

## Supplementary Materials

# Ambitious Women: Gender and Voter Perceptions of Candidate Ambition

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## Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Survey descriptive statistics and wording</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Harvard Digital Laboratory for the Social Sciences (DLABSS)</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>DLABSS 2 Attributes and Values</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Determinants of Ambition (DLABSS 1, DLABSS 2, Prolific samples)</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Perceived Ambition Concept: Manipulation Check (DLABSS 3)</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Determinants of Vote Choice (all samples)</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Determinants of Vote Choice by Gender of Candidate (all samples)</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Respondent Party Subgroups (all samples)</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Respondent Gender Subgroups (all samples)</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>Robustness Checks: First Election Only</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>Robustness Checks: Atypical Profiles</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>Open-ended survey responses</b>	<b>35</b>

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# 1 Survey descriptive statistics and wording

Table A1 presents descriptive statistics for all three U.S. surveys, with a comparison to ANES (2012). SSI balanced on gender, age, ethnicity, and census region using the most recent US census, and balanced on party affiliation using a Gallup poll (2017). Respondents generally resemble the U.S. population across demographic and regional characteristics, though the sample is younger (SSI) and whiter, which is common in panels recruited online. Unlike our surveys, ANES asks respondents to indicate their ideological leanings on a scale that includes an option for ‘Moderate.’ The 2012 ANES stood out for having a high number of respondents self-identify as moderate (32%) compared to previous waves (22% in 2008 and 25% in 2004), as well as future ones (24% in 2016). Furthermore, 8% of respondents in the 2012 ANES reported that they hadn’t thought about their ideological leanings. The larger set of options from which respondents could self-identify ideology therefore explains the discrepancy between our samples and ANES (2012) when it comes to this variable. We also note that the DLABSS 3 sample is male-dominated (over 70% respondents are male), so it is particularly important to consider differences by respondent gender for this sample.

Table A1: Summary Statistics for U.S. Samples

	DLABSS 1	SSI	DLABSS 2	DLABSS 3	ANES (2012)
Female	49.4%	49.9%	51.2%	28.4%	52.0%
Age	51	40	49.97	53.1	47.3
Salary	\$47,500	\$62,500	\$42,500	\$67,500	\$63,199
Liberal	54.2%	47.8%	53.2%	26.3%	24%
Conservative	33.7%	52.2%	33.2%	38.1%	36%
White	78.7%	77.4%	80.9%	74.3%	74.5%
Black	3.7%	8.2%	2.2%	0.01%	12.2%
Hispanic	6.2%	Not recorded	4.2%	0.02%	10.9%

Table A2 presents descriptive statistics for the U.K. sample, with a comparison to BES (2015). The sample has a higher share of women than the population, and is purposefully not balanced on party affiliation because of the aim to test party (including far right) subgroups. The sample generally resembles the U.K. population in terms of nationality (only U.K. citizens are surveyed). We do not have information on age, ethnicity, or salary.

Figure A1 provides an example of what the survey looks like to respondents.

Table A2: Summary Statistics for U.K. Sample

	Prolific	BES (2015)
Female	60.7%	51.5%
Conservative	39%	31.4%
Labour	39%	28.2%
UKIP	16%	4.2%
Nationality: England	89%	86%
Nationality: Northern Ireland	2%	Not recorded
Nationality: Wales	4%	5.2%
Nationality: Scotland	5%	8.8%
Full-time employed	49%	41.5%

Suppose there is a primary in your party for an open seat for Governor, and the two individuals below are considering running. We'd like you to consider the following two potential candidates for this office. Please review the following two resumes:

	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Number of children	0	2
Future Plans - Has candidate shown interest in running for President?	Yes	No
Gender	Female	Male
What kind of changes to the current political agenda will the candidate bring about?	Moderate changes	Moderate changes
Talent	Tough negotiator	Determined to succeed

Based on the limited information above, which of the two candidates would you be more likely to support for Governor?

Candidate 1

Candidate 2

Figure A1: Design for the conjoint experiment (what a respondent might see)

Below we provide details on specific survey wording, and in particular differences between the main survey wording, DLABSS 1 (where we also looked at hypothetical school board elections), Prolific (where the different institutional context of the U.K. required us to make changes), and DLABSS 3 (where we include candidate party and a manipulation check related to perceived ambition).

### Wording of DLABSS 1

The DLABSS 1 survey asked respondents to evaluate pairs of candidates for two offices: School board and Governor. Below is the precise wording used in the first election as an example:<sup>3</sup>

“Suppose there is a primary in your party for an open seat for [Governor / school board], and the two individuals below are considering running. We’d like you to consider the following two potential candidates for this office. Please review the following two resumes:”

After this, the question stem presented was:

“Based on the limited information above, which of the two candidates would you be more likely to support for [Governor / school board]?”

The results are nearly identical for these offices (women are more preferred in the school board race compared to the Governor’s race, but this difference is not significant). You can see this in Figures A2 and A3, which show determinants of vote choice for the Governor and School board wordings. People do not seem to change their evaluations of candidates according to the level of office, at least in respect to the ambitious traits of interest in this study. Because of this we pool the results in the analysis presented. Results for analysis are similar when only the Governor race version is considered. Subsequent surveys did not include multiple types of electoral races.

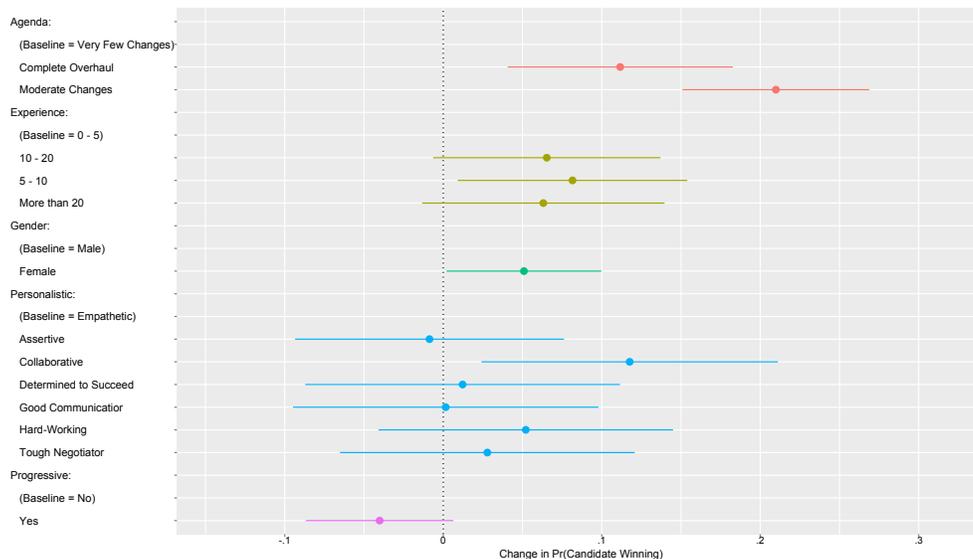


Figure A2: Determinants of Vote Choice, Governor Wording (N = 273 Respondents or 1642 observations)

### Wording of survey (SSI and DLABSS 2)

The wording for the survey is identical in SSI and DLABSS 2. The preamble states:

<sup>3</sup>We also made a slight change in the precise wording used for the Progressive Ambition attribute, changing the higher office from President (in the Governor version) to Mayor (in the School board version).

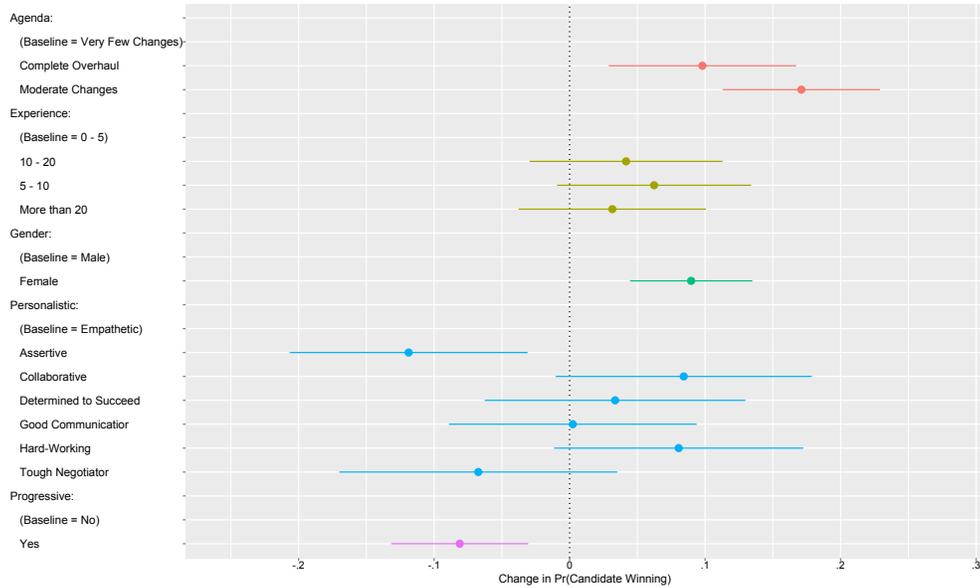


Figure A3: Determinants of Vote Choice, School board Wording (N = 271 Respondents or 1636 observations)

“For the next few minutes, we are going to ask you to act as if you were about to cast a vote for a candidate running for the Governor of your state within your party.

We will describe to you several pairs of candidates running for this gubernatorial primary. For each pair of people, please indicate which one you would prefer to represent you. Even if you aren’t entirely sure, please indicate which of the two you prefer given only the information presented. Following this, you will also indicate how you feel about each candidate based on some rating scales and answer a few additional questions.”

Before the first election, respondents see the following text:

“Suppose there is a primary in your party for an open seat for Governor, and the two individuals below are considering running. We’d like you to consider the following two potential candidates for this office. Please review the following two resumes:”

After this, the question stem presented was:

“Based on the limited information above, which of the two candidates would you be more likely to support for Governor?”

### Wording of survey (Prolific)

In the U.K., primaries for elected office are not common. We instead asked respondents to review several pairs of MPs (Members of Parliament) from within their party, and indicate which one they prefer. The setup in our U.K. survey is similar to Campbell et al. 2018. The preamble is:

“For the next few minutes, we are going to ask you to choose between two example Members of Parliament (MPs), both of whom are from your political party.

We will describe to you five pairs of MPs from within your political party. For each pair of people, please indicate which one you would prefer as your MP. Even if you aren’t entirely sure, please indicate which of the two you prefer given only the information presented. Following this, you will also indicate how you feel about each MP based on some rating scales and answer a few additional questions.”

Before the first election, respondents see the following text:

“Suppose the two individuals below are Members of Parliament (MPs) from your political party. Please review the following two resumes:”

After this, the question stem presented was:

“Based on the limited information above, which of the two MPs would you prefer to have as your MP?”

In the last election, for each of the final candidates, respondents are asked “Thinking about candidate X, how does the following phrase describe the candidate? ‘They are ambitious’”, where 0 is “Not at all well” and 10 is “Extremely well”. Finally, at the end of the survey, we asked some demographic questions. The purpose of structuring the survey in this way was to avoid any social desirability bias that might cue respondents to favor women candidates if they were primed in any way to think about women, gender, or ambition.

### **Wording of survey (DLABSS 3)**

This survey was designed to be very similar to SSI and DLABSS 2, except that it adds party ID as a candidate trait. We therefore ask respondents to think about a gubernatorial election rather than a primary for the same election. The preamble states:

“For the next few minutes, we are going to ask you to act as if you were about to cast a vote for a candidate running for the Governor of your state.

We will describe to you several pairs of candidates running in this gubernatorial election. For each pair of people, please indicate which one you would prefer to represent you. Even if you aren’t entirely sure, please indicate which of the two you prefer given only the information presented. Following this, you will also indicate how you feel about each candidate based on some rating scales and answer a few additional questions.”

Before the first election, respondents see the following text:

“Suppose there is an election for an open seat for Governor, and the two individuals below are considering running. We’d like you to consider the following two potential candidates for this office. Please review the following two resumes:”

After this, the question stem presented was:

“Based on the limited information above, which of the two candidates would you be more likely to support for Governor?”

In the last election, for each of the final candidates, respondents are asked:

“Thinking about candidate X, how do the following phrases describe the candidate?

They are very eager to achieve higher positions of political power even beyond the one they are currently running for.

Their personality can be described as willful, a go-getter.

They plan to make big changes to politics as usual if elected.”

Respondents rank each of the final two candidates on a 0 – 10 point scale for these three items, where 0 is “Not at all well” and 10 is “Extremely well”.

