Understanding Female Candidates and Campaigns for Governor

by
Jason Harold Windett

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Approved by:

Thomas Carsey, Advisor

Virginia Gray, Reader

Sally Kenney, Reader

James Stimson, Committee Member

Pamela Conover, Committee Member

Abstract

JASON HAROLD WINDETT: Understanding Female Candidates and Campaigns for Governor.
(Under the direction of Thomas Carsey.)

The underrepresentation of women in American political institutions is emerging as an area of study in political science. The low percentage of women legislators and U.S. Representatives has been examined in great detail over the last decade. However, female candidates for state governorships have been largely overlooked in previous analyses. This project examines the process of women running for governor in order to discern: (1) how and why women formulate upward ambition from lower offices to state governorships; (2) why women act on their ambition and enter gubernatorial races and (3) how female gubernatorial candidates run their campaigns compared to their male counterparts.

In this research, I construct original data sets of the population of female candidates for gubernatorial primaries and general elections, campaign issues stressed by both male and female candidates over a decade time period, as well as interviews with previous gubernatorial candidates and former governors. This dissertation examines the entire process of running for governor– from ambition formation, to entering the gubernatorial race, to running the election. Ultimately, this comprehensive analysis of the campaign process for state governorships offers a theoretical understanding of how statewide cultural and societal characteristics, as well as gender stereotypes impact the decision making process for female candidates.

For Amber, my partner, best friend, theory-builder, and copy editor

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Chapter 1

State Effects and the Emergence and Success of Female Gubernatorial Candidates

In the early 1970s, women ran for elective offices in state and federal legislatures in record numbers. Moreover, several female candidates won their respective races, thereby increasing the female seat share in state and federal legislative bodies. In 1975, only 8.2% of state legislators were women. By 2010, this figure had risen to 24.5% (CAWP 2010). The US also witnessed an increase in the number of female candidates running for state executive offices. In 1974, Ella Grasso became the first female governor elected in her own right. In 2008, by contrast, there were eight sitting female governors. Female candidates from both major parties continue to seek election to state governorships. Despite the fact that the percentage of female candidates in gubernatorial primaries has increased over the past forty years, scholars have failed to thoroughly explain the variation in female candidate emergence across states. The purpose of this research is to identify and analyze the state-level political and cultural characteristics that foster female candidate emergence in some states but not others.

The existing literature on female candidate emergence for statewide elective office is

insufficient for analyses of state governorships on two fronts: the research focus is either too individualistic or primarily focused on state legislative bodies. First, analyses of female candidate emergence for statewide office focus on the characteristics of individual candidates and/or candidate pools. Although individual characteristics are undoubtedly influential in the development of female candidate emergence, I argue that state-level cultural characteristics also discourage or encourage women from running for public office (Diamond 1977). In other words, female candidates' decisions about whether or not to run for elective office are circumscribed by the political contexts they inhabit.

In addition, most research pertaining to female candidate emergence focuses primarily on state and federal legislatures (Fox and Lawless 2004, 2005; Fulton et. al. 2006; Maestas et. al. 2006). While analyses of female candidate emergence in state legislatures are incredibly important and insightful, focusing on state governorships would differ in two important ways. While analyses of state legislatures focus on legislative districts (which are relatively small, homogenous units of analysis), state gubernatorial elections offer a unique canvas for examining the behavior of female candidates through macro-analyses of statewide cultural and political characteristics. A macro-analysis that can account for a much larger and more diverse population will produce more generalizable insights about how women behave in political contests.

Second, analyses of state legislatures usually examine non-office holders who enter (or do not enter) the political arena for the first time (Fox and Lawless 2005). With this being the case, a theory of candidate emergence for the governorship centered around the established theories of ambition and party recruitment is not an appropriate approach. Higher-level elective offices, such as the governorship, generally will not attract first-time candidates. Candidates for governor typically emerge from other statewide or other popularly elected offices and will not be evaluating themselves in the same manner as potential first-time office holders - they will be looking for opportunities to act on their

upward political ambition. Their evaluation for running for office, therefore, will not be driven primarily by their personal self evaluation, but rather on the context and political climate within their respective state.

From a normative perspective, this analysis will shed light on the gendered cultural barriers that inhibit female candidate emergence and elections to statewide elective office. Currently, women constitute roughly fifty-one percent of the general population but only twelve percent of state governorships[1]. If the main barriers to female candidate emergence are indeed cultural - and relate to the position of women in society, their domestic and employment responsibilities, and attitudes about gender roles and stereotypes– this research may enable political actors to dismantle cultural barriers and think through policy prescriptions that can best achieve representational equality. Theoretically, this analysis will raise questions about political legitimacy and gender equality in state-level politics.

Given the aforementioned oversights and potential gains, my primary research question is "How do statewide cultural and political characteristics impact female candidate emergence for state governorships?" More specifically, I hope to ascertain which statewide cultural characteristics are politically salient factors when female candidates decide to run for elected office. This research will model the complete process of female candidate emergence in primaries, success in these primaries, and success in the general election. Modeling the entire process will allow for greater insight into the political environment necessary for women to be successful when seeking their state's highest office. Utilizing a data set covering the years 1978 to 2008, I will show the impact of female socio- political subculture, as well as state-level political characteristics that lead to the emergence and success of female candidates in both primary and general elections.

[1]For a complete list of women governors by state as well as a breakdown of women candidates by region, see Appendix 1A.

1.1 Theories of Female Candidate Emergence

In the seminal book *Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States*(1966), Joseph Schlesinger outlined the prominent role of ambition in the behavior and goals of political actors in the United States. More recently, scholars interested in female candidates' behavior have extended Schlesinger's work to explore the factors that influence differences in ambition across gender lines (Carroll 1985; Farah 1976). Women's self-perceptions influence their ambition formation. Some scholars have analyzed surveys and argue that women are much more likely than men to deem themselves as not qualified to hold public office (Fox and Lawless 2004). For example, Fox (1997) contends that well qualified women are much less likely to consider running for office than their male counterparts. Furthermore, Carroll (1994) argues that women "...perceive a greater need than men to be close to home and to have time to spend with their children and spouses." Moreover, women tend to be more risk averse than their male counterparts when running for higher offices. Fulton et al (2006) find that women are more sensitive to the cost and probability of winning higher office when acting upon their potential progressive ambition. That said, scholars continue to debate the degree to which ambition differs across gender lines.

Other explanations for lower levels of women's emergence as political candidates focus on the parties themselves, although the findings are mixed. Some scholars contend that parties act in a biased manner when recruiting candidates (Niven 1998; Sanbonmatsu 2002; Lawless and Fox 2005). Sanbonmatsu (2002) argues that both the level of party professionalization as well as the parties' view of the electability of a woman affect candidate emergence. On the other side of this argument, however, scholars suggest that parties are not biased against women when encouraging candidates to run for office (Burrell 1994,2006; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994; Maestas, Maisel and Stone 2005). Darcy, Welch, and Clark (1994) actually argue that parties seek out qualified female candidates

to enhance their parties' gender appeal.

Overall, these explanations based on the general candidate ambition of women and the functional role of candidate recruitment are inadequate in fully explaining candidate emergence and success because they fail to situate candidates within the larger political culture in which their political ambition develops. Verba (1965) describes political culture as "a system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values, which defines the situation in which political action takes place." At its most basic definition, therefore, political culture is understood to be the embodiment of a given society's values and attitudes. Moving beyond this general definition of political culture, several scholars contend that subcultures divided along social cleavages exist within larger political cultures. For the purposes of this paper, I argue that the female socio-political subculture of a given state is the primary factor influencing female candidate emergence. The female socio-political subculture consists of two major dimensions– social and political. I will further elaborate on these components in detail when describing the operationalization and measurement of the political culture variable. For now, one can understand the female socio-political subculture of a state to reflect demographic trends in gender participation in education, the workplace, and political life.

I argue that the upward political ambition of women is the byproduct of a conducive environment which encourages women to participate in politics at higher levels, run for lower-level offices and work their way up through the political ranks. In states where women are seen as equal in capabilities and given ample opportunities, women show higher levels of political efficacy and are more likely to run for higher-level political office(Atkeson and Carrillo 2007). These states with a more progressive female socio-political subculture have a history of treating women as equal to men and have a non-traditionalistic view of women in general. States with a traditional female socio-political subculture do not foster an environment which allows females to run for political office

and pursue careers that will eventually allow them to run for governor. In states with strict gender roles and traditional gender stereotypes, women are not seen as qualified public servants.

In other words, one must first understand these social constraints in order to predict an individual potential candidate's behavior. More specifically, female socio-political subculture impacts two essential components of candidate emergence for governorships-the candidate pool and the opportunity structure. States with a historical pattern of electing women to lower level offices will have a larger qualified candidate pool for female gubernatorial candidates. On the other hand, states that boast low levels of female participation in public service will have a limited candidate pool for women to emerge as gubernatorial candidates.

If the female socio-political culture within the state allows for the existence of an experienced candidate pool, previous officeholding and the current political climate will predict whether a female candidate acts on her progressive ambition and runs for her party's nomination for governor. This opportunity structure within a state is characterized by a political environment that is favorable not only to female candidates in general but female candidates of the favored party in the state. I argue that female potential candidates will evaluate the current political climate when deciding to act on their progressive ambition. When evaluating the opportunity structure within their respective state, female potential candidates will look specifically to low information cues, the state political mood, the gendered makeup of state legislative bodies, and the type of gubernatorial election (open or incumbent) they may be faced with.

First, potential female candidates will evaluate low information cues based on the political makeup of the state electorate, elected offices, and general mood of the state at election time. Potential candidates are aware of the career cost involved in running for governor and will only run when the electoral climate is favorable to them. Moreover,

female candidates will be more risk averse compared to male candidates when considering the political climate.

In addition, the female potential candidates' respond to the political mood of the state population and behave in a strategic manner in order to maximize their potential of winning the election. Numerous scholars (Norrander and Wilcox 1998; Arceneux 2001; Sanbonmatsu 2006) have shown that states that favor a more liberal mood tend to elect more women to state legislative seats. When a state becomes more liberal, women will enter their parties' primary, whereas states that are more conservative will not see women emerge as candidates for governor.

In the individual's evaluation of the state political climate, female potential candidates will look at the makeup of their state legislative bodies. A major indicator of female legislative candidates is the percentage of female legislators already in the state legislature (Thomas 1994; Ondercin and Welch 2005; Sanbonmatsu 2006). States that have higher levels of representation in their state legislatures are more likely to support future female candidates for political office. Female potential candidates for governor will specifically look at the composition of their own party within state legislatures. The makeup within each party in both chambers provides an excellent shortcut to how conducive the individual party is for electing female candidates. Chambers with low levels of women representatives give the cue of a political environment within both the party and state that is not conducive to electing a woman governor.

Female potential candidates for governor will also be strategic when deciding which type of seat will offer the highest probability of success. One of the largest barriers for entering public office for female candidates is the incumbency advantage enjoyed by male elected officials (Andersen and Thorson 1984). Incumbents are reelected at such a high rate that removing these barriers through term limits and redistricting significantly increases the probability of success for female candidates (Pritchard 1992). Burrell (1994)

supports these claims arguing that retirement aids in the creation of potential seats for female candidates. A female candidate for governor is more likely to emerge when the situation is more favorable to her victory. With this being the case, women will increase their probability of being a candidate when the governor's seat is open.

1.2 Understanding the Female Socio-Political Subculture

The role of political culture and its impact on political systems and outcomes is undeniable in the American states (Abramowitz 1980; Almond and Verba 1963; Elazar 1974, 1994; Pye 1965). Almond (1956) argues the main components of political culture consist of a "cognitive orientation", "affective orientation", and "evaluational orientation"- meaning within society there needs to be knowledge, beliefs, feelings, and evaluations of the political systems in which individuals live. Although the theoretical understanding of the role of political culture has been debated over the years (Almond and Verba 1963, 1980; Elazar 1994; Pye and Verba 1965), little has been done to systematically model the explanatory abilities of a measure of political culture, particularly in the United States.

Almond and Verba (1963) and Elazar (1974) offer the most widely cited notions of the role of political culture in the United States. Their evaluations of political culture are based on survey responses (Almond and Verba 1963) or geographical patterns of historical migration (Elazar 1974). Abramowitz (1980) convincingly argues the Almond and Verba's classification of political culture in the United States was based on a period of history not representative of the true cultural backbone of American society. Therefore, Elazar's understanding of the political subcultures based on traditionalistic, moralistic, and individualistic behavior appears to have validity in the general understanding of political culture in the United States.

Numerous scholars (Johnson 1976; Hill 1981; Monroe 1977) have attempted to further explain the basic foundation of Elazar's (1974) seminal work on the structure of political culture in the United States. One of the shortcomings of most explanations of political culture is the overemphasis of the static nature of political culture and a limited discussion on the role of gender norms in defining the culture of a state. The purpose of this section is to expand the understanding of a dynamic political culture, while taking into consideration the cleavaging role of gender as a political subculture.

Scholars who view culture as a static mechanism and account for no change in the behavior of people, groups, or nations are incomplete in their general understanding of political cultures. Elazar (1994) himself states "culture is not static. It must be viewed dynamically and defined so as to include cultural change in its very nature." Societies, norms, beliefs, and behaviors over time change and adapt to the environment that is presented. Believing the culture of a state or nation will not change does not take this into consideration.

Furthermore, the lack of consideration gender has received in the development of understanding political culture is also a major omission of scholarly work in this area. The role of gender itself creates a unique challenge when gauging the general culture of states. Linton (1949) as well as Almond and Verba (1963) would classify gender as a "strata of subjects and parochials" that create unique "subcultures" within the overarching political cultures. A politically salient female socio-political subculture has wide-reaching political ramifications within the United States.

This subculture has not been systematically examined as its own indicator, however, other scholars have alluded to this in previous research by recognizing the importance of gender in understanding the general political culture of the nation. Diamond's (1977) analysis of the role of culture notes the importance of a favorable environment for women to be elected to public office. She argues "where favorable conditions exist more women

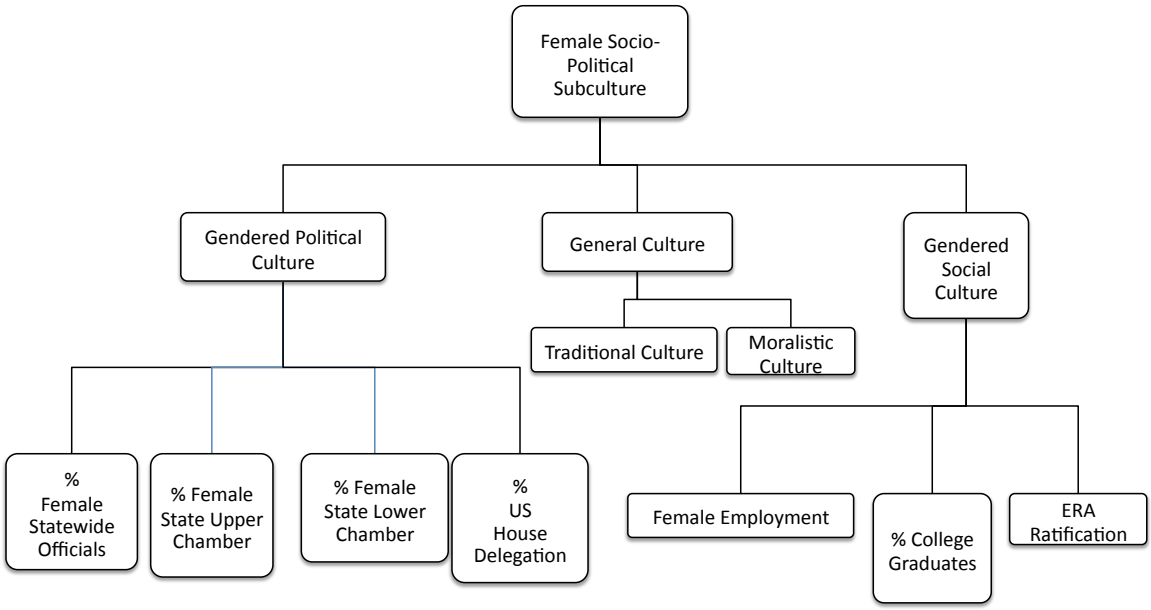
are likely to be elected... but if women are elected in states where these conditions do not exist, new condition will have to be created." Diamond's understanding of political culture in the states and its implications for electing women officials leads to what appears to be a dynamic process of political culture changing over time- but including an underlying argument that gender considerations need to be made.

Cook (1980) offers a more complete attempt at understanding the female culture within a state. Cook's explanation of a gendered culture focuses on the intersections of three major subcultures- social culture, political culture, and legal culture. Her theoretical understanding of political culture focuses on the attitudes and opinions of the population, political structures of the state, and behavioral variables. Although the theory behind the impact of female political subcultures is in depth, Cook's operationalization of political culture remains limited. She relies on only four indicators of culture- number of trial courts, selection of judges, number of women attending the national convention in 1976, and the number of services for women in the community.

Hill (1981) also offers an early attempt to systematically test important indicators of political culture that focus on sexual equality while explaining female representation. Hill breaks down political culture into two separate factors- those relating to cultural factors in the state and structural factors of the state government. He shows a direct impact of traditionalistic culture on the level of female representation in state legislature for 1972-73. Hill offers a unique and early attempt to conceptualize political culture. Hill's explanation however only includes 4 indicators of culture- legislative compensation, constituency size, previous female representatives, and traditional culture scores.

Conceptualizing the dynamic nature of political culture within individual states over time will lead to an increased understanding of gendered political outcomes whether it be policy oriented or representational issues. To date however, there has been no attempt to fully understand the structure and variability of a political culture on the basis of gender.

Figure 1.1: Indicators of the Female Socio-Political Subculture



Rather than focusing primarily on the general political culture of individual states, it is necessary to evaluate gender as a cleavaging line that allows for the development of subcultures in the United States. The measure of female socio-political subculture I develop takes into consideration the political structures of the state by including the historical access women have had to political offices, as well as the equality in society women have gained. Furthermore, the overarching cultural indicators outlined by Elazar are included to control for higher level cultures impacting the subcultures. The construction of the measure is outlined briefly in Figure 1.1.

I first take into consideration the historical access women have had to elected offices within each state. States with a more progressive female socio-political culture

view participation by women as a crucial element of participation in a society that is equal (Atkeson 2003). With this being the case, states that have elected higher levels of women in a historical setting are more likely to be a culture conducive to advocating higher level offices for women to attain. I include four separate indicators of the level of political representation by women. I utilize the percentage of female state senators, lower chamber representatives, statewide elected executives, and U.S. Congressional delegation separately.

Dummy variables indicating traditionalistic and moralistic political culture as the dominant culture within a state are also included. These dummy variables account for the higher level cultures impacting the formation of the gendered subcultures. A dummy variable for individualistic states is excluded to avoid perfect multicollinearity when calculating the variable.

To measure the level of equality in society, I include three measures on equality in society based on educational attainment, work force inclusion and general feelings toward statewide equality. Following the logic of Hill (1981), I utilize two measures of female employment. The first is the proportion of females in the work force (Current Population Survey),which is calculated by dividing the number of female workers by the number of male workers. Next, I include the proportion of female workers amongst females within the state. By multiplying these two scores together, I will replicate Hill's measure called "the female employment score". Additionally, I incorporate a similar score for the ratio of college graduates that are women (Current Population Survey). The education and employment scores will represent a state's general attitudes of the perceived role of women in society. States with higher female employment scores and proportion of female graduates will be more liberal in terms of their female socio-political subculture. Finally, I include a dummy variable for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment within State Legislatures without later rescinding the passage. The variables included in the measure

are outlined in greater detail in Table 1.1.

