

# Horizons

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## Rural Virginia and the 1992 General Assembly

Joan H. Munford

Democracy is the recurrent suspicion that more than half of the people are right more than half of the time.  
--E. B. White (1899-1985)

The 1991 legislative redistricting, combined with the 1991 elections and the retirements of a number of senior legislators, has created one of the last 20 years' largest turnovers in the membership of the General Assembly. The 1992 General Assembly will have 36 new faces--a 25 percent change from 1989. More importantly for rural Virginia, these changes have benefitted the Commonwealth's urban and suburban areas while diminishing the influence of its rural areas.

The mandate of "one man, one vote" requires the General Assembly to apportion legislative seats so that each district approximates (within five percent) an "ideal," or numerically equal, district population: in 1991, 61,874 people for a House district, and 154,684 for a Senate district. Virginia's rapid population growth (14.6 percent) throughout the 1980s occurred mostly in the urban and suburban areas of Northern Virginia, Richmond, and Tidewater. In fact, three Northern Virginia counties now contain almost one-fourth (24 percent) of Virginia's population. Meanwhile, many predominantly rural areas of the state lost population during the decade. Accordingly, reapportionment resulted in additional General Assembly seats in Virginia's high-growth areas.

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For years, rural legislators have held their own through the effective use of coalitions and seniority. Now, with fewer rural lawmakers in the General Assembly, these coalitions will not have the leverage they have had in the past. Furthermore, rural influence based on seniority has been significantly reduced. The most distinct changes affecting rural seniority were the death of longtime Speaker of the House A. L. Philpott, the retirement of a number of senior legislators, and the defeat in the November elections of several other legislators from rural areas. (Ed. note: The table on pages 2-3 lists district changes and election results in Virginia's rural counties.)

In the House of Delegates, the loss of Mr. Philpott will have a tremendous impact on rural influence. His power as Speaker, and his commitment to protecting rural Virginia, provided great benefits. In the Senate, rural interests will feel acutely the loss of Howard Anderson, Onico Barker, Danny Bird, the late John Buchanan, Buzz Emick, Bill Fears, Elmon Gray, and Bill Truban. Their seniority gave them power through committee chairmanships and influential seats on the Finance Committee.

The large amount of legislation introduced each year makes it impossible for every legislator to become involved in every bill. Much work must be done by the committees, so the committees assume a vital role in the legislative process. Both houses of the General Assembly award committee chairmanships to the member of the majority party who has served the longest on that committee. The chair, by controlling the flow of legislation before the committee, has the most influence on whether or not a bill is approved.

Please see Munford, cont., page 4

## A 1991 General Assembly Election "Scorecard"

To accompany Delegate Joan Munford's article on changes in the General Assembly that will affect rural Virginia, *Horizons* has compiled the 1991 General Assembly election results for the non-metropolitan counties of the state. These results, along with the changes in district numbering following reapportionment, are shown in the large table that follows.

The table is organized alphabetically by county (column 1). For each county, the new House and Senate district number(s), with the old numbers(s) in parenthesis, are shown in columns 2 and 4. In columns 3 and 5 are shown the newly elected members for each *new* district, with the incumbent of the *previous* district shown in parenthesis.

Due to space limitations, this table shows only the state's non-metropolitan counties. Non-metropolitan counties are defined by the U. S. Census Bureau as neither containing, nor economically tied to, a central city of 50,000 or more inhabitants. This table lists Virginia's non-metropolitan counties according to the 1980 Census.

For more information on statewide election results, contact the State Board of Elections, 200 N. Ninth Street, Room 101, Richmond, 23219-3497; (800) 552-9745. For more information on reapportionment, contact the Division of Legislative Services, General Assembly Building/2nd Floor, 910 Capitol Street, Richmond, 23219; (804) 786-3591.

