

FOR CANDIDATES

DEBATE AND LEADERSHIP STRATEGIES

1. DEBATES

- ❑ **Develop a Strategy.** Create a debate team and determine how many debates benefit you. Select a practice opponent and video-tape sessions.
- ❑ **Create the Right Prep Environment.** Replicate the actual debate conditions - then practice, practice, practice.
- ❑ **Focus on the Objective.** Study what voters need to know about you, then show them. Repeat it often.
- ❑ **Be Ready for Anything.** Be prepared for your opponent to try to trip you up. If you are aggressive, avoid the melodramatic. Be direct.
- ❑ **Get Real.** Use humor in tense moments - voters want a glimpse of who you really are.
- ❑ **Stand Up for Yourself.** Doing so will show voters you can stand up for them against powerful interests.

2. DEFINING LEADERSHIP

- ❑ **Be Strategic in Righting Wrongs.** Protect and mobilize vulnerable communities. Voters admire leaders who go up against the powerful.
- ❑ **Publicize Your Role.** Develop the narrative for your role in settling the controversy, then tell the story to the press, opinion leaders and voters.
- ❑ **Just Do It.** Move quickly to seize opportunities before your opponents do.
- ❑ **Poll Regularly.** Stay in touch with voters in your state and be alert to spot trends early.
- ❑ **Listen to Voters.** Build in a regular exchange with voters around your state. Get out there and LISTEN.

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 leadership and social change 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.

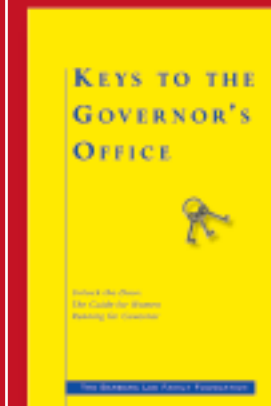
"Women in State Legislature: Past, Present, Future" – A research study by the Center for American Women and Politics.

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

CRACKING THE CODE

*Political Intelligence
for Women Running
for Governor*



THE BARBARA LEE FAMILY FOUNDATION

“In planning and launching a gubernatorial race, it’s an incredible advantage to know the unique challenges that women have faced in past elections. Cracking the Code will help women candidates in the current cycle know where they’ll be challenged and how to win.”

– Governor Jennifer Granholm

“Campaigns are full of uncertainties, and the key to winning the race is to anticipate and prepare for as many of them as possible. That’s where Cracking the Code comes in. It’s an invaluable guide for women candidates, as it prepares them for the variables of the campaign ahead.”

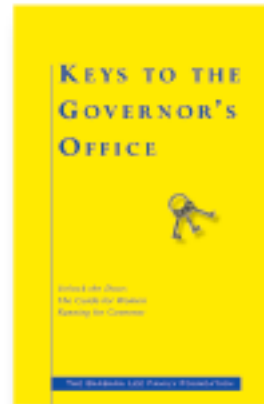
– Governor Kathleen Sebelius

“Keys to the Governor’s Office and this successor guide Cracking the Code are fantastic resources. Together, they provide critical guidance and insight to women candidates and map out key strategies for winning tough races.”

– Governor Janet Napolitano

CRACKING THE CODE

*Political Intelligence
for Women Running
for Governor*



DEDICATION

*In memory of George Dean and
Millie Jeffrey: kindred spirits
and dear friends whose wisdom,
conviction and dedicated activism
continue to inspire my work and
the work of many others.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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And to all of the men in my life with the self-confidence to support women in positions of power, thank you for carrying the banner of women's leadership: Steve Grossman, Woody Kaplan, Joel Kozol, David Damroth, and my two sons, Zach and Robbie.

*Thank you,
Barbara*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Foreword	2
II. Introduction	4
III. Methodology	8
IV. Trends to Watch: Are Women Candidates Just Candidates After All?	10
Women Have Achieved Parity in Fundraising	
Women Candidates Don't Necessarily Represent Change	
Women May Not Automatically Have a Virtue Advantage	
Late-Deciding Voters Wait for a Female Candidate to Prove Herself	
A Woman's Family and Personal Life Matter More to Voters	
V. Lessons Learned in the Battles of 2002	14
Lesson 1: Keeping Up Appearances: More Important Than You Think	14
Presentation Is Defining	
Confidence + Fiscal Focus = Authority and Leadership Ability	
A Competent Staff Breeds Candidate Credibility	
An Inspiring Candidate Appears Rested and Relaxed	
Recommendations For Candidates	
Lesson 2: Performance Under Pressure: Grace and Grit Win.	21
Debates: Snapshots of Authenticity	
Directness and Decisiveness Prove You've Got What It Takes	
Winning Candidates Speak for Themselves	
Recommendations For Candidates	
Lesson 3: Who's the Boss?: Tell 'em. Show 'em. Tell 'em Again.	27
Show Them What You Can Do – Now	
Titles Tell the Tale	
Recommendations For Candidates	
VI. Conclusion	32
VII. Resources	34

I FOREWORD

In 1999, when my Foundation began studying women's gubernatorial campaigns, there were only three women holding the keys to the governor's office. This wasn't necessarily for lack of trying: ten women had run for their party's gubernatorial nomination the previous year but none had been elected.

By 2001, there were four women governors. Today, nine women serve as chief executives of their states — the greatest number to govern simultaneously in our nation's history.

Why is this so significant? One simple reason: women's collective power creates change. When a critical mass of women is present — whether it is in a neighborhood meeting, a corporate board room or a senate committee — the discussion at the table changes.

We all know women's lives are different than men's. And women bring distinct perspectives and priorities to leadership. Research confirms that both Republican and Democratic women are more likely than their male counterparts to initiate and fight for legislation to champion social justice, protect the environment, advocate for families, and promote nonviolent conflict resolution. I believe that electing a critical mass of women to public office will be a powerful tool in creating social change. And just imagine the change we'll create when we elect a woman president!

Our first woman president will come from a pool of women who have worked their way up the ladder as governors and women in leadership positions in Congress. They will have gained the experience, credibility and leadership skills necessary to hold the highest office in the land. But in order to create the conditions under which we can elect our first woman president, we must support women who enter the political pipeline at the state and local levels.

