

A STUDY OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN A  
RURAL TEXAS COUNTY

by

Earl Wall

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A THESIS

Approved:



Approved:



Dean of the Graduate School

A STUDY OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN A  
RURAL TEXAS COUNTY

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A Thesis  
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by  
Corylon Earl Wall  
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## ABSTRACT

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### Purposes

The purposes of this investigation were to determine the following: (1) the political opinions of a selected, rural population from Central Texas on the attitudes of political involvement, issue familiarity, economic liberalism, internationalism, civil liberties, and party affiliations; (2) the political values of the nation's population on each of these six, attitudinal factors; and (3) any significant differences that might exist between the attitudes of the two populations.

### Methods

The methods used to obtain the data for this study were: (1) a survey questionnaire administered to fifty individuals randomly selected from two voting precincts in Mills County, Texas; and (2) data obtained from similar questionnaires used in voting studies done on a national level. The statistical techniques used in this investigation were: (1) Buchanan's Percentage Differences to determine if any significant attitudinal differences existed between the Texas sample and the national electorate; and (2) chi-square significance tests and lambda measures of association to quantify the relationship between the survey data and the three independent variables.

## Findings

1. Rural voters were more willing to become involved in the affairs of politics than the national sample. A greater eagerness to participate in campaign activities was the distinguishing feature between the opinions of the two populations on the attitude of political involvement.

2. There was no significant difference between the ranking of the two samples on the issue familiarity index. Both groups had a high familiarity with the contemporary political issues confronting the nation.

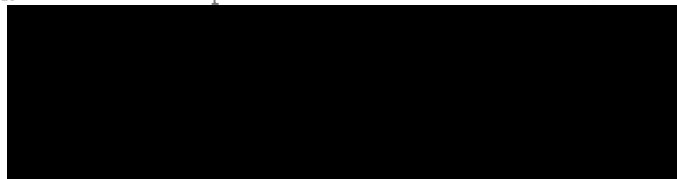
3. The rankings of the rural sample on the economic liberalism index were very similar to the rankings of the general public. A large majority of the respondents in both populations were classified as economic moderates.

4. Agrarians were inclined to be more isolationist in their foreign policy attitudes than the general public. Foreign aid and military involvement abroad were the two items receiving the most isolationist sentiment from the rural electorate.

5. No definite conclusions were reached on the fifth attitude since the national voting studies have, as of yet, failed to develop any statistical device to measure this attitude. Based on the limited findings of other voting studies, the rural population is probably more authoritarian in its views toward government than the general public.

6. The selected population was more inclined to identify with the Democratic Party than the general population.

The Star and Center City voters were also more willing to vote a split-ticket than the national sample.



Supervising Professor

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Larry Dickens, Mr. Herbert Hannah, Dr. Beryl Pettus, and Mr. John Holcombe for their help and guidance in the writing of this paper. A special thanks goes to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Wall of Star, Texas, who gave me both financial and moral support in this endeavor. I also wish to express my gratitude to those fifty wonderful people in the Star and Center City voting precincts who participated in the rural survey. They have convinced me that the residents of Mills County, Texas are some of the most congenial people in all the world. I also appreciate the fine work of my typist, Mrs. Pat Smith. And, of course, I take full responsibility for what is written here.

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CHAPTER I

A STUDY OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES  
IN A RURAL TEXAS COUNTY

Introduction

One of the most neglected and least understood minorities within the political framework of the United States government is the rural American. In the political science discipline, one can find an extensive amount of literature which attempts to analyze the behavior of the Negro, Chicano, and urban voter in America. Regrettably, this abundant research does not exist on behalf of the rural electorate. Only a handful of national voting studies have even made an effort to investigate the political attitudes of this provincial minority. On the state level, especially in Texas where the rural voter is still a potent force at the ballot box, this research is almost non-existent.

The objective of this thesis is to provide a small, but hopefully significant, insight into the attitudinal beliefs held by a chosen populace of rural Texans. The purposes of this investigation are to measure and compare the following attitudes within the selected population: (1) political involvement, including such attributes as political participation and political efficacy; (2) economic liberalism; (3) internationalism; (4) issue familiarity; (5) civil

liberties, including opinions on civil rights and authoritarianism in government; and (6) political party affiliations, with some effort being made to gain insight into possible latent issues which will affect the 1972 elections.

It is the intent of the author of this study to determine if the political views of a chosen, rural electorate from Central Texas are significantly different from the political opinions held by the general public. Therefore, the following working hypothesis is proposed for the paper: There are no significant attitudinal differences between the selected population and the population of the nation as a whole.

In order to accept or reject the working hypothesis, the validity of six different assumptions will first have to be evaluated in the paper. These tentative generalizations are listed as follows:

1. People who live in a rural community are less active in the affairs of politics than the average American citizen.
2. Rural dwellers have less issue familiarity than the general electorate.
3. Provincial voters are more conservative on the economic issues than their national counterparts.
4. Agrarians are inclined to be more isolationist in their foreign policy attitudes than other components of the nation's population.
5. The residents of Mills County are more authoritarian in their views toward civil liberties than the national sample.
6. Rural Texans are more inclined to identify

with the Democratic Party than the general public.

If one or more of these assumptions prove to be a valid statement, then the paper will have to reject the working hypothesis proposed for the study.

### Methods Used in the Study

To study these six tentative assumptions, one must first perceive the political outlook of the general electorate. Books, periodicals, and newspaper articles are the sources used in analyzing these assumptions. Five notable books are utilized in determining the political attitudes of the nation. These volumes are Political Participation by Lester Milbrath; The American Voter by Angus Campbell, et al.; Public Opinion and American Democracy by V. O. Key, Jr.; The Real Majority by Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg; and Measures of Political Attitudes published by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan.<sup>1</sup> Scholarly journals, including Public Opinion Quarterly, American Political Science Review and Journal of Politics, are utilized in reporting these attitudes of the nation's population. Two sources used in relating these attitudes to contemporary times are the Gallup Opinion Index and recent

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<sup>1</sup>Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1965); Angus Campbell, et al.; The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964); V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred Knopf Company, 1967); Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg, The Real Majority (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1970); and John Robinson, Jerrold Rusk, and Kendra Head, Measures of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, July, 1969).

newspaper polls.

A survey questionnaire administered to fifty individuals, randomly selected from two voting precincts in Mills County, Texas, was the method used to ascertain the political attitudes of the selected, rural population. The questions used in this inquiry were secured from questionnaires reported in Measures of Political Attitudes.<sup>2</sup> Except for one notable case, the queries employed in this survey had a high standard of reliability and validity. The one important exception was a series of five questions attempting to measure an individual's attitude on civil liberties.<sup>3</sup>

To secure a random sample of fifty individuals from the Star and Center City voting precincts, a roster of all adult residents living in this area was first procured. Voting registration lists, 1970 census data, and a map of Mills County, pin-pointing all the homes within the region, were the sources used to obtain the enumeration.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>John Robinson, Jerrold Rusk, and Kendra Head, Measures of Political Attitudes, pp. 184, 296-98, 419-67.

<sup>3</sup>Using the Guttman's scaling technique to test for unidimensionality, the coefficient of reproducibility for these five questions was found to be an unacceptable .89. When a more precise measurement for unidimensionality was tested (the coefficient of scalability) the coefficient was determined to be an acceptable .84. Therefore, these five questions properly measure the attitude called civil liberties. For a detailed discussion on these statistical techniques see David Garson, Handbook of Political Science Methods (Boston: Holbrook Press, 1971), pp. 120-28.

<sup>4</sup>1971 voter registration lists for the Star and Center City voting precincts were obtained from the Mills County Clerk's Office in Goldthwaite, Texas. A paper based on 1970 census data entitled Residents Living in Commissioners Precinct Two was acquired from the County

The names derived from this inventory of potential voters were then arranged in alphabetical order. Fifty individuals, chosen randomly from this index, were selected to participate in the survey investigation.<sup>5</sup> Personal interviews, using the appropriate procedures advocated in Backstrom and Hursh's Survey Research, were administered to each one of these prospective participants in the month of August, 1971.<sup>6</sup>

The data secured from these interviews were analyzed by the use of statistical techniques represented by chi-square significance tests and lambda measures of association. These techniques were used to quantify the relationship between the survey data and the three independent variables of age, sex, and income.<sup>7</sup> Percentage Tables were employed to report the opinions revealed in this survey as compared with

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Judge's Office. A Map of Mills County, published by the Texas Highway Department, was procured from the local highway department.

<sup>5</sup>A series of random numbers was used in picking these fifty individuals to participate in the survey. A list of random numbers and how to apply them in survey research can be found in Dennis J. Palumbo's Statistics in Political and Behavioral Science (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1969), pp. 341-63, 376-77.

<sup>6</sup>Charles Backstrom, and Gerald D. Hursh, Survey Research (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1963).

<sup>7</sup>Chi-square significance tests were used to analyze the data obtained from each question in the survey questionnaire while the lambda measures of association were only applied to the rankings of the rural respondents on each of the six scales measuring the political attitudes examined by this study. Since the lambda measures of association reported only weak relationships between the rankings on this scale and the three independent variables, the co-efficients obtained from this statistical technique are not reported in the text. (A weak association is a co-efficient of .20 or less). These weak relationships could be caused by the small survey sample or they could

the attitudes of the nation as a whole. Buchanan's Percentage Table of Significant Differences, based on chi-square, was the statistical technique used to determine if any significant attitudinal differences exist between the selected rural population from Texas and the national electorate.<sup>8</sup>

### A Survey of Major Voting Studies

The major voting studies made in the discipline of political science are inclined to support the ideas expressed by the six tentative assumptions. Written in 1944, The People's Choice was the first comprehensive study carried out on American politics.<sup>9</sup> This book made the beginning endeavor to establish a direct correlation between socio-economic variables and political involvement. Lazarfield discovered that people who belong to a higher socio-economic status were more likely to express an interest in elections, expose themselves to campaign literature, and participate in elections than people who belong to lower socio-economic groups. This voting study also encountered a relationship between an individual's income and his political party affiliation. People receiving high incomes leaned toward the Republican Party, whereas individuals possessing low incomes

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reflect a homogeneity in the political opinions of these residents. Additional surveys need to be conducted within the region to determine which one of these two examinations is the valid statement.

<sup>8</sup>William Buchanan, Understanding Political Variables (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), pp. 85-88.

<sup>9</sup>Paul F. Lazarfield, Bernard Berleson, and Hazel Gadet,

showed a propensity toward the Democratic Party.<sup>10</sup> This leads one to the possibility that the rural voter would have a greater attachment for the Democratic Party and would be less involved in politics than the urban voter. However, this was found not to be the case when one controlled for the variables of education and income in Eire County, Ohio.<sup>11</sup>

Voting, written in 1954 by the same authors, was the second major study made in regard to socio-economic variables and voting. In this work, education was highly associated with political involvement. Political efficacy and political partisanship were additional factors influencing an individual's interest in an election campaign.<sup>12</sup> A relationship between the homogeneity of the community and the attitudes held by its citizens are also revealed in Voting. The more homogenous the community the greater the probability that opinions expressed by its inhabitants will be similar, if not identical, to one another.<sup>13</sup> No effort was made in this book to distinguish between the attitudes held by the rural voter and those held by the urban voter.

The Voter Decides was the first voting study to report a difference between the rural and urban electorate in

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The People's Choice (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944).

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-44.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 44-45.

<sup>12</sup>Paul F. Lazarfield, Bernard Berleson, and William McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 21-62.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 94-102.

America. The provincial citizen was analyzed in this book as having less political efficacy and less issue familiarity than the average American voter. Socio-economic variables were the reasons given to account for this distinction.<sup>14</sup>

The American Voter also made explicit analyses of rural and urban differences. In their chapter on agrarian politics, the authors reported the following significant results:

1. The rural voter, in comparison with other components of the American electorate, is less likely to participate in elections and to become involved in politics.
2. Agrarians are more likely to vote a split ticket and to shun party affiliations.
3. The provincial citizen has a greater tendency to vote his own economic interest than other groups in American society.
4. Ideology has little significance in determining the behavior and attitudes of these rural balloters.<sup>15</sup>

Since it is based on the same survey data as The American Voter, Public Opinion and American Democracy is an extension of the original work. In Public Opinion and American Democracy, rural voters are generalized as being more isolationists in their foreign policy attitudes than the general public.<sup>16</sup> Most recent periodicals and public

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<sup>14</sup>Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), pp. 36-42, 187-195.

<sup>15</sup>Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964), pp. 210-230.

<sup>16</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred Knopf Company, 1967), pp. 134-137.

opinion polls, however, have cast shadows of doubt on this conclusion. According to these polls, the real proponents of the Vietnam War are located in the rural communities, not in the urban areas, as Key would have one to believe.<sup>17</sup> A proclivity for rural residents to be conservative in their social and economic beliefs was the second finding reported in this book. The data in Public Opinion and American Democracy also strongly suggest that agrarians, in comparison with the national constituency, have a greater tendency to be loyal adherents to the Democratic Party. This finding was especially prevalent in the South.<sup>18</sup>

The most recent voting study conducted on a national scale is Scammon and Wattenberg's The Real Majority. In this work, the authors contend that all important elections are decided by the real majority (those middle-aged, middle-income, and middle-educated Americans who occupy the center in their political and ideological beliefs).<sup>19</sup> The real majority is reported to be conservative on the social issues

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<sup>17</sup>For some examples of these polls see the following: The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 21, (March, 1967), p. 5.; The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 24, (June, 1967), pp. 4-6.; and The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 29, (November, 1967), pp. 7-8. Although no significant differences were reported between the urban and rural voters, another excellent study on the Vietnam War is the following: Sidney Verba and et al., "Public Opinion and the War in Vietnam", American Political Science Review LXI, No. 2, (June, 1967), pp. 317-33.

<sup>18</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred Knopf Company, 1967), pp. 99-152, 432-457.

<sup>19</sup>Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg, The Real Majority (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1970), pp. 45-81, 279-305.

and liberal on the economic ones. Scammon and Wattenberg argue that the Democratic Party remains the dominant, political coalition in America simply because it retains the loyalty of those voters classified as the real majority. No effort was made in this book to distinguish between the political attitudes of the provincial and metropolitan voters in America.

