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Iowa Voting Series, Paper 5: An Examination of Iowa Turnout Statistics Since 2000 by Gender, Age Group, and Party

Timothy M. Hagle *University of Iowa*

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Abstract

This is the fifth paper in a series examining aspects of voting in Iowa. In this paper I examine Iowa's turnout in presidential and midterm elections since 2000 with a focus on gender, age group, and party. Results show that the percentage of registered voters who are women is quite similar among four of the five age groups at just above 50%. The percentage jumps to about 58% for the oldest age group. There are clear differences between the parties for each age group. Democrats have the highest percentage of women, Republicans the lowest, and No Party registrants between the two. The differences are greatest in the two youngest age groups and are more compressed in the next two. In the oldest group the percentage is nearly the same for Republicans and No Party registrants, while Democrats are still the highest. In terms of turnout, a general pattern of women having a higher turnout percentage in presidential elections and men a higher percentage in midterm elections is fairly persistent across parties and age groups. The turnout percentages for both men and women increase for each age group except the oldest. Republican men and women tend to have the highest turnout percentages regardless of age group, but are closely followed by men and women Democrats. Consistent with prior papers, the turnout percentages for men and women No Party voters are clearly below that of voters of either major party.

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Updates

Unlike most academic papers I plan to update the data for this paper as elections occur. Data updates might lead to changes in the text as well. Below is a list of the updates as they occur.

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In the second paper in this series¹ I examined Iowa's turnout statistics in midterm and presidential elections since 2000, in general and by party.² In the third paper in the series I examined the turnout statistics by gender and party. In the fourth paper in the series I examined the turnout statistics by age group and party. In this paper I dig a little deeper and examine the turnout statistics by gender, age group, and party. As with the prior papers in this series my focus will be on the statistics involved rather than theorizing about the reasons for particular turnout percentages. Nevertheless, the goal of this paper, like the others in the series, is to examine aspects of voting in Iowa with an eye to future elections and to provide some background and context to discussions about Iowa voters.

Data

example.

As with the prior papers, data for this examination were gathered from the Election Results & Statistics page of the Iowa Secretary of State's website.³ This page provides links to election results for a variety of primary and general election contests in Iowa, including those for presidential and midterm elections. The turnout statistics examined here are obtained from the Statewide Statistical Reports links.⁴ The information in these reports is broken out by gender and party as well as by age group. For each subgroup, the number who voted absentee is also indicated.⁵

¹ "An Examination of Iowa Turnout Statistics," currently available, along with other papers in the series, at http://www.uiowa.edu/~030116/papersframe.htm. Although I would like each to stand on its own, the papers tend to build on each other so I will make references to prior papers in the series. In addition, some explanatory material will be repeated from one paper to the next to provide background or context.

² When I refer to turnout in "presidential elections" or "midterm elections" it is a shorthand way of referring to turnout in that year in general, not for a particular contest. Certainly some who vote in a particular election do not do so for every contest. As noted below, the data considered here are from statewide turnout statistics not from any particular contest except when a particular race is used as an

³ http://sos.iowa.gov/elections/results/index.html

⁴ For example, the turnout statistics for the 2000 presidential election can be found at http://sos.iowa.gov/elections/pdf/2000StateWithLinnDemo.pdf

⁵ Without getting into the specifics, "absentee" voting in Iowa takes several forms, including traditional mail-in absentee voting plus early voting at satellite stations and at the offices of the county Auditors.

As in the prior paper, before proceeding I need to make an additional comment about the data for this paper. The information contained in the Statewide Statistical Reports links is not entirely complete with respect to party identification. The reports contain divisions for Democrat, Republican, and No Party voters, but do not include an "Other" category as they do for the registration statistics. Although this was not a problem for the 2000 through 2006 elections, for 2008 and beyond it means that the grand total of registrants and voters in any particular age group cannot be achieved by simply adding the Democrats, Republicans, and No Party voters in that age group. In the first paper in this series I simply added registrants in the Other category to No Party registrants. I cannot do that for this paper, however, as I have neither an exact count of such Other registrants on election day nor an indication of how many voted. Nevertheless, although this number varies from about one to several hundred registrants or voters depending on the category or election, that number is small, relatively speaking, and I will only focus on the three main political categories.

Iowa Registered Voters

I begin by repeating Figure 16 from the second paper. This figure shows the number of registered Iowa voters and the turnout percentage in general elections from 2000 to 2012. This period covers four presidential elections and three midterm elections. The height of the bars represents the total number of registered voters. Except for a slight decline for the 2002 election (due to adjustments following the 2000 census), the number of registered voters in Iowa has slowly increased in the last dozen years.⁷ The turnout percentage for the elections has been steady, though there is a clear difference between presidential and midterm years. The turnout in presidential elections has varied only a few percentage points between 71.57% and 75.96%. Although the turnout for midterm elections has also varied within a narrow range (52.71% to 56.35%), that range is substantially lower than for presidential elections. The average turnout in presidential years is 73.36%, but only 54.01% in midterm years. Those who follow politics are well aware of the much lower turnout for midterm elections, but it is worth knowing just how substantial the difference is. This is particularly true in a state that is fairly evenly balanced between the two major parties. More specifically, knowing who turns out, particularly in midterm elections, can aid parties and candidates in their get out the vote (GOTV) efforts.

