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VOTER BEHAVIOR AND THE GENDER GAP IN TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
MINNESOTA AND WISCONSIN

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Abstract

Campaign strategists, political scientists, and political pundits gave more attention to differences in the way men and women voted in the last two decades of the twentieth century than ever before. With this increased attention came the coining of the term “gender gap,” which measures differences in the voting behavior of the sexes. The gender gap reached an all time national high in the 1996 election of President Bill Clinton. This paper explores whether or not the gender gap remained significant into the twenty-first century in Minnesota and Wisconsin. This paper concludes that the variables of issue importance, race, religion, income, size and type of city resided in, marital status, education, and age of voters all proved to be more significant variables in terms of predicting voter behavior in at least one election, and often times in all elections considered. This paper also considers among which subgroups the sexes differed the most. The majority of the analysis in this paper is based off data collected by Voter News Services.

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Introduction

Political scientists, sociologists, and historians have extensively evaluated the factors that determine how a person participates in the political process. Factors examined have varied over time and have included income, occupation, race, sexual orientation, marital status, age, level of education, religion, region of residence, and sex. These factors have then been further analyzed for their strength as determinants for participation in the political process. Political participation ranges from simply showing up at the polls and voting, to being active in political parties, to running for elected office.

Research regarding the sex of voters increased in 1952. Although such research did exist before then, 1952 was a benchmark election in terms of the significance of voters' sex to political strategists and campaign managers.¹ It was not significant in the sense that for the first time the votes of women were coveted by candidates, but significant in the sense that for the first time it was believed by political scientists and campaign strategists that women and men needed to be appealed to far differently in presidential elections.² In fact, presidential election analyses were not broken down by voter sex until 1952.³

It was not until the 1980s that voters' sex became a mainstream political issue in presidential campaigns. The election of Republican President Ronald Reagan in 1980 motivated feminists to become more active because they felt Reagan had a "problem with women."⁴ This became apparent during the 1980s when for the first time the sexes were viewed as true blocs of

¹ It is important to note that following 1952 research regarding sex and voter behavior was conducted that considered elections prior to 1952. *Women and Politics* by Martin Greenberg is a good example of such a work.

² It is important to note that in local elections and initiatives it was believed before 1952 that women and men needed to be appealed to differently.

³ Richard A. Seltzer, Jody Newman, and Melissa Voorhees Leighton, *Sex as a Political Variable: Women as Candidates & Voters in U.S. Elections*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1997), 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 32. As a result of this, the gender gap is often associated with Reagan.

voters as African Americans and Jewish people had been before.⁵ Ellie Smeal's book, *Why and How Women Will Elect the Next President* and Bella Abzug's, *Gender Gap: Bella Abzug's Guide to Political Power for American Women* both attempted to "increase the political influence of women."⁶ Despite such increased feminist activism, Ronald Reagan was re-elected with a large margin of victory in 1984.

In the early 1980s feminist and women's organizations coined the term "gender gap." These organizations employed the term in attempt to show that greater differences in opinion existed between men and women than ever before, with the hopes of energizing women's movements.⁷ A great deal of confusion exists still today about what exactly the gender gap is and what it means. This is in part due to the multiple ways of calculating for it. In this paper, the gender gap will be calculated by subtracting the percentage of men who voted for the Democratic candidate in a particular election, from the percentage of women who voted for that same candidate. Calculating the gap in this fashion yields what is known as the Democratic gender gap.

$$\text{Democratic Gender Gap} = \text{\% of women who voted for the Democratic candidate} - \text{\% of men who voted for the Democratic candidate}$$

The existence of a gender gap does not mean one party truly benefits from the gap at the expense of the other, because the gender gap is quite different from winning among women. For

⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁶ Ibid., 32.

Largely due to pressure from women, Walter Mondale, the Democratic Presidential nominee, selected Geraldine Ferraro as his running mate in 1984.

Ellie Smeal, *Why and How Women Will Elect the Next President*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1984).

Bella Abzug, *Gender Gap: Bella Abzug's Guide to Political Power for American Women*, (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1984).

⁷ Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton, *Sex as a Political Variable*, 32.

example, it is possible for a candidate to have more support among women (40 percent of women) than among men (30 percent of men). In this case a gender gap of ten exists; however, this candidate did not “win among women.” Rather, what the gender gap truly reflects is “nothing more than the difference between the way men and women vote.”⁸

As stated, the Democratic gender gap method will be employed in this paper. Subtracting the percentage of women who voted for the Republican candidate from the percentage of men who did so is another way of calculating the gender gap. This is known as the Republican gender gap.⁹ It has become common practice to simply refer to the Democratic gender gap as the gender gap unless the gap is being compared to the Republican gender gap. Also, the gap will be referred to in this paper as the gender gap rather than the “sex gap,” which in a sense is a more appropriate term because the data considered is broken down by the voters’ sex alone and not by the roles or behaviors the voters’ demonstrated. However, previous research has made the term gender gap conventional, so for consistency and clarity gender gap will be used here.

Attention given to voters’ sex reached an all time high in 1996. As campaign analysts predicted, women were more likely than men to vote for Democratic Presidential candidate President Bill Clinton in the 1996 election, than for Senator Bob Dole, the Republican Party’s nominee.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid., 32.

⁹ It is important to note that the Republican gender gap is typically roughly the same size as the Democratic gender gap. However, this is not always the case so it is important that the same method is consistently used. Similar sized gaps are particularly not the case in elections with a strong third party candidate such as Ross Perot in 1996 or Ralph Nader in 2000 because of men’s greater likelihood to vote for a third party candidate.

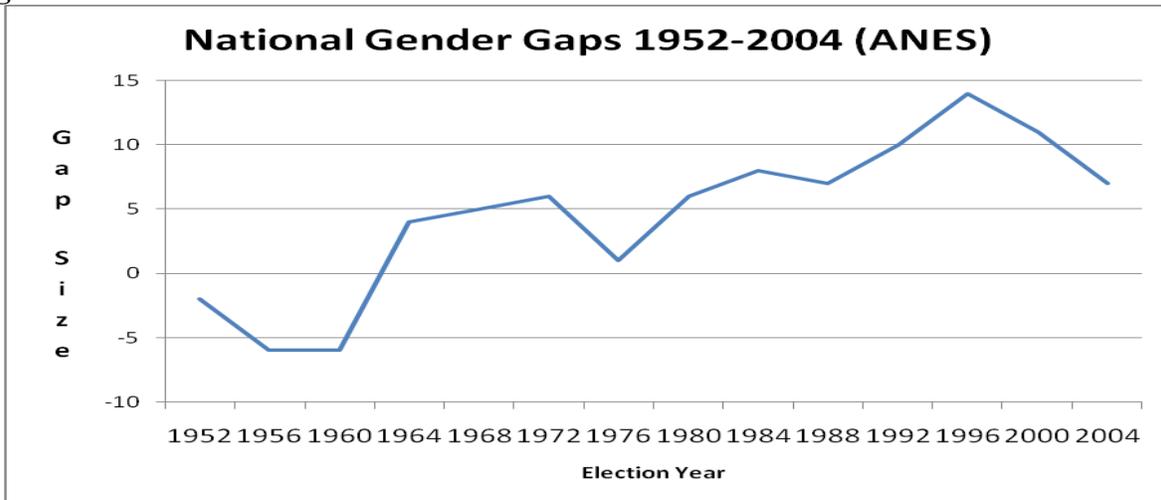
¹⁰ Gerald F. Seib, “In Historic Numbers, Men and Women Split Over Presidential Race” *Wall Street Journal*, 11 January, 1996.

According to exit poll data collected by Voter News Services (VNS), the gender gap was 11, with 54 percent of women and 43 percent of men voting for President Clinton, and according to American National Election Studies (ANES) the gender gap was 14.¹¹

The fact that the term gender gap in relation to voting was not created until the 1980s does not mean that a gender gap had never existed before. In fact, a gap between the sexes has existed as far back as quality data is available. The only available election results broken down by sex for every election since 1952 comes from ANES. Although a gender gap had existed for at least forty-four years in presidential elections by 1996, two noteworthy changes occurred over the four decades (Figure 1). First, the gender gap had not always favored the Democrats; it favored the Republican Party from 1952 to 1960. In those three elections, the average gap was 4.7. In every twentieth century election since 1960, the gap favored the Democrats. Secondly, it is noteworthy that the gap had never been as large as it was in 1996 (14 points). A gap of 8 in 1984 was the largest ever recorded to that time; clearly the timing of the term's creation was not without reason. The gap rose to a new record of 10 in 1992. Following the record size gap of 1996, the gender gap remained larger than average in 2000 and 2004 but shrank in both elections.

