

READY WILLING & ELECTABLE

Women Running for Executive Office













WHY AREN'T THERE MORE WOMENIN EXECUTIVE OFFICE? In 2018, a red



In 2018, a record number of women were elected to Congress, but it's a different story when you look at governorships. Today, only nine women serve as governor, tying a previous record first set in 2004. That means only 18% of our current governors are women.

Twenty states have never had a woman governor, whereas only one state has yet to send a woman to Congress. When the Barbara Lee Family Foundation first opened its doors in 1998, sixteen women had served as governor in the entire history of the United States. In the twenty years since, that number has gone up — to forty-four.

The numbers are even more stark when it comes to women of color and LGBTQ women. Only two states have ever elected a woman of color governor, and a Black woman has never served as the top executive officer in her state. There has only been one openly LGBTQ woman elected governor, and no state has ever elected an openly lesbian or transgender top executive.

When running for executive office, women face obstacles that men running simply do not. The Barbara Lee Family Foundation has consistently found that voters have been more comfortable seeing women serve as members of a legislature than they have been electing them to executive offices — positions where they will have sole decision-making authority.

OUR PARTNERS

This research, which asks about hypothetical Asian American, Black, Latina, lesbian, and white women candidates of the two major political parties, comprehensively examines what it takes for a woman

to prove to voters she is ready to serve in executive office. For context, it also includes some of the lessons learned from interviews with 2018 gubernatorial candidates and their campaign staffs.



The Barbara Lee Family Foundation performed this research in partnership with APIAVote and the Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies; Higher Heights Leadership Fund; Voto Latino; and the Victory Institute. Our partner organizations provided a landscape of the challenges they see women candidates face on the campaign trail, which informed the development of the research questions. On behalf of the Barbara Lee Family Foundation, the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University collected, analyzed, and archived qualitative data on the sixteen 2018 gubernatorial campaigns with women candidates in the general election, and Lake Research Partners and Bellwether Research & Consulting conducted twelve focus groups and a national phone survey of 2,500 likely 2020 voters. The findings from the survey presented in this memo are controlled for party identification.













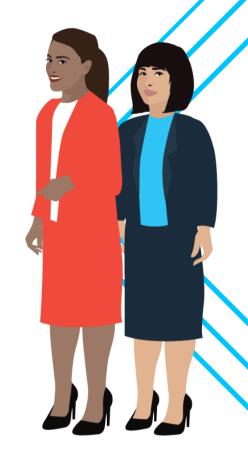




KEY FINDINGS

The idea that women candidates aren't as electable as their male counterparts is a myth...

Across candidate profiles tested, all of the hypothetical women candidates win or tie their head-to-head ballots against a straight white man of the opposite party [1]. However, party identification continues to be the strongest predictor of vote.





But that doesn't mean men and women are measured with the same yardstick on the campaign trail.

In our focus groups, voters acknowledge that women are held to different and higher standards when it comes to qualifications and likeability, but many still actively participate in upholding those double standards.

KEY FINDINGS

Voters want women candidates for governor to be action-oriented... No matter the hypothetical woman candidate tested, the

No matter the hypothetical woman candidate tested, the top traits voters identify as important for electability at the executive office level are "can handle a crisis" and "gets results" [2]. Establishing economic credentials is also essential for all of the hypothetical women candidates tested. [3]

And punish candidates who violate their trust.

It is more difficult for candidates to overcome an ethical infraction than a mistake in a plan or on the campaign trail [4]. This is true for all of the hypothetical candidates tested, with our focus group participants sharing that an ethical violation makes them angry and feeds into their negative feelings about politicians.



[2] See Chart C1 in the Appendix

[3] See Charts A2 & B2 in the Appendix

[4] See Chart D1 in the Appendix

KEY FINDINGS

Voters are more willing to question electability based on sexual orientation than on race or ethnicity...

Most focus group participants say a candidate's race or ethnicity does not impact how qualified they seem, and, in the survey, a majority think all the hypothetical women candidates would understand their community well [5]. However, a few focus group participants are concerned that a lesbian candidate would focus too much on LGBTQ issues or would not be able to compete electorally because some people would not vote for her based on her sexual orientation.

But it's clear that race and ethnicity still play a role in how voters see a candidate.

