

LAWYERS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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By

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

This study attempts to ascertain which lawyers enter politics and why they do so, and why other lawyers neither enter, nor participate. To carry out this study, lawyers in the Hamilton area are divided into two groups: lawyer-politicians and non-politician lawyers. Then, by means of personal interviews, both groups are compared as to their early political background or interest, their personality types or traits, their attitudes, and their goals in life, in order to ascertain if any, or all of these approaches offer an explanation for the problem being studied.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM.

Participatory democracy or the continuous involvement of citizens in the process of government is one of the goals that many citizens and political scientists would like to see achieved. In order to attain this goal, research must be carried out to find out what citizens and why citizens participate in politics. Then these findings can be used to determine what citizens and why citizens do not participate. If the reasons or factors which explain why some citizens participate and others do not, can be isolated, then possibly changes can be implemented to influence those who do not participate in politics to do so.

The following exploratory study is only a small part of the larger project outlined above. It is concerned with determining which members and why certain members of a high status occupation are more likely to participate in politics than other members within the same occupation. The occupation which is under investigation in this study is that of lawyers. Although political scientists have shown

that lawyers frequently tend to participate in politics, very few researchers have been concerned with ascertaining which lawyers enter into politics and why they do so.

In order to help fill in this gap, the author of this study will attempt to find out which lawyers enter politics and why they do so, and why other lawyers neither enter, nor participate in politics. To carry out this study, lawyers in the Hamilton area, will be divided into two groups, that is, lawyer-politicians -- those lawyers, who have run for provincial or federal office and who have been an executive member of a provincial or federal party organization -- and non-politician lawyers -- those lawyers, practicing in the Hamilton area, who have not run for local, provincial or federal office and who have not been executive members of a political party organization. Then, both groups will be compared as to their early political background or interest, their personality types or traits, their attitudes, and their goals in life in order to find out if any, or all of these approaches offer an explanation for the problem being studied.

Relevant Literature:

In order to explain levels of participation, it is helpful to turn to the relevant literature. When one does this, one finds that four alternative approaches are used for explaining political participation. The four approaches,

which stress different theories, hypotheses and variables, are: political socialization, psychological, incentives, and social background.

Political Socialization:

Political socialization or childhood political background refers to the process by which an individual acquires values, attitudes and interest about the political system. This approach stresses the fact, that it is while the individual is young and is growing up, that he is strongly influenced about politics by his family, relatives and friends.

A typical example is a study of 165 MPs of the 25th Parliament of Canada, in which Allan Kornberg by using structured interviews found "that the more active and interested the family was in politics, the greater the tendency toward early socialization by the family,"¹ of the Member of Parliament. In another study of 222⁴ law students in 129 law schools in the United States in 1957, Marshall Goldstein found by using closed-ended questionnaires that students without relatives in either law or politics were more involved politically than students who had

1. A. Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, p. 51.

relatives in law only.² Although this finding tends not to confirm the proposition that family influence leads to political participation, Goldstein did ascertain that those law students, who desired to be lawyers in politics rather than industrial executives, tended to come from families in which there had been a political and legal background.³ So it would appear that this approach -- political socialization -- tends to be a possible explanation for the entry of law students into politics, although it should be stressed that even if law students are involved in politics while at law school, there is not any guarantee they will continue to be involved after they become lawyers.

The next question that must be asked is whether political socialization is an important variable in determining why lawyer-politicians have sought political office. To answer this question, it is useful to turn to a study of 171 lawyer-politicians and 296 non-lawyer-politicians in Ohio, New Jersey, Tennessee and California by Heinz Eulau and John Sprague, who, by using closed- and open-ended questions, found in 1957 that greater proportions of the lawyer-politicians than the non-lawyer-politicians "identified

2. M. Goldstein, "Political Involvement Among American Law Students", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1964, p. 75.

3. Ibid., p. 79.

the family as an important agency of their political socialization."⁴ This finding, coupled with other evidence,⁵ led them to hypothesize that differences in career patterns between lawyer-politicians and non-lawyer politicians "may be due less to lawyers' legal training than to the possibility that many lawyers may begin to participate in politics before they embark on a legal career."⁶ Then the authors conclude that this finding may explain, "why the lawyer-politician seems to be more politicized than the politician who is not a lawyer."⁷

It should be pointed out, that there is a gap in the political socialization literature, in that this approach has not been applied to lawyer-politicians and lawyers, who were not politicians. In other words, Eulau and Sprague's findings concerning lawyer-politicians may turn out to be the same for lawyers not in politics. Then, this would mean that the question concerning why lawyers enter into politics, had not been answered adequately by this approach.

Before proceeding to the next approach, two limitations of this approach should be pointed out. The first

4. H. Eulau and J. Sprague, Lawyers in Politics, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1964, p. 57.

5. Ibid., pp. 56-86.

6. Ibid., p. 86.

7. Ibid., p. 86.

problem is that although the political socialization approach may explain why some lawyers enter politics, it does not explain why others who have also been through this process do not enter politics. The second limitation is that it does not account for the political participation of lawyers who were not strongly influenced about politics by their family, relatives and friends. Thus the political specialization approach does not seem adequate by itself to explain the political participation of lawyers.

Psychological Approach:

The second approach to political participation can be called the "psychological" and it will be divided into two classifications: personality factors and political attitudes.

Personality factors refer to those non-political personality traits and attitudes possessed by the individual, who has probably acquired them during the time in which he is being or has been socialized. This could take place during or after his childhood. Examples of this factor are: dominance,⁸ sociability,⁹ etc.

8. H. Gough et al., "A Personality Scale for Dominance", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, xlv (1951), pp. 360-366.

9. L. Milbrath, "Predispositions Toward Political Contention", Western Political Quarterly, xiii (1960), pp. 5-18.

The beginnings of this approach can be found in the writings of Harold Lasswell who has argued that emotional insecurity and low esteem of the self, developed early in life, can lead to active political participation, if other circumstances are favorable.¹⁰ However, when John McConaughy interviewed legislators in South Carolina, he found political leaders better adjusted to life and more stable than the average male voter.¹¹ This finding -- although the size of the sample was only 18 -- tends to weaken Lasswell's hypothesis concerning emotional insecurity.

Another personality trait considered to be highly correlated with political participation is sociability, which is defined as "a feeling of ease, graciousness, and confidence in social situations, and a willingness to accept the responsibilities that attend effective social relations."¹² In a study in which the sociability scale was part of an open- and closed-ended interview schedule, Lester Milbrath did find "that sociable persons were significantly more likely to engage in activities requiring social interaction:

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10. See H. Lasswell, Power and Personality, New York: The Viking Press, 1948, and Psychopathology and Politics, New York: The Viking Press, 1930.
 11. J. McConaughy, "Certain Personality Factors of State Legislators in South Carolina", American Political Science Review, xliv (1950), p. 900.
 12. L. Milbrath, p. 9.

campaigning, contacting politicians, soliciting political funds and being consulted on policy."¹³ However, he did not find a significant relationship between sociability and holding public office.¹⁴ This latter finding may be due to the fact that Milbrath's sample also included those who had been appointed to office, which could mean that this group may not have been active in politics prior to their appointment.

Marshall Goldstein found in studying American law students, that sociability was one of four independent variables predisposing law students toward political involvement.¹⁵ When a sociability scale in a structured questionnaire was given to law students in Japan at two universities and the Judicial Research and Training Institute, Yasumasa Kuroda found, in attempting to explain the degree of personal political involvement of Japanese law students, that the "higher the sociability of the respondent, the more politicized"¹⁶ he was.

So it appears that sociability -- a personality

13. Ibid., p. 15.

14. Ibid., p. 15.

15. M. Goldstein, p. 150.

16. Y. Kuroda, "Political Socialization: Personal Political Orientation of Law Students in Japan", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1962, p. 89.

trait -- is correlated with political participation cross-culturally. Thus the next stage would be for this hypothesis to be tested on a sample of lawyer-politicians and lawyers not active in politics to see if there is a significant relationship.

The second classification of the psychological approach is labelled political attitudes, which refer to those political traits, beliefs or attitudes held by the individual about the political system and about his ability to operate in the political system.

One of the variables in this classification is a sense of civic duty, which is defined as "the feeling that oneself and others ought to participate in the political process, regardless of whether such political activity is seen as worthwhile or efficacious."¹⁷ By testing for this variable, voting studies have shown that persons feeling a duty to participate are more likely to do so, and that those with higher education are more likely to develop a sense of civic duty.¹⁸

In his study of American law students, Marshall Goldstein found that a sense of civic duty was one of the

17. A. Campbell *et al.*, The Voter Decides, Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954, p. 194.

18. Ibid., pp. 194-197.

variables that predisposed a student toward political involvement.¹⁹ But this finding did not apply to Turkish law students, since Gary Field found in a study of 1,034 law students at the Ankara Faculty of Law in 1960-61, that those who were described as highest in the possession of a sense of civic duty, did not tend to be the most activist -- politically. It was, in other words, among the moderates on the civic duty scale that the largest proportion of political activists was found. Unfortunately, the only explanation Field offers for this finding is that his respondents may have deliberately distorted their answers in order to cast themselves in a more favourable light in an area involving socially valued attitudes or activities.²⁰

A second variable that has been found to be correlated with political participation, is a sense of political efficacy, which is defined as the "feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process."²¹ Several studies have shown that politically efficacious people are more likely to become

19. M. Goldstein, p. 206.

20. G. Field, "Political Involvement and Political Orientations of Turkish Law Students", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1964, pp. 212-217. X

21. A. Campbell, et al., p. 187.

active in politics.²²

Marshall Goldstein's study of American law students ascertained that having a relative in politics was "somewhat responsible for a greater sense of political efficacy,"²³ though only among those law students, who did not have a relative in law. Another important finding substantiated by this study was that a sense of political efficacy was one of the variables which made law students receptive to political involvement.²⁴ However, when this study was given to Turkish law students, it was found that the largest percentage of students, who had a high sense of political efficacy, was among the apolitical respondents;²⁵ unfortunately, no explanation was offered for this finding. So it is unclear whether a high sense of political efficacy is related to political involvement.

From the above, it can be seen that the various studies relying on personality factors to explain political participation seem to indicate that certain traits are characteristic of the individual who, although not a candidate, is involved in politics; however, the evidence also seems to point out that these factors are not characteristic of the

22. Ibid., pp. 187-194.

23. M. Goldstein, p. 135.

24. Ibid., p. 206.

25. G. Field, p. 217.

individual who wants to hold or is holding public office. So this approach seems inadequate by itself to explain why individuals seek public office. Turning to the utility of political attitudes alone to explain this phenomenon, one finds conflicting results in that political traits seem to be relevant for explaining the political behaviour of one group but not for another. Therefore, since both components of the psychological approach seem useful to a limited degree, the combination of the two components appear to offer a more useful explanation than either component alone. In other words, the reason an individual seeks office may be that he is characterized not only by a certain personality trait but also by a political trait. This possibility will be examined in more detail in later chapters.

From this brief summary of the psychological approach, one can see that the exploration of this model is one of the untapped areas of research. This is true whether the variables in this classification are relevant for distinguishing between the political behaviour of lawyer-politicians and lawyers, who are not politicians.

Incentives:

The third approach is called incentives, which refers to the needs, goals or rewards sought by the individual.

Harold Lasswell has argued that political leaders

"are oriented toward power as a co-ordinate or secondary value with other values such as respect (popularity), rectitude (reputation as servants of the public good), and wealth (a livelihood)." ²⁶ One piece of research, which tends to agree with Lasswell's hypothesis concerning power, is that of Bernard Hennessy, who, after conducting 138 interviews in Arizona, concluded that "politicals have greater power drive than apoliticals." ²⁷

On the other hand, when Robert Rosenzweig tried to determine the most important arguments that made the candidate run for office, by conducting 16 interviews in the western Massachusetts area, he found that "nine members of the sample gave primarily issue-oriented responses ranging from a generalized dissatisfaction with the incumbent officeholder or a desire to help people, to the desire to press for a passage of a single piece of legislation. The remaining seven stressed the personal value of public office as a means of social or financial advancement or in terms of increased prestige." ²⁸

26. H. Lasswell, "Effect of Personality on Political Participation" in R. Christie, and M. Jahoda, editors, Studies in the Scope and Method of The Authoritarian Personality, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954, p. 221.

27. B. Hennessy, "Politicals and Apoliticals: Some Measurements of Personality Traits", Midwest Journal of Political Science, iii (1959), p. 354.

28. R. Rosenzweig, "The Politician and the Career in Politics", Midwest Journal of Political Science, i (1957), pp. 165-166.

In another study about the motivational basis of office-seeking, Herbert Jacob, who postulates similar categories to those of Rosenzweig, argues that elected officials seek to gain a measure of prestige and power, desire to be in a position to help others (nurturance), and desired to be in the public eye, but that they do not seek the need for friendship.²⁹ So Jacob has hypothesized that "the need for prestige, power, nurturance, exhibitionism and avoidance of friendship"³⁰ compose the most important goals of "political man."

A different categorization of incentives has been offered by Peter Clark and James Q. Wilson who have argued that there are basically three types of incentives for organizational activity, that is, material, solidary and purposive.³¹ Material incentives are tangible rewards, which "have a monetary value or can easily be translated into ones that have."³² Solidary rewards are intangible, have no monetary value and cannot easily be transformed into ones that have; for example, status.³³ In the third place, purposive incentives are intangible but are derived from the stated ends of the association with an organization --

29. H. Jacob, "Initial Recruitment of Elected Officials in the U.S. - A Model", Journal of Politics, xxiv (1962), p. 708.

30. Ibid., p. 708.

31. P. Clark and J. Wilson, "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organizations", Administrative Science Quarterly, vi (1961), p. 134.

32. Ibid., p. 134.

33. Ibid., p. 134.

in this case, a political party -- rather than from the act of association.³⁴ An example of the latter incentive is the demand for certain laws.

