

- 7 Supplemental Appendix to “Party Polarization, Ideological Sorting and the Emergence of the U.S. Partisan Gender Gap” by Daniel Q. Gillion, Jonathan M. Ladd and Marc Meredith, *British Journal of Political Science*, 2018

7.1 Data Coding Appendix

We attempted to collect and code a consistent set of political attitudes and demographic variables for all polls conducted by the Gallup Organization between 1953 and 2012 that have individual-level data posted on the Roper Center iPoll database. One challenge in this effort was that Gallup frequently changed both the constructs they were trying to measure and the questions used to measure these constructs over time. Because there were many more questions asked than we could feasibly code, we limited ourselves to coding only responses to questions that were asked frequently over time, and in a consistent enough manner that responses over time were comparable.

Table A.1 presents the political attitudes that are included in our dataset. We coded responses to questions about presidential approval, partisan identification, and ideology. The standard presidential approval question is “Do you approve or disapprove of the way that <Name of President> is handling his job as president?” Because there is variation across surveys in how Gallup coded responses like “Don’t Know” or “Neither Approve or Disapprove” in the raw data, we code any response other than “Approve” or “Disapprove” as “Other.” Gallup also occasionally asks domain-specific presidential approval after the standard presidential approval question. When asked, we also used a similar scheme to code responses to questions about the president’s handling of the economy and foreign affairs.

Table A.2 displays the number of observations and surveys that contains responses to the standard presidential approval question by quarter. We observe approximately 20,000 responses from about 15 surveys in a modal year, with the number of responses and surveys observed in a year increasing somewhat over time. There are a few quarters in which we do not observe any surveys. This happens because Gallup stopped asking presidential approval immediately prior to some presidential elections. To assess our coverage of these Gallup polls, we examined whether there were polls that had aggregate totals listed at http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/data_access/data/presidential_approval.html in July 2013 but did not have usable individual-level data in the Roper Center iPoll Databank. Table A.3 lists the 135 polls that fit this description. Given that we observe over 1,400 polls with presidential approval, this suggests that we are observing a

Table A.1: Description of Political Variable Codings

Variable	Variable Name	Coding	
Presidential Approval:			
Job as President	pres_approve	Approve	= 1
		Disapprove	= -1
		Other	= 0
Handling of Economy	pres_approve_economy	Approve	= 1
		Disapprove	= -1
		Other	= 0
Handling of Foreign Affairs	pres_approve_foreign	Approve	= 1
		Disapprove	= -1
		Other	= 0
Partisan Identification:			
Consider Yourself	party	Republican	= 1
		Democrat	= -1
		Other	= 0
Lean More to	party2	Republican	= 1
		Democrat	= -1
		Other	= 0
Ideology	ideo	Very Conservative	= 2
		Conservative	= 1
		Liberal	= -1
		Very Liberal	= -2
		Other	= 0

Notes: -9 indicates missing value, -99 indicates variable not included in series.

high percentage of the possible surveys.

We report a similar breakdown of the number of observations and surveys that contain responses to partisan identification by quarter in Table A.4. Unlike with presidential approval, Gallup asks about partisan identification in just about every survey we coded. The exact wording of the partisan identification question varies slightly across surveys. The two most common forms of the question are: “in politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent” and “in politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?” There are also a few times in the early 1950s when instead the question was worded: “Normally, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, or Independent.” While respondents sometimes provide alternative answers (e.g., support a third party, don’t know, refused to answer), these responses cannot always be differentiated from “Independent” in the raw data. Thus, we again jointly code all responses other than Democratic or Republican into an omnibus “Other” category. In some surveys, Gallup also asks a follow-up question to individuals who do not initially identify as a Democratic or Republican about whether they lean towards either party. The exact question wording is “As of today do you lean more to the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?” This question was asked somewhat frequently in the 1950s, quite rarely in the 1960s or 1970s, and then frequently again beginning in the 1980s. Responses to these questions are coded when available.

Gallup has asked about ideology for less time than either presidential approval or partisan identification. While questions about ideology were occasionally asked in the 1980s and the early 1990s, Gallup only began regularly asking about ideology using a consistent question wording in 1992: “How would you describe your political views - very conservative, conservative, moderate, liberal, or very liberal?” Table A.5 shows the number of observations and surveys that contains responses to this question by quarter. We cannot always differentiate in the raw data between people who respond that they are moderate and those who give another answer (e.g., don’t know, refuse to respond), so all responses that are not liberal or conservative are placed into an omnibus “Other” category.

Tables A.6 and A.7 present the demographic variables we collected about respondents. We col-

Table A.2: No. of Obs. (Surveys) with Presidential Approval by Quarter

Quarter	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
1	4,720 (3)	6,131 (4)	7,443 (5)	8,918 (5)	6,154 (4)	7,710 (5)	4,592 (3)	5,049 (3)	4,300 (2)	7,736 (3)
2	3,075 (2)	5,747 (4)	6,084 (4)	7,975 (4)	7,761 (5)	4,547 (3)	6,292 (4)	7,351 (4)	12,591 (5)	9,215 (4)
3	6,224 (4)	7,727 (5)	5,848 (4)	4,276 (2)	6,131 (4)	7,616 (5)	7,005 (3)	14,752 (7)	6,763 (3)	6,875 (3)
4	5,987 (4)	4,468 (3)	2,977 (2)	3,043 (2)	2,991 (2)	4,514 (3)	6,834 (4)	6,497 (3)	6,128 (3)	8,014 (3)
Quarter	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
1	6,889 (3)	15,263 (6)	7,832 (4)	12,977 (5)	8,913 (4)	4,503 (3)	7,675 (5)	9,281 (6)	4,634 (3)	6,046 (4)
2	10,626 (5)	15,555 (6)	11,204 (5)	10,144 (4)	12,200 (5)	7,653 (5)	7,701 (5)	6,062 (4)	7,945 (5)	6,134 (4)
3	5,605 (3)	0 (0)	10,566 (4)	8,925 (4)	9,932 (4)	4,552 (3)	7,810 (5)	7,544 (5)	3,108 (2)	0 (0)
4	8,566 (4)	2,498 (1)	9,586 (4)	9,760 (4)	6,365 (4)	3,027 (2)	6,222 (4)	4,662 (3)	4,588 (3)	2,966 (2)
Quarter	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
1	6,145 (4)	11,015 (7)	7,747 (5)	7,786 (5)	7,757 (5)	9,233 (6)	10,721 (7)	9,527 (6)	4,799 (3)	6,121 (4)
2	9,281 (6)	10,196 (8)	7,912 (5)	4,607 (3)	10,671 (7)	10,712 (7)	9,158 (6)	9,409 (6)	9,193 (6)	9,282 (6)
3	7,609 (5)	7,816 (5)	4,635 (3)	0 (0)	7,564 (5)	13,969 (8)	10,903 (7)	4,750 (3)	7,699 (5)	7,580 (5)
4	7,795 (5)	7,823 (5)	9,213 (6)	1,559 (1)	10,609 (7)	4,658 (3)	9,226 (6)	3,100 (2)	7,666 (5)	6,123 (4)
Quarter	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
1	7,742 (5)	6,231 (4)	7,944 (6)	3,711 (4)	5,368 (6)	4,480 (4)	6,907 (6)	5,918 (5)	18,885 (20)	11,629 (11)
2	9,161 (6)	7,340 (6)	6,999 (6)	5,626 (5)	8,247 (5)	4,032 (2)	11,116 (11)	5,695 (5)	10,967 (11)	11,876 (10)
3	10,774 (7)	10,848 (7)	7,023 (6)	4,657 (5)	5,523 (6)	2,001 (2)	6,753 (6)	16,483 (16)	11,759 (11)	7,916 (7)
4	6,066 (4)	6,052 (4)	3,136 (3)	5,638 (5)	7,170 (8)	1,025 (1)	7,527 (7)	15,294 (16)	2,008 (2)	6,569 (6)
Quarter	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
1	11,069 (12)	10,070 (10)	7,021 (7)	6,076 (6)	8,167 (8)	9,970 (11)	12,328 (13)	11,300 (10)	5,089 (5)	6,705 (7)
2	8,124 (8)	8,808 (9)	8,822 (9)	10,164 (10)	3,970 (4)	4,697 (5)	10,302 (9)	4,114 (4)	5,055 (5)	8,869 (9)
3	10,954 (11)	8,996 (9)	13,241 (13)	10,305 (12)	7,974 (8)	13,756 (17)	8,954 (8)	7,225 (7)	5,883 (6)	8,442 (9)
4	10,251 (10)	10,117 (9)	7,127 (7)	4,850 (6)	4,907 (5)	12,600 (12)	5,060 (5)	5,121 (5)	4,881 (5)	7,779 (7)
Quarter	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
1	12,063 (12)	7,053 (7)	6,946 (7)	5,030 (5)	5,030 (5)	11,134 (8)	16,910 (20)	14,239 (17)	15,324 (18)	14,843 (14)
2	7,086 (7)	5,013 (5)	8,959 (9)	6,032 (6)	6,042 (6)	7,532 (7)	12,644 (16)	13,921 (15)	9,194 (11)	15,967 (15)
3	4,021 (4)	5,551 (5)	7,864 (8)	4,016 (4)	6,084 (6)	7,095 (7)	12,874 (14)	10,396 (11)	9,953 (11)	15,641 (15)
4	5,018 (5)	8,613 (7)	7,666 (8)	4,534 (4)	7,101 (7)	10,376 (8)	10,215 (10)	7,345 (6)	10,630 (12)	19,071 (19)

