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APPENDIX
Measurement of Gender Predispositions
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This appendix describes the construction of my measure of gender ideology and reviews evidence for its reliability and validity. As discussed in the main paper, there are three relevant measures that appear in the NES in the years necessary for inclusion in the analysis. Table 1 shows the mean levels of the three gender predisposition measures over the years for which they are available and Figure 1 displays these graphically. Table 2 displays the correlations among the measures. This table indicates that the thermometer score measures are very highly correlated (0.67 on average), and the correlation between each and the women's role question is large (0.38 on average with the women's movement thermometer score, and 0.24 with the feminists thermometer score). Although the measures are generally increasing over time – Americans have become more liberal on gender relations – the interrelationships among the measures do not seem to be changing systematically.

This pattern of similarity between men and women is quite different from that for measures of gender identification. As others have noted, "identification with women" is a very different theoretical construct among women and among men, and the genders identify with women at very different rates (Rhodebeck 1996). Across the years included in the main paper, about 59 percent of women identified with other women, compared with about 18 percent of men (see Tolleson Rinehart 1992 for a more complete analysis of identification and its relationship with other constructs). Not surprising, identification also has a very different correlation structure with the other gender predisposition measures—especially women's equal role—depending on respondent gender, as shown in Table 4.

As I discuss in the main paper, I built a single composite measure, out of the average of the equal role item and whichever thermometer score is available in a given year.[1] This average is scaled to run from zero (most gender traditionalist) to one (most gender progressive). Table 5 displays summary statistics for this combined measure, and Figure 2 displays them graphically.

In what follows, I will explore the reliability and validity of this measure

<u>Construct Reliability</u>

The two items that make up the gender predisposition scale (the equal role item and the average of the available thermometer scores) correlate 0.36 (0.33 among men, 0.38 among women); the two-item scale has an alpha of 0.49 (0.46 among men; 0.51 among women). Less than ideal, to be sure, but good for a scale made up of only two components.

In addition, at the individual level, the gender measure is stable over time. The 1972-74-76 and 1992-94-96 panel studies allow me to calculate the test-retest reliability of my composite gender measure (Carmines

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[1] For 1992 and 2000, I first averaged the two thermometer scores (of the women's movement and of feminists), then averaged this composite with the equal role item. This procedure maintained a consistent weighting of the thermometer and seven-point measures across years.

and Zeller 1979). Table 6 displays the correlation coefficients between each pair of measurements of my gender predispositions scale. The test-retest correlations are high – they range from 0.55 to 0.66.[2] By way of comparison, the corresponding correlations for the "gold standard," party identification, are in the 0.78 to 0.84 range. The gender predispositions measure is somewhat less stable, to be sure, but clearly it does measure a *relatively* stable predisposition. That leaves the question, of course, of what it is measuring.

Construct validity

As I discuss above, the gender measure has excellent face validity, and is acceptably reliable. The greatest concern, however, is its validity: does it actually measure gender predispositions (Carmines and Zeller 1979,17-28)? If the measure captures gender predispositions of the sort that I hope it does, then it ought to be associated with social location in predictable ways and with other gender-relevant measures, such as feelings of anger about the position of women in American society and beliefs about the nature of differences between men and women. In addition, this measure ought to predict opinion for policies that we would expect people to understand in gender terms. If it fails to do that, they we would have no reason to expect that it would identify gender implication of health care opinion, if such gender implication exists.

We would expect working women to be more liberal on the gender measure than homemakers. Compared with women who work outside the home, homemakers likely have more invested in traditional gender roles and attitudes (see, e.g. Jackman 1994; Luker 1984), so we would expect them to be more conservative on the gender predispositions measure. And indeed they are. Table 7 presents summary statistics on the gender measure for men, working women and housewives, separately by decade. This table indicates that men and working women differ only slightly, with working women being 0.04 more liberal than men on average. Working women are much more liberal – 0.12 – than homemakers, on the other hand.[3]

Table 8 display equivalent information, comparing those who do, and do not, identify with feminists. The differences between men and women are substantively quite small. Differences between identifiers and non-identifiers, on the other hand, are larger. Women who identify with feminists are 0.17 more liberal on the gender measure; men who so identify are 0.14 more liberal.

Correlation with other gender measures

The 1972, 1984, and 1992 studies included additional gender measures, which provide selected opportunities for further validation. The composite gender measure that I use correlates well with those measures, again suggesting that it successfully captures gender predispositions.

