

How Race Impacts Voter Participation:
A Study

Elizabeth Dietz

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Oregon State University

Instructor Jennings

Abstract:

What does race have to do with it? A study of racial conflict theory

Looking back at the 2012 Presidential election, it is important to re-evaluate who participates in a democratic process. It is necessary to observe voter participation by people of color in order to gain a more robust understanding of our democratic process. It is also essential to study how voting trends affect policies put in place by racially dominant elites, in order to better to serve these dominant elites. This begs the question; who typically votes? The research will use racial conflict theory to explore a possible correlation between race and voter participation for elections. In particular, this study will demonstrate how racially dominant groups, Caucasians, typically participate in the voting process more often than historically disenfranchised groups, like African Americans. The research will use the National Election Survey and compile data across all states for multiple elections.

Introduction:

This paper will examine the ways in which race impacts voter participation. It will be examined by creating a theoretical framework, using W.E.B. Du Bois' critical race theory. Du Bois will also define what race and voter-participation are through theory and literature written. Further, the literature review will enhance the research by gathering various articles about the main effect of race and voter participation, as well as the linkages of poverty and voter participation, poverty and race, and gender and voter turnout. All articles of the literature review will have confirming and contradictory evidence. Later, the research will explore a methods and

ethics section by looking at where data will be gathered, how it will be gathered, and any ethical concerns associated with the research.

Theoretical Framework:

Looking back at the historical election in 2008, it is necessary to understand who and if one participates in voting. President Barak Obama, a man from a historically oppressed group, was elected President of the United States. Thus, in this paper, the research will examine how race and voter participation are defined in the terms of how W.E.B. Du Bois writes about it. It will analyze at how the concept of race correlates with voter turn-out in the voting polls. Both race as Blackness in America and voter participation will be defined by Du Bois' critical race theory. Within this theory, the concepts of a "the color line" will be introduced to better explain race in voter participation.

The first concept in the research is race. In Du Bois' (1897) he begs the question, "What, then, is a race?" He retorts, "It is a vast family of human beings, generally of common blood and language, always of common history, traditions and impulses, who are both voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life." The definition of race is emphasized with a "community" and "togetherness" that strive for the same ideals. Race is also defined by a shared history, and in this case, the history of the disenfranchised African American. Race, in Du Bois' definition, also integrates a "voluntary and involuntary" striving, which could imply that the "voluntary" aspect is something which the African American community willingly partakes in. In contrast, the "involuntary" aspect is an

outside force which creates strenuous conditions, most of which are undesirable for this particular community, to band together.

Going back earlier in Du Bois, he asserts that

“Nevertheless, in our calmer moments we must acknowledge that human beings are divided into races; that in this country the two most extreme types of the world's races have met, and the resulting problem as to the future relations of these types is not only of intense and living interest to us, but forms an epoch in the history of mankind.” In this quotation, “calmer moments” could be interpreted as times where violence and seemingly “peaceful” times are about, even when the African American community is still oppressed, and largely disenfranchised. There seems to be no overt violence happening, but at the same time, something else is at play. Americans must “acknowledge that human beings are divided into...’two extreme types of the world’s races have met. ””

This consciousness of race defined by history and how these groups of people, African Americans, are defined in opposition to whites. Du Bois sees this as a problematic but a realistic way of looking at race. It will, as he states, be problematic in the future “as to the future relations of these types is not only of intense and living interest to us, but forms an epoch in the history of mankind.”

The definition of race is also connected to Du Bois’ concept of “the color line.” Du Bois states that “Three centuries’ thought has been the raising and unveiling of that bowed human heart, and now behold a century new for the duty and the deed. The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line.” This line that Du Bois talks about is the segregation line which privileges one race of people, in this case whites, while oppressing another, in this case blacks. The concept of the color-line links back to the definition of race by emphasizing what sort of oppression and disenfranchisement the African American community faced and still faces today.

The second concept defined is voter participation. Du Bois defines voter participation as something that is “self-questioning.” In “The Souls of Black Folk,” he states,

“But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate. Whisperings and portents came home upon the four winds:

Lo! we are diseased and dying, cried the dark hosts; we cannot write, our voting is vain; what need of education, since we must always cook and serve?"

