

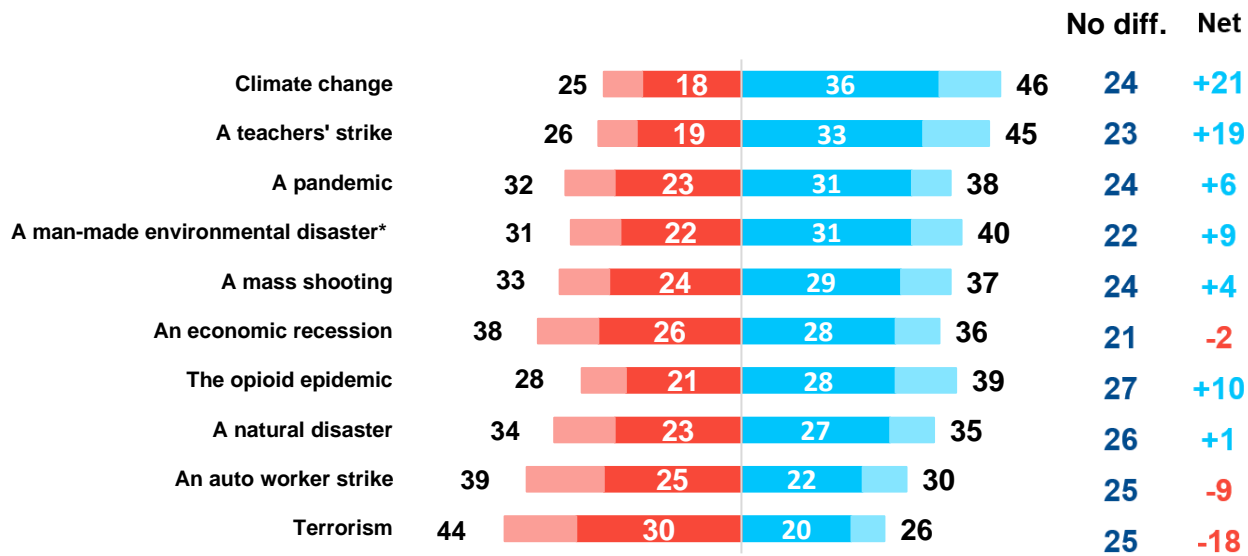
# APPENDIX

## APPENDIX RISING TO THE OCCASION

How Women Leaders Prove They Can Handle a Crisis

### A. DEMOCRATIC WOMAN

Who would be better at handling this type of crisis: a Democratic woman governor or a Republican man governor?



Net Democratic Woman Minus Republican Man	All	Gender		Millennials		Race				PID		
		M	W	M	W	W	AA	L	AAPI	D	I	R
Climate change	+22	+20	+23	+32	+28	+24	+15	+24	+25	+80	+28	-39
A teachers' strike	+19	+14	+23	+25	+32	+19	+18	+37	+26	+74	+32	-41
The opioid epidemic	+10	+10	+10	+9	+21	+10	+22	+16	+7	+70	+12	-48
A man-made environmental disaster*	+9	+5	+12	+13	+21	+9	+6	+24	+14	+70	+14	-56
A pandemic	+6	+2	+10	+8	+17	+8	+13	+13	+4	+73	+18	-64
A mass shooting	+4	-2	+10	0	+14	+6	-1	+10	+5	+67	+16	-64
A natural disaster	+1	-3	+5	+7	+17	+3	+5	+12	+1	+62	+1	-60
An economic recession	-1	-6	+2	-3	+8	-1	+7	-9	-4	+66	-12	-66
An auto worker strike	-9	-12	-7	-6	+8	-9	-7	+3	-2	+49	-13	-67
Terrorism	-18	-20	-16	-18	+2	-19	-5	-9	-16	+43	-33	-74

# APPENDIX

## A. DEMOCRATIC WOMAN

Who would be better at handling this type of crisis: a Democratic woman governor or a Republican man governor?/ Who would be better at handling this type of crisis: a Republican woman governor or a Democratic man governor?

