

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 082 282

EA 005 327

AUTHOR Piele, Philip K.; Hall, John Stuart
TITLE Voting in School Financial Elections -- Some Partial Theories. State-of-the-Knowledge Series, No. 28.
INSTITUTION Oregon Univ., Eugene. ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.,
PUB DATE Sep 73
CONTRACT OEC-0-8-080353-3514
NOTE 63p.

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC-\$3.29

DESCRIPTORS Bibliographies; *Bond Issues; Community Attitudes; Community Responsibility; *Educational Finance; Educational Research; Literature Reviews; Political Attitudes; Research Reviews (Publications); *School Budget Elections; School Support; Socioeconomic Status; *Theories; *Voting

IDENTIFIERS *Voter Behavior

ABSTRACT

In this paper, the authors attempt to provide a basic outline of what is known about the determinants of success or failure in school financial elections. The research, conducted since 1960, comes from several academic disciplines, employs a wide variety of techniques and methods, and is geographically representative of the United States. Significant findings, drawn from an analysis of over 100 empirical research reports, are integrated with partial theories based on economic self-interest, socioeconomic status, community responsibility and distance attitudes, and a politicized electorate versus an informed democratic electorate. Research that outlines the groups of voters most likely to vote "yes" on school financial issues and that contrasts them with those voters most likely to vote "no" is also summarized. The authors comment on changes in the traditional voting patterns in school financial elections and the trend toward increasing defeat of school financial issues by groups that have traditionally supported such issues. An appendix comprises a synthesization of the research reviewed and shows dependent and independent variables as correlates by "yes" voting and election success; and a 238-item bibliography on voter behavior in school financial elections. (Author/EA)

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

ED 082282

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRO-
DUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM
THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGIN-
ATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS
STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT
OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Voting in School Financial Elections

some partial theories

Philip K. Piele
John Stuart Hall

ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
EUGENE, OREGON 97403

September 1973
State-of-the-Knowledge Series, No. 28
Clearinghouse Accession Number: EA 005 327

EA 005 327

ERIC/CEM

The Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) is a national information system operated by the National Institute of Education. ERIC serves the educational community by disseminating educational research results and other resource information that can be used in developing more effective educational programs.

The ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management, one of several such units in the system, was established at the University of Oregon in 1966. The Clearinghouse and its companion units process research reports and journal articles for announcement in ERIC's index and abstract bulletins.

Research reports are announced in *Research in Education (RIE)*, available in many libraries and by subscription for \$38 a year from the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Most of the documents listed in *RIE* can be purchased through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service, operated by Leasco Information Products, Inc.

Journal articles are announced in *Current Index to Journals in Education. CIJE* is also available in many libraries and can be ordered for \$44 a year from Macmillan Information, 866 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022. Annual and semiannual cumulations can be ordered separately.

Besides processing documents and journal articles, the Clearinghouse has another major function—information analysis and synthesis. The Clearinghouse prepares bibliographies, literature reviews, state-of-the-knowledge papers, and other interpretive research studies on topics in its area.

The ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management operates under contract with the National Institute of Education of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This publication was prepared pursuant to that contract. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgment in professional and technical matters. Points of view or opinions do not, therefore, necessarily represent official National Institute of Education position or policy.

Manuscript edited by Dee Schofield

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. DIFFERENCES IN FOCUS.	3
3. SOME PARTIAL THEORIES.	7
Economic Self-Interest	8
Socioeconomic Status	12
Community Responsibility and Social Distance Attitudes	13
Stimulating Voter Participation: The Informed Democratic versus the Politicized Electorate	15
4. THEORY OF THE NORMAL VOTE: POTENTIALS AND PROBLEMS.	23
5. CONCLUSION: LINKING RESEARCH TO PRACTICE.	29
APPENDIX	33
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	47

Introduction

The importance of the marked increase in negative voting in school financial elections is, of course, obvious to those concerned with running the schools. But the fact remains that few administrators understand the dynamics behind this increased negative response. Many school officials still operate according to antiquated and oversimplified assumptions that lack empirical substantiation. For example, administrators have traditionally believed that increasing the number of voters in school financial elections will automatically result in a corresponding increase in the number of positive votes. In other words, the greater the turnout, the greater the chances for passing a financial issue. However, research indicates that the converse of this assumption is true: the greater the turnout, the lower the chances are that the issue will pass.

In order to dispel such misconceptions as well as to improve our ability to understand, explain, and predict voter behavior, we have thoroughly reviewed the research dealing with voting in school financial elections. This paper is the product of our efforts

to extract and synthesize the results of empirical research on voting behavior. This research, all of which was conducted since 1960, comes from several academic disciplines, employs a wide variety of techniques and methods, and is geographically representative of the United States. This paper summarizes the significant findings from more than a hundred empirical research reports in both published and unpublished form. We have integrated these findings with partial theories and assessed the collective nature of these theories. Partial theories based on economic self-interest, socioeconomic status, community responsibility and social distance attitudes, and a politicized electorate versus an informed democratic electorate are among the ones extracted from our review of the data. We have also summarized research that outlines the groups of voters most likely to vote yes on school financial issues as contrasted with those most likely to vote no. As a result of our work, we believe that this paper provides a basic outline of what is known about the determinants of success or failure in school financial elections.

We have intended this paper to improve the links between past, present, and future research, as well as to reinforce the connections between research undertaken at different levels and research with different disciplinary and theoretic perspectives. The evidence in this paper may be used by individuals attempting to affect the outcome of school financial elections, thereby serving to strengthen the relationship between research and practice. However, our intent has not been to write a "how to win a school election" manual. We believe that the information contained in this paper is potentially interesting and relevant to a wide audience—to all persons (administrators and taxpayers) who have a financial stake in the public schools.

Differences in Focus

Although all the research reports that form the data base for this paper examine voting behavior in school financial elections, subtle but important differences in point of view suggest that this research may be classified into two groups. Some investigations focus on determinants of voter behavior, others on the determinants of election outcome.*

Research of the first kind examines the effect of a number of potentially salient influencing factors (independent variables) on a citizen's decision to participate in a school financial election and to vote yes or no (the dependent variable). These studies commonly employ survey methodology and are conducted in a limited geo-

*This point is forcefully made by Peter B. Natchez in his excellent critical review of studies of voting in American presidential elections; "Images of Voting: The Social Psychologists," *Public Policy*, 18 (Summer 1970), 553-588. For an up-to-date review that makes this distinction between voting studies, see Fyron M. Kirkpatrick, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," *American Political Science Review*, 65 (December 1971), 971-974.

graphical area over a short period. Despite these limitations in methodology and scope, the results of these studies, on the whole, provide a fairly accurate profile of the voters who consistently vote yes and those who consistently vote no in normal school financial elections.

By focusing on election outcome, the second kind of study generally covers a much wider geographical area and time period. Hence, the results of these studies form the basis for more accurate generalizations. However, many important characteristics that make up a profile of the individual voter cannot be derived from a comparison of aggregates as large as school districts or communities. The heterogeneity of most school districts or communities precludes analysis of many important factors.

Figure 1 illustrates schematically the different focuses of most election studies. The space encompassed by circle 1 on the left side of the unit of analysis continuum represents research designed to test specific correlates to voter choice. Studies that fit in the space encompassed by circle 3 on the right side of the continuum focus on election outcome.

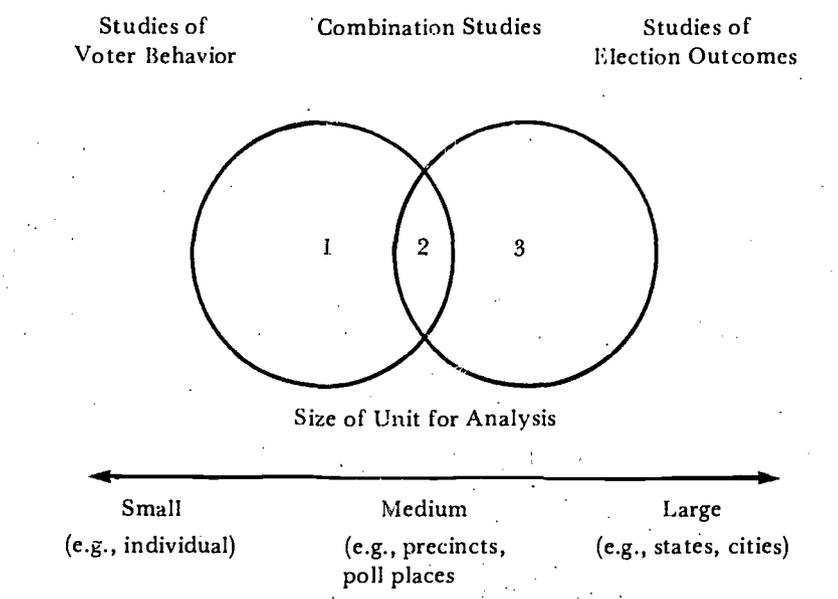
Both kinds of studies are based on certain assumptions that may or may not be explicitly stated in the research reports. Studies of voter behavior agree with the partisan voting literature in assuming that an "array of forces" (Campbell and others 1966) predetermines or shapes the choice of most voters.* The conclusion to be drawn from this assumption is that the more that is known about the order and salience of these underlying forces, the more specific will be the description (profile) of the "normal" voter. The first task of studies applying this conclusion to partisan elections is to define and identify "normal" Democratic, Republican, and Independent voters, and the strength of their partisan ties.** The second task is to define and trace a profile of the easily influenced or inconsistent voter. This profile provides background for understanding voter deviations from expectations based on the norm.

It is at this point that the effect of situational factors (short-term forces) is finally brought into the analysis. The voting behavior

* For an excellent illustration and discussion of this "funnel of causality" concept, see Natchez 1970, p. 562.

** Reference here is to the concept of individual psychological party identification, as operationalized in the Survey Research Center (University of Michigan) studies.

FIGURE 1
 A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF RESEARCH APPROACHES
 TO THE STUDY OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN
 SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS



of individuals with weak partisan ties is more immediately influenced by the economic situation, foreign policy issues, candidate appeal, and other similar short-term forces. These factors, which constitute the "situation" dimension, are considered relatively insignificant in the decision-making process of most voters:

Current pressures arising outside the political order continue to affect the [voter's] evaluation process, and from time to time they may contribute to a critical margin of political victory. Yet for most of the people most of the time such contemporary forces turn out to be but minor terms in the decision equation. *Campbell and others* 1966, p. 66

This "critical margin of political victory" is the overriding concern of studies encompassed by circle 3 of figure 1. Both by definition and design, most studies of election outcome begin by assessing the effect of situational influences on election results. Comparisons are made between elections at different times and in different geographical areas.

Just as studies of voting behavior may give cursory attention to the effect of situational variables on election outcome (frequently treating them together under the heading "stimulants to participation"), studies of election outcome may assess the varied impact of situations on certain kinds of voters. The overlap between voting behavior and election outcome is occasionally made clear in a single empirical study.

