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Political Ambition Survey Consent Form

Please consider this information carefully before deciding whether to participate in this research.

Purpose: I am a graduate student in the Department of Government at Harvard University. As part of my dissertation, I am exploring political attitudes and ambition.

What you will do in this research: You will be asked to answer a series of survey questions online. Your answers will be completely anonymous. (We will only know who has taken the survey; we will not be able to see who gave what answers.) If you opt at the end to participate in an interview, I may contact you for an interview on the same topics as are in the survey.

Time required: This survey should take 15 minutes to complete. If you opt to give a post-survey interview (not required), the interview takes about one hour.

Risks: This survey will ask questions about you and your background, including your race/ethnicity, your and your parents' education levels, your socioeconomic status now and when you were growing up, and about your thoughts and feelings about politics and political office. At one point the survey asks about your experience with various forms of discrimination, including harassment and/or violence based on race, sex, religion, language, or gender identity. You are free not to answer these questions. Otherwise, the effects of taking the survey are the same as those you may experience from viewing a computer monitor for 15 minutes and using a mouse or keyboard.

Benefits: At the end of the study, I will provide a thorough explanation of the study and my findings, in a series of events open to the Suffolk Law community and widely publicized. If you wish, you can also send an email to me (shames@fas.harvard.edu) and I can send you a copy of any manuscripts based on the research (or summaries of results).

Compensation: After you have finished taking the survey, you will receive a unique code. Once you email me your code, at shames@fas.harvard.edu, also tell me whether you would prefer a $10 coupon to Amazon.com or Starbucks, or a direct Paypal transfer.

Confidentiality: Your participation in the survey will remain confidential, and your survey answers are anonymous (even to the researchers). All we will know is that you participated or not. If you participate in the follow-up interview, your identity will remain confidential and will not be used in any written reports (either in draft or published form). Your interview responses will be assigned a code number. Personal data from the interviews will be destroyed once all the data have been collected and analyzed and my dissertation has been accepted.

Participation and withdrawal: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may withdraw at any time without penalty. You may also skip questions that you do not want to answer. You may withdraw by informing the researcher that you no longer wish to participate (no questions will be asked).

To Contact the Researchers: If you have questions about this research, please contact Shauna Shames, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge Street, CGIS Knafel Building, (202) 431-1133, shames@fas.harvard.edu . You may also contact the faculty member supervising this work: Dr. Jennifer Hochschild, Professor of Government and African and African American Studies, 1737 Cambridge Street, CGIS Knafel Building, room 412, (617) 496-0181, hochschild@gov.harvard.edu

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Whom to contact about your rights in this research, for questions, concerns, suggestions, or complaints that are not being addressed by the researcher, or research-related harm: Jane Calhoun, Harvard University Committee on the Use of Human Subjects in Research, 1414 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 234, Cambridge, MA 02138. Phone: 617-495-5459. E-mail: jcalhoun@fas.harvard.edu

Agreement:
By clicking "next" to proceed to the survey, I agree that the nature and purpose of this research have been sufficiently explained and I agree to participate in this study. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without incurring any penalty.

Thank you for your participation. First, I'm going to ask you some questions about you and your background. I apologize if some of these questions sound odd; for several, I am exactly replicating questions from previous national surveys.

What degree are you currently pursuing? (check all that apply)

Please pick one of the answers below and add your comments.

- ○ JD
- ○ PhD
- ○ MA (or other Master's)
- ○ Undergraduate degree

If getting a JD plus another degree, what is that other degree?

....

This is a survey about U.S. politics. Were you born in the United States? If not, are you a U.S. citizen?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Yes, I was born in the U.S.
- ○ No, I was not born in the U.S. but I am a U.S. citizen
- ○ No, I was not born here, and I am not a U.S. citizen

I'm sorry, this is a survey of U.S. citizens about U.S. politics. I appreciate your time.

In what (4-digit) year were you born? (e.g. 1979)

Please use the blank space to write your answers.

....

What is your sex?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Female
- ○ Male

Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino descent?

Please pick one of the answers below or add your own.

- ○ No, I am not
- ○ Yes, Mexican, Mexican-American, Chicano
- ○ Yes, Puerto Rican
- ○ Yes, Cuban
- ○ Yes, Central American
- ○ Yes, South American
- ○ Yes, Caribbean
- ○ Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino

Other (please specify):

....