While some focus group participants point out that people of color face higher standards while running for office, others push back on discussing the race or ethnicity of the candidate, asking a variation of the question, "Why do we need to know that?" These voters often fail to see the ways that systems are invested in maintaining the status quo and focus on the idea of a "meritocracy" and preventing "reverse discrimination."

"[...] I THINK THAT
THE GENERAL
POPULATION
PERCEIVES THAT A
WHITE MALE IS
QUALIFIED."

Latino Man

Twenty years of
Barbara Lee Family
Foundation research
has shown that women
have to do more to
prove they're qualified
than men do – this is
still true.

When asked why some people say they would vote for a woman "if she were qualified," many participants attribute this to traditional gender norms, yet still actively participate in upholding those norms.

The majority of voters surveyed think all of the hypothetical women candidates tested are qualified. Experience, issue stance, and community engagement (including bringing people together and getting results) are important to focus group participants when judging a woman candidate's qualifications.

Being seen as a "bridge builder" is especially important when it comes to showing qualifications. Traditionally, voters give women an edge when it comes to this trait and, in this survey, voters emphasize "working with members of the other party" and "building private-public partnerships" as top experiences that would make a woman qualified [6].

LESSONS FROM OUR GOVERNORS RESEARCH

Women gubernatorial candidates in 2018 were plagued with electability and viability questions. Donors demanded more time from women candidates before making a contribution, as compared to male candidates, and the candidates had to wage two campaigns with donors, voters, and the media: a "campaign of belief" convincing people that it is *possible* for them to win, and a traditional campaign to actually be successful in the election.

LIKEABILITY

As we've seen in our past research, voters recognize that it can be hard for a woman candidate to be seen as likeable.

Focus group participants think it is important for women candidates to maintain that quality, but they acknowledge it is tricky to maintain both likeability and strength while drawing contrasts with their opponents.

"WE HAVE DEFINED LIKEABLE AS BEING LIKE A MAN."

College-EducatedWhite Woman

More so than with qualifications, a woman's party affiliation, race, and sexual orientation influence what voters believe would make her seem likeable. And there is a high overlap: many (but not all) of these traits also help to establish qualifications.

There are more opportunities for women candidates to showcase their likeability than their qualifications. While "worked with members of the other party" is the only experience the majority of voters say would make a woman candidate very qualified, the majority of voters surveyed rate seven different experiences as helping to show them a woman candidate is very likeable [7].

LESSONS FROM OUR GOVERNORS RESEARCH

Past Barbara Lee Family Foundation research has shown that tying a personal narrative to her work on an issue helps a woman candidate establish likeability. In 2018, successful women candidates for governor used storytelling in their campaigns, linking their experiences as wives, mothers, daughters, and caretakers back to what they would accomplish for the people of their state.

When asked to think about a candidate's character when presented with several negative scenarios, voters by far have the most doubts about a candidate with an ethical violation.

"WE VOTED YOU IN AND WE TRUSTED YOU."

- Black Woman



Survey respondents were asked about whether doubts were raised when they heard the candidate: appointed a good friend's brother to a position as a District Court Judge (even though the brother is under-qualified); made a mistake in an economic plan; or made multiple mistakes on the campaign trail. Voters have the most serious doubts about the first scenario, and that pattern holds across all of the hypothetical candidates tested [8].

According to focus group participants, an ethical infraction is so damaging because it is seen as an abuse of power and a violation of voters' trust. It can be especially damaging for women candidates, as past Barbara Lee Family Foundation research shows that voters expect women to be more honest and thus punish women candidates more harshly if they fall off the ethical pedestal.

Across profiles, making mistakes – either in an economic plan or on the campaign trail – does not raise serious doubts from the majority of voters. The majority of voters do not have serious doubts about either kind of mistake, but have more serious doubts about a mistake in an economic plan than about multiple mistakes on the campaign trail [9].

LESSONS FROM OUR GOVERNORS RESEARCH

On the 2018 campaign trail, women running for governor were consistently underestimated and required to prove themselves, both to voters and donors. While mistakes in a plan or on the campaign trail might not be insurmountable, past research shows that it's imperative to address major mistakes right away; letting them linger is damaging to a woman candidate's likeability and qualifications. Using thirdparty validators to reinforce her qualifications can help a woman candidate overcome a mistake.

