

MAPPING SOCIO-POLITICAL PROGRESS:
AN ANALYSIS OF VOTING RECORDS FROM
WASHINGTON AND SOUTH CAROLINA

by

AUSTIN MILES PALACIOS

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Sociology
and the Robert D. Clark Honors College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

Summer 2016

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Austin Miles Palacios for the degree of Bachelor of Arts
in the Department of Sociology to be taken Summer 2016

Title: Mapping Socio-Political Progress: An Analysis of Voting Records from
Washington and South Carolina

Approved: 
Professor Patricia A. Gwartney

In the United States, women's suffrage was passed into law with the 19th amendment in 1920. This amendment served as a progressive step toward sex equity in the U.S. Women had the right to vote and, coming off of some of the most oppressive times for women with the fall of the family farm and rise of the domestic house wife, had more opportunities comparable to the most successful person in society. Conversely voting engagement levels and equity were still low. We began to see a steady incline but not until the 1980 election was there a significant increase in the way women voted. It seemed that progress toward sex equity was on its way in the U.S., yet how does someone measure such a concept? Looking toward voting records, I venture to discover how women's engagement compared to men's, as well as factors of geographical location and age, may indicate progress toward sex equity. A comparison of the 1980 and 2004 presidential elections provides an opportunity for observing progress and can provide expectations for the future.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professors Cheng, Gwartney, and Norton for going above and beyond to work with me to the end of this thesis process as my committee and giving me a chance to finish my research. I would also like to thank Professors Yamin and Pascoe for their strong support during the early stages of my thesis. All of these professors have lent me their time, patience, and intelligence in the hopes of inspiring and assisting me in succeeding in this academic endeavor. I would also like to thank Thesis Coordinator Jordan, without her help in scheduling, accessing proper documents, and patience in communication challenges, this process would have been impossible.

Thanks to my parents, Marty and Deborah Palacios, who have taught me throughout my entire academic career, including this thesis process, to never give up on my education and always continue learning. A final thanks to my friends and family is also needed, including Alexander Worth, Selina Mitchell, my siblings Ian, Eric, Aimée, and Bethany, Austin Wong, and everyone else who kept believing in me.

This Thesis is dedicated to my grandmother, Eugenia Ursula (Neves) Gomes. Thank you Grandma, for always encouraging me to pursue education and reminding me that I need to “finish that paper!” Love and miss you, Grandma.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
LITERATURE REVIEW	5
Terminology	5
Women, and the Public and the Private Spheres - Background	6
RESEARCH METHODS	13
Washington State	14
South Carolina State	15
Time Period	16
DATA COLLECTION	18
Collection	18
Data Analysis	18
Data Presentation and Tables	19
RESULTS	20
Graphs	20
Population in 2004	20
Sex in 2004	21
Age in 2004	22
Regional Data From 1980	22
DISCUSSION	25
APPENDIX	28
Tables	28
Graphs	30
Bibliography	32

List of Graphs

Graph 1. Voting and Registration Data, 2004, South Carolina and Washington State by Sex	30
Graph 2. Voting and Registration Data, 2004, South Carolina and Washington State by Age	30
Graph 3. Voting and Registration Data, 1980, South and West Regions by Sex	31
Graph 4. Voting and Registration Data, 1980, South and West Regions by Age	31

List of Tables

Table 1. Equation for continuous socio-political progress toward sex equity	28
Table 2. Voting and Registration Data, 2004, South Carolina and Washington State by Sex	28
Table 3. Voting and Registration Data, 2004, South Carolina and Washington State by Age	29
Table 4. Voting and Registration Data, 1980, South and West Regions by Sex	29
Table 5. Voting and Registration Data, 1980, South and West Regions by Age	29

INTRODUCTION

"All Men... And Women Are Created Equal..."
-Seneca Falls, 1848

Is Equality a value of the United States? History has shown us that in many periods United States citizens have fought for equality. It has also shown that equality is not necessarily a reality that the United States has achieved, but an ongoing process moving toward a state of equality that may never fully be realized. Consider this as a mathematical equation: $X_1 + 1 = X_2$. X_1 represents where we are as a nation in the pursuit of equality. The "+1" represents our progress. For example, the Emancipation Proclamation would be a "+1" event in our history because it provided an opportunity for more access to equal positions of power. The X_2 indicates that even after the "+1," there is more work to be done and the equation starts over adding one to X_2 making X_3 , and so on.

This is a pattern that has no foreseeable end. As things seem now, it is plausible that we may find a path in our progression of equality where all people are equal in the eyes of their peers. Yet, that seems to be a ways off. The current expression of this equation suggests that equality is an evolving process. Table 1 provides a graphic illustration of this equation.

Questions that I've found myself asking are, a) can this progress toward equality be tracked and b) how do socio-political ideologies affect this progress? These ideologies are notions of social and political views brought together by the individuals within a society whom hold the ideology. Sometimes movement in increased equality, such as legislation creating equality in liberties such as voting or a fair and speedy trial,

will move us toward futures that have not previously been possible to achieve, at other times they can impede progress. Discovering whether these movements of progress move us toward equality or some other target is the nature of this study.

There are many challenges to equality in modern society that are illustrated in numerous ways throughout our country's history by trends. These challenges include social, economic, racial, ethnic, and gender issues. Examples of this could be the growing trans movement that has gain traction from the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer or Questioning movement, which picked up following the second wave of feminism after lesbians started to slowly be more accepted. With these points understood I turn toward the concept of equity.

Here I begin to distinguish between *equality* and *equity*. I have insinuated that this research would address some sort of issue with a lack of equality, but it is a lack of equity I address. The difference? Equality is the all-encompassing parity that seems to be impossible to fulfill. I define equity as equal opportunity in the ability to attain equivalent successes in comparison to the most successful person in a community. As an issue of equity, the role of women within the socio-political world offers an example of process vs. product for equity, being that it is a process. This issue will serve as the focus of my research.

