
#401-United States: Democratic Party

**Note: All code justifications which appear in ALL CAPS were part of the original ICPP project (Janda, 1980). All code justifications which appear in ALL ITALICS were provided by Everita Salina. All other code justifications were provided by Melissa K. Bradley unless otherwise noted in brackets following the contributed information.*

Variable 8.01: Structural Articulation

1950-1990: 10

PARTY ORGANS

The Democratic Party has four staple organs: Democratic National Convention, Democratic National Committee, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Democratic National Conventions (every four years)

- Prescribed Selection
- Function—nominate the party's presidential candidate, approve the party's platform, and energize the party for the general election

Democratic National Committee (DNC) (established in 1848)

- Prescribed Selection— approximately 450 members
- Function— plans national convention, promotes and assists party candidates, and aides the party organization at all levels (Democratic National Committee)

The Democratic National Committee plans the Party's quadrennial presidential nominating convention; promotes the election of Party candidates with both technical and financial support; and works with national, state, and local party organizations, elected officials, candidates, and constituencies to respond to the needs and views of the Democratic electorate and the nation (Democratic National Committee).

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) (since end of Civil War)

- Prescribed Selection— current Democratic representatives
- Function— aid Democratic candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives (includes fund-raising) (Maisel, 1999 p.83)

Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) (after 17th Amendment—1913)

- Prescribed Selection— current Democratic senators
- Function— aid Democratic candidates for the U.S. Senate (includes fund-raising) (Maisel, 1999 p. 83)

Beyond the four main organs detailed above, the Democratic Party also has the following auxiliary organs that largely assist with party building and diversifying: Young Democrats of America, College Democrats of America, Democratic Governor's Association, Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee, and National Federation of Democratic Women.

Young Democrats of America (YDA) (established in 1932)

- Informal Co-optation
- Function— support the Democratic Party and its ideals and candidates, as well as encourage and prepare young Democrats for civic participation and leadership (Young Democrats of America).

College Democrats of America (CDA) (established in 1932)

- Informal Co-optation
- Function— "It aims to elect Democrats, train and engage new generations of progressive activists, and shape the Democratic Party with voices from America's youth." (College Democrats of America).

Democratic Governors' Association (DGA) (established in 1983)

- Prescribed Selection— Democratic governors
- Function— "The DGA provides political and strategic assistance to Gubernatorial campaigns. In addition, the DGA plays an integral role in developing positions on key state and federal issues that effect the state through the Governors' Policy Forum Series." (Democratic Governors' Association).

Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee (DLCC) (established in 1993)

- Independent political committee within national party structure
- Informal Co-optation
- Function— "The committee is charged with providing strategic services and financial assistance to Democratic leaders and candidates at the state legislative level." (Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee).

National Federation of Democratic Women (NFDW) (established in 1973)

- Informal Co-optation
- Function—
 - encourages Democratic women to seek public office
 - publishes procedures to qualify for convention delegates
 - participates in formation of Party platform
 - awards a \$2,000.00 and a \$1,000.00 scholarship to a young woman to intern annually at DNC through the National Federation of Democratic Women's Founder's Internship program
 - recognizes outstanding Democratic women in public office and in the

NFDW

- office • raises campaign funds and contributes to Democratic women seeking (National Federation of Democratic Women)

Variable 8.02: Intensiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 5

According to [Maidment and] Tappin the grassroots political organization in the parties means precinct politics—1000 or less voters in a precinct (Maidment and Tappin, 1989, p. 95).

“Towns or precincts are politically organized as town or precinct committees, with chairs and other officers. Theoretically, each political party has a committee at this level. But in practice, a wide variety is the norm. Each party would like to have a functioning organization in each local precinct. But in actuality, if the parties can have a name on paper—a possible contact person who is interested—that is often a bonus.” (Maisel, 1999, p. 69-70).

Although some local parties may have had a developed system of block workers or some other form of sub-precinct organization, as a general rule precincts were the smallest unit in the party organization.

Variable 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization

1950-1961: 5

1962-1990: 6

“Prior to the 1960s local Republican organizations were virtually unknown in much of the South, and Democratic organizations were similarly scarce in part of New England and the Midwest. Today, however, there are almost no states that are totally noncompetitive in national elections, and no states where the candidates of either party for state office are automatically excluded from election.”(Reichley, 1992, p. 396).