Some Partial Theories

In addition to the basic conceptual differences mentioned above, the literature we have reviewed explicates and tests (with varying degrees of precision) several distinct partial theories explaining the empirical relationships outlined in our data. Several of these partial theories are listed in table 1. This list is intended to cover the major explanations offered in the literature, and it does not necessarily cover the potential range of explanations. The need for additional theory to explain voting behavior in school financial elections is apparent from the obvious overlap and interrelationships among the partial theories listed.*

The seven labels provided in table 1 summarize the array of par-

*The overlapping and interrelated nature of both variables and partial theories commonplace to social research reflects the complexity of most social problems worth inquiry. For an excellent introductory statement of this problem and some of the means for coping with it, see Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *An Introduction to Social Research* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

tial theories that are intended to explain many of the research findings we reviewed. In some cases, several narrower and slightly different theories have been classified together; in other instances, segments of larger theories are included in our partial theory system. In both cases, our intent is to provide summary theoretical statements that accurately reflect the substance and range of explanations occurring in the relevant research literature.

The data that we have perused may be summarized by this partial theory scheme. The fact that several findings from the empirical research we reviewed can be explained by more than one partial theory underscores the danger of accepting such a classification system as anything more than a simplified summary of the state-of-the-research. We can draw one conclusion with total certainty from this classification process: much more exploration is needed—many questions remain unanswered.

These questions are readily apparent from a perusal of the Appendix, which refers the reader to the research reviewed by listing the findings that served as our data base according to type of variable. Although this classification by variable type frequently suggests partial theory, the two concepts are not synonymous. The distinction between the two becomes apparent in examining the Appendix's cross-references to the partial theories presented in table 1. More than one entry is required for almost every variable, meaning that a similar table constructed to reflect the findings applicable to each partial theory would be several times as long. The message suggested by this overlap is clear: the researcher/theoretician should consider future research designs more directly attuned to a dynamic research/theory relationship.

The following review summarizes partial theories in light of the evidence referenced by variables in the Appendix.

ECONOMIC SELF-INTEREST

Several researchers have assumed that the probability of school issue defeat will increase with the cost of the issue. Certainly, if a sizable number of voters are motivated by economic self-interest concerns, then the assumption is reasonable. Although a few studies report strong positive correlations between indicators of high cost and negative votes, by far the largest portion of evidence suggests that no significant relationship exists between relative issue cost and election outcome. A majority of relevant studies report the

TABLE 1
 A LIST OF PARTIAL THEORIES USED TO EXPLAIN VOTING
 BEHAVIOR IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS

<i>Partial Theory</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Useful References for Understanding the Theory*</i>
Economic Self-Interest	ESI	Downs (1957 and 1962); Riker (1961); Wilson and Banfield (1964 and in Margolis 1965); and Frey and Kohn (1970)
Socioeconomic Status	SES	Milbrath (1965); Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1948); Campbell and others (1964); and Lane (1959)
Community Responsibility Attitudes	CRA	Wood (1959); Hofstadter (1955); Downs (1962); Boskoff and Zeigler (1964); Wilson and Banfield (1964); and Agger and Goldstein (1971)
Social Distance Attitudes	SDA	Agger and Goldstein (1971); Horton and Thompson (1962); Aberbach (1969); <i>Journal of Social Issues</i> (Number 4, 1961); and Milbrath (1965)
Informed Democratic Electorate	IDE	Several articles in "observational" literature bibliography, and Carter and others (1966)
Politicized Electorate	PE	Coleman (1957); Key (June 1953); Campbell and others (1964); Salisbury and Black (1963); Jennings and Zeigler (1966); and Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal (1969)
Influence and Persuasion Channels	IPC	Klapper (1960); Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1948); Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee (1954); Carter and Sutthoff (1960); and Carter and others (1966)

*This list is not intended to be inclusive, but these works provide both a good understanding of relevant theories and a comprehensive list of citations to relevant literature. Full citations are contained in the bibliography.

expected strong negative correlations between high cost and positive election outcome only when cost indicators are operationally defined as tax rate increases.

One plausible explanation for this apparently inconsistent body of evidence is that many voters are uncertain of the relationship between the cost of current school issues and the cost of similar issues both in other communities and in their own community at different times. According to this interpretation of the evidence, costs and attendant economic self-interest concerns may serve as important determinants of election outcomes only if they are dramatized to the voters. The combination of a significant increase in the tax rate and the increasingly watchful eye of the local media and taxpayers' associations appears likely to achieve the degree of exposure needed for prompting greater cost consciousness on the part of most voters.

Research indicating that cost variables are of little or no use in analyzing election results complicates interpretation of data but does not invalidate theories that stress the importance of the economic impact of issues. To clarify this apparent discrepancy, future research should focus on (1) assessing the voter's understanding of the relative and absolute cost of school financial issues and (2) examining the relationship between objective/subjective measures of cost/ability to pay and the influence of such measures on economic self-interest determinations.

Economic-based explanations of individual voting behavior receive significant support from findings that deal with the relationship between two demographic factors—age and parental status—and voter choice. Relevant studies unanimously agree that increasing age is strongly correlated with negative voting in school financial elections and that parental status (having school-aged children) is strongly related to positive voting in these elections.

The schools provide parents with obvious economic advantages. Parents cannot purchase schools' short-run "baby sitting" functions for an equivalent price on the open market, to say nothing of the long-run employment and salary benefits of education that are expected to accrue to the children. Clearly parents of school-aged children have a measurable economic stake in the schools.

Although school costs are absorbed by citizens of all ages, the direct benefits of education—even when measured by standards of the public good—appear to diminish for older voters. Particularly

among the retired, economic self-interest considerations would seem destined to prompt negative voting. In school elections, a retired person is asked to evaluate positively a proposal that, though it may benefit the public or perhaps a family member of another generation, will still take a significant portion of what is normally a reduced and fixed income.

The data from numerous studies strongly suggest that the parents of school-aged children (the trend is most pronounced among parents of children in the lower grades) and the elderly react to school financial proposals in predictable manners according to obvious economic motivations.

The utility of the economic self-interest explanation diminishes greatly, however, when it is applied to other classes of voters. Although renters pay at least a portion of the property tax on their dwellings, tax costs are more clearly evident to homeowners. It would seem reasonable, then, to assume that renters would be more likely to vote positively than would homeowners. The bulk of available evidence, however, strongly suggests that no appreciable difference exists between the voting patterns of homeowners and those of renters.

The economic self-interest model does not seem to apply to the wealthy either. Property taxes increase with the value of property, which is, of course, highly correlated with income and other measures of wealth. Nevertheless, higher income individuals frequently provide the greatest proportion of support for school financial issues. At the same time, there is no reason to assume that increased educational benefits within a school district accrue to wealthy individuals. Indeed, a case could be made for an inverse relationship between income and educational benefits--the unit cost for educational benefits may increase as an individual's income increases.

Part of the apparently anomalous behavior of the wealthy can be explained by the theory of the marginal utility of income: as dollars increase in numbers, their value to their possessor decreases. Indeed, future research needs to specify the relationship among marginal utility of income, perceived educational benefits, and voting in school financial elections. Regardless of the outcome of such research, however, available data and a logical interpretation of them suggest that an explanation beyond that of economic self-interest is needed to account for the support high-income individuals give school tax issues even though these individuals receive

little or no personal benefits from the schools.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

An explanation of voting behavior that goes beyond economic self-interest focuses on socioeconomic status (SES). Persons who have acquired a relatively greater amount of commodities highly valued in a society (not only goods but respect, status, and so forth) are most likely to support public issues, according to several theories. Simply stated, these theories assume that individuals who have received the most benefits from society will probably want to reciprocate. For these individuals, social benefits have been translated into private dividends that have already been realized. It is, therefore, logical to suggest that these persons feel closer to the center of their communities and thus tend to be more aware of, concerned about, and interested in community projects and needs.

It is assumed that "higher class" individuals' long-range view of the public interest overshadows the narrow concerns of personal cost increases (within reasonable limits). Frequently, this view will lead them to support public issues. However, gaps between this theory and relevant research are signified by the phrase "within reasonable limits." If an issue demands a sufficiently large portion of personal resources, private economic concerns will override perceived public benefits, no matter how desirable the long-range effects may seem. Future research should specify the relationship, as perceived by the individual, between public benefits and private costs and the point at which private costs supplant public benefits as the dominant concern. If carried out with appropriate controls for social class status, such research would be a step toward an improved theory of the effect of social and economic influences on school election voting behavior.

In the meantime, we can note that there exists overwhelming evidence of a strong positive relationship between two common objective indicators of higher socioeconomic status—greater income and educational attainment—and positive voting in school financial elections. Substantially less evidence exists for assessing the relationship between other indicators of class and voting in these elections; moreover, there is less unanimity in that evidence.

A careful perusal of the findings arrayed in the Appendix suggests a number of future research needs that must be met by any attempt to refine partial theories of class and voting. For example,

should the data that describes a strong positive relationship between high socioeconomic class and positive voting in school elections be restated to reflect the potential curvilinearity of the relationship between class and voting? Such curvilinearity has been suggested by several findings from Jordan's (1966) quartile analysis of voting in Los Angeles school elections and by the unanimous finding that blacks are more likely than whites to vote in favor of school financial elections, despite the fact that blacks are disproportionately represented in the lower SES category (Wilson and Banfield 1964, Jordan 1966, Smith and others 1968, and Hahn and Almy 1971).

COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE ATTITUDES

As noted above, the economic self-interest theory of voting behavior is incomplete without a consideration of the apparently anomalous behavior of the upper socioeconomic segment of the population. Researchers who correlate social and economic class with social behavior posit that each class promotes a set of attitudes or beliefs that directly affects its members' behavior. The most important factor explaining the disproportionate positive voting in most school financial elections by individuals with incomes in excess of \$20,000 may well be that they all see the world from a similar point of view that characterizes their class. However, a simpler explanation—that higher incomes increase the capacity to pay taxes—must apply in at least some of the cases.

It is important to determine if certain attitudes or attitude indexes such as "world views" or "life styles" are defined by class or are different from and more powerful than class and economic background as predictors of voting behavior. If these attitudes are separate from class and economic background, then their roots must obviously be traced to other sources—for example, personality factors, physiological needs and drives, and so forth. Boskoff and Zeigler's (1964) suggestion, which has received substantial support from attitude research, may represent the key departure point for defining future research needs:

In the case of voting, perhaps status position and exposure to influence patterns may be regarded as the "transitory" component. Style of life, the complex of crucial attitudes and values by which resources and facilities are judged, may constitute the "permanent" component that is more decisively connected with voting choice in some sequence of elections. (1964, p. 141)

Because attitude configurations and class status are probably related but not perfectly overlapping, the relationship between attitude structures and behavior (in this case, voting behavior) deserves special attention. Community responsibility attitudes and social distance attitudes are two closely related attitudinal dimensions that have been the subject of a few high quality studies. A number of strong correlations between these attitudes and voting in local elections have been reported by studies that used differing operational procedures. Virtually unanimously, the studies agree that the individuals most likely to support school issues are those who have relatively strong community ties and who feel that they in some way contribute to and are affected by community and educational decision-making (Agger and Goldstein 1965 and 1971, Boskoff and Zeigler 1964, Carter and Sutthoff 1960, Fish 1964, Mahan 1968, McKelvey 1966, and Wilson and Banfield 1964 and 1971).

