

THE EVOLUTION OF A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PARTY IN  
//  
THE LITERATURE OF AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE

by

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a shift of emphasis in the study of political science away from the descriptive method toward that of theory building. How has this been reflected in the study of the political party in the United States? What trends, if any, are there to the end of developing a theory of the party?<sup>1</sup> In an endeavor to evolve a conceptualization of the political party, this paper will attempt to suggest some answers to these queries.

The objective.--It will be the primary objective of this paper to evolve a conceptualization of the political party as it is presented in the literature of political science. The literature, both normative-descriptive and behavioral, related to political parties will be

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<sup>1</sup>Frank Sorauf, Political Parties in the American System (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1964), p. 153.

surveyed and analyzed. The nature of the political party will be questioned, utilizing the framework or standard for conceptualization which will be presented below. An attempt will be made to determine if an orderly pattern of development exists towards a conceptualization of the party. Finally, an examination of the trends toward a viable, modern approach to the study of the party will be presented.

A definition of terms.--For the purposes of this paper, the definition of "conceptualization" will be considerably less complex than it is in its original application in the field of philosophy. It will be limited here to the way in which American political writers have conceived or visualized the function and importance of the political party in its relationship with the political system and society in the United States. It will be restricted, furthermore, to the political party as it functions in the two-party system.

In approaching the problem, the analysis will be segmented into two phases. First, literature of the normative-descriptive, or traditional, approach to political science will be studied. This will be followed by an investigation into the literature representing the more recent, behavioral approach.

The framework or standard of this analysis will be drawn from the suggestions of those political scientists

whose works are to be surveyed. The framework will be structurally based in order to prevent a cumbersome and complicated model.

The term "political party" or "party" will be defined as those institutions or sub-systems which together form the two-party system as it has functioned historically in the United States. The parties will not be treated individually, except coincidentally or in the event that at any historical point they present a sharp contrast in their adherence to the framework.

The survey of the works to be cited will be limited to selected treatments of the party. The depth of analysis will be governed by the framework of the conceptualization.

The scope of the study.--Following a survey of the various approaches, the literature of the discipline will be examined. From a chronological viewpoint, the scope of the study will be broad. There is a plethora of literature in American political science, reaching back to the earliest European settlements. For obvious and practical reasons the selection of earlier sources will be limited to landmark studies on the creation of the new nation and the most important observations on the political party until the turn of the nineteenth century. Analysis by those scholars who identified themselves with the new discipline of political science which came into



being at that time will be chosen on a rather selective basis.

Contemporary literature will receive proportionately greater attention. An attempt to examine representative efforts of most of the political scientists who have concerned themselves with the study of the party and the behavioral approach will be made. It will be assumed that the works of these writers are tending toward a conceptualization of the party.

While literature abounds, a severe limitation on the scope of research arises from the fact that American political science has produced no formal conceptualization of the party. Theory building is only in an incipient state. This circumstance demands that there be a large degree of interpretation and synthesization of these studies.

Bibliography.--Landmark works of the American political scientists will be examined as will those of Europeans such as Toqueville and Burke, when they have direct bearing on the development of the study of the party.

The writings of the Federalists, particularly the Federalists' Papers of Hamilton and Madison, will receive closer attention than those of their Anti-Federalist opponents. The expressions of Jefferson and his Democratic-Republican associates' views of the party

will be examined.

The treatments of the traditional school will be scrutinized; among these are to be noted Key, Beard, Sait, McKean and others. The contributions of foreign political scientists will be considered.

Political scientists of the behavioral persuasion have attempted to move toward conceptualizing political phenomena and theory building. Among these are Frank Sorauf who, in Political Parties in the American System, devotes a chapter to the presentation of a "scheme" for the description and analysis of political parties and some fragments of a theory of political parties.<sup>2</sup> Maurice Duverger, while not an American, has strongly influenced this development in his Political Parties.<sup>3</sup> Neil McDonald's The Study of Political Parties<sup>4</sup> and W. Avery Leiserson's Parties and Politics<sup>5</sup> are also valuable sources.

More commonly, however, the behavioralists have

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>3</sup>Maurice Duverger, Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State, trans. Barbara and Robert North (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Science Editions, 1963).

<sup>4</sup>Neil A. McDonald, The Study of Political Parties (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955).

<sup>5</sup>Avery Leiserson, Parties and Politics: An Institutional and Behavioral Approach (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1958).

endeavored to examine the results of elections, by employing the objective, scientific technique. While not so valuable for the purposes of this study such analyses as The American Voter<sup>6</sup> and Elections and the Political Order<sup>7</sup> by Angus Campbell and others and Samuel Eldersveld's<sup>8</sup> study are certainly not to be ignored.

Methodology.--The methodology to be employed in the research of the paper will be that of survey and analysis. Much interpretation and interpolation of the writings will be necessary.

In Chapter II a brief survey of the several approaches to the study of political phenomena will appear.

The conceptual framework will be presented in Chapter III. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to an examination of the works of those political philosophers and political scientists of the traditional persuasion as they relate to the study of the party. A similar examination of the efforts of the behaviorally-oriented political scientists will follow in Chapter IV.

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<sup>6</sup>Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960).

<sup>7</sup>Angus Campbell, et al., Elections and the Political Order (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966).

<sup>8</sup>Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964).

In Chapter V a synthesis of the findings will be presented. Comments on trends towards a conceptualization of the party will be made for the purpose of suggesting further work that will contribute to a theory of the party and, hopefully, be of use to other researchers. Some conclusions will be drawn from this study and some suggestions hazarded as to the validity and value of such an approach.

Importance.--The importance of organizing existing literature into a conceptual pattern lies in the possibility that such a venture may contribute to the future development of a theory for the study of the political party. Such a contribution may provide new avenues of research on the party, expand the fund of knowledge of the party's meager storehouse, and open new vistas of understanding of the function of the party. Ultimately, the goal of this research would be to aid others to develop a viable theory of the political party.

## CHAPTER II

### A SURVEY OF THE APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Today the diverse approaches to the study of political phenomena<sup>1</sup> may be grouped into three readily identifiable categories. These are the normative and the functional-descriptive, which taken together may be styled the traditional approach and the behavioral approach. This chapter will present a brief characterization of each of these and comment upon trends in their application.

#### The Normative Approach

Historically, the normative approach is the oldest. Dating back to the ancients, political theorists have employed this method to present their ideals of the

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<sup>1</sup>James C. Charlesworth (ed.), Contemporary Political Analysis (New York: The Free Press, 1967). In Chapter I, "Introduction: Identifiable Approaches to the Study of Politics and Government," pp. 1-10, Charlesworth identifies no less than twenty-six methodological approaches.

state or of political institutions. Relying upon the historical method the normative political scientist relates the events of the past and attempts to establish their accuracy. This represents evidence from which he draws conclusions as to the "goodness" or "evil" of the state or institution with which he lives and the one he proposes. His own beliefs and values are basic to the conclusions he reaches. The approach, therefore, is subjective in nature. The theorist seeks the ideal which he believes to be "good," whether or not it can be proven scientifically.

Before the advent of the social sciences, this was the primary approach to the study of political phenomena. In that time the normative approach performed a function which remains valid today--the establishment of theoretical or philosophical norms upon which to base political studies.

#### The Functional-Descriptive Approach

While descriptions of political institutions have been rendered since man first began to record his activities, the functional-descriptive approach to the study of political phenomena developed only during the Nineteenth Century. Until that time most writers on government and politics simply presented a description of governmental superstructures and on occasion made comparisons among

those of several states. There was no "science" of politics and today's student would evaluate their work as contributing little to the understanding of the causes of political phenomena. The awareness of the value of such understanding developed in the last century contemporaneously with the emergence of the social sciences.

The scientific advances that had been given life in the Renaissance and nurtured throughout the Age of Reason were highly developed by the second half of the Nineteenth Century. The fruits of research were to be seen everywhere. The world was entranced by science and what it had produced. Science and the scientific method were held to be the key to the progress of mankind in the future. Why should it not be applied in all areas of human endeavor? It was with this attitude that the scientific method of observation, experimentation, and formulation of theories came to be applied to the "social studies."

The object of this development was the study of phenomena which involved people and their institutions. Observation, the most readily applicable and least offensive element of scientific method, was the agent through which the essentially normative social studies were converted into sciences. Inherent in scientific observation is the scrutiny of an institution to discover what causes it to function as it does.

Thus the functional-descriptive approach to the study of political phenomena emerged. The institutions of government and politics were observed, described anew, and analyzed to determine cause and effect. Indeed, the nomenclature of the discipline was revised. The study of politics and government was first designated as political science at the turn of the century.

A tendency to look beyond the institution to the people whose interactions created and maintained it developed among some observers of political phenomena at that time. These "political scientists," some of whom pre-date the title, were strongly influenced by the new social science, sociology. Despite their efforts, studies on the functions of institutions and the functional-descriptive method prevailed. It was held that the applicability of the scientific method to human beings was limited. People might be subjected to observation, but experimentations with them as conducted in laboratories was certainly impossible. Theories concerning human behavior could be formulated but could not be proved by purely scientific means.

#### The Behavioral Approach

Contemporaneously with the development of sociology and psychology in the Twentieth Century, a growing emphasis on the applicability of the scientific method,



or empiricism, to the study of politics and government was felt. In retrospect it seems inevitable that political science should borrow from these disciplines, whose bases are the study of human behavior. However, the employment of the "behavioral approach" in political science was not immediately forthcoming. Nor was it finally accepted without a struggle.

Two phases may be identified in the assertion of the behavioral approach. The earlier phase occurred in the 1920's when considerable doubt remained that such a discipline did or could exist. In 1927, Catlin defended "The Possibility of a Political Science" and emphasized the need for wider employment of the scientific method. He expressed the necessity of viewing social phenomena externally<sup>2</sup> declaring that there are "non-material objective determinants of human conduct."<sup>3</sup> Kirkpatrick noted that the term "political behavior" is recent, but "the tendency has a long history." It can be traced to 1923.<sup>4</sup>

Although this early incursion into the realm of behavioralism failed to gather momentum, the empirical or scientific method attained an increasingly prominent role.

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<sup>2</sup>George E. G. Catlin, The Science and Method of Politics (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1964), p. 106.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>4</sup>Austin Ranney (ed.), Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), p. 12.

In the 1930's a degree of coalescence occurred in the study of the disciplines of sociology, economics, and political science. Using the "socio-economic approach," an adaptation of the scientific method, political scientists studied political phenomena in relation to sociology and economics. However, this approach did not take into consideration the behavior of individuals and groups involved in political activity. Meanwhile the disciplines of sociology and psychology flourished and the behavioral approach was refined.

The second and successful sortie of political science into behavioralism was accomplished in the middle 1950's. One of the names most intimately associated with the behavioral approach is that of Heinz Eulau. He has characterized it as being "concerned with what man does politically and the meanings he attaches to his behavior."<sup>5</sup>

This approach requires careful observation of people, individually and in groups, as they perform various political acts. These may run the gamut from voting at the polls to the creation and enactment of legislation in Congress or decision on the constitutionality of a law. Much of the empirical evidence for such studies has been

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<sup>5</sup>Heinz Eulau, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 5.

obtained through analyses of voting records and similar objective endeavors. However, an integral part of the behavioral approach is ascertainment of the significance man attaches to his behavior. The discovery of the meaning of political behavior often cannot be achieved through direct questioning of large numbers of individuals. Nor would such an effort be desirable, for psychology demonstrates that man frequently conceals his true motivation consciously or unconsciously. Therefore, the political scientist must employ other techniques. These may involve oral or written interviews which revolve around an issue, cross-roughing of votes, or analyses on a quantitative basis.

Political scientists who were not of the "behavioral persuasion" were swift to point out its shortcomings. The range of criticism ran from challenges of the adequacy of techniques employed to the validity and importance of the results. Many were strongly opposed to an apparent rejection of normative involvement.

As the struggle between the traditional and behavioral methods grew less passionate in the 1960's, a more tolerant and ameliorative attitude developed among their proponents. The two methods have come to be considered complementary rather than competitive.

## CHAPTER III

### THE POLITICAL PARTY IN THE LITERATURE OF TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE

#### The Conceptual Framework

Before embarking upon an analysis of the literature of American political science on the party, a conceptual framework may be constructed. As suggested in recent political writings, such a framework should be as "broad as it is usefully possible to conceive."<sup>1</sup> It should permit exploration to proceed unconfined by barriers that too narrow a conceptualization tend to build. Conversely, a conceptual framework also must be structured tightly enough for it to serve as a viable and elemental foundation on which political phenomena may be visualized, perceived, and further conceptualized in an orderly fashion.

