

CENTRAL CITY-SUBURBAN POLITICAL PREFERENCE:  
THE CASE OF DES MOINES, POLK COUNTY, IOWA

An abstract of a Thesis by  
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The thesis is that there is no difference in political preference of city or suburban residents without a concomitant difference in social status.

The Presidential electoral returns for 1972 and 1976 were correlated with socioeconomic information from the 1970 census of population for Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa. The statistical analysis was done by computer.

The findings support the thesis. In addition, the findings indicate that lower socioeconomic status registered voters reside in the east side of Des Moines and the contiguous suburban townships and tend to vote Democrat; that the higher socioeconomic status registered voters reside in the west side of Des Moines and the contiguous suburban townships, and tend to vote Republican; that lower and higher socioeconomic status voters tend to participate proportionately in the actual voting process, once they are registered; and that suburban residents tend to be in a higher socioeconomic status than city residents.

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A Thesis  
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The School of Graduate Studies  
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Master of Arts

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by  
Thomas M. Glenn  
August 1977

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to explore the proposition that in America, voters who live in central cities tend to vote Democrat and voters who live in suburbs tend to vote Republican. This study is a case study of the Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area for the general elections for President in 1972 and 1976. It is concerned not only with the pattern of party preference, but with its cause.

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter and a statement of the hypotheses. Chapter 2 contains a literature review. Chapter 3 is a statement of methodology. Chapter 4 is an analysis of the data. And Chapter 5 contains the conclusions.

### NATURE OF THE STUDY

This study is characterized as a "hypothesis testing factorial analysis" in accord with the urgings of Samuel Eldersveld. As early as 1951, Eldersveld called for

hypothesis-testing factorial analysis, systematically organized and pursued, but applied to one or a few election-situations in a single community. It contrasts with the case study in that it proceeds with a definite hypothesis or set of hypotheses. (It is ...usually...limited to one point in time or to one community. Studies using correlational analysis... fall into this category. Further it must be observed that systematic factorial studies are much more reliable for interpreting the significant



factors operating in a particular community than is found in the ordinary case-study. This is so because alternative hypotheses may be advanced and explored.<sup>1</sup>

#### DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Eldersveld further observes

...it should be fairly obvious that there is poor observance of the simple rules of the scientific research game. Scientific research envisages according to most scholars and disciplines which purport to be scientific, definite stages of progression. These are: problem formulation, review of knowledge, preliminary observation theory construction, and verification. Unfortunately, very little of our research fulfills the criteria of a complete research design.<sup>2</sup>

This analysis will fulfill the criteria of a complete research design:

1. Problem formulation: Is there a central city-suburban dichotomy with regard to political partisan preference? Or is there a higher correlation between socioeconomic factors and party vote?
2. Review of knowledge: Any scientific approach should first find out what the literature has to say. The literature review and discussion of the positions of several scholars in Chapter 2, Literature Review, is adequate to inform the reader as to the state of the

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<sup>1</sup>Samuel J. Eldersveld, "Theory and Method in Voting Behavior Research," Journal of Politics, 13 (1951), 70-87.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

questions under consideration.

3. Preliminary observation: There is disagreement in the literature in regard to a central city-suburban dichotomy, but most tendency statements seem to indicate a higher correlation between socioeconomic status and party preference than between place of residence and party preference.
4. The hypotheses:
  - I. Voting differences with regard to party preference do vary according to higher and lower socioeconomic status areas.
    - A. Voting preference of residents of lower socioeconomic areas tend to be more Democrat and those of higher socioeconomic areas tend to be more Republican.
    - B. Residents of similar socioeconomic areas tend to be similar in party preference regardless of city or suburban place of residence.
    - C. Residents of dissimilar socioeconomic areas tend to be dissimilar in party preference regardless of city or suburban place of residence.
  - II. Voting differences in party preference do not occur with regard to central city or suburban residence.

- A. Central cities do not tend to be more Democrat and suburbs more Republican.
- B. Residents of outer city areas tend to be more similar to residents of suburban areas than to those of core city areas with regard to party preference.

III. Participation rates between residents of Democrat areas and Republican areas tend to be proportionate to one another if only registered voters are considered.

5. Verification: To verify the hypotheses, Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, is used as a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) in which the impact of these factors with regard to the central city-suburban dichotomy will be investigated in the following manner:

Hypothesis I and corollaries A, B, and C will be tested by correlating the "percent Democrat" in the 1972 and 1976 general presidential elections with the Shevky-Bell area analysis typology<sup>1</sup> by using Pearson's correlation;<sup>2</sup> Hypothesis II and corollaries A and B will be tested by

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<sup>1</sup>Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1955).

<sup>2</sup>Norman H. Nie, Dale H. Bent, and C. Hadlai Hull, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

correlating the "percent Democrat" vote in the 1972 and 1976 general presidential elections with "place of residence (city or suburb)," by using crosstabulation (Hypothesis II will also be tested by correlating the Shevky-Bell Social Index with place of residence by cross tabulation); Hypothesis III will be tested by correlating "percent turnout" for the 1972 and 1976 general presidential elections with the Shevky-Bell Indexes by using Pearson's correlation, and by correlating "percent turnout" for the 1972 and 1976 general presidential elections with location (city and suburb). The reader will also be referred to social area maps and political preference maps for a visual illustration of the data.

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

In 1956, William H. Whyte published his best selling book, The Organization Man.<sup>1</sup> In it, he popularized the concept of a central city-suburban dichotomy that has affected the empirical investigation of urban political phenomena ever since.

### THE SUBURBS

Whyte described newly constructed "packaged" suburbs populated by higher class, high achievers: young executives on the move and on the way up, who vote Republican. In contrast, the central cities were populated by lower class, low achievers: ethnic enclaves of the people who were left behind, and vote Democrat.<sup>2</sup> This characterization captured the imaginations of the popular writers of the day. The terms "suburbanite" and "suburbs" came to mean plastic people in packaged neighborhoods, and quickly replaced "bourgeois" as the conventional perjorative for jaded American values.<sup>3</sup> The popularity of this portrayal was

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<sup>1</sup>William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 331-332.

<sup>3</sup>Bennett Berger, "The Myth of Suburbia," Journal of Social Issues, XVIII (1961), 45.

reflected in the words of a song of the day referring to the residents and residences of suburbia: "...and they're all made out of ticky-tacky and they all look just the same."<sup>1</sup>

A station-wagon full of pampered, over-indulged children, driven by a harried, but (sometimes grimly) determined "suburban" housewife, became the symbol of all that was wrong with America: permissive parents finding the "good life" for their kids by means of the father's bland, if not blind, devotion to the organization. They lived in the suburbs as their permanent, natural habitat, but in any one suburb for only a short period of time. They were "transients" who flitted from one suburb to another as the organization demanded: always on the move from suburb to suburb, but always at home in suburbia.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE CONVERSION THEORY

According to Whyte, if they were not Republicans before they got on the "suburbia-go-round," they were converted shortly thereafter as another phase in the chameleon process of organizational adaptability and thus, success. Middle class newcomers from the big urban Democratic wards

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<sup>1</sup>Malvina Reynolds, words and music, "Little Boxes," 1963, sung by Pete Seeger.

<sup>2</sup>Whyte, pp. 305-306.

discarded "old values," and also converted to Republicans and became "if anything, more conservative than those whose outlook they (were) unconsciously adopting."<sup>1</sup>

Although Schiltz and Moffitt had the advantage of writing later than Whyte and with more research available, they say: "the habit of dichotomizing metropolitan areas and treating all suburbs as one suburban area 'washes out' much important data."<sup>2</sup> However, Whyte persisted in lumping the "packaged suburbs that have sprung up outside our cities since the war" into one "suburbia."<sup>3</sup> He considered these communities to be made in the "image" of the organization man. "There are other people there too....But it is the young organization man who is dominant," he said.<sup>4</sup>

Whyte "proves" this theory by correlating high socioeconomic status (SES) factors for certain suburbs with a high turnout for Eisenhower in the 1952 presidential election: "The vote for Eisenhower in 1952: 66 percent in Levittown, Long Island: 69.4 percent in Park Forest

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<sup>1</sup>Whyte, pp. 331-332.

<sup>2</sup>Timothy Schiltz and William Moffitt, "Inner-City/Outer-City Relationships in Metropolitan Areas: A Bibliographic Essay," Urban Affairs Quarterly, September 1971, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup>Whyte, p. 295.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

(Illinois)."<sup>1</sup> And he considered Park Forest to be like all other suburbs, "only more so."<sup>2</sup>

However, Millett and Pittman say, "Republican gains from 1948 to 1952 were greater in the cities (in terms of Republican percentage of the two-party vote) than in the suburbs."<sup>3</sup> And, we are reminded by Angus Campbell that "the dramatic turns of our electoral history have been accompanied as much by a wide change in turnout as they have by shifts in relative party strength."<sup>4</sup> And the turnout, in percentage terms between the 1948 and the 1952 presidential elections "was greater than the change in relative party strength."<sup>5</sup>

#### REPUBLICAN PARTY OR EISENHOWER?

Contrary to Whyte's rather simplistic geographic determinism in regard to partisan political preference, Campbell says that party preference is much more deep seated, and changes only with major political or social upheavals,

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<sup>1</sup>Whyte, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 367.

<sup>3</sup>John Millett and David Pittman, "The New Suburban Voter: A Case Study in Electoral Behavior," The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, June 1958, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup>Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960), p. 89.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.



i.e., war or depression.<sup>1</sup> Campbell further states that aggregate statistics show party loyalties shifted relatively little from the 1948 to the 1956 elections.<sup>2</sup> He believes the 1952 and 1956 presidential votes were for "Ike", not the Republican party.

However, Whyte was not alone in his identification of suburbs as Republican. Pollster Louis Harris wrote, "in the Republican suburbs, the lonely Democrats had no choice but to join the dominant party: 'Who ever heard of the Democrats out in the suburban town?'"<sup>3</sup> And,

Jake Arvey in Chicago announced that 'the suburbs Beat us,' and Senator Robert Taft, who should have been as aware as anyone of Eisenhower's unusual popular pull, proclaimed that the Democrats would never win another national election unless they could somehow reverse the suburban trend to Republicanism.<sup>4</sup>

But Scott Donaldson says flatly "It was not the suburbs that beat the Democrats in 1952 and 1956, it was Eisenhower."<sup>5</sup> He even cites Samuel Lubell as saying "Eisenhower gained more heavily in the cities than in the suburbs."<sup>6</sup> He also points out,

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<sup>1</sup>Campbell, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Scott Donaldson, The Suburban Myth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 149.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 149-150.

the suburbs were no more Republican in 1952 than they were in the 1920's. Cook County's suburbs outside Chicago, for example, voted 84 percent Republican in 1920, 66 percent in 1952. Long Island and Westchester were 74 percent Republican in 1920, 70 percent in 1952.<sup>1</sup>

#### METHODOLOGY

Whyte relied upon aggregate voting statistics (which Campbell admits as a valid measure), and used presidential returns as did Gilbert, because he felt "party identifications are primarily related to presidential politics."<sup>2</sup> Campbell, however, employed an individual interview method and had his respondents identify themselves as being more or less Democrat or Republican. He then followed up this identification after the election with a question determining how the respondents actually voted. He also used congressional election results in addition to Presidential statistics.<sup>3</sup> The congressional returns allow for a somewhat better identification of Republican or Democrat votes rather than "Ike" votes.

Whyte was writing for a wider audience than Campbell and was more in tune with the literati of the day. They picked up Whyte's more readable work, and made geographic

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<sup>1</sup>Donaldson, pp. 149-150.

<sup>2</sup>Campbell, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurion, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), p. 90.

partisan determinism part of the conventional wisdom. This more clearly identified and isolated their targets of attack: "suburbanites." And isn't it convenient they are also "Republicans?"<sup>1</sup>

#### A BRIEF HISTORY

Earlier studies were mostly limited to aggregate data studies, and Schiltz and Moffitt concede: "It is difficult to find many worthwhile pieces more than ten years old. It is just about as difficult to find anything before 1950."<sup>2</sup> However, Samuel Eldersveld's piece on metro-politics refers to studies as early as 1924, and the "sectionalism theory" of electoral politics.<sup>3</sup> He says, "Professor Ewing" considered the "nine states of the Northeast" section of the United States to be "preponderantly Republican...from 1864 on." And "the Middle West to be consistent (ly)...Republican" from 1864 to 1928.<sup>4</sup> This view gave most electoral strength to rural areas in the United States.

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<sup>1</sup>Berger, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Schiltz and Moffitt, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel J. Eldersveld, "The Influence of Metropolitan Party Pluralities in Presidential Elections Since 1920: A Study of 12 Key Cities," American Political Science Review, 43 (December, 1949), 1189-1205.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 1202-1203.

As the United States began to develop industrially, "Government followed private enterprise: the labor force surged into a booming city, bringing its families and problems and social costs with it." As this shift in population occurred, a shift in electoral power resulted.<sup>1</sup>

Writing in 1933, Arthur N. Holcombe discerns the development of an urban-rural dichotomy around 1932 with the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt: "A leading feature of contemporary American politics is the shift in the balance of power from the country to the cities."<sup>2</sup> And in 1949, Eldersveld recognizes "...a significant political fact that metropolitan party pluralities have played a major role in this change. The metropolitan vote may well have become the balancewheel in our political system."<sup>3</sup>

Metropolitan areas began to be considered mostly in the context of an urban-rural dichotomy: the urban metropolis was considered Democrat, and the rural areas Republican. Not until the 1952 Eisenhower victory did one begin to hear again of Republicans in an urban context, and then only in the outer urban rings: the suburbs.

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<sup>1</sup>Scott Greer, Governing the Metropolis (New York: Wiley, 1962), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup>Eldersveld, p. 1206.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

## EMPIRICISM AND MYTHOLOGY

Empirical investigation of the alleged dichotomy began to show that all suburbs do not fit Whyte's pattern. There are poor suburbs as well as rich; black and ethnic suburbs as well as white; employing suburbs as well as residential; Democrat suburbs as well as Republican. There is also a remarkable persistence to these suburbs over time. Farley finds that "suburbs demonstrated a stability of characteristics relatively little affected by population growth." He maintains that socioeconomic status remained the same in suburbs from 1920 through 1960 despite rapid growth.<sup>1</sup> The conversion theory begins to wane: Democrats tend to remain Democrats even if they do move to the suburbs. Not all suburbs by any means fit the popular description, especially if one considers suburbs other than those in the Northeastern United States.<sup>2</sup>

Although picturesque tales of higher income individuals historically seeking stately solitude beyond the clamor of the city in country homes and quiet hamlets, only to be invaded, first by the organization man, and later, by the working man, may be accurate in many instances, they

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<sup>1</sup>Reynolds Farley, "Suburban Persistence," North American Suburbs: Politics, Diversity, and Change, ed. John Kramer (Berkeley: The Glendessary Press, Inc., 1972), p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Schiltz and Moffitt, p. 81.

often belong more in the area of mythology than in the empirical investigation of political phenomena. However, "Not only does this myth constitute a common view among laymen, but it has not been unknown in academic circles."<sup>1</sup> In fact, "...the work of social scientists has also contributed to the myth."<sup>2</sup> Political scientists have not systematically and unanimously rejected Whyte's dichotomy. On the contrary, many studies have supported it, and some, while attempting to reject the dichotomy turn right around and use the same cliches that they started to refute.

