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ILLINOIS' CHANGING ELECTORATE:

1880-1972

by

Andrew E. Van Esso

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

General

As students of American political behavior are aware, studies of the United States electorate abound in the literature. Yet, in spite of all the micro- and macro-level research accomplished during the past twenty years there continue to be areas that can be fruitful for the researcher seeking new insights into various aspects of the behavior of the American voter.

This paper intends to provide an example of an area of voting research that has received an insufficient amount of study. It focuses on the current relationship between different levels of the electorate--state and national. Are they one and the same or must they be considered as separate species within the same genre? Does psychological attachment as a determinant of voting behavior remain unchanged from one level to the other or are there different cognitions of party identification for each level? If, indeed there is such a mixed pattern, is the behavioral act of voting affected by a mixed pattern of party identification?

These are but a few of the questions that remain unanswered in the field of voting behavior. This paper focuses upon just one area of the significant question of electoral

levels. It tests certain hypotheses concerning the state and national electorates of Illinois in an attempt to discover if differences exist and, if so, where these differences are most pronounced. Using a sample limited to one state, it would be inappropriate to generalize the results beyond the borders of that state. However, it is hoped that the findings might incite further study into the locations and implications of identifiable mixed patterns of voting behavior.

Outline of Paper

Since it would be meaningless to look at specific acts of behavior without first exploring the psychology shown to exist behind the act, this paper first examines political socialization. It would be remiss not to take this first step since psychological make-up and voting behavior are so intertwined.

Once this background has been explored, it then becomes appropriate to look at the general question of mixed voting behavior. While there is much information available on the subject of split ticket voting, there is some hesitancy in categorizing this particular research as a study of ticket splitting. It looks at too limited a range of elective offices--president and governor--to be able to speak in terms of true split ticket voting.

After examining some of the psychological and behavioral traits of the electorate, a review of a few salient demographic and political characteristics of the study site

is made. Once this has been done, the study itself is described and the results analyzed and reviewed.

One word of caution must be emphasized. While the psychological attachment to party will be discussed, the research itself does not refer to this type of party identification or affiliation. Aggregate data forms the basis of this study and therefore reference to party is made only in terms of votes cast, not the political leaning or psychological partisanship of the electorate. While there is a relationship between these two areas, this paper does not speak to this relationship.

Hypotheses

Four hypotheses will be explored. The first relates to identification--discovery--of the phenomenon, while the other three are concerned with demographic and political loci of the phenomenon. The specific hypotheses to be tested are:

1. A change has occurred in the consistency of partisan behavior among the Illinois electorate. This change is reflected in a significant decrease in the positive relationship between partisan voting for national level--e.g., presidential--and state level--e.g., gubernatorial--offices.
2. This change in the Illinois electorate is more pronounced in rural than in urban counties.
3. This change in the Illinois electorate is more pronounced in Democratic counties than in

Republican or politically competitive counties.

4. The most significant change in the Illinois electorate is occurring in rural counties that are, on the national level of voting, predominantly Democratic as opposed to Republican or politically competitive.

Unlike much of the prior work reviewed in Chapter II, this study is based on aggregate voting data rather than survey data. It utilizes election returns from 1880 through 1972 for each Illinois county in an attempt to validate or invalidate statistically the hypotheses presented.

If these hypotheses can be validated they will find support in and lend support to the surveys that have also looked into this question. The use of aggregate data and statistical arguments in the area of voting behavior is not common. Much of the existing work utilizes percentages in demonstrations of various points.¹ While the approach is, perhaps, not original, no evidence of its use as applied in this paper has been found.

¹Walter DeVries and V. Lance Tarrance, The Ticket Splitters: A New Force in American Politics. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdsman's Publishing Company, 1972).

CHAPTER II

PSYCHOLOGICAL PARTISANSHIP AND SPLIT TICKET VOTING

Acquisition, Persistence and Change

Partisan attachment to one of the major American political parties has been shown to be a strong characteristic of the American electorate and to persist from youth through adulthood. Dean Jaros has shown partisanship to be acquired early in life, and has stated that

. . . youthful socialization [to politics and partisanship] does persist. . . . [A]dult attitudes and behavior may generally be a function of earlier orientations.²

Angus Campbell also refers to the persistence of partisanship when he says that

The extent to which pre-adult experiences shape the individual's political future may be judged from the constancy with which most people hold to the partisan orientation they have at the time they enter the electorate.³

To this he adds, ". . . partisan identification typically extends far into an individual's past . . . and appears

²Dean Jaros, Socialization to Politics (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1973), p. 23.

³Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York: Philip Wiley & Co., 1960), p. 87.

highly resistant to change."⁴

That partisanship is acquired before a citizen casts his or her first ballot has also been demonstrated by M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi. In a 1968 study⁵ they demonstrated that of all the political values passed on by a parent to a child, the strongest and most durable was party identification.

If the political socialization of children was the end of the acquisition of political orientations there would be no change in the political make-up of the society of the United States. Since there is continual change in the political outlook and attitudes of individuals there must be factors that cause change in the political values, attitudes, and beliefs that are instilled in the young.

One factor of change is the occurrence of an event that creates some upset in the lives of the members of the society.⁶ One such event was the Depression of the 1930s. This major crisis caused a change that not only saw a significant switch in party identification and loyalty for many voters but also led political scientists to modify what had been a basic concept: that in the process of maturation one became more conservative (Republican). In other words, younger voters tended toward the Democratic Party while

⁴Ibid., p. 287.

⁵M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," The American Political Science Review 62 (1968):169.

⁶Jaros, Socialization to Politics, p. 89.

older voters leaned toward the Republican Party. This certainly seemed true of those in their twenties and early thirties during the Depression, since a majority voted for the Democratic candidates. However, as the years passed and the Depression generation was no longer the young voter, voting studies began to contradict this maturational thinking. The young voters of the Depression did not shift from their Democratic partisanship. They remained Democrats. This phenomenon was finally recognized as a generational change and not a maturational one.⁷

This is not to say that there is no maturational change involved in political socialization. Many events occur for which childhood experience cannot prepare the individual. These life experiences cause changes in our political outlook and therefore continue the political socialization that is started in the young child. One of these experiences is simply a gain in significant information. Not suprisingly, recent research has shown that adults possess more knowledge about political affairs than high school seniors. It has also been shown that, along with the additional knowledge, adults are less trusting and more cynical about public officials.⁸ It would seem that the idealism of youth is affected by adult contact with the real world.

⁷Theodore M. Newcomb, et al., Persistence and Change: Bennington College and its Students after Twenty-Five Years (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), pp. 39-40.

⁸Jaros, Socialization to Politics, p. 69.

Measurement of Partisanship

With party identification having such deep roots it is not surprising that identification and consequent psychological loyalty to party play a vital role in our understanding of political behavior and, more specifically, voting behavior. Upon reaching the age of enfranchisement the young voter becomes fair game for the political researcher. The youthfully acquired and perhaps changing attachment to party has been identified and measured along a continuum with strong partisanship, at one end through weak partisanship, through leanings toward a particular party and finally political independence at the opposite end of the continuum.

This conceptualization of identification has been established through the use of survey research and has developed the respondent's subjective affiliation with party. The most widely used questions are those asked by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. The initial question of the group of questions is: "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?" Subsequently the depth of partisan feeling and the leaning of self-identified Independents are established.

It would appear from this that a basic assumption of the researchers is that the partisanship or the leaning of an individual is an absolute trait that does not vary with the level of government--national, state or local. It would seem that the "generally speaking" refers to that level

assumed to be the most visible and salient to the American voter--the national, or more specifically, Presidential, level of politics.

It may well be argued that party identification at the Presidential level determines the identification and consequent political behavior at other levels--state and local. This may be in part an answer to why so much of the work on partisanship segregates party attachment as to level of political activity. Past research approaches the subject as though there were no separation of level or no ability on the part of the electorate to behave in other than a unidimensional pattern of psychological attachment and consequent voting behavior.

