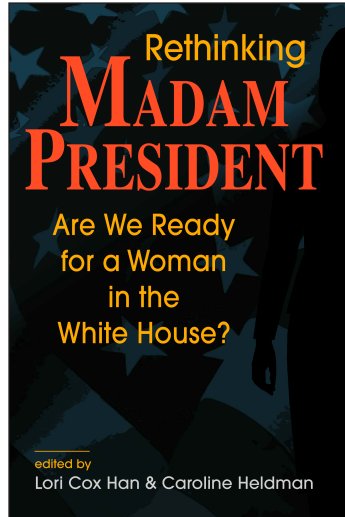


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Rethinking
Madam President:
Are We Ready for
a Woman in
the White House?

edited by
Lori Cox Han and
Caroline Heldman

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1

Is the United States *Really* Ready for a Woman President?

Lori Cox Han

By the end of the 2005–2006 television season, Americans had witnessed some groundbreaking and historic—albeit fictional—events: the first woman, the first African American, and the first Hispanic American to serve as president of the United States. On ABC’s *Commander in Chief*, the American television audience was introduced to President Mackenzie Allen, an Independent vice president to a Republican president who dies in office. Portrayed by Oscar-winner Geena Davis, President Allen faces many domestic and international crises during her accidental presidency, all the while juggling the demands of a husband, three children, and a widowed mother who all live together in the White House. However, despite the media hype, early high ratings, and Davis’s Emmy nomination and Golden Globe win for Best Actress in a Drama Series in 2006, the show was cancelled after just one season due to low ratings. On NBC’s *The West Wing*, the Emmy-award-winning series ended its seven-year run with the election and inauguration of President Matt Santos, a Hispanic congressman from Texas played by veteran television actor Jimmy Smits (previously of *LA Law* and *NYPD Blue* fame). However, loyal viewers of *The West Wing* will never know how the new president would fare in office, since the series’ final episode ends with Santos’s inauguration. And on the Fox action series *24*, actor Dennis Haysbert portrayed President David Palmer, an African American who was a popular and strong leader in the White House, particularly in his handling of national security issues. Unfortunately for fans of President Palmer, his character was assassinated at the start of the show’s fifth season.

Although the portrayal of diversity in the White House was prominent yet somewhat fleeting during the 2005–2006 television season, it did show that at least in Hollywood, candidates pursuing the Oval Office can overcome gender and racial barriers. But can life really imitate art? Is the United States *really* ready to elect its first female, African American, or Hispanic president? Such portrayals on television or in the movies may be helpful in at least introducing the notion of “difference” to American citizens when considering images of presidential leadership that move beyond the white male club that has always dominated the Oval Office. This rethinking of the presidency, especially in regard to gender, may be contributing to the current attention paid by many political observers to whether the United States is ready to elect its first female president. According to Eleanor Clift and Tom Brazaitis in their book *Madam President: Women Blazing the Leadership Trail*, “cultural symbols prepare the way for real-life women to pursue the highest office in the land.”¹

Yet many of the fictionalized portrayals of a woman running for or serving as president seem to be out of touch with political reality, what one reporter called “the gulf between fact and fiction [that] makes the Grand Canyon look like a pothole.”² For example, many of the plots and subplots depicted on *Commander in Chief* were inaccurate or unbelievable enough to make any political scientist cringe. To be fair, the producers of the show were likely more concerned with the entertainment value of their product than factual accuracy. This may explain why the new president (an Independent elected on a Republican ticket) selected her former Democratic rival for the vice presidency as *her* new vice president; why the Speaker of the House, who had presidential aspirations of his own, would resign his powerful leadership position and seat in Congress to serve as president for twenty-four hours while President Allen had emergency gallbladder surgery (her Democratic vice president had already resigned due to family issues); and how President Allen almost single-handedly added the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution by pushing both Illinois and Florida to approve the amendment (never mind the fact that the real ERA had an extended expiration date of 1982 written into the proposed amendment and that many of the original thirty-five states that did approve the original amendment might not approve it again today). Perhaps a more realistic portrayal of the first woman president would have fared even worse in the ratings, although for those of us who study the presidency and/or women in politics, it is hard to imagine the first woman president breaking pro-

to col to dance with the Russian president at her first state dinner while wearing an off-the-shoulder royal blue evening gown more appropriate for one of Geena Davis's red-carpet strolls at an awards show than attire for the "leader of the free world."

