



ICPSR
Inter-university Consortium for
Political and Social Research

State Party Organizations, 1960-1980:
[United States]

Volume 3

Survey Instruments

Cornelius P. Cotter, et al.

ICPSR 8281

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STATE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, 1960-1980: [UNITED STATES]
SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

(ICPSR 8281)

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INSTRUCTIONS: Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. Answer each question in the order in which it appears. If you wish to make additional comments on any of the questions please use the space provided at the end of the questionnaire. Your responses are extremely important for understanding party organizations — we greatly appreciate your cooperation!

First, a few questions about the position of State Chairman.

1. Was the job of State Chairman a full or part time position when you had it?

- ☐ 1. full time
☐ 2. part time
☐ 3. state party considered job part time but it was actually full time

2. On the average, approximately how many hours per week did you spend on party work?

_____ hrs. — during elections periods

_____ hrs. — during non-election periods

3. For each of the factors listed below, please indicate whether it was a major factor, a minor factor, or inconsequential in terms of leading you to become a candidate for State Chairman.

- | | 1. Major
Factor | 2. Minor
Factor | 3. Incon-
sequential |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. urged to run by outgoing State Chairman | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. urged to run by other state party leaders | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. urged to run by Governor or Gubernatorial candidate | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. urged to run by other elected official, or candidate | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. other (specify: _____) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

4. Which of the above best describes how you became State Chairman?

_____ (Please use a letter from the list above.)

5. Please rate each of the following in terms of how important it was to your decision to accept the State Chairmanship.

- | | 1. very
important | 2. somewhat
important | 3. unim-
portant |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. I had a personal friendship with a candidate | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Political work is part of my way of life | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. I am strongly attached to my political party | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. I enjoy the friendships and social contacts I have with other
party workers | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. I like the fun and excitement of campaigns | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. I was trying to build a personal position in politics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. Which of the following best describes the office facilities of the State Party headquarters when you were Chairman?

- ☐ 1. separate office building _____
☐ 2. space in an office building
☐ 3. operated out of Chairman's business office
☐ 4. operated out of Chairman's home
☐ 5. other — please describe: _____

Did the Party own or rent/lease the building?

- ☐ 1. own ☐ 2. rent/lease

7. In some states it is customary for the State Party headquarters to move to the home city of a new State Chairman. Was this the practice when you were State Chairman? ☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No

FOR PROJECT
USE ONLY

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14 _____

8. Was the office of State Chairman salaried when you held it?

☐ 1. Yes

☐ 2. No

What was the annual salary?

\$ _____

9. While you were State Chairman did the State Party make contributions to the campaigns of any of the following candidates?

1. Yes 2. No

a. Governor

☐

☐

b. State Constitutional Offices

☐

☐

c. U.S. Representative

☐

☐

d. U.S. Senator

☐

☐

e. State Legislator (either House)

☐

☐

f. County or local offices

☐

☐

10. Please check all of the items below which describe the State Party organization when you were Chairman.

☐ a. held at least one major fund raising event (e.g., a dinner) per year

☐ b. operated a direct mail fund raising program

☐ c. employed a research staff at headquarters

☐ d. employed a public relations director

☐ e. employed an executive director

☐ f. employed a field staff

☐ g. employed a comptroller/bookkeeper

☐ h. conducted campaign seminars for candidates and managers

☐ i. sought to recruit a full slate of candidates at state, congressional and courthouse levels

☐ j. published a party newspaper or magazine

☐ k. operated voter identification programs

☐ l. conducted or commissioned public opinion surveys

Was the position ☐ 1. full time ☐ 2. part time

How many persons? _____

11. Using a typical election year during the period of your Chairmanship, please estimate the size of the State Party's budget and Headquarters staff.

\$ _____ Budget

_____ Full-time staff

_____ Part-time staff

For which year are these estimates? 19 _____

☐ Not applicable: I did not serve during an election year.

12. Please estimate the size of the budget and staff for a typical non-election year during your Chairmanship.

\$ _____ Budget

_____ Full-time staff

_____ Part-time staff

For which year are these estimates? 19 _____

☐ Not applicable: I did not serve during a non-election year.

13. Please list below changes in organization, programs, or staffing which you introduced as State Chairman.

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

14. Prior to 1968/1972 State Chairmen were not automatically members of the National Committee. Were you a member of the National Committee while you were State Chairman? ☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No

15. While you were Chairman did the State Party have a procedure for pre-primary endorsements? Check the statement below which best describes party rule or practice while you were Chairman.

- ☐ 1. pre-primary endorsement **required** by state law
☐ 2. pre-primary endorsement **allowed** by state law
☐ 3. pre-primary endorsement **allowed** by Party rules
☐ 4. pre-primary endorsement **required** by Party rules

Did the Party regularly make endorse-
ments?

- ☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No

16. As State Chairman, how often did you deal with the National Committee on the following types of State Party matters?

1. Regularly 2. Occasionally 3. Never

- a. Federal appointments and patronage
b. Speakers
c. Gaining assistance for state candidates
d. Fund-raising
e. National Convention activities
f. Implementing National Committee programs
(please specify):

- | | 1. Regularly | 2. Occasionally | 3. Never |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Federal appointments and patronage | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Speakers | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Gaining assistance for state candidates | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Fund-raising | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. National Convention activities | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Implementing National Committee programs (please specify): | | | |

i.