This description allows Du Bois room to understand "the color line" and the self-hatred it breeds. As stated above, "our voting is vain," which indicates to the reader that there is a frustration with government and policy. Perhaps government representatives and the government itself do not and will not represent this oppressed population. Looking back historically, this has been true. He goes on to say that voting and participation,

"And finally, now, to-day, when we are awakening to the fact that the perpetuity of republican institutions on this continent depends on the purification of the ballot, the civic training of voters, and the raising of voting to the plane of a solemn duty which a patriotic citizen neglects to his peril and to the peril of his children's children, -- in this day, when we are striving for a renaissance of civic virtue, what are we going to say to the black voter of the South? Are we going to tell him still that politics is a disreputable and useless form of human activity? Are we going to induce the best class of Negroes to take less and less interest in government, and to give up their right to take such an interest, without a protest? I am not saying a word against all legitimate efforts to purge the ballot of ignorance, pauperism, and crime. But few have pretended that the present movement for disfranchisement in the South is for such a purpose; it has been plainly and frankly declared in nearly every case that the object of the disfranchising laws is the elimination of the black man from politics."

Du Bois speaks of how democracy depends on the purity and good intention of people, however, when the black voter does turn out, it seems to be a "disreputable and useless form of human activity." It seems clear that government has taken many measures to disengage and disallow this group of people from participating in civic government. Voter participation is thus defined as something that has been restricted by white government to the black population. And that is why voter participation is central in understanding various levels of disenfranchisement. Perhaps the more disenfranchised a person of color feels, the less engaged and inclined they feel toward a democratic process. Being a historically oppressed group, it is understandable that there are lingering issues around civic engagement with a country that has oppressed African Americans.

The relationship between race and voter participation is complex. In Du Bois' theory, Blackness in terms of opposition to whiteness makes it difficult to be a person of color. Further, historical disenfranchisement has led to less participation by African Americans. It is understood, in a historical context, there are barriers to participation and making a difference in government. Thus, it seems that the concept of "the color line" or historical segregation of blacks by whites gets in the way. This segregation is certainly true within policy creation. Those who come out to vote get more represented within government than those who do not. Du Bois asserts that it is "declared in nearly every case that the object of the disfranchising laws is the elimination of the black man from politics." This theory is applied today in our current political system. Looking through the years of voting in the National Election Survey and seeing the historical disenfranchisement of African Americans, it will be shown that blacks participate in voting less often than whites.

Literature Review:

Looking at the amassed data in social science, specifically with how race predicts voter turn-out, it seems there are many variables which factor into voter participation. The research will examine how race in terms of being White or Black positively or negatively affects voter turn-out. The research will also look at how this prediction is contradicted with other results. As well, the research will examine preceding controls for gender and poverty..

It was found that there are many research articles that deal with the issue of race and political participation. One article in particular by (2008) Oltmans Ananat, and Washington argue that the data found suggests that there is a strong negative correlation with segregation and turn-out among African Americans. The authors state, "We find that Black political efficacy (as measured by the ability to elect representatives who vote in accordance with the preferences of

Black voters) is decreasing in segregation” (p. 816). Thus, when there are areas of high segregation, voting tends to decrease, giving less voter participating. This confirms the idea that African Americans tend to vote less, especially if segregated in communities.

Along with segregation, the finding furthers the research hypothesis that Blacks, being historically disenfranchised, participate less in voting. When looking at states and in particular, voting precincts, the quality of polling place can greatly affect turn-out. This is confirmed by Barreto et al. (2009) when they state,

“This research has examined precinct accessibility and quality throughout Los Angeles and found that voters encounter wide variation in quality of their assigned polling places. More troubling, the findings here suggest that low-quality precincts are not randomly distributed across the city and instead are more likely to be found in low-income and minority neighborhoods. These communities are already likely to experience lower rates of voter turnout, and the existence of many low-quality polling places in these precincts imposes costs that further depress turnout, even controlling for income and race” (p. 455).

Thus, their findings indicate that many factors, including areas of high minority populations tend to have lower quality designated polling places and therefore lead to lower rates of participation.

Along with different precinct quality, considering votes counted is necessary when discussing groups historically discriminated against. The issue of casted votes with missing or invalid votes by the African American population is examined by Herron and Sekhon (2005). They find that within many elections, “The considerations that inform such choices reflect one of the main fault lines in American politics: race. The racial divide in American politics is so large that a significant number of voters who spend the time and energy to go to the polls nevertheless cast discretionary non votes for important and competitive contests when there are no candidates of their own race for whom they may vote” (p. 173). Thus, African Americans within this study are more reluctant to vote for those who are not representative of their race.

To counter these discussions of non-participatory behaviors of African Americans, it was found by Southwell (2010) that for Black and Latino voters, voting turnout was higher for mail-in elections rather than polling places. The author concludes that “Citywide data from 2001, 2005, and 2007 elections in Denver, Colorado suggest that when Latino and Black voters receive

ballots in the mail, they fill them out and return them at higher rates than when elections are conducted at traditional polling place” (825).

