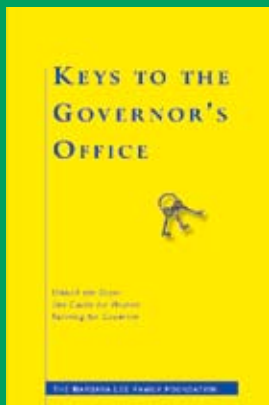


POSITIONING WOMEN TO WIN

*New Strategies for Turning Gender Stereotypes
Into Competitive Advantages*



THE BARBARA LEE FAMILY FOUNDATION

“Running my gubernatorial race was very different than running my previous race, and the Governor’s Guidebook series played an integral role in answering the questions I didn’t even know to ask. I will certainly rely on Positioning Women to Win to guide me through the challenging issues that arise during my campaign for re-election.”

– Governor Christine Gregoire

“Winning an election can never be taken for granted. The Governors Guidebook series arms both incumbents and first-time challengers with the “do’s” and “don’ts” of effectively communicating your achievements and vision. Leaders, regardless of gender, must develop a realistic and hopeful vision and be able to clearly articulate it to their supporters.”

– Governor Linda Lingle

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DEDICATION

*Dedicated to the irrepressible spirit
of the late Governor Ann Richards.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my deep appreciation to three extraordinary women who have served as Director at the Barbara Lee Family Foundation: Julia Dunbar, Amy Rosenthal and Alexandra Russell.

I am also grateful for the support of the wonder women at “Team Lee”: Kathryn Burton, Moire Carmody, Hanna Chan, Monique Chateauneuf, Dawn Huckelbridge, Dawn Leanness, Elizabeth Schwartz, Mandy Simon and Nadia Berenstein.

This guidebook would not have been possible without the vision and hard work of our political consultants and their staffs: Mary Hughes, Celinda Lake, Christine Stavem, Bob Carpenter and Pat Carpenter.

Last, but not least, to my Board of Directors: thank you for your commitment to the Foundation’s mission – David Damroth, Joel A. Kozol, Fran Seegull and, of course, Zach and Robbie Lee.

Thank you,

Barbara

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FOREWORD

In 1998, I had the unforgettable opportunity to audit a course led by Governor Ann Richards, who was a guest lecturer at Brandeis University. Listening to her speak about her path to public office and her experiences as governor deepened my conviction that women bring unique perspectives and priorities to their leadership. The more we elect women to the top executive position in their states, the more citizens become comfortable with the idea of electing a woman president.

The more we see women “above the fold” on the front page of the morning newspaper – as leaders, as decision-makers, as respected authorities – the more women’s leadership becomes normalized in our minds.

And who do you find above the fold? It’s the mayor of your city; it’s your governor; it’s the Speaker of the House. It’s the President of the United States. In the past, when people were asked to close their eyes and visualize a political leader, they would automatically picture a man. Now, with increasing numbers of women serving as mayors, as governors, and, recently, as Speaker of the House, our image of leaders is beginning to change. It is my hope that electing women presidents will soon be viewed as the norm.

We have learned a lot since we began this research. Please take this material and run, or pass it along to a woman who you would like to see run for office!

Barbara Lee

The Barbara Lee Family Foundation

Cambridge, Massachusetts

2007

INTRODUCTION

When we began studying the results of the 1998 elections, only 16 women had served as governor in the entire 225-year history of the United States. Today, that number has risen to 29. Nine women governors currently serve as the chief executive in their states: Alaska, Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan and Washington.

Among these are five incumbent women governors who were re-elected in 2006, the first year in which a class of women governors this large stood for re-election. The results were extremely encouraging. The two Republicans and three Democrats won by significant margins. Four skillfully prevented serious opposition; only one drew a real threat and, in the end, she won handily. Among the six non-incumbent women candidates for governor in 2006¹, only one – Sarah Palin of Alaska – succeeded.

Once voters have seen these women in action, they really like them as governors. The challenge for women is not leadership, but overcoming voters' initial doubts in order to win the chance to lead in the first place.

In this guide we highlight the best practices of the victorious class of 2006 incumbents. We also identify the positive traits and policies voters now associate with female governors and their governing styles – keys to success for woman seeking any level of government office.

We start with an examination of chronic roadblocks for women candidates.

While none of the unsuccessful campaigns identified gender as the reason for its loss, every one could identify ways in which gender was a handicap in the race. Until women dismantle the roadblocks and get full credit for the benefits that flow from having them in the chief executive office, progress will be incremental.

1 In previous guidebooks, we tracked Republican and Democratic nominees. However, in the 2006 election cycle, we included Independent Texas candidate Carole Keeton Strayhorn, a former State Comptroller who was polling second behind incumbent Governor Rick Perry and four points ahead of Democratic challenger Chris Bell (Rasmussen Reports, September 13, 2006: Perry, 33%; Strayhorn, 22%; Bell, 18%; Friedman, 16%). We also included Green Independent Party candidate Patricia LaMarche and Independent candidate Barbara Merrill (both of Maine) in our survey research.

1. Double Standards Are Alive and Well. Men are able to win over voters with a combination of personality and job performance, while women must win voters over in each separate category. Men are presumed to be strong enough and tough enough for the job, but voters draw a distinction between a woman's strength and her toughness. Women bear the burden of proving themselves on both.

2. Access to Financial Circles Still Limited. Access to financial networks is still limited for female candidates. Women often start to develop these networks too late, especially among core constituencies.

3. Greater Mastery of Facts and Figures Required. Women must demonstrate more expertise than men on issues associated with toughness and finances – immigration, taxes, budgets and attracting jobs.

4. Closer Scrutiny of Public Appearance Persists. Media coverage of women's dress, hair, weight and style persists in ways rarely applied to men. An authentic female candidate is "herself," but appropriate for the occasion.

We finish with "best practices" from the incumbent governors, who, the evidence suggests, may be redefining voters' expectations.

1. Maintain a Cohesive Campaign Team. No political asset benefits a candidate as much as an experienced campaign organization where trust, collaboration and teamwork breed confidence in the strategy.

2. Be Collaborative in Private, Be Decisive in Public. Women governors sought and achieved consensus within their organizations but presented and executed decisions as their own in public. Too often, non-incumbents exposed a chaotic decision-making process to outside scrutiny – raising questions about their leadership abilities.

3. Seize the "Populist" Presumption. Uniformly, successful women governors put themselves on the side of their constituents – embracing change and offering non-partisan solutions.

4. Focus Message on *Their* Future. In their choice of language and plans for their states, successful governors focused their campaigns on improving everyday life for their constituents – not on themselves.

More than one political veteran suggested that voters now expect a governor to show competence, character, leadership skills PLUS empathy and compassion – qualities they have seen and liked in their women governors.

METHODOLOGY

SURVEY RESEARCH

Lake Research Partners, a Democratic firm, and American Viewpoint, Inc., a Republican firm, conducted voter surveys in seven states where five female and two male governors were running for re-election. The research measured voter attitudes and perceptions of the governors focusing on their leadership skills, issue identification and job performance. The measurements for the women governors were then compared to those for the men to assess the impact of gender on voters' views.

The survey was conducted by phone using professional interviewers. The survey reached 2,734 likely registered voters ages 18 or older in seven states, including 408 in Arizona, 400 in Connecticut, 404 in Hawaii, 404 in Kansas, 400 in Michigan, 365 in Rhode Island and 353 in Wisconsin. The survey was conducted between October 30th and November 2nd, 2006.

