Chapter 6

Women and the Vote: From Enfranchisement to Influence

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Women represent a majority of the U.S. population, outnumbering men by five million in the most recent estimates by the U.S. Census.[1] In 2012, women made up 52 percent of all eligible voters,[2] 53.4 percent of all registered voters, and 53.7 percent—or 71.4 million—of all 133 million individuals who reported voting in the 2012 elections.[3] According to the Current Population Survey, 8.6 percent of women voters are aged 18–24, 30.3 percent are 25–44, 38.5 percent are 45–64, 12.6 percent are between 65 and 74, and 10 percent of women voters are over age 75. Of these women voters, 55 percent are married, 23.4 percent are widowed, divorced, or separated, and 21.3 percent of women voters have never been married. Finally, nearly 80 percent of women voters are white, 14.6 percent are black, 8.3 percent are Hispanic, and 2.9 percent are Asian (see Table 6.1).

Women are neither a minority of the population nor a minority of voters in U.S. elections. However, due partly to the historic exclusion of women from the democratic process and their marginalization in rights, power, and privileges, women's political participation shows distinct patterns from their male counterparts. This chapter reviews the history of women's enfranchisement, outlines patterns of women's voting and political preferences, and describes the strategic responses to and electoral implications of these trends. While delayed in winning and exercising their

Table 6.1
**Selected Demographic Characteristics
of Women Voters, 2012**

	Percentage of Women Voters
Age	
18–24	8.6
25–44	30.3
45–64	38.5
Over 75	10
Race	
White	80
Black	14.6
Hispanic	8.3
Asian/Pacific Islander	2.9
Marital Status	
Married	55
Previously Married	23.4
Never Married	21.3

Source: United States Census Bureau, Current
Population Survey.

vote, women voters have distinguished themselves from their male coun-
terparts over the past 35 years, making their voices and influence hard
to ignore in modern campaigns and elections. And though strategies to
harness women's political power often rely on adopting a monolithic cat-
egory of "women voters," differences in voting behavior and preferences
persist both *among* women and *between* women and men. The research and
data on intersectional, and influential identities, of race and marital sta-
tus better demonstrate where, to what degree, and in what ways gender
differences in voting have emerged. While claims that women are a uni-
fied voting bloc characterized by sameness in their voting practice or pref-
erences are oversimplified, women are united by their unique electoral
behavior when compared to men. Understanding the sources and sub-
stance of gender differences in voting—both in the aggregate and within
subgroups—is important to both amplifying women's political clout and
refining political strategies.

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

The century-long fight for women's suffrage began soon after the
nation's founders excluded women from both the deliberations over and
documents asserting American independence. In the early to mid-1800s,

women's suffrage advocates were often the same individuals and groups fighting for abolition. Just over a decade before the American Civil War, and 72 years after independence, women publicly declared their own rights and freedoms. In 1848, some 300 people—men and women—gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, for a historic women's rights convention where Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her suffragist colleagues proposed the Declaration of Sentiments, a document that marked the injustices weighed against women and protested the denial of their basic human rights, including the franchise. While the suffrage resolution within the Declaration of Sentiments was hotly debated, its ultimate inclusion signaled a move forward toward women's suffrage in the United States.

Suffragists worked to advance women's political inclusion over the next decade, but their efforts were stalled by the Civil War. However, only four years after abolition, in 1869, women achieved a significant victory as the Wyoming Territory became the first to grant women the franchise. In the same year, two prominent suffrage organizations were founded: the National Women's Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Women's Suffrage Association (AWSA). Though activists still sought various reforms to aid women and children, they began to focus more explicitly on the vote as a tool to achieve them.

Suffragists adopted three main strategies in their fight for women's enfranchisement. First, advocates took a state-by-state approach to amending laws and passing new ones granting women the vote. Despite persistent and nationwide efforts, however, only four states adopted women's suffrage by the turn of the century.[4] A second strategy made the case for women's full citizenship in the courts. After being arrested for attempting to vote in 1872, suffragist leader Susan B. Anthony sued, arguing that the Fourteenth Amendment did not permit gender distinction in conferring citizenship, within which individuals are entitled to the vote.[5] In 1875, the United States Supreme Court rejected this claim and ruled that suffrage was a state issue. The passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, giving black men the franchise, split the suffrage movement. NWSA rejected the amendment because it did not extend enfranchisement to women and AWSA accepted the amendment as a step toward universal suffrage. The two organizations reunited in the 1890s around a third strategy to gain women's suffrage when the newly merged National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) established a congressional committee dedicated to passing a constitutional amendment codifying women's enfranchisement.

At the same time, and particularly cognizant of their exclusion from the Fifteenth Amendment, black women, albeit limited to those with resources, access to, and time for advocacy efforts, worked to maintain a presence and voice in suffrage organizations. At the turn of the century, black women suffragists like Mary Church Terrell, Ida B. Wells, and Margaret Murray

Washington were recognized among the top advocates for women's suffrage.[6] However, as Southern Reconstruction shifted toward systemic segregation and disenfranchisement of freed blacks, white suffragists and their organizations began to view black women as a liability to winning Southern support for women's suffrage, often excluding them from organizational membership and activity.[7] Black women created their own clubs, including the National Association of Colored Women in 1896, to fight for universal suffrage and ensure that they would never again be overlooked if women were granted the right to vote.[8]

Multiple arguments were made for granting women's suffrage. First, was the claim, rooted in the Declaration of Sentiments, that granting women the vote was a matter of justice, an inalienable right of all citizens, and recognition of men and women's common humanity.[9] Second, advocates proclaimed that women would bring unique values and perspectives to the political process, including greater tendencies toward pacifism and less corruption.[10] In addition to being good for government, suffragists argued that political equality would be good for women, broadening their horizons, engagement, and intellect, as well as ensuring that their interests were protected in politics and policy-making.[11] Black women adopted this self-protection rationale with particular fervor, pointing to the vote as a necessary tool to address their "double burden" of racism and sexism, which increased as post-Reconstruction disenfranchisement of blacks solidified.[12] Racism's prevalence was another argument used by white suffragists to urge *white* women's enfranchisement: that granting women the vote could help to counter the "Negro vote" in the South.[13]

Male opponents to universal suffrage cited multiple reasons for their disapproval: politics would corrupt women, women were meant to focus on their domestic responsibilities, and women neither had the intellect nor political mind needed to cast a vote or hold office, which some opponents viewed as enfranchisement's logical, and dangerous, end.[14] Women who opposed suffrage argued that the vote would place an unnecessary burden on women and feared that women's integration into party politics would actually dilute their policy influence, as they would become beholden to partisan loyalties and lose the perceived purity of their status and opinions.[15]

