

**Gendered and Re-gendered:
Public Opinion and Hillary Rodham Clinton**

Nicholas Winter
Center for Political Studies
University of Michigan
nwinter@umich.edu

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Since her appearance on the national political scene in 1992, Hillary Rodham Clinton has engendered huge amounts of controversy and press coverage – probably more than any other First Lady. She very explicitly did not take on the traditional roles of the First Lady; instead, she chaired an important policy committee and played an active role in many aspects of the work of the White House. She also did not conform to the image of a traditional President’s wife who provides a nurturing domestic sphere for her husband, and symbolically for the nation as a whole. On the other hand, during the fallout from the Lewinsky saga, she steadfastly stood by Bill Clinton, a choice that many saw as contradicting her commitments to gender progressivism. This paper uses this contrast in behavior and media portrayal to examine the ways that public opinion on political figures can be connected with ideas about gender, and the ways those connections can change.

I. Gendering, the First Ladyship, and Hillary Rodham Clinton

Aside from biographical accounts of individual First Ladies, there has been relatively little literature on the role of First Lady. Since the founding era, First Ladies have been important in forming the public’s image of the Presidency; for example Young discusses the ways that early First Ladies constructed the “first family” and the White House as the domestic base from which Presidents projected their power (1976). There is also periodic discussion of the ways that First Ladies are symbolically constructed in relation to their gender roles. For example, Simonton (1996) found that historians’ ratings of the eminence of First Ladies were driven by their husband’s eminence, their performance as a political colleague to the president, and the degree to which they established their own distinct personality. There is little work, however, on *public opinion* and the First Lady beyond occasional references to their popularity in more general review articles (Smith 1986; 1940).

There is a bit more work on Hillary Rodham Clinton. Burrell (1997) draws on aggregate media polling and individual-level National Election Studies (NES) data to trace the rise and fall of Hillary

Clinton's¹ support from the 1992 campaign through 1994. Burden and Mughan (1999) explore Hillary's aggregate approval levels through 1997. They explain the fluctuations in terms of media coverage, economic changes, macropartisanship, and lagged support for Hillary and for Bill.

Although my paper complements those analyses, my primary motivation is not to explain the public's views of Hillary Clinton's in any comprehensive way. Rather, I use her as an example of the gendering of political figures – and of political issues – more generally. I use the term “gendering” to refer to the process by which a political issue or figure becomes associated in people's minds with considerations of gender.² It works analogously, I argue, with racialization (Gilens 1999; Kinder and Winter 1997). People have gender and racial schemas (or predispositions or stereotypes) that contain their understanding of gender and race as social phenomena. These schemas have both content or characteristics, like athletic or nurturing, and *structure*, such as normative and causal beliefs about intergroup relationships and power relations (Wittenbrink, Gist, and Hilton 1997; Wittenbrink, Hilton, and Gist 1998). When people encounter an ambiguous stimulus, such as public figure or a political issue, they will make (possibly unconscious or implicit) use of one or more schemas in their minds to understand it (Conover and Feldman 1984; Brewer and Schneider 1990). For many issues and political figures this will be explicit or conscious: people will be well-aware that they are evaluating the object in terms of their racial or gender beliefs. But it can also happen implicitly either because people are unaware of the source of the considerations that come to mind, or because they misattribute that source (Greenwald and Banaji 1995).

For a political figure to be gendered, then, is not the same as being a female. For example, the infamous tank episode during the 1988 campaign probably feminized Michael Dukakis, to his electoral disadvantage. Conversely, Margaret Thatcher is probably “reverse-gendered,” insofar as she is perceived as having traditionally masculine characteristics and attributes. Also, gendering or racializing a figure (or issue)

¹ The question of how to refer to the subject of the paper raises interesting issues. The obvious “Clinton” invites confusion with her husband. However, the common journalistic solution of calling her “Hillary” is unsatisfying, especially since it perpetuates the tradition that the husband owns the last name. My solution is to vary between “Rodham Clinton,” “Hillary Clinton,” and “Hillary,” mostly for aesthetic relief. For balance, I refer to her husband as “Bill.”

² I want to make clear as well the distinction between gendering as discussed here and the idea of the “gender gap.”

does not simply mean that sexists or racists oppose the person – it also implies that gender egalitarians or anti-racists favor it.³ The key is the evaluative dimension that is brought to bear, or the domain from which considerations about the figure or issue are likely to be drawn (Zaller 1992). The most direct empirical manifestation of gendering or racialization is that a person's gender or racial predispositions align with their opinion on the issue. Thus, if a group of people racialize an issue then, all else equal, those with conservative racial predispositions will hold conservative positions on the issue, and those with liberal racial predispositions will hold liberal positions on the issue.

The office of First Lady is deeply gendered, as others have discussed. This is often hard to see, because there is little variance among the occupant of the office – although different First Ladies have varied considerably, they have fairly consistently conformed to one of several rather traditional wife-and-mother roles (Guy 1995). The First Lady (and First Wife/First Mother) can serve as a sort of projective screen for people's feelings about gender and family. The First Lady can easily be depicted and understood in symbolic and gender-stereotypical ways. So, for example, Nancy Reagan as the “ice queen,” or Barbara Bush as “mother Christmas” (Sidey 1990). Yet there is little if any research on how popular images of public figures, such as the First Lady, are constructed in terms of and in conjunction with larger gender ideologies. How, in other words, political figures such as the First Lady are *gendered*.

Hillary Clinton provides an excellent case for just such an examination. Because she did not fit (and actively contested) traditional categories for occupants of her office, she drew huge amounts of attention, and became a symbol for gender relations more generally. Even better, from a social scientific standpoint, her stance vis-à-vis traditional roles changed during the Lewinsky scandal, and this provides a natural quasi-experiment in the gendering of political objects. In the section that follows, I give an account of Hillary Clinton's portrayal, with a focus on the ways that she contested traditional First Lady (and gender) roles until 1998, and the ways that changed in 1998. In this discussion I do not claim to do justice to the nuances and details of the two Clinton campaigns and administrations, nor even to the coverage of Hillary Rodham

³ Or, of course, vice-versa depending on the direction of gendering or racialization.

Clinton from 1992 through 1998. Rather, I wish to give a schematic sketch, which will set up the basic hypothesis that I test in the following section of the paper. In short, I argue that through roughly 1997, HRC was constructed as a prototypical non-traditional, “modern” woman – as a partner in marriage with her husband, as ambitious, as powerfully involved in policy and the world of her husband’s work. As such, she served as a symbolic vehicle for many Americans’ understandings of changing gender roles. The Lewinsky scandal and Bill and Hillary’s reactions to it changed this. Now she took on an extremely traditional female role – that of the scorned wife who “stood by her man.” This changed the ways that the public projected their gender beliefs onto her, and changed the basis of her support.

II. The Gendering of Hillary Clinton in Public Discourse

Clinton got much heavier coverage than previous First Ladies, both during the 1992 campaign and during the administrations. As Burrell discusses, there were over 100 newspaper and 850 magazine articles about her from the inaugural through June of 1993 – several times the number devoted to Nancy Reagan or Barbara Bush (1997, p. 28). Her approval started out very high; then sank on the rocks of health care reform and the early Whitewater investigations. Figure One shows the trend in aggregate support for Hillary in media polling from 1992 through 2000. By late 1994, when the administration dropped its health care reform bill, her approval ratio had fallen almost to 0.5 – as many people disapproved as approved of her. In the context of the continuing Whitewater investigation, through 1995 and much of 1996, she stayed at roughly this level, even falling below 0.5 for the first half of 1996. However, through 1997 and 1998 her popularity rose substantially, to its highest levels since the first inaugural. Her popularity continued to rise through the Lewinsky scandal, which basically covered all of 1998.

