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DATE: June 18, 2004

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**Hypothetical Showings of Hillary Clinton, Elizabeth Dole Suggest
Women's Chances of Winning the Presidency Are Better
Than Some Polls Say, Annenberg Data Show**

A woman may not have as tough a time getting elected president as some traditional polling suggests because many people who would prefer not to vote for a woman would actually do so rather than for a candidate of the other party, the University of Pennsylvania's National Annenberg Election Survey suggests.

Polling of 3,572 adults conducted from May 26 through June 10 indicated that if Senator Hillary Clinton were running against President George Bush she would fare no worse than would Senator John Kerry, and Senator Elizabeth Dole would run against Kerry about as strongly as Bush would.

While 78 percent of Democrats and eight percent of Republicans say they would vote for Kerry today, 78 percent of Democrats and 7 percent of Republicans would vote for Senator Clinton. The independents, who are about evenly split between Bush and Kerry today, also said they would vote about equally for Senator Clinton and George Bush.

The parallels were not as close in a hypothetical race between Kerry and Senator Elizabeth Dole of North Carolina, but the bottom line was similar. Eighty-five percent of Republicans said they would vote for Bush against Kerry, and that share dropped to 74 percent when Dole was pitted against Kerry. But she got 19 percent of the Democrats, compared to the 13 percent that Bush got. She did a bit less well among independents than did Bush. But the overall result of a hypothetical Dole-Kerry race, like the Bush-Kerry and Bush-Clinton polling tests, was within the poll's margin of sampling error.

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Pollsters have been asking about people's willingness to vote for a woman since 1937. In that year 64 percent of the population said no, but the percentage has dropped steadily since. In 1983 the University of Chicago's General Social Survey reported that just 13 percent of the population said they would not vote for a qualified woman candidate for president. In 1996 it reported that just seven percent said they would not. No major party has ever nominated a woman for President, and Mrs. Dole dropped out of the 2000 race before the primaries began.

Annenberg polling, with a margin of sampling error of plus or minus two percentage points, showed that 7 percent of the population said they were "very unlikely" to vote for woman when asked, "If your political party nominated a woman for president, how likely would you be to vote for her in the general election." Another 7 percent said they were somewhat unlikely to vote for a woman of their party.

Rates for the "very unlikely" group were slightly lower for Democrats (5 percent) and liberals (4 percent) than for Republicans (9 percent) and conservatives (10 percent). Such sentiments were most common in the South (9 percent) among those 65 and older (10 percent). They are also more common among those with no more than a high school education (9 percent).

Most surveys ask respondents if they would vote for a woman without naming potential candidates, but those questions may fail to capture how people would act if they had to choose between two real people from two sharply opposed political parties. Those other questions usually ask if people would vote for a woman -- if she were "qualified" -- an attribute their questions about candidate preferences never demand of men.

The Annenberg polling asked respondents how they would vote in several hypothetical races that involved women. For example, "If the election for President were held today and the candidates were Senator Hillary Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and George W. Bush, the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?"

The survey indicated that many people who said they were "very unlikely" to vote for a woman actually picked the woman candidate in a hypothetical head-to-head race. Twenty-nine percent of those saying they were "very unlikely" to vote for a woman said they would vote for Hillary Clinton in a race against George Bush and 46 percent said they would pick Elizabeth Dole in a match up with John Kerry.

According to Erika Falk, Washington Research Director of the Annenberg Public Policy Center, "The data indicate when potential candidates are considered, partisanship often trumps sexism. The case of Elizabeth Dole is particularly interesting. In that case, those saying they are very unlikely to vote for a woman are actually more likely to select Elizabeth Dole in a Dole vs. Kerry race than are those who say they are just somewhat unlikely to vote for a woman. That's because the very people who say they are most opposed to women for President are also likely to be conservative Republicans who would be least inclined to cross over and vote for a Democrat."

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In two other hypothetical match-ups, Senator Dianne Feinstein of California and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice ran far behind Bush and Kerry respectively. But those findings are probably heavily influenced by the fact that neither of them is as well known to the general public as are Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole.

That National Annenberg Election Survey, the largest academic election poll, is a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania (www.AnnenbergPublicPolicyCenter.org). It has been tracking the presidential campaign since October 7, and interviewing will continue until after Election Day. Dr. Kathleen Hall Jamieson is the director of the survey. Ken Winneg is the managing director of the survey. Adam Clymer is the political director of the survey.

Another major election project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center is FactCheck.org, a project that tries to hold politicians accountable by exposing false or misleading campaign statements. It is available online at www.FactCheck.Org.

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Question

A . If your political party nominated a woman for president, how likely would you be to vote for her in the general election, very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely
Total	32%	35%	7%	7%
Republican	28%	34%	10%	9%
Democrat	42%	32%	5%	5%
Independent	28%	39%	6%	8%
High School graduate or less	31%	36%	7%	9%
Some college	31%	35%	7%	6%
College degree or more	36%	31%	5%	5%
18-29 years old	36%	38%	8%	5%
30-44	31%	35%	6%	8%
45-64	30%	35%	6%	7%
65 and over	34%	28%	6%	10%
Household income below \$35,000	37%	34%	5%	8%
\$35,000 to \$75,000	31%	36%	7%	7%
\$75,000 and over	30%	37%	7%	6%
Union Household	37%	36%	6%	6%
Conservative	27%	35%	8%	10%
Moderate	30%	37%	6%	5%
Liberal	47%	30%	4%	4%
Northeast	32%	34%	8%	8%
Midwest	32%	36%	7%	6%
South	31%	34%	7%	9%
West	36%	35%	5%	6%

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Survey Methodology

The National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES) is a survey conducted each presidential election by the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.

The 2004 National Annenberg Election Survey is based on telephone interviews which began October 7, 2003 and will continue past Election Day.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was randomly selected by a computer from a complete list of thousands of active residential exchanges across the country. Within each exchange, random digits were added to form a complete telephone number, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household, one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey. The interviewing is conducted by Schulman, Ronca, Bucuvalas, Inc.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence and to adjust for variation in the sample relating to geographic region, sex, race, age and education.

This report deals with interviewing conducted from May 26 through June 10. In that period 3,572 adults were interviewed and asked about their preference for president now and whether they would vote for a woman if their party nominated her for president.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results for these interviews will differ by no more than two percentage points, up or down, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all American adults. For smaller subgroups, such as Democrats or Republicans, the margin of sampling error would be higher. But the questions involving hypothetical presidential matchups between various women candidates and George Bush and John Kerry were each asked of only one fourth of the whole sample. The margin of sampling error on those questions is plus or minus three percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Variations in the wording and order of questions, for example, may lead to somewhat different results.

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