Just as women lead differently than men once in office, they must also run different races to get there. It has been my hope that the Foundation's research would help women generate more effective campaign strategies, and we are pleased that so many people have found it useful. Women running for office tell us they have dog-eared the "little yellow book," adopted its recommendations and tailored their strategy accordingly. Reporters have used it in their coverage of women candidates, and Political Science and Women's Studies professors have assigned the "little yellow book" to their students.

Since we conceived this project, campaign professionals, researchers, activists, donors, and voters have continued to work to elect women candidates and to change the face of political leadership in our country. But changing the face of political leadership isn't just about running for office, it's also about participating fully in the political process.

As a group, women possess immense political power. But this power remains largely untapped. In the 2000 presidential elections, 22 million unmarried women did not vote. This is the largest group of unregistered and nonvoting citizens in our democracy. Using their collective power, women can determine who wins and loses elections.

When women see other women like themselves in positions of political power, whether as governors, attorneys general, senators or state representatives, they are more likely to become involved in the political process, more likely to vote and more likely to picture themselves as candidates.

I hope you will use this book as you're formulating your campaign strategies, pass it along to your friends and remind them to vote in every election. Better yet, give this to another woman you know when you ask her to run for office!

When we support women, everyone wins.

Barbara Lee
The Barbara Lee Family Foundation
Cambridge, Massachusetts
2004

II INTRODUCTION

Over the past three election cycles, the Barbara Lee Family Foundation has commissioned research to identify the roadblocks faced by women running for governor and to develop strategies for candidates to overcome them. In two previous guides, *Keys to the Governor's Office. Unlock the Door: The Guide for Women Running for Governor*, and *Speaking With Authority: From Economic Security to National Security*, the Foundation published research and analyses compiled from a national survey, focus groups, exit poll data, and interviews with candidates, their staff and consultants. This is the third guide in that series.

The goal of this third report, based on data from the 2002 election cycle, is to track continuing trends, identify new challenges, analyze strategies that work and those that do not, and provide recommendations based on successful practices of winning candidates.

Our research revealed that gender is now more a strategic consideration for campaigns than a rallying cry for equality or a basis for mobilizing women voters. In the 2002 races, the campaigns for women presumed gender to be a consideration in creating a campaign strategy, not a theme for persuading voters.

We discovered that women were able to use their titles and accomplishments from previously held statewide office effectively to show voters the kind of authority they would wield as chief executive. These women set the stage for successful candidacies by addressing potential questions from voters about preparation, accomplishment and decisiveness before they were ever raised in the gubernatorial contest.

Our research also highlights two emerging areas of concern when voters consider a female candidate for governor: the manner in which female candidates present themselves and their campaign organizations, and the way female candidates perform when facing off against their opponents.

Our initial report, *Keys to the Governor's Office*, discussed a number of barriers that prevent women from competing on an equal footing with men in gubernatorial contests. They include:

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 in order to win voters' confidence.

Preparation: Women need to provide more evidence than men of their financial and crisis management skills to persuade voters they are as "qualified" or "ready" to be governor.

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

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?

Management Style – Collaborative or Decisive: Voters ask: Is a woman who builds consensus by having an inclusive style able to make the solitary executive decisions required of a governor?

Leadership Style – Tough, But Caring: Women must walk the line between seeming "tough enough" but not "too tough," and compassionate but not weak.

Family Matters: Voters are curious and make assumptions about women candidates and their families. They wonder about who comes first, the candidate's family or the public, and how she will juggle both.

“I just hope that it is boring one day that a woman is a governor. I hope that breaking a glass ceiling means that somebody threw a rock through your sunroof.”

- Candidate

Our second guide, *Speaking with Authority*, focused specifically on issues of security—both national and personal—in the wake of September 11. There, we found that on issues of terrorism and military response, both men and women voters listen for male voices. In leadership, however, female gubernatorial candidates are persuasive when they talk about preparedness and keeping voters informed. In addition, we found that while one in five voters is looking for a candidate whose top priority is security and terrorism, half are looking for someone focused on economic and domestic issues. This bodes well for female candidates, who are competitive with male candidates on home-front issues and finances.

In this guide, we focus on three challenges:

Keeping Up Appearances: More Important Than You Think.

Personal qualities and performance often outweigh substantive issues with voters. The initial impression that a female candidate makes stays with voters longer and is less likely to change than voters’ impressions of a male candidate. These impressions are molded by the candidate’s personal presentation, style, confidence and communication skills, as well as the performance of the candidate’s campaign organization.

Performance Under Pressure: Grace and Grit Win.

Voters are particularly attentive to moments in a campaign (i.e., press conferences or debates) when they might glimpse the “authentic,” unscripted candidate. A female candidate’s mistakes at these moments are more vivid and longer lasting than similar gaffes committed by male candidates.

Who’s the Boss?: Tell ‘em, Show ‘em. Tell ‘em Again. The research confirms that title and executive authority matter. For women candidates who hold the office of attorney general or mayor, the title helps reassure voters that they can “get the job done” as governor. Voters are even more confident in a statewide office holder who has exercised the power of her office, thereby demonstrating competence, authority and confidence.

THE WOMEN NOMINEES FOR GOVERNOR IN 2002 WERE:

- Alaska Lt. Governor Fran Ulmer
- Arizona Attorney General Janet Napolitano
- Arkansas State Treasurer Jimmie Lou Fisher
- Hawaii Lt. Governor Mazie Hirono
- Former Maui Mayor (Hawaii) Linda Lingle
- Kansas Insurance Commissioner Kathleen Sebelius
- Maryland Lt. Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend
- Massachusetts State Treasurer Shannon O’Brien
- Michigan Attorney General Jennifer Granholm
- Former Rhode Island State Senator Myrth York

III METHODOLOGY

The Barbara Lee Family Foundation commissioned the Democratic public opinion research firm Lake, Snell, Perry & Associates, in consultation with the Republican firm American Viewpoint, Inc., and the Democratic strategic communications firm Staton & Hughes to conduct this multi-part research project on women running for governor.