Party and Factional Division in Texas was the first attempt by scholars to make a comprehensive analysis of voting patterns in Texas. Mills County is categorized by Soukup, McCleskey, and Holloway as a rural county steeped in the liberal philosophy with an irresistible urge to support the nominees of the Democratic Party. A heritage of liberal populism and one-party politics in the South accounts for these strange phenomena.<sup>20</sup> If these generalizations are correct, then one could expect a sample of residents surveyed from this region to reveal a supreme fidelity towards the Democratic Party. The validity of this proposition, along with the five previously mentioned ones, will be evaluated in the following pages.

#### Proposed Procedure

This thesis reports its findings in three major subdivisions of the paper. A review of the political opinions of the selected population is presented in Chapter Two. For purposes of analysis, these opinions are divided into six

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<sup>20</sup>James Soukup, Clifton McCleskey, and Harry Holloway, Party and Factional Division in Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), pp. 90-99, 195.

different attitude factors: political involvement, issue familiarity, economic liberalism, internationalism, civil libertarianism, and political partisanship. In Chapter Three, these factors of civic opinions are compared with the national sentiments to determine if any discrepancies exist between the rural and national findings. Conclusions reached by this investigation and their importance to the political science discipline are presented in the final thesis chapter.

## CHAPTER II

### THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN A SELECTED RURAL POPULATION

#### Characteristics of the County Surveyed

Since the paper's stated objective was to measure the political attitudes of a provincial citizenry, it was only logical to select a rural county in Texas in which to conduct the survey investigation. Mills County was chosen for this study on account of its classification as a farm-rural county having no major industries and no centers of urban development.<sup>1</sup> Located within the heart of Central Texas, this county contains one town, three villages, and several exotic dots in the road. Goldthwaite, the county seat and largest municipal unit, has a population of approximately fifteen hundred people.<sup>2</sup> The county's commercial activities are almost entirely conducted within this town. Priddy, Star, and Mullin are three villages within this region that have a population between one hundred and three hundred residents. The very existence of these communities depends upon the continuance of a school system in their districts. Having

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<sup>1</sup>James R. Soukup, Clifton McCleskey, and Harry Holloway, Party and Factional Division in Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), pp. 195-199

<sup>2</sup>Statistical information on Mills County was obtained from the 1972-73 edition of The Texas Almanac, p. 311 and

such romantic names as Trigger Mountain, Big Valley, Democrat, and Pompey, these exotic dots in the road are merely ghost towns reflecting an historic past.

Ranching and farming are the chief commercial activities in Mills County, with small business establishments and recreational resorts providing the remaining county revenue. The ranching and farming enterprises vary in size from large turkey farms and feed lot operations, involving several hundred thousands of dollars, to a small five acre tract containing one milk cow and a dog. Due to the county's reputation as a deer and turkey paradise, many landowners are now increasing their incomes by leasing their land to hunters for recreational activities. The business establishments in Mills County are the same typical shops, stores, and saloons found in any rural, West Texas town.

Ninety per cent of the county's residents would be classified as white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Less than ten per cent of the tenants in this region are Catholics and six per cent of this number is accounted for by the Mexican-Americans living in the area. The average per capita income of the county's forty-two hundred inhabitants is between two thousand and three thousand dollars annually. A substantial number of elderly persons residing in this area could be one factor contributing to the meager per capita earnings.

To take an accurate survey of the political attitudes

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from 1970 census data on file in the County Clerk's office at Goldthwaite, Texas.

in Mills County would require a large staff of professional personnel in addition to a substantial accumulation of economic wealth. The paper's author, being notably deficient in these two economic conditions, was forced to limit the investigation to two voting precincts within the county. The Star and Center City precincts were chosen because of their rural stature and because, in the opinion of the author, they most nearly reflect the attitudes of the county as a whole. From the three hundred and six eligible voters residing in these two precincts, fifty individuals were randomly selected to participate in the investigation. Personal interviews were administered to each of the individuals during the month of August, 1971. The questionnaire employed in these interviews can be found in Appendix I.

Several distinguishing features about the selected population were noted in their responses to the demographic items in the questionnaire. A summary of these characteristics can be found in Table 1. The large number of elderly persons in this sample merely emphasizes a problem that has been facing rural areas over the years: the steady emigration of their youth to the cities. Seeking employment and better educational opportunities, the rural youth have fled to the cities, established permanent residence there, and vowed never again to return to the rural way of life. Because of this emigration, the population and economy in these two rural communities are rapidly declining into a state of nonexistence.

TABLE 1  
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIVIDUALS SURVEYED

<u>Sex:</u>	<u>Religion:</u>
Male . . . . . 52%	Protestant . . . . . 92%
Female . . . . . 48%	No church affiliation. . . . . 8%
<u>Age:</u>	<u>Income:</u>
18-25 years. . . . . 4%	Less than \$3,000 . . . . . 4%
26-55 years. . . . . 42%	\$3,000-\$7,000. . . . . 58%
Over 55 years. . . . . 54%	\$7,000-\$12,000 . . . . . 32%
<u>Education:</u>	Over \$12,000 . . . . . 6%
High School. . . . . 90%	<u>Organizational Membership:</u>
College. . . . . 10%	Belongs to no organization . . . . . 38%
<u>Occupation:</u>	Belongs to one organization . . . . . 34%
Farmers. . . . . 42%	Belongs to two or more. . . . . 28%
Professional . . . . . 28%	<u>Registered to Vote:</u>
Proprietors. . . . . 10%	Had. . . . . 88%
Clerical . . . . . 8%	Had not. . . . . 12%
Others . . . . . 12%	
<u>Race:</u>	N=50
White. . . . . 100%	

The natives of these rural localities are religious fundamentalists in their spiritual beliefs. Over eighty per cent of those interviewed indicated membership in one of the three Protestant churches located within the area: Baptists,

Methodists, and Church of Christ, respectively.<sup>3</sup> This strong faith in the ethics of Protestantism is perhaps a reflection of pride in their white, Anglo-Saxon culture--a culture that up until the middle years of the 1950's would not accept Catholics or racial minorities into their society.

As might be expected, farming or ranching is the dominant occupation among these rural residents. Depending on the size of the farm and the ability of its owners, these careers in agriculture provide an income somewhere between 3,000 to 7,000 dollars annually. Teachers and ministers constitute the second largest occupational group. Being college educated and earning a substantial income allows these professional people to be the leaders of the local community. A few individuals make a living as proprietors of small stores, shops, or service stations within the region. An inaccessibility to wholesale markets and a declining population of potential customers severely limits the revenue earned in these careers. Some women have taken part-time jobs as clerical personnel in Goldthwaite or surrounding towns in order to supplement their family incomes.

Many of these residents, as shown in the figures in Table 1, earn an income well below the national average of \$8,500.<sup>4</sup> Based upon the evidence presented in the previous paragraph, one factor accounting for this phenomenon could be

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<sup>3</sup>It should be pointed out that the church membership of these residents was not asked in the survey questionnaire. Respondents voluntarily gave that information in their replies.

<sup>4</sup>See Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, The

the stagnant economic conditions found within the region. Another explanation could be the large number of elderly persons residing in these two precincts. The only source of income for many of these senior citizens who are physically unable to work is their monthly social security checks or old-age pensions. The monetary value of these benefits is so low that it restricts the elderly to a standard of living which borders on a state of dire poverty.

A slight distrust of membership in any political or social organization evidently exists among this provincial citizenery. Thirty-eight per cent of the inhabitants stated they did not belong to any social or political organization. Approximately one-third of the respondents cited membership in one organization--usually the American Farm Bureau. Individuals who were members of two or more organizations had a tendency to belong to the high, socio-economic class. These respondents were the only ones who had the time and money to participate in these niceties of life.

Coining a phrase from Scammon and Wattenberg, the "real majority" among the selected population are white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants.<sup>5</sup> They are low-incomed, high school educated individuals who earn their living by working with their hands. Due to their vocational roles, they have little time to participate in social or political organizations. Yet, the political attitudes of this middle-aged electorate

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Real Majority (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1970), p. 59.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 59-81.

are just as important as the opinions of other individuals in the national society. An analysis of the selected population's attitudes on political involvement, issue familiarity, economic liberalism, internationalism, and party affiliations is given in the succeeding pages of the chapter.

### Political Involvement

A person's general interest in elections, his willingness to become involved in the procedures of politics, and the extent to which he feels that his actions are effective and important in the decision making processes of government are all different aspects of the concept known as political involvement. Two questions were used in the survey to measure an individual's psychological interest in election campaigns. In the early warm-up phase of the interview, respondents were asked to reply to the following statement: "Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you, would you say you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in political campaigns?" Immediately following their answer to the first proposition, another question was asked: "Generally speaking, would you say you care a great deal which party wins the presidential elections next year or you don't care a great deal which party wins?" Answers to this question were coded on a three-point scale from care a great deal to don't care a great deal. The selected population's responses to these two queries reveal some intriguing findings.

Their psychological interest in political campaigns compared favorably with the national average.<sup>6</sup> Forty-two per cent stated they were very much interested in political campaigns, forty per cent said they were somewhat interested and eighteen per cent indicated no interest in campaign activities. An individual's involvement in elections soared when the question was limited to the presidential race. A large majority of the survey participants expressed a great deal of concern over the outcome of the presidential elections in 1972. Except for one individual who completely disassociated himself from politics, the remaining respondents expressed a restricted interest in presidential elections and their outcomes. Percentage tables showing the responses given to each of these questions can be found in Appendix II.

Chi-square significance tests were applied to the data in order to determine if a relationship exists between the answers to these questions and the three independent variables of "age", "sex", and "income".<sup>7</sup> As noted in Table 2, a significant difference at the .05 level occurred between the dependent variable "interest in presidential elections"

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<sup>6</sup>This comparison will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. An enumeration of the national responses to this survey question can be found in Appendix II.

<sup>7</sup>The control variables of "age" and "income" were consolidated into two categories due to the small number of individuals placed in the remaining classifications. The two age groups consisted of those individuals under 55 years and those over 55. The income variable was divided into those who earn less than \$7,000 and those who earn more than \$7,000.

and the independent variable "sex".

TABLE 2  
INTEREST IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS BY SEX

Interest in Presidential Elections	Sex	
	Male	Female
Care a great deal	15	22
Care somewhat	10	2
Don't care	1	0

Chi-square probability =  $< .05$

Women were more fascinated with presidential politics than men. Sex could be one factor accounting for the large number of replies that expressed an intense interest in presidential elections. Since these rural dwellers were psychologically involved in political campaigns, they should be motivated to take an active part in the selection processes of politics.

To test this hypothesis, each respondent was asked if he had participated in any one of six stated activities during the last election campaign. These items included such things as giving political opinions, attending meetings, wearing campaign buttons, belonging to a political club, and giving financial help to candidates. The most frequent activities among these rural residents were proselytizing and

displaying a campaign button or sticker. (See Appendix II.) Giving money to candidates and belonging to a political club were the least popular events in as much as party workers were the only ones participating in these activities.

By combining the responses given to each of these items, a political participation index can be formed. Individuals, based on their answers to these questions, were placed into one of the three classifications on this scale. Apathetics were persons who did not take part in any of the stated activities. Individuals who participated in one or two events were labeled spectators. Becoming involved in three or more activities enabled the respondent to be dubbed a gladiator. The political participation index for these citizens is presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3  
RURAL RANKINGS ON THE POLITICAL  
PARTICIPATION INDEX

<u>Rankings</u>	<u>Per cent of Total Sample</u>
Apathetics. . . . .	38%
Spectators. . . . .	46%
Gladiators. . . . .	16%

Since a majority of the rural residents admitted participating in one or more of the political events during the last election, the proposed hypothesis was confirmed. No significant differences were reported between the political

participation index and the three independent variables.<sup>8</sup>

Political efficacy, the third component in the definition of political involvement, is a feeling that the affairs of government can be understood and influenced by individual citizens. A measure of the variations in the strength of this attitude was constructed from expressions of agreement or disagreement with the following items:

I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

Voting is the only way people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

Disagreement with the items was treated as an efficacious response. The answers were grouped into three categories on the political efficacy index. Individuals having a low sense of political efficacy were persons who disagreed with less than two of these statements. People classified as moderates on this attitude gave only two efficacious responses. Participants who received a high ranking on this scale were those who took issue with three or more of the remarks. A surprising fact was uncovered by this efficacy index: Persons who were interviewed in these two precincts had a larger quantity of political efficacy than past voting

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<sup>8</sup>In the remaining proportion of the paper, the results of the chi-square tests will not be mentioned unless they reveal some significant findings.

studies would seem to indicate.<sup>9</sup> Age was identified as one factor causing the high ranking on this scale. Individuals in the under fifty-five age group expressed an abnormally high belief in their ability to influence the acts of government. See Table 4.

TABLE 4  
POLITICAL EFFICACY BY AGE

Rankings on the Political Efficacy Scale	Age	
	Under 55	Over 55
Low (0-1)	2	10
Medium (2)	7	7
High (3-4)	14	10

$$x^2 \text{ p} = < .05$$

In responding to the first item on political efficacy, these two age groups gave distinctly different answers. As shown in Table 5, the younger generation had greater faith in their officials than the older generation. This strong trust in the elected representatives of government may be one factor causing the younger age group to score higher on the political efficacy index.

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<sup>9</sup>All four of the national voting studies found the rural dweller to have a low degree of political efficacy in comparison with other national groups. The best discussion on this subject can be found in Angus Campbell, et. al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1970), pp. 210-230.

TABLE 5  
TRUST IN PUBLIC OFFICIALS BY AGE

Public officials don't care about people like me	Age	
	Under 55	Over 55
Agree	4	14
Disagree	19	13

$$x^2 \text{ p} = < .05$$

In summary, a majority of the rural residents have a deep concern over the outcome of presidential elections as well as a moderate interest in political campaigns in general. This psychological involvement in politics causes them to vote and to participate in another campaign activity, usually the act of giving their political opinions. Believing that the affairs of government can be easily understood, they have a strong confidence in their ability to influence the actions of government. An issue familiarity index was included in this questionnaire to analyze their understanding of these governmental problems.

#### Issue Familiarity

In measuring this political attitude, respondents were asked to express their opinions on sixteen contemporary issues confronting the United States government. If a person expressed an opinion on the issue proposition and if he had

a judgment on government performance with respect to the issue, he was regarded as "familiar" with the question. The procedure was continued until all sixteen questions had been stated to the respondent. The individual was then placed on an index of issue familiarity ranging from 0 to 16, depending on the number of issues with which he expressed an opinion. In this paper, the points on the index were consolidated into three categories: those familiar with fifteen to sixteen issues, those familiar with thirteen to fourteen issues and those familiar with twelve or less. The categories constituted, in the order listed, the following percentages of the total sample: 30%, 34%, and 36%.

