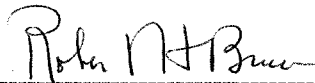


**This thesis, having been approved by the
special Faculty Committee, is accepted
by the Graduate School of the
University of Wyoming,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts**



Dean of the Graduate School.

Date August 14, 1964

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS
IN TWO WYOMING CITIES

by

Maurice S. Shier

A Thesis

Submitted to the Department of
Political Science and the Graduate
School of the University of Wyoming in
Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

University of Wyoming

Laramie, Wyoming

August, 1964

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the efforts which have been brought to bear on the conduct and completion of this study, several people need to be acknowledged for their contributions to the author. As a recognition of the debt owed to them, I would like to acknowledge the following people:

Dr. Ralph M. Wade and Dr. John T. Thompson, the directors of my thesis, for the invaluable advice, constructive criticisms, and suggestions that have been given me throughout the study.

Dr. Duane W. Hill and Mr. John B. Richard, for their advice and assistance in the preparing of the samples and in the writing of the thesis.

Mr. James Byrd, Assistant Chief of Police of Cheyenne, Wyoming, for assisting in the sampling procedure of the Negro group in Cheyenne.

Mr. Damon Patton, Systems Engineer with International Business Machines Corporation, Kansas City, Missouri, and Mr. Dean Lawrence, Director of the Computer Center, Midwest Research Institute, Kansas City, Missouri, for their assistance in preparing the program and providing computer time for the analyzing of the data with out charge.

My parents, Mr. and Mrs. Maurice W. Shier, St. Joseph, Missouri, for their generosity in providing the needed financial assistance.

The members of the interview team: William E. Duke, Paul H. Gleye, John R. Iversen, and Ray F. Korhonen.

Miss Anne Winslow, for her assistance in the editing of the manuscript.

And finally, Mrs. Shirley A. Martin, who lent moral support in the preparing and typing of the final draft.

While this study could not have been completed without the help and cooperation of the above, the author must absolve them from responsibility for all faults lying within the study and accept the final burden for errors and misjudgments himself.

M.S.S.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Politics, an all encompassing term, has been defined all the way from "a science" to "the art of political government" and "the factional scheming found within a group of people." The term has come to include political opinions, political methods, political principles, and the participation in political affairs.¹ It has been called an art by some writers and a science by others. As a consequence, politics has been the center of a great degree of analysis through the centuries.

The analysis of politics has been accomplished with a high degree of sophistication by a few students in ages past, e.g., the Greek writers Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Other periods of history also have produced their great students of politics. All of these individuals have attempted to answer certain fundamental questions.

These questions have been concerned primarily with the what, why, and how political systems function--the authority in political systems--the stability or lack of stability of a given system--and many other aspects of politics as an art

1. "Politics," Webster's New World Dictionary, college ed., 1960.

or a science. Political analysis has also come to recognize the human factor of a government--the roles of decision makers, the reasons for their actions, and the effect these actions have had on the rest of society.² Conversely, analysis has attempted to determine the role non-decision-makers perform and the effect their actions have had on the persons actually making the decisions. Participation of the members of a society within a governmental system and the attitudes and preferences these individuals hold have also been subjects for analysis by practitioners of politics as a science. Thus, the cause and effect relationships of politics as an art have merged to create the science of politics to answer more precisely the questions stimulated in the minds of the students of politics.

The purpose of this study is to examine the political participation and attitudes of various segments of the local population. A delimitation was accomplished by the selection of two ethnic, minority groups in the immediate vicinity of the University of Wyoming. These two groups appeared to be sorely neglected by political researchers. For comparative purposes, a non-minority group was also studied.

For the purpose of this study, the terms minority group or ethnic group will be arbitrarily limited to people of a

2. Robert A. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), pp. 1-3.

different race or origin from the majority of the American citizens.³

Residing within the confines of Albany County and Laramie, Wyoming, is a minority group of Spanish-Americans. These people prefer the nomenclature of Spanish-American, but they are in reality a mingling of immigrants and descendants of immigrants from Spain and Mexico. The writer will use the name Spanish-American in designating this minority group in order to maintain a degree of uniformity and accede to the preference of the group.

The second ethnic group selected were Negroes. Because of the lack in Laramie of any sizeable Negro population Cheyenne, Wyoming, which has approximately nine hundred Negroes in its population was selected for this portion of the study.⁴ The third or control group studied included the remaining citizens of Laramie excluding the Spanish-Americans and the few Negroes of the city. This latter group will be referred to as the majority group in the interpretation of the collected data. The studying of a non-minority group provided the opportunity for comparative analysis with the Spanish-Americans as both groups were from the same locale.

3. Ray Marshall, "Ethnic and Economic Minorities: Unions Future or Unrecruitable," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCL (November, 1963), p. 64.

4. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 52, Wyoming. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 32.

Methodology

The research student had first to design a tool which would obtain a high degree of uniformity of data from the selected groups. A study of various research techniques and methods to obtain the necessary information was undertaken, and an instrument or questionnaire known as a schedule was designed.⁵

Schedule Preparation. The original schedule was composed of questions designed to obtain information regarding attitudes and political participation of the groups to be studied, but it was found to be sorely lacking. The first schedule was revised, with counsel from advisors, and altered to include specific questions on organizational membership to find the possible influence these organizations might have on the behavior and activity of the groups being studied. This latter section, however, was included after the conclusion of the interviewing of the Spanish-Americans; therefore the only organizational membership information obtained for the Spanish-Americans was in regard to labor unions.

5. Leading Studies used were: Robert A. Dahl, op. cit.; Leon Festinger, ed., Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences. (New York: Dryden Press, 1953); Wilson Gee, Social Science Research Methods. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950); Donald R. Matthews, The Social Background of Political Decision-Makers. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Inc., 1954); Mildred Bernice Parten, Surveys, Polls, and Samples. (New York: Harper and Company, 1950); Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey; Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950).

Selection of the Respondents. The next step involved the selection of the respondents. A systematic and objective selection had to be accomplished to obtain a group of respondents who were representative of the entire group being studied.

The so-called "waterfront" method⁶ was chosen as the most desirable approach for the selection of the individuals to be interviewed in the Spanish-American group. This decision was reached because the Albany County Chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, Mr. Julian Sandoval, possessed an up-to-date list of all known Spanish-American inhabitants and their addresses in Laramie, and this list was made available for the study.

A statistical random sample was utilized to determine the respondents for the majority group study in Laramie. This was accomplished by numbering all of the blocks in the city excluding schools, business sections, and the Spanish-American section of the city. Block number one was located in the northwest corner of the city. The student numbered 321 blocks, working from west to east in a southerly direction and ending in the southeast corner of the city. The order of houses which would be associated with the blocks was predetermined next in the order of one, three, five, two, four, six, upon the assumption that an average of six houses existed on each block. The starting point on each block was

6. Interviewing one person 21 years of age or older from each household.

the southwest corner, and the movement around the block was in a clockwise direction.

With the aid of Rand Corporation's tables of random numbers, and after limiting the sample to 120 respondents, the blocks were selected by accepting any number smaller than 322. Once the list of 120 blocks was compiled, the predetermined order of one, three, five, two, four, six was applied to delimit certain houses for interviews.

The individuals assisting with the interviewing were provided during a short training period with instructions concerning the mechanics of conducting the interview. These instructions are summarized as follows:

1. If the prospective house for an interview is found to be unoccupied or no one is at home, the next abode directly to the left is to be used for the interview. If this house happens to have the same situation, the house directly to the right of the original is then selected.
2. If a prospective interviewee refuses to be interviewed, again an interviewee is to be found in the house directly to the left.

The purpose of these instructions was to prevent having the interviewer return to conduct the interview and thus to prevent a possible awareness and preparation on the part of the prospective interviewee. Such a situation might result in a biased interview.

3. Once an interview has been completed, the correct street address is to be noted on the schedule.

This instruction was for the purpose of spot-checking the work of the interviewers to insure that the interviews were conducted.

4. If a duplex or other type of multiple dwelling occurs, the first occupied section or apartment should be selected for the interview.
5. The usual amenities and courtesies are to be followed at all times.

In preparing to interview the Negro population in Cheyenne, a rather formidable problem was found. The houses of the Negroes, although located in particular areas of the city, were intermingled with other ethnic groups, among others with the Spanish-Americans. Consequently, the process of numbering the blocks and selecting houses from the blocks could not be used. The only practical method was the ferreting out of each residence containing Negroes and then randomizing the residences. Fortunately, the Assistant Chief of Police of Cheyenne and a detective on the police force were themselves Negroes and gave much of their time in locating addresses on maps and in showing the author the homes of Negro habitants. With this information, randomization of the houses and the selection of 110 places for interviews from the 248 habitations were completed. Again, the tables of random numbers were employed for the selection of the houses.

In the segment of the study dealing with the Negro minority, each part of a duplex or other multiple dwelling was treated as a separate residence. Procedures concerning

refusals and those not at home were similar to those used in the majority study in Laramie. One deviation was made, though, with respect to "call-backs." When a number of interview sites were contiguous, and no one was at home, a return visit was made.

Coding and Analysis. To facilitate the codification and analysis of the data obtained, a code book was prepared (See Appendix B). The responses were assigned particular columns on an IBM card as the data was to be analyzed by an IBM 1620 Computer. The data was translated into numbers and transcribed on code sheets (See Appendix C) from which the data decks were prepared after the interviews were completed.

An analysis of the "data decks"--the punched IBM cards--was performed at the computer installation of Midwest Research Institute, Kansas City, Missouri.

Interpretation of Data Analysis. The final step in the study was to analyze these findings. The remaining portion of the paper contains an interpretation of the collected data. Chapters two, three, and four have the results of the responses to the administered schedules in the sequence of execution--Spanish-Americans, non-Spanish-Americans, and Negroes. Chapters five and six contain comparisons between the majority group in Laramie and the two minority groups respectively. Chapter seven is an analysis of the role organizational membership and officer versus non-officer membership play in the political participation of the various groups.

Because of a time element, only the totals of the responses to the schedule will be presented. Where germane and necessary to underscore particular points, data will be presented concerning independent socio-economic variables.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPANISH-AMERICANS IN LARAMIE, WYOMING

The Spanish-American element in the population of Laramie appears to be a small but important segment of the economic structure of the city. Many factors, however, seem to combine to relegate this particular minority group to the lower economic-social strata in the community. Elements, such as housing, education, inadequate streets, and other public facilities in their neighborhoods, and jobs held by the members of the group, create an atmosphere of lower-class citizenship.

The Spanish-American group resides primarily in the area of the city to which people refer as "across the tracks." The houses tend to be small, of frame construction, and poorly maintained. A perfunctory drive around the neighborhood shows signs of deterioration, such as the need of paint, of repair of sidewalks, of the cleaning and restoring of lawns, and countless other items. The streets lack uniformity. They range from concrete to dust-laden, poorly-graveled surfaces, which endanger an automobile's suspension system. Usually members of this group are employed as menials or as "blue-collar" workers in positions which require little education

and which pay small wages. Conversations with non-minority persons sometimes find them being referred to as "spics," or called other uncomplimentary names.

A study of the political participation and of the attitudes and preferences of the Spanish-Americans is felt to be important as a means of increasing the field knowledge of a group of people who have been largely neglected by academicians. A search of the library of the University of Wyoming showed an extreme scarcity of information about this group.

The Laramie Spanish-Americans were studied to determine the following: the socio-economic situation of the group, political participation as perceived by the group, and the attitudes and preferences the individuals possessed. Inasmuch as the information obtained was through the medium of personal interviews, the data presented must be qualified with the understanding that everything was dependent on the answers of the respondents.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Spanish-American Group

The socio-economic factors studied were age, income, property ownership, education, and length of time the family had lived in the United States. Most of the respondents were co-operative and willing to answer most of the questions. In a few instances, however, an individual respondent tended not to be co-operative on all or some of the questions. Thus, the percentages of the responses to each statement or

question may not equal 100 per cent because of the lack of an answer.

Generation Habitation. Many respondents had difficulty answering the question, "How many generations has your family been in the United States?" It was apparent that many of them were not well versed in their ancestral background.

Seven per cent of the respondents said their families were of the first generation. One of the respondents was an immigrant from Bolivia, who had lived in the United States long enough to obtain citizenship. The main body of the Spanish-Americans were second and third generation Americans. The second generation was claimed by 25.8 per cent of the entire group, and 27.3 per cent said their families had lived in the United States three generations. Only 12.1 per cent of the respondents were of the fourth generation, and the remaining 27.3 per cent stated their families had lived in the United States more than four generations.

Ages of the Respondents. The predominant age of the Spanish-American respondents was in the thirty-one to forty category. The ages of the respondents appeared to be a cross-section of the minority group although a middle-aged flavor was given to the entire group by the fact that 59.1 per cent of the respondents said their ages were between thirty-one and fifty. Twenty-four per cent of the respondents said their ages were between twenty-one and thirty. Of the entire group of respondents 42.4 per cent were between

the ages of thirty-one and forty, and 16.7 per cent were between forty-one and fifty years of age. The latter percentage was the same for the oldest age-category established on the schedule.

Educational Attainments of the Respondents. Educational attainments of the minority group reflected the lower socioeconomic position. A majority of the Spanish-American respondents--59 per cent--had not been graduated from high school. Thirty-four per cent had a high school diploma. Only 3 per cent had attended up to two years of college, and only one person interviewed said he had been graduated from college. Also, only one Spanish-American reported professional or trade school training.

