

URBANIZATION AND THE GROWTH OF
INTERPARTY COMPETITION IN VIRGINIA
1956 - 1973

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Government
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Linda K. Ryan

1975

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Linda K. Ryan

Author

Approved

JUNE 29, 1975

[Signature]

Mary Elizabeth Hisey

John J. Mc Glennon

DEDICATION

To Tom

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	viii
Abstract	ix
Introduction	2
CHAPTER	
I Previous Studies of Urbanization and Inter- Party Competition	5
II Development of a Measure of Interparty Competi- tion	17
III Defining the Variables	25
IV Urbanization and Interparty Competition in Virginia - Results and Discussion	33
V Conclusions	82
Appendix A	84
Appendix B	87
Bibliography	91

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Dr. George W. Grayson, Jr., for helpful suggestions and direction at the initiation of this project.

I wish to express my appreciation to Mrs. Louise Farrell for assistance with the programming for this study.

I wish to thank my parents for their encouragement throughout my graduate work.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband Tom for his encouragement and patience throughout the preparation of this thesis.

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Description of Ecological Categories.	32
2	Description of Distribution of Indices of Competition for All Elections.	34
3	Mean Index of Competition and Standard Deviation of the Mean by Election Type.. . . .	34
4	Distribution of Counties and Cities by Ecological Categories and Pattern of Competition for Presidential Elections	35
5	Distribution of Counties and Cities by Ecological Categories and Pattern of Competition, Presidential Elections 1956-1964, Presidential Elections 1968-1972	38
6	Mean Index of Competition for Presidential Elections 1956-1972 by Ecological Category. . .	39
7	Number and Percent of Counties and Cities at Each Level of Competition by Ecological Category for Each Presidential Election	44
8	Distribution of Counties and Cities by Ecological Categories and Pattern of Competition for Gubernatorial Elections.	52
9	Mean and Standard Deviation of Distribution of Mean Indices of Competition for Gubernatorial Elections.	53
10	Distribution of Counties and Cities by Ecological Categories and Pattern of Competition, Gubernatorial Elections 1957-1961, Gubernatorial Elections 1965 - 1973.	55
11	Mean Index of Competition for Gubernatorial Elections 1957-1973 by Ecological Category. . .	56
12	Number and Percent of Counties and Cities at Each Level of Competition by Ecological Category for Each Gubernatorial Election. . . .	57

Table		Page
13	Distribution of Counties and Cities by Ecological Category and Pattern of Competition for Senatorial Elections.64
14	Mean and Standard Deviation of Distribution of Mean Indices of Competition for Senatorial Elections.65
15	Distribution of Counties and Cities by Ecological Categories and Pattern of Competition, Senatorial Elections 1958-1964, Senatorial Elections 1966-197266
16	Mean Index of Competition for Senatorial Elections 1958-1972 by Ecological Category . .	.68
17	Number and Percent of Counties and Cities at Each Level of Competition by Ecological Category for Each Senatorial Election.70

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Percent of Counties and Cities at High Level of Competition by Ecological Category and Presidential Election.	42
2	Percent of Counties and Cities at High Level of Competition by Ecological Category and Gubernatorial Election	59
3	Percent of Counties and Cities at High Level of Competition by Ecological Category and Senatorial Election.	71

ABSTRACT

The relationship between the growth of interparty competition and urbanization in Virginia was examined for the period 1956-1973. An index of competition was derived for each Presidential, Gubernatorial and Senatorial election during the time period for each county and city. A mean index of competition was calculated for each election type and each county and city. The counties and cities were then classified into ecological categories based on their percentage of urban population as defined by the United States Census.

The level of competition varied for the different election types. Presidential elections were found to be more competitive than Senatorial or Gubernatorial elections. When the time period was divided into two groups, Presidential elections in the earlier time period 1956-1964 were more competitive than elections in the latter period, 1968-1972. Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections were less competitive in the earlier time period. No relationship between urbanization and interparty competition was found for Presidential elections. A larger proportion of metropolitan areas were highly competitive than rural areas for Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections.

Examination of the individual elections revealed that competition on the Presidential level cannot be associated with any ecological category. The growth of competition on the Senatorial and Gubernatorial level was revealed when individual elections were examined. Competition appears to have developed in the metropolitan areas earlier in the time period than in the rural areas for Gubernatorial elections. However, the growth of interparty competition occurred in all ecological categories at the Gubernatorial and Senatorial levels.

URBANIZATION AND THE GROWTH OF
INTERPARTY COMPETITION IN VIRGINIA
1956 - 1973

INTRODUCTION

The significance of political parties in American government is well reflected in the wealth of literature devoted to an understanding of them. V. O. Key, Jr., and E. E. Schattschneider have asserted that political parties are a principal democratizing feature of American politics giving structure and organization to conflict.¹ Such conflict has resulted in the growth of a party system in the United States.

On the state level, however, party conflict is manifested in varying ways ranging from intraparty factional conflict in one-party states to two-party competitive politics.² Since the Civil War, the South has traditionally been the bulwark of one-party Democratic politics. However, in the past two decades the phenomenon of Presidential

¹V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, 5th ed. (New York: Thomas Y Crowell Co., 1964):205; E. E. Schattschneider, Party Government (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1959):2.

²Although the growth of third parties at the state level continues, their effect remains fluid, that is, they drift in and out of existence from election to election and thus at this point no state can truly be classified as multi-party.

Republicanism has been observed in the South. Indeed, in the last two Presidential elections, 1968 and 1972, the Democratic party has failed to win the electoral votes from any of the original eleven states of the Confederacy.

Similarly, the years 1956-1973 saw a serious change take place in Virginia politics as the party system moved from one of Democratic hegemony to a system of interparty competition at both the National and State levels. During this time period, the Byrd organization, one of the most powerful political machines in the United States, lost its political base. Party loyalty was destroyed and true interparty competition evolved. In 1969 voters in Virginia elected a Republican governor while the Democrats retained the other two statewide offices. In 1970 the Virginia voters elected a Congressional delegation which, for the first time in history, was dominated by Republicans. A majority of voters in the same year voted for the Independent Senatorial candidate.

The presence of interparty competition has been related to a number of socioeconomic variables in other states. This study is an isolated view of the growth of interparty competition in Virginia and its relationship to urbanization. Methodological issues are also considered.

The growth of interparty competition in Virginia is

examined by analysis of Presidential, Gubernatorial, and Senatorial election returns from 1956 to 1973. The hypothesis to be tested is that interparty competition is positively related to urbanization. Patterns of competition at each electoral level are examined. In addition, political competition in individual elections is evaluated in an effort to identify trends.

CHAPTER I
PREVIOUS STUDIES OF URBANIZATION
AND INTERPARTY COMPETITION

A number of attempts have been made to quantify the relationship between level of party competition and urbanization. As early as 1956, Leon Epstein examined urbanization as a factor in the division of the two party vote in Wisconsin.³ Epstein used ecological categories defined by the United States Bureau of the Census which classified geographic areas by both number and kind (urban versus farm) of population. He found that for each of the four Gubernatorial elections, 1948-1954, in Wisconsin, a predominantly Republican state, the Democratic party percentage of the vote was about 55 percent in Milwaukee County and other large urbanized centers, exceeding the Democratic party percentage of vote in cities of 10,000 - 50,000 by about 10 percent. The Democratic party percentage of vote in smaller cities, villages and townships was even less.

³Leon Epstein, "Size of Place and the Division of the Two-Party Vote in Wisconsin," Western Political Quarterly 9 (1956):138-50.

These findings indicated that interparty competition in the cities in Wisconsin was not only greater but often resulted in the weaker party in the state receiving a majority of votes.

In 1957, Heinz Eulau examined the relationship between urbanization and interparty competition in elections for the Ohio House of Representatives from 1946 to 1956.⁴ He postulated that

. . . urban structures are conducive to the existence of competitive party systems and that there is a progressive transition to semi-competitive and non-competitive (one-party) systems as areas are located along an urban-rural ecological continuum. If the hypothesis can be supported, one may speculate that increasing urbanization, especially the expansion of metropolitan areas, is favorable to the extension of a competitive party politics as a structural requisite of the democratic political system.⁵

Eulau stressed that urban and rural are the two poles of a continuum and that despite increased communication and assimilation of groups, differences between city and farm were not eliminated. Eulau divided Ohio's eighty-eight counties by size of urban aggregate and percent of urban population, as defined by the United States Census, into five (later reduced to four) ecological categories.

⁴Heinz Eulau, "The Ecological Basis of Party Systems: The Case of Ohio," Midwest Journal of Political Science 1 (1957):125-35.

⁵Ibid., p. 126.

Eulau defined a high degree of competition as one in which each of the two parties had won at least 25 percent of contests in the six elections studied. Semi-competitive districts were defined as those where one party won less than 25 percent of the contests but was able to stimulate strong opposition to the dominant party. Specifically, he classified districts in which one party won less than 25 percent of contests but more than 40 percent of the vote in four of the six elections into the semi-competitive category. Noncompetitive districts were defined as those in which one party failed to win either 25 percent of the elections or at least 40 percent of the vote in four of the six contests. Eulau's definitions of party competition and ecological categories are significant since future researchers challenge his results on this basis.

To measure the relationship between the two variables, Eulau cross tabulated the three levels of competition and the four ecological categories. Forty-one percent of the Metropolitan areas in Ohio fell into the competitive party system classification. Only 10 percent of urban areas were truly competitive by Eulau's definition while 10 percent of rural areas fell into this category.⁶ No

⁶Rurban areas are areas with urban aggregates of 2,500 or more population and a ratio of urban and rural non-farm

rural areas were found to be competitive.

Only 18 percent of the metropolitan areas fell into the noncompetitive category, while 40 percent of the urban, 70 percent of the suburban and 55 percent of the rural areas fell into this classification. The large percentage of semi-competitive rural areas (45 percent) indicated that in some counties the Democratic party had been able to maintain strength. Eulau's results led him to suggest that perhaps the dominance of one party in the suburban and rural counties is related to the strength of the Republican party in the state as a whole. His findings support the hypothesis that level of competitive party politics is related to degree of urbanization.

In 1958 Masters and Wright attempted to explain voting trends in Michigan in terms of ecological variables.⁷ They separated Michigan's eighty-three counties into six types based on economic activity and geographic location. The six types used were urban, farm-urban, farm, mineral,

population of less than 80 percent. These areas are the link in the continuum between the urban areas and the rural areas.

⁷Nicholas A. Masters and Deil S. Wright, "Trends and Variations in the Two-Party Vote: The Case of Michigan," American Political Science Review 52 (1958):1078-90.

forest upper and forest lower. Their hypothesis was that there was more variation among the different county types than within each category. However, wide variations in the percentage of votes cast for each party emerged among cities of the same size. From this they concluded that size of place was inadequate for explaining voting patterns in Michigan. This was in direct contrast to the findings of Epstein.⁸ Analysis of the Democratic and Republican vote for Gubernatorial elections from 1948-1958 revealed greater degrees of competition in urban, mineral and forest upper regions where Democrats were dominant. Farm, farm-urban, and forest lower regions were Republican dominated. However both parties continued to receive a considerable percentage of votes in all areas resulting in two party competition. Further analysis revealed a positive correlation between occupational status and party strength; managers, officials and proprietors supported the Republicans and unskilled and semi-skilled labor supported the Democratic candidates.

In 1960, Gold and Schmidhauser attempted to assess the relationship between interparty competition and

⁸Epstein, p. 141.

urbanization in Iowa.⁹ They used selected contests for county office, the state House of Representatives and Governor. They chose the same time period as Eulau, 1946-1956, for their study. Although they used results for different types of elections to construct their index of interparty competition, they contended that if the Eulau hypothesis was correct it should be supportable using their measures.

The Gold and Schmidhauser measure of competition differed significantly from Eulau's in that it was constructed from percent of contests won rather than percent of vote cast for either party. If a party won all of the seven county offices for and period 1946-1956 the county was designated as straight Democratic or straight Republican. If one party failed to capture at least three of seven contests in a county it was designated as generally Democratic or generally Republican. If each party won at least three contests, the system for the county was designated as Two-Party. For Congressional elections, a county electing representatives from only one party for the time period was designated straight Democratic or

⁹David Gold and John R. Schmidhauser, "Urbanization and Party Competition: The Case of Iowa," Midwest Journal of Political Science 4 (1960):62-75.

straight Republican. If a party carried five of six elections it was designated generally Democratic or generally Republican. Counties with other combinations were designated as Two-Party. For Gubernatorial elections a county giving a majority of its votes to the same party in all six elections was designated as straight Democratic or straight Republican. If a majority of votes in five of six elections were cast for one party then the county was designated generally Democratic or generally Republican. Other combinations were designated as two party counties.

The ninety-nine counties of Iowa were given an urbanization index number computed on the basis of four factors; the percent employed in industry other than agriculture, percent urban population, percent of the population in centers of 5,000 or more, and the population of the largest center in each county. The number 100 represented the state as a whole. An index number greater than 100 indicated a degree of urbanization greater than the state as a whole. The range was 142 (Polk County containing Des Moines) to 58.