A valuable insight into the political opinions of the rural population can be obtained through a careful analysis of the answers given to each of these sixteen propositions. Percentage tables displaying the responses given to each of the propositions can be found in Appendix II. The statement receiving the great unanimity from these residents was the one on the Supreme Court. Eighty-six per cent of those surveyed agreed with the statement that the United States Supreme Court was becoming too mixed-up in politics. Highly critical of the court's decisions on busing, prayer in public schools, and redistricting, many individuals frequently mentioned these cases as facts supporting their conclusions. One irate woman even went so far as wanting the Supreme Court abolished, suggesting capital punishment as an

effective means in which to accomplish this end.<sup>10</sup>

A large majority of these provincial citizens also believe that the government in Washington, D.C. is getting too powerful for the good of the country and for the good of the individual. Numerous individuals expressed a fear that American democracy was declining into a state of totalitarianism. The federal government was perceived as rapidly increasing its interference into the daily activities of their lives. One elderly farmer, commenting on the statement, gave the following humorous remark which typifies the sentiment of many of these rural residents:

Next year I am going to sell everything I own and buy a skunk farm. That's one business I bet the federal government will not dare stick its nose into!

Included within this series of policy questions were three proposals which had been daily discussed by the mass media during the month in which the survey was taken. These topics were revenue sharing, an all-voluntary army, and taxes.<sup>11</sup> Federal revenue sharing was a proposal receiving the endorsement of sixty per cent of those surveyed. Two reasons were given for supporting this proposition. Some individuals

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<sup>10</sup>This extreme view does not necessarily reflect the attitudes of the remaining respondents. Yet, the fact clearly remains that these rural dwellers have a great hostility to the Supreme Court and its decisions. Instead of wanting the high tribunal abolished, many residents would prefer that the powers of the Supreme Court be severely restricted and its members be held accountable to the people.

<sup>11</sup>The first two topics were national headlines, while taxes were a governmental problem that was being discussed on a local, state, and national level.

saw revenue sharing as an effective way to limit the powers of the federal bureaucracy. Others viewed this proposal as an excellent solution to the many financial difficulties encountered by the state and local governments. They also visualized revenue sharing as a way to ease their own financial crises since this program would supposedly reduce their high payment of state and local taxes.

Ten per cent of the population, however, scoffed at the idea. They quickly noted the fact that the federal government did not have enough revenue to pay its own bills, much less to share its income with the state and local governments. Thirty per cent said they were not well enough informed on the issue to express an opinion, an issue that had been displayed in the headlines of the mass media since its first announcement by President Nixon.

An all-voluntary army was the second policy proposal accepted by the selected population. Except for only vague utterances about it not being morally right to draft a man against his will, no exact reasons were given for opposing the draft. A small but vocal minority strongly upheld the idea of a draft. They felt that military conscription was necessary for the United States to have a fully-prepared, competent army.

The chi-square tests found a significant difference existing between the responses given this proposal and the variable "sex". Men were more in favor of the voluntary army than women. This attitudinal difference between the sexes could be caused by the fact that men, not women, are the

ones legally subject to the draft and to the obligations of the army. See Table 6.

TABLE 6  
VOLUNTARY ARMY BY SEX

The U.S. should have an all voluntary army	Sex	
	Male	Female
Agree	17	7
Disagree	7	13
No opinion	2	4

$$\chi^2 \text{ } p = < .05$$

Cutting taxes, even if it means putting off some important things that need to be done, was an issue that polarized the opinions of these rural residents. The individuals who favored a tax cut complained that the national government was placing an unjust burden on their family income by requiring them to pay high taxes to support wasteful and unnecessary governmental programs. Those who disagreed with the proposal indicated a willingness to pay their share of taxes in order to support the greatest democracy in the world. However, in the same breath, they strongly recommended that the federal government ought to practice some fiscal responsibility. When asked to state what programs should be reduced or eliminated by the government, the answer was nearly

always the same: welfare. Some of the typical welfare comments were as follows:

They aren't any better than the rest of us. Let them work for a living. I've had to work hard all my life to support my family, why can't they? I say let them work, or let them starve!

People who accept welfare checks are nothing but lazy, shiftless bums. They are parasites who suck the blood from the nation, from the state, and from us decent folks. Disgusting! Yea, that is what it is--welfare is disgusting!

I have to work for a living. You don't see a brand new car in my garage. I don't get welfare checks like those people who drive around in those fancy, high-priced automobiles.

Foreign aid was also cited as an additional program in which governmental spending could be reduced.<sup>12</sup>

Since the survey was taken in a rural area, two farm policy proposals were included in this list of issue propositions. Farm subsidies, from their first enactment in the 1930's, have been a subject of much heated controversy in rural and urban areas alike. To test the rural opinions on this issue, each individual was asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "The government ought to end all farm subsidies within the next five years."

By a two to one margin, the answer given to this proposal was a resounding "no". Table 7 indicates that age was

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<sup>12</sup>Rural opinions on foreign aid will be examined in greater detail in following sections of the chapter. However, an association does exist between those individuals who favor a tax cut and those who want a reduction in the U.S. foreign aid program. This association merely confirms national findings. See Alfred O. Hero, Jr., "Liberalism-Conservatism Revisited: Foreign vs. Domestic Federal Policies, 1937-1967", Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIII (Fall, 1969),

TABLE 7  
OPINIONS ON FARM SUBSIDIES BY AGE

Farm subsidies ought to be eliminated in five years	Age	
	Under 55	Over 55
Agree	0	12
Disagree	15	9
No opinion	8	6

$$\chi^2 p = < .05$$

a factor which strongly influenced the responses given to this question. Individuals under fifty-five years of age preferred the continuation of the farm subsidy program while those over fifty-five years of age wanted the governmental payments terminated in the near future. The supporters of this program argue that if the federal government should discontinue its payments on farm subsidies then the family farm would face the immediate danger of extinction. On the other hand, critics claim farm subsidies have enslaved the farmer over the years by forcing him to sell his produce well below the market price. Instead of governmental payments, they favor a return to the economic law of supply and demand. They also desire a strong farmers' organization which could effectively bargain against the government, wholesale buyers, and the farm labor unions. Individuals

who were not directly associated with farming or some other branch of agriculture refused to comment on the farm subsidy question. This refusal explains the large number of "no opinions" on the proposal.

The second farm policy item stated that the federal government should guarantee every farmer an income of \$5,000 a year. An emphatic "no" was the answer given to this question by seventy-four per cent of the selected population. The eight individuals who agreed with this proposition did so with some hesitation. A few of the reactions to this proposal were as follows:

Housewife: People should have to work to earn a living and that includes farmers.

Elderly gentleman: It's un-American--this younger generation is always trying to get something for nothing.

Farmer: I don't like it--it's socialism.

Wife of a farmer: This idea is as crazy as a lightening bug in a hailstorm!

Farmer: Why not? I can't think of anyone who deserves it more than me.

Retired worker: If anyone needs help, the farmers darn sure do.

Since the remaining nine questions form two Guttman scales measuring the attitudes known as economic liberalism and internationalism, the rural opinions on these items will be discussed in the following sections of the chapter.

### Economic Liberalism

One of these two scales was constructed from responses

to five propositions on domestic issues and is referred to in the text as the index on economic liberalism. The items constituting the scale were the following:

If cities and towns around the country need help to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.

If Negroes and Mexican-Americans are not getting fair treatment in jobs and housing, the government in Washington should see to it that they do.

The government in Washington ought to see to it that everybody who wants to work can find a job.

The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost.

The government should leave things like electric power and housing for private businessmen to handle.

Rankings on this index were determined by the number of "liberal" responses given to the proposals.<sup>13</sup> Persons who were placed in the liberal end of the scale took the position currently regarded as "liberal" on four or more of the items. At the opposite end of the index were those persons who expressed the "conservative" position on at least four of these questions. Individuals whose answers fell somewhere between these two extremes were labeled moderates. A fourth category included the unscaled: respondents with too few opinions to permit placement on the scale.

Fifty-eight per cent of the sampled population were ranked as moderates on the index of economic liberalism while twenty-two per cent were identified as liberals and twenty

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<sup>13</sup>Agreement with the first four statements or disagreement with the last item is treated as a "liberal" response.

per cent were classified as conservatives. The remaining individuals were not placed on this scale since they did not express an opinion on at least two of the issues. It should be noted that this index does not rank persons along an abstract liberal-conservative continuum; but for this particular set of questions, it clearly differentiates those persons disposed to take the "liberal" position from the ones most dedicated to the "conservative" stance.

A survey of rural opinions on each of these domestic issues, like the index on economic liberalism, reflects a tone of economic moderation. See Table 8 for the opinions on these issues. Adequate health care for American citizens was the issue receiving the highest number of "liberal"

TABLE 8  
RURAL OPINIONS ON FIVE DOMESTIC ISSUES

Domestic Issues	Opinions		
	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
Health care	80%	16%	4%
Fair treatment of minorities	52%	38%	5%
Aid to education	48%	26%	26%
Federal job guarantees	48%	48%	2%
Private utilities <sup>a</sup>	32%	36%	32%

<sup>a</sup>To disagree with the statement is a "liberal" response.

responses. Eighty per cent of those surveyed agreed with the statement that the federal government ought to provide doctors and hospital care at low cost. Elderly residents confined their answers to an endorsement of the present medicare program, but the younger respondents advocated a national health care program which would cover the medical expenses of all Americans, regardless of their age. Interpretating this statement to mean socialized medicine, sixteen per cent of the respondents refused to support the proposition. They asserted that the federal government did not have the right to interfere in the private affairs of the medical profession.

The second item in this index was the question receiving the next highest number of liberal answers. Slightly over one-half of the inhabitants upheld the idea of the federal government protecting the rights of minority groups to fair treatment in jobs and in housing. An adamant minority disagreed with the proposal complaining that the government had already done too much in this policy area. These respondents also claimed they were being discriminated against because of their race--they were white! Some of the emotions on this issue can be seen in these remarks:

Elderly farmer: If you ask me, Washington has done enough already. We did not have any riots until them Kennedy brothers stirred things up in the South. I don't see why the government does not mind its own business and let the Negroes attend to theirs. We would have far less trouble that way.

High school senior: To get a job in this country, you have to be black, poor, and uneducated. I can't qualify on any of these points. I guess I am sunk.

Clerical worker: If you apply for a job and a black man applies to; guess who is employed? The government makes them hire the blacks regardless of their qualifications. It ain't fair, but that's how it is.

Nevertheless, a liberal trend was noted in the rural replies to these two questions. This trend towards liberalism declines in the answers to the next proposition.

Only a plurality of these rural residents favored federal aid to education. Those who supported this idea did so with one qualification: Aid to the school systems would have to be limited to financial help with no federal rules or regulations attached to the grant. This fear of losing local control over their school districts caused a substantial number of individuals to bitterly denounce the proposal. Others, wondering if the schools systems really were in need of financial help, remained neutral on the question.

Income was a factor making a significant difference in the responses to this question. Low-incomed individuals had a more negative attitude towards federal aid to education than the high-incomed group. See Table 9.

Liberalism, as an economic philosophy, continued to weaken in the responses to the remaining two items. The proposal advocating federal job guarantees evenly split the answers among the surveyed population. Those adhering to this idea thought everyone should have the opportunity to work and earn a living, even if the federal government had to provide the jobs. Refusing to limit their comments to the item in question, many individuals broadened their

TABLE 9  
OPINIONS ON FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION BY INCOME

The government ought to give federal aid to public schools	Income	
	Under \$7,000	Over \$7,000
Agree	12	12
Disagree	13	0
No opinion	6	7

$$x^2 \text{ p} = < .05$$

answers to include a general condemnation of the economic policies of the Nixon administration. Respondents who were critical of this proposal insisted that a person could find a job if he was willing to take the initiative and look for it. In their judgment, the national government had only one responsibility towards its citizens--the protection of their life, liberty, and property.

No clear consensus was reached on the public utilities question since a large number of respondents refused to comment on the subject. Many residents were reluctant to take a stand on the issue due to the evidenced results of two federal programs administered within the area: the Rural Electrification Administration and low-income housing. Providing electricity to the rural regions, the Rural Electrification Administration was evaluated as one of the most successful programs ever attempted by the national government.

Low-income housing, however, produced more negative appraisals. Because of some unfortunate circumstances in the local administration of the program, numerous individuals considered this governmental policy a boondoggle and regarded the low-income houses as dens of sin. Divided between the results of these two programs, approximately one-third of the inhabitants remained neutral on this issue.

### Internationalism

Four items relating to foreign policy were included in the second scale measuring the attitude known as internationalism. The items in this index were as follows:

This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.

The United States should give economic help to the poorer countries of the world even if they can't pay for it.

The United States should keep soldiers overseas where they can help countries that are against communism.

The United States should give help to foreign countries even if they are not as much against communism as we are.

Conforming to their willingness to support involvement abroad on the kinds of matters covered by these questions, persons were placed into one of three rankings on this scale: internationalist (3-4); moderates (2); and isolationist (0-1). The numerical values included with the parenthesis represents the number of "internationalist" positions taken

by the respondents in the respective categories.<sup>14</sup> Persons taking the "internationalist" position on all the items differ in outlook from those taking the contrary view.

According to recent voting studies, isolationist sentiments on these four statements have been found to be most prevalent among rural dwellers.<sup>15</sup> Data collected from this survey seems to confirm these findings. The foreign policy attitude most dominant in the opinions of the Star and Center City voters was isolationism. Individuals from the lower economic class are more inclined to give "isolationist" responses than the high-incomed group, but not to a significant degree. See Table 10.

Some conflicting dispositions were noted in the rural replies to these four items. See Table 11. Nearly three-fourths of the population disagreed with the statement that the United States government would be better off if it did not concern itself with problems in other parts of the world. A large majority of the respondents taking the "internationalist" position on the question seem to realize that the United States could not totally withdraw from world affairs and still expect to exist as a free and independent nation.

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<sup>14</sup>Disagreement with the first item and agreement with the remaining four items is defined as the "internationalist" positions. The eight individuals who refused to express an opinion on two or more of these issues were omitted from the scale for comparison purposes in the next chapter.

