

Online Appendix for The Personality of the Politically Ambitious

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Abstract

Until recently, political ambition has largely been considered to be a product of the institutional and political environment. We argue that individual personality plays a significant role in nascent political ambition and progressive ambition. Using a nationally representative survey in the United States and a survey of public officials, we find a strong relationship between personality traits and nascent ambition. We find that individuals with extraversion and openness are more likely to consider running for office, while agreeable and conscientious individuals are significantly less interested. We also find that personality traits do not relate to progressive ambition in exactly the same way they do to nascent ambition. When the probability of winning higher office is greater, we find that agreeable elected officials are significantly *less* interested in seeking higher office. We argue that democratic elections and public service attract certain types of individuals to seek office.

General Population Study

A sample of 1,939 subjects was recruited by Clear Voice Research to participate in a national political study from June 15-25, 2015. Clear Voice has maintained an online panel for the last eight years that is used solely for research purposes. Participants in the panel are told that they will be invited to participate in online research surveys in exchange for various incentives. Their initial registration form collects basic fields including: name, email address, postal address, gender, date of birth, and language. After completing this form, a double opt-in/confirmation email is sent to the email address. Only double opt-in/confirmed accounts are invited to participate in surveys. Following opt-in, panelists are asked to complete their profile so that they collect as many data points as possible, which increases their targeting abilities when they send the member survey invitations. Based on client specifications a sample is pulled in quota group formats. Simple randomization is used to give a representative sample of new and old members within the quota groups. Participants are invited via email to participate in the survey. For this survey, Clear Voice sent out 51,492 invitations, 2,488 began the survey (4.8% response rate) and 1,939 (77.9%) completed the entire survey.

The demographic characteristics of these panels closely resemble that of the United States population on several important traits. Table A.1 displays the demographics of this sample compared to American Community Survey (2014), Amazon's Mechanical Turk (adapted from Berinsky, Huber and Lenz (2012)), and a more nationally representative sample, the Annenberg National Election Study (Johnston et al. 2008). Amazon's Mechanical Turk is an online marketplace where people hire laborers for a variety of tasks. Since the mid-2000's researchers have been offering people money to participate in online survey experiments through Amazon's

Mechanical Turk. Recently, scholars have spent considerable effort trying to determine the quality of the samples that are usually obtained through this service (Mullinix et al. 2015). The following table shows that this sample is much more representative of the US population on key variables than samples obtained through Amazon’s Mechanical Turk and largely identical to the nationally representative sample collected in the Annenberg National Election Study.

Table A.1: Summary of General Population Survey Demographics

Demographics	June 2015 Survey	ACS 2014 Estimates	MTurk	NAES 2008
Female	49.23%	50.8%	60.1%	56.62%
Age (mean years)	50	37.4 (median)	20.3	50.05
Education (% completing some college)	60.31%	-	-	62.86%
White	80.61%	73.8%	83.5%	79.12%
Black	9.13%	12.6%	4.4%	9.67%
Asian	3.2%	5.0%	-	2.53%
Latino (a)	4.07%	16.9%	-	6.3%
Multi-Racial	2.27%	2.9%	-	2.37%
Party Identification				
Democrat	33.75%	-	40.8%	36.67%
Independent	41.49%	-	34.1%	20.82%
Republican	24.77%	-	16.9%	30.61%
<i>N</i>	1,939	-	484-551	19,234

Figure A.1: Battery Used to Measure Big Five Personality Traits in National Sample

Q6.1 Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not describe you. Please indicate how well each of the following describes you.

	A lot	Some	A little	Not at all
Outgoing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Helpful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Moody	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Organized	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Self-confident	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Warm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Worrying	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Responsible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Forceful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lively	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Caring	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nervous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Creative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Assertive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hardworking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Imaginative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Softhearted	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Calm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Outspoken	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intelligent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Curious	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Active	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Careless	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Broad-minded	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sympathetic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Talkative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sophisticated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Adventurous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Dominant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Thorough	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The order of the items was randomized. Agreeableness is measured with items #2, 7,12,18, and 26. Conscientiousness with items #4,9,16,24, and 31. Emotional Stability with items #3,8,13, and 19. Extraversion with items #1, 6,11, 23, and 27. Openness with items #15,18,22,23,26,29 and 30.

Survey of Local Public Officials

The survey was conducted in two waves sent to two different samples of municipal officials. Invitations to the first wave were sent in May and June of 2016 to a sample of 27,862 elected mayors and legislators (e.g., city councilors, aldermen, supervisors, etc.) from 4,187 cities. Subjects were recruited via emails with a link to the survey. We sent each potential subject three emails one to two weeks apart, inviting them to participate. The sample was compiled by a for-profit organization that gathers contact information and email addresses of public officials from municipalities that have a website and a population above 10,000. The organization uses webcrawler software to identify when information changes on the contact pages of each city's website and then has research assistants update its contact list of officials accordingly. Unfortunately, this approach has a high error rate. Based on Qualtrics' email tracking, only 18,567 (or 67%) of the email invitations were delivered to an active email address. In addition, we looked up a sample of 832 officials in the list and found that only 44% of the email addresses were accurate. 2,165 officials answered questions on the first wave of the survey, resulting in a response rate of 17.8% based on the number of accurate emails in the list.¹ This rate is similar to those from other surveys of municipal officials (e.g., Butler and Dynes (2016) report a response rate of 23%).

The second wave of the survey was conducted in June and July of 2016. The sample consisted of the email addresses of elected mayors and city councilors (or equivalent) gathered by Daniel Butler and Adam Dynes for the 2012 and 2014 American Municipal Officials Survey (AMOS) (see Butler and Dynes (2016) for more details on the samples). Excluding the email addresses from the first wave resulted in a list of 29,250 emails. The email addresses from the

¹ The 17.8% is calculated as follows: $2,165 / (.4375 * 27,862)$.

2012 AMOS were gathered in January through March of 2012 by a team of undergraduate research assistants who searched for the website of 26,566 US municipalities. The email addresses from the 2014 AMOS were gathered in a similar fashion in early 2014 but excluded municipalities with a population below 3,000 due to the low percentage of small towns with websites. Given that these email addresses were gathered 2 to 4 years prior to this latest survey, we knew that a large percentage of the emails and names of the officials (in the case of cities that use generic email accounts for each office) would no longer be accurate. Indeed, 26% of the emails sent through Qualtrics were undeliverable. It is likely that many more of the email addresses are no longer monitored though they remain active. With 1,500 officials participating, the response rate for the second round of the survey was 6.9%.

Figure A.2: Battery Used to Measure Municipal Officials’ Big Five Personality Traits

Social science research has found that personality traits can have a strong correlation with individuals' behaviors and attitudes. Yet, little is known about the personality traits of elected officials and how it might relate to their decision-making and policy positions.

To provide some insight on this front, please let us know how well the following statements describe your personality.

I see myself as someone who...

	Agree Strongly	Agree a Little	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree a Little	Disagree Strongly
... has few artistic interests	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... tends to find fault with others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... is considerate and kind to almost everyone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... is reserved	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... tends to be lazy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... is generally trusting	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... is outgoing, sociable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... is relaxed, handles stress well	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... gets nervous easily	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... has an active imagination	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... does a thorough job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The order of the items was randomized. Agreeableness is measured with items #2, 3, and 6. Conscientiousness with items #5 and 11. Emotional Stability with items #8 and 9. Extraversion with items #4 and 7. Openness with items #1 and 10.