To construct this measure of female socio-political subculture, I perform a factor analysis on these ten indicator variables.[3] The results of the factor loadings are presented in Table 1.2. Data for this measure is included for 49 states across the time period 1978-2010. The indicator variables vary by year to allow for the female socio-political subculture of the state to be measured as a dynamic process. Figure 1.2 shows a number of examples of how the process varies within individual states, as well as across states.[4] As this figure shows, all eight example states began the series with female socio-political subculture scores below the mean level. As time has progressed however, some states have drastically increased the female socio-political subculture in their states to a more liberal and equal status, (i.e Washington, Vermont, and Colorado), while others, particularly in the south have remained very low (i.e. Mississippi and West Virginia).

1.3 Data and Methods

The data set used in this study covers all gubernatorial primary and general elections in 49 states from 1978-2008.[5] Female primary candidates were identified through the Gubernatorial Campaign Expenditures Database (Jensen and Beyle 2003) compiled by Jennifer Jensen and Thad Beyle. This data set provides the names and campaigns expenditures for all primary candidates for a state's governorship. By cross referencing the names of female candidates with Lexis-Nexis newspapers searches within individual states, certainty on the gender of candidates is obtained. The status of a state's office and

[3]To test the reliability of the measure, I calculated the measure excluding each type of variable with little change in the output of the variable. The correlations between the different variables are all above .858

[4]Appendix 1A contains ANOVA tests of the subculture variable that show high levels of both within state variation, as well as variation over time.

[5]Nebraska is not included in the analysis due to the non partisan and unicameral legislature.

Table 1.1: Variable Descriptions for the Measure of Female Socio-Political Subculture

Variable	Definition	Source
% Female Statewide Elected Officials	Female Statewide Elective Executive/ Total Positions.	Center For Women and Politics: State Fast Facts Sheet
% Female State Senate	Woman State Senators / Total Senators.	Center For Women and Politics: State Fast Facts Sheet.
% Female State House	Woman Lower Chamber Representatives/ Total Lower Chamber Representative	Center For Women and Politics: State Fast Facts Sheet.
% Female U.S. Congress	Woman U.S Represenatives + U.S Senators/ Total State Delegation	Center For Women and Politics: State Fast Facts Sheet.
Traditionalistic Political Culture	Dummy to account for states defined as Traditionalistic as the dominant political culture:	Elazar (1974)
Moralistic Political Culture	Dummy to account for states defined as Moralistic as the dominant political culture:	Elazar (1974)
Female Employment Score[2]	Measurement of the number . of women active in the workforce	Current Population Survey 1978-2006
% Female College Graduates	Percentage of women college graduates compared to all college graduates	Current Population Survey 1978-2006.
ERA Ratification	Dummy variable to account for states adopting ERA	National Organization of Women

Hill (1981) first utilized this measure in his analysis of political culture.

Figure 1.2: Sample Female Socio-Political Subculture Scores Over Time

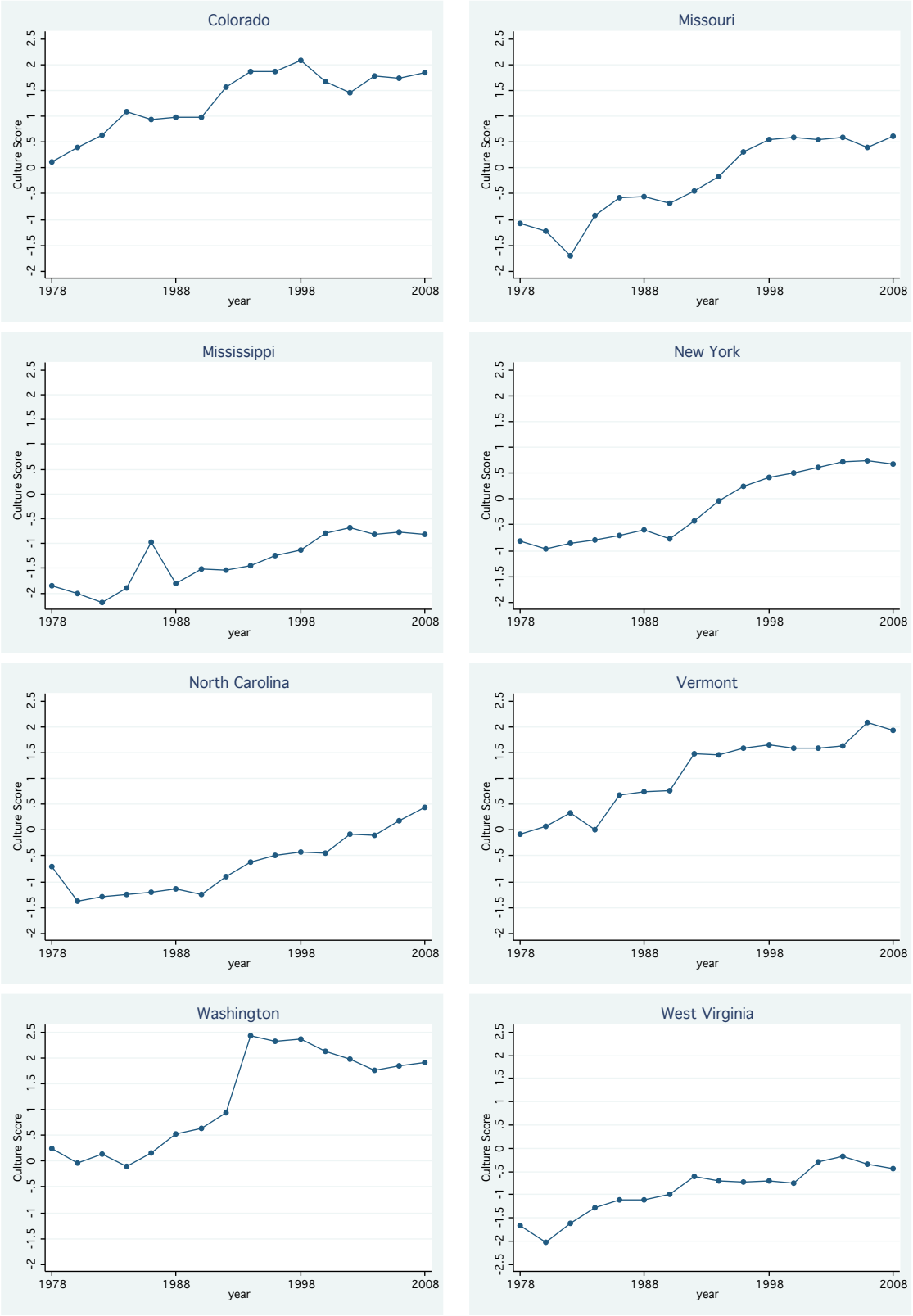


Table 1.2: Measure of Female Socio-Political Subculture

Variable	Rotated Factor Loadings	Uniqueness
Traditionalistic Culture	-.6649	.5579
Moralistic Culture	.5275	.72717
% Female Statewide Elected Officials	.4717	.7775
% Female State Senate	.8283	.3140
% Female State House	.8370	.2994
% Female U.S. Congress	.4173	.8258
Female Employment Score	.6697	.5515
% Female College Graduates	.4456	.8805
ERA ratification .4935	.7564	
Eigenvalue	3.3153	
Percentage of Variance Explained	78.50	

the quality candidate measure are also taken from this data set. The female candidates for general election were compiled from the Center for Women and Politics "Women Candidates for Governor Fact Sheet" (CAWP 2006), as well as whether or not a woman won her respective primary and general election. The composition of the legislature and female elected officials are compiled from the CAWP "State Facts Sheets".

The dependent variable for the first stage of the model is a dichotomous variable coded "1" if there was a woman in a major party primary and "0" if only men were in the primaries. The dependent variable in the second stage of the model is a dichotomous variable coded "1" if a female candidate won her respective primary, and "0" if the female candidate lost the primary. Finally, the third stage's dependent variable is a dichotomous variable for whether or not the female general election candidate was successful or not: this variable is coded "1" for a victorious female candidate, and "0" if they lost.

The first set of explanatory variables is included to test the impacts of state culture and the political environment on the emergence of female candidates in the primary. The primary explanatory variable of interest is the measure of Female Socio-Political Subculture outlined above. In addition to measuring the culture, I also include measures

of citizen mood as computed by Berry et al (1998).[6] This measure is included to test whether or not the policy mood of the state impacts the emergence of female candidates and the probability of these candidates winning their respective races. This measure of state mood is based on a scale from 0 to 100, with 0 being the most conservative and 100 being the most liberal.

The second set of characteristics included in the three models explains variables within the individual state's institutional structure. In this study, rather than using the total percentage of women in each legislative chamber, I calculate the percent women legislators for each party within both the lower and upper chambers. In the first stage of this model, the figures are assigned to their corresponding parties' primary. In the final two stages predicting candidate success in the primary and general election, the partisanship of the female candidate is linked with her parties' female makeup.

The third set of characteristics included in this analysis identifies individual candidates' officeholding experience in stages 2 and 3 of the model. Quality candidates – regardless of gender- should increase their probability of being successful when running for higher office. I include a dichotomous variable coded "1" for female candidates who have held previous elected office (regardless of level) and "0" for those who have no prior elective office experience. The incumbency advantage has also been shown to impact women at the same level as men (Dolan 1994; Fox 2006). I include a dummy variable identifying incumbent female governors. Summary statistics for all of the independent and dependent variables are included in Table 1.3.

Heckman (1979) notes selection bias arises for two reasons: self selection by the

[6] A discussion on the validity of this measure as an indicator of ideology within states has been argued (see the special issue of State Politics and Policy 2007 (7):2.) For the purpose of this analysis, I attempt to measure the mood of the state as a whole. As Berry et al 2007 show, the correlation of their measure of state public mood highly correlates with that of Stimson (1991) from the national level. Other measures of citizen ideology do not perform as well when attempting to measure mood. The Berry et al measure allows for fluctuations over time whereas other measures (Brace et al 2004; Erikson, Wright and McIver 1993) remain stable over time.

Table 1.3: Summary Statistics of Variables

Dependent Variables				Total Count
Women Entered Primary				212
Women Won Primary				85
Women Won General Election				32
Independent Variables	**Min.**	**Max.**	**Mean**	**S.D**
Female Socio-Political Subculture	-2.2	2.33	.021	.923
Women Party in Upper Chamber	0	36.7	6.93	6.67
Women Party in Lower Chamber	0	28.4	8.82	5.92
State Mood	9.751	95.97	48.30	16.13
Officeholding Experience				**Total Count**
Incumbent				16
Quality Candidates				136
Open Seat elections				124

individuals being investigated, or sample selection by the analyst. In this research, the self-selection occurs due to the nature of political elections. For a female candidate to win the general election, she must win her respective primary and enter the primary to begin with. The nature of this process is one that may introduce selection bias and non-random samples into the second and third stages of the models. To account for this selection bias, I use the Heckman three stage probit model. The first two stages of the model are estimated simultaneously. The third stage of the model is estimated while including the Inverse Mills Ratio from the first selection model to account for the bias.

The first stage examines whether or not a major party primary had a female candidate. In 18 primaries, multiple women entered a single primary. With this being the case, the party primary is the unit of analysis. The independent variables included in this analysis are only those which measures state level characteristics.

The second stage predicts success for female candidates when running in the primary. In this second stage of analysis, the individual candidate-year is the unit of analysis. All state-level and individual level variables are included in this model.

The final stage of the selection model predicts success for women in the general

election. This model includes all state and individual officeholding characteristics. In this model, the 2002 gubernatorial election in Hawaii is not included in the analysis due to both parties' candidates being women, assuring a female governor. To account for the potential non-independence of observations from state to state and year to year, the standard errors for all three models are clustered around state-year.

1.4 Results and Analysis

The three separate models are similar in many of the characteristics used to predict candidate emergence and success, but differences arise in the explanatory variables depending on the unit of analysis. For the models predicting candidate emergence, I focus solely on statewide indicators of female socio-political subculture, institutional structure, and electoral settings alone, while the models predicting candidate success in the primary and general election include personal variables describing the individual candidates' experience.

The results of the Heckman Three Stage probit model are reported in Table 1.4. As indicated by this table, there is not a significant selection effect in these models. Moreover, the impact of not utilizing the selection model is minimal. Appendix 1A shows probit estimates of the same models, without the selection model and differs marginally from the Heckman Three-Stage. However, accounting for this potential selection bias is an important consideration when dealing with this type of analysis where there is potential for selection bias[7].

A second note of caution is the power of these models based on sample size. In stage 3 of these models, the observations drop to 85. Although this is a result of the limited

[7] I have also estimated these models by party affiliation and decade to note any party or time related effects driving these results. The small-sample problem is enhanced in these tests, making statistical significance difficult to obtain, but the models generally predict the same direction in the coefficients estimates across all stages of the models, showing the consistent pattern.

number of women who have won their parties' primaries, caution must still be given to the robustness of the model. Long (1997) notes the risky nature of using maximum likelihood models with fewer than 100 observations. In this case, however, both the characteristics of the model, as well as the nature of the data would allow for small sample estimation with the probit model. In stage 3, only 8 explanatory variables are included in the model, and there is high variation in the outcome variable in the data – two characteristics Long (1997) notes are necessary for small sample estimation.

Reported in Table 1.4 along with the probit coefficients, the predicted probabilities for each independent variable are also reported. These predicted probabilities were calculated by measuring the change from 0 to 1 in the dichotomous variables, and moving from the mean to one standard deviation above the mean in the continuous variables. The predicted probabilities were calculated while holding the continuous variables at the mean and the dichotomous variables at the mode.

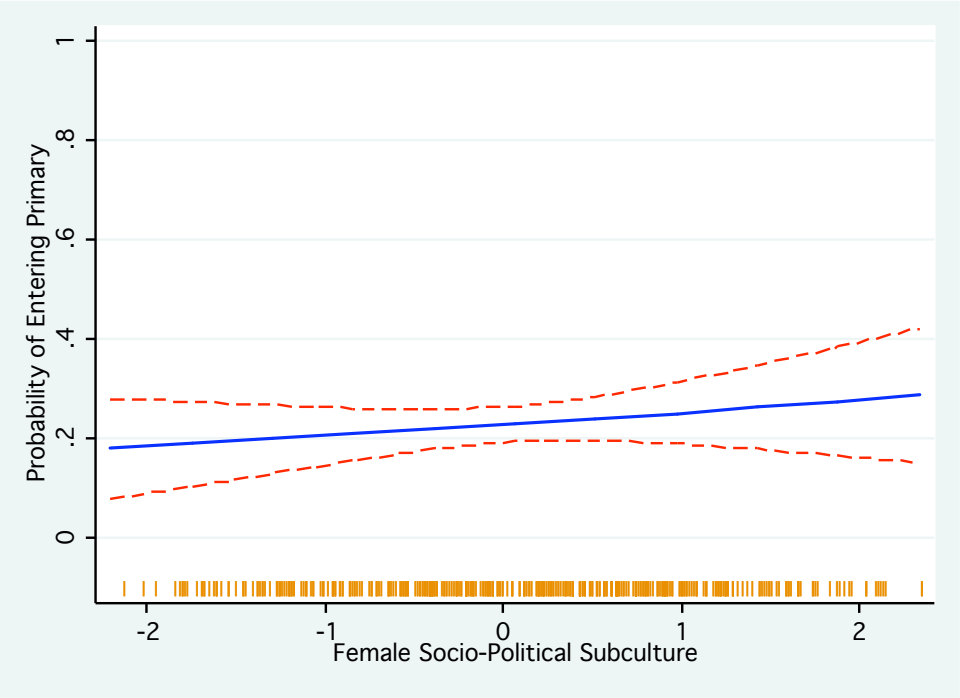
The results of the regression in stage 1 indicate support for the strategic consideration for female candidates to enter open seat primaries. This is evident by the positive and statistically significant relationship between candidate emergence and open seat elections. Women increase their probability of entering a primary by 9.55 percentage points when the governorship is open. There is also a partisan component when women decide to run in primary elections. Women were 9.36 percentage points more likely to enter Democratic primaries than Republican primaries. The theoretic claim of the partisan female make up of legislative chambers offers mixed evidence in the initial emergence stage. The female partisan make up of the lower chamber offers a statistically significant 13.08 percentage point change in predicting a woman's presence in a party primary, but the senate equivalent is statistically insignificant. Stage 1 offers limited evidence supporting the claim of female socio-political subculture driving candidate emergence. Although the variable is positive, it remains statistically insignificant. This finding is a

Table 1.4: Three Stage Heckman Probit Model of Female Candidate Emergence and Success

	Predicting Primary Candidate		Predicting Primary Success		Predicting General Election	
Variable	Coef.	Pred Prob	Coef	Pred Prob	Coef	Pred Prob
Female Socio-Political Subculture	.078	4.66	.366	25.12	.681	34.22
	(.92)		(2.32)		(1.78)	
State Mood	.002	1.82	.008	9.12	-.011	-11.94
	(.60)		(.87)		(-.72)	
Party	.308	9.36	.403	14.68	.524	16.39
	(2.50)		(1.61)		(.84)	
% Partisan Women Lower	.036	13.08	-.039	-18.84	-.087	-34.48
	(2.79)		(-1.48)		(-1.51)	
% Partisan Women Upper	-.002	-3.0	-.004	2.22	.031	15.00
	(-.06)		(-.17)		(.73)	
Open Seat	.307	9.55	.028	5.8	1.242	40.42
	(3.05)		(.13)		(2.57)	
Incumbent			1.446	50.81	4.153	91.28
			(2.64)		(4.22)	
Quality Candidate			1.422	47.62	1.795	30.99
			(5.07)		(1.03)	
Cons	-1.468		-1.578		-3.854	
	(-6.43)		(-2.87)		(-1.01)	
Total Observations	766		188		85	
Psuedo R2	.063		.299		.342	
rho=			.059		-.977	

z-scores reported in parenthesis for one-tailed test. Standard errors clustered around state and year.
Stage 1 and 2 Wald Test (rho=0): chi2= .14. Prob > chi2= .7089
Stage 2 and 3 Wald Test (rho=0): chi2=1.32.Prob > chi2=.2509

Figure 1.3: Impact of Female Socio-Political Subculture on Predicted Probability of Women Entering Primary



result of including all candidates, regardless of the feasibility of their candidacy. Since the data includes all candidates for a primary, over 50 are nonviable candidates- single issue candidates, political extremists, adult entertainers, etc. Excluding candidates with no prior electoral experience or less than 2.5%[8] of the primary vote yields a positive and statistically significant prediction of the impact of the female socio-political culture measure. However, conditioning the qualifications to be included in the first stage impacts the ability of the Heckman model to converge in the second stage. The results of this model are included in Appendix 1A. Figure 1.3 plots the predicted probability of women entering the primary based on the female socio-poliitcal subculture. As evident in the graphic, there is a limited increase in the probability of women entering the primary.

[8] 2.5% is reported as the cut point, but in testing this analysis I have allowed this figure to vary from 1% to 10% with no difference in the elimination of non-viable candidates. 2.5% is the mean percentage for 3rd parties to remain on ballots with states that limit ballot access.

