

A Paradox in Public Attitudes

Men or Women: Who's the Better Leader?

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A Social & Demographic Trends Report

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A Paradox in Public Attitudes

Men or Women: Who's the Better Leader?

Americans believe women have the right stuff to be political leaders. When it comes to honesty, intelligence and a handful of other character traits they value highly in leaders, the public rates women superior to men, according to a new nationwide Pew Research Center Social and Demographic Trends survey.

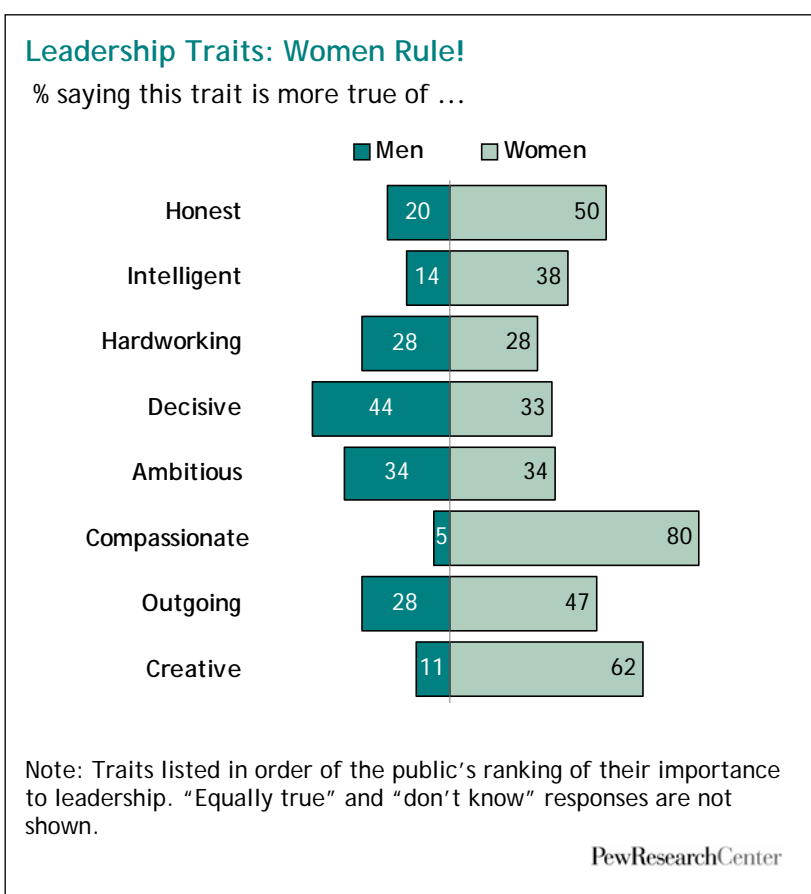
Nevertheless, a mere 6% of respondents in this survey of 2,250 adults say that, overall, women make better political leaders than men. About one-in-five (21%) say men make the better leaders, while the vast majority – 69% - say men and women make equally good leaders.

The paradox embedded in these survey findings is part of a wider paradox in modern society on the subject of gender and leadership. In an era when women have made sweeping strides in educational attainment and workforce participation, relatively few have made the journey all the way to the highest levels of political or corporate leadership.

Why not? In the survey, the public cites gender discrimination, resistance to change, and a self-serving “old boys club” as reasons for the relative scarcity of women at the top. In somewhat smaller numbers, respondents also say that women’s family responsibilities and their shortage of experience hold them back from the upper ranks of politics and business.

What the public does *not* say is that women inherently lack what it takes to be leaders. To the contrary, on seven of eight leadership traits measured in this survey, the public rates women either better than or equal to men.

For example, half of all adults say women are more honest than men, while just one-in-five say men are more honest (the rest say they don’t know or volunteer the opinion that there’s no difference between the sexes on



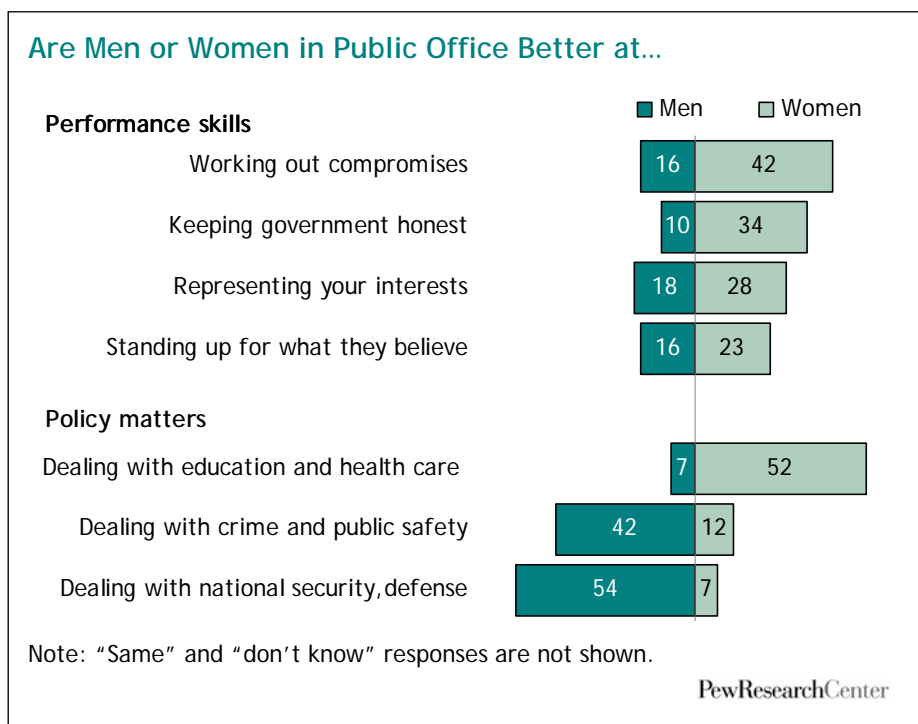
this trait). And honesty, according to respondents, is the most important to leadership of any of the traits measured in the survey.

The next most important leadership trait, in the public's view, is intelligence. Here again, women outperform men: 38% of respondents say women are smarter than men, while just 14% say men are smarter, and the remainder say there's no difference between the sexes.

Men and women tie on two of the next three traits on the public's ranking of leadership qualities measured in this survey – hard work and ambition. Men prevail over women on decisiveness (their lone “victory” in the battery of eight traits),

with 44% of respondents saying that men are more decisive and 33% saying women are.

Finally, women have big leads over men on the last three traits on the public's rankings of the eight items measured: being compassionate (80% say women; 5% say men); being outgoing (47% say women; 28% say men) and being creative (62% say women; 11% say men).



For anyone keeping

score, that's women over men by five to one, with two ties, on eight traits, each of which at least two-thirds of the public says is very important or absolutely essential to leadership. Notably, nearly all of these gender evaluations are shared by men as well as women, though the margins are more heavily pro-woman among female respondents than among male respondents.

The survey also asked respondents to assess whether men or women in public office are better at handling a range of policy matters and job performance challenges. On the policy front, women are widely judged to be better than men at dealing with social issues such as health care and education, while men have a big edge over women in the public's perception of the way they deal with crime, public safety, defense and national security.

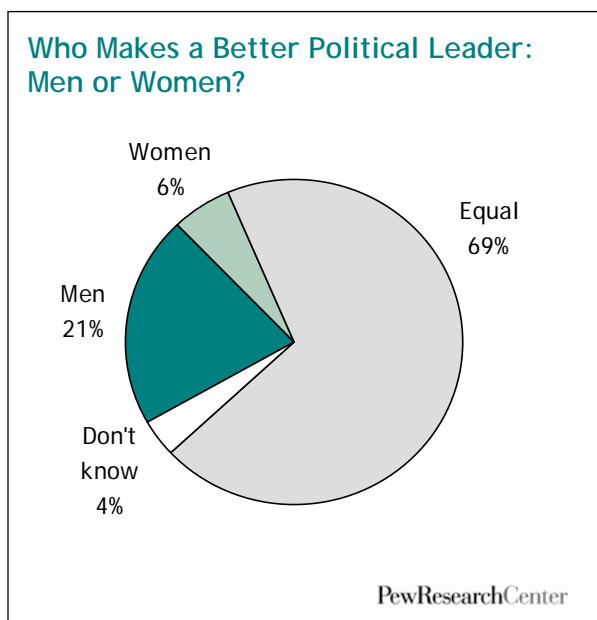
As for job performance skills, women get higher marks than men in all of the measures tested: standing up for one's principles in the face of political pressure; being able to work out compromises; keeping government honest; and representing the interests of “people like you.”

Overall, however, women emerge from this survey a bit like a sports team that racks up better statistics but still loses the game – witness the tiny 6% sliver of the public that says women generally make better political leaders than men.

To be sure, the fact that such a large majority of respondents (69%) say that women and men make equally good political leaders is itself a measure of the profound changes in women’s role in society that have taken place over the past several decades.

Women make up 57% of all college students, about half of all law and medical school students, and more than four- in-ten students who earn masters degrees in business. They make up 46% of the total private sector workforce and 38% of all managers. These figures are all much higher than they had been a generation ago.

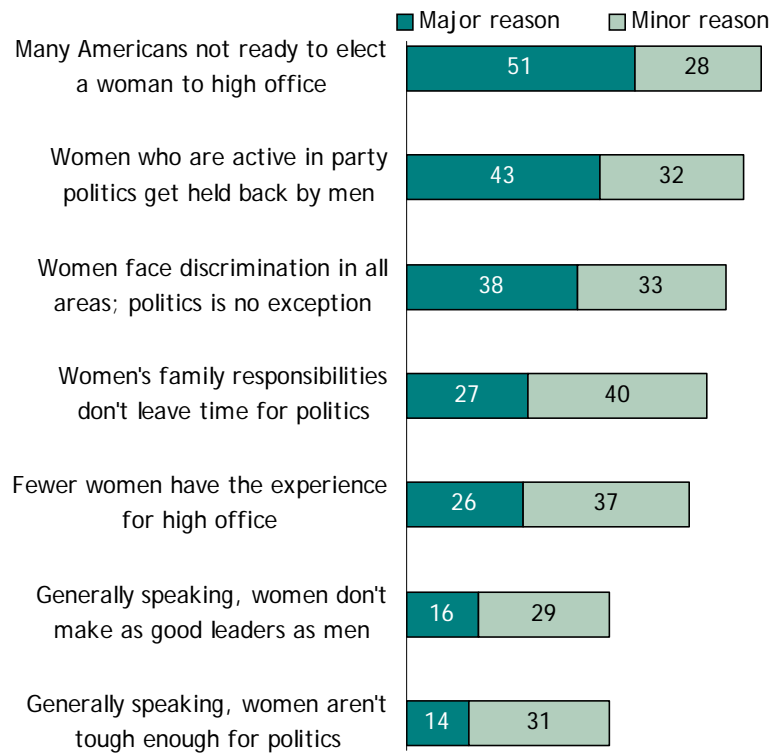
However, it’s still lonely for women at the very highest rungs of the corporate and political ladders. Women are just 2% of the CEOs of the nation’s Fortune 500 companies. In the political realm, they make up just 16% of all members of the U.S. House of Representatives; 16% of all U.S. senators; 16% of all governors; and 24% of all state legislators. Internationally, the U.S. ranks in the middle range -- 85th in the world -- in its share of women in the lower house of its national legislative body.



Asked what accounts for this slow movement toward gender parity in top political positions, about half (51%) of all survey respondents say a major reason is that Americans simply aren’t ready to elect a woman to high office; more than four-in-ten (43%) say a major reason is that women who are active in politics are held back by men, and 38% say a major reason is that women are discriminated against in all realms of society, and politics is no exception. These are the three most prevalent choices among seven possible explanations presented in the survey.

Next in the pecking order of explanations is the time pressure that comes with trying to balance work and family; 27% of the public cites this as a major reason there aren't more women leaders in politics. Some 26% say that a big reason is that women don't have the experience required for higher office. The least common explanations – chosen as a major reason by just 16% and 14% of respondents, respectively – are that women don't make as good leaders as men and that women aren't tough enough for politics.

Why Aren't There More Women in Top Elective Office?



Note: "Not a reason" and "don't know" responses are not shown.

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An Experiment to Test for Hidden Gender Bias

It's possible that in a survey of this nature, some respondents with negative or biased attitudes do not report their true feelings because they don't want to appear out of sync with prevailing social norms.

To test for hidden gender bias, the Pew Research Center did a second survey, this one conducted online with a different methodology, a different set of questions and a different group of respondents.¹

In this experiment, two separate random samples of more than more than 1,000 registered voters were asked to read a profile sent to them online of a hypothetical candidate for U.S. Congress in their district. One random sample of 1,161 respondents read a profile of Ann Clark, described as a lawyer, a churchgoer, a member of the local Chamber of Commerce, an environmentalist and a member of the same party as the survey respondent. They were then asked to indicate what they liked and didn't like about her, whether they considered her qualified and whether they were inclined to vote for her. There was no indication that this was a survey about gender or gender bias.

A second random sample of 1,139 registered voters was asked to read a profile of Andrew Clark, who – except for his gender -- was identical in every way to Ann Clark.

These respondents were then asked the same questions:

What did they like and not like about Mr. Clark? Was he qualified? Were they inclined to vote for him?

The results were clear: Gender didn't matter. Ann Clark and Andrew Clark got about the same number of "votes" from their respective samples. The study found that about a third of all voters had a very favorable

Andrew or Ann: Does Gender Matter?

	Andrew	Ann
Overall impression of candidate	%	%
Very favorable (8,9 or 10)	32	34
Favorable (6,7)	39	42
Neutral/Unfavorable (5 or less)	30	24
View of Qualifications		
Very Qualified (8,9 or 10)	27	24
Qualified (6,7)	37	40
Neutral/Unqualified (5 or less)	34	34
Likelihood to vote for candidate		
Very Likely (8, 9 or 10)	24	25
Likely (6,7)	39	39
Neutral/Not likely (5 or less)	37	35

Note: Two separate samples were asked to read a description of a congressional candidate and then rate the candidate on a 1 to 10 scale in terms of their general impression of the candidate, the candidate's qualifications and how likely they would be to vote for this candidate. The descriptions were identical except for the gender of the candidates. Don't know responses not shown.

¹ To conduct the online survey, the Pew Research Center commissioned Knowledge Networks, a California-based research firm that maintains a national panel of more than 40,000 randomly selected individuals. Households that have a home computer and Internet access are asked to take surveys using their own equipment and Internet connections. Households without a home computer and Internet access receive a free WebTV and monthly Internet access for completing surveys. The survey questions appear on the respondent's computer monitor or television along with the possible responses. The respondent then selects the answer, and then selects another button labeled "Next" to continue to the next question. At the end of the survey, the completed electronic questionnaire is sent back to Knowledge Networks via the Internet for tabulation and analysis. For this experiment, Knowledge Networks drew a nationally representative sample of self-described registered voters from its national pool. A total of 2,300 voters were interviewed. A more detailed report summarizing the findings of the experiment will be released shortly.

impression of Ann Clark (giving her a rating of 8, 9 or 10 on a scale that ran from 1 to 10)—and virtually the same proportion held Andrew Clark in equally high regard (34% vs. 32% respectively, with average ratings of 6.7 and 6.6 out of 10).

Similarly, both samples viewed their respective candidates as nearly equally prepared for the job. Some 24% rated Ann as highly qualified, compared with 27% for Andrew. (The average ratings were even closer: 6.3 for Andrew vs. 6.2 for Ann).

And when it came to the bottom line, virtually identical proportions of voters said they were very likely to vote for Ann as said they were very likely to vote for Andrew (25% vs. 24%, with identical average ratings of 6.2 on the 1 to 10 “likeliness to vote for” scale).

The Paradox in Public Attitudes

Taken together, the findings of the experimental online survey and the more comprehensive telephone survey present a complex portrait of public attitudes on gender and leadership.

On the one hand, the public asserts that gender discrimination against women and the public’s resistance to change are key factors holding women back from attaining high political office. But at the same time, the public gives higher marks to women than to men on most leadership traits tested in this survey— suggesting that, when it comes to assessments about character, the public’s gender stereotypes are pro-female.

Moreover, a separate survey designed specifically to probe for hidden gender bias against women in voters’ assessments of candidates for Congress finds no evidence that such bias exists.

Is there a way to resolve – or, at the very least, better understand—this apparent paradox? Several possible explanations suggest themselves.

It could be that had this survey measured a broader range of leadership traits, the public’s evaluations would have been more pro-male. Over many decades, numerous controlled experiments in work-related settings by psychologists and management researchers have found that participants see men as more dominant and assertive and women as more socially-skilled and egalitarian – and that they value the male traits more highly in top leadership positions. However, studies have also shown that these perceived gender differences on some key leadership traits are not as strong now as they were in the 1970s and 1980s.²

² For more background, see: Eagly, Alice.H., and Carli, Linda L. *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders*. Harvard Business Press. 2007.

Or it could be that the key factors that explain women's relatively slow march into top leadership positions in politics have less to do with the public's gender stereotypes and more to do with other obstacles. For example, a number of recent studies have shown that women do about as well as men once they actually run for office, but that many fewer women choose to run in the first place.³

One possible explanation for this gender gap at the "starting line" of political campaigns is that party leaders are reluctant to seek out women candidates, especially for highly competitive races. A recent Brookings Institution study puts forward another possible explanation. It suggests that women may be constrained by their own shortfall in political ambition-- which, the study theorizes, is the sum of many parts: they have more negative attitudes than men about campaigning for office, they undervalue their own qualifications for office; and they are more likely than men to be held back by family responsibilities.

The Pew survey was conducted by telephone from June 16 through July 16, 2008 among a nationally representative sample of 2,250 adults, including 1,060 men and 1,190 women. The margin of error is plus or minus 2.3 percentage points for the full sample. For a complete description of the survey methodology, see page 43.

About the Survey

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted with a nationally representative sample of 2,250 adults living in the continental United States. A combination of landline and cellular random digit dial (RDD) samples was used to represent all adults in the continental United States who have access to either a landline or cellular telephone. A total of 1,500 interviews were completed with respondents contacted by landline telephone and 750 from those contacted on their cellular phone. The data are weighted to produce a final sample that is representative of the general population of adults in the continental United States.

- Interviews conducted from June 16 to July 16, 2008
- 2,250 interviews
- Margin of sampling error is plus or minus 2.3 percentage points for results based on the total sample at the 95% confidence level.
- When complete results of a question are presented, percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding. Trend data from other surveys cited in this report may use slightly different rounding rules.
- Note on terminology: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

Survey interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Interviews conducted in English or Spanish.