## **2 Harvard Digital Laboratory for the Social Sciences (DLABSS)**

DLABSS is a volunteer based online laboratory with 13,000 respondents in its pool (as of October 2018). Enos, Hill, Strange, and Lakeman (2018) test the validity of the DLABSS sample by replicating several classic and recent experimental studies, establishing that DLABSS is broadly similar to nationally representative and MTurk samples. Compared to MTurk, DLABSS is actually closer to nationally representative samples because respondents are older with less skewed political knowledge (Enos et al. 2018). They also successfully replicate 16 classic and contemporary studies, ranging from the well-known Asian Disease Problem (Tversky and Kahneman 1981) to other more recent and prominent works (for example, audience costs in international relations (Tomz 2007), preferences for and against immigration (Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010), and information seeking (Gadarian and Albertson 2014), among others). All replications on DLABSS have the same approximate magnitude, directionality, and level of statistical significance as the original studies, which themselves were picked because they ranged a wide spectrum of platforms: General Social Survey (GSS), Knowledge Networks (KN), Qualtrics, MTurk, and Epinion (Enos et al. 2018).

### 3 DLABSS 2 Attributes and Values

Table A3: Attribute values, corresponding to each ambition type, used to generate candidate profiles for DLABSS 2.

ATTRIBUTE	VALUES	AMBITION TYPE
Gender	Male Female	NA
Talent	Empathetic Collaborative Good Communicator Hard-working Assertive Tough Negotiator Determined to Succeed	<i>Personalistic</i>
Future Plans: Has candidate shown interest in running for President?	Yes No	<i>Progressive</i>
What kinds of changes to the current political agenda will the candidate bring about?	Very few changes Moderate changes Complete overhaul	<i>Agenda-based</i>
Political Experience	None City council member Representative in congress Mayor	NA
Career Experience	Educator Small business owner Attorney	NA
Age	35 45 55 65	NA

# 4 Determinants of Ambition (DLABSS 1, DLABSS 2, Prolific samples)

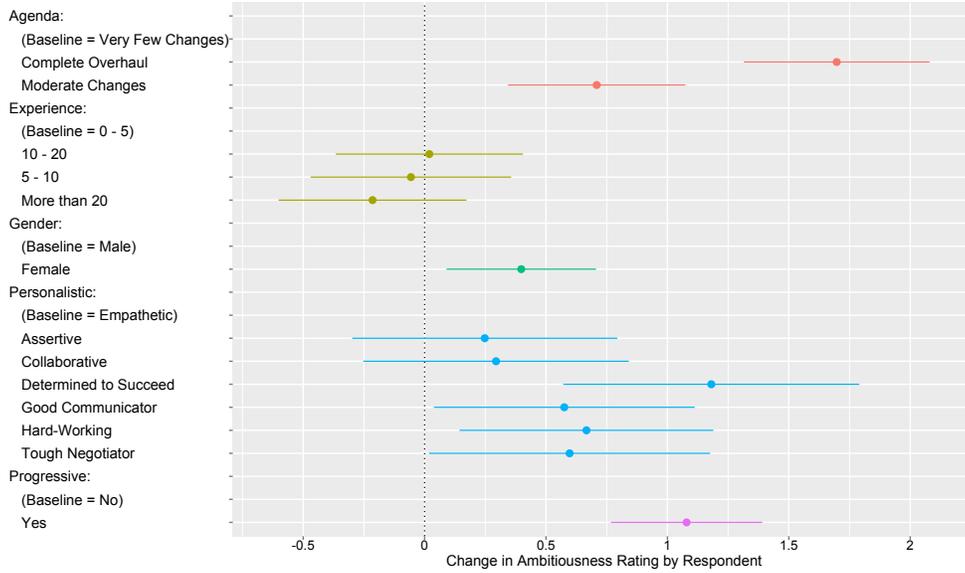


Figure A4: Determinants of Ambition: DLABSS 1 Sample

Figure shows unit increase on 10 point scale measuring perceived ambitiousness of candidate given attributes. Sample size N = 551 respondents, or at candidate level N = 1072.

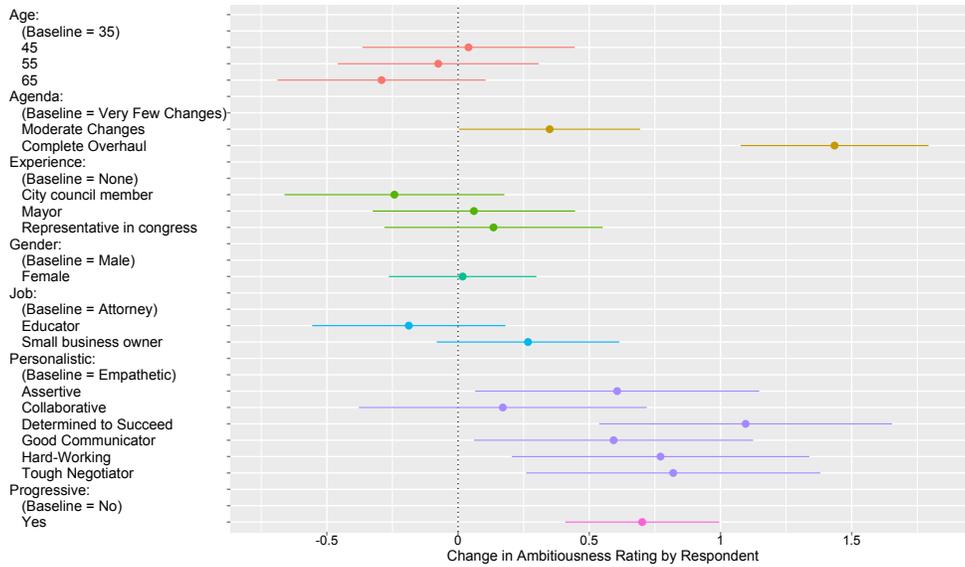
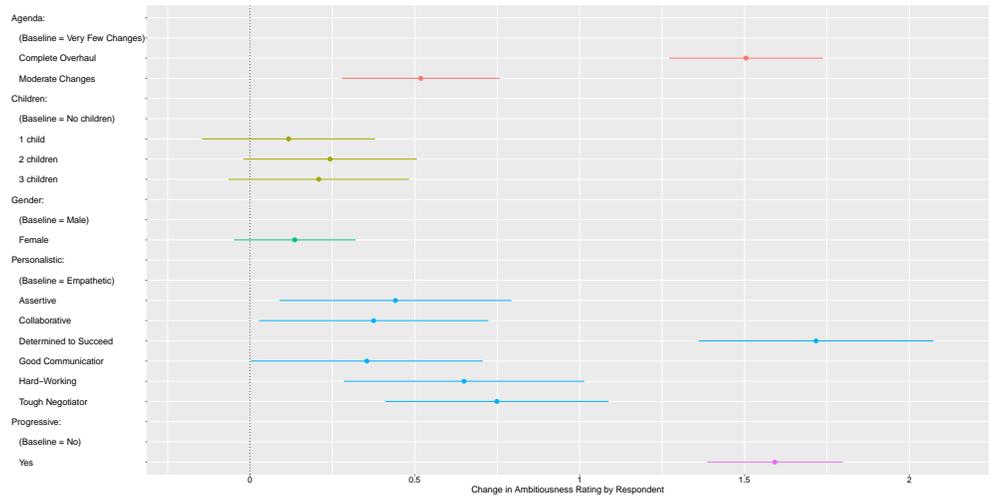


Figure A5: Determinants of Ambition: DLABSS 2 Sample

Figure shows unit increase on 10 point scale measuring perceived ambitiousness of candidate given attributes. Sample size N = 466 respondents, or at candidate level N = 932.



**Figure A6: Determinants of Ambition: Prolific Sample**

Figure shows unit increase on 10 point scale measuring perceived ambitiousness of candidate given attributes. Sample size N = 867 respondents, or at candidate level N = 1734.

## 5 Perceived Ambition Concept: Manipulation Check (DLABSS 3)

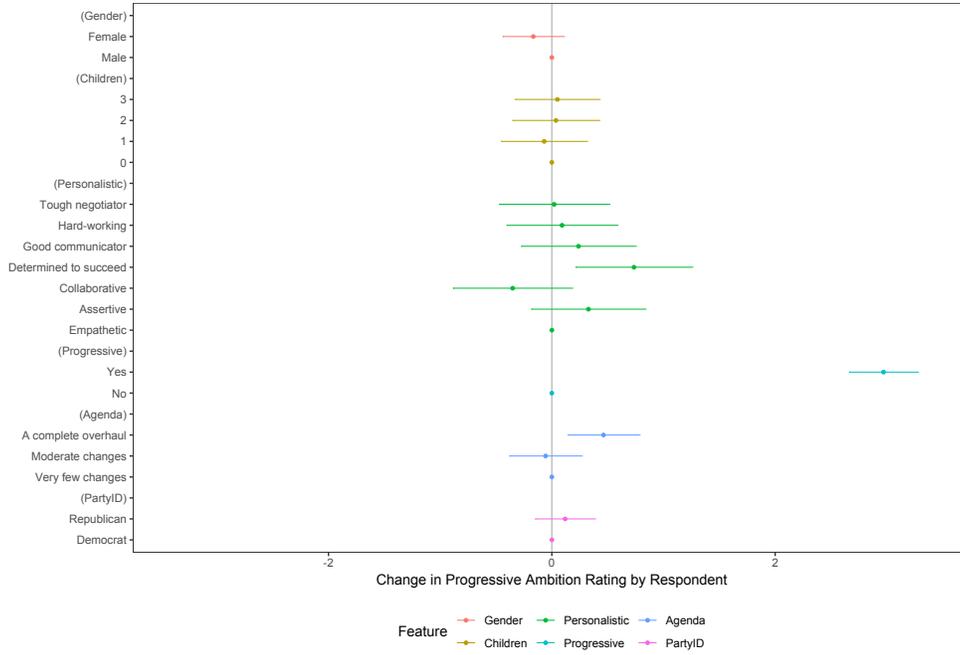
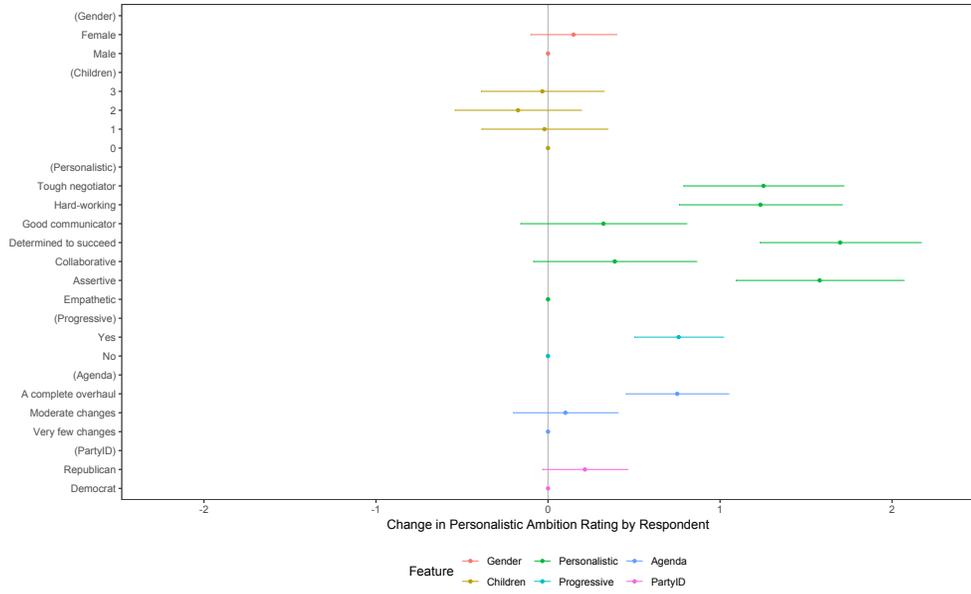


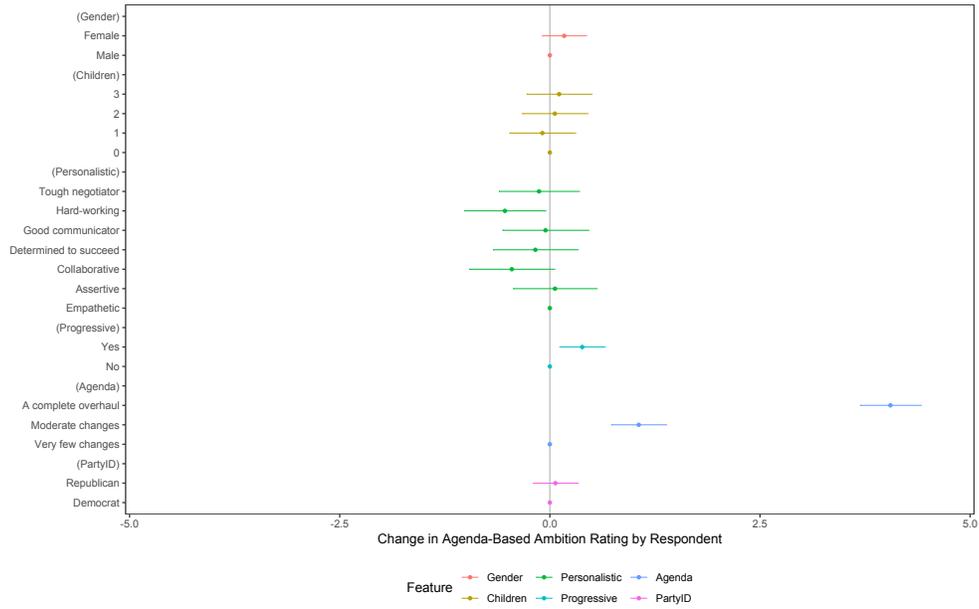
Figure A7: Determinants of Progressive Ambition

Figure shows unit increase on 11 point scale measuring perceived progressive ambitiousness of candidate given attributes. Text of progressive ambitiousness item: Thinking about candidate X, how do the following phrases describe the candidate? 'They are very eager to achieve higher positions of political power even beyond the one they are currently running for.' Sample size N = 850 respondents, or at candidate level N = 8500.