Alternative Models

In addition to the models predicting nascent political ambition among the general population, we also ran models without any controls and models that included additional controls using an additional battery of questions from Sanbonmatsu et al.'s (2008) survey of Mayors and State Legislators about other motivations for political ambition and gender. We asked respondents to rate the importance of the following factors in their interest toward holding elective office: influence on policy, advancing a political career, increasing business contacts, increasing social contact, fulfilling their civic duty, their dedication to a candidate, the excitement of politics, their concern about a particular issue, their desire to support a political party, and their interest in serving the public. The model shown in Table A.2 shows the results without any controls and Table A.3 shows the results with additional controls. As should be clear, these results are not substantively or significantly different from the models shown in the text.²

² While we use these 10 factors of interest in office as controls in Table A.3 it could also be that these factors are mediators by which personality affects ambition. As shown in the text, however, when we run the models without these controls, however, we find no substantive or significant differences.

Table A.2: General Population Models with No Control Variables

	Open to Possibility of Public Office	Actively Considering Running for Public Office	Ordered Logit Regression
Extraversion	0.563*** (0.141)	1.250** (0.505)	0.610*** (0.138)
Openness to Experience	0.756*** (0.155)	0.767 (0.498)	0.753*** (0.151)
Conscientiousness	-0.789*** (0.143)	-1.747*** (0.447)	-0.876*** (0.139)
Agreeableness	-0.704*** (0.130)	-1.171*** (0.410)	-0.746*** (0.126)
Emotional Stability	0.008 (0.099)	0.089 (0.323)	0.015 (0.097)
Constant	-0.823*** (0.315)	-1.889** (0.859)	
Constant cut1			0.560 (0.304)
Constant cut2			3.419*** (0.357)
Observations	1,954	1,954	1,954
AIC	1885.094	1885.094	1880.695
Pseudo R-squared	0.060	0.060	0.057

Table A.3: General Population Models with Ambition Control Variables

	Open to Possibility of Public Office	Actively Considering Running for Public Office	Ordered Logit Regression
Extraversion	0.445*** (0.163)	1.028* (0.579)	0.486*** (0.157)
Openness to Experience	0.453** (0.178)	0.657 (0.575)	0.454*** (0.170)
Agreeableness	-0.658*** (0.158)	-1.146** (0.466)	-0.702*** (0.151)
Conscientiousness	-0.751*** (0.164)	-1.715*** (0.499)	-0.835*** (0.157)
Emotional Stability	-0.078 (0.113)	0.138 (0.340)	-0.050 (0.109)
Education: No High School	-0.463 (0.717)	-0.062 (1.178)	-0.292 (0.640)
Education: High School	-0.465** (0.220)	0.082 (0.543)	-0.315 (0.206)
Education: Bachelor's	0.057 (0.177)	0.006 (0.561)	0.056 (0.171)
Education: Post-College	0.417* (0.223)	-1.012 (1.101)	0.342 (0.217)
Income	-0.014 (0.036)	-0.009 (0.112)	-0.007 (0.035)
Race: Black	0.393 (0.240)	1.336** (0.530)	0.525** (0.225)
Race: Asian	0.272 (0.354)	-0.067 (1.118)	0.241 (0.342)
Race: Native American	0.289 (0.715)	-9.862*** (0.00000)	0.164 (0.704)
Race: Hispanic	0.255 (0.338)	-0.358 (1.100)	0.198 (0.324)
Race: Multi-Racial	0.376 (0.417)	1.231 (0.867)	0.587 (0.379)
Gender (Male baseline)	-0.825*** (0.155)	0.397 (0.434)	-0.666*** (0.147)
Influence Policy	0.244*** (0.042)	-0.020 (0.134)	0.219** (0.040)
Political Career	0.109** (0.036)	0.186 (0.115)	0.112*** (0.035)
Business Contacts	-0.055 (0.038)	0.003 (0.127)	-0.049 (0.036)
Social Contacts	-0.035	-0.070	-0.040