⁶ It is a bit inconvenient for readers, but to make the figures larger I will put them at the end of the paper rather than within the text.

⁷ See the first paper in the series, "An Empirical Examination of Iowa Voter Registration Statistics" for more details. Interestingly, although 2012 was also a post-census adjustment year, the registration losses earlier in the year were made up by the time of the general election in November. As I mentioned in the fourth paper, this is an example how the resources available for get out the vote efforts in midterm (2002) versus presidential (2012) election years can make a difference.

The second paper then examined turnout differences by party and found, in brief, that turnout for Republicans was consistently a few percentage points higher than that of Democrats for both midterm and presidential elections. In addition, turnout for both parties was several points lower in midterm elections. In contrast, turnout for No Party voters (what Iowa calls independents) was much lower than either Democrats or Republicans, particularly in midterm elections.

The third paper examined registration and turnout differences by gender and party and found that women outnumbered men as registered voters in all seven elections examined. By party, there were clearly more women than men registered as Democrat or No Party. The gender difference for Republican registrations was much smaller, though men began to take a lead in the last two elections. As for turnout, women had a higher turnout percentage than men in all four presidential elections regardless of party. For midterm elections the turnout percentages of men and women were much closer and somewhat mixed in that Republican women had a higher turnout percentage than men for all three midterms, men were higher than women No Party voters for all three midterms, and the results for Democrats were mixed.

In the fourth paper I looked at registration and turnout statistics for the five age groups for which turnout statistics are reported (18-24, 25-34, 35-49, 50-64, and 65 & Over) along with party differences. The data confirmed conventional wisdom that older registrants are more likely to vote. In addition, the differences in turnout between presidential and midterm election years was reduced as voters aged. For the most part, party differences shown in prior papers were evident across age groups. More specifically, No Party voters had consistently lower turnout than Democrats or Republicans, and Republican turnout was usually a bit higher than that of Democrats.

As I mentioned in the third paper, it is worth noting that there are different ways of calculating turnout percentage. Some use as the baseline the voting age population. Others use the number of those who are eligible to vote (i.e., not counting those who have lost their voting rights). For present purposes I use the number registered to vote. How many Iowans are not registered, regardless of eligibility, is a separate matter.⁸ I am also not considering how Iowa compares to other states in terms of turnout.

focus of this paper.

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⁸ Clearly the turnout efforts of campaigns focus on registering people to vote as well as getting them to cast a ballot. Nevertheless, those already registered are likely to be more interested in the political process and therefore more likely to vote, on average, than those who are not yet registered. Identifying and registering those who are eligible is an additional process that requires treatment separate from the

Iowa Registered Voters by Gender, Age Group, and Party

Figure 1 showed the overall voter registration numbers for Iowa. Figure 2 breaks out those numbers by gender and age group as of the seven election days included in the period. Each line represents the percentage of women in the indicated age group of registered voters. It is somewhat interesting that the results are as unremarkable as they are. There is little variation among the four youngest age groups as all stay within a narrow range a few percentage points above 50%. That women in the 65 & Over group are a few percentage points above the other groups is not surprising given normal estimates of life expectancy (i.e., women live longer than men on average).

Figure 3 is divided into five parts, one for each age group. Each of the parts breaks out by party the percentage of women in that age group of registered voters. Each figure has the same scale on the vertical axis to make comparisons a bit easier.

In Figure 3a we see a pattern for the 18-24 group that will be essentially repeated for the next three age groups. There is a clear separation in the percentage of women registered for each of the three parties.⁹ It is not surprising that women have the highest percentage among Democrats, varying only slightly in the seven elections between a low of 54.52% and a high of 55.77%. The line for Republican women is below 50%, but with about the same amount of variation (low of 45.25%, high of 46.62%). The line for No Party women lies between the other two and most closely reflects the overall percentage for this age group.

In Figure 3b we see that for the 25-34 group the lines for Democrat and No Party are a bit higher while that for Republican stays about the same. For the 35-49 group (Figure 3c) the lines stay about the same, with the exception of a sharp increase in 2002 for No Party. As noted in prior papers, registration figures for 2002 were adjusted based on 2000 census data. Although Democrats and Republicans were able to make up the lost registrations with new ones by election day 2002, No Party registrants decreased by 44,108 from the election day figure in 2000. Those losses were generally spread across the age groups, but for the 35-49 group more men and fewer women were dropped (or more women were added back as new registrations), which caused the sharp increase in the percentage of women. In Figure 3d we see that for the 50-64 group the Republican line is a bit higher while the line for Democrats is a bit lower. The No Party line again stays about the same.

