

TO: Interested Parties

FROM: Ramona Oliver

DATE: Updated November1, 2007

RE: Gender Gap

What is the Gender Gap?

The gender gap is a measure of the difference in the voting behavior of men and women. The gender gap first became apparent in 1980, when women supported Ronald Reagan by only one percent; while men supported Reagan by 17 percent. The gap proved decisive in 1996, when a majority of women supported Bill Clinton, while a narrow plurality of men supported Bob Dole.

How Do We Measure the Gender Gap?

EMILY's List and most other organizations measure the gender gap as the difference between the net advantage women give the Democratic candidate and the net advantage men give the Democratic candidate. For example, in 2004 John Kerry won women by three percent (51% to 48%) but lost men by a margin of 14 percent (41% to 55%). The gender gap that year was 17 percent.

Women Supporting Women

Women candidates fare better on the issues with female swing voters, who in 2004, made up 32% of all women voters and 17% of the electorate¹. Female swing voters expect that a female candidate will better handle family values (54% to 7%), education (48% to 7%), and healthcare (44% to 7%) than a male candidate.

Gender Gap In the Primary

Women comprise a disproportionate share of both Democratic primary and general election voters. In every one of the states in which CNN collected 2004 presidential primary or caucus exit poll data, women made up more than half of the electorate.

2004 Democratic Primary/ Caucus Exit Poll		
State	% Women	% Men
Iowa	54	46
New Hampshire	54	46
Arizona	59	41
Virginia	56	44
New York	57	43
Ohio	52	48

¹ EMILY's List Women's Monitor, 6/28/-7/7/2004.

Gender Gap In the General Election

The gender gap in the current general election polling is dramatic. In match-ups against both John McCain and Rudy Giuliani, Clinton wins among women in every state for which we have recent publicly available polling. Women turn out at a higher rate than men do in general elections, comprising 54% of the electorate in 2004; 53% in 2000 and 53% in 1996, making Clinton's advantage even more important. Clinton's lead among women is notably larger than Obama's or Edward's; while her support among men is similar to theirs. *The greater gender gap that Clinton enjoys is due to the fact that she has significantly more support among women, not that she has less support among men.*

2004 General Election Exit Poll		
	% Women	% Men
Iowa	54	46
New Hampshire	49	51
Arizona	53	47
Virginia	54	46
New York	55	45
Ohio	53	47
National	54	46

Nationally there are 9 million more registered women voters than male voters in this country. According to the U.S. Census Bureau women make up 51.8% of population, 53.2% of registered voters, and 53.5% of voter turnout.

Table 1: Democratic Primary Gender Advantage²

State	Total	Women	Men	Gender Advantage
National ³	Clinton: 48 Obama: 17 Edwards: 13	Clinton: 50 Obama: 18 Edwards: 12	Clinton: 47 Obama: 15 Edwards: 13	+3
California ⁴	Clinton: 45 Obama: 20 Edwards: 11	Clinton: 50 Obama: 19 Edwards: 11	Clinton: 38 Obama: 21 Edwards: 10	+12
Connecticut ⁵	Clinton: 43 Obama: 16 Edwards: 8	Clinton: 44 Obama: 15 Edwards: 8	Clinton: 40 Obama: 19 Edwards: 7	+4
Florida ⁶	Clinton: 43 Obama: 18 Edwards: 12	Clinton: 47 Obama: 20 Edwards: 9	Clinton: 38 Obama: 14 Edwards: 18	+9
Iowa ⁷	Clinton: 29 Obama: 22 Edwards: 23	Clinton: 34 Obama: 21 Edwards: 20	Clinton: 21 Obama: 25 Edwards: 27	+13
Nevada ⁸	Clinton: 39 Obama: 21 Edwards: 9	Clinton: 42 Obama: 23 Edwards: 9	Clinton: 34 Obama: 18 Edwards: 18	+8
New Hampshire ⁹	Clinton: 43 Obama: 22 Edwards: 14	Clinton: 45 Obama: 21 Edwards: 15	Clinton: 39 Obama: 22 Edwards: 12	+6
New York ¹⁰	Clinton: 49 Obama: 12 Edwards: 11	Clinton: 53 Obama: 10 Edwards: 11	Clinton: 44 Obama: 16 Edwards: 12	+9
New Jersey ¹¹	Clinton: 46 Obama: 20 Edwards: 9	Clinton: 48 Obama: 25 Edwards: 8	Clinton: 43 Obama: 13 Edwards: 10	+5
Ohio ¹²	Clinton: 47 Obama: 19 Edwards: 11	Clinton: 50 Obama: 17 Edwards: 10	Clinton: 41 Obama: 22 Edwards: 10	+9
Pennsylvania ¹³	Clinton: 41 Obama: 14 Edwards: 11	Clinton: 44 Obama: 15 Edwards: 10	Clinton: 36 Obama: 14 Edwards: 13	+8
South Carolina ¹⁴	Clinton: 41 Obama: 19 Edwards: 18	Clinton: 45 Obama: 21	Clinton: 35 Edwards: 21	+10