While Wattenburg and Scammon "pooh-pooh" the suburban "image," they then refer to the "time honored move from the central city to the suburb," and again speak of the "long cherished move" to suburbia. They even conclude, "...it nearly always costs more to live on a quarter of an acre in a private home in suburbia than it does to live in a middle-class dwelling in the city" (emphasis mine).<sup>3</sup> But even Whyte says one of the reasons for the move to the suburbs is because "...the homes in suburbia, after all, are often the cheapest houses available."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Schiltz and Moffitt, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard W. Scammon, "The Suburban Boom," Kramer, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup>Whyte, p. 341.

Scott Greer notes, "...the central city contains many familistic neighborhoods. Suburbia also contains areas where the population is more urban than much of the central city, where ethnic populations are concentrated, and where social rank is very low." He suggests these variations indicate we must be careful of loose generalizations. "Nevertheless..." he continues, and goes right into a "typical suburb" description.<sup>1</sup>

#### CONFUSION IN THE LITERATURE

Williams, Herman, Liebman, and Dye found in questioning business and social leaders in suburbia, that the place of residence is a causal factor in attitude formation and thus political partisan preference: "The significance of this survey lies in the repeated emphasis upon place of residence as a factor contributing to differences of opinion."<sup>2</sup> But Lazerwitz concluded the "vast bulk of...in-migrants (to suburbia) retain their party allegiance because they are changing merely residential location and not their

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<sup>1</sup>Greer, p.86.

<sup>2</sup>Oliver P. Williams, Harold Herman, Charles Liebman, and Thomas R. Dye, "Suburban Attitudes, Opinions, and Local Policies," Cities and Suburbs: Selected Readings in Local Politics and Public Policy, ed. Brian T. Downes (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1971), p. 159.

relative position in our social structure."<sup>1</sup>

Grant says the "Democratic core cities" and "Republican suburbs" are an obstacle to metropolitan-wide governmental reform.<sup>2</sup> However, when Berger interviewed a group of working class suburban residents in California, he found they vote "81% Democratic." He cites a lot of differences in suburbs including "costs of houses...income...occupation, ...and educational levels."<sup>3</sup>

Lazerwitz found the Democrat party from 1952 and 1956 actually gained in "percentage Democratic" in suburbs, while the central cities "manifest (ed) a decrease in percentage Democratic."<sup>4</sup> But Piven and Cloward say, "As a result of reapportionment, the suburbs sent 20 additional representatives to the House in the 90th Congress. Eighteen of the twenty...are Republicans!" They also refer to the "deepening rift between core city and suburbia."<sup>5</sup> However, Gans says that differences between central cities and

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<sup>1</sup>Bernard Lazerwitz, "Suburban Voting Trends: 1948-1956," Social Forces (1958), p. 36.

<sup>2</sup>David R. Grant, "Metropolitan Government Approach," Kramer, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup>Berger, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup>Lazerwitz, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup>Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Black Control of Cities: Heading It Off by Metropolitan Government," New Republic, September 30, 1967, p. 21.



suburbs are greatly reduced if one compares "the outer city with the suburbs and not the core city with the suburbs."<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the confusion in the literature can best be illustrated by considering from the same issue of Social Forces (Winter, 1958-59) the following two opinions: Greenstein and Wolfinger contend that people who move to suburbs are moving into areas inhabited by Republicans. Through "neighboring" they are converted to Republicans because, "The familiar fact that Americans are not generally intensely concerned with politics tends to permit easy change of identifications;"<sup>2</sup> but Manis and Stine, in a separate article in the same issue of Social Forces, maintain suburban life does not increase the individuals community ties or his neighborliness...." And they conclude, "the data do not confirm the claims of political analysts that moving to the suburbs changes Democrats toward Republican identification."<sup>3</sup> Herbert Gans questions the belief that before the advent of modern suburbs Americans of all classes lived together. He says some studies suggest the rather absurd

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert J. Gans, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life," Kramer, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Fred Greenstein and Raymond Wolfinger, "The Suburbs and Shifting Party Loyalties," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1958-1959, pp. 473-482.

<sup>3</sup>Jerome G. Manis and Leo C. Stine, "Suburban Residence and Political Behavior," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1958-1959, pp. 483-489.

notion there is "individualism only in the city" and conformity only in the suburbs.<sup>1</sup> "Homogeneous, in other words, does not mean homogenized."<sup>2</sup>

James Q. Wilson says the central city always played the role of a "dilapidated way-station" for poor and disadvantaged on the way up and out to the suburbs.<sup>3</sup> And Campbell and Meranto agree that the better educated white populace is moving out of the central city and poorer educated blacks are moving in. But they also say this difference declines as the size of the metropolitan area decreases, and even reverses itself for the two size categories below 250,000 population.<sup>4</sup> The same is true for the South.<sup>5</sup>

#### CIVIL RIGHTS AND SUBURBS

The late 1950's and early 1960's brought with them the civil rights movement. The acceleration of the Southern black migration to Northern and Western cities resulted in

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert Gans, "An Anatomy of Suburbia," Kramer, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup>Donaldson, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup>James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," Downes, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup>Alan K. Campbell and Philip Meranto, "The Metropolitan Educational Dilemma: Matching Resources to Needs," Downes, p. 340.

<sup>5</sup>Schiltz and Moffitt, p. 87.

an acceleration of central city whites moving to the suburbs. This "white flight" added to the confusion already surrounding the literature in the field regarding the central city-suburban dichotomy. The black immigrants supposedly swelled the rolls of the Democrat party in the central cities (seeking welfare and other social benefits), while the white emigrants sought refuge not only in the suburbs, but in the Republican party as well. Economic factors are often cited for this black-white dichotomy, but Schiltz and Moffitt tell us this is not true: "The major factors in residential clustering by race are restrictive selling practices which ultimately create separate housing markets for white and non-whites."<sup>1</sup>

#### NEED FOR MORE EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Many researchers point out the need for empirical evidence in regard to a central city-suburban dichotomy. Schiltz and Moffitt say:

Few researchers have treated various suburbs for what they are--individual communities. More research comparing individual suburban communities with central cities and among themselves is painfully needed in order that the myth of suburbia might be dispelled once and for all.<sup>2</sup>

Gans concludes: "...the primary task for urban (or

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<sup>1</sup>Schiltz and Moffitt, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

community) sociology seems to me to be the analysis of the similarities and differences between contemporary settlement types...i.e.,...the modern city and the modern suburb."<sup>1</sup>

And Campbell notes: "...major redistribution of members of the electorate...are important because they result in a shift in the balance of power both among and within political units."<sup>2</sup>

Davidoff, Davidoff and Gold point out: "In sum, the suburbs of the United States have become the New America of the twentieth century: the growth area of private economy, the focus of most of the nation's new jobs, housing, and population."<sup>3</sup> And Millett and Pittman conclude:

The suburbs include an increasing proportion of the nation's population, and the question of whether suburbs are an environmental influence as such or whether they represent a concentration of other homogeneous factors, such as class status, becomes an increasingly important one for an understanding of American voting behavior.<sup>4</sup>

However, Lineberry says, "Coming full circle, we can now speak paradoxically about the 'urbanization of the suburbs.' Yet if the suburbs are being 'urbanized' at a

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert J. Gans, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life," Kramer, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup>Campbell, et al., The American Voter, p. 442.

<sup>3</sup>Paul Davidoff, Linda Davidoff, and Neil Newton Gold, "Suburban Actions: Advocate Planning for An Open Society," Kramer, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup>Millett and Pittman, p. 42.

rapid clip, there is less rationale than ever for a distinctive inquiry into something called suburbia."<sup>1</sup> And Frederick M. Wirt feels "the distinctiveness of suburban politics is a matter yet far from settled."<sup>2</sup> He further states,

On the basis of viewing more electoral data than I care to think about, my judgment is that 'distinctiveness' is not a particularly useful conceptual category. I know of no validated cut-off marks that sharply separate city and suburban electoral behavior in national elections.<sup>3</sup>

Wirt concludes "Such analysis has lead (sic) me to think conceptually not of city-suburb distinctiveness but of semi-congruent spectrums in any given metropolitan set."<sup>4</sup>

Marshall says: "The studies reviewed...suggest that urban-suburban life style differences are neither as clear cut nor as sharp as commonly supposed."<sup>5</sup> Further, "indeed, it may be that we are asking the wrong questions--that the question of urban-suburban variations in life styles is

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<sup>1</sup>Robert L. Lineberry, "Suburbia and the Metropolitan Turf," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, ed. Richard D. Lambert, 422 (November, 1975), 1-9.

<sup>2</sup>Frederick M. Wirt, "Suburbs and Politics in America," Publius: The Suburban Reshaping of American Politics, ed. Earl M. Baker, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1975), p. 122.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Harvey Marshall, "Suburban Life Styles: A Contribution to the Debate," The Urbanization of the Suburbs, eds. Louis F. Masotti and Jeffrey K. Hadden (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973), p. 140.

irrelevant."<sup>1</sup>

However, Zikmund concludes the "suburbs contain a variety of peoples who are rapidly becoming more statistically representative of the total American population than either the cities or rural areas ever were." Put simply, he says,

if the suburbs do not now demonstrate the dominant political patterns of the nation, they soon will. Ultimately, suburban voters are likely to typify the dominant features of American politics because of the size of their numbers and the overall representativeness of their numbers.<sup>2</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Suburbs, then, are a natural, historical part of urban development. But the advent of the automobile in the 1920's, and the success of the labor movement after World War II catapulted literally millions of middle income Americans into permanent residences beyond the city limits. The simultaneous discovery of the suburbs by middle income Americans and social scientists led not only to a rash of new suburbs, but also to a plethora of urban studies, many of which addressed the question of the proposed central city-suburban dichotomy.

Much has been written in the field of Social Science

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<sup>1</sup>Marshall, "Suburban Life Styles:", Masotti and Hadden, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Zikmund II, "Suburbs in State and National Politics," Masotti and Hadden, p. 263.

about a "central city-suburban" dichotomy regarding election returns and voting patterns. Indeed, the literature abounds with treatises on the "suburbanite" and "suburban living" with all its plastic, but attractive accoutrements, in contrast to the central city dweller with his own distinctive life style and mounting problems.

Not to be outdone, political scientists have contributed their share of brick and mortar to the ideological wall of separation between central city and suburbia. Early studies identified a regional political determinism. With the advent of urbanization, studies indicated that entire metropolitan areas were strongholds of the Democratic party. Then came the automobile, suburbs, and "I like Ike." The central city was christened "Democrat" and the suburb renamed "Republican." In short, the "myth of suburbia" came close to theory.

However, questions began to arise as to a definition of terms. What is a suburb? Is there a "typical" suburb? What about bedroom suburbs, industrial suburbs, black suburbs, white suburbs, rich suburbs, poor suburbs, etc., ad infinitum? What, in short, do we mean when we use the term suburb? Definitional confusion abounds. It is clear only that empirical studies of metropolitan voting patterns in regard to central city-suburbia are sorely lacking and dearly needed.

As political scientists we need to answer (with

empirical evidence) questions such as: "Do voters actually respond on a geographic basis in regard to central city-suburbia?"; or, indeed, "Are there any observable political indicators to support a central city-suburban dichotomy?" An in depth factorial analysis of Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, as one "central city-suburb" can provide empirical answers to these important questions.



## Chapter 3

### METHODOLOGY

### DEFINITIONS

Before turning to the variables, it is important to consider some definitions of city and suburbs. Although Whyte and Campbell each discuss electoral returns in regard to "central cities" and "suburbs", neither adequately defines either a central city or a suburb. Even Louis Wirth's classic essay on urbanization did not address the concept of a central city-suburban definition. Wirth considered the city to have a "definite center", but not a "definite periphery."<sup>1</sup> He felt "...administrative areas only rarely coincided with the ecological or natural areas."<sup>2</sup>

Since many scholars refer to the Census Bureau's definition of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) in attempting their own definitions of central city and suburbs, that definition follows:

A county or group of contiguous counties which contain at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more or 'twin cities', with a combined population of at least 50,000. In addition to the county or counties containing such a city or cities, contiguous counties are included in an SMSA if, according to certain criteria, they are

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<sup>1</sup>Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July, 1938), 23.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

essentially metropolitan in character and are socially and economically integrated with the central city.<sup>1</sup>

Scott Donaldson defines a suburb

simply as a community lying within commuting distance of a central city. Usually, but not always, suburbs are dependent on central cities economically and culturally; usually, but not always, they<sub>2</sub> are independent of those cities politically.<sup>2</sup>

Sylvia Fava defines "suburban as the territory within the census SMSA's, but outside the central cities."<sup>3</sup>

Lineberry discusses

two suburbias: (1) a cultural or lifestyle meaning includes familism, child-centeredness, single family dwelling units, sharp segregation of work place from residence, organizational consciousness....This is the dominant, if stereotyped, picture of suburbia; and (2) by a legal and demographic conception, I mean that we take our definitions from the Census Bureau. Thus, a suburb is by definition an incorporated municipality within an SMSA other than a central city.<sup>4</sup>

William Pendleton has two definitions which

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Tracts, Des Moines, Iowa, SMSA, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, PHC (1)-57 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Scott Donaldson, The Suburban Myth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. ix.

<sup>3</sup>Sylvia Fava, "Beyond Suburbia," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, ed. Richard D. Lambert, 422 (November, 1975), p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>Lineberry, in The Annals, pp. 2-3.

are both ad hoc definitions and subject to the difficulties attendant thereto. One definition is based on the SMSA and uses as suburban all of the SMSA that is not contained in the central city. This area is generally called the 'ring' of the SMSA. The other definition is based on the urbanized area and equates suburban with the part of the urbanized area that lies outside its central city. This<sup>1</sup> suburban part is often called the 'urban fringe'.