Nonetheless, the timing of *Commander in Chief's* run (although limited) on the small screen was no coincidence, as it aired during a time when intense media attention was being focused on the prospects for a serious woman presidential candidate in the real world. Following the 2004 presidential election, political pundits and pollsters repeatedly asked whether the United States is ready for a woman president, and news coverage suggested that the time might be right to elect a woman to the White House. Two of the most talked-about potential candidates leading up to the 2008 presidential election have been Democratic senator Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York and Republican secretary of state Condoleezza Rice. Both women have been at the top of public opinion polls in recent years for candidates voters would like to see running for president. By the end of 2006, most news organizations had all but given the Democratic nomination to Clinton, regularly labeling her as the clear Democratic frontrunner even before she declared her candidacy (although the potential candidacy of Senator Barack Obama also began to capture much media attention by year's end). And despite Rice's pronouncements to the contrary, she is regularly questioned by the news media about her possible candidacy in 2008 or beyond. The allure of Hillary for president, Condi for president, or even Hillary versus Condi for president, seemed to be just too much for the news media to ignore. But is either of these potential candidacies as viable as news coverage would make them seem, or do these political projections resemble another Grand Canyon-sized pothole that separates fact from fiction about the first woman president?

The Real Political Environment

Several polls suggest that Americans would overwhelmingly support a woman candidate for president. For example, three separate polls in early 2006 showed a large majority of respondents saying they would vote for a woman for president. A CBS News poll found 92 percent of respondents saying they would vote for a qualified woman, a Hearst/Siena College Research Institute poll found 79 percent of respondents willing to vote for a woman, and 69 percent of respon-

dents in the California Field Poll stated that the United States is ready for a woman president.³ A February 2005 poll by the Siena College Research Institute found that six out of ten voters are ready for a woman president and that 81 percent of those surveyed would vote for a woman president. Potential candidates for 2008 that topped the survey included Clinton, Rice, and Senator Elizabeth Dole (R-NC).⁴ These types of poll results have been common in recent years. A Gallup Poll in May 2003 found that 87 percent of Americans were willing to vote for a qualified woman for president. Similarly, a Roper Poll in February 2003 found that 76 percent of “influential Americans” think that a woman will be elected president within the next twenty years. Other polls also suggest a “desire for women’s leadership at the pinnacle of government.”⁵

Popular narratives of the 2008 election also revolve around the possibility of a female president, with the topic discussed frequently in both the print and broadcast press. A quick search on the Internet will also produce numerous web pages devoted to the Clinton and possible Rice candidacies. Political strategists Dick Morris and Eileen McGann’s book *Condi vs. Hillary: The Next Great Presidential Race* has been widely discussed by political pundits, as has Susan Estrich’s book, *The Case for Hillary Clinton*. In fact, even before she declared to run, the potential candidacy of the former First Lady spawned its own cottage industry of books devoted to whether she would run, how she could win, how she could be stopped, and/or what a second Clinton presidency would be like.⁶

Clearly, there are abundant signs in popular culture that the United States may be ready for a woman in the White House, but can that translate into electoral success for a woman candidate in 2008? What most of the media coverage and hype surrounding this issue does not take into account is the reality of the harsh political environment that a woman presidential candidate will face in 2008 and beyond. What voters say to pollsters “in theory” may represent a tremendous disconnect from what they would actually do in the voting booth if given the chance to support a woman candidate. Likewise, gains in media coverage and party treatment of female candidates do not necessarily apply to the presidency, an office that continues to be viewed as a male prerogative, and the prevailing dominance of foreign policy issues on the national agenda (including national security and the war on terrorism) may not bode well for a successful female candidacy. These issues are traditionally viewed as “male” issues, whereas domestic issues such as health care, educa-