Oppression of women by patriarchal institutions and the opposition of women's rights is something that we have seen a rise in during the development of the domestic relationship with the home women are often associated with today. The work of the home used to be more of a partnership where the work of the mother was more of an equal role. In the early part of the 1900s we observe a decline in this equal partnership

in the home resulting in many mothers filling the role that we now see as the domestic house wife working to keep the man happy and the family safe¹ (Tackett 2004). Those themes are still often shown in the 21st century.

United State (U.S.) citizens are exposed to the oppression of women in news media on a daily basis. Atrocities like rape, genital mutilation and the absence of voting rights are just a few examples of daily life for women across the planet that are reported, and normalized, by news media. Looking at these problems through a global lens often clouds the U.S. view, potentially causing us to forget that there are plenty of problems plaguing women in the U.S. The United States is known as the land of the free where all “men are created equal.” This is fine if you happen to be a white male. As a nation, the U.S. tends to forget how much injustice is still present amongst our society in the way women are treated. Today many women may still find themselves under constraints of an oppressive society fueled by the projection of the domestic housewife. Yet we can observe the progression of women’s rights in our society. With the power of the vote I hypothesize that women are able to show a significant increase in their voices being heard in what we can consider the public sphere, the observable society.

In light of these issues, I pose the following questions in my research: can gender and age demographics for voter registration and turnout records indicate socio-political sex equity in the public sphere? Does a State’s political party affiliation have an effect on sex equity?

¹ Kendall-Tackett, Kathleen. "Hearth and Home: The Fascinating History of Womens Domestic Work in America." *Safe Motherhood*. Safe Motherhood, 2001. Web. 15 Apr. 2016. <<http://www.safemotherhood.org/domestic-work.html>>.

This case study examines voting and registration records with the variables of gender and age from the years 1980 and 2004. The two states that will be used as case studies for my questions will be Washington and South Carolina for the year 2004, as well as the South and West regions for my 1980 regional data. My hypothesis is that this research will show that voter registration and turnout demographics can measure women's political engagement in 2004 and 1980, in Washington and South Carolina as well as the West and South regions. This will allow understanding of their engagement and can gauge the level of sex equity in the public. Understanding the records from 2005 in a comparison to 1980, can create an understanding of the state of sex equity in our nation as well as recognize trends that can set expectations for the future. Looking to the past can reveal more data that can influence the way that these statistics have developed up until this point. All these factors can accumulate into an answer to the first question I have posed, can these demographics indicate socio-political progress towards sex-equity? Taking the information from these two particular states and supplementing it with other information about these states and regions is what can answer the second question.

From this point it is important to situate the field for my research, provide further clarity upon case selection, present the methods in which the data will be collected, analyzed, and presented, and share what I have found in my research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Terminology

To begin it is important to understand some of the terminology I have used thus far and will continue to use in this research.

When socio-political is used in this research it acts as a term that serves to indicate the importance of the subject beyond either its purely social or political indications; my research question is of both fields, interconnected. Social in this research can be defined as the way in which sex and age affect the day to day life in which a citizen acts with agency or can be included outside of normalized hierarchies constructed by patriarchy. Political is the way in which citizens can connect to the political sphere of their nation, or how they interact with the public sphere. Are they engaged in the socio-political decisions that directly affect their agency in the public sphere? That is why the term socio-political is used. Socio-political progress is something that affects both the community in the day to day life and in the way in which politics affects the liberties available to the nation's citizens.

Sex equity indicates the closing margin of disparity between the two socially recognized sexes that takes into account their differences but makes a move toward equal opportunity toward agency in a socio-political way.

The public sphere refers to the world outside of the home, such as work done in politics, business, and economics. To think of this sphere as one where patriarchy has held a hegemonic hold would be a good way to visualize all that it encompasses. The private sphere is the world of the home. Outside of the view of the public, this includes

housework, family work, and similar works. What this sphere can be defined as is the world that, since the decline of the family farm in the 1900s, has traditionally been left to women under the patriarchal structure of the public. This is not to belittle the work done in the private but to recognize it for how it was constructed and whom are the primary members.

In this research gender and sex may appear to be the same but that is not due to the reality of the situation nor preference to terminology in this analysis, but to the fact that much of the national data retrieved for this analysis does not make the differentiation. It would be inappropriate to continue this study without making that difference understood. Christina Wolbrecht illustrates the difference and issue with the misuse of “sex” perfectly:

Sex is conventionally treated as a dichotomous variable, distinguishing men and women on the basis of biological traits. Gender, on the other hand, traditionally has been taken to signify the social meaning given to sexual difference. Rather than dichotomous, gender is multidimensional, specific to time and context, relational, hierarchical, normative, descriptive, and, above all, complex. Gender is not a stagnant characteristic but actively and continually reproduced, reinforced, and redefined. Gender attends not only to individuals but to processes, institutions, ideologies, and norms as well. Much of our existing political science research focuses on sex difference (in part because we are better at measuring sex than gender) but almost always with the... goal of understanding gender difference. (Wolbrecht. 2007)

Women, and the Public and the Private Spheres - Background

Women’s suffrage is an important starting point in situating the significance of this research as well as understanding the history that built the foundations for these states that are to be discussed. The work of Abigail Adams is considered as an important starting point in the pursuit of women’s rights. She is well known for her

letters to her husband John Adams around the time the Declaration of Independence was written in the 1770s. She is remembered writing to her husband that he and the other fathers of the nation should include women.

...Remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them. Do not put much unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.²

Although John heard Abigail out, the founding fathers never ended up including his wife's points in the declaration. The reasons were not simply that he felt that women should not be represented: it was the fact that in this period the ones who were engaging in talks of liberty were those who held agency, men. They could own property and therefore vote. Women had no rights to land nor the act of voting in the legislature. The result? That women could have no voice or representation in the legislature unless granted to them by men. When independence from England was the focus, risking it for women was not perceived as an acceptable risk. Men of power and their fear of losing power caused them to allow women's suffrage and progress toward sex equity to be placed on the back burner. It was there that the foundation of our nation was to be built for the liberties of white men.