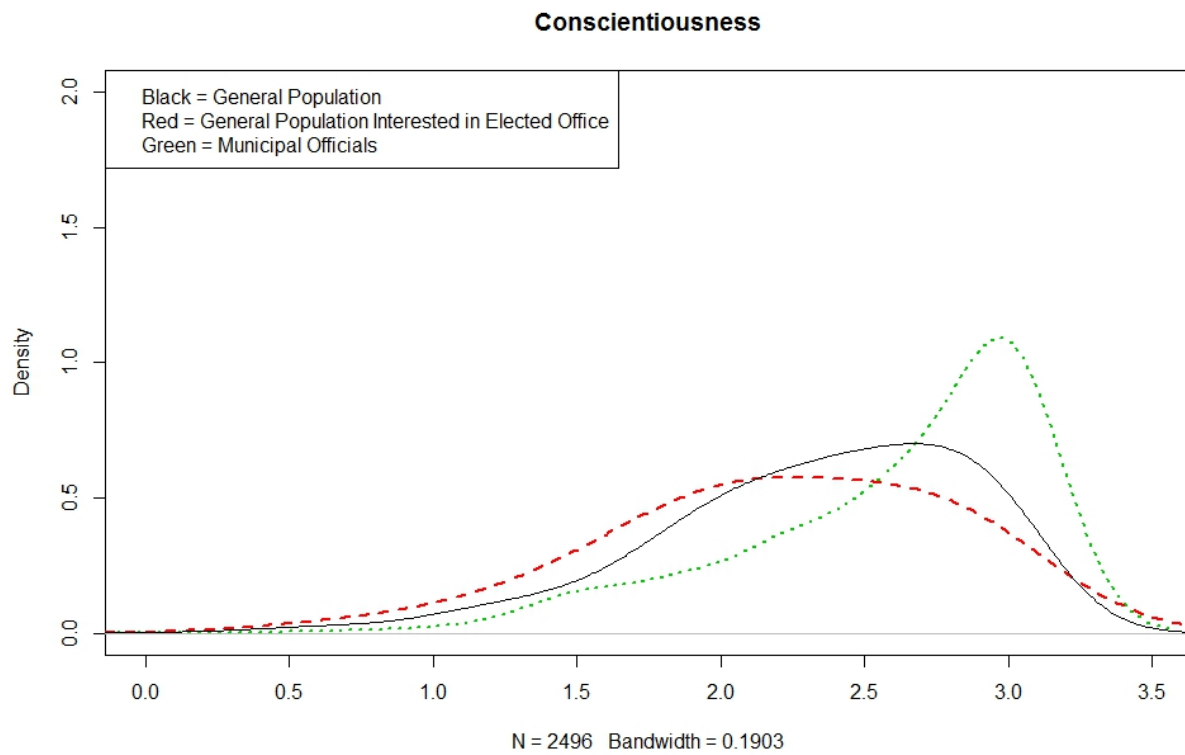
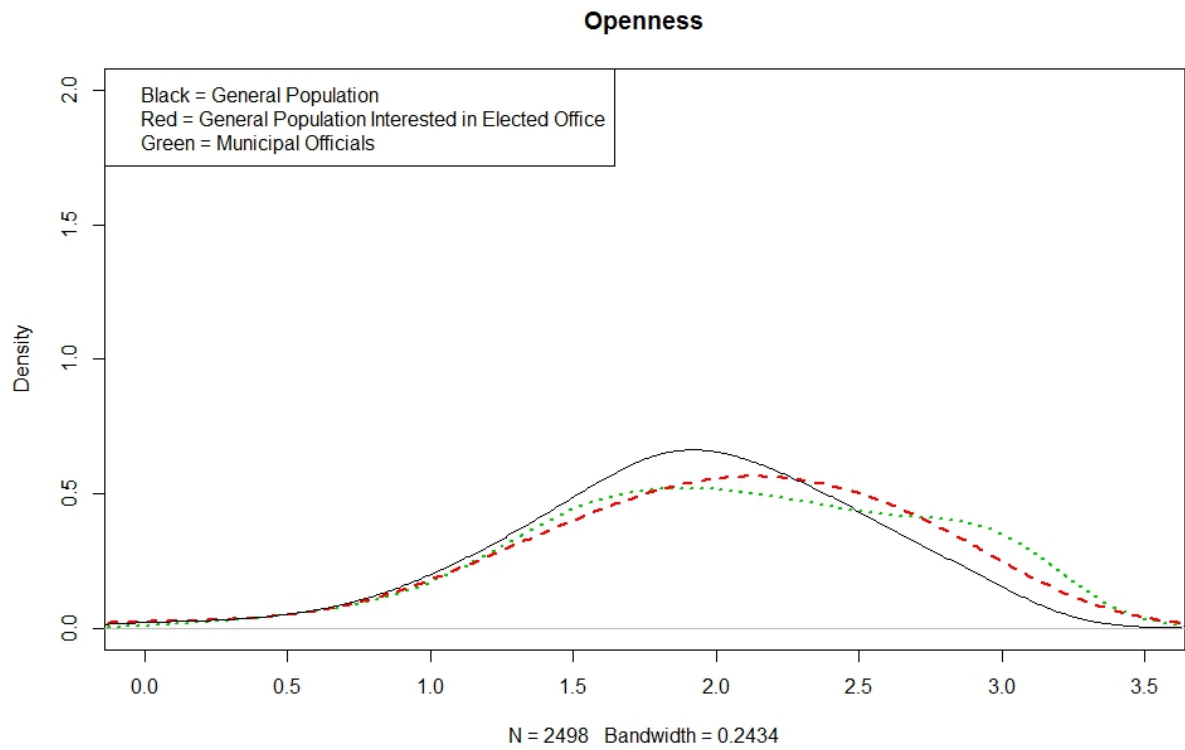
	(0.040)	(0.134)	(0.038)
Civic Duty	0.075**	0.024	0.072**
	(0.037)	(0.118)	(0.035)
Dedication to Candidate	-0.036	0.030	-0.026
	(0.037)	(0.116)	(0.035)
Excitement of Politics	0.066*	0.337***	0.078**
	(0.037)	(0.125)	(0.035)
Issue Concerns	-0.044	-0.155	-0.049
	(0.042)	(0.136)	(0.040)
Support the Party	-0.086**	-0.225*	-0.094**
	(0.038)	(0.127)	(0.037)
Serve The Public	0.162***	0.119	0.156***
	(0.038)	(0.125)	(0.036)
Constant	-2.163***	-1.475	
	(0.831)	(1.515)	
Cut 1			1.79***
			(0.391)
Cut 2			4.928***
			(0.437)
Observations	1,939	1,939	1,939
AIC	1613.100	1613.100	1606.91
Pseudo R-squared	0.232	0.232	0.203

Source: 2015 Survey of US Adults

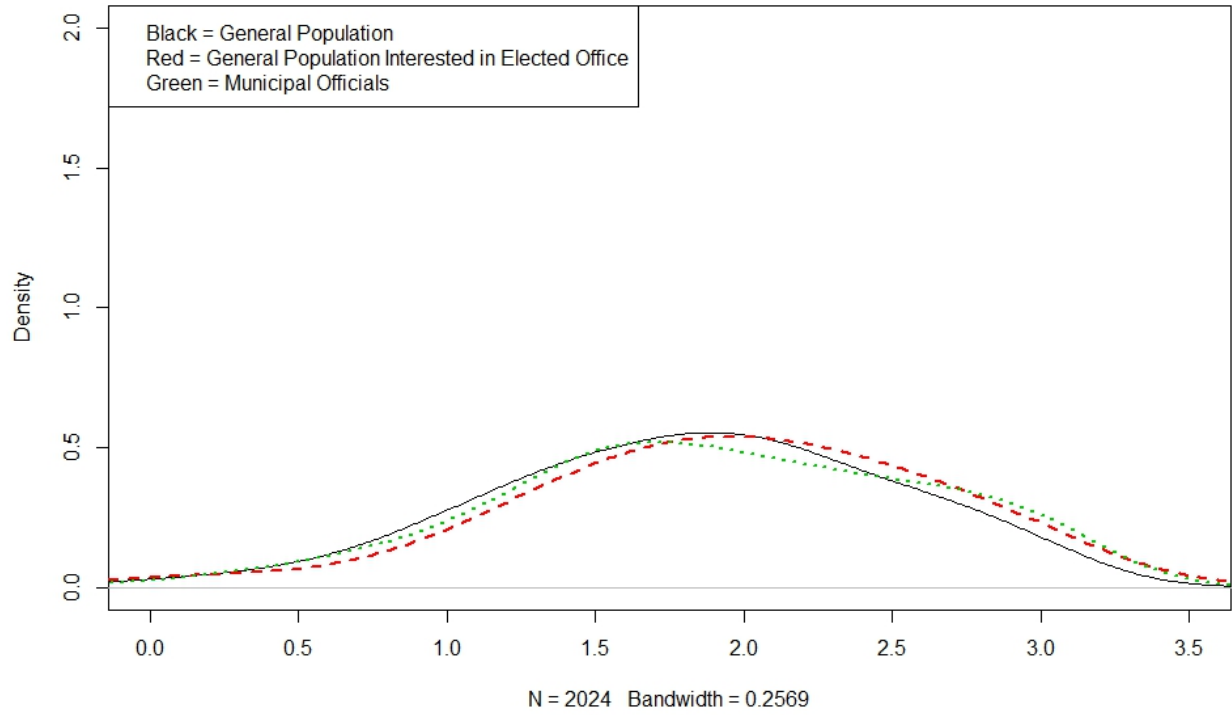
Note: Entries are multinomial and ordered logit regression coefficients, robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed test.