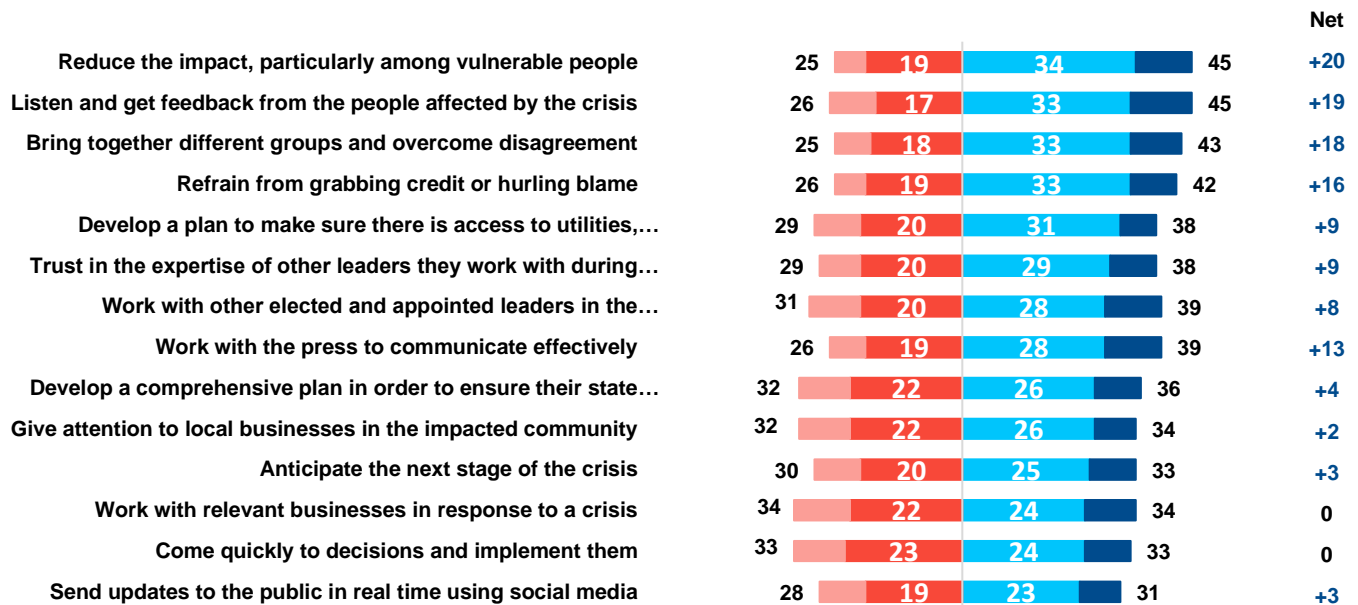
The below data is derived from comparing how a Democratic woman did against a Republican man and how a Democratic man did against a Republican woman.

Comparing a Democratic Woman to a Democratic Man among Democratic Voters	Among Democratic Voters		
	Democratic Woman Governor (Net Democratic Woman Minus Republican Man)	Democratic Man Governor (Net Democratic Man Minus Republican Woman)	Difference (Woman Governor minus Man Governor)
A teachers' strike	+74	+58	+16
The opioid epidemic	+70	+55	+15
An economic recession	+66	+54	+12
A pandemic	+73	+62	+11
Climate change	+80	+72	+8
A man-made environmental disaster	+70	+63	+7
A mass shooting	+67	+62	+5
A natural disaster	+62	+59	+3
Terrorism	+43	+56	-13
An auto worker strike	+49	+64	-15

Comparing a Democratic Woman to a Democratic Man among Independent Voters	Among Independent Voters		
	Democratic Woman Governor (Net Democratic Woman Minus Republican Man)	Democratic Man Governor (Net Democratic Man Minus Republican Woman)	Difference (Woman Governor minus Man Governor)
A teachers' strike	+32	-10	+42
Climate change	+28	+6	+22
A pandemic	+18	+4	+14
A man-made environmental disaster	+14	+4	+10
The opioid epidemic	+12	+3	+9
A mass shooting	+16	+8	+8
A natural disaster	+1	-2	+3
An economic recession	-12	-7	-5
Terrorism	-33	-6	-27
An auto worker strike	-13	+20	-33

## A. DEMOCRATIC WOMAN

Who would be better at this action a governor may need to do when a state is attempting to prevent, prepare for, respond to, and recover from a crisis: a Democratic woman governor or a Republican man governor?