Income and Property Ownership of the Minority Group. The income level of the Spanish-Americans appeared to be lower than the average income of the rest of Laramie's population. Although only 7.6 per cent of the respondents said their incomes were below \$1200 per year, a majority of the respondents stated their incomes were less than \$4000 annually. The incomes of 19.7 per cent of the respondents ranged from \$1200 to \$2500 per year. Fifty-three per cent had incomes in the range of \$2500 to \$4000. Only 10 per cent of the respondents said their annual incomes were between \$4000 and \$5500, and two respondents placed themselves in the greater-than-\$5500 category.

Although the income level of the Spanish-Americans was low, a relatively high degree of economic stability on the part of the group was noted. This was shown by the number of interviewees who stated they owned some form of property and particularly real estate. Seventy-five per cent of all the respondents said they were either paying for, or already owned, their homes. Significantly, automobile ownership was reported by only 54 per cent of this group, apparently reflecting a low degree of spatial mobility. Automobile ownership is not as essential to this group as to some others because of the location of the housing of the group. The main residential neighborhoods of the Spanish-Americans were located very near the business section of the city and within easy walking distance to their jobs and to stores and other businesses.

The respondents were also asked if they had investments--meaning money spent for insurance and stocks and bonds. Only 3 per cent of the group said they had property that was categorized as investment on the schedule.¹

1. Current economic writers consider investments to be quite different from the meaning of the term on the schedule. Correctly defined, life insurance and stocks and bonds, as well as real estate, are termed transfers of ownership. Harold Barger, Money, Banking, and Public Policy. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1962), pp. 360-361; Paul A. Samuelson, Economics, An Introductory Analysis. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 242-243.

When one considers the income level of the Spanish-Americans, it would appear that not many of them would own real property. Such a conclusion is refuted, however, by the high degree of real estate ownership reported in the interviews.

The information reported by the Spanish-Americans showed clearly the low socio-economic situation of the group. The group, however, did not appear to be transitory in nature as some lower socio-economic groups appear to be. Instead, the Spanish-Americans seem to have created for themselves a permanency in the city. Furthermore, an examination of the statistics concerning age groupings shows higher degrees of education for the younger-age persons, implying a residency long enough to have been graduated from high school.

Political Participation

Political participation of the Spanish-American group was also studied. Questions were asked regarding voter registration, participation in elections, and other politically-oriented group activities.

Voting Registration. Under the statutes of Wyoming, residents of any incorporated city or town in which more than one thousand votes were cast at the last preceding general election are required to be registered prior to the election.²

2. Wyoming Compiled Statutes, 1957. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company), Section 22-155.

This is a means of identifying the voters and is not a specific qualification for suffrage; although the lack of registration at the time of an election effectively prevents anyone from voting.

A high degree of voter registration was shown by the Spanish-American respondents with 97 per cent of them reporting that they were registered to vote. Of this total, 94 per cent indicated they were registered Democrats and 3 per cent declared themselves to be registered Republicans.

Voting Participation. Their perception of the importance of elections can be seen from the voting patterns of the Spanish-American group. Respondents were asked if they had voted in all, half, few, or none of the elections (See Appendix Z, Questions 10, 11, 12). Table I shows the voting pattern. As can be seen, the frequency of voting is much greater in the general and primary elections than in local elections. Table I also shows the per cent of voters reporting the number of times they had voted. Only 3 per cent reported never voting in general elections while 13 per cent reported never voting in city elections.

The voting pattern shows that the minority group perceived primary and general elections as being more important than city elections and general elections as being more important than primaries. This finding agrees with other similar voting studies which show that individuals tend to vote more often in primary and general elections than in

TABLE I
VOTING PARTICIPATION OF SPANISH-AMERICANS
(By Percentage)

Types of Elections	<u>Response Categories</u>			
	ALL	HALF	FEW	NONE
City Elections	27.3	30.3	27.3	13.6
Primary Elections	40.9	24.2	21.2	12.1
General Elections	56.0	24.2	13.6	3.0

local elections.³ Many explanations have been offered for this phenomenon of the American electorate. One plausible reason seems to be the degree of saturation by the news media. The 1960 presidential election is an excellent example since the use of several means of communication presenting the debates between the candidates had an effect on the outcome of the final vote.⁴ The fact that a general election always presents a well-known candidate or candidates for national office gives greater impetus to the election. Also, the political parties have shown more willingness to spend money on a state or national scale than on a local election.⁵

3. Charles R. Adrian, Governing Urban America. (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 91-92. cf. Bibliography, 92.

4. Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1960. (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., and Atheneum House, Inc., 1961).

5. V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, 4th ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1958), pp. 538-539.

Other Forms of Political Participation. Other forms of political participation tested on the schedule included contributions to political parties, attendance at political rallies, the signing of nominating petitions, and the holding of political party offices.

It was found in all instances that the degree of political participation was quite low or non-existent. Contributions to a political party or attendance at a political rally were the major forms of participation in addition to voting. Only 30 per cent of the respondents, however, said they had made some type of contribution to a political party. Of the respondents, 16.7 per cent said they had contributed money to a party; 9 per cent stated they had worked for a party; and 4.5 per cent said they had given both time and money to political activity.

One of the minority respondents to the question of political contributions showed an awareness that many of the individuals did not possess. The individual remarked that he belonged to a labor union and some of his dues went into the political education fund of the labor union, which in turn distributed funds to political parties and political candidates. Fifty-one per cent of all the persons interviewed said they belonged to a labor union, but very few of the respondents were aware that a portion of their dues and fees were being used for political activities.

Attendance at political rallies was somewhat more frequent than other types of political participation. Forty-seven per cent of the Spanish-American respondents said they had attended political rallies. Of those attending rallies, 58 per cent replied they had attended only one or two rallies, while 32 per cent reported they had attended from three to five political rallies. Only 10 per cent reported more frequent attendance at rallies. These individuals said they had attended more than five. Percentagewise, attendance for the various categories of the group was as follows: 27 per cent of the total respondents said they had attended one or two rallies; 15 per cent had attended three to five rallies; and 4.5 per cent had attended more than five rallies.

Only one respondent stated he had ever signed a nominating petition, and this had been in conjunction with a labor union election. None of the group was found to have held any party office or to have been a delegate to a political convention.⁶

6. Lack of interest or willingness to serve in party positions seems to be the main reason for the lack of office holding parties. One female respondent reported that she had been asked to be a precinct committeewoman but refused because of lack of time. She had six young children.

Attitudes of the Spanish-Americans

The Spanish-American group was asked a series of questions designed to show their attitudes regarding various matters. Each of the six statements contained five possible answers, e.g., strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, and no-knowledge. The respondent was to indicate one which best described his attitude (See Appendix A, Questions 18 to 23). An attempt was made to include issues pertaining to all levels of government in order to test the degree of knowledge and attitudes the group might hold concerning city, state, and national problems.

Types of Responses. As was expected, some of the statements were quite familiar to the group, and others were unfamiliar. The most widely known issue concerned the medicare program. Less than 10 per cent gave a "no knowledge" response on this issue.

Table II shows the responses of the Spanish-Americans on the issues. Included in the table is the percentage of "no" answers. It can be seen that the group was poorly informed on many issues.

Both questions, "Would a right-to-work law benefit Wyoming?" and "Is federal aid to education desirable for Wyoming?" received 19.7 per cent "no knowledge" responses. This seems an unusually high percentage for the right-to-work issue since

it was hotly debated throughout the state last year particularly by the laboring groups before it was enacted by the 1963 state legislature.

TABLE II
ATTITUDES OF THE SPANISH-AMERICANS
ON SELECTED POLITICAL ISSUES
(By Percentage)

	Med i care	Right to work	Fed.aid to educ.	Labor Union Activ.	Cities Mill Levies	Reappor- tion- ment
Strongly Agree	43.9	3.0	34.9	16.7	6.0	4.5
Agree	45.5	18.2	40.9	37.9	27.3	15.2
Disagree	1.5	21.2	3.0	12.1	3.0	13.6
Strongly Disagree	0.	37.9	0.	9.0	7.6	6.0
No Knowledge	7.6	19.7	19.7	24.2	53.0	56.0
No Answer	1.5	0.	1.5	0.	3.0	4.5

The right-to-work issue in the state legislature was primarily a partisan issue with the Republican legislators of the state voting for the measure and the Democrats against.⁷ The fact that the Spanish-American group is predominantly

7. News item in the Sheridan, Wyoming Press, February 8, 1963.

Democratic and largely pro-union is reflected in the attitudes on this issue. Fifty-eight per cent of the respondents disagreed with the question as stated or were against a right-to-work law. Eighteen per cent, however, agreed with the question.

With respect to the question of federal aid for education, 75 per cent of the interviewees agreed that federal aid to education would be desirable for Wyoming, and only 3 per cent disagreed.

"Should labor unions become more active in politics?" was also in the category of having less than a third of the respondents--24.2 per cent--giving a "no knowledge" response. A majority of the persons interviewed--54.6 per cent--agreed that labor unions should become more active politically. A significant minority, however, of 21 per cent said unions should not become more active in politics. Also it should be noted that some of the union members disagreed with the statement. This may indicate a lack of understanding of the importance of politics to labor and to the determining of "Who gets what, when, and where?"

The two questions which received the greatest number of "no knowledge" responses concerned two issues which have been widely debated in the state. One issue concerns the calling of a special session of the state legislature to consider the problem of city finances, and the second had to do with

reapportionment of the state legislature. The question on the second issue asked, "Is the present reapportionment remedy in Wyoming the best solution to reapportionment?"

Fifty-three per cent of the respondents stated they had no knowledge concerning city finances or mill levies or the special session to consider the situation. Most of the respondents who did have an opinion agreed with the statement. Ten per cent of the entire group, though, disagreed with the calling of a special session to study the problem of mill levies.

The reapportionment issue was one which was also contested in the 1963 legislative session of Wyoming. In that session a reapportionment of the state's legislative districts was accomplished. There was a great deal of contention that the law was not equitable, and it was widely denounced by several leading Democratic leaders.

It should be noted that both of these issues, the municipal finance and the reapportionment questions, are very complex and require a better understanding of state government than the average person usually has. A 1963 study, for example, showed that only 25 per cent of the Wyoming citizens questioned had any definite knowledge about legislative apportionment.⁸

8. Ralph M. Wade, ed., "The Politics of Reapportionment in Wyoming," Rocky Mountain Center for Education in Politics, University of Wyoming Affiliate, May, 1963, p. 15.

As might be expected, this minority group was ill-informed on these issues. Of the entire group, 20 per cent of the respondents agreed with the present solution and 20 per cent disagreed. Four and five-tenths per cent of the group did not reply to the question. Presumably, the silence could be construed as "no knowledge" responses.

When one considers the replies of the respondents, it is evident that there is more interest and knowledge of national issues than of state and local matters. No questions regarding national problems had as many "no knowledge" responses as did the questions on state and local issues. The statements which were economic in nature were the ones which were best known to the respondents. The right-to-work law, federal aid to education, and medical care are better known than the other non-economic issues used in the schedule.

The inclusion of President Kennedy's name in the question pertaining to medical care, however, may have given a bias to the answers in that the answers may have indicated agreement with the name rather than agreement or knowledge of the policy question. As is shown in a subsequent chapter dealing with Negroes, the name of Kennedy was quite popular with both minority groups.

Political Preferences of the Spanish-American Group

Political preferences of the Spanish-Americans was studied for the national offices only. The group was asked

to name from the lists provided the person whom they would support for the presidential nomination from both of the major political parties, and also to designate their political party preferences. In addition, the group was asked about their political preference for the 1964 United States senatorial race in Wyoming (See Appendix A, Questions 24, 25, 26, 27).

The Spanish-Americans showed a definite preference for the Democratic party in their selections. Sixty-two per cent of the respondents declined to choose any name presented as a possible Republican party presidential nominee.

The schedule listed five well known Republicans for consideration by the persons being interviewed, and all five names received at least one response. The most frequently chosen names were Nelson Rockefeller, Richard Nixon, and Barry Goldwater. This may be partially attributable to the fact that these were the most prominent names on the list by virtue of the particular activities of the individuals who have been in the spotlight a considerable length of time.

The comparable question regarding choices of possible Democratic presidential choices found only four respondents, or 6 per cent of the group, not making a selection. The preponderant choice of the Spanish-Americans among the possible Democratic candidates was Lyndon Johnson, the current President of the United States. Sixty-three per cent of the respondents chose him. The second choice was Robert Kennedy,

the brother of the late President, who received 28 per cent of the group's responses. As noted by the percentages on Table III, Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic party's nominee in 1952 and 1956 received the support of only one interviewee.

TABLE III
PREFERENCES OF THE SPANISH-AMERICANS
FOR
VARIOUS PARTY CANDIDATES
(By Percentage)

<u>Potential Republican Party Nominees</u>	
George Romney	3.0
William Scranton	1.5
Richard Nixon	15.2
Nelson Rockefeller	10.6
Barry Goldwater	7.6
None	62.1
<u>Potential Democratic Party Nominees</u>	
Lyndon Johnson	63.6
Wayne Morse	0.
Robert Kennedy	28.8
Adlai Stevenson	1.5
None	6.0
<u>Choice Between the Nominees of the Two Parties</u>	
Democratic Party	90.9
Republican Party	4.5
None	4.5
<u>United States Senatorial Race 1964</u>	
Thyra Thomson	12.1
John Wold	1.5
G. D. Humphrey	3.0
William Harrison	3.0
Gale McGee	74.2
None	6.0

The senatorial race in Wyoming in 1964, as far as the Spanish-Americans were concerned, was a race already decided. The incumbent, Gale McGee, appeared to be assured of a great deal of support--74.2 per cent--from this minority group for re-election. The second choice was Mrs. Thyra Thomson, the present Republican Secretary of State of Wyoming, who received 12.1 per cent of the respondents' votes. Laramie is Mrs. Thomson's home, and it is understandable that she would draw some support from her home town.

