

Gender Jeopardy: The Impact of Gender Differences in Political Knowledge on Political Participation?

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## **Gender Jeopardy: The Impact of Gender Differences in Political Knowledge on Political Participation?**

### **Abstract**

We explore the impact that sex differences in political knowledge have on men's and women's likelihood of engaging in six participatory acts. Our analysis from 1984 to 2000 reveals that political knowledge significantly effects men's and women's political participation differently. Women's lower political knowledge depresses their political participation in politics. The participation gap disappears at higher levels of political knowledge for three participatory acts: attempting to influence a vote, attending a political meeting, and donating to a political campaign. Furthermore, at higher levels of political knowledge women are more likely than men to vote, wear a political button, or work for political campaigns. These findings complement scholarship that finds women hold themselves to a higher standard before running for elected office.

Research has consistently demonstrated a gender gap in political knowledge. Women tend to provide fewer correct answers than men to a wide variety of political knowledge questions (Burns et. al. 2001; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996, 2000). Additionally, women respond with “don’t know” to political knowledge questions more often than men (Lizotte and Sidman 2009; Mondok and Anderson 2004; Frazer and Macdonald 2003; Jamieson 2000). While many gaps in political knowledge can be explained as a function of ability, opportunity and motivation, these factors are unable to fully explain sex differences in knowledge (Delli Carpini and Ketter 1996). Equally important as the existence and origins of the gender gap in knowledge, but left largely unexamined by researchers, are the consequences that political knowledge has for men’s and women’s political participation.

Women’s lower levels of political knowledge are particularly troublesome given that individuals with higher levels of political knowledge are more likely to participate in politics (Burns et. al. 2001; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Verba et. al. 1995; Junn 1991). Additionally, when women participate in politics they communicate different messages to government (Schlozman, Burns, Verba, and Donahue 1995, Manza and Brooks 1998, Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999, Carroll 2006). However, the existing literature assumes that participation differences between men and women, along with other factors, are simply a function of the gender gap in political knowledge. We argue that the relationship is more complex, not only is the likelihood to participate influenced by levels of knowledge, but more importantly that knowledge influences men’s and women’s likelihood to participate differently. Drawing on research that finds women hold themselves to higher standards when deciding to run for elected office (Fulton et. al. 2006; Fox and Lawless 2005; Lawless and Fox 2005), we expect to discover similar behavior for other forms of political participation. Before engaging in political activity women will require higher levels of political knowledge compared to men. Furthermore, we expect that political knowledge will play a more

important role in shaping women's political participation compared to men's political participation.

Given the highly contested nature of recent elections, small shifts in political participation could have substantial impact on electoral outcomes and, consequently, public policy. Moreover, our findings suggest that the "average" woman participating in politics is more knowledgeable about politics than the "average" man. Thus both sex differences in political knowledge and political participation hold important implications for democracy and the representation of women's interests.

### **The Relationship between Political Knowledge and Political Participation**

We see knowledge as a resource that an individual draws on when making the decision to participate in politics. Knowledge about politics lowers the cost of political participation in two different, but not necessarily unrelated, ways. First, in order to participate in politics, individuals need political information on which to base their various participatory decisions and acts (Verba et. al. 1995). Second, knowledge can also reflect a psychological orientation when it comes to politics (Lizotte and Sidman 2009; Mondok and Anderson 2004; Frazer and Macdonald 2003; Jamieson 2000). If an individual lacks a positive psychological orientation towards politics that in turn lowers their political knowledge, they should be less likely to participate in politics. We expect that men and women draw on this resource differently when making the decision to participate.

The growing body of literature on the emergence of women candidates may help us understand the relationship between political knowledge and other forms of political participation. When making the decision to run for elected office, women appear to hold themselves to higher standards than men (Fulton et. al. 2006; Fox and Lawless 2005; Lawless and Fox 2005). Lawless and Fox (2005) find that women are less likely to see themselves as

qualified to run for elected office, less likely to consider running for elected office, and less likely to think that if they run they will win. Additionally, women think they must be twice as good to compete with men for elected office and tend to focus more on substantive credentials and experiences when determining their qualifications to run for office. Lawless and Fox (2005) observe that “The gender gap in political ambition narrows dramatically as women perceive themselves as increasingly qualified to run for political office. But most women do not self-assess this way (p. 102).” Similarly, women officeholders tend to have more prior office holding experience than equivalent men officeholders (Carroll and Strimling 1983). Women, therefore, appear assess their qualifications differently than men, holding themselves to a higher standard before participating.

If we view the decision to run for elected office as similar to the decision to engage in other participatory acts, we should expect political knowledge to have a different influence on men’s participation than on women’s participation. Specifically, women, compared to men, should have to hold relatively higher levels of political knowledge before they would consider themselves qualified to participate. Essentially, women require a larger base of knowledge before participating in politics. Either because they need more information or more confidence before they decided to participate. We can test this expectation by examining the relationship between men’s and women’s levels of political knowledge and their likelihood to participate. We expect that among the less knowledgeable, men will be more likely to participate than women. Furthermore, we expect knowledge to have a more pronounced positive effect on women's participation than on men's participation. Thus at higher levels of political knowledge the participation gap between men and women should disappear.

## **Data**

We pool the American National Elections Studies for each presidential election between 1984 and 2000. Pooling across these five presidential elections has two advantages. First, we increase the efficiency and robustness of our estimates. With the exception of voting, overall levels of political participation are fairly low. For example, in 1984 only 179 individuals wore a political button. The numbers become even smaller when we further divide the sample by sex. Thus pooling these elections increases the number of people engaging in these activities and increases the quality of our estimates. Second, pooling across elections means our results are robust across different electoral circumstances.