Net Democratic Woman Minus Republican Man	All	Gender		Millennials		Race				PID		
		M	W	M	W	W	AA	L	AA PI	D	I	R
Reduce the impact	+20	+21	+19	+17	+25	+21	+17	+23	+19	+80	+30	-42
Listen to people affected	+20	+18	+21	+21	+28	+20	+17	+27	+10	+79	+27	-45
Bring together different groups and overcome disagreement	+18	+14	+21	+20	+24	+18	+19	+20	+16	+76	+16	-42
Refrain from grabbing credit or hurling blame	+16	+12	+20	+19	+19	+17	+14	+20	+8	+71	+31	-43
Work with the press to communicate effectively	+13	+16	+11	+20	+19	+13	+19	+17	+14	+70	+14	-45
Trust in the expertise of other leaders	+9	+11	+8	+13	+20	+10	+9	+16	+7	+71	+8	-52
Develop a plan to make sure there is access to utilities, food, water, etc.	+9	2	+16	+10	+22	+10	+16	+12	+4	+70	+22	-56
Work with other elected and appointed leaders	+9	+7	+10	+14	+20	+10	+5	+15	+4	+73	+16	-59
Develop a comprehensive plan in order to ensure their state is prepared	+4	+1	+7	+10	+17	+3	+10	+20	+4	+68	-2	-58
Anticipate the next stage of the crisis	+4	0	+7	+6	+17	+4	+2	+12	+2	+62	+6	-56
Send updates to the public in real time using social media	+3	+3	+3	+11	+13	+1	+4	+18	+5	+55	+1	-47
Give attention to local businesses in the impacted community	+2	-3	+6	+3	+19	+1	+3	+19	-16	+59	+7	-58
Work with relevant businesses in response to a crisis	0	-6	+6	-6	+16	-1	+8	+15	-15	+60	+2	-61
Come quickly to decisions and implement them	0	-1	0	-1	+12	-1	+6	+8	-5	+62	0	-64

## A. DEMOCRATIC WOMAN

Who would be better at this action a governor may need to do when a state is attempting to prevent, prepare for, respond to, and recover from a crisis: a Democratic woman governor or a Republican man governor?/ Who would be better at this action a governor may need to do when a state is attempting to prevent, prepare for, respond to, and recover from a crisis: a Republican woman governor or a Democratic man governor?

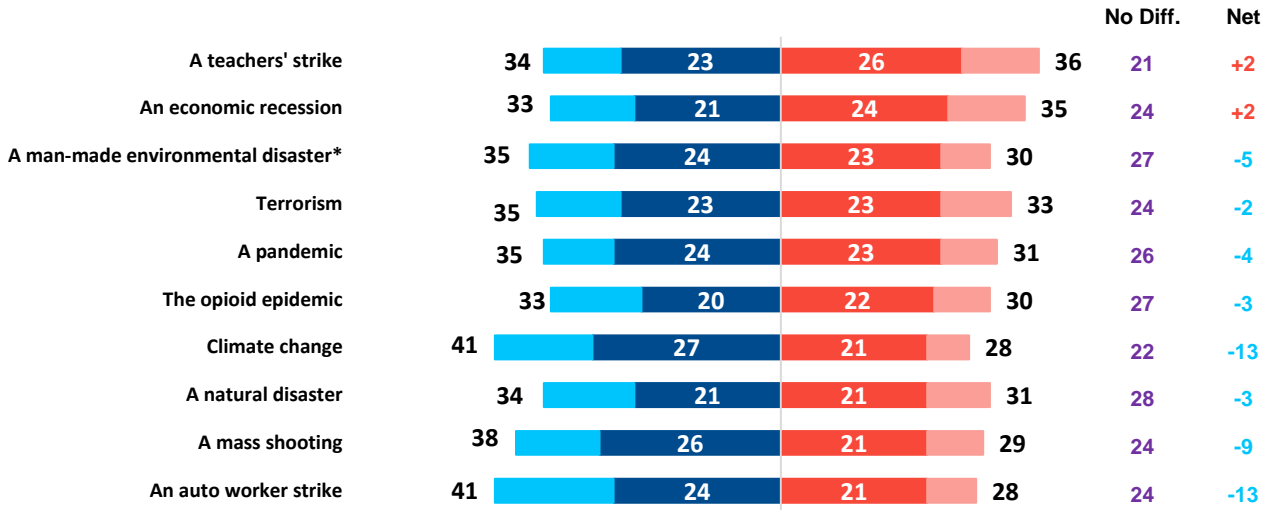
The below data is derived from comparing how a Democratic woman did against a Republican man and how a Democratic man did against a Republican woman.