Political preferences of the Spanish-Americans show, generally, a definite leaning not only toward incumbents in office, but also toward the Democratic party in general. This tendency corresponds with the high degree of Democratic party registration.

Summary

The Spanish-Americans showed a high degree of political registration and a fairly high degree of voting frequency. With regard to the other forms of political participation, the activities most easily performed were found to be the ones primarily undertaken by the minority group. The political activities dependent on party leadership were non-existent for the minority group.

With regard to political issues, the group showed a high degree of knowledge concerning those which were highly advertised and primarily of a national context. Issues which have

a direct economic effect on the group were more often understood than other general policy issues. State and local issues were the ones most likely not to be understood by the group. Generally, however, the degree of awareness of political issues was much greater than might be expected for such a group.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MAJORITY GROUP IN LARAMIE, WYOMING

The majority group of the city of Laramie for the purpose of this study includes all individuals who do not have Spanish, Mexican, or Negro ancestry. As noted earlier, the Negroes were excluded from the Spanish-American study and they have not been included in this portion. The reason for the exclusion of the Negroes was that the number of individuals was limited. There were not enough to have a separate study created around them, and too many to include in either of the Laramie segments.¹

A sample portion of the majority group was interviewed with the same schedule as that used with the Spanish-Americans. A section was added to the schedule, however, to determine the degree of organizational membership and the relationship of such membership to political participation. Also, members of the group were asked whether they were personally acquainted with any elected office-holders. This information may be found in Chapter VII.

1. United States Bureau of the Census, loc. cit.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Majority Group

The socio-economic situation of the majority element of Laramie is much higher than that of the Spanish-American group. The homes and the area of the city show an attempt to maintain order through planning procedures, an orderliness of yards, and an overall appearance contrasting greatly with the Spanish-American area of the city.

Residence of Families in the United States. Respondents in the majority group showed that in general their families had resided in the United States a considerable length of time. Only 2.9 per cent of the responses were in the first generation category. The second generation was represented by 19 per cent of the persons interviewed, and 43.5 per cent said their families had been in this country three generations. The fourth generation category was 18.8 per cent, and 12.8 per cent of the respondents had families who had lived in this country more than four generations. Two of the interviewees did not give answers to this question.²

Ages of the Respondents. None of the respondents refused to place himself in a ten-year age bracket. Twenty per cent of the respondents were in the youngest age group--twenty-one to thirty. Almost 25 per cent--24.8 per cent to be exact--gave their ages as between thirty-one and forty,

2. All groups of percentages may not equal 100 per cent because some individuals would not answer all of the questions and statements.

and 21.8 per cent said they were between forty-one and fifty years of age. The largest age group was the "over-fifty years" category, which included 32.7 per cent of all the persons interviewed.

The age categories of the majority element reflected a fairly even distribution among the population. Although all of the age categories were within twelve percentage points of each other, the predominant age tended to be between forty-one and fifty. This gave the majority group a more mature flavor which contrasts with the general population in the United States. Census data show that 23 per cent of the total population is over the age of fifty, while the majority sample in Laramie produced 32.7 per cent over the age of fifty.³

Educational Attainments of the Majority Group. The educational level of the non-minority group in Laramie reflects the fact that Laramie is a university town. Only twenty-five per cent of the respondents said they had not been graduated from high school. Those with less than a high school education were found to be older in age. In fact, eighty per cent of those who had less than a high school education were over the age of forty years.

Thirty-one per cent of the respondents had been graduated from high school; 19 per cent had obtained up to two years

3. United States Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. 199.

of college; and 19.8 per cent had earned college degrees. The University's faculty is composed of approximately 475 persons who have one or more college degrees.⁴ The Bureau of the Census shows that the city had 1500 individuals in 1960 who were working for some educational institution that was supported by public monies. This included public school employees as well as university personnel.⁵ Furthermore, the census data show that Laramie had 1551 persons in 1960, twenty-five years of age or older, who had studied in college four or more years. This amounted to 18.8 per cent of the city's age group of twenty-five or older.⁶

By way of comparison, in Cheyenne, the state capital which is not a university town, only 9.8 per cent of the population are over the age of twenty-five with a college education.⁷ Also, only 726 persons in Cheyenne were employed in 1960 by a publicly supported educational system.⁸ On a statewide basis, the percentage of individuals twenty-five years or older having four or more years of college work was 8.6 per cent.⁹ Thus it can be seen that the influence of the

4. Office of the President, University of Wyoming. This does not include other employees of the University who may hold college degrees. These people are not considered by the University to have academic rank.

5. United States Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. 91.

6. Ibid., p. 89.

7. Ibid., p. 91.

8. Ibid., p. 89.

9. Ibid., p. 91.

University upon Laramie is quite pronounced with regard to the educational level of the city.

Income and Property Ownership of the Majority Group.

Respondents were asked to approximate their annual incomes in one of the categories provided. Also, they were asked about the amount of property they owned (See Appendix A, Questions 7 and 8).

The greatest number of respondents--39.6 per cent--were in the \$5500 yearly category. The percentage of respondents in the other income brackets were as follows: \$4000-\$5500, 22.7 per cent; \$2500-\$4000, 18.8 per cent; \$1200-\$2500, 7.9 per cent. Only 4 per cent of the majority group, as compared with 7.6 per cent of the Spanish-American group, were in the lowest income category of less than \$1200 a year income.

A study of property ownership found that 71 of the 101 respondents included in the overall study owned real estate, 28 had investments of various types, and 88 owned automobiles. Eight individuals said they had other forms of property (not specified), and only one respondent said he owned no property. Percentage-wise, 70 per cent owned real estate; 27.7 per cent said they had investments as defined in the study;¹⁰ and 87 per cent said they owned automobiles.

10. Chap. II, n. 1.

Comparing the amount of income the respondents reported with the amount of property ownership, the economic level of the city of Laramie appeared to be relatively high. Census statistics on family incomes of the city in 1960 showed that the median income was \$6,059, and that 66 per cent of the families in Laramie reported incomes greater than \$5000 per year.¹¹ Notice that the census statistics of 1960 give incomes greater than \$5000 to 66 per cent of the total population, but only 39.6 of the interviewees in the major group of this study reported incomes of \$5500 or more.

The degree of education, income, and property ownership in the majority group shows an educated electorate with a relatively high socio-economic situation. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the effect of the University of Wyoming on the city with regard to income. There is, however, a correlation between the University and the educational attainments of the persons interviewed. Judging from the approximate number of persons employed by the University, the influence of the University in the economic order of the city is great.

Political Participation

The political participation of the majority group was determined through the asking of questions on the degree of

11. United States Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. 92.

voter registration, voting frequency, and other forms of political activity.

Voter Registration. Wyoming citizens, as previously shown, are required to register for identification purposes in order that they may vote.¹² The degree of registration among the majority respondents was quite high. Only 6.9 per cent of the individuals interviewed said they were not registered voters. When asked to give their political party affiliations, reticence was noted during some of the interviews. Consequently, those who did not want to reveal their political party affiliation were given the alternative of saying they were registered as Independents. Twelve per cent of the respondents reported they were Independents.

The Democratic and Republican parties in Laramie were fairly evenly divided among the group with the Democratic party having the greater number of registrants. Forty-three of the respondents, or 42.6 per cent of the total, said they were registered as Democrats; thirty-nine individuals, or 38 per cent, declared they were of the Republican party.

Voting Participation. An examination of the voting frequency of the majority group disclosed a pattern similar to the Spanish-American voting behavior. The pattern shows a smaller degree of voting in city and local elections than in

12. Wyoming Compiled Statutes, 1957. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company), Section 22-155.

primary or general elections. Table IV shows the voting frequency of the majority group in various types of elections.

TABLE IV
VOTING PARTICIPATION OF THE MAJORITY GROUP
(By Percentage)

Types of Elections	<u>Response Categories</u>			
	ALL	HALF	FEW	NONE
City Elections	41.6	27.7	15.8	12.9
Primary Elections	59.4	16.8	8.9	12.9
General Elections	71.3	14.8	5.0	5.9

Other Forms of Political Activity. Other forms of political activity tested by the schedule showed varying degrees of political participation. Most of the majority group do not contribute to political parties. Only 44 per cent of the respondents said they had made some type of contribution to a political party. Twenty-two per cent of the interviewees said they had contributed only money to a political party, while a very small minority of 6.9 per cent said they had worked at some time for a party. Those persons who reported working and contributing funds for political activity were 14.8 per cent of the entire group. When compared to the Spanish-Americans, the majority group had made a much greater degree of political contributions. Comparisons between the various groups are shown more fully in Chapter V.

Another type of political participation in which the majority group showed a considerable degree of activity was attendance at political rallies. Fifty-four per cent of the respondents said they had attended at least one political rally; 26.7 per cent said they had attended one or two rallies; 15.8 per cent reported the attending of from three to five rallies; and 10.9 per cent stated they had attended over five political party rallies.

Other forms of political participation showed even less participation. For example, only three respondents said they had ever signed a nominating petition. Few had held office in a political party. Although the states have elections for precinct committeemen or committeewomen, the parties have difficulty many times in finding individuals to run for these offices. This particular form of political activity, however, is determined primarily by the political party's inner core of activities and not by the general population or by the many persons who feel they are members of a party.¹³

Several of the majority group members were, or had been, party activists. Four of the respondents reported they were then, or had been, precinct committeemen. Furthermore, one respondent had been both a state and a national delegate to his party's political conventions.

13. V. O. Key, Jr., op. cit., p. 232

A comparison of the political activity of Laramie's majority group with the activities of persons throughout the United States as presented by V. O. Key, shows that the majority population of Laramie has political activity comparable to other similar socio-economic groups.¹⁴

Political Attitudes of the Majority Group

This section on attitudes regarding various policy questions follows the same pattern as the material on the Spanish-American group. The same schedule was given to both groups, and the material herein is developed in a similar way.

Types of Responses. The question on medicare received least number of "no knowledge" answers of any of these questions. The fact that only 10.9 per cent gave a "no knowledge" response indicated that the issue was well-known by the group.

A large majority of the interviewees--60.4 per cent--agreed more or less strongly with the medicare statement, while 26.7 per cent disagreed in some manner with it (See Table V). The responses tended to follow party lines to some extent; however, a few of the Republicans--28.2 per cent--and most of the Independents said they agreed with the measure. It is possible, however, that the responses may have been

14. Ibid., p. 633.

influenced by the use of President Kennedy's name in the statement (See Appendix A, Question 22).¹⁴

There also was widespread knowledge about the federal-aid-to-education issue; only 11.9 per cent of the respondents replied with a "no knowledge" answer. Very few of the respondents disagreed with the statement that federal aid for education was desirable. Eight and nine-tenths disagreed with the statement that federal aid was desirable, and another 4.9 strongly disagreed. On the other hand, 71.3 per cent agreed on the federal aid issue; 18.8 per cent strongly agreed and 52.5 per cent agreed (See Table V).

14. A group of articles in the summer issue, 1964, of Public Opinion Quarterly present the results of studies which were conducted immediately after the assassination of Mr. Kennedy. One study had been fortunate enough to have an earlier survey conducted during the summer of 1963 with which to compare results. The facts that were learned from the comparative studies showed an increase in the preference and appreciation for President Kennedy after his assassination. This particular article also pointed out that the public was more in agreement with Mr. Kennedy two years after his election than at the time of the election, and that there were many more people who said they preferred him at the 1960 election than there were people who actually cast ballots. Because of the fact that a large segment of the public apparently changed its opinion of the late President from the time of his election to the time of his death, and because this particular study was conducted after the assassination, the mentioning of President Kennedy's name in connection with the medicare statement on the schedule may have influenced the responses of the interviewees. Paul B. Sheatsly and Jacob J. Feldman, "The Assassination of President Kennedy: Public Reactions and Behavior," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXVIII (Summer, 1964), pp. 189-215.

TABLE V
 ATTITUDES OF THE MAJORITY GROUP
 ON SELECTED POLITICAL ISSUES
 (By Percentage)

	Med i care	Right to work	Fed.aid to educ.	Labor Union Activ.	Cities Mill Levies	Reappor- tion- ment
Strongly Agree	22.8	8.9	18.8	6.9	5.9	1.9
Agree	37.6	21.8	52.5	21.8	25.7	15.8
Disagree	16.8	22.8	8.9	33.7	16.8	16.8
Strongly Disagree	9.9	25.7	4.9	19.8	1.9	9.9
No Knowledge	10.9	18.8	11.9	15.8	47.5	53.5
No Answer	1.9	1.9	3.0	1.9	1.9	1.9

The statement "Labor unions should become more active in politics," was given a "no knowledge" answer by 15.8 per cent of the respondents. The fact that the majority of the group--53.5 per cent--disagreed with the statement may reflect the fact that most of the group is not affiliated with labor unions. Seventy-two per cent of the respondents said they did not belong to a labor union; however, 15 per cent non labor-union members agreed that labor unions should become more active in politics.