Exceptions to this generalization occur only when attempts are made to infer community responsibility attitudes from indirect but objective data such as length of residence or age. If it is assumed that the longer individuals reside in a community, the stronger their ties to that community are and the more likely they are to support school financial issues, then age and length of residence become important factors in predicting how members of a community will vote. However, these two qualities are frequently found to be totally unrelated to voting behavior in school financial elections. And some studies even indicate that the older an individual is and the longer he has resided in a community, the more likely it is that he will vote negatively on school financial issues.

Corroboration of the generalization based on community responsibility attitudes is available from evidence suggesting that individuals who feel extremely distant from community power centers, powerless to affect community decisions, and distrustful of perceived decision-makers, are much more likely to oppose school financial and other public issues than those with a less pessimistic view of the community (Horton and Thompson 1962, Gold 1962, Templeton 1966, Agger and Goldstein 1965 and 1971, and Milstein and Jennings 1970).

These findings suggest that support for or opposition to school issues is frequently a function of an individual's perception of his relationship to his community. A voter's attitude toward the

community decision-making (political) process is an important indicator of the direction of his vote in school financial elections. However, broad ideological loyalties (conservative/liberal) are not good indicators of voting direction in the same elections (Mahan 1968, Jordan 1964, Boskoff and Zeigler 1964, and Fish 1964).

A fairly even division exists between studies that do and studies that do not report a significant relationship between partisan national and nonpartisan local voting patterns of individuals and groups exhibiting varying social and partisan predispositions. Any assessment of the stability of attitudinal determinants must take this division into consideration. Several studies have found no significant relationship between voting patterns in partisan national and nonpartisan local elections: (Boskoff and Zeigler 1964, Templeton 1966, Jordan 1966, Hahn and Almy 1971, Key 1953, and Salisbury and Black 1963). These studies tend to disprove the hypothesis that relatively permanent attitudinal configurations originate in status and underlie predictable patterns of voter choice regardless of the type of election. Such findings, of course, do not reflect on hypotheses positing a relationship between a particular attitudinal configuration and voting in a particular election. Nor do they call into question the relationship between attitudes and voting if objective indicators of concepts such as class fail to identify the attitudinal syndrome most directly affecting the voting decision. Future research needs to specify the best possible attitudinal syndrome for each type of election, controlling for variables such as class and partisan affiliation.

STIMULATING VOTER PARTICIPATION: THE INFORMED DEMOCRATIC VERSUS THE POLITICIZED ELECTORATE

The theory and research summarized in the Appendix provide a basis for understanding "normal" voter behavior in school financial elections. The concept of "normalcy" is based on an assumption implicit in most school voting research—research that asks why some voters make positive choices while others make negative ones. That assumption is that voting behavior is not simply random or unexplainable individual behavior but is, instead, patterned and predictable. Apparently, the assumption is correct since evidence suggests that when all other factors are considered, the direction in which many individuals vote can be predicted on the basis of other, nonpolitical information. Indeed, some facts about a voter's

background characteristics and his voting in past school elections not only help predict his future vote but are also useful in explaining why voting in these elections is a consistent (over time) act for many individuals.

Because it is not possible to hold all variables constant in the real world, the accuracy of predictions based on "normal" voting behavior diminishes. Those who would like to effect fundamental change in voting patterns should note the evidence from studies concerned with the following basic questions: To what extent do certain environmental and political forces affect school financial election outcomes? Or, when does a school election situation become "abnormal," and what are the consequences?

Answers to the above questions provide the basis for assessing general theories of voter behavior dealing with the effects of participation stimulants on election outcome. These theories recognize that the "normal electorate" in these elections is smaller than the voting population in many other elections and much smaller than the eligible voting population. This recognition has prompted some school supporters to plead for greater voter turnout, a fact made obvious from a survey of educational journal articles. As Beal and others report, "numerous articles are devoted to the topic of encouraging all eligible voters to register and vote" (1966, p. 8). The observational literature indicates that many school officials would probably second the following motion offered by one school superintendent on the eve of a recent budget election:

We want bodies to come in and vote. I can't really say that it isn't important to me whether they vote yes or not, but it's very important that we do have a large vote so the board has a clear mandate from the people of the district.

Thoele (1971)

This desire for greater voter participation in school elections is based on a strong faith in the democratic process. So are the frequent admonitions for bigger and better multiple-media campaigns. The assumption inherent in campaigns that stress greater public participation in school financial decision-making is that the schools have a constant broad base of popular support. Such an assumption leads one to believe that issue success is simply a matter of informing voters of a need and reminding them to vote. This theory is explicitly stated in at least one "how-to-win" article:

... We realized that a successful bond issue depended upon the voters having enough information on which to base a decision. Informed citizens will vote for school bonds—9 out of 10 times.

Beal and others (1966, p. 13)

Empirical support for this faith in the informed democratic electorate is almost nonexistent. It appears valid to assert the existence of widespread, basically favorable attitudes toward education (Carter and Sutthoff 1960, Agger and Goldstein 1965 and 1971, McKelvey 1966, Fish 1964, and Mahan 1968). However, these attitudes appear to be relatively unimportant determinants of school election voting patterns.

INCREASED PARTICIPATION: A MISCONCEPTION

A more directly relevant relationship is the persistently strong correlation between turnout increases and negative voting (at least in first-time elections). When coupled with the frequent lack of positive correlation between many campaign techniques and election success, this evidence strongly suggests that trust in the democratic electorate to respond positively to school issues is seldom anything more than an act of faith.

School-related conflict, which raises voters' political awareness, is the most likely causal agent underlying the strong positive correlation between high turnout and negative voting. Substantiation of this assertion is provided by theory and research from different kinds of community studies, together with evidence from studies assessing the relationship among levels of community conflict, interest group activity, and school financial election outcome.*

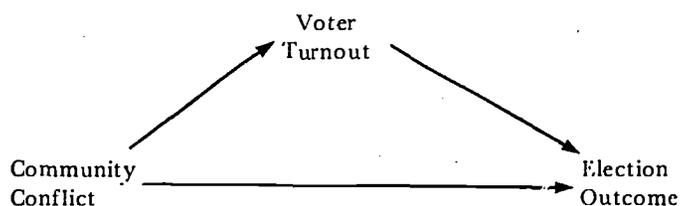
Such theory and research provide the basis for understanding the relationship among three variables: community conflict, voter turnout, and election outcome (see figure 2). An increase in conflict results in high turnout, which, in turn, leads to negative outcome. However, a given conflict can be a direct stimulus to negative outcome, in spite of the size of the turnout. Therefore, if a conflict leads to both greater negativism toward the schools and an abnormally high turnout for a school election, then it is difficult to assign direct causes to the final effect (negative outcome).

*Reference here is to literature dealing with community conflict. Particularly useful works are those by Coleman (1957), Coser (1967), and Mack (1965).

A causal model of this explanation—admittedly an oversimplification—is provided in figure 2. As the arrows in the diagram indicate, this explanation assumes that conflict stimulates a relatively high negative response from the electorate in addition to a high voter turnout for the election in question.

FIGURE 2

A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY CONFLICT,
VOTER TURNOUT, AND OUTCOME
IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS

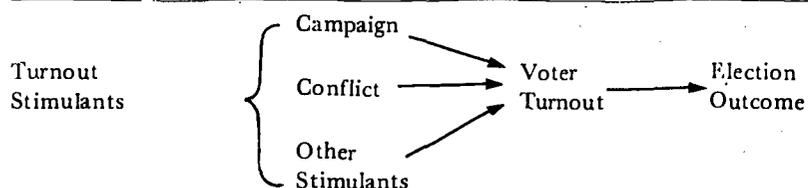


This model emphasizes the impact of conflict on election outcome regardless of the size of the voter turnout. To the extent that this explanation holds true, it tends to render irrelevant debates concerning the impact of voter turnout, democratic versus elite decision-making in school affairs, and other hypotheses dealing with the effect of changing participation rates.

Additional evidence suggests the need for a subtle but important modification of the model that will reflect the centrality of the participation variable in predicting election outcomes. Figure 3 reflects this modification.

This model suggests that a number of highly changeable forces—some controllable by schools, others not—directly affect participation increases, which, in turn, affect the probability of election defeat. As indicated in this model, community conflict is only one contributor to the high correlation between size of turnout and issue defeat.

FIGURE 3
 A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE
 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TURNOUT STIMULANTS,
 VOTER TURNOUT, AND OUTCOME
 IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS



LIKELY PARTICIPANTS AND YES VOTERS:
 SHARED CHARACTERISTICS

Profiles of persons most likely to vote and persons most likely to vote yes provide another explanation for election outcome. These profiles are based on the background factors that appear most strongly associated with voter participation, choice, and attitudes. Table 2 presents these voter profiles.

TABLE 2
 CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS MOST LIKELY TO
 PARTICIPATE IN AND VOTE IN FAVOR OF
 SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS

<i>Most Likely Participants</i>		<i>Most Likely Yes Voters</i>
parents of school-aged children		parents of school-aged children
high income		high income
high education		high education
middle-aged		younger
whites		blacks
homeowners		NSD (not sufficient data)
high interest in schools		high interest in schools, community
trusting (opposites from the alienation syndrome)		trusting (opposites from the alienation syndrome)

The most striking feature of table 2 is the similarity it indicates between the two profiles. The "Most Likely Participants" column provides a starting point for analyzing school elections by describing the normal voters. If the second column, which describes the most likely yes voters, differed significantly from the first, then the answer to the school's financial problems would lie in implementing the democratic process; that is, increasing voter turnout. The columns are, however, remarkably similar, which means that in most instances the voter who is most favorably predisposed toward the schools is already well represented in school financial elections. As a result, a general increase in turnout will produce a relatively greater representation of those less likely to favor school financial issues. This result is directly explained by Tingsten's Law of Dispersion (1963)—an increase in participation yields a more representative sample of the total eligible population.

A second major branch of knowledge corroborates the suggestion that traditional campaigns designed to increase voter participation in school financial elections may not meet their intended objective. Communications research has established that mass media campaigns are more likely to affect the behavior of certain subpopulations (selective audiences) within the general population. In almost every case, those identifiable subpopulations affected are groups possessing characteristics far different from those of the "Most Likely Yes Voters" described in table 2.

THE IMPORTANCE OF VOTER PREDISPOSITION

Both the law of dispersion and the results of communications research support the conclusion apparent from other evidence concerning the relative importance of voter predispositions, attitudes, and backgrounds: a very large number of voters and potential voters in school financial elections have made a standing decision about the direction of their vote. Unfortunately for the schools, the standing decision of a majority of people in the voting pool appears to have changed from support to opposition.

Recent survey data suggest that the law of dispersion remains in effect. Table 3 compares the actual voting behavior of people who voted with the intended voting behavior of those who did not vote. The table reports data from two surveys—one of a national sample by Gallup (1969) and one of New York State by Milstein and Jennings (1970).

TABLE 3
ACTUAL AND INTENDED VOTING BEHAVIOR IN
SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS: 1969

	<i>New York State</i>		<i>National</i>	
	<i>Voters</i>	<i>Nonvoters</i>	<i>Voters</i>	<i>Total Sample (including nonvoters)</i>
FOR	56%	51%	47%	45%
AGAINST	44	49	47	49
Undecided	NA (not applicable)	NA	6	6
Total	100	100	100	100

Clearly, from the schools' point of view, nothing can be gained by increasing the number of citizens who vote in school elections to include those who are eligible to vote but do not do so.