The biggest difference among the five age groups comes with those in the 65 & Over category (Figure 3e). Here there is a sharp increase in the percentage of women for all

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⁹ In the first few papers in the series I referred to Democrats, Republicans, and No Party registrants or voters as "groups" because it did not seem appropriate to refer to those in the No Party category as a political party. Unfortunately, given that I am referring to age "groups" in this paper I will need to refer to No Party as a "party" to be clearer as to whether I am referring to an age group or a political group.

three parties, though the line for Democrats is still distinctly higher at a bit over 59% for all seven elections. The lines for Republican and No Party registrants are nearly indistinguishable. Interestingly, both Republican and No Party lines decrease over the period from just under 58% in 2000 to a bit below 55% in 2012.

Iowa Voter Turnout by Gender, Age Group, and Party

Having briefly looked at Iowa registration statistics for the various divisions I now consider turnout statistics. Figure 4 looks at the turnout percentage for men and women for the last seven general elections. Figure 4 is a bit busy, but plotting the lines for each age group on the same figure allows for an easier comparison.

Consistent with the results from prior papers, we see that the youngest voters (the 18-24 group) have the lowest turnout percentage. The turnout percentage increases for each older group until the 65 & Over group where there is more of a mix with the 50-64 group. We also see a fairly clear separation between the two youngest groups (18-24 and 25-34) and the 35-49 group. There is also a separation though not as large between the 35-49 group and the two oldest groups (50-64 and 65 & Over).

For the two youngest groups we see two intersections of the lines where women in the 18-24 group had a higher turnout than some in the 25-34 group. The first was in 2004 when they had a slightly higher turnout than the 25-34 men and the second was in 2008 when they had a higher turnout than both men and women in the 25-34 group. One factor explaining this is likely the emphasis Democrats put on college campuses, particularly in 2008.

For the two oldest groups there is a fair amount of overlap. In the fourth paper in this series we saw that the 50-64 group generally had a higher turnout in presidential elections than the 65 & Over group, but the latter had higher turnout in midterm elections. Separating the turnout for men and women for these two age groups shows more complexity. Except in 2004 and 2008, men in the 65 & Over group had the highest turnout percentage. For those two exceptions, both men and women in the 50-64 group had a slightly higher turnout percentage in 2004, and 50-64 women had a higher turnout percentage in 2008. Women in the 65 & Over group had the lowest turnout percentage for these two age groups in all but the 2006 and 2010 midterm elections. For those two elections they had a slightly higher turnout percentage than both men and women in the 50-64 group.

Within each of these two oldest groups, men and women in the 50-64 group continue the pattern seen in younger groups of women having a higher turnout percentage in presidential years but lower in midterm years. Contrary to this pattern, for the 65 & Over group men have a clearly higher turnout percentage in all seven elections.

Figure 5 is divided into five parts, one for each age group. Each of the five parts shows the turnout percentage of men and women in that age group broken out by party. As with prior divided figures, the scale on the vertical axis is the same for each of the parts to make comparisons between them a bit easier.

Figure 5a shows the turnout percentage for those in the 18-24 group. The pattern here is not unexpected. No Party voters have the lowest turnout percentage of the three parties and men have a higher turnout percentage in midterm elections, but women do in presidential elections. Although there is a clear separation between the turnout percentage of No Party voters and those of the two major parties, women in this group come very close to matching the turnout percentage of male Democrats for 2012 (55.07% versus 55.18%).

Moving to Figure 5b and the 25-34 group we see that all the lines have shifted up by several percentage points. Even so, there is still a clear separation between the No Party lines and those for men and women in the two major parties. We also see a bit more separation between the lines in this figure compared to the bunching evident in Figure 5a. The separation occurs at both the party and gender levels.

Prior papers in the series showed that Republicans tended to have higher turnout percentages than Democrats and we begin to see that difference here, particularly in midterm elections where both Republican men and women have higher turnout percentages than men and women Democrats. The only intersections of the lines occur for 2004 and 2008. In fact, 2008 was the only election in which women Democrats had the highest turnout percentage.

We also see a separation by gender within each of the two major parties for this age group. Women in both parties had higher turnout percentages than men of their party in all seven elections. We have seen that men often have higher turnout percentages in midterm elections, but that did not occur for the two major parties for this age group. Moreover, the gap was usually almost 2% or more, except for 2010 where it was just over 1% for Republicans. To be fair, No Party women also had higher turnouts than No Party men for all but 2010, but the differences in all three midterm elections were quite small.

Figure 5c shows the turnout percentages for the 35-49 age group. Here again we see a shift upwards for all three parties. The pattern of No Party voters having lower turnout percentages continues with a clear separation of the lines from those of the two major parties. For the No Party voters we also see the emergence of the pattern of women having higher turnout percentages in presidential years and men having higher percentages in midterm years. Republicans had higher turnout percentages than Democrats in all but 2008 where women Democrats had a slightly higher turnout percentage than Republican men.