Telephone numbers for the survey were drawn from voter files. The sample was stratified geographically in each state based on the proportion of voters in each region. Data was weighted slightly by gender, age, education, party identification, union membership, employment status and race to reflect the attributes of the actual population of registered likely voters.

In interpreting survey results, all surveys are subject to possible sampling error, among other kinds of unmeasurable response error; that is, the results of a survey may differ from those which would be obtained if the entire population were interviewed. The size of the sampling error depends upon both the total number of respondents to a given question and the percentage distribution of responses to that question. The margin of error for the total sample is +/-1.9%. For Arizona, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kansas and Michigan the margin of error is +/-4.9%; for Rhode Island and Wisconsin it is +/-5.2%. The margin of error on split sampled questions and among voter subgroups is higher because the sample sizes of these groups are smaller.

EVALUATION OF 2006 EXIT POLL DATA

Lake Research Partners performed an analysis of the 2006 state exit polls developed and conducted by Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International on behalf of the National Election Pool. NEP is comprised of ABC News, Associated Press, CBS News, CNN, Fox News and NBC News. The exit poll results are based on interviews with a probability sample of voters exiting polling places in each state on election day. The error due to sampling for most state exit poll questions is approximately +/-4%. The New Mexico dataset was weighted slightly to reflect the gubernatorial vote results in that state.²

In 2006, 36 states held elections for governor; exit poll data was available in 24 of these states. Our analysis focused on these 24 states. Nine of these states had at least one woman candidate for governor (Arizona, Connecticut, Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada and Texas). The other 15 states had male gubernatorial candidates only (California, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Wyoming and Vermont).

CAMPAIGN TRACKING & INTERVIEWS

Beginning in the spring of 2006, Staton Hughes led a bipartisan team of researchers who tracked the 11 gubernatorial contests in which women were nominees of the major political parties or competitive Independent candidates. Researchers followed print and Internet coverage, and collected campaign commercials and debate programs. Following the November election, these researchers interviewed 55 participants in those campaigns, including candidates, campaign managers, finance directors, press secretaries, consultants and reporters who covered the races.

The Democratic candidates for governor included: Lucy Baxley (AL), Jennifer Granholm (MI), Janet Napolitano (AZ), Kathleen Sebelius (KS) and Dina Titus (NV). The Republican candidates for governor included: Kerry Healey (MA), Linda Lingle (HI), Sarah Palin (AK), M. Jodi Rell (CT) and Judy Baar Topinka (IL).

² For more information on the 2006 exit poll methodology, please refer to:
http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/data_access/data/datasets/exitpolls_2006.html

CHRONIC CHALLENGES OBSTACLES FACING CURRENT AND FUTURE GOVERNORS

1. DOUBLE STANDARDS ARE ALIVE AND WELL

Despite the re-election of all five incumbent women governors, polling data shows there are still a handful of personal traits and qualities on which voters judge women governors differently than they judge male governors.

Interview responses suggest this double standard is even more pronounced for non-incumbent women running for governor. When asked about this lingering double standard, one campaign manager for a successful incumbent agreed, but noted, “Being a strong and popular governor just overrode those [gender] factors this time.”

That’s good news. The presence of more women governors is redefining governors’ roles, giving women more ways to be successful. Voters who have experience with women governors approve of their empathy and ethical conduct, for example, and may look for these qualities in all future governors, regardless of gender.

However, negative stereotypes are likely to stay with us for a while longer. It’s too soon to know whether the current class of women governors are writing new rules of engagement or if they are just exceptions to the old rules. Time will tell.

PERSONALITY V. PERFORMANCE: WOMEN JUDGED ON BOTH

When considering women governors up for re-election, voters distinguish between their job performance and their likeability. Because of this, voters can like their governor personally, but still not think she’s doing a very good job. Voters tend to meld these qualities when evaluating male governors, making a single positive or negative judgment about them.

A reporter observed this phenomenon and concluded, “I think voters are harder on women, and if they’re going to vote for a woman, it has to be just the right person. They’re less forgiving of them. I guess they pay more attention to personality and character and image when it comes to a female candidate.”

On the other hand, voters give female incumbent governors higher marks than male incumbent governors on a range of positive attributes, particularly for honesty, cooperation and caring. They believe women are more sympathetic to the needs of the middle class and voters consider women governors more trustworthy and more genuine. Male governors are more likely to be seen as too partisan and as typical politicians. (See Table 1)

TABLE 1: VOTER PERCEPTIONS OF FEMALE AND MALE GOVERNOR TRAITS

Percent who responded that the trait describes their governor well.

	States with Female Governors	States with Male Governors	Female Advantage
Honest and ethical	77%	60%	+17
Cares about people like you	67%	52%	+15
Works well with the legislature	62%	47%	+15
Someone you can trust	70%	56%	+14
Builds consensus	59%	45%	+14
Is genuine	74%	61%	+13
Does the right thing	69%	56%	+13
Has the right priorities	65%	52%	+13
Shares your values	63%	50%	+13
For the middle class	64%	52%	+12
A fighter	73%	62%	+11
Tough	72%	61%	+11
Puts the people's interests ahead of his/her own ambition	63%	52%	+11
Tells it like it is	68%	58%	+10
A good manager	71%	62%	+9
Is a problem solver	67%	58%	+9
Decisive	74%	66%	+8
Effective and gets results	66%	59%	+7
Has new ideas	60%	53%	+7
Stands up to the special interests	58%	52%	+6
Has a vision for the state	71%	68%	+3
A typical politician (<i>split sampled</i>)*	55%	61%	-6
Too partisan (<i>split sampled</i>)*	41%	48%	-7

*Fewer voters believe women governors displayed these negative traits.

Women candidates’ double burden of proving themselves on both likeability and performance may have the effect of producing female governors who are more competent and appealing than their male counterparts. A pollster who has worked with both men and women candidates commented, “Women who emerge to run for Congress, senator or governor are generally the highest quality and have a lot to offer, and I think it’s more difficult for them to break through than it is for men. Often times you have good women candidates who are better than good men candidates at that level.”

This observation is borne out by the polling data, which shows that when compared with their male challengers on a range of traits, women incumbent governors hold hefty advantages over male incumbent governors on all of the positive attributes tested, though women governors hold the lowest advantage on toughness. (See Table 2)

TABLE 2: INCUMBENT ADVANTAGES ON PERFORMANCE AND PERSONALITY TRAITS			
Percentage of voters who responded that the trait describes the incumbent better than the challenger.			
	Female Governor States	Male Governor States	Female Advantage
Is genuine	57%	41%	+16
Works well with the legislature	50%	34%	+16
Builds consensus	51%	36%	+15
Represents my values	54%	40%	+14
Manages a crisis well	56%	43%	+13
Does the right thing	55%	42%	+13
Tells it like it is	57%	45%	+12
Gets things done	55%	43%	+12
Is a problem solver	55%	44%	+11
Has the right priorities	55%	44%	+11
Is strong (<i>split sampled</i>)	56%	46%	+10
Is tough (<i>split sampled</i>)	53%	46%	+7

