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Gendered Resource Returns: African American Institutions and Political Engagement

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Researchers have long asserted that African American women were the backbone of the Civil Rights Movement and constituted the majority of participants.[1] In viewing live clips of the *Eyes on the Prize* documentary chronicling the Civil Rights Movement, it is difficult to miss the throng of women, knocked off their feet by a torrent of fire hose water or attacked by police dogs, participating in protest marches and demonstrations. Women's grass roots leadership and role as bridges to the masses was central to the development and sustenance of the movement (Robnett 1996, 1997). What remains understudied is their role in the post-Civil Rights era.

This study, not only addresses this empirical issue, but also considers the extent to which social institutions similarly mediate positive political participation effects for men and women. Studies show that individuals who participate in religious and civic organizations gain leadership and communication skills, organizational knowledge, and access to networks that promote political participation (Patillo-McCoy 1999, 1998; Harris 1999, 1994; Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994; Morris 1984; McAdam 1982). Discussions of the merits of such participation often lack a consideration of gender. Of studies on activism, McAdam (1992, p. 1234) asserts that "gender's impact" is often ignored, and "in doing so we have perpetuated a fiction: that recruitment to, participation in, and the consequences of activism are somehow experienced the same by all participants." Gender, he argues, "mediate[s] every aspect of the experience (p. 1234)." This paper analyzes the extent to which gender mediates the experience of men and women in religious and civic organizations, and how it impacts the likelihood of political participation. Does participation in the black church or black civic organizations similarly predict men's and women's political activity?

While certainly numerous scholars discuss sexism in such institutions, the conceptualization of the effects of such participation is viewed in a genderless fashion. Social institutions, such as the black church and African American civic organizations through which individuals gain access to such skills, may not be gender neutral and thus may differentially impact men's and women's propensity to engage in political activities.

When gender issues are addressed, researchers focus on and address either an adherence to feminist ideology or the ways that such an ideology affects political attitudes. While feminist issues certainly play a role, this approach fails to assess the ways in which black women differ from black men on a number of political dimensions. This paper asks the following questions: 1) Do African American men and women participate equally in electoral (i.e. voting, giving someone a ride to the polls on Election Day) and non-electoral (i.e. attending a protest march or

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demonstration, taking part in a neighborhood march) political activities? 2) Do the same factors predict black male and black female political participation? 3) Does black institutional involvement including church-based participation and membership in a race-based organization similarly increase African American men's and women's political activities? 4) Do certain types of church-based involvement and race-based organizational involvement differentially increase men's or women's political participation?

Theoretical Treatments of Black Political Participation African American Political Participation

Gender and Political Participation

African American women's high levels of participation have been documented by several scholars (Verba and Nie 1972 p.164; Pierce, Avery and Carey 1973, p.425; Baxter and Lansing 1983; Williams 1987). Studies show that African American women are equally likely (Pierce, Avery and Carey 1973, p.425), or more likely than are Black men to be actively engaged in politics (Baxter and Lansing 1983; Verba and Nie 1972, p.164; Williams 1987). A 1969-1970 study of black political participation and activism in New Orleans finds that there are no significant differences between African American men's and women's political participation (Pierce, Avery and Carey 1973, p.425). Verba and Nie (1972), in their comparison of 1967 Black and White political activity, find African American women more likely to participate in campaign and group related political activities than Black men, while Black men are more likely to contact a public official than are Black women. Similarly, Baxter and Lansing (1983, p.75), in their analysis of Black voting patterns, find that by 1976 young African American women were more likely to vote than were young Black men. By 1984, "the voter participation rate of black women was 7.5 percentage points higher than that of black men, and the gender gap had expanded to 11.3 percentage points among blacks under the age of 21 (Williams 1987, p.110)." However, no research, since Verba and Nie's study, beyond comparisons of voting behavior, has been conducted analyzing the relative political participation of African American males and females.

What we know about gender differences and political participation focus mainly on the U.S. population. Recent surveys suggest that men are only slightly more active than are women (Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997; Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994). While women are significantly less likely to make campaign contributions, work informally in the community, contact a public official, and participate in a political organization, they are equally likely to vote, work in a campaign, serve on a local board, or attend a protest. Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1994) argue that the gender disparity in participation is a result of resource deficiencies such as a lack of money and civic skills, "the communications and organizational abilities that allow citizens to use time and money effectively in political life" (p. 974). Civic skills are acquired through work, nonpolitical voluntary associations, and religious institutions. Men more often than women acquire such skills through work, but participation in nonpolitical voluntary associations as well as religious institutions net gender equivalent opportunities to practice civic skills. Church participation and civic organization participation provide skills and resources that facilitate political participation.

In a subsequent paper, Verba, Burns, and Schlozman (1997) find that educational attainment, income, cognitive capacity (vocabulary), and occupation do not fully explain the gender gap. The authors find that men score higher than women on measures of political efficacy, or the feeling that one is "influential and effective in politics" but not higher on measures of personal efficacy or "a more encompassing sense of personal agency" (p. 1062). They conclude that women are less interested than men in political engagement, and are less politically informed. These findings, they suggest, are likely attributable to gender socialization. . McAdam's (1982, 1992) study of recruitment into the 1960s Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee shows that men were more likely than were women to apply for and engage in high risk activism (i.e. assisting in voter registration drives in highly segregated and dangerous Southern communities. He, however, attributes his findings not only to gender socialization, but to gender as it is embedded in the recruitment process. McAdam suggests that women, who were interested in volunteering for high risk activism, faced greater obstacles to participation than did men because of sexist ideas that permeated the recruitment process. For women, acceptance rested on the number of activist affiliations and experiences. Ultimately, those women were "overly qualified". In this way, churches and civic organizations may engage in gendered social processes and practices that differentially promote feelings of empowerment for men and women. What remains unstudied is the pattern of black male and female political participation in the post-Civil Rights era.

Black Institutions

Two central approaches to the study of black political participation include analyses of the role of race-based organizations and of black churches in promoting activity. Numerous scholars have documented the extent to which black civil rights movement organizations have successfully mobilized individuals to participate in political activity (i.e. Meier and Rudwick 1973; McAdam 1982, 1988; Morris 1984; Robnett 1997). Organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) served to mobilize and organize political protest in the 1950s and 1960s.

McAdam (1982), in tracing the historical rise of black insurgency, argues that institutional development was crucial in the formation of the black civil rights movement. Such organizations provide association networks and resources (Oberschall 1973; Freeman (1973) for movement mobilization. As McAdam (1982, p.129) states, "the importance of the churches, schools, and NAACP chapters in the generation of insurgency can be attributed to their role as established interactional networks."

Robnett (1996, 1997), in her study of African American women in the civil rights movement, shows how women were prevented from serving as primary formal leaders in race-based organizations, but nonetheless worked as bridge leaders connecting the masses to these organizations. Although much of this research has focused on non-electoral mobilization, organization participation is also crucial to electoral participation.

Fred Harris (1994, 1999) and Mary Patillo-McCoy (1998, 1999) demonstrate the role of the black church as a cultural resource for political activism. Church participation has been

thought to stimulate and sustain political participation among African Americans by providing organizational, financial, network, and physical resources (Morris 1984; McAdam 1982). Churches inspire participation in social justice projects ((Lincoln and Mamiya 1990), civic involvement, and political activism (Findlay 1993; Harris 1994; Higginbotham 1993; McAdam 1982; Morris 1984). Church culture "provides direction on how to interact, what rituals are appropriate, and what symbols may be invoked to inspire participants for social action" (Patillo-McCoy 1998, p. 771). Patillo-McCoy argues that the black church is more than a resource, it "*culturally and religiously* binds together the black middle class and the black poor" (1998, p. 768) because it provides "a common language that leaders and followers, workers and supporters can share to coordinate action" (1998 p. 781).

Harris (1999, 1994), employing a variety of survey and public opinion poll data, asserts the critical importance of religion and church activism to political participation and collective action. In short, he finds that 1) church activism and church attendance promote secular organizational involvement and an interest in politics, that inspire voting and collective action; 2) "Internal religiosity, a psychological dimension of religion that promotes feelings of self esteem and influences thinking about political issues positively and directly" affects an interest in politics, and political efficacy that promote voting and collective action (1994, p. 55). Internal religiosity that is secular and promotes "an otherworldly orientation" is negatively associated with political efficacy, voting, and collective action (1994, p. 55). In sum, Harris (1994) argues that "religious beliefs and practices promote political involvement" (p. 62). Church activism, he concludes, "provides organizational resources for individual and collective action, while internal religiosity provides psychological resources for participation. Specifically, "Internal religiosity promotes one's feelings of effectiveness in politics, as well as one's interest in political matters" (1994, p. 62). While Harris (1994, p. 168) acknowledges that women who are active in the church are generally less supportive of female political participation and feminism, he concludes that church participation is positive. He contends, "Black women politically benefit from their intensive participation in church activities" (1999, p. 171). In 1984, black women had higher levels of voter turnout than black men and this, Harris concludes, is an indication that church attendance facilitates a "sense of civic duty" and "exposes church goers to political information" (p.172).

Church attendance is positively associated with support for the Equal Rights Amendment (Marshall 1990) and for gender equality (Wilcox and Thomas 1992). Other work suggests that it is not simply church attendance that matters, but rather the political nature of the church in which "members are exposed to political discussions and are encouraged to be activists (Brown and Brown 2003, p.617)." Tate (1994) finds that political churches are more effective at mobilizing political participation than are non-political churches and black civic organizations. Churches must incorporate political activity into the norms of the church (Calhoun-Brown 1996, p.942). Calhoun-Brown (1999) shows that churches which emphasize politics enhance gender egalitarianism. She argues that the church is multidimensional. Some aspects may deter egalitarianism, but churches that draw a connection between religion and political activism in pursuit of social justice, create support for gender equality. Her study shows that only 35% of black churches engage in such activity. McClerking and McDaniel (2005) in their comparison of what types of black church involvement enhance political activity, find that discussion of politics at church, clergy encouragement of non-electoral activity, and local and national political speeches at church facilitate both electoral, and non-electoral activity.

However, the work of several scholars suggests that the positive effects of the church on enhancing political participation may be mitigated by class and gender. Fitzgerald's and Spohn's (2005, p.1015) recent article on the role of the church in black protest, finds that the church context is important for "the dissemination of political messages and exposure to opportunities for protest only for those black Americans with relatively low educational achievement and organizational involvement." Other scholars argue that the black church is patriarchal and encourages traditional gender roles that undermine support for gender equality (Collins 2004; Dawson 2001; Harris 1999; Smooth and Tucker 1999; Wilcox 1997). Michael Dawson (2001, p.40) discusses the role of women in politics, acknowledging their importance and the ways in which patriarchy suppresses women's leadership in both the church and politics. Black women, he argues, face resistance when trying to get their issues incorporated into the black political agenda. Given the mixed findings, it is difficult to predict whether or not black church activity and race-based organizational membership has similar positive effects on the political participation of men and women.