By 1912, nine states and territories had granted women full voting rights.[16] In 1913, President Woodrow Wilson took office and soon became a target of heavy lobbying from NAWSA. Realizing that the incremental state strategy was not yielding significant progress, NAWSA urged Wilson to support a congressional amendment for women's suffrage, despite his repeated claim that suffrage was a state issue. While NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt employed a "winning plan" to lobby Congress and the President, Alice Paul employed more militant strategies through the National Women's Party, which was established in 1915: picketing the

White House, organizing a march on Washington, and initiating multiple hunger strikes by suffragists jailed for their protests.[17] The response from male opponents, police, and government—violence, arrests, and force-feeding inmates—elicited a public backlash that ultimately helped the suffrage cause.[18] As Tichenor argues, the combination and complementary nature of Catt's formal and Paul's militant tactics effectively pressured President Wilson to introduce the women's suffrage amendment to Congress in 1918.[19]

Throughout the congressional debate on the "Anthony Amendment," organizations like the National Association of Colored Women and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People fought repeated attempts to constrain the amendment to white women.[20] Congress passed the amendment to enfranchise *all* women in 1919 and, over the next year, women's suffrage organizations continued their fight in the states to ensure two-thirds ratified it. On August 26, 1920, Tennessee became the 36th state to ratify what became the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, whereby "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

In all states but two, women were able to exercise their right to vote in the 1920 elections.[21] Political insiders and politicians viewed women's entrance into the formal political sphere as a potential game-changer, assuming that women would bring not only unique but also unified preferences to the ballot box. That perceived threat was a boon to women's organizations, who successfully lobbied Congress in the early 1920s to pass the Sheppard-Towner Act (1921), which provided funding for maternity and child care, and the Cable Act (1922), which preserved women's citizenship if they married a noncitizen male.[22] However, women's political influence waned as both their turnout and political unity fell short of initial expectations. In the elections after 1920, women did not present significantly distinct voting preferences or perspectives from men, and their overall turnout continued to pale in comparison to men.[23]

Harvey explained that, after 1924, the power of women's organizations also declined, as did their policy impact.[24] She credited the parties' swift efforts to mobilize women with this decline, noting that organizations like the National League of Women Voters were too slow in harnessing women's formal political power. Unfortunately, party efforts were largely meant to quell women's potential for political influence, as they created women's divisions controlled by male party elites and rewarded them for obedience over activism.[25] Andersen characterizes the shift women made from disenfranchisement to bounded influence:

It is clear that the boundary which had been drawn to exclude women from electoral politics was not erased, but was renegotiated,

so that women, for the most part, had a special and relatively power-less place in American party and electoral politics by the end of the 1920s.[26]

This powerlessness was evident in the failed renewal of the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1929, only eight years after its passage.[27]

Many scholars have attempted to explain the unfulfilled promise of women voters' participation and influence after 1920. Harvey described how the lasting legacy of female disenfranchisement stunted both women's political organization and integration in the early 20th century.[28] She argued that women's organizations were unprepared to capitalize on newfound political opportunities after suffrage. Women voters, too, had to adapt to a new political reality where, as Andersen noted, they "had not only to learn new habits, but to unlearn old assumptions about acceptable behavior" of women.[29] And while women were enfranchised by law, they still faced challenges to their social and political empowerment due to men's antisuffrage attitudes. Black women's and men's enfranchisement was short-lived in many states where both formal and informal institutional barriers prevented their participation.[30] The South's Jim Crow laws disenfranchised most black women and men until the 1965 Voting Rights Act was passed.[31] Finally, in 1928, Anne O'Hare McCormick's article in the *New York Times Magazine* explained that while women involved in the suffrage fight maintained their skepticism of male power, the women who "inherited the vote" after 1920 were more likely to become partisans instead of activists.[32]

Though women's electoral influence waned after enfranchisement, women's suffrage altered the political landscape. Most obviously, women formally entered the electorate and parties adapted their rules accordingly. Electoral strategies were adjusted to account for women's inclusion, and even the decorum of polling places changed when women appeared.[33] Thus, while substantial boundaries remained for women's political empowerment, the seeds of change were sown.

DELAYED BUT DEFINED: GENDER DIFFERENCES IN WOMEN'S VOTING BEHAVIOR

Women did not exhibit different voting behavior or preferences than men until the latter part of the 20th century, and it was not until after the 1980 presidential election that the term *gender gap* was coined to indicate that women voters were an independent electoral force.[34] Though originally used to describe the difference in vote choice between men and women, the gender gap is more broadly defined as "the difference in the proportion of women and the proportion of men who support a particular politician, party, or policy position."[35] Within the last 40 years, gender gaps

have been evident in vote choice for presidential, congressional, and gubernatorial races, presidential approval ratings, issue positions, and party identification.[36] Gender differences are also evident in men and women's types and levels of political participation. Since 1980, women have demonstrated liberal leanings in party identification and policy preferences, have been more likely than men to support Democratic candidates, and have voted in higher numbers and proportions than their male counterparts.

Scholars have investigated the sources of gender differences, seeking explanation for why men and women's political preferences and behavior diverged. Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte outlined three potential psychological origins for gender differences in political opinions and behaviors: personality and socialization, feminist consciousness, and self-interest.[37] They found the strongest support for explanations tied to women's self-interest, such as Carroll's thesis that women's greater attainment of social, psychological, and financial autonomy from men by the early 1980s brought about significant differences in the voting patterns of men and women.[38] The significant rise in divorce rates in the 1960s and 1970s contributed to an overall increase in the number of female-headed households and women living apart from men.[39] Manza and Brooks more specifically traced the origin of the gender gap in voting to the rise in women's labor force participation, one indicator of women's growing self-sufficiency.[40] While women achieved greater relational and economic autonomy from men, the psychological shift among women has been attributed to the contemporary women's movement of the 1970s and 1980s, within which women developed a feminist consciousness that encouraged them to exercise and embrace their independence from men.[41]

Though women achieved greater autonomy from men due to societal change, their financial autonomy occasionally also meant greater economic vulnerability. Box-Steffensmeier, DeBoef, and Lin found that the gender gap in party identification, where women are more likely than men to identify with the Democratic Party, widened as the number of single and unmarried women increased and the economy deteriorated.[42] As Andersen notes, women relied more on government services than men and were disproportionately employed in government and public sector jobs, contributing to the gender gap in men and women's party identification and to gender differences policy preferences toward the role of government.[43] Today, women remain more likely than men to be poor, rely on government assistance or programs, and be employed in public sector jobs.[44] If women's self-interest motivates behavior, these gender differences in lived realities, though complicated further by class, race, and other factors, can help to explain gender gaps in political priorities and preferences.[45]