In many ways, the pattern in her aggregate support seem like reasonable reactions to the political and policy events with which she was involved (Page and Shapiro 1992), and others have traced these patterns in more detail (Burrell 1997; Burden and Mughan 1999, as well as many popular media accounts). As I mention above, though, my interest is more specifically in the ways that the changing political context affected the way that Hillary Clinton was perceived in relation to ideas about gender.

Almost immediately Hillary did not go gently into the “traditional” First Lady role – her choice to use her maiden name “Rodham” drew fire almost immediately. This was a mere precursor to her role on the Health Care Task Force. Guy argues that First Ladies generally have had policy interests, but that interest traditionally has been appropriate to the primary roles of wife and mother – “it reflects a stereotypical ‘woman’s’ issue ... and is relatively noncontroversial.” So, for example, Barbara Bush tackled illiteracy and AIDS; Lady Bird Johnson focused on landscape beautification, and so on (1995, 247-8). Unlike those issues, health care reform was both highly controversial, and touched on an array of powerful interests. And unlike traditional First Ladies, Hillary assumed a powerful role in the policy process. Her power, visibility, and outspokenness marked her as something new. “The chasm between traditional behavior for the First Lady and Hillary’s behavior marks a watershed in the publicness with which dual-career couples are experiencing the power differentials in their own marriages” (Guy 1995, 251).

However, when Monica Lewinsky’s place in the scandal broke in January, 1998, Hillary took a public stand in support of Bill almost immediately. The *New York Times* reported on her early role immediately after the story broke:

In the past, the White House has often relied on aides and even former aides to defend President Clinton from scandal, his frequent if not constant companion. Not so today. In one demonstration of the seriousness of the questions for the President today, his two chief defenders were himself and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton. In their own words, the Clintons tried to dispel any public suspicions that the President had an affair with an intern who is now 24 and urged her to lie about it.

There was much media commentary that HRC was standing by her man (in fact, LEXIS-NEXIS turns up 145 articles from major newspapers in 1998 that actually use that phrase); and much speculation that this was partly responsible for her rising popularity. Although many hailed her loyalty, others were not so happy. As one letter-writer to the St. Petersburg, Florida Times wrote:

It is beyond my comprehension why so many people, women especially, admire Hillary Clinton and why Time magazine would have considered naming her “Person of the Year.” Single-handedly, she has set the women’s movement back 100 or more years. By remaining with her unfaithful husband and accepting whatever he dishes out, she has sent women back to the Dark Ages ... What kind of example is she setting for Chelsea and other young girls? Certainly, philandering is a type of abuse. Mrs. Clinton has the intelligence, education and ability to earn an excellent living; and her daughter is grown, so she does not have the excuses of many women who stay with abusive husbands. If Hillary Clinton did not “stand

by her man,” then I would admire her ... (Phyllis Dietsch, Largo FL, in letter to the St. Petersburg (FL) Times, 12/28/98 “What’s so great about Hillary?”)

Organizations in the women’s movement also agonized over Hillary’s action (e.g. Ehrenreich 1998) This new flavor of coverage, I argue, led to a re-framing of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the minds of many Americans. For those who hold traditional ideas about gender norms and roles, she had finally “come around,” and was acting in ways that made sense to them. For those with more egalitarian gender ideals, her reaction to Lewinsky was troubling at least, and counteracted much of her progressive image at worst.⁴

My expectation, then, is that from 1992 through 1997 ratings of Hillary Clinton will be gendered – that is, that individuals views of gender roles and gender egalitarianism will be related to their rating of Hillary. Those who value egalitarian gender roles should like her more, because she embodied those values in a very public, powerful, and symbolic way. Those who value traditional gender roles should dislike her, for the same reason. By late 1998, however, the events of the Lewinsky saga should mute or reverse this relationship, because Hillary Clinton no longer symbolized gender progressivism so clearly.

III. Empirical Tests: Gendering and Re-gendering of Hillary in Public Opinion

To go beyond the aggregate look at support that I discuss above, and to explore hypotheses about the antecedents of citizens’ evaluations of Hillary Clinton, I turn to the National Election Studies (NES). In addition to their excellent biennial “major” election-year studies, the NES conducted smaller pilot studies in 1993, 1995, and 1997 among a subset of respondents from the prior major study. The NES has two important advantages for this project. First, both the sample and the survey instrument are designed with the usual care that the NES has been applying to its studies since the 1950s. And most importantly, the studies include a host of important political variables that I need for my analysis.

⁴ Of course, “standing by her man” in the face of sex scandals was not new for Hillary Clinton. The pattern dated back at least to her appearance in 1992 on *60 Minutes* to defend candidate Bill in the Jennifer Flowers case. But the Lewinsky matter both dominated the news and drew popular attention in a way that even the prior Clinton scandal had not. Probably this was in part due to the salacious nature of the revelations (compared to Whitewater, in any case), and in part because this time the investigation was being conducted by an official government agent (compared to the previous sex scandals). And, also unlike prior periods, coverage of Hillary Clinton was dominated by considerations relating to the scandal. In earlier periods, there was coverage of Hillary that emphasized the themes that would dominate in 1998, but there was also substantial coverage of her that emphasized her independent stands, her issues positions, and her power in the campaign and the White House.

Measures

The NES included Hillary Clinton in its “thermometer score” evaluations of political figures. Respondents rated Hillary on a scale from zero to 100 in all of the studies from 1992 through 1998.⁵ This instrument is a good *general* measure of respondents’ feelings toward a political figure, insofar as it simply asks how warmly or coldly a respondent feels toward the figure.⁶ Unlike a job performance question, therefore, the thermometer allows respondents to bring whatever frame to the evaluation they please. This heterogeneity raises issues for some types of analysis, where more specific measures might be preferred. In this case, however, I am interested precisely in the changing bases of evaluations, so this measure is particularly appropriate. It is also reassuring that the fluctuations in the mean level of this measure roughly parallels the approval-disapproval format of the Gallup and ABC/Washington Post data (see Figure One).

The measurement of gender-role beliefs is less ideal, though. The NES does include a measure of gender-role beliefs that asks whether women should mainly stay at home, or whether they should be equal with men in all sectors of society.⁷ The advantage of this measure is that it has quite good face validity for my purposes, insofar as it asks fairly directly about the intersection of gender and social roles and duties. The disadvantages are that it was only included in the four even-year major studies; it did not appear in the odd-year pilot studies. Because pilot study respondents were all interviewed in the prior major study, I used their gender-role measure from the prior year. It would also be preferable if there were a multiple-item scale, analogous to those for egalitarianism, limited government, or racial resentment, rather than a single item.

⁵ NES variable numbers 923313, 937138, 940229, 952091, 960281, 970036, and 980259. Unfortunately, the Hillary Clinton item was removed from the instrument during the field period in 1997, because the questionnaire was taking too long to administer. Therefore, there are only 136 cases available for analysis in 1997.

⁶ The precise wording is: “I’d like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days I’ll read the name of a person and I’d like you to rate that person using the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the person; ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you don’t feel favorably toward the person and that you don’t care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don’t feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don’t recognize, you don’t need to rate that person. Just tell me and we’ll move on to the next one ... How about Hillary Clinton?”

⁷ NES cumulative file variable CF0834. The question wording is: “Recently there has been a lot of talk about women’s rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry and government. Others feel that a women’s place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven’t you thought much about this?”

