November 18, 1968.

<sup>55</sup>Interview with Cox, January 16, 1969.

Republican Party is "leadership recruitment."<sup>56</sup> The leadership of the party must have a committee that will back it up and that will not be torn by factionalism at every turn. Often, the leadership, through the offices of the chairman or a high party member in state or national office, will indicate informally to a delegation whom it would like as committee member from that district. Generally, it will select a person who has worked hard for the party and who has contributed money to the party. Those persons selected will normally have some obligation to the leadership; therefore, they will tend to support the party's leaders.

Another means of getting elected to the SREC is by an announcement of candidacy by a person to the convention delegates from his senatorial district. Of course, there is a certain amount of campaigning that must be done among the district's delegates, especially if the candidacy is contested.<sup>57</sup>

The selection process in the Democratic Party differs from the procedure in the Republican Party. The person chosen for membership on the SDEC is considered an agent of the district.<sup>58</sup> He will normally represent the wishes

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.; also, interview with A. C. Bryant, SREC member, in Austin, Texas, January 9, 1969.

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Cox, January 16, 1969.

<sup>58</sup> Interview with James P. Allison, alternate delegate to the State Democratic Convention in September, 1968, in Austin, Texas, October 12, 1968.

of the district's convention delegates in some particular regard, such as supporting the policies of the Governor or gubernatorial nominee or by working for a particular faction or person against the policies of the Governor or gubernatorial nominee. Because of the position as an agent, the district is normally very careful to select a reliable, trustworthy, and predictable committeeman. The person seeking the position of committeeman or committeewoman in a particular district must be able to maintain the support of his section of the district (especially if there are several counties in his district) and to attract the support of uncommitted sections of the district. Much of this depends upon the orientation of the district, past experience of the person seeking the position, and his relationship with the county chairman. It helps to be well-known in the district and in party circles. It is essential to be associated with the dominant faction of the party in one's district.<sup>59</sup>

The prospective committee member will normally announce his candidacy privately to the delegates to the state convention from his district, although this may differ from district to district. Eventually, the delegates will caucus and determine whom to nominate as committeeman and committeewoman. The candidate, if his candidacy is encouraged by his county's party leaders, may attempt to build a small campaign organization to work among the small number of

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

decision-makers. If he is well known throughout the district, he may decide to do his own campaign work.

There is always the threat that opposition may arise from another area or county in the district. In cases of close competition between two sections of the district, a third section may be able to swing an election by the delegates. If a section is reasonably cohesive, it can swing a great deal of support for or against a particular candidate.<sup>60</sup> If section A can convince section B that it should support its candidate for state committeeman and to withhold its votes from section C, section B may be rewarded with section A's support for committeewoman. That is the art of politics on the district level--competition for a position that is more of a prestigious reward than a position of real power.

Normally, the committee members are selected by majority vote. If no majority is reached on the first ballot, then a runoff is held. All of the campaigning is relatively private. Little publicity is normally focused on the act of determining who shall represent the district in the SDEC.

It is difficult to say just what effect the gubernatorial nominee (or the Governor) has in determining who the committeeman and committeewoman shall be. The situation varies with the Governor and with the year. Often no overt indication of the gubernatorial nominee's wishes is necessary since the district leaders are sufficiently astute to recognize the

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

nominees' general political philosophy. They usually desire to cooperate by nominating district representatives who are in close political alignment and communication with the Governor. The degree to which the local and district leaders of the party pay heed to the wishes of the gubernatorial nominee of the party depends largely upon the particular political persuasion or attitude of the district's delegates. If the gubernatorial nominee is in conflict with the district party leaders, a committee member of an opposing persuasion may be selected. Each case, however, depends upon the circumstances existing at that time.

#### Turnover of Membership of the State Committee

It is interesting to note the varying figures regarding the membership turnover of the state executive committees of the two parties. On the basis of membership of the committees from 1948 until 1968, Table I indicates that the Republican Party has experienced a higher return rate on its committee members than its Democratic counterpart.

Democratic turnover was greater every year except 1952 and 1966. The 1952 difference may be partially explained by the conflict within the Republican Party between forces for presidential candidates Dwight Eisenhower and Robert Taft.<sup>61</sup> The turnover in 1966 in the Republican Party may reflect a shakeup in the party after the smashing defeat of the party

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<sup>61</sup>Weeks, Texas Presidential Politics in 1952.

TABLE I  
 TURNOVER OF MEMBERSHIP ON STATE EXECUTIVE  
 COMMITTEES, 1948 - 1968

DATE	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRATIC	
	N*	%	N*	%
1950	48	77.4	23	37.1
1952	13	20.9	15	24.1
1954	31	50.0	30	48.3
1956	39	62.8	7	11.1
1958	35	56.4	19	30.6
1960	41	66.1	25	40.3
1962	29	46.7	16	25.8
1964	32	51.6	24	38.7
1966	15	24.1	20	32.2
1968	39	62.8	10	16.1

\*Source: Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide, 1968-1969 (Dallas, Texas, 1968), p. 592. Other editions of Texas Almanac used during applicable periods.

in the presidential election of 1964. In the Democratic Party, the four lowest return rates, in 1952, 1956, 1962, and 1968, probably reflect (1) the dissent in the party in 1952 due to the activities of Governor Allan Shivers on behalf of the Republican presidential candidate, Dwight Eisenhower, and (2) the change in gubernatorial leadership in the state in the remaining years.

Of course, there is no clearcut explanation of the turnover figures. It can be said, however, that Republican turnover is considerably smaller than Democratic turnover. The highest return rates for any Democratic committee since 1948 was 48.3 per cent in 1954. The average return rate for the twenty-year period was 51.9 per cent for the Republicans and 34.3 per cent for the Democratic Party. It would seem

that the membership of the SREC is considerably more stable than the membership of the SDEC. One plausible explanation of the increased turnover in the Democratic ranks is the fact that the Republican Party has been much less divided by factional strife than has the Democratic Party. Another explanation may consist in the fact that there are fewer Republicans than Democrats to take the position of committee member; therefore, there is not as much necessity to pass the positions around the district to several of the party faithful.

The reasons for seeking the office of committee member are varied. The position is a prestigious one in party circles; therefore, there are fights within the party to obtain it. This is especially true in the Democratic Party. Much depends, however, upon the nature of the district, the party leadership in that district, and the timing of the quest for office. It is interesting to note that there is a tendency in each party to "swap the position around" in each district so the power position of the dominant faction or county in that district may be maintained.<sup>62</sup>

Much has been said about the state executive committees in this chapter. Questions were raised and some were answered. It is difficult to answer every question that might arise. More work needs to be done before valid conclusions about political party organization in Texas and in the remainder of the American states may be made.

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<sup>62</sup>Interview with Martin, January 6, 1969; interview with Stokes, January 9, 1969.

With some understanding of the organization of the state executive committees, it is appropriate to turn to consideration of the state executive committee member and his role in the political process. The following chapter considers various aspects of committee membership, including biographical, socio-economic, and political characteristics, motives for initial entry into politics, and the function of the committee member as described by the members of the two committees selected in September, 1968.

## CHAPTER III

### THE STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER

This chapter is designed to analyze certain characteristics of members of the state executive committee of the two major parties in Texas. The primary purpose was to determine how the members of the Republican committee differ from the members of the Democratic committee. One particular committee term was selected as the test period. In order to lend currency to the study and due to the fact that the present members were more readily available for comment, the test period was limited to the two committees selected at the party conventions of 1968.

Several differences were expected to exist between the members of the two committees. It was presumed that Republicans would tend to belong to a higher socio-economic class than Democratic members. Because of prevailing opinions of various students of politics that persons in "white-collar," upper income groups are more likely to be classed as Republican than lower income groups, it was also assumed that the Republican committee members would be more highly educated than their Democratic counterparts. On the other hand, it was presumed that the Democrats would have more "political" or governmental experience than the Republicans. Democrats should have more direct contact with governmental leaders

than their Republican counterparts. The likelihood that Democrats would be native-born and maintain the same party affiliation as their parents was greater than it was for the Republicans.<sup>1</sup>

Significant differences were expected between the members of the two party organizations because of the fact that the Democratic Party has long been in power in Texas. The resulting party organization has been many isolated campaign organizations oriented around the personalities of candidates. Since the Democratic Party is dominant in the state, the Democratic primary is normally the most important hurdle for the candidates to successfully cross. Those workers and party members that choose the successful candidate--especially the candidate for Governor--generally gain the top party positions and, often, the top governmental posts in the State.

On the other hand, Republicans have been out of power in Texas for almost a century. The promise of reward in the sense of gaining political office is not as great in the Republican Party. It might be expected that because Republicans are "out of power" and the minority party in Texas they will tend to be more ideologically oriented and will tend to participate in party affairs through their zeal for

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<sup>1</sup>See the discussion of recent political developments in Texas in Chapter II. The theory that the GOP in Texas has gained much of its strength from newcomers to Texas was advanced in James R. Soukup, Clifton McCleskey, and Harry Holloway, Party and Factional Division in Texas (Austin, 1964), p. 24.

governmental and political reform. For instance, a common sentiment of Republicans as often expressed at party conventions and in party literature is "it takes two to make Texas number one." In other words, a true two-party system would be good for Texas. Considering the divergent status of the two parties in Texas, one may well suppose that differences would exist between the members of the two party committees.

Other factors arise when doing research in an area that has hitherto been virtually unexplored. For instance, what are the basic biographic characteristics of the members of the two parties? What is the "average" or "composite" member like? Are there differences between the average members of the two parties in regard to age, occupation, economic status, education, religion, and race?

Questions regarding the political background of the typical committee member prior to entering the committee are interesting and related to the initial hypothesis. Also, questions regarding the member's actual committee work and his political contacts are appropriate and within the scope of the study.

Because of the virtual impossibility of interviewing each committee member individually, due to the vast area to be covered and to the expense of such a course of action, a carefully constructed questionnaire was used as the research instrument. There is little doubt that the results of the questionnaire are somewhat subjective. They are definitely

subjective in the sense that the subjects used their own qualitative judgments in answering many of the questions. It is no great weakness of the particular questionnaire used as a research tool in this study that some of the answers are by necessity subjective. That is a weakness of the mail survey technique where exact measurement is not practicable or reasonable. For instance, there are few means short of constant surveillance of each committee member that would insure an accurate representation of how often certain state leaders were in contact with certain party leaders. Such an approach is not practical. It is necessary, therefore, to rely upon the subject's judgments of how frequently such meetings occurred. Comparisons can still be made although the returns are necessarily subjective. By use of the data in a relative sense, that is, in comparison with the returns from all other members, the results take on useful meaning.

Other problems exist, however, regarding the use of the mail survey to gather data that can be considered useful. How does one prepare a questionnaire so that it will likely be completed and returned? How can one impress upon the subject that the study is important and useful? Fortunately, works are available regarding the use of mail surveys. Primary among these is William J. Crotty's article in Western Political Quarterly.<sup>2</sup> Crotty asks a variety of questions regarding

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<sup>2</sup>William J. Crotty, "The Utilization of Mail Questionnaires and the Problem of a Representative Return Rate," Western Political Quarterly, XIX (March, 1966), pp. 44-53.

the effectiveness of mail questionnaires. How representative of the population contacted are the returns? What is the cost of the mail questionnaire compared with the costs of interviews? He attempted to answer those questions and others by discussing several areas including "problems in questionnaire construction and their resolution," "the return rate," "representativeness of response," "completion of response," and "a note on cost."<sup>3</sup>

There are three factors that seem to make the use of the mail survey technique feasible. First, the group should be "relatively homogeneous."<sup>4</sup> Second, the group may be inaccessible and distributed over a wide geographic area. Third, the mail survey may be desirable ". . . when financial resources are limited."<sup>5</sup> It may be commented that all three factors are found in the present study. It is assumed that the groups are relatively homogeneous because of the similar nature of the positions. The members are scattered throughout the state of Texas, an area of over 276,000 square miles, a factor which makes it difficult to see and interview each member separately. Finally, financial resources for the study were limited.