**Figure A8: Determinants of Personalistic Ambition**

Figure shows unit increase on 11 point scale measuring perceived personalistic ambitiousness of candidate given attributes. Text of personalistic ambitiousness item: 'Thinking about candidate X, how do the following phrases describe the candidate? 'Their personality can be described as willful, a go-getter.' Sample size N = 850 respondents, or at candidate level N = 8500.



**Figure A9: Determinants of Agenda-Based Ambition**

Figure shows unit increase on 11 point scale measuring perceived agenda-based ambitiousness of candidate given attributes. Text of agenda-based ambitiousness item: 'Thinking about candidate X, how do the following phrases describe the candidate? 'They plan to make big changes to politics as usual if elected.' Sample size N = 850 respondents, or at candidate level N = 8500.

## 6 Determinants of Vote Choice (all samples)

The main text shows determinants of vote choice for the representative SSI sample; here we present the same for all other samples. As in the SSI sample, the other surveys consistently show that respondents significantly prefer hard-working candidates, all else equal. In addition, while most respondents agree that a candidate who is ‘determined to succeed’ is ambitious, this does not lead to a bump in the election in any of our surveys. On the other hand, all surveys reveal that Agenda-based Ambition significantly and positively affects vote choice (with some small variation in DLABSS 3—though ‘Complete Overhaul’ is not statistically significant, ‘Moderate Changes’ does provide an edge to the candidate). In line with the SSI results, all other surveys show that women candidates enjoy a slight advantage when it comes to vote choice. One major difference between the SSI results and the additional surveys (DLABSS 1, 2, 3, and Prolific) concerns Progressive Ambition: in DLABSS 1, 2, and 3, candidates showing Progressive Ambition are penalized in elections (significant at conventional levels across all three surveys, please see Replication Files for details); in the Prolific sample (UK), the opposite is true, candidates showing Progressive Ambition enjoy a small 2.5% bump (significant at  $p=0.03$ ).

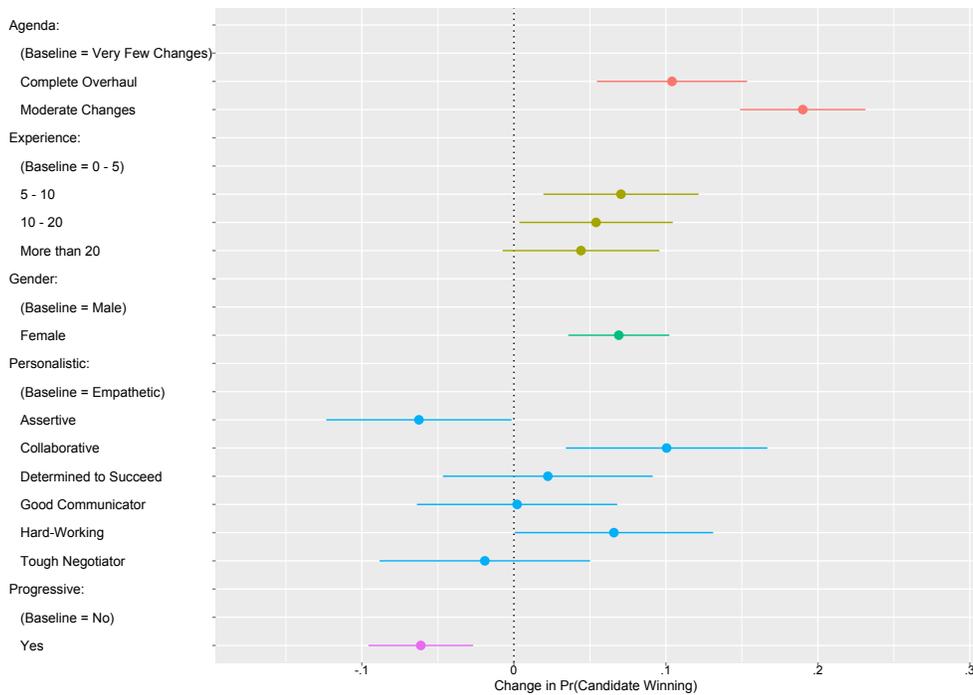


Figure A10: Determinants of Vote Choice (DLABSS 1 Sample)

Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning. Item: ‘Based on the limited information above, which of the two candidates would you be more likely to support for Governor?’ Sample size  $N = 551$  respondents, or at candidate level  $N = 3280$ .

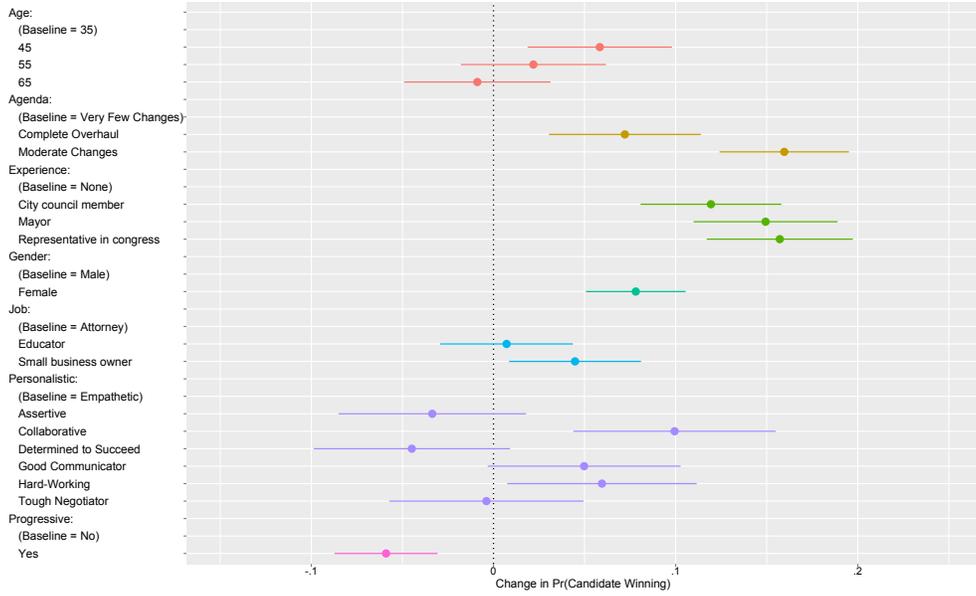


Figure A11: Determinants of Vote Choice (DLABSS 2 Sample)

Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning. Item: 'Based on the limited information above, which of the two candidates would you be more likely to support for Governor?'  
 Sample size N = 497 respondents, or at candidate level N = 4886.

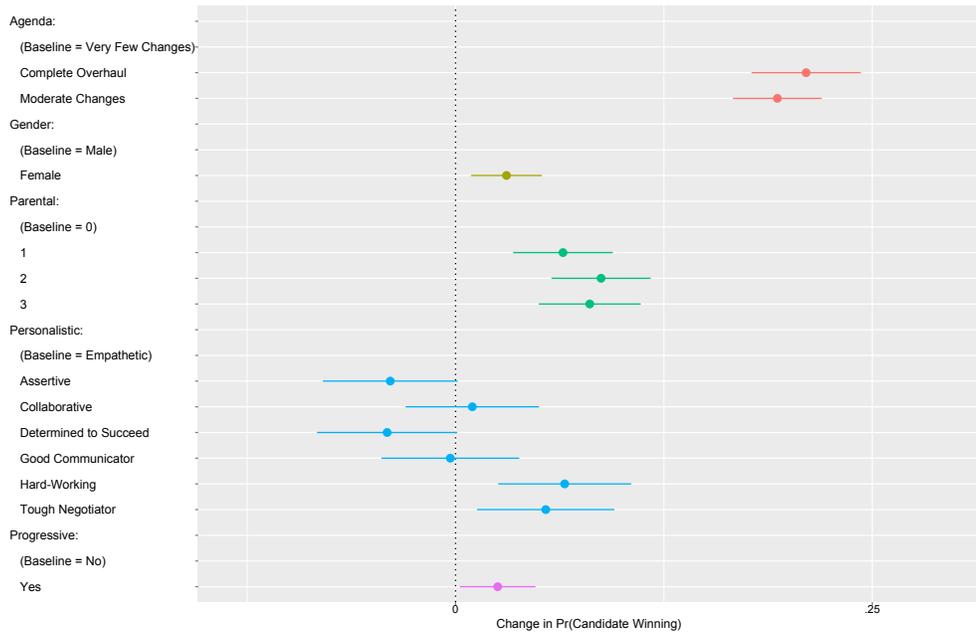
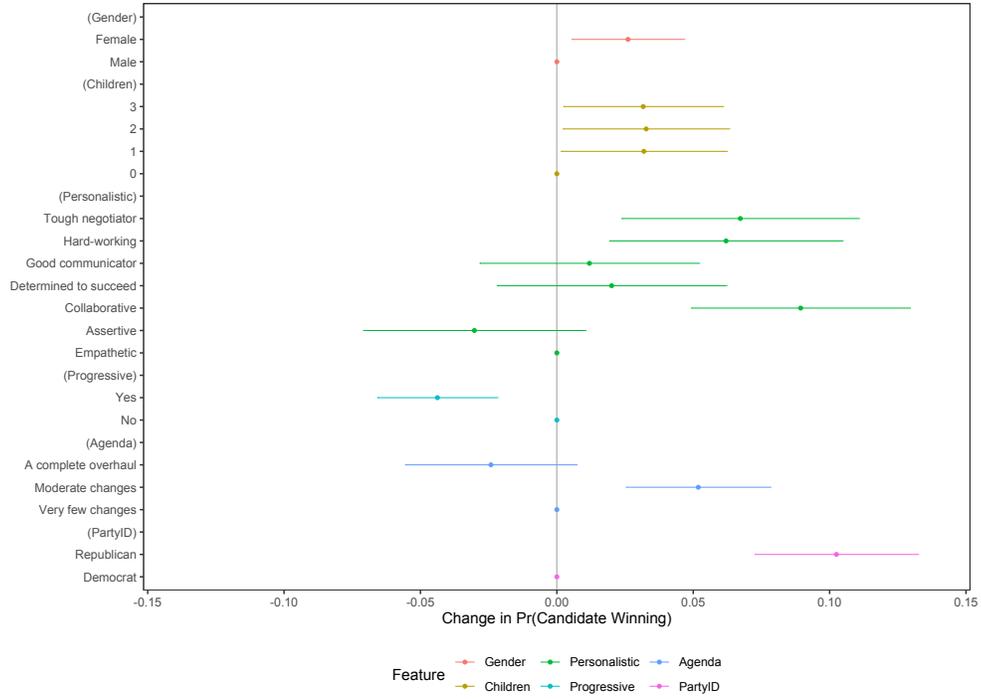


Figure A12: Determinants of Vote Choice (Prolific Sample)

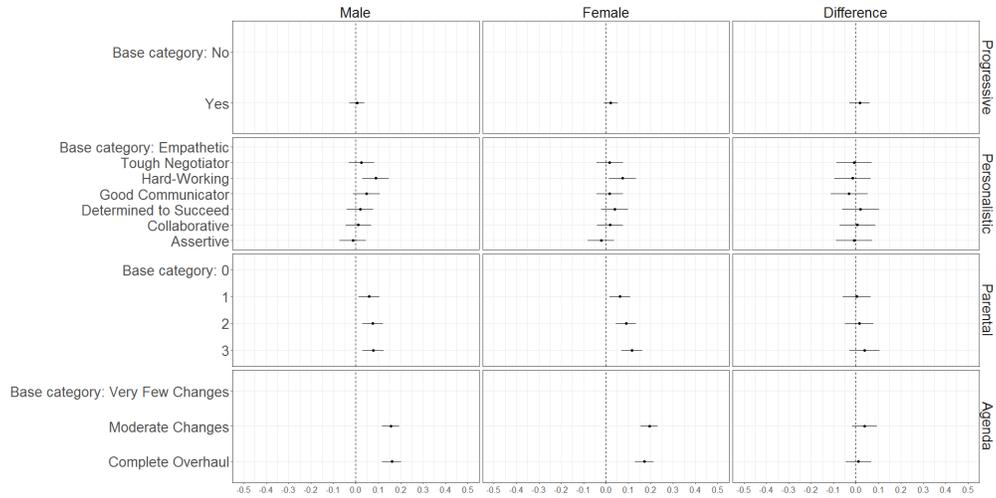
Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning. Item: 'Based on the limited information above, which of the two candidates would you be more likely to support for Governor?'  
 Sample size N = 869 respondents, or at candidate level N = 8682.