The 2002 research was initiated to expand upon the research done following the 1998 and 2000 elections by further examining voters' attitudes toward female candidates for governor. Ten focus groups were conducted before the 2002 gubernatorial elections in five states where female gubernatorial candidates were running. These states were Michigan, Maryland, Massachusetts, Arizona and Hawaii. Nine more focus groups were conducted with the same participants immediately following the 2002 elections, and in one case, a new group was convened.

Each focus group consisted of 12-15 swing voters of the same gender. The discussions were tailored to explore six issues and topics: 1) the context of the campaigns and races in their states; 2) the governors' races specifically and their perceptions of each of the candidates; 3) the traits voters look for in a gubernatorial candidate; 4) the issues voters most want their governor to deal with; 5) how and where people acquire their perceptions of the candidates; and 6) how swing voters make their electoral decisions, particularly in the critical last weeks of the campaign. This panel focus group model is unique in its ability to track an individual voter's impressions at various stages of the campaign.

Because we wanted to understand the factors that helped swing voters select a candidate, what convinced them to choose a woman candidate or persuaded them not to, our focus group samples do not represent the diversity of the voters as a whole in

October 17	Detroit, MI	White Women African-American Women
October 20	Baltimore, MD	White Women White Men
October 21	Phoenix, AZ	White Women White Men
October 22	Braintree, MA	White Women White Men
October 23	Honolulu, HI	White, Asian and Pacific Islander Women White, Asian and Pacific Islander Men
November 6	Braintree, MA	White Women White Men
November 7	Baltimore, MD	White Women White Men
November 12	Phoenix, AZ	White Women White Men
November 13	Detroit, MI	White Women White Men
November 14	Honolulu, HI	White, Asian and Pacific Islander Women White, Asian and Pacific Islander Men

each state. Throughout this guide, when we refer to "voters" we are referring to the swing voters in our main focus groups.

In addition to the focus group research, Staton & Hughes conducted 47 in-depth interviews with candidates, campaign managers, finance directors, press secretaries, consultants and reporters in the nine states where women ran for governor in 2002. The purpose of these interviews was to identify and examine common themes among female gubernatorial candidates and their campaigns.

IV TRENDS TO WATCH ARE WOMEN CANDIDATES JUST CANDIDATES AFTER ALL?



“There was a time when just being a woman set you apart...Those days are gone.”

- Pollster

In the November 2002 elections, 26 women filed for governor in 20 states, 10 women won their primaries and 4 were elected. In 2003 and 2004, Louisiana Governor Blanco won an off-year election, and Lieutenant Governors Jodi Rell and Olene Walker filled vacant governor’s seats, bringing the total to 9 women in office—the highest number of women governors to serve simultaneously in U.S. history.

As the numbers of women seeking and winning governorships increase, voters’ presumptions about the significance or meaning of gender to a candidacy appear to be shifting. Our previous research identified a tendency among voters to believe that women candidates are more likely to be reformers and more likely to be honest.

The 2002 data suggest that when characterizing a woman’s candidacy, voters are less likely to have these beneficial predispositions.

The more women compete for and win the top spot, the more opportunity voters have to see women repeat the patterns and rhythms of previous all-male elections. Or perhaps women candidates are outright adopting male behaviors and strategies. Whatever the reason, female candidates are not necessarily presumed to be a political “breath of fresh air.”

Another predisposition we noted in the previous research, however, persists in the 2002 findings. Older blue-collar women, particularly those who choose their candidate late in the process, hold women candidates to a higher standard. They require more evidence that a woman candidate deserves their vote.

WOMEN HAVE ACHIEVED PARITY IN FUNDRAISING

In this cycle, most women running for governor raised as much money as their male counterparts. In 1998 and 2000, female candidates faced greater personal and institutional hurdles in soliciting donations. Few candidates in 2002 were daunted by the challenges of raising the millions they needed to mount a competitive race. The 2002 candidates were more clinical and methodical; fundraising was a routine task for which they were well prepared.

WOMEN CANDIDATES DON’T NECESSARILY REPRESENT CHANGE

In previous elections, when voters were looking to change the status quo, women had an advantage – they were, by definition, “different.” At the turn of the millennium, New Yorkers elected a First Lady to the U.S. Senate, Democrats chose their first woman leader in the U.S. House of Representatives, California boasted a female majority in its 33 member Democratic delegation to the House, and more Republican women were elected to Congress and state legislatures than at any preceding point in history with 650 Republican women serving in state legislatures.

In 2002, outsider status signaled change to voters much more than a candidate’s gender. Party affiliation, past leadership history and positions on issues all played into the calculation of which candidate would actually shake up the status quo. Gender was part of this calculation, but did not dominate it.

Male voters rarely say gender inherently represents change, but some women voters do. Women in the focus groups said, “She’s a female, we need a change,” and, “Put a woman in that position and it might open the door for change. Give her a try.”

In 2002, voters were clearly ready for something new. A record number of governorships turned over, but focus group participants revealed that party affiliation drove the desire for change more than gender, and female gubernatorial candidates were less likely to be seen as symbols of reform. They were also less likely presumed to be running to “shake up the status quo”.

WOMEN MAY NOT AUTOMATICALLY HAVE A VIRTUE ADVANTAGE

Prior to the 2002 elections, voters viewed women as above “politics as usual” and more honest than their male counterparts. This virtue advantage, however, was not as prevalent in 2002.

“Women were assumed to be a breath of fresh air, not part of the old boy network,” said one pollster. “There was a time when just being a woman set you apart ... Those days are gone.”

In 2002, voters did not credit women candidates with being “above the fray,” and in some cases - particularly with candidates who were closely aligned with a state’s current administration – they considered the female candidates to be “insiders” with all the dark implications that title carries.

“I think her failure as a candidate came because she was too much tied into the political establishment.”

-Reporter

And voters are more wary of a female insider than they are of a male insider.

“You can’t deny she was an insider,” said a focus group participant. “She should have discussed more specifically how she wasn’t going to be behind the scenes wheeling and dealing.”

Being tough enough to manage the system – whether it’s a state bureaucracy or a partisan legislative caucus – but not become mired in it is still a challenge for women. However, the research

shows that meeting that challenge and preserving one’s “outsider” credentials can be valuable at the ballot box.

