

HANDBOOK

PRECINCT ACTION COURSE

... A four-session, do-it-yourself program of work and on-the-job training course in how to win elections, for groups of 4 to 12 persons working in their own neighborhood or precinct.

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HOW TO WIN ELECTIONS

Many feel they can help best by giving good advice. Others will make a speech . . . if you assemble the audience.

But the professionals with winning records, the public opinion experts, all agree that the most effective way to win an election is to organize volunteers to work in their own neighborhood, personally contacting the voters.

For this reason, many political leaders and public affairs executives requested Civic Affairs Associates to produce a non-partisan, do-it-yourself program that could be used anywhere in the United States to:

- 1: Convince people that personal contact work in their own neighborhood wins elections.
2. Show what to do and how to do it,
- and 3. Get them into actually doing the work.

With the help of a training expert, and 15 precinct work veterans experienced in 35 states, the Precinct Action Course was produced. It is a brand new approach, based on new discoveries about how people learn and work together in groups.

It has gotten amazing results!

The P.A.C. has been tested in 42 states. Where it has been used as intended, it has increased the vote of the side using it 5% to 25% in already well organized areas.

In areas not previously organized, it has increased the vote of the party using it by as much as 95%.

If you will follow the instructions and do the work, the P.A.C. will get these results. Others have done it. You can too.

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THE PRECINCT

ACTION COURSE . . .

HOW IT WORKS

The methods used in the PRECINCT ACTION COURSE were arrived at by careful research and experience. They are based on a formula developed by Abraham Lincoln, who in addition to being a great President, was a very able politician with unusual insight into how people decide to vote, and for whom to vote:

For this reason, the PRECINCT ACTION COURSE, while taking advantage of the most modern knowledge and techniques, as well as the best practical experience available from all parts of the country, is based on Lincoln's simple formula because it is as accurate and valid today as it was in 1840. His grasp of political techniques has not only withstood the test of 120 years, but has been confirmed by the most up-to-date research and practical experience in winning modern political campaigns.

The PRECINCT ACTION COURSE spells out in detail how to follow Lincoln's advice, breaks it down into steps and provides a framework for organizing people to carry out those steps under present-day conditions. Here is how the course works:

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"Saints, Savables, Sinners:" Instead of dividing the electorate up as Republicans, Democrats, etc., the **PRECINCT ACTION COURSE** uses the term "Saints"—people who will vote for your party or candidate, "Savables"—people, regardless of party who can be "saved" or persuaded to vote for your party or candidate, "Sinners"—people who are definitely on the other side. If you are a Republican then, "Saints" are fellow Republicans and "Sinners" are Democrats. If you are a Democrat, it is the other way around.

If you are working for just one candidate, the people who will vote for him or her are your "Saints," supporters of the opposition are "Sinners," and all others, regardless of party are "Savables."

Materials: Each member of the group participating receives a **P.A.C. HANDBOOK** (what you are reading now). This contains background information which is to be read before each P.A.C. Session, and may be referred to at any time during the Sessions. The Leader must have, in addition to his **HANDBOOK**, a **P.A.C. LEADER'S MANUAL**. He will use it as a guide in preparing for and conducting each Session. One blank Voter Locator List (22" x 34") is recommended as a basic tool for use by the group right through Election Day. Finally, a Master Precinct Planning Calendar (22" x 34") is supplied to the Leader for use in Session 4, and afterward.

PRELIMINARY MEETING . . . This is a short meeting of the people who are going to participate in the **PRECINCT ACTION COURSE**. The Precinct Leader, or group leader, introduces everyone, passes out the Handbooks and gets agreement on time and place for the four basic meetings (Sessions 1, 2, 3, and 4).

SESSION 1. "A LOOK AT YOUR PRECINCT" . . . In this session, the group takes a look at their precinct, where it is, what it is, and reviews their party's performance in recent elections. They estimate how many votes they could get in the precinct if every "Saint" were persuaded to register and vote, and set a goal for their vote in the next election. They also discuss a case history which illustrates how elections are won by personal contact in the precinct and apply this to the problems in their precinct.

SESSION 2. "LAYING THE FOUNDATION" . . . The group examines their Voter Locator List (list of homes and apartments in the precinct) and starts to fill out Voter Information Cards for the people in their precinct. The group discusses a second case illustrating how elections are won by organized personal contact.

SESSION 3. "MEETING THE VOTERS" . . . The Precinct Team meets briefly, and then goes out to begin a "VOTER CENSUS" by personal house calls. They return from the "Voter Census" to discuss their experiences and transfer the information they obtained from the house calls to the Voter Information Cards.

SESSION 4. "PLANNING TO COMPLETE THE JOB" . . . The group reviews their progress to date and makes plans to finish the job by working on through Election Day. They plan a schedule of work including subsequent meetings:

REVIEW AND PLANNING MEETINGS . . . Scheduled on a regular basis, depending on how much time until Election Day.

VOTER CENSUS MEETINGS . . . Can be scheduled to continue until every dwelling unit in the precinct has been contacted.

REGISTRATION DRIVE MEETING . . . This meeting can be scheduled just before precinct registration days to organize plans to get all "Saints" and probable "Saints" registered so they can vote.

POST-REGISTRATION MEETING . . . This meeting is scheduled to plan work remaining until Election Day.

ELECTION DAY PREPARATION . . . This meeting is to make final plans and assignments for Election Day.

AFTER ELECTION DAY MEETING . . . This meeting is to review what was done right, what could be improved, and to lay some early plans for the next election. It is also an opportunity to celebrate improved performance.

As you and your co-workers carry out the **PRECINCT ACTION COURSE** in your precinct, you will find that your understanding of how elections are won will be improved, you will systematically organize to do a first-rate job in your precinct, you will develop skill in the techniques of winning elections. After the election, you will see that your efforts have been effective in improving performance in your precinct.

READING FOR SESSION 1

**A Look At
Your Precinct**

In Session 1, you will review what a precinct is, where your precinct is, how it has been going in the past few elections, and what some of the reasons may be why your vote has been as good or as poor as it has.

You will estimate how large a vote your side would get if every "Saint" in the precinct were brought out to register and vote. Based on this estimate, your group can set a vote goal for the next election.

In addition, you will read and discuss a case study based on actual happenings to illustrate how personal contact of voters wins elections. You will find this session most profitable if you understand some basic facts about what wins elections. For Session 1, read the following sections which tell how elections are won and lost:

1. The Abe Lincoln Four-Step
2. What a Precinct Is—Political Organization
3. Four Factors In Winning Elections
4. Why Personal Contact Wins Elections
5. Why People Don't Vote
6. Where the Winning Votes Are
7. Case #1: "A Little Goes A Long Way"

Now, on to the reading for Session 1 . . .

The Abe Lincoln Four-Step

In January, 1840, Abraham Lincoln, with four others, wrote a campaign memorandum to Whig County Committees (Republican Party was not yet founded) in Illinois:

" . . . divide (your) county into small districts . . . appoint in each a sub-committee, whose duty it shall be to make a perfect list of all the voters in their respective districts, and to ascertain with certainty for whom they will vote . . .

. . . keep a constant watch on the doubtful voters, and from time to time have them talked to by those in whom they shall have the most confidence . . . on election days see that every Whig is brought to the polls." *

Boiled down, Lincoln's four steps are:

1. Make a complete list of every eligible voter in the precinct, or area to be covered. ("Make a perfect list of all the voters.")
2. Determine the leanings of each eligible voter ("Ascertain with certainty for whom they will vote.")
3. Persuade the undecided and uninterested people to vote your ticket. ("Keep a constant watch on the doubtful voters and have them talked to by those in whom they have the most confidence.")
4. See to it that every "Saint" and probable "Saint" is registered and gets to the polls. ("On election days see that every Whig is brought to the polls.")

* Source: *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Roy P. Basler (editor), Rutgers University Press, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 201, 202, 203.

What a Precinct is—Political Organization

Precinct is the word most widely used to describe the smallest geographical voting unit in the state.

A precinct is set up, primarily, to designate an area which can be serviced by one polling place on Election Day. Usually, a precinct includes 150 to 1200 voters, although precincts of 2,000 to 3,000 voters are not uncommon. A few even include as many as 25,000 voters—although in such cases, more than one polling place would probably be available.

The standards for precinct size are usually set by state law, although in some states political party rules will govern.

Actual boundaries of the precinct are generally set, under state standards, by the county board of elections, or whatever name is used to describe the governmental body that is in charge of supervising elections in the area.

In this course, this small geographical voting area is called a precinct because that is the name most widely used. It may be called an election district, a military district, a division, a block, a subdivision or some other name. If a different name is used in your state to describe what is called a precinct here, just translate "precinct" into the name to which you are accustomed as you read this handbook.

Political Organization

The precinct is the logical and practical unit on which to build political party organization.

Usually, each party has a "leader", "captain", or "committeeman" (depending on what the job is called locally) in each precinct. In some states, each party has two "leaders", generally one of each sex. Throughout this handbook this person (or persons) will be referred to as the *Precinct Leader* or *Leaders*.

Often the Precinct Leader, under state law, will be elected at a party primary by members of his party living in the precinct. In other cases, Precinct Leaders are appointed by town, city, county or even state party chairmen. In some areas, Precinct Leaders automatically become members of the town, city or county committee of their party; in others they do not.

Everywhere, however, the Precinct Leader has one major responsibility. He—and his team of workers—must turn out the biggest

possible vote for his party ticket on Election Day. A capable leader with good workers can do this to an amazing degree, even when as the result of a reverse political tide, other precincts in the same area are going the other way.

Example: In 1956 in a Congressional primary in an Eastern suburb, one of the candidates was from the unincorporated section of a town we will call Elmville. There were eight precincts in this area. The people in all the precincts knew this candidate and were for him as friends and neighbors. He carried 6 of the 8 precincts by margins varying from 3-1 to 4-1. In two precincts, however, the Precinct Leaders favored his opponent. He carried one of these precincts by only a 4-3 margin and lost the second by one vote.

The Precinct Leader and his workers are to the party organization what the front line soldier was to the Army in World War II. The "brain trust" of a political party may make great strategy decisions like General Staff Headquarters does in the Army. It may throw up a great barrage of radio, TV and newspaper advertising or publicity to provide an "umbrella", like air cover or an artillery barrage—still, it is the precinct workers, like the front line troops, who must go in and take the ground.

The role of the precinct team can also be compared to a sales force in industry. The party ticket or candidates are the product to be sold; the speeches, radio and TV are the advertising campaign. The precinct worker is like the salesman, who makes the sales and gets the signature on the dotted line. He gets the vote in the ballot box. Another comparison might be to liken the precinct worker to the housewife. Farmers can grow food, processors can put it in cans or package it and ship it to the stores. But the objective won't be reached—the food won't be eaten—until a housewife buys it, cooks it and puts it on the table for her family.

Example: A famous corporation executive was once asked which he would select if offered either a million-dollar advertising campaign or a million dollars to pay a sales force. He answered: "The sales force. They can make the sales. Advertising serves principally to create interest and acceptance; a salesman can get the signature on the order."

Yet, this same man a few years later participated in the primary campaign of a friend for Congress. They spent thousands of dollars on literature, advertising, mailing and publicity, but recruited only

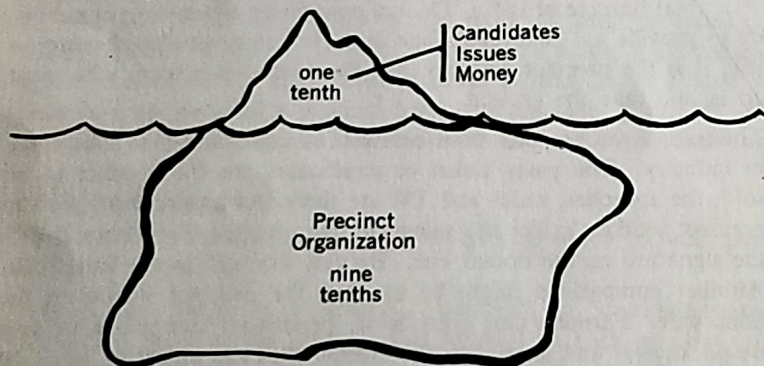
70 people to do precinct work. His candidate was beaten by a less politically appealing opponent who spent about a fifth as much money, but had 250 precinct workers.

Four Factors in Winning Elections

Experts generally agree there are four principal factors in winning elections: Organization, Candidates, Issues, Money. (When politicians talk about "organization," they mean precinct organization—or specifically, personal contact organization.)

Organization Is The Most Important Factor

During and after an election most people discuss it and analyze it in terms of candidates, issues, and campaign incidents. They are talking about the one-tenth of the iceberg that shows above the surface of the water—the part that can be seen. Yet, the biggest part of the iceberg—nine-tenths of it—is not noticed.



Nine-tenths of winning an election, like nine-tenths of an iceberg, goes unnoticed, because it is not readily apparent to the casual observer.

The same way with elections. Probably nine out of 10, or more, are won by an organization getting voters of their persuasion registered and to the polls, and persuading undecided or disinterested people to vote and vote their way.

This is not to say that candidates, issues and money are not important. They are. In some cases they may dominate an election. When you have an outstanding candidate and can get him before the public

in a favorable light, like an Eisenhower or a Roosevelt, he will ride in largely on his own strength among the voters. When you have a really strong issue like "Right To Work" was for the Democrats in several states in 1958, it will sweep the board, taking down to defeat such popular vote-getters of established power as Senator John Bricker in Ohio.

Really deep issues such as slavery in the 1860's or the Depression of the 1930's, can cut so deep as to cause basic shifts of a lasting nature in the political sympathies of whole groups of voters.

But in most elections, the issues and the candidates are not that important. There are reasons for this.

CANDIDATES are not as important below the level of President because they cannot get through to the voters with enough impact even if they are outstanding personalities. Presidential campaigns are so well covered by radio, TV and the press that public attention becomes concentrated on them in all media, local and national. People cannot avoid becoming aware of the race and the candidate. Everybody is talking about them.

Below that level, candidates have a constant problem of getting known at all to the voters.

Example: In 1951, 10 days before a municipal election in Mamaroneck, New York, the Young Republican Club conducted a telephone poll to determine what people knew about the election. Few of those called knew what offices were to be filled. When told and asked if they could name any of the ten Candidates, 25% could identify the incumbent Supervisor who had held office for about 12 years and whose picture had appeared in the Daily Times perhaps once a week. Eight per cent could identify one candidate of the remaining eight (4 running for Councilman, 2 for Justice of Peace, and 2 for Town Clerk).

ISSUES are generally hazy to the voter, not well understood. A study made by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan on the 1952 elections revealed that almost two-thirds of the people thought either that the Republicans and Democrats took about the same position on issues, or they didn't know what position either party stood for.

MONEY, of course is vital, and much depends on how it is spent.

Today there are probably few elections where it is crucial. For one thing, if you have good candidates, good issues and a good organization, the money will come in from people who are impressed and have confidence in your ticket—and from people to whom you look like a winner.

But a good organization, contacting the voters personally, is the most important and decisive factor in winning 9 out of 10 (or more) elections.

Why Personal Contact Wins Elections

The personal contact of party workers with voters is more important than any other factor for two reasons:

1. People do not automatically register and vote (See Table Page 13). Voting runs higher in presidential years than in other years. In 1960, which topped all other recent presidential years, only 65% of the eligible voters cast their ballots.

In Congressional election years (even numbered years) and in municipal elections in odd-numbered years, or at other times, participation is much lower than in presidential years. In a typical Congressional election year, about 45 per cent of those who could vote actually cast their ballot.

2. Most people who are undecided or who are not very interested or aware of politics make up their minds to vote, and how to vote on the basis of conversations with friends, associates and people in whose judgement they have confidence, or who they believe have specialized knowledge or access to "inside" information.

