Women Talk About Politics When It Counts: The Electoral Closing of the Gender Discussion Gap

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Abstract

Political discussions shape vote choices and information environments. Yet, women typically discuss politics less than men. We argue this stems from a motivational asymmetry. Specifically, men treat political conversations as a social activity, while women are functional discussants. Consequently, as elections approach and information-gathering is increasingly needed, women will close the discussion gap with men. Panel data from eight elections in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States confirm this: the gender gap in political discussion narrows and effectively disappears in the final weeks before each election. Consistent with our argument, women decide for whom to vote later than men. They also discuss politics more with intimates than with those in social settings. Finally, the gender gap in political interest, a stable disposition, does not similarly close as elections approach, providing placebo evidence. Political engagement is not just a disposition, it also depends on context.

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Discussions about politics can influence citizens' knowledge, opinions, vote choices, social relationships, and more. Campaigns seek to influence the direction of political discussions and media seek to understand the content of discussions so as to report on desired topics. Analysts have explored the origins, nature, and impact of discussions (e.g., Settle, 2025). A challenge for such work is that political conversations involve numerous decisions, such as whether to talk and how to talk (Carlson and Settle, 2022).[1] Discussions also occur in a host of contexts and modes ranging from informal online chats to deliberative in-person forums (Dryzek et al., 2019), and with varying compositions such as among those who agree on everything or among those who agree on little (Mutz, 2008). All of this makes arriving at definitive conclusions about discussions very difficult. Yet, one of the most consistent findings is that women engage in relatively less discussion about politics compared to men (e.g., Carlson and Settle, 2022; Wolak, 2022), so much so that Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) titled their classic book *The Silent Sex*.

Whether engaging in more or less discussion is normatively positive or negative remains unclear, and presumably depends on many factors. Nonetheless, the fact that women discuss politics less than men is meaningful. It suggests that women have less political input into the political ecosystem and that women and men operate within distinct information environments. More generally, Krupnikov et al. (2020, 268) explain that "Gender differences in political discussion can also have profound aggregate effects, where discussion can actually result in larger biases in aggregate public opinion than would exist if the same individuals lived in isolation (Ahn, Huckfeldt and Ryan, 2014)."

Scholars have consequently sought to understand why women discuss politics less than men (e.g., Karpowitz and Mendelberg, 2014; Beauvais, 2020; Wolak, 2022). We extend this and related scholarship to make the case that, apart from discussion frequency, it is important to attend to the purpose of discussions. Whether and how much one engages in political conversation should not be thought of as only a stable dispositional trait, but rather also a dynamic state that depends on one's motivations and the context. Men and women come to politics for distinct purposes (all else

[1] We use the terms "discussion" and "conversation" interchangeably.

constant): prior work suggests that men attend relatively more to social utility while women put more weight on civic considerations, where discussions are pursued for functional reasons (e.g., Gil de Zúñiga, Valenzuela and Weeks, 2016; Wolak, 2022). This not only explains why men talk about politics more often than women, but also suggests that women will discuss politics when they need to.

We do not directly study differential motivation here; instead, we extend prior work to infer observable political implications. Our argument leads to the expectation that women will discuss politics when it helps with a task such as voting. This is the case in close proximity to elections when information is needed, and campaigns have largely made their cases. We present data from Germany, Great Britain, and the U.S., across eight elections to test this prediction; we find strong support. We additionally present data demonstrating that women predictably tend to decide for whom to vote later than men, and that the people with whom women discuss politics (relative to men) align with the idea that women do not perceive politics as a social activity to the same extent as men do (i.e., women talk more with family than with colleagues). Additionally, we show that the gender gap in political interest (i.e., men exhibit more interest than women) does not substantially reduce as the election approaches. This is expected, given that interest does not serve a functional purpose like discussion.

Our results provide novel insights into gender and politics by drawing a sharp distinction between how much people discuss politics and why they discuss politics. As we will explain, this has implications for how voters gather information, when targeted information is more likely to spread via social networks to women, and how to think about voter competence. Perhaps most importantly, it accentuates that the tendency to engage in discussion is not just a stable dispositional trait characteristic but also an activity that depends on the context and timing of politics.

The Dynamics of Political Discussion

Political discussion between citizens in democratic contexts is a topic that has received considerable attention from a host of perspectives. A sizable literature explores the impact of variations in conversations on many outcomes. Examples of the conversation features studied include discussion type (e.g., informal, deliberative), mode of discussion (e.g., in-person, online), and the compositions of discussants (e.g., heterogeneous or homogeneous partisanship, social characteristics) (e.g., Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1995; Mendelberg, 2002; Mutz, 2006, 2008; Druckman, Levendusky and McLain, 2018; Carlson, Abrajano and Bedolla, 2020; Rossiter, 2022; Rossiter and Carlson, 2024). Examples of outcomes studied include knowledge, opinions, and polarization. Whether discussions have salubrious or deleterious effects on these and other outcomes remains variable. As Settle (2025, 169) aptly explains, "For every study that finds an ameliorative effect of interpersonal interaction on outcomes related to healthy democratic discourse, another finds that interaction gone awry can be pernicious."

Political conversations entail several steps (Carlson and Settle, 2022) — for our purposes, we differentiate the decision to engage in a political discussion and the discussion itself (and its consequences).[2] Our interest lies in the former, and specifically, an extremely consistent finding that women are less likely to engage in political discussions than men.[3] As Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014, 37) state, "Women are less likely than men to discuss politics, to try to persuade someone to vote for their preferred candidates, or to offer opinions about politics..." It is this kind of dynamic that leads the authors to characterize women as the silent sex in the domain of public affairs. Indeed, that women engage in less political conversation than men is a widely replicated finding (e.g., Verba, Burns and Schlozman, 1997; Beauvais, 2020; Burns, Schlozman and Verba, 2001;

[2] Carlson and Settle (2022) differentiate the detection stage (in advance of a discussion), the decision to discuss stage, the discussion stage, and the determination stage (reaction to discussion).

[3] We thus do not study the influence of the discussion on opinions; see, e.g., Krupnikov et al. 2020.

Djupe, McClurg and Sokhey, 2018; Carlson and Settle, 2022; Grasso and Smith, 2022; Krupnikov and Ryan, 2022; Nir, 2012; Wolak, 2022).[4]

This matters for at least two reasons. First, as Beauvais (2020, 315) explains, "gendered asymmetries in participation entail collective outcomes that are less attentive to women's needs, interests, and preferences" (also see Mendelberg and Karpowitz, 2016, 1–2). If women talk less, they may be less likely, for instance, to persuade someone about voting as an election approaches. Second, political discussions potentially provide information — while that information may help or hinder reasoned decisions, unequal access to it is less than ideal. Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee (1954, 109) famously state that "the political genius of the citizenry may reside less in how well they can judge public policy than in how well they can judge the people who advise them how to judge policy." The point is that, putting aside the accuracy of judgments, engaging with people who can advise is an important part of politics.

So, why do women tend to discuss politics less than men? Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) offer a theory — while they focus on structured deliberative contexts, the logic of the argument generalizes. They explain that women's lack of discussion does not stem from a lack of ability but rather it stems from women having less motivation and opportunity than men. This is because "that activity is deemed masculine territory… The motivation to be political is socially acquired" (34). While this generates less engagement, on average, Karpowitz and Mendelberg demonstrate that context matters as well. For instance, women are more apt to participate in discussions when deliberative bodies use a majority rule, and women are in the majority, or when the bodies employ a unanimous rule, and women are few in numbers. In these contexts, women can shape the outcomes

[4] For example, Carlson and Settle (2022, 209) report that they find, with data from the U.S., that 28% of women reported that they prefer to avoid political discussions, whereas only 19% of men reported the same. On the flip side, 18% of women said they enjoy political discussion, compared with 35% of men. There is some evidence that women discuss politics more when women are on the ballot (e.g., Atkeson, 2003); however, Wolak (2020*a*) does not find evidence for such an effect in more recent data (from 2006 to 2014).

and thus they have the motivation to engage.

Karpowitz and Mendelberg's theory has substantial implications for characterizing gender differences in discussion beyond deliberative contexts. We extend their logic by connecting it to various insights from work on informal discussions and gender politics. We argue that focusing only on the amount of political conversation fails to recognize the purpose of political discussion. Men and women, on average, pursue conversations for distinct purposes. This affects the amount of discussion, but it also reveals when and why women engage in discussion.

First, people have variable motivations for having political discussions (Yamamoto and Morey, 2019), with two notable ones being social and civic. Social engagement occurs when people discuss politics "for pleasure, affection, inclusion, escape, and relaxation... just as it occurs when people talk about the weather, sports, or television programs in informal, social settings" (535; also see Gil de Zúñiga, Valenzuela and Weeks, 2016; Rubin, Perse and Barbato, 1988). Civic motivations manifest when "people's reasons for interacting with others are largely functional and purposive, driven by the outcome of exchanging information or opinions..." (534; also see Gil de Zúñiga, Valenzuela and Weeks, 2016; Guerrero, Andersen and Afifi, 2010; Schmitt-Beck and Neumann, 2023).

Second, social motivations will prompt increased frequency of discussion: there is consistent potential for social utility, whereas civic utility is more targeted, such that individuals seek discussion for specific, more acute purposes. Social motivation aligns with Hersh's (2020) political hobbyism where people pursue politics regularly and for pleasure. People who are relatively socially motivated discuss politics chronically, while those who are relatively civically motivated discuss politics functionally. Functionality shifts the focus from frequency of discussion to whether it helps one accomplish a given task (Perry and Pescosolido, 2010).

Third, the gender gap in political discussion could come from these motivations, as there is no difference in ability or competence (Kraft, 2024; Albarello and Druckman, 2026). Indeed, women participate in purely civic activities such as volunteering at least as much, if not more than, men and have more experience in activities like student government (Karpowitz and Mendelberg, 2014,

33, 36). But women also are socialized, even by age 11 or 12, that politics is a male domain (Bos et al., 2022): "women tend to view themselves as outsiders in the locker room of politics, and they do not engage as fully" (33; also see Karpowitz and Mendelberg, 2014; Burns, Schlozman and Verba, 2001; Carlson and Settle, 2022, 211).[5] This is consistent with Gil de Zúñiga, Valenzuela and Weeks's (2016, 543) finding that men tend to exhibit greater social motivations while women exhibit greater civic motivations. Wolak (2022, 135) summarizes her evidence as showing that "men find arguments more enjoyable than women do, contributing to gender gaps in attention to politics, enjoyment of political discussion, and political action... gender gaps emerge because men are more likely to enjoy being a spectator to arguments and disagreements."[6] Men's enjoyment – that underlies social motivations – likely reflects comfort, given politics is typically viewed as male domain, relatively less sensitivity to the conflict inherent to political discussion (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2017; Peacock, 2019), and relatively greater political self-confidence (Wolak, 2020*b*) that prompts political discussion (Dreston, Halversen and Weeks, 2025). We do not, here, explore these precise psychological (motivational) processes. This is not because those psychological processes are unimportant, but rather, here we care more about (two) observable political implications.

First, the logic suggests that, consistent with prior work, women engage in less political discussion than men. Second, if women view political discussion for more functional purposes, they will engage in it when it serves a more acute purpose. Men may be chronic discussants while women are functional discussants. A clear function of political discussion is to acquire information about voting as an election approaches: people who want to make competent vote choices need to obtain

[5] As is widely noted and discussed, women often do more work in the private domain. Along these lines, life stages that involve intense family responsibilities, such as partnership and parenthood, tend to have a more substantial negative impact on women's political engagement compared to men's (Burns, Schlozman and Verba, 1997; Quaranta and Dotti Sani, 2018).

[6] Interestingly, even though men may be more driven by social motivations and discuss politics more often, they may be less likely to be influenced by that discussion (see Krupnikov et al., 2020).

information as the election nears. And doing so earlier is less efficient since information is consistently evolving until one votes (at which point, the most salient campaign information should be apparent). This leads to two hypotheses.

> **Hypothesis 1 (H1).** Women will engage in less political discussion than men, all else constant.

> **Hypothesis 2 (H2):** As elections approach, women will engage in increasing amounts of political discussion, all else constant. A consequence is that the discussion gap between men and women will shrink.

Hypothesis 2 highlights why a unitary focus on the amount of discussion misses a crucial point about the reasons for discussion. It suggests that the construct of political discussion needs to be thought of more dynamically — it depends on individuals' motivations and the context — i.e., whether discussion serves a desired functional purpose. The tendency to engage in discussions or other political endeavors is often portrayed as an individual trait (e.g., Federico and Hunt, 2013; Krupnikov and Ryan, 2022), but it is also a state contingent on context. Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) recognize this, but their focus is on changes in static context, whereas we are interested in how timing shapes context and, in turn, discussion.

Moreover, while we earlier clarified that the normative impact of inter-personal discussion is far from straightforward, our hypotheses nonetheless highlight that one should not confound the quantity of discussion with its quality. Competent political decisions do not require expansive information (Lupia and McCubbins, 1998; Lupia, 2016), but rather applicable knowledge. While we do not test it here, it may be that women learn what they need to know to make competent decisions through limited discussion. This coheres with work showing there are no gender disparities in practical information about government services (Stolle and Gidengil, 2010), or elaborative thinking (Kraft, 2024; Albarello and Druckman, 2026).

Data

We test our hypotheses with data from multiple sources. As we emphasized in Hypothesis 1, that men discuss politics more often than women has been repeatedly documented across many data sets. Even so, we sought to replicate that finding. We do so first with data from the World Values Survey (WVS, Haerpfer et al., 2022) and the European Values Study (EVS, EVS, 2022). Those two data sets combined included 455 surveys across 110 countries.

Testing Hypothesis 2 is more difficult. A strong test requires panel data on discussion in the weeks and months leading to an election to assess changes in discussion frequency among individual voters. We identified eight such data sets (i.e., eight elections) from three countries: Germany (2009, 2013, and 2017 elections), Great Britain (2015, 2017, 2019, and 2024 elections), and the United States (2008 election). For Germany, we use the short-term campaign panels of the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES, 2015, 2016, 2019), which is overseen by GESIS and funded by the German Research Foundation. For Great Britain, we use the British Election Study 2014 to 2024 Internet Panel (BES, Fieldhouse et al., 2015), which is managed by the University of Manchester and the University of Oxford and funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council. For the United States, we use the American National Election Studies 2008 to 2009 Panel Study (ANES, DeBell, Krosnick and Lupia, 2010), which is directed by Stanford University and the University of Michigan and funded by the U.S. National Science Foundation. They are all representative panels of citizens eligible to vote.

For Germany, there are up to seven pre-electoral waves, each lasting a week to ten days. That is, respondents were interviewed seven times leading up to the election. The Great Britain data include two waves, each lasting about a month. (Germany has four additional farther back waves in 2017 and Great Britain has a post-election wave in 2015; we do not include these waves when we present analyses that merge years, but we include them in our analyses that look at specific years by country.) The U.S. has four waves with two close to the election and two far back in time,

each lasting about a month.[7] We report the details of the wave timing in Table A.1, Table A.2, and Table A.3, for Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, respectively, in the Supplementary Material. In our analyses, for simplicity, we refer to the "Wave" rather than the acute dates/timing.