^[9] See Chart D1 in the Appendix

OMUC CRED

It remains important to hammer home economic credentials.

Traditionally, the economy has been perceived as a weakness for women. Past Barbara Lee Family Foundation research shows that may be changing for Republican women, but still holds true for Democratic women. In this survey, we see repeatedly the critical linkage between economic credentials and perceptions of being qualified for hypothetical women candidates of both parties [10].

"WERE THEY ALWAYS POLITICIANS OR DID THEY WORK REAL JOBS?"

Non-College-EducatedWhite Man

Showcasing economic expertise can help a woman candidate convey qualifications and likeability. Building private-public partnerships to create jobs and new businesses, having a written economic plan endorsed by businesses and labor, bringing state funding to the community, and being a business owner who created jobs and balanced budgets are all ways to convey that a woman candidate is very qualified and very likeable [11].

Some focus group participants volunteer that economic experience is important for a woman candidate to have. Several specifically mention the importance of running or starting a company and creating jobs.

LESSONS FROM OUR GOVERNORS RESEARCH

In 2018, the women candidates who did the best understood the importance of keeping it local. They focused on state-specific issues — often the kitchen table economics voters were worried about — without relying on the "Year of the Woman" narrative.

GENDER ISN'T THE ONLY FACTOR THAT IMPACTS VOTERS' VIEWS.

For the entire history of the United States, the norm in politics has meant three things: straight, white, and male. Change one of those characteristics – "male" to "female" – and Barbara Lee Family Foundation research has consistently shown that the candidate suddenly has additional hurdles on the path to public office. Change two of those characteristics and the path can become even more challenging.

While most participants maintain that race does not impact their vote, some, particularly white participants, question the hypothetical women candidates of color just for being who they are.

"IT'S NEGATIVE THAT THEY (THE LATINA CANDIDATE) ARE INTRODUCING THEMSELVES AS A PARTICULAR ETHNICITY. I THINK IT PERPETUATES THE PROBLEM."

 Non-College-Educated White Man "WHEN YOU SAY ASIAN
AMERICAN, WHY IS THAT SO
DIFFERENT? WELL IF I RUN FOR
OFFICE, WILL PEOPLE LOOK AT
ME LIKE THE IRISH
AMERICAN? LIKE WHY DOES
SHE GET THE LABEL?"

College-Educated
 White Man



"WE TALKED EARLIER
ABOUT DON'T RUN ON
THE FACT THAT YOU
ARE AN AFRICANAMERICAN."

- Older White Woman



A few participants are concerned that a lesbian candidate would focus too much on LGBTQ issues or would not be able to compete electorally because some people would not vote for them based on their sexual orientation.

"I MEAN LIKE PEOPLE WILL SEE THAT AND THEY ARE WONDERING IF THEY ARE GOING TO FIGHT FOR JUST LGBTQ RIGHTS."

- Black Man



"I DON'T LIKE
THAT SHE HAD TO
MENTION [BEING A
LESBIAN]."

- Older White Woman



"BUT OVERALL, THIS
PERSON COULD BE A
REALLY GREAT CANDIDATE.
BUT WHAT IS GOING TO
HURT THIS CANDIDATE IS
JUST HER ASSOCIATION
WITH BEING LGBT."

- Latino Man



THOUGHTS FROM OUR PARTNERS

"Latinas on the campaign trail are often expected to operate in two separate avenues: fighting for their community and appealing to larger political forces. We're working to bridge that gap — what's good for our community is good for the country."

> María Teresa Kumar President and CEO



"Despite their qualifications, AAPI women have to work harder, and deal with more scrutiny than if they are white or male. Public perceptions need to change, and that begins with our groundwork in communities."

> Madalene Mielke President and CEO



"Representation matters, and seeing our community reflected in our elected officials will not only serve for a stronger democracy but a fair representation of American voters. Still, there is work left to be done."

Christine Chen **Executive Director**



The next section of this research highlights how Asian American. Black, Latina, lesbian and white women candidates of both parties can focus their energy on what makes them electable, qualified, and likeable in the eyes of voters.