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<sup>1</sup>Neil A. McDonald, The Study of Political Parties (Garden City, N. J.: Doubleday and Co., 1955), p. 77.

The term "conceptual framework" has been defined as "the ordering of all the terms of any particular analysis."<sup>2</sup> Assumptions underlying the construction of such a framework "cannot be empirically validated but must be accepted as more or less useful to the study underway."<sup>3</sup>

Proceeding from this definition the conceptual model to be employed in this paper is composed of six questions to be addressed to selected works in the field of parties. It is intended that these questions be framed broadly enough that they may be logically applicable to the literature to be investigated and afford a synthesis of the information gathered.

In constructing the framework three assumptions have been made. First, the political party has functions in society that are identifiable and recognizable. Secondly, environment exerts an influence on the party. Finally, the political party in turn effects the environment in which it exists.<sup>4</sup>

Based on these assumptions the following questions constitute the framework for this paper:

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<sup>2</sup>Cyril Roseman, Charles G. Mayo, and F. B. Collinge, Dimensions of Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Suggested by Frank J. Sorauf, Political Parties in the American System (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1964), Chap. ix.

1. What are the functions assigned to the party in America?
2. How does the party accomplish these functions?
3. How do the functions to be performed by the party influence its structure?
4. Does the writer suggest that the party influences the formal apparatus of government and, if so, to what extent?
5. Does the writer perceive or imply influences of the societal environment on the party?
6. Does the party's pre-existent organizational structure influence the functions of the party?

As Austin Ranney pointed out in the literature of American political science,

'parties' often refers in one place to: (a) the existing organizations, and in another to (b) some possible future variant of them. 'Function' sometimes means (1) the role the parties are observably performing, and sometimes (2) the role they should perform.<sup>5</sup>

Since the literature to be examined in this paper includes examples representing all of these categories, the writers' intent will be indicated in the ensuing discussions.

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<sup>5</sup> Austin Ranney, The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government (Urbana, Ill.: The University of Illinois Press, 1962), p. 8.

## The Constitutional Period

Towards the end of the Eighteenth Century the political party emerged in the United States of America over the issue of the adoption of the new Constitution. Once the Constitution was ratified the major issue shifted to the question of the locus of power. Would the lion's share remain with the states or would the scope and power of the federal government be enlarged?

The Federalist Party and the Republican Party of Thomas Jefferson have been called "the first true parties of modern times."<sup>6</sup> These parties presented the issues and set the stage for the two-party system in America. Chambers cited the function of these early parties as "the presentation to the public or electorate of alternatives concerning policies and leaders, and choices by the public or electorate among such alternatives, primarily in elections."<sup>7</sup> This was accomplished by "shaping and clarifying options for popular choice or decision and in giving such choices some effect in the conduct of government."<sup>8</sup> The party out of power was to perform the function of opposition to the "in" party.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>William Nisbet Chambers, "The Genesis of American Parties," The American Party System: A Book of Readings, ed. John R. Owens and P. J. Staudenraus (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 58.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 65.    <sup>8</sup>Ibid.    <sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

It is clear that the early political parties developed to fulfill a specific need in society. Having no prior design, they evolved into organizations structured to perform tasks that presented themselves to the political leaders of the time. The environment in which they emerged, a federal government characterized at both levels by separation of powers, determined decentralized parties. Each of the "parties," in fact, was thirteen separate parties. One of the primary tasks of the early national leaders was "to bring the order of national parties out of such diversity."<sup>10</sup>

Pluralism was a great problem of the time and parties the "vehicles" to contain it. As the problems facing the new republic were resolved the parties concomitantly began to form into national bodies.<sup>11</sup>

In discussing what he calls "the first party system" Richard McCormick<sup>12</sup> designated election-of congressmen, presidential electors, governors, members of state legislatures, and other officials-as the function of the party. There were, however, factors which caused variations in both the function and structure of the early

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 59.      <sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>12</sup>Richard P. McCormick, The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966).



political parties. Among these factors was the means by which the governors and presidential electors were chosen--by the legislatures or popular vote.<sup>13</sup>

In the early parties the task of selecting candidates usually was accomplished through caucus at the state level. This function produced the structure of the party, as "machinery was developed chiefly for the purpose of securing agreement on candidates."<sup>14</sup>

McCormick made no mention of the influence of the "first party system" on the formal organization of the government. Instead, he pointed out the tremendous molding force of the "constitutional and legal environment that prevailed during [the party system's] formative years."<sup>15</sup> He noted that the change in the environment toward greater democracy contributed to the change in the parties which began in the 1820's.<sup>16</sup> McCormick suggested that a cause of the downfall of the Federalist Party was that it "lacked effective organization at the national level."<sup>17</sup> However, the goal of this party had been the adoption of the Constitution and the establishment and strengthening of the national government. Once this was accomplished "the party ultimately became the victim of its success."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 22.      <sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 23.      <sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 30.      <sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 27.      <sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

In his functional approach to the study of American parties, Joseph Charles found among their functions the provision for conflict. This was to give continuity to the post-constitutional period and to "provide the connection between the realms of foreign and domestic affairs."<sup>19</sup> The shaping of foreign policy was a contest between two groups of men rather than between abstract forces. The parties performed functions in making administrative policy and then sought public support for the policies. Concurrently it functioned as "the medium through which . . . public opinion influenced government policy."<sup>20</sup> The former function was accomplished through newspapers and pamphlets and the latter through political organization.<sup>21</sup>

Such functions soon came to be performed through caucuses. The Jay Treaty controversy had the important effect of producing the first caucus of the Republican Party. The purpose of the caucus was to make an issue of the Treaty in the election of 1796.<sup>22</sup> The controversy surrounding the treaty resulted in mass meetings of protest in all the States. These meetings provided "the outlines of a popular party on a national basis."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Joseph Charles, The Origins of the American Party System: Three Essays (Williamsburg, Va.: The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1956), p. 137.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 91 and 92.      <sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 117.      <sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

The influence of the environment, both governmental and societal, was emphasized by Charles. It was particularly strong in the Republican Party, whose form was "shaped by the local institutions of the middle states"<sup>24</sup> in response to a popular movement.

Charles implied that the structure a party develops greatly influences the nature and viability of that party. The structure Hamilton created in the Federalist Party, so rigidly controlled by him as the leader that other major figures defected to the Republicans, contributed to its ultimate demise.

Other men who eminently influenced the creation and development of the new nation and effected the development of the early parties did not appreciate the need for them. They were highly suspicious and critical. Even though most of it was written by Alexander Hamilton, George Washington heartily condemned parties in his Farewell Address.<sup>25</sup> Ascribing great evil to party functions, he enumerated them as: organizing faction; giving it "an artificial and extraordinary force;" putting the will of the party "in the place of the delegated will of the nation;" and finally, making "the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

of faction."<sup>26</sup> It is interesting that the first two of these malevolent functions are accepted as completely legitimate and, indeed, essential to the functioning of democracy. Washington seems to have feared, furthermore, that parties would have an adverse effect on the actual structure of the government.

While Alexander Hamilton openly condemned parties, Joseph Charles suggested that this was "political propaganda."<sup>27</sup>

Thomas Jefferson felt that there was no need for parties because public opinion could bring about changes in Administration policies. He did not conceive of the parties functioning to mold public opinion. Charles indicated that after 1797 Jefferson's political strategy was less active and his personal influence in the party less important than has been generally assumed.<sup>28</sup>

Although James Madison believed parties to be "instruments of oppression," he recognized that "the latent causes of faction are . . . in the nature of man. . . ." <sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>George Washington, "The Baneful Effects of the Spirit of Party," The American Party System: A Book of Readings, eds. John R. Owens and P. J. Staudenraus (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 23.

<sup>27</sup>Charles, op. cit., p. 48.      <sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>29</sup>Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, The Federalist, ed. Benjamin F. Wright (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 131.

In so doing he identified an important function of the party:

The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and ordinary operations of the Government.<sup>30</sup>

#### The Jacksonian Period

By 1828 the shift in the composition of the electorate was reflected in the political parties. By that year the primary function of the party in the "second American Party System" was to contest for the presidency.<sup>31</sup> The selection of the candidate was accomplished by means of the convention. Beginning in 1836 "'opposition' parties agitated a variety of issues."<sup>32</sup>

The lively contest for the presidency in 1828 "stimulated the formation of parties in virtually all of the states."<sup>33</sup> These parties were decentralized, but had uniform goals throughout the states and worked in harmony to attain them. There was at that time a universal trend from diversity to uniformity.<sup>34</sup>

McCormick did not indicate that the internal organization influenced party functions at this stage of development. He stressed the influence of environment--

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid.      <sup>31</sup>McCormick, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 339.      <sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 335.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 343.

particularly the "electoral environment." This deeply affected their organization. However, he emphasized that "the emergence of parties and the exigencies of partisan competition doubtless operated to produce changes in the electoral environment."<sup>35</sup>

While the formation of the new parties and rise of democracy during the Jacksonian Era did not produce change in the formal organization of the government, the character of the officers of the government became more "popular." The new parties had a strong hand in this.

At this point the observations of two European visitors to America should be inspected. The first of these was the French nobleman, Alexis de Tocqueville, who traveled in the United States in 1835. While many of his comments on political institutions and politics in America were astute, he perceived no functions for the parties except the election of the president. As did the American political writers of the constitutional period, Tocqueville believed parties to be very evil, but "inherent in free governments."<sup>36</sup> Newspapers and "associations" were the weapons used by the parties in their task of electing.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 345.

<sup>36</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, eds. J. P. Munger and Max Lerner (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966), p. 160.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

Tocqueville felt the social environment of America had a strong influence on the party. He did not examine party organization but he noted that the leaders carried "their social world into this smaller society."<sup>38</sup>

Furthermore, he attributed the demise of the Federalist Party to its inapplicability to American society.<sup>39</sup>

Five decades later, Lord Bryce recorded his observations in The American Commonwealth. His attitude towards party and its legitimate functions contrasted sharply with that of Tocqueville. He identified the selection of its candidates as the prime task of the American party, but indicated that in America, as elsewhere, it possessed four basic functions: Union, Recruiting, Enthusiasm and Instruction.<sup>40</sup> Raising new questions and solving them were important responsibilities of party.<sup>41</sup>

Bryce saw in the organization the means by which these functions were accomplished. A "system of managing committees" and "the nominating assemblies" on the national and state levels<sup>42</sup> existed for this purpose.

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 466.      <sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>40</sup>James Bryce, The American Commonwealth, ed. Louis M. Hacker (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1959), p. 179.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 158.      <sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 183-184.

The structure of the party was the product of its response in accomplishing these functions. Bryce described party organization as "machinery, firm, yet flexible, delicate yet quickly set up and capable of working well in the roughest communities."<sup>43</sup> The decentralized nature of the organization was determined by the fact that basically the party elected on a local basis.

Because both party organizations in Bryce's time operated to a large degree as Machines, he identified a party function that was the creation of its structural organization: the perpetuation of the Machine. This was accomplished by "getting or keeping the patronage of the government."<sup>44</sup> Without condoning the Machines or patronage, Bryce recognized that they existed because the environment demanded them. Throughout this work the author stressed that the nature of the party was influenced by the social environment and changed in response to it.

Lord Bryce strongly emphasized the function of the party in government. In contrast to earlier writers he perceived that party caused the governmental system to work by gathering the majority into a cohesive, united, and organized body.<sup>45</sup> The parties provided motive power to the government and were able to "determine the

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 178.      <sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 154.



directions in which its organs act."<sup>46</sup> Bryce did not note any influences of the party on the formal apparatus of government as defined in this paper. As to the party's influence on its operation, his evaluation was that it can "make more difference to the working of the government than many of the provisions of the Constitution itself."<sup>47</sup>

#### The Progressive and Party Government Era

When The American Commonwealth appeared, Lord Bryce's American contemporaries were observing the party through critical eyes. The Progressives sought to diagnose and cure the ills of the American political system. One of the most seriously diseased organs, they believed, was the party. Most of the labor of political scientists during this period was highly normative in nature. They subordinated descriptions and analysis of existing political phenomena to proposals of theoretical functions. Characteristic of the time was a desire to extend democracy. A major goal was to make the party responsible.