We conduct our analysis on the elections between 1984 and 2000 for two primary reasons. First the 1980 presidential election is seen as a pivotal moment for gender and politics, as a result we focus on only elections occurring after 1980. Second the number of post-1980 elections we are able to analyze is constrained by the available data. After 2000 several of the questions needed to construct our measure of political knowledge were no longer consistently asked. Despite the great amount of continuity in U.S. electoral politics there are factors that make each election unique and may impact levels of political participation. To account for this we included dummy variables for each presidential election in our model, with 1984 as our excluded category.<sup>1</sup>

### **Measuring Political Knowledge**

Many different measures of political knowledge have been employed as both independent and dependent variables; however, no consensus or “best” measure of political knowledge exists. We measure political knowledge using an index of six questions that tap knowledge about partisan politics. The questions utilized in the construction of our index include: party control of the House of Representatives and the Senate, Democratic and Republican ideological positions on defense spending, and Democratic and Republican ideological

positions on social service spending.<sup>2</sup> The index is the sum of the number of correct responses across the six questions, with possible values on the index ranging from zero to six.

Since political knowledge covers such a wide range of topics, identifying which questions should form a political knowledge scale is key (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1993, 1996). An index based on a broad range of questions would be ideal. However, we need to be concerned that the questions' wording and relevance are consistent over time. Unfortunately, only a limited number of knowledge questions were asked by the NES that meet these criteria. Two things make index construction easier for us. First, indexes with only a few questions perform just as well as knowledge measures with many questions (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1993). Second, for the most part, the electorate tends to be information generalists rather than information specialists (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1993, 1996). To test the robustness of our index, we replicated our measure of political knowledge using the 1990 ANES pilot study and compared our partisan knowledge index to the 5-item general knowledge index endorsed by Delli Carpini and Keeter (1993). Our index correlates with Delli Carpini and Keeter's index at .82, indicating that our index is a relatively good measure of general political knowledge as well as the partisan nature of politics.

One important consideration with the measurement of political knowledge is the treatment of "don't know" responses (Mondak and Creel Davis 2001; Mondak 1999). Political activity is likely depressed among both individuals who lack the information to answer questions regarding politics and individuals who lack confidence in their knowledge of politics and thus responded with "don't know". Therefore, we chose to count a "don't know" response as an incorrect answer and code it as a zero in our index construction. Multiple robustness checks were performed to test our assumption about the don't know

category and we find our results robust to multiple different specifications of the knowledge index.

The pattern of sex differences found in the partisan political knowledge index is similar to those found in the extant literature (Burns et. al. 2001; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996, 2000; Frazer and Macdonald 2003; Jamieson 2000). Table 1 lists the percent of correct answers for each question in our partisan knowledge index and the average number of correct responses for both men and women. Men possess more partisan knowledge than women on all the questions used in the measure. Differences between men's and women's political knowledge were largest for the partisan control questions (18% for the House, 19% for the Senate). The smallest differences are observed for Republican's ideological position on social service spending (2%) and Republican's position on defense spending (1%). All these differences are statistically significant, except for the 1% difference observed for Republican's defense spending position. Additionally, differences between men's and women's mean scores on the overall partisan knowledge index are statistically significant.

[Table 1]

### **Measuring Political Participation**

We explore the impact of political knowledge across six different participatory acts: voting, attempting to influence someone's vote, attending a public meeting, working on a political campaign, wearing a campaign button, and making a campaign contribution. The summary statistics reported in Table 2 show that the highest reported rate of participation was for voting; nearly three-quarters of the sample reported voting in the presidential election.<sup>3</sup> The lowest rate of political participation was observed for working on a campaign, around 3% of the sample engaged in this type of political activity. Significant differences between men's and women's level of political participation are observed across all six participatory

acts. These findings are similar to those presented in previous studies of sex differences in political participation (Burns et. al. 2001; Conway et. al. 2005).

[Table 2]

### **Political Knowledge and the Act of Voting**

We start our analysis with voting in a presidential election because it is by far the most common act of political participation. The dependent variable is a dichotomous indicator, coded one if a respondent reported to have voted and zero if they did not. Because the dependent variable is dichotomous, we use logistic regression.

As outlined above, we expect that lower levels of political knowledge will depress women's political participation more than men's political participation. However, we expect that increasing knowledge will have a larger impact on women's likelihood to participate compared to men. Consequently, we expect the slope modeling the relationship between political knowledge and participation to be steeper for women compared to men. The most direct way to test this expectation is with an interaction term. Consequently, we model an individual's decision to vote as a function of a respondent's sex, their level of political information, and the interaction of sex and political knowledge. Several control variables known to influence both men's and women's decisions to participate are also included in the model, as well as a set of dummy variables for election year.<sup>4</sup> Because our primary concern is the relationship between sex, political knowledge, and political participation, we limit our discussion to only the coefficients for sex, political knowledge and the interaction of sex and political knowledge presented in Table 3. The full results of the model are reported in Table A1, located in the technical appendix.

[Table 3]

Unfortunately, the inclusion of the interaction term in the model presents us from accurately interpreting the effect of sex directly from Table 3. Brambor, Clark, and Golder

(2005) warn that the coefficients for an interaction and its constituent terms (sex and knowledge in our case) reported in the traditional regression tables provide the correct marginal effect only when the respective constituent terms are equal to zero. Therefore, we must calculate the marginal effect of sex on political participation conditional on the level of political knowledge to determine both the magnitude and significance of the effects.

Additionally, the standard errors reported for these three variables in Table 3 are not accurate regarding the significance of the relationship between each constituent variable and the dependent variable because they do not account for the covariance that exists between sex and political knowledge (Brambor, Clark and Golder 2005). We therefore re-calculate the standard errors to account for the variances of sex and political knowledge, but also the covariance between the terms.<sup>5</sup> Figure 1 reports the marginal effect of sex at all levels of political knowledge. A positive marginal effect indicates a positive effect experienced by women. When the confidence intervals do not contain zero the effect of sex is significant.<sup>6</sup>

[Figure 1]

At the lower levels of political knowledge (0 and 1), the differences between men's and women's probabilities of voting are statistically insignificant. For values of political knowledge between 2 and 6 the confidence intervals no longer contain 0, indicating statistical significance and that at these levels of political knowledge women have a significantly higher probability of voting than men. These findings provide insight into why despite having on average lower levels of political knowledge, women turnout to vote more often than men. These findings also suggest that if the men's and women's levels of political knowledge become more equal, the turnout gap would grow even larger, with women's voter turnout greatly outnumbering men's voter turnout.