"LGBTQ women remain severely underrepresented at every level of government - a product of the sexism and homophobia that continue to pervade our politics. But we find that LGBTQ women candidates overcome these challenges by being more prepared and more qualified than other candidates by the time they run for office." Annise Parker

> VICTORY INSTITUTE

President and CEO

"Black women are closing the gap when it comes to measures like fundraising, garnering support in majority white districts, and winning more statewide offices. Nevertheless, significant gaps in elected leadership opportunities remain, especially when it comes to governorships and U.S. Senate seats. Removing these barriers is critical because such offices are ultimately the pipeline to the nation's top office." Glvnda Carr



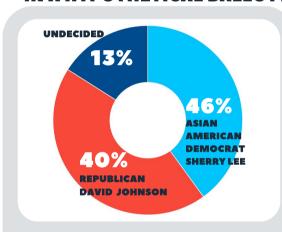
President and CEO



ASIAN AMERICAN WOMAN: DEMOCRAT

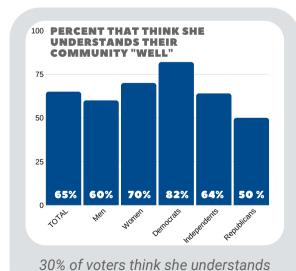


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 43% would vote for Sherry, 34% would vote for David, and 23% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



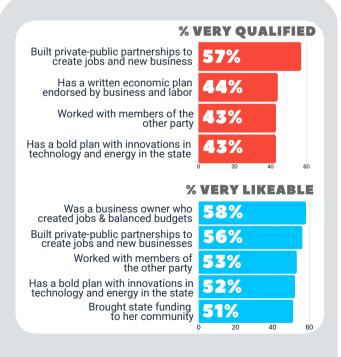
their community "very well."

WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

% very important	Total	D	1	R
Can handle a crisis	72%	72	69	71
Gets results	64%	69	71	55
Authentic	61%	64	64	55
Cares about people like you	61%	66	61	52
Shares your values	59%	54	59	59
Confident	58%	69	58	45
Brings people together	57%	63	61	45
Brings about change	45%	60	47	29
Is measured, not harsh, in communication	43%	45	47	40

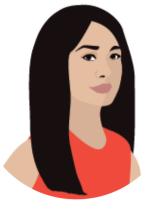
D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans For Independents, showing she gets results and can handle a crisis are the most important factors.

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?

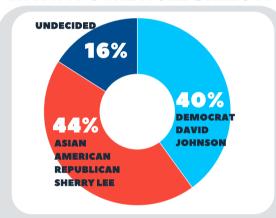


Economic experience is key to highlighting qualifications and likeability.

ASIAN AMERICAN WOMAN: REPUBLICAN

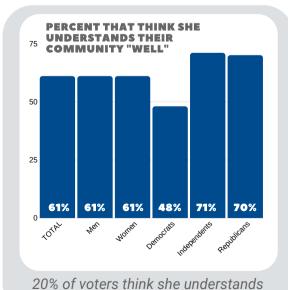


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 42% would vote for Sherry, 35% would vote for David, and 22% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



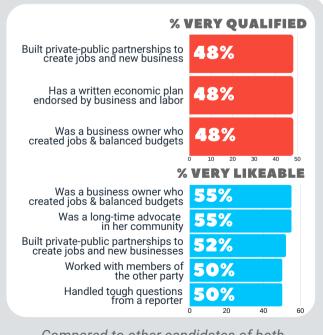
their community "very well."

WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

Total	D		R
70%	66	70	75
68%	66	67	71
63%	55	64	73
62%	57	57	68
59%	49	61	71
58%	53	53	65
57%	51	59	65
42%	46	47	36
38%	35	39	37
	70% 68% 63% 62% 59% 58% 57% 42%	70% 66 68% 66 63% 55 62% 57 59% 49 58% 53 57% 51 42% 46	70% 66 70 68% 66 67 63% 55 64 62% 57 57 59% 49 61 58% 53 53 57% 51 59 42% 46 47

D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans Compared to other women candidates, it is slightly less important the she show she can handle a crisis.

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?

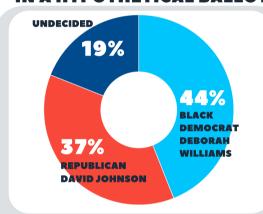


Compared to other candidates of both parties, being a business owner who created jobs and balanced budgets does more to help her highlight her qualifications.