At the county election level and the state representative level, Gold and Schmidhauser concluded that "the amount of party competition does not vary systematically with

urbanization."¹⁰ On the Gubernatorial level the Eulau hypothesis is supported; greater competition is observed in the urban areas.

Gold and Schmidhauser combined the three electoral levels into five categories of party competition. Using a combined index of party competition, no relationship between party competition and urbanization was found. On the basis of their classifications they concluded that

. . . there very definitely is no relationship between urbanization and party competition. In addition, it should be explicitly noted that there is not even indication of a tendency toward a positive association; but rather there is a tendency at the local levels toward greater party competition among the less urban counties.¹¹

Cognizant of the contradictory findings of Eulau and Gold and Schmidhauser, Phillips Cutright undertook a study examining the relationship between urbanization and two party competition at the county level in ten states.¹² Cutright asserted that differences in definition of the variables explained the differences in results. The Gold and Schmidhauser definition of urbanization was a composite

¹⁰Ibid., p. 67.

¹¹Ibid., p. 73.

¹²Phillips Cutright, "Urbanization and Competitive Party Politics," Journal of Politics 25 (1963):552-64.

which included factors not considered by Eulau in his ecological categories. The Eulau study considered the percent of the vote given to the winning candidate in each county while Gold and Schmidhauser defined competition by number of contests won. Cutright attempted to define the variables so that comparable studies could be carried out in a number of states and the interparty competition-urbanization hypothesis could be tested. Contests at the state level were chosen for study. Competition was measured in the Cutright study by the percentage of the vote given to the Democratic candidate in an election. Counties were classified as competitive if the Democratic candidate received between 37 - 63 percent of the vote. Other counties were classified as noncompetitive. Of 815 counties in 10 states, 245 were noncompetitive in the elections studied.

The Cutright study introduced controls for both religion and degree of manufacturing. These factors are not independent of urbanization and have been shown to influence individual partisanship.¹³ Cutright found that areas with high manufacturing, high Catholic, and high urban population were overwhelmingly competitive (97 percent).

¹³Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter: An Abridgement (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964):48.

As each of the three variables was removed, the probability of a county maintaining a competitive system was reduced, although a positive relationship between urbanization and interparty competition, still held. When the counties were weighted by size of population, the hypothesis was still supported. Cutright concluded that "when standardized measures are applied, urbanization is positively associated with competitive party politics."¹⁴

Kenneth Janda in a discussion of the application of information processing in Political Science again raised questions about the conflicting results of the studies of the urbanization-interparty competition hypothesis.¹⁵ Janda suggested that measures of interparty competition should be quantitative variables so that simple product moment correlation coefficients could be calculated to test their relationship to other variables. Janda's measurement of interparty competition was the percentage difference in votes between the candidates of the two major parties. The smaller this difference, the more competition existed. The percentage of the county's population residing in urban

¹⁴Cutright, p. 563.

¹⁵Kenneth Janda, Data Processing, 2nd ed. (Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1969):177-85.

areas of 2,500 or more as reported in the 1950 United States Census was used as the measure of urbanization. Using election results for President, Secretary of State and Prosecuting Attorney in 92 Indiana counties, Janda found all correlation coefficients to be negative, although small, supporting the hypothesis.

In 1968 Coulter and Gordon reviewed the foregoing studies in an attempt to analyze their conflicting results.¹⁶ They identified two basic categories of problems in the previous research, methodological and conceptual. Methodologically, they identified problems of definition of variables, different sites, time periods, particular elections and different offices. Conceptually, the authors identified problems with the use of county election data because of the variation in ecological character of counties. In addition, they contended that studies had failed to distinguish between different types of one-party, non-competitive systems. Finally Coulter and Gordon noted the failure to examine trend toward interparty competition. These questions are particularly relevant to a study of a Southern

¹⁶Philip Coulter and Glen Gordon, "Urbanization and Party Competition: Critique and Redirection of Theoretical Research," Western Political Quarterly 21 (June 1968): 274-87.

state.

As recently as 1970, Bonjean and Lineberry used the 1960 Presidential election results for all counties to test the interparty competition-urbanization hypothesis.¹⁷ Urbanization was defined by size of population as well as percent foreign born and percent non-white. The interparty competition measure used was the percent of vote for the winning party in the 1960 Presidential election. This study found no significant relationship between interparty competition and urbanization.

The problem of defining the variables and testing the interparty competition-urbanization hypothesis continues unresolved.

¹⁷ Charles M. Bonjean and Robert L. Lineberry, "The Urbanization-Party Competition Hypothesis: A Comparison of All United States Counties," Journal of Politics 32 (May 1970): 305-21.

CHAPTER II
DEVELOPMENT OF A MEASURE OF
INTERPARTY COMPETITION

The foregoing studies were difficult to interpret or compare because of the varying definitions of interparty competition. At the same time as some political scientists were relating interparty competition to urbanization, others were attempting to define interparty competition.

A variety of measures of interparty competition have been developed reflecting different objectives of application. Pfeiffer identifies five of these objectives as (1) evaluating varying competition between offices, (2) evaluating varying competition between states, (3) evaluating varying competition over different years, (4) measuring divergence from the two party system and (5) measuring the stability of the party system.¹⁸ A sixth application,

¹⁸David G. Pfeiffer, "The Measurement of Interparty Competition and Systematic Stability," American Political Science Review 61 (June 1967):461.

prediction of election outcomes, is well known to all who follow election evening news reports.

Common to all measurements are considerations of (1) time period, (2) election(s) and (3) measurement of competition. Time periods which are too long may obscure major realignments while time periods which are too short may overemphasize the effect of an aberrant election. Elections at different levels (local, state, national) should be expected to have varying patterns of party competition. Combining votes for different offices may serve to neutralize any differences.

Statistically, measures of competition can be divided into two broad categories, retrospective analytic measurements and probabilistic predictive models. The retrospective analytic models can further be subdivided between those employing nominal or ordinal scales, and those employing interval scales of measurement.

The retrospective analytic models dominate political research most probably because of their ease of measurement and understanding. In 1954, Ranney and Kendall constructed a nominal classification of state party systems based on voting patterns for President, Governor and Senator.¹⁹

¹⁹Austin Ranney and Willmoore Kendall, "The American

In the same year Belle Zeller classified state party systems into five similar categories using the percentage of legislative seats held by the dominant party.²⁰

Joseph Schlesinger further refined classifications of party competition by specifying two dimensions of measurement.²¹ As an overall dimension, he defined the division of party control for a particular office and time period. The second dimension, called the cyclical dimension, measured the rate of alternation of parties in control of an office. He then located the states on a spatial model where each dimension represented one axis.

In order to measure political party strength, Golembiewski proposed a method of classification building on the Ranney-Kendall, Zeller and Schlesinger models.²²

Party Systems," American Political Science Review 48 (June 1954):477-85.

²⁰Belle Zeller, ed., American State Legislatures: Report of the Committee on American Legislatures, American Political Science Association (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1954):189-213.

²¹Joseph Schlesinger, "A Two-Dimensional Scheme for Classifying the States According to Degree of Inter-Party Competition," American Political Science Review 49 (September, 1955):1120-1128, Idem, "The Structure of Competition for Office in the American States," Behavioral Science 5 (July 1960):197-210.

²²Robert T. Golembiewski, "A Taxonomic Approach to State Political Party Strength," Western Political Quarterly 11 (1958):494-513.

Combining the percentage of minority legislature seats in both houses with trichotomous measures (invariably, most often, not usually the same) of party control in the two houses of the state legislature and the governor, he defined three classifications, One-Party States, Weak Minority Party States and Two-Party States.²³

Finally in an attempt to bring together the useful aspects of all previous measures, Hofferbert constructed an ordinal rank order scheme which was manipulatable by statistical techniques.²⁴ Using election results from 1932-1962 for President, Governor, and Senator, Hofferbert employed measurements of majority party strength, minority party strength, and alternation in office, and constructed a rank ordering of the states by degree of competition.

In 1968 Zody and Luttbeg correlated the measures of Ranney-Kendall, Dawson-Robinson, and Hofferbert and found high Spearman rank order correlations between the

²³A similar method was employed by Dawson and Robinson in Richard E. Dawson and James A. Robinson, "Interparty Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies in the American States," Journal of Politics 25 (May 1963): 265-89.

²⁴Richard I. Hofferbert, "Classification of American Party Systems," Journal of Politics 26 (1964):550-67.

measures (Range .89-.99).²⁵ They concluded therefore that the major differences between measures were subjective not empirical. The measures were more similar than different. There was significant correlation between measures regardless of time period or offices and most importantly the level of competition among the states was relatively stable in the time period studied, 1914-1963.²⁶

It is not surprising that Zody and Luttborg found such high correlations between these measures of competition. All of the measures used the "state" as the political unit. Inter-party competition at the state level is much easier to assess because local differences will be minimized.

Classifications at the state level are not useful in assessing political competition on the county level for two reasons. A state classification represents a composite of electoral behavior throughout the state. Party dominance in different areas may be neutralized. For example, New York State is classified as Two-Party in most classification schemes. However, individual areas of the state are clearly non-competitive. The effect of Republican upstate is

²⁵Richard E. Zody and Norman Luttborg, "An Evaluation of Various Measures of State Party Competition," Western Political Quarterly 21 (December 1968):723-24.

²⁶Ibid., p. 724.

counterbalanced by Democratic New York City. Secondly, such classifications do not reveal trends toward or away from interparty competition. A more complex measure is necessary.

Another class of retrospective analytic measurements which has been developed are interval measurements more directly amenable to further statistical manipulation. These measures have an advantage in that they can be constructed for a small time period such as one election for one office and trend can be examined. In addition, when necessary, they can be transformed back into nominal form. The most basic of these measures is the percent of vote given to one party in an election for one office. Key employed the mean percentage of vote given to the Democratic candidate from 1906-1953 for Gubernatorial elections.²⁷ In this way he classified twenty-one Northern states by level of competition in Gubernatorial races. Pfeiffer expanded this method by using data from Presidential, Senatorial, and Gubernatorial races and calculated the arithmetic mean percentage of vote given to each party from 1940-1964.²⁸

²⁷V. O. Key, Jr., American State Politics: An Introduction (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1956):99.

²⁸Pfeiffer, pp. 457-67.

Using the results he classified the states into categories of competition. This measure allows for more than mere classification in that trend can be examined from one time period to the next and rate of change can be measured.²⁹ These measures can be readily adapted to the county level.

In 1948 Louis Bean proposed a probability model for election outcome prediction.³⁰ He synthesized a number of political elements and produced a guide to forecasting elections. Similar probability models of the percentage of vote given to each candidate are constructed at election time by pollsters and political analysts. Using key precincts and relating their returns to issues, outcomes are projected with the assistance of the computer using complex formulae.

Mark Stern proposed a method of predicting election outcomes based on a probability model for interparty competition.³¹ He used parametric statistics in combination with perceptions of electoral outcomes of local political

²⁹ Ibid., p. 464.

³⁰ Louis Bean, How to Predict Elections (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948).

³¹ Mark Stern, "Measuring Interparty Competition: A Proposal and a Test of a Method," Journal of Politics 39 (1972):891-904.

leaders. The Stern methodology was particularly adapted to local elections where issues were more clearly defined and perceptions more readily sampled.

Most recently, David Elkins proposed a measurement of party competition based on the laws of probability.³² The measurement involved assessing the distribution of party loyalties and identifications.

The most competitive possible situation results from purely random influences which are unrelated to one another over time. The key step in translating this informal conception into a useful measure of party competition requires that we see changeability, randomness, and hence uncertainty as variable properties of party systems.³³

Elkins model is applied to Canadian politics where parties are more ideological than in the United States. However, the model has much theoretical and methodological value.

³²David J. Elkins, "The Measurement of Party Competition," American Political Science Review 68 (1974):682-700.

³³Ibid., p. 686.

CHAPTER III
DEFINING THE VARIABLES

A. Interparty Competition

As the foregoing discussion of the definition of interparty competition indicates, the objectives of its application dictate its construction. A measure of interparty competition should satisfy four basic requirements. It should:

1) be independent of the number of candidates in an election because of the variable number. An active third party can contribute to party competition and cannot be ignored in an analysis of competition.

2) be independent of the size of a locality or number of voters because of the expected variation in urban and rural areas.

3) be independent of expected variations. For example, if senatorial competition is to be evaluated a measure of alternation is inappropriate particularly in the case of two senators from different parties who are reelected by large margins. The measure of competition may be high

although competition for each office may be low.

4) be comparable over different elections and different geographic or political units if it is to be useful for political research and understanding of voting patterns.

The objective of this study is to relate the growth of interparty competition to urbanization in a Southern state, the Commonwealth of Virginia. The difference between national and statewide party politics in the South dictates the separation of these elections in any measure. Secondly, to observe trends, a measure for each contest is necessary.

An index of competition was generated which represents the proportional difference in votes and meets the above requirements.³⁴ This index was computed for each county and independent city for each Presidential, Gubernatorial, and Senatorial election from 1956 to 1973.