☐ ☐ ☐

ii.

☐ ☐ ☐

iii.

☐ ☐ ☐

- g. Other (please specify)

i.

☐ ☐ ☐

ii.

☐ ☐ ☐

17. What was your role as State Chairman in handling federal and state patronage appointments?

A. Federal Appointments (Check **all** that apply.)

- ☐ a. make recommendations
☐ b. check for party affiliation
☐ c. do local approvals/disapprovals
☐ d. not involved in appointments
☐ e. not applicable

B. State Appointments (Check **all** that apply.)

- ☐ a. make recommendations
☐ b. check for party affiliation
☐ c. do local approvals/disapprovals
☐ d. not involved in appointments
☐ e. not applicable

18. Please check the level of your involvement in recruiting candidates for the following offices.

1. Actively Involved 2. Limited Involvement 3. Not Involved

- a. Governor
b. Other State Constitutional Offices
c. U.S. Senator
d. U.S. Congressman
e. State Legislators
f. County and Local Officers

- | | 1. Actively Involved | 2. Limited Involvement | 3. Not Involved |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Governor | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Other State Constitutional Offices | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. U.S. Senator | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. U.S. Congressman | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. State Legislators | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. County and Local Officers | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

19. In a primary fight between two or more candidates for the same nomination, did you feel the State Chairman should become involved?

- ☐ 1. Yes
☐ 2. No

Why did you feel this way? _____

20. What was your attitude toward Party Headquarters staff becoming involved in primary contests?

- ☐ 1. approved
☐ 2. did not approve but permitted
☐ 3. did not permit

15 ____

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41 ____

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44 ____

45 ____

46 ____

47 ____

48 ____

52 _____

Governor was actively involved in party affairs and had great influence on the State Party Organization

56 _____ 57 _____

As Chairman I worked closely and regularly with the Governor to develop issues and influence his programs

55 _____

Comments: _____

58 _____

Congressional delegation was actively involved in Party affairs and had great influence on the State Party Organization

61

As Chairman I worked closely and regularly with the Congressional delegation to develop issues and influence programs

☐ Not applicable: my party did not hold any Congressional seats during my tenure as Chairman.

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64 _____

[illegible]

Legislative leadership was actively involved in Party affairs and had great influence on State Party Organization

67 _____

As Chairman I worked closely and regularly with the State legislative leadership to develop issues and influence programs

70 _____

[illegible]

Responsive to State Party — accepted advice and direction

80 2

6 _____

7. _____

7. _____

9

10_____

100

11_____

12_____

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

13_____

- 14 _____ 15 _____

16

17 18

19 20

21 _____

☐ a small proportion of the delegation
☐ I was not involved in delegate selection
☐ Not applicable

22 _____

23 _____

24 _____

25 _____

26 _____

27 _____

28 _____

29 _____

30 _____

31 _____

32 _____ 33 _____

34 _____

35 _____

36 _____

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42 _____

45 _____

48 _____ 49 _____

50 _____

51 _____

52 _____ 53 _____

54 _____ 55 _____

31. Please check below if the State Party Organization participated in any of the following activities with the County Party organizations. (Check all that apply.)

- ☐ a. Shared mailing lists of contributors and members
- ☐ b. Conducted joint fund raising programs
- ☐ c. Cooperated in recruiting or checking on patronage appointments
- ☐ d. Participated in joint get-out-the-vote drives
- ☐ e. Participated in joint registration drives
- ☐ f. Other joint activities →

Please specify: _____

For each of the following statements, please indicate whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with the point of view stated.

32. Good party leaders must support any candidate nominated by the party even if they basically disagree with the candidate.

- ☐ 1. agree strongly
- ☐ 2. agree
- ☐ 3. disagree
- ☐ 4. disagree strongly

33. Controversial positions should be avoided in a party platform in order to insure party unity.

- ☐ 1. agree strongly
- ☐ 2. agree
- ☐ 3. disagree
- ☐ 4. disagree strongly

34. A gubernatorial candidate should not compromise on basic values even if such compromise is necessary to win.

- ☐ 1. agree strongly
- ☐ 2. agree
- ☐ 3. disagree
- ☐ 4. disagree strongly

35. There is a lot of speculation these days concerning the state of political parties and their future. From your experience, how would you evaluate the strength of your Party in your State today compared to 5-10 years ago?

- ☐ 1. significantly stronger
- ☐ 2. somewhat stronger
- ☐ 3. little change
- ☐ 4. somewhat weaker
- ☐ 5. significantly weaker

We would like to conclude with a few questions about your background.