The single item does seem to perform reasonably well, however. In several of the studies between 1992 and 1998, the NES included thermometer ratings of feminists and/or of the women's movement, and the equal role measure correlates reasonably well – between 0.25 and 0.32 – with both of these measures of other aspects of feminism.⁸ Also, sub-groups of women differ on the equal role measure as we would expect for a measure of feminism. In 1992 and 1996, women who say that they feel close to other women as a group are more liberal on the equal role item (by 0.104 when the item is coded zero to one), than those who do not so identify.⁹ Conversely, across the four even-year studies, women who are homemakers score 0.101 more conservative on the measure (both differences significant at $p < 0.001$). Finally, the equal role measure correlates with the importance of religion in a respondent's life for both men and women (-0.216 among women; -0.191 among men).¹⁰ Finally, although the measure is skewed toward the liberal end of the scale (the mean is 0.789), it does have substantial variance (standard deviation is 0.280). Neither the mean nor the variance of the measure vary much from 1992 through 1998, and there is no clear trend over time. Summary statistics are presented in Table One. Thus, although I would prefer to use a battery of feminism measures, I can proceed with what is available. Later in the paper I will assess further the performance of the equal role measure in the context of the model I estimate.

Analysis

With my measures in hand, I turn to the analysis. The basic model is a regression of Hillary thermometer score on the equal role measure, separately for each of the seven years from 1992 through 1998. I included two additional controls in the model: a dummy variable for gender and a set of dummy variables for the respondent's party identification. Theoretically, I am interested in the effect of gender egalitarianism on Hillary Clinton evaluations.

⁸ Unfortunately neither of those additional measures of feminism are available in 1998, which means they can not be used as alternative measures of the main hypotheses.

⁹ The equal role variable is coded from zero to one, with one representing the liberal end of the response continuum. Work status comes from cumulative file variable CF0118; identification with women from variables 926213 and 961306.

¹⁰ This measure was based on cumulative file variables CF0846 and CF0847.

I include party identification because it is correlated with gender egalitarianism, is highly related to evaluations of Hillary Clinton, and party identification is likely to cause much variation in Hillary evaluations that is *not* related to gender egalitarianism. Thus, leaving out party identification would bias the relationship of gender egalitarianism upwards in all years; because I do not expect the role of party identification to change over the course of the Clinton administration, whereas I do expect the role of gender egalitarianism to vary.¹¹

I did not include a wider range of demographic control variables because I consider demographic factors to be causally and theoretically prior to gender egalitarianism. For example, non-working women are less favorable toward Hillary than women who work outside the home, and as I mention above, they are also more conservative on gender equality. Non-working women's relative dislike for Hillary, I argue, operates through their gender conservatism: they are conservative on gender in part because of their social location outside the work force. In turn, they are less favorable toward Hillary (at least until 1998, if I am correct) because of their beliefs about gender equality and their perceptions of Hillary's symbolic position with regard to gender roles. Conversely, I do not include a wide range of attitudinal controls, because I believe they are likely to have mutually causal relationships with gender egalitarianism. Therefore, I am estimating essentially the "total effect" of gender egalitarianism on evaluations of Hillary, net of party identification and gender.

The results are presented in Table Two. From 1992 through 1996, gender egalitarianism has a large and statistically significant effect on evaluation of Hillary Rodham Clinton. The coefficients vary between 0.076 and 0.164 ($p < 0.001$ in all years). In 1997 our best estimate is that the effect continues to be large ($b = 0.121$), although the coefficient fails to reach conventional significance levels ($p = 0.106$), probably because there are only 128 cases available.¹² In 1998, however, the effect drops to a substantively small (and statistically insignificant) 0.035 ($p = 0.203$).

¹¹ Party identification was entered into the model as a set of six dummy variables, one each for: strong identifiers with each party, identifiers with each party, and for independent who lean toward each party. The omitted reference group is "pure" independents.

¹² There are 128 cases in the 1997 model estimate, rather than the full 136 who rated HRC. The additional eight respondents were excluded because they did not report their party identification.

This pattern fits exactly the hypothesis that the events of 1998 altered Hillary Rodham Clinton's "gender-image" among Americans. Before 1998, she was a figure who allied herself with feminist causes and feminist groups, and who was portrayed as someone who embodied in many ways feminist ideals of power and achievement for women. This was reflected in the public's perceptions of her: Americans who hold feminist values approved of her choices and appreciated her symbolic challenge to traditional notions of what a wife and a first lady had to be. Americans with traditional gender beliefs, on the other hand, did not approve of her choices, and found her existence to be a threat to values they felt were important. Those at the most egalitarian end of the gender role item rated Hillary about ten points higher on the thermometer scale than those who fell at the most traditional end, after controlling for partisanship and gender. This difference varied from a low of about eight points in 1992 to a high of about 16 points in 1993 and 1995.

During the course of 1998, however, the Starr investigation and the Lewinsky scandal blanketed the news. Hillary was once again put in the position of defending Bill's infidelity. In time there was highly credible evidence that he had lied to her and to the nation, and there was substantial discussion of whether she would leave him. Through it all, she continued to "stand by her man," despite the repeated public humiliation she suffered for it. In this context, Americans with both progressive and traditional gender role beliefs had grounds to reevaluate Rodham Clinton. On the one hand, gender egalitarians may have felt that she betrayed her feminist values by assuming a very traditional role, and by not taking the opportunity to make a stronger (or much of any) public statement or action about infidelity, sexual harassment, and the autonomy of women. On the other hand, gender traditionalists felt that for the first time Hillary was standing for things they believed in: the sanctity of marriage, and the importance of placing family over personal ambition. At a more implicit level, they could see her faced with situations and making choices that may have resonated with their lives.

As a result, the connection between gender egalitarianism and evaluations of Rodham Clinton all but disappears in 1998: the coefficient is 0.035 ($p \approx 0.20$), which corresponds to a 3.5 point differential on the thermometer scale. Holding party constant, gender egalitarians and traditionalists are all but indistinguishable in their evaluations in 1998. In a sense, the rising tide of 1998 lifted all boats: the mean thermometer score of

Hillary rose almost eight points between the 1997 and 1998 NES studies (from 54.4 to 62.1). Both egalitarians and traditionalists became more favorable; traditionalists moved up somewhat more which all but eliminated the relationship between gender beliefs and Rodham Clinton evaluations. Figure Two illustrates this transition. The lines in the figure are the predicted thermometer score as respondents' position on the gender role item varies from zero to one; the vertical bars represent the 95% confidence interval for those predictions. The lower line is based on a combined model for the years 1992 through 1997; the upper line is based on 1998. In both cases, the values of the other dependent variables are set to their sample averages.¹³ The change is not so dramatic as to cause a negative relationship between gender egalitarianism and evaluations of Rodham Clinton in 1998 – our best guess is that gender traditionalists still evaluate her a bit lower than egalitarians, but not by much. We should not be particularly surprised by this, since she continues to advocate for and be associated with many feminist issues and groups. However, the events of 1998 placed much greater emphasis on the traditional aspects of her relationship with Bill, and some of the traditional reactions she had in the face of the scandal.

