Developing the Pipeline: How Women's Organizations Support Women Candidates

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Why *is there considerable state-level variation in where women run and win? In this article, I argue that the relationship between candidate recruitment and the decision to run is dependent on how the person being asked to run perceives the recruitment efforts. Specifically, I demonstrate that women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs) increase women's political ambition because of their ability to provide credible and substantive asks. Using interviews with 57 organizations that train candidates to run for political office, I provide evidence that WCTOs are more likely to engage in active recruitment and mobilization, more likely to put substantial resources behind their candidates and more likely to address specific gender barriers to running, than non-gender candidate training organizations (NGCTOs). However, I also find that women's organizations are less likely to talk about barriers faced by non-white and non-straight candidates, influencing who benefits from their support. Then, using an original online survey experiment, with 1,200 white, Black and Latina women, I demonstrate that the strategies used by women's organizations to recruit and train candidates increase women's ambition. Specifically, when women are mobilized to think about changes that can benefit their local community and when they learn about support they can receive from women-specific organizations, they are more likely to want to run for political office. Overall, my work highlights the transformative and growing role of WCTOs on decreasing the gender gap in women's political representation, by showing that candidate recruitment is highly conditional on the nature of the ask itself.*

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INTRODUCTION

Why do states vary so greatly in the number of women state legislators? In 2020, Nevada became the first state to reach gender parity in its state legislature, but that same year, West Virginia's state legislature was only 13.4% women (Center for American Women and Politics 2020). Recent elections have seen historic firsts in the diversity of women serving at the state level. For example, Danica Roem became the first openly transgender state legislator in 2017, and Michele Lujan Grisham became the first Democratic women of color governor in 2018 (Center for American Women and Politics 2021). However, all 50 states lag behind their state populations in terms of the gender and racial diversity of their state legislatures (POLITICO 2021).[1] Descriptive representation matters because identities impact how legislators engage in policy-making (Brown 2014; Swers 2020). Shared demographic characteristics between constituents and legislators can also increase political participation (Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006) and the likelihood of contacting a representative (Gay 2002; Mansbridge 1999), particularly for members of historically excluded groups. Women's relative lack of represenation in government is particularly striking, as the gender gap in most other forms of political participation has declined tremendously in recent decades (Burns et al. 2018). So what explains why women lag so far behind in representation in government?

Engaging in politics is motivated by wanting to participate, being able to participate, and being asked to participate (Verba et al. 1995). Similarly, women's political ambition is shaped by an interest in running (Schneider et al. 2016; Shames 2017), a belief that a run for office will be successful and benefit one's community (Dowe 2020; Ondercin 2022), and being recruited to run (Sanbonmatsu 2006). Successful candidate recruitment considers the specific material and psychological barriers that the person being recruited faces, both by directly addressing those barriers and by highlighting how a run for office is worth the costs. This means that the success of candidate recruitment is conditional on whether the person being recruited thinks the ask is both credible and substantive. Credible, in that they need to believe the person doing the asking is going to invest in someone like them. And substantive, in that they need to believe the person doing the asking can provide access to the resources needed to run, as well as the support to navigate specific challenges that come with running. I test this

[1]See Appendix One for graphic visualizations of the gender and racial breakdowns of state legislatures in the U.S. in 2020.

theory about the conditions of candidate recruitment by looking at the relationship between women's organizations and women's political ambition. I provide a two-pronged theory, which demonstrates both that women's organizations approach candidate recruitment differently **and** that women perceive an ask to run from a women's organization differently from an organization not focused on gender. Ultimately, I demonstrate that credible and substantive recruitment is a critical antecedent of political ambition, tying the growth of women's organization's to individual-level shifts in women's political ambition, and ultimately explaining aggregate shifts in women's political representation at the state level.

My theory builds on pre-existing work, which argues that the origins of the gender gap in political representation come from differences in who runs for political office, rather than who wins elections (Lawless and Fox 2005; Sanbonmatsu 2006). This work finds that women are both less likely to express an interest in running (nascent political ambition) (Lawless and Fox 2005) and less likely to actually run for office (expressed political ambition) (Sanbonmatsu 2006). Women face socioeconomic, structural, and psychological barriers to running. This leads to two main strains of research, that seek to explain the causes of the gender gap in political ambition. Supply side explanations focus on individual-level shifts in why women are less likely to want to run for political office (Brooks and Hayes 2019; Pruysers and Blais 2017; Schneider et al. 2016; Shames 2017). Demand-side explanations focus on institution-level arguments for why women are less likely to be recruited to run for political office (Crowder-Meyer 2013; Niven 1998). My work argues that these behavioral and institutional approaches to the study of political representation are deeply intertwined. Organizations are not identity-neutral spaces. They send signals, both explicit and implicit, about who they want to recruit and whose candidate development they have the expertise to support. My research specifically argues that these signals influence political ambition, particularly for women, because women's individual-level political ambition is shaped by institutional support from organizations that credibly signal an interest in supporting candidates like them, and are substantively equipped to address the gender-specific barriers that they face. Ultimately, by combining the behavioral and institutional strains of this literature, I demonstrate the powerful role of organizations to shape and influence individual-level political ambition.

This project focuses specifically on women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs), as their

recent proliferation throughout the United States makes them a critical locus of study (Kreitzer and Osborn 2020). WCTOs are private-sector organizations, including both non-profits and PACs, whose core mission is to increase women's representation through candidate recruitment and training. To test my theory that WCTOs are increasing women's political ambition, I first interviewed 57 organizations that recruit and train candidates to run for political office. By interviewing both WCTOs and non-gender candidate training organizations (NGCTOs), and by speaking with a large swath of organizations that vary in their location, political leanings, and structure, I demonstrate that women's organizations take a distinct approach to candidate recruitment. They engage in the kinds of active recruitment and mobilization that is critical to increasing women's ambition, focused around how women are already qualified and how they can make local change. They also serve as an alternative entry-point to the candidate recruitment pipeline, by connecting women with elites, mentorship, endorsements, and material resources. Finally, they actively center women's experiences, by discussing barriers women face to running for political office, which can increase women's ambition by making them feel that running for office is something people like them can succeed at, even given the additional challenges.

Then, with an original online survey experiment of 1,200 women, I test the effect of each of these three tactics(mobilization, resources and gender-specific support) on women's overall desire to run for political office. I find that mobilization, by encouraging women to reflect on making local change, is particularly effective at increasing women's political ambition. I also find that support specifically from a women's organization increases women's interest in volunteering on behalf of organization-endorsed candidates, though it does not directly increase political ambition. For women high in gender consciousness, a psychological factor related to centering gender in one's self-concept, information about support from a women's organization has a more direct relationshp to seeking out candidate training and wanting to learn more about running for office. Overall, this project furthers our understanding of the relationship between candidate recruitment and political ambition, arguing that it is conditional on whether the person being recruited perceives an ask to run as credible and substantive. This demonstrates the powerful role that institutions can have on individual-level psychological shifts in political ambition, ultimately explaining trends in where women have greater political representation across the U.S.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Roots of Political Ambition

Why does someone decide to run for office? Schlesinger (1966) argued that the answer was political ambition, and that ambition is constrained by individual and structural opportunities. This is not dissimilar from how Verba et al. (1995) describe the motivations behind political participation; people participate because they want to, because they can and because they're asked to do so. The decision to run for office is a form of political participation, in that some subset of citizens run in order to express political preferences and achieve political goals. However, running for office is more costly in terms of money, time, and psychological motivation than other political activities. Therefore, while the decision to run for office can be explained by factors that increase or limit the desire to run, the ability to do so, and the likelihood of recruitment, it is also more difficult to get someone's political ambition to a threshold high enough to run.

Furthermore, the factors that increase desire to run and ability to do so are not linear. For example, political efficacy, or the belief that you, personally, are able to participate effectively in politics (Campbell et al. 1954; Converse 1972), is both directly linked to political participation (Abramson and Aldrich 1982) and part of a positive feedback loop as both the cause and the result of political participation (Finkel 1985; Valentino et al. 2008). Similarly, having access to resources like time and money has been linked directly to political participation (Verba et al. 1995), but having access to the resources needed to run can also operate through being introduced to networks that provide resources and support to candidates, such as political party organizations (Crowder-Meyer 2010; Sanbonmatsu 2006), or other sources of recruitment. Finally, as Bernhard et al. (2020) argues, factors may impact nascent political ambition (the desire to run) and expressed political ambition (actually running) differently, as factors that influence wanting to run have a greater impact on nascent ambition, while factors that influence ability to run have a greater impact on expressed ambition.

Women experience both the motivations and the feasibility of running for office differently from men, differences that are also shaped by identities like race, sexuality, and class. Women make strategic decisions to run when and where they believe they will be successful (Bledsoe and Herring 1990;

Ondercin 2022). Black women, in particular, often consider what level of political office will enhance the lives of people in their communities, when deciding where to run (Dowe 2020). Women are more likely to make the decision to run relationally. They are more likely to be influenced by parties, organizations and peers when thinking about running, and they are more likely to express ambition simultaneously, rather than prior to, recruitment (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013). Women are also more motivated to run by goals related to helping their community, rather than as a result of personal ambition (Schneider et al. 2016).

If you believe that you are going to have people in your corner, investing in you but also connecting you with the material resources needed to win, that makes it easier to believe that you can win and actually increases the likelihood of success. So motivation and perceptions of feasibility are deeply intertwined, ultimately influencing who makes the decision to run. Women face a number of additional barriers to running, meaning that personal desire to run isn't sufficient to overcome these costs. In contrast, for men, personal ambition may not be the reason they chose to run, but it can be sufficient, because they are more likely to have access to the resources and networks that can make a run for office possible.[2] I argue that given the greater barriers women face, women are more likely to run when they believe they will be credibly and substantively supported in their decision to run.

Barriers To Women Running

Women are less likely than men to express an interest in running for office and more likely to discuss the costs of running, even among women and men from similar career backgrounds (Lawless and Fox 2005; Shames 2017). Black and Latina women are even more likely than white women to view the costs of running for office as prohibitive and the benefits of running for office inadequate (Shames 2017). This lack of interest in running, as well as the perception that the costs of running are high and the benefits are low, comes from real experiences. Even if women who run win at similar rates to men, running for office can still be financially, mentally and emotionally draining, because of the additional hurdles women face.

[2]While also acknowledging that gender is just one of many identities that can shape perceptions of the feasibility of a run for political office.

Women historically participated in politics at lower rates as a result of less access to time, money, and support (Burns et al. 2001). However, while the gap in most other forms of political participation has shrunk (Burns et al. 2018), the gender gap in launching a political campaign, remains. This is particularly surprising, as women's participation in others forms of politics results in a growing pool of potential candidates. However, running for office takes more time and money than wearing a campaign sticker or voting, and so these economic barriers may matter differently for candidates than politically active citizens. Bernhard et al. (2020) demonstrate that whether a woman is the primary breadwinner for their family is a strong predictor of whether she runs or not, regardless of absolute levels of income. Women politicians are also more likely to discuss fundraising as a barrier to running than male politicians (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013), and women of color are even more likely than white women to highlight the need to contribute financially to their families as a reason shaping their decisions to run (Shames 2017). Phillips (2021), in particular, shows how personal and family obligations can constrain Latina and Asian American women's decisions to run. Scott (2022) shows that Black women raise less than other groups of women, unless they are incumbents, highlighting the role of notoriety and access to elite networks. Overall, it is clear that resources impact both who is able to run and also who perceives running as worthwhile – creating both material and psychological barriers to candidacy.

