

*"The road to the governor's office is challenging for any candidate. This guide provides invaluable insights into the opportunities and potential pitfalls faced by women candidates, and will help smooth the way for women who run for office in the future."*

– Governor Jeanne Shaheen

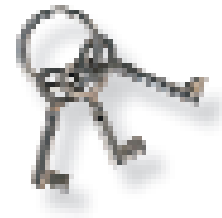
*"The keys in this guide should help focus and direct the efforts of every serious candidate and campaign professional. The keys will open more doors for many more women candidates seeking to be governor."*

– Former Governor Christie Whitman

*"Women who are serious about running for governor should read this guide before the campaign, during the campaign and keep it in their desk drawers once they win."*

– Former Governor Ann Richards

# KEYS TO THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE



*Unlock the Door:  
The Guide for Women  
Running for Governor*

## DEDICATION

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*This guide is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother, Minnie Greenberg, who remains my inspiration.*

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*Thank you,*

*Barbara*

## FOREWORD

I didn't originally intend to create a guide to help women running for governor. It was the presidency that first interested me. What would it take to elect a woman president? That's what I wanted to know.

As I understood more about the paths to power, it was clear that electing a woman president would become a reality only after we unraveled voters' complex reactions to a woman seeking full executive authority.

The only real case studies we have of women running and winning executive offices are big city mayors and a handful of governors. Of these, the more similar training ground is the office of governor. That realization inspired me to pursue this project.

There is another, more personal reason for pursuing this issue of gender and power. My grandmother.

From the age of 23, when she cast her first vote in the historic election of 1920, my grandmother believed in the democratic process. She voted in every election that followed until she died at age 96.

Her generation won the right to vote. We must continue to advance the cause of women's equality. In my case, that means helping to remove the last roadblocks to full and equal political power.

We know it is more difficult for women to win elections for governor than it is for men. How do we know? Numbers. There have only been 18 women governors in all of American history. Why has there

been a steady increase in the numbers of women holding local, state and federal legislative offices when the number of women governors remains constant?

At the outset of this study, we didn't know precisely what made it more difficult. We had many questions and were determined to find answers.

Are there a set of voter expectations about women who aspire to executive office that hold women back? What is the resistance to granting a woman "the last word?"

Is there something in the women themselves or their campaign organizations that puts them at a disadvantage? What can we learn from the women who have run?

I decided to explore the possibility that there is something distinct about the office of governor (and president) that requires a different approach for women.

Since 1999, my team and I have been at work asking these questions, examining the data, and listening to the candidates, the professionals and the voters. What we found surprised us, challenged us and ultimately suggested strategies that can help more women succeed.

We've boiled it all down in this guide to a form we think is most helpful for candidates, issue advocates, campaign professionals and party organizations.

Now, it's time to put it to use!

*Barbara Lee*

*The Barbara Lee Family Foundation*

*Brookline, Massachusetts*

*March 19, 2001*

# INTRODUCTION

Only 18.

In the 225-year history of the United States only 18\* women have served as governor. In 2001, only four women occupy the top job - in New Hampshire, Montana, Delaware and Arizona.

While the numbers of women in state legislatures continued to grow in the 1990s and the numbers of women serving in the U.S. House and Senate steadily improved, growing numbers have been elusive for women seeking governorships.

This guide is based on the most comprehensive research to date about women running for governor and is designed to help women run and win those races. By identifying the roadblocks women candidates face, it will be easier to maneuver around them. By offering candidates, campaign teams and supportive organizations insight into voters' fears and stereotypes about women candidates for governor, campaigns will be better prepared to set aside those doubts.

For instance, our research revealed that women candidates face the highest hurdle in reaching constituencies such as seniors, blue-collar men and women who are homemakers. We also found that male voters prefer a man as governor, while women voters are ambivalent on their gender preference in candidates.

This guide discusses key challenges that keep women from competing on an equal footing with men in gubernatorial contests. It analyzes these factors and provides strategies to overcome them.

We believe our findings will benefit women running for local and legislative offices as well. By grappling with these issues early on, more women will run for governor and more will win.

\*As we go to press, it is possible that an additional woman will succeed to the governor's office. Of the 18 women who have served as governors, 12 were elected, three filled their late husbands' terms and three succeeded sitting governors who left office early.

## KEY CHALLENGES:

**1. Executive Leadership:** Given the few examples of women chief executives in the public and private sectors, women candidates for governor must be able to demonstrate successful executive experience.

**2. Preparation:** Women need to provide more evidence than men of financial and crisis management expertise to persuade voters they're as "qualified" or "ready" to be governor.

**3. Outsiders With Insider Connections:** Women are presumed to be "outside" the harsh push and pull of politics, but must have inside connections to mount statewide campaigns.

**4. Outsiders With Insider Know-How:** Women are expected to be "honest," but in voters' minds, that raises the question: Can they make the necessary deals?

**5. Management Style - Collaborative or Decisive:** Voters ask: Is a woman who builds consensus by being inclusive able to make the executive decisions required of a governor?

**6. Leadership Style - Tough, But Caring:** Women benefit from demonstrating both the "toughness" to stand up to competing interest groups and the "caring" to champion a family issues agenda.

**7. Family Matters:** Voters are both curious and make assumptions about a woman candidate and her family. They wonder about who comes first, the candidate's family or the public.

**8. Voter Trends:** Key groups of voters have distinct gender preferences for gubernatorial candidates. How do we make all groups available to women candidates?

Taken together, these challenges raise the question of "too." Too virtuous to knock heads? Too much of an insider or too much of an outsider? Too much of a consensus builder and not decisive enough? Too tough or not tough enough? Too devoted to ambition or too devoted to family?

Women who have thought about these challenges have a better chance of developing public styles and policy agendas that win voter confidence. The earlier these issues are considered and are accounted for during the campaign, the less significant they will be in determining the outcome of a race for governor.

# METHODOLOGY

The Barbara Lee Family Foundation commissioned Democrat Celinda Lake from Lake Snell Perry & Associates (LSPA), in consultation with Republican Linda DiVall from American Viewpoint, Inc., and Democrat Mary Hughes from Staton & Hughes, to conduct a multi-part project on women running for governor.

The 1998 exit poll data from selected states were analyzed as a starting point for further polling and focus groups. Ten focus groups were conducted in five cities during February and March 2000, and a national random sample survey was conducted from May 8-15, 2000. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted with candidates, campaign staff, consultants and reporters in 10 states where women were candidates for governor in 1998. The 10 states included in the study were Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Maryland, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Rhode Island and Vermont.

## EVALUATION OF 1998 EXIT POLL DATA

LSPA purchased exit poll data from Voter News Service for all states where data were available. Included were nine of the 10 races in which women ran for governor (no data were available for Hawaii).

LSPA categorized the state-level data into states where female candidates ran against male candidates for governor and states where two men ran against each other; the data were divided further to control for partisanship and incumbency status. LSPA then used a set of independent demographic variables to detect trends where women were candidates.

## CAMPAIGN INTERVIEWS

In the fall of 1999, Staton & Hughes conducted in-depth interviews with Democratic and Republican interviewers in the 10 states where women ran for governor in 1998 to identify common themes related to female gubernatorial candidates and their campaigns.

A total of 45 respondents, including candidates, campaign managers, finance directors, press secretaries, consultants and reporters were interviewed.

## FOCUS GROUPS

LSPA conducted 10 focus groups during March 2000 to uncover the nuances of voters' opinions, including their feelings, beliefs and perceptions about women running for governor.

The analysis of the 1998 exit poll data revealed that white senior citizens and younger men are least likely to vote for women for governor. For this reason, a disproportionate share of the focus groups were held among these universes of voters, rather than universes such as African American men and women.

Focus groups were conducted in the Spring of 2000 among the following audiences in the following locations:

March 9	Baltimore, MD	White senior women White college educated women
March 13	Wilmington, DE	White senior women White men with at least some college education
March 15	Old Bridge, NJ	White senior men White college educated men
March 22	Las Vegas, NV	Hispanic women White non-college men
March 23	Phoenix, AZ	White non-college women Hispanic men

Focus groups of Hispanic men and women were convened in Nevada and Arizona, where they comprise a greater proportion of the population.

## NATIONAL SURVEY

LSPA designed and administered a telephone survey between May 8 and May 15, 2000. The survey included 1,375 likely voters nationwide: 500 likely voters in 43 states plus the District of Columbia and 125 likely voters each in Arizona, Delaware, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New Hampshire and Washington (considered "women friendly" states for their history of electing women to statewide office). The margin of sampling error for the total sample is +/- 2.6 percentage points. The margin of sampling error associated with demographic or geographic subgroups is larger and depends upon the sample size of the subgroup.