The 1972 study included an extensive Likert battery of questions about the causes of achievement differences between men and women. These items span political, economic, and family domains, and include beliefs about inherent differences (e.g. "men are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful," "by nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children," and

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[2] Results are virtually identical among women and men.

[3] All of the differences are significant at p<0.01 because of the large number of cases, except the men-working women comparison in the 1980s.

"men are more qualified than women for jobs that have great responsibility"), measures regarding the appropriateness of social arrangements (e.g. "many qualified women can't get good jobs; men with the same skills have much less trouble," "our schools teach women to want the less important jobs," and "our society discriminates against women"), and items that straddle the two (e.g. "women are less reliable on the job than men because they tend to be absent more and quit more often," "women have just as much chance to get big and important jobs; they just aren't interested," and "women should stay out of politics").[4] I scaled these nine items from zero (most traditional) to one (most liberal), and combined them into a linear scale.[5] This measure correlates 0.48 with my simpler composite measure – again, a promising result.

The 1984 study included two relevant items, which assess agreement with the statements, "most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women," and "men are just better cut out than women for important positions in society."[6] These, too, correlate respectively with the composite measure in 1984: the first at 0.43; the second at 0.36.

Finally, in 1992 the NES includes a battery of items that assess a range of feelings about gender differences in society. These include a question about the degree to which the respondent pays particular attention to news affecting women, how often the respondent feels proud about women's achievements or angry about women's treatment in society, and whether respondents felt that women should have more, the same, or less power than men in "government, business, and industry" and the family.[7] I created a linear scale from these five items. In addition, the study asked whether the respondent considers herself or himself to be a feminist, and if so, how strongly. Following the procedure developed by Conover (1991), I created a four-point feminism scale from these two items, with categories strong feminist, weak feminist, non-feminist, and anti-feminist.[8] Both of these measures correlate well with my primary gender predispositions measure: the five-item scale correlates 0.44; the feminism measure correlates 0.45.

Table 9 summarizes the correlations between my two-item gender measure and the more robust measures from 1972, 1984, and 1992. Overall, these results are heartening. My measure correlates substantially with a wide range of high-quality measures. While strict over-time comparisons are not

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[4] Variables v720240, v720242-v720248, and v720251. These nine items were selected because they span the appropriate substantive domain, scale together well, and include three items that are reverse-coded from the others, which minimizes the effect of response acquiescence on the resulting scale.

[5] Mean for the scale is 0.54, standard deviation is 0.19, and the alpha is a respectable 0.69.

[6] Variables v840257 and v840210. Means for the individual variables are 0.54 (sd=0.36) and 0.73 (sd=0.32), respectively; the two correlate 0.47.

[7] Variables v926001-v926003, v926005-v926006, v926008, and v926011. Interestingly, the last two items, about *normative* beliefs regarding what gender power should be, correlated well with other measures. In contrast, parallel items about *empirical* beliefs about how power is in those domains, correlated hardly at all with the other measures. This is consistent with my theoretical framework, which places emphasis on beliefs about what is appropriate, and less emphasis on awareness of social conditions.

[8] Following Conover and Sapiro, the thermometer rating of feminists was used to distinguish anti-feminists (who rated feminists below 50) from non-feminists. This procedure yields a pleasing distribution; in 1992, 25 percent of the sample was classified as anti-feminist, 52 percent non-feminist, 12 percent weak, and 10 percent strong feminists.

appropriate, since the comparison measures differ from year to year, it is nevertheless reassuring that the correlations are quite consistent across two decades of survey research.

<u>Performance in regression models</u>

The ultimate proof, however, is in the performance of my gender measure in measuring gender implication. It has face validity, reasonable reliability, and it relates with other politically relevant variables in ways we expect—an indicator of validity. Most important, however, is whether it can detect issue gendering in regression models of the sort I plan to run. Happily, the National Election Studies periodically includes questions relating to explicitly gender-relevant policy. These policies should be gender implicated; they therefore provide a good test of the gender predisposition measure's ability to detect gender implication.

For this performance test I focus on the presidential years from 1984 through 2000, plus 1994. These years are most relevant because they span the crucial period of health care reform during 1992-1994. In addition, they include the complete set of control variables that I will need in my models. I will discuss these in more detail below; however, at this point I will simply note that those studies (and not the earlier ones) include a set of items that measure of support for egalitarianism. As I will discuss below, egalitarianism is fairly highly correlated with gender predispositions as I measure them (0.34), and omitting egalitarianism from regression models inflates the estimated effect of gender predispositions substantially. Thus, I proceed only for years in which I have egalitarianism, as a conservative test of my gender measure.

