

Partisanship and the Gender Gap in Perceptions of Election Integrity: Gender Accentuates the Winner-Loser Gap
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Appendix 1

Table 1: Political Knowledge Questions and Descriptives

Question Content	Percent Correct	Percent Correct: Men	Percent Correct: Women
Which party controls the House of Representatives?	61%	72%	51%
Which party controls the US Senate?	55%	66%	45%
Which party controls State Senate in your state?	63%	72%	54%
Which party controls House in your state?	58%	67%	50%
Which party is the governor of your state?	87%	91%	84%
What party is Senator 1 of your state?	75%	81%	70%
What party is Senator 2 of your state?	75%	80%	70%
What party is your House Rep?	72%	77%	67%
What is the ideology of your governor?	71%	77%	66%
What is the current President's (Biden) ideology?	70%	75%	66%
Rate the ideology of the Democratic party	74%	78%	69%
Rate the ideology of the Republican party	78%	81%	74%
Rate Senator 1's ideology	59%	66%	53%
Rate Senator 2's ideology	61%	68%	55%
Rate House Member's ideology	58%	65%	51%

Source: Schaffner, B., Ansolabehere, S., & Luks, S. (2024). Cooperative Election Study Common Content, 2024 [Dataset]. Harvard Dataverse.

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Appendix 2:

Table 1: Baseline Models controlling for Political Knowledge in Models 2 and 3.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Political Knowledge (OLS)	Trust in Federal Elections (Logit)	Trust in State/Local Elections (Logit)
Woman	-.07*** (.003)	-.37*** (.035)	-.28*** (.041)
Black	-.09*** (.006)	-.30*** (.061)	-.56*** (.069)
Asian	-.03*** (.009)	.23** (.102)	.23* (.117)
Latino	-.04*** (.007)	-.16** (.072)	-.07 (.081)
Other Race	-.02** (.008)	-.42*** (.073)	-.37*** (.082)
Age	.003*** (.000)	.003*** (.001)	.004*** (.001)
Education	.04*** (.002)	.09*** (.018)	.12*** (.021)
Political Interest	.11*** (.002)	.10*** (.022)	.19*** (.024)
Democrat	-.12*** (.010)	.43*** (.089)	.39*** (.103)
Independents	<i>Reference Category</i>		
Republican	-.10*** (.009)	.21** (.088)	.19* (.101)
Party Strength	.08*** (.004)	.06 (.037)	.11*** (.043)
Conservative Ideology	.005** (.002)	-.15*** (.020)	-.18*** (.024)
Married or Civil Partnership	.003 (.004)	-.04 (.038)	-.03 (.044)
Family Income	.01*** (.001)	.02*** (.006)	.03*** (.007)
Political Knowledge		1.07*** (.081)	1.28*** (.091)
COVI		.01	.56

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		(.013)	(2.394)
EPI 2022		.59*	6.26
		(.325)	(20.588)
Constant	-.17***	-1.20***	-6.40
	(.026)	(.287)	(22.698)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
Observations	58895.00	48681.00	48682.00
Log Likelihood	6647.65	-31226.17	-25331.83
R-squared/ Pseudo R-Square	.50	.07	.11
BIC	-12592.36	62646.61	51365.20

Models 2 and 3 are Unstandardized logistic regression coefficients. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * p<.1
 ** p<.05 *** p<.01.

Table 2: Predicted Gender Gaps in 2024 Election Confidence Controlling for Political Knowledge

	Knowledge (Percent Correct)	Federal Elections (Probability of Agreement)	State/Local Elections (Probability of Agreement)
Men	67%	68%	78%
Women	60%	60%	73%
Difference	7% pts	8% pts	5% pts

Note: Values are predictive margins from Table 2. Differences are statistically significant at the p < .05 level

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Appendix 3

Table 1: Predictors of Political Knowledge and Trust in Federal and State Election Integrity Subsampled by 2024 COVI