Along with the main effect, poverty and race are examined in order to see how they are linked. One study found that within Metropolitan areas, Adelman, Jaret, and Williams (2003), note that there are areas of with high poverty linked with African American population. They state,

“Our results indicate that a metropolitan area with minimal white poverty was in the Northeast, maintained low white unemployment, had a low percentage of whites without a high school education, had an above-average level of black-white residential segregation, had a large percentage of blacks, and had an economic base that employed relatively small percentages of workers in retail and professional service industries and large numbers of workers in manufacturing jobs”(51-52).

This quotation allows the reader to see that race is correlated with poverty, especially when looking closely at metropolitan areas.

Again, Poverty and Race are correlated in an article by Lee (2000), which states, “In summary, the results suggest that the actual spatial isolation of poor city residents from non poor city residents is a strong, consistent, primary determinant of homicide levels; the strength of this relationship does not vary by race, as some would expect.” (202).

To counter arguments for race and poverty correlation were difficult to find. So far, the research has been unable to seek out articles that fail to express this relationship.

The control for poverty is linked with low voter-participation. Rosenstone (1982) proves that “economic adversity reduces voter turnout. The unemployed, the poor and the financially troubled are less likely to vote” (41).

This finding is again discussed in Cebula and Toma (2006), that “it is found that the voter participation rate in a state is positively impacted by the...the unemployment rate in the state. In addition, it is found that the voter participation rate in a state is negatively impacted by...the state’s median family income” (38).

However, contradictory evidence has been found. In Levendusky (2010), the author implies a connection with party unification with income and voter-turn out. The author states,

“First, more polarized elites, by generating clear cues for voters, increases cue taking. But as subjects follow their party cues on these issues, they not only align their positions with their party, but they also align their positions with one another...The fact that elites are polarized across issues is enough to cue voters to adopt more consistent positions” (124).

This quotation counters the arguments previously mentioned that people in poverty vote less, by asserting that elitism cues voters to “align” similar positions, typically against those in power.

Along with poverty and voter participation, Gender is also looked at. Cebula and Toma (2006) argue that “...it is found that the voter participation rate in a state is positively impacted by...the percentage female labor force participation rate in the state” (38). Thus, there is a relationship tied with a particular sex, being female, and voter turnout.

Again, gender and voter participation are discussed. A comparison of men and women is used to better understand why there were differences in voting between these two. In Cebula and Meads (2008), post 1980, female voter participation was higher than men’s. Cebula and Meads state, “This study has sought to identify factors that might help to explain the contemporary observed differences in both the ratio of the FVPR to the MVPR and the difference between the FVPR and the MVPR” (310).

The above arguments about gender are countered by Banwart (2011), stating that there are some slight differences with male and female voters. Banwart states, “The findings indicate that young men reported significantly higher levels of political information efficacy than the young women in this study” (707).

The above articles looked closely at the main effect of race and voter turn-out. The articles confirmed that African American voter participation is low, however, it was noted that mail-in voting was higher for this particular group. Poverty was found to be a limiting factor in voter participation, but when looking at group unity against an elite class, low-income groups identify themselves with a “clear cue” for voting. Poverty and race are linked closely together, however, not as much when looking at homicide rates. The articles also found that women tend to vote more than men post-1980, but when looking at younger adults, men have “higher levels of political information efficacy than young women.” These articles will help further understand the controlling factors for the correlation of race and voter participation.

Methods and Ethics:

The research will use an amalgamated survey of the National Election Survey and the U.S. Census. With this combination, the research will also be measuring race, voter participation, and controls of income and gender.

The independent concept of race will be determined by the interviewer, in a pre-survey observation. Answers will vary by White, Black and other.

The preceding control variable of voter-participation will be measured in multiple parts. The question that will be asked is: “In the last election, you remember if you voted? Answers will vary by: “Voted, Did not Vote, Ineligible, Don’t know, and No Answer.”

The concept of income will be measured by asking a question about income: “In which of these groups did your total family income, from all sources, fall last year before taxes, that is?”

The answers will vary by income groups:

1. Less than \$1,000
2. \$1,000-2,999
3. \$3,000 to 3,999
4. \$4,000-4,000
5. \$5,00-5,999
6. \$6,000-6,999
7. \$7,000-7,999
8. \$8,000-8,999
9. \$10,000-14,999
10. \$15,000-19,999
11. \$20,000-24,000-
12. \$25,000-30,000
13. 30,000-35,000
- 14.35,000-40,000
15. 40,000-50,000
16. 50,000-60,000
- 17.60,000-75,000
18. 75,000-90,000
19. 90,000 or more
20. Refuse to answer
21. Don't know

The concept of gender will be measured by asking the question: “What sex do you consider yourself?” The answers will fit into two categories: “ Male or Female.”