Our main variable of interest is days discussing politics. The measure aligns with those used in most past work, asking the number of days in the last week each respondent talked about politics and political parties with other people. There were two exceptions in terms of wording. First, the U.S. surveys instead asked how many days in a typical week the respondent talks about politics. This is less ideal since respondents may generalize beyond the current time. More specifically, the U.S. question may prompt responses that reflect more dispositional discussional patterns (e.g., "typical") rather than discussion in the moment, as shaped by context. Second, the 2013 Germany survey asked separately about the number of days the respondent had spoken with friends, their partner, relatives, colleagues, and neighbors. We initially take the average of these responses.

As we will later discuss, we use other measures from these surveys for additional analyses that straightforwardly follow from our hypotheses. These include analyses of the timing of the vote decision, whom respondents discussed politics with, the media sources from which respondents received political information, and political interest. (We also present political interest data from the WVS and EVS.) In our analyses, we include measures of respondents' gender, age, education, employment, marital status, religiosity, citizenship at birth, income, size of town, and housing ownership. We report the summary statistics for Germany, Great Britain, and the United States in Table A.4, Table A.5, and Table A.6, respectively in the Supplementary Material.

Finally, for the additional analysis regarding timing of the vote decision, we also use data from the True European Voter dataset (Schmitt, 2021), which is a collection of post electoral national election studies from 1964 to 2013 (for nineteen countries). We report the list of country-years for which we have WVS and EVS data and the list of elections for which we have TEV data as well as summary statistics in Table A.7, Table A.8, Table A.9 and Table A.10 respectively in the

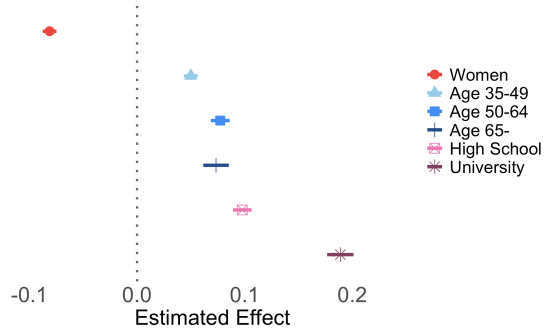
[7] The ANES has continuous waves, but the questions of interest were not asked continuously.

Supplementary Material.

Analyses

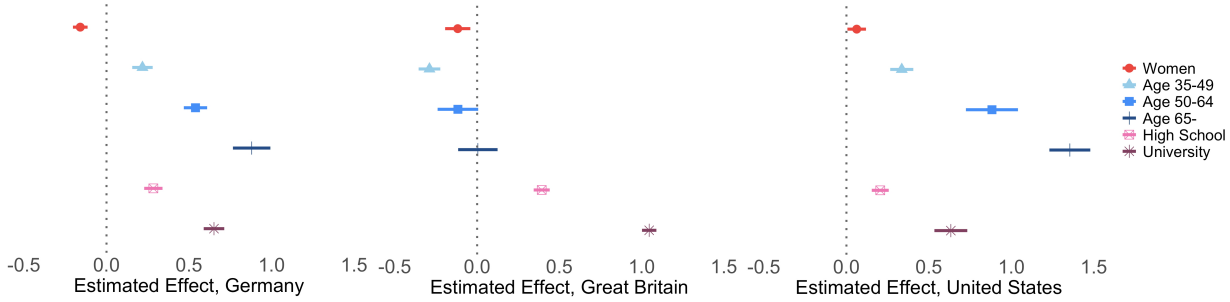
We start by evaluating whether women discuss politics less frequently than men (Hypothesis 1) with data from the WVS and EVS. Figure 1 affirms this dynamic: women talk about politics substantially less than men. We also find intuitive positive correlations between the frequency of political discussion and age and education. We next seek to replicate those findings with our panel data (looking across waves). Figure 2 shows that, consistent with Hypothesis 1, women discuss politics less often than men in both Germany and Great Britain. Surprisingly, we find that women discuss politics more than men in the United States, although this holds only when we control for socio-economic factors (see Table A.16 in the Supplementary Material). This difference may stem from some aspect of the panel sample or the election. That said, in their typical election (non-panel) surveys, the ANES asks how often in the last week the respondent discussed politics. And, those data suggest no gender gap in recent cycles. For instance, in 2024, both men and women report, on average, 2.9 days. This is interesting given the aforementioned large amount of evidence on the gender gap in political discussion. Regardless, our main interest is whether discussion tendencies changed over time. (We also recover expected correlations with age and education, with the only exception being Great Britain, where the youngest discuss politics more often than the middle-aged.)

Figure 1: Political Discussion, WVS, EVS



Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with country-year fixed effects, country-year-clustered robust standard errors, and post-stratification weighs, and dependent variable Political Discussion: how often discusses political matters with friends (0 - Never, 0.5 - Occasionally, 1 - Frequently). Full regression tables in Table A.13 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Employment (full time, part time, self-employed, retired, housewife, student, unemployed, other), Marital Status (married, registered partnership, widowed, divorced, separated, single), Income (low, medium, high). Source: World Value Survey and European Value Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Figure 2: Talk Days



Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with election-wave fixed effects and respondent-clustered robust standard errors and dependent variable Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Full regression tables in Table A.14 (Germany), A.15 (Great Britain), and A.16 (United States) in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

We next turn to Hypothesis 2, that the women should increasingly talk about politics in the prior week (with the aforementioned U.S. question wording caveat) as the election approaches, closing the gap with men. We do this by regressing the discussion variable on indicators for women respondents by survey wave. We include individual fixed effects to control for individual observed and unobserved heterogeneity. These fixed effects also absorb absolute differences of talk days between women and men. We additionally include fixed effects for the wave (or the day, as noted below).

We present the results in Table 1, but before discussing them, a few preliminaries are in order. First, we label the waves moving backward from the election. Thus, Wave -1 is the last pre-election survey (i.e., closest to the election), Wave -2 is the penultimate pre-election survey, and so on. Recall that each wave represents roughly 1 to 10 days in Germany and 1 to 2 months in Great Britain and the United States. Hence, Wave -1 in Germany are responses that range from 1 to 10 days prior to the election, while those in the other two countries are about 1 to 30 days (a month) prior to the election. Recall too that in the U.S., the coverage is discontinuous, meaning there are surveys in the two months leading up to the election and then nine and ten months prior to the election. For this reason, we label the two far back waves in the U.S. as Wave -9 and Wave -10 as that is their proportional timing from the election relative to Wave -1 and Wave -2. We do the same thing for Germany in 2017 where there is a smaller discontinuity between survey waves. Finally, for Great Britain and the United States we have the literal day of the interview and thus we can explore change at a very fine-grained level (the day data are not available for Germany.)

Table 1: Talk Days, Relative Time Trend by Gender

	Dependent variable: Talk Days					
	Germany		Great Britain		United States	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women * Wave	0.031*** (0.004)					
Women * Time (days)			0.005*** (0.0004)		0.001*** (0.0003)	
Women * Wave -10						−0.299*** (0.090)
Women * Wave -9						−0.271*** (0.088)
Women * Wave -7		−0.186*** (0.028)				
Women * Wave -6		−0.183*** (0.026)				
Women * Wave -5		−0.185*** (0.025)				
Women * Wave -4		−0.127*** (0.021)				
Women * Wave -3		−0.095*** (0.020)				
Women * Wave -2		−0.074*** (0.018)		−0.104*** (0.012)		−0.075 (0.061)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–	✓	–
Observations	116,199	116,199	247,410	247,410	8,486	8,486
R^2	0.806	0.806	0.896	0.895	0.830	0.824
Mean DV	1.74	1.74	3.07	3.07	3.45	3.45

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Model 1 in Table 1 shows the results for Germany, with a basic interaction of women by the wave number — recall that higher numbers mean closer to the election (i.e., Wave -1 is the final

pre-election wave, Wave -2 is the one before that). The positive coefficient (0.031) means that as the wave number increases, i.e., closer to the election, women increase the number of days they talk about politics more relative to men. In model 2, we differentiate each specific wave, without making any assumption about the timing within a wave (indeed, for Germany, we do not even know that timing). Here, the coefficients represent the relative difference in talk days between women and men in that wave. The signs are different from model 1 — in model 1, the coefficient represented how much women increase in their discussion as waves get closer to the election. In model 2, the coefficients represent, in essence, the difference between men and women in a given wave compared to the pre-election wave (the negative scores indicate women talk less). The key result is that as the waves get closer to the election — from -7 to -2 — the gender gap declines.

The results make clear that, in Germany, women increasingly enter political discussion as the election approaches and the gender gap with men shrinks.

Models 3 and 4 present the results for Great Britain; recall these data differ as they enable us to look by day and not just wave; however, they also only have two waves. Model 3 shows that as the days move closer to the election (i.e., the countdown to the election), women increasingly discuss politics.[8] Model 4 reveals that the gender gap was larger in the penultimate pre-election wave relative to the final pre-election wave: put differently, they talked more in the later wave. Finally, models 5 and 6 present analogous results for the U.S. They too affirm Hypothesis 2 that women talk more, and the gender gap shrinks as the election approaches. Model 6 makes clear that the gap was quite large nine or ten months out, but then shrank to insignificance in the two months prior to the election.

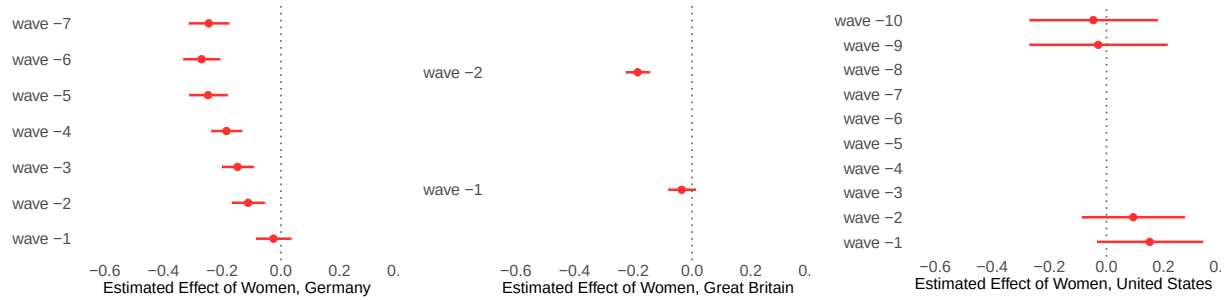
Regarding the magnitude of the effects, over a typical six-week campaign period, the cumulative increase in women's discussion relative to men amounts to approximately 12% (0.19 days) in Germany, 7% (0.21 days) in Great Britain, and 1% (0.04 days) in the United States.[9] To contex-

[8] Model 4 (and 6) rest on the assumption that the timing of survey completion is random within waves.

[9] Models 1, 3, and 5 in Table 1 estimate women's increase relative to men at 0.031 days

tualize these magnitudes, education is one of the most consistently powerful predictors of political discussion (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995): the electoral-period increase corresponds to approximately 29% of the gap between university graduates and those without a high school diploma in Germany, 20% in Great Britain, and 7% in the United States.[10] The smaller figures for the United States are consistent with the overall lower effects we find there, possibly due to the distinct question wording discussed earlier (i.e., it probes more dispositional discussion patterns).

Figure 3: Talk Days, Absolute Time Trend by Gender



Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with election-wave fixed effects and respondent-clustered robust standard errors and dependent variable Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Full regression tables in Table A.17 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

per wave (approximately per week) in Germany, 0.005 days per day (0.035 per week) in Great Britain, and 0.001 days per day (0.007 per week) in the United States. Multiplied by six weeks: $0.031 \times 6 = 0.19$ days (Germany); $0.035 \times 6 = 0.21$ days (Great Britain); $0.007 \times 6 = 0.04$ days (United States). Percentages are computed relative to the mean of the dependent variable in each country (1.74, 3.07, and 3.45, respectively).

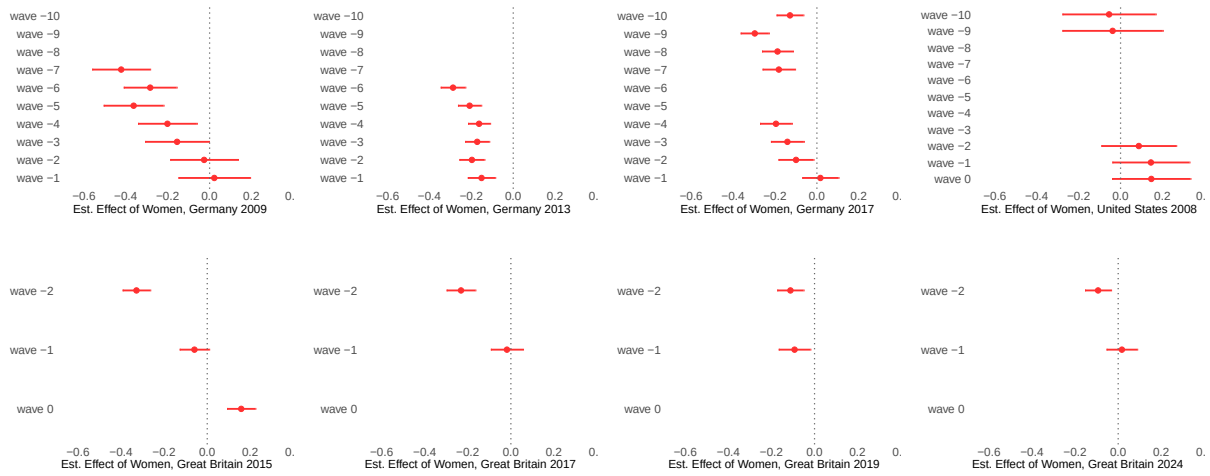
[10] The university vs. no high school diploma gap in political discussion days, from Tables A.12–A.14 (models with controls), is 0.651 in Germany, 1.045 in Great Britain, and 0.633 in the United States. Dividing the campaign-period effect by these figures yields 29%, 20%, and 7%, respectively.

In Figure 3, we present a distinct way to analyze the data, specifically, the absolute difference over time between women and men in how much they talk about politics. To compare how much women and men talk about politics in absolute terms, we cannot include individual fixed effects and thus cannot control for unobserved heterogeneity at the individual level, but we control for a set of socio-economic factors. Given that the spacing of survey waves differs across countries, we keep the analysis separate by country. This approach to the data affirms our models: women talk about politics less than men in the weeks and months before the election. This difference declines in the wave that culminates with the election date, where the gaps disappear. (The positive coefficients in the U.S. follow from our earlier overall analyses, where in the aggregate, women talk more than men.) The magnitude of the effects is also consistent with the previous model: an increase in how much women talk about politics as the election approaches, compared to men, is 12% in Germany and 5% in Great Britain and the United States.

The fact that we find analogous results regardless of whether we use individual fixed effects or socio-economic controls validates both analyses. The results are also similar across countries. The main difference is that, as mentioned, the trend for the United States is less sharp, although there is a significant increase for women between Wave -10 and Wave -1.[11]

[11] The wider confidence intervals in the U.S. reflect substantially smaller sample sizes than in the other countries.

Figure 4: Talk Days, Absolute Time Trend by Gender and Election



Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with election-wave fixed effects and respondent-clustered robust standard errors and dependent variable Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Full regression tables in Table A.18 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

We next, in Figure 4, present the same absolute time trends broken out for each election in our dataset, including "Wave 0", a post-election wave shortly after the election, when available: Great Britain in 2015 and the United States. This election-by-election presentation also serves as a particularly stringent robustness check. Because wave spacing and survey design differ meaningfully across countries, we keep elections separate by country rather than pooling them. Crucially, presenting results election by election goes beyond the standard robustness check of excluding one election at a time: if the trend holds in the large majority of individual elections considered separately, it necessarily also holds in every possible leave-one-election-out subsample.