BLACK WOMAN: DEMOCRAT

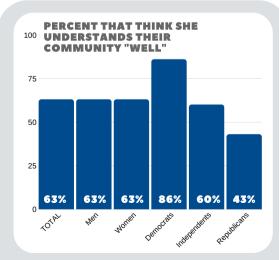


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 36% would vote for Deborah, 32% would vote for David, and 32% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



27% of voters think she understands their community "very well."

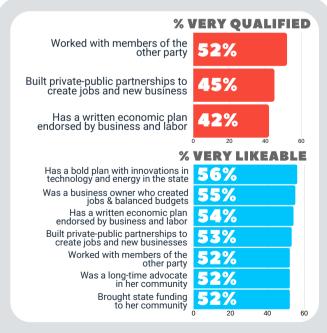
WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

% very important	Total	D	1	R
Can handle a crisis	74%	87	69	64
Gets results	70%	83	65	65
Cares about people like you	63%	74	63	49
Brings people together	60%	75	49	48
Confident	59%	72	54	44
Authentic	57%	68	55	42
Shares your values	55%	62	56	47
Brings about change	45%	63	39	32
Is measured, not harsh, in communication	43%	54	44	29

D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans

When trying to appeal to Independents, it's important to show she can handle a crisis, get results, and "cares about people like you."

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?

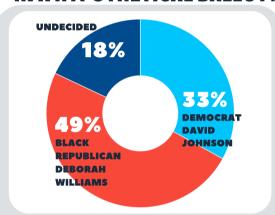


Demonstrating she worked with members of the other party helps make her both very qualified and very likeable in the eyes of voters.

BLACK WOMAN: REPUBLICAN

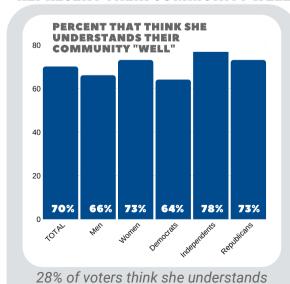


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 43% would vote for Deborah, 28% would vote for David, and 29% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



their community "very well."

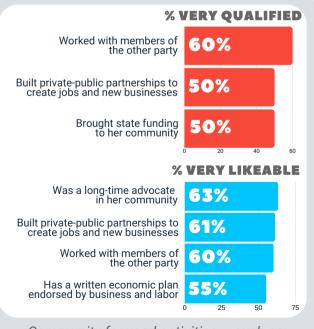
WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

% very important	Total	D	1	R
Can handle a crisis	72%	69	62	78
Gets results	65%	63	51	73
Brings people together	63%	62	64	62
Shares your values	59%	54	35	77
Authentic	57%	58	43	60
Cares about people like you	55%	53	45	62
Confident	52%	45	53	59
Brings about change	44%	47	35	43
Is measured, not harsh, in communication	37%	33	29	40

D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans

For Independents, handling a crisis and bringing people together are equally important.

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?

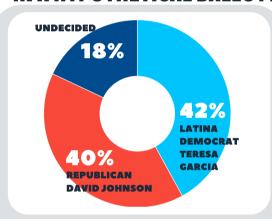


Community focused activities - such as bringing in state funding or being a long time advocate - help her highlight qualifications and likeability.

LATINA: DEMOCRAT

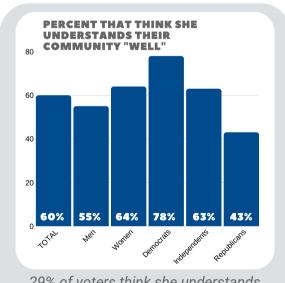


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 30% would vote for Teresa, 35% would vote for David, and 35% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



29% of voters think she understands their community "very well."

WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

% very important	Total	D	1	R
Can handle a crisis	75%	85	80	61
Gets results	68%	78	74	52
Cares about people like you	62%	74	72	45
Brings people together	61%	77	65	42
Authentic	61%	71	68	45
Shares your values	58%	61	65	53
Confident	58%	67	56	39
Brings about change	44%	60	46	20
ls measured, not harsh, in communication	43%	57	40	27

D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans

Across parties, it is most important for her to show she can handle a crisis.