Variation from year to year

Although the story told by Table Two and Figure Two is compelling, there are two additional concerns I will address. First, although the broad comparison between 1998 and prior years fits my hypothesis, there is also considerable variation from 1992 through 1997. Although I did not have specific expectations about the patterns that these years might follow (except that Hillary might be less gendered in 1992 because she was generally less well known and because she placed some emphasis on traditionally feminine pursuits during the campaign), there are some patterns that bear examination. The most obvious pattern in the equal role coefficients is that they are generally much larger in odd-numbered years than in the surrounding even years. In 1993, 1995 and 1997, the coefficients average 0.149, whereas in 1992, 1994, and 1996 they average 0.086. Although the sample sizes in the odd years are much smaller and the estimates

¹³ Because this figure is based on a linear regression model, setting the other dependent variables to other values would move both lines up or down in tandem; it would not change their slopes, the distance between them, or their confidence intervals.

therefore rather noisier than in the even years, these differences are larger than we would expect simply due to sampling variability.¹⁴

Unfortunately, several things are different between the even and odd-year studies, so with the current data there is no way to be sure what causes the variation. However, there are several interesting possibilities. Substantively, the odd years are non-election years, whereas the even years all have federal elections and the corresponding political campaigns. On the other hand, the pilot studies differ from the production studies in several respects: they are shorter, they are conducted over the phone rather than in person, and they are a re-interview with people who participated the prior year. In addition, there is substantial sample attrition between each major study and the ensuing pilot: on average NES was able to complete interviews with ___% of respondents who were selected for the pilot. This adds, of course, to whatever response rate selection effects are present in the original studies (Brehm 1993).

First, the substantive explanation. The political environment and corresponding media coverage of politics and political figures are substantially different in election and non-election years. Political coverage during the campaign is both more extensive, and more oriented toward campaigns, the “horse-race,” and partisan competition generally (e.g. Patterson 1993). Research on priming makes it clear that these sorts of differences affect the ways that ordinary citizens construct their evaluations of political figures (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Krosnick and Kinder 1990). The election-year coverage may push citizens to think about Hillary Clinton – along with the rest of the buzzing confusion of politics – in more partisan and strictly political terms; whereas off-year coverage may emphasize activities of policy advocacy and legislation. So, Rodham Clinton was probably framed by the media in relatively more partisan terms during campaign seasons. This effect might be amplified because one of Hillary Clinton’s roles during each campaign season was to defend Bill against adultery charges, which according to my argument should counteract the unambiguous construction in people’s minds of Hillary as a feminist. Both of these factors, in turn, might lead respondent to lean more heavily on their partisan attachments when evaluating Hillary in election years,

¹⁴The 1992-93 difference is statistically significant at $p < 0.05$; the 1993-94 and 1995-96 marginally significant at $p < 0.10$.

and more heavily on values like gender beliefs when electioneering is more distant, both temporally and psychologically.

There is some support in the data for this interpretation. As I have noted, the effect of gender egalitarianism varies from year to year: larger in off-years, smaller in election years. In addition, the effect of partisanship appears to follow the opposite pattern. The difference in coefficients between oppositely-valenced partisan categories (that is, the difference between the strong Democrat and strong Republican coefficients; between Democrat and Republican coefficients; and between the coefficients for Democratic and Republican leaners) is one way to assess the degree to which evaluations of Hillary are divided along partisan lines. Averaging across 1992, 1994, and 1996 on the one hand, and 1993 and 1995 on the other,¹⁵ these differences are as follows: the “strong identifier” coefficients differ by 0.45 in election years, and by 0.36 in off-years, and the “leaner” coefficients differ by 0.22 and 0.17 in election and non-election years, respectively.¹⁶ This suggests, at least, that there was somewhat greater partisan polarization over Hillary in election years.

Thus, during campaign seasons, partisanship is primed and leads the public’s view of Hillary to fall more in line with their partisanship. Also during campaigns, feminism is primed, but unlike partisanship it raises conflicting considerations for feminists and anti-feminists alike. On the one hand, Hillary is a working woman who stands – symbolically at least – for the rights of women and against patriarchy. On the other hand, she repeatedly assumes an extremely traditional role in standing by her man, despite repeated examples of unfaithfulness and public humiliation. If this argument is correct, then 1998 merely represents an extreme case of the general election pattern; the public’s reaction differed in 1998 only in degree because the Lewinsky scandal was more extreme, more graphic, and received more coverage than the previous sex scandals.

We should not make too much of this line of argument, however, because there are also indications that methodological factors play a role. Those who participate in panel studies may be a special breed,

¹⁵ I omitted 1997 from this comparison because of the small number of cases.

¹⁶ The differences between regular identifiers do not vary much: the coefficients differ by 0.18 in election years and by 0.16 in non-election years.

different from the average election-year respondent in several ways. First, they have been interviewed before, and have been successfully re-contacted and agreed to another interview; which takes place over the phone rather than in person.

There are two strategies I can employ here. First, I can examine the role of political information. Political information is connected with participation in general and attrition in pilot studies in particular. In addition, as Zaller has shown, political information is linked with attention to the society's political discourse, and therefore with attitudes (Zaller 1992; Zaller and Feldman 1992).

Drawing on Zaller (1992, measures appendix), I constructed a measure of political information from a combination of factual political questions and interviewers' ratings.¹⁷ Information is mildly related to pilot study participation: the mean information level in each pilot study is 0.03 to 0.05 higher than the information level for the prior-year study ($p < 0.01$).¹⁸

I split the sample for each year at the median information level, and re-estimated the models separately for each half sample. The results are presented in Table Three. Among high-information respondents, the basic comparison between 1998 and prior years remains the same. The year-by-year results are sharpened considerably, although there is still a smaller version of the same pattern of variation between even and odd years. Among low-information respondents, on the other hand, things are much noisier, and much more volatile. The equal role coefficient is substantively tiny and statistically insignificant in all of the election years, and larger in off-years. This might support the idea that those who pay relatively little attention to politics – and who therefore have less-well-fixed evaluations of political figures – are reacting most to changes in the media environment surrounding Hillary Clinton.¹⁹

¹⁷ Information was constructed for each even-year study. Interviewer evaluations were available for all four years; the pre- and post-election ratings were averaged for 1992 and 1996. There were between six and eight additional factual questions in each study. Details of scale construction are available on request.

¹⁸ Note that the measures change somewhat between the major studies, so the specific levels are only comparable between each major study and the following pilot study. In the analysis that follows, I split the each sample at the sample median for the relevant major-year study.

¹⁹ I also ran the model for 1992, 1994 and 1996 only among respondents who were also interviewed in the following year's pilot study. This allows a strict comparison among the same respondents from year-to-year. If the variation in coefficients disappears or is substantially reduced, that would indicate that the variation is largely an artifact of sample selection in the pilot studies. In fact, this does not seem to be the case.

Thus, the evidence from this additional analysis – while certainly not conclusive – suggests the variation in the gendering of Rodham Clinton may be due largely to variations in frames that are used to discuss her in the national political discourse. However, additional research using much more finely-grained approval data will be necessary to track the linkage between political discourse and ingredients of approval this specifically.

Differences between men and women

To further investigate the gendering of Hillary Rodham Clinton, I re-ran the basic model, allowing the effect of gender egalitarianism to vary for male and female respondents. This estimation strategy allows for the possibility that HRC is gendered differently among men and among women – that men and women differ in the degree to which they view and evaluate her in gender-based terms.

The results of this analysis are interesting, and are presented in Table Four. From 1992 through 1997 men and women seem to gender Hillary in essentially similar ways. The coefficients on gender egalitarianism do differ between men and women in some years, but there is no clear pattern, and men and women are equally likely to gender her more strongly in any given year. In 1993 and 1994 women gender her more, in 1995 and 1996 men do, and in 1992 and 1997 they are roughly equivalent. Moreover, the difference in coefficients between men and women fails to reach statistical significance in any of the years between 1992 and 1997.