The results are consistent across elections. In all but Great Britain 2019, the last pre-election wave exhibits a decreased gender gap relative to the first. Germany 2013 warrants a methodological note: the survey asked discussion questions with five distinct targets, and we took the average, which may introduce measurement error because respondents who talk the same amount but with different sets of people are measured differently. Disaggregating by contact type (see Figure A.1 in

the Supplementary Material) confirms that in four of five cases (all but neighbors), women increase their discussion as the election approaches — the expected trend is present and indeed visible in Figure 4, just attenuated by the averaging. Thus, the only substantive exception is Great Britain 2019, where the lack of a trend could reflect unique electoral dynamics or panel attrition. In terms of the former, the 2019 election was the third in four years and was largely defined by Brexit, an issue that had dominated the agenda since the 2016 referendum. Fieldhouse et al. (2023, 537) explain that "the election [was] primarily about Brexit. The two major parties took very different positions on Brexit..." It could be that the continuity of the issue agenda in this election made it less necessary for women to gather new information via increased discussion, a sensible condition for the closing of the gender gap that is worth exploring in future work. Similarly, post-election data from the United States and Great Britain 2015 show that women continue their pre-election uptick in discussion after the election, in fact increasing it in Great Britain to talk even more than men in the month following the vote. This raises an intriguing question of how long the effect endures and warrants attention in future research.

If anything, the election-by-election evidence is further strengthened by data from the 2017 German election, which includes waves further away from the election, covering a period from three months to nearly a year before election day, with wave duration of roughly two weeks. Here the difference between women and men moves up and down in a pattern that is consistent with the timing of state elections in Germany, providing additional support for our functional account beyond the federal electoral cycle. Specifically, the largest gender gap occurs in Wave -9 (February–March 2017), the only wave with neither a nearby state election nor proximity to the federal election. By contrast, Waves -10 and -8 show smaller gaps despite being further from the federal election, overlapping respectively with the Berlin and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern elections in September 2016 and the Schleswig-Holstein and North Rhine-Westphalia elections in May 2017. From Wave -7 onward, the approach of the federal election drives a monotonic narrowing of the gap. Taken together, the pattern suggests that women's functional mobilization into political discussion extends to sub-national elections — a finding that, if replicated, would substantially

broaden the scope of the theory.

The results remain consistent when we include panel weights that account for panel attrition, as we discuss in Section A.4 in the Supplementary Material, and when we include inverse probability weights that account for the possible different likelihood of answering the question on political discussion, as we discuss in Section A.5 in the Supplementary Material. The only difference is that women do not quite catch up with men in Great Britain when we use panel weights.

Overall, we find that consistent with Hypothesis 1, women generally talk about politics less than men. That said, the U.S. is an intriguing exception. More importantly, we find strong evidence for Hypothesis 2 that women increase their political discussions as elections approach, closing the gender gap. This aligns with the idea that women view political discussions as functioning to help with the task of voting, while men consider them to also be a social activity.

Timing of Vote Decision, Information Sources, and Interest

Our theory focuses on political discussion. However, several secondary implications follow from the logic with regard to the timing of the vote decision and sources of information: compared to men, women should decide on their vote choice later and rely on sources that are more personal/less social than men. We explore each of these in what follows. We then investigate political interest, which — for reasons we will explain — should not substantially change as the election approaches.

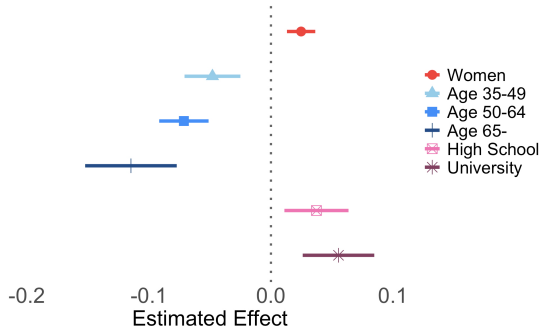
Timing of Vote Decision

If women view politics more as a task that needs to be addressed than an avocation, they will presumably make up their mind about voting later than men. There is little incentive to acquire content until the campaigns approach the end — indeed, the discussion behavior suggests that women gather information later than men do. It follows that they do so, in part, because they are deciding for whom to vote.

We test this with the TEV data. In Figure 5, we show that women generally decide their vote later than men. The magnitude is difficult to recover because the data recode the timing of the

decision from national election studies on a scale from 0 (far ahead of the election) to 1 (close to the election). In effect, we find that the effect of gender is roughly 0.1 standard deviations of the dependent variable.[12]

Figure 5: Timing of Voting Decision, TEV



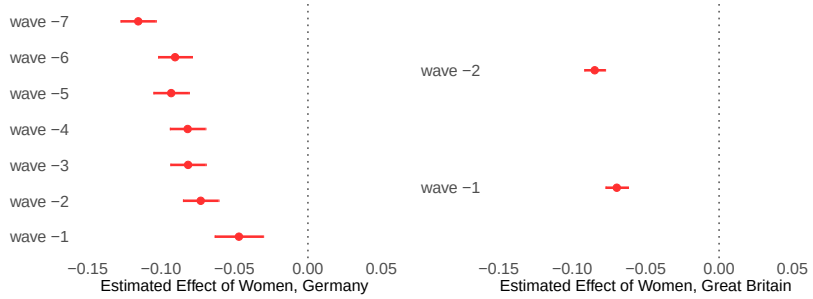
Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with election fixed effects, election-clustered robust standard errors, and demographic weighs, and dependent variable Timing of Voting Decision: 0 far ahead of the election, to 1 close to the election. Full regression tables in Table A.31 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Election, Employment (white-collar, bourgeoisie, agricultural, skilled manual, non-skilled manual), Marital Status (married or living as married, divorced or widowed, single), Income (low, medium, high). Source: True European Voter Dataset. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

We also analyze the timing of the vote decision with our data from Germany and Great Britain, since they ask whom the respondent plans to vote for if they have decided. (These data are not available in the U.S.) We code this with a 1 if the respondent had decided and 0 otherwise. Using models analogous to those above (see Table A.11 in the Supplementary Material), we find that in both countries, as time increases and the election date approaches, women increasingly decide whom to vote for more than men. The same pattern holds when we analyze change across waves. In Figure 6, we look at the absolute time trend and again find that overall women are less decided than men on whom to vote for, but as the election gets closer, they increasingly make up their minds more than men do (although the effect is not large in Great Britain). These results are robust when we include panel weights and inverse probability weights, as we show in Section A.4 and Section A.5 in the Supplementary Material. The results connect nicely with the discussion results

[12] This pattern that others have shown (Fulton and Ondercin, 2013; McGregor, 2012). Fulton and Ondercin (2013) notes that it may be due to women's lower engagement, but they do not elaborate.

insofar as women are relatively more likely to be deciding how to vote as an election approaches, and thus they presumably increasingly discuss politics to figure it out.

Figure 6: Vote Decision, Absolute Time Trend by Gender



Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with election-wave fixed effects and respondent-clustered robust standard errors and dependent variable Vote Decision: 0 not decided how to vote, 1 decided. Full regression tables in Table A.32 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Information Sources

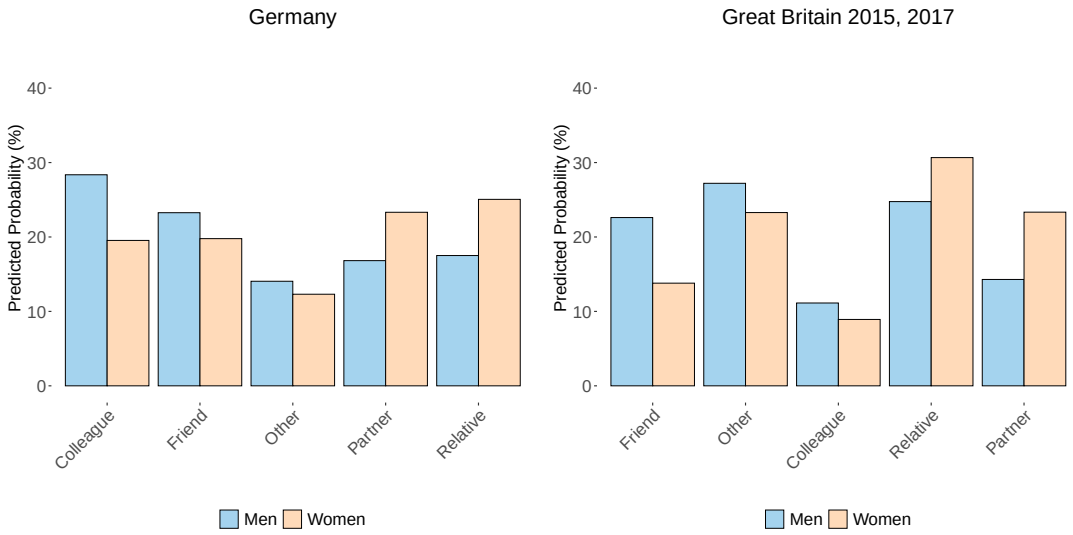
If men are in fact relatively motivated by social goals and women relatively motivated by civic goals, then men should discuss politics more with those in social or public settings, including friends and colleagues. Women, on the other hand, should discuss politics with those in private settings such as with relatives and partners.[13] The German and Great Britain surveys asked respondents about the relationships with the first person with whom they talk about politics. The options include colleague, friend, partner, relative, or other.[14] The results in Figure 7 cohere with our ex-

[13] Along these lines, prior work shows that men are less likely to engage in political discussion with their partners, partly because men perceive women as less politically competent (Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1995; Morehouse Mendez and Osborn, 2010); also see Carlson, Abrajano and Bedolla 2020.

[14] The 2009 and 2017 German data asked a slightly different question — to whom the respondent talks about politics most frequently. Also, for Great Britain, the colleague category includes neighbors.

pectations, with women connecting more often to an intimate (partner, relative) and men doing so with a friend and colleague. Data from the Pew Research Center in the U.S. echoes these findings, reporting that, compared to men, women discuss politics more often with a family member (parent or child) (Gottfried, 2015).

Figure 7: Talking About Politics with Whom

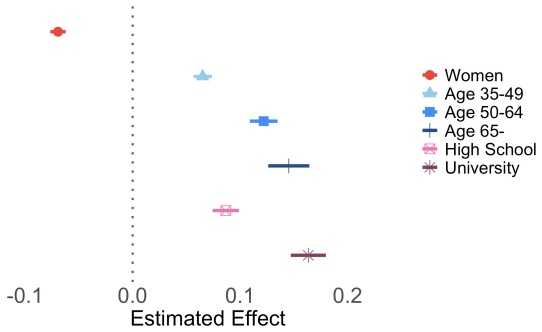


Predicted probabilities by gender of multinomial logit models with dependent variable Talking About Politics with Whom (relationship to the person you talk with about politics most frequently for Germany 2009, 2017, relationship to the first person you talk with about politics for Germany 2013, Great Britain). Colleague category includes Neigbour for Great Britain. Parameter estimates in Table A.20 and Table A.21 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Survey wave, Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Another implication of our argument is that men will seek out information more than women so that they are prepared for social situations. We first use the WVS and EVS data that ask about the extent to which respondents follow politics. Figure 8 shows that women clearly spend less time attending to politics. We then look at what sources respondents most rely upon, using our country-level data. For Germany, the 2009 and 2013 surveys asked respondents which was their main political information source. The Great Britain 2015 survey and the U.S. survey asked about the amount of time spent following politics (or news in the case of the U.S.) among various sources. Figure 9 reveals that the starkest difference is that men exhibit a relatively stronger proclivity to rely on the internet. This is sensible insofar as the internet is the most interactive of the media,

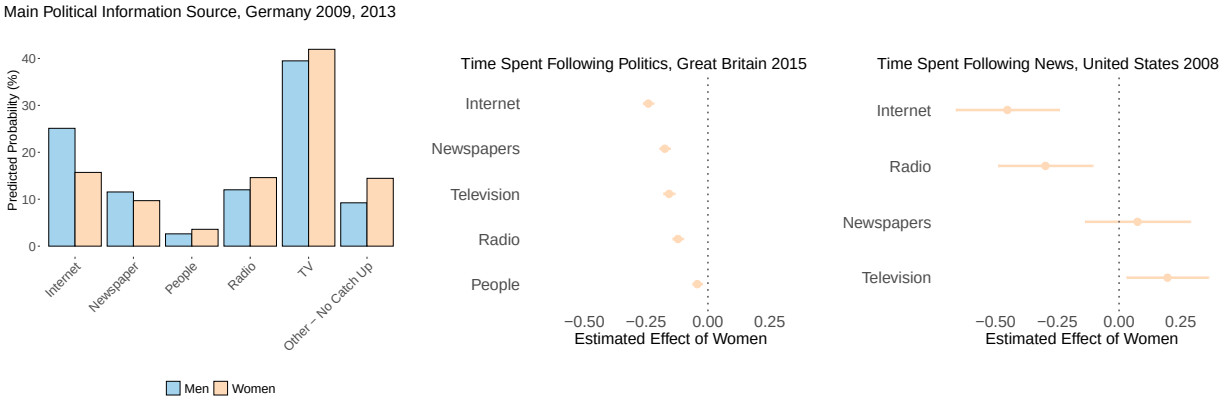
requiring individuals to actively seek out information (or, alternatively, providing them with easy alternatives to avoid politics, yet they opt for politics). Women's relative reliance on television across the countries might reflect that they are less likely to actively seek out information much of the time: television "does not require active input on the user's side" (Shaikh, 2017, 4750).

Figure 8: Follow Politics, WVS, EVS



Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with country-year fixed effects, country-year-clustered robust standard errors, and post-stratification weighs, and dependent variable Follow Politics: how often follows politics in the news (0 - Never, 0.25 - Less often, 0.5 - Once or twice a week, 0.75 - Several times a week, 1 - Every day). Full regression tables in Table A.22 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Employment (full time, part time, self-employed, retired, housewife, student, unemployed, other), Marital Status (married, registered partnership, widowed, divorced, separated, single), Income (low, medium, high). Source: World Value Survey and European Value Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Figure 9: Information Sources



Left: Predicted probabilities by gender of a multinomial logit model with dependent variable Main Political Information Source (main sources of information on politics and parties, in general). Center: estimated effect of women for OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and dependent variable Time Spent Following Politics (number of hours per day of the last week following news about politics or current affairs from each of the sources; 0 - None; 0.5 - Less than 1/2 hour; 1 - 1/2 hour to 1 hour; 2 - 1 to 2 hours; 3 - More than 2 hours). Right: estimated effect of women for OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and dependent variable Time Spent Following News (number of days in typical week respondent watches news from each of the sources). Parameter estimates in Table A.23 Table A.24, and Table A.25 in the Supplementary Material, respectively. Controls: Survey wave, Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Perhaps even more interesting is that we can track the respondents over time in these data to see if the sources they turn to change as the election approaches. We present these results in Table 2 and Table 3. They show that women's time following virtually every source increased as elections approach, consistent with our discussion findings. While not statistically distinct, the evidence shows a bit of a larger increase when it comes to the internet; it may be that women come to more actively seek information.[15] In Great Britain, there is a steady increase over time for all sources, whereas for the U.S., they increase on the sources they use less often (internet and radio) but decrease on their typical source (television). These results are robust to the inclusion of panel weights and inverse probability weights, as we discuss in Section A.4 and Section A.5 in the Supplementary Material. We only lose a bit of significance for the case with panel weights in the United States, which is consistent with the fact that weights inflate standard errors.