### **Political Knowledge and Five Other Forms of Political Participation**

The act of voting is unique compared to other forms of participation: voting is the most common and some would argue easiest form of political participation and is generally less visible. Does political knowledge have a greater influence for women than men for other forms of political participation?

We turn our attention to five other forms of political participation: influencing someone's vote, going to a political meeting, working for a political campaign, wearing a campaign button, and making a campaign contribution. We present the results of five different logits, one for each form of political activity. The dependent variable in each is a dichotomous indicator coded one if a respondent engaged in the act and zero if they did not. As in the voting model, we include a set of control variables previous research has demonstrated to influence participation. Table 4 presents the coefficients for our variables of interest: sex, political knowledge, and the interaction of sex and political knowledge. The full results are reported in Table A2. To accurately assess these relationships, we present a set of graphs depicting the marginal effect of sex for each act of participation. As discussed in the previous section, the marginal effects allow us to accurately determine the influence of sex on political participation. These graphs parallel the figures used in our discussion of voting.

[Table 4]

Political knowledge should significantly influence the probability that an individual will attempt to persuade someone. If women require a higher threshold of political knowledge before engaging in politics it should be particularly pronounced in this case. Figure 2 illustrates the marginal effect of sex on influencing a vote for all values of political knowledge (positive values indicate women are more likely to do so than men). Among those who are not very knowledgeable (scores ranging from 0 to 4), women are significantly less likely to attempt to sway someone's vote. As political knowledge increases, the

likelihood of an individual trying to influence someone else's vote choice increases for both men and women. However, the marginal effect of knowledge on participation is larger for women: the gap at the lower levels of political knowledge has disappeared at the highest levels of political knowledge (5 and 6). This pattern is similar to the one we saw for the marginal effect of sex given political knowledge on voting.

[Figure 2]

Attending a political meeting requires having the available time, but may not be as dependent on knowledge. Figure 3 depicts the marginal effect of sex on attending a meeting across all levels of political knowledge. Less knowledgeable individuals are less likely to attend a meeting, and this is particularly true for women. However, as knowledge increases, the gap between men and women closes to the point that it becomes insignificant at the highest levels of political knowledge (5 and 6). This relationship among sex, political knowledge and political participation has an interesting implication regarding the "average" attendees of political meetings. Because women require a higher level of knowledge than men before they attend a meeting, it follows that the women who attend political meetings will tend to be more knowledgeable about politics than the men at political meetings.

[Figure 3]

Similar to attending a meeting, working for a political campaign requires a significant amount of free time. Additionally, working for a campaign also requires civic skills and the feeling that you are able to contribute to the campaign. Figure 4 reports the marginal effect of sex on working for a campaign across levels of political knowledge. At the lowest levels of political knowledge women are significantly less likely than men to volunteer for a political campaign. Once again, the effect of knowledge on participation is larger for women. The gender gap in participation narrows and becomes insignificant when political knowledge

takes on the values of 4 and 5. Furthermore, at the highest levels of political knowledge (6) women are statistically more likely to participate in political campaigns than men.

[Figure 4]

Wearing a political button places an individual's politics in public view, representing an emotional attachment and enthusiasm about a candidate or issue that is not present in voting. Such visual displays create the potential for the individual to be pulled into public discussions about politics. Figure 5 shows the marginal effect of sex on wearing a button across all levels of political knowledge. The difference between men's and women's participation is significant at lower levels of political knowledge (0-3) with men more likely to wear a button, is insignificant when political knowledge takes on a value of 4 or 5, and significant again (with women more likely to participate) when political knowledge is 6. Before making a public statement about politics, such as wearing a political button, women require of themselves higher levels of political knowledge than men. Furthermore, at higher levels of political knowledge women become more likely to wear a political button.

[Figure 5]

The final act of participation we explore is donating to a political campaign. Donating to politics primarily requires that individuals have the extra money to give to candidates. Figure 6 depicts the marginal effect of sex on working for a campaign. As we found in our analyses of other participatory acts, knowledge has a larger influence on women's likelihood to donate than men's likelihood. And at higher levels of political knowledge (5 and 6) the gender gap in campaign donations is no longer significant. Given that we have controlled for family income, these results are not a function of men and women having different amounts of expendable resources. The findings suggest that women require a relatively high level of knowledge before they are willing to invest financial resources into political campaigns, but at the highest levels women are just as likely to donate.

[Figure 6]

In sum, sex and political knowledge play a significant role in shaping men's and women's engagement in other forms of political participation. The participation gap between men and women disappears when women possess higher levels of political knowledge for three participatory acts: attempting to influence a vote, attending a political meeting, and donating to a political campaign. Furthermore, at higher levels of political knowledge women are more likely than men to vote, wear a political button, or work for political campaigns.

### **Discussion**

Untangling the independent contributions of sex and political knowledge is difficult because they will vary depending on the level of political knowledge. However, to gain a better understanding of this relationship, Table 5 reports the predicted probability of men and women engaging in our six forms of political participation at the lowest level of political knowledge (0), the middle level of knowledge (3), the highest level of knowledge (6), men's mean level of knowledge (3.97) and women's mean level of knowledge (3.45). Table 5 makes two patterns clear. First, higher levels of political knowledge lead to higher levels of political participation for both men and women. Second, the gains in political participation associated with increased knowledge are much greater for women than they are for men.