LATE-DECIDING VOTERS WAIT FOR A FEMALE CANDIDATE TO PROVE HERSELF

Our research turned up a quirk in the decision-making patterns of some voters, particularly older, blue-collar women.

Many of these women, who initially appeared enthusiastic about a woman’s candidacy, got nervous about voting for a woman toward the end of the campaign. They still wanted more proof that the female candidate deserved their vote. Some seized on a single gaffe or cited a lackluster debate performance. For these late deciders, the bar was set very high for women candidates.

For this reason, women candidates need to finish strong. In close races, late-deciders can hold the key to success, and campaign teams should chart a specific strategy for communicating with them.

A WOMAN’S FAMILY AND PERSONAL LIFE MATTER MORE TO VOTERS

In 2002, husbands became a target: their work, contracts and business relationships came under scrutiny. As in previous elections, voters were afraid that candidates with children would be distracted or that the children wouldn’t get enough attention. If the candidate didn’t have children, voters worried that she couldn’t relate to family issues. However, voters didn’t question whether a man could be both a good father and a good governor.

When the women candidate was childless or unmarried, integrating other family members into their campaigns helped, but whispers about unmarried women candidates persisted.

SUMMARY

While more women candidates are winning high office and achieving parity in fundraising, some are losing their luster with voters. As voters become more accustomed to women running and winning high office, electoral advantages once associated with female candidates may be wearing off, and older women especially hold them to a higher standard.

V LESSONS LEARNED IN THE BATTLES OF 2002



“One of the main things for me was [her] public speaking ability...That’s a huge part of this job, so for me, that was a big issue.”

- Focus Group Participant

LESSON 1:

KEEPING UP APPEARANCES: MORE IMPORTANT THAN YOU THINK

While it would be ideal to have all gubernatorial candidates judged by their position on substantive issues, past experience, ability to run state government, and character, voters often judge candidates by their presentation, personal qualities and performance. This scrutiny is particularly acute for female candidates.

A female candidate who is less “tailored”—both in the way she carries herself and in her manner of dress—is perceived by both male and female voters as less qualified, less of a leader and less professional. Late-deciding voters, in particular, often focus on qualities such as tone of voice and style, especially in situations like debates.

Both the candidate and her organization contribute to voters’ assessments of her ability, preparedness and professionalism. The candidate’s personal style—clothes, hair and communication skills—are more closely scrutinized than a man’s. In addition, a woman’s campaign organization can support or undermine her efforts to convey a crisp, efficient persona.

Presentation Is Defining

Voters decide whether a female candidate is ready to be governor, in part, based on her personal presentation. In a media driven culture, this should be no surprise. But the emphasis voters place on personal style is substantial and multi-faceted. It includes appearance, performance and confidence.

“When you have a woman candidate, you always have to make sure she’s dressed right, that she looks powerful, yet approachable,” said a campaign manager.

Both male and female voters are much more judgmental about the appearance and style of a female candidate than of a male candidate. Although all candidates are judged on these attributes to some degree, women have a more difficult challenge in convincing voters to judge them on their merits rather than on their appearance.

While voters in focus groups say that it doesn’t matter what a female candidate looks like, they still extrapolate broad conclusions from a candidate’s appearance. Female voters are particularly harsh toward women candidates.

“She didn’t wash her hair,” said one female focus group participant. “When I met her, she kept going like this [gesturing] and dandruff would come down. Her blouse was all wrinkled and I was shocked.” Another added, “On a personal level, she appears nervous a lot of the time, like she talks too fast. That doesn’t make me feel confident.”

Further, focus group interviews reveal that a woman who has short hair and appears “mannish” comes across as less compassionate and, therefore, less able to deal with family or children’s issues. If the candidate is unmarried, both male and female voters perceive her as less likely to share their own family values.

Tone of voice and speaking style also factor into the candidate’s presentation. Voters pay close attention to how well a female candidate speaks in public and the sound of her voice. Voters listen for distinctions between authoritative and bossy, between serious and boring, and between high-pitched and breathy or clear and steady.

“When they got her to the debates, she was a witch. That was so clear. I was shocked, actually.”

Another participant added: “I couldn’t stand to listen to her. I would have had to move because I would not have been able to stand to listen to her voice for the next few years – ruff, ruff, ruff, ruff.”

“I want to hear her talk. Tell us what your vision is regarding the economy, budget crisis, growth – all those important issues.”

- Focus Group Participant

Misspeaking plagued several of the female candidates. However, successfully recovering from public mishaps—particularly misspeaking—also demonstrates a particular confidence.

“She didn’t intend to say [that], but it just came out of her mouth wrong,” said one campaign manager. “It was a big gaffe, but they [the media] definitely gave her a lot of credit for apologizing quickly and not making excuses. And so a story that could have just plagued us for days and days became a story that sort of petered out within three days.”

Confidence + Fiscal Focus = Authority and Leadership Ability

For voters, a confident attitude conveys many positive qualities: intelligence, competence and authority. In focus group interviews, participants identified public performance and personal contact as the best ways to judge a candidate’s confidence. This, in turn, helped the voters assess the leadership ability of the candidate.

“I think she is confident and intelligent,” said a focus group participant. “I saw [the male candidate] fumbling over questions being asked and [he] failed to answer them. That concerns me.”

Voters believe women are naturally better on “kitchen table” issues such as education and health care, whereas women are

presumed not to have experience dealing with the economy and budgets.

Candidates who focused on economic and budget issues instilled confidence in voters and appeared “in command” on the campaign trail. A female candidate who speaks authoritatively on financial issues helps voters feel comfortable and confident in her potential to lead the state.

“Even though he was trying to smear her through the debate, she still stood strong and was able to give her opinion on what she was going to do when she got in office. That’s what tough means to me,” said a focus group participant.

In order to overcome voters’ assumptions that women do not have financial experience, it’s extremely valuable to emphasize prior private or public sector financial experience. Voters believe that female candidates who deal with these issues effectively will be successful leaders and they doubt the abilities of candidates who are unconvincing.

One focus group participant remarked, “He [the male candidate] made the strongest statements about fixing the budget deficit or trying to fix the budget deficit.”

Although some female candidates might have priorities other than the economy, budget and state taxes, voters are unlikely to believe a female candidate “has what it takes” to lead the state if she does not convey a confident knowledge of these issues.