Within the major parties women Democrats had higher turnout percentages than their male counterparts in all seven elections, including a difference of about 1.5% in the three midterms. For Republicans, women had a higher turnout percentage in all but 2010 where the difference was only 0.21%.

Notice also for this figure that the lines for Democrats and Republicans of both genders are beginning to "smooth out." By this I mean that the drop in turnout percentage for midterms is beginning to be less dramatic. Compare the lines for Democrats and Republicans here with those of the No Party voters for this age group, as well as the lines for all the parties in Figures 5a and 5b. For the two younger age groups, even though Democrats and Republicans had higher turnout percentages than No Party voters, all three parties had rather dramatic drops in turnout percentage for midterm elections.

In Figure 5d, the 50-64 age group continues to show increased turnout percentages for all the lines. The lines are all above 50% for every election, and all presidential years are above 70%. No Party voters still lag behind Democrats and Republicans. Republicans continue to have a higher turnout percentage than Democrats except for 2008 where women Democrats have a slightly higher percentage (0.07%) than Republican men.

Within each party, we see for No Party voters a continuation of the pattern of women having a higher turnout percentage in presidential years, but men in midterms. This pattern is also evident for Republicans, except in 2010 where men were 0.55% higher. For Democrats, although the turnout percentages for men and women are very close in midterm elections, women are actually slightly higher for both 2002 (0.02%) and 2010 (0.26%).

Finally, in Figure 5e we see that some of the prior patterns no longer hold for those in the 65 & Over age group. Consistent with the findings of the fourth paper in the series, the lines do not all move up for this age group. No Party voters still lag behind Democrats and Republicans, but the lines for the two major parties are more mixed. The lines for women of both major parties are nearly identical through the 2008 election. Republican men have the highest turnout percentage in all seven elections with male Democrats just behind them until they drop below the turnout percentage for Republican women in 2010 and 2012.

Within the parties, it is interesting to see that men have higher turnout percentages than their female counterparts for all three parties in all seven elections and the gaps are some of the largest we have seen for any of the age groups. In addition, we do not see the usual compression in midterm elections. For the other age groups the same party difference between men and women tended to be smaller in midterm than presidential years, but here the reverse is generally true.

Concluding Comments

For the most part, the results shown in this paper follow from what we saw in the prior papers. From the results here it appears that party and age are more determinative of turnout percentages than gender. Even so, there are certain patterns in the registration and turnout percentages between men and women that generally remain regardless of party and age.

Regarding registration, it was no surprise that more women are registered than men for all age groups. What was a bit surprising was how close the percentage of women registrants was for the lower four age groups. For the 65 & Over group the percentage of women registrants was substantially higher, but this is likely explained by the higher life expectancy of women. It is also not surprising to see that Democrats have a higher percentage of women than Republicans (with No Party in between). This helps to explain the oft mentioned "gender gap" between the two major parties. The gender difference between the two major parties is largest in the two youngest age groups, compresses in the next two age groups, and is at its smallest for the 65 & Over group (though Democrats still have the highest percentage of women).

Regarding turnout percentages, a general pattern that persists across parties and four of the five age groups is that women have higher turnout percentages than men in presidential elections, but often lower in midterm elections. The exception is the 65 & Over group where men in all three parties and for all seven elections had a higher turnout percentage. As noted previously, the greater life expectancy of women may account for the higher percentage of women registrants in the 65 & Over group. Along similar lines, if we assume that with greater age comes increased infirmity that makes it more difficult to get to the polls or cast a ballot, it is not particularly surprising that we might see women fall slightly behind men in terms of turnout for this age group. Counties often have more detailed information on the exact age of those casting ballots, so this is a hypothesis that could be checked empirically.

At the other end of the age range, it is worth noting the particularly low turnout of No Party voters as shown in Figure 5a. In the midterm elections of 2002 and 2006 the turnout percentage for both men and women was under 16% (and only about 2% higher in 2010). That means fewer than one in six No Party voters in this age group cast a ballot. Although that number is distressing for those who work to increase turnout among younger voters it may not be quite as bad as it seems. Both major parties, but particularly Democrats, work hard to register voters on college campuses. Of course, college students tend to leave after a few years. Whether the move is in-state or to another state, the student's voter registration might not be immediately updated depending on the practices of the new location or if the former student even reregisters

elsewhere. Thus, although it will still be true that younger voters have lower turnout rates than older voters, the percentages may not actually be as bad as they seem.

Finally, to simplify things a bit the emphasis here has been on turnout percentages, but we must remember that we also have to consider the registration numbers for each group as well. The 18-24 age group provides a good example of this. Although the turnout percentage of No Party voters in the 18-24 group was about half that of either major party, from the fourth paper in the series we saw that No Party registrants in this age group are twice that for either Democrats or Republicans. Thus, for example, in 2012 the number of No Party voters in the 18-24 group was more than the combined total for Democrats and Republicans (134,052 versus 131,431). Accordingly, political parties and campaigns will need to make strategic decisions as to where their resources can have the greatest effect based on a balance between turning out the base and tapping into low-turnout voters.