When one turns to the literature to see if Clark and Wilson's approach has been tested, one finds that Benjamin Hourani used similar categories -- but not the same -- in his study of 144 practicing lawyers in the County of Ingham, Michigan.³⁵ Hourani found that about 60% of all lawyers in his sample tended to perceive the "utility of politics in tangible-material terms", because they tended to view politics as a vehicle for improving their work situation rather than as a means to reform the world around them.³⁶ On the other hand, politically active lawyers perceived political rewards more in "intangible-symbolic terms", because they tended to come from the upper classes; so their desire for material benefits would presumably have already been satisfied.³⁷ Thus one could use Hourani's classification of incentives for studying the political participation of lawyers.

A further refinement of the categorization of

34. Ibid., p. 135.

35. B. Hourani, "Lawyers and Politics", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1966.

36. Ibid., p. 146.

37. Ibid., p. 164.

incentives for politicians only, has been offered by Joseph Schlesinger. He argues that "a politician's behavior is a response to his office goals,"³⁸ and that there are three directions in which office ambitions might go. The first direction is that ambitions must be static. This would include politicians who wish to remain in office indefinitely. The second direction is progressive ambitions, which refer to those politicians who seek higher office and finally, the third direction is discrete ambitions, which refer to those who want to return to private life.³⁹

Although Eulau and Sprague did not use the same categories as Schlesinger, they did ascertain that "lawyers consistently more than non-lawyers acknowledged their ambitions as reasons for seeking legislative office."⁴⁰ Thus their findings tend to agree with Schlesinger's argument.

Even though many different incentives have been postulated to explain political participation, most of them can be encompassed in the three categories put forward by Clark and Wilson. The one exception is Schlesinger's three types of office goals which by themselves, seem to give a more precise meaning to the variable office goals than if the latter were categorized under the Clark and Wilson framework.

38. J. Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States, Chicago: Rand McNally Co., 1966, p.6.

39. Ibid., p. 10. See also E. Swinerton, "Ambition and American State Executives", Midwest Journal of Political Science, xii (November, 1968), pp. 538-549.

40. H. Eulau and J. Sprague, p. 77.

By relying on the incentives approach alone, one should be able to account for an individual's political participation because of his concern for certain goals. Unfortunately, this approach does not offer any information about the psychological make-up of the individual, and it does not indicate whether the individual was strongly influenced to seek these goals, especially if they are political, by his family, relatives and friends. So an ideal theory would attempt to take account of all these approaches.

Thus, from this brief review of the literature on incentives, one can see that ample rewards are postulated, and these rewards may be used to differentiate between lawyer-politicians and lawyers, who are not politicians.

Social Background:

The final approach is called social background and it refers to the social conditions or education, income, and occupation of the particular individuals under study. It would appear that most studies tend to gather data about these variables, possibly because they are the easiest to measure.

Typical of this approach is Kornberg's study of the 25th Canadian Parliament. He found that, in 165 sample constituencies, "32 per cent of all Liberal, 26 per cent of

all Conservative, 5 per cent of all New Democrat, and 2 per cent of all Social Credit candidates in eight national elections during the period 1945-1965 were members of the legal profession. However, fully 40 per cent of the Liberal, 29 per cent of the Conservative, 7 per cent of the New Democrat and 4 per cent of the Social Credit winners for that period were also lawyers."⁴¹ Then he concluded that "normally, the percentage of a party's winners who are lawyers exceeds the proportion of lawyers who are candidates."⁴²

The question that follows from this evidence is: what is there about a person being a lawyer which makes him want to enter politics? A possible explanation is offered by Joseph Schlesinger, who points out, when comparing the social background of governors of the United States, two distinct advantages lawyers have in becoming governors.

"The first is that of the compatibility of the professions of law and politics. This is an advantage which accrues to lawyers primarily when positions of political leadership go to career politicians. The lawyer's second advantage lies in his monopoly of offices related to the administration of law by the courts. When and where these offices lead to the governorship, the lawyer also becomes governor."⁴³

41. A. Kornberg, p. 44.

42. Ibid., p.44.

43. J. Schlesinger, "Lawyers and American Politics: A Clarified View", in N. Polsby, et al., Politics and Social Life, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963, p.316.

A second sociological explanation of why a lawyer enters politics is offered by Herbert Jacob, who argues that a lawyer is a member of a brokerage occupation, which is defined as that which places a person in a bargaining role, where he deals with outsiders (non-subordinates) and tries to reach a mutually satisfying agreement.⁴⁴ The lawyer is the classic example, since he is the negotiator between parties who are in conflict or who desire to reach a common end through somewhat different means. The question that arises from this solution concerns why real estate agents or insurance men, who are also in brokerage occupations, do not seek public office more than they do now.

Another explanation frequently found in the literature is that lawyers have a great deal of free time, which means they can get involved in politics. However, in a study of a sample of lawyers of the Washington State Bar Association, John Crow, by means of a mail questionnaire conducted in 1963, found that those lawyers having the highest incomes,⁴⁵ and those lawyers, who specialize in certain types of law,⁴⁶ tended to avoid elective office. One reason offered for

44. H. Jacob, p. 708.

45. J. Crow, "Lawyers and Politics: A Behavioral Analysis", X
Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Washington,
1965, p. 96.

46. Ibid., p. 98.

this was the fact, that finding the free time to run for office was difficult and expensive.⁴⁷ Although this reason tends not to confirm the proposition mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, it is possible that new lawyers, who do not specialize and are having troubles starting their legal practice, may turn to politics as a way to gain publicity for their legal career.

From this short discussion of social background as a possible explanation for political involvement, one can see that there are many untested propositions, which indicate that being a lawyer is, in itself, an adequate explanation for entering politics. This proposition is not adequate, because it does not offer any reason why some lawyers enter politics and others do not. In other words, the various explanations mentioned in the previous paragraphs may account for the political behaviour of certain lawyers, but not for all lawyers.

Conclusion:

Now that the four approaches pertaining to political participation have been discussed, one can see that there is a gap, in that there have not been any studies, either using one or more of these approaches, to ascertain which lawyers seek political office and how they differ from lawyers who

47. Ibid., p. 96.

are not involved in politics.

A second theme, which dominated this chapter besides the gap in the literature, has been the argument that none of the various approaches under discussion seems by itself to offer a complete explanation about the political behavior of lawyers. However, each approach seems to complement the other. Thus the combination of these approaches as an explanation of why certain lawyers seek political office and how they differ from lawyers not involved in politics, will be examined in the remaining chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH DESIGN

Sample Design:

The total population of this study is to consist of 28 in-depth interviews, that is, 14 lawyer-politicians and 14 non-politician lawyers. Although the total number is not very large because of lack of time and funds, it should be pointed out, that on the basis of only 15 in-depth interviews, Robert Lane attempted to explain why the American common man believes what he does,⁴⁸ and this particular work has been well received within the discipline, because of the various insights and hypotheses it has also generated.

The first group consists of the total population of 14 lawyer-politicians, who ran for the New Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives, provincially, and federally, in the Hamilton area from 1959 to 1968, from the following ridings: in 1959, the provincial riding of Hamilton Centre; in 1963, the provincial riding of Halton; in 1967, the provincial ridings of Halton-West, Hamilton Centre, Wentworth

48. R. Lane, Political Ideology, New York: The Free Press, 1962.

and Wentworth North; in 1962, 1963, and 1965, the federal ridings of Hamilton East and Hamilton West; and in 1968, the federal ridings of Hamilton East, Hamilton West, Hamilton Mountain, Hamilton-Wentworth, and Halton-Wentworth -- the number of ridings total more than the number of lawyer-politicians to be interviewed, because several of the latter, have run for political office in the same riding more than once.

The second group to be interviewed consists of a random sample of 14 non-politician lawyers drawn from lawyers who practice in Hamilton. This list was obtained from the legal directory, which lists those lawyers who practice in Ontario.⁴⁹

Classification:

In order to differentiate between lawyers who participate actively in politics and those who do not, it was necessary to divide lawyers into two groups: the first group is lawyer-politicians who are defined as lawyers who have run for provincial or federal political office in the Hamilton area and who have been an executive member of a provincial or federal party organization; the

49. S. Walters, Ed., Canadian Almanac and Directory, Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1969, pp. 541-542.

second group is non-politician lawyers who are defined as those lawyers practicing in the Hamilton area, who have neither run for provincial, federal or local political office, nor have been an executive member of a provincial or federal party organization.

Since the sample is small, a profile of each or any of the respondents might disclose their identity, which the author promised to all respondents would not occur. So a profile of a typical lawyer-politician and a typical non-politician lawyer will be given.

The lawyer-politician, who was born in Hamilton, is between 31 and 40 years of age, and he is more likely than not, to have had a relative in law. His decision to go to law school and into politics was generally made during high school and after law school respectively. After graduating from Osgoode Hall any time after 1951, he eventually became a partner in a small law firm in which he now has a general practice or specializes in the law of torts; whatever his practice, he has been able to have a comfortable income of over \$19,000 a year. Finally, he tends to have had some political experience as a member of the federal and provincial riding associations of the Liberal Party and this seems to be one reason why he would prefer to be a politician than a lawyer.

On the other side, the typical non-politician lawyer, who was also born in Hamilton, is between 31 and 40 years of

age but he tends not to have had a relative in law. His decision to go to law school was generally made either during high school or in his second or third year of university. He tends to have graduated from the same law school and during the same period of time as the lawyer-politician; however, he tends to specialize in property law or has a general practice in a small law firm, in which he earns the same income as a lawyer-politician. The one major difference between the two groups is that half of the non-politician lawyers tend not to be associated with any political party, while the other half indicate that they tend to associate with either the Liberal or the Conservative Party. The lack of strong association with a political party may indicate why all of this group prefer to be lawyers rather than politicians.

Theory: Visual Description: (See Figure 1 - page 26).

Theory: Verbal Description:

In the first chapter, four approaches about political participation were discussed, that is, political socialization, psychological variables, incentives, and social background. From these categories, different variables will be postulated as parts of a theory, that is, a generalization which explains and predicts behaviour -- in this case, political behaviour.

THEORY: VISUAL DESCRIPTION

APPROACHES:

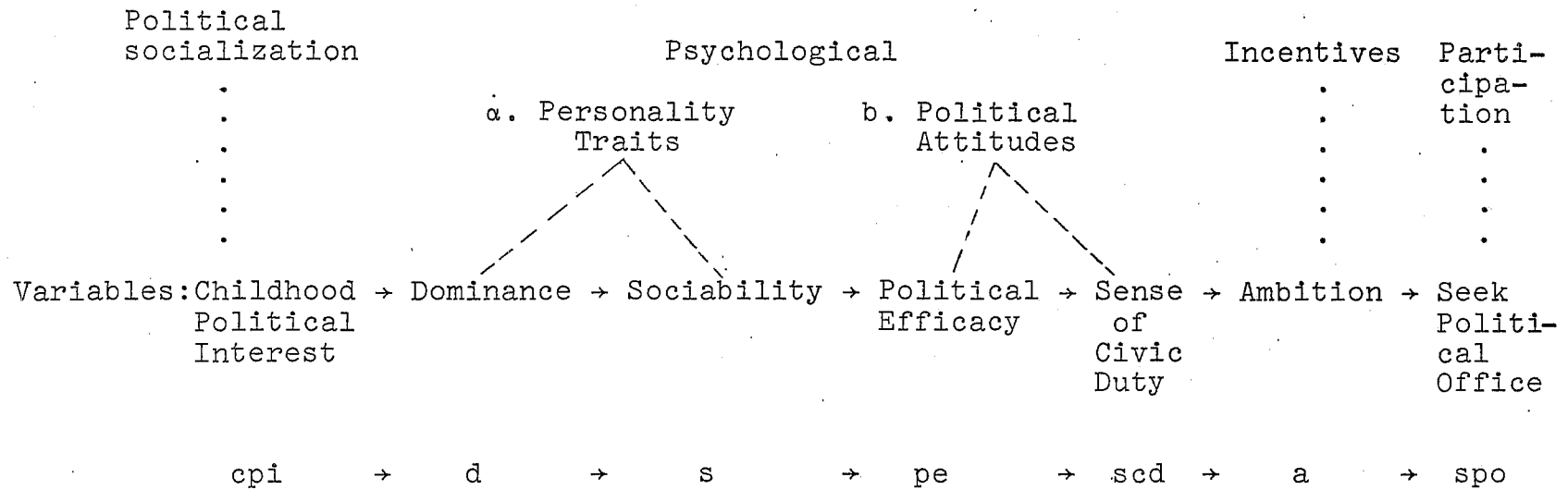


FIGURE I

Social Background:

From this approach, the dependent variables, which are lawyer-politicians and non-politician lawyers, are derived. Other variables, such as income and education, will be looked into, although it is expected that the latter variable will not be very relevant, since most lawyers have probably attended law school.

Political Socialization:

It is expected that childhood political interest will be an important factor in determining whether a lawyer enters into politics or not. If the lawyer had relatives, especially his immediate family, active in politics, it is argued that he will also tend to be interested in politics. If he was also a member of various groups in which political discussions took place, it is expected, he will enter into politics more often than the lawyer, whose childhood was deficient in political stimuli or who lacked an early orientation to politics.

Psychological:

a. Personality Traits:

For a lawyer to consider running for office, it is argued that he must be a person who possesses certain

traits which make it easier for him to be the centre of attention and to get along with other people. The concepts to be considered in this study are dominance, that is, a person with a dominant personality is one, who has "a high level of self-confidence and does not seem to be plagued by self-doubts or equivocation",⁵⁰ and sociability, that is, a person with a sociable personality tends "to facilitate interaction with other persons."⁵¹ It is expected that these will be traits of the lawyer-politicians, while the non-politician lawyers will tend to be less self-confident and less interested in getting along with others, unless it is really necessary for business reasons.

b. Political Attitudes:

Assuming that a lawyer has been politically socialized, is dominant and sociable, it is still possible that he would not enter into politics, unless he is politically efficacious, that is, he believes he can influence governmental decision-making,⁵² and he has a strong sense of citizen or civic duty, that is, he is concerned with

50. H. Gough et al., "A Personality Scale for Dominance", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XIV (1951), p. 362.