**Figure A13: Determinants of Vote Choice (DLABSS 3 Sample)**

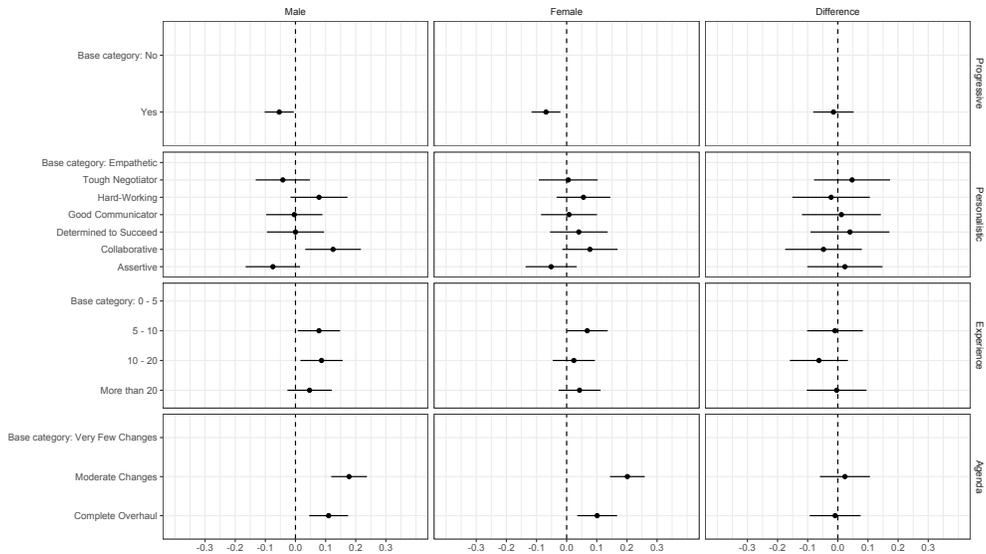
Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning. Item: 'Based on the limited information above, which of the two candidates would you be more likely to support for Governor?'  
 Sample size N = 850 respondents, or at candidate level N = 850.

# 7 Determinants of Vote Choice by Gender of Candidate (all samples)



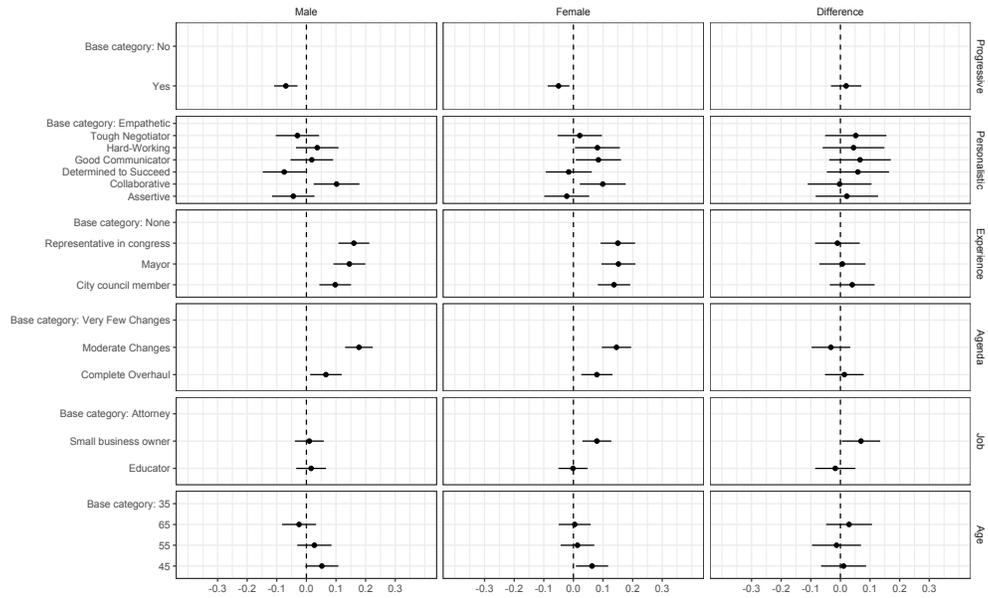
**Figure A14: Determinants of Vote Choice by Gender of Candidate (SSI Sample)**

Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning for male candidates (left), female candidates (center), and the interaction between candidate gender and other traits (equivalent to the difference in means between subgroups). Sample size N = 1249 respondents, or at candidate level N = 7480.



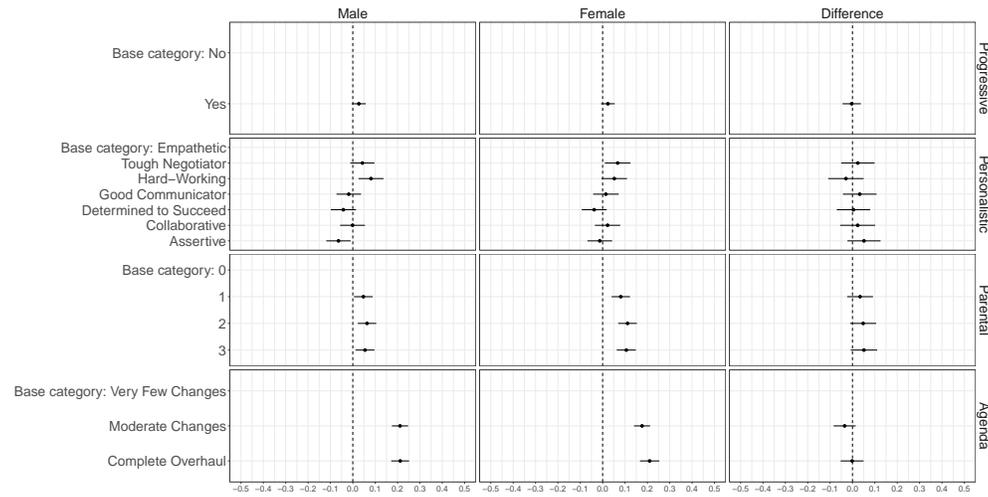
**Figure A15: Determinants of Vote Choice by Gender of Candidate (DLABSS 1 Sample)**

Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning for male candidates (left), female candidates (center), and the interaction between candidate gender and other traits (equivalent to the difference in means between subgroups). Sample size N = 551 respondents, or at candidate level N = 3280.



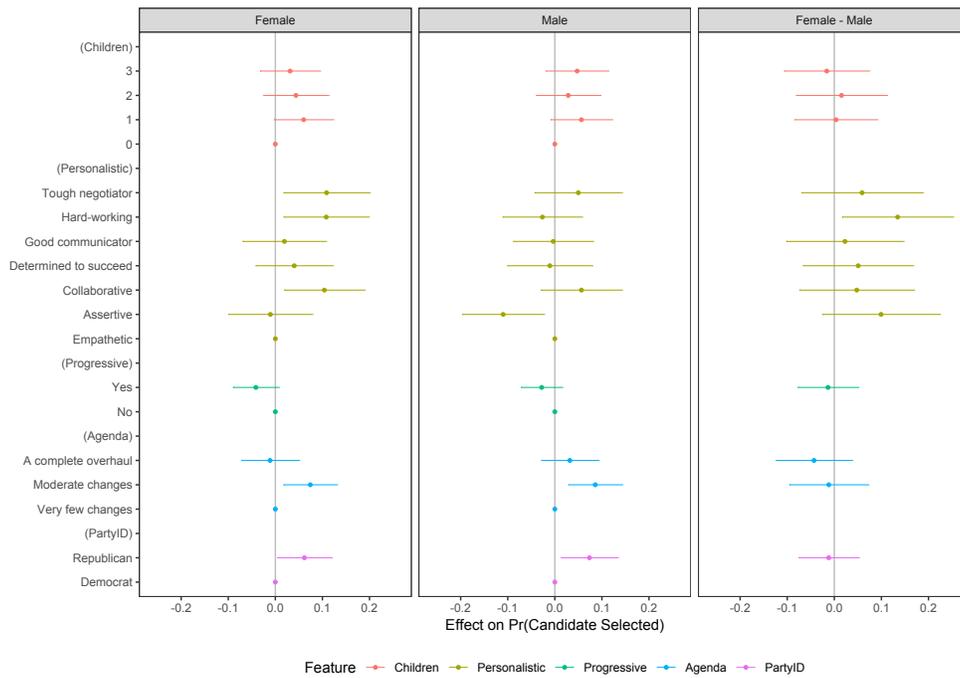
**Figure A16: Determinants of Vote Choice by Gender of Candidate (DLABSS 2 Sample)**

Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning for male candidates (left), female candidates (center), and the interaction between candidate gender and other traits (equivalent to the difference in means between subgroups). Sample size N = 497 respondents, or at candidate level N = 4886.



**Figure A17: Determinants of Vote Choice by Gender of Candidate (Prolific Sample)**

Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning for male candidates (left), female candidates (center), and the interaction between candidate gender and other traits (equivalent to the difference in means between subgroups). Sample size N = 869 respondents, or at candidate level N = 8682 (5 elections).



**Figure A18: Determinants of Vote Choice by Gender of Candidate (DLABSS 3 Sample)**

Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning for female candidates (left), male candidates (center), and the interaction between candidate gender and other traits (equivalent to the difference in means between subgroups). Sample size N = 850 respondents, or at candidate level N = 8500.

Table A4: Effect of female gender and perceived ambitiousness on vote choice (SSI sample)

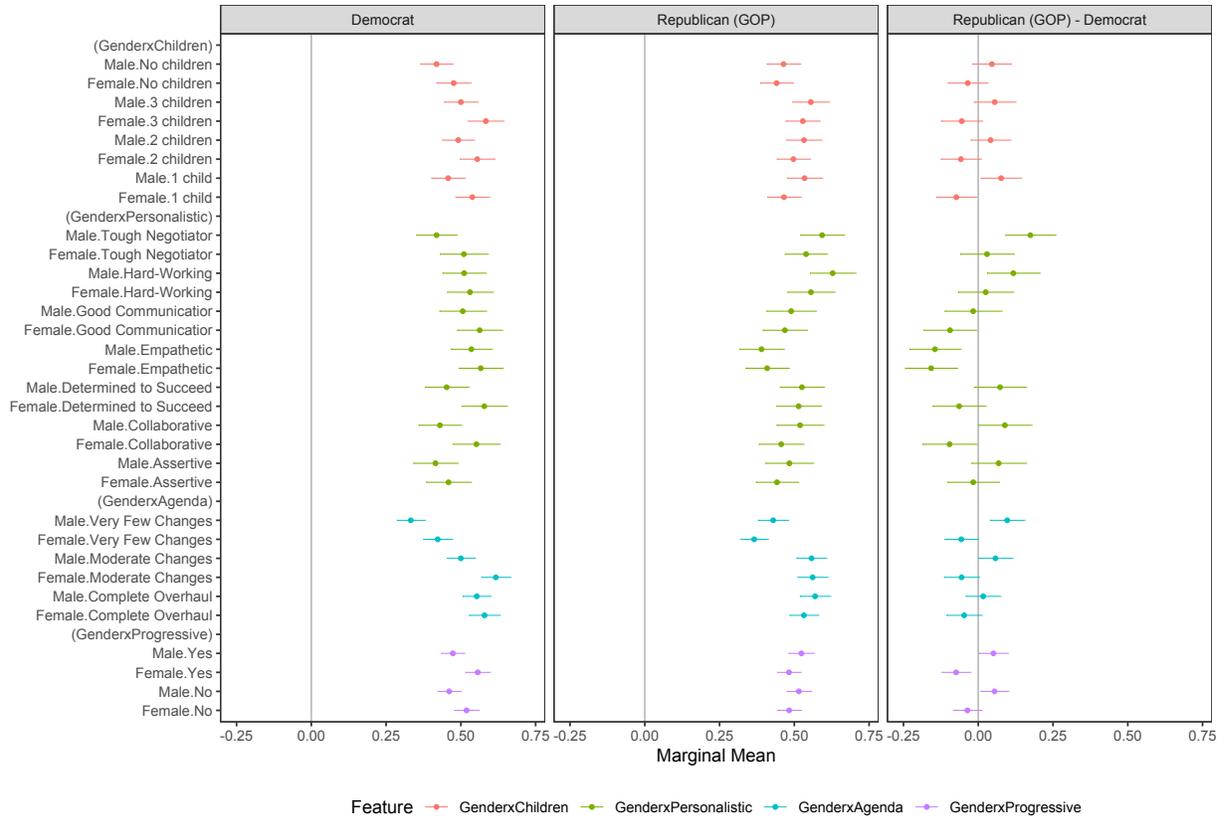
<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
Vote choice	
Female	0.020* (0.012)
Ambition	0.089*** (0.017)
Female:Ambition	0.018 (0.024)
Constant	0.505*** (0.006)
Observations	7,480
R <sup>2</sup>	0.009
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.009
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

## **8 Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Respondent Party Subgroups (all samples)**

The key finding in main text related to partisan subgroups is that Democrats are more supportive of women with progressive ambition than Republicans. Republicans are also less supportive of women with agenda-based ambition, but this difference is not significant (across all surveys). The finding for progressive ambition holds across all 3 U.S.-based survey samples, as shown in Figures A19, A21, and A22 below. For agenda-based ambition, the marginal means are similar across the other surveys (with Democrats favoring women with agenda-based ambition more than Republicans) and the difference between Republicans and Democrats is significant in DLABSS 2.