The second stage of this process reports results of the selection model predicting whether or not a woman is successful in her attempt to become her party's nominee for governor. The results of this analysis strongly support the claim of a culture driven explanation of female candidate success. As the female socio-political subculture becomes more favorable in a state, there is a drastic increase of 25.12 percentage points in the probability of a successful female primary candidate. Figure 1.4 shows the impact of the subculture measure on the probability of women winning their respective primary. The impacts of the individual candidate's experience are also significant indicators of success in the primary. Incumbent female governors increase their probability of winning the primary by 50.81 percentage points. Likewise, female candidates who have previously held elective office see a positive increase in their probability of winning their respective primary by more than 47 percentage points. In contrast, the percentage of women of the same party in both chambers of legislature has no meaningful impact on the probability of candidate success. The coefficient estimates are both negative, which is counter to my expectation, but these coefficients do not come close to approaching statistical significance.

Much like the model predicting primary success, the model predicting general election success for female candidates supports the argument of a female socio-political subculture driven explanation of electing female governors. An increase from the mean female socio-political culture to one standard deviation above the mean results in a statistically significant increase in the probability of a women winning the general election by more than 34 percentage points. Figure 1.5 graphically shows the drastic increase in the probability of women winning the general election. The sharpest increase occurs in states with the most conducive female socio-political subculture.

Similarly, open seats and incumbent status both yield positive and statistically significant predictors of women's success when running in general elections. Incumbent status

Figure 1.4: Impact of Female Socio-Political Subculture on Predicted Probability of Women Winning Primary

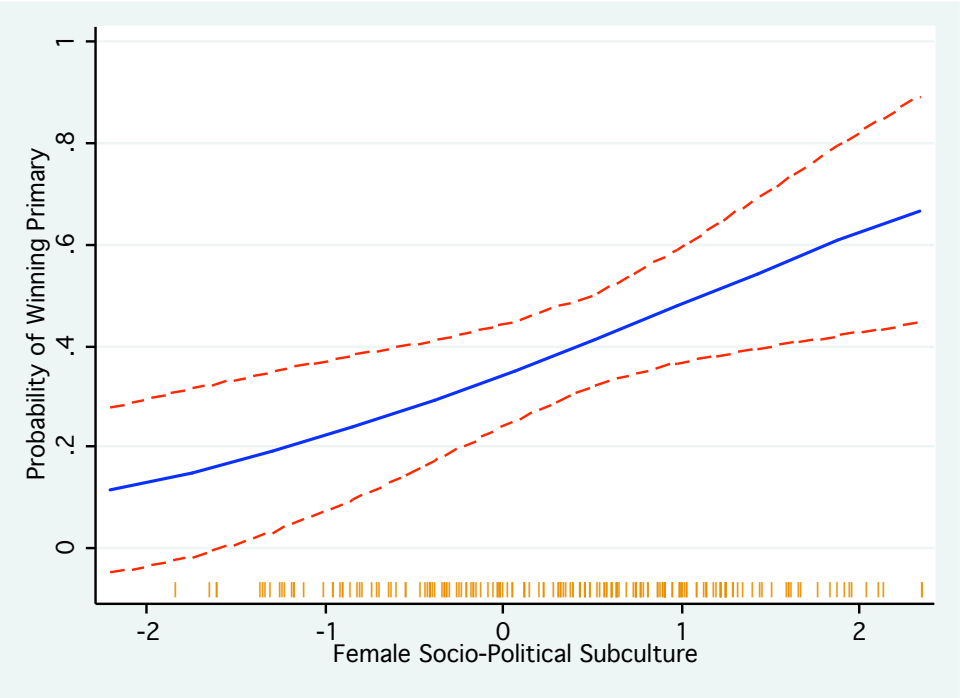
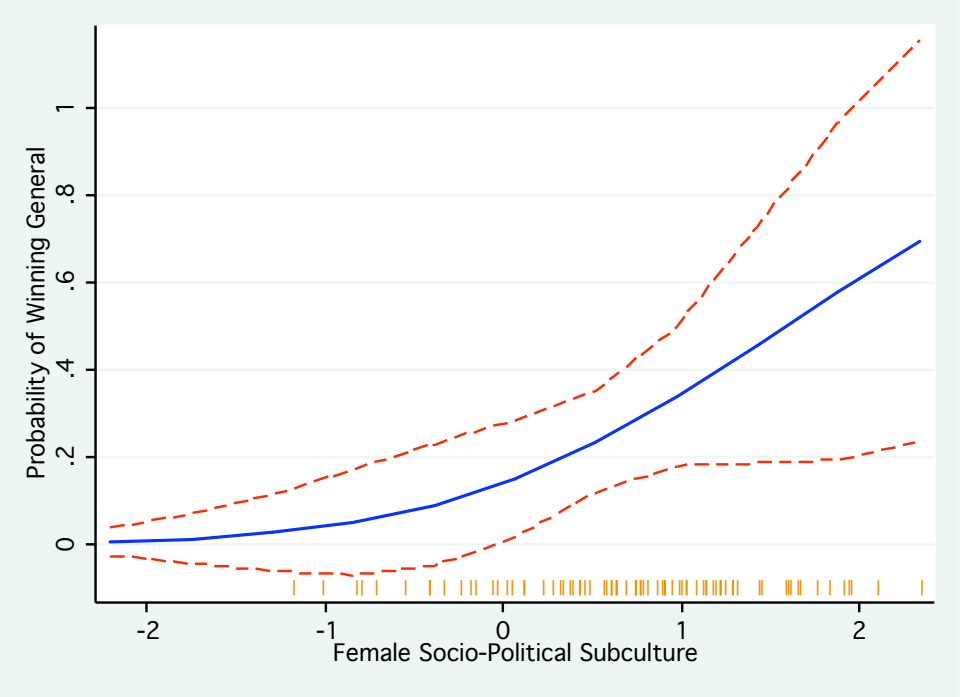


Figure 1.5: Impact of Female Socio-Political Subculture on Predicted Probability of Women Winning General Election



of female governors yields the largest increase in the probability of success with an increase of nearly 92 percentage points in the probability of success. Women also increase their probability of success by 40.42 percentage points when running in open seats.

Throughout the three stages of this model, there is little evidence to support the claims of state mood impacting the emergence and success of of female candidates for governor. Likewise, there is no consistent pattern in the gender makeup of shared partisans in either chamber of the legislature. In both models predicting electoral success, both the upper and lower chamber show little impact in the hypothesized direction.

1.5 Conclusion

In this research, I considered the ways in which numerous cultural, political, and individual political experiences impact the success or failure of female candidates running for, and winning, their respective primary and general election contests. Moreover, this research has importantly expanded the discussion of ambition of women beyond the normal arena of analysis- state legislatures. One must consider the way in which political culture impacts the distinct candidate pool and opportunity structure for governorships. The statewide indicators that drive female candidate emergence and success are driven primarily by the cultural history and views of gender equality in the individual states.

I demonstrate that the female socio-political cultural within each state is a significant indicator of whether or not female candidates will win the primary and general elections they enter. More specifically, the findings suggest that states with a tradition of gender equity (in educational institutions, workforce participation, and political representation), progressive views of the role of women, and a history of women winning electoral office are much more likely to see women succeed in primary and general elections.

The overall impact of women in the electoral contests is unavoidable. In the last three decades, female candidates have continued to throw their hats in the political ring

at increasing rates. Not only are women increasing their seat share in state legislative bodies, they are also increasing the number of state governorships and other statewide elective offices. As women continue to run for their state's highest office, the overall level of female representatives in government will continue to increase. By looking at the characteristics that are conducive for female candidates to initially run for office and be successful, I shed light on the environmental characteristics that are more or less favorable for female candidates. As time passes, state cultural boundaries should become more relaxed and a more even distribution of candidates should emerge, specifically in the South.

Chapter 2

Differing Paths to the Top: Gender, Ambition, and Running For Governor

In 1969, Barbara Roberts' six year old son was sent home from public school and told to "never come back." Roberts' child was autistic. At the time, public schools in Oregon did not allow children with developmental disabilities to enroll. As a single mother of two with no child support, Roberts succesfully lobbied the legislature one day a week in support of legislation granting access to public special education programs. Roberts became convinced from this experience that the political process in Oregon could help those in need so she dedicated her life to public service.

Roberts' career in public office began on the Parkrose School Board, and continued with a position on the Mount Hood Community College Board and an appointment to a nine month term on the Multnomah County Commission. In 1980 she was elected to the Oregon House of Representatives. Two years later she became House Majority Leader. Rather than become the Speaker of the Oregon House in 1984, she successfully ran for the open Secretary of State office, Oregon's second most powerful position. When incumbent Governor Neil Goldschmidt abruptly announced he would not seek re-election

in 1990, Roberts declared her candidacy the following day. Roberts quickly decided that she would like to become the governor "about twelve hours before filing" in an attempt to discourage other potential candidates from challenging for the nomination. Barbara Roberts was elected the thirty-fourth governor, and the first woman governor of Oregon in 1990, completing a single term before retiring from politics in 1994.

Governor Roberts' story is common for women who win state governorships. Most female governors begin their careers as single-issue activists at local-level offices. As they seek higher level offices, they expand the scope of their policy concerns and become ambitious for higher level political offices over time. Women's paths to statewide executive offices follow a similar trajectory – a long process working their way through various levels of public office. Very rarely have we seen women with ambition for state governorship at the outset of their political career. On the other hand, men generally follow different paths to their states' highest offices. Many male governors have concrete goals to obtain the highest level of public office at the outset of their careers, oftentimes strategically running for office to line themselves up with future candidacies.

The different paths to state governorship stems from the way in which gender affects political ambition and career aspirations. The purpose of this chapter is to begin to understand individual political ambition formation for state governorships. To begin, I provide a brief summation of previous research on the expectations of how gender differences affect the formation of political ambition for women, how women act on this ambition, and how gender influences the decision-making process for candidates running for public office. Next, I outline my theoretical expectations of political ambition and paths to offices for individuals running for state governorships. I utilize personal interviews with over twenty current and former governors, as well as former candidates for governor to evaluate these expectations. Finally, I demonstrate that gender differences account for behavioral differences between men and women in the formation of political

ambition, as well as acting on this ambition.

2.1 Ambition Formation and Progressive Ambition

Without political ambition individuals would never become involved in public service, nor seek public office. As Schlesinger (1966) stated, "ambition lies at the heart of politics. Politics thrives on the hope of preferment and the drive for office." Over the last four decades, scholarship about the formation of political ambition has expanded our understanding of individual behavior in an electoral setting (Schlesinger 1966; Black 1972; Rohde 1979; Abramson, Aldrich and Rohde 1987; Lawless and Fox 2005; Maestas et al 2006).

Schlesinger's (1966) original formulation of ambition theory is grounded in rational choice theory. Schlesinger argues that individuals work their way up the political career ladder and obtain higher office when the opportunity presents itself. He states that political actors inherently possess a progressive political ambition, one that will lead them to further their political career by seeking higher level office. This formulation of ambition theory inspired a string of scholarly work aimed at expanding a rational choice argument of progressive political ambition (Black 1972; Rohde 1979; Abramson, Aldrich and Rohde 1987). Hain and Smith (1973) empirically examine the role of ambition by looking at elected officials in their current positions, and then comparing their past offices to support the arguments of both Schlesinger and Black. Rohde (1979) and Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde (1987) build on Schlesinger's work and argue that progressive political ambition occurs naturally in all elected officials, but that only a few act on their upward ambition based on opportunity.

Early rational choice analyses of political ambition offered a starting point for considering career movement. However, these analyses neglected to consider the formation of political ambition and how individuals become engaged in electoral politics in the first

place. Moreover, they failed to analyze how political context affects ambition formation. In addition, early theories on political ambition failed to consider the potential for gender differences in the formation of political ambition or the circumstances under which men compared to women might act on their ambition.

More generally, the major shortcoming of most analyses of political ambition is the failure to trace the entire process of ambition formation, acting on this ambition, and then generating a progressive ambition. Most often, studies focus entirely on the "candidate pool" and theorize why individuals run for office the first time (Lawless and Fox 2005; Fox and Lawless 2006), or they attempt to explain progressive ambition based on the current level of office individuals hold (Rohde 1979; Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde 1987; Fowler and McClure 1989; Berkman 1994; Palmer and Simon 2003; Maestas et al 2006). Recent scholarship on political ambition focusing on gender differences stresses the importance of a two-stage process. First, individuals must cultivate political ambition. That is, they must have a yearning for public office or "consider a candidacy"(Lawless and Fox 2010). Second, they must act on this political ambition by actually running for office (Palmer and Simon 2003; Lawless and Fox 2005). Fulton et al (2006) offer the first systematic examination of a two-stage theory of political ambition and show that women state legislators are more sensitive to the strategic considerations that go into running for U.S. Congress.

By focusing on gender, this chapter aims to bring together the work on ambition formation and progressive ambition through an analysis of former U.S. governors and gubernatorial candidates' first-hand accounts of their political careers. A retrospective analysis of their political ambition formation and their rise up the political ladder enables a more complete theory of political ambition. Unlike previous theories of ambition, my argument will focus on both the nascent ambition formation process and progressive political ambition as separate actions. Understanding the career paths of women and

men yields a greater insight into the process of ambition formation and action.

2.2 Systematic Expectations for Ambition

- Expectation One: *Men and women will have differing paths and motivation for developing political ambition early in their careers.*

The first step of analyzing political ambition is to understand the initial motivation for wanting to run for public office. Fox and Lawless (2005) develop a theory of nascent political ambition for potential candidates, wherein nascent political ambition is understood to be a potential candidates' initial interest in seeking public office. The Citizen Political Ambition Study offers a unique opportunity to evaluate gender differences in the formation of political ambition for people who have yet to seek office. Fox and Lawless show that even though men and women are proportionately employed in occupations that lead to political careers – such as lawyers, educators, and business professionals – women are still much less likely to develop political ambition. In fact, women were over 20 percentage points less likely than men of the same profession to consider seeking public office.

Women will often become motivated to run for elective office for different reasons than their male counterparts. Women will generally become involved in a form of political participation other than seeking office prior to running for their first elective position. For many female potential candidates, this type of political participation will often take the form of lobbying or promoting specific causes. Women will become active in political movements, which will eventually give them confidence, or allow them to interact with individuals who influence them to later run for office.

In addition, women who have been active on the campaigns of others develop ambition to run for office themselves at higher rates than women who do not have campaign

experience (Carroll and Strimling 1983; Burt-Way and Kelly 1992; Foerstel and Foerstel 1996). This type of experience is invaluable in cultivating the nascent political ambition of women. While working on political campaigns, they develop the skills necessary to properly fund raise, put together a staff, and campaign.

The role of issues that directly impact families also influences women to become politically active. Darcy, Welch, and Clark (1997), as well as Fox (1997) have shown women are more likely to become involved in issues that will impact their family directly. Many women will begin their political careers first as single issue advocates, gaining experience in the political world, and then run for office later in life. Often times women will focus on issues concerning education or healthcare that directly impact the well-being of their own children. Their experiences in the political arena will often lead to larger scale involvement and running for office.

On the other hand, men are more likely to be self starters. They are more likely to run for political offices without participating in other forms of political activism or campaigning. Generally, men do not need the same cultivation as political actors that women often need in order to initially run for public office. Men are more likely to view themselves as qualified candidates, without necessarily going through another avenue of political involvement.

Moreover, the role of gatekeepers in the recruitment of lower level elected officials will disproportionately favor recruiting men to enter public service. As Lawless and Fox (2005, 2010), as well as Sanbonmatsu (2006) argue, political parties disproportionately recruit men for state legislative races. This allows men to have a higher sense of candidate qualification. This early emphasis on the quality of their candidacies will allow men to cultivate their nascent political ambition earlier, which will lead to earlier entrance into electoral politics.

- Expectation Two: *Women will see themselves as less qualified when deciding to run*

for political office the first time.

Along with the early development of nascent political ambition, one of the most important factors when considering when to run for political office is the self perception of quality. This perception of quality stems from the gender socialization of women and men from early ages. Men are raised to view themselves in a more self confident manner. The psychological factors that lead to the self perception of quality are strongly formed by socialization (see Lawless and Fox 2010 for a complete review). Women generally do not see themselves as being as politically capable as men who share similar demographic positions.

Lawless and Fox (2005) demonstrate that women hold themselves to a much higher standard when asked to think of themselves as a "qualified candidate" for public office. Moore (2006) argues that even for the lowest level of political office, women view themselves as unqualified at higher rates than men. Women also differ from men in their perceptions of winning the potential office they may seek. Also, Fowler and McClure (1989) and Lawless and Fox (2005) show women are much more pessimistic in their odds of winning specific electoral contest. Women view themselves as "very unlikely" to win at much higher rates than men.

This pessimistic self evaluation and lack of confidence in the ability to win electoral contests dissuades women from pursuing political office. The fact that men are more confident in their probability to win an elective position will lead them to run for office and start their careers earlier than women.

- Expectation Three: *Once involved in electoral politics, women will form ambition for state governorship much later in their careers than their male counterparts. Likewise, women will be more strategic when deciding to move up the political ladder and not take electoral risks at the same rate as men.*

This pattern of negative self evaluation does not stop once women enter the political arena. Even with women who have previously won elections at the state legislative level, women are more "strategic" than men when deciding to run for higher level offices (Gertzog 2002; Fulton et al 2006.) Ambitious political women will need a higher perceived success rate to risk moving up the political career ladder. Only when women feel they have a high probability of winning election to a higher office will they run for higher office.

Fulton et al (2006) note the conditional relationship that influences the decision to run for higher office. The authors conclude that women are much more sensitive to the probability of winning office than men. Men, therefore, will attempt to move up the political ladder earlier in their careers, taking greater electoral risks in order to move up the political ladder quicker. Women will bide their time in lower positions, waiting for the most opportunistic election cycle to seek higher level office.

With this more strategic approach to politics, women will be more deliberative when forming their ambition to be governor. Since they will be more concerned with the job they have, they will not be looking for a career advancement until much later in their career. Women's political ambition differ from men as women care more about the position they hold and not the position they could potentially gain later in their careers. This will lead women to develop expressive ambition for governorship much later than their male counterparts.

Part of this story is based on the late career start for women. Women tend to run for office initially much later in life (Thomas, Herrick, and Braunstein 2002). This later development of political ambition will cause women to have a much later starting period when thinking about moving up in their political careers. The Center for Women and Politics (2001) notes the drastic difference in age of women at all levels of elective office when compared to their male counterparts. This leads to the expectation that women's

paths to state governorship will follow a similar trajectory and lead to women developing ambition for governor much later in their careers than men.

- Expectation Four: *Candidates for governor will not see the impact of party recruitment seen at lower levels, regardless of gender.*

One of the most notable structural barriers to women entering political office is the role of political parties as gatekeepers (Sanbonmatsu 2006). Party recruitment of women candidates (or lack thereof) is one of the main causes for low levels of gender equality in representation at both the state legislature level (Sanbonmatsu 2006) and local level (Niven 1998). Fox and Lawless (2004, 2010) note women are much more likely to NOT be asked about running for political office compared to equally qualified men.