“Less dramatic but equally significant has been the rise of Democratic strength for state offices in a number of formerly solid Republican states. For example: Iowa elected Democratic governors in 1956, 1958, and 1962; Kansas did the same in 1956 and 1958; Maine elected Democratic governors in 1954, 1956, and 1958, and a Democratic U.S. Senator in 1958; New Hampshire elected both a Democratic governor and U. S. Senator in 1962; North Dakota returned a Democratic governor in 1960 and 1962, and a Democratic U.S. Senator in 1960; in South Dakota the Democrats not only won the governorship in 1958 and a U.S. Senatorship in 1962 but actually controlled one house of the legislature in 1958; Vermont elected a Democratic Congressman-at-Large in 1958 and

a Democratic governor in 1962, the first Democrats elected to statewide office since 1854; and Wisconsin elected Democratic governors in 1958, 1960, and 1962, and Democratic U.S. Senators in 1958 and 1962. What the Democrats have lost in the South they have regained in the rural Midwest and Northeast.

We cannot now provide a complete and definitive explanation for these changes from traditional state political alignments. However, a major part of any such explanation will surely be interstate migration. Americans have always moved about within their country frequently and in large numbers, and the post-1954 era has witnessed one of the greatest migrations, since the Civil War: the Bureau of the Census found that 12 percent of the population over five years of age in 1960 had moved from one state to another since 1955!

Perhaps the most significant movement politically has been the parallel immigration of Northern whites into the South and emigration of Southern Negroes out of the South. One effect has been to reduce the proportion of Negroes in the Southern states' populations: in the decade from 1950 to 1960 the proportion of Negroes declined in all eight Democratic one-party states, the largest drops being from 27 to 18 percent in Florida and from 43 to 35 percent in South Carolina; the average drop for the eight states was 5.6 percent. This Negro exodus has "lightened" many of the South's "black belts," which, according to Key, have always constituted the nucleus of Southern one-party politics. At the same time the influx of Northern whites, about half of whom were Republicans in the North and have remained so after moving to the South, has not only given Southern Republicans more votes; more significantly, it has greatly enlarged the pool of well educated and active party supporters from which they can draw candidates for office and leaders of party organization. Both movements, accordingly, have encouraged a higher degree of inter-party competition in the South.

The other main post-war interstate migration has been the massive movement to the far West. The most spectacular instance, of course, is the growth of California from a population of 6,907,000 in 1940 to 15,717,000 in 1960, and a position as the most populous state in the Union by the mid-1960's. The Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan studied a sample of 588 western adults in 1956, and its findings tell us much about the post-war western immigrants and their impact on western politics. Slightly over twice as many came from the North as from the South. Those from the North were closely split between Democratic identifiers (39 percent) and Republican (34 percent), while those from the South were heavily Democratic (57 percent to 20 percent Republican). From one point of view, the net effect has been to make the West somewhat more Democratic than before; from another, it has sustained two-party competition, for the Northern immigrants have supplied large numbers of Republicans, enough indeed to keep the region from the two-to-one lead the Democrats would probably have if the western electorate consisted entirely of persons born in the region and immigrants from the South." (Ranney, 1967, 72-73).

Please note that the research is inconclusive about which exact year the change in extensiveness of organization occurred. Therefore, we are left to make an informed estimation from the data available.

Variables 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings

1950-1990: 2

"Towns or precincts are politically organized as town or precinct committees, with chairs and other officers. Theoretically, each political party has a committee at this level. But in practice, a wide variety is the norm. Each party would like to have a functioning organization in each local precinct. But in actuality, if the parties can have a name on paper—a possible contact person who is interested—that is often a bonus." (Maisel, 1999, p. 69-70).

"Although most local party organizations are not bureaucratically organized, they do sustain a fairly high level of programmatic activity. A significant minority of such organizations conducts some party maintenance activity in non-election periods. . . Local party organizations have not become less active or less organized over the past two decades." (Cotter, *et al.*, 1984, p. 57).