After understanding where the research will get its data and how we will measure each concept, it is important to address ethical concerns associated with the research.

The ethical concern of anonymity is addressed by using the National Election Survey and U.S. Census data which are both anonymous, meaning they do not ask for names. Thus, we will not be able to track down results to a single person.

As well, there is an ethical concern about getting the best possible results. This concern is addressed by using nationally recognized data by formal institutions that are well renowned and

known. These institutions of the survey the research will use passed the IRB, meaning that the IRB found their research to be ethically sound. Thus, it seems that both concerns of anonymity and best possible results are addressed, and the research will be able to be completed with little harm as possible to participants.

Finally, the missing data will be addressed by determining that there is a limited scope within this study. There is an understanding that every person surveyed completed or answered questions, thus leaving room for error or incomplete data. As well, measurements of race can be difficult to attain, especially when asking the question of personal consideration.

Statistical Analysis:

The first descriptive model with all missing cases gone will be presented and analyzed. The t-test will be presented and analyzed. The correlations and chi squared tables will be presented and analyzed. The multi-variate table will be presented and analyzed. Finally, the multivariate regression tables will be presented and analyzed.

Descriptive:

The clean descriptive data set is ran, meaning all missing/unanswered cases were removed with just the valid number of cases included, which was 412. All variables had a total of 412 cases. The year of study had 412 cases, with a minimum score of 1970, and a maximum score of 2000. The mean was 1981.83. The standard deviation was 8.875, showing a smaller standard deviation, with smaller variance around the mean and data points. Year of study has a skew of .695, showing an overrepresentation from the mean of 1981.

The variable of voter rate had 412 cases. Voter rate is if a person voted or not. A minimum score of 1 was given, showing that the person surveyed did not vote, and a maximum score of 2 was given to a person who did vote. The mean was 1.6535, showing that most people did vote. The standard deviation was .15654, a low variance showing that data points were close to the mean. The skew was -.308, showing an underrepresentation of voters away from the mean.

The variable of gender had 412 cases. The minimum score of 1 meant the person surveyed was a male. The maximum score of 2 meant the person surveyed was a female. The mean showed the average was 1.5618, meaning more females participated than males. The standard deviation was .09827, a low distribution, with most data points centering on the mean. The skew was -1.283, showing a large underrepresentation of women away from the mean.

The “blackrate variable was the African American population percentage by year studied “Blckyear” had a minimum score of 2.85 and a maximum score of 1278.34. The mean was 218.9850. The standard deviation was 200.13444, which had low variance among the data. The skew was 1.120, showing overrepresentation of states with large black populations by year.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skew
Year of Study	412	1970.00	2000.00	1981.83	8.88	0.695
Voter Rate	412	1.00	2.00	1.65	.16	-0.308
Gender Ratio (Male=1 Female=2)	412	1.00	2.00	1.56	.10	-1.283
Black Rate	412	2.85	1278.34	218.99	200.13	1.12
Valid N	412					

T-Test:

The T shows differences in means between the two variables of voter rate and black rate. This means the data is being compared against the mean to see if the differences are significant. The group statistics show that the z-score or the standardized black rate variable and voter rate are compared.

Voter rate is divided into two groups. The first group has 163 valid cases. The first group is for states with above average percentage African American population. The second group had 249 valid cases. The second group is if the black rate was below average African American population. The mean for the first group is 1.6201, showing that on average, those surveyed tended to vote. The second group shows a mean of 1.6754, also showing that on average, those surveyed tended to vote. There is not a large difference in the means in comparing the first group's mean score of 1.6201 and the second groups mean score is 1.6754. The difference of means is -.05532. In the independent samples test, the research shows that by looking at Levene's Test for Equality of Variances, the two group's significance is at the p-level of .709. In order for the relationship to be significant, a score of $p < .05$ must be had. Because there is no significance in Levene's Test of Equality of Variances in the first box, it is assumed that the variances are equal. From the significance box, the research shows a t-value of -3.557. A significant relationship is found with equal variances, thus, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Table 2: T-Test for the Relationship of Black Rate on Voter Rate					
	N	Average	SD	t	
Voter Rate $\geq .0000$	163	1.6201	0.15501	-3.557	***
Voter Rate $< .0000$	249	1.6754	0.15394	-3.552	***
		* $p < 0.05$	** $p < 0.01$	*** $p < 0.001$	

Bi-Variate Analysis:

A correlation is run, and a Pearson correlation of $-.182$ was found for both the black rate and the voter rate variable. This negative relationship means that the higher percentage of African American population in a state, the less voting occurs by $.182$ percent. Thus, as the more African American a state becomes, voting is down by $.182$ percent. The significance is strong because the research shows a perfect significance of a two-tailed test, with a p-level of $.000$. Thus, the research rejects the null hypothesis.