² The traditional gender gap cannot be calculated in a multi-field election. This chart summarizes the differential between Clinton's support among women and her support among men.

³ LA Times/ Bloomberg; 10/19/07-10/22/07; 469 Democratic Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4%

⁴ Field Poll; 10/11/07-10/21/07; 434 Democratic Likely Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4.8%

⁵ Quinnipiac University; 10/9/07-10/15/07; 530 Democratic Likely Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4.3%

⁶ Quinnipiac University; 10/17/2007-10/22/2007; 416 Democratic Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4.8%

⁷ Des Moines Register; 10/1/2007-10/3/2007; 399 Democratic Likely Voters, Margin of error, plus or minus 4.9%

⁸ Mason Dixon; 10/9/2007-10/11/2007; 300 Democratic Likely Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 6%

⁹ St Anselm; 10/15/2007-10/21/2007; 613 Democratic Likely Voters, Margin of error, plus or minus 2.6%

¹⁰ Quinnipiac University; 10/9/07-10/15/07; 468 Democratic Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4.5 %

¹¹ Quinnipiac University; 10/9/07-10/15/07; 343 Democratic Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 5.3 %

¹² Quinnipiac; 10/1/2007-10/8/2007; 357 Democratic Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 5.2%

¹³ Quinnipiac; 10/1/2007-10/8/2007; 393 Democratic Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4.9%

Table 2: General Election: Clinton Gender Gap Against McCain, Giuliani, Romney, and Thompson

State	Total	Women	Men	Gender Gap
National ¹⁵	Clinton: 48 McCain: 38	Clinton: 50 McCain: 37	Clinton: 45 McCain: 40	+8
	Clinton: 47 Giuliani: 41	Clinton: 53 Giuliani: 37	Clinton: 39 Giuliani: 46	+23
	Clinton: 49 Thompson: 38	Clinton: 48 Thompson: 39	Clinton: 50 Thompson: 37	+0
	Clinton: 49 Romney: 39	Clinton: 55 Romney: 32	Clinton: 45 Romney: 36	+14
Florida ¹⁶	Clinton: 43 Giuliani: 46	Clinton: 51 Giuliani: 38	Clinton: 33 Giuliani: 56	+36
	Clinton: 46 Thompson: 41	Clinton: 52 Thompson: 36	Clinton: 39 Thompson: 47	+24
	Clinton: 47 Romney: 39	Clinton: 53 Romney: 33	Clinton: 40 Romney: 45	+25
	Clinton: 44 McCain: 43	Clinton: 52 McCain: 38	Clinton: 35 McCain: 50	+29
Iowa ¹⁷	Clinton: 50 Thompson: 44	Clinton: 54 Thompson: 41	Clinton: 46 Thompson: 47	+14
	Clinton: 50 Giuliani: 42	Clinton: 54 Giuliani: 38	Clinton: 46 Giuliani: 46	+16
	Clinton: 51 Romney: 42	Clinton: 57 Romney: 38	Clinton: 45 Romney: 47	+21
New Jersey ¹⁸	Clinton: 44 Giuliani: 44	Clinton: 50 Giuliani: 36	Clinton: 37 Giuliani: 53	+30
New York ¹⁹	Clinton: 50 Giuliani: 36	Clinton: 52 Giuliani: 34	Clinton: 47 Giuliani: 39	+10
Ohio ²⁰	Clinton: 46 Giuliani: 40	Clinton: 51 Giuliani: 37	Clinton: 41 Giuliani: 45	+18
	Clinton: 48 McCain: 38	Clinton: 54 McCain: 34	Clinton: 41 McCain: 43	+22
	Clinton: 50 Thompson: 36	Clinton: 56 Thompson: 30	Clinton: 43 Thompson: 44	+27
	Clinton: 51 Romney: 34	Clinton: 57 Romney: 28	Clinton: 43 Romney: 41	+27