Data and Methods

This study employs data from a national cross-sectional telephone survey with a multiple frame, random-digit probability sample of 1205 adult African American respondents from the 1993-1994 National Black Politics Study (NBPS) conducted by the Center for the Study of Race at the University of Chicago (Dawson, Brown, and Jackson, 1993).[2] The data was collected from December 4, 1993 through February 13, 1994. In addition to demographic information, the sample includes responses to questions regarding political climate, economic conditions, feelings and beliefs about Black Americans, the role of religion, ideas and opinions about politics, feelings about political leaders, groups, and prominent people, views on important national policy debates, and sources of information.[3]

This study examines differences and similarities between black women's and men's political participation, and seeks to determine the extent to which African American institutional involvement similarly predict electoral and non-electoral political participation for both groups. The data will be used to gain an understanding of African American women's political participation patterns, and to determine the implications for post-civil rights era African American political mobilization.

Testing the Effect of Gender on Electoral and Non-Electoral Political Participation

Several OLS regressions are performed on each of the two scaled dependent variables, electoral political participation, and non-electoral political participation, coded for whether or not the respondent participated in one to four political activities. Electoral activities include voting in the last presidential election, helping with a voter registration drive, handing out campaign

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[2] A density factor of 30% was employed that includes 8,116 tracts or about 6.5 million African American households. This constitutes approximately 65% of all Black households. Complete descriptions of the survey methodology and response rates are available from the author or on the ICPSR website.

[3] See the Appendix for Demographic Statistics of the NBPS.

materials, and giving someone a ride to the polls on Election Day. Non-electoral activities include signing a petition, attending a protest meeting or demonstration, participating in a neighborhood march, and contacting a public official. The scales were created using SPSS, Version 13.0. Six models are run for each dependent scaled variable. Model 1 controls for demographic, educational attainment, and economic status measuring the effect of gender on electoral and non-electoral political participation. In addition to demographic, educational and economic variables, Model 1 controls the effect of political orientation, whether liberal, moderate, or conservative. Model 2 controls for political interest and access to knowledge in the form of reading a newspaper or a black newspaper. The effects of race-based institutional and union involvement are controlled in Model 3. Ideology including black consciousness (racial group identification), Black Power (Black Nationalism), group identification (common fate), and Womanism (black feminism) are controlled in Model 4, to determine the effect of gender on political engagement. Model 5 controls the effect of four church-based variables, church attendance, degree of church activity, involvement in a church-based program, and a scale measuring the respondent's minister's and church's level of political engagement. Interaction terms, including household union membership by gender (female) and political orientation by gender (female), are tested in Model 6.

Testing Predictors of Electoral and Non-Electoral Political Participation for Men Only and Women Only

Separate male and female OLS regressions are performed on the two dependent variable scales of electoral and non-electoral political participation.   The same models employed to test the effect of gender on political participation are used in this analysis. Models 1 through 5 are tested excluding gender as a variable. This analysis will show the extent to which the predictors of men's and women's political participation are the same or different.

Predicting Electoral and Non-Electoral Political Participation Among those that Participate in a Race-Based Organization, Help in a Church Program, and Discuss Politics at Church

In another set of OLS analyses, the gender effect is tested to determine the extent to which men and women who are involved in black institutional activities are equally likely to engage in electoral and non-electoral participation. Accordingly, only those belonging to a race-based organization, those helping in a church program, and those who discuss politics at church (the latter is a measure of political interest), are selected. As discussed, previous research suggests these predictors enhance political activity. An OLS regression employing the five models used in the first set of analyses is performed separately on the three sub-samples to determine the extent to which gender is significant among those engaged in activities found to enhance political participation.

A Comparison of Predicted Values from the Men Only and Women Only OLS Regressions

Finally, men's and women's predicted values of helping in a program, belonging to a race-based organization, and discussing politics at church are calculated using the coefficients from the Men Only and Women Only OLS Regressions already performed. The formula Predicted Y = a + B1 (age) + B2 (marital status) + B3 (urbanicity)….. + B11 (gender) …. is used to determine the relative effect of black institutional involvement on men's and women's political participation.

Dependent Variables

Detailed descriptions of both the independent and dependent variables may be found in the Appendix. Political participation is operationalized using two dependent variables selected to measure state sanctioned political participation, such as voting, as well as disruptive political protest behavior, including neighborhood marches. The Electoral Politics Scale is comprised of four measures of political behavior in an index coded 0-4 (Mean= 1.506). It includes: 1) "Did you vote in the past presidential election?"; 2) "As I read a list of political activities that people sometimes do, please tell me whether or not you have engaged in these activities in the last TWO years? Have you helped in a voter registration drive?"; 3) "As I read a list of political activities that people sometimes do, please tell me whether or not you have engaged in these activities in the last TWO years? Have you handed out campaign material or placed campaign material on cars?"; and, 4) "As I read a list of political activities that people sometimes do, please tell me whether or not you have engaged in these activities in the last TWO years? Have you given people a ride to the polls on Election Day?" All variables are coded 1 if the respondent answered "yes" and 0 if the respondent answered "no".

The Non-Electoral Politics Scale is comprised of four measures of political behavior in an index coded 0-4 (Mean= 1.486). It includes: 1) "Now, I'm going to read you a list of things people have done to address such problems as neighborhood crime, drug trafficking, the quality of education or the safety of children. Please tell me if you have done any of these things in the last 2 years." Signed a petition in support of something or against something; 2)"Now, I'm going to read you a list of things people have done to address such problems as neighborhood crime, drug trafficking, the quality of education or the safety of children. Please tell me if you have done any of these things in the last 2 years." Attended a protest meeting or demonstration; 3) "Now, I'm going to read you a list of things people have done to address such problems as neighborhood crime, drug trafficking, the quality of education or the safety of children. Please tell me if you have done any of these things in the last 2 years." Contacted a public official or agency; and, 4) "Now, I'm going to read you a list of things people have done to address such problems as neighborhood crime, drug trafficking, the quality of education or the safety of children. Please tell me if you have done any of these things in the last 2 years." Taken part in a neighborhood march. This variable is coded 1 if the respondent signed. (23.7%).

Independent Variables

The independent variables were chosen for their theoretical and empirical significance. The independent variables include the following demographic variables: income, educational attainment, college attendance, marital status, gender, age, urbanicity, employment status, and number of children. Sociological studies concerned with biographical availability focus on

factors that impede or enhance high risk activism including participation in protest marches or demonstrations. Several studies suggest that marriage, employment, children, and other family responsibilities in which the costs of activism are high, i.e. job loss or arrest, deter involvement (McAdam 1986; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). Factors found to enhance participation include age (those who are older are more inclined to participate) (McAdam 1986), full-time employment (McCarthy and Zald 1973; McAdam 1986), unemployment (students and retirees) and those with job autonomy (flexible hours) (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), and access to resources (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995). The SES model of political participation developed by Sidney Verba and Norman Nie (1972) establishes the importance of education and income as resources for political participation (Also see Barnes and Kaase 1979; Nie, Junn, Stehlik-Barry 1996;Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 2004). The higher the SES, the greater is political participation. This is also true among African Americans where black middle-income rates of political participation exceed those of lower-income and less well-educated African Americans (i.e. Dawson 2001). Brown and Brown (2003) find that it is largely the black middle-class that is exposed to political messages, and Fitzgerald and Spohn (2005) show that only blacks with low-educational attainment benefit from church involvement in stimulating political engagement.

Generally, the literature on political engagement, addresses the extent to which actors are informed about, exhibit an interest in, and express optimism about politics. Individuals who are interested in politics and informed about the issues are more likely to participate in all forms of political activity (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995; Putnam 2000). Verba, Burns, and Schlozman (1997) conclude that women are less interested than men in political engagement, and are less politically informed. These findings, they suggest, are likely attributable to gender socialization. Therefore, I control for two measures of political knowledge (reading a metropolitan newspaper, reading a Black newspaper), and one measure of political interest (discussion of politics at church). Admittedly the last measure is not optimal, but the survey did not include direct questions such as "How interested are you in politics?" However, while one may not feel it appropriate to discuss politics in church, the Black church has a long history of inspiring political participation (Morris 1984; Harris 1999). In this data set, 38.4% attend church at least once a week, and 27.9% attend once or twice a month. 8.7% attend once or twice a year, and only 2.1% never attend church. This suggests that the church remains central in the lives of African Americans. In this way, discussing politics in church is also a measure of the church's institutional influence. Discussing politics at church is correlated (.420) with the extent to which one's clergy is highly political. While this is not an excessively high correlation, it is suggestive of a relationship between the two variables.

Studies show that individuals with strong collective identities and liberal attitudes (Hirsch 1990; Dalton 2002, Robnett Unpublished) are more likely to protest. Scholars (Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson 1989; Tate 1994, 2003) show that race identification is strongly associated with greater political interest and propensity to vote.

There is a great deal of debate and research about the extent to which a feminist consciousness interferes with racial solidarity and political cohesiveness (Simien and Clawson 2004; Calhoun-Brown 1999; Gay and Tate 1994; Wilcox and Thomas 1992). These issues arose during the rise of the Black Power movement in which certain branches embraced Black Nationalist principles espousing the role of women as help mate and supportive of Black male leadership. Such patriarchal rumblings spawned the rise of Black feminism which was resisted by both mainstream black church leaders and Black Nationalist leaders. Most studies of African

American gender politics seek to refute the idea that feminist consciousness interferes with Black identity and Black solidarity which are thought to determine Black political cohesion. There is also the belief that Black women identify more strongly with their race than with their gender. Recent studies address these issues and conclude that for Black women 1) identification with their gender is as strong as identification with their race (Gay and Tate 1994); 2) race identification affects their political attitudes more than their gender identification (Gay and Tate 1994); 3) gender identification does not interfere with the race consciousness effect on liberal political attitudes (Simien and Clawson 2004; Gay and Tate 1994); 4) Black men and women are equally likely to share a feminist consciousness (Simien and Clawson 2004); and, 5) active participation in a Black church (Wilcox and Thomas 1992) or a Black church that is highly political enhances a strong feminist consciousness (Calhoun-Brown 1999).

As Simien and Clawson point out, because splitting Black women's consciousness between gender and race obscures the reality of their distinct social positions as simultaneously raced and gendered, it is more appropriate to measure black women's feminism employing questions that specifically ask about black women's rights rather than about women's rights in general (See also Dawson 2001). Accordingly, a Womanist scale is developed that includes four questions which determine support for black women's leadership and equality with black men and in the black community. Details of the scale are described in the Appendix.

