

**Dynamics in Elections: Studying Changes in West Virginia's
Electoral System**

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(ABSTRACT)

Among scholars in the field of state and local politics, the value of using the state and local levels of analysis cannot be overemphasized. Examining political trends at these levels often provides us with far more information about the United States than only looking at the national level. This is true particularly for subjects like elections, parties, and realignment. The research reported here adds to a body of literature that focuses on the state level when examining elections and party realignment. In this thesis I focus on the dynamics of elections in West Virginia.

The main focus of this research is to see to what extent West Virginia has experienced a realignment of its political party system. Due to regional differences within the state I anticipate that more change will occur farther north and east. The data used here to explore these differences are at the county and state legislative district levels and were gathered from the Secretary of State's office in West Virginia (on-line) and from the 1980 and 1990 U.S. census. Such measures as turnout, registration and election results at the federal and state levels will be used to indicate changes in partisan competition.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	2
Chapter Two: Realignment: Controversy and Change	5
<i>Realignment</i>	5
<i>Realignment: To modify or not to modify</i>	7
Dealignment: A definition and an observation	9
Modifying the theory	9
Sticking to the original frame of thought	10
<i>Realignment in the states</i>	12
<i>Conclusion</i>	12
Chapter Three: Research Design	14
<i>West Virginia: Case Study</i>	14
<i>West Virginia: Historical and Cultural influences</i>	15
<i>The Proposition and Hypotheses</i>	18
<i>Limitations and Conclusions</i>	24
Chapter Four: The Findings	26
<i>Independent Variables</i>	26
Education, income, and population	
<i>Hypotheses</i>	29
<i>Conclusion</i>	38
Chapter Five: Conclusion	39
<i>Realignment/Dealignment: What's going on?</i>	39
<i>The 2000 General Election</i>	43
<i>Where's the money?</i>	45
<i>Limitations and Future Research</i>	46
Appendix 1-Tables	47
Appendix 2-Maps	54
Works Cited	62

Chapter One

Two-Party Competition in a Single-Party State: Studying Changes in West Virginia's Electoral System

Among scholars in the field of state and local politics, the value of using the state and local levels of analysis cannot be overemphasized. Examining political trends at these levels often provides us with far more information about the United States than only looking at the national level. This is true particularly for subjects like elections, parties, and realignment. Maureen Moakely makes this point when she notes that even in very clear, pronounced realignments there are counterrealigning forces within the states that prevent unified party control.¹ In fact, Moakely goes on to say that over the past several years the strength of parties appears to have shifted from the national to the state levels.² Whereas America may not be experiencing realignment in its elections nationally, in regions, states, and even communities, something else may be happening.

The research reported here adds to a body of literature that focuses on the state level when examining elections and party realignment. In this thesis I focus on the dynamics of elections in West Virginia. A large part of this research project was inspired by a collection of essays on realignment within 14 states.³ The aim of this compilation was to see what sorts of changes have occurred, or are occurring, within individual states. The central question asked in the essays was: To what extent have individual states experienced a realignment of their political party systems?⁴ A major premise of the compilation is that "...state electoral politics is sufficiently independent from national politics."⁵ For this reason, it is important to do state level analysis to get a better idea of what is happening in the electoral system.

I want to answer the same question for West Virginia. To what extent has West Virginia experienced a realignment of its political party system? Something notable

¹ Moakley, Maureen. (1992). Party realignment and state politics. Columbus: Ohio State University Press: 9.

² Moakley, Maureen, 1992: 1.

³ Moakley, Maureen, 1992: 1.

⁴ Moakley, Maureen, 1992: 5.

about West Virginia is the strong Democratic presence since the New Deal era. Even as the South shifted toward the Republican Party in presidential elections during the 1960's, West Virginia remained strongly Democratic. Every since I moved there, people would insist that the only way to vote was as a Democrat, but I noticed something else. Republicans are winning and people are, therefore, voting for Republicans. What's happening? Is the electorate changing? Is West Virginia becoming more Republican friendly?

West Virginia makes an interesting case to study, due to the strong influence of the Democratic Party. If the state's electoral patterns are indeed changing, then that says something about realignment theory. It also may hint at something nationally. West Virginia is located between the North, the South, and the Mid west. Changes in West Virginia's electoral patterns may indicate changes regionally in the eastern part of the country.

Due to regional differences within the state I anticipate that more change will occur farther north and east. The data used here to explore these differences are at the county and state legislative district levels and were gathered from the Secretary of State's office in West Virginia (on-line) and from the 1980 and 1990 U.S. census. Such measures as turnout, registration and election results at the federal and state levels will be used to indicate changes in partisan competition. An effect of such changes will be strategic campaign contributions from parties.

Chapter Two will give background on the issue of realignment. This study is about a change in the electorate producing increased two-party competition. Since the state has been a single-party state for so long, such a change could indicate a realignment. Or, something else could be happening. As with the national electorate, West Virginia may be experiencing "dealignment," a movement away from parties. Chapter Two defines and examines these issues.

Chapter Three presents the research design. In this chapter the reader will become better acquainted with West Virginia, its history, culture and its eight regions. The chapter will also provide hypotheses about change and the sorts of indicators that tap

⁵ Beck, Paul Allen. "Party Realignment in American: The View from the States." In Party Realignment and State Politics. Edited by Maureen Moakley. Columbus: Ohio State University Press: 265.

such changes. The chapter ends by asking where the electorate is heading. What sort of change, if any, is West Virginia seeing?

Chapter Four will report the findings, examining how the hypotheses suggested in Chapter Three fare. Tables and maps will help to make the data more understandable.

Finally, Chapter Five draws out some conclusions from the research and introduces some new findings from the 2000 election in West Virginia. There will also be a few suggestions for doing future research in West Virginia. Probably the biggest limitation to doing research in West Virginia is...doing research in West Virginia. The state still lags behind most of the country in technology and data gathering. Sometimes the data one needs are not always readily available. However, making people aware of the need for certain data does get the ball rolling on making information more available. In that I feel like a pioneer going where no researcher has dared to go before. Along with discussing problems with the thesis, Chapter Five explores whether the electorate is facing change.

Chapter Two Realignment: Controversy and Change

The theory of party realignment has taken several different shapes since it was first introduced. V. O. Key is mostly known for the original theory, which puts forth the argument that elections happen in cyclical patterns and realignments are predicted every 28 to 36 years. The original theory offers four types of elections and recognizes five different electoral cycles in American history. This theory, although put together quite well, does leave some loose ends. A sixth electoral cycle was anticipated to happen during the 1960's. Did it? Some scholars claim that the predicted realignment of the 1960's did not happen and what is needed is a modification of the theory. Others maintain that there was a realignment, but it occurred gradually and was located in the South.

This chapter first examines the original theory of realignment based on V.O. Key's definition. Next, I will consider another type of alignment pertinent to the debate: dealignment. From this point I will look at the two sides of the debate about the sixth realignment. Finally, the chapter will bring state level analysis and realignment into the picture.

Realignment

Realignment is based on a theory that proposes elections are cyclical. V. O. Key is widely known for this theory, although other researchers have sought, and are seeking, to modify it.⁶ In the original theory, electoral cycles are marked from the end of one dominating party to the beginning of another. Realignment has been thought to occur every 28 to 36 years, and to have taken place at fairly regular intervals in American history.⁷

⁶ Shea, Daniel M. and John C. Green. (1994). The State of The Parties: The Changing Role of Contemporary American Parties. Savage: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc: 20.

⁷ Shea and Green, 1994: 20; and Bibby, John F. (1996). Politics, Parties, and Elections in American. *Third Edition*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall: 45.

There are four types of elections, including realignment, proposed by this theory: maintaining, deviating, converting, and realigning (Table 1). *Maintaining* elections occur when the vote changes little and political party alignments remain the same. *Converting* elections occur when the bases of support change within the parties, but the majority party remains the same. *Deviating* elections affect all parties; these elections occur when there is a sharp decrease in support for all parties, so there is no change in alignment. Finally, there are *realigning* elections, which, some scholars argue, occur quickly and lead to a sharp shift in support of another political party. These elections are also known as critical elections and produce more lasting partisan changes.

Table 1: Types of elections

	<i>Levels of support</i>	
	Majority Wins	Majority Loses
<i>Continuity in pattern of electoral cleavages.</i>	Maintaining	Deviating
<i>Change in pattern of electoral cleavages.</i>	Converting	Realigning

Source: Harrop, Martin, and William L. Miller. 1987. Elections and Voters: A Comparative Introduction. New York: The Meredith Press.

Although there is a great deal of debate about what actually defines realignment, researchers seem to agree that a realignment is a long-term partisan change.⁸ Some dispute when the United States has experienced critical, realigning elections, but most agree that five presidential contests were realigning elections: Thomas Jefferson (1800), Andrew Jackson (1828), Abraham Lincoln (1860), William McKinley (1896), and Franklin Roosevelt (1932). These elections occurred 28 to 36 years apart and represented radical partisan change.

Table 2 further summarizes these changes in American party systems. Parties emerged in the United States during the 1770's, with the first party system ultimately yielding one party factionalism within the Democratic-Republican Party, the party of Jefferson (1788-1824). The second party system (1828-1854) led to balanced two-party competition with the Democratic Party as the majority party. The rise of the Republican Party came during the third party system (1856-1896), producing balanced two-party

⁸ Niemi, Richard and Herbert F. Weisberg. (1993). Controversies in Voting Behavior. Third Edition. Washington D.C., Congressional Quarterly: 321 and Bibby, 1996.

competition between the Republicans and Democrats. The Republican Party generally held on to majority status during the fourth party system (1896-1928), but lost its reign as majority party during the New Deal era. The New Deal realignment, the fifth party system (1932-), ushered in a new period of Democratic dominance with President Franklin Roosevelt and his proposed programs to deal with the Great Depression.

Table 2: Party Systems in American History

Party System	Dates	Competing Parties
<i>First</i>	1788-1824	Federalists vs. Democratic Republicans
<i>Second</i>	1828-1854	Democrats vs. Whigs
<i>Third</i>	1856-1896	Republicans vs. Democrats
<i>Fourth</i>	1896-1928	Republicans vs. Democrats
<i>Fifth</i>	1932-	Republicans vs. Democrats

Source: Bibby, John F. (1996). *Politics, Parties, and Elections in American*. Third edition. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers: 24.

Debate surrounds the sixth party system, which should have emerged during the 1960’s. The looming questions are: Did it occur? If so, how and where did it occur? Some researchers argue a sixth realignment did occur as predicted. Others, however, propose that something else took place and suggest modifying the original theory. The following section considers these questions.

Realignment theory: To modify or not to modify?

The sixth realignment was anticipated to occur during the 1960’s, but there is some debate over both whether there was a realignment and what sort of realignment we saw. Part of the problem with identifying realignments is that researchers often operate with differing definitions and varying perceptions of whether those changes took place.

Conflict arises from even determining if and when realignment has happened. The controversy rests on the sort of realignment the United States saw in the 1960’s and if it happened at all. That is because, some scholars argue, the United States has not yet experienced a predicted realignment like those in the past. These researchers contend that

the United States is facing dealigning elections. In such elections old alignments are broken and replaced by new types of alignments, no new cleavages are created, and the electoral system is unstable and volatile.⁹ Others argue that the realignment in the 1960's happened in the South.

The split in the field yields two schools of thought. One suggests a modification of V.O. Key's original theory, offering a new type of party system. The other school of thought maintains that the sixth partisan realignment did indeed occur in the South and was mainly based upon racial issues.

Peter Nardulli notes that the public's partisanship is variable and that we need to reconsider the standard view of party systems and realignment theory to deal with an ever changing electorate.¹⁰ He explains that in order to study realignments we must consider time and space.¹¹ Nardulli recognizes that realignments are unique, in that they all do not necessarily look alike, and they do not happen with the same time frames. Furthermore, given the size of the United States, realignments vary geographically. Nardulli points out:

...critical realignments that have occurred have been generated by a different mix of political, moral, cultural, and economic forces. These different mixes cannot be expected to generate similar patterns of change over time.¹²

With this in mind, he urges researchers not to abandon the theory of realignment, but to use it as a concept in a broader theory. This approach calls into question the validity of realignments and asks researchers to downplay the theory. Other scholars ask that we just modify the theory. Before considering the two schools of thought, however, it is important to discuss another type of electoral phenomenon: dealignment.