Instead of looking to women's socio-psychological or economic development, other scholars have argued that the gender gap in party

identification is better explained by changes in men's, not women's, political behavior.[46] Norrander explained that men's shift from the Democratic to Republican Party has outpaced women's partisan change, beginning in the South in the 1960s and in the North in the 1980s.[47] As Carroll summarized, "When men chose to shift their party identification, women chose not to follow them."[48] In fact, it was not until the 1990s that women appeared to shift their affiliation from the Republican to the Democratic Party.[49]

Finally, while most literature on gender differences in political participation and preferences has focused on aggregate and binary trends, there is growing recognition of gender as a dynamic, rather than unitary or isolated, category of analysis.[50] In complicating long-held conclusions about gender differences in political behavior and deepening investigation of what drives them, scholars have questioned whether or not gender is, in fact, the best or strongest explanation.[51] Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte cited race, religion, and economic factors as significant sources of disunity among women voters that outweigh their commonality in vote choice.[52] They noted that these factors have overwhelmed gender's effect on behavior in recent elections, despite the persistence of gender differences within these stated subgroups.[53]

Focusing on race specifically, Smooth argued that the Democratic preference among women voters is driven, in large part, by the strong Democratic affiliation among women of color, an affiliation shared by men of color.[54] More specifically, the strong and growing voice of black and Latina voters shapes aggregate trends of gender difference in voting preferences and electoral outcomes; since 2000, Latinas have been the fastest growing female population, and in the elections of 2008 and 2012, black women voters had the highest voter turnout rate among all groups of eligible voters.[55] Marital status is another factor, not isolated from gender or race, found to influence voting behavior, party identification, and policy preferences.[56] Over two-thirds of black women over age 15 are unmarried, and unmarried men and women have consistently demonstrated more liberal preferences than married men and women. And though gender gaps also appear *within* racial and ethnic subgroups and marital cohorts, there is increasing scholarly debate about what those gender differences mean among different groups, from where are they derived, what drives them, and how do they influence strategy and political outcomes? As Junn and Brown explained, posing questions like these is essential to "acknowledging the lived experiences of intersectional subjects" in analyses of political activism, behavior, and decision-making.[57]
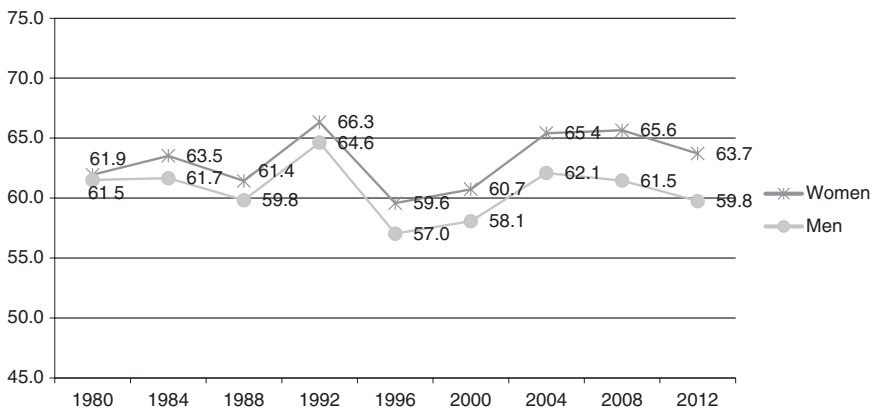
Gender Differences in Voter Turnout

Prior to 1980, men voted at higher rates than women.[58] For example, women were about 10 percentage points less likely than men to vote in the

1950s.[59] Norrander argued that the delay in women's increased turnout can be explained in part the hesitancy of women socialized before suffrage to fully accept their newly acquired political power.[60] Also, voter turnout data before 1965 excluded large numbers of black women and men disenfranchised in the Jim Crow South, and naturalization and citizenship hurdles have influenced voter registration and turnout among Asian Americans and Latinos.[61] Increased enfranchisement of women in these groups has coincided, at least in part, with women's growing turnout overall.

Since 1980, while women have demonstrated slightly less overall political participation, interest, and knowledge than men by some measures,[62] they have outperformed men on one of the most important dimensions of political participation and engagement: voting.[63] In every presidential election year since 1980, women voters outnumbered men and outvoted men as a proportion of the eligible voting population (see Figure 6.1).[64] The same trend holds for every nonpresidential election year since 1986 (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.3 shows men and women's turnout rates by race in presidential election years, using the four main Census categories: white, black, Hispanic, and Asian Pacific Islander. The figure shows gender differences in voter turnout among white, black, and Hispanic voters in every presidential election year since 1984. In the four election years for which the Census Bureau provides data on Asian/Pacific Islander voters, there are no consistent gender differences. However, in 2012, 48.5 percent of Asian/Pacific

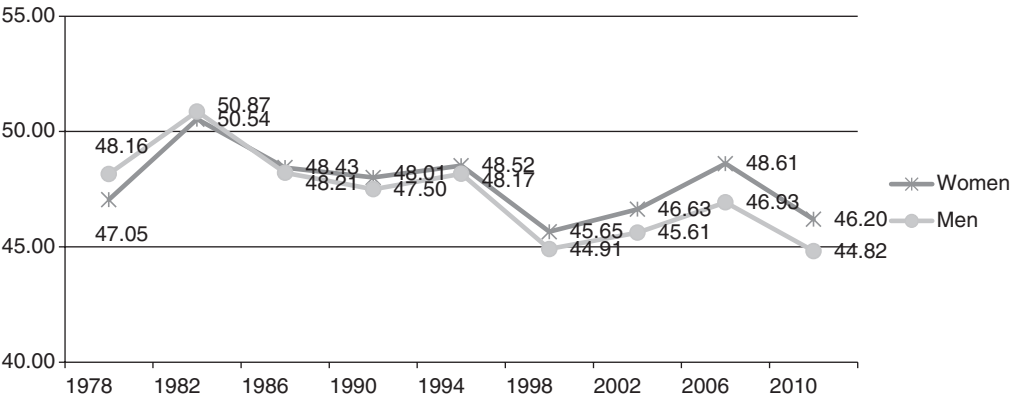**Figure 6.1**
Voter Turnout by Gender in Presidential Election Years, 1980–2012

Note: Data represent the percentage of female and male eligible voters who reported voting.

Source: United States Census Bureau, Current Population Survey.

Figure 6.2
Voter Turnout by Gender in Nonpresidential Election Years, 1978–2010

Note: Data represent the percentage of female and male eligible voters who reported voting.