Mathematically,

$$\text{INDEX OF COMPETITION} = \left| \frac{\text{Votes for Candidate 1} - \text{Votes for Candidate 2}}{\text{Total votes}} \right|$$

Candidates 1 and 2 are the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes in the election. "Total votes"

³⁴This measure is similar to that proposed by Kenneth Janda (Janda, p. 110), except that it is not restricted to two major parties because of the active role of third parties.

are all votes in the election for all candidates. This statistic represents the winning margin as a proportion of all votes cast. It will vary from .0000 - 1.0000 where .0000 represents very high competition and 1.0000 represents no competition. Thus, the smaller an index value, the greater the degree of competition.

The use of the computer allows the computation of this statistic which although not mathematically complex, can be numerically cumbersome. Data was entered on cards in the following manner:

ID Code	Election 1			Election 2		
ID CODE	CAND 1 VOTES 6-11	CAND 2 VOTES 12-17	TOTAL VOTES 16-23	CAND 1 VOTES 24-29	CAND 2 VOTES 30-35	TOTAL VOTES 36-41

The indices of competition for elections of the same type were summed for each county and the mean and variance calculated. The distributions of means approach the normal distribution and allow the application of the laws of probability.

These calculations were all done on the GE415 computer using a FORTRAN IV program. (See Appendix A) The program is designed for data entered in the format already described but can be easily adapted to election data available in other formats. The advantage of this method of computation is that it is dynamic and can be updated as more data

becomes available. Because a measure can be derived for each individual election, trends can be observed using this measure.

Presidential, Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections were chosen specifically in order to compare interparty competition across the state. This statistical measurement could be applied to contests for local office. However, local issues and personality of the individual candidate, factors often unrelated to party competition, have great impact in these elections and make comparison across the state less meaningful.

B. Political Units

During the time period covered by this study, 1956-1973, some of the counties and cities in Virginia were combined while others were divided. In cases where two counties were merged during the time period, electoral data were combined from the beginning of the time period. If a county or city was split during the time period, election results were recombined so that 126 political units could be identified consistently throughout the study. The alterations are explained in detail below.

Election returns from Colonial Heights were combined with data from Chesterfield County. Election statistics

for Norfolk County and South Norfolk were combined to form Chesapeake reflecting the merger which occurred in 1964. Franklin City, which first appeared as an independent city in 1964 was recombined with the new Southampton County to form Southampton County. Princess Anne and Virginia Beach were combined, reflecting a consolidation which occurred in 1964. Fairfax County and City were considered as one unit since their separation occurred in 1961 and therefore is not reflected in electoral data before that time. Election returns for Lexington and the new Rockbridge counties were combined into the old Rockbridge County which existed before the division in 1965. Although South Boston was separated from Halifax County in 1960 results of all subsequent elections were combined with Halifax. Election statistics from Emporia and Greensville were combined. Results for Roanoke County represent a combination of Salem and Roanoke County, although since 1968 they have existed as separate political units. Bedford City and Bedford County, also separated since 1968, were combined for the study. The resulting 126 counties and cities used in the study are listed in Appendix B.

C. Ecological Areas

In order to relate interparty competition to urbani-

zation it was necessary to group counties and cities according to degree of urbanization. The counties and independent cities in Virginia were classified into four ecological categories: metropolitan, urban, uruban and rural. The basis of these classifications was the percent of urban population as determined and defined by the 1960 Census.

Metropolitan areas were defined as those counties and cities identified as part of the six Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The center of each SMSA is a city (or combination of 2) of at least 50,000 inhabitants. In addition the counties around the city which form an integrated economic unit were included in the SMSA. More than one half of the population of Virginia resided in the SMSA in 1960.

The urban areas are defined as those with 100 percent urban population excluding those areas in the SMSA's.

The rurban areas are defined as those areas with less than 100 percent but greater than 0 percent urban population. These counties range from 54.2 percent urban population in Warren County to 8.4 percent in Nansemond.

Rural counties are those with 0 percent urban population.

Table 1 summarizes the classification scheme.

Counties and cities as well as their ecological designation are listed in Appendix B.

Table 1

Description of Ecological Categories

Category	Description	Number of Counties/ Cities*	Population	Percent Total State Population
Metropolitan	All counties and cities in SMSA's	19	2,030,213	51.2
Urban	Cities with 100 percent urban population excluding SMSA areas	19	306,891	7.7
Rurban	Counties with less than 100 percent urban population and greater than 0 percent urban population (Actual Range 54.2 - 8.4 percent)	24	657,151	16.6
Rural	Counties with 0 percent urban population	64	972,711	24.5
Total		126	3,966,966	100.0

*As adjusted for consistency of political boundaries from 1956-1973.

CHAPTER IV
URBANIZATION AND INTERPARTY COMPETITION IN VIRGINIA
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As previously explained, the mean index of competition was calculated for elections of the same type for each county forming a distribution of means. A distribution of means approaches the normal distribution and therefore assumes its properties. These properties are useful in an analysis of the data. A normal curve is perfectly symmetrical around the mean of the distribution. When the standard deviation of the normal distribution is known the proportion of observations (in this case, counties and cities) in any given portion of the distribution can be estimated. Sixty-eight percent of the observations are expected to fall within one standard deviation (plus or minus) of the mean, while we expect 95 percent of observations to fall within two standard deviations. Table 2 documents how well the distributions of indices of competition approach the normal distribution.

The overall mean for each type of election confirms

the differing levels of competition for different offices.

(Table 3)

Table 2

Description of Distribution of Indices of Competition
For All Elections

Distribution	Number of Cases	Mean \pm One Standard Deviation	Mean \pm Two Standard Deviations
Normal	126	86	120
Presidential elections	126	95	118
Gubernatorial elections	126	78	124
Senatorial elections	126	77	122

Table 3

Mean Index of Competition and
Standard Deviation of the Mean by Election Type

Distribution	Mean (\bar{x})	Standard Deviation (S.D.)
Presidential elections	.2079	.0781
Gubernatorial elections	.2388	.1015
Senatorial elections	.3686	.1020

The overall mean for Senatorial elections was much larger than the others indicating a lower level of competition. This was caused by the very high margins in the 1958, 1960 and 1964 Senatorial elections. In addition, it was observed that there was more variation within the mean indices of competition for Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections than in Presidential elections. For this reason further analysis will separate election types.

A. Presidential Elections

As the overall mean indicates Presidential elections were the most competitive of the three election types in Virginia. Although the mean does not allow us to describe particular Presidential elections we can isolate counties and cities with consistent patterns of low and high competition.

Graphically,

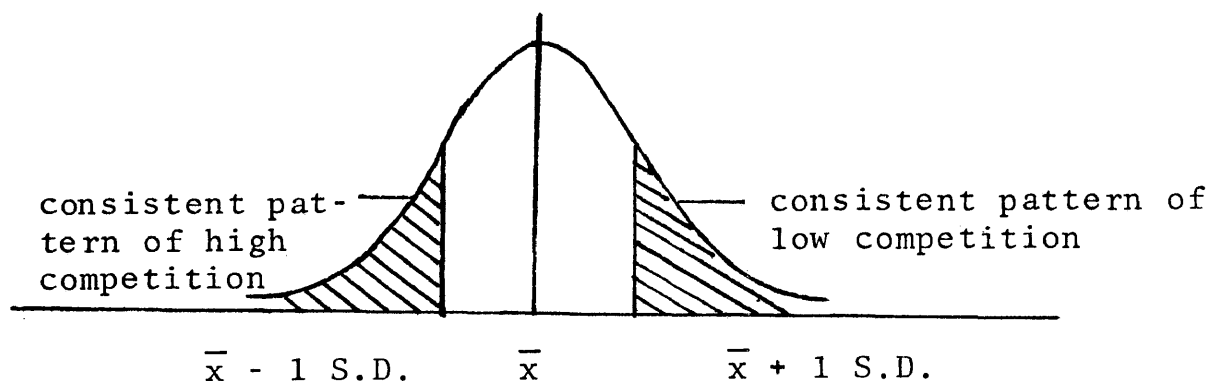


Table 4

Distribution of Counties and Cities by
 Ecological Categories and Pattern of Competition
 For Presidential Elections

Ecological Category	Number	High Competition		$\bar{x} \pm S.D.$		Low Competition	
		$\bar{x} - 1 S.D.$ < .1299 N	Less Than N	$\bar{x} \pm S.D.$.1299-.2859 N	$\bar{x} + 1 S.D.$ > .2859 N	Greater Than N	%
All	126	13	10.3	95	75.4	18	14.2
Metro	19	3	15.8	13	68.4	3	15.8
Urban	19	0	0.0	14	73.7	5	26.3
Rurban	24	2	8.3	20	83.3	2	8.3
Rural	64	8	12.5	48	75.0	8	12.6

The percentage of counties in each ecological category at each level of competition is more significant than the actual number of counties or cities because of the variable number of counties and cities in each ecological category. Table 4 shows this distribution for Presidential elections.

For Presidential elections thirteen counties and cities showed a pattern of consistent high competition while eighteen counties and cities showed a pattern of consistent low competition. The metro and rural counties and cities were similarly distributed. A greater percentage of the urban counties showed a pattern of low competition while the rural counties clustered in the center of the distribution.

The distribution of indices of competition for all Presidential elections was divided into two new distributions. One distribution of means was generated for the Presidential elections of 1956, 1960 and 1964 with mean .1728 and standard deviation .0751. Another distribution of mean indices of competition was generated for the Presidential elections of 1968 and 1972 with a mean equal to .2604 and a standard deviation of .1382. Both distributions approached the normal distribution. Table 5 shows the percentage of counties and cities in each ecological category at each level of competition.

Table 5

Distribution of Counties and Cities by
Ecological Categories and Pattern of Competition

Ecological Category	Presidential Elections 1956-1964				Presidential Elections 1968-1972							
	High Competition $\bar{x} \pm 1$ S.D. < $x - 1$ S.D. < .0977	$\bar{x} \pm 1$ S.D. > $x + 1$ S.D. > .2479	Low Com- petition > $x + 1$ S.D. > .2479	N	High Competition < $x - 1$ S.D. < .1222	$\bar{x} \pm 1$ S.D. > $x + 1$ S.D. > .3986	Low Com- petition > $x + 1$ S.D. > .3986	N				
N	%	%	%	N	%	%	%					
All (126)	15	11.9	86	68.3	25	19.8	9	7.1	101	80.2	16	12.7
Metro (19)	1	5.3	14	73.7	3	15.8	1	5.3	15	78.9	3	15.8
Urban (19)	1	5.3	13	68.4	5	26.4	1	5.3	14	73.7	4	21.1
Rurban (24)	3	12.5	18	75.0	3	12.5	1	4.2	21	87.5	2	8.3
Rural (64)	10	15.6	41	64.1	14	21.9	6	9.4	51	79.7	7	10.9

In both distributions the rural areas had the greater percentage of competitive counties. However as these distributions illustrate the counties and cities which show consistent patterns of competition cannot be associated with any particular ecological category.

An election by election analysis of Presidential elections was done to evaluate trends in each ecological category. Table 6 shows the mean index of competition for each election by ecological category. The elections varied in competition, however no significant variation was noted among the ecological categories.

Table 6
Mean Index of Competition for
Presidential Elections 1956-1972
by Ecological Category

Ecological Category	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Metro	.1863	.1438	.1903	.1321	.3576
Urban	.2851	.1586	.1511	.1673	.3681
Rurban	.1755	.1646	.1573	.1463	.3962
Rural	.1932	.1613	.1398	.1473	.3697

The indices of competition for each election by county

were divided into categories of low competition ($> .2000$), moderate competition ($.1000 - .2000$) and high competition ($.0000 - .0999$). Although these measures are not empirically derived they are consistent with knowledge of political competition. Thus if a candidate wins an election by less than 10% of the vote, the election is highly competitive.³⁵ If the winning margin of vote is greater than 10% but less than 20%, moderate competition is said to exist. Low competition is described by a margin of 20% or greater. Table 7 shows the number of counties and cities at each level of competition by ecological category for each Presidential election. It is clear that during the period 1956 to 1972 interparty competition increased, peaked and decreased in Presidential elections. All ecological categories illustrate this pattern. Figure 1 illustrates this pattern, graphically. The causes and consequences of this pattern of political competition were many in Virginia.

Southern one party politics had originated as a

³⁵ Matthews and Prothro in a study in Southern black politics define a competitive election as one in which the winning margin is less than 10% of the vote. Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966):157.