[Table 5]

Our findings suggest that the differential impact of political knowledge on participation is one reason why women turn out to vote in larger numbers than men. In the 1980 election women's turnout started to outnumber men's and by 2004 3.8% more women voted than men (CAWP 2005). Based on the predicted probabilities reported in Table 5, at men's mean level of political knowledge women are 7% more likely to vote than men and 6% more likely to turnout than men at women's mean level of political knowledge.

Taken together our findings have significant implications for those who advocate increasing political participation within the electorate in general and among women in particular. While political knowledge has the potential to increase participation of women more than men, this study indicates that this potential is largely unrealized in the electorate. First, women are less knowledgeable than men—and second, a lack of political knowledge depresses the political participation of women more than it does the participation of men.

While the sex differences in political participation may not seem large, they translate into a considerable difference between the levels of men’s and women’s engagement with politics. Based on U.S. census data, we calculated the expected gains and losses in participation due to the gender gap in knowledge and reported them in Table 6. Unlike other forms of political participation, women are more likely to vote than men at their respective mean levels of political knowledge. This difference in participation translates in to over 2 million more votes from women. Women’s lower level of knowledge depresses their likelihood of engaging in all other forms of political participation examined in this study. Sex differences in knowledge translate into over 3.5 million fewer attempts to influence someone’s vote, close to 2 million fewer people attending political meetings, 1 million fewer campaign volunteers, over 800,000 fewer people wearing political buttons, and close to 1.5 million fewer political contributors. These numbers take on even more of a substantive impact when we consider that women often communicate different messages when they participate (Carroll 2006; Manza and Brooks 1998; Verba et. al. 1993). The values reported in Table 6 are calculated at men’s and women’s mean levels of political knowledge, where we see the smallest differences in the impact of political knowledge on political participation. Thus, the messages being sent to elected officials may be more highly skewed than these numbers indicate if we look at the overall distribution of knowledge in the electorate.

[Table 6]

## **Conclusion**

Across all of the acts of political participation we examined, more knowledgeable individuals were more likely to participate, regardless of sex. However, the effect of knowledge was consistently larger for women than for men. These findings complement the work which finds that women hold themselves to a higher standard before running for elected office (Fox and Lawless 2005; Lawless and Fox 2005).

Sex differences exist for several of our control variables, thus the influence of sex on political participation may work indirectly through several of the control variables. This has the potential to bias our results downward, resulting in the underestimation of the effect of sex. Because the relationship between sex, political knowledge and participation are the central focus of this analysis we include the controls to isolate this specific relationship. Further research is warranted to address the overall influence of sex on political participation.

Political knowledge not only influences the likelihood of participating in politics, but also influences an individual's attitudes and ability to participate effectively (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1998, 2000; Jennings 1992; Sanbonmastu 2003; Bartels 1996). Future research should further examine how the gender gap in political knowledge influences the messages sent through men's and women's political participation and how these differences influence the policy priorities of government. Understanding sex differences in political knowledge is crucial for the representation of women and their interests. Not only does government hear less as a result of women's lower levels of political knowledge, but the representativeness of the messengers varies between men and women. Because men are willing to engage in political participation at lower levels of political knowledge, the men who participate tend to be more representative of the population as a whole. On the other hand, because women have a higher threshold before they participate in politics, those who do participate end up being more knowledgeable than the average woman (and man) in the electorate.

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**Table 1. Partisan Knowledge Questions, Percent Correctly Answered**

	Men	Women	Difference
Partisan control of House of Representatives	70	52	+18**
Partisan control of U.S. Senate	61	42	+19**
Democrat's ideological position on social spending	50	41	+9**
Republican's ideological position on social spending	70	68	+2*
Democrat's ideological position on defense spending	72	64	+8**
Republican's ideological position on defense spending	59	58	+1
Partisan Knowledge Index (average number correct)	3.97	3.45	+.52**

\*\* < 0.01 \* < 0.05

Data Source: National Election Studies, Pooled 1984-2000

**Table 2. Political Participation, 1984-2000**

	Men	Women	Difference
Vote for president	75.8	72.9	+2.9**
Attempted to influence someone's vote	33.3	25.4	+7.9**
Attended a political meeting	7.4	5.2	+2.1**
Worked for a political campaign	3.3	2.6	+0.8*
Wore a button	9.4	8.1	+1.3*
Made a donation to campaign	9.0	6.0	+3.0**

\*\* < 0.01 \* < 0.05

Data Source: National Election Studies, Pooled 1984-2004

**Table 3. Factors Influencing Voting, pooled 1984-2000**

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Sex	0.03	0.23
Political Knowledge	0.19	0.04**
Sex*Political Knowledge	0.10	0.06
Controls (not shown)		
N		4140
Pseudo R-Squared		0.25
Full model reported in Table A1		
** < 0.01 * < 0.05		

**Table 4. Participation Results by Type of Activity, pooled 1984-2000**

Variable	Influence (Std. Err.)	Meeting	Work For	Button	Donation
Sex	-0.44* (-0.19)	-1.12* (-0.39)	-1.70* (-0.56)	-0.99** (-0.29)	-0.72* (-0.36)
Knowledge	0.17* (-0.03)	0.16* (-0.06)	0.06 (-0.08)	-0.02 (-0.05)	0.09 (-0.05)
Sex*Knowledge	0.07 (-0.05)	0.20* (-0.08)	0.35* (-0.12)	0.22** (-0.07)	0.11 (-0.08)
N	4141	4141	4141	4141	4141
Pseudo R2	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.04	0.13

Full model reported in Table A2.