51. M. Goldstein, "Political Involvement Among American Law Students", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1964, p. 144.

52. Ibid., p. 131.

performing his civic obligations.⁵³ On the other hand, it is argued that the lawyer, who is not politically efficacious and who does not have a strong sense of civic duty, is unlikely to consider running for political office.

Incentives:

It is expected that the lawyer, who runs for office does not do it for material rewards, that is, those having a monetary value,⁵⁴ even if he is just starting his practice, because a political campaign is expensive, and a lawyer, whether established or not, can make contacts with clients through his family, friends and if necessary by joining social clubs, whose members are potential clients. Therefore, the lawyer-politician seeks to reap solidary rewards, that is, those not having monetary value,⁵⁵ for example, status. He also seeks purposive rewards, that is, those which are derived from the stated ends of the association with a political party rather than from the simple act of association; for example, demands for a certain law.⁵⁶

53. Ibid., p. 101.

54. P. Clark and J. Wilson, "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organizations", Administrative Science Quarterly, vi (1961), p. 134.

55. Ibid., p. 134.

56. Ibid., p. 135.

On the other hand, the lawyer not active in politics, will seek material rewards, which he thinks he can achieve, by not running for political office.

A further incentive for the lawyer-politician, who has sought political office, is that he will seek a higher office, that is, he will have progressive ambitions;⁵⁷ in other words, he sees seeking higher office as a way of obtaining more status or prestige, which is a solidary reward.

So it can be seen that this series of hypotheses, using the variables outlined visually and verbally, postulate that lawyer-politicians will be different from non-politician lawyers.

The following are the hypotheses to be tested:

1. Lawyer-politicians will tend to have high political interest developed during their childhood, while non-politician lawyers will tend to have low political interest developed during their childhood. ✓
2. Lawyer-politicians will tend to give dominant responses when given a dominance test, -- to be described later -- while non-politician lawyers will tend to give non- ✓

57. J. Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics, Chicago: Rand McNally Co., 1966, p. 10.

dominant responses when given the same test.

3. Lawyer-politicians will tend to be high on the sociability scale, while non-politician lawyers will tend to be low on the same scale.

4. Lawyer-politicians will tend to be high on the political efficacy scale, while non-politician lawyers will tend to be low on the same scale.

5. Lawyer-politicians will tend to be high on the sense of civic duty scale, while non-politician lawyers will tend to be low on this scale.

6. Lawyer-politicians will tend to seek purposive and solidary rewards for the future, while non-politician lawyers will tend to seek material rewards for the future.

7. Lawyer-politicians will tend to seek purposive and solidary rewards from their political activity.

8. Lawyer-politicians will tend to seek higher political office than that which they previously sought, that is, they have progressive ambitions.

Derivation of Interview Schedule:

An interview schedule was drawn up in order to test the above hypotheses. It was pretested for a paper in

a graduate seminar class during February, March and April of 1969, from 15 members of the following three groups: lawyer-politicians, non-politician lawyers and politicians, who were not lawyers. After changes were made in the closed-ended part of the interview schedule, the final schedule was administered to the respondents in July and August of 1969. The average interview for lawyer-politicians lasted about two hours; the shortest interview in this group took one hour and the longest about three and a half hours. On the other side, the average interview for non-politician lawyers lasted about one hour, while the shortest and longest interviews for this group ranged between forty minutes and one hour and forty-five minutes respectively.

The final interview schedule which can be found in the appendix, was drawn up by the author; however, the dominance, sociability, civic duty and political efficacy scales were adapted from studies conducted by Harrison Gough,⁵⁸ Lester Milbrath,⁵⁹ Marshall Goldstein⁶⁰ and Angus Campbell⁶¹

58. H. Gough et al., p. 363. Twelve statements were taken from the original sixty statements.

59. L. Milbrath, "Predispositions Toward Political Contention", Western Political Quarterly, xii (1960), pp. 5-18. See also M. Goldstein, Appendix C, pp. 270-271.

60. M. Goldstein, Appendix C, p. 270. This was taken by M. Goldstein from A. Campbell et al., The Voter Decides, Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1954, pp.194-199.

61. A. Campbell et al., pp.187-194. See also M. Goldstein, Appendix C, p. 267.

respectively. Except for the dominance scale, the author added statements to each of the scales, because it was felt that longer scales, if they could be shown to be unidimensional, were more reliable than the shorter scales used in the previous studies. Two other questions were also adapted from the studies of Henry Jacek⁶² and Robert Williams⁶³

-- see the appendix for the specific questions.

Indicators of Childhood Political Interest:

1. What got you first interest in politics? (for lawyer-politicians).
2. Were any of your immediate family, close relatives, or close friends active in politics? If yes, who and what capacity?
3. Would you say your father was: 1. very interested in politics, 2. somewhat interested in politics, 3. not interested in politics.
4. When you were growing up, were there discussions about politics in your home? yes, no.

62. H. Jacek, "Precinct Chairmen in the District of Columbia", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1969, Interview Schedule.

63. R. Williams, "Political Recruitment", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1967, p. 110.

If yes, would you say there was: 1. a great deal of discussion, 2. some discussion?

5. When you were growing up, did you belong to any groups or organizations, in which there were political discussions? Yes, No. If yes, which ones?

6. Was there: 1. A great deal of discussion about politics, 2. Some discussion of politics?

Indicators of Dominance:

Only the answer for dominance is given. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. A person does not need to worry about other people if only he looks after himself. Disagree.

2. When I work on a committee, I like to take charge of things. Agree.

3. I enjoy planning things and deciding what each person should do. Agree.

4. I'm not the type to be a political leader. Disagree.

5. People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made. Agree.

6. I am a good leader of people. Agree.

7. I like to give orders and get things moving. Agree.
8. I hate to have to tell others what to do. Disagree.
9. I must admit I try to see what others think before I take a stand. Disagree.
10. I sometimes keep on at a thing, until others lose patience with me. Agree.
11. The future is too uncertain for a person to make serious plans. Disagree.
12. I have strong political opinions. Agree.

Indicators of Sociability:

Responses are: agree strongly, agree somewhat, agree slightly, no response, disagree slightly, disagree somewhat, disagree strongly.

1. When I think something is good for someone, I frequently try to persuade him that this is the case.
Cutting points for low and high sociability respectively:
agree slightly/ agree somewhat.
2. I would rather go to a movie alone than go with a group of friends. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
3. In social conversations, I frequently have definite ideas and try to convince others. agree somewhat/agree strongly.

4. In a group, I usually take the responsibility for getting people introduced. agree somewhat/agree strongly.
5. When in a group of people, I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about. disagree slightly/disagree somewhat.
6. It is hard for me to find anything to talk about when I meet a new person. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
7. I would rather not have very much responsibility for other people. agree slightly/disagree slightly.

Indicators of Political Efficacy:

1. People like me don't have any say about what the government does. disagree slightly/disagree somewhat.
2. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. agree slightly/disagree slightly.
3. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. agree slightly/disagree slightly.
4. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
5. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country. disagree slightly/

agree slightly.

6. Running for political office is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. disagree slightly/agree slightly.

Indicators of Sense of Civic Duty:

1. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.

2. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.

3. Local elections aren't important enough to bother with. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.

4. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.

5. It isn't so important to run for political office, when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.

6. So many other people run for political office that it doesn't matter much to me whether I run or not. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.

Indicators of Ambition:

Wherever possible, each statement is differentiated as to what type of ambition it is, that is, whether it is progressive, static, discrete, material, solidary or purposive, -- see definitions given in Chapter I.

1. Do any of the circumstances described below approximate the situation when you decided to seek the nomination?

- (1) professional status - solidary (see interview schedule for proper wording of statements)
- (2) specific group, purposive
- (3) party's ideals, purposive
- (4) condition of constituency, purposive
- (5) opportunity for public service, purposive.⁶⁴

2. Are men in politics: more respected, about the same, or less respected than lawyers? If the response is more respected, it is considered a solidary incentive.

3. Looking back over your campaigns, what would you say has given you the greatest satisfaction in campaigning?

4. Looking back over your years in office, what would you say has given you the greatest satisfaction in your job?

64. Ibid., p. 110.

5. Looking back over your years in office, what has been your most unpleasant political experience?

6. When you consider your future, which of the following is most important to you? 1. A good income, material, 2. recognition as a valuable citizen of the community, solidary, 3. being a skilled lawyer, solidary, 4. having close friends, solidary, 5. good health, solidary, 6. being a just man, solidary, 7. being learned in the law, solidary, 8. ability to shape important community decisions, purposive,⁶⁵ 9. making business contacts, material.

7. How might political office benefit one's legal career?

8. What event triggered your entry into politics?

9. What rewards did you expect to get out of politics when you first started?

10. Are there any other political or governmental positions -- local, provincial, or federal -- which you would like to seek? If yes or perhaps, what are they? progressive, static, and discrete.

11. People enjoy politics for different reasons. How important are the following reasons to you? 1. not at all important, 2. not too important, 3. somewhat important, 4. very important

65. M. Goldstein, Appendix C, p. 260.

fun and excitement of campaigns, (solidary); making social contacts and friends, (solidary); politics is a part of my way of life, (solidary); satisfaction of fulfilling my duty as a citizen, (solidary); furthering my political ambitions, (solidary); helping my party, (purposive); being close to influential people, (solidary); concern with public issues, (purposive); making business contacts, (material); financial rewards, (material); helping to influence the policies of government, (purposive); prestige in my community, (solidary).⁶⁶

12. What benefits do you receive from political office?

13. Do you like to influence other people? If yes, in what way(s)? solidary.

14. Do you like to receive publicity? If yes, why? solidary.

15. What got you first interested in politics?

Extra Questions to be included for future use:

1. Should lawyers have more say in the way the legal system works? If yes, in what way?

2. Were or are you satisfied with your legal career? Why or why not?

66. H. Jacek, Interview Schedule.

3. Would you prefer to be a lawyer or a politician?

Why?

CHAPTER 3

Introduction:

This chapter will be concerned with explaining the logical order of the three approaches and their variables, which have been offered in the previous chapter as an explanation concerning lawyers and political participation. After this has been done, each hypothesis will be examined and arguments presented as to why it was postulated. Then the way in which the indicators for each variable were ascertained and how their scores were derived will be explained, so that one could replicate this study. Next, the data pertaining to the particular hypothesis will be presented and analyzed. When this has been completed, an overall interpretation will be offered. Then the findings will be related back to the theoretical framework. By proceeding in this manner, it is hoped that an explanation will be offered on which lawyers participate in politics and why they do so.

Order of Presentation of Approaches and Variables:

The three approaches which are being used to explain lawyers and political participation are the political

socialization approach, the psychological approach and the incentives approach. The question that must be answered concerns which approach should be analyzed first and why it should come first.

In order to answer this, one must look at the time sequence between the three approaches. By doing this, one can see that it is the political socialization approach, which precedes the other two approaches in time.

Admittedly, political socialization is a continuing process but it can commence initially any time after the individual is born. In other words, what is necessary is that some stimulus or impact must be made on the individual during his childhood. This could be due to the fact that an individual's relative ran for office, was a campaign manager for a candidate or was involved in politics beyond the mere act of voting -- these are indicators of the variable, childhood political interest. Whatever the stimulus, it must have taken place while the individual was growing up or before he became politically active.

On the other hand, the psychological approach stresses some of what has been learned in the political socialization process. The psychological approach, which is made up of personality and political attitudes and traits, consists of variables, which become part of the individual and must develop over time, past one's childhood. For example, if one's relative ran for political office, one

would probably realize that this was related to politics, and one might become interested in politics; however, this act of office-seeking does not mean that one is suddenly going to become politically efficacious or develop a sense of civic duty or be a sociable person. These types of variables are due not only to one's relatives, or friends but to the cumulative impact of other factors, such as the schools one attends, the printed material one reads and the influence of the other mass media. So these variables do not have to be firmly ingrained in the individual while he is growing up -- although the seeds are probably planted there -- but they can still be developing or developed when or while the individual is an adult.

Therefore the political socialization approach as used here, refers to those variables which were developed while the individual was growing up, and the psychological approach refers to those variables, which may have had their seeds started during one's childhood, but which are not developed or in some cases not even implanted in the individual, until one's childhood is over.

Although it is argued that the political socialization approach precedes the psychological approach in time, it is quite possible that they are concomitant with each other. However, since childhood political interest is a weak variable, that is, it is not part of the psychological

make-up of the individual, it should not take as long or require as many stimuli for it to have some influence on the individual as compared to the psychological variables. On the other side, the different components of the psychological approach are strong variables, that is, they are part of his psychological make-up and must be learned. So they require a longer period of time to become part of the individual. In other words, it is argued that childhood political interest -- a weak variable -- differs in quality from the strong psychological variables, and because of this, weak variables require less time and stimuli to become characteristic of the individual. Consequently, the political socialization approach as used here, precedes the psychological approach in time.

The third approach, which is the incentives approach, is the product of the psychological approach or the "goals" part of what is learned. Only after some of the variables in the latter approach have been developed will there develop needs, goals and rewards which the individual will seek. These goals may have been influenced by the political socialization process but it is only after the psychological variables have developed in the individual that the goals of the individual are also developed. For example, an individual with a high sense of civic duty is likely to seek purposive rewards, since being concerned with one's civic duty, which supposedly tends to benefit others, means

that one will also likely be concerned with purposive goals, which will also benefit others. Therefore, it is the time element which again distinguishes the psychological approach from the incentives approach. In other words, if the psychological approach has developed during time B, the incentives approach will not develop fully until time C, which is any time after time B. This might also be stated in the following manner: the psychological make-up of the individual determines his incentives and not vice-a-versa.

This part of the chapter has tried to argue that the time sequence for the three approaches takes place in the following order: the process of political socialization leads to psychological learning (values), which in turn leads to the incentives for political participation.

At this point, it is necessary to develop the order of the variables as used in this study. Since the theoretical framework of this study posits that the political socialization approach is to occur first in time, it naturally follows that childhood political interest should be the first variable to be discussed, since it is the only variable being used for this study under this approach.