Personality in General Election Sample and Sample of Local Officials

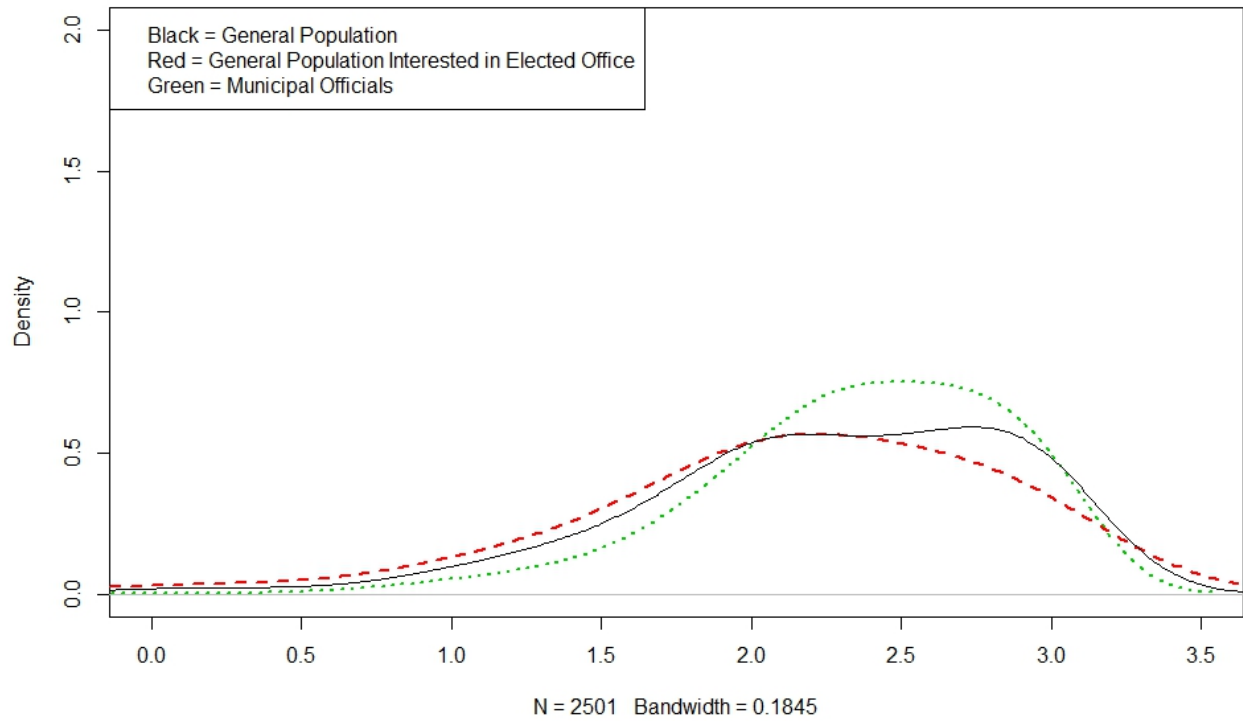
Figure A.3: Kernel Density Plot of Personality Traits among Survey Participants



