

## Index

- abortion, 135, 136, 186, 187, 199–200  
 Adams, John, 29  
 African Americans, 34, 96, 99–101, 106–7,  
   112, 130–32, 216  
   turnout gender gap, 140, 169  
   vote choice, 149  
 African American men, 38, 39, 99–100  
 African American women, 8, 10–12, 13, 39,  
   42–43, 68, 69, 74–75, 237  
   educational attainment, 130  
   employment, 195–96  
   turnout, 99–100, 106–7, 130–31, 140–41,  
   204, 205, 240–41  
   vote choice, 149–50, 179, 185, 216,  
   230, 249  
   women's movement, 134  
 age, 101, 244  
   and turnout, 101, 141–42  
   and turnout gender gap, 141–42, 169–71,  
   206, 207–8  
   and vote choice, 112, 150, 180, 217  
   and women's turnout, 141–42, 169–71  
 Alabama, 130  
 American National Election Studies  
   *see* ANES (American National Election  
   Studies).  
*American Voter, The*, 88, 95, 96, 101, 102, 104,  
   111, 116, 146  
   vote choice, 110, 118, 119  
 American Woman Suffrage Association  
   *see* AWSA (American Woman Suffrage  
   Association)  
 Andersen, Kristi, 147  
 ANES (American National Election Studies),  
   88, 94, 95, 97, 104, 176, 202  
   educational attainment, 103  
   turnout gender gap, 141  
   vote choice, 110, 113, 153  
   women's rights, 155  
   women's turnout, 97–98  
 autonomy hypothesis, 55–57  
 AWSA (American Woman Suffrage  
   Association), 39, 40  
 Azari, Julia, 231  
  
 Baker, Paula, 37  
 Baxter, Sandra, 9  
 Bejarano, Christina E., 204  
 Berelson, Bernard R., 95, 108, 110,  
   117–18, 119  
 birth rates, 21, 91, 130  
 black men  
   *see* African American men  
 black voters  
   *see* African American voters  
 black women  
   *see* African American women  
 Blinder, Scott, 225  
 Bush election (1988), 161, 165  
 Bush election (2000), 193, 197  
 Bush election (2004), 193, 197–98, 222,  
   225, 226  
 Bush, George H.W., 187  
  
 California, 223  
 Campbell, Angus, 116, 118, 119  
 Carroll, Susan, 22, 55, 56, 151,  
   226, 239  
 Carter election (1976), 129, 137  
 Carter, Jimmy, 129, 159, 161, 164  
 Catt, Carrie Chapman, 35, 41, 42  
 CCES (Cooperative Congressional Election  
   Study), 202–3  
*Changing American Voter, The*, 73–75

## INDEX

- children, 162, 195, 238, 243  
 birth rates, 21, 91, 130  
 turnout (of parents), 104, 105, 106, 144, 210  
 turnout gender gap (of parents), 173  
 vote choice (of parents), 116, 151–52, 183, 221  
 civil rights, 89–90, 127, 128, 130–32, 158, 246  
 Civil Rights Act (1964)  
*see* CRA (Civil Rights Act, 1964)  
 Clinton election (1992), 161–62, 165–66  
 Clinton election (1996), 167, 177  
 Clinton, Bill, 187  
 Clinton, Hillary Rodham, 2, 25, 166, 194,  
 198, 199, 200, 201–2, 214, 227, 228, 229,  
 232, 233, 238  
 college education  
 men, 19, 103, 171, 181, 208  
 partisan gender gap, 180–81, 217–18, 219  
 turnout, 208–9  
 women, 19, 113–14, 130, 171, 181,  
 208, 212  
 compassion, 49–50, 224–25, 244  
 Congressional Union, 40  
 Connecticut, 72, 73, 75, 224  
 Constitution, US  
*see also* Fifteenth Amendment; Nineteenth  
 Amendment (1920)  
 Constitution, US, 12, 28–29, 30, 38–39  
 Converse, Philip E., 116, 118, 119  
 Coolidge election (1924), 62, 81  
 Cooperative Congressional Election Study  
*see* CCES (Cooperative Congressional  
 Election Study)  
 coverture, 38  
 CPS (Current Population Survey), 167, 168  
 November Voting Supplement, 137, 138  
 CRA (Civil Rights Act, 1964), 127, 130, 131  
 Cult of True Womanhood, 32–35, 43  
  