For DLABSS 1, marginal means for Republicans and Democrats for women with progressive ambition are .42 and .56 (difference is significant at  $p < .001$ ), and for women with agenda-based ambition the marginal means are .52 and .53 (difference is not significant). For DLABSS 2, marginal means for Republicans and Democrats for women with progressive ambition are 0.46 and 0.54 (difference is significant at  $p = 0.02$ ), and for women with agenda-based ambition the marginal means are 0.48 and 0.59 (difference is significant at  $p = 0.01$ ). As noted in the main text, results do not hold in the context where candidate party is given (DLABSS 3), as shown in A23.

While we note in the main text that "...any social desirability bias to, for example, favor women is mitigated by the fact that we do not cue respondents to think about gender before voting, and the survey is carried out online where respondents are less likely to report socially desirable answers (Chang and Krosnick 2009)," there are still caveats to how our results can be interpreted, something that is generally true in experimental studies. More specifically, it is possible that both Democrats and Republicans in our sample are more supportive of women when taking the survey than they actually are in practice when voting. This may be particularly true for Democratic voters due to stronger norms regarding gender equality on the left.



**Figure A19: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Republicans and Democrats (SSI Sample)**

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for respondents identifying as Democrat (left panel), Republican (center panel), and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size N = 795 (391 Republican + 404 Democrat), or at candidate level N = 4770.

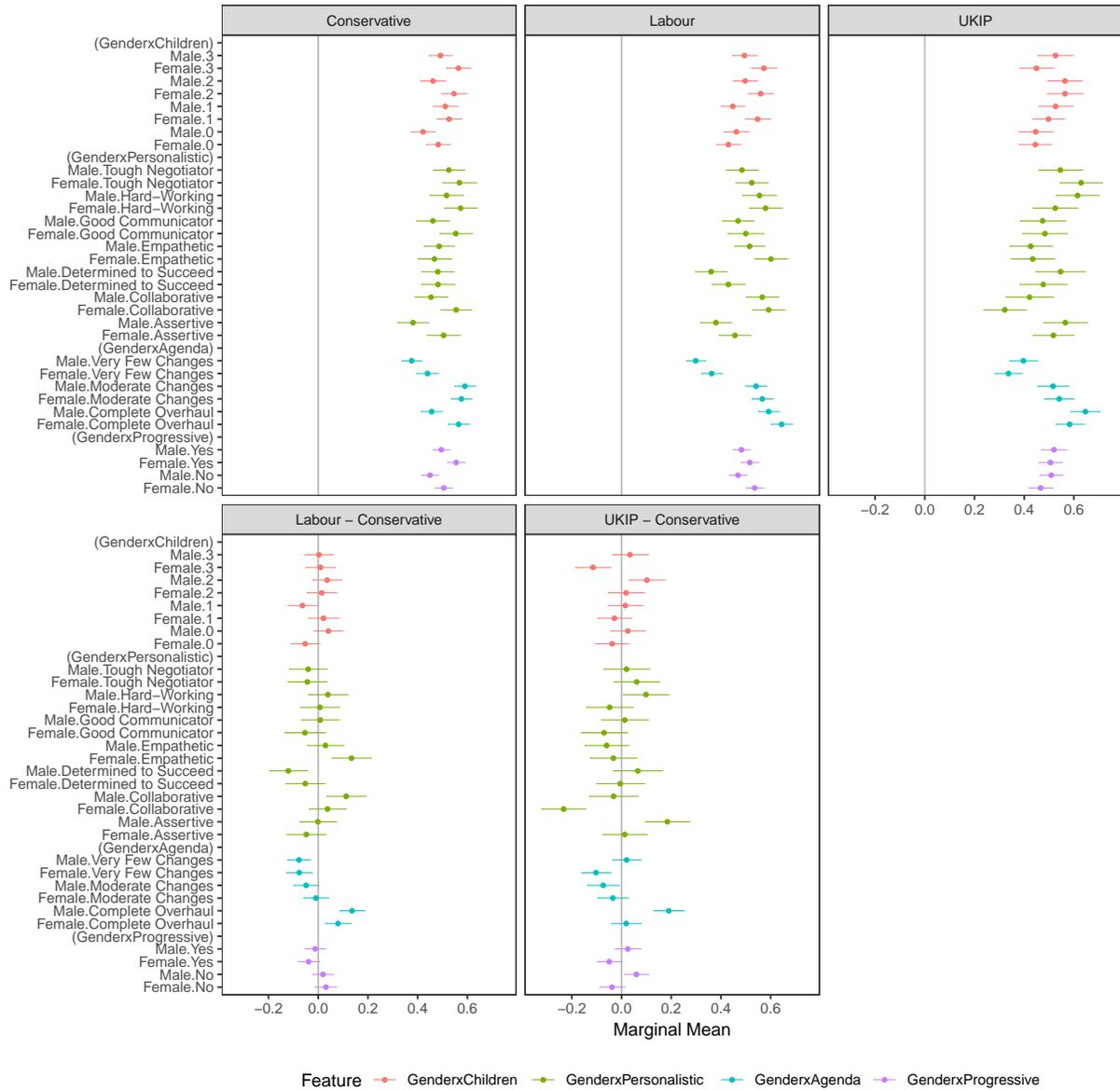


Figure A20: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Labour, Conservative, and UKIP (Prolific Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for respondents identifying as Conservative (top left panel), Labour (top center panel), UKIP (right panel), and the differences (bottom panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size N = 869 (319 Conservative, 315 Labour, 176 UKIP), or at candidate level N = 8682 (5 elections).

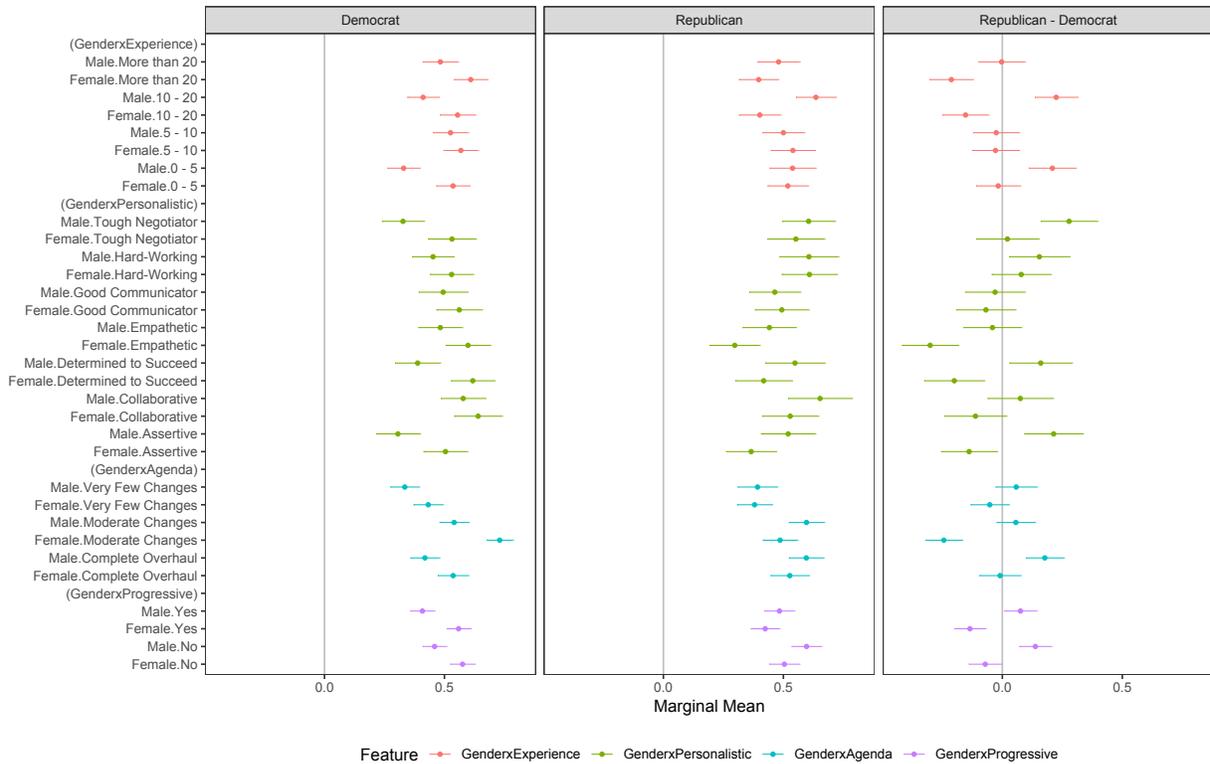


Figure A21: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Republicans and Democrats (DLABSS 1 Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for respondents identifying as Democrat (left panel), Republican (center panel), and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size N = 437 (171 Republicans + 266 Democrats), or at candidate level N = 2598.

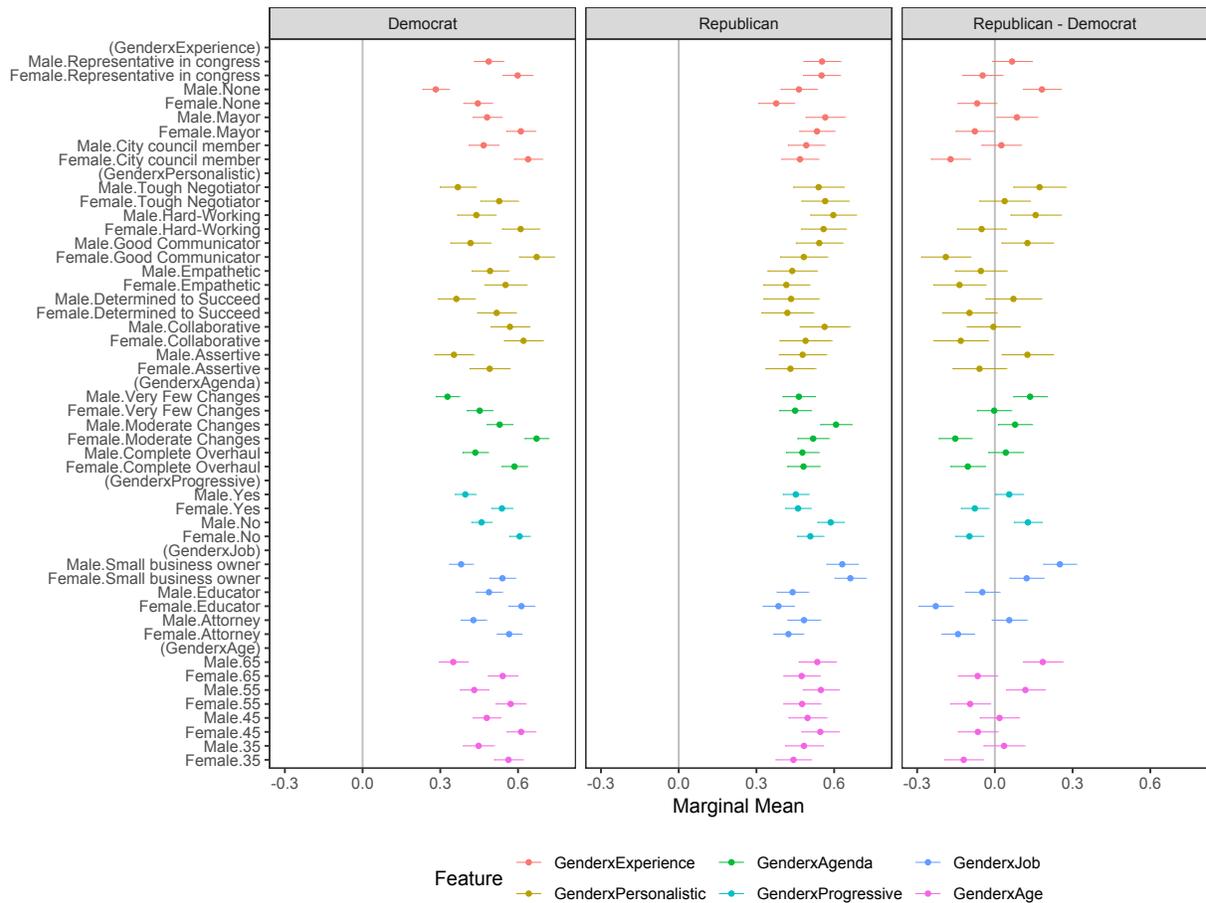


Figure A22: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Republicans and Democrats (DLABSS 2 Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for respondents identifying as Democrat (left panel), Republican (center panel), and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size  $N = 413$  (156 Republicans + 257 Democrats), or at candidate level  $N = 4052$ .

