

Online Appendices

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Appendix A: The Sample

YouGov fielded our survey of potential candidates from November 18, 2021 – March 8, 2022. They broke the sample into two parts. First, they compiled the “Four Profession Sample” portion of the candidate eligibility pool. This included interviews with 1,576 people who identified as lawyers, educators, or business professionals, as well as 500 politically active, college-educated women and men. The frame for the politically active sample was representative of respondents in the 2020 Cooperative Election Study who engaged in at least four of the following activities in the last year: (1) attended local political meetings (such as school board or city council); (2) put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or bumper sticker); (3) worked for a candidate or campaign; (4) attended a political protest, march, or demonstration; (5) contacted a public official; and (6) donated money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on age, race, and education and evenly split on gender.

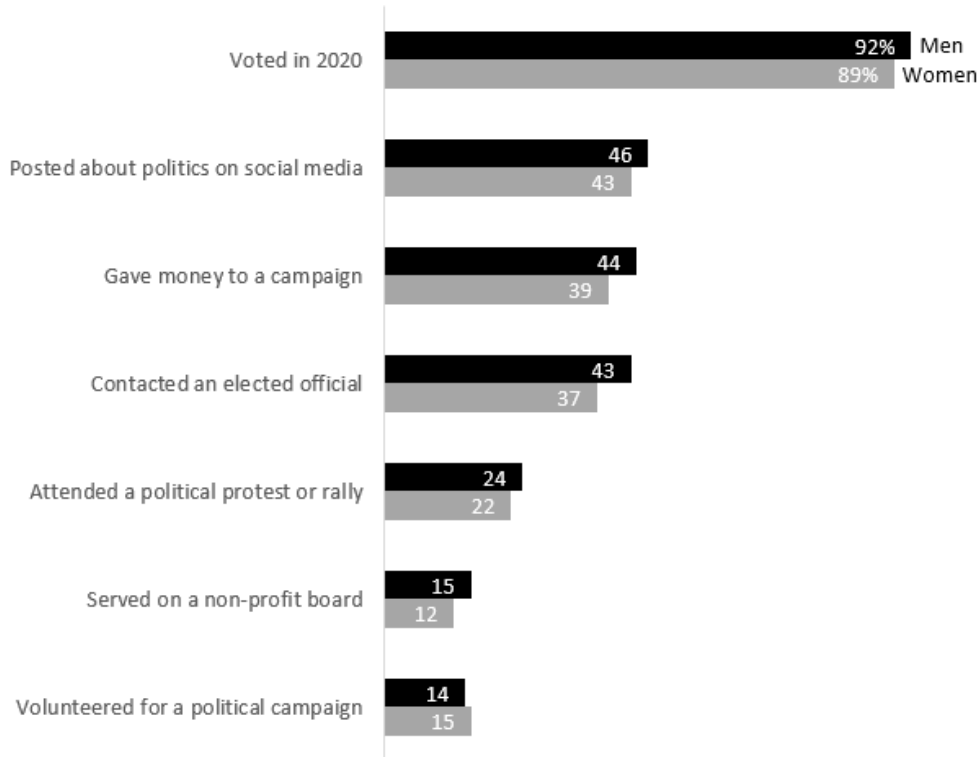
For the “Broader Sample,” YouGov interviewed 3,417 full-time employed, college-educated respondents who were then matched down to a sample of 3,000 to produce the final dataset. The frame for this sample was constructed by stratified sampling from the full 2019 American Community Survey (ACS) 1-year sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling with replacements (using the person weights on the public use file).

In an effort to ensure that the “Four Professions Sample” matched the Lawless and Fox eligibility pool samples as closely as possible, we included on the survey – and fielded to all respondents – a question that asked them to identify their profession as either (1) lawyer; (2) company executive or business owner; (3) teacher, principal, professor, or college administrator; (4) government or political party staff member; or (5) other. This allowed us to ensure that the law, business, educator, and political activist subsamples matched the specific roles included in the previous studies. It also allowed us to classify from the broader sample of college-educated

respondents people who worked full-time in one of the four eligibility pool professions, but whom YouGov did not screen as such. The analysis presented in Figure 1 of the manuscript relies on respondents' self-identified profession (in other words, how they answered the profession question we included on the survey).