Chi Squared:

Bi-Variate Analysis:

A correlation is run, and a Pearson correlation of $-.182$ was found for both the black rate and the voter rate variable. This negative relationship means that the higher percentage of African American population in a state, the less voting occurs by $.182$ percent. Thus, as the more African American a state becomes, voting is down by $.182$ percent. The significance is strong because the research shows a perfect significance of a two-tailed test, with a p-level of $.000$. Thus, the research rejects the null hypothesis.

A chi squared is run for re-coded variables of black rate and voter rate. The “new black rate” variable was recoded into 3 groups. The first group received a score of 1 if the rate was between $0-.0300$. The second group received a score of 2 if the rate was between $.0300-.0900$. The third group received a score of 3 if the rate was between $.0900-.1600$.

The “new voter rate” was recoded into 3 groups. The first group received a score of 1 if the rate was between $0-1.5534$. The second group received a score of 2 if the rate was between $1.5534-1.6704$. The third group received a score of 3 if the rate was between $1.6704-1.7632$.

A chi squared run with the new recoded variables showed that for a score of 1 for both new black rate and new voter rate. The frequency observed was 30, and the frequency expected was 23.8. This means that for the frequency observed was larger than frequency expected and an overrepresentation of .5% was found.

The table with a score of 1 for new black rate, and a score of 2 for voter rate showed the frequency observed was 28, while the frequency expected was 28.6. This table shows a .4% of overrepresentation.

The table with a new black rate of 1 and a new voter rate of 3 shows the frequency observed is 26, while the frequency expected is 31.6. This table shows an overrepresentation of .3%.

The total table shows a score of 84 for both frequencies observed and expected, giving a .4% of overrepresentation.

The table of a new black rate score of 2 and a new voter rate score of 1 show a frequency observed of 15 and a frequency expected of 19. A .2% overrepresentation in this table is found.

The table with a new black rate score of 2 and a new voter rate score of 2 shows a frequency observed of 26 and a frequency expected 22.8. This shows a .3% overrepresentation.

The table with a new black rate score of 2 and a new voter rate of 3 shows a frequency observed of 26 with a frequency expected of 25.2. A .3% overrepresentation is found.

The total table shows a frequency observed of 67 and a frequency of 67, indicating a .3% overrepresentation.

The table for a new black rate 3 score and a new voter rate score of 1 show a frequency observed of 64 and frequency expected of 64. This table shows a .3% over representation.

The new black rate table with a score of 3 and the new voter rate table with a score of 2 shows the frequency observed is 77 and the frequency expected is 77. A .3% overrepresentation is found.

The new black rate table with a score of 3 and the new over rate table with a score of 3 shows a frequency observed of 33 and a frequency expected of 28.2. A .4% overrepresentation is found.

The total table shows a frequency observed of 75 and a frequency expected of 75, giving a .3% overrepresentation.

The total column for new voter rate for a score of 1 show a frequency observed and expected of 64. There is an overrepresentation of 1.0%.

The total table for the new voter rate column of a 2 score shows the frequency observed and expected is 77. An overrepresentation of 1.0% is found.

The total table for a new over rate score of 3 shows a frequency observed and expected of 85, and an overrepresentation of 1.0%.

The two variables, with all columns and rows totaled show a frequency observed of 226, a frequency expected of 226, with 1.0% overrepresentation.

The Pearson chi squared value is .265, meaning that it is above the p-level of 0.5, thus making it non-significant. The loss of variance in the chi squared relationship with the recoded variables of new voter rate and new black rate most likely made a significant relationship disappear. In this case, the null hypothesis would be accepted, but with a type 0 error.

Table 3: The Impact of Black Rate On Voter Participation								
	Low		Middle		High		Total	
Low	30	46.9%	28	36.4%	26	30.6%	84	37.2%
Middle	15	23.4%	26	33.8%	26	30.6%	67	29.6%
High	19	29.7%	23	29.9%	33	38.8%	75	33.2%
Chi Square	0.265							
Correlation	.000***							
*p<0.05	**p<0.01		***p<0.001					

Multivariate:

A multivariate cross-tabular analysis is run for the recoded variables of black rate, voter rate, and the control, which is gender.