#### Some Notes on Questionnaire Construction and Return Rates

It was determined early in the study that the questionnaire to be sent to the 124 committee members should be short

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

enough to insure a good return rate and lengthy enough to provide an adequate amount of information for the study. The basic questionnaire consisted of thirty-three questions on one page and a short section regarding motives for initially becoming involved in politics on the second page. The questions were selected on the basis of the information desired. The section regarding motives of the committee members for initial entry into politics is quite similar to a questionnaire used by Samuel J. Eldersveld in Political Parties; A Behavioral Analysis.<sup>6</sup>

The format of the questionnaire was considered to be important in regard to prompting the potential respondents to return the completed questionnaire. In an attempt to impress upon the members of the committees the fact that the study was seriously undertaken, the questionnaires were printed instead of mimeographed. Half of the forms were printed on light green paper and half were printed on yellow paper. The reason for the use of colored paper stems from Crotty's article on the use of the mail survey technique. Crotty wrote that with the questionnaires on colored paper, the respondent would not as likely "overlook" it and forget to return it.<sup>7</sup> The colored questionnaires had still another purpose in this study. The green forms were sent to Republican

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<sup>6</sup>Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago, 1964).

<sup>7</sup>Crotty, "The Utilization of Mail Questionnaires," p. 45.

committee members while the yellow ones were sent to the Democrats. A ready means of classification by party was provided in case members should hesitate or forget to list their party label.

Crotty also suggested that a cover letter from a leader of each party should be used to sanction the study and, hopefully, to increase the return rate. Both Texas parties complied with requests to write a cover letter. Elmer Baum, the Chairman of the SDEC, wrote a cover letter to the Democratic committee members; and, John Stokes, Executive Director of the Republican Party of Texas, wrote a letter to the Republican members. Both parties assumed the responsibility and cost for mailing the questionnaires on the first mailing. A standard cover letter was enclosed with each questionnaire explaining the overall purpose of the study.<sup>8</sup>

While Crotty used three series of mailings for his study, he concluded that the third mailing resulted in so meager a return that it was probably not necessary. Based on his experience, two series of mailings were used for the distribution of the questionnaires to the committee members in this study. The first series was mailed on March 14, 1969. The second series was mailed approximately six weeks later on April 30, 1969. Table II presents the data relevant to the return rates according to party and sex of the committee members.

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<sup>8</sup>See Appendix A for sample cover letter.

TABLE II  
RATES OF RETURN FROM QUESTIONNAIRES

CLASSIFICATION	TOTAL	DEMOCRATIC			REPUBLICAN		
		total	male	female	total	male	female
a Number Mailed First Mailing	124	62	31	31	62	31	31
b Returns (n) First Mailing	70	33	19	14	37	20	17
c Returns (%) First Mailing	56.5	53.2	61.3	45.2	59.7	64.5	54.8
d Number Mailed Second Mailing	53	29	12	17	24	10	14
e Returns (n) Second Mailing	25	12	5	7	13	6	7
f Returns (%) Second Mailing	20.2	19.4	16.1	22.6	21.0	19.4	22.6
g Total Returns (n)	95	45	24	21	50	26	24
h Total Returns (%)	76.1	72.6	77.4	67.7	80.6	83.9	77.4

The women in each party had lower return rates than the male committee members. Republican committee men led in rate of return with over 83 per cent return. Republican women and Democratic men each had 77.4 per cent return while the Democratic women had a 67.7 per cent return. The overall Republican return was higher than the Democratic return by approximately eight percentage points. The higher GOP return may be partially explained by the fact that the Republicans are the "out-party" and are eager to cooperate. Another possible explanation is that, perhaps, more Republicans have an "axe to grind" and welcome an opportunity to express themselves. Whatever the answer, the overall Republican return rate was over 80 per cent.

### Motives for Initial Political Involvement

The committee members were requested to indicate on the questionnaire the reasons for their initial involvement in politics. Eleven choices were listed and the respondents were asked to indicate beside each choice whether that reason was (1) very important, (2) important, or (3) unimportant. While more latitude could have been used in the selection of levels of importance, it was determined that too many choices might confuse the respondents. The eleven reasons, or choices, can be classified as (1) personal friendship for a candidate, (2) political work is a way of life, (3) attachment to political party, (4) social contacts with others, (5) excitement of campaign contests, (6) build personal position in politics, (7) influencing the policies of government, (8) being close to people doing important things, (9) make business contacts, (10) fulfil a sense of community obligation, and (11) feeling of recognition in community. The choices are similar to those prepared by Eldersveld in his study of local party leaders.<sup>9</sup>

Reasons were varied for initial entry into politics. Table III reveals, by reason or classification, the number and relative value of each classification for the four groups considered--Republican males, Republican females, Democratic males, and Democratic females. The relative value of each classification was determined by a formula. By assessing a

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<sup>9</sup>Eldersveld, Political Parties, p. 589.

TABLE III  
MOTIVE FOR INITIAL POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

CLASSIFICATION	D*	REPUBLICAN				DEMOCRATIC			
		MALE	(f)	FEMALE	(f)	MALE	(f)	FEMALE	(f)
Personal	a	3	1.35	3	1.37	7	1.78	11	2.32
Friendship	b	2	...	1	...	4	...	3	...
	c	18	...	15	...	12	...	5	...
Way of	a	6	1.92	10	2.37	10	2.26	11	2.45
Life	b	11	...	6	...	9	...	7	...
	c	8	...	3	...	4	...	2	...
Attachment	a	6	2.00	14	2.69	9	2.17	14	2.60
to Party	b	11	...	5	...	9	...	4	...
	c	6	...	1	...	5	...	2	...
Social	a	..	1.38	10	2.45	2	1.83	6	2.15
Contacts	b	9	...	9	...	15	...	11	...
	c	15	...	1	...	6	...	3	...
Excitement	a	2	1.57	6	2.00	4	1.96	5	1.95
of Contest	b	9	...	8	...	14	...	9	...
	c	12	...	6	...	5	...	6	...
Build Personal	a	2	1.17	..	1.05	..	1.22	2	1.89
Position	b	..	...	1	...	5	...	3	...
in Politics	c	21	...	18	...	18	...	14	...
Influence	a	20	2.80	21	2.91	18	2.70	14	2.67
Governmental	b	5	...	2	...	3	...	7	...
Policies	c	..	...	..	...	2	...	..	...
Be Close to	a	..	1.39	4	1.80	5	1.79	7	2.05
Important	b	9	...	8	...	7	...	7	...
People	c	14	...	8	...	11	...	6	...
Make	a	..	1.04	1	1.47	2	1.43	1	2.00
Business	b	1	...	2	...	6	...	6	...
Contacts	c	22	...	16	...	15	...	11	...
Community	a	10	2.32	9	2.29	15	2.58	7	2.32
Obligation	b	13	...	9	...	8	...	11	...
	c	2	...	3	...	1	...	1	...
Sense of	a	..	1.33	..	1.26	2	1.52	1	1.68
Recognition	b	8	...	5	...	8	...	11	...
in Community	c	16	...	14	...	13	...	7	...

\*Terminology: D--designation of a is "very important," b is "important," and c is "unimportant."

numerical value to each of the levels of importance (i. e., a value of three to "very important," two to "important," and one to "unimportant") the relative value of each category could be determined in regard to other classifications. The

formula used in Table III to determine the relative value is as follows:

$$\frac{3(a) + 2(b) + 1(c)}{\text{number responses in each category}} = \text{relative value of each classification}$$

The relative value of each of the reasons, or classifications, may be ranked on a scale of value from one, unimportant, to three, very important. We can use the three-point scale for determining the relative value placed on the classifications with an arbitrary division of the following: 2.50-3.00 is very important; 1.50-2.49 is important; and 1.00-1.49 is unimportant. Table IV demonstrate the order of preference of each of the classifications by each group with the relative value indicated beside it.

TABLE IV  
CLASSIFICATIONS IN ORDER PREFERRED

REPUBLICAN				DEMOCRATIC			
MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
Class.*	Value	Class.	Value	Class.	Value	Class.	Value
G	2.80	G	2.91	G	2.70	G	2.67
J	2.32	C	2.69	J	2.58	C	2.60
C	2.00	D	2.45	B	2.26	B	2.45
B	1.92	B	2.37	C	2.17	A	2.32
E	1.57	J	2.29	E	1.96	J	2.32
H	1.39	E	2.00	D	1.83	D	2.15
D	1.33	H	1.80	H	1.79	H	2.05
A	1.35	I	1.47	A	1.78	I	2.00
K	1.33	A	1.37	K	1.52	E	1.95
F	1.17	K	1.26	I	1.43	F	1.89
I	1.04	F	1.05	F	1.22	K	1.68

\*Classifications include: A--personal friendship with a candidate; B--political work is a way of life; C--attachment to party; D--social contacts; E--excitement of campaign contest; F--build personal position in politics; G--influence policies of government; H--be close to important people; I--make business contacts; J--sense of community obligation; and K--recognition in community.

## CHAPTER II

### THE STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES IN TEXAS

Although it is not the purpose of this study to provide an exhaustive analysis of political parties in Texas, some description of the system is necessary to provide a background for the analysis of the membership of the committees, which constitute the nucleus of party organization. The discussion of concepts of party organization in Chapter One described the party system in America, but more specific treatment of the Texas system is necessary to provide the organizational environment in which the committee members operate. Most of the information on the state party organization in Texas is provided by college texts; thus, it is necessary to look elsewhere for information to extend a description of the Texas system.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the standard textbooks, three other sources are especially useful in furnishing a general description of Texas party organization: (1) official party publications; (2) statutory regulations of party organization; and (3) interview with party leaders and public officials.

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<sup>1</sup>See Clifton McCleskey, The Government and Politics of Texas, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1969), pp. 32-67. Also, for general reference, see Wilbourn E. Benton, Texas: Its Government and Politics, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, 1966) and Stuart MacCorkle and Dick Smith, Texas Government, 6th ed. (New York, 1968).

Table IV also indicates that Republican males listed only "influence policies of government" as "very important." Republican females, however, listed "influence policies of government" and "attachment to party" as very important. The only significant difference between the order of reasons by the GOP males and the females was the indication of "social contacts" by the Republican women as their third most important reason for becoming active in politics. That, plus the fact that the Republican women generally listed each category at a higher level of importance than the males, was the only significant difference between the two groups of Republicans.

Both of the Democratic groups listed two reasons as "very important." The Democratic males rated "influence policies of government" and "community obligation" as very important while the females listed "influence policies of government" and "attachment to party." The only significant difference between Democratic males and females was the listing by the females of "personal friendship with a candidate" at the fourth level of importance while the Democratic males listed it as eighth in importance. As in the case of the GOP committee members, the Democratic females tended to rate each category at a higher level of importance than their male counterparts.

It is interesting to note that the top five reasons for initial entry into politics were the same for all four groups, with two exceptions. The Republican women listed "social contacts" higher than any of the other three groups in place

of "excitement of contest." The Democratic women listed "personal friendship with a candidate" higher than the other three groups in place of "excitement of contest." "Influencing policies of government" was the most popular reason (by use of the three-point scale) for initial entry by all four groups.