⁹ Harrop and Miller, 1987: 79.

¹⁰ Niemi and Weisberg, 1993: 300

¹¹ Nardulli, Peter F. (1995) "The Concept of a Critical Realignment, Electoral Behavior, and Political Change." *American Political Science Review*. 89: 11.

Dealignment: A definition and an observation

As opposed to realigning elections, which shift public support for one party over another, dealignment is marked by an overall decrease in public support for political parties over time. Dealignment differs from deviating elections in that deviating elections involve short-term deviation lasting only one election, whereas dealignment persists over a period of elections. Martin Wattenberg suggests that dealignment is what has happened in the United States over the past few decades, where there has been a weakening overall in the public's attitude toward parties.¹³ Although there have been some hints of realignment (e.g., support in the South of Republicans in national elections and more recently in statewide elections) the public's increased split ticket voting and registration as Independents suggest a move away from political parties.¹⁴ The American voter in 1994 was volatile, given to short-term swings of support from one party to another.¹⁵ This is a key problem in determining if and when the sixth party realignment happened and if a seventh will be on its way.

Modifying the theory

Those who propose a modification to V.O. Key's original theory of realignment suggest that what has emerged is a new type of political system. Richard Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg observe that not all realignments are alike and the one that took place in the 1960's was a realigning of the electorate toward a different kind of politics: a candidate-centered political system.¹⁶ This occurred with the increase of independents, split-ticket voting, and a general move from political parties. This modification supports the notion of a dealignment, with voters moving from parties to individual candidates.

Likewise, Daniel Shea points out that the original theory of realignment does not fit politics today. What Niemi and Weisberg dubbed the candidate-centered political

¹² Nardulli, Peter F. 1995: 14.

¹³ Wattenberg, Martin. (1996). *The Decline of American Political Parties: 1952-1994*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 135.

¹⁴ Wattenberg, 1996: 135.

¹⁵ Bibby, 1996: 36.

¹⁶ Niemi, Richard and Herbert F. Weisberg, 1993: 327.

party system, Shea refers to as the “base-less” party system. Interestingly, Shea argues, parties themselves perpetuate the weakening partisan loyalties by becoming more service-oriented. He contends that as the role of parties has changed toward more service orientation, elections have grown more candidate-centered.¹⁷

John Aldrich is also a proponent of modifying the original theory. Aldrich as well claims that the sixth party system (1960’s-1980’s) was a candidate-centered party system that came about due to rapid changes in technology.¹⁸ Candidates beginning in the 1960’s were able to develop personal campaign organizations.¹⁹ Unlike Wattenberg, Aldrich contends that signs of stronger party identification, stronger party leadership, and a decline in split ticket voting and incumbency suggest that a new critical era is now beginning.²⁰ Aldrich predicts that with the growing strength of parties in the electorate and increasing partisan identification, soon we will see both parties vying for power. A seventh party era will begin, which, unlike the arguments of Niemi, Weisberg, and Shea, supports the notion of realignment and V.O. Key’s original theory.

Although these modifications do not all agree, the scholars do concur that the United States recently has witnessed a different kind of electoral period, the candidate-centered period. Meanwhile, other researchers challenge that something other than a candidate-centered party system emerged in the 1960’s. These scholars maintain that the sixth realignment happened in the South and was the effect of national governmental action with civil and voting rights and changes in socio-economic conditions.

Sticking to the original frame of thought

Those who argue that there was indeed a realignment in the South explain that white southerners gradually converted to the Republican Party due to civil rights issues, mobilization of new voters, changes in demographic trends and standards of living, and a

¹⁷ Shea, Daniel M (1999). “The Passing of Realignment and the Advent of the ‘Baseless’ Party System.” *American Politics Quarterly*. 27(1): 34, 51-52.

¹⁸ Aldrich, John. (1999). “Political Parties in a Critical Era”. *American Politics Quarterly*. 27(1): 10.

¹⁹ Aldrich, 1999: 27.

²⁰ Aldrich, 1999: 28.

decline in partisan loyalties in the South.²¹ However, although some claim that the South has realigned with the Republican Party, others say that the change in the South happened slowly and only affects certain levels of elections like presidential races.²²

Race long has been a dominant factor in the structuring of the South's politics.²³ Therefore, the party system has had a strong tendency to revolve around issues of race. For many years the Democratic Party reminded white southern voters that the Republican Party was the party of Lincoln and that the Democrats were the party of the New Deal.²⁴ However, with the rise of civil rights issues and congressional action (e.g., the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965), Republican candidates took strong conservative stances on national governmental action in the areas of civil rights and voting, which garnered them favor with many white southern voters.²⁵

Race, however, may not be as strong a motivator for white southerners as one might think. Other arguments that support the notion of a southern realignment point out that the socio-economic status of southern whites has also changed, making Republican programs more appealing to white southerners, that there was displeasure with the Democratic Party where voters turned to the Republican Party as a kind of protest, and that migration from northern states brought in more Republican voters.²⁶ In other words, white southerners appear to be like many other middle-class, socially conservative voters across the nation. Supporters of this argument contend that the Democratic Party could stem the Republican tide simply by nominating more socially conservative Democrats.

²¹ Brodsky, David. "The Dynamics of Recent Southern Politics." page 4 in Swansbrough, Robert H. and David M. Brodsky. (1988). The South's New Politics: Realignment and Dealignment. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

²² Brodsky, 1988: 4, and Shea, 1999: 34.

²³ Glaser, James M. (1996). Race, Campaign Politics, and the South. New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 2.

²⁴ Glaser, 1996: 3 and Black, Earl (1998). "Presidential Address: The Newest Southern Politics." The Journal of Politics, 60(3): 594.

²⁵ Black, 1998: 594

²⁶ Swansbrough, Robert H. and David M. Brodsky. (1988). The South's New Politics: Realignment and Dealignment. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press: 4.

Realignment in the states

Taking the theory of realignment down to the state level changes the “standard view” and helps us to see if what is happening in state elections mirrors what has happened nationally. Maureen Moakley argues that while the debate focusing on national elections has viewed parties as dying entities, they are in fact becoming more important at the state level.²⁷ State party organizations, for example, are growing stronger. State party organizations are becoming more professional, which makes them better at providing candidate and local organizational service, and they are becoming more integrated with the national party organizations, further strengthening the parties.²⁸ In a study conducted in fourteen states in the West, Midwest, South, and North, researchers have shown that there is increased party competitiveness in the states, the competitiveness has shifted toward the minority parties (mostly the Republican Party), and the competitiveness has made prediction in those states more difficult.²⁹

Conclusion

In light of these findings, I set out to explore where the Republican Party in West Virginia has become more competitive recently and propose that in the future West Virginia’s two parties will be more competitive, with the Republican Party gaining more control. In the realignment debate, I think West Virginia fits in more with the candidate-centered approach, although with a twist. It is my contention that West Virginia lags behind the rest of the country in that it is only now experiencing a more candidate-centered party system, whereas other states may be entering a more critical era as discussed previously in this chapter. In other words, West Virginia is just now coming out of the New Deal realignment.

The next chapter offers more detail of how this study will unfold. In chapter three I will first give an account of West Virginia’s history, culture, and development.

²⁷ Moakley 1992: 1

²⁸ Bibby, John F. and Thomas Holbrook. (1996). “Parties and Elections.” In *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis: Sixth Edition*, ed. Gray, Virginia and Herbert Jacob. Washington D.C.: CQ Press: 83.

Following the West Virginia section I will then provide the research design.

²⁹ Moakley, 1992: 265-266.

Chapter Three

Research Design: Understanding West Virginia, the Electorate, and the Elections

Like the 14-state study presented in Party Realignment and State Politics, I ask the question: To what extent has there been a realignment in West Virginia? I will be looking for significant and enduring changes in partisan orientation of the voters. For West Virginia, this would mean a shift from a one-party Democratic state toward more support of the Republican Party and greater two-party competition. Furthermore, I will try to explain any such changes by looking at regional variation in college enrollment and variation in population and median household income over time and among regions. This chapter looks at those factors in more depth and offers a way of studying elections and realignment in West Virginia.

West Virginia: Case study

West Virginia makes an interesting case in which to study realignment, because it has been a single-party state since the New Deal. However, there is some evidence that this is changing. Furthermore, the changes may be happening across levels of elections (federal, state, and local). Also, there is an array of differing cultures within the state, and certain regions within the state resemble neighboring states. Yet all these regions and cultures within West Virginia operate under the same institutional constraints. The varying regions and the counties within those regions operate under the same state laws and have the same state-mandated institutions. In spite of this, the populations in these areas differ considerably. In fact, I could go as far as saying that this research is like a state to state comparison, without having to explore possible effects of different governmental institutions and laws.

This research will examine how such factors as education, income, and population are related to partisan competition. Although I do not expect to find that realignment has happened at the present in West Virginia, I predict a realignment in the future. What this

study does expect to discover is an increase in competition in a traditionally strong Democratic state.

West Virginia: Historical and cultural influences

The New Deal era was marked by radical changes in policy. Franklin Roosevelt came into the office of President of the United States with a mandate that would have lasting repercussions on public policy as well as elections. With Roosevelt there was a sharp change in support of the Democratic Party, which was looking to be the party of the common people, whereas the Republican Party wore the face of corporations and big money. The change was felt throughout the country, including in West Virginia, where the electorate for many years has continued to support the Democratic Party.

West Virginia was hit hard by the Depression, and most of its sons and daughters resided in coal camps living as virtual slaves to out-of-state interests. Around this time in West Virginia history were the famous coal wars and unionization attempts. Due to poverty and corporate abuse, West Virginia shifted from supporting the Republican Party to supporting the Democratic Party. Black Americans, who were imported in West Virginia to work in the mines and quickly enfranchised into politics, also shifted from the Party of Lincoln to the Democratic Party, with much thanks to the efforts of unions.³⁰

When West Virginia first became a state it strongly supported the Republican Party. From 1920 to 1932, West Virginia voted solid Republican in presidential elections.³¹ In 1932, however, a long-term trend of Democratic support would begin. It was not until 1956, when Eisenhower ran as an incumbent, that West Virginia would vote Republican again. The change to Republican did not stick, however, and support shifted back to the Democrats until 1972, when Nixon ran as an incumbent. Again, support quickly returned to the Democrats until 1984 when Reagan ran as an incumbent, but support moved back to the Democrats and has not changed since. What can be noted from the minor deviations in West Virginia's support is that, prior to the 2000

³⁰ Lee, Howard Bee. (1971). *My Appalachia*. Parsons: McClain Printing Company: 36.

³¹ This information was obtained from a software package *American Government: An Introduction Using Explorit*. (1998) Bellevue, WA: MicroCase.

presidential election, whenever a Republican presidential candidate was voted for, the Republican was a strong incumbent.

Gubernatorial elections have been more competitive than presidential elections; however, more support was given to Democrats following the New Deal realignment.³² In the early 1900's, West Virginians tended to vote primarily for Republicans, but in 1934 a Democratic governor won. The Democrats held strong until 1958. However, the Republican victory was short-lived and only lasted until the Republican governor finished his terms. In 1970 another Republican won, but this did not stick either. In 1996, a Republican governor who had served previously, but not in the last term, won. A reason why Republicans were able to win gubernatorial elections could have something to do with the issues they supported. For example, Governor Cecil Underwood (1957-1961) supported unions and as governor did a lot to strengthen unions. He was elected to serve as governor again in 1996.