There are several variants of Black Nationalism including community nationalism and black separatism (Dawson 2001). Community nationalism, or as labeled in the models, black consciousness, supports Black control over political and economic resources and is more closely linked to political liberalism. Conversely, Black separatism, or Black Power, conceptualizes African Americans as a nation within a nation. Dawson finds the latter are more likely to feel disillusioned. One can surmise that adherents of community nationalism would possess a greater propensity to participate in political activities than those disillusioned with the system. Black Nationalism is strongly associated with empowerment of Black males and the subordination of Black females. To control for Black Nationalism and to differentiate community nationalists from Black separatists, two scales, similar to those developed by Fitzgerald and Spohn (2005), are developed. The Black Consciousness Scale includes seven attitudinal measures of black perceptions of American justice. Included are questions that address societal racism as well as economic inequality and legal injustice. Details of the scales are described in the Appendix.

As discussed at length, organizational affiliations are central to political participation in the black community. A scale assessing the degree to which the respondent's church is political was created that includes five questions, and responses to three church-related activities were included in the models. These include measures to ascertain frequency of church attendance, the degree of church activeness, and the amount of participation in church–based programs. Details of these measures are provided in the Appendix. Race-based membership is determined by one question. Unfortunately, the data set only includes one question regarding participation in a race-based organization, "Are you a member of any organization working to improve the status of Black Americans?" While this question does not provide an optimal assessment of the effects of race-based membership, it does provide a gender measurement of membership.

The results indicate that 1) African American women participate less than do African American men in both electoral and non-electoral activities; 2) The institutional variables predicting black men's and black women's electoral and non-electoral engagement differ. Discussing politics at church significantly (.05) predicts black men's involvement in electoral and non-electoral activities, while helping in a church program significantly (.05) predicts women's engagement. These results, however, are mediated by respondent's political orientation, (conservative, moderate, or liberal), with conservative men participating in more activities than liberal men, and liberal women engaging in more activities than conservative women.[4] Race-based organizational participation predicts both women's (.05) and men's (.001) non-electoral engagement, but only predicts men's electoral engagement (.05). Helping in a church program, however, only predicts women's participation. These effects are also mediated, by household union membership, with such participation adversely effecting men's non-electoral engagement, while generally facilitating women's non-electoral participation; 3) Black institutional involvement in the form of race-based organization involvement, helping in a church program, or discussing politics in church does not mitigate the electoral and non-electoral gender participation gap. While such involvement facilitates both men's and women's electoral and non-electoral participation, the gender gap remains; and, 4) Institutional resource benefits are gendered. Helping in a church program increases men's and women's electoral and non-electoral participation, and while women benefit most from such involvement, men are more likely to participate in political activities. Race-based organizational membership, and discussing politics at church benefit men more than women, and increase men's more than women's political participation. Each of the findings is discussed in turn.

African American Women Participate Less than do African American Men in both Electoral and Non-Electoral Activities

As Tables 1 and 2, Model 6, indicate, women's political participation is significantly less (.05, and .001 respectively) than men's engagement.

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[4] Given the results, it was important to understand the meanings of the self-designations of conservative and liberal. In the absence of interviews, employing the NBPS data, I ran two logistic regressions, one for males, and one for females, to predict the likelihood of labeling oneself as a liberal coded 1 or a conservative coded 0. The logistic regression analyses include the following control variables: age, marital status, number of children, urbanicity, employment status, household income, and college. The independent variables include:1) a religious viewpoint scale comprised of four measures of conservatism/liberalism regarding religion including views on abortion, the importance of religion as a guide in one's life, the appropriateness of politics in the church, and the focus of the church on salvation; 2) black power scale; 3) black consciousness scale; 4) Womanist scale; 5)liberal politics scale comprised of four measures of liberal views on government intervention to help the poor and those without jobs, affirmative action, the extent to which the poor want to work or are victims of discrimination. The results indicate that for men, the greater the number of black power beliefs (.05), the less likely they are to self-label as politically liberal. Conversely, a college education is a positive predictor (.01) of men's self-labeling as politically liberal. For women, as the number of children increases women become more conservative (.01). The only positive predictor of women labeling themselves as liberal is religious viewpoint. The more liberal women's viewpoint about religion, the more likely they are to self-label as politically liberal. Further details and tables are available from the author.

Table 1: African-American Electoral Political Participation OLS Regression

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Age	9.97E-.005 (.000)	4.01E-005 (.000)	-1.69E-005 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)
Marital Status	.093 (.087)	.120 (.094)	.110 (.093)	.150 (.116)	.195 (.127)	.183 (.126)
Children	.000 (.017)	-.005 (.018)	-.004 (.018)	.017 (.023)	.014 (.026)	.022 (.026)
Urbanicity	-.039 (.031)	-.106 (.033)***	-.107 (.033)***	-.083 (.042)*	-.063 (.048)	-.065 (.047)
Employment Status	-.019 (.074)	.016 (.084)	.041 (.083)	.103 (.101)	.095 (.117)	.069 (.116)
Household Income	.009 (.017)	.003 (.019)	-.009 (.019)	-.014 (.024)	-.003 (.028)	-.004 (.028)
College	.240(.088)**	.040 (.090)*	.006 (.100)	-.029 (.121)	-.044 (.135)	-.014 (.134)
Gender (Female)	-.185(.081)*	-.141 (.107)	-.108 (.089)	-.024 (.110)	-.076 (.124)	**-.502 (.205)***
Political Orientation	.124 (.052)*	.095 (.056)+	.070 (.056)	.012 (.068)	.101 (.076)	-.095 (.076)
Political Interest Church Context		.472 (.089)***	.379 (.091)***	.506 (.112)***	.346 (.135)**	**.359 (.134)****
Read Newspaper		.307 (.096)***	.294 (.096)**	.314(.117)**	.452(.132)***	**.429(.131)*****
Read Black Newspaper		.251 (.090)**	.241 (.089)**	.161(.111)	.069(.126)	.083(.124)
Race-Based Organization			.335 (.098)***	.428 (.122)***	.255 (.137)+	**.265 (.135)***
Union			.117 (.095)	.091 (.118)	.026 (.129)	.006 (.128)
Black Power				-.010 (.026)	-.023 (.029)	-.037 (.029)
Black Consciousness				-.019 (.037)	.000 (.041)	-.009 (.041)
Common Fate				.044 (.055)	-.012 (.062)	.003 (.062)
Womanist				.056 (.056)	.120 (.063)+	.115 (.062)
Church Attendance					.024 (.099)	-.010 (.099)
Help Program					.328 (.141)*	**.372 (.141)****
Active in Church					.077 (.146)	.114 (.146)
Political Clergy					.071 (.041)+	.068 (.040)+

Table 1 Continued

Political Orientation* Female						.387 (.149)**
Constant	1.554 (.033)	1.284 (.214)	1.273 (.211)	.833 (.357)	.213 (.419)	.493(.428)
N	735	562	558	368	304	304
R-Square	.026	.129	.151	.204	.247	.265

Source Data: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey. Unweighted data.
Robust standard errors in parentheses; +p<.1*p <.05 **p <.01 ***p <.001 (two tailed test).

In predicting electoral participation, gender differences are significant (.05) in Model 1, but are rendered insignificant until Model 6 when the interaction term, political orientation by female is added.

　　　　Most interesting, as Figure 1 indicates, liberalism and conservatism produce opposite effects on men's and women's participation. As women's liberality increases so does their electoral participation.
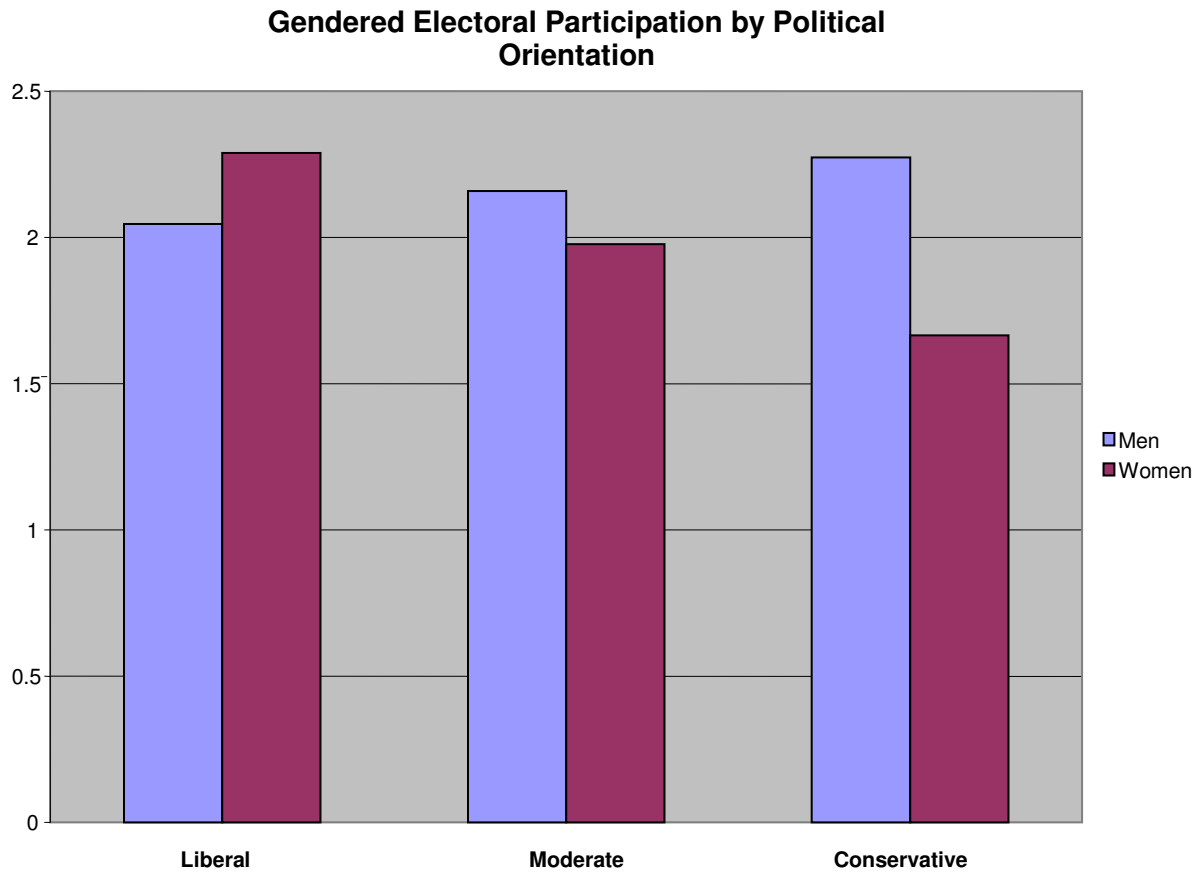
# of Activities
Figure 1: Predicted Y values from Table 1 OLS Regression above.

