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Gender and the Pathways to Participation: The Role of Resources

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In this investigation of the voluntary participation of men and women, we find that even when the definition of activity is broadened beyond the electoral forms of activity usually considered, men are a bit more active in politics than women. However, the pattern across activities does not conform to the expectations generated by the literature. In comparison with men, women are disadvantaged when it comes to the resources that facilitate political activity. When these resource deficits are viewed in the context of the paths to participation taken by men and women, it turns out that if women were as well endowed with political resources as men, their overall levels of political activity would be closer to men's and their financial contributions would be considerably closer to men's.

Among the recurrent questions in the study of citizen political behavior in America are the extent and sources of gender differences in participation. In this article, we use a new data set to probe whether a gender gap exists with respect to a variety of kinds of civic activity. We also apply a resource model of political participation to inquire whether disparities in activity can be explained by inequalities in the resources that facilitate participation and whether there are differences in the way in which these resources work for men and women to influence levels of involvement.

Survey research once seemed to demonstrate the existence of a disparity in citizen participation with men more, and women less, likely to take part in political life, a disparity usually construed as the natural outgrowth of distinctive processes of social learning and adult roles that centered women in the private domain of the home and men in the world outside (see, for example, Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes 1960, 483–93; Lane 1959, 208, 213, 354, 355; and Duverger 1955).

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These early studies soon came in for criticism on many grounds, several of which are germane to our inquiry.¹ First, scholars pointed out that small—and sometimes not statistically significant—differences were invested with too much importance. A related criticism took issue with the very definition of what constitutes political activity, arguing that overemphasis upon voting and other electoral activities leads scholars to underestimate women's political involvement because it ignores alternative modes of participation—for example, organizational, protest, and grassroots community activity—in which women have always taken part. Were the understanding of political participation to encompass modes of involvement less formal, less conventional, and less nationally centered the findings would differ.²

Second, critics argued that these early studies ignored the pivotal role of differential access to political resources. Women may be less politically active, these critics argued, because they are disadvantaged with respect to the resources that facilitate political activity—for example, because they may have lower levels of education, earn less money, or have less free time—and not because of a learned lack of interest in politics.

Finally, scholars argued that the processes of politicization might be different for men and women. Gender differences in the patterns of citizens' lives might mean not only differences in the amounts of resources accumulated by women and men but also differences in the utility of various resources for political activity. Just as, for example, the traditional route to elected office for men, through careers in fields like law and business, is less typical for women, who often aspire to public office after experience in voluntary organizations, there may be differences with respect to the pathways to citizen activity that are obscured by models that are not gender specific.

Recent work in several fields is relevant to these lines of criticism. Historians have documented women's long-neglected contributions to organizational and charitable activity.³ Political scientists have shown how women's and men's diverse childhood and adult experiences and roles in the workplace and the family, in

¹There are numerous assessments of this literature. See, for example, Bourque and Grossholtz (1974); Goot and Reid (1975); Welch (1977, 712–14); and Randall (1987, chap. 2).

²This general point is made by many authors. For an especially articulate and concrete exposition of this perspective, see Randall (1987, 50ff). Some critics take the point further, arguing that our conception of politics should be broadened in either of two ways: to include all collective involvements that influence the life of the community, even those charitable and organizational activities that do not touch upon what is traditionally called the “public sector”; or to include all private relationships—for example, bosses and employees—in which power is exercised. Among the many examples, see Boals (1975, 171–75) and Baker (1984, 646–47).

It may be that the reason mainstream political science has developed a reputation for slighting non-electoral forms of citizen participation is that the single best source of continuing survey data is the biennial National Election Study, which—because it is anchored in national elections—naturally emphasizes voting and other forms of electoral participation.

³The literature in history is vast. Examples include Lerner (1979), Scott (1984, 1991), Baker (1984), Giddings (1984), and Cott (1990).

particular, women's special responsibilities for raising children, shape both their orientations to politics—the likelihood that they will be interested in and feel that they belong in, or can be effective in, politics—and the resources they bring to the political process (see, for example, Andersen 1975; Welch 1977; McGlen 1980; McDonagh 1982; Sapiro 1982, 1983; Andersen and Cook 1985; Beckwith 1986; Clark and Clark 1986; Carroll 1989; and Rinehart 1992, chap. 2). Studies in several fields have focused on the domestic political economy of the family and developed arguments to the effect that the differential domestic power of husbands and wives translates into differential power outside the home in the marketplace and in politics; that the roots of family power are economic and, thus, that the higher the proportion of household income brought in by a partner, the greater the power within the family, especially over the allocation of household money (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983, 53, 56, and 143; Pahl 1983, 1990; Blumberg and Coleman 1989); and that women's responsibility for the overwhelming share of the housework and child care—especially when combined with paid employment—so deprives them of free time as to dampen their participation in politics (Phillips 1991, 99–100). Unfortunately, in many cases, systematic data either have not been available or have not been adduced to probe these contentions.

In this article, we use data from a recent survey of the American public to assess these arguments systematically: to discern whether the paths to politics are gender-specific and to evaluate whether differences in resources are responsible for the disparity between men and women in political activity. We begin by considering levels of participation across a broad range of activities with a particular concern for the amounts of time and money devoted to them. Next, we consider the resources that facilitate activity to determine whether social processes prior to participation produce gender differences in political resources. Then, we look explicitly at models incorporating measures of both politically relevant resources and family circumstances to determine whether the pathways to activity differ for men and women.⁴ Finally, we consider whether disparities in activity would remain if women had men's level of political resources.

THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION STUDY

We employ data from the Citizen Participation Study, a large-scale, two-stage survey of the voluntary activity of the American public. The first stage consisted of more than 15,000 telephone interviews of a random sample of American adults conducted during the last six months of 1989. These 20-minute screener interviews

⁴A more extended exposition and general interpretation of the relationship of resources to political participation can be found in Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (in progress).

The dictates of length prevent us from attempting in this article to accomplish two other important tasks: investigating separately the patterns of participation for men and women of different racial and ethnic groups and examining gender differences in such orientations to politics as political interest, political efficacy, or group consciousness. We shall take up these topics in later articles.

provided a profile of political and nonpolitical activity as well as basic demographic information. In the spring of 1990, we conducted much longer, in-person interviews with a stratified random sample of 2,517 of the original 15,000 respondents chosen to produce a disproportionate number of both those active in politics as well as African Americans and Latinos. The data in this article are from the 2,517 respondents in the followup survey.⁵ The data presented are weighted to produce an effective random sample.

For several reasons, this study is unusually well suited for probing the questions we have posed here. First, the survey was designed to contain more extensive measures of political resources than have been available in the past. The survey included measures not only of standard demographic variables but also of such potentially relevant political resources as vocabulary skill, the amount of time devoted to various activities, and the communications and organizational skills exercised in the nonpolitical institutions of adult life. Thus, we are able to investigate in ways not before possible the relationship of political resources to men's and women's political participation.