Example: A 26-year old Republican worker in a Rocky Mountain state reported that he had two liberal A.D.A. Democrats; both college faculty members, one a political science professor, the other an economist. A week or ten days before every election, each would call up the Republican and say something like this: "Say John, I know you are a Republican, but you are active in politics and know more about the people who are running than I do. Tell me about so and so . . . what about this guy? . . . who is running for . . .?" And so on. The Republican workers says that he gets them to split their ballot every time for at least two or three Republicans. "I never ask them to vote our straight ticket, that would make them lose

ELIGIBLE, QUALIFIED, AND ACTUAL VOTERS IN 1960 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION BY STATE

State	Eligible To Vote	Qualified To Vote	Actually Voted	% Eligible Who Qualified	% Qualified Who Voted	% Eligible Who Voted
Alabama	1,834,378	†	562,648			31
Alaska	108,731	60,762 *	60,762	56	100	56
Arizona	731,682	474,124	408,137	65	86	56
Arkansas	1,043,269	603,795	428,505	58	71	41
California	9,660,178	7,464,626	6,592,591	77	88	68
Colorado	1,001,468	882,422	736,246	88	83	74
Connecticut	1,591,461	1,320,954	1,231,885	83	93	77
Delaware	267,249	232,333	195,963	87	84	73
Florida	3,087,699	2,015,970	1,154,176	65	57	37
Georgia	2,409,972	1,302,139	728,759	54	56	30
Hawaii	360,193	202,059	188,206	56	93	52
Idaho	372,484	362,704	302,155	97	83	81
Illinois	6,280,637	5,499,469	4,845,319	88	88	77
Indiana	2,777,924	2,450,000 †	2,135,360	88	87	77
Iowa	1,644,371	1,400,000 †	1,272,946	85	91	77
Kansas	1,321,835	1,100,000 †	928,825	83	84	70
Kentucky	1,897,987	†	1,124,462			59
Louisiana	1,803,805	1,152,398	807,891	64	70	45
Maine	580,855	537,922	421,767	93	78	73
Maryland	1,845,067	1,329,279	1,055,349	72	79	57
Massachusetts	3,245,066	2,720,359	2,495,504	84	92	77
Michigan	4,580,295	3,454,804	3,318,097	75	96	72
Minnesota	2,001,455	1,800,000 †	1,577,509	90	86	79
Mississippi	1,170,522	†	298,171			26
Missouri	2,695,614	2,200,000 †	1,934,422	82	88	72
Montana	388,673	322,876	279,881	83	87	72
Nebraska	858,318	650,000 †	619,399	76	95	72
Nevada	175,365	128,898	109,132	74	85	62
New Hampshire	372,725	353,717	297,951	95	84	80
New Jersey	3,861,074	3,073,894	2,799,095	80	91	73
New Mexico	500,675	423,265	311,107	85	74	62
New York	10,880,592	8,359,494	7,380,075	77	88	68
North Carolina	2,556,884	1,819,869	1,368,556	71	75	54
North Dakota	354,866	283,797 *	283,797	80	100	80
Ohio	5,839,311	5,200,000 †	4,208,811	89	81	72
Oklahoma	1,416,050	1,160,515	903,150	82	78	64
Oregon	1,073,431	900,616	776,421	84	86	72
Pennsylvania	7,100,482	5,687,837	4,961,765	80	87	70
Rhode Island	539,804	471,114	405,534	87	86	75
South Carolina	1,266,251	595,989	386,567	47	65	31
South Dakota	391,597	306,487 *	306,487	78	100	78
Tennessee	2,092,891	1,718,168	1,051,792	91	61	50
Texas	5,534,277	2,798,986	2,311,845	51	83	42
Utah	467,817	419,095	374,981	90	90	80
Vermont	230,645	204,033	167,047	89	88	72
Virginia	2,312,887	977,983 †	771,449	42	79	33
Washington	1,717,597	1,527,516	1,257,952	89	82	73
West Virginia	1,083,347	†	837,781			77
Wisconsin	2,354,489	2,000,000 †	1,729,082	85	87	73
Wyoming	190,305	†	142,140			75

This table shows the large number of people who could vote but don't register or pay poll tax to qualify; and the number who, having qualified, fail to vote.

*Neither registration or poll tax payment required. †Estimated or omitted, reliable figures not available.

confidence in my advice. But I pick out some Republicans I can make a case for that will appeal to them. A couple of times I heard about them talking these guys up among their friends as being good men, even though Republicans."

In other cases, personal contact can even sway regular, down-the-line party voters.

EXAMPLE: On the Saturday before the 1944 Dewey-Roosevelt election, a life-long Democrat was raking leaves in his front yard. He was a college graduate who lived in a New England suburban neighborhood that was about 90 percent Republican.

He fell into conversation with his neighbor who was a rock-ribbed Vermont Republican. This man was also a college graduate, member of Phi Beta Kappa, and was well informed on the campaign. He was a strong Dewey man. They talked for three hours, each working on the other to vote for his candidate. On election day, the Democrat voted for Dewey; the Republican voted for Roosevelt.

Studies and experience prove that it is not campaign literature, speeches, or mass media that move the voter. It is personal influence. Here are the findings:

1. From "The People's Choice", Page 157:

"... personal contacts can get a voter to the polls without affecting at all his comprehension of the issues of the election—something the formal media can rarely do. The newspaper or magazine or radio must first be effective in changing attitudes related to the action. There were several clear cases of votes cast not on the issues or even the personalities of the candidates. In fact, they were not really cast for the candidates at all. They were cast, so to speak, for the voters' friends."

2. Same source, page 157, quoting voter interviews:

*"I was taken to the polls by a worker who insisted that I go."
"The lady where I work wanted me to vote. She took me to the polls and they all voted Republican so I did too."*

3. Same source, page 157, a conclusion:

"In short, personal influence, with all its overtones of personal affection and loyalty can bring to the polls votes that would otherwise not be cast or would be cast for the opposing party just as readily if some other friend had insisted."

4. From "Political Life" by Robert E. Lane, Page 304:

"Although there have been some successful efforts to enlarge the turnout through mailing literature to citizens' homes, the most effective way of getting the electorate to go to the polls is for an interested person to make a PERSONAL visit. In a small Detroit area study, personal visits by representatives of a 'civic organization' more than doubled the turnout in an election. CONTACT BY A PARTY WORKER HAS AN EFFECT BOTH IN MAINTAINING A PREVIOUS INTENTION TO VOTE AND INDUCING THOSE TO VOTE WHO HAD NOT INTENDED TO DO SO."

5. From "The People's Choice", Pages 150-151:

"... political discussions were mentioned more frequently than exposure to radio or print. On an average day, at least 10% more people participated in discussions about the election—either actively or passively—than listened to a major speech or read about campaign items in a newspaper ...

Political conversations, then, were more likely to reach those people who were still open to influence.

... we found that the less interested people relied more on conversations and less on the formal media as sources of information. THREE-FOURTHS of the respondents who at one time had not expected to vote but were then 'finally dragged in' mentioned personal influence."

6. The American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll), Princeton, N. J., September 3, 1960.

"The Democrats have about one million more followers who feel strongly enough to persuade others to vote for their man than do the Republicans.

The Democrats have some two and a half million more people 'in reserve' than the GOP does—voters who say that if they were enlisted they would be willing to do door-to-door canvassing in behalf of their candidates ...

Since Democrats outnumber the Republicans in the electorate, the Republicans can overcome the Democrats numerical advantage only in getting a higher percentage of the GOP rank-and-file to do work at grass roots level. Up to this point, they have failed to do this. In past elections, the Democrats generally have been more active than the Republicans in doing door-to-door work. In 1954, 1956,

1958, Gallup Poll audits disclosed a greater amount of Democratic grass roots activity in the campaigns."

7. From the National Chamber of Commerce "Action Course in Practical Politics," Pamphlet #2, Pages 36, 37, quoting the American Institute of Public Opinion:

"Weeks before the overwhelming Democratic victory in the 1958 elections, strong indications of the potential winning party were appearing.

In the report of a nation-wide Gallup Poll, George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, said:

In the all-important 'battle of the precincts,' Democratic party workers are scoring heavily on their Republican counterparts this year . . . Democratic volunteer workers outnumber Republican party workers in this campaign about 2 to 1. Projecting survey results for the total adult civilian population, here were the respective forces in each party's 'campaign army' as of early October: Democratic Party Workers, 2,100,000; Republicans, 1,100,000.

The evidence that precinct work pays off was clearly written in the results of the election, Tuesday, November 4, 1958."

8. The Committee on Big City Politics of the Republican National Committee, 1962, emphasized that Republicans were losing big city states, not because they were losing cities, but because they were losing them by too large a margin. The principal reason for this is lack of Republican representatives in the precincts finding Republicans, asking people to vote Republican:

"Emphasis should be put on precinct organization and activity, to get precincts manned with dependable workers, to assure concentration on registration activities, and to establish personal contacts with voters."

Every campaign evidences the effect of personal contact—or the lack of it. Among the innumerable examples that could be cited are these:

9. Maine, 1958. The Democrats and C.O.P.E. concentrated on 100 precincts in Bath, Portland, and Augusta. They increased the normal 35% Democratic registration in these precincts to 65% and played a decisive role in electing two Congressmen and a Governor.

10. Michigan, 1958. A young accountant by the name of C. Vincent Wright was named Republican Chairman of the Fourth Ward of

Lansing, Michigan, consisting of 23 precincts. The Fourth Ward was known as a dependable Democratic ward including many auto workers and employees of the State Government, which was under Democratic control.

Wright got two workers in every precinct. They covered the ward intensively to find every Republican voter and get him registered and to the polls on election day.

The result: The Republican ticket carried the ward with 57% of the vote—a 9% increase over the 1954 Republican vote and a 13% increase over the 1950 vote (1950 and 1954 being comparable election years).

11. Edward O. Sullivan, Jr., Chairman of the 8th Ward of Yonkers, N. Y. (total vote of about 6,000) used the P.A.C. in all thirteen election Districts (precincts) in the Ward in 1963 municipal election: "Our victory margin was over 700, up from 250 in 1961, an increase in our vote of about 15%. We can account for every voter in the ward."

12. Earl Carroll, Town Republican Chairman, Clarksville, Indiana, ran four P.A.C. groups with four persons in each group. They made 800 house calls, found 150 non-voting Republicans, 35 First Voters and recruited 15 more workers. As a result, he reports, "We registered 350 new Republican voters to the Democrats' 75 or 100. Up to now this has been a Democratic stronghold. Precinct work is changing that."

13. The South. Jim Bentley of Palmetto, Georgia, states: "Neither party is very well organized in the South on a precinct basis. However, where the Republicans have had some successes it is where they organized to contact voters personally. The Democrats through their 'Court House Organizations' have stressed personal contact right along and it is a major factor in their consistent success. While they may not organize it on a 'precinct' basis, they do get out their vote by personal contact among 'circles' of friends."

Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet put it this way in "The People's Choice" (Page 158):

"We do not know how the budget of political parties is distributed among different channels of propaganda but we suspect that the largest part of any propaganda budget is spent on pamphlets, radio time, etc. But our findings suggest the task of finding the best ratio between money spent on formal media and money spent on face-to-face influences, the local 'molecular pressures' which vitalize the formal media by more personal interpretation and the full richness of personal relationships . . .

In the last analysis, more than anything else, people can move other people."

Why People Don't Vote

Every year millions of people who could vote, don't vote. Why? There are four principal reasons:

Apathy: Some People Just Don't Care

Some feel that one vote doesn't make any difference, so why bother. Others feel that it doesn't matter who wins. They say, "the same important people will run things the way they want no matter who wins." Many non-voters have been raised and educated in such a way that they have never thought much about politics or government. Their parents did not talk about these subjects in the home. Recognition of the importance of politics and government was not acquired in school. They are unaware of government, and accept taxes, the services of police, fire departments, post offices, and similar government activities without concern about their origin or operation. In short, they do not relate themselves to government and politics in any positive way.

Example: An interview in "The American Voter" (page 248-249) illustrates the reaction of a voter of this type to questions on politics:

"The respondent explained that she works 11 hours a day (night shift) in a cannery, cares for her large family, and had no time left to read newspapers and keep up with politics. She was only being polite when she consented to an interview . . ."

"(Like the Democrats?) 'No—I don't know as there is.'

"(Dislike the Democrats?) 'No.'

"(Like about Republicans?) 'No, it's the same way I am about the other party.'

"(Dislike about Republicans?) 'No. Parties are all about the same to me.'

"(Like about Stevenson?) 'No, I don't think so.'

"(Dislike about Stevenson?) 'No.'

"(Like about Eisenhower?) 'I really don't care which man is best or otherwise. I don't know enough about either one of the men to give an opinion.'

"(Dislike about Eisenhower?) 'No.' "

Conflict

Many people are tradition-oriented in their political loyalties. They grew up in an area or in a family where everyone voted Democratic, or everyone voted Republican. To belong to another party would make a person "odd" or an "outsider."

If these people move to an area where the situation is different, they are torn between old habits of thought and their new loyalties and friendships. They want to be "like everyone else," but can't change their old ways easily. (From "THE AMERICAN VOTER" Page 83):

". . . those who experienced the maximum conflict reported as often as one case in four making up their minds within two weeks of the election or on election day itself. . . . It is now clear that the persons in our samples who reported deciding very late were often people whose attitudes were in conflict . . ."

". . . The person who experiences some degree of conflict tends to cast his vote for President with substantially less enthusiasm, he is much more prone to split his ticket in voting for other offices, and he is somewhat less likely to vote at all than is the person whose partisan feelings are entirely consistent . . ."

The more conflict, the less the person's concern for the outcome, and the less likely he is to vote.

Technical Problems

Many people lose their vote because they moved and have not lived in their new area long enough to satisfy residency requirements. Others may be out-of-town and have made no arrangements for absentee ballots. Still others may have had their registration expire because of non-voting and yet—believing that their registration is “permanent”—failed to register or comply with other steps necessary to qualify.

Many people who could vote think they are ineligible. Clerical errors do sometimes appear in official voters lists.

Technical problems can be identified and remedied easily. They are one of the most important ways a precinct worker can help both the voter and the party.

Bad Experiences

Another reason why people may not cast their ballots is that they have had an unfortunate experience at the polls.

EXAMPLE: A few days after a political leader had urged workers to canvass their neighborhoods in search of Party non-voters, a lady told him, “I didn’t believe there were people like that, but I found some. A man and his wife were challenged at the polls 18 years ago. The incident was so embarrassing that they have never voted since. They’re in the Party—all they needed to get them voting again was a little encouragement. They are now registered and ready to vote.”

Whether apathy, indifference, conflict, technicalities, or other reasons lie behind non-voting, an interested precinct worker can be effective in resolving the problem.

Where the Winning Votes Are

Even among experienced political leaders, there is a tendency to think of the electorate only in terms of those who do vote, rather than those who do vote and those who could, but generally do not. The idea of the independent voter as an intelligent, discriminating citizen, who makes careful choices, is likewise widely accepted.

Actual studies of the electorate would seem to indicate that the electorate might be more accurately described in different terms.

Here is as accurate a picture of the actual situation as can be drawn on the basis of careful studies and the experience of long-time Precinct Leaders. In the electorate you have:

Regulars

1. REGULAR PARTY LINE VOTERS who get themselves to the polls without urging. These people, both Democrats and Republicans are probably about 15%-25% of the eligible voters, half to two-thirds of actual voters, according to the best estimates available.

2. THOSE REGULAR PARTY LINE VOTERS THAT HAVE TO BE REMINDED, or don’t take steps to guarantee that they will be registered and able to vote. Perhaps these are another 15% or 20% of eligible voters.

(These are the regular voters that a Precinct Leader can count on. Together they make up maybe 75% to 90% of his total possible vote. These are also the easiest votes to get out.)