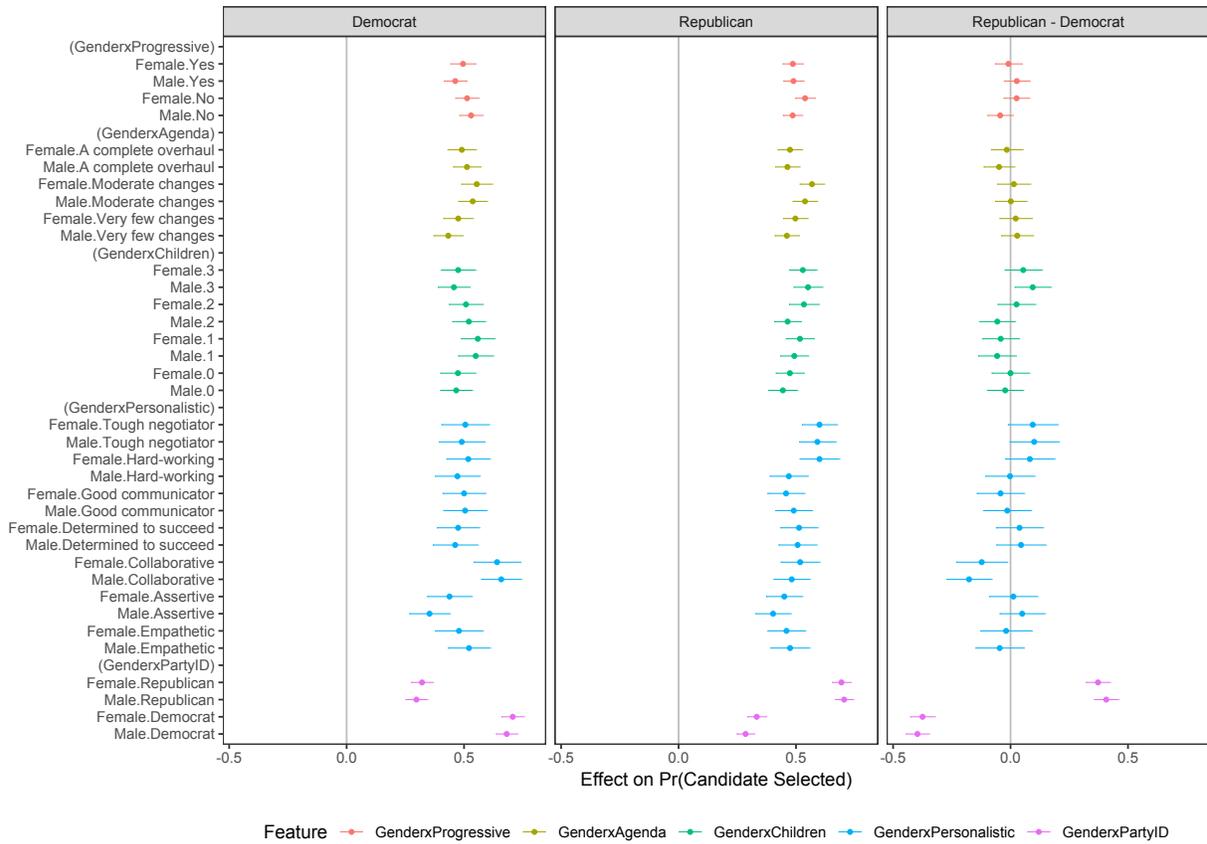


Figure A23: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Republicans and Democrats (DLABSS 3 Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for respondents identifying as Democrat (left panel), Republican (center panel), and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size  $N = 466$  (257 Republican + 209 Democrat), or at candidate level  $N = 4660$ .

## 9 Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Respondent Gender Subgroups (all samples)

The key findings in the main text related to respondent gender are that women respondents are more supportive of women with progressive and agenda-based ambition compared to men. As mentioned in the text, these results are not significant across all survey samples. For DLABSS 1, the marginal means for men and women assessing women with progressive ambition are 0.48 and 0.52 respectively (difference is not significant), and for agenda-based ambition they are 0.53 and 0.53 respectively.

For DLABSS 2, the marginal means for men and women assessing women with progressive ambition are 0.49 and 0.52, and for agenda-based ambition they are 0.52 and 0.57 respectively (differences are not significant). For Prolific, the marginal means for men and women assessing women with progressive ambition are 0.51 and 0.54, and for agenda-based ambition they are 0.58 and 0.61 respectively (differences are not significant). For DLABSS 3, the marginal means for men and women assessing women with progressive ambition are 0.48 and 0.51, and for agenda-based ambition they are 0.48 and 0.47 respectively (differences are not significant).

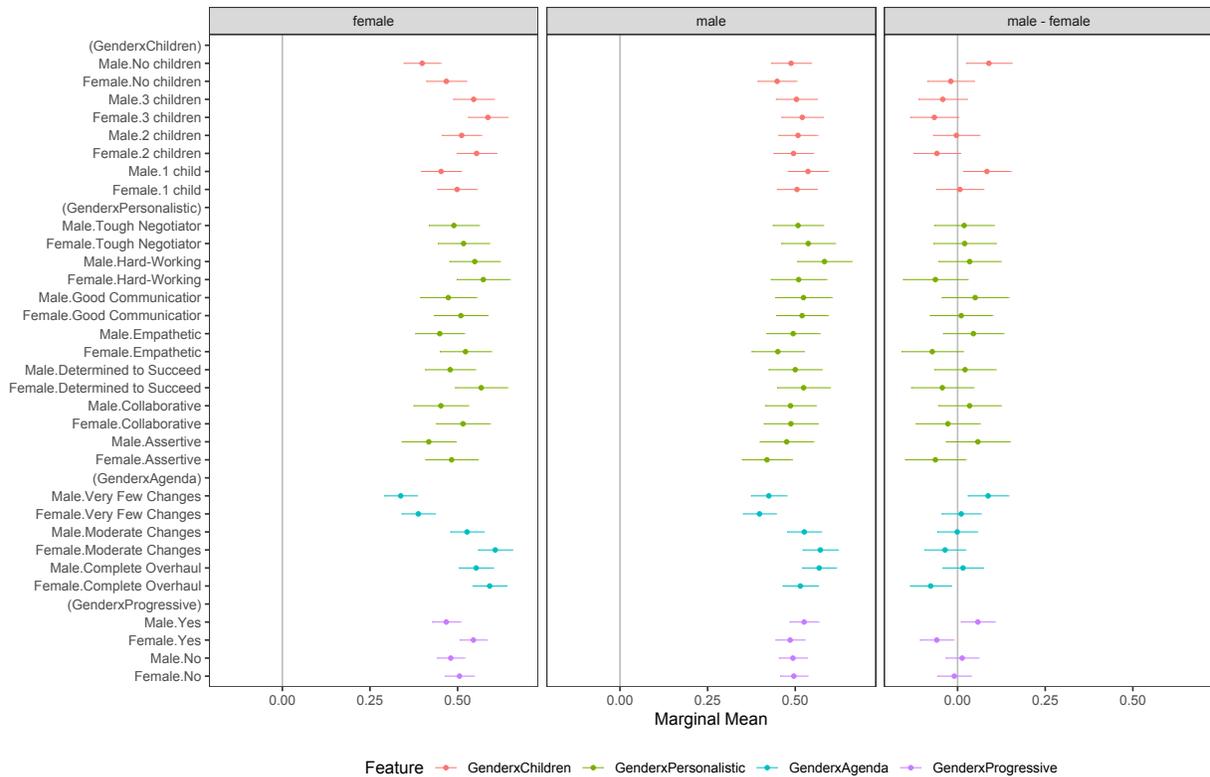


Figure A24: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Male and Female Respondents (SSI Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for male and female respondents and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size: N = 1199, (598 women and 601 men), or at candidate level N = 7194.

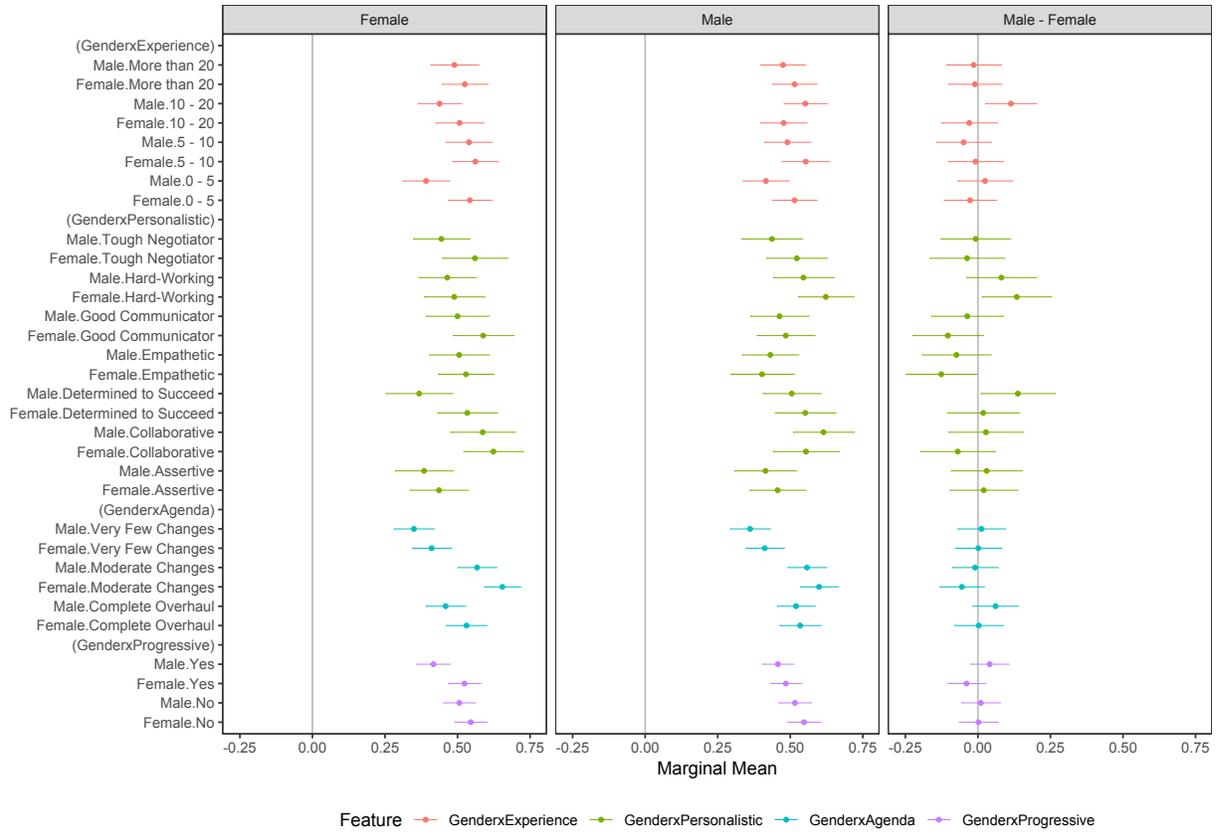


Figure A25: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Male and Female Respondents (DLABSS 1 Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for male and female respondents and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size N = 478 (242 men and 236 women), or at candidate level N = 2852.