Moreover, the Citizen Participation Study is based on a very broad construction of what constitutes participation allowing us, for the first time, to subject to empirical test the contention that women and men specialize in different kinds of voluntary activity. With respect to political participation, the survey asked about an array of citizen activities: modes of participation that require money as well as those that demand inputs of time; unconventional as well as conventional activity; electoral activities as well as more direct forms of the communication of messages to public officials; and activities done alone as well as those undertaken jointly. Thus, we can move beyond voting and electoral activity to encompass contacts with government officials, attendance at protests, marches, or demonstrations, involvement in organizations that take stands in politics, informal efforts to address community problems, and voluntary service on local governing boards or regular attendance at

⁵A more detailed description of the sample, the sample weights that allow the sample to be analyzed as a random sample, and a listing of the relevant measures, can be found in Verba, Schlozman, Brady, and Nie (1993). A conservative estimate of the effective numbers of cases (numbers that are lower than the actual numbers of cases to reflect the fact that the sample is weighted) follows:

	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
	796	714
Employed full time	340	509
Employed part time	118	35
Married	430	422
Married, employed full time	167	323
Married, both spouses employed full time	143	161
Preschool children in household	143	99
Full-time workers with preschool children	48	93
Affiliated with a nonpolitical organization	538	485
Church member	605	429

meetings of such boards. In addition, we asked about volume of activity—not only whether respondents had engaged in the activity but how much they had done.

Even more unusual than the range of political acts covered by the Citizen Participation Study is that the survey also asked about voluntary activity outside of politics—in churches, secular charities, and nonpolitical organizations. The questions about organizations were unusually detailed, encompassing several questions about the respondent's involvement in each of no fewer than 20 categories of organizations—fraternal groups, unions, political issue organizations, hobby clubs, neighborhood or homeowner associations, and so on—and an extensive battery about the single organization that is most important to the respondent. With respect to religious participation, we asked about not only attendance at religious services but also activity in educational, charitable, and social activities associated with a church or synagogue—apart from attendance at services. Systematic data on participation in these domains are very rare, and systematic data that permit comparisons between political participation and voluntary activity outside of politics have been until now, nonexistent.

Since it is novel to bring together data about participation in political and nonpolitical realms, it is important both to distinguish them analytically as well as to recognize the fuzziness of the empirical boundary that separates them. By political activities we mean activities—formal or informal, mainstream or unconventional, collective or individual—that seek to influence either directly or indirectly what the government does. However, voluntary activity in both the religious and secular domains outside of politics intersects with politics in many ways. First, as we shall see, participation in these spheres—for example, running the PTA fund drive or managing the church soup kitchen—can develop skills that are transferrable to politics even when the activity itself has nothing to do with politics. In addition, these nonpolitical institutions can act as the locus of attempts at political mobilization: church and organization members make social contacts and, thus, become part of networks through which requests for participation in politics are mediated. Moreover, those who take part in religious or organizational activity are exposed to political cues and messages—as when a minister gives a sermon on a political topic or when organization members chat informally about politics at a meeting. Furthermore, churches and, especially, nonprofit organizations undertake many activities—ranging from aiding the homeless to funding cancer research to supporting the symphony—that are also undertaken by governments here and abroad.

Finally, many voluntary associations get involved in politics, and their attempts at influencing policy outcomes constitute a crucial source of input about citizen views and preferences. Support of an organization that takes stands on public issues, even passive support or support motivated by concerns other than government influence, represents a form of political activity. What makes the world of voluntary associations so complex for an inquiry like this one is the substantial variation among organizations in the extent to which they maintain an ongoing presence in politics and mix political and nonpolitical means of furthering their members'

interests. At one end of the continuum are organizations like the National Abortion Rights Action League or the National Taxpayers Union, for which political goals are intrinsic to organizational objectives and a high proportion of organizational activity is directed toward influencing political outcomes. At the other are organizations, like a local bowling league or garden club that have little or nothing to do with politics.

GENDER DIFFERENCE IN THE AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION

When we expand the scope of what we mean by political participation, what are the differences between women and men in the amount and kind of activity they undertake? Figure 1 presents basic data on the proportion who engage in various political acts. For each kind of activity except for attending protest, there is a consistent gender difference with women less active than men.⁶ The differences for voting, working in a campaign, serving on a local board, or attending a protest are statistically insignificant.⁷ Statistically significant gender differences are found in relation to making a campaign contribution, working informally in the community, contacting an official,⁸ and affiliation with a political organization—that is, membership in or contributions to organizations that take stands in politics.⁹ The

⁶For most of these measures, the time frame is the 12 months preceding the interview. However, for working in campaigns and making campaign contributions we asked about the preceding presidential election cycle beginning in January 1988. For two activities in which only a small proportion of respondents reported taking part, serving on local boards and protesting, we include activity over a two-year period. For precise wording of questions, see Verba, Schlozman, Brady, and Nie (1993).

⁷As in all surveys, the figures for voter turnout are exaggerated. Data from polls taken just after the election, for example, show the opposite result with respect to gender: for example, the 1990 *Statistical Abstract* gives figures from a large government-sponsored survey that 56.4% of men and 58.3% of women reported going to the polls in 1988. With respect to level of turnout, these figures are still inflated but are closer to the actual turnout than the figures from our survey. With respect to gender difference, there is evidence from vote validation studies (Traugott and Katosh 1979) that men are slightly more likely to misrepresent having gone to the polls than women are. Unfortunately, we have no analogous method of ascertaining the extent of, or gender bias in, overreporting for other activities.

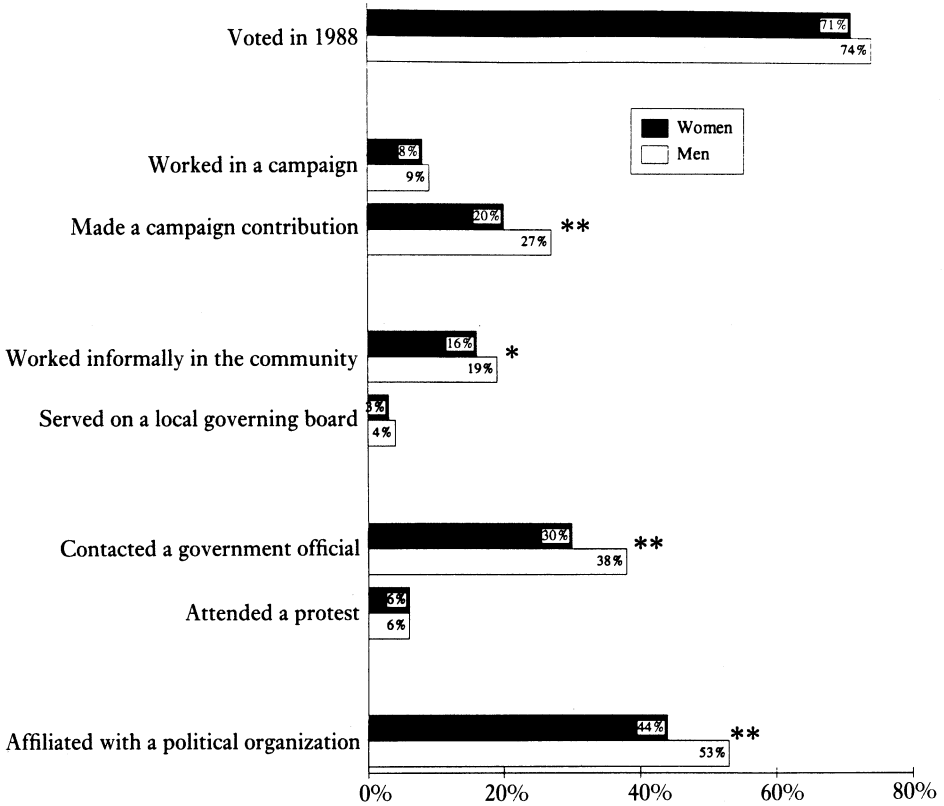
⁸There is virtually no difference between men and women contactors in terms of whether the substance was a particularized concern—that is, germane only to themselves or their families—or a policy issue of more general import: among those who got in touch with a public official, 22% of the men and 21% of the women indicated that their most recent contact was about a particularized matter.