Figure 1: Iowa Registered Voters, Number Voting, and Turnout Percentage 2000 Through 2012 Elections

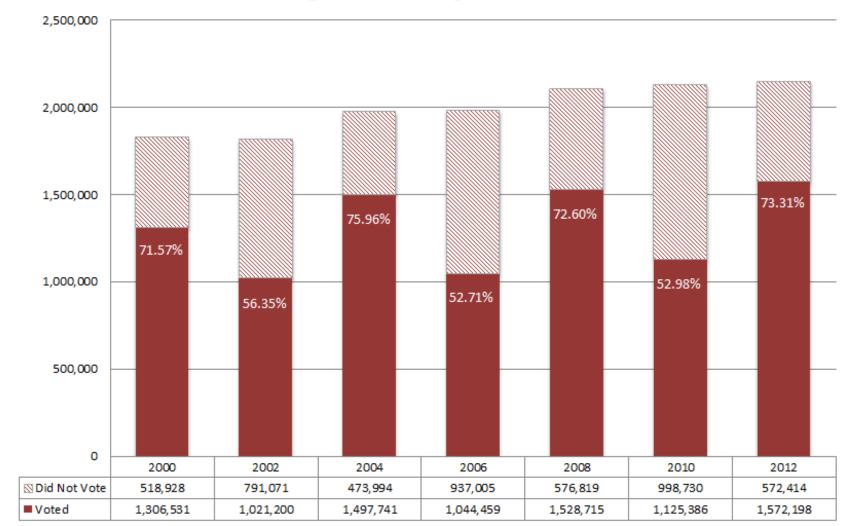


Figure 2: Percentage of Iowa Registered Voters Who Are Women by Age Group in Election Years Since 2000

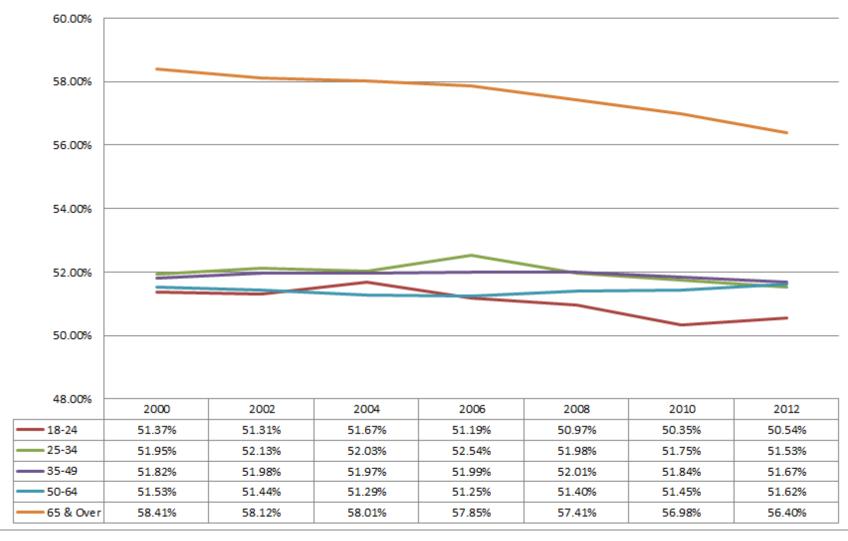


Figure 3a: Percentage of Iowa Registered Voters Who Are Women in Age Group 18-24 for Election Years Since 2000 by Party

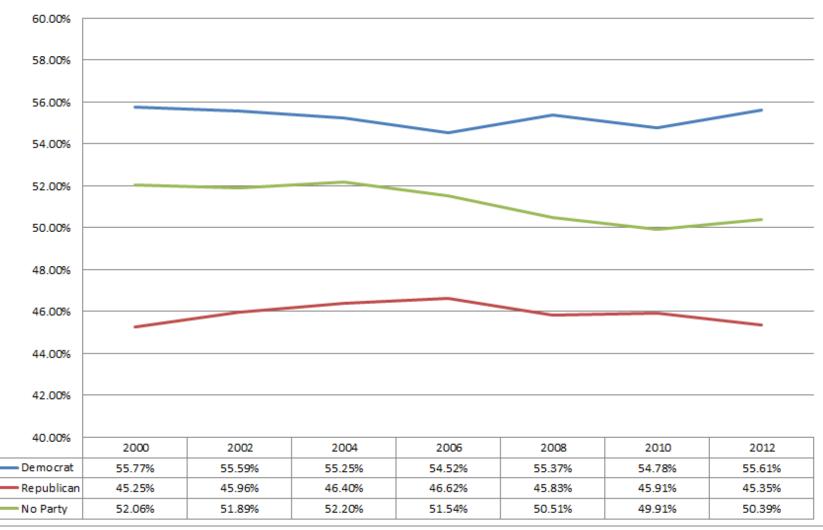


Figure 3b: Percentage of Iowa Registered Voters Who Are Women in Age Group 25-34 for Election Years Since 2000 by Party