³ For more background, see: Sanbonmatsu, Kira. "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Women to State Legislatures." *Journal of Politics*. Vol. 64, No. 3. (Aug. 2002) pp 791-809. Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. "Why Are Women Still Not Running for Public Office?" Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. May 2008. http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2008/05_women_lawless_fox.aspx. Carroll, Susan J. "Women in State Government: Historic Overview and Current Trends *The Book of the States*, 2004, published by The Council of State Governments, Lexington, KY 2004. <http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/research/reports/BookofStates.pdf>

Other key findings from the survey:

- Negative Gender Stereotypes:** In addition to asking about the eight leadership traits, the survey asked about four traits that are often viewed in a negative light. By a lopsided margin, respondents say that women (85%), not men (5%), are the more *emotional* sex, and by a two-to-one margin they say women (52%) rather than men (26%) are more *manipulative*. On the other side of the ledger, some 70% of respondents say men are the more *arrogant* sex. And 46% of respondents say men are the more *stubborn* gender, compared with 32% who say that about women.
- Gender Solidarity:** In this survey, women see themselves in a more favorable light than men see women. Likewise, men see themselves in a better light than women see men. However, for men, gender solidarity goes only so far. Overall, they give their gender the better ratings on just five of the 12 traits (decisiveness; hard work; ambition; not being emotional; not being manipulative) and they give themselves inferior ratings on seven (honesty; intelligence; compassion; creativity; being outgoing; being stubborn; being arrogant). By contrast, while women say they are more emotional and more manipulative than men, they give themselves higher marks than men on the 10 other traits measured.
- Gender and Race:** Of all demographic groups, black women are distinctive in the degree to which they say women are superior to men in their evaluations of character traits. Nearly eight-in-ten (78%) black women (compared with 51% of white women and 50% of all adults) say women are more honest than men. About two-thirds (65%) of black women (compared with 37% of white women and 38% of all adults) say women are smarter than men. And about half (49%) of black women (compared with 33% of white women and 28% of all adults) say women are more hardworking than men.
- Twice as Hard; Half as Far:** The feminist rallying cry that women have to work twice as hard to get half as far as men in their careers finds some statistical support from this survey, as least with regard to leadership evaluations. Survey respondents who rate men better than women on key character traits have a sharply increased likelihood of saying that men make better political leaders than women. But respondents who rate

Traits of Men and Women

Is this characteristic more true of...

	Men	Women	Both, equally
	%	%	%
Arrogant			
Total	70	10	15
Men	69	11	14
Women	71	9	16
Stubborn			
Total	46	32	19
Men	40	34	21
Women	52	29	17
Decisive			
Total	44	33	18
Men	48	29	19
Women	40	37	17
Ambitious			
Total	34	34	29
Men	40	27	30
Women	29	39	28
Outgoing			
Total	28	47	22
Men	32	41	23
Women	24	52	21
Hardworking			
Total	28	28	41
Men	34	21	41
Women	23	35	40
Manipulative			
Total	26	52	16
Men	21	57	16
Women	32	48	16
Honest			
Total	20	50	24
Men	23	45	27
Women	17	56	21
Intelligent			
Total	14	38	43
Men	18	33	43
Women	10	43	43
Creative			
Total	11	62	24
Men	14	54	28
Women	8	68	20
Compassionate			
Total	5	80	13
Men	7	78	14
Women	3	83	12
Emotional			
Total	5	85	9
Men	7	83	9
Women	3	87	9

Note: "Don't know" responses not shown.

women better than men on these same traits have only a slightly increased likelihood of saying women make better leaders than men.

- **It's a Man's World:** By a ratio of nearly two-to-one, Americans say that, all things considered, men rather than women have a better life in this country. Women believe this in greater numbers than men do, and younger and middle-aged adults believe it in greater numbers than older adults do. The view that men have the better life than women is not as strong now as it was 15 years ago, when the public said by a ratio of about three-to-one that men had the better life. However, still farther back in time, attitudes were much different. In 1972, during the early days of the modern gender revolution, slightly more adults said women had the better life than said that about men.
- **Generational Differences Among Women:** Older women are more inclined than younger women to see the need for more social change to ensure that women have equal rights; seven-in-ten women ages 50 and over say more change is needed, a view shared by just 53% of women ages 18-29. At the same time, younger and middle-aged women are more inclined than older women to say that men rather than women have the better life in this country.
- **Discrimination and Equal Rights:** A majority of adults (57%) say the nation needs to continue to make changes to give women equal rights with men. A similar majority (54%) says discrimination against women is either a serious or somewhat serious problem in society. However, a bigger majority (63%) says that discrimination against blacks is a serious or somewhat serious problem.
- **Admiration for Hillary Clinton:** The survey asked no questions about Sen. Hillary Clinton or the 2008 presidential campaign. However, in answer to an open-ended question, Clinton and Sen. Barack Obama were each named by 13% of respondents as the political figure in the U.S. that they admire most. President Bush was the third most frequently mentioned figure, named by 7% of respondents. Women are more than twice as likely as men to name Clinton as the figure they admire most; and Hispanics are much more likely than blacks and somewhat more likely than whites to name her as the figure they admire most.

About This Report

The rest of this report is organized as follows. At the end of this overview, a “By The Numbers” section summarizes key trends over time in the movement of women into leadership positions in politics, business, the labor force and the professions. (These figures are drawn from government and other data sources, not from the Pew survey.) Section I presents a detailed examination of the Pew survey findings about gender and leadership traits. Section II examines public attitudes about the reasons there are fewer women than men in leadership positions. Section III explores public opinion about gender and discrimination in realms beyond leadership.

Acknowledgments

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This project was carried out by the staff of the Pew Research Center Social and Demographic Trends Project, including Paul Taylor, project director; Richard Morin, senior editor; D’Vera Cohn, senior writer; April Clark, research associate and Wendy Wang, research analyst. We received valuable help from other colleagues at the Pew Research Center, including Andrew Kohut, president, Scott Keeter, director of survey research, and Gretchen Livingston, senior researcher at the Pew Hispanic Center. Number-checking was done by a team consisting of Juliana Horowitz, James Albrightain, Daniel Dockterman and Katie Holzward.

By the Numbers: Women's Slice of the Leadership Pie

This section of the report presents statistics and trends that illustrate the number and share of women in a variety of leadership roles. The figures are not drawn from the Pew survey itself, but from a variety of government and other sources, which are referenced in detail in Appendix One.

How Many Women Hold High Political Office?

Female Office-holders, 2008

Office	Number of women	Total	Female Share
U.S. Senate	16	100	16%
U.S. House	71	435	16%
Governor	8	50	16%
State Legislator	1,748	7,382	24%

Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University

International context

An elected female head of state or female head of government is rare. At the beginning of 2008, only 11 nations had one or the other: Argentina, Chile, Finland, Germany, India, Ireland, Liberia, Mozambique, New Zealand, Philippines, and Ukraine. Seven women out of 150 were elected heads of state, and eight women out of 192 were heads of government. (In four nations, women held both posts.)

Women occupy 18% of the world's parliamentary seats, an all-time high, according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union. In 1995, women held 11% of all seats.

Four nations have at least 40% female membership in the lower house of parliament—Argentina, Finland, Rwanda and Sweden. The United States ranks 85th among nations in its share of women in the House of Representatives, compared with other lower houses.

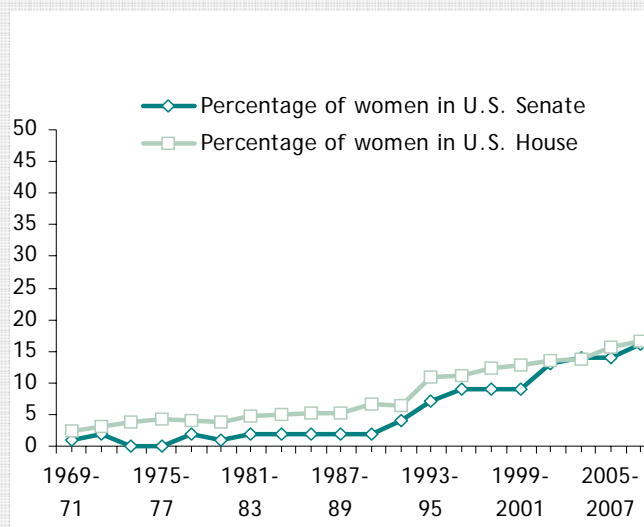
Corporate Leaders: How Many Women?

Female CEOs make up 2% of the total in the nation's Fortune 500 companies. As of July 2008, a dozen of these companies had female chief executives, according to statistics compiled by Catalyst.

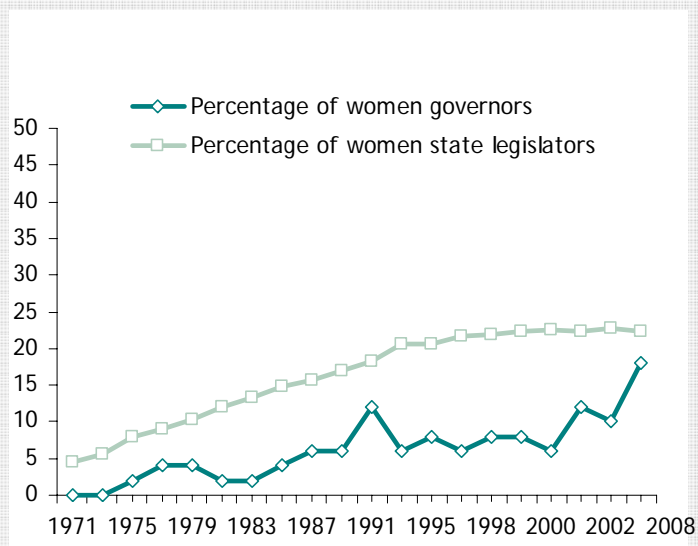
In 2006, 7.7 million privately-held firms were woman-owned, accounting for 30% of all privately-held businesses in the U.S., according to the Center for Women's Business Research. Their numbers, employees and revenues grew faster than did all U.S. firms between 1997 and 2006. However, these women-owned businesses are for the most part very small: four in five woman-owned firms (81%) have no employees, a slightly

Trend in Female Office-Holders

Percentage of Women in U.S. Congress



Percentage of Women Governors and State Legislators



Note: Percentages in chart are drawn from numbers provided by Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University

higher share than for all privately-held U.S. firms (75%).

There are 5.8 million women employed in management occupations, according to the 2007 statistics from the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, or 38% of the total. In the sub-category of chief executives, 26% are female. Women make up 46% of the nation's civilian labor force.

Among graduates who received master's degrees in business in 2006, 43% were women, according to the Digest of Education Statistics. That compares with 4% in 1971.

Professional Women

Women were 47% of students enrolled for graduate legal degrees in 2006-2007, a proportion that compares with 9% in 1970-71. In 2006-2007, 49% of medical school students were female, compared with 10% in 1970-71.

Women account for 32% of physicians and surgeons. A third of all lawyers are female, but women make up only 18% of law firm partners.

I. Is Leadership Male or Female?

More than two-thirds of the public believe men and women make equally good political leaders, a judgment that extends across virtually every major demographic group. But among the roughly one-in-four Americans with a preference, men are more than three times as likely as women to be seen as better able to hold the reins of power—a finding that also is widely shared by key segments of the population.

The Pew survey finds that 69% of the public say there's no leadership gap between men and women. Unlike on a number of other questions in the survey, no gender gap exists on this basic judgment: 69% of all men and 68% of women say both sexes make equally good leaders.

An additional 27% express a preference for one gender, with men the choice of 21% and women favored by 6%. Even among the roughly one-in-five Americans who think men make the better leaders, the gender gap is not even a crack: 21% of men say males make superior leaders and 20% of women agree. Far fewer say women are better. Among this small group there is a gender difference — 8% of women say women make better leaders, compared with just 4% of men.

Other traditional divides in American life are absent when the public is asked to evaluate men and women as leaders. About seven-in-ten whites⁴ (68%), blacks (70%) and Hispanics (71%) say there is no difference in the leadership qualities of men and women. Among the minority of the public that sees a difference between the sexes, blacks, whites and Hispanics agree by margins of more than two-to-one that men, not women, generally make better leaders.

The differences that exist between subgroups tend to be small. Younger adults—those under the age of 30—are more likely than adults 65 or older to say there is no difference in leadership skills between men and women (73% vs. 65%). Among those who see a difference, both age groups favor men by more than two-to-one. The gap is wider between college graduates (77% say there's no difference) and those who have a high school diploma or less (63%).

Men and Women as Political Leaders

Who's generally better?

	Men	Women	Both equally	DK/Ref.
Total	21	6	69	4
Gender				
Men	21	4	69	6
Women	20	8	68	3
Race/Ethnicity				
Whites	22	6	68	4
Blacks	20	7	70	3
Hispanics	17	8	71	4
Age				
18-29	19	4	73	4
30-49	22	5	69	4
50-64	22	8	66	3
65+	21	8	65	6
Education				
College grad+	17	4	77	2
Some college	20	7	71	2
HS grad or less	24	7	63	6
Party ID				
Republican	34	4	60	2
Democrat	14	9	73	3
Independent	20	5	70	5

Question: Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about men and women as political leaders: 1) Men generally make better political leaders than women; 2) Women generally make better political leaders than men; 3) In general, women and men make equally good political leaders.

⁴ Note: White and black subgroups include only those who said they were not of Hispanic origin or descent. Hispanics may be of any race.

Larger differences exist between Republicans and Democrats. While majorities of both parties see no difference in leadership skills, Republicans are twice as likely as Democrats to say men make better leaders (34% vs. 14% for Democrats and 20% for self-described independents).

The Right Stuff for Leadership: Women Mostly Have It—Men, Not So Much

Honesty, intelligence and hardworking lead the list of characteristics most valued by the public in a political leader. Each of those traits is cited by at least nine-in-ten respondents as being either “absolutely essential” or “very important” to leadership. Nearly as many say being decisive is a very important or essential leadership characteristic, while about three-quarters say that being ambitious and being compassionate are key traits. Being outgoing and being creative are the least valued of the eight leadership traits measured. Still, both of these traits are named by two-thirds of the public as a very important or indispensable characteristic of a good leader.

Measuring Leadership

Women are more likely than men to possess many of the personal characteristics that the public most values in a leader. For example, the survey found that honesty is the leadership trait most

valued by the public of the eight traits tested in the poll—and the public by better than a two-to-one margin says that women are more honest than men. Women are more creative, outgoing and compassionate, too, according to majorities or substantial pluralities of the public. Americans also disproportionately believe that women are the smarter sex, and intelligence narrowly trails honesty as the characteristic most valued in a leader.

To determine what qualities the public most values in a leader—and to test whether men or women have the edge on any of these characteristics—the survey first asked respondents to say whether each of 12 character traits was “more true of men or more true of women.” If a respondent volunteered that there was no difference between the genders on this quality, the trait was recorded as applying to men and women equally. The characteristics tested included four traits that academic studies have found to be important for leadership — honesty, intelligence, hard-work and decisiveness. Respondents also were asked how important it was that leaders be creative, compassionate, outgoing and ambitious. Also tested were four negative traits that are frequently associated with one gender or the other: stubborn, manipulative, emotional and arrogant.

The Traits of a Good Leader

Percentages who say each trait is...

	Absolutely essential	Very important	Somewhat/not important	DK/Ref.
	%	%	%	%
Honest	52	44	4	1
Intelligent	46	48	5	1
Hardworking	45	51	4	*
Decisive	39	49	11	2
Ambitious	30	44	26	1
Compassionate	28	45	26	1
Outgoing	22	45	33	1
Creative	20	46	33	1

Late in the survey, respondents were asked how important it is for a leader to have each of the eight positive traits measured in the survey. By comparing how people ranked the traits with whether they considered the trait to be associated more with men or with women, a more complete picture emerges of the links between gender and leadership.

The following sections explore these responses in more depth. The first section reports on whether the public view these traits as “gendered”—that is, more likely to be characteristics of men or women. The sections look in detail at how the public rates the eight core leadership traits, and whether either gender is viewed as having a natural advantage on the qualities that the public most values.

The Differences between Mars and Venus

On some character traits measured in the Pew survey, the public’s verdict is overwhelming: More than eight-in-ten agree that women are more likely to be emotional, while a similarly sized majority says they are more compassionate. Nearly as many believe that men are more arrogant than women, a view shared by seven-in-ten Americans. And by slightly more than a two-to-one margin, the public judges women as more honest than men while they give an equally lopsided edge to women as being the more manipulative gender.

Fully six-in-ten say women are more creative than men, nearly six times the proportion who say men are more creative. Men get the nod as more decisive (44% vs. 33%) while women have a larger advantage over men as the more outgoing sex (47% vs. 28%).

On the other hand, pluralities say that both men and women are equally hard-working (41%) and intelligent (43%), though among those with a preference women are viewed as the smarter sex by a ratio of more than two-to-one. About a third (34%) say men are more ambitious, and an identical share say the same of women.

Four of the traits tested in the Pew survey were asked in a 1995 survey by Gallup for CNN and USA Today. The results suggest that perceptions of gender differences on these traits have changed little, if any, in recent years.

For example, there was no statistically significant change in the public’s views of which gender is more intelligent or more emotional. Other changes are modest. The share that say women are more ambitious increased by 8 percentage points since 1995 and the share saying women are more creative rose by 9 points. In both instances, most of this change came from a drop in the proportion who say there are no gender differences while the share of the public saying men are better declined insignificantly.

Gender Stereotypes				
	More True Of Women	More True Of Men	Both Equally	DK/ Ref.
<i>Women are viewed as the more honest, emotional and compassionate sex...</i>				
	%	%	%	%
Emotional	85	5	9	1
Compassionate	80	5	13	2
Creative	62	11	24	3
Manipulative	52	26	16	5
Honest	50	20	24	6
Outgoing	47	28	22	3
Intelligent	38	14	43	5
<i>...while men are more arrogant, stubborn and decisive</i>				
Arrogant	10	70	15	5
Stubborn	32	46	19	3
Decisive	33	44	18	6
<i>...and neither gender is viewed as more ambitious or hardworking</i>				
Ambitious	34	34	29	4
Hardworking	28	28	41	3

The Gender and Racial Divides on Personal Traits

There are differences in the way men and women as well as blacks and whites judge the genders on most of the specific personal qualities tested in the survey. Black women, in particular, are far more likely than black men or whites of both genders to say women are superior to men on a range of character traits. Differences by age and political partisanship emerge on several characteristics, though these divides typically are more modest. Other subgroup differences tended to be small, non-existent or reflect more fundamental gender and racial divides on these issues.

Here's how men and women, blacks and whites as well as other key subgroups say the genders stack up in the 12 personal qualities tested in the poll:

Honest A majority of women (56%) and a plurality of men (45%) say women are more honest than men, an 11-point gender gap. But that difference masks a large racial divide and an even larger gap between the views of black men and black women. Two-thirds of blacks (67%) but slightly less than half of all whites (47%) say women are more honest. Black women (78%) are far more likely than black men (54%) to say women are more truthful, a 24-point difference. Among Hispanics, the gender gap is nearly as wide; 67% of Hispanic women and just 47% of Hispanic men say women are more honest, a 20 percentage point gender gap. In contrast, the gender gap among whites is just 8 percentage points. These race and gender splits are echoed in other key groups. Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say women are more honest (56% vs. 48%), a difference largely explained by the fact that a disproportionately large share of blacks are Democrats.