Table 2: Time Spent Following Politics, Relative Time Trend by Gender, Great Britain 2015

	Dependent variable: Time Spent Following Politics				
	Internet	Newspapers	Television	Radio	People
Women * Time (days)	0.005***	0.004***	0.003***	0.003***	0.001***
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	37,977	38,004	38,012	38,032	37,968
R^2	0.070	0.050	0.029	0.044	0.023
Mean DV	0.76	0.78	1.14	0.66	0.80

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Time Spent Following Politics: number of hours per day of the last week following news about politics or current affairs from each of the sources (0 - None; 0.5 - Less than 1/2 hour; 1 - 1/2 hour to 1 hour; 2 - 1 to 2 hours; 3 - More than 2 hours). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: British Election Study Internet Panel. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Overall, the patterns of information seeking align with our logic. Women tend to rely more on closer relationships for information, whereas men seem to view politics as more of a social activity. Men also appear to actively seek out information, more so, although that gap closes as elections approach. The latter finding may be the product of women being civically motivated: when elections approach, women tend to increase — more than men do — the amount of information they

[15] This could be a mechanical effect, however, simply because there is more room on the scale to increase following the internet.

Table 3: Time Spent Following News, Relative Time Trend by Gender, United States 2008

	Dependent variable: Time Spent Following News			
	Internet	Radio	Newspapers	Television
Women * Time (days)	0.002^{***}	0.001^{***}	0.0001	-0.001^{**}
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0005)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	5,898	5,899	5,896	5,898
R^2	0.053	0.061	0.159	0.147
Mean DV	3.25	3.31	3.41	4.85

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Time Spent Following News: number of days in typical week respondent watches news from each of the sources. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

seek because at that point they are in greater need.

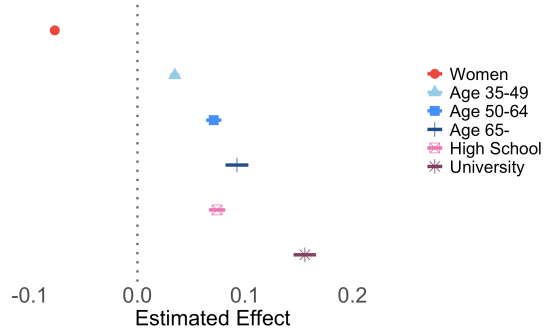
Political Interest

We do not expect the same electoral dynamics when it comes to political interest. Prior (2019, 4) makes clear that political interest "is an internal disposition, clearly distinct from behavior... Just as participation can occur in the absence of political interest, it is possible to be interested in politics without participating in it." As such, it should be much more resistant to change (i.e., dispositions tend to be stable). He looks at the trend as elections approach and finds only a small uptick in interest across countries (58–61). Prior (2019, 166) also reports that, as a general matter, women exhibit less interest in politics than men (also see Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Schlozman, Burns and Verba, 1994; Verba, Burns and Schlozman, 1997). In a sense, then, political interest serves as a placebo.

In Figure 10, we present data from the WVS and EVS, showing that women clearly exhibit less interest in politics than men. We replicate these results in Figure 11 in each of our countries. In Figure 12 (and Table A.12 in the Supplementary Material), we display the evolution of women's relative interest in politics as the election approaches. In Germany, there is a slight increase in interest, but it is non-monotonic, widening slightly in mid-campaign before narrowing — such that Wave -7 and Wave -1 do not significantly differ from one another at the .05 level. The substantive size of the effect (in Model 1) is tiny: .22 percent a week. In Great Britain, there is

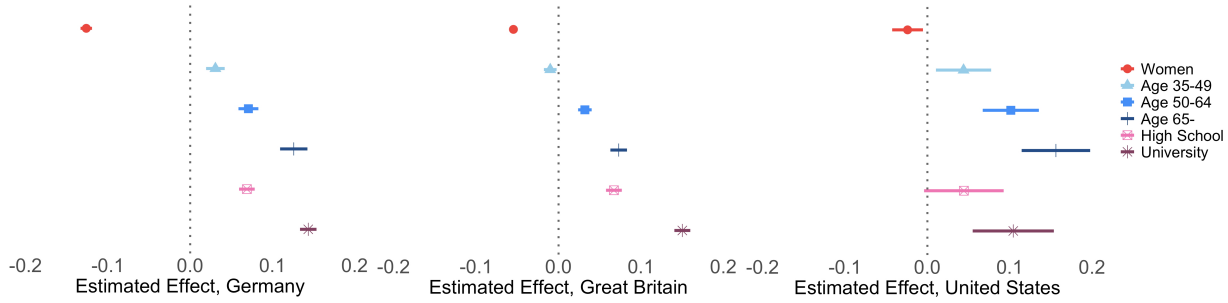
a slight increase in interest for women relative to men, but it is again minuscule, and there is no consistent significant change in the U.S. (i.e., Wave -1 significantly differs from Wave -10 but not from Wave -9 or Wave -2). These results remain robust when we include panel weights and inverse probability weights as we show in Section A.4 and Section A.5 in the Supplementary Material. These largely null, or at best, inconsistent results, reveal that women might pursue information for the election, but that does not alter their more general political dispositions. As our theory suggests, political discussion has a situational component and is not only dispositional (unlike interest).

Figure 10: Political Interest, WVS, EVS



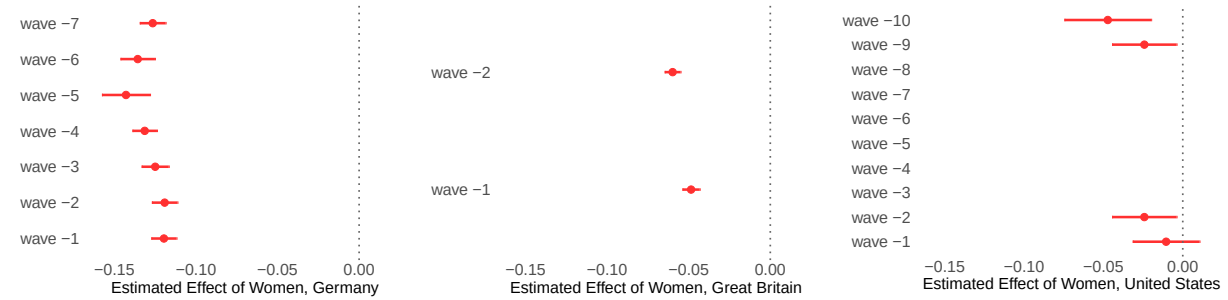
Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with country-year fixed effects, country-year-clustered robust standard errors, and post-stratification weighs, and dependent variable Political Interest: interest in politics (0 - Not at all interested, 0.33 - Not very interested, 0.66 - Somewhat interested, 1 - Very interested). Full regression tables in Table A.26 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Employment (full time, part time, self-employed, retired, housewife, student, unemployed, other), Marital Status (married, registered partnership, widowed, divorced, separated, single), Income (low, medium, high). Source: World Value Survey and European Value Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Figure 11: Political Interest



Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with election-wave fixed effects and respondent-clustered robust standard errors and dependent variable Political Interest: for Germany, interest in politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested); for Great Britain, interest in the election (0, not at all interested, to 1, very interested), for the United States, interest in information about government and politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Full regression tables in Table A.27 (Germany), A.28 (Great Britain), and A.29 (United States) in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Figure 12: Political Interest, Absolute Time Trend by Gender



Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with election-wave fixed effects and respondent-clustered robust standard errors and dependent variable Political Interest: for Germany, interest in politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested); for Great Britain, interest in the election (0, not at all interested, to 1, very interested), for the United States, interest in information about government and politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Full regression tables in Table A.30 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Section Summary

Taken together, these additional analyses cohere nicely with the logic we laid out concerning political discussion. Our main point was that women discuss politics less than men because politics tends to be more of a male domain where men garner relatively more social utility. Women,

though, desire competent decision making, and so they will gather information, à la discussing politics when they need to vote/decide. It makes sense then that they also decide on their vote later (why else gather information later?) and rely on less social and less active sources of information (but less so as the election approaches). Their general political dispositions, though, do not substantially change. The realities of political socialization and the gendered nature of politics mean women come to politics from a distinct vantage point relative to men.

Discussion

Politics is inherently dynamic — at some points it is highly salient and citizens face decisions that shape who governs and/or public policy. At other points, it is less salient. Most work on political engagement, however, treats engagement as a static disposition among individuals. Surely, there are dispositional aspects that relate to gender, given the history and contemporary nature of politics in most countries as being a more male domain (e.g., political interest). Yet, context matters. Women do what is needed in politics when they have to — they operate more functionally. We offered a wide range of evidence that the gender gap in political discussion closes as elections approach. Women also appear to decide for whom to vote later than men and discuss politics more with relatives than others (e.g., in social or public settings). A next step in this research agenda would entail probing the psychological underpinnings of our results, looking, for instance, at the role of social expectations (Gil de Zúñiga, Valenzuela and Weeks, 2016), conflict orientation (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2017; Peacock, 2019), and self-confidence or perceived knowledge (Wolak, 2020*b*; Dreston, Halversen and Weeks, 2025).

Our results have implications both for political strategy and citizen competence. The findings raise the question of whether politicians are aware of the timing variance of women's engagement with politics as elections approach. If so, they may be more apt to focus on issues that tend to be important to women (e.g., healthcare, abortion rights, education, and poverty) later in the campaign cycle. There is a sizeable literature on gender and political messaging, showing that female

candidates are more likely to discuss issues that are particularly relevant to women (Beltrán et al., 2021; Butler, Kousser and Oklobdzija, 2023; Evans and Clark, 2016; Evans, 2023). This holds even when accounting for party-specific policy priorities (Herrick, 2016; La Cour Dabelko and Herrnson, 1997; Schaffner, 2005). Female politicians also tend to receive more positive feedback from the public when they tweet about gender-related issues (Schöll, Gallego and Le Mens, 2024). Whether candidates of any gender and/or party alter their targeting of gender related issues based on campaign timing has not been explored, however.

Our findings align with work on citizen competence that views it as a task specific endeavor where individuals need to acquire particular pieces of knowledge to make decisions (Lupia and McCubbins, 1998; Lupia, 2016). As such, if one does not gain some social or entertainment utility from engaging in politics, there is little reason to do so except when it is required to make a decision. This appears to be what women, on average, are doing in our data. This accords with recent work on political information. While men tend to possess more factual information about politics, that gap dissipates when it comes to practical political matters (Ferrin, Fraile and García-Albacete, 2018; Stolle and Gidengil, 2010). Moreover, Kraft (2024) shows there is no gender gap in knowledge if we consider it not in terms of factual information but instead as the complexity with which they express their attitudes (what he calls discursive sophistication). And, Albarello and Druckman (2026) show that women are just as sophisticated as men when it comes to completing a political task such as aggregating (processing) information to inform voting decisions. Of course, nothing in the data we present enables us to speak directly to the competence of decision-making. Another topic for future work is to tie what we find here with precise measures of the motivational theory on which we build. Regardless, our findings accentuate the difference between perpetual engagement and engagement to perform a political task.

Most work on political engagement and related concepts employs surveys, as we do. This is sensible and has certainly generated a wealth of insights. It is important, though, to account for the reality that surveys are often snapshots from one point in time, in one context. They may thus not straightforwardly reveal aspects of politics that depend on variable circumstances. Doing so

requires careful consideration of the dynamics underlying when and how people enter politics. It is not surprising that women approach politics differently from men, given the history in most countries of exclusion and continuing underrepresentation. Yet we should study how and when women approach politics rather than evaluating them against an a priori benchmark set by men.

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Supplementary Material

A.1 Summary Statistics

Table A.1: Survey Waves, Germany

Election year	Wave	Begin date	End date	Distance to election (days)
Germany 2009	Election date	27 Sep		
	Wave -1	29 Sep	7 Oct	2 / 10
	Wave -2	18 Sep	27 Sep	-9 / 0
	Wave -3	4 Sep	13 Sep	-23 / -14
	Wave -4	21 Aug	31 Aug	-37 / -27
	Wave -5	7 Aug	17 Aug	-51 / -41
	Wave -6	24 Jul	2 Aug	-65 / -56
	Wave -7	10 Jul	20 Jul	-79 / -69
Germany 2013	Election date	27 Sep		
	Wave -1	24 Sep	4 Oct	-3 / 7
	Wave -2	16 Sep	21 Sep	-11 / -6
	Wave -3	2 Sep	12 Sep	-25 / -15
	Wave -4	15 Aug	25 Aug	-43 / -33
	Wave -5	1 Aug	11 Aug	-57 / -47
	Wave -6	18 Jul	28 Jul	-71 / -61
Germany 2017	Election date	24 Sep		
	Wave -1	27 Sep	9 Oct	3 / 15
	Wave -2	18 Sep	23 Sep	-6 / -1
	Wave -3	4 Sep	13 Sep	-20 / -11
	Wave -4	17 Aug	28 Aug	-38 / -27
	Wave -7	6 Jul	17 Jul	-80 / -69
	Wave -8	11 May	23 May	-136 / -124
	Wave -9	16 Feb	3 Mar	-220 / -205
	Wave -10	6 Oct	10 Nov	-353 / -318
State elections	North Rhine–Westphalia	14 May 17		
	Schleswig–Holstein	7 May 17		
	Saarland	26 Mar 17		
	Berlin	18 Sep 16		
	Mecklenburg–Vorpommern	4 Sep 16		
	Baden–Württemberg	13 Mar 16		
	Rhineland–Palatinate	13 Mar 16		
	Saxony–Anhalt	13 Mar 16		

Note: waves -8, -9, and -10 are not included in the main analyses but only in the single election analysis to show correlation of effects on previous periods with State elections.

Table A.2: Survey Waves, Great Britain

Election year	Wave	Begin date	End date	Distance to election (days)
Great Britain 2015	Election date	7 May		
	Wave 0	8 May	26 May	1 / 19
	Wave -1	31 Mar	6 May	-37 / -1
	Wave -2	4 Mar	30 Mar	-64 / -38
Great Britain 2017	Election date	8 Jun		
	Wave -1	5 May	7 Jun	-34 / -1
	Wave -2	24 Apr	3 May	-45 / -36
Great Britain 2019	Election date	12 Dec		
	Wave -1	13 Nov	11 Dec	-29 / -1
	Wave -2	1 Nov	12 Nov	-41 / -30
Great Britain 2024	Election date	4 Jul		
	Wave -1	10 Jun	3 Jul	-24 / -1
	Wave -2	24 May	7 Jun	-41 / -27

Note: wave 0 is not included in the main analyses but only in the single election analysis to show the effect in the post-electoral period.

Table A.3: Survey Waves, United States

Election year	Wave	Begin date	End date	Distance to election (days)
United States 2008	Election date	4 Nov		
	Wave 0	5 Nov	15 Dec	1 / 41
	Wave -1	2 Oct	3 Nov	-33 / -1
	Wave -2	3 Sep	2 Oct	-62 / -33
	Wave -9	7 Feb	29 Apr	-271 / -189
	Wave -10	7 Jan	11 Apr	-302 / -207

Note: wave 0 is not included in the main analyses but only in the single election analysis to show the effect in the post-electoral period.