The right-to-work issue was also relatively widely known about in the majority group. Only 18.8 per cent answered with

a "no knowledge" response. Other replies were quite varied with 48.5 per cent of the interviewees replying that they did not feel Wyoming would be benefited by a right-to-work law. Only 30.7 per cent thought such a law would benefit Wyoming. Obviously, union membership in the group was so small that it did not influence the responses. As previously seen, the actual passage of the measure was accomplished along party lines; and, since more of the respondents claimed to be Democratic than Republican, party affiliation may have been important in affecting attitudes. The respondents, however, did not follow party lines on this issue. Both Democrats and Republicans agreed on the right-to-work legislation.

The municipal financial issue and the apportionment issue received high percentages of "no knowledge" responses. The statement "Governor Hansen should call a special session of the state legislature to consider the cities' mill levies," had 47.5 per cent "no knowledge" replies. Most of the other respondents agreed with the statement--30.6 per cent of the total group. Only 18.7 per cent of the interviewees disagreed with the calling of a special session to consider the need for more municipal revenues.

"The present reapportionment remedy in Wyoming is the best solution to reapportionment" was another test of attitudes which had a high degree of "no knowledge" responses. Fifty-three and five-tenths per cent of the respondents

replied that they had no knowledge of the issue. The opinions, however, seemed to show a somewhat greater degree of awareness of the problem of reapportionment than did the respondents in the study conducted during the spring of 1963.¹⁵ A small portion of the majority group--17.7 per cent--agreed with the statement regarding legislative apportionment, and 26.7 per cent disagreed.

Since the interviews were conducted, several court cases have been decided which show that the reapportionment method adopted in Wyoming in the last session of the legislature is unconstitutional. The court rulings have made necessary the calling of a special session of the state legislature to bring the state's apportionment system within the edict of the United States Supreme Court.¹⁶

With the majority group as with the Spanish-Americans, issues which have been widely discussed and presented by the mass news media appeared to be more readily recognized than ones which received a smaller degree of attention. A significant feature of the responses was that a much greater degree of awareness was shown on national issues than on state

15. Wade (ed.), op. cit., p. 15.

16. Reynolds v. Sims; Vann v. Baggett; McConnell v. Baggett, 84 Supreme Court Reporter 1362 (1964). News item in the Laramie Daily Boomerang, July 8, 1964. The special session was called for July 28, 1964. The results of the session were inconclusive.

issues. This fact suggests that state issues in many cases are submerged and viewed as being less important than national problems. Issues which may affect the public directly on the state level, however, may receive more attention through the channels of communication; such additional attention aids in increasing the degree of public knowledge on situations within the state.

Political Party Preferences

The political preferences of the majority group were determined with the same questions that were used with the Spanish-Americans (See Appendix A, Questions 24 to 27).

The respondents from the non-minority group, although numbering a few more Democrats than Republicans, were more willing to select someone from the list provided for the Republican presidential nomination than were the Spanish-Americans. Forty-three per cent of the respondents of the majority group, however, either selected no one or made no response at all for the Republican nomination. The possible candidate among the Republicans who received the greatest degree of support--24.8 per cent--was Nelson Rockefeller. Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater were other names that received substantial support from the respondents--12.8 and 11.9 per cent respectively (See Table VI).

A small minority of persons interviewed--2.9 per cent--said they would not commit themselves by supporting an

individual for that party's nomination. The incumbent, Lyndon Johnson, received by far most support of all of the possible candidates--63.3 per cent. Robert Kennedy was second choice with 9.9 per cent while only three per cent selected the name of Adlai Stevenson.

When asked to make a choice between the two political parties, the respondents showed a definite preference for the Democratic party. Sixty-three per cent of the respondents preferred the Democratic party for the 1964 presidential election. Furthermore, 20.5 per cent of the registered Republicans and 75.0 per cent of the Independents said they would vote Democratic in the November, 1964, election. Another significant feature of the responses was the number of registered Republicans--12.8 per cent--who would not commit themselves for the coming presidential election. This reluctance was substantiated by the data recorded as well as being recognized during the interviewing. It seemed that some of these persons were contemplating a switch in political parties and preferred to remain silent or say they would not support anyone rather than make a commitment.

The question regarding the 1964 senatorial race in Wyoming drew a higher degree of response than the questions on the presidential nominations. Only 10 per cent of the group declined to name the person they would support for United States senator in 1964.

TABLE VI
 PREFERENCES OF THE MAJORITY GROUP
 FOR VARIOUS PARTY CANDIDATES
 (By Percentage)

<u>Potential Republican Party Nominees</u>	
George Romney	3.9
William Scranton	2.9
Richard Nixon	12.8
Nelson Rockefeller	24.8
Barry Goldwater	11.9
None	38.6
No answer	4.9
<u>Potential Democratic Party Nominees</u>	
Lyndon Johnson	63.3
Wayne Morse	0.
Robert Kennedy	9.9
Adlai Stevenson	2.9
None	15.8
No Answer	2.9
<u>Choice Between the Nominees of the Two Parties</u>	
Democratic Party	63.4
Republican Party	30.7
None	0.
No Answer	5.9
<u>United States Senatorial Race 1964</u>	
Thyra Thomson	3.9
John Wold	9.9
G. D. Humphrey	11.9
William Harrison	8.9
Gale McGee	53.5
None	9.9
No answer	1.9

From the table it is seen that Gale McGee, the incumbent senator, was the primary choice of the respondents with 53.5

per cent indicating him as their favorite. The other names presented received some support but to no significant degree. (See Table VI). In some cases, the support for individual names on the schedule showed primary group friendships rather than actual voting positions.

Summary

The socio-economic situational level of the majority of the citizens of the city is reasonably high. Using education as a criterion in determining social class, the majority-group respondents show an extremely high level of educational achievement. The existence of the University of Wyoming is the prime factor in the high educational level of the group. It is noteworthy that some of the respondents were faculty members or persons employed in a capacity of responsibility by the University.

The group showed a high degree of political participation with regard to voting. The other forms of political activity tested showed a level no greater than similar population groups which have been studied by recognized authorities.

The political preferences of the respondents leaned toward the Democratic party, but a conflict was noted between the political party registration of some of the individuals and the selection of prospective candidates for political office. From an ideological position, the majority group seemed to have a moderate-to-liberal perception of possible solutions for political problems in the United State today.

CHAPTER IV
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGROES
IN CHEYENNE, WYOMING

A study of the Negroes in Cheyenne, Wyoming, was undertaken in order that two minority groups with similar socioeconomic characteristics could be compared. The same schedule and procedure was followed as those used with the majority group in Laramie.

Several factors determined the selection of the Negroes for study. Negroes in Cheyenne were selected rather than Spanish-Americans because of the appearance of greater similarity with the Laramie Spanish-American group. The Spanish-Americans in Cheyenne, unlike their counterparts in Laramie, live in widely scattered parts of the city and do not appear to have a strong feeling of solidarity. Also, the Negroes are a small minority in the total population of Cheyenne. According to census statistics, 880 Negroes, which is slightly over two per cent of the population, reside in the city.¹

1. United States Bureau of the Census, loc. cit. The demographic data provided by the census, although being accurate, does not reflect the influx of Negroes into Cheyenne after the Francis E. Warren military base was designated as a missile site. Since there was inadequate housing on the base, the military personnel have had to find residences in the

Preceding any explanation of the responses, a comment must be made in reference to some of the interviews. In some of the interviews it appeared that the respondent was trying to read the mind of the interviewer and give the response most acceptable to him. In all of the instances of this type, the attempt to give the "proper" response failed. The situation described above seemed to occur only with the Negroes.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Negroes

The study and determination of the socio-economic characteristics of the Negroes in Cheyenne was accomplished with the same schedule as that used on the previous groups that have been presented.

The number of generations the Negroes' ancestors have been in the United States was not asked because the group did not know this information. Furthermore, this information was probably the same for most of the individuals. The existence of slavery and then the disruptive forces of the Civil

city. Many of these personnel have been Negroes. It was pointed out in Chapter I, page 7, the existence of 248 dwellings. This does not indicate 248 families. The police officers who assisted the author mentioned that in many instances more than one family resided in the same house or apartment. Consequently, more families than residences were deemed to be existing in the city. The policemen further mentioned that the Negro population was probably close to 1250 individuals.

War broke family ties. Consequently, many of the Negroes are unaware of their ancestral history.

Ages of the Respondents. The ages of the Negroes were found to be grouped predominantly either in the youngest or the oldest categories tested. Twenty-one to thirty was the largest age-category, including 41.5 per cent of the interviewees. Nineteen per cent of the group were between thirty-one and forty years of age; 13.8 per cent were forty-one to fifty years of age; and 23.4 per cent reported that they were over fifty years of age.

The age pattern with respect to the Negroes suggests several things. The youth of the respondents may be the result of the influx of military personnel, or it could be the result of a possible migration of the group from the city during the main productive years. The age pattern could also be caused by re-immigration to the city particularly by the older individuals. Some of the older respondents remarked that they had not lived in Cheyenne for many years, but had moved back to the city for their twilight years.

Income and Property Ownership of the Negroes. Obtaining information about annual income among the Negroes was quite difficult. Although the actual number of refusals to be interviewed was very small for the group, the number of refusals to give an income was quite large. Twenty-seven per cent of the respondents did not answer the income

question. These refusals may have been caused by suspicions of the motives of the interviewer. The number of welfare cases for the city of Cheyenne was not determined, but it appeared that some of these particular respondents were on welfare rolls. On the other hand, the interviewer gained the impression that incomes were exaggerated by some of the respondents.²

TABLE VII
INCOME LEVELS OF THE NEGROES
(By Percentage)

Under \$1200	\$1200 to \$2500	\$2500 to \$4000	\$4000 to \$5500	Over \$5500
11.7	17.0	24.5	11.7	7.4

2. One particular interview which was conducted during a weekday afternoon found the prospective respondent across the street washing an automobile. The interviewee said he was cleaning the car as a favor for a friend who was not well. When the income question was asked, there was a hesitation before answering the question. He finally responded that his income was \$4000 to \$5500 a year.

Before the interview was completed, the owner of the automobile appeared and handed the respondent a dollar for washing it. The conversation made it very obvious the respondent had been stretching the truth both on income earned and about the washing of the automobile.

In order that some credence may be placed in the income percentages of the respondents, the census statistics on non-white inhabitants of Laramie County will be shown.³ The Bureau of the Census defines non-white to include Negroes, American Indians, and individuals with Asian derivations. Spanish-Americans or Mexicans are not included in this category. They are considered Caucasian.⁴

The non-white population in 1960 for Laramie County was shown as 1438 individuals.⁵ The median income of non-white families for the year 1959, as reported, was \$3,966, and the median income on the basis of 897 persons, regardless of sex, was \$2,156.⁶ The census data, although embracing persons other than Negroes, may be considered somewhat representative of the Negro people. For the entire county in 1960 there were 1096 Negroes, a number which was 76 per cent of the non-white population.

While many of the respondents were unwilling to reveal their income, they would answer the question concerning property ownership. Only 3.2 per cent of the respondents refused to say whether they owned any property. The extent of automobile ownership was low for the group. Twenty-six

3. Cheyenne, Wyoming, is the county seat of Laramie County.

4. United States Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. xx.

5. Ibid., p. 111.

6. Ibid., p. 112.

per cent of the respondents said they owned automobiles. Real estate ownership, however, was quite high since 68 per cent of the group said they owned some form of real estate. Of the Negroes interviewed, 21.3 per cent admitted to possession of investments, while 20.2 per cent said they did not own any of the forms of property listed on the schedule.

Comparing the income responses with the degree of property ownership that the Negroes reported, one notices that real estate property ownership is high with regard to income. It must be noted, however, that the particular area of Cheyenne in which the Negroes live is a marginal area in terms of real-estate values. In fact, according to zoning maps of the city, much of the area inhabited by the Negroes is zoned for industrial or business use.⁷

Automobile ownership by the group reflects to a great extent the location of the dwelling places. The location of main neighborhood of the Negroes adjacent to the business and industrial section of the city allows the residents to walk only short distances to obtain the necessary goods and services. Consequently, the need for automobiles is reduced.

Educational Attainments of the Respondents. The educational level of the Negro respondents is consistent with a low socio-economic situation of a minority group in a low

7. Zoning Map of the City of Cheyenne, Wyoming, Revised edition, January 1, 1964.

social class position. A majority of the respondents--57.6 per cent--said they had not been graduated from high school. The fact that high school graduates constituted 34 per cent of the group left a very small minority who had had some educational experience beyond the secondary level.

There were 4.3 per cent of the total number of respondents who said they had achieved up to two years of college training. Another 4.3 per cent reported they were college graduates. Only two respondents said they had achieved some professional or trade-school training. It was apparent in conjunction with the professional or trade-school response that some of the respondents associated with the military did not consider the special training provided by the Air Force as professional or trade-school training.

The educational level of the Negro group was low and corresponded with the low degree of income received by the group. The socio-economic level as reported by the respondents was low. This was corroborated by other sources.

Political Participation of the Negroes

The political participation of the Negroes as reported by the persons interviewed was extremely low. Fifty-one per cent of all of the respondents said they were legally registered to vote. One respondent said she was registered, but she refused to name her party affiliation.