Trends on Views of Selected Personal Traits

Is this more true of men or women:

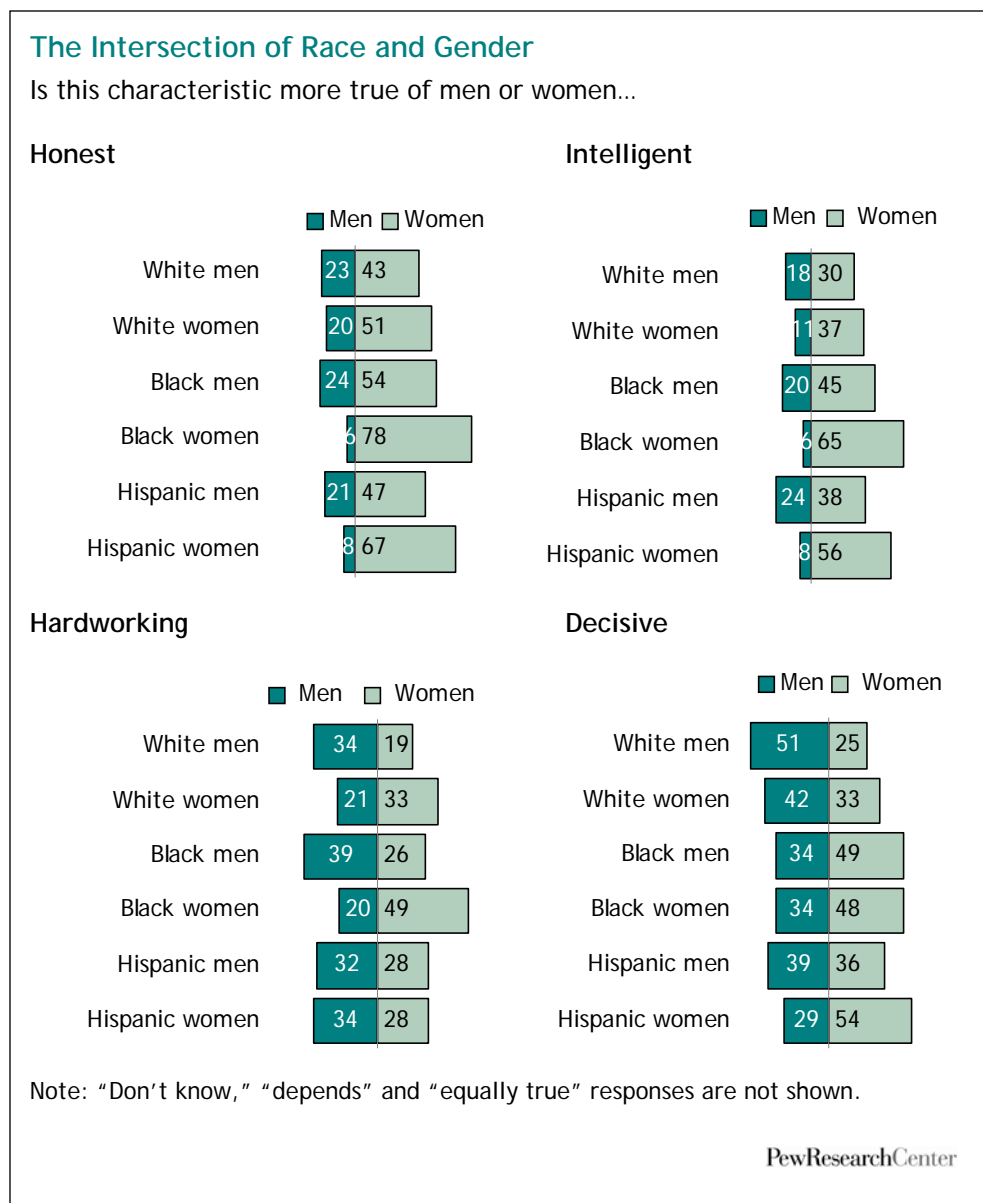
	1995*	2008	Change
	%	%	%
Intelligent			
Men	14	14	0
Women	41	38	-3
Equally true	43	43	0
DK/refused	2	4	+2
Emotional			
Men	4	5	+1
Women	88	85	-3
Equally true	7	9	+2
DK/refused	1	1	0
Ambitious			
Men	37	34	-3
Women	26	34	+8
Equally true	36	29	-7
DK/refused	1	3	+2
Creative			
Men	13	11	-2
Women	53	62	+9
Equally true	33	24	-11
DK/refused	1	3	+2

Source: *Data from a 1995 Gallup/CNN/ USA Today national survey.

Intelligent Gender, racial and ethnic patterns also emerge when respondents are asked if men or women are more intelligent. Women (43%) are more likely than men (33%) to say women are the smarter sex, a view disproportionately held by younger women. A plurality of men say neither gender has an advantage on intelligence. But among those who do, women have nearly a two-to-one edge (33% vs. 18%). A 56% majority of blacks say women are smarter, a view held by 34% of whites. These racial differences are largely due to a large gender gap between black men and black women. Overall, nearly two-thirds of black women (65%) say women are more intelligent than men, a view shared by 45% of black men. The gender gap among whites is more modest: 30% of white men and 37% of white women say women are more intelligent. The gender gap among Hispanics on this question is closer to that of blacks; 56% of Hispanic women and 38% of Hispanic men say women are smarter.

Hardworking Men

and women divide over who's the most hardworking. Fully a third of women (35%) but only 21% of men say it's women who work the hardest. Those results are virtually the mirror opposite among men: 34% of men but 23% of women say it is men who are more likely to work hard. Equally large racial differences exist. Nearly four-in-ten blacks but about a quarter of whites say women are the more hardworking sex. The differences, however, between black men and women are greater than the differences

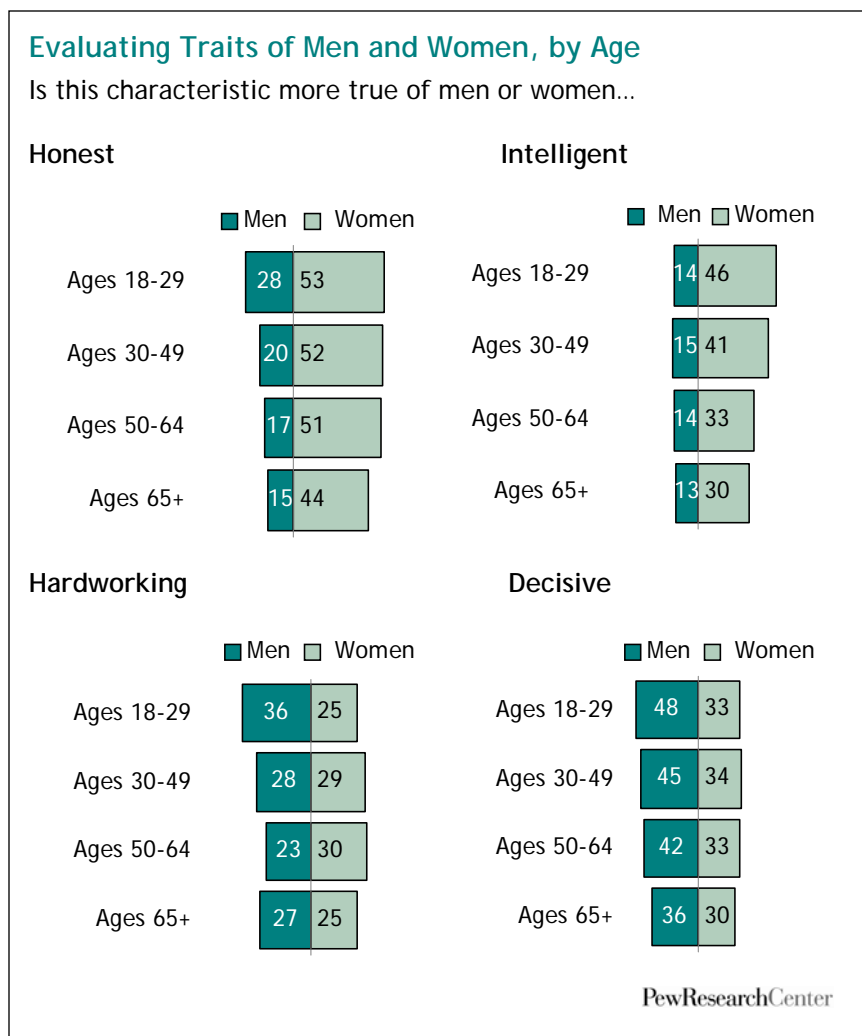


between blacks and whites overall: 26% of black men but 49% of black women name women. That's a 23-point gender gap among African American men and women. In fact, a 39% plurality of black men say men are more hardworking, a view shared by only two-in-ten black women. Among Hispanics, there is no gender gap on this question; 34% of Hispanic women and 32% of Hispanic men say men work harder, while 28% of both Hispanic men and women say women work harder.

Decisive A plurality of whites (46%) say men are more decisive than women, while a plurality of blacks (48%) say women are more decisive than men. In contrast to the findings on other traits, there are no gender differences among blacks but there is a modest one among whites: 51% of white men and 42% of white women say men are more decisive.

Ambitious Slightly more than a quarter of all men (27%) but a larger share of women (39%) say women are the most ambitious gender while 40% of men and 29% of women say it's men who are the most determined to succeed. Younger women in particular are more likely to say women are more ambitious; 43% of those under 50 name women, compared with 29% of men under 50, 25% of men over 50 and 34% of women older than 50. There's an even larger racial split on this trait: About half of all blacks (49%) but 30% of whites say women are more ambitious while there is only a modest difference between the percentages of blacks (27%) and whites (34%) who say men. In contrast to the patterns on other traits, there is no difference in the proportion of black men (48%) and black women (50%) who say women are more ambitious.

Stubborn Who's more stubborn? Slightly more than half of women (52%) say it's men, and a plurality of men (40%) agree. Blacks are significantly more likely than whites to say women are stubborn (44% vs. 32%). Again, there is a large black gender gap, but none among whites. Nearly six-in-ten black women (58%) say men are more stubborn, nearly double the 31% of black men



who share that view. In sharp contrast, about half of all black men (53%) say women are the more obstinate gender.

Comparatively fewer differences emerged between key demographic subgroups on the other personal traits tested in the poll. Women and particularly younger women are significantly more likely than men to say women are more *creative* (68% vs. 54%). A majority of women (52%) but a plurality of men (41%) say women are more *outgoing*.

Smaller subgroup differences exist on other traits. Men are 9 percentage points more likely than women to say women are more *manipulative* (57% vs. 48%). While roughly equal proportions of men and women agree that men are more *arrogant*, young people under the age of 30 are significantly more likely to hold that view (79% vs. 70% for the whole sample). Women are slightly more likely than men (83% vs. 78%) to say women are more *compassionate*. Women also are slightly more likely than men to say women are more *emotional* (87% vs. 83%), with younger women in particular drawn to this view.

Ranking the Traits: What Every Leader Should Have

Americans want their political leaders to be honest, intelligent, hardworking and decisive. Traits such as being ambitious, compassionate, outgoing and creative are viewed as somewhat less critical, but still important, to leadership.

Overall, at least two-thirds of the public say that each of these eight traits is “absolutely essential” or “very important” in a leader. When the analysis is limited to the “absolutely essential” responses, honesty again leads the list. Fully 52% of the public say it is “absolutely essential” that a political leader be honest and an additional 44% say it is a “very important” quality.

Some respondents place more importance on this trait than others. For example, women are more likely than men to say honesty is absolutely essential in a political leader (55% vs. 49%). A clear majority of whites (57%) and fewer than half of all blacks (43%) or Hispanics (36%) consider honesty an essential characteristic of a good leader. Honesty is somewhat more valued by Republicans (59% say it is essential) than by Democrats (50%) or independents (52%).

When the proportion that see this trait as “very important” is added to those who view it as “absolutely essential,” overwhelming and virtually identical majorities of men (94%) and women (97%); whites (97%), blacks (96%) and Hispanics (95%); Republicans (97%), Democrats (96%) and independents (96%) agree that honesty is a central trait for a leader. This pattern is mostly repeated on each of the traits measured; differences between groups on whether a trait is essential shrink or largely vanish when the analysis includes the proportion of respondents who see it as “very important.”

In addition to valuing honesty, the public wants its leaders to be smart. Nearly half (46%) say it’s absolutely essential for a politician to be intelligent, and about the same proportion view intelligence as being very important. Men and women equally value intelligence in a politician, while members of minority groups hold this trait on a somewhat less elevated perch than do whites. About half of all whites (49%) say intelligence is absolutely essential in a leader, compared with 40% of blacks and a third of all Hispanics. Also, those with more formal education place a higher value on intelligence than do those with less schooling. Among college

graduates, slightly more than half (53%) consider intelligence an essential characteristic in a leader, compared with 42% of those with a high school diploma or less.

Hard work is as highly valued as intelligence in a political leader. Almost half (45%) of the public say being hardworking is an essential characteristic of a good leader. Whites (49%) are more likely than blacks (33%) or Hispanics (34%) to say working hard is a necessary trait. As with intelligence, better educated respondents are more likely than less educated respondents to want a politician to be hardworking. Similarly, those earning \$100,000 or more are significantly more likely than those earning \$30,000 or less to see hard work as necessary for a good leader.

Decisiveness rounds out the top half of the public's most highly valued traits in a leader. Nearly four-in-ten adults rate being decisive as an essential leadership trait. Women are somewhat more likely than men to say being decisive is essential for a leader (41% vs. 36%). Whites (41%) are significantly more likely than blacks (28%) or Hispanics (29%) to highly value decisiveness. Being decisive also is more highly valued by those earning \$100,000 or more (46%) than by those earning less than \$30,000 (34%).

The remaining four leadership traits measured in the survey are less valued by the public.

Three-in-10 say it is essential that a leader be ambitious. While there were few differences

between core groups, one stands out: Residents of the Northeastern United States, a region more commonly associated with bustling urban centers of business and commerce, are more likely than residents of the stereotypically more relaxed West to say being ambitious is an essential leadership trait (36% vs. 24%).

A slightly smaller proportion (28%) of the public highly values compassion as a leadership trait. Women are more likely than men to say being compassionate is absolutely essential in a leader (33% vs. 24%). Compassion is somewhat more highly valued by blacks (34%) than Hispanics (21%) while 28% of whites share this view.

The Traits of a Good Leader

Percentage that say each leadership trait is...

	Absolutely essential	Very important	Somewhat/not important
	%	%	%
Honest			
Total	52	44	4
Men	49	45	5
Women	55	42	2
Intelligent			
Total	46	48	5
Men	44	50	5
Women	48	47	5
Hardworking			
Total	45	51	4
Men	43	51	5
Women	47	51	2
Decisive			
Total	39	49	11
Men	36	49	13
Women	41	48	9
Ambitious			
Total	30	44	26
Men	27	43	28
Women	32	44	23
Compassionate			
Total	28	45	26
Men	24	43	32
Women	33	48	20
Outgoing			
Total	22	45	33
Men	20	43	37
Women	23	48	29
Creative			
Total	20	46	33
Men	20	46	33
Women	20	45	34

Note: "Don't know" responses not shown.

About two-in-ten Americans say it's essential that a leader be outgoing (22%); nearly the same proportion say the same thing about being creative (20%). Minorities are more likely to say it is absolutely essential or very important that political leaders be creative (79% of blacks and 82% of Hispanics vs. 60% of whites). Conversely, whites (23%) are more likely than blacks (14%) to say it is essential that political leaders be outgoing.

Perceived Gender Differences on Character Traits

On five of the eight core leadership traits -- including being honest and intelligent, two of the three characteristics that the public says it most values in a leader -- Americans are more likely to give the nod to women than to men. On the third most highly prized leadership quality—hardworking—women and men are tied.

In addition to being seen as having more of the right stuff, women are associated with two character traits that are generally viewed as negatives. More than eight-in-ten say “emotional” better describes women. And slightly more than half of respondents say women are more manipulative, double the proportion that say men are more calculating.

But overall, men fare much worse on the traits tested in this survey. By a ratio of 7-to-1, men are judged to be more arrogant than women. They're also the more stubborn sex, say a 46% plurality. On the other side of the balance sheet, men are viewed as more decisive than women, by a 44% to 33% margin. Decisiveness finishes fourth in the list of eight important leadership traits, and is the only one of the eight in which men outperform women.

The public offers a split decision on two other traits. About a third say men are more ambitious than women—and an identical share say it's women who are the go-getters. And nearly three-in-ten say women are more hardworking while the same proportion believes men work harder.

Overall, these findings suggest that gender stereotypes are widely held. On only two of the 12 traits tested does a plurality say there's no difference between the sexes. About four-in-ten (41%) say men and women are equally hardworking, and a plurality believes the genders are similarly intelligent. But on the remaining 10 traits, clear majorities—sometimes lopsided majorities—believe there are differences between men and women.

Top Leadership Traits: Women Have More of the Right Stuff

	% saying “absolutely essential”	% saying more true of women	% saying more true of men	Advantage: men or women?
Honest	52	50	20	women +30
Intelligent	46	38	14	women +24
Hardworking	45	28	28	no advantage
Decisive	39	33	44	men +11
Ambitious	30	34	34	no advantage
Compassionate	28	80	5	women +75
Outgoing	22	47	28	women +19
Creative	20	62	11	women +51

Note: Results shown are based on two questions. The first asked respondents how important the trait was in a political leader, and the percentage that said the trait was “absolutely essential” is shown in the first column. The second and third columns report the results of the question that asked if the specific characteristic was more true of men or women.

The Disconnect between Gender Traits and Leadership

If women possess more of the right stuff, why don't more Americans believe they make better political leaders than men? And more broadly, how do perceptions of gender superiority on key leadership traits affect overall judgments on the suitability of men and women for positions of leadership?

The answer from this survey is that, when it comes to leadership, men get more “bang for the buck” from the positive character evaluations they receive than women get from their positive evaluations.

People who mostly believe that men are more intelligent, more decisive, more honest and more hardworking are significantly more likely to say that men make better political leaders than women. But the relationship is less straightforward when it comes to women as leaders. Generally, people who say women have more of the right leadership traits than men are only somewhat more likely to say women make better political leaders.

Two simple scales were created to help untangle the relationship between perceptions of gender traits and perceptions of men and women as leaders. The scales summarized respondents' perceptions about whether men or women are more honest, more intelligent, more hardworking and more decisive—the four traits most frequently mentioned as “absolutely essential” for a leader. One scale totaled how many times a respondent said that women are better. The scale ranges from a high of four for a respondent who says women are superior on all four traits to a low of zero for a respondent who consistently says that there are no differences between the genders or that men are better than women. The second scale measured how often men were viewed as superior to women on these core leadership qualities.

The results echo earlier findings that women are perceived to have the advantage on the traits that American most highly value in a leader. Fully 22% say women are better than men on at least three of the four traits, more than double the proportion (9%) that give men the advantage on three or more traits. Conversely, slightly more than a third of the public (35%) say men are no better than women on all of the four traits, while a quarter see women the same way.

Who Says Women or Men Are Better on Multiple Traits

The percentage in each group who say women or men are better on at least three of the four key traits ...