Extras

Here is where you find the extra votes that are needed. They are quite different in many respects from what people think:

3. INDEPENDENT OR UNDECIDED VOTERS. The age old concept that the independent voter is an ideal citizen, who is attentive to politics, concerned with government and weighs the issues carefully, is just not true. Research cited in “The American Voter” page 143 indicates:

“Far from being more attentive, interested and informed, Independents tend as a group to be somewhat less involved in politics. They have somewhat poorer knowledge of the issues, their image of the candidates is fainter, their interest in the campaign is less, their concern over the outcome is relatively slight, and their choice between competing candidates, although it is indeed made later in the campaign, seems much less to spring from discoverable evaluations of the elements of national politics . . .”

4. HABITUAL NON-VOTERS are very much like the so-called independent or undecided voter. Non-voters are generally not aligned with any party. They tend to be apathetic and easily swayed. “The People’s Choice” pages 45, 46:

"The greatest proportion of non-voters was indeed found on the lowest interest level. People with no interest in the election were 18 times as likely not to vote as people with great interest."

"... three-quarters of the non-voters stayed away from the polls deliberately because they were thoroughly unconcerned with the election."

(For further information on non-voters, see table, page 23.)

5. **FIRST VOTERS:** Probably the most important single group in any precinct are the first voters. They could be as much as 10% or 15% of the total vote. Here are the figures:

1961	1,067,000	males were 20 years old
	1,127,000	females were 20 years old
	<u>2,194,000</u>	Total
1960	1,145,000	males were 20 years old
	1,160,000	females were 20 years old
	<u>2,305,000</u>	Total

In presidential years, that means over 8,000,000 new voters can vote for President for the first time—more than 10% of the votes cast in 1960. In Congressional years, it means over 4,000,000 new voters can vote for the first time—again, roughly 10% or enough to swing about 50 close Congressional elections.

6. **DEMOCRATS.** Oddly enough, while more Democrats work in elections than Republicans, Democrats, as a group, tend to have these characteristics, according to Robert Lane in "Political Life," page 144, drawing on the findings of the Survey Research Center at Michigan:

"... when the division is made . . . on the basis of party lines . . . it appears that . . . Democrats are less likely than Republicans to be interested or concerned . . ."

Democratic voters tend then, to resemble non-voters, undecideds and such low-participation groups. This may mean that they are accessible to persuasion—or it may simply mean that active Democratic workers have lined up large numbers of unconcerned and apathetic voters and gotten them to the polls to vote Democratic. It may mean both.

Non-Voters in 1940, 1948, and 1952

Election Year	Per Cent of Non-Voting		
	1940	1948	1952
Sex			
Male	25%	31%	21%
Female	39	41	31
Age			
21-34		44	32
35-44		34	24
45-54		25	21
55 and over		37	23
Religion			
Protestant		42	32
Catholic		21	15
Race			
White	32	34	21
Negro	64	64	67
Type of Community			
Metropolitan Areas	25	17	21
Towns and Cities	32-35	37	27
Rural Areas	39	59	32
Education			
Grade School		45	38
High School		33	20
College		21	10
Occupation of Head of Family			
Professional and Managerial	22	25	12
Other White Collar		19	19
Skilled and Semi-Skilled		29	26
Unskilled	40	50	40
Farm Operators	39	58	33
Trade Union Affiliation of Head of Family			
Member		27	23
Non-Member		38	27
Income			
Under \$2,000			
\$2,000-2,999		54	47
\$3,000-3,999		39	32
\$4,000-4,999		26	24
\$5,000 and Over		25	17
		18	12
Region			
Northeast			16
Midwest			15
South			51
Far West			23
Ethnic Background (Non-native Born)			
Scandinavian			17
German			19
English-Scotch			20
Irish			5
Italian			11
Polish			13

From: "POLITICAL LIFE," p. 48-49

Summary: Where The Winning Votes Are

The votes, in addition to regular and remindable "Saints", which are needed to win are not so much votes that are switched or persuaded by careful argument as they are votes by "civic wallflowers" who are unconcerned, uninformed, uninterested and unlikely to vote. Whichever side reaches them, extends a friendly hand, asks for their vote and shepherds them through registration and the polls is most likely to get their support.

This is not at all the way most people think things are, but the evidence seems to support it. Some political experts even go as far as to suggest that the big city Democratic majorities and the up-to-recently dependable Southern Democratic majorities are not turned in by Democratic voters at all, but by superior Democratic organizations which go out and get unconcerned and uninformed people registered and to the polls by personal contact, winning their mild allegiance by personal attention in the absence of competing efforts.

Case 1—"A Little Goes A Long Way"

A business student interviews the Vice President of a national manufacturing company. He asks what was his first break?

The Vice President answers: "starting to do precinct work for the Republican Party when he was 28."

Student: "Why?"

Vice President: "Well, up to then I was one of 25 clerks in a bullpen. This gave me my first chance to do something on my own where others would see what I could do. Sort of a showcase.

"Contacts are part of it, too. Knowing all kinds of people is the smartest thing a man can do. I got friendly with a plumber—a Democrat. After the flood he put me at the top of his list to get our pipes working. An electrical engineer down the street helped me fix some wiring. A nurse I met took care of my wife when she was laid up—you know how hard nurses are to get. Matter of fact, I got my job here through precinct work."

Student: "What do you mean?"

Vice President: "After I turned in a good record our town leader had his eye on me. A friend of his told him how hard it was to find the right man for a job opening the company had. Our town leader thought it sounded like a natural for me and gave his friend my name. I was interviewed, hired, and made good. If I hadn't gone into politics I never would have heard about the opening."

Student: "You say you did a good job which brought you to the town leader's attention. What happened?"

Vice President: "About the third year I worked on the precinct, it came to me that you get results by detail and follow through.

Student: "What do you mean?"

Vice President: "Well, you can either do a job by going through the motions, or by working to get every detail tacked down, finished, complete and right. You don't increase your vote by flipping a switch or by some magic formula. Like anything else, you do this here and that there until it all adds up. It's like a grocer. He makes so much on meat, so much on fruit, so much on bread. That's regular income—pays the bills. That's like getting your regular Republicans to the polls—it's your steady business.

"But on top of that, he has to pick up some extras. So he runs a promotion on strawberries, or he finds a new product where the manufacturer will give him an extra margin to push sales and get the product established. That's where he gets the extras. To get the extra margin of votes, you have to get a few more Republicans to register and vote. Convince a few more undecideds and so on."

Student: "How did you do this?"

Vice President: "In 1940, that's when I started thinking. I said, 'Where is that extra margin?' And it came to me. I found four solid Republicans who hadn't voted since Hoover. They were discouraged. Two more had their votes challenged years before and didn't care to be embarrassed again. I invited 12 new 21-year-olds to my house to explain how to get registered, to mark ballots, and answered their questions. Ten came, 8 voted, and 5 of the 8, I know from follow-up, have been regular Republican voters. I think that first experience made just enough difference and set the pattern for future years.

"I found two Republican salesmen, both of whom had missed voting at least once in the past 4 years. I made them fill out absentee ballots. On election day both were out of town.

"An old lady in frail health lived down the street. She had never thought about voting. I stopped by a couple of times. I guess not many people paid her much attention and one day she just up and said, 'If all Republicans are like you, I'd better vote. I'd like to help you.'

"One friend of mine, a long-time Democrat, I tried an experiment on. I asked him as a personal favor to vote the straight Republican ticket. I said 'I'm trying to make a record as a party worker.' Well, after the election he said he hoped I had made out. He resented the idea at first, but the more he thought about it, the better he liked it. Finally he not only voted Republican but got his wife and two neighbors to vote Republican. 'After all,' he said, 'Roosevelt won't know or care how I vote, but I can do something for a friend. I've never felt so good about anything in my whole life.'

"Three other Republicans kept putting off going to the polls on election day. I knew sometimes they never made it. So I drove over with my wife and said, come on, we're going to vote; Anne will watch the dinner. And off we went.

"I picked out 6 people who just didn't care. I got them registered and

had them to my house to a party Saturday before election, where everyone else was Republican. They got to feeling Republican too. I saw to it they voted. Five of them I'm sure voted right.

"These are the special cases, though, the extra margin. The really important group is your regular Republican voters. They provide the base vote without which the margin is meaningless."

Student: "If they are regular, why worry about them?"

Vice President: "People don't like to be taken for granted. Heard a fellow say he ran for National Committeeman in a small state. Lost by one vote. Asked a friend why he had voted against him. He said, 'Ed, I know you better and like you. You would be better for the job. But, you didn't ask for my vote. He did. I didn't think you cared how I voted. Sorry.'"

Student: "Frankly this whole story sounds crazy to me."

Vice President: "Why?"

Student: "All right, what was your precinct's vote that year?"

Vice President: "Our usual vote was about 550 or 600. Usually broke around 400 Democrats to 200 Republicans. That year we polled 653 votes, 378 Democrat to 276 Republican. In surrounding precincts the Republican vote was up an average 3%, but ours was up 8%, from 33% to 41% of the total vote. We stuck out like a sore thumb."

Student: "Here is what I don't understand. In Washington news all the talk is about how much money is spent on campaigns. The papers emphasize the issues and candidates, and experts talk about images. Yet to hear your side, it sounds like elections are won in the precincts. If that's true, why don't we hear and read more about precinct work? And who is right? Don't candidates and issues have a lot to do with winning?"

Vice President: "Both sides are right. I can account for 28 votes in my increase of 76. Some were gotten by other workers, but maybe Willkie got us some too. Maybe he made it easier to get out the regulars because our Republicans around here liked Willkie. The third term issue got some votes, too."

Student: "So that is the story of how you really got started?"

Vice President: "Yes, I think so, and it not only helped me in business, but I enjoyed it and got a tremendous amount of satisfaction out of feeling that I was effective in working for what I think is right. Still do. I am still a Precinct Leader."

Laying the Foundation

In Session 2 of the PRECINCT ACTION COURSE, you and your group begin the work of systematically organizing your precinct.

The Voter Locator List for the precinct, showing all the house and individual apartment numbers by street, has been prepared.

Voter Information File Cards have been made up—about 60 cards, or voters per person (30 dwelling units with national average of 1.8 voters per dwelling unit), is recommended in a PRECINCT ACTION COURSE as the workable proportion of precinct workers to voters.

Using the Locator List and Voter Information Cards, your group begins making a “perfect list” of potential voters in the precinct.

In addition, a second case, “Marching In The Saints” is discussed.

The Reading for Session 2 includes the following topics:

1. The Objective is to Win.
2. Priorities in Precinct Work: “Saints,” “Savables,” “Sinners.”
3. Opinion Leaders—Their Importance.
4. Importance of Good Information.
5. Sources of Information on Your Precinct.
6. Guide: Voter Locator List.
7. Guide: Voter Information Card.
8. Eight Key Principles For Winning Elections.
9. Case #2: “Marching In The Saints.”

Now, on to the reading for Session 2 . . .

The Objective Is to Win

The objective of political effort is to win. In Session 1, we saw that the most important factor in winning is personal contact in the precinct.

To win, you try to get every possible "Saint" vote in the ballot box. If you are out-registered and always lose, it is still vital to lose by as little as possible. If you out-register the other side and always win your precinct, it is still vital to win by as large a margin as you can, because the votes are all added up together by state, by county, by city or town, or by judicial, legislative or Congressional districts.

Your performance in losing smaller or winning bigger will balance out a "Sinner" margin somewhere else.

Priorities in Precinct Work

In most precincts there will be insufficient workers and inadequate time to devote hours of personal contact to every voter. Some system of priorities must be set up.

Battles in wars and efforts in politics both are referred to in terms of a "campaign." Both require careful staff work, assessments of your own strengths and evaluations of your enemy's weaknesses.

In war, a commander who is given an objective immediately seeks all the information possible on the enemy. But his primary concern is with his own troops—their morale, their training, their equipment. Building his own striking force gets top priority.

Similarly, the successful Precinct Leader assigns top priority to "Saints." They are the core, the largest part of his vote, and the easiest and most efficient to get out to the polls.

The second priority, is to woo the independent or undecided vote. They take more time and effort but are needed to do a really good job.

Much fuzzy thinking has surrounded efforts to get out the vote—even by some precinct workers. From a practical politician's standpoint, the injunction "I don't care how you vote—just vote," is unrealistic. If you are a worker in a precinct that has an overwhelming majority of your party you may profit from a big vote. But your best bet is

to make sure that every "Saint" and probable "Saint" gets to the polls. Let the "Sinners" get out their own vote.

"Saints," "Savables," and "Sinners"

This is a handy way to break down your voters into groups.

SAINTS: The "Saints" are the nucleus of your party. They vote your way regularly. That does not mean they can be forgotten. Taking them for granted can lose them.

Your primary duty is to pay attention to the "Saints"—see that they are registered and get to the polls.

SAVABLES: The "Savables" are the people who receive second priority. They include the undecided, the new voter, the non-voter, and the weak "Sinners." The classic illustration of help afforded "Savables" in making up their minds is furnished by the Democratic political machines that flourished in New York years ago, and were built on the assistance they furnished to immigrants.

The immigrants, uneasy and uncertain in a strange land, were helped in a variety of ways, but always accompanying the help was the suggestion that to do things in the true American way, one should vote Democratic. Among people whose life goal was to become accepted as Americans, this was (and still may be) an argument of overwhelming strength.

This game can be played by both sides.

EXAMPLE: Many persons from a large Midwest City have moved in recent years to a suburb. A Republican woman who made the same move herself a few years ago, makes it her business to call on them, to discuss with them the shopping and entertainment facilities, community customs, etc. She may even point out that the majority votes Republican: "Most of us do because they give us good government."

SINNERS: The "Sinners" are a lost cause. It is important to know that a voter is a real "Sinner" and not merely a weak one. But, if he is, forget about him. You will gain more by concentrating on the "Saints" and the "Savables."

People new to politics often have the idea that the biggest feather they can put in their cap is to convert a "Sinner" to vote as a "Saint."

The experienced politician knows that one may have to spend 100, 500, or even 1,000 times as much time and effort to convert one "Sinner" as he does to get one reliable "Saint" to the polls. Obviously, the most efficient thing that can be done is to get sure "Saints" registered and to the polls. In terms of time and effort, the second most efficient thing is to persuade "Savables" to register and vote the "Saint" ticket.

You may spend hours or days to convert a "Sinner" and still not be certain that you have succeeded. In any case he will have only one vote, and you will never be sure that you have changed a habit pattern of long standing. In the same time you may be able to get four to five hundred loyal "Saints" to the polls; or you might persuade ten or twenty "Savables."

As one old hand at getting out a vote once said, "There may be more joy in heaven over one sinner saved than a thousand righteous, but there is infinitely more joy in Democratic headquarters on Election Night over a thousand Democrats gotten to the polls than over one Republican converted."

Opinion Leaders

Opinion research companies, propaganda psychologists, political scientists, and others who have studied the effects of mass communications have found that the mass media do not reach the majority of people directly. Rather, it is the "opinion leaders," the people who are aware of government and political and community affairs who form judgments and then "retail" them to their friends and neighbors.

Most people today, even as in Lincoln's time, make up their minds on what to buy, what movie to see, whether to vote and how to vote on the basis of face-to-face contacts with friends, their social group. As Lincoln said, "Have them talked to from time to time by those in whom they shall have the most confidence."

There are probably about 6-10 million Americans who fall in this category of opinion leaders. There are some in your neighborhood. One way to increase the effectiveness of party personal contact work is by activating natural opinion leaders. They are good precinct workers.

If they do not become precinct workers, they can still be sought out

and activated to become articulate spokesmen for the cause—if they are inclined to your side.

A study in Elmira, New York, "shows that the following characteristics are associated with opinion leadership, whether or not a person is interested in politics . . . ," ("Political Life," pages 90-91):

... 1. Belonging to two or more organizations. 2. Male sex. 3. Know party workers. 4. Talk politics outside the family . . .