¹⁴ American Research Group; 10/26/2007-10/29/2007; 600 Democratic Likely Voters, Margin of error, plus or minus 4%

¹⁵ LA Times/Bloomberg; 10/19/07-10/22/07; 512 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4%

¹⁶ Quinnipiac University; 10/17/2007-10/22/2007; 1025 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.1%

¹⁷ SurveyUSA; 9/14/2007-9/16/2007; 528 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4.4%

¹⁸ Quinnipiac University; 10/9/07-10/15/07; 10047 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.1%

¹⁹ Quinnipiac University; 10/9/07-10/15/07; 1063 Registered Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3 %

²⁰ Quinnipiac University 10/1/2007-10/3/2007; 946 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.2%

Pennsylvania ²¹	Clinton: 48 Giuliani: 42	Clinton: 54 Giuliani: 38	Clinton: 42 Giuliani: 47	+25
	Clinton: 50 Thompson: 39	Clinton: 56 Thompson: 33	Clinton: 44 Thompson: 46	+25
	Clinton: 49 Romney: 37	Clinton: 54 Romney: 32	Clinton: 44 Romney: 43	+21
	Clinton: 48 McCain: 41	Clinton: 55 McCain: 35	Clinton: 40 McCain: 48	+28
Connecticut ²²	Clinton: 44 Giuliani: 42	Clinton: 50 Giuliani: 35	Clinton: 36 Giuliani: 49	+28
Nevada	Clinton: 44 Giuliani: 51	Clinton: 55 Giuliani: 41	Clinton: 33 Giuliani: 61	+42
	Clinton: 44 Thompson: 50	Clinton: 55 Thompson: 39	Clinton: 33 Thompson: 61	+44
	Clinton: 43 Romney: 49	Clinton: 53 Romney: 41	Clinton: 33 Romney: 57	+36

²¹ Quinnipiac University 10/1/2007-10/3/2007; 878 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.3%

²² Quinnipiac University; 10/9/07-10/15/07; 1391 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 2.6%

Table 3: General Election: Obama Gender Gap Against McCain, Giuliani, and Thompson