tion, and the environment continue to be viewed as softer, “female” issues.⁷

Despite the presence of polls that show readiness for a woman president in the United States, other surveys have shown a decrease in support for electing a woman president in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. In some polls, respondents show a preference for male leadership traits and characteristics over those of female leaders, and a belief that men are more competent to handle issues related to national security and terrorism in the post-9/11 world.⁸ Those responses show that there may be some disconnect between the results of some polls suggesting the election of a woman president is imminent and the reality of how voters will actually respond. A closer look at the CBS Poll from February 2006 shows another interesting disconnect among the views of the respondents—although 92 percent said they would vote for a qualified woman for president, only 55 percent said they believe that the United States is ready for a woman president. And it is important to note that the 92 percent said they would vote for a woman *if she were qualified*.

What exactly does it mean to be qualified for president? Understanding this aspect of a presidential election is quite important, even if it does not include hard and fast rules for who can and cannot run. Technically speaking, the only constitutional requirements for a president include that he or she be at least thirty-five years of age, a natural-born citizen, and a fourteen-year resident of the United States. However, many other unofficial requirements exist, and there the prospect becomes trickier for a woman candidate. In general, viable presidential candidates must have any number of things, which can but do not always include prior political experience, name recognition, party support, adequate funding and fundraising abilities, strong appeal for the base of the party (particularly in the primaries) and appeal to independent or swing voters (particularly during the general election), and strong leadership and communication skills. As a result, “a number of informal qualifications have limited the pool of potential nominees,” with factors such as religion, race, and gender making the pool of viable candidates for both president and vice president almost exclusively Protestant, white, and male.⁹ The health and age of the candidate, as well as family ties and personal relationships (particularly marital status and fidelity) are also important characteristics for candidates.¹⁰

Although party affiliation and policy preferences are still important factors, the decline of partisan loyalty among voters in recent

decades has placed more emphasis on the candidate as an individual, on character, personality, and campaigning style. In addition, political news reporting has become more cynical, sensationalized, and hyper-critical, leading to an increased focus on the “cult of personality” during presidential campaigns.¹¹ Soft news, defined as news having no real connection to substantive policy issues, has also steadily increased since the early 1980s in response to competition within the marketplace.¹² As a result, character issues for presidential candidates often take precedence in the daily news cycle over more substantive policy issues. Americans look for honesty, integrity, intelligence, strong communication skills, flexibility, compassion, open-mindedness, and a commitment to both the public good and a democratic process in their presidential candidates.¹³ For women candidates, developing an effective image based on these character traits is crucial to combating negative stereotypes in the news media; it requires emphasizing her “perceived image and issue strengths—honesty and trustworthiness and dealing with social concerns—as well as [establishing] her credibility as a tough and decisive leader able to handle such issues as crime, foreign policy, and the economy.”¹⁴

The Post-Ferraro Drought

More than twenty years have now passed since Geraldine Ferraro’s historic bid for the vice presidency as Democrat Walter Mondale’s running mate in 1984, and public anticipation for the second female running mate has remained high in recent years. Yet in the five presidential elections that have come and gone since then, no major party candidate has selected a female running mate. Why has there been no progress on this front?

Perhaps most importantly, despite all the progress made in women gaining elective office since the 1980s, few women have achieved the types of positions that would place them in the pool of potential presidential candidates. State governors (particularly from large states), current or former vice presidents, and prominent US senators and members of the House of Representatives (particularly those in high-profile leadership positions) top the news media’s lists of potential candidates for the next election. These “lists” are sometimes generated prior to the completion of the presidential election at hand, because political pundits want to start handicapping future presidential races; for example, Hillary Clinton’s presidential ambi-

tions were discussed long before she even ran for the US Senate in 2000. Four of the five most recent presidents, all former state governors, have also benefited from the status of being a Washington outsider (Governors Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Ronald Reagan of California, Bill Clinton of Arkansas, and George W. Bush of Texas).