Studies of Partisanship

This unidimensional frame of reference becomes apparent when one reviews the voting behavior literature. For example, electoral realignment on the national level has been the focus of many writers since V.O. Key, Jr. first introduced "A Theory of Critical Elections" in 1955.⁹ Similar work on the state level would include Duncan MacRae and James A. Meldrum's "Critical Elections in Illinois: 1888-1958."¹⁰ County level research is represented by V.O. Key, Jr.'s work

⁹V.O. Key, Jr., "A Theory of Critical Elections," Journal of Politics 17 (1955), pp. 3-18.

¹⁰Duncan MacRae and James A. Meldrum, "Critical Elections in Illinois: 1880-1958," The American Political Science Review 54 (1960), pp. 669-683.

"Partisanship and County Office: The Case of Ohio."¹¹
 Voting research on the local level would include Robert Alford and Eugene Lee's "Voting Turnout in American Cities,"¹² which examines several correlates of the voting behavior of the municipal electorate.

While these studies and many others have contributed significantly to our understanding of the behavior of the American electorate at individual levels of government, there is a paucity of information that correlates the various levels.

Among the research relating national and lower level data was an SRC survey done by Angus Campbell and Warren E. Miller in 1957,¹³ based on the 1956 Presidential election. In this work the motives behind straight and split ticket voting were explored as were various combinations of straight and split ticket voting at each level.

Among their findings was that:

A very sizable segment of the American electorate crosses party lines when it votes in presidential elections, something on the order of one-third of the voters in 1952 and two-fifths in 1956.¹⁴

¹¹V.O. Key, Jr., "Partisanship and County Office: The Case of Ohio," The American Political Science Review 47 (1953), pp. 525-532.

¹²Robert Alford and Eugene C. Lee, "Voting Turnout in American Cities," The American Political Science Review 62 (1968), pp. 796-813.

¹³Angus Campbell and Warren E. Miller, "The Motivational Basis of Straight and Split Ticket Voting," The American Political Science Review 51 (1957), pp. 293-312.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 294.

A similar study was made in 1964 by M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi.¹⁵ In this study the respondents were asked the usual "Generally speaking . . ." question. They were then asked if their reply referred to the national or state level, or both. If the reference was to the national level only--eighty-four percent were--the respondent was then asked about his self-identification at the local level followed by a query as to the state level. The answers showed a switch at the state and local level from the identification at the national level of approximately 25 percent. This switch includes only those who consider themselves partisan on at least one level. It excluded those who identified themselves as Independents on all levels.

These studies illustrate the volatility of the American electorate both as to psychological attachment and (reported) voting behavior. The continuing surveys by the SRC point up the fact that this volatility is increasing. According to data compiled by the SRC in answer to their "Generally speaking . . ." questions the proportion of Independents has increased from 22 percent in 1952 to 34 percent in 1972. The decrease in Republican and Democratic identifiers is indicated in Table 1. It is this core of Independent identifiers that form the nucleus of the mixed pattern or split ticket voter.

¹⁵M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi, "Party Identification at Multiple Levels of Government," Journal of Sociology 72 (1968), pp. 86-101.

Table 1
 Party Identification
 1952-1972
 (Percentage of Electorate)^a

Year	Democrats	Republicans	Independents
1952	47%	27%	22%
1954	47%	27%	22%
1956	44%	29%	24%
1958	47%	29%	19%
1960	46%	27%	23%
1962	46%	28%	22%
1964	51%	24%	23%
1966	45%	25%	28%
1968	45%	24%	30%
1970	43%	25%	31%
1972	41%	24%	34%

^aNumbers do not add to 100 percent due to omission of apolitical respondents.

Source: Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan.

Split Ticket Voting

While the importance of partisanship to and consequent identification with party is evident it is the actual behavior of the electorate in the voting booth that wins or loses elections. It is not the mixed patterns of identification but a split pattern of the cast ballot that is important. While party identification has been shown to have been changing over the years, so too has the amount of ticket splitting on all levels. Some isolated examples indicate the extent of split ballots in a few post-World War II elections.

Split outcomes in gubernatorial and U.S. Senatorial elections in individual states accounted for 50 percent of the contests in the five biennial elections from 1960 to 1970.

Over one-third of the Congressional districts had split outcomes (between Presidential and Congressional candidates) beginning in 1964.

In 1969, with 42 percent of the voters identifying themselves as Democrats, Republican Governors controlled eight of the ten largest states as well as the states in which 70 percent of the national population lives.

In 1968, in Arkansas, a third party candidate won the Presidential contest, a Republican won the Governorship and a Democrat won a Senate seat.¹⁶

Examples such as these are almost non-existent in pre-World War II years. Since they are but a few instances of split voting behavior it might be assumed that they are not mere anomalies but, rather, constitute a phenomenon that is a meaningful subject for study.

¹⁶ DeVries and Tarrance, The Ticket Splitters, pp. 19-20.

In order to isolate and test this phenomenon, Illinois has been selected as the sole state to be studied. Aggregate voting records for each of the one hundred and two counties for the twenty-four Presidential and gubernatorial elections from 1880 through 1972 will form the data base to be analyzed.

CHAPTER III

ILLINOIS

Demography

A review of the vital statistics of the State of Illinois reveals an area 55,748 square miles in size containing a 1970 population of 11,113,976. Of this population, 9,229,821 are classified by the United States Bureau of the Census as urban, and 1,884,155 as rural. Of its 102 counties, 42 are classed as urban and the remaining 60 as rural.¹⁷ Of its 11 million-plus population approximately 7,563,000 were of voting age in 1972,¹⁸ and of these, 66 percent cast votes in the 1972 election.

Illinois was first settled by the French in the eighteenth century. They were followed by American immigrants from Kentucky and Tennessee. The Northwest Territory Ordinance of 1787 included the area that was to become the twenty-first state in 1818. With the opening of the Erie Canal a second wave of immigrants came to Illinois, mostly from New England; and in the 1840s, foreign immigrants from Ireland and Germany began settling in the urban

¹⁷U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Vol. I: Characteristics of the Population, Part 15, "Illinois," pp. 28-29.

¹⁸DeVries and Tarrance, The Ticket Splitters, p. 146.

areas of the state. Illinois, with its current inflow of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, continues to be one of the leading immigrant receiving states.¹⁹

Politics

Under the SRC categories Illinois voters would be classed as Independent with Republican leanings. In the 24 elections since 1880, the Illinois electorate has given the majority of its Presidential votes to Republicans 15 times. During this period it has failed to give a plurality to the winning Presidential candidate only twice. In many elections, it reflects the national trend. For example, in the close contest of 1960 it gave John F. Kennedy a margin of 9,000 votes out of over 4,750,000 votes cast. In the landslide Lyndon Johnson victory over Barry Goldwater in 1964 Illinois gave Johnson a plurality of 892,000 votes with a total of 4,700,000 votes cast for President. This seeming approximation with national trends is one reason why Illinois was selected as the subject for this study.

Cook County

While its voting history would appear to reflect that of the nation, Illinois is not a typical state politically. As New York has its "up-state" and California its "southern bloc," so too is Illinois divided. Politically, Illinois may be separated into two blocs: Cook County and "downstate."

¹⁹Austin Ranney, Illinois Politics (New York: New York University Press, 1960), p. 5.

The distinction is not just one of geography but more importantly one of politics. In fact, it has become such a political boundary that since 1940 official election returns for statewide offices have shown separate Cook County and downstate returns.

The distinction is not difficult to understand. As of 1970 almost half of the state's population lived in Cook County. This represents somewhat of a drop, since in 1950 and 1960 over one-half of the state's population lived in this one county.