Table A.3: Missing Presidential Approval Data Series

Year (# Missing)	Date(s) of Missing Series
1961 (1)	4/28-5/3
1964 (1)	12/11-12/16
1965 (1)	3/11-3/16
1968 (1)	3/10-3/15
1978 (1)	11/10-11/13
1984 (2)	5/3-5/5,6/6-6/8
1985 (4)	8/16-8/19,9/13-9/16,11/1-11/4,12/6-12/9
1986 (5)	5/16-5/19,6/6-6/9,8/8-8/11,9/12-9/15,12/5-12/8
1987 (5)	3/6-3/9,6/5-6/8,8/7-8/10,10/23-10/26,12/4-12/7
1988 (10)	1/22-1/25,3/4-3/7,4/8-4/11,6/10-6/13,6/24-6/27, 7/15-7/18,8/19-8/22,9/25-10/1,10/21-10/24,12/27-12/29
1989 (1)	11/2-11/5
1990 (9)	3/15-3/18,3/16-3/29,4/19-4/22,5/17-5/20,6/7-6/10, 6/15-6/17,7/6-7/8,7/9-7/15,8/3-8/4
1991 (12)	7/11-7/14,8/19,9/5-9/8,9/13-9/15,10/3-10/6,10/10-10/13, 10/17-10/20,10/31-11/3,11/7-11/10,11/14-11/17,12/5-12/8,12/12-12/15
1992 (1)	1/31-2/2
1994 (2)	9/20-9/21,10/18-10/19
1996 (6)	3/1-4/14, 4/23-4/25,8/16-8/18,9/14-9/16,9/17-19,10/21-10/24
1997 (1)	4/18-4/20
1998 (4)	8/7-8/8,8/21-8/22,9/10,9/12-9/15
1999 (6)	1/8-1/10,3/19-3/21,4/26-4/27,5/23-5/24,9/29-10/3,11/18-11/21
2000 (3)	5/18-5/21,8/29-9/5,9/29-10/5
2001 (9)	2/1-2/4,3/5-3/7,4/6-4/8,6/11-6/17,7/19-7/22 8/16-8/19,10/11-10/14,11/8-11/11,12/6-12/9
2002 (14)	2/4-2/6,3/1-3/2,3/4-3/7,4/8-4/11,5/6-5/9, 6/3-6/6,6/17-6/19,7/9-7/11,8/5-8/8,9/5-9/8, 10/14-10/17,10/21-10/22,11/11-11/14,12/5-12/8
2003 (13)	1/13-1/16,2/3-2/6,3/3-3/5,3/20-3/24,4/4-4/5,4/7-4/9,5/5-5/7, 7/7-7/9,9/8-9/10,10/6-10/8,11/3-11/5,12/5-12/7,12/11-12/14
2004 (12)	1/12-1/15,2/9-2/12,3/8-3/11,4/5-4/8,5/2-5/4,7/8-7/11 7/30-7/31,8/9-8/11,9/13-9/15,10/11-10/14,11/7-11/10,12/5-12/8
2005 (12)	1/3-1/5,2/2-2/6,2/7-2/10,3/7-3/10,4/2-4/5,4/4-4/7, 7/7-7/10,8/8-8/11,9/12-9/15,10/13-10/16,11/7-11/10,12/5-12/8
2006 (12)	1/9-1/12,2/6-2/9,3/13-3/16,4/10-4/13,5/8-5/11,6/9-6/11, 7/6-7/9,8/7-8/10,9/7-9/10,10/9-10/12,11/9-11/12,12/11-12/14
2007 (3)	1/15-1/18,2/1-2/4,3/11-3/14
2009 (10)	1/21-1/23,2/19-2/21,2/21-2/23,2/24-2/26,3/13-3/15, 6/5-6/7,6/16-6/19,7/10-7/12,10/1-10/4,10/16-10/19

Gallup polls listed at http://web.archive.org/web/20130731125534/http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/data_access/data/presidential_approval.html in June 2017 that do not have usable micro data in the Roper Center archive.

Table A.4: No. of Obs. (Surveys) with Party Identification by Quarter

Quarter	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
1	6,276 (4)	6,131 (4)	7,443 (5)	8,918 (5)	6,154 (4)	7,710 (5)	4,592 (3)	5,049 (3)	6,502 (3)	7,736 (3)
2	4,623 (3)	5,747 (4)	6,084 (4)	7,975 (4)	7,761 (5)	4,547 (3)	6,292 (4)	7,351 (4)	12,591 (5)	9,215 (4)
3	6,224 (4)	7,727 (5)	5,848 (4)	10,714 (5)	6,131 (4)	7,616 (5)	7,005 (3)	14,752 (7)	6,763 (3)	6,875 (3)
4	5,987 (4)	4,468 (3)	6,051 (4)	8,944 (5)	4,532 (3)	4,514 (3)	7,422 (4)	6,497 (3)	6,128 (3)	8,014 (3)
	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
1	6,889 (3)	15,263 (6)	9,452 (5)	12,977 (5)	6,205 (3)	4,503 (3)	7,675 (5)	9,281 (6)	4,634 (3)	6,046 (4)
2	10,626 (5)	15,555 (6)	11,204 (5)	10,144 (4)	12,200 (5)	7,653 (5)	7,701 (5)	10,730 (7)	9,570 (6)	11,086 (7)
3	5,605 (3)	10,842 (4)	10,566 (4)	8,925 (4)	9,932 (4)	7,563 (5)	7,810 (5)	7,544 (5)	4,613 (3)	6,029 (4)
4	11,162 (5)	9,482 (4)	9,586 (4)	9,760 (4)	6,365 (4)	4,632 (3)	9,318 (6)	6,194 (4)	6,156 (4)	4,482 (3)
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
1	6,145 (4)	11,015 (7)	9,307 (6)	12,404 (8)	10,770 (7)	9,233 (6)	10,721 (7)	9,527 (6)	6,339 (4)	6,121 (4)
2	9,281 (6)	11,739 (9)	7,912 (5)	10,286 (7)	13,726 (9)	10,712 (7)	10,669 (7)	10,939 (7)	10,712 (7)	10,838 (7)
3	7,609 (5)	7,816 (5)	7,755 (5)	6,198 (4)	7,564 (5)	13,969 (8)	10,903 (7)	6,288 (4)	7,699 (5)	7,580 (5)
4	9,383 (6)	7,823 (5)	9,213 (6)	7,715 (5)	10,609 (7)	6,193 (4)	9,226 (6)	6,249 (4)	7,666 (5)	6,123 (4)
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
1	7,742 (5)	6,231 (4)	8,964 (7)	3,711 (4)	5,974 (7)	4,931 (5)	6,907 (6)	7,591 (7)	21,124 (23)	10,212 (10)
2	10,701 (7)	7,340 (6)	10,055 (8)	5,626 (5)	9,818 (6)	4,032 (2)	14,214 (15)	7,972 (9)	11,735 (12)	11,303 (10)
3	10,774 (7)	10,848 (7)	7,023 (6)	4,657 (5)	5,523 (6)	3,031 (3)	9,178 (9)	17,293 (17)	9,876 (9)	6,622 (6)
4	6,066 (4)	6,052 (4)	3,136 (3)	7,907 (7)	7,170 (8)	7,256 (6)	8,027 (8)	16,956 (17)	2,786 (3)	7,179 (9)
	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
1	14,693 (17)	12,385 (13)	7,021 (7)	6,076 (6)	8,794 (9)	10,620 (12)	12,990 (14)	12,331 (11)	7,606 (8)	6,705 (7)
2	11,268 (12)	11,378 (11)	9,624 (10)	11,493 (11)	5,000 (5)	4,697 (5)	12,493 (12)	8,396 (9)	6,804 (7)	9,994 (11)
3	12,917 (14)	8,996 (9)	13,881 (14)	19,785 (32)	7,974 (8)	14,205 (17)	8,954 (8)	19,193 (35)	6,464 (7)	8,442 (9)
4	10,776 (11)	10,742 (10)	8,514 (9)	29,048 (39)	6,510 (7)	17,912 (19)	6,731 (7)	38,223 (48)	4,881 (5)	7,779 (7)
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
1	14,779 (16)	7,053 (7)	8,190 (9)	5,030 (5)	5,030 (5)	11,134 (8)	33,682 (28)	19,218 (17)	20,749 (18)	16,377 (14)
2	8,767 (10)	5,013 (5)	8,959 (9)	6,841 (7)	6,042 (6)	7,532 (7)	23,239 (21)	16,393 (16)	11,871 (12)	19,332 (15)
3	4,021 (4)	6,220 (6)	9,722 (11)	4,016 (4)	6,084 (6)	17,132 (16)	17,809 (14)	13,909 (12)	11,447 (11)	16,103 (15)
4	6,686 (7)	9,053 (8)	10,194 (12)	4,534 (4)	7,101 (7)	17,470 (15)	11,202 (10)	12,426 (9)	16,142 (14)	19,535 (19)

Table A.5: No. of Obs. (Surveys) with Ideology by Quarter

Quarter	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
1	4859 (4)	3011 (3)	6098 (6)	4030 (4)	5028 (5)	4106 (4)	7973 (8)	9790 (10)	12331 (11)	6945 (7)	6705 (7)
2	5593 (5)	6280 (7)	4254 (4)	4830 (5)	6039 (6)	3970 (4)	4031 (4)	11313 (10)	7172 (7)	5696 (6)	9994 (11)
3	3180 (3)	5885 (6)	3034 (3)	7071 (7)	16716 (29)	2837 (3)	7839 (8)	8946 (8)	20504 (37)	5069 (5)	8442 (9)
4	0 0	6289 (6)	8078 (7)	3160 (3)	27050 (37)	5911 (6)	10650 (12)	6070 (6)	35104 (44)	4881 (5)	7779 (7)
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
1	12063 (12)	7053 (7)	5943 (6)	5030 (5)	5030 (5)	11134 (8)	33682 (28)	14239 (17)	15489 (18)	16377 (14)	
2	7750 (8)	5013 (5)	8959 (9)	6032 (6)	6042 (6)	7532 (7)	23239 (21)	14424 (16)	8992 (11)	17395 (15)	
3	4021 (4)	5551 (5)	8489 (9)	4016 (4)	6084 (6)	17132 (16)	15826 (14)	12937 (12)	10188 (11)	15147 (15)	
4	6022 (6)	8613 (7)	10194 (12)	4534 (4)	7101 (7)	17470 (15)	10215 (10)	12426 (9)	13356 (14)	19071 (19)	

lected information about respondents' gender, race and ethnicity, age, marital status, employment status, religion and education. We also collected information about household income, what industry the household's chief wage earner works in, and whether someone in the household belongs to a union. Finally, we collected information about the state of residence and the community in which the respondent resides. Unfortunately, not all of these variables are contained in every survey we coded. To provide a general sense of when we observe different variables, Table A.8 presents the percentage of responses in which we observe a given variable by presidential term.

Finally, Table A.9 presents the variables we collected about the survey design. Most Gallup polls are designed to be a nationally representative sample of the voting-age population in the United States. To deal with the fact that some types of individuals within this population are more likely to respond than others, Gallup has used weights since it abandoned quota sampling in the aftermath of incorrectly predicting the 1948 presidential election. How these weights are represented in the raw data has varied over time. In earlier years, observations were duplicated in the raw data in proportion to their weight (e.g., an observation with a weight of three would be placed in the dataset three times). In later years, sample weights were provided with each observations. We construct a common weighting variable, `final_weight`, to use across all of the surveys; it has an average value of one within each survey. Occasionally Gallup purposely oversampled a particular

Table A.6: Description of Respondents' Characteristics and Locality Variable Codings

Variable	Variable Name	Coding
Gender:		
Male	male	Yes = 1, No = 0
Female	female	Yes = 1, No = 0
Race and Ethnicity:		
White	white	Yes = 1, No = 0
Black	black	Yes = 1, No = 0
Hispanic	hispanic	Yes = 1, No = 0
Age	age	18 to 99
Married	married	Yes = 1, No = 0
Household Income:		
Minimum Value	lower_bound_income	Dollars
Maximum Value	upper_bound_income	Dollars
		(Top Coded = -1)
No Response	missing_income	Yes = 1, No = 0
Union Household	unionHH	Yes = 1, No = 0
State of Residence	state	Gallup State Code
Place of Residence:		
Minimum City Size	lower_bound_citysize	Population
Maximum City Size	upper_bound_citysize	Population
Lives on Farm	farm	Yes = 1, No = 0
Near City of Pop. 100,000+	near100k	Yes = 1, No = 0
Suburbs in City Size	andsub	Yes = 1, No = 0
Area Code	area	201 to 999
Congressional District	cd	1 to 53

Notes: -9 indicates missing value, -99 indicates variable not included in series.