One of the most respected political scientists of this period was A. Lawrence Lowell. Although he was a noted advocate of responsible party government, his efforts were not solely in the theoretical realm. In Public Opinion and Popular Government he scrutinized the

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 134.      <sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 189.

functions of the party during this era. Primary among them was the election of candidates to office. As a requisite to this the party was employed as the instrument through which politicians formed public opinion. This was accomplished by "bringing men together in masses . . . where they can combine to carry out a common policy."<sup>48</sup> He called the process brokerage.

Noting that his society was a product of the "Age of Advertisement and Brokerage," Lowell characterized parties as "agencies whereby public attention is brought to focus on certain questions."<sup>49</sup> It was their responsibility to "frame the issues on which the people are called to give an opinion."<sup>50</sup>

Lowell indicted the Machines and bosses--the organization--as the causes of many functions of the party that he considered abusive. In performing its legitimate function of electing officials the party had become burdened with "politicians."<sup>51</sup>

Lowell was in accord with his contemporary, Henry Jones Ford, in his observations on the role party played in influencing rather than determining, the structure of

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<sup>48</sup>A. Lawrence Lowell, Public Opinion and Popular Government (2nd ed.; New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926), p. 62.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 66.      <sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 105-106.

the government. They described it as the agent for "harmonizing" the branches of the federal government.

In The Rise and Growth of American Politics Ford enumerated the functions of the party as: naming the party candidates;<sup>52</sup> the concentration of votes in the public interest;<sup>53</sup> declaration of party principles;<sup>54</sup> democratization and transformation of the Constitution;<sup>55</sup> exertion of a nationalizing influence on the populace;<sup>56</sup> energizing "the mass of citizenship into political activity;"<sup>57</sup> and the courting of public opinion.<sup>58</sup> Noting that early in the history of the party in America these functions were performed through caucuses, mass meetings, and committees of correspondence, he pointed out that during the Jacksonian Period the party convention superseded these agencies. The distribution of patronage played a large role in this.

The functions performed by the party influenced its organization which in turn sustained itself through the functions.<sup>59</sup> Ford demonstrated that the party was

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<sup>52</sup>Henry Jones Ford, The Rise and Growth of American Politics (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914), p. 295.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 199.      <sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., pp. 208-220, 302.      <sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 305.      <sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 330.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 220.

structured in a way to provide "professional management." The more successful a party was, the more probable it was that the membership had little to say in its operation.<sup>60</sup>

The conversion of the presidency into a representative institution gave rise to the convention system. Ford emphasized the leadership asserted by the party in this and other transformations of the Constitution. He recognized such changes as products of democracy in the United States. The party was responsive to public opinion.

The party developed in response to the expansion of the nation.<sup>61</sup> In turn the party exerted influence on the society in which it operated. The role party played in the nationalizing process in particular had greatly effected the society created out of the melting pot.<sup>62</sup>

Woodrow Wilson was another great political scientist of this era. In his first book, Congressional Government, Wilson, who was strongly influenced by the British model, sought to demonstrate the qualities and desirability of responsible government. This work must be classified as theoretical in nature.

In this dissertation, twenty-eight years before his election as President of the United States, Wilson

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 295-297.      <sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 306.

presented ideal functions of the party in government. These included control of legislation in Congress, the inauguration of policy and the assumption of responsibility for its consequences, and the instruction or elevation of public opinion through debates in Congress.<sup>63</sup> Were these ideals to be realized, the party would have had a strong influence in shaping, or reshaping, the formal structure of the government. It would have maintained the apparati inherent in a parliamentary system.

Despite the theoretical nature of Wilson's recommendations, it would be erroneous to imply that he was unaware of the functions parties in the United States actually performed in the late nineteenth century. He cited their essential function as "carrying elections."<sup>64</sup> It was not his intent in Congressional Government to examine the processes through which this was achieved.

Wilson carefully examined the meager activity of the parties in Congress at that time. This was meeting in caucus to decide upon legislation to support. Nevertheless, were it not for the caucus no legislation would be accomplished. The party organization and lack of leadership which endowed it with its "various

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<sup>63</sup>Woodrow Wilson, Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics (15th ed., rev.; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), pp. 98-101.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

conglomerate character"<sup>65</sup> caused its ineffectiveness in Congress. Therefore the structure of the party had a negative influence on its function. It could not form public opinion because it was not sufficiently organized. There were no leaders "in whom to trust for guidance in the general policy of legislation, or to whom to look for suggestions of opinion."<sup>66</sup>

The evaluation of the writer of this paper is that Wilson did not take into perspective the environment in which the American parties actually operated in 1884. In his attempt to demonstrate the need for responsible parties he seems to have failed to recognize the sharp contrast in the environment--political, geographic, and social--of Great Britain and the United States.

In Constitutional Government in the United States, written twenty-four years later, Wilson identified functions actually being performed by the parties: "making it possible for us to form and carry out national programs" and assisting in the nationalizing process.<sup>67</sup> Taking a more tolerant attitude toward the party organizations he declared that,

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 324.      <sup>66</sup>Ibid., pp. 186-187.

<sup>67</sup>Woodrow Wilson, Constitutional Government in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921), pp. 218-220.

Through their caucuses, their county conventions, their state conventions, their national conventions, instead of through legislatures and cabinets, the parties supply the indispensable means of agreement and cooperation, and direct the government of the country both in its policy and in its personnel.<sup>68</sup>

The organization of the party, which was its strength, developed in response to the functions it performed. The complexity the electoral system demanded adequate party machinery. On the local level the party organization and electoral practices created a special function not to be found on the national level.<sup>69</sup>

While Wilson affirmed his belief in the need for responsible parties in Constitutional Government in the United States, he framed it in reference to constitutional rather than parliamentary government. A. J. Wann suggests that Wilson's altered viewpoint on the nominating convention and his concession that the President could effectively lead Congress may have resulted from serious contemplations on the possibility of his future candidacy.<sup>70</sup>

#### The Later Traditionalists

The tangible labor of political scientists who have employed the traditional method of description and

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 211.      <sup>69</sup>Ibid., pp. 209-214.

<sup>70</sup>A. J. Wann, "The Development of Woodrow Wilson's Theory of the Presidency: Continuity and Change," The Philosophies and Policies of Woodrow Wilson, ed. Earl Latham (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), III, pp. 46-66.

analysis are examined below. This includes selections from the nascence of political science in the late nineteenth century to the present in relatively chronological order.

One of the earliest traditionalists in the field of parties was A. D. Morse. His writings date to the late 1880's and were compiled and published in one volume in 1923, several years after his death. Morse described the party as a "device" for holding the government in subjection to state through educating and organizing public opinion and administering the government.<sup>71</sup> His faith in the party's ability to accomplish the former task was rather more idealistic than descriptive: "Party keeps the people fully informed in regard to public matters. What one party fails to discover or wishes to conceal, its rival is sure to unearth and proclaim."<sup>72</sup>

Morse considered it natural that control of the party organization should be in the hands of those "who are best able to promote its real or apparent success"--the bosses.<sup>73</sup> In order to function properly the party had to be well organized. In turn this organization created another function--maintenance of itself--through

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<sup>71</sup>Anson Daniel Morse, Parties and Party Leaders (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1923), p. 7.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.      <sup>73</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-13.



dispensation of patronage. He pointed out that change in societal conditions were requisite to the elimination of the bosses.<sup>74</sup>

In his historical treatment of parties, E. E. Robinson conceived of the party of the constitutional period as an "agency." It performed several functions including one "by which selected representatives governed for the nation" and another "by which the mass of the people were accorded greater influence, aided to act in their own interest and to govern themselves."<sup>75</sup> By 1850 the function of "working out problems in democracy" had developed.<sup>76</sup> Robinson, however, expressed the opinion that the parties had ceased to adequately perform these functions and proposed that a new party should be founded.

There has been a need for a national party whose founders conceived of its primary function as that of insuring the protection of the citizen in the liberties promised him under the American form of government, and of improving and safeguarding the conditions under which the average man and woman must live and work.<sup>77</sup>

Robinson's observation on the organization of the party was a simple definition of its composition: the members of a party committee and the partisans in public

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Edgar E. Robinson, The Evolution of American Political Parties: A Sketch of Party Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1924), p. 355.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 364.

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Professor Edward M. Sait in his American Parties and Elections, later edited by Howard Penniman, listed the functions of the party as: stating and presenting issues;<sup>78</sup> making "it possible for the enormous electorate to function," developing and maintaining "a sense of national interest" by making compromises;<sup>79</sup> controlling the personnel and policy of the government by nominating and electing candidates;<sup>80</sup> and mitigating "the disadvantages of the federal system" by controlling and binding it to a common purpose.<sup>81</sup>

Sait felt the party was organized to perform its functions and stated that the course of the government is shaped because of the coordination party gives.<sup>82</sup> Sait suggested that the ills of bossism, the product of organization, could be cured if more of the party's electing and resultant office filling functions were to be assumed by the electorate. Indeed, the Progressive Movement brought about the reorganization of the parties.<sup>83</sup> Sait did not see a direct influence of the party on the formal apparatus

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<sup>78</sup> Howard R. Penniman, Saits' American Parties and Elections (5th ed., rev.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952), pp. 3-5.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 165.      <sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp. 151-152.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 164-165.      <sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 365.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 6 and 169-170.

of the federal government, but noted that it aided in its ability to function.

Pendleton Herring designated the chief function of party as readjusting "existing forces into more effective patterns for action."<sup>84</sup> Other functions included "keeping official government going,"<sup>85</sup> acting in the public interest,<sup>86</sup> and attracting people to its leader.<sup>87</sup> Preserving the two-party system was another function accomplished simply by both parties' continued existence.<sup>88</sup>

These functions were performed through the party organization which "grew up around the formal structure of governments in cities and states."<sup>89</sup> It provided "some degree of continuity and order in political affairs."<sup>90</sup> Writing after the Progressive period, Herring implied that party structure arose to fulfill these functions. Furthermore, the party developed in response to a demand created by the environment--an enlarged electorate and the effects of growing democratic trends in America.<sup>91</sup>

Another of the traditional writers, Wilfred

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<sup>84</sup>E. Pendleton Herring, The Politics of Democracy: American Parties in Action (New York: W. W. Norton Co., Inc., 1965), p. 191.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 329.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 290.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 248.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

Binkley, whose historical description of American parties is classic, stressed the electoral functions of the party. These were nominating candidates, managing campaigns, winning elections, and recruiting new adherents.<sup>92</sup> In the early American parties nominations were secured through caucuses. As parties continued to develop, their organizations responded to the changes of the society. Many social and political phenomena--including the frontier and sectionalism--operated to produce the parties and party organizations identifiable in American history.<sup>93</sup> The change in environment killed the Federalist Party.

Binkley did not distinguish any direct influence of the party on the formal apparatus of the government, but noted that the Federalist Party "gave the new government . . . a commanding prestige and authority . . ."<sup>94</sup>

In his work on the two-party system, William Goodman listed the functions of the party as:

1. Monopolizing the electoral function by operating the electoral process and supplying candidates
2. Forming public policy by developing issues and intra-party loyalty
3. Taking over the government machinery by reconciling differences of opinion and assuming responsibility for what results from operation.

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<sup>92</sup>Wilfred E. Binkley, American Political Parties: Their Natural History (4th ed., enlarged; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965), p. 50.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., pp. 72-75.      <sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

#### 4. Nationalizing<sup>95</sup>

Goodman concurred that the structure of party organization was the product of its functions. However, unlike most political scientists, he suggested that increased activity in the areas of charity and patronage were to some degree the result of organizational changes. This reflected transformations in the social environment.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, he warned against making too much out of this circumstance.<sup>97</sup> As to party's influence on the government, Goodman detected a tendency to cement the separated parts together.

MacIver identified functions of the party and the means by which they are accomplished in The Web of Government. One function is the formation of a chain originating with the party as the "major political vehicle of opinion."<sup>98</sup> Through it differences of opinion are reduced to simple alternatives and public opinion is formed. This is accomplished by focusing the issues and eliminating "cross-currents of opinion." Finally, the party organizes public opinion and enables the electorate to choose

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<sup>95</sup>William Goodman, The Two-Party System in the United States (3d ed., rev.; Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1964), pp. 15-27.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., pp. 114-115.      <sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>98</sup>R. M. MacIver, The Web of Government (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), p. 208.

between two platforms and slates of candidates.<sup>99</sup>

In addition, the parties "maintain the responsibility of the government to the people" by providing opposition to the majority.<sup>100</sup> They vitalize "the principle of representation"<sup>101</sup> through party conflict.

Responses to further question composing the conceptual framework of this paper are not offered in The Web of Government.