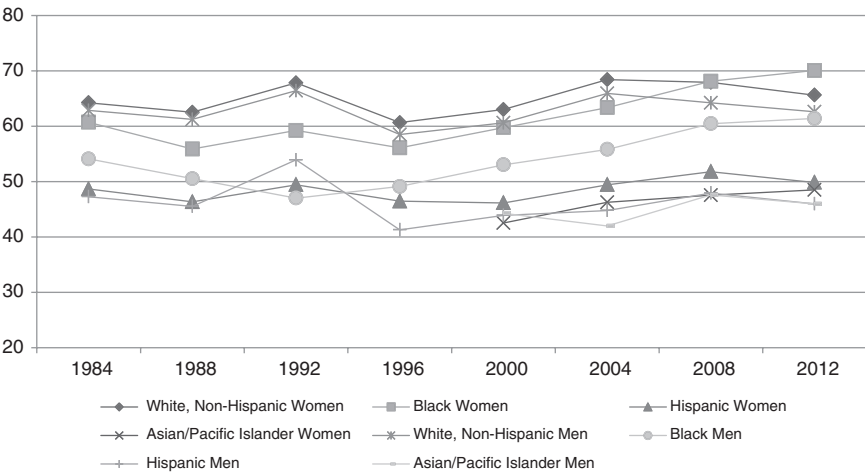*Source*: United States Census Bureau, Current Population Survey.

Figure 6.3
Voter Turnout by Gender/Race in Presidential Election Years, 1984–2012

Note: Data represent the percentage of female and male eligible voters who reported voting. Data from 2000 to 2004 represent people who reported they were the single-race White and not Hispanic, people who reported they were the single-race Black, and people who reported they were the single-race Asian. Data before 1998 represent people who reported they were the single-race White, people who reported they were the single-race Black, and people who reported they were the single-race Asian.

Source: United States Census Bureau, Current Population Survey.

Islander women voted compared to 46 percent of Asian/Pacific Islander men. As mentioned earlier, black women outvoted all other subgroups of women in both 2008 and 2012, while black men outvoted other male subgroups only in 2012. Finally, since 1984, the gap in voter turnout has grown between Latinas and Latinos. Moreover, Latinas have composed a greater share of the electorate than Latino men in every presidential election since 1996.[65] In all years reported, the total number of women who voted in each racial subgroup, including Asian/Pacific Islanders, exceeds the total number of their male counterparts since 2000.

Voter turnout also varies by marital status, presenting evidence of a marriage gap whereby married individuals are more likely to vote than unmarried people. In the last four presidential election cycles, married men and women voted at higher rates than unmarried men and women, and there is no gender difference in turnout within the married cohort. However, among individuals previously married and never married, women are more likely to cast ballots than their male counterparts. In 2012, for example, while 46 percent of never-married men voted, 55 percent of never-married women did. Differences in voting behavior by marital status overlap and intersect with those evident by income or race, each influencing the existence and expanse of gender differences.

Gender Gap in Vote Choice

Women voters' higher turnout would have less significance if they shared the same preferences and cast the same votes as their male counterparts, but they do not. Data on men's and women's vote choice demonstrate that when women vote, they make different choices than men. The gender gap in presidential vote choice, defined as the difference between the percentages of women and men who support a candidate, generally the leading or winning candidate, was first publicized by women's organizations after the 1980 presidential contest where women were significantly more likely to vote for Jimmy Carter than were men. But this was not the first year that men and women's presidential votes differed. In the 1956 and 1960 presidential elections, women voters were more likely than men to vote for the Republican candidates.[66] A gender gap in the opposite direction was evident in the 1972 election, when women were more likely than men to support the Democratic candidate, but the gap was not solidified until the 1980 presidential election. Ondercin and Bernstein credited 1980 with the "dawning of a new gender gap,"[67] and Carroll noted the catalytic effect Ronald Reagan and his positions on government's role had on cementing differences in vote choice between women and men.[68] Carroll noted, "It may have taken 60 years to arrive, but the women's vote that the suffragists anticipated is now clearly evident and has been influencing the dynamics of presidential elections for almost three decades."[69]

Women's Democratic presidential preference has been consistent in the past nine presidential elections (1980–2012), where a greater proportion of women than men voted for the Democrat (see Table 6.2).[70] In every presidential contest since 1988, the majority of all women voters cast their ballots for the Democrat. The majority of male voters supported the Republican candidate in all presidential elections since 1980 except for 1992 and 2008, when majorities of both men and women supported Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, respectively.[71] The largest gender gap recorded to date was 11 percentage points in 1996, when a majority of women voters (54%) cast ballots for Bill Clinton while he received only 43 percent of men's votes. The lowest recorded gender gap was 4 percentage points in 1992. The 2012 presidential election saw the second-largest gender gap—10 percentage points—in presidential voting.[72] Women's votes were particularly decisive in 2012, as the majority of women voted for Obama and the majority of men voted for Romney.

Smooth demonstrated the significant force of black and brown women in women's support for the Democratic candidates in each presidential election since 1996.[73] As Table 6.3 shows, black women voters voted for the Democratic candidates in each year at the highest levels of any gender and race subgroup; nearly 90 percent voted for Bill Clinton in 1992 and 1996, 94 percent voted for John Kerry in 2004, and 96 percent voted for Barack Obama in both 2008 and 2012. Support among Latinas has been similarly high since 1996, ranging from 68 to 78 percent for the Democratic presidential candidates in each year.[74] On the other hand, the majority of white women have voted for the Republican presidential candidate in each election since 2004, and their votes were split between major party candidates in 1992 and 2000. In only one year—1996—did white women prefer the Democratic candidate, Bill Clinton, to the Republican candidate, Bob Dole.