36. What is your age? _____ years old.

37. What is your sex? ☐ 1. Female ☐ 2. Male

38. What is your race? _____

39. What is your principal occupation or profession? That is, besides political work, what sort of work do you do?

Please be as specific as possible. _____

40. What was your father's principal occupation or profession? _____

41. Where were you born? _____

42. Where were you mostly raised? _____

43. What is your religious preference? _____

44. How active in politics were your parents?

- ☐ 1. extremely active
- ☐ 2. very active
- ☐ 3. not very active
- ☐ 4. inactive

45. Please indicate the highest level of formal education you have completed:

- ☐ 1. grade school
- ☐ 2. high school
- ☐ 3. some college
- ☐ 4. undergraduate degree →
- ☐ 5. graduate degree →

field: _____

field: _____

46. Prior to becoming Chairman did you

A. Hold any other party offices?

- ☐ 1. Yes
☐ 2. No

Which office(s)? _____

B. Hold any elected public offices?

- ☐ 1. Yes
☐ 2. No

Which office(s)? _____

C. Have you ever run for public office?

- ☐ 1. Yes
☐ 2. No

Which office(s)? _____

47. Please describe your political and professional career after your service as State Chairman. (Check all that apply)

- ☐ 1. Ran for public office. → Please specify: _____
☐ 2. Held any elected public office. → Please specify: _____
☐ 3. Appointed to a governmental position. → Please specify: _____
☐ 4. Continued to be active in Party activities. If you held another party office, → Please specify: _____
☐ 5. Resumed or continued my professional career. → Please specify: _____
☐ 6. Embarked on a new professional career. → Please specify: _____
☐ 7. Retired

48. Do you find the terms **liberal** and **conservative** useful in thinking about political issues?

- ☐ 1. Yes

Which of the points on the scale below best characterizes you?

- ☐ 1. very liberal
☐ 2. liberal
☐ 3. somewhat liberal
☐ 4. moderate, middle of the road
☐ 5. somewhat conservative
☐ 6. conservative
☐ 7. very conservative

- ☐ 2. No

How would you characterize your political philosophy?

49. Please indicate whether you have ever been a delegate or alternate to a National Convention by writing the year in the appropriate space.

Delegate

19 ____
19 ____
19 ____
19 ____
19 ____
19 ____

Alternate

19 ____
19 ____
19 ____
19 ____
19 ____
19 ____

☐ I have never been a delegate

☐ I have never been an alternate

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56 ____
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THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION!

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

ICPSR #8281 - part two
State Chairman Questionnaire

Cover Sheet

NAME: _____

STATE: _____

PARTY: _____

Date of interview: _____

Time interview began: _____

Time interview ended: _____

Place of interview: _____

Co-investigators:

John F. Bibby, Cornelius P. Cotter, James L. Gibson
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Robert J. Huckshorn
Florida Atlantic University

Most students and commentators on American politics have tended to ignore political parties as institutions or organizations. That is, they have commented on the electoral strength of parties, but have little information or knowledge concerning the "nuts and bolts" of party activity and operations. The purpose of our study is to provide an accurate picture of the condition of American parties by an in depth study of national and state party committees.

I would therefore like to ask you some questions concerning your party activity, the work of this committee and your relations with other elements of the party. We are also interested in your attitudes toward party activities.

We understand that party business is sensitive, and therefore we assure you that your responses to questions will be handled in confidence and that your identity will not be divulged. Of course, we will break off the interview at any point that you might wish to withdraw, and we will respect your preference not to respond to any questions that we might ask.

Because this study deals with the strength and future of party organizations in the United States, our findings may be of interest to you and we would be pleased to provide you with a copy of our findings when the study is completed. We intend to publish the results of the study in academic publications.

We would be pleased to answer any questions you have concerning the nature of this project.

If the project and the procedures outlined meet with your approval, we would like to proceed with the interview. Should you have any complaints concerning this study they may be addressed to:

Dr. William K. Hoffman
Institutional Review Board for Protection of Human Subjects
Graduate School
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
P.O. Box 413
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 54201 (414) 963-5120

(A description of the project with the address of Professor Hoffman will be given to each respondent.)

Respondents will also be given an opportunity to ask questions concerning the study at the end of interviews.

When mail questionnaires are used, a more detailed description of the project will be included at the beginning, including a statement that completion of the questionnaire constitutes informed consent.

When the questionnaires for use in elite interviews and mail surveys have been developed, the investigators will submit them to the Institutional Review Board.

1.

1. [7] Does the state committee consider the job of state chairman to be a full or part time position?

___ 1. full time

___ 2. part time

___ 3. state party considers part time, actually full time

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

2. [8] On the average, approximately how many hours per week do you spend on party work?

In a campaign period

___ hrs.

98. don't know

99. no answer

In a non-campaign period

___ hrs.

3. [5] How did you get the job of state chairman?

3A. Did the governor or gubernatorial candidate play a role in your selection?

4. [6] What do you view as the most attractive aspects of the position?

5. [9] Is a salary associated with the office of state chairman?

___ 1. yes (GO TO 5A)

___ 2. no (GO TO 5C)

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

5A.[9A] How much is the salary per year?

5B.[9B] Do you know when the state chairman first began receiving an annual salary? _____

5C. . Has the position ever been salaried? yes___ no___

If yes, why was the salary eliminated?

We are interested in how the state party relates to candidates. For example,

6. [16] Could you tell us the amount of money provided to these candidates by the state party in the last election? (Aggregate)

a. Gubernatorial Candidate _____

b. Candidates for State Constitutional Offices _____

c. Congressional Candidates _____

d. U.S. Senatorial Candidates _____

e. State Legislative Candidates _____

f. other candidates _____

9999998. don't know

9999999. no answer

7. [17] Who decides which candidates receive the money?