The Democratic influence of the Cook County--most particularly Chicago--political machine can best be summed up in two electoral "rules of thumb" as defined by Austin Ranney, in his analysis of the elections from 1948 through 1958:²⁰

The '58-per-cent-in-Cook-County rule.' In order to win a statewide election, the Democratic candidate must win at least 58 per cent of the vote in Cook County to overcome the perennial Republican lead downstate. In four of the Democrats' five victories, . . . their candidate received over 58 per cent of Cook County's vote. In the two closest losing elections (treasurer, 1954, and governor, 1956), the Democrats won only 56.3 per cent and 53.2 per cent of the Cook County vote.

A '62-per-cent-in-Chicago rule.' A Democrat must get 62 per cent or more of the vote in Chicago if he is to overcome the Republican lead in the suburbs and downstate. Thus in four of their five victories, the Democrats got over 62 per cent of Chicago's vote to overcome the suburban pluralities of 57.1, 51.5, 59.4 and 60.7 per cent. In the close losses of 1954 and 1956, the Democrats got 61.9 and 59.9 per cent in Chicago.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 48.

These "rules of thumb" give an indication as to the locations of the power bases of the two parties in Illinois.

Selection of Illinois for This Study

In addition to the reason already given for the selection of Illinois as the site of this study there are two others. During the period studied Illinois was one of twenty-three states that hold their gubernatorial elections concurrently with the quadrennial presidential election. This allows for more direct comparisons and avoids the need to introduce an intervening time variable. (The 1976 election will be the last such concurrent election in Illinois.) In addition, Illinois is of considerable political interest because of the large delegations it sends to national party conventions as well as the large bloc of electoral votes it casts for President.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN

Hypotheses

This paper analyzes a change that is hypothesized to have occurred in the voting behavior of the Illinois electorate. The fact of a change having occurred as well as possible locations of the change within the population will be examined. The central hypothesis to be investigated is:

1. A change has occurred in the consistency of partisan behavior among the Illinois electorate. This change is reflected in a significant decrease in the positive relationship between partisan voting for national level (Presidential) and state level (gubernatorial) offices.

If this hypothesis can be validated, demographic and political characteristics of the change can then be determined.

In their 1956 study, Campbell and Miller found that 48 percent of the national electorate in rural areas voted a straight ticket as opposed to slightly over 50 percent of the urban electorate.²¹ In a 1968 Gallup post-election survey it was found that 39 percent of the rural population

²¹Campbell and Miller, "The Motivational Basis of Straight and Split Ticket Voting," p. 297.

voted a straight ticket while 49 percent of the urban voters had done so.²² This decrease in rural, straight ticket voters indicates the increase in split voting that has occurred in rural areas. The second hypothesis to be tested is drawn from these data.

2. This change in the Illinois electorate is more pronounced in rural than in urban counties.

Jennings and Niemi in their 1968 research in Ann Arbor, Michigan, found that 85 percent of the Democrats voted for their party on both the national and state levels while 96 percent of the Republicans reported doing so.²³ In this limited sample, at least, the Democrats reported themselves as more prone to split voting than the more solid Republicans. The third hypothesis is based on this data.

3. This change in the Illinois electorate is more pronounced in Democratic counties than in Republican counties.

If the foregoing data could be combined a case could be made for the rural/urban and Democratic/Republican categories being treated together. It is not logically possible to perform such a shuffling of data. The data, however, raises a logical point, and this is the basis of the last hypothesis to be tested.

²² DeVries and Tarrance, The Ticket Splitters, p. 59.

²³ Jennings and Niemi, "Party Identification at Multiple Levels of Government," p. 88.

4. The most significant change in the Illinois electorate is occurring in rural counties that are, on the national level of voting, predominantly Democrat as opposed to Republican or politically competitive.

Demonstration of Change

Before the locations of a phenomenon can be isolated the existence of the phenomenon itself must first be demonstrated. Illinois' aggregate voting data for general Presidential elections from 1880 through 1972 for the offices of President and Governor will be analyzed to demonstrate the existence of a change in voting behavior and to locate, if possible, this change. The percentage of the Democratic vote to the total of the Democratic and Republican vote for each of these offices will be examined for the twenty-four elections in the period being tested. The initial search for the existence of the change will be at the state level of analysis while the search for the locus of the change will be at the county level.

A cursory examination of the raw aggregate data should reveal the existence or non-existence of the phenomenon posited in Hypothesis 1; however, the degree and significance of this difference must also be shown. In order to demonstrate the validity of the first hypothesis, 1940 will be selected as the break point and a correlation run of the Presidential and gubernatorial votes in the fifteen elections prior to, but not including, 1940. A similar correlation

will be run of the nine elections from 1940 through 1972. State-wide aggregate data is used and a standard t -test made of these correlations to determine that a significant difference does, indeed, exist (Hypothesis 1).

The selection of 1940 as a tentative break point, while perhaps arbitrary, is not without reason. The upset of World War II had not yet affected the American citizen and the strength of the Democrats--particularly Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal policies--had just passed its 1936 peak. At the same time, Illinois voters were presented with a popular Republican candidate, Dwight Green, after a two-term Democratic Governor, Henry Horner, became unpopular with the electorate. For these, and many other reasons, the Illinois electorate split its Presidential and gubernatorial votes between the major parties for the first time since 1880. The majorities given the Presidential candidate and the gubernatorial candidate, while not as disparate as in some preceding elections, was the first display, after at least sixty years, of a split national and state electorate in Illinois.

Temporal Location of Change

Once this change has been shown to have occurred to a significant extent, it should be possible to locate a specific rather than a somewhat arbitrary temporal break point. For this purpose a series of regressions will be run encompassing as break points each Presidential election from 1936 through 1956. These regressions will be bivariate analyses of the form,

$$Y = \alpha + \beta X + u$$

where Y represents the Democratic proportion of the major party's votes for Governor and X represents the Democratic proportion of the major party's votes for President. Three regressions will be run initially. One will be for the first period (prior to the break point); one for the second period (subsequent to and including the break point); and a third for the full period, 1880 through 1972. The second period will be considered as added observations of the first period so that an "added observations" F-test can be made to determine if a significant difference exists between the first and second period. This test is of the form,

$$F = \frac{(SSE_c - SSE_1 - SSE_2/K)}{(SSE_1 + SSE_2)/(n + m - 2K)}$$

with degrees of freedom $\stackrel{d}{=} F_{K, (n + m - 2K)}$,

where SSE is the sum of squares of the regression error terms for (c) the combined periods: (1) period 1; and (2) period 2. n is the number of observations in the first period and m is the number of observations in the second period. K is the number of variables in the regression statement; in this case, two.

A second set of three regressions will be run in which the first year of the second period (i.e., 1940) will become the last year of the first period. The same test will be made as that for the initial run described above. This will

be repeated four times which is expected to be sufficient to identify the actual times of change. The point at which the F statistic first becomes significant--the null hypothesis of no difference is rejected--will be used as the separation of the two time periods being examined.