Table V confirms the indication of "influencing policies of government" as the most important reason for entry into politics. The table reveals, by an indication of the percentage of total selections received by each category, that Republicans were definitely influenced more by a desire to influence the policies of government, although both parties listed that reason as first choice. The remainder of the selections do not consistently follow the order established by the three-point scale. A plausible explanation for this phenomenon may consist in the fact that several respondents indicated several categories as "very important," but only selected one category as "most important."

It may be concluded by the data presented on Tables IV and V that there are few significant differences between the motives for initial entry into politics between the committee members of the two parties. The only significant difference that may be measured is the indication of a higher level of importance by members of one committee of certain reasons for entry into politics. More Republicans listed "influence policies of government" as their most important reason for

initial entry than their Democratic counterparts. Democrats, on the other hand, gave "community obligation," "personal friendship with a candidate," "way of life," and "attachment to party" substantially greater values than the Republicans.

TABLE V  
INDICATION OF MOST IMPORTANT REASON  
FOR INITIAL INVOLVEMENT

CLASSIFICATION	REPUBLICAN				DEMOCRATIC			
	MALE*	(%)	FEMALE	(%)	MALE	(%)	FEMALE	(%)
PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP	2	7.7	1	4.2	2	7.4	5	21.7
WAY OF LIFE	..	...	5	20.8	5	18.5	5	21.7
ATTACHMENT TO PARTY	1	3.8	1	4.2	1	3.7	4	17.4
SOCIAL CONTACTS	..	...	..	...	1	3.7	1	4.3
EXCITEMENT OF CONTEST	1	3.8	..	...	..	...	1	4.3
BUILD PERSONAL POSITION	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
INFLUENCE POLICIES OF GOVERNMENT	19	73.1	15	62.5	12	44.4	6	26.1
CLOSE TO IMPORTANT PEOPLE	1	3.8	..	...	..	...	1	4.3
BUSINESS CONTACTS	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
COMMUNITY OBLIGATION	3	11.5	2	8.3	6	22.2	..	...
SENSE OF RECOGNITION	1	3.8	..	...	..	...	..	...

\*The formula used to determine the percentages was:

$$\frac{\text{Number of Responses in Each Category}}{\text{Total Number of Responses}} = \%$$

The higher indication of "influence policies of government" by the Republicans may reflect their position as members of the "out-party" in Texas. Naturally, they would

want to gain political control in Texas to implement their own policies. In keeping with that hypothesis, it may also be concluded that the higher levels of importance of "community obligation," "personal friendship with a candidate," and "way of life" as indicated by the Democratic committee members reflects the position of the Democratic Party in Texas. While the Democrats are interested in influencing the policies of government, they are obviously not as concerned about that particular aspect as are the Republicans. Generally it may be concluded that the motives for initial political involvement of the committee members of the two parties are quite similar. The differences are a result of varying degrees of emphasis on the reasons for involvement.

#### Biographical Characteristics of Members

Certain biographical characteristics of the members of the SDEC and the SREC are interesting because of our interest in the background of the average committee member. The average committee member is white, married, a Protestant, educated beyond the college level, approximately forty years of age, represents an urban district, and was born in Texas. Specifically, however, the percentages of each group in each category are shown in Tables VI through IX.

Table VI reveals the numbers and percentages of committee members in each of five age groups. It is evident by use of the relative value assessed to each group that the females of the Democratic Party are younger than the males. Republican

females, however, are generally older than the males. Democratic women constitute the youngest group with a relative age value of 2.48. The median age of the Democratic women is in the 31-40 age group. The median ages for the other categories ranges in the 41-50 age group.

TABLE VI  
AGE GROUPINGS OF MEMBERS

AGE GROUPS	REPUBLICAN						DEMOCRATIC					
	FEM	%	f*	MALE	%	f*	FEM	%	f*	MALE	%	f*
21-30	..	...	..	..	...	..	1	5.0	..	..	...	..
31-40	7	29.2	..	9	34.6	..	10	50.0	..	10	41.7	..
41-50	10	41.7	..	12	46.2	..	6	30.0	..	7	29.2	..
51-60	5	20.3	..	5	19.2	..	2	10.0	..	5	20.8	..
60 over	2	8.3	..	..	...	..	1	5.0	..	2	8.3	..
RELATIVE VALUE			3.04	...	2.85	...	...	2.48	...	...	2.96	...

\*f equals the relative value, which is determined by multiplying the number of responses in an age group times the assigned value of the category (a value of one to the "21-30" age group, two to the "31-40" age group, and so on) and dividing by the total number of responses in every category.

The vast majority of the members of both committees are married. Only one person in each party (both females) is single. In addition, one Republican woman is divorced and one is widowed.

All of the Republicans indicated that their racial class was "white." One of the Democratic females indicated that she was a "Latin-American" and one of the males was a "Negro." The remainder of the Democrats indicated they were white.

In regard to religious preference, the committee members of both parties overwhelmingly belong to Protestant religious groups. Table VII indicates that approximately 75 to 85 per cent of the committee members are of a Protestant faith, most frequently Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian (52.4 per cent by the females and 58.2 per cent by the males) in the Democratic ranks and Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist (66.6 per cent by the females and 46.1 per cent by the males) in the Republican ranks. Episcopalians are most frequent among Republicans respondents while Methodists are the most frequent among the Democrats. Of the Republicans, 2 per cent are classified as Catholic and 2 per cent are Jewish. Eleven per cent of the Democrats are Catholic while none are Jewish.

TABLE VII  
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF MEMBERS

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRATIC	
	male	female	male	female
PROTESTANT	15.4	...	12.5	4.8
EPISCOPAL	11.5	33.3	8.3	19.0
PRESBYTERIAN	7.7	20.8	20.8	4.8
METHODIST	26.9	12.5	20.8	23.8
LUTHERAN	...	8.3	4.2	...
BAPTIST	15.4	8.3	16.6	23.8
CATHOLIC	3.8	...	8.3	14.3
JEWISH	...	4.2	...	...
OTHER	19.2	8.3	8.3	9.5
NONE	...	4.2	...	...

Table VIII indicates the level of educational experience of each group in the two committees. Using the formula determined in Table VI, one may determine the educational level of

each group relative to the other three groups. A numerical value is assigned to each of the eight levels of educational achievement. Because the number of years required to achieve a graduate degree is approximately the same as the years required for a professional degree, the two levels were assigned the same numerical value--seven.

TABLE VIII  
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

LEVEL	REPUBLICAN				DEMOCRATIC			
	female		male		female		male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Below	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
Grade Six	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
6-11	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
Grades	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
Completed	5	20.8	3	11.5	10	47.5	3	12.5
High School	14	58.3	3	11.5	5	23.8	2	8.3
1-3	3	12.5	8	30.7	3	14.3	5	20.8
Years College	1	4.2	1	3.8	1	4.8	1	4.2
Completed	1	4.2	2	7.7	2	9.5	1	4.2
College	..	...	9	34.6	..	...	12	50.0
Graduate								
Work								
Graduate								
Degree								
Professional								
Degree								
RELATIVE	4.13		5.54		4.05		6.00	
VALUE								

The highest educational level, by use of the relative value index, was attained by the Democratic males. Republican males are next. There is virtually no difference between the Republican women and the Democratic women in the level of educational experience. Fifty per cent of the Democratic males reported the possession of a "professional degree" and

over seventy-nine per cent finished college. Of the Republican males, 34.6 per cent reported the possession of a "professional degree" while 76.8 per cent finished college. The highest level of educational achievement for 47.5 per cent of the Democratic women was high school compared to 20.8 per cent of the Republican women. Of the GOP women, 29.9 per cent finished college while 28.6 per cent of the Democratic women finished. The differences between the two groups in levels of educational achievement are not important. One point that may be significant, however, is the fact that 40.5 per cent of the Republicans that attended college attended a school in a state other than Texas. Only slightly over 10 per cent of the college educated Democrats left the state for their schooling.

Table IX reveals certain facts regarding the birthplace of committee members. While 86.7 per cent of the Democratic committee members were born in Texas, only 58 per cent of the Republicans were Texas natives. The higher instance of out-of-state natives in the SREC may demonstrate Soukup's findings of the increased mobility into the state from Republican areas has benefited the Republican Party of Texas.

It may be concluded that there are few significant biographical differences between the members of the two committees. They are, in fact, quite similar in all respects.

TABLE IX  
NATIVITY OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

CATEGORY	GOP MALE		GOP FEMALE		DEMO MALE		DEMO FEMALE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
NON-TEXAN	10	38.5	11	45.8	1	4.2	5	23.8
TEXAN	16	61.5	13	54.2	23	95.8	16	76.2

### Socio-Economic Characteristics of Members

The socio-economic background of the members of the two committees does point out some significant differences. Since it is difficult to distinguish in all respects between certain aspects designated as "biographical characteristics" and those designated as "socio-economic characteristics," only four areas are discussed here--occupation, family income, parental income, and affiliated organizations.

Using the information reported in questions nine and ten of the questionnaire ("occupation" and "husband's occupation"), a determination could be made regarding the occupation of the members of the two committees. Of the Democrats, 42 per cent were either attorneys or married to one. Only 10 per cent of the Republicans earned their income as attorneys. The most frequently chosen occupation in the Republican ranks was "oil and related occupations" and "ranch and farm." Only 4.4 per cent of the Democrats listed "oil" while 13.3 per cent listed "ranch and farm." Table X indicates the frequency with which the members listed their various occupations. The dominance of attorneys in the SDEC is quite evident. However, there

seems to be more variation in the types of occupations listed by members of the SREC than by members of the SDEC.

TABLE X  
OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS

OCCUPATION	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRATIC	
	N	%	N	%
ATTORNEY	5	10.0	19	42.2
OIL AND RELATED	10	20.0	2	4.4
BUSINESS	6	12.0	1	2.2
RANCH AND/OR FARM	7	14.0	6	13.3
INDUSTRIAL	3	6.0	2	4.4
SELF-EMPLOYED	3	6.0	4	8.9
ENGINEER	3	6.0	..	...
MEDICAL	6	12.0	1	2.2
EDUCATION	..	...	2	4.4
BANKING	..	...	4	8.9
RETIRED	1	2.0	..	...
OTHER	3	6.0	3	6.7
NO RESPONSE	3	6.0	1	2.2

Surprisingly enough, the members of the SDEC tend to have a higher income than members of the SREC. Of the members of the SDEC, 68.9 per cent had a family income in 1968 of \$20,000 or more. Over 55 per cent of the members had incomes over \$25,000. Only fifty-four per cent of the Republican committee members had incomes above \$20,000 in 1968. Only 40 per cent

had incomes exceeding \$25,000. Regardless of the tendency of the Democrats to have higher incomes than the Republicans, the Democrats had the only member to place family income for 1968 in the "\$5,000-\$10,000" category.

The committee members of both parties seem to come from above average income families. Only 30 per cent of the Republicans and 37.8 per cent of the Democrats listed their parent's annual income as under \$10,000. Thirty-two per cent of the Republicans and 38.9 per cent of the Democrats listed their parent's income as between \$10,000 and \$20,000. The economic background of the parents of the two groups were almost identical. One significant difference that was not expected, however, was the fact that 16 per cent of the Republicans and only 8.9 per cent of the Democrats indicated that their parents earned less than \$5,000 annually.

While average Republican party members may conform to the widespread opinion of various students of politics that Republicans tend to be wealthier than Democrats, it is obvious by this study that the "opinion" does not hold true in regard to party leaders at the state level in Texas. The Democrats were on the whole wealthier than their Republican counterparts.