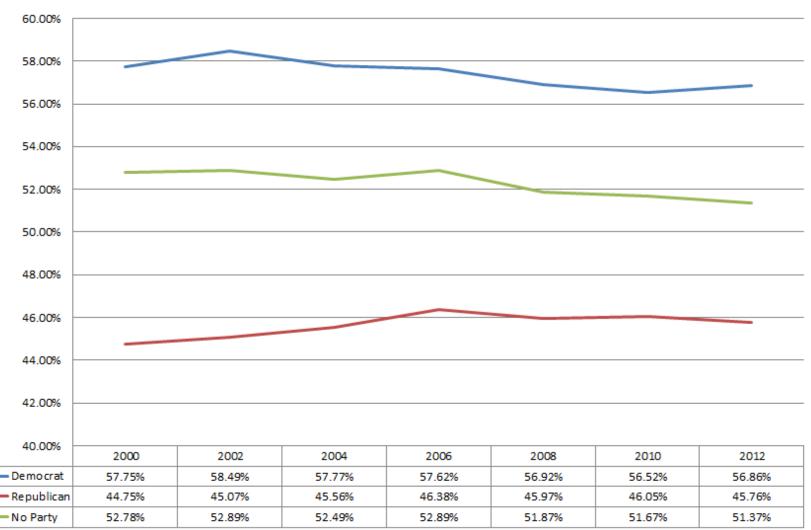


Figure 3c: Percentage of Iowa Registered Voters Who Are Women in Age Group 35-49 for Election Years Since 2000 by Party

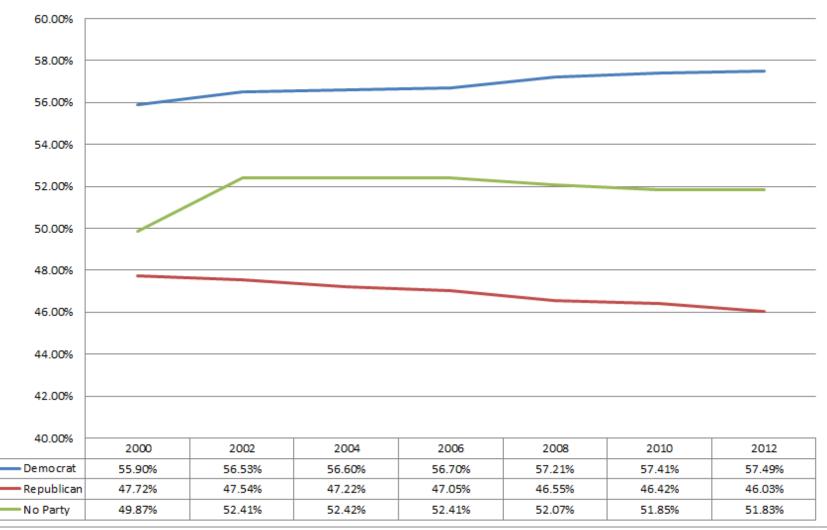


Figure 3d: Percentage of Iowa Registered Voters Who Are Women in Age Group 50-64 for Election Years Since 2000 by Party

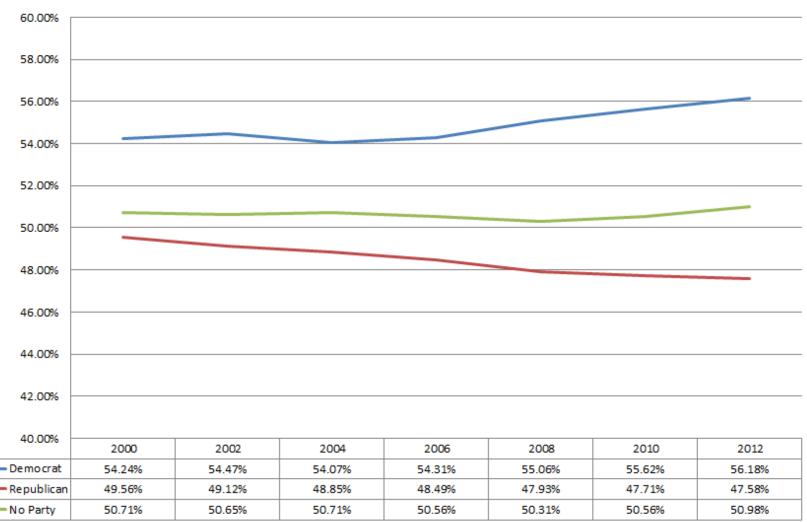


Figure 3e: Percentage of Iowa Registered Voters Who Are Women in Age Group 65 & Over for Election Years Since 2000 by Party