While Democratic candidate preference varies among women by race, gender gaps between men and women within each racial subgroup persist (see Table 6.3). Closely examining women within racial subgroups, it is more often the depth of support for a particular candidate that varies between men and women instead of a gender difference in the candidate of choice.[75]

Gender gaps in vote choice for congressional and gubernatorial candidates, though less often cited, have been evident for much of the last four decades. Exit polls reveal a persistent gender gap in vote choice for House candidates since 1982, where women have been more likely than men to vote for Democratic candidates.[76] Since the 1980s, gender gaps demonstrating women's stronger Democratic preference than men have become apparent in many Senate races. When exit poll data have been available, the data indicate that gender differences have grown in Senate vote choice over that time.[77] Trends by race and marital status appear consistent with those in presidential vote choice, whereby black, Latina, and unmarried

Table 6.2
Gender Gap in Presidential Vote Choice, 1980–2012

Year	Presidential Candidates	Women (%)	Men (%)	Gender Gap (Percentage Points)	Source
2012	Barack Obama (D)	55	45	10	Edison Research
	Mitt Romney (R)	44	52		
2008	Barack Obama (D)	56	49	7	Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International
	John McCain (R)	43	48		
2004	George W. Bush (R)	48	55	7	Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International
	John Kerry (D)	51	41		
2000	George W. Bush (R)	43	53	10	Voter News Service
	Al Gore (D)	54	42		
	Ralph Nader (Green)	2	3		
1996	Bill Clinton (D)	54	43	11	Voter News Service
	Bob Dole (R)	38	44		
	Ross Perot (Reform)	7	10		
1992	Bill Clinton (D)	45	41	4	Voter News Service
	George H.W. Bush (R)	37	38		
	Ross Perot (Reform)	17	21		
1988	George H.W. Bush (R)	50	57	7	CBS News/*The New York Times*
	Michael Dukakis (D)	49	41		
1984	Ronald Reagan (R)	56%	62	6	CBS News/*The New York Times*
	Walter Mondale (D)	44	37		
1980	Ronald Reagan (R)	46	54	8	CBS News/*The New York Times*
	Jimmy Carter (D)	45	37		
	John Anderson (I)	7	7		

Source: Center for American Women and Politics Fact Sheet "The Gender Gap: Voting Choices in Presidential Elections." (Last updated 12/12) Available: http://cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/voters/documents/GGPresVote.pdf.

Table 6.3
Gender Gap in Presidential Vote Choice by Race, 1992–2012

Year	Presidential Candidates	Whites Women (%)	Whites Men (%)	Blacks Women (%)	Blacks Men (%)	Latinos Women (%)	Latinos Men (%)
2012	Barack Obama (D)	42	35	96	87	76	65
	Mitt Romney (R)	56	62	3	11	23	33
2008	Barack Obama (D)	46	41	96	95	68	64
	John McCain (R)	53	57	3	5	30	33
2004	George W. Bush (R)	55	62	10	13	N/A*	
	John Kerry (D)	44	37	N/A*			
2000	George W. Bush (R)	49	60	6	12	N/A**	
	Al Gore (D)	48	36	94	85		
1996	Bill Clinton (D)	48	38	89	58	78	65
	Bob Dole (R)	43	49	8	16	17	25
1992	Bill Clinton (D)	41	37	87	78	N/A***	
	George H.W. Bush (R)	41	40	8	13		

Source: National Exit Poll data reported for 2004, 2008, and 2012 elections by *CNN*, 1992 and 2000 elections by Pomper (2001), and 1996 election by Hardy-Fanta (1997).

*Reports of 2004 exit poll data do not include gender breakdown for Latinos or Democratic vote choice.

**Reports of 2000 exit poll data do not include gender breakdown for Latinos.

***Reports of 1992 exit poll data do not include gender breakdown for Latinos.

women vote in the highest numbers for Democratic candidates, and gender gaps within these groups reflect only differences in degree, not target, of preference. For example, in 2012 Senate contests where exit polls by race and gender were available, gender gaps ranged from 2 to 7 percentage points between black men and women, and 5 to 7 percentage points between Latinos and Latinas for winning candidates, though strong majorities of men and women in each group voted for Democratic Senate candidates. Gender gaps ranged from 2 to 24 percentage points among

white voters, from 2 to 13 percentage points among married voters, and from 3 to 18 percentage points among unmarried voters.

In recent gubernatorial elections, women have been more likely than men to vote for Democratic candidates as well. In 2008, gender gaps between 4 and 11 percentage points existed in 7 of 11 gubernatorial races.[78] In 17 of 18 gubernatorial races in 2010, gender gaps of between 4 and 19 percentage points were revealed.[79] Finally, gender gaps were present in all seven gubernatorial contests in 2012, ranging from 3 to 11 percentage points.[80] Gender gaps were evident among whites in five of seven races, and among blacks in the two races for which data are available.[81] Within-group gender gaps ranged from 1 to 10 points for married voters, and from 4 to 14 points for unmarried voters.

Despite the persistence in recent decades of gender differences in electoral decisions, contextual factors influence the size of gender gaps in vote choice. From the unique dynamics and issue saliency of any one electoral cycle to the candidate's identity and status, contextual factors interact with voter gender to shape the degree of difference in any final vote count.[82] The size of the aggregate gender gap may also be widened or narrowed by the behaviors of particular subgroups of men or women, as demonstrated by the strong Democratic preferences among women of color and unmarried women reported here.

Gender Gap in Party Identification

Like the gender gap in presidential vote choice, a gender gap between men and women in party identification first emerged in the 1950s when women were more likely than men to identify as Republican.[83] While the 1930s' New Deal politics caused partisan shifts among both men and women, women outnumbered men among older members of the electorate who developed their Republican loyalty well before then.[84] By 1964, however, American National Election Survey (ANES) data show women were more likely than men to identify with the Democratic Party. Moreover, men have been more likely than women to identify with the Republican Party in each election year since 1980. As Table 6.4 shows, the gender gap in Democratic and Republican Party identification has solidified in size and presence since the 1980 election.[85]

Unsurprisingly, the relationship between the gender gap in partisanship and presidential vote choice is strong.[86] In fact, Kaufmann and Petrocik found that partisanship explains more than 50 percent of the gender gap in vote choice in presidential elections.[87] Moreover, similar explanations and trends apply to both. First, as mentioned, multiple scholars have emphasized the important role of men's shifting preferences that contribute to these gender gaps. Though women have maintained their

Table 6.4
Gender Gap in Partisan Identification, 1952–2008

	Democrat		Republican	
	Men (%)	Women (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
1952	60	59	34	38
1954	61	56	31	37
1956	55	49	35	42
1958	58	59	34	35
1960	54	52	36	38
1962	58	54	33	39
1964	61	62	30	31
1966	55	56	33	32
1968	54	58	36	31
1970	54	54	33	33
1972	48	53	35	33
1974	50	53	33	29
1976	50	52	32	33
1978	52	55	30	30
1980	49	55	34	32
1982	50	59	35	29
1984	45	50	42	38
1986	47	53	39	34
1988	43	50	45	38
1990	50	53	40	33
1992	45	54	42	34
1994	41	53	47	36
1996	45	58	45	32
1998	49	53	40	34
2000	46	53	41	34
2002	47	51	46	41
2004	45	53	45	37
2008	47	55	40	35

Source: American National Election Studies (ANES).