¹¹ ANES was formally created in 1977 by the National Science Foundation (NSF) in an effort to improve national knowledge regarding voting, public opinion and political participation. Prior to its creation, data had been collected for twenty five years spanning 1948-1976. ANES does different types of studies. The ones that will be used in this paper are classified as "Time Series Data Collections." Specifically, collections pertaining to presidential elections. For presidential elections both pre and post election data is available. Data is gained through surveying a respondent group of varying size (roughly 2,000 people for 1996) from across the country that answers a series of roughly 1,100 different questions. The nature of the questions asked has varied overtime. Early studies sought to determine voters' attitudes towards candidates, political parties, and the major issues covered in the specific campaign. Later studies, those following Watergate, had goals more directed at determining change over time and attempted to determine voter partisanship, issue preferences and political behavior.

Figure 1.



This paper will explore the long term ramifications of the increased gender gaps at the end of the twentieth century. More precisely, the impact of issues viewed as most important (issue importance), race, religion, income, size of place of residence (sizeplace), marital status, age, and education level of voters will be evaluated for their impacts on margins of victory for candidates and the size of the gender gap in Minnesota and Wisconsin in the 2000 and 2004 elections.¹²

Unless otherwise noted, all statistics are provided by Voter News Services (VNS). Depending on the state, the sample size was roughly 1,100 respondents per state in 2000 and 2,200 respondents per state in 2004.¹³ VNS is a consortium of four national television networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN) and the Associated Press (AP). From 1990 through 1994 the AP was not a member. In those years the consortium was called Voter Research and Surveys (VRS). Data is typically gained by interviewing voters immediately after they leave the polls. VNS's large sample size and localized breakdowns are two other distinct advantages of this data set.¹⁴ The polls

¹² "Sizeplace" was the name given to the variable in the official VNS survey asking respondents which type and how large of city they resided in.

¹³ These sample sizes are large enough to produce credible results. The margins of error were 3 percent in 2000 and 2 percent in 2004.

¹⁴ VNS data is accessible on University of Eau-Claire campus computers via the "W" drive.

compiled by VNS are a part of the General Election Exit Poll series conducted by the National Election Pool (NEP). The Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), established in 1962, is the larger body within which NEP works.¹⁵

The purpose of this work is multifaceted. Changes and trends in voter behavior with a focus on the role of sex as a variable between 2000 and 2004 and across state lines is the broad focus. Through analysis, it will become apparent that the sexes voted differently in 2000 and 2004. However, the gender gap did shrink from 14 in 1996 to 11 in 2000, and yet again to 7 in 2004.¹⁶ Also, the variables of: issue importance, race, religion, income, sizeplace, marital status, education level and age all proved to be stronger indicators of political behavior than sex at times.¹⁷ Certain variables made the sexes more polarized and some more unified, which will also become apparent through analysis. The sexes were most polarized when respondents were: black, Catholic in Minnesota or Protestant in Wisconsin, at high levels of income, living in the suburbs, unmarried in Wisconsin and married in Minnesota, highly educated, and young. Differences in the political climate between 2000 and 2004 were made most visible by the issue importance variable. Voters indicated the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 against the United States and the ensuing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq weighed heavily on their voting decisions.

It is important to note the fashion in which the concept of gender and voter behavior will be explored in this paper. Due to the multifaceted nature of this work and the multiplicity of variables considered, this paper will only determine among which subsets of the general population a gender gap existed. A more complete, complicated analysis of gender and voter

¹⁵ ICPSR is part of The Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

¹⁶ See Figure 1.

¹⁷ Tables 1-4 in the Appendix compare the size of gaps within demographic subgroups to the size of the gender gap. These figures are separated by state and election. All eight variables had a largest gap larger than the gender gap in at least one election. These tables should be referred to throughout this paper for exact statistics on how each subgroup voted in all four elections being heavily considered, and for comparison of variables, elections, and states.

behavior would employ intersectionality beyond just two variables. For example, the voting behavior of middle class, African American, highly educated, married women would be compared to the behavior of lower class, African American, lowly educated, unmarried women. Doing so would lead to a more thorough understanding of why men and women voted differently because of the extremely interconnected nature of the variables considered. The combinations of variables in such a complex analysis would be seemingly infinite. Scholarship considering the intersections of race, class, and gender does exist. A major contribution to this field was made by Teresa Amott and Julie Matthaei in 1996 with the publishing of their work, *Race, Gender and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States*.¹⁸

Uniqueness of this Work

The methodology of this scholarship has its roots in over four decades of political research. The process of evaluating several variables and attempting to determine which ones were the best predictors of voter behavior follows the model created by Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes of the University of Michigan in their 1960 book, *The New American Voter*.¹⁹ These scholars used survey data collected for the 1948, 1952 and 1956 elections.²⁰ This book is possibly the most influential work in the field of voter behavior as its method has been followed by several succeeding researchers. Campbell and his colleagues' conclusions emphasized the role of party identification in voter behavior. Critics claim the Michigan group over emphasized party identification stating "dealignment" of voters from political parties followed 1956.²¹ In their 1996 work, *The New American Voter*, Warren Miller and

¹⁸ Teresa Amotti and Julie Matthaei, *Race, Gender and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States*, (Boston: South End Press, 1996).

¹⁹ Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes, *The American Voter*, (New York: Wiley, 1960).

²⁰ This data set eventually came to be known as NES, which is now known as ANES. This data did not include voters' sex as a variable.

Merrill Shanks asserted “nonalignment” rather dealignment occurred.²² The emphasis in Miller and Shanks’ book is on age cohorts, with the contention that older people did not leave the parties they belonged to, but rather that younger people never joined parties. This paper applies the model set forth by Campbell and his colleagues. Thus, this work is made unique by its focus, not methodology.

The focus of this work is narrowed by analyzing only twenty-first century presidential elections and giving special attention to the role sex played on voter behavior. Uniqueness is achieved through localized analysis. A study emphasizing sex and voter behavior in the twenty-first century with a concerted focus on how Minnesota and Wisconsin compared to the nation and to each other, has yet to be published.

Furthermore, this paper can be classified as political history. Most of the current scholarship in the field of voter behavior comes from political scientists, as well as sociologists and economists. Historians are strongly needed to produce work in this field because of their focus on change over time. Analyzing what factors and motivations contributed to changes over time will enhance understanding in this field. Although the elections evaluated are extremely contemporary, changes and trends can still be identified. Such analysis can then be applied to current and forthcoming elections in an effort to make a most educated prediction; and in the current context of close elections, a most thorough understanding of the political climate is essential.

²¹ V.O. Key, Jr. and Milton Cummings’ work, *The Responsible Electorate*, is a well known example of a work critical of the Campbell group. Key and Cummins believed the American electorate to be more informed than did the Michigan group.

²² Warren Miller and Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

Theories Regarding Why the Sexes Voted Differently

At the outset of increased research surrounding sex and voting patterns following the election of 1980, the belief held by political scientists and campaign organizers was women gravitated towards the Democratic Party because of “women’s issues,” meaning issues that affected women and men differently, such as abortion laws and women’s rights.²³ This seemed likely at the time, because the Democratic candidates of the 1980 and 1984 elections, Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale, respectively, were far more supportive of such issues than was Ronald Reagan, the Republican candidate in both elections. Early 1980s studies also suggested that women were switching to the Democratic Party because more women belonged to labor unions than ever before, and historically labor unions favored the Democrats.²⁴ Other analyses asserted that the gender gap was the result of men leaving the Democratic Party for the Republican Party, the so called “Reagan Democrats” or “neoconservatives.”²⁵ These men were classified as middle-class workers from northern states who left the Democrats because they no longer believed the party was fighting for the needs of the middle class, but instead for the needs of the extremely poor and minorities.²⁶ The result of this switch was “a political hegemony of the right.”²⁷

Feminist theorists, on the other hand, asserted that women's attitudes towards international policy and the use of violence, law enforcement, and government welfare policies led them

²³Kay Lehman Scholzman, Nancy Burns, Sidney Verba, and Jesses Donahue, “Gender and Citizen Participation: Is There a Different Voice?,” *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (May, 1995): 268-270.

²⁴ Edlund and Pande, “Why Have Women Become Left-Wing?: The Political Gender Gap and the Decline in Marriage,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117 (August, 2002): 923.

²⁵ Neo-conservatism is a movement championed by Irving Kristol that started about ten years prior to 1980. Along with the displeased former liberals already described, neoconservatives included people who formerly were in the middle of the political spectrum, and centrist conservatives such as William F. Buckley, Jr.