Politics is historically a white male domain, influencing who sees themselves as a potential political candidate. The traits associated with leadership paint the picture of someone who is both masculine and white (Eagly and Karau 2002). In the case of politics, there is also a tendency for media to describe politicians using more masculine traits, regardless of the gender of the candidate (Conroy 2015), for voters to view male and female candidates as having different personality traits and issue competencies (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993), and for voters to hold women's qualifications to a higher standard than men's qualifications (Bauer 2020). Black women are subjected to specific race-gender stereotypes that influence how they engage in politics and how they present in political spaces (Harris-Perry 2011), and their appearances are judged according to Euro-centric ideas about beauty and professionalism, such that Black women have additional considerations about how to physically present on the campaign trail (Brown and Lemi 2021). Having spaces that center women politicians can be particularly important for

increasing women's beliefs that running for office is feasible for people like them. Sweet-Cushman (2019) finds that female attendees of candidate training programs who identify with role-models at the training report greater increases in political ambition. Sanbonmatsu (2015) argues that trainings geared specifically towards Black, Latina and Asian American women can be pivotal to increasing nonwhite women's interest in running for office, because of access to advice and role-models that are specific to the attendee's shared race-gender identities.

Spaces that center women's experiences, and particularly those that think about the diversity of women's experiences, are important because they address real concerns about sexism, racism, and discrimination on the campaign trail. Women are demobilized by information about sexism and discrimination women face while running (Brooks and Hayes 2019), and are less interested in running for office when presented with negative stereotypes about women being less qualified (Pruysers and Blais 2017). Interviews with both women of color and organizers of women of color candidate trainings highlighted that Black women and Latinas worry about facing greater discrimination on the campaign trail (Sanbonmatsu 2015; Shames 2017). Nonwhite women are also more likely to express concerns related to family privacy and negative media attention when asked about their interest in running for office (Shames 2017). Running for office is already a costly form of participation, requiring ample resources and time, but the costs are far greater not only for white women who worry about the sexism they may experience in the public eye, but especially for non-white women who risk opening themselves up to greater sexism and racism on the campaign trail.

Overall, the literature on why women do not run for political office highlights the many socioeconomic, structural, and psychological hurdles to running for office; hurdles that are smaller or larger because of their other identities, including race, ethnicity, sexuality, and class. It is nearly impossible to remove those barriers, because they are rooted in patriarchy – as well as the additional forms of racism, transmisogyny, and discrimination faced by particular subgroups of women. However, what remains understudied is tying these individual level factors to the institutions that provide this support. Organizations involved in candidate recruitment connect potential candidates with substantive, material support that can address the resource and network barriers women face. Organizations involved in candidate recruitment can also center the experiences and concerns of women candidates, across many

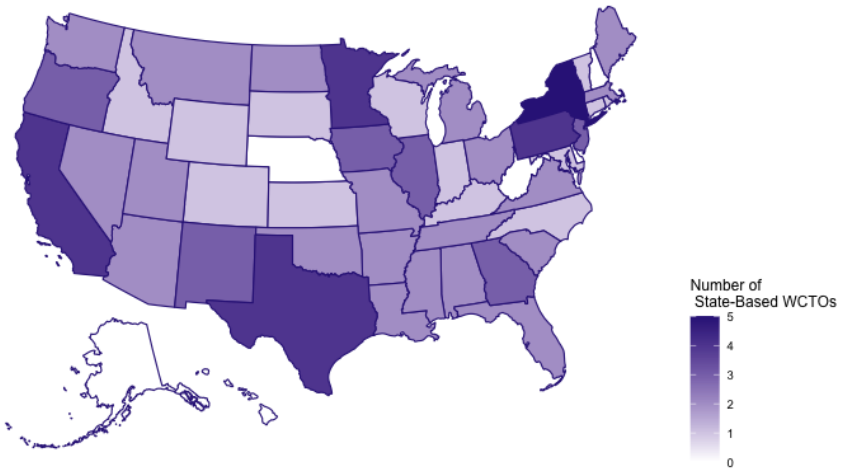
identities, in order to increase their credibility as organizations that substantively address what it's like to run for office as a woman. Therefore, explanations for increases in women's political ambition in the aggregate must consider where this recruitment, material support, and gender community is occurring.

Institutional Support for Women Candidates

Formal party organizations are one of the most common sources of recruitment and support for local and first-time candidates. They influence who runs for office through recruitment, gate-keeping (i.e. encouraging some people not to run), and campaign activities (i.e. campaign contributions, organizing volunteers and distributing literature) (Crowder-Meyer 2010; Sanbonmatsu 2006). However, states where the party is more involved in candidate recruitment have fewer women political candidates, likely because political parties are incentivized to help incumbents and gate-keep challengers (Sanbonmatsu 2006). This is also because local party leaders are more likely to be men (Crowder-Meyer 2013; Niven 1998), more likely to recruit people who share their personal characteristics (i.e. men) (Niven 1998), and more likely to recruit from disproportionately male networks (Crowder-Meyer 2013). Women are also less likely to believe that party recruitment will lead to meaningful candidate support (Butler and Preece 2016). In particular, Latinas and Asian American women are even more likely than men from those groups to be discouraged from running by local recruitment networks, because there are already so few majority-minority districts (Phillips 2021). Overall, the power of formal party organizations in the recruitment of first-time candidates prevents women from running, across race and ethnicity.

Private women's organizations have stepped in to fill the gap in women's recruitment, by providing access to similar resources but with an emphasis on meaningful support specifically tailored to women candidates. As can be seen in Figure 1, these organizations operate all across the United States and are actively involved in recruiting and training candidates (Kreitzer and Osborn 2020), just as pan-ethnic/pan-racial women of color organizations and organizations targeting specific groups of women of color are critical for recruiting and mobilizing non-white women (Bejarano and Smooth 2022). These organizations are also growing in frequency, with the earliest organizations mostly founded in the 1990s, but a large number of groups founded in the last decade (Figure 2). Scott (2018b) and Hennings (2011) tie the presence of state-level women's candidate training organizations to increases

FIGURE 1. Map of Currently Operating State-Based WCTOs

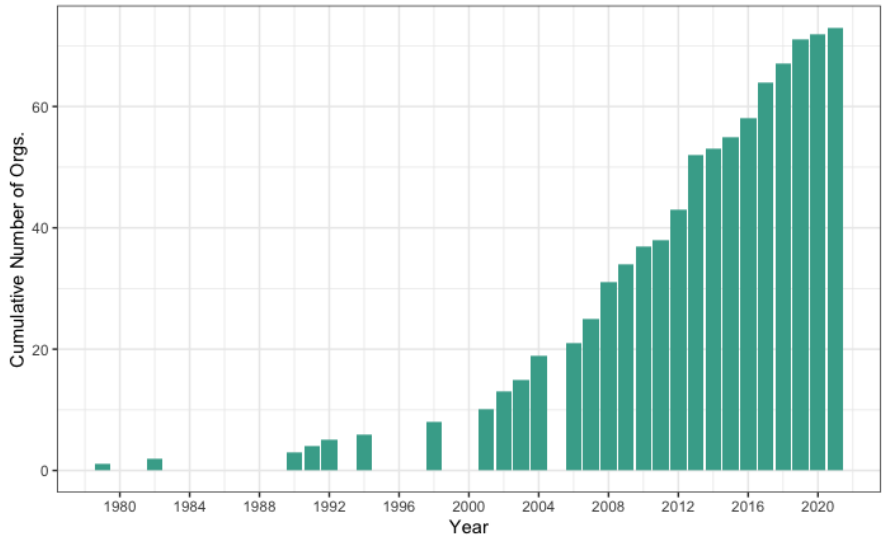


Note: Figure 1 depicts the location of all women's candidate training organizations that had been founded at the state level as of 2021. Darker shades of purple reflect a greater number of organizations within the state, s.t. that the six states in white have 0 WCTOs, while California, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania and Texas all have 4 or 5. This set of WCTOs reflects the 92 state-based women's organizations in my data. For the purposes of this chart, I included chapters of national organizations. My interview population of WCTOs excluded state chapters, but included national organizations not included in these data as well.

in the number of women running for state legislature, impacts they do not find for organizations that do not primarily focus on women.

I argue that the success of candidate recruitment is conditional on whether the person being recruited to run perceives the ask as both credibly interested in someone like them and substantively connected to the resources and mentorship they need. So why might women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs) be better equipped than both public- and private-sector organizations not focused on gendered recruitment to tackle these barriers? And how effective are women's organizations, many of whom pay lip service to the importance of diverse recruitment (Kreitzer and Osborn 2020), at actually supporting the emergence of non-white women candidates? Using case studies of four women's candidate recruitment organizations, Rozell (2000) shows that these organizations use different networks – made up almost exclusively of women members – to find potential women candidates, changing the pipeline of who gets recruited. However, Piscopo (2019) argues that WCTOs focus too heavily on encouragement as a motivator for women's political ambitions and ignore the very real structural barriers keeping women running for political office. This previous work leaves open very

FIGURE 2. Cumulative Growth in Number of State-Level WCTOs Over Time



Note: Figure 2 depicts the cumulative total number of state-based WCTOs operating in the United States, from 1979-2021. This set of WCTOs reflects the 73 state-based women's organizations in my data that I was able to identify a founding year for. For the purposes of this chart, WCTOs include national organizations. My interview population of WCTOs excluded state chapters, but included national organizations not included in these data as well. Most of these organizations are confirmed to still be operating, through a search of their website and social media presence. See Appendix One for a graph counting the number of state-based WCTOs founded each year.

critical questions about the role of WCTOs in the candidate recruitment ecosystem. In the pages that follow, I will expand on my own theory for how WCTOs approach candidate recruitment in a unique way, why these organizations are critical for increasing women's political ambition, and what groups of women they're having the biggest effect on.

THEORY

Women face additional material, structural, and psychological barriers to running for political office, explaining the gender gap in political ambition. These barriers are further compounded by women's other identities, like race, ethnicity, and sexuality. However, women will express a desire to run for political office when they believe they will be meaningfully supported. Recruitment is critical for influencing women's decisions to run for political office, because of the access and support that institutions can provide, but women are less likely to perceive standard recruitment efforts as meaningfully interested in them. Therefore, I explain the success of candidate recruitment as a function

of whether the person being asked to run perceives the asker as credibly and substantively able to support people like them. In the specific case of women in the U.S., state-level variation in where women run and win is a product of whether the institutions encouraging women to run are perceived as legitimately interested in supporting women, and whether they have the material resources to back up those claims. I have a two-pronged theory to show that the growth of women's candidate training organizations can be linked to increases in women's political ambition. First, I demonstrate that WCTOs approach the recruitment and training of political candidates differently than NGCTOs. Second, I provide evidence that the tactics used by WCTOs can be directly linked to increases in women's individual-level political ambition.

WCTOs serve as an alternative entry point to the recruitment, resources and support needed to run. Because their staff, boards, and members are all majority women, their programs are developed with women's experiences in mind. WCTOs therefore center women's concerns and experiences more than non-gender candidate training organizations (NGCTOs). Furthermore, because WCTOs are interested in substantively changing the demographics of who is running for office, they have different incentives behind their training. They don't just want to provide information to anyone who is interested. Instead, they are more likely to care about who they support and the quality of that support, in order to change demographic representation in government. In contrast, partisan organizations care about finding the best individual from their party, often centering their efforts around incumbents and limiting too many within-party challengers. And non-partisan civic organizations care more about giving information and resources equally, so that everyone can have the tools to run.

These contrasting goals should lead to three primary differences between WCTOs and NGCTOs in their approaches to recruiting and training political candidates. WCTOs will be more likely to engage in proactive recruitment and encouragement than NGCTOs during their candidate trainings, both because they believe that women are less likely to report an interest in running (and so feel a need to increase that interest), and because they are interested in getting specific people from their trainings to actually run, rather than giving everyone more access to information. Because WCTOs are more likely to be made up of women and to talk to women when designing their programming, WCTOs will be more likely than NGCTOs to discuss barriers to running faced by women. However, women's organizations

may default to treating women as a monolithic group in ways that smooth over or ignore critical group variation (Crenshaw 1991), particularly because many of the heads of WCTOs are white. Therefore, I expect that WCTOs will be no more likely than NGCTOs to think about barriers faced by racial, ethnic or sexual minorities.[3] Finally, because WCTOs want to get women elected, particularly those who don't have pre-existing access to elite networks, WCTOs will be more likely than NGCTOs to think about how they can leverage their resources to provide additional material and emotional support to program attendees who are considering a run for political office, despite the potential additional costs.