Theory of the Normal Vote: Potentials and Problems

Both the research findings and partial theories reviewed have presented a strong case for basing predictions of school election outcomes on a base-line profile of a community's "normal vote." Despite the widespread use of the normal vote concept, all normal vote theories are limited because they are static. Whether one is attempting to explain a presidential election outcome on the basis of the normal partisan division of the electorate or to explain the outcome of a nonpartisan election on the basis of social, economic, or psychological criteria, the "norm" or base-line data must be subject to constant reevaluation.

These data suggest a fundamental and widespread change in the nation's school election voting patterns. Beginning sometime in the late 1960s, the proportion of defeated school financial issues has increased annually. Corroborative data from recent annual Gallup (1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972) surveys of citizen attitudes suggest that the nationwide trend toward negative voting in school elections is continuing. Table 4 combines the Gallup data from four

nationwide samples of the responses adults gave to a question designed to ascertain their probable vote in a school financial election. The same question was used each year: "Suppose the local public schools said they needed much more money. As you feel at this time, would you vote to raise taxes for this purpose, or would you vote against raising taxes for this purpose?"

TABLE 4
RESPONSE OF NATIONAL SAMPLE TO GALLUP POLL
OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION:
1969-1972*

	<i>National Totals</i>	<i>No Children in Schools</i>	<i>Public School Parents</i>	<i>Private School Parents</i>
1969				
For	45%	41%	51%	40%
Against	49	53	44	56
No Opinion	6	6	5	4
1970				
For	37	35	43	37
Against	56	57	52	58
No Opinion	7	8	4	5
1971				
For	40	37	44	37
Against	52	53	49	59
No Opinion	8	10	7	4
1972				
For	36	35	37	38
Against	56	56	56	55
No Opinion	8	9	7	7

*Source: Gallup 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972.

The first column of table 4 indicates that an increasing number of individuals are negatively predisposed toward school financial issues. The remaining columns reflect an important change in one major component of the normal vote model suggested in table 2 and in the ensuing discussion: parental status. In 1969, a majority of adults with children attending public schools would have voted in favor of a school financial proposal, while a majority of individuals without children in the public schools or with children in private schools would have voted against such a proposal. By 1972, however, parental status had become useless as a predictor of voter predisposition toward school financial issues. Fifty-six percent of parents with children in public schools, as well as the same percentage of voters without school-aged children and of the total sample of voters, would have opposed a school financial issue requiring additional tax support.

ISSUE DEFEAT AND TURNOUT FLUCTUATIONS

The implications of this shift in public opinion are obvious. The four annual Gallup surveys reflect a trend toward a greater unanimity of opinion among individuals characterized by divergent income, age, and other important demographic factors, as well as by differing parental status. Thus, to the extent that the surveys are valid (that the question accurately elicits actual voting responses) and to the extent that the national samples represent actual community populations, turnout fluctuations along a number of seemingly important dimensions would have little effect on reversing the contemporary trend toward defeat of school financial issues. A nationwide school financial election held in April of 1972 would have lost by almost exactly the same margin (56 percent opposed) *even if* the electorate could have been restricted to *only* parents of public school children, *only* parents of private school children, or *only* voters without school children.

Of course, we cannot conclude on the basis of this evidence alone that the composition of the turnout would have made no difference in 1972 or will not do so in future elections. As table 5 indicates, the increase in the proportion of negative response is not as dramatic in categories such as income and age as it is in parental status.

The picture presented in table 5 is not a pleasant one for school supporters even though it provides some basis for expecting

TABLE 5
 PERCENTAGES BY SELECTED BACKGROUND
 CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULTS WHO WOULD VOTE AGAINST
 SCHOOL TAX INCREASES: GALLUP SURVEYS OF
 1969 AND 1972*

Category	Percent Opposed		Net Change
	1969	1972	
TOTAL SAMPLE	49%	56%	+7%
AGE			
Under 21	NA	42	NA
21-29 yrs.	39	49	+10
30-49 yrs.	48	57	+9
50 yrs. +	55	61	+6
INCOME			
Under \$3,000	57**	58	+1
3,000-4,999	50**	64	+14
5,000-6,999	50	58	+8
7,000-9,999	48	59	+11
10,000-14,999	47	52	+5
15,000 +	41	54	+13
EDUCATION			
Elementary Grades	60	64	+4
High School Incomplete	54	61	+7
High School Complete	50	60	+10
Technical, Trade, or Business School	47	59	+12
College Incomplete	43	45	+2
College Graduate	34	41	+7
OCCUPATION			
Nonlabor Force	53	62	+9
Unskilled Labor	56	61	+5
Skilled Labor	47	60	+13
Farm	62	65	+3
Clerical and Sales	52	47	-5
Business and Professional	40	50	+10
RACE			
Nonwhite	47	48	+1
White	49	57	+8

*Sources: Gallup 1969 (pp. 79-80) and 1972 (p. 42).

**Approximate percentages obtained by collapsing two more discrete categories.

election results to vary if voters from the different categories sampled are disproportionately represented. In 1972, if voter preferences in an average school district had conformed to the percentages in the table, school financial election success could have been guaranteed only if a very select group—a highly “abnormal” electorate—had been allowed to vote: nonwhite college graduates under 30 who are earning between \$10,000-\$15,000 a year in clerical or sales occupations. Even if participation had been restricted in this absurd way, however, the 1972 election would have been close. At a minimum, over 40 percent of the voters in this group would have voted no. Even if participation and these demographic categories had been the only variables, issue success was simply more difficult to accomplish in 1972 than it had been in 1969, and much more difficult than it had been in years prior to 1969.

The data arrayed in tables 4 and 5 do not necessitate wholesale revision of earlier propositions attempting to explain what groups of voters are most likely to support school issues and why support from these groups can be expected. Such revision is not required because, in the first place, these surveys may point to, but do not necessarily represent, a trend. Second, the surveys represent only the nation's adult population, not the likely participants in school elections and certainly not the voting pools of particular communities. Finally, other data classifications within these categories might indicate alterations in apparent trends. For instance, in the income category of table 5, the net change of 13 percent may not apply to all income levels above \$15,000. Additional breakdowns of this category may yield different results. Clearly, further longitudinal research is needed both at the national level to validate these trends and to test for change in other important variables, and at the local level to avoid the error of “. . . personification—treating micro units as analogues of macro units and extending findings accordingly” (Eulau 1963, pp. 126-127).

Even if it is assumed that the Gallup data represent valid trends that can be found in many communities, the demographic profiles of the voters most likely to make positive and negative choices appear to have changed very little over time. The most reliable sources for positive votes in school elections are still the young, highly educated, relatively wealthy, white-collar workers (the “Most Likely Yes Voters” outlined in table 2). The problem for the schools is that there are simply fewer yes votes available.

INCOME AND EDUCATION LEVELS: ADEQUATE
PREDICTORS OF VOTER BEHAVIOR?

However, the future longitudinal research called for above should not ignore potential deviations suggested by some of the highest net changes listed in table 5. The dramatic increases in negative voting among those in business and professional jobs with incomes exceeding \$15,000 are particularly relevant to hypotheses dealing with the impact of national economic conditions on personal cost-benefit determinations, which may in turn affect voting in school elections. Perhaps most relevant to future research is what appears to be the beginning of a separation of the trend lines charting the relationship between voting intentions and two seminal indicators of SES—income and education. These recent data indicate marked instability at the extremes of the income scale—areas that were formerly among the most reliable vote predictors. The education scale, on the other hand, has remained relatively stable at the extremes with the only major changes occurring among trade and business students and high school graduates. If these data remain consistent, the validity of income and education levels as predictors of voter behavior may be subject to change.

Conclusion: Linking Research to Practice

One purpose of this paper is to highlight those points in the existing array of research and theory most in need of further research clarification. Inevitably in many instances, important future research needs are implied but not fully explained.

Second, we have assumed that the evidence presented in this report may be used by individuals attempting to affect the outcome of school financial elections. From many of the propositions developed here, both supporters and opponents of school financial issues will be able to garner insights to improve their election strategies. We reemphasize, however, that we have not intended to write a "how to win a school election" manual. Although a number of reports provide such prescriptions, most observations are not based on empirical research and are frequently valid only for the election and point of time at hand.* Indeed, an obvious and

*Exceptions that offer sound and specific tactical advice in light of what we know from empirical research can be found in William J. Banach and

major conclusion to be drawn from much of the research reviewed in this paper is that many important determinants of school election outcome are not amenable to manipulation or control by anyone—friend or foe of the schools—employing traditional campaign techniques.

However, a certain degree of control remains feasible. Initially, the school official who wants to achieve success in financial elections must test the extent to which his election situation and community demographic and attitudinal profile match the generalizations developed here. The message clearly indicated by the evidence presented in this paper is that school districts attempting to influence election outcomes should, at the outset, spend more resources on analyzing their constituency and less on blatant attempts to influence the direction of the vote over a six-week campaign period. To a certain extent, officials may base their analysis on intuition. But since aggregate voting and census records are cheap and easily obtainable, they should be used to identify pockets of support and resistance within particular communities.

Survey research is a most useful data source that can provide the school official with his own positive/negative voter profile, which will be more accurate than the one developed here.* Although survey research is somewhat more costly than aggregate data collection, its cost should be relatively low compared to the costs commonly associated with campaigns, repeated elections, and so forth.

Assuming that the voting behavior of members of his community matches the generalizations developed here, the school official may choose among several alternatives. These alternatives involve significant value questions, and the official's decision about how to conduct an election campaign must be based both on his knowledge of the total situation and on his own value system.

If a school district's research identifies a relatively stable, small

Lawrence Westley, "Public Relations, Computers, and Election Success," paper presented to the Association for Educational Data Systems, St. Paul, Minnesota, May 19, 1972; and C. Montgomery Johnson, *Public Opinion, Voter Behavior, and School Support* (Olympia, Washington: S.C.O.R.E., 1971.)

*For excellent technical advice along with some of the supporting rationale developed here, see Michael Y. Nunnery and Ralph B. Kimbrough, *Politics, Power, Polls, and School Elections* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1971).

block of voters who regularly vote in school elections, if this block is well described by our model participant profile (table 2), and if there has been a gradual shift in that block's vote in all subcategories of the voting pool in the direction of greater negative voting, then the campaign can take one of five possible directions. Attempts can be made to

1. Increase general participation, assuming the larger voting pool will be more favorable
2. Discourage participation, assuming the smaller group of participants will be more favorable
3. Selectively recruit more yes voters, assuming the no vote will remain constant
4. Selectively discourage participation of no voters, assuming the yes vote will remain constant
5. Change the net distribution of the normal vote division from less no to more yes choices

The evidence reviewed here strongly suggests that greater participation is seldom the road to election success. On the other hand, attempts to discourage participation, on either a selective or mass basis, involve obvious value dilemmas within the democratic framework. The long-run solution that many would opt for is to create a more favorable distribution of voters (number 5), but we doubt that any single group of school supporters can accomplish this goal except over a long period of time.