Table A.7: Description of Labor Market, Religion, and Education Variable Codings

Variable	Variable Name	Coding
Employed	employment	Full Time = 1
		Part Time = 2
		Not Employed = 3
Industry of Chief Wage Earner	industry	Farmer = 1
		Business = 2
		Clerical = 3
		Sales = 4
		Skilled = 5
		Unskilled = 6
		Service = 7
		Professional = 8
		Farm Laborer = 9
		Non-Farm Laborer = 10
		Non-Labor Force = 11
Other = 12		
Religion	religion	Protestant = 1
		Catholic = 2
		Jewish = 3
		Other = 4
Education	education	Not High School Graduate = 1
		High School Graduate = 2
		Technical College = 3
		Some College = 4
		College Graduate = 5

Notes: -9 indicates missing value, -99 indicates variable not included in series.

Table A.8: Variables Observed by Presidency

	IKE	JFK & LBJ	Nixon & Ford	Carter	Ronald Reagan	G.H.W. Bush	Bill Clinton	G.W. Bush	Barack Obama
Presidential Approval:									
Job as President	90%	91	77	90	91	83	69	83	77
Handling of Economy	0	0	0	1	28	1	15	22	8
Handling of Foreign Affairs	0	0	0	4	26	2	15	18	6
Partisan Identification:									
Consider Yourself	100	99	100	99	100	90	99	100	100
Lean More to	58	4	6	5	36	49	94	97	100
Ideology	0	0	0	0	0	7	70	95	90
Gender	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Race	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	46	38	91	100	100
Age	96	99	98	99	99	99	99	99	98
Education	99	100	100	100	100	99	99	99	99
Married	1	4	21	52	79	54	32	51	98
Religion	76	97	98	94	81	61	17	50	93
Union Household	63	37	82	51	75	21	8	8	3
Employment	0	0	1	48	72	50	27	12	81
Industry of Chief Wage Earner	96	99	99	98	73	21	12	0	0
Income	3	98	99	100	84	80	91	94	99
State of Residence	98	97	100	100	98	99	99	100	100
Area Code	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	85	36
Congressional District	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	75	0
City Size	85	97	100	96	89	21	12	0	0

Table A.9: Description of Survey Variable Codings

Variable	Variable Name	Coding
Weighting:		
Final Weight	final_weight	Average Value = 1
Sample Weight	weight	0 to 999
Times at Home	times	0 to 9
Duplicate Obs. in Raw Data	duplicates	0 to 26
Oversampled Group (if any)	oversampled	literal
Unrepresentative Political Variable (if any)	drops	literal
Survey Info:		
Survey Code	series	Name of Series
Observation Number	obs_num	Order in Raw Data
Start Date	start_date	First Date in Field
End Date	end_date	Last Date in Field
Survey Sponsor	survey	Gallup (In-Person) = 1 Gallup (Telephone) = 2 <i>Newsweek</i> = 3 <i>CNN/USA Today</i> = 4 <i>Times Mirror</i> = 5 UBS = 6 Other = 7

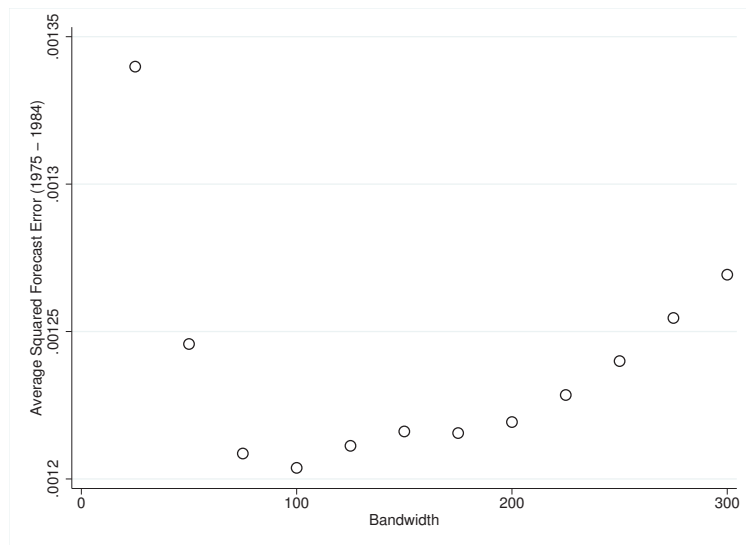
Notes: -9 indicates missing value, -99 indicates variable not included in series.

group (e.g., African-Americans, State of the Union viewers). In such cases, we note whether our weighting variable is able to reconstruct a representative sample. Finally, we code information about the survey mode and the sponsor of the survey.

7.2 Cross Validation

We use a leave-one-out cross validation procedure to select a bandwidth on the Epanechnikov kernel function used to create a smoothed average of partisanship by date in Gallup data. The cross-validation procedure is based on minimizing the mean squared difference between the actual and predicted values of four different quantities in the 232 surveys conducted between 1975 and 1984, when the partisan gender gap was growing the fastest. We construct the average partisanship level of males who graduated from college, females who graduated from college, males who did not graduate from college, and females who did not graduate from college. For each of the 232 surveys, we construct a predicted value for each of these four quantities at time t_s using data from all of the applicable surveys weighted with an Epanechnikov kernel function with a variety of bandwidths, excluding the survey conducted at time t_s . We then construct the mean squared difference between the actual value and the predicted value of all four quantities at time t_s . As Figure A.1 shows, a bandwidth of 100 days minimizes the average mean squared difference between the actual and predicted values of the four quantities over the 232 surveys.

Figure A.1: Leave-One-Out Cross Validation of Bandwidth



7.3 Checking for Structural Breaks

We look for any periods of rapid change in the partisan gender gap using Equation 2, which is a standard parametric specification that tests for discontinuous changes in an outcome before and after time t , with θ capturing the discontinuous change in gender gap among those survey after time t (Imbens and Lemieux, 2008). The change in the gender gap from an additional year passing prior to time t and after time t is captured by δ and $\delta + \gamma$, respectively. Thus, $\delta + \gamma + \theta$ capture the total change in the gender gap between year t and year $t + 1$. To increase the plausibility of the assumption that the effect of time on partisanship is locally linear, the sample is restricted to only include surveys such that t_s is within four years of t when estimating Equation 2.

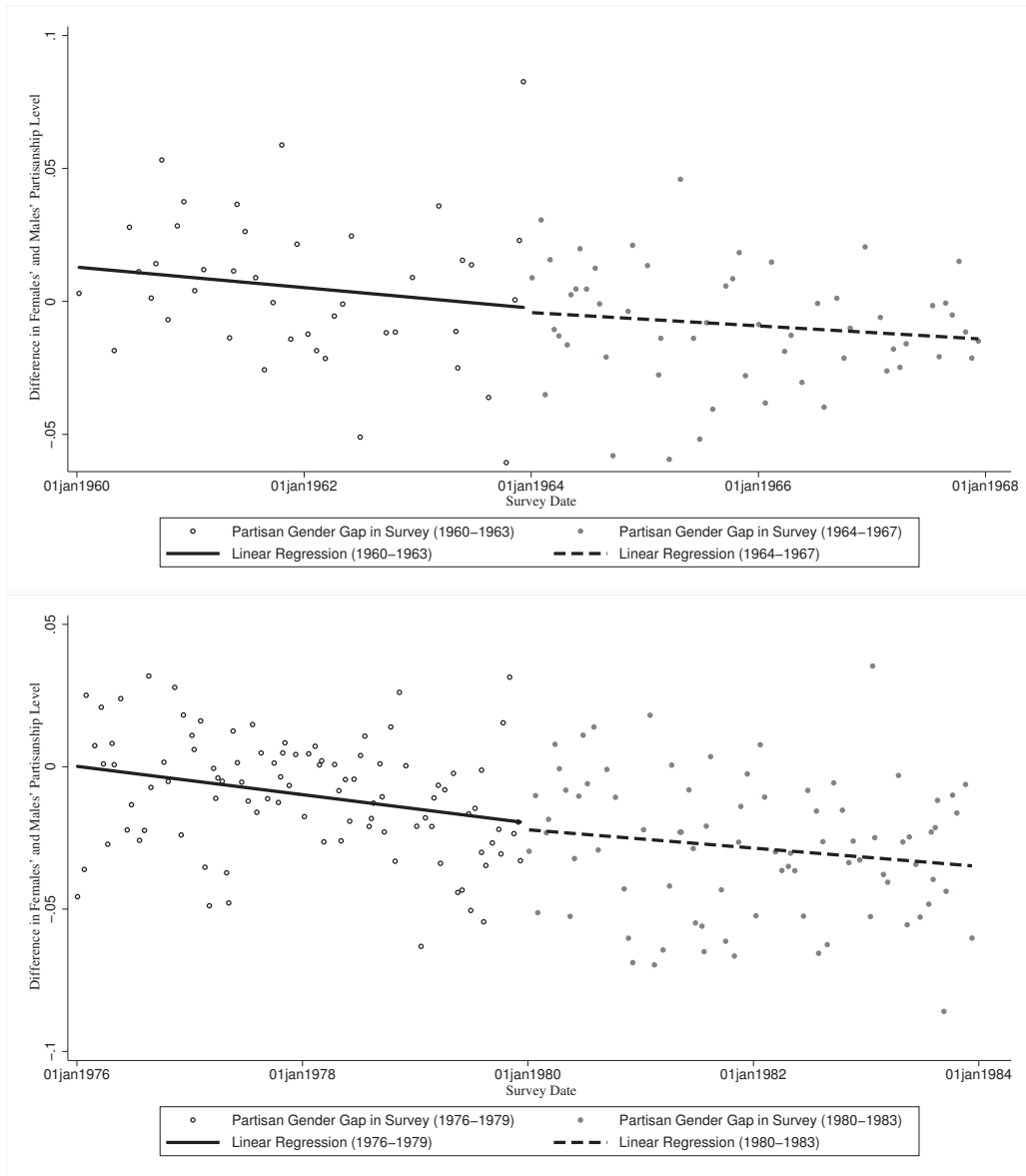
$$\overline{Prtnshp_{s,m\acute{e}n}} - \overline{Prtnshp_{s,women}} = \alpha + \delta(t_s - t) + \gamma(t_s - t)\mathbb{1}(t_s > t) + \theta\mathbb{1}(t_s > t) + \epsilon_s \quad (2)$$

Figure A.2 illustrates the fitted values from estimating Equation 2 before and after 1964 and 1980. The figure shows the level and trajectory of the gender gap appears to be quite similar before and after the 1964 and 1980 presidential campaigns.

Table A.10 presents estimates of Equation 2 with t equal to January 1 of every president election year between 1960 and 1992 using Gallup in-person survey data. Column 5 shows that rate at which the partisan gender gap was growing significantly increased in 1976. This suggests that much of the growth in the partisan gender gap between 1976 and 1980 occurred prior to Ronald Reagan’s 1980 presidential campaign. However, some caution needs to be applied to this conclusion, as we would expect one out of every twenty regressions to estimate a significant ($p < .05$) change even if there was no change in the evolution of the partisan gender gap before and after the presidential election year. We cannot reject the null of no difference in the trend before and after the presidential election for the other eight presidential election years between 1960 and 1992.

Table A.11 presents similar estimates with t equal to January 1 of every president election year between 1992 and 2008 using Gallup Phone survey data. The first two columns suggest some instability in the dynamics of the partisan gender gap in the 1990s, as the partisan gender gap

Figure A.2: Changes in Partisan Gender Gap near 1964 and 1980 Elections (Gallup)



Notes: Lines represent the best linear fit of the difference in men's and women's partisanship level in polls from 1960-1963 and 1964-1967 (top figure) and 1976-1979 and 1980-1983 (bottom figure).