... Thus, being placed in the role of a more knowledgeable person . . . being confronted with more opportunities to see people (belonging to more organizations), having some slight pipeline or party gossip (knowing a party worker), and being in a setting where politics is talked about, all combine to make for opinion leadership . . .

... Situationally, the opinion leader has other distinctions. He is slightly better off than his following, and slightly better educated. These differences are slight, otherwise he would lose his capacity to be 'one of the boys' and thus have their trust and confidence. And within the broad classification of middle and working class, it will be seen in the figures below (see Table) that the professional and managerial group supplies more opinion leaders than does the white collar clerical group; among the working class, the skilled workers supply more opinion leaders than do the semi and unskilled workers.

Occupational Distribution of Opinion Leaders

Erie County		Elmira	
Occupation	Per cent Opinion Leaders	Occupation	Per cent Opinion Leaders
Professional	35	Professional & Managerial	31
Proprietary, managerial	25	White collar	18
Clerical	33	Skilled workers	27
Commercial, sales	44	Semi- and unskilled workers	22
Skilled workers	35		
Semi-skilled workers	32		
Unskilled workers	23		
Farmers	15		
Housewives	13		
Unemployed	15		
Retired	35		

From: "POLITICAL LIFE," p. 90-91

... But, of course, opinion leadership is much more than a product of situation and slightly superior status. It is also a product of greater interest, and the greater information and more clear-cut orientation with which this is associated. Opinion leaders on every education level . . .

... are more interested in an election
... have more information
... are more exposed to the media
... know more about the candidates' position
... feel that they have more influence on elections ...

... Thus there is a real reason for people to seek their advice and guidance, and for them to offer it and engage in persuasive activities. And, too, there is evidence that the influence of the opinion leaders may be to assist others to become more consistent in their orientation. On several issues (such as the Taft-Hartley Act, of 1948) it has been shown that the opinion leaders generally understand and support their party's position."

Some kinds of people who may be opinion leaders in your precinct are: women active in P.T.A.; men active in the Chamber of Commerce and service clubs; D.A.R. members; Scout leaders; den mothers; League of Women Voters members; physicians and their wives; the clergy; people active in church work and the various charity drives; officers of veterans groups; people in personnel work; and social workers.

These are the people who make opinion in your precinct. How successfully you work with them can win or lose elections.

Importance of Information

KEEP UP WITH THE NEWS: Newspapers, magazines, radio, TV, and other news and opinion media are very important. Every precinct worker should tune in to find out what his candidates are saying, what the opposition is saying and how the columnists and commentators are interpreting events. If you do this you will get ideas for effective arguments for your candidates, and ideas for countering the other side's arguments. Your opponents will be active in doing this and will be getting mileage from it.

KNOW YOUR PEOPLE: The success of all your personal contact efforts will be enhanced by the basic information you can gather. The most important item in this is your Voter Locator List. You want to know who the people are and where they live. Second important item is the Voter Information Card on which is recorded information about each person, his leanings, and other information that will be

helpful in approaching him or her.

Sources of Information on Your Precinct

The basic information you need about your precinct and the people in it, such as: a precinct map, a list of people in the precinct, list of dwelling units (individual houses and apartments)—can generally be found from readily available sources. In some communities the only way to get it is by calling on everyone in the precinct.

To do a good job you and the other members of your Precinct Team must get to know your voters personally by calling on them anyway. But it is an advantage in doing this job speedily and systematically first to make up a voter LOCATOR LIST (geographical list of dwelling units) and a VOTER INFORMATION CARD FILE (alphabetical card file of information about each eligible voter) from sources that have already compiled much of the information you will need. Here are some sources that are available in most places:

1. OFFICIAL LISTS of Voters

These are actual records at the Board of Elections or County Courthouse that people signed when they voted. In some cases, reluctance of local officials to cooperate makes it difficult to obtain access to them. Generally, they are "public information" which you have a right to examine.

OFFICIAL LISTS may contain only the names of the voters, or they may include address, age, sex, color, party affiliation and much other data. They may be arranged alphabetically, geographically or in the order people registered or voted.

Your town, city or county clerk, auditor or other official in charge of records can direct you to the records.

2. Published Lists of Voters

These are printed in many areas, either by government authorities or by political parties from an OFFICIAL LIST of voters:

- *Poll Tax List.* One kind of OFFICIAL LIST, showing who has paid the Poll Tax.
- *"Enrollment" or Party Affiliation Lists.* Another kind of OFFICIAL LIST showing party affiliation of voters.
- *Registration List.* A kind of OFFICIAL LIST showing registered voters at last election, generally regardless of whether they voted.

3. Telephone Company Street-by-Street Directories

These directories list addresses by street in numerical order, with names and telephone numbers to the right of the address.

To obtain one, call the Commercial Manager of your local telephone company. Generally cost between \$10 and \$30.00.

Many town, city, and county committees buy two of these (pages are printed on both sides), cut them up by precincts, and send clips to appropriate Precinct Leaders.

While these books are technically the property of the phone company and are to be returned when the new one is issued, the phone companies are philosophical about getting them back or having them cut up, defaced or destroyed.

[Limitations on Street-by-Street Phone Directories:

- No listings where there is no phone, or unlisted phone
- People move every day, outdated the directory
- Clerical errors do happen
- Information in these directories is probably 65% to 95% accurate depending on how frequently people move in your area, and the age of the directory.
- For listing dwelling units only (not occupants), these directories are probably 95% to 98% accurate except where a large new apartment building has just gone up, or where many dwelling units lack phones.]

4. City Directories

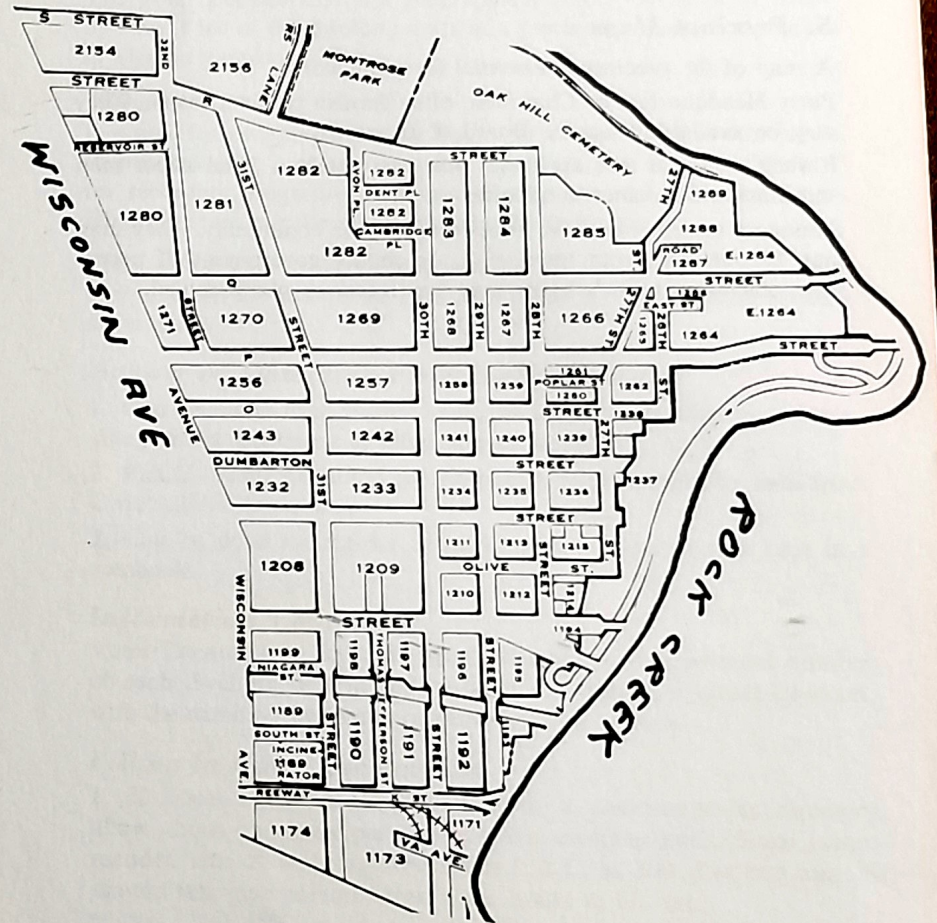
These are published for most large cities and even for communities with as few as 200 people.

They are usually expensive, as high as \$75 to \$100.00, but can often be found in the Public Library. (Check the card file; librarian may not know. There are few calls for it.)

Also, check local real estate firms, direct mail and canvassing houses, newspaper circulation departments, other businesses having use for geographic listing. Ask local Chamber Executive where you could obtain or borrow one.

City Directories are subject to clerical errors and outdated.

Some city directories list much information: names of occupants, including children, address, phone number, occupation, rent or own,



Precinct Map. Above map shows Precinct NW-6, Washington, D. C. Map was made by photocopying Official Surveyor's Map of D. C.

unlisted phones, dwelling units without phones.

The principal publisher of this type of directory is R. L. Polk and Co., 431 Howard Street, Detroit 31, Michigan.

5. Precinct Maps

A map of the precinct is *essential* for your work.

Party Headquarters or Chairmen, often furnish precinct maps. They may be available from the Board of Elections.

If such a map is not available, you can obtain a local street map and mark off precinct boundaries on it.

Stationery stores often have street maps of the community. They may be obtained from town, city, or county government. If necessary, official surveyor's maps may be traced or photo-copied.

Guide: Voter Locator List

What It Is

The Voter Locator List is a geographical (block-by-block or street-by-street) list of the dwelling units in a precinct or part of a precinct in which a team is working.

Purpose

It is used for assigning areas for house calls or permanent work areas. It provides (like a sales manager's map with pins in it) a "control" for recording progress—each unit can be checked off as cards are filled out, census calls made, leanings determined, etc.

The Locator List is particularly valuable as a single, large sheet that everyone can see at a glance to tell what has been done, what remains to be done.

Making or Obtaining Voter Locator List

1. Can be made from poster board or large sheets of paper obtainable at most stationery or office supply stores.
2. P.A.C. Voter Locator List sheets can be purchased by mail from Civic Affairs Associates.
3. Can be done on regular 8½x11" sheets of paper and kept in a notebook.

Information Contained

Voter Locator List contains simply the house or apartment number of each dwelling unit in the precinct, by block, or street-by-street, with the name of the family or persons living in each.

Filling In Voter Locator List

1. If Locator List is filled out from a street-by-street directory, allow about one hour per one-hundred dwelling units. Since recommended size of working area for a P.A.C. is 300 dwelling units, it should take one person about three hours to fill out.
2. House and apartment numbers may be filled in with ink or magic marker, paint, etc. Names of occupants should be written in pencil, however, to allow for new occupants, deaths, people coming of age, and moving. Expect to make erasures.
3. In entering dwelling unit numbers, allow a blank line every 10 or 15 lines so that new construction, or a dwelling unit not listed in directory may be entered.

4. If you do not have access to a street-by-street directory, previous precinct records, or other geographical listing, the Locator List may be made by walking through the precinct, recording each number. Names may be filled in as acquired by the Voter Census.

Locator List vs. Precinct Map

The Locator List is no substitute for a Precinct Map, or vice versa. Many persons think they can draw in buildings and enter street numbers on maps. Experienced leaders generally advise that it is impractical because of space limitations.

PRECINCT ACTION COURSE VOTER LOCATOR LIS

Program Record	Dwelling Unit Number	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	Program Record	Dwelling Unit Number	ELIGIBLE VOTERS
	<i>McKinley Street</i>			<i>Wilson Boulevard</i>	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>305</i>	<i>Miss Elsie Hanson, Jean McKee</i>		<i>1502</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Joe D. Heller</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>307</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Richard Foster</i>		<i>1504</i>	<i>Mr. Sidney Zagari</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<i>(John and Marie)</i>		<i>1508</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Leo Wade</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>309</i>	<i>Frank Stracy, Mike Hanson, George Willette, Mike Seibel</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1512</i>	<i>(John)</i>
	<i>311 Higgins Apt's</i>			<i>1514</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Jack Clark (Aunt)</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1A</i>	<i>Mr. Tracy L. Clark</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1514</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Corallie Page (Jerry and Mary Owen)</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<i>Richard (son)</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1516</i>	<i>William, McKinley, Mr. Mary</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1B</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Edward Parling, Jr. (E. and Frank)</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1517</i>	<i>Miss Richard Peters</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>2A</i>	<i>Miss Jerry McMillan</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<i>Miss Alice Jo O'Brien</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<i>Miss Albusca Drummond</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<i>Miss Joan Hendricks</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>2B</i>	<i>Demond Roy Pfautsch</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1518</i>	<i>Mr. Richard Reiter</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>3A</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Spencer</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1519</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. William Roberts</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>3B</i>	<i>Miss Margaret Young</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1520</i>	<i>Miss Ethel Sparkel</i>
		<i>Miss Catherine Pichon</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<i>Miss Betty Mizec</i>
		<i>Miss Connie Bowen</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1521</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Corallie Johnson</i>
	<i>312</i>	<i>Theris, Mr. Paul</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1522</i>	<i>William, Mr. John Julian</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>313</i>	<i>Gerard, Mrs. Julianne</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1528</i>	<i>Spillinger, Miss Barbara</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<i>Genevieve, Miss L. Liskell</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1529</i>	<i>Dixon, Mr. Fred L.</i>
	<i>314</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. David Baldwin</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1530</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Selma Morrison</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>315</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Bradley</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>1531</i>	<i>Mr. and Mrs. Cheever Perkins</i>

Voter Locator List. Note that progress has been checked off: Check Mark indicates card made for occupants of dwelling unit. Slash mark means Voter Census call has been made. Circle means political leanings of occupants have been ascertained.

Guide: Voter Information Card File

What It is

A Voter Information Card is a file card containing information about an individual who is or can be a voter in your precinct.

Purpose

The purpose of the card is to supply you with a compact, convenient source of information on each individual. It serves as an aid to memory and concentrates information which otherwise would have to be looked up in different places each time you want it.

Uses

The Voter Information Card File can be used:

1. As a reminder of a person's background, how to approach him, and other data relevant to making a call. Following calls, new information should be recorded immediately on the card, an entry made that the person was called, etc.
2. To look up phone numbers and addresses quickly.
3. To estimate how many votes you can deliver on Election Day by counting up the Saints, and probable Savables in the file.
4. To keep track of people as they register and vote by moving cards from one box to a second box as people sign in or vote.
5. As a permanent record of a person's having registered, voted, contributed, volunteered, etc.

3" x 5" cards vs. 5" x 8" cards

The majority of precinct leaders use 3"x5" cards. However, the P.A.C. recommends using 5"x8" cards for these reasons:

1. 3x5 cards are inadequate size for as much information as may be obtained over a period of time in a permanent card file.
2. 5x8 cards provide more room. This makes information easier to read, easier to enter—particularly important for older people and people with eye difficulties.
3. 5x8 cards are easier to handle, less likely lost if they fall on the floor. They are a substantial item, not easily thrown around or carelessly pocketed.
4. A 5x8 is standard size and as easily obtained as a 3x5.

Obtaining Voter Information Cards

1. Your state, county, city or town committee may have cards of a recommended design which can be obtained from headquarters.

Case 2—"Marching In The Saints"

This case relates an actual campaign for office in a large, active metropolitan Young Democratic Club. A case concerning a political Club Election is used to illustrate that the principles of precinct work are general principles based on the characteristics of voters and free elections regardless of whether the election is one for public office or an election in a civic group or political club.

In the Spring of 1958, the Balanced Slate and the TNT Slate vied for control of the Metropolitan Young Democratic Club. The essential background facts are these:

Number of members in the club: About 550 eligible to vote.

