

Online Appendix for

Personality and Gendered Selection Processes in the Political Pipeline

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Abstract

Most research on the causes of women's underrepresentation examines one of two stages of the political pipeline—the development of nascent political ambition or specific aspects of the campaign and election process. In this short paper, we make a different kind of contribution. We build on the growing literature on gender, psychology, and representation to provide an analysis of what kinds of men and women make it through the political pipeline at each of these stages. This allows us to draw some conclusions about the ways in which the overall process is similar and different for women and men.

Using surveys of the general population (N=1,939) and elected municipal officials such as mayors and city councilors (N=2,354) that measure the distribution of Big Five personality traits, we find that roughly the same types of men and women have nascent political ambition; there is just an intercept shift for sex. By contrast, male and female elected officials have different personality profiles. These differences do not reflect underlying distributions in the general population or the population of political aspirants. In short, our data suggest that socialization into political ambition is similar for men and women, but campaign and election processes are not.

General Population Study Methodology

To collect the diverse sample of the general public, we commissioned Clear Voice Research (CVR) to conduct an online survey of American adults. CVR fielded the survey in an online platform from June 12- June 25, 2015. Although marginal demographics may not fully characterize the bias in online panels (Kennedy et al. 2016), we note in the online appendix that the demographic distributions of the participants are consistent with the demographics of traditional telephone surveys and other representative samples. 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, Hall-Jameison, and Mutz (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	CVR 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%
N	1,939	-	484-551	19,234

Figure A1 provides the battery of questions used to measure the personality traits of respondents to the national survey of the American public. The battery is drawn from Bem (1981).

Survey of Municipal Officials

The questions for the study of public officials were included in the 2016 American Municipal Officials Survey (Butler and Dynes). 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 (or 17.8%¹) answered questions on the first wave of the survey. 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 surveys conducted in 2012 and 2014 (See Butler and

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

Dynes (2016) for more details on the 2012 sample and <http://www.municipalsurvey.org/past-survey-results/> for more details on both samples). Excluding the email addresses from the first wave resulted in a list of 29,250 emails. The email addresses from the 2012 survey 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 survey 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%.

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.”²
- 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.”³

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.2 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.

² U.S. Census Bureau. 2012. “Geographic Terms and Concepts { County Subdivision”, http://www.census.gov/geo/reference/gtc/gtc_cousub.html (January 9, 2014).

³ Ibid.

Table A.2: % 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.3 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 A3. 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.3: Characteristics of Municipalities by Sample Status

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		All Cities	All Cities, weighted by pop.	Cities Emaille 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.2 through A.4 display a density plot of the different municipal characteristics found in table A.4. 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.4 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.1: Density Plot of Municipalities' Population by Sample Status