One of the most outstanding treatises on political parties is Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups by V. O. Key. In this he employed the traditional approach of description and analysis in the most penetrating and astute style. The party functions Key identified may be divided into three groups: electoral, governmental, and those related to pressure groups. Among the electoral functions of the party are selection of candidates,<sup>102</sup> mobilization of electoral support,<sup>103</sup> and confrontation of the voters with an either-or choice.<sup>104</sup> Having provided public officers the party builds majority coalitions and advocates broad views on policy.<sup>105</sup> Key noted that

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 213.      <sup>100</sup>Ibid.      <sup>101</sup>Ibid., pp. 209-10.

<sup>102</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups (5th ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1964), p. 283.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 314.      <sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 283.

"keeping peace among group interests"<sup>106</sup> has become an important responsibility of the party. A fourth function Key assigned the party is its service as "a link between people and government."<sup>107</sup>

Key argued that the party organization "is structured by the task to be accomplished" and "exists to facilitate collective activity."<sup>108</sup> He demonstrated that the conditioning effect the governmental structure exerts on the parties is stronger than the parties' influence on government. The environment--particularly sectionalism and urbanization--has influenced the party.<sup>109</sup> V. O. Key's more recent works are examined in the following chapter.

According to Dayton D. McKean the party possesses simply-defined functions of furnishing the personnel of government and directing some of its policies.<sup>110</sup> In addition it performs indispensable functions in representative government. Among these are compromising and synthesizing of interests, reducing opinions into yes-no alternatives upon which the electorate may vote, and criticism of the in-party by the out-party to protect the general interest.

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 167.      <sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 314.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., pp. 314-315.      <sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 654.

<sup>110</sup>Dayton D. McKean, Party and Pressure Politics (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949), p. 15.

In some functions the party has closer contact with the people. These include education of the electorate, "nationalizing," and assisting immigrants in naturalization. Party acts as an intermediary or "liaison" between the individual citizen and the complicated, bureaucratic government. It is involved in welfare and economic aid to its membership. The party also functions to democratize the formal government and enable it to operate more justly and efficiently.

The chief function of party, however, is the election of public officials. The party selects and finances candidates and then aids in getting out the vote.<sup>111</sup> In fact, it is "almost solely responsible for keeping the electoral machinery running."<sup>112</sup>

The parties, their structure largely determined by the federal system in the United States, have organized to accomplish these functions. At the local and state levels the party leaders select the candidates, elect, and later influence them. To achieve this they organize to control votes.<sup>113</sup> The way in which the parties have done this, however, may further influence their functions. The extent of patronage and bossism may result from the party organization.

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid., pp. 23-27.      <sup>112</sup>Ibid.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., pp. 200-205.



In addition to federalism other environmental conditions have had an effect on the parties. The extension of suffrage, urbanization, minority groups and the reaction of the majority have influenced their development.<sup>114</sup> In periods of national crisis existing parties have had the tendency to change or disappear and new ones arise.<sup>115</sup>

Hugh Bone, in American Politics and the Party System, indicated the function of party in the two-party system is to establish majority rule.<sup>116</sup> He cited the decentralization of the parties as a source of weakness. Party structures are unable to operate as well-disciplined units even on the local level. Even committees cannot work out "profitable relationships" at this level.<sup>117</sup> Bone pointed out the need for collection and analysis of information on the party hierarchy so that the party organizations may be modernized.<sup>118</sup>

Several years later Bone collaborated with Austin Ranney on Politics and Voters. In this work they stated that the function of party is to "attempt to control the whole government through the electoral process."<sup>119</sup> By

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., pp. 523-525.      <sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>116</sup>Hugh A. Bone, American Politics and the Party System (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1955), p. 588.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., pp. 350-351.      <sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 353.

<sup>119</sup>Hugh A. Bone and Austin Ranney, Politics and Voters (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1963), p. 85.

proposing candidates and conducting elections, the parties "provide a means of obtaining access to government process and for seeking legitimate sanctions to control and direct power."<sup>120</sup> After gaining control of the government the parties, through the officeholders, "are expected to propose administrative and legislative solutions to public problems."<sup>121</sup>

The party organization plays the most important role in electing. It supplies the personnel--including candidates--necessary for conducting elections, raises funds, adopts programs, and announces policies.<sup>122</sup>

These political scientists recognized the influence that party exerts on the apparatus of the federal government. To them it involved more than the formal, structured relationship between President and Congress and the staffing of positions in Congress. They asserted that at a more informal level the Congress is influenced by the elected "patronage chairman" and "party pressure."<sup>123</sup>

Bone and Ranney stipulated that the functions of today's parties influence their structure. A pre-existent structure does not determine function.

In 1956 Ranney and Willmoore Kendall published Democracy and the American Party System. In it they

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<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p. 94.      <sup>121</sup>Ibid.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., pp. 94-96.      <sup>123</sup>Ibid., pp. 99-100.

employed the descriptive-analytical method but exhibited a tendency toward a sociologically oriented approach. The "roles" which the parties play would correspond to "functions" in this paper. The two major roles are organizing elections and government.<sup>124</sup> The first role--organizing elections--is performed by making nominations, writing platforms, conducting campaigns, and providing the voters with clear choices. The parties organize the government by "providing an unofficial agency for filling key posts in legislative committees and controlling the allocation of legislative time, plus an unofficial meeting ground on which the legislators and the executive can meet together, talk over governmental problems, and work out a measure of cooperation."<sup>125</sup> Additional roles played by parties are democratizing the constitutional system and nurturing consensus.

Despite a democratizing influence the party exerts, the government has a stronger influence on the party. The structure of the party is determined by its functions and is greatly affected by the belief system and community.<sup>126</sup> The "American environment . . . both helps

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<sup>124</sup>Austin Ranney and Willmoore Kendall, Democracy and the American Party System (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1956), p. 505.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 506.      <sup>126</sup>Ibid., p. 500.

to shape, and, in turn, is to some extent shaped by the party system."<sup>127</sup>

Ivan Hinderaker concentrated on the election winning functions of parties. He noted that the party is "primarily interested in developing an appeal broad enough to capture the offices of government and only secondarily is it concerned with specific governmental programs."<sup>128</sup> It nominates candidates and interests and educates the voters.

Hinderaker cited the parties' non-electing functions. They serve as "humanizing intermediaries between government and the people through its organization in the government, bridging the gap between its branches and levels."<sup>129</sup>

The prime function of winning elections determines the structure of the party. The election pattern in the United States creates an environment to which the party structure must respond. The direct primary has changed the function of the party and made the party organization less important than it was in the past.<sup>130</sup>

Clinton Rossiter's concept is that the party's

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<sup>127</sup>Ibid., p. 460.

<sup>128</sup>Ivan Hinderaker, Party Politics (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956), p. 3.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., pp. 31-34.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

function is "to control the struggle for power."<sup>131</sup> It accomplishes this by institutionalizing this struggle in its organization, channeling it through nominations and elections, and publicizing it through platforms and appeals.<sup>132</sup> A function which stems from this is the making of promises to the electorate and fulfillment of them.<sup>133</sup> Another is the party's action "as an immense personnel agency" for filling public office through nominations, campaigns, elections, and appointments.<sup>134</sup> A function allocated to the out-party is the checking of the majority party in the legislature. This is achieved by opposing its proposals and developing alternatives. The out-party keeps watch on those members of the majority party who are executing the laws.<sup>135</sup>

The structure of the parties is influenced by their nature--"loose confederacies of state parties"<sup>136</sup>-- as well as their functions. Rossiter was critical of their "feudal" structure and the "absence of common purpose, cohesion, and discipline in . . . 'the governmental parties.'"<sup>137</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Clinton Rossiter, Parties and Politics in America (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 39.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p. 29.    <sup>133</sup>Ibid., p. 45.    <sup>134</sup>Ibid., p.40.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., pp. 45-47.    <sup>136</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., pp. 13-17.

The strong effect of the environment on the American parties was emphasized: ". . . these parties were designed prescriptively to serve the purposes of this people under this Constitution."<sup>138</sup>

Rossiter noted the "coldness" of attitude of Americans toward political parties. He concentrated attention on the parties' influences, which he calls "social functions," on their environment.<sup>139</sup>

In his recent book on the Republican Party Charles Jones employed traditional methodology to describe parties as they function today. He identified some normative functions his party should assume. The primary function of the party is to organize the electoral process. This is accomplished through the traditional methods of nominating, recruiting, and organizing campaigns. The parties also function in the "policy-making process" in the government by designating leaders and establishing committees, procedures and rules.<sup>140</sup>

This influences Congress. A further effect upon the Congress derives from aiding communication. Interestingly Jones suggested that the office of President may have a greater influence in holding the parties together

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<sup>138</sup>Ibid., p. 65; his emphasis. <sup>139</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-50.

<sup>140</sup>Charles O. Jones, The Republican Party in American Politics (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 1.

than they have on the formal structure of the government.<sup>141</sup>

Before proceeding to the behaviorally oriented literature of political science, mention should be made of three traditional treatments of party government in the last quarter century. The first of these is Professor E. E. Schattschneider's classic Party Government. The functions that Schattschneider identified as actually being performed by the parties are the "organized attempt to get power" and acting as the "maker of government."<sup>142</sup> The second of these is accomplished "within the framework of the regime."<sup>143</sup> It constitutes the redistribution of power which arises from agreement in the caucus or by working against the caucus.<sup>144</sup>

In order to get power, parties must nominate candidates and win elections. "The party becomes therefore a process formed about the elections."<sup>145</sup>

The party is organized to fulfill its power getting function. It does this "in the country," so the party is structured on the basis of local

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<sup>141</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>142</sup>E. E. Schattschneider, Party Government (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1942), pp. 35-36.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 37.      <sup>144</sup>Ibid., pp. 38-40.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 61; his emphasis.

organizations.<sup>146</sup> Patronage distribution plays an important role at this level. It produces a situation in which the structure of the party creates a new function of self-perpetuation.

The second treatment on party government in recent years is the American Political Science Association's Committee Report entitled, Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System. This widely criticized booklet of recommendations for the reconstruction of the American party system employed a normative approach. It seems far removed from the realities of American politics. While it noted that changes in American society have affected the party system,<sup>147</sup> the Report has been repudiated for not considering adequately the political and social environment of modern America.

The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government by Austin Ranney<sup>148</sup> is the final work to be considered here. This book was written in part to analyze in historical perspective the proposals of the advocates of party

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>147</sup> American Political Science Association, Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System, A Report of the Committee on Political Parties (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1950), p. 3.

<sup>148</sup> Austin Ranney, The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government (Urbana, Ill.: The University of Illinois Press, 1962).



government who theorized at the turn of the century. It summarized the changes and developments of the party system that Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System failed to consider.

The next chapter continues with a survey of the literature of behavioral persuasion in American political science.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE POLITICAL PARTY IN THE LITERATURE OF BEHAVIORAL POLITICAL SCIENCE

#### Introduction

The conceptual framework presented in Chapter III will be employed in this chapter in the analysis of behaviorally oriented political scientists' works. The literature produced by pioneers in the application of the behavioral method to the study of political science is inspected in the first section. This is followed by an examination of the advocates of the group approach and, finally, of the behavioralists of this decade.

#### The Pioneers of the Behavioral Approach

The Process of Government by Arthur F. Bentley<sup>1</sup> is one of the earliest attempts by a political scientist to

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur F. Bentley, The Process of Government: A Study of Social Pressures (Evanston, Ill.: The Principia Press of Illinois, 1949).

ascertain why government functions as it does. Bentley proceeded beyond a description of the government of the United States by suggesting that there are causes underlying the functions of government. These causes deal with people and their expectations. This places Bentley to some degree into what today is known as behavioral science.

It would be an exaggeration to imply that Bentley delved deeply into behavioral motivations, particularly in the area of parties. He cast only a cursive glance at the party but identified its function as the representation of interest groups "in which voters, and to some lesser extent other citizens, present themselves."<sup>2</sup> This representation was achieved through the party machine, including the spoils system. The multitudinous demands of interests abroad in the environment forced the party to organize to respond and serve.<sup>3</sup>

Three European social scientists of the early twentieth century greatly influenced the modern behavior-  
alists. They were M. Ostrogorski, Robert Michels, and Graham Wallas.