 Declaration of Sentiments (1848), 27,  
 28, 35, 38  
 Democratic party, 7, 8, 89–90, 129, 161,  
 226–27, 246, 247–48  
 vote choice, 3, 4, 15  
 distinctive gender, 46–50, 51–53, 56–57,  
 58–59, 78, 82, 147, 190, 227–28,  
 242, 244–45  
 vote choice, 80, 111  
 women's turnout, 110, 147, 148,  
 175–76, 211  
 Dixiecrats  
*see* States' Rights Democrats  
 Dole, Bob, 167  
  
 educational attainment, 19, 195, 196, 212, 243  
 African American women, 130  
 men, 19, 103, 171, 181, 208  
 turnout, 102–4, 142–43, 208–9  
 turnout gender gap, 142–43, 171, 208  
 vote choice, 113–14, 153, 180–81,  
 217–18, 219  
 women, 19, 103–4, 113–14, 130, 162–63,  
 171, 181, 195, 196, 208, 212  
 women's turnout, 103–4, 142–43, 171  
 EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity  
 Commission), 131, 132  
 Eisenhower election (1952), 90, 110, 122  
 Eisenhower election (1956), 90, 110, 122  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 121  
 electoral behavior  
*see* voting behavior  
 employment, 19, 33, 54, 55–56, 104–5,  
 131–32, 195–96, 244  
 African American women, 195–96  
 men, 19  
 turnout, 106, 143–44, 209  
 turnout gender gap, 171  
 vote choice, 114, 151, 182–83, 221  
 women, 19, 33, 63–64, 91–92, 104–5, 106,  
 131–32, 151, 157, 162, 195–96  
 women's turnout, 143–44, 171  
 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission  
*see* EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity  
 Commission)  
 equality, 34, 35–36, 134, 156, 190, 191–92,  
 225, 244–45  
 ERA (Equal Rights Amendment, 1972), 64,  
 135, 159, 186, 187  
 essentialism, 47–48  
 Everytown for Gun Safety, 234  
 exit polls, 137–38, 167, 202–3  
  
 femininity, 12, 49, 227–28  
 Ferraro, Geraldine, 165  
 fertility rates, 21  
 Fifteenth Amendment, 11, 13  
 Firestone, Shulamith, 133  
 Ford, Gerald, 129, 137  
 Friedan, Betty, 88, 132  
  
 Gallup surveys, 88, 94, 95, 96–97, 104, 120  
 African Americans, 99–100  
 educational attainment, 102  
 employment, 104  
 negative income tax, 157  
 turnout, 140

## INDEX

- turnout gender gap, 141  
 vote choice, 110, 113, 147, 153  
 women's turnout, 97–98
- gender, 17–18  
 vote choice, 17, 18, 228–29  
 voting behavior, 3, 4–5
- gender gap, 7–8, 18, 50, 52, 82, 84, 126, 158,  
 159, 164–65, 190, 224  
 vote choice, 8–9, 36, 49, 52, 153–55,  
 160–61, 179, 216, 222–23, 247–48, 249  
*see also* turnout gender gap
- gender norms, 13–15, 211, 242–43, 248  
 gender orders, 13–15, 16, 190  
 gender role socialization, 48, 56, 108–10  
 gender roles, 16, 33, 41, 42, 48–50, 108, 109,  
 156, 175–76, 242–43
- Gilligan, Carol, 49  
 Goel, M.L., 146–47  
 Goldwater, Barry, 127, 147, 161  
 Gore, Al, 193, 197, 202  
 Great Society programs, 127–28, 157,  
 188, 245
- Harding election (1920), 1, 2, 10, 42, 62, 65,  
 80, 81, 238  
 Harding, Warren G., 1  
 Harris, Louis, 108, 110, 120  
 Harvey, Anna L., 82  
 Hoover election (1928), 62, 66, 75–77, 81  
 Huddy, Leonie, 58
- Illinois, 81, 83  
 Indivisible Project, 234  
 Iowa, 81
- Jackson, Andrew, 32  
 Johnson election (1964), 127–28, 136  
 Johnson, Lyndon B., 127, 131, 147
- Kansas, 81, 83  
 Kaufmann, Karen M., 157, 225  
 Kennedy election (1960), 90, 110, 122, 158  
 Kennedy, John F., 121, 132, 147  
 Kentucky, 39, 72, 73, 75  
 Kerber, Linda K., 31  
 Kerry, John, 193, 198
- La Follette, Robert M., 62, 66, 83, 178  
 Ladd, C. Everett, 118  
 Lane, Robert E., 108, 109, 118, 120  
 Lansing, Marjorie, 9  
 Latinas, 204, 230
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., 95, 108, 110, 117–18, 119  
 Lebsack, Suzanne, 11, 74  
 Lerner, Gerda, 33  
 LWV (League of Women Voters), 64, 65, 69
- MacKinnon, Catharine A., 36  
 marital status, 21–22, 104, 130, 195, 243  
 and turnout, 104, 144, 209–10  
 and turnout gender gap, 173  
 and vote choice, 114–16, 151–53,  
 183, 219–21  
 women, 21–22, 91, 130, 144, 195
- masculinity, 12, 49, 227–28  
 Massachusetts, 72, 73, 75  
 Matthews, Chris, 246–47  
 Matthews, Donald R., 11, 96, 100–1, 140  
 McCain, John, 193, 198–99, 229  
 McDermott, Monica L., 227  
 McGovern, George, 129, 136–37  
 McPhee, William N., 95, 108, 110,  
 117–18, 119
- men, 17, 34, 146–47, 189, 203  
 college education, 19, 103, 171, 181, 208  
 educational attainment, 19, 103, 171,  
 181, 208  
 employment, 19  
 turnout, 7, 8, 75, 77, 98–99, 103  
 vote choice, 4, 8, 23–25, 98–99, 116
- #MeToo movement, 234  
 Milbrath, Lester W., 146–47  
 Miller, Warren E., 116, 118, 119, 174–75  
 Minnesota, 81  
 Missouri, 72, 73  
 Moms Demand Action, 234  
 motherhood, 52–53, 239  
 Mott, Lucretia, 27, 37
- NASCAR dads, 198  
 National American Woman Suffrage Association  
*see* NAWSA (National American Woman  
 Suffrage Association)  
 National Organization for Women  
*see* NOW (National Organization for  
 Women)  
 National Woman Suffrage Association  
*see* NWSA (National Woman Suffrage  
 Association)  
 National Women's Party  
*see* NWP (National Women's Party)  
 National Women's Political Caucus  
*see* NWPC (National Women's Political  
 Caucus)