Women voters are more likely than men to agree with the positive stereotypes about women governors. Women tend to consider their female governors better consensus builders and better at understanding the adverse impact of job loss on the family pocketbook. Female voters more than male voters believe that women governors “share our concerns” and “will clean up state government.” (See Table 3)

TABLE 3: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES OF FEMALE GOVERNORS

Percent Agree (Percent Net Agree)			
	Overall	Male Voters	Female Voters
Positive Stereotypes			
A woman governor is better able than a male governor to develop a consensus after bringing people together, and put aside politics to get things done.	40% (-8 points)	31% (-24 points)	48% (+6 points)
A woman governor is better able to deal with and understand the recession because she is more in touch with the impact of losing jobs, wages, and health insurance on families’ pocketbooks.	36% (-16)	28% (-32)	44% (-2)
A woman governor is better able to clean up state government and get rid of corruption since she is less likely to be tied to the special interests that tend to dominate politics.	35% (-18)	30% (-29)	40% (-8)
A woman governor shares more of our concerns about safety and security and would do a better job on crime and terrorism.	34% (-19)	26% (-34)	42% (-5)

STRENGTH V. TOUGHNESS: WOMEN NEED TO DEMONSTRATE BOTH

Strength and toughness are the hardest traits for women candidates, even incumbents, to convince voters they possess. And to make the challenge even more difficult, voters judge female and male governors somewhat differently on these traits. Voters are more likely to draw a distinction between toughness and strength for women, while male governors are more often viewed as equally strong and tough.

The distinction that voters draw may lie in the difference between the personal and the political. Strength is seen as a function of personal character while toughness is demonstrated through actions in the political arena. Voters may conclude that a candidate is strong by the directness or grace with which she performs under challenging circumstances. Focus and discipline are elements of the mental toughness that superior candidates display – as in the focus to execute a fundraising plan and the discipline necessary to stay on message in the heat of battle. Incumbent women governors have shown that standing up to powerful interests on behalf of their constituents is another successful way to demonstrate toughness.

Both strength and toughness are necessary for success. Neither is sufficient for a woman candidate without the other. Women more than men need to demonstrate both. Higher standards for women governors appear to be producing women governors who excel in the eyes of their voters. So while voters demand more of them, they give them credit.

A media consultant tried to define these nuanced differences this way: “I think the thread that runs through the governors like Napolitano and Sebelius and maybe Granholm... is this sense of independence and just personal strength...showing the public an image of toughness and strength combined with the empathy they probably expect to see in a woman candidate.”

Non-incumbent campaigns uniformly understood the importance of conveying the candidate’s personal strength: “The only part that her gender really played (in the campaign) was we really needed to make sure she looked strong,” noted a communications director. Demonstrating toughness without putting voters off remains one of the most difficult challenges women candidates face.

What makes this particularly tricky is that issues that communicate toughness in male candidates – such as cleaning up corruption – are often viewed through a different lens when applied to female candidates. For instance, a woman’s pledge to end corruption is viewed as a sign of her empathy and honesty, rather than as an indication of toughness.

OLDER WOMEN VOTERS STAY LOYAL; YOUNGER WOMEN STRAY

Despite data showing more enthusiasm from women regarding the positive attributes of women candidates, several campaigns complained that they did not see that enthusiasm translate into greater support from women voters.

In particular, in 2006, non-incumbent campaigns reported that young women voters were tougher on them than older women voters.

Though both older and younger women supported the female incumbents by wide margins, women younger than 50 years old lagged behind women over 50 in their support for women gubernatorial candidates. This contradicts conventional wisdom, but the pattern holds in federal races as well.

In examining exit poll data for a number of states with female gubernatorial candidates, women older than 50 showed at least slightly more support for the female candidate of the major parties. Interestingly, younger women were more supportive of third party women candidates in Texas and Maine. (See Table 4 on next page)

TABLE 4: FEMALE GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE SUPPORT AMONG YOUNGER AND OLDER WOMEN VOTERS

The Margin for the Women Candidates*		
Female Incumbents	Women Under 50	Women Over 50
Average for 4 female incumbent states	+26 points for female candidate (62% to 36%)	+34 points for female candidates (66% to 32%)
Arizona – Gov. Napolitano (D)	+34 (65% to 31%)	+36 (67% to 31%)
Connecticut – Gov. Rell (R)	+22 (61% to 39%)	+31 (65% to 34%)
Hawaii – Gov. Lingle (R)	+27 (62% to 36%)	+42 (69% to 27%)
Michigan – Gov. Granholm (D)	+21 (60% to 39%)	+25 (62% to 37%)
Female Challengers		
Illinois – Topinka (R)	-21 (33% to 54%)	-12 (40% to 51%)
Open Seats		
Average for MA and NV	-17 (37% to 54%)	-12 (41% to 53%)
Massachusetts – Healey (R)	-26 (33% to 59%)	-30 (32% to 62%)
Nevada - Titus (D)	-7 (42% to 49%)	+9 (51% to 43%)
States with Female Third Party Candidates		
Average of ME and TX	33% for female third party candidate	21% for female third party candidate
Maine – Merrill and LaMarche**	44% for female third party candidate	23% for female third party candidate
Texas – Strayhorn	21%	18%
*No exit poll data was available in Kansas.		
**Data for the two female third party candidates in Maine were combined.		

POLITICAL PARTY: POWERFUL INFLUENCE ON GENDER GAP

There are significant gender gaps in several states where women incumbent governors and women challengers ran in 2006: Arizona (women: +35 point margin for female candidate; men: +22 points), Hawaii (+35 to +19), Michigan (+22 to +5) and Nevada (+1 to -10).

However, it is important to note that party identification strongly affected women and men’s likelihood of supporting women candidates. In some instances, partisan impulses negated a gender gap. For instance, men in Illinois and Massachusetts were more supportive than women of their female Republican candidates based on party affiliation. Connecticut men were slightly more supportive of the female Republican incumbent than were women. (See Table 5)

TABLE 5: VOTES AMONG WOMEN AND MEN*

Female Incumbents	Women	Men
Arizona – Gov. Napolitano (D)	+35 points for female candidate (66% to 31%)	+22 points for female candidate (59% to 37%)
Connecticut – Gov. Rell (R)	+27 (63% to 36%)	+29 (64% to 35%)
Hawaii – Gov. Lingle (R)	+35 (66% to 31%)	+19 (59% to 40%)
Michigan – Gov. Granholm (D)	+22 (60% to 38%)	+5 (52% to 47%)
Female Challengers		
Illinois – Topinka (R)	-17 (36% to 53%)	-3 (42% to 45%)
Open Seats		
Massachusetts – Healey (R)	-28 (32% to 61%)	-13 (38% to 51%)
Nevada - Titus (D)	+1 (47% to 46%)	-10 (41% to 51%)
States with Female Third Party Candidates		
Maine – Merrill and LaMarche	33% for female third party candidates	28% for female third party candidates
Texas – Strayhorn	19%	16%
*No exit poll data was available in Kansas.		

This finding is consistent with earlier research that revealed voters think of a Republican woman as Republican first, woman second. Democratic women candidates are more often seen as a woman first, then as a Democrat.