<sup>15</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967), pp. 130-132, and Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter, pp. 210-230.

TABLE 10  
ATTITUDES ON INTERNATIONALISM BY INCOME

Rankings on the index of Internationalism	Income	
	Under \$7,000	\$Over \$7,000
Internationalist (3-4)	7	6
Moderates (2)	5	7
Isolationist (0-1)	14	3
N = 42		$\chi^2 \text{ p} = < .05$

TABLE 11  
RURAL OPINIONS ON FOUR FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

Foreign Policy Issues	Opinions		
	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
Stay at home <sup>a</sup>	26%	74%	0%
Keep soldiers overseas	42%	38%	20%
Aid to poorer nations	32%	52%	14%
Aid to neutral nations	24%	46%	30%

<sup>a</sup>To disagree with the proposal is an "internationalist" response.

The extent of America's involvement abroad, however, is a debatable topic as can be seen in the responses to the next question. Those who took the "isolationist" position on this proposal insisted that the United States, due to financial and military limitations, could no longer afford to play the role of the world's policeman. Advocating a return to the idea of "fortress America", they asserted that the government of the United States should try to solve some of its internal problems and should let the perplexing situations of the world be damned.

Stationing soldiers overseas was a foreign policy proposal receiving the endorsement of only a simple plurality of the respondents. The proponents of the idea thought it was better to fight communism in foreign countries than to fight it here at home. Opponents countered with the argument that American boys should not be expected to fight and die in the wars of another foreign nation, regardless of the circumstances. Many individuals on both sides of the issue thought the United States could protect its vital international interest by assisting its allies in all possible ways short of military involvement.<sup>16</sup> Others endorsed the idea of complete neutrality as the wisest policy to pursue in this area.

The two items on foreign aid clearly reveal the isolationist sentiment among the voters in the selected precincts.

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<sup>16</sup>Many of these same individuals quickly contradicted themselves in the remaining two questions by refusing to support the items on foreign aid. No explanation can be offered for this strange phenomenon.

Over one-half of those interviewed wanted to eliminate foreign aid to the poorer countries of the world. They insisted that this money could be better spent in America helping solve some of the nation's problems instead of being spent abroad supporting some "tin-horn" dictator. Advocates of foreign aid could give only one reason for their stand: It was the Christian duty of all wealthy nations to help countries who were less fortunate than they.

This negative attitude towards foreign aid was also noted in the responses to the last question, but to a lesser degree. No clear consensus was reached on this item due to the large number of "no opinions" expressed on the subject. Many residents did not comment on the statement since they were not well enough informed on the issue to make a judgment. Those who did express an opinion rejected the idea of giving foreign aid to neutral nations by a two to one margin.

Any summary of the foreign policy attitudes of these rural residents must include the following three points: (1) The United States should maintain its involvement in world affairs, but to a more limited degree; (2) Appropriations for foreign aid should be severely reduced, if not entirely eliminated from the federal budget; and (3) American troops should be employed in foreign situations only when the nation's security is directly threatened. From this brief analysis of foreign policy attitudes, the thesis will procede to examine rural opinions on the concept known as civil liberties.

### Civil Liberties

Civil liberties may be defined as personal and property rights that are legally guaranteed by the government against violation by either the government or private persons. Personal rights relate to the status or condition of the individual whereas property rights are the legal safeguards to the ownership of lands, goods, or other assets.<sup>17</sup>

The instrument used to measure this attitude was composed of five controversial statements, each dealing with a separate civil liberties issue, and each to be answered either "agree", "disagree", or "no opinion".<sup>18</sup> The items in this instrument were:

Personal ability alone should determine an applicant's right to a job regardless of his race, religion, or national origin.

Law enforcement officials should have the right to listen in on private telephone conversations whenever in their judgment it is necessary for carrying on their work.

Governmental authorities should be allowed to ban books and movies which they consider harmful to the public interest.

The Communist Party should be made illegal in the United States.

Residents of a neighborhood should be entitled to prevent members of any particular racial or religious group from living there.

An index of civil liberties was constructed from the

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<sup>17</sup>"Civil Liberties," The World Book Encyclopedia, 11th ed., III, 1461.

<sup>18</sup>None of the survey respondents utilized the "no opinion" option on any of these five questions.

responses given to these issues. A statistical technique known as Guttman's scaling was used to test the unidimensionality of these five items. The coefficient of scalability obtained from this statistical technique conclusively indicated that these propositions measured only one attitude--the attitude identified as civil liberties.

In constructing this index, the following procedure was used. An "agree" answer to the first item or a "disagree" response to the remaining issues indicated a support of civil liberties and was given a score of one. This process was continued until all the questions had been asked. After adding up each individual's total number of "libertarian" responses, persons were placed into one of the three rankings on this index. These categories constituted, in the order listed, the following percentages of the total sample: authoritarians 6%; moderates 84%; and libertarians 10%.<sup>19</sup>

Each of the two items on civil rights received a majority of "libertarian" responses from the selected population. See Table 12. Everyone agreed that personal ability alone should determine an applicant's right to a job regardless of his race, creed, or color. Legal segregation of neighborhoods, the last item in this index, was rejected by eighty-six per cent of the population. This might be considered an amazing result since only a few years ago these same individuals discouraged Mexican-Americans from establishing

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<sup>19</sup>Authoritarians gave one or less "libertarian" responses; moderates gave two to three answers; and libertarians gave four to five responses.

TABLE 12  
RURAL OPINIONS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

Items on Civil Liberties	Opinions	
	Agree	Disagree
Personal ability alone	100%	0%
Wire tapping	74%	26%
Ban books and movies	86%	14%
Communist Party illegal	80%	20%
Segregation of neighborhood	12%	88%

residences in the communities. There has evidently been a broadening of racial understanding in these two precincts during the past decade. This change in racial attitudes was noted in several comments, but an elderly housewife best summed it up when she said:

A few years ago, I would not have even tolerated a Mexican living next door to me. Now I have one and we get along fairly well. I would not even object if some blacks moved into the community, as long as they were respectable. I guess color does not matter so much anymore--a person's character, that's what counts.

The twelve per cent who wanted to prevent minority groups from living within their communities constantly stressed the idea of property rights taking precedence over human rights. The following question was nearly always hidden some where in their responses: "If the residents own

their own property, why should they not be entitled to prevent undesirables from living there?" Undesirables in this case usually referred to Mexican-Americans or Negroes. The large number of "libertarian" responses to these items on civil rights presents a noticeable contrast when compared with the more "authoritarian" replies given to the remaining three questions in this index.

The so-called "red scare" of the fifties evidently still exists in the provincial thinking of these residents. Four individuals out of every five thought the Communist Party ought to be declared illegal in the United States. Those taking this position viewed communism as both an internal and external threat to the nation's security. They could not rationally visualize any reasons why the privileges enjoyed by the current political parties should be shared with such a dangerous and deadly enemy. Those who took the opposite position could see no danger in letting the Communist Party participate in the electoral process, providing it was willing to abide by the democratic rules of the game. One farmer expressed his opinion on the subject in the following manner:

Let them have their own party. The only ones who will be attracted to that party are freaks, a few minority groups, some radical students, and other weird specimens of the human race. I darn sure would not vote for the "pinkos", I can tell you that.

Eighty-six per cent of the population gave affirmative answers to the statement that the federal government ought to ban books and movies considered harmful to the public interest.

Books and movies which dealt with the lurid details of sex were, in the opinions of these voters, the ones most harmful to the general public. Playboy magazine won the distinction of being the most frequently-mentioned topic for governmental censorship. A few individuals expatiated the statement's definition to include a governmental "regulation" of the mass media, especially the so-called Eastern, liberal wing of the press.<sup>20</sup> These respondents insinuated that the national press was not currently practicing responsible journalism and never would without governmental regulations. The voters who opposed this idea asserted that no government had the right to tell a person what he could or could not read. However, they thought some censorship was needed in certain books and movies, but they contemplated a local committee of citizens doing the censoring, not the national government.

Wire-tapping received the least number of "authoritarian" replies in comparison with the responses to the other two items. Yet, over three-fourths of the people still condoned this proposition. Several individuals thought the use of wire-tapping should be limited to local law enforcement officers since they were the ones who could be most easily removed from office if they abused these powers. Others would confine wire-tapping to cases which directly involved the nation's security. A few individuals said they would not even object if their telephone conversations were daily

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<sup>20</sup>For some unknown reason, these individuals preferred to use the word "regulation" instead of "censorship" in their responses to this question.

monitored by these officials. One elderly lady expressed her feelings this way:

Why should I care if law officers want to listen to me on the phone. I have done nothing wrong and I have nothing to hide. Besides they might learn some juicy gossip that way! (She chuckles.) It seems to me that crooks are the only ones who should object to this; and heaven knows, I am in favor of anything that will catch a crook.

Respondents who were against this proposal constituted only one-fourth of the sample. These individuals considered wire-tapping a violation of a person's constitutional rights, and they strongly recommended that this governmental practice be terminated as quickly as possible.

The "authoritarian" replies to these last three items sharply contrast with the responses given to another statement in the questionnaire. As previously noted, a large majority of these rural residents expressed agreement with the statement that the federal government was getting too powerful for the good of the country and for the good of the individual. Yet, many of these same individuals supported policy propositions in the civil liberties index which would have greatly increased that authority. No reasons can be offered to explain this contradiction of human nature. The last topic to be analyzed in this study is political party affiliations and their effect on the outcome of elections.

#### Political Party Affiliations

"Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an American Party member, or an

Independent?" was the question used in obtaining the party identifications of these rural residents. Seventy-four per cent of the population classified themselves as Democrats; six per cent said they were Republicans; and the remaining twenty-two per cent who indicated no party preference were labeled Independents. When these Independents were asked to choose between the three, major parties, the following political affiliations resulted: Democrats 84%; Republicans 6%; and American Independent Party 0%.

An effort was made to explain this strong allegiance to the Democratic Party by asking the respondent a series of questions on his likes and dislikes about each political party. Approximately one-third of the residents were members of the Democratic Party because of their heritage. These people stated that their parents and/or grandparents had been life-long Democrats, and they saw no reason why they should break with this family tradition. Other individuals supported the Democratic Party because they thought it best represented the interest of the farmer or because it was the party of the common man. Some typical comments given to this question are listed below:

It's simple. I am a Democrat because my parents are Democrats.

The Democratic Party best represents the interest of little folks like us.

I lived through one depression caused by the Republicans, and I don't hanker to do that again. I always vote Democratic.

All I know is that when the Democrats are in office,

We have good farm prices. When the Republicans are returned to power, prices go down. I usually support the Democrats.

Ever since the Civil War, my family has been Democrats. Besides, you have to be a Democrat to have any say in the local government.

I just love everything about the Democratic Party except their liberal attitude.

As indicated in the last statement, the Democratic Party was criticized for being too liberal on the social issues. Many residents thought the party was far too lenient in its attitudes toward law and order, welfare, student protests, and civil rights. They condemned the leaders of the Democratic Party who were advocating these policies, since they considered them traitors to the principles on which the party was founded.

The likes and dislikes of these residents toward the Republican Party were just the opposite of those given toward the Democrats. Republicans were praised for their conservative stand on the social issues and for their noble attempts for world peace. The party was bitterly criticized for its economic policies which were being blamed for a recession in farm prices. The Republicans were also disliked for their image of being a proponent of big business. Several individuals said they would actively support the Republican Party in the near future, providing the policies established by the Nixon administration did not result in an economic disaster. During the month in which this survey was taken, these respondents confessed that the nation's economic policies, as initiated under President Nixon, offered them

little encouragement for changing their party identity.<sup>21</sup>

The future of the American Independent Party in these two rural precincts does not seem to be very bright. No favorable comments towards this political party were mentioned in the responses of the selected population. Many individuals could not even identify this party with the candidacy of George Wallace for president, much less express an opinion on the party's program. Those who were familiar with this party condemned its radical policies as an attempt to destroy the unity of the nation.

A noticeable lack of sophistication towards political parties in general were reflected in the large number of "no comments" given to these inquiries. One-third of the residents replied "no comment" to the questions on the Democrats; three-fifths indicated "no opinion" on the two items about the Republicans; and four-fifths pleaded neutrality on the American Independent Party. Numerous individuals stated they were just not well enough informed on the political parties to express an opinion. Others said there was no distinguishing differences between the three political parties; and therefore, their opinions on these questions were not warranted. Either way, these responses reveal a depreciable lack of interest towards political parties among these rural dwellers.

The strength of an individual's membership in any

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<sup>21</sup>This survey was taken a few days before President Nixon enacted his wage and price freeze. What effect this policy will have on their political attitudes still remains to be seen.

political party was measured by the following item in the questionnaire:

Some people think that if a voter votes for one party for president, he should vote for the same party for senator and congressman. Do you agree or disagree?

Seventy-six per cent of the electorate disagreed with this statement saying it was better to vote for the man than to vote for the party. Twenty-four per cent--all Democrats--agreed with the remark citing party loyalty as the reason for voting the straight ticket. A party precinct chairman best expressed the sentiments of these Democrats when she remarked:

If you are going to be a Democrat, go all the way you son of a gun!

It can be hypothesized from these responses that the nominee of the Democratic Party, regardless of his qualifications, in any given election can be assured of over twenty per cent of the votes cast in these rural precincts.

Several endeavors were made in the survey to gain some future insight into the 1972 presidential elections. Since these rural residents were highly partisan towards the Democratic Party, a Democratic presidential preference poll was included in the questionnaire. From a list of seven, prominently-mentioned candidates, each respondent was asked to select the one man he would most likely see win his party's nomination for president. According to the results of this poll, the three top contenders are Senator Edmund Muskie,

Senator Henry Jackson, and Senator George McGovern.<sup>33</sup> Some of the justifications given for supporting these three men are noted in the following comments:

Muskie supporters:

Housewife: He's honest and he's sincere.

Rancher: He tells it like it is.

Businessman: He appears to be a man you can trust. He's not like that two-faced Humphrey.

Jackson supporters:

College student: I like his stand on the Vietnam War and his belief in the military.

Farmer: He supported my boy when he was in Vietnam. I appreciated that.

Elderly farmer: He makes good sense. He's not one of those flaming liberal kooks.

McGovern supporters:

Housewife: He has got guts. McGovern was against the war when that stand was not so popular. I am all for him.

