

NATIONAL SURVEY OF CAMPAIGN CONSULTANTS
Kelly Dittmar, Ph.D.
March-May 2010

1. By participating in this study/these procedures, you agree to be a study subject. Please click “Yes” to continue to survey.
 - a. Yes
 - b. No [**Proceed to survey conclusion page**]

2. Are you currently working as a professional campaign consultant for a candidate running for the U.S. House, Senate, or governor, or have you do so in the past two years?
 - a. Yes, currently working as a political consultant and/or have done so in the past two years.
 - b. No [**Proceed to survey conclusion page**]
 - c. Refused [**Proceed to survey conclusion page**]

3. Which of these best describes your role as a campaign consultant? (**You may check more than one if necessary.**)
 - a. General campaign consultant or general strategist
 - b. Campaign manager
 - c. Pollster, including survey research and focus group consultant
 - d. Media consultant
 - e. Direct mail specialist
 - f. Research, including opposition research
 - g. Fundraiser
 - h. Field operations
 - i. Other (Please specify)

4. About how many paid workers are employed by your firm during the campaign season? (**Please give your best estimate without using a range.**)
[Open-ended]

5. About how many paid workers are employed by your firm for pay during non-campaign season? (**Please give your best estimate without using a range.**)
[Open-ended]

6. Does your firm work primarily for Republicans, primarily for Democrats, or does it accept clients from both major parties?
 - a. Primarily for Republicans
 - b. Primarily for Democrats
 - c. Both Parties

7. Are you currently a principal in your firm, a senior associate, or a junior associate?
 - a. Principal
 - b. Senior Associate
 - c. Junior Associate
 - d. Other (Please specify)

8. In which year did you take your first paid campaign job as a consultant?
[Open-ended]

For the remainder of the survey, please consider your responses in the context of statewide or federal campaigns.

9. Which of the following analogies best characterizes political campaigns?
 - a. Political campaigns are like waging wars. Each side has a battle plan and, in a limited period of time, you have to seize certain territory and hold it.
 - b. Political campaigns are like cooking. You begin with a recipe, make necessary adjustments, and present a dish that will leave a good taste in voters' mouths.
 - c. Political campaigns are like sporting events. The score changes, competing teams adopt different game plans and the winner isn't determined until the clock runs out.
 - d. Political campaigns are like selling toothpaste. The voters are walking down the aisles to see which product cleans the teeth better and which one gives you better breath.

10. How important would you say the following factors are in shaping a candidate's campaign strategy? **(Very important, Important, Not very important, Not important at all)**
 - a. Candidate Age
 - b. Candidate Experience
 - c. Candidate Gender
 - d. Candidate Race/Ethnicity
 - e. Opponent Age
 - f. Opponent Experience
 - g. Opponent Gender
 - h. Opponent Race/Ethnicity

11. If a candidate had the credential listed below, how likely would it be that you would recommend emphasizing that particular credential in campaign materials (advertisements, literature, speeches, website, etc.)? **(Very likely, Likely, Not very likely, Not likely at all)**
 - a. Community leadership
 - b. Military experience
 - c. Held previous elected office
 - d. Raised a family
 - e. Advanced degree (i.e. Master's, Ph.D., M.D., J.D.)
 - f. Appointed to a major board and/or commission(s)
 - g. Experience in the private sector (business, law, etc.)

12. If given the choice of all of these credentials, which two credentials do you think would be most important to emphasize in a campaign? **(Please mark two)**
 - a. Community leadership
 - b. Military experience
 - c. Held previous elected office
 - d. Raised a family
 - e. Advanced degree (i.e. Master's, Ph.D., M.D., J.D.)
 - f. Appointed to a major board and/or commission(s)
 - g. Experience in the private sector (business, law, etc.)

For the next several questions, think about more specific decisions made for male and female candidates in general election races for statewide or federal offices.

13. Consider the following candidate presentation strategies. Do you think that these strategies **work better for male candidates, work better for female candidates, or work about the same for male and female candidates?**
 - a. Picturing the candidate with his/her spouse

- b. Picturing the candidate with his/her family *only if* their children are grown
 - c. Picturing the candidate with his/her family *even if* their children are young
 - d. Picturing the candidate primarily in professional dress attire
14. In your campaign experience, have you found the following tactics to be **usually necessary, sometimes necessary, or seldom necessary** in competing against your candidate's opponent?
- a. Emphasizing the opposing candidate's **professional** faults and weaknesses
 - b. Emphasizing the opposing candidate's **personal** faults and weaknesses
15. In your campaign experience, under what conditions have you found that emphasizing the faults and weaknesses of your candidate's opponent is **usually necessary, sometimes necessary, or seldom necessary** in competing against your candidate's opponent?
- a. When my candidate is the challenger running against an incumbent
 - b. When my candidate is the incumbent running against a challenger
 - c. When my candidate is in a neck-to-neck race
 - d. When the opposing candidate attacks my candidate
16. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement: *Male candidates need to tread more carefully in criticizing their opponent when that opponent is a woman.*
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
 - e. Don't Know
17. Do you think that the following campaign challenges are **more difficult for male candidates, more difficult for female candidates, or are equally difficult for male and female candidates?**
- a. Securing sufficient campaign funds
 - b. Dealing with/combating media biases
 - c. Dealing with/combating voter biases
 - d. Managing campaign staff
18. In head-to-head races, which of the following candidates stand to benefit MOST from targeting women voters?
- a. Democratic Man vs. Democratic Woman
 - b. Democratic Man vs. Republican Woman
 - c. Democratic Man vs. Republican Man
 - d. Republican Man vs. Republican Woman
 - e. Republican Man vs. Democratic Woman
 - f. Democratic Woman vs. Republican Woman

The following questions ask you to share your perceptions of voter beliefs and attitudes toward male and female candidates.