Wallas was the first modern political writer to observe and expound the irrationality of man's political thinking, although he labored at a time when the idea of

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 415.      <sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 415-418.

the rationality of man was, perhaps, at its peak. Despite this, Wallas demonstrated in The Politics of Human Nature that the study of psychology revealed that man's "political impulses are not mere intellectual inferences from calculations of means and ends; but tendencies prior to, though modified by, the thought and experience of individual beings."<sup>4</sup> They result from the relationship between man's nature and his environment.<sup>5</sup> The impulses which govern man's attitude to the political party are based on distantly preconceived images which conjure up mental associations.<sup>6</sup>

Wallas considered the party the result of representative government and the most effective entity in the modern state. The function of the party organization was "to secure that these automatic associations shall be as clear as possible, and shall call up as many and as strong emotions as possible." This was accomplished through color, a tune, and the party name or label.<sup>7</sup> The process possessed all the subtleties of advertising, which was Wallas' model.

Wallas did not scrutinize the traditional functions of party and political institutions. Rather he

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<sup>4</sup>Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics (4th ed.; London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1948), p. vi.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 59.      <sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 82-87.

called upon political scientists to study the behavior of man. Response to this plea was not to come until nearly half a century had passed.

In Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Ostrogorski was engrossed by the all encompassing role that he asserted the party organization played in the American government onwards from 1824. It was then that the traditional aristocratic leadership of the parties was replaced by the conventions.<sup>8</sup>

In this work, which appeared in 1912, Ostrogorski enumerated the functions of the party as: "possession of the electoral monopoly";<sup>9</sup> the "formation of the American representative government";<sup>10</sup> and, ultimately, the dispensation of presidential patronage.<sup>11</sup> All of these were performed by or through the party organization.

The organization, working through the conventions and committees, nominated candidates and settled the party programs.<sup>12</sup> It functioned as an "army" during elections.<sup>13</sup>

Seemingly simple and democratic but actually not,<sup>14</sup> the organization developed in the 1820's to

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<sup>8</sup>M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Vol. II: The United States, ed. and abridged Seymour Lipset (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), p. 34.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 34.      <sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 144.      <sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 34.      <sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-36.

accomplish these tasks. That very organization later facilitated the machine domination which Ostrogorski observed in America. The Federal system and some of the aristocracy contributed to decentralized parties.<sup>15</sup>

By controlling who was elected to office the parties influenced the formal structure of the government. Of the Presidency he said, "They guarded all the approaches to it."<sup>16</sup> They "laid hold of the Presidency for the party."<sup>17</sup>

Ostrogorski expressed no admiration for the quality of the party leaders in the late nineteenth century. He found their parties "in a state of disintegration, of moral decomposition, and unable to unite" with the existing organizations. These conditions prevented necessary metamorphosis.<sup>18</sup>

Robert Michels conceived of the party as a fighting organization "in the political sense" which, for "strategic promptness," had to be highly centralized. In order to perform the functions of winning elections and controlling the government it was necessary for the party to possess an oligarchical structure.<sup>19</sup> In fact any

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 47-48.      <sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 279.      <sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Michels, Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul; (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959), pp. 41-42.

organization in democracies must be so structured because of "organic necessity."<sup>20</sup> The societal environment in a democracy determined oligarchy.<sup>21</sup>

The outstanding characteristic of Michels's research, which concerned itself not with American but European parties, was his early essay at applying the scientific method to the study of party. He succeeded not only in observing their functions and structure, but in producing a law predicting the oligarchical tendency of all parties. He believed that it was applicable to all that would appear in the societal environment he described.

Charles A. Beard was one of the earliest political scientists to borrow ideas and techniques from another social science. He described the party in terms of economics:

A political party has offices and positions yielding gains and profits. When in possession of the government it distributes honors, privileges, favors, and emoluments of one kind or another. The spoils of office alone are sufficient to sustain a large party. Once in power and enjoying its advantages, professional politicians are loath to lose what they have gained. Out of power, they hesitate to espouse any ideas that will defeat their efforts to capture the government.<sup>22</sup>

Beard designated as the functions of party the nomination of candidates by "professional workers

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 402.      <sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>22</sup>Charles A. Beard, The Economic Basis of Politics and Related Writings (New York: Vintage Books, 1957), p. 163.

experienced in the art of managing primaries and elections"<sup>23</sup> and waging of campaigns to elect them.<sup>24</sup> It organized itself as a business would to achieve its objectives. Beard believed that the government influenced the party more than the party influenced the government. He also alleged that strong party organization was the result of the spoils system.<sup>25</sup>

While Charles E. Merriam did not discuss parties in New Aspects of Politics<sup>26</sup> he rehearsed the progress that the new methods of the social sciences had made in "politics and government" by 1925. He advocated the applicability of sociology and psychology in particular to politics, and he demonstrated that historically this had been done since the time of the classical Greeks.

Later, in The American Party, written with Harold F. Gosnell, Merriam cited the functions of party:

1. Action as an agency through which social interests express and fulfill themselves.
2. Selection of elective and appointive officials by means of caucus, convention, election, and appointments made 'through consultation with or deference to party leaders.'
3. Formulation of public policies by sifting and trying proposals and taking them into the platform.
4. Education of the electorate through advocating

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid.    <sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 165.    <sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>26</sup>C. E. Merriam, New Aspects of Politics (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925).



policies and candidates.

5. Conduction and criticism of the government by the in- and the out-parties, respectively.

6. Acting as 'the intermediary, the buffer, the adjustor between society and the individual' through the local organization.

7. 'Nationalizing' new immigrants by aiding them in naturalization and drawing them into the party.<sup>27</sup>

The organizational structure of the party developed to perform these functions. Merriam and Gosnell considered the leadership of the party to be a significant factor. Motivated in many ways, the leaders were the catalysts to action.<sup>28</sup> However, these political scientists pointed out that over-development of the organization had weakened the parties because the equilibrium between leaders and followers had been upset. The party organization became suspect as the tool of "predatory privilege."<sup>29</sup> Thus the organization inhibited "the expression and execution of the public will,"<sup>30</sup> one of the party-s chief functions.

Merriam and Gosnell's findings imply that the party had only a slight effect on the formal apparatus of the government. Its influence lay in aiding the

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<sup>27</sup>C. E. Merriam and H. F. Gosnell, The American Party System: An Introduction to the Study of Political Parties in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940), pp. 426-433.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 421.      <sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 424.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

government to function properly. Even at this, "the conduct of government" was ranked as a secondary function of the party.<sup>31</sup>

Approaching the study of party with a sociological orientation and vocabulary, these authors emphasized that it was, in Michels' words, "a type of social group, primarily concerned with social control as exercised through the government."<sup>32</sup> It operated in a complex socio-political situation--the federal system and separation of power.<sup>33</sup> The party was "the product of the experience and training of . . . society."<sup>34</sup>

In The Science and Method of Politics, first published in 1927, G. E. G. Catlin defended "the possibility of a Political Science."<sup>35</sup> However, he conceded that up to that time "any attempt to make Politics more worthy of the name of a science has met with little academic collaboration."<sup>36</sup> Catlin recommended employment of the scientific method<sup>37</sup> and external examination of social phenomena without taking a philosophical position.<sup>38</sup> He advocated that political scientists should "construct a plan

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 435.      <sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 420.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 436.      <sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 421.

<sup>35</sup>G. E. G. Catlin, The Science and Method of Politics (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1964), pp. 91-145.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 94.      <sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 106-107.

of action which . . . will . . . be useful as indicating the probable conduct, granted such or such a social condition, of every man."<sup>39</sup>

Harold Lasswell long has been a generous contributor to the fund of knowledge in the field of political science. His studies of the "political type" in Power and Personality<sup>40</sup> and of behavior in The Analysis of Political Behavior<sup>41</sup> have provided foundations for diverse behavioral research in the discipline. His defense of this approach, with emphasis on its intent to provide better definitions of normative values and theories,<sup>42</sup> has been eloquent.

While it has not been Lasswell's primary purpose to study parties, his incidental observations on them have been very suggestive. It would be impossible to overestimate his influence on later behavioralists.

V. O. Key, Jr. employed a more behaviorally oriented approach in Southern Politics in State and Nation and American State Politics than he did in the early

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>40</sup>Harold D. Lasswell, Power and Personality (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1948).

<sup>41</sup>Harold D. Lasswell, The Analysis of Political Behavior: An Empirical Approach (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949).

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

editions of his classic survey, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups. Through the techniques of voting studies and the interview, Key moved into the realm of behavioral research.

In Southern Politics, published in 1949, Key tested empirically some hypotheses on politics and the "nature of the party" in the South. He designated the function of party as the provision of "leadership for the expression of discontent--or satisfaction--with the current state of affairs."<sup>43</sup> Key discovered that rather than the single-party system which is generally assumed to be the pattern, there are, indeed, no parties in the South.<sup>44</sup>

Campaign organizations in the Southern states assume the functions of party organizations elsewhere<sup>45</sup> with structures geared to the selection of candidates. At the head of each state organization is the state convention or state committee. The delegates chosen in primary elections are usually those men who supported the successful candidate in the previous primary.<sup>46</sup> This sort of organization, created by electoral needs in the South, is in turn incapable of performing governmental functions

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<sup>43</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Vintage Books, 1949), p. 15.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 16.      <sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 400.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 396.

expected of party elsewhere. Due to the lack of leadership, national issues must be transferred to the federal level for solution. Divergent "lower-bracketed viewpoints" cannot find expression in this system, so public opinion is not formed.<sup>47</sup>

Key emphasized the influence of environment on the southern parties. He predicted that diversification of interests there, such as the growth of industry, may be reflected in the future development of parties in the South.<sup>48</sup>

Key focused his attention on parties in other sections of the country in American State Politics. He found their functions include competition for power and office<sup>49</sup> and the creation of "lore" or "circumstances under which the electorate can act."<sup>50</sup> The latter function is accomplished by facilitating

a popular determination of the direction of the course of public action by offering, . . . candidates with sufficient difference in policy orientation to make the choice between them something more than illusory.<sup>51</sup>

The minority party criticizes the majority which defends its own position.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 309-311.      <sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>49</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., American State Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963), p. 279.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 12.      <sup>51</sup>Ibid.

Recruitment and election of candidates is achieved through "complex processes extended through time [which] construct and maintain groups of voters, each of which generally prefers to see its own govern rather than the representatives of the other group."<sup>52</sup>

The structure of the parties is strongly influenced by the functions to be performed and differs from state to state. The formal apparati of the state governments have great effect on the parties. They, however, exert very little influence on the governmental structures. Key indicated that the dissent that should be provided by the out-party is often hampered by the legislature. Lack of dissent is not "entirely attributable to the weakness of the leadership of the second party."<sup>53</sup>

Key offered many examples of environmental conditions which influence the party: the basic belief in "efficacy of competition";<sup>54</sup> the separation of powers in the governments;<sup>55</sup> and "the peculiar aspects of the situation in each state."<sup>56</sup>

#### The Group Approach

In the early 1950's an innovative approach to the study of political phenomena appeared. The techniques of

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 255.      <sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 11.      <sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 53.      <sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

the study of group behavior employed by sociology was adapted to political science. The names, Earl Latham and David B. Truman are outstanding in the group approach.

Latham's study of the passage of a measure by the Eighty-first Congress in The Group Basis of Politics<sup>57</sup> is an example of the earliest use of this technique. Latham, whose specialization lies in the field of interest groups, focused his attention on the group dynamics involved in the passage of one piece of legislation (or, actually, the defeat of that bill and passage of another with similar provisions). This project was a landmark which led to research on political groups in diverse situations, including their behavior within the context of the party.

David B. Truman is another political scientist strongly associated with this approach. His examination of the voting behavior of both parties in the Eighty-first Congress<sup>58</sup> is more inclusive than Latham's. In The Congressional Party he investigated a facet of the behavior of the political party as it performed one of its functions in Congress--the passage of legislation. Truman observed that the fluid and factional situation in which

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<sup>57</sup>Earl Latham, The Group Basis of Politics: A Study in Basing-Point Legislation (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1952).

<sup>58</sup>David B. Truman, The Congressional Party: A Case Study (N.Y.: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1959).

the party finds itself may cause it to "suffer special handicaps to the development of a coherent and viable legislative position or program."<sup>59</sup>

In The Congressional Party Truman scrutinized but one of the functions of the party and limited his labor to the range of only one branch of the government. He emphasized the influence of the party on the Congress: "Congress is what the legislative parties are."<sup>60</sup> However, he noted that there is wide divergence of opinion on what Congress and the legislative parties are and should be. Truman pleaded that a "clear conception of the actual place of the legislature and the roles of the congressional parties is essential."<sup>61</sup>

Truman discovered that the party organization in Congress greatly influences the party's ability to realize the passage of legislation. This applied to the "official" structure--including the Floor Leaders, Whips, and chairmanship of committees--and to cohesive blocs. His research revealed that the more factionalized Republican minority showed the greater tendency to shift alignments within its major wings from issue to issue. It was more fluid in structure than the majority and ineffective in providing a party opposition to the Democratic legislation.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 192.    <sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 9.    <sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 91-92.