Please check one or more categories below to indicate what race(s) you consider yourself to be. (check all that apply)

Please check all that apply and/or add your own variant.

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native
- ☐ Asian Indian
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Filipino
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Vietnamese
- ☐ Other Asian
- ☐ Native Hawaiian
- ☐ Guamanian or Chamorro
- ☐ Samoan
- ☐ Other Pacific Islander

Some other race (please specify):

....

To what extent, if at all, do you consider yourself to be a religious person?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Very religious
- ○ Moderately religious
- ○ Slightly religious
- ○ Not at all religious

What is your religious preference? Please type the name of the religion.

Please use the blank space to write your answers.

....

In thinking about your future, how important are the following goals and accomplishments?

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Not at all important	Not very important	Important	Very important
Earning a great deal of money	○	○	○	○
Having a successful marriage or partnership	○	○	○	○
Rising to the top of my profession	○	○	○	○
Making my community a better place to live	○	○	○	○
Devoting time to my children	○	○	○	○
Having time for my friends	○	○	○	○
Being sure of always having a relatively well-paying job	○	○	○	○
Playing a big part in charitable endeavors	○	○	○	○
Devotion to my religion	○	○	○	○
Becoming famous	○	○	○	○

If you are married or living with a partner, which statement below best describes the division of labor on household tasks, such as cleaning, laundry, and cooking?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ I'm not married or living with a partner
- ○ My spouse/partner is responsible for all household tasks
- ○ My spouse/partner takes care of more of the household tasks than I do
- ○ The division of labor in my household is evenly divided
- ○ I am responsible for more of the household tasks than my spouse/partner
- ○ I am responsible for all household tasks
- ○ We mostly rely on other arrangements, such as paid or family help for household tasks

How well, if at all, does each of the following terms describe you?

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Not at All	A Little	Moderately	Very
Ambitious	○	○	○	○
Good at being in charge	○	○	○	○
Willing to take risks	○	○	○	○
Concerned about what others think of me	○	○	○	○
Avoid conflict whenever possible	○	○	○	○
A good public speaker	○	○	○	○
Authentic/sincere	○	○	○	○
Hate to lose at anything	○	○	○	○
Would rather be well-prepared and not have to wing it	○	○	○	○
Ethical/moral	○	○	○	○
Responsive to other people's needs	○	○	○	○
Confident	○	○	○	○
Thick-skinned	○	○	○	○

How likely are you, if at all, to challenge a professor in class if s/he were to present an argument that you strongly disagree with?

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Not at All Likely	Not So Likely	Somewhat Likely	Very Likely
	○	○	○	○

To what extent do you think you will be expected to contribute financially to your parents, siblings, or other relatives in the future?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ To a large extent
- ○ To a moderate extent
- ○ To a small extent
- ○ Not at all

How important is this consideration (being expected to contribute financially to your parents, siblings, or other family members) to your choice of future job(s)?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Very important
- ○ Somewhat important
- ○ Not very important
- ○ Not at all important

The next question asks you about whether you have been a target of any of a number of forms of discrimination, including discriminatory violence and/or sexual harassment. You are free not to answer this question.

Have you had any of the following experiences?

Please check all that apply.

- ☐ Discrimination based on race, ethnicity, or language
- ☐ Discrimination based on sex, gender, or sexual orientation/gender identity
- ☐ Discrimination based on religion
- ☐ Sexual harassment or teasing
- ☐ Sexual violence/assault
- ☐ Racial/ethnic harassment or teasing
- ☐ Racial/ethnic-related violence/assault

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your political and civic activities and opinions.

Many people do not engage in many political or community activities. In which, if any, of the following activities have you engaged in the past two years? (Check all that apply)

Please check all that apply.