²⁶ Stanley B. Greenberg, *Middle Class Dreams: The Politics and Power of the New American Majority*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

²⁷ Edlund and Pande, “Why Have Women Become Left-Wing,” 922.

towards the Democratic Party.²⁸ Such theorists also asserted that women engaged in the political process for more altruistic reasons, such as fulfilling a sense of civic duty, than did men.²⁹

Specifically regarding the elections won by Bill Clinton in 1992 and 1996, the common conception was that “soccer moms” were the reason for the Democratic candidate’s victories. Soccer moms were described as middle to upper class, white suburban women, whose lives revolved around their school-aged children. “The Children Gap on Social Welfare and the Politicization of American Parents, 1984-2000,” by Laurel Elder and Steven Greene, supports the claim that an increased number of such women voted for the Democratic Party. According to Elder and Green, these women did so because they felt the Democrats would better fulfill their wants and needs.³⁰ Proponents of feminist theory agreed with these assertions.³¹

Recent scholars cite some of the same policy issues as more central to women than to men as feminist theorists cited. Franco Mattei researched the creation of the 1996 gender gap. He employed data that recorded a gender gap of 12.9 for 1996. By evaluating which issues voters claimed were most salient in their decision making, he determined how many percentage points of the 12.9 total points various policy issues accounted for. His findings revealed that men and women held significantly different views about the appropriate role for the federal government in the everyday lives of American citizens. Thus, policy issues pertaining to the role of the federal government most predominantly contributed to the gender gap (61 percent of the total gap).³² More specifically, economic issues were the leading cause of the gender gap, with women more in favor of redistributive policies, such as increased taxes on the wealthy and welfare programs for

²⁸ Work by feminist theorists came from within the field of political science as well from other fields.

²⁹ Scholzman, Burns, Verba, and Donahue, “Gender and Citizen Participation,” 268-270.

³⁰ Laurel Elder and Steven Greene, “The Children Gap on Social Welfare and the Politicization of American Parents, 1984-2000,” *Politics and Gender* 2 (2006): 451-472.

³¹ Scholzman, Burns, Verba, and Donahue, “Gender and Citizen Participation,” 268-270.

³² Franco Mattie, “The Gender Gap in Presidential Evaluations: Assessments of Clinton’s Performance in 1996,” *Polity* 33 (Winter, 2000): 221.

the poor, than were men.³³ This may have been the result of the altruistic tendencies feminist theorists believed women possessed. It may also have been the result of women earning less money on average than men. If the latter is the case, however, it would not explain why the gender gap widened in 1996. The gender gap in income, although still quite prevalent, was narrower than it had ever been before.³⁴ However, although women were personally earning wages more similar to men, due to declining marriage rates many women were more financially hard pressed than they previously were. Marriage rates declined in the late twentieth century as a result of increased divorce rates and people marrying later in life. Two economists, Lena Edlund and Rohini Pande researched the variable of marital status for its effect on voter behavior.³⁵

Edlund and Pande believed the differing opinions held by the sexes regarding redistributive economic policies did lead to the increased gender gap between 1980 and 1996, and offered an explanation as to why it widened despite the gender income gap narrowing. In their 2002 published study, “Why Have Women Become Left Wing? The Political Gender Gap and the Decline of Marriage,” Edlund and Pande asserted that the declining marriage rates of the late twentieth century resulted in more women favoring redistributed economic policies because unwed women possessed less money than did wed women; therefore, they voted more Democratically. The authors described marriage as an exchange between a man and woman, in which the man provided financial assets for the woman and the woman provided sex and children for the man. Ultimately, the authors claimed that the gender gap increased because the number of unwed women increased. Edlund and Pande’s conclusion seems quite likely, especially when the rising costs of childcare are considered; an issue many single women had to manage.

³³ Edlund and Pande, “Why Have Women Become Left-Wing,” 923.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Edlund and Pande, “Why Have Women Become Left-Wing.”

Debate regarding the proper role of the government is not a new one. In fact, it may be “the single most defining feature of American politics,” as Mattei suggested.³⁶ What was new at the end of the twentieth century, was how greatly men’s and women’s opinions differed in regard to such issues.³⁷ Below, whether or not men and women continued to vote increasingly different into the twentieth century will be evaluated. Also considered will be the effect of the variables discussed by these authors, and of other variables, in Minnesota and Wisconsin in 2000 and 2004.

2000 and 2004 Overview

The general election in both 2000 and 2004 was won by Republican candidate George W. Bush by historically narrow margins. Although Bush won the election of 2000, 48.4 percent of all voters voted for Democratic candidate Vice President Al Gore and 47.9 percent voted for Bush.³⁸ Bush won both the election and the popular vote in 2004 with 50.73 percent of the total vote. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, however, the Democratic candidate won these two elections.³⁹ Gore won the 2000 election in Minnesota with 48 percent of the vote compared to Bush’s 45 percent. VNS reported a virtual tie in Wisconsin with both candidates recording 48 percent of the vote. Officially, Gore beat Bush by a margin of 0.2 percent, 47.8 percent to 47.6 percent.⁴⁰ For 2004, official records differ from VNS data significantly. In Minnesota, VNS reported a win for Democratic candidate Senator John Kerry by a margin of 56 percent to 42 percent; while officially

³⁶ Mattie, “The Gender Gap in Presidential Evaluations,” 221.

³⁷ See Figure 1. The larger gender gaps at the end of the twentieth century suggest men and women differed more greatly in opinion than ever before.

³⁸ The President of the United States is officially elected by the Electoral College. In every state, except Maine and Nebraska, whichever candidate receives the most votes within that state wins all the electoral votes for that state. Although it is not common, this system makes it possible for a candidate to win the popular vote and not become elected by the Electoral College as was the case in the 2000 election. This also happened in the elections of 1876 and 1888.

³⁹ Below, the elections of 2000 and 2004 in Minnesota and Wisconsin will be referred to as four elections.

⁴⁰ Official election results are provided by the United States Federal Government and State Election Offices. These results are available online at: <http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/2000presgeresults.htm>; for the 2000 election, and at: <http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2004/2004pres.pdf>; for the 2004 election.

the margin was only 51.09 percent to 47.61 percent. Kerry's margin of victory in Wisconsin was also exaggerated by VNS exit polls. VNS reported 52 percent of voters sided with Kerry and 47 percent with Bush. In actuality, Kerry only recorded 49.7 percent of the vote compared to 49.32 percent for Bush.

The gender gap shrank in size from 2000 to 2004. For the nation, the gap was 11 in 2000 and 7 in 2004. In Minnesota the gap was 9 in 2000 and 5 in 2004; in Wisconsin, the gap was 14 in 2000 and 8 in 2004. In all four elections, more women voted than men. In the 2000 election, 55.5 percent of Minnesota respondents were women, and 52 percent were women in Wisconsin. The states reversed in 2004: 52 percent of Minnesota voters were women, while 55.5 percent of Wisconsin voters were women. Women making up the majority of voters is the norm. In fact, since the Bureau of Census began asking about voting behavior in 1964, women have made up the majority of voters. This is largely due to more women being of voting age than men.⁴¹

Analysis

The analysis of the gender gap, differences between Minnesota and Wisconsin, and between 2000 and 2004 will be broken down by variable. Eight variables will be considered. Again, intersectionality will include just two variables: voters' sex and the specific variable being considered.

Issue Importance

Respondents were asked to declare which issue was most important to them while deciding for whom to vote. Their answers indicated that the needs of voters changed significantly between the first and the second election of the twenty-first century. The Clinton years of the 1990s were

⁴¹ Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton, *Sex as a Political Variable*, 70.

characterized by tremendous economic expansion. Towards the end of the Clinton Administration, concerns of a looming economic recession were prevalent. In 2000, respondents reflected these widespread fears as the economy and jobs was the most important issue in both states, accounting for 22 percent of respondents in Wisconsin and 21 percent in Minnesota.⁴² The second most important issue in Wisconsin was taxes with 18 percent of all respondents declaring them most significant. Taxes was also second most important in Minnesota with 18 percent but was tied by education, which received only 12 percent of respondents in Wisconsin.