There are several types of policy questions that are available, and which ought to be gendered in public opinion. First, abortion. That abortion is connected with views on proper gender roles is both logical and well documented (e.g. Luker 1984; Ginsburg 1998), so it should be gendered in my terms. The NES included a general question about the conditions under which abortions should be available. This item appears every year from 1984 through 2000. I coded this item into a four-point scale, from zero (for those who feel that abortion should never be allowed) to one (for those who always support it), with an intermediate category of 0.33 for those who feel that it should be permitted in cases of rape, incest, or for the heath of the mother, and 0.67 for those who feel that it should be permitted, but only after need has been established.[9] In addition, the 1992 and 2000 studies included items on support for parental consent laws, and the 1992 study included questions about spousal consent laws and government funding of abortion.

Second, child care has been included in the budget battery from 1988 through 2000, and an item assessing support for government provision of child care for poor and working parents appeared in 1992. Opinions on these questions should also be gendered for two reasons. First, children and their care are associated with women, and second, these policies allow women to enter the workforce more easily. The 1984 study also included a question about support for government efforts to "improve the social and economic position of women," which clearly should be gendered, and the 1992 study included two relevant items on sexual harassment: the degree to which respondents feel that it is a serious problem, and their support for government efforts to combat it.

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[9] The categories for this item are, of course, not necessarily ordinal. Nevertheless, the results reported below are unchanged when I run a model that simply differentiates those who are most liberal from the rest of the sample, and when I run a multinomial logit model.

Finally, the 1992 study included several questions on policy relating to gays and lesbians: whether they should be allowed to adopt children, whether they should be allowed to serve in the military, and whether there should exist laws banning job discrimination against gays and lesbians. The adoption question was repeated in 2000. Opinion on these matters should be gendered, and they present a good test of the measure. Unlike the other explicitly gendered policy areas, policy relating to gays and lesbians is not explicitly linked with women, per se. (In fact, the military service item is probably associated with gay *men* in people's minds, if not in reality.) However, insofar as traditional heterosexuality is an important functional component of traditional gender world-views, then policies that are associated with gay men and lesbians should be particularly threatening to those with traditional gender norms. Thus, these issues represent fairly symbolic examples of gendering.

To assess gendering, I regressed each policy, separately for each year in which it is available, on my measure of gender predispositions, and a raft of control variables.[10] Table 10 presents the coefficients on gender predispositions from these regressions.

Overall, these results are positive. Gender predispositions, as measured by the composite of the women's role scale and thermometer score of the women's movement and/or feminists, predicts opinion on all of these policies. All variables in the models are coded from zero to one; the estimated effect of this gender predisposition measure ranges from 0.20 to 0.52 – substantial effect sizes, which are uniformly statistically significant.

Thus, the gender measure that I have available seems to perform well. The content of the measures matches my concept and it distinguishes empirically among types of Americans, whom we would expect to differ substantially from each other in their gender predispositions. It is substantially related to other, fuller, measures of gender predispositions. And most importantly, it is related to public opinion on policies that we would expect to be gendered. Therefore, in the next section I will employ this measure to explore opinion on health care.

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[10] The models included measures of egalitarianism, support for government action, single marital status, age, age over 65, party identification, income, education, ideology, gender, and race. The models for gay and lesbian issues also included the thermometer score of gays and lesbians.

Figure 1—*Gender predispositions over time*
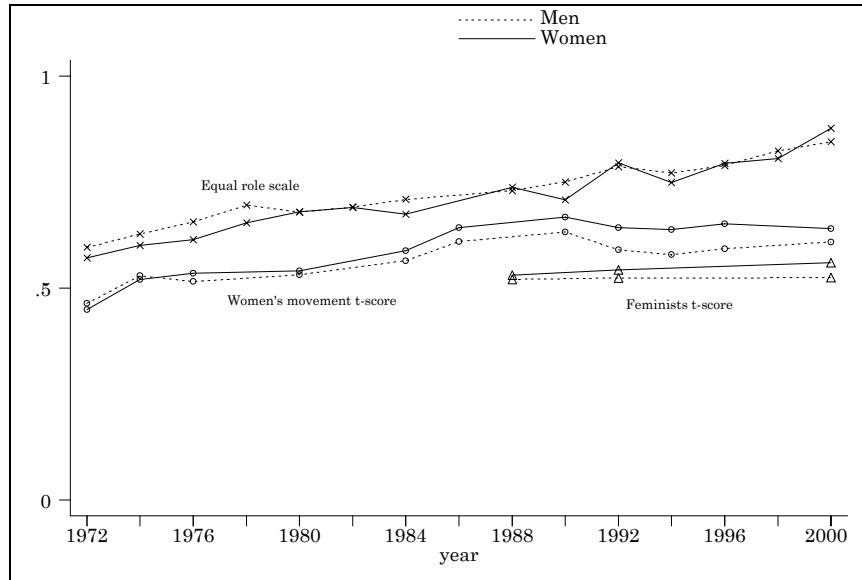
Source: National Election Studies.