Table A.4: Proportion of Respondents, Germany

Variable	Level	All Waves	Wave - 7	Wave - 6	Wave - 5	Wave - 4	Wave - 3	Wave - 2	Wave - 1
Gender:	Men	49.6	49.0	49.5	49.7	49.3	49.8	50.3	49.6
	Women	50.4	51.0	50.5	50.3	50.7	50.2	49.7	50.4
Age:	-34	23.2	23.4	28.7	28.0	23.0	22.1	21.7	21.9
	35-49	29.9	30.2	31.6	31.5	29.3	29.4	29.6	29.6
	50-64	33.3	32.9	29.8	30.4	33.7	34.1	34.3	34.3
	65-	13.5	13.5	9.8	10.2	13.9	14.4	14.4	14.3
Education:	No high school	23.2	24.3	25.0	24.6	23.0	22.6	22.5	22.4
	High school	41.4	41.1	41.6	41.1	41.8	41.5	41.3	41.4
	University	35.4	34.7	33.4	34.2	35.2	35.9	36.3	36.2
Employment:	Employed	62.6	63.0	63.2	63.5	62.5	62.4	62.0	62.4
	Unemployed	11.6	11.6	12.8	12.6	11.6	11.4	11.4	11.3
	Retired	20.2	20.0	16.7	16.9	20.7	21.0	21.3	21.0
	Student	5.2	5.0	6.3	6.2	5.0	4.9	4.9	5.0
	Other	0.4	0.3	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Marital status:	Single	34.8	34.7	36.5	36.2	34.8	34.4	34.1	34.4
	Married	44.9	44.9	43.9	44.2	44.8	45.2	45.3	45.2
	Married but living separated	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6
	Civil union	1.8	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7
	Divorced	12.9	12.8	12.6	12.5	13.0	12.9	13.1	13.0
	Widowed	3.1	3.1	2.7	2.7	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2
Religion:	Not religious	44.8	45.3	40.8	41.6	45.2	45.4	45.4	45.6
	Religious	55.2	54.7	59.2	58.4	54.8	54.6	54.6	54.4
Citizenship at birth:	No	2.8	2.8	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7
	Yes	97.2	97.2	97.0	97.1	97.2	97.2	97.2	97.3
Income:	Up to 1499 Euro	30.1	30.5	31.7	31.6	30.1	29.6	29.7	29.5
	1500 - 2999 Euro	42.6	42.4	43.6	43.7	42.5	42.4	42.4	42.4
	3000+ Euro	27.3	27.0	24.7	24.7	27.4	27.9	27.9	28.0
Residence:	Rural area	33.0	33.3	34.1	33.8	32.8	33.0	32.6	32.6
	Town	32.9	32.9	31.8	31.8	33.0	33.0	33.2	33.2
	City	34.1	33.8	34.1	34.5	34.2	34.0	34.3	34.2
Talk days:	mean	1.8	2.2	1.3	1.2	1.7	1.9	1.9	2.2
Talking with whom:	Friend	17.9	18.0	18.3	18.5	18.7	17.6	17.7	17.2
	Partner	44.9	45.2	36.0	37.1	43.6	47.2	46.9	48.8
	Relative	15.8	15.2	14.1	14.5	15.8	16.1	16.3	16.5
	Colleague	12.5	13.1	19.5	17.7	12.1	11.1	10.9	10.3
	Other	8.9	8.6	12.1	12.2	9.7	8.0	8.2	7.1
Information source:	TV	40.8	40.9						
	Newspaper	20.5	20.5						
	Radio	6.9	6.7						
	Internet	24.1	24.3						
	People	5.0	5.0						
	Other - no catch up	2.8	2.6						
Political interest:	Not interested at all	5.6	5.6	5.4	7.0	5.9	5.4	5.4	5.5
	Slightly interested	11.5	11.5	14.0	14.5	12.5	10.6	10.5	10.3
	Moderately interested	34.5	35.2	37.7	35.1	35.2	32.8	33.6	34.0
	Very interested	33.7	32.7	31.4	31.6	32.4	35.1	35.3	34.7
	Extremely interested	14.7	15.0	11.6	11.8	13.9	16.2	15.3	15.5
Vote decision:	Not decided	20.2	25.7	24.0	22.7	20.1	18.9	16.0	12.9
	Decided	79.8	74.3	76.0	77.3	79.9	81.1	84.0	87.1
Respondents:		116,927	20,031	8,206	7,733	21,344	20,467	19,068	20,078

Table A.5: Proportion of Respondents, Great Britain

Variable	Level	All Waves	Wave - 2	Wave - 1
Gender:	Men	47.2	46.3	48.0
	Women	52.8	53.7	52.0
Age:	-34	17.1	18.3	15.7
	35-49	23.0	23.4	22.6
	50-64	30.3	29.6	31.1
	65-	29.6	28.7	30.7
Education:	No high school	8.9	8.8	9.0
	High school	43.7	43.8	43.7
	University	47.4	47.4	47.3
Employment:	Employed	49.8	50.4	49.0
	Unemployed	11.9	12.0	11.9
	Retired	32.3	31.2	33.6
	Student	3.6	3.9	3.2
	Other	2.4	2.5	2.4
Marital status:	Single	35.3	36.1	34.3
	Married	50.5	50.0	51.3
	Married but living separated	1.6	1.6	1.6
	Civil union	0.9	0.9	0.9
	Divorced	7.3	7.1	7.4
	Widowed	4.3	4.2	4.5
Religion:	Not religious	51.2	51.5	50.9
	Religious	48.8	48.5	49.1
Citizenship at birth:	No	5.3	5.4	5.2
	Yes	94.7	94.6	94.8
Income:	Up to 1499 Euro	39.2	38.7	39.7
	1500 - 2999 Euro	44.6	44.7	44.4
	3000+ Euro	16.3	16.6	15.8
Housing	Own	67.8	67.0	68.7
	Rent	23.4	23.7	23.0
	Other	8.8	9.3	8.3
Talk days:	mean	3.1	2.9	3.2
Talking with whom:	Friend	47.0	47.3	46.6
	Partner	20.6	19.9	21.3
	Relative	20.3	20.9	19.6
	Colleague	5.3	5.8	4.6
	Other	6.9	6.0	7.9
Following politics internet:	mean	0.8	0.8	0.7
Following politics newspapers:	mean	0.8	0.8	0.8
Following politics television:	mean	1.1	1.1	1.1
Following politics radio:	mean	0.6	0.7	0.6
Following politics people:	mean	0.8	0.8	0.9
Political interest:	Not at all	6.2	6.3	6.1
	Not very	10.7	11.2	10.2
	Somewhat	32.4	32.8	32.0
	Very	50.7	49.7	51.7
Vote decision:	Not decided	27.6	30.4	24.6
	Decided	72.4	69.6	75.4
Respondents:		262,088	127,318	134,770

Table A.6: Proportion of Respondents, United States

Variable	Level	All Waves	Wave - 10	Wave - 9	Wave - 2	Wave - 1
Gender:	Men	42.6	43.3	43.0	42.2	42.4
	Women	57.4	56.7	57.0	57.8	57.6
Age:	-34	14.2	15.0	14.2	14.2	13.9
	35-49	30.9	29.9	29.6	31.4	31.7
	50-64	35.3	35.5	36.2	35.0	35.0
	65-	19.6	19.5	20.0	19.4	19.5
Education:	No high school	3.9	4.7	4.7	3.4	3.5
	High school	53.0	53.7	53.4	52.9	52.6
	University	43.0	41.6	41.8	43.7	44.0
Employment:	Employed	60.1	60.1	60.0	60.1	60.2
	Unemployed	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.7	3.0
	Retired	19.6	19.0	19.9	19.5	19.8
	Student	6.3	6.3	6.0	6.5	6.4
	Other	11.2	11.8	11.4	11.2	10.6
Marital status:	Single	15.5	15.3	15.2	15.8	15.5
	Married	64.3	63.8	64.2	64.6	64.5
	Married but living separated	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.3
	Divorced	13.4	13.6	13.4	13.1	13.4
	Widowed	5.5	5.9	6	5.2	5.2
Religion:	Not religious	13.1	13.1	13.1	12.9	13.2
	Religious	86.9	86.9	86.9	87.1	86.8
Income:	Up to $25,000	12.5	13.2	13.4	12.1	11.8
	$25,000 - $59,999	35.1	35.7	35.3	34.9	34.7
	$60,000+	52.5	51.1	51.4	52.9	53.5
Housing	Own	81.0	79.8	80.8	81.4	81.4
	Rent	13.9	15.0	14.2	13.6	13.4
	Other	5.1	5.2	5.0	5.0	5.2
Talk days:	mean	3.5	3.0	3.5	3.4	3.8
Following news internet:	mean	3.3	3.2		3.3	3.3
Following news newspapers:	mean	3.4	3.4		3.4	3.4
Following news television:	mean	4.9	4.9		4.9	4.9
Following news radio:	mean	3.3	3.3		3.3	3.4
Political interest:	Not interested at all	2.1	2.7	2.4	1.8	1.8
	Slightly interested	9.8	10.0	10.5	9.7	9.4
	Moderately interested	29.6	31.4	31.1	29.4	28.2
	Very interested	35.6	35.5	34.8	36.2	35.5
	Extremely interested	22.9	20.4	21.3	22.9	25.0
Respondents:		8,294	1,623	1,457	2,586	2,628

Table A.7: List of Country-Years, WVS, EVS

Albania, 1998, 2002, 2008, 2018; Algeria, 2002, 2014; Andorra, 2005, 2018; Argentina, 1984, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2006, 2013, 2017; Armenia, 1997, 2008, 2011, 2018, 2021; Australia, 1981, 1995, 2005, 2012, 2018; Austria, 1990, 1999, 2008, 2018; Azerbaijan, 1997, 2011, 2018; Belgium, 1981, 1990, 1999, 2009; Burkina Faso, 2007; Belarus, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2008, 2011, 2018; Bangladesh, 1996, 2002, 2018; Bolivia, 2017; Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1998, 2001, 2008, 2019; Brazil, 1991, 1997, 2006, 2014, 2018; Bulgaria, 1991, 1997, 1999, 2006, 2008, 2017; Canada, 1982, 1990, 2000, 2006, 2020; Chile, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2006, 2012, 2018; China, 1990, 1995, 2001, 2007, 2013, 2018; Colombia, 1998, 2005, 2012, 2018; Croatia, 1996, 1999, 2008, 2017; Cyprus, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2019; Czech Republic, 1991, 1998, 1999, 2008, 2017, 2022; Denmark, 1981, 1990, 1999, 2008, 2017; Dominican Republic, 1996; East Germany, 2001, 2006, 2020; Ecuador, 2013, 2018; Egypt, 2001, 2008, 2013, 2018; Estonia, 1990, 1996, 1999, 2008, 2011, 2018; Ethiopia, 2007, 2020; Finland, 1981, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2005, 2009, 2017; France, 1981, 1990, 1999, 2006, 2008, 2018; Ghana, 2007, 2012; Germany, 1981, 1990, 1997, 1999, 2006, 2008, 2013, 2017, 2018; Greece, 1999, 2008, 2017; Georgia, 1996, 2008, 2009, 2014, 2018; Guatemala, 2004, 2020; Haiti, 2016; Hong Kong, 2005, 2014, 2018; Hungary, 1982, 1991, 1998, 1999, 2008, 2009, 2018; India, 1990, 1995, 2001, 2006, 2012; Indonesia, 2001, 2006, 2018; Ireland, 1981, 1990, 1999, 2008; Iran, 2000, 2007, 2020; Iraq, 2004, 2006, 2013, 2018; Iceland, 1984, 1990, 1999, 2009, 2017; Israel, 2001; Italy, 1981, 1990, 1999, 2005, 2009, 2018; Jordan, 2001, 2007, 2014, 2018; Japan, 1981, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2019; Kenya, 2021; Kuwait, 2014; Kyrgyzstan, 2003, 2011, 2020; Kazakhstan, 2011, 2018; Latvia, 1990, 1996, 1999, 2008, 2021; Lebanon, 2013, 2018; Libya, 2014, 2022; Lithuania, 1990, 1997, 1999, 2008, 2018; Luxembourg, 1999, 2008; Macau, 1998, 2001, 2008, 2019; Madagascar, 2021; Malaysia, 2006, 2012, 2018; Mauritania, 2019; Mexico, 1981, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2005, 2012, 2018; Maldives, 1996, 2002, 2006, 2008; Mali, 2007; Malta, 1983, 1991, 1999, 2008; Mongolia, 1996, 2001, 2008, 2019, 2020; Morocco, 2001, 2007, 2011, 2021; Myanmar, 2020; New Zealand, 1998, 2004, 2011, 2020; Nicaragua, 2020; Nigeria, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2012, 2018; Northern Ireland, 1981, 1990, 1999, 2008, 2022; Norway, 1982, 1990, 1996, 2007, 2008, 2018; Netherlands, 1981, 1990, 1999, 2006, 2008, 2012, 2017, 2022; Pakistan, 1997, 2001, 2012, 2018; Peru, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2012, 2018; Philippines, 1996, 2001, 2012, 2019; Poland, 1989, 1990, 1997, 1999, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2017; Puerto Rico, 1995, 2001, 2018; Portugal, 1990, 1999, 2008, 2020; Palestine, 2013; Qatar, 2010; South Korea, 1982, 1990, 1996, 2001, 2005, 2010, 2018; Romania, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2018; Russia, 1990, 1995, 1999, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2017; Rwanda, 2007, 2012; South Africa, 1982, 1990, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2013; El Salvador, 1999; Saudi Arabia, 2003; Singapore, 2002, 2012, 2020; Slovenia, 1990, 1991, 1998, 1999, 2008, 2017, 2022; Slovakia, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2017; Spain, 1981, 1990, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2017; Serbia, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2017, 2018; Sweden, 1982, 1990, 1996, 1999, 2006, 2009, 2011, 2017; Switzerland, 1989, 1996, 2007, 2008, 2017; Tajikistan, 2020; Taiwan, 1998, 2006, 2012, 2019; Tanzania, 2001; Thailand, 2007, 2013, 2018; Trinidad and Tobago, 2006, 2010; Tunisia, 2013, 2019; Turkey, 1990, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2018; Uganda, 2001; United Kingdom, 1981, 1990, 1998, 1999, 2005, 2009, 2018, 2022; Ukraine, 1996, 1999, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2020; Uruguay, 1996, 2006, 2011, 2022; United States, 1982, 1990, 1995, 1999, 2006, 2011, 2017; Uzbekistan, 2011; Venezuela, 1996, 2000, 2021; Yemen, 2014; Zambia, 2007; Zimbabwe, 2001, 2012, 2020.