Comparing a Democratic Woman to a Democratic Man among Democratic Voters	Among Democratic Voters		
	Democratic Woman Governor (Net Democratic Woman Minus Republican Man)	Democratic Man Governor (Net Democratic Man Minus Republican Woman)	Difference (Woman Governor minus Man Governor)
Listen to people affected	+79	+55	+24
Bring together different groups and overcome disagreement	+76	+55	+21
Refrain from grabbing credit or hurling blame	+71	+54	+17
Work with the press to communicate effectively	+70	+54	+16
Trust in the expertise of other leaders	+71	+55	+16
Work with other elected and appointed leaders	+73	+57	+16
Reduce the impact, particularly among vulnerable people	+80	+66	+14
Send updates to the public in real time using social media	+55	+41	+14
Give attention to local businesses in the impacted community	+59	+49	+10
Anticipate the next stage of the crisis	+62	+53	+9
Work with relevant businesses in response to a crisis	+60	+51	+9
Develop a plan to make sure there is access to utilities, food, water, etc...	+70	+65	+5
Develop a comprehensive plan in order to ensure their state is prepared	+68	+63	+5
Come quickly to decisions and implement them	+62	+57	+5

# APPENDIX

## B. REPUBLICAN WOMAN

Who would be better at handling this type of crisis: a Republican woman governor or a Democratic man governor?



Net Republican Woman Minus Democratic Man	All	Gender		Millennials		Race				PID		
		M	W	M	W	W	AA	L	AAPI	D	I	R
An economic recession	+2	+1	+3	-1	-3	+2	-22	-20	-8	-54	+7	+58
A teachers' strike	+2	-1	+5	-13	-5	+2	+13	-16	-9	-58	+10	+59
Terrorism	-2	0	-3	-6	-8	-2	-27	-8	-2	-56	+6	+50
A natural disaster	-3	-7	+1	-4	0	-3	-12	-12	-5	-59	+2	+52
The opioid epidemic	-3	-5	-1	-9	+3	-2	-8	-5	-12	-55	-3	+49
A pandemic	-4	-5	-2	-8	-11	-3	-1	-16	-12	-62	-4	+55
A man-made environmental disaster	-5	-4	-6	-11	-16	-3	-14	-17	-12	-63	-4	+52
A mass shooting	-9	-10	-8	-9	-16	-8	-30	-12	-9	-62	-8	+43
An auto worker strike	-13	-15	-12	-15	-14	-11	-17	-24	-17	-64	-20	+39
Climate change	-13	-16	-11	-25	-27	-4	-10	-24	-20	-72	-6	+41

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## B. REPUBLICAN WOMAN

Who would be better at handling this type of crisis: a Democratic woman governor or a Republican man governor?/ Who would be better at handling this type of crisis: a Republican woman governor or a Democratic man governor?

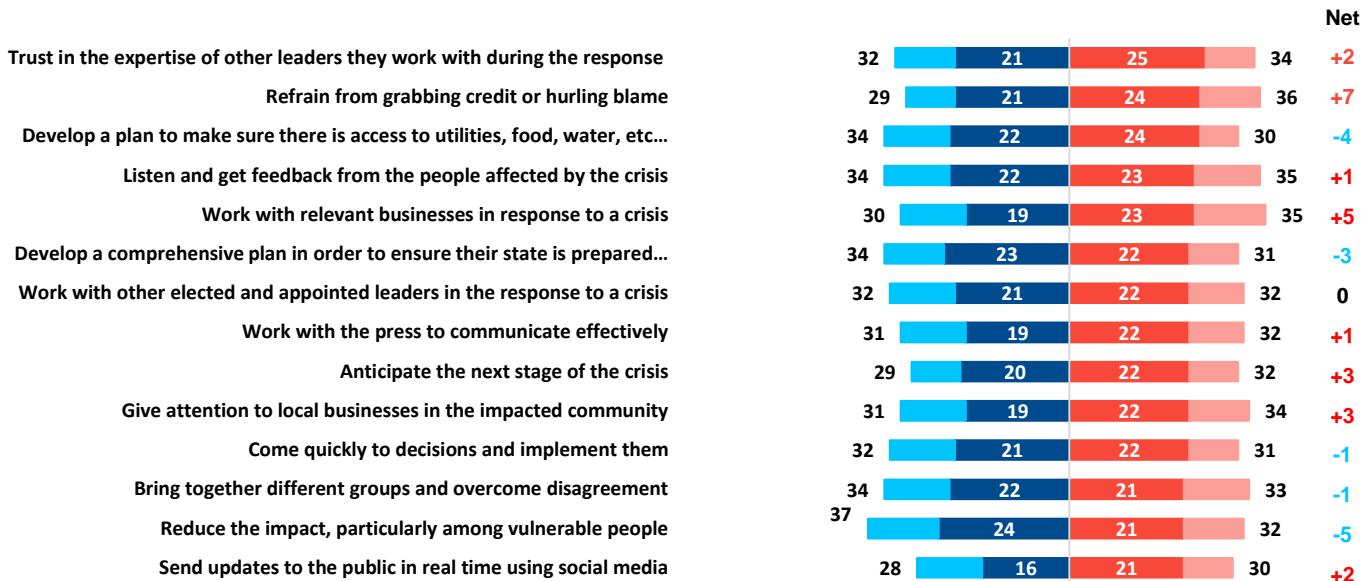
The below data is derived from comparing how a Republican woman did against a Democratic man and how a Republican man did against a Democratic woman.