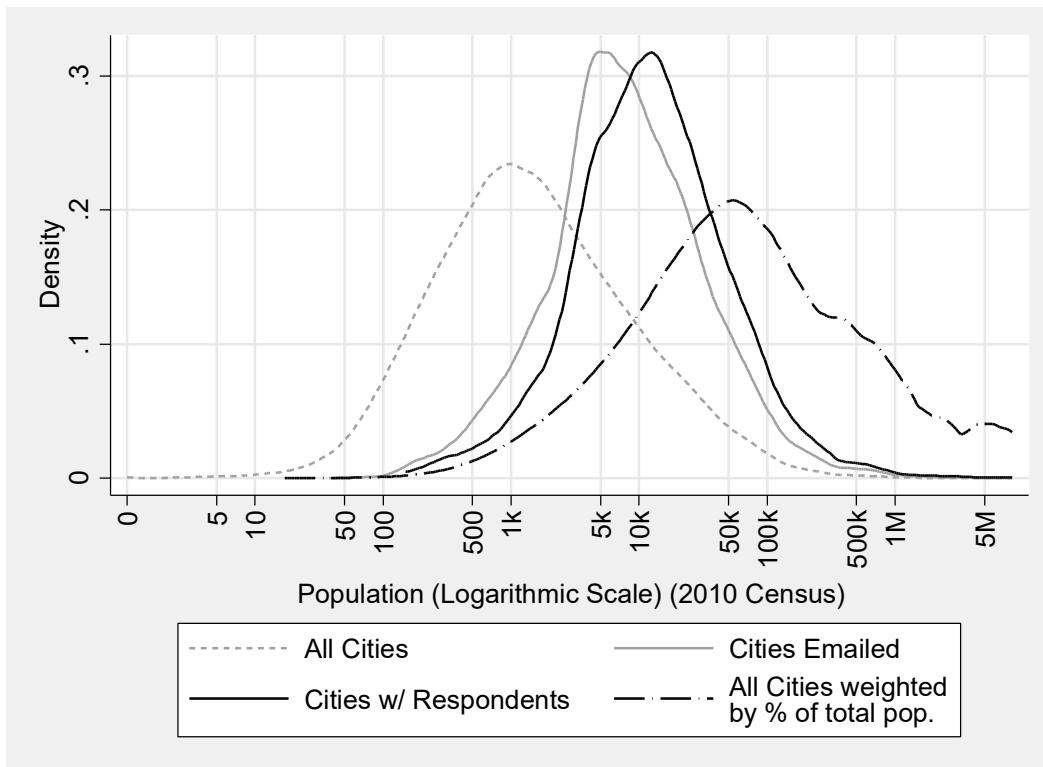


Figure A.2: Density Plot of Municipal Characteristics from Table A3

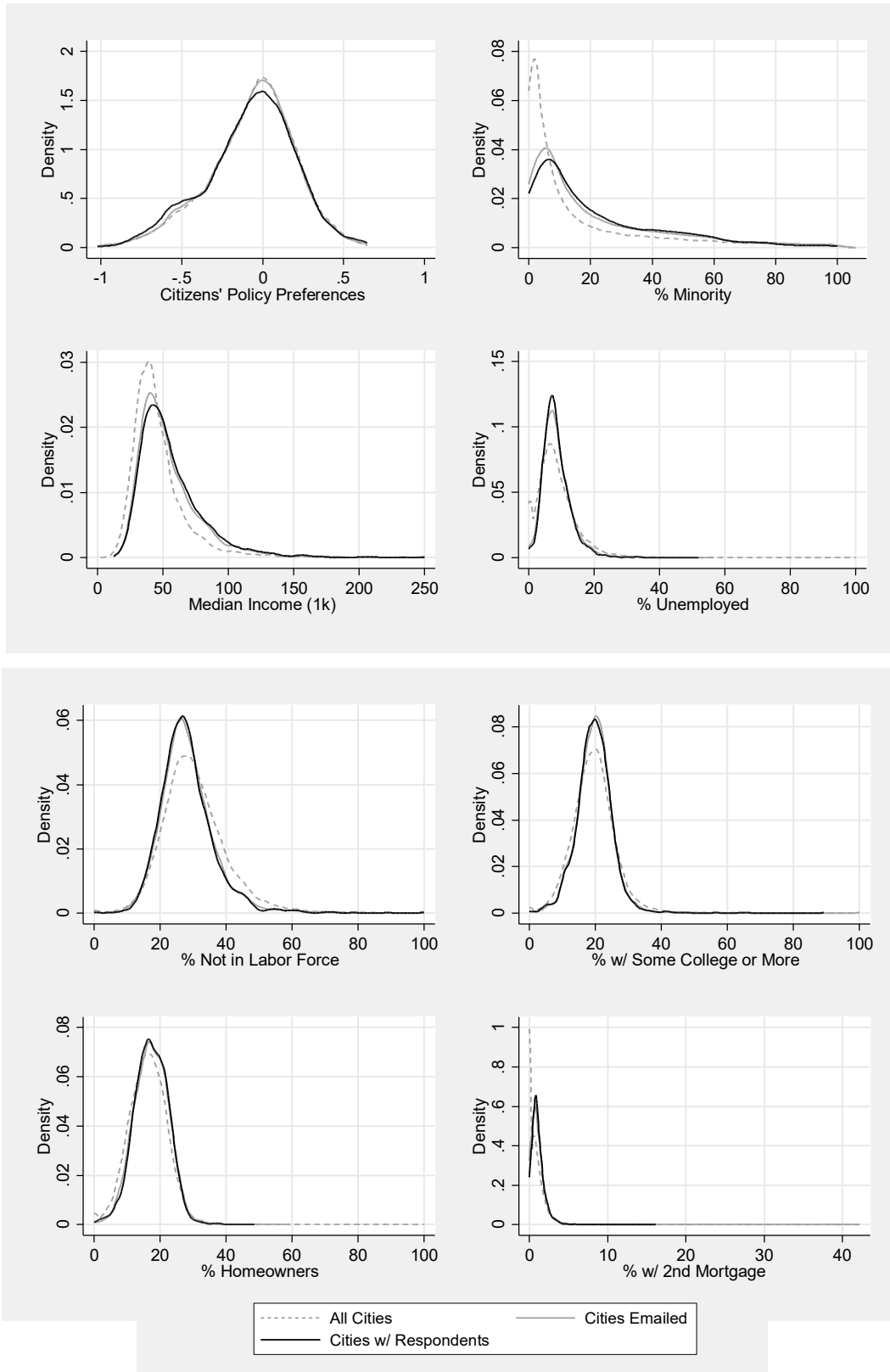
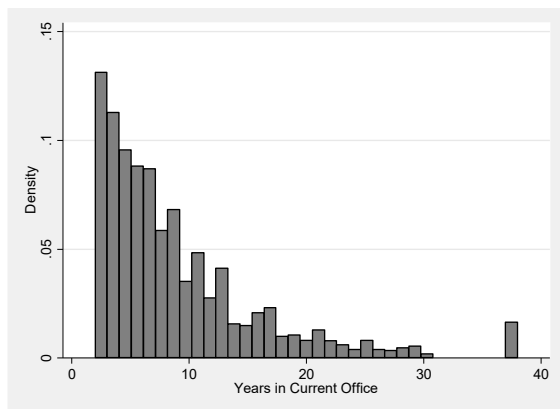