On key dimensions, the sample of potential candidates includes well-matched women and men. Turning first to political participation, Figure A1 presents the percentages of women and men who engaged in various political activities over the course of the last two years.

Figure A1. Political Participation among Potential Candidates, by Sex



Note: Bars represent the percentages of potential candidates who reported that they engaged in each activity at some point in the last two years. Gender differences are significant at $p < .05$ for voting, donating money, contacting elected officials, and serving on a non-profit board. $N = 2,580$ for women and $2,496$ for men.

Not only are the respondents very politically active relative to a general population sample, but women and men are also roughly equally likely to participate, as has been the case for potential

candidates dating back to 2001. The handful of statistically significant differences that emerge are not substantively meaningful. Table A1 indicates that the women and men also share similar demographic profiles with each other.

Table A1. Demographics of the Candidate Eligibility Pool		
	Women	Men
Race		
White	63 % *	66 %
Black	14 *	10
Latino	13	11
Asian	7	8
Other	3	5
Party Affiliation		
Democrat (including leaners)	64 *	53
Independent	12 *	16
Republican (including leaners)	24 *	31
Household Income		
Less than \$70,000	32 *	21
\$70,000 – \$99,999	24	22
\$100,000 - \$149,999	24 *	28
\$150,000 and above	21 *	29
Profession		
Lawyer	11	12
Business Executive/Owner	9 *	15
Educator (teacher, professor, administrator)	22 *	18
Other	58	55
Education		
Bachelor’s Degree	50	49
Post-Graduate Degree	50	51
Mean Age		
	45.5 *	48.8
	years	years
N	2,580	2,496
Notes: * gender gap is significant at $p < .05$.		

On a few demographics – race, income, party affiliation, and age – statistically significant gender differences do emerge. With the exception of income, these disparities are roughly the same magnitude as those among the potential candidates from 2001 and 2011 to whom the 2021 sample is

being compared (see Lawless and Fox 2005; 2011). Moreover, we control for these demographic variables in the multivariate analyses.

Appendix B: Relevant Portions of the Survey Instrument

What is your profession?

- Lawyer
- Company Executive or Business Owner
- Teacher, Principal, Professor, or College Administrator
- Government or Political Party Staff Member
- Other

Have you done any of the following things in the past two years? (Check all that apply)

- Voted in a presidential election
- Attended a political rally or protest
- Contributed money to a campaign
- Wrote or posted a comment about politics on social media
- Contacted or interacted with an elected official
- Served on a non-profit board
- Volunteered on a political campaign

Have you ever thought about running for office?

- I have actually already run for elective office.
- Yes, I have seriously considered running for office.
- Yes, running for office has crossed my mind.
- No, I have not thought about running for office.

Have you ever taken any of these steps that tend to precede a campaign? (Check all that apply)

- Spoken to party leaders
- Discussed running with friends or family
- Discussed financial contributions with potential supporters
- Investigated how to get on the ballot
- Spoken to candidates about their experiences
- Attended a candidate training

For each pair, choose the statement that better describes you?

- Someone like me would have a hard time running for office.
- Someone like me would have a leg up running for office.

- I don't have thick enough skin to run for office.
- I am pretty unflappable when criticized.

- I don't know enough about public policy to run for office.
- I am very knowledgeable about some areas of public policy.

Have any of the following people ever suggested that you run? (Check anyone who has suggested it)

- A co-worker or business associate
- An elected official
- An official from a political party
- A spouse or partner
- A member of your family
- A non-elected political activist
- Someone from your church, synagogue, mosque, etc.

Overall, how qualified do you think you are to run for office?

- Very qualified
- Qualified
- Somewhat qualified
- Not at all qualified

What is your level of agreement with the following statements?

Answer options:

Strongly agree

Agree

Strongly disagree

Disagree

- Women face more scrutiny and challenges when they run for office than men do.
- Ordinary people would be better than most elected officials at solving the country's problems.

