WEST VIRGINIA POLITICS: A SOCIO-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Graduate Council of

The University of Tennessee

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

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by

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June 1970

May 1, 1970

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Gerald W. Johnson entitled "West Virginia Politics: A Socio-Cultural Analysis of Political Participation." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Political Science.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The debts that a student incurs during the course of his studies and through the completion of a dissertation are too great and numerous to list without risking the sin of omission. To some, however, the debt is obvious and warrants special mention.

I particularly want to express my appreciation to Dr. Simon Perry of Marshall University who first aroused my curiosity in that wedge of knowledge of special interest to political scientists and who was instrumental in my being able to pursue that interest in graduate study. Secondly, I want to thank Dr. Jack E. Holmes of the University of Tennessee, a teacher as well as a professor, who failed to let that interest die.

To my committee: Professors Jack E. Holmes, Lee S. Greene, Douglas H. Carlisle, Charles E. Patterson and Louis E. Dotson, I wish to express my appreciation for their encouragement and guidance which made the completion of this dissertation possible.

A special acknowledgement must be made of the assistance provided by Mrs. Barbara Bridges of the University of Tennessee Computing Center. Throughout the course of the research her patience and expertise were most appreciated.

A special debt is also owed to my student colleagues who in many hours of discussion outside of the classroom imparted and elicited thoughts and ideas which may have otherwise been left dormant.

My greatest debt is owed to Nadine, my wife, who through undergraduate and graduate school has been a sounding board, a typist, a researcher, and at times a provider, while at the same time retaining the necessary patience, sensitivity, and love to care for a family. I willingly and gratefully share the rewards and distinction of the Doctor of Philosophy degree with her.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to analyze the socio-cultural influences on political participation, particularly as manifested in voting, in the state of West Virginia. In many respects, West Virginians exhibit political participation patterns that stand in direct contrast to current research findings. The state is a low-income, low-education, poverty stricken state. These characteristics are such that, based on the prevailing theories of political participation, one would expect low levels of voter turnout in the state. In West Virginia, however, levels of voter turnout are among the highest in the United States. The research question in this study is one of "why."

This study attempted an analysis of the influences of socio-economic, public policy output, partisan voting and sectionalism variables on political participation in the state of West Virginia. These variables were placed in a historical and cultural context and were analyzed within the framework of a developed paradigm of the state political system.

The research consisted of the analysis of variance in political participation among the state's 55 counties. Employing a factor analysis program and simple, partial and multiple correlation and regression techniques, various statistical tests were made to determine whether the previously cited variables were influential in accounting for variance in the levels of political participation.

In West Virginia, at least at the county level of analysis, no positive association exists between socioeconomic and policy output variables and political participation. Rather, the findings indicate that historical, cultural, institutional and stylistic variables are pervasive and long term influences on the relationship between the political system and the role of the participant in that system. Environmental variables and levels of public expenditures, at best, only tend to specify this relationship.

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CHAPTER I

STATE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The American political system is characterized by the variation of its state political subsystems. Outwardly, the culture, institutions, and politics of the fifty states appear to be much the same. Yet, the "political distance from Virginia to Alabama must be measured in light-years."[1] While the states are part of the larger American political system and are influenced by national policies and issues, each state retains political, social, environmental, and economic characteristics in many ways unique.[2] We know that the powers of the governor of South Dakota differ from those of the governor of New York.[3] Party politics in Alabama or Louisiana is different from that found in New Jersey.[4]

[1] V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), p. 36. Volumes on other regions include: Duane Lockard, New England State Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); John H. Fenton, Politics in the Border States (New Orleans: Hauser Press, 1957); John H. Fenton, Midwest Politics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966); and Frank H. Jones (ed.), Western Politics (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1961). Specific state studies include Jack E. Holmes, Politics in New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967); and Leon D. Epstein, Politics in Wisconsin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958), among others.

[2] Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines (eds.), Politics in the American States (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965).

[3] Joseph A. Schlesinger, "The Politics of the Executive," in Jacob and Vines, op. cit., pp. 207-237.

[4] Key, loc. cit.

States differ in the kinds of programs adopted, services offered, and in levels of political activity.[5] Any number of differences could be noted, but why do interstate differences of such significance occur? What are the processes that result in the greatly differing levels of activity and types of political behavior from one state to another?

Contemporary voting behavior studies, employing socioeconomic variables and their concomitants as factors conditioning and indicating political participation,[6] show interstate variations that indicate that the socially and economically underpriviliged or the lower socioeconomic classes are less likely to participate in politics than those of a higher class. Such studies show that "income is positively correlated with political participation."[7] A ranking of all states by Milbrath on per capita personal income showed a positive correlation with a ranking of states on percent of voter turnout.[8] The same positive correlation generally holds true between education, occupation and urbanization and

[5]See among others, Richard E. Dawson and James A. Robinson, "Interparty Competition, Economic Variables and Welfare Policies in the American States," Journal of Politics, 25 (May, 1963), 265-289; and Thomas R. Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public: Policy Outcomes in the American States (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

[6]See Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964); Robert E. Lane, Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959); S. M. Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960); and Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965).

[7]Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 120.

[8]Lester Milbrath, "Political Participation in the States," in Jacob and Vines, op. cit., pp. 25-60.

political participation.[9] A number of studies of national political systems have demonstrated a trend in western political systems for those with higher educational levels to be more likely to participate in politics.[10] In a five-nation study, Almond and Verba concluded that education had a greater impact on political behavior than other components of socioeconomic status.[11] Studies have also found that political participation correlates positively with degree of urbanization[12] and political party competitiveness.[13] Daniel Lener found in a study of the Middle East that the general level of communication was positively correlated with participation in politics.[14]

Other contemporary research emphasizes the party systems of each state,[15] pressure groups,[16] power or decision-making,[17] legislatures,[18]

[9]Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 122-130.

[10]Ibid., p. 122.

[11]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1965), p. 400.

[12]Campbell, op. cit., pp. 211-213.

[13]Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 96.

[14]Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958).

[15]See V. O. Key, Jr., American State Politics: An Introduction (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1956).

[16]Harmon Zeigler, "Interest Groups in the States," in Jacob and Vines, op. cit., pp. 101-150.

[17]Key, American State Politics.

[18]See John C. Wahlke et al , The Legislative System: Explorations in Legislative Behavior (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962); Malcolm E. Jewell, Legislative Representation in the Contemporary South (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967); and Malcolm E. Jewell, The State Legislature: Politics and Practice (New York: Random House, 1962).

and public policy.[19] The findings of this research are often in conflict and few attempts have been made to analyze state politics in a systems context. For example, Heinz Eulau found a relationship between urbanization and party competition in the state of Ohio. David Gold and John R. Schmidhauser in replicating that study in Iowa found no simple positive association between the degree of urbanization and the intensity of party competition.[20] The conclusion must be drawn therefore that other factors were in operation which caused different findings to be obtained in the two different states. In similar fashion, Thomas Dye has concluded that variations in state policy outputs are principally related to socioeconomic variables.[21] Yet, when Dye's model is applied to the West Virginia state political system he concludes that participation rates and policy outputs in the state defy "empirical explanation."[22]

This is not to deny the validity of the specific research findings available in the existing studies. However, it is to question their reliability as generalizations when applied to subunits or subsystems of the national system. In applying generalizations of political behavior deviant cases are to be expected, but this simply makes it more necessary to explain such deviance.

[19]Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public.

[20]See Heinz Eulau, "The Ecological Basis of Party Systems: The Case of Ohio," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 1 (August, 1957), 125-135; and David Gold and John R. Schmidhauser, "Urbanization and Party Competition: The Case of Iowa," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 4 (February, 1960), 62-75.

[21]Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public.

[22]Ibid., p. 62.

West Virginia, from all indications, is such a deviant case. The state political system exhibits characteristics which seemingly contradict many of the political behavior patterns noted in the current literature. Lester Milbrath notes that "West Virginia presents an interesting contrast . . . on economic and turnout factors," but offers no explanations.[23] Leonard Ritt found that in West Virginia political participation was not associated with urbanization or party competitiveness.[24] Ritt states, "In West Virginia . . . it does not seem to matter whether or not the election is close: almost everyone goes to the polls."[25] He concludes that "West Virginia is in a class by itself with a level of participation that exceeds those of the other Appalachian states and the non-southern states as well."[26]

West Virginia, a part of the general region of depressed Appalachia,[27] has low income and education levels, high unemployment, considerable poverty, low competition politics, and low urbanization. These socioeconomic and political characteristics are such that, from the traditional voting studies a rather low rate of political participation would be expected. The reverse is the case. Socioeconomic level (SEL),

[23] Milbrath, "Political Participation in the States," p. 44.

[24] Leonard G. Ritt, "Presidential Voting Patterns in Appalachia: An Analysis of the Relationships Between Turnout, Partisan Change, and Selected Socioeconomic Variables" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, 1967).

[25] Ibid., p. 143.

[26] Ibid., p. 126.

[27] Ibid., pp. 16-18.

party competition, and degree of urbanization hence do not fully explain variance in political participation and policy outputs levels in different political cultures or systems.

West Virginia ranks low in SEL, party competition and urbanization, but it ranks sixth from the top among all states in total voter turnout for presidential elections dating back to 1920.[28] The only states higher than West Virginia in voting turnout are the sparsely populated states of New Hampshire, Idaho, Utah, North Dakota, and South Dakota.[29] From 1920 to 1964, West Virginia had a voter turnout in presidential elections ranging from 67.5 percent to 81.2 percent. The states contiguous to West Virginia have recorded voter turnouts in presidential elections during the same period ranging from 17.7 percent to 72.4 percent, with Virginia participation rates ranging from 17.7 to 33.4 percent.[30]

Differences between West Virginia and its neighbors cannot be explained by the fact that all of West Virginia is located in a depressed area while only portions of the surrounding states are so located. Even in the portions of the states surrounding West Virginia where the socio-economic levels are very similar to those in West Virginia, such as in southwestern Virginia counties, the same high-low relationship in voting turnout is found. Those Appalachian counties adjacent to West Virginia exceed the average turnout levels in their own states, but still show participation levels lower than those of West Virginia counties.[31]

[28] Milbrath, "Political Participation in the States," p. 38.

[29] Ibid. [30] Ibid.

[31] Ritt, op. cit., pp. 129-133.

How, then, can interstate variations be accounted for? In particular, what factors account for the seemingly deviant political behavior patterns which are exhibited in the West Virginia state political system?

I. STATE POLITICAL SYSTEM RESEARCH

Research in the area of state political systems is currently being conducted at a rapid pace. Particularly, that area of research dealing with the relationships among political processes, political behavior, socioeconomic attributes, and public policies in states has recently received extensive study. The findings and conclusions of this research emphasis have, however, been contradictory and incomplete.

V. O. Key's Southern Politics, published in 1949, was perhaps the forerunner of and the impetus for the current emphases in state research. Key's findings tended to support the existence of a relationship between types of party systems (e.g., multifactional or bifactual) and types of policy outputs (e.g., liberal or conservative).[32] Similar conclusions were reached in a study of New England states in 1959.[33] Both of the above studies posited a direct relationship between political competition and policy outputs in state political systems. At the "Key" stage in the development of state research little or no attention was given to other potential influencing variables, e.g., socioeconomic attributes, political culture and political style, any of which could be intervening variables in the posited relationships (Figure 1).

[32] V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics, pp. 298-314.

[33] Duane Lockard, loc. cit.

Figure 1. Key's model of the relationship of state political system components.

Subsequent to the Key research socioeconomic variables were included in the systematic analysis of state political systems. Heinz Eulau found a relationship between urbanization and party competition in the state of Ohio.[34] Robert T. Golembiewski also found significant relationships among urbanization, industrialization and interparty competition.[35] In 1960, however, a replication of the Eulau study in Iowa showed that "contrary to the Eulau hypotheses, the Iowa data indicate that . . . there was not a simple positive association between the degree of urbanization and the intensity of party competition"[36] (Figure 2).

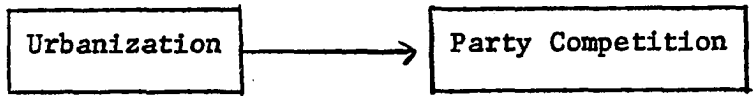

Figure 2. Eulau model of the relationship of state political system components.

[34]Eulau, loc. cit.

[35]Robert T. Golembiewski, "A Taxonomic Approach to State Political Party Strength," The Western Political Quarterly, 11 (September, 1958), 494-513.

[36]Gold and Schmidhauser, op. cit., 74.

Two later attempts to solve the conflict met with little success. While Phillips Cutright concluded that "urbanization is positively associated with competitive party politics,"[37] Keneth Janda concluded that some (but weak) support existed for the urbanization-competition hypothesis.[38]

The conflict in state political system research was further stressed in the findings of John H. Fenton, on the one hand, and Richard E. Dawson and James E. Robinson on the other. Fenton stated that two-party competition had a significant impact on policy outputs independent of urbanization or socioeconomic variables.[39] In other words, Fenton's findings supported those of Key found in 1949. Dawson and Robinson, however, found that, while significant relationships existed among party competition, socioeconomic, and policy output variables, controlled relationships resulted in the conclusion that socioeconomic variables played the most influential part in the formation of public policies. In essence, the authors stated that "interparty competition does not play as influential role in determining the nature and scope of welfare policies as earlier studies suggested (Figure 3).[40]

[37]Phillips Cutright, "Urbanization and Competitive Party Politics," Journal of Politics, 25 (August, 1963), 563.

[38]Kenneth Janda, Data Processing (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), pp. 179-183.

[39]John H. Fenton, "Two Party Competition and Governmental Expenditures," paper delivered at the 1962 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., September, 1962, as reported by John H. Fenton and Donald W. Camberlayne, "The Literature Dealing with the Relationships Between Political Processes, Socioeconomic Conditions and Public Policies in the American States: A Bibliographical Essay," Polity, 1 (Spring, 1969), 389.

[40]Dawson and Robinson, op. cit., 289.

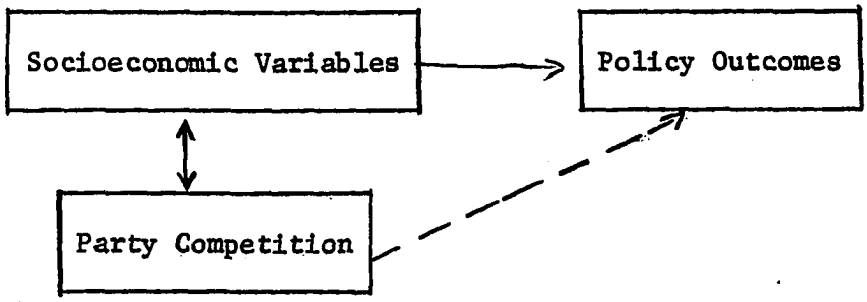

Figure 3. Dawson and Robinson model of the relationship of state political system components.

Richard I. Hofferbert in later research concluded that "structural characteristics and . . . the nature of the party system and its operation do not seem to go very far toward explaining the kinds of policies produced in the states."[41] Following Hofferbert, Thomas R. Dye published the most inclusive work to date on the posited relationships among socioeconomic characteristics, policy outputs, and political structure variables of state political systems.[42] In support of conclusions of Dawson and Robinson and Hofferbert, Dye stated that "economic development variables are more influential than political system characteristics in shaping public policy in the states."[43]

The dialogue over the correct state political system paradigm, which includes political process, socioeconomic, and policy output

[41]Richard I. Hofferbert, "The Relation Between Public Policy and Some Structural and Environmental Variables in the American States," The American Political Science Review, 60 (March, 1966), 82.

[42]Dye, loc. cit. [43]Ibid., p. 296.

variables continues in the professional journals.[44] The conclusion at this point appears to be that there does not exist a definitive model for state political systems with respect to the three groups of variables previously mentioned. The discussion has thus turned back to a critical analysis of the research methods, concepts, models, variables, and statistical techniques employed in current state political systems studies. The increasingly critical analysis of research methods and models is perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the current research for it involves the interplay of theory, models, techniques, and data. In the same vein, the central thesis of this study is that the present models, techniques, and theories employed to explain and describe state political systems are not adequate to explain a state as unique as West Virginia. Consequently, this study presents an alternative model for the analysis of state political system components with specific emphasis on the relationships of system components to political participation in West Virginia.

II. A MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF STATE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

State political systems can be viewed as real political entities with distinctive structures, styles, and cultures and consequent patterns of participation and policy outputs. The state is viewed as

[44]See Charles F. Cnudde and Donald J. McCrone, "Party Competition and Welfare Policies in the American States," The American Political Science Review, 63 (September, 1969), 858-866; and Ira Sharkansky and Richard I. Hofferbert, "Dimensions of State Politics, Economics, and Public Policy," The American Political Science Review, 63 (September, 1969), 867-879.

a functioning system having identifiable interrelated parts.[45] Each state constitutes a political system with a network of relationships between the formal structures of the government, the individual members of the system, and the common socioeconomic and cultural environment. The political system is functional for the participant to the degree that it is able to process demands and receive support through the formal and informal decision-making arenas and to convert these demands into policy outputs. The research emphasis of this study, placed in a systems conceptual framework, is thus, oriented toward the participants in this process (i.e., at what rates and why do they participate?); toward the institutional and socioeconomic environment in which the process occurs; toward the resultant policy outputs; and toward the influences of each system component on the other.

The relationships of the system components or research variables can be depicted in a paradigm which presents an abstraction of the political process operating in a system and from which testable hypotheses can be formulated. Figure 4 shows the postulated relationships among five components of the West Virginia political system: Political style, political culture, institutional structure, participation, and policy outputs. In this model, political style refers to the way in which political beliefs are held and applied.[46] While distinctions have

[45] David Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965); and David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965).

[46] Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba (eds.), Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 544-550.

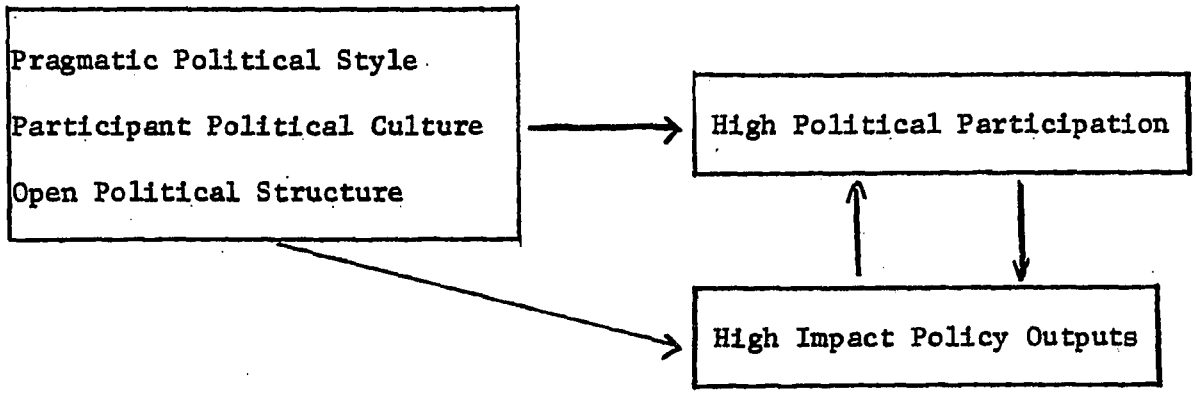

Figure 4. A paradigm of the West Virginia state political system.

been made between ideological and pragmatic political styles,[47] and among moralistic, traditionalistic and individualistic political styles,[48] the model in Figure 4 distinguishes ideological and pragmatic political styles. Ideological style "involves a deeply affective commitment to a comprehensive and explicit set of political values which covers not merely political affairs but all of life, a set of values which is hierarchical in form and often deduced from a mere general set of 'first principles'."[49] Pragmatic style "consists of an evaluation of problems in terms of their individual merits rather than in terms of some pre-existing comprehensive view of reality."[50]

[47] Ibid., p. 545.

[48] Daniel J. Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1966).

[49] Pye and Verba, op. cit., p. 545.

[50] Ibid.

Political culture involves the basic affective, evaluative, and normative orientations toward the system,[51] and the socialization processes through which these are transmitted.[52] The culture concept is at best a very nebulous one.[53] However, Almond and Verba, among others, have provided a number of useful research typologies. They define political culture as those "specifically political orientations--attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system."[54] Pye states that "political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and that provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system."[55] The analytical construct of "political culture" makes use of a number of underlying concepts and is composed of a number of different concepts that can be measured. For example, an analysis of alienation, anomie,

[51]These terms are adopted from Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, Chapter 1.

[52]See David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 6 (August, 1962), 231-235; Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); Robert Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority: Some Cross-National Comparisons," International Social Science Journal, 14 (1963), 542-559; and M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi, "Family Structure and the Transmission of Political Values," paper presented at the 1966 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, September 6-10, 1966.

[53]See Leslie A. White, "The Concept of Culture," in Milton L. Barron (ed.), Contemporary Sociology (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1964).

[54]Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, p. 12.

[55]Pye and Verba, op. cit., p. 104.

civic duty and responsibility, affective orientations toward the system, civic competence, political socialization patterns, and civic cooperation will enable one to describe in some detail the political culture of the particular system under research.[56]

I suggest that the West Virginia political system can be described by a particular set of system typologies that distinguish it from its neighboring states. The state has developed a "pragmatic" political style or a procedure for handling problems in terms of specific situations, individual merits, and political "rules of the game" rather than in terms of some preexisting comprehensive view or ideology of how the system should perform. Associated with this particular political style is a political culture in which the individual member of the system feels he can and should participate. The result is a state system characterized by a relatively open political structure, by high voter turnout levels, by high impact policy outputs (a term defined by following examples), and by a high degree of influence of each system variable or component on the other. But, why does such a system exist in view of the socioeconomic characteristics of the state and some evidence which indicates that individual system members have a lack of efficacy in the system.[57]

[56]This general conceptual framework is adopted from Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture.

[57]See Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," The American Political Science Review, 62 (June, 1968), 564-575.

One potentially important contributory variable in this respect is a "politics of poverty". West Virginia politics has been characterized as among the "most squalid corrupt and despicable" of any state.[58] The state resembles in many respects the machine political systems of the urban centers of an earlier date.[59] White has connected this type of politics with the poverty of the area--a politics of job distribution, vote buying, and high individual impact and visibility.[60] The result has been, he says, an incorporation of the poverty elements into the formal political system.

For comparative purposes, Figure 5 presents a model of the Virginia political system described in terms of a different set of typologies. "Virginia deference to the upper orders and the Byrd machine's restraint of popular aberrations give Virginia politics a tone and a reality radically different from the tumult of West Virginia."[61] "Of all the American states, Virginia can lay claim to the most thorough control by an oligarchy . . . political power has been closely held by a small group of leaders who, themselves and their predecessors, have subverted democratic institutions and deprived most Virginians of a vote in their government."[62]

[58]Theodore H. White, The Making of the President, 1960 (New York: Atheneum House, Inc., 1961), p. 116.

[59]Harry W. Ernst, "The Primary that Made a President: West Virginia 1960," Eagleton Institute Cases in Practical Politics, Case 26 (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1962), p. 16.

[60]White, The Making of the President, p. 118.

[61]Key, Southern Politics, p. 36. [62]Ibid., p. 19.

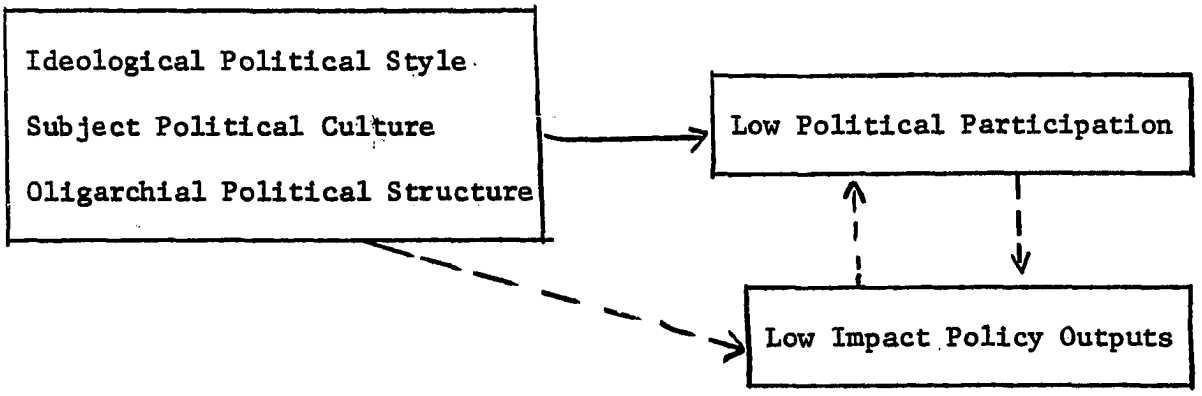

Figure 5. A paradigm of the Virginia state political system.

While Virginia politics is currently undergoing substantial change, the long history and influence of the Byrd machine still largely characterizes the Virginia system. I suggest that the Virginia political system, due to its oligarchial and aristocratic characteristics, can be characterized by its weak linkages between policy outputs and political participation and feedback to the other components of the system. Virginia has developed an ideological political style, a subject political culture, and an oligarchial political structure. Virginians do not participate in the political system in large numbers, and in contrast to West Virginia, the state appears to have a relatively closed political structure and, in general, relatively low impact policy outputs and weak influences among system components. Table 1 summarizes the hypothesized differences between the political systems of Virginia and West Virginia. In a sense, these characterizations represent "ideal" types. Yet the degree to which empirical referents fit the models will determine the degree to which the politics of the two states can be explained.

TABLE 1

POLITICAL SYSTEM CHARACTERISTICS OF WEST VIRGINIA AND VIRGINIA

Characteristic	West Virginia	Virginia
Political Style	Pragmatic	Ideological
Political Culture	Participant	Subject
Political Structure	Open	Closed
Political Participation	High	Low
Political Outputs	High Impact	Low Impact

The available data clearly show that significant differences exist among state political systems. To date, the variance has been explained in terms of a number of different and often conflicting influences. No single explanation is at present satisfactory or has proven to be best. One reason may be that state political systems are so different that more allowances for these differences will have to be taken into consideration. For example, Michael Harrington states that the poor lack political power, that they "do not . . . belong to unions, to fraternal organizations, or to political parties. They are without lobbies of their own; they put forward no legislative program. As a group, they are atomized. They have no voice."[63] Yet in West Virginia some of the poorest counties in the state with up to 60 percent of the population on welfare payments, have the largest percentage of registered voters and the highest turnout rates. It seems quite possible that in West Virginia the "politics of poverty" has been incorporated into the formal and the informal governmental processes and structures. The poor are cogs in the big wheel of politics.

The paradigms outlined above have hypothesized considerable variation between two state political systems. This study analyzes the West Virginia political system in terms of a set of specific system components; it does not attempt a complete test of the two basic models. To do so would require an elaborate and complex assimilation of aggregate and survey data--a task beyond the scope of this study. Consequently, this

[63]Michael Harrington, The Other America: Poverty in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 14.

study is largely restricted to an analysis of electoral and socioeconomic data in one state political system, along with some comparative data, which test many of the propositions implicit in the models and explicit in the current research findings on state political systems.

In this study we ask: What is the relationship between policy outputs and political participation and between socioeconomic variables and participation? What influences do institutional structures, political culture and political style have on these relationships? And, in particular, what accounts for the high political participation level (voter turnout) in the state.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN

The major emphasis in this study is an analysis of political participation, as manifested in the act of voting, in the state of West Virginia. A test of the relationships among policy outputs, socioeconomic variables and political participation is undertaken. In addition, the influences of political culture, political style and institutional variables on the basic research model is discussed.

The basic set of relationships tested are presented in Figure 6. In the posited relationships, socioeconomic level (SEL) and policy outputs (PO) are assumed to be independent variables and voter turnout (TO) a dependent variable. The assumption that policy outputs could just as well be a dependent variable is certainly not without

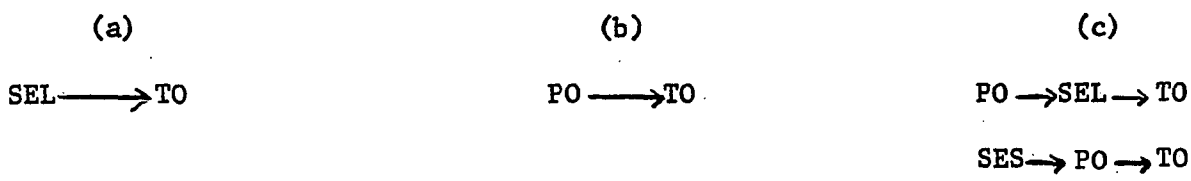

Figure 6. Test relationships of system variables.

justification.[64] However, the variable of particular interest in the West Virginia research case is that of political participation or voter turnout, and the relationships are formulated to examine the influence of other system variables on participation. The objective is to determine what relationships exist among the three variables, and in terms of the findings of current state political system research, determine the variable of greatest influence. In other words, is political participation more a function of socioeconomic variables or of system output variables in West Virginia? Or, do either of these variables account for a significant amount of the variance in political participation rates?

The hypothesis is that the independent variable of greatest influence will vary depending on the units of analysis, i.e., region or section of the state.[65] And, that neither, nor both, independent variables will account for a great amount of the variance in political participation rates. It is further hypothesized that a significant part of

[64]This assumption was made in many of the works previously cited on state political systems. See in particular, Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public.

[65]This point was most recently made by Dennis D. Riley and Jack L. Walker, "Communications to Editor," The American Political Science Review, 63 (September, 1969), 900-903.

the unexplained variance can be accounted for in terms of other system variables--political style and political culture. (A third set of variables, the partisan vote, is employed in the analysis as an additional system and control variable.)

The basic research tool for this study is an aggregate data analysis of selected socioeconomic, policy output and voting data.[66] Employing the county as the unit of analysis, some 100 socioeconomic and policy output variables were selected from Bureau of the Census reports and other publications. (The variables employed and their sources will be cited in later chapters as they are used in the analysis.) Voting data for each of the 55 West Virginia counties were provided by the Archives of the Inter-University Consortium of Political Research at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.[67] While voting data on elections for president, the U. S. Congress, and the governor were analyzed, only the presidential vote and a measure of voter turnout based on the presidential vote were employed in this analysis. In West Virginia, gubernatorial and presidential elections are held concurrently and the

[66]For discussions of the advantages and disadvantages of aggregate data analysis see Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan (eds.), Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M. I. T. Press, 1969); Austin Ranney, "The Utility and Limitations of Aggregate Data in the Study of Electoral Behavior," in Austin Ranney (ed.), Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), pp. 91-102; and W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, 15 (June, 1950), 351-357.

[67]The data utilized in this study were made available (in part) by the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research. The data were supplied in partially proofed form and the consortium bears no responsibility for either the analyses or interpretations presented here.

partisan vote and turnout levels for these offices are highly correlated. Thus, the analysis was restricted primarily to presidential election data. However, where substantial differences exist between the partisan results or voter turnout levels of elections on different system levels, these variations are noted. The three sets of data were subjected to various factor analysis and correlation routines.

While previous state political system research has been primarily concerned with comparing states, this study centers on the analysis of intrastate system relationships by employing the county as the unit of analysis. West Virginia, at the state level of analysis, has proven to be a deviant case.[68] The question raised in this study is what accounts for this variant political behavior and the technique employed is to examine the general set of relationships which have guided state level analyses at the intrastate or county level.

Three sets of variables are employed in the analysis to analyze political participation levels: socioeconomic factors, policy output variables, and political process variables. In subsequent chapters each of these variables is tested for direct relationships with the dependent or political participation variable. (A note of caution is perhaps warranted at this point. While the use of a model for explanation implies causation, the statistical operations employed are not themselves

[68]See Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public, p. 22; Milbrath, "Political Participation in the States," p. 44; and Ritt, op. cit., pp. 126; 143.

synonymous with explanation or causation.[69] The processes involved in going from an abstract model to testing empirical referents of that model are numerous. Independent and dependent relationships must be established. Various indices must be selected and constructed which fit both the assumptions of the model and the real world. The statistical operations employed yield measures of concomitance, but these are far from causalities.[70] The general result is that the construction of a model governs and directs the research from start to finish. Thus, the research findings must be interpreted in the context of this total research process.)

The statistical method employed to describe the relationships among the various systems characteristics is that of simple, multiple and partial linear correlation and regression analysis.[71] These statistics require interval or degree level data, linear correlations and normal distributions. All the measures employed in this study generally meet these requirements. However, the socioeconomic factor scores are something less than interval level in that they are based on county ranks rather than raw scores. But, the final factor scores employed are degree level data in that the scores are sums of ranks weighted by the total amount of variance explained by each variable.

[69]See Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Causal Inferences in Nonexperimental Research (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964).

[70]See John S. Mill, A System of Logic (London, England: Longmans, 1941).

[71]See Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1960, especially chapters 17-19.

Simple and partial correlations are statistics which measure the extent to which sets of variables are related. The simple correlation coefficient measures the direct association between two variables on a scale ranging from +1.0 to a -1.0. On this scale, a perfect positive association would be +1.0 and a perfect negative one -1.0. Suffice it to say that in the social science field perfect relationships are seldom found. Depending on the size and sign of the correlation coefficients, various variable relationships can be compared.