## INDEX

- NAWSA (National American Woman Suffrage Association), 40
- Nealy, Lisa Nikol, 204
- negative income tax, 157
- New American Voter, The*, 174–75
- New Deal, 37, 67, 89, 90, 188, 245
- Nineteenth Amendment (1920), 1, 10, 11, 12–13, 14, 16, 41, 42, 60, 64, 69, 125, 232  
   voting rights, 5, 11, 13, 143, 249
- Nixon election (1968), 128–29, 136
- Nixon election (1972), 129, 136–37
- Nixon, Richard M., 90, 110, 128, 132, 161, 187
- November Voting Supplement (CPS), 137, 138
- NOW (National Organization for Women), 132, 133
- NWP (National Women's Party), 64
- NWPC (National Women's Political Caucus), 133
- NAWSA (National Woman Suffrage Association), 39, 40, 64
- Obama election (2008), 193–94, 198–99, 205, 229
- Obama election (2012), 194, 199–200, 205, 229
- Obama, Barack, 198–99
- Obama, Michelle, 199, 200
- Ondercin, Heather L., 58, 227
- Palin, Sarah, 193, 198–99, 214
- partisan gender gap, 7, 8, 50, 80, 111, 112, 126, 151, 153, 177–78, 214  
   college education, 180–81, 217–18, 219  
   vote choice, 222, 223–24
- partisanship, 16–17, 57–58, 82, 191, 192, 195, 226–27, 231–32, 246, 247–48
- Paul, Alice, 40, 42
- Pelosi, Nancy, 214, 227
- people of color, 11, 16  
   *see also* women of color
- Perot, Ross, 162, 167, 178
- personality traits, 48–50, 51, 59, 227–28, 248  
   *see also* distinctive gender
- Petrocik, John, 225
- Pew Organization, 167, 214
- policy preferences, 57
- political efficacy, 9, 146
- political participation, 31, 50–51, 58–59, 63–64  
   women, 31, 50–51, 53–54, 63–67, 85, 86, 88–89, 92–94, 146–47
- poll taxes, 73, 75, 140
- presidential elections, 2, 3–4, 17, 23, 25, 89–90, 125–27, 136–37, 191, 195  
   Bush election (1988), 161, 165  
   Bush election (2000), 193, 197  
   Bush election (2004), 193, 197–98, 222, 225, 226  
   Carter election (1976), 129, 137  
   Clinton election (1992), 161–62, 165–66  
   Clinton election (1996), 167, 177  
   Coolidge election (1924), 62, 81  
   Eisenhower election (1952), 90, 110, 122  
   Eisenhower election (1956), 90, 110, 122  
   Harding election (1920), 1, 2, 10, 42, 62, 65, 80, 81, 238  
   Hoover election (1928), 62, 66, 75–77, 81  
   Johnson election (1964), 127–28, 136  
   Kennedy election (1960), 90, 110, 122, 158  
   Nixon election (1968), 128–29, 136  
   Nixon election (1972), 129, 136–37  
   Obama election (2008), 193–94, 198–99, 205, 229  
   Obama election (2012), 194, 199–200, 205, 229  
   Reagan election (1980), 7, 45, 158, 159, 161, 163–64, 168  
   Reagan election (1984), 161, 164–65  
   Roosevelt election (1932), 45, 62–63  
   Roosevelt election (1936), 63  
   Roosevelt election (1940), 239, 110  
   Roosevelt election (1944), 239, 110  
   Truman election (1948), 90, 110  
   Trump election (2016), 1–2, 51, 192, 194–95, 200–2, 203, 228–29, 230–33, 235, 238, 241
- Progressive Movement, 64, 82–83
- Progressive party, 62, 83
- Prothro, James W., 11, 96, 100–1, 140
- public opinion polls, 68, 94–97, 123, 202–3
- race, 5, 240–41  
   turnout, 140–41, 204  
   turnout gender gap, 169  
   vote choice, 111–12, 149–50, 179–80, 215–16, 230
- racism, 35, 41
- Reagan election (1980), 7, 45, 158, 159, 161, 163–64, 168
- Reagan election (1984), 161, 164–65
- Reagan, Ronald, 7, 129, 161, 164, 186, 187–88
- Reconstruction Amendments, 38–39
- Republican Mothers, 28, 31, 33, 43, 52