What is often forgotten is that the publisher of the Declaration of Independence was actually a woman name Mary Goddard who printed it when no one else would. (Schroeder, 1984) A result of this was she was made postmaster general of Baltimore

² Conway, M. Margaret, David W. Ahern, and Gertrude A. Steuernagel. *Women & Public Policy: A Revolution in Progress*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ, 1995. Print. P1

and was the highest paid woman for the next ~150 years.³ Even though almost the entirety of our start as a nation was embedded in patriarchy, there have been small victories for sex equity since the very beginning. Goddard printing the declaration and holding this role as postmaster general served as progress in a socio-political sense because of the significance that woman holding roles that are comparable to the ones available to men. Having women in positions in power even at this stage allowed some form of visualizing the role women could play in the legislature which could begin to encourage this group as whole to fight for equity. This was a victory worth being mentioned because it was an obvious step out of the private sphere into the public. However, the amount of progress that was accessed through this victory is debatable because it was over a hundred years later until women were able to have a say in who should receive positions such as this.

Conway, Ahern, and Steuernagel (1995) also speak on the trends in voting engagement through time. They observed that in years prior to 1980 such as 1964 that men were always an overwhelming majority in voting engagement and turnout. When 1980 rolled around, the general election versus Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter showed that the scales tipped and in subsequent years a continuation of a much more significant role in women's voting registration and turnout.⁴ Speculation of what happened in these elections stem in part from an idea that Ronald Reagan, with his

³ Schroeder, Patricia. *Great Expectations: From Abigail Adams to the White House*. Manhattan, Kan.: Kansas State U, 1984. Print. P4

⁴ Conway, M. Margaret, David W. Ahern, and Gertrude A. Steuernagel. *Women & Public Policy: A Revolution in Progress*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ, 1995.

intense views of foreign policy and stances on domestic issues, started a splitting in issues that were now considered to be gendered.

Sapiro (1983) writes about the engagement of voting in national elections in her book, *The Political Integration of Women*. She presents a table in one part of her book that from 1948 to 1976 men have continually held an advantage in the way of engagement. Although the numbers have risen for the amount of women and men politically engaging in their right to vote in this period of history, the voting gender gap persisted with an average male advantage of 9%. She also brings up polls of attitudes toward women's roles in politics taken in 1972. These results show a majority of people believing that women's place is in the home (71%) and men are better suited for politics (66%).⁵ Although these are attitudes they do indicate that I should be aware of potential behaviors they could reflect in engagement. If a voting gender gap is still present in such a distinct way it will directly affect my research. It will do so by proving that my hypothesis of there being socio-political progress towards sex equity measurable by voting records is ungrounded.

The reason that the role of the private sphere's hold on women has been such a point of discussion is because in a world where the growing desire for equality is shown in the cry for liberty from all peoples despite their race, color, sex, gender, religion, or any other defining variable, looking at the places that are common for injustice to persist, like the home, is important. In *The Political Integration of Women* (Sapiro,

⁵ Sapiro, Virginia. *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1983. Pp23-24

1983) this concept for women is outlined in a poem in the early chapters originally pulled from a newspaper published in 1791:

What we read, in days of yore,
The woman's occupations,
Was to direct the wheel and loom,
Not to direct the nation.
This narrow minded policy
By us hath met detection;
While woman's bound, man can't be free,
Nor have a fair election.⁶

The call for equity for women in the public or private sphere is neither a new or obscure idea. This poem calls for exactly what this nation has continually been working toward in socio-political progress, a breaking of the bonds that imprison the people of this nation, even if the most recognizable restraints are only on specific groups.

In the women's movements affluence has played an integral role. Women whom were in roles of agency were often in those roles because their husbands were affluent and influential.⁷ This also made it easy for these women to ignore the intersectionality of women's issues. Thinking about the lack of intersectionality in the setting of 2004 it is important to remember the progress made on these subjects are significant. The women's movement came a long way from some of its first moments recorded with the first wave of feminism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to my focus year of 2004, especially with the birth of the third wave of the feminist movement in the early 1990s.

⁶ Sapiro, Virginia. *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics*. Urbana: U of Illinois, 1983. Print. P15

⁷ Sapiro, Virginia. *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics*. Urbana: U of Illinois, 1983. Print. P19

A rebirth of the movement brought ideas about race, sex, and gender into the light of the women's movement and was important in understanding the intersectionality of women's issues. Its effect on the way votes were cast and issues that were voted on cannot simply be ignored. Affluence and other modes of intersectionality, although recognized, should not reach into the focus of this study beyond the effect they may have on gender and age in the voting blocs.

The voting gender gap is a phrase that was coined in the early 1980s when women began to vote more as Democrats than men, a point that has already been brought up. In the presidential elections between 1964 and 1992 there has been a voting gender gap every election with women voting for the democratic candidate more than men except for 1976.⁸ Women engaged more and more in this thirty year period of data, provided and referred to by Seltzer et al (1997), showing that those trends are obviously present. Why their engagement is important is because becoming more than 50% of the voting bloc, women cannot be ignored. The power of the vote is clearly significant and what that vote can mean for progress becomes extremely clear.

A section from the work of Seltzer, et. al. lies in their discussion in one of their chapters from *Sex as a Political Variable* and takes on the discussion of men and women on issues and demographics. Through their survey with ~250 participants they found a few interesting points. Within research conducted between the years of 1972 to 1996 there was a gender gap in women identifying more as moderates, men as conservatives, and a lack of significant gap for those identifying as liberals. What we

⁸ Seltzer, Richard, Jody Newman, and Melissa Voorhees Leighton. *Sex as a Political Variable: Women as Candidates and Voters in U.S. Elections*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997. Print. Ch. 3

can understand from this is that although in recent years women are more liberal, moderation tends to be where they stand. Trends show greater women's support for government involvement in domestic issues, including social issues, and a less invasive approach to foreign policy in comparison with men. Other points in their research included that men were more satisfied with their lives than women.⁹

What this implies in relation to my research is that within communities with more liberal political affiliation that we should see more engagement from women in general because they tend to be more liberal or moderate. When Presidential candidates from liberal parties deal with issues that pique the interest of women who support government having a stronger hand in dealing with domestic issues of the social sort, voting tends to be geared from this community towards those candidates in the electorate. This leads toward my hypothesis that states that are more liberal should then have more women engaging in registering and turning out to vote. Let us now move forward toward understanding the case selection for this research.