Gender is recorded. The first original scores ranged from 1-1.5618, which received a score of 1, signifying mostly male. The second original scores ranged from 1.5618-2 received a score of 2, signifying mostly female.

The data, when controlling for gender with a score of 1 signifying mostly males, shows a score of 1 for new Black rate and a score of 1 for new voter rate has an observed frequency of 16, with an expected frequency of 13.2. There is a 47.1% overrepresentation.

In the next table, with gender receiving a score of 1, the new Black rate receives a score of 1, and the variable new voter rate receives a score of 2, shows an observed frequency of 12, and an expected frequency of 12.8. There is 36.4% overrepresentation.

In the next table, gender receiving a score of 1, new Black rate receives a score of 1, and new voter rate receives a score of 3. An observed frequency of 13, with an expected frequency of 15.1, shows a 33.3% overrepresentation.

The total table, with gender receiving a score of 1, shows new Black rate total observed frequency of 41 and an expected frequency 41. There is a 38.7% overrepresentation for mostly male voters.

The next set of tables in the multivariate output show that gender receives a score of 1, meaning mostly male voters. New Black rate receives a score of 2, meaning a more heavily populated state of African American population than the previous set of tables. The first table shows new voter rate with a score of 1, with an observed frequency of 9, and an expected frequency of 10.3. There is an overrepresentation of 26.5%.

The next table, with gender receiving a score of 1, new Black rate a score of 2, and the new voter rate receiving a score of 2. The table shows an observed frequency of 12, and an expected frequency of 10, with a 36.4% overrepresentation.

The next table, where gender receives a score of 1, new Black rate receives a score of 2, and new voter rate receives a score of 3 shows an observed frequency of 11. There is an expected frequency of 11.8, with a 28.2% overrepresentation.

The total table for gender receives a score of 1; new Black rate receives a score of 2, and shows a frequency observed of 32. A frequency expected of 32.2 is shown along with a 30.2% overrepresentation.

The third column shows that gender receives a score of 1, new Black rate receives a score of 3, meaning a high population percentage of African Americans in a state and new voter rate receives a score of 1. The observed frequency is 9, with an expected frequency of 10.6. There is a 26.5% overrepresentation in this table.

The next table shows that gender receives a score of 1, new Black rate receives a score of 3, and new voter rate receives a score of 2. This table shows an observed frequency of 9, with an expected frequency of 10.3, and an overrepresentation of 27.3%.

The next table shows gender receives a score of 1, new Black rate receives a score of 3, and new voter rate receives a score of 3. The table shows an observed frequency of 15, an expected frequency of 12.1, with a 38.5% overrepresentation.

The total table shows that gender receives a score of 1 new Black rate receives a score of 3, shows an observed frequency of 33, with an expected frequency of 33 and a 31.1% overrepresentation.

The section are tables the control of gender receives a score of 2, meaning mostly females.

The first table gender receives a score of 2, new Black rate receives a score of 1, and new voter rate receives a score of 1. There is an observed frequency of 14, with an expected frequency of 10.8, showing a 46.7% overrepresentation.

The second table shows gender receives a score of 2, new Black rate receives a score of 1, and new voter rate receives a score of 2. The observed frequency is 16; the expected frequency is 15.8, with a 36.4% overrepresentation.

The third table shows that gender receives a score of 2, new Black rate receives a score of 1, and new voter rate receives a score of 3. There is an observed frequency of 13, with an expected frequency of 16.5, showing a 28.3% overrepresentation.

The total table shows gender receives a score of 2 and new Black rate receives a score of 1. The observed frequency is 43, and the expected frequency is 43, with a 35.8% overrepresentation.

The next set of tables show that gender receives a score of 2, new Black rate receives a score of 2, and new voter rate receives a score of 1. The frequency observed is 6, the frequency expected is 8.8, showing a 20.0% overrepresentation.

The next table shows gender receives a score of 2 new Black rate receives a score of 2, and new voter rate receives a score of 2. The frequency observed is 14, the frequency expected is 12.8, showing an overrepresentation of 31.8%.

The next table shows gender receives a score of 2, new Black rate receives a score 2 new voter rate receives a score of 3. The observed frequency is 15, with an expected frequency of 13.4, and an overrepresentation of 32.6%.

The total table shows that gender receives a score of 2; new Black rate receives a score of 2. The frequency observed is 35, and the frequency expected is 35, with a 29.2% overrepresentation.

The last section of tables show that gender receives a score of 2, new Black rate receives a score of 3, and new voter rate receives a score of 1. This table shows that the frequency observed is 30, the frequency expected is 30, with a 33.3% overrepresentation.