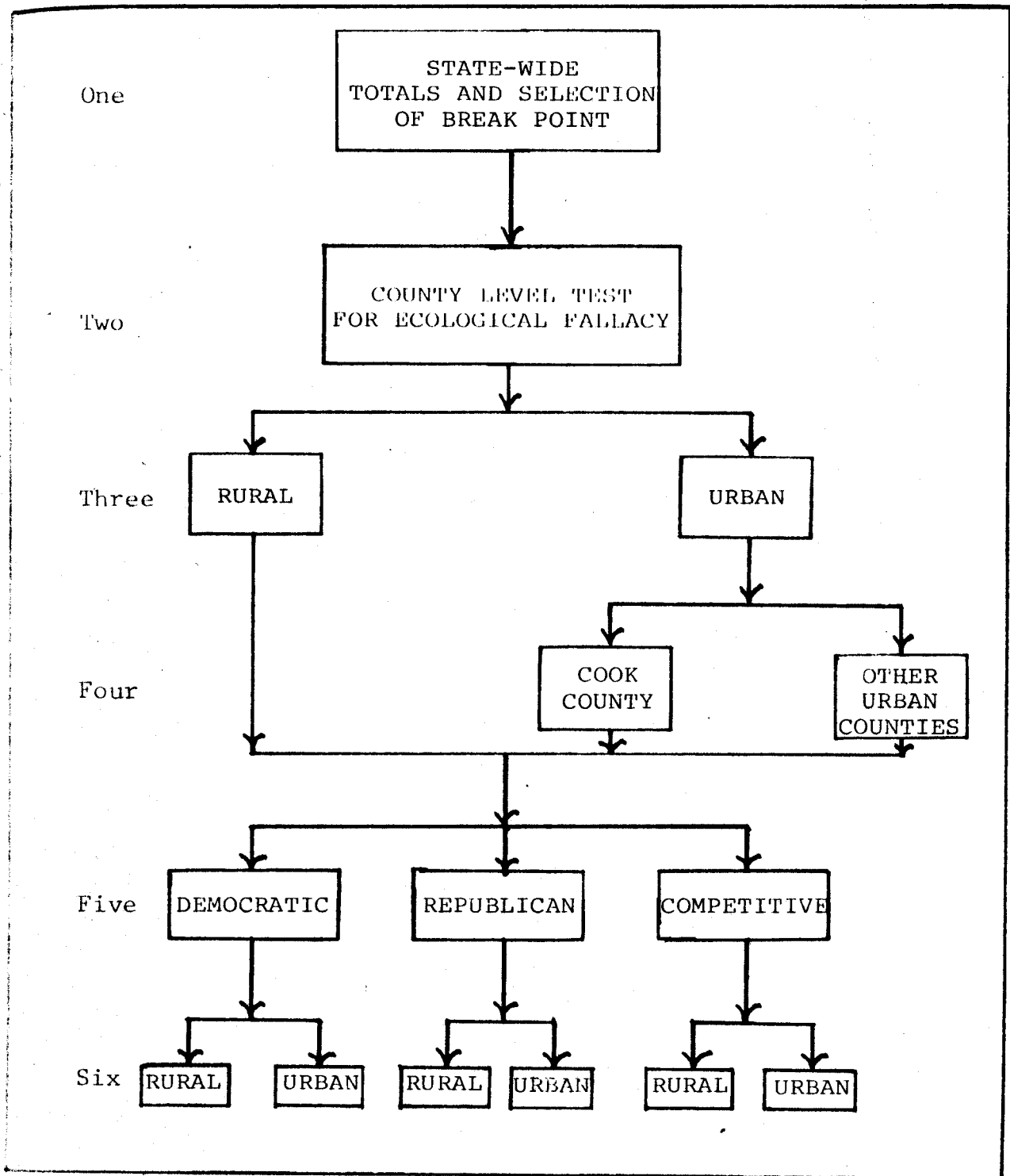
Once the existence of the phenomenon has been demonstrated at the state level and the point of initial significant difference has been isolated, tests can be made separating counties according to certain demographic and political characteristics.

Figure 1 represents graphically the various tests that will be made in an attempt to isolate the hypothesized behavioral change in the voting of the Illinois electorate. Step One represents the validation of the existence of the change in voting behavior and the selection of the point in time of this change. Step Two is included in order to determine that the indication of change at the state level shown in Step One does not disappear or change radically when county level data is analyzed. The ecological fallacy in which the sum of the parts may not equal the whole may cause such a disappearance.

Rural Versus Urban Counties

The next question to be examined is whether a change in voting behavior is more pronounced in rural counties than in the urban counties of Illinois. For the purpose of this study, rural and urban counties are defined as those in which

FIGURE 1
STEPS OF ANALYSIS



a majority of the resident population is classified as rural or urban in the 1960 and 1970 federal Census. This method of classification may misrepresent some counties that changed from a rural to an urban make-up during the earlier years of the period in question. This potential over-representation of urban counties and under-representation of rural counties in the earlier period is felt to be not significant. The 1920 Census--the mid-point Census of the analysis period--reveals only two of the one hundred and two Illinois counties to be so affected, Richmond and Williamson. There were no counties that changed from urban to rural. This particular analysis is represented as Step Three in Figure 1. According to hypothesis 2, a greater difference will be seen in rural as opposed to urban counties.

Cook County--A Special Case?

In any discussion of the urban counties of Illinois the uniqueness of Cook County should not be ignored. The reasons for this were discussed in Chapter III. Because of this uniqueness, Step Four (Figure 1) will analyze the aggregate voting data of Cook County and all other urban counties excluding Cook County. If any significant difference is found to exist between Cook and other urban counties this difference will be considered in the analyses that follow.

Partisanship

The remaining analyses will be based on a political descriptor of the electorate. Each county will be classified

as to its partisan vote for President throughout the entire period--1880 through 1972. This partisanship will be divided into three categories: predominantly Democratic; predominantly Republican; and politically competitive. To determine the classification of a particular county the aggregate vote for President for each of the twenty-four general elections will be used. A county will be considered partisan if this analysis shows one of the parties won a majority of the Democratic or Republican votes in fourteen or more of the twenty-four elections. If the twenty-four elections have been equally divided between the two parties--each having won twelve elections--or if a given party has a margin of only one election victory over the other party--thirteen to eleven--the county will be considered competitive.

Having identified the partisanship or competitiveness of each county a test will be made to determine if this political characteristic is a function of the electoral change in question--Step Five. If hypothesis 3 is valid, the analysis will show that predominantly Democratic counties have a greater significant difference than Republican or competitive counties.

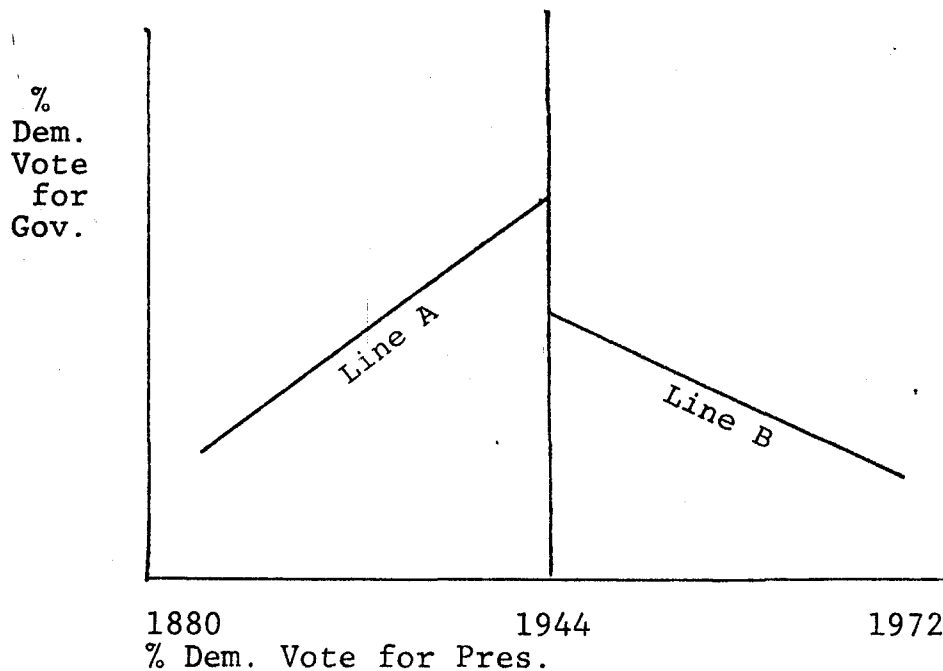
Assuming that a significant difference is found to exist vis-a-vis partisanship, this attribute will be separated as to the rural/urban make-up of the counties. The remaining step, Six, shown in Figure 1, illustrates this test. It is hypothesized that rural, Democratic counties will be shown to have the largest significant difference (Hypothesis 4).

Statistical Tests

In order to maintain internal validity and, to the greatest extent, reliability, the same statistical tests will be performed for each of the hypotheses. The test will be in the form of a single regression statement that includes all of the pertinent variables.