In 1998, things change rather dramatically. Men follow rather precisely the pattern we have seen so far: in 1998 they gender Hillary not at all; if anything the coefficient of -0.063 ($p > 0.10$) suggests that egalitarian men may feel *less* warmly toward Hillary than traditional men. Women, on the other hand, continue to gender Hillary, only slightly less than they have since the beginning of the Clinton administration ($b = 0.092$, $p < 0.01$). Why this is so is not clear. For men, my hypothesis is upheld; for women it is not. There are several possible explanations; although additional research will be necessary to fully understand this pattern of results.

First, the discussion of the Lewinsky scandal and President Clinton many have influenced men and women differently. Specifically, women's groups engaged in a relatively public debate about whether they

should support the President during the scandal. On the one hand, he had long been a strong advocate of women's causes and for women's groups; on the other, his personal behavior and the gender dynamics in the White House raised serious issues for these same groups. On the whole, the major feminist groups stayed by Clinton's side (for example, Ehrenreich 1998); conceivably women paid more attention to, and base their thinking about Hillary on, this debate than did men. Women, but not men, may have tended to decide that Rodham Clinton's policy stances over the years outweigh her behavior in the context of the Lewinsky scandal. This would lead gender egalitarian women to continue to favor her more than do gender traditionalist women.

Another possibility is that women – unlike men – may have a finer appreciation, implicit or conscious, of the many ways that women's actions are constrained in American society, and may therefore discount her actions in the course of the scandal. According to this argument, men looked at Hillary's reaction to the scandal and took it more-or-less at face value: she was a scored wife who nevertheless stood by her man. If they think that is a good thing (i.e. they are gender traditionalists) then they like her more; if they think that is a mistake (gender egalitarians) then they like her less; and the combination of these factors cancels the effect of gender traditionalism on evaluations in the aggregate. Women, on the other hand, have an intuitive sense – possibly from personal experience in family, work, and social life – that women are often forced into difficult situations in which they are forced to make the most of a set of terrible options. Given this, they might discount Rodham Clinton's choices as the product of the situation in which she was placed. Their evaluation of her, then, would continue to be based on an appraisal of her policy stances and earlier actions. Both of these explanations seem unlikely to account for more than a relatively small part of the pattern in 1998, if only because they both presume that the public is extremely well informed and thoughtful about political matters.²⁰

²⁰ The pattern of results between men and women is modified not at all by interacting with information: low-information men and women look exactly like their high-information counterparts in 1998. Results of these analyses are available from the author on request.

A more context-specific version of the second argument is that men's and women's reactions to the Lewinsky scandal itself differed in systematic ways, and that these differences moderated differently for men and women the way that Hillary Rodham Clinton appeared through the "lens of gender." There is some evidence that men and women viewed the scandal differently. For example, *Newsweek* polling in early 1998 about the Willey sexual harassment case found that men were more likely to believe her, whereas women were slightly more likely to support Bill (Fineman and Rosenberg 1998). Moreover, the fact that the concept of a "gender gap" was a frequent orientation for news coverage of the scandal [dig up Lexis on this!] might have primed women in particular to pay attention to gender considerations. It is interesting to note in this context, however, that the finding in this paper that women continued to gender Hillary in 1998, whereas men do not, runs counter to Celinda Lake's findings that the increase in Hillary's aggregate support was being driven by non-feminist women (See, for example, Mayer 1998). My findings on this are far from conclusive however; they serve more as a call for additional research.²¹

Further validation of the independent variable

The analysis so far has identified and discussed some interesting changes in 1998. However, because the analysis rests on a single-item measure of gender egalitarianism, one important alternate explanation remains to be ruled out: that something changed between 1997 and 1998 with regard to that measure. This could be either a broad change in the public's view of gender relations; or a more narrow change that invalidates the specific NES item as a valid measure of gender egalitarianism and feminism. In this section I conducted several side analyses to set these concerns to rest.

The major concern is that for some reason the single-item gender egalitarianism measure no longer works in 1998, and that this failure of measurement explains its lack of relationship with Hillary ratings. Under this counter-argument, Hillary evaluations in 1998 are still strongly related to feminism for all Americans, but I am unable to detect that relationship because the anemic measure of feminism fails. This is particularly a concern given the rather skewed distribution on gender egalitarianism, although it is not more

²¹ There are hints in the NES data that gendering is particularly strong among Republican women in 1998; but this is pushing the data pretty far.

noticeably skewed in 1998 than in previous years. Nevertheless, to address this concern, I perform two analyses of the gender measure's performance over time. First, I compare the correlations between the gender measure and other items that it should be related with, and mean difference on the gender measure among groups of respondents that we would expect to differ on gender egalitarianism. Second, I examine its performance as an independent variable in other models – predicting other dependant variables besides the Rodham Clinton thermometer score. If the measure looks in these tests in 1998 as it does in prior years, this is reassuring.

First, correlations with other feeling thermometers. A thermometer rating of gay men and lesbians was asked in all four even-year studies. In addition, the rating of Christian fundamentalists was asked in 1992, 1994, and 1996; this was replaced by a thermometer rating of the religious right in 1998. We would expect gender egalitarianism to be related to both these measures consistently over time (although the change in from “Christian fundamentalists” to the “religious right” may interfere with that comparison). And, in fact, this is the case. From 1992 through 1996, the equal gender role measure correlates 0.296 with the thermometer score rating of gay men and lesbians (varying from 0.273 to 0.329); in 1998 these measures correlate 0.247 - slightly lower, but still of the same order of magnitude as in prior years. Gender egalitarianism's correlation with the rating of the religious right is -0.174 in 1998; its correlation with ratings of Christian fundamentalists in prior years averages -0.235. We should expect women identify themselves as homemakers to be less supportive of gender egalitarianism, and in fact this is the case. Between 1992 and 1996, this “homemaker gap” averages 0.108; in 1998 it is 0.120.

Even more compellingly, however, the gender egalitarianism measure continues to predict other dependent variables in 1998, besides Rodham Clinton ratings. I ran models using three other dependent variables: respondents' support for abortion rights, their support for the government assuring citizens a job and good standard of living, and respondents' ratings of Christian fundamentalists or the religious right.²² Opinion on abortion and the standard of living item have both been found to be related to various measures

²² Abortion from variable CF0838; jobs and standard of living from variable CF0809; ratings of Christian fundamentalists from variables 925338, 940315, and 961038; ratings of the religious right from variable 980263.

of feminism and/or feminist consciousness [cites], so they seemed like a good test of the gender egalitarianism measure. Gender egalitarianism should also be negatively related to evaluations of Christian fundamentalists and the religious right, since these groups advocate the maintenance of the traditional gender division of labor in home and society [cite?].

In fact, the gender egalitarianism measure predicts all of these variables, and does so just as strongly in 1998 as it does in prior years. In models predicting abortion attitudes, controlling for a range of demographic variables, the coefficient on gender egalitarianism averaged -0.325 (all $p < 0.01$) from 1992 through 1996; the coefficient was -0.333 ($p < 0.01$) in 1998.²³ In the jobs and standard of living model, the gender role coefficient averaged 0.120 (all $p < 0.01$) from 1992 through 1996; it was 0.153 ($p < 0.01$) in 1998.²⁴ And finally, gender egalitarianism predicts support for Christian fundamentalists and the religious right (despite the change in item) quite consistently as well: b averages -0.158 in 1992 through 1996, and $b = -0.157$ in 1998 (all $p < 0.01$).²⁵ In sum, these side analyses make clear that what changed in 1998 really was the public's view of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

IV. Conclusion and Implications

This paper has described changes in Hillary Clinton's image, and explored resultant changes in how she is evaluated by the public. This has given some glimpses of the ways that stereotypes or schemas are deployed in relatively subtle and complex ways in our perceptions of politics. This suggests several directions for further research. First, further exploration of the changes that occurred between 1997 and the end of

²³ This, and the following models, controlled for gender, race, party identification, education, socialization cohort, and income. I also estimated models that parallel the HRC analysis (controlling only for gender and party identification); the patterns over time are exactly the same. All results are essentially the same among men and among women separately, except for the jobs and standard of living results discussed below. All of the complete regression results are available on request. The year-by-year coefficients are -0.281, -0.364, -0.331, and -0.333 in 1992, 1994, 1996, and 1998, respectively.