⁹Our approach to measuring organizational involvement bears some elaboration. Since affiliation with an organization may be a matter of writing a check in response to a telephone or mass-mail solicitation instead of membership in traditional sense, we asked about both membership and financial contributions and consider either to be sufficient to qualify as organizational involvement.

For each of the 20 organizational categories for which a respondent indicated involvement, the respondent was asked the number of such organizations and a series of follow-up questions about the organization (or, if more than one in the category, the organization in which the respondent is most involved) and his or her activity in it. Among them was an item about whether the organization ever takes stands on public issues either nationally or locally. We consider affiliation with an organization that takes stands to be a form of political participation. For an extended discussion of these measures, and the rationale for them, see Schlozman (1994).

FIGURE 1

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY GENDER



* Significant at .05; ** significant at .01.

differences are not very large in any case, but some of them would appear to be of substantive significance. Summing across all eight acts on our scale of activity, we find that women engage in an average of 2.0 acts, men in an average of 2.3, a statistically significant difference that would appear to be of moderate substantive significance.¹⁰

Several findings emerge from figure 1. If the percentage of citizens who engage in a particular political activity is a measure of how hard or easy it is, the size of the

¹⁰The difference is statistically significant at the .001 level. To put the difference of .3 political acts in perspective, it is about the same as the difference in number of acts between white and black American (2.2 and 1.9 acts respectively) but one-third the size of that between Anglo-White Americans and Latinos (Latinos = 1.2 acts). It is about one-seventh the size of the difference between a respondent with a high school degree but no college and a college graduate (1.0 acts for the former and 3.1 acts for the latter).

gender gap is not related to the difficulty of the act. Furthermore, gender differences do not disappear when we expand the scope of participation beyond electoral participation. The exception is protesting; women are as likely to attend a protest as men. The data suggest that women participate a bit less than men in community activity. Contrary to what might be expected, there is less gender difference in the formal political activity of serving on a local government board than there is in more informal, ad hoc activities such as working with others in the community or getting involved in a political organization. The latter is an activity for which the not insubstantial male advantage is surprising given some of the expectations in the literature.¹¹ In short, then, the small to moderate differences between women and men persist—and, indeed, in some instances increase—even after we expand the scope of political participation.¹²

VOLUNTARY ACTIVITY OUTSIDE POLITICS

In figure 2 we consider voluntary activity in realms outside of politics in which women have sometimes been thought to predominate—nonpolitical organizations, charities, and religious institutions. Figure 2 shows that there is virtually no difference between women and men when it comes to voluntary participation in nonpolitical organizations and charities that are secular. What is striking, however, is that the arena in which women are clearly more active than men is one that is rarely mentioned in discussions of gender differences in participation—religious institutions. Not only are women more likely than men to go to services regularly, they are also more likely to give time to educational, charitable, or social activities associated with their church or synagogue and to contribute money to their religion. The differences are statistically significant and fairly substantial. Only when it comes to serving on the board or holding an official position in a religious institution are men about as active as women.

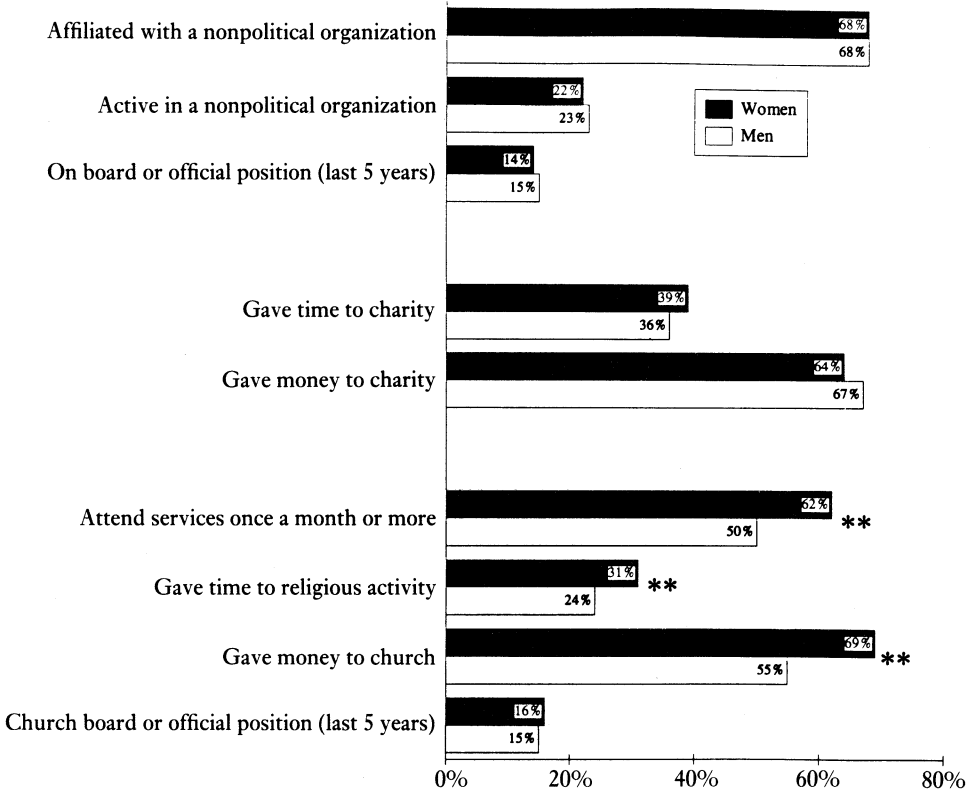
So far we have a pattern of small differences with men more active than women in politics, rough gender equality in voluntary activity in the secular domain outside politics, and women more active than men in religious institutions. A different pattern emerges if we consider the volume of activity—the average number of

¹¹The difference in involvement in political organizations could have two different sources. Women and men could join different kinds of organizations. Or men might be more likely than women to see politics in organizations of more or less the same kinds. Data about affiliations with different kinds of organizations suggest that the former operates more strongly than the latter—that is, that men and women are involved in different kinds of organizations, rather than that women are insensitive to political cues—but these data do not provide a definitive solution to this puzzle. Further discussion, detailed data, as well as elaboration of what we can learn about this question by examining the members of the single organization in which sufficient respondents reported membership, the American Association of Retired People (AARP), can be found in Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1993).