The members of the two committees tended to maintain the same type of organizational associations. The male members tended to belong to a professional association (73.1 per cent of the Republicans and 91.6 per cent of the Democrats), a fraternity (42 per cent of the Republicans and 70 per cent of

the Democrats), a church (69 per cent of the Republicans and 95 per cent of the Democrats), and a business-civic organization (73 per cent of the Republicans and 79 per cent of the Democrats). The female members confined their associations primarily to political clubs, church, business-civic groups, the PTA, and charitable organizations. The difference between the members of the two parties is not terribly significant in this regard. Both groups tend to have similar associations.

#### Political Experience and Background

The political experience and background of committee members proved to be an interesting topic of research although the results were not altogether unexpected. Table XI reveals that 69.8 per cent of the responding Democrats had served under one year as an SDEC member. Only 22.5 per cent of the Republican committee members had served less than one year.

TABLE XI  
YEARS ON COMMITTEE

CATEGORY	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRATIC	
	N	%	N	%
UNDER ONE YEAR	11	22.5	30	69.8
ONE-THREE YEARS	20	40.8	9	20.9
FOUR-SIX YEARS	17	34.7	1	2.3
SEVEN-TEN YEARS	1	2.0	3	7.0
OVER TEN YEARS	..	...	..	...

While 40.8 per cent of the SREC members served one to three years, only 20.9 per cent of the SDEC members listed their length of service in that classification. Of the GOP members, 36.1 per cent reported that they served four years or more on the SREC. Only 9.3 per cent of the Democratic members served four years or more on the SDEC. Democratic turnover in 1968 was significantly greater than Republican turnover. The majority (over two-thirds) of the SDEC members have less than one year service on the committee.

Several factors might explain the higher rate of turnover in the Democratic Party. First, Democrats have traditionally had a greater turnover than the Republicans. The 1968 figures are similar to the average turnover rates. Second, the Democratic Party experienced a turnover in the leadership of the party in 1968 when Preston Smith was elected Governor of Texas. As was expected, Smith wanted a State Democratic Executive Committee that would support his leadership of the Party. Smith supporters were generally selected for committee membership.<sup>10</sup> The best explanation for the heavy Democratic turnover is the transfer of power in the state government from John Connally to Preston Smith. The Republicans were not significantly affected by the turnover in government and the same leadership retained control of the party.

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<sup>10</sup>Interview with James P. Allison, alternate delegate to the State Democratic Convention in September, 1968, in Austin, Texas, October 12, 1968.

In regard to party positions held by members prior to membership on the state executive committee, the route to becoming a member is virtually the same in both parties. Members of both parties indicated strongly that they had been delegates to the county and state conventions. Eighty-six per cent of the Republicans and approximately eighty-nine per cent of the Democrats indicated that they had been delegates to their county convention. Eighty-eight per cent of the Republicans and ninety-one per cent of the Democrats reported that they had been delegates to their state party convention one or more times. A smaller indicator of party experience prior to committee membership consists in the fact that 46 per cent of the GOP members and 35.6 per cent of the Democratic members had been precinct convention officers. The other indicators of party experience were relatively low in both parties. Few members had served as leaders of party youth groups, county chairmen, and "other state positions." One fact worth noting, however, is that 18 per cent of the Republicans and over 13 per cent of the Democrats had served as national convention delegates. It is interesting also that only 2 per cent of the Republicans and 4.4 per cent of the Democrats held no party positions prior to becoming a member of the state executive committee. In addition to the more important party posts, most members indicated that they had worked at the polls during an election.

Generally, one may conclude that the average state executive committee member serves in a variety of party capacities

prior to his selection to the committee. The most common party posts held prior to committee membership seem to be the positions of delegate to the county and state conventions. It is likely that the possession of a delegate vote from a district serves as a power base, or at least a starting point, for one's campaign for a committee position.

As might have been expected, the Republican members experienced a much lower incidence of "elective governmental positions" than Democratic members. Only 2 per cent of the Republicans (one male) reported any elective positions, and that was on the local level. Of the Democratic members, however, 31 per cent reported holding some elective governmental positions (9.5 per cent of the females and 50 per cent of the males). Nearly 5 per cent of the Democratic females and 33.3 per cent of the males served in a local elective capacity; and 4.8 per cent of the females and 16.6 per cent of the males served in a state elective capacity. Thirty-two per cent of the Republicans and eleven per cent of the Democrats did not answer the question although it may be surmised that failure to answer the question indicated a negative response. Neither party had a member indicate service in a national elective office.

In regard to elective offices sought, the picture was somewhat different. While Republican and Democratic women uniformly indicated that they had either not sought any elective offices by marking "none" on the questionnaire or

by not answering the question, 10 per cent of the Republican males and nearly 50 per cent of the Democratic males indicated that they had sought some elective offices. The figures were as follows: local office--2 per cent of the Republicans and 16.6 per cent of the Democrats; state office--4 per cent of the Republicans and 29.1 per cent of the Democrats; national office--4 per cent of the Republicans and 4.4 per cent of the Democrats. Over 80 per cent of the GOP males and 66 per cent of the Democratic males indicated that they had not sought an elective position by marking "none" on the questionnaire or by not answering the question.

The appointive governmental positions reported by the members were basically the same as the figures on positions sought. Six per cent of the Republicans and eighteen per cent of the Democrats indicated that they had held an appointive governmental position. While the Democratic percentages were somewhat evenly divided between local, state, and national appointive offices, the Republican percentages were distributed between local and state offices. None of the Republicans indicated a national appointive position.

Slightly over half of the committee members of both parties reported that their parents had been active in politics, but 50 per cent of the Republicans and 66.7 per cent of the Democrats indicated that parental political activity had not influenced their decision to become active in politics. The average age that the members became active in politics may

explain the lack of parental influence. Fifty-seven per cent of the Republican members and forty-eight per cent of the Democratic members became active in politics after the age of twenty-six. Only 21.4 per cent of the Republicans and 34 per cent of the Democrats began their political activism before the age of twenty-one.

An interesting fact relating to the data regarding parental influence on political activity of the members concerns the partisan affiliation of the parents. While 45 per cent of the responding Republicans indicated that they affiliated with the party of their parents, 90 per cent of the Democrats did so. The Democratic percentages are notably higher. The Democrats were generally familiar with one-party politics from childhood; therefore, they maintained their initial connection with the party. The Republican members are more likely to be non-native to Texas. They are also more likely to be disenchanted with Democratic one-party politics and to rebel against it by joining the Republican Party. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that Republicans tend to reject the partisan affiliation of their parents more often than the Democrats.

#### Functions of a Committee Member

Perhaps the most important emphasis of this chapter is the discussion of the function of the committee member and how he sees his role within the party organization. Several factors are related closely to the actual function of the members.

How much time per month is spent in party business by the committee member? How frequently is the member in contact with the legislators of his party and district, his county party leaders, and his state party leaders? What does the member conceive to be his primary function in the state executive committee? These are questions that should be answered if the role of the member is to be better understood.

It may be concluded that Republican committee members generally spend more time in their position than the Democratic members. While 20 per cent of the Republicans and 8.9 per cent of the Democrats did not respond to the question, 52 per cent of the remaining GOP members and 24.4 per cent of the remaining Democratic members indicated that they worked fifteen hours or more each month in some form of political activity connected with their committee positions. Indeed, 42.5 per cent of the Republicans said that they worked an average of more than twenty hours per month in political activity. Only 14.6 per cent of the Democrats indicated that they put that much time into their position as committee member. While 22 per cent of the Democrats indicated that they spent less than five hours per month in their role as committee member, only 5 per cent of the Republicans spent such a small amount of time in their positions.

The figures definitely place a particular perspective upon the functions of the members of the state executive committees. The Republicans tend to invest much more time in

their positions than the Democrats. How much more effective they are because of the additional time invested cannot be determined by a mail survey. If the reported facts are accurate, however, it may be concluded that the SREC member is much more willing to contribute his time to party work. Whether this results from more dedication or from an expectation of eventual reward on the part of Republican members cannot be determined. The average Republican member, however, is definitely more highly motivated to expend more time and effort for his party than the Democratic member is. Computed on the basis of a forty-hour workweek, over 42 per cent of the Republican members spend at least one-eighth of their time in party work each month.

Republican members tend to have more contact with county party leaders than Democratic members. Of the responding Republican members, 73 per cent indicated that they "often" were in contact with county party leaders in their districts. Only 56 per cent of the Democrats selected "often" to indicate the frequency of contact with county party leaders. While 17 per cent of the Republicans reported "frequent" contact with county party leaders, 29 per cent of the Democrats indicated "frequent" contact. The fact that 13 per cent of the Democrats reported that they "rarely" were in contact with county party leaders is notable. Only 4.9 per cent of the Republicans indicated "rarely" as their choice.

Likewise, the Republicans tend to have more frequent contact with state GOP leaders than the Democrats have with their state leaders. Eighty-six per cent of the Republicans and twenty-seven per cent of the Democrats reported that they "often" were in contact with their state party leaders. Forty-eight per cent of the responding Republicans and forty-three per cent of the Democrats indicated "frequent" contact with state party leaders. Republicans clearly seem to lead Democrats when it comes to investing time and energy for connections with higher and lower echelon party leaders. As might be expected, however, the Democrats did lead the Republicans in frequency of contact with legislators. Of the Democrats responding, 84 per cent reported "often" or "frequent" contact with legislators. Only 50 per cent of the responding Republicans indicated "frequent" contact; however, 54 per cent of the Republicans either failed to answer the question or responded "never." After all, there are only ten Republicans in both houses of the state legislature.

There were several categories in which to classify responses to the question "what do you consider to be your most important task as a committee member?" Table XII reveals the general categories and the responses in each category.

Three categories, including promotion of party organization and philosophy, raising funds, and making Texas a two-party state, received over 87 per cent of the Republican

responses. The three categories only received 53.8 per cent of the Democratic responses. The categories selected most often by Democratic respondents were promotion of party organization and philosophy, raising funds, and communication between the state and local levels of party organization. It is notable that members of both committees tended to place their emphasis upon basically the same areas of responsibility, especially "party organization" and "fund raising."

TABLE XII  
PRIMARY FUNCTIONS OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

CLASSIFICATION	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRATIC	
	N	%*	N	%*
RAISE FUNDS	11	28.2	8	20.5
RECRUIT CANDIDATES	4	10.3	..	...
BUILD TWO-PARTY STATE	11	28.2	..	...
COMMUNICATION	8	20.5	7	17.9
PROMOTE PARTY CANDIDATES AND CAMPAIGN	4	10.3	4	10.3
PROMOTE PARTY ORGANI- ZATION AND PHILOSOPHY	12	30.8	13	33.3
POLICY SETTING	3	7.8	3	7.8
REPRESENTING DISTRICT	2	5.1	5	12.8
UNIFY DISTRICT	..	...	4	10.3
PATRONAGE	1	2.6	..	...
OTHER	2	5.1	7	17.9

\*The figures will not necessarily add to 100 per cent since several of the members listed more than one important function.

Other functions also received a considerable amount of emphasis. The Republicans listed three functions that the Democrats did not list--recruitment of candidates, building a two-party state in Texas, and aiding the distribution of patronage. It is significant that 10.3 per cent of the Republicans listed candidate recruitment as a primary function while no Democrat listed it as a function. It is understandable that Republicans would be anxious to make Texas a two-party state. That is the only way that the Republican Party of Texas will ever share the powers of government with the Democrats. The Democrats, on the other hand, were relatively unconcerned about the need for a "two-party system" in Texas.