A Competent Staff Breeds Candidate Credibility

Competent and experienced staff led all of the successful campaigns. Overprotective, slow or disorganized staff convey to opinion leaders, the press and voters that the candidate is not in command of her own ship. Unsuccessful campaigns offered no end of staff mishaps.

Voters’ impressions of women candidates are shaped by several organizational factors: How efficient and responsive is the campaign to voters and the press? Does the candidate and her entourage *look* gubernatorial?

“The hardest thing really was not having an experienced staff to work with...I think if you were to just pick 20 opinion leaders in the state, they would tell you, well, we can’t get our calls returned, we can’t get a copy of the schedule, nobody will listen to our advice,” said a campaign manager.

Some candidates realized too late that a professional staff is an essential piece of a successful campaign. “We had some pretty inexperienced staff folks,” said one candidate. “It would have been enormously helpful to have, for instance, some place to go for good press training because I had a very energetic press person, but this person had never been through a statewide campaign. And a campaign at this level is very different.”

Candidates who traveled with too few or too many staff members conveyed a poor image. Too few staff members and a candidate doesn’t appear to have the proper stature to be governor; too many staff members and she’s overshadowed by the pack.

“She didn’t look gubernatorial because she wasn’t staffed like a governor should be,” said a campaign manager.

An Inspiring Candidate Appears Rested and Relaxed

Over-scheduling prevented some candidates from doing their best at the most critical events. For some of the 2002 candidates, not enough attention or planning went into distinguishing important events—for which they should be rested and prepared—from all other events.

“We would just be back-to-back and get there right before we were supposed to speak—speak—and then go to another event,” acknowledged a press secretary.

The importance of a well-planned, but controlled schedule cannot be over-stated. “When it comes down to it, I was tired,” acknowledged a candidate. “I mean, I was so tired by the time I got to the general election.”

Successful candidates paced themselves and were fresh for their most important public events. Their staffs exercised judgment and restraint in scheduling decisions – demonstrating a maturity that characterized their candidates.

“The campaign organization was highly detail-oriented,” said a campaign scheduler. “We built into the plan some leeway to make the obvious changes and moving-with-the-flow type of decision-making for scheduling.”

Successful candidates also left the job of managing the campaign up to the campaign manager, rather than involving themselves in the micro-management of staff. This discipline frees the candidate to focus on campaigning.

“I give her a lot of credit as a candidate for hiring a campaign manager she trusted and leaving the job of managing the campaign up to that person,” said one consultant.

“Our campaign was more collaborative [than most],” said a candidate. “I think that’s both a strength and a weakness...sometimes it makes the candidate get more actively involved...and candidates aren’t supposed to get into managing.”

Voters want to see an energetic candidate, particularly when they have an opportunity to get a first-hand look at her. A tired or distracted candidate does not inspire them.

FOR CANDIDATES

First Stop: The Professionals. Everybody needs somebody: a voice coach, a personal shopper, a stylist, a media trainer, a make-up artist. Don't wait until midway through the campaign. Months before your announcement, do a personal inventory and get the help you need.

Hire Experienced Staff. Don't pinch pennies, and don't be seduced by youthful enthusiasm. You are undertaking a multi-million dollar enterprise with enormous implications for the future of your state. Hire the most seasoned, experienced people you can.

Set the Right Tone: Make an Excellent First Impression on Voters When You Announce for Governor. Your look, theme, setting and staging should convey the level of professionalism, preparation, clarity and organization that the voters can expect of your administration. Videotape this event. It can provide excellent footage for closing TV ads.

Put Financial Expertise at the Core of Your Presentation. Voters want to know that a woman can handle budgets, taxes and the economy. Establish your financial credentials at every opportunity. Feature your financial accomplishments and committee assignments prominently when you introduce yourself to voters.

Appearing Confident Breeds Confidence. Identify the three or four reasons you will be an excellent governor and keep them in the forefront of your mind. Mistakes happen; unexpected events occur. Knowing why you should be governor at all times can help you perform confidently under adverse circumstances.

Travel Light, But Be Official. If you want to be taken seriously, look important. Traveling alone isn't casual, it's invisible. Gubernatorial candidates should always travel with at least one staff member. On occasion, add a press assistant.

Don't Over-Schedule. Campaigns are notoriously unpredictable. Unexpected events and delays happen. Demand enough time in your schedule to ensure you are prepared, rested, presentable and professional.

“They’re asked some questions that they know in advance, but they also get zingers and how they handle it—their body language—that stuff can tell you a lot about a candidate.”

- Focus Group Participant

LESSON 2:

PERFORMANCE UNDER PRESSURE: GRACE AND GRIT WIN

Debates were a major factor in the outcome of most 2002 gubernatorial races. Voters focus on a female candidate's performance under pressure, knowledge of the issues and personal presentation. Voters are more judgmental about a female candidate's performance and less forgiving of her mistakes than they are of her male counterparts'.

Voters ask: Can she stand up to her opponent? Can she think on her feet? Is she overly anxious or nervous when asked a question or confronted with an accusation? Is she tough enough to get the job done?

Voters lose confidence in candidates who display insecurity during critical moments of engagement. For this reason, preparation for debates, forums and press events is particularly important.

Debates: Snapshots of Authenticity

In the 2002 races, debates often were critical to voters' final decision-making. Voters used debates to learn a candidate's stand on the issues, but more importantly, voters wanted to gauge a candidate's quickness, toughness and decisiveness. Repeatedly, focus group participants said they wanted to glimpse the “real” candidate and see how the female candidates “acted under pressure.”

“I want to see them on the floor, and I want questions to be passed on to them, and I want to see how each one of them answers the questions. Then I will make up my mind,” said a focus group participant.

“You want to see how they think on their feet ... there is not that much difference on the issues,” added another focus group participant. “You want to see if the people are bright, intelligent. To feel that, under pressure, they can do what’s right.”

Voters get an “unvarnished view” of the candidates during debates, and preparation is essential. A number of female candidates in 2002 did not appreciate the critical nature of debates and their campaigns failed to schedule adequate or well-structured prep time.