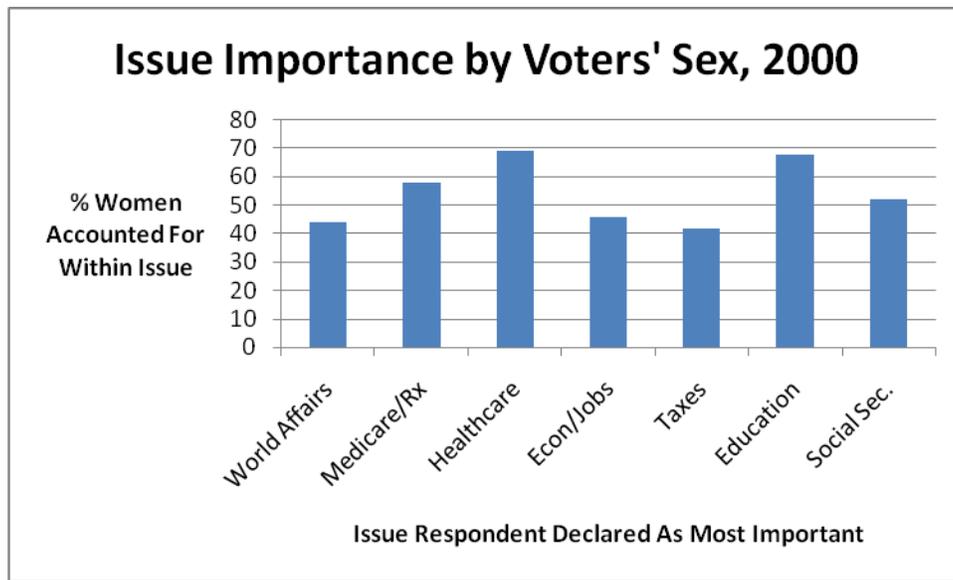
Respondents indicating the economy and jobs as most important were 55 percent male in Wisconsin and 53 percent male in Minnesota, and voted for Al Gore at a rate of 64 percent and 67 percent, respectively.⁴³ Such support for the Democratic candidate is a bit surprising given the sexual makeup of this group of voters. The second most important issue, taxes, was also made up primarily of men, 58 percent in both states. This category, however, firmly followed expectations of a group comprised of mainly men as 79 percent of such Wisconsin respondents voted for Bush and 83 percent of Minnesotans did so. Other than taxes and the economy, world affairs was the only other issue in which men accounted for the majority in either of the states. A male majority of 52 percent in Wisconsin did not result in a Republican win in this category, however, as Gore edged Bush by 3 percentage points. Conversely, in Minnesota, where men held a more significant majority in the world affairs category, 59 percent, Bush gained more votes than Gore by 5 percentage points.

⁴² Responses falling categorized as “omit” or “missing” are not included in the calculation of percentage of voters declaring issues as most significant. To clarify, economy/jobs is presumed to have been the most important issue because more respondents reported that it was the most important issue to them than any other issue.

⁴³ Figures 2 and 3 show the percentage of respondents indicating each variable as most important that were women.

In both states women made up the majority in the other four categories: Medicare/prescription drugs, healthcare, education and social security.⁴⁴ Women accounted for their largest majority in the healthcare category in both states. The margin of victory within this category was not as large for Gore as might have been presumed from the overwhelming amount of women because the women and men voting on this issue did not vote as they were expected to; which was reflected by a gender gap of negative 10 in Wisconsin and of 4 in Minnesota.⁴⁵

Figure 2.



Note: These percentages are the combined averages of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Priorities changed for voters from 2000 to 2004. Respondents indicated that the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 and their ramifications were central in their decision making. Four issues drastically overshadowed the other three on the survey. In order of total respondents from

⁴⁴ Men were actually more likely to indicate social security as their most important issue, although women made up the majority of this group. This was true because 48 percent of men in Wisconsin did so as did 49 percent of men in Minnesota; both percentages are larger than the overall percentage of respondents that were male.

⁴⁵ To clarify, a negative gap means that men from a given category were more likely to vote for the Democratic candidate than were women from that category.

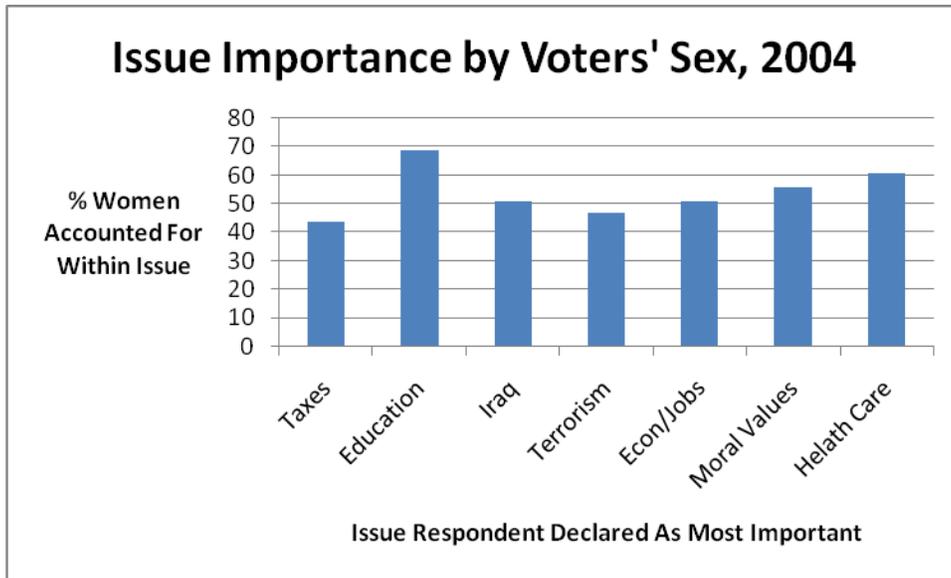
the two states the big four categories were: moral values, Iraq, economy and jobs, and terrorism, all accounting for roughly 20 percent of all respondents (plus or minus four.)⁴⁶ Extreme change between elections is proven by terrorism, Iraq, and moral values not being listed on the 2000 survey. The economic concerns of 2000 persisted into 2004, however.

Voters were extremely polarized within these four categories. Terrorism centered voters supported Bush with majorities of 84 percent in Minnesota and 83 percent in Wisconsin; and voters concerned with moral values favored Bush with majorities of 74 percent in Minnesota and 81 percent in Wisconsin. Bush's win among moral value voters was slightly in spite of generalized gender voting behaviors as 55 percent of such Minnesota voters 58 percent of such Wisconsin voters were female. Moreover, men indicating moral values as most important were more likely to vote for Kerry than were women in both states (gender gap of 2).

Senator Kerry earned heavy support from economy focused voters, 87 percent in Minnesota and 85 percent in Wisconsin; and from Iraq focused voters, 83 percent support in Minnesota and 78 percent in Wisconsin. No significant difference in the composition of these electorates can be reported for either state in terms of sex, other than men voting based on Iraq were more likely than women to vote for Kerry as a gender gap of negative 3 in Minnesota and negative 1 in Wisconsin revealed. A final significant change between the elections was the absence of social security from the 2004 survey, which was the third most important issue to voters in Wisconsin and fourth most important in Minnesota in 2000.

⁴⁶ In Minnesota, 23 percent of respondents indicated moral values as their most important issue, 21 percent indicated Iraq, 19 percent indicated the economy and jobs, and 16 percent terrorism. In Wisconsin, 24 percent of respondents indicated moral values, 23 percent the economy and jobs, 21 percent Iraq, and 21 percent terrorism. The other three categories were education, taxes, and healthcare.

Figure 3.



Note: These percentages are the combined averages of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Issue importance is significant to this study in terms of which issues were more important to which sex.⁴⁷ But in terms of the overall Wisconsin and Minnesota electorate, issue importance is not as significant. This study seeks to go beyond opinion orientated variables such as issue importance, political ideology, and party identification. What this study is essentially asking is which subgroups of people voted for which candidates, in an effort to determine which characteristics of voters led them to have the opinions they did.

Race

Evaluation of voters' race reveals a bloc of voters: blacks.⁴⁸ In 2000, blacks favored Al Gore as 64 percent of Wisconsin blacks and 63 percent of Minnesota blacks voted for him. Such support is minute compared to that of 2004 when 89 percent of blacks in both Wisconsin and Minnesota voted for Kerry. In Wisconsin, black's support of Democratic candidates might be explained in

⁴⁷ Figures 2 and 3 illustrate which issues were more important to which sex.

⁴⁸ The five categories on the survey were (in order of appearance on survey): white, black, Hispanic, Asian, and other. For consistency and clarity these terms will now be used.

part by gender differences, as only 40 percent of black voters were male in 2000 and 39 percent in 2004. This explanation did not hold true in Minnesota, however. In fact, black voters were more likely to be male in Minnesota, 56 percent in 2000 and 59 percent in 2004. A good example of the dramatic impact of the strong support by black and other minorities for democratic candidates is the 2000 Wisconsin election which VNS reported a virtual tie and Gore officially won by a 0.4 percent margin. Support from minority voters allowed Gore to win this election despite whites, who made up 93.3 percent of the electorate, favoring Bush 49 percent to 47 percent.