Zikmund "rely(s) on the political boundary of the city as the demarcation line between city and suburb."<sup>2</sup>

Wattenburg and Scammon feel that an "Urban Area" is a more "accurate" definition than the SMSA because it doesn't follow arbitrary boundaries of the county.<sup>3</sup> It extends only to the end of the cities "urban fringe." At any rate, they say "if a person lives within an SMSA, but outside of that SMSA's central city, he is in the suburbs."<sup>4</sup> And Clark contends, "there is no suburban society...which is not in a small degree at least a rural society as well."<sup>5</sup> Perhaps

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<sup>1</sup>William H. Pendleton, "Blacks in Suburbs," The Urbanization of the Suburbs, eds. Louis F. Masotti and Jeffrey K. Hadden (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973), p. 172.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Zikmund II, "Suburbs in State and National Politics," Masotti and Hadden, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup>Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard M. Scammon, "The Suburban Boom," North American Suburbs: Politics, Diversity, and Change, ed. John Kramer (Berkeley: The Glendessary Press, Inc., 1972), pp. 73-74.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>5</sup>S. D. Clark, "The Process of Suburban Development," John Kramer, p. 28.

Schiltz and Moffitt say it best when they say the SMSA is divided into "two component parts: First is the central City as designated by the Census Bureau. The second is the residual, and is frequently labeled the urban fringe or suburban area."<sup>1</sup> And Joseph Zikmund concludes "the generalized use of the term 'suburbia', like the generalized use of the term 'central city', is fundamentally meaningless."<sup>2</sup> This paper concurs with Schiltz and Moffitt's definition and labels everything inside Polk County and outside the city of Des Moines as suburb. Everything inside the Des Moines city limits, of course, is the city.

#### VARIABLES

The variables include socioeconomic status (SES) information, and general election data (party registration, and election returns), along with voter place of residence.

The variables are operationalized, and that operationalization is rationalized in the following manner:

##### Socioeconomic Data

The information was operationalized by means of the Shevky-Bell Social Area Analysis typology.<sup>3</sup> This tool was

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<sup>1</sup>Timothy Schiltz and William Moffitt, "Inner City/Outer City Relationships in Metropolitan Areas: A Bibliographic Essay," Urban Affairs Quarterly, September 1971, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Zikmund II, "Suburbs in State and National Politics," Massotti and Hadden, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup>Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1955).

developed by Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams in the late 1940's and further refined by Shevky with Wendell Bell in the 1950's. It purported to measure social status (economic), urbanization (family status), and segregation (ethnic status) by manipulation of various population figures related to each of these three areas. A number value was then assigned each census tract which could in turn be compared on an ascending scale:

Tracts having high scores on the social rank index tend to have residents who are employed in white collar occupations, who have attained high levels of education, and who live in expensive housing. Conversely, low scoring tracts are characterized by blue collar occupations and low rental and educational levels. The second index, urbanization, measures the populations stage in life-cycle. (Low) scoring tracts are dominated by families in the child-rearing stage, consequently having many young children and few women in the labor force and many single-family dwellings. (High) scoring tracts have low rates of fertility, many working females, and high proportions of multiple-dwelling units. High scores on the third index, ethnic status reflect strong concentrations of racial minorities while low scores define areas dominated by native-born white populations.<sup>1</sup>

Although Salisbury and Black suggest that one should not use the Shevky-Bell typology in Des Moines because the size of the population is too small,<sup>2</sup> size does not really

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<sup>1</sup>Shevky and Bell.

<sup>2</sup>Robert H. Salisbury and Gordon Black, "Class and Party in Partisan and Nonpartisan Elections: The Case of Des Moines," American Political Science Review, 57 (September, 1963), 584-592.

affect the typology within reasonable limitations.<sup>1</sup>

While Hawley, Otis, Rabson, and Udry express doubt about the Shevky-Bell typology, their "major target...has been the ex post facto nature of their (Shevky-Bell's) theoretical deductions," and not the method itself.<sup>2</sup> And James W. Hughes says "the validity of the basic constructs of the social area scheme is supported by the empirical findings of planners in residential areas."<sup>3</sup> He concludes "the most convincing justification of the Shevky-Bell constructs emerges from several rigorous empirical tests within appropriate cultural-temporal contexts."<sup>4</sup>

The socioeconomic data used in the calculation of the social status scores, came from the United States Bureau of the Census Information on Population and Housing.<sup>5</sup> Socioeconomic data are used because, as Campbell states, "Education, income, occupation and race are highly related

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<sup>1</sup>Since a researcher is aware of the size of his population, he already takes it into consideration in deciding to use the Shevky-Bell Area Typology. If there seems to be a reasonable variation within the population and no "extremes" appear, the data is probably quite useable.

<sup>2</sup>James W. Hughes, Urban Indicators, Metropolitan Evolution and Public Policy (New Brunswick, N.J.: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1972), pp. 24-25.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Census Tracts, Des Moines, Iowa, SMSA.

to a sense of civic obligations (and thus, voting)."<sup>1</sup>

Robert C. Wood says,

party loyalty can be matched, suburb by suburb, with the economic and social characteristics of the residents in each. To the degree that voting records correspond with differences in population characteristics, a presumption in favor of the predominance of occupation and income over residence as a determinant of voting behavior could be established.<sup>2</sup>

And Lazarfeld concludes bluntly: "Social characteristics determine political preferences."<sup>3</sup>

#### Party Registration and General Election Data

Next, party registration data were compiled from the Polk County Election Office,<sup>4</sup> and election returns for the general electoral contests for President, U.S. Senator, Governor, and U.S. Congressman for 1972 in Des Moines, Polk County from the Iowa Official Register<sup>5</sup> on a precinct basis.

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<sup>1</sup>Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurion, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), p. 196.

<sup>2</sup>Robert C. Wood, Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1958), p. 146.

<sup>3</sup>Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Polk County Election Office, 112 11th Street, Des Moines, Iowa, Jack Bird, Chairman.

<sup>5</sup>Iowa Official Register, No. 55 (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1973-1974), pp. 252-255.

The 1976 election returns for President and U.S. Congressman, and 1976 registration information were obtained from the Polk County election office since these figures are not yet published in the 1977 Iowa Official Register.<sup>1</sup>

Since aggregate statistics are used, party registration is referred to as a means of perceiving voter self identification in regard to party preferences. Also, the vote itself is a valid measure of how registered voters verify their party preference in the aggregate.

Campbell asked the voters he interviewed to identify themselves as more or less Democrat or Republican.<sup>2</sup> The registration requirement asks the voters to do the same thing. Campbell followed up his party preference questions with post election surveys to determine how his respondents actually voted to verify their earlier stated party preference. He referred to the "probability (the) individual will vote Democratic or vote Republican (emphasis mine)".<sup>3</sup>

And since Downes finds "for a number of reasons, most citizens do not actually participate beyond the single

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<sup>1</sup>Polk County Election Office.

<sup>2</sup>Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960), p. 122 (footnote 1).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 137-138.



act of voting at the local level,"<sup>1</sup> registration information and the vote are the only adequate measures available of party preference in the aggregate. The party registration records show how the voters identify themselves, and only those so registered, and so identified, may actually vote.

#### Precinct Data Converted to Census Tract Data

Then, because of the geographic discrepancies between the precinct boundaries and the census tract boundaries, the precincts and the census tracts were aligned as per Kaufman and Greer, "by fitting precincts to tract boundaries" to provide coterminous geographic units of analysis.<sup>2</sup> There were 64 census tracts and 146 precincts in Des Moines, Polk County at the time of the 1972 and 1976 elections (there was no census tract number 22 for the 1970 census).

Since the social index, urbanization index, and segregation index for Polk County were calculated on a census tract basis, electoral data had to be provided in a comparable unit of analysis. However, the census tract boundaries

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<sup>1</sup>Brian T. Downes, ed., Cities and Suburbs: Selected Readings in Local Politics and Public Policy (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1971), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Walter C. Kaufman and Scott Greer, "Voting in a Metropolitan Community: An Application of Social Area Analysis," Social Forces, 38 (1960), 200 (footnote 1).

and the precinct boundaries are not coterminous in the Des Moines SMSA. Some census tracts contain only whole precincts, but most contain parts of several precincts. It remained to apply Kaufman and Greer's method of fitting precincts to tract boundaries.<sup>1</sup> This method is also used in an unpublished master thesis in the Drake Library.<sup>2</sup> This method entails counting the number of blocks in a precinct to determine how many of them fall within a given census tract. That percentage of the precincts' vote return for a particular election is then assigned to that particular census tract. For example, precinct 46 falls within census tract 9 and census tract 10. "However each tract did not receive an equal part of the vote but rather received a portion of the vote based on a percent of the blocks of the precinct that fell within the given census tract area."<sup>3</sup> In the case of precinct 46, 34 percent fell within census tract 9 and 66 percent fell within census tract 10. So census tract 9 received 34 percent of the vote from precinct 46, and census tract 10 received 66 percent. If a precinct fell entirely within a given census tract, then 100 percent of that precinct's vote would naturally go to that given

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<sup>1</sup>Kaufman and Greer, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup>Marvin G. Asphal, "Social and Economic Correlates of Voting Behavior" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, 1967).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

census tract. Each census tract and the percent of the vote it received is listed in Table 1.

#### Additional General Election Data

Election returns for Des Moines-Polk County were compiled from the Iowa Official Register for the electoral contests for President, Governor, and U.S. Congressman in the 1940, 1952, and 1960 general elections (plus the returns for U.S. Senator for 1960).<sup>1</sup> Since there were neither party registration data, nor county precinct maps available for any of these years, it was necessary to calculate the percent "Democrat" for the city and suburban precincts. The voting patterns of these two areas were compared over time to see if any Republican or Democrat tendency exists.

Votes were totaled for the suburbs (the geographic area within Polk County, but without Des Moines) and the city (the area within Polk County entitled "Des Moines"). The city returns were divided into two parts to coincide with the East side and West side of Des Moines: the East side is Lee Township, and the West side is Des Moines Township. (These data were available on this basis in the Iowa Official Register, and is thus presented here in the same

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<sup>1</sup>Iowa Official Register, No. 39 (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1941-1942), pp. 608-611; Iowa Official Register, No. 45 (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1953-1954), pp. 388-391; Iowa Official Register, No. 49 (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1961-1962), pp. 438-441; Iowa Official Register, No. 55 (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1973-1974), pp. 252-255.

Table 1

Tract Composition, Percentage of Precincts Within  
Given Tract

(Precinct Number and Percent of Precinct in Given Tract)

Tract No.	Precinct No.	Precinct %	Precinct No.	Precinct %	Precinct No.	Precinct %	Precinct No.	Precinct %
1	1	100	28	100	29	100	30	100
2	2	100	27	100	33	22	35	100
3	3	100	26	37	36	35		
4	4	100	5	100	6	16	22	3
	23	32						
5	21	47.5	22	57	23	68	24	93
6	6	84	7	100	21	47.5		
7	8	100	9	100	10	100	11	56
	12	80	18	100				
8	11	44	12	20	13	100	14	100
	15	100	16	100	17	100		
9	46	34	49	100	50	100	51	100
10	46	66	47	100	48	67		
11	44	100	45	100	56	42		
12	40	43	42	27	43	81		
13	40	33	41	100	42	73	43	19
14	39	100						
15	21	5	22	40	24	7	25	100
	26	40						
16	26	10	37	18	38	35		
17	26	13	36	65	37	21		
18	33	78	34	100				
19	31	100	32	100				
20	59	27	60	34				
21	58	65	59	73	61	69		
23	37	61	38	65				
24	57	87.5						
25	64	38						

Table 1 (Continued)

Tract No.	Precinct No.	%	Precinct No.	%	Precinct No.	%	Precinct No.	%
26	55	50	56	58	57	12.5		
27	64	16	46	77	67	7	68	47
28	48	33	54	100	55	50		
29	67	37	68	53	69	77		
30.01	52	100	53	100				
30.02	69	23	70	100	71	76		
31	71	18	73	91				
32	67	52	74	62				
33	65	22	66	23				
34	63	66	64	28	65	55	67	4
35	62	40	64	18	65	23		
36	62	34	78	37				
37	58	35	61	31	63	34		
38	60	66	62	26				
39	79	100						
40	71	6	72	100	73	9	74	38
	75	100	86	40				
41	76	100	85	100				
42	77	90	78	34				
43	77	7.5	81	100	82	50	83	100
	84	100						
44	77	2.5	78	29	80	100	82	50
45	86	13	87	28	88	100	89	100
	90	32.5						
46	86	7	87	72	90	52.5	91	100
	92	79	93	100	94	11	95	5
47	86	20	90	15	92	21	94	89
	95	95						

Table 1 (Continued)

Tract No.	Precinct No.	%	Precinct No.	%	Precinct No.	%	Precinct No.	%
101	Douglas	100	Elkhart	100	Franklin 1	100	Franklin 2	100
	Lincoln	100	Washington	100				
102.01	Crocker 2	51	Crocker 3	9	Crocker 5	25	Crocker 6	7
102.02	Crocker 1	100	Crocker 2	49	Crocker 3	91	Crocker 4	100
	Crocker 5	75	Crocker 6	93				
102.03	Crocker 7	100						
103	Jefferson	100	Madison	100	Union	100		
104.01	Webster 1	100	Webster 2	100	Webster 3	15	Webster 4	97
104.02	Webster 3	85	Webster 5	100	Webster 6	7		
104.03	Webster 6	93						
104.04	Webster 4	3	Webster 7	100	Webster 8	100	Webster 9	100
105	Saylor 1	100	Saylor 2	100	Saylor 3	100		
106	Delaware 1	100	Delaware 2	100	Delaware 3	100		
107	Beaver	100	Camp	100	Clay 1	100	Clay 2	100
108	Allen	100	Bloomf'd 1	100	Four Mile 1	100	Four Mile 2	100
109	Bloomf'd 2	100	86	20				
110	Valley 1	75	Valley 2	80	Valley 4	48	Valley 6	100
111	Valley 1	25	Valley 2	20	Valley 3	100	Valley 4	52
	Valley 5	100						
112	Walnut 1	100	Walnut 2	100	Walnut 3	100	Walnut 4	100
	Walnut 5	100						

manner.)