“The morning of the debate, I came into my debate prep in a panic,” said a candidate. “When you go into a debate, it’s like you’re dealing with not the front part of your brain, but the stem of your brain. It has to be automatic; you can’t be thinking about things too much and you have to have a plan.”

Voters are more focused on women candidates during debates and more judgmental about their performance. They remember a woman’s mistakes clearly. While male candidates are given the chance to improve over the course of the election, women have to come out of the box ready.

“I know people are caught off guard, but [in the debate] she stood there ...that was the first time I really saw true weakness where she didn’t know how to handle herself,” said a focus group participant.

“I should have been worried about how I looked on TV,” said a candidate. “What my manners were like, how I held my hands, how I held my head, how I looked on camera. That is so much more important in a debate.”

Standing up and debating and appearing authoritative can be more challenging for a woman. “In my first debate, I was dwarfed by the podium,” said one woman candidate.

“She comes off in her debates [well], and when she’s on TV, she comes off as she’s not afraid,” noted one focus group participant. “That she’s aggressive and assertive out here and that she’s proud to be a woman for this position.”

“She’s aggressive, she’s strong and she had command of her facts... She won almost every point in the debate, and she got great press for three days because of it,” said a campaign field director.

When a female candidate is prepared and practiced, voters notice. When she isn’t, it’s hard for them to forget.

Directness and Decisiveness Prove You’ve Got What It Takes

Engaging in the back and forth of a campaign enables female candidates to demonstrate the requisite command skills that voters require of a governor. Failure to roll up their sleeves and engage in a debate leaves voters with questions about their ability to be decisive and tough.

“[In] the news clip, she kind of watched this guy who was voicing his opinions right at her,” said a focus group participant. “She kind of had this stupid look on her face about, what do I do now. She didn’t know how to handle it.”

“One of the things that people criticized her for a lot...was she would say, ‘I would study this and I would study that and I would talk to the advisors and the people involved and then we would make a decision.’”

-Pollster

Late-deciding women voters, in particular, are waiting for the female candidate to prove herself. To do that, candidates must show decisiveness.

“She just seems very weak and timid,” said a focus group participant. “She always came across to me as dancing around the issues, pointing fingers instead of just saying, ‘this is what I’m going to do’ and be firm and strong about it.”

“We all witnessed how strong the male candidate was, and she didn’t try to really defend herself,” said a focus group participant. “This is how I see her: as a real country girl being a sweet person. If she was a first lady, okay, but governor, no.”

Even more than taking a stand on the issues, voters want to see women candidates take on a big opponent - their party's legislative leadership, the opposing party or corporations. One of the most successful strategies for proving they can do this is to highlight accomplishments that were a result of taking on a powerful interest and winning.

"She was so tough as Attorney General and basically ... she won by such a margin against [her opponent] that it will make her stronger and she'll be able to go into the legislature and just, you know, clean house," said a focus group participant.

Voters want to see a candidate who is fearless, yet not overtly aggressive - someone who can make the tough decisions quickly and coolly. Voters look to debates in addition to a candidate's past performance in office for a sign of how she'll be as governor.

Winning Candidates Speak for Themselves

In 2002, female candidates faced difficult decisions about how and when to launch their comparative and critical media. Focus group participants repeatedly said they don't like negative campaigning and they don't draw a distinction between negative and comparative campaigning. Voters prefer women candidates who are factual and tough, rather than personal and harsh, when they campaign against their opponents.

"I think the thing that actually turned me at the end were some of [the male opponent's ads with] ...all this negative campaign stuff against her," said a voter. "It was just the kind of way it looked in the ads and that turned me off to the male just because those got really nasty at the end."

Conventional wisdom dictates that campaigns should attack opponents through third party allies and respond to attacks through a campaign manager or press secretary. In most cases, this removes candidates from the unpleasant "he said, she said" that may be an off-message sideshow.

However, women candidates get credit for directness when they represent themselves. When they opt for a surrogate, they raise

questions from voters about whether they're "hiding." Voters pick up on this "shield the candidate" tactic, and they don't like it.

Voters want a female candidate to respond to attacks herself, rather than always through her spokespeople. Going face to face with the press is the best way to earn respect. "I thought her [campaign manager] put himself out there too much. It was almost like, 'I'm sending this male surrogate to go out and talk for me,'" said one focus group member.

Unsuccessful candidates were less likely to respond in person. "He would respond to the press personally all the time, and she didn't start doing that more until the end, when she got criticized for not doing it," said a field director. "She always did it through a spokesperson."

Responding quickly and not leaving attacks unanswered can prevent a negative charge from gaining credibility or making a lasting impression in voters' minds.

"We were very sharp, we were very quick to respond," said one successful candidate. "We were very good at anticipating what the other side was going to do. We didn't let a news cycle go by without being there."

FOR CANDIDATES

Develop a Debate Strategy. Determine how many debates benefit you. Challengers want many, incumbents, far fewer. Create a debate team, ask for a briefing book and schedule time for prep. Select a practice "opponent" who is well-versed in the style and messages of the opponent. Videotape and review practice sessions, paying special attention to facial expressions, tone of voice and hand gestures.

Replicate the Physical Setting of the Debate as Closely as Possible. The final debate prep should include the same physical requirements (such as standing at a podium) as those in the real debate. Consider whether you will read from a tele-prompter, be to the left or right of your opponent and where the moderators will stand. And practice, practice, practice.

Know Your Debate Objective. Are you trying to be the most knowledgeable? Relaxed? Combative? Study what voters need to know about you and then show them. For example, if you are the candidate of "financial skills," start or end your answers with the fiscal impact or budget repercussions.

Be Ready For the "Gotcha" Moment. Be prepared for your opponent to wave props, ask you to sign an ethics pledge, demand that you accept a spending limit or renounce a previous position. If you are the aggressive one, avoid the melodramatic. Remember, voters like a candidate who is direct.

Humor Often Wins the Day. Self-deprecating humor is appreciated in a tense moment and can make a candidate appear more human and mask unsteadiness. Don't be afraid to show this side of your personality. Voters are looking for a genuine glimpse of who you are.

Stand Up for Yourself. Voters are looking for someone to stand up for them against powerful interests. If you send the press secretary or campaign manager to answer a serious charge, voters understandably wonder if you can stand up for them.