The ability of parties to be gatekeepers and control candidates for higher level offices has been diminishing over the past few decades (Aldrich 1995; Jewell and Morehouse 2001). Moreover, Sanbonmatsu (2006) shows that political parties have been taking sides at lower rates in primaries, but the level varies across states. These recent findings at the state legislative level show a pattern of party power diminishing in the capacity to dictate electoral outcomes. In the past, parties would discourage candidates from running in primaries, back popular candidates, or disproportionally fund candidates in order to keep primaries non-competitive and non-combative. This should not be the case for gubernatorial elections. We should not expect parties to parse through candidates for statewide elective offices like they may for lower level offices. Moreover, once women enter public office, their personal ambition will lead them to seek higher level offices, with little influence from party members.

State governorships are highly sought after positions. Other than President, Gubernatorial elections are by far the most competitive in the United States. Self-starters and highly qualified politicians will be seeking this office and will not need the recruitment of parties. Candidates who want to be governor will run for governor regardless of party

encouragement. Parties are also in a difficult position in statewide elective campaigns. If the party overwhelmingly supports one candidate in a primary, they risk alienating a faction of their party, which in turn could diminish the probability of winning the general election. Therefore, parties will sit out the recruitment and primary process, allowing the candidates themselves and voters to decide outcomes.

- Expectation Five: *Women will be more aware and conscious of a gendered political environment within their state while men will downplay gender differences.*

As Schlesinger (1966) points out, one of the most influential aspects of running for political office is the context in which an individual potential candidate exists. As argued in the previous chapter, the cultural histories of a state will develop or hinder individual political ambition. Numerous studies (Hill 1981; Nechemias 1987; Rule 1990; Fox 2010) show the importance of the gendered state political context for women when deciding whether or not to run for office. Women will be much more conscious of this environment than their male counterparts because, unlike men, women have encountered sexism and discrimination based on their gender throughout their political and personal lives. Men tend to downplay the notion of a gendered political climate within their states because they do not face informal sexist attitudes and barriers.

- Expectation Six *Women will be more considerate of family expectations than their male counterparts when initially running for office AND running for higher level office.*

The single largest deterrent for women running for office remains the responsibilities women have to their families (Lawless and Fox 2010). Women disproportionately shoulder childcare and domestic responsibilities. These responsibilities, coupled with pressure from family members and social expectations for women to fulfill traditional gender roles, often inhibit women from pursuing their political careers (Dolan, Deckman and Swers 2007).

When women do become involved in politics while they have young children, it is generally for local level offices or elective offices that have a very limited time constraint. Women tend to move beyond these types of offices when their children are older and do not need the amount of direct care as infants and toddlers (Carroll and Strimling 1983; Elder 2003; Dolan, Deckman and Swers 2007). Men, on the other hand, do not face the double burden of maintaining the traditional family structure while simultaneously pursuing a political career. Rather, male officeholders and candidates tend to assume that their family duties and political goals are not irreconcilable.

2.3 Data and Method

The data used to evaluate ambition formation and individuals' decisions to become involved in electoral politics were collected through in-depth interviews. The interview sample was obtained through communication with staff members, assistants, book publishers, media members, consultants, communication directors and many other intermediaries.

The overall interview sample itself is not a true random sample. I began by identifying the population of former and current female governors who were elected in their own right. I sought out contact information for the nineteen living female governors through state party organizations for former governors as well as communications' offices for current governors. Next, I contacted the former governors via email and sent a brief letter outlining the research project and inviting their participation. [1] A sample of this letter can be found in Appendix 2A. Eight female governors responded to my request and spoke with me in person, over the phone or via written response.

[1] Of the 19 former female governors, contact information was found for all but five. Contact for Sarah Palin (R-AK), Janet Napolitano (D-AZ), Kathleen Sebelius (D-KS), Judy Martz (R-MT), and Jane Dee Hull (R-AZ) was not found.

I contacted male governors through publicly available contact information, and I attempted to interview male governors from states that have had female governors. This allows for a comparison of the gendered political environment within individual states. In total, I contacted eleven former or current male governors, with seven respondents agreeing to interviews. Of these seven male governors, six were former governors and one is a sitting governor.

In addition to interviewing governors, I also spoke with three women who unsuccessfully ran for governor, two campaign consultants, and the former co-chairwoman of the Republican National Committee. Each of these subjects were identified by interview subjects I spoke with who shared their contact information.

The geographical representation of the sample is somewhat skewed. Of the nineteen former and current governors and candidates, the majority of the respondents are from the Northeast (10), while the Midwest (4), South (3), and West (2) are underrepresented. The sample of governors and candidates includes respondents from 11 states. The sample is also predominately Democratic. Of the eighteen respondents, thirteen are Democrats. Moreover, nine of the eleven women interviewed are affiliated with the Democratic Party. Although this 3:1 ratio may be seen as a large pro-Democrat bias, the actual ratio of Democratic to Republican women governors is over 2:1.[2]

Interviews with the governors and candidates took place in person when feasible, over the telephone, or through written response between June 1, 2010 and October 15, 2010. The interviews were intended to elicit responses about the individuals' early political careers and political ambition formation, external political influences that led to their progressive political ambition, the role of party, family, and other political actors in

[2]The response ratio also suffers from a lack of response or contact information for Republican female governors. Of the non-respondents or those lacking contact information, six were Republican, while only three were Democrats. Two of these three Democrats are currently Cabinet Secretaries in the Obama administration.

recruitment/deterennce for running for higher office, and the process of formulating ambition to run for governor. I also asked the respondents to comment on their perceptions of a gendered political environment in their respective state.

For all in-person and telephone interviews, the conversation was based on a semi-structured format (Leech 2002). There were three general topics that motivated the questions in this portion of the interviews – the decision to run for public office, the state political environment during their career, and views of gender equity in the political process. The order of questions for the in-person and phone interviews followed the same general pattern as the paper script distributed for those completing the interviews via written response. The written instrument is included in Appendix 2B.

Each interview began with a brief background on the broad research agenda, the purpose of the interview, and at times a brief statement about myself and current academic position. I began each interview with the broad question of "Why did you get involved in public service?" This question was followed by a series of questions aimed at understanding the personal motivation for progressive political ambition, as well as defining moments in their early political careers that would lead them to seek higher level political office. This portion of the interview varied greatly across subjects. In many instances, the broad question would lead to a detailed account of their ambition, motivation, and career in politics. In all instances of the interviews, I clearly brought up the support of state party organizations and family responsibilities in both ambition formation and progressive ambition.

Following questions on the respondents' personal ambition, I focused the questions on how the state political climate shaped their careers and decision to run for governor. These questions were aimed at gauging the candidates' perceptions of the opportunity structure within their respective states. Finally, I moved the questions away from their personal careers and ambition and asked questions about the role of gender in their state's

political context in an effort to discern their experiences (or lack thereof) with gender inequality in terms of political competition, party support, and support from the general public.

The in-person interviews varied in length from 20 minutes to over 90 minutes. This variation often depended on the environment in which the interview was conducted. Individuals currently serving in public office had much greater time restraints and stuck to a typical 30 minute allotment, while retired respondents would speak more openly, and in many case in much more detail. On average, women respondents would speak to me in greater detail and average nearly 40 minutes per interview, while male respondents averaged 33 minutes per interview.[3]

2.4 Discussion

I present my findings from these interviews by addressing each individual expectation. Where there is considerable overlap in responses, I present multiple expectations at the same time.

- Expectation One: *Men and women will have differing paths and motivation for developing political ambition early in their careers.*

- Expectation Two: *Women will see themselves as less qualified when deciding to run for political office the first time.*

Within the subjects of this study, there is considerable evidence pointing to differences in the development and motivation behind political ambition based on gender. Male respondents were far more likely to have expressive political ambition from an early age

[3]This number is also driven by two interviews with male respondents over meals, excluding these two individuals would give an average interview length of 21 minutes.

– often in their early to mid 20's. Most of the male respondents spoke about an end-goal office, or a general sense of wanting to obtain the highest office possible in their respective careers. In many instances, the political ambition of males was so great it dictated career moves and strategic considerations when deciding which state to live in.

Governor Parris Glendening(D-MD) for example, had the clear goal of becoming the governor of his home-state of Florida. As a political science Ph.D., his career goal was to "take my job as a political scientist, write a couple books, get my tenure, move back to Florida, get involved in politics and eventually run for governor." This calculated life plan was only moderately changed when Glendening won a seat on city council in Maryland. His career and ambition was much better suited to a smaller state, so he changed his career plan to become governor of Maryland. His progressive ambition represented itself clearly in his path to governorship from city councilman, to county council to county executive in a county of nearly a million people.

Senator Tom Carper (D-De) had a similar expressive political ambition, only the end goal was less defined compared to Glendening's.[4] Carper moved numerous times during his childhood from West Virginia to Virginia to Ohio. Following his graduation from the Ohio State University, Carper served five years in the U.S. Navy. Although Carper was stationed in Florida following his time in Vietnam, he felt that he had no identifiable home state. He only knew he wanted to be involved in public service – he just did not know where. Carper said he "literally picked Delaware to move to...". He was "looking for a place where a person wouldn't need a lot of fame and fortune to be involved in public life."

By contrast, the overwhelming majority of women subjects expressed little ambition towards a career in politics. In fact, many women subjects discussed an unwillingness to run for public office at all. One respondent who wished to remain anonymous even

[4]Coincidentally, Governor Glendening and Senator Carper became close friends as they were governors in neighboring states during the same time period.

went as far as saying "I never had any thought of running for political office, in fact, it is something I said I would never do!" The respondents generally talked about wanting to impact public policy or life through means outside of the legislature through lobbying, grassroots organizations, and political campaigning. For example, former Governor Christine Whitman (R-NJ) was raised in a very political household and was interested in politics from a young age, but she was not convinced her impact on policy would be through public office. When asked about her entrance into public service, she said "I knew I'd be involved in public policy somehow. I didn't know how. It wasn't necessarily running for public office."

Most women in this analysis were drawn into politics mostly by single issues facing their families, towns, counties or states at a specific time. These respondents elaborated on individual policies or issues that they felt they could impact at some level. Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH), for instance, stated "I ran for State Senate in 1990 because I was frustrated with the lack of action in the New Hampshire Legislature to address economic concerns and I thought I had something to contribute." Likewise, Madeleine Kunin (D-VT) ran for her first public office to focus on environmental policy, while Barbara Roberts (D-OR) ran for school board to focus on issues of local education.

Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the women respondents were political self starters, receiving little recruitment or encouragement to run for office by party elites. Part of the low level of recruitment could be attributed to the types of offices these women were running for. The overwhelming majority of the respondents ran for local offices – i.e. school board, city council – before running for their state legislative positions.

This is in contrast to most of the male respondents who initially sought higher level offices. The male respondents often developed their political ambition and ran for a specific office after being recruited by party members or political elites in their states. Unlike the female respondents, all but one of the male respondents was recruited by party

organizations for specific positions. In many instances, the party identified individuals they felt would be strong candidates not only for one specific office, but also higher level offices they could be groomed to run for. Both Pete du Pont (R-DE) and Mike Castle (R-DE) were heavily recruited by party elites to run for the State House in the late 1960's. Unlike all of the women respondents, both du Pont and Castle only stayed in the Delaware House for a single 2 year term. Du Pont would successfully run for an open seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1970, while Castle won a seat in the Delaware Senate in 1968.

These early State House campaigns were more of an effort to show the candidates themselves how to be successful in an electoral context before pushing for higher level offices. Party elites in the state identified each of these individuals as young, quality candidates who could be major players in state politics for many decades. du Pont's family was a fixture in Delaware political and social circles since the colonial era with a name recognition and personal fortune that would add instant credibility to any of Pete du Pont's candidacies. Castle was a well respected attorney who had successfully worked in the District Attorneys' office where he gained recognition as being a skilled prosecutor as well as being tough on crime. These two were identified as the future of a moderate, fiscally conservative Republican Party in the state. Each served two terms as governor, as well as multiple terms in the U.S. Congress. The party developed and expanded their political careers unlike any of the female respondents in this study.

This type of recruitment by parties of male potential candidates was not uncommon amongst the male interview subjects. Governor Bob Taft (R-OH) was well aware of the state party's role in advancing his political career. Although politically ambitious himself due to his family connections, Governor Taft recognized the role of the party in identifying him early in his career and encouraging him to run for office. Governor Taft noted "with my dad and grandfather, the name was well known. It created an opportunity and

interest, I think, in the statewide party leaders to involve me" in running for elective office.[5]

Paul Patton (D-KY) was recruited by party leaders for a different reason than those noted above. Beyond name recognition, Patton was an extremely wealthy owner of a coal company in his home state. After he sold his interest in his company, he was approached by U.S. Congressman Carroll Hubbard about running for governor. Hubbard had a theory that a new face in Kentucky politics with a million dollars to spend on the race could win the governorship. Patton said he was "flattered at the time. I was 42 and a U.S. Congressman wanted me to run for governor." Patton did not run for governor during this particular race, feeling Hubbard was "trying to take advantage" of him. Patton did however start thinking about running for governor, even meeting with party leaders to draw up a long term plan that would allow him to win lower level office, learn to campaign, and set a solid political base in the state for a future gubernatorial bid.

Despite the fact that the majority of the women candidates were self-motivated, they rarely viewed themselves as unqualified for the office they were seeking when entering politics for the first time. Part of this may lie in the level of office they sought – lower level local offices – but this could also be a by-product of the type of women who eventually become governor. Although they did not have the political ambition and yearning to move up the career ladder the male politicians exhibited, all of the candidates were confident in their ability to win public office. The type of person – male or female – who eventually becomes governor does not have the personality types that lead to uncertainty in their capabilities. In fact, all of the women alluded to a "no one is better or more qualified than me" attitude about their prospective position.

[5]Governor Taft's family is perhaps the most well-known in the state of Ohio. His father was U.S. Senator Robert Taft Jr. who served one term in the U.S. Senate and three terms in the U.S. House. His grandfather, Robert Taft served three terms in the U.S. Senate and his Great Grandfather was U.S. President and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court William Howard Taft.

- Expectation Three: *Once involved in electoral politics, women will form ambition for state governorship much later in their careers than their male counterparts. Likewise, women will be more strategic when deciding to move up the political ladder, and not take electoral risks at the same rate as men.*

Expectation Three was supported in the interviews I conducted in that women would form ambition for state governorships later in their careers, but women were more likely to take risks in an effort to move up the political career ladder. All of the women interviewed in this research exhibited similar patterns of behavior in that they all formed their ambition for governor much later in their respective careers. The pattern of generating expressive ambition for governor was one that was preceded by many years in lower level public office. The women I spoke with mostly never considered running for higher office until a very short window before their actual candidacy.

Women politicians followed the traditional path of climbing the political career ladder. Most of these women initially sought elective office at the local level. Following a term on county or city councils, or school boards, women candidates would then run for state legislaure. Once in the state legislature, these women would expand the scope of their policy interest and begin to feel they could significantly impact the policy direction of the state as a whole. Very rarely did the women respondents think about running for governor while in lower level offices. Only after they were elected to statewide office did the majority of the female respondents consider a bid for governor in their future.

The women respondents also had much different paths to the governors' office from men. The women respondents exhibit significant differences than men when looking at the length of time in their first elective office. They spent on average 7.7 years in the office they were first elected. The male respondents, on the other hand, only remained in their first elective office for 4.5 years. The seven women who spent time in their state's legislature averaged a little over 11 years in the legislature before running for higher

office, while the male respondents averaged 4 years in the legislature before moving up.

These findings on early career tenure are only half of the story. I previously hypothesized that women will be more strategic when running for higher level office- which would imply longer careers before running for governor. This is not the case. Amongst those interviewed, the women averaged 15.75 years in public service prior to running for governor, while men averaged 15.42 years. Moreover, women actually moved up to the governorship quicker than men when looking at their tenure in the office directly before running for governor. Women held their last office prior to the governorship on average of 6.16 years, while the male respondents were in their final office for 8.28 years.

Once women get past the hurdle of entering public service and develop political ambition, their career trajectory unfolds in a very similar manner as men. The largest hurdle in ambition formation amongst those interviewed was the initial office. Once women became involved in electoral politics, they move up the political ladder quicker than men. The men just have initial motivation which allows them to spend less time in lower level office. Barbara Roberts (D-OR), for example, spent only four years in the Oregon House before moving up to Secretary of State. During her brief time in the Oregon House however, she quickly became the House Minority leader. In 1984 she would have easily been elected to become Speaker of the Oregon House of Representatives. However, an open seat for Secretary of State was more appealing to Roberts. She felt she was the most qualified candidate for an office that had been held by Republicans for over 110 years. When speaking of her career choice to run for this seat she said,

> I didn't think there was any viable candidate who had a chance on the Democratic side of winning that office. I looked at a couple candidates who were speculating about running, and I knew I was a better campaigner than they were. I was stronger. I could run statewide easier. So I gave up my House seat, I gave up my chance to be Speaker for a long shot at winning a seat the

> Democrats had not held in 110 years. It was a pretty risky move when I did this. I was risking everything I gained up until then for this seat that nobody believed I could win.

One notable difference between men and women is the motivation for upward political ambition. With the exception of Pete du Pont, all of the men I spoke with had a long term political career plan that would lead to their respective state's executive office. Du Pont's career was more defined as the opportunity to move up in office presented itself. This career path was often a very calculated plan that was based on moving to higher office only when presented with near assurance of victory. All of these men would be recruited or strongly encouraged to run for higher office. With the exception of Paul Patton,[6] all seven of the male respondents served multiple terms in the offices they held immediately before running for governor.

Women, on the other hand, typically ran for governor very quickly after reaching statewide elective office. Six of the eight women I spoke with ran for their state's governorship with fewer than 2 terms served at the statewide level.[7] Ruth Ann Minner and an anonymous respondent are the only respondents who served two full 4 year terms prior to being a candidate for governor.

These findings suggest it is more a matter of opportunity for women when deciding when to run for governor. Unlike the male respondents, the women respondents often did not have concrete plans to run for governor until right before the election period. Dawn Clark Netsch (D-IL), for example, spent 18 years in the Illinois Senate, wanted to be the attorney general in 1990 but did not want to challenge the first and only African American statewide elected officer, incumbent comptroller Roland Burris, for

[6]Patton himself was in an office that only allowed a single 4 year term. The year he was elected governor was the first electoral cycle in which Governors and Lt. Governors could be reelected.

[7]Madeleine Kunin served consecutive two year terms as Lt. Governor in Vermont prior to running for Governor in 1982.

the position. She instead decided to run for State Auditor. While in this position she realized the extent of Illinois's fiscal shortcomings and tax crises. She said, "no one was facing up to Illinois's fiscal problems, and I decided the only way I could really get enough attention to get something done about them was to be governor."

Betty Montgomery (R-OH) similarly ran for governor in Ohio because she felt slighted by the Republican party for backing a less qualified candidate for the nomination. In two election cycles, she was the statewide candidate with the highest vote total and had been a statewide elected official for twelve years. In 2006, Republicans overlooked Montgomery in favor of a male statewide official when supporting a primary candidate. Subsequently, she admits that her ambition for the governorship developed in reaction to this perceived slight. She went so far as to classify her motivation for running for governor as "not a pretty ambition." Her reason for running for governor was to prove a point. As she put it, "If I can be honest, I was feeling that I was not being taken as serious as I deserved. At that point, I just said 'oh I am going to show them'." Ultimately, this proved to be a poor political move – Montgomery dropped out of the contest early due to fundraising considerations and went on to lose her bid to reclaim the Attorney General position that she had easily won in two previous elections before being termed out.