Hispanics, the third largest racial group in Minnesota and Wisconsin in 2000 and 2004, did not favor Democratic candidates as strongly as blacks did. The 2004 election in Wisconsin is a prime example of this as 53 percent voted for Kerry. The only other racial groupings were “Asian” and “other.” An insufficient number of respondents from these two groups in 2000 makes drawing conclusions regarding their behavior inappropriate.⁴⁹ In 2004, the amount of Asian respondents increased and their behavior was quite clear in Minnesota as 17 of the 19 respondents voted for Kerry. In Wisconsin Asians behavior was not as lopsided as 10 respondents voted for Kerry and 9 for Bush.

Because whites accounted for 92 to 96 percent of the electorate in Minnesota and Wisconsin for these two elections the overall gender gap tended to mirror the gender gap among whites. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to consider the gap among different minority groups as well. However, problems resulting from the lack of minority respondents are intensified when respondents are broken down even further by sex. For example, in 2000 among blacks a gender gap of 48 was reported for Minnesota and a gap of negative 36 was reported for Wisconsin.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁹ Only 4 respondents declared themselves Asian in Minnesota and 6 respondents did so in Wisconsin. 10 respondents marked other in Minnesota and 14 did so in Wisconsin.

⁵⁰ In 2000, only 33 respondents in Wisconsin and 19 respondents in Minnesota were black.

2004 survey had nearly twice as many total respondents making statistics broken down by sex, such as the gender gap, more reliable. These statistics suggest that the gap was about one point higher in both Minnesota and Wisconsin among blacks than among whites. A lack of minority respondents is a major hole in this study of gender and voting behavior. National level analyses and studies of areas with higher minority populations are better able to make conclusions regarding the relationship between race, sex, and voter behavior.

Religion

The increased importance placed on moral values by voters in the 2004 election calls for increased attention to religion's role in voter behavior. Respondents were asked to classify themselves as belonging to one of the following groups or religions: Protestants, Catholics, other Christian, Jewish, something else, or none. Of these six groups, Jewish, something else and none heavily supported the Democratic candidates in all four elections. Relatively, Jewish people most heavily favored the Democrats, averaging 82 percent in Minnesota and 73 percent in Wisconsin over the two elections.⁵¹ Minnesota respondents belonging to the something else category increased their support for the Democrats from 59 percent in 2000 to 79 percent in 2004. Given their strong support for Democratic candidates, voters not having any religious affiliation, were surprisingly over two-thirds male. Green party candidate Ralph Nader received much of his support from "else" and "none" voters in 2000.⁵²

Catholic and Protestant voters shifted in opposite directions from 2000 to 2004 with Catholics moving left on the political spectrum and Protestants moving right. In Minnesota, Catholic voters favored George W. Bush in 2000 by a margin of 8 percentage points. In 2004,

⁵¹ Jewish people comprised 1 to 2 percent of all respondents.

⁵² In the 2000 Minnesota election, 30 percent of Nader's votes came from these two categories while only 13.5 percent of all respondents did.

Minnesota Catholics favored John Kerry by 12 percentage points. In Wisconsin, Catholics favored Al Gore by 1 percentage point but John Kerry by 5. This shift may not solely reflect a change in opinion among Catholics toward the Democrats, but may also be influenced by the fact that John Kerry is a Catholic. Protestants on the other hand, shifted from favoring Gore by 5 percentage points in Minnesota to favoring Bush by 1 point in 2004. Bush also made ground among Protestants in Wisconsin increasing his margin of victory from 5 points in 2000 to 13 in 2004. Surprisingly this shift to the right by Protestants was accompanied by more women Protestant voters in Wisconsin in 2004 than in 2000. Other Christians heavily favored Bush in all four elections, particularly in Wisconsin.

In Minnesota, the largest gender gaps occurred among Catholic voters. In 2000 the gap was 12 and increased to 14 by 2004. The Protestant gap was bigger, 15, in 2000 but this gap shrank to 6 in 2004. Catholic voters in Wisconsin also displayed interesting patterns along gender lines. In 2000, the gap was remarkably high (negative 23) and reversed to positive 5 in 2004. Wisconsin Protestants demonstrated the largest gap over the two elections with gaps of 27 and 9.

Income

The generalization that as income increases so does voters' likelihood to vote for Republican candidates loosely applied to Minnesota and Wisconsin in the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections. However, this general rule was not always the case as variations occurred between the states and the elections.⁵³

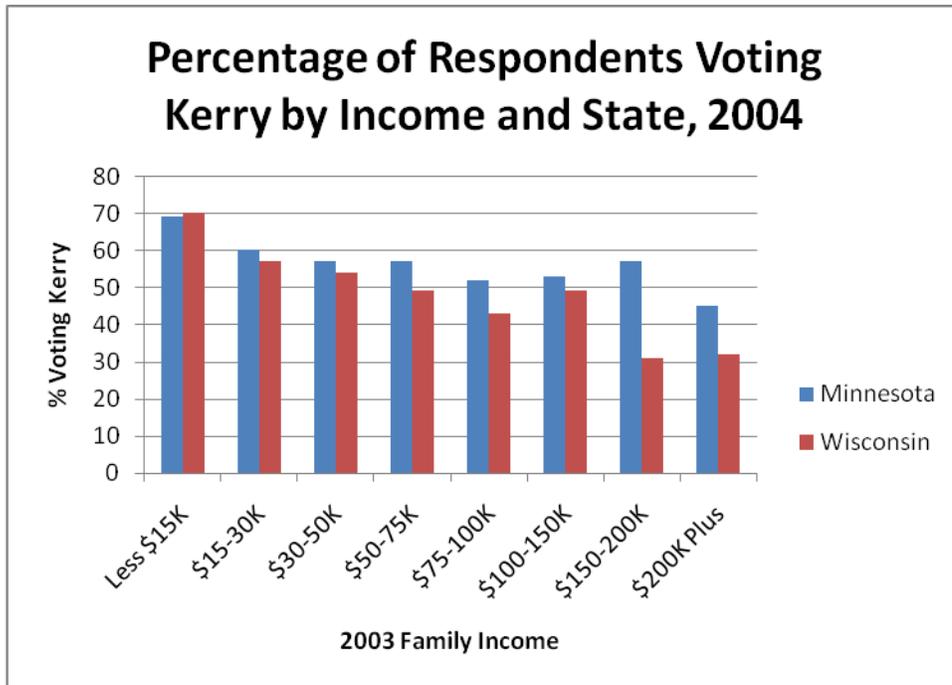
The rule applied more neatly in Wisconsin than in Minnesota. This was made most evident by the higher income groups. The highest bracket in the 2000 election was \$100,000 plus. The

⁵³ The groupings on the 2000 survey were: Less than \$15,000, \$15,000 to \$29,999, \$30,000 to \$49,999, \$50,000 to \$74,999, \$75,000 to \$99,999, and \$100,000 and over. They were same for the 2004 survey with the subtraction of the \$100,000 plus group and the addition of \$100,000 to \$149,999, \$150,000 to \$199,999, and \$200,000 plus groups. Respondents are asked to answer by family income for the previous year.

states were very similar in this bracket in this election as 43 percent of Minnesotans voted for Gore and 44 percent of Wisconsinites did so. In 2004, more groupings were created: \$100,000-149,999, \$150,000-199,999, and \$200,000 plus, which allowed for a better study of the voting behavior of the wealthier; and this is where state differences are highlighted. Figure 4 compares how Minnesota respondents and Wisconsin respondents voted at the different income levels in 2004. Support for Kerry remained fairly constant throughout the income groupings in Minnesota, decreasing slightly as income went up. In Wisconsin on the other hand, support for Kerry severely decreased at the highest income levels.⁵⁴ In Minnesota, middle income voters generally favored the Democratic candidates. Wisconsin had a pretty even split among the middle three groupings, with Bush holding a slight advantage. The two groups including families making less than \$30,000 annually voted for the Democratic candidates in all four elections. Support for the Democrats from this group increased from 2000 to 2004.

⁵⁴ Minnesota voters more closely followed the conclusions made by Andrew Gelman, Boris Shor, Joseph Bofami and David Park in their work, "Rich State, Poor State, Red State, Blue State: What's the Matter with Connecticut," published in 1996. The Gelman groups asserted that it was voters' desires to obtain a certain image, which often was influenced by the region in which they lived, not income that most greatly affected their behavior. For example, they asserted New England voters sided with John Kerry in 2004 because they wanted an elitist type image they felt Kerry and the Democrats better upheld, and that significantly less wealthy residents of the southern states sided with George W. Bush because of their desire to obtain the so called "NASCAR Republican" image. The group believed regional differences had increased significantly by 2004.