H1: Women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs) approach the recruitment and training of candidates differently from non-gender candidate training organizations (NGCTOs), in the following ways:

- H1a: WCTOs will be more likely to focus on asking and encouraging participants to run during their candidate training programming than NGCTOs.
- H1b: WCTOs will be more likely to center women's unique barriers to and experiences of running for office than NGCTOs. They will be no more or less likely to discuss barriers to running for office faced by racial, ethnic or sexual minorities than NGCTOs.
- H1c: WCTOs will be more likely than NGCTOs to provide at least some program attendees with the resources and support needed to run, including access to endorsements, material resources, networks, and ongoing peer and elite mentorship.

Second, I will provide evidence that the strategies WCTOs take to recruit and train women candidates can be linked to increases in women's political ambition. The barriers women face to running both impact the desire to run (nascent political ambition) and the ability to actually do so (expressed political ambition). However, this doesn't mean that we should think of factors that increase women's political ambition as having distinct or separable outcomes. Rather, factors that improve women's material ability to run (i.e. factors that make it easier through either resources or the tackling of gender barriers) also have psychological implications. If you think you are more likely to succeed at your goals, because

[3]Excepting the group of organizations that focus on non-white or non-straight women, like the organizations discussed by Bejarano and Smooth (2022). At multiple points in my results, I run my analyses both with and without organizations focused on other non-gender and/or within-gender forms of representation.

you have more tools at your disposal to run for office successfully, this should also increase interest in running.

Therefore, if the strategies WCTOs take are to be successful at increasing women's political ambition, they must both tackle the challenges women face materially and address the psychological barriers to running. I provide evidence that the strategies used by WCTOs increase women's interest in running for office in three primary ways. When women are motivated to think about the difference they can make in their local communities, it increases their interest in running, because it makes a run for office seem worth the costs. When women are told about ways they can access the actual materials needed to run, this should increase their beliefs that a run for office could be successful – conditional on believing that the promises of material support are legitimate. Finally, learning about women's organizations that help women run increases women's political ambition, because this improves the perception that there is a community interested in supporting people like them.

However, this may be conditional on both psychological attachments, such as gender consciousness, and other demographic identities, such as race and ethnicity. I focused on gender consciousness, because women vary considerably in how much they view their gender identity as important, whether they view themselves as part of a shared category with other women, and whether see value in active effort's to advance women's equality (Gurin 1985; Klar 2018). Women who feel highly connected to their gender identity may be more influenced to run for office by an organization that explicitly centers gendered experiences. I focused on race and ethnicity, because women's movements and feminist ideologies are often implicitly grounded in whiteness in ways that can ignore the unique experiences faced by different groups of non-white women because of both their race and gender (Crenshaw 1989, 1991). From the institutional perspective, all organizations, even those that are nominally race neutral, are embedded in racial systems that uplift white voices and ideologies (Ray 2019). This leaves open questions about whether the shift from a non-gender to a women's organization will have less of an effect on Black and Latina women, or, whether they are still more likely to expect an organization that shares their gender identity to understand the barriers they face better than an organization that does not explicitly center women.

H2: The strategies used by WCTOs increase women's political ambition in the following ways:

H2a: Being mobilized or encouraged to make local change will increase women's political ambition.

H2b: Learning about the types of substantial resources that organizations provide to potential candidates will increase women's political ambition, relative to organizations that provide information but not resources.

H2c: Learning about gendered community spaces interested in helping women run for political office will increase women's political ambition, relative to spaces that don't center women.

H2d: The effect of learning about gendered community spaces on women's political ambition will be greater for women high in gender consciousness.

H2e: The effect of learning about gendered community spaces on women's political ambition will be stronger for white women than for either Black women or Latinas.

STUDY ONE: HOW WOMEN'S CANDIDATE TRAINING ORGANIZATIONS RECRUIT AND TRAIN CANDIDATES

Data and Methods

In order to understand the relationship between candidate recruitment and political ambition, I started by looking at how candidate recruitment organizations operate. I endeavored to speak with as many organizations as I could that currently do candidate training in the United States, in order to compare the approaches of both WCTOs and NGCTOs. I used interviews as my method for understanding how WCTOs and NCTOs compare, because this method of inquiry allows the researcher to hear from individuals or organizations in their own words, and provides the ability to uncover nuance in how actors operate through expansive answers and follow-up questions (Brown 2014; Hall and Beckmann 2012; Michener et al. 2020).

I conducted 57 semi-structured interviews with organizations that do candidate training between August 19th, 2020 and October 8th, 2021, totaling over 54 hours of interview data. This was out of an original sample of 94 organizations actively conducting candidate training in 2020, for a response

rate of 60.64%.[4] Once I removed state-chapters from my dataset, the original population of candidate training organizations I reached out to included 45 state-based organizations across 24 U.S. states, and 49 national organizations. I ultimately spoke with 30 state-based organizations in 16 U.S. states, spanning all major regions of the country (i.e. the South, West, Midwest and Northeast), and 27 national organizations. Of the 57 total organizations I interviewed, 57.9% exclusively train women and 42.1% train individuals of all genders. 40.35% are left-leaning, 15.79% are right-leaning and 43.86% are nonpartisan. Of the organizations I spoke with, 12.28% focused on identities either other than or within gender, including race, sexuality, age, and disability. These numbers are very similar to the distributions of the full sample. Interviews were conducted primarily on Zoom. Organizations were reached out to using a block-randomized design based on partisanship (left-leaning, right-leaning and non-partisan) and gender-focus (either did or did not focus on gender).[5] I asked all organizations I interviewed about other candidate training organizations and found my list of organizations to be comprehensive.

Once the interviews were completed, I worked with two undergraduate research assistants to transcribe and code the data.[6] In order to look at the role of mobilization, I coded mentions that the organizations do or do not recruit or actively encourage participants to run for office. I also coded mentions of frameworks that are intended to encourage participants to run, like suggesting that program attendees are already doing relevant work in their communities, or that they do not need a ton of specific qualifications to be a strong candidate. To evaluate how these organizations discussed gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality, I coded whether the organization mentioned barriers faced by any of these groups in the interview and whether they have trainings that discuss those barriers.[7] In addition

[4]Other candidate training datasets, like those created by the Center for American Women Politics and by Jamil Scott, include leadership organizations, which I only included if I could confirm on their website that they had programming related specifically to running for office. These datasets also include state and local chapters of national organizations, which I did not include in my interview outreach, because I did not want a small set of organizations with many chapters to bias the generalizability of the sample. This results in a smaller initial sampling frame that other, similar, lists.

[5]I classified an organization as training exclusively women if they said on their website that their organization is geared towards women. I classified an organization as left or right leaning if their website mentioned they were Republican or Democratic, a left/right or liberal/conservative ideological slant, or a focus on pro-/anti-abortion candidates or big/small government candidates. I used this method of classification rather than simply checking if they identified as nonpartisan or not because many of these organizations are 501c3s, which means they must be nonpartisan for tax purposes, even if the vast majority of their attendees align with a particular political party.

[6]Full question wording is in Appendix Three and a full overview of my interview method is in Appendix Two.

[7]Within the codes about the training topics themselves, I differentiated between trainings that focused on experiences or barriers that were specific to members of a gendered/racial/ethnic group and broader trainings that mention gender/diver-

to codes focused on actively addressing barriers faced across gender, race, ethnicity and sexuality, I also looked for mentions of how organizations might derecruit members of these groups, because of how they frame running for office. Finally, to look at the role of resource provision, I developed a set of codes about what the organizations do to get potential candidates who came from their trainings support in their run for political office. This included mentions of connecting individuals to endorsements, providing additional resources (both monetary and in-kind donations), connecting them to people who could help with their campaigns (volunteers, staff, outside mentors like previous candidates, party officials and other community elites), and access to additional avenues for one-on-one advice and mentorship outside of the trainings themselves (both formally structured and informally provided).[8] This section also included codes related to the efforts by the organization to build a community amongst the attendees, both within and outside of the trainings.[9]

Both RAs were trained on an initial set of six interviews, which were used to make edits to the interview codes and then reintroduced to the full sample.[10] I then measured intercoder reliability using 10 randomly chosen interviews, accounting for 17.54% of the total sample. The intercoder reliability amongst these 10 organizations was .76. I measured intercoder reliability by measuring similarity across coders in the counts of the number of interview paragraphs that contained a particular topic, and then calculated Krippendorff's Alpha.[11] [12]

sity/inclusion but did not actually talk about how running for office might be unique. I did this to differentiate between substantive trainings geared towards members of a group with unique experiences and how to navigate those additional challenges and broad trainings that mention identity, but may actually be geared towards introducing broad audiences to topics around diversity. This is particularly important in this context because a number of organizations had diversity trainings that seemed focused on teaching **all** candidates to consider diversity of experiences rather than targeted trainings for members of particular sub-groups about the unique barriers they may face.

[8] I focused on these specific activities because other work on candidate recruitment discusses these activities as both common and critical to candidate success (Crowder-Meyer 2010; Sanbonmatsu 2006). Furthermore, the interview method allows me to verify the types of activities described in this work, as I'm measuring what types of activities respondents bring up on their own, rather than asking them about their involvement in a pre-existing list of campaign activities.

[9] Examples of community included opportunities for peer mentorship, program alumni helping each other out on the campaign trail, alumni lifting each other up during a difficult campaign moments, or ways that program attendees learned from one another in the trainings.

[10] The initial set of six interviews was chosen non-randomly, as I wanted to make sure they saw a range of organizations both across organization type and difficulty of coding. Three of the training interviews were with organizations that trained exclusively women and three were with organizations that did not train a particular gender. Two organizations were right-leaning, two were left-leaning and two were non-partisan. Among the organizations chosen for intercoder reliability, six exclusively trained women and four did not. Four were nonpartisan and six were left-leaning.

[11] Hayes and Krippendorff (2007) has found Krippendorff's alpha to be the most valid measure of reliability across coders and so I used Krippendorff's alpha in all tests of reliability.

[12] For example, if Coders A, B and C each found two units with mentions of endorsements within the entire interview, regardless of exactly which units they selected, then each coder would have a "two" in the row for topic "1a. endorsements,"

Results

In general, the formats of candidate trainings are very similar, even if the structures vary. While some programs last an afternoon and others meet monthly for a full year, they all generally talk about the same substantive topics. Most cover advice and strategies related to fundraising, volunteers and door-knocking, developing your narrative, public speaking/speeches/media training, managing a budget, filings and deadlines, and other technical information about how to run. The differences that emerged from my interviews focused on how the organizations approached recruitment and mobilization, how they addressed challenges related to gender, among other identities, and what kinds of material support they provided program attendees once the trainings were complete.

Differences in Recruiting / Encouraging Participants

WCTOs were more likely than NGCTOs to view encouragement as essential to the recruitment process. Overall, 54.5% of women's candidate training organizations and only 33% of non-gender candidate training organizations made at least mention of ways in which they recruit or encourage as part of their trainings. Women's candidate trainings also mentioned this work more often in the interviews, with an average of 1.15 mentions per interview, compared to only .42 mentions per interview for non-gender organizations (medians were 1 and 0, respectively). Respondent 40, from a left-leaning women's organization on the West Coast provides an example of what mobilization and encouragement they think works:

> "Ultimately, what really convinces women, in our experience, is when they can come to an understanding of the value that they'll be able to bring to their community... What works in our model is when we're able to, you know, open up the conversations they need to have to understand from people they really, you know, regard highly. That they can make a difference in the legislature on something that matters to them and their community. Rather than, say, you know, go be retired, and you know, be a grandmother, start a new tech startup."

emphasizing a similarity on this theme across coders. Given that my analysis focuses group differences between WCTOs and NGCTOs, counts are the best measure of similarity in interview coding. The goal is to know that the coders are findings similar levels of the themes across interviews, so that our comparison of the number of mentions by organization type isn't influenced by the coder assigned to a particular interview.

Respondent 45a, who runs a left-leaning and state-based women's candidate training organization in the South, talked in detail during our interview about how they discuss with women the fact that they are already qualified to run, tying community involvement to the decision to run for office:

> "You know, they'll say, 'Well, this is the first time I've done something that really, really where I'm gonna be a public servant.' And we're like, 'No. You've been a public servant since you were eight years old and organized a Sunday School whatever for the community.'"