Unfortunately, women candidates do not often find their way into this group of potential presidential candidates. No woman has ever served as vice president, and in Congress, no woman held a top leadership position until Nancy Pelosi became the House Democratic minority leader in 2003; the final leadership barrier was broken in the House of Representatives when Pelosi became Speaker of the House in January 2007. However, as of 2007, she still remains the only woman to hold a top congressional leadership position. Given the recent preference among US voters for executive leadership experience at the state level, women have been especially disadvantaged. As of 2007, only twenty-nine women have ever served as governor (and three succeeded their husbands in the job), and even though being governor of a large state is one of the most likely stepping stones to being considered a viable candidate for the White House, only one of the six largest electoral states (California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and Pennsylvania) has ever elected a woman as governor. (In Texas, Democrat Ann Richards served one term as governor from 1991–1995; Miriam Amanda “Ma” Ferguson, a Democrat, served as governor from 1925–1927 and 1933–1935.)

Many other factors limit the number of women in such positions. Among them is the traditional view still espoused by some Americans that men should hold public leadership roles while women remain at home tending to domestic responsibilities and childrearing. The US political system is also biased in favor of incumbents, which means that fewer women in elected office leave inadequate numbers of role models for younger women who might aspire to political careers.¹⁵ The structural impediment of incumbency should not be overlooked: in 2004, 98 percent of House incumbents and 96 percent of Senate incumbents were reelected. Even in 2006, a midterm election year that saw Republicans lose their control of both the House and the Senate, the incumbency reelection rate in Congress was 94.3 percent. The redistricting to create safe seats at both the federal and state levels has also contributed to the incumbency glut, which may help those women currently in office but makes it harder for even more women candidates to break through that barrier. Women also tend to run for political office later in life than men due to the “double bur-

den” of work and family responsibilities from which many professional women suffer.¹⁶ In addition, the candidate emergence phase of a campaign—when a person moves from being a potential to an actual candidate—is still one of the biggest hurdles for women to overcome, particularly in seeking the presidency. Women are significantly less likely than men to receive encouragement (either from a current or former politician or from a financial supporter) to run for office or to deem themselves qualified to run for office.¹⁷

The tone and content of news media coverage of potential women candidates for the presidency also matters. Even though the news media are usually quick to herald the fact that American voters seem ready to elect a woman president, recent studies on media coverage of women candidates at all levels of government show that women are still viewed as a political anomaly, that a disproportionate amount of coverage is devoted to clothing and hairstyles, and that the mass media in general still often rely on negative stereotyping of women.¹⁸ For example, on the election of Michelle Bachelet as president of Chile, the *Los Angeles Times* shared with its readers that Bachelet was “wearing a two-piece, cream-colored suit featuring an Asian-style jacket,” as she “waved from her standing perch in an official Ford Galaxy convertible as the heavily guarded motorcade made its way toward the presidential palace.”¹⁹ It is hard to imagine news coverage of the election of a male leader in any country, including the United States, that would include a similar description of his attire.

As I have argued in an earlier volume on electing a woman president, getting elected, as opposed to governing, may be the biggest hurdle that a potential women president will face. The constitutional and institutional parameters of the office of the presidency itself will not change if a woman is elected to it.²⁰ Yet the male notion of leadership that is expected of presidents from the American electorate is still a major hurdle for women candidates to overcome. The executive branch is seen as “the most masculine of the three branches of government, due mostly to its hierarchical structure, the unity of command, and the ability for a president to act decisively when the need arises.”²¹ The presidency also “operates on the great man model of leadership,” which leaves women defined as the “other” in the executive branch.²² The expectation of “presidential machismo” also plays a role, which is “the heroic image desired by many Americans to have their president exhibit tough and aggressive behavior on the international stage.”²³ This idealized and heroic vision of the presidency is often portrayed in the mass media, and perhaps no better example exists than the movie

Air Force One, in which Harrison Ford plays a president who both single-handedly and literally throws a terrorist hijacker off Air Force One while delivering the line, “Get off my plane.”

