# APPENDIX

## READY WILLING & ELECTABLE
### Women Running for Executive Office

## A. QUALIFICATIONS

| 1. Qualified Ratings (0-100 scale) | % Rated "80-100" Very Qualified | % Rated "51-100" Qualified |
|---|---|---|
| Deborah Williams, a Black woman and Republican | 48 | 74 |
| Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Democrat | 46 | 67 |
| Karen Davis, a white lesbian and Democrat | 45 | 62 |
| Sherry Lee, an Asian American woman and Democrat | 44 | 69 |
| Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Republican | 44 | 66 |
| Sherry Lee, an Asian American woman and Republican | 43 | 67 |
| Deborah Williams, a Black woman and Democrat | 43 | 64 |
| Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Republican | 41 | 63 |
| Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Democrat | 40 | 62 |
| Karen Davis, a white lesbian and Republican | 36 | 61 |

| 2. Experiences that make a woman candidate qualified | % Very Qualified | % Qualified |
|---|---|---|
| Worked with members of the other party | 50 | 85 |
| Built private-public partnerships to create jobs and new business | 49 | 86 |
| Has a written economic plan endorsed by business and labor | 44 | 85 |
| Brought state funding to her community | 43 | 82 |
| Has a bold plan with innovations in technology and energy in the state | 42 | 83 |
| Served in the state Legislature | 41 | 85 |
| Was a business owner who created jobs and balanced budgets | 40 | 82 |
| Served in a statewide office | 38 | 83 |
| Was a long-time advocate in her community | 36 | 78 |
| Served as mayor | 34 | 80 |
| Handled tough questions from a reporter | 31 | 72 |
| Ran because she saw the impact of an issue | 26 | 67 |
| Won a close race for political office | 23 | 65 |

| | Total | White Dem | White Rep | Black Dem | Black Rep | Latina Dem | Latina Rep | Asian Rep | Asian Dem | Lesbian Dem | Lesbian Rep |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Worked with members of the other party | 50 | 55 | 53 | 52 | 60 | 48 | 46 | 44 | 43 | 49 | 49 |
| Built private-public partnerships to create jobs and new business | 49 | 52 | 50 | 45 | 50 | 48 | 42 | 48 | 57 | 47 | 48 |
| Has a written economic plan endorsed by business and labor | 44 | 49 | 49 | 42 | 49 | 41 | 35 | 48 | 44 | 42 | 45 |
| Brought state funding to her community | 43 | 51 | 44 | 37 | 50 | 45 | 42 | 39 | 41 | 45 | 39 |
| Has a bold plan with innovations in technology and energy in the state | 42 | 49 | 48 | 36 | 48 | 35 | 37 | 36 | 43 | 49 | 45 |
| Served in the state Legislature | 41 | 44 | 41 | 39 | 43 | 45 | 40 | 40 | 37 | 43 | 39 |
| Was a business owner who created jobs and balanced budgets | 40 | 44 | 42 | 40 | 40 | 36 | 39 | 48 | 38 | 38 | 37 |
| Served in a statewide office | 38 | 43 | 42 | 37 | 37 | 38 | 38 | 40 | 36 | 42 | 30 |
| Was a long-time advocate in her community | 36 | 43 | 39 | 35 | 41 | 34 | 34 | 33 | 33 | 35 | 29 |
| Served as mayor | 34 | 38 | 27 | 35 | 37 | 39 | 38 | 37 | 28 | 30 | 29 |
| Handled tough questions from a reporter | 31 | 40 | 26 | 34 | 35 | 23 | 26 | 30 | 34 | 37 | 28 |
| Ran because she saw the impact of an issue | 26 | 26 | 26 | 30 | 30 | 31 | 18 | 24 | 24 | 29 | 23 |
| Won a close race for political office | 23 | 29 | 21 | 27 | 28 | 22 | 19 | 22 | 25 | 23 | 16 |

*3. Experiences that make a woman candidate qualified by profiles (% very qualified)*