Officers of club up for election: President, 1st Vice President, 2nd Vice President, State Committeeman, State Committeewoman, Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary.

Election Day: Monday, April 28th.

Cut-Off Date: The last day for joining the club to be eligible to vote in the election was March 24th.

On March 24th, the cut-off date, 140 new members joined the club. Over 100 of them were brought in by the TNT people, about 30 by the Balanced Slate and its supporters.

For the campaign period between the cut-off date and election day, the TNT people scheduled one large social event one week after the cut-off date for the entire club membership to meet the TNT candidates. They held another party to which they invited only their declared active supporters about three days before the election.

The Balanced Slate scheduled three small home meetings per week for each of the four weeks of the campaign, each held in a different part of the city and its suburbs for the Balanced Slate candidates to meet and talk to voters in small groups. The day before election they held a party to which all members of the club were invited.

The week before election, the members of the Balanced Slate had a meeting and went over the list of club members one by one and

pooled their knowledge to decide which were Saints (for the Balanced Slate), Savables, and Sinners (TNT voters). They reached these conclusions:

1. That although a large number (say 125) of older, regular club members were supporting them solidly (their Saints) they had started the campaign well behind the TNT group because of the 100 new people brought in by TNT (TNT Saints).
2. Through the extensive home meetings campaign they had met about 120 members.
3. They estimated that about 300 votes would be cast so that 151 were needed to win.
4. They counted 172 members of the club who they felt sure would vote for the Balanced Slate—172 Saints.
5. They estimated that 135 members favored the TNT Slate—135 Sinners.

On election night, the TNT Slate had a well-manned, efficient group of workers on the telephone calling supporters to urge them to come to the meeting and vote. They had several drivers with cars to pick them up. The Balanced Slate arrangements fell through. Only a few of their supporters were called and only one car was available to bring voters to the meeting.

ELECTION RESULTS

Office	TNT Slate	Balanced Slate	Independent
President	144	139	
1st Vice President	148	136	
2nd Vice President	130	121	33
Committeeman	136	148	
Committeewoman	No Candidate	245	
Treasurer	116	165	
Corresponding Secretary	139	142	
Recording Secretary	145	137	
Total vote: 299			

Following the election, a check of the list of voters indicated that 26 of the 172 people who were thought to have supported the Balanced Slate did not go to the polls and vote.

“Meeting The Voters”

Session 3 takes the team out into the precinct to begin the “Voter Census.”

First, the team meets as usual and spends about 30 minutes preparing for the census:

- Assignments are handed out—probably 10 to 20 houses or apartments to each person or pair, depending on time available, distance between dwelling units, etc.
- Calls may be made in teams of two. If so, the group is paired off accordingly.
- Team reviews what information they are to get on each call and how to get this information down.
- Team reviews what to say and how to act on calls, what kinds of situations may arise and how to handle them.
- Agrees on a time to report back.

The team then goes out to make their calls and reports back to the meeting place in time to:

- Transfer information they obtained to Voter Information Cards.
- Discuss their experiences with each other.

Background reading for Session 3 includes:

1. Participating in a Voter Census.
2. Guide: Voter Census Sheet.
3. Guide: How to Identify “Saints,” “Savables” and “Sinners.”
4. Guide: Voting and Election Information Sheet.

Now, on to the reading for Session 3. . .

Guide: Making Voter Census Sheets

1. Why a voter census sheet?

Many people making house calls prefer to take their VOTER INFORMATION CARDS along and record the information directly on them.

If this is preferred, by all means, do so.

However, experienced precinct workers recommend using simple VOTER CENSUS SHEETS for these reasons:

- Cards get lost or are not returned.
- Cards get mixed up.
- Cards are hard to handle.
- Some cards will wind up in pockets and get dogeared or dirty.
- Cards are hard to write on in an interview situation.
- You do not need to shuffle VOTER CENSUS SHEETS; three or four sheets will last for an hour or more of census work.
- On a yellow pad, on a clip board, or with a magazine for backing, they provide a firm, easily-used writing platform.
- While using VOTER CENSUS SHEETS may mean an additional operation in transferring information from SHEET to VOTER INFORMATION CARDS, chances are notes taken in interviews will be messy and require recopying anyway.

VOTER CENSUS SHEET

Date of Calls: _____

Your Name: _____

Name of Co-Worker (if any): _____

<u>Address</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Phone</u>	<u>Party Affil.</u>	<u>Volunteer?</u>

2. How to make a VOTER CENSUS SHEET:

- Use illustration above for a model.
- Have VOTER CENSUS SHEETS mimeographed or printed.
- Just take a yellow pad and write appropriate headings on it following model.

Guide: Participating In Voter Census

1. Purpose:

There are three purposes in making the voter census.

- Since lists and directories contain inaccuracies, the only way to make a "perfect list" of all the potential voters is to make calls. This will pick up new houses, people who have moved or plan to move, new voters coming of age, telephone number changes, the arrival of relations who plan to stay on. It is the *only* way to be sure that information on the Voter Locator List and on Voter Information Cards is correct and complete.
- To establish face-to-face personal contact. A precinct "contact worker" should know his people personally if he is to be effective in getting them out to vote and in swaying "Savables."
- It shows action. Part of the psychology of winning elections is looking like a winner. When your Precinct Team is out making door-to-door calls, it stirs up talk. People get the impression it is a gung-ho, active group. People like and are "for" groups that are active and doing things.

2. Timing of Calls:

There is no need to draw out conversations. Get your information. Be friendly and polite. Get on with the next call. Five minutes per call should be adequate. Calls need never run over ten minutes on a Voter Census. Later calls or get-togethers may be arranged to build relationships. Conduct the interview at the door; going in and sitting down causes delay.

3. Information To Be Obtained:

(A) BASIC INFORMATION: In a Voter Census call, the information desired is only what has been determined as "Basic Information:"

- Numbers of all new dwelling units (house or apartment number).
- Names of people in each dwelling unit who are potential voters. of age and otherwise eligible, regardless of whether they are registered.
- Proper form of address—whether Miss, Mr. or Mrs.
- Correct address.
- Correct telephone number.
- Family relationship of persons in dwelling unit.

(B) **OPTIONAL BASIC INFORMATION:** Depending on what the Precinct Team considers "Basic Information," determine:

- Party affiliation or leaning.
- Names of new voters coming of age or acquiring citizenship.
- Whether person will do volunteer work. (See illustration page 53.)

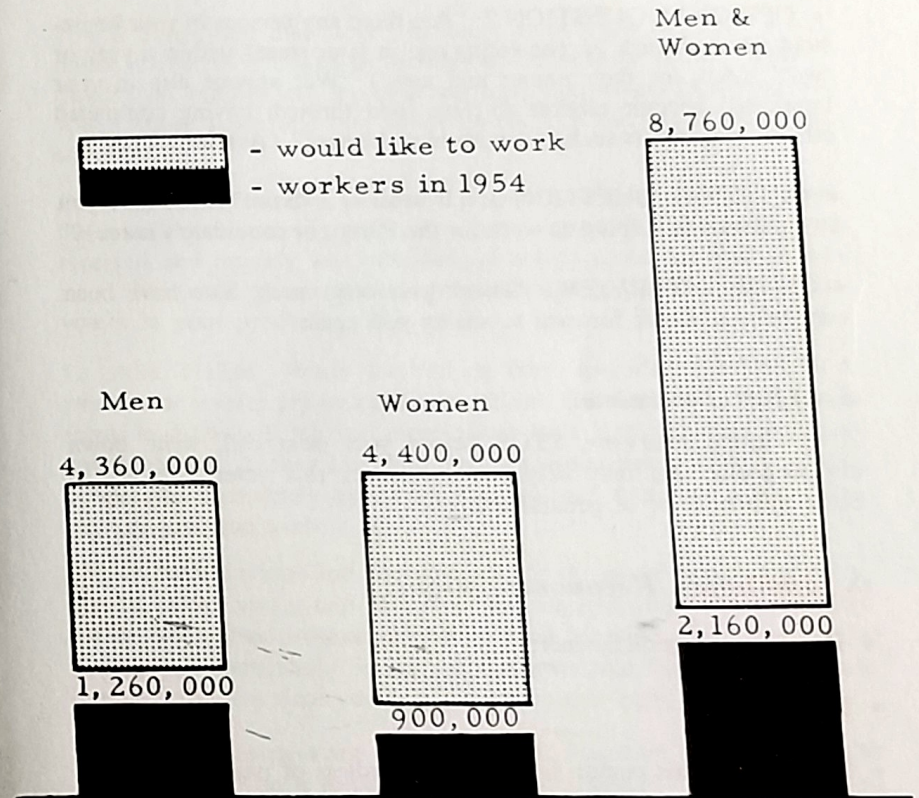
(C) **INCIDENTAL INFORMATION:** Other information may be volunteered or noticed.

NOTE: While "Basic Information" may be written down in the presence of the voter, remember incidental information and write it down after you are out of sight. People do not mind your writing down answers to direct questions, but can be offended by taking notes on chance remarks or things you notice.

4. What To Say

- **OPENING AND QUESTION 1:** "My name is _____ and I live over on _____ Street. This is _____ who is working with me. We are making a Voter Census for (candidate or party name) and just wish to ask you a few quick questions. (Voter may respond immediately to mention of your party or candidate, giving you a clue to his or her leanings.) First, is your name _____? (Or, may I have your name?)"
- **QUESTION 2:** "Are there others of voting age living with you or in your family? May I have their names?"
- **QUESTION 3:** (As you get each feminine name, be sure to ask): "Is that Mrs. or Miss?"
- **QUESTION 4:** "Is this your correct phone number (give number)?" Or: "May I have your present telephone number?"
- **QUESTION 5:** (Check relationships.) Review each name, ask:
 - "Is _____ your husband (wife)?"
 - "Is _____ your daughter (son)?"
 - "Is _____ your father (mother)?" , etc.
- **OPTIONAL QUESTION 1:** "Do you happen to be a Republican, or a Democrat?" (Pause and wait) "Or don't you consider yourself either one?"

About One Out Of Every Twenty Adults
Is A Possible Volunteer Worker For Your Party



A survey shows that 8,760,000 people showed willingness to work for their party, 2,160,000 actually did, in the 1954 Congressional elections. Figures for the other party are about the same. Source: American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll) Princeton, N. J., March 13, 1955. Some of these people live in your precinct, waiting to be asked to help.

(If not either one, and seems cooperative:) "Do you lean to one party or candidate more than the other?" "How about the other people of voting age in your household?" (Ask about each one.)

- **OPTIONAL QUESTION 2:** "Are there any persons in your household who will turn 21 (or voting age in your state) within a year or two?" (Ask for their names and ages.) "Will anyone else in your household become eligible to vote soon through having completed other requirements such as length of residence?" (Ask for names.)

- **OPTIONAL QUESTION 3:** (If voter is a "Saint"): "Would you be interested in helping us work for the Party (or candidate's name)?"

- **CLOSE INTERVIEW:** "Thank you very much. You have been very helpful. Look forward to seeing you again."

5. After Interview:

After closing interview, STOP before your next call, write down anything else that may help you remember this voter, establish a bond with him, or of general interest.

6. Additional Recommendations:

- Be brief. Be a good listener.
- Never argue.
- Be friendly. This person is a friend regardless of party.
- Always leave on a note of friendliness.
- Once more: NEVER ARGUE!

SMILE! SMILE! SMILE!

Guide: Saints, Savables And Sinners

As Lincoln said, the second step in effective precinct work is, "ascertain with certainty for whom they will vote."

This is easier said than done. In some areas Party workers would rather restrict their efforts to getting out the vote of known "Saints" rather than venture into the cold and uncertain waters of testing out voters whose sympathies are unknown and run the risk of offending someone.

People generally are not really that sensitive. Those who have done much calling on voters practically always report that they were well received and nobody was offended, although some declined to answer. There are three methods for ascertaining the leanings of the voters in your precinct. They are:

1. **ASK THEM.** When you call on them, introduce yourself as a worker for your party or candidate. Often, the reaction to this statement, in itself, will tell you more about their leanings than anything you could say. If they close the interview immediately they have still cooperated completely by giving you evidence that they are a "Sinner" or just won't talk.

(Much more devious and uncooperative is the genial soul who invites you in, pours you a cup of coffee and engages you in conversation for an hour, thus preventing your making further calls. He or she is probably a convinced "Sinner" who knows that the longer you are detained the less time you will have for other calls.)

Should your prospect not rise to this bait, then later ask directly, "Do you happen to be a Republican or a Democrat?" Or, "how do you feel about (your candidate's name)?" Most people will answer this question simply and truthfully. There is no need to fear asking it.

If you do not bring the interview to a head in this manner, the person you have just called on may lose respect for you because he knows that is what you are there to find out, and you have failed to bring the crucial issue out into the open.

It is wise to remember two things:

First, there are a few people who are truly reluctant to tell where their political sympathies lie. A government worker for instance, or

an employee of a company who differs with his boss or fellow employees may feel that if his sympathies become known, it may injure his good relations with the people with whom he works.

This fear may be genuine and well founded. It should be respected. Second, no matter how awkward you may feel the first time you ask a person where his sympathies lie, as you practice, you will find that you gain skill rapidly not only in asking the question, but also in gauging the response.

Acquiring this skill may even become a source of quiet pleasure and pride to you. Experiment with different ways of asking the question, the way you hold yourself, the tone of your voice, etc. You will develop a real knack of establishing friendly contact with the people you interview and impress them enough with your good faith and good intentions that they will respond warmly and cooperatively even when refusing to answer this question.

2. **INDIRECT INQUIRY.** The second method of "ascertaining with certainty for whom each will vote" is the "third person information" method.

This method entails discreet inquiry among friends who have known a voter over a period of years.

This method is not very trustworthy because so much relies on the quality of judgment of the third person or persons asked. They may be poor judges. They may for reasons of their own, perfectly innocent ones, mislead you. Or, they may simply wish to reassure you, fearing that it would upset you if you knew that so-and-so was a "Sinner."

In using this method, it is well to make several cross readings among different friends of the voter.

3. **THE BLIND TELEPHONE SURVEY.** This is used by workers of both parties, but many are critical of it because it involves misrepresentation. For this reason, it is not recommended, but mentioned only because it has gained wide acceptance.

In this method, the doubtful voter is called on the telephone and the interviewer says something like this:

"I am calling for an independent public opinion research company. We are conducting a survey of voter opinion. Your telephone number has been chosen at random from the telephone book."

"My first question is, did you vote in the last election?"

"Do you intend to vote in the next election?"

"Do you regularly vote for one Party or the other, or do you generally split your ballot?"

"Do you generally vote Republican or Democrat?"

"Do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?"

"Thank you very much, good-by."

SUMMARY: The method recommended by most experts in precinct work is the first method. It is straightforward, reliable, and the most efficient in terms of time.

However, the choice of methods to be used is up to the Precinct Leader and his Precinct Team.

NOTE: On the Voter Information Card there is space for both the Party affiliation of the voter and his leanings.

In certain areas that are solidly Republican, many people feel it wise to proclaim themselves as Republicans, but vote Democrat. In many solidly Democrat areas the same thing happens in reverse.

Where a voter proclaims himself as an independent, he often says this because he thinks it is intelligent, sophisticated and "the thing to do." Many "independents" vote consistently for one party rather than the other.

In these cases, leanings are more significant than party affiliation, and it is wise to "ascertain with certainty for whom they will vote" rather than rely on announced party affiliation.

Guide: Voting Information Sheet

WHAT IT IS

A Voting and Election Information Sheet gives essential information about who is eligible to vote, where and when they must go to register, where and when to vote.

PURPOSE

1. To give precinct team members vital information they need to contact voters, get them registered and to the polls.
2. If available in printed form from state, county or local headquarters, this information sheet is ideal to leave with "Saints" when making house calls.