¹²Interestingly, data not included on figure 1 also call into question the notion that women are local specialists. Women were only slightly more likely than men to confine their political activity to subnational politics: 53% of the women, as opposed to 49% of the men, who participated in any way beyond voting had no activity at the national level.

FIGURE 2

NONPOLITICAL ACTIVITY BY GENDER



* Significant at .05; ** significant at .01.

hours or dollars contributed in the political, secular nonpolitical, and religious domains of voluntary participation—by women and men who are active in each realm. The data on this in table 1 differ from those just seen in figure 1 and figure 2 in that, instead of showing the proportion who are active in a particular way, they show the volume of voluntary input once the threshold of activity has been passed. The striking contrast in these data is not among the three realms of voluntary activity, but rather between time and money as voluntary inputs. With respect to time, there is no consistent gender difference in the average number of hours dedicated to voluntary action among those who are active. Surprisingly, once active, men give on average more hours to church than do women—even though women are more likely to be active in their churches. Equally surprising, *women* give more hours to politics, once active, than do men. With respect to money, however, the pattern is quite uniform. Money is different from time: among donors, men make

TABLE 1
VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS OF TIME AND MONEY BY GENDER

	Women	Men
Mean hours contributed (by those who gave any time)		
Political causes or campaigns	4.8	3.8
Charity	4.5	4.5
Church	3.5	4.2
Mean dollars contributed (by those who gave any money)		
Political causes or campaigns	\$223	\$306
Charity	\$248	\$321*
Church	\$588	\$697*
<i>N</i> = 2,517		

*Significant at .05; **significant at .01.

larger contributions than do women in each of the three domains—even though it is only in politics that they are more likely than women to be donors. These data suggest, then, that the patterns of difference have less to do with whether an activity falls into the realm of conventional, formalized electoral participation and more to do with whether the contribution to civic life is money or time. These results alert us that we need to pay particular attention to the different roles of money in men's and women's voluntary involvement.

THE RESOURCES THAT FACILITATE POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

In this section we investigate whether there are gender differences in the resources that might facilitate political activity: time, money, or civic skills. These resources derive from experiences at home and in school as well as from adult commitments—family circumstances, position in the work force, and affiliations with voluntary associations and churches or synagogues. Insofar as the life patterns of men and women differ systematically with respect to family responsibilities, work, and nonpolitical voluntary participation, their ability to acquire civic resources will also differ.

Money

In an era of skyrocketing campaign costs and expanding citizen efforts to influence political outcomes, money has become an especially important political resource for citizens. Table 2 presents several measures of income, each relevant to the issue of the economic resources potentially available for political activity. Given gender differences in both work-force participation and earnings, it is not surprising to find that, by every measure, women have less income than men: they live in households

TABLE 2
RESOURCES MONEY AND FREE TIME BY GENDER

	Women	Men
Mean family income from all sources	\$36,900	\$44,100**
Mean personal earnings	\$10,520	\$26,616**
Mean personal earnings (Full-time workers)	\$21,710	\$35,594**
Percent of family income derived from respondent's earnings (Married respondents only)		
All	21%	58%**
Employed full time	45%	73%**
Both spouses employed full time	43%	62%**
Average Hours Free per Day ^a		
All respondents	6.5	6.5
Full-time workers	4.1	4.5**
All respondents with preschool children	4.3	3.6*
Full-time workers with preschool children	2.9	3.4

^aFree time is defined as time left over after housework, childcare, employment, studying, and sleep are taken into account.

*Significant at .05; **significant at .01.

with smaller average incomes¹³ and earn less on average, even if they are working full time.

When it comes to using family money for political purposes, what might matter, as suggested earlier, is not simply the level of household income but also *control* over income. Table 2 also presents, for all married couples, for married couples in which the respondent works fulltime for pay, and for married couples in which both partners work fulltime for pay, measures of the extent to which the respondent's earnings contribute to family income. Consistent with the lower wages of women, in families where both spouses are employed fulltime, men reported that they contributed 62% of family income and women reported that they contributed 43%.¹⁴ As a consequence of both lower family incomes and lower contributions to family incomes, we should *expect* women to contribute less money to political, charitable, and religious causes than men.

¹³The gender difference in family incomes derives from differences in the family incomes of respondents who are not married (or in a marriage-like relationship). Among those who are single, divorced, separated, or widowed, men reported an average family income of \$40,900; women reported \$23,300. Since our sample of individuals is random, the average family incomes reported by married women and married men are, as expected, quite similar, \$46,800 and \$48,800 respectively.

¹⁴We calculated these figures on the basis of responses to questions about total family income and total personal earnings from employment. Since the earnings of the average wife and the average husband account for more than 100% of total family income, respondents seem to be overestimating their own contributions. Given that many households have income from sources other than earnings (for example, bank account interest or rents) we would, in fact, have expected the total of husband's and wife's earnings to be less than 100% of family incomes.

Time

Most forms of political involvement—working in a campaign, taking part in a community activity, attending a protest—require an investment of at least some time. Because women's and men's lives have traditionally been patterned by different commitments to home and the workplace, time may be quite inequitably distributed. We asked our respondents to estimate the time they devote to certain necessary activities: working for pay, including commuting and necessary work at home; doing household chores including child care; studying or attending classes toward a degree; and sleeping. The time remaining in a 24-hour day after accounting for these necessary activities is our measure of free time.¹⁵

Table 2 shows that, once obligatory activities have been taken care of, men and women have in the aggregate the same amount of free time left over. Free time varies, not with gender, but with such life circumstances as working fulltime or having preschool children at home. However, these life circumstances do not, on average, affect the time available to men and women in quite the same way. Men, who are more likely than women to be employed fulltime, put in longer hours on the job, even when compared to women who are employed fulltime. In contrast, women take disproportionate responsibility for caring for home and children, even when both husband and wife are employed fulltime. The net effect is that overall gender equality with respect to free time masks substantial differences among sub groups—with women who have fulltime jobs and preschool children at home having the fewest free hours to spare.¹⁶

Civic Skills

Civic skills, the communications and organizational abilities that allow citizens to use time and money effectively in political life, constitute a third resource for politics. These skills are acquired throughout the life cycle beginning at home and in school. In many ways, the process is cumulative: education not only produces such skills, but it also affects the likelihood that an adult will be in a position to develop skills even further. Those with high levels of education tend to enter occupations offering greater opportunities for honing civic skills and to be more likely to exercise civic skills as part of their activity in nonpolitical organizations and churches.

¹⁵For a fuller discussion of these data and the special characteristics of time as a resource, see Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (in progress).

¹⁶These results are consistent with the findings of other studies including those that use more sophisticated techniques to measure free time. See, for example, Hochschild (1989) and Schor (1992, 21, 30, 35, 36, 38).

Regression analysis of the impact of family and work circumstances on free time available to women and men shows that, with one exception, the life circumstances that affect the availability of free time—working, especially full time, having a spouse who works full time, and having children at home—work in the same way for women and for men. The exception is that having preschoolers at home costs women even more time than it costs men. This analysis, and other data that support and elaborate the findings in this section, can be found in Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1993).