The Governmental Process is a macrocosmic study in which Truman examines government in the United States. In this he stated that the party functions as "the instrumentality through which choices are made among aspirants for office"; "a device for mobilizing votes" by creating "alliances of interests"; an "access to government" for interest groups;<sup>63</sup> an "instrument for governing within the legislature";<sup>64</sup> and principally, the vehicle for electing the President of the United States.<sup>65</sup>

The organization of the party, which is in fact a collection of autonomous local organizations,<sup>66</sup> reflects its functions. The local units "become associated in temporary collaboration"<sup>67</sup> during campaigns. The individuals who compose the organization are attracted to it because of their psychological needs rather than ideology or policy.<sup>68</sup>

Again Truman stressed the influence party structure exerts on the legislative branch. He argued that it controls the "group access" to Congress.<sup>69</sup> The total environment in which the party finds itself affects it.

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<sup>63</sup>David B. Truman, The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963), pp. 270-272.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 325.      <sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 272.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., pp. 277-278.      <sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 272

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 279.      <sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 307.

However, Truman particularly emphasized the importance of interest groups in the environment. He declared that any reorganization of the party "will take place in the context of organized and unorganized interest groups."<sup>70</sup>

#### The Later Behavioralists

In the last decade impressive advances have been made in the application of behavioral methodology to the study of political phenomena. Some of the outstanding contributions are surveyed below.

Maurice Duverger's suggestions in Political Parties, which first appeared in French in 1951, have strongly influenced behaviorally oriented political scientists in the United States. In this book Duverger identified two types of political parties--mass and cadre.<sup>71</sup> The American cadre type parties perform the functions of nominating, electing,<sup>72</sup> and forming and "deforming" opinion.<sup>73</sup> Nomination in the American system is accomplished through the convention or the direct primary. The convention is representative of the party leaders rather than the membership.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 533.

<sup>71</sup>Maurice Duverger, Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State, trans. Barbara and Robert North (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., Science Editions, 1963), p. 63.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 353.      <sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., pp. 361-362.

The structure of the American party is determined by its functions, but its decentralized nature stems mostly from the environment. Duverger emphasized the importance of party structure in the operation of the government. "If American parties were centralized like British parties the separation [of power] would be so great that it would bring about almost complete paralysis of the regime."<sup>75</sup> The formal governmental apparatus are influenced by the party but in an informal way.

This book remains primarily a survey of European parties. For American political science the great value of Duverger's labor is the suggestion of technique and methodology for the study of party. His explanation of phenomena through statistical data and the incorporation of the results of many behavioral studies has had tremendous influence on the American behavioralists.

Duverger's Political Parties, however, has received some severe criticism. A notable example of this is found in an article by Aaron B. Wildavsky<sup>76</sup> who suggested that the work is based on logical fallacies. He raised objections to Duverger's generalizations and classifications of parties. Difficulty to apply Duverger's

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>76</sup> Aaron B. Wildavsky, "A Methodological Critique of Duverger's Political Parties," The Journal of Politics, XXI (May, 1959), 303-318.

typology to any particular system was mentioned, as were methodological errors.

Avery Leiserson is one of the first Americans to rely heavily on the behavioral method. In Parties and Politics, he employed the "party-as-Organization" concept and listed its functions:

1. Candidate selection
2. Formulating party policy-making
3. Electing governmental leaders
4. Determining governmental policies by coordinating party organization inside and outside the government.<sup>77</sup>

Leiserson attributed to the party the further function of serving as a "connective linkage between the people and government," and between the "separate, formal agencies and officials of government" and official and extra-governmental "holders of power."<sup>78</sup>

Additionally the party, in the person of the local workers, looks after its members<sup>79</sup> and executes favors for individuals and groups.<sup>80</sup> It offers "upward mobility to able members of the less favored classes."<sup>81</sup>

The party organization develops to perform the basic function of attempting to control governmental power. This is achieved particularly by means of election.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>Avery Leiserson, Parties and Politics: An Institutional and Behavioral Approach (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1958), pp. 273-276.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 35.      <sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 74.      <sup>81</sup>Ibid.      <sup>82</sup>Ibid.

Without the parties, said Leiserson, the election of the president and the regulation of "relations between the executive and legislature are incomprehensible."<sup>83</sup>

A mass electorate demands an organization that can embrace its mass following and "connect this following by psychal and institutional forms of representation with the occupants of executive, legislative and administrative office."<sup>84</sup> The entire social system influences the party.

Political organization, . . . [including] the formal-informal systems we call interest groups and political parties, is rooted in the social structure, that is to say, [it] represents the geographic and group distribution of social, economic, and military power.<sup>85</sup>

The value of Leiserson's inquiry and his conception of the party as organization-group is that it

enables us to keep explicitly in mind the separation between the formal structure of legitimate authority and the social system in which the constitutional order is imbedded, while it provides the conceptual tool of a human, organizational 'bridge' between the human divisions of society and the symbols and offices of power.<sup>86</sup>

In The Study of Political Parties, written in 1955, Neil McDonald expressed the need for a conceptualization of the political party. While he did not formulate it in this study, he conceptualized the functions of the party in two patterns. The first is that of "party function and individual behavior . . . . A party functions by

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 84.      <sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., pp. 35-36.      <sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

entering into the behavior pattern of individuals."<sup>87</sup>

This is accomplished through a psychological process in which the individual perceives the party or forms a mental image of it or its symbols.<sup>88</sup>

The second pattern is the "party function in society."<sup>89</sup> In this context the party operates as a connector, manager-operator, broker-mediator, organizer, nominator, and organizational weapon.<sup>90</sup>

While McDonald did not deal directly with party organization, it may be inferred from his findings that organization is influenced by these patterns. He emphasized the powerful effect of the environment on the party, which he characterized as a "social formation."

Sigmund Neumann included one of his own articles in Modern Political Parties, a behaviorally oriented collection. His contribution stressed the influence of environment on the party.<sup>91</sup> He interpreted the functions of the party "to organize the chaotic public will";<sup>92</sup> to educate the voters; "to represent the connecting link

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<sup>87</sup>Neil A. McDonald, The Study of Political Parties (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955), p. 19.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., <sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 22. <sup>90</sup>Ibid., pp. 23-26.

<sup>91</sup>Sigmund Neumann, "Toward a Comparative Study of Political Parties," Modern Political Parties: Approaches to Comparative Politics, ed. Sigmund Neumann (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 395-421.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 396.

between government and public opinion";<sup>93</sup> and to select leaders. The first two functions are accomplished by "clarifying, systematizing, and expounding" party doctrine. The third is achieved by keeping lines of communication open. The dynamics of the fourth function was not discussed in the article.

Neumann noted the effect of the "total structure" of society on the party.<sup>94</sup> Any shift in party scope and power "must be seen within the context of our changing society and its underlying philosophy."<sup>95</sup>

E. E. Schattschneider<sup>96</sup> contributed an article to this volume that cast an interesting light on the party. He described the Republican Party as a "presidential" party and the Democratic as a "congressional" party. He emphasized the societal influence on parties.

Eugene Burdick assembled a number of inquiries into voting behavior. Some contributors to American Voting Behavior employed the behavioral approach in actual studies, while others advocated or criticized it. Burdick himself leveled a criticism that the behavioralists have

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 397.      <sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 395.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 404.

<sup>96</sup>E. E. Schattschneider, "The Functional Approach to Party Government," Modern Political Parties: Approaches to Comparative Politics, ed. Sigmund Neumann (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 194-215.

"not brought their findings face to face with general problems of political theory."<sup>97</sup>

In the same volume, Talcott Parsons emphasized the influence of society on the party. Party's main function is "the facilitation of effective action on collective levels."<sup>98</sup> The party must adapt to changes in the structure of society.<sup>99</sup>

A year later the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center' landmark study of The American Voter was published.<sup>100</sup> As the title indicates, this was a behavioral study of the voter, not the party. As a result of this research, however, four "roles" of the party, which we may call "functions," were identified. These are a "carrier of attitude";<sup>101</sup> a "bridge between other social groupings and that political world";<sup>102</sup> "purveyors of policy alternatives";<sup>103</sup> and modifiers of "the level of

<sup>97</sup>Eugene Burdick, "Political Theory and the Voting Studies," American Voting Behavior, eds. Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), p. 137.

<sup>98</sup>Talcott Parsons, "'Voting' and the Equilibrium of the American Political System," American Voting Behavior, eds. Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), p. 87.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>100</sup>Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960).

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., p. 60.      <sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 331.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 185.



status polarization in politics."<sup>104</sup> The total environment as well as the voter's psychological environment determines his behavior. It is the way in which the voter perceives of the party rather than what party really is or does that influences him.

Another volume by the Survey Research Center group Elections and the Political Order, appeared in 1966.<sup>105</sup>

Again this was not an examination of the political party, but the researchers inevitably contributed to the fund of knowledge on the party. Their behavioral approach revealed that the voting public is not acquainted with the legislative records of the parties or the individual candidates.<sup>106</sup> As in their former study this team found that voters are influenced more strongly by other motivations than by the party.

The importance of the work done by the Survey Research Center as it relates to the study of parties is twofold. Alert party organizers should profit from application of the information produced by the research. Their studies have given impetus to further scholarly research employing behavioral methodology in political science.

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., pp. 363-364.

<sup>105</sup>Angus Campbell, et al., Elections and the Political Order (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966).

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 196.

Samuel Eldersveld's Political Parties was the first large scale behavioral study on the party. Its empirical evidence is based on research in Wayne County, Michigan. Its very revealing data can be applied profitably to other urban areas.

Eldersveld viewed the party as a social organism as well as a miniature political system.<sup>107</sup> Concerning himself with the electoral function of the party, he examined the presidential campaign of 1956. He found that the party recruited leaders, aroused public interest in elections, stimulated loyalty to itself, and expanded its role in the American system.<sup>108</sup> The party organization worked to get the votes needed to win.

It is noteworthy, however, that Eldersveld found the party organization ridden with subgroups which had to be harmonized. It was necessary for the managerial elite of the party to win their loyalty. However, this elite did not operate in the manner of an oligarchy to provide management. Eldersveld evaluated the party as an "open, clientele-oriented structure, permeable at its base as well as at its apex. . . ." <sup>109</sup> His data indicated that the Democratic Party had an easier task developing party

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<sup>107</sup> Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964), p. 1.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 526.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 526-527.

loyalty.<sup>110</sup>

From the evidence assembled by Eldersveld it would appear that the dynamics within the party organization retard its function of electing. What is important is that the party accomplishes this task even if not so efficiently as the theorist would hope.

Eldersveld's study did not address itself to the effect of the party upon the government. However, it produced empirical evidence to prove the influence of the physical and psychological environment on the party and the people who constitute its organization. Eldersveld discovered the political party is as much a social group as a political group. In this context it has many social functions. His research revealed that many people work in the party to achieve personal goals.<sup>111</sup> "The party must . . . be perceived as in a state of continual, dynamic interaction with its social and political environment."<sup>112</sup>

In The American Party Systems and the American People, Fred Greenstein emphasized the influence of environment on parties and the party system. The degree of social heterogeneity in America determines the existence of the two-party system.<sup>113</sup> Needs of the voters condition

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 96-97.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., pp. 135-175.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 534.

<sup>113</sup> Fred I. Greenstein, The American Party System and the American People (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 55.

the functions of the parties.<sup>114</sup>

Among the functions which Greenstein allocated to the party are choice simplification for the voters; aggregating voters with reasonably common interests;<sup>115</sup> mediating and bargaining;<sup>116</sup> and serving as a "bridge" between the executive and legislative branches of the national government.<sup>117</sup> The influence of the party on the government is informal but extremely important. Greenstein found this to be particularly true of the "Congressional Party."<sup>118</sup>

Austin Ranney, whose name appears in Chapter III, supra, lately has adopted the behavioral approach. In 1962 he edited a collection of Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics.<sup>119</sup>

The 1966 edition of Ranney's textbook, The Governing of Men, makes liberal use of empirical data. In it Ranney identified the functions of the party as "gaining and exercising control of the personnel and policies of the government."<sup>120</sup> To accomplish this the party

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p. 47.      <sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. 96.      <sup>117</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>119</sup>Austin Ranney (ed.), Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962).