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Political Knowledge Low COVI (OLS)	Political Knowledge High COVI (OLS)	Trust in Federal Elections Low COVI (Logit)	Trust in Federal Elections High COVI (Logit)	Trust in State Elections Low COVI (Logit)	Trust in State Elections High COVI (Logit)
Woman	-.06*** (.005)	-.07*** (.005)	-.48*** (.051)	-.42*** (.045)	-.32*** (.061)	-.45*** (.055)
Black	-.07*** (.010)	-.10*** (.008)	-.28*** (.096)	-.45*** (.078)	-.42*** (.116)	-.72*** (.086)
Asian	-.01 (.011)	-.06*** (.016)	.32*** (.122)	-.03 (.174)	.30** (.143)	.02 (.207)
Latino	-.04*** (.010)	-.04*** (.010)	-.15 (.105)	-.20** (.102)	-.08 (.120)	-.12 (.111)
Other Race	-.02 (.011)	-.02* (.012)	-.42*** (.105)	-.43*** (.105)	-.43*** (.113)	-.40*** (.121)
Age	.00*** (.000)	.00*** (.000)	.01*** (.002)	.01*** (.002)	.01*** (.002)	.01*** (.002)
Education	.04*** (.003)	.04*** (.002)	.13*** (.026)	.13*** (.024)	.14*** (.031)	.18*** (.028)
Political Interest	.12*** (.003)	.11*** (.003)	.23*** (.031)	.19*** (.026)	.31*** (.035)	.33*** (.029)
Democrats	-.09*** (.013)	-.14*** (.013)	.22* (.126)	.36*** (.121)	.37** (.148)	.05 (.140)
Independents	<i>Reference Category</i>					
Republican	-.08*** (.014)	-.12*** (.013)	-.12 (.132)	.23** (.114)	-.21 (.148)	.22* (.135)
Party Strength	.07*** (.006)	.09*** (.006)	.18*** (.054)	.12** (.049)	.25*** (.063)	.21*** (.056)
Conservative Ideology	.01*** (.003)	.00 (.003)	-.13*** (.029)	-.15*** (.026)	-.38*** (.037)	-.00 (.031)
Married or Civil Partnership	-.00 (.006)	.01 (.005)	-.07 (.057)	-.00 (.051)	-.12* (.067)	.04 (.059)
Family Income	.01*** (.001)	.01*** (.001)	.03*** (.009)	.03*** (.008)	.04*** (.011)	.05*** (.010)

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EPI 2022	-.01 (.911)	.02 (.244)	.45*** (9.011)	-.77*** (3.452)	.64*** (11.043)	-.93*** (3.956)
Constant	.56 (.767)	.78*** (.234)	-10.63 (7.594)	7.10** (3.225)	-17.32* (9.295)	7.11* (3.709)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	25401	33494	21155	27809	21155	27810
Log Likelihood	3050.84	3673.50	-13674.78	-17890.57	-11300.26	-14069.31
R-square/ Pseudo R-Square	.51	.51	.07	.06	.12	.11
BIC	-5736.55	-6909.40	27708.11	36210.92	22959.07	28568.40

Models 3-6 are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients. Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses. * p<.1 ** p<.05 *** p<.01. Low COVI scores are below the mean high COVI scores are greater than or equal to the mean

Appendix 4

Table 1: Predictors of Political Knowledge and Trust in Federal and State Election Integrity Subsampled by 2022 EPI