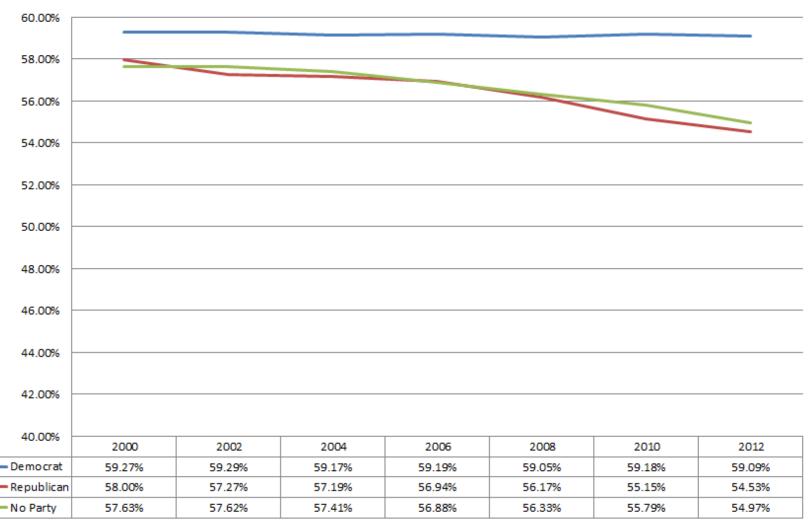


Figure 4: Iowa Voter Turnout Percentage by Gender and Age Group in Election Years Since 2000

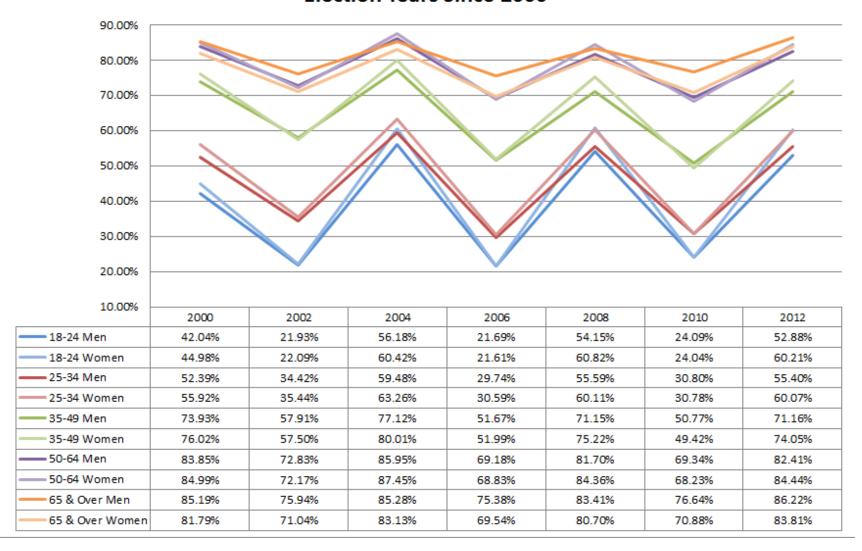


Figure 5a: Iowa Voter Turnout Percentage by Gender and Party for Age Group 18-24 in Election Years Since 2000

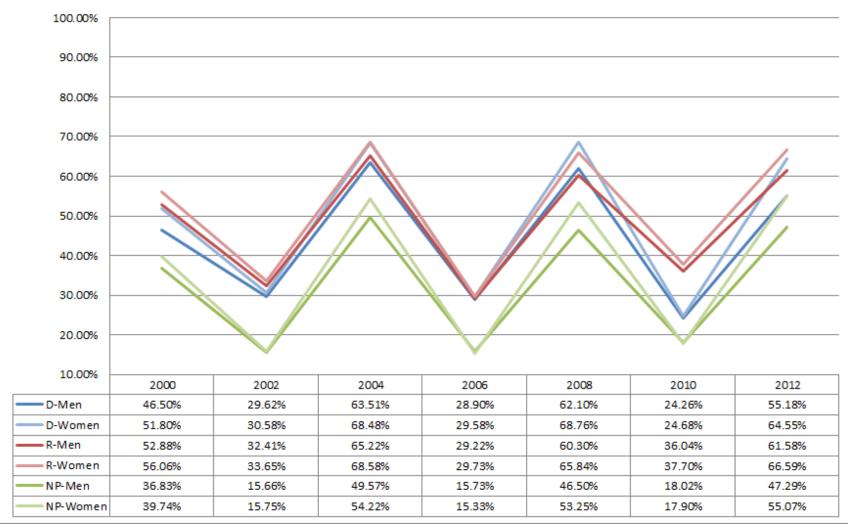


Figure 5b: Iowa Voter Turnout Percentage by Gender and Party for Age Group 25-34 in Election Years Since 2000