The basis of this regression statement is shown in Figure 2, below.

Figure 2
Regression Lines



Line A represents the initial period of the study and is of the form,

$$Y_i = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 X_i + u_i$$

Line B represents the second period of the study,

$$Y_i = \alpha_2 + \beta_2 X_i + u_i$$

where,

Y = percentage of Democratic vote for Governor of the combined Democratic and Republican Vote; and

X = percentage of Democratic vote for President of the combined Democratic and Republican vote.

To combine these two regressive statements it is necessary to introduce another variable, the period of each observation. Let Z be a bivariate dummy variable and the first period be $Z = 0$, while the second period is $Z = 1$.

By utilizing this dummy variable a single statement can be obtained that will include both regression lines and in so doing account for the period of observation.

$$Y_i = \alpha_1 + \gamma_1 Z_i + \beta_1 X_i + \gamma_2 Z_i X_i + u_i.$$

When $Z = 0$ (the first period) this statement reduces to:

$$Y_i = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 X_i + u_i \text{ (Line A)}$$

and when $Z = 1$ (the second period) the statement becomes:

$$Y_i = (\alpha_1 + \gamma_1) + (\beta_1 + \gamma_2) X_i + u_i.$$

In this statement $(\alpha_1 + \gamma_1) = \alpha_2$ and $(\beta_1 + \gamma_2) = \beta_2$ which is the equivalent of:

$$Y_i = \alpha_2 + \beta_2 X_i + u_i \text{ (Line B).}$$

If, then, the lines are indeed different, this will be shown by:

$$\gamma_1 \neq 0 \text{ and } \gamma_2 \neq 0$$

where γ_1 is the intercept and γ_2 the slope of the single regression line.

Tests of these coefficients will determine the degree

of significant difference both within a category and between the various categories.

The form of the within category test will be,

$$T = \frac{\beta_1}{\text{S.E. } \beta_1}$$

and of the between category test,

$$T = \frac{\gamma_{2A}^2 - \gamma_{2B}^2}{\sqrt{(\text{S.E. } \gamma_{2A})^2 + (\text{S.E. } \gamma_{2B})^2}}.$$

It must be acknowledged that this statement is not altogether without problems.²⁴ By inserting the period being examined as one of the independent variables it must be combined with the other independent variable, presidential percentage of the vote ($Z_i X_i$). This results in a multicollinearity through the dependency of one variable upon the other. Although multicollinearity affects the slope estimate (β , or γ_2) the problem caused by its presence is reduced in that for the first period of the study $Z = 0$ thereby eliminating the factor ($Z_i X_i$) for two-thirds of the observations. While there is perfect multicollinearity in the second period it is felt that this is offset by the advantage of using a single regression statement.

²⁴Jan Kmenta, Elements of Econometrics (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1971), p. 380.

CHAPTER V

DATA

Source and Structuring of Data

The data received from the Interuniversity Consortium for Political Research consisted of aggregate voting records of all elections for each Illinois county (other than local) for the period from 1880 through 1972. Included were aggregate votes for each candidate for the offices of President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative and Governor plus, for 1968 through 1972, the state offices of Attorney General and State Treasurer. In total there were in excess of 1,500 variables for each of the 102 Illinois counties. This meant that over 150,000 records were received from the Consortium.

In order to reduce the computer cost and programming effort that direct use of this file would have necessitated, a selection was made of variables pertinent to this study. These variables were then reformatted and the file restructured so as to produce a single data file that could be directly applied in the various analyses to be performed. The end result was a file of 6 variables and 2,448 records. These records were divided into 24 sub-files, one for each relevant general election, to facilitate access and groupings of the years being studied. (The output from the computer runs that produced this file have not been made a part of

this paper but will be made available upon request.)

Additional data was obtained from various reports of the United States Bureau of the Census and from various Statistical Abstracts of the United States. In several instances this data was transferred to punch card format for inclusion in some of the computer analyses.

Analysis of Raw Data

An analysis of the raw data revealed the need to make several decisions that would affect both data handling and the results of the several analyses to be made. Not the least of these concerned minor parties that were present in every Presidential and gubernatorial election during the period being studied. The number of minor, and in a few cases major, candidates that run under a party label other than Democrat or Republican is shown in Table 2, together with the total votes cast for these minor candidates. As can be seen in a few of the cases a considerable number of votes were cast for candidates other than those representing the so-called major parties.

The extremes of the effect of minor party candidates can be seen. In 1960 a scattering of minor candidates drew a total of 62,000 votes for President and 11,000 votes for Governor. Contrasted with this are the elections of 1912, 1924 and 1968. In 1912 the Progressive Party received more votes for both the Presidential and gubernatorial candidates than the Republican candidates for these offices.

Table 2

State of Illinois Election Data 1880-1972
(000 omitted)

President				Governor			
Year	Party	Votes	Candidate	Year	Party	Votes	Candidate
1880	D	277	Hancock	1880	D	278	Trumbull
	R	318	Garfield		R	315	Cullom
	* ^a	27	3		*	32	5
1884	D	312	Cleveland	1884	D	320	Harrison
	R	337	Blaine		R	334	Oglesby
	*	23	2		*	20	10
1888	D	348	Cleveland	1888	D	356	Palmer
	R	370	Harrison		S	368	Fifer
	*	29	3		*	25	9
1892	D	426	Cleveland	1892	D	425	Altgeld
	R	399	Harrison		R	403	Fifer
	*	48	2		*	45	2
1896	D	465	Bryan	1896	D	474	Altgeld
	R	607	McKinley		R	588	Tanner
	*	19	5		*	24	5
1900	D	503	Bryan	1900	D	519	Alschuler
	R	598	McKinley		R	580	Yates
	*	31	6		*	28	6
1904	D	328	Parker	1904	D	335	Stringer
	R	633	Roosevelt		R	634	Deneen
	*	116	5		*	104	5
1908	D	451	Bryan	1908	D	527	Stevenson
	R	630	Taft		R	550	Deneen
	*	75	6		*	78	4
1912	D	405	Wilson	1912	D	443	Dunne
	R	254	Taft		R	318	Deneen
	* ^b	487	4		* ^c	401	4
1916	D	950	Wilson	1916	D	557	Dunne
	R	1,153	Hughes		R	697	Lowden
	*	90	3		*	69	3

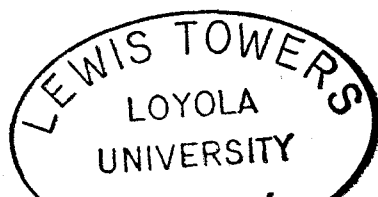


Table 2 (continued)

President				Governor			
Year	Party	Votes	Candidate	Year	Party	Votes	Candidate
1920	D	534	Cox	1920	D	732	Lewis
	R	1,420	Harding		R	1,243	Small
	*	147	4		*	137	8
1924	D	578	Davis	1928	D	1,021	Jones
	R _d	1,453	Coolidge		R	1,366	Small
	* ^d	482	5		*	21	5
1928	D	1,312	Smith	1928	D	1,285	Thompson
	R	1,771	Hoover		R	1,710	Emmerson
	*	25	3		*	17	3
1932	D	1,882	Roosevelt	1932	D	1,930	Horner
	R	1,433	Hoover		R	1,364	Brooks
	*	93	4		*	56	4
1936	D	2,283	Roosevelt	1936	D	2,068	Horner
	R	1,570	Landon		R	1,683	Brooks
	*	102	4		*	141	4
1940	D	2,150	Roosevelt	1940	D	1,941	Hershey
	R	2,047	Wilkie		R	2,198	Green
	*	20	2		*	14	2
1944	D	2,079	Roosevelt	1944	D	1,941	Courtney
	R	1,939	Dewey		R	2,013	Green
	*	17	3		*	12	2
1948	D	1,995	Truman	1948	D	2,250	Stevenson
	R	1,961	Dewey		R	1,678	Green
	*	28	4		*	12	3
1952	D	2,014	Stevenson	1952	D	2,090	Dixon
	R	2,457	Eisenhower		R	2,317	Stratton
	*	10	2		*	9	2
1956	D	1,776	Stevenson	1956	D	2,135	Austin
	R	2,623	Eisenhower		R	2,172	Stratton
	*	8	2		*	8	2
1960	D	2,378	Kennedy	1960	D	2,595	Kerner
	R	2,369	Nixon		R	2,070	Stratton
	*	11	2		*	9	2