Based on all of the responses, the Democratic party led the list of registrants with 38.3 per cent. The Republican party was the political choice of 7.5 per cent of the interviewees, and 4.3 per cent said they were registered as Independents.⁸

Voting Participation. The voting activity of the group based on the total number of respondents was very low because of the low degree of registration. The following table shows the voting participation of the Negroes but does not include the unregistered respondents in the percentages.

TABLE VIII
VOTING PARTICIPATION OF THE NEGROES
(Based on 48 registrants. By Percentage)

Types of Elections	<u>Response Categories</u>			
	ALL	HALF	FEW	NONE
City Elections	54.1	22.9	16.7	4.2
Primary Elections	43.7	29.1	8.3	18.7
General Elections	60.3	18.7	14.6	6.2

8. Since the limitations of the Wyoming statutes do not allow military personnel stationed in the state to gain legal residence required for voting registration, the degree of voting will appear to be quite low. Wyoming Compiled Statutes, 1957, Cumulative Supplement, 1963, 22-118.3. It is the opinion of the author that by excluding the military affiliated respondents, the voting registration would approximate 60 per cent; which is still a very poor percentage of registration.

Judged by the percentages on voting activity, the voting pattern is irregular. The group shows a dip in voting from the city elections to the primaries, and then an increase for the general elections. Of the three types of elections measured, the primary elections had the lowest voting frequency; perhaps the group did not consider primaries important to them.

Other Forms of Political Participation. The other forms of political participation paralleled the voting frequency of the group. Three-fourths of the respondents said they had never made any type of contribution to a political party. Interestingly, the respondents who said they had contributed both money and work were greater in number than those who had contributed either money or work. Five per cent of the total respondents said they had contributed money at some time to a political party. Another 5 per cent had contributed work; whereas, 6.4 per cent said they had contributed both money and work.

Attendance at political rallies as a form of political participation was somewhat higher than contributions. Thirty-five per cent of the group reported attending at least one political party rally. Of significance, though, was the fact that the percentage of attendance increased in proportion to the number of rallies attended. In other words, there was a larger percentage of attendance at five or more rallies than at one to two rallies or at three to five rallies. Seven

and four-tenths per cent had attended one or two rallies, and another 7.4 per cent had attended three to five rallies. The percentage of those attending five or more rallies was 10.6.

With regard to the remaining forms of political activity, three respondents reported they had signed a nominating petition, and one person said he had been a delegate to a state political convention. Three other respondents had been, or were currently, precinct committeemen. One woman remarked that she had been active in Chicago, Illinois, but that she was not now active in political circles. The individual who had been a delegate to a state convention did so when he was a resident of Colorado.

As a sidelight to the interviewing, one woman said she was at present a Republican precinct committeewoman, but to the interviewer she expressed definite Democratic party leanings to the extent, after being assured that her name would be confidential, of confiding that she would vote for Mr. Johnson in November if he were nominated.

Overall, the Negroes did not show a significant degree of political activity. In some instances the impression was given by the respondents that politics was something for someone else and not for them. In short, the group showed a great amount of apathy toward politics and political activity.

Attitudes of the Negroes

The estimation of the attitudes of the Negroes was accomplished in the same manner as for the other groups reported in the previous chapters.

Types of Responses. An appalling lack of knowledge was noted on some of the issues presented to the group. Some of the issues, however, received low "no knowledge" responses, but there are doubts concerning the actual knowledge reported by the respondents (See Table IX).

TABLE IX
ATTITUDES OF THE NEGROES ON
SELECTED POLITICAL ISSUES
(By Percentage)

	Med i care	Right to Work	Fed.aid to educ.	Labor Union Activ.	Cities Mill Levies	Reappor- tion- ment
Strongly Agree	12.7	1.1	10.6	0.	0.	0.
Agree	76.6	33.0	76.6	48.9	23.4	11.7
Disagree	2.1	27.7	2.1	21.3	2.1	8.5
Strongly Disagree	0.	19.1	0.	2.1	0.	1.1
No Knowledge	8.5	18.1	10.6	27.7	72.3	76.6

The fact that medicare proposal, as it was presented to the group, drew the largest percentage of responses indicated knowledge of the issue. An extremely low per cent of the

respondents--2.1 per cent--disagreed with this statement. The name of the late president was included in the statement, and its inclusion, as has been noted, may have affected the responses.

It will be shown in the next section that the brother of the late president is well liked by the Negro minority a fact which may indicate fondness for the Kennedy family. In addition, some of the respondents remarked that anything having to do with the Kennedys or anything the Kennedys favored was agreeable with them.

Federal aid to education was another issue which was widely known. Like the medicare proposal, this issue had a high percentage of "agree" and "strongly agree" responses--76.6 per cent and 12.7 per cent respectively. The respondents seemed to be in favor of anything which would provide aid in any form for the states; and, since federal aid for education included aid to Wyoming, the Negroes were strongly in favor of such assistance.

The right-to-work law in Wyoming received a varying degree of responses. The statement drew a considerable number of "disagree" responses. From the 34.1 per cent "agree" responses it would seem that the minority group was split as to the wisdom of the measure; however, from the interviews it was readily apparent that many of the respondents equated the right-to-work law with civil rights rather than with non-requirement of labor union membership. In other words,

viewing the issue from the standpoint of a civil right, the respondents were agreeing that they should have the right to have a job.

The question concerning greater activity of labor unions in politics received a larger percentage of "no knowledge" responses--27.7 per cent--than the right-to-work issue. There appeared to be a genuine degree of sympathy with labor unions. Only 16 per cent of the Negroes said they belonged to labor unions, yet 48 per cent agreed that the unions should be more active politically. It may be noted, however, that there were some respondents who were vehement in their feelings against labor unions. In these individual cases, it appeared the persons were bitter because they had been discriminated against by the unions.

The two remaining attitude statements on the schedule had high degrees of "no knowledge" responses. Both the calling of a special session of the state legislature to consider cities' tax structures and the reapportionment statement gained more "agree" responses than "disagree" responses--23.4 per cent and 11.7 per cent agreeing with the respective statements.

It is felt that the reader should be circumspect in interpreting the data because there was an apparent lack of information about the issues. There was a definite lack of knowledge on all of the statements although, in some instances, the answers given seemed to indicate some knowledge about the

issue. Many of the Negro respondents had a difficult time keeping civil rights from coloring their responses to every issue. Civil rights as a separate issue in Cheyenne seemed to be non-existent, although the issue has been prevalent in other regions of the United States and aired extensively by the communications media. It was apparent that the respondents were keenly aware of this situation. Consequently, some amount of coloration with regard to responses on other statements was natural.

Political Preferences of the Negro Respondents

The Negro respondents were extremely unfamiliar with the names of the alternative candidates for political office. The only name with which the respondents were actually familiar other than the name of Kennedy was that of President Johnson. Some of the other names seemed to have been heard by the respondents. The slight familiarity that was shown was primarily in connection with the Democratic party names used on the schedule.

The incumbent, Lyndon Johnson, drew the most responses of anyone on the schedule, but he was closely followed in the number of responses by the Attorney-General, Robert Kennedy. These informal votes were among the many indications that the name of Kennedy was well liked in the Negro community.

The query concerning a choice for the Republican party's nomination definitely pointed out the lack of knowledge the

respondents had about the individual names on the schedule. It is conceded that some respondents would not support a Republican under any circumstance, but the fact that 57.4 per cent of all of the respondents chose the "none" response indicated also a lack of knowledge of the names used on the schedule.

Commitment to a political party in the presidential race by the Negro respondents was definite. The individuals knew which political party they favored, even though they might not know that party's candidate or the opposing party's candidate.

Measurement of preferences for the United States senatorial race in Wyoming for 1964 revealed that the respondents were not familiar with names on the state level. The one name which drew more responses than any other was the name of the incumbent, Gale McGee, but even the name of McGee did not gain a high percentage of responses; 48.9 per cent responded for Mr. McGee. Thirty-eight per cent of the interviewees replied they would not support anyone for the position.

The national positions were the only ones tested with the group. It seems probable that, if state offices had been included on the schedule, the ratio of "no knowledge" responses would have been extremely high.

Summary

The political participation of the Negroes paralleled their socio-economic situation in being quite low. It was

TABLE X
 PREFERENCES OF THE NEGROES FOR
 VARIOUS PARTY CANDIDATES
 (By Percentage)

<u>Potential Republican Party Nominees</u>	
George Romney	2.1
William Scranton	0.
Richard Nixon	6.4
Nelson Rockefeller	29.8
Barry Goldwater	3.2
None	57.4
No Answer	1.0
<u>Potential Democratic Party Nominees</u>	
Lyndon Johnson	52.1
Wayne Morse	0.
Robert Kennedy	37.2
Adlai Stevenson	3.2
None	7.4
No Answer	0.
<u>Choice Between the Nominees of the Two Parties</u>	
Democratic Party	83.0
Republican Party	8.5
No Answer	8.5
<u>United States Senatorial Race 1964</u>	
Thyra Thomson	3.2
John Wold	0.
G. D. Humphrey	1.0
William Harrison	4.3
Gale McGee	48.9
None	38.3
No Answer	4.3

found that Negroes who were eligible to vote did not do so as often as possible. When the interviews were being conducted, apathy seemed to be a pervading force throughout

the group permeating both registered and unregistered respondents. This apathy was also evident with regard to issues both on the state and national level, and it extended to all political campaigns examined by the schedule.

The inertia of the group is compounded by the fact that political candidates do not attempt to acquaint the racial group with offices, issues, or anything else. Lack of registration and political participation results in neglect of the group by aspiring politicians. The heart of the problem may lie here. The Negroes are not viewed as a forbidding force politically if they are "left alone." One rather stinging comment was made by a white member of the Cheyenne police force when the groundwork was being laid for the study. "Don't go out and stir them up!" "They are quiet now, so don't bother them!" expressed the sentiment. This seems to be the attitude in many parts of the United States today--if the group is small, ineffectual and apathetic, "don't bother them."

CHAPTER V

COMPARISON OF THE MINORITY AND MAJORITY GROUPS IN LARAMIE, WYOMING

In the previous chapters, the characteristics of the minority and majority groups of Laramie were considered separately. The purpose of this chapter is to compare the two groups and show any differences that may exist between them.

Comparison of the Socio-Economic Situations

There is a disparate socio-economic and social-class situation of these two groups. The differences were found to exist in all of the socio-economic variables tested on the schedule.

Generation Habitation. The length of time the families of the groups have been in the United States may partially explain the economic and social differences between the two groups. The majority group has had a longer period of residency than the Spanish-Americans. Thus, the majority group has been able to establish itself as the dominating force in the city.

The first generation category on the schedule was the response of 7.6 per cent of the minority group while only 3 per cent of the majority gave this response. Likewise,

the minority group had a higher percentage in the second generation response category. The minority group reported 25.8 per cent and the majority group reported 19.8 per cent. The third generation responses reversed the order of importance. Forty-three and six-tenths per cent of the majority group said their families had resided in the United States three generations; whereas, the minority group response was 27.3 per cent.

The fourth generation was the response of 18.8 per cent of the majority group, while the percentage of the Spanish-Americans was 12.1. The category of more than four generations was reversed, however, with the Spanish-Americans having more respondents. This percentage was 27.3, and the majority group was 12.9 per cent.

With the exception of the over-four generation category, the Spanish-Americans are a more recent group on the social scene of the United States than the majority non-ethnic group.

Ages of the Groups. The ages of the respondents also showed considerable differences between the two groups. The Spanish-Americans reported considerably younger ages than the non-minority group. Sixty-six per cent of the minority respondents reported ages under forty years of age, while a majority of the non-Spanish-Americans had ages over forty years--54.5 per cent. Furthermore, the largest age group for the Spanish-Americans was the thirty-one to forty age

category, while the majority group's largest age category was over fifty years of age.

Age by itself would not necessarily make a difference between the economic and social situations of the two groups; but education could be, and oftentimes is, a contributing factor to disparate socio-economic situations.

Educational Attainments. It seems to be an undisputed fact today that education is a definite factor in determining the socio-economic situation of people although there are individuals who have high educational levels but do not show an average or above-average socio-economic position. Conversely, some people with short formal educations have become quite successful economically.

In the case of Laramie, and the two groups studied, education has played a definite role in determining the socio-economic situation of the individual. The educational level of the Spanish-American group was much lower than that of other citizens of Laramie. Very few of the Spanish-American group--less than 2 per cent--had attended college, while a large number of the majority group respondents--19.8 per cent--had had college experience. On the basis of education alone, it could be expected that the income levels of the two groups would be quite different.

Income and Property Ownership. From the responses of the interviewees, there was a wide difference in the income

levels of the two groups. A majority--62.4 per cent--of the non-Spanish-Americans said they had annual incomes in excess of \$4000 per year while a majority of the Spanish-American respondents--80.3 per cent--reported incomes less than \$4000 annually. The largest single income response category--53 per cent--for the Spanish-Americans was the income of \$2500 to \$4000 a year. On the other hand, the largest income response category--39.6 per cent--for the majority group was over \$5500 a year.

Relating income to property ownership as a single factor by itself would not show a great deal of difference between the two groups. In the property ownership categories included on the schedule, no attempt was made to determine property values of the respective groups. A visual analysis of the areas of the city does show differences between the property values of the groups being studied.

The majority group reported a higher degree of property ownership than the Spanish-Americans, but the difference was not significant. The major differences between the groups economically and socially appeared to be income and education. The schedule did not contain statements measuring the respondents' personal attitudes towards the other group, but there were signs of the existence of group differences which were not based on economics alone.