INFORMATION NEEDED ON SHEET

1. Who is eligible to vote: Citizenship, minimum voting age, residency requirements, etc.
2. What a voter must do to qualify to vote: register, pay poll tax, pass literacy test, etc.
3. How to check whether a voter is registered: Most states now have some form of permanent registration. This may lapse. Names are removed from registration lists by error. Each voter's registration should be checked annually against official records.
4. Where and when to register: Central registration on a year-round or extended basis is done in many states. Most states also have local or precinct registration days when the books are open in schools, fire houses, city halls, etc., for convenience of voters. This information should be specific:
14th precinct voters may register between 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. in room 412 of the Johnson High School, Wednesday, October 12th through Friday, October 14th. Or on Saturday, October 15th in room 412 of the Johnson High School from noon to 8:00 p.m.
Last day to register locally is _____
Last day to register centrally is _____
5. Military Service Voting. Many states have special provisions for military people residing in the state. Many have special provisions for servicemen who are normally residents of the state to vote absentee while on duty.

6. Absentee Ballots: How to obtain and use absentee ballots.
7. Same kind of information is needed for party primary elections, caucuses, conventions and other nominating procedures.
8. Where to get further information. Here, name of Precinct Leader, his address and telephone number should be included.

WHERE TO OBTAIN INFORMATION

Your local or county Party Headquarters.

Board of Elections.

State Election Law. If not in your local library, write the Secretary of State at your State Capital.

League of Women Voters.

“Planning To Complete The Job”

Session 4 is the “wrap-up” session.

By this time, your precinct team, following the program, has:

- Worked out some ideas on why systematic personal contact wins elections.
- Systematically broken down the area with the Voter Locator List.
- Made substantial progress in developing a Voter Information Card File.
- Developed some appreciation of where votes are found and how they are gotten—how people make up their minds.
- Gone out and met some voters face-to-face.

The team is now ready to take a careful look at what they have accomplished, what is left to be done and to make plans to complete the job through Election Day.

The four reading assignments for Session 4 provide a basis for working out this plan:

1. The “Abe Lincoln Four-Step” (See reading for Session 1)
2. “Steps in Organizing a Precinct”
3. The “Four Periods in Organizing a Precinct”
4. Guide: “Political Calendar”

With these four short reading assignments your team can, in Session 4, list what has to be done, plan when to do it, divide up the work among the group and schedule additional sessions, as necessary, to plan and carry out specific phases of the Program.

THE PRECINCT ACTION COURSE includes agendas to conduct additional meetings which can be scheduled at appropriate times. They are:

REVIEW AND PLANNING MEETINGS: These can be conducted at any time and as often as desired.

VOTER CENSUS MEETINGS: Organized meetings to go out as a group and complete Voter Census house calls.

PLANNING THE REGISTRATION DRIVE: This session might be held 10 days to a month before precinct registration days.

POST-REGISTRATION MEETING: This session is to plan what can be done after close of registration to prepare for Election Day.

PREPARING FOR ELECTION DAY: This session reviews the jobs that should be done to guarantee that every registered "Saint" and probable "Saint" gets to the polls on Election Day, casts his vote without error, and has his ballot protected from honest error, vote fraud, and miscounting.

AFTER ELECTION DAY: This is one you will be tempted to skip, but it is probably the most important in the course because it:

- Provides an opportunity to review what was done effectively and spot weak points in your operation—while your memory of what happened is still fresh.
- Will show that personal contact work in your precinct will increase your vote 5 to 25% or more . . . you will have the figures to prove it.
- Gives your precinct team a chance to think ahead a little and make a few plans so that there will not be near as much to do next time and results will be even better.
- Offers an occasion to celebrate your accomplishment.

Now, on to the reading for Session 4 . . .

Steps In Organizing A Precinct

1. Obtain or make a Precinct Map.
 2. Obtain access to Sources of Information on your precinct.
 3. Estimate number of dwelling units and voters in your precinct.
- If precinct contains more than 500 dwelling units or 1,000 voters . . .

4. Lay out work areas of 200 to 500 dwelling units (400 to 1,000 eligible voters).
5. Recruit Work Area Leaders.

If there are less than 1,000 eligible voters in your precinct, or if your precinct is already divided into work areas, skip steps 4 and 5.

6. Obtain or make up a political calendar.
7. Call on your party leader or chairman.
8. Obtain materials to conduct a Precinct Action Course.
9. Recruit 4 to 12 people to help.
10. Anticipate expenses, prepare budget, arrange financing.
11. Make Geographical List of dwelling units, fill in occupants.
12. Make Alphabetical Card File of eligible voters.
13. Make a voter census call on each dwelling unit.
14. Correct Card File and Geographical List with voter census information.
15. Conduct Drive to Register all "Saints" and probable "Saints."
16. Plan period between end of Registration and Election Day.
17. Plan and carry out Election Day assignments.
18. After Election Day meeting, "graduation" and critique.

4 Periods In Precinct Work

Period 1

WHEN: From day after Election Day to ten days before Precinct Registration begins for the next election (or ten days before payment of poll tax). This is the most important period in winning elections.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE: This is the period when a small amount of occasional work will keep up to date your "perfect list of all the voters."

It is the best time to build voter confidence and respect by careful handling of incidental, or planned, personal contacts, so that when the time comes you will be one of those "in whom they have the most confidence."

It is the time in which to get a group of people together to organize and conduct a **PRECINCT ACTION COURSE**.

Period 2

WHEN: From ten days before Precinct Registration Days begin until the last day of Registration. In states where necessary, Period 2 begins ten days before poll tax is due.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE: It is during this period that you have best chance to swell the rolls with "Saints" and probable "Saints."

- Check your list to be sure it is perfect.
- Check again to ascertain how people will vote.
- Get your "Saints" registered (poll tax paid).
- Get your probable "Saints" registered (poll tax paid).
- Get your first voters who are possible "Saints" registered (poll tax paid).

Period 3

WHEN: From end of registration (or poll tax) to Election Day.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE: Be sure "Saints" do not feel overlooked. Purge the Official List of registered voters.

Have all doubtful voters ("Savables") talked to by those in whom they have confidence.

Put every "Saint" to work as an opinion leader talking to friends and neighbors.

Follow campaign developments closely and counter "Sinners" arguments by starting "the talk" going on your side's strong points.

Prepare Election Day assignments.

Period 4

WHEN: Week before Election Day through Election Day.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE: Make final "perfect list" of all registered "Saints" and probable "Saints."

Finish plans for Election Day work and carry them out.

On Election Day, see that every "Saint" and probable "Saint" is brought to the polls and his ballot protected.

Guide: Political Calendar

- *WHAT IT IS*

A political calendar is a list of the deadlines or other important political dates in a given year.

- *PURPOSE*

The purpose of a political calendar is to help you plan ahead and do what has to be done in time to be complete and effective.

- *INFORMATION IT SHOULD CONTAIN*

1. Date of Election Day(s).
2. Opening and closing dates of local or precinct registration.
3. Last day to pay poll tax (certain states).
4. Filing dates for candidates for office.
5. Dates of primary elections, caucuses, meetings or conventions.
6. Date for run-off primary (certain states).

- *WHERE INFORMATION CAN BE OBTAINED*

1. The election laws for your state.
2. Board of Elections (or whatever the name is in your area for the governmental body that supervises elections).
3. Party Chairman or Headquarters.

- *NOTE:* Some of these dates are set each year by state legislatures; some are set locally. It may be necessary to check several sources. Information may not be obtainable long in advance.

REVIEW AND PLANNING MEETINGS

Review and Planning Meetings are extremely useful as long as there is work still to be done to prepare for an election. Even in off-seasons where there is no election coming up for eight or ten months, they are helpful not only in organizing work early so that it can be gotten out of the way conveniently and in plenty of time, but also to hold the precinct team together as a working unit and keep them aware of the importance of their political activity.

- *PURPOSE OF REVIEW AND PLANNING MEETINGS*

1. Review what has been done and what remains to be done to prepare for the next election.
2. Organize work into assignments and schedule due dates for completion of jobs.
3. Plan and schedule group work sessions on cards, voter census, checking cards against Locator List. Schedule a new **PRECINCT ACTION COURSE** for another section of the precinct or for a new group of volunteer workers.
4. In off season, maintain at least a minimum level of political activity in the precinct on a year-round basis.

- *HOW OFTEN?*

Review and Planning Meetings probably should be held at least once a month beginning in January.

- *PREPARATION*

Each member of the team should review Handbook section "Steps in Organizing a Precinct," his political calendar, and his own notes or records on specific assignments he is responsible for.

VOTER CENSUS MEETINGS

(ADDITIONAL MEETINGS TO COMPLETE VOTER CENSUS)

Following Session 4, most precinct teams will not have completed their Voter Census. As many additional Voter Census Meetings should be held as necessary to complete the census.

The Leader will be tempted simply to assign areas to team members and ask them to be responsible for calling on the dwelling units in that area. People tend to put off doing it, do not finish, or lose interest when this is done. However, when a meeting is planned this creates an occasion, a definite time and a definite activity. Under these circumstances people come, do the job, and enjoy it.

● PREPARATION

Team members should review the reading for Session 3 on conducting a Voter Census.

● PROCEDURE

Since team members have already participated in a Voter Census (Session 3), the briefing time is much shorter, limited to handing out assignments and answering questions, if any. In Session 3, it was recommended that calls be made in pairs. Now that group has "broken in" on making calls, team members may split up and make calls individually, allowing more calls in the allotted time. This is up to team members, however. Some may prefer to go in pairs depending on their confidence, the time of day, their familiarity with the neighborhood.

A definite time is set to return, transfer notes to Voter Information Cards, have refreshments and discuss experiences.

● ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURE

Voter Census Meetings may be combined with other types of work sessions. If, for instance, more work is to be done with cards, Locator List, or other projects, one group that prefers to do this may stay at meeting place while the rest of the group makes house calls.

REGISTRATION DRIVE MEETING

What Registration is

In most parts of the United States, a person must register in order to vote. Registration is an official certification of a voter's being qualified to vote. On Election Day only those people who are registered on the OFFICIAL LIST will be given a ballot to vote.

Purpose of Registration Drive

One of the most important steps in winning elections is to get every Saint and Probable Saint registered so he can vote.

"Local" or "Precinct" as Opposed to "Central" Registration

Many states, and areas within states, provide for a "central" registration at the Court House or Board of Elections on either a year-round basis or for a period of several weeks or months. During this period people may register "centrally" by going to the appointed place and signing the necessary forms.

In addition, there is usually a period when the Registration Books are open in precincts or central community locations such as schools, fire houses, town halls, or private homes. This period, when voters can register at community locations, is called "local" or "precinct" registration.

A REGISTRATION DRIVE should be conducted during "local" or "precinct" registration. Start work 10 days before the Registration Books are opened for local registration.

Steps in Conducting a Registration Drive

1. Review Voter Information Cards. There should be a card for every potential voter in the precinct. Each dwelling unit has been called at least once, and information on every voter has been entered on his card. If cards are not complete in all respects, the group's first job is to complete their voter census, their check on voter leanings, and their card file.
2. Cards should be reviewed one by one by the whole Precinct Team so that anyone who may have knowledge about any voter can contribute the information for the Voter Information Card. Each card

should be tabbed, or the cards divided into groups labeled "Saints" and probable "Saints" on the one hand—"Sinners" and probable "Sinners" on the others. Unknowns and genuine undecideds may be placed in a third group.

When in doubt, particularly in the cases of new voters and people whose interest is low, resolve the doubt in favor of their being likely "Saints." Your interest and assistance may make the difference in how they vote.

3. "Sinners" and probable "Sinner" cards go back in the file.

4. Cards of "Saints" and probable "Saints" should then be checked against the OFFICIAL LIST to make sure their registration is good for the upcoming election. Cards of those who are not registered, whose registration has expired, or about whom there is any question of being registered, are separated from those who are definitely on the OFFICIAL LIST of registered voters. Those who are definitely on the OFFICIAL LIST go back in the card file box. (Where registration is required for each and every election, Step 4 is omitted.)

(NOTE: In areas where OFFICIAL LISTS of registered voters are not published, someone must go to the Court House or the Board of Elections and check the OFFICIAL LIST of registered voters against the cards.

NEVER take a voter's word that he is registered. He can be mistaken because of clerical error as well as faulty memory. Checking the OFFICIAL LIST is the only way to be sure.)

5. The remaining cards of unregistered or questionably registered "Saints" and probable "Saints" represents the target group for your Registration Drive. The goal is to get every one of them registered.

6. The Precinct Team organizes to get the unregistered "Saints" and probable "Saints" entered on the Registration Books. The following jobs are assigned (get additional volunteers if necessary):

A. Remind each voter in the target group when and where registration will take place. A post card mailing is good, but house or phone calls should be made anyway. Reminding should be done one or two days before local registration begins.

B. Schedule Registration Watchers. Someone should be on hand in the place of registration to list new registrants as they register. This list is taken each day to the Precinct Leader who will check them off on the cards, and then move the card of each new registrant from the target group file to the registered "Saints" file.

C. On the day before the last day of local registration, all those whose cards are still in the target group file should be called, reminded, and asked if they would like to join somebody or a group of people who are planning to register. Make an appointment. Offer to provide a sitter, if needed.

D. On last day of registration, a full crew should be scheduled and on duty all day:

- *Watcher at Registration place calling in names of new registrants every hour.*
- *Precinct Leader or deputy in the headquarters with phone and card file.*
- *People with cars to drive unregistered "Saints" to registration place.*
- *Sitters to mind children while parent registers.*

(NOTE: Registration procedures vary. A few states or parts of states do not require registration at all. In some states, a poll tax payment is equivalent to registering. In others, both poll tax and registration are required. In some places, workers may take registration books to the voters or register for them. In others, registration must be done in person—sometimes for each election, in other cases only if registering for the first time, or if registration has lapsed. The above check list can be modified to fit each of these variations.)

Guide: Working With "First Voters"

"First Voters" are people who have just come of voting age or have just become citizens, and are eligible to vote for the first time.

Having never made a voting decision before, they have not yet established habit patterns and tend to be open-minded.

In any given election, first voters may run from 5% to as high as 15% of the electorate—a very sizeable bloc of votes.

Since they are such a large group, since they are generally more open to persuasion, and since their first decision is likely to set a pattern for future voting, they are the most important group of "Savable" voters in your precinct.

Locating First Voters

1. First Voters should be located in your Voter Census or subsequent house calls. If they have not, it is wise to do a telephone survey of the precinct just to find potential First Voters.

2. One of the best ways to locate (if they have not already been located) First Voters and work with them, is to get as many known "Saint" First Voters as you can find (say, 2 or 3 up to a dozen) and get them out making a First Voter Census by personal calls. Failing that, then by phone.

Working With First Voters

1. To get the votes of a group, no one is more effective than a member of that group. If you can get a team of young First Voters working for your side in your precinct, handling the responsibility of getting to other First Voters, this is a long step forward. The more of them you can get working for your party or candidate the more you will have committing themselves psychologically, and the effect on others in this age group will be contagious.

Working with an adult group such as your Precinct Team, will in itself often provide them with a feeling of "belonging" that will give them an incentive to work actively among their friends, and will serve as a magnet to draw in others who had not thought much about politics before. You can make working for your party or candidate "the thing to do."