Respondent 5, who works for an organization that trains Black women to run for office, highlights how encouragement to run in the training space can make a particular difference for Black women:

> "A man will wake up and say: 'Hey. I wanna run for office.' And then he'll run for office and say: 'Hey. I need, I should be President. Because I should.' With women, I think the, you had to ask them three times. And with Black women, and women of color, it was something like you needed to ask seven or eight times... And the feeling of not ready yet can go on forever. Right? Because, you're, you're never ready. We had [name], who's the President of [outside organization], do a training for us. And she, you know, said, in that training. This is the last bootcamp. She's like: 'You know what. You're never going to be ready. So you might as well go ahead and run.'"

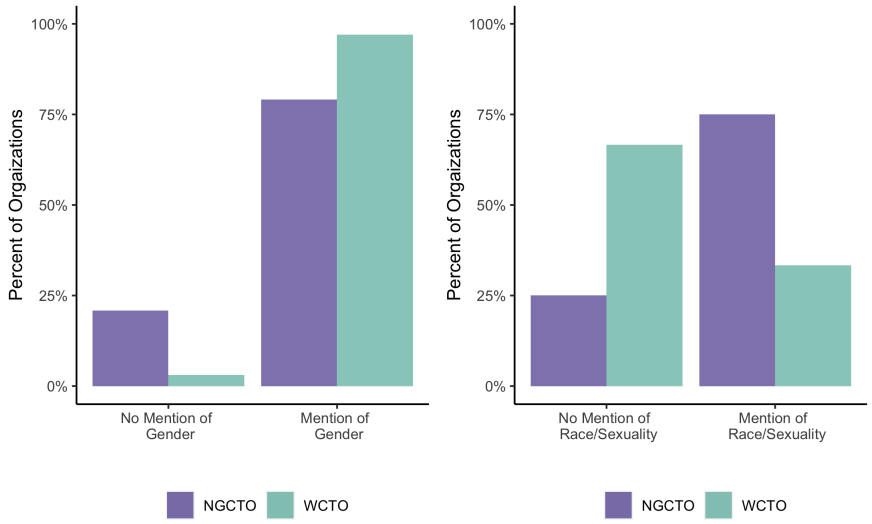
In contrast, many of the NGCTOs I spoke with focused on how the purpose of their organization is to provide information, so that everyone has the ability to run, or to improve the civic quality of elections, rather than getting specific people to run and win. Respondent 37, from a non-partisan, non-gender, state-based organization on the East Coast explains:

> "We love when our candidates run and win. Like we think that that's great...But we are actually, our focus is not to field winning candidates for office. Our focus is to educate people about what it takes to run a campaign. So, if someone comes through a candidate training program, and they end up running, and running like a campaign that they can be proud of, and losing, that's still a positive outcome in our book. Because they help probably better the body politic and the general conversation in a campaign."

Differences in Considering Gender Barriers (And Other Identity-Based Barriers) to Running

WCTOs were also more likely to directly address gender barriers to running, but not very likely to discuss barriers for women from other historically underrepresented groups. Of the WCTOs I

FIGURE 3. Mentions of Barriers Based on Gender and Race/Ethnicity/Sexuality By Org. Type



Note: Figure 3 depicts the percent of organizations that made at least one mention of a barrier women face to running for office and organizations that made at least one mention of a barrier non-white or non-straight candidates face to running for office during the interview period, amongst both Women's and Non-Gender Candidate Training Organizations. Results show that 96.7% WCTOs and 79.2% NGCTOs made at least one mention of gender, while 33% WCTOs and 75% NGCTOs made at least one mention of race, ethnicity, or sexuality.

interviewed, 96.7% spoke at least once about barriers women face to running for office, compared with 79.2% of NGCTOs (Figure 3). They also talked about those barriers more frequently, with an average of 3.64 sections of the interview about gender barriers compared with 2.38 for NGCTOs (medians of 3 and 2 respectively). But WCTOs were far less likely than NGCTOs to talk about barriers related to a person's race, ethnicity or sexuality. 33% of women's candidate trainings, compared to 75% of non-gender candidate trainings, mentioned additional challenges faced by non-white or non-straight candidates at least once in our interview (Figure 3). These numbers become 31.3% and 68.4% when I remove the organizations in my sample focused on training non-white or non-straight candidates.[13] WCTOs spoke an average of .64 times per interview about barriers faced by non-white and non-straight candidates, compared with 1.79 mentions per interview for organizations not focused on the gender.[14]

In terms of actual training sessions, 48.5% of WCTOs and 41.7% of NGCTOs mention having

[13]See Appendix Four for analyses conducted without right-leaning organizations in the sample. Results highlight that findings focused on efforts to create racial, ethnic, and sexual diversity in content and leadership cannot be explained solely by differences in the number of right-leaning organizations across WCTOs and NGCTOs.

[14]Again, these numbers become .59 and 1.32 when organizations focused on race, ethnicity, or sexuality are removed. Medians are 0 and 1 in both cases.

at least one training session that covers topics related to gender, with an average of .82 mentions for women's candidate trainings compared to .58 for non-gender candidate trainings.[15] However, only 9.1% of WCTOs made at least one mention of training sessions focused on barriers faced across race, ethnicity, or sexuality, compared with 33% of non-gender organizations.[16] Overall, a striking 39.4% of the WCTOs I interviewed did not bring up race, ethnicity or sexuality at any point in my interview, when talking about barriers to running, topics covered in their trainings, or other aspects about how they organize or structure their candidate trainings.

In terms of specific topics, WCTOs mentioned gender barriers related to access to networks and resources, additional family obligations, sexism or discrimination on the campaign trail, and how those barriers decrease women's confidence. Respondent 30, from a national, nonpartisan women's candidate training program summarized a number of these barriers:

> "Women don't have access to political networks. They don't have access to, you know, fundraising networks. They don't have access to, just space and time, right. Because women still do disproportionate amounts of child-rearing and housework. And we saw this clearly, with the pandemic, right. So, because of those three things, they are magnified by the fact that women, number four, still have this confidence barrier."

Overall, almost every single WCTO I interviewed spoke at length about barriers women face to running and covered a wide range of specific socioeconomic, psychological, and structural challenges. However, that awareness of barriers for "all" women did not expand to understanding how race, ethnicity and sexuality influence women's experiences of political candidacy and concerns about running. When WCTOs did speak about diversity, it was often within contexts that were appealing to all candidates, rather than focusing on the unique experiences of particular sub-groups of women. For example, when Respondent 35, from a national, left-leaning women's candidate training, talked about their trainings related to identity, she said they involved:

> "Defining what diversity means. Determining, defining what inclusion means. Defining what intersectionality means. Then, we talk about, we ask folks to evaluate their own identities and which ones they really hold close to them, and talk about how those identities

[15] Median was 0 for both WCTOs and NGCTOs.

[16] When I remove organizations focused on race, ethnicity or sexuality from my sample, 21.1% of non-gender organizations have such trainings.

> might impact on their campaign. Right. So, if I am a young, bi, woman from Wisconsin, who grew up in, is in the same town, how does that impact my campaign and what that can look like? We also have them think about the communities that they might be representing. Right. Which communities are they already closest to and which ones do they not know about? And what are ways that they can thoughtfully, and with cultural competency, engage with those communities and learn more about those communities, that they aren't members of, in order to be running an inclusive campaign."

In contrast, organizations focused on identities other than gender spoke at length about the importance of centering the specific experiences of those groups. For example, Respondent 23, from a national, nonpartisan, organization focused on immigrant candidates, talks about how they incorporate people's identities into their trainings:

> "So, we begin our training with two activities, one called "My Lived Experience" and the other one called "Your American Experience," which is, it's, it's asking people to center themselves on like, what is their identity and how does that shape their own American experience. Their own experience in this country. Right. Their experience of why they want to serve, and what our values are. Right. How everything we've lived shaped who we are and what impact you want to make."

She then later ties those experiences directly to a barrier many immigrant candidates face while running for office, particularly those that are not white or not male:

> "...we specifically address in our two and a half day training what it means to be a new American and the intersections of our identity. Whether we come from an immigrant background or we are the first and only to be running for this elected office, what does it mean to run and experience xenophobia, racism and misogyny on the campaign trail."

Respondent 44, who works for a national, left-leaning, organization that helps design candidate trainings for other organizations, talked about how they approach the unique challenges faced by queer candidates, who often have to navigate talking about queer culture with voters who don't share their experiences:

> "When we're in the queer space we talked about Grindr. And what does it mean to be in the queer community. And going to these queer-based types of festivals, and events, and parties. And other things that are really genuinely part of the queer community. And how do you be authentically yourself in that space, while also communicating to a voter who has no idea what that space looks like?"

Overall, WCTOs were considerably more likely to center the experiences of women, tying this to building confidence, helping women navigate specific challenges, and building communities and networks that were women-led. However, they often talked about women's experiences as a group, and were less likely to discuss how women's many identities influence running for office. The lack of attention to the variety of experiences women candidates may have, across diverse identities, means that some women may be more likely to come out of a candidate training believing they will be meaningfully supported and that their barriers to running have been substantively addressed.

For the most part, the issue is one of silence. WCTOs are not thinking about how women's many identities influence their political ambition. However, a small handful of organizations brought up historically underrepresented identities like race, ethnicity and sexuality in ways that may discourage women from those groups from running. This included comments about how some people just cannot be good candidates, because of personal/private/family circumstances, as well as comments about how individuals must change a fundamental aspect of their appearance or presentation on the campaign trail in ways that specifically targeted non-white or non-straight women. For example, Respondent 18, from a national, left-leaning women's candidate training, talked about the pushback she got, particularly on training sessions focused on altering a person's image or voice:

> "Time was, I could give an image class, and I could tell people: 'First of all, don't ever touch your hair when you're on screen. That is just an absolute no-no in this world.' I could say: 'You need to put on a little bit more makeup. You know, you're very pale. You've got long hair. You've got to put that here behind you. You can't let it, sort of like, crawl down to your cleavage, which is way too low'... And then comes the big backlash, that young women who have a piercing, particularly face piercings. People who have, who have decided they're gonna wear tight jeans. And they're gonna wear a, you know, low cut blouse. We're gonna say: 'Sure. But is it worth $50,000 worth of TV ads I'm gonna have to buy, because you're gonna piss off those women along the way.'...Or, you know, women who are trans, particularly, in many communities, when they start to run, they are not changing their voice. They're not changing how they look. They're wearing nail polish and high heels. And I'm like: 'You know, this is a, this is a roadblock. You need to know that people already go into this thinking that you're, you're trans. And, to tell you the truth, there's not a lot of people who understand that, to the extent that they can accept it.' So, from that perspective, I spend a lot of time first on the image, the voice."

This also came up for Respondent 21, from a non-partisan women's candidate training in the Northeast, who talked about the pushback she received from a Black queer candidate who wanted to

talk openly about her identity on the campaign trail:

> "Two years ago we had our first LGBTQ candidate. And, wonderful woman, brilliant...Anyway, so she gets up and she's speaking and she's like: 'As a queer black woman.' And I'm like: "Okay, we can all see that you're Black. Why do I care if you're queer?"...I say to her: 'Okay. Explain this, this, this queer thing to me. Why is it so important within the first 10 seconds of you getting up to do anything, everybody has to know you're queer?' So she goes: 'Well, it's very important, because the queer population is a fringe population. And it's never really had any heroes or heroines that are out there advocating for it. So, it's very important for people to know that I represent this fringe population.' So I, so I sit back. Because I'm like: 'Okay. That's a decent answer. However, I don't care who you go to sleep with. And just like I said to you before I'm in it, as your constituent, as your neighbor, because I want to know who you are what you can do for me.'"