Why Hillary (Probably) Won't Win and Condi (Probably) Won't Run in 2008

It is the combination of all the above-mentioned factors that contribute to the current political environment facing any potential woman candidate for president. Yet despite the fact that the task is somewhat daunting, optimism abounds among those determined to elect the first woman president sooner rather than later. For example, the White House Project, a nonpartisan organization dedicated to placing more women in top leadership positions within government and business, promoted its list of “8 for '08,” which included Hillary Clinton, Condoleezza Rice, Senator Olympia Snowe (R-ME), Senator Susan Collins (R-ME), Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX), Governor Janet Napolitano (D-AZ), Governor Kathleen Sebelius (D-KS), and Mayor Shirley Franklin (D-Atlanta). Senators Elizabeth Dole (R-NC) and Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), once touted as possible presidential or vice presidential contenders, were noticeably absent from that list (although age may have played a factor, since both Dole and Feinstein would be over seventy in 2008).²⁴

Yet only two women on that list—Clinton and Rice—garnered any serious discussion of a possible run for the presidency in 2008. Clinton, of course, dominated such speculation for years, and following her declared candidacy in January 2007, she was considered possibly the strongest candidate and probable frontrunner among the Democratic candidates for the upcoming primary season. According to Dick Morris, a one-time strategist to her husband Bill, “Hillary Clinton is on a virtually uncontested trajectory to win the Democratic nomination and, very likely, the 2008 presidential election.”²⁵ Morris adds: “The entire Democratic Party base loves her.”²⁶ Similarly, Susan Estrich, a law professor and campaign manager to Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis in 1988, states: “Not only does [Hillary Clinton] have the most money, the best organization, and the most loyal staff among all the potential players—she’s also young enough, old enough, smart enough, bold enough, and for all those reasons beloved enough by the voters of the Democratic Party.”²⁷ But, how accurate is this assessment?

Beyond the media spin and political punditry is a candidate that perhaps has too many labels to live down and too much political baggage. For example, is she too liberal, based on her early years as First Lady and the failed campaign for health care reform, or too conservative, based on her Senate voting record in support of the war in Iraq? Although name recognition can do wonders for a presidential candidate, particularly during the invisible primary period (which consists of campaigning well before any primaries or caucuses are held), perhaps too much is known about Clinton to maintain the necessary momentum throughout the primaries. Many successful party nominees in recent years gained much of their recognition much later in the process and were not well known on the national stage (like Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, or George W. Bush, although the latter certainly benefited from his father's name recognition). That means that most other Democratic hopefuls have more of a clean slate going into the primaries, whereas Clinton already has many recognized detractors.²⁸ For all of Clinton's star power, she may be too divisive within the Democratic Party because of her support for the war in Iraq. She has been an ardent supporter of homeland security issues and sought out a seat on the Armed Services Committee. Her recent, more hawkish views on military and defense issues have already lost her support among some within the Democratic base (she has been booed by antiwar activists in public appearances), which would harm her chances in the primaries (where support from the party base is crucial).²⁹ Certainly, Clinton's ability to raise funds and attract big donors is a major factor in determining whether she is a viable candidate, and at least in this regard, her husband is a tremendous asset (that, and the fact that few candidates, if any, can top Bill Clinton on the campaign trail). Yet money and name recognition alone will not win a presidential election, and although the pundits who contend that Clinton is the one to beat may be right, she faces not only the same hurdles as other women candidates but some of her own unique hurdles as well. As a recent *Washington Post* article points out, "Never has a politician stepped onto a presidential stage before an audience of voters who already have so many strong and personal opinions about her . . . there is evidence of unease—about her personal history, demeanor and motives—among the very Democratic and independent voters she would need to win the presidency."³⁰

The "Obama factor" should not be overlooked either. Media hype about Senator Barack Obama's (D-IL) decision to run for president

highlights the desire within the Democratic Party for a strong “anyone but Hillary” candidate. A presidential run by Obama—whose father is black and mother is white—not only adds racial diversity to the Democratic field in 2008, but also the excitement over his candidacy given his relative inexperience at the national political level (having just been elected to the US Senate in 2004) suggests that voters are still looking for that Washington outsider to clean up the perceived mess inside the beltway. Obama stands in stark contrast to Clinton among Democratic voters—each represents an underrepresented demographic within American politics, yet one seemingly offers a breath of fresh air to voters, while it is hard to imagine much that we have not already learned in great detail about the other.