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?

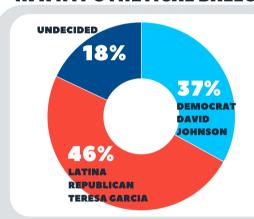


Compared to her Republican counterpart, having a written economic plan and being a business owner do more to help her highlight likeability.

LATINA: REPUBLICAN

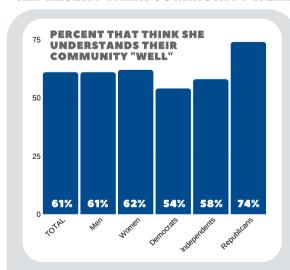


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 41% would vote for Teresa, 29% would vote for David, and 30% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



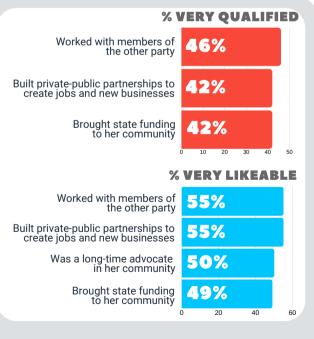
23% of voters think she understands their community "very well."

WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

% very important	Total	D	1	R
Can handle a crisis	74%	69	79	82
Gets results	65%	60	65	72
Cares about people like you	60%	63	52	61
Shares your values	59%	53	57	72
Authentic	58%	58	60	65
Confident	57%	51	62	67
Brings people together	57%	55	49	64
Brings about change	43%	43	41	51
Is measured, not harsh, in communication	41%	35	33	48

D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans
Independents resemble Republicans
when it comes to the importance of
being able to handle a crisis.

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?

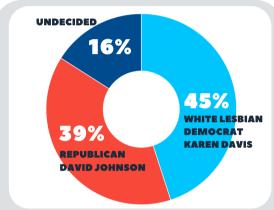


Compared to other Republican candidates, being a business owner does significantly less to help her showcase likeability.

WHITE LESBIAN: DEMOCRAT

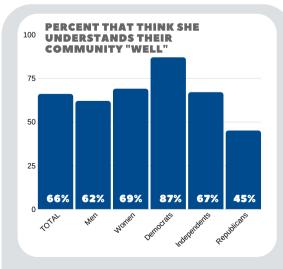


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 42% would vote for Karen, 26% would vote for David, and 32% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



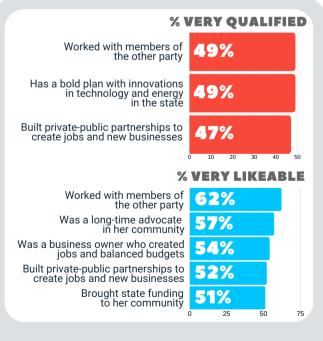
26% of voters think she understands their community "very well."

WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

% very important	Total	D	100	R
Can handle a crisis	74%	82	75	63
Gets results	70%	75	69	59
Confident	62%	66	60	58
Cares about people like you	59%	64	60	51
Brings people together	57%	68	51	47
Shares your values	57%	64	53	51
Authentic	54%	57	47	50
Brings about change	51%	65	41	43
Is measured, not harsh, in communication	39%	38	44	39

D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans
Compared to other candidates,
showcasing authenticity is slightly less
important for her.

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?

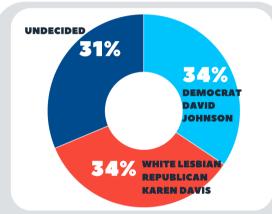


Showing she can work with members of the other party is a top indicator of both qualifications and likeability for voters.

WHITE LESBIAN: REPUBLICAN

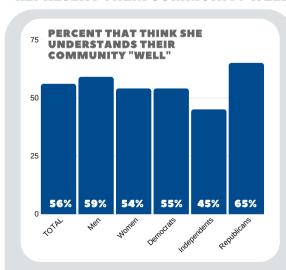


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 28% would vote for Karen, 25% would vote for David, and 47% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



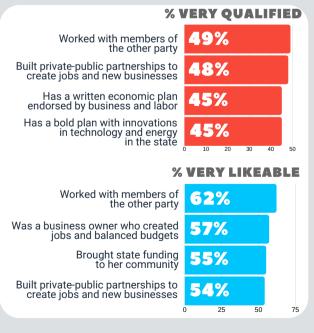
21% of voters think she understands their community "very well."

WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

% very important	Total	D	1	R
Can handle a crisis	78%	67	78	90
Gets results	65%	55	75	69
Cares about people like you	62%	55	59	73
Brings people together	60%	48	56	71
Authentic	59%	50	56	66
Confident	56%	38	61	70
Brings about change	51%	51	48	48
Shares your values	49%	45	40	53
Is measured, not harsh, in communication	39%	37	46	39

D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans Compared to other women candidates, it is less important that she "share your values" to be electable.

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?

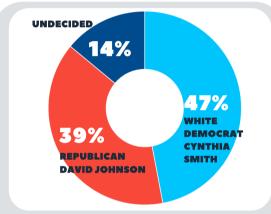


To showcase likeability, it is especially important for lesbian women of both parties to show they can work across the aisle.

WHITE WOMAN: DEMOCRAT

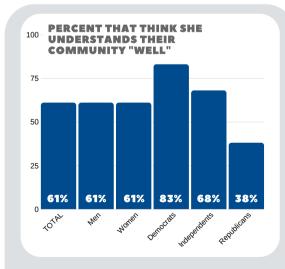


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 37% would vote for Cynthia, 34% would vote for David. and 28% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



27% of voters think she understands their community "very well."

WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

% very important	Total	D		R	
Can handle a crisis	77%	8	7 75	67	
Gets results	70%	7	7 67	61	
Cares about people like you	66%	7:	3 68	59	
Brings people together	62%	7	7 56	48	
Shares your values	61%	6	4 57	58	
Authentic	57%	7:	3 48	49	
Confident	57%	6	9 54	47	
Brings about change	49%	6	5 2	28	
Is measured, not harsh, in communication	42%	5	2 38	30	

D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans
"Can handle a crisis" is the trait that
matters the most to voters across
political parties.

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?

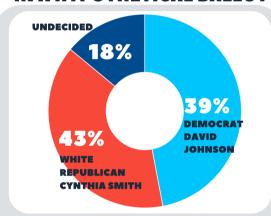


Voters who heard this profile are more likely to say that bringing state funding to her community makes a woman candidate seem very qualified.

WHITE WOMAN: REPUBLICAN

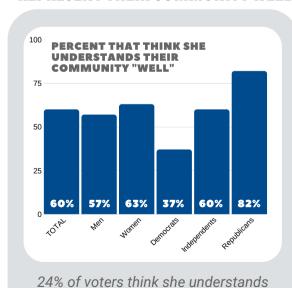


HOW DOES SHE PERFORM IN A HYPOTHETICAL BALLOT?



Among Independent voters specifically, 42% would vote for Cynthia 32% would vote for David, and 27% are undecided.

DO VOTERS THINK SHE WILL REPRESENT THEIR COMMUNITY WELL?



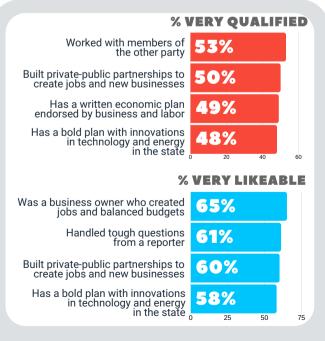
their community "very well."

WHAT TRAITS ARE IMPORTANT FOR ELECTABILITY?

% very important	Total	D	1	R
Can handle a crisis	75%	70	73	84
Gets results	71%	65	60	85
Authentic	67%	56	65	77
Cares about people like you	64%	65	61	64
Confident	62%	54	56	76
Brings about change	60%	64	58	61
Shares your values	60%	53	61	68
Brings people together	48%	51	50	48
Is measured, not harsh, in communication	41%	34	36	52

D = Democrats; I = Independents; R = Republicans
Compared to other women
candidates, showing authenticity is
more important for her.

WHAT SHOWCASES QUALIFICATIONS AND LIKEABILITY TO VOTERS?



Compared to other candidates, handling tough questions from a reporter is more important for her when it comes to highlighting likeability.