Table A.8: Proportion of Respondents, WVS, EVS

Variable	Level	Proportion
Gender:	Men	47.2
	Women	52.8
Age:	-34	37.0
	35-49	28.5
	50-64	21.1
	65-	13.4
Education:	No high school	19.1
	High school	56.1
	University	24.8
Marital status:	Married	57.1
	Registered partnership	5.0
	Widowed	4.6
	Divorced	1.7
	Separated	7.1
	Single	24.4
Employment:	Full time	37.3
	Part time	7.5
	Self employed	9.8
	Retired	15.4
	Housewife	13.0
	Student	6.6
	Unemployed	8.5
	Other	1.8
Income:	Low	32.7
	Medium	49.7
	High	17.6
Political discussion:	Never	30.9
	Occasionally	53.6
	Frequently	15.5
Follow politics:	Never	7.3
	Less often	15.9
	Once or twice a week	12.0
	Several times a week	20.1
	Every day	44.7
Political interest:	Not at all interested	22.9
	Not very interested	30.7
	Somewhat interested	34.4
	Very interested	12.1
Respondents:		654, 728

Table A.9: List of Elections, TEV

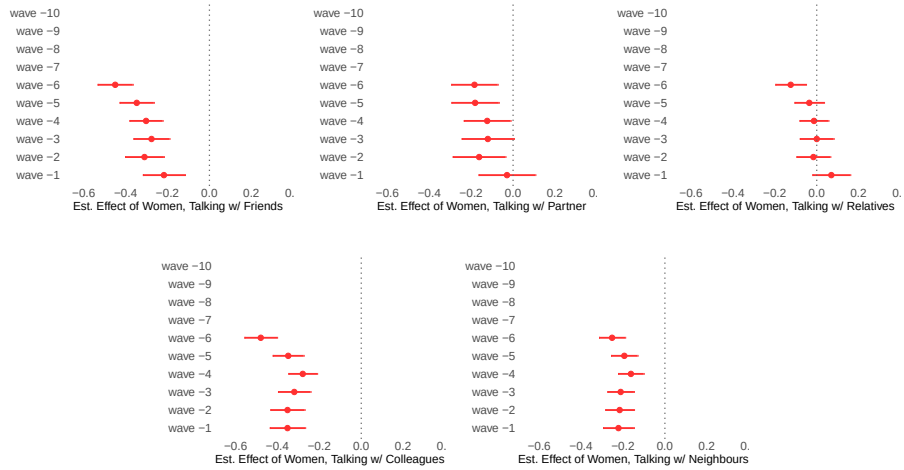
Austria, 2008; Switzerland, 1971, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011; Germany, 1965, 1969, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1990, 1994, 2002, 2009, 2013; Estonia, 2011; Finland, 2003; Great Britain, 2005; Hungary, 2006; Ireland, 2002, 2007; Iceland, 1987; Italy, 1992, 1994, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2013; Lithuania, 2008; Portugal, 2002, 2005, 2006.

Table A.10: Proportion of Respondents, TEV

Variable	Level	Proportion
Gender:	Men	48.6
	Women	51.4
Age:	-32	19.5
	33-45	24.4
	46-60	27.1
	61-	28.9
Education:	No high school	43.1
	High school	41.8
	University	15.1
Marital status:	Married or living as married	63.7
	Divorced or widowed	16.0
	Single	20.3
Employment:	White-collar	46.9
	Bourgeoisie	11.3
	Agricultural	3.9
	Skilled manual	9.7
	Non skilled manual	28.2
Income:	Low	32.6
	Medium	33.5
	High	33.9
Timing of Voting Decision:	mean	0.2
Respondents:		56,655

A.2 Additional Main Tables and Figures

Figure A.1: Talk Days, Germany 2013 Absolute Time Trend by Gender and Talking with Whom



Estimated Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals for OLS models with election-wave fixed effects and respondent-clustered robust standard errors and dependent variable Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people. Full regression tables in Table A.19 in the Supplementary Material. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (city, town, rural area). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.11: Vote Decision, Relative Time Trend by Gender

	Dependent variable: Vote Decision			
	Germany		Great Britain	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Women * Wave	0.006*** (0.001)			
Women * Time (days)			0.0004*** (0.0001)	
Women * Wave -7		−0.050*** (0.008)		
Women * Wave -6		−0.028*** (0.007)		
Women * Wave -5		−0.029*** (0.007)		
Women * Wave -4		−0.026*** (0.007)		
Women * Wave -3		−0.023*** (0.007)		
Women * Wave -2		−0.015** (0.006)		−0.009*** (0.003)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–
Observations	132,170	132,170	236,594	236,594
R^2	0.651	0.651	0.854	0.854
Mean DV	0.80	0.80	0.72	0.72

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Vote Decision: 0 not decided how to vote, 1 decided. Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.12: Political Interest, Relative Time Trend by Gender

	Dependent variable: Political Interest					
	Germany		Great Britain		United States	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women * Wave	0.001*** (0.0004)					
Women * Time (days)			0.0003*** (0.00005)		0.0001*** (0.00003)	
Women * Wave -10						−0.024** (0.011)
Women * Wave -9						−0.010 (0.007)
Women * Wave -7		−0.004* (0.002)				
Women * Wave -6		−0.009*** (0.003)				
Women * Wave -5		−0.014*** (0.004)				
Women * Wave -4		−0.009*** (0.002)				
Women * Wave -3		−0.006*** (0.002)				
Women * Wave -2		−0.00002 (0.002)		−0.008*** (0.001)		−0.010 (0.007)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–	✓	–
Observations	107,895	107,895	257,274	257,274	8,235	9,618
R^2	0.894	0.894	0.909	0.909	0.849	0.849
Mean DV	0.59	0.59	0.75	0.75	0.66	0.67

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Political Interest: for Germany, interest in politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested); for Great Britain, interest in the election (0, not at all interested, to 1, very interested), for the United States, interest in information about government and politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

A.3 Full Tables

Table A.13: Political Discussion, WVS, EVS

	Dependent variable: Political Discussion				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	−0.100***			−0.091***	−0.081***
	(0.003)			(0.003)	(0.003)
Age 35-49		0.043***		0.062***	0.050***
		(0.003)		(0.004)	(0.003)
Age 50-64		0.040***		0.087***	0.077***
		(0.005)		(0.005)	(0.004)
Age 65-		0.0002		0.069***	0.073***
		(0.006)		(0.005)	(0.006)
High School			0.095***	0.108***	0.098***
			(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)
University			0.199***	0.211***	0.189***
			(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Country-Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	415,890	415,723	237,772	237,135	197,861
R^2	0.099	0.081	0.085	0.115	0.121
Mean DV	0.42	0.42	0.42	0.42	0.43

OLS models with country-year-clustered robust standard errors and post-stratification weighs. Political Discussion: how often discusses political matters with friends (0 - Never, 0.5 - Occasionally, 1 - Frequently). Controls: Employment (full time, part time, self-employed, retired, housewife, student, unemployed, other), Marital Status (married, registered partnership, widowed, divorced, separated, single), Income (low, medium, high). Source: World Value Survey and European Value Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.14: Talk Days, Germany

	Dependent variable: Talk Days				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	−0.253***			−0.202***	−0.159***
	(0.020)			(0.020)	(0.023)
Age 35-49		0.211***		0.297***	0.218***
		(0.024)		(0.024)	(0.032)
Age 50-64		0.544***		0.676***	0.539***
		(0.025)		(0.026)	(0.036)
Age 65-		0.976***		1.066***	0.879***
		(0.035)		(0.035)	(0.058)
High School			0.246***	0.348***	0.284***
			(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.028)
University			0.642***	0.776***	0.651***
			(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.032)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	116,199	116,199	115,822	115,822	92,901
R^2	0.135	0.157	0.148	0.183	0.193
Mean DV	1.74	1.74	1.74	1.74	1.71

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people. Controls: Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (city, town, rural area). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.15: Talk Days, Great Britain

	Dependent variable: Talk Days				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	−0.252***			−0.226***	−0.118***
	(0.041)			(0.044)	(0.039)
Age 35-49		−0.412***		−0.411***	−0.290***
		(0.033)		(0.034)	(0.034)
Age 50-64		−0.367***		−0.263***	−0.117*
		(0.065)		(0.064)	(0.063)
Age 65-		−0.327***		−0.173**	0.004
		(0.066)		(0.069)	(0.061)
High School			0.527***	0.532***	0.392***
			(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.025)
University			1.256***	1.253***	1.045***
			(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.022)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	247,410	216,514	210,960	210,815	148,881
R^2	0.011	0.009	0.039	0.045	0.067
Mean DV	3.07	3.00	3.02	3.02	3.02

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people. Controls: Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: British Election Study Internet Panel. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.16: Talk Days, United States

	Dependent variable: Talk Days				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	−0.175***			−0.029	0.062**
	(0.059)			(0.044)	(0.029)
Age 35-49		0.442***		0.359***	0.335***
		(0.028)		(0.026)	(0.036)
Age 50-64		1.003***		0.929***	0.882***
		(0.093)		(0.088)	(0.080)
Age 65-		1.460***		1.384***	1.354***
		(0.146)		(0.135)	(0.063)
High School			0.561***	0.457***	0.205***
			(0.085)	(0.064)	(0.026)
University			1.140***	1.011***	0.633***
			(0.081)	(0.063)	(0.051)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	8,486	8,486	8,455	8,455	7,145
R^2	0.015	0.062	0.036	0.081	0.102
Mean DV	3.45	3.45	3.45	3.45	3.45

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Talk Days: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics. Controls: Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.17: Talk Days, Absolute Time Trend by Gender

	Dependent variable: Talk Days		
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)	(United States)
Women * Wave -10			−0.046 (0.114)
Women * Wave -9			−0.029 (0.123)
Women * Wave -7	−0.246*** (0.034)		
Women * Wave -6	−0.270*** (0.032)		
Women * Wave -5	−0.248*** (0.033)		
Women * Wave -4	−0.186*** (0.026)		
Women * Wave -3	−0.148*** (0.027)		
Women * Wave -2	−0.112*** (0.028)	−0.186*** (0.020)	0.094 (0.091)
Women * Wave -1	−0.026 (0.030)	−0.035 (0.023)	0.151 (0.094)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Observations	92,901	148,881	7,145
R^2	0.194	0.068	0.102
Mean DV	1.71	3.02	3.45

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.18: Talk Days, Absolute Time Trend by Gender and Election

	Dependent variable: Talk Days							
	(Germany 2009)	(Germany 2013)	(Germany 2017)	(Great Britain 2015)	(Great Britain 2017)	(Great Britain 2019)	(Great Britain 2024)	(Unites States 2008)
Women * Wave -10			−0.128***					−0.055
			(0.033)					(0.114)
Women * Wave -9			−0.297***					−0.038
			(0.034)					(0.122)
Women * Wave -8			−0.188***					
			(0.038)					
Women * Wave -7	−0.422***		−0.182***					
	(0.071)		(0.040)					
Women * Wave -6	−0.284***	−0.288***						
	(0.064)	(0.030)						
Women * Wave -5	−0.363***	−0.208***						
	(0.073)	(0.028)						
Women * Wave -4	−0.201***	−0.163***	−0.195***					
	(0.072)	(0.027)	(0.039)					
Women * Wave -3	−0.155**	−0.172***	−0.141***					
	(0.078)	(0.029)	(0.040)					
Women * Wave -2	−0.026	−0.197***	−0.100**	−0.329***	−0.232***	−0.112***	−0.093***	0.087
	(0.083)	(0.030)	(0.043)	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.091)
Women * Wave -1	0.022	−0.151***	0.017	−0.059*	−0.018	−0.093**	0.017	0.145
	(0.087)	(0.033)	(0.044)	(0.035)	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.036)	(0.094)
Women * Wave 0				0.158***				0.147
				(0.034)				(0.095)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	17,912	27,624	83,527	55,132	36,122	38,822	36,597	9,329
R^2	0.099	0.095	0.098	0.134	0.062	0.068	0.081	0.092
Mean DV	1.80	0.73	2.33	3.51	3.18	3.07	2.81	3.45

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.19: Talk Days, Germany 2013 Absolute Time Trend by Gender and Talking with Whom

	Dependent variable: Talk Days Talking with:				
	Friends	Partner	Relatives	Colleagues	Neighbours
Women * Wave -6	−0.450***	−0.184***	−0.124***	−0.480***	−0.252***
	(0.043)	(0.057)	(0.037)	(0.040)	(0.032)
Women * Wave -5	−0.347***	−0.181***	−0.036	−0.349***	−0.194***
	(0.042)	(0.058)	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.032)
Women * Wave -4	−0.303***	−0.124**	−0.013	−0.279***	−0.162***
	(0.040)	(0.057)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.031)
Women * Wave -3	−0.277***	−0.121*	0.0001	−0.320***	−0.211***
	(0.044)	(0.064)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.032)
Women * Wave -2	−0.310***	−0.162**	−0.016	−0.352***	−0.216***
	(0.047)	(0.064)	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.035)
Women * Wave -1	−0.217***	−0.029	0.070	−0.352***	−0.222***
	(0.051)	(0.069)	(0.046)	(0.043)	(0.038)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	24,617	24,617	24,617	24,617	24,617
R^2	0.064	0.207	0.030	0.086	0.044
Mean DV	0.92	1.46	0.63	0.61	0.47

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (city, town, rural area). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.20: Talking About Politics with Whom, Germany

	Dependent variable: Talking About Politics with Whom			
	(Partner)	(Relative)	(Colleague)	(Other)
Women	0.489***	0.521***	−0.210***	0.030
	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.032)
Likelihood Ratio Test χ^2 for Women 1184.2***. Observations 70,831. Akaike Inf. Crit. 182,807.200				

Multinomial logit model. Talking About Politics with Whom: relationship to the person you talk with about politics most frequently (Germany 2009, 2017), relationship to the first person you talk with about politics (Germany 2013). Reference level: Friend. Controls: Survey wave, Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (city, town, rural area). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.21: Talking About Politics with Whom, Great Britain 2015, 2017

	Dependent variable: Talking About Politics with Whom			
	(Relative)	(Friend)	(Colleague, Neighbour)	(Other)
Women	−0.276***	−0.984***	−0.711***	−0.646***
	(0.074)	(0.075)	(0.121)	(0.111)
Likelihood Ratio Test χ^2 for Women 202.7***. Observations 6,754. Akaike Inf. Crit. 15,814.990				

Multinomial logit model. Talking About Politics with Whom: relationship to the first person you talk with about politics. Reference level: Partner. Controls: Survey wave, Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: British Election Study Internet Panel. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.22: Follow Politics, WVS, EVS

	Dependent variable: Follow Politics				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	−0.079***			−0.075***	−0.069***
	(0.004)			(0.004)	(0.004)
Age 35-49		0.079***		0.089***	0.065***
		(0.005)		(0.004)	(0.004)
Age 50-64		0.127***		0.155***	0.122***
		(0.008)		(0.006)	(0.007)
Age 65-		0.129***		0.185***	0.145***
		(0.009)		(0.008)	(0.010)
High School			0.045***	0.093***	0.087***
			(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)
University			0.130***	0.180***	0.163***
			(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Country-Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	142,791	142,365	139,737	139,278	116,982
R^2	0.110	0.122	0.105	0.156	0.163
Mean DV	0.69	0.69	0.70	0.70	0.71

OLS models with country-year-clustered robust standard errors and post-stratification weighs. Follow Politics: how often follows politics in the news (0 - Never, 0.25 - Less often, 0.5 - Once or twice a week, 0.75 - Several times a week, 1 - Every day). Controls: Employment (full time, part time, self-employed, retired, housewife, student, unemployed, other), Marital Status (married, registered partnership, widowed, divorced, separated, single), Income (low, medium, high). Source: World Value Survey and European Value Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.23: Main Political Information Source, Germany 2009, 2013

	Dependent variable: Main Political Information Source				
	(Newspaper)	(Radio)	(Internet)	(People)	(Other - No Catch Up)
Women	−0.235***	0.135	−0.529***	0.254**	0.387**
	(0.068)	(0.102)	(0.064)	(0.119)	(0.157)
Likelihood Ratio Test χ^2 for Women 108.5***. Observations 7,226. Akaike Inf. Crit. 20,339.310					