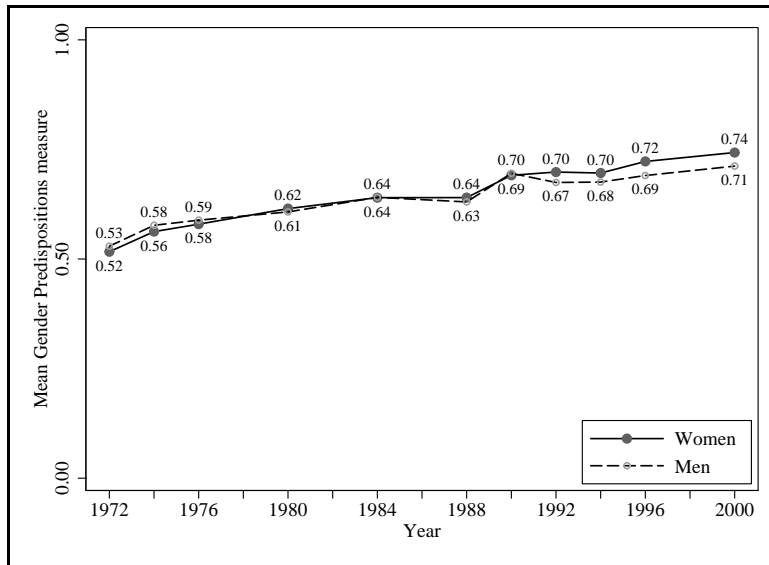Figure 2—*Gender predispositions measure, by respondent gender*

Table 1—*Summary statistics for gender predisposition measures*

Year	Women's Equal Role			T-Women's Movement			T-Feminists		
	Mean	*SD*	*n*	*Mean*	*SD*	*n*	*Mean*	*SD*	*n*
1972	0.58	0.38	2,544	0.46	0.27	2,027			
1974	0.61	0.36	1,461	0.52	0.26	1,464			
1976	0.63	0.34	1,723	0.53	0.22	1,761			
1978	0.67	0.35	2,155						
1980	0.68	0.32	1,308	0.54	0.26	1,326			
1982	0.69	0.33	1,302						
1984	0.69	0.30	2,025	0.58	0.23	1,839			
1986				0.63	0.24	2,086			
1988	0.73	0.31	1,908				0.53	0.22	1,627
1990	0.73	0.31	901	0.65	0.24	1,883			
1992	0.79	0.28	2,364	0.62	0.22	2,182	0.53	0.22	2,085
1994	0.76	0.29	1,650	0.61	0.24	1,750			
1996	0.79	0.28	1,645	0.63	0.21	1,489			
1998	0.81	0.27	1,222						
2000	0.86	0.26	1,752	0.63	0.22	1,476	0.54	0.22	1,427
Overall	0.71	0.33	23,960	0.58	0.25	19,283	0.53	0.22	5,139

Source: National Election Studies.

NOTE—Cell entries are mean, standard deviation and number of cases for each measure, by year. All variables coded from zero (most conservative) to one (most liberal).

Table 2—*Correlations among gender predisposition measures*

Year	Equal Role – W. mmt.	Equal Role – Feminists	W. mmt. – Feminists
1972	0.30		
1974	0.48		
1976	0.41		
1978			
1980	0.38		
1982			
1984	0.31		
1986			
1988		0.24	
1990	0.39		
1992	0.26	0.25	0.68
1994	0.32		
1996	0.32		
1998			
2000	0.22	0.21	0.67
Overall	0.38	0.24	0.67

Source: National Election Studies.
NOTE—Cell entries are the correlation coefficient among the pair of variables indicated.

Table 3—*Correlations among gender predisposition measures separately by gender*

Year	Women's Movement	Feminists	Equal Role
	AMONG WOMEN		
Women's Movement	1.0		
Feminists	0.673	1.0	
Equal Role	0.397	0.261	1.0
	AMONG MEN		
Women's Movement	1.0		
Feminists	0.675	1.0	
Equal Role	0.349	0.212	1.0

Source: National Election Studies.