Overall, how organizations approach training candidates to run for political office has a massive effect on who feels seen within the training space. WCTOs were more likely to center gender barriers and women's experiences than NGCTOs. But there is high variance in how much these organizations think about the racial and sexual diversity of their speakers, as well as how they think about what it means to run for office as a non-white and/or non-straight woman. Furthermore, while the major distinction was in how many WCTOs never once mentioned women's experiences across other identities, a small handful of WCTOs focus on ways that Black, Latina, queer and trans women, in particular, need to change aspects of their appearance or candidate presentation in order to be successful, rather than framing these as challenges they will need to navigate because of the additional biases and barriers against candidates from more historically excluded backgrounds.

Differences in Resource Provision

I also expected WCTOs to be more likely to connect their program attendees with tangible access to resources, networks, support, and mentorship. To measure resource provision, I looked at five main areas. First, I looked for mentions that their organization also provides **endorsements**, or that they connect program attendees to the part of their organization that endorses. Second, I looked for mentions that they provide **money or in-kind donations** to candidates, including PAC checks, hosting fundraising events, funding and distributing campaign literature, and volunteer activations. Third, I looked for mentions that they connect program attendees with **people** who can help with their campaign, beyond

simply inviting them to hear people speak in a group training context. This included staffers, former or current electeds, volunteers, or one-on-one follow up meetings with speakers. Fourth, I looked for mentions of informal or formal mentorship. **Informal mentorship** includes any non-systematic but personalized follow-up with program attendees over phone, internet, or in-person. **Formal mentorship** includes any systematic effort to meet one-on-one with either all or some program attendees for the purpose of helping them either decide to run or with their campaign. Finally, I looked at efforts to build **peer community**, which I defined as any efforts during or after the training to connect program attendees with one another, for the purposes of encouragement, advice or assistance.

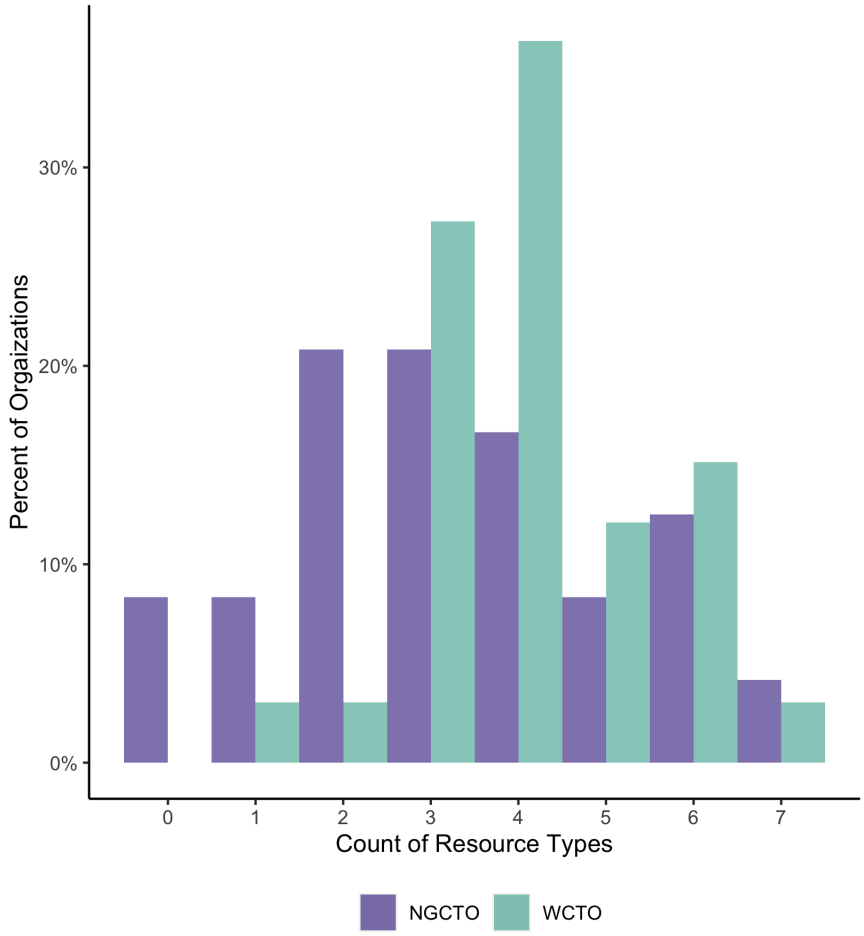
Almost every organization does at least some resource provision; 55/57 organizations I interviewed do at least one of the seven types of resource provision I looked at.[17] However, the WCTOs did an average of 4.1 activities and NGCTOs did an average of 3.25 (with medians of 4 and 3 respectively) (Figure 4). I also found that WCTOs discuss at least one of the 7 forms of candidate support an average of 9.2 times per interview, while NGCTOs discuss them an average of 6.1 times per interview (with medians of 8 and 5.5 respectively).

Even bigger differences emerge when I compare the specific types of resource provision that I studied. While 33% of WCTOs and 37.5% of NGCTOs do endorsements, that number drops to 26.3% of NGCTOs not focused on any identity, highlighting that this kind of additional resource support may be more prevalent or salient in organizations interested in changing electoral representation across different identities. WCTOs also talk about their endorsements or their endorsed candidates more, with an average of 1 mention per interview, compared to .75 mentions for non-gender organizations. When I look at differences in how often they talk about the types of physical resources they provide potential candidates (most often PAC checks, but sometimes other campaign assistance), I also find that women's candidate trainings mention this more often. 27.3% of women's organizations and only 20.83% of non-gender organizations mentioned that they provide some program attendees who run for office additional campaign resources.

One of the areas where I saw the greatest differences was in how WCTOs went the extra mile to connect their program attendees to elites who could help with their campaigns. I found that 81.8% of

[17]This is seven types, because mentorship is two codes, one for informal and the other for formal mentorship, and community is two codes, one for community-building in the training and one for community building after the training (i.e. alumni community).

FIGURE 4. Number of Different Types of Resource Provision Organizations Provide Program Attendees By Org. Type

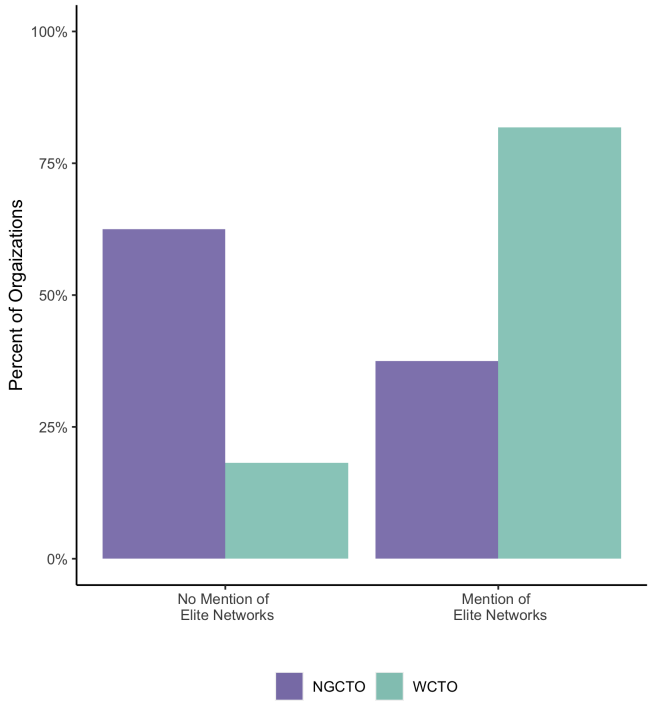


Note: Figure 4 depicts the percent of WCTOs and NGCTOs that do different kinds of candidate support on behalf of their program attendees. Resource Types is a count of seven forms of candidate support, including endorsements, material resources, elite networks, informal mentorship, formal mentorship, peer community, and alumni community. Results show that WCTOs did an average of 4.1 candidiate support activities while NGCTOs did an average of 3.25 activities.

WCTOs made at least one mention of connecting program attendees with elites, either for one-on-ones or outside of the training itself, compared to only 37.5% of NGCTOs (Figure 5). Some organizations do this in a formal manner, like Organization 20, which provides members of their fellowship with "mentors at a local and national level, who are then gonna tie you into these huge political networks," and Organization 24, who said that "we team each of our participants up with an alum of the program, as, sort of, a mentor." Both of these organizations are large, national nonpartisan women's networks that have many alumna now running for office that they can introduce program attendees to. But

even the state-based women's organizations use their local resources to provide additional people as support. Organization 2, a left-leaning women's organization in the South, talked about how their organization has "developed what we've called SWAT teams around the state. In not all areas, but in major metropolitan areas, where these teams of politically active women will assist an up-and-coming runner with, support for fundraising, for message training."

FIGURE 5. Mentions of Efforts to Substantively Connect Program Attendees with Elite Networks By Organization Type



Note: Figure 5 depicts the percent of organizations that made at least one mention of efforts to connect program attendees with elite networks, including party leadership, potential staffers or current/former elected officials. Results show that 81.8% WCTOs and 37.5% NGCTOs made efforts to connect program attendees with elites.

When looking at informal and formal mentorship, I found that while the majority of my respondents talked about being available for attendees to ask additional questions or check in once the trainings are complete, WCTOs were far more likely to do this systematically rather than ad-hoc or on an as-needed basis. 54.5% of women's candidate trainings and 66% of non-gender candidate trainings did some sort of informal mentorship. Women's organizations did talk about this informal mentorship *slightly* more often, with an average of 1.28 mentions per interview, compared to an average of 1 mention for non-gender candidate trainings (but with medians of 1 for both groups). Respondent 41, from

one of the longest running non-partisan national women's organizations showcases what this informal mentorship can look like:

> "I'll email our grads. And I'm like, "Okay, I'm coming to DC. Who wants to have breakfast with me? If you have good news, I'd love to see you. If you're floundering, you need to see me." We have those tough conversations with our grads to pivot them. To make sure that they're moving along. Because this can be very isolating work. Running for office can be very, very isolating. And, we just want them to always know that we are there for them."

However, 45.5% of WCTOs made at least one mention in my interviews of some sort of formal process for additional mentorship or guidance, while only 37.5% of NGCTOs did formal support. Furthermore, when I removed non-gender candidate training organizations that focus on other race, gender, or sexual minority identities, that number becomes 31.6%. Respondents 16, from a left-leaning women's candidate training in the Midwest, showcased how consistent formal mentorship can allow candidates to understand how the trainings apply to their unique set of circumstances:

> "Then we take all of that, and we take it out into our one-on-one consulting. And we say: "Based on what we're talking about in this training, how does that apply to a [County] Commissioners race? Right. And maybe with your personal dynamic too." And we wanna to make sure that whatever plans we're creating. . . women are not a monolith. Right. And so, we have to make sure that women are supported for the dynamics of their race."

Respondent 12, from a left-leaning women's organization in the South, provides a clear example of how this formal mentorship can provide a source of support to candidates through Election Day:

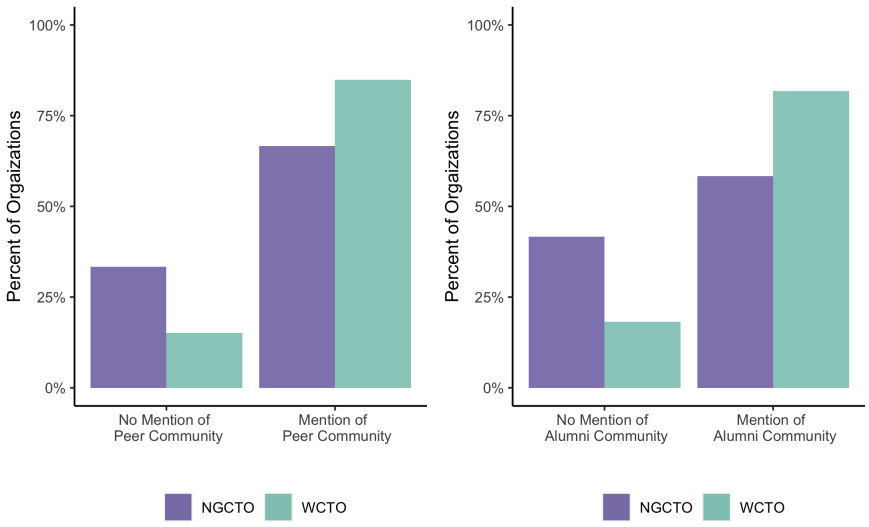
> "The way it's supposed to work is that, like, my boss does candidate consultations and I do campaign manager consultations. That's a perfect system. Sometimes, like, I have a better relationship with the candidate than she does. And they talk to me. But, it's a lot of emotional support."