Liberal women vote, help in a voter registration drive, give someone a ride to the polls on Election Day, and help in a political campaign at higher rates than do liberal men. Conversely, conservative men participate at the highest rate and their participation declines as they become more liberal. Those less liberal women participate less than do moderate and conservative men. As previous research would predict, political interest and knowledge are significant predictors of both electoral and non-electoral political participation. Interestingly, reading a metropolitan newspaper has a significant effect on electoral as opposed to non-electoral political participation. The opposite is true for those who regularly read a Black Newspaper. The latter appears to elicit more unconventional political participation.

Table 2: African-American Non-Electoral Political Participation OLS Regression

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Age	.000(.000)	-2.01E-005 (.000)	.000 (.000)	-2.97E-.005 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)
Marital Status	.113 (.098)	.068 (.106)	.074(.102)	.000 (.127)	.012 (.145)	-.018 (.143)
Children	-.009 (.020)	-.006 (.021)	-.003 (.020)	-.006 (.025)	-.015 (.029)	-.014 (.029)
Urbanicity	.077(.034)*	.015 (.037)	.017 (.036)	-.020 (.046)	-.044 (.055)	-.035 (.054)
Employment Status	.033 (.084)	-.050 (.095)	-.055 (.090)	.048 (.111)	.028 (.134)	.000 (.131)
Household Income	.022 (.019)	.009 (.021)	-.008 (.020)	-.010 (.027)	.001 (.032)	.011 (.031)
College	.382(.098)***	.329 (.111)**	.257 (.109)*	.244 (.132)+	.274 (.154)+	.255 (.151)+
Gender (Female)	-.194 (.092)*	-.240 (.101)*	-.194 (.097)*	-.234 (.120)*	-.276 (.142)*	-.607 (.167)***
Political Orientation	.157 (.059)**	.066 (.063)	.008 (.061)	-.026 (.074)	.000 (.087)	-.023 (.086)
Political Interest Church Context		.586(.101)***	.415 (.099)***	.532(.122)***	.449(.154)**	.431(.151)**
Read Newspaper		.240(.108)*	.183 (.104)+	.069(.128)	.041(.150)	.037(.147)
Read Black Newspaper		.342(.101)***	.278 (.097)**	.368(.122)**	.363 (.143)*	.387(.141)**
Race-Based Organization			.814(.107)***	.665(.134)***	.649 (.156)***	.617 (.153)***
Union			.056 (.103)	-.223(.129)+	-.327(.147)*	-.788(.195)***
Black Power				-.025 (.029)	-.025 (.033)	-.022 (.033)
Black Consciousness				.025 (.040)	.045 (.047)	.052 (.046)
Common Fate				.161 (.060)**	.115 (.071)+	.110(.070)***
Womanist				.051 (.061)	.052 (.072)	.023(.071)

Table 2 Continued

|						
Church Attendance					.114 (.113)	.085(.111)
Help Program					.212 (.161)	.230 (.158)
Active in Church					-.116 (.167)	-.090 (.164)
Political Clergy					.036 (.047)	.037 (.046)+
Union *Female						**.964 (.272)*****
Constant	.947 (.212)	.888 (.242)	.900 (.231)	.520 (.390)	.359 (.478)	.621
N	735	562	558	368	304	304
R-Square	.066	.169	.254	.294	.298	.328

Source Data: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey. Unweighted data.
Robust standard errors in parentheses; +p<.1*p <.05 **p <.01 ***p <.001 (two tailed test).

The introduction of church variables in Model 5 reduces the highly significant positive effect of race-based organization participation from .001 to .1. This suggests that church-related involvement may rival race-based organization participation. In the final analysis, Model 6 shows race-based organization participation is significant at the .05 level. Among the church related activities, only helping in a church program (.01) is significant. Although being active in the church is not a significant predictor of electoral engagement, the findings that discussing politics at church and helping in a church program are significant, suggest that active engagement is what predicts involvement. This is consistent with previous studies that show church attendance is not enough to stimulate political involvement (i.e. Brown and Brown 2003, p.617; McClerking and McDaniel 2005).

Models 1 through 5 show that gender significantly (.05) predicts non-electoral participation. The introduction of the interaction term, union membership by female, exacerbate the gender effect (.001) such that women in a non-union household participate significantly less than do non-union household men. Although household union participation is a negative predictor (.001) of non-electoral participation, as Figure 2 shows, for women, household union membership mediates the negative gender effect such that women living in a union household engage significantly (.001) more in non-electoral activities than do non-union household men (See Model 6).

Like the findings regarding electoral political participation, as Models 3, 4, 5 and 6 indicate, membership in a race-based organization is a significant predictor of non-electoral engagement (.001), while discussion of politics at church (.01) is the only church-related predictor.

Gendered Non-Electoral Political Participation by Union Household
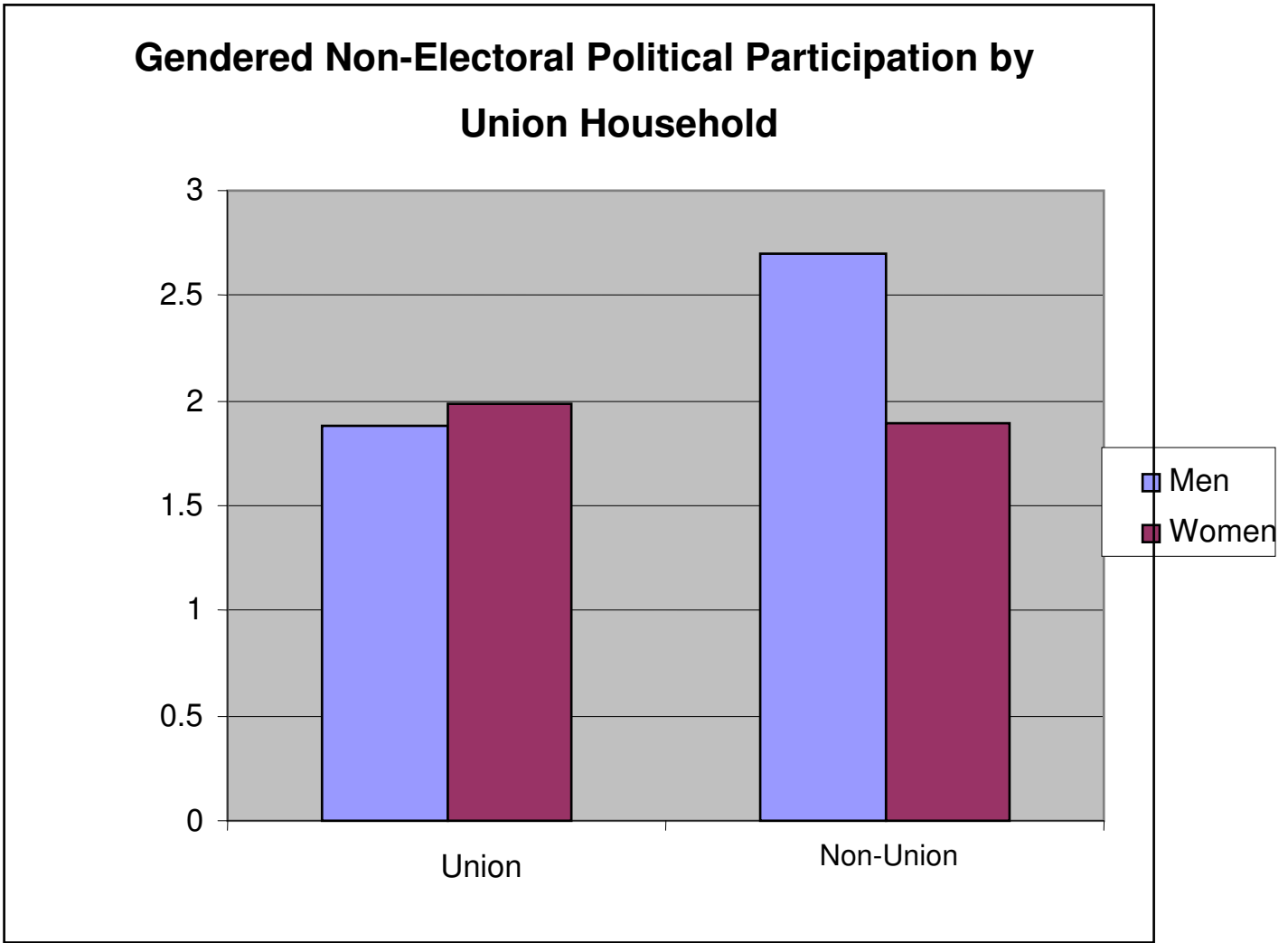
# of Activities

Figure 2: Predicted Y values from Table 2 OLS Regression above.

Different Predictors of Black Men's and Black Women's Electoral and Non-Electoral Engagement

As Table 3 indicates, helping in a church program is the only institutional variable that predicts women's electoral engagement (.05). It is equally significant in predicting women's participation in non-electoral activities.

Table 3: Electoral and Non-Electoral Political Participation Men Only and Women Only OLS Regression – Model 5

Independent Variables	Electoral		Non-Electoral	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age	.000 (.001)	.000 (.000)	-.002(.001)	.000 (.000)
Marital Status	.298 (.201)	.196 (.172)	-.216 (.224)	.157 (.190)
Children	.030 (.049)	.006 (.030)	.046 (.055)	-.069 (.034)*
Urbanicity	.042(.085)	-.139 (.058)*	-.090 (.095)	-.023 (.064)
Employment Status	-.309 (.230)	.238 (.138)+	.106 (.256)	-.121 (.153)
Household Income	.027 (.053)	-.035 (.035)	.048 (.059)	-.010 (.038)
College	-.079(.229)	-.045(.174)	.360 (.255)	-.033 (.192)
Political Orientation	-.149(.129)	.311 (.105)**	-.212 (.144)	.051 (.116)
Political Interest Church Context	.425(.214)*	.307(.178)+	.580 (.239)*	.329 (.197)+
Read Newspaper	.250(.222)	.461 (.170)**	-.130 (.247)	.241 (.188)
Read Black Newspaper	-.034(.208)	.252(.166)	.109 (.232)	.640 (.184)***
Race-Based Organization	.507 (.213)*	.158 (.188)	.839(.238)***	.487 (.208)*
Union	-.108 (.205)	-.004 (.175)	-.781(.229)***	.246 (.194)
Black Power	-.026 (.050)	-.039 (.037)	-.085 (.055)	.040 (.041)
Black Consciousness	.059 (.064)	-.011 (.058)	.049 (.071)	.026 (.064)
Common Fate	-.039 (.108)	.011 (.076)	.141 (.120)	.086 (.084)
Womanist	.126 (.110)	.089 (.078)	.032 (.122)	-.016 (.086)
Church Attendance	-.050 (.160)	.117 (.137)	.142 (.179)	-.016 (.152)
Help Program	.264 (.237)	.370 (.183)*	.243 (.264)	.410 (.202)*
Active in Church	.048 (.251)	.148 (.189)	-.118 (.279)	-.163 (.209)
Political Clergy	.120 (.064)+	.041 (.054)	.064 (.072)	-.006 (.060)
Constant	.530 (.702)	.148 (.558)	.860 (.782)	.338 (.616)
N	147	156	147	156
R-Square	.277	.329	.399	.340

Source Data: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey. Unweighted data.
Robust standard errors in parentheses; +$p<.1$ *$p <.05$ **$p <.01$ ***$p <.001$ (two tailed test).