	Men better	Women better
	%	%
All	9	22
Gender		
Men	14	16
Women	5	28
Race/Ethnicity		
Whites	10	18
Blacks	6	39
Hispanics	7	34
Age		
18-29	12	20
30-49	9	26
50-64	9	22
65+	6	17
Education		
College grad+	9	15
Some college	9	23
H.S. grad or less	10	26
Party ID		
Republican	13	17
Democrat	7	28
Independent	9	21

Note: The four traits were: honest, intelligent, hard-working and decisive

A paradox emerges when the two scales are analyzed with the question asking whether men or women make better political leaders. For men, the relationship appears strong: Among those who believe men have no advantage over women on all four top traits—a “zero” on the men’s traits scale—about 13% say men made the better leaders and 73% say there’s no difference. But among those who say men are better on at least three of the four traits, 43% say men make better leaders, an increase of 30 percentage points.

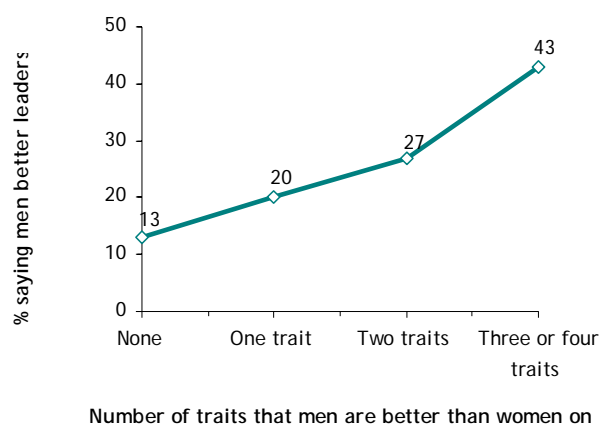
The story is somewhat different on the other side of the gender divide, as the adjacent chart illustrates. Among respondents who say women have no advantage over men on any of the four core traits—a zero on the women’s scale—only 2% say women make better leaders. That proportion rises only to 14% among those respondents who see women superior to men on at least three traits. Even among those who see women as more honest, more intelligent, more hardworking and more decisive—a perfect four-for-four on the key traits scale—only 13% say women make the better leaders while 16% say men are best.

The analysis suggests that those who consistently view women or men to be superior on the four leadership traits are different in other ways. A striking gender gap exists in both groups: Men make up 73% of those who rate men superior on three or more traits. Conversely, women comprise nearly two-thirds of those who say women are better.

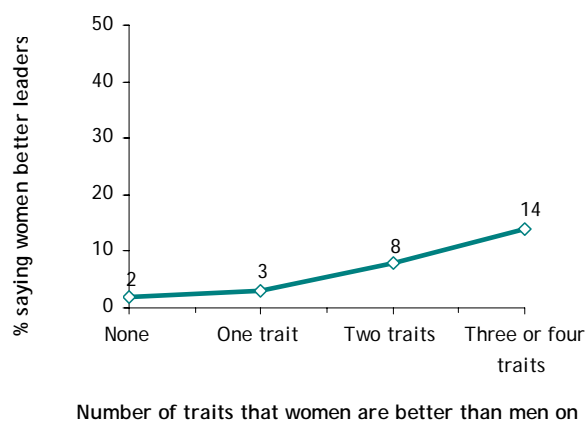
These groups also hold different views on other gender issues. Those who consistently favor men are significantly less likely than those who consistently favor women to say discrimination against women is a serious

Who Makes the Better Leaders? Qualities Matter for Men, Less So for Women

Men benefit from good character evaluations...



...while women don't benefit as much.



Note: The four traits are: honest, intelligent, hard-working and decisive

PewResearchCenter

problem (43% vs. 67%). Those who rate men higher also are less likely to strongly reject the view that women should return to their traditional roles in society (36% vs. 51%).

Perceptions of How Men and Women Perform in Office

In addition to asking about character traits, the survey asked a series of questions about various challenges that political leaders typically confront. On most of these measures, majorities or pluralities of respondents say they see no difference between men and women. For example, half or more of all respondents say both genders are equally good at being able to stand up for their beliefs despite political pressure, at keeping government honest and at representing “people like you.” There is less agreement on other issues. Men are seen as better able to handle crime and public safety concerns (42% vs. 12%), though 44% say there is no difference between the sexes. Similarly, women are viewed as better than men at working out compromises (42% vs. 16%), though 39% see no difference. There are few differences between genders on most of these seven yardsticks of public performance. In fact, analysis reveals that there are relatively few substantive subgroup differences of any kind in how the public rates the performance of men and women in public office.

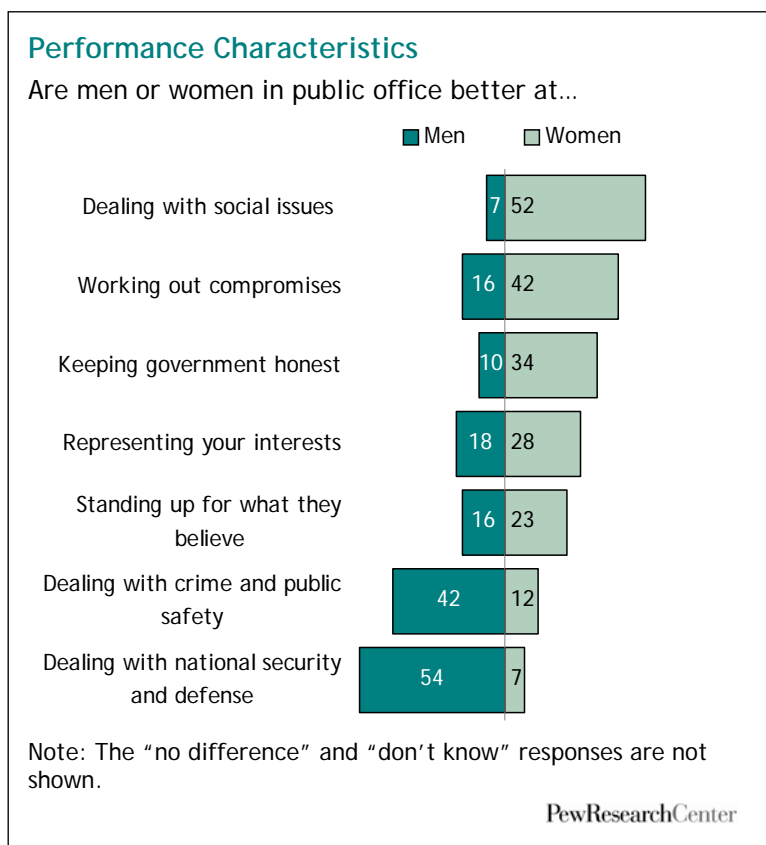
Rating the Genders

Nearly six-in-ten of the public say men and women are equally good at standing up for what they believe in the face of political pressure. About half see no difference in the efforts of men or women to keep government honest (51%) or representing the interests of “people like you” (50%). On these performance issues, men and women largely agree: Only three to six percentage points separate the proportions of men and women who say the sexes are the same on these characteristics. Women, however, are twice as likely as men to say women do a better job representing their interests (38% vs. 18%), though a 47% plurality of women says there is no difference.

Less agreement is found among other key subgroups on these three performance issues. For example, Democrats are significantly more likely to say women would do a better job keeping government honest (42%) than Republicans (25%) or independents (33%). Whites more likely than blacks to say both sexes equally represent their concerns (52% vs. 41%), while blacks are more likely to see women as doing a better job than men at representing their interests (36% vs. 26%).

Rating the Genders				
Are men or women in public office better at...				
	Men	Women	Same	DK/Ref.
	%	%	%	%
Standing up for what they believe	16	23	57	4
Keeping govt. honest	10	34	51	5
Working out compromise	16	42	39	3
Dealing with crime and public safety	42	12	44	2
Dealing with education and health care	7	52	40	1
Representing interests people like you	18	28	50	4
Dealing with national security and defense	54	7	36	3

On some performance qualities, the public does see one gender as having an advantage. By lopsided margins, the public believes women are better than men at dealing with social issues such as education and health care (52% vs. 7%)—a view expressed by identical proportions of men and women. Men, meanwhile, are seen by equally overwhelming margins as best able to handle national security and defense issues (54% vs. 7% for women). And again, virtually identical proportions of men (55%) and women (53%) agree, as do almost every other core subgroup. The one notable exception: On who is best able to deal with social issues, Republicans are significantly less likely (41%) to say that women are better compared with clear majorities of Democrats (57%) and independents (55%).



On other issues, the public’s judgment is less clear. By more than a two-to-one margin, women are seen to be better at working out compromises (42% say women vs. 16% say men), but 39% believe there’s no difference between the sexes. Women are more likely than men to say women are better at working out compromises (48% vs. 35%).

At the same time, men are viewed by more than a three-to-one over women as better able to deal with crime and public safety issues (42% vs. 12%) but 44% say there is no difference. Older people in particular say men are better at handling crime and public safety, a view shared by more than half (53%) of those 65 and older but 39% of those younger than 30. Republicans, too, are somewhat more likely to favor men on this issue than are Democrats or independents.

Trends in Perceptions of Public Performance

Three of the seven questions used to measure perceptions of how men and women perform in public office were asked of registered voters in a 1986 New York Times and CBS News. While it would be unwise to draw sweeping conclusions based on only three questions, trend comparisons suggest that attitudes about gender and leadership have changed over the past two decades.

Overall, these trends suggest that on at least some measures of performance, the gender gap on leadership has closed or reversed. Among the more notable findings of this survey is that the public is now more than twice as

likely to say women are better than men at working out compromises (43% vs. 15%). Only slightly more than two decades ago those figures were virtually the mirror opposite of the current finding, with men twice as likely as women to be judged better at being able to work out political accommodations (40% vs. 20%). Taken together, the proportion who name women as better at compromise has increased by 23 percentage points while the proportion who name men has dropped by 25 points.

On the other two trend questions the pattern is different but nearly as striking. The proportions of the public that say there is no difference in the performance of the sexes on both measures has soared while the percentages who say men or women have an advantage have declined, at least modestly.

For example, when asked which gender is best at standing up for their beliefs, the proportion of self-described registered voters who say there is no gender difference has increased from 37% to 57% since 1986. At the same time, the proportion who say men are better declined by 9 percentage points to 16% while the proportion naming women has dropped by 10 points to 23%. Similarly, on the question of which gender is better at keeping the government honest, both men and women lost ground while the proportion seeing no difference increased.

Changes in Views on Political Performance			
Are men or women in public office better at ...			
	1986	2008	Change
	%	%	%
Working out compromises			
Men	40	15	-25
Women	20	43	+23
No difference	34	39	+5
DK/refused	6	3	-3
Standing up for beliefs			
Men	25	16	-9
Women	33	23	-10
No difference	37	57	+20
DK/refused	5	4	-1
Keeping government honest			
Men	13	8	-5
Women	43	34	-9
No difference	37	53	+16
DK/refused	7	5	-2

Source: *Data from 1986 CBS/New York Times national survey. Results from both surveys based on registered voters only.

II. Obstacles to Female Leadership

Why are there not more women in the nation's top political offices? As the previous section makes clear, the public does not believe women lack the character traits to be elected senator or governor. Instead, Americans are more likely to cite obstacles: Voters aren't ready to elect them. Discrimination or male resistance holds them back. Family responsibilities take precedence.

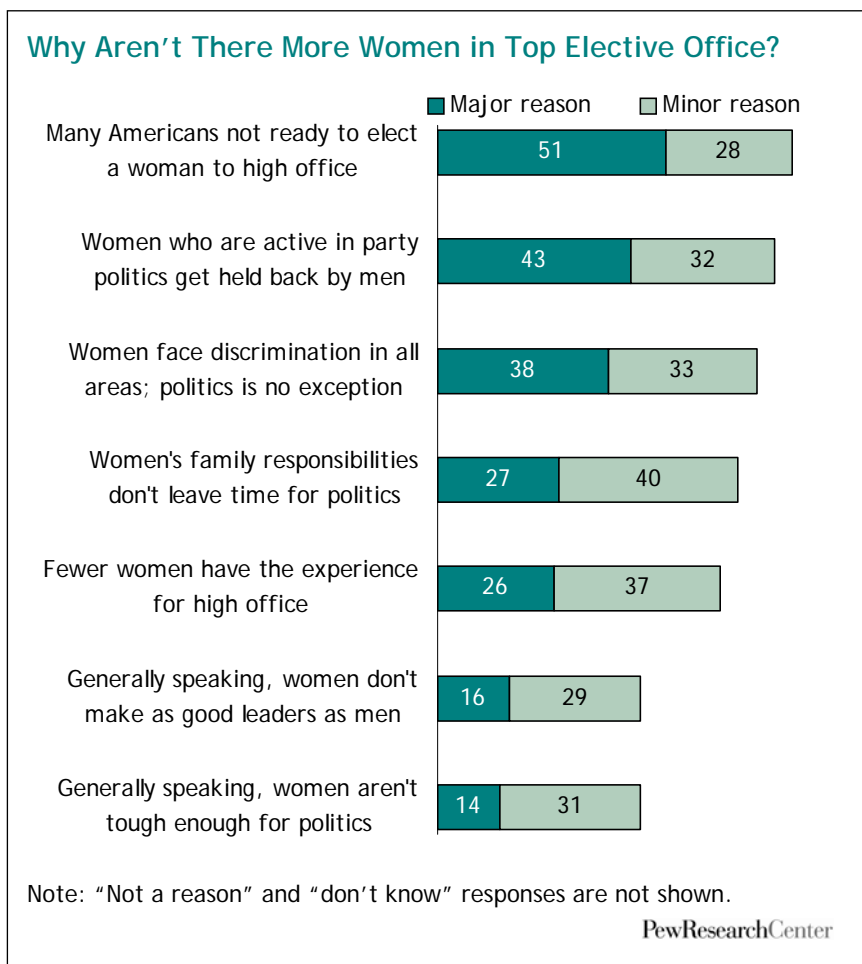
Men and women equally reject the explanation that women are not tough enough or lack the leadership skills needed for high office. But there is a gender gap on attitudes about other possible explanations. Women are more likely than men to believe that gender discrimination, male

resistance, and voters' unreadiness for change are major reasons there are more men than women in top jobs. Men are more likely than women to say those are minor reasons or not reasons.

Among major demographic groups, black and Hispanic respondents are more inclined than whites to cite discrimination and male resistance as major forces. So are Democrats and Independents, compared with Republicans. Older Americans, and those with the lowest income and education levels, are more likely than others to see family responsibilities as a key driver.

Major Reasons for Lack of Female Political Leaders

The nation has eight female governors out of 50, and 16 female U.S. senators out of 100—a 16% proportion of each group. The survey presents these statistics, offers seven possible explanations for the gender disparity in top political leadership and asks respondents whether they believe each is a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason.



Of the choices offered, the most popular explanation is that many voters are not ready to elect female politicians. About half (51%) say that is a major reason and another 28% say it is a minor reason. Only 18% say it is not a reason.

The next two most widely chosen reasons have to do with prejudice and bias. Four-in-ten Americans (43%) say a major reason for women's lower share of political jobs is that women who are active in party politics are held back by men. A third (32%) say that is a minor reason, and 21% say it is not a reason.

Are politics no exception to a general pattern of discrimination against women? This is deemed a major reason for the male-female disparity in holding office by 38% of respondents and a minor one by 33%. About a quarter—27%—say that is not a reason.

Perhaps women are unable to attain high office because their family responsibilities do not leave time for politics. This explanation is not as widely embraced as is discrimination or lack of voter readiness, but 27% of Americans say it is a major reason there are not more female leaders. Four-in-ten (40%) say it is a minor reason, and 31% say it is not a reason.

Or could the explanation be that, compared with men, women lack the right kind of experience for political leadership? About one-in-four respondents (26%) say lack of experience is a major reason, and 37% say it is a minor reason. About a third—34%—say that is not a reason there are not more females elected to high office.

Americans are much less inclined to say that women do not have the leadership qualities or toughness needed to propel them into high office. Most people say that a deficit of leadership skills (53%) or toughness (54%) are not reasons for the gender gap in political job-holding. A lack of leadership skills is deemed a major reason by just 16% of respondents and a minor reason by 29%. A lack of toughness is called a major reason by only 14% of respondents and a minor reason by 31%.

Gender Agreement and Gender Gaps

Men and women generally agree on the obstacles to increased female leadership, but women are notably more likely than men to say that voter unreadiness, discrimination or male resistance are major reasons.

Among women, 56% say that a major reason there are not more female politicians is that many voters are not ready to elect them; 46% of men say so. Men (31%) are slightly more likely than women (26%) to say this is a minor reason. The gender gap on whether this is a major reason is widest between men (44%) and women (55%) ages 30 to 49 and between men (43%) and women (57%) ages 50 to 64.

The explanation that women's political progress is held back by men is more likely to be cited as a major reason by women (48%) than by men (37%).

About three-in-ten of each says it is a minor reason. Men are somewhat more likely to say that this is not a reason (25%) than are women (17%).

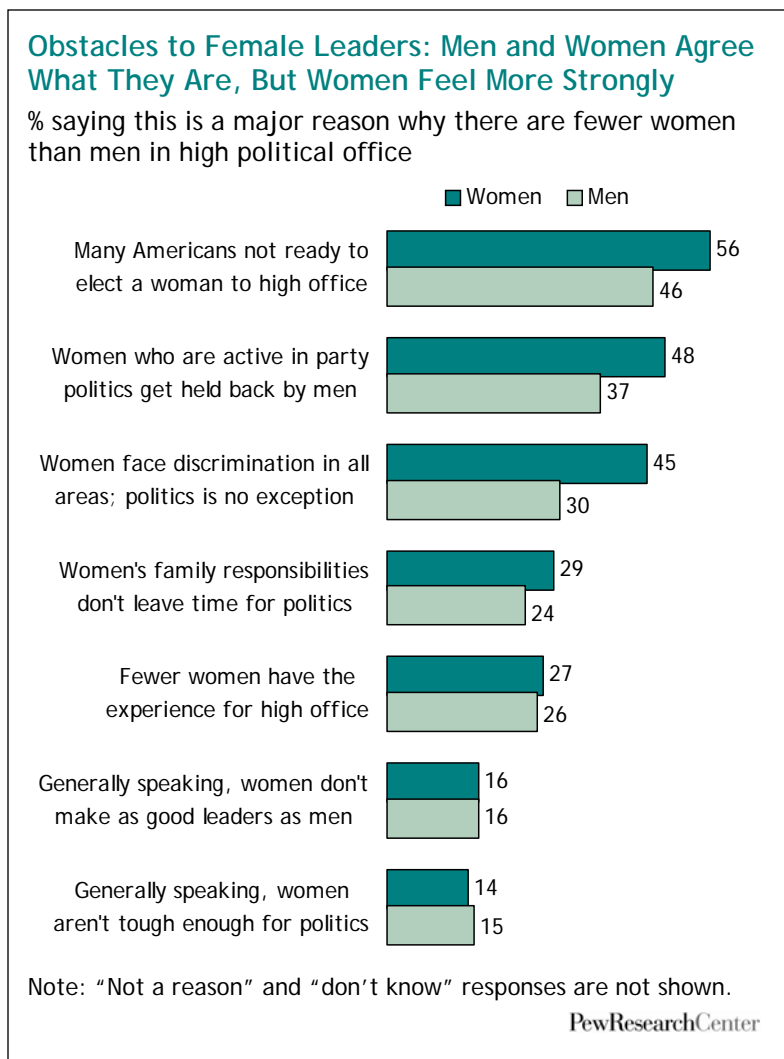
There are gender gaps by age and race as well. Fewer men (34%) than women (48%) ages 30-49 and fewer men (39%) than women (56%) ages 50-64 say male resistance is a major reason. There also are fewer black men (47%) who say this is a major reason, compared with black women (65%).