Non-metropolitan Counties (1980 Census)	New House District Number(s) (previous districts in parenthesis)	1992-3 Members and Party (previous incumbents in parenthesis) <sup>1</sup>	New Senate District Number(s) (previous districts in parentheses)	1992-5 Members and Party (previous incumbents in parenthesis) <sup>2</sup>
Accomack	100 (100)	Bloxom-D (Bloxom)	3 (3)	Norment-R (Fears-D)
Allegheny	18 (18)	Deeds-D (Trumbo-R)	22 (22)	Trumbo-R (Emick-D)
Amelia	61,62 (59)	Parker-D, R. B. Jones-D (Abbitt-D)	11 (17)	Russell-R (Houck-D)
Appomattox	59 (59)	Abbitt-D (Abbitt)	15 (18)	R. J. Holland-D (Anderson-D)
Augusta	18,24,25 (24,25,26)	Deeds-D, Wilkins-R, Giesen-R (Wilkins, Giesen, Hanger-R)	24 (24)	Nolen-D (Nolen)
Bath	18 (26)	Deeds-D (Hanger-R)	22 (22)	Trumbo-R (Emick-D)
Bedford	9,14,19 (14,19)	Finney-D, Cranwell-D, Putney-I (Cranwell, Putney)	23 (23)	Schewel-D (Schewel)
Bland	6 (5)	Jackson-D (Stafford-R)	38 (38)	Reasor-D (Bird-D)
Brunswick	61,75 (62)	Parker-D, Council-I-D (R. B. Jones-D)	18 (15)	Lucas-D (R. J. Holland-D)
Buchanan	3 (4)	Stump-D (Stump)	38 (40)	Reasor-D (vacant)
Buckingham	59 (59)	Abbitt-D (Abbitt)	17 (18)	Houck-D (Anderson-D)
Caroline	98 (54,55)	Morgan-R (Orrock-R, Hargrove-R)	4 (4)	Cross-D (Cross)
Carroll	6,10 (8,10)	Jackson-D, Reynolds-D (Jackson, Reynolds)	19,39 (20,37)	Hawkins-R, Marye-D (Goode-D, Marye)
Charlotte	60 (60)	Bennett-D (Bennett)	15 (18)	R. J. Holland-D (Anderson-D)
Clarke	33 (31)	Rollins-R (Guest-R)	27 (27)	Potts-R (Truban-R)
Craig	14 (14,18)	Cranwell-D (Cranwell, Trumbo-R)	22 (22)	Trumbo-R (Emick-D)
Culpeper	28,30 (30,31)	Howell-R, Davies-D (Higginbotham-R, Guest-R)	26 (26)	K. G. Miller-R (K. G. Miller)
Cumberland	59 (59)	Abbitt-D (Abbitt)	17 (17)	Houck-D (Houck)
Dickenson	2 (2,3)	Phillips-D (Kennedy-D, Phillips)	40 (40)	Wampler-R (vacant)
Essex	98,99 (98)	Morgan-R, Murphy-D (Morgan)	4 (28)	Cross-D (Chichester-R)
Fauquier	31,33 (31,32,53)	Wood-D, Rollins-R (Guest-R, Rollins-R, Howell-R)	26,27 (26,27)	K. G. Miller-R, Potts-R (K. G. Miller, Truban-R)
Floyd	9 (9)	Finney-D (Finney)	19 (37)	Hawkins-R (Marye-D)
Franklin	9,11 (9)	Finney-D, Armstrong-D (Finney)	19 (20)	Hawkins-R (Goode-D)
Frederick	15,29 (29)	Guest-R, Smith-D (Smith)	27 (27)	Potts-R (Truban-R)
Giles	7,12 (5)	Baker-R, Munford-D (Stafford-R)	22 (38)	Trumbo-R (Bird-D)
Grayson	5,8 (7,8)	Jennings-D, Jackson-D (Jennings, Jackson)	39 (37)	Marye-D (Marye)
Greensville	75 (62)	Council-I-D (R. B. Jones-D)	15,18 (15)	R. J. Holland-D, Lucas-D (R. J. Holland)