Men, however, participate in electoral and non-electoral activities when they discuss politics at church (.05 electoral and non-electoral) and belong to a race-based organization (.05 electoral and .001 non-electoral).   For women, although less significant (.05), race-based membership predicts only their non-electoral political participation.

Black Institutional Involvement and the Persistent Gender Gap

The results of the OLS regressions performed on only those belonging to a race-based organization, helping in a church program, or discussing politics at their place of worship show that such involvement does not reduce the gender gap. Rather, such participation must be mediated by other factors including household union participation, or political orientation, to reduce the divide. As Figure 3 illustrates, the electoral participation gap is only reduced by women's liberality. Conservative and moderate men participate more than do their female counterparts.

Table 4 Significant Predictors of Electoral Participation Among Women and Men Helping in a Church Program

Urbanicity	-.128(.070)+
Gender	-.656 (.297)*
Black Power Scale	-.091 (.040)*
Political Interest Church Context	.573 (.209)**
Political Orientation*Female	.533 (.206)*

Constant = 1.931; R Square=.278; N= 174
Source Data: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey. Unweighted data.
Robust standard errors in parentheses; +p<.1*p <.05 **p <.01 ***p <.001 (two tailed test).

Among those who help in a church program, liberal women participate in more electoral activities (3.086) than do moderate (2.760) and conservative (2.434) women and nearly as much as conservative men (3.091).   Within this group, moderate men (2.884) and liberal men (2.677) participate less than conservative men. In general, conservative men participate more than do their more moderate and liberal counterparts; and, liberal women participate more than do liberal men. Although, as men become more liberal, there is a reduction in their participation, the reduction in the gender is gap is largely a product of an increase in women's participation. Liberal men participate .414 activities less than do conservative men, but liberal women participate .652 more activities than do conservative women.
A similar electoral participation pattern emerges among those who indicated discussing politics at church. Once again, liberality increases women's electoral participation, but decreases that of men's.   Figure 4 illustrates that conservative men (2.659) and moderate (2.379) men participate in more electoral activities that do liberal men (2.099), and all women.
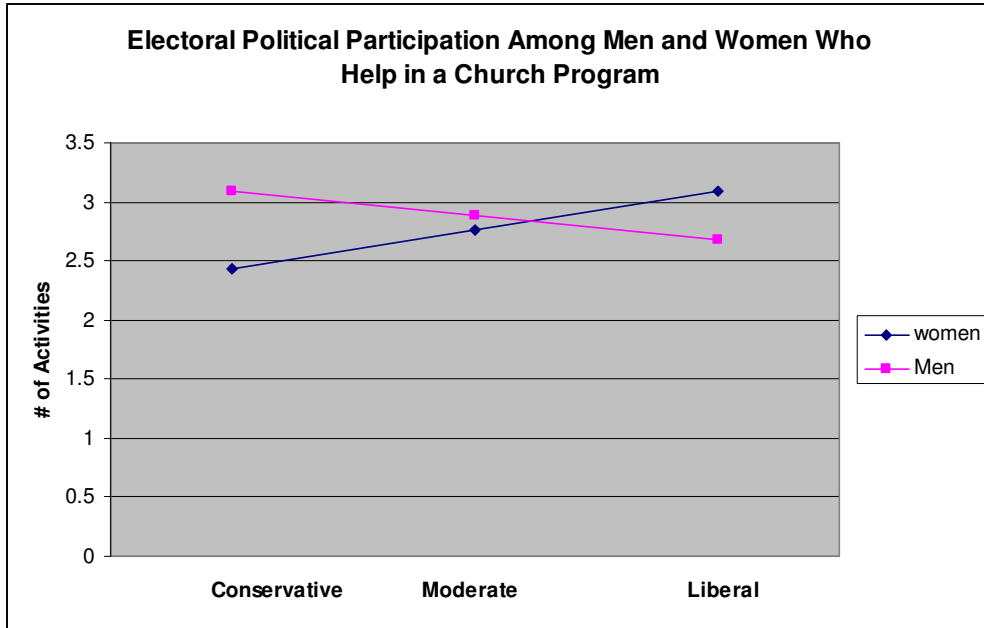
Electoral Political Participation Among Men and Women Who Help in a Church Program

Figure 3: Predicted Y values from Table 4 OLS Regression above.

While liberal women (2.499) participate more than do liberal men (2.099), conservative men (2.659) and moderate men (2.379) outpace conservative (1.881) and moderate women (2.190). Also, the participation gap between liberal and conservative women, .618, is somewhat higher than that between liberal and conservative men .560.

Table 5 Significant Predictors of Electoral Participation Among Women and Men Who Discuss Politics at Church

Political Orientation	-.280(.150)+
Womanist Scale	.178(.093)+
Gender	-.778(.301)**
Belong to a Race-Based Organization	.373(.187)*
Help in Church Program	.594(.201)**
Political Orientation*Female	.589 (.210)**

Constant = 1.076; R Square=.252; N= 158
Source Data: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey. Unweighted data.
Robust standard errors in parentheses; +p<.1*p <.05 **p <.01 ***p <.001 (two tailed test).

As is evident from examining Figures 5 and 6, with the exception of women in union households and liberal women, among those who belong to a race-based organization, men's participation in electoral and non-electoral activities is greater than that of women. In predicting electoral political participation, women's liberality (2.475) only slightly outpaces that of liberal men (2.431).
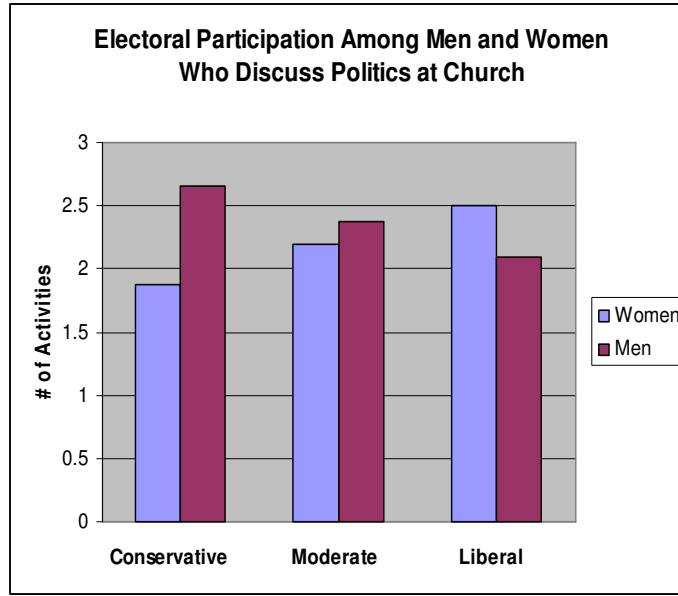
Figure 4: Predicted Y values from Table 5

Table 6 Significant Predictors of Electoral Participation Among Women and Men Who Belong to a Race-Based Organization

Gender	-.718(.298)*
Political Interest Church Context	.445(.202)*
Read a Black Newspaper	.450(.186)*
Political Clergy	.118(.066)+
Political Orientation*Female	.381(.206)+

Constant = 1.616; R Square=.190; N= 172
Source Data: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey. Unweighted data.
Robust standard errors in parentheses; +p<.1*p <.05 **p <.01 ***p <.001 (two tailed test).
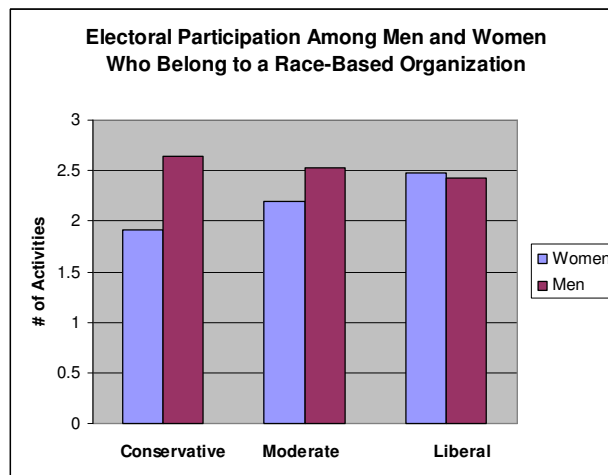

Figure 5: Predicted Y values from Table 6

However, conservative and moderate men participate at greater rates than do all women. Yet, as among those who help in a church program and discuss politics at church, there is a smaller participation gap, .206 activities, between conservative men (2.637) and liberal men (2.431), than between liberal women (2.475) and conservative women (1.919), .556 activities.