Although evidence of party machines still existed in some urban areas throughout 1990, party machines were the exception rather than the norm during the time period being studied. Local party activity was predominantly limited to the campaign season. Beyond campaigns and elections, the activities of the respective precinct chairpersons define the activeness of the precincts. Local party activity was largely a one-person show.

Variables 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings

1950-1990: 3

COTTER AND HENNESSY REPORT THAT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE RULES OF 1958 REQUIRED TWO MEETINGS A YEAR UPON THE CALL OF THE CHAIRMAN, UNLESS VOTED OTHERWISE AT A PREVIOUS MEETING (P. 36). BEGINNING IN 1951, AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF 11 MEMBERS WAS ESTABLISHED, BUT THIS GROUP APPEARS NOT TO MEET ANY MORE OFTEN NOR TO BE MUCH USED BY THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN (P. 38).

"Obviously each committee is too large and unwieldy to work as an efficiently functioning body. Each meets only twice a year but has an executive committee that meets between full committee meetings and is, in actuality, the decision-making organization." (Maisel, 1999, p. 81).

The Democratic National Committee met twice a year, but most of the actual administrative work of the party was performed by a smaller executive committee and national committee

staff.

Variable 8.06: Maintaining Records

1950-1987: 8 (1,3,4)

1988-1990: 12 (1,3,8)

Publishes party propaganda

LIKE THE PUBLISHING PROGRAM OF THE REPUBLICANS, THAT OF THE DEMOCRATS VARIED WITH THE POLITICAL TIMES AND THE AVAILABLE FUNDS. AS THE OPPOSITION PARTY DURING THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION, THE PARTY PUBLISHED "THE DEMOCRATIC DIGEST," A CUTTING PARTISAN MAGAZINE. ITS PUBLISHING PROGRAM WAS PROBABLY LESS DIVERSIFIED THAN THAT OF THE REPUBLICANS.

In 1988, the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) created a bimonthly publication, The New Democrat, designed to spread the DLC message to all Democratic elected officials and grassroots supporters. (Hale in Green and Shea, eds., 1994, p. 254).

Maintains party archive as institutionalized organization resource

HOWEVER, CERTAINLY THE RESEARCH FUNCTION WAS LESS IMPORTANT WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WHERE A RESEARCH DIVISION DID EXIST BUT WAS NEGLECTED.

In addition, during the 1986 election, DNC chairman Paul Kirk established a task force of professional consultants to assist Democratic state committees with fund raising, computerizing voter lists, and other organizational activities (Herrnson, 1990, p. 53). [Research and summary by Jessica Zeldin]

"In 1985 the committee moved into its first privately owned building, which provides a secure working environment for DNC staff, computer equipment, and records. . . The committee also developed a number of programs to strengthen state and local Democratic committees. DNC money and professional staff were used to help Democratic state committees improve their fund raising, develop computerized voter lists, and modernize their organizations." (Kurian, ed., 1997, Encyclopedia of the Democratic Party, p. 115).

Maintains membership lists or has access to lower organs' lists

THE DEMOCRATS DID MAINTAIN MAILING LISTS OF FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTORS, ESPECIALLY THROUGH THEIR SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP PLAN BEGUN IN 1956. BUT THESE LISTS WERE NOT MEMBERSHIP LISTS PER SE.

In fact, it was not until 1981 and the election of Charles Manatt as the DNC chair that the party leadership began giving high priority to direct-mail (Price, 1984, p. 44). He borrowed \$2.4 million dollars to start a large scale operation quickly, and sent out a million fund-raising letters in August 1981. By the end of 1984, the Democrats list had grown to almost 600,000 names (MenefeeLibey in Green, ed., 1994, p. 254).

In 1985, the DNC moved the mailing program in-house, resulting in a savings for the party of \$300,000 per year. The DNC's mailing list grew from 25,000 names in 1981 to over 500,000 donors in 1987 (Sabato, 1988, p. 86). [research by Jessica Zeldin]

Although lists of financial contributors are not membership lists, they are a good start in developing a comprehensive membership list. It stands to reason that party contributors consider themselves Republican, Democrat, or whatever the case may be. Furthermore, financially contributing identifiers are usually stronger partisans since they have made an investment in the party.