The most common theme presented in these interviews on the formation and acting upon ambition for governorships is the opportunistic nature of women candidates. Contrary to expectations, women are actually more inclined to take risks when running for governor. Whereas evidence suggests women are strategic or reluctant to initially run for public office, these interviews show women were more likely to take risks at multiple points in their career than their male counterparts. The male respondents ran for governor in elections that were open seat elections except for Pete du Pont, while 40% of the women respondents challenged sitting incumbent governors.

The women candidates behavior exhibits a strategic consideration counter to the expectation. Most of the women noted the opportunity to run for governor presented itself with little warning or long term consideration. Barbara Roberts (D-OR) knew she was going to run for governor "about 12 hours before announcing" due to the unexpected retirement of the incumbent governor. Likewise, Christine Whitman (R-NJ) noted she had to challenge the sitting governor in New Jersey's 1993 gubernatorial contest to capitalize on the political momentum she gained from her unexpectedly high showing in the previous senate election.

Most of the women respondents openly discussed the high risk they were taking when they announced their candidacies. Governors Roberts and Whitman both noted the potential impact that losing a gubernatorial election would have on ending their respective political careers'. Dawn Clark Netsch (D-IL), as well as an anonymous respondent, both saw their defeats in gubernatorial elections as the end of their careers' in public office. None of the male governors portrayed running for governor as a risky venture – it was merely a step in their career path. For some, this was the end of their political career by choice – this was what they had worked for their entire career. While other male respondents noted this was just another stop in the career path while moving on to other elective offices- notably U.S. Senate or House, and in one instance a Presidential campaign.

- Expectation Four: *Candidates for governor will not see the impact of party recruitment seen at lower levels, regardless of gender.*

For Expectation Four, the interviews offered mixed results that often had to do with the context and structure of the political party system within individual states. One point is clear: party recruitment patterns varied across gender lines. Women would rarely see support or recruitment from party organizations with a strong hierarchical structure and would often times face a party backed primary candidate. Male candidates

on the otherhand, were often recruited by party elites to run for governor, or controlled the party system in the state to the point they could dictate party influence in supporting candidates. The context of the state, as well as the strength of the party organization, often dictated the gender bias in recruitment and support.

States with strong party structures and centralized power in their party organizations are those with the largest level of gendered differences in party recruitment. Strong party organizations behave differently than states with weak party structures. Strong parties exhibit more traditionalistic behavior in maintaining the status quo of the candidates they support. As many of the interview subjects noted, states with a strong party structure went out of their way to maintain a male dominated structure in recruitment and support of candidates. An influx of women candidates would potentially impact the outcomes of the elections by offering a new type of candidate to the voters. This uncertainty compelled these types of parties to discourage women from running or encourage male candidates to run against women in party primaries.

Ohio, New Jersey and Illinois are prime examples of the way in which political parties negatively impact women gubernatorial candidates. In these states, women respondents reported the harshest attitudes of party organizations toward female candidates. Women were not only discouraged from running, but they also faced primary competition when male candidates with similar credentials would run unopposed. For example, Christine Whitman said "I have to believe if I was a male candidate who had done as well as I had done, I wouldn't have a 3-way primary. The party would have worked harder to keep other people out of it... I was the party peoples' worst nightmare after the '90 Senate race. I hadn't gone away. I was a viable candidate after that.[8]" Whitman faced a strong challenge for the nomination from party supported former Attorney General Cary

[8]Whitman was seen as a sacrificial candidate in the 1990 Senate campaign against Bill Bradley- a very popular incumbent. However, Whitman kept the race close, only losing by 3 points.

Edwards,[9] a personal friend and ally of former Governor Thomas Kean. Edwards had previously ran for the Republican nomination in 1989, but lost by a wide margin in the primary.

Overall, the interviewees noted their party organizations have a mentality of a "good ol' boys" network that was both intimidating for women, but also posed serious opposition for women when trying to enter politics and move up the political career ladder. Women from these states candidly discussed this structure and the difficultly they experienced when trying to run for office or gain the support of the establishment.

Betty Montgomery (R-OH) detailed the impact of her gender on party recruitment in the following:

> It goes with being a woman. There's a comfortability of players in the hierarchy – the donors and the political players because they have been in the same locker room together, they speak the same language, they golf together, they tend to surround themselves with people they know. When you're a woman, you're not in the men's locker room, and so until you can figure out a way to bridge that, it is harder to be seen as a serious contender.

Christine Whitman (R-NJ) spoke of the New Jersey Republican party in a very similar manner. She said:

> It's been an old boy network for a long time. It's not that the men are sexists, it's that they don't think about it. When they pick candidates, they tend to pick candidates that look like them. They pick candidates they would go out and have a drink with and they don't go out and have a drink with women. So it's a question of who are they buddies with? Who do they play golf with?

[9]Edwards' selection as Attorney General was not from an electoral victory. At this time, only the Governor of New Jersey was an elective office- all other statewide offices were appointed. Edwards political experience included 3 years in the state assembly where the future governor Kean served as his mentor.

Women in these states often ran for governor in spite of the party's status quo of supporting male candidates. Each woman faced a difficult primary with multiple male elective officials running against them despite their qualifications. For instance, Montgomery ran against two statewide elective officials, Attorney General Jim Petro and Secretary of State Ken Blackwell. The party itself did not officially endorse any of the three candidates, but it did break from a party norm in this election of selecting the most viable candidate from the field and discouraging others from running.

Smaller states often have the weakest party organization and do not exhibit discriminatory behavior towards women candidates. States such as Delaware, Vermont, and New Hampshire, where party organizations are decentralized and candidates are not as dependent on party financing, recruited women to run for governor. These states would actually encourage women to run for office and pursue an upward career ladder.

For example, Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) was recruited by her party to run for governor in 1996 despite only serving for 6 years in the New Hampshire Senate. She said, "leaders in the New Hampshire Democratic Party frequently encouraged me to run for higher office. During my time in the State Senate, my colleagues and various community leaders began to encourage me." Madeleine Kunin (D-VT) and Ruth Ann Minner (D-DE) also received high levels of party support and encouragement of their candidacies following highly popular terms as Lieutenant Governors. All three entered the gubernatorial primaries as the favorite and faced no real primary competition.[10] Moreover, these women never felt as outsiders, or had the party position themselves against their respective candidacies.

Male candidates experienced little variation in party recruitment, regardless of state, position, or party affiliation. All but two of the male respondents were their parties' candidate of choice. Governor Jack Markell (D-De) and Paul Patton (D-KY) were the

[10]Governor Kunin's first bid in 1982 saw a non-competitive primary with a candidate receiving 7.2% of the vote. Her successful 1984 run saw no Democratic challengers.

exceptions. In 1996, Patton, the incumbent Lieutenant Governor, ran for an open seat[11]. He faced tough competition from two seasoned politicians in the Secretary of State and President Pro-Temp of the Senate. At the time, Kentucky's party system was not a centralized unit and party factions influenced statewide races.

Markell, however, was a significant break from party politics in Delaware. He broke the Democratic party norm by opposing the party's favored candidate, Lieutenant Governor John Carney. Historically, the Democratic party in Delaware would hand pick gubernatorial candidates to avoid contentious elections. In 2008, Markell challenged an "extremely popular incumbent Lieutenant Governor and 97% of the Democratic party establishment" because he felt "in his heart of hearts, he was a better choice for the needs and people of Delaware." The other male respondents were all hand picked successors to the Governorship that were recruited and supported by the party establishment their entire careers.

In addition, a major difference in male and female candidates was the role of the men in the actual party organization. Of those participating in this research, none of the women were strong party figures. Most originally became involved in politics as an "outside the party norm" candidate, and continued that position for their entire career. Men, on the other hand, became the leaders of their respective parties and would play key roles in the recruitment and advancement of other candidates for lower level offices.

The most glaring example of this was Tom Carper (D-DE). He took over control of the Delaware Democratic party to reform a corrupt operation. While he was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, he began to think about running for Governor in 1992. The party establishment did not fully support this move because Carper was not as well liked in the party establishment as some other politicians. In 1989, Carper worked to have one of his political allies win control over the party. With this victory, Carper

[11]The 1996 election saw a change in the Kentucky constitutiion that changed the single term limit of statewide elected officials.

became the de facto leader of the party, instituting reforms that would eventually solidify his standing in the party as its best gubernatorial candidate in 1992.

- Expectation Five: *Women will be more aware and conscious of a gendered political environment within their state, while men will downplay gender differences and stereotypes in their state.*

The interview subjects offered strong evidence supporting the notion of a gendered political environment within their states. Women overwhelmingly emphasized the difficulties of navigating their states' respective political environment throughout every aspect of the political process – ambition, running for office, fundraising, winning elections, gaining party support and governing. Men on the other hand conceded that there were barriers in their state based on gender, but they all emphasized how these barriers were beginning to lower and the states were becoming more open to women in public office.

The respondents' framing offered an interesting insight into how they viewed the gender equality in their states. When male respondents discussed equality in political representation, they would all begin with an examination of their early political careers and point out a few high profile examples of women in elective office. Instead of looking at the larger political landscape, male respondents focused primarily on the handful of high-profile women who had been elected in their state. Governor Patton (D-KY) for instance felt there was not a difference in gender in his state, noting they had elected Martha Layne Collins as governor. Interestingly, Patton failed to note that Kentucky was 49th out of the 50 states with respect to female representation in the legislature, with women being less than 8% of the legislative body. Similarly, Pete du Pont (R-DE) focused on two women who served as state treasurer during his tenure.

Patton (D-Ky) noted that individual characteristics of women would also inhibit their ability to enter public service. He argued the low-level of female representation is not a result of the political climate, but of individual women. He said

> Let me offer you some unsolicited observations. In my opinion, one of the reasons women are less involved in politics is they are more afraid of failure, they are more embarrassed to lose, or maybe men are more overconfident. I think the reason women don't get involved as much as men do is they are afraid to lose.

His sentiment was not echoed by the other male respondents. None of the other men made an effort to hypothesize about the status of women in their states like Governor Patton, and the other male respondents were much more encouraging about the role of women in their state governments.

The male respondents took a retrospective approach and framed a gendered political environment as a historical legacy, rather than a persistent and salient trend. They generally felt women had an equal opportunity to participate in electoral politics in their respective states. This contradictory notion by the male respondents was often coupled with the discussion of a state's willingness to elect women to public office changing over time. For example, Governor Pete du Pont (R-DE) offered the view that society has righted itself during his adult lifetime in a way that led to greater social equality, which in turn led to greater political equality. He said " A general change in society has occurred. I mean, America has become a much more equal country in men and women involved in everything. Look at CEO's, there are many more women than there used to be. Look at the legislatures, many more than there used to be. Society has changed itself over time."

This quote echoes a general theme across both genders noting the improvement being made in these states in regards to gender equality in the political arena. Most of the respondents began their political careers in the late 1970's and early 1980's when representation by women in politics was minimal in most states. There were few if any statewide elected women officials and a small number of women serving in legislatures.

All of the respondents, however, noted that their states began seeing widespread participation by women throughout the 1990's and 2000's. Women candidates went from being throw-in token candidates, to serious political players over the course of the past 30 years. As Congressman Mike Castle (R-DE) stated "I think there is greater acceptance now, if you look at the numbers, state legislatures, various councils, there are more women. Women, first of all, are more educated than they would have been forty years ago, and are now more educated than men, which is a factor... I think women are more inclined to run for political office for both parties now, which makes a difference in the amount of women serving."

While the male respondents focused primarily on the exceptional women in their state during their time in office, the women respondents all pointed to the continued under-representation of women in their state legislature as a testament to a gendered political environment. The women respondents spoke critically of their states' failure to achieve higher levels of female representation and suggested their states should be more like states that have reached higher levels of representational equality–with many pinpointing Washington state as a model. While many admired the achievements of their female predecessors and other women who had won elective offices, women respondents would approach these as examples of why more women should run for higher level office. The prospective outlook of women respondents in terms of gender equality in representation was in sharp contrast to the retrospective approach of the male respondents.

All of the women respondents discussed experiences of sexism while serving as governor and made a clear point to discuss how they were treated differently compared to their male predecessors. Not only did the women governors feel more pressure to succeed and felt increased scrutiny due to their gender, but they also faced outright prejudicial attitudes. For instance, Governor Barbara Roberts (D-OR) noted that three times in her four year tenure, opposition groups circulated a recall petition. Governor Roberts said

"if I hadn't been a woman, they would have never done it. I think they felt I just didn't have the right to be there and they expressed that." Despite the fact that they failed to collect the necessary signatures to institute a recall, Roberts faced three separate and unsuccessful attempts to remove her from office.

Likewise, Governor Whitman (R-NJ) candidly expressed her experiences in the gendered political environment of New Jersey. In her words, "There is bias. There is gender bias no matter what anyone says." During her early career and time as governor, Whitman faced critique and pressure due to her gender. Media outlets and critics in her state contended that "Her husband was behind the ideas of the governor. He was the one with the tax plan." Moreover, she felt that the media overplayed her gender by unnecessarily scrutinizing her clothing, hair, and makeup – sentiments echoed by all but two of the other women governors. Governor Roberts (D-OR) noted the abundance of letters written to the governor's office regarding her "fingernails, skirts, pants, clothing, hair – things that would have never been brought up if I were a man."

- Expectation Six *Women will be more considerate of family expectations than their male counterparts when initially running for office AND running for higher level office.*

Family expectations play a more pressing role in the women candidates' ambition formation and actions, regardless of the office they pursue. It is important to note the average age of the interview subjects is not reflective of the population of women governors as a whole. The women in this interview pool are relatively younger compared to the rest of the women governors who did not participate- averaging just under 51 when they take office whereas the population average age is 56. Six of the eight women governors under the age of 50 were interviewed for this study. Much of this has to do with the fact that the women governors who took office later in their lives have passed away, but this can also be attributed to the average age of women governors lowering since 2000. Moreover,

the average age of the male governors in this analysis was 49, while the average age of male governors is typically 52.[12]

The results of this analysis support the pattern outlined in Expectation Six, family duties were a primary determinant in the political ambition formation and career trajectory of the women respondents. All of the women expressed concern with initially running for office with small children. In addition, family duties would also dictate the kind of office women would initially seek, with most only doing so in states with citizen or part time legislatures. Madeleine Kunin (D-VT), for example, noted that the only reason she was able to run for public office in the first place and raise her children was the part-time structure of Vermont's legislature.

Much like previous research, these findings show women will wait until later in life to enter political races –often times until their children are teenagers. None of the women in this analysis served in full-time elective offices while their children were young . When women decided to run for governor, their children were most often in their teenage years or in college. Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) reflects this thought process when she stated, "My youngest daughter was in elementary school while I was in the State Senate. I didn't want to run for governor until she was a bit older." Of the women interviewed, only Governor Whitman and Senator Shaheen had children living at home when they ran for governor, and they were all teenagers.

In contrast, only one of the male respondents noted children as a serious consideration when he decided to become Governor. Senator Carper (D-DE) noted that one of the reasons he left the U.S. House of Representatives for the Governorship was the ability to control his own schedule. He had two young sons at the time and the prospect of coming home to his family for dinner every night was appealing. Unlike the women respondents,

[12]The average age of male governors during the time period where women have been elected ranges from 49.9 to 57.6, but this does not consider the age when the men first took office- it is a yearly average.

many of the male respondents experienced the birth of a child while in public office – something none of the women in this analysis did. Men would be more willing to engage in political careers –whether starting out or running for governor when they had younger children. Governor du Pont, Senator Carper, and Governor Markell all ran for governor with children under the age of 13, while Governor Parris Glendening actually became a father during his second term as Maryland's governor. This shows that it is somewhat acceptable for men to have young children while in office, but women are often criticized for having small children and serving as Governor.

Women's family duties extend beyond their children to their spouses. While some women politicians had support from their husbands, some respondents faced criticism from their spouses for continuing their political careers. Governor Barbara Roberts spoke of her late husband as her "biggest supporter" who pushed her to pursue her political career. While one respondent noted difficulty with her spouse and family supporting her career. An anonymous respondent noted that her "family wasn't very thrilled about me running. I knew this going in and it didn't make things any easier. My husband in particular didn't want to be married to the governor... he was sick of it and only saw it getting worse."

2.5 Conclusions

How women develop political ambition, act on this ambition and move up the political career ladder have important normative implications in American politics. Understanding the behavior of women potential candidates for office at multiple stages in their respective careers increases our understanding of the decision-making process of politicians. The scholarship, however, that explores women's political ambition often time focuses solely on candidates for office the first time. Expanding the scope of ambition studies by evaluating the entirety of a political career offers important insight into gender differences

in political ambition.

I have argued that women behave differently throughout their respective political careers compared to their male counterparts. I hypothesize that women develop ambition for public service later in life, and progressive ambition for state governorship later in their careers than men. I also argue women are impacted differently throughout their careers by party influences, family considerations and their personal views of their qualifications. Expanding on previous work on women's political ambition, I have offered a theory of political ambition and upward career movement towards state governorship.

Much like earlier scholarship on women's political ambition, these interviews confirm the hypothesis that women tend to be self-starters, begin their careers much later in life, and receive little party recruitment. Women, however, are more likely to take electoral risks when moving up the political career ladder, challenging incumbents at higher rates than their male counterparts, and entering races with greater levels of electoral uncertainty.

A primary finding of this research remains the role of political parties in recruiting women candidates at multiple levels of office. Women often times move up the political career ladder in spite of tension, and often times competition from parties in their states. These interviews show insight into the major impact parties have in recruiting men to run for office, and advance their careers while women lag behind in party backing. Often time men see encouragement and support from political parties from the lowest level of public all the way to the governors mansion. Women were rarely offered this type of support.

The most glaring finding of these interviews was the higher standard women are held to when running for office and when they govern. Sexism from parties, media outlets, and other factions within states stand out in the minds of these former and current women governors. Many of the respondents noted the difficult terrain they had to navigate in

order to govern while maintaining a positive view in terms of gender stereotypes and expectations of their respective states.

This research emphasizes the importance of gender considerations in all aspects of political careers. From a normative perspective, evaluating the gender norms and behaviors in the American states will lend to a more detailed understanding of the role of candidates, parties, and the media in statewide elective offices.

Chapter 3

Gendered Campaign Strategies in U.S. Gubernatorial Elections: 'Women Running as Women'...sometimes

Female candidates running for public office are faced with unique constraints in their political campaigns due to gender stereotypes and expectations that are part of American culture. These gender stereotypes shape voters' expectations and provide low information cues regarding the policy preferences, ideological positions, and leadership styles of female candidates. When devising campaign strategies, female candidates can either reinforce these gender stereotypes and "run as women," or they can campaign against these stereotypes and converge to what are perceived as traditional "masculine" issues (Carroll 1994; Dabelko and Hernson 1997; Dolan 2005; Hernson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Larson 2001; Kahn 1993, 1996). The current literature offers mixed evidence of both of these strategies being exhibited by female candidates with little consensus on a generalizable finding. These mixed findings are a result of how scholars are examining campaign

strategies. Strategies can change over the course of a campaign in response to the behavior of opponents or changes in the candidate's evaluation in the eyes of the electorate. Thus, a better test of the strategies of female candidates and their male opponents should focus on these campaign dynamics. This article examines the behavior of both male and female candidates running for governor, and the ensuing analysis focuses specifically on the interaction between the two candidates over the course of the campaign. The following research question guides my inquiry: under what campaign conditions will women run as women? I also examine how male candidates frame their campaigns and respond to changing campaign tactics by their opponent based on gender.