The location of the homes of the groups seemed to evidence tacit segregation. Although some Spanish-Americans

resided in non-Spanish-neighborhoods, a dividing line could be placed easily between the residential areas of the city. Noticeably, this line to a great extent is contiguous with the railroad yards serving the city.

Comparison of the Political Participation

Comparatively little significance can be drawn from the reported political activities of the two groups. It is significant that, although it might be expected that the Spanish-Americans would not be politically active, the reverse was true.

Both the Spanish-Americans and the non-Spanish-Americans had very high voting registration percentages. With the minority group, this fact is significant. According to V. O. Key in his book Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, low income and low educational level of a group of people will be barriers to high political activity.¹ The Spanish-Americans exhibit characteristics counter to this information.

The Spanish Americans reported not only a high voter registration but also a reasonably high voting frequency. Although the majority group was higher in its voting frequency than the Spanish-Americans, this minority group

1. Key, op. cit., pp. 633-634.

pattern of voting was different from that of other low socio-economic groups in the study and in the United States.²

Other Forms of Political Participation. Other forms of political participation showed some differences between the two sets of respondents. The majority group, having higher income levels, were more willing to contribute to political parties than the minority respondents. This finding may be warped to some extent, however, because the Spanish-Americans seemed to be unaware of labor union's "educational funds." If this fact had been recognized by the Spanish-Americans, the minority group might have shown a higher percentage of political contributions than the majority group.

Attendance at political party rallies as another form of political activity was found to be similar for the two groups. In both instances, the percentage of respondents not attending any political rallies was near the 50 per cent mark. Although the attendance at rallies was similar for the two groups, the majority group tended to be somewhat more active in holding political party offices.

2. Ibid; Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1958), p. 71; Clinton Rossiter, Parties and Politics in America. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 32; E. E. Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 113 for bibliography of other voting studies.

Other differences were noticeable regarding the political participation of the individual members of the two groups. Those respondents of the majority group who were politically active were more often in party leadership positions than were the politically active Spanish-Americans. These differences seem to be attributable to factors related to socio-economic situations.

Comparison of Attitudes of the Two Groups

A comparison of the attitudinal responses of the two groups points out very distinctly the differences as to education and income levels. The fact that the minority group tended to have higher percentages of "no knowledge" responses for most issues than the majority group indicated much less awareness of the minority group about political issues. On economic factors affecting them directly, however, the Spanish-Americans were better informed than on other issues.

The low percentage of "no knowledge" responses about the right-to-work statement from the minority group indicated high personal interest. The majority group, many of whom were not personally affected by the right-to-work law, seemed to have less interest in the subject. Although the majority group had a lower percentage of "no knowledge" responses than the minority group, the relationship of the right-to-work law with other statements indicated that other issues

were more important to the majority group respondents. Basically, though, the majority tended to have higher levels of knowledge on most of the issues than the Spanish-Americans.

Comparison of Political Preferences

The individual political preferences exhibited by the two groups showed several differences. The majority group was more willing to make a choice for the Republican party's presidential nomination than the Spanish-Americans. Also, the choices of the two groups for the nominee of the Republican party for president were different. The minority group respondents selected the name of Richard Nixon most often, while the majority group selected the name of Nelson Rockefeller. At the time of the interviews, Mr. Rockefeller was considered to be the probable party candidate for president.

On the question of the Democratic party's presidential nominee, the groups were in accord on the individual for the nomination. The incumbent, Lyndon Johnson, was the first choice of both groups, and Robert Kennedy was the second choice.

A major difference between the two groups was the percentage of responses that selected no one for nomination, a fact that emphasized the differing political party affiliations of the interviewees. Since the majority group had a considerably higher percentage of Republicans than the minority group this may explain the fact that the percentage

of those refusing to select a Democratic party nominee was higher for the majority group than for the minority group.

The party affiliation was affirmed by asking which party the respondent would support in the November presidential election. Ninety-one per cent of the Spanish-Americans reported they would support the Democratic party. The majority group likewise indicated a preference for the Democratic party but the percentage--63.4 per cent--was not so large as for the minority group. This is significant since 38.6 per cent reported being registered Republicans and only 42.6 per cent registered Democrats. Obviously, some of the Republicans are contemplating switching parties for the presidential election in November.

The findings from this study indicate a close race for the Wyoming senate seat. Although the minority group was in solid support for the incumbent, the majority group was divided. A bare majority of 53.5 per cent of the non-Spanish-Americans said they would vote for the incumbent, Gale McGee.

The fact that the schedule contained the names of three residents of Laramie may have affected the choice of some of the respondents. Some interviewees appeared to have close acquaintanceships with some of the persons named on the schedule. It is possible that support was given to the acquaintances more on personal friendship lines than for any other reason. Since the political campaign is now in

progress and the other names of the Laramie residents used on the schedule have been eliminated, the support for Mr. McGee may have solidified. This, however, is pure conjecture on the part of the author.

Summary

There are some great differences between the two groups. A rather pronounced socio-economic schism aggravated by income and educational levels was noted between the groups. The attitudes of the groups seemed to correspond with the educational attainments of each of the groups. Income seems to be the prime determinant, however, in all aspects of political activity except voting behavior. The significant fact about the Spanish-Americans was the high percentage of voting registration and the high voting frequency evidenced by the group. This single phenomenon seemed to be the most important evidence discovered by the study.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARISON OF THE SPANISH-AMERICANS IN LARAMIE AND THE NEGROES IN CHEYENNE, WYOMING

The format for this chapter will be similar to that of the previous chapter. This chapter will show the similarities or dissimilarities that exist between the two minority groups, namely, the Spanish-Americans in Laramie and the Negroes in Cheyenne.

Comparison of the Socio-Economic Situations

The socio-economic situation of the two minority groups had some very dissimilar characteristics. Definitely shown was the higher socio-economic situation of the Spanish-Americans in comparison with the Negroes.

Comparison of Age and Education. The ages of the two groups were found to be significantly different. The Negroes were considerably younger in age than the Spanish-Americans with the Negroes showing a decrease in the number of individuals in the middle-age categories. The Spanish-Americans tended to be predominately middle-aged. The oldest age category on the schedule, however, showed the Negroes having more persons over fifty years of age proportionately than the Spanish-Americans had.

The two groups were virtually the same in the reported levels of education attained by the respondents. The main difference noted in the educational attainments of the groups was that the Negroes had a few more respondents who said they had been graduated from college.

Comparison of Income and Property Ownership. It is difficult to compare the income levels and the amount of property ownership of the two groups because many of the Negroes declined from ignorance or disinclination to give their annual incomes. In this respect the Spanish-Americans were very co-operative. The reticence of the Negroes perhaps was caused by wariness resulting from inquiries of welfare workers.

A second factor noted about the incomes was that the Spanish-Americans tended to report higher levels of income than the Negroes. Table XI shows the differences of the two groups with regard to reported incomes and property ownership.

The Spanish-Americans reported a considerably greater amount of property ownership than the Negroes. The big factor was real estate ownership, which for the Spanish-Americans was double that reported by the Negroes--54.5 per cent to 26.6 per cent. Automobile ownership by the Spanish-Americans was also reportedly higher, although on only by a percentage of 7.8.

TABLE XI
 COMPARISON OF INCOME AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP
 OF THE SPANISH-AMERICANS AND NEGROES
 (By Percentage)

	Spanish-Americans	Negroes
<u>Annual Income</u>		
Under \$1200	7.6	11.7
\$1200 to \$2500	19.7	17.0
\$2500 to \$4000	53.0	24.5
\$4000 to \$5500	10.6	11.7
Over \$5500	3.0	7.4
No Answer	0.	27.7
<u>Property Ownership</u>		
Real Estate	54.5	26.6
Automobiles	75.8	68.0
Investments*	3.0	21.3
None	16.7	20.2
No Answer	0.	3.2

*See page 14 for definition.

Comparison of Political Participation

Examination of the political activities of the minority groups shows a striking difference in political participation. The voting registration of the two groups showed that one group was capable of being a powerful force through the ballot box and that the other group through lack of political activity was ineffectual.

Voting Frequency of the Groups. Spanish-Americans by virtue of their high registration had a much greater voting frequency than the Negroes. The Negroes, however, had a

higher voting frequency in some elections than the Spanish-Americans when registered voters only were considered. The Negroes seemed to vote more in city elections than the Spanish-Americans, while in primary and general elections the amount of participation by the two minorities was quite similar.

Other Forms of Political Activity. Although voting frequency seemed to be similar, the groups were dissimilar with respect to political party contributions, and attendance at political rallies. These two forms of political activity showed that the Spanish-Americans were more active than the Negroes. The Spanish-Americans reported contributions and work in political parties more often than the Negroes. Also, the Spanish-Americans reported 12 per cent more attendance at political rallies than the Negroes did.

The Spanish-Americans seemed to be more interested generally in the activities of political parties and manifested this interest by working and contributing more.

Attitudes of the Groups toward Political Candidates

Judged by the percentages of "no knowledge" responses, the Spanish-Americans had higher levels of knowledge on the political issues than the Negroes had. This was particularly true with respect to the statement concerning the levying of more taxes for the cities, and the present reapportionment

remedy in Wyoming. The Spanish-Americans seemed to know more about these two problems (See Tables III and X, pp. 26 and 62).

With regard to the totals of the "agree" and "disagree" responses, the only significant difference between the two groups was in connection with the right-to-work law. The Spanish-Americans seemed to be more adamant in dislike for this law than the Negro respondents, who appeared to be more "middle of the road." Although the Negroes seemed to be in considerable agreement with the right-to-work law, there was a possibility (as suggested in Chapter IV) that the Negroes misconstrued the right-to-work statement.

Political Candidate Preferences

When the preferences of the respondents for political offices are examined, the civil rights issue seems to have influenced the choices of the Negro interviewees. The Spanish-Americans do not appear to have suffered discriminatory practices with which the Negroes may have been contending.

The Negroes who did make a choice for the Republican presidential nomination chose Governor Rockefeller of New York. He has appeared sympathetic toward the Negroes and their problems, and the Negro respondents seemed to appreciate this fact. On the other hand, the Spanish-Americans, experiencing less discrimination, selected the former Vice

President, Richard Nixon, as their choice for the Republican presidential nomination.

The selection of a possible nominee for the Democratic party's presidential candidate by the various respondents also seemed to mirror the civil rights issue. The Negroes, although selecting President Johnson for the nomination, were heavily in favor of Robert Kennedy, the United States Attorney-General, who has been leading the fight of the federal government for civil rights. Both the Spanish-Americans and the Negroes named Robert Kennedy as second choice for the Democratic party's presidential nomination, but the Negro group was far more heavily in favor of Mr. Kennedy than the Spanish-Americans were.

Answering the question of supporting an individual for the Senate, the respondents seemed to favor the current incumbent, Gale McGee, who is a resident of Laramie. The Spanish-American respondents gave heavy support to him in his bid for re-election; whereas, the Cheyenne group seemed to be less familiar with Mr. McGee and did not support him as heavily as the Spanish-Americans did. Coupled with the results above was the fact that 38 per cent of the Negro respondents did not name anyone for the Wyoming senatorial seat for 1964. It seemed that the Negroes were unacquainted with the records of many of the officials of the State of Wyoming. Since they seemingly did not recognize any of the

names on the schedule, they would not support anyone for the senate seat.

Summary

The Spanish-Americans seemed to have a better socio-economic situation than the Negroes. Because of the high degree of voting registration they also seemed to be in a more favorable position than the Negroes to make their wishes known to political officials.

Discrimination, although not being presented on the schedule, seemed to be coloring many responses of the Negro respondents; this problem did not appear to have affected the Spanish-Americans. Because there are racial differences between the two groups, the problem of acceptance by the majority of society appeared to exist through the attitudes and preferences expressed by the various respondents. The Spanish-Americans did not appear to be affected by the civil rights issues nearly so much as the Negroes were.

CHAPTER VII

ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP AND ITS RELATION TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

This chapter deals with the relations between organizational membership and political participation. Comparisons are also made between officers and non-officers of the influence exerted by organizational membership. Each of the three groups will be discussed separately.

As we noted previously, the original schedule did not include questions pertaining to organization membership. Such questions were not included until after the Spanish-American group had been interviewed. All of the groups, however, were asked questions pertaining to labor union membership, and answers to these will be included.

Organization Membership of the Spanish-Americans

The Spanish-American respondents showed a high percentage of labor union membership. The interviews showed that 51.5 per cent of the respondents were members in a labor union.

Relationship of Voting Activity and Labor Union Membership. There is a definite relationship between labor union membership and voting frequency. Table XII shows that labor union members had a greater tendency to vote than non-members

TABLE XII
 COMPARISON OF THE VOTING FREQUENCY OF SPANISH-AMERICAN
 LABOR UNION MEMBERS AND NON-UNION MEMBERS
 (By Percentage)

Type of Election	Union Members	Non-Union Members
<u>City Elections</u>		
All	32.4	21.9
Half	26.5	34.4
Few	32.4	21.9
None	8.8	18.8
No Answer	0.	3.1
<u>Primary Elections</u>		
All	50.0	31.1
Half	20.6	28.1
Few	17.6	18.8
None	11.8	6.3
No Answer	0.	3.1
<u>General Elections</u>		
All	61.7	50.0
Half	26.5	21.9
Few	8.8	18.8
None	0.	6.3
No Answer	2.9	3.1

of unions had. This was shown by the higher percentage of "all" responses. Thirty-two per cent of the labor union members reported voting in all city elections, while only 21.9 per cent of the non-union individuals reported voting in all of these elections. Similarly in the primary and general elections more union members reported voting in all elections than did non-union members--50 per cent as compared

to 31.3 per cent in the primary elections, and 61.7 to 50 per cent in the general elections.