Table 2 (continued)

President				Governor			
Year	Party	Votes	Candidate	Year	Party	Votes	Candidate
1964	D	2,798	Johnson	1964	D	2,418	Kerner
	R	1,906	Goldwater		R	2,239	Percy
	*	-----	1		*	-----	1
1968	D	2,040	Humphrey	1968	D	2,180	Shapiro
	R ^e	2,175	Hixon		R	2,307	Ogilvie
		405	3		*	19	2
1972	D	1,913	McGovern	1972	D	2,371	Walker
	R	2,788	Nixon		R	2,294	Ogilvie
	*	22	4		*	14	3

^aMinor parties--votes received and number of candidates are shown.

^bIncludes 386,478 votes for Progressive candidate, Theodore Roosevelt.

^cIncludes 303,401 votes for Progressive candidate, Frank Funk.

^dIncludes 432,027 votes for Progressive candidate, Robert LaFollette.

^eIncludes 390,958 votes for Independent candidate, George Wallace.

In 1924 the Progressive candidate for President, Robert LaFollette, received just over 432,000 votes. Since there was no Progressive candidate for Governor the percentage of Democratic votes for each office being studied presents an anomaly for this particular election. The percentage of the Democratic vote of the total major party vote for President was 28.4 percent and for Governor 42.8 percent.

In 1912 the Progressive candidate, Theodore Roosevelt also drew a significant 386,000 votes for President. However, in this particular year, the Progressive candidate for Governor, Frank Funk, received in excess of 303,000 votes, so that the Democratic proportion of the vote, when compared to the total major party vote was 61.5 percent and 58.2 percent for President and Governor, respectively.

The only other year in which a third party candidate cut into the major party vote was 1968 when George Wallace, the Independent party candidate for President, received almost 391,000 votes. In that year the Democratic portion of the major party vote for President and Governor was 48.4 percent and 48.6 percent, respectively.

Apparent Error

One item that appeared to be an error in the data received from the Consortium was found during the analysis of the raw data. This concerned the votes cast in the election of 1916. In that particular year a total of 2,192,707 votes were reported cast in the presidential contest and a significantly smaller total of 1,322,543 votes in the

gubernatorial race, a difference of over 870,000 votes. This high roll-off was not evident in the elections preceding or following the 1916 contest. The total reported for the presidential contest were verified through reference to the Statistical Abstracts of the United States and the gubernatorial data was verified through the Blue Book of the State of Illinois. The data reported by the Consortium were found to be correct.

While an analysis of the cause of this large roll-off is not directly pertinent to this study, one theory might be advanced. In 1913 the Seventeenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution of the United States. This amendment provided for the popular election of Senators by each state. 1916, therefore, was the first general Presidential election where the offices of both President and Senator were contested in the electorate. It may be that the added interest in a complete national ticket drew many individuals to the polls who did not vote for lower, (in this case gubernatorial) offices. This view seems supported by a review of the aggregate votes cast for President and Governor in the elections of 1912, 1916, and 1920. These data are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Illinois Voting: 1912, 1916, 1920

Election	Presidential Votes	Gubernatorial Votes	Difference
1912	1,146,000	1,163,000	17,000
1916	2,103,000	1,253,000	850,000
1920	2,102,000	2,111,000	- 9,000

As can be seen from Table 3, an increase in the presidential electorate between 1912 and 1916 of almost 1,000,000 votes was not matched on the state level until four years later when the gubernatorial electorate increased a corresponding amount.

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Demonstration of Change

A cursory examination of the raw data in Table 4 shows that a change appears to have taken place within the electorate of Illinois. Figure 3 illustrates the consistency of voter partisanship prior to 1936 in the choice of Presidential and gubernatorial candidates. The parallel of both plurality and party choice in the earlier period is evident as is the growing lack of these elements in the later elections. It is this change in voting behavior that is the thrust of the first hypothesis offered.

The pertinent question, however, is not whether the change is visually apparent, but whether it is statistically significant. The null hypothesis ($\gamma_1 = 0$) must be rejected at the .025 level. With an n of twenty-four elections and twenty-one degrees of freedom $T = 2.080$ whereas $T_{\gamma_1} = 2.188$. Thus the alternative hypothesis, that a change has occurred in the Illinois electorate, must be accepted.

Temporal Location of Change

Having demonstrated that a change occurred the next step is to determine the temporal location of the change. Table 5 shows the results of a series of added observation