Figure 4.



The lower two income groups made an interesting demographic change from 2000 to 2004. In Minnesota they became more masculine as they went from 36 percent male in 2000 to 43 percent male in 2004. One might have expected that a shift to the Republican Party would have accompanied the men, but as stated above the opposite occurred. Wisconsin on the other hand had more women voters join these two groups as they shifted from 57 percent female to 63 percent female. As could be presumed from women making up the majority of the lower income groupings, men made up the majority of the upper income groupings.

In Wisconsin, the sexes differed the most at the highest income levels. In 2000, the gender gap for the highest bracket was 24, 5 points higher than any other bracket. In 2004, the average gap from the three highest levels was 16, 6 points higher than at any other level. The upper income groups in Minnesota followed a similar pattern in 2000. The largest two gender gaps were among \$75,000 to \$99,999 and \$100,000 plus groups which had gaps of 30 and 15, respectively. A significant shift occurred from 2000 to 2004. The astronomically large gap of 30 in 2000 went to

negative 1 in 2004, and the highest two income groups both had gaps of negative 7 in 2004. The largest gender gap for Minnesota in 2004 was 10, in the \$50,000 to \$74,999 group.

Although Minnesota men from the upper income groups favored the Democratic candidate more so than women from those groups in 2004, given the results of the other three elections a loose generalization could be made that men are more likely to vote for Republicans as income increases than are women. This generalization is reinforced when the gender gap in the lowest incomes is considered. For the lowest grouping, under \$15,000 annually, Minnesota had gender gaps of negative 12 and negative 5, and Wisconsin had gaps of negative 26 and 3. The outlying case here is clearly Minnesota 2004, when both upper and lower income men were more likely to vote Democratically. It can be correctly concluded that the middle income level groups were the cause of the persistence of a traditional gender gap, women tending to vote for Democratic candidates more than men, in Minnesota in 2004. This was apparent in the \$50,000 to \$74,999 group mentioned above. In the other three elections, all with larger overall gender gaps, both the middle income groups and the upper income groups caused the gap.

Sizeplace

Respondents were categorized by the size and type of city which they resided into three groupings: a city with over 50,000 residents, a suburb, or a small city/rural setting. Voters from cities of 50,000 plus residents were clearly who won these four elections for the Democrats. In the 2000 Wisconsin election, 63 percent of respondents from larger cities voted for Al Gore, compared to 44 percent in the suburbs and 42 percent in the smaller cities. Again in 2004, 63 percent of

respondents from Wisconsin's larger cities voted for John Kerry. Minnesota followed a similar pattern, having slightly less support from the big cities than Wisconsin for Gore, 56 percent, and slightly more for Kerry, 69 percent.⁵⁵

The sexes appeared to differentiate the most in the suburbs. Aside from Wisconsin 2004, which had minimal variance in size of the gap among the three groups, the suburbs recorded the highest gender gap.⁵⁶ In fact, in the Minnesota 2004 election the suburbs were the only group to report a gap greater than 1, 10. The suburbs of Wisconsin in 2000 also stuck out with a gap of 21 compared to 5 for the larger cities and 2 for the smaller cities. In all four elections men and women accounted for around the same percentage of the suburban electorate as they did in the total electorate. In general, Minnesota men were slightly more likely to live in bigger cities and Wisconsin men were slightly more likely to live small cities and rural settings.

Marital Status

Overall, married voters were more likely to side with the Republican candidate. This was narrowly the case in 2000. In this election, 68 percent of Gore Minnesota voters were married and 70 of Bush Minnesota voters were married. In Wisconsin, this trend was more apparent as 64 percent of Gore voters were married and 73 percent of Bush voters were married. Marital status became a far greater indicator of political behavior in 2004. In Minnesota, 57 percent of Kerry voters were married compared to 70 percent of Bush voters, and in Wisconsin 55 percent of Kerry voters were married compared to 70 percent of Bush voters.

⁵⁵ Again, sizeplace is the name given to this variable in the official VNS survey. Also, in the 2004 survey additional categories of 50,000 to 499,999 residents and of 500,000 plus residents were added to this variable. For consistency between elections, this paper condenses these categories into 50,000 plus.

⁵⁶ Wisconsin 2004 had a gender gap of 9 in the larger cities, and of 8 in both the suburbs and small cities/rural.

In Wisconsin, the gender gaps were bigger among unmarried respondents than among married respondents. The 2000 gender gap was 22 among unmarried respondents and 10 among married respondents, and in 2004 the gap was 10 among unmarried respondents and 4 among married respondents.

In Minnesota, marital status did not divide the sexes as much as it did in Wisconsin. Minnesota was also different from Wisconsin in that men and women who were married voted more differently than unmarried men and women. In 2000 the gap was 10 among married respondents and 7 among unmarried respondents, and in 2004 the gap was 6 among the married group and 3 among the unmarried group.

A final note to make regarding the role of marital status in voter behavior regards third party candidates. Unmarried voters were more likely to deviate from the two major parties. The 2000 election of Minnesota highlighted this tendency of unmarried voters as 51 percent of Ralph Nader's supporters were not married. Overall, 31 percent of respondents were unwed.

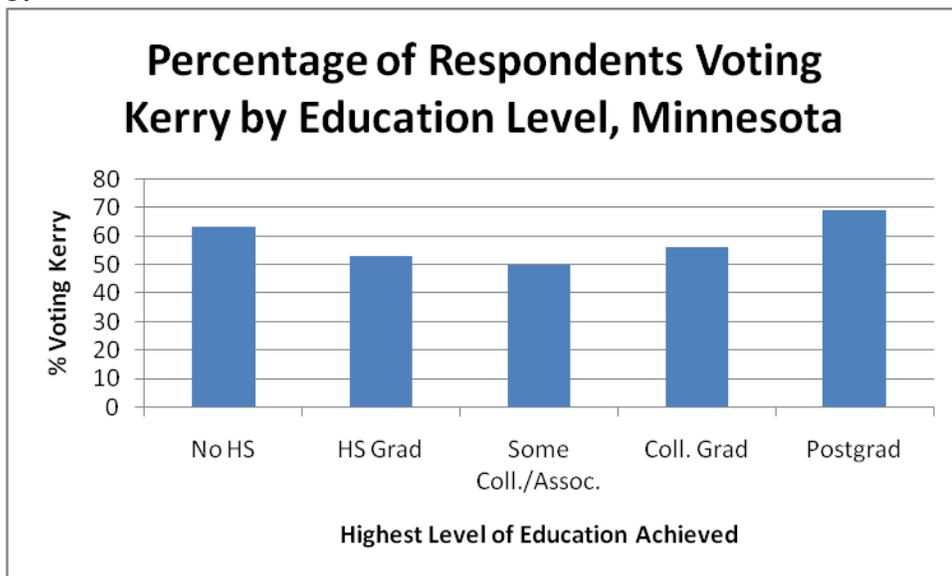
Education

Respondents were broken down into five categories based upon educational achievement: no high school diploma, high school graduate, some college or an associate degree, four year college graduate, and post-college graduate. The overall trend was for those with the least and most amounts of education to favor the Democrats. The 2004 Minnesota election was exemplary of this (Figure 5). The first category went strongly for the Democrats in all four elections, as did the high school graduates but not as strongly. The next two categories slightly went for Bush in all four elections other than Minnesota 2004, when they both went slightly for Kerry.

A significant shift among four year college graduates occurred in Minnesota between 2000 and 2004. In 2000, 44 percent of college graduates voted for Gore and in 2004 56 percent of them

voted for Kerry. As alluded to above, this shift did not occur in Wisconsin. In fact, college graduates became 2 percent more likely to vote for Bush in 2004. Making the Minnesota shift more noteworthy, is that this category was comprised of 60 percent women in 2000 and 52 percent women in 2004, yet a shift towards the Democrats still occurred. The final category, post-college graduates, voted for the Democratic candidate in all four elections. In both states, they did so more heavily in 2004 than in 2000. Given this increased support for the Democratic nominee in 2004 it is surprising that, although slightly, the amount of post graduates that were men increased in 2004.

Figure 5.



In all four elections, men and women from the post-graduate category voted most differently. In the 2004 Wisconsin election, a gender gap of 20 in this category was the only gap to be at or above the total state gap of 8. For both states in 2000, the gap was also very high among college graduates as it was 18 in Minnesota and 17 in Wisconsin. Little difference in the voter behavior of men and women existed among the other three categories; gender gaps of 1, 2, and 2 for these three categories made this quite apparent in Minnesota in 2000.