This will allow the testing of the central city-suburban dichotomy with regard to the Des Moines SMSA. These data may also show a persistence (or lack of it) over time with regard to Democrat or Republican areas. The vote is a valid measure of party identification. As Campbell states: "The vote has a great advantage of being a discrete act which can be isolated and measured with a high degree of validity. It is, moreover, an act of considerable intrinsic significance."<sup>1</sup>

#### Correlational Analysis

The place of residence, the socioeconomic data, the party registration information, and the electoral vote returns will be correlated. This correlational analysis should demonstrate the hypotheses. Campbell agrees that "it is possible to use the vote as a vehicle for the investigation of a rich array of closely associated facts (socioeconomic)."<sup>2</sup>

By surveying the literature in the field, and by compiling, correlating, and analyzing data regarding place of residence, party registration, partisan electoral results, and census information regarding socioeconomic status on a census tract basis in metropolitan Des Moines, Polk

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<sup>1</sup>Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

County, Iowa, it will be possible to test for closer correlation between party preference and socioeconomic factors than between party preference and geographic location.

Also, using a brief longitudinal approach, by comparing the 1940, 1952, 1960, 1972 and 1976 Democrat percentage with regard to city-suburb votes, it will be possible to determine the presence of urban and/or "suburban persistence."<sup>1</sup>

The election results will be used as a measurable partisan political response partly by correlating voter registration data with partisan election returns. However, realizing election results are indicative not only of voter response to candidates, issues, and pressure groups, but also reflect the voters own socioeconomic condition, in addition to party registration another factor will be considered: social rank. By using this method and approach, a tool will be provided to encourage and facilitate comparative analysis of the central city-suburban dichotomy in other metropolitan areas.

Since political science is concerned with the relationships between election results and voting patterns in central city-suburbia, we, as political scientists, should provide empirically verifiable data which will help clarify the metropolitical maze and contribute to knowledge in the

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<sup>1</sup>Reynolds Farley, "Suburban Persistence," Kramer, pp. 82-96.



field. In a sense, we will be operationalizing the concepts of theoreticians in the field. For, as Schiltz and Moffitt have suggested:

Few researchers have treated various suburbs for what they are--individual communities. More research comparing individual suburban communities with central cities and among themselves is painfully needed in order that the myth of suburbia might be dispelled once and for all.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Schiltz and Moffitt, p. 86.

## Chapter 4

### ANALYSIS

In this chapter the data will first be considered in general terms, including presentation of tables and maps. Each hypothesis will then be restated. The test, the rationale, and the result will be presented. Judgmental interpretation will be reserved for the concluding chapter.

Figures 1 (a) and 1 (b) contain maps of the city (Des Moines, Iowa) and the suburbs (Polk County, Iowa).<sup>1</sup> These maps show not only the census tracts, but also the townships (they do not show the precincts). Note that the city of Des Moines is divided into Lee Township on the east side, and Des Moines Township on the west side.

Figures 1 (c) and 1 (d) contain precinct maps of Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa.<sup>2</sup>

### ELECTORAL DATA

Tables 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, following the precinct maps contain the percent Democrat vote for President, U.S. Senator, Governor, and U.S. Congressman in the general

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Tracts, Des Moines, Iowa, SMSA, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, PHC (1)-57 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>The Des Moines Tribune, November 7, 1972, p. 8.

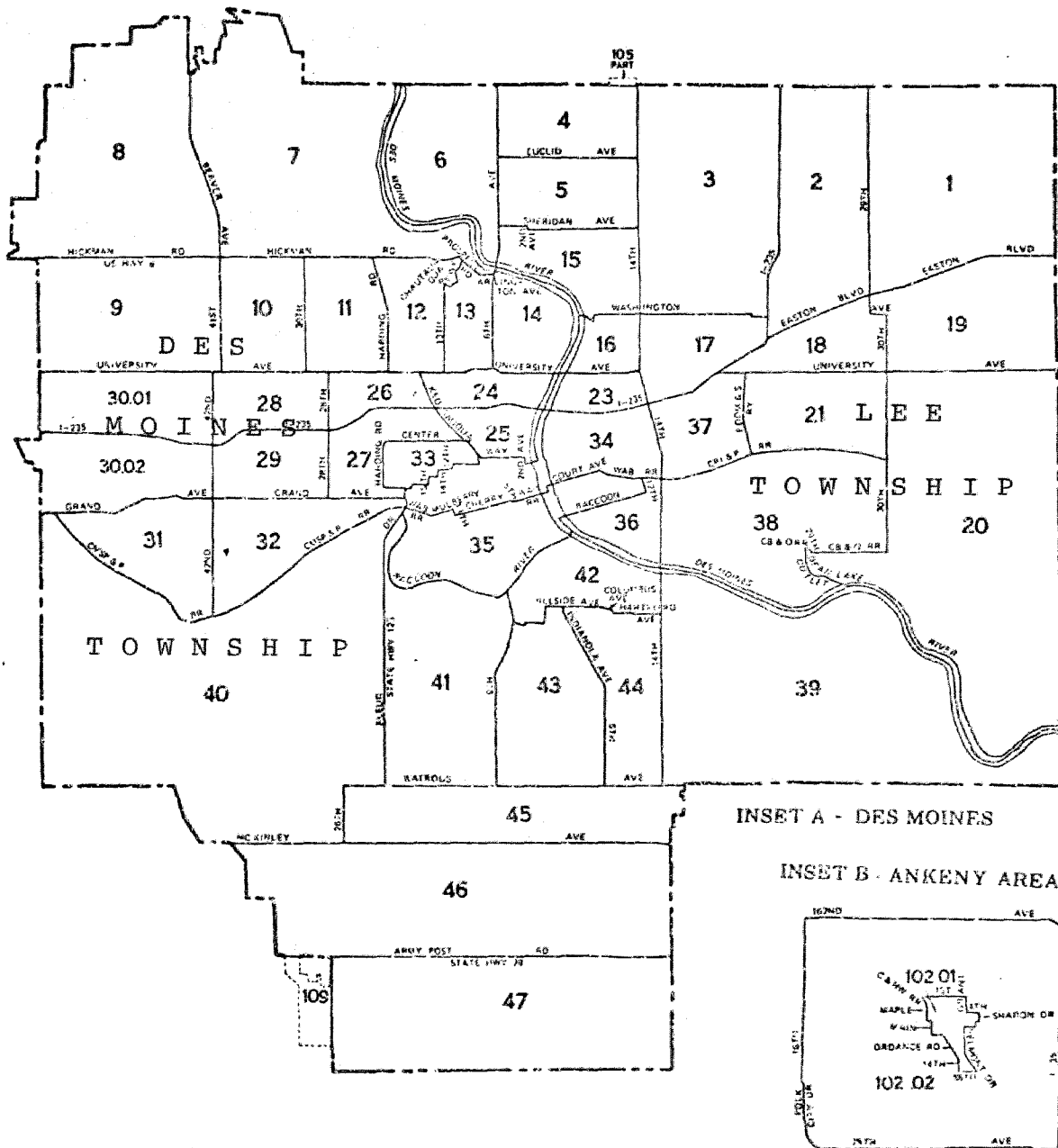


Figure 1 (a)

Census Tracts in the Des Moines, Iowa SMSA  
Showing Townships for Des Moines, Iowa

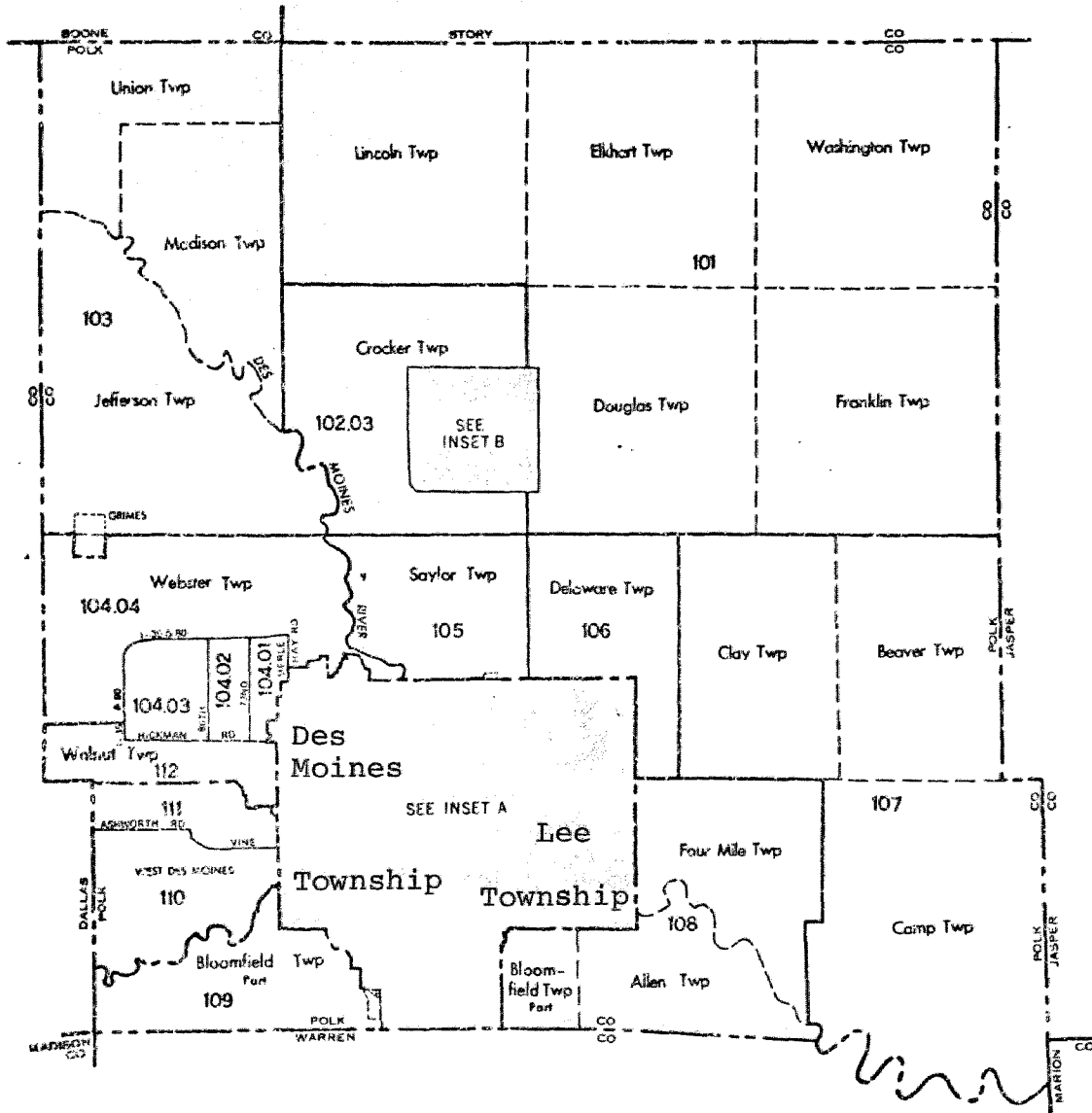


Figure 1 (b)

Census Tracts in the Des Moines, Iowa SMSA  
Showing Townships for Polk County, Iowa