Simple correlation coefficients can be squared to give the coefficient of determination--a measure which shows the proportion of variation in a dependent variable which can be explained by variation in the independent variable. In essence, a simple correlation coefficient measures the closeness of the relationship between two variables while the coefficient of determination measures the amount of variation explained in one variable by the other.

The simple correlation coefficient, while indicating the extent to which two variables are related, does not take into consideration the possible effects of other variables on the two variable relationship. It may be that the original two variable relationship is a spurious one in that both variables are related to a third variable and not to each other. Or, a third variable may intervene in the original relationship. In either case, some test is required in order that the researcher can be sure of the true relationship between sets of variables. This test is provided by partial correlation coefficients.

Partial correlation coefficients show the relationship between two sets of variables while holding a third, or more, set of variables constant. Partial correlation coefficient also range from +1.0 to -1.0 and are read just like simple correlation coefficients. Partial correlations are used in this study to analyze the relationships between political participation and socioeconomic factors while controlling for policy outputs, and between policy outputs and participation while controlling for socioeconomic factors. In addition, partial correlations are used to examine the relationships among the above variables and partisan voting.

For example, if an original simple correlation coefficient is found between variables A and B of .80, and the relationship remains constant when a third variable C is controlled for, then we may assume that the original relationship is a valid one under the given control conditions. However, if the original correlation coefficient reduces to approximately zero under the controlled condition then we must assume that the original relationship was not a valid one and that variables A and B are related to C in some way rather than to each other. Thus, partial correlations can tell us whether or not socioeconomic factors are directly related to political participation levels or if the relationship is dependent on a third variable, e.g., policy outputs.

A final set of statistics is employed in this study which indicates the cumulative association of several variables on a third variable and indicate the total amount of variance explained in the third variable by the total number of independent variables. These statistics,

multiple R correlation coefficients and multiple RSQ coefficients, are employed in the summary chapter to analyze the total set of relationships among the various system variables on political participation.

A word on statistical interpretation is perhaps needed at this point. Generally, the variables, indices, models, and relationships tested in this study have been employed in previous studies. Thus, this study was not concerned principally with the various and many problems of inadequate data and models. (In a later chapter it is pointed out that perhaps new indices of political process variables are needed, e.g., an index of party organization strength.) Yet, the problem of statistical interpretation remains. Is a .29 correlation coefficient significant or not? Using partial correlations, how close to zero must a relationship reduce before it can be called a spurious one? The answer is primarily one of judgment. In this study, while explanation is a hopeful result, the study is basically exploratory and descriptive and thus any relationship or tendency may be a significant one.

The following chapter involves a discussion of West Virginia politics in terms of governmental structure, voting patterns, history and party politics (including an analysis of the party organizations and the political party county chairman).

Chapter III tests the currently posited relationships between socioeconomic variables and political participation. A factor analysis of some 100 county socioeconomic variables is performed to determine those few underlying dimensions or factors of the total number of variables, and then to test for relationships between these basic factors and political participation.

Chapter IV entails an analysis of political participation in terms of the relationships to policy outputs.

In Chapter V the relationships among the various system variables are employed to analyze the partisan vote in West Virginia.

Chapter VI provides a complete test of the posited system variable relationships. The independent and combined effects of the selected system variables on political participation are determined.

Chapter VII is a summary of the findings and attempts an assimilation of political history, style and culture data with the empirical data of Chapters III, IV, V and VI. In addition, Chapter VII provides an outline for future study of political participation.

CHAPTER II

WEST VIRGINIA: HISTORY, CULTURE, POLITICS, AND THE VOTE

Specific components and relationships within a political system can be analyzed with a relatively well defined and developed array of mathematical and statistical tools. However, such procedures invariably leave unexplained much of the variance in state politics. This unexplained variance may be accounted for, at least in part, by underlying and presently unquantifiable historical and cultural variables which shape and mold political institutions and behavior. "Until more sophisticated techniques are worked out, historical and cultural differences . . . will limit the extent to which environmental characteristics can be quantified for use in empirical models."[1] Thus, before attempting a test of the state political system model presented in Chapter I, this chapter provides a historical and descriptive account of the political development of West Virginia.

I. STATEHOOD POLITICS

Some years after the Civil War Henry A. Wise of Virginia declared that West Virginia was the "bastard child of a political rape.'"[2]

[1]Fenton and Chamberlayne, op. cit., 388-404.

[2]Richard O. Curry, A House Divided: A Study of Statehood Politics and the Copperhead Movement in West Virginia (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburg Press, 1964), p. 136.

Probably many Virginians and West Virginians before and since have shared with him the same opinion. The separation of the western counties of Virginia during the Civil War to form the new state of West Virginia was a unique event in statehood development, an important factor in the conduct of the Civil War, and a historical event of such impact that contemporary politics in the state is still influenced to a degree by those events leading to dismemberment and statehood.

West Virginia was created from some 50 western Virginia counties during the height of the turmoil and conflict of the Civil War.[3] Contrary to what might be expected, however, the separation was not in itself directly related to the secession movement. The Civil War provided the impetus and means for West Virginia statehood but not the motives. Rather, the formation of West Virginia was the result of a long struggle among political, economic and social forces operating between those Virginia counties falling on either side of the Allegheny Mountains. (See Figure 7 for the sectional divisions in Virginia.)

The populace of the counties west of the Alleghenies, in contrast to the landed aristocrats of eastern Virginia, was made up of Scotch-Irish and Germans from Pennsylvania.[4] After migration across the

[3]For detailed accounts of the political antecedents of West Virginia see Charles H. Ambler, Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964); Curry, loc. cit.; Granville D. Hall, The Rending of Virginia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1901); Virgil A. Lewis (ed.), How West Virginia Was Made (Charleston, West Virginia: State Press, 1909); and James C. McGregor, The Disruption of Virginia (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922).

[4]Charles H. Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), pp. 48-55.

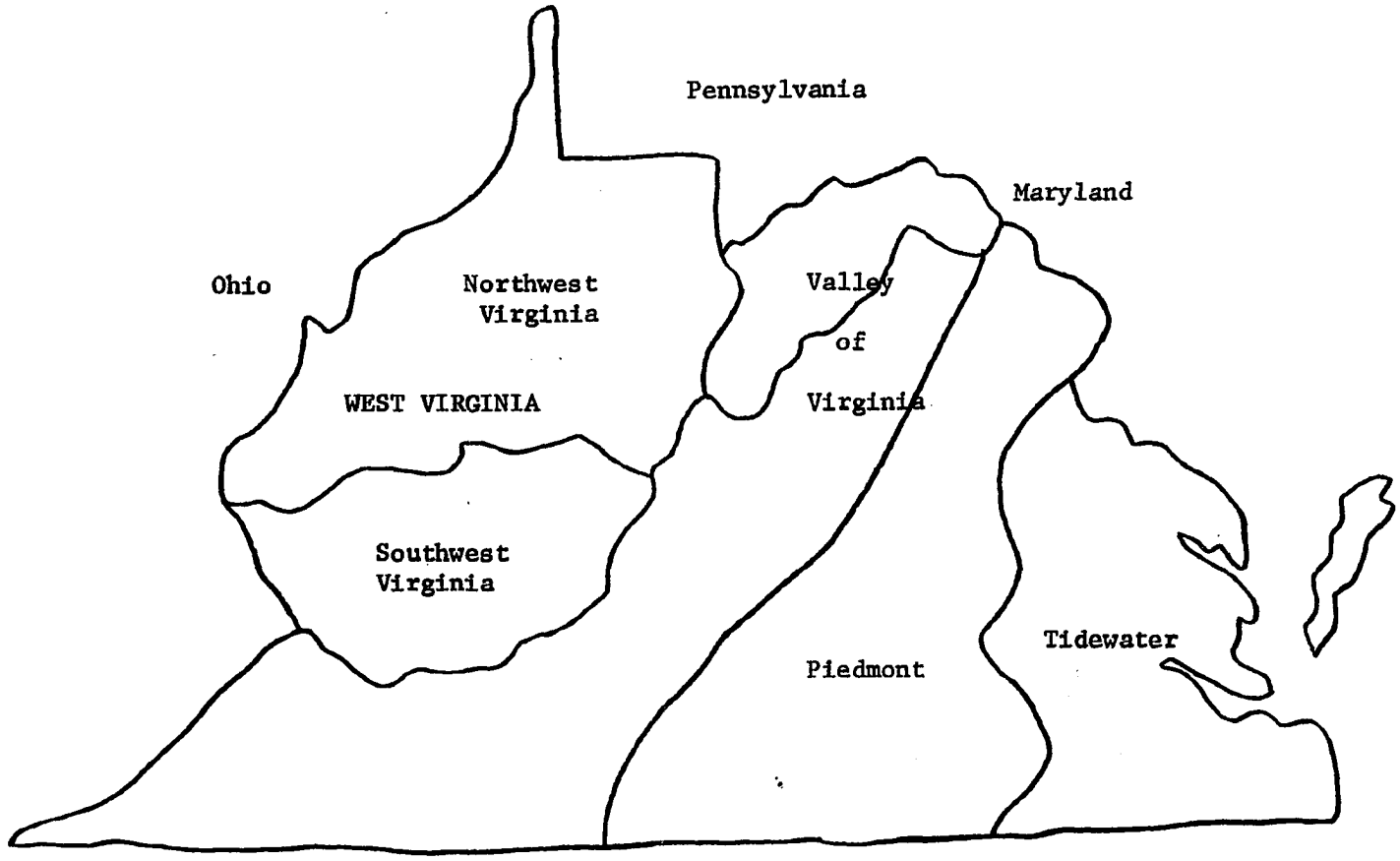

Figure 7. Sectional divisions in Virginia, 1830.

Source: Richard O. Curry, A House Divided: A Study of Statehood Politics and the Copperhead Movement in West Virginia (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), p. 15.

mountains these pioneer hunters, trappers, and hill farmers soon forgot and were forgotten by eastern Virginia. Trade in the western counties developed north and west rather than south, and the industries, when developed, depended on free rather than slave labor.

The frontier life soon led to discontent over land titles, military protection and internal improvements. By the time of the Revolutionary War attempts were being made to create a fourteenth colony out of western Virginia called "Westsylvania."[5] In 1776, inhabitants of the western counties sent a memorial to Congress in which they noted their grievances and asked as a corrective the formation of a new state. In forming the Alleghenies, they said, nature itself had fixed the eastern boundary of the proposed state.[6] It was contended that "no Country or People can be either rich, flourishing, happy or free . . . whilst annexed to or dependent on any Province, whose seat of government is those of Pennsylvania and Virginia, four or five hundred miles distant, and separated by a vast, extensive and almost impassible Tract of Mountains."[7] This period was marked by various other attempts at statehood primarily motivated and carried out by frontier land speculators.[8]

[5] Ibid., p. 126.

[6] Elizabeth Cometti and Festus P. Summers (eds.), The Thirty-Fifth State, A Documentary History of West Virginia (Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1966), p. 95.

[7] Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 127.

[8] Ibid., pp. 133-153.

By 1814, the reform minded westerners began calling for a number of changes in the state political structure. Specifically, they introduced bills in the House of Delegates calling for extended sufferage and reapportionment.[9] The Virginia General Assembly made some concessions by reapportioning senatorial districts according to white population and by chartering two banks east of the Blue Ridge.[10] However, agitation continued and the reform movement culminated in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30. The western counties' victory in getting a convention called was, however, short lived. By 1830, the population west of the Blue Ridge was 319,518 compared to 362,745 east of the mountains,[11] but the West was able to elect only 28 delegates to the convention compared to 48 elected east of the Blue Ridge.[12] In essence, there was no reform.

Increasing the easterners resistance to reform during this period was a developing conflict between the nationalistic tendencies of the West and the state rights doctrine of the east. An analysis of the 1828 vote to call a convention in the Virginia General Assembly found that 99 of the 126 states' rightsmen had voted against it.[13] In addition, western counties had supported Henry Clay in 1824 and John Quincy Adams in 1828, and had voted for protective tariffs.[14] By the time of the

[9] Curry, op. cit., p. 14.

[10] Ibid., pp. 14-16.

[11] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[12] Ibid., p. 16.

[13] Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 231.

[14] Curry, loc. cit.

convention, Benjamin Watkins Leigh of Virginia asserted that the convention had been called "to overthrow the doctrine of state rights," and observed that when "the Federal Government points a road along the Valley or along the foot of the Blue Ridge, or across the country at the head of the tidewater--state rights fall or tremble at the very sight of the tremendous undertaking."[15]

The 1830 Convention retained the status quo--there was very little reform. The Convention increased sectional conflict for, while the franchise was extended, the white basis of representation and universal manhood sufferage were soundly defeated. As one easterner stated, "Now what real share as far as the mind is concerned does any man suppose the peasantry of the west . . . can or will take in the affairs of state?"[16] So far as the west was concerned, the motivating force for eastern conservatism was solely the defense of Negro slavery.

The Constitution of 1830 was approved by a vote of 26,055 for, to 15,566 against.[17] Figure 8 shows the clear sectional character of the vote. No county in what is now West Vriginia supported the new constitution. However, the vote of 1830 did mark a significant change in the sectional politics of Virginia. Prior to 1830, sectional conflict in Virginia was divided by the Blue Ridge. The 1830 vote moved the sectional dividing line from the Blue Ridge westward to the

[15]Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 231.

[16]Curry, op. cit., p. 20.

[17]Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 241.

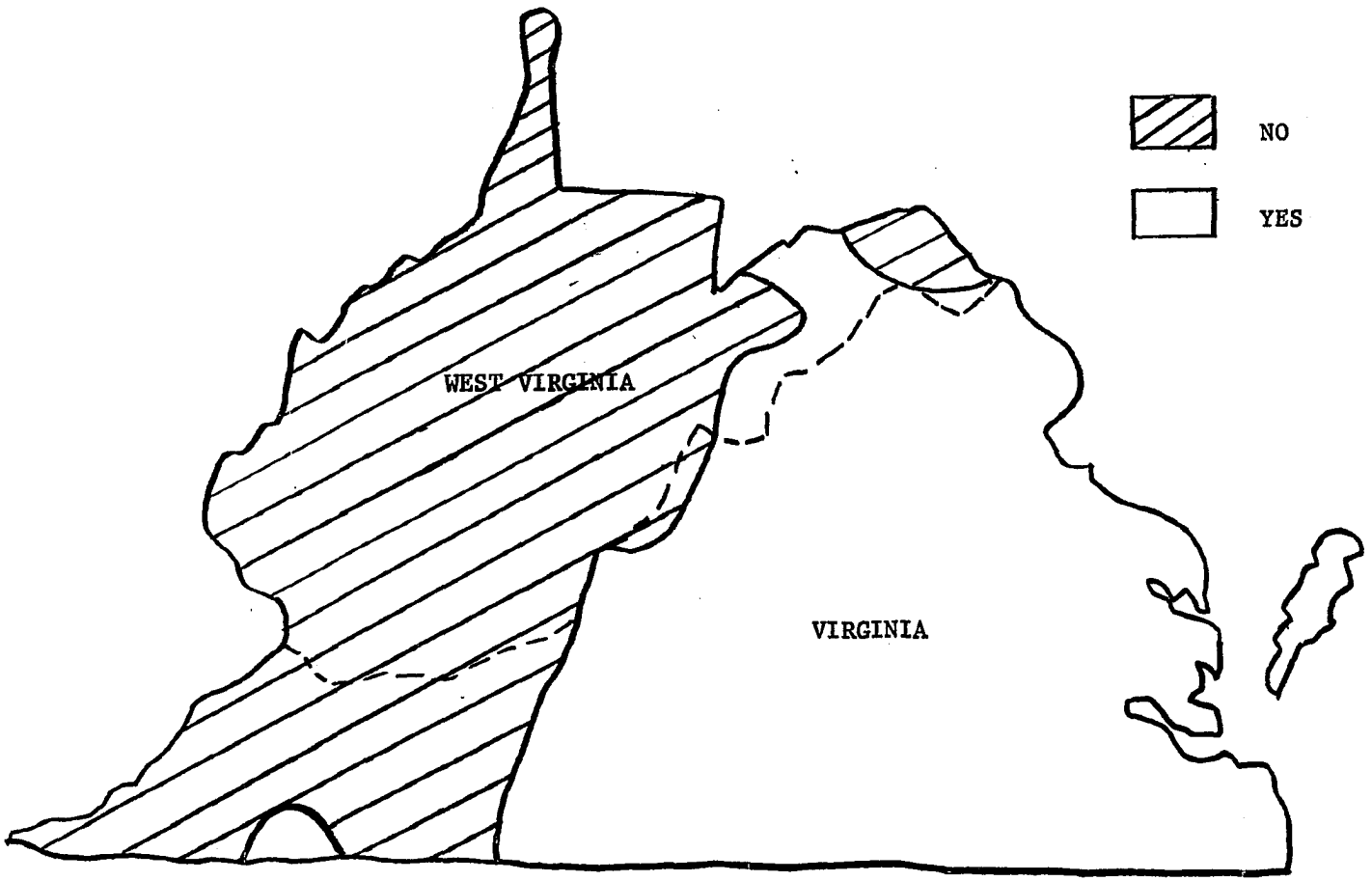

Figure 8. Sectional character of the vote for ratification of the Virginia Constitution of 1830.

Source: Richard O. Curry, A House Divided: A Study of Statehood Politics and the Copperhood Movement in West Virginia (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), p. 19.

Alleghenies. The deciding factor appears to have been that slavery was beginning to take deep roots in the Valley by 1830, and conservatives began to placate the Valley by increasing their representation and appropriations, thus linking them with Piedmont and Tidewater Virginia.[18] Reform and sectional conflict became Trans-Allegheny--West Virginia.

With approval of the 1830 Constitution Trans-Allegheny agitation for dismemberment resumed. As one of the "patriots of America" the editor of the Wheeling Compiler favored dismemberment and statehood.[19] Throughout this period, western discontent continued to manifest itself in various calls for statehood and for another constitutional convention. While the base of the sectional conflict was over salvery, representation and appropriations to the western counties were the subjects of open discussion. By 1860 the population of the western counties had surpassed that of eastern Virginia. Yet, the sectional character of the state was indicated in the appropriations for internal approvements of 1850. The Tidewater division received $3,383,678.12; Piedmont, $4,903,830.65; Valley, $1,956,108.92; and Trans-Allegheny, $1,184,968.21.[20]

The western counties won victories in the 1850 convention which again abated somewhat the calls for dismemberment. Representation in

[18] Curry, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

[19] Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 241.

[20] "Report of the Committee on the Second Auditor's Report," Appendix, Journal Acts and Proceedings of a General Convention of the State of Virginia . . . assembled at Richmond . . . Eighteen Hundred and Fifty, as cited in Cometti, op. cit., pp. 215-217.

the House of Delegates was apportioned on the basis of the white male population, and that for the Senate was fixed arbitrarily, the east receiving 30 and the west 20.[21] However, it was agreed that the white male population would be used for apportionment in both houses in 1865.[22] Other reforms were obtained in 1850: suffrage was extended to all white males over 21; the governor was made elective by popular vote; some special legislation was forbidden; and, multiple voting was abolished.[23] The The achievements of the 1850 Convention represented a victory for the West.

But 80 years of sectional conflict could not be erased by a single document. Internal improvements were still lacking in the western counties, trade routes in Trans-Allegheny were west and north rather than south, and the patterns of economic growth and social development in the West contrasted sharply with the East. Slavery did not and could not exist in the northwest where developing industry demanded a new structure of banks, internal improvements, and political reforms.

Ethnic, social, cultural, and ideological backgrounds of the northwestern counties contrasted sharply with those of the dominant English stock in the East. The western counties, particularly the northwestern counties, were settled by Germans, Scotch-Irish, Welsh and Irish.[24] These differences were of primary importance in the sectional

[21]Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 286.

[22]Ibid. [23]Ibid., p. 287.

[24]Curry, op. cit., p. 24. See also Harry M. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1963).

conflicts which ultimately led to statehood. A combination of social, economic, cultural and ideological factors isolated Trans-Allegheny from the rest of the state. This combination of factors led to statehood and are the antecedents of contemporary West Virginia politics. Yet, as will be shown, West Virginia was not, in 1860, nor is it presently, composed of an entirely homogenous populace. For various reasons the state itself is divided into sectional parts. For economic and political reasons some Valley counties with pro-eastern persuasions were incorporated into the state as were some southeastern counties of West Virginia. These ancient distinctions are still traceable in the election returns.

The final steps to statehood for West Virginia followed the election of President Lincoln and the subsequent call for secession of Virginia from the Union in the Constitutional Convention of 1861. Of the 47 delegates who represented West Virginia counties in the convention, 15 voted for adoption of the Ordinance of Secession, 28 voted against adoption, and 4 did not vote.[25] The total vote was 88 for secession, to 55 against.[26] In West Virginia, the clear sectional pattern of the vote is shown in Figure 9 and in Table 2. The northwestern counties were clearly pro Union and the southeastern counties were pro Confederacy.

Prior to the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, Trans-Allegheny Virginia, or at least the northwest, was making plans for

[25] J. H. Brenaman, A History of Virginia Conventions, as cited in Cometti, op. cit., pp. 53-56.

[26] Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 320.

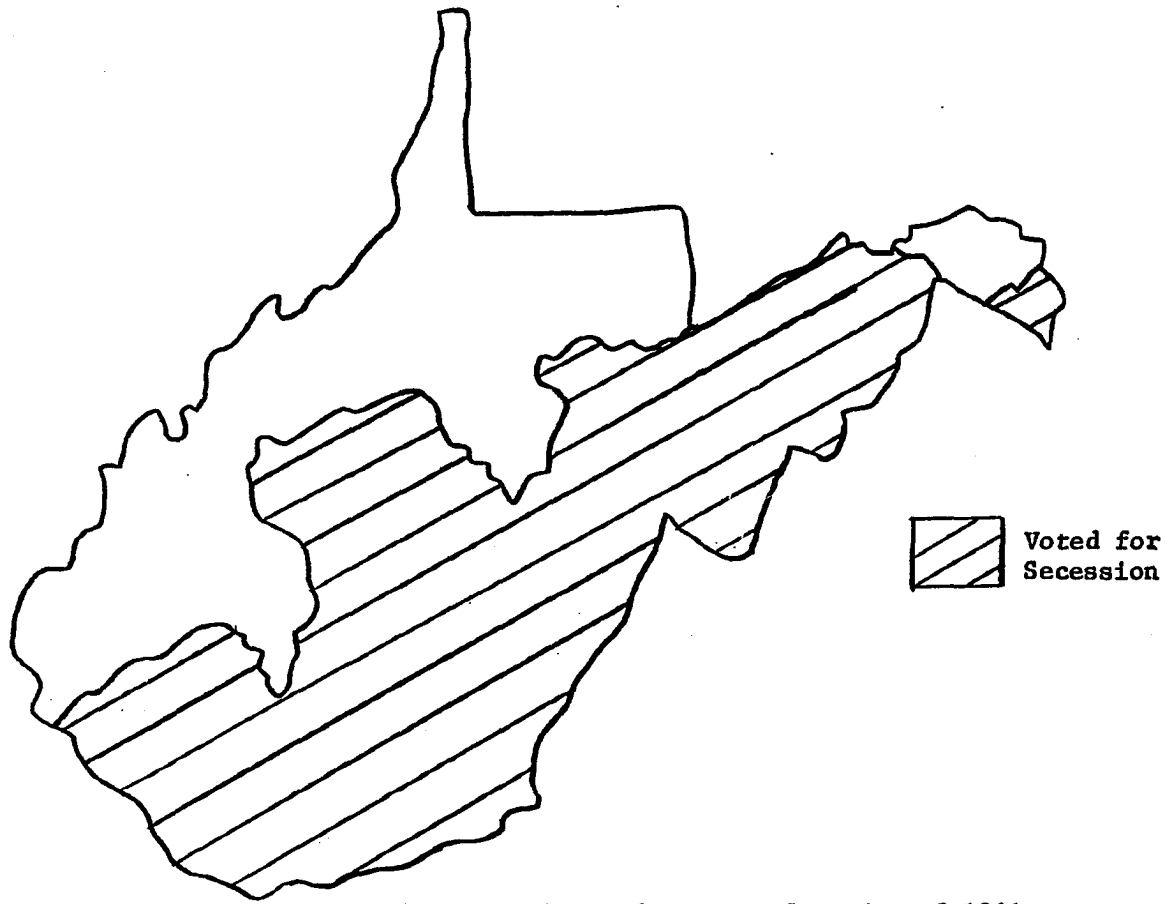

Figure 9. Voting pattern on the secession ordinance referendum of 1861.

Source: Richard O. Curry, A House Divided: A Study of Statehodd Politics and the Copperhead Movement in West Virginia (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), p. 49.

TABLE 2

VOTING RESULTS ON THE SECESSION ORDINANCE REFERENDUM IN WEST VIRGINIA, MAY 23, 1861

	For Ratification	Against Ratification
Northwestern Counties	10,021	30,586
Shenandoah Counties	4,036	3,613
Southeastern Counties	5,064	478
Totals	19,121	34,677

Source: Richard O. Curry, A House Divided: A Study of Statehood Politics and the Copperhead Movement in West Virginia (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), p. 136.

dismemberment. Mass meetings were held in several northwestern counties which led to the calling of the First Wheeling Convention. Twenty-seven counties of western Virginia sent representatives to that Convention.[27] In Wheeling, after alternate proposals were made to form a new state immediately or to reorganize the Virginia government on a Union loyalty basis, the decision was made to withold any action until after the vote on the Ordinance of Secession. Immediately after secession was approved a second Wheeling Convention convened and proceeded to formalize statehood for West Virginia. The statehood plan adopted was to reorganize the Virginia government, but on a loyal Union basis. The reorganized government consented to division and in December, 1862, Congress approved the plan subject to the adoption of gradual emancipation. President Lincoln signed the statehood bill on New Year's Day, 1863, and on June 20, 1863, issued a proclamation admitting West Virginia into the Union.[28]

The complete story of formal statehood is a study within itself which involves disputes over methods, timing, boundaries, and personalities. There is no doubt that the long standing economic and political problems of sectionalism largely account for the national loyalty of Trans-Allegheny. Yet, the invasion of McClellan's forces in the spring and summer of 1861 made a separate state movement possible.[29] And,

[27] Ibid., p. 327.

[28] Ibid., pp. 305-340.

[29] Curry, op. cit., p. 53.

the fact remains that 25 of the 50 counties encompassed by West Virginia supported the Confederacy and opposed dismemberment.[30] Six Valley counties were included in the new state primarily due to the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad ran through these counties. For various other reasons some nine southeastern counties whose loyalties were clearly with Virginia were also included. Thus, the incorporation of these diverse sets of counties into the state of West Virginia accounts for much of the selectional politics which exists within the state today.

II. POLITICS AND THE VOTE

Preceding statehood most political leaders in West Virginia were either Democrats or Whigs. Toward the end of the period most West Virginians became either Constitutional Unionists or Democrats. There were few Republicans until well after 1860.[31] In the presidential election of 1860, John Bell, the nominee of the Constitutional Union Party, carried Virginia by a plurality of 358 over John C. Breckenridge, nominee of the Southern faction of the Democratic Party. The vote in West Virginia was: Lincoln, 1,402; Bell, 20,997; Breckenridge, 21,908; and Douglas, 5,742. Breckenridge appealed to West Virginians as a Kentuckian, a Union man, a state right advocate, and a party regular.

While Lincoln received only 1,402 votes in 1860, by 1864 he carried the state over McClellan by a margin of 23,000 to 10,000. The

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 297.

total vote is, however, quite misleading. In reflection of the sectionalism within the state, all of Lincoln's 1860 vote came from 6 northwestern counties. The Lincoln vote in 1864 again came primarily from the northwest, but the total presidential vote in 1864 was some 25,000 less than in 1860. The government of West Virginia in 1864 was in reality only the government of the northwestern counties. During this period the Valley and southeastern counties of the state were essentially without government, and most did not even participate in the election of 1864.[32] This fact alone accounts for much of the difference between the 1860 and the 1864 Lincoln vote and for his victory in the state in 1864.

Due to this same fact, i.e., sectionalism, the Republican victory of 1864 was short lived in West Virginia. Reconstruction acts following the 1864 election increased sectional conflict. Loyalty oaths of public officials and voters were required; property belonging to Confederates was confiscated; and the Legislature amended the Constitution to disfranchise and "decitizenize" all persons who supported the Confederacy.[33] The result was a reaction to Radical Republicanism in which northwestern conservatives joined the Valley and southeastern counties in a mass exodus from the Republican to the Democratic Party. In the elections of 1870, Republicans were swept from office and Bourbon Democrats gained office and remained in power in the state for the following

[32] Ibid., pp. 424-443.

[33] Ibid., pp. 426-427.

20 years.[34] The political control of the state by the northwestern counties lasted long enough to secure statehood and support the Union. But, the inclusion of many pro southern counties in the statehood bill ultimately cost the northwesterners control of the state. As Figure 10 shows, West Virginia politics can be divided into four time periods in which either the Democratic or Republican Party held control over a number of years. From statehood to 1870, the state was generally Republican. This period of Republican control was no doubt the result of the statehood movement and reconstruction. Yet, the politics of 1864-1870 was the politics of the northwestern counties of the state. Not until 1871, did Valley and southeastern counties participate meaningfully in West Virginia politics.

III. 1870-1896

In 1871, as a reaction to reconstruction policies in general and in particular to the passage of the 15th Amendment, the election resulted in successes for Democrats and liberal Republicans. Almost immediately after the election a call for a constitutional convention was issued.[35] Prior to that time, the state was governed under the 1863 Consitution, which was in large part a duplicate of the 1851 Virginia Constitution except as amended by the reconstruction acts.[36]

[34] Ibid., pp. 436-443. [35] Ibid.

[36] For an extensive review of West Virginia Constitutions see Albert L. Strum, Major Constitutional Issues in West Virginia (Morgantown: Bureau for Government Research, West Virginia University, 1961).

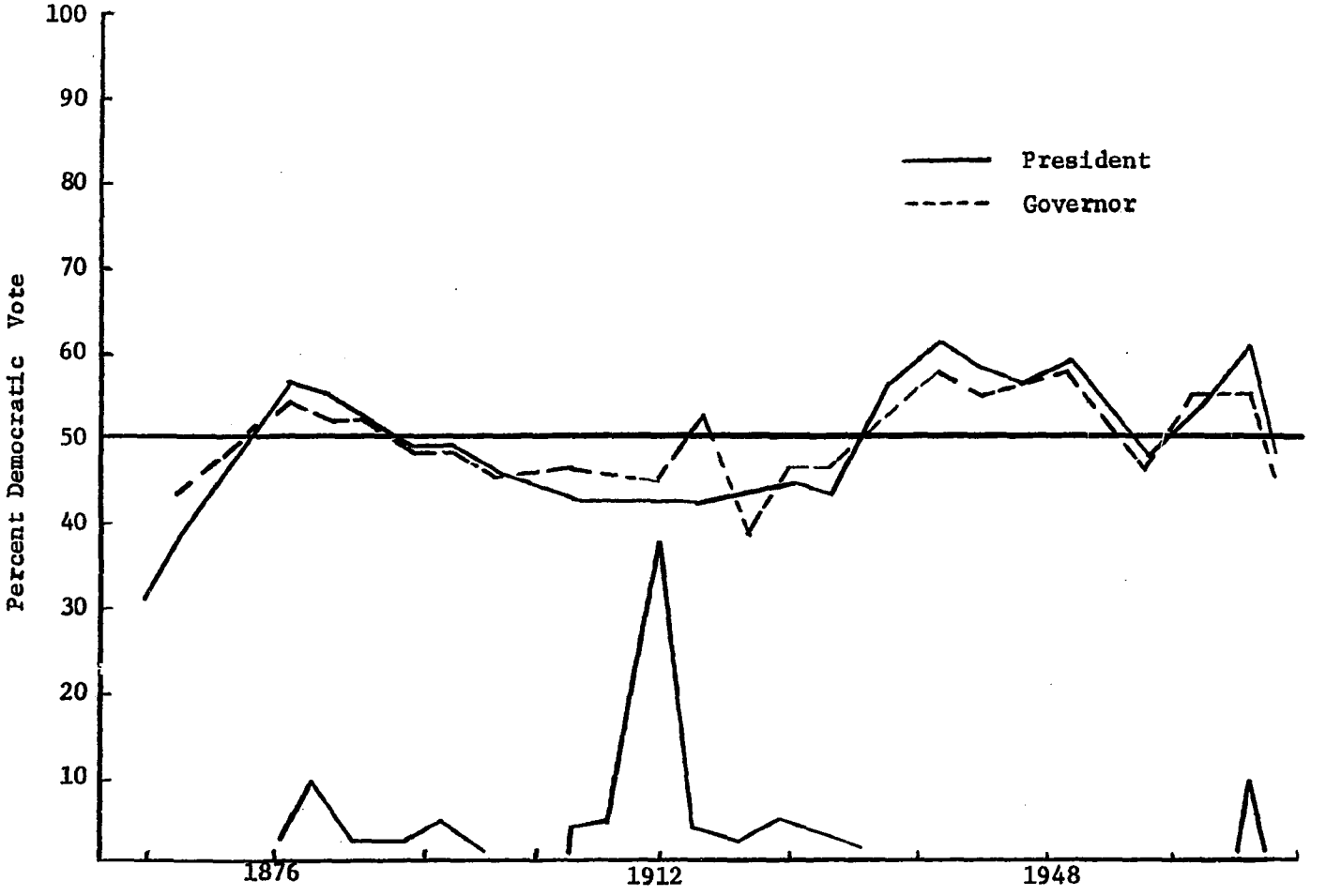

Figure 10. Democratic Percentage of the vote for president and governor in West Virginia and percentage third party vote for president, 1864-1968.