8. [25] Does your state party have either a formal or informal procedure for pre-primary endorsements?

yes -- formal _____

yes -- informal _____

no _____

9. [73] In a primary fight between two or more candidates for the same nomination, do you feel the state chairman should become involved?

___ 1. yes

___ 2. no

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

10. [74] What about the state headquarters staff people? Do you think that the staff should become involved?

___ 1. yes

What is your reasoning? _____

___ 2. no

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

11. [25] How is the decision to endorse made?

12. [29] Do the endorsed candidates win? _____

13. What usually happens to unendorsed candidates?

In some states the state party plays a very active role in the recruitment of candidates while in others the role is minimal. We would like to know about your role in the recruitment, and screening, of candidates.

14. [32] For instance, would you describe to me the state party's role in the recruitment and screening of candidates for

a. Governor _____

b. State Constitutional Offices _____

c. U.S. Senate _____

d. U.S. Congress _____

e. State Legislature (probe for proportion of the last state legislative elections where chairman or party organization was involved)

f. county or local offices _____

15. [35] We are also interested in your relationship with the National Committee and your involvement with its activities. As a member of the National Committee, what are the principal activities that you get involved in?

___ member of committee(s) (Specify:)

___ attends most meetings

___ attends few meetings

16. [36] On what types of state party matters do you deal with the National Committee?

Activity

Frequency

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

17. [37] Are there programs or activities within your state that have been implemented because of National Committee recommendations or financial support?

___ 1. yes, on recommendation

Could you give me examples of such programs?

___ 2. yes, financial support

___ 3. yes, both

___ 4. no

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

18. [38] Now in terms of your relationship with the state chairman's association, what is the primary benefit you derive from being a member?

- ☐ 1. chance to share experiences and get new ideas
- ☐ 2. helps in working with the national committee
- ☐ 3. mainly social (If multiple answer, go to 18A)
- ☐ 4. no real value
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

18A. Which is the most important of these? _____

19. [41] Can you describe your relationship as state chairman with the state committee; is the chairman generally free to work independently of the state committee?

- ☐ 1. yes
- ☐ 2. no
- ☐ 3. mixed _____
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

20. [42] In what areas must you have state committee support before acting?

GOV (If the party does not have governor, go to 21A, then skip to 26.)

21. [44] Can you describe your relationship as state chairman with the Governor. Is the state chairman generally free to work independently of the Governor?

- ☐ 1. yes
- ☐ 2. no
- ☐ 3. mixed _____
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

21A. Is there an elected official with whom you deal on party matters?

(Skip to 26) _____

22. [45] In what areas must the chairman have the governor's support before acting?

23. [47] We are also interested in the role the governor plays in a variety of party activities. In terms of party leadership ~~selection~~, does the governor

yes no

___ ___ initiate and control actions by the state party headquarters
What actions? _____

___ ___ participate in activities or programs initiated by the party headquarters
What programs? _____

___ ___ perform an advisory role only

___ ___ have little or no relation to the party organization

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

24. [48] What about the governor's role in the recruitment of candidates? Once again, does the governor initiate and control actions, participate actively in the process which is initiated elsewhere, perform an advisory role or play no part in the recruitment of candidates?

___ 1. initiate and control actions

___ 2. participate in process initiated elsewhere

___ 3. advisory role

___ 4. no part

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

25. [49] What role does the Governor play in raising funds for the party?

X 26. [51] And what about the chairman's relationship with presidential campaign organizations? How was the state chairman involved in the 1976 nominating campaigns?

- ☐ 1. impartial assistance to all
☐ 2. assistance to one campaign
☐ 3. no assistance

27. [51A] Does the state chairman generally select national convention delegates or influence delegate selection?

28. [54] Would you briefly describe your relationship as state chairman with the legislative leadership of your party?

29. [57] And how would you characterize your relationship as state chairman with congressmen and senators of your party?

30. [60] Finally, county chairmen. Do you consider the various county chairmen in your state pretty much independent of the state committees?

- ☐ 1. yes
☐ 2. no
☐ 3. mixed _____
☐ 8. don't know
☐ 9. no answer

31. [65] Over the past few years have there been any significant changes in the sources of party funds?

___ 1. yes (GO TO 31A)

___ 2. no

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

31A. [65A] Would you describe the changes? _____

31B. [98] Are any of these changes caused by changes in federal or state law?

32. [67] In your view how important are the following aspects of your job? For instance, would you say that being a mediator between party factions is a very important, important, or not important part of your job?

	1. very important	2. impor- tant	3. not im- portant	8. don't know	9. no answer
a. mediator between party factions	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. builder of the party organization	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. spokesman for the governor or other elected party leader	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. fund raiser	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. recruiter of candidates	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. patronage	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. issue leadership	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. other (Specify: _____)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

33. [68] Which of these (above) is the most important aspect of your position?

34. [70] Does the party organization develop campaign issues or is this normally left to the candidates?

- ☐ 1. party develops issues
- ☐ 2. left to candidates
- ☐ 3. joint
- ☐ 4. each separately
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

35. [75] When your current term as chairman expires will you seek another term?