INDEPENDENT VOTERS: A PROMISING TARGET FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES

Looking across the states with women on the ballot, two significant findings emerge. First, women and men alike support female candidates (+10 and +7 respectively). Women in every category are more supportive of women candidates than are male voters. (See Table 6)

Second, Independent voters are a promising target for women candidates. They favored female candidates, regardless of party identification, by double digits. Both Independent women and men are more supportive of the female candidates (+20 and +23 respectively). (See Table 6)

TABLE 6: MARGIN BY WHICH VOTERS PREFER FEMALE CANDIDATES*

*States included: AZ, CT, HI, IL, MA, MI, NV. Data for Texas and Maine are excluded since the female candidates are third party candidates who received small proportions of the vote. No exit poll data was available in Kansas.	
Women	+10 point margin for female candidates (53% to 42%)
Men	+7 (51% to 44%)
Women under 50	+7 (51% to 44%)
Women over 50	+14 (55% to 41%)
Men under 50	+4 (49% to 44%)
Men over 50	+10 (53% to 43%)
Democratic women	+5 (51% to 46%)
Independent women	+23 (58% to 34%)
Republican women	+6 (51% to 45%)
Democratic men	0 (48% to 48%)
Independent men	+20 (55% to 35%)
Republican men	+4 (50% to 46%)

One theory holds that Independent voters view women as agents of change. Independent voters see them as the alternative to the status quo – a status quo firmly in the hands of the major parties these voters abandoned. The good news for women candidates is that Independent voters are the fastest growing segment of voters.

FOR CANDIDATES

Highlight Accomplishments. Make your productivity and results a central part of your resume. Repeat the ways you have delivered for people every chance you get. Be specific about what you set out to achieve and how you went about doing it. Focus on three signature results you have achieved.

Enlist Third Party Validators. Let voters hear how accomplished you are from many sources. Include a page of laudatory quotes from newspaper editorials in a major donor packet and provide a list of supportive scholars for the media when releasing your economic development plan. Announce endorsements from former governors early.

Write The Introduction You Want. Don't assume anyone knows you. Provide all introducers with the three achievements you most want people to know about you. Include them in your bio.

Rev Up The "Letters To The Editor" Team. More people read "Letters to the Editor" than any other section of the newspaper. Testimonials about real results from real people carry more weight than any campaign-related material, so encourage the folks you've helped to trumpet what you've done for them.

Make It Easy For People To Like You. Nothing endears a candidate to an audience like humor or a moment of true kindness. Clear your mind before you enter a room full of people. Feel free to point out the humor in each situation, but be mindful that too often women deflate their authority by using self-deprecating humor. It works for a man, but undercuts a woman candidate's authority, particularly when voters are still forming an impression of her.

2. ACCESS TO FINANCIAL CIRCLES STILL LIMITED

Women candidates still report being excluded from financial circles that include the wealthiest and best-connected donors. These circles are often based around corporate associations and specific industries. Rarely do these companies include many women as executives or board members. As a result, there were few women to make introductions and open doors.

One consultant noted that “many businesspeople have a tendency to be gray-haired suits – a number of them don’t even have women on their boards. Or if they do, it’s a token woman. The fact that [the candidate] was a female was not easy for them to accept. She wasn’t one of them.”

Incumbent governors with a high likelihood of re-election – an advantage enjoyed by four of five women running in 2006 – had no problem winning strong business and financial circle support. Those interviewed believed that wealthy business donors decided to whom and how much to give as much by risk aversion as by any evaluation of the candidate’s policies. Who will win? Who will maintain the status quo? That was their real calculation.

This calculation trumped other considerations, including party loyalty. The largely Republican business community of Alaska initially contributed to former Democratic Governor Tony Knowles instead of the upstart Republican nominee Sarah Palin because they knew him, didn’t know her and didn’t believe she could win – despite the fact that she defeated a sitting governor in her primary.

In Michigan, incumbent Jennifer Granholm split business community contributions with Republican challenger Dick DeVos because “he was one of them,” although her prospects for success improved steadily over the course of the campaign.

In Illinois, Judy Baar Topinka never consolidated Republican business support because they didn’t think she could beat the incumbent Democrat and because she wasn’t “one of the suits.”

As one non-incumbent candidate noted, “As a woman, I’ve been pretty successful...raising money, but you still don’t have access to the boys and this is very much a boy kind of state...it takes more effort to get that access.”

Another financial challenge for non-incumbent candidates was cash flow and its impact on the race. Several non-incumbent campaigns were out of money following hard-fought primaries and never managed to catch up. Ordinarily, base constituency groups – labor, business, teachers, law enforcement, environmental groups – would step in following a bruising primary with an infusion of cash to jump-start a general election campaign, but this did not happen for the women.

Despite the fact that several of these candidates had held high office in their states – Senate Minority Leader, Lt. Governor, Treasurer – many of them simply did not have the close working relationships with these constituency groups that might have prompted them to jump in as big contributors. Absent any close ties to the candidate, groups had the freedom to “wait and see” whether the woman nominee would prove a good investment risk. Ironically, the longer they waited, the less likely the candidate was to succeed.

In addition, neither major political party was hospitable to outsider candidates who beat establishment candidates in a primary. In one race, the party put resources into state legislative contests instead. In two other races, state Republican and Democratic parties sat on the sidelines instead of getting behind women gubernatorial candidates until it was too late to make a difference – and then made only a token effort.

“They [the party] worked against us in the primary. And in the general, there were so many hurt feelings and hard feelings and whatnot. I think one of the key people in the party... quit the party rather than help (the candidate) in the general,” said one consultant.

FOR CANDIDATES

Show Me The Money. Before you can even think about running for governor, you must know the financial centers of your state and your party's major donors. Reintroduce yourself and your accomplishments to them. Develop a network of women within key financial circles and ask for their help gaining entry. Before you declare for governor, you must lock down substantial financial support.

Identify The 10 Largest Independent Expenditures Made In Your State's Last Election. In all likelihood, these committees are among the largest contributors as well. Identify their political directors and PAC Chairs. Invite them to lunch. Stay in touch.

Develop Working Relationships With Activist Organizations. Work with three statewide, membership-based organizations on issues of mutual concern. Nurses, carpenters, chiropractors, lawyers, doctors – you get the picture. They will be there when your well runs dry.

Build A Finance Network. Assemble a dozen veteran fundraisers, meet with them regularly and make them a part of your permanent political operation.

Expand Your Reach. Identify the 25 individuals who raise the most for your Party's nominees and develop a strategy for introducing yourself to them – directly, through friends, at Party events, etc. Identify those women's organizations that provide financial support to women candidates and meet with their political directors, enlist their early support and stay in touch with them. The Republican and Democratic Governors Associations can also work with you to identify potential financial resources.

3. GREATER MASTERY OF FACTS AND FIGURES REQUIRED

Voters view women incumbents as less tough than male incumbents. Voter concern about a woman candidate's toughness suppresses confidence in her on issues like crime and security and undercuts a woman's authority on critical issues like the economy and "competing for jobs."

Voters presume that a woman will be good on issues such as the environment, health and education. To prove themselves on the issues where voters have doubts, successful women candidates did their homework and demonstrated their mastery of the subjects by talking specifics.

Also, women governors appear to be expanding the definition of "good governor" to include empathetic and ethical qualities. That benefit to women candidates is a consideration in selecting issues on which to run.

SOME ISSUES ARE FRAUGHT WITH DANGER

Voters believe women are weaker on those issues historically related to toughness – crime, jobs and the economy, security – and stronger on issues that correlate with empathy, such as education and healthcare.