# 1 EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP GOING WHERE FEW HAVE DARED TO GO



***“For people to get comfortable seeing women in executive roles, they have to see women in executive roles. They have to see women run.”***

- Candidate

## THEY JUST CAN'T IMAGINE A WOMAN IN CHARGE

Voters have a hard time picturing a female governor: Only four women are governors today. At this writing, only two CEOs in the Fortune 500 companies are women. Few role models mean low expectations - it's the "there aren't any so there won't be any" syndrome.

"[It] is just people's gut that a governor is male. I mean, if people close their eyes and were asked to envision a governor, it would be a guy," said one campaign consultant.

## FEW ROLE MODELS

Both voter and candidate research suggest that one reason women are rarely elected governor is the lack of female executive role models in the culture. Burdened with cultural norms that men, rather than women, fill executive positions, few women have ascended to the top job.

Voters tend to be more skeptical of women in elected executive roles for the same reasons that they are skeptical of women in chief executive roles in business: Are they really up to it? Do they really have the skills? Can they make the tough decisions? Do they have enough experience?

## BREAKING DOWN THE BARRIERS

Of the 18 women who have been governor, exactly half of them were elected between 1990 and 2000. Still, several candidates interviewed in 1998 felt that their states simply were not "ready" to elect a woman governor.

One candidate deliberately worked to combat voter doubts about electing a woman by underscoring her prior political experience and strong history of professional accomplishments - information that focus group participants said is particularly important in gaining their confidence. Despite her conscious effort, the candidate was unsuccessful.

"Even though everybody knew my credentials were vastly superior to my opponent's - a woman can't do it. It is the feeling - and I've had this every time I've run for office - that 'I just can't picture myself walking into the governor's office and having to deal with a woman.'...

***“It is when you run for the top office that people get uncomfortable. That's why I think women running for governor is so important. It is so important to see women in executive positions.”***

- Candidate

***“I’m honestly convinced that some of it’s the psyche - that women need to see themselves as leaders and men need to see women as leaders ... there are a lot of preconceived notions that women have to get beyond, both within themselves and with the outside audience.”***

*- Campaign Fundraiser*

They knew I could be tough because I had been. But then it was, ‘A woman can’t do it.’ Why, why? Well, you know, I think we’re not ready for a woman,” she said.

Another candidate, however, noted that gender can cut both ways. When voters are looking for “change,” women have an advantage because by definition they counter the status quo.

“It seems to me that there is no shortage of people who would say [my state] is not ready for a woman governor ... The flip side is that people who are sick of what goes on all the time [say], we need a change, we need a woman. And they see a female just symbolically as ‘change.’ And that works to one’s advantage for the person who’s going to vote wanting change,” the candidate said.

In 2000, three of the five women who ran for gubernatorial office won, the highest proportion in history. Judy Martz (R-Mont.) and Ruth Ann Minner (D-Del.) are the first women governors of their states. Jeanne Shaheen, a Democrat, is not only the first woman governor of New Hampshire, but she has been reelected twice.

“It may be the kamikaze pilot in me - you just have to keep doing it until somebody breaks down the barriers. I think clearly the attitude is changing,” one gubernatorial candidate added.

## FOR CANDIDATES

1. **Own your ambition.** Too few women openly share their desire for higher office. This reluctance to appear “ambitious” slows a politician’s ability to get press, campaign financing, and high-visibility party and legislative assignments. If supporters want to say publicly that you should run for governor, let them. Perceived future power creates more power today. “Ambitious” is a quality that creates opportunity and credentials a potential candidacy with donors.

2. **Celebrate accomplished executive women in other industries and disciplines.** Understand that voters’ resistance to female candidates for governor is first and foremost one of unfamiliarity with successful executive women in most fields.

3. **Demonstrate executive leadership.** Chair a statewide ballot effort or an ally’s statewide campaign. Stand up to an opponent publicly and forcefully. Win or lose, you are taller. Get used to operating in a bigger arena.

4. **Always keep the door open. Think big. Plan big.** Do you send press releases about your successes only to media outlets in your district? Could your current fundraising database support a regional or statewide run? Have you built a base – a statewide network of experts and a regional public following – for your issues? If not, why not?



# PREPARATION IT COSTS MORE FOR WOMEN TO PAY THEIR DUES



*“When you’re positioning a woman to run for office, you show that she has held jobs with huge responsibility, with huge challenges, and acquitted herself brilliantly in dealing with these challenges and overcoming them.”*

- Media Consultant

## WHAT PREPARATION QUALIFIES A WOMAN TO BE GOVERNOR?

Voters need more information to conclude that a woman is prepared to be governor than they need to draw the same conclusion about a man.

Focus group participants wanted to see specific financial, crisis management and political credentials when evaluating whether a woman could handle the complexities of running a state. For instance, voters surveyed felt more confident in a candidate who had been a state treasurer when they were told that as treasurer she got the state out of debt than they were in a candidate who did not mention her accomplishments as treasurer.

In contrast, men were assumed to be qualified to lead their state if they had a resume that simply listed positions of leadership and service.

“You have to prove a lot more than the man does,” reflected one candidate. “You have to prove that you’re fiscally responsible, you have to prove that you are a visionary, you have to prove that you can lead people, that people respect you...”

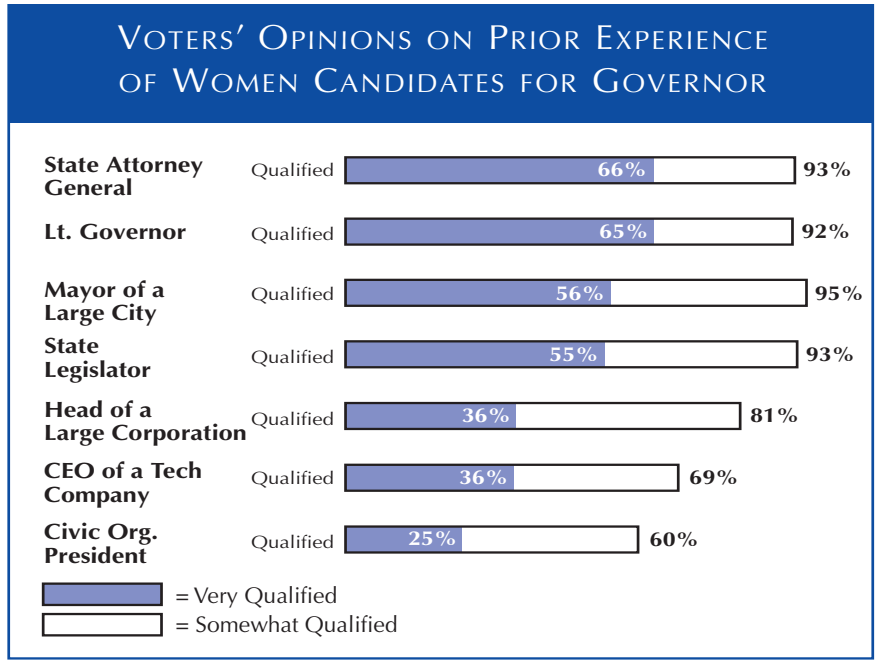
## WHAT EXPERIENCE IS THE RIGHT EXPERIENCE?

When evaluating whether a candidate was very qualified to be governor, voters rated previous experience as attorney general and lieutenant governor 10 points higher than other political offices, such as big city mayor and state legislator, and 20 to 30 points higher than civic or corporate leadership positions.

Focus group interviews reveal that voters give men credit for experience outside of public service, but don’t give equal credit for women’s comparable private sector experience. Male voters, in particular, fear that a woman will not have the skill to manage her state’s finances, especially in times of trouble, regardless of her previous business experience.

“My opponent tried to paint me as someone who had no managerial experience,” offered one candidate. “And I think women are more susceptible to being viewed as not being capable of managing.”

Voters still give women candidates some credit for non-political experience. Civic and nonprofit experience complement a political



The survey assessed voters’ attitudes about women in various executive positions, but did not include Secretary of State because voters are less familiar with it as a state office and often confuse it with the United States Secretary of State.

*Of the 15 women who have served as governor since 1974, five served as secretary of state or assistant secretary of state, five served as lieutenant governor, three served as state treasurer and one was the director of her state's board of public utilities.*

resume by showing a candidate is in touch with her community. If shown in conjunction with elective experience, business experience can highlight a female candidate's understanding of the economy and other fiscal issues. Women need to include solid evidence of success to fully counter stereotypes.