Table A.4: Descriptive Statistics of Officials Emailed and Respondents

		Officials Emailed	Respondents
% Mayors	In cities without City Managers	Mean	13.4%
		95% C.I.	(12.9%, 13.9%) (16.1%, 19.9%)
	In cities with City Managers	Mean	11.2%
		95% C.I.	(10.7%, 11.7%) (11.0%, 14.3%)
% Female	Mean	28.3%	
	95% C.I.	(27.8%, 28.7%) (29.9%, 33.0%)	

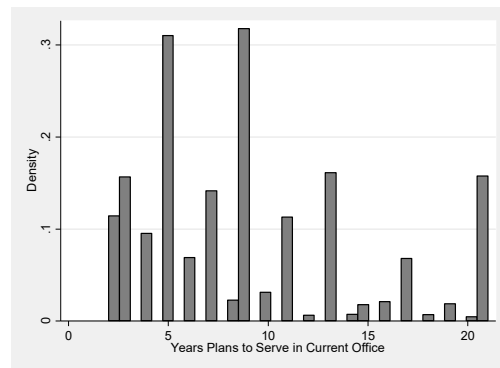
Finally, to illustrate that our sample of officials is diverse in terms of other politically important variables, we provide some descriptive statistics on the sample in table A.5 and figures A.4 – A.5.

Figure A.4: 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.5: 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.5: Characteristics of Respondents based on Survey Questions and Responses

Q: What party do you identify with?		Q: By how many percentage points did you win your last election for this office?	
	%		%
Republican	35.3	below 1% point	2.3
Democrat	34.0	1 to almost 5% points	7.7
Independent or Unaffiliated	27.0	5 to 15% points	18.8
Other	3.7	More than 15% points	34.8
TOTAL	100	I ran uncontested	32.3
		I lost or did not run again	4.1
Q: Generally speaking, would you describe your political views as:		TOTAL	100
	%	Q: Are there term limits for your current office?	
Very Liberal	3.6		%
Liberal	12.8	Yes	19.3
Somewhat Liberal	14.3	No	80.7
Middle of the Road	24.6	TOTAL	100
Somewhat Conservative	21.7	Q: When it comes to important issues, elected officials should...	
Conservative	20.0		%
Very Conservative	3.1	(1) Do what their constituents want, even if it conflicts with what the elected official thinks is right.	4.0
TOTAL	100	(2)	11.4
		(3)	24.1
Q: Which of the following best describes how individuals are elected to your position?		(4)	40.5
	%	(5) Do what they think is right, even if it conflicts with what their constituents want.	20.0
The elections are NON-PARTISAN (i.e., candidates' party DOES NOT appear on the ballot)	73.0	TOTAL	100
The elections are PARTISAN (i.e., candidates' party appear on the ballot)	27.0		
TOTAL	100		