The tactical direction that is suggested by the evidence presented in this paper and that is also congruent with politics as practiced in a democracy is alternative number 3: many districts will be forced to take advantage of normally low turnouts by selectively recruiting more voters who are likely to favor the issue at hand while assuming that the negative votes will remain constant. At least for the short run and from a pragmatic perspective, school finance in many communities may depend on vigorous political campaigns designed to stimulate maximum participation of likely school supporters.

Appendix

APPENDIX

SYNTHESIS OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON VOTING IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS:
CORRELATES TO "YES VOTING" AND ELECTION SUCCESS*

VARIABLE**	Sig. +	DIRECTION OF CORRELATION***	Nsr	PARTIAL**** THEORY
FACTOR I. SCHOOL DISTRICT CHARACTERISTICS: WEALTH AND ORGANIZATION				
Property Assessment Rate (Assessed Valuation)	Jordan 1966	Barbour 1966	Fish 1964	FSI, SES
	Davidson 1967	Davidson 1967	Murphy 1966 Beal et al. 1966 Crider 1967 Hicks 1967 Tebbutt 1968	
Real Dollar Size of Issue		Barbour 1966 Cooper 1967	Hicks 1967 Dykstra 1964	FSI
Millage Size (Tax Rate)	Davidson 1967	Saalfeld 1972 Goettel 1971	Beal et al. 1966 Dykstra 1964 Barbour 1966 Marlowe 1970 Wirt & Kirst 1972	FSI
Tax Rate Increases (different time periods)	Wentzel 1964 Varden 1973	N.Y. State Ed. Dept. 1970 Fish 1964 Saalfeld 1972		FSI

Taxable Wealth (operational variation includes per pupil and proportion of local taxes)	Marlowe 1970 Dykstra 1964	Goettel 1971	N. Y. State Ed. Dept. 1970 Dykstra 1964 Saalfeld 1972	SFS, ESI
Per Pupil Expenditure	Davidson 1967		Smith et al. 1968 N. Y. State Ed. Dept. 1970 Marlowe 1970 Hicks 1967	SFS, ESI, PE
School Ownership (proportion of nonpublic schools in district)	Barbour 1966 Dykstra 1964 (in high school districts)		Dykstra 1964 Wentzel 1964 Beal et al. 1966	ESI
Board Control (index including length of term, select procedures, etc.)	Carter & Sutthoff 1960 (bond elections) Carter & Ruggels 1966 (medium sized districts)		Carter & Sutthoff 1960 (tax elections) Carter & Ruggels 1966 (large & small)	IPC, IDE, PE
School District Type (elementary, H.S., consolidated, etc.)	Davidson 1967		Beal et al. 1966 Barbour 1966	ESI, IPC

* Dependent variables

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively (Sig.+) or negatively (Sig.-) associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related (Nsr) to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

Board Attitude (toward various "goals" for their schools)	Carter & Ruggels 1966	IPC
Teacher-Pupil Ratio	N. Y. State Ed. Dept. 1970	ESI
Use of Bussing	Dykstra 1964	PE
Teacher Salary Increases	Goettel 1971 Carter & Ruggels 1966	PE
District Indebtedness	Davidson 1967 Hicks 1967 Goettel 1971	ESI, SFS

FACTOR III: ELECTION CHARACTERISTICS

Concurrent Elections (school bond or tax issues appear- ing on ballot with state or national candidates or issues)	Marlowe 1970 Kean 1964 Murphy 1966 (1st time elect.)	PE, IDE
Stated Purpose of Issue	Crider 1967 Barbour 1966 Kean 1964 Beal et al. 1966	IPC, IDE

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively (Sig.+) or negatively (Sig.-) associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related (Nsr) to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

Time of Year
(operationalized according to
season, months, quarter, etc.)

Murphy 1966
Kean 1964
Beal et al. 1966
Barbour 1966
Crider 1967

PE, IDE

Past Voting Patterns--
School Financial Elections

Willis (winter 1967-68)
(areas with records of
either extremely high
or low support for SFE
are less likely than med.
support areas to change)
Beal et al. 1966
Saalfeld 1972
Nelson 1968
Varden 1973

PE, IPC

Past Voting Patterns--
Other Elections
(the relationship between
voting in local nonpartisan
elections and national
partisan contests)

Jennings & Zeigler 1966
Williams & Adrian 1959
Salisbury & Black 1963
(voting for elective office;
local nonpart. and
national partisan)
Boskoff & Zeigler
1964
Templeton 1966
Jordan 1966
Hahn & Almy 1971
Key 1953
Salisbury & Black 1963
(referenda and
partisan office)
Stone 1965
Beal et al. 1966
Turner 1968

PE, IPC,
IDE, SES

Turnout

Spinner 1967
(other than first
time elections)
Carter et al. 1960,
1961, 1966
Lieber 1967

PE, IDE, IPC

(continued)

Turnout (*continued*)

Marlowe 1970 (urban areas)	Wentzel 1964	Murphy 1966
Willis (winter 1967-68)	Spinner 1967	Boskoff & Zeigler 1964
(suburban areas)	(first time elections)	Hahn (December 1968)
	Barbour 1966	
	Willis (winter 1967-68)	
	Goettel 1971	
	Marlowe 1970	
	Crider 1967	
	Minar 1966	
	Jordan 1966	
	Dykstra 1964	
	Beal et al. 1966	

Election Frequency
(number of elections held
over a five-year period)

PE

Election Type

PE, ESI

Minar 1966
Carter & Savard 1961
(voter dissent is likely
to be higher for tax
rate than for bond or
miscellaneous issues)

FACTOR III: VOTER DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Income	Boskoff & Zeigler 1964	McMahon 1966	Tebutt 1968 Hicks 1967	SFS, ESI
--------	---------------------------	--------------	---------------------------	----------

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively (Sig.+) or negatively (Sig.-) associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related (Nsr) to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

PARTIAL****
THEORYDIRECTION OF CORRELATION****
Sig. - Nsr

VARIABLE**

Sig. +

Sig. -

Income (continued)

Jordan 1966

Milstein & Jennings
1970

Smith et al. 1968

Fish 1964

Hahn & Almy 1971

Gallup 1969

Schoonhoven &

Patterson 1966

Hatley 1970

Wilson & Banfield

1971

Davidson 1967

McKelvey 1966

Tebbutt 1968

Schoonhoven &

Patterson 1966

Jordan 1966

Gallup 1969

Hatley 1971

Hahn & Almy 1971

Wilson & Banfield

1971

SES, CRA, SDA,
IPC, ESI

Occupation

Carter & Ruggels

1966

McMahon 1966

Tebbutt 1968

Boskoff & Zeigler

1964

SES, ESI

SES (Index)

Boskoff & Zeigler

1964

Turner 1968

Jordan 1966

SES, ESI

(continued)

Minar 1966
Willis (winter
1967-68)

Home Ownership

Jordan 1966

McKelvey 1966
Smith et al. 1968

Wentzel 1964
Cooper 1967
Hicks 1967
Tebbutt 1968

SFS, ESI

Age

McKelvey 1966
Carter & Ruggels
1966

ESI, CRA

King 1963
Tebbutt 1968
Smith et al. 1968
McMahon 1966
Jordan 1966
Boskoff & Zeigler
1964

Child Status

King et al. 1963
Fish 1964
Smith et al. 1964
Schoonhoven &
Patterson 1966
Tebbutt 1968
Gallup 1969

ESI, IPC

(continued)

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively (Sig.+) or negatively (Sig.-) associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related (Nsr) to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table I.

PARTIAL****
THEORY

DIRECTION OF CORRELATION***

N57

VARIABLE**	Sig. +	DIRECTION OF CORRELATION***	N57	PARTIAL**** THEORY
Child Status (continued)	Hatley 1970			
Sex	Carter & Ruggels 1966		Mahan 1968	ESI
	Smith et al. 1964 (men=more likely)		Tebbutt 1968	
	Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 (women=more likely)			
Area of Residence	King et al. 1963		Smith et al. 1964	SES, ESI, CRA
	Jordan 1966		Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 (previous residential background)	
	Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 (urban/suburban)		Tebbutt 1968	CRA
Length of Residence			Jordan 1966	
			Smith et al. 1964	
			Milstein & Jennings 1970	
			Boskoff & Zeigler 1964	SES, ESI
Race (operationally, blacks=more likely than whites)	Smith et al. 1968			
	Jordan 1966			
	Hahn & Almy 1971			
	Wilson & Banfield 1964			
	Wirt & Kirst 1972			
Marital Status	Smith et al. 1968			ESI
Party Affiliation	Carter & Ruggels 1966 (greater Demo % of dist. reg. voters= greater yes vote)			PE

Religious Affiliation (Catholics=less likely)	Smith et al. 1968 Carter & Ruggels 1966 Gans 1967	Tebbutt 1968	ESI
FACTOR IV: VOTER PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS			
Cynicism (toward school officials)	Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971 Parnell 1964 Milstein & Jennings 1970		SDA
Educational Attitudes	Carter & Sutthoff 1960 Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971 McKelvey 1966 Fish 1964 Mahan 1968	Milstein & Jennings 1970	SDA, CRA, IDE
Civic Improvement	Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 Wilson & Banfield 1964, 1971 Carter & Ruggels 1966		CRA
Ideological Orientation (continued)		Mahan 1968 Jordan 1964	PI

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively (Sig.+) or negatively (Sig.-) associated with election success or "yes" voting or found to be not statistically related (Nsr) to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

Ideological Orientation (continued)				
Tax Orientation:	Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971 Carter and Ruggels 1966 Milstein & Jennings 1970		Boskoff & Zeigler 1964	ESI, CRA
Alienation	Horton & Thompson 1962 Gold 1962 Templeton 1966 Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971			SDA, CRA
Economic Orientation			Mahan 1968 Fish 1964	SFS
Cognitive Consistency	Carter & Chaffee 1966		Agger & Goldstein 1971	IPC

FACTOR V: INFORMATION FACTORS, SOURCE AND CONTENT

Information Source	Fish 1964 Carter & Sutthoff 1960 Tebbutt 1968 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964			IPC
--------------------	---	--	--	-----

Voter Participation Stimulants	Beal et al. 1966 Carter & Kuggels 1966	Beal et al. 1966	IDF, PE, IPC
Use of Citizen Advisory Committee	Barbour 1966	Carter & Chaffee 1966 Crider 1967 Beal et al. 1966	IDF, IPC
Use of Consultants	Barbour 1966	Beal et al. 1966	IDF, IPC
Campaign Technique Effort	Carter & Ruggels 1966 Beal et al. 1966	Turner 1968 Whisler 1965 Beal et al. 1966 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 Berner 1969	IDF, IPC
Length of Campaign	Beal et al. 1966 Barbour 1966 Crider 1967	Murphy 1966	IDF, IPC
Participation in School Affairs (direct and indirect)	Carter & Sutthoff 1960	Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 Tebbutt 1968	IPC, IDE, ISI
Newspaper Support		Beal et al. 1966 Barbour 1966	IPC

** Dependent variables

*** The variable in question was positively (Sig.+) or negatively (Sig.-) associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related (Nsr)-to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table I