Table 4—*Correlations between identification with women*
and other gender predisposition measures
separately by gender

	Identify with Women
	AMONG WOMEN
Equal Role	0.184
Women's Movement	0.249
Feminists	0.154
	AMONG MEN
Equal Role	0.070
Women's Movement	0.238
Feminists	0.148

Source: National Election Studies.

Table 5—*Summary statistics for composite*
gender predispositions measure, by year

Year	*Mean*	*SD*	*n*
1972	0.52	0.26	1,938
1974	0.57	0.27	1,393
1976	0.58	0.24	1,637
1980	0.61	0.24	1,255
1984	0.64	0.21	1,695
1988	0.64	0.21	1,555
1990	0.69	0.23	868
1992	0.69	0.19	2,107
1994	0.69	0.22	1,625
1996	0.71	0.20	1,432
2000	0.73	0.17	1,359
Overall	0.64	0.23	16,864

Source: National Election Studies.

Table 6—*Test-retest correlations of gender predispositions measure*

	1972	*1974*		*1992*	*1994*
1974	0.57		*1994*	0.66	
1976	0.55	0.64	*1996*	0.62	0.65

Source: National Election Studies
NOTE—Cell entries are the pair-wise correlations between the gender predispositions scale, measured in the years indicated. Number of cases varies from 501 to 1,035; all correlations significant at p<0.001.

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Table 7—*Gender predispositions, by gender, work status, and decade*

	Men	*Working Women*	*Home-makers*	*Total*
		1970S		
Mean	0.56	0.60	0.50	0.56
SD	0.25	0.25	0.27	0.26
N	2,121	1,091	729	3,941
		1980S		
Mean	0.63	0.65	0.57	0.63
SD	0.21	0.21	0.24	0.21
N	1,972	985	283	3,240
		1990S THROUGH 2000		
Mean	0.69	0.73	0.64	0.70
SD	0.19	0.20	0.23	0.20
N	3,374	2,544	509	6,427
		OVERALL		
Mean	0.64	0.68	0.56	0.64
SD	0.22	0.22	0.26	0.23
N	7,467	4,620	1,521	13,608

Source: National Election Studies.

Table 8—*Gender predispositions, by gender, identification with feminists, and decade*

	Not ID with feminists			*ID with feminists*		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
			1980S			
Mean	0.62	0.61	0.61	0.75	0.78	0.77
SD	0.2	0.22	0.21	0.17	0.18	0.17
N	627	748	1,375	84	142	226
			1990S THROUGH 2000			
Mean	0.67	0.68	0.67	0.82	0.84	0.83
SD	0.18	0.21	0.2	0.12	0.17	0.15
N	684	768	1,452	68	143	211
			OVERALL			
Mean	0.64	0.64	0.64	0.78	0.81	0.8
SD	0.19	0.22	0.2	0.15	0.17	0.17
N	1,311	1,516	2,827	152	285	437

Source: National Election Studies.

Table 9—*Correlations among gender predisposition measures*

Measure	Correlation with primary gender predisposition measure
Seven-item scale (1972)	0.48
Men emotionally better suited to politics (1984)	0.42
Men better suited to important positions (1984)	0.36
Five-item scale (1992)	0.44
Feminism (1992)	0.45

Table 10—*Effect of gender predispositions on opinion on various gendered policies*

Policy	1984	1988	1992	1994	1996	2000
Abortion						
Conditions for (4-point)	0.389**	0.462**	0.522**	0.422**	0.475**	0.392**
Spousal Consent			0.422**			
Parental Consent			0.328**			0.249**
Government Funding			0.558**			
Child Care						
Spending		0.280**	0.202**	0.184**	0.201**	0.223**
Government provide			0.211**			
Government assist women	0.251**					
Sexual harassment						
Serious problem			0.200**			
Government effort			0.238**			
Gay & Lesbian Issues[†]						
Adoption			0.214**			0.302**
Serve in military			0.276**			
Discrimination laws			0.311**			

Source: National Election Studies.
NOTE—Cell entries are coefficients from OLS regression of each policy variable on gender predispositions. All policy variables coded from zero (most conservative) to one (most liberal). Models also included measures of egalitarianism, support for government action, single marital status, age, age over 65, party identification, income, education, ideology, gender, and race. [†]Models for gay and lesbian issues also included respondents' thermometer score rating of gay men and lesbians as a group. Full results appear in the appendix. ** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10.

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