The media play a role in reinforcing other stereotypes that undercut women's credibility. In 1998 races, for instance, descriptions of clothes and hair styles persisted.

"The thing you see over and over again when reading the paper is: [the female candidate] is looking spry in her Spring suit...and you don't read [the male candidate] in his dashing Brooks Brothers coat," noted one candidate.

### ELECTIVE SERVICE SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

Successful gubernatorial candidates have built solid foundations for their political careers, which engender respect and acceptance from both political insiders and the general public.

Former Texas Governor Ann Richards was a well-credentialed Democratic candidate who built a solid record of practical and financial expertise. She started her political network early through involvement with the Young Democrats. Richards founded community groups and served in local elected positions. She worked on campaigns and in state legislative offices. In 1982, as a high profile county commissioner she successfully ran for state treasurer. In 1990, she ran for governor, and won. Governor Richards built a solid, broad foundation of public service that established strong credentials before winning the keys to the state's top office.

## FOR CANDIDATES

1. **Build a solid political career.** To prove that they are qualified, women must move up the elective ladder mastering increasingly difficult challenges. Be prepared to seize each opportunity, especially those that allow you to develop executive qualifications. Don't hesitate. Term limits, reapportionment, early retirement and administration appointments guarantee openings.

2. **Demonstrate financial expertise.** Budget, Appropriations, and Ways and Means Committees of the legislature provide the opportunities, but you must take a risk. Challenge a "sacred cow" in the budget, broker a compromise to an impasse or offer a more efficient accounting system.

3. **Manage a crisis.** A teachers strike or a prison riot represents a crisis. If you are positioned to help, do it. Move quickly. If you want to be a leader, lead.

4. **Take credit.** If you take the risk and overcome the budget impasse or negotiate the strike settlement, take the credit. Of course, you will recognize those with whom you worked, but down the road, your claim of leadership must ring true. It will be credible if voters can recall your successful efforts.

5. **Deal with media stereotyping at the source.** Call up the reporter and privately ask him or her about their choice to write about your hair or dress. If the subject comes up in public, handle it with humor.

# 3 OUTSIDERS WITH INSIDER CONNECTIONS

BE GOOD AT THE GAME, BUT NOT CAPTIVE OF IT



*“I am an outsider...I am not a good old boy and I’m never going to be a good old boy. And those guys who really count on the good old boys have always had a problem with me and I’ve always had a problem with them.”*

- Candidate

## IT’S ABOUT ‘WHO YOU KNOW’

According to polling and focus groups, voters view women as political outsiders and above “politics as usual.” While being thought of as an outsider can benefit women candidates, it also can leave them out of critical circles of influence and decision making within their own political parties.

Interviews reveal that skillfully navigating the party system remains an important avenue to power in many states. Candidates often described an old boy network dominating their state party structure, and stressed the importance of women making connections within that network. The trick for women candidates is getting all the advantages of party connections without losing the benefits voters associate with their “outsider” candidacies.

“One [of the campaign’s weaknesses] would be that we weren’t enough of the good old boy system to incur their favor, to incur their assistance,” said one candidate. Another candidate added: “They [state party leaders] were not ‘anti,’ they didn’t do anything against me, but they didn’t do anything [for me].”

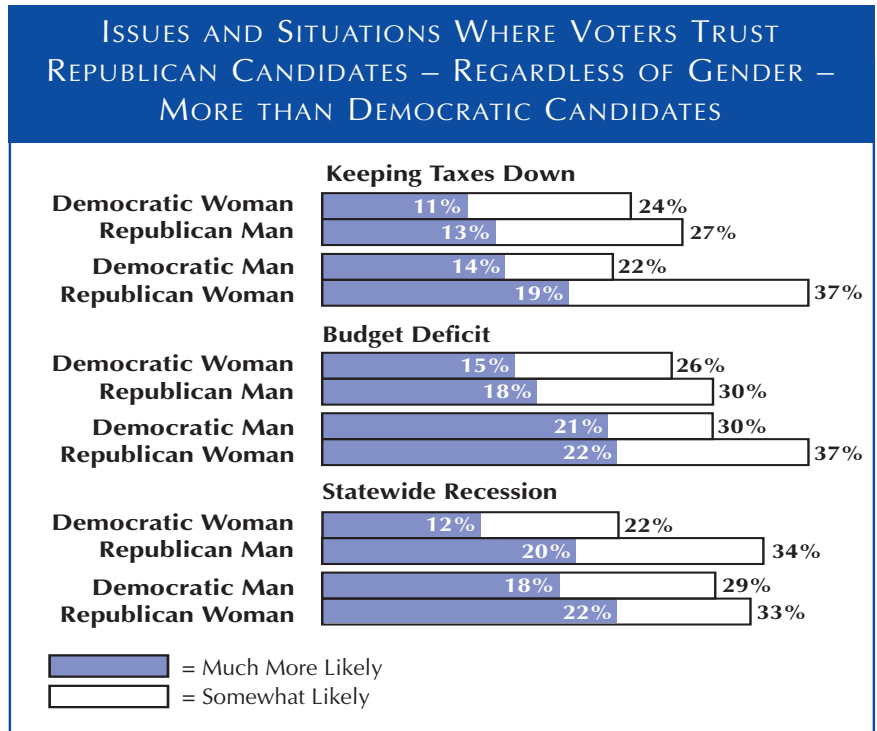
## PARTY TRUMPS GENDER

Successful female gubernatorial candidates have a working relationship with the top party operatives in their state, but they haven’t sacrificed their credibility with the public to develop these connections.

This party association is important for candidates. Exit polls from 1998 races for governor show that party affiliation is more influential for voters than any other factor - including gender.

The advantage of party affiliation, however, does not weigh equally for Republican and Democratic candidates. Voters think of a Republican woman as Republican first, woman second. Democratic women are more often seen as a woman first, then as a Democrat.

As detailed in the chart below, voters trust Republican candidates more than Democratic candidates – regardless of gender – on fiscal issues such as keeping taxes down and handling a budget deficit.



In order to simulate a general election match-up in which a Republican and Democratic candidate challenge each other, voters were asked to compare Democratic female candidates to Republican male candidates, and Democratic male candidates to Republican female candidates.

As one campaign consultant corroborated, “If you’re a [female] Republican, you’re going to have a much better shot at it, probably, because at least you’re not going to have these stereotypes running into each other, where you’re a woman and a Democrat.”

Four of the six most recent women governors have been Republicans.

## WOMEN GOVERNORS CAN COUNT

Successful women governors have had a strong base of support within their parties and a clear sense of their allies and adversaries in their legislatures. Often, legislative leadership positions required these women to manage the legislative process, giving them inside connections and seasoning invaluable to a governor.

Ella Grasso was the Democratic floor leader in the Connecticut House of Representatives, Barbara Roberts was the Democratic majority leader in the Oregon House of Representatives and Republican Jane Dee Hull was both the speaker of the Arizona House of Representatives and the majority whip.

In 1993, Republican Governor Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey unseated an incumbent. One of her first moves as governor was to pass major tax reform through a cautious legislature, including a substantial income tax cut on an aggressive schedule. Although her Republican colleagues in the legislature sometimes feigned public resistance, she knew she had the votes and pushed her legislation forward. Currently head of the Environmental Protection Agency, Whitman has always been regarded as an honest official who was able to cut tough deals.

***“Everybody is just so aggravated and frustrated with what’s going on ... we are looking for a change. Maybe a woman is the person who’s going to bring a change. We’ve had the men all of these years....”***

– Focus Group Participant

## FOR CANDIDATES

1. **Emphasize the positive.** Confirm voters’ presumption of honest, ethical leadership attributed to women by running positive campaigns, adopting ethical finance practices and highlighting reforms you instituted.
2. **Take an active role in party affairs.** Recruit high-quality candidates, provide endorsements and raise money.
3. **Develop an informal “kitchen cabinet”** of advisors whose points of view run from party loyalists to outside reformers. Consult them regularly.
4. **Raise money, and do it all the time.** Lead fundraising efforts for your allies, for national candidates and for charity. Solicit from the business community, from issue advocates and from women’s organizations. The most important measure of a candidate’s seriousness is her proven ability to raise money. If you can, party leaders will take you seriously. If you can’t, they won’t.

# OUTSIDERS WITH INSIDER KNOW HOW

## LET'S MAKE AN (HONEST) DEAL



*“Women are usually considered to be more honest than men [candidates].”*

- Political Reporter

### EMBRACE THE ART OF COMPROMISE

Polls show that voters believe women candidates are more honest than their male counterparts. Focus groups also show that voters hold women to a higher ethical standard than men when comparing candidates for public office.