- ☐ 1. yes, definitely
- ☐ 2. yes, probably
- ☐ 3. no, probably
- ☐ 4. no, definitely
- ☐ 5. plan to resign before end of term
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

36. [76] What are your reasons? _____

37. [77] Could we look into the future for a minute? After you step down as chairman, what are your plans?

- ☐ 1. political/governmental office Which? _____
- ☐ 2. resume professional career
- ☐ 3. change career line Which? _____
- ☐ 4. retirement
- ☐ 5. undecided
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

Now I would like to read you a few statements and get your opinion on them. The statements are generalizations so you may not completely agree or disagree with them. However, taking each statement as a whole, would you tell me whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with it.

38. [79] A good party leader must support any candidate nominated by the party even if he/she basically disagrees with her/him.

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/> 4. disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. agree	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> 3. disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> 9. no answer

39. [80] Controversial positions should be avoided in a party platform in order to insure party unity.

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/> 4. disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. agree	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> 3. disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> 9. no answer

40. [78] A gubernatorial candidate should not compromise on his/her basic values even if such compromise is necessary to win.

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/> 4. disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. agree	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> 3. disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> 9. no answer

41. Do you find the terms liberal and conservative useful in thinking about political issues?

☐ 1. yes (If yes, go to 42)

☐ 2. no (If no, go to 43)

42. [81] In your opinion, does your party's ability to win elections in the future depend on adopting a clear cut liberal-conservative position on issues?

☐ 1. yes

☐ 2. no

☐ 8. don't know

☐ 9. no answer

Which position should the party take on the issues?

☐ 1. liberal

☐ 2. conservative

☐ 3. other _____

☐ 8. don't know

☐ 9. no answer

43. In your opinion, does your party's ability to win elections in the future depend on adopting clear cut issue positions?

___ 1. yes

If yes, in what ways?

___ 2. no

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

Now I would like to return for a few minutes to your relationship with the county organization throughout the state.

44. [82] We all have in mind some kinds of criteria to evaluate the performance of organizations within which we are involved. Can you describe to me the criteria that you apply to determine how well the various county organizations are doing.

45. [83] We'd like to have some estimates as to the number or proportion of counties that are strongly organized, unorganized, or somewhere in between.

	<u>Total No. Counties</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Moderately Well Organized</u>	<u>Weak</u>	<u>Unorganized</u>
No.	___	___	___	___	___
or					
%		___	___	___	___

46. Which are the counties that have strong organizations?

47. [85] There is a lot of speculation these days concerning the state of political parties and their future. From your experience, how would you evaluate the strength of your party in this state compared to 5-10 years ago?

___ 1. significantly stronger

___ 5. significantly weaker

___ 2. somewhat stronger

___ 8. don't know

___ 3. little change

___ 9. no answer

___ 4. somewhat weaker

4 47A. [84A] To what do you attribute this? _____

48. [91] You also mentioned several counties that are well organized. We are especially interested in your relationship with the leadership of these counties. How is your relationship with these leaders different than with other county leaders?

consult or seeks advice on (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

___ nominations for state or congressional office

___ important party policy issues

___ allocation of campaign funds

49. [92] Are you directly involved in the process that selects the party leadership in these counties? (i.e., strong counties)

___ 1. yes How? _____

___ 2. no _____

___ 8. don't know _____

___ 9. no answer _____

Now let's focus on campaign activity.

50. [101] Traditionally, party organizations have been viewed as a major source of campaign and election day workers. How effective is the local party in your state in providing these workers? (Probe)

___ 1. extremely effective

___ 2. somewhat effective

___ 3. not too effective

___ 4. not effective at all

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

51. [102] What non-party groups in your state are closely aligned with the party and provide significant levels of assistance to the party and its candidates? (Check if service is performed)

	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Fund-raising</u>	<u>Get out the vote</u>	<u>Research</u>	<u>Furnishing volunteers</u>
a.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

52. [103] Lists of contributors and workers are important to campaign and party organizations. Is it a common practice in your state for campaign and party organizations to share such lists?

☐ 1. yes ☐ 8. don't know
☐ 2. no ☐ 9. no answer

53. [107] Does the state party clear or handle state and/or federal patronage appointments?

☐ 1. yes, state If yes, how does the party do this?
☐ 2. yes, federal _____
☐ 3. yes, both _____
☐ 4. no _____
☐ 5. no patronage _____
☐ 8. don't know
☐ 9. no answer

54. [108] Would you say that the amount of factionalism within your state party is:

☐ 1. fairly high
☐ 2. moderate
☐ 3. low
☐ 4. no factionalism at all (GO TO 57)
☐ 8. don't know
☐ 9. no answer

55. [108A] Would you briefly describe the nature of factionalism or durable intra-party divisions in your party. For example, how many major factions exist?

56. [108B] Are they

- ☐ 1. ideological in nature
- ☐ 2. personal followings
- ☐ 3. geographical
- ☐ 4. other (if other, please specify: _____)
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

Now I would like to conclude with a few questions about your background.

57. [109] In what year were you born? _____

58. [110] Where were you born? _____

59. [111] Where were you mostly raised? _____

60. [112] What is your religious preference?