Since the acquisition of civic skills begins early in life in school, gender differences in levels of formal education may contribute to participation differences. The men in our sample reported somewhat more education, an average of 13 years of schooling, than did the women, who reported an average of 12 and one-half years. In particular, men are more likely than women to have graduate training and, especially, doctoral or other professional degrees.¹⁷ In contrast, there is no advantage to either men or women when it comes to two other education-related measures of civic skills: participation in high school student government and vocabulary ability.¹⁸

Adults can continue to develop civic skills in nonpolitical institutional settings— at work, in voluntary associations, and at church. To measure the civic skills practiced in adulthood we asked those who have jobs or who reported activity in a church or a nonpolitical organization whether they had, as part of their involvement in each sphere, engaged in any of these activities during the past six months: written a letter, gone to a meeting where they took part in making decisions, planned or chaired a meeting, or given a presentation or speech. Those who have an opportunity to practice these skills in a nonpolitical setting would, we expect, become both more capable of and more comfortable doing these activities in a political context. Thus, experience in, say, giving presentations or organizing meetings on the job, in a nonpolitical organization, or in church might facilitate political participation not only by enhancing skills relevant to politics but also by increasing the sense of political efficacy that predisposes a citizen to act.¹⁹

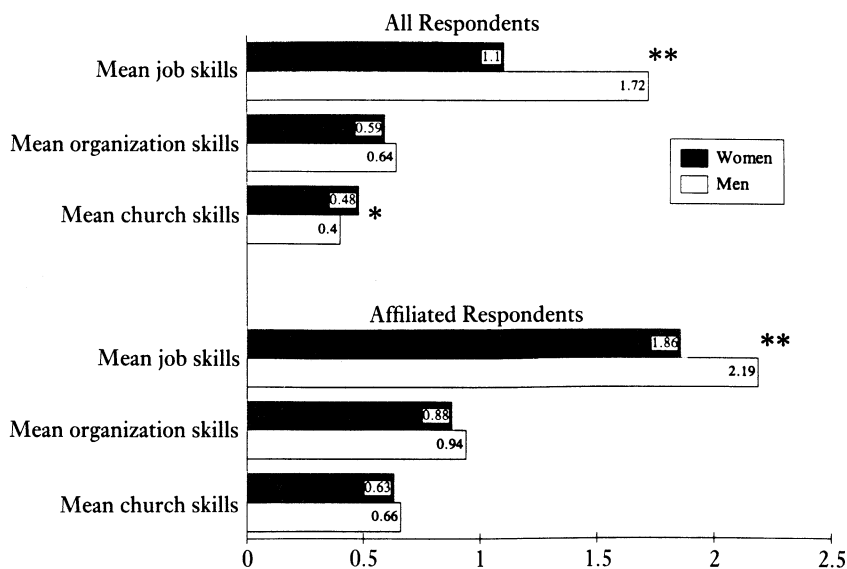
The chance that someone exercises civic skills in a nonpolitical context depends upon several factors. First, an individual must be connected to the institution— must have a job or be affiliated with a secular voluntary association or a church. In addition, it depends upon the particular kind of institution: a job in a public relations firm rather than a hairdressing salon or membership in a fraternal association rather than a softball league is more likely to yield opportunities for the development of skills. Finally, there is variation among individuals: some people are more inclined than others to assume responsibility voluntarily and to undertake acts that develop skills. To the extent that the initiative in apportioning skills rests with leaders and staff, we would expect them to recruit individuals with existing skills and experience and demonstrated willingness to serve. Among workers or members with similar credentials and experience, however, leaders and staff might also be more likely to call upon those with particular characteristics—say, gender or race—to take on these responsibilities. Therefore, as we consider any gender

¹⁷Since women tend to be overrepresented among the elderly, who have on average lower levels of education, it is important to consider the distribution of education by age. Within each of the cohorts except for the youngest and oldest, male respondents reported somewhat more education.

¹⁸We assessed vocabulary using a 10-word test that has been included regularly in the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Survey.

¹⁹For further discussion of these measures and an analysis demonstrating that civic skills are actually learned in the three nonpolitical spheres we specify, see Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (in progress). For detailed data on gender differences in the exercise of particular skills in each of the three settings, see Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1993).

FIGURE 3
 MEAN NUMBER OF CIVIC SKILLS BY GENDER:
 ALL RESPONDENTS AND AFFILIATED RESPONDENTS^a



^aJob affiliation = working part or full time; organizational affiliation = member or contributor nonpolitical organization; church affiliation = church member or regular attender of services in the same church.

*Significant at .05; **significant at .01.

differences in civic skills we shall seek to learn where in the process the selection occurs—in differences between women and men in institutional affiliations, in the kinds of institutions with which men and women are involved, or in the way that opportunities to practice skills are apportioned within institutions.

Figure 3 reports the mean number of civic skills acquired by women and men at work, in organizations, and in religious institutions. The data are for all respondents as well as for those who are affiliated with the the institution—i.e., those working, in an organization, or affiliated with a church or synagogue. Let us begin with job-based civic skills. Considering all respondents, whether working or not, men report more opportunities to practice such job-based civic skills: they average 1.72 skills; women average 1.10.²⁰ The process that produces the difference is a cumulative one. First, men are more likely than women to have jobs and, if working, to work fulltime. Furthermore, men are more likely than women to hold the kinds

²⁰An extended explanation of the process of skill acquisition on the job, including elaborated data and bibliographical references, and an explanation as to why these figures may, in fact, underestimate the gender gap in civic skills practiced at work can be found in Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1993).

of jobs requiring formal education and on-the-job training that might be expected to provide opportunities to develop civic skills. This relationship obtains even when education is held constant. Thus, the masculine advantage with respect to jobs that demand education and training cannot, by and large, be explained by the relatively small gender difference in educational attainment among fulltime workers. Once in a job at a particular level, however, there is relatively little difference between men and women in the number of civic skills exercised; when one controls for level of job, the significant difference on figure 3 in the mean number of job skills for working women and working men disappears.²¹ To summarize, it seems that men's advantage with respect to civic skills exercised on the job results from a process by which men have differential access to jobs that require education and training and not from differential access to skill opportunities in these jobs.

Civic skills relevant to politics can also be exercised in nonpolitical voluntary associations. As mentioned earlier, we asked about affiliations with a wide variety of types of voluntary associations. For the organization with which the individual was most involved, we asked a series of questions including items about opportunities to practice civic skills. As we have seen, in contrast to men's greater work-force participation, there is no gender gap in affiliation with a nonpolitical organization. Furthermore, among those in organizations, men report no more opportunities to practice civic skills than do women.

The pattern for church-based skills differs somewhat from that for skills developed on the job or in nonpolitical voluntary associations. Because they are more likely than men to be church members or to attend services regularly at the same church, women have, on average, somewhat more opportunities to exercise civic skills in the religious domain. However, in a pattern that echoes what we found for nonpolitical organizations, among church members women and men have similar opportunities to practice skills.