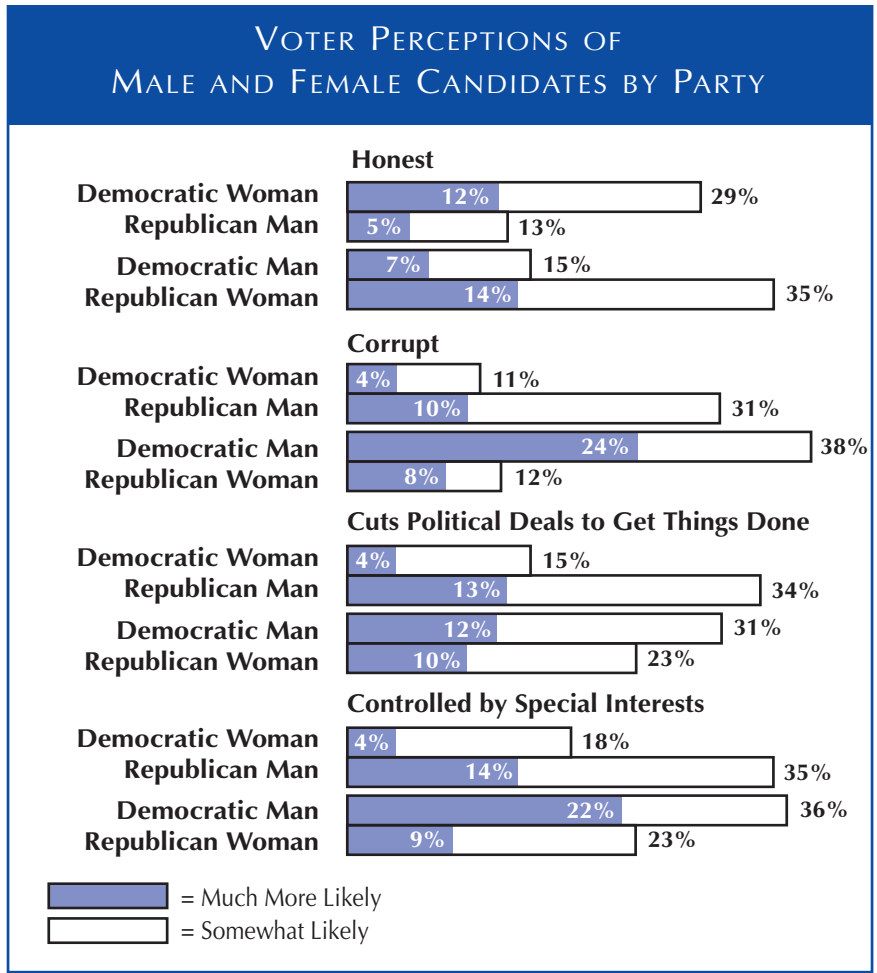
Voters further believe that governing the state requires an ability to maneuver behind the scenes. They have a sense that a good governor can manage her legislature to pass important measures when the time comes. Such maneuvers require, among other things, street smarts and perseverance.

Women are faced with the challenge of maintaining an honest image while proving savvy enough to understand and bring together different points of view and styles.

### MOVE THE AGENDA FORWARD

About a third of surveyed voters believed Republican women (35%) and Democratic women (29%) running for governor would be honest. For both parties, only half as many voters believed male candidates to be honest (Republican men, 13%; Democratic men, 15%). Similarly, voters believed male candidates for both parties to be more corrupt and more controlled by special interests than female candidates.

Used skillfully, this moral capital can be a powerful wedge to advance issues and pressure colleagues toward agreement.



In order to simulate a general election match-up in which a Republican and Democratic candidate challenge each other, voters were asked to compare Democratic female candidates to Republican male candidates, and Democratic male candidates to Republican female candidates.

*“[Men] play the system, both for the greater good and their own benefit. But they play the system. I’ve had people even say to me recently, if you run again you’ve got to learn how to cut deals. I’m just not comfortable making deals.”*

- Candidate

When voters considered whether a typical candidate would be willing to cut deals to move his or her policy agenda forward, men of both parties fare better than their female counterparts. Republicans fare better than Democrats, regardless of gender.

### HANG ON TO YOUR “OUTSIDER” IMAGE

A woman candidate’s outsider status translates well to a “clean government” image. As one candidate reflected in an interview, “...We’re not part of that atmosphere of corruption.”

Arizona’s Jane Dee Hull, a Republican, became governor when her male predecessor was convicted on multiple counts of fraud.

Hull was first elected to state office – as secretary of state – in 1993. Before stepping into the governor’s office in 1997, Hull was elected to the Arizona House of Representatives and chosen by her colleagues to serve as Speaker. This was a reflection of her ability to maneuver well within the state party.

Hull was elected to the governor’s office in her own right in 1998. In fact, Arizonans elected women to all five of its top statewide offices that year, arguably in reaction to the status quo.

## FOR CANDIDATES

1. **Keep your word.** This is your most valuable asset and a critical one if you intend to work the powers-that-be to achieve better public policy. Accept party organizational positions like “whip” that demonstrate your ability to move legislation, count votes and persuade your colleagues.

2. **Mediate.** Don’t hesitate to put yourself in the middle of a fight if you can be useful. Show off your deal-making skills by taking the lead in announcing the compromise whether it’s a strike, a legislative impasse or a land use negotiation.

3. **Stand your ground.** Every politician worth her salt parts company with interest group allies when good public policy requires it. Make a strategic decision to do so privately or publicly considering what such an announcement would say about you. Defining your core values is particularly important for women candidates.

4. **Exact a price.** Your ability to find solutions to difficult policy problems depends in part on positive coaxing and, in part, on fear of reprisals. If there is no cost to crossing you, people will. As a result, you will be less effective.

5. **Take issue.** Define the differences between your position, judgment or voting record and your opponent’s. Draw a contrast and hold him or her accountable. This builds voter confidence. People will believe you will be able to fight for them if they see you standing up for someone else.

# MANAGEMENT STYLE

## LEADING BY CONSENSUS

### – DECISIVELY



*“[In women’s campaigns] it seems like there are more people at the table, literally. Instead of the four or five people in the room, there are 15 or 20.”*

— Pollster

#### DECISIVENESS IS ESSENTIAL

Voters of both genders believe that a woman candidate would bring a different style of leadership to the governor’s office. They believe that women are better than men at working with other people and building consensus in the decision-making process. Women also are viewed as being more inclusive than men and as valuing collaboration over political interests.

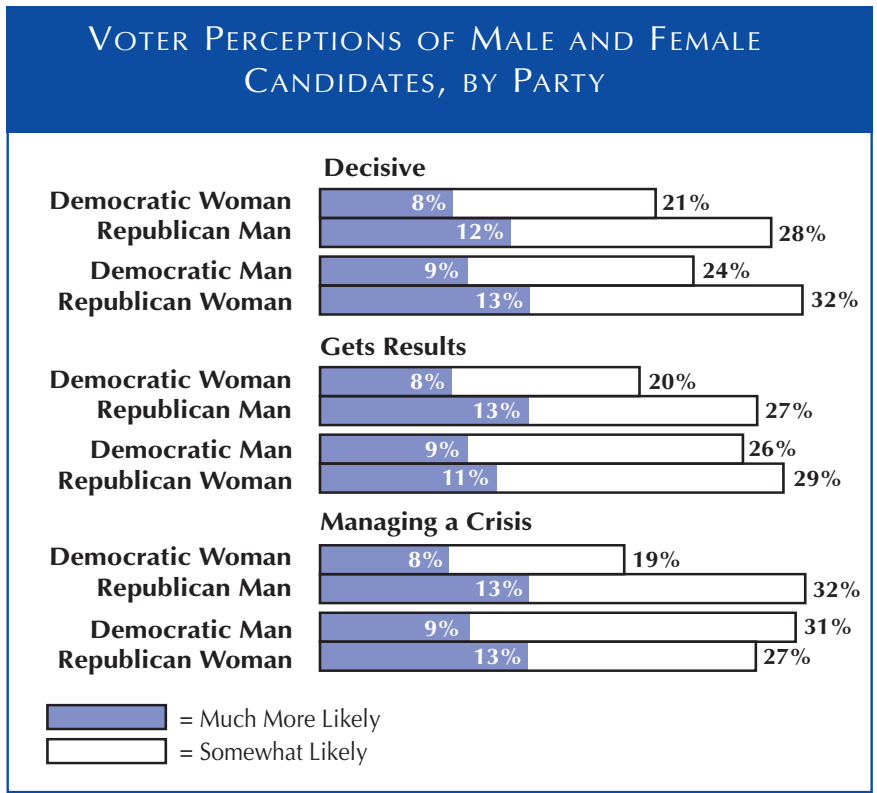
On the other hand, voters believe men are better than women at making quick decisions and controlling unruly groups like state legislators to get results. Voters wonder whether a woman candidate for governor can be action-oriented enough to deal with crises and to act decisively.