⁹ Seltzer, Richard, Jody Newman, and Melissa Voorhees Leighton. *Sex as a Political Variable: Women as Candidates and Voters in U.S. Elections*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997. Print. Ch. 2

RESEARCH METHODS

Here we clarify our variables. Our dependent variable is time, 1980 and 2004. Our independent variables are sex, age, and voting turnout/registration. The relationship of these variables will give the answers I am looking for in this study. An understanding of these variable is important to situate further before delving into the results of this data analysis.

The age categories are important to my analysis to understand generational shifts in voting behaviors. Observing how different age groups engage in voting cross referenced with sex provides an opportunity to measure the relation of a generational shift in women's engagement. I venture to hypothesize that there will be a positive correlation toward younger generations in 2004 voting than the same age groups in 1980 because of a positive progression toward sex equity evident in voting habits.

Sex is an important variable because it will help us measure the differences that sex plays in association with overall population when observing how women have progressed in their agency in issues addressed via suffrage. In this study, I will define *sex equity* within the confines of a socio-political view.

The role that both South Carolina (SC) and Washington (WA) play in my second research question is vital. These two states represent opposite ends of the United States bipartisan political spectrum. Washington will be my case study with a historically liberal foundation while South Carolina will be my case study with a historically conservative foundation. Both have had interesting relationships with progress. Washington may be viewed as a more liberally driven progressive state around women while South Carolina may not due to instances of pushback to

legislation in favor of women's rights, i.e. the nineteenth amendment being accepted right away by WA and nearly 50 years later by SC. But we also find Women in elevated positions of political leadership in the state of South Carolina and so the question must be asked how will socio-political progress be defined in this study? For the sake of this study, *socio-political progress* will be regarded as women registering and voting in comparable levels to men in the hypothesis that these levels of engagement indicate the agency or development of women in areas of the public that have both social and political implications.

To recap, this project will examine the voting records in South Carolina and Washington in 2004 as well as similar data in the year 1980 amongst the West and South regions of the country for comparison. Looking through their records as far back as they go to the present would be too large a task to take on for an undergraduate thesis, thus we will be looking as far as the 1980 presidential election. Outlined in this next section I discuss further why these two states will be used in this study.

Washington State

The reason I chose Washington as one of my two case studies for this research is in large part because of this state residing in a region of the United States that has been a liberally progressive area in the more urbanized areas of the Pacific Northwest states, however the more rural areas have had a conservative presence. Washington's recent acceptance of marijuana legalization as well as marriage equality in 2010 also sparked my interest in potentially having them as a case study because these are two topics that have been the center of much political, social, and moral discourse and are issues supported by more traditionally liberal political groups.

Looking back through history there has been a significant trend coming out of this state. It was one the first states to ratify women's suffrage in 1912 before the 19th amendment went into effect in 1920. Beyond these liberties it will also be important to better layout other aspects of the state in the future developing of this research.

South Carolina State

Picking South Carolina as a state for the example of a politically conservative member of the union came for a few reasons; one reason was the states Governor Nikki Haley. As Governor of South Carolina, Nikki Haley is an interesting individual because in one sense she is in fact a woman in a position of political power but she also takes a stance on women's reproductive issues that would take away bodily liberties, making comments like "women don't care about contraceptives."¹⁰

This case study paired with Washington State serves to act as a comparison in the way of historical political affiliation. It is important for the sake of this study to understand potential differences because of the political affiliation of these separate states. Noting the similarities of these states is also important.

Aside from the current leadership we can also look historically and see that even though the 19th amendment was passed in 1920, South Carolina did not have the amendment ratified until 1969. This state offers an interesting polarity between Washington because on one hand we have a state that has had an emphasis on progress

¹⁰ Devlin, Sarah. "Gov. Nikki Haley On The View: 'Women Don't Care About Contraception'." *Mediaite*. Datagram, 3 Apr. 2012. Web. 7 June 2013. <<http://www.mediaite.com/tv/nikki-haley-contraception-the-view/>>.

in women's issues throughout history and on the other we have one that has followed along slowly but not without dragging its feet.

Time Period

I chose 2004 for a few reasons. Although there are many other significant years like 1980, 1969, or earlier, 2004 is important to the present. Truthfully this research began with looking at 1980 in a bigger role because that years election with Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. 1980 was a turning point for women issues in the socio-political sense with the creation of a stark difference in policy issues that the two parties supported. Reagan made a move to reduce the power of the federal government and it's spending, increase U.S. military strength, and become more serious with the USSR causing a definitive difference in issues. This is where women's issues became more prevalent which was obvious in polls after the election showing that 6-9% of women were less likely to vote for Reagan than men, a significant statistic.¹¹

2004 was a relevant year in recent history, especially in the wake of the war on terror, which shifted much in the frame of political lenses within the United States, and the George W. Bush vs. John Kerry election. The war on terror brought about very masculine language in the news and politics as a whole and the Bush-Kerry election brought about an attention to women voters that had not been previously observed.

In the 2004 election between Bush and Kerry there were serious gender implications. In that election ten of the eleven serious candidates were men in the primaries. The language of that election was also heavy with gendered war and sport

¹¹ Carroll, Susan J., and Richard Logan. Fox. *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006. Pp79

analogies. This could have been heavily attributed to the fact that this was at the height of the war on terror. It's clear that the effect was defining the current prominent political issues as masculine issues. This alone isn't significant to call out a single year for research however. The language, the candidates, and the continued reign of the republican president that followed is all important. Bush wasn't hated by women everywhere, he actually had quite a few support groups made up entirely of women and often claimed that "'W' stands for 'Women'!"¹² Being able to understand what factors in voting brought Bush to power for a second term with the support of women is important. That is also why the two states were chosen in correlation with 2004; Bush lost Washington state to John Kerry.

2004 with the presidential election, the women's groups that supported them, the political affiliation of our two case study states, the voting and registration data, and many other important factors, all solidify this year as an important one to study.