Similarly, although not as much attention has been focused on a potential Rice candidacy, many of the predictions in the press and among political pundits that the secretary of state would be a formidable rival not only to Clinton in the general election but to members of the Republican Party in the wide-open 2008 primaries seem somewhat overblown. Take, for example, Morris’s assessment that Rice posed a “mortal threat” to Clinton: “With her broad-based appeal to voters outside the traditional Republican base, Condi has the potential to cause enough major defections from the Democratic Party to create serious erosion among Hillary’s core voters. She attracts the same female, African American, and Hispanic voters who embrace Hillary, while still maintaining the support of conventional Republicans.”³¹ Little, if any, evidence exists to back up the claim that Rice would have that level of broad-based appeal with a national electorate or even within the Republican Party. Yet the publication of Morris’s book in 2005, along with the endorsement of First Lady Laura Bush in early 2006, seemed to help catapult Rice as a serious presidential contender, even as she has continued to deny any interest in running for the office.³² (However, it is interesting to note that Laura Bush qualified her statement a bit in December 2006 by stating that Rice, as a single woman, would have a difficult time winning the presidential election.) Although the possibility of a Rice candidacy continues to draw speculation, especially with her foreign policy experience (a positive attribute for any presidential candidate), it seems unlikely because of her lack of electoral experience, her close ties to President George W. Bush and the war in Iraq (both are now viewed as unpopular with a majority of Americans, particularly following the Republican Party’s defeat in the 2006 midterm elections), and the fact that all constituencies of the Republican Party may not be

ready to take the historic step of embracing an African American woman as its presidential nominee.

The Plan of the Book

The topic of electing a woman president is both timely and important. Although this is not the first book in recent years to raise the issue and probably will not be the last, we attempt to bring a more realistic perspective, based on our training as political scientists, to this much-talked-about and critical question. From a scholarly perspective, much of the popular commentary of late about electing a woman president seems to lack substantive analysis beyond the latest public opinion polls. Although it may make for interesting news coverage, the disproportionate focus on Clinton and Rice has skewed the overall and necessary debate about electing a woman president. As such, we attempt to move beyond the previous superficial talk of Hillary v. Condi to consider the real issues facing any potential woman candidate as the nation gears up for the 2008 presidential campaign.

In his book *Can She Be Stopped?* John Podhoretz writes:

It is perhaps the least politically correct question imaginable: Can a woman win the presidency of the United States? At first blush, the question itself seems very nearly illegal, the sort of thing that could result in the denial of tenure, or an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission investigation into views so unenlightened that they surely violate some equal-rights statute. ... Still, you can be sure that an honest public discussion of the positive and negative aspects of having a woman president will never be conducted.³³

With no disrespect to Mr. Podhoretz intended, I have been asking those very questions of my students in a variety of political science courses during the past several years (as do many of my colleagues). And to my knowledge, no one's tenure decision (including my own) has ever been affected by asking the question of if or when the United States will elect a woman president, and whether it is in the best interests of the United States to do so. However, although I never shy away from encouraging students to think critically about this issue, I also truly believe that America should and will eventually elect a woman president. Unfortunately, that reality may be further away than 2008, and that is the question addressed throughout this book.

The issues considered in the chapters that follow provide a schol-

arly assessment of the political environment in 2008 and beyond and how those factors will either benefit or inhibit women presidential candidates. The first few chapters of the book consider the social aspects of gender and how that affects women politicians seeking the presidency. In Chapter 2, Caroline Heldman considers the many cultural beliefs about the presidency, and how pop culture portrayals of the presidency contribute to Americans' gendered views of the office. In Chapter 3, Sue Thomas and Jean Reith Schroedel provide an analysis of sociocultural expectations about the roles of men and women in society and how the "masculine" image of the US presidency may mean that only an occasional "exceptional" woman will have a chance to break through that image and become president.

The next two chapters look at the context of gender on the campaign trail, not only through the many emphases on masculinity during the presidential campaign, but also through news media coverage and the stereotyping that often occurs of women candidates. In Chapter 4, Gina Serignese Woodall and Kim L. Fridkin analyze current research on media stereotypes of women candidates and the impact that stereotyping in media coverage has on women candidates for the presidency. In Chapter 5, Georgia Duerst-Lahti considers the dominance of masculinity on the presidential campaign trail, not only in media coverage of candidates but in expected behaviors of the candidates, and how that emphasis on masculinity hinders women candidates.