Table A.10: Changes in Partisan Gender Gap Near Presidential Election Years (Gallup In Person)

Date of Structural Break	(1) 1/1/60	(2) 1/1/64	(3) 1/1/68	(4) 1/1/72	(5) 1/1/76	(6) 1/1/80	(7) 1/1/84	(8) 1/1/88	(9) 1/1/92
Constant (α)	0.016 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.012)	-0.014 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.006)	0.002 (0.004)	-0.020 (0.004)	-0.035 (0.005)	-0.039 (0.014)	-0.031 (0.011)
Survey Date (δ)	-0.003 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.013)	-0.001 (0.008)	0.000 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.007)	0.009 (0.008)	-0.016 (0.018)	-0.005 (0.015)
Survey After Structural Break (θ)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.005 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)
Survey Date X	-0.002 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)	0.005 (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)	-0.007 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.000 (0.005)	0.009 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)
Survey After Structural Break (γ)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)	0.005 (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)	-0.007 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.000 (0.005)	0.009 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)
p-value on $H_o : \theta = \gamma = 0$	0.840	0.896	0.365	0.998	0.026	0.805	0.523	0.255	0.654
N	106	97	128	158	182	179	118	73	74

Notes: Each column represents a separate regression of Equation 2 based on the specified date of a structural break. Regressions include all polls conducted within four years of the specified data. Robust standard errors reported in parentheses.

Table A.11: Changes in Partisan Gender Gap Near Presidential Election Years (Gallup Phone)

Date of Structural Break	(1) 1/1/92	(2) 1/1/96	(3) 1/1/00	(4) 1/1/04	(5) 1/1/08
Constant (α)	-0.056 (0.005)	-0.078 (0.005)	-0.063 (0.004)	-0.069 (0.005)	-0.064 (0.006)
Survey Date (δ)	0.013 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.008 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.007)
Survey After Structural Break (θ)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.009 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.003)
Survey Date X	-0.005	0.011	-0.003	0.000	0.004
Survey After Structural Break (γ)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
p-value on $H_o : \theta = \gamma = 0$	0.032	0.001	0.522	0.539	0.491
N	247	329	333	249	333

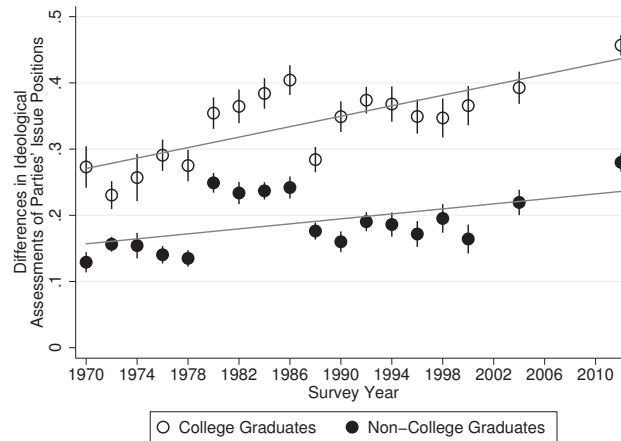
Notes: Each column represents a separate regression of Equation 2 based on the specified date of a structural break. Regressions include all polls conducted within four years of the specified data. Robust standard errors reported in parentheses.

began contracting somewhat in the late 1990s.

7.4 Polarization Across Time

Another potential explanation for the increased assessments of polarization displayed in Figure 3 is that ANES started asking respondents about the parties positions on more polarizing issues during the 1980s. To rule out this explanation, Figure A.3 shows the evolution of polarization over time after we control for differences in issues on which respondents were surveyed. We construct this graph by regressing the difference in assessments of the Republican and Democratic issue positions on a set of issue fixed effects and a set of year dummy variables separately for college graduates and non-college graduates. The year fixed effects are identified in this regression by variation over years in assessments of polarization on the same issue position questions. We added the estimated year fixed effect to the averaged estimated issue-position fixed effects to construct a measure of polarization in a given year for a given educational group. The trends in Figure A.3 are similar, although slightly smoother, to what were observed in Figure 3 when we did not control for differences in the issues on which respondents were surveyed over time.

Figure A.3: Assessments of Polarization in the Parties' Issue Positions Holding Issues Constant (ANES 1970 - 2000, 2004, 2012)



Notes: The dependent variable is the mean difference in respondents' assessments of the average conservatism of the Republican Party's and Democratic Party's positions on all available issues. A value of zero corresponds to an assessment that the issue positions of both parties were equally conservative, while a value of one corresponds to an assessment that the Republican Party's positions were maximally conservative and the Democratic Party's positions were maximally liberal. Black vertical lines indicate the 95% confidence interval on the point estimate in a given year. Grey lines indicate linear trends on point estimates over time.

7.5 Leaners

Because Gallup does not always follow up with Independents about their leanings, our baseline specification treats partisan leaners as Independents. In some years of the ANES, grouping leaners with Independents reduces the size of the partisan gender gap (Norrander, 1999, 571). Thus, it is important to examine the robustness of the partisan gender gap in Gallup data to alternative treatments of Independents.

Figure A.4 presents the evolution of the partisan gender gap separately for Republicans and Independents. We observe that when the partisan gender gap first emerged during the 1980s, men and women were equally likely to identify as Republicans in Gallup data. The partisan gender gap emerged because men were more likely to identify as Independents, and less likely to identify as Democrats, than women. Since the 1990s, men have been slightly more likely to identify as Republicans than women. But the largest difference between men and women still remains that men are more likely to identify and Independents, less likely to identify as Democrats, than women.

Table A.12 examines how estimates of the partisan gender gap change when Independent leaners are classified as partisans on in-person Gallup surveys that followed up with Independents about their leanings. The partisan gender gap is generally larger when leaners are classified as partisans, and this pattern is more pronounced among college graduates. This suggests that our key findings about when the partisan gender gap emerged and the presence of educational heterogeneity in the magnitude of the partisan gender gap would hold if we were able to classify Independent leaners as partisans in the full sample.

Figure A.4: Locally Weighted Average of Partisanship by Gender in Gallup Surveys

A20

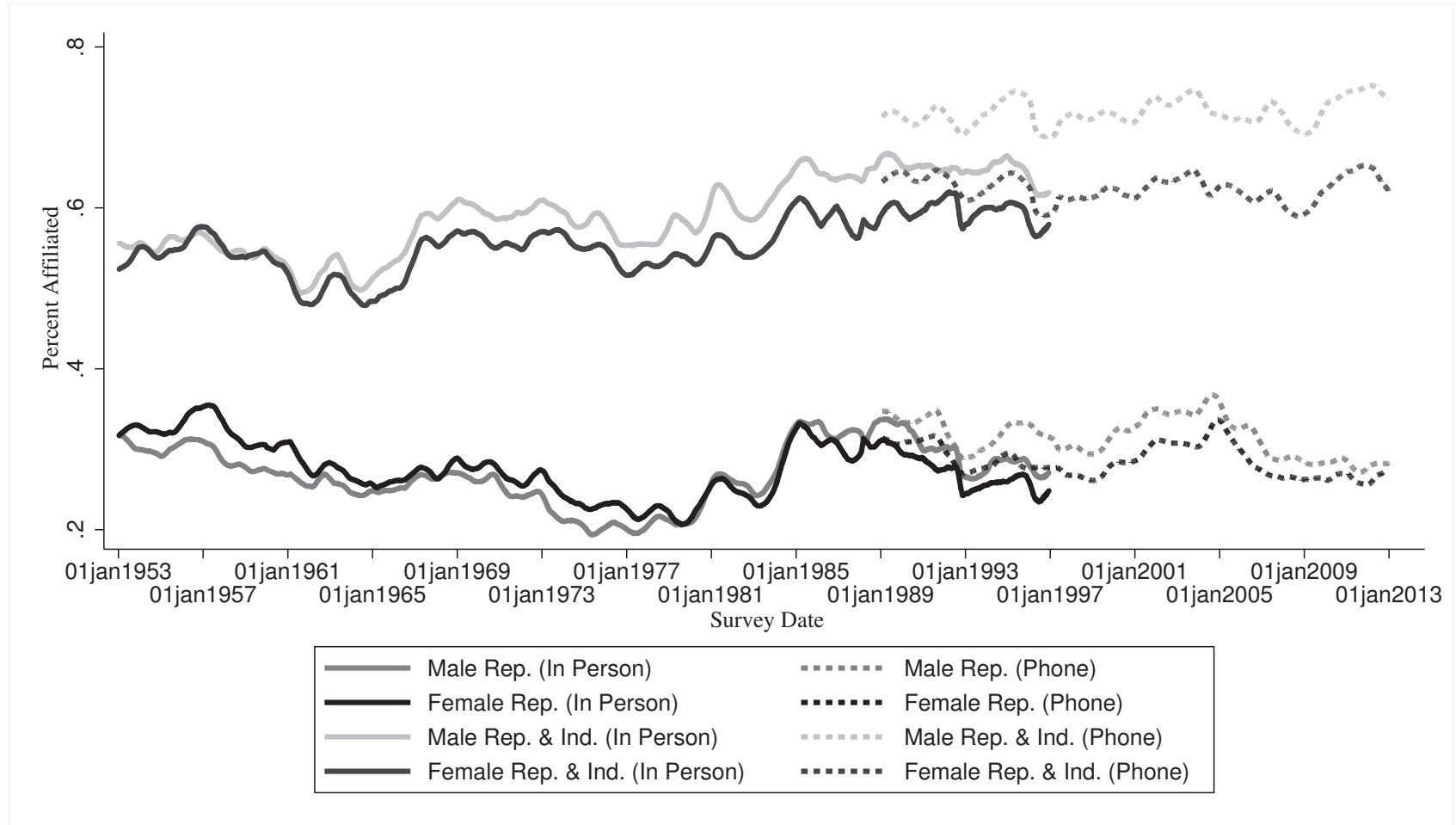


Table A.12: Leaners and Education Heterogeneity in the Partisan Gender Gap (Gallup In Person)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Year of Survey	53-56	57-60	61-64	65-68	69-72	73-76	77-80	81-84	85-88	89-92	93-96
N	105506	10556	10338	0	0	13863	7856	13760	31354	32337	45246
Classify Leaners as Independents											
College Graduates	0.013 (0.010)	0.007 (0.020)	0.045 (0.027)			0.011 (0.018)	-0.061 (0.024)	-0.091 (0.017)	-0.079 (0.010)	-0.077 (0.010)	-0.073 (0.008)
Non-College Graduates	0.012 (0.003)	0.021 (0.006)	0.008 (0.009)			0.005 (0.007)	0.010 (0.010)	-0.032 (0.008)	-0.012 (0.005)	-0.018 (0.005)	-0.023 (0.004)
Difference	0.000 (0.010)	-0.014 (0.021)	0.037 (0.028)			0.006 (0.019)	-0.070 (0.026)	-0.059 (0.018)	-0.067 (0.012)	-0.059 (0.011)	-0.051 (0.009)
Classify Leaners as Partisans											
College Graduates	0.008 (0.011)	-0.016 (0.022)	0.051 (0.029)			0.025 (0.020)	-0.102 (0.027)	-0.120 (0.019)	-0.104 (0.012)	-0.105 (0.011)	-0.098 (0.009)
Non-College Graduates	0.016 (0.003)	0.024 (0.007)	0.008 (0.009)			0.014 (0.008)	0.008 (0.011)	-0.035 (0.009)	-0.019 (0.006)	-0.022 (0.006)	-0.027 (0.005)
Difference	-0.008 (0.011)	-0.040 (0.023)	0.044 (0.030)			0.012 (0.022)	-0.110 (0.029)	-0.086 (0.021)	-0.085 (0.013)	-0.083 (0.012)	-0.071 (0.010)

Notes: Cells report estimate and standard error on the partisan gender gap by education level implied from a regression that includes a female dummy, a college graduate dummy, the interaction between the female dummy and the college graduate dummy, and survey fixed effects. The sample is restricted only to those surveys that ask Independents about whether they lean towards a party. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.