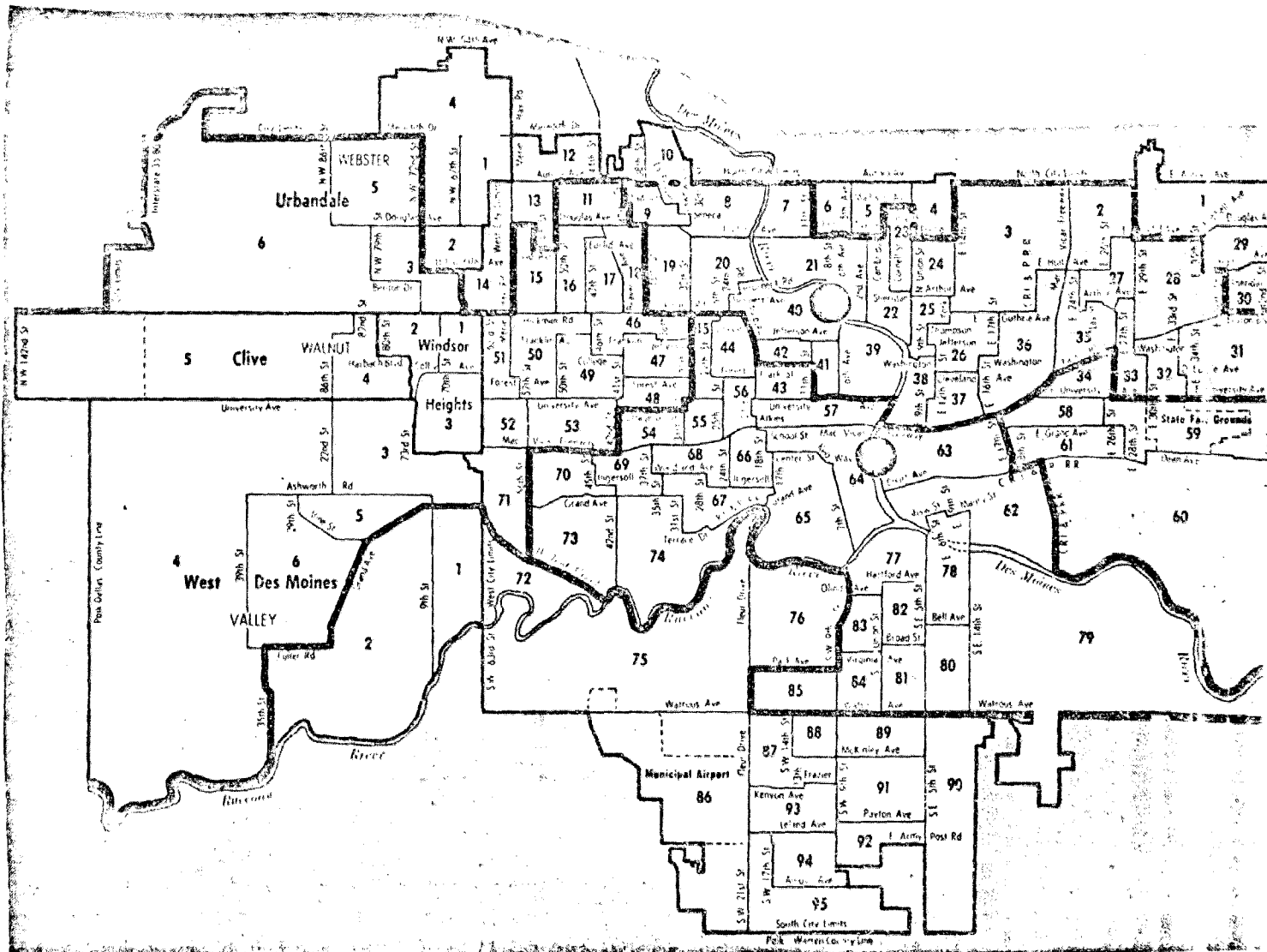


Figure 1 (c)  
 Precinct Map, Des Moines, Iowa, 1972

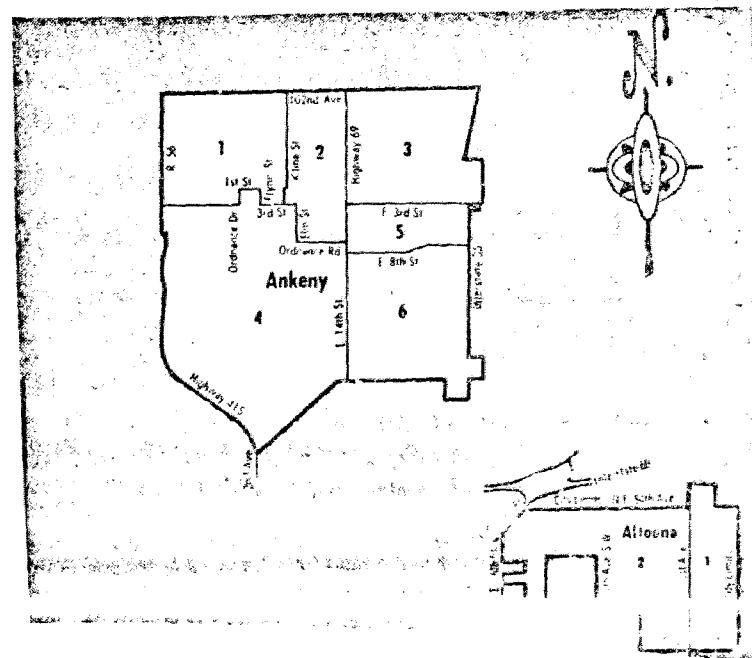
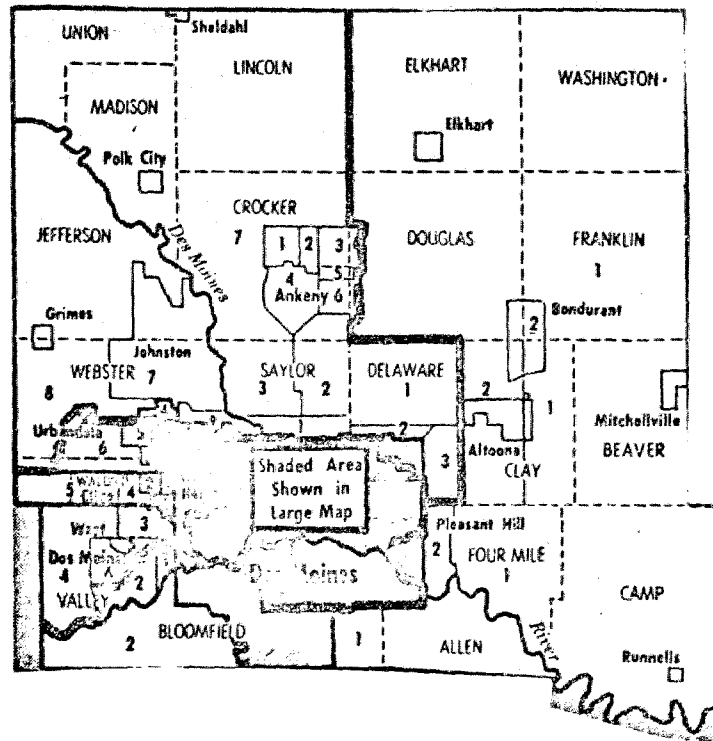


Figure 1 (d)  
Precinct Map, Polk County, Iowa, 1972

elections of 1940, 1952, 1960, 1972, and 1976, plus the mean percent Democrat vote for each office.<sup>1</sup> The tables contain a separate figure for Lee and Des Moines Townships, and then a combined, total figure for the city to point out the location of Democrat and Republican areas within the city limits. Elections for offices other than president are included to give the reader an opportunity to compare the city-suburban votes for president with election results for other offices as reference points.

Table 2 shows a mean percent of 46.2 Democrat vote for President for Des Moines Township on Des Moines' west side; 59.6 percent for Lee Township on Des Moines' east side; and 52.9 percent for the city as a whole. The suburbs show a mean percent Democrat vote of 47.4 percent, while the total city-suburb vote was 49.0 percent Democrat. It appears from these presidential vote returns that the suburbs are indeed Republican and the city Democrat, in party preference. It appears, further, that the Democrat vote is concentrated in Des Moines' east side (Lee Township).

However, the mean percent Democrat for U.S. Senator in Table 3 presents a different picture: 54.2 percent for

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<sup>1</sup>Iowa Official Register, No. 39 (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1941-1942), pp. 608-611; Iowa Official Register, No. 45 (State of Iowa, Des Moines, 1953-1954), pp. 388-391; Iowa Official Register, No. 49 (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1961-1962), pp. 438-441; Iowa Official Register, No. 55 (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1973-1974), pp. 252-255.

Table 2

Mean Percent Democrat Vote for President in Des Moines,  
Polk County, Iowa by location

	1940	1952	1960	1972	1976	Mean
Des Moines Township	49.3	39.5	44.2	46.3	51.8	46.2
Lee Township	65.8	58.8	54.1	53.4	65.5	59.6
City Total	57.5	49.2	49.2	49.9	58.7	52.9
Suburbs	61.1	47.2	44.0	37.9	46.8	47.4
Total County	55.6	45.5	46.2	45.1	52.6	49.0

Table 3

Mean Percent Democrat Vote for United States Senator in  
Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa by location

	1940	1952	1960	1972	1976	Mean
Des Moines Township	-	-	49.9	58.3	-	54.2
Lee Township	-	-	65.2	66.6	-	65.9
City Total	-	-	57.6	62.5	-	60.0
Suburbs	-	-	52.8	53.2	-	53.0
Total County	-	-	53.8	58.3	-	56.0



Des Moines Township; 65.9 percent for Lee Township; and 60.0 percent for the city. The suburbs show a mean percent Democrat vote of 53.0 percent, and the total city-suburb vote is 56.0 percent. These returns indicate each political subdivision to be Democrat, as well as the total city-suburban area.

In Table 4 the mean percent Democrat vote for Governor shows only Des Moines Township voting Republican with 48.8 percent, while all others voted Democrat: Lee, 61.7 percent; city, 55.3 percent; suburbs, 52.3 percent; and total 52.1 mean percent Democrat.

Table 4

Mean Percent Democrat Vote for Governor in Des Moines,  
Polk County, Iowa by location

	1940	1952	1960	1972	1976	Mean
Des Moines Township	49.2	50.6	50.9	44.4	-	48.8
Lee Township	63.7	64.5	61.6	57.2	-	61.7
City Total	56.5	57.5	56.3	50.8	-	55.3
Suburbs	62.1	56.8	51.7	38.7	-	52.3
Total County	54.8	55.1	53.3	45.1	-	52.1

And the mean percent Democrat vote for U.S. Congressman in Table 5, as for U.S. Senator, show a sweep for the Democrat party: Lee, 54.1 percent; Des Moines, 67.1 percent;

city, 60.6 percent; suburbs, 57.7 percent; and total 57.5 percent.

Table 5

Mean Percent Democrat Vote for United States Congressman  
in Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa by Location

	1940	1952	1960	1972	1976	Mean
Des Moines Township	44.6	38.3	51.8	65.9	70.0	54.1
Lee Township	59.1	56.8	63.9	76.1	79.7	67.1
City Total	51.8	47.6	57.9	70.9	74.8	60.6
Suburbs	56.4	47.1	55.7	62.7	66.7	57.7
Total County	50.4	44.3	55.2	66.8	70.6	57.5

The final figure in Table 6 "Total mean percent Democrat all races,"<sup>1</sup> also shows a Democratic sweep with Des Moines Township, 50.3 percent; Lee, 63.2 percent; city 56.8 percent, suburbs, 52.6 percent; and total 53.3 mean percent Democrat.

To summarize, the Presidential returns indicate Des Moines Township and the suburbs to be Republican, and Lee Township and the city to be Democrat. The Gubernatorial races show only Des Moines Township to be Republican with

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<sup>1</sup>These figures represent the average of the Mean Percent Democrat from Tables 2 through 5 for the respective offices.

Lee Township, the city, and the suburbs voting Democrat. While the Senatorial and Congressional figures show all the subdivisions to be Democrat: Des Moines and Lee Township; the city and suburbs. However, this paper is concerned with the Presidential returns only.

Table 6

Total Mean Percent Democrat Vote All Races (President, United States Senator, Governor, United States Congressman) 1940, 1952, 1960, 1972, and 1976 in Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa by Location

Location	Mean
Des Moines Township	50.3
Lee Township	63.2
City Total	56.8
Suburbs	52.6
Total County	53.3

#### SOCIOECONOMIC DATA

Since election returns alone are not adequate to test theories of voting, Figures 2 through 5 contain socioeconomic data which must be considered along with the electoral results.

The social area distribution of a census tract

population is given in Figure 2.<sup>1</sup> According to Shevky and Bell,

the base social rank (is) divided into four intervals, social rank scores of 1 to 24, 25 to 49, 50 to 74, and 75 to 100, each comprising a separate interval on the social rank scale; and that the vertical axis, urbanization (is) divided into four intervals, urbanization scores of 1 to 24, 25 to 49, 50 to 74, and 75 to 100 each comprising a separate interval on the urbanization scale (parenthesis mine).<sup>2</sup>

The social rank scale is labeled 1, 2, 3, and 4 in ascending order: the higher the number, the higher the degree of social rank. The urbanization scale is labeled A, B, C, and D in ascending order: the higher on the scale the higher the degree of urbanization (and conversely, the lower the degree of familism).<sup>3</sup>

Shevky and Bell also say,

The third factor, ethnicity, adds to the typology so far constructed by distinguishing those census tracts which contain relatively many members of American racial and nationality minority groups. Tract populations having high indexes of ethnicity are given an 'S' along with their social area designations as given in (Figure 3). Tracts which have low indexes of ethnicity remain with only the designation as shown in (Figure 3). Thus, there are thirty-two possible social areas or types of urban subcommunities: 1 A, 1 B...4D and 1 A S, 1 B S ...4 D S (parentheses mine).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1955).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

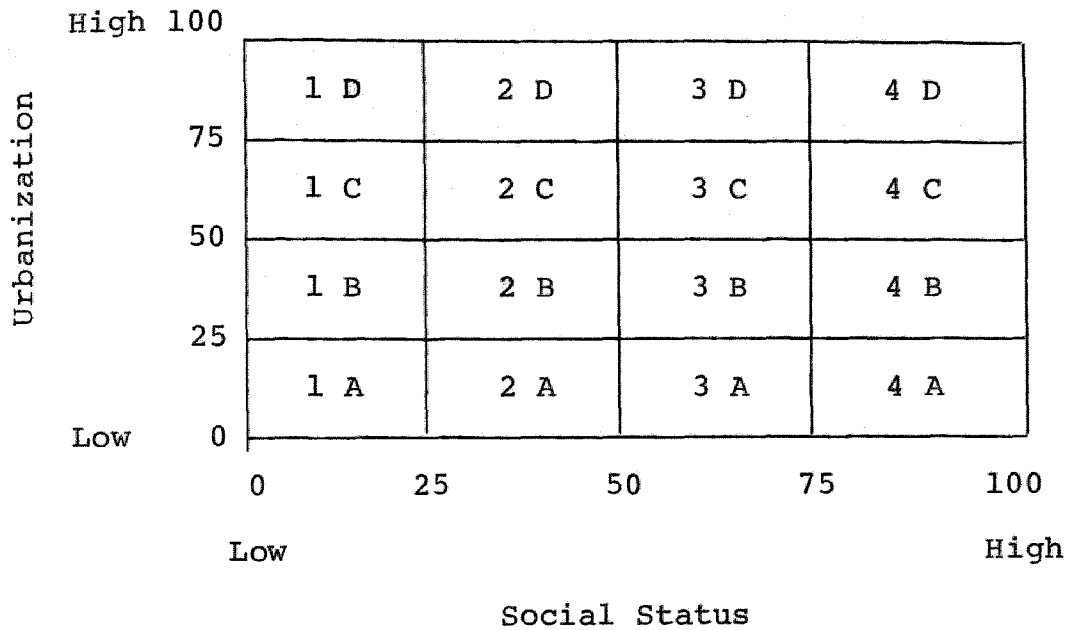


Figure 2

Social Area Keys Based on Social Status  
and Urbanization

Figure 3 is a scattergram plotting the social area scores for the Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, census tracts for 1970. Segregated census tracts are shown by black dots and non-segregated census tracts are shown by white dots.<sup>1</sup>

The social rank scale (1, 2, 3, 4) has 2 census tracts in square 2, twenty-six in square 3, and thirty-six in square 4. Most of Des Moines, Polk County, is upper class (3 and 4), but there is an upper (4) and lower (3) upper class. (For the purposes of this paper, the "3's"

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<sup>1</sup>Shevky and Bell, Social Area Analysis.

will be considered lower class and the "4's" upper class). Thirteen of these census tracts are segregated, fifty-one are not. All 13 of the segregated census tracts are in the city, none are in the suburbs.