The institutional aspects of both campaigning and governing are considered in the next four chapters. Money and issues of campaign finance are critical factors for potential presidential candidates, and in Chapter 6, Victoria Farrar-Myers assesses the state of fundraising for women candidates seeking the presidency, based on recent fundraising data from women congressional candidates. In Chapter 7, Meredith Conroy analyzes the impact that political parties can have on the selection of presidential candidates and what role parties may play for electing a woman president in the near future. Karen M. Hult addresses the status of women as executive branch leaders in Chapter 8 and how that enlarges or shrinks the pool of potential presidential candidates. In Chapter 9, Meena Bose considers the challenges that a woman presidential candidate will face in convincing voters that she can handle national security issues involving terrorism and military action. Finally, the concluding chapter by Ann Gordon points out that we should "never say never" regarding the election of a woman to the presidency, even amid the many obstacles in place for female contenders in 2008 and beyond.

Notes

1. Clift and Brazaitis, *Madam President*, p. vii.
2. Rowat, "There's a Female President on TV."
3. See CBS News, "Ready for a Woman President?"; Powell, "Poll Finds Readiness for Female President"; and Smith, "Voters Think US Ready for Woman as President."
4. "Poll: Majority Ready for Woman President."
5. Wilson, *Closing the Leadership Gap*, p. 17.
6. For example, see Morris and McGann, *Condi vs. Hillary*; Estrich, *The Case for Hillary Clinton*; Podhoretz, *Can She Be Stopped?*; Morris and McGann, *Rewriting History*; Tyrrell, *Madame Hillary*; and Bowen, *Hillary!*
7. For a discussion on how "women's" issues are viewed differently than "men's" issues, see Dolan, *Voting for Women*.
8. See Lawless, "Women, War, and Winning Elections."
9. Wayne, *The Road to the White House 2004*, pp. 182–183.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
11. For a discussion on this trend in news coverage, see Patterson, *Out of Order*; and Sabato, *Feeding Frenzy*.
12. See Patterson, "Doing Well and Doing Good."
13. Cronin and Genovese, *The Paradoxes of the American Presidency*, pp. 32–37.
14. Bystrom, "On the Way to the White House," p. 104.
15. Falk and Jamieson, "Changing the Climate of Expectations," pp. 45–47.
16. *Ibid.*
17. See Fox and Lawless, "Entering the Arena?"
18. Many studies on this topic have been conducted in recent years. For example, see Paletz, *The Media in American Politics*, pp. 135–139; Kahn, *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman*, pp. 134–136; Kropf and Boiney, "The Electoral Glass Ceiling?"; Bystrom et al., *Gender and Candidate Communication*, p. 21; Heith, "The Lipstick Watch," pp. 124–126; and Heldman, Carroll, and Olson, "'She Brought Only a Skirt.'"
19. McDonnell and Vergara, "Chile's First Female President Sworn In."
20. See Han, "Presidential Leadership: Governance from a Woman's Perspective."
21. Han, *Women and American Politics*, p. 106.
22. Duerst-Lahti, "Reconceiving Theories of Power," p. 18.
23. DeConde, *Presidential Machismo*, p. 5.
24. "8 for '08: The White House Project and Parade Announce."
25. Morris and McGann, *Condi vs. Hillary*, p. 1.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
27. Estrich, *The Case for Hillary Clinton*, p. 4.
28. See "The Ceiling of Political Ambition."
29. For example, see Bevan, "Hillary's Eye on the White House"; and Farrell, "Hillary Sticking to Guns."

30. Romano, "Beyond the Poll Numbers."
31. Morris and McGann, *Condi vs. Hillary*, p. 2.
32. Rice ruled out a possible run for the presidency during an appearance on NBC's *Meet the Press* on Sunday, March 13, 2005.
33. Podhoretz, *Can She Be Stopped?* pp. 54–55.