7.6 Gender Differences in Policy Preferences

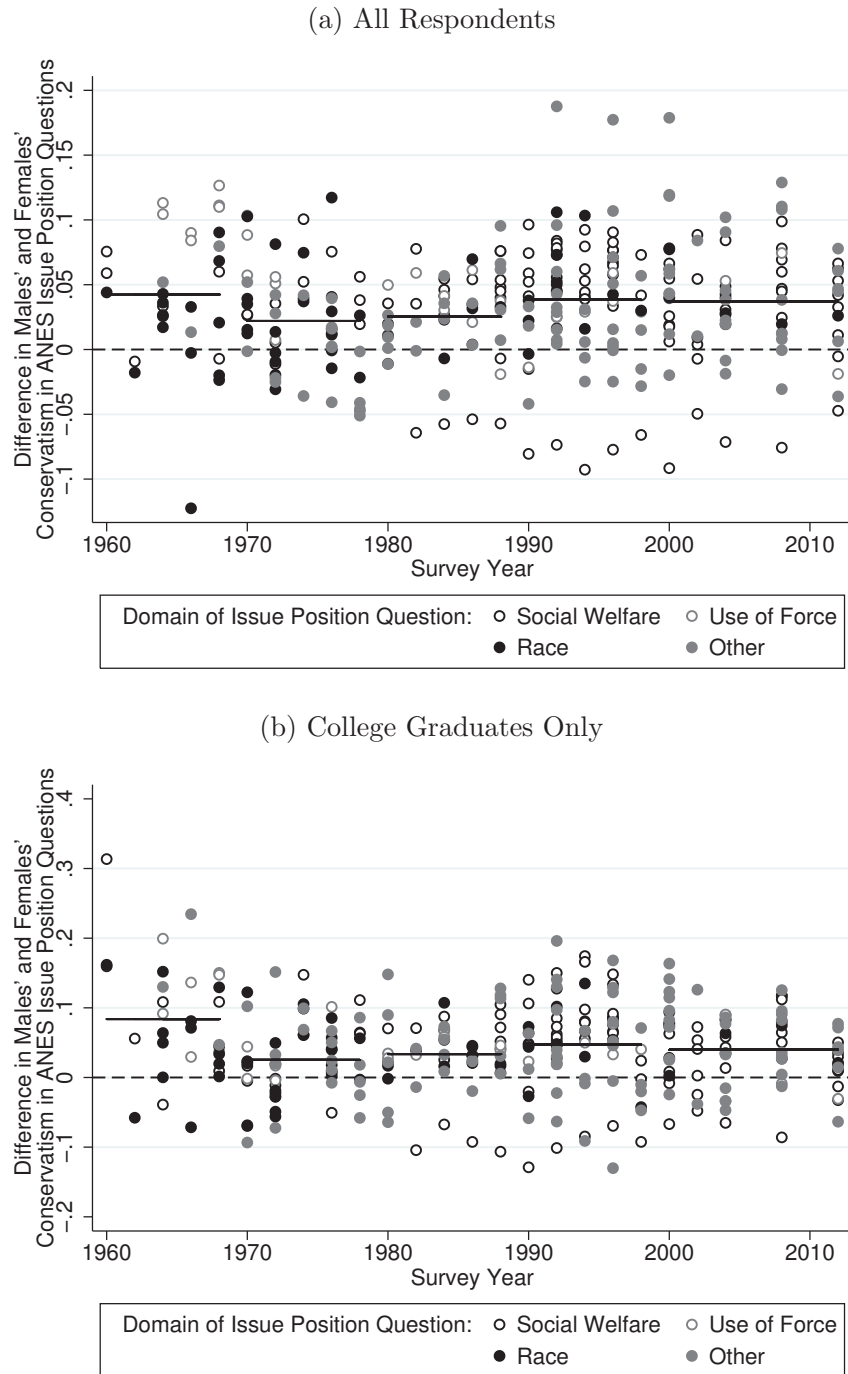
Figure A.5 presents a plot of the gender gap on all issue position questions contained in the cumulative ANES dataset over time. To construct the gender gap on each issue position question, we rescale a respondent's issue preference to run from 0 (most liberal) to 1 (most conservative). We construct the sample average by gender on each issue position question by aggregating the responses of all respondents of each gender, weighting by the survey weight. Each circle in Figure A.5 corresponds to the difference in the average conservatism of men and women on a given issue position question. The solid horizontal lines represent the average of the gender difference in that decade.

The top panel in Figure A.5 shows the dynamics of the issue preference gender gap over time. There are substantial policy preference differences between men and women that pre-date the emergence of the modern partisan gender gap. If anything, the issue preference gender gap was smaller in the 1970s and 1980s, when the partisan gender gap first emerged, than in the 1960s, 1990s, or 2000s.

While Figure A.5 shows that the gender preference gap didn't increase before or concurrently with the partisan gender gap, it remains possible that changing preferences on a few key issues caused the partisan gender gap to emerge. To investigate this, Table A.21 in the Appendix disaggregates the data presented in Figure A.5 by issue area. Columns 2, 3, and 4 show that the gender gap in issue preferences either declined or remained constant on social welfare, use of force, and racial issues, respectively, between the 1960s and 1980s.

The dynamics in the 1990s and 2000s varied more by issue areas. The gender gap grew on racial issues, remained relatively similar on social welfare issues, and decline somewhat on issues related to the use of force. Columns 5-7 of Table A.21 support previous work arguing that gender differences in preferences on "women's issues" were unlikely to have caused the emergence of the partisan gender gap. Women hold more conservative views than men on gender roles during the 1970s and 1980s and on the ERA during the 1970s. And while men did hold slightly more conservative views on abortion, the difference is small and declining over time. Possibly as a result

Figure A.5: Issue Preference Gender Gap Across Time (ANES)



Notes: This figure shows the difference between men’s average conservatism and women’s average conservatism on all available issue positions in the ANES cumulative file for that given year. Survey weights are applied when constructing a gender’s average issue position on a given issue position question. Each issue position is rescaled so that 0 is the most liberal response and 1 is the most conservative response. The solid black horizontal lines denote the average gender gap on all of the issue position questions asked in that decade.

of the clearer ideological choices offered by the two parties as a result of polarization, men's and women's ideological self-labels became steadily more distinct over this period. Consistent with Norrander and Wilcox (2008), Column 8 of Table A.21 shows that the gender gap in ideology more than doubles between the 1970s and 1990s, from 0.010 (std. err. = 0.004) to 0.026 (std. err. = 0.004).

Finally, because some scholars argue that growing gender differences in economic vulnerability were a cause of the partisan gender gap's emergence, columns 9 and 10 of Table A.21 look at gender differences over time in perceptions of personal finances in the current year and expectations for next year. There are indeed large gender differences in all five decades, but only ambiguous evidence that the differences are growing over time.

Although it does not appear that changing preferences caused the emergence of the partisan gender gap in the general population, it could be that changing preferences caused the earlier emergence of the partisan gender gap among the highly educated. However, the bottom panel in Figure A.5 suggests that this is unlikely to be the case. Much like in the broader population, the issue preference gender gap among the college educated was smaller in the 1970s and 1980s than in the 1960s, 1990s, and 2000s. Moreover, Table A.22 in the Appendix shows that, with a couple of exceptions, the gender gap in specific issue preferences was similar among college graduates as in the general population. The exception was on gender roles and the ERA. On these issues, college educated men were more conservative than college educated women, while non-college educated men were more liberal than non-college educated women. Thus, it is possible that these issues becoming more prominent is partially responsible for the partisan gender gap emerging earlier, and remaining larger, among college graduates. However, there are two reasons why we don't think this dynamic explains that much of the partisan gender gap's emergence. First, we found little association between gender role preferences and partisan identification when the partisan gender gap was emerging among college graduates. Second, the parties did not completely differentiate on the ERA until the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the partisan gender gap was already well established.

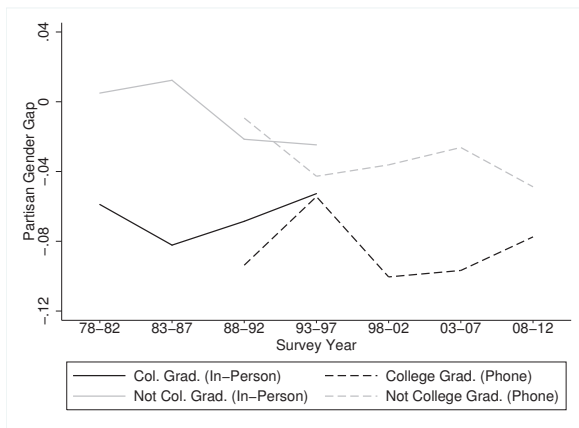
Table A.13: Partisan Gender Gap by Birth Cohort, Educational Attainment, and Survey Mode Over Time (Gallup)

Survey Mode	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	1920s		1930s		1940s		1950s		1960s	
	In-Person	Phone	In-Person	Phone	In-Person	Phone	In-Person	Phone	In-Person	Phone
Survey Year:										
College Graduates										
1978-1982	-0.059 (0.016)		-0.032 (0.015)		-0.059 (0.010)		-0.062 (0.011)			
1983-1987	-0.082 (0.021)		-0.086 (0.019)		-0.076 (0.013)		-0.070 (0.012)			
1988-1992	-0.069 (0.030)	-0.094 (0.014)	-0.086 (0.029)	-0.046 (0.013)	-0.077 (0.021)	-0.089 (0.009)	-0.075 (0.018)	-0.085 (0.008)	-0.090 (0.029)	-0.102 (0.011)
1993-1997	-0.053 (0.029)	-0.054 (0.014)	-0.117 (0.027)	-0.080 (0.012)	-0.066 (0.019)	-0.089 (0.008)	-0.076 (0.016)	-0.101 (0.007)	-0.064 (0.018)	-0.109 (0.008)
1998-2002		-0.100 (0.013)		-0.115 (0.010)		-0.104 (0.007)		-0.107 (0.006)		-0.096 (0.006)
2003-2007		-0.097 (0.015)		-0.092 (0.011)		-0.097 (0.008)		-0.095 (0.007)		-0.098 (0.008)
2008-2012		-0.077 (0.012)		-0.092 (0.008)		-0.104 (0.005)		-0.093 (0.005)		-0.076 (0.006)
Non-College Graduates										
1978-1982	0.005 (0.006)		0.004 (0.006)		-0.004 (0.005)		-0.024 (0.006)			
1983-1987	0.012 (0.009)		0.007 (0.009)		-0.017 (0.008)		-0.032 (0.007)			
1988-1992	-0.022 (0.011)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.009 (0.014)	-0.018 (0.008)	0.004 (0.011)	-0.016 (0.007)	-0.032 (0.011)	-0.034 (0.006)	-0.070 (0.015)	-0.047 (0.007)
1993-1997	-0.025 (0.011)	-0.043 (0.008)	-0.009 (0.013)	-0.028 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.038 (0.007)	-0.025 (0.010)	-0.044 (0.006)	-0.012 (0.011)	-0.070 (0.006)
1998-2002		-0.036 (0.008)		-0.042 (0.007)		-0.042 (0.006)		-0.052 (0.005)		-0.059 (0.005)
2003-2007		-0.026 (0.012)		-0.042 (0.009)		-0.035 (0.008)		-0.056 (0.007)		-0.038 (0.008)
2008-2012		-0.049 (0.009)		-0.044 (0.006)		-0.029 (0.005)		-0.044 (0.005)		-0.045 (0.005)