In the focus groups, voters often felt that women candidates for governor presented themselves too passively. A forceful, decisive style - including a confident speaking voice - is important to demonstrate strength.

#### BUT DON’T TOSS THOSE COLLABORATIVE TRAITS

Women candidates don’t have to toss aside their collaborative traits. According to the focus groups, the public perceives consensus building as an advantage. However, candidates simply need to be mindful of the “collaboration-breeds-indecision” stereotype and balance collaboration with decisiveness.

As the chart below indicates, party affiliation plays a significant role in how voters perceive a candidate’s management abilities. Republicans, regardless of gender, have an advantage over their Democratic counterparts. They are viewed as more decisive and better at getting results. Men, regardless of party, are thought to be better at managing a crisis, although Republican women are viewed as better crisis managers than Democratic women.



In order to simulate a general election match-up in which a Republican and Democratic candidate challenge each other, voters were asked to compare Democratic female candidates to Republican male candidates, and Democratic male candidates to Republican female candidates.

*“[The candidate] is much more of a consensus kind of person who really wants to listen. And I remember recalling that at that time she was being criticized ... maybe she’s not a really strong leader because she’s more of a consensus builder.”*

- Finance Director

In describing the ideal woman candidate for governor, participants in the focus groups said someone who gives a “clear statement of issues” and has the “ability to stand behind issues.” One participant stated that his ideal candidate would “not be a waffler on issues.”

## BALANCING A COLLABORATIVE STYLE WITH DECISIVENESS

Former Vermont Governor Madeline Kunin - who was first elected in 1984 and served three terms in office - demonstrated that she could be an accomplished, decisive leader *and* a consensus builder. Kunin, a Democrat, acknowledged that a woman’s leadership style often differs from a man’s. “I learned my negotiating skills early, with four children at the table,” she told the *National Journal* in 1986.

Kunin was aware that a woman governor could be vulnerable if she wasn’t decisive and if she didn’t stand firmly behind the issues she believed in. During her tenure, she delivered on a promise to make public kindergarten available to all Vermont school districts and was dubbed “the iron lady” for sticking to her guns in contentious negotiations.

Most notable among her policy accomplishments was her strategy for addressing growth issues in Vermont: She built consensus through a series of public hearings on the state growth management plan.

## FOR CANDIDATES

1. **Run a tight ship.** One small measure of an elected official’s decisiveness is whether she meets deadlines - her own and other people’s. Making campaign announcements, filing official forms, presenting findings of a study on-time all create an impression. That impression becomes part of an image and reputation that determines public perception.
2. **Don’t equivocate on an issue or a vote.** Your colleagues are a critical group in shaping the perception of your abilities to lead in higher office. Changing your vote or consistently waiting to see how the caucus votes broadcasts your indecisiveness.
3. **Don’t be afraid to challenge your opponent during debates and in your television ads.** Reluctance to criticize your opponent can be viewed as being “soft” and indecisive. Remain direct and avoid an abrasive tone.
4. **Return press calls promptly.** The press have a hand in determining how you are perceived by voters - whether you have the decisiveness, as well as the temperament, to handle higher office. **DO NOT AVOID THEM.** Answer questions directly. Don’t fudge. Ask, if you need more details to fully answer a question. Be friendly, careful, clear and firm.
5. **Take the microphone.** If and when you make high profile decisions or cast courageous votes, it won’t matter if no one knows.



6

# LEADERSHIP STYLE

NOT TOO TOUGH,  
NOT TOO SOFT



*“If you’re too strong, you’re labeled a bad word. And if you’re not strong enough, then you get run over.”*

- Candidate

### FINDING THE “TOUGH, YET FEMALE” STYLE OF EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

When asked what personal qualities make a good governor, people cite toughness and executive ability. Neither men nor women voters are confident that women candidates are as tough as men.

Even when voters assume a woman is qualified for the job in terms of prior experience, they question whether she would be tough enough to be a good executive.

Demonstrating toughness can be problematic for female candidates. Voters want women who are as tough and decisive as men, but voters do not want to elect “manly” women.

As one man in a focus group said, “A female can’t show male toughness in doing things. That would turn a lot of people off.”

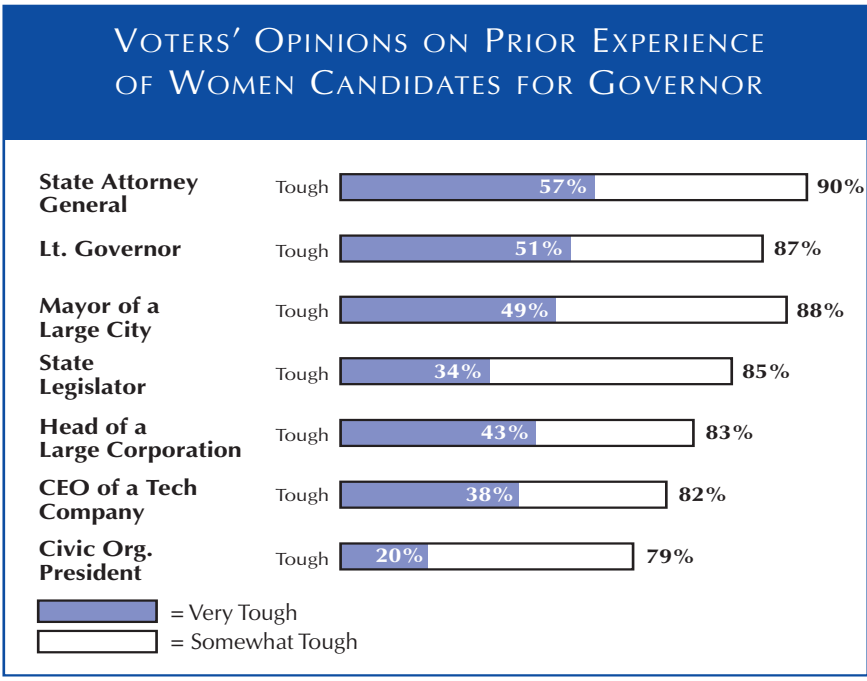
Female candidates walk a tightrope in attempting to present a persona that’s neither too strong and aggressive - too “male” - nor too soft. The challenge is to strike a balance and exhibit toughness when necessary, but in a way that makes the public feel comfortable. And voters are most comfortable when they see a woman candidate standing up on behalf of others.

### CONVEY STRENGTH THROUGH EXPERIENCE

Lack of toughness is the most difficult stereotype for women candidates to overcome, and one of the most difficult to define.

The women who impart toughness best are those who can point to accomplishments in carrying out executive responsibilities in positions such as an attorney general or a big city mayor.

Telling voters about your tough stance is less compelling than having them recall your actions. United States Senator Dianne Feinstein in



The survey assessed voters’ attitudes about women in various executive positions, but did not include Secretary of State because voters are less familiar with it as a state office and often confuse it with the United States Secretary of State.

1990 launched her campaign for governor in California by reminding voters of her commanding takeover as San Francisco Mayor in the wake of City Hall assassinations. She narrowly lost the election, winning a Senate seat just two years later.

Focus group participants suggested that a woman candidate also benefits when she stresses issues traditionally thought of as “men’s issues” – dealing with a budget deficit or a state’s economic development.

What’s important for women candidates to demonstrate to voters is that they can make tough decisions and be mentally tough when the situation requires it, without being viewed as a “tough” person.