Table 7 Significant Predictors of Non-Electoral Participation among Men and Women Who Belong to a Race-Based Organization

College	.374 (.222)+
Gender	-1.402 (.287)***
Political Interest Church Context	.709 (.269)**
Read a Newspaper	-.533 (.234)*
Read a Black Newspaper	.791 (.243)**
Black Power Scale	.148 (.058)*
Union	-1.557 (.302)***
Church Attendance	.468 (.196)*
Women in Union	1.605 (.449)***

Constant = 1.124; R Square=.441; N=122
Source Data: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey. Unweighted data.
Robust standard errors in parentheses; +p<.1*p <.05 **p <.01 ***p <.001 (two tailed test)
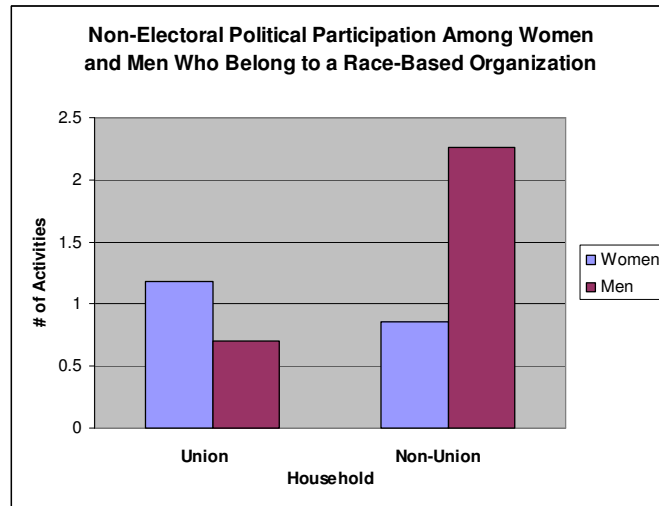

Figure 6: Predicted Y values from Table 7

In predicting non-electoral political participation among those who belong to a race-based organization, women in union households participate more than do men in union households and this is largely a product of the decrease in union household men's participation. For example, among those who belong to a race-based organization, the difference between union household men's participation (.700) and non-union household men's participation (2.256) is 1.556 activities. The gap between union household women's participation (1.179) and non-union household women's participation (.854) is much narrower, .325 activities.

However, as Figure 7 shows, among those who help in a church program, non-union household women (2.613) participate more than do union household women (2.462), but their participation gap is relatively small, .151. Union household women (2.462) still participate more in non-electoral activities than union household men (2.121), and the participation gap between union household men and non-union household men (3.251) is 1.130.

Table 8. Significant Predictors of Non-Electoral Participation among Women and Men Who Help in a Church Program

College	.509 (.203)*
Gender	-.638 (.236)**
Common Fate Scale	-.249 (.099)*
Belong to a Race-Based Organization	.776 (.214)***
Union	-1.130 (.274)***
Women in Union	.979 (.388)*

Constant = .902; R Square=.360; N= 174
Source Data: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey. Unweighted data.
Robust standard errors in parentheses; +p<.1*p <.05 **p <.01 ***p <.001 (two tailed test).
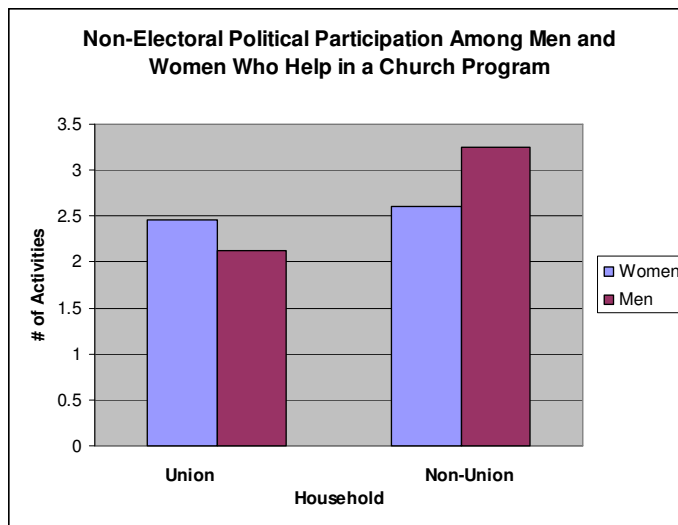

Figure 7: Predicted Y values from Table 8

The results of Figure 8 show that among men and women who discuss politics at church, men, not in a union household, are significantly more likely than are women to participate in non-electoral political activities. Although union household women (2.975) participate .411 activities more than do union household men (2.564), the participation gap between non-union household men (3.223) and non-union household women is 1.690 activities. As with those who belong to a race-based organization, and those who help in a church program, there is a larger participation gap between union household men (2.564), .659 activities, and non-union household men than between union household women (2.975), .443, and non-union household women (2.533).

Table 9. Significant Predictors of Non-Electoral Participation among Women and Men Who Discuss Politics at Church

Gender	-.690 (.260)**
Belong to a Race-Based Organization	.640 (.216)**
Union	-.659 (.274)*
Women in Union	1.101 (.400)**

Constant = 1.128; R Square=.278; N= 158
Source Data: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey. Unweighted data.
Robust standard errors in parentheses; +p<.1*p <.05 **p <.01 ***p <.001 (two tailed test).

Non-Electoral Political Participation Among Men and Women Who Discuss Politics at Church
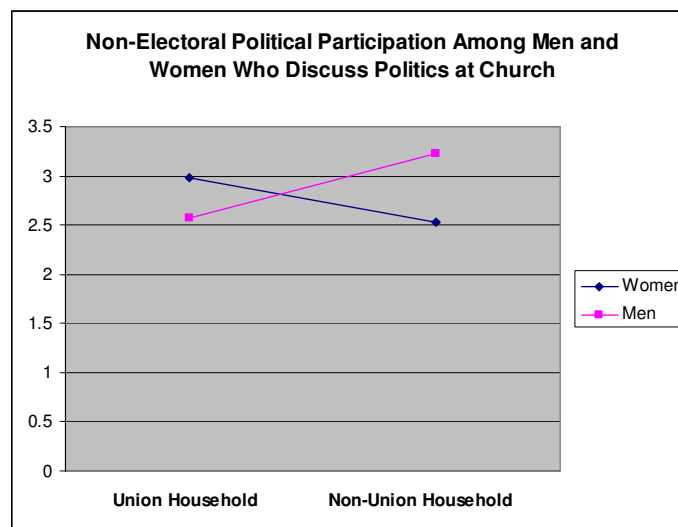
# of Activities Figure 8
Predicted Y values from Table 7

In sum, while institutional involvement in race-based and church-based organizations increases electoral and non-electoral participation for both men and women, it does not close the gender gap. Instead, living in a union household, and liberal politics appear to mitigate the gender divide but they do so in different ways. Union household membership reduces the non-electoral participation gender gap by reducing men's participation. Conversely, women's liberality appears to increase women's more than it decreases men's electoral participation.

The Gendered Nature of Institutional Resource Benefits

Figures 9 and 10 illustrate that the benefits gained from black institution participation are gendered. Overall, men's involvement in black institutions results in greater electoral and non-electoral participation gains than for women.

Electoral: Effects of Belonging to a Race-Based Organization, Helping in a Church Program, and Discussing Politics at Church on Men and Women
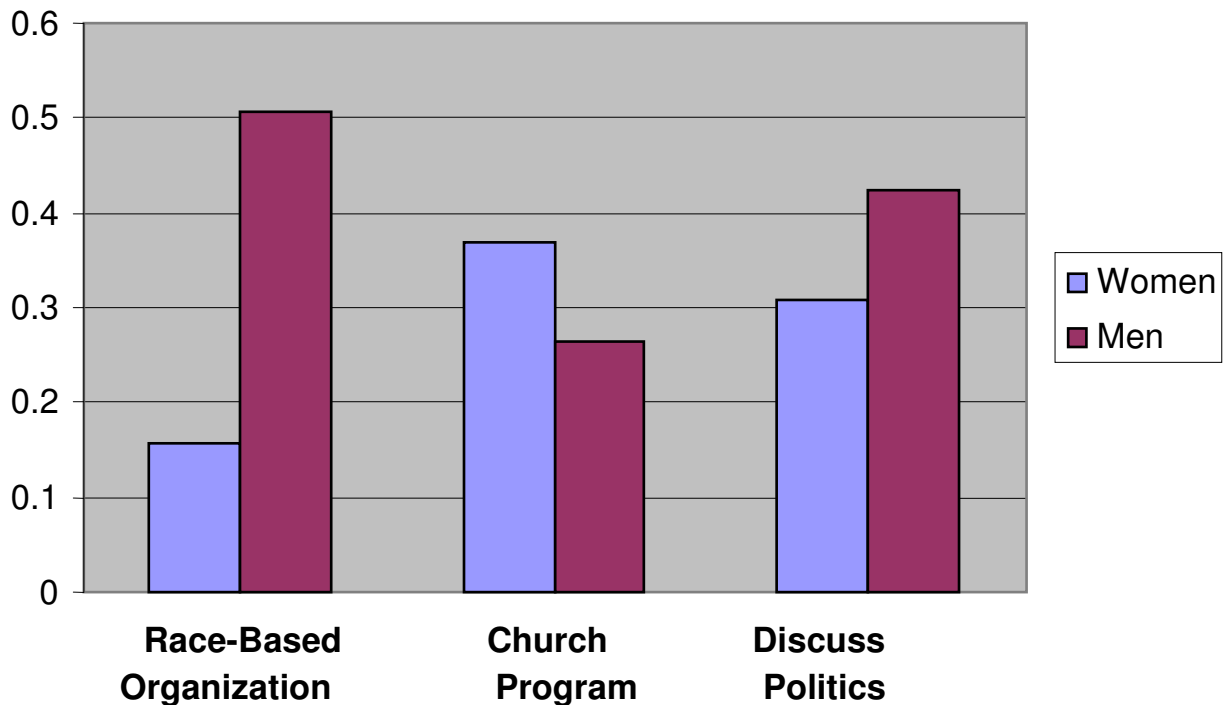
# of Activities