Extraversion



Agreeableness



Emotional Stability

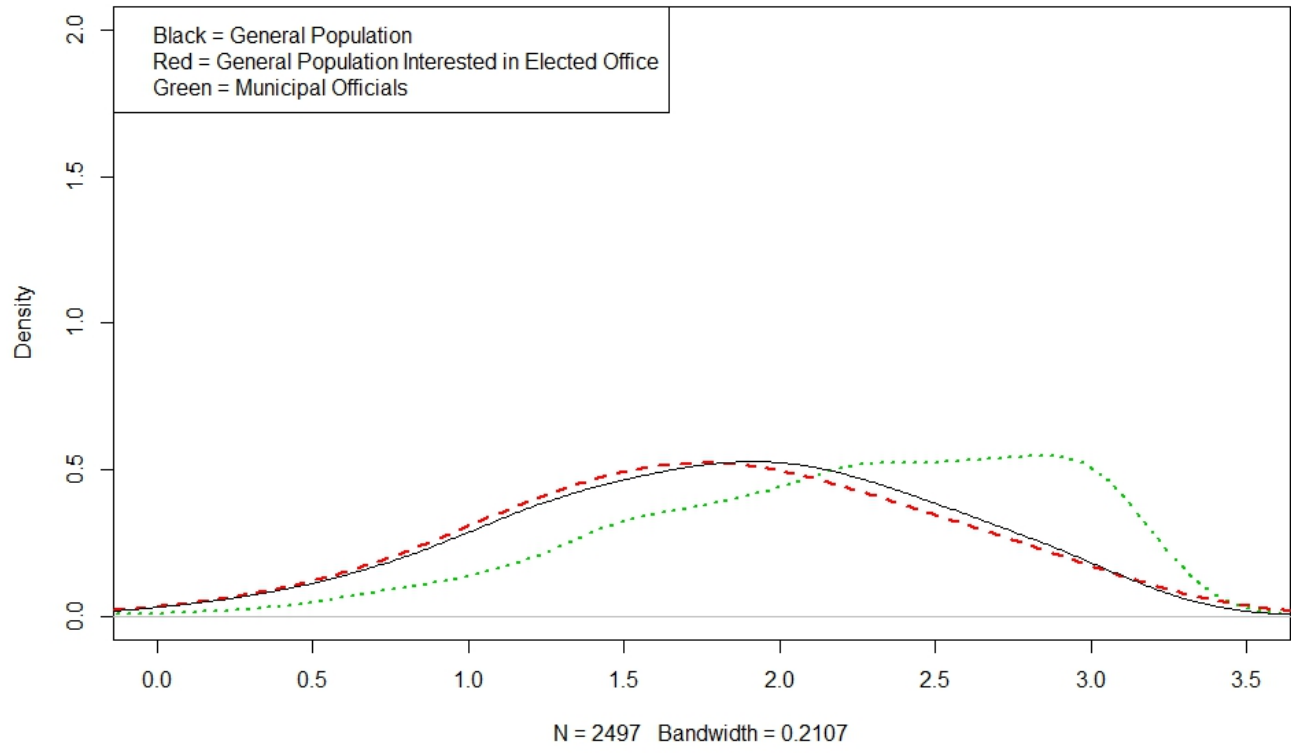


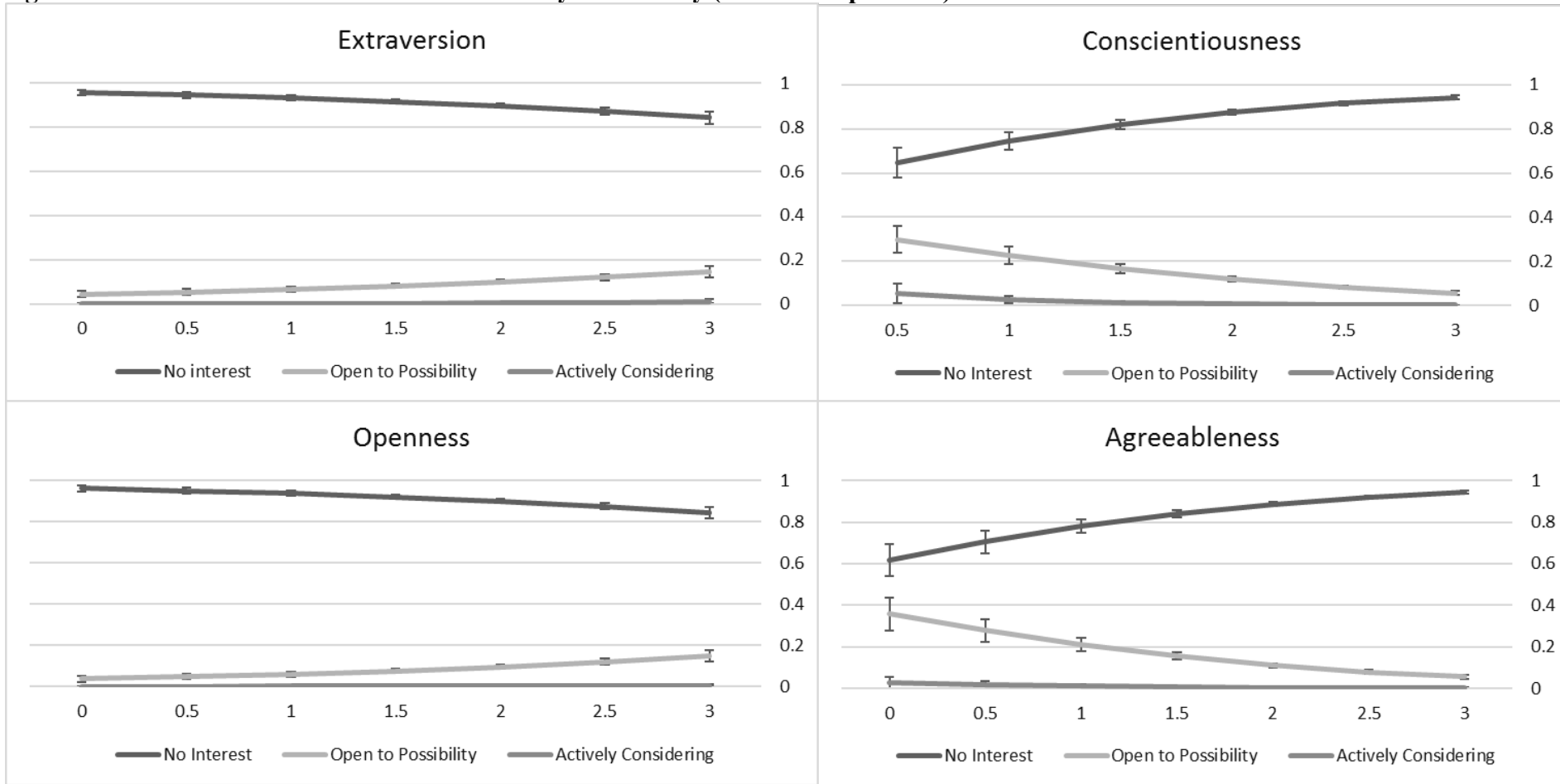
Table A.4: Full Models for Figure 3 in the text: The Influence of Personality and the Probability of Winning on Progressive Ambition

	Multinomial (No Current Interest)	Multinomial (Possibility)	Multinomial (Definitely)	Ordered Logit
Extraversion	0.096 (0.075)	0.145* (0.081)	0.307*** (0.095)	0.141*** (0.046)
Openness	-0.264** (0.105)	-0.057 (0.114)	-0.103 (0.131)	0.041 (0.063)
Agreeableness	0.182** (0.081)	0.129 (0.087)	0.249** (0.104)	0.088* (0.051)
Conscientiousness	0.019 (0.171)	-0.171 (0.188)	0.297 (0.211)	0.023 (0.147)
Emotional Stability	0.047 (0.078)	0.051 (0.084)	-0.019 (0.097)	-0.003 (0.048)
Won Previous Election by 5% or Less	0.092 (0.236)	0.221 (0.249)	0.101 (0.292)	0.103 (0.137)
Years in Office	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.012*** (0.004)	-0.011** (0.005)	-0.006*** (0.002)
Anticipated Length in Current Office	-0.001 (0.002)	0.009*** (0.003)	0.009** (0.003)	0.007*** (0.002)
Term limits for Current Office	-0.030 (0.033)	-0.029 (0.033)	-0.022 (0.034)	-0.001 (0.005)
Partisan elections	-0.123 (0.145)	-0.126 (0.145)	-0.133 (0.145)	-0.010 (0.011)
Current seat filled with similar candidate	0.004 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.004** (0.002)
Legislative spot filled with similar candidate	0.001 (0.009)	0.006 (0.009)	0.030*** (0.010)	0.014** (0.007)
Agreeableness*Legislative spot filled with similar candidate	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.0001 (0.003)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.003 (0.002)
Constant	1.005** (0.464)	0.283 (0.511)	-2.215*** (0.504)	
Cut 1				1.005** (0.464)
Cut 2				0.283 (0.511)
Cut 3				-2.215*** (0.504)
Observations	2051	2051	2051	2051
AIC	5191.066	5191.066	5191.066	5176.003

Source: 2016 American Municipal Official Survey

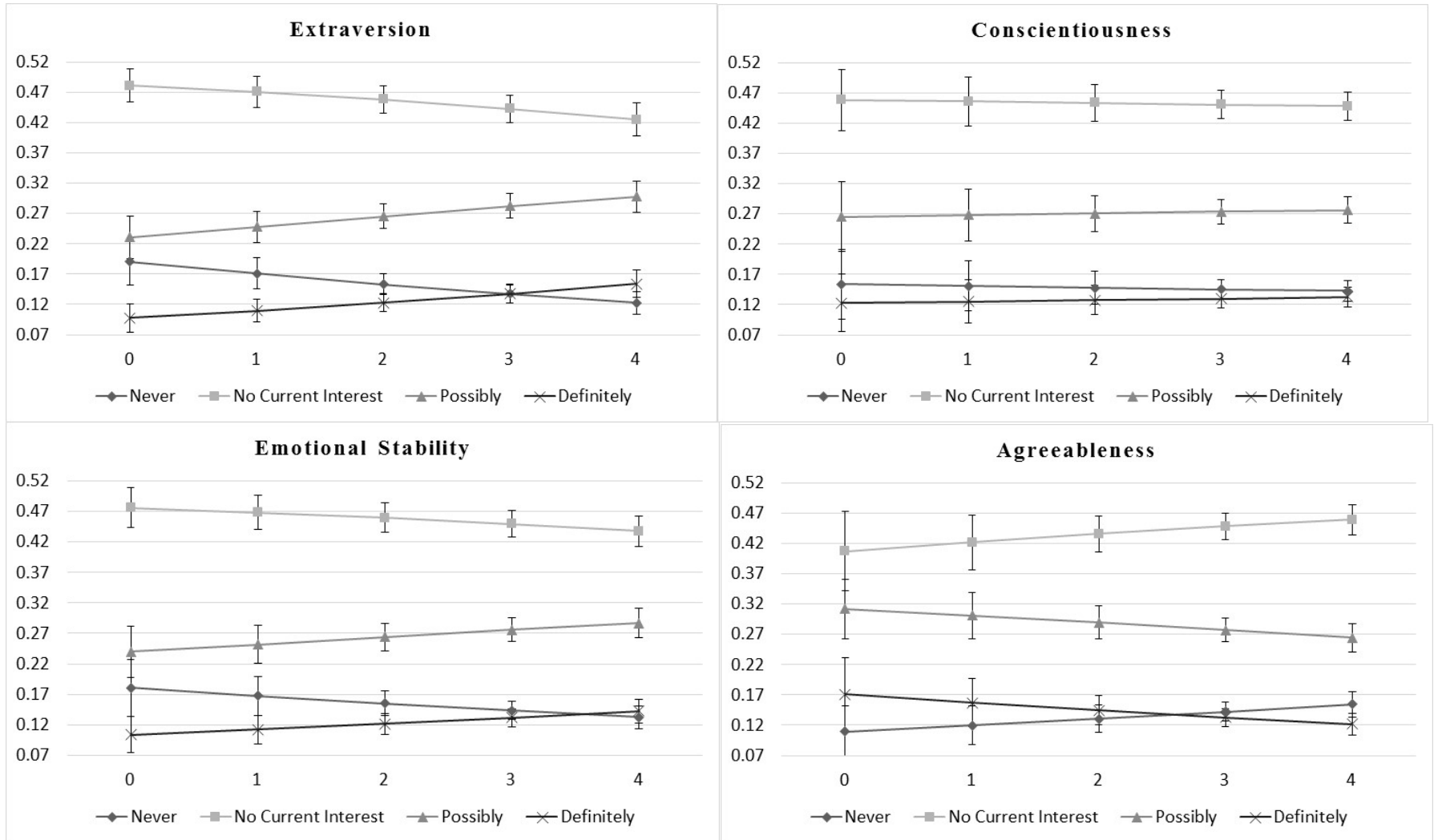
Note: Entries are multinomial and ordered logit estimates, robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed test.