2. Service. Attention and service to people goes a long way toward enlisting their support. You can provide a real service to First Voters by helping them to understand the procedure involved in registering and voting. A First Voter Meeting or First Voter Party is an excellent way to do this. The following suggestions should be helpful:

- Hold in advance of local Registration Days.
- Have nucleus of "Saint" First Voters working on it, sending invitations and making arrangements.
- Make it a party with refreshments. Emphasize the social aspect. Have "hosts and hostesses" making sure everybody meets everybody else.
- Keep the theme one of public service: you are interested in helping them, not making a partisan appeal for votes. First Voters are apt to be repelled if they think you just brought them in to hear partisan speeches, but will be genuinely appreciative if they think you are interested in helping them to get through the ordeal of registering and voting successfully (don't forget, casting their first vote is a milestone like Bar Mitzvah, First Communion, graduation, first job, etc., the procedures appear new and complicated, there is some fear of being unqualified or making a mistake. As their shepherd making smooth the way, you earn their appreciation).
- At some point in the party or meeting, an attractive spokesman, preferably a candidate, a party official, or the Precinct Leader, should run through the procedures of registering and voting. Having an actual registration book or facsimile of one, a demonstration voting machine, sample ballots, are particularly helpful. Have each First Voter go through the mock process of signing the registration book and operating the demonstration machine or marking a paper ballot.
- Questions. Explain that no one should feel their questions are too trivial or uninformed, because many misunderstandings and inaccurate kinds of information are generally accepted, and you want to make sure that all phases of registering and voting are completely and accurately understood. Plant some questions to get things started—it is hard to ask the first question.
- Be sure there is a healthy sprinkling of confirmed "Saints" mixing in the group, preferably younger ones.

- The overall impression the First Voter should go away with is that your party is friendly, fun, active, interested in him, and eager to be of help.

Follow Up

All First Voters (except known "Sinners") should be contacted again, at least by phone. Questions should be solicited about procedure, help offered in getting them registered and completing any forms or the other requirements necessary.

The Future

Effective work with First Voters today will have important results in building your nucleus of "Saints" for future elections. Don't overlook it. It is one of the greatest opportunities there is for your Party.

POST-REGISTRATION MEETING

Once registration is closed and the final drive is on for victory, there are several important jobs to be done.

NOTE: In Idaho, Vermont, Utah, North Carolina, Nebraska, Iowa, Oklahoma, Alabama, Kansas, Wisconsin, Colorado and Wyoming, registration is very late. In these states, this meeting should not wait until Registration closes, but should be held earlier so that adequate time can be allowed to prepare for Election Day.

1. Purging the OFFICIAL LIST

As soon as possible after Registration has closed, the Precinct Leader or members of the Precinct Team should carefully check their Voter Information Card File against the OFFICIAL LIST of registered voters to:

- Identify every name on the LIST who has moved or otherwise become ineligible to vote. Names of persons who have moved or died present an open invitation for other persons to vote in their place. Every such name found should be checked for certainty and a formal challenge entered against the name.
- Close watch should be kept for persons whose names appear at an address where your Voter Census did not reveal anyone in residence. Double check and challenge.
- Since OFFICIAL LISTS of registered voters are generally not published before Election Day because of shortness of time, it may be necessary to go to the Board of Elections or the Court House to check the Registration Books themselves.
- If challenges are not resolved prior to Election Day, a list of all questionable voters should be made up just before Election Day and given to the "Saint" Watcher so that he may challenge any who attempt to vote. Watcher should have this *challenge list* and the evidence on which to base each challenge a day or two before Election Day. This will give him adequate time to familiarize himself with each case.

2. Double Checking the SAINTS

Every "Saint" and probable "Saint" should be contacted at least once before Election Day. Call them in order to:

- Make sure every possible absentee gets an absentee ballot. If there

is even a chance that a person will not be available on Election Day, he or she should make out an absentee ballot.

- Be sure every "Saint" knows where and when to vote.
- Register optimism and confidence that things are going your way this year. This encourages them to vote and talk.

3. Reaching the SAVABLES

You will want to activate all the "opinion leaders" you can. Get them talking your way. Remind them to tune in on important radio and TV programs and candidate interviews. Call their attention to favorable comment in the press, recent columns and news that looks good for your side. Don't try to sell them, just call their attention to the evidence and source.

Check your "Savables" in the card file. Try to find friends of theirs whose opinion they respect and who are confirmed "Saints." See to it that they are talked to by "those in whom they shall have the most confidence."

Schedule at least one or two small informal parties, teas, kaffee klatches, cocktail parties or card games and invite half "Savables" and half "Saints" There should be a last weekend party before Election Day. Do not bill them as political parties. They are social, friendly get-togethers of neighbors. Anyone is free to discuss politics or anything else. Such parties may be good for half a dozen, a dozen or more votes.

4. Setting Up Election Day Assignments

The Precinct Team usually turns out the "Saints" and probable "Saints." For work at the polls you want experienced pollworkers, lawyers who know the election law, and alert, aggressive, but diplomatic people.

Every possible volunteer should be given a job for Election Day. The more people feel a part of the effort, the more committed they become and the more they will work on friends and neighbors to vote your ticket.

The following assignments should be made for "outside" work:

- Central telephone answerer at precinct headquarters all day so

that he or she will be a central source of information on everything that has happened, is happening or is planned.

- Drivers to take people to the polls. One is sufficient until 3 p.m., after which two or more are needed, depending on size of precinct. Schedules can be staggered.

- Baby sitters. Good to have at least two on call all day. More if precinct is large. Schedules can be staggered.

- All team members on call from Noon on. They contact voters, arrange drivers and sitters, fill in for others, take coffee and sandwiches to poll workers, run errands and so on.

- Messenger. At least one should be available at all times to run lists from polls to headquarters and other errands.

These assignments should be made for "inside" work at the polls:

- Party Watcher. Job is to record on yellow pad the name of each voter that comes to vote. Lists are run to precinct headquarters from time to time where Leader, working with card file, keeps track of who has voted, who has yet to vote. Requires good handwriting, ability to concentrate and stay alert.

- Party Watcher No. 2, or Challenger. Job is to stand up for "Saint" interests. Should know poll procedures, election laws, be firm, diplomatic and respected. Can spell Watcher No. 1 on keeping lists. Should be at the polls before they open and must not leave until the count is complete and certified.

- Poll Officials. Generally poll officials for each precinct, who are paid by the Board of Elections (or other governmental body supervising the conduct of elections), are appointed on the recommendation of the leaders of both parties or candidates, each party having an equal number. They are generally called clerks, judges or inspectors. If party leaders are consulted on who gets these jobs, it is important to have alert, experienced people available.

NOTE: There is tremendous variation among the states as to what officials are required at the polls, what kind of party or candidate representatives may be allowed in the polling places and what activities they can carry out. Check your state election law and with the local election officials.

5. Planning for Polling Place Personnel

Amazing numbers of votes go uncounted each year because polling place personnel are:

- Unacquainted with the Election Law and unable to detect violations of it.
- Too timid or unsure to assert themselves.
- Indifferent or incompetent.
- Unfamiliar with correct and incorrect procedures.

Part of remedying this lies in selection of personnel. Part lies in training personnel in the Election Law, in procedures—and practicing how to handle situations.

Such schools must be arranged locally because of dependence on state Election Law and local customs or procedures.

6. Arranging Voter Schools, Demonstrations

About 3% of the votes cast in elections are invalidated because voters spoil ballots or operate machines incorrectly.

Practice with sample ballots and demonstration machines for “Saints” in your Precinct should be arranged.

Guide: Mailings To Voters

Many Precinct Leaders use mailings. Few think them through carefully. Most try to make them do more than they can. Here are suggestions on what can be done through the mail.

Personal Letters

Personal letters are the most effective mailings:

- Thanking workers for a big job well done.
- Reminding “Saints” of an election coming up.
- Saying how nice it was to meet you, or just passing on some news.
- Enclosing a newspaper clipping about the addressee or a member of his family.
- Sending greetings when on a trip—a post card will do.

Post Cards and Printed Circulars

Circulars take many forms, have many different uses. Circulars can be used to remind “Saints” and probable “Saints” when to register or vote. Sample ballots are great.

Campaign literature is hard to use effectively unless you personalize it with a note, drawing attention to some particular point or relating it to a previous conversation.

One good device is to pass out post cards or literature at a party or meeting—particularly one for a candidate—ask everyone to address 5 cards to personal friends and put a note on them. The Precinct Leader takes care of mailing them when turned in.

Endorsements

One very effective and simple kind of mailing to all kinds of people is a simple statement that “we support and urge you to support _____ (or your party ticket) because:

1. (Three
2. Short
3. Reasons).”

Followed by names of 50 or more people. (Have complete agreement and written permission to use each name or it may boomerang.)

Addressing

Always include Mr., Mrs. or Miss on address. A letter addressed to Jane Brown is obviously impersonally addressed, where a letter addressed to Mrs. Jane Brown gives the impression the sender at least

knows who she is. A letter to Mr. and Mrs. John Brown is far better than two letters, one to John Brown and another to Jane Brown. If Voter Information Cards have been well-kept, this is no problem, you will know who your people are. Volunteer crews should be warned particularly about using Mr., Mrs. and Miss in addressing envelopes.

NOTE: Mailings are hard to do well unless you have a professional publicity person or writer in your group with political experience. With the exception of personal notes and simple reminders to Saints to register and vote, mailings have little impact unless cleverly conceived and carefully done to achieve a specific purpose with a certain audience. They are no substitute for personal contact.

Guide: Use Of Telephone

In recent years a great deal has been said about the telephone as a political tool. This has been the result of successful phone campaigns by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Committees on Political Education (C.O.P.E.) as illustrated in the movie "Wisconsin Story" and by "bucket shop" operations.

The impression has grown up that the telephone is the magic key to successful precinct work. It isn't.

It has a very important place in precinct work, but its uses are specific. It is not a substitute for "making a perfect list" nor for personal calls, meetings, poll watching or other vital phases of personal contact work and precinct organization.

The Telephone Has These Uses:

1. "Crash" programs to turn out people to register and vote by shotgun approach in areas that are 3 to 2 "Saints" or better.
2. Reminder calls to get people out to register or vote, to get them to a meeting or party.
3. Polls to determine what issues are on people's minds.

It Has These Limitations:

1. It is less effective than face to face meetings in building friendly personal relationships with voters.
2. The caller has much less opportunity to observe and gain impressions of a voter because he can't see the expressions on a person's face, what kind of house he lives in, family or pictures, evidence of hobbies and interests.
3. A personal call gives you an opportunity to see the voter personally so you can recognize him at church, at the bus stop, in the supermarket, at a lodge meeting or Chamber of Commerce get-together . . . take advantage of chance meetings later to build your contact.
4. A personal call impresses a voter that you are personally interested in him—you took the time to "drop by."
5. You will never find new construction, houses with no phone, or an unlisted number by telephone.
6. A voter is better able to place you on subsequent visits or phone calls if he has met and seen you personally: "You remember I called on you one evening last April (you have record from Voter Informa-

tion Card) in our Voter Census. How have you been? Did the roses turn out well?" It is easier to talk to someone on the phone if you can visualize his face.

Summary

Just as a telephone is helpful to a salesman in contacting customers, it is no substitute for a personal call with an order blank and pen. Just as the telephone is a convenience in your relations with friends, it is no substitute for a get-together and depends for much of its value on personal relationships built previously in person.

The telephone is a short cut, a time saver, a convenience. It is an aid to, not a substitute for, knowing your voters personally.

Guide: Meetings And Parties

1. Successful Meetings

- Start meetings on time, but have 10 or 15 minutes of preliminaries so that late comers do not miss main show.
- Publicity or mailed notices do not get people out to meetings. You must call them on the phone, get others to organize groups to come, enlist the aid and support of friends to turn out their friends.
- Have an agenda or program worked out in advance. Time it roughly and try to hold closely to the schedule. Keep meetings moving.
- Test public address system before meeting to make sure it works.
- Have a gavel, pitcher of water, glasses, chairs at head table.
- Introduce all V.I.P.'s present. Many will be miffed if overlooked. Move it along though; long introductions or allowing V.I.P.'s to speak "briefly" may make program dull.
- Introduction of main speaker should be 45 seconds, no more. They came to hear the speaker, not the introduction.
- Be sure to have an informal "happy hour" or social period after the meeting with refreshments.

2. Successful Parties

A meeting is designed to persuade by the logic and emotion of a speaker. Parties do it by good fellowship and personal contact in informal conversation among individuals. Here are some points to remember:

- If you serve beer or alcoholic beverages, be sure to have soft drinks and tea or coffee as well. Not everyone drinks.
- While parties persuade informally, if a candidate is present he should be introduced and allowed to speak briefly, answer questions if appropriate. Be sure that he meets everyone.
- Guest list should be half to two-thirds "Saints," remainder "Savables." No "Sinners."
- In deciding who to invite, be sure that no "Saints" are overlooked who might be offended by being left out. "Saints" may feel slighted and easily become lost to the cause if not invited.
- Remind all guests by phone on the day before the party.

Guide: Candidate Information Sheet

What It Is

A Candidate Information Sheet is a list of who is running for what offices in the next election, duties of the offices, qualifications of candidates.

Purpose

To enable Precinct Team members to answer questions about candidates with knowledge and authority. Many voters like to "vote for the man" but do not know who is running. The Candidate Information Sheet will enable workers to help them.

Where To Get Information

1. From local party headquarters.
2. From the Board of Elections.
3. From the candidates themselves.
4. From the League of Women Voters.
5. From newspapers, radio, TV.

NOTE: Information on candidates is not needed until such time as they are nominated for the general election, or, in the case of primary elections, until they have filed.

ELECTION DAY PREPARATION MEETING

Preliminary plans for Election Day will have been worked out earlier, just after close of Registration or a week or two before Election Day. A few days before Election Day, last minute checking and finishing of assignments should be carried out. The following is a check list of what should be done on Election Day and just before.

1. Reminder to "Saints" and Probable "Saints"

Every registered "Saint" and probable "Saint" should be called a day or two before election to remind him or her to vote. This can be done by telephone. It should be done by someone who knows the voter. These points should be covered:

- Specific time and place: "Polls open at 7:00 a.m., Tuesday, November 6, and close at 9:00 p.m. Our precinct polling place is in Room 104 of the Lincoln Grade School on Truman Road."
- "Let me suggest that you vote early to avoid the rush. We have friends going over at _____ o'clock who would be happy to pick you up. Gets crowded and slow later on."
- "Will you need a sitter?"

If it is the custom, a post card reminder to "Saints" and probable "Savables" about Election Day time and place may be sent out Friday before Election. But this is no substitute for a call.

Sample ballots showing how to vote your ticket will assist voters in casting their ballots accurately. Can be mailed to "Saints" and Probables, delivered door-to-door, handed out at polls.

2. Precinct Workers To Get Out Vote

Check all assignments for Election Day as made up at earlier meeting. Message center, callers, drivers, sitters, etc.

3. Workers for the Polling Place

Whatever personnel are allowed under your state law should be assigned, schooled, and ready to work at the polls.

Polling place personnel should be all-day workers, at the polls 20 minutes before they open, and remain on duty until the votes are counted and certified. Staggering poll workers is bad; late comers are

unaware of what has gone on before, who has voted, and are at a psychological disadvantage.

Watchers should be supplied with *challenge list*. (See POST-REGISTRATION MEETING: 1. Purging the OFFICIAL LIST.)

4. Check-List for Polling Place Personnel

• Have ready all equipment for your polling place personnel the night before Election Day. See that it is at the polls on time in the morning:

Pencils

Pads of Paper

Carbon Paper

Copy of Election Laws

Light breakfast or coffee

- Arrange the day before for poll workers' meals.
- Be at the polls 20 minutes before they open. This insures that there is no tampering with machines or ballots before the voters come in.
- Ask to see credentials of all officials and party representatives to make sure unauthorized personnel are not present in the poll area.
- Insist on checking the ballot box to be certain it is empty before being locked and set in place; check all registers on machines to see that they are set at zero.
- If anything is out of order, insist on keeping polls closed until matters are straightened out by Board of Elections, police, or appropriate authority. Complaining later is too late. Take action when indicated. Don't be put off or buffaloed. Action must be timely to be effective and to have a case if legal action is later pursued.
- Have at least one "Saint" worker on duty at all times in the polling place.
- Where voters require assistance, insist on "Saint" representatives going in booth to insure that voter's wishes are followed in casting his ballot.
- Check signatures to see they match as people sign the book.
- Ask for identification by driver's license, permanent registration card or other evidence of identity when indicated. Watch for repeats and strangers.
- Insist on poll area being clearly delineated. No loitering in poll area. Only authorized personnel admitted.
- Do not allow a challenged voter to cast vote unless there is provision for holding his ballot aside, separate and identified, until such

time as challenge has been resolved and it may be counted. Once a vote is in the machine or in the ballot box, the vote is cast and cannot be recovered.