- ☐ protestant specify denomination _____
- ☐ catholic
- ☐ jewish
- ☐ mormon
- ☐ none
- ☐ other please specify _____

61. [113] What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?

_____ (If college or post-graduate) what was your major field of study? _____

62. [114] What was your father's principal occupation? (Be very specific)

63. [115] Besides political work, what has been your primary occupation?

64. [118] Could we trace the political jobs you have held in the last ten years? Before becoming state chairman what political position did you hold?

And before that?

Position

Time period

state chairman

present

65. [120] How active in politics were your parents?

1. extremely active

4. inactive

2. very active

8. don't know

3. not very active

9. no answer

66. Generally speaking, how would you characterize your political views or philosophy?

67. [122] Have you ever attended a national convention?

Year

Capacity

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation!

BY OBSERVATION

Sex ____1. male ____2. female

Race _____

Respondent cooperation:

____1. very good

____2. good

____3. fair

____4. poor

ICPSR #8281 - part two

Executive Director Interview

Cover Sheet

Name: _____

State: _____

Party: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Time interview began _____

Time interview ended: _____

Place of interview: _____

Co-investigators:

John F. Bibby, Cornelius P. Cotter, James L. Gibson
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Robert J. Huckshorn
Florida Atlantic University

We are first interested in learning a little about how the party is organized in your state.

1. [1] In what year did the party first open a permanent office?

- 19__ 00. no permanent office now
98. don't remember
99. no answer

2. [2] Would you briefly describe your current headquarter's space - i.e., is it a building, suite of rooms, single office, store front office, or what?

- __1. building
__2. suite of rooms
__3. single office
__4. store front office
__5. other (specify:_____)
__8. don't know
__9. no answer

3. [3] Is this the only headquarter's location in the state?

- __1. yes
__2. no (go to 3A)
__8. don't know
__9. no answer

3A. [3A] (If no) How many other offices are there?

- 98. don't know
99. no answer

Where are they located?

Office 1:_____

Office 2:_____

Office 3:_____

4. [4] When a new state chairman assumes office does the party headquarters move to that person's home city?

___ 1. yes
 ___ 2. no
 ___ 8. don't know
 ___ 9. no answer

Has this been the practice in the past? ___ Yes

___ No

5. [10] Approximately how many paid professional staff do you employ in

a. a normal election campaign year ___ _ _

b. a normal off year ___ _ _

998. don't know

999. no answer

6. [11] And approximately how many paid clerical staff do you employ in

a. a normal election campaign year ___ _ _

b. a normal off year ___ _ _

998. don't know

999. no answer

7. Would you describe for me the major divisions into which the headquarters staff is divided.

<u>Division</u>	<u>Number Professional</u>	<u>Number Clerical</u>	<u>Years in operation</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

- 7A. How many persons are assigned to each of these divisions?
 (Fill in the number in the chart above.)

- 7B. For approximately how many years have each of these divisions been in operation?

(PROBE: Check for the following functions: finance, accounting, public relations, research, organization/campaign/field)

9. [15] Can you indicate what services you provide to candidates and any differences say between gubernatorial versus congressional or legislative candidates.

(USE CHART AS PROMPT AND PROBE.)

<u>Services</u>	<u>Which Candidates</u>			
a. advertising and media assistance	<input type="checkbox"/> any candidates <input type="checkbox"/> no candidates	<input type="checkbox"/> Gubernatorial	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Constitutional <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senatorial <input type="checkbox"/> St. Legislative
b. accounting/ compliance	<input type="checkbox"/> any candidates <input type="checkbox"/> no candidates	<input type="checkbox"/> Gubernatorial	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Constitutional <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senatorial <input type="checkbox"/> St. Legislative
c. polling	<input type="checkbox"/> any candidates <input type="checkbox"/> no candidates	<input type="checkbox"/> Gubernatorial	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Constitutional <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senatorial <input type="checkbox"/> St. Legislative
d. Research (including research on opponent)	<input type="checkbox"/> any candidates <input type="checkbox"/> no candidates	<input type="checkbox"/> Gubernatorial	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Constitutional <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senatorial <input type="checkbox"/> St. Legislative
e. registration/ voter/ identification turnout	<input type="checkbox"/> any candidates <input type="checkbox"/> no candidates	<input type="checkbox"/> Gubernatorial	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Constitutional <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senatorial <input type="checkbox"/> St. Legislative
f. staff	<input type="checkbox"/> any candidates <input type="checkbox"/> no candidates	<input type="checkbox"/> Gubernatorial	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Constitutional <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senatorial <input type="checkbox"/> St. Legislative
g. literature/ phones for campaign/ direct mail	<input type="checkbox"/> any candidates <input type="checkbox"/> no candidates	<input type="checkbox"/> Gubernatorial	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Constitutional <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senatorial <input type="checkbox"/> St. Legislative
h. other (specify: _____)		<input type="checkbox"/> Gubernatorial	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Constitutional <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S. Senatorial <input type="checkbox"/> St. Legislative

10. [18] And how about non-election services to office-holders?
In addition to campaign assistance, what kinds of services
do you provide to office-holders between elections?

11. [19] Does the state party conduct campaign training seminars for
candidates and managers?