PARTIAL****
THEORY

Nsr

DIRECTION OF CORRELATION***

Sig. +

VARIABLE:**

FACTOR VI: POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS (CROSS-REFERENCE
WITH FACTOR I: ELECTION CHARACTERISTICS)

Interest Group Activity	Jennings & Zeigler 1970	Beal et al. 1966	PE, IDE, IPC
	Crider 1967		
	Carter & Ruggels 1966		
	Berner 1969		
	Meyers 1964		
Community Conflict (as assessed via a variety of observational techniques)	Carter & Ruggels 1966		CRA, PE
	Minar 1966		
	King et al. 1963		
	Gans 1967		
	Masotti 1967		
	Goldhammer & Pellegrin 1968		
School-Community Relations	Carter & Ruggels 1966		IPC, IDE

** Dependent variables

*** The variable in question was positively (Sig.+) or negatively (Sig.-) associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related (Nsr) to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table I

Bibliography

- Abelson, Robert P., and Bernstein, Alex. "A Computer Simulation Model of Community Referendum Controversies." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 27 (Spring 1963), pp. 93-122.
- Aberbach, Joel D. "Alienation and Political Behavior." *American Political Science Review*, 63 (March 1969), pp. 86-99.
- Adrian, Charles R. *Governing Urban America*. 2d ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961.
- Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. *Public Opinion and Taxes*. Washington, D.C.: 1972.
- Agger, Robert E.; Goldrich, Daniel; and Swanson, Bert E. *The Rulers and the Ruled: Political Power and Impotence in American Communities*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964.
- Agger, Robert E., and Goldstein, Marshall N. *Educational Innovations in the Community*. Cooperative Research Project No. OE 3-10-039. Eugene: University of Oregon, 1965.
- Agger, Robert E., and Goldstein, Marshall N. *Who Will Rule the Schools: A Cultural Class Crisis*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971.
- Agger, Robert E.; Goldstein, Marshall N.; and Pearl, Stanley A. "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning." *Journal of Politics*, 23 (August 1961), pp. 477-506.
- Alford, Robert R. *Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963.

- Alford, Robert. "The Role of Social Class in American Voting Behavior." *Western Political Quarterly*, 16 (March 1963), pp. 180-194.
- Alford, Robert R. "The Comparative Study of Urban Politics." In *Urban Research and Policy Planning*, edited by Leo F. Schnore and Henry Fagin. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1967.
- Alford, Robert R., and Lee, Eugene C. "Voting Turnout in American Cities." *American Political Science Review*, 62 (September 1968), pp. 796-813.
- Ayres, Richard E., and Bowen, William G. "Registration and Voting: Putting First Things First." *American Political Science Review*, 61 (June 1967), pp. 359-379.
- Bachrach, Peter. *The Theory of Democratic Elitism*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967.
- Bachrach, Peter, and Baretz, Morton S. "Two Faces of Power." *American Political Science Review*, 56 (December 1962), pp. 947-952.
- Banach, William J., and Westley, Lawrence. "Public Relations, Computers, and Election Success." Unpublished paper presented to Association for Educational Data Systems, St. Paul, Minnesota, May 1972.
- Banfield, Edward C., and Wilson, James Q. *City Politics*. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.
- Banfield, Edward C.; Wilson, James Q.; Wolfinger, Raymond; and Field, John. ["Exchange of Letters"], *American Political Science Review*, 60 (December 1966), pp. 998-1000.
- Barbour, Edwin Lyle. "Effects of Socio-Economic Factors on School Bond Elections in Iowa." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Iowa State University, 1966.
- Beal, George M., and others. *Iowa School Bond Issues Data Book*. Ames, Iowa: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Iowa State University, 1966.
- Beal, George M., and others. *Iowa School Bond Issues: Summary Report*. Ames, Iowa: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Iowa State University, 1966.
- Beck, Henry. "Minimal Requirements for a Biobehavioral Paradigm." *Behavioral Science*, 16 (September 1971), pp. 442-454.
- Berelson, Bernard R.; Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; and McPhee, William N. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Berner, William S. "Campaign Conduct and the Outcome of Library Bond Referendums." In *Studies in Public Library Government, Organization, and Support*, edited by Guy Garrison. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1969, p. 213.

- Blalock, Hubert M., Jr. *An Introduction to Social Research*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970.
- Boskoff, Alvin, and Zeigler, Harmon. *Voting Patterns in a Local Election*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964.
- Boulding, K. E. "The Economics and Financing of Technology in Education: Some Observations." In *Planning for Effective Utilization of Technology in Education*, edited by E. L. Morphet and D. L. Jesser. Denver: Designing Education for the Future, 1968.
- Buchanan, James M., and Flowers, Marilyn. "An Analytical Setting for a 'Taxpayer's' Revolution." *Western Economic Review*, 7 (December 1969), pp. 349-359.
- Burke, Arvid J. "Finance—Public Schools." In *Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Third Edition*, edited by Chester W. Harris. New York: MacMillan Co., 1960, pp. 553-565.
- Burns, James MacGregor, and Peltason, Jack Walter. *Government by the People: The Dynamics of American National, State, and Local Government*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1957.
- Campbell, Angus, and others. *The American Voter*. Abridged edition. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964.
- Campbell, Angus, and others. *Elections and the Political Order*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.
- Carter, Richard F. "Bandwagon and Sandbagging Effects: Some Measures of Dissonance Reduction." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23 (Summer 1959), pp. 279-287.
- Carter, Richard F., and Chaffee, Steven H. *The Structure and Process of School-Community Relations. Volume II. Between Citizens and Schools*. Stanford, California: Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1966.
- Carter, Richard F., and Ruggels, W. Lee. *The Structure and Process of School-Community Relations. Volume IV. The Process of School-Community Relations*. Stanford, California: School of Education, Stanford University, 1966.
- Carter, Richard F.; Ruggels, W. Lee; and Olson, Richard F. *School-Community Relations. Volume III. The Structure of School-Community Relations*. Stanford, California: School of Education, Stanford University, 1966.
- Carter, Richard F., and Savard, William G. *Influence of Voter Turnout on School Bond and Tax Elections. Cooperative Research Monograph, No. 5*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961.
- Carter, Richard F., and Savard, William G. "Study of Voter Turnout." *The Education Digest*, 27 (January 1962), pp. 16-18.

- Carter, Richard F., and Sutthoff, John. *Communities and Their Schools*. Stanford, California: School of Education, Stanford University, 1960.
- Cartwright, Dorwin, editor. *Field Theory in Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers by Kurt Lewin*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1952.
- Centers, Richard. *The Psychology of Social Classes*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949.
- Clark, Kenneth B., and Clark, Mamie P. "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children." In *Readings in Social Psychology: Third Edition*, edited by Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1958, pp. 602-611.
- Coleman, James S. *Community Conflict*. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Collingnon, Frederick C. "Public Regardingness in the Behavior of Voters in the Baltimore Metropolitan Areas." Unpublished paper. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1971.
- Converse, Philip E. "The Concept of the Normal Vote." In *Elections and the Political Order*, by Angus Campbell and others. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.
- Converse, Philip E. "Information Flow and the Stability of Partisan Attitudes." In *Elections and the Political Order*, by Angus Campbell and others. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966, pp. 136-158.
- Converse, Philip E., and others. "Stability and Change in 1960: A Reinstating Election." *American Political Science Review*, 55 (June 1961), pp. 269-280.
- Converse, Philip E., and others. "Continuity and Change in American Politics." *American Political Science Review* (December 1969), pp. 1083-1105.
- Conway, M. M. "Voter Information Sources in a Nonpartisan Local Election." *Western Political Science Quarterly*, 21 (March 1968), pp. 69-77.
- Cooper, John R. "Institutional Factors Affecting the Outcome of School Bond Referenda." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1967.
- Coser, Lewis A. *The Functions of Social Conflict*. New York: The Free Press, 1954.
- Coser, Lewis A. *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict*. New York: The Free Press, 1967.
- Crain, Robert L.; Katz, Elihu; and Rosenthal, Donald B. *The Politics of Community Conflict: The Fluoridation Decision*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969.
- Crespi, Irving. "What Kinds of Attitude Measures Are Predictive of Behavior?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 35 (Fall 1971), p. 329.

- Crider, Russel J. "Identification of Factors Which Influence the Passage or Failure of School Bond Issues in Selected Counties of Mississippi." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1967.
- Daudt, H. *The Floating Voter and the Floating Vote: A Critical Analysis of American and English Election Studies*. Leiden, The Netherlands: H. E. Stenfert Kroese, 1961.
- Davidson, George W. "The Relationship of Selected Factors to the Success or Failure of School Tax Referenda." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1967.
- Davis, James A. "Structural Balance, Mechanical Solidarity, and Interpersonal Relations." *American Journal of Sociology*, 68 (January 1963), pp. 444-461.
- DeVries, Walter, and Tarrance, Lance, Jr. *The Ticket-Splitter: A New Force in American Politics*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1972.
- Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1957.
- Downs, Anthony. "The Public Interest: Its Meaning in a Democracy." *Social Research*, 29 (April 1962), pp. 1-36.
- Dreyer, Edward C. "Media Use and Electoral Choices: Some Political Consequences of Information Exposure." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 35 (Winter 1971-1972), pp. 544-553.
- Duncan, Hugh Dalziel. *Communication and the Social Order*. New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962.
- Durand, Roger. "Ethnicity, Public-Regardingness, and Referenda Voting." *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 16 (May 1972), pp. 259-268.
- Dye, Thomas R., and Zeigler, L. Harmon. *The Irony of Democracy: An Uncommon Introduction to American Politics*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1970.
- Dykstra, Sidney. "A Study of the Relationships of Nonpublic School Enrollment to the Approval of School Millage and Bond Proposals." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1964.
- Eitzen, D. Stanley. "Status Inconsistency and Wallace Supporters in a Midwestern City." *Social Forces*, 48 (June 1970), pp. 493-508.
- Eitzen, D. Stanley. "Status Inconsistency and the Cross-Pressures Hypothesis." *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 16 (May 1972), pp. 287-294.
- Eldersveld, Samuel J. "Theory and Method in Voting Behavior Research." *Journal of Politics*, 13 (February 1951), pp. 70-87.