# APPENDIX

## B. LIKEABILITY

| 1. Favorability Ratings (0-100 scale) | % Rated "80-100" Very Favorable | % Rated "51-100" Favorable |
|---|---|---|
| Deborah Williams, a Black woman and Republican | 41 | 64 |
| Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Democrat | 39 | 57 |
| Karen Davis, a white lesbian and Democrat | 38 | 58 |
| Sherry Lee, an Asian American woman and Democrat | 36 | 61 |
| Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Republican | 35 | 58 |
| Sherry Lee, an Asian American woman and Republican | 35 | 58 |
| Deborah Williams, a Black woman and Democrat | 35 | 57 |
| Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Democrat | 35 | 55 |
| Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Republican | 34 | 55 |
| Karen Davis, a white lesbian and Republican | 28 | 47 |

| 2. Experiences that make a woman candidate likeable | Very Likeable | Likeable |
|---|---|---|
| Worked with members of the other party | 56 | 85 |
| Built private-public partnerships to create jobs and new businesses | 55 | 86 |
| Was a business owner who created jobs and balanced budgets | 54 | 87 |
| Was a long-time advocate in her community | 54 | 85 |
| Has a bold plan with innovations in technology and energy in the state | 52 | 86 |
| Has a written economic plan endorsed by business and labor | 50 | 85 |
| Brought state funding to her community | 50 | 84 |
| Handled tough questions from a reporter | 49 | 82 |
| Ran because she saw the impact of an issue | 38 | 77 |
| Served in the state Legislature | 36 | 77 |
| Served in a statewide office | 35 | 79 |
| Served as mayor | 31 | 74 |
| Won a close race for political office | 26 | 66 |

| 3. Experiences that make a woman candidate likeable by profiles (% very likeable) | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White Dem | White Rep | Black Dem | Black Rep | Latina Dem | Latina Rep | Asian Rep | Asian Dem | Lesbian Dem | Lesbian Rep |
| Worked with members of the other party | 56 | 56 | 53 | 52 | 60 | 59 | 55 | 50 | 53 | 62 | 62 |
| Was a business owner who created jobs and balanced budgets | 55 | 55 | 65 | 55 | 52 | 56 | 44 | 55 | 58 | 54 | 57 |
| Built private-public partnerships to create jobs and new businesses | 54 | 51 | 60 | 53 | 61 | 50 | 55 | 52 | 56 | 52 | 54 |
| Was a long-time advocate in her community | 54 | 53 | 55 | 52 | 63 | 55 | 50 | 55 | 47 | 57 | 52 |
| Has a bold plan with innovations in technology and energy in the state | 52 | 51 | 58 | 56 | 54 | 47 | 47 | 48 | 52 | 49 | 53 |
| Has a written economic plan endorsed by business and labor | 50 | 46 | 57 | 54 | 55 | 56 | 46 | 42 | 46 | 48 | 52 |
| Brought state funding to her community | 50 | 45 | 52 | 52 | 50 | 52 | 49 | 45 | 51 | 51 | 55 |
| Handled tough questions from a reporter | 49 | 49 | 61 | 45 | 54 | 47 | 45 | 50 | 44 | 48 | 47 |
| Ran because she saw the impact of an issue | 38 | 39 | 37 | 36 | 38 | 45 | 35 | 38 | 36 | 42 | 38 |
| Served in the state Legislature | 36 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 35 | 35 | 27 | 42 | 34 | 33 | 39 |
| Served in a statewide office | 35 | 34 | 40 | 39 | 40 | 35 | 29 | 34 | 31 | 40 | 30 |
| Served as mayor | 31 | 36 | 33 | 27 | 35 | 22 | 31 | 34 | 30 | 31 | 30 |
| Won a close race for political office | 26 | 28 | 28 | 27 | 22 | 28 | 22 | 32 | 21 | 26 | 23 |