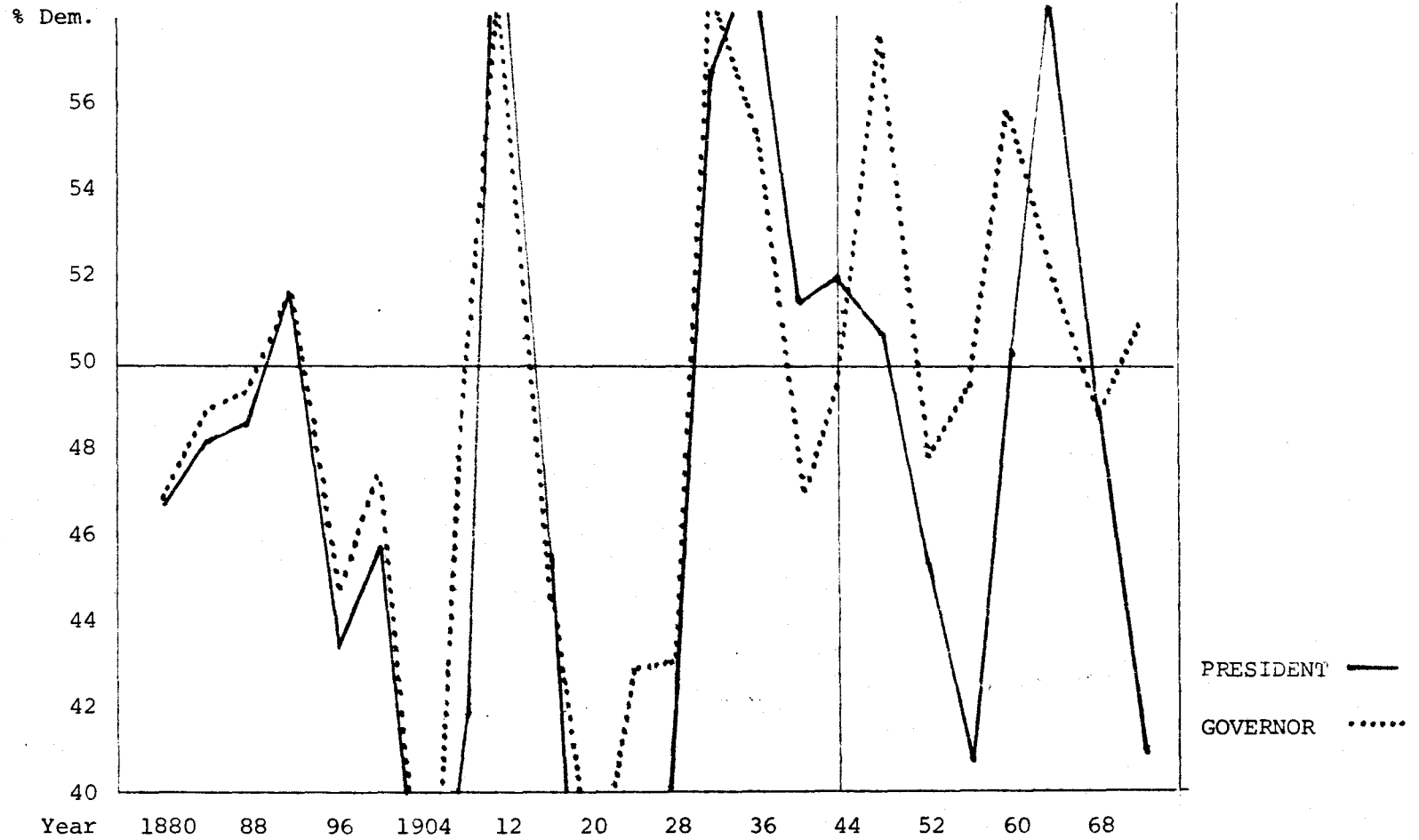
Table 4

Percentage Democratic Votes to Total Major
Party Votes by Office: 1880-1972

Year	President	Governor
1880	46.6%	46.9%
1884	48.1%	48.9%
1888	48.5%	49.1%
1892	51.6%	51.4%
1896	43.3%	44.7%
1900	45.7%	47.2%
1904	34.1%	34.6%
1908	41.7%	48.9%
1912	61.5%	58.2%
1916	45.2%	44.4%
1920	27.3%	37.0%
1924	28.4%	42.8%
1928	42.6%	42.9%
1932	56.8%	58.6%
1936	59.2%	55.1%
1940	51.2%	46.9%
1944	51.7%	49.1%
1948	50.4%	57.3%
1952	45.0%	47.4%
1956	40.0%	49.6%
1960	50.1%	55.6%
1964	59.5%	51.9%
1968	48.4%	48.6%
1972	40.7%	50.8%

FIGURE 3

PERCENTAGE DEMOCRATIC VOTES
TO TOTAL MAJOR PARTY
VOTES BY OFFICE:
1880 - 1972



tests. The first significant difference, and therefore the break point to be used, is 1944. Although 1948 also exceeds the significance level the criteria established was that the first year to show a significant difference would be established as the break point.

Table 5
F-tests to Locate Break Point
(F_c at .05 = 3.49)

Break Point	SSE_C	SSE_1	SSE_2	F
1936	289.6	121.3	102.8	2.923
1940	289.6	122.0	97.3	3.206
1944	289.6	137.2	76.5	3.552
1948	289.6	140.3	67.0	3.970
1952	289.6	189.9	35.5	2.848
1956	289.6	189.9	25.3	3.457

In order to verify that nothing is lost when moving from state level data to county level data, a test was made of the state and county levels. The difference between these two levels for both the intercept and slope of the regression lines is not significant ($T = 1.055$ and 0.983 , respectively).

Rural Versus Urban Counties

The extent to which the demonstrated change can be found in rural as opposed to urban counties of Illinois is the next question to be explored. Table 6 and Figure 4 show the breakdown of counties according to this demographic variable.

Table 6

Classification of Illinois Counties

County	R/U	R/D/C	County	R/U	R/D/C
Adams	U	C	Kane	U	R
Alexander	U	R	Kankakee	U	R
Bond	R	R	Kendall	R	R
Boone	U	R	Knox	U	R
Brown	R	D	Lake	U	R
Bureau	R	R	LaSalle	U	R
Calhoun	R	D	Lawrence	R	R
Carroll	R	R	Lee	U	R
Cass	R	D	Livingston	R	R
Champaign	U	R	Logan	U	R
Christina	R	D	Macon	U	R
Clark	R	C	Macoupin	R	D
Clay	R	R	Madison	U	D
Clinton	R	D	Marion	U	D
Coles	U	R	Marshall	R	R
Cook	U	R	Mason	R	C
Crawford	R	R	Massac	U	R
Cumberland	R	C	McDonough	U	R
DeKalb	U	R	McHenry	U	R
DeWitt	R	R	McLean	U	R
Douglas	R	R	Menard	R	C
DuPage	U	R	Mercer	R	R
Edgar	R	R	Monroe	R	C
Edwards	R	R	Montgomery	R	C
Effingham	R	D	Morgan	U	R
Fayette	R	C	Moultrie	R	C
Ford	R	R	Ogle	R	R
Franklin	R	D	Peoria	U	R
Fulton	R	R	Perry	U	R
Gallatin	R	D	Piatt	R	R
Greene	R	D	Pike	R	D
Grundy	R	R	Pope	R	R
Hamilton	R	D	Pulaski	R	R
Hancock	R	C	Putnam	R	R
Hardin	R	R	Randolph	R	C
Henderson	R	R	Richland	U	C
Henry	U	R	Rock Island	U	R
Iroquois	R	R	Saline	U	R
Jackson	U	R	Sangamon	U	R
Jasper	R	D	Schuyler	R	R
Jefferson	U	D	Scott	R	C
Jersey	R	D	Shelby	R	D
Jo Daviess	R	R	Stark	R	R
Johnson	R	R	St. Clair	U	D

Table 6 (continued)

County	R/U	R/D/C	County	R/U	R/D/C
Stephenson	U	R	Wayne	R	R
Tazewell	U	D	White	R	D
Union	R	D	Whiteside	U	R
Vermillion	U	R	Will	U	R
Wabash	U	D	Williamson	U	R
Warren	U	R	Winnebago	U	R
Washington	R	R	Woodford	R	R