The 1872 Constitution, which is the present West Virginia Constitution, was written primarily by conservative Democrats. The Constitution closed the door to proscription and wrote the epitaph to Radical Reconstruction in West Virginia. It vested executive power in a governor, but divided authority among a number of state elective officers. It showed a Jacksonion influence by including provision for the long ballot and for the popular election of numerous state and local officials in all three branches of government.[37] The 1872 Constitution was in essence a conservative document and was repugnant to many of the Northwestern Republicans. As a result, it was ratified by only 4,567 votes out of a total vote of over 80,000.[38]

The structure of government established for West Virginia in 1872 has had a profound influence on the politics of the state. The weak executive, long ballot and weak legislature appears to account in large part for the strong political party organization which exist in the state today and which results in the county political party chairman holding a large share of political power in the state. (The role of the county chairman in West Virginia politics will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.)

One immediate result of the 1872 Constitution was that for more than 20 years West Virginia was allied with the "Solid South." By the

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 440.

elections of 1876, seven of the eight statewide offices were held by former Confederates.[39] But, with the growth of industry and the participation of its beneficaries in politics and the rise of the Republican party to supremacy on the national level, by 1896 West Virginia was again a Republican state and the Republican party generally retained power up to 1932.

IV. 1896-1932

The recorded political history of West Virginia from 1896-1932 is scanty, but this period marks a significant chapter in the development of West Virginia politics--the advent of the labor movement and the United Mine Workers of America. This period warrants an indepth analysis that cannot be undertaken in this brief political history of West Virginia. The involvement of the poor and the uneducated in West Virginia politics began in pioneer West Virginia. It was aided by the formation of a government structured for popular involvement. From 1896-1932 this attitude of involvement was crystalized in the movement to organize the working man.

During this period political participation patterns and rates in West Virginia began to differ markedly from southern states and from other border states. While other states in the region were systematically excluding segments of the population from the vote, in West Virginia the movement was in the opposite direction. Those individuals

[39] Ibid., p. 441.

least likely to participate in politics, the lower socioeconomic status groups, were being organized to participate in West Virginia politics.

In 1890, following the national organization of the United Mine Workers of America, District 17 was established in West Virginia and the Union began to organize the state's miners.[40] At that time coal production was relatively small in the state, but the opening of new fields in the southern counties soon changed the situation. Of greater importance, however, was the fact that the coal fields surrounding West Virginia were already union fields. For economic and organizational purposes it became imperative to organize the state's miners.

The union movement began with "walking delegates" distributing tracts in the interest of organized labor. In reaction, the coal operators openly declared their intentions to operate in defiance of the Union. The result was almost total warfare between the Union and the operators. When Union agents became active, coal companies employed hired police guards to run down organizers. In many counties these guards, while paid by the coal operators, were employed by local governments as local law enforcement officers.[41]

Between 1900 and 1932 West Virginia became the scene of national attention as it experienced labor-management violence and disturbances on a large scale. Martial law was proclaimed several times throughout

[40]For various accounts of the labor movement in West Virginia see the Bibliography of J. W. Hess (ed.), Struggle in the Coal Fields (Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Company, 1967), pp. 174-180.

[41]Ambler, West Virginia: The Mountain State, p. 511.

1912 and 1913 and again in 1920 and 1921. Several strikes called during the period, resulted in miners' marches, company lockouts, the eviction of miners from coal camps, the erection of tent cities, the first military use of airplanes and bombs by Billy Mitchell, the Matewan Massacre, and finally the arrest of several union leaders on the charge of treason.[42] By 1928 (the imprisonment and trial of several union leaders, the "red scare" and the fluctuations in the coal market), the union movement in West Virginia was virtually nonexistent. However, the involvement of the working man in the political and economic affairs of the state had been established. In addition, the period laid the ground work for the "grand alliance" of the working man and the Democratic Party which took place in 1932.

V. 1932-1968

In 1932, the Democrats filled all state elective offices and have repeated this in every election to date except in 1956, when the Republicans elected a governor and the state superintendent of schools, and in 1968, when a Republican governor was elected again. During this period the Republican Party was able to elect only two United States representatives. The state Supreme Court and every state legislature since 1932 has been under Democratic control[43] (Figure 11).

[42]Hess, op. cit., p. ix. For a detailed account of the Billy Mitchell story in West Virginia see Maurer Maurer and Calvin F. Senning, "Billy Mitchell, The Air Service and the Mingo War," West Virginia History, 30 (October, 1968), 339-350.

[43]John H. Fenton, Politics in the Border States, pp. 111-125.

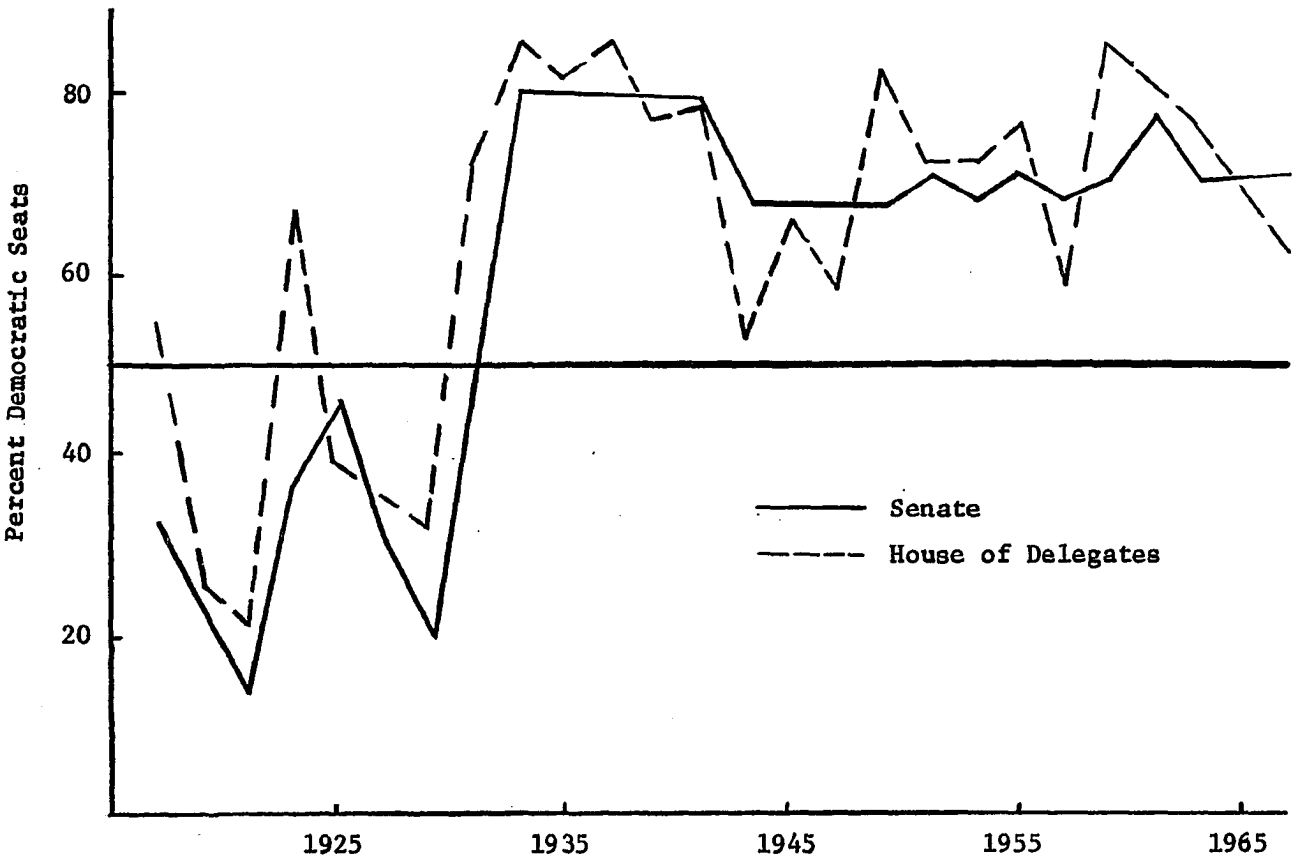

Figure 11. Percentage of the seats held by Democrats in the West Virginia Senate and House of Delegates, 1917-1967.

From 1932 to 1968, West Virginia has been described as a four-party state: (1) the United Mine Workers or "liberals;" (2) the Bourbons or rural "conservative" Democrats; (3) the Statehouse Democratic Party; and (4) the Republican Party.[44] The Bourbon Democrats elected governors in 1932 and 1936. However, as neither of the governors showed much enthusiasm for the New Deal, and Governor Holt, 1936-1940, was overtly anti-union, it was inevitable that Bourbon Democratic Party control would cease to exist. In 1940, United States Senator Matt Neely, a liberal Democrat, resigned from the Senate to run for governor against a Bourbon Democratic candidate. In the campaign Neely was strongly supported by the United Mine Workers. Neely won the election and established a Statehouse organization which still controls Democratic Party politics in the state.[45]

The Statehouse organization created by Neely in 1940 was, and is, held together by patronage, contracts, highways and parks. In most counties the organization has five groups of election day workers and support: (1) the state employees; (2) favored businesses who contract with the state; (3) people, such as liquor agents, who retain their jobs with private companies on sufferance of the organization; (4) interest groups such as the United Mine Workers and the school teachers; and (5) county courthouse people.[46]

[44] Ibid., p. 82.

[45] Ibid., pp. 82-125.

[46] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

The United Mine Workers has never been a real part of the Democratic Statehouse organization. Yet, support of the organization has given the Union special claims upon the state government. The Union-Statehouse association began when Homer Hanna, a United Mine Worker officer, was named campaign manager for Matthew Neely in 1940.[47] After Neely's victory Hanna remained in a government position obstensibly as a clerk in the Federal Court in Charleston.[48] His business was insurance, which he sold to the state, and his job was that of chief stratagist and tactician for the Statehouse organization.[49] John H. Fenton reports that during a two hour interview with Hanna he was called by the governor on how to handle a Democratic county leader; by the head of the Department of Labor on an appointment; and by an administrative assistant to Senator Kilgore who requested an appointment.[50]

Homer Hanna has compared the organization of the Democratic Party in West Virginia after 1940 with that of the Catholic Church. In Hanna's terminology, Senator Neely was the party's pope, Homer Hanna the papal nuncio, and the governor the bishop. The monsignor of each county was the "Statehouse Man." And, as Fenton states, "the Statehouse man was often the county chairman . . . ."[51]

Thus, politics in West Virginis since 1932 has been characterized and shaped largely by the Statehouse organization with the cooperation

[47] Ibid., p. 84.

[48] Ibid., p. 85.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., p. 84.

[51] Ibid., p. 87.

of the United Mine Workers. However, in Democratic Party primaries, the organization has been strongest in the traditionally Republican counties along the Ohio river. An analysis of the gubernatorial primaries of 1940, 1956 and 1968 show the relative strength of the organization in the various sections of the state. In 1940, Senator Neely was able to capture the Democratic Party primary nomination away from the Bourbon Democrats by winning in the southern and central coal mining counties and in the northwestern Republican counties. After 1940, Senator Neely and Homer Hanna, with the cooperation of the United Mine Workers, were able to retain control of the party, select Statehouse candidates, and generally win elections. To some extent, the Democratic loss of the state chief executive's office in 1956 and in 1968 was due to a break down in this coalition in that in both elections the organization and the United Mine Workers were at odds on which candidate to support.

The strength of the organization in mining and long term Republican counties is illustrated by comparing Figures 12 and 13. Figure 12 shows the counties won by the Statehouse candidate in the 1956 primary election and Figure 13 shows the mining and Republican counties in the state. In 1956, Mollohan won the primary election almost exclusively on the organization's strength in mining and Republican counties. All but seven of the counties that Mollohan carried fall in the above categories. In most primary elections since 1940, much the same pattern has prevailed in the state.

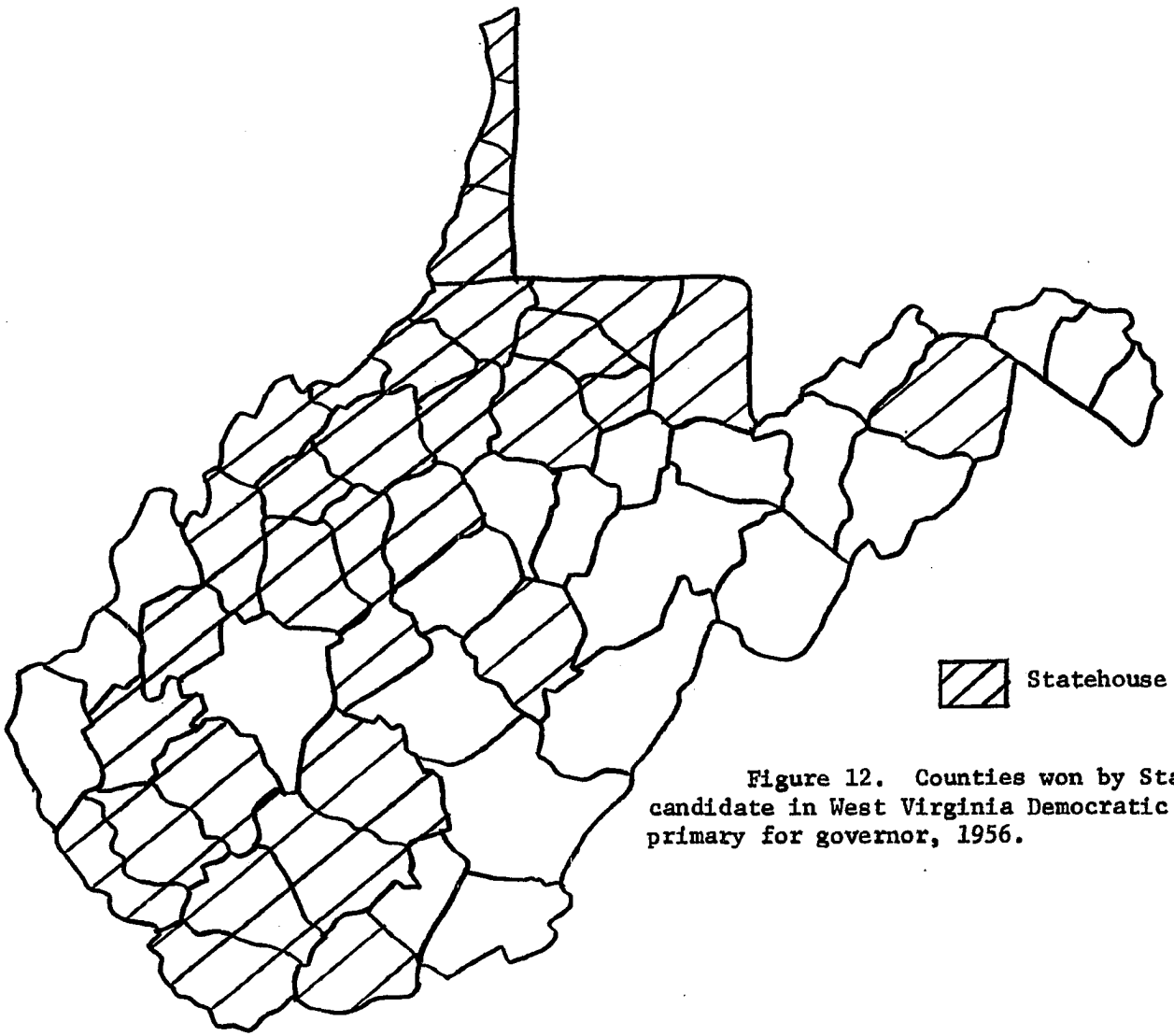

Figure 12. Counties won by Statehouse candidate in West Virginia Democratic Party primary for governor, 1956.

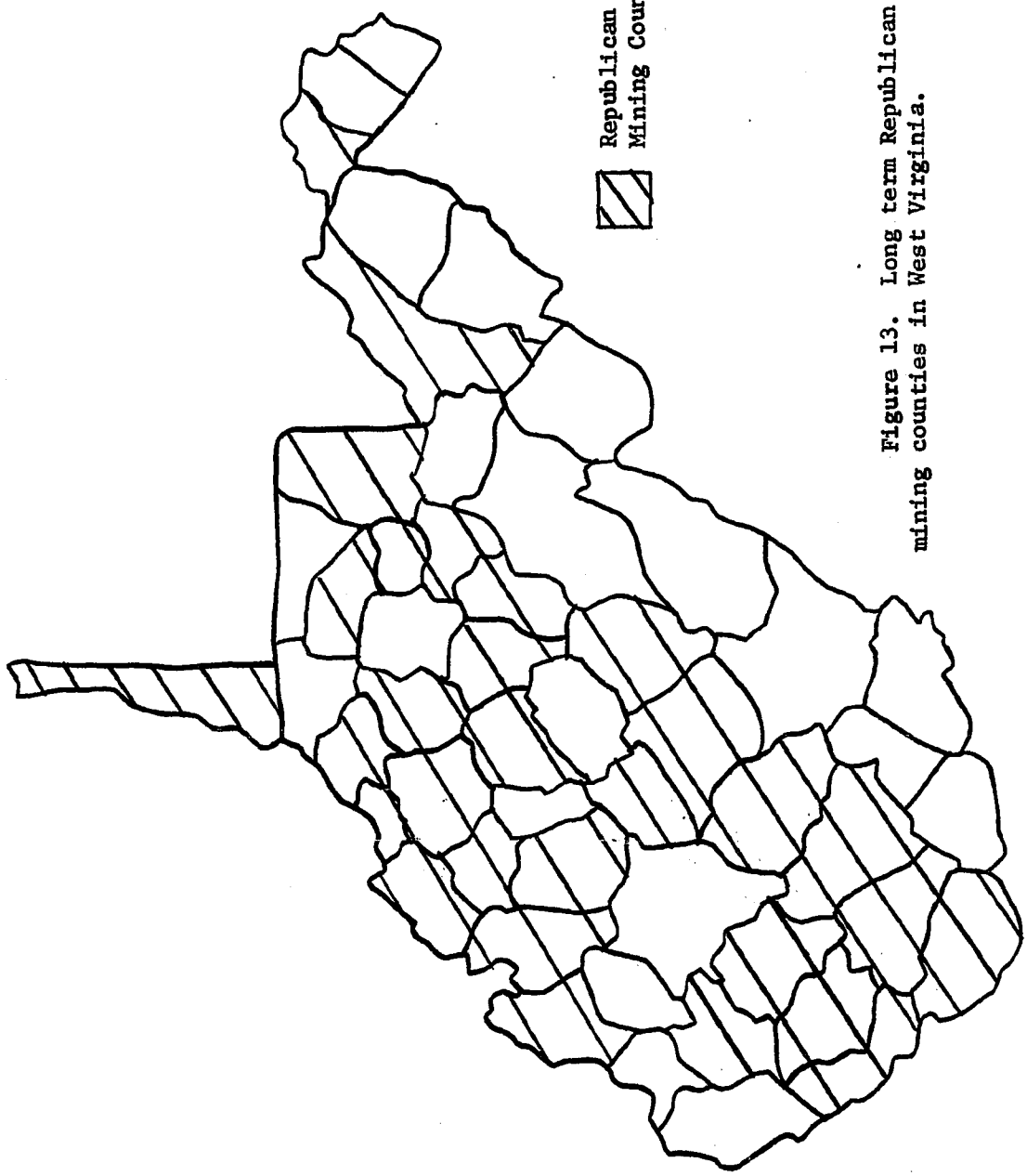

Figure 13. Long term Republican and mining counties in West Virginia.

VI. STATEHOUSE ORGANIZATION

At the base of the Statehouse organization and the power of the Democratic party in West Virginia is the county political party chairman. A large part of the power of the county chairman in West Virginia comes from the traditional activities of a political party leader. The chairman handles patronage, organizes elections, gets out the vote, and acts as an agent of the Statehouse organization.[52]

One measure of the effectiveness of a political party organization is the organization's ability to get out the vote. Again, it is the county chairman who leads the way and it appears that in West Virginia the tactics often used are those generally referred to in studies of machine politics. West Virginia politics has been described as among the most squalid, corrupt and despicable of any state.[53] In this setting, all government jobs become political tools and on the local level may well result in the school board spending more time in the appointment of a school bus driver than on the school curriculum.[54] The county chairman is often the distributor of these jobs.

The relationship of the county chairman to the Statehouse organization and his role as a patronage distributor can be illustrated by the relating of events which occurred in one county organization. The

[52] Ibid., p. 86.

[53] White, The Making of the President, p. 115.

[54] Ibid., p. 118.

incumbent county chairman was being threatened by a minority group of committee members with removal from the county executive committee and thus the chairmanship. When it appeared this minority had gained enough votes to remove the chairman from office, the chairman cancelled two scheduled meetings in order to keep this action from being taken. A meeting called by the membership, over which the chairman has no control, was scheduled at which time it appeared the chairman would lose his position. However, in the period between the calling of the meeting and its convening, several of the members who had intended to vote for removal of the chairman were removed from their jobs as employees of the state. With the usual denials the state administration publicly stated that there was no connection between the events. However, when the meeting was held these individuals changed their votes to give the incumbent chairman the necessary votes for reelection. The following week the members affected were reemployed in their state jobs.

In the above example, the county chairman was the beneficiary of a state political system characterized by a tight-knit organization, centralized power, and a high visibility and high impact politics. However, the chairman himself may at times be a victim of the same system. A West Virginia chairman, when asked how he acquired the chairmanship, stated:

> A schism was created in the party organization over a controversial county road supervisor. The controlling vote of the committee wanted the then chairman to engineer the supervisor's transfer and place a new man in the position. The chairman

refused and the committee fired him and placed me in the position.[55]

Not surprisingly, county chairmen in West Virginia are deeply involved in election day politics. Workers are paid, votes are bought, and payrolls increased for election day. Election day irregularities often appear to be a way of life in the state rather than an exception. From 1950 to 1960, the number of registered voters increased 2.4 percent while the state's population decreased 7.2 percent.[56] In 1960, the population of Williamson, deep in the southern coalfields, was 6,629, including more than 3,700 residents under voting age. However, the community reported 7,298 registered voters.[57] This pattern appears to be especially typical of the 15 county region in southern West Virginia where most of the coal is mined and where most of the state's population lives. The proportion of registered Democrats in these counties ranges from 61 to 79 percent of the electorate, with total registration in Mingo County, a mining county, reported in 1964 to be 128.60 percent of the voting age population.[58]

In West Virginia, as in other places, whiskey is an inducement to good citizenship and again involves the county political party chairmen. Prior to a recent primary and general election in West Virginia

[55]Gerald W. Johnson, Politics, Party Competition and the County Chairman in West Virginia (Knoxville: Bureau of Public Administration, The University of Tennessee, 1970), p. 15.

[56]Ernst, op. cit., p. 16. [57]Ibid.

[58]William R. Ross, The West Virginia Political Almanac, 1964 (Morgantown: Bureau for Government Research, West Virginia University, 1964), p. 7.

the State Liquor Commissioner sent to the county chairmen of both parties a letter informing them that the State Liquor Commission had stocked up on half-pints in anticipation of election day demands. The letter suggested that the chairmen let the state of West Virginia profit from their trade rather than "foreigners" from across its borders.[59]

Despite the above descriptions, it appears that county chairmen, for the most part, confine their efforts to formally legal election day activities. In West Virginia, this authorized base of activity adds significantly to the informal powers of the county chairmen. The state uses the "long ballot" on election day--a procedure which results in the voter being confronted with an almost incomprehensible list of candidates. Such a ballot is simplified by "slating", the marking and printing of sample ballots for election day distribution. This is usually a standard task performed by county chairmen. And, in West Virginia, a candidate must usually be slated to win. Theodore White, in his coverage of John F. Kennedy in the 1960 West Virginia primary, described vividly the importance of the county chairmen and how the Kennedy organization spent many months prior to the primary election working with them in an attempt to get their candidate slated.[60] As one politician explained, "It takes money. You buy the organization just like you would if you were going to build a house and hired carpenters, electricians and plumbers.'"[61]

[59]Ernst, op. cit., p. 17.

[60]White, The Making of the President, chap. 4.

[61]Ernst, loc. cit.

These characterizations of West Virginia county chairmen are open to some question.[62] Empirical data available on this group of political party leaders (Table 3) show that they are men of high socio-economic status, men in the mainstream of their communities, and men who play key roles in the American political process. Yet, the county chairman almost refuses to be typified. As one West Virginia chairman stated, "I can be boss or not." But for the most part, county chairmen appear to be primarily well educated, professional men. They are neither political bosses nor political statesmen. Rather, they are political necessities who fill key positions in the American political party structure and specifically in the West Virginia state political party organization.

VII. SUMMARY

Contemporary West Virginia politics is in large part a reflection of statehood politics determined by a series of events from 1863 to 1932. The pioneer and ethnic characteristics of western Virginians resulted in a way of life and a set of political loyalties which varied greatly from the southern and the other border states. Western Virginians, at least northwestern Virginians, were pioneers, reformers, nationalist and loyal unionists. The Civil War provided the means for statehood--a culmination of long standing sectional conflicts. With statehood came radical

[62] For a detailed analysis of West Virginia county political party chairmen see Johnson, loc. cit.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, AND INCOME CHARACTERISTICS OF WEST VIRGINIA COUNTY CHAIRMEN

Characteristic	Percent Response By			Republican Epsilon
	Total	Republicans	Democrats	
Occupation				
Professional	44.9	47.4	42.5	+ 4.9
Farmer	7.7	7.9	7.5	+ 0.4
Manager	21.8	15.8	27.5	-11.7
Clerk	9.0	7.9	10.0	- 2.1
Laborer	9.0	10.5	7.5	+ 3.0
Other	7.7	10.5	5.0	+ 5.5
N's	(78)	(38)	(40)	
Education				
Grade School	9.1	5.3	12.8	- 7.5
High School	27.3	28.9	25.6	+ 3.3
College	35.1	36.8	33.3	+ 3.5
Graduate Degree	28.6	28.9	28.2	+ 0.7
N's	(77)	(38)	(39)	
Income				
Under $7,500	22.4	24.3	20.5	+ 3.8
$7,500-$15,000	53.9	51.4	56.4	- 5.0
Over $15,000	23.7	24.3	23.1	+ 1.2
N's	(76)	(37)	(39)	

Republicanism, resultant sectional conflict, and the rise of conservative Bourbon Democrats to power in the state. The basic institutional structures of the state government were formulated during the period of Bourbon Democratic Control and reflect a conservative distrust of concentrated power and a Jacksonian orientation of an open government.

Bourbon politics ultimately gave way to a period of big business oriented Republican control. This period was marked by political and economic movements within the state that were the reverse of what was taking place in other southern and border states. The period from 1890-1920 was characterized in many states by a systematic effort to reduce the sufferage. In West Virginia the movement was toward increased participation in economic and political affairs of the state by an expanded sufferage due to the efforts of the United Mine Workers. The Great Depression and subsequent victories of the Democratic Party culminated this movement. The result has been joint control of West Virginia politics by the Statehouse Democratic Party and the United Mine Workers since 1940.

Party politics in the state, however, are characterized by a balance of power rather than one-party domination. The balance of power is clearly held by the mining counties which contain most of the state's population and in which the Statehouse Democratic organization and the United Mine Worker's organization are strongest. The loyal opposition is provided by a number of long term Republican counties and long term

Bourbon Democratic counties.[63] Only when the Statehouse-United Mine Workers coalition breaks down can the Republican party elect a statewide officer. This appears to have happened in 1956 and in 1968. This balance of power and resultant strong organization politics may account for the absence of personality based politics in the state, and for its succession of weak governors.

While the balance of power in West Virginia politics has been in the hands of the United Mine Workers and the Statehouse coalition, the election of 1968 and subsequent events point toward a substantial change in the politics of the state. The present Republican governor, who was elected partly due to a weakening of the United Mine Workers-Statehouse coalition and partly due to Democratic Party scandal (the former Democratic governor and several statewide officials are now under federal indictment), has apparently been able to dismantle a part of the Statehouse Organization. He fired several thousand employees upon taking office and has been able to push through the legislature several bills that will concentrate budgetary power in the governor's office and will allow the governor to succeed himself.

[63]The loyal opposition of the long term Republican counties was, in large part, a type of alliance between Walter Hallanan, the leader of the Republican Party, and the Statehouse and United Mine Workers organizations. Just as the Statehouse Democratic Party is able to maintain control by its reliance on long term Republican counties in the primaries, Hallanan was able to keep control of the Republican party by reliance on the Republican Party primary machinery in the Democratic mining counties. See Fenton, Politics in the Border States, pp. 89-92.

The above actions by a Republican governor in a state controlled by the Democratic Party were possible only because of a parallel weakening of the United Mine Workers-Statehouse coalition. The latter has come about due to the Union's organizational difficulties on the national and local level; a situation in which some West Virginia Democratic Party leaders have openly sided with the miner against the organization. Finally, the politics of West Virginia in 1970 is being shaped partly by the advent of John D. Rockefeller, IV, into the state's political arena. Rockefeller, a Democrat, was first elected to the West Virginia House of Delegates and in 1968 he was elected Secretary of State. In this latter position he has openly attacked election procedures and voting fraud in the state, both of which are products of previous Democratic Party control. It appears at this time, as Rockefeller himself recently said on an addition of "Meet the Press," that he will run for governor in 1972 and form a new coalition for the Democratic Party which is anti United Mine Workers and Statehouse organization, but which contains the individuals who have long been members of these organizations.

As the above indicates, West Virginia politics may be currently undergoing a fundamental change in its political organizations. Yet, the history of West Virginia politics shows considerable continuity. Figure 14 shows the political continuity and change in the party loyalties of West Virginia counties since 1872. Thirteen counties have been Democratic almost without exception since 1872. Four of the 13 counties are in the Valley region of Virginia, five are centrally located Bourbon counties, and four are located in the southern part of the state.

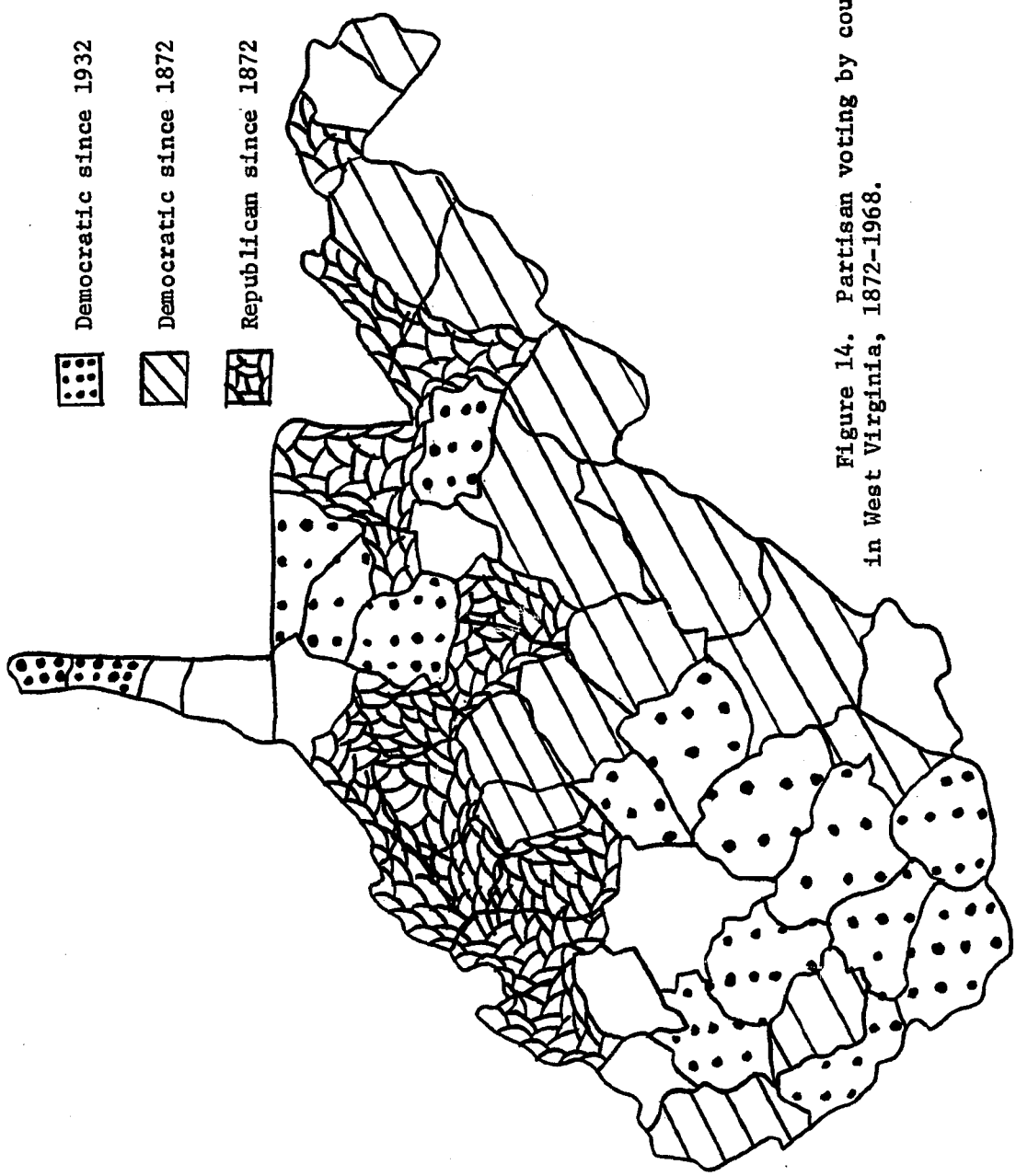

Figure 14. Partisan voting by counties in West Virginia, 1872-1968.