Dairyman: I like McGovern because he has always fought for the dairy farmer. We need someone in Washington who is on our side. I even gave a hundred dollars to help his cause.

The only candidate who would appear to be an anathema to these residents is Senator Edward Kennedy. Sixty-four per cent of the population said they would not vote for Edward Kennedy under any circumstances.<sup>34</sup> The Chappaquiddick

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<sup>33</sup>Percentage tables showing the complete results of this poll can be found in Appendix II. The question used in obtaining these results can be found in Appendix I.

<sup>34</sup>This information was obtained by asking each respondent to name the one candidate he would least like to see win the nomination, see Appendix I. The answers to these questions

incident, a fear for his life, and his Catholic religion were three reasons given for not endorsing his candidacy. Some of these typical comments were:

A party worker: If he can't drive a car on a bridge, how can he expect to lead a nation?

Young housewife: I don't want a murderer for President.

Farmer: Give me anybody but a Kennedy. I've had a belly full of them!

Student: He does not desire to die. If he won the nomination, some nut would kill him.

Housewife: If I wanted to be ruled by the Pope, I would move to Rome.

The survey's second preference poll consisted of a mock presidential election between Senator Edmund Muskie (Democratic nominee); Richard Nixon (Republican nominee); and George Wallace (American Independent Party nominee). In a three-way race for president, Muskie clearly holds a commanding lead. The Senator from Maine captured forty-two per cent of these rural votes; Richard Nixon received thirty per cent; George Wallace got only twelve per cent; and sixteen per cent of the population refused to choose a nominee claiming the election was too far away for them to make a wise choice. When the Wallace name is withdrawn from this list of potential candidates, the presidential election becomes a toss-up as evidenced in these figures: Muskie 44%; Nixon 40%; and undecided 16%. At least in these two precincts, the Democrats are the chief benefactors of a

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can be found in Appendix III.

Wallace presidential bid. A vote for Wallace is a vote taken away from Richard Nixon.

Based on the rejoinders given to several items in the questionnaire, the state of the economy in 1972 will be the number one political issue on which an individual will cast his national ballots.<sup>35</sup> The social issues, which include such things as crime in the streets, drug problems among the youth, riots in the cities, and a lack of national unity, will also be a persuasive factor in determining a person's choice for the 1972 presidential race. Although the Vietnam War was listed as one of the nation's greatest problems, the residents were still very reluctant to base their electoral choice solely on this issue. Instead, they would list the economic or social problems as the reasons why they were going to vote a certain way, and they would mention the war as an issue substantiating that decision. If the economy does not revive by the 1972 elections, then the Democratic candidate for president will carry these two precincts by a substantial margin. If prosperity does return to the nation and if the Democrats refuse to take a more conservative stand on the social issues, the Republican nominee will capture an unprecedented victory within the region.

On the state level, the number one political issue is

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<sup>35</sup>The information contained in this paragraph is based on the replies given to the following two questions: "In your opinion, what is the greatest problem faced by our nation?" and "What is the greatest problem faced by you and your family?" (The answers to these items can be found in Appendix II.) Responses given to the presidential polls were also included in the analysis.

the stock-fraud scandal. This fact was clearly evident in the responses given to the governor's preferential poll included within the questionnaire. Each survey participant was asked to choose the one candidate, from a list of four potential nominees, that he would most like to see win the Democratic nomination for governor. Dolph Briscoe, as seen in Table 13, is definitely the people's choice.

TABLE 13  
GOVERNOR'S PREFERENCE POLL

The candidate you would most like to see governor.	The candidate you would least like to see governor.
Dolph Briscoe . . . 44%	Ben Barnes . . . . . 54%
Preston Smith . . . 16%	Preston Smith. . . . 24%
Ben Barnes. . . . . 10%	Ralph Yarborough . . 12%
Ralph Yarborough. . 8%	Dolph Briscoe. . . . 2%
Undecided . . . . . 22%	No comment . . . . . 4%

This banker-rancher from Uvalde has long been known as one of the leading advocates of rural causes in Texas. Through his progressive efforts to improve the living conditions within the rural communities, Briscoe has won the friendship of numerous people living in the non-urban areas of the state. The Star and Center City precincts proved no exception to this rule. Untainted by the recent scandals which have rocked Texas politics, Dolph Briscoe is seen by his supporters as the only "honest" man entered in the race:

Farmer: I'll tell you why I am for Briscoe. He's the only honest man running for the office.

Housewife: Briscoe is my favorite because he was not involved in those scandals. I will vote for him even if he is a millionaire.

Rancher: I like Briscoe because he has fought for the farmer. That's more than I can say for Barnes.

Housewife: My husband say's we had better vote for Briscoe, if we want decent government. That's the way I guess I'll vote.

Severely damaged by the stock scandals, Preston Smith still placed second in a four-way race for governor. Smith is considered a hero among the public school teachers within the region, and he receives most of his support from these public instructors of education. A school superintendent best expressed the attitudes of these Smith supporters when he said:

In my opinion, Governor Smith has fought bravely for the school teachers in the state. I will support him in the primaries because of this effort. Besides, I think those "dirty" Republicans in Washington are trying to frame the Governor. They want to destroy the Democratic Party in this state. Well, it won't work, I can tell you that!

Ben Barnes draws his endorsements from individuals under twenty-five years of age while Ralph Yarborough captures the votes of the low-incomed elderly. To the young, Barnes is the only man who can best represent their interests in the state since he is the only candidate under forty-five years of age. To the elderly, Ralph Yarborough is their financial saviour since he was the leading proponent of higher old-age pension benefits.

Preston Smith and Ben Barnes, in the opinions of these voters, have had their promising political careers tarnished by the recent stock-fraud scandals in Texas. When the survey respondents were asked to identify the one individual they would least like to see win the Democratic nomination for governor, these residents would promptly name Ben Barnes or Preston Smith or both. See Table 13.<sup>36</sup> Due to his alleged involvement in the Sharpstown affair, numerous individuals have judged Preston Smith as no longer qualified to hold the office of Governor of Texas. Others who are sharply critical of his lack of effective leadership during the two terms of his administration have indicated they will not support his re-election bid.

Ben Barnes, the "hottest political property in the state of Texas" was found to be cold as an iceberg in the opinions of this rural electorate.<sup>37</sup> Three reasons were given by the voters for not supporting his candidacy. First, whether justifiable or not, many persons still persist in their beliefs that Ben Barnes was directly involved in the Sharpstown scandals, but did not get caught. Other residents have never forgiven the Lieutenant Governor for his alleged attempt to put a sales tax on food during a special session

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<sup>36</sup>When the respondents gave more than one name, as was quite often the case, the first name given was the one used in the construction of Table 13. A more-detailed table showing the exact responses given to this item can be found in Appendix II.

<sup>37</sup>Jimmy Banks, Money, Marbles and Chalk (Austin: Texas Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 216-220.

of the legislature in 1969. A few people bitterly resent Barnes' quick rise in the political arena as noticed in the following remark:

Farmer: He has got just too big for his britches. It's time the people of Texas knock him down a knotch.

The rural inhabitants who opposed the Yarborough nomination for governor did so because of his liberal philosophy. These individuals claimed that Yarborough's stand on such issues as governmental spending, welfare, civil rights, and the Supreme Court did not represent the interests of a majority of Texans. The personal integrity and the political philosophy of Dolph Briscoe were two factors that greatly enhanced his candidacy. A lack of experience in the affairs of state government was the chief criticism raised against his gubernatorial bid.

In summation, the voters in these two precincts are in a restless mood. On a national level, they want a prosperous economy with social stability. These residents are willing to vote for any political party that will offer them that alternative. On the state level, the electorate desires a governor who will bring an "honest" approach to politics in addition to bringing some much needed reform to Texas government. The candidate who can best convey this image of leadership to the voters will carry this region in the election of 1972.

## CHAPTER III

### A COMPARISON OF THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE RURAL AND NATIONAL ELECTORATES

#### Six Tentative Assumptions

To confine this study to the political attitudes of a selected, rural electorate is to defeat the stated objective of this thesis. Therefore, in this chapter of the text, an effort is made to accept or reject the working hypothesis proposed for this paper: There are no significant attitudinal differences between the selected population and the population of the nation as a whole.

In order to test this hypothesis, the analysis must first ascertain the validity of six tentative assumptions. These suppositions are listed as follows:

1. People who live in a rural community tend to have a lower level of political involvement than the average American.
2. Rural dwellers have less issue familiarity than the general electorate.
3. Provincial voters are more conservative on the economic issues than their national counterparts.
4. Agrarians are inclined to be more isolationist in their foreign policy attitudes than other components of the nation's population.
5. The residents of Mills County are more authoritarian in their views toward civil liberties than the national sample.

6. Rural Texans have a greater allegiance to the Democratic Party than the general public.

To verify each of these generalizations, the paper must first perceive the political outlook of the American electorate. This information was obtained from voting studies, books, periodicals, and public opinion polls. The data taken from these resource materials was then collated with the survey results of the two selected precincts. Buchanan's Percentage Table of Significant Differences was the statistical technique used to determine if any important variances exist between the attitudes of the two populations.<sup>1</sup> The findings of this comparative study are presented in the remaining pages of the text.

#### Political Involvement

On the first political attitude, the dispositions of the national and rural constituencies were significantly different. Provincial voters took a more active role in the affairs of politics than did the national sample. Since this fact contradicts the first assumption proposed by the paper, this generalization was rejected by the text.

The psychological interest of the Star and Center City voters in election campaigns was not significantly different from the interest expressed by the population as a whole.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>William Buchanan, Understanding Political Variables (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p. 87. An excellent discussion on how to apply this technique can be found in pages 83-88 of this book.

<sup>2</sup>Percentage tables comparing the rural and national

A discrepancy was noticed, however, between the rankings of the two populations on the participation index. As shown in Table 14, provincial voters were more inclined to become involved in campaign activities than their national counterparts:

TABLE 14  
RURAL AND NATIONAL RANKINGS ON THE  
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION INDEX

Rankings on the Index	Sample	
	Rural	National
Apathetics (0) <sup>a</sup>	38%	63%
Spectators (1-2)	46%	30%
Gladiators (3-6)	16%	7%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1450)

<sup>a</sup>The numerical value included within the parenthesis represents the number of activities engaged in by the individuals in each classification.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson, et al., Measures of Political Attitudes (University of Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1969) p. 594.

Proselyting and a willingness to work for one of the parties or one of the candidates were the two activities

responses to the items in the questionnaire can be found in Appendix II.

responsible for the higher rankings of the rural electorate on this scale. Forty-six per cent of the voters from the selected precincts had expressed their political opinions during the last election campaign. On the national level, only thirty-one per cent of the respondents had verbalized a political preference.<sup>3</sup> Twenty-two per cent of the selected population had actively campaigned for the nominees of their party compared to only eight per cent of the national sample. A word of caution should be given to the reader before he reaches any definite conclusions on the second comparison: This difference between the two populations could be explained by a unique event surrounding the 1970 general election. The Republican Party's strong effort to win the Governorship of Texas, in addition to another U.S. Senate seat, motivated many "loyal" Democrats within the region to vigorously campaign for their political party. If the Republican challenge had not been present, the probability that these rural respondents would have participated in this campaign activity is almost non-existent.<sup>4</sup>

On the four items measuring a person's ability to understand and influence the actions of government, there was

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<sup>3</sup>The national information in this paragraph was taken from John Robinson, et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, July, 1969), p. 591.

<sup>4</sup>All of the respondents but one mentioned the Republican effort as a reason for their participation in this campaign activity. If it had not been for this Republican challenge, the author contends there would have been no significant difference between the two populations on the item.

only one distinction between the two groups: Agrarians had less trust in their public officials than the general public. See Table 15. In Chapter Two of the text, individuals under fifty-five years of age were reported to have a more benevolent attitude towards the officials of government than those over fifty-five years of age.<sup>5</sup> Since national voting studies substantiate this research finding, the large number of senior citizens residing in the rural precincts could be one variable partially explaining this difference between the two constituencies.<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 15  
TRUST IN PUBLIC OFFICIALS BY SAMPLES

Public officials don't care about me	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	66%	37%
Disagree	34%	61%
No opinion	0%	2%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1500)

Source: National data taken from John Robinson, et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 635.

<sup>5</sup>See Chapter Two, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup>Since most voting studies are based on data from the

When the four items were combined into a political efficacy index, no significant differences were reported between the two rankings on this scale. Percentage tables comparing these rankings can be found in Appendix II. In summary, the eagerness of the rural electorate to participate in the selection processes of government was the one discriminating feature between the two populations on the attitude of political involvement.

### Issue Familiarity

The thesis' second generalization also proved to be an invalid statement. Residents of the Star and Center City precincts had nearly the same degree of issue familiarity on the sixteen propositions as the general public. See Table 16. Although the rankings of both samples on this scale were similar to each other, there were some unique variances in their responses to each of the propositions in this index.<sup>7</sup>

The selected population from Central Texas had less trust in the institutions of government than the national sample. When compared to the general public, the voters in these two precincts were twice as likely to support the

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Survey Research Center, see John Robinson et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, pp. 627-631.

<sup>7</sup>Percentage tables comparing the responses to each of these items can be found in Appendix II. It should be noted that six questions in the rural survey are different from the items employed in the original index which was developed in 1956. See V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Knopf Co., 1967), pp. 560-561. The reason for this substitution was the author's belief that the original questions were no longer important issues confronting the United States government.

TABLE 16  
RURAL AND NATIONAL RANKINGS ON THE  
ISSUE FAMILIARITY INDEX

Rankings on the Index	Sample	
	Rural	National
Twelve issues or less	40%	44%
Thirteen-fourteen issues	34%	35%
Fifteen-sixteen issues	26%	21%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1762)

Source: National data taken from Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1969), p. 66 and V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Knopf Co., 1967), p. 564.

statement that the federal government was getting too powerful for the good of the country and the good of the individual. By an even wider margin, these local residents were more critical of the U.S. Supreme Court and its rulings. This negative attitude towards governmental institutions was also reflected in their replies to the item on cutting taxes by reducing governmental spending. A large plurality of the rural respondents favored the idea of a tax cut whereas the national sample gave more negative replies to this proposal.