^aR/U = Rural, Urban

^bR/D/C = Republican, Democratic, Competitive

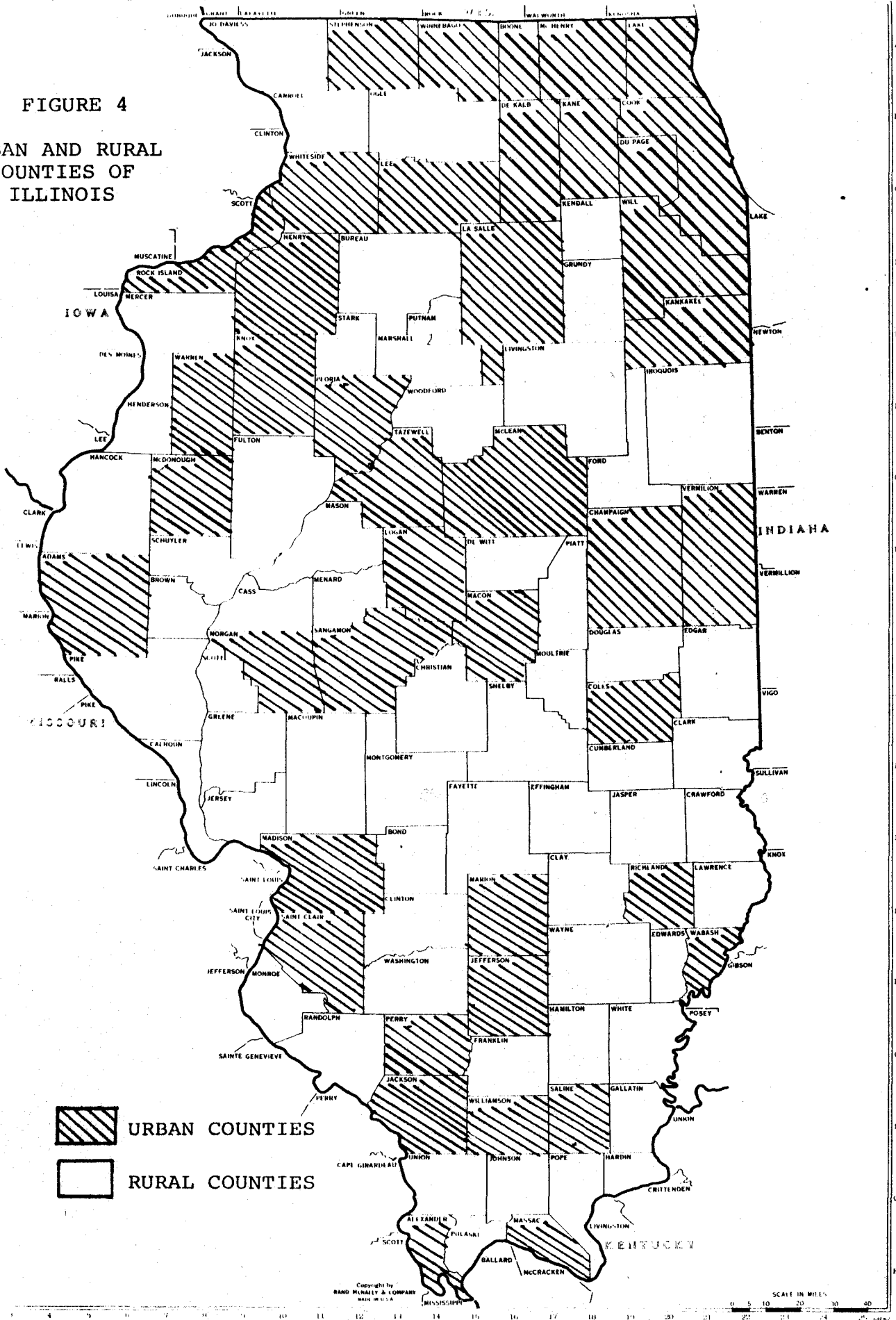
Summary of Classification

	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Total</u>
Republican	32 (48.5) ^c (53.3) ^d	34 (51.5) (81.0)	66 (64.7)
Democratic	17 (73.9) (28.3)	6 (26.1) (14.3)	23 (22.5)
Competitive	11 (84.6) (18.3)	2 (15.4) (4.8)	13 (12.7)
Total	60	42	102

^cRow percentage

^dColumn percentage

(Percentages may not total 100 percent due to rounding.)



Rural and UrbanCook County--A Special Case?

Before examining the rural/urban relationship the effect of Cook County, if any, on the total of all urban counties was explored. A comparison of all urban counties with urban counties omitting Cook showed an insignificant difference ($F = 0.122$). It is therefore considered unnecessary to segregate Cook County from other urban counties in spite of its otherwise unique character.

Electorate change was found to be significant in both rural and urban counties ($T = -9.401$ and -6.176 , respectively). However, the difference between them ($T = 1.355$) while significant at the .10 level, is not significant under this level. In spite of this relatively small but significant difference it appears that rural counties do reflect a more changed electorate than do urban counties. This verifies the relationship presented in the second hypothesis, although not with the amount of difference that was expected between the two. Table 7 shows the tests of differences between each of the groups in this category.

Table 7
Tests of Significant Differences:
Rural Versus Urban

	Rural	Urban	Cook
Urban	1.355	-----	-----
Cook County	0.651	0.837	-----
Urban Without Cook	1.222	0.122	0.818

Partisanship

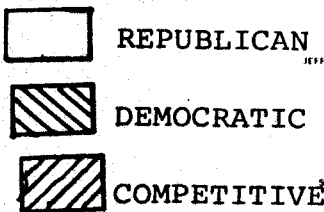
Partisanship is the next characteristic to which to look for change. Table 6 and Figure 5 show the partisan breakdown of Illinois counties. All three categories were shown to have had a significant change in the voting behavior of the county electorate. T-tests for each of the groups--Democratic, Republican and Competitive--show $T = -9.628$, -7.420 and -5.880 , respectively. These are all significant at the .01 level ($T = 4.723$). Table 8 contains the results of these tests. Based on the tests applied the Democratic counties are seen to be more reflective of the change in question than either Republican or politically competitive counties. These test data strongly verify the validity of the third hypothesis describing a greater change in Democratic counties than in Republican or Competitive counties.

Table 8
Tests of Significant Differences:
Partisan Groupings

	Democratic	Republican
Republican	4.732	-----
Competitive	0.978	2.606

A further division of the political character of the counties according to their rural/urban make-up is shown in Table 6. Each of these six groups shows a significant change

FIGURE 5



in the behavior of the electorate. The greatest change is found in the rural Democratic counties ($T = -8.568$) with the second largest change being in the rural Republican counties ($T = -6.676$). Table 9 contains the results of each of the tests for significant change.

Table 9

Significance of Change: Rural/Urban/Partisan
Counties (Values of T)

Rural Democrat	-8.568
Urban Democrat	-4.373
Rural Republican	-6.676
Urban Republican	-4.950
Rural Competitive	-5.023
Urban Competitive	-3.068

The difference between rural Democratic and Republican counties is significant ($T = 3.545$) at the .01 level. Although nothing was hypothesized about the difference between urban Republicans and rural Democrats the greatest difference is to be found between these two groups. Table 10 contains the results of the tests for significant differences between each of these categories. These data verify the fourth hypothesis which stated that the greatest change would be found in rural Democratic counties.

Table 10

Tests of Significant Differences:
Rural/Urban/Partisan

	Rural Demo.	Urban Demo.	Rural Rep.	Urban Rep.	Rural Comp.
Urban Demo.	1.538	-----	-----	-----	-----
Rural Rep.	3.545	1.046	-----	-----	-----
Urban Rep.	4.571	1.873	1.354	-----	-----
Rural Comp.	1.546	0.089	1.262	2.170	-----
Urban Comp.	0.294	0.627	1.295	1.772	0.583

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The increase in Independent, or mixed pattern, voters that has been shown in the survey research work of recent years has been partially identified and temporally located in this study of the Illinois electorate. It has been demonstrated that the Illinois electorate developed a significant mix in its voting for President and Governor, the two most visible executive offices. While this change is present in each of the categories tested, it is most pronounced in Democratic, and more specifically, in rural Democratic counties. This is in agreement with the findings of Jennings and Niemi as well as Campbell and Miller.

While no attempt was made to offer explanations for this change, several causal factors may be hypothesized and suggested for further study:

1. A reduction in isolationist beliefs and attitudes due to involvement in World War II caused the more rational voter to view the Presidency in a new light, one in which the voter found new reasons to discriminate between candidates for various offices.
2. An increase in information through the advent of television created a more fertile environment in

which this change could occur.

3. The hold which state and national parties have been shown to have over the electorate is breaking down with the result that the voter no longer has the blind party loyalty that once marked him. He therefore differentiates between the national and state parties to a much greater extent than in the past.
4. The voter has become increasingly aware of issue-oriented politics and discerns a difference between state and national level issues.

These are but four of the many possibilities that might account for the change that has been shown to have occurred.

A complete review of the phenomenon would require a much more extensive project than has been possible in this research. Of particular interest in any study of split or mixed voting is not just all offices being contested by the individual voter's form of ballot splitting. The ideal approach would be through the examination of individual ballots rather than survey data. Partisans with a guilty conscience cannot then color the results. One such study has been started using punched card ballots that have been made available to the researcher.²⁵ While no results have as yet been published some additional insight should be gained from this effort.

²⁵Personal correspondence with Professor Alan R. Gitelson, Loyola University of Chicago, December 15, 1975.

As an extension of the research described in this paper the same hypotheses could be tested utilizing data from other states. Of special interest would be the southern states that would seem to have witnessed an even greater change than that shown for Illinois.

In conclusion it would seem that voters, rather than being party or ideologically bound may be becoming unpredictable. At the same time the party system in this country may be changing in such a way that state level parties are exerting a much greater influence than the national level organizations and are finding themselves less bound to the national party. This is reflected in the delegate selection rule changes of the National Democratic Party wherein the party base has been broadened.

Whatever the causes and implications of this change in electoral behavior it would appear to be a continuing and increasing part of the American electoral scene.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Andrew E. Van Esso has been read and approved by the following committee:

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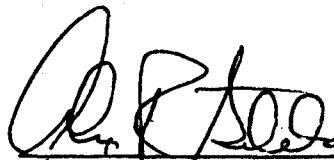
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The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date: _____

4/12/77


Director