²⁴ If anything, the jobs question seems to be getting *more* gendered over time: $b = 0.097$ in 1992; 0.128 in 1994; 0.134 in 1996, and 0.153 in 1998 (all $p < 0.01$). In the "total effects model," these coefficients are 0.068, 0.090, 0.115, and 0.131 (all $p < 0.01$). This increase in gendering between 1992 and 1998 seems to be driven by women. Among men, the policy is consistently gendered, with b varying between 0.10 and 0.14; among women, gendering increases steadily from 0.035 in 1992 to 0.18 in 1998. Although this pattern merits further examination, for the purposes of this paper it is consistent with my argument that the equal role measure continues to serve as an adequate measure of feminism in 1998.

²⁵ Year-by-year: -0.165, -0.149, -0.159, and -0.157.

1998 would be helpful. There is quite a bit of media polling available on Hillary, although measures of gender predispositions tend to be extremely limited. Nevertheless, some additional work using a more finely grained time-series will help to explore the dynamics of changing gendering.

More broadly, this paper suggests additional work on the ways that gendering (and racialization) of political figures interacts with that of public policies. Humans have an extremely rich ability to create “person-models” – to create an image of a person complete with extensive inferences about their personality, actions, and motives – on the basis of very little antecedent information (Wittenbrink, Hilton, and Gist 1998; Wittenbrink, Park, and Judd 1998). This process is rich and complex, in part because the models we construct are not simply the sum of individual stereotypes. The way we apply one set of stereotypes (that a person is a woman, for example) depends on other stereotypes. So a woman can be submissive or “brassy,” depending on other information. All of this suggests that the domain of person-perception is a particularly rich one psychologically for mapping general ideas (stereotypes) onto specific instances. Additional experimental and survey work could fruitfully explore this process, and could examine the ways that these person perception models get applied to public policies as well. If a certain type of person advocates a policy (or benefits from it; or is created by it) that should have large implications for how people evaluate it.

Finally, with respect to Hillary Clinton, it will be interesting to trace the path of her support through the 2000 Senate campaign in New York. As the election approaches, she will face a new set of expectations and role – those of the female Senate candidate (Kahn 1996). This role is different from that of First Lady; in particular it sanctions her taking issue positions more. Yet these differences feed the contradictions – both psychological for Hillary Clinton herself, and for the public – between her roles.

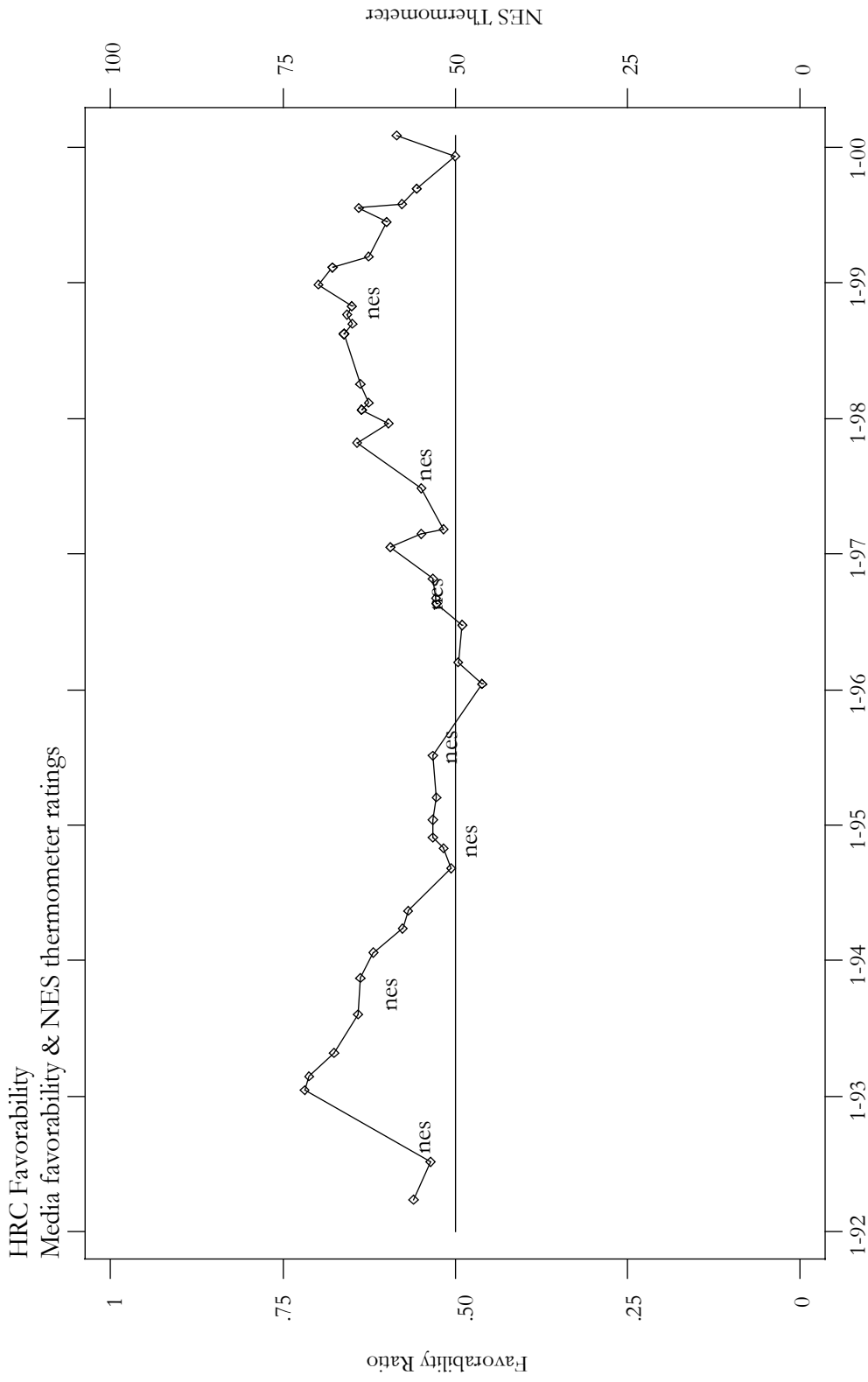
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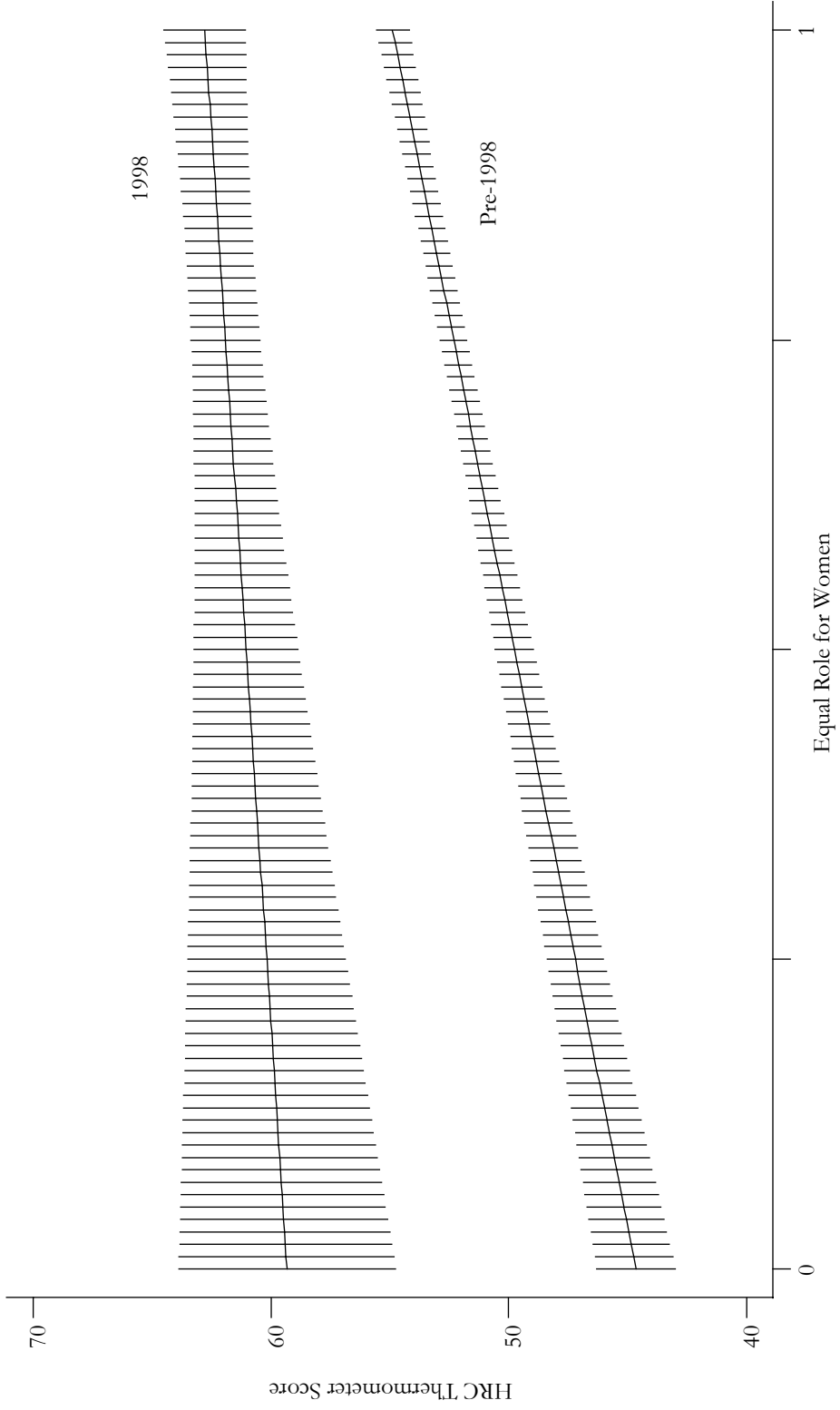
Figure One