Measures of Personality and Ambition

To measure personality in the national survey we use a thirty-one adjective measure of personality (Bem 1981). Respondents saw the following prompt: “Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not describe you. Please indicate how well each of the following describes you.” This was followed by a list of the following traits (shown in random order): Outgoing, Helpful, Moody, Organized, Self-confident, Friendly, Warm, Worrying, Responsible, Forceful, Lively, Caring, Nervous, Creative, Assertive, Hardworking, Imaginative, Softhearted, Calm, Outspoken, Intelligent, Curious, Active, Careless, Broad-minded, Sympathetic, Talkative, Sophisticated, Adventurous, Dominant, and Thorough. The choice options to indicate how well each trait described the respondent were “A lot”, “Some”, “A little”, or “Not at all.”

In the municipal officials survey, we used the Big Five Inventory-10 (BFI-10) (Rammstedt and John 2007). The BFI-10 uses two items per personality trait and has been shown to “retain significant levels of reliability and validity” compared to a 44-item measure of the Big Five (Rammstedt and John 2007, 203). However, Rammstedt and John (2007, 210) find the losses in reliability are greatest with the two-item measure of agreeableness. To mitigate this, we followed their recommendation of adding a third agreeableness item. Respondents say the following prompt: “please let us know how well the following statements describe your personality. I see myself as someone who...” This was followed by a list of the following statements (shown in random order): “has few artistic interests,” “tends to find fault with others,” “is considerate and kind to almost everyone,” “is reserved,” “tends to be lazy,” “is generally trusting,” “is outgoing, sociable,” “is relaxed, handles stress well,” “gets nervous easily,” “has an active imagination,” and “does a thorough job.” Respondents indicated how much they agreed with each statement: “Agree Strongly,” “Agree a Little,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Disagree a Little,” “Disagree Strongly.”

To measure respondents’ nascent political ambition in the general population study we use a question from Lawless and Fox (2010). We asked them to indicate their “attitude toward running for office in the future.” Only 1% of our respondents reported “actively considering” running for public office, 16% said that they were “open to the possibility of holding elective office in the future” leaving 83% who reported “absolutely no interest” in holding elective office at any time in the future.

In the sample of elected officials, we asked respondents to “characterizes [their] attitudes toward running for a higher office in the future”. Respondents had four options: “It is something I would absolutely never do.”; “I would not rule it out forever, but I currently have no interest.”; “It is something I might undertake if the opportunity presented itself.”; “It is something I definitely would like to undertake in the future.” This is our measure of progressive ambition.

Distribution of Personality Traits

Figure A.6 provides the distribution of personality traits among men and women in the general population who have some political ambition and the sample of local public officials. These plots correspond with the results shown in Figure 1 in the text and in Table A.6 below. Figure A.7, which corresponds with Figure 2 in the text and Table A.7 below, shows the distributions for men and women in the general population as well as the public officials.

Figure A.6: Distribution of Personality Traits by Gender and Political Ambition in the US Population and Among Elected Municipal Officials