Figure A.4: Predicted Interest in Elected Office by Personality (General Population)



Note: Figure A.4 displays only those traits with significant effects

Figure A.5 Predicted Interest in Higher Office by Personality (Elected Officials)



Note: Figure A.5 displays only those traits with significant effects

Additional Information About Survey Sample of Local Public Officials

The graphs and figures in this section provide additional descriptive statistics about the officials and municipalities in our sample as well as all municipalities across the U.S. The population of municipalities and demographic data on them are from the U.S. Census Bureau. We defined municipalities as general-purpose local governments using the following categorizations from the Census Bureau:

- Incorporated Places: In most states, they are called cities, towns, boroughs, and villages.
- Consolidated Cities: These are a “unit of government for which the functions of an Incorporated Place and its county or Minor Civil Divisions have merged.”³
- Minor Civil Divisions (MCDs) in CT, ME, MA, MI, MN, NH, NJ, NY, PA, RI, VT, and WI. In these states, they are usually called townships or towns. We included Minor Civil Divisions from these states based on the Census Bureau's assessment that “Most of the MCDs in [these] twelve states ... serve as general-purpose local governments that can perform the same governmental functions as incorporated places.”⁴

This resulted in a list of 24,083 municipalities. In the tables and figures, we use the term city instead of municipality to save space.

Table A.5 displays the percent of the total respondents, officials emailed (i.e., respondents and non-respondents), and municipalities from each state. As illustrated by these tables, respondents come from all states, save for Hawaii (which has county governments but not municipal ones), and the percent from each state is similar to the percent of officials emailed from each state, though some states appear to have higher response rates than others.

³ U.S. Census Bureau. 2012. “Geographic Terms and Concepts { County Subdivision”, http://www.census.gov/geo/reference/gtc/gtc_cousub.html (January 9, 2014).

⁴ Ibid.

Table A.5: % of Total Respondents, Officials Emailed, and Municipalities from Each State

	Respondents from each state		Offi- cials Email- ed	Munic- palities					
	#	%	%	%					
Alabama	31	0.91%	1.55%	1.85%	Missouri	112	3.27%	2.71%	3.84%
Alaska	9	0.26%	0.37%	0.61%	Montana	11	0.32%	0.26%	0.53%
Arizona	45	1.32%	1.43%	0.38%	Nebraska	10	0.29%	0.52%	2.13%
Arkansas	35	1.02%	1.25%	2.00%	Nevada	9	0.26%	0.14%	0.09%
California	230	6.72%	6.89%	2.09%	New Hampshire	22	0.64%	0.76%	1.03%
Colorado	71	2.08%	2.26%	1.13%	New Jersey	131	3.83%	4.60%	2.40%
Connecticut	68	1.99%	1.91%	0.80%	New Mexico	27	0.79%	0.71%	0.43%
Delaware	12	0.35%	0.36%	0.23%	New York	228	6.66%	5.54%	6.44%
Florida	113	3.30%	3.70%	1.80%	North Carolina	131	3.83%	2.92%	2.24%
Georgia	57	1.67%	2.31%	2.20%	North Dakota	14	0.41%	0.35%	1.43%
Hawaii	0	0.00%	0.03%	0.04%	Ohio	145	4.24%	4.93%	3.85%
Idaho	16	0.47%	0.55%	0.81%	Oklahoma	26	0.76%	0.82%	2.37%
Illinois	207	6.05%	6.32%	5.21%	Oregon	74	2.16%	1.62%	0.97%
Indiana	56	1.64%	2.07%	2.29%	Pennsylvania	136	3.98%	3.96%	4.82%
Iowa	72	2.10%	1.71%	3.79%	Rhode Island	17	0.50%	0.54%	0.18%
Kansas	43	1.26%	1.17%	2.51%	South Carolina	26	0.76%	1.09%	1.08%
Kentucky	32	0.94%	1.37%	1.68%	South Dakota	13	0.38%	0.36%	1.25%
Louisiana	12	0.35%	0.60%	1.23%	Tennessee	66	1.93%	1.49%	1.42%
Maine	40	1.17%	1.23%	2.13%	Texas	137	4.00%	5.47%	4.91%
Maryland	45	1.32%	0.89%	0.77%	Utah	65	1.90%	1.29%	0.99%
Massachusetts	126	3.68%	2.73%	1.60%	Vermont	24	0.70%	0.60%	1.17%
Michigan	200	5.85%	4.77%	6.46%	Virginia	65	1.90%	1.37%	1.01%
Minnesota	134	3.92%	3.83%	3.63%	Washington	64	1.87%	2.22%	1.16%
Mississippi	25	0.73%	0.73%	1.20%	West Virginia	24	0.70%	0.54%	0.93%
					Wisconsin	147	4.30%	4.78%	6.49%
					Wyoming	18	0.53%	0.34%	0.39%
					Total	3,421	100%	100%	100%

Table A.6 provides descriptive statistics about the municipalities in and out of our sample. The data come from multiple sources, as indicated in the notes on Table A.6. Column 1 displays information about all municipalities. It is important to note that the large majority of cities are small, rural, and overwhelmingly non-Latino white. The mean population is just 9,118 while the median population is 1,324. To provide an additional comparison to the types of municipalities where most Americans live, Column 2 displays the same descriptive information except that the sample of all municipalities is weighted based on each municipality's population as a proportion of the total population of all municipalities. With these weights, the mean city's population jumps to 583,120 and the median's is 62,298. This is more reflective of where most Americans live. For instance, if all of the municipalities are ordered by population from smallest to largest, the median resident across all cities would be found in Maple Grove City, MN, a suburban city with a population of 61,567, which is right at the median in the population weighted results in Column (2). The 25th percentile resident is in a city of 17,000 while the 75th percentile is in one of 260,000.