## C. ELECTABILITY

| 1. Traits that are very important for a woman candidate to have to be electable (% very important) | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White Dem | White Rep | Black Dem | Black Rep | Latina Dem | Latina Rep | Asian Rep | Asian Dem | Lesbian Dem | Lesbian Rep |
| Can handle a crisis | 77 | 75 | 74 | 72 | 75 | 74 | 68 | 72 | 74 | 78 |
| Gets results | 70 | 71 | 70 | 65 | 68 | 65 | 70 | 64 | 70 | 65 |
| Cares about people like you | 66 | 64 | 63 | 55 | 62 | 60 | 57 | 61 | 59 | 62 |
| Brings people together | 62 | 60 | 60 | 63 | 61 | 57 | 62 | 57 | 57 | 60 |
| Shares your values | 61 | 60 | 55 | 59 | 58 | 59 | 58 | 59 | 57 | 49 |
| Confident | 57 | 62 | 59 | 52 | 58 | 57 | 63 | 58 | 62 | 56 |
| Authentic | 57 | 67 | 57 | 57 | 61 | 58 | 59 | 61 | 54 | 59 |
| Brings about change | 49 | 48 | 45 | 44 | 44 | 43 | 42 | 45 | 51 | 51 |
| Is measured, not harsh, in communication | 42 | 41 | 43 | 37 | 43 | 41 | 38 | 43 | 39 | 39 |

| 2. Results of a head-to-head ballot | % Voting for Woman | % Voting for Man | % Undecided | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deborah Williams, a Black woman and Republican | 49 | 33 | 18 | 17 |
| Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Republican | 46 | 37 | 18 | 9 |
| Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Democrat | 47 | 39 | 14 | 8 |
| Deborah Williams, a Black woman and Democrat | 44 | 37 | 19 | 7 |
| Sherry Lee, an Asian American woman and Democrat | 46 | 40 | 13 | 6 |
| Karen Davis, a white lesbian and Democrat | 45 | 39 | 16 | 6 |
| Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Republican | 43 | 39 | 18 | 4 |
| Sherry Lee, an Asian American woman and Republican | 44 | 40 | 16 | 3 |
| Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Democrat | 42 | 40 | 18 | 2 |
| Karen Davis, a white lesbian and Republican | 34 | 34 | 31 | 0 |

| 3. Does she understand our community well? (% well) | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Men | Women | Democrat | Independent | Republican |
| Deborah Williams, an African-American and Republican | 70 | 66 | 73 | 64 | 78 | 73 |
| Karen Davis, a lesbian white woman and Democrat | 66 | 62 | 69 | 87 | 67 | 45 |
| Sherry Lee, an Asian-American and Democrat | 65 | 60 | 70 | 82 | 64 | 50 |
| Deborah Williams, an African-American and Democrat | 63 | 63 | 63 | 86 | 60 | 43 |
| Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Republican | 61 | 61 | 62 | 54 | 58 | 74 |
| Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Democrat | 61 | 61 | 61 | 83 | 68 | 38 |
| Sherry Lee, an Asian-American and Republican | 61 | 61 | 61 | 48 | 71 | 70 |
| Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Republican | 60 | 57 | 63 | 37 | 60 | 82 |
| Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Democrat | 60 | 55 | 64 | 78 | 63 | 43 |
| Karen Davis, a lesbian white woman and Republican | 56 | 59 | 54 | 55 | 45 | 65 |

# D. THE ETHICAL PEDESTAL

| 1. Experiences that raise doubts about a gubernatorial candidate (% serious doubts) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White Dem | White Rep | Black Dem | Black Rep | Latina Dem | Latina Rep | Asian Rep | Asian Dem | Lesbian Dem | Lesbian Rep | White man |
| Appointed a good friend's brother to a position as a District Court Judge, even though the brother is under-qualified. | 69 | 74 | 64 | 69 | 70 | 70 | 68 | 67 | 69 | 79 | 71 |
| Had the wrong job numbers in an economic plan that they recently released for the state | 42 | 45 | 33 | 41 | 37 | 42 | 41 | 41 | 44 | 38 | 43 |
| Made multiple mistakes on the campaign trail | 36 | 28 | 29 | 39 | 34 | 34 | 33 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 37 |