<sup>120</sup>Austin Ranney, The Governing of Men (2nd ed., rev.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), p. 332.

nominate candidates, conducts elections, and then organizes the government.<sup>121</sup>

The party is structured to perform these functions. Within the government party forms an "informal organization" through the caucus, conference, "policy committees," and floor leaders to "backstop the formal organization of the legislature."<sup>122</sup> In its effort to win elections the party attempts to appeal to all major interest groups and antagonize no major elements of the electorate with its programs.<sup>123</sup>

Ranney characterized the party as decentralized, organized at all levels to win elections, but without "clear and consistent programs."<sup>124</sup> The national organizations are but "quadrennial conventions"<sup>125</sup> with little discipline.<sup>126</sup> They nominate the presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

The influence of the party on the government is informal. Ranney indicated that it "helps to give the legislature a measure of order and distinctions."<sup>127</sup>

Ranney did not specifically examine environmental influence on the party, but suggested it in his classification of the types of parties. He categorized the

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<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p. 332.      <sup>122</sup>Ibid., p. 335.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., pp. 353-355.      <sup>124</sup>Ibid., p. 338.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 336.      <sup>126</sup>Ibid., pp. 345-347.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., p. 385.

American parties as extreme examples of the mass type because of the direct primary. However, he found they are managed by a cadre. They are broker parties because the membership and leadership tend to reflect a cross-section of their communities.<sup>128</sup>

William N. Chambers attempted to present an analytical model of his concept of the party in Political Parties in a New Nation.<sup>129</sup> He applied an element of the behavioral approach, a consciousness of concept, to historical subject matter. The model is composed of "structure, functions, substantial following, and in-group perspectives."<sup>130</sup> The idea of in-group perspectives adds a dimension to his examination of the Federalist and Jeffersonian parties that is not to be found in traditional treatments. This model suggests possible applications in the study of today's parties.

Stephen K. Bailey specified that the primary function of the party in the United States is making the choice for the Presidency.<sup>131</sup> This is accomplished

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<sup>128</sup>Ibid., pp. 341-344.

<sup>129</sup>William N. Chambers, Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience, 1776-1809 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963). A Fragment of this book published as an article was surveyed in Chapter III.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>131</sup>Stephen K. Bailey, "Our National Political Parties," Political Parties, U.S.A., ed. Robert A. Goldwin (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), p. 105.

through the national convention. Competition between the parties for the election of the President is keen, but it is not for members of Congress.<sup>132</sup> Additional party functions of "accommodation, compromise, and the peaceful transmission of power"<sup>133</sup> are identified.

The party organization develops to perform these functions. However, the absence of "coherent party machinery" retards its ability to function. This is particularly apparent in compromise which, instead, must be reached in Congress.<sup>134</sup> The structural organization of the party also limits its capacity to formulate rational and consistent public policy. It insures "a government by fits and starts."<sup>135</sup>

Bailey stated that the social environment conditions the party's functions and structure. Social changes have already altered the party.<sup>136</sup> Bailey concluded by recommending increased responsibility for the parties through three additional functions. These include activity in programming legislation by executive and legislative branches, criticism of policy and administration, and accountability for party actions to popular majorities.<sup>137</sup>

In the same volume an article by Morton Grodzins

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<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p. 4. . <sup>133</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., p. 5. <sup>135</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., p. 19. <sup>137</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

emphasized the "mediating role that parties play between society . . . and government."<sup>138</sup> He observed a reciprocity between the social environment and the organization of the party. He suggested that the disunity in American parties and decentralization of our government are the "consequences of the rewards that they give to significant social groups."<sup>139</sup> Grodzins characterized our parties as "antiparties" because of their tendency to disperse power.<sup>140</sup> Although he did not consider the parties to be the most important cause of governmental decentralization, he suggested that they provide "an excellent point for focusing analysis on the issue of decentralization."<sup>141</sup>

In his study on Political Participation, Lester Milbrath uncovered empirical data concerning the influence of the party and its organization on the electorate. He found that party workers respond to the local party system.<sup>142</sup> They are more ideologically stimulated in communities where party organizations are strong.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>138</sup>Morton Grodzins, "Party and Government in the United States," Political Parties, U.S.A., ed. Robert A. Goldwin (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), p. 105.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid., pp. 105-106.      <sup>140</sup>Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., pp. 102-103.

<sup>142</sup>Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965), p. 67.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 99.



He revealed that the mass media have a greater influence than the party in the formation of opinion.<sup>144</sup> This evidence tends to bear out one of Frank Sorauf's observations on the party.

Sorauf's Political Parties in the American System<sup>145</sup> is a study in which the traditional method of description is infused with behaviorally oriented analysis. It presents new information on the party that is the fruit of recent empirical research.

One of the most significant observations made by Sorauf is that the party no longer monopolizes the functions attributed to it.<sup>146</sup> These include electoral functions of nominating candidates and mobilizing voters behind them; teaching in the sense of acting as a propagandist for forming attitudes, ideas, and programs, and in political socialization; "organizing the policy-making machinery of government;" and "non-political" social functions.<sup>147</sup> The mass media, education, and other institutions today infringe upon these functions while the "party limits itself to the political."<sup>148</sup>

The party organizes to fulfill its functions.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid.

<sup>145</sup>Frank J. Sorauf, Political Parties in the American System (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1964).

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., p. 5.      <sup>147</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

Rejecting the traditional idea of concentric circles, Sorauf described the structure of the party in rather behavioral terms: "It is a stable organization, and it is a number of individuals and groups of individuals held together in a reasonably stable pattern of relationships by a multitude of purposes, incentives, and traditions."<sup>149</sup> He suggested that the only test of party organization is "the skill with which it performs and monopolizes" its political functions.<sup>150</sup> Sorauf made a distinction between the organization, which includes the membership, and the "identifiers."<sup>151</sup> In terms of power and authority he found the parties to be "decentralized, virtually autonomous, cadre organizations,"<sup>152</sup> which vary "from time to time and place to place."<sup>153</sup> Both the party and its functions are strongly influenced by environment.

Sorauf noted that the party exerts influence on the government at all levels and on all branches, including the judicial.<sup>154</sup> The nature of this influence is informal, particularly in the executive branches. A legislative party which is locally rather than nationally oriented exists. Its leaders have little management experience. Due to the national party's inability to

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<sup>149</sup>Ibid., p. 6.      <sup>150</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 7.      <sup>152</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid.,      <sup>154</sup>Ibid., pp. 123-131.

control it, the legislative party seldom "acts as a political party."<sup>155</sup>

The environment--separation of powers, the regime, electoral and regulatory laws, and especially, the political culture--shapes the party.<sup>156</sup> Sorauf defined political culture as

the attitudes, the norms, the goals that the members of a political system have for it . . . [and] what they expect and what they tolerate in the behavior of individuals and political organizations.<sup>157</sup>

Individuals themselves are rarely aware of these attitudes.<sup>158</sup> Sorauf suggested that the changes in the environment and party structure that have occurred recently are symptoms of a trend toward centralization of the party.<sup>159</sup>

Sorauf's suggestions in his last chapter, "Toward a Theory of the Political Party,"<sup>160</sup> are important. Schematic models were presented in which he illustrated his conceptualization of the relationships among the party structure, its functions, and the environment. He proposed the development of a theory of the party which would concern itself with the types of party structure, function, and internal organization. It would consider

<sup>155</sup>Ibid., pp. 127-129.      <sup>156</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 147.      <sup>158</sup>Ibid.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid., p. 42.      <sup>160</sup>Ibid., pp. 153-169.

the relationships between and among parties in the party system, and then, between the parties and other political organizations competing with them in the performances of the political functions."<sup>161</sup>

In Political Parties in the United States, Allan Sindler employed the approach of empirical analysis. He asserted that "party performs certain self-promoting functions which . . . affect the over-all system within which party operates."<sup>162</sup> It attempts to control the government by success in elections. This requires the party to present candidates and amass support for them among the voters. The followers are attracted by

shaping . . . [their] perceptions of political norms, issues, events, parties, candidates, and policies, and by encouraging psychological and material ties to the party as symbol and as organization.<sup>163</sup>

The party also acts as an "agent" in cleavage and consensus in society.

The party organization develops to perform its electoral functions. Its leadership remains subordinate to leaders of the government, particularly to the President when he is a member of that party.<sup>164</sup>

The party affects the government which Sindler viewed as a part of the whole political system. Its

<sup>161</sup>Ibid., pp. 163-164.

<sup>162</sup>Allan P. Sindler, Political Parties in the United States (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), p. 9.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., p. 10.      <sup>164</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

influence depends on "what party does with the government power it captures by winning elections."<sup>165</sup> Because of its control of the organizational "posts of power" in Congress, Sindler characterized the majority party's role in the structure and functioning of that body as "pervasive."<sup>166</sup>

He emphasized the influence of the societal environment. Social conflict and consensus are reflected in the party and the party system.<sup>167</sup>

There has been a trend in behavioral theorizing toward conceptualizing political systems. Certain political institutions are examined as parts of that system.

In Patterns of Government the co-editor, Samuel H. Beer, presented four variables to be used as tools in the study of the political system. These are conceived of as patterns of political culture, of power, of interests, and of policy.<sup>168</sup> The environment--both political and societal--have intense influence on the system.

Robert A. Dahl is another advocate of the systems approach. In his short book, Modern Political Analysis,<sup>169</sup>

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., p. 11.      <sup>166</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>168</sup>Samuel H. Beer and Adam B. Ulam (eds.), Patterns of Government: The Major Political Systems of Europe (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 1-67.

<sup>169</sup>Robert A. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963).

Dahl considered the totality of the political system rather than the party in his analysis of political phenomena. His contribution is noted to suggest a possible trend towards greater abstraction in political studies.

In 1960 Gabriel Almond and James Coleman published The Politics of the Developing Areas.<sup>170</sup> In the Introduction, Almond presented his theory of functional approaches. Rather than applying traditional terminology to political institutions, he employed more abstract terms. Thus, the political party was styled an "aggregation."<sup>171</sup> The functions of aggregation are accomplished by

the formulation of general policies in which interests are combined, accommodated, or otherwise taken account of, or by means of the recruitment of political personnel, more or less committed to particular pattern of policy.<sup>172</sup>

Almond's Comparative Politics, written in collaboration with Bingham Powell, Jr., appeared in 1966. In it the theories presented in The Politics of the Developing Areas were expanded and developed. The structural-functional approach was employed and party, which is conceived of as an "'input' structure,"<sup>173</sup> discussed in more

<sup>170</sup>Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1960).

<sup>171</sup>Ibid., p. 21.      <sup>172</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>173</sup>Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1966), p. 169.

specific terms. The functions of the party, an institution of the political system, include "representing and aggregating interests of its members";<sup>174</sup> serving as an access channel for interests;<sup>175</sup> disseminating information about the activities of the elites;<sup>176</sup> political recruitment; political socialization; and relating "elites and masses in terms of political goals."<sup>177</sup> In addition, the out-party provides criticism of the in-party.<sup>178</sup>

The party organizations exist to accomplish these functions. They form "networks of personal contact with the people."<sup>179</sup>

The party exerts little influence on the formal apparatus of government. However, Almond noted that the bureaucracies within the governmental structure "are conditioned by the operations of the party system."<sup>180</sup>

Almond pointed out that the party may "shape political culture in each of three dimensions: the cognitive, the affective, and evaluative."<sup>181</sup> Conversely, the party is affected by the environment, of which political culture is a part. Party adjusts its function and organization to the environment.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., pp. 114-115.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

Almond noted the possibility that "other political structures" may recruit candidates. The party ratifies their choices.<sup>182</sup>

This concludes the survey of the literature on party in American political science.

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<sup>182</sup>Ibid., p. 118.



## CHAPTER V

### SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

It is the purpose of this chapter to distill the information acquired in the survey of the literature on the party in Chapters III and IV, analyze, and synthesize it into a conceptualization based on the framework presented in Chapter III. The conceptualization will be formed in three phases. The first synthesis will be based on the literature concerning the party before 1880. This will include observations during that time as well as recent treatments on the early party. The second will be based on the literature of the traditionalists circa 1880 to the present. Finally the works of the behavioralists will be treated. From this an attempt will be made to ascertain whether an evolution of a conceptualization of the party has occurred in American literature.

The trends in conceptualizing the study of the political party will be examined and conclusions drawn.