An all voluntary army and federal revenue sharing were two additional issues on which the populations were

significantly different in their political outlooks. The provincial electorate wanted the United States government to have an all voluntary army while the general public still favored the idea of a national draft. On the second question, the national population was more inclined to support the idea of federal revenue sharing than the rural dwellers. Since the remaining nine propositions in this index form two scales measuring the attitudes of economic liberalism and internationalism, the opinions of the two samples on these issues will be compared in the following pages of the chapter.<sup>8</sup>

### Economic Liberalism

When the economic attitudes of the rural population were contrasted with the views of the national sample, no significant differences were reported between the two groups. As can be seen in Table 17, the rankings of the Star and Center City voters on the economic liberalism index were very similiar to the rankings of the general public. Since the data in Table 17 does not verify the paper's third expectation, this tentative assumption was rejected by the text.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>The two, farm-policy propositions were omitted from this comparative study since recent surveys have failed to measure the nation's opinions on these two items.

<sup>9</sup>When the national and rural responses to the five domestic issues in this index are compared collectively, no significant differences are reported between the two populations. However, if a comparison was made between the opinions of the two samples on each issue in this index, two differences would exist. When compared to the general public, the provincial voters are more inclined to take the "liberal" position on the two items advocating low-cost medical care and federal aid to education.

TABLE 17  
NATIONAL AND RURAL RANKINGS ON THE  
ECONOMIC LIBERALISM INDEX

Rankings on the Index	Sample	
	Rural	National
Conservative (0-1) <sup>a</sup>	10%	18%
Moderate (2-3)	68%	57%
Liberal (4-5)	22%	25%
Total <sup>b</sup>	100%	100%
(N)	(42)	(1276)

<sup>a</sup>The numerical value enclosed within the parenthesis represents the number of "liberal" positions taken by each individual in the three classifications on this scale.

<sup>b</sup>The number of cases in this table is smaller than the total sample, since many individuals in both surveys gave too few opinions to permit placement on this index.

Source: The national data is based on figures in V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, p. 158 and John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, pp. 521-525; 547.

#### Internationalism

An analysis of the foreign policy attitudes of the two populations confirm the chapter's fourth generalization: Agrarians are more isolationist in their foreign policy beliefs than the general public. The rankings of both groups on the internationalism index is presented in Table 18.

The variances between the two rankings on this scale

TABLE 18  
NATIONAL AND RURAL RANKINGS ON THE  
INTERNATIONALISM INDEX

Ranking on the Index	Sample	
	Rural	National
Isolationist (0-1) <sup>a</sup>	50%	18%
Moderates (2)	24%	27%
Internationalists (3-4)	26%	55%
Total <sup>b</sup>	100%	100%
(N)	(42)	(1395)

<sup>a</sup>The numerical value enclosed within the parenthesis represents the number of "internationalist" positions taken by each individual in the three categories on this scale.

<sup>b</sup>The number of cases in this table is smaller than the total number of respondents in the sample, since many individuals in both surveys expressed too few opinions to permit placement on the scale.

Source: The national data was taken from V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, p. 107.

were caused by the different reactions of the rural and national populations to the four foreign policy propositions in the index. A large majority of the Star and Center City voters wanted the United States government to take a less-active role in world politics while the general population took the opposite view. The isolationist sentiments of the provincial electorate were found to be most prevalent on the two foreign aid propositions and on the question of whether

the United States should continue its policy of stationing soldiers overseas.<sup>10</sup> See Appendix II. No significant differences were established between the responses to the first item in the index, since both samples thought the United States should not completely withdraw from world affairs. From this brief analysis of the foreign policy dispositions of the two populations, the thesis will proceed to examine the attitude of civil liberties.

### Civil Liberties

No definite conclusions were reached on the paper's fifth presupposition since the national voting studies have failed, as of yet, to develop any statistical device to measure the attitude of civil liberties. Due to this situation, the rankings of the Star and Center City voters on the index of civil liberties could not be compared with the non-existent rankings of the national sample. Therefore, the only alternative left for the investigation was to collate the opinions of the two populations on each of the five items constituting this scale. In some cases, this strategy proved to be fallible since the opinions of the American public could not be determined on some of the issues in question.<sup>11</sup> The

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<sup>10</sup>Although the rural population gave more "isolationist" replies to the item on foreign aid to neutral nations than the national sample, the differences between the two populations were not significant. On the other two questions, a significant difference did exist.

<sup>11</sup>Two statements on which no national opinions could be found are the following: "Personal ability alone should determine an applicant's right to a job" and "The Communist Party should be made illegal in the United States."

findings of the comparisons that were made are listed as follows:

1. No significant differences were reported between the two populations on the question of governmental censorship. Both groups thought the government ought to have the right to ban books and movies which it considered harmful to the public health.
2. The Star and Center City voters were more inclined to take the "libertarian" position on the question of legal segregation of neighborhoods than the general public. Although a majority of the respondents in each sample were against the idea of segregated communities, the Mills County voters took the negative attitude on this proposal to a significantly greater degree.
3. Wire-tapping was an issue which differentiated the opinions of the two samples. Voters in the selected precincts were strongly in favor of wire-tapping while the national population was against the idea.

The attitudes of the rural residents towards the Communist Party in America are more likely to be less broad minded than the disposition of the average, American citizen; although no exact comparisons were made between the two groups. Stouffer's work on communism has reported the low-income, high-school educated residents to be the individuals who most fear the communist threat.<sup>12</sup> Since a large majority of the respondents in the selected precincts have a low-income and are high-school educated, these individuals should be unwilling to tolerate any political group that does not conform to the American way of life. The large number of affirmative replies given by the provincial electorate to the statement

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<sup>12</sup>Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955), pp. 262-270.

that the Communist Party should be made illegal in the United States seems to confirm Stouffer's findings.

### Political Party Affiliations

The third major distinction between the two populations was in their political party affiliations. As seen in Table 19, the rural residents had a greater tendency to identify

TABLE 19

#### RURAL AND NATIONAL POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

Party Preference	Sample	
	Rural	National
Democrats	72%	45%
Republicans	6%	27%
Independents	22%	28%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1291)

Source: National data was taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 469.

with the Democratic Party than the general public. This difference between the two samples might be explained by the tradition of one-party politics in the South. A large number of the rural residents said they had become members of the Democratic Party simply because their relatives had been Democrats ever since the early days of the Civil War. Other

individuals said they had been coerced into becoming Democrats by the system of one-party politics in Texas. In order to have a voice in their state and local government, the Star and Center City voters have to profess to be Democrats and they have to vote in the May and June primaries. Since nearly all of the state and local officials are members of the Democratic Party, a failure to participate in the primaries would be the equivalent of forfeiting one's right to vote.<sup>13</sup>

Although a majority of the rural respondents indicated a preference for the Democratic Party, this allegiance did not prevent them from voting for the nominees of the political opposition. As seen in Table 20, the provincial electorate was more likely to vote a split-ticket than their national counterparts. The one-party politics of the South could be one factor explaining this difference. On the national level, the voters have a clear choice between a "liberal" Democratic Party and a "conservative" Republican Party. Since a substantial proportion of the Star and Center City voters cannot support the "liberal" stand of the Democratic Party on the social issues, they vote for the Republican nominee for president. On the state level, these voters only have a choice between two conservative parties, in as much as the

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<sup>13</sup>For a discussion on the effects of one-party politics in the South, see the following books: V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Random House, 1949); Donald Matthews and James Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966) and Clifton McClesky, Party and Factional Division in Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964).

TABLE 20  
PARTY LOYALTY AMONG RURAL AND NATIONAL VOTERS

If a voter votes for one party for president, he should vote for the same party for senator.	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	24%	60%
Disagree	76%	40%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1762)

Source: The national data is taken from V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, p. 304.

leadership of the Texas Democratic Party is usually of the conservative philosophy. Since no one needs two conservative parties, these "presidential" Republicans nearly always support the Democratic slate of candidates for state and local offices.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, it is the author's contention that if any party loyalty is going to be instilled in a large number of these citizens, the Texas Democratic Party must offer the voters a clear choice by conforming to the political leadership and principles of the national organization.

<sup>14</sup>For an excellent discussion on the two conservative parties in the South, see Bernard Cosman "Republicanism in the South: Goldwater's Impact upon Voting Alignments in Congressional, Gubernatorial, and Senatorial Races", Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 48, No. 1 (June 1967), pp. 13-23.

When a study was made of the possible candidates and issues in the 1972 presidential race, there was only two significant differences between the populations: (1) Senator Edward Kennedy had less support among the rural electorate than in the national sample; and (2) A larger proportion of the Texas residents, when compared to the general public, were still undecided as to their choice for the Democratic nomination for president. See Table 21.

An endeavor was also made to gain some insight into the issues of the 1972 presidential race by asking each respondent in the two populations to identify the greatest problem facing the nation today. Based on the results of these surveys, the four greatest problems, in the order listed, are as follows: The Vietnam War, a lack of national unity, an economic recession, and the rebellion among the young people. See Appendix II. No significant differences were established between the responses of the rural and national population to this item in the survey questionnaire.

In a three-way race for president, the similarities between the two samples are most surprising. A plurality of the respondents in both populations wanted Senator Edmund Muskie to be the next President of the United States while Richard Nixon finished a strong second. As seen in Table 22, the number of individuals who are as of yet undecided as to how they will vote in the 1972 elections is one of the factors that will determine the success or failure of Nixon's re-election bid.

TABLE 21

## DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE POLL BY SAMPLES

Which one of the following candidates would you like to see win the Democratic nomi- nation for president?	Sample	
	Rural	National
Senator Edmund Muskie	24%	21%
Senator Edward Kennedy <sup>a</sup>	6%	29%
Senator Hubert Humphrey	8%	18%
Others	28%	27%
Undecided <sup>a</sup>	34%	5%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1500)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: The national data was taken from The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 72, (June 1971), p.6.

TABLE 22  
PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE POLL BY SAMPLES

Which one of the following candidates would you like to see win the 1972 presi- dential election?	Sample	
	Rural	National
Senator Muskie (Dem.)	40%	41%
Richard Nixon (Rep.)	30%	39%
George Wallace (A.I.P.)	12%	12%
Undecided	16%	8%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1500)

Source: The national data was taken from The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 72 (May 1971), p. 10.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

#### The General Characteristics of the Thesis

The general characteristics of the thesis can best be summarized by a recapitulation of the four major purposes of this investigation. These objectives were listed as follows: (1) to determine the political opinions of a selected population from Central Texas on the attitudes of political involvement, issue familiarity, economic liberalism, internationalism, civil liberties, and political party affiliations; (2) to ascertain the civic values of the national electorate on each of these six, attitudinal factors; (3) to compare the opinions of the selected population with the political views of the general public in an effort to determine if any significant differences exist between the attitudes of the two samples; and (4) to stimulate additional research on the rural electorate in Texas.

The method used to obtain the political opinions of the rural population was a survey questionnaire. A lack of financial resources forced the study to be confined to one Central Texas county instead of several counties within the region as originally planned. The scarcity of trained personnel available to administer the survey questionnaire was another limitation placed upon the scope of this investigation.

Since only one person was skilled in the techniques of survey research, the study had to be limited to a small sample of fifty individuals, randomly selected from two voting precincts in Mills County, Texas. The survey items utilized in this questionnaire were issues taken from national voting studies published in Measures of Political Attitudes.<sup>1</sup> Each proposition included in the survey questionnaire was selected because of its reliability and validity in previous voting studies.

Chi-square significance tests and lambda measures of association were the two statistical techniques applied to the data obtained from the survey questionnaire. Some valuable insights into the political differences existing between the survey participants were revealed by the chi-square tests. Three significant variances at the .05 level were found in the opinions of the selected population when one controlled for the variable "age". The elderly residents of the Star and Center City precincts had a lower ranking on the political efficacy scale than the younger inhabitants. This difference between the two rankings on the scale was caused by the responses of the age groups to one item in the political efficacy index: Individuals over fifty-five years of age had less trust in their public officials than individuals under fifty-five years of age. In the opinion of the researcher, the older generation's cynicism toward public officials was caused by their beliefs that all politicians

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<sup>1</sup>John Robinson, Jerrold Rusk, and Kendra Head, Measures of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1969).

are corrupt and make promises which they do not intend to keep. The younger electorate, on the other hand, had a less cynical attitude toward their elected representatives of government.

Persons over fifty-five years of age were also more inclined to oppose the government's farm subsidy program while persons under fifty-five years of age tended to support this policy. Opponents of the program argued that farm subsidies were a form of socialism which destroyed the human initiative to work. Proponents verbalized a belief that these governmental payments were necessary to assure the continued existence of the family farm.

Two significant differences in the attitudes of the selected population were established by controlling for the variable "sex". One important distinction was on the proposition advocating a voluntary army for the United States government. Women were more inclined to support the idea of a national draft, while men tended to favor the voluntary army proposal. Based on the replies to this item in the questionnaire, the author contends that men have a greater inclination to support the idea of a voluntary army because they are the ones who have a legal obligation to serve in the armed forces.

The other distinction between the sexes was in their psychological involvement in campaign elections. Women had a greater interest in presidential elections than men. This contradicts the findings of the national voting studies, and the writer can offer no explanations to the reader which

might account for this unexpected phenomenon.<sup>2</sup>

Controlling for the variable "income" revealed only one significant difference in the political opinions of these rural residents: Individuals with an annual income of less than \$7,000 had a greater tendency to support the federal aid to education proposition than the respondents from the higher-income classification. The opponents of this proposition claimed federal aid to education was the equivalent of federal control over public schools. Those supporting the proposal countered the previous feeling with the following line of argument: The federal government is the only institution with enough economic wealth to save the public schools from an impending financial disaster.

The lambda measures of association, the second statistical technique applied to the survey data, was used to measure the degree of association between the rural rankings on each of the six attitudinal scales and the three variables of "age", "sex", and "income". The results of this test showed only a weak relationship (a coefficient of .20 or less) between the rankings on the scales and the three independent variables. This weak association could mean one of three things: (1) the sample was too small to establish any meaningful relationships between the six political attitudes and the independent variables; (2) another variable, or several variables, could be causing the different rankings on these attitudinal scales; or (3) the selected population is a

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<sup>2</sup>See Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960), p. 148.

homogenous community in which each individual has political beliefs that conform to the established norms of that community. Additional research is needed to verify or reject these three suppositions.

Inasmuch as it was impossible for one individual to accurately survey a sample of the nation's population, this study had to rely on the data obtained from previous voting studies for its information on the political attitudes of the general public. Using this method of research caused two problems to arise in the study. The most recent data available from national voting studies measuring these six political attitudes usually date back into the middle of the 1960's. Very little information could be found on the attitudes of the national population during the summer of 1971, when the rural survey was taken. The differences or lack of differences that were found to exist between the two samples could have been caused by the more recent rural findings.