Despite the Democratic Party's consistent mediocre party publications and archives, its direct-mailing and state party-building efforts allowed it to develop and maintain fairly accurate membership lists.

Variable 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 7

ALTHOUGH THE DEMOCRATS WERE AHEAD OF THE REPUBLICANS IN ESTABLISHING A WOMEN'S DIVISION AS EARLY AS 1916, THEY HAVE BEEN LESS SUCCESSFUL IN ORGANIZING WOMEN'S GROUPS ACROSS THE COUNTRY. COTTER AND HENNESSY POINT OUT THAT DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S CLUBS ARE CHARTERED BY STATE COMMITTEES RATHER THAN NATIONAL COMMITTEES (P. 151). THE SAME IS TRUE FOR CHARTERING OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATS, WHO BECAME ATTACHED TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE WITH A PAID STAFF ONLY IN 1956 (P. 156). OF MORE IMPORTANCE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS ITS CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AT BOTH THE STATE AND NATIONAL LEVELS. CLEARLY THE PARTY CONTROL OF LABOR UNIONS IS LOW—IN SOME STATES, THE UNIONS HAVE THE UPPER HAND OVER THE PARTY—BUT SOME PENETRATION DOES EXIST.

The previous explanation provided by Janda in the original ICPP project remains valid for the additional years in this study.

#402-United States: Republican Party

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Variable 8.01: Structural Articulation

1950-1990: 10

PARTY ORGANS

The Republican Party has four staple organs: Republican National Convention, Republican National Committee, National Republican Congressional Committee, and National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Republican National Convention (every four years)

- Prescribed Selection
- Function– nominate the party's presidential candidate, approve the party's platform, and energize the party for the general election

Republican National Committee (RNC) (established in 1856)

- Prescribed Selection
- Function– "Each [DNC and RNC] was structured as a means of coordinating national election campaigns." (Maisel, 1999, p. 81).

National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) (established in 1866)

- Prescribed selection– current Republican U.S. Representatives
- Function– aid Republican candidates for U.S. House of Representatives and assist with other means of party building (National Republican Congressional Committee)

It supports the election of Republicans to the House through direct financial contributions to candidates and Republican Party organizations; technical and research assistance to Republican candidates and Party organizations; voter registration, education and turnout programs; and other Party-building activities (National Republican Congressional Committee).

National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) (after 17th Amendment–1913)

- Prescribed selection– current Republican U.S. Senators
- Function– aid Republican candidates for the U.S. Senate and assist with other means of party building (Maisel, 1999 p. 83).

Beyond the four main organs detailed above, the Republican Party also has the following auxiliary organs that largely assist with party building and diversifying: National Federation of Republican Women, Young Republican National Federation, Republican Governor's Association, and Republican Mayors and Local Officials.

College Republican National Committee (CRNC) (established over 100 years ago)

- Informal Co-optation
- Function– “Founded more than 100 years ago, College Republicans have played a vital role in recruiting, educating, and involving many students each year in the Republican Party.” (College Republican National Committee).

National Federation of Republican Women (NFRW) (established in 1938)

- Informal Co-optation
- Function– encourage women to participate in politics and the Republican Party, as well as to assist with party building efforts (National Federation of Republican Women)

The goals of those women who met in Chicago in 1938 continue to be the goals of the NFRW - to encourage women's participation in the governing of our nation, to elect Republicans to office at all levels, and to promote public awareness of the issues which shape America (National Federation of Republican Women).

Republicans Governor's Association (RGA) (established in 1963)

- Prescribed Selection– current Republican governors as well as governors-elect
- Function- assist with national public policy, Republican gubernatorial candidates, and work with the party organization at all levels (Republican Governor's Association)

follows:

According to the Bylaws, the mission of RGA is as

1. To assist in the solution of significant national public policy
2. To enable the Republican governors to take their proper position in expressing the philosophy of the Republican Party within the national party framework.
3. To assist in the election of Republican gubernatorial candidates and the reelection of incumbent governors.
4. To provide a mechanism to facilitate communications and cooperation among its members; with local, state, and national Party organization; with Republicans in the U.S. Congress; and with Republicans in the Executive branch of government during Republican administration (Republican Governor's Association).