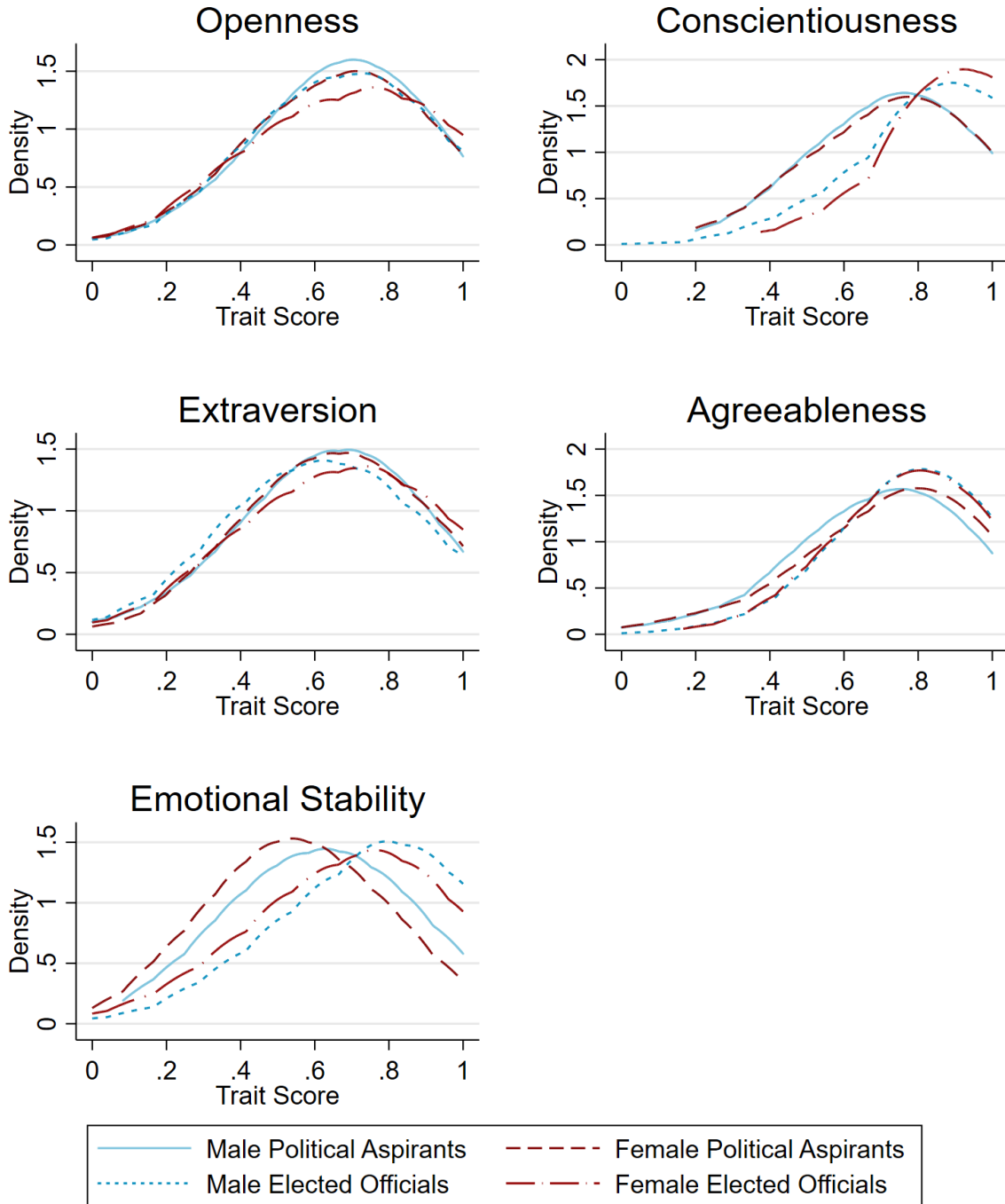


Figure A.7: Distribution of Personality Traits by Gender in the US Population and Among Elected Municipal Officials