\*\* < 0.01; \* < 0.05

**Table 5. Predicted Probabilities For Six Acts of Political Participation at High, Medium, and Low Levels of Knowledge (reported in percent)**

	Voting		Influencing the Vote		Attending a Meeting	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High Knowledge (6)	83	90	49	49	9	10
Medium Knowledge (3)	74	80	37	32	6	4
Low Knowledge (0)	62	62	26	19	4	1
High - Low	21	28	23	30	5	9
Men's Average (3.97)	77	84	41	37	7	5
Women's Average (3.45)	76	82	39	34	6	4

	Work for Campaign		Wearing a Button		Making a Donation	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High Knowledge (6)	4	6	9	12	8	8
Medium Knowledge(3)	3	2	10	7	6	4
Low Knowledge (0)	3	1	10	4	5	2
High - Low	1	5	-1	8	3	6
Men's Average (3.97)	3	3	9	9	7	5
Women's Average (3.45)	3	2	9	8	7	5

Predicted probabilities are calculated by placing all other variables in the models at their mean if continuous and median if ordinal.

Differences between men and women are equivalent to the marginal effect of sex presented in figures 1-6.

**Table 6. Expected Participation of Men and Women.**

	Women	Men	Difference
Voting	77,966,515	75,783,646	2,182,869
Influence Others	34,148,125	37,706,533	-3,558,408
Go To Political Meetings	4,130,009	6,114,573	-1,984,564
Work for a Campaign	2,115,371	3,149,931	-1,034,561
Wear a Political Button	7,857,091	8,708,634	-851,544
Make a Political Donation	4,835,133	6,299,863	-1,464,730

Estimates are based on the predicted probabilities of engaging in the various participatory acts at men's and women's mean levels of political knowledge with all other continuous variables set at their means and ordinal variables set to their median. The citizen voting age population from the 2000 U.S. census (<http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t31/tab01-01.pdf>).

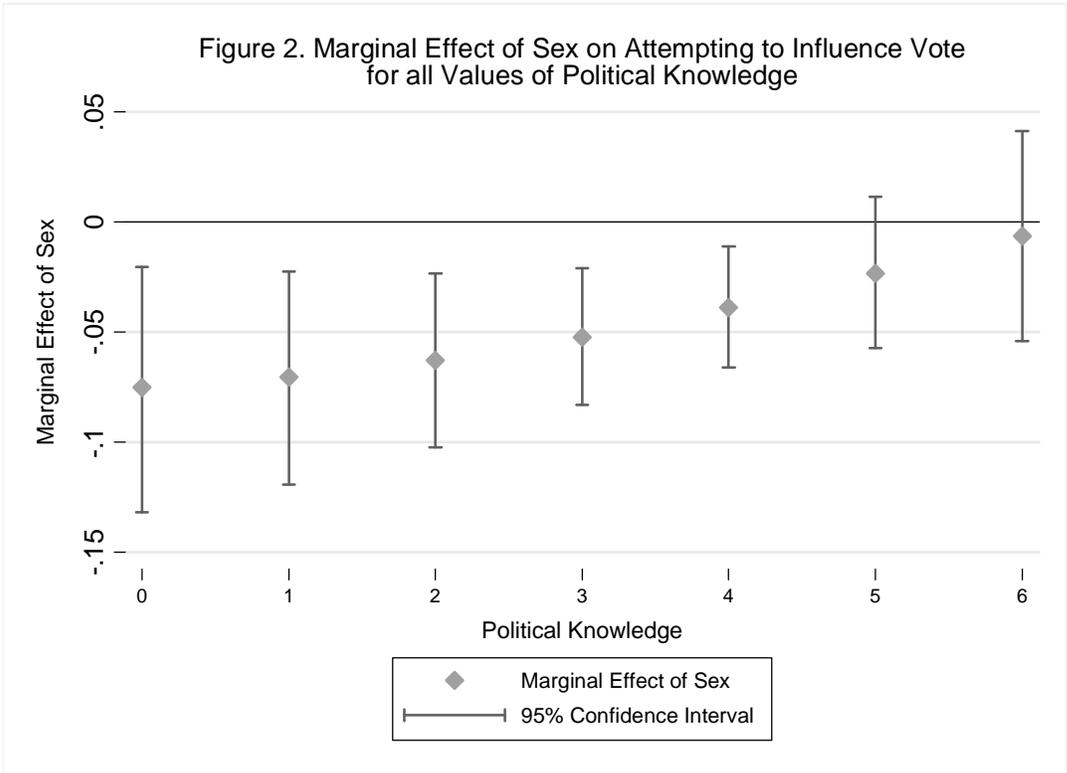
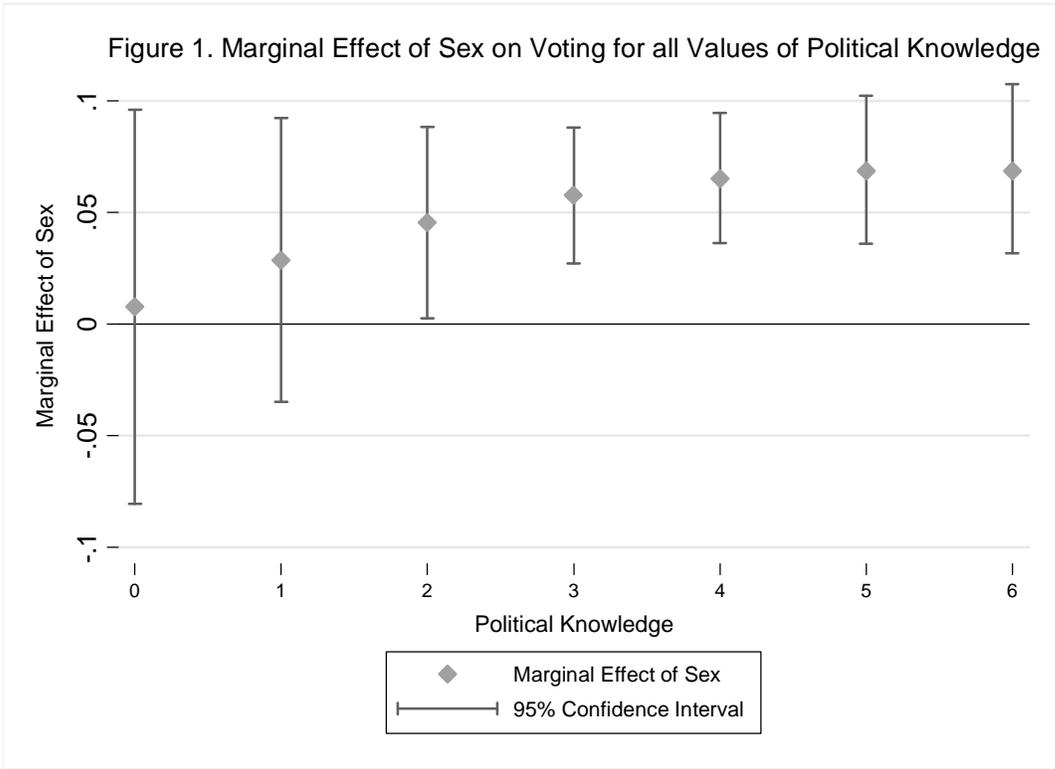