Table XII further shows that the frequency of voting by the respondents increased from city elections to primary elections and even more for general elections.

Organizational Membership of the Majority Group in Laramie

The organization membership of the majority group in Laramie was measured by asking about labor union affiliation and membership in other organizations, such as fraternal, veteran, civic and similar groups (See Appendix A, Question 26).

Membership in All Organizations. The majority group reported a small percentage of membership in labor unions and a high percentage of membership in the other types of organizations. Only 26.7 per cent of the respondents said they were members of a labor union, while 79.2 per cent reported membership in some other organization.

Religiously-oriented, fraternal groups had the highest percentage of any of the other organization classes with 39.6 per cent of the respondents being members of such groups. The interviewees were provided with examples, such as Knights of Columbus or B'nai Brith to make the question completely clear to them.¹

1. Mason organizations were not considered as religiously oriented organizations. They were grouped under fraternal organizations. Neither were members asked about church membership or leadership roles or offices in churches.

Membership in other fraternal clubs or organizations had the second highest percentage. Thirty-six per cent of the persons interviewed said they were members in groups like the Elks, Moose, Masons, or other organizations with similar aims.

Membership in veterans organizations was the third most frequently reported organization with 28.8 per cent of the respondents reporting this type of membership. The percentage of membership in veterans groups was followed closely by the percentage of membership in civic clubs, 26.8 percent. Examples of civic clubs supplied to the interviewees were Kiwanis and Lions clubs, and the League of Women Voters.

Educational organizations, such as the Parent-Teachers Association, had the lowest percentage of responses. Twenty-three per cent of the respondents reported membership in this classification.

Relationship of Voting Activity and Organizational Membership. Among the majority group, labor union membership had little affect on voting frequencies. In fact, non-union respondents voted more frequently than did the union members (See Table XIII). A possible reason for the lower voting activity of labor union members may be the lower educational attainments of these individuals.

The non-union respondents reported higher educational levels than the union members. While 41.4 per cent of the union members reported less than high school educations,

only 16.3 per cent of the non-union individuals said they had less than high school educations. Furthermore, the non-union respondents reported nineteen persons with college educations, in contrast to a single labor union member who had been graduated from college.

TABLE XIII
MAJORITY GROUP ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP
AND VOTING PARTICIPATION
(By Percentage)

	<u>Response Categories</u>					
	<u>City Elections</u>		<u>Primary Elections</u>		<u>General Elections</u>	
	All	None	All	None	All	None
Labor Union	25.9	14.8	51.9	11.1	63.0	7.4
Non-Union	47.9	12.3	63.0	13.7	75.3	5.5
Fraternal	54.1	10.8	64.9	10.8	83.8	5.4
Veterans	62.1	3.4	75.9	3.4	82.6	0.
Civic	59.3	0.	85.2	0.	96.3	0.
Religious	52.5	5.0	75.0	2.5	85.0	0.
Educational	47.8	13.0	73.9	13.0	82.6	0.
Non-Members of Organization	19.0	23.8	33.3	28.6	47.6	14.3

Political activity also was correlated with membership in other forms of organizations. Persons reporting membership in a club or organization had much higher voting frequencies than respondents who did not report belonging to any organization. For example, the highest frequency response--"all" response for general elections--given by the individuals not belonging to any organizations was 47.6 per cent; whereas, the lowest voting frequency response made by the members of organizations was 47.9 per cent for city elections (See Table XIII).

Members of civic organizations showed the greatest amount of political activity. Members in these organizations were found to be active in all forms of political affairs. Civic organization members were more active than other persons in the affairs of the city.

Many of the respondents reported multiple organization membership, suggesting they were "joiners." The civic organization respondents not only showed more political activity, but they also had a greater tendency to belong to other types of organizations than did non-civic organization members.

Negroes in Cheyenne, Wyoming

The organization membership activities of the Negroes in Cheyenne were investigated by the same method as that used for the majority group in Laramie.

Membership in Organizations. Labor union membership for Negroes was not a significant portion of the group's activities.

Only 16 per cent of the Negro respondents said they were members of a labor union. Consequently, the effect unionism might have on this minority group was reduced by the small percentage of labor union members.

The number reporting membership in other organizations was also low. Sixty per cent of all respondents said they were not members of any of the organizations on the schedule (excluding labor union membership). Fraternal organization membership was reported by 16 per cent of the interviewees; 14.8 per cent said they were members of educational organizations.

Membership in civic organizations was reported by 12.8 per cent of the interviewees. The Negro respondents were asked specifically whether they were members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; this question was asked in an attempt to determine the influence of such an organization on political activity.

The two organization classifications with the lowest percentages of membership were religiously-oriented, fraternal organizations and veterans organizations. Eleven per cent of the respondents reported affiliations with religiously-oriented, fraternal organizations; and 9.6 per cent said they were members of a veterans group.

The slight percentage of veterans organization membership reported, even though a Negro American Legion post existed in Cheyenne, may have resulted from the fact that

there were fewer men than women interviewees. The Legion clubrooms, however, did not appear to be used much, because all of the windows were covered with boards, suggesting an inactive or small membership.²

Relationship of Negro Political Activity and Organization Membership. Rather than considering the voting activity only, the percentage of voter registration of the Negroes is also considered for the group.

The percentage of voter registration among the Negroes as was noted in Chapter IV was quite low--51 per cent. Members of organizations generally had a higher percentage of voting registration than persons not belonging to an organization. Table XIV shows the various organizations, the number of persons reporting membership in the organizations and their registration status. The table further shows the voting frequency of the organizations members using the "all" and "none" response categories from the types of elections tested on the schedule (See Appendix A, Questions 10, 11, 12).

Organization membership appeared not only to influence voter registration but also to influence voting activity. The respondents who reported organizational membership and who were registered to vote tended to vote more often than

2. Another reason for the windows being covered may have been the expense of replacing the window panes. The particular neighborhood where the Legion post was located is notorious for its many fights.

those individuals who said they were not members of an organization. The tendency to vote more often was noted in the number of "all" responses to the voting questions by the organization members.

TABLE XIV
RELATIONSHIP OF NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTING
PARTICIPATION^a TO ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP
(Actual Number of Respondents)

Membership in Organizations	Registered Voters	Unregistered Respondents	Response Categories					
			City Elections		Primary Elections		General Elections	
			All	None	All	None	All	None
Total Negro Respondents	48	46	26	2	21	9	29	3
Veterans	7	2	5	0	5	0	6	1
Civic	9	3	7	0	5	1	8	0
Fraternal	11	4	8	0	6	1	9	1
Religious	5	6	4	0	4	0	5	0
Educational	6	8	5	0	5	0	5	0
Labor Unions	11	4	9	0	7	0	5	0
Non-Union Members	35	35	16	2	2	13	9	20
Member of No Organization	25	32	9	2	6	7	9	2

^aVoting Participation figures are Numbers of Actual Registered Respondents.

Veterans, civic, and fraternal organizations, as well as labor unions, seemed to have more influence than religiously-oriented, fraternal organizations or educational organizations in getting their respective members registered to vote. Furthermore, organizations with higher percentages of voter registration exerted more influence through the ballot box than those organizations with small numbers of members who were registered voters.

Members of organizations, although they were few of the entire Negro group, appeared to be the politically active citizens as well as the voters in the Negro community. The "non-joiners" who made up the majority of the Negro group reported much lower voting frequencies. It would appear that organizational membership exerted considerable influence upon participation in the political processes.

Comparison Between Officer and Non-Officers of Organizations

Comparisons between officer and non-officer of organizations are made only in regard to the majority group in Laramie and the Negroes. These will be discussed separately.

Majority Group in Laramie. Organization membership in the majority group of Laramie was high, as shown previously in the chapter. The percentage of officers of organizations, however, was low. The percentages of respondents holding an office in an organization are as follows (See Appendix A, Question 29): office of president, 16.7 per cent; vice-

president, 16.7 per cent; secretary, 18.7 per cent; treasurer, 16.7 per cent.

Individuals who said they were at present, or had been, officers of an organization did not show a significantly greater degree of political activity than those who were merely members. In fact, for primary and general elections particularly, the non-officers seemed to have a higher voting frequency than the officers. In city elections, though, officers of organizations showed a higher percentage of voting than non-officers did. Being officers of an organization among the majority respondents did not seem to be a major factor affecting the political activities reported by the individuals. Attitudes of members of organizations may be influenced by the officers, but this was not measured on the schedule.

Negroes in Cheyenne, Wyoming. The relations between holding an office and political activity of the Negroes was significant. Respondents who said they had been officers reported a greater amount of voting activity than the non-officer members (See Table XV).

Being an office-holder of an organization influenced the political activity of the Negroes more than it affected the political activity of the majority group in Laramie. A possible explanation for this may be that the incomes of the Negro officers were reportedly much higher than incomes of the general membership. Larger incomes may indicate more

free time for participation in politics and a greater degree of relatedness to the community.

TABLE XV
COMPARISON BETWEEN NEGRO ORGANIZATION OFFICERS AND
NON-OFFICERS WITH RESPECT TO VOTING ACTIVITY
(Actual Number of Respondents)

Officer Positions	Registered Voters	Unregistered Respondents	<u>Response Categories</u>					
			<u>City Elections</u>		<u>Primary Elections</u>		<u>General Elections</u>	
			All	None	All	None	All	None
President	6	1	6	0	5	0	6	0
Vice-President	6	1	6	0	4	2	6	0
Secretary	4	1	2	0	2	0	3	0
Treasurer	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0
Non-Officer	14	13	10	0	9	2	12	1

Summary

The study showed that organization membership affected political activity. Some groups seemed to be more influential than others, but on the whole members of organizations seemed to be far more active than individuals not belonging to an organization. In the majority group the effect of being an

officer was negligible; among the Negroes the effect was considerable.

CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSIONS AND EVALUATION

Several conclusions may be drawn from the survey of the three groups which have been studied. Obviously, the socio-economic situations of the groups were different. Both of the minority groups had lower educational achievements and lower reported incomes than the majority group. These factors combined to create a lower social status position than that of the majority group. The minority groups, however, were themselves dissimilar even though they both had low socio-economic conditions. The dissimilarities were evidenced in the political awareness and political activities of these groups.

The majority group with a high socio-economic status was well integrated into the community. The group was relatively well informed on political issues and personalities. They participated in political activities, registered and voted, and had a voice in the local, state, and national affairs. Also these individuals belonged to various civic and fraternal organizations, and seemed to enjoy having membership in them. Such participation evidenced the fact that the group was cognizant of the community in which they resided and further showed that they took an active interest in the functions of the community as a whole. This relatedness

with the community, which the majority group possessed, did not appear to be as significant a factor with the other groups.

The Spanish-American group with a lower socio-economic situation than the majority group in Laramie was relatively well integrated into the community. A large percentage owned, or were buying, homes; and a relatively large percentage belonged to labor unions or other organizations. The Spanish-Americans did show a degree of awareness on significant political issues which the Negro group did not manifest. Likewise, the Spanish-Americans showed a much higher degree of political activity than the Negroes in Cheyenne. The fact that a Spanish-American is the Democratic County Central Committee Chairman may explain the high percentage of registration and voting, but it also demonstrates that this group is related to the community. The Spanish-Americans had more inter-relationships with the community as a whole than the Negroes, but less than the majority group.

The Negroes in Cheyenne did not show the group solidarity that was evidenced by the Spanish-Americans. The Roman Catholic Church affiliation of the Spanish-Americans plus a larger membership in unions may be the influencing factors causing the difference. The fact that Negroes did not have much affiliation with any organization indicated a high degree of anomie. Certainly the Negroes were not closely related to the community. Apathy about political and/or community life

was evident, and there was a low frequency of participation in any type of political activity measured. In this respect, the Negroes seemed not to be a part of the political stream of the city. Undoubtedly, the low socio-economic situation of the group was a contributing factor to the low degree of voter registration, voting frequency, and the seemingly low knowledge level on political issues.

The only area where the Negroes evidenced an awareness of issues and individuals was with regard to civil rights. The civil rights issue was of great concern to the group and colored almost all of their answers regarding political issues or party candidates, but there was no evidence that the civil rights issues was a force great enough to motivate the group to become more active politically. The national scene seemed to draw the Negroes' attention more than state or local issues and events, possibly because of the civil rights situation.

Members of organizations were a very small minority of the entire Negro group. These organization activists not only were few in number, but they also seemed to be detached from the main body of Negroes. They reported higher standards of living, had better housing locations and a higher level of education.

These activists might have been trying to dissociate themselves as much as possible from the majority of the Negroes. These individuals seem to have been accepted by the majority

of the citizens of Cheyenne, and color is not a barrier for them. There apparently was not much effort by these organization members to organize or activate their fellow Negroes. Even the NAACP was not very active. On the other hand, color and race were keenly felt to be a barrier by most of the Negro group.

In all of the groups, an awareness of national political issues was most noticeable, though several of the state issues were widely understood. The right-to-work law, for instance, was of great concern to the Spanish-Americans, but the important state issues of apportionment and municipal taxation were little understood by the minority groups. The majority group evidenced a considerably better understanding of these issues.