Halifax	60 (60)	Bennett-D (Bennett)	18 (18)	Lucas-D (Anderson-D)
Henry	10,11 (10,11)	Reynolds-D, Armstrong-D (Reynolds, Philpott-D)	19 (20)	Hawkins-R (Goode-D)
Highland	18 (26)	Deeds-D (Hanger-R)	24 (24)	Nolen-D (Nolen)
Isle of Wight	64,75,76 (75)	Barlow-D, Council-D, Nelms-R (Council-D)	15,18 (15)	R. J. Holland-D, Lucas-D (R. J. Holland)
King and Queen	96 (98)	Cooper-D (Morgan-R)	4 (4)	Cross-D (Cross)
King George	99 (99)	Murphy-D (Murphy)	28 (28)	Chichester-R (Chichester)
King William	96 (98)	Cooper-D (Morgan-R)	4 (4)	Cross-D (Cross)
Lancaster	99 (99)	Murphy-D (Murphy)	28 (28)	Chichester-R (Chichester)
Lee	1 (1)	Quillen-D (Quillen)	40 (40)	Wampler-R (vacant)
Louisa	56 (56)	Dickinson-D (Dickinson)	17 (17)	Houck-D (Houck)
Lunenburg	61,75 (60,61)	Parker-D, Council-D (Bennett-D, Parker)	15 (18)	R. J. Holland-D (Anderson-D)
Madison	30 (30)	Davies-D (Higginbotham-R)	25 (25,26)	Robb-R (Michie-D, K. G. Miller-R)
Mathews	100 (98)	Bloxom-R (Morgan-R)	4 (4)	Cross-D (Cross)
Mecklenburg	61 (61)	Parker-D (Parker)	15,18 (15)	R. J. Holland-D, Lucas-D (R. J. Holland)
Middlesex	96 (100)	Morgan-R (Bloxom-R)	4 (4)	Cross-D (Cross)
Montgomery	8,12 (12,13,15)	Agee-R, Munford-D (Baker-R, Munford, Agee)	39 (37)	Marye-D (Marye)
Nelson	59 (58)	Abbitt-D (Allen-R)	25 (25)	Robb-R (Michie-D)
Northampton	100 (100)	Bloxom-R (Bloxom)	3 (3)	Norment-R (Fears-D)
Northumberland	99 (99)	Murphy-D (Murphy)	28 (28)	Chichester-R (Chichester)
Nottoway	61,62 (61)	Parker-D, Ingram-R (Parker)	15 (17)	R. J. Holland-D (Houck-D)
Orange	30 (30)	Davies-D (Higginbotham-R)	17,25 (25)	Houck-D, Robb-R (Michie-D)
Page	15 (28)	Guest-R (C. Miller-R)	26 (26)	K. G. Miller-R (K. G. Miller)
Patrick	10 (10)	Reynolds-D (Reynolds)	19 (20)	Hawkins-R (Goode-D)
Prince Edward	59,61 (59,60)	Abbitt-D, Parker-D (Abbitt, Bennett-D)	15 (18)	R. J. Holland-D (Anderson-D)
Pulaski	7 (12)	Baker-R (Baker)	22,39 (38)	Trumbo-R, Marye-D (Bird-D)
Rappahannock	31 (31)	Wood-D (Guest-R)	25,26 (26)	Robb-R, K. G. Miller-R (K. G. Miller)
Richmond	99 (99)	Murphy-D (Murphy)	4 (28)	Cross-D (Chichester-R)
Rockbridge	18,19,24 (19,24)	Deeds-D, Putney-I, Wilkins-R (Putney, Wilkins)	24 (24)	Nolen-D (Nolen)
Rockingham	15,25,26,58 (26,27,28)	Guest-R, Giesen-R, C. Miller-R, Way-R (Hanger-R, Orebaugh-R, C. Miller)	24 (24,26)	Nolen-D (Nolen, K. G. Miller-R)
Russell	2,3 (3)	Phillips-D, Stump-D (Phillips)	38 (39,40)	Reesor-D (Wampler-R, vacant)
Shenandoah	15,26 (28)	Guest-R, C. Miller-R (C. Miller)	27 (27)	Potts-R (Truban-R)
Smyth	5 (7)	Jennings-D (Jennings)	39 (37,39)	Marye-D (Marye, Wampler-R)
Southampton	64,75 (75)	Barlow-D, Council-D (Council)	15,18 (15)	R. J. Holland-D, Lucas-D (R. J. Holland)
Spotsylvania	54,56 (54)	Orrock-R, Dickinson-D (Orrock)	17 (17)	Houck-D (Houck)
Surry	64,75 (75)	Barlow-D, Council-D (Council)	13 (16)	Quayle-R (Gray-D)
Sussex	75 (62)	Council-D (R. B. Jones-D)	15 (16)	R. J. Holland-D (Gray-D)
Tazewell	3,5 (3,4,5)	Stump-D, Jennings-D (Phillips-D, Stump, Stafford-R)	38 (38)	Reesor-D (Bird-D)
Warren	15,31 (31)	Guest-R, Wood-D (Guest)	27 (27)	Potts-R (Truban-R)
Westmoreland	99 (99)	Murphy-D (Murphy)	28 (28)	Chichester-R (Chichester)
Wise	1,2 (2)	Quillen-D, Phillips-D (Kennedy-D)	40 (40)	Wampler-R (vacant)
Wythe	6 (6)	Jackson-D (Jackson)	38 (38)	Reesor-D (Bird-D)