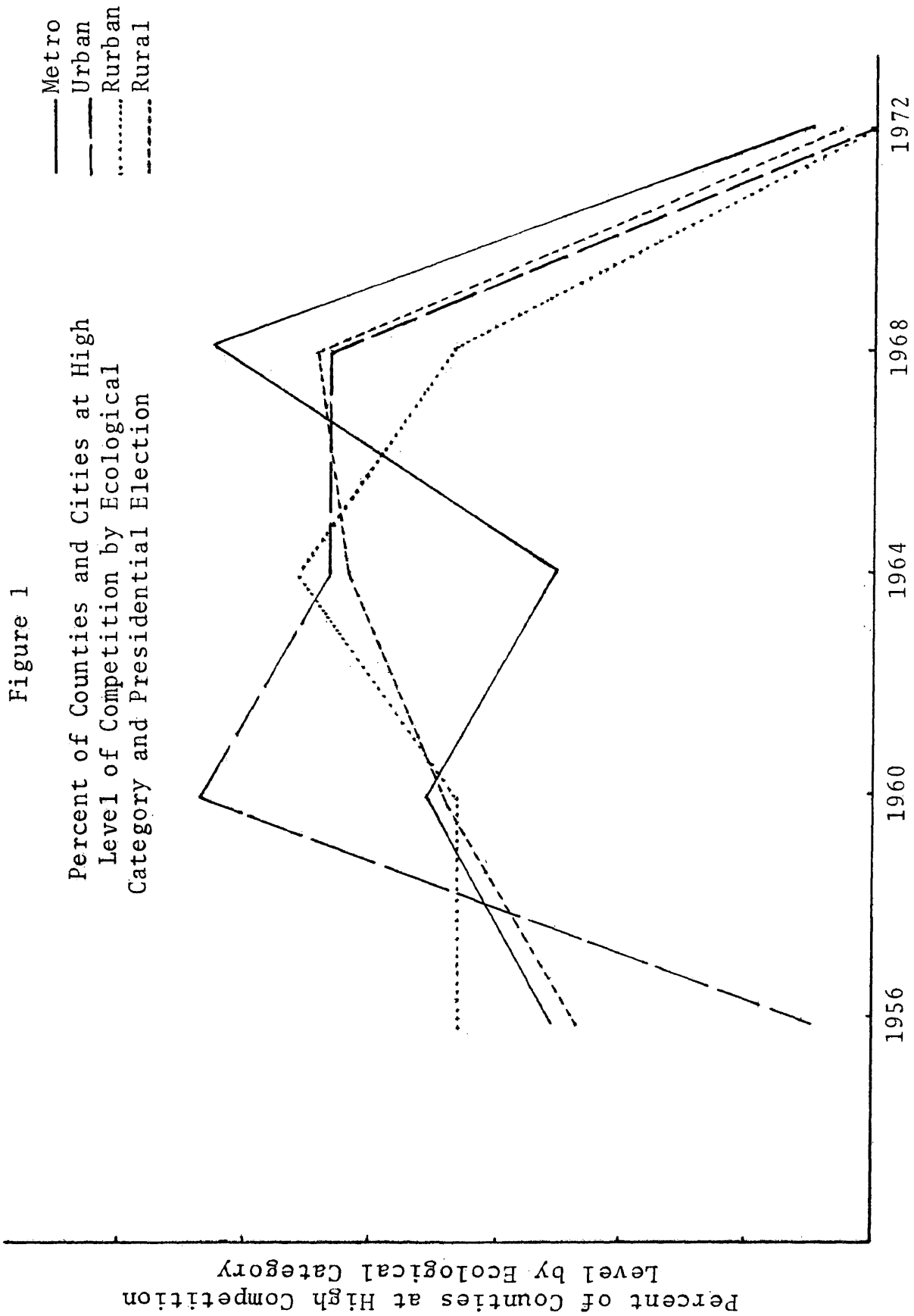
Table 7

Number and Percent of Counties and Cities at Each

Level of Competition by Ecological Category for Each

Presidential Election

Ecological Category	Level of Competition	1956		1960		1964		1968		1972	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Metro	High	5	26.3	7	36.8	5	26.3	10	52.6	1	5.2
	Medium	8	42.1	6	31.6	4	21.1	4	21.1	3	15.8
	Low	6	31.6	6	31.6	10	52.6	5	26.3	15	78.9
Urban	High	1	5.2	10	52.6	7	42.1	8	42.1	0	0.0
	Medium	4	21.1	3	15.8	5	26.3	4	15.8	3	15.8
	Low	14	73.7	6	31.6	7	42.1	7	36.8	16	84.2
Rurban	High	8	33.3	8	33.3	11	45.8	8	33.3	0	0.0
	Medium	5	20.8	9	37.5	2	8.3	9	37.5	1	4.2
	Low	11	45.8	7	29.2	11	45.8	7	29.2	23	95.8
Rural	High	15	23.4	22	34.4	26	40.6	28	43.8	2	3.1
	Medium	20	31.3	21	32.8	19	29.7	17	26.6	8	12.5
	Low	29	45.3	21	32.8	19	29.7	19	29.7	54	84.4



coalition of whites determined to keep the blacks in their lower and ineffectual economic, social and political place.³⁶ The race issue was always uppermost in the Southern voter's mind. New Deal policies failed to give support to this basic philosophy on the national level. Combined with the general expansion of government, this era increased special interests further diversifying the political arena and eroding National Democratic party strength in the South.

Republicanism was not new in Virginia. Southwestern Virginians were Republicans by tradition. Indeed, they were reluctant to abandon the Union for the cause of slavery.³⁷ However these rural areas could not muster enough votes to override the impressive majorities Democratic candidates garnered in the rest of the state. The gradual erosion of Democratic strength combined with the traditional Republicans set the stage for the growth of Presidential Republicanism in Virginia.

By the 1952 Presidential Election the Republicans had made sufficient inroads into the solid South to pave

³⁶ Heard, Alexander, A Two Party South? (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1952):145.

³⁷ V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Random House, 1949):280-82.

the way toward interparty competition. No longer could the Democratic Presidential candidate expect to carry the South without presenting a program consistent with their interests. In 1952, four Southern states gave their electoral votes to Eisenhower: Florida, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. In 1956 Louisiana joined these states in giving their electoral votes to the Republican candidate.

The failure of Harry F. Byrd Sr. to support the Democratic ticket in 1956 relieved the pressure on the city party machines and allowed the Republicans to capture city votes. The Eisenhower vote in the South as a whole was concentrated in the upper income residential areas of the major cities.³⁸ Strong's analysis of 1956 precinct data from the City of Richmond revealed similar findings.³⁹

The Republicans won majorities in 63 percent of the counties in Virginia and in more than 90 percent of the cities. Further erosion of Democratic strength took place

³⁸Key, Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, p. 247; James W. Prothro, Ernest Q. Campbell, and Charles M. Grigg "Two Party Voting in the South: Class vs. Party Identification," American Political Science Review 52 (1958): 33; Donald Strong, Urban Republicanism in the South (Bureau of Public Administration, University, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1960):48.

³⁹Donald S. Strong, "Durable Republicanism in the South," in Change in the Contemporary South ed. by Allan P. Sindler (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1963):182.

in rural Southside Virginia where T. Coleman Andrews, a Virginian and the States' Rights Party candidate gathered many votes. The mountain areas remained strongly Republican. The metropolitan areas joined them with overwhelming support. While two-party competition was evident in Virginia on a state-wide level, competition in the counties and cities remained low in 1956.

In 1960 Florida, Tennessee and Virginia cast their electoral votes for the Republican party. In Virginia the Republican percentage of the vote dropped from 55.4 percent to 52.4 percent while the Democratic percentage increased from 38.3 percent to 47.0 percent. The Democrats won majorities in Northern Virginia while the Republicans won a majority in Richmond, Henrico and Chesterfield.

In the absence of a third party candidate, Southside Virginia returned to the Democratic party.⁴⁰ Staunch segregationists, disappointed in the Republicans settled for a strong voice in party platforms and returned to

⁴⁰ Free or "uncommitted" electors were on the ballot with the idea that they could decide to cast their votes for either candidate and possibly throw a close election into the House of Representatives. The effort failed and the free electors chosen only in Alabama (8), Oklahoma (1), and Mississippi (6) cast their 15 votes for Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr.

the Democratic party.⁴¹ The Democrats made substantial gains among black voters. In Charles City County (83.3 percent non-white population) the Democrats gained 45.7 percent of the vote over 1956.

The 1960 Presidential election was competitive in both urban and rural areas. Republicans garnered 52.7 percent of the vote in metropolitan areas and 50.5 percent of the vote in Non-metropolitan counties in Virginia.⁴²

Encouraged by the return of many supporters in the 1960 Presidential election, the Democrats mounted an active campaign in Virginia in 1964. Governor Harrison and Lieutenant Governor Godwin, both Southside conservatives, openly supported the national ticket in a movement for party unity. In addition, Sidney Kellam, a long time associate of Senator Byrd, was appointed manager of the Johnson-Humphrey campaign. The Democrats won 53.5% of the vote in Virginia and carried the state for the first time since the Truman election in 1948.

⁴¹O. Douglas Weeks, "The South in National Politics," Journal of Politics (February, 1964):235.

⁴²These figures exclude the vote in the traditionally Republican counties. Bernard Cosman "Presidential Republicanism in the South, 1960," Journal of Politics 24 (1962): 306.

The Democrats won 58 percent of the counties and 80 percent of the cities in Virginia. Johnson amassed large majorities in the urban areas. In addition, Republican strength in the City of Richmond, Henrico, and Chesterfield was seriously reduced.

Traditionally Democratic Southside defected in the 1964 Presidential election to the Goldwater side. Johnson's support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was enough for the Southside segregationist to desert the Democrats in 1964. Coupled with the conservative appeal of Goldwater this result is not surprising.

With the passage of the 24th amendment to the Constitution, the Poll Tax was outlawed. Thus in 1964, the number of voters in Virginia increased substantially. This increased voter participation occurred in the urban areas of the state where the Democrats built the majorities leading to their victory.⁴³

Black voters overwhelmingly supported the Democratic candidate. Black precincts in Virginia cast over 90 percent of their votes for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket.⁴⁴ These

⁴³Ralph Eisenberg, "The 1964 Presidential Election in Virginia: A Political Omen?," University of Virginia Newsletter 41 (April 15, 1965):30.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 33.

majorities greatly added to the urban support for the Democrats.

The 1964 Johnson campaign created a Democratic coalition of moderates, liberals and black votes which was to permanently change Virginia politics in the 1960's. Party competition was firmly established at the Presidential level by 1964.

The significance of the urban vote cannot be underestimated. As was stated earlier, fifty-one percent of the states population lives in the Metropolitan areas while an additional 7.7 percent live in urban areas. It is therefore necessary for candidates to win urban votes in order to win elections. However, this does not tell us much about the level of competition at the local level. Instead urban voting strength is measured. It is therefore necessary to look at the interests which established new bases for political competition.

By 1968, however, the Democrats faced serious problems. In the South they were identified with the Black revolution.⁴⁵ In the North growing dissatisfaction with Administration policies in Vietnam eroded their support. Consequently, the Republicans faced their greatest

⁴⁵Kevin Phillips, The Emerging Republican Majority (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1969):33.

challenge in the South from the American Independent Party candidate, George Wallace.

Fearful of loss of conservative support, the Republicans sought white segregationist support by indicating that the Nixon administration would move to slow down integration. Nixon himself made no overt racist statements, however, he indicated that it was inappropriate for the Federal government to withhold funds from school districts who refused to desegregate.⁴⁶ Such a strategy was particularly sensible since many poor whites in the South registered to vote in an effort to offset the effect of new black voters.⁴⁷ The number of votes cast in Virginia in 1968 was 1,361,491, the highest in history.

The Democrats failed to carry any of the Southern states. AIP candidate Wallace and Republican Nixon together garnered nearly 80 percent of the Southern vote. In Virginia, the AIP received 23.6 percent of the vote, the Democrats received 32.5 percent, and the Republicans carried the state with 43.4 percent of the vote. The Republicans garnered pluralities in 65 percent of the counties and 74 percent of the cities. Nixon majorities were in the

⁴⁶Reg Murphy and Hal Gulliver, The Southern Strategy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971):23.

⁴⁷Phillips, p. 206.

traditional Republican areas of the Virginia valley and in suburban Richmond. He won pluralities in Virginia Beach, Southwest Virginia, Northern Virginia and Tidewater.

Hubert Humphrey the Democratic nominee received pluralities in only 16 counties and 9 cities including most of the largest cities in Virginia. The Democrats overwhelming support among black voters increased their city pluralities.⁴⁸

Wallace gathered votes in the South from both traditional Republicans and traditional Democratic voters.⁴⁹ In Virginia he won pluralities in Southside and the City of Chesapeake. Support among Southside conservatives was expected. However, Wallace received surprising support in the Tidewater cities, cutting down the Democratic pluralities.

In the 1968 election three strong candidates divided the votes in Virginia's counties and cities. The high level of competition is reflected by the fact that candidates won majorities in only 24 counties and 13 cities.

⁴⁸Ralph Eisenberg, "The 1968 Election in Virginia: Voting Patterns and Party Competition," University of Virginia Newsletter 45 (June 15, 1969):39; Phillips, p. 267.

⁴⁹Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, "The Wallace Whitewash," Trans-Action (December 1969):26.

In both urban and rural areas all three candidates garnered support from different segments of the population. Conservatives supported Wallace and Nixon, moderates supported Humphrey and Nixon, and blacks supported Humphrey. Thus the growth of interparty competition was supported by a growing multiplicity of groups due to new voters and greater participation by the electorate in general.

The 1972 election was an overwhelming victory for the Republican party. The Democrats won electoral votes in Massachusetts and Washington, D.C. only. In Virginia Republican Richard Nixon received 68 percent of the vote compared to Democrat McGovern's 30 percent. McGovern, the choice of the liberal minority faction of the party, failed to find support among moderates. Nixon garnered support from both urban and rural areas.