The second approach which is the psychological approach consists of the following four variables which are used in this study: dominance, sociability, political

efficacy and sense of civic duty. Since political attitudes are a small subset of the more inclusive social attitudes, it is argued that the personality traits develop before the political traits. This happens because the number of stimuli required to develop personality traits take place more often each year than do the stimuli for political traits. This can be made clearer by considering the following example: it is possible that one of the stimuli for developing sociability is attendance at various clubs, meetings or social gatherings, which develops the individual's ability to interact easily with others. This type of stimulus could possibly take place every day of one's life; however, one stimulus for development of a sense of civic duty may be voting at an election, which at the most, takes place three times a year -- assuming there are three levels of government. Therefore it would require stimuli taking place over a greater number of years for a sense of civic duty to develop rather than for sociability to develop within the individual. So the frequency of the stimuli indicate that personality traits will more likely develop before political traits.

The next question concerns whether sociability leads to dominance or vice-a-versa. It would seem that dominance or self-confidence should develop before sociability, which is the ability to interact easily with other people. In other words, a person who lacks self-confidence is going to

find it difficult to interact with other people, since he will doubt whether he has anything to contribute to a gathering of people.

After the personality traits have developed, the political traits start to appear. It is argued here, that political efficacy develops in the individual prior to a sense of civic duty, since the feeling that one can influence political decision-making is partially the result of one's personality and family life. In other words, the self-confident individual who has also taken part in family decision-making -- family life being a miniature political system -- carries this feeling of self-confidence over into politics, such that he feels that he can influence political decision-making, although this variable is not fully developed until his childhood is over and a feeling of self-confidence in himself has been established. On the other hand, a sense of civic duty, which is partially the result of one's personality, family influence and contact with other groups or people having this attitude, takes longer to develop. This is so, because the stimuli influencing one to vote only take place periodically, that is, at election time. Consequently, there are likely to be more frequent stimuli leading one to be politically efficacious than to have a sense of civic duty. Thus the order of the variables is from political efficacy to a sense of civic duty.

Finally, since it has been previously argued that the incentives approach follows in time sequence the other two approaches, it means that the variable "ambition" will be dealt with last, because nothing else remains to be discussed.

To repeat the point being made, the following is the order of the presentation of the variables:

childhood political interest	→	dominance	→	sociability	→	political efficacy	→	civic duty	→	ambition	→	seeking political office
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Sample Changes:

Although the original total population in this study was to be 28, it was necessary to reduce this to 23: 14 non-politician lawyers and 9 lawyer-politicians, because 5 of the latter refused to be interviewed. This means that this study will be even more speculative than was originally intended.

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION APPROACH

Hypothesis: Childhood Political Interest

1. Lawyer-politicians will tend to have high political interest developed during their childhood, while non-politician lawyers will tend to have low political interest developed

during their childhood.

This hypothesis was formulated, because it was expected that childhood political interest would be an important factor in determining whether a lawyer enters into politics or not. If the lawyer had relatives active in politics and if he was a member of groups during his childhood, in which political discussions took place, it was postulated that he would enter politics to a greater degree than the lawyer whose childhood was deficient in these political stimuli.

Childhood Political Interest Index:

In order to compare both groups for this variable, the following index was derived:

<u>QUESTION</u>	<u>SCORE</u>
1. Were any of your immediate family, close relatives or close friends active in politics? If yes, who and what capacity?	1 point if respondent had a member of one's family or friend active in politics 1 point if above person was politician, party organizer, or had executive position on riding association.

<u>QUESTION</u>	<u>SCORE</u>
2. Would you say your father was: 1. very interested in politics	2 points for very interested 1 point for somewhat interested 0 points for not interested
2. somewhat interested in politics 3. not interested.	
3. When you were growing up, were there discussions about politics in your home?	2 points if great deal of discussion 1 point for some discussion 0 points for no discussion
4. When you were growing up, did you belong to any groups or organizations in which there were political discussions?	1 point for each group
5. In these groups, was there: 1. a great deal of discussion about politics	2 points for a great deal of discussion 1 point for some discussion
2. some discussion about politics	

By using this index, more than one means of political socialization is taken into consideration as indicative of childhood political interest, that is, the influence of family, friends and membership in and political discussion

within an organization.

The following are the results for this variable:

LP = lawyer-politician

NPL = non-politician lawyer

N/S = not significant

	NUMBER IN SAMPLE	TOTAL SCORE FOR GROUP	MEAN SCORE
LP	9	40	4.44
NPL	14	54	3.85
TABLE 3.1: Childhood Political Interest Scores.			t = +.59 ⁶⁷ df = 16 N/S

From the above table, it can be seen that the lawyer-politicians' mean score is slightly higher than the non-politician lawyers' mean score.

Even when the raw scores are calculated for the 6 sections of the index (and 4 of 6 is considered high childhood political interest, and anything below that is

67. H. Blalock, Social Statistics, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960, p. 170-176. The difference of means test was used here in order to see if there was a significant difference in childhood political interest between the two groups of lawyers. Because the standard deviation for one population does not equal that of the second population, it is necessary to obtain an approximation to the correct degrees of freedom.

considered low childhood political interest), the lawyer-politicians still have a greater proportion considered to have had high childhood political interest. This variable was dichotomized to make sure that the relationship found by using an arbitrary index did not distort the raw data.

The following table illustrates the above:

	HIGH CHILDHOOD POLITICAL INTEREST	LOW CHILDHOOD POLITICAL INTEREST	TOTAL	PROPORTION HIGH	PROPORTION LOW
LP	6	3	9	6/9	3/9
NPL	8	6	14	8/14	6/14

TABLE 3.2: High and Low Childhood Political Interest Scores.

Thus, although Fisher's exact test⁶⁸ shows that these findings are not statistically significant, the lawyer-

68. S. Siegel, Non-parametric Statistics For The Behavioral Sciences, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956, pp. 96-111. Because the N is small in this 2x2 table, it was not possible to use the chi-square test, which requires a relatively large N. So an alternative -- Fisher's Exact Test -- was used to get exact rather than approximate probabilities in order to see if there was a significant relationship between the variables. Since factorials are used in this test, the computations involved may become tedious. Therefore, the author did not work out the test scores, since Siegel on pages 96-111, has made available tables in which this exact test is extremely simple to use as long as the $N \leq 30$. Upon using these tables, no significant results were found.

politicians tend to have high political interest developed during their childhood, while the non-politician lawyers tend to split between high and low childhood political interest. Still, because the sample is small, it is quite conceivable that there is little or no difference in childhood political interest for these two groups. Therefore the first hypothesis must be rejected.

This rejection must then mean that the political socialization approach is not adequate, as used here to differentiate between the two groups. But why should this be so? One explanation is that the non-politician lawyers tend to also come from homes in which their father was somewhat interested in politics -- 13 non-politician lawyers give this response.

A second explanation concerns the fact that political discussion took place within the household of non-politician lawyers, while they were growing up -- 14 responded in this fashion.

Another explanation could be that it is only when a person, who had high political interest developed during his childhood, is also influenced by a political experience which had a great impact on him, will he then later seek political office.

Whatever the explanation for rejecting the hypothesis, its rejection clearly means that the political socialization approach as used here, must also be rejected as differentiating between the political participation of the two groups of lawyers under study.

PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH:Personality TraitsHypothesis: Dominance

2. Lawyer-politicians will tend to give dominant responses when given the dominance test, while non-politician lawyers will tend to give non-dominant responses when given the same test.

It was expected that dominance or a high feeling of self-confidence would be characteristic of lawyer-politicians and possibly act as a stimulus for their political participation, and that one would not find this characteristic so prevalent among non-politician lawyers. In other words, it was expected that self-confidence would be a trait of lawyers who had to appear in court or were used to dealing with the general public, while other lawyers, who mainly do paperwork or whose contact with the public was limited, would not possess this trait.

Indicators of Dominance:

The original interview schedule contained 12 statements as indicators of dominance; however, statements 39, 41, and 43 were dropped in order to obtain a Guttman scale⁶⁹

For footnote 69, please see next page.

having a coefficient of reproducibility (C.R.) of 89% and a coefficient of scalability (C.S.)⁷⁰ of 61%.

The following are the indicators used with the dominant responses given; the opposite response was considered a non-dominant response.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1. A person does not need to worry about other people if only he looks after himself. disagree

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69. C. Selltitz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967: revised edition, pp. 373-377. The Guttman scalogram method was used in order to ascertain whether the attitude or characteristic being studied involves a single dimension. The minimum reproducibility necessary for a series of items to be regarded as approximating a perfect scale has been set at .90 by Guttman.
 70. H. Menzel, "A New Coefficient for Scalogram Analysis", Public Opinion Quarterly, xvii (1953), pp. 268-280. Menzel argues that the coefficient of reproducibility is not an accurate measure of scalability. He states that, even if one tries to deliberately make up hypothetical examples of scale pattern which will yield low coefficients of reproducibility, it cannot be done, as long as the samples are small and scores are reasonably dispersed. He says one cannot get low coefficients of reproducibility because the latter which is supposed to be (a) an accurate measure of scalability alone, also depends on (b) the extremeness of items and (c) the extremeness of individuals. Because the coefficient of reproducibility is a joint result of a, b, and c above, Menzel argues that regardless of the pattern of responses, there is only a maximum number of errors possible by items and individuals. To take into consideration either type of maximum errors, he suggests using a new formula called the coefficient of scalability which should range between .60 and .65.

2. When I work on a committee, I like to take charge of things. agree
3. I enjoy planning things and deciding what each person should do. agree
4. I'm not the type to be a political leader. disagree
5. People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made. agree
6. I like to give orders and get things moving. agree.
7. I must admit I try to see what others think before I take a stand. disagree
8. The future is too uncertain for a person to make serious plans. disagree
9. I have strong political opinions. agree

In order to arrive at the results found in Table 3.3, the number of dominant and non-dominant responses were totalled, and their mean score derived. The maximum mean score for one group is the highest possible total the mean scores for dominant and non-dominant responses could be for that group. In other words, the 9 lawyer-politicians were each given 9 indicators of dominance, which totals 81 possible responses and the maximum mean score is derived by dividing the total number of responses by the number of respondents, which is $81 \text{ divided by } 9 = 9$. Therefore the mean score for dominant and non-dominant responses can never total more than the maximum mean score. In some cases throughout this study, the maximum mean score (found by adding the two other mean scores together) is not attained

because some respondents failed to reply to certain statements.

	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF DOMINANT RESPONSES	MEAN SCORE	NUMBER OF NON-DOMINANT RESPONSES	MEAN SCORE	MAXIMUM MEAN SCORE
LP	9	60	.6.66	21	2.33	9
NPL	14	76	5.42	49	3.50	9
TABLE 3.3			t=+1.8 df=16 $\alpha=.10$	t=-1.67 df=18 $\alpha=.20$		
Dominance Scores.						

The results show that lawyer-politicians have a higher mean score for dominant responses than non-politician lawyers and the difference of means test shows that the results are significant at the .10 level. The other finding, which is only significant at the .20 level, is that non-politician lawyers have a higher mean score for non-dominant responses than lawyer-politicians; however, non-politician lawyers still have higher mean scores for dominant than non-dominant responses.

These findings mean that lawyer-politicians are more dominant or self-confident than non-politician lawyers; however, within the latter group there are those who are just as dominant as lawyer-politicians. A possible explanation for this is that there are those non-politician lawyers

who do appear in court and because of this gain confidence in themselves. In other words, a lawyer who does not have to appear in court very often or at all does not have to develop a feeling of self-confidence, so as to convince a judge or jury that what he is saying on behalf of his client, is the version the listener should believe.

A second possibility is that with a larger sample, the complete hypothesis might be confirmed, since the difference between the lawyer-politicians' mean scores is 4.33 and the difference between the non-politician lawyers' mean scores is 1.92 -- which is less than half of 4.33. So perhaps a larger population would increase the difference.

Another interpretation is that, in order to be a relatively successful lawyer, it may be a prerequisite to be dominant. The fact that 16 out of 21 in this sample -- 2 refused to answer - had family incomes over \$19,000 would indicate some degree of success as a lawyer.

Still, if one accepts the argument that one's family life leads to a great extent to a dominant personality, the fact that the difference between the two groups of lawyers is not that great, indicates that their family life, including both political and other elements of the socialization process may have been very similar.

Because of the above findings, the first part of the

hypothesis, that lawyer-politicians would be dominant, was confirmed but the second part pertaining to non-politician lawyers was not confirmed.

Hypothesis: Sociability

3. Lawyer-politicians will tend to be high on the sociability scales, while non-politician lawyers will tend to be low on the same scale.

It was assumed that lawyer-politicians would have had to meet the general public in connection with their legal practice, which would be one way of facilitating interaction with other people. For non-politician lawyers, the assumption was that they would be involved in legal matters which did not require contact to a great extent with the general public. So they would not be as sociable as lawyer-politicians.

Indicators of Sociability:

Statement 77 of the interview schedule was dropped in order to obtain a Guttman scale having a C.R. of 87% and a C.S. of 64% from the following 6 statements. The respondents were asked to choose from the following responses: agree strongly, agree somewhat, agree slightly, no response, disagree slightly, disagree somewhat, disagree strongly. These responses were also used for political efficacy and a sense of civic duty. The cutting points for low and high

sociability are indicated by / or stroke. Any response to the left of the stroke (/) was scored as low sociability and any response to the right as high sociability.

The following are the specific indicators of sociability followed by the cutting points.

1. When I think something is good for someone, I frequently try to persuade him that this is the case. agree slightly/agree somewhat.
2. I would rather go to a movie alone than go with a group of friends. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
3. In social conversations, I frequently have definite ideas and try to convince others. agree somewhat/agree strongly.
4. When in a group of people, I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about. disagree slightly/disagree somewhat.
5. It is hard for me to find anything to talk about when I meet a new person. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
6. I would rather not have very much responsibility for other people. agree slightly/disagree slightly.