Source: Favorability data: Gallup (September 1994 through February 2000) and ABC/Washington post (March 1992 through September 1999). Thermometer scores: American National Election Studies (annually, 1992-1998). Favorability ratio is calculated as (percent favorable)/(percent unfavorable); separate surveys averaged if they occurred in the same month. NES Thermometer is the mean thermometer rating.

Figure Two

Predictions from HRC Model
1998 and Pre-1998



Source: National Election Studies and Pilot Studies, 1992 through 1998. Lines are predicted thermometer score of Hillary Clinton, based on a model that controls for gender and party identification, with 1992 through 1997 pooled; 1998 run separately. Vertical bars indicate 95% confidence interval for the predictions.

Table One
Summary Statistics

	Mean	SD	n
HRC Thermometer Score			
1992	0.546	0.218	2,272
1993	0.594	0.270	733
1994	0.478	0.301	1,765
1995	0.508	0.267	480
1996	0.528	0.298	1,685
1997	0.544	0.281	136
1998	0.621	0.291	1,250
Overall	0.541	0.277	8,321
Equal Role Item			
1992	0.791	0.284	2,364
1993	0.805	0.276	729
1994	0.759	0.288	1,650
1995	0.773	0.287	447
1996	0.792	0.276	1,645
1997	0.806	0.260	533
1998	0.813	0.268	1,222
Overall	0.789	0.280	8,590
Political Information			
1992	0.531	0.247	2,484
1993	0.584	0.235	750
1994	0.526	0.263	1,793
1995	0.560	0.238	486
1996	0.578	0.236	1,704
1997	0.609	0.215	551
1998	0.555	0.254	1,281
Overall	0.553	0.247	9,049

Table Two
Effect of Gender Egalitarianism on Hillary Clinton Thermometer Score, by year

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Equal Role for Women	0.076 ** (0.015)	0.161 ** (0.033)	0.099 ** (0.021)	0.164 ** (0.037)	0.082 ** (0.021)	0.121 (0.073)	0.035 (0.027)
Female	0.000 (0.008)	0.038 * (0.018)	0.062 ** (0.012)	0.086 ** (0.021)	0.059 ** (0.012)	0.135 ** (0.039)	0.068 ** (0.014)
Strong Democrat	0.176 ** (0.016)	0.156 ** (0.037)	0.298 ** (0.025)	0.224 ** (0.045)	0.260 ** (0.024)	0.221 * (0.092)	0.252 ** (0.028)
Democrat	0.069 ** (0.016)	0.109 ** (0.035)	0.138 ** (0.024)	0.103 * (0.045)	0.118 ** (0.024)	0.155 ^ (0.091)	0.175 ** (0.028)
Independent Lean Dem.	0.084 ** (0.017)	0.071 ^ (0.036)	0.178 ** (0.026)	0.148 ** (0.047)	0.122 ** (0.025)	0.188 ^ (0.096)	0.117 ** (0.030)
Independent Lean Repub.	-0.065 ** (0.017)	-0.102 ** (0.036)	-0.068 ** (0.026)	-0.024 (0.046)	-0.135 ** (0.027)	-0.177 ^ (0.093)	-0.111 ** (0.032)
Republican	-0.040 * (0.016)	-0.063 ^ (0.036)	-0.047 ^ (0.025)	-0.042 (0.048)	-0.115 ** (0.025)	-0.003 (0.095)	-0.041 (0.029)
Strong Republican	-0.143 ** (0.017)	-0.172 ** (0.038)	-0.202 ** (0.025)	-0.176 ** (0.044)	-0.281 ** (0.026)	-0.216 * (0.093)	-0.180 ** (0.031)
Intercept	0.460 ** (0.018)	0.442 ** (0.040)	0.324 ** (0.027)	0.309 ** (0.050)	0.408 ** (0.027)	0.329 ** (0.103)	0.499 ** (0.034)
n	2,176	712	1,631	443	1,618	128	1,188
R-squared	0.23	0.22	0.34	0.34	0.40	0.46	0.29
Std. Error of Estimate	0.19	0.24	0.25	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.25

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed

Source: National Election Studies, 1992-1998. Dependent variable is thermometer rating of Hillary Clinton. Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. All variables coded 0-1; details of analysis in text.