Comparing a Republican Woman to a Republican Man among Republican Voters	Among Republican Voters		
	Republican Woman Governor (Net Republican Woman Minus Democratic Man)	Republican Man Governor (Net Republican Man Minus Democratic Woman)	Difference (Woman Governor minus Man Governor)
A teachers' strike	+59	+41	+18
Climate change	+41	+39	+2
The opioid epidemic	+49	+48	+1
A man-made environmental disaster	+52	+56	-4
An economic recession	+58	+66	-8
A natural disaster	+52	+60	-8
A pandemic	+55	+64	-9
A mass shooting	+43	+64	-21
Terrorism	+50	+74	-24
An auto worker strike	+39	+67	-28

Comparing a Republican Woman to a Republican Man among Independent Voters	Among Independent Voters		
	Republican Woman Governor (Net Republican Woman Minus Democratic Man)	Republican Man Governor (Net Republican Man Minus Democratic Woman)	Difference (Woman Governor minus Man Governor)
A teacher's strike	+10	-32	+42
Climate change	-6	-28	+22
A pandemic	-4	-18	+14
A man-made environmental disaster	-4	-14	+10
The opioid epidemic	-3	-12	+9
A mass shooting	-8	-16	+8
A natural disaster	+2	-1	+3
An economic recession	+7	+12	-5
Terrorism	+6	+33	-27
An auto worker strike	-20	13	-33

## B. REPUBLICAN WOMAN

Who would be better at this action a governor may need to do when a state is attempting to prevent, prepare for, respond to, and recover from a crisis: a Republican woman governor or a Democratic man governor?



Net Republican Woman Minus Democratic Man	All	Gender		Millennials		Race				PID		
		M	W	M	W	W	AA	L	AAPI	D	I	R
Refrain from grabbing credit or hurling blame	+6	+3	+9	-7	-2	+9	+1	-9	-2	-54	+7	+65
Work with relevant businesses in response to a crisis	+5	+7	+3	+1	-2	+8	-11	-11	-1	-51	+4	+61
Anticipate the next stage of the crisis	+3	0	+5	-9	-3	+7	-16	-17	-2	-53	+6	+57
Give attention to local businesses in the impacted community	+3	+6	0	-7	-5	+6	+1	-19	+3	-49	-1	+57
Trust in the expertise of other leaders	+2	+1	+3	-9	-2	+4	-18	-17	-2	-55	+4	+60
Send updates to the public in real time using social media	+2	+4	0	-4	-2	+4	+8	-11	-5	-41	+1	+45
Listen and get feedback from the people affected by the crisis	+1	-4	+5	-6	-3	+2	-5	-6	-7	-55	-5	+61
Work with the press to communicate effectively	+1	+3	-1	-5	-19	+5	-11	-20	-11	-54	+4	+54
Bring together different groups and overcome disagreement	0	-2	+1	-10	-4	+2	-12	-14	-13	-55	-2	+56
Work with other elected and appointed leaders	-1	+4	-4	-4	-11	-1	-18	-12	-6	-57	-7	+56
Come quickly to decisions and implement them	-1	-1	-2	-10	-6	+2	-11	-21	-4	-57	-7	+52
Develop a comprehensive plan in order to ensure their state is prepared	-3	-4	-3	-12	-6	-1	-15	-17	-8	-63	+2	+53
Develop a plan to make sure there is access to utilities, food, water, etc...	-3	-3	-3	-15	-10	-1	-19	-15	-7	-65	-1	+56
Reduce the impact, particularly among vulnerable people	-5	-8	-2	-18	-9	-4	-17	-10	-9	-66	-11	+56

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## B. REPUBLICAN WOMAN

Who would be better at this action a governor may need to do when a state is attempting to prevent, prepare for, respond to, and recover from a crisis: a Democratic woman governor or a Republican man governor?/ Who would be better at this action a governor may need to do when a state is attempting to prevent, prepare for, respond to, and recover from a crisis: a Republican woman governor or a Democratic man governor?