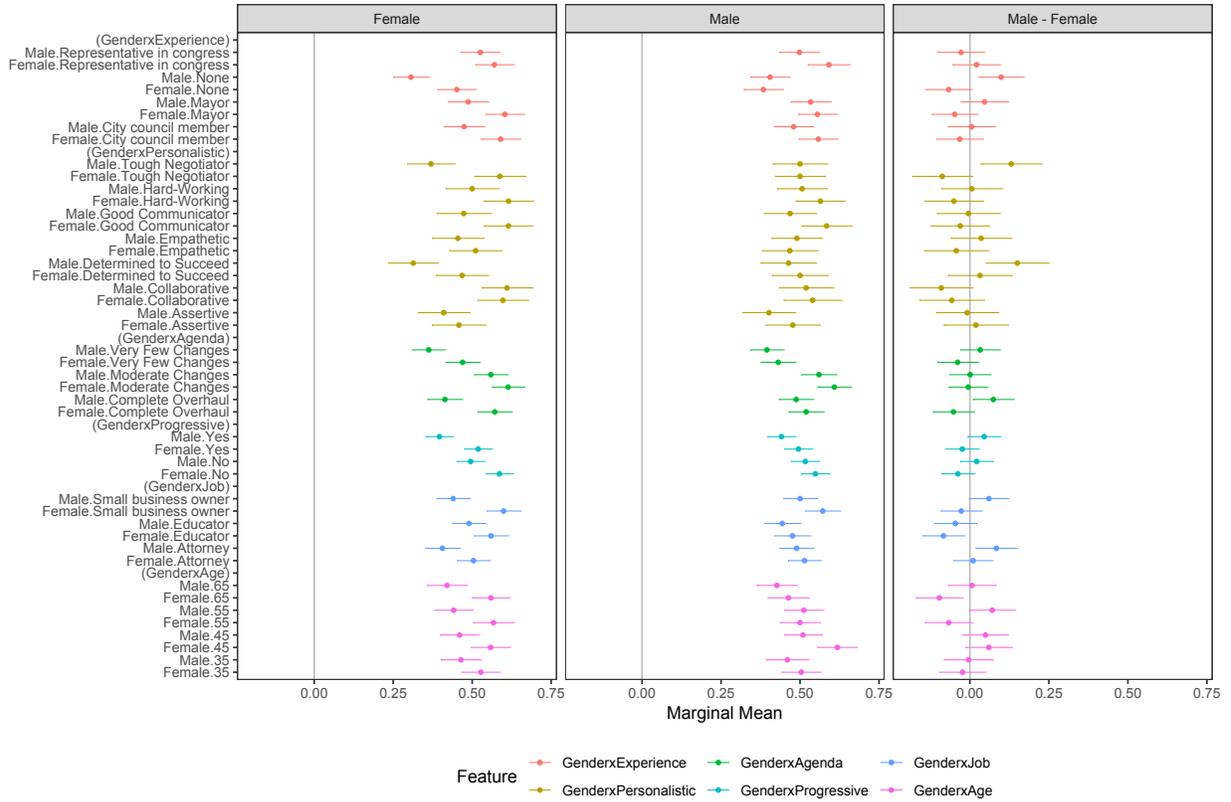


Figure A26: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Male and Female Respondents (DLABSS 2 Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for male and female respondents and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size N = 431 (212 men and 219 women), or at candidate level N = 4232.

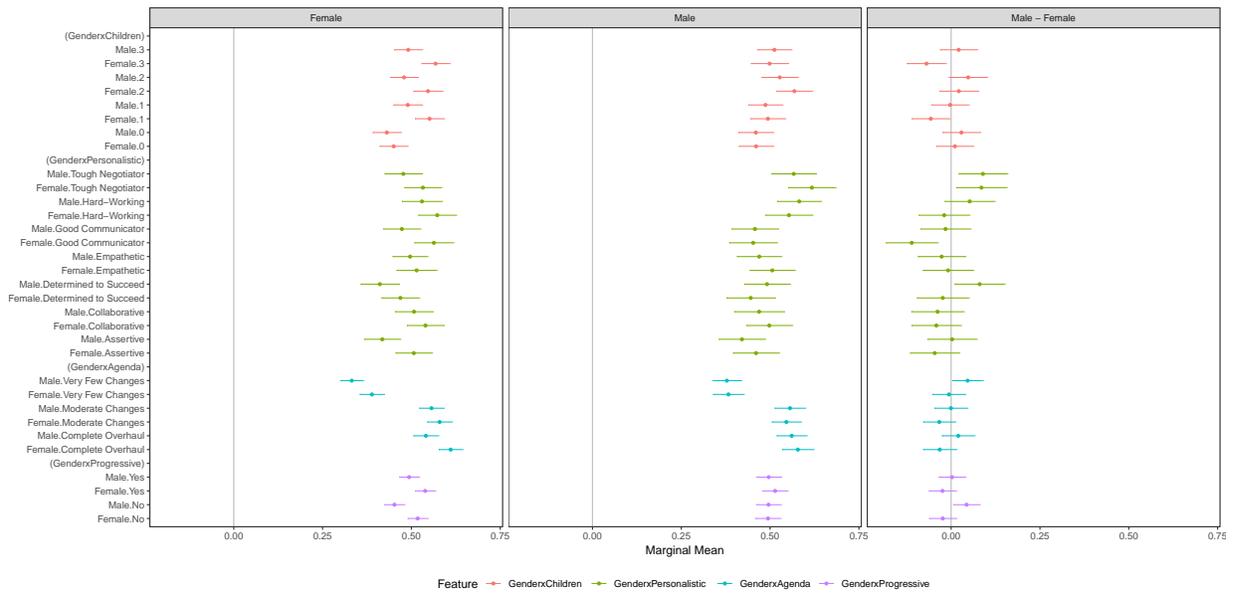


Figure A27: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Male and Female Respondents (Prolific Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for male and female respondents and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size  $N = 869$ , or at candidate level  $N = 8682$  (5 elections).

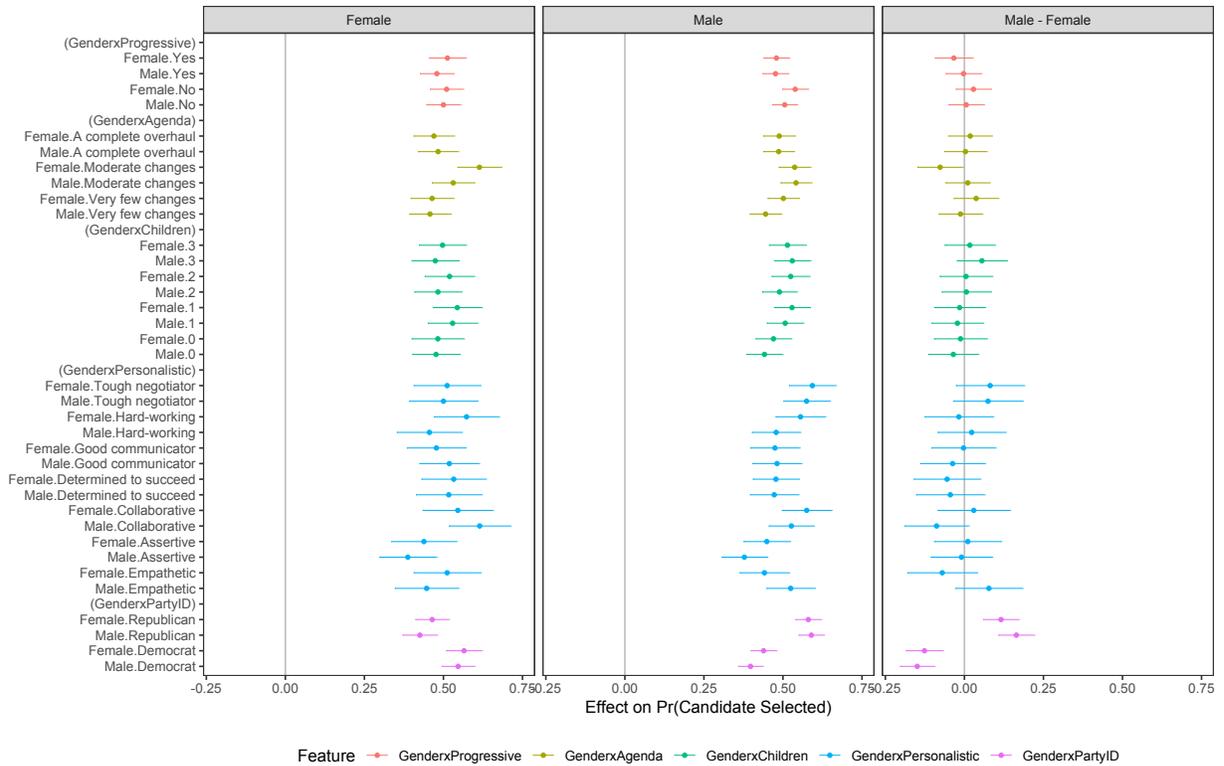


Figure A28: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Male and Female Respondents (DLABSS 3 Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for male and female respondents and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size N = 730 (208 women and 522 men), or at candidate level N = 7300 (5 elections).

## 10 Robustness Checks: First Election Only

In order to address concerns that results might be driven by profile order, Figure A29 shows the main result (Figure 3 in paper) subsetting analysis to only the first election that a respondent sees. The main results are unchanged. Figures A30 and A31 below present conditional marginal means and differences by candidate gender across respondent party ID and gender, subsetting to just the first election again. The main results concerning differences across both respondent party and gender in levels of support for female candidates with progressive ambition remain unchanged.

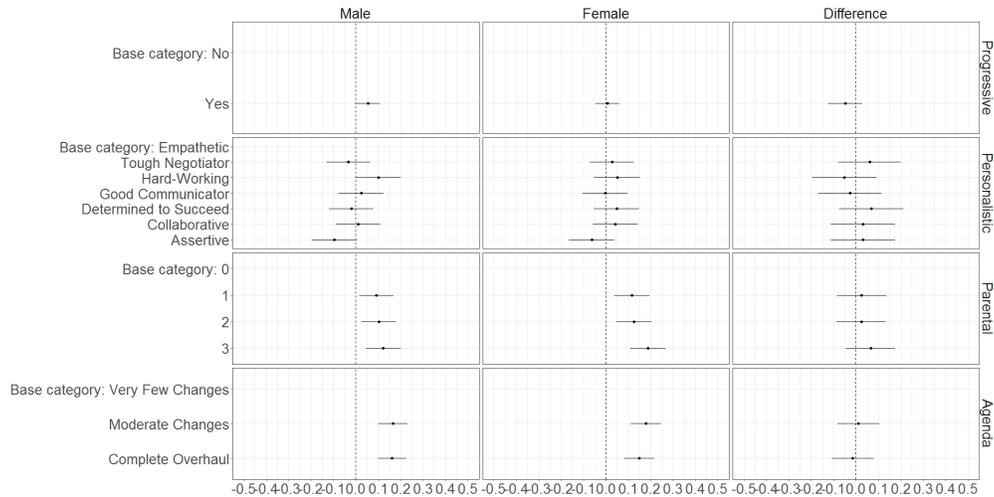
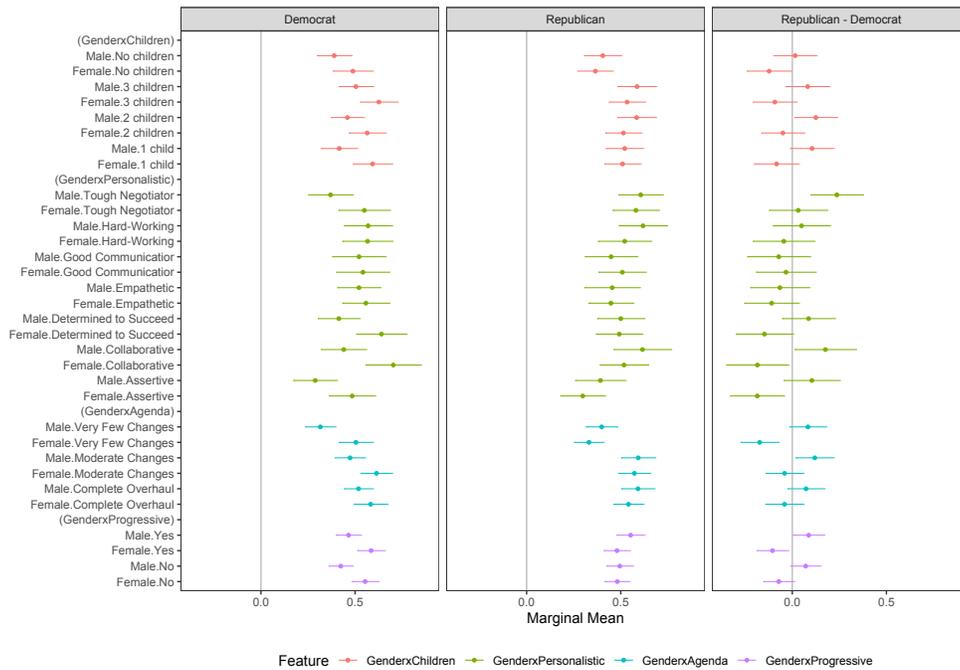


Figure A29: Robustness Checks: First election only

Figures show percentage point change in probability of winning for male candidates (left), female candidates (center), and the interaction between candidate gender and other traits (equivalent to the difference in means between subgroups). SSI sample size  $N = 1249$  respondents, or at candidate level  $N = 2498$  (only the first election respondents see).