How important do you think the following characteristics and credentials are for political candidates?

Answer options:

Essential

Would be a plus

Not important

- Public policy expertise
- Ability to withstand scrutiny

.....

Demographics, provided by YouGov

Gender

- *Male*
- *Female*

Birth year

Race

- *White*
- *Black*
- *Hispanic*
- *Asian*
- *Middle Eastern*
- *Native American*
- *Two or more races*
- *Other*

Education

- *No High school*
- *High school graduate*
- *Some college*
- *2-year degree*
- *4-year degree*
- *Post-graduate degree*

Income

- *Less than \$10,000*
- *\$10,000 - \$19,999*
- *\$20,000 - \$29,999*
- *\$30,000 - \$39,999*
- *\$40,000 - \$49,999*
- *\$50,000 - \$59,999*
- *\$60,000 - \$69,999*
- *\$70,000 - \$79,999*
- *\$80,000 - \$99,999*
- *\$100,000 - \$119,999*
- *\$120,000 - \$149,999*
- *\$150,000 - \$199,999*
- *\$200,000 - \$249,999*
- *\$250,000 - \$349,999*
- *\$350,000 - \$499,999*
- *\$500,000 or more*

Marital Status

- *Married*
- *Separated*
- *Divorced*
- *Widowed*
- *Never married*
- *Domestic / civil partnership*

Do your children live with you? (for those with children)

- *Yes, I have children under the age of 18, and they live with me.*
- *No, I have children under the age of 18, but they don't live with me.*
- *No, my children are grown.*

Party Identification

- *Strong Democrat*
- *Not very strong Democrat*
- *Lean Democrat*
- *Independent*
- *Lean Republican*
- *Not very strong Republican*
- *Strong Republican*

Appendix C: The Gender Gap across Key Demographic Groups

In order to paint a portrait of the candidate eligibility pool, Table A2 presents the percentages of women and men who have considered running for office broken down by key demographic groups. Note that across all groups, women are significantly less likely than men to consider running for office. Although many of these gaps are not statistically significant in a multivariate context (see Table 1 in the article), it is important to highlight two findings that, at first glance, appear noteworthy.

First, independent women are between 10 and 12 points less likely than Democratic and Republican women to consider running for office. Independents in our sample include only true independents – about 14% of respondents; we coded independent leaners as partisans. True independents are less politically interested and participatory than partisans and partisan leaners in our sample. Indeed, in the regression analysis, the Democrat and Republican dummies are not statistically significant predictors of interest in running for office. Relative to true independents, in other words, partisans are not more politically ambitious once we account for political interest and activity.

Second, Black women in the candidate eligibility pool are less politically ambitious than Latina women, even though previous literature shows that, in the general population, Black women participate at higher rates than Latinas. Our candidate eligibility pool sample, however, is not representative of the U.S. population. In constructing the sample of potential candidates, we restricted respondents to those with a full-time job and a college degree. According to census data, in 2021, roughly 20% percent of Latinos had obtained a four-year college degree, compared to 28% percent of Black citizens.¹ Given that education is an important predictor of political activism, Black citizens in the general population have an edge over Latinos. But in our sample, there is no

¹ Census Bureau Releases New Educational Attainment Data.” February 24, 2022. Press Release Number CB22-TPS.02

advantage; all respondents have a college degree. The sample design, then, has the effect of roughly equalizing participation rates across women of color.

Given the manner in which we constructed the sample, and the fact that the candidate eligibility pool is not representative of the U.S. population, the comparisons presented in Table A2, while descriptively informative, should be viewed in conjunction with the regression results.