In column (3), we display data on municipalities that had at least one official who was invited to participate in the survey. In other words, these are the municipalities of officials in our sampling frame. Finally, in column (4), we have data on municipalities that had at least one respondent to the survey—i.e., our actual sample. Overall, the municipalities of officials whom we emailed or who responded are quite similar to each other and fall between the municipalities where most Americans reside (Column [2]) and the broader sample of all municipalities (Column [1]), with the municipalities with respondents (Column [4]) slightly more similar to those in Column (2) than the municipalities emailed (Column [3]).

Table A.6: Characteristics of Municipalities by Sample Status

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		All Cities	All Cities, weighted by pop.	Cities Email d	Cities w/ at least 1 Respon -dent
City Population	Mean	9,118	583,120	26,001	39,969
	Median	1,324	62,298	7,481	11,936
% Population Minority	Mean	15.5%	33.3%	21.3%	21.6%
	Median	5.8%	28.3%	12.0%	13.2%
% Population w/ Some College or More	Mean	19.5%	18.6%	19.8%	19.8%
	Median	19.3%	18.4%	19.8%	19.8%
Median Income (in 2012 \$1,000)	Mean	\$46.9	\$55.6	\$55.0	\$56.3
	Median	\$41.8	\$48.1	\$48.5	\$50.2
% Population Not in Labor Force	Mean	28.4%	28.0%	28.4%	28.1%
	Median	27.3%	27.0%	27.3%	27.2%
% Population Unemployed	Mean	8.5%	9.1%	8.6%	8.5%
	Median	7.5%	8.7%	7.8%	7.7%
% Population Homeowners	Mean	16.2%	17.3%	17.3%	17.3%
	Median	16.3%	17.3%	17.3%	17.3%
% Population with 2nd Mortgage	Mean	0.8%	1.0%	1.1%	1.1%
	Median	0.6%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%
Form of Government					
% Mayor/Council without City Manager		65.7%	50.6%	53.9%	50.8%
% Mayor/Council with City Manager		14.8%	40.0%	29.9%	36.4%
% Commissioners		1.6%	1.3%	1.2%	1.5%
% Supervisors		17.5%	8.0%	14.6%	11.2%
% Town Meeting		0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%
% Representative Town Meeting		0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%
% with some Town Meeting decision- making		17.6%	8.6%	5.9%	11.2%
% with Home Rule Charter		19.6%	47.5%	30.9%	36.3%
% with Republican Rep. in U.S. House		47.5%	38.7%	51.1%	49.5%
Citizens' Policy Preferences (only for cities w/ pop. at or above 25k; range: -1 to .6; higher = more conservative)	Mean	-0.08	-0.18	-0.07	-0.08
	Median	-0.05	-0.15	-0.03	-0.04

Notes: Column (1) includes all cities, towns, Population figures are from the 2010 U.S. Census. Form of government figures are from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2012 Census of Governments. The partisanship of the Representative of the U.S. House that represents each city is based on Congressional membership in March, 2016. Cities that crossed multiple House districts were matched to the district in which a plurality of the city's population resided. Citizens' Policy Preferences are from The American Ideology Project, which are estimated based on surveys conducted from 2000 to 2011. See Tausanovitch and Warshaw (2013) for more details on this measure.

Figures A.6 through A.7 display a density plot of the different municipal characteristics found in table A.6. What stands out is how similar municipalities with respondents are to all of the municipalities with officials included in the sampling frame. The one area where the distributions are most different are in population, in which respondents were more likely to be from slightly larger municipalities.

Table A.7 displays individual level data on the officials emailed (the sampling frame) and the actual respondents (the sample). In general, there are very little data available on municipal officials outside of the data we gather in the survey. However, based on the officials' titles, which we collect for all officials emailed, we can identify mayors in the sampling frame. We can also identify officials' gender as it is indicated in the list we used from the for-profit organization that gathers elected officials' contact information. For those gathered from municipal websites, we identified officials' gender based on the proportion of females with that first name in public social security records. Overall, mayors from cities without city managers were more likely to respond. Female officials had a slightly higher response rate.