The minority groups seemed to be more familiar with the national level politicians than with state or local politicians. The Negroes evidenced the lowest level of knowledge concerning political personalities. The low knowledge of political personalities was on a level with the low political activity and lack of knowledge of issues exhibited by the Negroes.

Evaluation of Survey Techniques

The research for this study was both interesting and educational. If the author had the opportunity to perform a similar empirical study, however, there are several procedures which could, and should, be improved.

This research originally grew out of a political seminar on public affairs. Much of the preliminary work was done as a class assignment and many of the deficiencies were made in this period. The surveys of the Spanish-Americans and the majority group in Laramie were made after several revisions of the original schedule. Despite a number of revisions in the schedule, the questions on organizational membership could have been improved. The schedule would have been more effective if it had included actual organization names rather than generalized categories. Also, age and income categories should have paralleled the design of the Bureau of the Census, which would have allowed for a better comparison with that data.

The sampling procedure used in the Spanish-American segment was the "waterfront" method, that is, an attempt to interview one individual from each household; this method possessed the possibility of being inconclusive sometimes because of spatial mobility of prospective respondents. Consequently, the probability of not reaching all of the families or respondents was enhanced.

Members of the seminar originally performed the interviews of the Spanish-Americans and the majority group. Interviewers should be selected on the basis of past performance in carrying out assignments quickly and efficiently. Lack of experience in the conducting of the interviews was a problem in this

research project. If similar studies are undertaken, only persons who have proved their competency in carrying out assignments should be used.

Overall, the study of the minority group was not complete in many areas. Future studies should include questions upon such matters as church affiliation and offices held in churches, as well as questions on the political efficacy of the respondents. Effects of the right-to-work law might also be studied in a similar project.

Another research design which might be fruitful is a study of the elite group of Negroes in Cheyenne. A study, also, could be created which would test the reasons for the efficacy of the Democratic County Central Committee Chairman of Albany County, Wyoming. It is generally accepted that this man is highly effective in persuading the Spanish-Americans to register and to vote.

Despite these problems and weaknesses in carrying out the study, the experiences and knowledge gained were most helpful to the author. It is hoped that the findings of the study will be of a use to future researchers.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

This interview is being conducted by a group of University of Wyoming students who wish to study the attitudes of the citizens of the United States toward government and politics. Your assistance in aiding us by completing this questionnaire will greatly be appreciated.

We assure you that this information we receive is and will be confidential; your name is not to appear anywhere on this sheet. Please answer all questions honestly and to the best of your ability.

We sincerely appreciated your assistance and thank you for giving us this opportunity to do important political research.

1. What is your ancestry? _____
2. How long has your family been in the United States?
 - 1st generation _____
 - 2nd generation _____
 - 3rd generation _____
 - 4th generation _____
 - over 4th _____
3. What is your age?
 - 21-30 _____
 - 31-40 _____
 - 41-50 _____
 - over 50 _____
4. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?
 - Less than high school _____
 - High school _____
 - College 2 years _____
 - College graduage _____
 - Professional or
Trade School _____
 - Other _____
5. Are you a registered voter?
 - Democrat _____
 - Republican _____
 - Independent _____
 - Other _____
 - None _____

6. State your regular occupation. Please be specific.

7. Your annual income falls in which of these categories?

Under \$1,200 _____

\$1,200-\$2,500 _____

\$2,500-\$4,000 _____

\$4,000-\$5,500 _____

Over \$5,500 _____

8. Are you a property owner?

Real Estate _____

Investments _____

Automobile _____

None _____

Other _____

9. Are you a member of a labor union?

Yes _____

No _____

VOTING PARTICIPATION

10. In city elections since you have become eligible to vote have you voted in:

All _____

Half _____

Few _____

None _____

11. In primary elections since becoming eligible to vote have you voted in:

All _____
 Half _____
 Few _____
 None _____

12. In general elections since becoming eligible to vote have you voted in:

All _____
 Half _____
 Few _____
 None _____

13. Which, if any, have you contributed to a political party?

Money _____
 Work _____
 Both _____
 None _____

14. Have you ever signed a nominating petition?

Yes _____
 No _____

15. Have you ever been a delegate to a political convention?

Yes _____
 No _____

16. How many political rallies have you attended since you became an eligible voter?

1-2	_____	Over 5	_____
3-5	_____	None	_____

17. What political party offices have you held?

Precinct Committeeman _____

County Committeeman _____

State Committeeman _____

National Committeeman _____

State Delegate _____

National Delegate _____

None _____

Other _____

HOW DO YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

18. A right-to-work law would benefit Wyoming.

Strongly agree _____

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Strongly disagree _____

No knowledge _____

19. Federal aid to education is desirable for Wyoming.

Strongly agree _____

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Strongly disagree _____

No knowledge _____

20. Governor Hansen should call a special session of the State Legislature to consider the cities mill levies.

Strongly agree _____

Agree _____

- Disagree _____
- Strongly disagree _____
- No knowledge _____
21. The present reapportionment remedy in Wyoming is the best solution to reapportionment.
- Strongly agree _____
- Agree _____
- Disagree _____
- Strongly disagree _____
- No knowledge _____
22. The medicare program, as President Kennedy described last year, would be the best program for medicare for the aged.
- Strongly agree _____
- Agree _____
- Disagree _____
- Strongly disagree _____
- No knowledge _____
23. Labor unions should become more active in politics.
- Strongly agree _____
- Agree _____
- Disagree _____
- Strongly disagree _____
- No knowledge _____
24. Who of the following would you support for the Republican presidential nomination?
- George Romney _____
- William Scranton _____

- Richard Nixon _____
- Nelson Rockefeller _____
- Barry Goldwater _____
- None _____
25. Who do you support for the Democratic presidential nomination?
- Lyndon Johnson _____
- Wayne Morse _____
- Robert Kennedy _____
- Adlai Stevenson _____
- None _____
26. Who would you support, the Republican choice or the Democratic choice in the Presidential election?
- Democrat _____
- Republican _____
27. Who of the following would you support for United States Senator from Wyoming for 1964?
- Thyra Thomson _____
- John Wold _____
- G. D. Humphrey _____
- William Harrison _____
- Gale McGee _____
- None _____
28. Are you a member of any of the following organizations?
- Fraternal _____
- Veterans _____

Civic _____
 Religious _____
 Educational _____
 Other _____

29. Have you held any of the following offices in the above organizations?

President _____
 Vice-President _____
 Secretary _____
 Treasurer _____
 Other _____
 None _____

30. To the best of your knowledge has your organization(s) supported any of the following:

A. Candidate for office

City _____	State _____
County _____	National _____
None _____	

B. Specific issues in

City _____	State _____
None _____	

Remarks:

31. Has your organization(s) ever petitioned the city government?

Yes _____
 No _____

No knowledge _____

Remarks:

32. Do you personally know any of the following elected officials?

A. City and County

City councilman _____

City Manager _____

Mayor _____

Commissioner _____

Sheriff _____

Others _____

None _____

B. State

Governor _____

Secretary of State _____

State Auditor _____

State Treasurer _____

Superintendent of
Public Instruction _____

State Representative _____

State Senator _____

None _____

C. United States

Senator(s) _____

Representatives _____

None _____

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENT

1. Was subject co-operative?

Yes _____

No _____

2. Was subject enthusiastic?

Yes _____

No _____

3. Special remarks:

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

CODE BOOK

<u>Question Number</u>	<u>IBM Column Number</u>	<u>Question Topic and Code for Response</u>
1	1	Generations in the U. S. (1) 1st generation (2) 2nd generation (3) 3rd generation (4) 4th generation (5) Over 5th
2	2	Age of respondents (1) 21-30 (2) 31-40 (3) 41-50 (4) Over 50
3	3 4 5 6 7 8	Highest Level of formal education (1) Less than high school (2) High School (3) College two years (4) College graduate (5) Professional or trade school (6) Other
4	9	Are you a registered voter (1) Democrat (2) Republican (3) Independent (4) Other (5) None
5	10	Annual Income (1) Under \$1,200 (2) \$1,200 to \$2,500 (3) \$2,500 to \$4,000 (4) \$4,000 to \$5,500 (5) Over \$5,500
6	11 12 13 14 15	Property Ownership (1) Real Estate (2) Investments (3) Automobile (4) None (5) Other

<u>Question Number</u>	<u>IBM Column Number</u>	<u>Question Topic and Code for Response</u>
7	16	Membership in a labor union (1) Yes (2) No
8	17	Voting in City Elections (1) All (2) Half (3) Few (4) None
9	18	Voting in Primaries (1) All (2) Half (3) Few (4) None
10	19	Voting in General Elections (1) All (2) Half (3) Few (4) None
11	20	Contributions to a political Party (1) Money only (2) Work only (3) Both money and work (4) None
12	21	Signed a nominating petition (1) Yes (2) No
13	22	Delegate to a political convention (1) Yes (2) No
14	23	Attendance at Political Rallies (1) 1-2 (2) 3-5 (3) Over 5 (4) None
15	24	Held political party offices (1) Precinct Committeeman
	25	(2) County Committeeman
	26	(3) State Committeeman
	27	(4) National Committeeman

<u>Question Number</u>	<u>IBM Column Number</u>	<u>Question Topic and Code for Response</u>
	28	(5) State Delegate
	29	(6) National Delegate
	30	(7) None
	31	(8) Other
16	32	Right-to-Work law (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (5) No knowledge
17	33	Federal aid to education (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (5) No knowledge
18	34	Special session for mill levies (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (5) No knowledge
19	35	Reapportionment remedy (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (5) No knowledge
20	36	Medicare Proposal (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (5) No knowledge
21	37	Labor unions being more active (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (5) No knowledge

<u>Question Number</u>	<u>IBM Column Number</u>	<u>Question Topic and Code for Response</u>
22	38	Republican Presidential Nomination (1) George Romney (2) William Scranton (3) Richard Nixon (4) Nelson Rockefeller (5) Barry Goldwater (6) None
23	39	Democratic Presidential Nomination (1) Lyndon Johnson (2) Wayne Morse (3) Robert Kennedy (4) Adlai Stevenson (5) None
24	40	Support for the pick (1) Democrat (2) Republican
25	41	United States Senator from Wyoming (1) Thyra Thomson (2) John Wold (3) G. D. Humphrey (4) William Harrison (5) Cale McGee (6) None
26	42 43 44 45 46 47 48	Membership of organizations (1) Fraternal (2) Veterans (3) Civic (4) Religious (5) Educational (6) Other (7) None
27	49 50 51 52 53	Offices in the above organization (1) President (2) Vice-President (3) Secretary (4) Treasurer (5) None
28	54 55 56 57 58	Support candidates for office (1) City (2) County (3) State (4) National (5) None

<u>Question Number</u>	<u>IBM Column Number</u>	<u>Question Topic and Code for Response</u>
29		Specific issues
	59	(1) City
	60	(2) State
	61	(3) None
30	62	Petitioned the City Government
		(1) Yes
		(2) No
		(3) No knowledge
31		Personally know elected officials in City or County
	63	(1) City Councilman
	64	(2) City Manager
	65	(3) Mayor
	66	(4) Commissioner
	67	(5) Sheriff
	68	(6) Others
	69	(7) None
32		State level
	70	(1) Governor
	71	(2) Secretary of State
	72	(3) State Auditor
	73	(4) State Treasurer
	74	(5) Superintendent of Public Instruction
	75	(6) State Representative
	76	(7) State Senator
	77	(8) None
33		United States
	78	(1) Senator
	79	(2) Representatives
	80	(3) None

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C
CODE SHEET

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| I. Generations | VIII. City Elections |
| 1. _____ | 1. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 2. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 3. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 4. _____ |
| II. Age | IX. Primaries |
| 1. _____ | 1. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 2. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 3. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 4. _____ |
| III. Education | X. General |
| 1. _____ | 1. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 2. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 3. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 4. _____ |
| 5. _____ | XI. Contributions |
| 6. _____ | 1. _____ |
| IV. Registered voter | 2. _____ |
| 1. _____ | 3. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 4. _____ |
| 3. _____ | XII. Nominating
Petition |
| 4. _____ | 1. _____ |
| 5. _____ | 2. _____ |
| V. Income | XIII. Delegate |
| 1. _____ | 1. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 2. _____ |
| 3. _____ | XIV. Rallies |
| 4. _____ | 1. _____ |
| 5. _____ | 2. _____ |
| VI. Property owner | 3. _____ |
| 1. _____ | 4. _____ |
| 2. _____ | XV. Party Offices |
| 3. _____ | 1. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 2. _____ |
| 5. _____ | 3. _____ |
| VII. Member of Labor Union | 4. _____ |
| 1. _____ | 5. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 6. _____ |

- XVI. Right-to-work
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- XVII. Education
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- XVIII. Mill levies
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- XIX. Reapportionment
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- XX. Medicare
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- XXI. Union Activity
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- XXII. Republicans
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
 6. _____
- XXIII. Democrats
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- XXIV. Choice
 1. _____
 2. _____
- XXV. Senator
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
 6. _____
- XXVI. Organizations
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
 6. _____
 7. _____
- XXVII. Offices
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- XXVIII. Support Candidate
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- XXIX. Issues
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____

XXX. Petition City
Government

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

XXXI. City-County Officials

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____
- 7. _____

XXXII. State

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____
- 7. _____
- 8. _____

XXXIII. U.S.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____