Figure 3. Marginal Effect of Sex Attending a Meeting for all Values of Political Knowledge

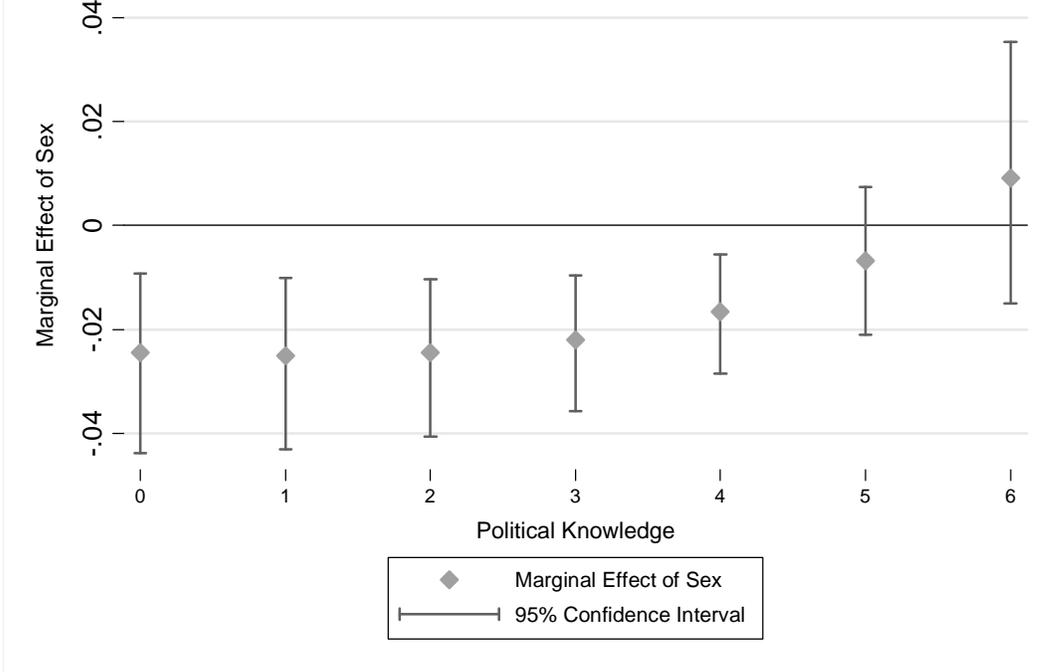


Figure 4. Marginal Effect of Sex on Working for a Campaign for all Values of Political Knowledge

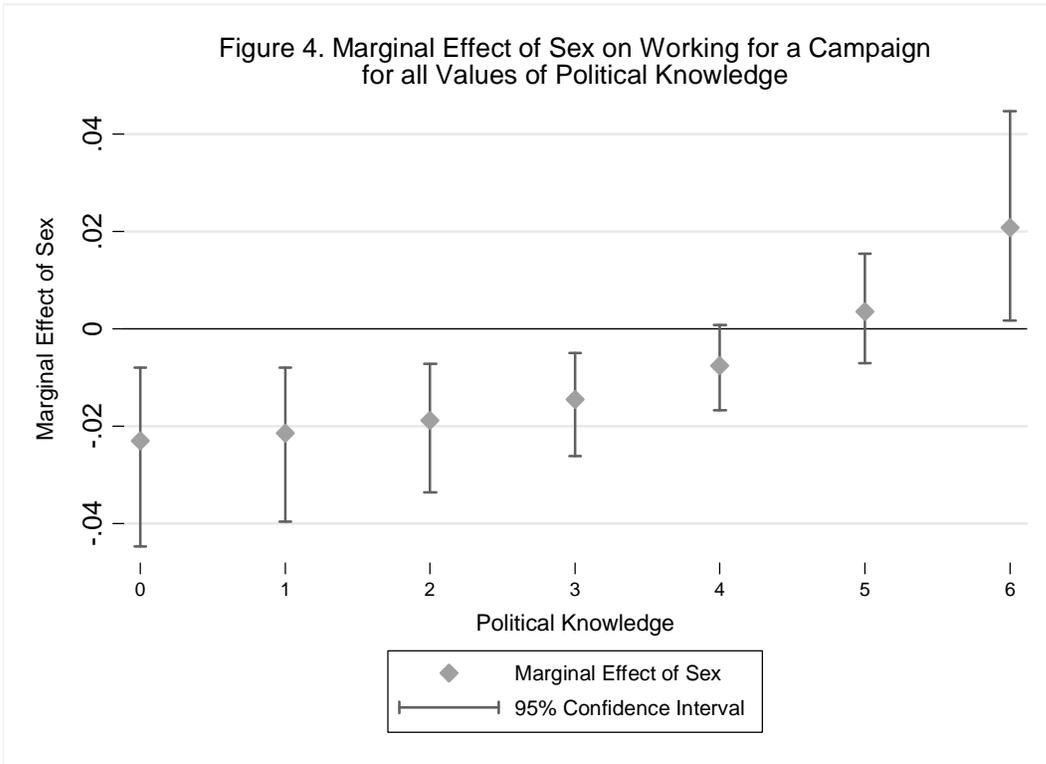


Figure 5. Marginal Effect of Sex on Wearing a Political Button for all Values of Political Knowledge