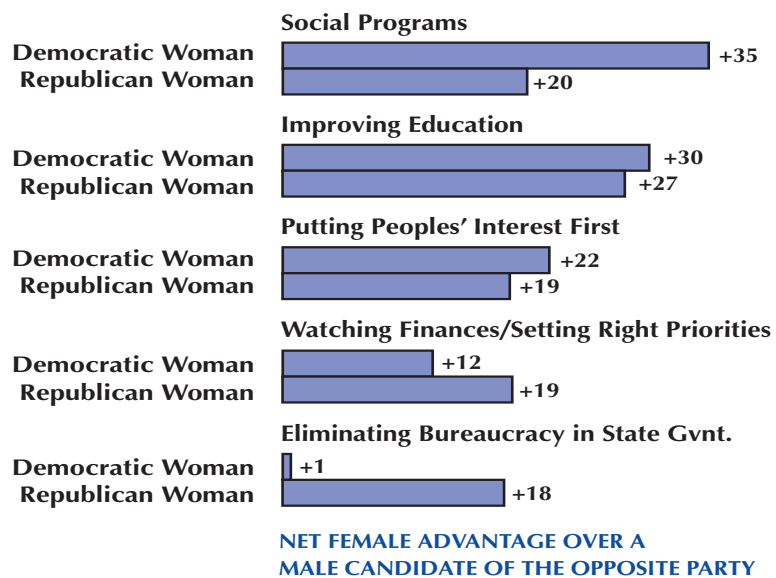
### CONVEY COMPASSION

Focus groups also suggest that voters value the “compassionate” side of a female candidate’s agenda.

*“I think there’s sort of another undercurrent that women have stronger values than men, that women care more about family, that they care more about education, that they care more about kids, that they have stronger characters than men, that they are the keepers of the morals. And I think women should play on that.”*

– Candidate

### ISSUES AND SITUATIONS IN WHICH VOTERS TRUST FEMALE CANDIDATES MORE THAN MALE CANDIDATES



As detailed in the chart on the opposite page, poll data also shows that women candidates, regardless of political party, are seen as better than men by double digit margins in dealing with social programs, improving education and putting people’s interests above special interests.

For instance, voters thought a Democratic woman would be better than a Republican man on improving education by a margin of 35 percentage points, and voters thought a Republican woman would be better on the issue than a Democratic man by a margin of 27 percentage points.

The key to winning voters over is to strike a balance between skillfully handling “men’s issues” and simultaneously capitalizing on the natural advantages of being viewed as more compassionate on family and social issues.

## FREEWAYS. FINANCE. FREEDOM OF CHOICE.

In 1986, Nebraskans elected Kay Orr. The election attracted nationwide attention not only because Orr was Nebraska's first woman governor, but because she was the first Republican woman elected governor in the United States. Her status as a long-time party activist and state treasurer with a six year track record of managing fiscal issues helped her avoid the "soft" image that women candidates struggle against.

Female candidates in more recent years also have cultivated leadership in policy areas that are not traditional "women's issues" in order to avoid the "tough/soft" dilemma.

One 1998 candidate noted that, "The road issue was a big issue with me and I think that's usually considered a man's issue. I mean, I spent an awful lot of time on roads and bridges. It was a good issue for me and it worked and it got me votes. And also, I would guess, probably the property rights issue was also not usually considered a woman's issue."

The same candidate discovered, however, that not focusing enough on the issues thought to be stereotypical women's issues – abortion, health care, education, environment – was detrimental.

"That was where [my opponent] had it all over me as far as the public's image... They did a good job stereotyping me as not caring about those things," she said.

The key is to be flexible enough to discuss with equal knowledge both types of issues.

## FOR CANDIDATES

1. **Stand up to those who presume their power**, whether it's HMOs, government bureaucracies or the oil companies. Big interests habitually steamroll the public. When they do, take them on.
2. **Advocate for those who can't fend for themselves.** Whether it's against the sitting governor, a power company or a bank, using your strength on behalf of others strikes the right balance.
3. **Fight for what you believe in.** You do not need to win the argument to win the day. Strength of character is universally admired and as long as your position is authentic, the outcome will be less important than that you took on the fight.
4. **Balance your top issue priorities** to include some "tough" issues, but don't abandon the "soft" ones.
5. **Lead gently, hold firmly.** Whether questioning witnesses at a committee hearing, answering press questions about fundraising practices or participating in a legislative conference committee, make a conscious decision about your manner and the way you want to be perceived. Be friendly. Be deliberate. Be aware of your power.

## FAMILY MATTERS

### WHO COMES FIRST, YOUR FAMILY OR THE PUBLIC?



*“I wondered if she was married, and I felt guilty that it was one of my qualifications.”*

- Focus Group Participant

#### VOTERS ASSUME CANDIDATES' FAMILIES ARE LIKE THEIR OWN

Voters are both curious and make assumptions about a woman candidate and her family. When considering candidates for governor, focus group participants wondered: Is the candidate a wife? A mother? Are her children grown, or still in school?

Voters want to connect with candidates in a personal way. Does this person have life experiences like mine? Does she understand the issues that are most important to me? Voters look to see how a candidate connects with her family - parent, sibling, spouse or child - for reassurance that she understands voters' lives.

Moreover, while women candidates have a natural advantage when voters are looking for compassion, this advantage is muted when a candidate is childless or unmarried. Some voters expressed concern that a candidate who has never been married is “too ambitious.” Women, particularly, were interested in whether a candidate was married and/or was a parent when considering whether to support her.

*“If she became governor and her kid got run over by a car and was in a wheelchair, she would be done.”*

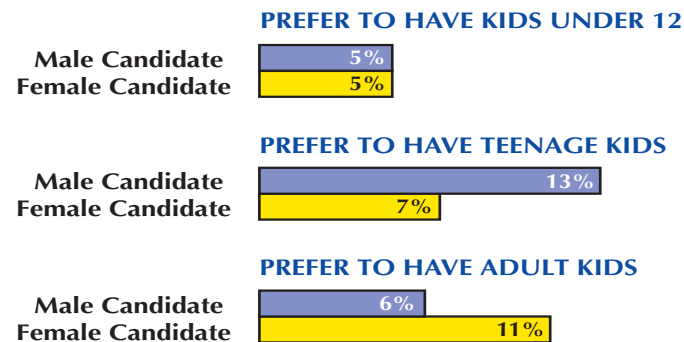
- Focus Group Participant

Voter concerns that a non-married, non-parent woman candidate is too ambitious may be off-set by crafting a biography that highlights community service, core values and formative relationships with parents or extended family.

While most voters say a candidate's marital status is irrelevant, voters who do care about a candidate's marital status prefer married candidates to single candidates. For male candidates, voters prefer a married man to an unmarried man by 32 percentage points. Voters prefer a married female candidate to one who is single by 25 percentage points.

Voters also worried that a woman candidate with small children could be hindered by torn loyalties, particularly in the case of a family emergency. Voters assume a male candidate has someone else to care

#### VOTERS' PREFERENCES ON THE AGE OF MALE AND FEMALE CANDIDATES' CHILDREN (AMONG VOTERS WHO PREFER CANDIDATES WITH CHILDREN)



73% of surveyed voters say it makes no difference whether a female candidate for governor has children of any age. But focus group comments beg the question: Do they really mean it?

for his family, and that a female candidate is the primary caregiver in her family. Women candidates with children should be open about child care arrangements and time set aside for family.

## YOUR KIDS VS. THEIR KIDS

When it comes to children, more than one-fifth of voters prefer candidates who are parents. Voters are most comfortable with a man who has teenage kids, while they prefer a woman running for governor to have adult children.

The focus groups illuminated voters' marital and family preferences for candidates. Participants said that having a spouse and children sends a strong message about the candidate's values, personality and strength. When both male and female voters imagine a woman with children as the executive leader of their state, they also express some anxieties. How will she balance the needs of her family with the responsibilities she has at work? If she really had to choose between managing a family emergency and a statewide crisis, would she choose her state? Moreover, *should* she choose her state?

One of the biggest challenges women face in running for governor is honoring their family responsibilities and being clear about the ways in which family is – or is not – relevant to their gubernatorial aspirations.

## SHOW THEM YOU VALUE FAMILIES - YOURS AND THEIRS

Women with children who are considering running for office should not be discouraged. Women who have successfully earned the keys to the governor's office have had a wide range of family profiles. Former Governor Christine Todd Whitman (D-N.J.) and Governor Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.) had school-aged children during their campaigns, while Governor Jane Dee Hull's (R-Ariz.) son was an adult who worked as her campaign manager. When Democrat Ann Richards claimed the governorship of Texas, she was divorced with grown children. Former Governor Barbara Roberts (D-Ore.) was married with grown children at the time of her election.

# FOR CANDIDATES

1. **Make a conscious decision about the role your family will play in your political life.** Are they participating in a way that is comfortable, authentic, respectful and helpful? Are they visibly supportive?
2. **Absent spouse or children, show your respect for family by accentuating another aspect of your relationship to family** - as an aunt, a daughter, a sister, a grandparent. Many candidates have used one of these relationships in direct mail and TV commercials to answer voter concerns.
3. **Support families by recognizing their diverse needs.** Working on issues such as flextime, education or pension security demonstrates that you understand the challenges of modern family life and will do something about them.
4. **Have a life.** While politicians who aspire to be governor necessarily devote a disproportionate amount of time to do the work of elected office and politics, it is the human dimension that ultimately connects with voters. Whether it's biking, reading or spending time with your family, it gives you a dimension people can relate to.