The unions in West Virginia began to play a significant role in elections during the 1930's. At this time miners were meeting on their own to discuss voting at "club-schools"; however, with the unions this changed. Howard B. Lee, a former state Attorney General, recalled:

Beneficial as they were, the club-schools ended with unionization of the miners in 1933. The union leaders informed the workers that such [club school] meetings were unnecessary, and might tend to confuse them. "At the proper time," [the unions] said, "we will instruct you how to vote."³³

After the 1930's, much of the electorate in West Virginia used the unions as a cue when voting. With the unions in command, the vote would generally always go to the Democratic Party, which was more favorable to union interests. During the 1960's when the white South was shifting to the Republican Party, West Virginia remained a single-party state dominated by the Democrats. During this time in West Virginia's history, unions were still an important cue.

³² This information was obtained on-line: <http://www.wvculture.org/history/govmenu.html> *West Virginia Governors*. (12/1/99).

³³ Lee, 1971: 36-37.

Today, union members nationally are less predictable in nationwide elections, which suggests a dealignment within that particular group.³⁴ This may be a factor in the West Virginia electorate. Moreover, with a decline of union membership, perhaps new issues and cleavages may be driving the West Virginia voter. In 1983 25% of all employed adults in West Virginia were union members, but by 1998 that number had dropped to 13%.³⁵ Changing socio-economic factors may now be operating to alter the electorate.

Although there appears to be strong Democratic support statewide, there may be another story regionally. The political culture in West Virginia differs regionally. Applying Daniel Elazar's theory of political culture, the northern counties and the eastern panhandle have been classified as mostly moralistic with traditionalistic undertones.³⁶ A moralistic political culture is one where the common good is sought, government is a tool to solve problems and improve the community, and participation is an obligation for the citizens.³⁷ Traditionalistic communities, on the other hand, see government as a way of maintaining the status quo and political elites.³⁸ The southern counties are strongly traditionalistic.³⁹ The differences between the two regions can be traced back to West Virginia's beginning during the Civil War, and their persistence attributed to the State's mountainous terrain providing natural communication barriers. Even before West Virginia became a state, immigration from the northern states brought a moralistic political culture into the northern counties; however, the mountains acted as a buffer for the southern half of the state.⁴⁰

³⁴ Keefe, William J (1998). Parties, Politics, and Public Policy in America. Washington D.C., Congressional Quarterly Press: 66.

³⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1999. The decrease in union membership can also be seen at the national level, with 20% of the workforce belonging to unions in 1983, dropping to 14% in 1998.

³⁶ Brisbin, Richard, Robert Dilger, Allan Hammock, and Christopher Mooney. 1996. West Virginia Politics and Government. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: 27.

³⁷ Stouffer, W.B., Cynthia Opheim, and Susan Bland Day. 1996. State and Local Politics: The Individual and the Governments. Texas: Harper Collins College Publishers: 37.

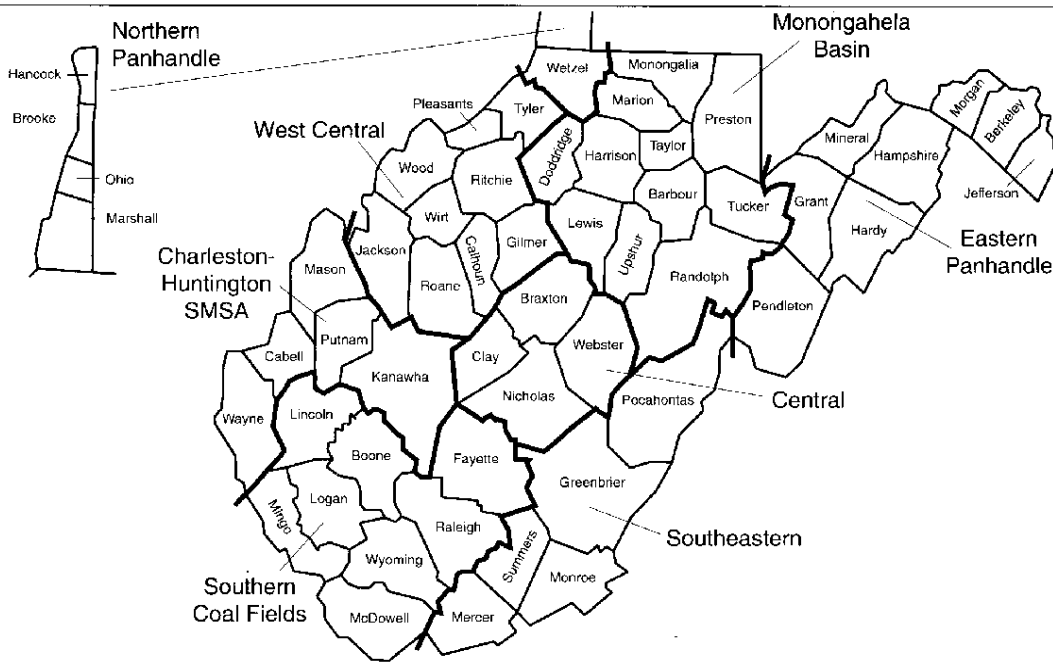
³⁸ Stouffer, Opheim, and Day, 1996: 37.

³⁹ Brisbin et al., 1996: 27.

The Proposition and Hypotheses

This research proposes to show how and where the West Virginia electorate is changing. To do so, I will be looking for more competitive elections. In order for there to be a change in statewide voting and election outcomes, I expect that there will first be variation among the regions of West Virginia in income and population. Since I also expect education to be a factor in electoral behavior, I will consider the relationship between college enrollment in the regions and electoral patterns.

Map One: Regions and Counties of West Virginia



Brisbin, Richard, Robert Dilger, Allan Hammock, and Christopher Mooney. 1996. West Virginia Politics and Government. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: 11.

The state can be further divided into eight separate geographical regions (Map One).⁴¹ The *Eastern Panhandle* is growing at a fast pace and is becoming more like the suburbs of Washington, D.C. It borders Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The *Monongahela Basin*, which borders Pennsylvania, gets most of its commerce from

⁴⁰ Brisbin et al, 1996: 27.

⁴¹ Brisbin, Dilger, Hammock, and Mooney, 1996: 11.

Pittsburgh and is growing slowly. The *Northeastern Panhandle*, located between Ohio and Pennsylvania, is suffering from a decline in population. The *West Central* counties are oriented northward toward Ohio, from where much of their commerce comes. The *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* and *Mason County* are the leaders in manufacturing employment. This is also the region where the state's capital and largest city are located. This region has a larger population compared to other regions in the southern part of the state. The *Central Region* was completely isolated until two decades ago when more roads were constructed. Since then there has been some population growth. The *Southern Coal* counties, located in the southern most part of the state bordering Kentucky and Tennessee, are the sites of the historical mine wars, family feuds, and coal towns. This region has faced mostly population decline. It is a fairly rural area, and the economy is still based on coal production. Finally, the *Southeastern* counties are also fairly rural. Mostly, the neighboring region in Virginia influences this area. There is moderate population growth in this region.

The mountains in West Virginia that separate much of the North from the South run through the *Central*, *Southeastern*, and *Southern Coal Field* regions. The three regions that I predict will show electoral change are the *Eastern Panhandle*, the *West Central* region, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*. Therefore, the study's primary proposition is:

As income and population increase and where college enrollment is higher, electoral competition will increase.

I expect this proposition to hold for the regions bordering Ohio and the northern regions bordering Virginia given the way those areas have developed culturally and historically. Tables will be used to show changes in income and population size over time in counties in the state and to show college enrollments across counties. County-level U.S. Census data for 1980 and 1990 were used to measure income; 1980, 1990, and 1999 Census data tapped population change; and 1990 Census data were used for college enrollment.⁴²

⁴² It is important for me to note that finding data on education in West Virginia was difficult. I would have liked to find evidence on educational attainment for each county in West Virginia, but that information was not readily available. This sort of data would have been more useful for this type of study. Furthermore,

The independent variables

There are three independent variables in this study: education, income, and population size. To tap education, percentages of the population enrolled in college per region and per county were used. The U.S. Census provides total numbers of enrolled college students by county, but for the purposes of this study the raw data were translated into the percentage of the county population that was enrolled in college and then averaged by region. This was done by first dividing the percentage of the population enrolled in college in each county separately by the total population for each county, to show the percentage of the population by county, and then second adding the county populations for each region and then dividing that number by the total regional population, thus providing the regional percentages.

To measure income, median household income was used for the counties and then the counties' median household incomes were averaged in each respective region (i.e, the median household incomes at the county level in each of the regions were averaged together for each of the regions). The 1980 and 1990 Census both provided data on county median household income. Also, I calculated the percentage change in median household income between 1990 and 1980 for each of the counties and then determined the mean change in county median household income in each region.

To calculate change in population size, I relied on U.S. Census data for 1980, 1990, and the 1999 estimate. A table was created to show increases and decreases of population within counties and regions. Also, the table includes the percent changes in population between 1990 and 1999. These factors (education, income and population) are expected to influence voter turnout, voter registration, and election outcomes.

The dependent variables and hypotheses

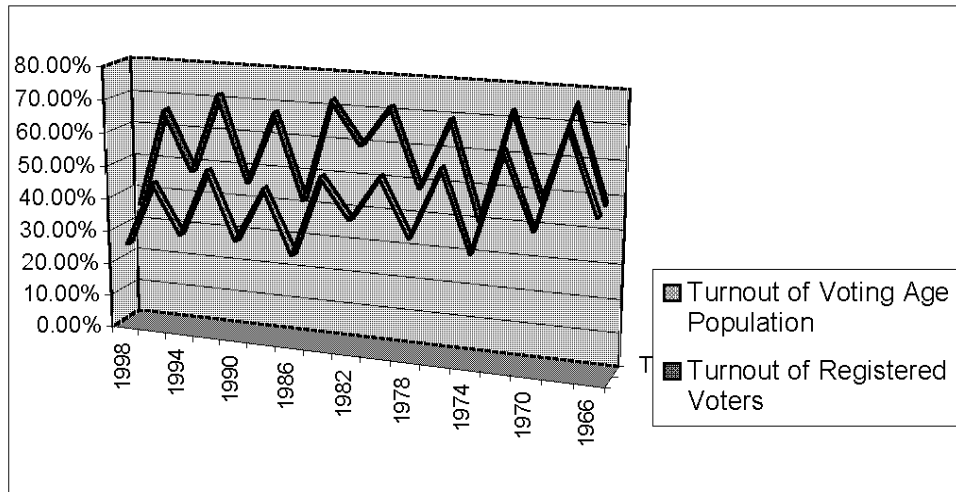
I expect to find in regions where more people are enrolled in college and there have been increases in income and population that there will also be changes in voting patterns and election outcomes. The three dependent variables designed to tap such changes are voter turnout, voter registration by party, and electoral results by party. College enrollment level and increase in income and population size are expected to

the 1980 Census did not provide college enrollment figures by county; therefore, only the 1990 Census was used.

affect whether people participate in elections and how they vote. Population change is important to note, since I expect that more people will move into those areas where there have been increases in income and more people enrolled in college, which in turn may influence voting.

In general, higher levels of education and income tend to be associated with higher levels of participation.⁴³ In West Virginia, like the nation as a whole, turnout is uneven, with increases in presidential years; yet, overall, it is on a steady decline (see Figure One). The top line is the percentage turnout of registered voters, and the bottom is the percentage turnout of the voting age population. Turnout peaks during presidential and gubernatorial elections, which occur at the same time.

Figure One: Turnout in percentages of Voting Age Population and of Registered Voters in West Virginia, 1966-1998.



Source: Secretary of State's election division web page, <http://www.state.wv.us/sos/election/2000pubs/histgen.htm>, in West Virginia. (7/26/00)

Within West Virginia I expect that there will be higher voter turnout in those counties that have more people enrolled in college and that have experienced increases in levels of household income and population size. Also, I expect that the counties within the northern and northwestern regions of the state also will experience higher turnout, because this is where I expect to find higher levels of education and larger increases in

⁴³ Verba, Schlozman, and Brady. (1995). *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 349. and Bibby, 1996: 255-256.

income and population sizes. These are the regions north of the mountain chain that runs through the state. Thus,

H₁: In those counties where more people were enrolled in college in 1990, where there were increases in median household income between 1980 and 1990, and where population grew between 1980 and 1999, there will be higher levels of turnout in the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections, compared with other counties.⁴⁴

H₂: The counties located in the northern regions of the state, particularly the *Eastern Panhandle*, the *West Central* region, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*, will have higher levels of voter turnout for the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections than will those counties in the southern part of the state.