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Republican Mayors and Local Officials (RMLO)

- Prescribed Selection– “The membership of RMLO shall consist of Republican Mayors and Republican officials elected to local office in either

partisan or non-partisan elections." (Republican Mayors and Local Officials).

- Function–

- E. To enable Republican officials elected at the municipal level to express, develop and preserve the philosophy of the Republican party in cities and towns across America;
- F. To assist, where possible, in identifying Republican Mayors and Republican elected officials; and
- G. To consult and cooperate with each other, the President of the United States, officers of the Executive Branch and members of the Senate and House of Representatives, as well as Republican national, state, and local leaders, to assist in the identification and resolution of significant issues of concern to the nation, particularly those affecting government at the municipal level. (Republican Mayors and Local Official).

Variable 8.02: Intensiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 5

According to [Maidment and] Tappin the grassroots political organization in the parties means precinct politics—1000 or less voters in a precinct (Maidment and Tappin, 1989, p. 95).

"Towns or precincts are politically organized as town or precinct committees, with chairs and other officers. Theoretically, each political party has a committee at this level. But in practice, a wide variety is the norm. Each party would like to have a functioning organization in each local precinct. But in actuality, if the parties can have a name on paper—a possible contact person who is interested—that is often a bonus." (Maisel, 1999, p. 69-70).

Although some local parties may have had a developed system of block workers or some other form of sub-precinct organization, as a general rule precincts were the smallest unit in the party organization.

Variable 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization

1950-1964: 4

1965-1990: 6

"Prior to the 1960s local Republican organizations were virtually unknown in much of the South, and Democratic organizations were similarly scarce in part of New England and the Midwest. Today, however, there are almost no states that are totally noncompetitive in national elections, and no states where the candidates of either party for state office are automatically excluded from election."(Reichley, 1992, p. 396).

"Perhaps the most dramatic instances have been the rise of Republican strength in a number of Southern and border states. We have already observed its effects on Presidential voting, but in some states it has operated in elections for other offices as well.

For example, in 1962 veteran Alabama Senator Lister Hill barely won re-election over Republican James D. Martin; Florida elected two Republican U.S. Representatives out of twelve; South Carolina gave over 40 percent of its popular vote to a Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate for the first time since Reconstruction; Texas elected a second Republican U.S. Representative, and in 1961 Texas voters made John Tower the first Republican U.S. Senator from the state since Reconstruction; and Tennessee elected Republicans in three of its nine Congressional Districts. In all, 11 of 105 Southern U.S. Representatives were Republicans in the 88th Congress, the highest number since the 1870's.

Only Oklahoma, to be sure, elected a Republican to any high *state* office-- when it elected Henry Bellmon the first Republican governor in the state's history--so full two-party competition is still some distance off in most Southern and border states. Nevertheless, Southern Republicans are stronger today than they have been for a century, and they are likely to grow stronger. . .

We cannot now provide a complete and definitive explanation for these changes from traditional state political alignments. However, a major part of any such explanation will surely be interstate migration. Americans have always moved about within their country frequently and in large numbers, and the post-1954 era has witnessed one of the greatest migrations, since the Civil War: the Bureau of the Census found that 12 percent of the population over five years of age in 1960 had moved from one state to another since 1955!

Perhaps the most significant movement politically has been the parallel immigration of Northern whites into the South and emigration of Southern Negroes out of the South. One effect has been to reduce the proportion of Negroes in the Southern states' populations: in the decade from 1950 to 1960 the proportion of Negroes declined in all eight Democratic one-party states, the largest drops being from 27 to 18 percent in Florida and from 43 to 35 percent in South Carolina; the average drop for the eight states was 5.6 percent. This Negro exodus has "lightened" many of the South's "black belts," which, according to Key, have always constituted the nucleus of Southern one-party politics. At the same time the influx of Northern whites, about half of whom were Republicans in the North and have remained so after moving to the South, has not only given Southern Republicans more votes; more significantly, it has greatly enlarged the pool of well educated and active party supporters from which they can draw candidates for office and leaders of party organization. Both movements, accordingly, have encouraged a higher degree of inter-party competition in the South.