To obtain the results shown in the following table, the responses for high and low sociability were totalled and their mean scores derived.

The findings indicate that lawyer-politicians have a higher mean score for high sociability responses and a lower mean score for low sociability responses than non-politician lawyers; however, the non-politician lawyers have a higher mean score for high sociability responses than

for low sociability responses. This means that this variable does not differentiate between the two groups of lawyers.

	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	HIGH SOCIABILITY RESPONSES (H.S.R.)	MEAN H.S.R. SCORE	LOW SOCIABILITY RESPONSES (L.S.R.)	MEAN L.S.R. SCORE	MAXIMUM MEAN SCORE
LP	9	35	3.88	16	1.77	6
NPL	14	52	3.71	30	2.14	6
TABLE 3.4 Sociability Scores.			t=+.68 df=18 N/S		t=-.60 df=17 N/S	

Using the Spearman rank-order correlation, shows that lawyer-politicians with high sociability tend also to be high on the dominance scale, -- ($\rho = +.60$, $\alpha = .10$)⁷¹ This finding may indicate that as argued previously, the lawyer who is self-confident may find it very easy to interact with other people, and that with a larger sample, both sociability and dominance may turn out to be relevant.

71. A. O'Toole, Elementary Practical Statistics, New York: The MacMillan Co., 1960, pp.247-258. Spearman's rank-order correlation was used to correlate two ordinal scales. The rankings can be compared on two sets of scores by taking the difference of ranks, squaring these differences and then adding. Finally, the measure is manipulated so its value will be + 1.0 whenever the rankings are in perfect agreement, - 1.0 if they are in perfect disagreement, and zero if there is no relationship whatsoever.

But why did the sociability scores turn out to be relatively even for both groups? One explanation is that even though sociability has been shown to be relevant for the political involvement of American law students, it may be a trait which can be acquired by the law student after he gets into practice. In other words, even if the law student does not possess this trait after graduating from law school, it may be that he finds it necessary to acquire it, in order either to start up his practice or to make his practice more lucrative than what it is.

Another explanation is that most lawyers generally do come into contact with the general public and so are high in sociability. A third possibility is that the socialization process of lawyers is conducive to developing sociability and that lawyers in this study have been through similar socialization processes. Consequently, from the above, it can be seen that the third hypothesis must be rejected.

Since both the second and third hypotheses have been rejected, the theoretical framework pertaining to personality traits must also be questioned as an explanation for differentiating between the two groups. Still, there is a possibility that dominance may be a relevant variable. Possibly the answer is that in order for a person to desire to be or become a lawyer, he must have a certain type of personality make-up. This may mean that the two variables under study

here, are really prerequisites for one to become a lawyer. If personality traits are not adequate to differentiate between the two groups, perhaps it is the political traits which differentiate lawyers into the two different types. This can only be determined by proceeding to the next group of variables which is political traits.

Political Attitudes

Hypothesis: Political Efficacy

4. Lawyer-politicians will tend to be high on the political efficacy scale, while non-politician lawyers will tend to be low on the same scale.

It was expected that because lawyer-politicians felt that they could influence decision-making, they would seek office, while the opposite would apply to non-politician lawyers. This expectation was based on the findings of other studies which showed a relationship between political efficacy and political participation.

Indicators of Political Efficacy:

For the following statements, responses to the left of the cutting point (/) were coded and totalled as low political efficacy, while responses to the right were coded and totalled as high political efficacy. For this variable, the Guttman scale had a C.R. of 94% and a C.S. of 75%.

1. People like me don't have any say about what the government does. disagree slightly/disagree somewhat.
2. Voting is the only way that people like me can have say about how the government runs things. agree slightly/disagree slightly.
3. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. agree slightly/disagree slightly.
4. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
5. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country. disagree slightly/agree slightly.
6. Running for political office is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. disagree slightly/agree slightly.

The following are the results:

	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	HIGH POLITICAL EFFICACY (H.P.E.) RESPONSES	MEAN H.P.E. SCORE	LOW POLITICAL EFFICACY (L.P.E.) RESPONSES	MEAN L.P.E. SCORE	MAXIMUM MEAN SCORE
LP	9	36	4.00	17	1.88	6
NPL	14	45	3.21	38	2.71	6
TABLE 3.5			t=+2.13 df=24 α=.05		t=-2.24 df=26 α=.05	
Political Efficacy Scores.						

The findings indicate that lawyer-politicians have a higher and lower mean score for high and low political efficacy respectively than non-politician lawyers. The fact

that the difference between high political efficacy mean scores for both groups is significant at the .05 level, coupled with the fact that the difference between high and low political efficacy responses and mean scores for non-politician lawyers is minimal, and could have gone either way, indicates that this variable may be very significant for differentiating between the two groups.

Using the Spearman rank-order correlation, it is also ascertained, that those non-politician lawyers who are low in political efficacy are also low in sociability -- ($\rho = + .58$, $\alpha = .05$) -- and that for the same group, those who are high in political efficacy, are also high in sociability -- ($\rho = + .51$, $\alpha = .10$). This latter finding may indicate that among the non-politician lawyers, there are those who have similar political attitudes to those of the lawyer-politicians. This is further reinforced by the fact that 11 of 14 non-politician lawyers said they were interested in politics, that is, 4 were "very interested" and 7 were "pretty interested"; however, when asked if they would prefer to be politicians or lawyers, all 14 non-politician lawyers opted for the latter response.

From the above findings, the hypothesis must be rejected, although it is quite possible that with a larger sample, non-politician lawyers might be low on the political efficacy scale, since the mean scores for this group were

very close and could have gone either way.

The fact that non-politician lawyers are interested in politics indicates, that as lawyers they need to keep informed of changes in the law and of ways to bring about political decisions which will not adversely influence their clients' position.

A possible explanation for high political efficacy being frequent among both groups is that while lawyers are at law school, they probably must develop respect for the law. This could lead them to think that as a lawyer they can influence judicial decisions, which are an important part of any political system. Therefore, their feeling of being able to influence decision-making judicially, carries over to their feeling of being able to influence other governmental decision-making processes.

A second explanation for lawyers' high political efficacy could be found in a recent study by Elliott White who has shown that "aside from grade, the single best predictor of a sense of political efficacy in primary school age children is individual intelligence."⁷² If one assumes that this finding will apply to adults also, one would expect that lawyers would be in a high or relatively high intelligence

72. E. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children", The Journal of Politics, xxx (1968), p. 731.

bracket, which would explain why they would tend to be politically efficacious.

Another reason why political efficacy alone does not differentiate between the two groups is that, it may be that only if a lawyer with high political efficacy also possesses another political attitude -- perhaps a high sense of civic duty -- that he will also seek political office. Therefore, it is necessary to proceed to this variable.

Hypothesis: Civic Duty

5. Lawyer-politicians will tend to score high on the sense of civic duty scale, while non-politician lawyers will tend to score lower on the same scale.

It was expected that lawyer-politicians would be concerned with fulfilling their civic obligations, because this would be one way to influence decision-making. On the other hand, non-politician lawyers were not expected to be concerned with fulfilling their civic obligations, since they would be more involved or concerned with their legal practice. This would mean that they would have less time to fulfill their civic obligations.

Indicators of Civic Duty:

The following six statements were coded and totalled for high and low civic duty. To the left of the cutting

point (/) was low civic duty and to the right, high civic duty. By using scalogram analysis, a C.R. of 88% and a C.S. of 58% were obtained.

1. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
2. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
3. Local elections aren't important enough to bother with. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
4. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
5. It isn't so important to run for political office, when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.
6. So many other people run for political office that it doesn't matter much to me whether I run or not. disagree somewhat/disagree strongly.

The following table shows the results:

	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	HIGH CIVIC DUTY (H.C.D.) RESPONSES	MEAN H.C.D. SCORE	LOW CIVIC DUTY (L.C.D.) RESPONSES	MEAN L.C.D. SCORE	MAXIMUM MEAN SCORE
LP	9	39	4.33	14	1.55	6
NPL	14	42	3.00	38	2.71	6
TABLE 3.6 Civic Duty Scores			t=+2.21 df=23 $\alpha=.05$		t=-2.32 df=23 $\alpha=.05$	

It can be seen that lawyer-politicians have a higher mean score for those high on the civic duty scale and a lower mean score for those low on this scale, than non-politician lawyers -- the level of significance for the difference of means tests being .05 in both cases. Again, non-politician lawyers do not tend to be low on this variable, although the difference between their high and low responses is so small that it could have gone either way -- this finding is similar to that ascertained for political efficacy.

By using the Spearman rank-order correlation, it is found that lawyer-politicians who are high on the civic duty scale are also high on the sociability scale -- ($\rho = + .61$, $\alpha = .10$). This means that lawyer-politicians high on the civic duty scale are also high on the dominance and sociability scales -- see footnote 71 p. 62 -- , which indicates a pattern for this group not only in the personality traits but also in the political traits approach. This may mean that if the lawyer is high on these three variables, he may seek political office.

The hypothesis as postulated was not confirmed, although the findings almost tend to support it. It may still be that lawyer-politicians who are politically efficacious do see fulfilling their civic obligations as one means of influencing the decision-making process.

Certainly, the data for both variables indicate this possible trend.

On the other hand, why are non-politician lawyers not lower on the civic duty scale, as expected? It is possible that at some time during their educational process, lawyers are instilled with a feeling of civic obligation. Possibly at law school, where one would expect that they would have to develop some, if not a great deal of respect for the law, they also develop respect for the political system. Since the courts are part of the latter, perhaps this respect leads to a sense of civic duty.

Another explanation is again, the strong possibility that lawyers go through similar political socialization processes and have similar personality traits, which lead to the development of a high sense of civic duty.

Since the fourth and fifth hypotheses have been rejected, although there are strong indications that a larger sample would confirm both hypotheses, the political traits approach as an explanation for differentiating between the two groups, must be questioned, if not rejected. If this approach is rejected, it may mean that a political experience which takes place just prior to a candidates' decision to run for office is the stimulus for office-seeking; for example, an experience concerning an issue, a certain party leader or a reward -- these will be discussed

later.

Because the four hypotheses pertaining to the psychological approach have been rejected, this approach as postulated, does not seem adequate to answer the problem under study. Admittedly, lawyer-politicians show a pattern of being high on the civic duty, sociability and dominance scales but non-politician lawyers are not low on the last two scales. This may mean that the wrong variables are being considered or that lawyers in general, tend to have similar personality and political traits, which may be one reason why they become lawyers in the first place.

Another possible explanation for the similarity between the two groups of lawyers, is that either group is capable of being lawyer-politicians. This would support the argument of Heinz Eulau and John Sprague who argue that law and politics are coming to exhibit similar forms or that there is a convergence of the two professions.⁷³ They perceive this professional convergence to be present "if two professions have common characteristics that are especially relevant to the performance of professional functions, while a third, fourth, or fifth profession does not share these attributes."⁷⁴ As far as law and politics are

73. H. Eulau and J. Sprague, Lawyers in Politics, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1964, p. 125.

74. Ibid., p. 125.

concerned, they see this tendency towards their convergence because of functionally equivalent roles in terms of which both professions can be analyzed. Examples of roles taken by lawyer-politicians in their public clientele relationships are those of trustee, tribune, faciliator, broker, and inventor; on the other side, some roles taken by lawyers in their private client relationships are those of fiduciary, advocate, attorney, counsellor, and contact man.⁷⁵ Thus, as both professions come to develop similar roles and forms because of demands made by society on them, they argue that eventually all lawyers will behave as politicians who are not lawyers and vice-a-versa.⁷⁶

INCENTIVES APPROACH

Ambition:

Hypothesis: Future Rewards.

6. Lawyer-politicians tend to seek purposive and solidary rewards for the future, while non-politician lawyers will tend to seek material rewards for the future.

It was expected that lawyer-politicians, being of a different psychological make-up than non-politician lawyers would strive for non-monetary goals, while non-politician

75. Ibid., p. 124.

76. Ibid., p. 128.

lawyers, would seek monetary rewards.

The following are the indicators of future rewards:

1. Do you like to influence other people? If yes, why and how? If no, why not?
2. Do you like to receive publicity? If yes, why? If no, why not?
3. Are men in politics: (1) more respected (2) about the same, or (3) less respected than lawyers? Why?
4. When you consider your future, which of the following is most important to you?

Rank the 3 most important from 1 to 3.

1. a good income - material, 2. recognition as a valuable citizen of the community - solidary, 3. being a skilled lawyer - solidary, 4. having close friends - solidary, 5. good health - solidary, 6. being a just man - solidary, 7. being learned in the law - solidary, 8. ability to shape important community decisions - purposive, 9. making business contacts - material.

Probes were employed in all the open-ended questions used for this variable. Then the responses were coded under the three categories of material, solidary and purposive. A value of 1 was given for each response in these categories. The fourth question was coded as indicated but a rank of 1, 2 and 3 obtained 3, 2 and 1 points respectively. Then the scores were totalled for each category.

The following are the results:

	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	MATERIAL (M)	MEAN M. SCORE	SOLID- ARY (S)	MEAN S SCORE	PUR- POSIVE (P)	MEAN P. SCORE
NPL	14	23	1.64	85	6.07	0	0
LP	9	4	.44	54	6.00	6	.66
TABLE 3.7 Future Reward Scores			t=-2.79 df=6 $\alpha=.05$		t=-.11 df=12 N/S		t=+1.97 df=8 $\alpha=.10$

From the above, it can be seen that lawyer-politicians tend to seek solidary and purposive rewards for the future but the difference between purposive and material rewards is small. It should be noted that the low scoring on purposive rewards for both groups may be the fault of the index, which had a lower number of possible purposive responses than material or solidary responses. Still, the fact that lawyer-politicians seek purposive rewards for the future -- the difference between both groups is only significant at the .10 level -- may indicate that this type of reward is not fulfilled by their law practice. Consequently, they may turn to politics to try to obtain this reward.

On the other hand, non-politician lawyers seek solidary rewards more than material rewards; so the hypothesis must be rejected. This rejection of material rewards for the future by both groups may be accounted for by the fact that they tend to have family incomes over \$19,000; so

an increase in material rewards may have diminishing returns.