Not only do individuals with higher incomes and education levels generally participate more in elections, they are also more likely to be Republicans.⁴⁵ People who have lower incomes, are considered blue-collar, and are union members tend to be Democratic.⁴⁶ In the state overall, registration has remained in favor of the Democratic Party (see Table One). However, there is a steady, if slow increase in the “other” category, which includes independents and third parties.

Table One: Party registration in West Virginia from 1976 to 1998

Year	% Democrat	% Republican	% Other
1976	67%	31%	2.1%
1978	67%	30%	2.2%
1980	67%	31%	2.3%
1982	67%	31%	2.2%
1984	67%	31%	2.0%
1986	67%	31%	2.1%
1988	66%	31%	2.6%
1990	66%	31%	2.7%
1992	66%	31%	3.9%
1994	65%	30%	4.4%
1996	63%	30%	6.8%
1998	63%	29%	7.9%

<http://www.state.wv.us/sec/Info/stats/party.htm>. *Voting Statistics*. 9/14/99

⁴⁴ The 2000 Election will be briefly examined in Chapter Five.

⁴⁵ Bibby, 1996: 227.

⁴⁶ Bibby, 1996: 227.

Table One only gives an indication of what is happening in the state overall. I suspect that there is variation among and within regions. I expect that populations in counties within the regions of West Virginia that have more people enrolled in college and that have experienced increases in income and population will also have more registered Republicans. Therefore, hypotheses three and four state:

- H₃: In those counties where more people were enrolled in college in 1990, where there were increases in income between 1980 and 1990, and where the population increased between 1980 and 1999, there will be more registered Republicans in the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections, than elsewhere in the state.
- H₄: The counties located in the northern regions (the *Eastern Panhandle*, the *West Central* region, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*) of the state will have more registered Republicans in the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections compared to those counties in the southern part of the state.

Data at the county-level were used to tap party registration in the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections. If more people are registered Republican, then I also would expect to see more Republican candidates winning elections. I expect this to be true for the *Eastern Panhandle*, the *West Central* region, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*.

- H₅: Compared with other regions, in those regions where there were increases in income between 1980 and 1990, increases in population between 1980, 1990, and 1999, and more people enrolled in college in 1990, more Republican candidates will win in the 1988, 1992, and 1996 general elections for president and governor and in the 1986-1998 general elections for House of Delegates in West Virginia.
- H₆: The counties located in the northern and western regions of the state will have more Republican candidates winning elections in the 1988, 1992, and 1996 general elections for president and governor and in the 1986-1998 general elections for House of Delegates in West Virginia, compared to those counties in the southern part of the state.

The elections looked at included the general elections for the House of Delegates in West Virginia from 1986 to 1998. The data used were at the legislative district level. As a matter of convenience, the legislative districts in West Virginia closely resemble the

counties. Also, county-level data on gubernatorial and presidential elections were collected; however, due to the difficulty in obtaining these data for past elections, only the 1988, 1992, and 1996 general elections were used. These elections, however, will demonstrate any differences in voter preferences among the different regions.

An immediate predicted effect of increased support for the Republican Party will be seen in the strategy of the state Republican Party. Recognizing the favorable conditions in those regions whose counties tend to favor Republicans and where there is an increase in party competition, the Party will tailor its campaign strategy by focusing funds on those candidates most likely to win. This expectation was examined using campaign finance disclosure forms gathered from the Secretary of State's office in West Virginia for the 1996 and 1998 general elections for the House of Delegates. I expect that in those areas where there have been increases in income and population and where more people are enrolled in college, there will also be more concentrated financing from the Republican Party.

H₇: The state Republican Party will spend more campaign funds in the 1996 and 1998 House of Delegates races in those counties where median household income increased between 1980 and 1990, where the population grew between 1980 and 1999, and where there were higher percentages of the population enrolled in college than in counties with declining or stable median household incomes and populations and fewer people enrolled in college.

Limitations and Conclusions

This research is mostly limited in the kinds of data that could be obtained. As noted earlier, some kinds of data, like educational attainment, are not readily available in West Virginia. Using college enrollment tells me that some households were able to send children to college or perhaps someone was enrolled as a non-traditional student, but it does not give me an idea of county-level educational attainment. I would suspect that people with higher education levels will be living in those counties that offer better jobs. This may be something to tackle in the future when there is more time to find the data. Another difficulty with the data is that for the presidential and gubernatorial elections I was only able to go back as far as the late 1980's. That means only three elections for

president and governor are examined. Having more elections to consider would be helpful in reaching stronger conclusions, but time was a factor here as well.

Another limitation was in the way regional household income was calculated. For the counties, median household income was used; however, the county median household incomes were averaged by regions, so what is measured for the regions are the means of the county median household incomes. This figure can be skewed if one county has an extremely high, or low, median household income or there are varying population sizes.

Examining only West Virginia is also a limitation. Although the regions within the state differ from one another, it would be beneficial to look at neighboring states to see whether and how those regions are being influenced by education, income, and population. Also, for future research it would be useful to compare bordering states in order to find if similar regions in those states have experienced the same patterns of electoral behavior.

Finally, I did not expect to find a realignment within West Virginia; however, I do predict a future realignment. Perhaps what is happening now is a dealignment as the state breaks away from the New Deal realignment and moves toward a more candidate-centered electoral system. This will be considered in a later chapter. This study paints a picture of what is happening within the state, which has not been done before. Following that, more comparative state-to-state research can be done.

Chapter Four The Findings

I have proposed that as income, education, and population increase, so will electoral competition between the parties. Since the New Deal and the rise of unions in the 1930's, West Virginia has strongly supported the Democratic Party, which has been the majority party for many years. I predict that this is changing and that West Virginia is moving into a period of greater two-party electoral competition. I also predict that the change is related to increases in income and population size over time and by higher college enrollment in some counties. As counties experience increases in household income and population size and some counties have higher percentages of their population enrolled in college, the electorate will also be more inclined to turn out to vote, register as Republicans, and support Republican candidates.

Given the development of West Virginia, I expect that the counties most likely to be favorable to Republicans will be located in the northern part of the state. The regions that I specifically focus on are the *Eastern Panhandle*, the *West Central region*, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area (CHMSA)*. To show college enrollment and changes in income and population size affecting partisan orientation I have used U.S. Census data, voter registration and turnout data, and election results. I have also predicted that any such changes in party competition would encourage the Republican Party to concentrate campaign funds in regions more favorable to the party. This chapter reports on the tests of the seven hypotheses presented in Chapter Three.

Independent Variables

Before turning to how these hypotheses fared, I will first present a brief synopsis of the independent variables.

Education

As Chapter Three mentioned, the data on education are limited. Not only was I unable to obtain county level data for educational attainment, but the data that were available were only available from the 1990 U.S. Census.

Table One: College Enrollment by Region, 1990

Regions	Population in College in 1990	Percent of Population in College in 1990
State Total	97,292	5.42%
Eastern Panhandle	7,239	4.27%
West Central	7,379	4.18%
CHMSA	23,714	6.35%
Monongahela Basin	29,257	8.49%
Southeastern	13,360	4.25%
Central	1442	2.40%
Southern Coal Fields	12,360	3.95%
Northern Panhandle	10,121	5.96%

Source: 1990 U.S. Census.

Table One presents these enrollment data.⁴⁷ The second column contains the total number of enrolled college students. These sums were obtained by adding the county totals for each of the regions. Column three is the percentage of the region's total population enrolled in college.

For the state overall, only 5.42% of the population was enrolled in college in 1990. According to Table One, two regions has notably high percentages of their residents enrolled in college: the *Monongahela Basin* and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*. Also, the *Northern Panhandle* was fairly high at 5.96%. The regions with the lowest percentages of their populations enrolled in college were the *Southeastern*, *Southern Coal Fields*, and *Northern Panhandle*.

⁴⁷ For county-level data refer to appendix 1-A.

Income

Table Two: Median Household Income by State and Regions, 1980-1990

Regions	Household Median Income-1980	Household Median Income-1990	Percent Change
State	NA	\$20,795	
Eastern Panhandle	\$13,203	23,343	76.80%
West Central	13,376	18,525	38.49%
CHMSA	15,763	22,496	42.71%
Monongahela Basin	12,702	18,894	48.74%
Southeastern	12,104	18,157	50.00%
Central	10,871	15,175	39.59%
Southern Coal Fields	13,864	16,558	19.43%
Northern Panhandle	17,773	23,850	34.19%

Sources: 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census.

Table Two reports the “average” median household income for each of the regions.⁴⁸ The regional averages were obtained by adding the median household incomes for all the counties within each of the eight regions and dividing the regional totals by the number of counties in each of the regions. Finally, for each region, the percentage change in median household income between 1980 and 1990 was calculated.

For the state, the median household income in 1990 was \$20,795. The regions with the highest household median income in 1990 were the *Eastern Panhandle*, the *Southeastern* region, the *Monongahela Basin*, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*. However, among these regions, the *Eastern Panhandle* had a largest increase in median household income between 1980 and 1990. The other regions with significant increases in median household income were the *Monongahela Basin* and the *Southwestern* counties. The regions that had the lowest average median household income were the *Central*, *Southern Coal Fields*, and *Northern Panhandle*.

Population

Table Three provides population totals for the state’s regions for 1980, 1990, and July 1999.⁴⁹ In the fifth column is the percent change between 1990 and the 7/1/99 population estimate. The total state population in 1980 was 1,950,186, which declined to 1,793,477 in 1990, but was estimated to have risen to 1,806,928 in 1999. For the 2000

⁴⁸ For county-level data, as well as the 1980 figures, refer to Appendix 1-B.

⁴⁹ For county-level data refer to appendix 1-C.

census West Virginia's population increased to 1,808,344. The only region with consistently positive population change was the *Eastern Panhandle*. Not only has this region grown consistently, but also it had the largest population increase over the 1990-99 period. Three of the regions showed population loss between 1990 and 1999. These regions were the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*, the *Southern Coal Fields*, and the *Northern Panhandle*.

Table Three: Population Totals and Percentages by State and Regions, 1980-1990

Regions	Population in 1980	Population in 1990 ([+] = increase from 1980 and [-] = decrease from 1980)	Population Estimate of 7/1/99 ([+] = increase from 1999 and [-] = decrease from 1999)	Percent Change
Eastern Panhandle	158,033	179,961 [+]	206,668 [+]	14%
West Central	187,887	176,294 [-]	178,645 [+]	1%
CHMSA	449,496	415,095 [-]	412,659 [-]	-.5%
Monongahela Basin	369,288	344,624 [-]	348,895 [+]	1%
Southeastern	150,202	135,291 [-]	135,666 [+]	.2%
Central	65,530	60,085 [-]	61,382 [+]	2%
Southern Coal Fields	372,713	313,017 [-]	302,339 [-]	-3%
Northern Panhandle	197,041	169,710 [-]	160,537 [-]	-5%

Sources: 1980 and 1990 West Virginia Census and the 1999 U.S. Census population estimates at <http://www.census.gov>.

Hypotheses

The study's dependent variables are voter turnout, voter registration, and election results in general elections for U.S. president, governor, and state House of Delegates. I hypothesized that more people would turn out to vote and would register as Republicans, and that more Republicans would win in those regions where higher percentages of the population was enrolled in college and there had been increases over time in median household income and population size. For the next part of this chapter the discussion turns to how well these hypotheses fared when tested.