B. Gubernatorial Elections

An analysis of Gubernatorial elections is descriptive of state party politics. The overall mean index of competition .2388 for Gubernatorial elections revealed that most contests were not consistently contested at the county level. The distribution of mean indices of competition by ecological category and level of competition is given in Table 8.

The percentage of consistently competitive counties

Table 8

Distribution of Counties and Cities by

Ecological Categories and Pattern

of Competition for Gubernatorial Elections

Ecological Category	Number	High Competition		$\bar{x} \pm S.D.$		Low Competition	
		$\bar{x} - 1 S.D.$ < .1373 N	%	$\bar{x} \pm S.D.$.1373 - .3403 N	%	$\bar{x} + 1 S.D.$ > .3403 N	%
All	126	25	19.8	78	61.9	23	18.3
Metro	19	5	26.3	12	63.2	2	10.5
Urban	19	4	21.1	14	73.7	1	5.3
Rurban	24	8	33.3	13	54.2	3	12.5
Rural	64	8	12.5	39	60.9	17	26.5

in metro areas and urban areas outweighed the percentage in rural areas by a 2 to 1 margin. Almost one-third of the rural areas fell into the high competitive category.

When the distribution was divided into two separate distributions an interesting pattern was revealed. Table 9 describes the three distributions of Gubernatorial indices of competition.

Table 9
Mean and Standard Deviation of
Distribution of Mean Indices of Competition
for Gubernatorial Elections

Distribution	Mean	Standard Deviation
Gubernatorial Elections (1957-1973)	.2388	.1015
Gubernatorial Elections (1957-1961)	.3781	.2035
Gubernatorial Elections (1965-1973)	.1479	.0720

The earlier Gubernatorial elections were much less competitive although there was large variation among the individual counties and cities. The later Gubernatorial elections 1965, 1969 and 1973 were significantly more

competitive with less variation among the individual counties and cities. Table 10 details the distribution of mean indices of competition for the two time periods by ecological category and level of competition. During the earlier time period a similar percentage of consistently high competitive areas was found among the ecological categories. A greater spread is found in the mean indices of competition among the counties and cities of the urban and rural areas.

Although the percentage of counties and cities at the high competition level ($x - 1SD$) decreased for all categories the shift in the mean index of competition from .3781 to .1479 indicates that overall competition increased. The percentage of metro and urban counties at the high level of competition clearly outweighed the percentage of rural counties at this level. The metro areas showed greater variation than the other ecological categories. This data indicated that during this time period inter-party competition developed in Gubernatorial elections.

An examination of the mean indices of competition for each of the five Gubernatorial elections by ecological category confirmed the previous findings. (Table 11) Competition was very low in the 1957 Gubernatorial election. In 1961 the Metro areas showed a greater amount of competition

Table 10

Distribution of Counties and Cities by Ecological Categories and Pattern of Competition

Ecological Category	Number of Counties and Cities	Gubernatorial Elections 1957-1961				Gubernatorial Elections 1965-1973							
		High Com- petition < $\bar{x} - 1$ S.D. < .1746	$\bar{x} \pm 1$ S.D. .1746-.5816	Low Com- petition > $\bar{x} + 1$ S.D. > .5816		High Com- petition < $\bar{x} - 1$ S.D. < .0759	$\bar{x} \pm 1$ S.D. .0759-.2199	Low Com- petition > $\bar{x} + 1$ S.D. > .2199					
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%				
All	126	33	26.2	69	54.8	24	19.0	19	15.1	86	68.3	21	16.7
Metro	19	5	26.3	14	73.7	0	0.0	4	21.1	10	52.6	5	26.4
Urban	19	5	26.3	14	73.7	0	0.0	4	21.1	13	68.4	2	10.5
Rurban	24	7	29.2	12	50.0	5	20.8	4	16.7	18	75.0	2	8.3
Rural	64	16	25.0	29	45.3	19	29.7	7	10.9	45	70.3	12	18.8

than other areas although the mean index of competition was still high. In 1965 all of the areas showed a greater degree of competition, a pattern which was carried through in the 1969 and 1973 elections.

Table 11

Mean Index of Competition for Gubernatorial
Elections 1957-1973 by Ecological Category

Ecological Category	1957	1961	1965	1969	1973
Metro	.3675	.2822	.1557	.1308	.1760
Urban	.2634	.3478	.1717	.1072	.1445
Rurban	.3525	.3843	.1512	.0941	.1062
Rural	.4128	.4280	.2122	.1386	.1290

The indices of competition for each election by county were classified into categories of low competition ($> .2000$), moderate competition ($.1000-.2000$) and high competition ($< .1000$). Table 12 illustrates the distribution of counties and cities by ecological category and level of competition for each election. The patterns revealed by the mean indices of competition are supported when the data is viewed in this manner. By 1965 a large proportion of the counties in each ecological category were truly competitive

Table 12
 Number and Percent of Counties and Cities at Each
 Level of Competition by Ecological Category for Each
 Gubernatorial Election

Ecological Category	Level of Competition	1957		1961		1965		1969		1973	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Metro	High	3	15.8	4	21.1	9	47.4	8	42.1	9	47.4
	Medium	4	21.1	3	15.8	2	10.5	8	42.1	4	21.1
	Low	12	63.2	12	63.2	8	42.1	3	15.8	6	31.6
Urban	High	3	15.8	2	10.5	7	36.8	10	52.6	10	52.6
	Medium	3	15.8	0	0.0	3	15.8	5	26.3	2	10.5
	Low	13	68.4	17	89.5	9	47.4	4	15.8	7	36.8
Rurban	High	5	20.8	3	12.5	9	37.5	16	66.7	14	58.3
	Medium	4	16.7	3	12.5	9	37.5	6	25.0	6	25.0
	Low	15	62.5	18	75.0	6	25.0	2	8.3	4	16.7
Rural	High	8	12.5	6	9.4	14	21.9	31	48.4	32	50.0
	Medium	5	7.8	9	14.1	20	31.3	14	21.9	18	28.1
	Low	51	79.7	49	76.6	30	46.9	19	29.7	14	21.9

in Gubernatorial elections. The growth in the percentage of highly competitive counties is illustrated graphically in Figure 2.

In the 1957 Gubernatorial election in Virginia, the race issue was uppermost in the minds of voters. The Democratic party nominated J. Lindsay Almond, until recently a staunch supporter of Harry F. Byrd. Almond had actively campaigned for Byrd in his 1925 Gubernatorial campaign. Byrd awarded Almond with a judgeship. However, Almond was not supportive of the movement for massive resistance and thereby alienated Byrd. The Democrats realized that they could not afford tension in the party. The Republicans had done fairly well in 1953 and had won in the 1956 Presidential election. Almond therefore conceded to a segregationist position, uniting the Democratic forces.⁵⁰

Ted Dalton, Almond's opponent attacked Massive Resistance and the Pupil Placement Laws. Shortly before the election President Eisenhower ordered troops to Little Rock and solidified the support for Almond. In November J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. was elected by a large margin representing yet another victory for the Byrd organization.

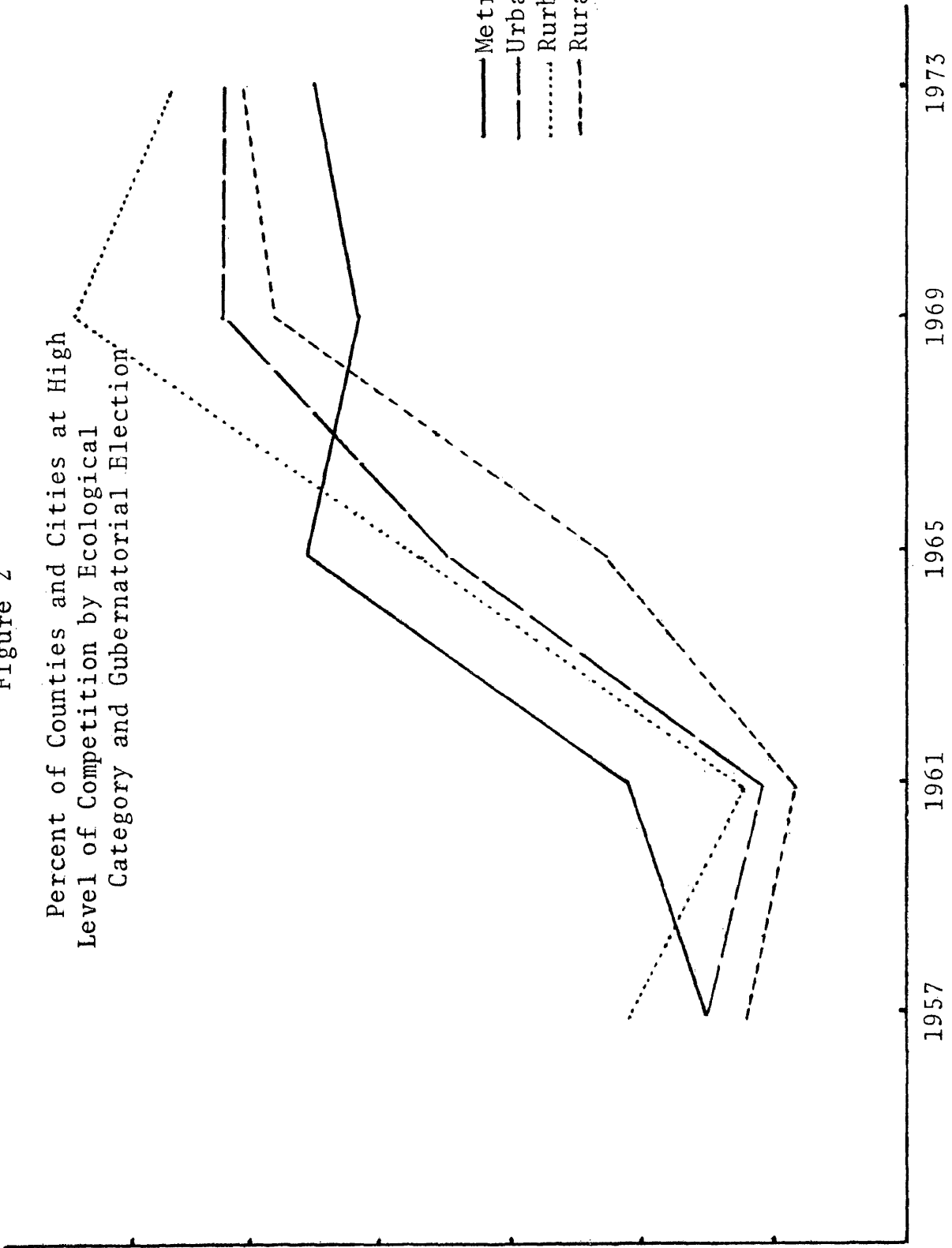
⁵⁰J. Harvie Wilkerson, Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics (Charlottesville, Virginia, The University Press of Virginia, 1968):137.

Figure 2

Percent of Counties and Cities at High Level of Competition by Ecological Category and Gubernatorial Election

Percent of Counties at High Competition Level by Ecological Category

- Metro
- - - Urban
- Rurban
- - - Rural



Fearful of possible Republican resurgence and urban growth the Democrats united their support behind Albertis S. Harrison in 1961. Having maintained a neutral course as Attorney General during massive resistance, Harrison appealed to conservatives and moderates. Only staunch segregationists were alienated by Harrison's stance.

Harrison's running mates were Mills Godwin and Robert Button. Harrison won handily despite the lack of support from blacks, labor, liberals and many urban voters.⁵¹ As in the 1957 election, the Democrats amassed large majorities in the 1961 election.

The 1965 election was distinctly different from the previous Gubernatorial elections. The Democratic nomination was not contested. The Republicans nominated a moderate, Linwood Holton. Alienated conservatives in Southside started the Virginia Conservative Party and nominated their own candidate, William J. Story.

The Democratic candidate Mills Godwin, realizing the need for support from moderate and liberal elements of the party, indicated that his governorship would be more liberal than past administrations.⁵² This election

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 238.

⁵² Ralph Eisenberg, "Gubernatorial Politics in Virginia: The Experience of 1965," The University of Virginia Newsletter 45 (March 15, 1969):26.

confirmed that Southside votes were not needed for victory. The imprint of 1964 was clear. The Republicans had reduced margins in the North and failed to capture the Black vote. The Democrats garnered large majorities in the urban areas. Godwin won the election with less than a majority of the vote for the first time in 80 years.⁵³ Interparty competition had come to Gubernatorial elections.

In 1969 the Democrats were badly split. The Byrd organization, having lost its leader, was considerably weakened. In the summer of 1969 two primaries were held. In the first primary, no Gubernatorial candidate was selected and the organization candidate was eliminated. The August primary pitted the liberal and moderate candidates against each other. Henry Howell, the liberal candidate, garnered his support in the urban areas and among Black voters. Howell won all cities except Roanoke. William Battle won the August primary and the nomination by garnering significant majorities in the North and Southwest areas. In the end, the primaries resulted in the defeat of all organization candidates for the three state-wide offices.