It should be noted that even if question 4, which pertains to the ranking of rewards, is considered as the only indicator of future rewards, the pattern for both groups does not change at all.

The fact that non-politician lawyers seek material rewards more than lawyer-politicians -- $\alpha = .05$ -- may be, because four members of the former group have been in practice for less than six years, and so have not reached the same level of financial success as the other members of their group.

The seeking of solidary rewards by both groups, indicates that lawyers may feel they have achieved material rewards. On account of this, and because they may feel their job involves aiding another person, -- which could be a purposive reward -- they may wish to seek future rewards which will benefit them in a personal non-monetary way, that is, solidary rewards.

Hypothesis: Political Activity Rewards

7. Lawyer-politicians will tend to seek purposive and solidary rewards from their political activity.

It was expected that lawyer-politicians could obtain material rewards more easily and to a greater extent

from their law practice than from their political activity, so that purposive and solidary rewards would be what they were seeking from this activity.

Indicators of Political Activity Rewards:

1. Looking back over your campaigns what would you say has given you the greatest satisfaction in campaigning?
2. Looking back over your years in office, (or your interest in politics) what would you say has given you the greatest satisfaction?
3. Looking back over your years in office, (or your interest in politics) what was your most unpleasant political experience?
4. Do any of the circumstances below approximate the situation when you decided to seek the nomination?

The respondent was given 6 choices and they were coded as shown in Chapter Two, page 38, question one.
5. What benefits do you receive (would you receive if elected) from political office?
6. What event triggered your entry into politics?
7. What rewards did you expect to get out of politics when you first started?
8. What got you first interested in politics?
9. People enjoy politics for different reasons. How important are the following reasons to you? 1. not at all important. 2. not too important. 3. somewhat important. 4. very important. See Chapter 2, pages 39-40 question 11 for the coding of the twelve reasons given to the respondent.

After probes were used on the open-ended questions,

the responses were coded and scored. One point was given for each type of reward except in question 9, where 2 points were given for "very important", 1 point for "somewhat important", and 0 points for any "other" response.

The following table shows the results:

	NUMBER OF RE- SPONDENTS	MATER- IAL (M)	MEAN M. SCORE	SOLI- DARY (S)	MEAN S. SCORE	PUR- POSIVE (P)	MEAN P. SCORE
LP	9	3	.33	101	11.22	77	8.55

TABLE 3.8 Political Activity Reward Scores.

The hypothesis is confirmed, since lawyer-politicians tend to seek solidary and purposive rewards from their political activity. This indicates that the incentive for seeking office is to satisfy one's personal goals first, that is, non-monetary, and to pursue a goal which could benefit others, second. This finding seems to substantiate the expectation that lawyers can get material rewards by concentrating on their legal practice, rather than by participating in politics.

When one totals for lawyer-politicians only their future and political activity rewards, one can see a distinct pattern. This pattern is shown in the following table. It is evident that material rewards are not important to lawyer-politicians, whereas solidary and purposive rewards are important.

	NUMBER OF RE- SPONDENTS	TOTAL MATER- IAL (M)	MEAN M. SCORE	TOTAL SOLI- DARY (S)	MEAN S. SCORE	TOTAL PUR- POSIVE (P)	MEAN P. SCORE
LP	9	7	.77	155	17.22	83	9.22

TABLE 3.9 Lawyer-Politicians' Total Rewards Scores.

This finding, which shows a low priority being given to material rewards over-all, when coupled with the finding that non-politician lawyers seek these types of rewards for the future (see Table 3.7), indicates a difference in perspective held by both groups. So it may be that if a lawyer allocates low priority to material rewards, then he may consider seeking office. On the other hand, since both groups give top priority to solidary rewards, there may not be any substantial difference in their perspectives, except for purposive rewards, which have not been adequately tested here for non-politician lawyers. So what is needed is a different type of test of rewards which would allow for greater comparison between the two groups.

Hypothesis: Progressive Ambitions.

8. Lawyer-politicians will tend to seek higher political office than that which they previously sought, that is, they have progressive ambitions.

It was expected that lawyer-politicians, who it was assumed would seek solidary rewards, would also seek higher office, since this would be one way of getting more prestige which is a solidary reward.

The following question was used to tap this variable:

1. Are there any other political or governmental positions -- local, provincial or federal -- which you would like to seek? If yes or perhaps, what are they?

The results show that only 1 of 4 lawyer-politicians who sought provincial office would seek higher office, that is, only 1 had progressive ambitions for higher political office; however, if one includes the finding that 5 of 5 lawyer-politicians who sought federal office, would like cabinet positions as opposed to being a backbencher, as being indicative of progressive ambitions, then 6 of 9 in the group could be considered as possessing progressive ambitions.

The hypothesis is confirmed but must be considered extremely speculative, because of the small sample. Still, it is quite possible lawyer-politicians perceive that higher office gives them more status or prestige but on the other hand, there is the possibility that those seeking a federal cabinet position would do so, because they would or do feel a sense of frustration in being a backbencher.

In other words, the lawyer-politicians' progressive ambitions may be indicative of their desire to influence decision-making, which is shown by their high political efficacy..

Although two of the three hypotheses pertaining to ambition or the incentives approach have been confirmed, the rejected hypothesis tends to partially cancel out the other findings. In other words, since lawyer-politicians seek purposive and solidary rewards from their political activity, and for the future and may seek higher office for solidary rewards, and since non-politician lawyers seek solidary and material rewards for the future, the only difference between the two groups is in their concern for material rewards. Therefore the incentives approach has only been useful to a limited degree in explaining the different behaviour of the two groups.

But why wasn't this approach more useful? It is quite conceivable that a better instrument for measuring this approach may bring about more fruitful results. On the other hand, it may be the attachment to a particular issue which is the incentive explaining why lawyers enter politics. Still, it is clear that lawyer-politicians desire to seek their future rewards by means of their political activity, while non-politician lawyers plan to do this through their legal practice.

Summary:

It is necessary to summarize the findings and their relationship with the theoretical framework.

1. Lawyer-politicians tend to have high political interest developed during their childhood, while the non-politician lawyers tend to split between high and low childhood political interest.

The fact that there is little difference between the two groups for this variable leads to the rejection of the political socialization approach as used here, mainly because non-politician lawyers tend to come from relatively politicized homes.

2. Lawyer-politicians are more dominant than non-politician lawyers but the latter are more dominant than non-dominant.

This finding indicates that one of the prerequisites for becoming a lawyer is a feeling of self-confidence.

3. Lawyer-politicians are higher on the sociability scale than non-politician lawyers but the latter give more high sociability responses than low sociability responses.

Because of this result, it would seem that lawyers, even if they are not sociable in law school, develop this trait in order to start their law practice or to make it more lucrative than it is. The lack of differentiation

between the two groups for dominance and sociability shows the inadequacy of personality traits as an explanation concerning why one group of lawyers seek political office and another does not. This may indicate that these are some of the common personality traits characteristic of most lawyers.

4. Lawyer-politicians are higher on the political efficacy scale than non-politician lawyers but the latter give more high political efficacy responses than low responses, although the difference is minimal.

This indicates that lawyers, who it is assumed feel they can influence judicial decision-making, carry this feeling of efficacy over into the political decision-making process.

5. Lawyer-politicians are higher on the sense of civic duty scale than non-politician lawyers but the latter give more high than low responses, although the difference is minimal.

From this, it appears that lawyers, of whom it is assumed they have respect for the law, develop respect for the political system of which the courts are a part, and this leads to a sense of civic duty on their part. Although the political traits approach has been shown inadequate to differentiate between lawyers' political behavior, it shows a strong possibility that with a larger sample, it

may prove useful.

The rejection of both components of the psychological approach indicates that the decision to seek office may be strongly influenced by a political experience which had a great impact and which took place prior to the decision to run for office.

6. Lawyer-politicians seek solidary and purposive rewards for the future, while non-politician lawyers seek solidary and material rewards.

The seeking of material rewards for the future by non-politician lawyers indicates that they have not satisfied their material needs. This means that only after material needs are satisfied, does a lawyer seek political office or become a lawyer-politician.

7. Lawyer-politicians seek purposive and solidary rewards from their political activity.

Since lawyer-politicians seek the same rewards for the future and from their political activity, the latter must be the way to achieve these rewards for the future; on the other hand, non-politician lawyers who seek solidary and material rewards must see their legal practice or some other way as the means to achieve their future rewards. Therefore, the two groups differ not only in the means by which they are going to obtain their future rewards but

also in their concern about material rewards.

8. Lawyer-politicians seek higher office, that is, they have progressive ambitions.

This finding indicates that by seeking higher office, lawyer-politicians hope to gain more status or prestige, -- solidary rewards -- which points out the means by which they hope to obtain their future rewards. On the other hand, it also indicates that at lower levels of office, they feel frustrated and hope by seeking higher office to satisfy their craving for influencing decision-making -- high political efficacy.

The incentives approach indicates that it is the means of achieving their future rewards, which is an important difference between the two groups of lawyers and that possibly purposive rewards -- a better instrument than that used here is needed -- also differentiate between the lawyers' political behaviour.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Introduction:

This chapter will attempt to rank the relative importance of the approaches and variables used in this study to explain which lawyers participate in politics and why they do so. Then the limitations of this study will be explained and directions for further studies will be specified.

The Problem and an Explanation

This study has been concerned with ascertaining which lawyers seek political office and why they do so. In the previous chapter, hypotheses were tested and evidence presented to explain the problem. Now on the basis of these findings, the different variables and approaches used previously, will be put in rank order to explain the problem which is under study.

The following is the rank order of the variables from the most important to the least important for explaining which lawyers seek political office:

1. high sense of civic duty
2. high political efficacy
3. dominant personality
4. high sociability
5. high childhood political interest.

Consequently, it can be seen from the above that the psychological approach, in which political attitudes are more important than personality traits, is more important than the political socialization approach.

The second part of the problem concerns why lawyers seek political office. The evidence indicates that for the future lawyer-politicians seek purposive rewards more than non-politician lawyers, are not interested in obtaining material rewards, and are not different from non-politician lawyers in the seeking of solidary rewards. As far as rewards from political activity are concerned, lawyers, who seek solidary rewards first, purposive second and material third, are likely to desire political office. For lawyer-politicians, this pattern is the same when their rewards for the future and from political activity are combined. Finally, an examination of their office goals shows that lawyer-politicians have progressive ambitions, that is, they seek higher office.

Consequently, not only the psychological but also the incentives approach are useful for explaining the

political behaviour of lawyers. Therefore, on the basis of this study, both of these approaches strongly influence political participation. This is shown in the following diagram, in which it is assumed that the psychological also influences the incentives approach.

psychological approach → incentives approach



political participation

Limitations of the Study:

First of all, as pointed out previously, the size of the sample of lawyers is probably not adequate to generalize to members of this occupation who are outside the Hamilton area. Even assuming that this sample were adequate, this study would probably not apply to large urban areas like Montreal and Toronto, in which some large law firms have anywhere from fifteen to twenty-five or more partners or associates. This is because as pointed out by several respondents in this study, it is not unusual for these large law firms to select or support one of their associates for public office in the hope of obtaining publicity or of electing someone who can reduce "red tape" for them in their legal affairs. However, assuming the adequacy of the sample, it is possible that these results would apply to similar cities like London, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, etc.

A major weakness of this project is that it only deals with two groups of lawyers, that is, lawyer-politicians and non-politician lawyers. By doing this, lawyers who have not sought political office but who are or have been on the executive of riding associations -- this is also a form of political participation -- are excluded. By including this third group of lawyers, other variables or approaches may turn out to be useful in explaining lawyers' political behavior or the findings employed in this study may even be substantiated further.

Because this data was gathered at one point in time rather than over time, it could mean that different results would have been obtained, if the latter method had been used. However, since this study was meant to be exploratory, since little, if any, previous research had been done on this problem in Canada, these results should be extremely useful for further research in this area.

Another weakness is that the role of the local party organization has not been examined. It is possible that riding organizations seek candidates having either similar characteristics to the people in the particular riding or more impressive characteristics than the people in the riding⁷⁷ -- this area of local party

77. See A. Ranney, Pathways to Parliament, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.

organizations is undeveloped in published Canadian literature. If candidates are chosen on the basis of certain characteristics, what are they? One characteristic could be the speaking ability of lawyers or their ability to communicate with other people. Another question would be why lawyers appear to possess these characteristics. Unfortunately, this study does not examine these questions.

Finally, this study does not take into consideration the type of constituency in which the lawyer ran for office, that is, whether it was a safe, marginal or hopeless constituency. Not only the history of the type of constituency but also the lawyer-politician's knowledge of its type before he accepted the nomination, should be examined.

Directions For Further Studies:

The following question remains to be answered: based on this exploratory study of lawyers and political participation, what groups should be explored further? The first study to be carried out should concern law students in Canada, since relevant findings could then be applied to studies of lawyers. The ideal project would consist of a study of one group while they were law students and while they were lawyers. By doing an analysis over time, one would hopefully determine whether the reasons for political participation occurred prior, or after law school. Consequently, if one time period seemed more

important for explaining political behaviour, it could be used as the main focus for future studies.

Any further studies of lawyers should divide them into three groups: the two used here, and a third group consisting of lawyers who hold or have held executive positions on riding organizations but who have not sought public office, since this is also political participation.

After these projects have been completed, a project comparing the behaviour of lawyers to another three category occupational group, which is also highly associated with seeking political office should also be carried out; for example, businessmen or other professional groups. Hopefully, the completion of studies of these other political activists would produce variables or approaches useful for explaining political participation. Then after all studies of as many occupations as possible were completed, -- including those who were not politically active at all -- attempts would have to be made to increase the political participation of the politically inactive on the basis of the findings of all these preceding studies. Thus, by carrying out the preceding studies and by eliminating the various limitations mentioned earlier, participatory democracy -- the ultimate goal of this extremely large project -- might become a reality rather than a myth.