A second difficulty encountered by this reliance on other voting studies was the fact that national surveys have failed to develop any statistical device comparable to the scale used in the rural survey to measure the attitude of civil liberties. Therefore, the paper could reach no definite conclusions on the similarities or differences between the two samples on this attitudinal belief.

Percentage tables and Buchanan's "Percentage Table of Significant Differences" were the two statistical techniques used to determine if any significant differences exist between

the political attitudes of the national and rural electorate.<sup>33</sup> Since these techniques are among the most unsophisticated devices available in the political science discipline, it is quite possible that these statistical procedures failed to emphasize some important distinctions between the two populations. More advanced techniques might offer some additional insight into the political attitudes of the national and rural samples.

### The Research Findings

After having compared the attitudes of the rural electorate to the political opinions of the general public, the thesis was forced to reject the working hypothesis proposed for the paper: There are no significant attitudinal differences between the selected population and the population of the nation as a whole. The opinions of the Star and Center City voters were found to be significantly different from the views of the national sample on three of the six political attitudes examined in the text. A brief summary of these distinctions is presented in the following paragraphs of the thesis.

On the attitude of political involvement, one important difference was reported between the two samples. The selected population from Central Texas had a greater eagerness to participate in the selection processes of government than the general public. Some unique circumstances which surrounded the 1970 general elections in Texas could possibly explain

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<sup>33</sup>William Buchanan, Understanding Political Variables (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), pp. 85-88.

this difference. As noted in Chapter Two, the Republican Party's strong efforts to capture the Governorship of Texas motivated many rural residents to actively campaign for the nominees of their political party. Without the strong Republican challenge, a large number of the respondents indicated they would have not become involved in these political activities. If another survey of Mills County is taken during an election year in which there is no hotly contested state and local races, the willingness of the rural residents to become involved in the selection processes of government would, in all probability, be similar to that of the general public.

A second major distinction between the two populations was on the scale measuring the attitude of internationalism. When compared to the general public, the rural sample was more inclined to take the "isolationist" position on three of the four items in this scale. The isolationist sentiments of the provincial electorate were found to be most prevalent on the two foreign aid items and on the question of whether the United States government should continue its policy of stationing soldiers overseas. While a large majority of the rural respondents were against foreign aid and military involvement abroad, they still did not want their government to completely abandon its role as leader of world affairs.

Another distinction between the two surveyed groups was in their political party affiliations. The selected population from Central Texas had a greater tendency to

identify with the Democratic Party than the general electorate. A heritage of one-party politics in the South was considered one of the leader factors causing this distinction. Since a plurality of the Star and Center City voters had a long family tradition of being members of the Democratic Party, these survey participants were very reluctant to break with the political party affiliations of their fathers and grandfathers. One-party politics in Texas also forced some respondents to identify with the Democratic Party in order to have any voice in the selection of their state and local officials.

Although a majority of the provincial electorate claimed membership in the Democratic Party, this allegiance did not prevent them from supporting the Republican Party's nominees for national office. This greater reluctance among the rural residents to vote a straight party ticket was another distinction between the two populations. The tradition of one-party politics in the South played an important role in this variance. For national offices, the voters usually have a clear choice between a "liberal" nominee from the Democratic Party and a "conservative" nominee from the Republican Party. Since many of the rural residents cannot support the liberal stand of the Democratic Party on the social issues, they vote for the Republican Party's nominees for President and Vice-President. For state and local offices, the voters in Central Texas only have a choice between two conservative parties inasmuch as the state Democratic organization is usually of the conservative philosophy. Since no one needs two

conservative parties, these "presidential Republicans" support the entire slate of Democratic candidates for state and local offices. If any party loyalty is going to be instilled in the residents of these two communities, then the state Democratic Party must conform to the political principles and leadership of the national organization.

On two of the political attitudes, the opinions of the rural electorate were very similar to the views of the national sample. The rankings of the Star and Center City voters on the issue familiarity index were almost identical to the rankings of the general public. A large number of the respondents in both populations were willing to express an opinion on the sixteen propositions, and they had some vague idea of the government's position on these controversial issues. Although there were no significant differences in the two rankings on this scale, there were some important variances in the way the national and rural populations responded to these questions. The most distinguishing feature between the two groups was their faith in governmental institutions. The rural respondents had a more cynical attitude toward the federal government and its policies than the national sample.

The economic attitudes of the national and rural electorates were very similar to each other, as was seen in their rankings on the economic liberalism scale. A majority of the respondents in both populations were classified as economic moderates. When each of the five questions constituting this index was considered separately, three significant differences were reported between the two samples. The rural residents

were more inclined to take the "liberal" position on the questions of low-cost medical care and federal aid to education than the general public. On the other hand, the national electorate had a greater tendency to take the "liberal" position on the question of federal job guarantees than the Star and Center City voters.

No definite conclusions were reached on the attitude of civil liberties since the national voting studies have failed to develop any statistical device comparable to the scale used in the rural survey. When a collation was made between the national and rural opinions on each of the five items in this index, two significant differences were reported: (1) the general public took a more "libertarian" position on the question of wire-tapping than the rural residents; and (2) the selected population had a more negative attitude toward the proposition advocating legal segregation of neighborhoods than the national electorate. In summary, the evidence presented by this research investigation leads to the conclusion that there are significant, attitudinal differences between the two populations.

#### The Contributions of the Paper

Even with its many limitations, the thesis does have some value to the discipline of political science. The findings of this paper provided a limited insight into the political attitudes of a selected rural population from Central Texas. The thesis also furnished some perceptions into the 1972 state elections. Honesty in government will be the

number one political issue deciding the outcome of the race for governor; at least in these two rural precincts. It is interesting to note that this issue damages the political images of two candidates who have done very well in this region in previous elections: Ben Barnes and Preston Smith. For whatever their reasons, over one-half of the rural respondents indicated they would not vote for either of these two men for governor, regardless of mitigating circumstances. The candidate who received the most benefit from this campaign issue was Dolph Briscoe. Therefore, if this trend continues and if it accurately reflects the views of the rural electorate in Texas, then Ben Barnes and Preston Smith shall be in serious political trouble when the votes are counted in the Democratic Primary in May, 1972.

On the national level, the thesis made three significant contributions. By rejecting the paper's working hypothesis, the thesis presented some significant attitudinal differences between the selected population from Central Texas and the national electorate. Although it was only briefly mentioned in the text, the thesis also encountered one distinction between the political opinions of the provincial electorate from Texas and the civic values of the nation's rural population. National voting studies have reported the rural dweller to be less interested in election campaigns, to have lower rankings on the political efficacy scale, and to be less likely to participate in the selection processes of government than the average American citizen. Nevertheless, the thesis found no significant differences

between the selected, rural population and the general public on the two items of political efficacy and psychological involvement in election campaigns. To add to this confusion, the Star and Center City voters were reported to be more likely to participate in campaign activities than the national sample. Since these findings contradict the expectations of the major voting studies, political involvement is one attitude in which significant differences were found to exist between the national and rural populations.

Some insight into the 1972 national elections was the third contribution made by the thesis. The state of the nation's economy will be the number one issue in the next presidential election. Social issues, including such things as law and order, student unrest, and a lack of national unity, will be a second influencing factor in the 1972 campaigns. The Vietnam War will have a minor impact on the way a person casts his ballot in the presidential election. The Republican Party appears to be the chief benefactor on the latter two issues while the economic issues tend to favor the Democratic Party. Based on several presidential preference polls, the 1972 election is far from being decided. When the surveys were taken, Senator Edmund Muskie had a slight lead over Richard Nixon, but the number of undecided voters was still large enough to swing the election to either man. If the economy rebounds under the policies of the present administration, then Richard Nixon will be re-elected to the office of President of the United States. If the economy does not revive and if the Democratic Party takes a more conservative

stand on some of the social issues, then the Democratic Party's candidate will be the victor in the 1972 elections.

Since the thesis was among the first attempts to study the political attitudes of the state's rural population, it should stimulate additional research on the provincial electorate in Texas. If just one student is motivated to begin a more indepth study of this political minority, then the effort made in writing the paper will have been well worthwhile.

#### Additional Research Projects

Inasmuch as one of the objectives of the thesis was to stimulate additional studies on the rural electorate in Texas, some possible research suggestions need to be presented to the reader. One project would be to determine the variable or variables causing the differences between the two populations. This can be done by first obtaining the data cards from the most recent, national surveys sponsored by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. The second step would be to take another survey of the political attitudes of the Mills County residents. In the warm-up phase of the interview, the researcher should determine the respondent's age, sex, race, income, and educational level, since these variables are the same socioeconomic variables used in the national surveys. By utilizing the appropriate computer programs, one could determine if any significant differences exist between the two populations as well as the variable or variables causing the distinctions.

The findings of the thesis also presents an intriguing question to sociologists, psychologists, and political scientists: What factor or factors account for the contradictions found in the political opinions of a large majority of the rural voters? A large number of the Star and Center City residents verbalized a strong fear that the United States government was becoming too powerful for the good of the country and the good of the individual. They also expressed some apprehension that the United States Supreme Court was usurping its constitutional powers and was trying to become a nine-man dictatorship. These same individuals, however, were the ones who supported nearly all of the survey propositions which would have increased the federal government's power to regulate the lives of men.

A second contradiction was in the way the rural residents cast their ballots in state and national elections. When the Republican Party makes a strong effort to capture one of the state offices in Texas, the average voter in Mills County becomes alarmed and actively campaigns for the nominees of the Democratic Party. This party loyalty does not prevent the voter from supporting the Republican Party's nominees for national offices. Finally, the residents of Mills County place little trust in their public officials and consider all politicians corrupt. At the same time, they display a positive belief in their ability to understand and influence the actions of government. The key that unlocks the answer to this question will have to be found by

additional research.

If the student has the financial and professional staff to conduct a state-wide survey, the opportunities available for research are almost endless. One interesting project would be to study the political attitudes of the rural electorate in different parts of the state. By comparing the civic values of the selected populations from North, South, East, West, and Central Texas, one could determine if any significant, attitudinal differences exist between the five samples. If significant differences were found, then efforts could be made to discover the variable or variables causing the distinctions.

A second study that would have an impact on the discipline of political science would be a comparative examination of the political values of the urban and non-urban voter. By taking a state-wide survey of the civic opinions of the two populations, one could determine the answers to the following questions: Are there any significant, attitudinal differences between the rural and urban voter in Texas? If there are some differences, what socioeconomic variables could be causing these distinctions? Are there any similarities between the two populations? What can be done to reduce the urban and rural differences dividing the state government? Regardless of which research design the student takes, the following conclusion will probably be reached: The voters of Texas are no fools. Like the national population, they are rational men and women who cast their ballots

on the issues and candidates which best reflect their own self-interest.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>For a discussion of this rational voter theory, see V. O. Key, Jr., The Responsible Electorate (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1966).

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APPENDIX I

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_ Interview No. \_\_\_\_\_

Demographic Data

1. Sex:    ☐ Male    ☐ Female
2. Age:    ("When were you born?")  
     ☐ 18-25 years old  
     ☐ 26-55 years old  
     ☐ Over 55
3. Education:    ("How many grades of school did you finish?")  
     ☐ Eighth grade or less  
     ☐ High School or less  
     ☐ College
4. "What is your occupation?"    ("What does the head of your household do?")  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. "What is your church perference?"  
     ☐ Protestant    ☐ Jewish    ☐ None  
     ☐ Catholic    ☐ Others
6. "About what do you think your total income will be for this year for yourself and your family?"  
     ☐ Under \$3,000  
     ☐ \$3,000-\$7,000  
     ☐ \$7,000-\$12,000  
     ☐ Over \$12,000
7. "Do you or any of your household belong to a farm organization?"  
     ☐ Yes    ☐ No

8. "Do you or any of your household belong to any other social or professional organizations?"

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No

### Interest in Political Campaigns

1. "Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you, would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in political campaigns?"
2. "Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a great deal which party wins the presidential elections next year or that you don't care very much which party wins?"
- \_\_\_\_\_ Care a great deal      \_\_\_\_\_ Depends      \_\_\_\_\_ Don't Care a  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Care somewhat      \_\_\_\_\_ Don't Care      \_\_\_\_\_ Great Deal

### General Information Questions

1. "In your opinion, what is the greatest problem faced by our country today?" \_\_\_\_\_
2. "In your opinion, what is the greatest problem faced by you and your family today?" \_\_\_\_\_

### Participation Index

I have a list of some of the things that people do that help a party or candidate win an election. I wonder if you could tell me whether you did any of these things during the last election campaign.

1. "Did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?"
2. "Did you give any money or buy tickets or anything to help the campaign of one of the parties or one of the candidates?"
3. "Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners or things like that?"
4. "Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?"
5. "Do you belong to any political club or organization?"

6. "Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?"

### Political Efficacy

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1. "I don't think public officials care much what people like me think."
2. "Voting is the only way people like me can have any say about how the government runs things."
3. "People like me don't have any say about what the government does."
4. "Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on."

### Issue Questions

Around election time people talk about different things that our government in Washington is doing or should be doing. Now I would like to talk to you about some of the things that our government might do. Of course different things are important to different people, so we don't expect everyone to have an opinion about all of these.

I would like you to look at this card as I read each question and tell me how you feel about the question. If you don't have an opinion, just tell me that; if you do have an opinion, choose one of the other answers.

1. "The government ought to cut taxes even if it means putting off some important things that need to be done."

Now, would you say you have an opinion on this or not?

\_\_\_\_\_Yes

\_\_\_\_\_No

(If "no", go on to question 2.)

(If "yes"): Do you agree that the government should do this or do you think the government should not do it?

1. Agree
2. Depends
3. Disagree
4. Don't Know

(On the schedule this list of alternatives was repeated for each issue proposition.)