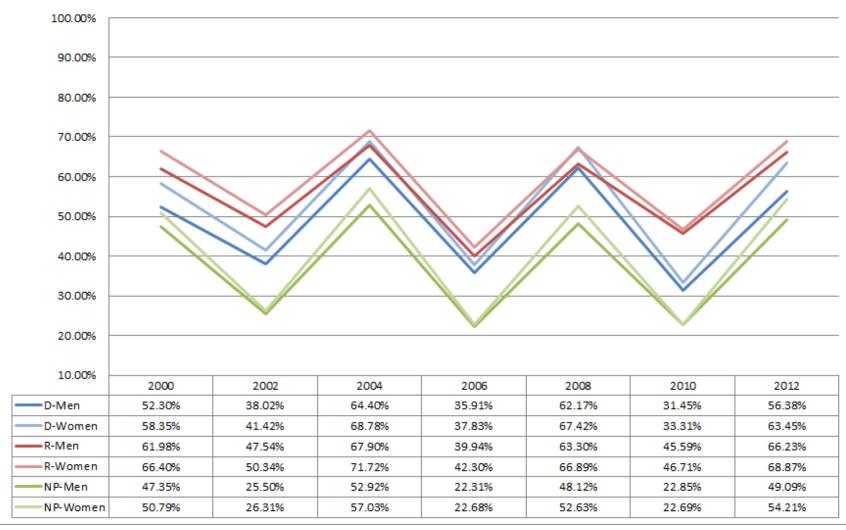


Figure 5c: Iowa Voter Turnout Percentage by Gender and Party for Age Group 35-49 in Election Years Since 2000

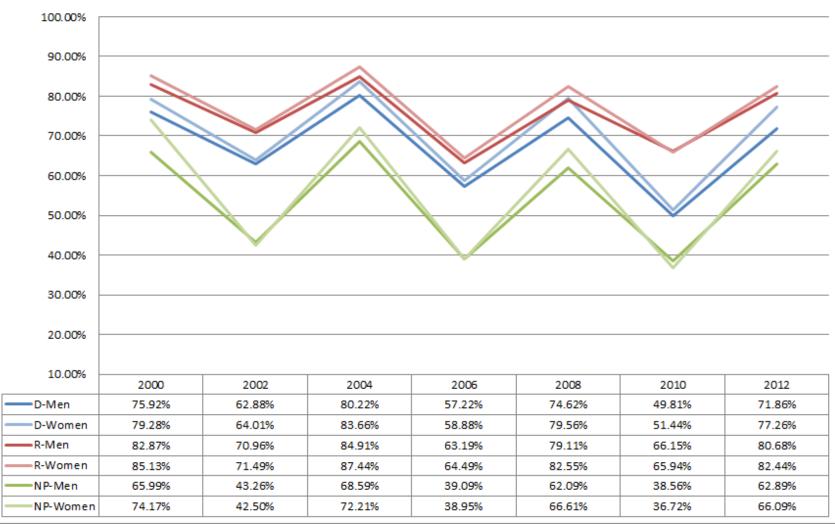


Figure 5d: Iowa Voter Turnout Percentage by Gender and Party for Age Group 50-64 in Election Years Since 2000

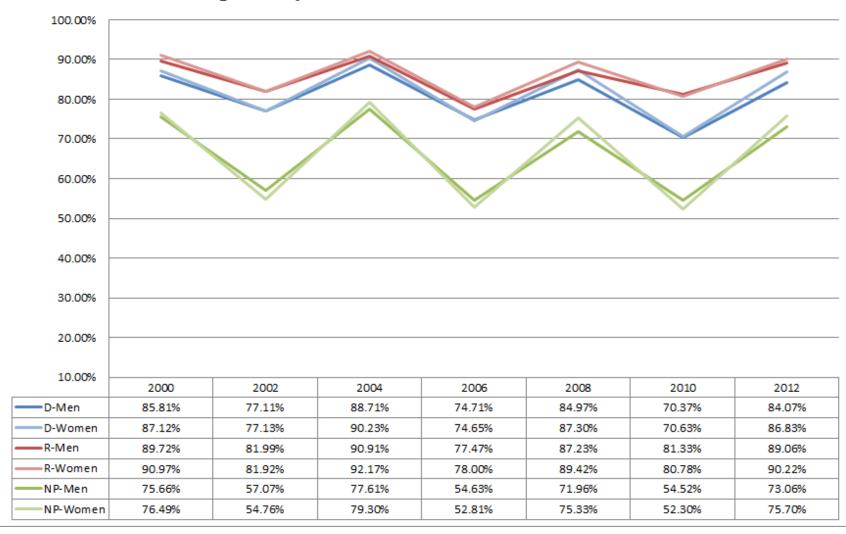


Figure 5e: Iowa Voter Turnout Percentage by Gender and Party for Age Group 65 & Over in Election Years Since 2000