¹² Enda, Jodi. "Barbara Bush Tells Women What 'W' Stands For." Women's ENews. Women's ENews Inc., 31 Aug. 2004. Web. 15 Apr. 2015. <<http://womensenews.org/story/campaign-trail/040831/barbara-bush-tells-women-what-w-stands>>.

DATA COLLECTION

Collection

This study is a analysis of age and gender demographics of voting turnout and registration records in the year 2004 and 1980. The Data for this research was collected from a variety of sources including the Washington Secretary of State's Office, South Carolina's State Elections Commission, and the U.S. Census Bureau's online databases. Some of the data was difficult to access and formal requests had to be made to all of these institutions. The heart of the data that was needed for this research was almost completely provided in full by the Current Population Survey's that the U.S. Census Bureau has published on their website.

I was able to access partial data for my research from both states before working with U.S. Census Bureau. The data that I did have at my disposal was significant enough to begin helping me make sense of parts of 2004 and past elections before I had access to the rest of the data. The U.S. Census Bureau provided the data for the 2004 year in full but lacked what I needed for 1980 for a state comparison. To complete this research, the data from 2004 became my main focus with supplemental data form the 1980 regional voting records from the Census Bureau as the comparison.

Data Analysis

With my data collected I began framing the information. I first framed the data I was examining into 4 sets tables and their corresponding graphs: (a) one pertaining to the percentage of United States population that were eligible to, registered to, and turned out to vote in the 2004 election in both Washington and South Carolina for the

demographic of sex, (b) another with the percentages of United States population that registered to, and turned out to vote in the 1980 election within the West and South regions for the demographic of sex, and (c) two showing the percentage registered and voting in the 2004 and 1980 election for the demographic of age with their respective states and regions. These tables were then turned into graphs. I used these graphs for my analysis of the data. From my analysis I made my assessment of the answers to my research questions.

Data Presentation and Tables

Data was analyzed through bar graphs to show the registration and turnout numbers of voters based on gender and age. It is expected that there will be progress shown in both states in relation to the two periods of study, but the difference in progress will be observed as well as why progress is happening. Reflection on the data will hold an analysis of where these trends of socio-political progress have and will take us.

Listed in the appendix are the Tables holding the raw data of the voting records for 2004 for the demographics of both age and gender. Additionally, we will find the West and South regional data for 1980 in the same demographics. The statistics for both South Carolina and Washington are set next to each other in the tables. An additional column of data is presented in some of the tables and graphs to illustrate the comparison between variables.

RESULTS

Graphs

Here we discuss the graphs I created from the tables of data retrieved for this study. This research began with the thought that gender and age demographics for voter turnout and registration records could show us the future of closing gender gap and the growth of sex equity. The goal was to have access to two comparable time periods as a basis for the research, 1980 and 2004.

As I have stated previously the data that was able to be accessed included all of the necessary voter demographics for turnout and registration by age and gender for 2004 for both Washington and South Carolina but only partial data for South Carolina and Washington for 1980. For the sake of pushing forward with this research the question must be asked what can be found from the data of 2004 predominately with the comparison in the presented 1980 data. That's why its important to have this data even if it is regional.

Before continuing to the analysis of the data in my discussion section where we will look at factors beyond the collected data I will talk about the data in its rawest form in this section to begin situating what the numbers by themselves show.

Population in 2004

Looking at both Graph 1 and Table 2, there is a lot that we can begin to think about with the data. First off, the population of South Carolina was 3,061,000 and the population of Washington was 4,596,000 in 2004. All the percentages used in this

section are the percentage of individuals in their own demographic group. Those percentages are what will be compared in the discussion section.

Overall in the year 2004 we can see that the percentage of voting age residents (18+ years old) in the state of South Carolina that are citizens is 98.1%. This means that ~60,000 residents are not citizens. The same population group in the state of Washington is 91.8% of the voting age residents, a difference of nearly 7% between the two states. For Washington state, nearly ~370,000 of their residents are not citizens. This is just a critique of the overall population of eligible voters. The significance in a total view is significant because the difference between registered and voting populations is higher in South Carolina than it is in Washington state. In South Carolina 73.1% have registered to vote and only 62% voted in the 2004 election, a drop of 11.1% of those who would have been able to vote in the election in terms of who registered. In Washington 68.2% registered and 62% voted, a drop of 6.2%. The same percentage of population members voted in the election in both states, a smaller percentage of residents registered to vote in Washington, and smaller percentage of people turned out in South Carolina than could have.

Sex in 2004

In Washington State the percentage of males to females eligible to vote differed by .2% to the females. The difference in registration to vote between these two groups is 1.8% and turnout differed by 2%, both with females registering and voting in higher percentage. In South Carolina the percentages were similar, except the women's margins of higher registration and turnout rates were higher. The difference in

registration to vote was 5.7% and the turnout gap was 4.2%. Once again, with women leading.

Age in 2004

The age demographics are interesting to observe. Both states show trends of a constant incline in both registration and voting percentages in each of the observed age brackets. Each state also shows a decline in both areas when the age of their eligible voters pass the 75+ years old threshold. Another interesting point is that Washington only shows a higher percentage of their eligible voters registering to vote in the youngest age bracket. After that, every other age bracket for registration percentages is dominated by South Carolina. When we turn to voter turnout percentages, the domination goes to Washington in percentages of each age bracket turning out to vote. There exists two points against that statement. First, in the age bracket 25-44 years old South Carolina has a higher percentage of turnout by 4.5%. Second, in the age bracket of 45-64 years old Washington only has a higher percentage of turnout by .7%, this is significant because the margin of error is 3.4%.

Regional Data From 1980

Finding that the data from 2004 is not substantial enough to make the claims of this research question and hypothesis we must turn to the data from another era, 1980. The data from this period is strained. From data resources from the census bureau to the individual states there is an apparent lack of data in this period of time around the necessary demographics (sex and age) and measurements (states) for my focus. I was able to acquire data in the shape of regional data.

We will take into account the regional data on a parallel to the political party affiliation of the majorities in those regions. Why this will work is because there are similarities in these states such as many of the western states holding on to their democratic affiliations voting for Carter in the 1980 election whilst we see many of the states in the South voting for Reagan. That can allow us some wiggle room with borders for our two case studies.