Finally, I also found that WCTOs did more to create peer community among their program attendees, both during and after the trainings. 84.8% of WCTOs, compared to 66% of NGCTOs made at least one mention of a way they created peer community within the trainings (Figure 6). Women's candidate training's also talk about this kind of peer community an average of 2 times per interview, compared to 1.65 times for non-gender organizations, with medians of 2 and 1 respectively. WCTOs often

talked about how bonding within the trainings led to ongoing support after the training was complete, particularly for those who ran for office. WCTOs were also even more likely to host events to keep their alumni communities connected to both the organization and their fellow program attendees. 81.8% of women's candidate training organizations, compared to 58.3% of non-gender candidate trainings made at least one mention of ways they create peer community outside of the trainings themselves (Figure 6). Respondent 16, from a left-leaning women's organization in the Midwest, talks about how this bonding helps women candidates form a network:

> "Being a candidate can be a very lonely experience, even when you're surrounded by people who really support you, are there because they believe in the same things you believe in. You can be surrounded by this experience and have it still feel really lonely. And so, going and having friendship and connection. Some candidates I've seen like, almost form a group text with the women they meet at this training, which is phenomenal. Or their campaign managers meet one another, and they trade notes."

FIGURE 6. Mentions of Efforts to Build Community Among Program Attendees and Alums By Organization Type



Note: Figure 6 depicts the percent of organizations that made at least one mention of efforts to build peer community either during or after the candidate training program. Results show that 84.8% WCTOs made at least one mention of efforts to build community during the training, compared with 66% NGCTOs. Additionally, 81.8% WCTOs made at least one mention of efforts to build community after the training, compared with 58.3% NGCTOs.

Overall, I found that WCTOs did more than NGCTOs to provide tangible support to their program attendees, but especially in the forms of elite networking, peer community, and formal mentorship.

From the interviews, it emerged that this ongoing support helped get attendees access to the types of insider networks that have such a significant influence on who gets supported to run, provided opportunities for attendees to get specialized advice about how to win, and gave attendees opportunities for emotional support from elites and peers during grueling and lonely campaign cycles. But of course interview data can only tell us what makes women's organizations distinct. It leaves open critical questions about whether these differences in the substance of the support and perceived credibility as organizations interested in helping women has an effect on individual-level shifts in women's political ambition.

STUDY TWO: THE EFFECT OF MOBILIZATION, RESOURCES AND COMMUNITY ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL AMBITION

Data and Methods

With the previous study, I established that WCTOs approach the recruitment and training of candidates differently from NGCTOs. Next I will test the relationship between the three key differences that emerged in my interviews and individual-level women's political ambition. First, **mobilization**, particularly by framing running for office as linked to community involvement and making a local difference, emerged as one of the core tactic WCTOs used to increase women's ambition. Second, **substantial resource provision**, particularly in the form of access to elites, ongoing mentorship and peer community, was far more common from WCTOs and NGCTOs. Third, WCTOs were more likely to emphasize **gender community** and substantively addressing gender-specific barriers.

To test the connection between these factors and women's political ambition, I conducted a survey experiment using Prime Panels on 1,203 Black, Latina and white women respondents in May, 2022.[18]

[18]My sample was all women and was 60.35% white, 24.11% Black, and 17.87% Latina. In terms of education, 24.94% of the sample have a BA or higher, 22.78% have a two-year degree, and 52.12% have a high-school degree or less. The median age was 46. The median income was $30,000 - $39,999 a year. In terms of partisanship, 31.64% of the sample were Republicans, 51.12% of the sample were Democrats, and 17.24% were pure Independents. This is a convenience sample and so not intended to be nationally representative, and yet demographics roughly reflect the demographics of the gender, racial, and ethnic groups I selected for this study. Per Berinsky et al. (2012), online convenience samples are often more representative than in-person or college-student convenience samples, though less representative than national probability samples. This work also demonstrates that many experimental findings replicate using samples of Mechanical Turk workers.

The experiment was a 2x2x2 factorial design.[19] I first manipulated whether respondents were put into a mobilization framework or not (Factor One). Respondents were asked to either write three sentences about what their local government does well that they are very content about (no mobilization) or write three sentences about what their local government does poorly that they would be mobilized to change (mobilization). The intention of this task was to test the effect of thinking about how you could make local change, using language similar to how WCTOs talked about mobilization in my interviews.[20]

After respondents completed the mobilization task, they were randomly assigned one of four conditions which provided information, in the form of a press release, about a candidate training organization operating in their state. The candidate training organization was either a women's organization or an non-gender organization (Factor Two) and either provided information about how to run or provided both information about how to run and support in the form of resources to attendees of their program (Factor Three). The gender of the organization was cued through the name of the organization (either "Women Running and Winning" or "Running and Winning"), whether the program is geared towards "women" or "people," and the gender of the organization's CEO. The support provided by the organization was primed either by one sentence describing the information in the trainings, or two sentences, one focused on the information and the other on the resources provided to attendees afterwards.

Once the respondents completed the treatments, I evaluated women's political ambition using a battery of thirteen questions that measured interest in running for office, perceptions of one's qualifications to run and win, interest in attending a candidate training organization, the relevance of information about running for office from a candidate training organization, and interest in participating on behalf of a candidate endorsed by a candidate training organization.[21] I measured gender consciousness and race/ethnicity pre-treatment.[22]

[19]Full description of the treatments and survey questions can be found in Appendix Five.

[20]I chose to use a demotivating condition as the control rather than a neutral condition, because so many neutral conditions about politics will naturally get people fired up or angry, which could confound the results, given the relationship between anger and political motivation found by Valentino et al. (2011).

[21]I designed my dependent variable questions to reflect the complex ways that ambition both operates and emerges. For example, interest in learning more about a candidate organization and participating on behalf of candidates are both entrypoints to running for office down the line, and perceptions of qualifications and perceptions of organizations are both psychological attachments that could increase interest in the future as well. The Cronbach's Alpha on the thirteen DVs is .904. All hypotheses are tested on both the full scale and on each individual dependent variable. Results on individual dependent variables are found in Appendix Six, when not included in the main text.

[22]Gender consciousness was three questions asking how much gender impacts your life, how important being a woman is to

Results

Figure 7 shows that respondents in the mobilization condition were statistically significantly higher in political ambition than respondents in the demobilization condition, and that the mobilization condition increased women's political ambition by three percentage points.[23] More specifically, being assigned to reflect on things about your local government you would be motivated to change had a positive and statistically significant effect on 6/13 DVs, including likelihood of running for office, belief that the respondent would win, how qualified the respondent thinks they are, interest in learning more about both candidate trainings and running for office, and the likelihood of donating on behalf of a candidate endorsed by a candidate training organization.[24] In other words, when women are told to think about ways they can make a difference in their local community – something WCTOs very commonly discuss in their trainings – they are more likely to express an interest in running for office as a result.

I next looked at the effect of being in the "women's organization" condition compared to being in the "non-gender organization" condition. As can be seen in Appendix Six, being in the women's organization condition did not have a statistically significant effect on the full political ambition scale. Instead, as can be seen in Table 1, it had a statistically significant effect on two DVs – desire to volunteer for and desire to donate to a candidate endorsed by the organization. Therefore, the focus of the organization impacts who wants to support candidates from that organization, which can indirectly increase political ambition in time, but does not have an immediate effect on the desire to run for political office.

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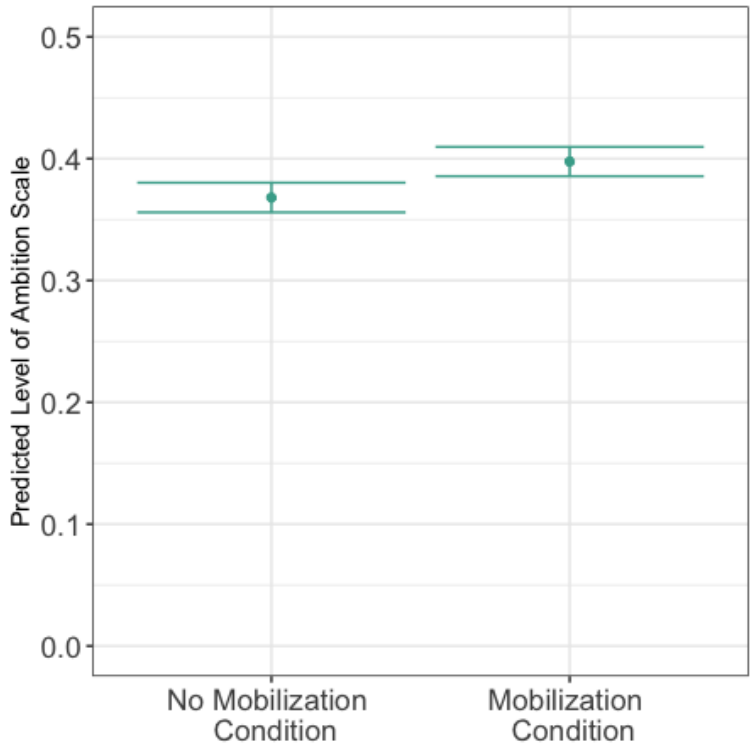
your identity, and how important you think it is for more women to be elected. Cronbach's alpha is .663 and so all three questions were used in the analysis. As can be seen in Appendix Nine, results are robust to the exclusion of the question about electing more women. Median value for gender consciousness is .667 and women were determined to be high in gender consciousness if they were above the median on this scale.

[23]All results are shown without any demographic or psychological controls, because respondents were randomly assigned to all conditions and balance across treatments is relatively consistent. Results with a parsimonious set of controls, selected because of their relationship with both desire to run for office and minor variations in balance across treatments, can be found in Appendix Seven. All graphical results reflect 83.4224% confidence intervals, which is the standard confidence level used to generate a 5% type 1 error rate when comparing two sample means. For more information see (Goldstein and Healy 1995; Maghsoodloo and Huang 2010).

[24]Effect of the mobilization condition on each of the dependent variables separately can be found in Appendix Six. Test of the effectiveness of the manipulation, using a manipulation check, can be found in Appendix Eight. 91.8% of respondents passed a pre-treatment attention check. The remaining 8.2% who failed the attention check were removed from the study pre-treatment. Of respondents who were randomized into the treatments, 99.75% passed the post-treatment attention check. Results do not change when dropping the three respondents who did not pass the post-treatment attention check.

FIGURE 7. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Political Ambition Scale



Note: Figure 7 shows the estimated marginal means of the full Political Ambition Scale, between women randomly assigned either to reflect on what they would change about their local communities (Mobilization Condition) or keep the same about their local communities (No Mobilization Condition). Political Ambition Scale is a 13-item measure evaluating respondent's willingness to run for political office, including interest in running, perceptions of their qualifications, desire to learning more about candidate trainings, and willingness to volunteer on behalf of CTO endorsed candidates. Mobilization Condition Treatment uses language inspired by how WCTOs discuss encouraging women to run in their trainings. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased women's levels of political ambition by 3 percentage points ($p<.05$), compared to the No Mobilization Condition. Table version of results can be found in Appendix Six.

Women are not a monolithic group, and so I expect that who is motivated to run for office by a women's organization is influenced by both psychological attachments and other demographic identities. Therefore, I tested the effects of this treatment separately among women with a high attachment to their gender identity (i.e. women high in gender consciousness), and among white, Black, and Latina women separately. When I tested the effect of being in the "women's organization" condition only among respondents who scored above the median in gender consciousness, I found a much stronger relationship between the "women's organization" condition and political ambition. As can be seen in Figure 8, for women high in gender consciousness, being in the "women's organization" condition has a marginally significant effect on the full scale DV. The effect was significant for 4/13 DVs, including the two participation measures, a question asking how relevant the organization is to people like them and likelihood of attending the candidate training they read about.[25] While it doesn't have a direct effect on desire to run for office, learning about the support provided to candidates from a women's organization does increase women's interest in seeking out the organization and participating on behalf of its endorsed candidates, which can increase women's ambition down the line, and it increases desire to seek out the organization itself for women high in gender consciousness.