Figure 3 contains several noteworthy findings. First, for both men and women, but especially for men, the workplace provides by far the largest number of opportunities for the development of civic skills. Secular nonpolitical organizations and religious institutions provide roughly equivalent opportunities to practice civic skills—but many fewer in comparison to jobs. If there is a gender difference in skill acquisition, it depends on the different rate of institutional affiliation of women and men; that is, the proportion working, in an organization, or involved with a church or synagogue. With respect to work, it also depends on the fact that men, on average, hold more highly skilled jobs. Within each institution—that is, among the affiliated—the likelihood of acquiring skills is equal. Since women are less likely to be working than men and, if working, to have less skilled jobs, they get fewer skills from the workplace than men. Since women are more likely to be affiliated with a church or synagogue than men, they get more skills from religious institutions.

²¹A regression analysis shows that, controlling for education, women have lower level jobs than men. Controlling for education and the level of jobs, however, women are not disadvantaged in the skills acquired on the job.

However, since the workplace produces on average more skills than do religious institutions, men wind up advantaged in terms of civic skills.

ARE THE PATHS TO PARTICIPATION GENDER-SPECIFIC?

We have seen that there are disparities of varying sizes in the resources that men and women bring to politics, disparities that reflect their roles and experiences in family, workplace, and society. In this section of the article we investigate whether, apart from these differences in resources, the path to participation is different for women and men. We address this question twice—once for the overall level of political activity and once for the amount of money individuals give to politics.

Overall Political Activity

In the first analysis, we use a regression in which our expanded understanding of political activity—measured by an additive scale (ranging from 0 to 8) of the various political acts covered in our survey²²—is the dependent variable and the resources we have been discussing as well as aspects of family circumstances that might have differential consequences for women's and men's ability to become active politically are the independent variables.²³ We interact each of these variables with gender to learn whether the process of politicization is different for women and men. If so, then the coefficient estimates will be different for men and women. Table 3 reports the results of regressions. The numbers in table 3 are the coefficient estimates for women and men once we take the interaction terms into account.²⁴ We report the actual coefficient estimates and standard errors in the appendix. The analysis, which underscores the role of the social institutions of civil society in

²²The items comprising the scale have a Cronbach's alpha of 6.4.

²³The political activities contained in the scale are those included in figure 1. We use OLS for this analysis. However, the general pattern described here holds when we use a simultaneous equation model. In general, we believe the variables we use as independent variables—including the skill variables—are all prior in causal order to political activity. Although we can all cite examples to the contrary (such as prospective candidate who joins a church to further a political career or the college student becomes a lawyer in anticipation of a career in politics), the choice to enter a church or take a job is rarely the result of political activity. For an analysis of the statistical and causal properties of the resource model, see Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (in progress).

²⁴Two sets of statistically significant coefficients in table 3 (reported in bold) are different for men and for women, those for organizational affiliation and those for the constant term. In the case of the constant term, the constant term and the interaction for women were both statistically significant, and thus the correct coefficient for women is simply the coefficient for men plus the coefficient on the interaction term. For organizational affiliation, the coefficient for men was not statistically significant, but that on the interaction term was, so the correct coefficient for women is that on the interaction term alone. When the coefficients reported in table 3 are the same for women and men, the interaction term for women was not statistically significant, but the coefficient for the variable alone was statistically significant. When neither coefficient was statistically significant, we reported the coefficient on the interaction term for women and the coefficient on the variable alone for men.

TABLE 3
 PREDICTING ACTIVITY FOR WOMEN AND MEN:
 RESOURCES AND FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES

Variable	Women <i>B</i>	Men <i>B</i>
Education-based variables		
Years school	0.17**	0.17**
H.S. government	0.19**	0.19**
Vocabulary	0.13**	0.13**
Income measures		
Family income	0.02*	0.02*
% from respondent	-0.00	-0.00
Time		
Free time	0.02	-0.00
Work place variables		
Job level	0.01	-0.00
Job skills	0.12**	0.12**
Organization-based variables		
Organizational affiliation	0.28**	-0.08
Organization skills	0.24**	0.24**
Church-based variables		
Attend church	0.00	0.01
Church skills	0.16**	0.16**
Family circumstances		
Married	0.13	0.19
School-aged children	-0.03	-0.02
Pre-school children	-0.19*	-0.19*
Constant	-0.44**	0.47*
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	0.31	
<i>N</i>	2,198	

Bold lines indicate a statistically significant gender difference.

*Significant at .05; **significant at .01.

creating a competent and active citizenry and provides an important elaboration to our understanding of roots of political participation, indicates that the pathways to political activity are very similar for women and men.²⁵

Education. The model includes measures of educational attainment (ranging from 0 to 7); participation in high school government (0 to 3); and vocabulary skill

²⁵We estimated these equations several different ways. We included interactions between marital status and the percentage of family income derived from the respondent's earnings. We also included interactions between all of the variables and both gender and marriage. In addition, we ran the equations separately for married people. While several other variables appeared statistically significant in these other estimations, we decided to report the version that is most parsimonious—and, overall, most

(0 to 10).²⁶ Each plays a significant role in predicting political activity for both women and men. Moreover, these variables work exactly the same way for the two groups.

Income. Family income (measured in \$10,000 units) is also a significant factor for both women and men. Substantively, however, its effect is small: for each additional \$10,000 of family income, an individual participates in 0.02 more political acts.

Time. The amount of free time (measured in hours) available does not seem to matter for either women or men. Analysis not shown here demonstrates, however, that—among those who give some time to politics—free time is a significant factor (both statistically *and* substantively) in determining the *amount* of time given to politics (see Verba, Brady, Schlozman, and Nie 1992).

Nonpolitical Institutions. We included in the model a measure of “job level” (based on the amount of formal education and on-the-job training required for the job, scored 0 to 5);²⁷ affiliation with an organization that does not take stands in politics (0 to 2); and frequency of church attendance (0 to 8). For each domain, we included measures of the civic skills practiced there.

Civic skills practiced in nonpolitical institutions—on the job and in nonpolitical organizations and churches—have a significant influence on political activity for both women and men. In addition, while neither job training requirements nor church attendance have an effect beyond the skills practiced, being affiliated with a nonpolitical organization increases the political activity of women, but not men. Since the organizational affiliation variable ranges from 0 (not affiliated) to 2 (active), nonpolitical organizational involvement can mean one half of a political act more for women.

Family Circumstances. We included several measures of family circumstances: marital status (0 to 1), the presence of school-aged children at home (0 to 1), the number of preschool children at home (0 to 4) and the proportion of family income attributable to the respondent’s earnings. Only one of these variables influences

stable—because we were concerned about the stability of the estimates for variables that sometimes appeared to matter and sometimes did not.

In results not reported here, when we estimate the equations separately for men and for women, the model explains more of the variation in women’s than men’s participation. Women seem more constrained by their resources than are men.

²⁶For ease of presentation, we have placed vocabulary skill under the rubric of “education-based variables.” In fact, we make no presumptions about the causal ordering behind the strong relationship between vocabulary skill and formal educational attainment. For our purposes, it does not matter whether people who spend a lot of years in school develop good vocabularies or whether people who have good vocabularies are likely to go far in school.