Male candidates often exploit these stereotypes to define opponents as not ready to serve or not a complete package. Non-incumbents and one incumbent woman candidate were attacked on taxes, their ability to attract jobs and/or to manage the economy.

As one consultant said, "Taxes became a kind of defining issue because of our opponent bringing it up that way."

In Nevada, the male opponent referred to Dina Titus as "Dina Taxes" right out of the primary, engaged her in a four-week tax debate to keep the issue in front of voters and used it in his television commercials. In Alaska, Tony Knowles suggested in debates that the complexity and economics of the oil pipeline were beyond Sarah Palin's experience.

It is easier for incumbent governors to sidestep this pitfall because they've had a chance to establish credibility on their money management skills. In Kansas, Kathleen Sebelius touted her many small savings as a

symbol of her care with bigger expenditures and excellent record on streamlining government. Her TV commercials conveyed a careful, frugal style that evoked a family saving for college, yet the scope of the savings and efficiencies she championed showed Wall Street savvy.

“Our paid media was a lot about her success in cutting the budget, in getting us out of a billion dollar deficit, in streamlining government, in pushing the legislature to deal with education,” said one advisor.

SOME ISSUES ARE GIFTS ONLY WOMEN GET

On the plus side, voters are clear that women seem more honest – a potentially significant advantage in a climate of corruption. Voters also believe that female candidates' empathy gives them the edge on issues like education, health and the environment.

Yet despite these positive preconceptions, the presumption of honesty can only carry a candidacy so far. Women who ran in states where corruption was a major topic did not fare better in their general elections than those in states without corruption concerns. Some won, some lost.

It is worth noting that Jodi Rell of Connecticut, who ran on ethics and education, and who, as Lt. Governor, succeeded her governor following his indictment, was overwhelmingly re-elected. Sarah Palin of Alaska, who first came to statewide attention by challenging the propriety of her own party's representatives on Alaska's Oil and Gas Conservation Commission, was a surprise primary and general election winner.

Yet in Alabama and Illinois – where rumors of investigations floated around during the primary and general elections – neither female challenger came close to victory.

Standing up for education, the environment and healthcare highlight a woman candidate's empathy but may not add to her overall appeal. After all, voters *expect* her to be good on these issues.

One surprising set of comments focused on endorsements and the issue of reproductive choice. Almost all those interviewed confirmed that the issue no longer packs the ballot box punch that it once did for women candidates.

Republican women candidates also reported that they believed pro-choice groups were indeed partisan, giving preference to male or female Democratic candidates. These Republican women do not believe the groups fairly considered their pro-choice voting records or activism when making their endorsements.

As one candidate said, “At some point, partisanship trumps gender.” The candidate cautioned that being a woman with a record of “pro-choice” support is no guarantee you’ll get a seal of approval from pro-choice groups.

Another non-incumbent reported that anything short of a 100 percent, pro-choice voting record – she had supported parental notification – was an instant green light for the women’s groups to support the Democrat, even if the Democrat was a man.

FOR CANDIDATES

Up-End The Stereotype. No woman should expect to become governor without demonstrating her money management skills. Leadership on a Budget or Appropriations Committee, crafting a solution for a local government financial crisis or designing a new funding mechanism are all opportunities to make this point.

Beware The Tax And Fee Votes. Women who serve in legislatures must be mindful that tax and fee votes are political attacks in waiting. While they may be responsible public policy, voting to raise a fee or increase a tax means you must develop a set of votes or policies that counter the notion that you are a “tax and spender.”

Annual Award For Best Cost Saving Idea. Show your concern for careful use of taxpayer dollars by recognizing people who find ways to save the state money.

Don't Polish Your Halo Yet. Despite the presumption voters make that women are more ethical than men, it's a long way down off that pedestal. More and more frequently, campaigns against a woman begin with an assault on her integrity that is designed to eliminate her virtue advantage. Be forthright if the public believes you have made a mistake and respond quickly.

The Warrior Princess Is A Warrior. In order to be an education warrior or an environmental champion, you must win a debate, a vote or a fight. Activists are looking for leaders. Pick a worthy opponent so the victory is meaningful, visible and defines you as strong.

4. CLOSER SCRUTINY OF PUBLIC APPEARANCE PERSISTS

Perhaps nowhere in this research is the double standard more pronounced than on the issue of personal presentation. Campaigns report that the press routinely described men and women differently. Media reports about a woman candidate's dress, hair, weight and style persist, while men's physical attributes are rarely mentioned critically.

In addition, candidates, consultants and staff repeatedly advised that voters demand "authenticity" – that a candidate should, above all, be herself.

BE AWARE OF YOUR VISUAL DEFINITION

In interview after interview, managers and staff of both incumbent and non-incumbent candidate campaigns repeated tales of disparate treatment by the press on the issue of appearance. One campaign manager reported the common story, "The news would say 'the candidate appeared before the media in her trademark shapeless skirts' and it's like, oh my God, they would never say 'our male opponent appeared in his scruffy wingtips and rumpled shirt.'"

According to the campaigns, voters drew complex conclusions about the candidates from their appearance. Sometimes candidates needed to let down their hair. One finance director reported, "I think she's so well dressed and so well put together that to some people that didn't appeal to them. She was almost 'perfect.'"

And sometimes a candidate needed to spruce up her act, as was evident for the candidate whose opponent ran ads showing her in shorts and t-shirt. "You're running for governor and suddenly they start criticizing how you're dressing and how you carry yourself. There was a lot of criticism about the clothes she wore. You don't face this with men," said a somewhat exasperated campaign manager.

Incumbent governors showed by their uniformly crisp, tailored and understated appearance that dress and style can underscore important positive attributes like pride, discipline and organization.

But even popular incumbent governors were not beyond the reach of the critical pen. As another campaign manager reported about the campaign's press secretary, "After the campaign was over she had to remind one reporter that you don't talk about what size clothes the Senators wear."

AUTHENTICITY IS A STRATEGY

A common goal across incumbent and non-incumbent campaigns was to let voters see the real person, not a manufactured candidate. Both non-incumbent and incumbent campaigns aimed to achieve this transparency. "The overall strategy was to let the candidate be the candidate," summarized one pollster.

And when this strategy works, it works well. As a reporter observed, "Voters like her and they like her because she is exactly how she seems – really, really smart, really hardworking and with a real vision for the future of the state."

But in some campaigns the drive for authenticity appeared confused and the result was a candidate who conveyed an attitude of "anything goes." In some campaigns, a candidate's unique qualities were viewed as charming. In others, a candidate's individuality or "quirkiness" was made out to be negative.

Here, again, incumbent governors got it right. Their staffs made assessments of strengths and weaknesses and deliberately put the governor in settings where her best, true self could emerge.

In the words of one campaign manager, "We had to deal with the fact that some people saw her as a little reserved and aloof and frankly in some settings she is, and that's why we like the setting with children, where she is never reserved or aloof."

FOR CANDIDATES

Consciously Choose Your Campaign Style. For all the time and money you will spend on your campaign, spend some time thinking about when and where you are most comfortable. What kind of business attire makes you feel least self-conscious? What kind of jewelry is most flattering, but least distracting?

Stick With What Works. Once you find a look that works for you, stick with it. Governors Napolitano, Lingle and Sebelius looked the same in their 2006 campaign ads as in 2002. Steady. Solid. Sincere.