TABLE 1. Effect of Women's Org. on Participating for Other Candidates

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.046*	0.042*
	(0.019)	(0.018)
Constant	0.393**	0.400**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.005	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.004
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.321	0.315
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

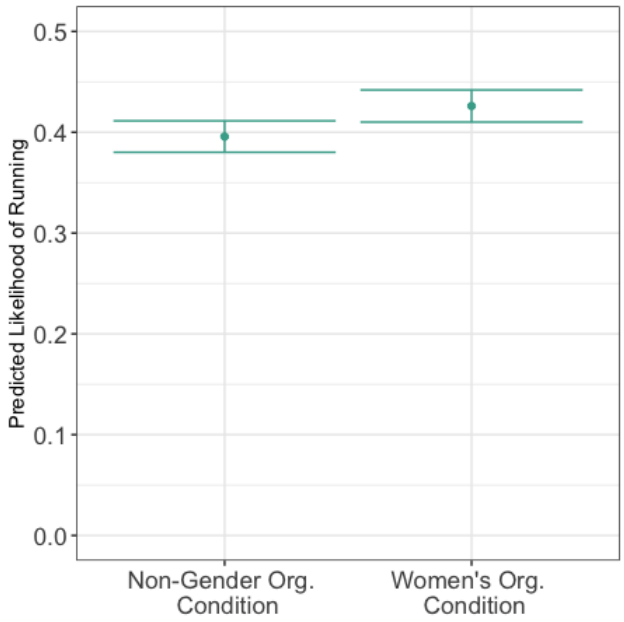
Note: Table 1 depicts the effect of reading about a women's candidate training organization (compared to an non-gender candidate training organization) on women's interest in participating on behalf of an endorsed candidate. Being assigned to the women's organization was associated with a 4.7% increase in desire to volunteer (p<0.05) and a 6.7% increase in desire to donate (p<.05) on behalf of a candidate endorsed by the organization the respondent read about.

I also looked at the effects among white, Black, and Latina women separately. As can be seen in

[25]See Appendix Six for results on full set of DVs. See Appendix Nine for results using two-item measure of gender consciousness with question asking about importance of electing women removed.

Appendix 10, while the finding that women are more willing to participate on behalf of candidates endorsed by a women's organization holds for both white women's desire to both donate and volunteer, and Black women's desire to volunteer, the findings do not hold for Latina women. In addition, unlike with the findings about women high in gender consciousness, there are not additional avenues by which the relationship between support from a women's organization and women's political ambition holds for any of the racial or ethnic subgroups of women that I looked at. As I expand this work, I plan to build on these findings with an additional experiment using both larger sample and treatments that vary the organization's commitment to addressing racial and ethnic barriers to running for political office in their trainings.[26]

FIGURE 8. Effect of Women's Org. on Running - Among Gender Conscious



Note: Figure 8 depicts the effect of reading about a women's candidate training organization (compared to an non-gender candidate training organization) on women's political ambition, among women above the median in gender consciousness. Gender consciousness is a three-item measure, asking whether gender is important to their identity, whether gender effects their life and whether electing women is important. Among women high in gender consciousness, being assigned to the women's organization condition was marginally significantly associated with a 3 percentage point increase in the political ambition scale (p<.1). Table version of these results can be found in Appendix Six.

[26]This additional experiment will allow me to evaluate if my current findings are the result of sample size. This experiment will also vary the racial demographics of who the organization supports and whether the organization mentions addressing racial barriers to running for office in their trainings, in order to perform a more specific test of the effects of the approaches to diverse recruitment and training taken by women's organizations.

Finally, I wanted to see the effect of knowing about organizations that provide resources and support on women's political ambition. However, as can be seen in Table 2, there is no relationship between learning that an organization provides resources in addition to training on women's political ambition.[27] The relationship was not significant amongst any of the dependent variables.

TABLE 2. Effect of Information + Resources Condition

	Dependent variable:
	Running for Office Scale
Resources Treatment	−0.017
	(0.012)
Constant	0.392**
	(0.009)
Observations	1,202
R^2	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.214 (df = 1200)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 2 depicts the effect of reading about a candidate training organization that provides both information and resources (compared to just information) on women's interest in participating on behalf of an endorsed candidate. Being assigned to read about an organization that provides information and resources is not statistically significantly associated with changes in women's political ambition.

Overall, the purpose of this experiment was to understand how some of the differences between WCTOs and NGCTOs found in my interview data might translate into changes in women's political ambition on the individual level. I found positive and statistically significant effects for being motivated to think about how one can make local community change on women's political ambition. I also found an effect of learning about a women's organization on women's political participation, and on the full women's ambition scale for women who are high in gender consciousness. I did not, however, find an effect for learning about material support – above and beyond learning about the other programming an organization does.

[27]As can be seen in Appendix Six, there are no statistically significant findings across any of the individual dependent variables. There are also no statistically significant effects when interacting the Resources + Information treatment with the Women's Organization treatment, showing that this effect is also not conditional on WCTOs.

CONCLUSION

This project makes a novel contribution to our understanding of the source of the gender gap in the decision to run for political office. I argue that candidate recruitment is essential to increasing the feasibility of a run for political office for members of historically excluded groups, but that the success of that recruitment is conditional on whether the ask to run is perceived as both **credible** and **substantive**. Given this, I develop a theory for the relationship between women's candidate training organizations and women's political ambition. Mine is a two-pronged theory. I first provide evidence that WCTOs take a unique approach to training political candidates. Second, I demonstrate that their focus on substantive encouragement and credible signals of women-specific support can be linked to increases in women's political ambition. Ultimately my research provides evidence that when institutions lower the barriers to running for political office, this has not just material but also psychological benefits for women's political ambition and interest in running.

Specifically, by combining the depth of interviews and the control of a survey experiment, I demonstrate both how women's organizations operate in the real world, and that these tactics matter for women's ambition. I find that WCTOs are more likely to connect program attendees with substantive resources, particularly elite networking opportunities, formal mentorship and peer community. They're more likely to engage in active recruitment and mobilization, by encouraging attendees to think about running for office in terms of helping their local communities. And they're more likely to center women's experiences in the training space. I then found positive and significant effects of two of these strategies (mobilization to make local change and centering women's experiences) on core aspects of women's political ambition.

Three aspects of my experimental findings raised critical questions about how political ambition operates that deserve further exploration. First, I found that learning about women's organizations can increase all women's interest in participating on behalf of women candidates, a factor that could help bring them into the candidate recruitment pipeline. Given the known positive feedback loop between internal political efficacy and participation (Finkel 1985; Valentino et al. 2008), these findings highlight how women's organizations can get women into a political pipeline that may ultimately build into an interest in running for political office. Second, I demonstrate a strong effect on early

stages of political ambition for women high in gender consciousness. I found marginally significant effects on the political ambition scale as a whole, and statistically significant on specific DVs related to desire to attend a candidate training, perceptions of WCTO's relevance and interest in people like them, and desire to participate on behalf of endorsed candidates.[28] This demonstrates that WCTOs are particularly appealing for women who feel closely connected to their gender identity, increasing the likelihood that these women seek out institutions that support women's runs for political office and ultimately run for office themselves. Overall, my experimental findings about the specific effect of WCTOs, compared to NGCTOs, demonstrate how critical women-specific spaces are to making women believe that they will receive credible and substantive instititonal support.

Second, I found no statistically significant relationship between learning about resources provided by an organization (rather than just information) and women's political ambition. This is particularly notable, given both my interview finding that WCTOs provide considerably more substantive material support, and the prior literature demonstrating that women express more concern about a lack of access to the resources needed to run for political office (Shames 2017). Building on findings by Bernhard et al. (2020), resources may matter more for expressed as opposed to nascent political ambition. As I expand my work into a book project, I plan to test the aggregate effects of WCTOs on women's political representation at the state legislative level. By linking the growth of these organizations across both time and place to increases in women's representation, I will provide evidence that shifts in who performs candidate recruitment are fundamentally transforming the demographics of is represented in government. I will also compare differences across groups that provide more/less access to resources, as well as access to different forms of material support. This will allow me to understand whether the differences between WCTOs and NGCTOs in resource provision have an effect on women's expressed ambition, even if I did not find effects of resource provision on nascent political ambition.

Third, while I found that white women were statistically significantly more likely to volunteer and donate on behalf of an endorsed candidate from a women's organization, I only found that Black women were statistically significantly more likely to volunteer, and Latinas did not have any statistically

[28]Being in the women's organization condition increased desire to attend a training by 6.5 percentage points, perception of the organization's relevance by 5.2 percentage points, and belief the organization would support people like them by 3.7 percentage points, relative to the non-gender organization condition, among women above the median in gender consciousness.

significant differences between the NGCTO and WCTO treatments. It is possible that the lack of statistical significance is a result of the smaller samples of Black women and Latinas. However, the coefficients are not in a positive direction. It is also possible that differences in desire to donate have more to do with differences in access to resources, except that the white and Latina subsamples in my data have identical median incomes. Alternatively, it is possible that this is initial evidence in racial and ethnic differences in the effects of women's organizations on women entering the political candidacy pipeline. In order to expand on these findings, I am running an additional survey experiment, testing if the effects of feeling supported by a WCTO are conditional on both the race of the woman receiving the cue and how strongly the organization signals a commitment to racial diversity in their recruitment and training.

Overall, by focusing on the relationship between WCTOs and women's political presentation in the U.S., I provide evidence that the relationship between recruitment and political ambition is conditional on its form. My work demonstrates the transformative effect of recruitment that is both specific to the needs of the person being recruited and that comes with access to the many material resources needed to run for office. As the role of private-sector recruitment organizations continues to grow, in an environment where money increasingly matters for successful runs and political parties continue to gate-keep challengers out of the political process, my work demonstrates the role of identity-specific candidate recruitment organizations in shifting trends in political representation across the United States.

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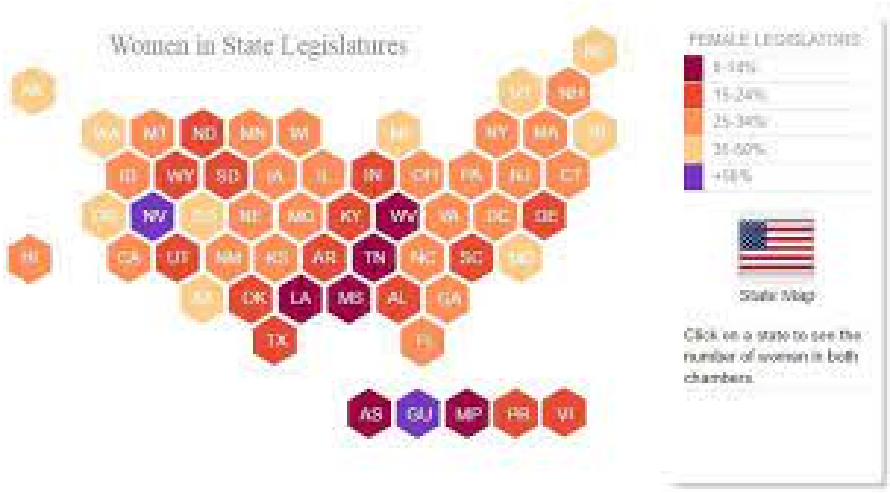
APPENDICES