The idea that politics is no exception to a general pattern of discrimination against women also is cited as a major reason by a higher share of women (45%) than men (30%). About a third of men (34%) think it is a minor reason, and another third (33%) say it is not a reason. Among women, a third (32%) say it is a minor reason and a smaller 22% say it is not a reason. There is a notable gap between the share of black men (53%) and black women (66%) who say discrimination is a major reason there are not more female politicians.

Men and women answer along similar lines when asked about whether family responsibilities or lack of experience have slowed women's political attainment. Among women, 29% say family duties are a major reason and among men, 24% do. Women's lack of experience is cited as a major reason by 27% of women and 26% of men.

An equally small share of men and women (16%) say a major reason that more women do not hold high office is that they are not good leaders.

On the question of toughness, too, most men and women do not believe this is a reason for the relative scarcity of female leaders; just 15% of men and 14% of women say it is a major reason.



Changes Over Time in Assessment of Obstacles

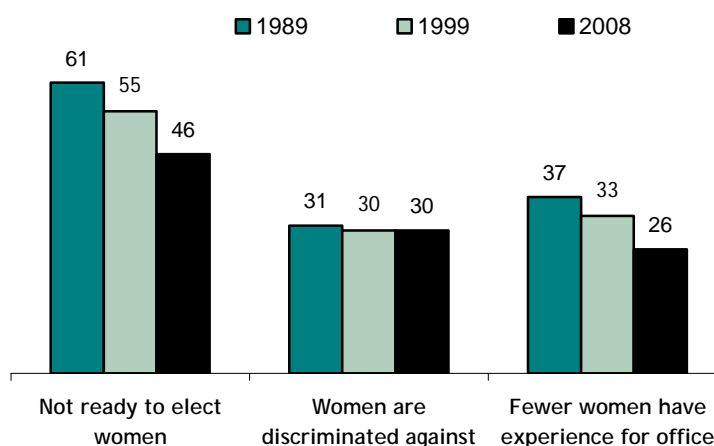
Virginia Slims surveys conducted in 1999 and 1989 also asked respondents why there were fewer female political leaders than male political leaders. In 1999, there was no gender gap in the share of respondents saying that a major reason was that many voters are not ready to elect women. Among men, 55% said so and among women, 56% did. Men are now less likely to say voters are not ready. But women's responses have not changed.

Men's likelihood to cite discrimination as a major reason has changed little from past surveys, but women are more likely now to call it a major reason. In the 1999 Virginia Slims survey, 36% of women said discrimination was a major reason for the lower share of female politicians; in the 1989 Virginia Slims survey, 39% did. In the Pew survey, 45% of women say it is a major reason.

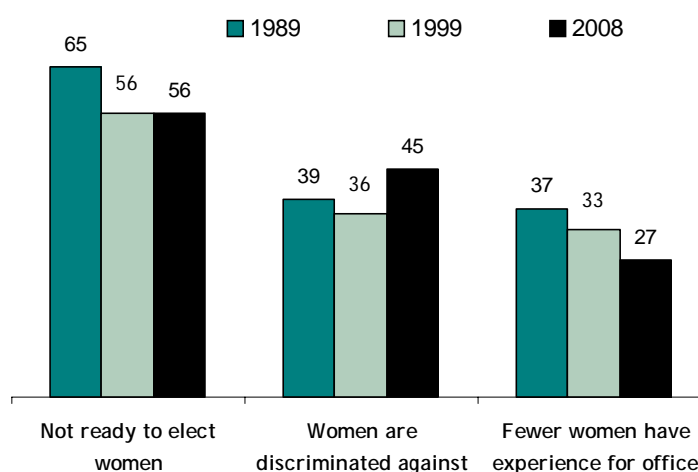
Both men and women are increasingly likely to dismiss lack of experience as a contributor to the female political deficit. A third of men and women say it is not a reason in the Pew survey, compared with a fifth of male and female respondents to the Virginia Slims survey in 1999. Since the Virginia Slims survey in 1999, men are less likely to say that women are not good leaders; 23% had said that was a major reason there were not more women in high political office.

Changes in Men's and Women's Views

% of men saying this is a major reason there are fewer women than men in high political office



% of women saying this is a major reason there are fewer women than men in high political office



Note: "Don't know" and "depends" responses are not shown.

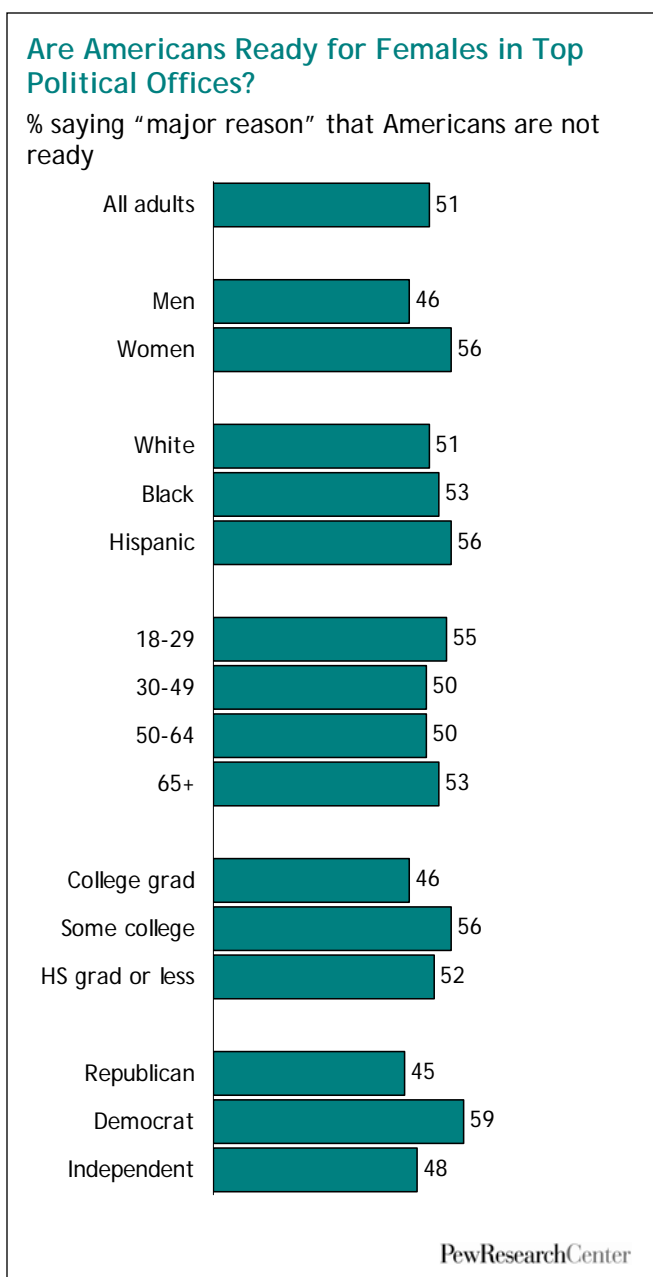
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Who Says What

This section offers a more detailed look at similarities and differences among demographic subgroups in responses to the question about obstacles to female leadership.

Varying patterns emerge from this subgroup analysis. On some of the explanations – for example, the belief that Americans are not ready to elect women to high office – public attitudes are widely shared across age, race, ethnic, income, region and religious groups. But on other explanations – such as the role of male resistance and overall gender discrimination -- there are clear differences by race and some differences by other demographic variables.

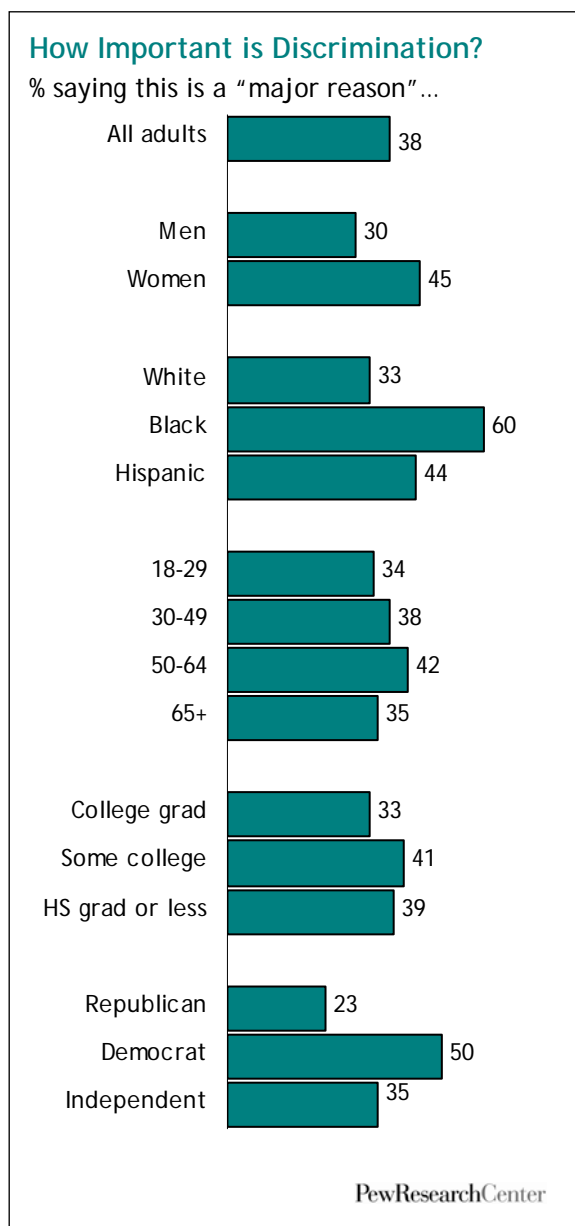
More than half of blacks (57%) and Hispanics (52%) say male resistance is a major obstacle, compared with 39% of whites. A majority of blacks (60%) also say overall discrimination is a major reason, compared with 44% of Hispanics and 33% of whites.



There also are age, education and income patterns in responses to the questions about male resistance and overall gender discrimination. People ages 50-64 are more likely than adults who are younger or older to see male resistance or general discrimination as major reasons for the relative scarcity of women in leadership roles. Americans with higher education levels and incomes are less likely to see male resistance and discrimination as important obstacles.

Looking at party identification, Democrats are more inclined than Republicans or independents to say that voter unreadiness, male resistance and overall discrimination are major reasons there are not more female politicians in high office. The share of independents saying male resistance or general discrimination are major reasons is higher than the share of Republicans who say so.

There are few notable differences among demographic groups in the responses about whether women lack the experience to seek high political office (see Appendix Two).



On the question of whether women's family responsibilities prevent them from having political careers, some differences show up by age and ethnic group. But income and education levels are linked to more broad-based disparities in opinion on this question.

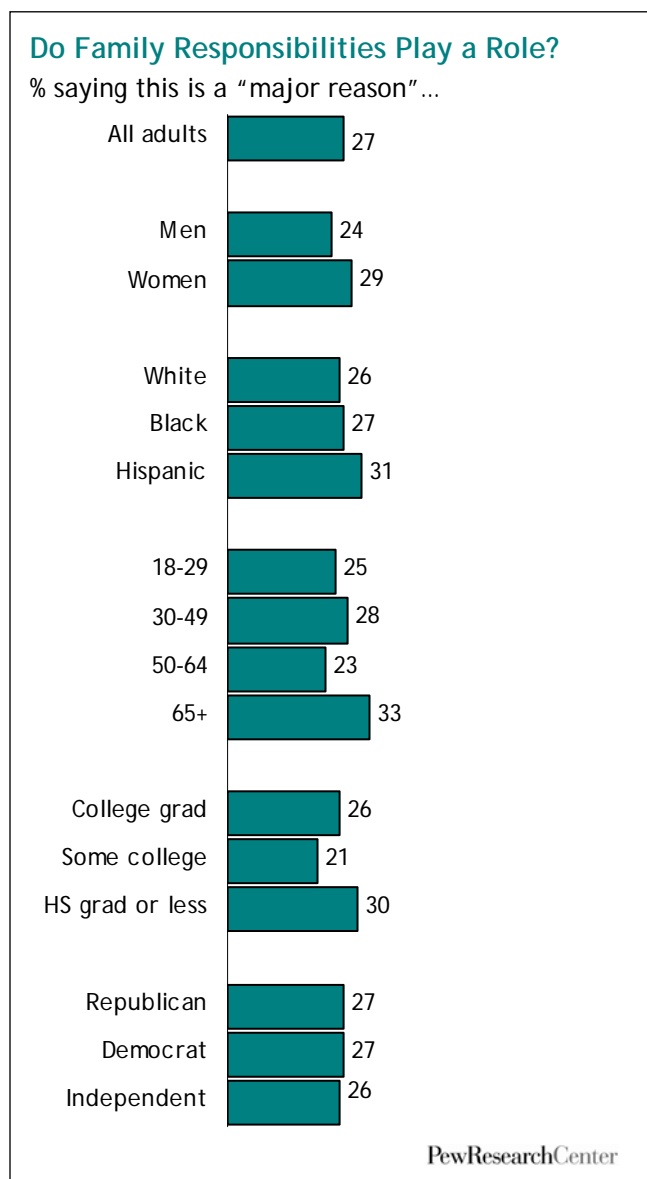
Women ages 65 and older (37%) are more likely to call family responsibilities a major reason for the political gender gap than are women ages 50-64 (25%) or 18-29 (28%). Among men, Hispanics are more likely to say family is a major reason (33%) than are white men (22%).

But among Americans of different education levels, a third of respondents who do not have a high school diploma (34%) say family ties are a major obstacle for would-be female politicians, compared with a fourth of college graduates (26%). So do 36% of Americans with incomes of less than \$20,000 a year, compared with a 25% of those with incomes of \$100,000 a year or more.

Americans who describe themselves as political conservatives are somewhat more likely than moderates or liberals to cite family obligations as a major reason—30% compared with 25%. But those differences do not appear among self-identified Democrats and Republicans and independents.

Among religious groups, there are some differences on the question of family responsibilities that do not show up in other explanations for women's lesser likelihood to be political leaders. Evangelical Protestants, for example, are somewhat more likely (35%) than non-evangelical Protestants (24%) or Catholics (28%) to cite family obligations as a major reason.

There is no strong support among any demographic group for the idea that lack of leadership is a major reason preventing women from attaining high political office. However, blacks (44%) and Hispanics (46%) are less likely than whites (55%) to say lack of leadership is not a reason for this. So are respondents who have lower education and income levels, compared with those who have higher education and income levels (see Appendix Two).

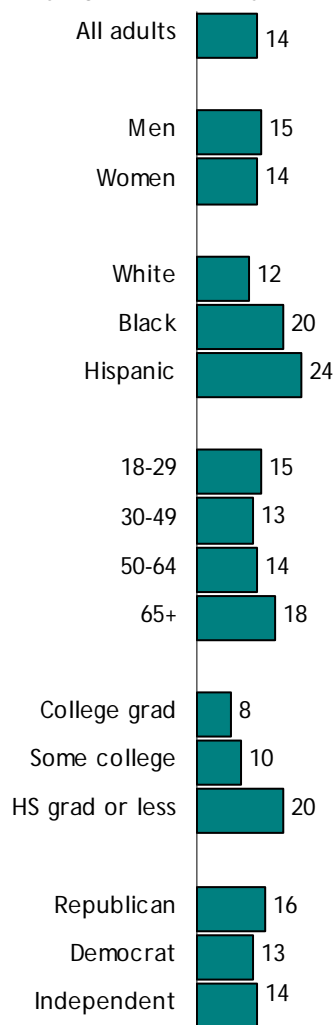


There are some similar response patterns on the question of whether women are tough enough for politics. Again, no group believes this is a major reason for the relative scarcity of female leaders. But whites (56%) are more inclined to say this is not a reason, compared with blacks (48%) and Hispanics (46%). Most respondents ages 18-49 (57%) say this is not a reason, compared with just under half (49%) of those ages 50 and older.

The question of toughness gives rise to the only statistically significant difference by nativity in this battery. Foreign-born respondents (21%) are more likely than native-born respondents (14%) to say women's lack of toughness is a major reason there are not more female leaders

Do Women Lack the Toughness for Political Office?

% saying this is a "major reason"...



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Why Not More Corporate Leaders?

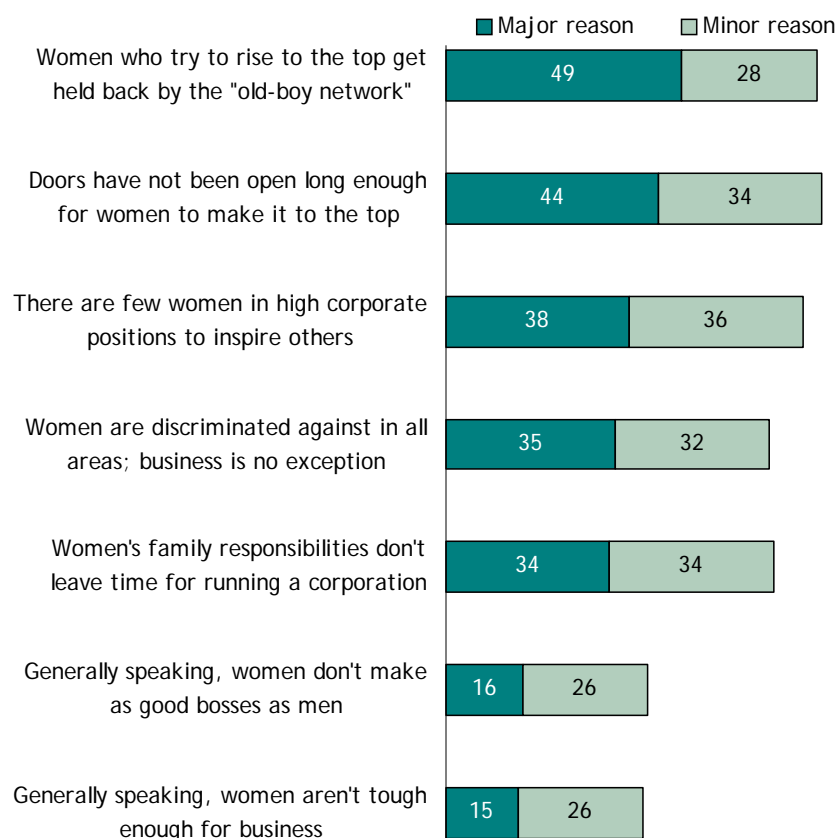
As in politics, few women have made it to the very top of the business world. Only about a dozen of the CEOs of Fortune 500 corporations are female. The survey finds that most Americans do not believe that is because women are bad bosses or not tough enough, much as they reject those explanations for the lack of women political leaders.