**Figure A30: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate in First Election Only, Democrats and Republicans (SSI Sample)**

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for Democrat and Republican respondents and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size N = 1249 respondents, or at candidate level N = 2498 (first election only).

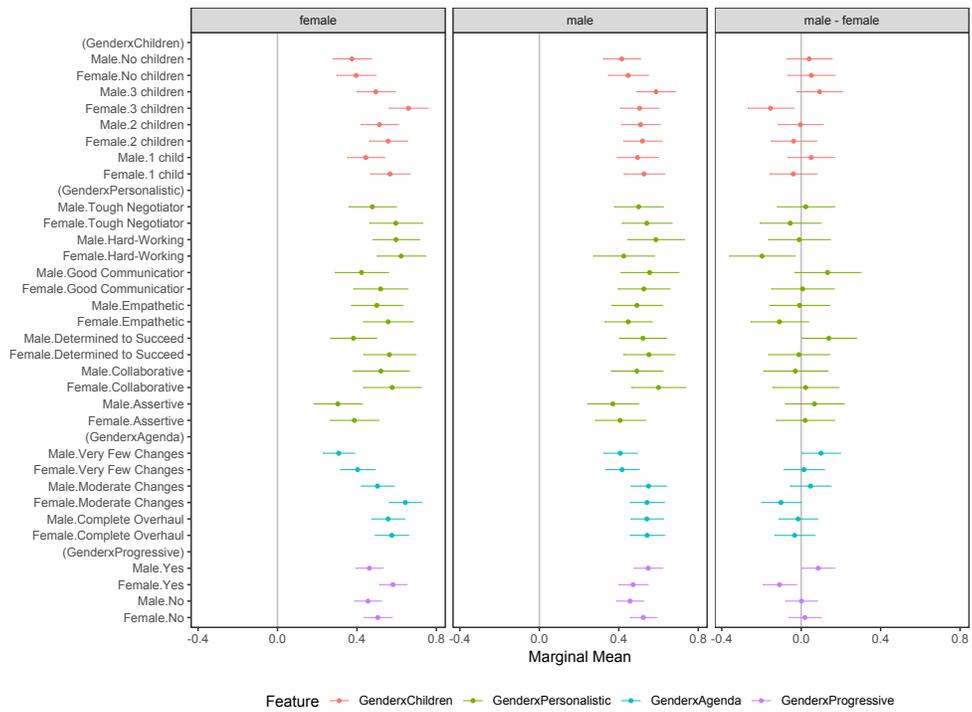


Figure A31: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate in First Election Only, Male and Female Respondents (SSI Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for male and female respondents and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size N = 1249 respondents, or at candidate level N = 2498 (first election only).

# 11 Robustness Checks: Atypical Profiles

Since our study was fielded after the results of the 2016 election, one concern might be that respondents were thinking about Clinton and/or Trump when choosing winners based on the candidate resumes we provided, and their responses reflect feelings towards those specific individuals rather than candidates in general. To test whether this was occurring, we follow recommendations from Hainmueller ((2013)) and remove respondents who see ‘atypical’ profiles. We remove respondents who see profiles that are very similar to either candidate and then re-calculate marginal means (SSI version only). We remove the following atypical profiles: For Trump – a male, seeking higher office, with 3 children who was a tough negotiator, proposing a complete overhaul of the political agenda; For Clinton – a female, seeking higher office, with 1 child who was determined to succeed, proposing moderate changes to the agenda. Our main results do not change (Figure A32).

Since the trait of ‘tough negotiator’ in particular might lead someone to think of Trump, we removed all respondents who saw profiles that featured a candidate who was a ‘tough negotiator’ and ‘male’. Our main results remained unchanged (Figure A33).

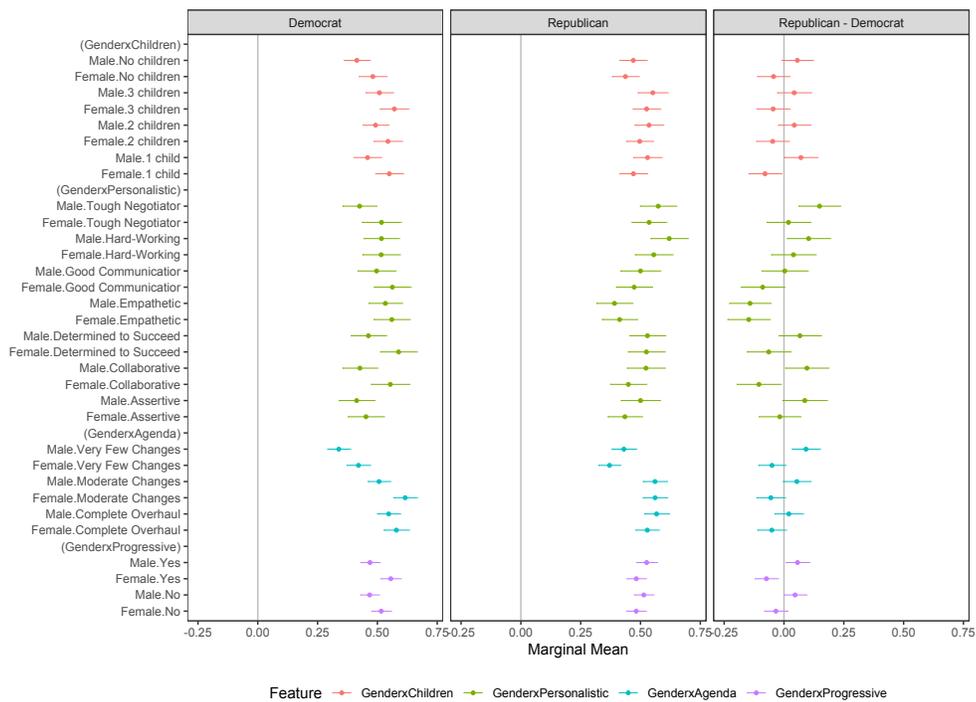
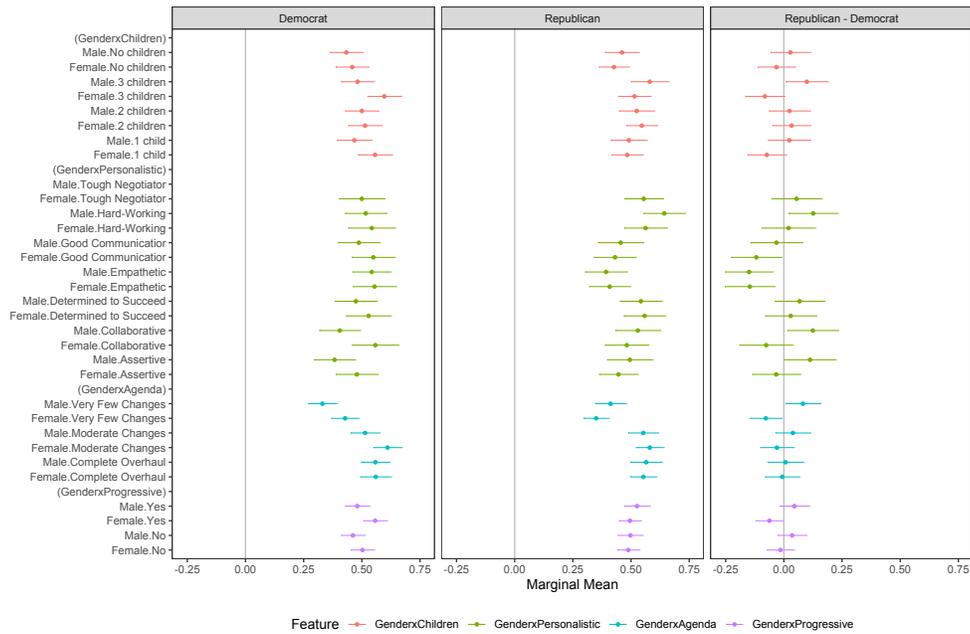


Figure A32: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Democrats and Republicans (SSI Sample)

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for Democrat and Republican respondents and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size N = 1203, or at candidate level N = 7210 (3 elections).



**Figure A33: Conditional Marginal Means by Gender of Candidate, Democrats and Republicans (SSI Sample)**

Figures show favorability toward candidate profiles for Democrat and Republican respondents and the difference (right panel) using conditional marginal means. Sample size  $N = 795$ , or at candidate level  $N = 4762$  (3 elections).

## 12 Open-ended survey responses

To investigate why Republicans and Democrats have different levels of taste for ambitious women (progressive ambition), we analyzed open-ended survey response data from the DLABSS 2 survey. In this survey, we asked the following question after the last and final election: “Thinking about the last election involving Candidate 9 and Candidate 10, please explain your choice. Why did you pick one candidate over the other?”. We subset this data to respondents who saw an ambitious woman (progressive ambition) in the final election and answered the open-ended survey question (N = 170). We then hand-coded these 170 open-ended responses according to whether the respondent mentioned gender as a criterion of selection (1) or not (0). We replicate this process for respondents who did not see an ambitious woman in the final election and answered the open-ended survey question (N = 195).

16% of Democrats who saw an ambitious woman mentioned gender as a criterion of selection, compared to 4% of Republicans (N = 14 Democrats, 3 Republicans). A Pearson’s Chi-squared test with Yates’ continuity correction finds that this difference is significant at  $p=0.01$ . By comparison, for those respondents who did not see an ambitious woman in the final election the difference was smaller and not statistically significant (12% of Democrats mentioned gender, compared to 4% of Republicans,  $p=0.125$ ).

Table A5 lists responses which mention gender as a criterion of selection for those respondents who saw an ambitious woman in the final election. The table shows that Democrats overwhelmingly mention gender because they favor women candidates, often making the claim that we need more women in power – including that they particularly favor ‘determined’, ‘assertive’ types of women. Republicans, conversely, more often mention gender because they prefer male candidates (2 out of 3 responses). The open-ended responses confirm the findings in the main text, showing that gendered decisionmaking plays a role particularly for Democrats considering ambitious women candidates.

<b>Demo- crat</b>	<b>Response</b>
1	I chose candidate 9 because we need more female politicians.
2	Change must be relevant and well thought out as to its implications- change for the sake of change is unacceptable. need to be a good communicator. time to give a woman a chance. an attorney may have a broader view of humanity than a small business owner. I don't care if they are ambitious if their ambition is based on doing a good job once elected
3	I prefer to support the female gender for president in order to open the door to other women seeking important leadership roles in politics and to empower women overall. The fact she is an attorney is an added bonus.
4	i chose the female
5	I chose candidate 9 because more female representation is needed in government and because candidate 9 has an education background.
6	I'm done with voting for/electing men with congressional experience into any office.
7	A complete overhaul scares me a little. I would have liked to choose the woman candidate, but couldn't get passed the complete
8	Although I don't like no changes, this candidate has good practical experience as small business owner- same age (maturity), both female (more complex thinking possibly less combative), political experience (can be important)
9	Prefer a woman who may be more responsive to what people need to thrive... health care, livable wages, kindness, etc
10	Their qualifications were almost alike, except the female had held political office and since she had experience and was female too, I voted for her.
11	I picked 10 because it's always nice to see a woman being taken seriously and in a position of power; we don't grant women enough access to it. An attorney also seems too stiff of a person, to me, who may not think enough outside the box and may be too... upper class to think of the lower classes, which is a HUGE problem right now, but a small business owner might connect better to the people and understand the circumstances of everyday people and the hard work even poor people put in to surviving, so she would probably overhaul things that would be more conducive to the welfare of the middle and lower class people.
12	Female. Determined to succeed.
13	Need more visionary assertive females in leadership.
14	There are qualities that I prefer in Candidate 9: empathy, a background in education. I am biased in favor of women candidates if I have no strong reason to favor the men. Here I also liked Candidate 10's favoring sweeping changes. No political experience? Obama had at least SOME to be background to his talent and charisma.
<b>Republi- can</b>	
1	youth, male
2	I am glad to see young women get involved in politics.
3	Male and attorney

Table A5: Open-Ended Survey Responses on Seeing Ambitious (Office-seeking) Women

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