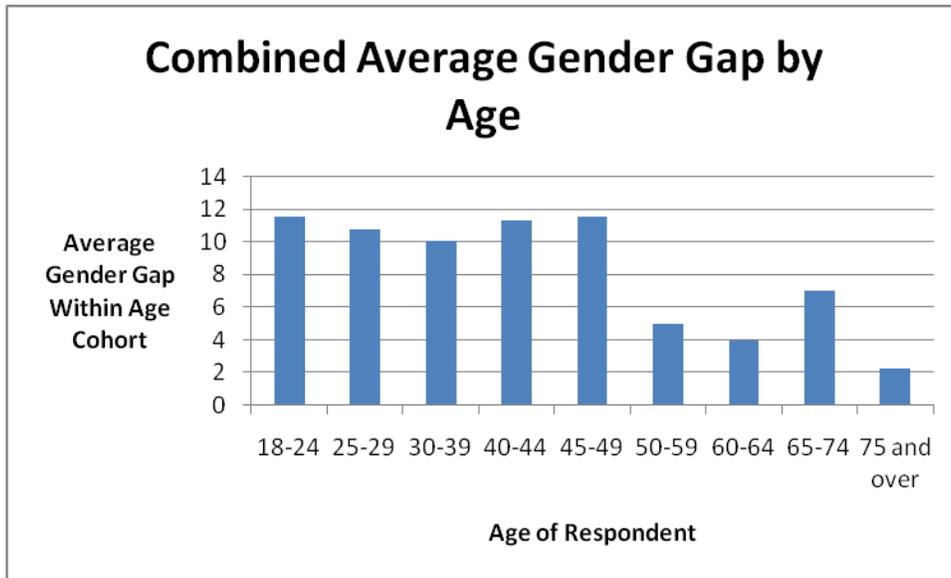
Age

The election of 2000 was quite rare in terms of age in Minnesota. George W. Bush outperformed Al Gore in the three age groupings encompassing eighteen to thirty-nine year olds by an average of 3 points per grouping.⁵⁷ It is not surprising for the thirty to thirty-nine year old group to vote Republican, but the eighteen to twenty-four and twenty-five to twenty-nine groupings typically lean heavily left. In 2000, the eldest Minnesota voters also did not vote in favor of the Democratic candidate, as they typically do. Al Gore was still able to win the 2000 Minnesota election despite a lack of support from the youngest and oldest voters by receiving more support than usual from the fifty to seventy-four year old groupings. In 2004, Kerry won among every age grouping in Minnesota. In Wisconsin, the thirty to thirty-nine and forty to forty-four year old groups gave Bush his most substantial support in both elections, winning by an average margin of 6.

Younger voters were the cause of the overall gender gaps. Figure 6 shows gender gaps shrank considerably in size for voters over the age of forty-nine. The eighteen to twenty-four year old grouping was the only grouping in which the gender gap was larger than the overall gap for every given election and state. No other significant trend in the gender gap was visible across both state and election. In Wisconsin, the gap was largest among twenty-five to twenty-nine year olds. Conversely, the sexes voted most similarly in this age group in Minnesota as in 2000 no gap existed and in 2004 the gap was only 5. The sexes voted most similarly in Wisconsin between the ages of sixty and sixty-four as virtually no gap existed.

⁵⁷ The age groupings were as follows: 18-24, 25-29, 30-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-59, 60-64, 65-74, 75 and over.

Figure 6.



Note: The statistics shown are the combined averages of all four elections.

Conclusions

All eight variables analyzed in this paper proved to be stronger predictors of voter behavior than sex in at least one instance. Franco Mattei’s assertion that debate regarding the proper role for the government is the most defining facet of American politics proved to be true in 2000 and 2004, as the strongest predictor of voter behavior was which campaign issue voters viewed as most important. This variable, along with political ideology, and party identification have always been strong indicators of voter behavior. This research was really seeking answers beyond these variables; ultimately asking to whom and why were certain issues important, and why voters belonged to the parties or held the opinions they did. A few such conclusions can be made based on this research.

The behavior of black voters was far easier to predict than white voters. This was especially the case in 2004 as 89 percent of black respondents voted for John Kerry. Religious affiliation was also a very strong indicator of voter behavior. Jewish people most clearly displayed

this with 82 percent of Minnesota Jews voting for Democratic candidates and 73 percent of Wisconsin Jews doing the same. In 2004, respondents indicating belonging to something else and other also displayed strong support for Kerry at the rate of about 80 percent. Religious categories encompassing the greatest amounts of respondents, Protestants, Catholics, and “other Christians,” did not vote as blocs of voters as did the other religious groupings.

In certain groups, income was a very strong indicator of behavior. In Wisconsin in 2004, a margin of victory favoring the Republican candidate of 36 existed in the two highest earning categories. Minnesota did not exhibit large margins of victory for either candidate at the upper income levels, but they did at the lowest two in both elections, as did Wisconsin. The largest margins among the lower incomes were 42 in Wisconsin 2004 for income levels below \$15,000 and 41 in Minnesota for this same group. Voters from the middle levels of income did not greatly deviate from overall patterns.

Voters from cities with more than 50,000 people supported the Democrats very strongly in both elections. Their strongest support came in Minnesota in 2004 as 69 percent of such respondents voted for Kerry. The margin of victory for Democrats among big city voters was above 22 in all four elections. Behavior of voters from the suburbs and smaller rural cities was not as easy to predict as the average margin of victory was just over 8.

Marital status also proved to be a strong indicator of voting patterns in certain instances. In terms of marital status, voting behavior of unmarried voters in 2004 was the easiest to predict. In Minnesota, 64 percent of such voters sided with Kerry and 61 percent did in Wisconsin. Education level and age also produced gaps larger than the gender gap. Large gaps were most consistent among young voters and voters with the least amounts of education. Above average gaps also appeared among the elderly and among those with the most education, particularly in 2004.

Clearly, a voter's sex alone was not the strongest determinant of voter behavior and several other factors must be considered. Furthermore, although a significant gender gap did exist, and men and women did demonstrate that different issues were important to them in all four elections considered; it would be a gross overgeneralization to state that all women and all men voted the same.

Differences between the sexes were enhanced by race. The largest minority group, blacks, exhibited larger gaps between the sexes by one percent than did whites. Religion also enhanced sex differences. In Minnesota, it was Catholics whom displayed the largest gender gaps and in Wisconsin it was Protestants. Men tended to have higher incomes than women, and as proven above, voters with higher incomes were more likely to vote for Republican candidates than were voters from lower incomes. Men and women within income groups also displayed differences, particularly at the highest levels. In the large and small cities the sexes did not display wide differentiation in voting behavior, but they did in the suburbs in three of the four elections. In Wisconsin, unmarried men and women voted quite differently, while in Minnesota married men and women showed some significant differences. In all four elections, the most educated voters displayed the largest gender gaps for the education variable. However, the youngest voters displayed the largest consistent gender gaps for the age variable.

In considering among which subgroups the sexes voted most differently, it is important to note that overlaps cannot be accounted for, making it impossible to determine exactly what caused a person to vote the way they did. Meaning, when only two variables are considered it would be inappropriate to state that black men and women differed more than white men and women simply because of their race. More likely, the increased gender gap among black voters was because of other factors such as income and marital status, for examples. This is where an analysis with

increased intersectionality or cross tabulation of variables would be beneficial.

Although several variables were greater indicators of political behavior than sex and the gender gap shrank in size following 1996, the importance and significance of the gender gap should not be totally lost. Considering that the sexes made up 100 percent of the electorate, a gap of any size is quite significant; and the gender gaps of 2000 and 2004 were still very visible. Furthermore, in the context of close elections, all gaps carry with them grand implications and must be investigated. In terms of exploiting the gender gap in forthcoming elections, this study has shown which areas proved to be most exploitable in the recent past.

If one point is to be taken away from this analysis, it is that the American electorate is a very complicated group. No one variable can predict voter behavior. Voter behavior is not consistent across state borders, even if the states are neighbors. Nor is voter behavior consistent within state borders as the “sizeplace” variable proved. Forthcoming research on voter behavior needs to recognize this convoluted nature of the American electorate. Such research should recognize the increased regional differences in the United States in the twenty-first century described by the Gelman group and adopt an extremely localized approach.⁵⁸ This research also lacks adequate evaluation of the political behavior of minorities due to lack of substantial minority respondents. Finally, in terms of voter behavior and gender, future research should focus more closely on the interconnected nature of several of the variables considered here.

⁵⁸ Research done by the Gelman group considered regional differences in desired image portrayal of voters, and is outlined in footnote number 54.