Table A2. The Gender Gap in Political Ambition, by Demographic Group			
	Considered Running for Office		Gender Gap
	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	
Race			
White	36 %	52 %	16 pts
Black	22	34	12
Latino	26	44	18
Asian	15	21	6
Party Affiliation			
Democrat	34	47	13
Republican	32	51	19
Independent	22	41	19
Household Income			
Less than \$70,000	24	42	18
\$70,000 – \$99,999	31	48	17
\$100,000 - \$149,999	36	49	13
\$150,000 and above	39	51	12
Age			
Under 40	29	47	18
Ages 40 – 59	33	47	14
60 and over	33	48	15
Parental Status			
No children at home	32	46	14
Children at home	31	49	18
Marital Status			
Married	35	49	15
Not Married	27	44	17
N	2,580	2,496	15 points
Note: Entries represent the percentage of women and men within each demographic group who have considered running for office. The final column presents the size of the gender gap in political ambition in each demographic category. The gender gap is significant at $p < .05$ in every comparison.			

**Appendix D:
Variable Description and Coding in the Multivariate Analysis**

Variable	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Coding
DEPENDENT VARIABLES				
Considered running for office	0, 1	0.39	0.49	Indicates whether respondent ever considered running for office (1) or not (0).
Took a concrete step	0, 1	0.24	0.43	Indicates whether respondent took at least one of the following steps that often precede a campaign – spoke to party leaders; discussed running with friends or family; discussed financial contributions with potential supporters; investigated how to get on the ballot; spoke to candidates about their experiences; attended a candidate training – (1) or not (0).
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES				
Gender	0, 1	0.51	0.50	Indicates whether respondent identifies as a woman (1) or a man (0).
Education	1 – 2	1.50	0.50	Indicates whether respondent has a bachelor’s degree (1) or a post-graduate degree (2).
Income	1 – 16	9.34	3.01	Indicates respondent’s annual family income. Ranges from less than \$10,000 (1) to \$500,000 or more (16).
Black	0, 1	0.12	0.32	Indicates whether respondent identifies as Black (1) or not (0).
Latino	0, 1	0.12	0.32	Indicates whether respondent identifies as Latino (1) or not (0).
Asian	0, 1	0.07	0.26	Indicates whether respondent is identifies as Asian (1) or not (0).

Variable	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Coding
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES – continued				
Marital status	0, 1	0.64	0.48	Indicates whether respondent is married or living with a partner (1) or not (0).
Children under 18 at home	0, 1	0.34	0.47	Indicates whether respondent has children under the age of 18 living at home (1) or not (0).
Birth year	1936 – 1999	1974	13.31	Indicates respondent’s year of birth.
Democrat	0, 1	0.58	0.49	Indicates whether respondent self-identifies as Strong Democrat, Democrat, leaning Democrat (1) or not (0).
Republican	0, 1	0.26	0.44	Indicates whether respondent self-identifies as Strong Republican, Republican, leaning Republican (1) or not (0).
Political efficacy	1 – 5	3.30	1.16	Indicates whether respondent thinks that “ordinary people would be better than most elected officials at solving the country’s problems.” Ranges from “strongly disagree” (1) to “strongly agree” (5).
Political participation	0 – 7	2.67	1.82	Indicates the number of the following activities respondent has engaged in during the last two years: voted in the presidential election; donated money to a political campaign; volunteered for a political campaign; attended a rally or protest; contacted an elected official; wrote or commented about politics on social media; served on a non-profit board.
Political interest	1 – 4	3.47	0.78	Indicates how closely respondent follows politics. Ranges from “hardly at all” (1) to “most of the time” (4).

Variable	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Coding
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES – continued				
Self-assessed qualifications	1 – 4	2.48	1.08	Indicates how qualified respondent feels to run for office. Responses range from “not at all qualified” (1) to “very qualified” (4).
Recruited by political actor	0, 1	0.18	0.38	Indicates whether respondent ever received the suggestion to run for office from a party leader, elected official, or political activist (1) or not (0).
Encouraged by personal source	0, 1	0.37	0.48	Indicates whether respondent ever received the suggestion to run for office from a spouse, family member, colleague, or someone from a church, synagogue, or mosque (1) or not (0).

Appendix E: Human Subjects Protocol

We commissioned YouGov to build our sample of potential candidates. Although our study received IRB approval from the University of Virginia, YouGov also provided us with a 12-page document, entitled, “Survey Procedures: Information Related to the Treatment of Human Subjects,” that fully describes their sampling recruitment, compensation, and other protocols. The details that follow are taken directly from the March 2020 document YouGov provided (those were the practices in place when our survey was carried out).