²⁷We do not add dummy variables for working full or part time because the time and job skills variables subsume this information.

women's or men's overall political activity, the presence of preschool children. Each additional preschool child implies a decrease in political participation by about one-fifth of an act for *both* men and women.²⁸

The results contain some surprises. We had expected the amount of free time available and the presence of school-age children to have consequences for the amount of political activity. They do not—for either men or women. Preschoolers, on the other hand, do diminish activity.

While the broad outlines of the explanation of political participation are the same for men and women, one difference in the paths to participation deserves further discussion. Affiliation with nonpolitical organizations, apart from the politically relevant skills exercised there, has an impact on activity for women, but not for men. Part of the explanation for this gender difference lies in the fact that the effect of organizational affiliation is especially strong for nonworking women for whom the broader exposure outside of the household may play a special role. When we reestimate the model with an interaction term between organizational affiliation and employment status, women who have not held a job for as long as one year in the past five get nearly twice the impact from their organizational affiliations as do women who have been in the labor force. This is a finding consistent with the literature both on the significance of women's organizational involvements and on the implications of extra-domestic concerns for women's political activity (see, for example, Gurin 1986).

Political Money

In all three domains of voluntary activity—politics, charities, and churches—among those who make donations, women give, on average, significantly smaller amounts than men. While women are no less likely than men to make contributions to charitable or religious institutions, in the political domain, not only do women contribute less when they give but they are less likely to make political contributions in the first place. In an era when political money has assumed greater significance, this is a gender difference that merits fuller exploration. As we have seen, differences in income and in the percentage of contributions to the family income were among the larger resource differences between men and women.

In table 4, we examine the relationship between political resources and the amount of money given to electoral campaigns and political causes in the past year. This model differs in one way from the overall model of political participation. In that case, the dependent variable was an enumeration of acts without regard to the volume of activity—that is, a sum of “How many?” without asking for any single activity “How much?” In this case, we are measuring the *amount* of money

²⁸We also considered whether there might be a threshold effect for the exercise of economic power within the family. That is, we tested whether there was some absolute level of earnings above which either partner gains autonomy within the family with respect to making political contributions. Although we experimented with several different levels, it seems not to be the case.

TABLE 4
 PREDICTING CONTRIBUTIONS FOR WOMEN AND MEN:
 RESOURCES AND FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES

Variable	Women <i>B</i>	Men <i>B</i>
Education-based variables		
Years school	10.76	-1.39
H.S. government	-2.71	14.32
Vocabulary	0.32	-0.92
Income measures		
Family income	28.30**	28.30**
% from respondent	0.89**	0.89**
Time		
Free time	8.55**	8.55**
Work place variables		
Job level	-17.76	11.16
Job skills	-9.39	9.63
Organization-based variables		
Organizational affiliation	15.79	-16.36
Organization skills	24.22*	24.22*
Church-based variables		
Attend church	-3.05	-0.37
Church skills	-0.84	5.15
Family circumstances		
Married	10.83	-21.18
School-aged children	0.29	-13.07
Pre-school children	10.64	3.78
Constant	-84.00**	-191.85**
Adjusted R^2 0.15		
$N = 2,198$		

*Significant at .05; **significant at .01.

contributed. As shown in table 4, the basic pattern is similar for women and men, but very different from the pattern for overall political activity. When it comes to giving money, most of the measures of resources that proved powerful in explaining overall activity—in particular, measures of education and most civic skills—are irrelevant. The single variable that matters most for both men and women is family income—the effect is strong and the same for women and men.²⁹ In addition, for both men and women, contributions seem to rise with the proportion of family income attributable to their earnings. For each additional percentage of family income a respondent brings in, political contributions increase by about a dollar.

²⁹As with the earlier equation, if we estimate the equation separately for men and for women, we find that women in general are more constrained by their resources than are men.

Since the mean political donation for all women, including those who contribute nothing, is \$47, this is an important effect. In general, then, the paths to political activity are not differentiated by gender. With one exception—organizational affiliation, which boosts women's overall activity but not men's—the resources that facilitate activity have the same effect for men and women.

DIFFERENT RESOURCES, DIFFERENT PATHS: THE COMBINED EFFECTS

To this point we have demonstrated that there are disparities between women and men in politically relevant resources and, in the case of organizational affiliation and overall activity, a variation in the way that particular variable operates to affect the participation of men and women. We now wish to take the final step of showing how the differences in level of resources affect the gender gap in participation. Table 5 presents—first for overall activity, then for the amount contributed to campaigns and other political causes—the mean effects of the resource and family variables upon levels of participation for women and for men. The table allows us to ask what would happen to the gender gap in participation if women were as well endowed with resources as men.

To create table 5, we calculated—separately for men and women—the average level of each of the variables that table 3 and table 4 indicate are systematically related to political participation. These are largely resource measures plus organizational affiliation (which affects overall activity for women but not men) and obligations to preschool children. To assess the influence of these variables on participation by women and men, we multiplied their average level for men and women by their respective coefficient estimates (taken, again, from table 3 and table 4). The numbers in the first two columns of table 5, then, are the average effect of the particular variable upon the number of political acts in which women and men engage and upon the number of dollars that they give to political campaigns and causes. Since the coefficient estimates for the variables are the same for men and women, the difference between column 1 and column 2 reflect the differences between men and women in the mean level of the variables. Since most of the variables measure resources, these are largely differences in resource levels. We report the male–female difference in column 3 of table 5. (The one exception to the rule that the coefficient estimates are the same for women and men is the differential impact of organizational affiliation on the overall activity of women and men. That is not reflected in the right-hand column. We will comment on it later.) The data in column 3 reflect the additional participation by men that results from the different level of the relevant variable.

Consider first overall political activity. As we saw earlier, men are somewhat more active than women on this measure: averaging 2.3 political acts compared with 2.0 for women. The contribution to this difference of the various effects described on table 3 can be ascertained from the right-hand column of table 5. For

TABLE 5

EFFECTS OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN RESOURCES ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY

	Effect of Variable on Women's Activity	Effect of Variable on Men's Activity	Male Advantage Due to Different Level of Variable
Overall political activity			
Education	0.45	0.50	+0.05
H.S. government	0.15	0.16	+0.01
Vocabulary	0.82	0.82	0.00
Family income	0.07	0.09	+0.02
Job skills	0.17	0.20	+0.03
Organizational affiliation	0.29	—	*
Organization skills	0.14	0.15	+0.01
Church skills	0.08	0.06	-.02
Preschool children	-0.05	-0.04	+0.01
Constant	-0.44	0.47	
		Sum of differences = +.11	
Political contributions			
Family income	\$104	\$125	+\$21
% from respondent	\$ 19	\$ 52	+\$33
Free time	\$ 56	\$ 56	0
Organization skills	\$ 14	\$ 16	0
Constant	-\$ 84	-\$192	
		Sum of differences = +\$54	

We calculated the effects using the mean values of the explanatory variables for men and for women in the sample.