In contrast to the question about women political leaders, where the most widely cited reason is that Americans are not ready to elect them, the most often cited major reason for the dearth of women corporate leaders is that the old-boy network holds them back (49%). This compares with 43% of respondents who say “held back by men” is a major reason more women do not ascend in politics. About the same share cite general discrimination as a major hindrance for women corporate leaders (35%) as for women politicians (38%).

More than four-in-ten (44%) say a major reason there are not more female

CEOs is that the doors have not been open long enough, and 38% cite a lack of role models. One-in-three say family responsibilities are a major reason there are not more female corporate leaders, a somewhat higher share than the 27% who say so for political leaders.

Why Aren't There More Women in Top Executive Positions?



Note: "Not a reason" and "don't know" responses are not shown.

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III. Beyond Leadership: Gender in Society

In the public's view, gender bias is not something that women confront only when they seek leadership positions. A majority (54%) of adults say that "discrimination against women" – described in this generalized, nonspecific way – is a problem in society, with 15% calling it a very serious problem and 39% calling it somewhat serious.

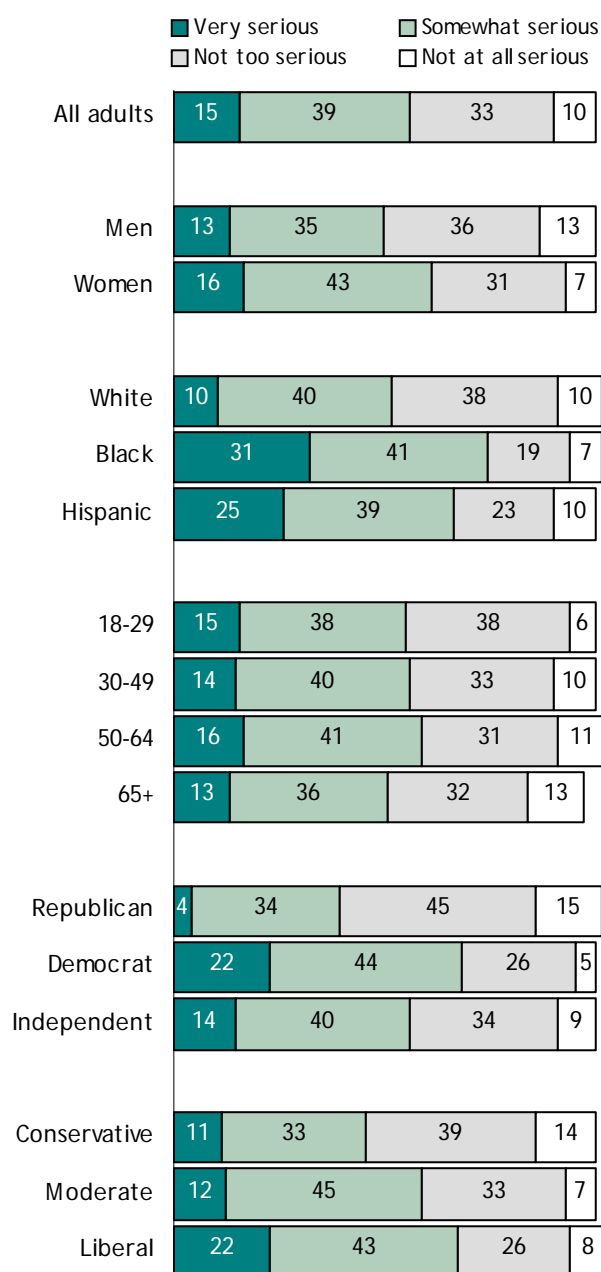
Women (59%) are more inclined than men (48%) to see gender discrimination against women as a problem. Blacks and Hispanics are more inclined than whites to see it as a problem. Democrats are more inclined than Republicans and liberals more inclined than conservatives to see it as a problem.

Comparative Perceptions of Gender and Racial Discrimination

However, the belief that gender discrimination is a problem is not as widespread as the belief that racial discrimination against blacks is a problem. Whereas a slight majority of adults (54%) say gender bias against women is a problem, nearly two-thirds (63%) say discrimination against blacks is either a very serious (21%) or somewhat serious (42%) problem.

For the most part, attitudes about racial and gender discrimination break down along similar demographic, partisan and ideological lines. More women than men; more blacks and Hispanics than whites; more Democrats than Republicans and more liberals than conservatives see racial bias against blacks as a problem. The same patterns hold for attitudes about gender discrimination.

Discrimination Against Women: How Big a Problem?



Note: Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses are not shown.

However, when it comes to the age of respondents, these patterns diverge. On the question of discrimination against blacks, younger adults (ages 18 to 49) are more likely to see a problem – 68% do so – than are adults over age 65, among whom 53% see a problem. On the question of gender discrimination against women, there is no equivalent generational shift in attitudes. Adults of all ages are roughly equally inclined to say there is a problem.

The perception that racial discrimination is a problem in society is not as widespread now as it was in the 1990s; it has fallen from 75% in 1995 to 64% now.

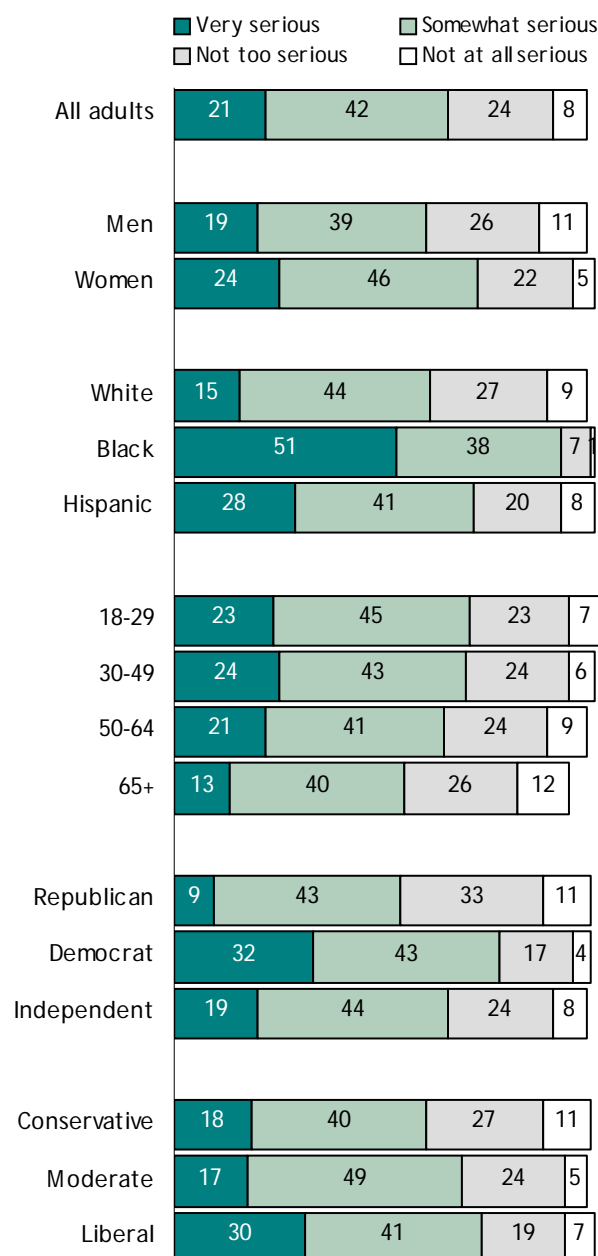
Perceptions of Progress on Gender Equality

Just as with racial discrimination, attitudes about the problem of gender bias have changed over time. While a majority of the public (57%) says the country needs to continue to make changes to give women equal rights with men, a substantial minority (39%) now say the country has already made most of the changes needed.

Back in 1992, an ABC News survey of women found that 78% said more change was needed, while just two-in-ten said that enough strides had already been made. In the current Pew survey, just 64% of women respondents say more change is needed, while 33% said most of the needed changes have already occurred.

There is a gender gap in attitudes on this question; more women (64%) than men (50%) in the Pew survey say the country needs to continue to make changes to give women equal rights. But the gaps on this question are even more pronounced by race (76% of blacks say more change is needed, compared with 54% of whites); by party (73% of Democrats vs. 38% of Republicans and 56% of independents say more change is needed) and by ideology (70% of liberals vs. 48% of conservatives and 58% of moderates say more change is needed).

Discrimination Against Blacks: How Big a Problem?



Note: "Don't know" responses are not shown.

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Differences by Generation

There are also notable differences by age. Older adults are more inclined than younger adults to say that the country needs to make more changes to ensure equal rights for women. Although this generation gap holds true for both men and women, it is more pronounced among women. Seven-in-ten women over age 50 say more change is needed to ensure that women have equal rights with men, compared with 64% of women ages 30 to 49 and just 53% of women ages 18 to 29. Overall, looking at men and women together, 48% of adults ages 18 to 29 say the country has made enough changes, while 50% say more change is needed. By contrast, among adults ages 65 and above, nearly two-thirds (64%) say more change is needed, while just 28% say most of the needed changes have already happened.

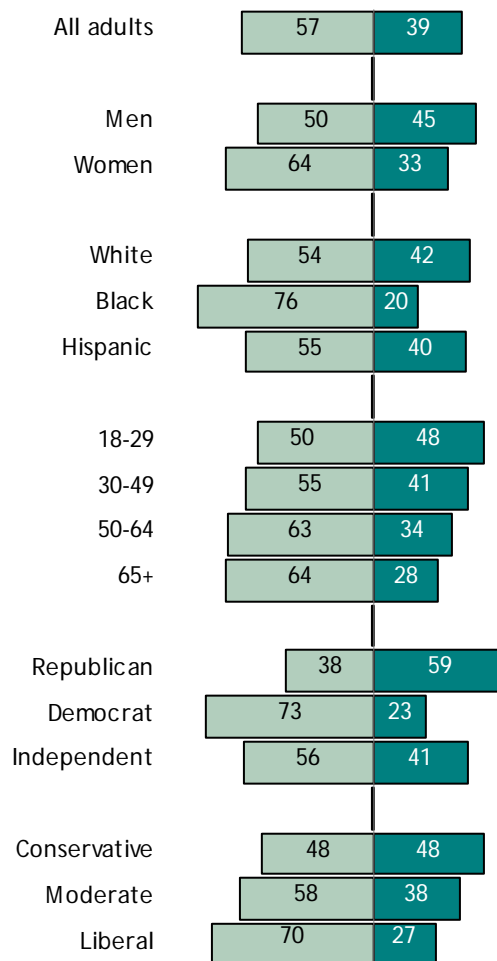
The generational pattern on this question about gender equality is different from the generational pattern on a question about racial discrimination. When it comes to discrimination against blacks, younger adults are more inclined than older adults to see a problem. But when it comes to perceptions about equal treatment for women, older adults are more inclined than younger adults to see a need for more change.

Little Support for Traditional Role for Women

Despite these differences in perception about whether more needs to be done to ensure that women achieve equality with men, there is widespread agreement among virtually all demographic groups that women should *not* return to their traditional roles in society. Nearly three quarters of all adults (73%) say that would not be a welcome development, compared with less than a quarter (22%) who say it would be.

Equal Rights for Women: Most Say More Changes Needed

More changes needed Enough changes made



Question wording: Which of these two statements comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right: This country has made most of the changes needed to give women equal rights with men OR The country needs to continue making changes to give women equal rights with men.

Note: “Don’t know” responses are not shown.

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While this view is broadly shared, there are some generational differences in the intensity with which this opinion is held. Younger women are more likely than older women to say they *completely* disagree with the idea that women should return to their traditional roles – 54% of women ages 18 to 49 say this, compared with 44% of women over age 50 who say the same thing.

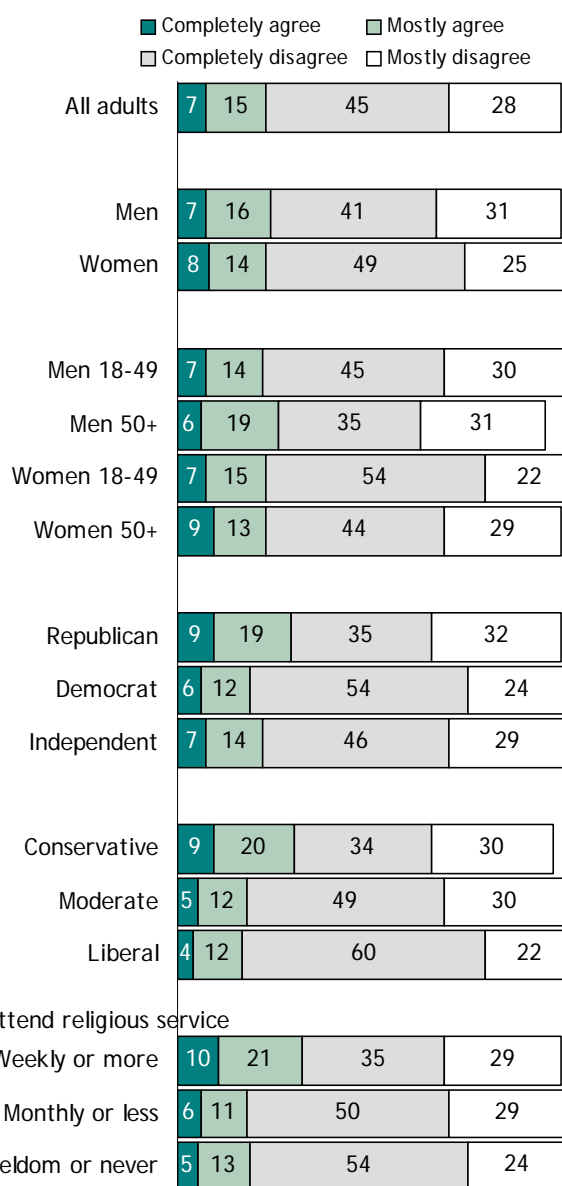
In short, while older women may feel more strongly than younger women about the need for more societal change to combat bias against women, younger women feel more averse than older women to the idea that women should return to their traditional roles in society.

There are also sharp variances by partisanship and ideology on the question of women returning to their traditional role. Many more Democrats (54%) than Republicans (35%) say they *completely* disagree that women should return to their traditional role in society. Likewise, about twice as many liberals as conservatives say they completely disagree with that notion. And on the religious front, there are sharp differences as well. Just three-in-ten white evangelical Protestants completely disagree that women should return to their traditional role, compared with 48% of white mainline Protestants who completely disagree. Among all adults who say they attend religious services weekly or more often, just 35% completely disagree; among those who say they seldom or never attend services, 54% completely disagree.

Attitudes about men and women as political leaders vary in tandem with the public's attitudes about traditional gender roles. By a ratio of two-to-one, the view that men make better political leaders than women is more prevalent among those who support the idea of women returning to their traditional roles than it is among those who disapprove of this idea. Still, a majority (55%) of those who would like to see women return to their traditional role say they see no difference between men and women in their ability to be good political leaders.

Scant Support for Women in their Traditional Role

Women should return to their traditional roles



Note: "Don't know" responses are not shown.

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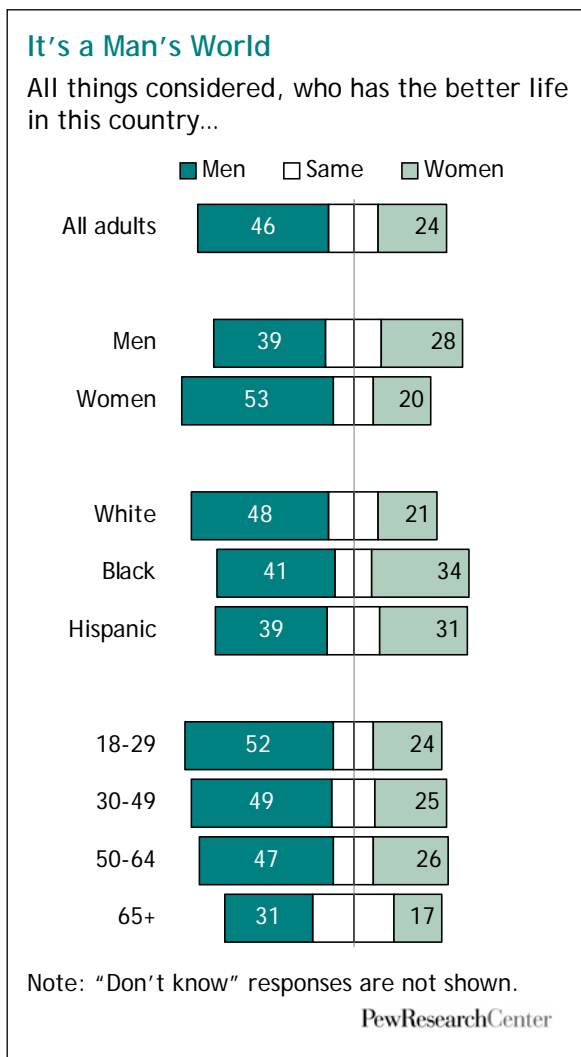
Bottom Line: It's a Man's World

By a ratio of nearly two-to-one, American adults say that, all things considered, men rather than women have the better life in this country. The breakdown is as follows: 46% of respondents say men have the better life, 24% say women, 17% volunteer that there's no difference and 14% say they don't know.

There is a sizable gender gap in attitudes on this question. Fewer than four in ten men (39%) say men have the better life, while 28% of men say women have the better life. Among women, the belief that men have the better life is more firmly entrenched; 53% of women say so, compared with just 20% of women who say women have it better.

Blacks and Hispanics have a different perspective from whites on this question. While a plurality of both minority groups agree that men have the better life, opinion is much more evenly divided in these communities than it is among whites. Among blacks, 41% say men have it better and 34% say women do. Among Hispanics, 39% say men have it better and 31% say women do. By contrast, among whites, 48% say men have it better and 21% say women do.

Young adults (of both genders) are much more likely than older adults (of both genders) to say men have it better. Overall, a majority of 18 to 29 year olds say men have it better (52%), compared with just 31% of adults ages 65 and above who say that.



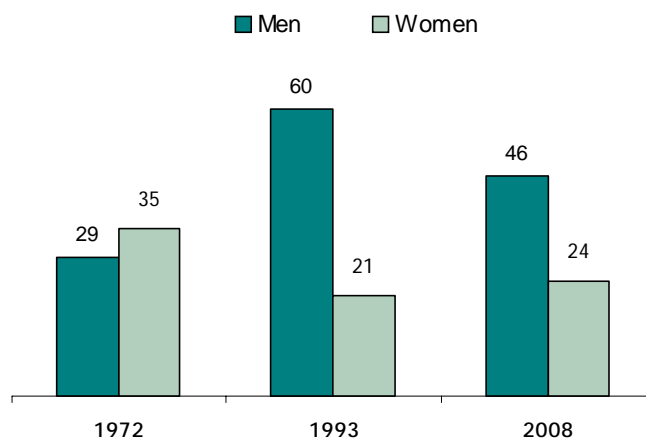
Over the past three-and-a-half decades, public attitudes on this question have shifted sharply – and not once but twice. A Gallup Poll taken in 1972 – during the early years of the women’s movement – found that a narrow plurality of the public said *women* had the better life; 35% said so, compared with 29% who said men had the better life and 30% who volunteered the view that there was no difference.