What we can see in this data is that the U.S. Census Bureau broke up the United States for the nature of the data into 4 regions: Northeast, North Central, South, and West. Washington falls into the West region along with Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Oregon, and Wyoming. South Carolina falls into the South region along with Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, D.C., Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

The data from these tables and graphs show us in these regions in 1980 that in terms of the southern region and the states within the south, rates for registering and turning out to vote on average were similar across the board enough that the numbers in some areas didn't change between sexes. Although in the west we saw a few percentages in difference with women voting more than men. What I believe this can be attributed to is in the way the west had more states voting democratic in this election, while the South's many states were predominately republican. Regionally there were smaller discrepancies in whom was voting for who in the southern region due to the average party affiliation among the respective region's states.

When it came to the age demographics in these two regions, we see, similarly to what happened in the 2004 elections, those between the ages of 18 to 45 were more engaged in turning out to vote. Unlike the higher engagement of South Carolinians between the age of 25 and 44, the Southern region had less turnout than the Western across the board. This could imply that in this period that young people were not voting as much and were less engaged, potentially because of norms in this region although this point would require more research.

DISCUSSION

I've established the data in its most base form of what it shows, and now proceed in delving deeper into what this can tell us about the state of socio-political progress and why understanding these numbers can help us identify the way sex equity has grown, or has stayed stagnant, with the comparison of 1980 and 2004. The theme in these numbers is that when we look at sex, voting registration and turnout, women lead. Interestingly enough, they lead more in South Carolina in registration and turnout rates than they do in Washington. Does that fact mean anything? That is the question that I ask myself when observing this. It's interesting to think that a state such as Washington would have a smaller gap between registration and turnout in the variable sex and age when women are more engaged in voting and registering to vote in South Carolina by a larger percentage than men.

This data shows that sex and age demographics can indeed show us that there has been socio-political progress towards sex equity within the public sphere because the data shows trends where women are actively engaging in the electorate process within states like Washington and South Carolina in the year 2004 in higher percentages comparatively to 1980. What this tells us is that there is a positive trend in the way that women are actively engaged in the electorate process, following my equation for socio-political progress mentioned in the introduction, and that this engagement indicates an ability to affect the outcome of elections in important ways.

If anything can be learned from a state's political affiliation is that states with more "progressive" inclinations tend to have higher percentages of registered voters turning out while states, or regions, that are more traditionally conservative tend to be

more active with registering to vote but have lower rates of turnout in the variable of age. In the data, the variable of sex showed that women in conservative states seem to register and turnout more compared to liberal states or regions.

Identifying trends in which women have a stronger presence in voting is important because it provides further proof of their progress in attaining sex equity. With that stronger presence, women's views are being represented more in the electorate, where traditionally there has been less representation and agency. This isn't to say that all women vote in blocs but the trends that we can explore from past research from the likes of Seltzer and others we know that women tend to vote differently than men on average which means a gap in views. The goal of socio-political progress is to close that gap and create sex-equity on all fronts, including positions of power, issues and policies, and the voting polls. Without having advocates in power pushing issues the average woman may care about, a stronger presence in the voting bloc is important to even the field and allow more equitable representation in political decisions that can affect the public sphere in major ways. Awareness and progress towards socially accepted equity shows significant progress toward sex equity, where the lines of these "gendered issues" becomes more blurred, and the voting gender gap begins to lose its significance.

Additionally, the age blocs showed us data that helped us measure the time periods through the generations. Here it was discovered that younger generations voted less in 2004 than in 1980. This shows us that younger generations are less actively engaged in the voting process but that women in these generations are voting more

regularly due to the fact that women on a whole are registering and voting in higher percentages.

These findings brought show a positive correlation toward progress in sex equity and provide insight in potential trends in the future, as well as areas of focus for cultivation to provide the best chances for success in continued progress toward sex equity. Through analyzing these voting records I found that states with liberal party affiliations like Washington are less likely to have higher levels of engaged voters and women voters in most subject pools, refuting one of my hypothesis'. It is also shown in this data that with the comparison of these two time periods we can safely assume that we can expect a continued majority of registered voters to be women and that with their vote we will see a more accepted culture of sex equity proven by the more equitable rates of engagement.

APPENDIX

Tables

X₁	+	1	=
X₂			
<p>“X₁” represents the current state of equality</p>	<p>“1” represents the attainment or movement towards some new level of equality, in the legal, social, or any other sense. (e.g. women’s suffrage, the civil rights movement, the AIDs movement of the late 80s and the early 90s, etc.)</p>	<p>“X₂” represents the <i>new</i> current state of equality. The equation begins to repeat at this point. This shows that despite progress, the product of equality is a continual process.</p>	

Table 1. Equation for continuous socio-political progress toward sex equity

Year: 2004	<i>Percent Citizenship</i>	<i>Percent Registered</i>	<i>Percent Voted</i>	<i>Percent Difference Citizenship and Registered</i>	<i>Percent Difference Registered and Voted</i>
<i>South Carolina Male</i>	97.7	70.0	59.8	27.7	10.2
<i>South Carolina Female</i>	98.4	75.9	64.0	22.5	11.9
<i>Washington Male</i>	91.7	67.2	60.7	24.5	6.5
<i>Washington Female</i>	91.9	69.0	63.3	22.9	5.7

Table 2. Voting and Registration Data, 2004, South Carolina and Washington State by Sex

Year: 2004	<i>Percent Registered</i>	<i>Percent Voted</i>	<i>Percent Difference Registered and Voted</i>
<i>WA: 18-24 years old</i>	58.5	48.2	10.3
<i>SC: 18-24 years old</i>	55.8	42.8	13
<i>WA: 25-44 years old</i>	60.4	52.8	7.6
<i>SC: 25-44 years old</i>	68.6	57.3	11.3
<i>WA: 45-64 years old</i>	76.2	71.7	4.5
<i>SC: 45-64 years old</i>	78.7	71	7.7
<i>WA: 65-74 years old</i>	78.3	77.5	0.8
<i>SC: 65-74 years old</i>	84.2	72.6	11.6
<i>WA: 75+ years old</i>	77.6	73.1	4.5
<i>SC: 75+ years old</i>	83.9	62.6	21.3