An equal percentage of the members of both parties (7.8 per cent) listed policy setting as the most important function. Representation of the district was more important in the Democratic Party. Of the Democrats responding, 12.8 per cent selected "representing district" as their most important function. Democrats were also more concerned about "unification of party" than were the Republicans. Ten per cent of the Democrats indicated that they thought unification to be their most important task.

#### Profile of "Typical" Committee Member

Much evidence has been presented in this chapter which should demonstrate that the members of the two committees are quite similar in many respects, e. g., in their initial motivation to enter politics. While it is difficult to draw

conclusions from data regarding the committee members selected in one year, a fair picture of the average committee of 1968 - 1969 has been presented.

There was little difference in the motives of committee members for initial entry into politics between the two parties. The Republicans were strongly motivated by a desire to influence the policies of government. While Democrats were also strongly influenced by the same reason, they tended to have more varied reasons for initial entry into politics than their Republican counterparts. Overall, the differences between Republicans and Democrats were differences of degree, not of substance.

The average GOP member may fit well in the Democratic ranks insofar as biographical characteristics are concerned. The members of both organizations are generally white, married, Protestant, well-educated, possess a college education, approximately forty years of age, from an urban district, and native to Texas. While the average Democrat is slightly better educated, younger, and more likely to be born in Texas than the average Republican, the differences are not significant.

Just as the Democratic committee members tend to be wealthier than their Republican counterparts, they are more likely to receive the bulk of family income from legal practice, and Republicans are more likely to be associated with an oil-related occupation or with ranching or farming.

The average Democratic committee member has less service on the state executive committee than the average Republican. Democratic turnover is much higher than Republican turnover, due probably to the difference in the positions of the two parties in state politics. The average GOP committee member tends to spend much more time engaged in political activity than does his Democratic counterpart. The Republicans make considerably more effort to maintain close contact with local and state party leaders than do the Democrats. Democrats, however, usually have more governmental or political experience.

Finally, the typical committee member is likely to see his role primarily as one of raising funds and promoting party organization and philosophy. Republicans differed from Democrats in that they emphasized more strongly their role in building a two-party state in Texas and recruiting candidates. Democrats were more concerned with the unification of the party.

The committee member in his role as a fund-raiser, a recruiter of candidates for the party, or a policy-maker, needs much assistance in putting into effect the decisions made by his committee. Both parties in Texas employ professional staff to aid in the implementation of party policies and to serve the needs of the state executive committee. The next chapter will attempt to evaluate the use of staff by the political parties in Texas.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE USE OF PROFESSIONAL STAFF BY THE STATE PARTY ORGANIZATION

Most political party organizations require the services of trained professional staff. Needs vary from state-to-state and from organization-to-organization, and the "professional staff" may range from a part-time secretary in some less politically developed (or less politically competitive) states to a full-time staff of approximately seventy-five to one hundred on a permanent basis on the national level.<sup>1</sup> Each party organization, dependent upon the political environment, will normally have need of some professional services.

Little is known regarding the use of professional staff in the American parties at the state level. Indeed, much remains to be studied in the realm of national party politics. It may be safe, however, to use information available regarding staff organization of the national party organization as a large-scale model of the use of staff by the average

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<sup>1</sup>The Democratic National organization averaged 71 staff members in the "off-years" of 1957, 1961, and 1963; and 246 staff members in the election years of 1956, 1960, 1962, and 1964. The Republican organization averaged 99 and 330 staff members respectively, with a high of 608 in 1964. Hugh A. Bone, American Politics and the Party System, 3rd ed. (New York, 1965), p. 193.

state party. Both national parties have a full-time chairman and large staffs to aid them in their party's work. The responsibility for the staff rests with the chairman. It is common for the number of staff members to increase immediately before a national convention and to decrease immediately afterward. The functional divisions within the national party's staff organization reflects the concerns of the party. Normally, the staff is centered in the following areas: (1) research, (2) organization, (3) public relations, (4) administration, (5) campaign and party organization, (6) patronage, (7) field services, (8) regional concerns, (9) press, publication, and television, (10) finance, and (11) several special party activities concerning voter development of minorities, youth, women, and special interest groups. Although on a much smaller scale, staff organizations in the states tend to follow the same functional categories.

Few works are available on the staff organization of state parties. As Bernard Hennessy pointed out, "of the personnel of American political parties we know least of all, probably, about the professional staff member."<sup>2</sup> That is a deficiency that this study can begin to remedy--at least insofar as Texas is concerned.

The professional in state party organization was studied in 1960 by Roland H. Ebel, who used as a research tool a

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<sup>2</sup>Bernard C. Hennessy, "On the Study of Party Organization," in William J. Crotty, ed., Approaches to the Study of Party Organization (Boston, 1968), p. 23.

questionnaire which he sent to the state chairmen of the Republican Party and of the Democratic Party in each of the states and territories of the United States.<sup>3</sup> He attempted to represent in the study the ". . . more or less permanent staff structure, rather than the ad hoc professionalization of political parties that occurs the few months before a general election."<sup>4</sup>

Ebel found great variances in the numbers of staff members used by each of the state parties. The size of the staff organization in 1959 ranged from no staff attached to the state committee to a well-developed staff in some states. Neither of Nevada's parties used any staff while New York's Republican organization used thirty full-time professionals on a permanent basis. He concluded that "size of staff, however, isn't the only differentiating factor. Party organizations differ in the functions they hire staff personnel to perform."<sup>5</sup> Some parties may limit their staff functions to secretarial help or clerical aid, while others use trained lawyers, public relations specialists, journalists, and many other professional specialties to perform the functions deemed necessary.

As could be expected, the most frequently reported staff position was that of "general executive, a term employed to

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<sup>3</sup>Roland H. Ebel, The Political Professional: Summary of a Study of the Permanent Staff of Political Parties in the United States (East Lansing, Michigan, 1960).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-2.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

designate such positions as party executive director, executive secretary, or administrative assistant to the state chairman."<sup>6</sup> Certain key staff positions, such as field organization, public relations, research, and finance, were not distributed evenly over the entire nation. Such activities were concentrated in the Middle-Atlantic and Central states.<sup>7</sup>

Where public relations staffs were used, forty-seven per cent of the staff assigned to public relations and research was reported by the Democratic Party. The Republican organization, however, bolstered its public relations staff by employing public relations or advertising firms on a year-around basis. Eighty-five per cent of the Republican state chairmen reported the use of such firms, while only fifty-six per cent of the Democrats employed professional advertising firms.

The statistics that Ebel compiled regarding the use of certain staff functions according to geographic region of the nation are quite interesting, although incomplete and possibly outdated. In 1959, however, Ebel found that the Middle-Atlantic area accounted for "... 69 per cent of all public relations personnel, 54 per cent of all research personnel, 74 per cent of all personnel engaged in field organization, and 61 per cent of all personnel engaged in fund-raising."<sup>8</sup> This situation may be explained in several ways.

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

It may be supposed, although Ebel did not demonstrate this conclusively, that the more highly professionalized parties are from the wealthier states and those where competition between parties is greater. The parties are located in highly competitive states; therefore, the available financial resources are required for the maintenance of a professional staff to gain or maintain political office.

There is a fairly widespread practice of state party organizations hiring full-time administrators or general executives, which may well have a salutary effect on the American party system in a variety of ways. Ebel pointed out that the use of full-time administrators may ". . . tend to increase the professional character of the entire staff organization." The administrator will by necessity become more professional and experienced and will appreciate the necessity of recruiting other professionals.<sup>9</sup> The use of administrators ". . . will enable parties to operate more adequately on a year-around basis."<sup>10</sup> "It may well place in positions of influence people who, because of their long association with the party and their psychological identification with it, will tend to be issue-oriented . . ." instead of maintaining the party position for a particular faction.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the use of a full-time administrator may revitalize the minority party in one-party states.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

Ebel found that parties in the Southern states " . . . had the highest incidence of organizations without any professional staff."<sup>12</sup> It should be remembered also that the Southern states are one-party states. Often, the professional staff work is done by the staff of individual candidates rather than by party staff. Ebel determined that the minority party in such states normally did not have the resources nor the inclination to hire professional staff. Consequently, one-party states tend to have lower professionalization figures than any other region. It may be concluded from this that the less competitive states do not feel the need for staff aid as much as more competitive states. On the other hand, it would seem logical that the minority party in such states would attempt to fully utilize professional staff to build its position in the state. Much organization and planning is necessary for a minority party in a one-party state to achieve even meager rewards in regard to local, state, and national office. It is in keeping with the hypothesis stated earlier in this study that the "out-party" in a one-party state such as Texas will tend to employ more staff people than the "in-party" because it is involved in the process of getting into power.

#### The Use of Professional Staff in Texas

Texas political parties may well demonstrate the hypothesis that the "out-party" will concentrate its resources

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

in a professional staff. Certainly, even by casual comparison, the Republican Party of Texas has concentrated much more of its resources into professional staff than has its Democratic counterpart. Indeed, the Republican state headquarters occupies a commodious suite of offices that covers most of one floor and part of another floor of the Littlefield Building in Austin, Texas. On the other hand, the Democratic organization is rather spartanly officed in a portion of one floor of the Brown Building in Austin. Nevertheless, both organizations appear to have enough space for the number of personnel employed.

#### The Staff Organization of the Republican Party

Staff members of any organization, especially those of a political party organization, normally operate under the philosophy of the organization. In Texas, the Republican organization apparently is based on the philosophy that the American political power base is shifting from the federal government to the states.<sup>13</sup> Since the states are unprepared to handle many of the problems, the parties must develop positions and policies on the many issues, and must attempt to lead the states toward the solution of their problems. The successful party organization must make effective use of professional staff to prepare itself for the assumption of state leadership.

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<sup>13</sup>Interview with John Stokes, Executive Director of the Republican Party of Texas, in Austin, Texas, October 9, 1968.

The Republican Party of Texas is the minority party. Some inroads into politics in the state, however, have been made. The eventual goal of the party is similar to that of any other party organization--to capture control of the political apparatus of the state government. The Republicans have concluded that organization is necessary to accomplish such a task; therefore, the party has concentrated much of its resources in a massive effort to win control of state government in Texas.

The Republican state headquarters was organized in the early 1960's in Houston, Texas.<sup>14</sup> It was soon moved to Austin in order to be near the seat of government. In the early stages, the headquarters was very small, occupying only a small office and employing only a few full-time employees--primarily secretarial and clerical. The headquarter's staff by 1968 had grown to approximately forty members,<sup>15</sup> including some part-time employees, in addition to many volunteers.