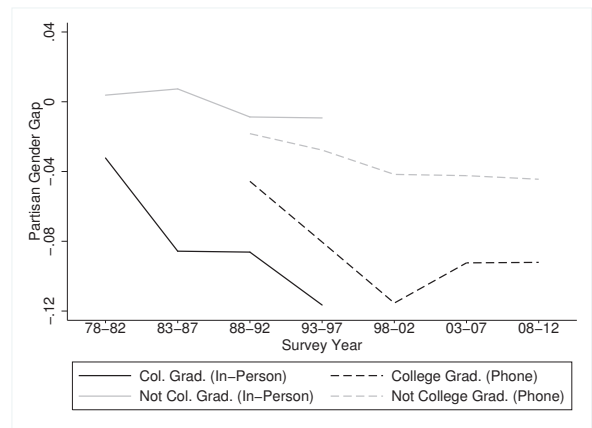
Notes: Each cell presents the estimated regression coefficient when partisanship is regressed on a female dummy variable for the specified birth cohort, education attainment, and survey mode in the given survey years. Sample excludes respondents between ages 18 and 24. Observations are weighted by their sample weight. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.

7.7 Additional Cohort Analysis Using Both In-Person and Phone Respondents

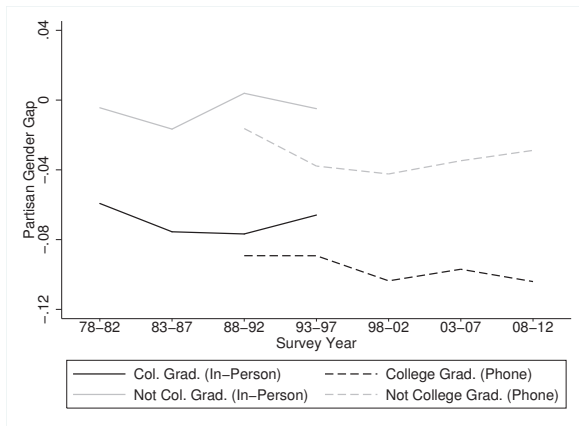
Figure A.6: Comparing Partisan Gender Gap by Birth Cohort in In Person and Phone Surveys (Gallup)



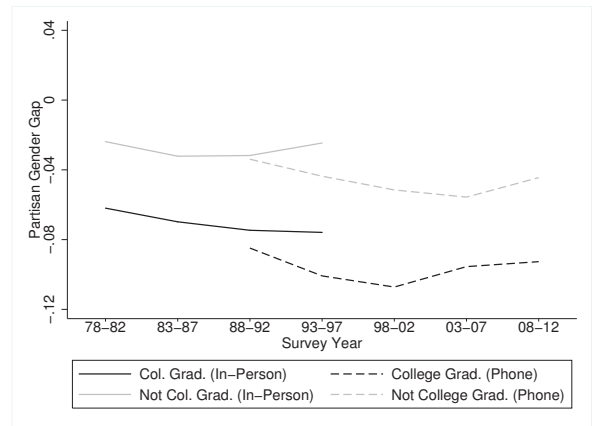
Born 1920s



Born 1930s



Born 1940s



Born 1950s

7.8 Gender Gap Over Time In Different Demographic Categories

Table A.14: Partisan Gender Gap by Age, Race, and Education Across Time (Gallup)

	Age			Black		Education			
	18-39	40-59	60+	Yes	No	No HS Degree	HS Degree	Some College	College Degree
Survey Year:	0.011	0.021	0.023	-0.028	0.013	0.000	0.019	0.026	0.012
1953-1956	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.009)
	[45942]	[40620]	[19981]	[8708]	[100452]	[58950]	[31153]	[9657]	[8566]
	0.013	0.034	0.040	-0.001	0.023	0.019	0.021	0.050	0.012
1957-1960	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.010)
	[40576]	[39691]	[22477]	[10107]	[97818]	[55702]	[32985]	[9515]	[9032]
	-0.010	0.009	0.021	0.006	0.002	0.002	0.011	0.014	-0.004
1961-1964	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.009)
	[55255]	[56428]	[34411]	[15432]	[132252]	[72177]	[47434]	[13848]	[13846]
	-0.026	-0.001	0.000	-0.018	-0.012	-0.019	0.004	0.030	-0.042
1965-1968	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.008)
	[52669]	[53610]	[33344]	[11720]	[129947]	[61132]	[49749]	[15604]	[14828]
	-0.023	-0.004	0.008	-0.010	-0.007	-0.007	0.001	0.008	-0.023
1969-1972	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.008)
	[45790]	[40285]	[26484]	[9083]	[104685]	[41765]	[41808]	[15493]	[14296]
	-0.020	0.003	0.027	-0.015	0.001	0.010	0.010	0.002	-0.035
1973-1976	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.007)
	[59796]	[43056]	[30153]	[14164]	[121749]	[42737]	[51078]	[22179]	[19412]
	-0.020	-0.011	-0.007	-0.011	-0.013	-0.006	0.001	-0.004	-0.048
1977-1980	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)
	[68326]	[44758]	[36528]	[16292]	[134910]	[42594]	[58638]	[26124]	[23503]
	-0.042	-0.020	-0.019	-0.020	-0.031	-0.008	-0.017	-0.030	-0.070
1981-1984	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)
	[55655]	[35595]	[32613]	[13594]	[110887]	[30345]	[48163]	[22403]	[23237]
	-0.048	-0.026	-0.012	-0.022	-0.036	-0.029	-0.005	-0.045	-0.079
1985-1988	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.012)
	[13546]	[9150]	[8698]	[3067]	[28433]	[6690]	[12186]	[5936]	[6542]
	-0.053	-0.035	-0.018	-0.053	-0.036	-0.024	-0.025	-0.033	-0.075
1989-1992	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.011)
	[15158]	[10855]	[10027]	[3528]	[32706]	[6820]	[14144]	[7071]	[7989]
	-0.041	-0.037	-0.029	-0.025	-0.037	-0.006	-0.025	-0.045	-0.073
1993-1996	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.009)
	[17873]	[14106]	[13110]	[5249]	[40141]	[7663]	[18055]	[9075]	[10454]

Notes: Each cell presents the coefficient, standard error, and the number of observations with a given characteristic over the specified time period. The coefficient and standard error are on the interaction between the given characteristic and a female indicator from a regression of partisanship on gender, a set of characteristics that partition the sample, the interaction between gender and a set of characteristics that partition the sample, and a survey fixed effects. Robust standard errors reported in parentheses and the sample size is reported in brackets.

Table A.15: Partisan Gender Gap by Religious, Marital, and Household Union Status (Gallup)

	Religion				Married		Union HH	
	Prst.	Cath.	Jwsh.	Oth.	Yes	No	Yes	No
Survey Year:								
1953-1956	0.021 (0.004) [52510]	-0.004 (0.006) [17439]	-0.055 (0.014) [2421]	0.004 (0.018) [2041]	N/A N/A [0]	N/A N/A [0]	0.017 (0.006) [20595]	0.007 (0.004) [53494]
1957-1960	0.027 (0.004) [62059]	0.008 (0.006) [22138]	-0.080 (0.014) [2942]	0.002 (0.014) [3918]	0.078 (0.028) [1281]	0.022 (0.054) [319]	0.026 (0.007) [16760]	0.013 (0.004) [46040]
1961-1964	0.015 (0.003) [99835]	-0.030 (0.005) [33545]	-0.082 (0.012) [4236]	0.015 (0.012) [6258]	N/A N/A [0]	N/A N/A [0]	-0.015 (0.009) [11530]	-0.008 (0.006) [33778]
1965-1968	-0.002 (0.003) [92449]	-0.032 (0.005) [33630]	-0.068 (0.012) [4052]	-0.006 (0.011) [6239]	0.013 (0.011) [8561]	0.040 (0.021) [2237]	0.002 (0.007) [15511]	-0.020 (0.004) [47646]
1969-1972	-0.002 (0.004) [70515]	-0.023 (0.005) [29240]	-0.063 (0.013) [3059]	-0.014 (0.009) [7819]	-0.012 (0.005) [34713]	-0.001 (0.008) [11136]	0.000 (0.006) [19034]	-0.023 (0.004) [57159]
1973-1976	0.009 (0.003) [80801]	-0.017 (0.004) [36339]	-0.069 (0.013) [3331]	-0.023 (0.007) [13790]	-0.016 (0.016) [3425]	0.013 (0.025) [1218]	0.007 (0.005) [32592]	-0.010 (0.003) [100983]
1977-1980	-0.005 (0.003) [85627]	-0.029 (0.004) [40375]	-0.077 (0.013) [3360]	-0.033 (0.007) [12668]	-0.014 (0.004) [53117]	-0.028 (0.005) [24587]	0.001 (0.006) [17714]	-0.032 (0.004) [57991]
1981-1984	-0.021 (0.004) [68984]	-0.052 (0.005) [33395]	-0.057 (0.015) [2887]	-0.032 (0.007) [14375]	-0.011 (0.003) [83109]	-0.059 (0.004) [41372]	-0.001 (0.006) [24598]	-0.043 (0.003) [91044]
1985-1988	-0.035 (0.007) [18422]	-0.038 (0.010) [8645]	-0.078 (0.035) [707]	-0.031 (0.015) [3394]	-0.013 (0.006) [21378]	-0.069 (0.009) [10119]	-0.020 (0.012) [5973]	-0.042 (0.006) [25094]
1989-1992	-0.042 (0.007) [16779]	-0.051 (0.010) [8728]	-0.055 (0.036) [651]	-0.034 (0.013) [4067]	-0.024 (0.006) [21694]	-0.065 (0.008) [12031]	0.002 (0.012) [5684]	-0.056 (0.006) [26673]
1993-1996	N/A N/A [0]	N/A N/A [0]	N/A N/A [0]	N/A N/A [0]	-0.020 (0.006) [27664]	-0.054 (0.007) [17726]	N/A N/A [0]	N/A N/A [0]

Notes: Each cell presents the coefficient, standard error, and the number of observations with a given characteristic over the specified time period. The coefficient and standard error are on the interaction between the given characteristic and a female indicator from a regression of partisanship on gender, a set of characteristics that partition the sample, the interaction between gender and a set of characteristics that partition the sample, and a survey fixed effects. Robust standard errors reported in parentheses and the sample size is reported in brackets.