No long term Democratic county is located in the northwest. In addition, nine of the 13 are among the 20 least affluent counties in the state.

The traditionally Republican counties are located along the Ohio River and across the northern boundary of the state. Significantly, none of the 16 traditionally Republican counties are located in the Valley or in southern West Virginia.

Finally, there are 16 counties that joined the Democratic Party on a permanent basis in 1932. Of this 16, nine are coal counties and two are steel-producing metropolitan areas.

Perhaps what is most striking in this distribution of West Virginia counties is its continuity rather than change.[64] The fact is that in spite of substantial environmental and economic changes many West Virginia counties have been content to retain their partisan attachments.[65] In West Virginia, the election of 1932 was a critical one, but only for a select group of counties. As Figure 14 shows, Republican, northwestern counties in 1864 are still Republican in 1968. And, the Democratic, Valley or southeastern counties of 1864 are still Democratic in 1968. Neither set of counties has shown any great degree

[64]In West Virginia, Leonard Ritt found high correlations between mean Republican votes over the time period 1860-1964. See Ritt, op. cit., pp. 75-79; 92.

[65]This is an interesting finding with respect to its implications on the various rational voter theories and critical election theories. See V. O. Key, Jr., The Responsible Electorate (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966); and V. O. Key, Jr., "A Theory of Critical Elections," Journal of Politics, 17 (February, 1955), 3-18.

of change over this period. However, this is not true of the mining and steel counties in the state. The 1932 election had a substantial impact on these counties. The conclusion must be that historical and cultural factors are sufficient to retain party loyalties in many counties in spite of environmental, political or socioeconomic change. In some counties, however, there is ample evidence to show that other variables may be more influential than historical, political or cultural variables. Such is the case in West Virginia mining and steel producing counties. The evidence, at least at this stage, points toward the importance of an organization variable. Specifically, in these counties the Democratic majorities of 1968 may be the result of union efforts as far back as 1890. As Figure 15 shows, the percent Democratic vote in the mining counties started to climb after 1912--a year in which the percent Democratic vote was at an all time low in the Bourbon and Republican counties. This finding is further supported by the fact that the 1924 Progressive or LaFollette vote in West Virginia correlated strongly with percent of the labor force in mining.[66] In other words, there is some evidence that the LaFollette vote was a forerunner of the Roosevelt vote in the state.

In comparing Figure 14 with Figure 9, page 39, it appears that the sectional conflicts which existed in the state in 1860 are manifested in the political loyalties of the counties in 1968. The pro-southern counties of 1860 in the Valley and in southern West Virginia

[66]Ritt, op. cit., p. 85.

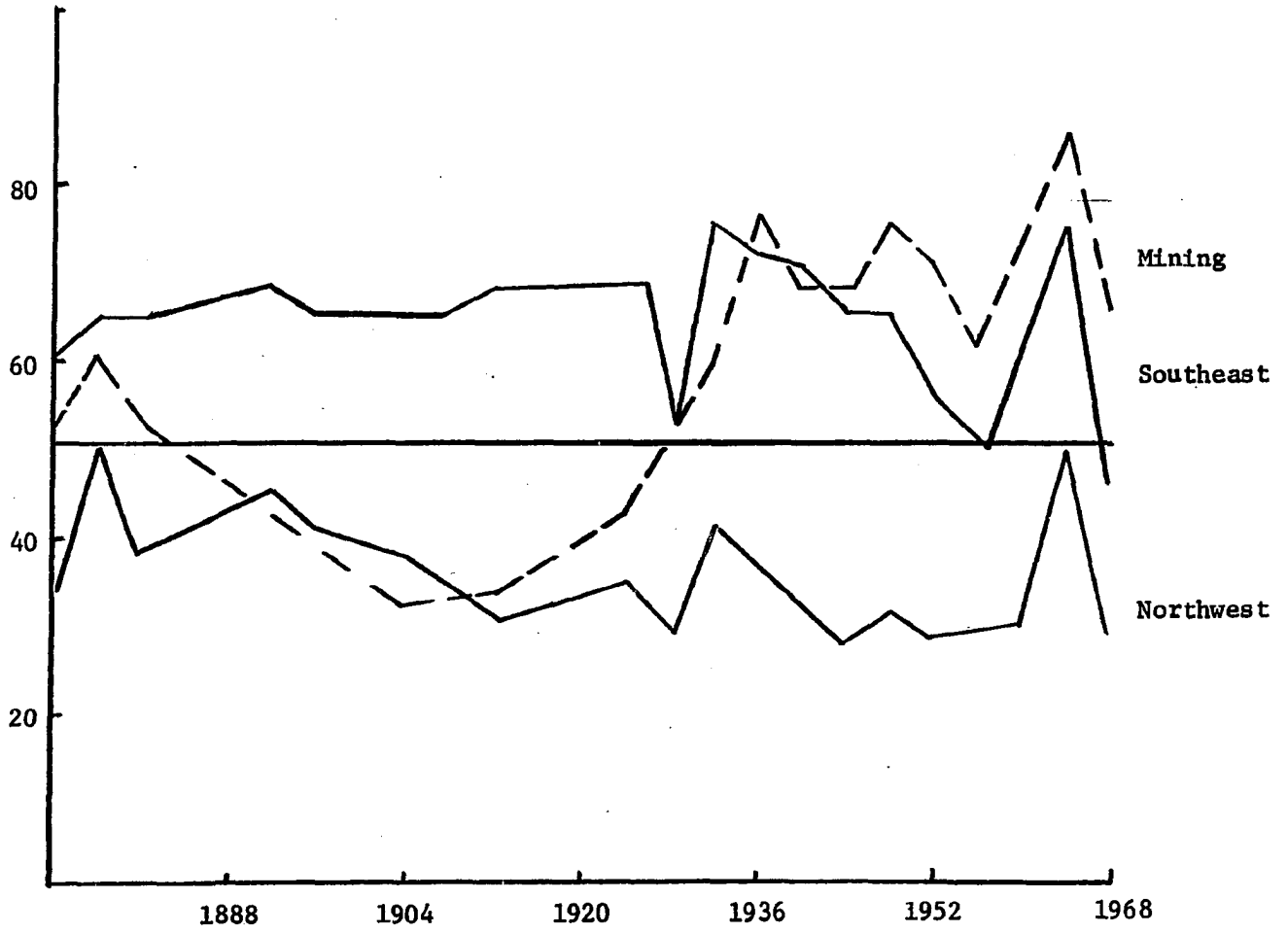

Figure 15. Typical voting patterns of counties by state section. Percentage Democratic vote for president, 1864-1968.

remain the stronghold of long term Bourbon Democratic Party strength. The radical Republican strength of the early 1860s was located in the northwestern counties where Republican Party strength in the state exists today. Some caution should be taken in extending the implied causation too far, however. The Democratic counties of southern West Virginia are no longer the conservative Bourbon Democratic counties of 1860. Most, specifically the mining counties, are the result of the union movement, the Great Depression and the New Deal.

The implied causation does appear to have some basis on other grounds than just party loyalty. An analysis of the 1968 presidential vote for George Wallace in West Virginia shows that the vote he received came from three areas or types of counties. As Figure 16 shows, three Valley counties gave at least 15 percent of the vote to Wallace--each of which had 1,000 or more slaves in 1860.[67] Other Valley counties gave at least 10 percent of the vote to Wallace as did six pro-southern southeastern counties. The other five counties which gave Wallace at least 10 percent of the vote are metropolitan counties with sizable industrial labor forces. Not a single Ohio River Republican county cast a significant Wallace vote in 1968.

In summary, the result of these various influences on West Virginia has been the political evolution of a state that, while geographically a border state, does not conform in some ways to expected political

[67]Fenton, Politics in the Border States, p. 112.

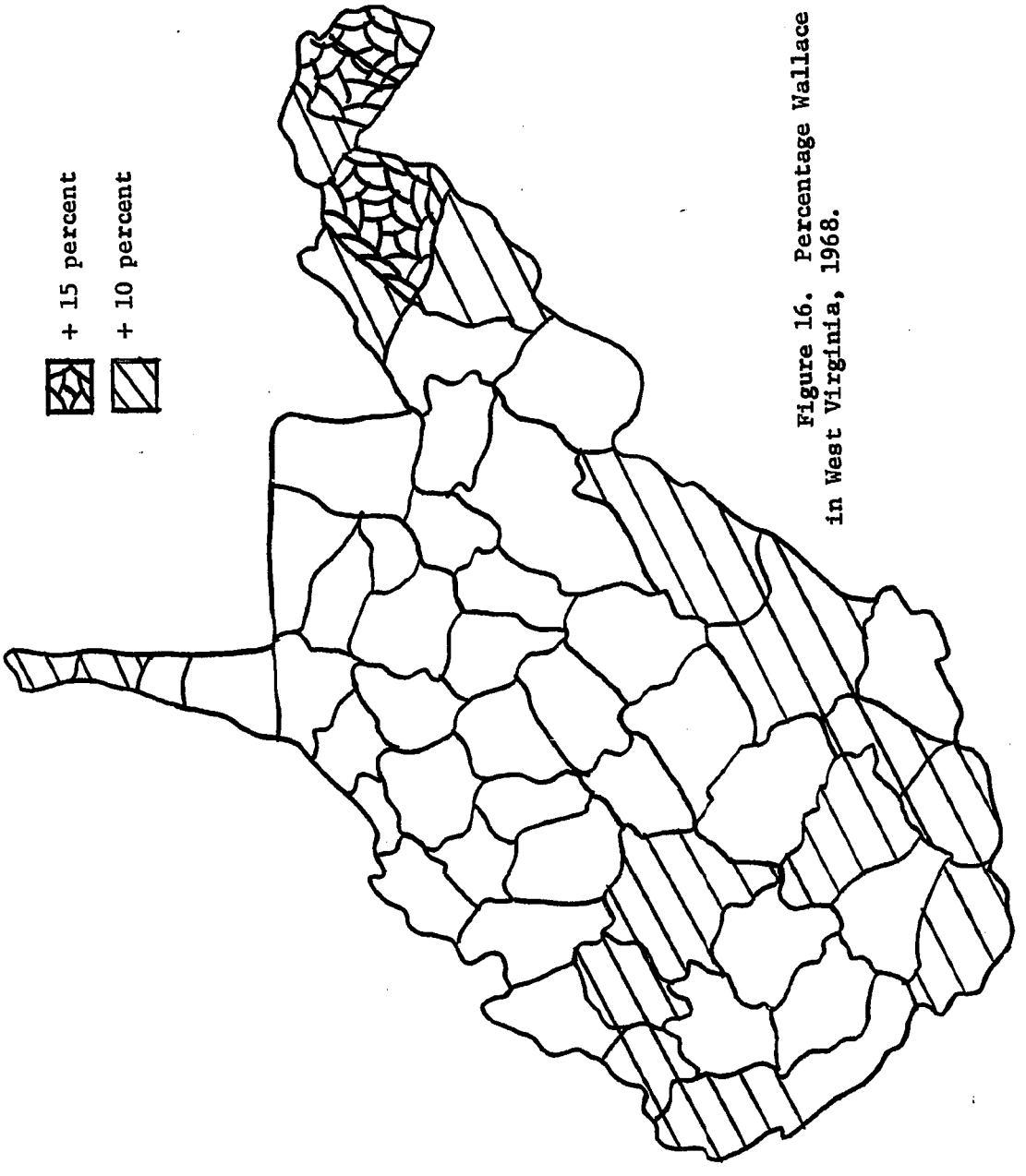

Figure 16. Percentage Wallace vote in West Virginia, 1968.

behavior patterns. This is particularly true in patterns of political participation. Contrary to the statement that "important institutional and cultural factors can be treated as constants"[68] in the comparative study of state political systems, the thesis of this study is that they cannot. In subsequent chapters tests are made of the relationships among socioeconomic, policy output and political variables. However, even at this point, the impact of historical and cultural variables on state political systems is evident in the case of West Virginia.

[68]Thomas R. Dye, Politics in States and Communities (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 8.

CHAPTER III

A SOCIOECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The analysis of political systems often begins, and almost as often ends, with a description of a number of system socioeconomic attributes. The goal is usually one of establishing relationships among various patterns of environmental attributes and concomitant variations in patterns of system performance or behavior patterns of system members.[1] The techniques involved have ranged from the abstract associations of Plato, the classifications of Aristotle and the typologies of Max Weber, to the numerous voting and political behavior studies of Paul Lazarfeld and Angus Campbell, to the recent studies of state political systems previously cited.

While not denying the importance of the contribution of much of this research, it appears that the results have suffered from at least two basic faults. First, a political system, as defined previously, is composed of several highly complex and interdependent units. In analyzing such a system the imperative becomes either to examine all the units in the system at one time, a rather difficult task to say the least, or to analyze specific predetermined units and posited relationships in the system while controlling for variation in the remaining system units.

[1]For a general discussion of variable analysis see Herbert H. Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), chap. V.

To date, much research in that wedge of knowledge which is of interest to political scientists has been conducted in relatively isolated segments with respect to intrasystem influences. Studies which focus narrowly upon political parties, interest groups, and legislatures are prime examples of "isolated" research. But, the more contemporary "behavioral" studies must be included, if to a lesser degree. (The indictment may be reversed by some in that the variable analysis of behavioral research can be more subject to isolation than the more traditional studies.[2])

A second basic limit in much social science research is again one of isolation, but one that occurs at a different level of analysis. In a political system the number of socioeconomic attributes which can theoretically be incorporated into a research design is almost unlimited. Thus, research has necessarily been restricted in the sense that variable selection results in the exclusion of relevant variables and the inclusion of irrelevant variables.

The previous chapter attempted to modify the risk of system unit isolation by placing the research in a historical, cultural and institutional framework. This chapter and the following attempts to reduce the risk of variable isolation by the introduction and employment of a factor analysis design in the use of socioeconomic variables.

[2]See H. Blumer, "Sociological Analysis and the Variable," American Sociological Review, 21 (December, 1956), 683-690.

I. VARIABLE ANALYSIS

A political system, in this case the West Virginia state political system, can be described in terms of an almost unlimited number of socioeconomic or demographic characteristics. The state, or any subdivision of the state, can be described in terms of measures of central tendencies (i.e., mean, medium, and mode), in such variables as income, education, voting rates, and others. In addition, we can describe the state in terms of a vast number of geographical, political, religious, and other variables ranging from average rainfall to percent coal miners. The problem is knowing what variables to include or exclude in the description. What variables are influential in determining the overall political processes and behavior patterns operating within the state? Too often the problem is limiting the number of potentially relevant variables to a manageable size. To describe a state political system by depicting its position on some 80 or 100 different dimensions is hardly useful. Most desirably, all political systems could be ranked on a single dimension and then compared. To date, such a method does not exist. One alternative is to reduce the large number of system characteristics to as few underlying dimensions as possible. The latter is the method employed in this analysis to reduce a large number of socioeconomic characteristics of the state of West Virginia to a very few underlying dimensions. These underlying dimensions (factors) are then used to analyze system processes and membership behavior.

Initially, the 55 counties in West Virginia were ranked on 92 variables ranging from total population to educational expenditures.[3] (See Table 4 for a list of the variables employed in county ranking.) The county was selected as the basic unit of analysis for a number of reasons. In West Virginia, as in many other states, the county is probably closer to being a closed political system than any other state subdivision.[4] It is a political entity which exercises police, welfare, administrative, political and governmental functions. As such, the county has developed a set of loyalties and allegiances which qualifies it for designation as a community system.[5] A final, and not insignificant, reason for selecting the county as the basic unit of analysis is that the U. S. Census Bureau employs the county in this manner, thus making data readily available on the county level unit of analysis. The number of variables selected for analysis holds no particular significance as the number of potentially relevant variables was almost unlimited. With a few deletions and additions, the variables employed were those

[3]Various researchers have employed a slightly different list of socioeconomic variables. See, for example, Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public, Appendix.

[4]For a more comprehensive discussion of this point see Christen T. Jonassen, "Community Typology" in Christen T. Jonassen (ed.), Community Structure and Analysis (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959), pp. 15-36.

[5]See H. S. Duncombe, County Government in America (Washington: National Association of Counties Research Foundation, 1966).

TABLE 4

LIST OF VARIABLES EMPLOYED IN COUNTY RANKINGS

1.	Population I	23.	Population Mobility
2.	Population, Urban	24.	Health
3.	Governmental Complexity	25.	Welfare Expenditures
4.	Hetrogeneity	26.	Socioeconomic Status
5.	Social Complexity	27.	Wealth Differential
6.	Economic Complexity	28.	Poverty
7.	Productive Population	29.	Population Change
8.	Employed Females	30.	Police Expenditures
9.	Farmers	31.	Mining Employees
10.	Unskilled Workers	32.	Home Equipment
11.	Craftsmen	33.	Housing Units Owner Occupied
12.	Clerks	34.	Median School Years
13.	Salesmen	35.	Median Value Homes
14.	Professional	36.	Public Assistance Recipients
15.	White Collar	37.	Local Government Employees
16.	Elementary Education	38.	Federal Government Employees
17.	Educational Effort	39.	Population Vitality
18.	High School Enrollment II	40.	Unemployment
19.	Technical Illiteracy	41.	Educational Sacrifice
20.	High School Education	42.	Population Density
21.	College Education	43.	Population Over 21
22.	Educational Status	44.	Dependent Population

TABLE 4 (continued)

45. Economic Base	63. Federal Educational Revenue Receipts
46. Commercial Activity	64. Change in School Enrollment
47. Industralization	65. Local Educational Revenue Receipts
48. School Age Population	66. Education Wealth
49. Educational Self-Sufficiency	67. Size of Educational Plant
50. Local Government Educational Expenditures	68. State Educational Revenue Receipts
51. Educational Potential	69. Manufacturing
52. Median Family Income	70. Services
53. Percent Population Register to Vote, 1964	21. Wholesale Sales
54. Percent Change Democratic Strength, 1932-1964	72 Retail Sales
55. Most Democratic County	73. High School Enrollment
56. Highway Expenditures	74. Total Labor Force
57. Total Local Government Expenditures	75. Laborers
58. Bank Deposits	76. Local Government Revenue Receipts
59. Total Education Expenditures	77. Accidental Deaths
60. Educational Revenue Receipts	78. Democratic Vote Governor, 1960
61. Agriculture	
62. Population II	79. Total School Enrollment

TABLE 4 (continued)

80. Birth Rate	87. Infant Deaths
81. Death Rate	88. Commercial Farms
82. Family Income II	89. Percent Negro
83. Service Workers	90. Percent Foreign Stock
84. Operatives	91. Employment Manufacturing
85. Managers	92. Population III
86. T. B. Deaths	

Source: See Appendix A for operational definitions of the variables and Appendix B for data sources.

used in two previous studies of community systems.[6] The variables do hold in common a general socioeconomic characteristic and as such many are standard Census Bureau data units.

After county rankings were constructed, the data were punched onto cards and run through a three stage factor analysis program which delineated five basic factors or underlying dimensions in the array of variables.[7] These factors, four socioeconomic factors and one policy output factor, were then employed as measures of environmental and political influence on political participation in the state.[8]

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[6]See Christen T. Jonassen and Sherwood H. Press, Interrelations of Dimensions of Community Systems (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960); and Willis A. Sutton, Jr. and Jerry Russell, The Social Dimensions of Kentucky Counties: Data and Rankings of the State's 120 Counties on each of 81 Characteristics (Lexington: University of Kentucky Bureau of Community Services Publication No. 81, 1964).

[7]The primary programs employed in this study include, "BMD02D--Correlation with Transgeneration,"; "BMD02R--Stepwise Regression,"; "Factor Analysis I and II"; and various Fortran language programs. The BMD programs are prepared by W. J. Dixon (ed.), Biomedical Computer Programs (Los Angeles: Health Sciences Computing Facility, Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health, School of Medicine, University of California, 1964). The "Multiple Factor Analysis" program was prepared by R. C. Durfee and based upon work done by Professor Edward E. Cureton at the University of Tennessee.

[8]Factor analysis has been widely used in some social science fields for a number of years, but not in the field of Political Science. For a recent example of the use of factor analysis in the study of state political systems, see Sharkansky and Hofferbert, "Dimensions of State Politics, Economics, and Public Policy," 867-879. Sharkansky and Hofferbert employed a factoring technique with orthogonal rotation or a device which extracts factors which show maximum internal correlation and minimum correlation with other factors. The program used in this analysis consist of an orthogonal rotation followed by an oblique rotation. This procedure allows the extracted factors to be correlated with each other. The assumption is that in the "real world" these underlying dimensions (factors) are in fact intercorrelated.

II. FACTOR ANALYSIS

Briefly, the purpose of factor analysis is to identify the interrelated elements or "dimensions" into which fall a set of phenomena within a selected domain.[9] In essence, factor analysis introduces scientific parsimony into the use of a large number of variables. In this case, some 92 variables were reduced to five factors (a construct or a hypothetical entity that is assumed to underlie a given array of variables). The advantage of talking in terms of five rather than 92 variables is quite obvious.

In this research, a three stage factor analysis program was employed to determine the number and nature of patterned phenomena in the 92 variables on which West Virginia counties were ranked. Initially, a correlation matrix of the variables was constructed.[10] From this, a second matrix (factor matrix) was constructed based on those variables which tended to be highly intercorrelated or to cluster around some common dimension. In other words, those community variables which "loaded" or correlated on a "factor" or underlying dimension were defined. Then, to obtain the "best fit" or simplest solution, these factors

[9]For a good explanation of the factor analysis technique as it relates to political science research see R. J. Rummel, "Understanding Factor Analysis," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 11 (December, 1967), 444-480. Other general reference works include Harry H. Harman, Modern Factor Analysis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); and L. L. Thurston, Multiple-Factor Analysis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).

[10]The correlation matrix constructed resulted in a 61 x 61 table which was too large to reproduce and include in this study. Appendix G does include the rotated factor matrix derived from the original correlation matrix and the first factor matrix.

were rotated to the solution which provided the best defined underlying dimensions. Finally, based on the composition and nature of the variables which loaded significantly on a factor (.30 or higher), the factors were named and each county was assigned a factor score on each factor. (County factor scores were obtained by summing the ranks of each county on the variable loading for a particular factor multiplied by the percent variance explained by each variable.) As noted, a total of five factors was defined--four socioeconomic factors and one policy output factor.

III. SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

Four factors of a general socioeconomic nature were defined by the factor analysis program. These factors represent a number of individual attributes of the state, or in this case, the county. Each factor was analyzed with respect to the nature of the particular array of variables which loaded on the factor and the strength of those loadings. Each factor was labeled with a term denoting the nature of its components.

Factor I: Economic Development

Factor I had significant loadings on 19 county variables. As Table 5 shows, high positive loadings on such variables as white collar (.68), professional (.67), college education (.63), bank deposits (.63), and negative loadings on unskilled workers (.50), identify this factor as one which denotes a "developed" community. An

TABLE 5

FACTOR I: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Variable	Loading
15. White Collar	.678
14. Professional	.670
21. College Education	.633
58. Bank Deposits	.629
46. Commercial Activity	.593
13. Salesmen	.560
38. Federal Government Employment	.559
41. Educational Sacrifice	-.530
10. Unskilled Workers	-.497
20. High School Education	.481
12. Clerks	.455
26. Socioeconomic Status	.441
8. Employed Females	.426
47. Industrialization	.418
51. Educational Potential	.414
34. Median School Years	.405
56. Highway Expenditures	.345
35. Median Value Homes	.336
54. Percent Change Democratic Party Strength, 1932-1964	-.309

economically developed community is generally characterized as having high professional abilities, large financial resources, and high rates of commercial and industrial activity.

Factor II: Urbanization

Factor I includes a number of variables which could have logically led to the classification of the factor as an urban factor. However, the factor analysis technique allowed for a rather clear differentiation between the "Economic Development" and the "Urbanization" factors. The former is characterized by heavy loadings of primarily economic indicators while the latter, as indicated in Table 6, depicts a heavy bi-polar loading of population characteristics of a rural/urban nature. For example, high positive loadings of population items such as dependent population (.88), school age population (.88), population I (.84), population change (.75), and population density (.69) along with economic indicators of economic base (.79), social complexity (.63), and population urban (.54), clearly identify this factor as "Urbanization," particularly when considering the high negative loadings of farmers (.86) and agriculture (.72) on the factor.

Factor III: Affluence

The "Affluence" factor is another bi-polar distribution with high positive loadings on median value of homes (.66), index of home equipment (.65) and median family income (.59), and high negative loadings on technical illiteracy (.68), poverty (.59) and public assistance recipients (.49) (Table 7).

TABLE 6

FACTOR II: URBANIZATION

Variable		Loading
44.	Dependent Population	.882
48.	School Age Population	.881
9.	Farmers	-.855
1.	Population, I	.843
45.	Economic Base	.790
29.	Population Change	.754
61.	Agriculture	-.721
42.	Population Density	.689
54.	Percent Change Democratic Party Strength, 1932-1964	.671
16.	Elementary Education	-.634
5.	Social Complexity	.633
3.	Governmental Complexity	.606
6.	Economic Complexity	.559
2.	Population, Urban	.540
39.	Population Vitality	-.533
4.	Hetrogeneity	.528
52.	Median Family Income	.528
30.	Policy Expenditures	.509
28.	Poverty	-.507
27.	Wealth Differential	.499
31.	Mining Employees	.445
23.	Population Mobility	-.443

TABLE 6 (continued)

Variable		Loading
53.	Percent Population Registered to Vote, 1964	-.414
13.	Salesmen	.405
7.	Productive Population	.391
55.	Most Democratic County	.384
15.	White Collar	.380
33.	Housing Units Owner Occupied	-.377
17.	Educational Effort	.366
57.	Total Local Government Expenditures	.346
12.	Clerks	.328
47.	Industrialization	.309

TABLE 7

FACTOR III: AFFLUENCE

Variable		Loading
11.	Craftsmen	.739
19.	Technical Illiteracy	-.680
35.	Median Value Homes	.657
32.	Index Home Equipment	.654
52.	Median Family Income	.592
28.	Poverty	-.589
23.	Population Mobility	.563
34.	Median School Years	.552
49.	Education Self-Sufficiency	.549
27.	Wealth Differential	.529
26.	Socioeconomic Status	.505
55.	Most Democratic County	-.509
36.	Public Assistance Recipients	-.489
20.	High School Education	.485
31.	Mining Employees	-.429
2.	Population, Urban	.414
24.	Health	.412
22.	Educational Status	.382
33.	Housing Units Owner Occupied	-.371
12.	Clerks	.369

TABLE 7 (continued)

Variable	Loading
10. Unskilled Workers	-.335
42. Population Density	.327
56. Highway Expenditures	.320
51. Educational Potential	.318

Factor IV: Community Development Potential

The remaining two factors tap a similar aspect of one community characteristic--education. While the factors overlap to a degree, each factor contains a separate influencing capability. Factor IV is described below and Factor V, a policy output factor, is discussed in the following chapter.

Factor IV is labeled "Community Development Potential" based on the positive loadings of two clusters of items--human resources and educational investments. As Table 8 indicates, the positive loadings of over 21 population (.71), high school enrollment (.54), and productive population (.44) show a human resource reservoir in terms of available manpower. When these loadings are coupled with positive loadings of educational investment, one result is a high potential for community development.

IV. A SOCIOECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The four socioeconomic factors defined above are employed in the following sections to analyze West Virginia intrastate variations in political participation rates. What influence do socioeconomic variables (factors) have on voter turnout rates? Do high socioeconomic status counties exhibit concomitant patterns in voter turnout rates? How are West Virginia counties distributed according to the four socioeconomic factors? The historical analysis of West Virginia politics revealed substantial variation in the state with respect to partisan affiliations. In particular, continuity and change in partisan affiliation appeared

TABLE 8

FACTOR IV: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL

Variable	Loading
43. Population over 21	.714
18. High School Enrollment II	.539
39. Population Vitality	-.481
7. Productive Population	.444
53. Percent Population Registered to Vote, 1964	-.389
22. Educational Status	.369
59. Total Educational Expenditures	.360
51. Educational Potential	.333
60. Educational Revenue Receipts	.316
25. Welfare Expenditures	-.374

to be strongly related to sectional differences. Do West Virginia counties show similar sectional differences with respect to socioeconomic factors and voter turnout levels?

The data show that the northwestern counties of the state and the metropolitan counties of Cabell and Kanawha rank highest on all four factors.[11] The eastern, Valley, and central mountain counties are the least developed in the state. Two exceptions to the preceeding should be noted. First, Mercer county, a southeastern county, ranks high on all but one factor. This high factor score ranking for a southeastern county can be explained by the general economic development of the county and the fact that two of the larger municipalities in the state are located in the county. Second, the Urbanization factor includes several southern counties in the "most urban" category. This is due to the fact that five of these counties, none of which are included in the highest ranks on any other factor, are the top coal mining counties in the state. Thus, while they do not rank high on Affluence, Economic Development, or Community Development Potential, they exhibit an urban, non-farm characteristic due to the nature of the dominant industry within the counties.

In general, the data support the statement that the northwestern counties rank higher on all four factors than do the mining or the southeastern counties. Of the top 15 counties on each factor, 60, 53, 80 and

[11]See Appendix E for a series of Tables which show the distribution of West Virginia counties according to factor scores (Tables 36 through 39).

67 percent were northwestern counties (Table 9). The distribution patterns of the counties on the four factors present an interesting comparison with the sectional pattern of West Virginia politics noted in Chapter II. With the exceptions of the southern mining counties on Factor II, and Mercer county on all four factors, the 1860 reform oriented, northwestern counties are today clearly better off economically than are the Valley and southwestern counties or the pro Virginia and pro Confederacy counties of 1860. The obvious question is whether or not the northwestern counties show a corresponding difference in voter turnout levels.

Table 10 shows the distribution of high voter turnout counties by state section.[12] The data indicate that while the northwestern counties are clearly better off in economic terms than are the other sections of the state, the same relationship does not exist between voter turnout and section. The implication is that there is no positive relationship between voter turnout and socioeconomic levels in the state. This point will be tested in greater detail in the following pages. However, a comparison of voter turnout and socioeconomic patterns show that little correlation exists between high socioeconomic status and voter turnout levels. Further, a comparison of voter turnout with partisan vote shows that at least 50 percent of the high voter turnout counties in 1960, 1964 and 1968, are traditional Republican counties. The implication of the latter finding is not clear. What is clear is that no positive

[12]See Appendix F for a series of tables which show the distribution of West Virginia counties according to voter turnout scores (Tables 40 through 42).

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH FACTOR SCORES ACCORDING TO STATE SECTION

State Section	Percent High Factor Scores			
	Economic Development	Urbanization	Affluence	Community Development Potential
Mining	13	40	7	20
Northwest	60	53	80	67
Southeast	27	7	13	13
N's	(15)	(15)	(15)	(15)

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH VOTER TURNOUT SCORES ACCORDING TO STATE SECTION

State Section	Percent High Voter Turnout Series		
	1960	1964	1968
Mining	20	20	14
Northwest	40	46	60
Southeast	40	34	26
N's	(15)	(15)	(15)

relationship exists between socioeconomic level and voter turnout level in the state.

The previous discussion consisted mainly of a descriptive analysis of voter turnout and socioeconomic levels in West Virginia in terms of percentage distributions and the comparison of sectional variations. In the following, a statistical analysis of the data is undertaken by employing county factor scores, percent voter turnout scores, and the various correlation techniques outlined in Chapter I.

As Table 11 shows, when the four socioeconomic factors are correlated with voter turnout levels the results are weak to moderately strong negative correlations. In essence, intrastate variation in percent voter turnout is inversely related to socioeconomic status--a finding in substantial conflict with currently posited political participation hypotheses. (It should be stressed that none of the coefficients in Table 11 are particularly strong. And, an examination of the scattergrams of even the strongest relationship reveals wide dispersion around the regression line. See Figure 17.) The strongest point that can be made is that in West Virginia, at the county unit level, there is no positive correlation between political participation and socioeconomic level. There is ample evidence to indicate that the relationship between the two sets of variables is, in fact, a weak negative one. As Figure 18 shows, on each factor the lowest SES counties show the highest turnout levels.