## VOTER TRENDS

### WHO VOTES FOR WOMEN?



***“I think there are women who are going to vote for a woman just because [the candidate] is a woman, and men who aren’t going to vote for a woman just because [the candidate] is a woman. But when you get into, hopefully, the more thoughtful voter, I think that people are inclined to listen and that they have seen women be successful on many levels.”***

— Media Consultant

#### A CLOSE LOOK AT VOTER TRENDS

Across the board, men prefer a male candidate to a female candidate, while women are ambivalent on their gender preference in candidates. Our research also reveals that voters over age 50 – both men and women – express the strongest preferences for a man over a woman. Focus group data underscores that age-old stereotypes persist for these voters.

“I personally prefer a male leader, only because I think that male leadership and male headship is the way society is supposed to be run,” said a male focus group participant.

On the flip side, younger, college-educated and Democratic women express the strongest preferences for a female candidate.

While seniors are among the most likely to vote and among the least likely to vote for a woman, boosting turnout among women-friendly voters – specifically younger women – is critical. High turnout among younger women can offset the biases of older voters and help women candidates.

#### 2000 SURVEY DATA: VOTER PREFERENCES ON CANDIDATE GENDER

Voters who express strongest preferences for a woman candidate:	Voters who express strongest preference for a man over a woman:
Younger women	Voters in their 50s and 60s and senior voters
College educated women	Men over age 45
Democratic women	Men who have never attended college
Younger Democrats	Voters over age 45 who have never attended college
Women with children	Republicans, particularly men and seniors
Working women	Married voters, where the wife is a homemaker

Most striking, male and female voters over age 65 prefer a male candidate by double digit margins; 12% of seniors say they would not be comfortable with a woman from their own party as their governor.

Survey research and focus groups show that party is the most powerful factor with voters. Analysis of exit polls from the 1998 cycle underscore the interaction between party, gender and demographic characteristics in voters’ preferences:

- Republicans and Republican-leaning voters tend to vote along party lines, rather than gender lines, while Democrats and Democrat-leaning voters are more likely to factor in gender.
- While more educated voters of both parties show stronger support for Democratic women candidates, these candidates have trouble winning support among some key Democratic constituencies such as blue-collar men and senior Democratic men.

Changing trends in voter registration and demographics may prompt a shift in the conclusions listed above. Campaigns should carefully evaluate voter trends among undeclared voters when compiling research and developing strategy. More and more, these voters are fiscally conservative and socially moderate with an open mind about gender – particularly in middle-income and upscale suburbs.

## FORMING A HABIT

Ironically, regardless of party affiliation or gender preferences, survey data show that voters are most likely to vote for a woman if they can recall having previously voted for a woman in elective office.

Exit poll data revealed that voters who lived in states governed by a woman – New Jersey, New Hampshire and Arizona – were narrowly oriented toward voting for a woman over a man. Collectively, voters in these states preferred a woman to a man by a three-point margin.

In states where voters are accustomed to women candidates for statewide office – sometimes called “women-exposed states” – such exposure, however, tends to polarize male and female voters.

Underneath the data, it appears that having a woman governor can exacerbate gender biases – women voters become more pro-woman, while men voters become more stridently pro-man. In states governed by a woman in 1998, women preferred a female candidate for governor by 18 percentage points, however men prefer a male governor by a 15 point margin.

## GETTING WOMEN TO THE POLLS

To help more women win, it is essential to continue to persuade older voters, but the key to more consistent success lies in informing younger women and getting them to the polls.

All of the women gubernatorial candidates who ran in 1998 had significant pockets of support among younger women. This was particularly true for Democratic women running in open seats or as challengers, but was also true in one noteworthy case of a Republican incumbent – Governor Jane Dee Hull of Arizona. Hull won a strong margin among younger women despite their nearly even split in party affiliation.

It also is worth mentioning the power of incumbency for women governors. Incumbency helps erase some gender-based barriers that women candidates face. Regardless of party, incumbents in 1998 had a substantial electoral advantage, as evidenced by the reelections of Governor Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.) and Governor Jane Dee Hull (R-Ariz.).

In other words, incumbency seems to grant the same advantages to men and women.

## FOR CANDIDATES

1. **Understand your potential vote.** Study information on voter trends for women candidates and on family-oriented issues like choice, welfare reform, healthcare. Evaluate the capacity of your state’s women’s networks to identify, persuade and move new women voters to the polls.

2. **Go beyond party label.** Take a careful look at undeclared male and female voters, particularly in middle- and upper middle-class suburban areas. Well-educated and well-off women of all ages are worth exploring in polling and focus groups to find the available subset for you.

3. **Go beyond political networks.** Women candidates have found that professional and community service networks of lawyers, doctors, engineers and women activists from the Junior League to Mothers Against Drunk Driving are rich in volunteer and communications help. Start early, ask everybody.

4. **Get-Out-The-Vote.** Efforts to get more women to vote have been cropping up across the country. For women candidates, these efforts can provide the critical edge. Find out what coordinated campaigns have been successful and assess the national organizations you trust to mount such a campaign. Invite them in to your state.

# A WORD ON RAISING MONEY AND ORGANIZING WOMEN

*“The difference [between men’s and women’s campaigns] is simply money, the availability of money...”*

- Candidate

## RAISING MONEY

### LIKE IT OR NOT: THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IS MONEY

While women candidates have become financially competitive in federal races, many of the women who ran for governor in 1998 lamented that they did not have sufficient financial resources to launch and maintain a winning campaign.

Candidates had different explanations for their lack of funds. For some women, it was a lack of an organized party structure in their state or a dearth of support from their national party organizations. Some cited gender as a factor.

Political, business and labor supporters were more likely to hedge their bets by giving more money to the male candidate in the race or simply giving the female candidate \$500 when they should have given her \$5,000.

*“It’s one thing to get the women’s vote, it’s another thing to get the kind of business and monetary support that businesswomen can give.”*

-Communications Consultant

Interviews with campaign fundraisers and managers revealed that some candidates resisted asking donors for large contributions and some consistently avoided their fundraising “call time.”

There are a number of preparatory steps a candidate for statewide office can take to improve her fundraising.

- Develop a diverse and wide-reaching donor network. Go beyond the party and interest group networks. Mining new networks of donors through sports, law, business, healthcare and other professional connections is essential.
- Establish a presence within the national women’s donor network. Whether a member of WISH List, EMILY’s List, or your party’s high donor circle, potential donors give more quickly when they know you and your record.
- Be willing to ask, and ask big. No one is ever insulted if you ask for more money than they are willing or able to give.
- Hire a strong fundraiser who will stay with you year-round. Put a solid and involved finance committee in place early in your campaign. The more people committed to raising the money you need to win, the easier it will be to reach your fundraising goals.
- Raise money for others. Your donors don’t mind. They won’t wear out. Beneficiaries will reciprocate.



***“[If I could do it again] I would do everything in my power to make sure that people who were supporting me, the groups, the messages, help to reinforce mine.”***

- Candidate

## ORGANIZING WOMEN

### RECRUIT WOMEN OF PROMISE

In the last three decades, more than 700 women have been nominated for United States Congress – and 131 have been elected. Comparatively, 53 women have been nominated for gubernatorial office, and 12 have been elected.\*

Our conclusion is that despite the challenges unique to executive office detailed in this guide, convincing more women to run for governor is imperative if we are ever going to see parity for women in gubernatorial contests.

Women must not be afraid to lose. Donors and supporters invest in a candidate’s political career long term, and name recognition is an advantage for a candidate running a second time. Former Democratic Governor Madeline Kunin, for instance, lost her 1982 bid for governor of Vermont, but came back to win in 1984. Kunin was reelected in 1986 and again in 1988.

### ROUND UP THE TROOPS

When a woman runs for governor, a solid network of volunteers can be as important as support from a statewide network of opinion leaders. Individuals interested in electing women to higher office must organize at the neighborhood and community levels.

\*Center For American Women and Politics, National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Often local chapters of non-partisan organizations like the American Association of University Women, the YWCA, the National Association of Women Business Owners and other civic women’s groups are overlooked. The networks are there. Connect with them.

Better coordination between established political women’s groups and women’s campaigns could have a big impact on increasing the number of women governors.

Many of the candidates for governor in 1998 gave mixed reviews on the support they received from women’s organizations. These women noted that they received some support from women’s groups, but not as much or as timely as would have been optimal.