State	Total	Women	Men	Gender Gap
National ²³	Obama: 44 McCain: 36	Obama: 47 McCain: 31	Obama: 40 McCain: 43	+ 19
	Obama: 43 Giuliani: 40	Obama: 51 Giuliani: 36	Obama: 35 Giuliani: 44	+ 24
	Obama: 46 Thompson: 31	Obama: 49 Thompson: 25	Obama: 41 Thompson: 39	+ 22
	Obama: 42 Romney: 32	Obama: 46 Romney: 29	Obama: 36 Romney: 37	+18
Florida ²⁴	Obama: 40 Giuliani: 47	Obama: 47 Giuliani: 38	Obama: 33 Giuliani: 56	+ 32
	Obama: 43 Thompson: 39	Obama: 49 Thompson: 31	Obama: 36 Thompson: 47	+29
	Obama: 42 McCain: 42	Obama: 50 McCain: 35	Obama: 33 McCain: 51	+33
	Obama : 44 Romney: 37	Obama: 51 Romney: 30	Obama: 36 Romney: 45	+30
New Jersey ²⁵	Obama: 40 Giuliani: 49	Obama: 44 Giuliani: 45	Obama: 36 Giuliani: 54	+17
	Obama: 44 McCain: 41	Obama: 47 McCain: 37	Obama: 40 McCain: 46	+16
	Obama: 49 Thompson: 34	Obama: 53 Thompson: 28	Obama: 44 Thompson: 40	+21
	Obama: 51 Romney: 31	Obama: 54 Romney: 26	Obama: 48 Romney: 37	+17
New York ²⁶	Obama: 45 Giuliani: 45	Obama: 51 Giuliani: 38	Obama: 38 Giuliani: 52	+27
	Obama: 47 McCain: 39	Obama: 53 McCain: 32	Obama: 40 McCain: 46	+27
	Obama: 54 Romney: 28	Obama: 61 Romney: 20	Obama: 46 Romney: 38	+33
	Obama: 53 Thompson: 29	Obama: 59 Thompson: 23	Obama: 47 Thompson: 36	+25
Ohio ²⁷	Obama: 44 Giuliani:38	Obama: 46 Giuliani: 35	Obama: 41 Giuliani: 41	+11
	Obama: 43 McCain: 39	Obama: 46 McCain: 35	Obama: 40 McCain: 43	+14
	Obama: 44 Thompson: 33	Obama: 49 Thompson: 28	Obama: 39 Thompson: 40	+22
	Obama : 47 Romney: 31	Obama: 49 Romney: 26	Obama: 44 Romney: 37	+16

²³ LA Times/Bloomberg; 10/19/07-10/22/07; 512 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4%

²⁴ Quinnipiac University; 10/17/2007-10/22/2007; 1025 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.1%

²⁵ Quinnipiac University; 9/18/07-9/23/07; 1230 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 2.8%

²⁶Quinnipiac University; 9/24/07-9/30/07; 1504 Registered Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 2.5 %

²⁷ Quinnipiac University 10/1/2007-10/3/2007; 946 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.2%

Pennsylvania ²⁸	Obama: 43 Giuliani: 45	Obama: 46 Giuliani: 40	Obama: 39 Giuliani: 50	+ 17
	Obama: 45 McCain: 41	Obama: 52 McCain: 35	Obama: 38 McCain: 48	+27
	Obama: 49 Romney: 33	Obama: 55 Romney: 28	Obama: 43 Romney: 39	+23
	Obama: 45 Thompson: 37	Obama: 50 Thompson: 31	Obama: 39 Thompson: 44	+ 24
Connecticut ²⁹	Obama: 46 McCain: 38	Obama: 51 McCain: 31	Obama: 41 McCain: 46	+ 25
	Obama: 42 Giuliani: 44	Obama: 47 Giuliani: 39	Obama: 37 Giuliani: 51	+31
Iowa ³⁰	Obama: 51 Thompson: 41	Obama: 55 Thompson: 36	Obama: 48 Thompson: 45	+16
	Obama: 50 Giuliani 42	Obama: 56 Giuliani: 36	Obama: 45 Giuliani: 47	+22
	Obama: 51 Romney: 41	Obama: 53 Romney: 36	Obama: 40 Romney: 45	+22

²⁸ Quinnipiac University 10/1/2007-10/3/2007; 878 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.3%

²⁹ Quinnipiac University; 5/2/07-5/7/07; 1,427 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 2.6%

³⁰ SurveyUSA; 9/14/2007-9/16/2007; 528 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4.4%

Table 4: General Election: Edwards Gender Gap Against McCain, Giuliani, Romney, and Thompson