Appropriate Attire Requested. Women voters, in particular, have an expectation that women running for governor will present themselves as serious individuals. Even casual settings and events require slightly more spit-and-polish than you'd apply in your civilian life.

Authenticity Isn't Undisciplined. Part of your job as a candidate for governor is to resist the urge to tell inappropriate jokes, wear funny hats or have one too many. Showing voters the "real you" requires just as much focus and discipline as any other campaign objective. If you can share your passion, conviction, command of your subject, humor and compassion for others, people will be drawn to your inherent decency.

You Can't Rewind. Candid phone messages. Over-generous introductions. Off-the-cuff quips. When your own words are used against you in mail or ads, they raise doubts for voters who thought they knew you. In a 'You Tube' world, you can't afford free form moments.

2 THE ART OF POLITICS:

LESSONS FROM THE CLASS OF '02

In 2006, five women governors – two Republicans and three Democrats – ran for re-election. This is an unprecedented achievement for American women. Four of the governors led their races comfortably from beginning to end. Only one started her race with a significant challenge, but she navigated the challenge artfully and won re-election.

These women succeeded in avoiding serious opposition or overcoming opposition because they were “operational.” They performed well in their jobs, planned for their re-election campaigns, raised money, reassembled their 2002 winning teams, and communicated their achievements and vision clearly and memorably.

And while the women governors made it look easy, all but one non-incumbent failed, in part, because they did not fully incorporate the following campaign fundamentals. In evaluating their own candidates, consultants and staff for non-incumbents consistently scored them high on substantive knowledge of the issues and their states, but low on political skill and execution. Consultants and staff for incumbent governors scored their bosses high on both.

Successful incumbent campaigns shared these common attributes:

- A written strategic plan
- Regular communication among the team
- Excellent relationships with key constituencies
- A finance goal and a plan to achieve it
- Control of their state parties and coordinated campaigns
- Strong volunteer base with women’s organizations
- Rapid response communications team
- Continuity of campaign staffs and consultants

Was there evidence even in 2002 that these women were on a path to success? Were there threads that wove through from those initial wins to these re-elections?

Two things stand out. From the beginning, each of these candidates conveyed confidence and did not shy away from displaying the ambition it takes to become governor. In addition, each woman planned ahead, developing the “internal machinery,” opinion-leader relationships, networks and party support required to win a contested gubernatorial race.

Second, as statewide elected officials, party and legislative leaders, they knew that substantive policy work was important. They got out from behind their desks and engaged with the public, developing an external network, as well. They learned that without a base of support from which to raise money and volunteers, no policies would ever get implemented. They are big thinkers.

As incumbent governors, they took charge of their state’s political party apparatus, first to secure their own re-elections, but then to assist others in state and federal contests. The command of their political parties underscored their overall authority and leadership.

Hawaii’s Linda Lingle worked with the Republican Party on “Get-out-the-vote” efforts and focused assistance on down ballot races. Kathleen Sebelius rallied her party to elect “new” Democrats – former moderate Republican legislators, who were estranged from their ultra-conservative colleagues and became Democrats.

Here are four highly effective practices of the successful incumbents:

1. MAINTAIN A COHESIVE CAMPAIGN TEAM

Over and over we heard that an experienced, integrated team is at the core of every winning gubernatorial campaign – and the lack of one is the first sign of a campaign in trouble. (Challenger Sarah Palin was the exception. Those interviewed on the Alaska race likened her election to the outcome of a movement, rather than the result of a well-executed campaign.)

Having a history with the candidate meant that a team could be efficient in anticipating and recommending realistic courses of action. A campaign manager confirmed these benefits: “She had the

same consultants since 1998.... They really understand the state and they understand the voters. And I think they understood our race well because they understand the governor well and they understand how she works.”

Good chemistry among the team members bred confidence in their likely victory. One senior advisor described it this way, “Everyone was in on the planning, in the meetings, on the phone... we had all gone through it before, we all had worked together before and knew each other well and enjoyed working together.”

This was particularly true for the Granholm campaign team in Michigan, which raised \$14 million only to see their opponent, Dick DeVos, raise \$41 million, of which \$35 million came from his personal fortune. In order to stay competitive, they had to endure weeks of TV attacks without responding. It required discipline and trust among the team and the governor not to blink. No one did, and when Granholm began her paid communication, she began to pull away.

Veteran teams didn’t need any time to adjust to each other or the candidate; they knew each other’s strengths and weaknesses and they knew their candidates. They had a collective history of success and expected to win. The Napolitano team debated whether to respond to attacks and decided against it, again requiring confidence and trust in their collective judgment.

Conversely, when describing why they thought they lost, non-incumbent teams frequently cited their inability to agree, make a decision or reach consensus as a significant factor. Several teams felt demoralized after enduring multiple staff changes, a revolving door of consultant advice and a lack of clear lines of authority. One dejected field director lamented the “lack of a sort of management structure played a huge part in it...Once you got down to the day-to-day operations, there was really ultimately no one in charge.”

The finance director on a losing campaign described the chaos around the candidate as the reason for their loss: “It was the lack of preparedness for our campaign to compete at the level we needed to compete.” There was no substitute for acquiring battle scars and campaign expertise together; none of the non-incumbent campaigns had a core of repeat operatives.

FOR CANDIDATES

Decide To Run Today. It doesn't cost a dime and it's worth a lot. If you make decisions today with the idea in mind that someday you will run for governor, you will make choices that improve your prospects. Think Big. Plan. Explore. Think Bigger.

Research The Experts. The field of political consulting is only 40 years old and still growing and diversifying. From phone consultants to canvassing experts to pollsters, web consultants and media firms, there is a great deal to learn about the services and products available. Get recommendations and win/loss records.

Try Them Out Early. At the earliest opportunity, work with experts – on a bond measure, a statewide campaign or a national election they are running. Observe the practices you like and those you don't and when the time comes, hire based on your values.

Build Your Own Base. Successful women governors have close, long-standing relationships with key constituency groups. They included leaders of these groups in their campaigns and rely on them to produce contributions and volunteers. Want help in the future? Lend a hand now.

Develop A Kitchen Cabinet. In addition to paid experts, successful governors had informal advisors: trusted friends, staff from past campaigns and policy experts who play important roles in connecting the in-house team to the woman on the street. Begin to identify them now.

2. BE COLLABORATIVE IN PRIVATE, BE DECISIVE IN PUBLIC

There was universal agreement among staffs and consultants that women candidates, whether incumbents or challengers, made decisions differently than men candidates. Women place a greater value on arriving at a decision by consensus. Significant differences between successful governors and candidates for governor can be found in the way they made decisions and how they implemented them.

TRUST THE PROS, DELEGATE AND DON'T MICRO-MANAGE

Seasoned governors set up an internal decision-making process and abided by it. They challenged their experts and encouraged their teams to debate and discuss, but did not second-guess them. Then, they executed decisions as agreed, displaying clarity and precision that underscored their authority.

Conversely, challengers were routinely accused of micro-managing campaign decisions, responding to the last argument made and changing their minds. "Typically, women run their campaigns by consensus. There's a vote around the table. Depending on the campaign, the driver has the same weight of vote as the pollster," said one exasperated media consultant.

Another consultant observed that "You really have to rely on your staff a lot more and trust that the reason you've hired these people is because they know what they're doing."