Regular communication between women’s political groups and women’s campaigns could go a long way in determining whether the priority after fundraising is field, media or press. These groups can have a major impact on getting the right voters to the polls.

As one candidate suggested, “My advice to other women is to find somebody who knows all the women’s organizations and get that person on as an organizer.”

The more volunteers, the better chance a candidate has of communicating her message through the most persuasive medium available: a personal recommendation from a friend or co-worker.

After all the research is analyzed and parsed for meaning, it is still up to us – each one of us – to do all that we can to elect women to the highest state office ... Let’s get to work.

## RESOURCES

### Center for American Women in Politics

Eagleton Institute of Politics  
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey  
191 Ryders Lane  
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8557  
Phone: 732-932-9384  
Fax: 732-932-0014  
www.cawp.rutgers.edu

### Center for Women in Politics and Public Policy

John W. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs  
University of Massachusetts Boston  
100 Morrissey Blvd.  
Boston, MA 02125-3393  
Phone: 617-287-5550  
Fax: 617-287-5544  
www.mccormack.umb.edu

### Congressional Women's Caucus (Bipartisan)

Office of Rep. Carolyn Maloney  
2331 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515  
Phone: 202-225-7944  
Fax: 202-225-4709  
www.house.gov/maloney/issues/womenscaucus/

### Democratic Governors' Association

499 South Capitol Street, SW, Suite 422  
Washington, DC 20003  
Phone: 202-772-5600  
Fax: 202-772-5602  
www.democraticgovernors.org

### Democratic National Committee

430 S. Capitol Street, SE  
Washington, DC 20003  
Phone: 202-863-8000  
www.democrats.org

### EMILY's List

1120 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 1100  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: 202-326-1400  
Fax: 202-326-1401  
www.emilyslist.org

### Institute for Women's Policy Research

1707 L Street, NW, Suite 750  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: 202.785.5100  
Fax: 202.833.4362  
http://www.iwpr.org

### League of Women Voters

1730 M Street, NW, Suite 1000  
Washington, DC 20036-4508  
Phone: 202-429-1965  
Fax: 202-429-0854  
www.lwv.org

### Legal Momentum

395 Hudson Street  
New York, NY 10014  
Phone: 212-925-6635  
Fax: 212-226-1066  
www.legalmomentum.org

### National Council of Women's Organizations

733 15th Street, NW, #1011  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: 202-393-7122  
Fax: 202-387-7915  
www.womensorganizations.org

### National Conference of State Legislatures

444 North Capitol Street, NW, #515  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: 202-624-5400  
Fax: 202-737-1069  
www.ncsl.org

### National Federation of Republican Women

124 N. Alfred Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Phone: 703-548-9688  
Fax: 703-548-9836  
www.nfrw.org

### National Foundation for Women Legislators

910 16th Street, Suite 100  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: 202-293-3040  
Fax: 202-293-5430  
www.womenlegislators.org

### National Hispana Leadership Institute

1901 N. Moore Street, Suite 206  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: 703-527-6007  
Fax: 703-527-6009  
www.nhli.org

### National Organization for Women Political Action Committees

733 Fifteenth Street, NW, Second Floor  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: 202-628-8669  
Fax: 202-785-8576  
www.nowpacs.org

### The National Congress of Black Women

8484 Georgia Avenue, Suite 420  
Silver Spring, MD 20910  
Phone: 301-562-8000  
Fax: 301-562-8303  
www.npcbw.org

### National Women's Political Caucus

1634 Eye Street, NW, Suite 310  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: 202-785-1100  
Fax: 202-785-3605  
www.nwpc.org

### Republican Governors Association

555 11th Street, NW, Suite 700  
Washington, DC 20004  
Phone: 202-662-4140  
Fax: 202-662-4924  
www.rga.org

### Wand/Will

691 Massachusetts Avenue  
Arlington, MA 02476  
Phone: 781-643-6740  
Fax: 781-643-6744  
www.wand.org

### The White House Project

110 Wall Street, 2nd Floor  
New York, NY 10005  
Phone: 212-785-6001  
http://www.thewhitehouseproject.org

### WISH List

499 S. Capitol Street, SW, Suite 408  
Washington, DC 20003  
Phone: 202-479-1230  
Fax: 202-479-1231  
www.thewishlist.org

### Women's Campaign Fund

734 15th Street, NW, Suite 500  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: 202-393-8164  
Fax: 202-393-0649  
www.wcfonline.org

### The Women's Campaign School

P.O. Box 3307  
New Haven, CT  
06515-0407  
Phone: 800-353-2878  
Phone: 203-734-7385  
Fax: 203-734-7547  
www.wcsyale.org

### Women's eNews

135 W. 29th Street, Suite 1005  
New York, NY 10001  
Phone: 212-244-1720  
Fax: 212-244-2320  
www.womensenews.com

### Women in Government

2600 Virginia Avenue, NW, Suite 709  
Washington, DC 20037-1905  
Phone: 202-333-0825  
Fax: 202-333-0875  
www.womeningovernment.org

### Women & Politics Institute

American University  
4400 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20016  
Phone: 202-885-2903  
Fax: 202-885-1305  
www.american.edu/wandp

### Women and Public Policy Program

John F. Kennedy School of Government  
79 JFK Street  
Cambridge, MA 02138  
Phone: 617-496-6973  
Fax: 617-496-6154  
www.ksg.harvard.edu/wappp

THE WOMEN WHO HAVE SERVED  
1925 - 2001



Gov. NELLIE T. ROSS  
1925-1927  
WYOMING

Gov. JOAN FINNEY  
1991-1995  
KANSAS



Gov. MIRIAM A.  
FERGUSON  
1925-27 AND 1933-35  
TEXAS

Gov. BARBARA  
ROBERTS  
1991-1995  
OREGON



Gov. LURLEEN  
WALLACE  
1967-1968  
ALABAMA

Gov. ANN RICHARDS  
1991-1995  
TEXAS



Gov. ELLA GRASSO  
1975-1980  
CONNECTICUT

Gov. CHRISTINE  
TODD WHITMAN  
1994-2001  
NEW JERSEY



Gov. DIXY LEE RAY  
1977-1981  
WASHINGTON

Gov. JEANNE  
SHAHEEN  
1997-  
NEW HAMPSHIRE



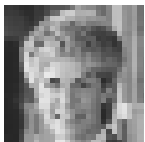
Gov. MARTHA  
LAYNE COLLINS  
1983-1987  
KENTUCKY

Gov. JANE DEE HULL  
1997-  
ARIZONA



Gov. MADELEINE  
M. KUNIN  
1985-1991  
VERMONT

Gov. NANCY P.  
HOLLISTER  
1998-1999  
OHIO



Gov. KAY A. ORR  
1987-1991  
NEBRASKA

Gov. RUTH ANN  
MINNER  
2001-  
DELAWARE



Gov. ROSE MOFFARD  
1988-1991  
ARIZONA

Gov. JUDY MARTZ  
2001-  
MONTANA



ABOUT THE  
BARBARA LEE FAMILY  
FOUNDATION

The Barbara Lee Family Foundation supports progressive initiatives in the areas of women in politics and contemporary arts. The Women in Politics Program Area is dedicated to cultivating women's full engagement in the American democratic process and promoting their participation at all levels of government.

Since 1999, the Foundation has underwritten and published extensive research on the relationship between gender and campaigns for executive office, releasing a series of comprehensive guidebooks including: *Keys to the Governor's Office. Unlock the Door: the Guide for Women Running for Governor* (2001), *Speaking with Authority: From Economic Security to National Security* (2002) and *Cracking the Code: Political Intelligence for Women Running for Office* (2004).

The Foundation has also funded a number of other non-partisan projects, including:

*Women's Voices. Women Vote.* – A project aimed at increasing the participation of single women in the democratic process.

*The Simmons Institute for Leadership and Change* – A program for young women at Simmons College.

*The Women's Appointment Project* – A project to increase women's representation in presidential administrations.

*Massachusetts Live Action Camp* – A Planned Parenthood Federation of America training for activists on voter engagement efforts.

*Women's eNews* – A non-profit, independent news service by, for and about women.

*"Women in State Legislature: Past, Present, Future"* – A research study by the Center for American Women and Politics.

*V Is For Vote* – A grassroots voting campaign created by Eve Ensler involving thousands of V-Day activists.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

please visit us at: [www.barbaraleefoundation.org](http://www.barbaraleefoundation.org)

# KEYS TO THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE



*Unlock the Door:  
The Guide for Women  
Running for Governor*

THE BARBARA LEE FAMILY FOUNDATION