Table A.16: Partisan Gender Gap by Income and Labor Market Status (Gallup)

	Region of Residence						Size of City of Residence		
	New Engl.	Mid. Atl.	Cntrl.	South	Rocky Mtn.	West	Under 10k	10k to 100k	Over 100k
Survey Year:									
1953-1956	-0.004 (0.010) [7428]	0.001 (0.005) [25725]	0.016 (0.005) [32848]	0.018 (0.005) [27299]	0.001 (0.014) [3783]	-0.001 (0.008) [11739]	0.007 (0.004) [57203]	0.009 (0.007) [15667]	0.004 (0.004) [41064]
1957-1960	0.031 (0.011) [6657]	0.005 (0.006) [25284]	0.021 (0.005) [32554]	0.030 (0.006) [24125]	0.005 (0.012) [6116]	0.031 (0.009) [9744]	0.029 (0.004) [54213]	0.046 (0.009) [11088]	0.001 (0.005) [39420]
1961-1964	-0.001 (0.011) [7551]	-0.014 (0.006) [32129]	0.006 (0.005) [42386]	0.011 (0.005) [36101]	-0.043 (0.014) [5114]	0.008 (0.008) [16732]	-0.001 (0.003) [82343]	-0.008 (0.007) [19561]	-0.005 (0.004) [66880]
1965-1968	-0.011 (0.010) [7480]	-0.015 (0.006) [32553]	0.005 (0.005) [41167]	-0.026 (0.005) [38031]	-0.001 (0.014) [5172]	-0.015 (0.008) [17252]	0.003 (0.003) [78233]	-0.007 (0.007) [19496]	-0.017 (0.004) [67274]
1969-1972	-0.018 (0.011) [6253]	-0.003 (0.006) [26951]	-0.013 (0.005) [32606]	-0.014 (0.005) [29649]	0.003 (0.014) [4097]	0.004 (0.008) [14207]	0.001 (0.004) [61360]	-0.005 (0.007) [17824]	-0.014 (0.004) [56357]
1973-1976	-0.001 (0.009) [7934]	-0.009 (0.006) [28250]	0.014 (0.004) [38745]	-0.011 (0.004) [37896]	0.014 (0.012) [5126]	-0.006 (0.007) [17960]	0.011 (0.003) [68246]	-0.004 (0.006) [24999]	-0.008 (0.004) [67404]
1977-1980	-0.031 (0.008) [8782]	-0.013 (0.005) [33393]	-0.002 (0.004) [42819]	-0.016 (0.004) [41355]	-0.004 (0.012) [5344]	-0.027 (0.007) [19495]	-0.012 (0.003) [71934]	-0.007 (0.005) [27499]	-0.013 (0.003) [74153]
1981-1984	-0.035 (0.010) [6726]	-0.033 (0.006) [26502]	-0.028 (0.005) [33576]	-0.025 (0.005) [33786]	-0.016 (0.013) [4968]	-0.041 (0.007) [17334]	-0.024 (0.004) [66171]	-0.038 (0.007) [19539]	-0.028 (0.004) [65628]
1985-1988	-0.020 (0.020) [1630]	-0.047 (0.012) [6314]	-0.014 (0.010) [8320]	-0.041 (0.010) [9142]	0.028 (0.024) [1510]	-0.067 (0.014) [4584]	-0.045 (0.008) [15050]	-0.032 (0.019) [2557]	-0.023 (0.010) [12892]
1989-1992	-0.041 (0.018) [2163]	-0.035 (0.012) [6956]	-0.046 (0.009) [9638]	-0.041 (0.009) [10893]	0.002 (0.022) [1740]	-0.051 (0.014) [4840]	-0.052 (0.007) [20510]	-0.045 (0.015) [4170]	-0.015 (0.008) [18481]
1993-1996	-0.040 (0.015) [2875]	-0.036 (0.010) [8817]	-0.025 (0.008) [11734]	-0.041 (0.008) [14066]	-0.012 (0.022) [1614]	-0.062 (0.012) [6284]	-0.058 (0.006) [28746]	-0.035 (0.012) [5337]	-0.008 (0.007) [25687]

Notes: Each cell presents the coefficient, standard error, and the number of observations with a given characteristic over the specified time period. The coefficient and standard error are on the interaction between the given characteristic and a female indicator from a regression of partisanship on gender, a set of characteristics that partition the sample, the interaction between gender and a set of characteristics that partition the sample, and a survey fixed effects. Robust standard errors reported in parentheses and the sample size is reported in brackets.

Table A.17: Partisan Gender Gap by Region and Size of City of Residence (Gallup)

	Region of Residence						Size of City of Residence		
	New Engl.	Mid. Atl.	Cntrl.	South	Rocky Mtn.	West	Under 10k	10k to 100k	Over 100k
Survey Year:									
1953-1956	-0.003 (0.010) [7314]	0.002 (0.006) [25376]	0.015 (0.005) [32396]	0.018 (0.005) [26922]	-0.001 (0.014) [3733]	0.000 (0.008) [11629]	0.006 (0.004) [56369]	0.010 (0.007) [15401]	0.004 (0.004) [40470]
1957-1960	0.031 (0.011) [6657]	0.005 (0.006) [25284]	0.021 (0.005) [32554]	0.030 (0.006) [24125]	0.005 (0.012) [6116]	0.031 (0.009) [9744]	0.029 (0.004) [54213]	0.046 (0.009) [11088]	0.001 (0.005) [39420]
1961-1964	-0.001 (0.011) [7551]	-0.014 (0.006) [32129]	0.006 (0.005) [42386]	0.011 (0.005) [36101]	-0.043 (0.014) [5114]	0.008 (0.008) [16732]	-0.001 (0.003) [82343]	-0.008 (0.007) [19561]	-0.005 (0.004) [66880]
1965-1968	-0.011 (0.010) [7480]	-0.015 (0.006) [32553]	0.005 (0.005) [41167]	-0.026 (0.005) [38031]	-0.001 (0.014) [5172]	-0.015 (0.008) [17252]	0.003 (0.003) [78233]	-0.007 (0.007) [19496]	-0.017 (0.004) [67274]
1969-1972	-0.018 (0.011) [6253]	-0.003 (0.006) [26951]	-0.013 (0.005) [32606]	-0.014 (0.005) [29649]	0.003 (0.014) [4097]	0.004 (0.008) [14207]	0.001 (0.004) [61360]	-0.005 (0.007) [17824]	-0.014 (0.004) [56357]
1973-1976	-0.001 (0.009) [7934]	-0.009 (0.006) [28250]	0.014 (0.004) [38745]	-0.011 (0.004) [37896]	0.014 (0.012) [5126]	-0.006 (0.007) [17960]	0.011 (0.003) [68246]	-0.004 (0.006) [24999]	-0.008 (0.004) [67404]
1977-1980	-0.031 (0.008) [8782]	-0.013 (0.005) [33393]	-0.002 (0.004) [42819]	-0.016 (0.004) [41355]	-0.004 (0.012) [5344]	-0.027 (0.007) [19495]	-0.012 (0.003) [71934]	-0.007 (0.005) [27499]	-0.013 (0.003) [74153]
1981-1984	-0.034 (0.010) [6650]	-0.034 (0.006) [26171]	-0.028 (0.005) [33136]	-0.025 (0.005) [33391]	-0.017 (0.013) [4911]	-0.041 (0.007) [17114]	-0.023 (0.004) [65403]	-0.038 (0.007) [19280]	-0.028 (0.004) [64824]
1985-1988	-0.020 (0.020) [1630]	-0.047 (0.012) [6314]	-0.014 (0.010) [8320]	-0.041 (0.010) [9142]	0.028 (0.024) [1510]	-0.067 (0.014) [4584]	-0.045 (0.008) [15050]	-0.032 (0.019) [2557]	-0.023 (0.010) [12892]
1989-1992	-0.041 (0.018) [2163]	-0.035 (0.012) [6956]	-0.046 (0.009) [9638]	-0.041 (0.009) [10893]	0.002 (0.022) [1740]	-0.051 (0.014) [4840]	-0.052 (0.007) [20510]	-0.045 (0.015) [4170]	-0.015 (0.008) [18481]
1993-1996	-0.040 (0.015) [2875]	-0.036 (0.010) [8816]	-0.025 (0.008) [11734]	-0.041 (0.008) [14066]	-0.012 (0.022) [1614]	-0.062 (0.012) [6284]	-0.058 (0.006) [28746]	-0.035 (0.012) [5337]	-0.008 (0.007) [25687]

Notes: Each cell presents the coefficient, standard error, and the number of observations with a given characteristic over the specified time period. The coefficient and standard error are on the interaction between the given characteristic and a female indicator from a regression of partisanship on gender, a set of characteristics that partition the sample, the interaction between gender and a set of characteristics that partition the sample, and a survey fixed effects. Robust standard errors reported in parentheses and the sample size is reported in brackets.

Table A.18: Robustness of Estimates in Table 2 if Leanners are Coded as Partisans
(ANES, 1970 - 2000, 2004, 2012)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Female	-0.045 (0.006)	-0.031 (0.007)	-0.024 (0.008)
College Graduate	0.118 (0.010)		0.101 (0.010)
Female X College Graduate	-0.058 (0.014)		-0.041 (0.014)
Polarization Assessment		0.145 (0.016)	0.103 (0.016)
Female X Polarization Assessment		-0.122 (0.021)	-0.099 (0.022)

Notes: $N = 32,152$ responses with a non-missing educational attainment and a respondent's issue position assessment on at least one policy domain. The dependent variable is partisan identification with Democrats and Democratic Leanners coded as 0, Independents coded as 1/2, and Republicans and Republican Leanners coded as 1. 7-point assessments of a respondent's assessment of the party's issue positions are recoded so that they range from 0 ("Most Liberal") to 1 ("Most Conservative"). "Polarization Assessment" is constructed by subtracting the respondent's average Democratic issue position from the respondent's average Republican issue position. All regressions also include year fixed effects and observations are weighted by their sample weight. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.