The next table shows gender receives a score of 2, new Black rate receives a score of 3, and new voter rate receives a score of 2. The frequency observed is 14, the frequency expected is 15.4, with a 31.8% overrepresentation.

The next table shows gender receives a score of 2, new Black rate receives a score of 3, and new voter rate receives a score of 3. The frequency observed is 18; the frequency expected is 16.1, with a 39.1% overrepresentation.

The total table shows gender receives a score of 2 and new Black rate receives a score of 3. The frequency observed is 42, the frequency expected is 42, with a 35% overrepresentation. The Pearson chi-squared value for voter rate and Black rate, with a gender control with a score of 1 is .619. This is a non-significant relationship. The Pearson chi-squared value for voter rate and Black rate, with a gender control score of 2 is .516. This relationship is non-significant, thus accepting the null hypothesis.

The Pearson chi-squared value for voter rate and Black rate, with both gender scores of 1 and 2 also show a non-significant relationship of .265.

Thus, when looking at the relationship of voter rate and Black rate, while controlling for gender shows the relationship is non-significant. However, it must be noted that due to recoding for the variables of new Black rate, new voter rate and gender, there was loss of variance in the data. Thus, this could be a type 0 error.

Table 4: Impact of Black Rate on Voter Rate Controlling for Gender						
Gender						
				Voter Rate		
	Men	Low		Middle	High	Total
		Low	16 47.1%	12 36.4%	13 33.3%	41 38.7%
		Middle	9 26.5%	12 36.4%	11 28.2%	32 30.2%
		High	9 26.5%	9 27.3%	15 38.5%	33 31.1%
Black Rate						
	Women	Low		Middle	High	Total
		Low	14 46.7%	16 36.4%	13 28.3%	43 35.8%
		Middle	6 20.0%	14 31.8%	15 32.6%	35 29.2%
		High	10 33.3%	14 31.8%	18 39.1%	42 35.0%
	Men Chi Square		0.619			
	Women Chi Square		0.516			
	Total Chi Square		0.265			
	*p<0.05	**p<0.01		***p<0.001		

Regression:

The regression analysis allows us to predict scores knowing one or more variables. The first table of the regression analysis predicts a score of black rate. The second table shows scores for black rate with controls for gender ratio, and average family income. The third table shows black rate with controls for gender ratio, average family income and the variable all years to center around the year 2000. The fourth table shows predicted scores for black rate, with controls of gender ratio, average family income, the year 2000 and the interaction term of black rate and year.

Model one shows the unstandardized coefficients B score of someone with no black rate would be -.274. Thus, every percentage of African American population gained in a state would decrease their voting rate by -.274. These findings are perfectly significant at the p-level of .000. The second table shows the variables of black rate, and controls for gender ratio and income.

Model two shows that when adding in controls for gender ratio and average family income, the black rate voting decreases by $-.180$. This is significant at the p-level of $.032$. When adding a gender ratio control, a state with no gender increasing in one unit would receive a score of 2.256 . This finding is not significant. When controlling for average family income, a one unit increase would receive a score of 7.471 in a family's total income. This is perfectly significant at the p-level of $.000$.

Model three has the year 2000 control variable added. Thus, the black rate unit change would go down by -1.67 . This is significant at the p-level of $.032$. Gender ratio receives a score of 3.642 for every one unit change, but this is a non-significant relationship. Average family income receives a score of 7.815 for every one unit change, and this finding is perfectly significant at the p-level of $.000$. The year 2000 control means that all data for years are centered around the year 2000. Thus, as each year passes, there is one unit change of $.190$. This means that each year that passes, more people in general vote. This finding is significant at the p-level of $.005$.

Model four findings are that a one unit change in black rate goes up by $.482$. This finding is significant at the p-level of $.005$. Gender ratio receives a score of $.320$ for every one unit change; however, this finding is not significant. Average family income receives a score of 6.255 for every one unit change, which is significant at the p-level of $.005$. The variable year 2000 receives a score of $.190$ for every one unit change. This finding is non-significant. Lastly, the interaction term of the variable "BKYear" is added. The interaction term "BKyear" are the variables Black rate and year multiplied together. This interaction term predicts the score of someone who lives in a state with no African American percentage population, with no gender, no income, centered around the year 2000, would have a predicted voting score of $-.038$. This finding is significant at the p-level of 0.001 .