### The Conceptualization

It should be noted that political scientists made no conscious attempt to form conceptualizations of the party before the late 1950's. Incidences may be found in traditional literature in which language such as "the concept of the party" is used. Nevertheless, conceptualization as a tool to be employed in the study of political phenomena is a product of the behavioral approach.

A recapitulation of the definition of "conceptualization" as used in this paper is in order. It is the way in which political scientists have conceived or visualized the function and importance of the political party in its relationship to the political system and to the society in which it operates in the United States.

The evidence obtained in the survey of pre-1880 literature reveals that the party was conceived of as a necessary evil in the functioning of the electoral process. Its legitimate role in society consisted of nominating candidates and campaigning for them. Some of the early political scientists allocated no role to the party in the creation of public opinion. Their evaluation was that it served only to disrupt tranquility and sabotage the general welfare by supporting special interests. Others, however, recognized that it engaged in the

formation of public opinion or the people's will.<sup>1</sup>

Our early political writers observed a party organized into a caucus and later a convention for the purpose of nominating candidates. Both of these agencies were suspect--the former because of its secrecy and the latter because of its undemocratic composition. After 1830 to this conception there was added that of the "machine," a devious and corrupt organization controlled by self-seeking men. A chief function of the machine was the dispensation of patronage.

The earliest American political leaders, most of whom were active in framing the Constitution, failed to recognize any important role played by the party in the functioning of government. For them it certainly had no influence on the formal apparatus of government--the separated structure of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches.

It is recognizable in the early literature that political observers were highly conscious of the influence of the environment on all political phenomena. The framers of the Constitution designed a decentralized government based on democratic principles. The parties

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<sup>1</sup>Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, The Federalist, ed. Benjamin F. Wright (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 131.

developed on a decentralized basis and were mass oriented. It is significant that two of the earliest parties developed in direct response to this environment. It was the goal of the Federalist Party to diminish localism and attract support for the national government. The Jeffersonian Party sought to expand democracy. Political writers of the time were cognizant of the influence that the opening of the West and the extended franchise had on the parties after 1828.

Research on the early party indicates that the caucus operated in secret to nominate. In this way the organization of the party exerted influence on the performance of a function. Once the machines developed, their structure created a new function--distribution of patronage--as a means of self-maintenance.

In short, the conceptualization of the party in the literature prior to 1880, within the bounds of the framework set forth in this paper, is that of an organization which developed to perform the primary functions of nominating and electing candidates to public office. Nomination was made in caucus or convention by a few men. The social environment strongly affected both the organization and functions of the party. However, the party did not exert significant influence on the formal apparatus of government. Even its informal influence was seldom recognized nor was its role in the political system

TABLE 1.--Summary of Responses to Questions III-VI of the Conceptual Framework

	III Function influences the party structure			IV Party influences the formal apparati of government			V Environment influences the party			VI Pre-existing organizational structure influences party function			Affirmative response to both III and VI
	YES	NO	NC*	YES	NO	NC*	YES	NO	NC*	YES	NO	NC*	
<u>LITERATURE</u>													
Pre-1880 early treatments	3	0	0	1+	0	2	2	0	1	1+	0	2	0
Contemporary treatments	4	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0	1	3	0	1
Traditional 1880-present	16	1+	4**	4	13	4	15	3	2	13	3	2	
Behavioral	19	2	8	11	3+ 6	12	28	0	1**	14	1+ 6	1++ 9	9

\* Not commented upon sufficiently

+ Inferred

\*\* Inferred affirmative

++ Inferred negative

Only the literature in which responses to all of these questions was ascertained is tabulated.

understood. The evil nature of the party dominated this conceptualization.

The bulk of the literature on the party since 1880 is the result of studies employing traditional methodology. This divides into two categories, the normative and functional-descriptive.

Scholars of the functional-descriptive persuasion identify the functions of the party as the election of public officials, the formulation of public opinion, the arbitration of interests, the administration of the government, the education of the electorate, the nationalization of new immigrants, the recruitment of new members, and the liaison between the government and the people.

The party's electoral function is accomplished through the nomination of candidates in convention or a primary election. Subsequently a campaign is conducted and financed by the party. A. L. Lowell's concept of the party as a brokerage agency is to be found in most traditional literature. Through it specific interests receive a hearing and their demands are compromised to form the general interest. The diverse voices are harmonized into public opinion.

The party supplies the personnel to administer the government by election or appointment. By advocating

candidates and platforms and creating issues the party educates the voters. New immigrants are offered assistance in naturalization and are educated to the American way of life. They are drawn into the party as a result of social activities which also serve to attract other new adherents to it. The concept of the party as a link between the people and government emerges in functional-descriptive literature. The party provides the opportunity for personal relationships between leaders and followers. It also affords the voters a channel of approach to the government on a personal level.

Traditional literature indicates that the party exerts an informal influence on the government. The consciousness of this influence increases progressively after 1880 as study of the party moves from the descriptive to the functional approach. No effect on the formal structure of the government is suggested except in observations of partisan leadership positions in the legislative party.

Organization is the product of the functions that the party performs. Among the early traditionalists even the most non-sociologically oriented political scientists reveal at least a meager awareness of the influence of the social and political environment on the party. Increasingly the traditionalists emphasize its importance in recent works. The party reflects the society in which it

functions and changes as the society does. Most significant has been the diminution of the party's social welfare activities and the machine organization necessary to support it. The expanded role of the government has caused this.

The majority of political scientists who have proposed normative suggestions for party reform between 1880 and the present have advocated increased party responsibility. Their opinion of the party has been low. Works in this vein have given little consideration to the political and societal environment in which party operates.<sup>2</sup>

To summarize, the traditionalists conceive of the party as an organization formed for the purpose of electing officials, administering the government, and forming public opinion. It performs additional functions of education, nationalization, recruitment, and liaison between the people and the government. Its influence on the formal apparatus of government is minimal, but the government and the social environment has a strong effect on the party. In more recent literature greater emphasis is placed on societal influence. Examinations of the actual

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<sup>2</sup>An example of this is the American Political Science Association, Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System, A Report of the Committee on Political Parties (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1950).



operation of the party have been made in increasing depth from 1880 to the present. Traditional political scientists have moved from simple description to deeper analysis of the causes of political phenomena. The underlying assumption of these writers is that the party is necessary to the functioning of the American political system. It is not inherently evil. Undesirable by-products of the party result from the environment in which it operates. They suggest that the party adapts itself in accordance with social change.

Most of the political scientists who employed nascent behavioral methodology in the study of political phenomena did not concentrate on the party.<sup>3</sup> Their great contribution to the study of the party today is the foundation that they laid in methods and technique. In applying to political science the techniques of other social sciences and attempting to enhance the predictability of political behavior these pioneers opened new vistas in the discipline. Most of them viewed political science through another of the social sciences--sociology, psychology, or

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<sup>3</sup>An exception to this is C. E. Merriam and H. F. Gosnell who approach the party from a sociological viewpoint in C. E. Merriam and H. F. Gosnell, The American Party System: An Introduction to the Study of Political Parties in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940). The functions they attribute to the party are identical with those of the synthesized conceptualization of the traditionalists, supra.

economics. Others, such as the Europeans Ostrogorski and Michels, observed the party and identified specific types of behavior in it. From this they drew conclusions and made predictions. As behavioralism progressed, it became more common to approach phenomena with an integrated technique borrowed from two or more of the other social sciences. All of early behavioralists emphasized the pervasive influence of the environment on political phenomena.

The earliest behavioral research on specific phenomena in political science includes studies employing the group approach. Derived from sociology, the underlying concept is that the political party is a group and may be approached as such. Because of their limited scope the studies representing the group approach do not lend themselves to placement within the conceptual framework of this paper. Their importance lies in the impetus they gave to the adoption of behavioral methodology in political studies.

The conscious attempt to employ conceptualization as a tool in political research dates only to the late 1950's. Behaviorally-oriented political scientists have exposed the need for organization and analysis of the vast stores of empirical data that modern technology has made available. Conceptualization presents itself as an aid in sorting and selecting data pertinent to a given study.

A social and psychological orientation is inherent in the conceptualization of the party in behavioral literature. Party is conceived of as a "social formation" determined by the societal and political environment in which it exists. It is a product of society and reflects needs, mores, and attitudes. Since party is composed of people, psychological environment and motivations are very important. Voting studies have revealed that people vote for candidates and adhere to party more for psychological reasons than any other.

Another characteristic of the behavioral conceptualization of political phenomena is its approach to the whole rather than to component parts. Behaviorists view the "political system" as an organism composed of many parts, or sub-systems, that function individually to maintain the whole. The party is one of these sub-systems.

Far more suggestions than conceptualizations are needed than actual creation of them appears in the literature of the behaviorists. Moreover, very little building has begun on the conceptualizations that have been suggested. Political scientists produce new conceptualizations for each new study. The result is that none have been fully developed nor have attracted disciples.

In recent behavioral literature studies of the political system have appeared in which "party" has not

been used as a unit of analysis.<sup>4</sup> A greater abstraction in terminology has been employed with the result that the functions ordinarily ascribed to "party" are styled as "aggregate functions."

Despite this, a synthesis of the literature in which party is inferred reveals very little deviation from the traditionalist conceptualization of the party. The behavioral conceptualization presents the party's functions as electoral, governmental, educational, and social. These functions are performed through nominating and campaigning, filling offices and arbitrating interests, propagandizing, and providing avenues for raising social status or for personal associations. Evidence produced by behavioral research indicates that the party is affected more strongly by the environment--social, political, and psychological--than by any other factor. A decentralized government exerts greater influence on the party than the party on the formal apparatus of the government. Nevertheless, the party's informal influence is very important.

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<sup>4</sup>David Easton, The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963) and Samuel H. Beer and Adam B. Ulam (eds.) Patterns of Government: The Major Political Systems of Europe (New York: Random House, 1962), and Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1960).

The essential difference between the conceptualizations of the traditionalists is in emphasis rather than in content. The traditionalists have put the greater stress on the observation and analysis of functions. The behavioralists have attempted to locate the causes of political phenomena in the behavior of party leaders and followers. They have been more environmentally oriented. The result has been largely a confirmation of the assumptions of the traditionalists. However, there are ample instances of antithetical evidence to warrant empirical study of political phenomena whenever possible.

#### Trends in Conceptualizing the Study of the Party

The trend in conceptualizing the study of the party appears to be movement toward greater abstraction. Most influential in this are specialists in the field of comparative politics. In their endeavor to establish viable frameworks for studying political systems throughout the world they have been confronted with the fact that traditional western institutions are absent in many of the newly developing nations. The functions performed by the western institutions are discharged by other agencies in these nations. It has become a matter of selection of more abstract labels for identifying the channels through which given functions are performed in non-western political systems.

This trend raises a question as to the efficacy of a universal conceptualization of political systems. Is it viable or pragmatic to attempt to draw into the conceptualizations of western political science elements which are alien to it? Would it be more meaningful to approach the study of non-western political phenomena through another set of conceptualizations? The resolutions to these queries are beyond the bounds of this paper. Let it be noted that the abstraction of terms the comparative government specialists employ in universal conceptualizations require translation into more concrete terms when applied to such western political institutions as the party.

A second noticeable trend in conceptualizing the study of the party and, indeed, all political phenomena is a tendency among behavioralists to approach empirical studies with an increasingly normative outlook. A decade ago the behavioralists were sharply criticized for what the traditionalists considered a rejection of theory. Today behavioralists are seeking to build a theory of the party that will serve as the foundation for further and more meaningful empirical study.

### Conclusions

It is possible through a survey of the literature of American political science on the party to identify a

slowly evolving conceptualization of the party within the framework employed in this paper. The narrow conceptualization of the party as an organization whose sole function is the election of public officials has progressed to one in which party performs several functions necessary to the efficient operation of the political system. In the evolutionary process the relationship between the party and its environment has received increasingly more emphasis.

A minor criticism of the use of this tool in political analysis arises from the diversity of conceptualizations that have been suggested in recent literature. The bulk of these differ in little more than the labels they apply to the phenomena under scrutiny. Political scientists seem to be obsessed with defining and redefining terms in these studies. There is an urgent need for concentrated effort among political scientists to reach accord on the terminology of the discipline.

A trend toward an increase of conceptualizations at higher levels of abstraction appears in the literature. With the burgeoning empirical data to be organized, conceptualization will become an increasingly necessary and important analytical tool. In addition a greater normative content in behavioral study seems evident. Traditionalists are accepting the informational value of the data produced by the behaviorists. They in turn are seeking normative foundations on which to construct their

studies. As the two factions of political scientists move toward unity, the most valuable contributions of their methodologies will be retained.



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