<sup>1</sup> Previous incumbents are those who occupied the pre-reapportionment district. In many cases, the incumbent was re-elected in a new district with a different number; in other cases, the incumbent lost, or chose not to run, in a new district.

Munford, cont.

Committee assignments had not been completed as of this writing, but it appears that the leadership of the House and Senate will be as follows. The House of Delegates will welcome 21 new members (out of 100). Of the 18 House committees, eight will have new chairs. Only a possible six of the 18 committees will be chaired by rural legislators. On the other hand, as many as 10 of the 20 members of the House Appropriations Committee will represent rural areas. In addition, important committees will be chaired by three Roanoke Valley delegates. This group has long been involved in rural issues and should be helpful to rural interests.

In the Senate, there will be 15 new members (out of 40), with five new committee chairs out of 11 total committees. Four of the 11 committees will be chaired by senators from rural areas. On the Senate Finance Committee, less than six of the 15 members will be from rural areas. The greatest change will be in the party makeup of the Senate. Democrats have held almost total control of the Senate throughout this century, but, with the defeat of seven incumbent Democrats, Republicans now hold 18 of the 40 seats in the Senate.

With a new Speaker of the House and with 36 new members, this will be a very different General Assembly. Given the tremendous challenges facing

## NOTICES

\* REAP Report 4, *Agricultural Pesticide Use and Risk in Virginia's Chesapeake Bay Region*, by Spencer Phillips and Leonard Shabman, is now available. To receive a copy, contact the Extension Distribution Center, Landsdowne Street, Blacksburg, Virginia, 24061-0512, (703) 231-6192; request 1991 Publication 448-204/R004. The price is \$3.50.

\* All *Horizons* recipients should by now have received REAP Policy Paper #1, *Adapting Agriculture and Rural Virginia to Environmental Restraints*, by Sandra Batie. For additional copies, contact Extension Distribution (see address above).

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the Commonwealth, the 1992 session will demand much not only from the legislators but also from many other segments of society. Rural legislators in particular will be looking for new allies and developing new coalitions as they try to ensure that rural Virginia maintains an effective state-level voice.

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