Hypotheses 1 and 2:

Maps for voter turnout for the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections are found in Appendix Two-A. Immediately, one should notice that turnout in the counties for the 1996 general election was higher than the other two elections. In 1996, there were presidential and gubernatorial races. Statewide, turnout of registered voters was 65%. In 1994, statewide voter turnout of registered voters was 47%, and in 1998 turnout was at 36%. In these maps, counties shaded black had turnouts over 49%. The counties in gray fell between 25% and 49%, and those with turnouts below 25% are colored white.

The *Northern Panhandle* had relatively high voter turnouts in both the 1994 and 1996 general elections. In 1998, however, the region showed turnout levels more comparable to the rest of the state. Overall, however, it looks like this region has had a history of higher voter turnout. Similarly, in the *Eastern Panhandle*, a majority of the counties had relatively higher voter turnout until the 1998 general election, when it was close to the state average. Indeed, the lower turnout in 1998 appeared in a majority of the regions. The *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* was somewhat of an exception. A majority of its counties maintained higher than average voter turnout over the three elections examined, including the 1998 general election.

Hypotheses one and two dealt with voter turnout.

H₁: In those counties where more people were enrolled in college in 1990, where there were increases in median household income between 1980 and 1990, and where population grew between 1980 and 1999, there will be higher levels of turnout in the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections, compared with other counties.

H₂: The counties located in the northern regions of the state, particularly the *Eastern Panhandle*, the *West Central* region, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*, will have higher levels of voter turnout for the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections than will those counties in the southern part of the state.

The areas where turnout was higher were the *Northern Panhandle*, the *Eastern Panhandle*, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*. Although I did not expect the *Northern Panhandle* to be one of the regions with higher voter turnout, it is in the northern part of the state. The other two regions, the *Eastern Panhandle* and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*, were

expected to have relatively high voter turnout. Of the three regions with higher turnout, the *Northern Panhandle* and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* both had a higher percentage of their population enrolled in college and higher median household income in 1990 and average increases in median household income between 1980 and 1990. The *Eastern Panhandle* had the highest increase in median household income in the state between 1980 and 1990 and a large increase in population.

The *Central region* and the *Southern Coal Fields* were both low in voter turnout. These regions also had lower percentages of the populations enrolled in college and modest increases in median household income. Also, the *Southern Coal Fields* had a decrease in population between 1990 and 1999 (as well as between 1980 and 1990), while the *Central region* only had a slight increase.

Hypotheses 3 and 4:

Hypotheses three and four concentrated more directly on party competition. I expected that in those regions where higher percentages of the population were enrolled in college and where there were increases in median household income and population, there would also be more people registered as Republicans.

H₃: In those counties where more people were enrolled in college in 1990, where there were increases in income between 1980 and 1990, and where the population increased between 1980 and 1999, there will be more registered Republicans in the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections, than elsewhere in the state.

H₄: The counties located in the northern regions (the *Eastern Panhandle*, the *West Central region*, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*) of the state will have more registered Republicans in the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections than those counties in the southern part of the state.

The maps for voter registration are found in Appendix Two-B. The areas that had more registered Republicans in all three elections were the *West Central*, *Monongahela Basin*, and *Eastern Panhandle* regions. Of these three regions, two (*West Central region* and the *Eastern Panhandle*) were hypothesized to have more people registered as Republicans and a higher percentage of the population enrolled in college and increased median income and increased population.

Of these two regions, only the *Eastern Panhandle* fits what was expected. The *Eastern Panhandle*, along with a majority of its population registered Republican in all three elections, also had higher median household income in 1990, a larger percent increase in median household income between 1980 and 1990, and an increase in population from 1980 to July 1999. However, as with voter turnout, this region did not have a higher percentage of its population enrolled in college.

Statewide, more people registered as Democrats. The *Central* region and the *Southern Coal Fields*, along with having lower percentages of their populations enrolled in college and lower median household incomes, also had a majority of the population registered as Democrats. Again, population size increased little in the *Central* region and declined in the *Southern Coal Fields*.

Hypotheses 5 and 6:

I also hypothesized that in those areas where there were higher levels of college enrollment, increases in median household income, and population growth, there would also be a tendency to have more Republican wins.

H₅: Compared with other regions, in those regions where there were increases in income between 1980 and 1990, increases in population between 1980, 1990, and 1999, and more people enrolled in college in 1990, more Republican candidates will win in the 1988, 1992, and 1996 general elections for president and governor and in the 1986-1998 general elections for House of Delegates in West Virginia.

H₆: The counties located in the northern and western regions of the state will have more Republican candidates winning elections in the 1988, 1992, and 1996 general elections for president and governor and in the 1986-1998 general elections for House of Delegates in West Virginia, compared to those counties in the southern part of the state.

Here, I looked at three levels of elections: presidential, gubernatorial, and state house. For the presidential and gubernatorial elections of 1988, 1992, and 1996 I looked for counties in which the Republican presidential and gubernatorial candidates received a majority. The maps in Appendix Two-C and D show the 1988, 1992, and 1996 general election results for president and governor, respectively. The shaded counties had majority votes for the Republican presidential or gubernatorial candidates.

The *West Central* region showed Republican support in all three gubernatorial elections, even in 1992. In this election a strong and beloved Democratic candidate, Gaston Caperton, was running and a majority of the state supported him. Still, Ritchie County held on as a Republican safe haven. In the previous election of 1988, a majority of counties in the *West Central* regions, supported the Republican gubernatorial candidate. The Republican candidate, former Governor Cecil Underwood, won easily in 1996, when the seat was open. Also, the Democratic candidate, a woman and perceived liberal, Charlotte Pritt, was not entirely well received in the state.

The two areas that are most notable are the *West Central* and *Eastern Panhandle* regions. In all six elections for president and governor, these regions had the most counties voting for the Republican. These were two of the regions hypothesized to show more support for Republican candidates.

For the state house elections, legislative district data were used. Counties shaded in gray were counties where Republicans won (see Appendix Two-E). The elections examined were the 1986-1998 general elections for the House of Delegates.

In the *Central* region and *Southern Coal Fields*, Democratic candidates overall did much better. Only in two contests did Republican candidates win in the *Central* region, but that changed in 1992 when the district lines were redrawn, separating Roane and Clay Counties. Roane County is in the *West Central* region and Clay County in the *Central* region. *West Central* counties tended to be friendly to Republican candidates in post-1990 elections. Other regions that showed support for Republican candidates in these house elections were the *Eastern Panhandle* and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*.

The regions that showed more Republican wins for presidential and gubernatorial candidates (*West Central* and *Eastern Panhandle*) did not have higher percentages of the population enrolled in college. For the state house elections, however, the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* both showed more support for Republican candidates and had higher percentages of the population enrolled in college. For the presidential, gubernatorial, and house elections the *Eastern Panhandle* was the only region where Republicans won, the region had increased income, and population had increased. The *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* also supported

Republican candidates in house elections and had increased median household income. Again, the *Central* region and *Southern Coal Fields* were safe areas for Democratic candidates.

Summary

Overall, the *Eastern Panhandle* did better than the other regions in terms of income and population size. As hypothesized, it also had higher voter turnout than other regions, more Republican registration, and was more likely to support Republican candidates in presidential, gubernatorial, and state house elections. However, this area did not have a higher percentage of its population enrolled in college.

Percentage of the population enrolled in college may be a poor indicator. Younger people are not inclined to participate as much as older people. Therefore, what the data may be showing is the reluctance of college-aged people to vote. However, the variable, being unclear, may just reflect that there are more colleges in some areas as opposed to other areas. Perhaps another indicator like age or educational attainment would have been better to use.

The *Central* region and *Southern Coal Fields* were regions that had lower voter turnout, more people registered as Democrats, and Democratic candidates doing much better than Republican candidates in all the elections examined. These regions also had lower percentages of the population enrolled in college and lower median household incomes. Also, the *Central* region had only a modest increase in population and the *Southern Coal Field* had a decrease.

Hypothesis 7: Campaign Contributions and the Republican Party

Given that the findings show the *Eastern Panhandle* had increases in median household income and population, while also showing higher levels of voter turnout, Republican Party registration, and support for Republican candidates, I would expect the state Republican Party to focus its attention there.

Chapter Three hypothesized that the effect of increased support for the Republican Party in the northern part of the state would lead to a more concentrated

strategy by the Republican Party. In other words, the Republican Party would focus campaign funds in those regions that had proved to be more Republican-friendly.

H₇: The state Republican Party will spend more campaign funds in the 1996 and 1998 House of Delegates races in those counties where median household income increased between 1980 and 1990, where the population grew between 1980 and 1999, and where there were higher percentages of the population enrolled in college than in counties with declining or stable median household incomes and populations and fewer people enrolled in college.

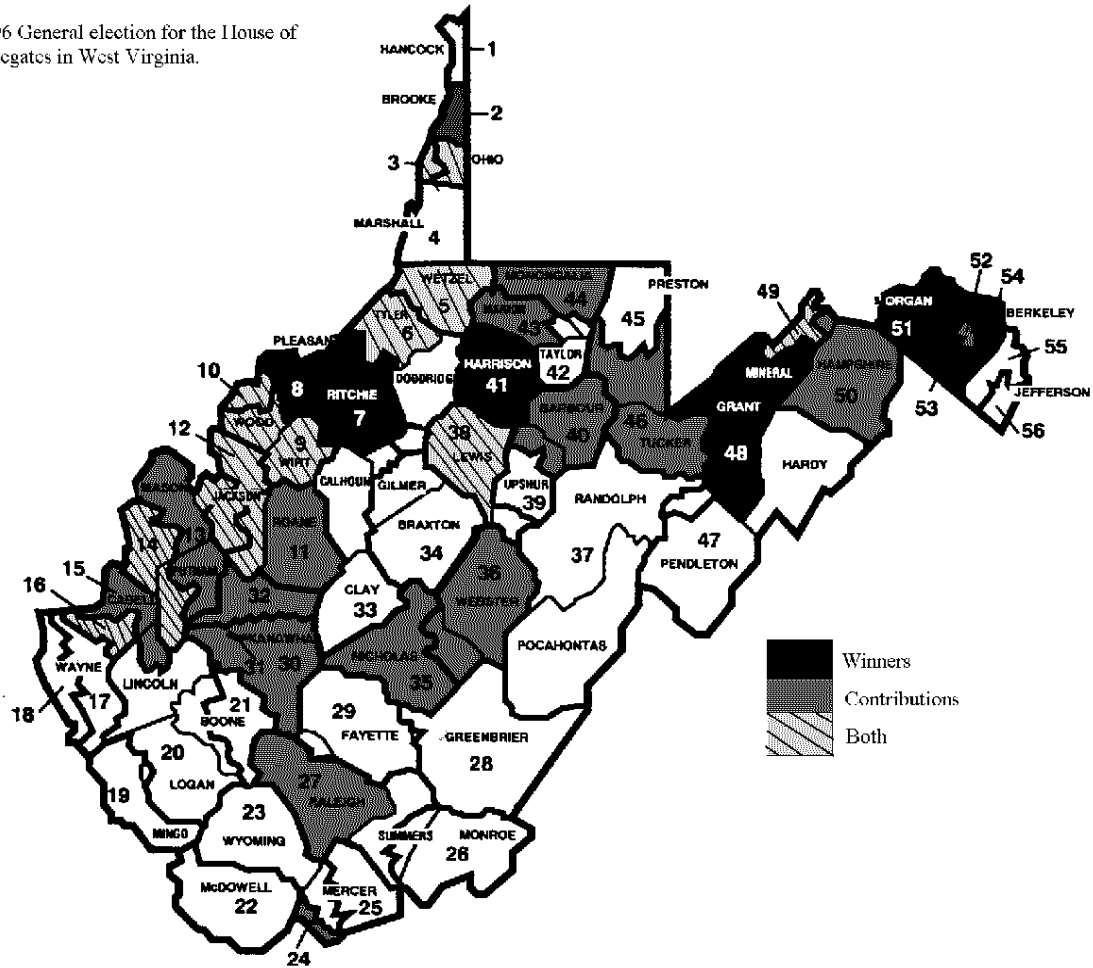
To test this hypothesis, campaign data were gathered for the 1996 and 1998 general elections for the House of Delegates in West Virginia. Election results and campaign financial disclosure forms were used. I concentrated on those counties where Republicans won and where the state Republican Party contributed. As hypothesized, these counties were in the regions where there were higher percentages of the population enrolled in college, increasing median income, and more Republicans winning.