- ☐ Voted in an election
- ☐ Wrote a letter to a newspaper
- ☐ Joined or paid dues to a political interest group
- ☐ Contacted an elected official (by phone, email, letter, etc.)
- ☐ Contributed money to a campaign
- ☐ Volunteered for a political candidate
- ☐ Joined a group/organization in the community to address a local issue
- ☐ Volunteered on a community project
- ☐ Attended a city council or school board meeting
- ☐ Served on the board of a non-profit organization

Please mark your level of agreement with the following statements about policy and politics:

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Government should do something to reduce income differences between rich and poor.	○	○	○	○	○
One person can't make much of a difference in politics.	○	○	○	○	○
It takes a thick skin to survive in politics	○	○	○	○	○
You can trust the government to do what's right most of the time.	○	○	○	○	○
Politicians talk a lot but don't really get much done.	○	○	○	○	○
Politics corrupts even good people into doing bad things.	○	○	○	○	○
Abortion should always be legal in the first trimester.	○	○	○	○	○
Most people who run for office are generally interested in their own fame and power.	○	○	○	○	○
The problems I most care about can be solved through politics	○	○	○	○	○

Please mark your level of agreement with the following statements about candidates and media:

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
It is just as easy for a minority person to be elected to high-level political office as a white person	○	○	○	○	○
Women are judged by their appearance more than men are	○	○	○	○	○
It is just as easy for a woman to be elected to high-level political office as a man	○	○	○	○	○
Men get more opportunities than women for jobs that pay well, even when women are as qualified as men for the job	○	○	○	○	○
Whites get more opportunities than minorities for jobs that pay well, even when minorities are as qualified as whites for the job	○	○	○	○	○
Barack Obama was treated fairly by the news media and political commentators when he ran for president in 2008	○	○	○	○	○
Hillary Clinton was treated fairly by the news media and political commentators when she ran for the Democratic nomination for president in 2008	○	○	○	○	○
Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women	○	○	○	○	○
Hispanics/Latinos are portrayed negatively in the media	○	○	○	○	○

In today's media environment, you'd have to be crazy to run for office	○	○	○	○	○

How closely do you follow national politics?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Very Closely
- ○ Closely
- ○ Somewhat Closely
- ○ Not Closely

How closely do you follow politics in your community?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Very Closely
- ○ Closely
- ○ Somewhat Closely
- ○ Not Closely

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

Please pick one of the answers below or add your own.

- ○ Republican
- ○ Democrat
- ○ Independent

Something else (please specify):

....

Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Strong Democrat
- ○ Not Very Strong Democrat

Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Strong Republican
- ○ Not Very Strong Republican

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party or neither?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Closer to the Republican Party
- ○ Closer to the Democratic Party
- ○ Neither

When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Liberal
- ○ Conservative
- ○ Neither Liberal nor Conservative

Would you call yourself very liberal or somewhat liberal?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Very Liberal
- ○ Somewhat Liberal

Would you call yourself very conservative or somewhat conservative?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Very Conservative
- ○ Somewhat Conservative

Do you think of yourself as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Closer to Liberals
- ○ Closer to Conservatives
- ○ Neither of These

How often do you think politicians do the following?

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Lie	○	○	○	○
Work for the public good	○	○	○	○
Do what they think is right even if it's not popular	○	○	○	○
Act immorally	○	○	○	○
Help people with their problems	○	○	○	○
Manipulate people	○	○	○	○
Work across party lines	○	○	○	○

The next set of questions deal with your attitudes toward running for office. I realize that most people haven't thought a lot about running for office, but your answers are still important.

Has anyone ever suggested or encouraged you to run for public office (not including student government)?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Have you ever run for elective public office (not including student government)?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

What office(s) have you run for? Did you win?

Please use the blank space to write your answers.

....

Could you conceive of running for any of the following public offices? (check all that apply)

Please check all that apply and/or add your own variant.

- ☐ School board
- ☐ City/county/town council
- ☐ Mayor
- ☐ State legislature
- ☐ Governor
- ☐ Other statewide office (i.e. attorney general)
- ☐ U.S. Congress or Senate
- ☐ President
- ☐ Not interested in running for any public office

Other

....

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

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Very qualified	Qualified	Somewhat qualified	Not at all qualified
	○	○	○	○

If you have never run for office, have you ever thought about running for public office?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Yes, I have seriously considered it
- ○ Yes, it has crossed my mind
- ○ No, I have not thought about it

Even if you haven't thought about running for office, could you conceive of running for any of the following? (check all that apply)

Please check all that apply and/or add your own variant.

- ☐ School board
- ☐ City/county/town council
- ☐ Mayor
- ☐ State legislature
- ☐ Governor
- ☐ Other statewide office (i.e. attorney general)
- ☐ U.S. Congress or Senate
- ☐ President
- ☐ Not interested in running for any public office

Other

....