APPENDIX ONE

Interview Schedule for Lawyer-Politicians

1. How long have you been in the practice of law?
years.
2. What type of firm do you have?
 1. individual private practice
 2. partner in small law firm
 3. partner in large law firm
 4. other.
3. What type of law practice do you generally specialize in?
 1. criminal law
 2. domestic relations
 3. public law
 4. torts
 5. tax law
 6. labor law
 7. property and real estate
 8. commercial law
 9. general practice.
- 4a Do you have any relatives who are or have been lawyers? yes/no.
5. Were any of your immediate family, close relatives or close friends active in politics? If yes, 5. who and 6. in what capacity
7. What got you first interested in politics?
8. Would you say your father was:
 1. very interested in politics
 2. somewhat interested in politics
 3. not interested in politics.

9. When you were growing up, were there discussions about politics in your home? Yes/no.
10. If yes, would you say there was:
 1. a great deal of discussion
 2. some discussion.
11. When you were growing up, did you belong to any groups or organizations in which there were political discussions? Yes/no.
12. If yes, which ones?
13. In these groups, was there:
 1. a great deal of discussion about politics
 2. some discussion about politics.
14. What event triggered your entry into politics?
15. What rewards did you expect to get out of politics when you first started?
16. Are there any other political or governmental positions -- local, provincial or federal -- which you would like to seek? If yes or perhaps, what are they?

People enjoy politics for different reasons. How important are the following reasons to you, that is,

1. not at all important
 2. not too important
 3. somewhat important
 4. very important.
17. fun and excitement of campaigns 1 2 3 4
 18. making social contacts and friends 1 2 3 4
 19. politics is a part of my way of life 1 2 3 4
 20. satisfaction of fulfilling my duty as a citizen 1 2 3 4
 21. furthering my political ambitions 1 2 3 4

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|
| 22. | helping my party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 23. | being close to influential people | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 24. | concern with public issues | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 25. | making business contacts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 26. | financial rewards | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 27. | helping to influence the policies
of government | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 28. | prestige in my community | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 29. | What benefits do you receive from political
office? (if elected). | | | | |
| 30. | Do you like to influence other people?
Yes/no. | | | | |
| 31. | If yes, how (why)? If no, why not? | | | | |
| 32. | Do you like to receive publicity?
Yes/no. | | | | |
| 33. | If yes, why? If no, why not? | | | | |

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------|----------|
| 34. | A person does not need to worry about
other people if he only looks after
himself. | agree | disagree |
| 35. | When I work on a committee, I like
to take charge of things. | agree | disagree |
| 36. | I enjoy planning things and decid-
ing what each person should do. | agree | disagree |
| 37. | I'm not the type to be a political
leader. | agree | disagree |
| 38. | People seem naturally to turn to
me when decisions have to be made. | agree | disagree |
| 39. | I am a good leader of people | agree | disagree |
| 40. | I like to give orders and get
things moving. | agree | disagree |

41. I hate to have to tell others what to do. agree disagree
42. I must admit I try to see what others think before I take a stand. agree disagree
43. I sometimes keep on at a thing, until others lose patience with me. agree disagree
44. The future is too uncertain for a person to make serious plans. agree disagree
45. I have strong political opinions. agree disagree
46. Looking back over your campaigns, what would you say has given you the greatest satisfaction in campaigning? Can you recall an incident that illustrates that?
47. Looking back over your years in office, (or your interest in politics) what would you say has given you the greatest satisfaction? Can you recall an incident that would illustrate that?
48. Looking back over your years in office, (or your interest in politics) what was your most unpleasant political experience? Can you recall an incident that would illustrate that?
49. Are men in politics:
1. more respected
 2. about the same, or
 3. less respected than lawyers?
50. Do any of the circumstances which I will read, approximate the situation when you decided to seek the nomination?
1. you had professional status, skills and experience gained from your profession which you wanted to use.
 2. you were committed to a specific group or interest.

3. you were committed to your party's ideals.
4. you were concerned about the condition of your constituency.
5. you were seeking an opportunity for public service.
6. none of these.

51. When did you definitely decide to study law?

1. before high school
2. during high school
3. between high school and college
4. college, freshman year.
5. college, sophomore year
6. college, junior year
7. college, senior year
8. after college
9. other.

52. When did you definitely decide to go into politics?

1. before high school
2. during high school
3. between high school and college
4. college, freshman year.
5. college, sophomore year.
6. college, junior year
7. college, senior year
8. after college, but not law school
9. in law school.

53. When you consider your future, which of the following is most important to you? Give respondent card with items on it and ask him to rank the three most important from 1 to 3.

1. a good income
2. recognition as a valuable citizen of the community
3. being a skilled lawyer
4. having close friends
5. good health
6. being a just man
7. being learned in the law
8. ability to shape important community decisions
9. making business contacts.

54. Should lawyers have more say in the way the legal system works? If yes, in what way? If no, why not?
55. How might political office benefit one's legal career?
56. Were or are you satisfied with your legal career? Why or why not?
57. Would you prefer to be
1. a politician, or
 2. a lawyer?
- 58a Why?
- 58b Do you talk about politics with your friends? Yes/no.
- 58c. What do you talk about when you talk about politics with your friends?

Now here is a different type of question. Would you give me your opinion about the following statements, that is, whether you: 1. disagree strongly, 2. disagree somewhat, 3. disagree slightly, 4. no response 5. agree slightly, 6. agree somewhat, or 7. agree strongly.

59. Voting is the only way people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
60. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
61. I would rather not have very much responsibility for other people. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
62. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

63. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
64. When in a group of people, I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
65. People like me don't have any say about what the government does. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
66. Local elections aren't important enough to bother with. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
67. When I think something is good for someone, I frequently try to persuade him that this is the case. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
68. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
69. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
70. I would rather go to a movie alone than go with a group of friends. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
71. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
72. It isn't so important to run for political office, when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
73. It is hard for me to find anything to talk about when I meet a new person. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
74. Running for political office is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
75. So many other people run for political office that it doesn't matter much to me whether I run or not. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

76. In social conversations, I frequently have definite ideas and try to convince others. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
77. In a group, I usually take the responsibility for getting people introduced. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS:

78. Where were you born?
- (a) country
- (b) place
79. When were you born?
80. What social, professional, political and fraternal organizations do you belong to?
81. Do you or did you hold any executive positions in these organizations? If yes, what?
82. Sex (by observation) male, female.
83. What political party are you associated with?
- Liberal
- Conservative
- New Democratic Party
- Other
84. Is it the federal, provincial or both levels with which you are associated with?
85. What was your parents' political affiliations?
86. Which law school did you attend?
87. What year did you graduate from law school?
88. What is your major ethnic background on your father's side?
89. What is your religious preference?
90. Are you married, single, widow, divorced?
91. Give the respondent the card and ask him to tell you which letter indicates his approximate

family income for last year, that is,

- a. 1 - 10,
- b. 11 - 18,
- c. 19 - 25,
- d. 26 + (thousands)

92. Ask the respondent if there was anything, he did not like about the interview.

Thank the respondent for his time, effort and for being so co-operative in completing this interview.

APPENDIX TWO

Interview Schedule for Lawyers

1. How long have you been in the practice of law?
Years.
2. What type of firm do you have?
 1. individual private practice
 2. partner in small law firm
 3. partner in large law firm
 4. other
3. What type of law practice do you generally specialize in?
 1. criminal law
 2. domestic relations
 3. public law
 4. torts
 5. tax law
 6. labor law
 7. property and real estate
 8. commercial law
 9. general practice.
- 4a. Do you have any relatives who are or have been lawyers? Yes/no.
- 4b. How interested are you in politics?
 1. very much interested
 2. pretty interested
 3. not so interested
 4. not at all interested
5. Were any of your immediate family, close relatives or close friends active in politics? If yes,
5. who and 6. in what capacity?
8. Would you say your father was
 1. very interested in politics
 2. somewhat interested in politics
 3. not interested in politics

9. When you were growing up, were there discussions about politics in your home? Yes/no.
10. If yes, would you say there was
 1. a great deal of discussion
 2. some discussion
11. When you were growing up, did you belong to any groups or organizations in which there were political discussions? Yes/no.
12. If yes, which ones?
13. In these groups, was there
 1. a great deal of discussion about politics
 2. some discussion about politics.
30. Do you like to influence other people? Yes/no.
31. If yes, how? If no, why not?
32. Do you like to receive publicity? Yes/no.
33. If yes, why? If no, why not?

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

34. A person does not need to worry about other people if only he looks after himself. agree disagree
35. When I work on a committee, I like to take charge of things. agree disagree
36. I enjoy planning things and deciding what each person should do. agree disagree
37. I'm not the type to be a political leader. agree disagree
38. People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made. agree disagree
39. I am a good leader of people. agree disagree
40. I like to give orders and get things moving. agree disagree

41. I hate to have to tell others what to do. agree disagree
42. I must admit I try to see what others think before I take a stand. agree disagree
43. I sometimes keep on at a thing, until others lose patience with me. agree disagree
44. The future is too uncertain for a person to make serious plans. agree disagree
45. I have strong political opinions. agree disagree
49. Are men in politics
1. more respected
 2. about the same, or
 3. less respected than lawyers?
51. When did you definitely decide to study law?
1. before high school
 2. during high school
 3. between high school and college
 4. college, freshman year
 5. college, sophomore year
 6. college, junior year
 7. college, senior year
 8. after college,
 9. other.
- 53a. When you consider your future, which of the following is most important to you? Give respondent card with items on it and ask him to rank the three most important from 1 to 3.
1. a good income
 2. recognition as a valuable citizen of the community
 3. being a skilled lawyer
 4. having close friends
 5. good health
 6. being a just man
 7. being learned in the law
 8. ability to shape important community decisions
 9. making business contacts.

- 53b. Do you talk about politics with your friends?
Yes/no.
- 53c. What do you talk about when you talk about
politics with your friends?
54. Should lawyers have more say in the way the
legal system works? If yes, in what way?
If no, why not?
55. How might political office benefit one's
legal career?
56. Were or are you satisfied with your legal
career? Why or why not?
57. Would you prefer to be
1. a politician, or
 2. a lawyer?
58. Why?

Now here is a different type of question. Would you give me
your opinion about the following statements, that is, whether
you: 1. disagree strongly, 2. disagree somewhat, 3. dis-
agree slightly, 4. no response, 5. agree slightly, 6. agree
somewhat, or, 7. agree strongly.

59. Voting is the only way people like
me can have any say about how the
government runs things. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
60. So many other people vote in the
national elections that it doesn't
matter much to me whether I vote
or not. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
61. I would rather not have very much
responsibility for other people. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

62. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
63. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
64. When in a group of people, I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
65. People like me don't have any say about what the government does. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
66. Local elections aren't important enough to bother with. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
67. When I think something is good for someone, I frequently try to persuade him that this is the case. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
68. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
69. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
70. I would rather go to a movie alone than go with a group of friends. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
71. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
72. It isn't so important to run for political office, when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
73. It is hard for me to find anything to talk about when I meet a new person. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
74. Running for political office is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

75. So many other people run for political office that it doesn't matter much to me whether I run or not. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
76. In social conversations, I frequently have definite ideas and try to convince others. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
77. In a group, I usually take the responsibility for getting people introduced. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Demographic Questions:

78. Where were you born?
a. country
b. place
79. When were you born?
80. What social, professional, political and fraternal organizations do you belong to?
81. Do you or did you hold any executive positions in these organizations? If yes, what?
82. Sex (by observation) male, female.
83. What political party are you associated with?
Liberal
Conservative
New Democratic Party
Other.
84. Is it the federal, provincial or both levels with which you are associated?
85. What was your parents' political affiliations?
86. Which law school did you attend?
87. What year did you graduate from law school?
88. What is your major ethnic background on your father's side?
89. What is your religious preference?

90. Are you married, single, widow, divorced?
91. Give the respondent the card and ask him to tell you which letter indicates his approximate family income for last year, that is
- a. 1 - 10,
 - b. 11 - 18,
 - c. 19 - 25,
 - d. 26 + (thousands).
92. Ask the respondent if there was anything, he did not like about the interview.

Thank the respondent for his time, effort, and for being so cooperative in completing this interview.

APPENDIX THREE

LAWYERS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES

<u>COLUMN NUMBER</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>QUESTION AND CODE</u>
01-02		study number 11
03		deck number 1
04-05		interview number 1-23
06		Group
	9	1. lawyer-politician
		2. non-politician lawyer
07		How long have you been in the practice of law? (years)
	6	1. 1-5
	6	2. 6-10
	6	3. 11-15
	4	4. 16-20
	1	5. 21 and above
08		What type of firm do you have?
	6	1. individual private practice
	16	2. partner in small law firm
	0	3. partner in large law firm
	1	4. other
09		What type of law practice do you generally specialize in?
	0	1. criminal law
	0	2. domestic relations
	0.	3. public law
	4	4. torts
	0	5. tax law
	0	6. labor law
	5	7. property and real estate
	2	8. commercial law
	12	9. general practice

- 10 Do you have any relatives who are or have been lawyers?
- 9 1. yes
14 2. no
- 11 How interested are you in politics?
- 4 1. very much interested
7 2. pretty interested
1 3. not so interested
2 4. not at all interested
- 12, 13 Were any of your immediate family, close relatives or close friends active in politics? If yes, who.
- 10 1. no one
8 2. immediate family or close relatives.
8. 3. friends.
- 14 What capacity?
- 8 1. politician
5 2. worked for politician during campaign
2. 3. had executive position with political organization.
- 15, 16 What got you first interested in politics?
- 3 1. education
1 2. part of my way of life
3 3. family
4 4. concerned about social problems
- 17 Would you say your father was:
- 3 1. very interested in politics
15 2. somewhat interested in politics
5 3. not interested in politics

- 18 When you were growing up, were there discussions about politics in your home? If yes, was there:
- 8 1. a great deal of discussion
 - 12 2. some discussion
 - 3 3. no discussion
- 19 Which groups did you belong to?
- 14 1. none
 - 1 2. religious group
 - 1 3. social group
 - 7 4. political
- 20 In these groups, was there:
- 2 1. a great deal of discussion about politics
 - 7 2. some discussion about politics
- 21 What event triggered your entry into politics?
- 0 1. interested in politics
 - 1 2. to prevent other candidate from winning
 - 1 3. thrill of campaigning
 - 3 4. party asked me to run
 - 2 5. national leader of political party
 - 0 6. interested in certain issues
 - 0 7. religious desire to do something
 - 1 8. to help the community
 - 1 9. education
- 22, 23 What rewards did you expect to get out of politics when you first started?
- 1 1. none
 - 5 2. personal satisfaction
 - 7 3. to help community
 - 0 4. monetary reward
 - 0 5. to meet other people
 - 0 6. reduction in income

- 24 Are there any other political or governmental positions - local, provincial or federal - which you would like to seek? If yes, or perhaps, what are they?
- 0 1. none
 - 2 2. provincial
 - 3 3. federal
 - 0 4. local
 - 1 5. provincial party organization
 - 0 6. federal party organization
 - 2 7. provincial and federal office.
- 25 People enjoy politics for different reasons. How important are the following reasons to you?
- Fun and excitement of campaigns
- 2 1. not at all important
 - 0 2. not too important
 - 3 3. somewhat important
 - 4 4. very important.
- 26 Making social contacts and friends.
- 3 1. not at all important
 - 2 2. not too important
 - 2 3. somewhat important
 - 2 4. very important
- 27 Politics is part of my way of life.
- 1 1. not at all important
 - 3 2. not too important
 - 2 3. somewhat important
 - 3 4. very important
- 28 Satisfaction of fulfilling my duty as a citizen
- 1 1. not at all important
 - 0 2. not too important
 - 2 3. somewhat important
 - 6 4. very important.