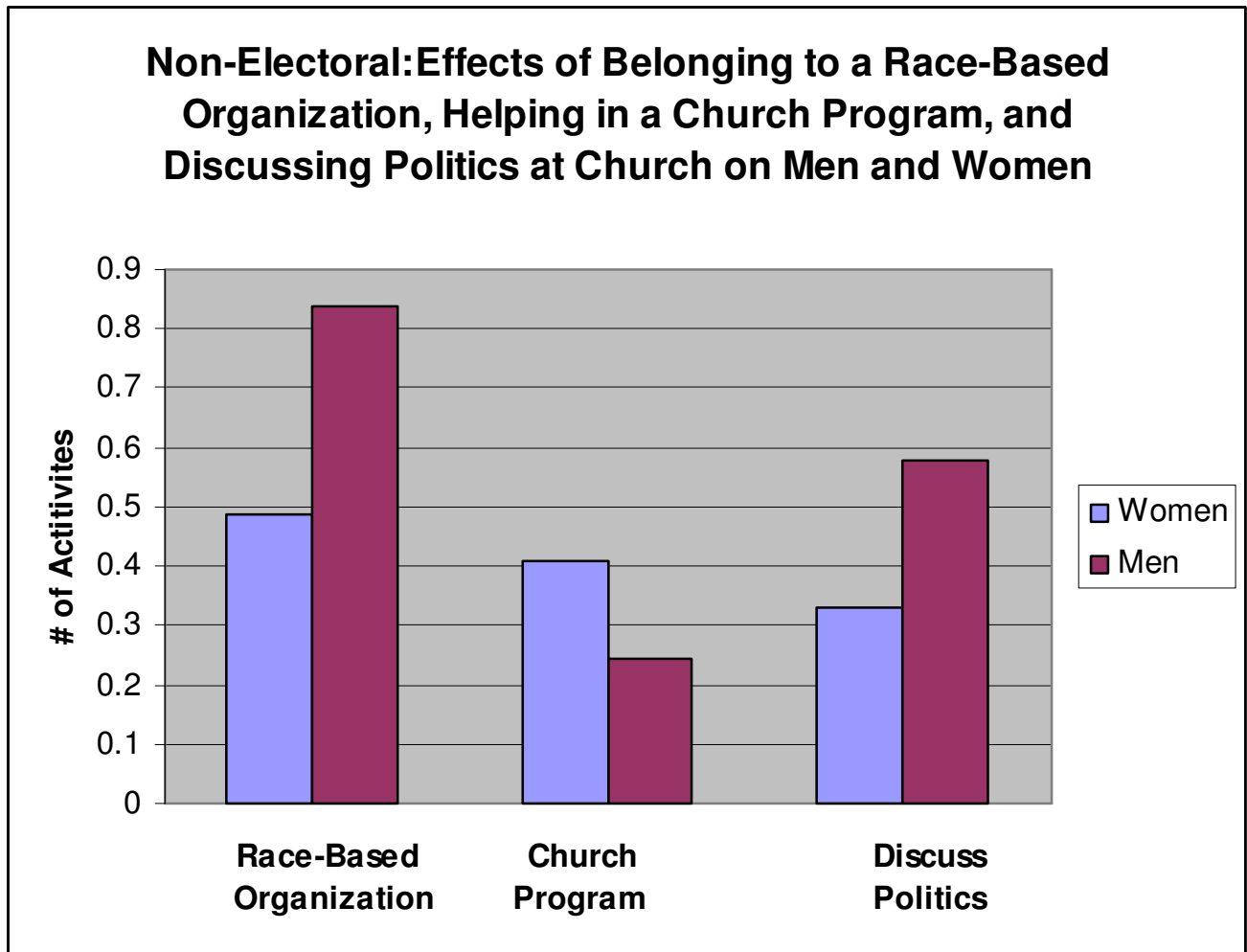**Difference in predicted values from Men Only and Women Only Table 3 OLS.**
Within men and within women differences between those that belong to an organization and those that do not; those that help in a church program and those that do not, those that have highly political clergy and those that have less political clergy.

Figure 9

Participation in a race-based organization and discussing politics at church increases men's political participation more than it increases women's political participation. Women benefit more than do men when they help in a church program. In predicting electoral participation, the difference between women who help in a church program and those who do not is .370 activities. For men, the difference is .264. The difference between the predictive value of men and women helping in a program is .106 activities. Therefore, helping in a church program is only slightly more important for women in predicting electoral participation. Although women's electoral participation is enhanced by membership in a race-based organization (.158), and by discussing politics at church (.307) men's participation is enhanced .507, and .425, respectively. Therefore,

the difference between the predictive value of men's and women's participation in a race-based organization is .349 activities. And, the difference between the predictive values of men's and women's participation when they discuss politics at church is .118 activities. This illustrates that race-based organization membership and discussing politics at church more strongly influence men's electoral participation than women's.

The difference in their predictive value for men and women is even more striking when comparing men's and women's non-electoral participation.

Non-Electoral:Effects of Belonging to a Race-Based Organization, Helping in a Church Program, and Discussing Politics at Church on Men and Women

Difference in predicted values from Men Only and Women Only Table 3 OLS.
Within men and within women differences between those that belong to an organization and those that do not; those that help in a church program and those that do not, those that have highly political clergy and those that have less political clergy.

Figure 10

The difference between men who participate in a race-based organization and those who do not is .839, whereas the differences between women who participate in such an organization and those who do not, is .487. Therefore, the difference in the race-based organization effect between men and women is .352 activities. Women who discuss politics at church participate in

.329 more activities than women who do not engage in this activity. But the gap, .580 activities, is even more pronounced between men who discuss politics at church and those who do not. As with electoral participation, helping in a church program increases women's participation more than men's. Women who help in a church program participate in .410 more activities than women who do not help, and men who do not help engage in .243 less activities than men who help in a church program.

Taken together, while men and women benefit from race-based organization membership, and discussions of politics at church, they have a stronger participation enhancement effect for men.   In particular, involvement in a race-based organization has a larger predictive value for men than for women. In contrast, while helping in a church program benefits both men and women, it has a somewhat larger predictive value for women.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study finds a statistically significant gender divide in political participation with African American men more likely than African American women to participate in political activities. This contrasts with the findings of Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1994) as well as earlier studies showing relatively equal political participation rates among black men and women (Verba and Nie 1972, p.164; Pierce, Avery and Carey 1973, p.425; Baxter and Lansing 1983; Williams 1987). While it is well-established that African-American women are more likely to vote than their male counterpart, this study finds they are less likely than African-American men to participate in any other political activity.

Numerous scholars document the importance of institutional and organizational participation in promoting political activity, but this study shows that while such involvement enhances both men's and women's political participation, it does not mitigate the gender divide. With the exception of women whose households contain a union member and liberal women, men who are involved in a race-based organization, discuss politics at church, and help in a church-based program participate more in both electoral and non-electoral activities. Race-based organizational involvement, as well as engagement in political discussions at church, increases men's more than women's political activity. While helping in a church-based program increases women's more than men's political church activity, women are still less involved in political activities. What appears to mitigate the gender effect the most is union affiliation, and liberal political views.

While the wording of the question makes it is difficult to assess whether or not the female respondent is a member of a union, it is clear that women who have direct or indirect ties to a union are more politically involved than women without such ties. The greatest effect, however, is between men with union ties, and those without them. The former, are significantly less likely to engage in political activities. This may be because they are actively involved in the union, and unable to participate because of time or contractual constraints. Future research is required.

Liberal political views significantly increase women's electoral participation, and conservatism appears to have the opposite effect. This suggests that women, who are more conservative, may adhere to the belief that politics is a man's domain, although one's adherence to Womanist beliefs was not a significant predictor of electoral or non-electoral participation. Such conservatism, however, promotes men's political engagement, and this study confirms that its effect deters women's political engagement.

Conservatism is often tied to church participation. Indeed, as already discussed, women's political liberality is predicted only by liberal views on religion. Several scholars have argued that the black church is patriarchal and encourages traditional gender roles that undermine support for gender equality (Collins 2004; Wilcox 1997; Harris 1999; Smooth and Tucker 1999). Collins (2004, p.183) states, "From its position of authority, the Black Church has shown strong support for the patriarchal family, claiming that men should be heads of the Church, that women should not be preachers, and that men should rule their families." If Collins is correct, then the church culture is gendered, and its effects may spill over into extra-religious civic and political organizing.

As during the civil rights movement, women who participate in race-based organizations may serve as bridges in an alternative sphere of leadership which was largely determined by church structure (Robnett 1997, 1996). Women in such organizations may have less access to the civic skills, networks, and political information acquired through church leadership, because such leadership is inherently gendered. Women's involvement is likely geared exclusively to church activities, and recruitment to and contact with political organizations may be weaker. This, in fact, may explain the persistence of a gender divide even among those who are engaged in race-based and church-based activities.

Several scholars suggest Black political solidarity has been fractured largely because of the rapid growth of the Black middle class (i.e. Dawson 2001, West 1993). While accepting the argument that class impacts political participation, this study demonstrates that gender is equally important. Michael Dawson (2001) discusses the role of women in politics, acknowledging their importance and the ways in which patriarchy suppresses women's leadership in both the church and politics. Dawson (2001, p. 40) states,

> While the economic divisions within the black community are politically important, Morrison's (1992a) and Henry's (1990) analyses of the death of black political unity were triggered not by a conflict generated by class cleavages, but by the turmoil that erupted among African Americans after the nomination of Clarence Thomas and the subsequent charges of sexual abuse leveled by law professor Anita Hill.

Dawson is referring to the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court which sparked nationally televised hearings in which the latter was grilled about the sexual allegations. This ignited an enormous debate among African Americans in which many defended Thomas believing that even if the allegations were true, African American women should support the leadership and aspirations of an African American man. Black women's issues, he suggests, are sublimated in the black political agenda. Women's propensity to participate is not only a product of gender socialization through daily face-to-face interactions, but of gender as a social institution (Lorber 1994) that "orders social processes, is willingly incorporated into identities or selves, and is built into the major social organizations of society (Martin 2004, p. 1261)." As Martin (2004, p. 1261) states, "Framing gender as an institution underscores gender's sociality; directs attention to practices, practicing and interaction; [and] requires attention to power". While an assessment of the role of institutionalized gender relations in the black church and race-based organizations is beyond the scope of this study, the findings show that black institutional involvement has a stronger effect in promoting men's political participation than women's.

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Descriptions of the dependent variables from NBPS:

The Electoral Politics Scale is comprised of four measures of political behavior in an index coded 0-4 (Mean= 1.506). It includes:

1. Voted: "Did you vote in the past presidential election?" This variable is coded 1 if the respondent voted. (78.7%) (Males=78.7.% Females=78.6%).
2. Voter registration: "As I read a list of political activities that people sometimes do, please tell me whether or not you have engaged in these activities in the last TWO years? Have you helped in a voter registration drive?" This variable is coded 1 if the respondent helped. (23.4%) (Males=52.5% Females=20.2%).
3. Campaign: "As I read a list of political activities that people sometimes do, please tell me whether or not you have engaged in these activities in the last TWO years? Have you handed out campaign material or placed campaign material on cars?" This variable is coded 1 if the respondent helped. (23.4%) (Females=21.7% Males=25.5%).
4. Ride to Polls: "As I read a list of political activities that people sometimes do, please tell me whether or not you have engaged in these activities in the last TWO years? Have you given people a ride to the polls on Election Day?" This variable is coded 1 if the respondent helped. (25.5%) (Males=28.8% Females=22.9%).