Table 12 shows a comparison of the relationships among socioeconomic factors and voter turnout levels when state sections are the units of

TABLE 11

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND VOTER TURNOUT FOR PRESIDENT IN WEST VIRGINIA[a]

Factors	Voter Turnout		
	1960	1964	1968
Economic Development	-.39	-.14	-.10
Urbanization	-.52	-.50	-.34
Affluence	-.37	-.14	-.02
Community Development Potential	-.39	-.35	-.23

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

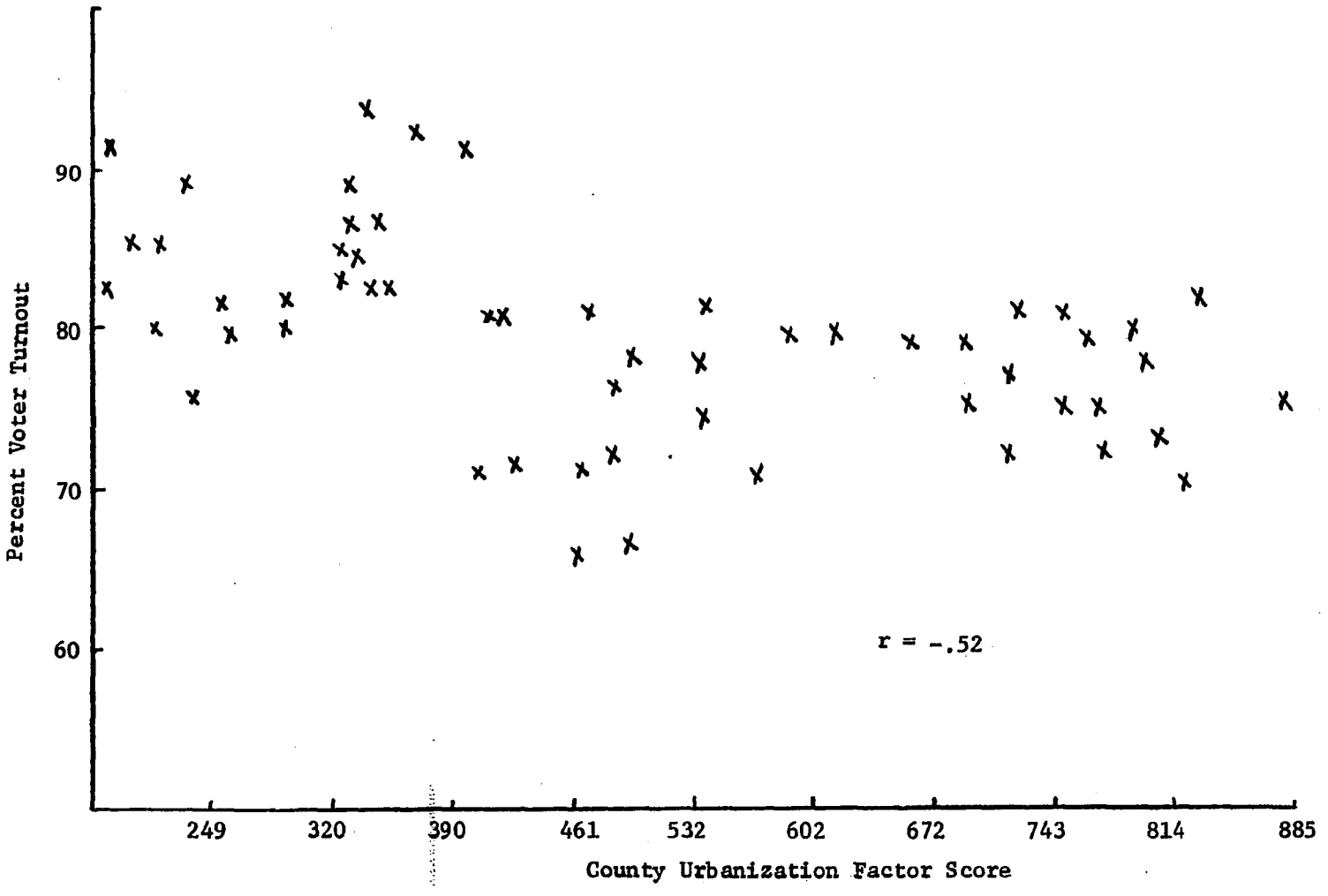

Figure 17. Correlation of urbanization factor scores with voter turnout for president in West Virginia, 1960.

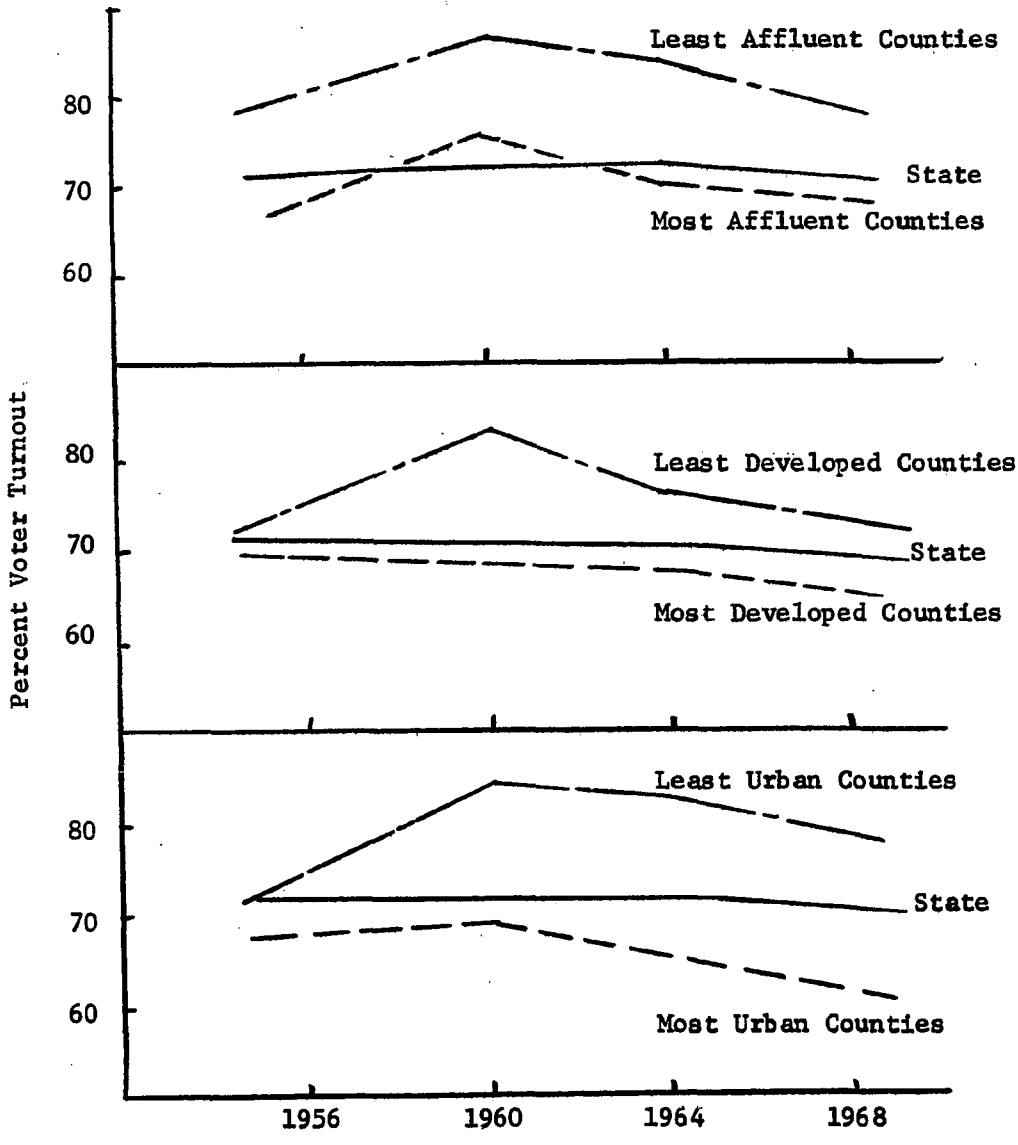

Figure 18. The relationship between socioeconomic factors and voter turnout for president in West Virginia based on the 10 highest and the 10 lowest county factor scores.

TABLE 12

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY SECTION, 1960[a]

Socioeconomic Factors	Political Participation, 1960			
	West Virginia	Mining Counties	Northwest Counties	Southeast Counties
Community Development	-.39	-.20	-.52	-.71
Urbanization	-.52	-.21	-.56	-.76
Affluence	-.37	-.20	-.47	-.81
Community Development Potential	-.39	-.31	-.62	-.15

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

analysis. The relationships vary substantially by section. They are much stronger in the southeastern counties than they are in the mining counties. Socioeconomic variable influence on levels of political participation in West Virginia is made more or less pronounced when state section is controlled. The implication is that other variables than socioeconomic ones, e.g., political style and culture, may have a significant impact on levels of political participation.

In order to revert to the original question of the relationship among socioeconomic variables and political participation in West Virginia, an analysis of the total amount of explained variance in the dependent variable (participation) is in order. (The reader is reminded that the explained variance is equal to the correlation coefficient squared.) Table 13 shows the total amount of variance in political participation rates accounted for by the four factors in the state and in the three state regions. In the state, the data show that the set of socioeconomic factors accounts for .31, .45 and .30 percent of the variance in voter turnout levels in 1960, 1964 and 1968, respectively. (These figures are uncontrolled correlations and do not take into account the influence of other variables. A later analysis provides tests of these relationships employing variable controls. It should also be noted that these figures are all the result of original negative correlation coefficients even though R and RSQ coefficients ignore signs. Finally, R and RSQ figures are employed only as indicators of possible trends or relationships and not as statistically proven relationships. There exists some question as to the validity of adding coefficients and the problem is compounded when

TABLE 13

MULTIPLE R CORRELATIONS OF SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND VOTER TURNOUT BY STATE AND SECTION[a]

Percent Voter Turnout	West Virginia			Northwest			Southeast			Mining	
	Factor	R	RSQ	Factor	R	RSQ	Factor	R	RSQ	Factor	R	RSQ
1968	II	.34	.11	IV	.50	.25	III	.79	.62	I	.43	.19
	III	.50	.25	III	.69	.48	IV	.81	.66	II	.47	.22
	IV	.54	.29	I	.77	.59	II	.82	.67	III	.52	.27
	I	.55	.30	II	.77	.59				IV	.55	.30
1964	II	.50	.25	IV	.67	.45	III	.78	.60	II	.54	.30
	III	.62	.39	III	.77	.60	IV	.81	.66	I	.66	.43
	IV	.67	.45	I	.80	.65	I	.82	.67	III	.68	.46
				II	.81	.66	II	.83	.68	IV	.69	.47
1960	II	.52	.27	IV	.62	.38	III	.81	.66	IV	.31	.09
	IV	.53	.29	II	.64	.40	IV	.81	.66	II	.32	.10
	III	.54	.30	III	.65	.42	II	.82	.67	III	.32	.10
	I	.56	.31	I	.65	.43				I	.33	.11

[a]Figures are multiple R correlations and R squared (RSQ). RSQ figures show the percent variance explained in the dependent variable by that factor.

the control variables have both positive and negative signs.) Table 13 also shows the factor of greatest influence in each of the four sets of data and for each of three different presidential elections. For example, in West Virginia, Factor II (Urbanization) is the variable of greatest influence in all three election years accounting for .27, .25 and .11 percent of the variance in 1960, 1964 and 1968, respectively. In contrast, in the northwest counties Factor IV (Community Development Potential) is the factor which accounts for the greatest amount of variance in all three elections. In the southeast the factor of greatest influence was Factor III (Affluence) and in the mining counties there was no consistent pattern.

The data in Table 13 show a substantial difference in the amount of the variance accounted for by socioeconomic factors among regions. The least amount of variance accounted for is in the mining counties and the most accounted for is in the southeastern counties. While keeping in mind that all of the relationships are negative ones, the intrastate differences may be accounted for by several reasons--most of which revert back to historical and cultural differences noted among the state sections previously. The southeastern counties are, in many respects, more similar to Virginia counties than to northwestern and mining West Virginia counties. Several southeastern counties in their early history had relatively large numbers of slaves and in general were characterized by the Virginia aristocratic social and political structure. It thus appears quite logical that the strongest relationships among socioeconomic factors and political variables would be in this region and that the factor

of greatest influence would be Affluence. However, this does not explain the finding that the sets of relationships in Table 12, page 98, are negative ones. It may be that the more developed, urban, and affluent a southeastern county becomes, the more it differs from the traditional, aristocratic structure by which it was once characterized. Thus, the less political participation rates can be accounted for in strict socio-economic terms.

The weakest relationships presented in Table 13 are those that occur in the state's mining counties. Again, based on the historical and cultural influences on this region, these findings are warranted. It is in this region that the influence of an "organizational" variable would be expected to be a more powerful variable than socioeconomic factors. While the data do not in any sense indicate the presence of an organizational variable, they do show that in 1960 only 11 percent of the variance in political participation was explained by socioeconomic factors.

V. SUMMARY

In the state political system model presented in Chapter I, one of the posited relationships of particular interest was that between socioeconomic variables and voter turnout levels. Contemporary research findings in political participation generally indicate a strong positive association between socioeconomic factors and political participation both at the individual and the aggregate data level. The most obvious finding in this chapter is that in West Virginia, at least at the county unit level of analysis, the posited relationships between socioeconomic

and political participation variables do not exist. While there are some moderately strong correlations between the two sets of variables, in every case the relationship is a negative one.[13]

The existence of a negative relationship between socioeconomic and political participation variables appears to have at least two possible explanations. One, the relationship could indicate a political system structured by history, culture and style to incorporate into the system the active participation of low socioeconomic groups. Or, two, the relationship could be a spurious one in which other system variables are involved and are distorting the original two variable relationships. The following chapters explore the validity of these two explanations.

[13]See Appendix G for a series of tables which contain correlation matrices of the total set of system variable relationships examined in this study (Tables 44 through 47).

CHAPTER IV

A POLICY OUTPUT ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

An analysis of the relationships of political system policy outputs (public policy expenditures) and voter turnout levels in West Virginia is undertaken in this chapter. The conceptural framework, sectional analyses, and test of association employed in Chapter III are continued. In Chapter III the question was how are socioeconomic variables related to the high rates of voter turnout in West Virginia. The tentative conclusion was that the two sets of variables were negatively related if at all. The same set of questions can be raised with respect to policy outputs. What are the effects of educational, highway and welfare policies and expenditures on voter participation levels in the state?

At the state level of analysis available data suggest that "there is some reason to believe that participation levels may affect policy outcomes."[1] Specifically, it was found that 30 out of 54 selected policy output variables were significantly associated with voter turnout levels.[2] These were simple correlation coefficients and not partial coefficients. When the relationships were controlled for socioeconomic variable influence, they tended to disappear, thus indicating that the true relationship is between socioeconomic and policy output variables rather

[1] Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public, p. 261.

[2] Ibid., p. 263.

than between participation and output variables.) The conclusion was that "levels of political participation among the states are a function of the levels of economic development."[3] But as researchers have noted, political participation patterns in West Virginia do not conform to this conclusion, and the analysis in the previous chapter specifically showed that variance in political participation levels among West Virginia counties is not a function of levels of economic development. Yet, as noted in Chapter I, various research findings have resulted in the conclusion that there is a positive association between political and policy output variables.[4] In West Virginia, what is the relationship between political participation levels and policy output variables?

I. POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES

The problem of selecting and choosing test indicators among a number of potentially relevant policy output variables is a difficult one.[5] In the preceding chapter the problem was reduced by the use of

[3] Ibid., p. 267. Also, see Ira Sharkansky and Richard I. Hofferbert, "Party Competition and Welfare Policies in the American States," The American Political Science Review, 63 (September, 1969), 867-870.

[4] The major exception to this finding is provided by Ira Sharkansky, Spending in the American States (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1968), pp. 60-61; 76-77. Sharkansky concluded that state spending levels were basically functions of previous expenditures and federal and state taxing and funding policies. In general, Sharkansky found that measures of economic activity showed inverse relationships to state spending.

[5] Various researchers have employed different lists of policy output variables. See Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public, Appendix; and Sharkansky and Hofferbert, "Dimensions of State Politics, Economics, and Public Policy," 867-879.

a factor analysis program which allowed for the use of a large number of socioeconomic variables. In this chapter no attempt is made to produce factors from a large number of policy output variables. Rather, one factor (Local Educational Effort) produced in the program to define socioeconomic factors was identified as a policy output factor and is so used in this chapter. In addition, six other policy output variables were selected on the basis of their comparability with variables used in previous research. (See Table 14 for a list of policy output variables employed in the analysis, and Appendix C for operational definitions and data sources of policy output variables.)

Table 15 shows the individual variables which loaded on Factor V and Table 16 shows the distribution of West Virginia counties on this factor. The factor (Local Educational Effort), has a unidimensional distribution which shows the emphasis the county places on educational goals. The high positive loadings of total educational expenditures (.67) coupled with positive loadings on local educational effort (.42) and educational self-sufficiency (.41) show a willingness of the county to spend more on education to achieve a higher educational status (.49). Thus, as the factor is composed of public expenditure variables, it is employed in the analysis as a policy output rather than a socioeconomic variable.

The most obvious finding in the county distribution of Factor V, Table 16, is that those counties which fall in the high category correspond rather closely with those counties who fall in the high categories on the four socioeconomic factors. Thus, it appears that a strong

TABLE 14

LIST OF POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES[a]

1. Local Government Expenditures
2. County Expenditures
3. Welfare
4. Education
5. Highways
6. Local Government Employment
7. Local Educational Effort

[a]See Appendix C for operational definitions and data sources.

TABLE 15

FACTOR V: LOCAL EDUCATIONAL EFFORT

Variable	Loading
60. Educational Revenue Receipts	.677
59. Total Educational Expenditures	.669
40. Unemployment	-.493
22. Educational Status	.490
57. Total Local Government Expenditures	.426
17. Educational Effort	.416
49. Educational Self-Sufficiency	.411
37. Local Government Employees	-.353

TABLE 16

FACTOR V: LOCAL EDUCATIONAL EFFORT FACTOR SCORES[a]

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
Hancock	196.0	Wood	148.6	Barbour	63.9
Ohio	184.4	Doddridge	141.4	Taylor	63.3
Pleasants	174.7	Mason	140.2	Webster	59.6
Cabell	173.6	Lewis	139.7	Jackson	55.9
Brooke	171.4	Wirt	134.0	Nicholas	49.9
Monogalia	167.5	Mercer	133.9	Randolph	43.5
Kanawha	163.8	Marion	133.4	Greenbrier	41.6
Jefferson	161.8	Tyler	129.8	Roane	40.2
Marshall	160.8	Grant	125.7	Braxton	28.4
		Mineral	125.4	Clay	25.4
		Ritchie	124.3		
		McDowell	122.3		
		Hampshire	120.7		
		Morgan	120.2		
		Preston	119.4		
		Raleigh	119.4		
		Gilmer	118.9		
		Harrison	118.8		
		Wyoming	116.4		

TABLE 16 (continued)

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
		Hardy	110.6		
		Putnam	108.6		
		Fayette	107.4		
		Berkeley	106.2		
		Wetzel	103.6		
		Wayne	100.2		
		Logan	99.3		
		Calhoun	97.1		
		Boone	94.4		
		Pocohontas	91.8		
		Lincoln	91.7		
		Mingo	89.1		
		Summers	86.5		
		Pendleton	79.5		
		Upshure	78.2		
		Monroe	75.9		
		Tucker	72.8		

[a]Mean = 110.0120; Standard Deviation = 41.3124.

[b]High = >+1 SD; Medium = +1 SD; Low = <-1 SD.

positive relationship exists between policy outputs and socioeconomic levels. And, as indicated by the data in Table 17, correlation coefficients between the two sets of variables tend to support this relationship. Educational, highway, and general governmental expenditures show a moderately strong positive correlation with all four socioeconomic factors. Negative correlations on welfare expenditures and governmental employment are consistent with the above in that the higher the socioeconomic level of the county the less one would expect the county to spend on welfare payments. These findings are generally consistent with previous research findings on the relationship of policy output variables to socioeconomic factors.[6]

II. POLICY OUTPUTS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

As socioeconomic factors in West Virginia are negatively correlated with political participation levels, and socioeconomic and policy output variables are positively correlated, it is expected that output variables show weak, negative correlations with voter turnout levels. The data in Table 18 generally support this expectation. However, in almost all the relationships the correlations are extremely weak or nonexistant. The conclusion is that intrastate correlations between policy output and socioeconomic variables in West Virginia are weak or do not exist. Contrary to previous research findings of original correlations

[6]Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public.

TABLE 17

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES[a]

Policy Output Variables	Socioeconomic Factors			
	Community Development	Urbanization	Affluence	Community Development Potential
Educational Effort	.49	.44	.66	.68
Governmental Expenditures	.38	.56	.50	.33
County Expenditures	.06	-.14	.08	.04
Welfare	-.53	-.25	-.62	-.56
Education	.29	.19	.45	.60
Highways	.74	.56	.74	.51
Governmental Employment	-.10	.09	-.11	-.07

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

TABLE 18

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF PERCENT VOTER TURNOUT FOR PRESIDENT WITH SELECTED POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES IN WEST VIRGINIA[a]

Policy Output	Percent Voter Turnout 1960	1964	1968
Local Educational Effort	-.21	-.05	.01
Local Government Expenditures	-.08	-.08	-.05
County Expenditures	.15	.25	.25
Welfare	.20	.01	-.16
Education	-.03	.08	.05
Highways	-.17	.06	.00
Local Government Employment	.22	.01	.04

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

between these two sets of variables,[7] in West Virginia, at least at the county level of analysis, political participation levels and policy output levels have little if any influence on each other.

Controlling for state sectional differences had little or no affect on the above relationship. As Table 19 indicates, sectional variations in the strength of the relationship were minimal. Correlation coefficients were stronger for county and welfare expenditures and for local government employment in the southeast counties than in the rest of the state. This supports the previous findings of stronger socioeconomic-political variable relationships in the southeastern counties than in the rest of the state. Further, the finding supports the thesis that policy output and socioeconomic variables, rather than being causally related, are integral parts of a common economic development type factor.

The total amount of variance in political participation levels in West Virginia accounted for by policy output variables is minimal. As Table 20 shows, the total amount of accounted for variance was 23 percent in 1960, 13 percent in 1964, and 10 percent in 1968. Taking into account the weak original correlation coefficients between the two sets of variables and the relatively small amount of accounted for variance, the conclusion is that in West Virginia, at the county level of analysis and in uncontrolled original variable relationships, there exist little or no relationship between the number of West Virginians who vote in

[7]Sharkansky and Hofferbert, "Dimensions of State Politics, Economics, and Public Policy," found that the "Competition-Turnout" factor correlated quite strongly (.68) with the "Welfare-Education" policy factor, p. 877.

TABLE 19

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SELECTED POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY SECTION IN WEST VIRGINIA, 1960[a]

Policy Output	Political Participation By Section, 1960			
	West Virginia	Mining Counties	Northwest Counties	Southeast Counties
Local Educational Effort	-.21	-.39	-.30	-.31
Governmental Expenditures	-.08	-.07	-.14	.04
County Expenditures	.15	.04	-.08	.29
Welfare	.20	.21	.31	.45
Education	-.03	-.25	-.06	-.16
Highway	-.17	-.15	-.27	-.38
Local Governmental Employment	.22	.03	.31	.38

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

TABLE 20

MULTIPLE R CORRELATIONS OF SELECTED POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES AND PERCENT VOTER TURNOUT FOR PRESIDENT IN WEST VIRGINIA[a]

Percent Voter Turnout	Variable	R	RSQ
1960	Governmental Employment	.22	.05
	Governmental Expenditures	.33	.11
	County Expenditures	.35	.12
	Educational Effort	.38	.15
	Educational Expenditures	.48	.23
1964	County Expenditures	.25	.06
	Educational Effort	.28	.08
	Educational Expenditures	.37	.13
1968	County Expenditures	.25	.06
	Welfare	.27	.07
	Educational Effort	.30	.09
	Educational Expenditures	.32	.10

[a]Figures are multiple R and multiple R squared (RSQ) coefficients.

presidential elections and the amount of money the state or county spends for the public welfare.

III. SUMMARY

The findings of this chapter show that policy output variables contribute little toward explaining intrastate variations in levels of political participation. This conclusion is tentative at this point, as it is based on tests of original relationships between the sets of variables and not on controlled relationships. The latter is undertaken in subsequent chapters. The tentative findings do suggest several questions. Is there no relationship between the general sets of variables employed in this analysis or did the specific variables selected for analysis fail to show the relationship? The implication of the findings for traditional democratic theory is too great to dismiss the idea of a linkage between policy enactment and resultant citizen participation without further exploration. Particularly in West Virginia, there is some evidence which suggest that the linkage between the general sets of policy output and political participation variables are maintained through channels other than formal policy output enactments. Political party organizations and union organizations may serve this purpose in the distribution of goods and services.[8] At the very least, the construction

[8]See Norman H. Nie, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., and Kenneth Prewitt, "Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relationships, I, II," The American Political Science Review, 63 (June, 1969), 361-378; and 63 (September, 1969), 808-832.

of indices of the strength of political party and other organizations may prove to be variables of some influence in examining the general set of relationships outlined above.

Yet, the conclusion at this point is that in West Virginia public expenditures have little or no affect on levels of political participation, while socioeconomic variables show a moderately strong negative association with voter turnout levels. In subsequent chapters the joint and independent affect of each of these variables on political participation is determined. However, before a test of the complete model is undertaken a discussion of a second potentially relevant system variable is in order. Thus, the following chapter turns toward an analysis of the partisan vote in West Virginia and its relationship to both socioeconomic and policy output variables, and to political participation.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, POLICY OUTPUTS, SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS, AND THE PARTISAN VOTE

In the study of state political systems perhaps no other variable has received more attention than the partisan vote or "inter-party competition." Beginning with V. O. Key various researchers have attempted to define the relationship of partisan voting to socioeconomic, political and cultural variables.[1] Out of this research has come an array of state political party typologies, but little definitive work on the relationships of these schemata to other system variables.[2]

In West Virginia, what is the relationship of the partisan vote to political participation, policy outputs and socioeconomic factors? At the county level, is the size and nature of the partisan vote a reflection of the environmental context within which it takes place?

[1]See Key, American State Politics; Key, Southern Politics in State and Nation; and Austin Ranney and Willmoore Kendall, Democracy and the American Party System (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956).

[2]See Key, American State Politics, pp. 97-104; Austin Ranney and Willmoore Kendall, "The American Party Systems," The American Political Science Review, 47 (June, 1954), 477-485; Joseph A. Schlesinger, "A Two Dimensional Scheme for Classifying the States According to Degree of Inter-Party Competition," The American Political Science Review, 49 (December, 1955), 1120-1128; Belle Zeller (ed.), American State Legislatures (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1954), pp. 199-211; Golembiewski, op. cit., 494-513; Dawson and Robinson, "Inter-Party Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies in the American States," 265-289; and Austin Ranney, "Parties in State Politics," in Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines (eds.), Politics in the American States (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), pp. 61-100.

The West Virginia party system has been variously classified as "Modified One-Party Democratic,"[3] "four-party,"[4] and "cyclically competitive."[5] However, since 1932 the Democratic Party has controlled the state legislature and has occupied all state wide offices except the governorship in 1956 and 1968. Thus, it is difficult to see, except in the long run, e.g., reaction to the Depression and the New Deal, just how partisan voting is related to other facets of the state political system. The fact is that in West Virginia, as in other states, there are counties which have voted either Republican or Democratic over long periods of time with little change even during the "critical" election of 1932.

I. THE PARTISAN VOTE AND VOTER TURNOUT

Several studies have been made to determine the relationship of party competition to voting turnout.[6] A rank ordering of the states on party competition correlated .807 with a ranking of the states on voter turnout in gubernatorial and senatorial elections from 1952 through 1960.[7] Yet, there is some evidence that suggests the findings are inconclusive and perhaps are in fact the result of spurious relationships. For example, from 1948 to 1960 Arkansas moved from forty-fourth to sixth

[3]Ranney, "Parties in State Politics," p. 65.

[4]Fenton, Politics in the Border States, p. 82.

[5]Schlesinger, "A Two Dimensional Scheme for Classifying the States According to Degree of Inter-Party Competition," p. 1124.

[6]See Milbrath, Political Participation, chap. IV.

[7]Ibid., p. 96.

in a ranking of all states on party competition in presidential elections.[8] But, the state has not shown a concomitant increase in voter turnout levels. This finding suggests that variables other than party competition are more influential in determining voter turnout levels. The central thesis of one recent study is that primarily socioeconomic factors determine levels of political participation.[9] However, the fact remains that in many of the previously cited studies the data show a strong positive correlation between party competition and political participation (.85), even when the influences of socioeconomic variables are controlled (.75).[10]

In West Virginia, however, the data fail to support the existence of a positive relationship between voter participation and party competition. The state, generally classified as a modified one-party Democratic state, has, as noted throughout this study, high voter turnout levels. And, an analysis of intrastate variation in voter turnout levels and percentage Democratic vote for president reveals, as the data in Table 21 show, that there is a negative, if weak, correlation between the two variables. In other words, the greater the Democratic vote the lower the voter turnout, or the higher the voter turnout, the lower the Democratic vote. However, the data also show that the greater the Republican vote, the higher the voter turnout level.

[8]Milbrath, "Political Participation in the States," p. 43.

[9]Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public, pp. 69-71.

[10]Ibid., p. 70.

TABLE 21

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PERCENT DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR PRESIDENT AND PERCENT VOTER TURNOUT[a]

Democratic Vote	Voter Turnout 1960	1964	1968
1960	-.24	-.33	-.34
1964	-.31	-.37	-.37
1968	-.20	-.33	-.32

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

The above relationship changes substantially when state section is controlled (Table 22). The strongest negative correlations are found in the southeast counties or those counties most typified by the southern one-party Democratic political structure. In the northwest counties, where most of the state's Republican counties are located, the relationship is practically erased. The latter finding is of particular interest in analyzing the overall relationship between participation and competition. The absence of a relationship in the northwest counties may in fact denote a strong positive correlation between percent Republican vote and participation levels. However, two questions are involved. One, do voter turnout levels in the state show a positive correlation with percent Republican vote? And two, if so, is the relationship between Republican vote and turnout, or is the relationship largely influenced by socioeconomic factors? In other words, do Republican counties share an array of socioeconomic characteristics different from that found in Democratic counties? The former question is answered here while the latter is answered in a subsequent chapter.

With respect to participation and Republican vote, the data show no clear relationship. Of the state's 16 long term Republican counties, five are high turnout counties and three are low turnout counties. The same type of relationship, or absence of a relationship, exists when analyzing just long term Democratic counties. And, as Table 23 shows, for all counties the differences in voter turnout rates with respect to party competition are minimal. Thus, contrary to previous findings, in West Virginia party competition appears to have little influence on

TABLE 22

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PERCENT DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR PRESIDENT AND PERCENT VOTER TURNOUT BY SECTION[a]

Percent Democratic Vote	Percent Voter Turnout			
	West Virginia	Mining Counties	Northwest Counties	Southeast Counties
1960	-.24	-.02	.03	-.49
1964	-.37	-.30	-.10	-.36
1968	-.32	-.32	-.09	-.38

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

TABLE 23

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCENT VOTER TURNOUT AND POLITICAL PARTY COMPETITION[a]

Political Party Competition	Percent Voter Turnout, 1960		
	Low	Medium	High
High	38.5	16.1	18.1
Medium	30.7	48.3	63.8
Low	30.7	35.6	18.1
N's	(13)	(31)	(11)

[a]Party competition scale is based on elections for governor from 1932-1964 using Joseph A. Schlesinger's "A Two Dimensional Scheme for Classifying the States According to Degree of Inter-Party Competition," American Political Science Review, 49 (December, 1955), 1120-1128.

political participation levels.[11] There is a tendency for voter turnout levels to drop as a county moves closer to being one-party Democratic, but for voter turnout in long term Republican counties to be slightly higher than other counties. Also, there is a tendency for poor, rural counties, be they Democratic or Republican, to have higher participation levels than urban and economically developed counties.

II. THE PARTISAN VOTE AND SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

The data analysis to this point shows that the partisan vote in West Virginia is influenced very little by voter turnout levels. There is some evidence which suggests that the percentage Democratic vote is highest in those counties which have the lowest voter turnout rates, but that the relationship may be subject to the influence of other system variables, e.g., socioeconomic factors. What is the relationship between percentage Democratic vote and socioeconomic factors in West Virginia? Is the Democratic vote higher or lower in the developed, urban, and affluent counties than in the rural, poor counties?

The data, as presented in Table 24, show that the Democratic vote in West Virginia is significantly correlated with only one socioeconomic factor--urbanization. Correlations between affluence and economic development factors and Democratic vote are extremely weak. And, see Table 25, the relationships generally hold when controlling by state section. However, there are some sectional differences in the strength

[11]See Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 96.