Table Three

Effect of Gender Egalitarianism on Hillary Clinton Thermometer Score, by year and information level

	High-Information Respondents						
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Equal Role for Women	0.131 ** (0.023)	0.176 ** (0.049)	0.156 ** (0.030)	0.188 ** (0.049)	0.135 ** (0.027)	0.108 (0.087)	0.044 (0.039)
Female	0.011 (0.012)	0.056 * (0.024)	0.093 ** (0.016)	0.085 ** (0.027)	0.069 ** (0.014)	0.093 * (0.042)	0.029 (0.019)
Strong Republican	-0.156 ** (0.025)	-0.238 ** (0.050)	-0.227 ** (0.034)	-0.230 ** (0.063)	-0.298 ** (0.033)	-0.450 ** (0.103)	-0.233 ** (0.046)
Republican	-0.042 ^ (0.024)	-0.061 (0.049)	-0.059 ^ (0.036)	-0.110 (0.071)	-0.096 ** (0.033)	-0.182 ^ (0.108)	-0.070 (0.046)
Independent Lean Repu	-0.099 ** (0.025)	-0.141 ** (0.049)	-0.066 ^ (0.036)	-0.082 (0.066)	-0.144 ** (0.035)	-0.450 ** (0.109)	-0.178 ** (0.048)
Independent Lean Dem	0.104 ** (0.025)	0.095 ^ (0.050)	0.223 ** (0.038)	0.106 (0.070)	0.152 ** (0.034)	0.027 (0.111)	0.155 ** (0.046)
Democrat	0.055 * (0.024)	0.112 * (0.048)	0.164 ** (0.036)	0.068 (0.068)	0.174 ** (0.033)	-0.034 (0.105)	0.152 ** (0.045)
Strong Democrat	0.188 ** (0.024)	0.159 ** (0.051)	0.308 ** (0.036)	0.200 ** (0.067)	0.270 ** (0.033)	0.068 (0.106)	0.284 ** (0.044)
Intercept	0.416 ** (0.027)	0.447 ** (0.058)	0.261 ** (0.039)	0.327 ** (0.070)	0.341 ** (0.036)	0.552 ** (0.120)	0.500 ** (0.052)
n	1,097	413	885	258	1,009	87	654
R-Squared	0.30	0.31	0.45	0.44	0.52	0.62	0.40
Std. Error of Estimate	0.19	0.24	0.23	0.21	0.21	0.19	0.24

	Low-Information Respondents						
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Equal Role for Women	0.025 (0.020)	0.117 * (0.047)	0.043 (0.031)	0.124 * (0.059)	0.004 (0.034)	0.176 (0.132)	0.040 (0.038)
Female	-0.018 (0.012)	0.021 (0.029)	0.020 (0.020)	0.074 * (0.037)	0.042 * (0.021)	0.172 ^ (0.090)	0.086 ** (0.023)
Strong Republican	-0.122 ** (0.025)	-0.058 (0.060)	-0.100 * (0.041)	-0.076 (0.075)	-0.115 * (0.049)	0.294 (0.203)	-0.051 (0.046)
Republican	-0.046 * (0.022)	-0.093 ^ (0.055)	-0.025 (0.036)	0.010 (0.069)	-0.131 ** (0.039)	0.224 (0.174)	-0.001 (0.039)
Independent Lean Repu	-0.024 (0.023)	-0.055 (0.053)	-0.063 (0.040)	0.037 (0.071)	-0.099 * (0.042)	0.167 (0.159)	-0.017 (0.044)
Independent Lean Dem	0.061 ** (0.022)	0.031 (0.052)	0.135 ** (0.035)	0.168 * (0.068)	0.087 * (0.038)	0.427 * (0.175)	0.076 ^ (0.040)
Democrat	0.076 ** (0.021)	0.092 ^ (0.049)	0.117 ** (0.033)	0.117 ^ (0.062)	0.055 (0.035)	0.409 * (0.161)	0.202 ** (0.036)
Strong Democrat	0.160 ** (0.020)	0.141 ** (0.053)	0.283 ** (0.035)	0.219 ** (0.067)	0.248 ** (0.037)	0.411 * (0.161)	0.216 ** (0.038)
Intercept	0.510 ** (0.024)	0.466 ** (0.056)	0.395 ** (0.037)	0.330 ** (0.074)	0.496 ** (0.042)	0.006 (0.184)	0.488 ** (0.045)
n	1,079	299	746	185	609	41	534
R-Squared	0.17	0.12	0.19	0.16	0.22	0.34	0.18
Std. Error of Estimate	0.19	0.24	0.26	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.24

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed

Source: National Election Studies, 1992-1998. Dependent variable is thermometer rating of Hillary Clinton. Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. All variables coded 0-1; details of analysis in text.

Table Four
Effect of Gender Egalitarianism on Hillary Clinton Thermometer Score, by year and gender

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Equal Role (Men)	0.079 ** (0.022)	0.105 * (0.049)	0.076 * (0.033)	0.192 ** (0.056)	0.118 ** (0.034)	0.115 (0.128)	-0.063 (0.044)
Equal Role (Women)	0.074 ** (0.020)	0.206 ** (0.045)	0.116 ** (0.028)	0.141 ** (0.049)	0.058 * (0.027)	0.123 (0.088)	0.092 ** (0.034)
Female	0.004 (0.025)	-0.042 (0.056)	0.032 (0.035)	0.126 * (0.062)	0.106 ** (0.036)	0.129 (0.126)	-0.059 (0.047)
Strong Republican	-0.143 ** (0.017)	-0.172 ** (0.038)	-0.202 ** (0.025)	-0.177 ** (0.044)	-0.280 ** (0.026)	-0.216 * (0.094)	-0.181 ** (0.031)
Republican	-0.040 * (0.016)	-0.063 ^ (0.036)	-0.048 ^ (0.025)	-0.042 (0.048)	-0.113 ** (0.025)	-0.003 (0.096)	-0.045 (0.029)
Independent Lean Repub.	-0.065 ** (0.017)	-0.103 ** (0.036)	-0.067 * (0.026)	-0.027 (0.046)	-0.135 ** (0.027)	-0.177 ^ (0.094)	-0.114 ** (0.032)
Independent Lean Dem.	0.084 ** (0.017)	0.070 ^ (0.036)	0.178 ** (0.026)	0.145 ** (0.047)	0.122 ** (0.025)	0.189 ^ (0.097)	0.115 ** (0.030)
Democrat	0.069 ** (0.016)	0.108 ** (0.035)	0.138 ** (0.024)	0.101 * (0.045)	0.119 ** (0.024)	0.155 ^ (0.092)	0.171 ** (0.028)
Strong Democrat	0.176 ** (0.016)	0.156 ** (0.037)	0.297 ** (0.025)	0.222 ** (0.046)	0.261 ** (0.024)	0.221 * (0.093)	0.250 ** (0.028)
_cons	0.458 ** (0.022)	0.487 ** (0.050)	0.341 ** (0.033)	0.288 ** (0.058)	0.379 ** (0.034)	0.334 * (0.130)	0.581 ** (0.045)
n	2176	712	1631	443	1618	128	1188
R-Squared	0.23	0.22	0.34	0.34	0.4	0.46	0.29
Std. Error of Estimate	0.19	0.24	0.25	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.24
Test of equal coefficients	0.87	0.13	0.35	0.50	0.16	0.96	0.005 **

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed

Source: National Election Studies, 1992-1998. Dependent variable is thermometer rating of Hillary Clinton. Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. All variables coded 0-1; details of analysis in text. "Test of equal coefficients" reports the p-level of the test against the null hypothesis that the effect of gender egalitarianism is the same among men and women.