Table 3. Voting and Registration Data, 2004, South Carolina and Washington State by Age

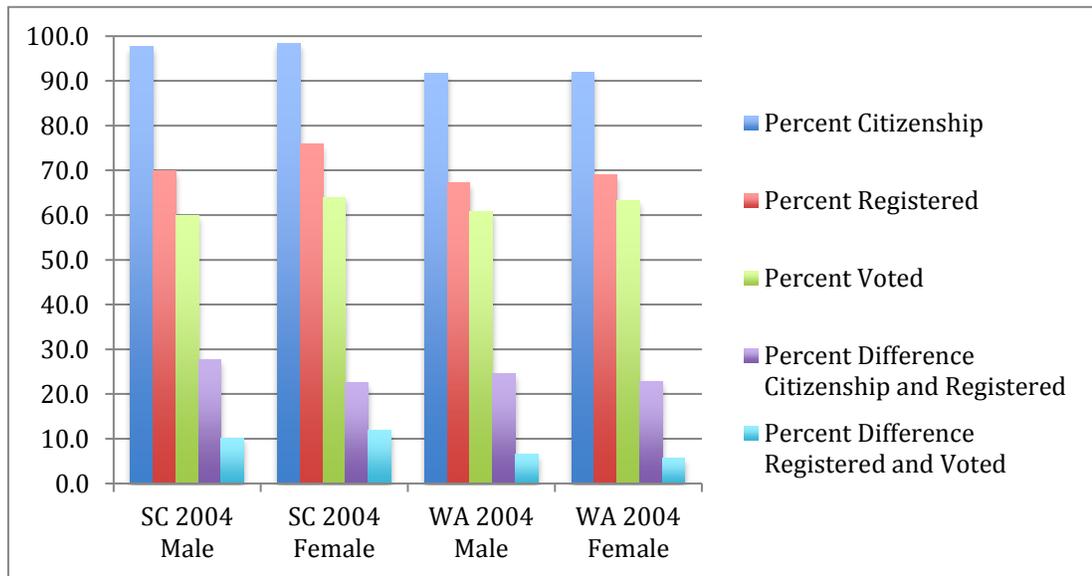
Year: 1980	<i>Percent Registered</i>	<i>Percent Voted</i>	<i>Percent Difference</i>
<i>West 1980 Male</i>	62.2	56.0	6.2
<i>West 1980 Female</i>	64.2	58.4	5.8
<i>South 1980 Male</i>	64.6	55.6	9
<i>South 1980 Female</i>	64.9	55.6	9.3

Table 4. Voting and Registration Data, 1980, South and West Regions by Sex

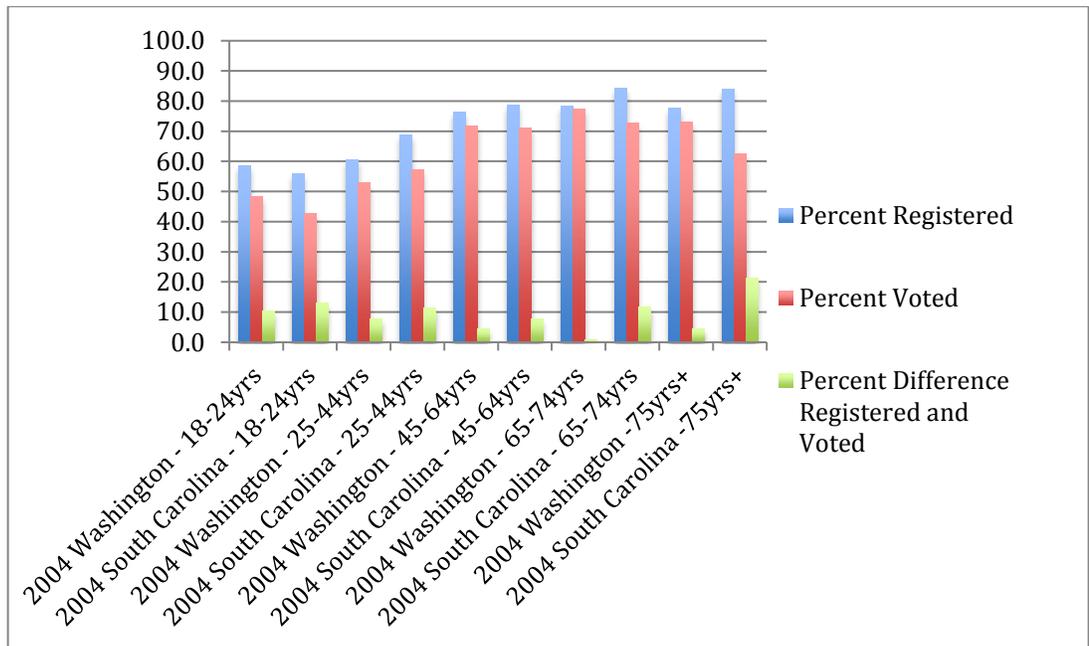
Year: 1980	<i>Percent Registered</i>	<i>Percent Voted</i>	<i>Percent Difference Registered and Voted</i>
<i>West: 18-24 years old</i>	45.7	37.6	8.1
<i>South: 18-24 years old</i>	45.6	35.1	10.5
<i>West: 25-44 years old</i>	61.5	55.9	5.6
<i>South: 25-44 years old</i>	63.9	55.5	8.4
<i>West: 45-64 years old</i>	72.7	67.7	5
<i>South: 45-64 years old</i>	73.8	65.6	8.2
<i>West: 65-74 years old</i>	74.6	69.9	4.7
<i>South: 65-74 years old</i>	75.7	66.4	9.3
<i>West: 75+ years old</i>	71.3	63.7	7.6
<i>South: 75+ years old</i>	68.2	53.6	14.6