The below data is derived from comparing how a Republican woman did against a Democratic man and how a Republican man did against a Democratic woman.

Comparing a Republican Woman to a Republican Man among Republican Voters	Among Republican Voters		
	Republican Woman Governor (Net Republican Woman Minus Democratic Man)	Republican Man Governor (Net Republican Man Minus Democratic Woman)	Difference (Woman Governor minus Man Governor)
Refrain from grabbing credit or hurling blame	+65	+43	+22
Listen and get feedback from the people affected by the crisis	+61	+45	+16
Bring together different groups and overcome disagreement	+56	+42	+14
Reduce the impact, particularly among vulnerable people	+56	+42	+14
Work with the press to communicate effectively	+54	+45	+9
Trust in the expertise of other leaders	+60	+52	+8
Anticipate the next stage of the crisis	+57	+56	+1
Work with relevant businesses in response to a crisis	+61	+61	0
Develop a plan to make sure there is access to utilities, food, water, etc...	+56	+56	0
Give attention to local businesses in the impacted community	+57	+58	-1
Send updates to the public in real time using social media	+45	+47	-2
Work with other elected and appointed leaders	+56	+59	-3
Develop a comprehensive plan in order to ensure their state is prepared	+53	+58	-5
Come quickly to decisions and implement them	+52	+64	-12



# APPENDIX

## C. TRAITS

Now I'm going to read some words that could describe a [woman/man] governor before, during, and after a crisis. For each, please tell me how important it is to you that a [woman/man] governor has this trait.

(% Very Important)	Woman Governor	Man Governor	Difference
Good communicator	88	86	+2
Listens to experts	83	88	-5
Decisive	82	81	+1
Confident	80	76	+4
Calm	78	80	-2
Brings people together	74	79	-5
Transparent	73	77	-4
Strong	73	70	+3
Empathetic	63	70	-7

Difference between Woman and Man	All	Gender		Millennials	
(% Very Important)		Men	Women	Men	Women
Good communicator	+2	+4	+1	+5	0
Listens to experts	-5	-6	-4	+5	-6
Decisive	+1	+4	-1	+3	-3
Confident	+4	+5	+3	+6	+5
Calm	-2	-5	-1	+1	-1
Brings people together	-5	-5	-5	+4	-8
Transparent	-4	-2	-5	-4	-12
Strong	+3	+5	+3	+4	+3
Empathetic	-7	-8	-5	-5	-9

Difference between Woman and Man	All	Race			
(% Very Important)		White	African American	Latinx	Asian American/Pacific Islander
Good communicator	+2	+2	+14	+5	+4
Listens to experts	-5	-5	-3	+2	-1
Decisive	+1	0	+3	+8	-1
Confident	+4	+5	+4	+6	+3
Calm	-2	-3	+5	+2	-1
Brings people together	-5	-9	+4	-2	-1
Transparent	-4	-5	0	+5	-3
Strong	+3	+2	+2	+8	-1
Empathetic	-7	-10	+3	+3	-2

Difference between Woman and Man	All	PID		
(% Very Important)		Democrat	Independent	Republican
Good communicator	+2	+5	-7	+4
Listens to experts	-5	-2	-14	-3
Decisive	+1	0	+2	+2
Confident	+4	+11	+1	0
Calm	-2	-7	-5	+5
Brings people together	-5	-4	-10	-2
Transparent	-4	-3	-19	+2
Strong	+3	+12	-3	-4
Empathetic	-7	-8	+7	-10