Therefore, forthcoming scholars might pick up where this work left off and employ more intersectionality of variables. Two variables that might be added to such an analysis, due to their increased relevance, are candidate's race and candidate's sex.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ This paper was written 11 months before the 2008 election. At this time, Senator Hillary Clinton and Senator Barack Obama were the two frontrunners for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Clinton was receiving more support than any female presidential candidate ever, and Obama was receiving more support than any minority presidential candidate ever.

Appendix

Table 1.

Gender Gap Versus Demographic Subgroup, Minnesota 2000

VARIABLE	Percentage Voting Democrat	Percentage Voting Republican
GENDER		
<i>Male</i>	43	50
<i>Female</i>	52	41
<i>Largest Gap</i>	9	9
RACE		
<i>White</i>	47	46
<i>Black</i>	61	17
<i>Largest Gap</i>	14	29
RELIGION		
<i>Protestant</i>	50	45
<i>Catholic</i>	43	51
<i>Other Christian</i>	43	51
<i>Jewish</i>	80	20
<i>Something Else</i>	59	27
<i>None</i>	53	36
<i>Largest Gap</i>	37	31
INCOME		
<i>Less than \$15,000</i>	52	40
<i>\$15,000-\$29,999</i>	52	40
<i>\$30,000-\$49,999</i>	41	50
<i>\$50,000-\$74,999</i>	55	40
<i>\$75,000-\$99,999</i>	50	46
<i>\$100,000 Plus</i>	43	52
<i>Largest Gap</i>	14	12
SIZEPLACE		
<i>50,000 Plus Residents</i>	56	34
<i>Suburbs</i>	47	47
<i>Small City/Rural</i>	45	48
<i>Largest Gap</i>	11	14
MARITAL STATUS		
<i>Married</i>	48	47
<i>Unmarried</i>	47	42
<i>Largest Gap</i>	1	5
EDUCATION		
<i>No High School</i>	70	21
<i>High School Grad</i>	49	47
<i>Some College/Associate</i>	47	48
<i>College Grad</i>	44	49
<i>Postgraduate</i>	53	39
<i>Largest Gap</i>	26	28
AGE		
<i>18-24</i>	46	49
<i>25-29</i>	44	45
<i>30-39</i>	43	47
<i>40-44</i>	50	42
<i>45-49</i>	46	53
<i>50-59</i>	53	37
<i>60-64</i>	54	42
<i>65-74</i>	54	44
<i>75 And Over</i>	45	50
<i>Largest Gap</i>	11	16

Table 2.

Gender Gap Versus Demographic Subgroup, Wisconsin 2000

VARIABLE	Percentage Voting Democrat	Percentage Voting Republican
GENDER		
<i>Male</i>	40.5	54
<i>Female</i>	54.5	42.5
<i>Largest Gap</i>	14	11.5
RACE		
<i>White</i>	46	49
<i>Black</i>	57	26
<i>Largest Gap</i>	11	23
RELIGION		
<i>Protestant</i>	45	50
<i>Catholic</i>	48	47
<i>Other Christian</i>	36	60
<i>Jewish</i>	70	30
<i>Something Else</i>	63	25
<i>None</i>	65	28
<i>Largest Gap</i>	29	35
INCOME		
<i>Less than \$15,000</i>	62	32
<i>\$15,000-\$29,999</i>	59	35
<i>\$30,000-\$49,999</i>	46	47
<i>\$50,000-\$74,999</i>	47	50
<i>\$75,000-\$99,999</i>	34	62
<i>\$100,000 Plus</i>	44	50
<i>Largest Gap</i>	28	30
SIZEPLACE		
<i>50,000 Plus Residents</i>	63	30
<i>Suburbs</i>	44	52
<i>Small City/Rural</i>	42	52
<i>Largest Gap</i>	21	22
MARITAL STATUS		
<i>Married</i>	45	52
<i>Unmarried</i>	53	40
<i>Largest Gap</i>	8	12
EDUCATION		
<i>No High School</i>	64	29
<i>High School Grad</i>	50	47
<i>Some College/Associate</i>	43	51
<i>College Grad</i>	41	50
<i>Postgraduate</i>	56	41
<i>Largest Gap</i>	23	22
AGE		
<i>18-24</i>	45	44
<i>25-29</i>	47	45
<i>30-39</i>	43	54
<i>40-44</i>	46	50
<i>45-49</i>	47	50
<i>50-59</i>	51	44
<i>60-64</i>	51	42
<i>65-74</i>	45	52
<i>75 And Over</i>	59	30
<i>Largest Gap</i>	16	24

Table 3.

Gender Gap Versus Demographic Subgroup, Minnesota 2004

VARIABLE	Percentage Voting Democrat	Percentage Voting Republican
GENDER		
<i>Male</i>	54.5	44
<i>Female</i>	58	41
<i>Largest Gap</i>	3.5	3
RACE		
<i>White</i>	54	45
<i>Black</i>	89	11
<i>Largest Gap</i>	35	34
RELIGION		
<i>Protestant</i>	49	50
<i>Catholic</i>	55	43
<i>Other Christian</i>	46	53
<i>Jewish</i>	83	11
<i>Something Else</i>	79	20
<i>None</i>	81	17
<i>Largest Gap</i>	37	39
INCOME		
<i>Less than \$15,000</i>	69	28
<i>\$15,000-\$29,999</i>	60	39
<i>\$30,000-\$49,999</i>	57	41
<i>\$50,000-\$74,999</i>	57	42
<i>\$75,000-\$99,999</i>	52	47
<i>\$100,000-\$149,999</i>	53	46
<i>\$150,000-\$199,999</i>	57	43
<i>\$200,000 Plus</i>	45	50
<i>Largest Gap</i>	24	32
SIZEPLACE		
<i>50,000 Plus Residents</i>	69	30
<i>Suburbs</i>	50	48
<i>Small City/Rural</i>	46	52
<i>Largest Gap</i>	23	22
MARITAL STATUS		
<i>Married</i>	51	48
<i>Unmarried</i>	65	33
<i>Largest Gap</i>	14	15
EDUCATION		
<i>No High School</i>	63	37
<i>High School Grad</i>	53	46
<i>Some College/Associate</i>	50	49
<i>College Grad</i>	56	43
<i>Postgraduate</i>	69	30
<i>Largest Gap</i>	19	19
AGE		
<i>18-24</i>	60	38
<i>25-29</i>	61	35
<i>30-39</i>	54	44
<i>40-44</i>	57	42
<i>45-49</i>	51	48
<i>50-59</i>	59	40
<i>60-64</i>	55	44
<i>65-74</i>	54	46
<i>75 And Over</i>	56	44
<i>Largest Gap</i>	10	13

Table 4.

Gender Gap Versus Demographic Subgroup, Wisconsin 2004

VARIABLE	Percentage Voting Democrat	Percentage Voting Republican
GENDER		
<i>Male</i>	48	50
<i>Female</i>	55	44
<i>Largest Gap</i>	7	6
RACE		
<i>White</i>	49	49
<i>Black</i>	89	11
<i>Largest Gap</i>	40	38
RELIGION		
<i>Protestant</i>	43	56
<i>Catholic</i>	52	47
<i>Other Christian</i>	42	57
<i>Jewish</i>	75	25
<i>Something Else</i>	66	30
<i>None</i>	76	23
<i>Largest Gap</i>	34	34
INCOME		
<i>Less than \$15,000</i>	70	28
<i>\$15,000-\$29,999</i>	57	42
<i>\$30,000-\$49,999</i>	54	44
<i>\$50,000-\$74,999</i>	49	50
<i>\$75,000-\$99,999</i>	43	55
<i>\$100,000-\$149,999</i>	49	50
<i>\$150,000-\$199,999</i>	31	67
<i>\$200,000 Plus</i>	32	68
<i>Largest Gap</i>	39	40
SIZEPLACE		
<i>50,000 Plus Residents</i>	63	36
<i>Suburbs</i>	50	48
<i>Small City/Rural</i>	48	51
<i>Largest Gap</i>	15	15
MARITAL STATUS		
<i>Married</i>	46	53
<i>Unmarried</i>	61	37
<i>Largest Gap</i>	15	16
EDUCATION		
<i>No High School</i>	60	39
<i>High School Grad</i>	51	47
<i>Some College/Associate</i>	49	50
<i>College Grad</i>	47	52
<i>Postgraduate</i>	62	37
<i>Largest Gap</i>	15	15
AGE		
<i>18-24</i>	58	39
<i>25-29</i>	55	43
<i>30-39</i>	47	52
<i>40-44</i>	46	54
<i>45-49</i>	52	46
<i>50-59</i>	54	46
<i>60-64</i>	50	50
<i>65-74</i>	56	44
<i>75 And Over</i>	59	41
<i>Largest Gap</i>	13	15

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