By the early 1990s, attitudes had swung heavily in the other direction – a shift presumably fueled by a women’s movement that raised public consciousness about discrimination and gender bias against women. A 1993 Gallup Poll found that 60% of the public said men had the better life, while just 21% said women had it better.

Now, in an era that many observers have described as a “post-feminist,” those attitudes have shifted once again, with just 46% of the public saying men have the better life and 24% saying that women do.

The Rise and Decline of the Male Gender Advantage, 1972-2008

All things considered, who has the better life in this country...



Note: “Don’t know” and “same” responses are not shown.
Source: Surveys from 1972 to 1993 by Gallup.

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SURVEY METHODOLOGY

SUMMARY

This survey, sponsored by the Pew Research Center Social and Demographic Trends Project, obtained telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 2,250 adults living in the continental United States. The survey was conducted by Princeton Survey Research International. The interviews were conducted in English by Princeton Data Source, LLC from June 16 to July 16, 2008. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is $\pm 2.3\%$.

Details on the design, execution and analysis of the survey are discussed below.

DESIGN AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

SAMPLE DESIGN

A combination of landline and cellular random digit dial (RDD) samples was used to represent all adults in the continental United States who have access to either a landline or cellular telephone. Both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International, LLC (SSI) according to PSRAI specifications.

Numbers for the landline sample were drawn with equal probabilities from active blocks (area code + exchange + two-digit block number) that contained three or more residential directory listings. The cellular sample was not list-assisted, but was drawn through a systematic sampling from 1000-blocks dedicated to cellular service according to the Telcordia database.

QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING

The questionnaire was developed by PRC. In order to improve the quality of the data, the questionnaire was pretested with a small number of respondents using landline RDD telephone number sample. The pretest interviews were monitored by PRC staff and conducted using experienced interviewers who could best judge the quality of the answers given and the degree to which respondents understood the questions. Some final changes were made to the questionnaire based on the monitored pretest interviews.

CONTACT PROCEDURES

Interviews were conducted from June 16 to July 16, 2008. As many as 10 attempts were made to contact every sampled telephone number. Sample was released for interviewing in replicates, which are representative subsamples of the larger sample. Using replicates to control the release of sample ensures that complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. Calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chance of making contact with potential respondents. Each household received at least one daytime call in an attempt to find someone at home.

For the landline sample, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult male currently at home. If no male was available, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest female at home. This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender. For the cellular sample, interviews were conducted with the person who answered the phone.

Interviewers verified that the person was an adult and in a safe place before administering the survey. Cellular sample respondents were offered a post-paid cash incentive for their participation.

WEIGHTING AND ANALYSIS

Weighting is generally used in survey analysis to compensate for sample designs and patterns of non-response that might bias results. A two-stage weighting procedure was used to weight this dual-frame sample. A first-stage weight of 0.5 was applied to all dual-users to account for the fact that they were included in both sample frames.⁵ All other cases were given a first-stage weight of 1. The second stage of weighting balanced sample demographics to population parameters. The sample was balanced - by form - to match national population parameters for sex, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region (U.S. Census definitions), population density, and telephone usage. The White, non-Hispanic subgroup was also balanced on age, education and region. The basic weighting parameters came from a special analysis of the Census Bureau's 2007 Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC) that included all households in the continental United States. The cell phone usage parameter came from an analysis of the July-December 2007 National Health Interview Survey.

Weighting was accomplished using Sample Balancing, a special iterative sample weighting program that simultaneously balances the distributions of all variables using a statistical technique called the Deming Algorithm. Weights were trimmed to prevent individual interviews from having too much influence on the final results. The use of these weights in statistical analysis ensures that the demographic characteristics of the sample closely approximate the demographic characteristics of the national population. Table 1 compares weighted and unweighted sample distributions to population parameters.

⁵ Dual-users are defined as [a] landline respondents who have a working cell phone, or [b] cell phone respondents who have a regular land line phone where they currently live.

Table 1: Sample Demographics

	<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Unweighted</u>	<u>First Stage</u>	<u>Weighted</u>
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	48.4	47.1	47.6	48.2
Female	51.6	52.9	52.4	51.8
<u>Age</u>				
18-24	12.8	11.7	12.7	12.9
25-34	17.9	13.7	14.7	17.6
35-44	19.2	15.6	14.7	18.3
45-54	19.5	20.0	18.8	19.1
55-64	14.4	16.0	15.2	14.2
65+	16.2	21.6	22.6	16.7
<u>Education</u>				
Less than HS				
Graduate	15.2	8.1	9.9	13.8
HS Graduate	35.8	30.2	32.3	36.0
Some College	22.9	25.7	24.9	23.4
College Graduate	26.1	35.6	32.6	26.5
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>				
White/not Hispanic	69.3	71.7	69.4	69.1
Black/not Hispanic	11.3	10.8	11.7	11.2
Hispanic	13.4	9.5	10.9	12.7
Other/not Hispanic	6.1	7.1	7.1	6.1
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	18.4	17.8	17.5	18.4
Midwest	23.0	25.1	25.5	23.4
South	36.9	37.6	37.6	36.8
West	21.7	19.6	19.4	21.4
<u>County Pop. Density</u>				
1 - Lowest	20.1	20.7	21.3	20.1
2	20.0	20.8	20.6	20.1
3	20.1	21.5	20.7	20.2
4	20.2	19.1	19.0	20.2
5 - Highest	19.6	18.0	18.4	19.4
missing				
<u>Phone Use</u>				
LLO	17.7	17.0	26.4	17.6
Dual	66.0	71.2	55.3	66.6
CPO	16.3	11.8	18.3	15.8

EFFECTS OF SAMPLE DESIGN ON STATISTICAL INFERENCE

Post-data collection statistical adjustments require analysis procedures that reflect departures from simple random sampling. PSRAI calculates the effects of these design features so that an appropriate adjustment can be incorporated into tests of statistical significance when using these data. The so-called "design effect" or deff represents the loss in statistical efficiency that results from systematic non-response. The total sample design effect for this survey is 1.18.

PSRAI calculates the composite design effect for a sample of size n , with each case having a weight, w_i as:

$$deff = \frac{n \sum_{i=1}^n w_i^2}{\left(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i \right)^2} \quad \text{formula 1}$$

In a wide range of situations, the adjusted standard error of a statistic should be calculated by multiplying the usual formula by the square root of the design effect (\sqrt{deff}). Thus, the formula for computing the 95% confidence interval around a percentage is:

$$\hat{p} \pm \left(\sqrt{deff} \times 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{\hat{p}(1-\hat{p})}{n}} \right) \quad \text{formula 2}$$

where \hat{p} is the sample estimate and n is the unweighted number of sample cases in the group being considered.

The survey's margin of error is the largest 95% confidence interval for any estimated proportion based on the total sample—the one around 50%. For example, the margin of error for the entire sample is $\pm 2.2\%$. This means that in 95 out every 100 samples drawn using the same methodology, estimated proportions based on the entire sample will be no more than 2.2 percentage points away from their true values in the population. The margin of error for estimates based on form 1 or form 2 respondents is $\pm 3.2\%$. It is important to remember that sampling fluctuations are only one possible source of error in a survey estimate. Other sources, such as respondent selection bias, questionnaire wording and reporting inaccuracy, may contribute additional error of greater or lesser magnitude.

RESPONSE RATE

Table 2 reports the disposition of all sampled telephone numbers ever dialed from the original telephone number samples. The response rate estimates the fraction of all eligible respondents in the sample that were ultimately interviewed. At PSRAI it is calculated by taking the product of three component rates:⁶

⁶ PSRAI's disposition codes and reporting are consistent with the American Association for Public Opinion Research standards.

- Contact rate – the proportion of working numbers where a request for interview was made⁷
- Cooperation rate – the proportion of contacted numbers where a consent for interview was at least initially obtained, versus those refused
- Completion rate – the proportion of initially cooperating and eligible interviews that were completed

Thus the response rate for the land line sample was 19 percent. The response rate for the cellular sample was also 20 percent.

Table 2: Sample Disposition

Landline	Cell phone	
22992	12750	Total Numbers Dialed
1884	250	Business/Government/Non-Residential
1171	24	Fax/Modem
18	0	Cell phone
10353	5282	Other Not-Working
1390	167	Additional projected NW
8176	7027	Working numbers
35.6%	55.1%	Working Rate
410	22	No Answer
54	34	Busy
741	929	Answering Machine
0	1	Non-Contacts after determined eligible
88	119	Other Non-Contacts
6884	5922	Contacted numbers
84.2%	84.3%	Contact Rate
321	768	Callbacks
4750	3503	Refusal 1 - Refusal before eligibility status known
1813	1651	Cooperating numbers
26.3%	27.9%	Cooperation Rate
60	438	Language Barrier
0	349	Screenouts
1753	864	Eligible numbers
96.7%	52.3%	Eligibility Rate
253	114	Refusal 2 - Refusal after case determined eligible
1500	750	Completes
85.6%	86.8%	Completion Rate
19.0%	20.4%	Response Rate

⁷ PSRAI assumes that 75 percent of cases that result in a constant disposition of “No answer” or “Busy” are actually not working numbers.

PEW SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS
FINAL TOPLINE
 June 16 - July 16, 2008 GENDER SURVEY
 N=2,250 (Men=1,060; Women=1,190)

NOTE: ALL NUMBERS ARE PERCENTAGES. THE PERCENTAGES LESS THAN .5 % ARE REPLACED BY AN ASTERISK (*). COLUMNS/ROWS MAY NOT TOTAL 100% DUE TO ROUNDING. ALL TRENDS REFERENCE SURVEYS FROM THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS AND SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED.

ONLY QUESTIONS RELATED TO THIS REPORT ARE LISTED.

ROTATE Q.7A AND Q.7B

Q.7A How serious a problem do you think racial discrimination against blacks is in this country--a very serious problem, a somewhat serious problem, not too serious, or not at all serious?

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
21	Very serious	19	24	
42	Somewhat serious	39	46	
24	Not too serious	26	22	
8	Not at all serious	11	5	
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	4	

<u>June</u> <u>2008</u>		<i>CNN/Opinion</i> <i>Research Corp.</i> <u>Jan 2008</u>	<i>CNN/USA</i> <i>Today/Gallup</i> <u>Aug 1996</u>	<i>CNN/USA</i> <i>Today/Gallup</i> <u>Oct 1995</u>
21	Very serious	19	23	23
42	Somewhat serious	44	46	52
24	Not too serious	29	22	17
8	Not at all serious	7	5	4
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	4	4

Q.7B How serious a problem do you think discrimination against women is in this country--a very serious problem, a somewhat serious problem, not too serious, or not at all serious?

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
15	Very serious	13	16
39	Somewhat serious	35	43
33	Not too serious	36	31
10	Not at all serious	13	7
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	3

MARITAL Are you currently married, living with a partner, divorced, separated, widowed, or have you never been married? (IF R SAYS "SINGLE," PROBE TO DETERMINE WHICH CATEGORY IS APPROPRIATE)

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
47	Married	48	47
7	Living with a partner	5	9
11	Divorced	11	11
3	Separated	3	3
8	Widowed	4	11
23	Never been married	28	18
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1

<u>June 2008</u>		<u>Jan 2008</u>	<u>Mar 2007</u>	<u>Oct 2006</u>	<u>June 2006</u>	<u>Feb 2006</u>	<u>Oct 2005</u>
47	Married	50	53	53	51	52	55
7	Living with a partner	8	5	6	7	8	6
11	Divorced	10	10	10	11	10	9
3	Separated	2	3	3	2	3	2
8	Widowed	8	9	9	9	8	8
23	Never been married	21	20	19	20	18	18
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	*	*	*	1	2

Q.9 All things considered, who has the better life in this country - men or women?

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
46	Men	39	53
24	Women	28	20
17	Same (VOL.)	20	14
14	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	14	13

<u>June 2008</u>		<u>Gallup/CNN/ USA Today Aug 1993</u>	<u>Gallup Dec 1989</u>	<u>Gallup (AIPO) Mar 1975⁸</u>	<u>Gallup (AIPO) Mar 1972</u>
46	Men	60	49	32	29
24	Women	21	22	28	35
17	Same (VOL.)	15	21	31	30
14	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	8	9	6

⁸ In 1975 and 1972, interviews were conducted in person and the term "nation" was used instead of "country."

Q.10 Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about men and women as political leaders?
(ROTATE RESPONSES 1 AND 2 ONLY)

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
21	Men generally make better political leaders than women	21	20
6	Women generally make better political leaders than men	4	8
69	In general, women and men make equally good political leaders	69	68
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	3

<u>June</u> <u>2008</u>		2007 <i>Pew</i> <i>Global</i> <u>Attitudes</u>
21	Men generally make better political leaders than women	16
6	Women generally make better political leaders than men	6
69	In general, women and men make equally good political leaders	75
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3

Q.11 Now I would like to ask about some specific characteristics of men and women. For each one I read, please tell me whether you think it is generally more true of men or more true of women.. Here's the first: **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE A THROUGH C AND WITHIN SPLIT SAMPLES]**

READ IF NECESSARY: Is this more true of men or more true of women? **IF SAY 'DEPENDS ON PERSON' OR SAY IT IS A PERSONALITY TRAIT, PROBE ONCE:** But in general, do you think that men or women are more **(INSERT ITEM)?**

a. Intelligent

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
14	More true of men	18	10
38	More true of women	33	43
43	Equally true (VOL.)	43	43
2	Depends (VOL.)	2	1
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	3

b. Decisive

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
44	More true of men	48	40
33	More true of women	29	37
18	Equally true (VOL.)	19	17
1	Depends (VOL.)	1	1
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	5

c. Hardworking

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
28	More true of men	34	23
28	More true of women	21	35
41	Equally true (VOL.)	41	40
1	Depends (VOL.)	2	1
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	1

ITEMS Q11D THROUGH Q11G ASK FORM A ONLY [N=1,150]

d. Compassionate

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
5	More true of men	7	3
80	More true of women	78	83
13	Equally true (VOL.)	14	12
1	Depends (VOL.)	*	1
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	1

Q.11 CONTINUED...

e. Emotional

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
5	More true of men	7	3
85	More true of women	83	87
9	Equally true (VOL.)	9	9
1	Depends (VOL.)	1	1
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	*

f. Ambitious

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
34	More true of men	40	29
34	More true of women	27	39
29	Equally true (VOL.)	30	28
1	Depends (VOL.)	1	1
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	3

g. Arrogant

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
70	More true of men	69	71
10	More true of women	11	9
15	Equally true (VOL.)	14	16
1	Depends (VOL.)	1	1
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	3

ITEMS Q11H THROUGH Q11K ASK FORM B ONLY [N=1,100]

h. Creative

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
11	More true of men	14	8
62	More true of women	54	68
24	Equally true (VOL.)	28	20
1	Depends (VOL.)	1	1
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2

i. Manipulative

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
26	More true of men	21	32
52	More true of women	57	48
16	Equally true (VOL.)	16	16
1	Depends (VOL.)	1	1
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	4

Q.11 CONTINUED...

j. Outgoing

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
28	More true of men	32	24
47	More true of women	41	52
22	Equally true (VOL.)	23	21
1	Depends (VOL.)	2	1
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2

k. Stubborn

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
46	More true of men	40	52
32	More true of women	34	29
19	Equally true (VOL.)	21	17
1	Depends (VOL.)	1	1
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	1

TREND FOR Q11a, Q11e, Q11f & Q11h	More true of men	More true of women	Equally true (VOL.)	Depends (VOL.)	No opinion/ DK/Ref
Q11a. Intelligent					
<i>June 2008</i>	14	38	43	2	3
<i>2000 Gallup</i>	21	36	40	n/a	3
<i>1995 Gallup/CNN/USA Today</i>	14	41	43	n/a	2
Q11e. Emotional					
<i>June 2008</i>	5	85	9	1	*
<i>2000 Gallup⁹</i>	3	90	6	n/a	1
<i>1995 Gallup/CNN/USA Today</i>	4	88	7	n/a	1
Q11f. Ambitious					
<i>June 2008</i>	34	34	29	1	3
<i>2000 Gallup</i>	44	33	22	n/a	1
<i>1995 Gallup/CNN/USA Today</i>	37	26	36	n/a	1
Q11h. Creative					
<i>June 2008</i>	11	62	24	1	2
<i>2000 Gallup</i>	15	65	19	n/a	1
<i>1995 Gallup/CNN/USA Today</i>	13	53	33	n/a	1

⁹ The volunteered response "depends" was not provided as an option in the 2000 *Gallup* and 1995 *Gallup/CNN/USA Today* surveys.

ASK ALL:

Q.12 Who do you think is generally more honest—men or women?

IF SAY ‘DEPENDS ON PERSON’ OR SAY IT IS A PERSONALITY TRAIT, PROBE ONCE: But in general, do you think that men or women are more honest?

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
20	Men	23	17
50	Women	45	56
24	No difference (VOL.)	27	21
2	Depends (VOL.)	2	2
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	4

<u>June 2008</u>		<u>New York Times Nov 1983¹⁰</u>
20	Men	12
50	Women	52
24	No difference (VOL.)	27
2	Depends (VOL.)	n/a
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8

Q.13 Which of these two statements comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right. [ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS]

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
39	This country has made most of the changes needed to give women equal rights with men. OR	45	33
57	The country needs to continue making changes to give women equal rights with men.	50	64
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	3

<u>June 2008 Women</u>		<u>ABC News June 92¹¹ Women</u>
33	This country has made most of the changes needed to give women equal rights with men. OR	20
64	The country needs to continue making changes to give women equal rights with men.	78
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1

¹⁰ The volunteered response “depends” was not provided as an option in the 1983 *New York Times* survey.

¹¹ The ABC News June 1992 survey was based on telephone interviews with a national adult women sample.

Q.14 Please tell me if you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or completely disagree with the following statement: Women should return to their traditional roles in society.

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
22	Agree (NET)	22	22
7	Completely agree	7	8
15	Mostly agree	16	14
73	Disagree (NET)	72	74
45	Completely disagree	41	49
28	Mostly disagree	31	25
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	4

	<u>NET</u>	----AGREE----		----DISAGREE----			DK/ <u>Ref</u>
		Completely <u>agree</u>	Mostly <u>agree</u>	<u>NET</u>	Completely <u>disagree</u>	Mostly <u>disagree</u>	
Women should return to their traditional roles in society							
June 2008	22	7	15	73	45	28	5
January 2008 ¹²	23	7	16	72	44	28	5
January 2007	20	8	12	75	51	24	5
August 2003	24	10	14	72	50	22	4
August 2002	20	8	12	75	48	27	5
Late September 1999	25	9	16	71	48	23	4
November 1997	24	10	14	73	43	30	3
July 1994	30	12	18	67	40	27	3
November 1991	23	10	13	75	49	26	2
May 1990	30	10	20	67	35	32	3
February 1989	26	10	16	71	41	30	3
May 1988	31	11	20	66	36	30	3
May 1987	30	9	21	66	29	37	4

¹² In January, 2008 and earlier surveys the item was part of a longer list.