In a nutshell, YouGov’s practices should mitigate standard concerns about engaging with human subjects: power, consent, deception, harm and trauma, confidentiality, and impact. The Citizen Political Ambition Study does not involve deception or the potential for harm or trauma as regularly conceived. In addition, we see no broad concerns about impact. While it’s true that the survey questions might prompt some citizens to think about running for office, civic engagement is a positive externality. Finally, the protocols put in place by YouGov – summarized below – should eliminate concerns regarding power, consent, and confidentiality.

YouGov Sample Procedures

According to YouGov, our sample is drawn from a proprietary opt-in survey panel, comprised of 1.2 million U.S. residents who have agreed to participate in YouGov’s web surveys. At any given time, YouGov maintains numerous recruitment campaigns based on salient current events.

Panel members are recruited by various methods to help ensure diversity in the panel population. These include web advertising campaigns (public surveys), permission-based email campaigns, partner-sponsored solicitations, telephone-to-web recruitment (RDD based sampling), and mail-to-web recruitment (voter registration-based sampling).

The primary method of recruitment for the YouGov panel – and the manner in which most of our respondents were solicited – is web advertising campaigns that target respondents through keyword searches. In the words of YouGov, “a search in Google may prompt an active YouGov advertisement inviting their opinion on the search topic. At the conclusion of the short survey respondents are invited to join the YouGov panel to directly receive and participate in additional surveys. All recruited members must pass through a double opt-in procedure, where respondents must confirm their consent again by responding to an email.” The database then checks to ensure that the newly recruited panelist is new and has a valid address.

YouGov augments the panel with difficult to recruit respondents by soliciting panelists in telephone and mail surveys. Respondents provide a working email where they can receive an electronic invitation and confirm their consent and interest in receiving and participating in YouGov web surveys.

Participants are not paid to join the YouGov panel, but they do receive incentives through a loyalty program to take individual surveys (see below).

YouGov Consent and Privacy Practices

Each respondent receives the following consent statement upon providing contact information and indicating an interest in receiving survey invitations from YouGov: “YouGov invites people to complete self-administered surveys via the web using a panel of respondents.” Panelists are provided the privacy policy when they voluntarily sign up and a link to this with each study request. Specifically, each invitation states that their participation is voluntary and confidential.

YouGov IRB Statement and Protection of Human Subjects

YouGov works with the Western IRB to ensure its research protocol and specific studies are consistent with Good Clinical Practices as defined under the U.S. Food and Drug Administration

(FDA) regulations and the International Conference on Harmonisation (ICH) guidelines. In addition, the YouGov research protocol has been reviewed and approved for Federalwide Assurance (FWA) by the Department of Health and Human Services (number FWA00010960). All members of the Scientific Research team have IRB training.

YouGov Incentives and Compensation

YouGov compensates participants through an incentive program in which survey respondents receive “PollingPoints” they may redeem:

Points Reward

25,000	UNICEF Donation
30,000	\$25 gift cards from AMC, Fandango, CVS, Regal, or Walgreens
35,000	\$15 Amazon gift card or \$25 Kmart gift card
40,000	\$25 Foot Locker gift card
45,000	\$25 Nike gift card
57,500	\$50 FreshGift gift card
60,000	\$50 gift card from Lowe’s, Chili’s, Applebee’s, GameStop, Groupon, iTunes, Sears, TJX, Best Buy, Bed Bath & Beyond, Walmart, Foot Locker, Target, Macy’s, or Old Navy
65,000	\$50 gift card from Nike, Amazon, Global Hotel, or Visa
100,000	\$100 Visa Prepaid card, \$100 UNICEF Donation, or \$100 Amazon gift card

Each panelist receives between 250 and 5,000 points to complete a survey. YouGov considers the survey reward policies and incentives “to serve as a genuine token of appreciation for YouGov panelists.”