- Eulau, Heinz. *Behavioral Persuasion in Politics*. New York: Random House, 1963.
- Farquharson, Robin. *Theory of Voting*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.
- Festinger, Leon. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1957.
- Feuer, Lewis S. "What is Alienation: The Career of a Concept." *New Politics*, 1 (Spring 1962), pp. 116-134
- Fish, Lawrence Dean. "An Analysis of Factors Associated with Voter Behavior in School Budget Elections." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Washington State University, 1964.
- Flanigan, William H. *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1968.
- Frey, Rene L., and Kohn, Leopold. "An Economic Interpretation of Voting Behavior on Public Finance Issues." *Kyklos*, 23 (Fasc. 4, 1970), pp. 792-805.
- Fromm, Erich. *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961.
- Gallup, George. *How the Nation Views the Public Schools*. Princeton, New Jersey: CFK/Ltd, Gallup International, 1969.
- Gallup, George. "Second Annual Survey of the Public's Attitude toward the Public Schools." *Phi Delta Kappan*, 52 (October 1970), pp. 99-112.
- Gallup, George. "The Third Annual Survey of the Public's Attitudes toward the Public Schools, 1971." *Phi Delta Kappan*, 53 (September 1971), pp. 33-48.
- Gallup, George. "Fourth Annual Gallup Poll of Attitudes toward Education." *Phi Delta Kappan*, 54 (September 1972), pp. 33-46.
- Gamson, William A. "The Fluoridation Dialogue: Is It an Ideological Conflict?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 26 (Winter 1965), pp. 526-537.
- Gamson, William A., and Lindberg, C. G. *An Analytic Summary of Fluoridation Research: With an Annotated Bibliography*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Social Science Program, Harvard School of Public Health, 1960.
- Gans, Herbert J. *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1967.
- George, David L. "Attitudinal Conflict and Electoral Decision-Making." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1970.
- George, David L. "An Experimental Study of Attitudinal Conflict and Political Involvement in a Voting Context." *Experimental Study of Politics* (December 1971), pp. 35-64.

- Glaser, William A. "Television and Voting Turnout." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 29 (Spring 1965), pp. 71-86.
- Goettel, Robert J. "The Relationship between Selected Fiscal and Economic Factors and Voting Behavior in School Budget Elections in New York State." Paper presented at American Educational Research Association annual conference, New York City, February 1971.
- Goettel, Robert J. "Voter Behavior and School Budget Elections." *APSS Know How*, 23 (September 1971), pp. 1-4.
- Gold, David. "Independent Causation in Multivariate Analysis: The Case of Political Alienation and Attitudes towards a School Bond Issue." *American Sociological Review*, 27 (February 1962), pp. 85-87.
- Goldhammer, Keith, and Pellegrin, Ronald J. *Jackson County Revisited: A Case Study in the Politics of Education*. Eugene: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1968.
- Goldstein, Marshall, and Cahill, Robert S. "Mass Media and Community Politics." In *The Politics of Education in the Local Community*, by Robert S. Cahill and Stephen P. Hencley. Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers & Publishers, Inc., 1964.
- Gould, Julius, and Kolb, William L., editors. *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Greenberg, B. S. "Voting Intentions, Election Expectations and Exposure to Campaign Information." *The Journal of Communication*, 15 (September 1965), pp. 149-160.
- Gulley, William H., and Newton, Charles H. "Methods of Measuring the Distribution of Socio-Economic Conditions." *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*, 6 (April 1972), pp. 187-196.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Gurr, Ted Robert, and Panofsky, Hans, editors. *American Behavioral Scientist* (June 1964).
- Hahn, Harlan. "Voting in Canadian Communities: A Taxonomy of Referendum Issues." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 1 (December 1968), pp. 462-469.
- Hahn, Harlan, and Almy, Timothy. "Ethnic Politics and Racial Issues: Voting in Los Angeles." *The Western Political Quarterly*, 24 (December 1971), pp. 719-730.
- Hall, John S. "Voting Behavior in Two Divergent Social Areas of San Diego." Unpublished master's thesis, San Diego State College, 1970.
- Hamelman, Paul W., and Mazze, Edward M. "Toward a Cost/Utility Model for Social Science Periodicals." *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*, 6 (October 1972), pp. 465-476.

- Hamilton, Howard D. "The Municipal Voter: Voting and Nonvoting in City Elections." *American Political Science Review*, 65 (December 1971), pp. 1135-1140.
- Hatley, Richard V. "Family Income, Voting Behavior, and Financial Referendums: Educational Finance and Politics in Albuquerque, 1968-1969." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1970.
- Hatley, Richard V. "School District Financial Referendum Campaign Strategies and Voting Behavior of District Residents." *Kansas Studies in Education*, 21 (Spring/Summer 1971), pp. 37-44.
- Hicks, Robert E. "An Analysis of the Influence of Certain Fiscal Variables on the Success of Proposed School Tax Levies and Bond Issues for Public School Support in Ohio." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1967.
- Hiebert, Ray, and others. *The Political Image Merchants: Strategies in the New Politics*. Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1971.
- Hofferbert, Richard I., and Sharkansky, Ira. *State and Urban Politics: Readings in Comparative Public Policy*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971.
- Hofstadter, Richard. *The Age of Reform*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.
- Horton, John E., and Thompson, Wayne E. "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums." *American Journal of Sociology*, 67 (March 1962), pp. 485-493.
- Jackson, Raymond. "A Taxpayer's Revolution and Economic Rationality." *Public Choice*, 10 (Spring 1971), pp. 93-96.
- Jennings, M. Kent, and Zeigler, Harmon. "Class, Party, and Race in Four Types of Elections: The Case of Atlanta." *Journal of Politics*, 28 (May 1966), pp. 391-407.
- Jennings, M. Kent, and Zeigler, Harmon. "Interest Representation in School Governance." Paper presented at American Political Science Association annual meeting, Los Angeles, September 1970.
- Johnson, C. Montgomery. *Public Opinion, Voter Behavior, and School Support*. Olympia, Washington: S.C.O.R.E., 1971.
- Johnson, Claudius O., and others. *American National Government*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960.
- Johnson, Gerald W. "Research Note on Political Correlates of Voter Participation: A Deviant Case Analysis." *American Political Science Review*, 65 (September 1971), pp. 768-776.
- Jordan, W. C. "And They Vote No." *Clearing House*, 38 (February 1964), pp. 351-353.
- Jordan, Wilson K. "An Analysis of the Relationship between Social Characteristics and Educational Voting Patterns." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1966.

- Journal of Social Issues*, 4 (1961).
- Katz, Daniel. "Psychological Studies of Communication and Persuasion." In *Communications Research and School-Community Relations*, edited by Leslie W. Kindred. Philadelphia: College of Education, Temple University, 1965, pp. 58-79.
- Kaufman, Walter O., and Greer, Scott. "Voting in a Metropolitan Community: An Application of Social Area Analysis." *Social Forces*, 38 (March 1960), pp. 196-204.
- Kean, Gordon Ross. "Selected Variables in the Success of Tax Override Elections in California School Districts." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1964.
- Keech, William R. *The Impact of Negro Voting: The Role of the Vote in the Quest for Equality*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1968.
- Key, V. O., Jr. "Partisanship and the County Office: The Case of Ohio." *American Political Science Review*, 47 (June 1953), pp. 525-532.
- Key, V. O., Jr. *American State Politics: An Introduction*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956.
- Key, V. O., Jr. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups. Fifth Edition*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964.
- Key, V. O., Jr. *The Responsible Electorate*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Key, V. O., Jr., and Munger, Frank. "Social Determinism and Electoral Decision: The Case of Indiana." In *American Voting Behavior*, edited by Eugene Burdick and Arthur Brodbeck. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.
- Kindred, Leslie W., editor. *Communications Research and School-Community Relations*. Philadelphia: College of Education, Temple University, 1965.
- King, Gary W., and others. *Conflict over the Schools: Sociological Analysis of a Suburban School Bond Election*. East Lansing: Institute for Community Development and Services, Michigan State University, 1963.
- Kirkpatrick, Evron M. "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System." *American Political Science Review*, 65 (December 1971), pp. 971-974.
- Klapper, Joseph T. *The Effects of Mass Communications*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960.
- Klecka, William. "Applying Political Generations to the Study of Political Behavior: A Cohort Analysis." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 35 (Fall 1971), pp. 358-373.
- Koeppe, Don. "Nonpartisan Elections in the San Francisco Bay Area." *Public Affairs Report*, 3 (August 1962), pp. 1-4.

- Kornhauser, William. *The Politics of Mass Society*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.
- Lanc, Robert E. *Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved in Politics*. New York: The Free Press, 1959.
- Lane, Robert E. "Alienation, Protest, and Rootless Politics in the Seventies." In *The Political Image Merchants: Strategies in the New Politics*, by Ray Hiebert and others. Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1971, pp. 273-300.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; Berelson, Bernard R.; and Gaudet, Hazel. *The People's Choice*. 2d ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.
- Levy, Marion J., Jr. "'Does It Matter If He's Naked?' Bawled the Child." In *Contending Approaches to International Politics*, edited by Klaus Knorr and James Rosenau. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Lewin, Kurt. *A Dynamic Theory of Personality*. New York: McGraw-Hill Books, 1935.
- Lewin, Kurt. *Field Theory in Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1952.
- Lieber, Ralph H. "An Analysis of the Relationship of Weekly Community Suburban Papers to the Outcome of School Voting Issues." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1967.
- Lindahl, Ruth G., and Berner, William S. *Financing Public Library Expansion: Case Studies of Three Defeated Bond Issue Referendums*. Springfield: Illinois State Library, 1968.
- Lippmann, Walter. *The Public Philosophy*. New York: Mentor Books, 1955.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1963.
- Litt, Edgar. "Political Cynicism and Political Futility." *Journal of Politics*, 25 (May 1963), pp. 312-323.
- Lucier, Richard L. "The Oregon Tax Substitution Referendum: The Predictors of Voting Behavior." *National Tax Journal*, 24 (March 1971), pp. 87-90.
- Mack, Raymond W. "The Components of Social Conflict." *Social Problems*, 22 (Spring 1965), pp. 388-397.
- Mahan, James M. "An Investigation of the Relationship between Overt Voting Behavior and Expressed Personal Attitudes." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1968.
- Marlowe, Byron H. "An Explanation of Voter Behavior in School District Tax Elections." Unpublished paper presented at American Educational Research Association annual meeting, Los Angeles, February 1969.

- Marlowe, Byron H. "Voter Behavior in School Bond and Tax Elections in Ohio," In *A Time for Priorities: Financing the Schools for the 70's*, by Committee on Educational Finance, National Education Association. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1970, pp. 158-167.
- Martin, Roscoe C. *Grass Roots*. University of Alabama Press, 1957.
- Masotti, Louis H. *Education and Politics in Suburbia: The New Trier Experience*. Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1967.
- Mayer, Kurt. "The Theory of Social Classes." *Harvard Educational Review*, 23 (Summer 1953), pp. 149-157.
- McCleskey, Clifton, and Nimmo, Dan. "Differences between Potential, Registered and Actual Voters: The Houston Metropolitan Area in 1964." *Social Science Quarterly*, 49 (June 1968), pp. 103-114.
- McClosky, Herbert. "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics." *American Political Science Review*, 58 (June 1964), pp. 361-382.
- McDill, Edward L., and Ridley, Jeanne Clare. "Status, Anomia, Political Alienation and Political Participation." *American Journal of Sociology*, 68 (September 1962), pp. 205-213.
- McKelvey, Troy V. "A Cooperative Study of Voting Behavior in Two Coterminous Systems of Local Government." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1966.
- McMahan, Stephen T. "Demographic Characteristics and Voting Behavior in a Junior College Creation, Tax Levy and Bond Issue Elections." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1966.
- McNeil, Elton B., editor. *The Nature of Human Conflict*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Meier, Dorothy, and Bell, Wendell. "Anomie and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals." *American Sociological Review*, 24 (1959), pp. 189-201.
- Mendelsohn, Harold, and Crespi, Irving. *Polls, Television, and the New Politics*. Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co., 1970.
- Meranto, Philip J. *School Politics in the Metropolis*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1970.
- Merriam, Charles F., and Gosnell, Harold F. *Nonvoting, Causes and Methods of Control*. Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1924.
- Meyers, Alfred Victor. "The Financial Crisis in Urban Schools: Patterns among Organized Groups in an Urban Community." Ed.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1964.
- Milbrath, Lester W. *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965.
- Mills, C. Wright. *The Power Elite*. London: Oxford University Press, 1956.