Table 5: Impact of Black Rate on Voter Participation in American States, Years 1970-2000

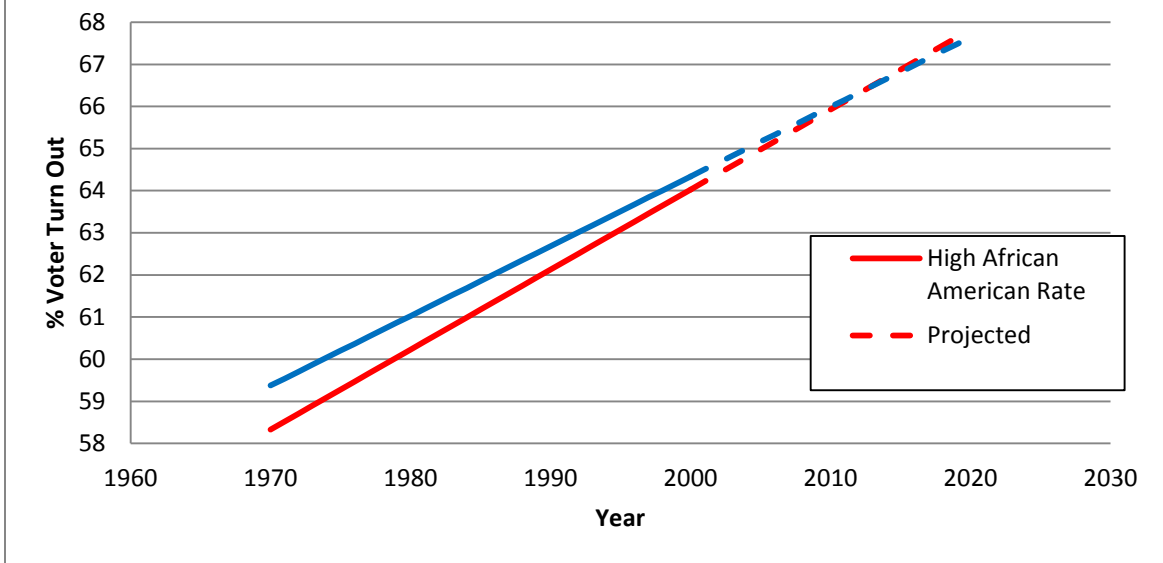
Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	(Constant)	R ²
Percentage of African American Respondents in a State	Percent of Males by State	Average Family Income by State	Year of Study (Centered Around Year 2000)	Interaction of African American Rate and Year		
-0.274					168.304	0.031
***					***	
-0.180	2.256	7.471			142.406	0.064
*		***			***	
-0.167	3.642	7.815	-0.246		143.586	0.083
*		***	**		***	
.482	.320	6.266	.190	-0.038	145.968	0.141
***		***		***	***	

*p<0.05

**p<0.01

***p<0.001

Table 7: Impact of % African American on Voter Turnout Over Time in American States (1970-2000)



Conclusion:

The first descriptive model with all missing cases gone was presented and analyzed. The t-test was presented and analyzed. The correlations and chi squared tables were presented and analyzed. The multi-variate table was presented and analyzed. The multivariate regression table was presented and analyzed.

The most important findings in the aggregate data, as model one shows, is that as a state gains one percentage in African American population, their voting decreases by $-.274$. This relationship is significant.

Model two shows that when controlling for gender and family income, voter participation is still impacted. As a state increase in African American population, voting decreases by $-.180$. This relationship is significant.

Model three shows the controls for gender, family income, and years centered on the year 2000, in the relationship between race and voter participation. The finding shows that as a state gains one unit in African American population percentage, voting decreases by $-.167$. This relationship is significant.

Model four shows the controls for gender, family income, years centered on the year 2000, and the interaction term of African American rate and year. It is found that as a state gains one unit in African American population percentage, voting decreases by $-.038$. This relationship is significant.

Thus, it is found that race, in the case of African Americans, has a negative relationship with voting participation.

Some limitations for this study were that some states were missing. Firstly, states with small populations are less likely to have citizens selected into the National Election Survey. Because of this, sample sizes for those states that have small populations are more susceptible to bias. Secondly, the U.S. Census estimation of racial composition for states tends to undercut African American population percentage. Thirdly, the research did not add a control for education. Lack of time and some oversight created this limitation, but the education variable should be used for future research like this. Fourthly, the measurement of race in the surveys used was poor. It failed to capture the complexity with a society and all of its dynamics that are the social construction of race.

For future areas of research, it would be interesting to see if the 2008 Presidential Election, with an African American candidate, drove up the voter participation for either Caucasians or African Americans. Specifically, the research could compare states with low

African American populations and high African American populations. Also, future studies could add a control for the political composition of each state (i.e. Democratic and Republican).

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