State	Total	Women	Men	Gender Gap
National ³¹	Edwards: 45 McCain: 37	Edwards: 48 McCain: 33	Edwards: 42 McCain: 42	+ 15
	Edwards: 43 Giuliani: 42	Edwards: 46 Giuliani: 36	Edwards: 39 Giuliani: 49	+ 20
	Edwards: 49 Thompson: 32	Edwards: 51 Thompson: 27	Edwards: 46 Thompson: 38	+ 16
Florida ³²	Edwards: 41 Giuliani: 44	Edwards: 47 Giuliani: 36	Edwards: 35 Giuliani: 54	+ 30
	Edwards: 47 Thompson: 36	Edwards: 51 Thompson: 28	Edwards: 42 Thompson: 44	+ 25
	Edwards: 42 McCain: 40	Edwards: 47 McCain: 34	Edwards: 37 McCain: 46	+22
	Edwards: 48 Romney: 34	Edwards: 53 Romney: 27	Edwards: 42 Romney: 43	+27
New Jersey ³³	Edwards: 39 Giuliani: 50	Edwards: 42 Giuliani: 44	Edwards: 35 Giuliani: 55	+18
	Edwards: 44 McCain: 40	Edwards: 49 McCain: 34	Edwards: 39 McCain: 47	+23
	Edwards: 48 Thompson: 34	Edwards: 55 Thompson: 26	Edwards: 40 Thompson: 43	+32
	Edwards: 51 Romney: 30	Edwards: 56 Romney: 23	Edwards: 46 Romney: 36	+23
New York ³⁴	Edwards: 48 McCain: 37	Edwards: 55 McCain: 31	Edwards: 39 McCain: 45	+30
	Edwards: 55 Thompson: 28	Edwards: 61 Thompson: 20	Edwards: 48 Thompson: 37	+30
	Edwards: 57 Romney: 24	Edwards: 64 Romney: 17	Edwards: 50 Romney: 32	+29
	Edwards: 44 Giuliani: 45	Edwards: 49 Giuliani: 39	Edwards: 37 Giuliani: 51	+24
Ohio ³⁵	Edwards: 46 Giuliani: 36	Edwards: 50 Giuliani: 31	Edwards: 42 Giuliani: 43	+20
	Edwards: 46 McCain: 35	Edwards: 49 McCain: 32	Edwards: 43 McCain: 38	+12
	Edwards: 48 Thompson: 31	Edwards: 51 Thompson: 26	Edwards: 43 Thompson: 37	+19
	Edwards: 50 Romney: 28	Edwards: 54 Romney: 23	Edwards: 45 Romney: 34	+20
Pennsylvania ³⁶	Edwards: 47	Edwards: 50	Edwards: 43	+ 18

³¹ Quinnipiac University; 8/7/07-8/13/07; 1,545 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 2.5%

³² Quinnipiac University; 10/17/2007-10/22/2007; 1025 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.1%

³³ Quinnipiac University; 9/18/07-9/23/07; 1230 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 2.8%

³⁴ Quinnipiac University; 9/24/07-9/30/07; 1504 Registered Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 2.5 %

³⁵ Quinnipiac University 10/1/2007-10/3/2007; 946 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.2%

³⁶ Quinnipiac University 10/1/2007-10/3/2007; 878 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3.3%

	McCain: 39	McCain: 34	McCain: 45	
	Edwards: 43 Giuliani: 44	Edwards: 45 Giuliani: 40	Edwards: 40 Giuliani: 48	+ 13
	Edwards: 47 Thompson: 34	Edwards: 47 Thompson: 30	Edwards: 46 Thompson: 39	+10
	Edwards: 49 Romney: 32	Edwards: 51 Romney: 27	Edwards: 47 Romney: 37	+14
Connecticut ³⁷	Edwards: 40 McCain: 44	Edwards: 43 McCain: 39	Edwards: 37 McCain: 49	+ 16
Iowa ³⁸	Edwards: 54 Thompson: 37	Edwards: 56 Thompson: 34	Edwards: 51 Thompson: 40	+11
	Edwards: 53 Giuliani: 39	Edwards: 56 Giuliani: 35	Edwards: 51 Giuliani: 44	+14
	Edwards: 54 Romney: 38	Edwards: 55 Romney: 35	Edwards: 53 Romney: 40	+7

³⁷ Quinnipiac University; 2/9/07-2/12/07; 1087 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 3%

³⁸ SurveyUSA; 9/14/2007-9/16/2007; 528 Voters; Margin of error, plus or minus 4.4%