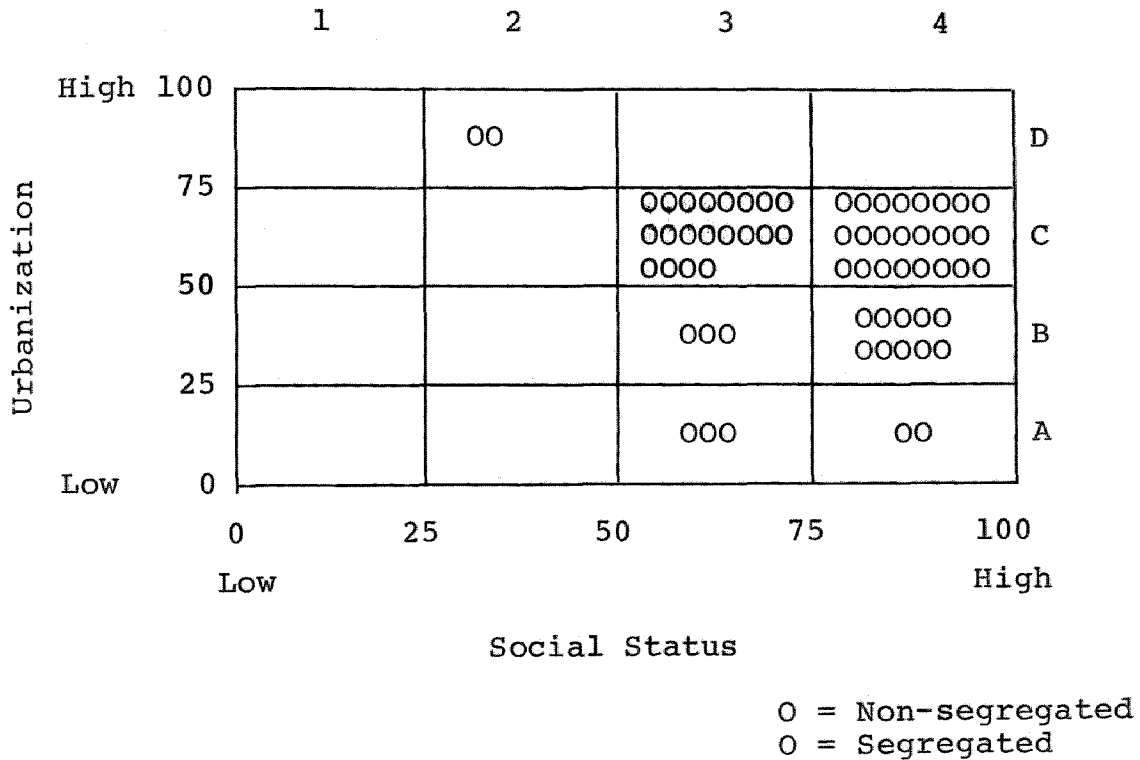


Figure 3

Distribution of the Census Tracts in the Social Areas of Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, 1970 Census

The urbanization scale (A, B, C, D) has census tracts in all four categories with only 2 in square D, 5 in square A, and 13 in square B. The majority, 44, fall in category C.

Since this paper is more concerned with social rank than urbanization, or segregation, the 2's, 3's, and 4's

(social status) will be the more important classifications.

Figures 4 and 5 are Social Area maps of Des Moines and Polk County.<sup>1</sup> The respective legends indicate the markings used to show the various areas of the Shevky-Bell typology. Note concentration of "2's" and "3's" on Des Moines' east side and contiguous eastern suburban townships, and the concentration of 4's on the west side of Des Moines and the contiguous western suburban townships.

Figures 6 and 7 are political party preference maps as indicated by choice for presidential candidates in the 1972 and 1976 general elections.<sup>2</sup> Note the striking similarity between the political preference maps and the social area maps. Not only are the 2's and 3's located on the east side of the city and the contiguous suburban townships, but also residents who prefer the Democrat party. Not only are the 4's located on the west side of the city and the contiguous suburban townships, but also residents who prefer the Republican party.

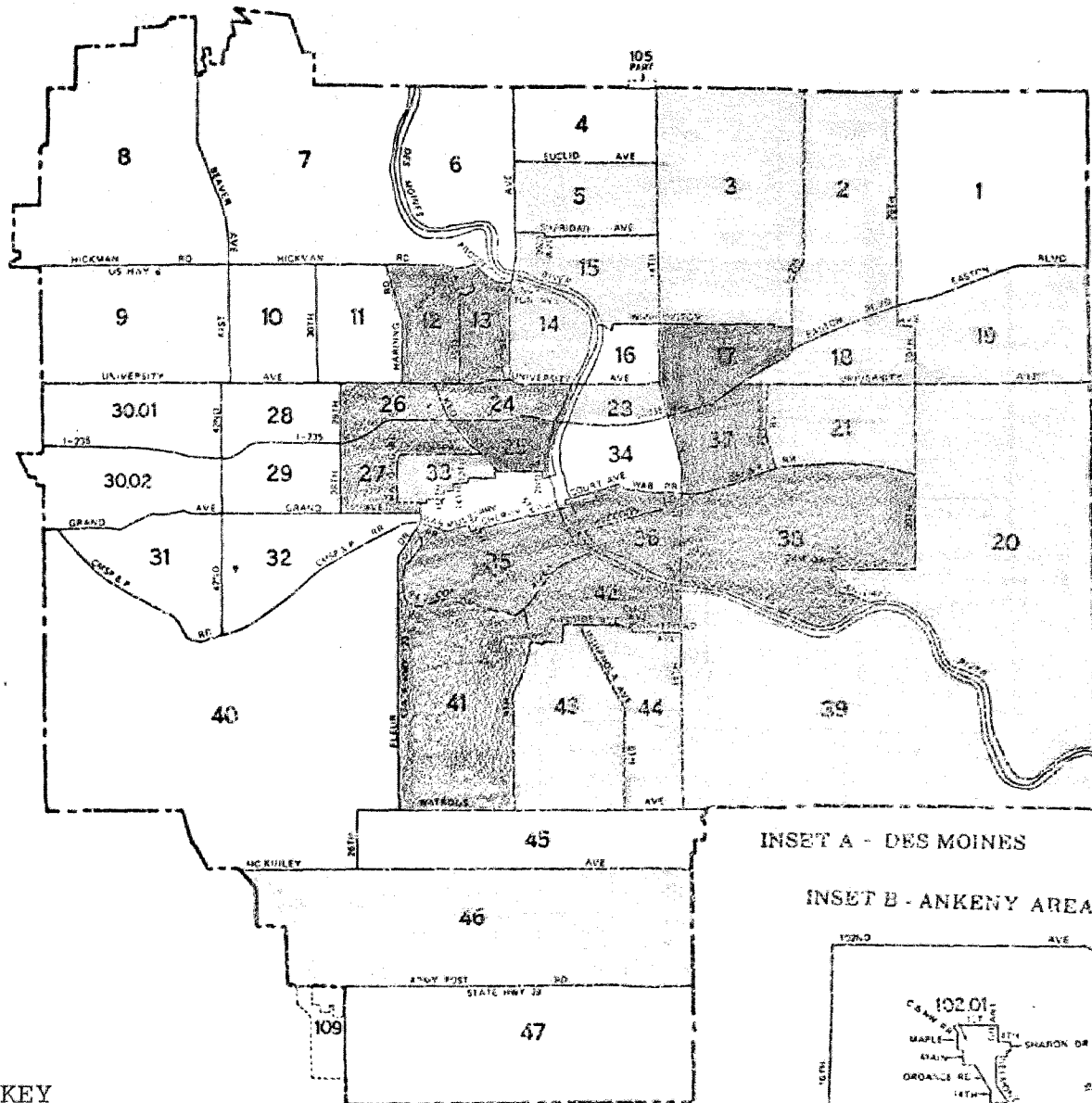
Table 7 is the "percent Democrat" vote in the 1972 and 1976 general presidential elections by census tract.<sup>3</sup>

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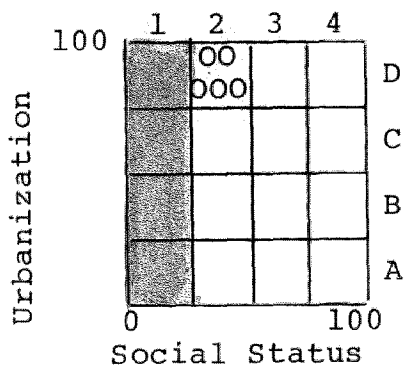
<sup>1</sup>Census Tracts, Des Moines, Iowa, SMSA, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>These figures compiled from Social Area Index Scores and Table 7 party preference figures.



KEY




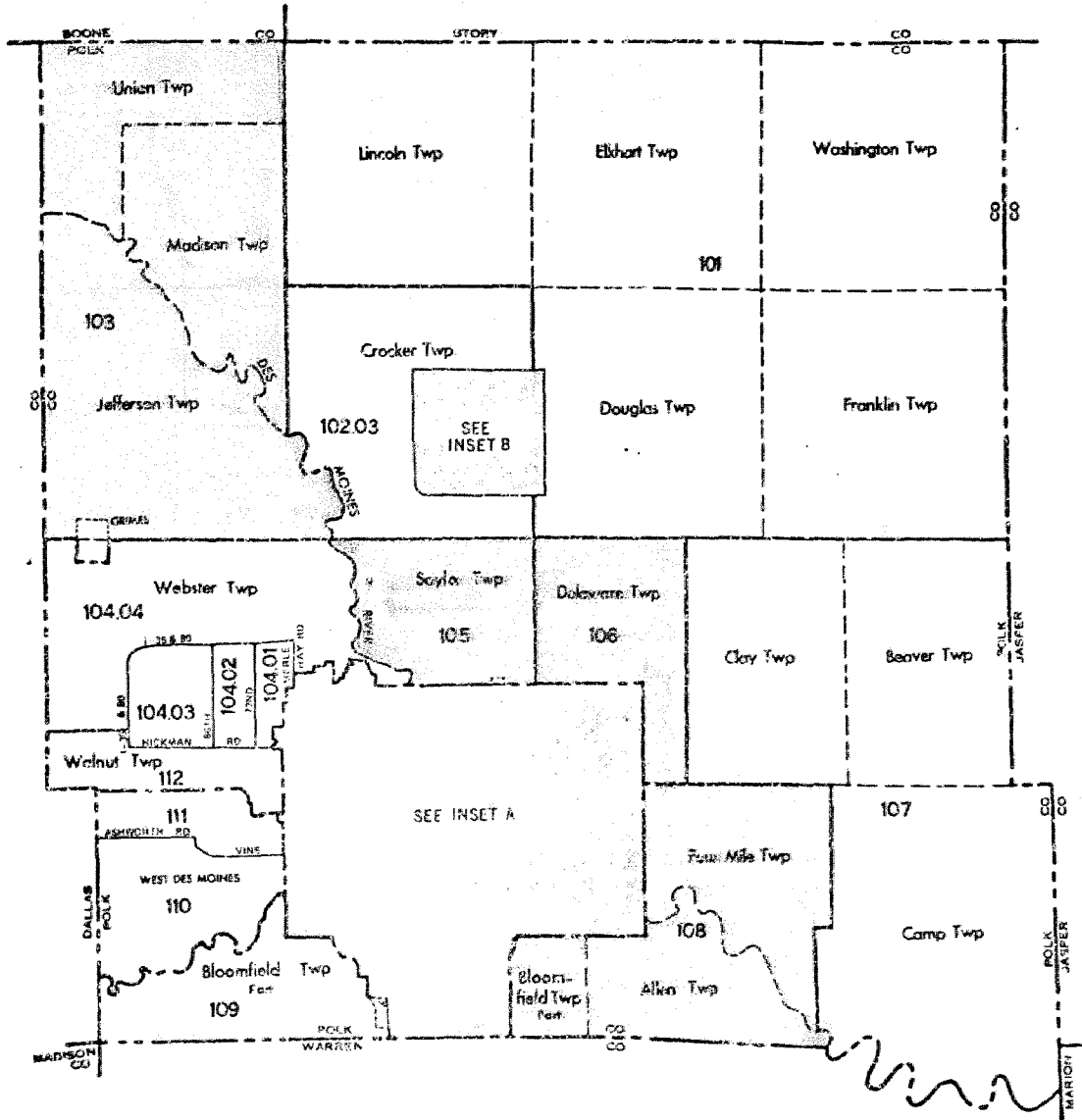
 Segregated

Figure 4

Census Tracts in the Des Moines, Iowa SMSA Showing Social Areas for Des Moines





KEY

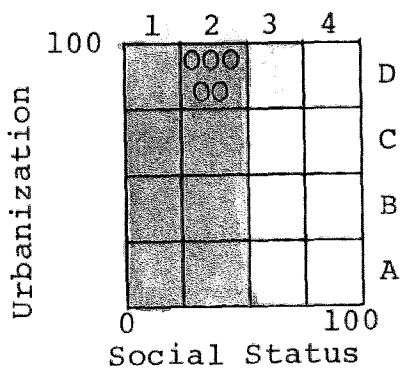


Figure 5

Census Tracts in the Des Moines, Iowa SMSA  
Showing Social Areas for Polk County