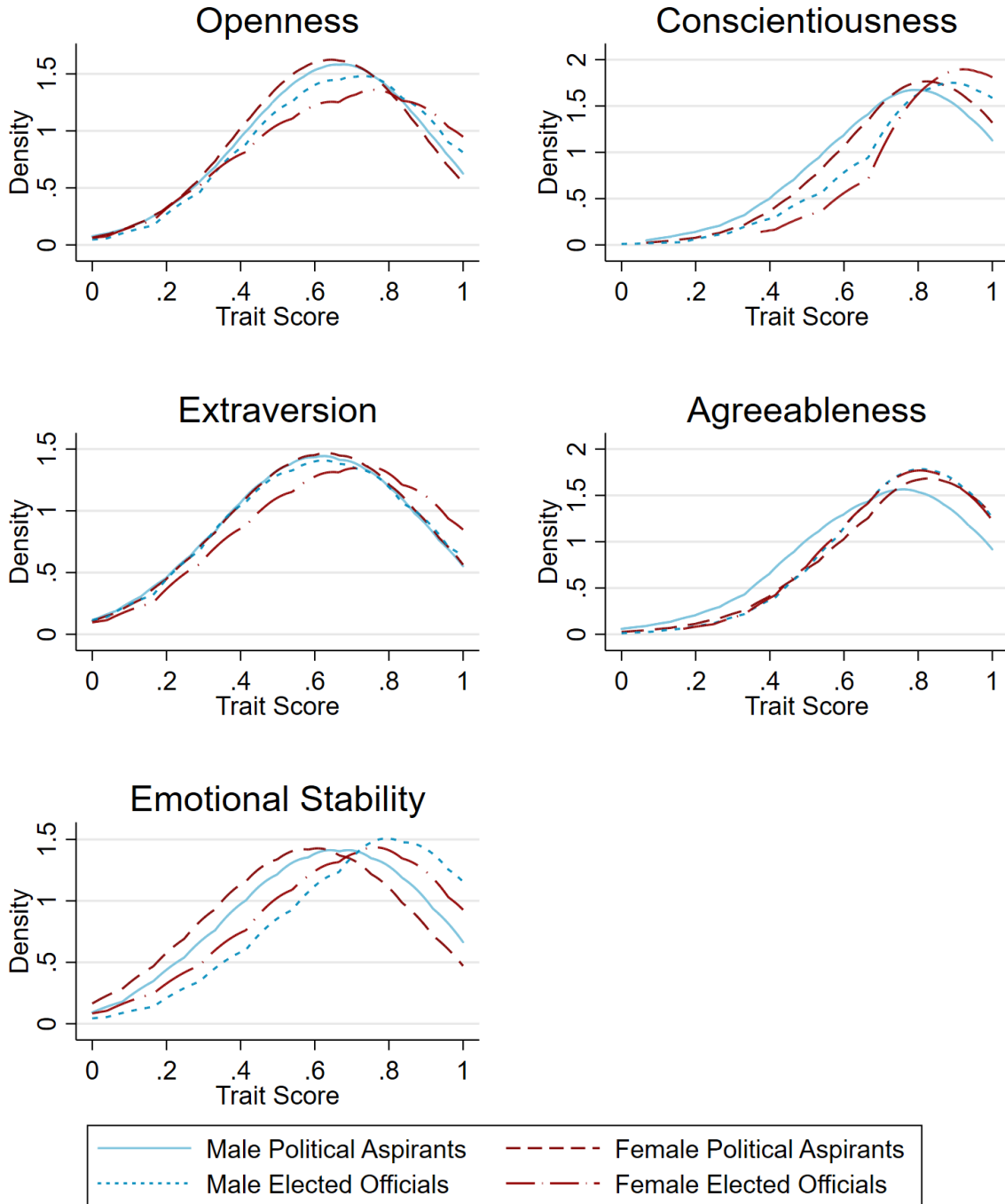


Table A.6: Differences in Personality Traits between Men and Women in the General Population with Political Ambition and among Male and Female Elected Local Officials

		Openness			Difference in Differences
	Elected Officials	Political Aspirants	<i>Difference</i>		
Women	0.70 (0.23)	0.67 (0.22)	<i>0.03</i>		
Men	0.69 (0.21)	0.67 (0.20)	<i>0.01</i>	0.02	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>0.01</i>	<i>0.00</i>			
		Conscientiousness			Difference in Differences
	Elected Officials	Political Aspirants	<i>Difference</i>		
Women	0.90 (0.14)	0.74 (0.20)	<i>0.17**</i>		
Men	0.85 (0.17)	0.74 (0.19)	<i>0.12**</i>	0.05*	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>0.05**</i>	<i>0.00</i>			
		Extraversion			Difference in Differences
	Elected Officials	Political Aspirants	<i>Difference</i>		
Women	0.67 (0.24)	0.65 (0.22)	<i>0.02</i>		
Men	0.63 (0.23)	0.65 (0.22)	<i>-0.02</i>	0.04	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>0.05**</i>	<i>0.01</i>			
		Agreeableness			Difference in Differences
	Elected Officials	Political Aspirants	<i>Difference</i>		
Women	0.79 (0.16)	0.73 (0.22)	<i>0.05**</i>		
Men	0.79 (0.16)	0.70 (0.22)	<i>0.08**</i>	-0.03	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>-0.00</i>	<i>0.03</i>			
		Emotional Stability			Difference in Differences
	Elected Officials	Political Aspirants	<i>Difference</i>		
Women	0.70 (0.23)	0.56 (0.21)	<i>0.14**</i>		
Men	0.75 (0.22)	0.62 (0.22)	<i>0.14**</i>	-0.00	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>-0.06**</i>	<i>-0.06*</i>			

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ two-tailed test. Numbers in each cell indicate each group's mean score on the Big Five personality traits, which are measured on a scale from 0 to 1 where higher numbers indicate higher levels of that trait. Standard deviations are in parentheses next to the means. Difference of means across rows and columns are italicized.