I argue that women behave strategically in their campaign behavior when deciding how to navigate gender stereotypes. Female candidates will not want to play to gender stereotypes and focus their political campaigns on "feminine" or "women's" issues such as education and social programs. Female candidates will play against gender stereotypes and show they are capable and experienced in the more "masculine" political areas such as taxes and the economy. Gendered expectations of governors will lead female candidates to attempt to show the electorate that they are not a typical female candidate. Women running for governor will want to avoid being labeled as the "female candidate for governor." Rather they prefer to appear as the "candidate for governor" in order to avoid negative responses from the electorate (Larson 2001; Witt, Paget and Matthews 1994). However, there may be a point during a campaign in which women must appeal to "feminine" issues in order to close a gap in their polling position by targeting women voters and appealing to their main electoral base (Hernson, Lay, and Stokes 2003).

Furthermore, male candidates should also behave strategically in their campaign behavior when facing a female opponent. A male candidate might realize that his female opponent does not want to campaign on women's issues, which gives him an incentive to campaign on feminine issues for several reasons. First, a male candidate may not want

to simply cede women's issues to his female opponent without at least making her work for it. Second, if the female opponent does not respond, the male candidate may cut into the female candidate's support amongst women. Finally, if the female opponent does respond, he will have succeeded in getting her to potentially characterize herself as a "female candidate" in exactly the way she would have preferred not to, even if she is viewed as stronger on women's issues. Thus, male candidates running against female opponents may be more likely to move first on stressing women's issues during the campaign, and if their female opponents respond, male candidates may be first to move away from those issues.

In this research I examine the campaign behavior and issue priorities of male and female candidates for state governorship. First, I outline previous findings on the issue priorities put forth by female candidates and note their shortcomings in both theory and execution. Second, I fully develop my dynamic theory of gendered campaign behavior and offer expectations for candidate behavior. I test this theory by analyzing television advertisements in 33 races in the 2002 and 2004 gubernatorial elections. This research demonstrates a dynamic interaction occurs between male and female candidates. Rather than responding to changing poll positions, women respond primarily to their male opponents' use of feminine issue advertisements.

3.1 Gender Differences in Campaign Strategies

Among other concerns, candidates must determine which issues to emphasize when choosing a campaign strategy. A candidate must also attempt to anticipate or predict the response of the electorate when they frame their campaign and anticipate the behavior of their opponent (Carsey 2001; Carsey et.al. 2011). Female candidates face additional considerations. When women campaign for public office, they must respond to gender stereotypes and navigate gendered expectations (Schaffner 2005). Voters use gender as

a low information cue when evaluating areas of policy expertise for candidates. Scholars have consistently shown that voters evaluate women as more qualified on "compassion" or "feminine" issues, such as education and social welfare, and less qualified on issues involving "masculine" issues, such as the economy and foreign policy (Brown, Heighberger, and Shocket 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Sanbonmatsu 2002). Men, on the other hand, are viewed as better leaders and decision-makers, and are assumed to be more qualified on "hard" political issues (Koch 1999). The way in which women frame their campaigns and strategies will often be in response to the electorates' views on gender roles and expectations in policy preferences.

Research exploring gender differences in campaign strategies is focused primarily on issue ownership and priming. Petrocik (1996) argues that candidates should emphasize issues in which they exhibit expertise and avoid issues for which their opponents have policy expertise. Early research on female candidates' issue priorities supports the issue ownership hypothesis and concludes that women are more likely to play to gender stereotypes and focus on issues they are seen as more adept at handling–such as education and social welfare. Kahn (1996) finds differences in U.S. Senate candidates' issue priorities across gender lines. Women mentioned social programs at much higher rates than men, while men focused more heavily on foreign policy and economic issues. Hernson, Lay, and Stokes (2003) further support these findings, concluding that "women running as women" in contests for the U.S. House of Representatives increase their vote share and probability of winning elections. These findings extend beyond races for U.S. Congress. Larson (2001) and Iyengar et. al. (1997) report similar conclusions in state legislative races, and Williams (1998) finds similar results in gubernatorial contests.

The findings change when scholars analyze women's campaigns within their specific historical context. Several scholars argue that women's styles and issue priorities converge to those of male candidates. Bystrom (2006) provides an overview of the video styles of

female and male candidates over time and argues that female candidates' political ads in the 1980's were more likely to focus on education and health care, while men primarily emphasized tax policies. By the 1990's, however, Bystrom shows that female and male candidates were "strikingly similar" in their issue emphasis, trait emphasis, and overall use of campaign advertisements. Further evaluation of women's campaign strategies has shown a decrease in the use of feminine issue priorities and a convergence with males on campaign behavior. Dolan (2005) also finds that Congressional candidates in 2000 and 2002 did not differ in their issue priorities on campaign websites based on their gender.

Not only have scholars accounted for the change in campaign strategies of women over time, but they have also considered the impact of women's candidacies on the behavior of their male opponents (Fox 1997; Dolan 2005). Fox (1997) argues that males cannot operate in the same manner when faced with female opponents and that they are constrained in the types of issues they can prioritize. Contrary to Fox's claim, Dolan's (2005) findings suggest that differences in the issue priorities of candidates on their webpages is a result of party differences rather than gender differences. Put differently, male candidates may not necessarily be constrained by their opponents' gender, but are merely following their party's platform in a given election cycle.

Despite the findings generated from this body of research, I suggest that analyses of gender differences in campaign strategies have two major shortcomings. First, the scope of the theory is too narrow. In other words, scholars must account for changes in the context of the elections–particularly time and polling position– when theorizing about the way in which women frame their issue strategies and navigate gender stereotypes. Campaigns are not conducted in a vacuum. Second, the manner in which campaigns have been studied does not truly measure campaign behavior. Most research looks at the total count of issues put forth by female candidates compared to their male opponents (Khan 1993; Hernson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Dolan 2006). I argue that when we look

to identify gender differences in issue priorities, we cannot look at the aggregated issue preferences over the election as a whole. The issue priorities put forth by candidates are not constant; their voice and intensity can fluctuate. By summing these at the end of the electoral cycle, we lose valuable information about how these strategies evolved over the course of the campaign. We need to examine the dynamic nature of campaigns and elections and model the strategic behavior of candidates based on the context and environment of the electoral contest. Ultimately, our expectations for female candidates' issue preferences need to account for the strategic nature of candidates when framing their campaign behavior and updating behavior when new information becomes available.

3.2 Women as Strategic Actors in a Dynamic Process

Candidates must update their behavior in a manner most likely to increase their favor in the eyes of the electorate. To do so, they must evaluate the electoral context based on the information available to them. Available information often changes in campaigns, and candidates have to respond by updating their strategies or staying the course in an attempt to increase or maintain their support. Several scholars have furthered our understanding of campaign behavior by focusing on the dynamic nature of elections (Carsey 2000; Carsey et. al. 2011; Johnston et. al. 2004). As Box-Steffensmeier, Darmofal and Farrell (2009) argue, scholars must evaluate the process over time to measure the true impact of campaign strategies to fully understand how a campaign unfolds. When analyzing the true impact of campaigns, looking at the end result, or "box score", is an inadequate scientific approach (Granato and Wong 2004).

Carsey et. al. (2011) provide three theories of dynamic campaign strategies. First, candidates can choose a campaign strategy and stick to it regardless of the information

flow or context of the campaign. In this theory, candidates may simply "talk past" their opponents. Second, candidates can react to the behavior of their opponents, either in issue space or tone of the advertisements. Last, candidates may anticipate the campaign strategies of their opponents and preemptively respond in how they frame their campaign. Carsey et. al. (2011) offer a complete theoretical foundation of how candidates may conduct their strategies over the course of the campaign. However, their analysis fails to show how the standing in polls impacts strategy and also neglects to consider how gender shapes campaign interaction.

Kahn (1993) offers the first systematic treatment of female candidates' gubernatorial campaign strategies and argues that women have two options when framing their issue priorities in campaign advertisements. She argues that female candidates can either play to gender stereotypes in issue preference by highlighting their expertise in areas that are perceived to be strengths for female candidates, or they can play against these stereotypes and focus on the masculine political issues. Kahn demonstrates that female gubernatorial candidates are much more likely to focus on areas where they need to prove their competence on the issue. However, Kahn does not take into consideration the impact of time or the campaign climate–her analysis only tells half the story. By aggregating campaign issues, Kahn prevents consideration of campaign dynamics.

To truly understand candidate behavior, we must have a dynamic theory that simultaneously examines how contextual factors– specifically a candidates' gender and polling position–shape behavior. I expand the theoretical foundation of campaign strategies put forth by Carsey et. al (2011) and Kahn (1993) by focusing more specifically on how contextual factors impact the election cycle over time and how they compel candidates to re-evaluate their campaign strategies. We need to better understand what causes candidates to alter their behavior and what they attempt to accomplish with this new behavior.

Riker (1990) offers what he terms a "heresthetic theory" of candidate behavior. He argues that candidates attempt to change the issues being primed within a particular campaign space. Candidates do not necessarily change their issue positions to cultivate favor in the eyes of the electorate, but they will attempt to change the salience of issue dimensions. Candidates attempt to change the context of the election by offering new issue dimensions to emphasize areas of their expertise. If the candidate is successful in making the new issue dimension the most salient in an electoral setting, he or she may be able to overcome the gap in voter preference based solely on being favored on the new issue dimension.

By applying Riker's heresthetic argument to campaigns featuring women gubernatorial candidates, I put forth a theory of strategic campaigning that accounts for gender and the campaign context. I argue that female canidates do not distinguish themselves from their opponents across gender lines *unless* they are behind in the polls and must change the frame of the campaign. Moreover, women running for governor do not want to be labeled as the "female candidate for governor," they prefer to be seen as the "candidate for governor." Gubernatorial candidates need to display the breadth of experience necessary to effectively manage an entire state. This is in sharp contrast to women running as gendered candidates at lower levels of office, who are more readily accepted because of the small size of their area of representation. Therefore, campaign considerations vary based on the level of office. Playing to gender stereotypes in gubernatorial elections undermines a female candidates' ability to showcase a full range of expertise. In order to avoid being typecast as the "female candidate for governor" or a single issue candidate, women do not focus their campaign on traditionally feminine issues from the outset of their campaign. Female candidates for governor should instead play against the gender stereotypes and run their campaigns focusing on "masculine" political issues.

When female candidates lead in the polls, or they are at least within a relatively close

distance of their opponent, they should continue to focus on more masculine political issues. However, women should re-focus their tactics when they are faced with a situation in which their probability of winning the election declines. By reframing their campaign, they will attempt to close the gap by redefining the salient issues in the campaign to ones in which they are perceived as being more qualified to handle. Hence, I argue that women will emphasize gendered political issues when they are faced with defeat. If the women can change the frame of the campaign to one in which they are seen as having more insight or greater competence, they will increase their chances of winning the contest by appealing to women voters and exploiting the gender gap in participation (Schaffner 2005).

Strategically, male candidates should prime gender in the election in an attempt to cue the electorate to negatively view their female opponent. Much like theories on race priming (Gilens 1996; Jamieson 1992; Mendelberg 1997,2001; Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002), implicit cues toward gender could possibly invoke gender stereotypes in the electorate. By priming gender early in the campaign cycle, the male candidates could "bait" their female opponent into changing her campaign strategy to focus on "feminine" issues. This has the potential to change the issue dimensionality to one focusing on these feminine issues.

When the issue dimensionality of the campaign changes, male candidates have two options for their own campaigns. They could continue to campaign on the gendered issues they have previously stressed, or they could respond to the feminine tone being presented in the campaign and change their issue presentation to more "masculine" issues. Male candidates will need to respond and alter their campaign approach when female candidates change their message to a gendered campaign. Male candidates should be afraid of campaigning on gendered issues simultaneously with their female opponent. If they were to continue this campaign strategy the issue ownership of feminine ads could

hurt their election prospects, so male candidates will therefore need to move away from feminine issues and campaign on issues they will be viewed as more qualified to handle.

3.3 Data and Methods

3.3.1 Candidates and Campaign Commercials

This research seeks to explain the strategic tactics and interaction of gubernatorial candidates based on their gender and polling position. Analysis of the role of gender campaign tactics using websites (Dolan 2005; Niven and Zieber 2001), interviews with candidates and campaign staff (Dabelko and Hernson 1997; Fox 1997), and newspaper coverage (Kahn and Goldenberg 1991; Kahn 1994; Fowler and Lawless 2009) have been utilized in the past, but each approach faces shortcomings when analyzing actual campaign behavior. As Dolan (2005) notes, analyses using websites have the potential for selection bias, as certain candidates may be more likely to use websites than others. Interviewing candidates and campaign staffs allow subjects to craft stories of their strategies that may not reflect reality (Niven and Zilber 2001). Newspaper coverage has also been shown to be widely biased against female candidates when covering campaigns, focusing primarily on appearance, personality traits, and their viability as candidates – and not on actual policy positions (Kahn 1994; Fowler and Lawless 2009).

Television advertisements offer an opportunity to analyze the actual campaign tactics of the candidates themselves. Not only is the content controlled by the candidates, the voice and intensity of airing is also at the discretion of the candidates. Gubernatorial candidates generally have the funds to blanket media markets with a strategic campaign approach. With an unfiltered media outlet television ads capture the true issue priorities put forth by the candidate. Unlike campaign websites, campaign advertisements provide a clearer understanding and ordering of issue priority since we can measure the amount

of airtime a specific issue receives.

The data used in this study focuses on gubernatorial campaign contests in 2002 and 2004. I utilize campaign advertisements from the Wisconsin Advertising Project (WiscAds) and analyze the television advertisements of candidates in 33 races. Included in this data set are 8 races in which female candidates were present. Since this research focuses on the interaction between men and women, the 2002 gubernatorial election in Hawaii is excluded from this analysis since it involved two women. The 2002 Alaska and 2004 Delaware gubernatorial contests which had female candidates are also excluded since limited campaign advertisements were included in the data set. I report the races used in this analysis in Table 3.1.

The WiscAds Project identifies and codes the universe of television advertisements aired by candidates in the 100 largest media markets throughout the entirety of the campaign process. In these data sets each advertisement is coded for the issue content with up to 4 issues coded based on a schema of over 50 issues. The WiscAds data set includes each airing of an advertisement as a single observation. Because most advertisements are aired multiple times, the total airing of specific issues is available, thereby measuring the intensity and issue priority of each candidate.

I use these issue codings in two ways. First, I use the original coding scheme of the WiscAds to measure the aggregate individual issue preference of candidates for the entire campaign. This allows for a measurement of the specific issues in which candidates prioritize over the entire campaign process. Because I am primarily interested in the broad perspective of candidates and their use of "women's issues," I use a broad coding scheme to organize the issues put forth by candidates in the advertisements into broad categories. Borrowing loosely from the coding scheme of Stokes-Brown and Neal (2008), I recode these issues into categories based on feminine issues, masculine issues, candidate qualification, 9/11 and Iraq, and government reform. The full coding scheme is included

Table 3.1: States and Candidates Included in this Analysis Along with Their Vote Shares Received

State	**Year**	**Candidates**	**Vote**	**Candidates**	**Vote**
Alabama	2002	Bob Riley (R)	49.2%	Don Siegelman (D)#	48.9%
Arizona	2002	Matt Salmon (R)	45.2%	Janet Napolitano (D)*	46.2%
Arkansas	2002	Mike Huckabee (R)#	53%	Jimmie Lou Fisher (D)*	46%
California	2002	Bill Simon (R)	42.4%	Gray Davis (D)#	47.4%
Colorado	2002	Bill Owens (R)#	62.6%	Rollie Heath (D)	33.7%
Connecticut	2002	John Rowland (R)#	56.1%	Bill Curry (D)	43.9%
Florida	2002	Jeb Bush (R)#	56%	Bill McBride (D)	43.1%
Georgia	2002	Sonny Perdue (R)	51.4%	Roy Barnes (D)#	46.3%
Illinois	2002	Jim Ryan (R)	45.1%	Rod Blagojevich (D)	52.2%
Indiana	2004	Mitch Daniels (R)	53.2%	Joe Kernan (D)	45.5%
Iowa	2002	Doug Gross (R)	44.5%	Tom Vilsack (D)#	52.7%
Kansas	2002	Tim Shallenburger (R)	45.1%	Kathleen Sebelius (D)*	52.9%
Maine	2002	Peter Cianchette (R)	41.5%	John Balducci (D)	47.2%
Maryland	2002	Robert Ehrlich (R)	51.6%	Kathleen Townsend (D)*	47.7%
Massachusetts	2002	Mitt Romney (R)	49.8%	Shannon O'Brien (D)*	44.9%
Michigan	2002	Dick Posthumus (R)	47.4%	Jennifer Granholm (D)*	51.4%
Minnesota	2002	Tim Pawlenty (R)	44.4%	Roger Moe (D)	36.5%
Missouri	2004	Matt Blount (R)	50.8%	Claire McCaskill (D)*	47.9%
New Hampshire	2002	Craig Benson (R)	58.6%	Mark Fernald (D)	38.2%
New Hampshire	2004	Craig Benson (R)#	48.9%	John Lynch (D)	51%
New Mexico	2002	John Sanchez (R)	34.9%	Bill Richardson (D)	55.5%
New York	2002	George Pataki (R)#	49.4%	Carl McCall (D)	33.5%
North Carolina	2004	Patrick Ballantine (R)	42.9%	Mike Easley (D)#	55.6%
Ohio	2002	Bob Taft (R)#	57.7%	Tim Hagan (D)	38.3%
Oklahoma	2002	Steve Largent (R)	42.6%	Brad Henry (D)	43.3%
Oregon	2002	Kevin Mannix (R)	46.1%	Ted Kulongoski (D)	49%
Pennsylvania	2002	Mike Fisher (R)	44.4%	Ed Rendell (D)	53.4%
Tennessee	2002	Van Hilleary (R)	47.6%	Phil Bredesen (D)	50.7%
Texas	2002	RIck Perry (R)#	57.8%	Tony Sanchez (D)	40%
Utah	2004	Jon Huntsman Jr. (R)	57.7%	Scott Matheson Jr. (D)	41.4%
Vermont	2002	Jim Douglas (R)	44.9%	Doug Racine (D)	42.4%
Washington	2004	Dino Rossi (R)	48.86%	Christine Gregoire (D)*	48.87%
Wisconsin	2002	Scott McCallum (R)	41.4%	Jim Doyle (D)	45.1%

Incumbent
Woman Candidate

in Appendix 3A.

The primary purpose of this research is to examine the dynamic campaign process of individual candidates. I utilize the time element of when the individual campaign issues were aired. By aggregating these data to the weekly level, the primary dependent variable of interest in this analysis is the proportion of women's issues put forth in a campaign week. The nature of the WiscAds data set allows for an examination of the dynamic nature of campaigns.

The first explanatory variable in this analysis is the Democratic share of the two party polling position. Polling data was collected from the National Journal's Daily Hotline report. This is a collection of most polls conducted during the election cycle. Furthermore, additional polling data was collected from the Polling Report.[1] Combining these two data sources has led to a nearly complete population of polling data made publicly available. To avoid the potential for the polling data to be skewed due to voter uncertainty in the early stages, as well as to account for weeks of missing polling data, Stimson's (1999) polling algorithm was utilized to give a smoothed estimate of candidate polling position. This algorithm accounts for present and past values of the series to calculate a better estimate of the position of the candidates. Where there is little variation in polling position, the impact of the smoothing process is minimal. Where there is high variance on the other hand, the smoothing effect is much greater. By aggregating these data to weekly measures, short-term and random fluctuations in both the polls and candidate responses get cancelled out.