- Milstein, Mike M., and Jennings, Robert E. *Factors Underlying Bond Referendum Successes and Failures in Selected Western New York School Districts: 1968-1969*. Department of Educational Administration. State University of New York at Buffalo, 1970.
- Minar, David W. "The Community Bases of Conflict in School System Politics." *American Sociological Review*, 31 (December 1966), pp. 822-835.
- Miner, Jerry. *Social and Economic Factors in Spending for Public Education*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1963.
- Murphy, Edward V. "Selected Variables in the Success of Bond Elections in California School Districts." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1966.
- Natchez, Peter B. "Images of Voting: The Social Psychologists." *Public Policy*, 18 (Summer 1970), pp. 553-588.
- National Education Association. *Evaluation of Teacher Salary Schedules, 1966-67, 1967-68, and 1968-69*. Washington, D.C.: Research Division, 1968.
- Nelson, Carl M., Jr. "A Prediction Model for Determining the Outcome of School Bond Elections." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Arkansas, 1968.
- Netzer, Dick. *Economics of the Property Tax*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1966.
- New York State Education Department. *Studies of Public School Support: 1969 Series*. Albany: 1970.
- Norton, J. A. "Referenda Voting in a Metropolitan Area." *Western Political Science Quarterly*, 16 (March 1963), pp. 195-212.
- Nunnery, Michael Y., and Kimbrough, Ralph B. *Politics, Power, Polls, and School Elections*. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1971.
- Parnell, Dale Paul. "Voter Participation Patterns in Three Oregon School Districts." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1964.
- Pettigrew, Thomas; Riley, Robert T.; and Vannemann, Reeve D. "George Wallace's Constituents." *Psychology Today*, 5 (February 1972), pp. 47-49.
- Pinard, Maurice. "Structural Attachments and Political Support in Urban Politics: The Case of Fluoridation Referendums." *American Journal of Sociology*, 68 (March 1963), p. 518.
- Plaut, Thomas A. F. "Analysis of Voter Behavior on a Fluoridation Referendum." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23 (Summer 1959-1960), pp. 213-222.
- Pomper, Gerald M. *Elections in America: Control and Influence in Democratic Politics*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1968.

- Pomper, Gerald M. "Ethnic and Group Voting in Nonpartisan Municipal Elections." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 30 (Spring 1966), pp. 79-97.
- Pool, Ithiel DeSola. "Mass Communication and Political Science." In *Communications Research and School-Community Relations*, edited by Leslie W. Kindred. Philadelphia: College of Education, Temple University, 1965, pp. 133-150.
- "Public Regardiness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior." *American Political Science Review*, 58 (December 1964), pp. 876-887.
- Quayle, Oliver A., III. "Charting the Volatile and Shifting Electorate." In *The Political Image Merchants: Strategies in the New Politics*, by Ray Hiebert and others. Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1971, pp. 131-133.
- Reese, Matthew. "Locating the 'Switch-Split' Vote." In *The Political Image Merchants: Strategies in the New Politics*, by Ray Hiebert and others. Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1971, pp. 162-164.
- Reich, Charles A. *The Greening of America*. New York: Bantam Books, 1971.
- Riker, William H. "Voting and the Summation of Preferences: An Interpretative Bibliographical Review of Selected Developments During the Last Decade." *American Political Science Review*, 55 (December 1961), pp. 900-911.
- Robinson, James A., and Standing, William H. "Some Correlates of Voter Participation: The Case of Indiana." *Journal of Politics*, 22 (February 1960), pp. 96-111.
- Rosenberg, Morris. "Some Determinants of Political Apathy." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 18 (Winter 1954-1955), pp. 349-365.
- Saalfeld, Bernard Francis. "Taxpayers and Voters: Collective Choice in Public Education." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1972.
- Salisbury, Robert H., and Black, Gordon. "Class and Party in Partisan and Non-Partisan Elections: The Case of Des Moines." *American Political Science Review*, 57 (September 1963), pp. 584-592.
- Schafer, Walter. "Rural and Small-Town Delinquency: New Understanding and Approaches." Paper presented at National Outlook Conference on Rural Youth, Washington, D.C., October 1967.
- Schafer, Walter, and Olexa, Carol. *Tracking and Opportunity: The Locking Out Process and Beyond*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971.
- Schattschneider, E. E. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. *Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1966.

- Schoonhoven, John van, and Patterson, Wade N. *A Comparative Study of Inconsistent Voter Behavior in School Budget Elections*. Eugene: Oregon School Study Council. School of Education, University of Oregon, 1966.
- Seeman, Melvin. "On the Meaning of Alienation." *American Sociological Review*, 24 (December 1959), pp. 780-790.
- Seeman, Melvin. "The Alienation Hypothesis." *Psychiatry and Social Science Review*, 3 (April 1969), pp. 2-6.
- Segal, David R. "Status Inconsistency, Cross Pressures, and American Political Behavior." *American Sociological Review*, 34 (June 1969), pp. 352-358.
- Shermer, Matt. *The Sense of the People, or the Next Development in American Democracy*. New York: American Referendum Association, 1969.
- Simmel, Arnold. "A Signpost for Research on Fluoridation Conflicts: The Concept of Relative Deprivation." *Journal of Social Issues*, 17, 4 (1961), pp. 26-36.
- Smith, Ralph V., and others. *Community Organization and Support of the Schools*. Cooperative Research Project No. 1828. Ypsilanti: Field Services Division, Eastern Michigan University, 1964.
- Smith, Ralph V., and others. *Community Support for the Public Schools in a Large Metropolitan Area*. Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan University, 1968.
- Spinner, Arnold. "The Effects of Voter Participation upon Election Outcomes in School Budget Elections in New York State, 1957-1966." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1967.
- Stokes, Donald. "Popular Evaluations of Government: An Empirical Assessment." In *Ethics and Bigness: Scientific, Academic, Religious, Political, and Military*, edited by Harlan Cleveland and Harold Lasswell. New York: Harper & Row, 1962, pp. 61-72.
- Stokes, Donald. "Some Dynamic Elements of Contests for the Presidency." *American Political Science Review*, 60 (March 1966), pp. 19-28.
- Stollar, Dewey H., and others. *Analysis and Interpretation of Research for School Board Members. Final Report*. Knoxville: Department of Educational Administration and Supervision, University of Tennessee, 1969.
- Stone, Clarence N. "Local Referendums: An Alternative to the Alienated Voter Model." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 29 (Summer 1965), p. 222.
- Stouffer, Samuel A. *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1955.
- Swisher, Carl Brent. *The Theory and Practice of American National Government*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951.

- Tebbutt, Arthur V. "Voting Behavior and Selected Communications in a Bond and Rate Referenda for a Suburban School District." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1968.
- Templeton, Frederic. "Alienation and Political Participation: Some Research Findings." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 30 (Summer 1966), pp. 249-261.
- Thoelke, Mike. "Junction Chief Wants Large Vote." *Eugene Register-Guard* (August 1, 1971).
- Thomas, Norman C. "The Electorate and State Constitutional Revision: An Analysis of Four Michigan Referenda." *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 12 (February 1968), pp. 115-129.
- Thomas, Norman C. "The Electorate and State Constitutional Revision: An Analysis of Four Michigan Referenda." In *State and Urban Politics: Readings in Comparative Public Policy*, edited by Richard I. Hofferbert and Ira Sharkansky. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971, pp. 149-162.
- Tingsten, Herbert. *Political Behavior*. Totowa, New Jersey: Bedminster Press, 1963.
- Turner, Pat E. "An Analysis of School Bond Campaign Techniques and Their Voting Patterns." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1968.
- Uyeki, Eugene S. "Patterns of Voting in a Metropolitan Area, 1938-1962." *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 1 (June 1966), pp. 65-77.
- Varden, Stuart Allan. "A Longitudinal Study of the Relationship between Selected Fiscal Factors, Past Voting Behavior, and the Outcomes of School Budget Elections in New York State." Ed.D. dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1973.
- Verba, Sidney. *Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Vines, Kenneth N., and Glick, Henry Robert. "The Impact of Universal Suffrage: A Comparison of Popular and Property Voting." *American Political Science Review*, 61 (December 1967), pp. 1078-1087.
- Wentzel, Jacob Noecker. "A Study of Factors Perceived to Influence the Outcome of School Budget Elections in New Jersey." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1964.
- Whisler, Norman Leroy. "Public Relations Activities and Voter Support of Public Schools." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1965.
- Williams, Oliver P., and Adrian, Charles R. "The Insulation of Local Politics Under the Non-Partisan Ballot." *American Political Science Review*, 53 (December 1959), pp. 1052-1063.

- Willis, Charles L. "Voter Response to School Financial Proposals in Sub-Areas of Akron, Ohio, 1955-1962, and Selected Characteristics of the Population in the Sub-Areas." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1964.
- Willis, Charles L. "Analysis of Voter Response to School Financial Proposals." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 31 (Winter 1967-1968), pp. 648-651.
- Wilson, James Q., and Banfield, Edward C. "Public-Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior." *American Political Science Review*, 58 (December 1964), pp. 876-887.
- Wilson, James Q., and Banfield, Edward C. "Voting Behavior in Municipal Public Expenditures: A Study in Rationality and Self-Interest." In *The Public Economy of Urban Communities*, edited by Julius Margolis. Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1965, pp. 74-91.
- Wilson, James Q., and Banfield, Edward C. "Political Ethos Revisited." *American Political Science Review*, 65 (December 1971), pp. 1048-1062.
- Wilson, James Q., and Banfield, Edward C. "Public-Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior." In *State and Union Politics: Readings in Comparative Public Policy*, edited by Richard I. Hofferbert and Ira Sharkansky. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971, pp. 112-113.
- Wirt, Frederick M. "Suburban Patterns in American Politics." Speech presented at American Political Science Association annual meeting, New York, September 1960.
- Wirt, Frederick M., and Kirst, Michael W. *The Political Web of American Schools*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1972.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E. "The Influence of Precinct Work on Voting Behavior." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 27 (Fall 1963), pp. 387-398.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E., and Field, John Osgood. "Political Ethos and the Structure of City Government." *American Political Science Review*, 60 (June 1966), pp. 306-326.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E., and Field, John Osgood. "Political Ethos and the Structure of City Government." In *State and Urban Politics: Readings in Comparative Public Policy*, edited by Richard I. Hofferbert and Ira Sharkansky. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971, pp. 194-231.
- Wood, Robert C. *Suburbia*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1959.
- World Publishing Company. *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language: College Edition*. Cleveland: 1960.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Philip K. Piele is Associate Professor of Educational Administration, and Director, ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management, University of Oregon (Eugene).

John Stuart Hall is Assistant Professor of Political Science, and Research Associate, Institute of Public Administration, Arizona State University (Tempe).