Candidates substituting their judgments for the team's were acting against their own interests: "I wrote a plan and I wrote a budget but she would never go by it because....she was supposed to dictate to the lower people what to do," lamented another campaign manager.

Incumbent governors' teams kept the discussion in-house; non-incumbent campaigns exposed too much decision-making turmoil to outsiders, feeding the buzz that the candidate wasn't up to the job.

DON'T RE-RUN YOUR LAST RACE

Several challengers failed to realize the quantum leap – in personal campaign skills, quality and experience of advisors, sophistication of communication and the amount of money required – to run for governor.

Or if she and her team did appreciate the giant step, it was often too late.

“I don’t think she made the transition... to what it takes to run for governor,” said one communications director. Other unsuccessful campaigns made similar observations.

Non-incumbent candidates appeared to need two elements for a solid organization: continuity of previous campaign staff and the addition of new expertise as the new challenge warranted. Most campaigns had one, but not the other.

Governor Napolitano’s team enabled her to transition from attorney general to governor without much alteration. She had an experienced team in place, which made a huge difference because her team knew her well. Her team also contained veterans of other successful governor’s races who could point to and prepare her for the new demands.

Absent that kind of seasoned guidance, candidates defaulted to focusing on yard signs – they wanted ones “like they had last time,” or variations on the last successful slogan.

In fact, it was rare that a non-incumbent candidate prepared adequately to mount a credible, well-financed campaign for governor. They repeated tactics from the past, rather than developing new strategies. And, consequently, they were confined to re-running their last races.

FOR CANDIDATES

Debate Internally. Because women often want to reach consensus in decision-making, discussion and debate is a given. But that process should not be a public one. Too often a losing campaign's internal divisions became public and exposed a less than cohesive operation. Keep the debate inside the family.

Decide Externally. Once a strategic or policy decision is reached, the candidate should be the one to deliver the news to voters, whether via press conference, in a debate or online in an email. These moments are opportunities to demonstrate authority and command.

Establish A Chain Of Command. Making important decisions means getting the best information from inside your kitchen cabinet. Decide who will gather the opinions, lead the debate and present your alternatives. Then follow that process and abide by it.

Hire People Who Have Been Where You Want to Go. Taking the step up to a gubernatorial race requires professional advisors who have run and won races for governor; it requires a new playbook and a much bigger budget.

Study Past Governors' Races. Universities and partisan organizations often offer debriefing conferences on their state's gubernatorial races and some publish transcripts of the meetings. The scrutiny, magnitude of the decisions, scope of issues and size of staff will make real the challenge ahead. Add the experience you need, but keep the core team.

3. SEIZE THE “POPULIST” PRESUMPTION

INDEPENDENT REFORMER

Words like “bipartisan,” “independent” and “strong” came up often when interviewees spoke about incumbent women governors.

According to several campaign pollsters, voters also perceived women incumbents as “outsiders” or “agents of change” and they identified their own woman governor as someone who was fighting for them. Voters perceived today’s women governors as being more populist than women governors in the past. Voters see these governors “on their side” and “fighting for them.”

“You can lead and be incredibly successful by working together and working for the common good and I think that’s why women leaders are winning,” noted one campaign manager.

That was a major theme in Jodi Rell’s effort to get Connecticut moving again after a series of scandals at the statehouse. Rell consistently emphasized doing what was honorable and right so that the people could have confidence in their government again.

Speaking about another incumbent, a media consultant suggested that the populist image emanates from putting people first. “What voters perceive about her character is that she’s strong, that she’s steady and that she’s independent and that she’s really a capable CEO of the state who seems to put the best interest of the people rather than her party first.”

Another media consultant praised the value of being able to show people a governor who was working for them: “She was definitely a reformer... She had a brand image and people knew her as a reformer and somebody that had a plan for change and had implemented that plan in the first four years.”

Open seat and challenger campaigns sought to create an image of the crusading reformer fighting for the “little guy.” “Ultimately the strategy was to try to contrast her with her opponent and to try and make her a populist,” recalled a media consultant for one unsuccessful challenger.

SLAY A DRAGON, SOLVE A PROBLEM, START A MOVEMENT

As the non-incumbent candidates discovered, the making of a “populist” may be easier said than done, but circumstances can help as they did in Alaska. There, Sarah Palin beat an incumbent governor against a backdrop of corruption charges.

In fact, each of the incumbent governors had demonstrated that she could manage in a crisis, bring a runaway corporate interest to heel, set forth a plan of solutions for the state and execute her vision. Some led the charge as lower level office holders, others while in the governor’s office, but all defined their political leadership by fighting for people and putting them above other interests.

When asked about the challenge of re-electing an incumbent, a senior consultant reiterated this theme: “It was basically highlighting that she fought for everyday people while our opponent fought for big stream, special powerful interests.”

Successful governors embody the independence and candor that voters crave in their leaders and demonstrate their commitment to the common good both by what they do and how they do it.

Governor Linda Lingle managed earthquake recovery during her re-election campaign, working with leaders of both parties to get Hawaiians what they needed. People watched her mobilize state resources and personally assist those in need. She became the “source” for where to go and what to do.

“Work hard, dedicate yourself to the people; it’s what’s good for all the people...not just your Party. It’s the people first, the Party second,” a consultant observed.

Successful incumbents found ways to demonstrate their “people first” philosophy to voters and the specific difference that made for them.

FOR CANDIDATES

Know Your Priorities. What is your reason for running? Is it clear in the way you spend your time? Work with others? In your speeches? Media? Voters can't see that you are on their side unless you show them, tell them and do it again.

Frame Your Issues. What are you for? Who do you stand with? What are you against? Draw lines and be clear what side you're on.

Offer Specific Solutions. "On your side," "fighting for you," "working for the common good," "working to get folks a fair shake" – our political history rings with populist language. As worn as it may seem, it resonates with voters and tells them what they need to know about you. But don't expect populist rhetoric to do all your work for you; make sure voters know you have a detailed plan.

Be Present With A Solution. No picture is more powerful than the one of you at the fire base camp, the relief center or the emergency room. It's difficult for people to understand what you really care about unless they see your caring in action and hear your solution.

Practice Democracy On The Web. Photo galleries and campaign schedules on websites provide an opportunity to illustrate your "people first" campaign. Walk your talk. Occasional question-and-answer sessions online, weekly notes on current affairs, links to field activities and events are all proven tools for engaging voters. Encourage supporters to tout your candidacy on the Internet.

4. FOCUS MESSAGE ON *THEIR* FUTURE

IT'S ABOUT THE VOTERS; NOT ABOUT YOU

Successful incumbent governors had a common formula for communicating with voters: proven results plus a plan for the future that conveyed an understanding of their constituents' daily lives. Their messages were about energetically getting results for people.

"People want to know what your issues are, people want to know what you're going to do for the state, people want to know what actions you're going to take," said one consultant.

The majority of these governors asked voters to think about the future, using slogans that pointed them "forward," from "Moving Hawaii Forward" to "Keep Kansas Moving Forward" and "Moving Arizona Forward." They supported these themes with initiatives and plans that demonstrated an understanding of voter concerns.

And the governors were specific. Governor Lingle reviewed the 10 things she'd promised to achieve during her last gubernatorial campaign, how she'd accomplished them and then introduced her "to do" list for the next four years. Governors Napolitano and Sebelius were equally clear when they announced their second-term agendas.