The other main post-war interstate migration has been the massive movement to the far West. The most spectacular instance, of course, is the growth of California from a population of 6,907,000 in 1940 to 15,717,000 in 1960, and a position as the most populous state in the Union by the mid-1960's. The Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan studied a sample of 588 western adults in 1956, and its findings tell us much about the post-war western immigrants and their impact on western politics. Slightly over twice as many came from the North as from the South. Those from the North were closely split between Democratic identifiers (39 percent) and Republican (34 percent), while those from the South were heavily Democratic (57 percent to

20 percent Republican). From one point of view, the net effect has been to make the West somewhat more Democratic than before; from another, it has sustained two-party competition, for the Northern immigrants have supplied large numbers of Republicans, enough indeed to keep the region from the two-to-one lead the Democrats would probably have if the western electorate consisted entirely of persons born in the region and immigrants from the South." (Ranney, 1967, p. 72-73).

Please note that the research is inconclusive about which exact year the change in extensiveness of organization occurred. Therefore, we are left to make an informed estimation from the data available.

Variable 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings

1950-1990: 2

"Towns or precincts are politically organized as town or precinct committees, with chairs and other officers. Theoretically, each political party has a committee at this level. But in practice, a wide variety is the norm. Each party would like to have a functioning organization in each local precinct. But in actuality, if the parties can have a name on paper—a possible contact person who is interested—that is often a bonus." (Maisel, 1999, p. 69-70).

"Although most local party organizations are not bureaucratically organized, they do sustain a fairly high level of programmatic activity. A significant minority of such organizations conducts some party maintenance activity in non-election periods. . . Local party organizations have not become less active or less organized over the past two decades." (Cotter, *et al.*, 1984, p. 57).

Although evidence of party machines still existed in some urban areas throughout 1990, party machines were the exception rather than the norm during the time period being studied. Local party activity is predominantly limited to the campaign season. Beyond campaigns and elections, the activities of the respective precinct chairpersons define the activeness of the precincts. Local party activity is largely a one-person show.

Variable 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings

1950-1990: 3

COTTER AND HENNESSEY STATE THAT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE TYPICALLY MEETS ONLY TWICE A YEAR. AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF 15, COMMONLY DRAWN FROM THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE WHOLE COMMITTEE BUT NOT SO REQUIRED, ALSO MEETS INFREQUENTLY, PERHAPS ONCE OR TWICE MORE PER YEAR (PP. 36-37).

"Obviously each committee is too large and unwieldy to work as an efficiently functioning body. Each meets only twice a year but has an executive committee that meets between full committee meetings and is, in actuality, the decision-making organization." (Maisel, 1999, p. 81).

The Republican National Committee met twice a year, but most of the actual administrative work of the party was performed by a smaller executive committee and national committee staff.

Variable 8.06: Maintaining Records

1950-1977: 12 (1,3,8)

1978-1990: 16 (2,6,8)

Publishes party propaganda

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PUBLICATION PROGRAM VARIES ACCORDING TO CAMPAIGN YEARS, AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS, AND ORIENTATIONS OF STAFF MEMBERS. A BIWEEKLY NEWSLETTER, "BATTLE LINE," HAD A REGULAR EXISTENCE DURING OUR TIME PERIODS AND THE PARTY ISSUED MANUALS FOR PARTY LEADERS AND WORKERS. THE PARTY ALSO PUBLISHES RESEARCH REPORTS AND POLICY STATEMENTS ON AN OCCASIONAL BASIS.

In the late 1970s, an extensive publication program was established. It included a semi-academic quarterly, Commonsense; the monthly party magazine, First Monday; and numerous items disseminating opposition research, such as "The Carter Record" and "Democratic Watch '80." The recently developed five advisory councils produced an extensive series of pamphlets (Price, 1984, p. 41). The publication directed at local party officials and volunteers was County Line (Huckshorn in Green, ed., 1994, p. 43).