Research and Advertise Your Victories. Ask your staff to prepare a list of case studies illustrating your public policy victories. Use these examples as defining moments in your public service. Repeat them often.

LESSON 3:

WHO'S THE BOSS?: TELL 'EM. SHOW 'EM. TELL 'EM AGAIN.

As in previous elections, voters in 2002 wanted evidence that women will be able to get the job done. Voters look for candidates to prove that they are up to the task of running a state government and managing a state budget, while working with an often unruly state legislature. Voters worried that a woman would not be privy to the wheelings and dealings behind the scenes. For female candidates, proving that they have these credentials—even when they already hold an executive title—is an uphill battle.

Each of the four successful female gubernatorial candidates in 2002 demonstrated executive capability before the campaign; three of them seized an opportunity to take on a high-profile challenge to protect the people of her state and promote values important to her. The fourth sought to bring new life to a political institution that could provide help down the road.

When voters have seen a female candidate lead in a crisis, go toe to toe with a powerful interest or build something of value, they have little doubt the candidate can do so again as governor.

Show Them What You Can Do – Now

In the 2002 races, all four of the successful female gubernatorial candidates held executive office prior to running for governor. Three held statewide office at the time, and each adhered to a similar strategic path for raising their visibility and defining their leadership. Each engaged in a high-profile confrontation on behalf of state residents and against an unpopular special interest. Their efforts were widely covered in the media and all resolved the conflict in a way that protected consumers.

In the fourth case, where the candidate had previously held executive office as mayor, she used her executive skills to rebuild her state party, unifying her troops and building a statewide operation. Whether the candidate created an opportunity or used one to her best advantage, the result was the same. These winners defined themselves as tough individuals, motivated by principle, and unafraid to use their authority.

Arizona, Governor Janet Napolitano:

Arizona State Attorney General Janet Napolitano took on Qwest Communications in 2001 for overcharging consumers, failing to disclose charges for repairs and installations, and engaging in false and misleading advertising. Qwest settled with the state and paid fines to help cover the cost of the investigation and fund future anti-fraud protections. The suit remained in voters' minds.

"She's already been prosecuting corporations...before it became the thing to do," observed one focus group participant in reference to the Qwest battle.

"She's become fairly successful in the public eye...she has done this for the citizens of Arizona...I think she would fight for us," added another focus group participant.

Hawaii, Governor Linda Lingle:

In 2002, Linda Lingle was the only successful female candidate for governor who did not hold elective office. After serving as mayor of Maui for eight years, she ran for governor unsuccessfully in 1998. What she lacked was the machinery to win the election and the organization to lead. So Lingle took charge of a weak Republican Party. By building the party's fundraising base, registering voters and working to increase the number of elected Republicans in Hawaii, Lingle turned what was once a weak political base into disciplined, well-financed party machinery ready to support her.

"Because she rebuilt the image of the party between 1998 and 2000, most of the people who were active in the party were with us," stated a campaign consultant.

"She, in effect, in the years leading up to the 2002 campaign, remade the Republican Party in Hawaii," said a reporter. "It had been a party that was sort of obsessing over issues such as abortion, death penalties, some of those mainland Republican issues. So she remade it. She said let's talk about these other issues that are really on people's minds here and to heck with the traditional Republican issues. She was very successful in doing that."

Kansas, Governor Kathleen Sebelius:

Kathleen Sebelius was Kansas State Insurance Commissioner prior to being elected governor. During her tenure, she cleaned house and pledged not to take a dime from insurance companies or their interests. She was faced with a decision whether or not to allow a non-Kansas company to take over the health insurance for Kansas. Sebelius said "no" and denied a merger between Anthem of Indiana and Blue Cross of Kansas, saving seniors nearly \$9 million on prescription drugs.

"Sebelius I think really transformed the role of insurance commissioner, really gave it more of a consumer watchdog orientation," said a reporter. "She really benefited from the dramatic change there because she was widely respected throughout the state by members of both parties."

When Sebelius took a pledge not to accept contributions from the insurance companies she regulated, she kept her word. And she spent her tenure cracking down on HMOs that refused to live up to their promises to patients.

Michigan, Governor Jennifer Granholm:

On September 11, 2001, gas station owners/operators in Michigan panicked, thinking there would be a gas shortage. In response, they raised gasoline prices to nearly \$5 a gallon. Michigan State Attorney General Jennifer Granholm responded immediately, obtaining an injunction to prohibit the price gouging and fining those who kept prices up. In addition, she required all gas stations to reimburse consumers.

"She went out there and said wait a minute, and she took those people to court," said one focus group participant. "That's the one thing I remember about her...We respect her for that. I mean, she stepped out immediately," said a focus group participant.

"She just didn't talk and say, 'oh, I'm going to take this bill.' She did something about it right away. There was no waiting," said a focus group participant. Granholm credits this confrontation with setting the stage for her run and defining the kind of governor she would be.

Every race is different and in some, ideology or issues dominate, but in many races, voters struggle to determine what kind of leader—personality, strength of character, action-oriented—this candidate will be. By taking decisive, high-profile action, these women defined their candidacies and answered voters' concerns about toughness and decisiveness long before the campaign kick-off.

One candidate summed it up: "Voters' impression is of a candidate as an individual and it's not based on the issues. It really is based upon their general view of the candidate – it's the feeling about this person. Is this an effective leader? Is this a strong person? Somebody who's going to fight for me? That's what they want to know. Somebody who's on my side or somebody who is on the side of major corporate interests."

Titles Tell the Tale

The office from which a candidate runs and the title she holds make an enormous difference for both male and female voters. Some offices are clearly better launching pads than others.

In 2002, attorneys general and mayors won while lieutenant governors lost. Lieutenant governors were perceived to be figureheads who don't make hands-on decisions. In contrast, voters believe that attorneys general must be tough and decisive, and mayors can handle budgets and crises – all important qualifications for governor.

"Her job as attorney general told everybody she would be a good candidate," said a focus group participant.

Lieutenant governors almost always face an uphill battle. As one focus group participant observed: "Lieutenant governor is kind of like being the spouse." Another called them "junior partners."