- Be alert for ways in which other polling place personnel may check how voters cast their ballot, whether by peeking, hearing different machine noises, handling paper ballots, reading marks from reverse side after being filled out but before being cast, etc.
- If paper ballots are being carelessly handled, defaced or otherwise abused, complain and insist that the personnel responsible be transferred to another job.
- Observation of machine totals from rear should be stopped if attempted.
- In most state election laws a time limit is prescribed for voter in the voting booth. If "Sinners" are taking too long in the booth, slowing up the voting, watcher should start calling time. It may be an intentional slow-down to discourage waiting "Saints."
- While abuses must be corrected promptly and firmly, making a nuisance of yourself, being overly zealous or harsh with other personnel or voters will cause resentment, make it difficult to get results, annoy voters and hurt your side's chances. Be firm and assertive, but diplomatic and considerate.
- When counting paper ballots do not allow dividing up into groups to count unless one "Saint" is available for each counting group. Generally, one person reads ballots aloud and another marks count on paper. Watcher should be in position to see each ballot, object if ballot is improperly marked, ascertain that the vote is called out correctly, and that the person marking the count is doing it correctly. Even the most honest people make mistakes in counting.
- "Saint" Watcher should check all arithmetic and insist on re-counting, no matter what the hour if he feels that errors were made.
- Do not leave the polling place until agreed-on count is certified on the proper report forms, the absentee and challenged ballots identified, marked, packaged and sealed.
- Call the count in to party headquarters as soon as the poll personnel are agreed on the final totals.

NOTE: Variations in procedures from place to place may mean that some of the above rules or suggestions will not directly apply to your polling place. Where this is the case, try to identify the purpose of each rule or suggestion and decide how to take appropriate action under your circumstances.

5. Turning Out the Saints

The following steps are recommended procedure on getting out your voters on Election Day:

1. Select all "Saint" and probable "Saint" voters' cards and place them in separate file in Precinct Headquarters.
2. Supply poll watchers with pad of yellow paper, three or four sharpened pencils, a couple of sheets of carbon paper.
3. As voters come in to the polls, the Watcher writes down each name carefully, legibly—spelling correctly and making one carbon copy. Each page should be numbered so that if one is lost, you will know which one it was and can get its carbon from the watcher. Voters are numbered as they vote, starting with 1 and continuing so that the number of the last voter also indicates how many have voted at any time.

NOTE: Experienced watchers and precinct leaders recommend the copying of names of voters on a pad of paper in preference to maintaining a file of duplicate cards at the polls because cards get out of order, lost, and there is no check if this happens. The list with a carbon eliminates need for duplicate card file, provides a check against lost or mislaid cards, guarantees that no voter will be missed, can be of assistance to official personnel in keeping track—and is really much easier.

4. Every hour or so, messenger picks up the paper from the Watcher. He leaves the carbon copy with the Watcher, runs the others to precinct headquarters.
5. Precinct Leader pulls cards of "Saints" and probable "Saints" from Watcher's lists as delivered, putting back in file or in a separate box. (Shoe boxes are sometimes used for this, giving this step the name "The Shoe Box Game.")

The remaining cards represent the "Saints" and probable "Saints"

who have not yet voted. Cards should be pulled promptly on receipt of the lists from the polling place. It prevents a pile-up or back-log which slows the process later when the time is needed for action.

Names on each sheet are double checked against the pulled cards and a note should be put on the sheet to indicate that the cards have been pulled. Save sheets for a possible need to recheck later.

6. Around 3:00 p.m., the round-up of "Saints" begins. Precinct team members should begin calling all "Saints" and probable "Saints" who have not voted. Check to see whether they need a ride or sitter. Find out what time they plan to vote. "No answers" are called back every half hour until located.

NOTE: Getting out your vote early not only saves you frantic efforts late in the day, but in majority "Saint" precincts and precincts where "Saints" vote late, it guards against slow-downs by "Sinner" poll officials, or voters who will intentionally take all the time they can in the voting booth to slow down voting at the end of the day to discourage "Saints" who get tired of waiting or have some place to be. Yes, this is done.

7. An hour and a half before the polls close, all remaining "Saints" and probable "Saints" are called again, reminding them that the polls close in an hour. Caller should have driver pick them up or go himself if he has any question about their firm intention to head for the polls immediately. Callers and drivers should now report to headquarters as each individual is delivered to the polls and receive instructions on who to go after next. The last hour can be an all-out, hard-working effort if there are many "Saints" who still haven't voted.
8. Continue until every "Saint" and probable "Saint" has been brought to the polls. Get them there before the polls close. The winning vote may be waiting for a driver.

AFTER ELECTION DAY MEETING

The period immediately following Election Day can be the most important in the political year, because:

- Whether people's efforts are properly appreciated may decide whether they will volunteer again.
- You can learn a tremendous amount about what happened and why, how to correct mistakes, and how to improve on successful actions, by having a discussion among the precinct team. Later, things are forgotten, memory becomes hazy.
- In discussing what was done right and wrong, people will outline better procedures, commit themselves to responsibility for following through.
- A planning session for the next election, a year or more away, can pay tremendous dividends in getting work planned and out of the way early and in small pieces.
- Everyone wants to sit down and rehash things anyway. You are a working group now, that has been through action together. You will want to keep in contact.

P.A.C. Glossary

Area—1. General Sense: A town, ward, city, county or district (such as Congressional district, judicial district, State Senate district, etc.). Any geographical area that has political significance and boundaries and which is either a constituency for public office or offices, or which is generally accepted as a unit for political organization with a Chairman and committee for the unit.

2. Work Area: An area of 200 to 500 dwelling units or 400 to 1,000 voters. Precincts of over 500 dwelling units or 1,000 eligible voters should be divided into Work Areas, each with a "Captain" or "Leader" and 4 to 12 helpers. This is a "bite-size" chunk for this size group to cover. Groups smaller than 4 (6 are better) are too small to get a "team spirit" operating. Groups larger than 12 are unwieldy to manage.

Block—A geographical unit consisting of a city block with a party worker assigned to get out his party vote in that block. Since blocks vary so much in population depending on whether they contain apartments or how large the block is and whether the houses are set close together or not, the block has become a fairly meaningless unit. A "Work Area" (see Area) is a more meaningful geographical unit for political organization.

Board of Elections—(also, County Court, Board of Supervisors, etc., depending on what it is called in your locality). That governmental department having responsibility for the conduct of elections. It may have other duties as well. Generally the Board of Elections is organized on a county basis. The Board of Elections is a governmental body, as opposed to a political party body.

Candidate Information Sheet—A folder, leaflet or sheet of paper giving background information on candidates and the governmental position to which they seek election. See page 84.

Captain—A term used to denote the leader or chairman of a precinct, district, etc. Generally a political party official, either elected or appointed, responsible for getting out his party's or candidate's vote in the area which is assigned to him.

Canvass—1. An organized systematic effort to call on all dwelling units in a given area for a given purpose. Generally means door to

door personal calls, although some use it to refer to a canvass done by phone.

2. Counting of votes on or after Election Day. e.g. "The official canvass of the votes show 11,284 for _____ and 10,156 for _____."

Caucus—A meeting of leaders or members of a political party to choose candidates, make plans or transact political business of various kinds.

Chairman—The leader of a political party unit. Depending on local usage, may refer to a Precinct Leader, Ward Leader, Town, City or County Leader. On levels from ward and town on up, the Chairman presides over a committee of leaders of sub-units.

Clerk—1. Town, City, or County Clerk. (May also be called auditor, prothonotary, judge, etc., depending on local usage.) The governmental official in charge of records for a town, city or county.

2. Election Clerk. (May also be called judge, supervisor, registrar, inspector, captain, etc., depending on local usage.) A governmental employee hired by the "Board of Elections" to work at the polls or supervise other government employees working at the polls during registration periods and on Election Day. His job is to oversee registration of voters, issuing and counting of ballots, management of records in the polling place, observance of election laws, etc.

Dwelling Unit—A structure or that part of a structure inhabited by a family, a household, or a group of people living together. Generally either a house, or one apartment in an apartment building.

Election—1. General Election. An election to name persons to governmental offices in which all eligible voters may participate, regardless of party, providing they have qualified themselves by registering, payment of poll tax, or whatever other steps are necessary to have their names entered on the OFFICIAL LIST of voters.

2. Primary election. An election to name persons as party officials, or to name persons as candidates of a political party for government office. Party primaries are generally restricted to members of the political party the officers or candidates of which are being named. Such primaries are called "closed primaries." "Open primaries" are pri-

maries in which any registered voter may vote in the party primary of whichever party he feels inclined to vote in at the time.

Judge—1. Judicial meaning. A government official, elected or appointed, to hear and decide (or preside over conduct of) cases in a court of law.

2. Elections Judge. See Clerk.

Mass Media (Singular, medium)—A mass medium is any form of communications carrying a message to numbers of people. The mass media are: Radio, TV, newspapers, magazines, direct mail, outdoor posters or billboards.

Mass Meeting—Means the same as caucus (see above). Term used in certain sections of the country to denote a caucus.

OFFICIAL LIST—The list of qualified voters compiled by the governmental body in charge of supervising elections. Only the people on this list may vote in an election. May be called a registration list, enrollment list, poll tax list, etc., may or may not be printed and available to the public.

Organize—In the special sense of precinct organization. A precinct organization is a group, committee or team whose job is to locate all the eligible voters of their party in the precinct, get them qualified and to the polls, to persuade other voters to vote for their ticket, and to protect their side's interests at the polling place and in the counting of the vote.

A precinct can be called "organized" when it has a Precinct Leader who has organized sufficient groups of 4 to 12 people to cover his precinct allowing for one volunteer worker to each 30 dwelling units (approximately), and such groups have set up files of eligible voters, laid plans to contact the voters personally, and man the polling places on Election Day.

Poll, or Polling Place—The place in or near a precinct where ballot boxes or voting machines are located on Election Day. Usually the same places are used for registration.

Poll Tax—In a number of states, eligible voters have had to pay a small tax in order to qualify as a voter. Although an amendment to the Constitution abolishing the poll tax has been passed and ratified by the states, the effect of this amendment is limited to elections for

federal office (President, Vice President, Senate, House of Representatives) and some states retain this qualification for local and state elections.

Precinct—A small geographical area served by one polling place and containing on the average about 600 to 1,000 voters, although it may range in size from 150 to as high as 25,000 voters depending on state laws and the policies of local boards of elections in setting boundaries to conform with population shifts. Precincts may be called divisions, voting districts, election districts, etc., depending on local usage.

Precinct Leader—Elected or appointed political party official in charge of getting a maximum vote for his party ticket or candidate in his precinct. May also be called Captain, Committeeman, Chairman, etc., depending on local usage.

Registrar—Governmental official authorized to register voters.

Registration—The process of making up an OFFICIAL LIST of people who may vote in an election. In some places the voters must appear personally to register. In other places, they may be registered by a registration official without personally appearing. Depending on state law, registration may be necessary for each election, every two years, every four years, or may not be required at all. Permanent registration is a system where a person may stay on the registration books indefinitely once he is registered, providing he votes at stated intervals. If he fails to vote during the stated period his name is removed from the books.

“Saints,” “Savables,” “Sinners”—See pages 4, 31 in Handbook.

Voters—1. Eligible voters. Persons who are entitled, under the law, to vote. Generally, a person must be a citizen, be of a certain age, have resided in the precinct, county, and/or state for a certain period, etc.

2. Qualified Voters. Those eligible voters who have taken whatever steps are necessary to have their names placed on the OFFICIAL LIST of voters, whether it be registration, payment of poll tax or other action.

3. Actual Voters—eligible voters who qualify to vote and actually do vote.

Voter Census Sheet—See page 50 in Handbook.

Voter Information Card—See page 41 in Handbook.

Voter Locator List—See page 39 in Handbook.

Voting Information Sheet—See page 58 in Handbook.

Ward—An area with fixed boundaries usually serving as a constituency for a municipal councilman, alderman, etc. Generally consists of a number of precincts.

Work Area, Work Area Leader—See Area, Work.

CIVIC AFFAIRS ASSOCIATES, INC., is a corporation organized to do research, consulting, and publishing in politics and legislation for individuals, business firms, associations and civic organizations. Its office is located at 2612 P St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20007. Telephone CO 5-2307, Area Code 202.

Biehl P. Clarke is President of Civic Affairs Associates and the principal author of the PRECINCT ACTION COURSE. He is former Assistant Manager for the Political Participation Program at the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and principal author of the Chamber's ACTION COURSE IN PRACTICAL POLITICS.

His experience includes working for the advertising agency which handled the Democratic National Campaign in 1948; serving as Vice Chairman of the Clubs Division of New York State Citizens for Eisenhower and Organization Director of Westchester County Citizens for Eisenhower in 1952. He has had precinct work experience in New York, Illinois, Maryland, and Virginia and the District of Columbia.

He has been President of the Young Republican Club of Larchmont-Mamaroneck (N.Y.) and of the District of Columbia Young Republican Club, as well as Executive Secretary of the Young Republican National Federation.

CIVIC AFFAIRS ASSOCIATES have been retained as public affairs consultants to several business firms and as political organization and program consultants to national political committees.

Personnel are available for setting up precinct organization in towns, cities, counties, congressional districts.

Details available on request.

Performance Data . . .

Precinct Action Course . . .

- Has been used in 42 states.
- In areas already well organized, users reported increases in their party vote ranging from 5% to 25%.
- In areas previously unorganized, users reported gains in party vote up to 95%.
- These increases occurred where the P.A.C. was used as intended, the four sessions conducted by the Precinct Leader with volunteers from his precinct.

HERE IS WHAT THEY SAY . . .

- Ethan Campbell, candidate for Congress, 6th District of Missouri, 1960 and 1962—(Mostly rural and small town area.) “We used the P.A.C. in 11 precincts in Buchanan County in 1962. In every one of the 11, my share of the vote increased over 1960, while district-wide it decreased 2.3%.”
- Edward O. Sullivan, Jr., 8th Ward, Yonkers, New York (mixed big city and suburban area, about 6,000 voters)—“We used P.A.C. in all 13 election districts (precincts) of the 8th Ward in 1963 municipal elections. Councilman Picone’s margin increased from 246 in 1961 to over 700 this year. We cut our stay-at-homes from 11% to 5%. We can account for everyone who didn’t vote, and why. Experienced committeemen said P.A.C. cleared up questions they had had for years. It works! It’s terrific!”
- Earl Carroll, Town Chairman, Clarksville, Indiana—Ran 4 groups of 4 persons per group. Made 800 house calls, found 150 non-voting “Saints,” 35 first voters, recruited 15 more workers. “We registered 350 new ‘Saints’ to the other side’s 75 or 100.”
- Herbert B. Cherrie, II, Committeeman, R.D. #1 Fleetwood, Pa. Ran two groups totaling 27 people. Made 800 house calls, found 104 non-voting “Saints,” 85 first voters, picked up four more volunteers. “Now for the first time in history we outregister the opposition 640 to 590. All my workers were complete novices.”
- Mrs. Robert Ague, Chairman, Belleview Precinct, Alexandria, Va. “We increased our vote by 95% in 1962. We owe it all to the P.A.C.”