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

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Very qualified	Qualified	Somewhat qualified	Not at all qualified
	○	○	○	○

Off the top of your head, does anything occur to you that might make you feel more qualified? Feel free to use just a few words.

Please use the blank space to write your answers.

....

Would you be more likely to consider running for office (or running again) if:

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	No	Possibly	Yes
Someone from your political party or community suggested you run?	○	○	○
A spouse/partner suggested you run?	○	○	○
You had more impressive credentials?	○	○	○
You knew there was a lot of support for your candidacy?	○	○	○
You had previous experience (or more previous experience) working on a campaign?	○	○	○
You cared about an issue and knew you could make a difference if you were in office?	○	○	○
A friend suggested you run?	○	○	○
You had more experience with public speaking?	○	○	○
You knew you could help your community?	○	○	○

How about these situations -- would these make you more likely to consider running for office?

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	No	Possibly	Yes
You had more free time?	○	○	○
It would not interfere with your family's privacy?	○	○	○
You felt relatively sure you would win?	○	○	○
You were more financially secure?	○	○	○
It would not interfere with your professional advancement?	○	○	○
You had fewer family responsibilities?	○	○	○
You found politics (or politicians) more interesting?	○	○	○
Campaigns were fully publicly financed, so you would not have to raise money for your campaign?	○	○	○
You had thicker skin?	○	○	○
You had fewer skeletons in your closet?	○	○	○

If you were to become a candidate for public office, how would you feel about engaging in the following aspects of a campaign?

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Very Positive	Positive	Neither Positive nor Negative	Negative	So Negative it Would Deter Me From Running
Attending fund-raising functions	○	○	○	○	○
Dealing with party officials	○	○	○	○	○
Going door-to-door to meet constituents	○	○	○	○	○
Dealing with the media	○	○	○	○	○
The amount of time it takes to run for office	○	○	○	○	○
Making public speeches	○	○	○	○	○
Facing hostile questions	○	○	○	○	○
Calling people to ask for donations	○	○	○	○	○

Even if you don't like the idea of running for office, would you be interested in holding office if you didn't have to run for election?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Yes
- ○ Maybe
- ○ No

Some people think that certain types of candidates are advantaged or disadvantaged in certain political activities and public perceptions. Assuming a racially/ethnically-mixed district, which, if any, of these groups do you think have an advantage as candidates in the following activities or cases? (check all that apply)

Please fill in the answers in the table below (mark appropriate circles and squares and fill in the blank spaces).

Matrix: part 1 of 2

	Hispanic Women	Hispanic Men	Black Women	Black Men
Raising Money	☐	☐	☐	☐
Connecting with Voters	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dealing with Media	☐	☐	☐	☐
Networking with Political Elites	☐	☐	☐	☐
Standing Out from Opponents in Crowded Primary Campaign	☐	☐	☐	☐
Getting Recruited to Run	☐	☐	☐	☐
Inspiring Participation in their Communities	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Honest	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Compassionate	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Effective	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Tough on Crime	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Competent on Economic Issues	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Competent on Foreign Policy Issues	☐	☐	☐	☐

Being Forgiven by the Media for a Character Flaw or Indiscretion	☐	☐	☐	☐

Some people think that certain types of candidates are advantaged or disadvantaged in certain political activities and public perceptions. Assuming a racially/ethnically-mixed district, which, if any, of these groups do you think have an advantage as candidates in the following activities or cases? (check all that apply)

Please fill in the answers in the table below (mark appropriate circles and squares and fill in the blank spaces).

Matrix: part 2 of 2

	White/Anglo Women	White/Anglo Men
Raising Money	☐	☐
Connecting with Voters	☐	☐
Dealing with Media	☐	☐
Networking with Political Elites	☐	☐
Standing Out from Opponents in Crowded Primary Campaign	☐	☐
Getting Recruited to Run	☐	☐
Inspiring Participation in their Communities	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Honest	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Compassionate	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Effective	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Tough on Crime	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Competent on Economic Issues	☐	☐
Being Perceived by Voters as Competent on Foreign Policy Issues	☐	☐

Being Forgiven by the Media for a Character Flaw or Indiscretion	☐	☐

Off the top of your head, about what percent of members of Congress do you think:

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81-90%	91-100%
is Female?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
has a Law Degree?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
is not White/Anglo?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Just a few more before the end! My final set of questions are about your past.