The Republican staff organization is organized by function and is quite well developed. The functional divisions, as shown in Figure One, include the following: (1) Executive Director, (2) Finance Division, (3) Research Division, (4) Public Relations Division, (5) Organizational Division, (6) Special Voter Groups Division, including Latin-American Voters, Negro Voters, Women's Federation, and Young Republicans, (7) Mailing and Printing Division, and (8) State-Wide Candidates Coordinating Committee (during election years).<sup>16</sup>

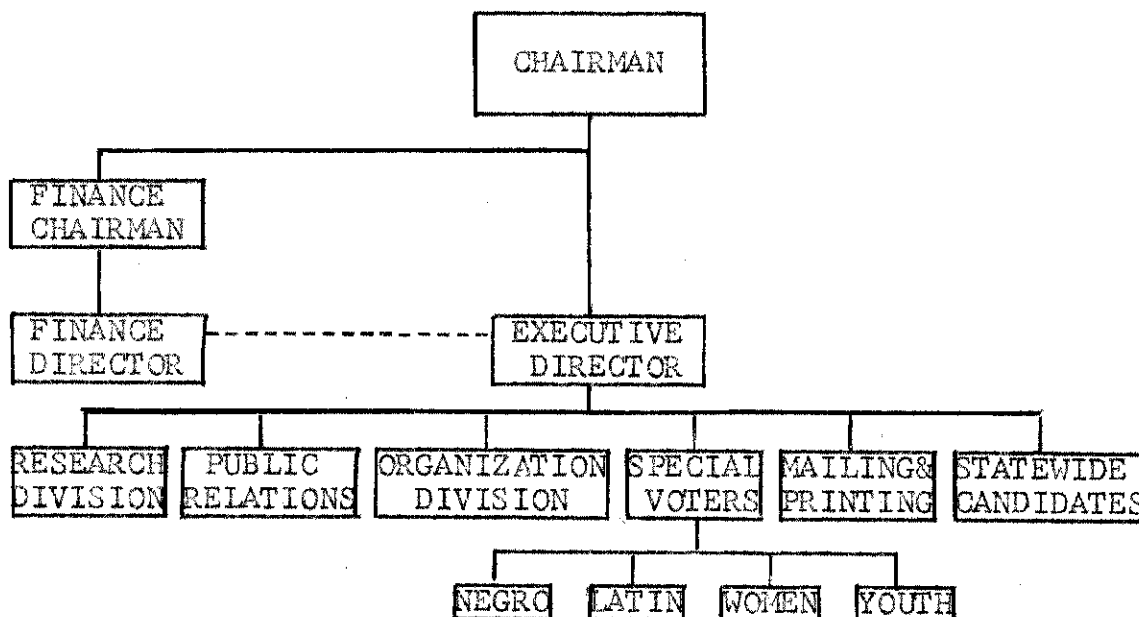
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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

FIGURE I  
REPUBLICAN STAFF ORGANIZATION IN TEXAS



The Executive Director.--The Executive Director of the Republican Party is appointed by the State Chairman, with the approval of the State Republican Executive Committee (the SREC), and serves at his discretion. The Director has a great deal of latitude in determining how he should direct his office and the professional staff that are placed under his control.<sup>17</sup> The position of Director is actually a "semi-official" position in the party. In theory, it is merely an administrative post subject to the constant policy direction

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<sup>17</sup>This freedom was probably enhanced in Stokes' case because Peter O'Donnell, the Chairman of the SREC, lived in Dallas while the state headquarters was located in Austin. Interview with Stokes, October 9, 1968; also, interview with Lewis Berry, Director of the Research Division of the Republican Party of Texas, in Austin, Texas, August 5, 1968.

of the SREC. In effect, however, the Executive Director is the "boss" of the party, although not in the traditional sense of the word "boss." His responsibility is to see that the official program of the party is administered. Since it is quite difficult for the SREC to set policy on every issue, the Director has considerable power in determining the policy of the party in many situations. The entire party below the Chairman looks to the Director as the "boss."<sup>18</sup> Even the Chairman relies upon his services for many matters, from the pursuit of a charge of voting fraud against the opposition party to arranging hotel and parade accommodations for Texas Republicans for the inauguration of a Republican President. Since the responsibility of the Executive Director involves the administration of all aspects of the party's program, it is necessary to consider each division and function separately to better understand the staff organization.

The Finance Division.--The Finance Division occupies an important position in the structure of the party. The staff organization of this Division is semi-autonomous from the remainder of the professional organization, with the Executive Director of the Texas Republican Finance Committee being responsible directly to the State Finance Chairman and ultimately to the State Chairman. In effect, the Finance Director and his staff administers the party's financial policy set by the Committee or by the State Finance Chairman.

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<sup>18</sup>Interview with Stokes, October 9, 1968.

The Director's staff usually includes an Assistant Director and secretarial help, with a comptroller being added during campaign periods.<sup>19</sup>

The function of the Finance Division is basically three-fold: it initiates the budget of the Party, manages its funds, and attempts to attract the massive amount of contributions that are necessary for the successful operation of the party.<sup>20</sup> The Finance Committee through its professional staff serves as the fund-raising arm for the Party in Texas. The Executive Director often travels throughout the state helping county party leaders organize campaigns for party finance and conducting workshops to better prepare local party officials to attract campaign contributions. Local party leaders are also advised on the following matters: methods of organizing fund-raising activities (such as dinners and receptions); organization of fund-raising committees; recruitment of leadership; prospecting for potential contributors; budgeting; laws regarding political contributions; and how the county's quota is determined.

In addition to working with local organizations, the Finance Division solicits funds on its own. It makes use of lengthy mailing lists of persons that are potential contributors, often mailing directly to the prospective contributors

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<sup>19</sup>Interview with Paul Desrochers, Executive Director of the Finance Committee of the Republican Party of Texas, in Austin, Texas, December 17, 1968.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

and asking for a specified sum. In 1966, that approach was quite successful in providing funds for the state organization for incumbent John Tower's race for the United States Senate. According to the Republican headquarters, over 30,000 people each gave ten dollars to the campaign.

The Research Division.--The Research Division normally maintains a full-time staff of four--a Director, an Associate Director, and two secretaries. In addition to the full-time staff, two senior law students are employed on a half-time basis for legal research, and numerous workers are used on a voluntary basis as campaign periods draw near. Normally, the professional staff of the Research Division will have legal or journalistic backgrounds.<sup>21</sup> The division is responsible for keeping up-to-date information regarding the Election Code, requirements for certification of candidates, ballot security programs, and general campaign information. This information is printed and distributed to party leaders throughout the state in an effort to insure that all necessary legal procedures are followed in the preparation of the party's candidates for the campaign. The research service is invaluable in that respect since it would be a great burden on county party leaders to attempt to determine the laws regarding elections and to attempt to keep abreast of changes in electoral law. The Research Division provides such services for the local parties at a reasonable cost to the Party.

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<sup>21</sup>Interview with Stokes, October 9, 1968.

The Research Division also aids the candidates of the Republican Party. During campaigns, speech notes are prepared for candidates for office, particularly for those seeking legislative offices.<sup>22</sup> The reference notes or speech notes may provide facts regarding certain issues or may point out mistakes of one's opponent. The Party, through the Research Division, utilized a "Task Force" in 1968 for studying the many problems facing the state and for helping Republican candidates become more familiar and conversant about those problems considered in the report.<sup>23</sup> The effect of the report upon setting a uniform policy for the Party on certain key issues has not been assessed.

Another function of the Research Division is to analyze the number of votes needed to win office. The staff must compile the vote quotas on the basis of past performance in the counties and precinct-by-precinct analysis of voting returns. With a minimum goal in mind, the county leaders can set out to secure a prescribed minimum number of votes. In accomplishing its goal, the Research Division uses past voting records, polls, registration figures, and average turnout figures. The program is somewhat scientifically conducted and provides a valuable service to county party leaders.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Interview with Berry, August 5, 1968.

<sup>23</sup>Interview with Stokes, October 9, 1968.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with Berry, August 5, 1968.

The Research Division is also responsible for aiding the Republican members of the Legislature. In the 60th Texas Legislature (1967), the division provided Republican legislators with research data and bill drafting services. In addition, plans are being made to expand legislative services as more Republicans are elected.<sup>25</sup>

The Public Relations Division.--The Public Relations Division of the Party normally maintains a staff of four--a Director, an Assistant Director, and two secretaries. This group handles the official publicity of the party and attempts to present the party and its candidates in the best light possible. It is responsible for a monthly newsletter, the Texas Republican. Because of the nature of the work, persons with newspaper experience are normally employed. Interestingly enough, the newspaper background of staff members is useful in establishing rapport with the press and maintaining good relations with the news media. An example of good public relations might be the treatment of the press at the Republican State Convention in Fort Worth, Texas, on September 17, 1968. The reporters were provided with a spacious room, a bar, tickets to the various festive functions, and refreshments.

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<sup>25</sup>In conjunction with the Party's interest in the legislature, the part-time law students in the Research Division are engaged in the process of developing a complex electronic data-processing system to prepare roll-call analysis of legislative votes. Interview with Stokes, October 9, 1968.

As a result of this treatment, the party expected to receive kind treatment in press commentaries.<sup>26</sup>

The Organizational Division.--The Organizational Division is one of the most important divisions of the Republican staff organization. The state is divided into five regions for administrative purposes. In each of the regions there are several honorary positions: a Deputy State Chairman, a Deputy State Vice-Chairman, and a Deputy State Finance Chairman. Also in each of the five regions is a "field man" that operates out of the party headquarters in Austin. These professional staff members of the Organizational Division are responsible for travelling about their districts to the various county units trying to maintain contact and good relations with the county party leaders; their efforts are coordinated by the Director of the Organizational Division in Austin. Their primary functions are to assist local leaders in campaign organization and management, in methods of contacting voters or potential voters, and in raising funds for party operational and campaign costs.<sup>27</sup>

Republican "field men" normally have a bachelor's degree and are compatible with the area in which they will serve. For instance, a "field man" with a Latin-American background

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<sup>26</sup>Interview with Stokes, October 9, 1968.

<sup>27</sup>Interview with Buddy Beck, Director of the Organizational Division of the Republican Party of Texas, in Austin, Texas, November 18, 1968.

will usually be assigned to the Rio Grande area, and persons assigned to rural or farming areas should be familiar with farmers and their problems.<sup>28</sup>

The number of "field men" in the districts varies according to the proximity of an election. In such a large state as Texas, five men are inadequate to perform the job. In 1966, therefore, the party employed five extra "field men" to help rally support for John Tower's race for the United States Senate, and again, in 1968, the regular "field men" were supplemented by five staff members from the Nixon presidential campaign organization.<sup>29</sup>

The "field men" of the Organizational Division concentrate their activities in seven steps related to persuading potential Republican voters into registering to vote and, then, voting. The county party organization is organized to carry out each step of the seven-part process. It is the responsibility of the field men to insure that each step is carried out in their districts. Normally, the process begins approximately one year before an election. The first function to be accomplished is voter registration, in which the party concentrates its activities in localities that have traditionally returned a large percentage of Republican votes. An attempt is made to educate the public, or a particular public, as to the mode of registering to vote in each county. The second step of the

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

process is the maintenance of voting records in each county. Voter registration is checked on a precinct basis and the names are filed for future reference. The third step involves canvassing the precincts and actually contacting the voters. The fourth step involves an appeal to the undecided voter by means of a letter written especially for him and by personal contact if possible. The absentee voter is the object of the fifth step. Republicans believe that they can capture most of the absentee ballots in most elections. The ballot security program is worked out on the local level in conjunction with the state ballot security plan as step six. The seventh step is the preparation of a "turn out the vote drive."<sup>30</sup>

The field men in each district or region must help prepare local party leaders to implement the seven-part plan. Committees are appointed to carry out the seven functions on both the local and state levels. While the committee members on the local level are crucial to the fulfillment of the program, much organizational aid is needed and supplied by the Organizational Division, and the field men are in daily contact with the Director of the Organizational Division so that the programs may be coordinated throughout the state.

The dispersion of field men into the five regions of Texas gives the Republican Party a great deal of flexibility in adapting to the people of the areas served. The field men must attempt to convince county chairmen to conform to

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

the party's program through persuasion and can often "remind" the county chairman of the desirability of meeting his county's budgeted quota.<sup>31</sup>

Special voter divisions.--Certain members of the staff of the Republican Party are organized according to special voter groups. The party has a Latin-American Voter Division, a Negro Voter Division, a Republican Women's Federation, and a Young Republican Division. Each of the divisions has a full-time director and a half-time secretary. Funds are provided by the party's budget for these activities. The functions of these divisions are obvious: to attract support for party candidates from each voter group through an organization specifically aimed at these groups. Predictably, the Director of the Latin-American Division is a Latin-American and the Director of the Negro Voter Division is a Negro.<sup>32</sup>

Mailing and printing.--The last major division of the Republican Party is the Mailing and Printing Division. Its staff consists of one Director, one secretary, and as many part-time employees as are necessary to accomplish the work needed to be done. Of course, the number of employees varies according to the proximity of an election.