Q.15 As you may know, though women have moved into the work force in great numbers, very few top level business positions in this country are filled by women. There may be many reasons that there are so few women in high corporate positions. Here is a list of some of them. For each one, would you tell me whether you think it is a major reason, a minor reason, or not a reason why [INSERT ITEM; ASK IN ORDER].

- a. Generally speaking, women don't make as good bosses as men

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
16	Major reason	17	14
26	Minor reason	29	24
54	Not a reason	50	58
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	4

- b. Women are discriminated against in all areas of life, and business is no exception

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
35	Major reason	30	39
32	Minor reason	33	32
29	Not a reason	33	26
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	4

- c. Women's responsibilities to family don't leave time for running a major corporation

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
34	Major reason	32	37
34	Minor reason	37	32
28	Not a reason	27	28
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	3

- d. Generally speaking, women aren't tough enough for business

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
15	Major reason	16	13
26	Minor reason	27	26
57	Not a reason	54	59
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	2

- e. Women who try to rise to the top of major corporations get held back by the "old-boy network"

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
49	Major reason	45	54
28	Minor reason	30	26
17	Not a reason	19	15
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	5

- f. There are few women in high corporate positions to inspire others

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
38	Major reason	35	41
36	Minor reason	37	35
23	Not a reason	24	21
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	2

Q.15 CONTINUED...

- g. The doors have not been open long enough to women for many of them to have made it to the top

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
44	Major reason	42	45
34	Minor reason	34	34
20	Not a reason	21	18
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	3

TREND FOR Q15a-g (Men)

	<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Generally speaking, women don't make as good bosses as men				
<i>June 2008</i>	17	29	50	4
<i>1994 Virginia Slims¹³</i>	17	31	48	4
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	17	31	47	5
b. Women are discriminated against in all areas of life, and business is no exception				
<i>June 2008</i>	30	33	33	4
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	29	39	29	3
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	31	38	27	4
c. Women's responsibilities to family don't leave time for running a major corporation				
<i>June 2008</i>	32	37	27	4
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	26	39	31	4
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	29	43	25	3
d. Generally speaking, women aren't tough enough for business				
<i>June 2008</i>	16	27	54	3
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	14	30	52	3
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	17	30	49	4
e. Women who try to rise to the top of major corporations get held back by the "old-boy network"				
<i>June 2008</i>	45	30	19	6
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	37	35	21	6
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	41	35	16	7
f. There are few women in high corporate positions to inspire others				
<i>June 2008</i>	35	37	24	4
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	30	38	27	6
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	37	41	17	5

¹³ Virginia Slims surveys were conducted in person in the homes of the respondents. The samples of women and men interviewed in each year are representative of adult female and male populations of continental United States, but the women's and men's samples cannot be combined to yield a national representative adult sample.

Q.15 CONTINUED...

g. The doors have not been open long enough to women for many of them to have made it to the top

<i>June 2008</i>	42	34	21	3
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	33	39	24	4
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	46	36	14	4

TREND FOR Q15a-g (Women)

	<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Generally speaking, women don't make as good bosses as men				
<i>June 2008</i>	14	24	58	4
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	10	24	63	3
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	11	24	61	4
b. Women are discriminated against in all areas of life, and business is no exception				
<i>June 2008</i>	39	32	26	4
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	37	37	23	3
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	40	34	22	4
c. Women's responsibilities to family don't leave time for running a major corporation				
<i>June 2008</i>	37	32	28	3
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	21	37	39	3
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	29	39	29	3
d. Generally speaking, women aren't tough enough for business				
<i>June 2008</i>	13	26	59	2
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	9	27	61	3
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	12	25	59	4
e. Women who try to rise to the top of major corporations get held back by the "old-boy network"				
<i>June 2008</i>	54	26	15	5
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	44	33	17	6
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	46	31	16	7
f. There are few women in high corporate positions to inspire others				
<i>June 2008</i>	41	35	21	2
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	34	38	24	4
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	41	37	18	4
g. The doors have not been open long enough to women for many of them to have made it to the top				
<i>June 2008</i>	45	34	18	3
<i>1994 Virginia Slims</i>	38	38	21	3
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	50	33	13	4

E3 (IF E1=1,2: Some people who have retired do some type of work for pay...) Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>				
52	Full-time	62	44				
15	Part-time	12	17				
32	Not employed	25	39				
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	*				
<u>June 2008</u>		<u>Jan 2008</u>	<u>Mar 2007</u>	<u>Oct 2006</u>	<u>June 2006</u>	<u>Feb¹⁴ 2006</u>	<u>Oct 2005</u>
52	Full-time	51	48	53	48	49	52
15	Part-time	13	13	12	12	15	12
32	Not employed	35	38	35	39	35	36
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	*	1	1	*

Q.18 We'd like to ask you some questions about the differences between men and women in public office. For each of these questions, if you think their sex doesn't make any difference, just tell me. In general, do you think men or women in public office are better at [INSERT ITEM; ASK ITEMS A THROUGH C IN ORDER; RANDOMIZE ITEMS D THROUGH G]?

[IF NECESSARY: Are men or women in public office better at...]

a. Standing up for what they believe in, despite political pressure

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
16	Men	17	15
23	Women	22	25
57	No difference	57	56
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	4

b. Keeping government honest

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
10	Men	9	10
34	Women	32	35
51	No difference	53	50
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	5

c. Working out compromises

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
16	Men	17	15
42	Women	35	48
39	No difference	44	34
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	3

¹⁴ The employment question in February 2006 and October 2005 was preceded by questions about retirement. If respondent was retired, the question was asked: "Some people who have retired do some type of work for pay..."

Q.18 CONTINUED...

d. Dealing with crime and public safety

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
42	Men	43	41
12	Women	11	12
44	No difference	43	45
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2

e. Dealing with social issues such as education and health care

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
7	Men	7	7
52	Women	52	52
40	No difference	39	40
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	1

f. Representing the interests of people like you

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
18	Men	24	12
28	Women	18	38
50	No difference	53	47
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	3

g. Dealing with national security and defense

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
54	Men	55	53
7	Women	6	8
36	No difference	36	37
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	2

TREND FOR Q18a-c (based on registered voters, N=1,726 for June 2008 survey)

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>No difference</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Standing up for what they believe in, despite political pressure				
<i>June 2008</i>	16	23	57	4
<i>1986 CBS/New York Times</i>	25	33	37	5
b. Keeping government honest				
<i>June 2008</i>	8	34	53	5
<i>1998 CBS News</i>	14	43	29	14
<i>1986 CBS/New York Times</i>	13	43	37	7
<i>1984 CBS/New York Times</i>	16	28	44	12
c. Working out compromises				
<i>June 2008</i>	15	43	39	3
<i>1986 CBS/New York Times</i>	40	20	34	6
<i>1984 CBS/New York Times</i>	35	22	33	10

Q.21 As you may know, our country has 8 women Governors out of 50, and 16 women Senators out of 100. There may be many reasons that there are fewer women than men in high political offices. Here is a list of some of them. For each, please tell me whether you think it is a major reason, a minor reason, or not a reason why there are fewer women in politics.)... **[INSERT ITEM; ASK IN ORDER]**

a. Many Americans aren't ready to elect a woman to higher office

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
51	Major reason	46	56
28	Minor reason	31	26
18	Not a reason	20	16
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2

b. Generally speaking, women don't make as good leaders as men

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
16	Major reason	16	16
29	Minor reason	32	26
53	Not a reason	50	55
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	3

c. Women are discriminated against in all areas of life, and politics is no exception

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
38	Major reason	30	45
33	Minor reason	34	32
27	Not a reason	33	22
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2

Q.21 CONTINUED...

d. Women's responsibilities to family don't leave time for politics

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
27	Major reason	24	29
40	Minor reason	40	39
31	Not a reason	32	30
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	2

e. Generally speaking, women aren't tough enough for politics

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
14	Major reason	15	14
31	Minor reason	30	31
54	Not a reason	53	54
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	1

f. Fewer women have the experience required for higher office

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
26	Major reason	26	27
37	Minor reason	36	37
34	Not a reason	35	34
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	2

g. Women who are active in party politics get held back by men.

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
43	Major reason	37	48
32	Minor reason	34	31
21	Not a reason	25	17
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	4

TREND FOR Q21a-f (Men)

	<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Many Americans aren't ready to elect a woman to higher office				
<i>June 2008</i>	46	31	20	2
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	55	30	14	2
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	61	27	10	2
b. Generally speaking, women don't make as good leaders as men				
<i>June 2008</i>	16	32	50	2
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	23	28	47	2
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	16	25	55	4

Q.21 CONTINUED...

TREND FOR Q21a-f (Men)

	<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
c. Women are discriminated against in all areas of life, and politics is no exception				
<i>June 2008</i>	30	34	33	2
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	30	39	29	2
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	31	32	34	3
d. Women's responsibilities to family don't leave time for politics				
<i>June 2008</i>	24	40	32	3
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	24	44	31	1
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	23	41	33	3
e. Generally speaking, women aren't tough enough for politics				
<i>June 2008</i>	15	30	53	2
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	18	31	48	3
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	20	30	47	3
f. Fewer women have the experience required for higher office ¹⁵				
<i>June 2008</i>	26	36	35	3
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	33	47	19	2
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	37	38	21	4

TREND FOR Q21a-f (Women)

	<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Many Americans aren't ready to elect a woman to higher office				
<i>June 2008</i>	56	26	16	2
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	56	31	12	1
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	65	21	11	3
b. Generally speaking, women don't make as good leaders as men				
<i>June 2008</i>	16	26	55	3
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	13	24	62	1
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	13	21	63	3
c. Women are discriminated against in all areas of life, and politics is no exception				
<i>June 2008</i>	45	32	22	2
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	36	39	23	2
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	39	31	27	3
d. Women's responsibilities to family don't leave time for politics				
<i>June 2008</i>	29	39	30	2
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	23	40	35	1
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	23	38	36	3

¹⁵ In the Virginia Slims surveys the item was worded, "Since fewer women hold leadership position in business, the professions and the military, few women have the experience required for higher office."

Q.21 CONTINUED...

e. Generally speaking, women aren't tough enough for politics

<i>June 2008</i>	14	31	54	1
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	13	30	56	1
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	15	25	57	3

f. Fewer women have the experience required for higher office

<i>June 2008</i>	27	37	34	2
<i>1999 Virginia Slims</i>	33	43	22	2
<i>1989 Virginia Slims</i>	37	33	25	5

Q.22 Which political figure in the United States today do you admire most as a leader? **PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS 'DON'T KNOW'. ACCEPT ONE RESPONSE ONLY [OPEN END; RECORD ANSWER]**

<u>All</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
13 Hillary Clinton	8	18
13 Barack Obama	12	13
7 George W. Bush	7	8
3 Condoleezza Rice	2	4
3 Bill Clinton	4	3
3 John McCain	4	2
2 Colin Powell	2	2
1 Ronald Reagan	2	*
1 Bush (unspecified first name)	1	1
1 Clinton (unspecified first name)	*	1
2 None	2	2
17 Other miscellaneous	21	14
34 Don't know/Refused	35	33

Q.24 Now I'm going to read you a list of personal characteristics or qualities that some people say are important in a leader and other people say are not important. For each, please tell me if this quality is important or not important to you. **IF IMPORTANT:** Would you say it is absolutely essential, very important or just somewhat important that a leader be [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE A-D AND WITHIN SPLIT SAMPLES]. How about (INSERT NEXT ITEM)?

READ FOR FIRST ITEM THEN AS NECESSARY Is it important or not important that a leader be [INSERT ITEM]? **IF IMPORTANT:** Would you say it is absolutely essential, very important or just somewhat important that a leader be (INSERT ITEM)?

a. Honest

<u>All</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
52 Absolutely essential	49	55
44 Very important	45	42
3 Somewhat important	4	2
1 Not important	1	*
1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	*

Q.24 CONTINUED...

b. Intelligent

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
46	Absolutely essential	44	48
48	Very important	50	47
4	Somewhat important	4	4
1	Not important	1	1
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1

c. Hardworking

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
45	Absolutely essential	43	47
51	Very important	51	51
3	Somewhat important	3	2
1	Not important	2	*
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	*

d. Decisive

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
39	Absolutely essential	36	41
49	Very important	49	48
9	Somewhat important	10	8
2	Not important	3	1
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	1

ITEMS Q24 E AND Q 24F ASK FORM A ONLY [N=1,150]

e. Compassionate

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
28	Absolutely essential	24	33
45	Very important	43	48
21	Somewhat important	26	16
5	Not important	6	4
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	*

f. Ambitious

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
30	Absolutely essential	27	32
44	Very important	43	44
19	Somewhat important	20	18
7	Not important	8	5
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	1

Q.24 CONTINUED...

ITEMS Q24 G AND Q24 H ASK FORM B ONLY [N=1,100]

g. Creative

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
20	Absolutely essential	20	20
46	Very important	46	45
27	Somewhat important	26	28
6	Not important	7	6
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1

h. Outgoing

<u>All</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
22	Absolutely essential	20	23
45	Very important	43	48
25	Somewhat important	26	24
8	Not important	11	5
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	*

Appendix One

Sources cited in the “By the Numbers” section on trends in female leadership

Politics

How Many Women Hold High Political Office & trends, from Center for American Women and Politics:

Congress: http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/Congress_CurrentFacts.php

Governors: http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/stwide.pdf

State legislators: <http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/Facts/StLegHistory/stleg07.pdf>

International context: Inter-Parliamentary Union

Heads of state, U.S. rank in female members of parliament:

http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap08_en.pdf

Trends in female members of parliament: <http://www.ipu.org/press-e/gen298.htm>

Corporate

CEOs:

Number of Fortune 500 CEOs: <http://www.catalyst.org/publication/271/women-ceos-of-the-fortune-1000>

Female-owned firms, Center for Women’s Business Research, 2006 Fact Sheet:

http://www.cfwbr.org/assets/344_statesoverviewwebcolorfac.pdf

Managers and chief executives:

Census Bureau/Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey (from Women in the Labor Force: A Databook) <http://www.bls.gov/cps/wlf-table11-2007.pdf>

Women’s share of the labor force: 2006 annual average on same page of data book as manager figures; older figures in 2006 Statistical Abstract on my desk

Master’s degrees in business, 1971 v 2006:

http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d07/tables/dt07_290.asp?referrer=list

Professional

Law school enrollment: <http://www.abanet.org/legaled/statistics/charts/stats%20-%201.pdf>

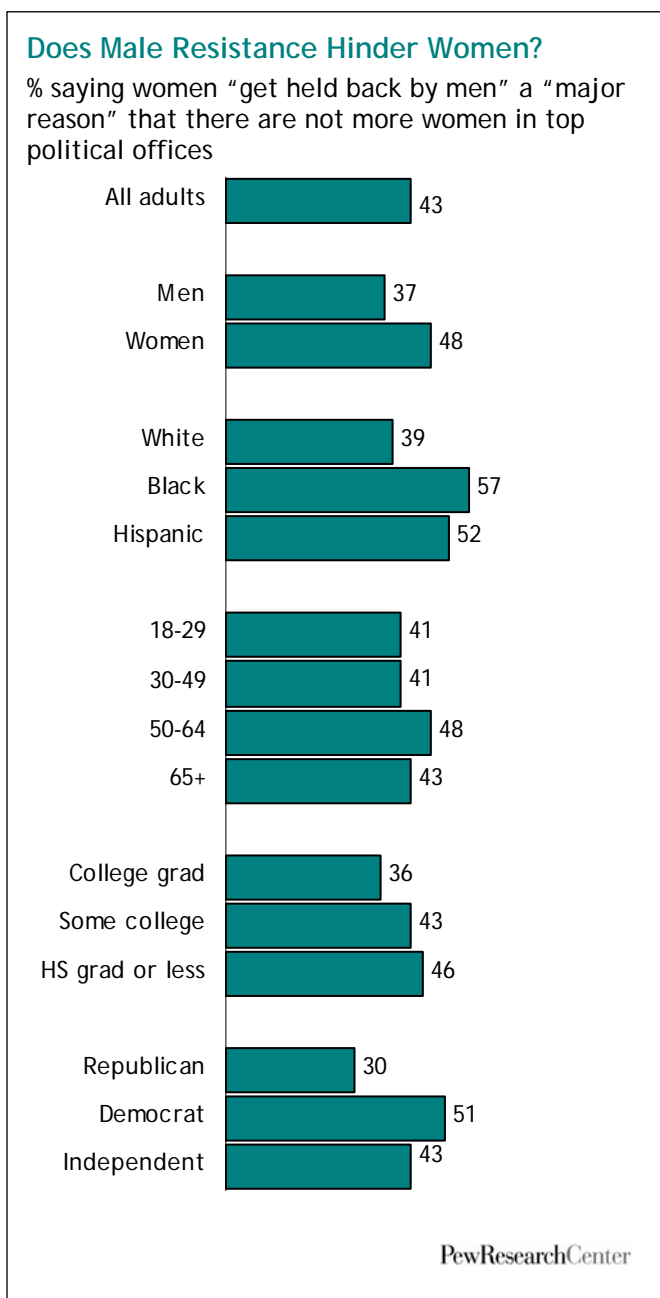
Medical school enrollment: <http://aamc.org/data/facts/2007/women-count.htm>

Lawyers, physicians: Census Bureau/Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey (from Women in the Labor Force: A Databook) <http://www.bls.gov/cps/wlf-table11-2007.pdf>

Women law partners: <http://www.catalyst.org/publication/246/women-in-law-in-the-us>

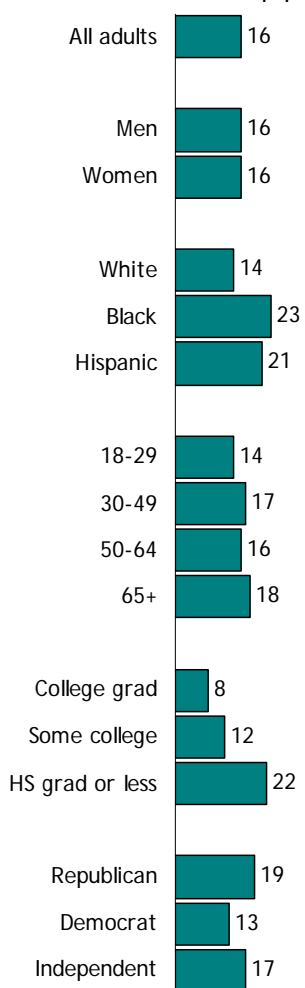
Appendix Two

Additional Charts for Section II.



Do Women Not Make Good Leaders?

% saying this is a "major reason" that there are not more women in top political offices



Do Women Lack Experience for High Office?

% saying this is a "major reason" that there are not more women in top political offices