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Political Knowledge Low EPI (OLS)	Political Knowledge High EPI (OLS)	Trust in Federal Elections Low EPI (Logit)	Trust in Federal Elections High EPI (Logit)	Trust in State Elections Low EPI (Logit)	Trust in State Elections High EPI (Logit)
Woman	-.06*** (.005)	-.07*** (.005)	-.43*** (.049)	-.47*** (.046)	-.37*** (.059)	-.40*** (.055)
Black	-.09*** (.009)	-.08*** (.009)	-.32*** (.083)	-.46*** (.088)	-.57*** (.093)	-.75*** (.100)
Asian	-.02* (.012)	-.05*** (.014)	.33*** (.124)	-.07 (.170)	.29** (.143)	.02 (.194)
Latino	-.04*** (.008)	-.05*** (.013)	-.17** (.087)	-.16 (.133)	-.08 (.094)	-.06 (.145)
Other Race	-.02 (.013)	-.02** (.011)	-.47*** (.104)	-.39*** (.103)	-.40*** (.119)	-.38*** (.114)
Age	.00*** (.000)	.00*** (.000)	.01*** (.002)	.01*** (.002)	.01*** (.002)	.01*** (.002)
Education	.04*** (.003)	.04*** (.002)	.12*** (.026)	.14*** (.024)	.17*** (.030)	.17*** (.028)
Political Interest	.11*** (.003)	.11*** (.003)	.24*** (.028)	.18*** (.028)	.33*** (.031)	.32*** (.030)

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Democrats	-.13*** (.014)	-.11*** (.013)	.27** (.129)	.33*** (.118)	.07 (.149)	.36*** (.136)
Independents	<i>Reference Category</i>					
Republican	-.11*** (.014)	-.09*** (.013)	.14 (.127)	.04 (.117)	.05 (.149)	.05 (.132)
Party Strength	.09*** (.006)	.08*** (.005)	.12** (.053)	.17*** (.050)	.25*** (.061)	.22*** (.056)
Conservative Ideology	.00* (.003)	.00* (.003)	-.13*** (.028)	-.15*** (.027)	-.09*** (.034)	-.23*** (.032)
Married or Civil Partnership	-.00 (.006)	.01 (.006)	.05 (.055)	-.11** (.052)	.04 (.064)	-.08 (.059)
Family Income	.01*** (.001)	.01*** (.001)	.02*** (.009)	.03*** (.008)	.04*** (.010)	.04*** (.010)
COVI 2024	.65 (.572)	-.10** (.053)	17.58*** (5.644)	-.79 (.720)	12.93* (6.875)	-.28 (.887)
EPI 2022	-3.10* (1.818)	10.78*** (3.687)	-58.27*** (18.807)	36.60 (48.893)	-46.47** (22.690)	-21.35 (61.724)
Constant	-.31 (.874)	-8.81*** (2.902)	-25.18*** (8.133)	-28.31 (38.390)	-16.36 (10.029)	18.46 (48.562)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	27954	30941	22746	26218	22747	26218
Log Likelihood	2724.37	3964.39	-14995.69	-16568.61	-12249.21	-13523.78
R-square/ Pseudo R-Square	.50	.51	.06	.06	.10	.10
BIC	-5110.87	-7463.50	30322.44	33595.06	24829.49	27505.40

Models 3-6 are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients. Robust standard errors in Parentheses. * p<.1 ** p<.05 *** p<.01. Low EPI scores are below the mean high EPI scores are greater than or equal to the mean

Table 2: Predicted Gender Gaps in each outcome subsampled by state EPI

	Knowledge (Percent Correct)		Federal Elections (Probability of Agreement)		State/Local Elections (Probability of Agreement)	
	Low EPI	High EPI	Low EPI	High EPI	Low EPI	High EPI
Men	67%	68%	68%	69%	78%	79%
Women	60%	60%	59%	60%	72%	73%
Difference	6% pts	8% pts	9% pts	9% pts	6% pts	6% pts

Note: Values are predictive margins. Gender differences are statistically significant at the p < .05 level

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Appendix 5

Table 1: The Effect of the Interaction Between Gender and Party ID on Election Trust