[1]National Journal data and Polling Report data are subscription based polling agencies. Website access can be found at www.nationaljournal.com and www.pollingreport.com.

3.3.2 Modeling Campaign Dynamics

To capture the dynamic nature of campaign strategies over time, I utilize a five-equation vector autoregression (VAR).[2] This five-equation model allows me to test the claim that candidates respond to each other, as well as polling position, when considering which type of issues to campaign on. The VAR model estimates current values of each dependent variable of interest as a function of it's own past value, as well as the past values of the other variables of interest, and an error term. The following equation is an example of one of the VAR's I estimate:

$$WF_t = a_1WF_{t-1} + b_1MF_{t-1} + c_1WM_{t-1} + d_1MM_{t-1} + e_1POL_{t-1} + \mu_1 \tag{3.1}$$

$$MF_t = f_1MF_{t-1} + g_1WF_{t-1} + h_1WM_{t-1} + i_1MM_{t-1} + j_1POL_{t-1} + \mu_2 \tag{3.2}$$

$$WM_t = k_1WM_{t-1} + l_1MM_{t-1} + m_1WF_{t-1} + n_1MF_{t-1} + o_1POL_{t-1} + \mu_3 \tag{3.3}$$

$$MM_t = p_1MM_{t-1} + q_1WM_{t-1} + r_1WF_{t-1} + s_1MF_{t-1} + t_1POL_{t-1} + \mu_4 \tag{3.4}$$

$$POL_t = v_1POL_{t-1} + w_1WF_{t-1} + x_1MF_{t-1} + y_1WM_{t-1} + z_1MM_{t-1} + \mu_5 \tag{3.5}$$

The abbreviated text represents the gender of the candidate and the type of issue in the advertisement. For each of the variables in the above equation, the first capital letter (**W** or **M**) represents the gender of the candidate (Woman or Man) and the second letter refers to the stereotypical view of the issue as either feminine or masculine (**F** or **M**). The subscript $_t$ refers to the given time point, which in this case is a given week during the campaign. For example, $\mathbf{WF}_t$ and $\mathbf{MF}_t$ are the proportion of feminine issue ads aired by the candidates, with **WF** representing women, and **MF** representing men. POL_t is the Democratic share of the two-party polling figures. The right hand side of

[2]See Brandt and Williams (2006) for an overview of VAR models and Carsey et al. (2011) for an application to campaign advertising.

these equations note the explanatory variables as lagged values of the dependent variable of interest, a lagged value of that candidates' level of advertising of the other issue type, the lagged values of their opponents' proportion of both issue ads, and the lagged value of polling figures. Using lagged values captures the flow of information of the campaigns in the model. Explanatory variables calculated at time t would not allow candidates time to adjust their campaign strategies. In a VAR model, more lags could be added to account for longer cycles that may exist in the series. However, since I am examining weekly campaign strategies, a model with multiple lags would not be appropriate since candidates will evaluate their standing and formulate their strategies based on the most recent information. Including multiple lags would pick up the previous campaign cycles strategies in the model. Since candidates will disregard the information from multiple cycles prior to the current time period, multiple lags in the model are not included.

In Equation 1 of this model I examine the campaign strategy of female candidates using feminine issue ads against their male opponents. The previous weeks' strategy for feminine issues aired by the female candidate is captured in WF_{t-1}, while the previous weeks' airing of masculine issue ads is WM_{t-1}. The previous weeks' strategy for her male opponent is captured in the variables MF_{t-1} and MM_{t-1}. The polling average from the previous week is represented by POL_{t-1}. If the female candidates are operating in a strategic manner, they can respond in multiple ways, which can be estimated with this model. If the coefficients for MF_{t-1} and MM_{t-1} are statistically significant, the female candidates are responding to the male candidate's campaign behavior that stresses feminine issue ads and masculine issue ads. If the coefficient for POL_{t-1} is statistically significant, the female candidates are responding to their polling position as well. If all of these values are statistically insignificant, the female candidates are ignoring both the decisions of their opponent as well as their position in the polls. I expect the lagged value of WF to be statistically significant, as the candidate's current behavior should be

a function of her previous behavior. This logic holds true in Equation 2 predicting male candidate's behavior when airing feminine issue ads.

The five-equation model allows me to estimate the strategic interaction of the candidates (Equations 1-4), but it also allows a test on whether or not campaign strategies impact polling positions. Equation 5 predicts polling position as a function of the previous polling value, as well as the advertising strategies of both candidates. If the coefficients for the lagged values of men's advertising and women's advertising are statistically significant, the advertising campaigns are affecting polling positions.

In VAR models, the two potential contemporaneous relationships are captured in the correlation of the residuals of each equation (Brandt and Williams 2006; Carsey et. al 2011). First, these residuals will capture the potential trade off of airing either masculine or feminine ads for single candidates. Second, these residuals will capture candidates changing their strategies based on their prediction of what their opponent will do at the current time period. For example, in equations 1 and 3, the correlation of the residuals will show the consideration of airing a higher proportion of feminine or masculine issue ads for the female candidate. If there is a negative correlation between the feminine issues aired and masculine issues aired, the female candidates are making a trade-off between the type of ads they can air. If there is no correlation, they are airing feminine ads without considering the masculine ads they are simultaneously airing. Moreover, if there is a correlation between the residuals in equations 1 and 2, the female candidates are attempting to predict the behavior of their male opponents' use of feminine issue ads. If the correlation is positive between these two residuals, female candidates are predicting an increase in their male opponents use of feminine ads, and are increasing their feminine ad usage. If there is no correlation of the residuals, the candidates are basing their current behavior without a prediction of what their opponent is airing.

3.4 Results

Prior to reporting the results from the VAR model, I replicate results of earlier studies based on aggregate issue presentations and come away with mixed results. Table 3.2 reports the top ten content areas presented by the candidates in their television advertisements by year and gender. Content areas include both issue driven ads as well as non-issue ads that focus on experience, candidate quality, ideology, etc. These content rankings are computed for each individual candidate, and then the average for each content area is computed and reported in Table 3.2. In both election cycles, women and men appear to focus their television advertisements on similar content areas. In 2002, seven of the top ten issues are shared by female and male candidates. Both focus their advertisements primarily on education and their own political record. However, ordering of the primary content deviates slightly after the top two issues. Women focus more heavily on content relevent to health care and prescription drugs, while men emphasize the more masculine-owned issue area of taxes and the economy. Men were also more likely in 2002 to emphasize personal characteristics of their background, values, and honesty, while women are more likely to use issue-based advertisements.

In 2004, the content areas are more closely aligned for women and men compared to 2002. Nine of the top ten content areas are similar across gender. Female candidates in this election focus primarily on their record and background, while men's top issue focus were taxes and their record. Women place a much higher priority on health care compared to men. Table 3.2 however does not show a wide-scale difference in the content put forth by candidates based on gender. Table 3.2 merely shows the top content put forth by the individual candidates. The candidates tend to emphasize personal characteristics more so than actual policy issues.

Table 3.3 offers a more detailed examination of the issues put forth by women and men and also breaks down male candidates by the gender of their opponent. These

Table 3.2: Top 10 Content Represented in Televised Advertisements for Women and Men Candidates for Governor

	2002		2004	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
1.	Education	Education	Political Record	Taxes
2.	Political Record	Political Record	Background	Political Record
3.	Health Care	Taxes	Health Care	Employment/Jobs
4.	Prescription Drugs	Employment/Jobs	Taxes	Education
5.	Taxes	Background	Education	Background
6.	Employment/Jobs	Personal Values	Employment/Jobs	Honesty/Integrity
7.	Enron	Honesty/ Integrity	Prescription Drugs	Spending
8.	Background	Health Care	Honesty/Integrity	Prescription Drugs
9.	Ideology	Deficit/Budget	Narcotics	Health Care
10.	Government Spending	Government Spending	Personal Values	Personal Values

tables reveal only slight differences in the issue priorities put forth by candidates based on the gender of their opponents, with no generalizable patterns. In 2002, women and men prioritized only two of the same issues – education and taxes. Women and men put emphasis on education at similar rates, with over 20% of their ads mentioning education. That rate of emphasis of tax policy was much lower, with women mentioning taxes in 10% of their ads, while men discuss taxes in nearly 26% of their advertisements.

In 2004, women and men were much more aligned in the issue priorities put forth in their campaign ads, though there appear to be differences in the proportions of each issue put forth. Female candidates' top issue put forth was health care, with nearly 18% of their ads focusing on this issue compared to only 10% of men's ads. Male candidates also presented taxes and employment ads at higher rates than women, with a 10% difference in tax ads and 8% difference in employment ads. Women and men ran ads focusing on education at nearly identical rates

The most important finding in Table 3.3 is that party differences seem to influence issue priorities more than gender differences. The eight women in this analysis are Democrats. When comparing the women in the analysis to the Democratic men,

there is little difference in both the issue priorities and the proportions of the issues in the advertisements. In 2002 and 2004, both male and female Democrats share four of their top five issue priorities. The only significant difference is the emphasis of health care. In 2004, health care was the highest issue priority of female candidates, but did not appear in the top five issue priorities of male Democratic candidates. Republican men also share four of their five top issue priorities in both 2002 and 2004, but with a much higher consistency across the proportion of the ads that emphasize each issue.

The first two tables of results offer a simplistic approach of viewing the issue priorities put forth by women and men. Table 3.4 puts forth the first statistical test of differing campaign issues strategies. For the difference in means tests reported in Table 3.4, the campaign advertisements are aggregated to the five major issue themes previously outlined. The proportion of these ads are also calculated at a weekly level, not the total campaign proportion. This will allow for a more detailed analysis of the campaign strategies at a more nuanced level.

At first glance, candidates in 2002 and 2004 act counter to the expectation put forth in this research. In inter-gender competitions, there are statistically significant differences in the behavior of male and female candidates. Female candidates focus on feminine issues in 63% of their advertisements, compared to only 55% of male candidates. Women also stress candidate qualifications at a much higher rate than men. Nearly 62% of the television advertisements aired by women mention their qualifications, compared to only 52% of men's. Moreover, men included masculine issues in 15 percentage points more of their campaign advertisements compared to women. Men also stress government reform at a much higher rate with 11% of their ads mentioning government reform compared to only 5.7% of women's ads. The only issue that does not present a statistically significant difference are ads concerning terrorism, Iraq or Afghanistan.

Campaigns in which two men are running offer very different results compared to

Table 3.3: Top 5 Issues Represented in Televised Advertisements for Candidates for Governor–2002 and 2004 by Opponent Gender

Women vs Men			
2002			
Education	20.1%	Taxes	25.7%
Health Care	14.0%	Education	20.4%
Prescription Drugs	12.7%	Deficit/Budget	14.4%
Taxes	10.1%	Employment/Jobs	9.6%
Enron/Corporate Fraud	7.2%	Crime	9.3%
2004			
Health Care	17.7%	Taxes	27.8%
Taxes	17.2%	Employment	19.3%
Education	11.5%	Education	12.7%
Employment	11%	Health Care	10%
Prescription Drugs	9.7%	Education Lottery	6%

Democratic Men vs Republican Men			
2002			
Education	25.5%	Education	22.6%
Employment/Job	12.8%	Taxes	20%
Taxes	11.5%	Employment/Jobs	16.2%
Health Care	10.8%	Deficit/Budget	6.9%
Prescription Drugs	5.6%	Government Spending	6.2%
2004			
Education	20.6%	Employment/Jobs	21.3%
Employment/Jobs	18.4%	Taxes	20.7%
Taxes	15.8%	Education	17.5%
Prescription Drugs	13.8%	Health Care	5.4%
Government Spending	11%	Government Spending	5.3%

Table 3.4: T-test of the Proportion of Aggregate Campaign Themes by Candidate Gender

Women versus Men

Campaign Theme	Women's Mean	Men's Mean	t	Difference
Feminine Issues	63.04	54.85	1.806	8.19
Masculine Issues	50.25	65.64	-3.017	-15.39
Government Reform	5.70	11.12	-2.085	-5.42
Candidate Qualifications	61.71	51.83	1.856	9.88
Terrorism/Iraq/Afghanistan	1.07	.38	.918	.69
N=	79	79		

Men versus Men

Campaign Theme	Democratic Mean	Republican Mean	t	Difference
Feminine Issues	60.72	55.07	1.635	5.65
Masculine Issues	59.32	63.67	-1.348	-4.35
Government Reform	12.49	20.13	-3.021	-7.64
Candidate Qualifications	54.40	45.50	2.661	8.90
Terrorism/Iraq/Afghanistan	0	.992	-1.516	-.993
N=	216	216		

races with women. Both Democratic and Republican men air campaign advertisements focusing on feminine and masculine issues at statistically indistinguishable levels. In only two of the five categories are there statistically significant difference in issue priorities. Republican men mention government reform in 20% of the ads they ran compared to only 12.5% of ads by Democrats. Democratic men are also much more likely to mention candidate qualification in their advertisements, doing so in 9 percentage points more of their ads.

Additionally, I have conducted an analysis to test the differences in the behavior of male candidates running against women compared to running against men. I hypothesized that men will behave differently when they face a women opponent. Reported below in Table 3.5 are the results of difference in differences tests for Republican candidates. Since all of the women in this analysis are Democrats, this test is essentially an analysis of campaign issue priorities controlling for gender differences, and not party differences. Table 3.5 shows no meaningful difference in the issue priorities of Republican candidates when stressing feminine or masculine issues. The only statistically significant

Table 3.5: Difference in Differences Test of Aggregate Campaign Themes of Male Republican Candidates and Gender of Democratic Opponents.

Campaign Theme	Versus Women	Versus Men	t	Difference*
Feminine Issues	54.847	55.073	-.05	-.226
Masculine Issues	65.635	63.667	.70	1.968
Government Reform	11.122	20.133	-7.89	-9.011
Candidate Qualifications	51.827	45.485	6.81	5.975
Terrorism/Iraq/Afghanistan	.377	.992	-.615	-.460
N=	79	216		

* Indicates value of men running against women minus value of men running against men.

differences in the proportions of ads is for government reform ads and candidate qualifications. Twenty percent of Republican men's ads mention government reform when running against men, compared to only 11% when faced with women. Republican men were also less likely to stress their qualifications as a candidate when running against other men. In races involving female candidates, Republican men air ads stressing their qualification 51.8% of the time compared to only 45.5% of the time. Republican candidates behavior is indistinguishable in terms of airing feminine and masculine issue ads, regardless of the gender of their opponent.

These data offer contradictory evidence that true differences in the aggregate campaign strategies between men and women exist. That said, campaigns are dynamic processes that are influenced by changes in the campaign context. Figure 3.1 offers a simple descriptive view of campaign dynamics between male and female candidates based on the proportion of advertisements that focus on feminine campaign issues and the polling position of the female candidates. Each panel represents one election in the labeled state-year. The x-axis shows the week in the election cycle, beginning with week 1 and week 12 representing the end of the election. The y-axis is the proportion of feminine issues put forth by each candidate. Small dashed lines represent the proportion of feminine ads aired by female candidates, and the longer dashed lines are for male candidates. The

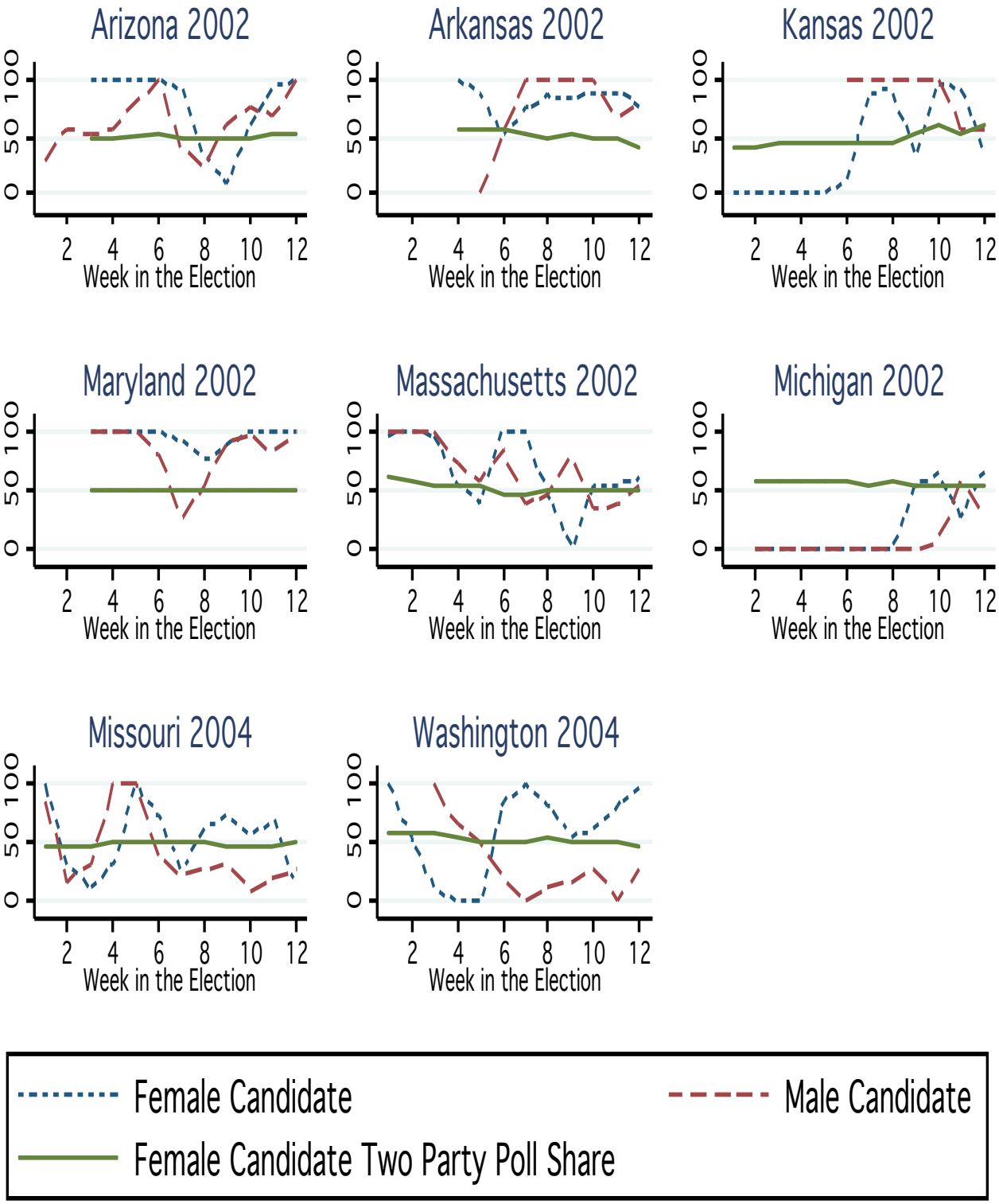
solid line depicts the smoothed polling position of the female candidate at each give time period.