In 2000, the research revealed that voters believed state treasurers would be qualified for governor. By 2002, when many states were stretched, this position did not confer the same decision-making and crisis management credit previously granted.

"If she had done a good job [as treasurer], I don't think we would be in the situation we are in," explained a focus group participant.

FOR CANDIDATES

Look for Opportunities to Right a Wrong. There is no shortage of vulnerable communities – from seniors to busy consumers to teens targeted by alcohol and tobacco marketers. Who will you choose and how will you protect and educate them? How will you call attention to the predators that target them?

Be Strategic in the Opponents You Take On. Whether you serve in an executive statewide office or legislative position, people admire those who go up against the powerful. Because they are still perceived as "lesser" in the power game, women get even more credit for doing so. But voters must see that the controversy is real, that their interest is at stake and that you moved quickly to protect them.

Just Do It. In a world of term limits, potential primary and general election opponents will eventually see the same opportunity you see. Move quickly or you will lose your opportunity.

Learn To Tell the Story. Sometimes taking on the fight is easy compared to marketing it correctly. If you've identified the dragon that needs slaying, develop the narrative that tells the story, then create the press version, the opinion leader version and the voter version – all from the same root truth, but in a form and length that lets you be seen as the heroine you are.

Poll Regularly. Stay in touch with the voters of your state and spot trends early. Identifying voter dissatisfaction with corporate executives, the need for financial privacy protections or prescription drug price relief happens through research. Retain your own pollster, but stay in touch with and review the work of as many pollsters as you can.

Never Get Too Busy to Listen to Voters. Whatever elected post you hold, build in a regular exchange with voters around your state. Whether it's field hearings on behalf of a legislative committee, town hall meetings on insurance reform or health fairs for seniors – choose something that works for you, but get out there and LISTEN.

VI CONCLUSION

“...now you’ve got a number of us who have been elected governor, which was always considered a big leap. People get used to it, and the more people are used to it, the less difficult it’s going to be.”

- Candidate

Clearly, it’s easier to envision women governors today. Voters have gotten used to the idea of women in power, and while they still hold female candidates to a higher standard than male candidates, voters no longer see women governors as outside of the norm.

However, women candidates and their campaigns sometimes lose sight of the importance of voter perception. Some campaigns over-schedule the candidate and end up with a less than sharp debater. Other campaigns frugally send a candidate on a fundraising trip alone, only to discover that potential donors don’t see the lone visitor as “gubernatorial.” Still other campaigns shield their candidates from engaging with the press, preventing voters from getting that authentic glimpse of gutsiness that would win them over.

These findings would be discouraging, if not for the growing number of triumphant women governors who met these higher standards and surpassed them, who ran into these roadblocks and cleared them with room to spare.

More women are winning, despite the decline of the so-called benefits of “running as a woman,” like voter presumptions of honesty and reform.

Women are running sophisticated races, accounting for the contours of gender in their strategies and beating the system. As women exercise the power they’ve won as attorney general or state treasurer, they open up more strategies for moving up. The more women run, the more ways of winning are developed and tested.

The question for the future isn’t, “Can we?” The question for the future is, “How many?”

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

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.npcbwo.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 - 2004



GOV. NELLIE T. ROSS
1925-1927
WYOMING



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



GOV. LURLEEN WALLACE
1967-1968
ALABAMA



GOV. ELLA GRASSO
1975-1980
CONNECTICUT



GOV. DIXY LEE RAY
1977-1981
WASHINGTON



GOV. MARTHA LAYNE COLLINS
1983-1987
KENTUCKY

GOV. MADELEINE M. KUNIN
1985-1991
VERMONT



GOV. KAY A. ORR
1987-1991
NEBRASKA



GOV. ROSE MOFFARD
1988-1991
ARIZONA



GOV. JOAN FINNEY
1991-1995
KANSAS



GOV. BARBARA ROBERTS
1991-1995
OREGON



GOV. ANN RICHARDS
1991-1995
TEXAS



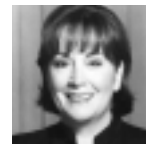
GOV. CHRISTINE TODD WHITMAN
1994-2001
NEW JERSEY



GOV. JEANNE SHAHEEN
1997-2003
NEW HAMPSHIRE



GOV. JANE DEE HULL
1997-2003
ARIZONA



GOV. NANCY P. HOLLISTER
1998-1999
OHIO



GOV. JANE SWIFT
2001-2003
MASSACHUSETTS



GOV. RUTH ANN MINNER
2001-PRESENT
DELAWARE



GOV. JUDY MARTZ
2001-PRESENT
MONTANA



GOV. JANET NAPOLITANO
2003-PRESENT
ARIZONA



GOV. LINDA LINGLE
2003-PRESENT
HAWAII



GOV. JENNIFER GRANHOLM
2003-PRESENT
MICHIGAN



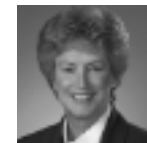
GOV. KATHLEEN SEBELIUS
2003-PRESENT
KANSAS



GOV. OLENE WALKER
2003-PRESENT
UTAH



GOV. KATHLEEN BLANCO
2004-PRESENT
LOUISIANA



GOV. M. JODI RELL
2004-PRESENT
CONNECTICUT

FOR CANDIDATES PRESENTATION MATTERS

1. PERSONAL

- Consult the Professionals.** Months before your announcement, do a personal inventory – do you need a voice coach, personal shopper, stylist, media trainer or make-up artist?
- Convey Confidence.** Identify the three or four reasons you will be an excellent governor and keep them top of mind.

2. CAMPAIGN

- Set the Tone with Your Announcement.** Make an excellent first impression on voters with the right announcement. Videotape it and use the footage for your TV ads.
- Tout Your Financial Expertise.** Establish your financial credentials at every opportunity, and feature your financial accomplishments and committee assignments when you introduce yourself to voters.
- Hire Experienced Staff.** Hire the most seasoned people you can.
- Be Official When Traveling.** To be taken seriously, you need to look important. Always travel with at least one staff member – when necessary, add a press assistant.
- Don't Over-Schedule.** Demand enough time in your schedule to ensure you are prepared, rested, relaxed, presentable and professional.