Table A.7: Differences in Personality Traits between Men and Women in the General Population and among Elected Local Officials

		Openness		
		General		
	Elected Officials	Population	<i>Difference</i>	Difference in Differences
Women	0.70 (0.23)	0.63 (0.19)	<i>0.07**</i>	0.02[^]
Men	0.69 (0.21)	0.64 (0.20)	<i>0.04**</i>	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>0.01</i>	<i>-0.01</i>		
		Conscientiousness		
		General		
	Elected Officials	Population	<i>Difference</i>	Difference in Differences
Women	0.90 (0.14)	0.80 (0.17)	<i>0.10**</i>	0.01
Men	0.85 (0.17)	0.76 (0.19)	<i>0.09**</i>	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>0.05**</i>	<i>0.04**</i>		
		Extraversion		
		General		
	Elected Officials	Population	<i>Difference</i>	Difference in Differences
Women	0.67 (0.24)	0.62 (0.21)	<i>0.06**</i>	0.04**
Men	0.63 (0.23)	0.61 (0.22)	<i>0.02</i>	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>0.05**</i>	<i>0.01</i>		
		Agreeableness		
		General		
	Elected Officials	Population	<i>Difference</i>	Difference in Differences
Women	0.79 (0.16)	0.79 (0.19)	<i>-0.00</i>	-0.08**
Men	0.79 (0.16)	0.71 (0.21)	<i>0.07**</i>	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>-0.00</i>	<i>0.08**</i>		
		Emotional Stability		
		General		
	Elected Officials	Population	<i>Difference</i>	Difference in Differences
Women	0.70 (0.23)	0.58 (0.22)	<i>0.12**</i>	0.00
Men	0.75 (0.22)	0.64 (0.22)	<i>0.12**</i>	
<i>Difference</i>	<i>-0.06**</i>	<i>-0.06**</i>		

Note: [^]p<0.10, *p<0.05, **p<0.01 two-tailed test. Numbers in each cell indicate each group's mean score on the Big Five personality traits, which are measured on a scale from 0 to 1 where higher numbers indicate higher levels of that trait. Standard deviations are in parentheses next to the means. Difference of means across rows and columns are italicized.

Full Models and Alternative Models

In Table A.8, we regress elected officials' personality scores (on a scale from 0 to 1) on a host of politically relevant variables to demonstrate that the differences between female and male officials, as reported in Figures 2 and 3, hold even when controlling for a range of variables. The number of observations is lower in the regression results since we do not have the control variables for every respondent who took the personality tests in the survey.

Table A.8: Predicting Differences in Personality between Male and Female Elected Officials

VARIABLES	(1) Openness	(2) Conscien- tiousness	(3) Extra- version	(4) Agree- ableness	(5) Emotiona l Stability
Gender (1=Female)	0.00 (0.01)	0.05** (0.01)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)
Term limits for Current Office (1=yes)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Won Previous Election by 5% or Less (1=yes)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)
Partisan elections (1=yes)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Anticipated Length in Current Office (in years)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Years in Current Office	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Probability respondent's seat filled by similar candidate if respondent left office	-0.00* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)
Probability someone like respondent could win state legislative seat	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Official Holds Mayoral Office (1=yes)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
Mayoral Form of Gov't (1=yes)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.08* (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Manager Form of Gov't (1=yes)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Log of Population	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
% Pop. Minority	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
% Pop. w/ Some College or More	-0.19* (0.09)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.10)	0.06 (0.05)	0.18* (0.08)

Constant	0.69** (0.04)	0.81** (0.04)	0.49** (0.05)	0.83** (0.03)	0.67** (0.04)
Observations	1,742	1,743	1,744	1,746	1,742
Number of State Fixed Effects	48	48	48	48	48
Groups					

Robust standard errors (clustered at state level) in parentheses. ** p < .01; * p < .05

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