19. Do you think the following themes are **more effective for male candidates, more effective for female candidates, or do you think that they are equally effective for male and female candidates?**
- a. Leadership
 - b. Change
 - c. Strength/Toughness
 - d. Experience
 - e. Compassion

- f. Government Reform
 - g. Family values
 - h. Ethics
 - i. Honesty
 - j. Moral values
20. Do you think that voters associate the following traits and characteristics **more with male candidates, more with female candidates, or about the same for both male and female candidates?**
- a. Emotional
 - b. Honest
 - c. Corrupt
 - d. Assertive
 - e. Tough
 - f. Compassionate
 - g. Experienced
 - h. Strong Leader
 - i. Cooperative
 - j. Accessible
 - k. Qualified
 - l. Liberal
 - m. Conservative
21. Do you think that voters think of the following policy issues as areas of **greater expertise for male candidates, greater expertise for female candidates, or about the same for male and female candidates?**
- a. National security
 - b. Health care
 - c. Defense
 - d. Family policy
 - e. Education
 - f. Taxes/Economy
 - g. Foreign policy
 - h. Social programs
 - i. Crime
 - j. Immigration
 - k. Environment
22. Do you think that voters are more likely to vote for a woman for Governor, more likely to vote for a woman for the U.S. Senate, or equally likely to vote for a woman for Governor or the U.S. Senate?
- a. More likely to vote for a woman for Governor [**Proceed to 22a**]
 - b. More likely to vote for a woman for the U.S. Senate [**Proceed to 22b**]
 - c. Equally likely to vote for a woman for both offices (Governor and U.S. Senate)
- 22a. Why do you think voters are more likely to vote for a woman for Governor than they are to vote for a woman for U.S. Senate?
- 22b. Why do you think voters are more likely to vote for a woman for the U.S. Senate than they are to vote for a woman for Governor?
23. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement: *The 2008 Presidential election changed my perceptions about the role of candidate gender in developing and executing campaign strategy.*

- a. Strongly agree [**Proceed to 23a**]
- b. Agree [**Proceed to 23a**]
- c. Disagree [**Proceed to 23b**]
- d. Strongly disagree [**Proceed to 23b**]
- e. Don't Know

23a. *In what way(s)* did the 2008 Presidential election change your perceptions about the role of candidate gender in developing and executing campaign strategy.

23b. What do you perceive as the role – if any – of candidate gender in developing and executing campaign strategy?

The following questions ask about your experience in and perceptions of the profession of political consulting.

24. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements. (**Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree, Don't Know**)
- a. In order to succeed in political consulting, it is necessary to have (a) mentor(s).
 - b. Procuring my current position in the industry of political consulting was difficult.
 - c. The population of political consultants nationwide is demographically diverse (race, gender, age, etc.).
 - d. There are different “rules of the game” for men and women consultants.
25. Do you think the following characteristics of campaign consultants influence their recommendations for campaign strategy and tactics **a lot, a little, or not at all**?
- a. Age
 - b. Education attainment (including advanced degrees)
 - c. Experience working in politics and campaigns
 - d. Race/ethnicity
 - e. Religion
 - f. Gender
 - g. Political ideology
26. In general, do you believe male and female consultants usually approach campaign strategy in ways that are **very similar, somewhat similar, or not similar at all**?
- a. Very similar
 - b. Somewhat similar
 - c. Not similar at all

Please explain. [Open-ended]

27. About what percentage of active campaign consultants would you guess are women?
[Open-ended]
28. In what year were you born?
[Open-ended]
29. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- a. High school
 - b. Some college
 - c. College graduate (e.g., BA)

- d. Post-graduate degree
For post-graduate degree, please specify. [Open-ended]
30. Are you now married, living as married, widowed, divorced, separated, or never married?
- a. Married
 - b. Living as married
 - c. Widowed
 - d. Divorced or separated
 - e. Single, never married
31. If you have children, what is the age of your youngest child?
[Open-ended]
32. What is your racial/ethnic heritage?
- a. White, non-Hispanic
 - b. Black or African-American
 - c. Hispanic or Latino
 - d. Asian or Pacific Islander
 - e. American Indian
 - f. Mixed-race
 - g. Other (please specify) [Open-ended]
33. Are you male or female?
- a. Male
 - b. Female
34. In general, how would you describe your political ideology?
- a. Very liberal
 - b. Liberal
 - c. Moderate
 - d. Conservative
 - e. Very conservative
35. About how many candidates' campaigns have you worked on as a paid consultant?
[Open-ended]
36. Of those campaigns, about what percentage were:
- a. Female candidates [Open-ended]
 - b. Male candidates [Open-ended]
 - c. Candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives [Open-ended]
 - d. Candidates for the U.S. Senate [Open-ended]
 - e. Candidates for Governor [Open-ended]
37. Have you worked primarily for candidate campaigns in any one of the following regions, or do you work for candidate campaigns nationwide?
- a. Northeast
 - b. Southeast
 - c. Midwest
 - d. West
 - e. Southwest

f. Nationwide

Thank you for your time and expertise in completing this survey. Your responses are incredibly valuable to my research.

38. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

[Open-ended]

39. Would you be willing to participate in a brief telephone interview about similar topics?

a. Yes [Proceed to 39a]

b. No

39a. Please provide your preferred contact information below.

Name:

Company:

Email address:

Phone number:

You've completed this survey. Please click **"Done"** to submit your responses.

Thank you again for your participation.