Figure A.6: Density Plot of Municipalities' Population by Sample Status

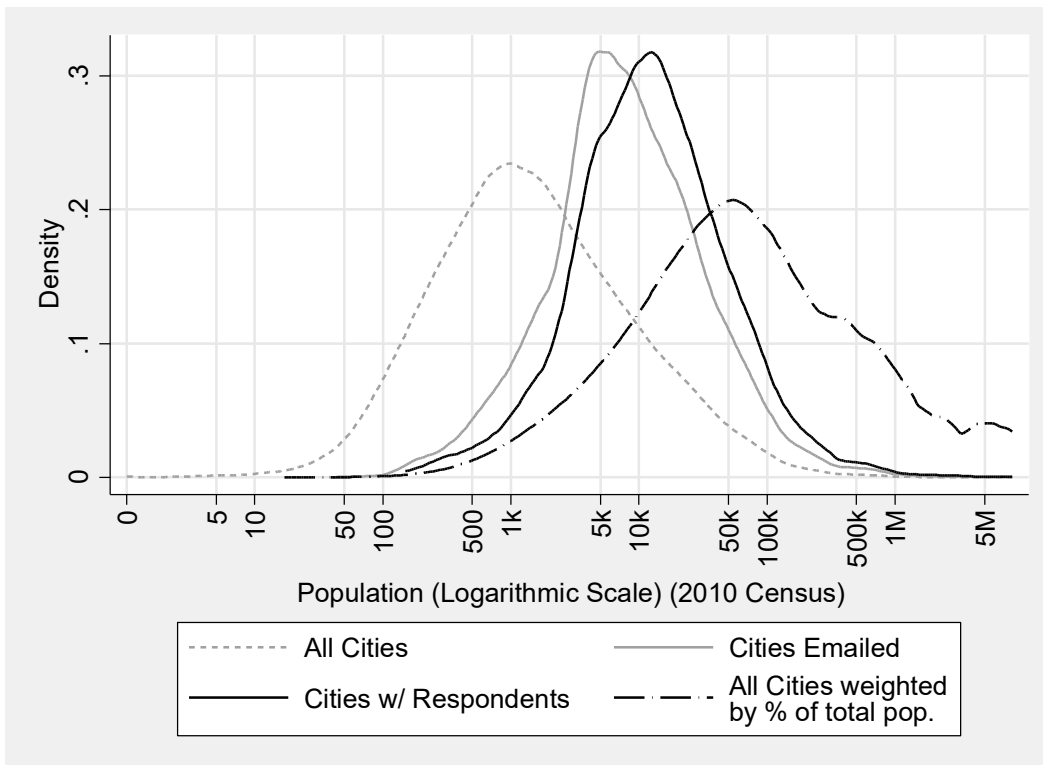


Figure A.7: Density Plot of Municipal Characteristics from Table A.6

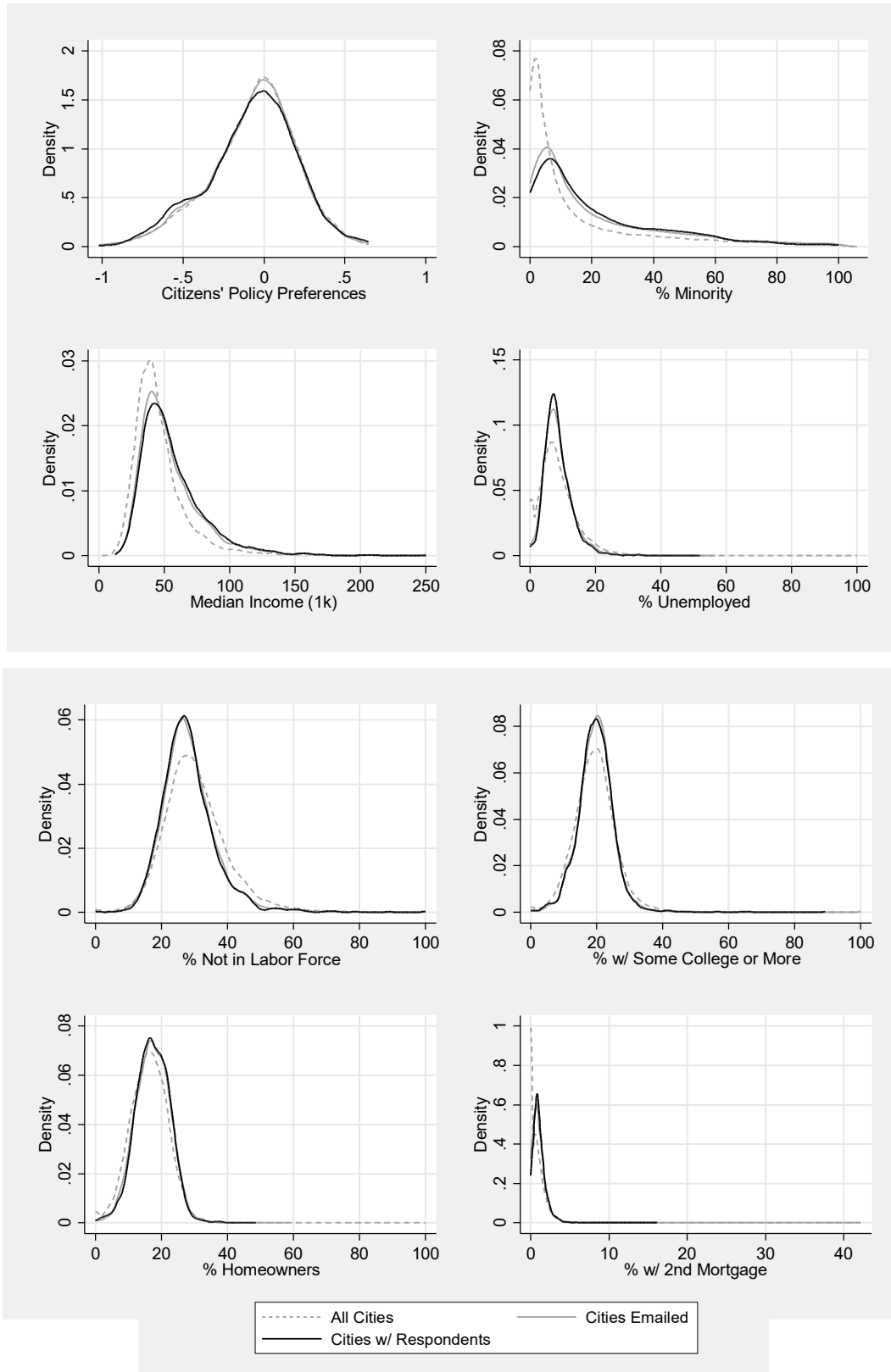
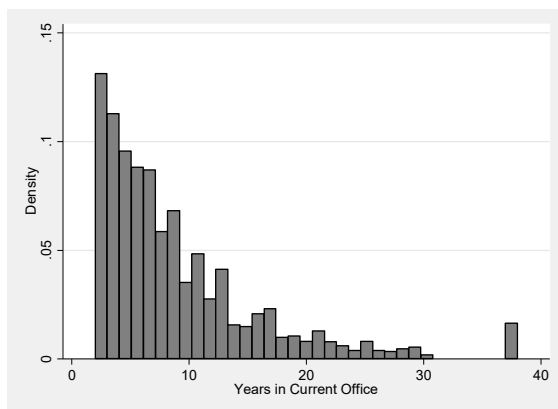


Table A.7: Descriptive Statistics of Officials Emailed and Respondents

		Officials Emailed	Respondents
% Mayors	In cities without City Managers	Mean	13.4%
		95% C.I.	(12.9%, 13.9%)
	In cities with City Managers	Mean	11.2%
		95% C.I.	(10.7%, 11.7%)
% Female	Mean	28.3%	
	95% C.I.	(27.8%, 28.7%)	

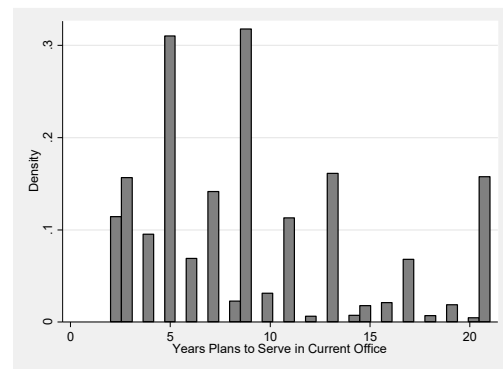
Finally, to illustrate that our sample of officials is diverse in terms of other politically important variables, we provide some descriptive statistics on the sample in table A.8 and figures A.8 – A.9.

Figure A.8: Histogram of Years Served in Current Seat



Notes: Histogram shows response to question: “How many years have you served in your current office?” Response options ranged from 1 to 29 in one year increments and “30 or more.”

Figure A.9: Histogram of Years Planning to Serve in Current Office



Notes: Histogram shows response to question: “How many years do you hope to serve in your current office?” Response options ranged from 1 to 19 in one year increments and “20 or more.”

Table A.8: Characteristics of Respondents based on Survey Questions and Responses

Q: What party do you identify with?

	%
Republican	35.3
Democrat	34.0
Independent or Unaffiliated	27.0
Other	3.7
TOTAL	100

Q: Generally speaking, would you describe your political views as:

	%
Very Liberal	3.6
Liberal	12.8
Somewhat Liberal	14.3
Middle of the Road	24.6
Somewhat Conservative	21.7
Conservative	20.0
Very Conservative	3.1
TOTAL	100

Q: Which of the following best describes how individuals are elected to your position?

	%
The elections are NON-PARTISAN (i.e., candidates' party DOES NOT appear on the ballot)	73.0
The elections are PARTISAN (i.e., candidates' party appear on the ballot)	27.0
TOTAL	100

Q: By how many percentage points did you win your last election for this office?

	%
below 1% point	2.3
1 to almost 5% points	7.7
5 to 15% points	18.8
More than 15% points	34.8
I ran uncontested	32.3
I lost or did not run again	4.1
TOTAL	100

Q: Are there term limits for your current office?

	%
Yes	19.3
No	80.7
TOTAL	100

Q: When it comes to important issues, elected officials should...

	%
(1) Do what their constituents want, even if it conflicts with what the elected official thinks is right.	4.0
(2)	11.4
(3)	24.1
(4)	40.5
(5) Do what they think is right, even if it conflicts with what their constituents want.	20.0
TOTAL	100

Online Appendix References

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