The RNC published *First Monday* and *County Line*, which provides party activists, leaders, and candidates with research on issues, survey results, and campaign advice (Herrnson (1990), p. 53). *County Line* also publishes information about national party campaign services and events to encourage state and local party members to run for office (Herrnson (1990), p. 49). Beginning with the 1984 election, the RNC, under Chair Frank Fahrenkopf, instituted a computer information network to provide local and state parties with issue and opposition research and newspaper articles (Herrson, 1990, p. 53). The RNC has moved to a system of weekly downloads to party leaders and candidates which provides information on issues, speech outlines, and suggested press releases (Kayden and Mahe, 1985, p. 82). The NRCC has computerized most of its research and has made it available instantaneously through its Republican Information Network (RIN) (Herrnson, 1990, p. 61-62). [Research and summary by Blickensderfer]

Maintains party archive as institutionalized organization resource

THE RESEARCH DIVISION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS FAR MORE ACTIVE

THAN ITS DEMOCRATIC COUNTERPART AND PRODUCES WORK THAT HAS DRAWN ACCLAIM FROM JOURNALISTS AND ACADEMICS.

Chairman Brock instituted the use of task forces to examine issues and the publication of Common Sense [sic.], a quarterly journal. According to Kayden and Mahe, the superior research done by the party came to supplant research done by individual campaigns. The party became able "to maintain records on election districts and opponents, to do sophisticated voter analyses, and to develop and present policy positions" to such an astounding and efficient degree that campaigns often consult the party as a first step in researching any campaign topic. (Kayden and Mahe, 1985, p. 75-6) "The RNC monitors all newspapers, magazines, and broadcast networks, providing synopses to candidates and party leaders." The party has also begun to keep record on opposition candidates. (Kayden and Mahe, 1985, p. 83) In addition, the party's extensive direct mail lists give it an excellent source of active party members who are willing to contribute at least funds, and potentially more, to the party's cause. [Research and summary by Brady]

The NRSC and NRCC undertake research specific to their candidates, providing them with information on the positions and weaknesses of their opponents as well as assessing their own vulnerability (Herrnson, 1990, p. 61). Polling research has become prevalent among the national GOP organs. The Hill committees provide GOP congressional candidates with "benchmark and trend polls" and "analyses of voting patterns in previous elections" (Herrnson, 1988, p. 78). The party computers "handled more than 20 million names and addresses for voter registration and get-out-the-vote activities" in the 1980 election (Kayden and Mahe, 1985, p.86). [Research and summary by Blickensderfer]

Maintains membership lists or has access to lower organs' lists

THE PARTY CERTAINLY MAINTAINS LISTS OF CONTRIBUTORS FOR PURPOSES OF FUND RAISING, BUT THESE LISTS ARE POOR AS MEMBERSHIP LISTS.

"By 1978, the RNC had a donor base of 511,638 contributors, 58% of whom paid \$25 or less. Ten years later, the base grew to 1.2 million contributors, each making an average payment of \$61.25." (Kurian, 1997, Encyclopedia of the Republican Party, p. 175).

Although lists of financial contributors are not membership lists, they are a good start in developing a comprehensive membership list. It stands to reason that party contributors consider themselves Republican, Democrat, or whatever the case may be. Furthermore, financially contributing identifiers are usually stronger partisans since they have made an investment in the party.

Compared to its Democratic counterpart, the Republican Party has developed a rather strong system for maintaining records, especially in the areas of party publications and archives.

Variable 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 3

THE REPUBLICANS HAVE A WOMEN'S DIVISION AND A NATIONAL FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN. COTTER AND HENNESSY SAY THAT THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FINANCES THE WOMEN'S DIVISION COMPLETELY AND ABOUT TWO-THIRDS THE EXPENSES OF THE NFRW OFFICE (P. 152). A YOUNG REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FEDERATION BECAME ALLIED WITH THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE IN 1946 AND HAS BEEN FINANCED BY THE COMMITTEE SINCE (P. 155). THE PARTY HAS ALSO HAD DIVISIONS TO COURT THE ETHNIC AND MINORITIES VOTE, BUT THESE SECTORS OF THE SOCIETY WERE NOT ASSOCIATED TO THE PARTY THROUGH ANCILLARY ORGANIZATIONS. THUS, THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATION ONLY PENETRATED TO WOMEN AND THE YOUTH, AND ONLY SMALL PROPORTIONS OF BOTH GROUPS WERE INVOLVED IN PARTY ACTIVITIES.

The previous explanation provided by Janda in the original ICPP project remains valid for the additional years in this study.