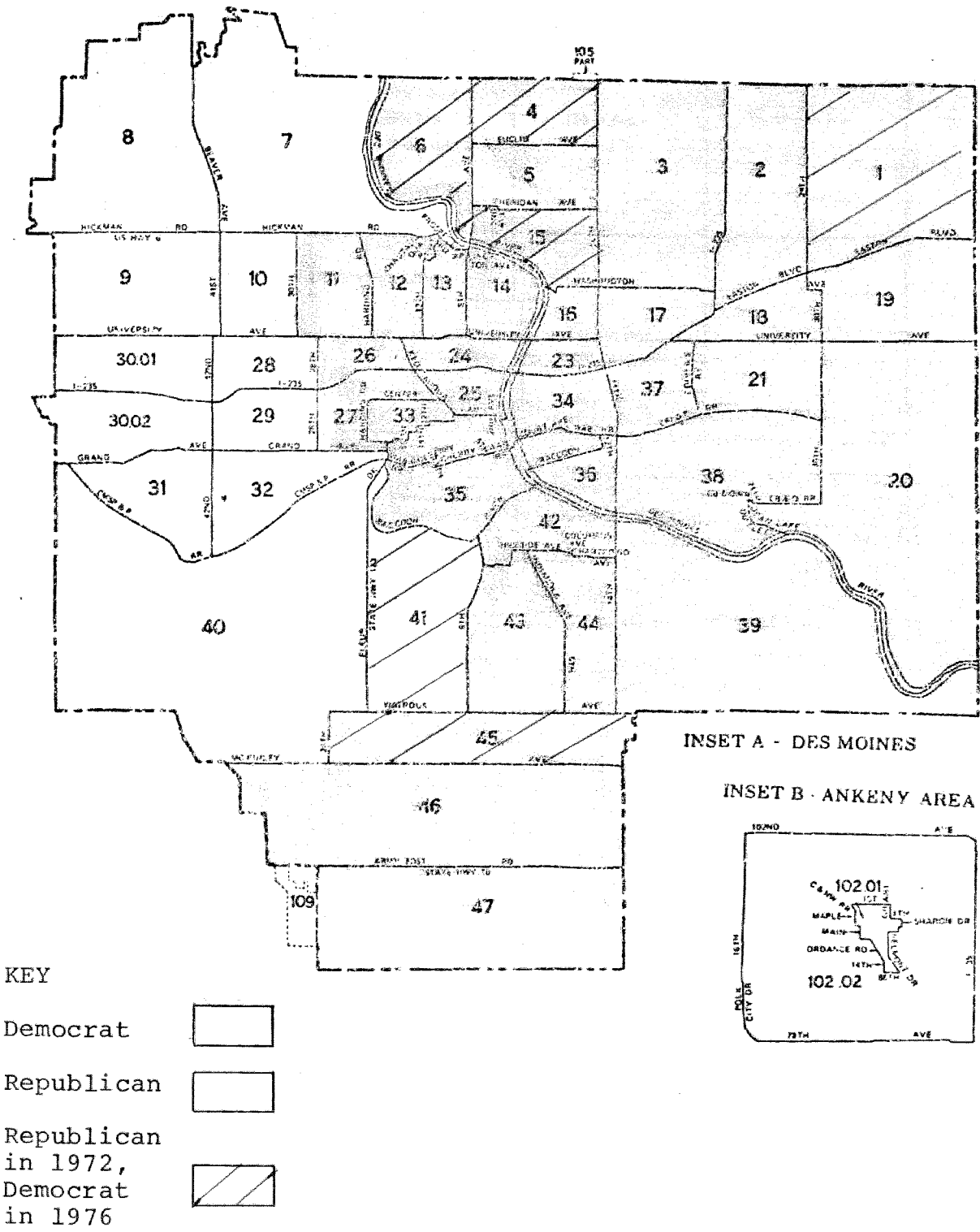
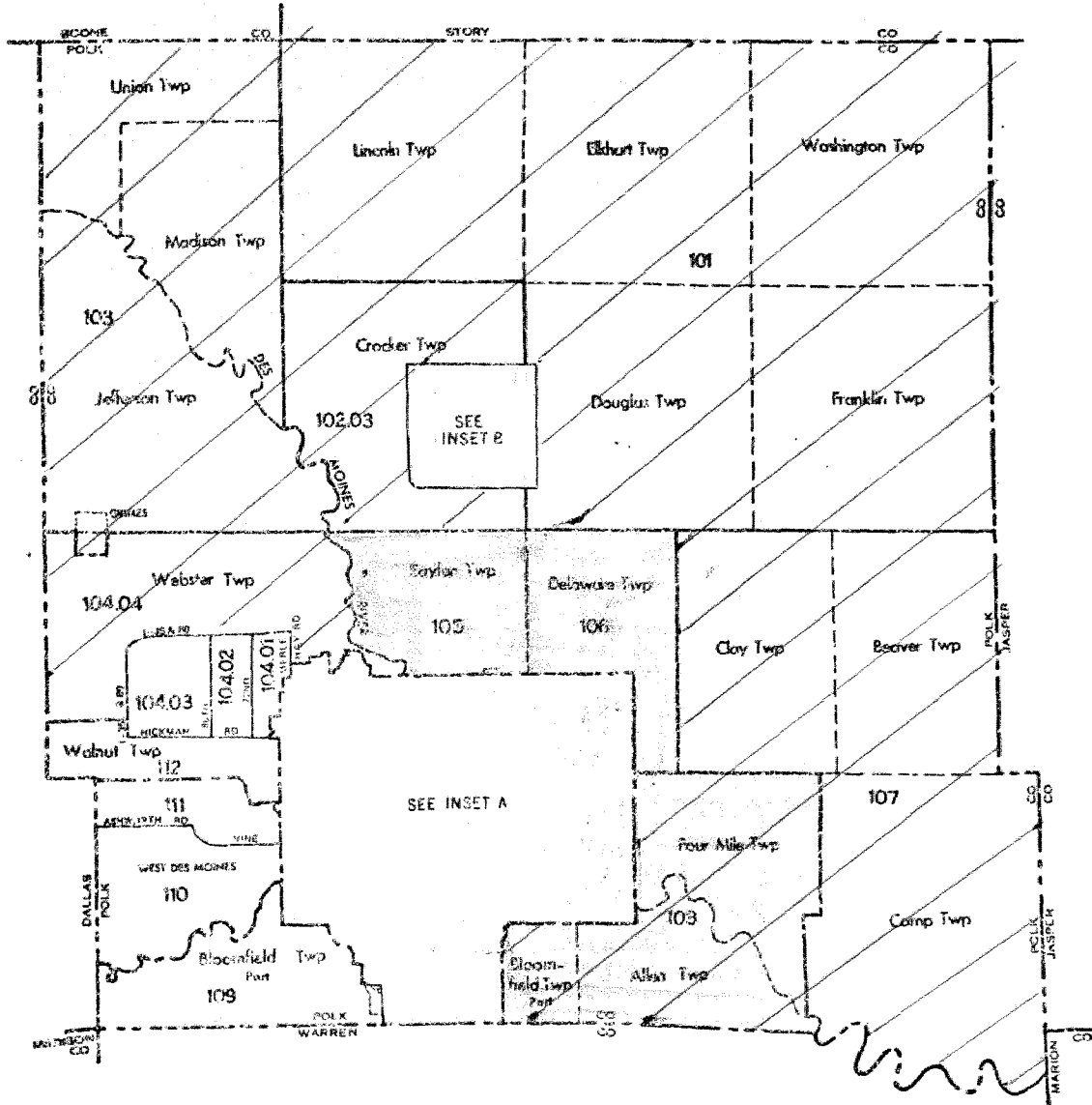


Figure 6

Census Tracts in the Des Moines, Iowa SMSA  
 Showing Political Preference for Des Moines



KEY

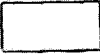
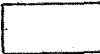
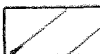
- Democrat 
- Republican 
- Republican in 1972,  
Democrat in 1976 

Figure 7.

Census Tracts in the Des Moines, Iowa SMSA  
Showing Political Preference for Polk County

Table 7

Percent Democrat Vote for President in 1972 and 1976  
General Elections in Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa  
by Census Tract

Census Tract	% Demo- crat 1972	Party Pref.	% Demo- crat 1976	Census Tract	% Demo- crat 1972	Party Pref.	% Demo- crat 1976
1	48.2	*D	64.8	33	54.6	D	62.2
2	50.6	D	61.1	34	52.5	D	61.6
3	55.8	D	64.1	35	61.1	D	66.9
4	48.6	*D	61.8	36	63.9	D	79.9
5	50.3	D	61.0	37	57.3	D	69.2
6	47.2	*D	57.6	38	72.2	D	78.5
7	37.7	R	44.5	39	53.3	D	69.0
8	38.7	R	46.1	40	36.2	R	40.2
9	37.9	R	46.1	41	46.4	*R	52.2
10	41.0	R	44.5	42	67.1	D	76.8
11	55.0	D	56.7	43	55.3	D	52.7
12	74.6	D	78.1	44	57.6	D	70.8
13	71.7	D	72.4	45	48.9	*D	60.8
14	59.2	D	69.7	46	51.1	D	62.3
15	46.1	*D	58.9	47	50.0	D	63.5
16	55.1	D	65.8	101	38.8	*R	53.8
17	72.2	D	78.6	102.01	37.7	R	47.4
18	54.9	D	69.0	102.02	36.1	R	45.8
19	50.2	D	70.9	102.03	40.3	*R	55.4
20	61.0	D	70.1	103	42.4	*R	56.3
21	57.5	D	68.6	104.01	36.6	R	47.0
22	-	-	-	104.02	29.5	R	37.5
23	59.6	D	71.0	104.03	30.4	R	36.1
24	70.4	D	56.2	104.04	42.0	*R	50.9
25	67.5	D	53.2	105	50.2	D	63.3
26	61.6	D	59.1	106	55.9	D	70.9
27	60.7	D	60.8	107	40.0	*R	52.0
28	48.8	R	49.3	108	43.7	*D	57.6
29	47.6	R	44.4	109	31.7	R	44.3
30.01	37.9	R	41.2	110	37.1	R	42.9
30.02	32.6	R	34.4	111	31.1	R	37.1
31	31.0	R	30.2	112	33.9	R	37.0
32	36.4	R	33.9				

\*Indicates change of party preference from Republi-  
can in 1972 to Democrat in 1976.

Party preference "D" indicates a mean percentage of  
50 percent or more; "R" indicates a mean percentage of less  
than 50 percent Democratic.

While 52 census tracts voted either Democrat or Republican in both elections, 12 voted Republican in 1972 and Democrat in 1976 (six of these averaged over 50 percent Democrat for both elections and six did not). Note that while some census tracts had a higher "percent Democrat" in 1972 than in 1976, and 12 census tracts switched from Republican in 1972 to Democrat in 1976, no census tract switched from Democrat in 1972 to Republican in 1976. Each census tract is marked with a "D" to indicate an average of 50 percent or more Democrat vote, or an "R" to indicate less than 50 percent Democrat vote.

Table 8 is a compilation of Social Area scores and political party preference by census tract for Des Moines, Polk County, which corresponds with the geographic presentation in Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7; and the tabular data in Tables 7 and 8.

At this point three observations may be made:

(1) The east side of Des Moines and the contiguous suburban townships on the North and East are comprised of "3's" (lower class) on the Shevky-Bell Area Typology, and voted Democrat; (2) The west side of Des Moines and the contiguous suburban townships are composed mainly of the "4's" (upper class) and voted Republican; and (3) While some "4's" voted Democrat, most voted Republican, and all the "3's" and both the "2's" (also lower class) voted Democrat (no "3's" or "2's" voted Republican).

Table 8

Shevky-Bell Social Areas and Party Preference for  
Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, by Census Tract

Census Tract	Social Index	Urban. Index	Segreg. Index	Party Pref.
1	4	C	-	D
2	3	C	-	D
3	3	C	-	D
4	4	C	-	D
5	3	C	-	D
6	4	C	-	D
7	4	C	-	R
8	4	C	-	R
9	4	C	-	R
10	4	B	-	R
11	4	B	-	D
12	3	C	S	D
13	3	B	S	D
14	3	B	-	D
15	3	C	-	D
16	4	B	-	D
17	3	C	S	D
18	3	C	-	D
19	3	C	-	D
20	3	C	-	D
21	3	C	-	D
22	-	-	-	-
23	3	B	-	D
24	4	B	S	D
25	3	A	S	D
26	4	A	S	D
27	4	B	S	D
28	4	B	-	R
29	4	B	-	R
30.01	4	B	-	R
30.02	4	C	-	R
31	4	C	-	R
32	4	C	-	R
33	3	A	-	D
34	4	A	-	D
35	3	A	S	D
36	2	D	S	D
37	3	C	S	D
38	2	D	S	D
39	3	C	-	R
40	4	B	-	

Table 8 (Continued)

Census Tract	Social Index	Urban. Index	Segreg. Index	Party Pref.
41	4	B	S	R
42	3	C	S	D
43	3	C	-	D
44	3	C	-	D
45	4	C	-	D
46	3	C	-	D
47	4	C	-	D
101	4	C	-	R
102.01	4	C	-	R
102.02	4	C	-	R
102.03	4	C	-	R
103	3	C	-	R
104.01	4	C	-	R
104.02	4	C	-	R
104.03	4	C	-	R
104.04	4	C	-	R
105	3	C	-	D
106	3	C	-	D
107	4	C	-	R
108	3	C	-	D
109	4	C	-	R
110	4	C	-	R
111	4	C	-	R
112	4	C	-	R

## HYPOTHESES AND COROLLARIES

Hypothesis I: Voting differences with regard to party preference do vary according to higher and lower socioeconomic status areas.

The null hypothesis, which will actually be tested, is, "Voting differences with regard to party preference do not vary according to higher and lower socioeconomic status areas."

Test: The "percent Democrat" vote in the 1972 and 1976 general Presidential elections were correlated with the Shevky-Bell social index for Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, using Pearson's correlation, with a one tailed test, and a .05 level of significance.

Rationale: If a change in social status indicated a change in percent Democrat vote for president then the null hypothesis could be rejected, and the conclusion could be that there is a relationship between higher and lower social status and higher and lower percent Democrat vote. If the higher social status occurred with higher percent Democrat vote, there would be a direct correlation. If the higher social status occurred with lower percent Democrat vote, then there would be an indirect correlation.

Results: The Pearson's correlation of  $-.7517$  for Social Index by percent Democrat vote for President in 1972 with a significance of  $.001$ , and the Pearson's correlation of  $-.9016$  for Social Index by percent Democrat vote for



President in 1976 with a significance of .001 are both significant and impressive. They demonstrate a very strong inverse correlation between social status and percent Democrat vote: that is the higher the social rank, the lower the percent Democrat vote; the lower the social rank, the higher the percent Democrat vote.

Table 9

Pearson's Correlation for Shevky-Bell Typology by  
Percent Democrat Vote for President in  
Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa,  
1970 Census

Shevky-Bell Typology	1972	1976
Social Index	-.7517	-.9016
	s=.001	s=.001

Corollary A: Voting preference of residents of lower socioeconomic areas tend to be more Democrat and those of higher socioeconomic areas tend to be more Republican. There are two hypotheses being tested: (1) Voting preference of residents of lower socioeconomic areas tend to be more Democrat than those of higher socioeconomic areas; and (2) Voting preference of residents of higher socioeconomic areas tend to be more Republican than those of lower socioeconomic areas. The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in party preference of lower or higher socioeconomic

area residents."

Test: The "percent Democrat" vote in the 1972 and 1976 general Presidential elections were correlated with the Shevky-Bell social index by using Pearson's correlation, with a one tailed test, and .05 level of significance.

Rationale: If a change in social status occurred with a change in percent Democrat vote, then the null hypothesis could be rejected. Further, if higher indexes of social status occurred with lower incidence of "percent Democrat" votes, and if lower indexes of social status occurred with higher incidence of "percent Democrat" vote then the research hypothesis would be adequately demonstrated.

Results: Refer to Table 9. There is a significant and strong correlation between social status and percent Democrat vote:  $-.7517$  in 1972, and  $-.9016$  in 1976. Each statistic had a significance of .001. These data indicate a very strong inverse correlation between social status and percent Democrat vote: the higher the social status the lower the percent Democrat vote; the lower the social status the higher the percent Democrat vote.

Corollary B: Residents of similar socioeconomic areas tend to be similar in party preference regardless of city or suburban place of residence.

The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in party preference between residents of similar socioeconomic areas."

Test: The "percent Democrat" vote for the 1972 and 1976 general Presidential elections were correlated with the Shevky-Bell typology by using Pearson's correlation, with a one tailed test, and a .05 level of significance. Since the correlation itself does not refer to the geographic location of the census tracts, the reader must also refer to Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7 for the social area, and political maps for direct comparison on a census tract basis; and to Tables 7 and 8 for table data.