TABLE 24

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND PERCENTAGE DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN WEST VIRGINIA[a]

Percent Democratic Vote	Factors		
	Economic Development	Urbanization	Affluence
1956	-.15	.31	-.07
1960	-.07	.44	-.03
1964	.00	.49	.08
1968	-.02	.56	.11

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

TABLE 25

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND PERCENTAGE DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1960 BY SECTION IN WEST VIRGINIA[a]

Socioeconomic Factors	Democratic Vote by Section, 1960			
	West Virginia	Mining Counties	Northwest Counties	Southeast Counties
Economic Development	-.07	-.23	.16	.35
Urbanization	.44	.55	.46	.35
Affluence	-.03	.05	.22	.21

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

of the relationship. The urbanization factor is clearly strongest in the mining counties, while the affluence and development factors are stronger in the northwest and the southeast counties than in the mining counties. The latter finding is quite compatible with the previous findings on sectional differences in that the aristocratic Democratic counties of the southeast and the rural Republican counties of the northwest are perhaps more subject to socioeconomic variable influences than are the working class, union oriented mining counties.

With respect to the rather strong relationship between urbanization and Democratic vote, it would appear that the relationship is a straight forward one. Urban centers are generally strongholds for the Democratic party.[12] But, the relationship in West Virginia is again not that simple. First, the state has no large urban centers. The largest municipality in the state, Charleston, has a population of only around 100,000. Thus, several counties in the state which are classified as urban are done so on the basis of large scale mining and steel operations and not on the basis of population. The question has to be raised as to whether or not the above relationship is really between urbanization and Democratic vote or is it between a second set of variables and Democratic vote?

Figure 19 shows the relationship between percentage Democratic vote and the 10 most urban and 10 least urban counties in the state.

[12]See Key, Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, p. 249.

Figure 19. Percentage Democratic vote for president for selected years by the 10 most and 10 least urban counties in West Virginia.

And, as the correlation coefficients indicated, urban counties clearly vote more Democratic than do rural counties. However, as Figure 20 shows, when the urban counties are divided into mining and nonmining urban counties the data show that the true relationship is between mining counties and Democratic vote and not between urbanization and Democratic vote. In fact, in every year except 1964 the nonmining urban counties either voted Republican or were at least competitive.

The nature of the above relationship can be illustrated by a scattergram which shows the relative position of each West Virginia county with respect to partisan vote and urbanization. Even though correlation of the two variables yielded a moderately strong original coefficient of .56, the distribution of the counties (Figure 21) show substantial difference between the position of the mining urban counties and the metropolitan urban counties. Those counties which fall in the top right quadrant of the scattergram represent 12 of the 15 counties in the state which are highly unionized mining counties. The metropolitan urban counties are clustered within the 45 to 55 percentage Democratic vote range. They are politically competitive counties. The conclusion is that the partisan vote in West Virginia is more directly related to mining than it is to urbanization. This relationship is further supported by noting the variation in Democratic vote between the 10 most and 10 least mining counties in the state. Again (Figure 22) the data reveal a clear relationship between mining counties and percentage Democratic votes in the state.

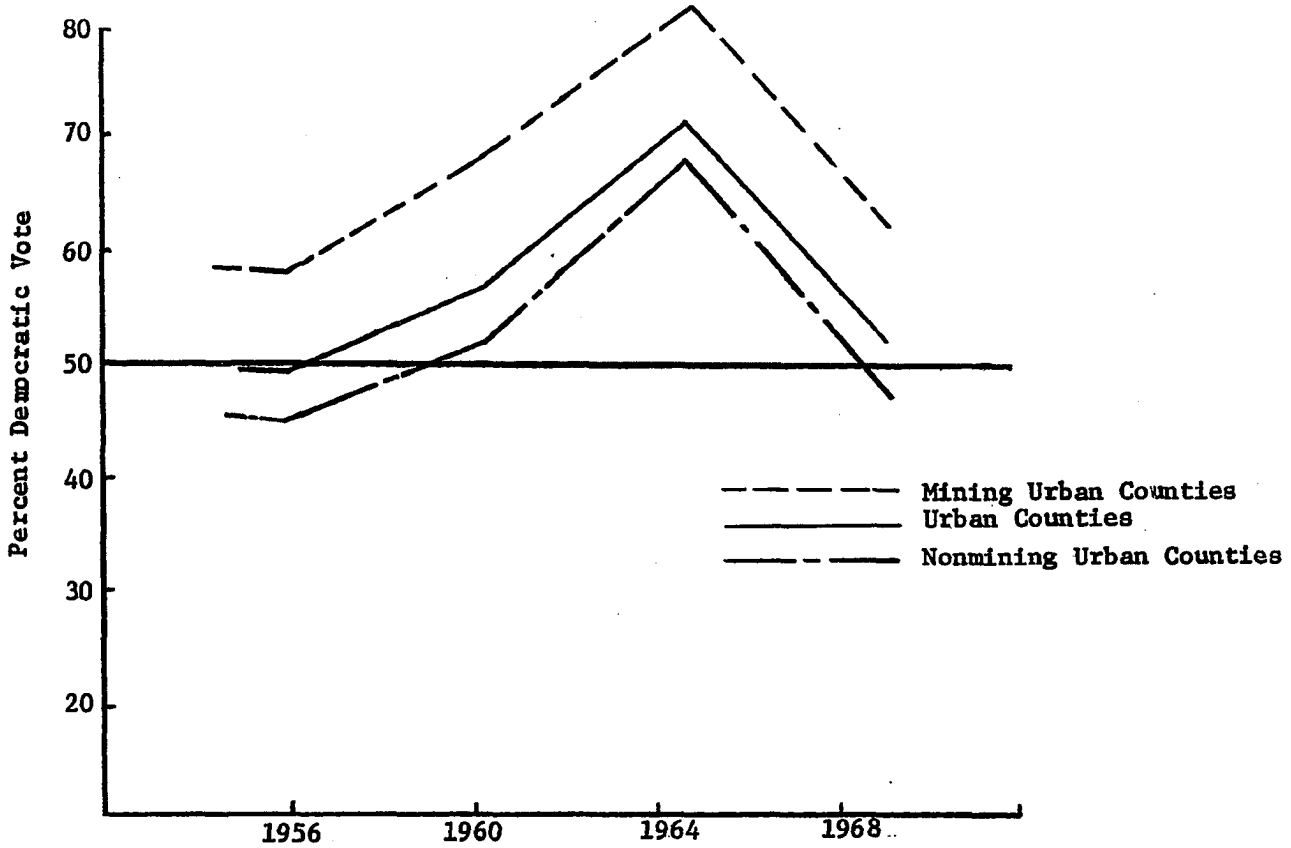

Figure 20. Percentage Democratic vote for president for selected years by the 10 most urban counties in West Virginia.

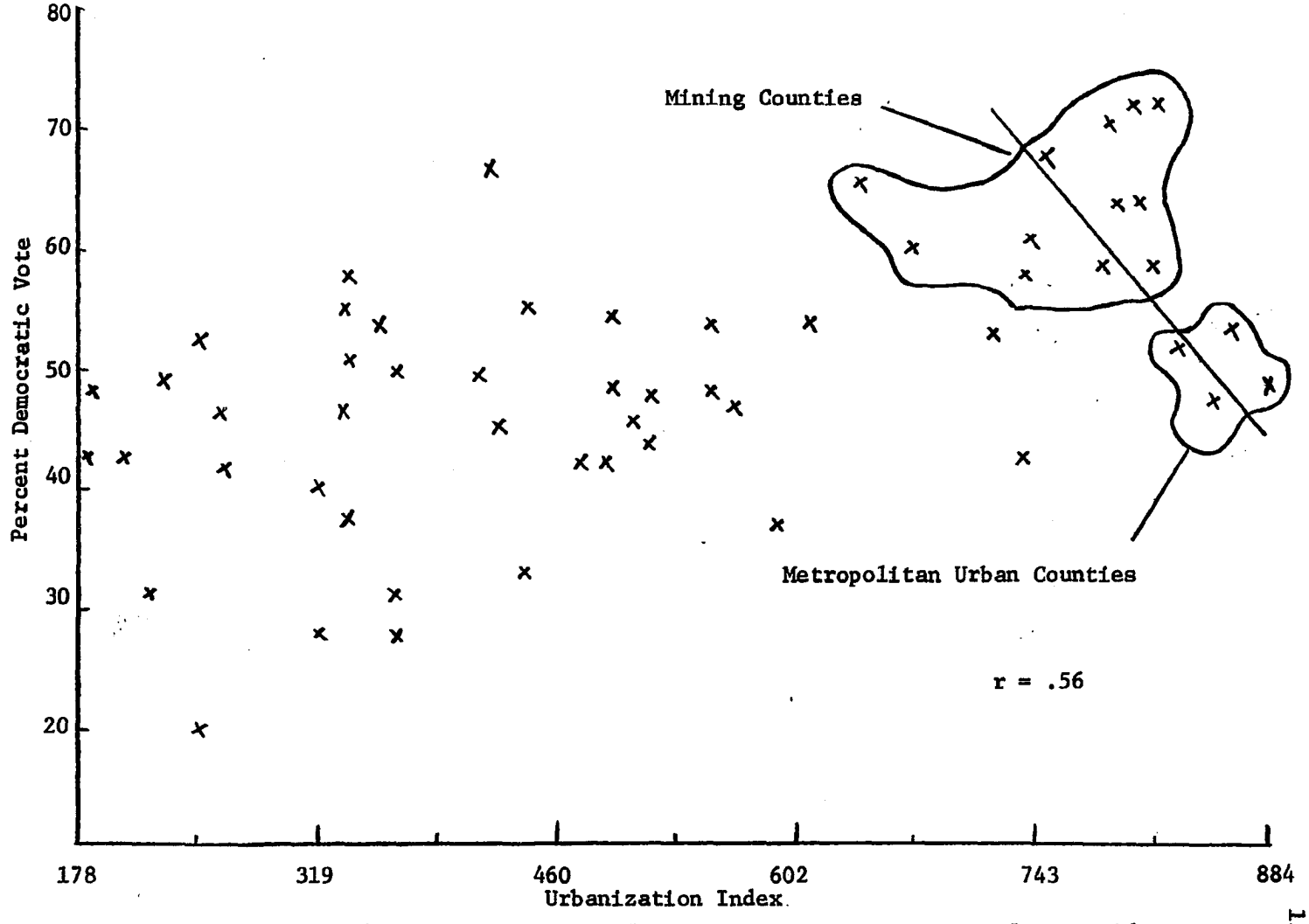

Figure 21. Correlation scattergram of percentage Democratic vote for president, 1968, and urbanization by county in West Virginia.

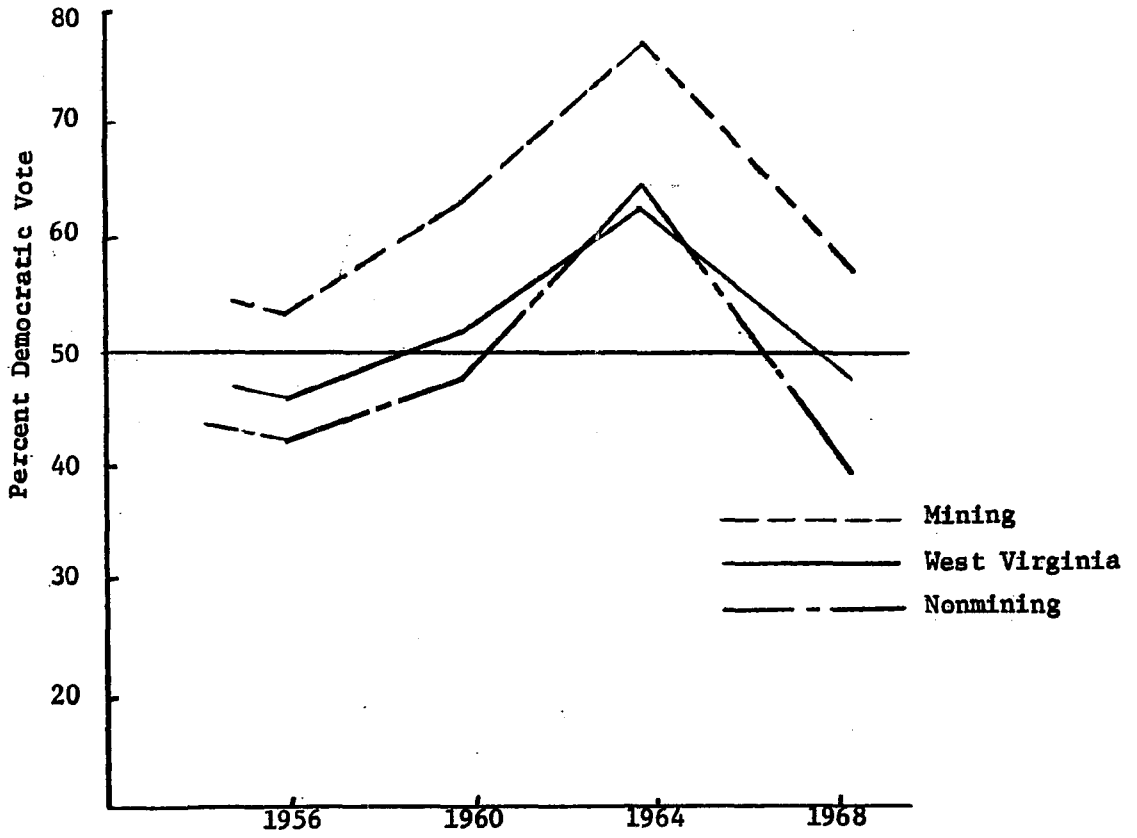

Figure 22. Percentage Democratic vote for president for selected years by the 10 most and 10 least mining counties in West Virginia.

At this point, the data show that in West Virginia there is little relationship between socioeconomic factors and percentage Democratic vote. There is some variation in this relationship across the state by section, but the variable of greatest significance appears to be the influence of an organizational variable, be it party or union, in the mining counties.[13]

III. THE PARTISAN VOTE AND POLICY OUTPUTS

The final question raised in this chapter deals with the relationship between policy outputs and percentage Democratic vote in West Virginia. Are types and levels of expenditures related to the partisan vote? Again, the county is employed as the unit of analysis to determine intrastate variations.

Previous research has indicated that the association between partisanship and public policy is primarily a result of the influence of variation in socioeconomic factors.[14] In West Virginia (Table 26), the data indicate, with two exceptions, that intrastate differences in policy outputs have little or no relationship to the partisan vote. Educational, highway and governmental expenditures, as well as governmental employment, are not related to the partisan vote. There is a relationship between welfare expenditures and percentage Democratic vote. As previously

[13]A recent study that strongly suggests the importance of an organizational type variable in political behavior is Nie, Powell, and Prewitt, loc. cit.

[14]Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public, p. 246.

TABLE 26

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PERCENTAGE DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR PRESIDENT WITH SELECTED POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES IN WEST VIRGINIA[a]

	Policy Output Variables						
Percent Democratic Vote	Educational Effort	Governmental Expenditures	County Expenditures	Welfare	Educational Expenditures	Highways	Governmental Employment
1956	-.18	.04	-.44	.39	-.05	-.15	.00
1960	-.15	.10	-.41	.36	-.08	-.11	.06
1964	-.08	.10	-.39	.27	-.01	-.02	.02
1968	-.07	.19	-.43	.34	-.03	.00	.09

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

indicated, the strength of the Democratic party since 1932 has been in the mining counties. In recent years, with the decrease in the number of employed miners, the mining counties have also been the major poverty areas in the state.[15] Thus, the relationship appears to be one influenced greatly by socioeconomic factors.

The moderately strong negative relationship between county expenditures and Democratic vote may be the result of the particular political party structure which has characterized the state since 1932. Some 16 counties have remained strong Republican counties since statehood in 1863. In these counties, cut off from at least some state expenditures, it may be that they spend more at the county level than do Democratic counties to make up for the state deficit. This could account for the existence of a negative relationship between the two sets of variables. However, at this point the explanation for the relationship is not at all clear.

Sectional analysis of the relationship (Table 27) reveals few substantial differences. The data tend to support the above propositions in that the relationships of interest are strongest in the mining counties, which are the strongest Democratic counties, and are weakest in the

[15]Since the 1947 peak of coal production in the state when 20 percent of the state's total population was directly engaged in mining, the number of coal miners has dropped substantially. From 1947 to 1961, the number of employed coal miners dropped by over 73,000. With this decline in the coal industry the state has become a relatively high unemployment; low income state. This is particularly true in the coal mining section of the state. See Claude J. Davis et al., West Virginia State and Local Government (Morgantown: Bureau for Government Research, West Virginia University, 1963), chap. 1.

TABLE 27

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PERCENTAGE DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1960 WITH SELECTED POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES BY SECTION IN WEST VIRGINIA[a]

Policy Output Variables	Democratic Vote By Section, 1960			
	West Virginia	Mining Counties	Northwest Counties	Southwest Counties
Educational Effort	-.15	.18	.07	-.26
Governmental Expenditures	.10	.44	.13	-.20
County Expenditures	-.41	-.26	-.16	-.62
Welfare	.36	.40	.04	.38
Education	-.08	.12	.12	.06
Highways	-.11	-.51	.19	.27
Governmental Employment	.06	.53	-.12	-.41

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

northwest or the area of greatest Republican strength. Of some significance is the strong positive relationships between total governmental expenditures, welfare, and governmental employment with percentage Democratic vote in the mining counties.

IV. SUMMARY

Partisan voting or percentage Democratic vote in West Virginia shows few strong relationship with socioeconomic factors, policy output variables, or voter turnout levels. While voter turnout levels do show weak negative correlations with percentage Democrat vote, the relationship appears to be influenced by socioeconomic factors. Of the socioeconomic factors, only urbanization shows a moderately strong positive correlation with percentage Democratic vote. And, this correlation appears to be influenced by other system variables, e.g., organizational influence. Finally, policy output variables are generally unrelated to percentage Democratic vote except in terms of socioeconomic factors.

The preceding analysis is not meant to imply that intrastate variation in the partisan vote is not an important variable with respect to other state political system variables. For example, a comparative study of political party county chairmen indicated substantial variation in the distribution of personal socioeconomic characteristics of the chairmen with respect to state party status, i.e., party competition levels or one party dominant or competitive state party systems.[16] In West Virginia,

[16]See Johnson, op. cit., chap. 5.

there are a number of counties that are either long term Republican or Democratic counties. In addition, there are some 15 counties, coal mining and steel producing counties, that joined the Democratic Party in 1932. Thus, for a large number of West Virginia counties it appears that historical and cultural factors are stronger determinants of partisan voting than are environmental factors. It may be that socioeconomic factors influence partisan loyalties in the short run and within a narrow range of variation. But, certainly other variables or factors must account for the long term party loyalties which exist in the state. It should be kept in mind that the analysis in this study was restricted primarily to the period from 1960 to 1968. A long term correlation analysis of the partisan vote with socioeconomic, policy output, and other environmental and institutional variables may show a developmental relationship which is not indicated in the 1960-1968 analysis. However, the conclusion of the 1960-1968 analysis is that in West Virginia the partisan vote is primarily a function of historical and cultural influences. Environmental factors specify the relationship to a degree, but even in those counties where socioeconomic factors would be expected to exert the strongest influence, there is substantial evidence that other system variables than socioeconomic ones are of greater influence.

In the set of relationships analyzed in this and previous chapters, the analysis has been concerned only with direct variable relationships. The following chapter provides an analysis of the complete set of variable relationships including the influence of each variable on the other and on political participation. The analysis turns from an examination

of simple relationships to an examination of the relationships of the complete set of variables previously discussed. How are socioeconomic factors, policy outputs, and the partisan vote related? What independent and joint influence do they exert on levels of political participation in West Virginia?

CHAPTER VI

A TEST OF THE MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN WEST VIRGINIA

This study is concerned primarily with the analysis of political behavior. At the outset the analysis was formulated in terms of the deviant political behavior of West Virginians in their insistance on turning out to vote in numbers which belie their social and economic position. Initially, several alternative models were outlined which have been employed to describe the relationships among state political system variables (i.e., socioeconomic factors, policy outputs, political process variables, and political participation). Various propositions were cited that alternately define the variable relationships as being influenced primarily by one or the other of the variables. The relationships of state political system variables is a complex one. Yet, the various propositions yielded little insight into the question of why high levels of political participation exist in the poverty stricken, low income, low education state of West Virginia.

While various works and researchers have noted the variant behavior, only two have ventured possible explanations. Thomas R. Dye concluded that "West Virginia voters insist upon going to the polls in large numbers: perhaps voting in Appalachia is one form of recreation

in an otherwise drab environment."[1] Besides being an obviously inadequate explanation, the generalization itself is inaccurate. Studies of the general region of Appalachia have shown that "West Virginia . . . is in a class by itself with a level of participation that exceeds those of the other Appalachian states and non southern states as well."[2]

A second explanation was proffered by Lester W. Milbrath. In terms of the relationship of the socioeconomic development of the area to political participation and the time lag involved between the two, Milbrath stated, "West Virginia, which has been industrialized for some time, but which is now having considerable problems with poverty and unemployment, continues to have one of the highest turnout percentages in the United States."[3] At least two problems weaken this explanation. First, high political participation rates in West Virginia extend back to prestatehood or around 1860--certainly prior to any industrialization in the state. Second, it is perhaps a misnomer to classify West Virginia as an industrialized state at any period in its history. The advent of large scale mining operations into the state in the early 1900's changed the state away from its small farm, rural, mountain folk characterization, but mining urbanization is still vastly different from those sets of characteristics which constitute an industrialized community.

[1]Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public, p. 63.

[2]Ritt, op. cit., p. 126.

[3]Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 119.

Thus, West Virginia voting behavior patterns have remained unexplained phenomena in terms of the currently posited propositions of political participation. This study set out to analyze explicitly the effects of socioeconomic factors, policy output variables and political process variables (e.g., partisan vote), on voter turnout levels. The analytic model presented in Chapter I was placed in a historical and cultural context in Chapter II, and subsequent chapters provided tests of the direct relationships of each variable with political participation. This chapter provides a complete test of the model in that not only direct variable relationships are analyzed, but the total set of relationships are examined by looking at the direct relationships under controlled conditions.

I. SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Our data analysis to this point indicates that in West Virginia a moderately strong negative correlation exists between socioeconomic factors and voter turnout levels in presidential elections of 1960, 1964 and 1968. Is this relationship a direct and meaningful one, or is the relationship influenced by other system variables? Previous analysis has also shown that controlling for state section affects the original relationship. It is strongest in the southeast counties of the state and weakest in the mining counties.[4] Now, the question is what affects do policy output variables have on the original relationship between

[4]See Chapter III of this study.

socioeconomic factors and political participation? If the original simple correlations remain relatively unchanged when the affects of policy output variables are controlled for, then it may be assumed that the original relationship is a valid one. However, if the simple correlation coefficients reduce to or near zero when the affects of policy output variables are controlled, then it must be assumed that the original relationship is not a valid one and that in some way the true relationship is one that involves policy output variables. (There are other possibilities, however. For example, if the simple coefficients are increased in the partials then it may be assumed that the control variable specifies the relationship or makes it more pronounced under given conditions.)

Table 28 shows the simple and partial correlation coefficients between the four socioeconomic factors and voter turnout levels for president in 1960, 1964, and 1968. In each election year the simple or original correlation coefficient is a negative one. The socioeconomic factor showing the strongest relationship across the three elections is urbanization, a factor that, as previously illustrated, is a complex one in West Virginia in that it denotes two different types of urbanization, mining and metropolitan. There is some indication that in recent years voter turnout levels have been relatively low in both types of counties, but for different reasons.

While all the coefficients are negative across the three elections, the strength of the association weakens consistently from 1960 to 1968. There are several possible explanations for this reduction. Due to

TABLE 28

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION[a]

	Political Participation					
	1960		1964		1968	
Factor	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial
Community Development	-.39	-.25	-.14	-.07	-.10	-.18
Urbanization	-.52	-.44	-.50	-.49	-.34	-.35
Affluence	-.37	-.16	-.14	-.05	-.02	-.03
Community Development Potential	-.39	-.32	-.35	-.44	-.23	-.36

[a]Figures are simple and partial correlation coefficients; partial coefficients control for the effects of policy outputs--educational effort; governmental, county, welfare, educational and highway expenditures; and governmental employment.

out migration, the total number of eligible voters decreased in the state during this period. There is some evidence which suggests that the out migration has consisted largely of unemployed miners who were formerly a part of the low socioeconomic level-high voter turnout group within the state. A sizable reduction in this group could cause the original relationship to disappear or to become a positive one. The short time period of 1960-1968 may not be sufficient to warrant the above conclusion, but individual county analysis does tend to support the proposition. For example, McDowell County, the top mining county in the state in terms of percentage of the labor force employed in mining, had a 15 percent lower voter turnout in 1968 than it did in 1960, which was the largest reduction in the state. This finding at least appears to warrant a long term correlation analysis of the variables.

A second reason for the coefficient reduction from 1960 to 1968 again relates to the problem of limited time span data. The socioeconomic factors employed in the analysis include data taken primarily from the 1960 Census and as a result are not as accurate for correlation with 1968 voting data as they are with 1960 data. For this reason, throughout the study reliance for interpretation is placed primarily on 1960 data.

The partial correlation coefficients presented in Table 28 show the relationship between socioeconomic factors and voter turnout while policy output variables are controlled. The question is whether or not policy output variables influence the relationship between socioeconomic factors and political participation. The data show that they do not.

In no case is there a substantial reduction in the partial relationships when policy output variables are controlled. The conclusion must be that policy output variables have minimal or no effect on the relationship of socioeconomic factors with political participation. The existence of some moderately strong negative relationships between the two sets of variables is clearly dependent on other variables than policy outputs. The slight change which does occur between the simple and partial coefficients may be attributed to the fact that the two sets of variables, socioeconomic factors and policy outputs, are themselves moderately correlated. Under this condition, controlling for one variable takes some of the variation away from the other variable and slightly changes the size of the partial coefficient.

When simple and partial coefficients are compared among sections of the state for the 1960 election an obvious exception to the above conclusion is evident in the mining counties (Table 29). In the northwest and southeast counties there is little change from the simple to the partial correlation coefficients. However, in the mining counties there is a change from moderately weak negative coefficients in the simple correlations to moderately strong positive associations in the partials. Thus, while policy output variables have little or no effect in the northwest and southeast counties, in the mining counties they appear to be influencing the relationship. The magnitude of the change of the relationships in the mining counties was unexpected and led to an analysis of the specific set of counties involved in the relationship and to an analysis of the variable distributions. This analysis showed that

TABLE 29

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY SECTION IN WEST VIRGINIA, 1960[a]

Socioeconomic Factors	Political Participation, 1960							
	West Virginia		Mining Counties		Northwest Counties		Southeast Counties	
	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial
Community Development	-.39	-.25	-.20	-.24	-.52	-.48	-.71	-.51
Urbanization	-.52	-.44	-.21	.48	-.56	-.46	-.76	-.80
Affluence	-.37	-.16	-.20	.54	-.47	-.24	-.81	-.53
Community Development Potential	-.39	-.32	-.31	.24	-.62	-.70	-.15	-.35

[a]Figures are simple and partial correlation coefficients; partial coefficients control for the effects of policy output variables.

in all probability the change in the relationship was due to the distribution patterns of the data and not to a real change in the relationship. Specifically, the findings are the result of the skewed distribution pattern of policy output variables in the mining counties. (The above provides an excellent example of the necessity to constantly be aware of the possibility of producing statistical artifacts when handling large amounts of data and sophisticated statistical routines. The data must constantly be placed and analyzed in a theoretically and logically constructed conceptual framework.)

At this point, it can be stated that in West Virginia there is a moderately strong to weak negative relationship between socioeconomic factors and political participation which is generally unaffected by variation in policy outputs. There is some variation in the strength of this relationship when sectional differences in the state are controlled. The relationship is strongest in the southeast counties, those counties most like the traditional aristocratic Virginia county, and is weakest in the mining counties, those counties most affected by other system variables such as organizational influences. However, the general conclusion is that neither the controlled nor uncontrolled relationships account for a significant amount of the variance in voter turnout levels in the state. Even though there are some moderately strong negative relationships between socioeconomic factors and participation, the finding itself points to the existence of other explanatory variables.

II. POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Previous data analyses have indicated that in West Virginia there is little or no direct relationship between policy output variables and voter turnout levels. Further, the analyses show that policy output variables have no influence on the original relationship between socioeconomic factors and political participation. Thus, the conclusion is that socioeconomic factors, while they do not explain a substantial amount of the variance in voter turnout levels, have a greater influence on political participation than do policy output variables. In this section an attempt is made to determine the effects of socioeconomic factors on the relationship of policy output variables with voter turnout levels. If the partial coefficients, relationships between policy outputs and participation with socioeconomic factors controlled, are substantially changed from the simple coefficients, then it may be assumed that in the complete test for association among the three sets of variables that socioeconomic factors are related to political participation in a more direct way than are policy output variables.

At the state level (Table 30), the data indicate little or no direct relationship between policy outputs and participation. The strongest simple correlation coefficient (.25) is between total government expenditures and participation, but this coefficient is not statistically significant. Controlling for the influence of socioeconomic factors does not significantly alter the original relationship. The data do show a trend for the coefficients to change from a negative to a positive sign from the simple to the partial coefficients. While all the coefficients are

TABLE 30

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION[a]

Policy Output Variables	Political Participation					
	1960		1964		1968	
	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial
Educational Effort	-.21	.04	-.05	.01	.01	.05
Governmental Expenditures	-.08	.29	-.08	.13	-.06	.13
County Expenditures	.15	.09	.25	.26	.25	.13
Welfare	.20	.12	.00	.11	-.16	-.09
Education	-.03	.15	.08	.12	.05	.02
Highway	-.17	.25	-.06	.21	.00	.08
Governmental Employment	.22	.35	-.08	.11	.04	.10

[a]Figures are simple and partial correlation coefficients; partial coefficients control for the effects of socioeconomic factors--Community Development, Urbanization, Affluence and Community Development Potential.

extremely weak, this trend is consistent with previous findings in that the trend indicates some socioeconomic factor influence on the relationship. Again, the finding indicates the dominant influence of socioeconomic factors over policy output variables in their relationship to political participation.

Table 31 carries the analysis one step further by adding a second control variable. The data show the original relationships among policy output variables and voter turnout levels for president in 1960 controlling for both socioeconomic factors and sectional differences in the state. The data reveal few significant relationships between the two sets of variables and a minimum amount of variance between uncontrolled and controlled relationships. The relationships do appear to be somewhat stronger in the southeast and northwest counties than in the mining section of the state. However, the variable relationships appear to be dependent on variable uniqueness rather than on a collective influencing capability. For example, in the southeast counties there is a moderately strong relationship (.45) between welfare expenditures and participation which approaches zero when socioeconomic factors are controlled. Other policy variables, highway or county expenditures, remain unchanged in the partials. The point is that different types of policy output variables may and do affect other system variables in different ways. They cannot be routinely treated as one inclusive variable. However, in the West Virginia case, it makes little difference as, collectively or individually, policy output variables shed little light on the question of political participation.

TABLE 31

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY SECTION IN WEST VIRGINIA, 1960[a]

Policy Output Variables	Political Participation, 1960							
	West Virginia		Mining Counties		Northwest Counties		Southeast Counties	
	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial
Educational Effort	-.21	.04	-.39	-.31	-.30	.28	-.31	.03
Governmental Expenditures	-.08	.29	-.07	-.09	-.14	.33	.04	-.21
County Expenditures	.15	.09	.04	-.03	-.08	-.02	.29	.30
Welfare	.20	.12	.21	.15	.31	-.27	.45	.15
Education	.03	.15	-.25	-.04	-.06	.41	-.16	.41
Highway	-.17	.25	-.15	-.11	-.27	.29	-.38	-.44
Government Employment	.22	.35	.03	.00	.31	.43	.38	.44

[a]Figures are simple and partial correlation coefficients; partial coefficients control for the effects of socioeconomic factors.

In the analysis thus far, the data indicate that socioeconomic factors are generally variables of more influence than policy output variables with respect to participation. However, in both sets of relationships sectional differences specify the relationships more than either socioeconomic or policy output variables when they are employed as controls. The conclusion is that sectional differences other than economic or policy output variance account for the specifying power of the sectional control variable.

The above conclusion is further supported by the data in Table 32 which show a moderately strong association between socioeconomic and policy output variables. While these two sets of variables are intercorrelated, they relate to participation in different ways. Socioeconomic factors and participation show moderately strong negative associations while policy output and participation variables show weak or nonexistent associations. It may be that rather than socioeconomic factors contributing to levels of policy outputs, both sets of variables are part of an economic development syndrome in which both are related to participation. This syndrome may specify the participation relationship with other system variables (e.g., culture, organization, and style), but, in West Virginia, is not related to it in any direct and convincing way. The point is, that contrary to previous research findings of strong relationships between socioeconomic variables and policy outputs and the relationship of these to political participation, the data in this study suggest two alternative propositions which tend to make reformulation

TABLE 32

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES[a]

Policy Output Variables	Socioeconomic Factors			
	Community Development	Urbanization	Affluence	Community Development Potential
Educational Effort	.49	.44	.66	.68
Governmental Expenditures	.38	.56	.50	.33
County Expenditures	.06	-.14	.08	.04
Welfare	-.53	-.25	-.62	-.56
Education	.29	.19	.45	.60
Highways	.74	.56	.74	.51
Governmental Employment	-.10	.09	-.11	-.07

[a]Figures are simple correlation coefficients.

of the previously tested models necessary.[5] First, the data indicate that rather than policy outputs being a function of socioeconomic factors and in turn influencing political participation, the relationship appears to be one in which socioeconomic factors and policy outputs are both integral parts of an economic development syndrome and in turn are able to specify the relationship between political participation and other system variables. Second, contrary to the assumption that institutional and cultural variables can be treated as constants, the data in this study show just the opposite.[6] Institutional, cultural, and style variables appear to be of prime importance in shaping political behavior patterns. The point may appear to be simple, but, in terms of political style, the conclusion is that in a system where citizen demands for services are generally processed and met through the institutional framework of government it may be expected that participation in that government will be greater than in a system where demands are met through para-political or even apolitical organizations.

III. SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS, POLICY OUTPUTS, AND THE PARTISAN VOTE

To define those sets of variables which influence the partisan vote is a difficult task and one that is certainly beyond the limits of

[5]This criticism applies particularly to the model used by Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public. Other researchers employing state political system models have tended to be more cautious in stating the findings of their research. See Sharkansky and Hofferbert, "Dimensions of State Politics, Economics, and Public Policy," pp. 867-879.

[6]For an example of those who have made this assumption see Dye, Politics in States and Communities, p. 8.

this study. The goal of this part of the study is to define, as clearly as possible, the relationship of the partisan vote to those specific sets of variables selected for analysis in the construction of a state political system model. Data analyses in Chapter V showed that in West Virginia the partisan vote is related in a significant way to only one socioeconomic factor (Urbanization), and that the relationship was in large part due not to urbanization per se but to other system variables, e.g., organizational variables. Similarly, the data revealed few significant relationships between policy outputs and the partisan vote. The total set of relationships among the three sets of variables is explored in the following.

The simple and partial coefficients presented in Table 33 show that of the four socioeconomic factors, only the urbanization factor is significantly related to partisan vote, and, as previously detailed, this relationship is with mining urban and not metropolitan urban counties. In West Virginia, at least since 1932, Democratic Party strength has been centered in the mining counties and accounts for the moderately strong association between urbanization and partisan vote. Other than urbanization, none of the socioeconomic factors show a significant relationship with partisan vote.[7] When the effects of policy output

[7]This finding conflicts with that found by Dye at the state level of analysis in that his study showed a significant relationship between income and education variables with partisan vote, but failed to show a significant relationship between urbanization and partisan vote. See Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public, p. 53.

TABLE 33

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND PERCENTAGE DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR PRESIDENT[a]

Socioeconomic Factors	Percent Democratic Vote					
	1960		1964		1968	
	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial
Community Development	-.07	.14	.00	.13	-.02	.05
Urbanization	.44	.67	.49	.67	.56	.70
Affluence	-.03	.27	.08	.30	.10	.30
Community Development Potential	.01	.19	.07	.17	.08	.18

[a]Figures are simple and partial correlation coefficients; partial coefficients control for the effects of policy output variables--educational effort; governmental, county, welfare, educational and highway expenditures; and governmental employment.

variables on the relationship are controlled, the result is that in every case the coefficients are strengthened. The conclusion is that policy outputs do have some influence on the relationship of socioeconomic factors to the partisan vote. This finding stands in contrast to that found when policy outputs were controlled in the relationship of socioeconomic factors to political participation. In the latter relationship, policy outputs had no influence on the original relationship. The conclusion is that policy outputs, at least some policy outputs, are related to the partisan vote while they are not directly related to political participation.

The above findings indicate that policy output variables act as specifying variables in the original relationship, i.e., the inclusion of policy output variables in the analysis makes the original relationships between socioeconomic factors and partisan vote more pronounced. The set of relationships can be clarified by analyzing the relationship of policy output variables to partisan vote while controlling for the effects of socioeconomic factors. The data show (Table 34) that only county and welfare expenditures are significantly related to partisan vote and that controlling for the effects of socioeconomic factors does not substantially alter the original relationship. The conclusion is that in the total set of relationships among socioeconomic factors, policy outputs, and partisan vote, policy outputs are more directly related to partisan vote than are socioeconomic factors. However, none of the relationships are consistently or significantly strong and the data do not present a clear picture of the relationship. Socioeconomic factors

TABLE 34

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES AND PERCENTAGE DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR PRESIDENT[a]

Policy Output Variables	Percent Democratic Vote					
	1960		1964		1968	
	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial
Educational Effort	-.15	-.09	-.08	-.10	-.07	-.13
Governmental Expenditures	.10	-.17	.10	-.22	.19	-.15
County Expenditures	-.41	-.27	-.39	-.26	-.42	-.34
Welfare	.36	.19	.27	.14	.34	.33
Education	-.08	.23	-.01	.24	-.03	.20
Highways	-.11	-.14	-.02	-.11	.01	-.05
Governmental Employment	.06	-.21	-.02	-.23	.09	-.17

[a]Figures are simple and partial correlation coefficients; partial coefficients control for the effects of socioeconomic factors--Community Development, Urbanization, Affluence and Community Development Potential.

are generally not related to the partisan vote in West Virginia in any direct way. With two exceptions, policy output variables are also not related to partisan vote. And, the two policy output variables that are related to partisan vote are weak associations and involve variables which may be manifestations of other system political variables. The variables selected for inclusion and analysis in the state system model thus do not account for the variation in the partisan vote in West Virginia. In the state there are long term Republican and Democratic counties, 1932 Democratic counties, and competitive counties. However, the variables of greatest influence in determining this partisan choice appear to be of a historical and cultural nature. While perhaps only extensive survey research involving attitudinal and perceptual measures can clarify or confirm the above proposition, historical data may contain substantial explanatory power by themselves. For example, is it just coincidence that Doddridge County, which was named for Joseph Doddridge, a strong Republican, Union man, and Lincoln supporter, is a long term Republican county, while one of its neighboring counties, Calhoun, which was named after John C. Calhoun, a loyal southern Democrat, is a long term Democratic county? The answer is probably neither yes nor no. But, the implication of the finding for the prevailing theories of partisan choice are significant.[8]

[8]See Campbell et al., loc. cit.

IV. SUMMARY

This chapter attempted to analyze the complete set of relationships among socioeconomic factors, policy output variables, partisan vote, state sectional differences and political participation in West Virginia. The initial question was how are socioeconomic factors and policy output variables related to political participation. An answer to this question was sought by examining both direct and controlled relationships. The data analyses tend to support the following conclusions:

1. None of the variables employed in the model explain a significant amount of the intrastate variance in political participation in West Virginia. The total amount of variance accounted for by socioeconomic and policy output variables is .31 and .23, respectively, and these figures are probably high in that they are uncontrolled coefficients and overlap to a degree.

2. Socioeconomic factors show moderately strong to weak negative correlations with political participation. These are made more pronounced when state section is controlled, while policy outputs do not affect the original relationship. The negative relationship findings stand in contrast to many of the currently posited propositions concerning political participation and indicate the existence of other potentially relevant system variables.

3. Policy output variables are generally unrelated to political participation except as they are related to socioeconomic factors and are integral parts of an economic development syndrome.

4. Sectional, historical, cultural, and institutional differences tend to influence political participation behavior more than socioeconomic or policy output variables. Yet, the relationship remains an undefined one in need of further study.

5. As with participation, the partisan vote in West Virginia tends to be more a function of historical, cultural and institutional influences than of socioeconomic or policy output variables.

The aggregate data variable analysis of political participation employed in this study has shed little direct light on the question of political participation in West Virginia. Indirectly, the analysis has indicated the need for complementary research efforts and techniques to that of aggregate data variable analysis. Several questions can be formulated at this point. Of prime interest is the question that this study started out with; what are the influential factors in West Virginia that have resulted in seemingly deviant political behavior patterns by its citizens? What are the implications of the findings of the variable model analysis which appear to contradict much of the existing research findings? Are there serious flaws in contemporary political participation propositions or is West Virginia simply a deviant and unique case? Is the variable model analysis attempted in this study adequate to answer the questions raised or is the model itself at fault?

The fact remains that West Virginians go to the polls in numbers not warranted by what we have assumed "to know" about political participation behavior. This study has pointed out the failure of existing propositions to account for this behavior. Hopefully, it has also

indicated the direction that new research in the area may go--a task briefly outlined in the following and concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VII

STATE POLITICAL SYSTEM RESEARCH: A DESIGN FOR THE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

I. THE POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION

Chapter I developed a model for the analysis of the West Virginia state political system from which a specific set of variables was selected for analysis. These were: political participation, policy outputs, socioeconomic factors and the partisan vote. Following upon many of the prevailing theories and propositions of political behavior, the analysis was directed toward an examination of the relationships among the several system variables with political participation. The goal was to determine the joint and independent effects of the system variables on participation. Specifically, the question was whether or not differences among West Virginia counties in voter turnout levels could be attributed to concomitant variations in county socioeconomic levels, policy outputs or the partisan vote.

At the outset, the evidence on the state level of analysis led to the proposition that in general, and specifically in West Virginia, political participation was more a function of variations in political style, culture and history than of system political, policy or socioeconomic attributes. This study did not attempt to test many of the propositions which have been demonstrated to influence voter participation such

as type of election, issues and personalities.[1] Rather, the analysis was made primarily in terms of demographic data placed in a cultural and historical context. But, "the explanation of voting and nonvoting in these terms [demographic characteristics] represents a low order of analysis."[2] For this reason and due to the inadequacy of analysis limited to these terms to explain voting behavior in West Virginia, this study attempted to assimilate historical, cultural and institutional data with demographic analysis. The various test of the system relationships made in this study tend to show the importance of historical and cultural influences on voting behavior. In West Virginia, the data indicate that variance in political participation rates is, in large measure, a function of historical, cultural and attitudinal differences. However, while the description of the historical and cultural development of the state revealed some potential explanatory variables, the data remain scant and incomplete and raise many additional questions.

The conclusion is that political participation, at least as manifested in the act of voting, is indeed influenced to a degree by the interaction of a number of socioeconomic and demographic variables. However, this influence appears to be short term, minimal and subject to more pervasive and underlying influences; specifically, long term historical, cultural, style and institutional variables. The implication

[1]See Key, Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, chap. 21. Also see William H. Flanigan, Political Behavior of the American Electorate (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968).

[2]Key, Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, p. 587.

is that the act of participating in politics, and the quality of that act, is more complex and more dependent on interaction between the individual and the political system than many of the current voting behavior propositions have stated or implied.

In West Virginia, four major long-term and pervasive influences appear to account for much of the seemingly deviant political behavior on the part of West Virginians.

1. Pioneer Politics and the Politics of Statehood. West Virginia was originally settled by pioneer Scotch-Irish and Germans who developed a political, economic, and social order virtually void of any aristocracy or upper-middle class. Within this structure the individual mountain farmer, hunter, trapper, or trader was himself the active political participant. This social, economic, and political order stood in direct contrast to the aristocratic, large farm, and slave owning populace of the rest of the state of Virginia and led to an active participation of the Trans-Allegheny citizen in politics which resulted in the separate statehood of West Virginia.

2. Jacksonian Structure of Government. Following Civil War reconstruction, primarily due to the absence of the Negro in West Virginia, the state adopted a form of government very condusive to wide citizen participation. The long ballot was adopted, numerous offices in all branches of government were filled by balloting, and election days were made official state holidays. This movement stood in direct

contrast to the movement to limit the sufferage made simultaneously in many states during this same period.[3]

3. The Labor Union Movement. Beginning as early as 1890, concerted efforts were made in West Virginia to unionize the coal miner and to activate him politically. Thus, the impetus was to activate that group in the electorate which was the least likely on other grounds to participate in politics--the lower socioeconomic group, or the working men. Again, this movement was in contrast to that which was taking place in the states surrounding West Virginia. The labor union movement failed during this period, 1890-1932, but it laid the base for the ultimate entrance of the miner into West Virginia politics in 1932.[4]

4. The Democratic Statehouse Organization. In 1940, the Democratic Statehouse organization was confirmed in power through cooperation and alliance with the United Mine Workers and by its ability to control Democratic primaries in historically Republican counties. This organization has managed West Virginia politics almost uninterrupted

[3]In Virginia the 1902 Constitution reduced the sufferage by almost 50 percent. See J. Harvie Wilkenson, III, Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics: 1945-1966 (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1968), p. 5.

[4]The potential influence of the organizational variable has been documented in several studies. See Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 77; 130-133. Recent research, however, has particularly stressed the role of the organizational variable with respect to political participation and in relationship to other environmental variables. In particular, Norman H. Nie, et al., present data which indicated that organizational involvement may lead to increased political participation without concomitant increases in political information, political efficacy, political attentiveness or status resources. See Nie, Powell and Prewitt, loc. cit.

since 1940 through an elaborate county based organization and has generally been characterized by an ability to include in the active political world an electorate composed of miners and citizens of the "politics of poverty." The result is, that while socioeconomic and demograph ic variables specify the above influences to a degree, the dominant influences in shaping West Virginia politics appear to have been long-term historical and cultural factors. This proposition is further supported by the continuity of partisan politics in West Virginia. The evidence supports the existence of more prevasive and long term influences operating in the political system than are tapped when the analysis is restricted to conventional demographic or socioeconomic aggregate data.

The style of politics and participation in West Virginia remains difficult to explain, however, within the limits of this study. While the activities of the United Mine Workers and the Statehouse organization may have increased or maintained previous levels of political participation in the state, another result has been the development of a political system characterized in terms of "machine politics" and one in which the individual has little political efficacy. In the population of southern Appalachia there is ample evidence to show that overt, anti-government sentiments are stronger than in any other region of the nation.[5] Likewise, a comparison of national sample survey data with West

[5]See Thomas R. Ford (ed.), The Southern Appalachia Region: A Survey (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962), pp. 12-15; and Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader," 564-575.

Virginia county data collected in one of the more affluent and more developed counties in the state shows substantial differences on selected survey questions[6] (Table 35). If these attributes are characteristic of voters in the state, they add an additional dimension to the original question of political participation in West Virginia. With low political efficacy in the system, why do West Virginians go to the polls in such great numbers?[7]

The answer to this question has not been answered by the analysis of variance in intrastate socioeconomic or policy output characteristics. In comparing contiguous West Virginia and Virginia counties that share almost identical environmental characteristics, the data show that voters in West Virginia counties turn out at rates of 30 to 40 percentage points higher than do the voters in Virginia. While only this limited comparison of West Virginia counties with contiguous counties in other states was undertaken, the findings support the proposition that voter turnout levels in West Virginia are the result of historical, cultural, and attitudinal factors rather than any difference in socioeconomic or policy output levels. This contention is further supported by the data in Figure 23. In the contiguous West Virginia and Virginia counties the variance in voter turnout rates occurred between the years

[6]The Mercer County, West Virginia, data were provided by Donald P. Lacy of Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

[7]The relationship of political efficacy to political participation has been well documented in many studies. For a general discussion and literature review of the relationship, see Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 48-89.

TABLE 35

COMPARISON OF SURVEY QUESTION RESPONSES ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL WITH RESPONSES IN MERCER COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA[a]

Question	United States 1964 (percent)		Mercer County 1968 (percent)	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
1. Voting is the only way that people like me have say about what the government does.	73	26	69	21
2. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.	67	32	59	27
3. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	29	70	41	45
4. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.	37	61	52	34

[a]The national data were taken from John P. Robinson, Jerald G. Rusk and Kendra B. Head, Measures of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center for Social Research, 1968), pp. 635-636. The Mercer County data were provided by Donald P. Lacy of Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

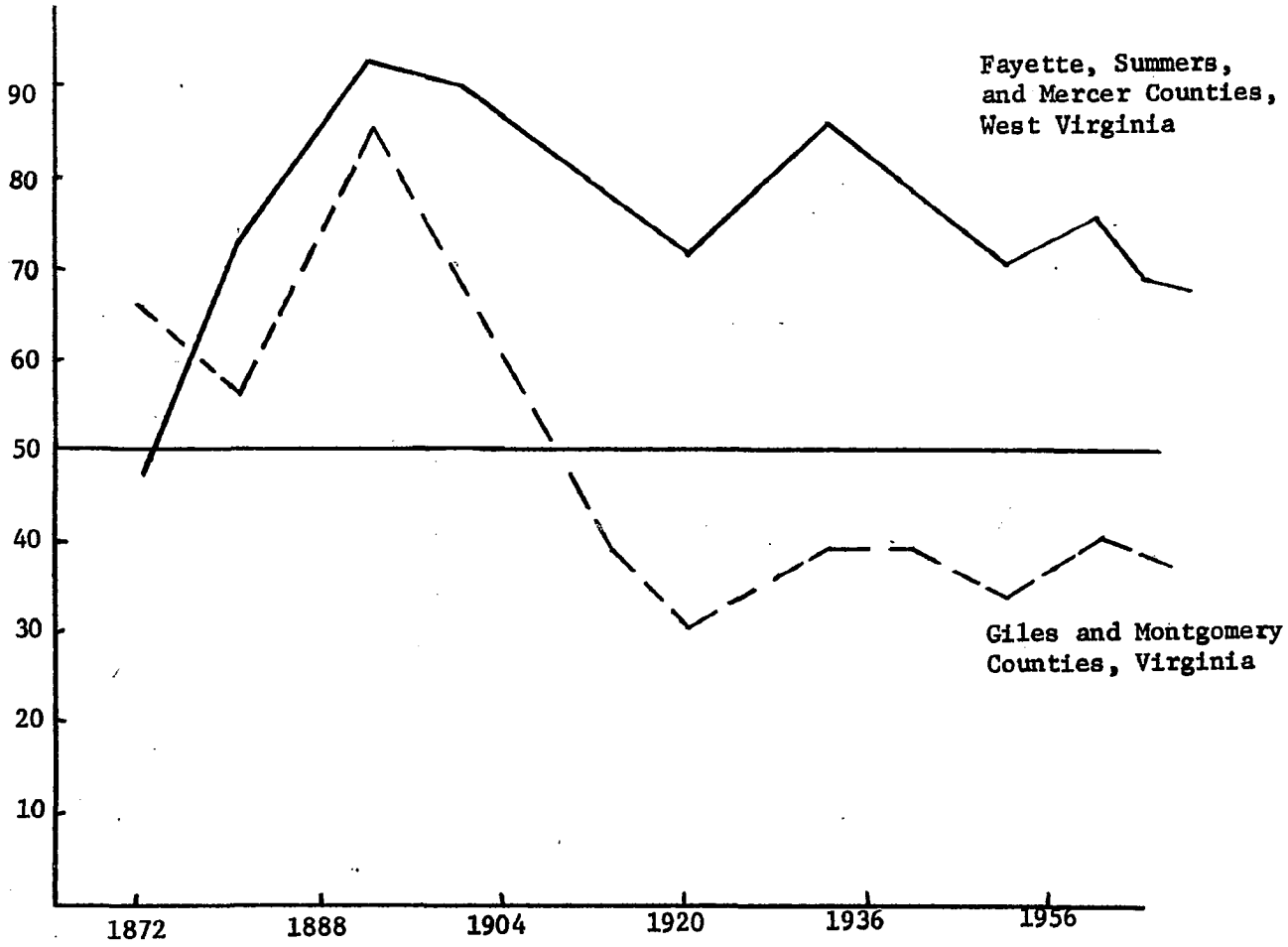

Figure 23. Mean percentage turnout for president for selected West Virginia and Virginia counties, 1872-1968.

1892 and 1920. It was during this period that West Virginia was undergoing historical and institutional changes that were quite different from those taking place in Virginia; e.g., expanded sufferage, union movement, and open governmental structure.

A part of this interstate difference may be attributed to differences in formal election laws and procedures. The 1902 Virginia constitution drastically reduced the electorate by the poll tax and the literacy test. By 1904, the number of votes cast for president in Virginia was only half of that cast in 1900.[8] However, there is some evidence which suggests that "the poll tax is not the bogey man its opponents would have us to believe."[9] An alternative explanation, and one that the findings of this study support is that basic differences in political culture, style and history differentiate the two states. For example, in West Virginia ample evidence has been provided to show the influence of an organization variable operating in the state with the result of expanding the electorate for low socioeconomic groups particularly. In Virginia, the existence of an organization (Byrd) variable has operated in opposite fashion. The origins of the Byrd organization can be traced back to Thomas Staples Martin in 1894.[10] The Byrd organization, an aristocratic, elite machine, has always depended on a small electorate to

[8]Wilkenson, op. cit., p. 5.

[9]Frederic D. Ogden, The Poll Tax in the South (University: University of Alabama Press, 1958), p. 138.

[10]Wilkenson, loc. cit.

retain control. For example, only around 12 percent of the electorate voted for governor in Virginia primaries from 1925-45.[11] The effect was that the Byrd organization could usually retain control of the state political machinery with only 6 to 8 percent of the electorate.[12] There was no incentive, from the organization point of view, to expand the electorate. In contrast to the above, in West Virginia the conventional primary turnout rate is around 50 percent.[13]

The above conclusions perhaps raise more questions than they provide explanations. For example, what is the true relationship between affluence, poverty, and participation? It may be that for the poor the vote is the only access to the system while for the affluent there are multiple avenues of entrance. A matter which may result increasingly in reduced voter turnout levels for the affluent.[14] And, what is the relationship between sectionalism and participation? In West Virginia the data show that political participation is the result of a number of environmental, cultural and historical factors. However, even within the state, these factors vary substantially in their influence by section.

[11] Key, Southern Politics, p. 20.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., pp. 135-136.

[14] Robert R. Alford and Eugene C. Lee found that in a comparative analysis of political participation in American municipalities that participation was negatively related to educational levels. The finding was explained on the basis of either an ecological correlation fallacy or the multiple access proposition related to the better educated groups. See Robert R. Alford and Eugene C. Lee, "Voting Turnout in American Cities," The American Political Science Review, 62 (September, 1968), 796-813.

For example, of 29 counties which had a 15 percent or more increase in voter turnout for president from 1920 to 1932, 14 are Democratic mining counties and 10 are long term, rural, Republican counties. Is it possible that a different set of causal factors are at work in each of these types of counties?

The variable analysis undertaken in this study revealed that, at best, socioeconomic or environmental factors and policy output variables only condition or specify the relationship between the political system and the actor in that system. (Again, the caveat is in order that this study dealt with aggregate data and not individual data. The relationship between these two types of data for particular research units is not at all clear.) On the other hand, the findings of the variable analysis and the surface exploration of historical and cultural data, indicate that contrary to the statement that "important institutional and cultural factors can be treated as constants in comparative state study,"[15] substantial evidence appears to warrant just the opposite.

II. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: FUTURE RESEARCH

The conclusion is that a study of political participation is needed in which environmental variables are held as constants while variance in political culture, history and attitudinal factors are analyzed on a comparative basis. A comparison of southeast West Virginia

[15] Dye, Politics in States and Communities, p. 8.

counties with western Virginia counties provides such a natural laboratory. These two sets of counties share almost identical socioeconomic characteristics, were once part of the same state, and in many ways share a common political history. Yet, the fact remains that these contiguous sets of counties exhibit substantial differences in political behavior patterns. The findings of this study indicate that the answer lies in the analysis of those cultural and behavioral patterns unique to each system. The question remains as to how this can be accomplished.

Employing the natural laboratory available in the contiguous counties of Virginia and West Virginia an extensive survey analysis complemented by the use of aggregate data may provide the answers to many of the questions raised in this study. The three input or independent variables in the analysis would be political structure, political culture and political style. The assessment of the political structure of each of the two sets of counties or states would be more straightforward, traditional, and "legalistic" than the appraisal of any of the other variables employed in the model. Existing data could be utilized to describe the structure of the system to include the formal or constitutional framework, the leadership hierarchy in the legislature, legislative executive relationships, party systems, interest group activities, election procedures, and formal and informal leadership centers. In this respect, indices of political party organizational strength and style would doubtless prove to be of value.[16] The goal would not be to

[16]See William J. Crotty (ed.), Approaches to the Study of Party Organization (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968).

present a full-blown description of state institutions or structures, but it would be to define the system sufficiently in order that the relationships among structures and the other variables might be explicated.

Political culture is a much more nebulous concept than structure. Culture has to do with the orientations, expectations, and cognitions of the people, and socialization, a subcultural variable, has to do with the problem of where, how, and why the people procured such orientations, expectations, and cognitions as they have.[17] The seminal work on political culture is Almond and Verba's five nation study.[18] Many of the indicators of culture that were used by these authors are just as applicable to subnational systems as they are to national systems as has been shown by Samuel Patterson[19] and Daniel Elazar.[20] In research terms, interview protocols would contain questions concerning the political culture of the two systems. Questions asked would concern the relationship between the individual to the government in order to ascertain his orientations toward the system. How efficacious does the individual feel in making demands on the system? Does he think he would be treated fairly when dealing with the system? Is he alienated from the system? In general, what is his cognitive map of the system? A separate

[17]For a general discussion of the culture concept, see White, "The Concept of Culture," pp. 70-92.

[18]Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture.

[19]Samuel C. Patterson, "The Political Cultures of the American States," The Journal of Politics, 30 (February, 1968), 187-209.

[20]Elazar, loc. cit.

questionnaire should perhaps be administered to school students to see how the political culture is being passed from one generation to the next.[21] In addition, with the use of historical data, an effort could be made to push the cultural question just as far back, historically speaking, as possible. Culture appears to be a long-run phenomenon and one that is extremely stable.[22]

The question of political style also should be included in the design. In one sense, political style may be thought of as part and parcel of political culture. However, since culture deals primarily in perceptions of individuals toward the system, there remains the necessity of showing in reality what relationships there are between the individual and the system. Political style is an intervening variable between culture and structure. Style is a manifestation of the culture in terms of the "rules of the game."[23] Does the structure allow for citizen involvement, and if it does, how and why? What is there about the culture that tends to cause the people to be indifferent to involvement in the system? If Theodore White's "politics of poverty"[24] is demonstrated

[21]See Easton and Hess, "The Child's Political World," 231-235; Greenstein, Children and Politics; Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority," 542-559; Jennings and Niemi, "Family Structure and the Transmission of Political Values"; and Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969)

[22]White, "The Concept of Culture."

[23]Jacob, "State Political Systems," pp. 11-15.

[24]White, The Making of the President, 1960, p. 118.

to have meaning in relation to these two state cultures and systems, then how does the political style reflect the "politics of poverty?" Specifically, questions would be asked concerning the individual's involvement in politics. If the individual has a demand to make on the system, to whom does he go and why? Of what importance is the political party, salient interest groups, and friendships upon his relationship to the system?

The dependent variable of primary interest would of course remain political participation. Again, existing data could be utilized in order to make trend analyses of electoral participation in each of the sets of counties. Interview data could be employed to describe participatory activities other than voting. Questions concerning the hierarchy of participation developed by Milbrath[25] and utilized in research by Matthews and Prothro[26] could be included in the interview. Participatory acitvity in organizations other than political ones could be measured to see if there is a cumulative tendency in participation. The major interest would be to find out whether the differences in electoral behavior of these two systems permeates all participatory activity in these systems.[27] If the variables are amenable to successful measurement,

[25]Milbrath, Political Participation.

[26]Donald R. Matthews and James W. Protho, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (Chicago: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966), pp. 37-52.

[27]This point involves the general question of whether or not voting turnout is a good indicator of political participation. See Milbrath, Political Participation.

then the task would be to reconstruct the model and to see how the model answers the primary research question of deviant participatory behavior in West Virginia.

III. SUMMARY

This study attempted to define the relationships among a set of specific political system variables. The basic research question was motivated by the attempt to explain political participation levels as manifested in the act of voting in West Virginia. The research findings of this study eliminated one set of variables from the list of potential explanatory variables and pointed toward the potential explanatory power of a second set of variables. In this respect, the analysis undertaken has been a success.

Hopefully, the study has raised some relevant and interesting questions for those interested in the role of the individual in the political system. At the level of analysis undertaken in this study the findings appear to conflict with some widely held and accepted propositions concerning political participation. To a degree, these conflicts may be the result of different methodological tools and levels of data analysis. On the other hand, the findings of this study indicate the possibility of substantial weaknesses in contemporary political behavior propositions as they relate to political participation. The task of future research is to explore these weaknesses and to continue to formulate and test further propositions in the search for a theory of political participation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF VARIABLES EMPLOYED IN COUNTY RANKINGS

Unless otherwise indicated, all data are based on the 1960 Census.[1]

1. Population I. Total population of county, 1966.

2. Population, Urban. The percentage of persons living in urban areas.

3. Governmental Complexity. The number of governmental units in a county.

4. Heterogeneity. An index calculated by the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Foreign-born White} + 3\ (\text{Negro Population})}{.001\ (\text{County Population})}$$

5. Social Complexity. A combined index derived by adding the reversed ranks achieved by the county on Heterogeneity, Economic Complexity and Governmental Complexity.

6. Economic Complexity. Number of industry groups having 20 or more employees, 1963.

7. Productive Population. Population 18 to 64 years old.

8. Employed Females. The percentage of females 14 years old and over in the labor force.

9. Farmers. Percentage farmers and farm managers in the labor force.

10. Unskilled Workers. Percentage of the labor force in: Operatives and Kindred Workers; Farm Laborers; and Laborers, except farm and mine.

11. Craftsmen. Percentage craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers in the labor force.

12. Clerical. Percentage clerical, sales and kindred workers in the labor force.

13. Salesmen. Percentage salesmen and kindred workers in the labor force.

[1]Operational definitions taken primarily from Christen T. Jonassen and Sherwood H. Peres, Interrelationships of Dimensions of Community Systems (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960), pp. 29-39.

14. Professional. Percentage Professional, Technical, Managers, Officials, Proprietors and kindred workers in the labor force.

15. White Collar. Percentage Professional, Technical, Managers, Officials, Proprietors, Clerical, Sales, and kindred workers in the labor force.

16. Elementary Education. Percentage of the males over 21 who have completed eight years (but not more) of schooling.

17. Educational Effort. Index derived by dividing the Local Educational Revenue Receipts per Pupil (65) by the Tax Evaluation per Pupil (66) and multiplying by 1,000, 1967-1968.

18. High School Enrollment II. Percentage of the population 16-17 years old enrolled in schools.

19. Technical Illiteracy. Percentage of the population 25 years old and over who completed less than five grades of schooling.

20. High School Education. Percentage of the population 25 years old or over who completed high school.

21. College Education. Percentage of the population 25 years old or over who completed four or more years of college.

22. Educational Status. Index derived by summing the reversed ranks of the county on the following dimensions: Total Educational Expenditures (59.); Educational Effort (17.); Educational Self-Sufficiency (49.); Educational Potential (51.); and High School Enrollment II (18.).

23. Population Mobility. Percentage of the population living in a different county in 1960 than in 1955.

24. Health. Index derived by summing county scores on Infant Deaths (87.), T. B. Deaths (86.), and overall death rate (81.).

25. Welfare Expenditures. Per capita general expenditures for public welfare.

26. Socioeconomic Status. Index derived by summing the reversed ranks of a county on Median Family Income (52.), Home Value (35.), Professional Workers (14.) and the rank on Unskilled Workers (10.).

27. Wealth Differential. Index derived by dividing the percentage of families in the county population with an annual income of $10,000 or more by the percentage of families having an income of $3,000 or less. (82 ÷ 28).

28. Poverty. Percentage of the population with a family income of $3,000 or less.

29. Population Change. Net outward migration of county population, 1960-1966.

30. Police Expenditures. Local government general per capita expenditures for police protection, 1962.

31. Mining Employees. Percentage of the labor population in mining.

32. Home Equipment. Index of home equipment of houses having specified types of equipment.

33. Housing Units Owner Occupied. Percentage of the housing units owner occupied.

34. Median School Years. Median school years completed by population 25 years old or over.

35. Median Value Homes. Median value of owner occupied homes.

36. Public Assistance Recipients. Percentage of the population in 1964 receiving public assistance.

37. Local Government Employees. Local government employment in 1962 per 1,000 county population.

38. Federal Government Employees. Federal government employment in 1965 per 1,000 county population.

39. Population Vitality. Index derived by summing county ranks on Birth Rate (80.) and Population Change (29.)

40. Unemployment. Unemployment benefits paid by county per employed, 1967.

41. Educational Sacrifice. Index derived by dividing per capita expenditure for education (59.) by per capita retail sales (72.) and multiplying by 1,000.

42. Population Density. 1966 population per square mile.

43. Population over 21.

44. Dependent Population. Percentage of the population less than 16 years of age or over 65.

45. Economic Base. Index derived by summing county ranks on per capita value added, in dollars, by manufacturing (69.); per capita retail sales (72.); per capita wholesale sales (71.); and per capita receipts from services (70.) divided by the per capita value of farm products sold (61.).

46. Commercial Activity. Index derived by summing county ranks on: total retail sales (22.); total wholesale sales (71.); and total receipts from services (70.); divided by the total county population (1.).

47. Industralization. Index divided by summing county ranks on: per capita value added by manufacturing (69.); per capita retail sales (72.); per capita wholesale sales (71.); and per capita receipts from services (70.).

48. School Age Population. Percentage of the population 5-19 years old.

49. Educational Self-Sufficiency. Percentage of the total educational expenditures made by the county. Index derived by dividing total educational revenue receipts (60.) by local educational revenue receipts (65.).