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<sup>31</sup>Interview with Beck, November 18, 1968.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

Specialized staff divisions.---During election periods another group of staff personnel are added to the headquarters operation. A campaign staff of five persons, called the State-Wide Candidates Coordinating Committee, is organized in a separate suite of offices to help organize for the purpose of getting candidates for state-wide office elected. The candidates which receive the most attention from the Committee are, of course, the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor.<sup>33</sup>

#### The Staff Organization of the Democratic Party

There is little in the Democratic staff organization that compares with the Republican organization. In numbers and overall functions, the Republicans have obviously invested much more energy and money into their staff than have their Democratic counterparts. As shown in Figure II, the Democratic organization normally operates with a full-time secretary, a part-time organizational director, and one or more part-time employees as they are needed. During campaign periods, the organizational director is employed on a full-time basis; and in such periods, more part-time personnel may be added to the staff. The lines of authority are difficult to assess because of the overall informal nature of the staff organization.

The staff organization of the Democratic organization provides party leaders on the local level with up-to-date

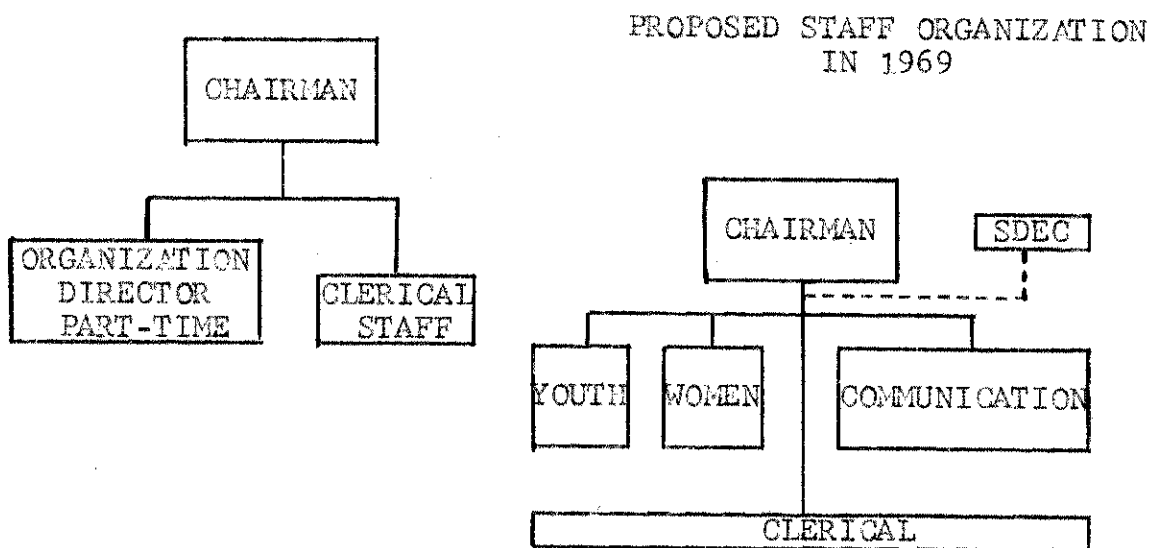
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<sup>33</sup>Interview with Stokes, October 9, 1968.

information regarding election laws, dates of primaries and other elections, and other data through the printing office. The party publishes a magazine, Texas Today, which is sold on a subscription basis primarily to party leaders and members, but to the general public as well.<sup>34</sup>

FIGURE II

## DEMOCRATIC STAFF ORGANIZATION IN TEXAS



The staff may act as a coordinating body for various events of political significance that occur in Texas. It often helps in the arrangement of visits by well-known Democrats to the state and in the planning and organization of fund-raising activities. Rarely does the staff provide direct aid to Democratic candidates in election races against

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<sup>34</sup>Interview with Elmer Baum, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, by the 1968-1969 Texas Legislative Interns, in Austin, Texas, February 5, 1969.

Republicans. Although some campaign organizational aid is given to candidates by the party, there is an insufficient supply of resources and staff to provide the amount or type of aid rendered by the Republican staff to its candidates.

#### The Importance of Professional Staff to Texas Parties

The comparison of the staff organizations of the two parties in Texas may seem somewhat one-sided. However, the amount of money and energy invested into staff by each party merely reflects the political situation in Texas. The Democratic Party has been in solid control of the political process for nearly one hundred years. Democrats have won the vast majority of elections on the local, district, and state levels. Because of the firm entrenchment of the Democrats, there has been little need for the expansion of staff services beyond the present level. When staff services are employed, it normally reflects an attempt of one faction of the Party to maintain control over party machinery.<sup>35</sup>

There has been a slow change in thinking regarding party machinery by the Democratic Party's leaders in recent years. More than ever the Party is attempting to bolster its professional staff. However, even with the addition of a few new staff positions, the Democratic staff does not compare with the Republican staff organization. The full-time personnel

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<sup>35</sup>Interview with United States Representative J. J. Pickle, former Executive Secretary of the SDEC, in Austin, Texas, December 16, 1968.

of the Republican Party numbers approximately twenty-five to thirty staff members. Even when part-time personnel are included, the Democratic staff numbers no more than five members. The Democratic staff does not make use of specialized functional units of staff organization as does its Republican counterpart.

The Democratic Party of Texas conforms to the hypothesis stated in Chapter One that the party that is "in-power" in a one-party state, such as Texas, will not make extensive use of professional staff because it does not see the need to do so. The Republican Party also conforms to the initial hypothesis. As the "out-party" in Texas, the Republicans have made extensive use of professional staff in recent years.

It is difficult to estimate what effect the organization of a professional staff has had upon party fortunes in the Republican Party of Texas. One can, however, point to the increase of Republican office holders in Texas over a period of less than ten years from 1960 until 1969 and to the number of Republican voters in elections in 1966 and 1968. It would be impractical to attribute all of the success of the Republican Party to its use of professional staff. The Republican attack has been a coordinated one, utilizing formal and informal party machinery, professional staff, and the great financial resources at the party's command. Some of the success, however, must be attributed to the efficient use of a staff organization.

Any GOP gain in Texas lessens the dominance of the Democratic Party. The Democrats must eventually face the increased Republican challenges in the form of partisan opposition or its dominant position in the state may become imperiled. Democratic leaders are beginning to realize that the Republican Party is making notable gains in the state through the use of professional staff and is undertaking to expand its own staff. In the past, the Democratic Party has seen itself as the victor in nearly every contest between a Democrat and a Republican. If the Republican Party continues to expand its voter strength, however, the Democratic Party can only be the loser. It has belatedly decided to build its own professional staff and to attempt to protect its position in the state.<sup>36</sup>

In January, 1969, Elmer Baum, the new Chairman of the SDEC, called for the addition of three members to the professional staff of the Democratic state organization. He noted a need to build the Party in Texas and cited three areas where professional help should be utilized. First, a Director of Youth Affairs should be appointed to serve full-time as the coordinator of party activities in regard to young voters and pre-voters. The goal was to attract the young to the Party. Second, a full-time Director of Women's

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<sup>36</sup> Interview with Will Davis, former Chairman of the SDEC, by the 1968-1969 Texas Legislative Interns, in Austin, Texas, December 18, 1968; and, interview with Baum, February 5, 1969.

Affairs was to be appointed to coordinate party activities aimed at Texas women. Third, Baum recommended the appointment of a Communication Division Director to publish the party's magazine, Texas Today, and to help build the party's image in the state.<sup>37</sup> After Baum had gained SDEC approval of the three positions, he appointed three sub-committees to study the respective problems and to hire the Directors needed. Baum also launched an ambitious campaign to raise money to pay for the staff additions beginning with a Victory Dinner in January, 1969, which netted approximately \$100,000 for party coffers.<sup>38</sup>

It is evident that the effective use of professional staff and other tools of party organization by the Republican Party in Texas has evoked a positive response from the Democratic organization. Whether the Democratic response will be effectively or timely remains to be seen.

#### Some Concluding Observations

The purpose of this study has been manifold. The overall goal was to analyze the state executive committees of the two major political parties and to present pertinent facts regarding the membership of the two committees (the policy-

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<sup>37</sup>Interview with Baum, February 5, 1969.

<sup>38</sup>The estimated \$100,000 is based upon Baum's estimate of the number of people that attended the twenty-five dollars per plate dinner, less the estimated cost of the food service and the entertainment.

makers) and the professional staff of the state party organization (the administrators of party policy). Two questions arise in a discussion of conclusions of a study. First, what assumptions or proposals for study were made and, second, what did the study achieve? The purpose of these concluding remarks is to re-present the assumptions and proposals for study and to discuss within the context of each proposal that which the study demonstrated.

Before the achievements of the study are analyzed, however, it is desirable to briefly restate several of the preliminary conclusions regarding the overall organization and function of the state executive committees in Texas. The study provided a brief analysis of the state executive committee system. The analysis of the organization of the two committees revealed two important facts. First, the Republican Party of Texas is much better organized than the Democratic Party and makes effective use of a well-organized chain of command stemming from the office of the state chairman to various regional chairmen. Evidently more energy and money has been invested into the Republican organization than in the Democratic organization. As a result, the Republican Party has begun to produce election victories instead of the seemingly endless chain of electoral losses of the years preceding the 1960's. Second, the Republican Party is constituted as a "partisan," competitive organization while the Democratic organization tends to be "non-partisan." For instance, the Republican Party may be

expected to actively recruit candidates (often from among Democratic officeholders) and to contribute funds to the candidate's campaign. The Democratic Party does not do this. Indeed, since the Democratic organization is the "in-party" in Texas, it has not had to concern itself with candidate recruitment nor with fund-raising on a large scale. The Democratic Party has tended to be "personality" oriented rather than "partisan" oriented. The organization is therefore effectively bypassed for all functions except the provision of the necessary machinery for nomination and election of candidates. Other than providing the bare essentials of electoral machinery, the Democratic Party fails to act as a "party."

It was also determined that the primary function of the state committees was to act as the governing body of the state party while the biennial state party conventions were not in session. The committees in Texas are responsible, by statute, for (1) making arrangements for state conventions, (2) making official certification of candidates for state office, (3) canvassing election returns, and (4) compiling a roster of delegates to the state convention. The overall functions of the state committees and simultaneously of the committee members is the establishment of party policy, conduct party business, fund-raising, representation of the local party at the state level, and, often, recruitment of candidates and party leaders. To effectively carry out the

necessary functions, both parties have need of a considerable amount of financial resources, and both parties make use of a county-quota system to obtain funds.

It was also determined that the power of the chairman of the state executive committee depended upon the power position of the party in the state. For instance, since the Democratic Party is "in-power" in Texas, the Governor of the state may be expected to exercise the dominant power over the Party. The state chairman is selected by the Governor and is responsible to him for any "party" decisions that are made. On the other hand, the chairman of the SREC has no Governor to whom he must answer. The only potential threat to the chairman's dominance of the state party organization is found in United States Senator John Tower and in the Republican national committeeman. In recent years, however, Tower has not seen fit to exercise strong control over the Republican organization.