The Republicans again nominated Linwood Holton. The

⁵³ Ibid.

success of 1968 encouraged the Republicans and combined with the dissenting Democrats led to their victory for the State House for the first time in almost a century. The increased electorate was largely responsible for the victory. Holton amassed votes in Tidewater and Southside areas of traditional Democratic support. However the importance of Holton's victory lay in his ability to attract significant numbers of urban voters. In addition he garnered support from Northern Virginia, Chesterfield, and Henrico. Battle's support in the Black precincts totalled only 61.3 percent, considerably less than Democratic candidates in the past few years.⁵⁴

Democrats J. Sargent Reynolds and Andrew Miller won the Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General contests, respectively. This two-partyism indicates again that party competition had arrived at the state level.

The 1973 election continued the trend toward inter-party competition. Two familiar names appeared on the ballot. However their party affiliations had changed. Henry Howell, closely defeated in the second Democratic Primary in 1969 and elected Lt. Governor in a special

⁵⁴Ralph Eisenberg, "1969 Politics in Virginia: The General Election," University of Virginia Newsletter 46 (May 15, 1970):36.

election following the death of J. Sargent Reynolds, was the independent nominee. Former Democratic Governor Mills Godwin was the Republican nominee. Howell amassed large margins in Tidewater and in the Black precincts of the state while Godwin captured the rest of the state by a slim percentage. Godwin won the election by less than 1.4 percent of the vote.

C. Senatorial Elections

The patterns of competition in Senatorial elections are particularly revealing in the analysis of Interparty competition in Virginia because of the presence of Senator Harry F. Byrd. In the seven Senatorial elections in which levels of competition were analyzed Senator Byrd Sr. was elected two times, his son Harry F. Byrd, Jr. was elected twice and a Byrd machine candidate was elected one time.

During the period 1958 - 1972 the Senatorial elections were the least competitive of the three categories of elections under study with a mean index of competition of .3686 and a standard deviation of .1020. Table 13 details the distribution of mean indices of competition by ecological category and level of competition. Although a greater proportion of metro areas fell into the higher competition level ($< .2666$) no counties or cities could

Table 13

Distribution of Counties and Cities by Ecological
Category and Pattern of Competition
For Senatorial Elections

Ecological Category	Number	High Competition		Low Competition	
		$\bar{x} - 1 \text{ S.D.}$ < .2666 N	%	$\bar{x} + 1 \text{ S.D.}$ > .4706 N	%
All	126	23	18.3	77	61.1
Metro	19	4	21.1	13	68.4
Urban	19	1	5.3	17	89.5
Rurban	24	7	29.2	14	58.3
Rural	64	11	17.2	33	51.2
				26	20.6
				2	10.5
				1	5.3
				3	12.5
				20	31.2

truly be considered as consistently competitive in these Senatorial elections. The counties and cities in the metro areas and urban areas showed a smaller variation in mean index of competition than the urban and rural areas.

When the distribution was divided into two distributions the trend toward interparty competition exhibited by analysis of the Presidential and Gubernatorial elections is again evident. (Table 14) The average winning margin in the Senatorial elections from 1958-1964 was 55 percent of the vote as shown by a mean of .5561. There was no competition. Clear evidence of interparty competition was shown in the second time period. Table 15 describes the distribution of mean indices of competition for the two time periods under study.

Table 14
Mean and Standard Deviation of Distribution
of Mean Indices of Competition for
Senatorial Elections

Distribution	Mean	Standard Deviation
Senatorial Elections (1958-1972)	.3686	.1020
Senatorial Elections (1958-1964)	.5561	.1311
Senatorial Elections (1966-1972)	.2319	.1000

Table 15

Distribution of Counties and Cities by Ecological Categories and Pattern of Competition

Ecological Category	Number of Counties and Cities	Senatorial Elections 1958-1964				Senatorial Elections 1966-1972			
		High Com- petition < $\bar{x} - 1$ S.D. < .4250	$\bar{x} \pm 1$ S.D. .4250-.6872	Low Com- petition $\bar{x} + 1$ S.D. > .6872	N	High Com- petition < $\bar{x} - 1$ S.D. < .1319	$\bar{x} \pm 1$ S.D. .1319-.3319	Low Com- petition > $\bar{x} + 1$ S.D. > .3319	N
All	126	24	80	22	22	85	19	19	
Metro	19	4	15	0	2	14	3	3	
Urban	19	1	17	1	3	15	1	1	
Rurban	24	6	15	3	8	13	3	3	
Rural	64	13	33	18	9	43	12	12	

From 1958 to 1964 the proportion of counties and cities at the high competition level of the distribution was similar in all ecological categories. However, the term "high competition" is relative to this distribution of mean indices of competition in all counties. Thus the "high competition" areas are more competitive than other areas, but in this distribution no areas are consistently competitive.

The latter group of Senatorial elections, 1966 to 1972, showed a different pattern. During this time period, true interparty competition developed at this electoral level. The rural areas were predominant in the high competition category.

The Senatorial elections were analyzed individually in order to examine the trend toward interparty competition. The mean index of competition for each election and each ecological category is shown in Table 16. No competition was evident for the 1958, 1960 and 1964 elections in any ecological category. In 1966 this pattern changed drastically. The 1966 elections both showed greater competition. The special election in 1966 was more competitive than the regular election.

The indices of competition were classified into categories of competition as described previously for

Table 16

Mean Index of Competition for

Senatorial Elections 1958-1972 by

Ecological Category

Ecological Category	1958	1960	1964	1966	1966 (Special Election)	1970	1972
Metro	.3926	.6946	.4560	.2647	.1732	.2761	.1714
Urban	.4106	.6847	.4784	.2695	.2370	.3075	.1224
Rurban	.5450	.6587	.4168	.2230	.1956	.2552	.1308
Rural	.5751	.6500	.4673	.2981	.2126	.2936	.1656

Presidential and Gubernatorial elections. An index of less than .1000 was classified as high competition, .1000 - .2000 as moderate competition, and an index of greater than .2000 low competition. Table 17 illustrates this classification. It is clear from this view of the data that no competition existed in the 1958, 1960 and 1964 elections. In the 1966, 1970 and 1972 elections a growing number of counties and cities exhibited high levels of competition. These competitive areas were distributed among the ecological areas fairly evenly. The distribution of high competitive areas by ecological areas is illustrated graphically in Figure 3. The growing number of competitive areas is evident. It is also clear that the growing competition took place simultaneously in all ecological categories.

In the 1958 and 1960 Senatorial campaigns the Democratic incumbents faced only minor opposition. The 1958 election came in the middle of the movement for Massive Resistance. Massive Resistance had been the saving grace for the Byrd organization which was experiencing strong competition from other factions in the Democratic party. Byrd won 70.0 percent of the vote. Much to his surprise, Byrd received support from the CIO in Norfolk.⁵⁵ At this point Byrd was

⁵⁵Wilkerson, p. 153.

Table 17

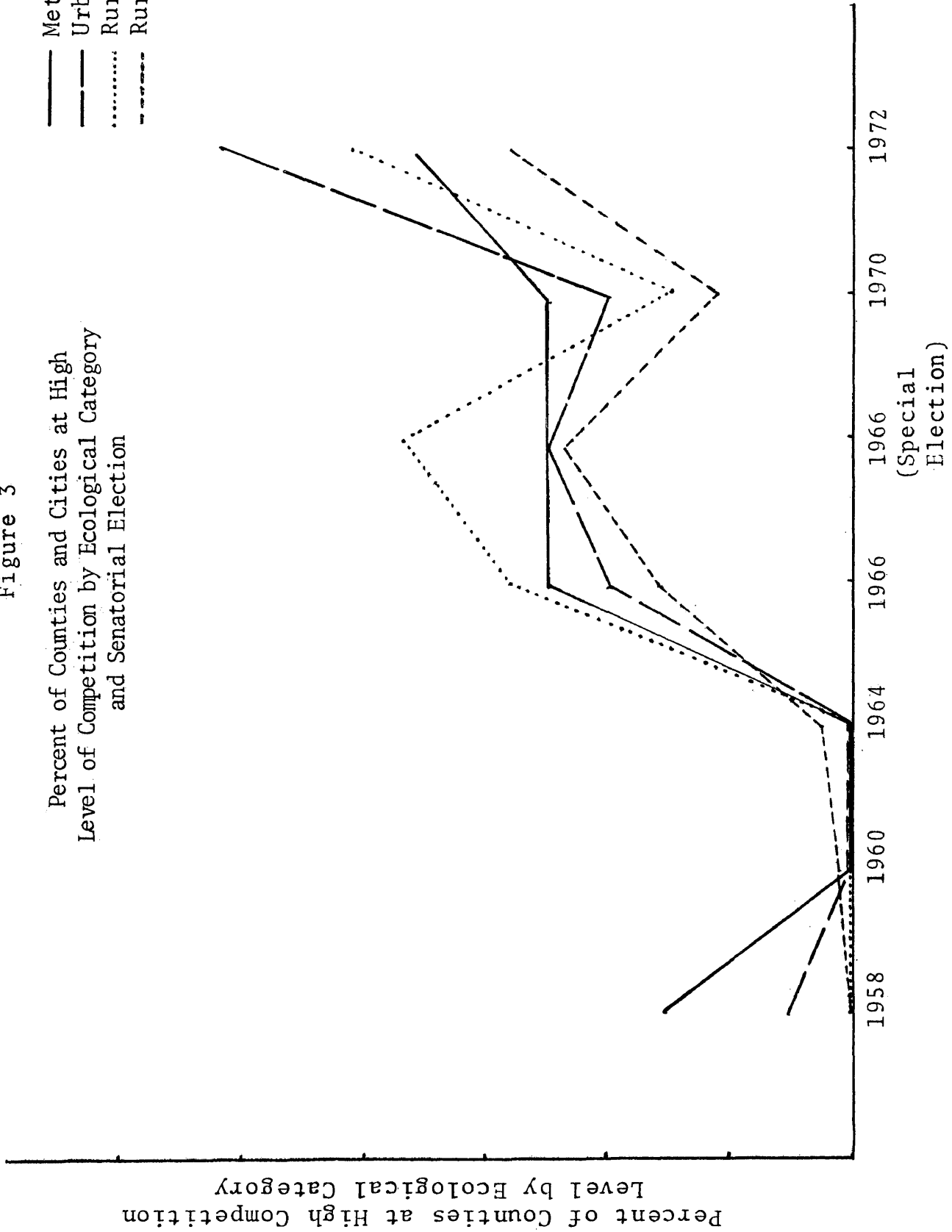
Number and Percent of Counties and Cities at Each
Level of Competition by Ecological Category for Each
Senatorial Election

Ecological Category	Level of Competition	1958		1960		1964		1966		1966 Special		1970		1972	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Metro	High	3	15.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	26.3	5	26.3	5	26.3	7	36.8
	Medium	1	5.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	10.5	5	26.3	5	26.3	5	26.3
	Low	15	78.9	19	100.0	19	100.0	12	63.2	9	47.4	9	47.4	7	36.8
Urban	High	1	5.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	21.1	5	26.3	4	21.1	10	52.6
	Medium	1	5.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	10.5	4	21.1	3	15.8	5	26.3
	Low	17	89.5	19	100.0	19	100.0	13	68.4	10	52.6	12	63.2	4	21.1
Rurban	High	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	29.2	9	37.5	4	16.7	10	41.7
	Medium	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	8.3	4	16.7	4	16.7	8	33.3	11	45.8
	Low	24	100.0	24	100.0	22	91.7	13	54.2	11	45.8	12	50.0	3	12.5
Rural	High	0	0.0	1	1.6	2	3.1	10	15.6	16	25.0	8	12.5	19	29.7
	Medium	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	4.7	10	15.6	18	28.1	14	21.9	20	31.3
	Low	64	100.0	63	98.4	59	92.2	44	68.8	30	46.9	42	65.6	25	39.1

Figure 3

Percent of Counties and Cities at High Level of Competition by Ecological Category and Senatorial Election

- Metro
- Urban
- Rural
- - - - Rural



Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, a position Virginians did not wish to lose.

Although the Republicans were able to win Virginia's electoral votes in the 1952 and 1956 elections they were unable to build an effective state organization and attract candidates. The desperation of their efforts to get an opponent for A. Willis Robertson was well expressed in the Richmond Times Dispatch in June of 1954,

Republican notice - Urgent! Need candidate for United States Senate. Prefer man able to juggle issues deftly with flair for catching votes from both parties, both sexes. Experience unnecessary. Working capital of at least \$100,000 advisable but will consider less. Make us an offer. Apply Republican State Convention. Roanoke July 17.⁵⁶

A. Willis Robertson, a loyal organization man, won reelection in 1960 receiving 81.2 percent of the vote. In 1959, Robertson became Chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Although the Republicans were able to win the Virginia electoral votes in 1960, they were still unable to form an effective state organization.

In 1964 Senator Byrd ran for reelection and won 63.8 percent of the vote. He was opposed by six candidates including a Republican, Richard A. May. May captured 19.1 percent of the vote. Byrd did equally well in cities and

⁵⁶Richmond Times Dispatch, June 4, 1954 as quoted in Wilkerson, p. 213.

counties with 62.7 percent and 64.5 percent of the vote, respectively.

By 1966 the electorate was significantly enlarged. Black areas were no longer safe for conservatives seeking the "backlash" vote. Black voters were making a significant impact in these areas. The coalition of blacks, labor, and urban voters presented a serious challenge to the Byrd organization.