50. Local Government Educational Expenditures. Local government per capita expenditures for education.

51. Educational Potential. Index derived by summing the reversed ranks of the county on: college education (21.); high school education (20.); population 21 or over (43.); educational wealth (66.); and size of educational plant (67.).

52. Median Family Income.

53. Percent Population Registered to Vote, 1964.

54. Percent Change Democratic Strength, 1932-1964. Rank derived from percent change in party registration.

55. Most Democratic County. Rank derived from vote for governor in 1960.

56. Highway Expenditures. Per capita general expenditures for highways, 1962.

57. Total Local Government Expenditures, 1962.

58. Bank Deposits. Total, 1964.

59. Total Educational Expenditures. Sum of federal, state and local per pupil expenditures, 1967-1968.

60. Educational Revenue Receipts. Total, 1967-1968.

61. Agriculture. Per capita value of farm products sold in 1964.

62. Population II. Total population of county, 1960.

63. Federal Educational Revenue Receipts. Per pupil receipts, 1967-1968.

64. Change in School Enrollment. Percentage change in elementary and secondary school enrollment, 1957-1958 to 1967-1968.

65. Local Educational Revenue Receipts. School revenue receipts per pupil, 1967-1968.

66. Educational Wealth. Assessed property valuation per pupil, 1967-1968.

67. Size of Educational Plant. Number of pupils per school district, 1967-1968.

68. State Educational Revenue Receipts, 1967-1968.

69. Manufacturing. Value added by manufacturing, 1963.

70. Services. Per capita receipts from services, 1963.

71. Wholesale Sales. Per capita receipts from wholesale trade, 1963.

72. Retail Sales. Per capita retail sales, 1963.

73. High School Enrollment I. Percentage of the 14-17 year old population enrolled in school.

74. Total Labor Force. Population 14 years old and over.

75. Laborers.

76. Local Government Revenue Receipts. Total local government general revenues, 1962.

77. Accidental Deaths. Accidental deaths per 100,000 population, 1966.

78. Democratic Vote for Governor, 1960.

79. Total School Enrollment. 1967-1968.

80. Birth Rate. Live births per 1,000 population, 1964.

81. Death Rate. Deaths per 1,000 population, 1964.

82. Family Income II. Percentage population with family income of $10,000 or over.

83. Service Workers. Percentage of the labor force.

84. Operatives. Percentage of the labor force.

85. Managers. Percentage of the labor force.

86. T. B. Deaths. T. B. deaths per 100,000 population, 1966.

87. Infant Deaths. Infant deaths per 1,000 live births, 1966.

88. Commercial Farms. Total commercial farms, 1964.

89. Percent Negro.

90. Percent Foreign Born.

91. Employment Manufacturing. Percentage of the labor force.

92. Population III. Estimated 1966 population 21 years of age or over.

APPENDIX B

SOURCES OF DATA FOR COUNTY RANKINGS

	Sources	Variables
1.	U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of the Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 50, West Virginia (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), table 27, pp. 60-73.	7, 43, 44, 48, 73
2.	Ibid., table 82, pp. 150-1954.	23
3.	Ibid., table 83, pp. 155-159.	8, 16, 18, 21, 74
4.	Ibid., table 84, pp. 160-164.	9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 75, 83, 84, 85
5.	Ibid., table 85, pp. 165-169.	31
6.	U. S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1967, A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), table 2, pp. 402-421.	2, 6, 15, 19, 20, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42, 52, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 69, 70, 71, 72, 76, 80, 81, 82, 88, 89, 90, 91
7.	U. S. Bureau of the Census, Population Estimates, Estimates of the Population of Counties, Report No. 1 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966).	1, 29, 92
8.	U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments: 1962, Vol. III, No. 48, Government in West Virginia (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964), table 26.	3
9.	Ibid., table 28.	50
10.	Ibid., table 29.	25
11.	U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Vital Statistics of the United States, 1966, Vol. II, Mortality, Part B (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), table 7-1, pp. 57-58.	87

Sources	Variables
12. Ibid., table 7-9, pp. 554-556.	77, 86
13. West Virginia Education Association, Research Division, Rankings of the Counties, 1968, Research Report ((Charleston, West Virginia: The Association, 1968), table 4, p. 9.	67, 79
14. Ibid., table 7, p. 11.	64
15. Ibid., table 41, p. 31.	17, 66
16. Ibid., table 43, p. 34.	65
17. Ibid., table 44, p. 34.	68
18. Ibid., table 45, p. 35.	63
19. Ibid., table 46, p. 35.	60
20. Ibid., table 47, p. 36.	59
21. West Virginia Department of Employment Security, Thirty First Annual Report (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Department of Employment Security, 1967), pp. 59-60.	40
22. William R. Ross. The West Virginia Political Almanac, 1964. Morgantown: Bureau for Government Research, West Virginia University, 1964, p. 7.	53
23. Ibid., p. 11.	55, 78
24. Ibid., p. 14.	54
25. The following previously listed variables were employed as data sources to construct 13 socioeconomic county indices:	
(1) 1, 89, 90	4
(2) 3, 4, 6	5
(3) 17, 18, 49, 51, 59	22

Sources	Variables
(4) 81, 86, 87	24
(5) 10, 14, 32, 52	26
(6) 28, 82	27
(7) 29, 80	39
(8) 59, 72	41
(9) 61, 69, 70, 71, 72	45
(10) 1, 70, 71, 72	46
(11) 69, 70, 71, 72	47
(12) 60, 65	49
(13) 20, 21, 43, 66, 67	51

APPENDIX C

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS AND SOURCES OF POLICY OUTPUT VARIABLES

1. Local Government Expenditures. Total local government per capita general expenditures for 1962. U. S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1967, A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967, table 2, pp. 402-421.

2. County Expenditures. Total county per capita expenditures for 1965. L. M. Sizer, County Study Data Book: Measures of Social Change in West Virginia (Morgantown: West Virginia University Center for Appalachian Studies and Development, 1967), p. 28.

3. Welfare. Total percapita welfare expenditures for 1965. Ibid., p. 32.

4. Education. Total per pupil educational expenditures for 1967-1968. West Virginia Education Association, Research Division, Rankings of the Counties, 1968, Research Report (Charleston, West Virginia: The Association, 1968), p. 36.

5. Highways. General per capita expenditures for highways, 1962. Sizer, op. cit., p. 84.

6. Local Government Employment. Local government employment per 1,000 population, 1962. U. S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF WEST VIRGINIA COUNTIES BY STATE SECTION

Mining	Northwest	Southeast
Mingo	Hancock	Morgan
McDowell	Brooke	Berkeley
Logan	Ohio	Jefferson
Wyoming	Marshall	Mineral
Boone	Wetzel	Hampshire
Raleigh	Harrison	Tucker
Fayette	Taylor	Grant
Clay	Tyler	Hardy
Nicholas	Doddridge	Randolph
Gilmer	Lewis	Pendleton
Webster	Braxton	Pocohontas
Upshur	Pleasants	Greenbrier
Barbour	Ritchie	Summers
Marion	Wood	Monroe
Preston	Wirt	Mercer
	Calhoun	
	Jackson	
	Roane	
	Mason	
	Putnam	
	Kanawha	
	Cabell	
	Wayne	
	Lincoln	
	Monogalia	

APPENDIX E

SOCIOECONOMIC COUNTY FACTOR SCORES

TABLE 36

FACTOR I: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COUNTY FACTOR SCORES[a]

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
Cabell	492.1	Marion	371.3	Putnam	176.7
Ohio	490.8	Jefferson	359.9	Doddridge	144.6
Kanawha	477.8	Raleigh	347.2	Calhoun	137.8
Wood	450.8	Pleasants	345.2	Pendleton	120.3
Harrison	449.4	Brooke	333.3	Wyoming	118.5
Mercer	439.0	Randolph	329.8	Boone	110.1
Monogalia	431.5	Upshur	322.3	Webster	109.1
Berkeley	375.4	Greenbrier	321.7	Clay	96.9
Wetzel	374.2	Taylor	320.2	Lincoln	64.9
		Lewis	319.9		
		Hancock	303.3		
		Mineral	291.7		
		Tucker	287.0		
		Jackson	283.8		
		Marshall	281.6		
		Pocohontas	263.1		
		Summers	259.4		
		Mason	259.4		
		Fayette	255.7		
		Gilmer	249.5		

TABLE 36 (continued)

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
		Wayne	245.9		
		Tyler	233.9		
		Ritchie	231.7		
		Mingo	227.6		
		Grant	227.4		
		Roane	211.9		
		Barbour	209.7		
		Hampshire	208.8		
		Logan	208.8		
		Nicholas	181.0		
		Wirt	178.1		
		Preston	176.7		
		McDowell	173.4		
		Braxton	173.3		
		Monroe	170.7		
		Morgan	159.7		
		Hardy	156.7		

[a]Mean Score = 263.8661; Standard Deviation = 109.5811.

[b]High =>+1 SD; Medium = ±1 SD; Low = <-1 SD.

TABLE 37

FACTOR II: URBANIZATION COUNTY FACTOR SCORES[a]

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
Kanawha	884.7	Monogalia	699.4	Hardy	254.8
Ohio	827.5	Wood	692.5	Grant	243.1
Cabell	818.3	Marshall	685.7	Gilmer	240.1
Mercer	804.4	Wyoming	651.3	Hampshire	226.0
Harrison	785.0	Boone	607.5	Calhoun	219.1
Logan	782.6	Wayne	588.3	Doddridge	218.5
McDowell	769.5	Berkeley	570.1	Monroe	209.3
Raleigh	765.6	Wetzel	540.7	Pendleton	183.1
Marion	758.8	Randolph	530.4	Wirt	178.2
Fayette	745.7	Greenbrier	528.4		
Hancock	742.0	Jefferson	505.6		
Mingo	715.0	Mineral	496.9		
Brooke	711.3	Mason	488.7		
		Nicholas	479.0		
		Taylor	475.3		
		Preston	465.6		
		Lewis	463.4		
		Upshur	432.5		
		Summers	419.6		

TABLE 37 (continued)

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
		Webster	411.5		
		Putnam	407.8		
		Pleasants	394.5		
		Barbour	359.9		
		Tyler	348.4		
		Morgan	346.9		
		Lincoln	344.8		
		Tucker	336.5		
		Jackson	333.7		
		Pocohontas	328.3		
		Braxton	327.9		
		Clay	326.8		
		Ritchie	311.4		
		Roane	310.9		

[a]Mean Score = 496.9596; Standard Deviation = 203.3887.

[b]High = >+1 SD; Medium = ±1 SD; Low = <-1 SD.

TABLE 38

FACTOR III: AFFLUENCE COUNTY FACTOR SCORES[a]

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
Kanawha	534.9	Pleasants	432.7	Hampshire	219.8
Ohio	515.7	Mercer	431.0	Pendleton	218.8
Brooke	503.0	Berkeley	424.9	Grant	215.4
Hancock	501.9	Mason	398.2	Barbour	199.0
Cabell	493.0	Jackson	393.9	Braxton	187.3
Wood	491.3	Lewis	376.7	Lincoln	185.4
Harrison	488.6	Jefferson	369.5	Calhoun	182.5
Marion	482.5	Mineral	368.6	Hardy	174.6
Marshall	460.2	Wayne	367.9	Clay	173.8
Wetzel	460.2	Putnam	365.3	Monroe	164.7
Monogalia	459.8	Logan	350.9	Webster	161.1
		Raleigh	347.1		
		Taylor	346.8		
		Tyler	346.2		
		Randolph	340.6		
		Wyoming	338.1		
		Fayette	319.1		
		Greenbrier	312.9		
		Upshur	308.2		

TABLE 38 (continued)

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
		Ritchie	293.6		
		McDowell	293.2		
		Boone	290.3		
		Preston	284.0		
		Mingo	277.0		
		Nicholas	264.0		
		Gilmer	263.8		
		Summers	263.4		
		Morgan	262.2		
		Doddridge	252.3		
		Wirt	251.6		
		Pocohontas	245.0		
		Tucker	234.3		
		Roane	224.5		

[a]Mean = 329.2890; Standard Dveiation = 107.6097.

[b]High = >+1 SD; Medium = ± SD; Low = <-1 SD.

TABLE 39

FACTOR IV: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL COUNTY FACTOR SCORES[a]

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
Ohio	210.3	Raleigh	161.7	Putnam	77.6
Brooke	198.3	Pocohontas	160,5	Calhoun	73.0
Cabell	188.2	Fayette	159.2	Randolph	70.5
Kanawha	183.7	Monogalia	159.0	Nicholas	69.4
Mercer	177.2	Ritchie	155.9	Webster	59.6
Hancock	176.4	McDowell	151.5	Mingo	55.4
Marshall	176.3	Wood	149.7	Jackson	50.5
Marion	169.2	Taylor	149.0	Clay	39.6
Lewis	166.5	Doddridge	140.3	Braxton	39.1
Harrison	165.6	Preston	138.3	Lincoln	38.3
		Pendleton	137.1		
		Summers	135.1		
		Boone	133.8		
		Gilmer	131.4		
		Jefferson	122.5		
		Morgan	119.9		
		Mason	119.3		
		Monroe	119.1		
		Barbour	118.3		
		Wetzel	112.7		

TABLE 39 (continued)

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Score	County	Score	County	Score
		Greenbrier	110.1		
		Hardy	109.2		
		Berkeley	109.0		
		Logan	107.9		
		Pleasants	103.8		
		Upshur	103.4		
		Tyler	102.5		
		Wayne	101.8		
		Wirt	101.5		
		Hampshire	97.6		
		Grant	93.2		
		Mineral	90.0		
		Tucker	89.0		
		Roane	87.6		
		Wyoming	85.5		

[a]Mean = 120.9189; Standard Deviation = 43.044.

[b]High = > +1 SD; Medium = ±1 SD; Low = < -1 SD.

APPENDIX F

PERCENTAGE VOTER TURNOUT FOR PRESIDENT BY COUNTY

TABLE 40

VOTER TURNOUT FOR PRESIDENT 1960[a]

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Percent	County	Percent	County	Percent
Wirt	91.8	Tucker	85.3	Nicholas	73.8
Lincoln	91.3	Braxton	83.4	Upshure	72.8
Pleasants	90.7	Pendleton	83.2	Preston	72.6
Grant	89.0	Hardy	82.2	Berkeley	72.4
Clay	88.5	Tyler	82.1	Webster	72.4
Barbour	86.8	Morgan	81.9	Mercer	72.4
Monroe	86.6	Ritchie	81.8	McDowell	72.0
Jackson	86.6	Doddridge	81.6	Cabell	70.1
Calhoun	86.5	Wetzel	81.4	Jefferson	66.5
Pocohontas	85.6	Mingo	81.3	Lewis	66.1
		Hancock	81.2		
		Putnam	81.1		
		Summers	81.1		
		Ohio	80.9		
		Taylor	80.9		
		Harrison	80.4		
		Boone	80.2		
		Roane	79.8		
		Hampshire	79.7		
		Marion	79.7		

TABLE 40 (continued)

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Percent	County	Percent	County	Percent
		Wayne	79.6		
		Wood	79.6		
		Wyoming	79.5		
		Brooke	79.2		
		Mineral	79.2		
		Randolph	78.3		
		Mason	77.7		
		Logan	77.4		
		Gilmer	76.8		
		Marshall	76.5		
		Kanawha	75.6		
		Fayette	75.4		
		Raleigh	75.3		
		Greenbrier	74.7		
		Monogalia	74.2		

[a]Mean = 79.6854; Standard Deviation = 5.8273

[b]High = >+1 SD; Medium = ±1 SD; Low = <-1 SD.

TABLE 41

VOTER TURNOUT FOR PRESIDENT 1964[a]

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Percent	County	Percent	County	Percent
Jackson	92.1	Wirt	82.7	Webster	64.8
Pleasants	89.1	Monroe	82.2	Jefferson	63.6
Gilmer	87.7	Hampshire	81.4	Logan	63.2
Lincoln	87.7	Pocohontas	80.6	Lewis	62.0
Putnam	86.6	Hancock	80.4	McDowell	56.2
Wood	86.6	Barbour	80.2		
Calhoun	86.3	Wetzel	80.2		
Tucker	84.5	Mineral	79.0		
Grant	83.8	Hardy	78.6		
		Tyler	78.6		
		Braxton	78.0		
		Wayne	78.0		
		Mason	77.9		
		Pendleton	77.3		
		Brooke	76.2		
		Mingo	76.2		
		Roane	75.9		
		Clay	75.2		
		Marion	74.7		
		Doddridge	74.3		
		Marshall	74.2		
		Morgan	73.7		

TABLE 41 (continued)

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Percent	County	Percent	County	Percent
		Greenbrier	73.5		
		Ohio	73.5		
		Monogalia	73.1		
		Harrison	72.7		
		Ritchie	72.6		
		Kanawha	72.5		
		Randolph	72.3		
		Summers	72.1		
		Wyoming	71.4		
		Taylor	71.2		
		Boone	71.0		
		Upshur	69.8		
		Nicholas	69.1		
		Raleigh	68.7		
		Fayette	68.5		
		Berkeley	67.7		
		Mercer	66.8		
		Cabell	66.7		
		Preston	66.2		

[a]Mean = 75.4328; Standard Deviation = 7.5835.

[b]High = >+1 SD; Medium = ±1 SD; Low = <-1 SD.

TABLE 42

VOTER TURNOUT FOR PRESIDENT 1968[a]

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Percent	County	Percent	County	Percent
Jackson	87.5	Pleasants	78.9	Greenbrier	67.6
Putnam	86.4	Hampshire	78.7	Preston	67.5
Wood	85.4	Wirt	78.4	Mercer	66.5
Monroe	84.6	Tucker	78.2	Berkeley	66.4
Grant	82.9	Pendleton	77.9	Fayette	66.1
Lincoln	82.8	Brooke	77.4	Clay	63.8
Hancock	79.7	Wetzel	77.4	Cabell	63.1
Calhoun	79.6	Barbour	76.1	Jefferson	62.6
		Mason	75.8	Webster	59.4
		Wayne	75.2	Lewis	58.7
		Mineral	74.1	McDowell	56.2
		Morgan	74.0		
		Hardy	73.5		
		Pocohontas	72.7		
		Harrison	72.5		
		Marion	72.3		
		Tyler	72.1		
		Marshall	71.9		
		Taylor	71.3		
		Randolph	71.2		

TABLE 42 (continued)

High[b]		Medium		Low	
County	Percent	County	Percent	County	Percent
		Mingo	70.8		
		Roane	70.8		
		Summers	70.8		
		Raleigh	70.6		
		Monogalia	70.4		
		Braxton	70.2		
		Boone	70.0		
		Ohio	69.9		
		Nicholas	69.4		
		Ritchie	69.1		
		Upshur	69.1		
		Wyoming	69.1		
		Kanawha	69.0		
		Gilmer	68.6		
		Logan	68.5		
		Doddridge	67.9		

[a]Mean = 72.3745; Standard Deviation = 6.8152.

[b]High = >+1 SD; Medium = ±1 SD; Low = <-1 SD.

APPENDIX G

VARIABLE AND FACTOR CORRELATION MATRICES

LIST OF COUNTY VARIABLES EMPLOYED IN FACTOR ANALYSIS

CORRELATION MATRIX

1. Population, I
2. Population, Urban
3. Governmental Complexity
4. Heterogeneity
5. Social Complexity
6. Economic Complexity
7. Productive Population
8. Employed Females
9. Farmers
10. Unskilled Workers
11. Craftsmen
12. Clerical
13. Salesmen
14. Professional
15. White Collar
16. Elementary Education
17. Educational Effort
18. High School Enrollment II
19. Technical Illiteracy
20. High School Education
21. College Education
22. Educational Status
23. Population Mobility
24. Health Index
25. Welfare Expenditures
26. Socioeconomic Status
27. Wealth Differential
28. Poverty
29. Population Change
30. Police Expenditures
31. Mining Employees
32. Home Equipment
33. Housing Units Owner Occupied
34. Median School Years
35. Median Value Homes
36. Public Assistance Recipients
37. Local Government Employees
38. Federal Government Employees
39. Population Vitality
40. Unemployment
41. Educational Sacrifice
42. Population Density
43. Population Over 21
44. Dependent Population

45. Economic Base

46. Commercial Activity

47. Industrialization

48. School Age Population

49. Educational Self-Sufficiency

50. Local Government Educational Expenditures

51. Educational Potential

52. Median Family Income

53. Percent Population Registered to Vote, 1964

54. Percent Change Democratic Strength, 1932-1964

55. Most Democratic County

56. Highway Expenditures

57. Total Local Government Expenditures

58. Bank Deposits

59. Total Educational Expenditures

60. Educational Revenue Receipts

61. Agriculture

LIST OF MODEL TEST VARIABLES EMPLOYED IN CORRELATION MATRICES

Variable

Socioeconomic Variables:

1. Factor I: Economic Development
2. Factor II: Urbanization
3. Factor III: Affluence
4. Factor IV: Community Development Potential

Policy Output Variables:

5. Local Educational Effort
6. Local Government Expenditures
7. County Expenditures
8. Welfare Expenditures
9. Educational Expenditures
10. Highway Expenditures
11. Local Government Employment

Political Variables:

12. Percent Voter Turnout 1968
13. Percent Voter Turnout 1964
14. Percent Voter Turnout 1960
15. Percent Democratic Vote 1956
16. Percent Democratic Vote 1960
17. Percent Democratic Vote 1964
18. Percent Democratic Vote 1968

TABLE 43

ORDERED PROMOX (OBLIQUE) FACTOR MATRIX

Factors									
I		II		III		IV		V	
15[a]	.678	44	.882	11	.739	43	.714	60	.677
14	.670	48	.881	19	.680	18	.539	59	.669
21	.633	9	.855	35	.657	39	.481	40	.493
58	.629	1	.843	32	.654	7	.444	22	.490
46	.593	45	.790	52	.592	53	.389	57	.426
13	.560	29	.754	28	.589	22	.369	17	.416
38	.559	61	.721	23	.563	59	.360	49	.411
41	.530	42	.689	34	.552	51	.333	36	.299
10	.497	54	.671	49	.549	60	.316	4	.287
20	.481	16	.634	27	.529	29	.289	16	.282
12	.455	5	.633	26	.505	19	.267	8	.227
26	.441	3	.606	55	.504	50	.257	7	.175
8	.426	6	.559	36	.489	30	.163	33	.165
47	.418	2	.540	20	.485	34	.143	31	.163
51	.414	39	.533	31	.429	21	.137	54	.159
34	.405	4	.528	2	.414	4	.131	56	.150
56	.345	52	.528	24	.412	54	.127	43	.126
35	.336	30	.509	22	.382	56	.125	5	.121
5	.290	28	.507	12	.369	20	.115	38	.108
30	.287	27	.499	10	.335	55	.113	28	.104
33	.285	53	.414	42	.327	49	.102	11	.094
6	.282	13	.405	56	.320	32	.087	47	.090
2	.273	7	.391	51	.318	41	.069	52	.090
31	.238	15	.380	17	.267	57	.057	42	.089
50	.238	33	.377	8	.257	10	.052	32	.073
19	.236	17	.366	37	.254	8	.051	25	.072
3	.228	57	.346	59	.243	61	.050	51	.071
16	.202	12	.328	6	.233	45	.046	27	.067
4	.192	47	.309	30	.201	5	.040	58	.057
23	.181	41	.275	47	.146	2	.038	26	.052
27	.178	46	.274	21	.142	13	.036	35	.051
36	.164	32	.238	45	.131	3	.036	30	.050
1	.113	56	.235	57	.107	38	.035	53	.048
40	.089	26	.234	60	.106	58	.030	39	.045
28	.080	25	.195	40	.105	17	.028	9	.044
42	.077	51	.194	61	.098	9	.017	10	.041
32	.076	49	.176	1	.097	36	.013	18	.036
22	.071	22	.167	15	.058	37	.007	24	.035
43	.058	11	.158	44	.049	44	.006	29	.034
18	.055	18	.144	18	.036	42	-.003	6	.027

TABLE 43 (continued)

Factors									
I		II		III		IV		V	
52	.054	34	.135	9	.036	26	-.017	12	.023
7	.043	14	.120	48	.034	11	-.025	55	.017
44	.042	20	.111	46	.032	1	-.027	3	.001
48	.038	43	.097	41	.029	6	-.037	23	-.003
45	.034	40	.064	58	.011	48	-.044	21	-.007
55	.026	8	.011	7	.002	28	-.047	20	-.016
53	.026	24	.011	54	-.014	52	-.048	46	-.017
60	.024	35	-.035	13	-.015	15	-.068	14	-.031
37	.014	36	-.050	50	-.029	16	-.075	34	-.041
57	.001	58	-.056	3	-.048	12	-.085	61	-.045
9	-.023	21	-.075	43	-.049	14	-.091	45	-.068
25	-.025	37	-.088	5	-.049	40	-.096	41	-.087
59	-.039	50	-.094	25	-.062	47	-.098	19	-.091
49	-.069	59	-.147	39	-.089	31	-.099	48	-.131
29	-.105	19	-.150	53	-.091	23	-.108	1	-.147
39	-.110	10	-.163	16	-.161	27	-.124	15	-.148
61	-.135	60	-.186	14	-.203	24	-.124	2	-.164
24	-.142	38	-.233	38	-.239	33	-.129	44	-.173
17	-.216	55	-.385	29	-.276	35	-.167	13	-.224
11	-.246	23	-.443	4	-.281	46	-.244	50	-.240
54	-.309	31	-.445	33	-.371	25	-.374	37	-.353

[a]Variable number.

TABLE 44

WEST VIRGINIA CORRELATION MATRIX

VARIABLE NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1.000	0.628	0.820	0.608	0.487	0.383	0.063	-0.527	0.287	0.735	-0.096	-0.095	-0.144	-0.388	-0.147	-0.074	0.004	-0.070
2		1.000	0.763	0.547	0.435	0.563	-0.145	-0.754	0.193	0.560	0.094	-0.335	-0.500	-0.520	0.312	0.441	0.495	0.556
3			1.000	0.671	0.664	0.497	0.079	-0.621	0.451	0.742	-0.107	-0.015	-0.139	-0.366	-0.072	-0.075	0.076	0.106
4				1.000	0.684	0.326	0.036	-0.546	0.595	0.512	-0.069	-0.228	-0.349	-0.386	-0.055	0.006	0.071	0.076
5					1.000	0.497	0.284	-0.610	0.828	0.494	0.046	0.011	-0.054	-0.214	-0.177	-0.145	-0.076	-0.065
6						1.000	0.129	-0.155	0.337	0.639	0.546	-0.056	-0.080	-0.082	0.039	0.100	0.104	0.191
7							1.000	-0.287	0.225	0.153	0.183	0.255	0.252	0.154	-0.444	-0.408	-0.387	-0.429
8								1.000	-0.490	-0.425	0.207	-0.159	0.004	0.204	0.389	0.362	0.266	0.342
9									1.000	0.370	-0.024	0.054	0.082	-0.027	-0.054	-0.076	-0.011	-0.033
10										1.000	0.144	0.002	-0.060	-0.170	-0.149	-0.110	-0.024	0.008
11											1.000	-0.041	-0.008	0.219	-0.005	0.060	0.018	0.092
12												1.000	0.966	0.698	-0.175	-0.341	-0.365	-0.312
13													1.000	0.771	-0.150	-0.332	-0.365	-0.326
14														1.000	-0.086	-0.237	-0.307	-0.196
15															1.000	0.952	0.919	0.896
16																1.000	0.957	0.935
17																	1.000	0.949
18																		1.000

TABLE 45

NORTHWEST COUNTIES CORRELATION MATRIX

VARIABLE NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1.000	0.841	0.869	0.728	0.519	0.632	0.202	-0.658	0.268	0.775	0.136	-0.290	-0.403	-0.521	-0.040	0.163	0.299	0.263
2		1.000	0.883	0.748	0.587	0.632	0.115	-0.578	0.314	0.700	-0.035	-0.202	-0.398	-0.563	0.266	0.459	0.535	0.541
3			1.000	0.743	0.683	0.618	0.367	-0.760	0.417	0.745	-0.057	-0.052	-0.236	-0.479	0.059	0.225	0.354	0.320
4				1.000	0.752	0.427	0.267	-0.741	0.615	0.536	-0.098	-0.439	-0.670	-0.618	-0.132	0.062	0.217	0.164
5					1.000	0.475	0.293	-0.654	0.434	0.490	0.038	-0.100	-0.235	-0.391	-0.036	0.065	0.183	0.161
6						1.000	0.263	-0.355	0.403	0.738	0.496	0.007	-0.002	-0.144	0.064	0.135	0.151	0.177
7							1.000	-0.302	0.479	0.335	-0.123	0.027	0.026	-0.079	-0.219	-0.159	-0.056	-0.167
8								1.000	-0.486	-0.508	0.116	0.027	0.231	0.336	0.159	0.049	-0.038	-0.056
9									1.000	0.354	0.057	-0.097	-0.103	-0.062	0.034	0.123	0.167	0.140
10										1.000	0.271	-0.142	-0.227	-0.272	0.047	0.187	0.283	0.257
11											1.000	0.134	0.236	0.309	-0.077	-0.120	-0.119	-0.112
12												1.000	0.630	0.664	0.339	0.165	0.039	0.092
13													1.000	0.794	0.248	0.064	-0.006	-0.024
14														1.000	0.183	0.026	-0.165	-0.050
15															1.000	0.922	0.836	0.868
16																1.000	0.934	0.977
17																	1.000	0.957
18																		1.000

TABLE 46

MINING COUNTIES CORRELATION MATRIX

VARIABLE NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1.000																	
2		1.000																
3			1.000															
4				1.000														
5					1.000													
6						1.000												
7							1.000											
8								1.000										
9									1.000									
10										1.000								
11											1.000							
12												1.000						
13													1.000					
14														1.000				
15															1.000			
16																1.000		
17																	1.000	
18																		1.000

TABLE 47

SOUTHEAST COUNTIES CORRELATION MATRIX

VARIABLE NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	1.000	0.917	0.677	0.127	0.117	0.114	-0.176	-0.147	-0.230	0.743	-0.186	-0.720	-0.678	-0.711	0.156	0.343	0.306	0.259
2		1.000	0.927	0.232	0.192	0.203	-0.306	-0.141	-0.242	0.742	-0.130	-0.789	-0.749	-0.763	0.164	0.393	0.327	0.321
3			1.000	0.131	0.243	0.127	-0.237	-0.348	-0.358	0.627	-0.240	-0.790	-0.777	-0.811	0.047	0.206	0.227	0.168
4				1.000	0.269	0.414	-0.293	0.177	0.098	0.189	0.269	-0.241	-0.327	-0.147	0.279	0.310	0.121	0.202
5					1.000	0.390	0.332	-0.584	0.435	0.165	0.206	-0.145	-0.261	-0.308	-0.342	-0.256	-0.296	-0.393
6						1.000	0.247	-0.057	0.101	0.525	0.721	-0.104	-0.146	0.037	-0.313	-0.205	-0.315	-0.330
7							1.000	-0.301	-0.043	0.090	0.503	0.401	0.362	0.287	-0.448	-0.616	-0.598	-0.681
8								1.000	-0.430	0.117	0.010	0.306	0.258	0.453	0.432	0.382	0.289	0.560
9									1.000	-0.173	-0.066	-0.119	-0.040	-0.154	0.114	0.057	0.164	-0.033
10										1.000	0.167	-0.476	-0.391	-0.377	0.111	0.267	0.219	0.264
11											1.000	0.214	0.212	0.179	-0.495	-0.614	-0.505	-0.480
12												1.000	0.694	0.885	-0.363	-0.523	-0.515	-0.376
13													1.000	0.892	-0.265	-0.424	-0.362	-0.249
14														1.000	-0.318	-0.497	-0.489	-0.305
15															1.000	0.958	0.955	0.927
16																1.000	0.955	0.919
17																	1.000	0.929
18																		1.000

VITA

Gerald W. Johnson was born in Williamson, West Virginia, on February 4, 1940. He attended elementary schools in that city and was graduated from Williamson High School in 1957. In 1961, following military service in the United States Air Force, he entered Marshall University and received the A. B. degree in Political Science and Economics from that institution in 1965.

In 1965, he was awarded a graduate assistantship by the University of Tennessee Department of Political Science and an administrative internship at the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies and began studies toward a Master's degree. In 1966-67, he was appointed an instructor in the Department of Political Science and a research associate in the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Tennessee. In the summer of 1967 he was awarded a stipend to attend the Survey Research Center Consortium for Political Research at the University of Michigan. In the fall of 1967 he was the recipient of a National Defense Education Act, Title IV Fellowship.

He received the Master of Arts degree with a major in Political Science from the University of Tennessee in 1968, and the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Political Science and a minor in Sociology in June, 1970.

He is a member of the American Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, and Pi Sigma Alpha. He has published a book review in the Tennessee Law Review, and a monograph

entitled, Politics, Party Competition and the County Chairman in West Virginia, published by the University of Tennessee Bureau of Public Administration, 1970.

He is currently Assistant Professor of Political Science and Coordinator of Public Service Training in Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama.

He is married to the former Nadine Maynard of Hardy, Kentucky, and they have three children.