# APPENDIX

# METHODOLOGY

### Focus groups:

In the focus groups, participants shared their opinions of a Republican woman, a Democratic woman, an African American woman, a Latina woman, an Asian American woman, and a lesbian woman who are running for governor. Lake Research Partners and Bellwether Research conducted 12 focus groups with men and women in June of 2019 segmented as follows:

| Tampa June 3 | Detroit June 5 | Des Moines June 6 |
|---|---|---|
| Latinas<br>Asian/Pacific Islander Men | Non-college white women<br>African American men | Older white women<br>Non-college white men |

| Phoenix June 11 | Philadelphia June 13 |
|---|---|
| Asian/Pacific Islander women<br>College white women<br>Latino men | African American women<br>LGBTQ people<br>College white men |

Participants were recruited to reflect a mix of age, marital status, parental status, income, and education. This memo uses the term "participants" in reference to the participants of the twelve focus groups.


### Survey:

Lake Research Partners and Bellwether Consulting designed and administered this survey that was conducted over the phone from July 29 – August 8, 2019. The survey reached a total of 2,500 likely 2020 voters nationwide.

Telephone numbers were drawn from the TargetSmart voter file. The data were weighed slightly by region, education, and race by gender to reflect attributes of the actual population. Party identification was weighted to be even among the total sample, men, and women. The margin of error for the total sample is +/-2.0% and 6.2% for each profile.

In the survey, we segmented the sample so that respondents reacted to a single woman candidate of a unique party identification and ethnic and racial background or sexual orientation. As a control, we also tested David Johnson, a straight white man of the opposite political party of the woman candidate. All names of the hypothetical candidates are fictitious.

### Candidates Tested

- Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Democrat
- Cynthia Smith, a white woman and Republican
- Deborah Williams, a Black woman and Democrat
- Deborah Williams, a Black woman and Republican
- Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Democrat
- Teresa Garcia, a Latina and Republican
- Sherry Lee, an Asian American woman and Democrat
- Sherry Lee, an Asian American woman and Republican
- Karen Davis, a white lesbian and Democrat
- Karen Davis, a white lesbian and Republican

Survey respondents heard a short description of one of the types of candidates described above as well as a short description of a white male opponent. These descriptions include the candidates' names and demographic information. Every candidate, woman or man, is described as 50-years-old with grown children. Half of the respondents heard about the hypothetical woman candidate first, and the other half heard about the hypothetical man candidate first. Following the

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demographic information, survey respondents heard what the candidates say about themselves. This language was identical for all women and identical for all men.

Each hypothetical woman candidate was credited as saying this about herself:

*I have a reputation of working with people and delivering in the state Legislature for small business and hardworking families. I worked my way through college and law school, so I know the value of hard work. Before running for governor, I ran a small business that created jobs. I won a close race for state Senate and then was re-elected to my second term, serving as chair of the Budget and Joint Economic committee. I successfully worked to increase education funding to reduce class sizes and passed legislation to provide health insurance for all children in the state.*

Each hypothetical man candidate was credited as saying this about himself:

*I am known for prioritizing and strengthening our economy and communities. I grew up in a working-class neighborhood where I learned the value of hard work and discipline. Before running for governor, I was a small business owner. I served three terms on the City Council, where I worked to attract new and high paying jobs to the city and invested in education to ensure our schools have the resources they need. I am in my second term in the state Senate, where I serve on the Budget committee and work to lower taxes and balance the budget.*

## 2018 Governors Research:

On behalf of the Barbara Lee Family Foundation, the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) at Rutgers University collected, analyzed, and archived qualitative data on sixteen gubernatorial campaigns during the 2018 election cycle. The team of researchers archived press coverage, polls, debates, social media presence, and campaign output for each of the sixteen female gubernatorial nominees for governor in election 2018. Following the election, CAWP completed interviews with key members of the candidates' strategic teams, as well as with the candidates themselves when possible. All interviews were done confidentially. Post-election interviews examined campaign organization, strategy, and success, with attention to any particular challenges or considerations of gender.