29		Furthering my political ambitions
	2	1. not at all important
	1	2. not too important
	2	3. somewhat important
	3	4. very important.
30		Helping my party
	1	1. not at all important
	1	2. not too important
	3	3. somewhat important
	4	4. very important
31		Being close to influential people
	3	1. not at all important
	0	2. not too important
	3	3. somewhat important
	3	4. very important
32		Concern with public issues
	0	1. not at all important
	0	2. not too important
	1	3. somewhat important
	8	4. very important
33		Making business contacts
	6	1. not at all important
	2	2. not too important
	0	3. somewhat important
	1	4. very important.
34		Financial rewards
	8	1. not at all important
	1	2. not too important
	0	3. somewhat important
	0	4. very important
35		Helping to influence the policies of government
	1	1. not at all important
	0	2. not too important
	2	3. somewhat important
	6	4. very important

36

Prestige in my community

- 2 1. not at all important
- 1 2. not too important
- 6 3. somewhat important
- 0 4. very important

37, 38

What benefits do you receive from political office (if elected)?

- 0 1. material
- 5 2. solidary
- 3 3. purposive

39

Do you like to influence other people? If yes, how?

- 3 1. material
- 17 2. solidary
- 0 3. purposive

40

Do you like to receive publicity? Why?

- 5 1. material
- 10 2. solidary
- 0 3. purposive

41

A person does not need to worry about other people if only he looks after himself.

- 1 1. non-dominance
- 22 2. dominance

42

When I work on a committee, I like to take charge of things.

- 11 1. non-dominance
- 12 2. dominance

43

I enjoy planning things and deciding what each person should do.

- 10 1. non-dominance
- 13 2. dominance

- 44 I'm not the type to be a political leader.
 12 1. non-dominance
 11 2. dominance
- 45 People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made.
 3 1. non-dominance
 19 2. dominance
- 46 I am a good leader of people.
 8 1. non-dominance
 15 2. dominance
- 47 I like to give orders and get things moving.
 5 1. non-dominance
 18 2. dominance
- 48 I hate to have to tell others what to do.
 4 1. non-dominance
 19 2. dominance
- 49 I must admit I try to see what others think before I take a stand.
 19 1. non-dominance
 4 2. dominance
- 50 I sometimes keep on at a thing, until others lose patience with me.
 12 1. non-dominance
 11 2. dominance
- 51 The future is too uncertain for a person to make serious plans.
 1 1. non-dominance
 22 2. dominance

- 52 I have strong political opinions
- 8 1. non-dominance
15 2. dominance
- 53 Looking back over your campaigns, what would you say has given you the greatest satisfaction in campaigning?
- 0 1. material
8 2. solidary
1 3. purposive
- 54 Looking back over your years in office or your interest in politics, what would you say has given you the greatest satisfaction?
- 0 1. material
3 2. solidary
6 3. purposive
- 55 Looking back over your years in office or your interest in politics, what was your most unpleasant political experience?
- 0 1. material
7 2. solidary
1 3. purposive
- 56 Are men in politics
- 5 1. more respected
6 2. about the same
10 3. less respected than lawyers.
- 57 Do any of the circumstances which I will read, approximate the situation when you decided to seek the nomination?
- 0 1. material
3 2. solidary
6 3. purposive

58

When did you definitely
decide to study law?

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 3 | 1. before high school |
| 9 | 2. during high school |
| 2 | 3. between high school and college |
| 0 | 4. college, 1st year |
| 3 | 5. college, 2nd year |
| 4 | 6. college, 3rd year. |
| 1 | 7. college, 4th year |
| 1 | 8. after college |
| 0 | 9. other |

59

When did you definitely
decide to go into politics?

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 0 | 1. before high school |
| 2 | 2. during high school |
| 0 | 3. between high school and college |
| 1 | 4. college, 1st., 2nd., years |
| 0 | 5. college, 3rd year |
| 0 | 6. college, 4th year |
| 0 | 7. after college but not law school |
| 0 | 8. in law school |
| 6 | 9. after law school. |

60, 61, 62

When you consider your future,
which of the following is
most important to you:
rank 1 to 3.
good income

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 0 | 1. rank one |
| 5 | 2. rank two |
| 5 | 3. rank three |

Recognition as a valuable
citizen of the community

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 2 | 1. rank one |
| 1 | 2. rank two |
| 4 | 3. rank three |

Being a skilled lawyer

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 4 | 1. rank one |
| 7 | 2. rank two |
| 1 | 3. rank three |

Having close friends

- 0 1. rank one
- 3 2. rank two
- 5 3. rank three

Good health

- 9 1. rank one
- 5 2. rank two
- 1 3. rank three

Being a just man

- 5 1. rank one
- 1 2. rank two
- 3 3. rank three

Being learned in the law

- 0 1. rank one
- 0 2. rank two
- 0 3. rank three

Ability to shape important
community decisions

- 1 1. rank one
- 0 2. rank two
- 3 3. rank three

Making Business contacts

- 0 1. rank one
- 0 2. rank two
- .0 3. rank three

.63

Do you talk about politics
with your friends?

- 23 1. yes
- 0 2. no

64

What do you talk about?

- 12 1. political issues only
- 0 2. legal issues or problems
only.
- 11 3. both of above.

65

Should lawyers have more say
in the way the legal system

works?

- | | |
|----|---|
| 13 | 1. no, satisfied as is |
| 0 | 2. reduce authority of judge |
| 3 | 3. more say |
| 7 | 4. involve community more in legal affairs. |

66

How might political office benefit one's legal career?

- | | |
|----|---------------|
| 11 | 1. material |
| 0 | 2. solidary |
| 0 | 3. purposive |
| 8 | 4. it doesn't |

67

Were or are you satisfied with your legal career? Why?

- | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|
| 3 | 1. would give it up |
| 4 | 2. wants to improve his legal career |
| 16 | 3. self-satisfaction. |

68

Would you prefer to be:

- | | |
|----|-----------------|
| 5 | 1. a politician |
| 18 | 2. a lawyer |

69

Why?

- | | |
|----|--------------|
| 1 | 1. material |
| 16 | 2. solidary |
| 1 | 3. purposive |

CARD TWO

01, 02

Study number 11

03

Deck number 2

04, 05

Interview number 1-23

06

- | | |
|----|--------------------------|
| 9 | 1. lawyer-politician |
| 14 | 2. non-politician lawyer |

07

When I think something is good for someone, I frequently try to persuade him that this is the case.

- | | |
|----|---------------------|
| 17 | 1. high sociability |
| 6 | 2. low sociability |

- 08 I would rather go to a movie alone than go with a group of friends.
- 10 1. high sociability
10 2. low sociability
- 09 In social conversations, I frequently have definite ideas and try to convince others.
- 8 1. high sociability
15 2. low sociability
- 10 In a group, I usually take the responsibility for getting people introduced.
- 6 1. high sociability
17 2. low sociability
- 11 When in a group of people, I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.
- 17 1. high sociability
5 2. low sociability
- 12 It is hard for me to find anything to talk about when I meet a new person.
- 14 1. high sociability
8 2. low sociability
- 13 I would rather not have very much responsibility for other people.
- 21 1. high sociability
2 2. low sociability
- 14 People like me don't have any say about what the government does.
- 20 1. high political efficacy
3 2. low political efficacy.

- 15 Voting is the only way
people like me can have any
say about how the government
runs things.
- 20 1. high political efficacy
2 2. low political efficacy.
- 16 Sometimes politics and govern-
ment seem so complicated
that a person like me can't
really understand what's
going on.
- 19 1. high political efficacy
4 2. low political efficacy.
- 17 I don't think public officials
care much what people like
me think.
- 13 1. high political efficacy
10 2. low political efficacy
- 18 The way people vote is the
main thing that decides how
things are run in this
country.
- 8 1. high political efficacy
14 2. low political efficacy
- 19 Running for political office
is the only way that people
like me can have any say
about how the government
runs things.
- 1 1. high political efficacy
23 2. low political efficacy.
- 20 So many other people vote
in the national elections
that it doesn't matter much
whether I vote or not.
- 17 1. high civic duty
6 2. low civic duty.

- 21 It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win.
- 15 1. high civic duty
8 2. low civic duty.
- 22 Local elections aren't important enough to bother with.
- 19 1. high civic duty
4 2. low civic duty.
- 23 If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it.
- 7 1. high civic duty
14 2. low civic duty.
- 24 It isn't so important to run for political office, when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win.
- 13 1. high civic duty
8 2. low civic duty
- 25 So many other people run for political office that it doesn't matter much to me whether I run or not.
- 10 1. high civic duty
12 2. low civic duty
- 26 Where were you born? Country
- 19 1. Canada
0 2. United States
2 3. Europe including England
2 4. other
- 27 Place of Birth
- 4 1. Ontario excluding Hamilton
2 2. All Canadian provinces except Ontario.
13 3. Hamilton
4 4. non-Canadian.

28

When were you born?
(Converted to age in
years).

- | | |
|----|-----------------|
| 4 | 1. 30 and under |
| 12 | 2. 31-40 |
| 6 | 3. 41-50 |
| 1 | 4. 51-60 |
| 0 | 5. 61 and over. |

29, 30, 31.

What social, professional,
political and fraternal
organizations do you belong
to?

- | | |
|----|---|
| 23 | 1. legal |
| 16 | 2. social |
| 1 | 3. religious |
| 0 | 4. political club provincially
only |
| 1 | 5. political club federally
only |
| 11 | 6. both federal and provincial
clubs |
| 1 | 7. other professional clubs |

32

Do you or did you hold any
executive positions in
these organizations?
If yes, what?

- | | |
|----|--|
| 0 | 1. provincial riding organiza-
tion only. |
| 3 | 2. federal riding organiza-
tion only. |
| 6 | 3. both of above |
| 0 | 4. other |
| 13 | 5. none |

33

Sex (by observation)

- | | |
|----|-----------|
| 23 | 1. male |
| 0 | 2. female |

34

What political party are you
associated with?

- | | |
|----|------------------|
| 12 | 1. Liberal |
| 5 | 2. Conservative |
| 0 | 3. New Democrats |
| 0 | 4. other |
| 6 | 5. none |

35

Which level are you associated with?

- 5 1. federal only
- 0 2. provincial only
- 12 3. both
- 6 4. none

36

What was your father's political affiliations?

- 10 1. Liberal
- 6 2. Conservative
- 1 3. New Democrats
- 0 4. Social Credit
- 4 5. non-Canadian party
- 0 6. Conservative then Liberal
- 0 7. Liberal then Conservative
- 2 8. Didn't have any

37

What was your mother's political affiliation?

- 8 1. Liberal
- 4 2. Conservative
- 2 3. New Democrat
- 0 4. Social Credit
- 3 5. non-Canadian party
- 1 6. Conservative then Liberal
- 0 7. Liberal then Conservative
- 2 8. Didn't have any
- 1 9. Switched

38

Which law school did you attend?

- 20 1. Osgoode Hall
- 0 2. Queen's
- 0 3. Ottawa
- 2 4. Toronto
- 0 5. Manitoba
- 1 6. Western
- 0 7. Saskatchewan
- 0 8. U.B.C.
- 0 9. Other

39

What year did you graduate from Law School?

- 0 1. before 1920
- 0 2. 1921-30
- 0 3. 1931-40
- 3 4. 1941-50
- 12 5. 1951-60
- 8 6. 1961-69

40

What is your major ethnic background on your father's side?

- | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|
| 12 | 1. English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh. |
| 1 | 2. Slovak |
| 3 | 3. German |
| 1 | 4. Ukrainian |
| 1 | 5. Canadian |
| 5 | 6. Other |

41

What is your religious preference?

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 6 | 1. United Church |
| 5 | 2. Roman Catholic |
| 0 | 3. Presbyterian |
| 1 | 4. Jewish |
| 8 | 5. other |
| 3 | 6. none |

42

What is your marital status?

- | | |
|----|------------|
| 23 | 1. married |
| 0 | 2. single |
| 0 | 3. other |

43

What was your approximate family income for last year?

- | | |
|----|------------------------|
| 1 | 1. \$1,000 - \$10,000 |
| 4 | 2. \$11,000 - \$18,000 |
| 6 | 3. \$19,000 - \$25,000 |
| 10 | 4. \$26,000 + |
| 2 | 5. no response. |

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