*Organizational affiliation has no effect on overall activity for men, though it has a significant effect for women. This difference in the coefficient rather than the difference in the level of the variable has an effect on the gender difference in activity.

example, table 3 showed that education has the same effect on activity for men and women, enhancing participation by .17 act for each step up the educational scale. Men, who average one-third point higher on that scale thus gain .05 political acts from their educational advantage. The right-hand column of table 5 shows a series of small participatory gains to men arising from their differential resources. When we consider these together (and account for the small compensatory advantage that accrues to women by virtue of the skills they exercise in church), we see that, if women had men's resources, their participation would increase by .11 act—thereby closing the participatory gap by more than one-third.

Table 5 does not reflect the special impact of organizational affiliation. In this case, the explanatory variable takes the same value—men and women are equally likely to be affiliated with a nonpolitical organization—but the process works differently for the two groups. While organizational affiliation does not have a

significant impact on men's participation, it enhances women's activity (see table 3). The effect leads to an increase of .29 political acts for women due to the effect of organizational affiliation.³⁰ If women were not organizationally involved or if their involvement did not yield the participatory boost to them that it does, then the gender gap in activity would be twice as great—.6 act rather than .3 act. Organizational affiliation, thus, functions for women as an important counterbalance to the resource advantages that accrue to men by virtue of their higher levels of education, family income, and job skills.

The effect of differential resources on political contributions, shown in the bottom half of table 5, is even more striking. We saw earlier that men contribute, on average, \$83 more to politics than women do, and that both the level of family income and the proportion of family income attributable to the respondent's wages are significantly related to political giving. Table 4 showed that, for both men and women, each \$10,000 increment in family income yields an additional \$28.30 in contributions. Family incomes of women are, on average, \$7,200 lower than those of men, which implies a \$20 contribution deficit. Table 4 also indicated that each percentage increase in the proportion of family income derived from the respondent's earnings yield an additional \$.89 in political donations. Men's wages accounted, on average, for 58% of family income, in contrast to 21% for women, resulting in \$33 more in contributions. Together the disparities in family income and in the proportion of family income derived from the respondent's earnings thus account for \$53, or just under two-thirds of the original gender gap in contributions. It is interesting to note, further, that the gender difference in the percentage contributed to family income has a more substantial effect on giving than does the gender difference in the size of the family income. This suggests that we should pay particular attention to the role of control over family income in future inquiries.

In short, we see for overall participation the cumulative effect of what are often small resource differences. For political contributions, the result is more dramatic largely because the resource that matters most for giving money is that for which the gender disparity is greatest—family income. Furthermore, it appears that the large gender disparity in control over family income—as indicated by the proportion of family income that derives from the respondent's earnings—plays an even bigger role. Redistribution of resources would diminish considerably the gender gap in participation.³¹

³⁰As figure 2 shows, 68% of men and women are affiliated with a nonpolitical organization. The measure of organizational affiliation variable used in the regression on table 3 is, however, a trichotomy: coded 0 to 2, with 0 equal to nonaffiliation, 1 = nonactive membership, and 2 = active membership. Women average 1.05 on the scale. Since the coefficient for organizational affiliation, as seen on table 3, is .28, this works out to: $1.05 \times .28 = .29$ additional acts.

³¹In other versions of the model, the gender gap in overall participation and, especially, contributing was reduced even further. However, we chose the model for which we had the most confidence in the stability of the estimates.

CONCLUSION

In terms of how much and what kinds of voluntary activity, our data—which allow analysis of multiple kinds of political acts as well as activity in nonpolitical organizations, charities, and churches—confirm that, in general, men are somewhat more active in politics than women. The differences are generally small, though there are statistically and substantively significant differences in the frequency of contributing to campaigns, contacting an official, and belonging to a political organization. However, with respect to particular forms of activity the contours of the gender gap in participation were somewhat unexpected. Earlier scholarship has distinguished electoral from nonelectoral, formal from informal, and national from local in describing gender differences in political activity. Our results suggest that we must include in our focus an appreciation of the role of money in understanding gender differences in participation.

By and large, the paths to politics are similar for men and women. The most important difference is the role of organizational involvement for women, a resource of special significance to women who are not in the work force. Scholars have often stressed the importance of voluntary associations in relation to the role of women in public life. Our data did not find a difference between men and women in the frequency of affiliation, but our data do confirm that such organizations play a special role in bringing women into political life. In terms of the extent to which disparities in resources explain the gender gap in political activity, substantial cumulative differences in resources translate into small differences in overall political participation and relatively large differences in contributions because men have their greatest relative advantage with respect to resources that have relatively modest influence on overall political participation, but a quite considerable impact on political contributions.

Our results suggest that, among the multiple implications of women's much publicized economic disadvantage, are political consequences that have been largely overlooked. Recent scholarship has focused upon the extent to which women's traditional responsibilities in the home have robbed them of the free time necessary for political involvement. Our results demonstrate not only that, in the aggregate, women have as much free time as men but also that the availability of free time seems not to be critical for the decision to take part—although, among activists, it affects significantly the amount of time given to politics. In contrast, women have less money in their households and less control over the money in their households than men do, disadvantages that matter crucially for a form of participation, making political contributions, that has become increasingly important in recent decades.

Our results add another dimension to the widespread concern about the role of money in American politics, a concern that has thus far not been focused at all on issues of gender. With respect to the disparities in economic resources between

men and women, however, the question is not only with the meaning of marketplace inequalities for the principle of democratic equality among citizens but also with the way that the domestic political economy of the family exacerbates those marketplace inequalities when it comes to mode of citizen involvement of increasing significance in contemporary American politics.

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APPENDIX
COEFFICIENT ESTIMATES AND STANDARD ERRORS

Variable	Overall Involvement		Political Money	
	Alone	Interaction	Alone	Interaction
Education	0.17 (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)	-1.39 (7.27)	10.76 (10.71)
High school government	0.19 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)	14.32 (8.81)	-2.71 (12.09)
Vocabulary	0.13 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.92 (4.59)	0.32 (6.37)
Family income	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	28.30 (2.34)	-4.26 (3.39)
% respondent brings in	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.89 (0.29)	-0.58 (0.41)
Free time	-0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	8.55 (2.43)	-4.41 (3.18)
Job level	-0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)	11.16 (8.18)	-17.76 (11.15)
Job skills	0.12 (0.04)	0.03 (0.06)	9.63 (7.75)	-9.39 (11.21)
Organizational affiliation	-0.08 (0.07)	0.28 (0.09)	-16.36 (13.09)	15.79 (17.75)
Organizational skills	0.24 (0.05)	-0.12 (0.07)	24.22 (10.23)	-23.57 (14.01)
Church attendance	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.37 (3.59)	-3.05 (4.94)
Church skills	0.16 (0.05)	0.01 (0.07)	5.15 (9.47)	-0.84 (12.90)
Married	0.19 (0.10)	0.13 (0.14)	-21.18 (19.30)	10.83 (26.65)
School-aged children	-0.02 (0.12)	-0.03 (0.16)	-13.07 (23.02)	0.29 (30.50)
Preschool children	-0.19 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.12)	3.78 (17.24)	10.64 (22.92)
Constant	0.47 (0.22)	-0.91 (0.29)	-191.85 (42.05)	107.85 (56.60)
Adjusted R^2	0.31		0.15	

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