Multinomial logit model. Main Political Information Source: main sources of information on politics and parties, in general. Reference level: TV. Controls: Survey wave, Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (city, town, rural area). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.24: Time Spent Following Politics, Great Britain 2015

	Dependent variable: Time Spent Following Politics				
	Internet	Newspapers	Television	Radio	People
Women	−0.241***	−0.175***	−0.157***	−0.121***	−0.043***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	37,977	38,004	38,012	38,032	37,968
R^2	0.073	0.052	0.030	0.045	0.022
Mean DV	0.76	0.78	1.14	0.66	0.80

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Time Spent Following Politics: number of hours per day of the last week following news about politics or current affairs from each of the sources (0 - None; 0.5 - Less than 1/2 hour; 1 - 1/2 hour to 1 hour; 2 - 1 to 2 hours; 3 - More than 2 hours). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: British Election Study Internet Panel. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.25: Time Spent Following News, United States 2008

	Dependent variable: Time Spent Following News			
	Internet	Radio	Newspapers	Television
Women	−0.452***	−0.298***	0.075	0.196**
	(0.106)	(0.098)	(0.109)	(0.084)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	5,898	5,899	5,896	5,898
R^2	0.058	0.062	0.159	0.148
Mean DV	3.25	3.31	3.41	4.85

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Time Spent Following News: number of days in typical week respondent watches news from each of the sources. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.26: Political Interest, WVS, EVS

	Dependent variable: Political Interest				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	−0.091***			−0.083***	−0.077***
	(0.002)			(0.002)	(0.002)
Age 35-49		0.030***		0.043***	0.035***
		(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Age 50-64		0.045***		0.082***	0.071***
		(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.004)
Age 65-		0.042***		0.101***	0.093***
		(0.006)		(0.005)	(0.005)
High School			0.064***	0.083***	0.074***
			(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
University			0.152***	0.175***	0.156***
			(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Country-Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	612,387	611,657	442,484	441,257	382,339
R^2	0.111	0.095	0.104	0.133	0.137
Mean DV	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.46

OLS models with country-year-clustered robust standard errors and post-stratification weighs. Political Interest: interest in politics (0 - Not at all interested, 0.33 - Not very interested, 0.66 - Somewhat interested, 1 - Very interested). Controls: Employment (full time, part time, self-employed, retired, housewife, student, unemployed, other), Marital Status (married, registered partnership, widowed, divorced, separated, single), Income (low, medium, high). Source: World Value Survey and European Value Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.27: Political Interest, Germany

	Dependent variable: Political Interest				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	−0.140***			−0.132***	−0.126***
	(0.002)			(0.002)	(0.002)
Age 35-49		0.019***		0.035***	0.031***
		(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Age 50-64		0.049***		0.075***	0.071***
		(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.003)
Age 65-		0.125***		0.136***	0.126***
		(0.007)		(0.006)	(0.003)
High School			0.070***	0.080***	0.069***
			(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
University			0.156***	0.168***	0.144***
			(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	107,895	107,895	107,480	107,480	88,243
R^2	0.081	0.033	0.062	0.155	0.169
Mean DV	0.59	0.59	0.59	0.59	0.60

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Political Interest: interest in politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Controls: Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (city, town, rural area). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.28: Political Interest, Great Britain

	Dependent variable: Political Interest				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	−0.070***			−0.062***	−0.055***
	(0.004)			(0.004)	(0.004)
Age 35-49		−0.019***		−0.023***	−0.010
		(0.007)		(0.007)	(0.007)
Age 50-64		0.013*		0.020***	0.032***
		(0.007)		(0.008)	(0.008)
Age 65-		0.062***		0.074***	0.073***
		(0.010)		(0.010)	(0.009)
High School			0.065***	0.080***	0.067***
			(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.003)
University			0.151***	0.171***	0.150***
			(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	257,274	225,318	219,148	218,997	153,655
R^2	0.025	0.024	0.044	0.072	0.087
Mean DV	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.76

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Political Interest: interest in the election (0, not at all interested, to 1, very interested). Controls: Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: British Election Study Internet Panel. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.29: Political Interest, United States

	Dependent variable: Political Interest				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	−0.047***			−0.029***	−0.024***
	(0.005)			(0.004)	(0.005)
Age 35-49		0.057***		0.048***	0.044***
		(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.004)
Age 50-64		0.118***		0.108***	0.101***
		(0.009)		(0.008)	(0.007)
Age 65-		0.178***		0.166***	0.156***
		(0.008)		(0.007)	(0.003)
High School			0.066***	0.052***	0.044***
			(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.006)
University			0.141***	0.123***	0.104***
			(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	9,618	9,618	9,567	9,567	8,049
R^2	0.010	0.054	0.028	0.081	0.097
Mean DV	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.66

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Political Interest: interest in information about government and politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Controls: Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.30: Political Interest, Absolute Time Trend by Gender

	Dependent variable: Political Interest		
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)	(United States)
Women * Wave -10			−0.047*** (0.014)
Women * Wave -9			−0.024** (0.010)
Women * Wave -7	−0.127*** (0.004)		
Women * Wave -6	−0.136*** (0.005)		
Women * Wave -5	−0.143*** (0.008)		
Women * Wave -4	−0.131*** (0.004)		
Women * Wave -3	−0.125*** (0.004)		
Women * Wave -2	−0.119*** (0.004)	−0.060*** (0.002)	−0.024** (0.010)
Women * Wave -1	−0.120*** (0.004)	−0.049*** (0.003)	−0.010 (0.011)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Observations	88,243	153,655	8,049
R^2	0.169	0.087	0.098
Mean DV	0.60	0.76	0.66

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Political Interest: for Germany, interest in politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested); for Great Britain, interest in the election (0, not at all interested, to 1, very interested), for the United States, interest in information about government and politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.31: Timing of Voting Decision, TEV

	Dependent variable: Timing of Voting Decision				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Women	0.040***			0.043***	0.025***
	(0.007)			(0.006)	(0.006)
Age 32-44		−0.042***		−0.044***	−0.048***
		(0.006)		(0.006)	(0.012)
Age 45-59		−0.071***		−0.075***	−0.071***
		(0.008)		(0.007)	(0.010)
Age 60-		−0.119***		−0.125***	−0.115***
		(0.013)		(0.012)	(0.019)
High School			0.017	−0.012	0.037**
			(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.013)
University			0.024	−0.003	0.055***
			(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.015)
Election Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	–	–	–	–	✓
Observations	56,329	54,795	56,345	54,197	7,795
R^2	0.129	0.139	0.124	0.142	0.132
Mean DV	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.25	0.19
SD DV	0.33	0.34	0.33	0.34	0.31

OLS models with election-clustered robust standard errors and demographic weighs. Timing of Voting Decision: 0 far ahead of the election, to 1 close to the election. Controls: Employment (white-collar, bourgeoisie, agricultural, skilled manual, non skilled manual), Marital Status (married or living as married, divorced or widowed, single), Income (low, medium, high). Source: True European Voter Dataset. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.32: Vote Decision, Absolute Time Trend by Gender

	Dependent variable: Vote Decision	
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)
Women * Wave -7	−0.116*** (0.006)	
Women * Wave -6	−0.090*** (0.006)	
Women * Wave -5	−0.093*** (0.006)	
Women * Wave -4	−0.082*** (0.006)	
Women * Wave -3	−0.082*** (0.006)	
Women * Wave -2	−0.073*** (0.006)	−0.085*** (0.004)
Women * Wave -1	−0.047*** (0.008)	−0.070*** (0.004)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓
Observations	107,206	142,829
R^2	0.032	0.022
Mean DV	0.80	0.73

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors. Vote Decision: 0 not decided how to vote, 1 decided. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

A.4 Analyses with Panel Weights

In this section, we replicate the main analyses with the inclusion of survey panel weights. We use the weights directly provided from the panel surveys. These weights control for selection in and out of the survey waves on common socio-economic variables such as age, gender, and education (the detail on the variables and the levels depend on the single survey). We find consistent results for all the analyses. Sometimes we lose a bit of significance, which is consistent with the use of weights in the regressions.

Table A.33: Talk Days, Relative Time Trend by Gender, with Panel Weights

	Dependent variable: Talk Days					
	Germany		Great Britain		United States	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women * Wave	0.036*** (0.005)					
Women * Time (days)			0.005*** (0.001)		0.001*** (0.0005)	
Women * Wave -10						−0.412** (0.165)
Women * Wave -9						−0.170 (0.151)
Women * Wave -7		−0.211*** (0.036)				
Women * Wave -6		−0.185*** (0.033)				
Women * Wave -5		−0.211*** (0.032)				
Women * Wave -4		−0.139*** (0.027)				
Women * Wave -3		−0.094*** (0.025)				
Women * Wave -2		−0.069*** (0.023)		−0.115*** (0.016)		0.005 (0.148)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–	✓	–
Observations	91,928	91,928	162,719	162,719	8,486	8,486
R^2	0.797	0.797	0.865	0.864	0.806	0.781
Mean DV	1.76	1.76	2.99	2.99	3.45	3.45

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and panel weights. Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.34: Talk Days, Absolute Time Trend by Gender, with Panel Weights

	Dependent variable: Talk Days		
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)	(United States)
Women * Wave -10			−0.107 (0.181)
Women * Wave -9			0.139 (0.182)
Women * Wave -7	−0.259*** (0.045)		
Women * Wave -6	−0.254*** (0.040)		
Women * Wave -5	−0.268*** (0.041)		
Women * Wave -4	−0.186*** (0.033)		
Women * Wave -3	−0.147*** (0.033)		
Women * Wave -2	−0.128*** (0.035)	−0.295*** (0.027)	0.265 (0.184)
Women * Wave -1	−0.054 (0.037)	−0.143*** (0.029)	0.275 (0.189)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Observations	77,615	114,387	7,145
R^2	0.182	0.068	0.130
Mean DV	1.70	3.02	3.45

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and panel weights. Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.35: Time Spent Following Politics, Relative Time Trend by Gender, Great Britain 2015, with Panel Weights

	Dependent variable: Time Spent Following Politics				
	Internet	Newspapers	Television	Radio	People
Women * Time (days)	0.006***	0.004***	0.004***	0.004***	0.002***
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0004)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	34,457	34,487	34,490	34,513	34,448
R^2	0.087	0.034	0.025	0.039	0.022
Mean DV	0.76	0.79	1.15	0.66	0.80

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and panel weights. Time Spent Following Politics: number of hours per day of the last week following news about politics or current affairs from each of the sources (0 - None; 0.5 - Less than 1/2 hour; 1 - 1/2 hour to 1 hour; 2 - 1 to 2 hours; 3 - More than 2 hours). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: British Election Study Internet Panel. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.36: Time Spent Following News, Relative Time Trend by Gender, United States 2008, with Panel Weights

	Dependent variable: Time Spent Following News			
	Internet	Radio	Newspapers	Television
Women * Time (days)	0.001	0.001	−0.001	−0.002***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	5,898	5,899	5,896	5,898
R^2	0.097	0.086	0.211	0.207
Mean DV	3.25	3.31	3.41	4.85

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors, and panel weights. Time Spent Following News: number of days in typical week respondent watches news from each of the sources. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.37: Political Interest, Relative Time Trend by Gender, with Panel Weights

	Dependent variable: Political Interest					
	Germany		Great Britain		United States	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women * Wave	0.001*** (0.001)					
Women * Time (days)			0.0003*** (0.0001)		0.0001** (0.00005)	
Women * Wave -10						−0.050** (0.019)
Women * Wave -9						−0.026 (0.018)
Women * Wave -7		−0.004 (0.003)				
Women * Wave -6		−0.013*** (0.004)				
Women * Wave -5		−0.016*** (0.004)				
Women * Wave -4		−0.011*** (0.003)				
Women * Wave -3		−0.007*** (0.002)				
Women * Wave -2		−0.002 (0.002)		−0.006*** (0.002)		−0.026 (0.018)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–	✓	–
Observations	87,779	87,779	169,396	169,396	8,235	9,618
R^2	0.887	0.887	0.895	0.895	0.834	0.808
Mean DV	0.60	0.60	0.75	0.75	0.66	0.67

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors, and panel weights. Political Interest: for Germany, interest in politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested); for Great Britain, interest in the election (0, not at all interested, to 1, very interested), for the United States, interest in information about government and politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.38: Political Interest, Absolute Time Trend by Gender, with Panel Weights

	Dependent variable: Political Interest		
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)	(United States)
Women * Wave -10			−0.021 (0.025)
Women * Wave -9			−0.002 (0.024)
Women * Wave -7	−0.122*** (0.005)		
Women * Wave -6	−0.130*** (0.006)		
Women * Wave -5	−0.142*** (0.009)		
Women * Wave -4	−0.125*** (0.005)		
Women * Wave -3	−0.123*** (0.005)		
Women * Wave -2	−0.118*** (0.005)	−0.061*** (0.004)	−0.002 (0.024)
Women * Wave -1	−0.116*** (0.005)	−0.054*** (0.004)	0.028 (0.025)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Observations	88,243	153,655	8,049
R^2	0.169	0.087	0.098
Mean DV	0.60	0.76	0.66

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors, and panel weights. Political Interest: for Germany, interest in politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested); for Great Britain, interest in the election (0, not at all interested, to 1, very interested), for the United States, interest in information about government and politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.39: Vote Decision, Relative Time Trend by Gender, with Panel Weights

	Dependent variable: Vote Decision			
	Germany		Great Britain	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Women * Wave	0.006*** (0.001)			
Women * Time (days)			0.0003* (0.0002)	
Women * Wave -7		−0.049*** (0.010)		
Women * Wave -6		−0.034*** (0.011)		
Women * Wave -5		−0.040*** (0.011)		
Women * Wave -4		−0.037*** (0.009)		
Women * Wave -3		−0.022** (0.009)		
Women * Wave -2		−0.022*** (0.008)		−0.007* (0.004)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–
Observations	77,269	77,269	156,349	156,349
R^2	0.699	0.700	0.811	0.809
Mean DV	0.79	0.79	0.72	0.72

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and panel weights. Vote Decision: 0 not decided how to vote, 1 decided. Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.40: Vote Decision, Absolute Time Trend by Gender, with Panel Weights

	Dependent variable: Vote Decision	
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)
Women * Wave -7	−0.113*** (0.009)	
Women * Wave -6	−0.093*** (0.012)	
Women * Wave -5	−0.106*** (0.012)	
Women * Wave -4	−0.090*** (0.008)	
Women * Wave -3	−0.077*** (0.008)	
Women * Wave -2	−0.076*** (0.008)	−0.084*** (0.005)
Women * Wave -1	−0.046*** (0.010)	−0.072*** (0.005)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓
Observations	66,638	108,979
R^2	0.037	0.019
Mean DV	0.80	0.73

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and panel weights. Vote Decision: 0 not decided how to vote, 1 decided. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

A.5 Analysis of Probability of Nonresponse

To assess whether item nonresponse in the dependent variable varies systematically over time by gender, we estimate a specification identical to the main model but use a binary indicator for answering the talk days question as the dependent variable. The results show a statistically significant negative interaction between wave and gender, indicating that women are more likely to answer this question in more recent waves, after accounting for individual and wave fixed effects. To address the resulting concern that the outcome may be missing not at random and that the probability of responding may correlate with wave and gender, we follow the inverse probability weighting procedure proposed by Wooldridge for panel data with attrition and selective nonresponse (Wooldridge, 2007, 2010). We estimate the probability of responding as a function of gender, wave, their interaction, and the baseline covariates used in the main specification, and construct stabilized inverse probability weights from the fitted probabilities. This procedure is standard in the panel-data and survey-missingness literature, which recommends stabilized and bounded weights to limit variance inflation. We then re-estimate the main fixed effects specification using these stabilized weights. The resulting estimate for the gender wave interaction remains positive and statistically significant and is consistent in both magnitude and sign with the baseline model that does not use inverse prob-

ability weighting. This robustness check shows that the main results are not driven by gendered or time varying patterns of item nonresponse.