Table 5. Voting and Registration Data, 1980, South and West Regions by Age

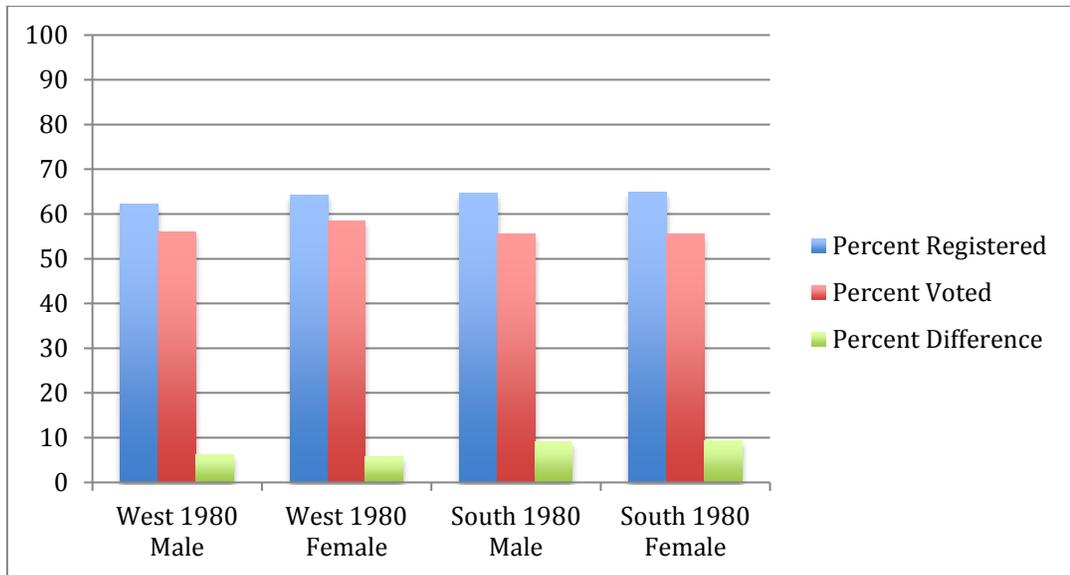
Graphs



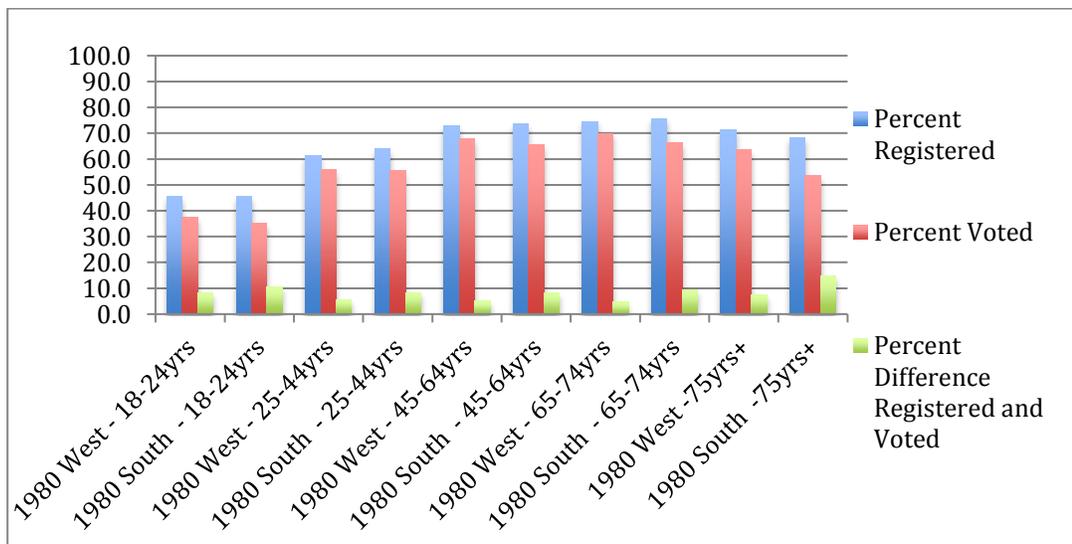
Graph 1. Voting and Registration Data, 2004, South Carolina and Washington State by Sex



Graph 2. Voting and Registration Data, 2004, South Carolina and Washington State by Age



Graph 3. Voting and Registration Data, 1980, South and West Regions by Sex



Graph 4. Voting and Registration Data, 1980, South and West Regions by Age

Bibliography

- Carroll, Susan J., and Richard Logan. Fox. *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Conway, M. Margaret, David W. Ahern, and Gertrude A. Steuernagel. *Women & Public Policy: A Revolution in Progress*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ, 1995. Print.
- Devlin, Sarah. "Gov. Nikki Haley On The View: 'Women Don't Care About Contraception'." *Mediaite*. Datagram, 3 Apr. 2012. Web. 7 June 2013. <<http://www.mediaite.com/tv/nikki-haley-contraception-the-view/>>.
- Dodson, Debra L. *The Impact of Women in Congress*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. Print.
- Enda, Jodi. "Barbara Bush Tells Women What 'W' Stands For." *Women's ENews*. Women's ENews Inc., 31 Aug. 2004. Web. 15 Apr. 2015. <<http://womensenews.org/story/campaign-trail/040831/barbara-bush-tells-women-what-w-stands>>.
- Kendall-Tackett, Kathleen. "Hearth and Home: The Fascinating History of Womens Domestic Work in America." *Safe Motherhood*. Safe Motherhood, 2001. Web. 15 Apr. 2016. <<http://www.safemotherhood.org/domestic-work.html>>.
- Randall, Vicky. *Women & Politics*. 2nd ed. London: MACMILLIAN EDUCATION, 1987. Print.
- Sapiro, Virginia. *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics*. Urbana: U of Illinois, 1983. Print.
- Schroeder, Patricia. *Great Expectations: From Abigail Adams to the White House*. Manhattan, Kan.: Kansas State U, 1984. Print.
- Seltzer, Richard, Jody Newman, and Melissa Voorhees Leighton. *Sex as a Political Variable: Women as Candidates and Voters in U.S. Elections*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997. Print.
- U.S. Census Bureau. *Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2004* [Computer File]. U.S. Census Bureau [producer], 2010. https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/p20/2004/table_s.html
- Wolbrecht, Christina, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez. *Political Women and American Democracy*. New York, NY: Cambridge UP, 2008. Print.