Two senatorial races were held. Senator Robertson was up for reelection and Senator Byrd resigned leaving four years of his term to be filled. William Spong defeated Senator Robertson in the July Democratic primary to capture the Democratic nomination. Harry Byrd, Jr. won the nomination as the Democratic candidate for the special election to fill his father's vacated seat.

The Republican effort to structure a state organization continued. Republicans nominated their Senatorial candidates in convention. The Conservative Party also nominated candidates.

Senator Spong won the election with 58.6 percent of the vote with majorities in 70 counties and 29 cities. A moderate, he was backed by a liberal and conservative coalition of Democrats, similar to the 1964 Johnson coalition. Although he lost in the Valley of Virginia and the Southwest,

traditional Republican areas, Spong built up sizeable margins in Northern Virginia, Tidewater and Southside.

Senator Byrd won 53.3% of the vote with majorities in 63 counties and 29 cities. Byrd did poorly in areas that had traditionally supported the Organization. In Southside he lost black support while white voters supported the Conservative candidate.

Republican candidates amassed 33.5 percent of the vote in the regular election and 37.4 percent in the special election. Although their showing was poor compared with the 1965 Gubernatorial contest, they had made significant gains at the Senatorial level.

In 1970 Harry F. Byrd, Jr. ran for reelection to a full term. Despite his choice to run as an Independent and oppose candidates from the two major parties, Byrd won a majority of the votes. This election confirmed that voters in Virginia were willing to disregard party label in choosing candidates.

George Rawlings won the Democratic primary after a low turnout. In the election, Rawlings won 32 percent of the vote with over 90 percent of the vote in Black precincts. However a large number of black voters who had been active in the primary failed to turn out for the election. The Republican candidate, Ray Garland, won

only 16 percent of the vote. Strife in the party, financial problems and lack of support from the President were blamed for his poor showing.

Senator Byrd was able to put together a coalition of Democrats, moderate and conservative Republicans to win majorities in all of the state's large cities except Northern Virginia and Norfolk. In Northern Virginia, Byrd won a plurality.

The elections of 1970 represented a move to the right. In addition to Byrd, 9 of the 10 contests for the House of Representatives in Virginia were won by conservatives. The vigorous stand against busing by the conservative candidates was extremely impressive to voters. For the first time since reconstruction Republicans outweighed the Democrats in Virginia's Congressional delegation. In this election it was clear that party loyalty had been seriously weakened.

Nineteen seventy two was a bad year for Democrats, generally. The liberal stance of the National party could not be ignored. Democrat William Spong was defeated in a close contest by William Scott by less than 6 percent of the vote. Scott, a Republican, had represented the eighth district in Congress since 1966. Spong did well in the cities but his majorities were not enough to win him

reelection.

D. General Comments

The study results indicate that interparty competition developed in Virginia during the time period 1956-1973. However, the positive relationship between this growth and the degree of urbanization does not hold. An investigation into the theoretical background of the relationship between the two variables, in addition to the methodological limitations of this study, may reveal why the hypothesis is not supported.

True party competition evolves when two or more parties develop stable political bases. The diversity of the interests in urban areas provide a fertile ground for the growth of new political interests. Because urban areas generally offer greater employment opportunities, they attract a variety of economic, educational and social levels. For this reason, it was hypothesized that urbanization and interparty competition are positively related. The phenomenon of urban republicanism in the South, which was evidenced in the Presidential election of 1952 gave further support to this hypothesis. However, the pattern of the 1952 and 1956 Presidential elections did not provide the stable base needed for political competition at the statewide

level.

The increasing participation of black voters caused new alignment in both parties. Conservatives in both urban and rural areas joined with traditional Democrats and Republicans while the Blacks joined with moderate and liberal voters.

The nature of the political competition that developed over this time period in Virginia and which permeated the national and state contests involved the development of new coalitions of voters. One coalition of blacks, who were newly entered into the electorate, combined with moderates and liberals to form a stable base of support for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket in 1964. The coalition challenged the established party causing weakness in the Democratic party and a shift to a more central ideological position. This coalition carried through to the 1965 Gubernatorial election. Conservative voters joined with traditional Republicans. Both of these coalitions were statewide in nature and therefore could not be related to the urban character of an area.

The nature of the coalitions leads to the suspicion that interparty competition is related to other socio-economic variables. Migration into the state, particularly in the North was considerable and formed a strong

part of the new Democratic coalition. In addition, the movement away from agrarianism and the growth of new industry brought many new voters into various areas around the state.

As the results indicate interparty competition developed at the Presidential, Gubernatorial and Senatorial level in Virginia during this time period. A number of socio-economic changes took place in the South during this period which have been related to the growth of interparty competition and should be mentioned. During the 1940's many industries recognized the valuable labor supply in the South and located there.⁵⁷ The South as a whole was further assimilated into the United States losing much of its cultural and political uniqueness. McKinney and Bourque divided these changes in the South into five areas, urbanization, industrialization, occupation redistribution, income and education.⁵⁸

Between 1950 and 1960 significant migration from the rural areas to the urban areas took place. In 1950, 44

⁵⁷ William H. Nicholls, "The South as a Developing Area," Journal of Politics 26 (February 1964):25.

⁵⁸ John C. McKinney and Linda Brookover Bourque, "The Changing South: National Incorporation of a Region," American Sociological Review 36 (June 1971):399-412.

percent of the population of the South was urban while by 1960 this percentage had increased to 58 percent. In Virginia, migration towards the cities continued through the 1960's. Between 1960 and 1970 net migration into Virginia's SMSA's increased at a rate of 12.3 percent while the rest of the state experienced a 5.3 percent decrease.⁵⁹ This movement toward the city increased the value of urban votes to candidates. In the foregoing discussion of Presidential, Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections, winning candidates consistently demonstrated the ability to win urban votes.

Accompanying this physical relocation, was a redistribution of the labor force from agriculture to manufacturing. Between 1950 and 1960, 46.7 percent of the agricultural labor force of the South left farming for other work, while over the same period the industrial labor force increased by 32.3 percent. In Virginia, agriculture experienced a 40.6 percent decline while manufacturing rose 27.2 percent. The growth of industrialization and occupation redistribution have been related to the growth of interparty competition.⁶⁰

⁵⁹William J. Serow, "Population Change in Virginia, 1960-1970," The University of Virginia Newsletter 47 (May 15, 1971):36.

⁶⁰Masters and Wright, p. 1087.

Accompanying occupational redistribution is the growth of per capita income. The relationship between income and party identification is well documented.⁶¹ In the South Orum and McCranie found that Democratic voters were in lower socioeconomic groups and were economically dissatisfied.⁶² Republicans came mainly from higher socio-economic groups. This parallels the National picture.

In addition movement away from an agriculturally based economy is movement away from income inequality. Dye has stated that inequality is associated with ruralism, agriculture, and low education.⁶³ Such inequality results in less competition on the state level and more Democratic voting.⁶⁴ Thus the movement away from income inequality is a movement toward a more competitive state.

In addition to socio-economic factors, the enlargement

⁶¹Key, Politics Parties and Pressure Groups, p. 252; Thomas R. Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public: Policy Outcomes in the American States (Chicago, Rand McNally and Co., 1966):54.

⁶²Anthony M. Orum and Edward W. McCranie, "Class, Tradition, and Partisan Alignments in a Southern Urban Electorate," Journal of Politics 32 (February 1970:158-59).

⁶³Thomas R. Dye, "Income Inequality and American State Politics," American Political Science Review 63 (March 1969:158).

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 161.

of the electorate during this time period provided a condition conducive to political party competition. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Blacks entered the electorate in increasing numbers. After the New Deal years, they supported the Democratic party, on the Presidential level. On the state level in Virginia, the blacks initially supported the Republican candidates. However as the Democrats moved to a more moderate position, they were able to garner black support. Analysis of black voting patterns is beyond the scope of this study, however, the impact of the Black vote in individual elections is clear. Indeed the black voters in joining labor, moderates, and urbanites were able to contribute to the demise of the Byrd machine.

A methodological note concerning the definition of urbanization in this study is needed. The definition was adapted from the U.S. Bureau of the Census and has been used in many other studies. However, this study attempts to measure growth of interparty competition as related to urbanization and therefore a more dynamic definition of urbanization would be a methodological improvement.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

An analysis of the relationship between interparty competition and urbanization in Virginia's Presidential, Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections was carried out for the period 1956-1973. As expected, different results were found for the different election types.

Presidential elections were found to be the most competitive of the three types during the time period. However, a trend toward a more noncompetitive, Republican dominated system was noted. No relationship was found between urbanization and interparty competition for Presidential elections.

Both Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections showed a trend toward greater competition during the time period. The development of competition was paralleled in all areas. It was further noted that the competition developed earlier in the metropolitan areas for Gubernatorial elections. A larger proportion of the metropolitan areas than rural areas were highly competitive for Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections which supports the hypothesis that urbanization is positively related to interparty competition.

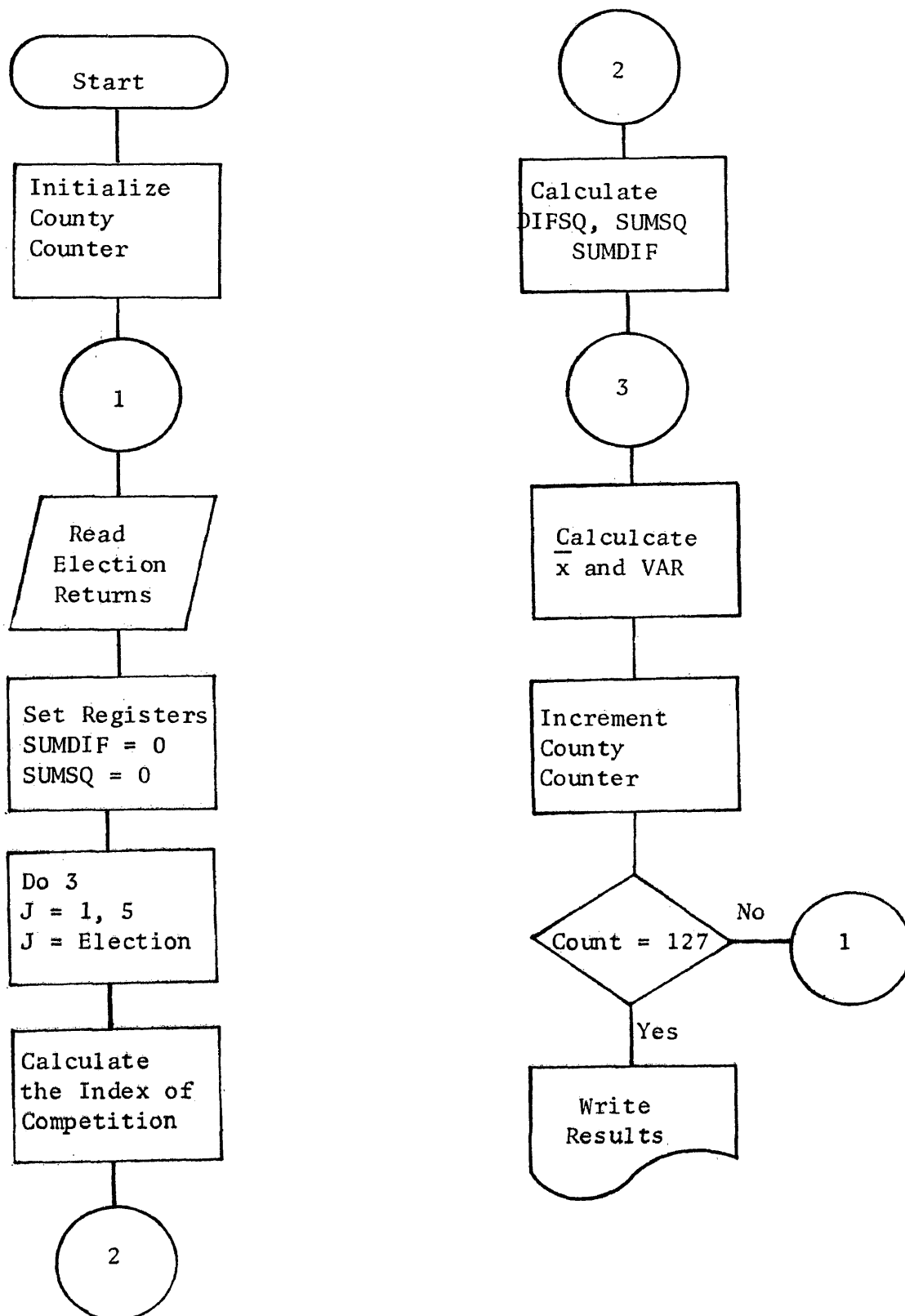
The Index of Competition which was developed here was further supported by the parallel between its

quantitative measurement of the level of competition and knowledge of the politics of the elections involved. Furthermore, the index was statistically manipulatable allowing for a variety of assessments including trend.

The results suggest that the relationship between interparty competition and a number of other socio-economic measures, both separate from and associated with urbanization, should be investigated in future studies of the growth of interparty competition in Virginia.