Maps Two and Three present these data for the 1996 and 1998 general elections, respectively. The counties shaded in black are counties where Republican candidates won, and the counties shaded in gray are the counties where the state Republican Party contributed funds. Finally, the counties in gray with slashes are those where Republicans won and the Party contributed.

The maps indicate that counties in the *Eastern Panhandle* had both contributions from the Republican Party and Republican wins, but not both together, with Morgan County as an exception in the 1998 general election. The maps also show a westerly clustering of Republican wins and Republican contributions. The contributions and wins produced a better yield in 1998 when six more counties in the western part of the state had both Republican wins and contributions. Overall, the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* and the *West Central* region had both more Republican wins and more contributions from the Party. Also, the *Monongahela Basin* and some of the *Northern Panhandle* had Republican wins and campaign funds from the Party.

Map Two: 1996 general election for the House of Delegates: wins and contributions by the Republican Party.

1996 General election for the House of Delegates in West Virginia.



Source: Secretary of State's Office in West Virginia.

However, these regions did not have higher percentages of their populations enrolled in college or increases in population. Only the *Monongahela* Basin shows a relatively large percent of its population enrolled in college, but if one takes *Monongalia* County (home of West Virginia University) out of the picture, then the region falls drastically in percentage of the population enrolled in college, from 8.49% to 3.68%. What this suggests, then, is that the wrong indicators may have been picked. Something else is happening to make these areas more Republican friendly and the *Southern Coal Fields*, *Central West Virginia*, and the *Southeastern* counties remained Democratic. The next question is what.

Conclusion

The *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* had higher voter turnout with a larger percent of its population enrolled in college and an increasing household median income. Yet it has suffered a decline in population since 1980. This area also did not have a comparatively higher number of voters registering Republican. In contrast, the *West Central* region did not have a large percent of its population enrolled in college, rising household median income, or much population growth. Still, more of its population registered Republican and favored Republican candidates.

These issues will be considered in Chapter Five where I will discuss the implications of the findings, what is happening with party realignment in the state, and the limitations of this study. Also, the 2000 general election in West Virginia will be covered.

Chapter Five Conclusions

The main goal of this thesis was to determine whether West Virginia is seeing a partisan realignment. My intent was to use electoral competition as a clue to possible changes in the electoral system. Since the 1930's when the Great Depression hit and the New Deal came into existence, the state as a whole has been strongly Democratic, acting as a single-party state. However, Republicans have recently made small gains in the state and continue to do so. Among the signs that the state is moving toward possible realignment were expected to be more Republicans winning elections and rising percentages of registered Republicans. I also hypothesized that any such changes would be due to higher college enrollment in an area and increases in household income and population. Thus, the thesis examined the proposition:

As income and population increase and where college enrollment is higher, electoral competition will increase.

This chapter will discuss how the hypotheses fared. I will try to answer the question of whether parties in the state are realigning and how the 2000 general election in West Virginia affects my thesis. I will also discuss some of the limitations to this study and suggest what other things might be done in the future.

Realignment/Dealignment: What's going on?

The data do not lead to a very solid answer here. Certainly, to get a fuller awareness of the possibility of realignment, the data would need to go further back in time than the mid to late 1980's. A pattern does emerge, however, when looking at the election results and the maps of Republican wins. The northwestern to northeastern regions consistently have had more Republican wins than the southernmost regions of the state. One can draw a line down these maps and see that the Appalachian Mountains cut through the state in virtually the same way. Isolation due to the Appalachian Mountain

chain may help keep the southern regions Democratic, while more party competitiveness emerges in the northwestern/eastern regions.

Instead of seeing evidence of realignment and dealignment, I see maintaining elections. Since the 1980's, the electorate seems to have maintained this regional pattern of voting. Maintaining these patterns may suggest a change in the future. It would be important to see when this particular electoral pattern, a deviation from strong Democratic support in part of the state, began. I believe that a party realignment occurred in West Virginia during the New Deal period, and this realignment held for a long period. However, my data now point to a different, maintaining pattern, which reflects ongoing change in the state's electorate. Perhaps this period of maintaining elections will be transformed into a new period of realignment. Only recently has the state Republican Party organized itself around this development and begun to contribute to campaigns more strategically. Perhaps as the Party grows in strength, more competitiveness will follow, leading the entire state toward greater two-party competitiveness. Until then, more indicators of change need to be considered and longer time periods analyzed.

The data showed that the *Eastern Panhandle* best fits the profile of what I was looking for. Although this region did not have a higher percentage of its population enrolled in college than other parts of the state, it did have rising median household income and increased population. Also, counties in the *Eastern Panhandle* had higher voter turnout, more registered Republicans, and more Republican wins in the selected presidential, gubernatorial, and state house elections than other West Virginia counties.

One factor that makes this region different from the other regions in West Virginia is that people from Virginia and Maryland are slowly moving into the area. As Washington, D.C. and surrounding urban centers grow, more people are moving into the *Eastern Panhandle*. This would be one of the first places likely to have realigned. The data did not go far back enough to examine this. What I believe the data reported here do show about this region is that currently it is not in a realigning or dealigning period; rather it is in an era of maintaining elections. As Chapter Two mentioned, maintaining elections occur when the vote changes little and political party alignments remain the same. For the 1988, 1992, and 1996 presidential and gubernatorial elections, Republican

candidates received a majority vote from a majority of the counties in the *West Central* and *Eastern Panhandle*. However, there was a slight decline in support in the 1996 election. This could be due to the fact Bill Clinton was running as an incumbent. In the 1988, 1992, and 1996 gubernatorial elections, the *Eastern Panhandle* had increasing support for the Republican gubernatorial candidates, with most of the counties supporting the Republican candidate in 1996. In 1996, there was an open seat for governor. For the 1986-1998 general elections for the House of Delegates, support for the Republican candidates was a bit less compared to the presidential and gubernatorial candidates, but in these elections the same four counties (Grant, Mineral, Morgan, and Berkeley) voted Republican. This is half of the counties in the region.

I also predicted that the *West Central* and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* would have increased voter turnout, more registered Republicans, and more successful Republican candidates. Also, these regions were predicted to have higher percentages of their populations enrolled in college and increases in median household income and population.

The *West Central* region did have more registered Republican and more Republicans winning in state house elections. Like the *Eastern Panhandle*, there evidently are signs of maintaining elections occurring in the region. For the 1986 through 1998 general elections for the House of Delegates, the *West Central* region, overall, supported Republican candidates. Although there was diminished support for Republican presidential candidates in 1992 and 1996, support for Republican candidates was high in the gubernatorial elections examined. This region, however, had a lower percentage of its population enrolled in college, a median household income less than the state average in 1980 with a modest increase in 1990, and only a 1% population increase between 1990 and 1999, with a decrease from 1980 to 1990. Perhaps these independent variables were poor indicators of this region's important factors shaping electoral outcomes. In fact, overall, Republicans tended to do much better in this region than in the *Eastern Panhandle*. Other indicators will be necessary in future research.

In the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* more of the population turned out to vote and there were more Republican wins in the House elections, but not more registered Republicans compared to the other regions. It also had

higher percentages of the population enrolled in college and higher median household income. But, the area showed a decline in population from 1980 to 1999, and growth in median household income was average compared with the rest of the state. Charleston University is located in Charleston and Marshall University in Huntington, and that is probably why a higher percentage of the population is enrolled in college. Also, the city of Charleston is a leader in manufacturing employment and the state capital. These could be explanations for why the region has the third highest median household income in the state. Given that this area has higher voter turnout with more Republican wins, and is the focus of the state Republican Party in contributions, there must be other forces driving changes in electoral patterns.

Why are Republicans winning in some parts of the state when more people are still registered Democrats? In presidential and gubernatorial elections, Democratic candidates fared better in the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* than did Republicans. However, in state house elections Republican candidates did well. In most of the elections examined, a majority of the counties voted for Republican candidates. The 1996 general election was an exception. Perhaps this election affected voters by offering a charismatic Democratic presidential candidate, incumbent Bill Clinton. Candidates running in the 1996 general election for House of Delegates, therefore, may also have seemed more appealing. This hypothesis does not hold for the gubernatorial election of 1996 in this region, however. Majorities in all of the counties in the region supported the Republican candidate, Cecil H. Underwood.

Multi-member districts may have something to do with increased support of Republican candidates for the House of Delegates. While working with my data, I noticed Republicans had a better chance of winning house elections when they ran in multi-member districts. In these districts a candidate does not have to get a majority of the vote to win a seat.

To get a better idea of what has happened, earlier elections need to be analyzed. With the data gathered for this study, a pattern does appear where the northwestern to northeastern regions have had more Republican wins than the southernmost regions of the state. An overall explanation for the differences in these two main regions likely is isolation from the Appalachian Mountain chain. From before West Virginia became a

state, the mountain chain operated in such a way to divide the northern part of the state from the southern part of the state.

The 2000 General Election

The 2000 election was interesting for West Virginia. For the first time since 1984 when President Reagan won as an incumbent in the state, a Republican candidate, George W. Bush carried the state. However, Republicans did not fare so well in the gubernatorial race. In the 2000 general election, the Democratic candidate, Bob Wise, was an incumbent Congressperson who had served in the 2nd congressional district, one of the largest districts in the east, for 18 years.⁵⁰ Overall, the gubernatorial race was close, with Governor Underwood receiving 47.21% of the vote and Bob Wise, the challenger, getting 50.12% of the vote. Maps Four and Five below show, in the shaded counties, where the Republican candidates for president and governor won.

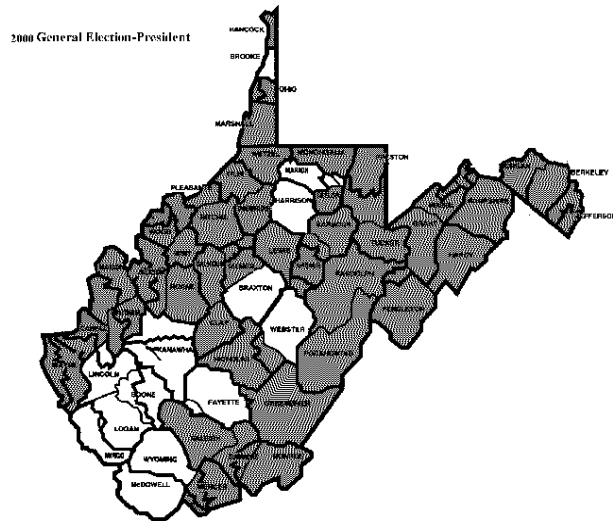
The region to demonstrate the weakest Republican support was the *Southern Coal Fields*, while the *Eastern Panhandle* showed the strongest Republican loyalty. The most significant thing about the 2000 general election is the marked support for both Republican candidates in the *Southeastern* region of the state. In past presidential elections the *Southeastern* region mostly favored Democratic candidates.⁵¹ In past gubernatorial elections there has been a slow shift in favor of the Republican candidate in the *Southeastern* region, but the shift is most prominent in the 2000 general election.⁵² The 2000 general election certainly marks a change in the *Southeastern* region.

⁵⁰ More can be learned about the Governor of West Virginia at www.state.wv.us/governor/MeetGov.htm.