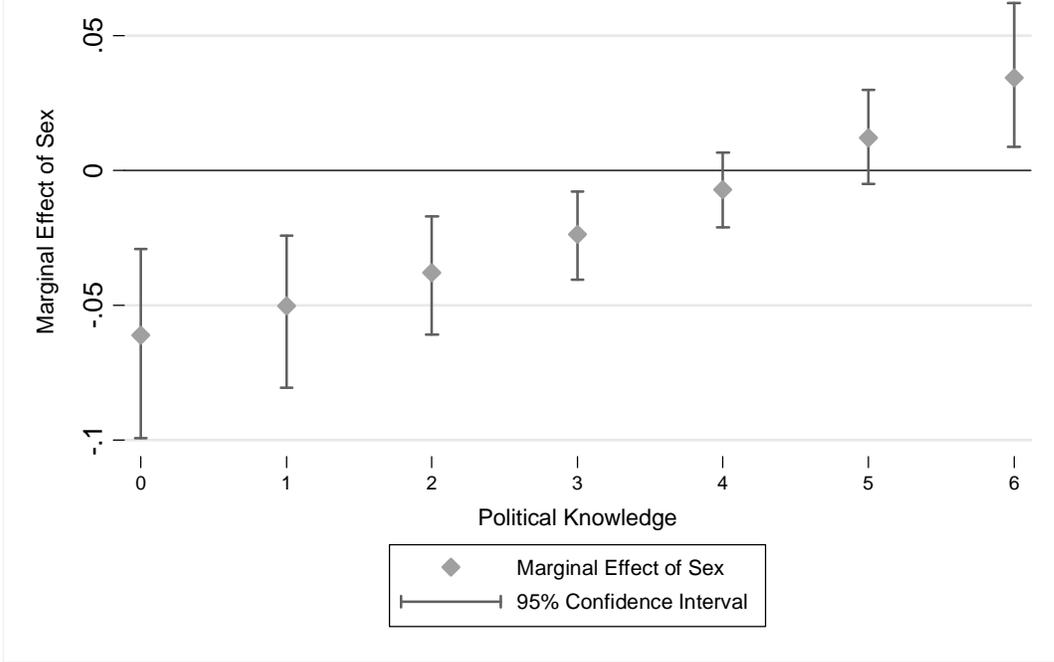
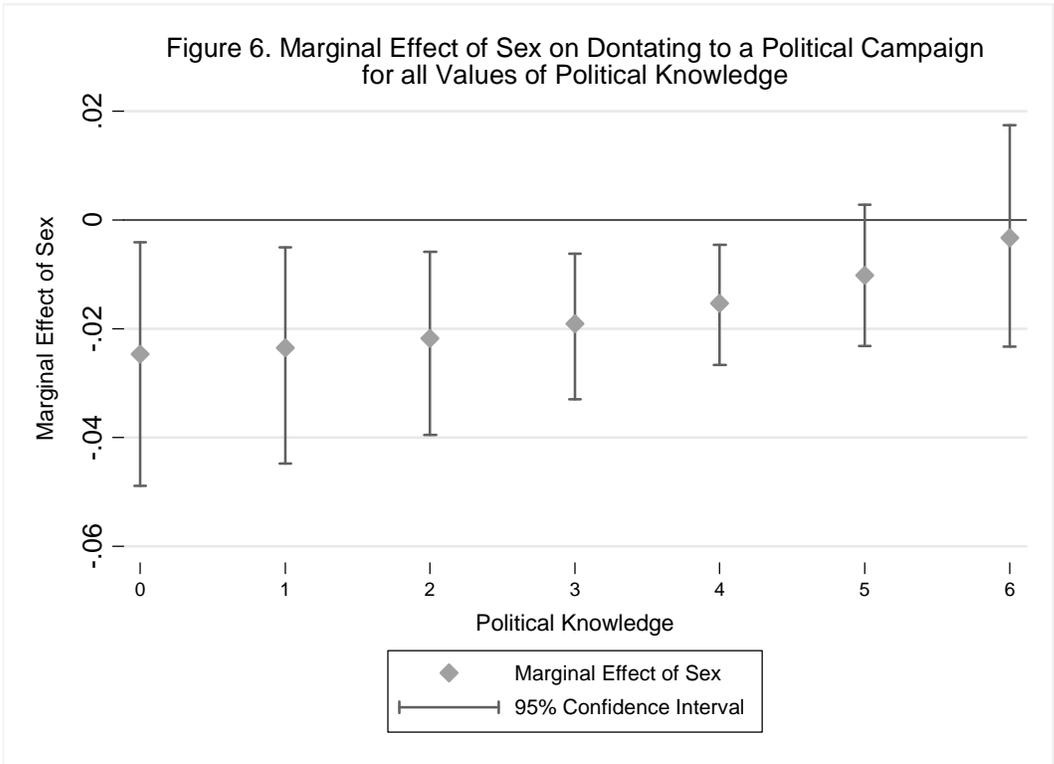


Figure 6. Marginal Effect of Sex on Dontating to a Political Campaign for all Values of Political Knowledge