Democratic preference since the 1960s, men have been more likely to shift their identification from Democratic to Republican.[88] As ANES data reveal, men's identification with the Democratic Party dropped from 61 percent in 1964 to 41 percent in 1994. In the same period, men's identification with the Republican Party rose from 30 percent to 47 percent. No similarly dramatic shift occurred for women over this time.

Second, and consistent with the gender gap in vote choice, the strong Democratic preferences among black women and Latinas contribute strongly to the aggregate Democratic leanings among women.[89] Gender

differences in partisanship within these racial groups persist, but have been modest, as black and Latino men have consistently reported Democratic partisanship.[90]

Gender Gap in Issue Attitudes and Preferences

Gender differences in partisanship and vote choice are motivated in part by fundamental differences in political attitudes and positions between men and women. Both Mattei and Carroll identified the gender difference in beliefs about the proper role of government as the most consistent and powerful contributor to gender gaps in partisanship and voting behavior.[91] In all ANES data from 1972 to 2004, men are more likely than women to advocate for individual responsibility over government involvement.[92] In an October 2011 Pew poll, women were 9 percentage points more likely than men to favor a government that provides more services. A September 2012 CBS News-*New York Times* survey found 46 percent of men opined that the United States is more successful when the government emphasizes self-reliance and individual responsibility, while 37 percent of women felt the same. Women were 7 percentage points more likely than men to say that the country is more successful when the government emphasizes community and shared responsibility. Richard Fox and Zoe Oxley investigate this further in Chapter 8, where they demonstrate women voters' persistent preference for a more active government, particularly for social welfare policies, and offer explanations for the gender gaps in voter attitudes about the role of government. Their analysis, however, sheds light on the variance in beliefs and attitudes between women on these issues and some evidence of disrupted trends in 2012.

Related to the role of government, multiple scholars have demonstrated the significant and consistent relationship between women's stronger support of government social welfare spending and the gender gap in partisanship and vote choice.[93] Norrander noted that women's support for this "compassion" issue first appeared in the 1970s and is motivated, in many cases, by women's empathy and personal experiences.[94] Carroll added that these positions are consistent with women's economic self-interest, as they are more likely than men to rely on the government services they support.[95] Women of color are also more likely than white women to favor government assistance, demonstrating the important intersections of gender, race, and class.[96]

While particularly explanatory of gender differences in behavior, these are not the only issues upon which men and women's positions differ. Consistent with previous surveys, recent analyses have shown that women are more likely than men to support restrictions on firearms; same-sex marriage; and workplace, food safety, and environmental protections.[97] Men, on the other hand, are somewhat more supportive than women of using

force to preserve national security, as well as favoring harsher criminal penalties, including the death penalty.[98] Celeste Lay provides evidence of these gender differences in Chapter 9, where she demonstrates women's particular concerns over crime and the influence of those concerns on women's voting in local elections. She describes women's greater vulnerability than men and their roles as protectors and caretakers of children as foundational to these concerns, but notes their preference for preventative strategies over being "tough on crime."

Interestingly, statistical gender differences in issue attitudes have not been particularly strong on some of the most hotly debated social issues. Recent surveys about the Affordable Care Act have shown virtually no gender gap in opinion, whether supportive of the legislation as a whole or positions on the insurance mandate.[99] Moreover, differences in men's and women's opinions on abortion and birth control have been relatively modest for over a decade.[100] In Chapter 7, Mary-Kate Lizotte investigates this trend to find that the similarity in women and men's attitudes on abortion persists in the equal importance of these attitudes to their partisanship and vote choice. Recent elections demonstrated that reproductive rights issues are used strategically to engage women voters, but Lizotte's findings question the effectiveness of these strategies.

THE ELECTORAL INFLUENCE OF WOMEN VOTERS

As gender differences in issue positions, party preference, and vote choice solidified, in the past three decades, so, too, have political insiders' perceptions that women voters deserve focused electoral strategies. Carroll wrote that, by 2013, the gender gap has become an "enduring part of the political landscape," adding, "candidates, parties, and politicians must pay specific attention to women voters if they want to win elections."[101] Recognizing that women are majorities, in the population and electorate, parties and politicians have made efforts to target and win over women voters. Often, however, their appeals are more symbolic than substantive, from showcasing prominent women endorsers to creating "women for" groups that organize female supporters. Campaigns rarely focus on the diversity among women, appealing instead to an idealized "woman voter" that has little basis in reality. Thus, while the gender gap's potential power is great, its electoral promise, as Carroll notes, "remains unfulfilled."[102]

In multiple analyses, Carroll has argued that media and political strategists have constructed fictional groupings of women voters in recent elections that deflect attention from the majority of women voters, their political preferences, and their policy priorities.[103] While 1996's "soccer moms" and 2000 and 2004's "security moms" dominated the gender narratives, their supposed characteristics and priorities did not match those of the majority of women voters.[104] By constructing these narrowly focused and essentially

nonexistent target groups of women voters, "parties and politicians have been able to appear responsive to women [voters] while ignoring the vast majority of women."[105] Smooth emphasized how women of color, in particular, are among the most ignored by these social constructions, as the idealized white, suburban mothers of soccer and security mom fame are elevated as the subset of women voters most essential to electoral success.[106]

Though it has been more common to showcase women on the campaign trail as endorsers and spokespeople, another party strategy to appear responsive to women voters has been to put women on a ticket, either presidential or gubernatorial. Most recently, Republicans selected Sarah Palin as John McCain's vice-presidential candidate in 2008 in hopes that they could attract women voters, especially those frustrated with Clinton's primary loss, and thus narrow the gender gap on Election Day. However, their strategy failed, as women voters made their electoral decisions based more upon issue positions than gender affinity.[107]

In fact, while some research has shown that shared gender identity makes women voters more likely than men to support female candidates,[108] those effects are limited and conditional on factors like issue saliency, partisanship, incumbency, and whether it is a high- or low-information election.[109] These findings suggest that gender affinity alone neither explains nor eliminates the gender gap in voting. Moreover, evaluating women's voting behavior is not as simple as comparing women to men, but must consider the contexts and complexities behind aggregate gender differences. Delving more deeply into the roots of, explanations for, and diversity within gender gaps in voting behavior offers many avenues for greater scholarly understanding and strategic guidance. While more complex analyses challenge easily adopted generalizations, they, as Smooth argued, are a "mess worth making."[110]

Both Democrats and Republicans attempted to win women's votes in 2012, with Democrats claiming Republicans were waging a "war on women" and Republicans countering that Democratic policies were damaging women and families' economic security. Obama and Democrats targeted the coalition of women that brought his 2008 success, specifically appealing to black, Latina, and unmarried women.[111] On Election Day 2012, women were more likely than men to vote for Obama over Romney across and within these electoral subgroups.