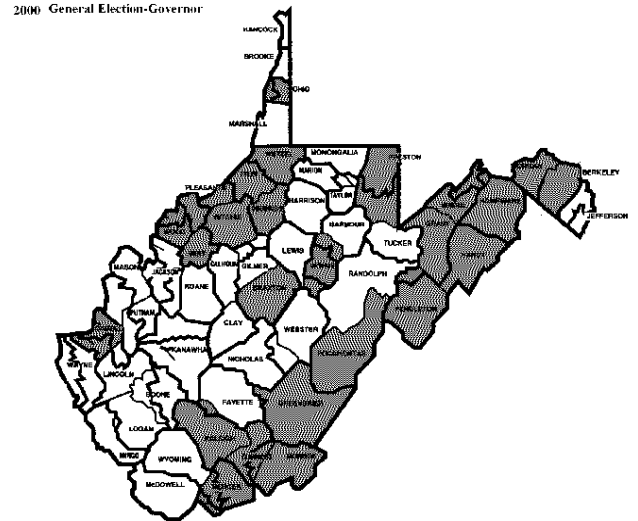
⁵¹ See appendix 2-C

⁵² See appendix 2-D

Map Four: 2000 Presidential Election



Map Five: 2000 Gubernatorial Election



Source: Secretary of State's Office in West Virginia.

Voter registration remained consistent in 2000 compared to earlier years. The percentage of the population registering Democratic continued to fall slightly to 61% from 63% in 1998, Republican registration remained at 29% where it was in 1998, and the population registered as Independent and the independent and other category increased from 7.9% to 9.09%. At the county level, the six counties that had a majority of the population registered as Republican from 1994 to 1998 continued to be the only counties in West Virginia to have a majority of their populations registered Republicans. All six counties supported the Republican presidential candidate in the 2000 election and all but one, Taylor county, also supported the Republican gubernatorial candidate.

The 2000 general election does not clearly answer the question about a possible realignment. Although George W. Bush won in the state, the majority of the voting population chose to elect a Democratic governor. Also, the percentages registered Democrats and Republicans seem to have leveled off, with independents and other parties increasing. The 2000 general election may be further evidence of maintaining elections. The change in support for Republican candidates in the *Southeastern* region may indicate otherwise, however. It would be interesting to see if this new pattern in the region is found in 2004. The Republican party, since the 2000 election, is trying to organize in all the counties of the state in an effort of bolster more support from the public. Given new

issues and concerns, the Republican party may be able to capitalize on weakening Democratic ties. Unless the state Democratic party can overcome its internal problems, West Virginia may very quickly become a Republican state, or at least a competitive two-party system.

Where's the Money?

I hypothesized that the state Republican Party would learn where Republican candidates did better and concentrate its funding efforts in those areas. I also expected that, compared to other regions, those areas would have more registered Republicans and more Republican wins. The regions I expected to have such features were the *Eastern Panhandle*, the *West Central* region, and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area*. Both the *Eastern Panhandle* and the *West Central* regions had more registered Republicans and more Republican wins. The *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* did not have more individuals registered as Republican, but did have more Republican wins in state house elections. As stated previously, the fact that this region has multi-member districts may make it easier for Republicans to win state legislative races.

How did the Party respond? I expected to see campaign funds from the state Republican Party concentrated in the three areas. The data on the 1996 and 1998 general elections for the House of Delegates do support that hypothesis. All three regions predicted to have more Republican wins and more campaign funds did. However, there were both Republican wins and contributions in other regions that I did not expect. One such region was the *Southern Coal Fields*. In the 1998 general election for the House of Delegates, the state Republican Party contributed in two counties. This suggests that the trend of Republican wins and state party contributions is spreading southward. The areas where there are significantly fewer Republican wins and an absence of state party contributions are also south of the Appalachian Mountains. This relates back to the north/south distinction made earlier. The mountains have always been a dividing factor in the development of the state and appear to be a factor as well in electoral patterns.

Limitations and Future Research

Above, I mentioned that better indicators needed to be used. A clear example of this is the education measure. A better indicator of education would have been county level data on educational attainment from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 Census; however, the data were not available. Finding readily available data in the state was difficult. In some cases one has to make do with what they can get. Since I was not able to obtain the data on educational attainment, I had to settle for the population enrolled in college. What I found in using this indicator was that it was not very helpful.

Another limitation to this study was time. This is the case for any sort of research, but here more time clearly was needed. I could not reach any conclusive findings about realignment with the elections I studied. Going further back than the mid-1980's is necessary to determine whether a realignment is happening or has happened. One of the drawbacks of looking only at West Virginia is that it did not tell me what had been happening in the neighboring states. This is important, especially with the *Eastern Panhandle*, with its urban sprawl, and the *West Central* and the *Charleston and Huntington Metropolitan Statistical Area* regions. Knowing whether and how these areas are being influenced by external factors may also indicate which variables to use to help explain change and stability. One could be media influence from the bordering states, migration, travel, and employment across state borders. Finding where the state fits within the national realm will be an important next step in my research.

Appendix 1-Tables

Appendix 1-Tables

A. College enrollment for the state, regions, and counties

(Source: West Virginia 1990 Census)

	Population in College in 1990	Percent of Population in College in 1990
State	97,292	5.42%
Monogahela Basin	29257	8.49%
Barbour	842	5.36%
Doddridge	190	2.72%
Harrison	2,914	4.20%
Lewis	447	2.60%
Marion	3,768	6.58%
Monogahela	16,550	21.92%
Preston	781	2.69%
Randolph	1,348	4.85%
Taylor	446	2.95%
Tucker	205	2.65%
Upshur	1,766	7.72%
Northern Panhandle	10,121	5.96%
Brooke	2,083	7.72%
Hancock	1,788	5.07%
Marshall	1,658	4.44%
Ohio	3,946	7.76%
Wetzel	646	3.35%
West Central	7376	4.18%
Calhoun	243	3.08%
Gilmer	886	11.55%
Jackson	915	3.53%
Pleasants	220	2.92%
Richie	259	2.53%
Roane	356	2.35%
Tyler	349	3.56%
Wirt	201	3.87%
Wood	3947	4.54%
Charleston-Huntington SMSA	23,714	6.35%
Cabell	9,552	9.87%
Kanawha	9,903	4.77%
Mason	685	2.72%
Putnam	1,612	3.68%
Wayne	1,962	4.71%

Southern Coal Fields	12360	3.95%
Boone	738	2.85%
Fayette	2,475	5.16%
Lincoln	609	2.85%
Logan	1,767	4.11%
McDowell	1,019	2.89%
Mingo	1,234	3.66%
Raleigh	3,420	4.45%
Wyoming	1,098	3.79%
Southeastern	5,747	4.25%
Greenbrier	1,038	2.99%
Mercer	3,778	5.56%
Monroe	334	2.69%
Pocahontas	164	1.82%
Summers	433	3.05%
Central	1442	2.40%
Braxton	257	1.98%
Clay	213	2.13%
Nicholas	721	2.69%
Webster	251	2.34%
Eastern Panhandle	7,239	4.21%
Berkeley	2,091	3.53%
Grant	292	2.80%
Hampshire	418	2.53%
Hardy	216	1.97%
Jefferson	2,113	5.88%
Mineral	1,639	6.14%
Morgan	300	2.47%
Pendleton	170	2.11%

B. Median income for households for the state, regions, and counties
(Source: West Virginia 1980 and 1990 Census.)

	Household median income-1990	Household median income-1980	Percent Change
State	20,795	NA	
Monogahela Basin	18,894	12,702	48.74%
Barbour	15,607	11,996	30.10%
Doddridge	17,159	10,704	60.30%
Harrison	21,655	13,794	59.98%
Lewis	17,972	12,383	41.13%
Marion	20,389	14,418	41.41%
Monogahela	22,183	13,371	65.90%
Preston	19,940	12,979	53.63%
Randolph	18,278	12,801	42.78%
Taylor	17,963	12,678	41.68%
Tucker	17,949	11,522	55.78%
Upshur	18,739	13,074	43.33%
Northern Panhandle	23,850	17,773	34.19%
Brooke	26,500	19,600	35.20%
Hancock	26,031	20,701	25.74%
Marshall	22,687	17,331	30.90%
Ohio	22,489	15,083	49.10%
Wetzel	21,545	16,149	33.41%
West Central	18,525	13,376	38.49%
Calhoun	14,496	10,000	44.96%
Gilmer	14,539	10,063	44.47%
Jackson	21,655	17,223	25.73%
Pleasants	20,910	16,182	29.21%
Richie	17,333	11,381	52.29%
Roane	15,375	11,623	32.28%
Tyler	20,306	15,107	34.41%
Wirt	16,951	12,222	38.69%
Wood	25,161	16,583	51.72%
Charleston-Huntington SMSA	22,496	15,763	42.71%
Cabell	21,255	14,304	48.59%
Kanawha	23,999	17,291	38.79%
Mason	20,135	15,082	33.50%
Putnam	27,405	18,186	50.69%
Wayne	19,688	13,951	41.12%
Southern Coal Fields	16,558	13,864	19.43%
Boone	17,073	16,362	4.34%
Fayette	16,774	12,564	33.50%
Lincoln	14,659	11,788	24.35%

	Logan	17,942	14,533	23.45%
	McDowell	13,141	12,091	8.68%
	Mingo	16,066	12,541	28.10%
	Raleigh	19,566	15,164	29.02%
	Wyoming	17,248	15,870	8.68%
Southeastern		18,157	12,104	50.00%
	Greenbrier	19,411	12,197	59.14%
	Mercer	19,365	13,841	39.91%
	Monroe	18,217	11,388	59.96%
	Pocahontas	17,337	12,355	40.32%
	Summers	16,457	10,738	53.25%
Central		15,175	10,871	39.59%
	Braxton	16,359	10,286	59.04%
	Clay	12,855	9,835	30.70%
	Nicholas	18,116	13,565	33.54%
	Webster	13,371	9,801	36.42%
Eastern Panhandle		23,343	13,203	76.80%
	Berkeley	27,412	15,390	78.11%
	Grant	20,923	11,675	79.21%
	Hampshire	20,753	11,926	74.01%
	Hardy	20,745	11,577	79.19%
	Jefferson	30,941	15,803	95.79%
	Mineral	22,036	14,662	50.29%
	Morgan	24,372	13,632	78.78%
	Pendleton	19,565	10,956	78.57%

C. Population totals for the state, regions and counties of West Virginia
(Sources: West Virginia 1980 and 1990 Census and the U.S. Census.)

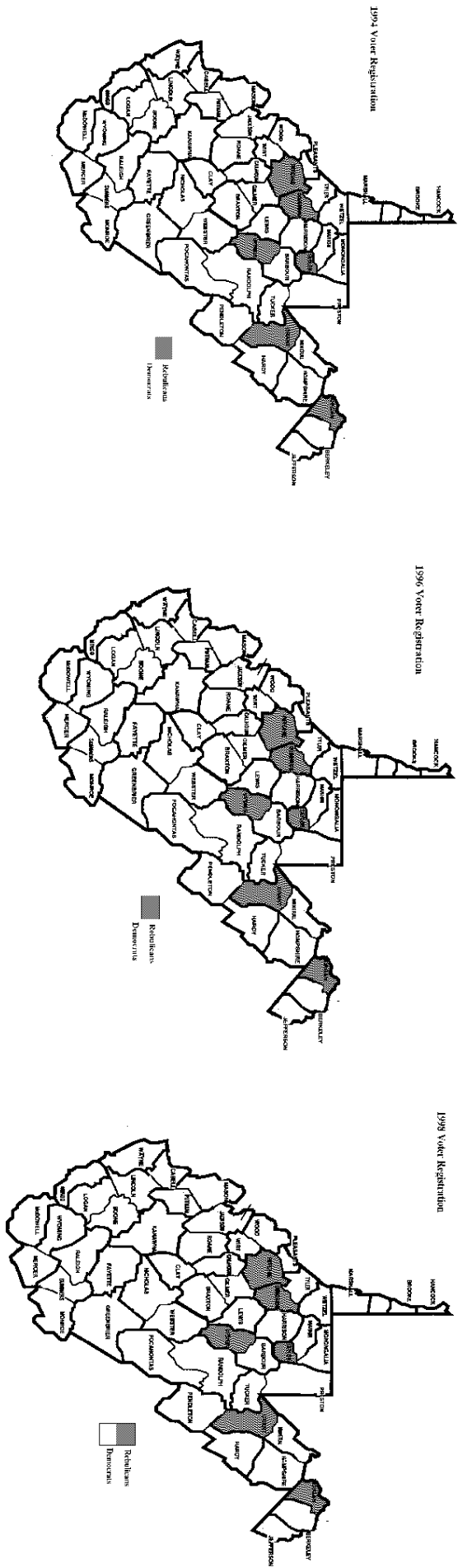
Population Estimate of 7/1/99 Population in 1990 Population in 1980