As evident in this figure, the strategies employed by male and female candidates vary greatly over the course of a 12 week campaign. Each of the campaigns offers a slightly different view of candidate strategies, but one general pattern that emerges is the level of feminine ads women ran in response to their male opponents. There is a clear response by both genders when confronted with a change in campaign behavior by the opposition. Women generally respond to the male candidate's behavior. When men increase their proportion of feminine ads, female candidates respond with an increase in their feminine issue ads. Once these female candidates increase their feminine issue ads however, males counter-respond with a decrease in their usage of feminine issue ads. This simple figure does not test the true dynamics and impact of gender I have theorized.

Table 3.6 and 3.7 report the results of the Panel VAR models and Table 3.8 reports the correlations of the residuals. This five-variable equation includes a lagged value of the candidates proportion of feminine and masculine issue ads, the lagged value of their opponents feminine and masculine issue ads and the Democratic proportion of the two-party poll share.

Table 3.6 examines the dynamic interaction of male and female candidates when airing feminine and masculine issue ads. The most important finding pertains to the response female candidates have when their male opponents increase their use of feminine issues. Once men decide to enter a dialogue or campaign debate on feminine issues, women respond with a positive increase in their airing of gendered issue advertising. Women also respond to the use of masculine issue ads by their opponent. Women increase their proportion of feminine ads .244 percentage points with a one percentage point increase in their opponents use of masculine ads. The proportion of female candidates' feminine issue ads are also a direct result of the previous proportion of feminine issue ads women

Figure 3.1: Proportion of Feminine Issue Ads Aired by Male and Female Candidates by State and Year.



are airing, as well as the proportion of feminine ads men are airing. It is clear that the proportion of ads that candidates run of a given type depends on what proportion they were running of that type previously. In other words, advertising strategy has some "stickiness" to it over time – candidates don't completely re-invent their advertising strategy from one week to the next. A statistically significant finding of a strategic response to polling position is missing from this model. There is no clear indication that female candidate behavior is being influenced by the polls, but only by the other candidate.

Table 3.6 also shows an interesting pattern of behavior by male candidates in airing feminine issue ads. The results of this analysis reveal that male candidates decrease their use of feminine ads by .274 percent when women increase their proportion of feminine issue ads 1 percent. Unlike female candidates, male candidates will respond in a significant manner to their position in public opinion polls. A one percentage point increase in polling position will lead to a 2 percentage point increase in male candidates' use of feminine issue ads.

Unlike the use of feminine issue ads, there is no significant relationship between the behavior of male and female candidates when airing masculine political issues. As evident in columns 3 and 4, male and female candidates both only respond to their previous campaign strategies when focusing on masculine issues. Moreover, male candidates change their campaign strategies based on polling numbers, whereas female candidates do not. Male candidates show a decrease in their proportion of masculine ads by 2.66 percentage points when their polling position increases.

Table 3.6 demonstrates that regardless of issue type, the prior behavior of candidates will cause their current behavior. This analysis also shows candidate' decisions to respond to their opponent is contingent on the type of issue being stressed in the campaign. This reveals a clear indication of the role of gender in issue strategies. Candidates are both

Table 3.6: Results of Panel Vector Autoregression Analysis for Proportion of Campaign Issues and Polling Position for Races with Male and Female Candidates.

	Feminine Issues		Masculine Issues		
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Poll
Women's proportion of Feminine Issues$_{t-1}$	.346*	-.274*	.077	-.161	.002
	(3.08)	(3.09)	(.65)	(-1.39)	(.19)
Men's proportion of Feminine Issues$_{t-1}$	.321*	.274*	-.098	.135	-.005
	(2.65)	(2.85)	(-.77)	(1.08)	(-.45)
Women's proportion of Masculine Issues$_{t-1}$	.011	-.254*	.426*	-.031	.001
	(.09)	(-2.68)	(3.34)	(-.25)	(.14)
Men's proportion of Masculine Issues$_{t-1}$	.244*	-.003	-.052	.285*	.005
	(2.36)	(-.03)	(-.47)	(2.67)	(.59)
Poll$_{t-1}$	-.052	2.01*	-.588	-2.665*	.652*
	(-.04)	(2.19)	(-.48)	(-2.23)	(6.41)
R^2	.8878	.9126	.8202	.8902	.9993
N	70	70	70	70	70

Table entries are regression coefficients with z-score reported in parentheses. Regressions included state dummy variables to account for fixed effects that are not reported in the table.

responding to one another when airing feminine issue ads. There is a strategic back and forth between male and female candidates while they attempt to sort out the issue dimensionality of feminine issues. These results are consistent with the gender baiting theory as male candidates clearly retreat when challenged by their female opponent on gendered issues.

In the first VAR model, all of the female candidates are Democrats. In order to examine whether the patterns exhibited in Table 3.6 are truly driven by gender differences and not partisanship, I conduct the same analysis in male only races. As reported in Table 3.7, when candidates' gender differences are taken out of the campaign setting, the behavior of candidates drastically changes. As Table 3.7 shows, the only statistically

significant predictor of campaign behavior is the prior proportion of each issue ad and polling position. In this equation, candidates are not responding to one another. Candidates appear to have chosen an advertising strategy and stuck to this plan throughout the course of the campaign. This is clear evidence of the candidates "talking past" one another on the salient issues in each of their respective campaigns.

It is also interesting to note the role of polling numbers in both Tables 3.6 and 3.7. Unlike female candidates, male candidates in all but one equation respond to their polling position. When males face off against males, changes in their poll share have a larger influence on changing their issue advertisement strategies than any other aspect of both their campaign strategy and their opponent. In contrast, female candidates do not alter their approach based on polls, but rather the behavior of their male opponent only.

Table 3.8 provides an analysis of the residual correlations for each of the equations in Tables 3.6 and 3.7. As previously outlined, a correlation between the residuals in the VAR models would show a contemporaneous aspect of the campaign strategies not directly modeled in the models. In Table 3.8, there are only two statistically significant correlations of residuals for the two VAR models. In mixed gender races, women make a trade off between running feminine issue advertisements and masculine issue advertisements and vice versa. Unlike their male opponents, women decrease their feminine issue ads while increasing their masculine issue advertisements. It appears as though women will not send conflicting messages on their issue priorities, but instead make a clear distinction on what types of issues they will air in a given week. Male Democratic candidates facing male Republican opponents will also make this strategic consideration. As Table 3.8 shows, the correlation for female candidates is -.2732, while the correlation for male Democrats is at a much weaker -.1829–meaning women are more conscious of this tradeoff than Democratic men, but not at a statistically significant level. In each of the other 10 residual correlations, there is not a significant correlation that would lead to

Table 3.7: Results of Panel Vector Autoregression Analysis for Proportion of Campaign Issues and Polling Position for Races with only Males.

	Feminine Issues		Masculine Issues		
	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Poll
Democrat proportion of Feminine Issues$_{t-1}$	.406*	.072	.013	.019	.005
	(6.01)	(1.00)	(.19)	(.29)	(1.05)
Republican proportion of Feminine Issues$_{t-1}$	.015	.572*	.032	.0151	-.003
	(.28)	(9.93)	(.59)	(.29)	(-.84)
Democrat proportion of Masculine Issues$_{t-1}$	.037	.082	.431*	-.090	.001
	(.55)	(1.14)	(6.43)	(-1.41)	(.21)
Republican proportion of Masculine Issues$_{t-1}$	-.076	-.059	-.009	.381*	.014*
	(-1.05)	(-.76)	(-.13)	(5.50)	(2.63)
Poll$_{t-1}$	.689*	.197	.792*	.939*	.962*
	(2.77)	(.73)	(3.15)	(3.92)	(51.77)
R^2	.8732	.8385	.8654	.8926	.9985
N	189	189	189	189	189

Table entries are regression coefficients with z-score reported in parentheses. Regressions included state dummy variables to account for fixed effects that are not reported in the table.

Table 3.8: Correlation of Residuals for VAR Models

Mixed Gender Races			
	Women		Men
	Feminine Issues	Masculine Issues	Feminine Issues
Men/Feminine	.1190	-.1211	1.00
Women/Masculine	-.2732*	1.00	-.1211
Men/Masculine	-.0816	.0975	-.0410
Male Only Races			
	Democrat		Republican
	Feminine Issues	Masculine Issues	Feminine Issues
Rep/Feminine	.0477	.0783	1.00
Dem/Masculine	-.1829*	1.00	.0783
Rep/Masculine	.0105	-.0675	-.0675

Row labels are gender or party of the candidate/tone of the issue advertisement.

the conclusion that candidates are successfully predicting the behavior of their opponent and altering their campaign message.

3.5 Conclusion

This research examines the role of gender in determining gubernatorial candidates' campaign behavior and issue priorities. I offer a dynamic theory of campaign strategizing that considers the impact of contextual factors of the electoral cycle and stereotypical views of female candidates. I argue that women running for governor will not play to gender stereotypes in their issue priorities at the outset of their campaigns, and I suggest that they will only run a "gendered campaign" if they are trailing in the polls. I also put forth a "gender baiting" theory which hypothesizes that male candidates behave differently when faced with a female opponent. Male candidates attempt to force women to campaign on stereotypical "women's" issues in order to label them as single issue and/or short sighted candidates. "Gender baiting" puts women in a precarious situation in which they must decide whether to respond to their male opponent, or continue their

"masculine" campaign strategy. These findings yield valuable insight into the ways in which gender influences issue prioritization and campaign behavior. Male candidates behave differently when faced with female opponents. Rather than ignoring the campaign strategies of their opponent, when gender is primed by female candidates, there is more interaction across candidates on feminine campaign issues.

However, the results of this analysis reveal that female candidates do not respond to polls, regardless of their campaign strategies. Female candidates do respond to their male opponents running feminine issue advertisements, but not masculine issues. Although contradictory to the expectations, female candidates are acting in a strategic manner with this response. In most of the races in this analysis, male candidates ran feminine issue ads first, which often resulted in a counter-response by female candidates. It appears as though this is evidence of female candidates responding to their male opponents attempting to campaign on an area where the female candidates has issue ownership in the eyes of the electorate. Once the women do respond by increasing their feminine issue ads, the male candidates will retreat and limit the proportion of their issue ads focusing on feminine issues.

Male candidates appear to be utilizing this campaign strategy to bait their female opponent into altering her television advertisements to focus on feminine issues. By being forced into a dialogue based on feminine issues, female candidates risk being labeled a narrow-sighted candidate–even if it was the male candidate who primed gender ads.

Male candidates respond to the presence of female oponents by increasing their attention to "female" issues. When this happens, female candidates tend to respond by increasing their attention to "female" issues as well. In response, male candidates appear to back away from advertising heavily on female issues.. Furthermore, male only races showed a drastic difference in campaign behavior compared to mixed-gender races. In male only races, the candidates would talk past one another, not responding to their

opponents campaign strategies, but only polling position. This shows the continued importance of analyzing gender stereotypes and beliefs, and how they structure the campaign process as facing a female candidate had a large effect on the male candidate's behavior.

This analysis has shown the dynamic nature of political campaigns and the implications for female and male candidates in mixed-gender elections. Further extension into the dynamic strategies of candidates is necessary to extend the results of this analysis. As gender is an important predictor of candidate behavior, we need to further our understanding of women's campaign strategies by continuing to consider the interaction of candidates over time. As these results suggest, the mixed findings in previous analysis is not a result of systematic differences in male and female candidate behavior, but rather analyzing the aggregate strategies of candidates taken outside of the context of the campaign cycle.

Appendix 1A: Chapter 1 Additional Material

Table A.1: Women Governors in the United States Elected in Their Own Right.

Name	Dates Served	Party	State
Ella Grasso	1975-1980	D	CT
Dixy Lee Ray	1977-1981	D	WA
Martha Layne Collins	1983-1987	D	KY
Madeleine Kunin	1985-1991	D	VT
Kay Orr	1987-1991	R	NE
Joan Finney	1991-1995	D	KS
Ann Richards	1991-1995	D	TX
Barbara Roberts	1991-1995	D	OR
Christine Todd Whitman	1994-2001	R	NJ
Jane Dee Hull[3]	1997-2003	R	AZ
Jeanne Shaheen	1997-2003	D	NH
Judy Martz	2001-2005	R	MT
Ruth Ann Minner	2001-2009	D	DE
Linda Lingle	2002-2010	R	HI
Jennifer Granholm	2003-2011	D	MI
Janet Napolitano	2003-2009	D	AZ
Kathleen Sebelius	2003-2009	D	KS
Jodi Rell[4]	2004-2011	R	CT
Christine Gregoire	2005-present	D	WA
Sarah Palin	2006-2009	R	AK
Bev Perdue	2009-present	D	NC

[7, 8] Initially succeeded to governorship with resignation of governor, subsequently elected.

Table A.2: Total Female Gubernatorial Candidates by Census Region.

Region	Number of States	Primary Candidates	Won Primary	Won General
Northeast	9	48	25	10
Midwest	12	36	14	5
South	17	64	16	6
West	13	64	30	11

Table A.3: ANOVA Test of Female Socio-Political Subculture

Variable	Partial Sum of Squares	F
Model	736.71	181.88
State	491.91	159.39
Year	244.79	253.82
R-Squared	.9409	
Adj R-Squared	.9357	

Table A.4: Probit Model Predicting Female Candidate Success in Primary Election.

Variable	Coef.	Z-score
Female Socio-Political SC	.421	2.72
State Mood	.004	.47
Party	.356	1.44
% Partisan Women Lower	-.033	-1.31
% Partisan Women Upper	-.005	-.23
Open Seat	-.011	-.05
Incumbent	1.357	2.69
Quality Candidate	1.284	4.50
Cons	-1.387	-2.67
Total Observations	188	
Psuedo R2	.2692	

Table A.5: Probit Model Predicting Female Candidate Success in General Election

Variable	Coef.	Z-score
Female Socio-Political SC	.439	1.86
State Mood	-.016	-1.44
Party	.241	.60
% Partisan Women Lower	-.064	-1.45
% Partisan Women Upper	.034	.82
Open Seat	1.210	2.54
Incumbent	3.378	4.25
Quality Candidate	.801	1.56
Cons	-1.731	-1.73
Total Observations	85	
Psuedo R2	.4482	

Table A.6: Predicting Female Candidate Entrance in Party Primary (only realistic candidates)

	Predicting Primary Candidate		
Variable	Coef.	Z-Score	Pred Prob
Female Socio-Political SC	.304	3.57	13.56
State Mood	.006	1.76	.026
Party	.394	3.02	17.54
% Partisan Women Lower	.024	1.93	.082
% Partisan Women Upper	-.009	-.72	.042
Open Seat	.334	3.02	14.9
Total Observations	766		
Psuedo R2	.096		

Appendix 2A: Interview Participants

Table A.7: Governors and Gubernatorial Candidate Interview Subjects.

Name	State	Party	Year(s) Active	Gender	Interview Date
Madeleine Kunin	VT	Democrat	1985-1991	Female	June 3, 2010
Parris Glendening	MD	Democrat	1995-2003	Male	June 3, 2010
Bob Taft	OH	Republican	1999-2007	Male	June 4, 2010
Betty Montgomery	OH	Republican	2006	Female	June 18, 2010
Anonymous		Democrat		Female	July 1, 2010
Dawn Clark Netsch	IL	Democrat	1994	Female	July 13, 2010
Pete du Pont	DE	Republican	1977-1985	Male	July 15, 2010
Mike Castle	DE	Republican	1985-1992	Male	August 13, 2010
Tom Carper	DE	Democrat	1993-2001	Male	August 16
Christine Todd Whitman	NJ	Republican	1994-2000	Female	August 30, 2010
Barbara Roberts	OR	Democrat	1991-1995	Female	September 29, 2010
Paul Patton	KY	Democrat	1995-2003	Male	October 4, 2010
Ruth Ann Minner	DE	Democrat	2001-2009	Female	
Jeanne Shaheen	NH	Democrat	1997-2003	Female	
Martha Layne Collins	KY	Democrat	1983-1987	Female	
Anonymous		Democrat		Female	

Subjects with no date listed for the interview were written responses.

Table A.8: Non-elected Official Interview Subjects

Name	Position	Interview Date
Mac McCorkle	McCorkle Policy Consulting	May 18, 2010
Jo Ann Davidson	Co-Chair Republican National Committee	June 24, 2010
Brian Selander	Chief Strategy Officer: Governor Jack Markell	July 6, 2010

Figure A.1: Sample Letter Sent to Interview Subjects

UNC
COLLEGE OF
ARTS & SCIENCES

THE UNIVERSITY
of NORTH CAROLINA
at CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE

361 HAMILTON HALL
CAMPUS BOX 3265
CHAPEL HILL, NC 27599-3265

T 919.962.3041
F 919.962.0432
www.unc.edu/depts/polisci

October 7, 2010

Dear Governor Collins:

Thank you for taking the time to participate in the Gubernatorial Ambition Project. The purpose of this academic research is to explore gendered differences in political ambition and campaigning for state governorships. This is an extensive study focusing on conversations with current and former governors, as well as major party candidates for governor. The primary objective from this research is to gauge the self-perceptions of political ambition, recruitment by party organizations, state political contextual influences, as well as analyze campaign strategies.

Your participation is greatly appreciated. Your comments and reflections on your career and election as the Governor of Kentucky will be extremely helpful in this project, and your insights will lead to a greater understanding of women running for their state's highest office in general. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions regarding the content of the questions. And again, thank you for your time.

Kindest Regards,

Jason Windett
Department of Political Science
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Appendix 2B: Interview Instrument

1. Runing for Office
   - What was your initial motivation for wanting to run for public office? Can you remeber when you first realized that running for governor was something that you might want to do?
   - Did you consider running for governor prior to your official run for office? If yes, what dissuaded you from running?
   - Was your consideration for running for office impacted by any external influences? Party? Family? Other politicians?
   - How often would you say others attempted to influece you to run for office?
   - Initially, did you feel you had a large base of support, or do you feel you had to prove yourself prior to outsiders supporting your candidacy?
   - What was the role of the state party in recruting you to run for governor initially?
2. State Political Environment
   - How did the statewide political environment impact your decision to run for governor?
   - What political and environmental characteristics in your state impacted your decision to run for office?
   - Could you envision a political environment in your state that would dissuade you from running for governor?
3. Perceptions of a Gendered Political Environment
   - Do you think it is harder for women than men to succeed in the political environment within your state?
   - Within your state, have you ever noticed differences in the patterns of support women candidates receive as opposed to male candidates from the party organization?
   - Do you think women are disadvantaged when running for office because of the populations' preference of male candidates?

Appendix 3A: Issue Recode

All of the issues coded in the original WISCads data set were recoded into five broad categories. WISCads allows for four issues to be coded for each advertisement.

Issues were classified as followed:

Feminine Issues	**Masculine Issues**	**Candidate Quality**	**Government Reform**	**Iraq/Afghanistan**
Personal Values	Taxes	Background	Honest/Integrity	Terrorism
Minimum Wage	Deficit/Surplus/Budget	Political Record	Campaign Finance	Middle East
Poverty	Government Spending	Attendance Record	Term Limits	Afghanistan
Abortion	Business	Ideology	Government Ethics	September 11th
Homosexuality	Union	Competence		
Moral Values	Employment/Jobs	Constituent Service		
Assisted Suicide	International Trade			
Gun Control	Gambling			
Other Social Issues	Missile Defense			
Crime	Veterans			
Drugs	Foreign Policy			
Education	China			
Child Care	Foreign Aid			
Civil Rights	Immigration			
Prescription Drugs	Energy			
Women's Health	Defense/Military			
Environment				
Health Care				
Social Security				
Medicare				
Welfare				

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