## INDEX

- Republican party, 7, 90, 162, 226–27,  
 246, 247–48  
 vote choice, 3, 4, 15
- resource inequality, 46, 53–57, 58–59, 77, 78,  
 190, 242, 243–44, 245  
 vote choice, 80, 110–11  
 women's turnout, 147, 148, 175
- restrictive voting practices, 73–75, 106, 140
- role models, 50–51, 109, 212–14
- Rolfé, Meredith, 225
- Romney, Mitt, 194, 200, 229
- Roosevelt election (1932), 45, 62–63
- Roosevelt election (1936), 63
- Roosevelt election (1940), 239, 110
- Roosevelt election (1944), 239, 110
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 67, 85
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 174, 89
- Rosenstone, Steven J., 141–42
- Schlafly, Phyllis, 47, 135, 159, 187
- security moms, 197–98, 225–26
- self-interest, 51–53
- SES (socioeconomic status), 54–57
- sexism, 192, 229–30, 234–35
- Shanks, J. Merrill, 174–75
- Smith, Al, 62, 66
- Smith, Howard W., 131
- soccer moms, 44, 167
- social welfare, 4, 37, 52, 128, 156–58, 188–89,  
 228, 245–46
- socialization  
*see* gender role socialization
- socioeconomic status  
*see* SES (socioeconomic status)
- Southern voters, 70, 73–75, 244  
 turnout, 144–46, 211  
 turnout gender gap, 173–74, 211  
 vote choice, 116, 153, 185–86, 222
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 27, 37
- States' Rights Democrats (Dixiecrats), 90
- Stokes, Donald E., 116, 118, 119
- suffrage movement, 1, 27, 32, 38, 39, 40, 42, 125
- Tea Party, 194
- Thomas-Hill hearings (1991), 166
- Truman election (1948), 90, 110
- Truman, Harry S., 89, 93, 120
- Trump election (2016), 1–2, 51, 192, 194–95,  
 200–2, 203, 228–29, 230–33, 235, 238, 241
- Trump, Donald, 2, 200–1
- turnout, 18, 67–69, 70–71, 72–73, 77, 98–99, 158  
 African Americans, 99–100, 106–7,  
 130–31, 140–41, 204, 205, 240–41  
 age and, 101, 141–42  
 child presence and, 104, 105, 144, 210  
 college education, 208–9  
 educational attainment, 102–4, 142–43, 208–9  
 employment, 104, 143–44, 209  
 marital status and, 104, 144, 209–10  
 men, 7, 8, 75, 77, 98–99, 103  
 race, 140–41, 204  
 Southern voters, 144–46, 211  
*see also* women's turnout
- turnout gender gap, 7, 73, 107, 108, 113, 125,  
 126, 138–39, 146–47, 168–69, 174–77,  
 203, 205–6, 235–36
- African Americans, 140, 169  
 age and, 141–42, 169–71, 206, 207–8  
 child presence and, 173  
 educational attainment, 142–43, 171, 208  
 employment, 171  
 marital status and, 173  
 race, 169  
 Southern voters, 173–74, 211  
 vote choice, 236  
 women's turnout, 7, 16, 69, 73, 75, 89, 97–98,  
 138–39, 168–69, 211, 235–36
- Vietnam War, 128
- Virginia, 11, 72, 73, 74, 75, 81, 83
- vote choice, 3–4, 16–17, 67–69, 81–82,  
 98–99, 116, 148–49, 153–55, 183, 215,  
 236–37, 248
- African American women, 149–50, 179,  
 185, 216, 230, 249  
 age and, 112, 150, 180, 217  
 child presence and, 116, 151–52, 183, 221  
 educational attainment, 113–14, 153,  
 180–81, 217–18, 219  
 employment, 114, 151, 182–83, 221  
 gender, 17, 18, 228–29  
 gender gap, 8–9, 36, 49, 52, 153–55, 160–61,  
 179, 216, 222–23, 247–48, 249  
 marital status and, 114–16, 151–53, 183, 219–21  
 men, 4, 8, 23–25, 98–99, 116  
 partisan gender gap, 222, 223–24  
 race, 111–12, 149–50, 179–80, 215–16, 230  
 Southern voters, 116, 153, 185–86, 222  
 white women, 179, 230, 249  
 women, 3–4, 8, 15, 16, 23–25, 78–81, 84–85,  
 89, 110–12, 116, 117–22, 123, 136,  
 147–48, 150, 187–88, 222, 236–37, 241  
 women of color, 179, 185