State	1,806,928 [+]	1,793,477 [-]	1,950,186
Monogahela Basin	348895 [+]	344624 [-]	369,288
Barbour	15,979 [+]	15,699 [-]	16,639
Doddridge	7,447 [+]	6,994 [-]	7,433
Harrison	70,329 [+]	69,371 [-]	77,710
Lewis	17,463 [+]	17,223 [-]	18,813
Marion	55,939 [-]	57,249 [-]	65,789
Monogahela	77,006 [+]	75,509 [+]	75,024
Preston	29,814 [+]	29,037 [-]	30,460
Randolph	28,654 [+]	27,803 [-]	28,734
Taylor	15,367 [+]	15,144 [-]	16,584
Tucker	7,513 [-]	7,728 [-]	8,675
Upshur	23,544 [+]	22,867 [-]	23,427
Northern Panhandle	160,537 [-]	169,710 [-]	197,041
Brooke	25,890 [-]	26,992 [-]	31,117
Hancock	33,740 [-]	35,233 [-]	41,053
Marshall	34,968 [-]	37,356 [-]	41,608
Ohio	47,719 [-]	50,871 [-]	61,389
Wetzel	18,220 [-]	19,258 [-]	21,874
West Central	178,645 [+]	176,294 [-]	187,887
Calhoun	7,982 [+]	7885 [-]	8,250
Gilmer	7,143 [-]	7,669 [-]	8,334
Jackson	28,294 [+]	25,938 [+]	25,794
Pleasants	7,518 [-]	7,546 [-]	8,236
Richie	10,480 [+]	10,233 [-]	11,442
Roane	15,413 [+]	15,120 [-]	15,952
Tyler	9,717 [-]	9,796 [-]	11,320
Wirt	5,761 [+]	5,192 [+]	4,922
Wood	86,337 [-]	86,915 [-]	93,627
Charleston-Huntington SMSA	412,659 [+]	415,095 [-]	449,496
Cabell	93,562 [-]	96,827 [-]	106,835
Kanawha	199,263 [-]	207,619 [-]	231,414
Mason	26,018 [+]	25,178 [-]	27,045
Putnam	51,936 [+]	43,835 [+]	38,181
Wayne	41,860 [+]	41,636 [-]	46,021
Southern Coal Fields	302,339 [-]	313,017 [-]	372,713
Boone	26,302 [+]	25,870 [-]	30,447
Fayette	46,785 [-]	47,952 [-]	57,863
Lincoln	22,346 [+]	21,382 [-]	23,675
Logan	40,183 [-]	43,032 [-]	50,679

	McDowell	29,306 [-]	35,233 [-]	49,899
	Mingo	31,480 [-]	33,739 [-]	37,336
	Raleigh	78,947 [+]	76,819 [-]	86,821
	Wyoming	26,987 [-]	28,990 [-]	35,993
Southeastern		135,666 [+]	135,291 [-]	150,202
	Mercer	64,132 [-]	64,980 [-]	73,870
	Summers	13,863 [-]	14,204 [-]	15,875
	Monroe	13,296 [+]	12,406 [-]	12,873
	Greenbrier	35,310 [+]	34,693 [-]	37,665
	Pocahontas	9,065 [-]	9,008 [-]	9,919
Central		61,382 [+]	60,085 [-]	65,530
	Braxton	13,211 [+]	12,998 [-]	13,894
	Clay	10,609 [+]	9,983 [-]	11,265
	Nicholas	27,526 [+]	26,775 [-]	28,126
	Webster	10,036 [-]	10,729 [-]	12,245
Eastern Panhandle		206,668 [+]	179,961 [+]	158,033
	Berkeley	72,846 [+]	59,253 [+]	46,775
	Grant	11,140 [+]	10,428 [+]	10,210
	Hampshire	19,418 [+]	16,498 [+]	14,867
	Hardy	11,989 [+]	10,977 [+]	10,030
	Jefferson	42,271 [+]	35,926 [+]	30,302
	Mineral	27,069 [+]	26,697 [-]	27,234
	Morgan	13,895 [+]	12,128 [+]	10,711
	Pendleton	8,040 [-]	8,054 [+]	7,910

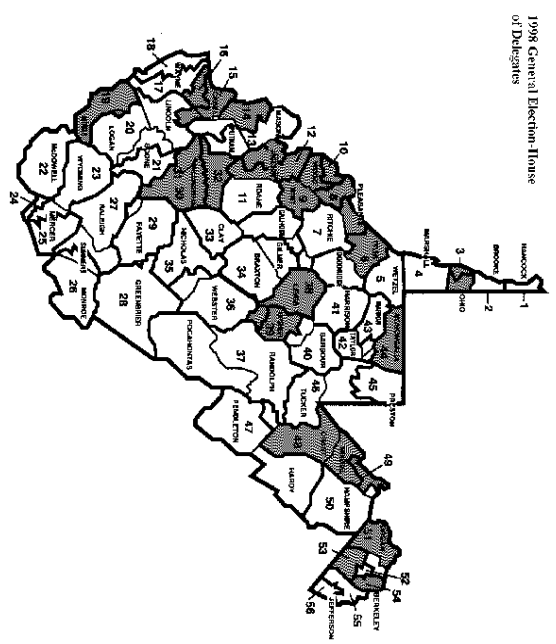
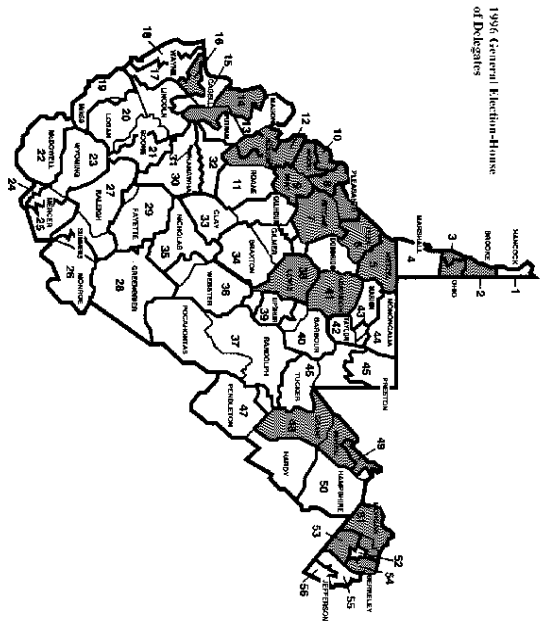
Appendix 2-Maps

B : Voter Registration by County for the 1994-1998 General Elections in West Virginia

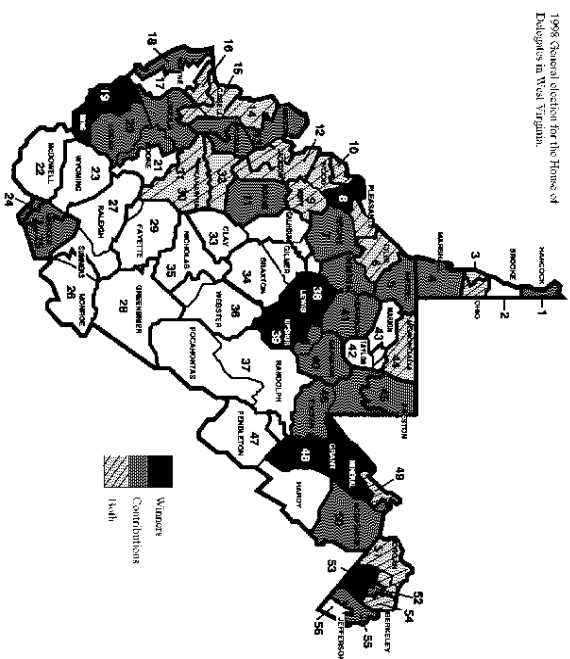
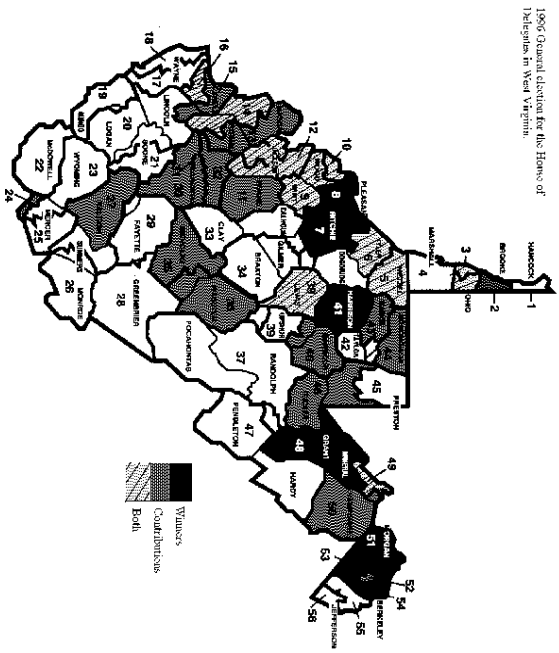


Source: Secretary of State's Office in West Virginia.

1986-1998 House Elections Continued



F: Republican Winners and Contributions by County for the 1996 and 1998 General Elections for the House of Delegates in West Virginia



Source: Secretary of State's Office in West Virginia.

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Education

J. D. Degree, expected May 2003, West Virginia University College of Law, Morgantown, WV.

Master of Arts in Political Science, in progress, expected 2001, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA.

B.A. in Political Science, December 1997, Concord College, Athens, WV.

Experience

Legal Aid Clinic, WVU Law School, for the 2002/2003 academic year.

Vice President, Abacus Computers Incorporated (March 2000)

Family owned corporation specializing in computer networking and consulting.

Researched issues that affected business operations and taxes.

Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, Virginia Tech (1998-2000)

Assist faculty in the department in teaching lower division courses. Responsibilities include test design, helping students, grading papers and tests, and acting as an aid to the assigned faculty member.

Work Study, Tutor for Student Support Services (Fall 1997)

Helping students improve their study skills and test taking skills. Tutoring assignments included German, Political Science 101, and American Federal Government.

Work Study, Library Assistant at Concord College (Fall 1993)

Responsible for entering new materials into the library database, worked with word processing equipment and programs, filed microfiche and other documents, shelved books and pamphlets, received and made phone calls.

Activities and Interests

Membership in Women's Law Caucus (2001) • Thesis: Dynamics in Elections: Studying Changes in West Virginia's Electoral System (2001) • Membership in the Southern Political Science Association (1999) • Presentation of research at the annual Southern Political Science Conference (Savannah, 1999) • Representative for the Arts and Sciences on the Graduate Regranting and Budget Board (Virginia Tech, 1999-2000) • Presentation of research at the annual West Virginia Political Science Conference (Charleston, 1998) • Claude Davis award for outstanding undergraduate research (1998) • McNair Scholars Post-Graduate Program (1997-1998) Conducted quantitative research, using SPSS, on campaign finance at the state level. • Member of M.U.N.—Model United Nations (1997) • Herndon Fellows Legislative Program (1997) Conducted research for Secretary of State, Ken Heckler and for Sen. Walker, chairperson of the Health and Human Resources Committee. Responsibilities included using the West Virginia State Code for research, tracking bills, dealing with constituents and lobbyists, and acting as an aid for the Health and Human Resources Committee. • Member of S.O.U.P.—Students for Understanding Politics (1996) • Fraisure-Singleton Internship (1996) Worked for Del. Stalnaker. Responsibilities included tracking bills, dealing with constituents, and talking with lobbyists.

Skills

Westlaw and Lexis research, SPSS, Windows 98 and 2000, Microsoft Word, Microsoft Excel, WordPerfect 6.0- 6.1, WordPerfect Works, Lotus 123, Internet, DOS.