## D. MESSAGES

### Text of Messages Tested

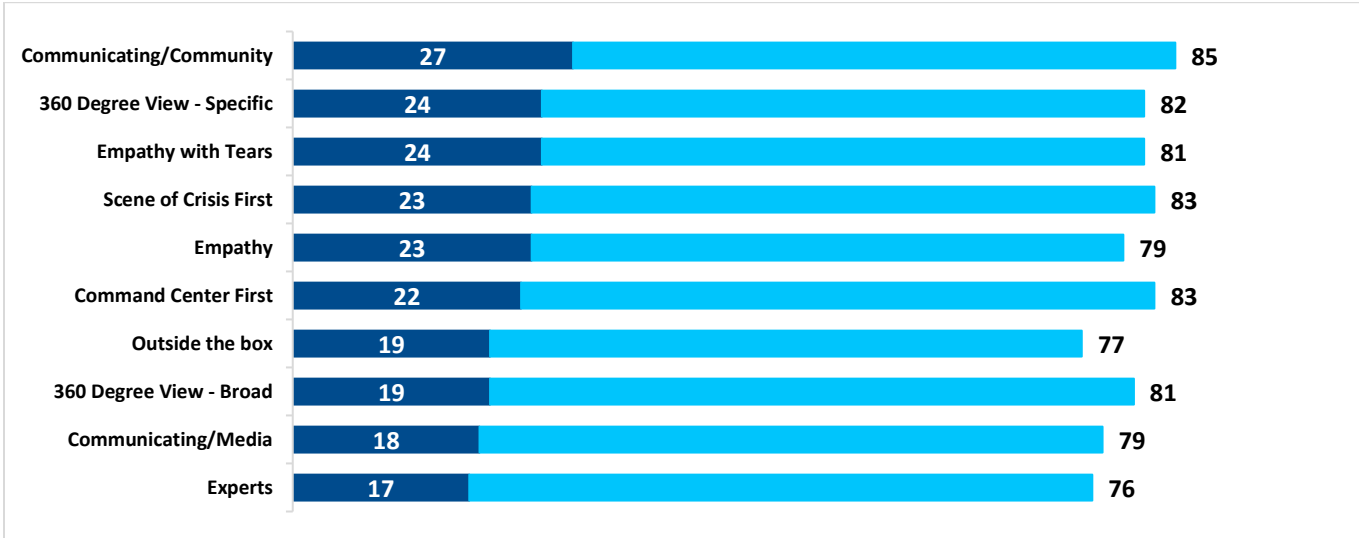
[COMMUNICATING/COMMUNITY] Keeping up her trend of calm, confident daily briefings as her state has been facing a crisis, Governor Rebecca Page said, "I'm taking action today to ensure a culture of openness and trust. My administration and I have been working closely with mayors and cities to focus on issues affecting residents, and address challenges." In an effort to listen to people and keep them informed, Governor Rebecca Page has been going directly to impacted communities. She has created a widely shared crisis action plan with citizen and expert input.
[360-DEGREE VIEW/SPECIFIC] With her state in day 3 of an ongoing crisis, Governor Lisa Anderson said, "The situation continues to change, and under my leadership, our state's response to this crisis is evolving. I want people to know that our state government is doing everything possible to confront and contain this crisis. We know this is a stressful time for you and your family. We are getting things done, getting the information out, deploying immediate resources to the people who need them, and thinking ahead to plan out access to essentials like safety, food, shelter, and infrastructure."
[EMPATHY WITH TEARS] After a crisis struck her state, Governor Tina Wolf said to reporters, "First, I want to thank the first responders and volunteers involved in the recovery effort. Words can't express the sadness that I feel today. My heart breaks for our neighbors who are impacted, their families and the community." Pausing to compose herself after choking up momentarily, Governor Tina Wolf continued, "Since the state has been facing this crisis, it has been my priority to immediately get services out to the impacted areas and dispense aid and advice."
[SCENE OF CRISIS FIRST] After taking in information from the scene of the crisis, Governor Anne Williams headed out to visit the command center to debrief with experts, and review maps and data. Before she left the crisis scene, she said, "My administration has seized this opportunity and initiated a full-scale mobilization of our state, bringing the full resources of the state to bear. It is important to me to return to the impacted areas to guide the state's response and recovery efforts. I'm listening to the people and working closely with experts and representatives of state agencies."
[EMPATHY] After a crisis struck her state, Governor Tina Wolf said to reporters, "First, I want to thank the first responders and volunteers involved in the recovery effort. Words can't express the sadness that I feel today. My heart breaks for our neighbors who are impacted, their families and the community." Pausing, Governor Tina Wolf added, "Since the state has been facing this crisis, it has been my priority to immediately get services out to the impacted areas and dispense aid and advice."
[COMMAND CENTER FIRST] After de-briefing at the central command with experts, and reviewing maps and data, Governor Anne Williams headed out to visit the areas of the state more impacted by the crisis. Before she left the command center, she said, "My administration has seized this opportunity and initiated a full-scale mobilization of our state, bringing the full resources of the state to bear. It is important to me to return to the impacted areas to guide the state's response and recovery efforts. I'm listening to the people and working closely with experts and representatives of state agencies."
[OUTSIDE THE BOX] Governor Jane Weaver has been working closely with state and local partners to identify ways to address an ongoing crisis. Addressing the public, she said, "I'm committed to utilizing every tool available to address this crisis. The Weaver Administration takes an all-hands-on-deck approach. We want to be bold, to try new things, and think outside the box as we're confronting this crisis. We are going to fight every way we can to positively impact every life that we can because that's what it means to be an American."
[360-DEGREE VIEW – BROAD] With her state in day 3 of an ongoing crisis, Governor Lisa Anderson said, "The situation continues to change, and under my leadership, our state's response to this crisis is evolving. I want people to know that our state government is doing everything possible to confront and contain this crisis. We know this is a stressful time for you and your family. It is important for us to focus on working with facts rather than playing into fears. The reality is we are getting things done, getting the information out and deploying resources to the people who need it."
[COMMUNICATING/MEDIA] Keeping up her trend of calm, confident daily briefings as her state has been facing a crisis, Governor Rebecca Page said, "I'm taking action today to ensure a culture of openness and trust. My administration and I have been working closely with mayors and cities to focus on issues affecting residents, and address challenges." In an effort to keep residents informed, the crisis action plan created by Governor Rebecca Page was shared widely on TV and radio stations, in newspapers, and on social media.
[EXPERTS] Addressing the public, Governor Jane Weaver was surrounded by the Secretaries of the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Public Safety as well as Major General Raymond Shields, whom she praised as adept leaders in times of crisis. She portrayed herself as both a leader and a foot soldier in the crisis response. "We have a strong, smart team that will prioritize protecting the public. I am making decisions that I believe are in the best interest of the state."