Table A.41: Talk Days, Relative Time Trend by Gender, with Inverse Probability Weights

	Dependent variable: Answer to Talk Days Question					
	Germany		Great Britain		United States	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women * Wave	−0.007*** (0.001)					
Women * Time (days)			−0.00005 (0.0001)		−0.00000 (0.00003)	
Women * Wave -10						−0.020 (0.017)
Women * Wave -9						−0.014 (0.016)
Women * Wave -8						−0.005 (0.015)
Women * Wave -7		0.014*** (0.005)				−0.005 (0.015)
Women * Wave -6		0.041*** (0.005)				−0.005 (0.015)
Women * Wave -5		0.041*** (0.005)				−0.005 (0.015)
Women * Wave -4		0.002 (0.004)				−0.005 (0.015)
Women * Wave -3		−0.009** (0.004)				−0.005 (0.015)
Women * Wave -2		−0.012*** (0.004)		0.055*** (0.003)		0.005 (0.010)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–	✓	–
Observations	226,303	226,303	261,839	320,552	8,721	42,400
R^2	0.699	0.699	0.746	0.302	0.589	0.574
Mean DV	0.51	0.51	0.94	0.77	0.97	0.20

	Dependent variable: Talk Days					
	Germany		Great Britain		United States	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women * Wave	0.033*** (0.004)					
Women * Time (days)			0.005*** (0.001)		0.001*** (0.0003)	
Women * Wave -10						−0.232** (0.098)
Women * Wave -9						−0.210** (0.097)
Women * Wave -7		−0.193*** (0.030)				
Women * Wave -6		−0.207*** (0.029)				
Women * Wave -5		−0.204*** (0.029)				
Women * Wave -4		−0.144*** (0.024)				
Women * Wave -3		−0.101*** (0.023)				
Women * Wave -2		−0.084*** (0.022)		−0.107*** (0.014)		−0.024 (0.066)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–	✓	–
Observations	92,901	92,901	148,881	148,881	7,145	7,145
R^2	0.799	0.799	0.877	0.770	0.827	0.819
Mean DV	1.71	1.71	3.02	3.02	3.45	3.45

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and inverse probability weights. Answer to Talk Days Question: dummy variable (1 answered question, 0 did not answer). Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.42: Talk Days, Absolute Time Trend by Gender, with Inverse Probability Weights

	Dependent variable: Answer to Talk Days Question		
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)	(United States)
Women * Wave -10			−0.018 (0.020)
Women * Wave -9			−0.018 (0.021)
Women * Wave -8			0.003* (0.001)
Women * Wave -7	−0.015*** (0.005)		0.003* (0.001)
Women * Wave -6	0.009*** (0.001)		0.003* (0.001)
Women * Wave -5	0.008*** (0.002)		0.003* (0.001)
Women * Wave -4	−0.025*** (0.005)		0.003* (0.001)
Women * Wave -3	−0.039*** (0.005)		0.003* (0.001)
Women * Wave -2	−0.035*** (0.006)	−0.001 (0.002)	0.012 (0.010)
Women * Wave -1	−0.022*** (0.006)	−0.040*** (0.003)	0.006 (0.012)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Observations	146,762	170,620	24,390
R^2	0.525	0.105	0.693
Mean DV	0.63	0.87	0.29

	Dependent variable: Talk Days		
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)	(United States)
Women * Wave -10			−0.049 (0.114)
Women * Wave -9			−0.026 (0.123)
Women * Wave -7	−0.251*** (0.034)		
Women * Wave -6	−0.269*** (0.032)		
Women * Wave -5	−0.252*** (0.034)		
Women * Wave -4	−0.199*** (0.027)		
Women * Wave -3	−0.160*** (0.028)		
Women * Wave -2	−0.120*** (0.030)	−0.189*** (0.020)	0.099 (0.092)
Women * Wave -1	−0.027 (0.031)	−0.064*** (0.023)	0.155 (0.095)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Observations	92,901	148,881	7,145
R^2	0.177	0.068	0.109
Mean DV	1.71	3.02	3.45

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and panel weights. Answer to Talk Days Question: dummy variable (1 answered question, 0 did not answer). Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.43: Time Spent Following Politics, Relative Time Trend by Gender, Great Britain 2015, with Inverse Probability Weights

	Dependent variable: Answer to Time Spent Following Politics Question				
	Internet	Newspapers	Television	Radio	People
Women * Time (days)	−0.00000	0.00002	0.00003**	0.00000	−0.00001
	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	155,246	155,246	155,246	155,246	155,246
R^2	0.976	0.977	0.978	0.978	0.976
Mean DV	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24

	Dependent variable: Time Spent Following Politics				
	Internet	Newspapers	Television	Radio	People
Women * Time (days)	0.005***	0.004***	0.003***	0.003***	0.002***
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	37,977	38,004	38,012	38,032	37,968
R^2	0.070	0.050	0.029	0.044	0.023
Mean DV	0.76	0.78	1.14	0.66	0.80

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and panel weights. Answer to Time Spent Following Politics: dummy variable (1 answered question, 0 did not answer). Time Spent Following Politics: number of hours per day of the last week following news about politics or current affairs from each of the sources (0 - None; 0.5 - Less than 1/2 hour; 1 - 1/2 hour to 1 hour; 2 - 1 to 2 hours; 3 - More than 2 hours). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: British Election Study Internet Panel. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.44: Time Spent Following News, Relative Time Trend by Gender, United States 2008, with Inverse Probability Weights

	Dependent variable: Answer to Time Spent Following News Question			
	Internet	Radio	Newspapers	Television
Women * Time (days)	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000
	(0.00001)	(0.00000)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	7,245	7,245	7,245	7,245
R^2	0.982	0.983	0.980	0.982
Mean DV	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81

	Dependent variable: Time Spent Following News			
	Internet	Radio	Newspapers	Television
Women * Time (days)	0.001***	0.001**	0.0001	−0.001**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0004)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	5,898	5,899	5,896	5,898
R^2	0.056	0.061	0.161	0.146
Mean DV	3.25	3.31	3.41	4.85

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors, and panel weights. Answer to Time Spent Following News: dummy variable (1 answered question, 0 did not answer). Time Spent Following News: number of days in typical week respondent watches news from each of the sources. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Housing (own, rent, other). Source: American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.45: Political Interest, Relative Time Trend by Gender, with Inverse Probability Weights

	Dependent variable: Answer to Political Interest Question					
	Germany		Great Britain		United States	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women * Wave	−0.008*** (0.001)					
Women * Time (days)			0.0002*** (0.00003)		0.00001 (0.0001)	
Women * Wave -10						−0.012 (0.016)
Women * Wave -9						0.004 (0.010)
Women * Wave -8						−0.004 (0.015)
Women * Wave -7		0.020*** (0.005)				−0.004 (0.015)
Women * Wave -6		0.042*** (0.005)				−0.004 (0.015)
Women * Wave -5		0.042*** (0.005)				−0.004 (0.015)
Women * Wave -4		0.008** (0.004)				−0.004 (0.015)
Women * Wave -3		−0.0005 (0.004)				−0.004 (0.015)
Women * Wave -2		−0.013*** (0.004)		0.051*** (0.003)		0.004 (0.010)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–	✓	–
Observations	87,779	87,779	169,396	169,396	8,235	9,618
R^2	0.887	0.887	0.895	0.895	0.834	0.808
Mean DV	0.60	0.60	0.75	0.75	0.66	0.67

	Dependent variable: Political Interest					
	Germany		Great Britain		United States	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women * Wave	0.001*** (0.0004)					
Women * Time (days)			0.0003*** (0.0001)		0.0001*** (0.00003)	
Women * Wave -10						−0.027** (0.011)
Women * Wave -9						−0.011 (0.008)
Women * Wave -7		−0.005** (0.003)				
Women * Wave -6		−0.009** (0.004)				
Women * Wave -5		−0.015*** (0.004)				
Women * Wave -4		−0.011*** (0.002)				
Women * Wave -3		−0.006*** (0.002)				
Women * Wave -2		0.001 (0.002)		−0.008*** (0.002)		−0.011 (0.008)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–	✓	–
Observations	88,243	88,243	153,655	153,655	6,961	8,049
R^2	0.893	0.893	0.895	0.788	0.842	0.840
Mean DV	0.60	0.60	0.76	0.76	0.66	0.66

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors, and inverse probability weights. Answer to Political Interest Question: dummy variable (1 answered question, 0 did not answer). Political Interest: for Germany, interest in politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested); for Great Britain, interest in the election (0, not at all interested, to 1, very interested), for the United States, interest in information about government and politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.46: Political Interest, Absolute Time Trend by Gender, with Inverse Probability Weights

	Dependent variable: Answer to Political Interest Question		
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)	(United States)
Women * Wave -10			−0.015 (0.021)
Women * Wave -9			0.012 (0.010)
Women * Wave -8			0.004*** (0.001)
Women * Wave -7	−0.011** (0.005)		0.004*** (0.001)
Women * Wave -6	0.007*** (0.002)		0.004*** (0.001)
Women * Wave -5	0.007*** (0.002)		0.004*** (0.001)
Women * Wave -4	−0.021*** (0.005)		0.004*** (0.001)
Women * Wave -3	−0.031*** (0.005)		0.004*** (0.001)
Women * Wave -2	−0.041*** (0.006)	−0.005*** (0.001)	0.012 (0.010)
Women * Wave -1	−0.026*** (0.006)	−0.042*** (0.003)	0.008 (0.012)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Observations	146,762	170,620	24,390
R^2	0.529	0.125	0.799
Mean DV	0.60	0.90	0.33

	Dependent variable: Political Interest		
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)	(United States)
Women * Wave -10			−0.046*** (0.014)
Women * Wave -9			−0.024** (0.010)
Women * Wave -7	−0.127*** (0.004)		
Women * Wave -6	−0.136*** (0.005)		
Women * Wave -5	−0.143*** (0.008)		
Women * Wave -4	−0.133*** (0.004)		
Women * Wave -3	−0.126*** (0.004)		
Women * Wave -2	−0.120*** (0.004)	−0.060*** (0.002)	−0.024** (0.010)
Women * Wave -1	−0.121*** (0.004)	−0.051*** (0.003)	−0.010 (0.011)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Observations	88,243	153,655	8,049
R^2	0.167	0.088	0.103
Mean DV	0.60	0.76	0.66

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors, and inverse probability weights. Answer to Political Interest Question: dummy variable (1 answered question, 0 did not answer). Political Interest: for Germany, interest in politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested); for Great Britain, interest in the election (0, not at all interested, to 1, very interested), for the United States, interest in information about government and politics (0, not interested at all, to 1, extremely interested). Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no; not for United States), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain), American National Election Studies 2008-2009 Panel Study (United States). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.47: Vote Decision, Relative Time Trend by Gender, with Inverse Probability Weights

	Dependent variable: Answer to Vote Decision Question			
	Germany		Great Britain	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Women * Wave	−0.005*** (0.001)			
Women * Time (days)			0.0002* (0.0001)	
Women * Wave -7		0.033*** (0.006)		
Women * Wave -6		0.017*** (0.006)		
Women * Wave -5		0.007 (0.006)		
Women * Wave -4		0.003 (0.006)		
Women * Wave -3		−0.002 (0.005)		
Women * Wave -2		−0.005 (0.004)		0.045*** (0.003)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–
Observations	226,303	226,303	261,839	320,552
R^2	0.590	0.590	0.688	0.292
Mean DV	0.58	0.58	0.90	0.73

	Dependent variable: Vote Decision			
	Germany		Great Britain	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Women * Wave	0.007*** (0.001)			
Women * Time (days)			0.001*** (0.0001)	
Women * Wave -7		−0.059*** (0.009)		
Women * Wave -6		−0.037*** (0.008)		
Women * Wave -5		−0.038*** (0.008)		
Women * Wave -4		−0.032*** (0.008)		
Women * Wave -3		−0.033*** (0.008)		
Women * Wave -2		−0.027*** (0.008)		−0.013*** (0.003)
Women * Wave -1		(0.000)		(0.000)
Individual Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓	–	✓
Day Fixed Effects	–	–	✓	–
Observations	107,206	107,206	142,829	142,829
R^2	0.634	0.634	0.832	0.615
Mean DV	0.80	0.80	0.73	0.73

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and inverse probability weights. Answer to Vote Decision Question: dummy variable (1 answered question, 0 did not answer). Vote Decision: 0 not decided how to vote, 1 decided. Talk Days: number of days of the last week talking about politics and political parties with other people (for United States: how many days during a typical week the respondent talks politics). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A.48: Vote Decision, Absolute Time Trend by Gender, with Inverse Probability Weights

	Dependent variable: Answer to Vote Decision Question	
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)
Women * Wave -7	-0.018^{***} (0.004)	
Women * Wave -6	-0.029^{***} (0.004)	
Women * Wave -5	-0.040^{***} (0.005)	
Women * Wave -4	-0.045^{***} (0.006)	
Women * Wave -3	-0.043^{***} (0.006)	
Women * Wave -2	-0.044^{***} (0.007)	-0.014^{***} (0.001)
Women * Wave -1	-0.032^{***} (0.006)	-0.040^{***} (0.003)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓
Observations	146,762	170,620
R^2	0.267	0.171
Mean DV	0.73	0.83

	Dependent variable: Vote Decision	
	(Germany)	(Great Britain)
Women * Wave -7	-0.116^{***} (0.006)	
Women * Wave -6	-0.092^{***} (0.006)	
Women * Wave -5	-0.094^{***} (0.006)	
Women * Wave -4	-0.083^{***} (0.006)	
Women * Wave -3	-0.085^{***} (0.006)	
Women * Wave -2	-0.078^{***} (0.006)	-0.085^{***} (0.004)
Women * Wave -1	-0.049^{***} (0.009)	-0.071^{***} (0.004)
Election-Wave Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓
Observations	107,206	142,829
R^2	0.032	0.021
Mean DV	0.80	0.73

OLS models with respondent-clustered robust standard errors and panel weights. Answer to Vote Decision Question: dummy variable (1 answered question, 0 did not answer). Vote Decision: 0 not decided how to vote, 1 decided. Controls: Age (-34, 35-49, 50-64, 64-), Education (no High School, High School, University), Employment (employed, unemployed, retired, student, other), Marital Status (single, married, married but living separated, civil union, divorced, widowed), Religion (religious, not religious), Citizenship since birth (yes, no), Net household income (up to 1499 Euro, 1500 – 2999 Euro, 3000+ Euro), Residence (only for Germany: city, town, rural area), Housing (own, rent, other; not for Germany). Source: German Longitudinal Election Study (Germany), British Election Study Internet Panel (Great Britain). $^{*}p<0.1$; $^{**}p<0.05$; $^{***}p<0.01$.