## INDEX

- voting behavior, 2, 3, 5, 9–10, 15, 16–17, 45–46, 59, 236–37, 248–49  
 gender, 3, 4–5  
 women, 1–3, 5–7, 16, 25–26, 43–44, 60–61, 98–99, 189–90, 192, 203, 240, 241–42
- voting rights, 5, 13, 27–30, 31–32, 38–39, 43, 143, 190  
 restrictive voting practices, 73–75, 106, 140  
 women, 10–12, 13, 27–30, 31–32, 33–35, 38–43, 85
- VRA (Voting Rights Act, 1965), 5, 13, 43, 100, 127, 128, 130, 139, 140, 158
- vulnerability hypothesis, 55, 56
- Wallace, George, 128
- Weinberger, Caspar, 136
- white women, 1, 8, 10, 34, 63, 111  
 vote choice, 179, 230, 249
- Wilkerson-Freeman, Sarah, 75
- Wilman, Johanna, 58
- Winning Plan, 40–41, 42
- Wolfinger, Raymond E., 141–42
- woman suffrage movement  
*see* suffrage movement
- women, 17, 18–19, 22–23, 36–37, 50, 85–86, 87, 88, 91, 122–24, 138, 163, 234, 237–39, 249  
 child birth rates, 21, 91, 130  
 children, 162, 238  
 college education, 19, 113–14, 130, 171, 181, 208, 212  
 educational attainment, 19, 103–4, 113–14, 130, 162–63, 171, 181, 195, 196, 208, 212  
 employment, 19, 33, 63–64, 91–92, 104–5, 106, 131–32, 151, 157, 162, 195–96  
 marital status, 21–22, 91, 130, 144, 195
- political participation, 31, 50–51, 53–54, 63–67, 85, 86, 88–89, 92–94, 146–47
- vote choice, 3–4, 8, 15, 16, 23–25, 78–81, 84–85, 89, 110–12, 116, 117–22, 123, 136, 147–48, 150, 187–88, 222, 236–37, 241
- voting behavior, 1–3, 5–7, 16, 25–26, 43–44, 60–61, 98–99, 189–90, 192, 203, 240, 241–42
- voting rights, 10–12, 13, 27–30, 31–32, 33–35, 38–43, 85  
*see also* women's turnout
- women of color, 5, 33, 63, 230  
 turnout, 205, 241  
 vote choice, 179, 185  
 women's movement, 134
- Women's Marches, 234
- women's movement, 14, 88, 125, 132–34, 146, 158, 163  
 African American women, 134  
 women of color, 134
- women's rights, 5, 27, 38–39, 58, 125–26, 134–36, 155–56, 186–87
- Women's Strike for Equality (1970), 125, 133
- women's turnout, 3, 5, 8, 15, 16, 23, 53–54, 69, 71–72, 75, 77–78, 86–87, 98–99, 101, 109–10, 158  
 age and, 141–42, 169–71  
 child presence and, 105, 106, 144  
 educational attainment, 103–4, 142–43, 171  
 employment, 143–44, 171  
 turnout gender gap, 7, 69, 73, 75, 89, 97–98, 138–39, 168–69, 211, 235–36  
 women of color, 205, 241
- Woodward, Charlotte, 28
- work  
*see* employment
- Wyoming, 39–40, 223