In what area of the U.S. did you mostly grow up?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Northeast
- ○ Midwest
- ○ South (includes Southeast)
- ○ West
- ○ I mostly grew up outside of the U.S.

In what region of the world did you mostly grow up?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Africa (sub-Saharan)
- ○ Middle East & North Africa
- ○ Western Europe
- ○ Eastern Europe
- ○ Asia
- ○ Oceania
- ○ The Caribbean
- ○ Central America (including Mexico)
- ○ South America
- ○ North America

Are you, or either of your parents, an immigrant to the U.S.?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ No
- ○ Yes, I am an immigrant
- ○ Yes, one or both of my parents are immigrant(s)

At the time you were sixteen years old, how frequent were political discussions at home? Were they frequent, did they happen sometimes, or almost never?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Frequent
- ○ Sometimes
- ○ Almost never
- ○ Don't know/can't remember

Thinking about the high school you attended when you were sixteen, and the neighborhood where you lived then -- would you describe the composition of these as completely people of your race, mostly people of your race, completely not people of your race, mostly not people of your race, or mixed?

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Completely people of my race	Mostly people of my race	Mixed	Mostly people not of my race	Completely people not of my race
High school you attended at age 16	○	○	○	○	○
Neighborhood where you lived at age 16	○	○	○	○	○

What kind of high school did you graduate from? (mark all that apply)

Please check all that apply.

- ☐ Private
- ☐ Public
- ☐ Single-sex
- ☐ Religiously-affiliated

How active were you in these activities in high school?

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Very Active	Somewhat Active	Not Very Active	Not at All Active	Don't Know/Can't Remember
Organized sports	○	○	○	○	○
Student government	○	○	○	○	○
Volunteer/community service	○	○	○	○	○
Politics outside of school	○	○	○	○	○
Other campus clubs or activities (debate, newspaper, band, yearbook, etc.)	○	○	○	○	○

What kind of college did you graduate from? (mark all that apply)

Please check all that apply.

- ☐ Private
- ☐ Public
- ☐ Single-sex
- ☐ Religiously-affiliated
- ☐ Historically Black College or University (HBCU)

How active were you in these activities in college?

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	Very Active	Somewhat Active	Not Very Active	Not at All Active	Don't Know/Can't Remember
Organized sports	○	○	○	○	○
Student government	○	○	○	○	○
Volunteer/community service	○	○	○	○	○
Politics outside of school	○	○	○	○	○
Other campus clubs or activities (debate, newspaper, band, yearbook, etc.)	○	○	○	○	○

When you were in high school or college, did you ever run for office, such as class representative or president?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Which of these categories comes closest to the type of place you were living in when you were 16 years old?

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ In open country but not on a farm
- ○ On a farm
- ○ In a small city or town (under 50,000)
- ○ In a medium-size city (50,000-250,000)
- ○ In a suburb near a large city
- ○ In a large city (over 250,000)
- ○ Don't know

To the best of your knowledge, which category best describes your family's total household income at that time? (in US $).

Please pick one of the answers below.

- ○ Under $35,000
- ○ $35,000 to $49,999
- ○ $50,000 to $74,999
- ○ $75,000 to $99,999
- ○ $100,000 to $149,999
- ○ $150,000 to $199,999
- ○ $200,000 or more
- ○ I'm not sure what category, but we were generally better off than the average American family
- ○ I'm not sure what category, but we were generally as well off as the average American family
- ○ I'm not sure what category, but we were generally worse off than the average American family

One final question -- which of these categories best describes the highest educational level your parent(s) completed and got credit for? (If you were raised by a stepfather or some other male relative, or a stepmother or some other female relative, please answer for that person.)

Please mark the corresponding circle - only one per line.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Father or Father Figure	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Mother or Mother Figure	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Legend for rank grid table: One final question -- which of these categories best describes the highest educational level your parent(s) completed and got credit for? (If you were raised by a stepfather or some other male relative, or a stepmother or some other female relative, please answer for that person.)

Columns:

- **A** - No Father/Mother figure
- **B** - Don't Know
- **C** - 8th Grade or Less
- **D** - Some High School
- **E** - High School Graduate
- **F** - Some College (Not Including Technical School)
- **G** - College Degree
- **H** - Some Graduate Training
- **I** - Postgraduate or Professional Degree