	(1) Federal	(2) State	(3) Federal	(4) State
	Trust Elections Republican Interaction	Trust Elections Republican Interaction	Trust Elections 3-point Party ID Interaction	Trust Elections 3-point Party ID Interaction
Woman	-.56*** (.041)	-.53*** (.049)	-.41*** (.056)	-.43*** (.064)
Republican	-.34*** (.065)	-.39*** (.077)	-.03 (.095)	-.17 (.109)
Woman*Republican	.35*** (.070)	.47*** (.082)	.21*** (.079)	.37*** (.091)
Democrat			.52*** (.101)	.41*** (.119)
Woman*Democrat			-.37*** (.083)	-.30*** (.100)
Black	-.37*** (.061)	-.63*** (.068)	-.39*** (.061)	-.65*** (.068)
Asian	.21** (.102)	.22* (.117)	.19* (.102)	.21* (.117)
Latino	-.16** (.073)	-.08 (.080)	-.18** (.073)	-.09 (.080)
Other Race	-.43*** (.073)	-.40*** (.082)	-.43*** (.073)	-.39*** (.082)
Age	.01*** (.001)	.01*** (.001)	.01*** (.001)	.01*** (.001)
Education	.13*** (.018)	.17*** (.020)	.13*** (.018)	.17*** (.020)
Political Interest	.20*** (.020)	.32*** (.022)	.21*** (.020)	.33*** (.022)
Party Strength	.26*** (.018)	.31*** (.022)	.15*** (.036)	.23*** (.042)
Conservative Ideology	-.16*** (.019)	-.18*** (.023)	-.14*** (.019)	-.17*** (.024)
Married/ Civil Partnership	-.03 (.038)	-.03 (.044)	-.04 (.038)	-.03 (.044)

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Family Income	.03*** (.006)	.04*** (.007)	.03*** (.006)	.04*** (.007)
COVI 2024	-1.88 (2.038)	.10 (2.541)	-2.09 (2.055)	-.06 (2.550)
EPI 2022	-15.12 (17.326)	1.11 (21.781)	-17.09 (17.439)	-.39 (21.830)
Constant	16.72 (19.191)	-1.28 (24.043)	18.83 (19.329)	.33 (24.109)
Observations	48964.00	48965.00	48964.00	48965.00
Log Likelihood	-31573.53	-25808.74	-31525.55	-25786.44
Pseudo R-Squared	.06	.10	.07	.10
BIC	63838.18	52308.61	63763.83	52285.61

Unstandardized logistic regression coefficients. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * p<.1 ** p<.05 *** p<.01.

Appendix 6

Table 1: Predicting Agreeing that the Process for Counting Ballots in American Elections is Trustworthy (2022 CMS)

	Model 1: Base Model	Model 2: Gender and Party Interaction
Woman	-.27** (.107)	.12 (.168)
Democrat	2.32*** (.323)	2.65*** (.399)
Republican	-.16 (.286)	.13 (.303)
Woman # Democrat		-.64** (.319)
Woman # Republican		-.68*** (.229)
Black	.03 (.235)	.03 (.234)
Asian	.12 (.284)	.14 (.281)
Hispanic	-.21 (.192)	-.20 (.195)
Other Race	-.35 (.260)	-.35 (.249)

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Age	.00	.00
	(.001)	(.001)
Education	.28***	.28***
	(.057)	(.057)
Political Interest	.56***	.56***
	(.122)	(.122)
Party Strength	-.37**	-.36**
	(.152)	(.152)
Ideology	-.90***	-.91***
	(.073)	(.074)
Married or Domestic Partnership	-.07	-.08
	(.141)	(.141)
Income	.02	.02
	(.019)	(.019)
COVI	.53	.46
	(.546)	(.550)
EPI 2022	16.32*	17.05**
	(8.452)	(8.143)
Constant	-15.06**	-15.59**
	(6.839)	(6.617)
Observations	5255.00	5255.00
Log Likelihood	-1753.93	-1746.80
Pseudo R-Squared	.38	.38
BIC	3953.34	3956.21

Unstandardized logistic regression coefficients. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

* p<.1 ** p<.05 *** p<.01

Source: Enns, Peter K., Colleen L. Barry, and Jonathon P. Schuldt. 2022 Collaborative Midterm Survey. Funded by the National Science Foundation (Award 2210129). Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Cornell University