___ 1. Yes (Go to 11A)

___ 2. No

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

- 11A. [19A] (If yes) How frequently are they scheduled?

- 11B. [19B] Who usually participates?

12. [20] Does the National Party Organization help the state party
with these seminars?

___ 1. Yes In what ways? _____

___ 2. No _____

___ 8. don't know _____

___ 9. no answer _____

13. [21] Does the state party ever conduct or commission public
opinion surveys?

___ 1. Yes (Go to 13A)

___ 2. No

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

13A. [21A] (If yes) Are these surveys done for specific candidates or are they done for the party in general?

- ☐ 1. specific candidates only
- ☐ 2. party in general only
- ☐ 3. both
- ☐ 4. neither
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

13B. [21B] When do you conduct these surveys?

- ☐ 1. only in election years How often? _____
- ☐ 2. only between elections
- ☐ 3. only post election
- ☐ 4. at all three times
- ☐ 5. pre and post election
- ☐ 6. pre election and between election
- ☐ 7. post election and between election
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

14. [24] How much impact would you say the state party rules or by-laws have on the daily operation of the party? That is, do you feel that they restrict your discretion very much?

- ☐ 1. restrict a great deal
- ☐ 2. some restriction
- ☐ 3. not much restriction
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

15. [27] Has the party (always/ever) had a procedure for formal pre-primary endorsements?

- ☐ 1. Yes ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 2. No ☐ 9. no answer

16. [28] When was the last change in the endorsement procedures?

1 ___ 998. don't know 999. no answer

17. Is there a problem in fielding a complete slate of candidates in elections?

___ yes (Go to 17A)

___ no (Go to 17B)

17A. Does the party take steps to recruit a full slate of candidates for state constitutional offices?

How about for Congressional offices?

State Legislative offices?

17B. Is the absence of a problem due to state party efforts to insure a full slate? (Probe for levels and steps taken.)

18. [37A] What kind of support is provided by the state party to your members on the National Committee?

18A. [37B] (DEMOCRATS ONLY) DO members of the executive committee of the DNC and other DNC members from the state receive the same support?

___ 1. yes

___ 2. no What is the basis for distinction? _____

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

19. [50] Does the Governor maintain a campaign fund separate from that of the party?

- ☐ 1. yes
- ☐ 2. no
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

20. [52] Federal election campaign laws require that presidential campaign organizations be formally separate from state party organizations. In your state what form did the relationship between the state party organization and candidate organizations take in the 1976 presidential campaign?

21. [53] How did this vary from past elections?

22. [56] What about the relationship of your party's legislators and the state committee at the staff level? How frequent is such contact?

- ☐ 1. frequent/regular contact
- ☐ 2. occasional contact
- ☐ 3. little contact
- ☐ 8. don't know
- ☐ 9. no answer

Can we return to our discussion of the operation of the party headquarters.

23. [62] Could you tell me what your fiscal year is? _____

24. [63] Approximately what would the total state party budget in

a. a normal election year \$ _____

b. a normal off year \$ _____

25. [64] We are interested in the general sources of funds for your party. About what proportion of your budget comes from the following sources?

a. major events (e.g., dinners) _____

b. direct mail (small) _____

c. dues _____

d. promotions _____

e. large contributions _____

f. contributions from organizations _____

g. national party organization _____

h. state government (e.g., tax credits,
filing fees, subsidies) _____

i. other (Specify: _____
_____) _____

998. don't know

999. no answer

26. [71] Does the party adopt a state platform?

___ 1. yes (Go to 26A)

___ 2. no

26A. [71A] How much attention does the state party staff pay to the process of drafting the party platform?

___ 1. a great deal of attention

___ 2. some attention

___ 3. not much attention

___ 4. no attention at all

___ 8. don't know

___ 9. no answer

Comments: _____

27. [86] Do the state and county organizations ever engage in joint fund-raising activities?

☐ 1. Yes What are these activities like?
☐ 2. No _____
☐ 8. don't know _____
☐ 9. no answer _____

28. [87] Are funds raised at state or local levels shared?
For example, sharing a proportion of the money from state dinners with counties or towns?

a. dinners

☐ 1. yes ☐ 8. don't know
☐ 2. no ☐ 9. no answer

b. local dues

☐ 1. yes ☐ 8. don't know
☐ 2. no ☐ 9. no answer

29. [88] Is the state party provided access to local party mailing lists of members and contributors for all of the counties in which the party is organized?

☐ 1. yes, all counties
☐ 2. some counties Approximately how many counties
 provide these lists? _____
☐ 3. no counties
☐ 8. don't know
☐ 9. no answer

30. [89] Does the state party help finance local party offices?

☐ 1. yes How does this work? _____
☐ 2. no _____
☐ 8. don't know _____
☐ 9. no answer _____

31. [90] Does the state party have a program for strengthening county organizations?

___ 1. yes Can you describe the program?
 ___ 2. no _____
 ___ 8. don't know _____
 ___ 9. no answer _____

32. [94] Are there effective party organizations at the congressional district level here?

___ 1. yes About what percentage of the districts
 ___ 2. no have well organized party units? _____
 ___ 8. don't know
 ___ 9. no answer

33. [95] Do the congressional district party organizations have members on the state central committee?