**Table A1. Factors Influencing Voting Participation, pooled 1984-2000**

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Sex	0.03	0.23
Political Knowledge	0.19	0.04**
Sex*Political Knowledge	0.10	0.06
<b>Socialization</b>		
Attention to the Campaign	0.77	0.10**
Political Efficacy	-0.22	0.06**
Strength of Partisan Identity	0.39	0.05**
Post Feminist Generation	-0.34	0.16*
<b>Increased Autonomy</b>		
Education	0.57	0.07**
Married	-0.15	0.14
Divorced	-0.3	0.16
<b>Workforce Participation</b>		
Workforce participation	0.13	0.13
<b>Resources</b>		
Family Income	0.33	0.05**
Church Attendance	0.33	0.04**
<b>Feminist Consciousness</b>		
Feminist Ideology	0.26	0.11*
<b>Controls</b>		
Black	-0.07	0.14
South	-0.50	0.11**
Age	0.02	0.01**
1988	0.11	0.14
1992	0.60	0.14**
1996	0.43	0.17*
2000	0.38	0.20
Intercept	-3.64	0.40**
N	4140	
Pseudo R-Squared	0.25	
** < 0.01		
* < 0.05		

**Table A2. Participation Results by Type of Activity, pooled 1984-2000**

Variable	Influence (Std. Err.)	Meeting	Work For	Button	Donation
Sex	-0.44* (0.19)	-1.12* (0.39)	-1.70* (0.56)	-0.99** (0.29)	-0.72* (0.36)
Knowledge	0.17* (0.03)	0.16* (0.06)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)
Sex*Knowledge	0.07 (0.05)	0.20* (0.08)	0.35* (0.12)	0.22** (0.07)	0.11 (0.08)
<b>Socialization</b>					
Attention	0.68** (0.08)	0.67** (0.16)	0.56* (0.23)	0.57** (0.13)	0.73** (0.16)
Efficacy	.004 (0.04)	-0.14* (0.07)	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)
Strength of PID	0.28** (0.04)	0.23** (0.06)	0.31** (0.09)	0.36* (0.06)	0.26* (0.06)
Post Feminist Generation	-0.11 (0.11)	-0.21 (0.18)	-0.40 (0.26)	-0.06 (0.16)	-0.40* (0.17)
<b>Increased Autonomy</b>					
Education	0.10* (0.04)	0.30** (0.07)	0.25* (0.1)	0.14* (0.06)	0.46** (0.07)
Married	0.13 (0.10)	-0.40* (0.16)	-0.66* (0.22)	-0.10 (0.14)	-0.40* (0.17)
Divorced	0.15 (0.13)	-0.24 (0.2)	-0.35 (0.28)	-0.02 (0.18)	-0.19 (0.21)
<b>Workforce Participation</b>					
Workforce Participation	-0.20* (0.10)	-0.18 (0.17)	-0.44* (0.22)	-0.26 (0.14)	-0.35* (0.16)
<b>Resources</b>					
Family Income	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.06)	0.10 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.05)	0.40** (0.06)
Church Attendance	0.05* (0.02)	0.14** (0.04)	0.02 (0.05)	0.06 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
<b>Feminist Consciousness</b>					
Feminist Consciousness	-0.12 (0.08)	0.15 (0.14)	-0.14 (0.19)	-0.05 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.12)
N	4141	4141	4141	4141	4141
Pseudo R2	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.04	0.13
Control Variables: Race, South, Age, and dummies for 1988, 1992, 1996, and 2000 included but not reported.					
** < 0.01; * < 0.05					

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<sup>1</sup> Additionally to test for issues associated with pooling the data, we ran each model on every single election year separately before pooling. We found the slope estimates were essentially unchanged, meaning that it was methodologically appropriate to pool the data.

<sup>2</sup> NES questions: VCF0729, VCF9036, VCF0549, VCF0550, VCF0541, and VCF0542.

<sup>3</sup> Our finding for voting contradicts registration and census data, but this is likely a function of men over-reporting turnout (Burns et. al. 2001; Silver et. al. 1986; Traugott and Katosh 1979). Previous research has established this has little substantive impact on analysis (Silver et al. 1986; Katosh and Traugott 1981); thus our results should not be affected.

<sup>4</sup> Data from the NES cumulative file, study number 8475. Sex is a dummy variable, 0 = male 1 = female. Political knowledge 0 (min), 6 (max); see description in paper for how it was constructed. Attention to campaigns is a dummy variable, 0 = did not pay attention to campaign, 1 = paid attention to campaign; created from VCF0727. Political efficacy is a scale 0 (min), 6 (max); created from VCF0609, VCF0613 and VCF0613. Strength of partisan identification, 0 (min), 3 (max); created from VCF0301. Post-feminist generation indicates individuals who turned 18 after 1969. Education, 0 (0-8 grades), 1 (9-12 grades), 2 (some college), 3 (bachelors or more); recoded from VCF0110. Married and divorced are dummy variables, the omitted category is single; created from VCF0147. Workforce participation is a dummy variable representing employed, retired, and student categories of VCF0118. Family income (VCF0114), 1 (0 to 16 percentile), 2 (17 to 33 percentile), 3 (34 to 67 percentile), 4 (68 to 95 percentile) and 5 (96 to 100 percentile). Church attendance, 0 (No religious preference, never, don't know), 1 (A few times a year), 2 (Once or twice a month), 3 (Almost every week), 4

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(Every week). Feminist ideology is a dummy variable measuring feminist views, 1 = support equal roles, 0 = not supportive of equal roles; created from VCF0834. Black is a dummy variable, 1 = Black, 0 = White, created from VCF0105. South is a dummy variable, 1 = States of the Confederacy, 0 = non-Confederate states. The age of the respondent, VCF0101.

<sup>5</sup>A more detailed explanation and examples of the syntax used to calculate the marginal effects and confidence intervals can be found at their website:

<http://homepages.nyu.edu/~mrg217/interaction.html>.

<sup>6</sup> These figures do not tell us anything about the significance of political knowledge in relation to political participation. While not presented, the marginal effects of political knowledge are significant for women for all forms of political participation. The marginal effects of political knowledge are also significant for men, except for wearing a political button and working for a campaign. For these two acts, only the marginal effect of moving from a 5 to a 6 on the political knowledge scale is significant for men.