2. "This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world."
3. "The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost."
4. "The government in Washington ought to see to it that everybody who wants to work can find a job."
5. "The United States should give economic help to the poorer countries of the world even if they can't pay for it."
6. "The government ought to end all farm subsidies within the next five years."
7. "If Negroes or Mexican-Americans are not getting fair treatment in jobs and housing, the government in Washington should see to it that they do."
8. "If cities and towns around the country need help to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need."
9. "The United States should keep soldiers overseas where they can help countries that are against communism."
10. "The government should provide an annual income of \$5,000 to farmers."
11. "The United States should give help to foreign countries even if they are not as much against communism as we are."
12. "The United States government ought to have an all voluntary army."
13. "The federal government ought to share its revenue with the state and local government."
14. "The government should leave things like electric power and housing for private businessmen to handle."
15. "The government in Washington is getting too powerful for the good of the country and the individual."
16. "The Supreme Court of the United States is becoming too mixed-up in politics."

### Civil Liberties

Do you agree, disagree, or have no opinion on the following statements.

1. "Law enforcement officials should have the right to listen in on private telephone conversations whenever in their judgment it is necessary for carrying on their work."
2. "Personal ability alone should determine an applicant's right to a job regardless of his race, religion, or national origin."
3. "The Communist Party should be made illegal in the United States."
4. "Residents of a neighborhood should be entitled to prevent members of any particular racial or religious group from living there."
5. "Government authorities should be allowed to ban books and movies which they consider harmful to the public interest."

#### Political Parties

1. "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an American Party member, or an Independent?" \_\_\_\_\_

(If Independent): "Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, or the American Independent Party?"

\_\_\_\_\_

2. "Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic Party?" \_\_\_\_\_
  3. "Is there anything that you dislike about the Democratic Party?" \_\_\_\_\_
  4. "Is there anything in particular that you like about the Republican Party?" \_\_\_\_\_
  5. "Is there anything that you dislike about the Republican Party?" \_\_\_\_\_
  6. "Is there anything in particular that you like about the American Independent Party?" \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

7. "Is there anything that you dislike about the American Independent Party?" \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
8. "Some people think that if a voter votes for one party for president, he should vote for the same party for senator and congressman. Do you agree or disagree?" \_\_\_\_\_  
 A. "Why do you feel that way?" \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
9. "Which one of the following candidates would you most likely see win the Democratic nomination for President?"  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Edmund Muskie  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Edward Kennedy  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Hubert Humphrey  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Henry Jackson  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Congressman Wilbur Mills  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Birch Bayh  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator George McGovern  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Don't know
10. "Which one of the following candidates would you least like to see win the Democratic nomination for President?"  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Edmund Muskie  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Edward Kennedy  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Hubert Humphrey  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Henry Jackson  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Congressman Wilbur Mills  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Birch Bayh  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Senator George McGovern  
 \_\_\_\_\_ No comment
11. "What do you like or dislike about these potential Democratic nominees for President?" \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
12. "If the 1972 elections were held today, which one of the following candidates would be most likely to receive your vote for President?"  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Richard Nixon (R)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Edmund Muskie (D)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ George Wallace (A.I.P.)
- (If Wallace): "Suppose you had to choose between Richard Nixon and Edmund Muskie, which one would you prefer be the President of the United States?" \_\_\_\_\_
13. "If the 1972 primary elections were held today, which one of the following candidates would you most like to see win the Democratic nomination for governor?"  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Preston Smith  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Ben Barnes

☐ Ralph Yarborough  
☐ Dolph Briscoe  
☐ Undecided

14. "Is there anything in particular that you like about  
(the candidate chosen)?" \_\_\_\_\_
15. "If the 1972 primary elections were held today, which one  
of the following candidates would you least like to see  
win the Democratic nomination for governor?"  
☐ Preston Smith  
☐ Ben Barnes  
☐ Ralph Yarborough  
☐ Dolph Briscoe  
☐ Undecided
16. "Is there anything in particular that you dislike about  
(the candidate chosen)?" \_\_\_\_\_
17. "Have you registered to vote this year?" \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX II

### PERCENTAGE TABLES COMPARING THE NATIONAL AND RURAL RESPONSES TO THE ITEMS IN THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

#### INTEREST IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Interest in Election Campaigns <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Very much interested	42%	38%
Somewhat interested	40%	37%
Not much interested	18%	25%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1571)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes (University of Michigan: Institute of Social Research, 1969), p. 625.

## INTEREST IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Interest in Presidential Elections <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Care a great deal	74%	77%
Care somewhat	24%	18%
Don't care	2%	5%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1571)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and  
et al., Measures of Political Attitudes,  
p. 625

## RANKINGS ON THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION INDEX

Rankings on the Index <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Apathetics (0) <sup>b</sup>	38%	63%
Spectators (1-2)	46%	30%
Gladiators (3-6)	16%	7%

Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1571)
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<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

<sup>b</sup>The numerical values enclosed in the parenthesis represents the number of campaign activities engaged in by the individuals in each classification.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 594.

PARTICIPATION IN CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES BY  
PER CENT OF TOTAL SAMPLE

Campaign Activities	Sample	
	Rural	National
Talks to people <sup>a</sup>	46%	31%
Gives money	12%	11%
Attends meetings	20%	9%
Other work for party <sup>a</sup>	22%	5%
Belongs to a political club	6%	4%
Wears campaign buttons	28%	16%
Total (N)	(50)	(1571)

<sup>a</sup>These differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p.

## RANKINGS ON THE POLITICAL EFFICACY INDEX

Rankings on the Index <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Low (0-1) <sup>b</sup>	24%	31%
Medium (2)	28%	26%
High (3-4)	48%	43%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1762)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

<sup>b</sup>The numerical values enclosed within the parenthesis represents the number of "efficacious" answers given to the four items in this index.

Source: National data taken from Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1969), p. 56

## TRUST IN PUBLIC OFFICIALS

Public officials don't care about me <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	66%	37%
Disagree	34%	61%
No comment	0%	2%

Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1571)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 636.

#### VOTING ONLY WAY TO HAVE SAY

Voting is the only way to have say about government <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	64%	73%
Disagree	36%	26%
No comment	0%	1%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1571)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 635.

#### NO SAY ABOUT GOVERNMENT

People like me don't have any say about government <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
	32%	29%
	68%	70%
	0%	1%

Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1571)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 635.

#### GOVERNMENT SEEMS TOO COMPLICATED

Sometimes government seems too complicated <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	80%	67%
Disagree	20%	32%
No comment	0%	1%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1571)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 635.

#### RANKINGS ON THE ISSUE FAMILIARITY INDEX

Rankings on the Index <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Twelve issues or less	40%	44%
Thirteen-fourteen issues	34%	35%
Fifteen-sixteen issues	26%	21%

Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1762)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from Lester Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 66 and V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Knopf Co., 1967), p. 564.

#### GOVERNMENT SHOULD CUT TAXES

The U.S. Government should cut taxes <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	42%	26%
Disagree	46%	45%
Depends	0%	11%
No opinion	12%	18%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1762)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 529

#### AN ALL VOLUNTARY ARMY

The United States should have a voluntary army <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	60%	31%

Disagree	28%	62%
Depends	0%	0%
No opinion	2%	7%
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1500)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data taken from The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 45, (February 1969), p. 4.

#### FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING

The government should share its revenue with the states <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	60%	77%
Disagree	10%	14%
No opinion	30%	9%
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1500)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data taken from The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 70, (March 1971), p. 14.

#### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS TOO POWERFUL

The government is too power- ful for the good of the country <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	74%	39%

Disagree	20%	27%
Depends	0%	4%
No opinion	6%	40%
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1571)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: The national data was taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 532.

#### SUPREME COURT IS TOO MIXED-UP IN POLITICS

Supreme Court is too mixed-up in politics <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
<hr/>		
Agree	86%	27%
Disagree	0%	31%
Depends	0%	3%
No opinion	14%	39%
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1291)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 505.

## LOW-COST MEDICAL CARE

The government should provide low-cost medical care <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	80%	54%
Disagree	16%	31%
No opinion	4%	15%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1483)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 522.

## FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

The government ought to help cities & towns build schools <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	48%	33%
Disagree	32%	48%
No opinion	20%	19%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1857)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 547.

## FEDERAL JOB GUARANTEES

The govt. ought to see to it that everyone who wants to work can find a job <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	48%	35%
Disagree	48%	48%
No opinion	2%	17%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1398)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and  
et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 523.

## FAIR TREATMENT OF MINORITY GROUPS

The government should see to it that minority groups get fair treatment in jobs and in housing <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	52%	42%
Disagree	38%	43%
No opinion	10%	15%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1717)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and  
et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 547.

## PRIVATE UTILITIES

The government should leave things like electric power for private businessmen to handle <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	34%	41%
Disagree	34%	20%
No opinion	32%	39%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1508)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 525.

## STAY AT HOME

This country should not concern itself with problems in other parts of the world. <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	26%	21%
Disagree	74%	69%
No opinion	0%	10%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1737)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 526.

## FOREIGN AID TO POOR COUNTRIES

The U.S. should give economic help to the poor countries of the world. <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	34%	50%
Disagree	52%	30%
No opinion	14%	20%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1661)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data taken from John Robinson and  
et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 568.

## KEEP SOLDIERS OVERSEAS

The U.S. should keep soldiers overseas to fight communism <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	42%	72%
Disagree	38%	11%
No opinion	20%	17%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1737)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: National data was taken from John Robinson and  
et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 584.

## FOREIGN AID TO NEUTRAL NATIONS

The U.S. should give aid to the neutral nations <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	24%	34%
Disagree	46%	35%
No opinion	30%	31%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1720)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: National data was taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 570.

## RANKINGS ON THE ECONOMIC LIBERALISM INDEX

Rankings on the Index <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Conservative (0-1)	10%	18%
Moderates (2-3)	68%	57%
Liberals (4-5)	22%	25%

Total (N)	100% (50)	100%
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<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

<sup>b</sup>The numerical values within the parenthesis represents the number of "liberal" positions taken by the individuals in each classification.

Source: National data based on figures in V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, p. 158 and John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, pp. 521-25, 547.

#### RANKINGS ON THE INTERNATIONALISM INDEX

Rankings on the Index <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Isolationists (0-1) <sup>b</sup>	50%	18%
Moderates (2)	24%	27%
Internationalists (3-4)	26%	55%
Total (N)	100% (42)	100% (1395)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

<sup>b</sup>The numerical value enclosed within the parenthesis represents the number of "internationalist" positions taken by each individual in the three categories on this scale.

Source: The national data was taken from V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, p. 107.

## WIRE-TAPPING

Law officials should have the right to wire-tap <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	74%	45%
Disagree	26%	46%
No opinion	0%	9%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1500)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: The national data was taken from The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 52, (September, 1969), p. 14.

## BAN BOOKS AND MOVIES

Government should ban harmful books and movies <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	86%	75%
Disagree	14%	17%
No opinion	0%	8%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1500)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: The national data was taken from The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 50 (July, 1969), p. 19.

## LEGAL SEGREGATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Residents of a neighborhood are entitled to prevent minority groups from living there <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	12%	26%
Disagree	88%	57%
No opinion	0%	17%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1571)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: The national data was taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 550.

## PARTY AFFILIATIONS

Political party membership <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Democrats	72%	45%
Republicans	6%	27%
Independents	22%	28%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1291)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: The national data was taken from John Robinson and et al., Measures of Political Attitudes, p. 469.

## TICKET-SPLITTING

A person should vote a straight ticket <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Agree	24%	60%
Disagree	76%	40%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1762)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: The national data is taken from V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, p. 304.

## DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE POLL

Which one of the following candidates would you like to see win the Democratic nomination for President?	Sample	
	Rural	National
Senator Muskie	24%	21%
Senator Kennedy <sup>a</sup>	6%	29%
Senator Humphrey	8%	18%
Senator McGovern	10%	5%
Senator Jackson	12%	2%
Others	6%	20%
Undecided <sup>a</sup>	34%	5%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1500)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are significant.

Source: The national data was taken from The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 72 (June, 1971), p. 6.

## GREATEST PROBLEMS

In your opinion, what is the greatest problem in our nation today <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Vietnam War	26%	33%
Lack of national unity	24%	22%
Economy	24%	22%
Youth and drugs	14%	18%
Others	12%	3%
No opinion	0%	2%
Total (N)	100% (50)	100% (1500)

<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: The national data was taken from The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 73 (July, 1971), pp. 4-5.

## PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE POLL

Which one of the following candidates would you like to see win the 1970 elec- tion for president <sup>a</sup>	Sample	
	Rural	National
Edmund Muskie (Dem.)	40%	41%
Richard Nixon (Rep.)	30%	39%
George Wallace (A.I.P.)	12%	12%
Undecided	16%	8%

Total	100%	100%
(N)	(50)	(1500)

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<sup>a</sup>The differences between the two samples are not significant.

Source: The national data was taken from The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 72 (May, 1971), p. 10.

### APPENDIX III

#### ADDITIONAL RURAL OPINIONS

##### FARM ISSUES

Farm Issues	Opinions		
	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
End farm subsidies	24%	48%	28%
Guaranteed income	16%	74%	10%

N = 50

##### CIVIL LIBERTIES

Civil liberties issues	Opinions		
	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
Personal ability alone should determine an applicant's right to a job	100%	0%	0%
The Communist Party should be declared illegal in the U.S.	80%	20%	0%

N = 50

## GREATEST PROBLEM FACED BY FAMILY

In your opinion, what is the greatest problem faced by you and your family today	Percentage of Total Sample
--	----------------------------

Economy	50%
Climate	20%
Health	16%
Children's future	6%
Don't know	18%

N = 50

## DISLIKE FOR PRESIDENT

Which one of the following candidates would you least like to see win the Demo- cratic nomination for president	Per Cent of the Total Sample
---	------------------------------

Senator Edmund Muskie	4%
Senator Edward Kennedy	62%
Senator Hubert Humphrey	6%
Congressman Mills	2%
Don't know	24%
All of them	2%

N = 50

## GOVERNOR'S PREFERENCE POLL

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Which one of the following candidates would you like to see win the Democratic nomination for governor	Per Cent of the Total Sample
---	------------------------------

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Dolph Briscoe	44%
Preston Smith	16%
Ben Barnes	10%
Ralph Yarborough	8%
Undecided	22%

---

N = 50

## DISLIKE FOR GOVERNOR

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Which one of the following candidates would you least like to see win the Demo- cratic nomination for Governor	Per Cent of Total Sample
--	--------------------------

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Ben Barnes	34%
Preston Smith	8%
Both Barnes & Smith	34%
Ralph Yarborough	12%
Both Yarborough & Barnes	6%
Dolph Briscoe	2%
No comment	4%

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N = 50

Vita redacted during scanning.