Governor Granholm focused much of her campaign on what she had been doing to bring jobs to Michigan and a plan to expand that effort in the next four years.

In stark contrast to the non-incumbent campaigns, their messages were about helping their people, not about themselves.

A media consultant shared his game plan for success, noting that the first job of the incumbent is to show results: "The second strategy was to really make sure that we were talking not just about the accomplishments. But we were talking very specifically about issues of concern to the people of the state and not letting this race become a Democrat versus Republican, not letting it become a partisan battle."

Incumbents kept their focus on the people they served and their paid media campaigns supported those messages. Lingle was seen with veterans; Sebelius drove a school bus full of kids; Napolitano appeared

with school children; Granholm was shown with assembly-line workers. And Rell had “people on the street” give testimonials about the way she turned Connecticut around.

Too often, non-incumbents failed to appreciate the benefits of making the campaign about the daily lives of regular folks. Instead, they got caught up in the contest with the opponent, focusing on why they, personally, were the better choice – not whose plan for the future was best to lift everyone. Without message discipline and a compelling plan for the future, candidates will default to a popularity contest.

An unsuccessful candidate admitted, “We never got the one solid message that we could keep hammering over and over.” Incumbent governors made messaging look easy: a plan to help people, results, improve the plan, even better results for people.

FOR CANDIDATES

Make A State To Do List. Even if you are prompted to run to clean up corruption or because you truly believe you're best for the job, people need to know exactly what you will do. As important, voters need to hear the difference your plan will make in their daily lives.

Make It A Statement Of Values. The elements of your plan should represent your priorities for the state. Use the language of values – accountability, responsibility, community – to describe the importance of achieving these results.

Back It Up With Concrete Plans. People want to know that you have mastered the technical information that will actually make success possible. Consider a series of white papers, posted online that correspond to your to-do list. They don't really need to know the details – just that *you* do!

Stand Up For People. Stand Up With people. When you stand up to announce how a crisis will be managed, or to oppose a powerful interest, stand alone. When you present an initiative or agenda or speak out in support of an issue, stand with the people most affected. Stretch your reach. If the issue is public safety, in addition to police officers, include victims' families. If the issue is coastal clean-up, include youth groups in addition to environmental activists.

Let People Be Counted. Create ways for people to participate in spreading the word. Petition drives, naming contests, or an online repository for policy suggestions on how to achieve results will convey your openness and give voters a sense of belonging to a movement.

CONCLUSION

While stereotypes and double standards still plague women who run for governor, they are less pronounced than in past election cycles. Strategies have emerged to manage them. In some instances, creative candidates have turned potentially negative stereotypes to their advantage.

Women candidates continue to bear the double burden of proving they are both strong enough and tough enough to be governor, while their male opponents are presumed to possess these qualities. Access to financial circles and long-standing relationships with seasoned fundraisers remain limited. Closer scrutiny of a woman candidate's appearance is still the norm.

However, incumbent women governors are chipping away at negative stereotypes and redefining voter expectations. Successful women governors have shown that by placing themselves squarely on the side of their constituents, by standing up to powerful interests on their behalf and by persistently advancing a future-oriented agenda for the common good, they can overcome voters' doubts embedded in negative gender stereotypes. Deliberately and visibly exercising the power of one's office to get things done is a strategy available to women serving at all levels of government.

Voters reward women governors with higher job performance ratings than those for states with male governors. Women governors are speaking more openly about ethical governance. They are setting ambitious and specific agendas, understanding they will be held accountable for producing results. Their boldness in governing has given them much to campaign on for re-election, pioneering new strategies and breaking new ground. Their competence will no doubt make it easier for the next generation of women candidates to be judged on their merits.

Progress is real. Women governors are redefining people's expectations for a woman chief executive and raising voter expectations about what a governor can accomplish and how one goes about it. The more voters see women governors, the more they like them. And that's good news for all the women who are thinking about running, or should be.

Stay tuned.

RESOURCES

Center for American Women in Politics

Eagleton Institute of Politics
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Phone: 732-932-9384
Fax: 732-932-0014
www.cawp.rutgers.edu

Center for Women in Politics and Public Policy

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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

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www.democraticgovernors.org

Democratic National Committee

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

EMILY's List

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www.emilyslist.org

The Future PAC

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www.thefuturepac.com

Institute for Women's Policy Research

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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

National Partnership for Women & Families
1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 650
Washington, DC 20009
Phone: 202-986-2600
Fax: 202-986-2539
www.nationalpartnership.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
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 Forum
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 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 (From Harvard Square to the Oval Office)
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 - 2007



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. ANN RICHARDS
1991-1995
TEXAS



GOV. BARBARA
ROBERTS
1991-1995
OREGON



GOV. CHRISTINE TODD
WHITMAN
1994-2001
NEW JERSEY



GOV. JANE DEE HULL
1997-2003
ARIZONA



GOV. JEANNE SHAHEEN
1997-2003
NEW HAMPSHIRE



GOV. NANCY P. HOLLISTER
1998-1999
OHIO



GOV. RUTH ANN MINNER
2001-PRESENT
DELAWARE



GOV. JANE SWIFT
2001-2003
MASSACHUSETTS



GOV. JUDY MARTZ
2001-2005
MONTANA



GOV. OLENE WALKER
2003-2005
UTAH



GOV. JENNIFER GRANHOLM
2003-PRESENT
MICHIGAN



GOV. LINDA LINGLE
2003-PRESENT
HAWAII



GOV. JANET NAPOLITANO
2003-PRESENT
ARIZONA



GOV. KATHLEEN SEBELIUS
2003-PRESENT
KANSAS



GOV. KATHLEEN BLANCO
2004-PRESENT
LOUISIANA



GOV. CHRISTINE GREGOIRE
2004-PRESENT
WASHINGTON



GOV. M. JODI RELL
2004-PRESENT
CONNECTICUT



GOV. SARAH PALIN
2006-PRESENT
ALASKA

ABOUT THE
BARBARA LEE FAMILY
FOUNDATION

The Barbara Lee Family Foundation supports progressive initiatives in two program areas: women in politics and contemporary art. The Women in Politics Program Area is dedicated to engaging women fully in the American democratic process and promoting their participation at all levels of government.

A sample of non-partisan projects funded include:

The Barbara Lee Political Intern Fellowship Program at Simmons College – *An endowed program that provides a select group of young women with internships with female Massachusetts state legislators.*

The Barbara Lee Women in U.S. Politics Training Program and Lecture Series at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government – *An endowed program through the Women and Public Policy Program that helps prepare students for public leadership.*

Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) at Rutgers University’s “Pipeline Research Project” – *An assembly of top scholars that convened to study women as candidates for public office in order to develop an action plan to identify and groom a new generation of women candidates and to examine the causes of stagnating numbers of women officeholders.*

USAction Education Fund’s “Women’s Action for Voter Empowerment” – *A project that works to engage women in the democratic process by bringing unmarried women to the polls in states with same-day voter registration.*

Women’s Campaign Forum (WCF) Foundation’s “Women Giving & Political Power I” – *A study that examines the relationship between women and political giving.*

Women’s Voices. Women Vote. (WVWV) – *A project aimed at increasing the participation of unmarried women in the democratic process.*

FOR MORE INFORMATION

please visit us at: www.barbaraleefoundation.org