The Non-Electoral Politics Scale is comprised of four measures of political behavior in an index coded 0-4 (Mean= 1.486). It includes:

1. Signed a petition: "Now, I'm going to read you a list of things people have done to address such problems as neighborhood crime, drug trafficking, the quality of education or the safety of children. Please tell me if you have done any of these things in the last 2 years." Signed a petition in support of something or against something. This variable is coded 1 if the respondent signed. (60.7%) (Males=60.7% Females=60.7%).
2. Attended a protest meeting or demonstration: "Now, I'm going to read you a list of things people have done to address such problems as neighborhood crime, drug trafficking, the quality of education or the safety of children. Please tell me if you have done any of these things in the last 2 years." Attended a protest meeting or demonstration. This variable is coded 1 if the respondent signed. (29.7%) (Males=35.7% Females=24.8%).
3. Contacted a public official or agency: "Now, I'm going to read you a list of things people have done to address such problems as neighborhood crime, drug trafficking, the quality of education or the safety of children. Please tell me if you have done any of these things in the last 2 years." Contacted a public official or agency. This variable is coded 1 if the respondent signed. (34.4%) (Males=38.3% Females=31.3%).
4. Taken part in a neighborhood march: "Now, I'm going to read you a list of things people have done to address such problems as neighborhood crime, drug trafficking, the quality of education or the safety of children. Please tell me if you have done any of these things in the last 2 years." Taken part in a neighborhood march. This variable is coded 1 if the respondent signed. (23.7%) (Males=27.7% Females=20.4%).

Descriptions of the Independent Variables from NBPS:

1. Age: "What was your age at your last birthday?" This is a continuous variable. (Mean=41.13).

2. Marital Status: "Are you currently married, widowed, separated, divorced, have you never been married, or are you living with a significant other?" Married respondents are coded 1, and all others are coded 0. (Married = 35.1%)
3. Number of Children: "I also need to know how many people, 17 years and younger, are currently living in your household?" Those with no children are coded 0, those with 1-3 children are coded 3, and those with 4 or more children are coded 10. 51.9% have no children living in their household, 43.2% have 1-3 children living in their household, and 4.7% have 4 or more children living in their household.
4. Urbanicity: "Do you live in a rural or country area, a small town, a small city, a suburb of a city, or a large city?" (0= Rural or country area; 1= A small town; 2= A small city; 3= A suburb; 4=A large city).
5. Employment Status: "In terms of your main activity are you working full-time, working part-time, temporarily laid off, unemployed, retired, homemaker, a student, or are you permanently disabled?" Working full-time is coded 0, all other categories are coded 1. (Not a full-time worker=5.1%)
6. Family Income: "Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1992 before taxes? There are 9 categories. (Mean=$25,000-$30,000)
7. College: "Do you have a college degree?" Yes=1, 0=No (College=29.9%).
8. Gender: Males coded 0. Females coded 1. (Females = 55.2%).
9. Political Orientation: "In general, when it comes to politics, do you think of yourself as a Liberal, a Conservative, a Moderate or what?" Liberal is coded 2, moderate is coded 1,and conservative is coded 0. (Liberal=30.7%; Moderate=34.1%; Conservative=21.5%) Liberal Males=35.2% Females=35.8%; Moderate Males=38.08% Females=40.6%; Conservative Males=26.7% Females=23.6%.
10. Political Interest: Church Context: "Have you talked to people about political matters at your church or place of worship?" Yes=1, No=0 (Yes=33.9%) (Females=41.0% Males=48.4%).
11. Read Newspaper: "Have you in the past year: Read a Metropolitan newspaper?" Yes=1, No=0. (Yes=62.0%) (Females=57.6% Males=67.4%).
12. Read Black Newspaper: "Have you in the past year: Read a black newspaper?" Yes=1, No=0. (Yes=55.1%) (Males=57.6% Females=53.0%).
13. Black Power Scale: Using SPSS compute command, I develop a scale of the following three questions,
    - Blacks should participate in black-only organizations whenever possible.
    - Blacks should always vote for black candidates when they run.
    - Black people should shop in black stores whenever possible.
    - Black people should support the creation of all male public schools for black youth.
    - Black children should study an African language.
    - Blacks should have control over the government in mostly black communities.
    - Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly black communities.
    - Black people should rely on themselves and not others.
    - Black people should have their own separate nation.
    (strongly agree/agree = 1, strongly disagree/disagree = 0,)

The scale consists of .00 as the respondent answered no to all nine questions, 1.00 if the respondent answered yes to one of the questions, 2.00 if the respondent answered yes to two questions, 3.00 if the respondent answered yes to three questions, 4.00 if the respondent answered yes to four questions, 5.00 if the respondent answered yes to five questions, 6.00 if the respondent answered yes to six questions, 7.00 if the respondent answered yes to seven questions, 8.00 if the respondent answered yes to eight questions, and 9.00 if the respondent answered yes to all nine questions. 78% answered yes to all nine questions. The Cases are weighted by Weight based on March 1994 CPS data. Mean=5.4288, N=1,017 (Male Mean=5.64 Female Mean=5.26).

14. Black Consciousness Scale: Using SPSS compute command, I develop a scale of the following three questions,
    - American society has provided black people a fair opportunity to get ahead in life. (strongly disagree/disagree=1, strongly agree/agree=0)
    - American society just hasn't dealt fairly with black people. (strongly agree/agree=1, strongly disagree/disagree=0)
    - There is still so much discrimination that special programs to help blacks and minorities are needed. (agree=1, disagree=0)
    - American society is fair to everyone = 1, American society is unfair to black people=0.
    - American's big corporations are unfair to the black community=1, America's big corporations are a powerful source of economic growth that benefits the black community=0.
    - The American legal system is unfair to blacks=1, Generally, the American legal system treats all groups fairly=0.
    - Do you think blacks have achieved racial equality/will soon achieve racial equality=0, will not achieve racial equality in your lifetime/will never achieve racial equality=1.

    The scale consists of .00 as the respondent answered no to all seven questions, 1.00 if the respondent answered yes to one of the questions, 2.00 as the respondent answered yes to two questions, 3.00 if the respondent answered yes to three questions, 4.00 if the respondent answered yes to four questions, 5.00 if the respondent answered yes to five questions, 6.00 if the respondent answered yes to six questions, and 7.00 if the respondent answered yes to seven questions. 20.9 % answered yes to all seven questions, 25.1% answered yes to six questions, 14.6 answered yes to five questions, 7% answered yes to four questions, 5% answered yes to three questions, 3% answered yes to two questions, .9% answered yes to one question and .2% answered yes to no questions. The Cases are weighted by Weight based on March 1994 CPS data. Mean=5.4705, N=926 (Female Mean=5.43 Male Mean=5.50).

15. Common Fate Scale: Using SPSS compute command, I develop a scale of the following three questions, 1) Do you think what happens to black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life? 2) Do you think what generally happens to black men in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life? 3) Do you think what generally happens to black women in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life? Initially, the responses were coded 0=No and 1=Yes. The scale consists of .00 as the respondent answered no to all three questions, 1.00 as the respondent answered yes to one of the

questions, 2.00 as the respondent answered yes to two questions, and 3.00 as the respondent answered yes to all three questions. 62.9% answered yes to all three questions, 12.2% answered yes to two questions, 6.8% answered yes to 1 question, and 11.4% responded no to all questions. The Cases are weighted by Weight based on March 1994 CPS data. Mean=2.3570, SD=1.05318, N=1,126 (Male Mean=2.48 Female Mean=2.26).

16. Womanist Scale: Using SPSS compute command, I develop a scale of the following three questions,
    - Black churches or places of worship should allow more women to become members of the clergy. (Strongly agree/Agree =1, Strongly disagree/Somewhat disagree=0)
    - Black feminist groups help the black community by working to advance the position of black women = 1, Black feminist groups just divide the black community=0.
    - Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the black community=1, Black women should not undermine black male political leadership=0.
    - Black men are endangered and their problems deserve special attention=0, The problems of black men and women deserve equal attention=1.

The scale consists of .00 as the respondent answered no to all four questions, 1.00 as the respondent answered yes to one of the questions, 2.00 as the respondent answered yes to two questions, 3.00 as the respondent answered yes to three questions, and 4.00 if the respondent answered yes to all four questions. 30.0% answered yes to all four questions, 39.7% answered yes to three questions, 22.0% answered yes to 2 questions, 6.7% responded yes to one question, and 1.7% answered yes to no questions. The Cases are weighted by Weight based on March 1994 CPS data. Mean=2.8966, N=914 (Male Mean=2.90 Female Mean=2.89).

17. Race-based Organization: "Are you a member of any organization working to improve the status of black Americans?" Yes=1, No=0. (Yes=29.7%) (Males=32.7% Females=27.3%).

18. Union Membership: "Does anyone in this household belong to a labor union?" Yes=1, No=2 (Yes=27.9 %) (Female=24.6% Male=32.8%).

19. Church Attendance: "How often do you attend religious services? Would you say at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never?" At least once per/wk=2,Once or twice a month=1, Once or twice a year=0 Mean=1.40; Mean Female=1.46 Male=1.31).

20. Active in Church: "Aside from attending regular services, in the past 12 months have you been an active member of your church or place of worship? I mean, have you served on a committee, given time to a special project, helped to organize a meeting?" Yes=1, No=2 (Yes=53.1%) (Male=46.8% Female=57.8%).

21. Help Program: "As I read the following list please tell me if your church or place of worship provides community outreach programs such as… A food program and clothing program for the needy, a drug or alcohol abuse program, a day care or nursery, or a senior center outreach program? How active are you in helping to provide these programs? Are you…very active, fairly active, not very active, not at all active?" Very

active and fairly active are coded 1, and not very active and not at all active are coded 0. (Very Active/Fairly Active = 60.5%) (Female=61.4% Male=59.3%).

22. Political Clergy Scale: Using SPSS compute command, I develop a scale of the following three questions
    - In the last year, have you heard any discussions of politics at your church or place of worship? Yes=1, No = 0
    - Has a member of the clergy or someone in an official position talked about the need for people to become more involved in politics? Yes=1, No=2
    - Has any local or national political leader spoken at a regular religious service? Yes=1, No=0
    - Has a member of the clergy, or someone in an official position, ever suggested that you vote for or against certain candidates in an election? Yes=1, No=0
    - What about suggesting that you take some other action on a political issue—sign a petition, write a letter, go to a meeting, attend a protest, march, or demonstrations, or get in touch with a public official? Did this happen in the last two years? Yes=1, No=0

    The scale consists of .00 as the respondent answered no to all five questions, 1.00 if the respondent answered yes to one of the questions, 2.00 as the respondent answered yes to two questions, 3.00 if the respondent answered yes to three questions, 4.00 if the respondent answered yes to four questions, 5.00 if the respondent answered yes to all five questions. 10.4% answered yes to all five questions, 16.5% answered yes to four questions, 13.6% answered yes to three questions, 11.4% answered yes to two questions, 9.2% answered yes to one question and 12.5% answered yes to no questions. The Cases are weighted by Weight based on March 1994 CPS data. Mean=2.594, N=887 (Female Mean=2.56 Male Mean=2.65).

23. Union*Female (0,1) Yes=1, No=0
24. Political Orientation*Female (0,1,2) Liberal is coded 2, moderate is coded 1, and conservative is coded 0. (Liberal=30.7%; Moderate=34.1%; Conservative=21.5%)