There is little doubt that we will observe gender gaps in turnout, vote choice, partisanship, and issue attitudes in upcoming elections. In 2016, gender may play a particularly important role if Hillary Clinton wages a second bid for the presidency. While a female candidate does not automatically garner women's votes, Clinton's candidacy could mobilize women voters based not only on her gender but also on her agenda to advance women and girls.[112] Her effort could be bolstered by women's, largely progressive, organizations that are already advocating her candidacy.

And while generational differences emerged in support for Clinton in 2008, there are some signs of greater unity for 2016. As feminist author and activist Jessica Valenti wrote for *The Nation*, "In 2008, I was one of the young feminist whippersnappers who voted for Barack Obama over Hillary Clinton in the Democratic primaries. . . . Next time around, though, I'm voting for a woman."

CONCLUSION

Nearly 100 years after winning the right to vote, women voters outnumber and outvote men. Moreover, women voters speak with voices unique from their male counterparts, taking distinct issue positions, expressing distinct partisan preferences, and making independent decisions on Election Day. Gender differences between men and women's voting behavior have evolved over time, as the electoral potential of women's votes was not fully realized until nearly 60 years after the Nineteenth Amendment's ratification. Whether rooted in women's growing autonomy or men's shifting ideology, the realization of gender differences in voting behavior has affected electoral strategy and outcomes. The short-lived political clout of women postsuffrage has reemerged, at least slightly, since women voters have distinguished themselves from men, as demonstrated by politicians' and parties' strategies targeting women voters.

Still, expectations of and appeals to the "women's vote" have often proven too simplistic. Organizing women into marketable categories, for example, "soccer mom" and "security mom," or ignoring differences among them due to race, marital status, class, religion, among other factors, not only masks an important electoral reality but also reduces both the individual and collective power of women's votes. Scholars and strategists face a difficult tension between attempts to maximize women voters' collective power by identifying them monolithically or understanding them as a highly complex group with multiple perspectives. As the research and data in this chapter show, women are not completely unified in their voting practices or preferences but rather share distinct voting patterns, whether in content or degree of preference from that of their male counterparts. Understanding the sources and substance of that unity and disunity will better explain existing trends and help to predict voting patterns in future political campaigns.

When suffragists envisioned the power of women's enfranchisement at the turn of the century and feminist activists saw an opportunity to capitalize politically on women voters' uniqueness from men in 1980, they likely did not anticipate the many hurdles encountered in translating women's votes to substantial political power. However, as gender is recognized as an electoral force, which is both dynamic and consequential, the full range of women's voices can be heard and addressed in political strategy, practice, and outcomes.

NOTES

1. "National Characteristics: Vintage 2012," United States Census Bureau.

2. Eligible voters represent the total citizen population ages 18 years and over.

3. "Voting and Registration," Current Population Survey, United States Census Bureau.

4. Wyoming, Utah, Montana, and Colorado granted women the right to vote before 1900. The territory of Washington enfranchised women in 1883, though it was not until 1910 that women's vote was recognized in the state of Washington.

5. Similarly, suffragist Mary Olney Brown sought a declaratory resolution from Congress that women did have the right to vote under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments since the Constitution made no distinction between citizens based on gender (DuBois 1995).

6. Terborg-Penn, "African American Women," 143.

7. Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*; Wheeler, "Short History of the Woman Suffrage Movement." The "Southern strategy" attempted by NAWSA around the turn of the century sought to recruit support for suffrage from Southerners by arguing that women's suffrage could actually help in restoring white supremacy in the South (Wheeler, "Short History of the Woman Suffrage Movement," 13).

8. Terborg-Penn, "African American Women."

9. Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*.

10. Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters"; Terborg-Penn, "African American Women."

11. Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*.

12. Terborg-Penn, "African American Women."

13. Ibid.; Wheeler, "Short History of the Woman Suffrage Movement."

14. Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*.

15. Thurner, "Better Citizens without the Ballot," 203–220; Jablonsky, "Female Opposition," 118–129.

16. Wyoming (territory—1869, 1890), Utah (territory—1870, 1896), Washington (territory—1883, 1910), Montana (1887), Colorado (1893), California (1911), Arizona (1912), Kansas (1912), and Oregon (1912) granted women suffrage by 1912. Complete list is available at the National Constitution Center, http://constitutioncenter.org/timeline/html/cw08_12159.html.

17. Baker, *Votes for Women*; Wheeler, "Short History of the Woman Suffrage Movement."

18. Baker, *Votes for Women*.

19. Tichenor, "Presidency, Social Movements, and Contentious Change," 14–25.

20. Terborg-Penn, "African American Women."

21. Women were not permitted to vote in 1920 in Mississippi and Georgia.

22. Mueller, *Politics of the Gender Gap*; Andersen, *After Suffrage*.

23. Andersen, *After Suffrage*; Harvey, *Votes without Leverage*; Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters."

24. Harvey, *Votes without Leverage*.

25. Ibid., 168.

26. Andersen, *After Suffrage*, 142.

27. Lemons, *Woman Citizen*; Andersen, *After Suffrage*.

28. Harvey, *Votes without Leverage*, 237.

29. Andersen, *After Suffrage*, 69.

30. Terborg-Penn, "African American Women."

31. Smooth, "African American Women and Electoral Politics."

32. McCormick, "Enter Women."

33. Andersen, *After Suffrage*.

34. Whitaker, *Voting the Gender Gap*.
Feminist activist, and then head of the National Organization for Women—Ellie Smeal—is credited with coining the term *gender gap* in the aftermath of the 1980 election, citing women voters' strong and significant preference for Jimmy Carter over Ronald Reagan (2).

35. Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters," 1.

36. Ibid.

37. Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte, "Gender, Public Opinion," 31–49.

38. Carroll, "Women's Autonomy and the Gender Gap," 236–257.

39. Data on divorce rates are available through the U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, National Center for Health Statistics: www.cdc.gov/nchs/.

40. Manza and Brooks, "Gender Gap in U.S. Presidential Elections," 1235–1266; See also Iverson and Rosenbluth, "Political Economy of Gender," 1–19.

41. Conover, "Feminists and the Gender Gap," 985–1010; Manza and Brooks, "Gender Gap in U.S. Presidential Elections."

42. Box-Steffensmeier, DeBoef, and Lin, "Dynamics of the Partisan Gender Gap," 515–528.

43. Andersen, *After Suffrage*.

44. Cooper, Gable, and Austin, "Public-Sector Jobs Crisis"; Morin, Taylor, and Patten, "Bipartisan Nation of Beneficiaries"; National Women's Law Center (NWLC), "National Snapshot."

45. Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte, "Gender, Public Opinion."

46. Kaufmann and Petrocik, "Changing Politics of American Men,"864–887; Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps," 9–32.

47. Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps," 12.

48. Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters," 17.

49. Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps," 12.

50. See Junn and Brown, "What Revolution?" 64–78.

51. Lein, "Does the Gender Gap in Political Attitudes and Behavior Vary across Racial Groups?" 869–894; Wendy Smooth, "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics," 400–414.

52. Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte, "Sources of Political Unity and Disunity," 141–169.

53. Ibid., Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte, "Gender, Public Opinion."

54. Smooth, "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics."

55. Sampaio, "Latinas and Electoral Politics"; Smooth, "African American Women and Electoral Politics."

56. Gerson, "Emerging Social Divisions among Women," 213–221; Kingston and Finkel, "Is There a Marriage Gap in Politics?" 57–64; Weisberg, "Demographics of a New Voting Gap," 335–343; The Voter Participation Center, "Fast Facts: The Marriage Gap."

57. Junn and Brown, "What Revolution?"

58. Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), "Gender Differences in Voter Turnout."

59. Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps."

60. Ibid.

61. Junn and Brown, "What Revolution?"

62. Delli Carpini and Keeter, *What Americans Know about Politics*; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman, "Knowing and Caring about Politics," 1051–1072; Burns, Schlozman, and Verba, *Private Roots of Public Action*. Mondak and Anderson attributed gender differences in political knowledge due to biases in measurement. Lizotte and Sidman found that much of the gender gap in political knowledge can be explained by women's aversion to risk, as women are less likely to guess on survey questions on which they are uncertain (Mondak and Andersen, "Knowledge Gap," 495–512; Lizotte and Sidman, "Explaining the Gender Gap," 127–151).

63. CAWP, "Gender Differences in Voter Turnout."

64. The percentage of eligible adult population who reported voting is calculated by dividing the total number of male and female adults who reported voting by the total citizen population (by gender). In years prior to 2004, the total citizen population is calculated by subtracting the noncitizen population from the total population. In years prior to 1996, the questions used to determine citizenship measures were asked in different ways, and the U.S. Bureau of the Census advises some caution in direct comparison across these years.

65. Sampaio, "Latinas and Electoral Politics," 5.

66. Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps," 27.

67. Ondercin and Bernstein, "Gender Gaps in Senate Elections," 33–53.

68. Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters," 13.

69. Ibid., 14.

70. CAWP, "Gender Gap: Voting Choices."

71. Ibid.

72. CAWP, "Women's Votes Decisive in 2012 Presidential Race."

73. Smooth, "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics"; Smooth, "African American Women and Electoral Politics."

74. Data on the Latino/a vote for 1992, 2000, and 2004 are not available.

75. Sampaio, "Latinas and Electoral Politics."

76. Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters."

77. Ondercin and Bernstein, "Gender Gaps in Senate Elections," 35.

78. Carroll, "Voting Choices: The Politics of the Gender Gap," 117–143.

79. CAWP, "Gender Gap Widespread in 2010 Elections."

80. CAWP, "Gender Gap Evident in all 2012 Gubernatorial Races."

81. No exit poll data are available for Latino voters in 2012 gubernatorial contests.

82. Ondercin and Bernstein, "Gender Gaps in Senate Elections"; Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps."

83. Campbell, et al., *American Voter*; Kaufmann and Petrocik, "Changing Politics of American Men"; Norris, "Gender Gap: Theoretical Frameworks and New Approaches"; Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps."

84. Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps."

85. Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte, "Gender, Public Opinion"; Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps"; Whitaker, *Voting the Gender Gap*.

86   Kenski, "Gender Factor in a Changing Electorate," 38–60; Kaufmann and Petrocik, "Changing Politics of American Men."

87. Kaufmann and Petrocik, "Changing Politics of American Men," 869.

88. Wirls, "Reinterpreting the Gender Gap," 316–330; Kaufmann and Petrocik, "Changing Politics of American Men"; Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps."

89. Smooth, "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics."

90. Welch and Sigelman, "Gender Gap among Hispanics?," 181–199; Alvarez and Bedolla, "Foundations of Latino Voter Partisanship," 31–49; Conway, "Gender Gap: A Comparison," 170–183.

91. Mattei, "Gender Gap in Presidential Evaluations," 199–228; Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters."

92. Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps," 15.

93. Kaufmann and Petrocik, "Changing Politics of American Men"; Manza and Brooks, "Gender Gap in U.S. Presidential Elections"; Andersen, "Gender Gap and Experiences with the Welfare State"; Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte, "Gender, Public Opinion."

94. Norrander, "History of the Gender Gaps," 11.

95. Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters." Women are also more likely than men to be employed in public sector/government jobs.

96. Conway, "Gender Gap: A Comparison," 180.

97. Pew Research Center for People and the Press, "Gender Gap: Three Decades Old"; CAWP, "Gender Gap: Voting Choices."

98. Pew Research Center for People and the Press, "Gender Gap: Three Decades Old"; CAWP, "Gender Gap: Attitudes on Public Policy Issues."

99. Pew Research Center for People and the Press, "Gender Gap: Three Decades Old."

100. Ibid.

101. Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters," 2.

102. Carroll, "Moms Who Swing," 362–374.

103. Carroll, "Disempowerment of the Gender Gap," 7–11; Carroll, "Moms Who Swing."

104. Caroll, "Disempowerment of the Gender Gap"; Carroll, "Moms Who Swing"; Greenberg, "Re: The Security Mom Myth"; Elder and Greene, "Myth of 'Security Moms' and 'NASCAR Dads,'" 1–19.

105. Carroll, "Voting Choices: How and Why the Gender Gap Matters," 33.

106. Smooth, "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics," 409.

107. Dolan, "Women Voters, Women Candidates," 91–107.

108. Burrell, *A Woman's Place Is in the House*; Plutzer and Zipp, "Identity Politics," 30–57; Dolan, "Women Voters, Women Candidates"; Sanbonmatsu, "Gender Stereotypes," 20–34.

109. Dolan, "Women Voters, Women Candidates"; Sanbonmatsu, "Organizing American Politics," 415–432.

110. Smooth, "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics," 353.

111. See more about the Rising American Electorate at http://www.voterpartici pation.org/the-rising-american-electorate/.

112. In one of her first speeches after leaving the State Department, Hillary Clinton told a New York crowd at the Women in the World Summit (April 5, 2013) that women's rights are the "unfinished business" of the 21st century. She added that her international work made her think about all of the work left to do to advance women in the United States, listing sites for policy change to improve American women's lives.

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