Other facts were also presented in regard to the organization of the state executive committees. It was determined that the process of selecting committee members varied between the parties. The Republicans were more likely to "recruit" persons to serve as committee members while bitter intra-party fights were common in the selection of Democratic committee members. The process within each party does not always follow the format set out in the Election Code. The applicable statutes, however, provide only a general description of how

members of the state executive committee are to be selected. While Republican committee members were more likely to be "recruited" by state party leadership, they were also more likely to remain on the committee for a longer period of time than their Democratic counterparts. Republican committee membership was considerably more stable than Democratic membership. Over a twenty year period extending from 1948 through 1968, an average of 34.3 per cent of the Democratic committee members were returned to committee membership every biennium. The Republican return rate was considerably higher at 51.9 per cent. A plausible explanation of this difference between the two parties consists in the fact that there is a great deal more competition for committee membership within the Democratic ranks. The membership of the Democratic committee is also regulated to a great extent by the person holding the office of Governor, with the periods of highest turnover occurring when there was a change of incumbents in the governorship.

Several assumptions were made in this study. The material presented indicates that some of the assumptions were warranted. Some, however, were not. Certain differences were expected to exist between the members of the State Democratic Executive Committee and the State Republican Executive Committee due to the different status of the two parties in Texas. Republican members, the "out-party," were expected to participate in politics not so much because they hoped to win office, but

because they wished to express their discontent with the policies of the Democratic Party, the "in-party" in Texas. It is evident by the responses to the questionnaires mailed to committee members that Republican committee members do tend to place more emphasis on "influencing policies of government" than do the Democrats. It may be concluded that, due to the very strong indication by the Republicans that "influencing the policies of government" was their foremost reason for becoming active in politics, Republicans are by and large dissatisfied with the current policies of government in Texas and wish to gain control of state government to put into effect their own policies. While this fact alone does not strictly require such a conclusion, it may be assumed that this judgment is warranted due to the unstructured remarks made on the questionnaire by approximately thirty-two per cent of the Republican respondents.

A factor that cannot be ignored is the fact that the primary reason listed for political activity by Democratic committee members was "influencing the policies of Government" also. It may be pointed out, however, that the Democratic response was not nearly as strong as the Republican response in this category.

In regard to the socio-economic differences between the members of the two party organizations, SREC members were expected to conform to the widespread opinion that Republicans tend to come from upper-income groups and would, therefore,

tend to be wealthier and better educated than their Democratic counterparts. Actually, the distinction between the members of the two committees was the opposite of the original assumption. While both groups had above-average incomes, the Democratic members tended to be wealthier and better educated than the Republicans. There were further differences in the types of occupations listed by the members of the two organizations. The Democrats tended to receive their family income from a legal practice while Republicans tended to be associated with oil related businesses or with ranching or farming.

The Democrats were expected to possess more "political" or governmental experience than the average Republican committee member. It was assumed that Democratic committee members would have closer contact with state governmental leaders because of the fact that Texas is a "one-party" state. Both of these assumptions were demonstrated by the returns of the mail survey. Democrats did tend to have more "political" or governmental experience at all levels of government than the Republicans. The average Republican, on the other hand, tended to spend much more time engaged in carrying out the party's business than the average Democrat. They made considerably more effort to maintain close contact with state and local party leaders than did the Democrats. It was concluded that the reason for this phenomenon was the overwhelming dominance of politics in Texas by the Democratic

Party which has forced Republicans to do more to achieve the victories that their party needs.

Another assumption involved the relationship between the power position of the party in state politics and the amount of professional staff used in the party headquarters. It was assumed that the position of the party, whether it is "in power" or "out of power," determines the amount of professional aid that is used in carrying out the state party's policies. The out-party was expected to make more use of staff people than the "in-party" because the "outs" are involved in the process of getting into power. The Democratic Party of Texas, on the other hand, has won the vast majority of elective offices in Texas and has seen little need to expand its use of professional staff. This assumption appears to be well-founded. The Republican Party employed more staff members and provided for a greater variation of staff resources than the Democratic organization. While the Republican Party made use of well-staffed research, public relations, organizational, special voter, and finance divisions, the Democratic Party made use of a part-time organizational director, secretarial, and clerical help. Without doubt, the Republican staff organization performed many more services for party candidates and other party leaders than the Democratic organization could perform.

Many of the differences that exist between the membership and organization of the two parties in Texas may be

attributed to the divergent status of the parties. Because of the fact that the Democratic Party has been the predominant party in Texas since Reconstruction, it has developed into the type of organization it is today. It is not a "partisan" organization in that it has not, as a party, had to actively contest elections and to seriously defend its position against a Republican threat. How long the Democratic Party can maintain its role as a non-partisan party is debatable. It may be concluded, however, that the Republican Party will continue, through use of efficient organizational techniques and professional staff, to win elections in Texas. Without doubt, any further election victories by the Republicans will develop slowly for they will not overcome overnight a century of Democratic dominance. Any victories that the Republican Party achieves, however, must result in a loss for the Democratic organization. It may be concluded from this that prudence would demand that the Democratic Party make more efficient use of the resources at its command. Whether the Democratic organization will change its overall philosophy and react to the growing threat that the Republican Party poses in Texas is at present an unanswerable question. It is a question, however, that is certain to be answered within the next few years.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE COVER LETTER FOR QUESTIONNAIRES

March 14, 1969

Dear Committeemember:

I am currently working on my Master of Arts degree in Government at North Texas State University. A crucial part of my M. A. work consists of a study I am making regarding the organization and function of the state executive committees of the two major political parties in Texas. I became interested in party organization in Texas and, more specifically in the state executive committees, when I found out how little was known about the committee's organization and purpose.

Such information is needed in order to add to the vast store of knowledge about political parties. Similar studies have been made in other major states, but thus far one has not been made in Texas. This study is, in effect, a first of its kind in Texas. I would like to ask you to participate in this study by taking a few moments of your time to answer the enclosed questionnaire and to mail it to me in the enclosed stamped envelope.

Let me assure you that all information provided will be considered confidential. You are not requested to sign your name to the questionnaire unless you desire to do so. Information, such as names, is not necessary because the background of the "typical" committeemember is the aim of the study.

The information will be used to broaden our knowledge of how parties actually operate. Too often, students are bound to the textbook definition of what a political party is and does. With your cooperation, I hope to gain a realistic view of the party leadership in Texas. I would appreciate your prompt consideration and completion of the questionnaire.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Charles DeWitt Dunn

## APPENDIX B

### SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questionnaire is designed to provide information regarding the characteristics of the committeemembers of the State Executive Committees of the two major political parties in Texas. Your assistance in answering these questions will help in providing a better understanding of the functions of the committees--a matter that is not always understood by the student of political parties. Thank you for your cooperation.

PARTY: \_\_\_\_\_ Democratic Party \_\_\_\_\_ Republican Party

1. SEX: \_\_\_\_\_ Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female

2. AGE: \_\_\_\_\_ 21 - 30  
\_\_\_\_\_ 31 - 40  
\_\_\_\_\_ 41 - 50  
\_\_\_\_\_ 51 - 60  
\_\_\_\_\_ over 60

3. MARITAL STATUS: \_\_\_\_\_ Married \_\_\_\_\_ Single \_\_\_\_\_ Divorced  
\_\_\_\_\_ Widowed

4. RACIAL-ETHNIC BACKGROUND: \_\_\_\_\_ White \_\_\_\_\_ Negro  
\_\_\_\_\_ Latin-American

5. RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE: \_\_\_\_\_

6. EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT:  
\_\_\_\_\_ below grade six \_\_\_\_\_ completed college  
\_\_\_\_\_ grade six - eleven \_\_\_\_\_ graduate work  
\_\_\_\_\_ high school \_\_\_\_\_ graduate degree  
\_\_\_\_\_ one - three years college \_\_\_\_\_ professional degree

7. COLLEGE (S) ATTENDED: (if applicable) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. WERE YOU BORN IN TEXAS? \_\_\_\_\_ yes \_\_\_\_\_ no

9. OCCUPATION: \_\_\_\_\_

10. HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION: (if applicable) \_\_\_\_\_

## 11. ESTIMATED FAMILY INCOME IN 1969:

<u>      </u> under \$5,000	<u>      </u> \$15,000 - \$20,000
<u>      </u> \$5,000 - \$10,000	<u>      </u> \$20,000 - \$25,000
<u>      </u> \$10,000 - \$15,000	<u>      </u> over \$25,000

## 12. ORGANIZATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH:

<u>      </u> Professional organizations	<u>      </u> veteran's group
<u>      </u> labor unions	<u>      </u> business/civic group
<u>      </u> political club	<u>      </u> Parent-Teachers
<u>      </u> fraternal organization	<u>      </u> Association
<u>      </u> church	<u>      </u> League of Women
	<u>      </u> Voters
	<u>      </u> Charitable/Welfare

## 13. APPROXIMATELY WHAT WAS THE AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME OF YOUR PARENTS?

<u>      </u> under \$5,000	<u>      </u> \$15,000 - \$20,000
<u>      </u> \$5,000 - \$10,000	<u>      </u> \$20,000 - \$25,000
<u>      </u> \$10,000 - \$15,000	<u>      </u> over \$25,000

## 14. NUMBER OF YEARS ON COMMITTEE:

<u>      </u> under one	<u>      </u> seven - ten
<u>      </u> one - three	<u>      </u> over ten
<u>      </u> four - six	

## 15. PARTY POSITIONS HELD PRIOR TO COMMITTEE:

       party youth group        years  
       precinct chairman        years  
       precinct convention officer        years  
       county chairman        years  
       county convention delegate        years  
       state convention delegate        years  
       state convention officer        years  
       other state party positions        years  
       national party positions        years  
       none

## 16. ELECTIVE GOVERNMENTAL POSITIONS HELD PRIOR TO/DURING COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP: (Do not include party offices.)

       local office        years  
       state office        years  
       national office        years  
       none

## 17. APPOINTIVE GOVERNMENTAL POSITIONS HELD PRIOR TO/DURING COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP:

       local office        years  
       state office        years  
       national office        years  
       none



30. HOW MUCH CONTACT DO YOU HAVE WITH OTHER STATE LEADERS OF YOUR PARTY?  
       \_\_\_\_\_ Often; \_\_\_\_\_ Frequently; \_\_\_\_\_ Campaign Only;  
       \_\_\_\_\_ Rarely; \_\_\_\_\_ Never
31. DO YOU CONSIDER YOUR DISTRICT TO BE PREDOMINATELY  
       \_\_\_\_\_ URBAN? or  
       \_\_\_\_\_ RURAL?
32. WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE YOUR MOST IMPORTANT TASK AS A COMMITTEEMEMBER?

There are a number of reasons that are often given for why people become active in party work. Taking each reason separately, in explaining why you became active would you say that is (1) very important, (2) important, or (3) unimportant?

- |   | Rating |
|---|--------|
| a. I had a personal friendship for a candidate                                | _____  |
| b. Political work is part of my way of life                                   | _____  |
| c. I am strongly attached to my political party                               | _____  |
| d. I enjoy the friendships and social contacts I have with other workers      | _____  |
| e. I like the fun and excitement of the campaign contest                      | _____  |
| f. I am trying to build a personal position in politics                       | _____  |
| g. I see campaign work as a way of influencing the policies of government     | _____  |
| h. I like the feeling of being close to people who are doing important things | _____  |
| i. Party work helps to make business contacts                                 | _____  |
| j. Party work helps me fulfill my sense of community obligation               | _____  |
| k. Party work gives me a feeling of recognition in my community               | _____  |

Which one of the following reasons on this short questionnaire do you think best explains why you became active?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

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