APPENDIX A

Logic Flow Chart for Program to Compute Measures of Party Competition



APPENDIX A (continued)

This program is designed to compute data for five Presidential Elections, but is readily adaptable to any number of elections, or election type.

```

C      PROGRAM TO COMPUTE INDEX OF COMPETITION FOR
      PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
C
C
      DIMENSION DIFF(126,5),XBAR(126),TABLE(5,3)
      INTEGER COUNT
      COUNT = 1
C      COMPUTING THE INDEX OF COMPETITION FOR EACH ELEC-
C      TION BY COUNTY
      1  READ(50,10) ((TABLE(J,K),K=1,3),J=1,5)
      10  FORMAT(5X,12F6.0,3X/5X,3F6.0)
      SUMDIF =0.
      SUMSQ =0.
      DO 20 J=1,5
      DIFF(COUNT,J) =ABS((TABLE(J,1)-TABLE(J,2))/TABLE
      1  (J,3))
      DIFSQ =DIFF(COUNT,J)**2.
      SUMSQ = DIFSQ + SUMSQ
      SUMDIF = DIFF(COUNT,J) + SUMDIF
      20  CONTINUE
C      COMPUTING THE MEAN AND VARIANCE BY COUNTY
      XBAR(COUNT) = SUMDIF/5.
      VAR(COUNT = (SUMSQ/5.) - (XBAR(COUNT))**2.
      COUNT = COUNT +1
      IF (COUNT .EQ. 127) GO TO 30
C      WRITING THE RESULTS
      30  WRITE (66, 40)
      40  FORMAT(1H1,40X,"INDEX OF COMPETITION BY COUNTY FOR
      1  PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS",60X,"1956-1972",///,40X,
      2  "COUNTY/CITY",15X,"1956",3X,"1960",3X,"1964",3X,
      3  "1968",3X,"1972")
      DO 60 COUNT =1,126
      WRITE (66,50) COUNT, (DIFF(COUNT,J),J=1,5)
      50  FORMAT(1H0,40X,I3,15X,5(F5.4,2X)
      60  CONTINUE
      WRITE (66,70)

```

```
70   FORMAT(1H1,35X,"MEAN INDEX OF COMPETITION AND
1  VARIANCE BY COUNTY/CITY",//,40X,"COUNTY/CITY",
2  20X,"PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS",//,75X,"MEAN",5X,
3  "VARIANCE")
   DO 90 COUNT=1,126
   WRITE (66,80) COUNT,XBAR(COUNT),VAR(COUNT)
80   FORMAT(1H0,45X,I3,20X,2F5.4,6X))
90   CONTINUE
   STOP
   END
```

APPENDIX B

Listing of Counties and Cities with Identification Code
and Ecological Category

KEY

M = Metro
U = Urban
RR = Rurban
R = Rural

Identification Number	County/City	Ecological Category
001	Accomack	R
002	Albemarle	R
003	Alleghany	R
004	Amelia	R
005	Amherst	M
006	Appomattox	R
007	Arlington	M
008	Augusta	R
009	Bath	R
010	Bedford	RR
011	Bland	R
012	Botetourt	R
013	Brunswick	R
014	Buchanan	R
015	Buckingham	R
016	Campbell	M
017	Caroline	R
018	Carroll	R
019	Charles City	R
020	Charlotte	R
021	Chesterfield & Colonial Heights	M
022	Clarke	R
023	Craig	R
024	Culpeper	R
025	Cumberland	R
026	Dickenson	R
027	Dinwiddie	R
028	Essex	R
029	Fairfax County	M
030	Fauquier	RR
031	Floyd	R
032	Fluvanna	R

Identification Number	County/City	Ecological Category
033	Franklin	R
034	Frederick	R
035	Giles	RR
036	Gloucester	R
037	Goochland	R
038	Grayson	R
039	Greene	R
040	Greensville & Emporia	RR
041	Halifax & South Boston	R
042	Hanover	RR
043	Henrico	M
044	Henry	RR
045	Highland	R
046	Isle of Wight	R
047	James City	R
048	King and Queen	R
049	King George	R
050	King William	R
051	Lancaster	R
052	Lee	R
053	Loudon	RR
054	Louisa	R
055	Lunenburg	R
056	Madison	R
057	Matthews	R
058	Mechlenburg	RR
059	Middlesex	R
060	Montgomery	RR
061	Nansemond	RR
062	Nelson	R
063	New Kent	R
064	Chesapeake	M
065	Northampton	R
066	Northumberland	R
067	Nottoway	RR
068	Orange	RR
069	Page	RR
070	Patrick	R
071	Pittsylvania	R
072	Powhatan	R
073	Prince Edward	RR
074	Prince George	R
075	Prince William	RR
076	Virginia Beach	M

Identification Number	County/City	Ecological Category
077	Pulaski	RR
078	Rappahannock	R
079	Richmond	R
080	Roanoke	M
081	Rockbridge & Lexington	RR
082	Rockingham	R
083	Russell	R
084	Scott	R
085	Shenandoah	R
086	Smyth	RR
087	Southampton & Franklin City	RR
088	Spotsylvania	R
089	Stafford	R
090	Surry	R
091	Sussex	R
092	Tazewell	RR
093	Warren	RR
094	Washington	RR
095	Westmoreland	R
096	Wise	RR
097	Wythe	RR
098	York	M
099	Waynesboro	U
100	Williamsburg	U
101	Alexandria	M
102	Bristol	U
103	Buena Vista	U
104	Charlottesville	U
105	Clifton Forge	U
106	Covington	U
107	Danville	U
108	Falls Church	M
109	Fredericksburg	U
110	Galax	U
111	Hampton	M
112	Harrisonburg	U
113	Hopewell	U
114	Lynchburg	M
115	Martinsville	U
116	Newport News	M
117	Norfolk City	M
118	Norton	U
119	Petersburg	U
120	Portsmouth	M
121	Radford	U
122	Richmond	M

Identification Number	County/City	Ecological Category
123	Roanoke	M
124	Winchester	U
125	Staunton	U
126	Suffolk	U

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Bean, Louis. How to Predict Elections. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948.
- Campbell, Angus; Converse, Philip E.; Miller, Warren E.; and Stokes, Donald E. The American Voter: An Abridgement. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964.
- Dye, Thomas R. Politics, Economics and the Public: Policy Outcomes in the American States. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.
- Heard, Alexander. A Two Party South? Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1952.
- Janda, Kenneth. Data Processing. 2nd Edition. Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1969.
- Key, V. O. American State Politics: An Introduction. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1956.
- _____. Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups. 5th Edition. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964.
- _____. Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Vintage Books, 1949.
- Matthews, Donald R.; and Prothro, James W. Negroes and the New Southern Politics. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966.
- Murphy, Reg; and Gulliver, Hal. The Southern Strategy. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.
- Phillips, Kevin. The Emerging Republican Majority. New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969.
- Schattschneider, E.E. Party Government. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1959.
- Strong, Donald. Urban Republicanism in the South. University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama Press, 1960.

Wilkerson, J. Harvie. Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics: 1945-1966. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968.

Zeller, Belle, ed. American State Legislatures Report of the Committee on American Legislatures, American Political Science Association. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1954.

Journals and Selected Readings

Beck, Paul Allen. "Environment and Party: The Impact of Political and Demographic County Characteristics on Party Behavior," American Political Science Review 68 (September 1974):1229-44.

Burnham, Walter Dean. "Theory and Voting Research: Some Reflections on Converse's Change in the American Electorate," American Political Science Review 68 (September 1974):1002-27.

Bonjean, Charles M.; and Lineberry, Robert L. "The Urbanization-Party Competition Hypothesis: A Comparison of All United States Counties," Journal of Politics 32 (May 1970):305-21.

Converse, Philip. "On the Possibility of Major Political Realignment in the South." In Elections and the Political Order, pp. 212-44. Edited by Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960.

Cosman, Bernard. "Presidential Republicanism in the South, 1960," Journal of Politics 24 (1962):303-22.

Coulter, Philip; and Gordon, Glen. "Urbanization and Party Competition: Critique and Redirection of Theoretical Research," Western Political Quarterly 21 (June 1968):274-87.

Cutright, Phillips. "Urbanization and Competitive Party Politics," Journal of Politics 25 (August 1963): 552-64.

- Dawson, Richard E.; and Robinson, James A. "Interparty Competition, Economic Variables and Welfare Policies in the American States," Journal of Politics 25 (May 1963):265-89.
- Dye, Thomas R. "Income Inequality and American State Politics," American Political Science Review 63 (March 1969):157-62.
- Eisenberg, Ralph. "The 1964 Presidential Election in Virginia: A Political Omen?" The University of Virginia Newsletter 41 (April 15, 1965):29-32.
- _____. "Gubernatorial Politics in Virginia: The Experience of 1965," The University of Virginia Newsletter 45 (March 15, 1969):25-28.
- _____. "1966 Politics in Virginia: The Elections for U.S. Senators," The University of Virginia Newsletter 43 (May 15, 1967):33-36.
- _____. "The 1968 Election in Virginia: Voting Patterns and Party Competition," The University of Virginia Newsletter 45 (June 15, 1969):37-40.
- _____. "1969 Politics in Virginia: The Democratic Party Primary," The University of Virginia Newsletter 46 (February 15, 1970):21-24.
- _____. "1969 Politics in Virginia: The General Election," The University of Virginia Newsletter 46 (May 15, 1970):33-36.
- _____. "The 1970 U.S. Senate Election in Virginia: Independent Voting and Turnout Patterns," The University of Virginia Newsletter, 48 (October 15, 1971):5-8.
- Elkins, David J. "The Measurement of Party Competition," American Political Science Review 68 (1974):682-700.
- Elliot, James R. "A Comment on Interparty Competition, Economic Variables and Welfare Policies in the American States," Journal of Politics 27(1965):185-91.

- Epstein, Leon. "Size and Place of the Division of the Two-Party Vote in Wisconsin," Western Political Quarterly 9 (1956):138-50.
- Eulau, Heinz. "The Ecological Basis of Party Systems: The Case of Ohio," Midwest Journal of Political Science 1 (August 1957):125-35.
- Gold, David; and Schmidhauser, John M. "Urbanization and Party Competition: The Case of Iowa," Midwest Journal of Political Science 4 (February 1960):62-75.
- Golembiewski, Robert T. "A Taxonomic Approach to State Political Party Strength," Western Political Quarterly 11 (1958):494-513.
- Hofferbert, Richard I. "Classification of American Party Systems," Journal of Politics 26 (1964):550-67.
- _____. "The Relationship Between Public Policy and Some Structural and Environmental Variables in the American States," American Political Science Review 60 (March 1966):73-82.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin; and Raab, Earl. "The Wallace Whitewash," Trans-Action (December 1969): 23-35.
- McKinney, John C.; and Bourque, Linda Brookover. "The Changing South: National Incorporation of a Region," American Sociological Review 36 (June 1971):399-412.
- Masters, Nicholas A.; and Wright, Deil S. "Trends and Variations in the Two-Party Vote: The Case of Michigan," American Political Science Review 52 (1958):1078-90.
- Nicholls, William H. "The South as a Developing Area," Journal of Politics 26 (February 1964):22-40.
- Orum, Anthony; and McCranie, Edward W. "Class, Tradition and Partisan Alignments in a Southern Urban Electorate," Journal of Politics 32 (February 1970): 156-76.

- Pfeiffer, David G. "The Measurement of Inter-Party Competition and Systematic Stability," American Political Science Review 61 (June 1967):457-67.
- Prothro, James; Campbell, Ernest Q.; and Grigg, Charles M. "Two Party Voting in the South: Class vs. Party Identification," American Political Science Review 52 (1958):131-39.
- Ranney, Austin; and Kendall, Willmoore. "The American Party Systems," American Political Science Review 48 (1954):477-85.
- Ranney, Austin. "Parties in State Politics," In Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis. 2nd ed., pp. 82-121. Edited by Herbert Jacob and Kenneth Vines. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. "A Two-dimensional Scheme for Classifying the States According to Degree of Inter-Party Competition," American Political Science Review 49 (September 1955):1120-28.
- _____. "The Structure of Competition for Office in the American States," Behavioral Science 5 (July 1960):197-210.
- Serow, William J. "Population Change in Virginia, 1960-1970," The University of Virginia Newsletter 47 (May 15, 1971):33-36.
- Stern, Mark. "Measuring Interparty Competition: A Proposal and a Test of a Method," Journal of Politics 39 (1972):891-904.
- Strong, Donald. "Durable Republicanism in the South." In Change in the Contemporary South, pp. 174-94. Edited by Allan P. Sindler. Durham: Duke University Press, 1963.
- Weeks, O. Douglas. "The South in National Politics," Journal of Politics 26 (February 1964):22-40.
- Zody, Richard E.; and Luttbeg, Norman. "An Evaluation of Various Measures of State Party Competition," Western Political Quarterly 21 (December 1968):723-24.

VITA

Linda Keehner Ryan

Born in Brooklyn, New York, May 1, 1947. Graduated from H. Frank Carey High School in Franklin Square, New York, June, 1965, B.A., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1969. Entered the College of William and Mary in September, 1969 as a research assistant in the Department of Government. After completing the course requirements for the M.A. in Government, the author began research work in Health Care Delivery, and has published in medical and scientific journals.