Rationale: If the Pearson's correlation shows a relationship between higher or lower SES areas and percent Democrat vote, then the null hypothesis could be rejected. However, since this test does not identify the census tracts geographically, the maps provide a visual of the same data.

Results: Refer to Table 9. There is a highly significant correlation between social status and percent Democrat vote:  $-.7517$  in 1972, and  $-.9016$  in 1976. Each statistic had a significance of .001. These indicate a very strong inverse correlation between social status and percent Democrat vote; the higher the social status the lower the percent Democrat vote; the lower the social status the higher the percent Democrat vote. The maps, Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7, show similar socioeconomic areas do indeed vote similarly. The 3's and 2's on the east side of Des Moines and the contiguous suburban townships all voted Democrat

and (some 4's), and only the 4's on the west side of Des Moines and contiguous suburban townships voted Republican (although not all the 4's voted Republican).

Corollary C: Residents of dissimilar socioeconomic areas tend to be dissimilar in party preference regardless of city or suburban place of residence.

The null hypothesis is "There is no difference in party preference between residents of dissimilar socioeconomic areas."

Test: The "percent Democrat" vote in the 1972 and 1976 general Presidential elections were correlated with the Shevky-Bell Typology for Des Moines, Polk County, by using Pearson's correlation.

Rationale: If similar socioeconomic areas vote, similarly, one would expect dissimilar socioeconomic areas to vote dissimilarly. That is, if residents of lower socioeconomic areas voted Democrat (similarly), and those of higher socioeconomic areas voted Republican (similarly), then one would expect residents of higher socioeconomic (Republican) areas to vote differently than those of lower socioeconomic (Democrat) areas.

Results: Refer to Table 9; Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7; and Tables 7 and 8 for geographic and tabular data. There is a definite and strong correlation between social status and percent Democrat vote,  $-.7517$  in 1972 and  $-.9016$  in 1976. Each statistic had a significance of  $.001$ . These

indicate an almost perfect inverse correlation between social status and percent Democrat vote; the higher the social status the lower the percent Democrat vote; the lower the social status the higher the percent Democrat vote. The maps show dissimilar socioeconomic areas do indeed vote dissimilarly. The 3's and 2's on the east side of Des Moines and the contiguous suburban townships all voted Democrat, and only the 4's on the west side of Des Moines and contiguous suburban townships voted Republican (although not all the 4's voted Republican).

Hypothesis II: Voting differences in party preference do not occur with regard to central city or suburban residence.

Test: The "percent Democrat" vote in the 1972 and 1976 general Presidential elections were correlated with "place of residence (city or suburb)," by using cross tabulation. Location was labeled (1) city and (2) suburb with a "select if" option. In this manner the mean "percent Democrat" vote would be calculated separately for the city and the suburbs for 1972 and 1976.

Rationale: If an observable difference occurs between the city and suburban mean percent Democrat, then the null hypothesis could be rejected and the conclusion could be there is a difference between city and suburban residents with regard to party preference.

Results:

Table 10

Mean Percent Democrat Vote for President by  
Location, Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa

Location	1972	1976	Mean
City	53.0	59.8	56.4
Suburbs	38.7	49.1	43.7

The results show a difference in the 1972 general Presidential elections of 14.4 percent with the city showing a 53.1 mean percent Democrat and the suburbs only 38.7 percent. The 1976 mean percent Democrat for the suburbs was 59.8 percent and for the city, 49.1 percent, which resulted in a difference of 10.7 percent. And the average for 1972 and 1976 show 56.4 percent for the city and 43.9 percent for the suburbs which is a difference of 12.6 percent. Since this paper is concerned with the social status impact on voting behavior, a second Test was used for this hypothesis which will also be considered.

Test: The Shevky-Bell typology for Des Moines, Polk County was correlated with place of residence (city or suburb) by using cross tabulation with the "select if" option. In this manner the mean for the Shevky-Bell index would be calculated separately for the city and the suburbs.

Rationale: If a difference occurs in social status between the city and the suburbs, one may expect a difference in party preference of city-suburban residents.

Results:

Table 11

Mean Figures for Shevky-Bell Index by Location for  
Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, 1970 Census

Shevky-Bell Index	City	Suburbs
Social Index	74.467	81.959

The data shows a higher average social status score in the suburbs (81.959) than in the city (74.467). These tests show a correlation between social status and "percent Democrat," as well as a correlation between location and "percent Democrat."

Corollary A: Central cities do not tend to be more Democrat and suburbs more Republican (actually two hypotheses: (1) Central cities do not tend to be more Democrat than suburbs; (2) Suburbs do not tend to be more Republican than central cities).

The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in party preference between residents of central cities and suburbs."

Test: The "percent Democrat" vote in the 1972 and

1976 general Presidential elections were correlated with place of residence (city and suburb) by using cross tabulation. Location was labeled (1) city and (2) suburb, with a "select if" option. In this manner, the mean percent Democrat vote would be calculated separately for the city and suburbs for 1972 and 1976.

Rationale: If a significant difference occurs between the city and suburban mean percent Democrat then the null hypothesis could be rejected. And if there is a higher percent Democrat vote in the city than in the suburbs, the research hypothesis could be rejected.

Results: Refer to Table 10. The mean percent Democrat for 1972 and 1976 general Presidential elections is 56.4 percent for the city and 43.9 percent for the suburbs. The city "percent Democrat" is higher than the suburbs.

Corollary B: Residents of outer city areas tend to be more similar in party preference to residents of suburban areas than to those of core city areas. (Four hypotheses are being tested: (1) There is no difference in party preference between residents of core city areas and suburbs; (2) there is no difference in party preference between residents of outer city areas and suburbs; (3) there is no difference in party preference between residents of outer city areas and core city areas; however (4) there is less difference in party preference between residents of outer



city areas and suburbs than between residents of core city areas and suburbs.)

The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in party preference on the basis of core city, outer city, or suburban residency."

Test: Refer to the maps, Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7; and Tables 7 and 8 for corroborating geographic data.

Rationale: The maps and tables regarding location of social areas and political preference in the city and the suburbs should demonstrate the hypothesis (or fail to demonstrate it).

Results: Refer to maps, Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7, and Tables 7 and 8. The maps and tables show a difference between the east side of Des Moines along with the contiguous eastern suburban townships (Democrat), and the west side of Des Moines along with the western contiguous townships (Republican). However, there is no evidence the outer city areas voted more like the suburbs than like the core city areas.

Hypothesis III: Participation rates between residents of Democrat areas and Republican areas tend to be proportionate to one another if only registered voters are considered.

The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in participation rates of higher (Republican) and lower (Democrat) socioeconomic area registered voters."

Test: (1) "Percent turnout" for the 1972 and 1976

general Presidential elections were correlated with the Shevky-Bell Indexes for Des Moines Polk County using Pearson's correlation (one tailed, .05 level of significance); (2) Percent turnout for the 1972 and 1976 general Presidential elections were correlated with location (city-suburb) using cross tabulation.

Rationale: If there is no significant differences between participation rates of higher or lower socio-economic area residents as indicated by no correlation between "percent turnout" and social status, then the null hypothesis may not be rejected. For further verification, the mean "percent turnout" for the city and suburbs should show no significant difference if the null hypothesis is not to be rejected.

Results:

Table 12

Shevky-Bell Index by Percent Turnout for General  
Presidential Elections in Des Moines, Polk  
County, Iowa, 1970 Census

	1972	1976
Social Rank Index	.0701	.2259
	s=.289	s=.036

In Table 12 the Pearson's correlation of .0701, s=.289 for 1972 for Social Index by percent turnout does

not show a significant correlation. However, the Pearson's correlation of .2259,  $s=.036$  for 1976 is significant. In Table 13 the mean percent turnout for the city of 68.3 percent and the suburbs of 67.9 percent do not show an observable difference.

Table 13

Mean Percent Turnout for General Presidential Elections  
by Location for Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa

Location	1972	1976	Mean
City	72.6	63.9	68.3
Suburbs	68.6	67.3	67.9

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSION

This chapter contains a restatement of each hypothesis and corollary, and a conclusion for each, as well as general concluding remarks.

Hypothesis I: Voting differences with regard to party preference do vary according to higher and lower socioeconomic status areas.

The null hypothesis is, "Voting differences with regard to party preference do not vary according to higher and lower socioeconomic status areas." The Pearson's correlation for Social Index by percent Democrat vote shows a strong inverse relationship between social status and percent Democrat vote. The null hypothesis is rejected. The research hypothesis is adequately demonstrated.

Corollary A: Voting preference of residents of lower socioeconomic areas tend to be more Democrat and those of higher socioeconomic areas tend to be more Republican.

The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in party preference of lower or higher socioeconomic areas residents."

Again, the Pearson's correlation for Social Index by percent Democrat vote shows a strong inverse relationship between social status and percent Democratic vote.

Not only a relationship between social status and

party preference is demonstrated, but also the direction of the relationship is clearly indicated: the higher the social status the lower the percent Democrat vote; the lower the social status the higher the percent Democrat vote.

The null hypothesis is rejected. Further, the direction of the correlation (inverse) adequately demonstrates the research hypothesis.

Corollary B: Residents of similar socioeconomic areas tend to be similar in party preference regardless of city or suburban place of residence.

The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in party preference between residents of similar socioeconomic areas."

The Pearson's correlation for Social Index by percent Democrat vote demonstrates that there is a significant difference in party preference between residents of higher and lower socioeconomic areas. The null hypothesis is rejected. But a look at some geographic data is necessary to deal with the research hypothesis. The maps of the social status areas and party preference areas show conclusively that the residents of similar socioeconomic areas do vote similarly. The 3's and 2's all voted Democrat. Only the 4's voted Republican (although not all the 4's). The lower socioeconomic areas on the east side of the city, and the contiguous lower socioeconomic suburban townships (2's and 3's) voted Democrat. The higher socioeconomic areas on

the west side of the city, and the contiguous higher socioeconomic suburban townships (4's) voted Republican. The research hypothesis is adequately demonstrated.

Corollary C: Residents of dissimilar socioeconomic areas tend to be dissimilar in party preference regardless of city or suburban place of residence.

The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in party preference between residents of dissimilar socioeconomic areas."

Again the Pearson's correlation for Social Index by percent Democrat vote shows that there is a significant difference in party preference between residents of dissimilar socioeconomic areas. The null hypothesis is rejected.

The geographic data locate the dissimilar socioeconomic areas and show they do indeed vote dissimilarly. The lower socioeconomic areas on the east side of the city (and the contiguous lower socioeconomic suburban townships) voted Democrat. The higher socioeconomic areas on the west side of the city (and the contiguous higher socioeconomic suburban townships) voted Republican. The research hypothesis is adequately demonstrated.

Hypothesis II: Voting differences in party preference do not occur with regard to central city or suburban residence. This is the null hypothesis which is actually being tested.

Cross tabulation of the percent Democrat vote for 1972 and 1976 with place of residence shows a significant difference between the city and suburbs for 1972 and 1976. The mean for both years also show an observable difference.

The null hypothesis is rejected.

But the hypothesis did not take into account what would happen to the election results if a difference in socioeconomic status occurred with a difference in location (city or suburb). And a difference does indeed occur according to the results of the correlation between the Shevky-Bell typology and the place of residence in Hypothesis I and Corollaries I A, I B, and I C. There is a social status score of 81.959 for the suburbs and 74.467 for the city. With this kind of a difference in social status, one would expect to find a similar difference in party preference, and Hypothesis I did not deal with this expectation. The research hypothesis is not adequately demonstrated if it stands alone, but it does not stand alone in light of the socioeconomic information which affects this test.

Corollary A: Central cities do not tend to be more Democrat and suburbs more Republican. The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in party preference between residents of central city or suburbs."

Here again, the social status factor was not considered. Table 9 shows a higher mean percent Democrat vote for the city than for the suburbs. Table 10 shows a higher

mean social index score for the suburbs than for the city. The higher social status index for the suburbs may contribute as much or more to the difference in party preference than does the difference in location (city or suburb). Although the null hypothesis is rejected if it stands alone, it does not stand alone. Socioeconomic status does affect the party preference of voters.

Corollary B: Residents of outer city areas tend to be more similar in party preference to residents of suburban areas than to those of core city areas.

The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in party preference on the basis of core city, outer city, or suburban residency."

The socioeconomic and party preference maps show a difference of an east-west nature but not a core-city outer city nature. The east side of Des Moines and the contiguous suburban townships vote Democrat. The west side of Des Moines and contiguous suburban townships vote Republican.

The null hypothesis is not rejected. Residents of outer city areas do not tend to be more similar in party preference to residents of suburban areas than to residents of core city areas. The research hypothesis is not adequately demonstrated.

Hypothesis III: Participation rates between residents of Democrat areas and Republican areas tend to be proportionate to one another if we consider only registered voters.



The null hypothesis is, "There is no difference in participation rates of higher (Republican) and lower (Democrat) socioeconomic area registered voters."

The Pearson's correlation for social status by percent turnout for 1972 does not show a significant relationship. But the Pearson's correlation for 1976 does show a significant relationship. While social status may affect turnout sometimes, it does not always do so. The cross tabulation of percent turnout with location (city or suburb) for the 1972 and 1976 general Presidential elections, shows less than .5 of one percent difference between the city and the suburbs.

The null hypothesis is not rejected. The research hypothesis is demonstrated by the Pearson's correlation in the 1972 election and in the cross tabulation, but not in the Pearson's correlation for the 1976 election.

To summarize, the socioeconomic impact on party preference was adequately demonstrated. The very strong inverse correlation between social status and percent Democrat vote for President, occurred regardless of place of residence (city or suburb). This statistically significant fact overrides the observable difference in party preference due to location. Although suburban voters were more inclined to vote Republican than Democrat, they were also in a higher social class.

While social status may affect turnout of registered

voters, it does not necessarily affect it.

And there is no evidence that outer city residents vote more like suburban residents than like core city residents. In fact, the evidence shows a pronounced east-west; lower class-higher class; Democrat-Republican dichotomy, rather than a city-suburban dichotomy.

In conclusion, the author has demonstrated an innovative approach in the empirical investigation of urban political phenomena. This method simply combines two tools which have already been provided: (1) The Shevky-Bell Social Area Analysis Typology; and (2) Kaufman and Greer's, and M. G. Asfahl's method of converting electoral precinct data to a census tract basis, to provide coterminous units of analysis.

What remains to be done is for other researchers to apply this methodology to other SMSA's and urban areas to demonstrate the lack of empirical evidence for geographic partisan determinism. Once this is done, we, as political scientists, can develop theories of voting unencumbered by mythology.

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