7.9 Additional Tables and Figures

Figure A.7: Partisanship Level by Gender in Each Gallup Survey

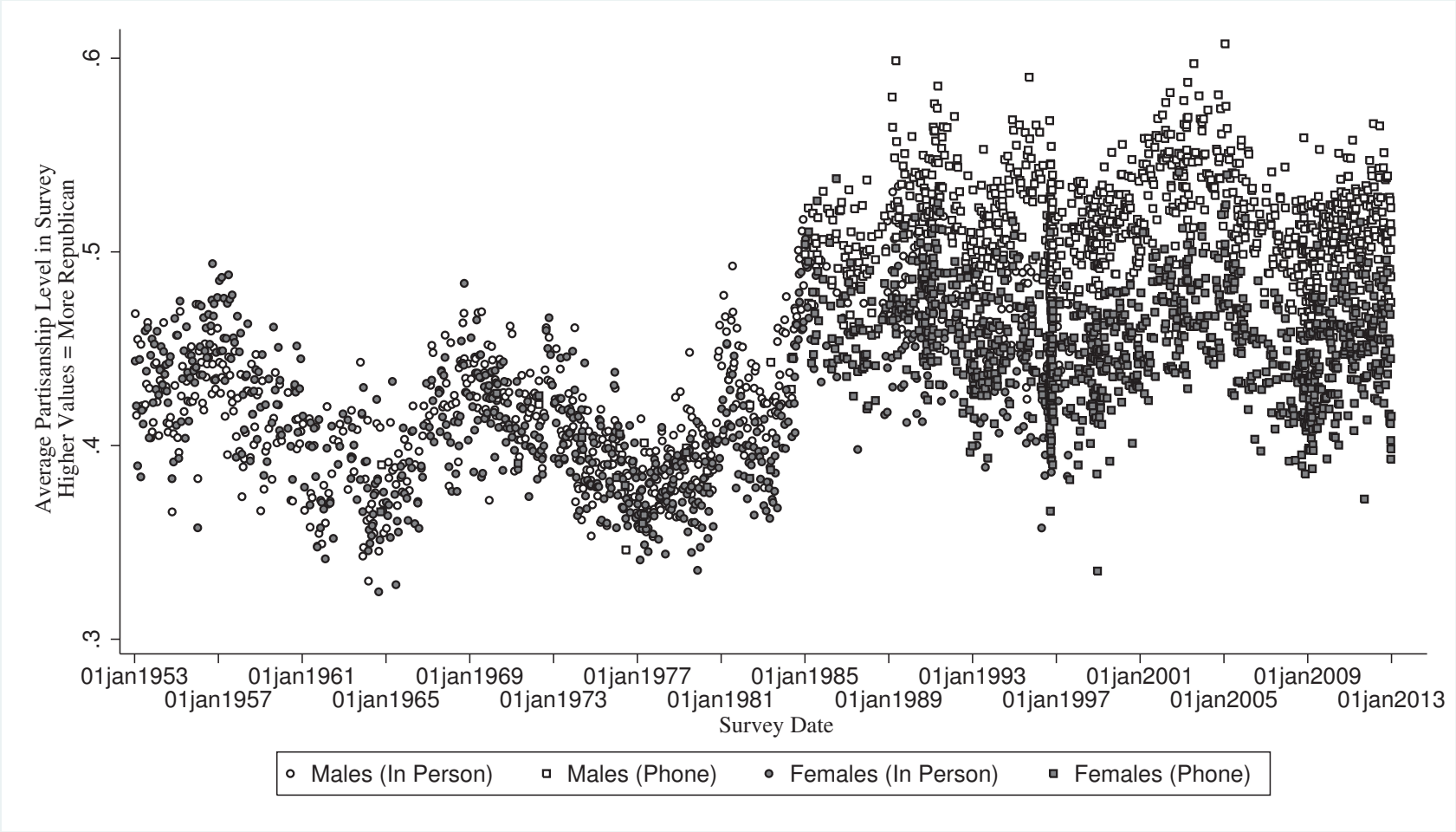


Table A.19: Robustness of Estimates in Table 2 to Inclusion of FemaleXYear Fixed Effects (ANES, 1970 - 2000, 2004, 2012)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
College Graduate	0.097 (0.008)		0.084 (0.008)
Female X College Graduate	-0.033 (0.012)		-0.021 (0.012)
Polarization Assessment		0.117 (0.014)	0.082 (0.014)
Female X Polarization Assessment		-0.094 (0.018)	-0.078 (0.019)

Notes: $N = 32,152$ responses with a non-missing educational attainment and a respondent's issue position assessment on at least one policy domain. The dependent variable is partisan identification with Democrats coded as 0, Independents and Leaners coded as 1/2, and Republican coded as 1. 7-point assessments of a respondent's assessment of the party's issue positions are recoded so that they range from 0 ("Most Liberal") to 1 ("Most Conservative"). "Polarization Assessment" is constructed by subtracting the respondent's average Democratic issue position from the respondent's average Republican issue position. All regressions also include year and femaleXyear fixed effects and observations are weighted by their sample weight. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Table A.20: Partisan Gender Gap by Birth Cohort and Education Attainment Over Time (Gallup)

Year of Survey	College Graduates					Non-College Graduates				
	(1) 1953-1962	(2) 1963-1972	(3) 1973-1982	(4) 1983-1992	(5) 1993-1997	(6) 1953-1962	(7) 1963-1972	(8) 1973-1982	(9) 1983-1992	(10) 1993-1997
Decade of Birth:										
1880s	0.021 (0.027)	-0.040 (0.038)				0.040 (0.007)	0.004 (0.011)			
1890s	-0.013 (0.019)	0.005 (0.022)	0.024 (0.031)			0.032 (0.005)	0.007 (0.006)	0.025 (0.011)		
1900s	0.014 (0.015)	-0.028 (0.016)	-0.037 (0.017)	-0.018 (0.033)		0.034 (0.005)	0.008 (0.005)	0.012 (0.006)	0.034 (0.014)	
1910s	0.004 (0.013)	-0.029 (0.013)	-0.050 (0.014)	-0.091 (0.021)	-0.021 (0.043)	0.022 (0.004)	0.013 (0.004)	0.011 (0.005)	-0.010 (0.008)	0.010 (0.017)
1920s	0.008 (0.011)	-0.036 (0.011)	-0.049 (0.011)	-0.078 (0.017)	-0.052 (0.029)	0.029 (0.004)	0.007 (0.004)	0.012 (0.004)	0.006 (0.007)	-0.012 (0.012)
1930s	0.002 (0.020)	-0.031 (0.010)	-0.022 (0.010)	-0.086 (0.016)	-0.117 (0.027)	0.004 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)	0.003 (0.008)	-0.010 (0.013)
1940s		-0.015 (0.015)	-0.051 (0.007)	-0.076 (0.011)	-0.066 (0.019)		-0.008 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.014 (0.007)	-0.016 (0.013)
1950s			-0.052 (0.010)	-0.072 (0.010)	-0.076 (0.016)			-0.019 (0.006)	-0.032 (0.006)	-0.025 (0.010)
1960s				-0.091 (0.026)	-0.064 (0.018)				-0.067 (0.014)	-0.012 (0.011)

Notes: Each cell presents an estimate and standard error of the partisan gender gap for individuals of the specified age with the specified educational attainment over the specified time period. Sample excludes respondents between ages 18 and 24. Observations are weighted by their sample weight. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Table A.21: Gender Gap on Issue Positions, Ideology, and Economic Evaluations in General Population by Decade (ANES, 1970 - 2012)

Issue Type	(1) All Issue Positions	(2) Social Welfare	(3) Foreign Relations	(4) Race	(5) Gender Roles	(6) Abortion	(7) ERA	(8) Ideology	(9) Personal Finances Last Year	(10) Next Year
Decade of Survey:										
1960s	-0.042 (0.007) [36074]	-0.037 (0.014) [7797]	-0.107 (0.011) [7721]	-0.016 (0.008) [17581]				-0.007 (0.005) [4278]	-0.038 (0.012) [3866]	-0.036 (0.009) [5963]
1970s	-0.019 (0.004) [101004]	-0.040 (0.006) [21684]	-0.052 (0.009) [11751]	-0.019 (0.005) [36660]	0.035 (0.009) [7883]	-0.022 (0.008) [6628]	0.023 (0.015) [3384]	-0.010 (0.004) [5968]	-0.046 (0.010) [7810]	-0.024 (0.009) [7120]
1980s	-0.025 (0.003) [85742]	-0.025 (0.004) [33944]	-0.032 (0.005) [14818]	-0.019 (0.008) [8835]	0.009 (0.007) [6543]	-0.017 (0.007) [10555]		-0.019 (0.004) [7581]	-0.059 (0.009) [9404]	-0.039 (0.007) [7830]
1990s	-0.040 (0.003) [146918]	-0.045 (0.004) [69019]	-0.026 (0.005) [12353]	-0.052 (0.007) [15503]	0.011 (0.007) [7782]	-0.012 (0.008) [9005]		-0.026 (0.004) [8021]	-0.051 (0.009) [9197]	-0.039 (0.007) [9028]
2000s	-0.036 (0.003) [176069]	-0.031 (0.004) [86727]	-0.009 (0.008) [10074]	-0.032 (0.009) [10950]	-0.027 (0.010) [3251]	-0.002 (0.010) [9691]		-0.022 (0.004) [11173]	-0.016 (0.010) [12558]	-0.025 (0.008) [10816]

Notes: Issue positions and ideology are recoded so that they range from 0 (“Most Liberal”) to 1 (“Most Conservative”). Economic evaluations recoded so that they range from 0 (“Least Favorable”) to 1 (“Most Favorable”). Each cell presents the coefficient and robust standard error (clustered by respondent) for a female dummy variable from a regression in the specified decade in which the specified issue position is the dependent variable. All regressions also include question by year fixed effects and observations are weighted by the ANES’s provided sample weight. Number of total observation in regression reported in brackets.

Table A.22: Gender Gap on Issue Positions, Ideology, and Economic Evaluations Among College Graduates by Decade (ANES, 1970 - 2012)

Issue Type	(1) All Issue Positions	(2) Social Welfare	(3) Foreign Relations	(4) Race	(5) Gender Roles	(6) Abortion	(7) ERA	(8) Ideology	(9) Personal Finances Last Year	(10) Next Year
Decade of Survey:										
1960s	-0.083 (0.020) [4413]	-0.105 (0.042) [894]	-0.114 (0.030) [1025]	-0.050 (0.022) [2085]				-0.057 (0.017) [487]	-0.042 (0.036) [450]	-0.050 (0.026) [699]
1970s	-0.027 (0.010) [15411]	-0.038 (0.014) [3519]	-0.031 (0.026) [1609]	-0.023 (0.013) [5318]	-0.043 (0.018) [1211]	-0.008 (0.021) [985]	-0.076 (0.037) [601]	-0.035 (0.013) [951]	-0.038 (0.027) [1131]	-0.003 (0.024) [1087]
1980s	-0.032 (0.006) [17153]	-0.023 (0.008) [6904]	-0.040 (0.011) [3053]	-0.031 (0.019) [1745]	-0.032 (0.014) [1248]	0.018 (0.016) [1933]		-0.034 (0.009) [1618]	-0.062 (0.020) [1711]	-0.061 (0.017) [1439]
1990s	-0.049 (0.007) [36808]	-0.060 (0.008) [17160]	-0.035 (0.008) [3194]	-0.048 (0.015) [3852]	-0.028 (0.011) [1969]	0.078 (0.015) [2160]		-0.065 (0.009) [2083]	-0.069 (0.018) [2210]	-0.037 (0.014) [2183]
2000s	-0.036 (0.003) [176069]	-0.031 (0.004) [86727]	-0.009 (0.008) [10074]	-0.032 (0.009) [10950]	-0.027 (0.010) [3251]	-0.002 (0.010) [9691]		-0.022 (0.004) [11173]	-0.016 (0.010) [12558]	-0.025 (0.008) [10816]

Notes: Issue positions and ideology are recoded so that they range from 0 (“Most Liberal”) to 1 (“Most Conservative”). Economic evaluations recoded so that they range from 0 (“Least Favorable”) to 1 (“Most Favorable”). Each cell presents the estimated coefficient and standard error on a female dummy variable from a regression in the specified decade in which the specified issue position is the dependent variable. All regressions also include question by year fixed effects and observations are weighted by their sample weight. Robust standard errors that are clustered by respondent are reported in parentheses. Number of total observation in regression reported in brackets