___ 1. yes
 ___ 2. no
 ___ 7. don't have congressional district organizations
 ___ 8. don't know
 ___ 9. no answer

Let's return to party rules and regulations for a moment.

34. [96] Has the party recently engaged in any reform activities?

___ 1. yes (Go to 34A)
 ___ 2. no
 ___ 8. don't know
 ___ 9. no answer

- 34A. [96A] What recent changes in procedure or organization have been introduced?

35. [100] Federal and state campaign regulations are getting increasingly complex. How do you insure that you are up to date in knowledge of such regulations and that the party is in compliance?
- _____
- _____

- 35A. [100A] Has the state party had any contact with the Federal Election Commission concerning federal law and rules?
- _____
- _____

- 35B. [100B] (IF APPROPRIATE) What about the state election commission - have you had any contact with it?
- _____
- _____

36. [97] Has it been necessary to change important aspects of party policy, organization & staffing because of these new regulations?

___ 1. yes How? _____

___ 2. no _____

___ 8. don't know _____

___ 9. no answer _____

37. [104] Does the state party have ongoing programs for

	1. Yes	2. No	8. don't know	9. answer
a. voter identification	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. voter registration	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. getting out the vote	_____	_____	_____	_____

38. [105] Does the state party publish a party newspaper, magazine or newsletter?

___ 1. yes ___ 8. don't know

___ 2. no ___ 9. no answer

39. [106] Do you also publish a newsletter directed at special voter groups? (e.g., senior citizens)

___ 1. yes ___ 8. don't know

___ 2. no ___ 9. no answer

Now I would like to read you a few statements and get your opinion on them. The statements are generalizations so you may not completely agree or disagree with them. However, taking each statement as a whole, would you tell me whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with it.

40. [79] A good party leader must support any candidate nominated by the party even if he/she basically disagrees with her/him.

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/> 4. disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. agree	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. agree	
<input type="checkbox"/> 3. disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> 9. no answer

41. [80] Controversial positions should be avoided in a party platform in order to insure party unity.

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/> 4. disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. agree	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> 3. disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> 9. no answer

42. [78] A gubernatorial candidate should not compromise on his/her basic values even if such compromise is necessary to win.

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/> 4. disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. agree	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> 3. disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> 9. no answer

43. Do you find the terms liberal and conservative useful in thinking about political issues?

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. yes	(If yes, go to 44)
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. no	(If no, go to 45)

44. [81] In your opinion, does your party's ability to win elections in the future depend on adopting a clear cut liberal-conservative position on issues?

<input type="checkbox"/> 1. yes	Which position should the party take on the issues?
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. no	
<input type="checkbox"/> 8. don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. liberal
<input type="checkbox"/> 9. no answer	<input type="checkbox"/> 2. conservative
	<input type="checkbox"/> 3. other _____
	<input type="checkbox"/> 8. don't know
	<input type="checkbox"/> 9. no answer

45. In your opinion, does your party's ability to win elections in the future depend on adopting clear cut issue positions?

___ 1. yes If yes, in what ways?
 ___ 2. no _____
 ___ 8. don't know _____
 ___ 9. no answer _____

Now I would like to return for a few minutes to your relationship with the county organizations throughout the state.

46. [82] We all have in mind some kinds of criteria to evaluate the performance of organizations with which we are involved. Can you describe to me the criteria that you apply to determine how well the various county organizations are doing.

47. [83] We'd like to have some estimates as to the number of proportion of counties that are strongly organized, unorganized, or somewhere in between.

	<u>Total No. Counties</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Moderately Well Organized</u>	<u>Weak</u>	<u>Unorganized</u>
No.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
or					
%		_____	_____	_____	_____

48. Which are the counties that have strong organizations?

49. [85] There is a lot of speculation these days concerning the state of political parties and their future. From your experience, how would you evaluate the strength of your party in this state compared to 5-10 years ago?

___ 1. significantly stronger ___ 5. significantly weaker
 ___ 2. somewhat stronger ___ 8. don't know
 ___ 3. little change ___ 9. no answer
 ___ 4. somewhat weaker

Now I would like to conclude with a few questions about your background.

50. [109] In what year were you born? _____

51. [110] Where were you born? _____

52. [111] Where were you mostly raised? _____

53. [112] What is your religious preference?

___protestant specify denomination _____

___catholic

___jewish

___mormon

___none

___other please specify _____

54. [113] What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?

_____ (If college or post-graduate) what was your major
field of study? _____

55. [114] What was your father's principal occupation? (Be very specific)

56. [115] Besides political work, what has been your primary occupation?

57. [118] Could we trace the political jobs you have held in the last ten years? Before becoming executive director what political position did you hold

And before that?

Position

Time period

58. [120] How active in politics were your parents?

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| ___ 1. extremely active | 4. inactive |
| ___ 2. very active | 8. don't know |
| ___ 3. not very active | 9. no answer |

59. Generally speaking, how would you characterize your political views or philosophy?

60. [122] Have you ever attended a national convention?

Year	Capacity
------	----------

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation!

BY OBSERVATION

Sex ____1. male ____2. female

Race _____

Respondent cooperation:

____1. very good

____2. good

____3. fair

____4. poor