# APPENDIX

## D. MESSAGES

Now we are going to take a look at some statements from Governors who are responding to different types of crises. After each one, please rate each response on a scale from 0-10 on how effective you find that Governor.

\*Split sampled



% Very Effective (Rate 10)	All	Gender		Millennials		Race				PID		
		M	W	M	W	W	AA	L	AAP I	D	I	R
		27	24	29	22	28	28	26	35	31	31	26
<b>Communicating/Community</b>	27	24	29	22	28	28	26	35	31	31	26	21
<b>360 Degree View - Specific</b>	24	19	27	19	28	24	27	34	27	27	23	21
<b>Empathy with Tears</b>	24	22	25	17	22	24	29	36	25	28	26	18
<b>Scene of Crisis First</b>	23	22	25	18	26	24	25	30	37	27	24	19
<b>Empathy</b>	23	20	25	16	23	20	32	30	21	29	9	20
<b>Command Center First</b>	22	23	21	24	23	20	29	25	27	26	15	20
<b>Outside the box</b>	19	21	18	21	17	17	29	33	23	24	16	17
<b>360 Degree View - Broad</b>	19	17	20	17	19	16	24	28	26	21	16	18
<b>Communicating/Media</b>	18	17	20	18	24	16	26	29	20	24	13	15
<b>Experts</b>	17	14	19	11	20	17	22	31	17	18	17	14

# APPENDIX

## E. ACTIONS

Now I'm going to read some things that a woman governor may need to do when a state is attempting to prevent, prepare for, respond to, and recover from a crisis. For each, please tell me how important it is that a woman governor do this?

(% Very Important)	All	Gender		Millennials		Race				PID		
		M	W	M	W	W	AA	L	AAP I	D	I	R
Develop a plan to make sure there is access to resources	89	86	92	90	90	91	84	93	89	94	86	87
Work with other elected and appointed leaders	84	85	83	81	79	86	86	81	85	89	81	83
Develop a comprehensive plan in order to prepare	84	80	87	79	85	83	82	89	90	90	78	81
Listen and get feedback from the people affected by the crisis	78	74	80	76	80	76	87	86	86	86	68	73
Reduce the impact, particularly among vulnerable people	77	73	81	77	80	77	80	86	83	85	75	73
Anticipate the next stage of the crisis	77	74	79	75	76	77	81	82	82	82	77	74
Trust in the expertise of other leaders	77	74	79	80	70	75	80	82	81	82	74	73
Work with relevant businesses in response to a crisis	75	75	75	78	72	74	77	83	83	76	73	75
Give attention to local businesses in the impacted community	74	75	73	73	71	73	76	79	79	77	71	73
Come quickly to decisions and implement them	70	65	74	68	66	67	72	80	81	71	63	73
Bring together different groups and overcome disagreement	68	65	70	66	67	66	73	76	74	75	71	61
Refrain from grabbing credit or hurling blame	67	68	66	68	66	67	70	71	71	72	63	66
Work with the press to communicate effectively	65	62	67	55	66	64	69	71	80	77	64	54
Send updates to the public in real time using social media	50	50	49	43	41	46	64	60	64	56	44	50