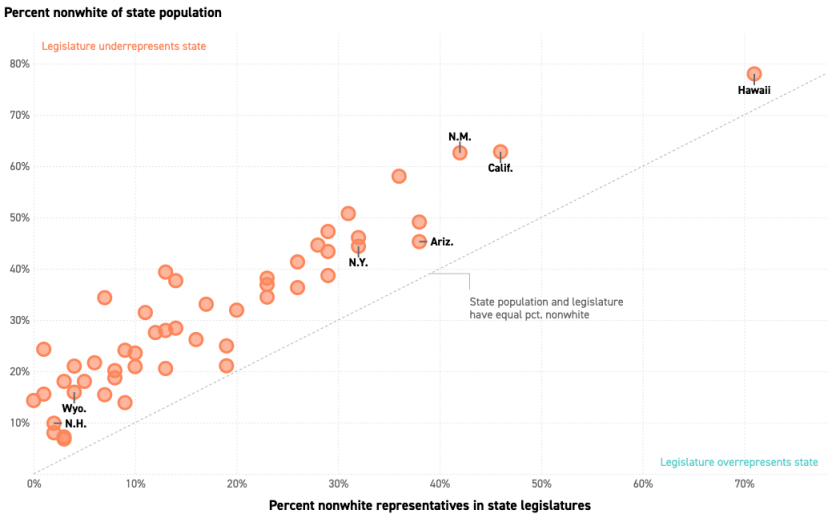
Appendix One: Visualizations of Where Women Run and WCTOs

FIGURE 9. Gender Diversity of State Legislatures



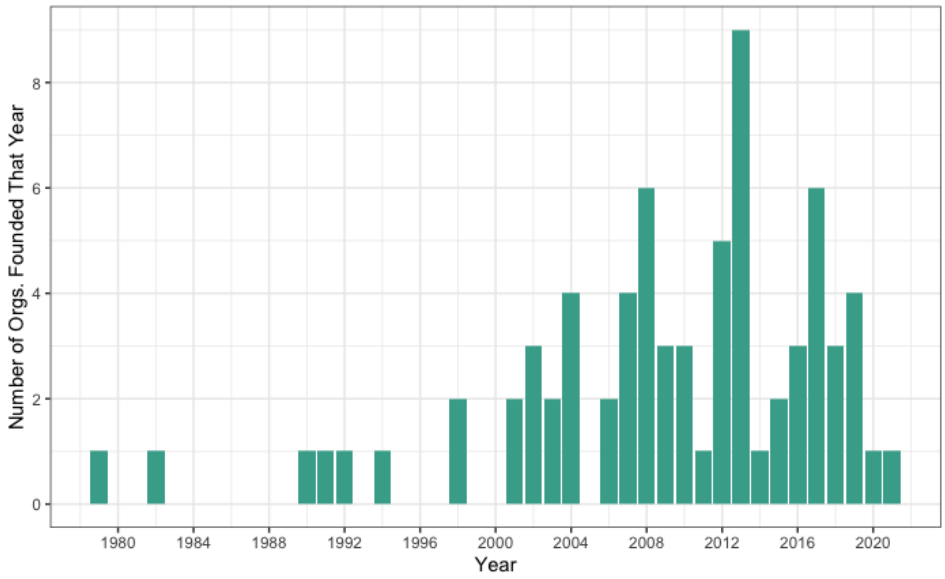
Note: Figure 9 depicts the percent of state legislators that are women in each U.S. state as of January, 2021. On average, U.S. state legislatures are 30.61% women and Nevada is the only state in the U.S. to have ever achieved gender parity in its state legislature. Data comes from the National Conference of State Legislatures (2021).

FIGURE 10. Racial Diversity of State Legislatures Compared to State Population



Note: Figure 10 depicts the relationship between the percentage of a state's population that is non-white versus the percent of a state's state legislature that is non-white. The figure shows that as of 2021, in all 50 U.S. states, the state legislature is more white than the state's population. Data was taken from POLITICO (2021).

FIGURE 11. Count of Number of State-Level WCTOs Founded Each Year From 1979-2021



Note: Figure 11 depicts the number of state-based WCTOs founded each year in the United States, from 1979-2021. This set of WCTOs reflects the 73 state-based women's organizations in my data that I was able to identify a founding year for. For the purposes of this chart, WCTOs excludes national organizations. My interview population of WCTOs excluded state chapters but included national organizations.

Appendix Two: An Overview of my Interview Method

In order to determine which organizations to interview, I built a dataset of 94 organizations that currently train candidates to run for political office. I developed a clear set of rules for what was considered a candidate training organization (CTO), and determined that an organization was a CTO if I found a section of their website that specifically described (or linked to) a candidate training program that the organization, itself, had created[29]. I then cross-referenced my list with other sources, including Rutgers University's Center for American Women and Politics' List of Leadership Resources and MSU's Institute for Public Policy and Social Research's Database of Training programs compiled by Jamil Scott, as well as lists of other training organizations from news outlets and other trainings[30]. Finally, at the end of my interviews, I asked each respondent to list other organizations that they know do this work. I added these organizations to my outreach, and by the end of my interview process I found my list to be exhaustive.

Among the 94 organizations in my sampling frame, 57.45% train women and 42.55% train candidates of all genders. 19.15% are right-leaning, 36.17% are left-leaning and 44.68% are nonpartisan. These organizations operate on either the city/region, state or national level but do not include state or local chapters of larger organizations. I did, however, include organizations that partner with one another, as long as each organization conducts its own candidate training, which they, themselves, have designed.[31]

In order to determine who to speak with at each organization, I reached out to the person who, from the organization's website, appeared to most directly oversaw the day-to-day design and operation of the candidate training. If the organization had a Training Director, I interviewed them. If they did not have a Training Director, I relied on website bios and reached out to at least one person with the following titles (or a related title): Program Director, Political Director, CEO, Founder, Executive Director. If it was unclear who the best contact was for training-specific information, I would reach out to two people at the organization. I tried to find a direct email, but used a general email address or contact form, if necessary.

I conducted all interviews between August 19th, 2020 and October 8th, 2021. The vast majority of my interviews were conducted over Zoom, with one on Bluejeans and one over the phone. In 8 of the Zoom interviews I conducted, at least one participant either called in or switched their video off at some point in the interview. In order to make it easy to schedule all interviews and easily accommodate respondent's availabilities, I reached out to organizations in groups of six. Each organization received an initial email describing the process and then two follow-up emails and a phone call over a two week period if I did not hear back. The result of COVID was actually greater consistency in the mode that the interviews were conducted in. Though I have to acknowledge that there was considerable variation in where the respondents were located. Two of the eight people who did not use their cameras gave the interviews from their cars. Some respondents were back in the office, but many were speaking to me from home offices, living rooms and bedrooms, and there were occasional interruptions from family members, pets, and roommates.

[29] I also used organization websites to rule out organizations that simply bring in other groups to do their trainings.

[30] It's worth mentioning that both the Scott (2018a) and Center for American Women and Politics (2022) lists include leadership organizations, which I did not include in my list unless it was clear that they had some sort of programming related to running for office. This ruled out organizations that do more general trainings on networking or career advancement. They also include state and local chapters of national organizations, which I grouped together under the national body, so that my interview data wasn't oversaturated with one organization's perspective.

[31] I did not include chapters of larger organizations because I didn't want to skew my data with too many interviews from the small handful of organizations with chapters in 20+ states. Anecdotally, I can also say from my interviews with the national organizations that have smaller chapters, that many disseminate similar information to their state chapters. In contrast, separate organizations that have partnerships with one another had much more agency over the development of the structure and content of their trainings.

I used a stratified random sample, where I reached out to groups potential respondents, selected based on partisan-leaning and gender/nongender focus. This resulted in six categories of organization that I reached out to: non-partisan women's organization, non-partisan non-gender organization, right-leaning women's organization, right-leaning non-gender organization, left-leaning women's organization and left-leaning non-gender organization[32]. I chose this method of outreach to ensure that my initial interviews covered the full range of partisan and gender focus, which ensured that the recommendations for other organizations to interview came from multiple perspectives, increasing the likelihood that I achieved saturation. It also ensured that my initial conversations, which were the most formative to developing my interview style and thinking about the project, were not biased to a particular type of organization. This way, I know that the first people I spoke to were chosen from their subgroups at random, but those subgroups were purposefully selected to ensure variation on key measures of interest.

In the end, 57 of the 94 organizations organizations I reached out to agreed to speak with me, for a response rate of 60.64%[33]. This response rate is particularly high for a project of this type. Of those 57 organizations, 57.9% exclusively train women and 42.1% train individuals of all genders. 40.35% are left-leaning, 15.79% are right-leaning and 43.86% are nonpartisan. These numbers are very similar to the distributions of the full sample, emphasizing that non-response is uncorrelated with either partisanship or gender-focus.

A number of candidate training organizations also focus on groups other than women. While I will not specifically list out the groups that organization's I interviewed work with, because that would make it impossible to maintain anonymity, I can say that I spoke with four organizations that exclusively work with racial or ethnic minorities, three organizations that work with members of specific historically excluded groups other than race or ethnicity, three organizations that work with potential candidates from a particular career or educational background, and four organizations that exclusively work with potential candidates from a particular age group.

I put considerable thought into how to maximize response rates across the full sample, so that my findings were as representative as possible. I was speaking with elites who were excited to highlight the benefits of their work training candidates to an academic, but who have particularly busy schedules that are tied to local and state campaigns. Because I reached out to both left-leaning women's organizations and right-leaning non-gender organizations, there was also variance in who might perceive me as "on their side." I reached out to only a small number of organizations at a time, so that my schedule could be as open as I was able to make it. I sent three emails and a phone call to each organization, staggered over a two week period, along with a thank you note afterwards with any follow-up questions. These are professionals with busy inboxes and I found the multiple follow-ups extremely necessary and rarely met with hostility. I set all of my social media to private and removed mentions of gender from

[32]I classified an organization as training exclusively women if they said on their website that their organization is geared towards women. I classified an organization as left- or right-leaning if their website either mentioned they were officially Republican or Democratic, if they mentioned a left/right or liberal/conservative slight to their values, or mentioned either a focus on pro-anti abortion candidates or big/small government candidates. I used this method of classification rather than simply checking if they identified as nonpartisan or not because many of these organizations are 501c3 nonprofits. This means they must be nonpartisan for tax purposes, even if their values and program attendees align closely with a particular political party. While some 501c3 left/right organizations that I interviewed mentioned that their trainings were open to people from all parties, they also emphasized that those individuals must align with the organization's values.

[33]As part of the consent conversation at the beginning of each interview, I agreed to keep the names of the respondents I spoke with and their organizations anonymous. You will see organizations listed as "Organization X" and the respondents listed as Respondent X where X is a number from 1-57. If I spoke with multiple individuals from one organization, they are listed as Respondent Xa and Respondent Xb. Organizations are described in terms of their political leaning and focus on women or not, and occasionally the region of the country they operate in, and other identity groups they focus on.

my academic page, to further limit reasons why an orgaization would or wouldn't respond, based on partisanship or gender-focus. These small choices were essential to increasing consistency in who responded and to starting all interviews. on a similar foot.

Because I'm interview elites, many of whom are used to being interviewed, I chose a more semi-structured approach. I had a prepared list of questions in a specific order, but gave myself the flexibility to ask follow-up questions that increased depth or added clarity. I asked the questions in the same general order, but would move topics around if the respondent brought up a point themselves that I was planning to ask about later, or if they raised a point that required additional probing. These follow-ups or changes in order were always driven by the interview subject raising a point themselves, ensuring that changes in question order weren't priming them with a new topic, but rather responding to what was already top-of-mind for them. By using a standard list of questions, I made sure that topics were generally covered in the same order, thereby avoiding priming gendered and non-gendered organizations differently. However, by having some flexibility, I also allowed for a more conversational tone, in order to build rapport with the interview subject and gain additional insights, when necessary.

I developed consistent rules for how and when to deviate from the prepared question order. First of all, I placed the questions that asked about gender and diversity towards the end of the interview, so that the only remaining questions were about COVID, changes over time and technical questions about the organization. That way questions about what topics are covered in the training, what makes a quality candidate, who attends the training, and whether attendees are generally confident were all asked before I made gender and diversity salient in the interview subject's mind. I also intentionally made my questions about gender and racial/ethnic diversity broad, asking about how gender influences their trainings, how women experience the trainings, and what they do to diversify the pipeline of people running for office. I purposefully did not ask specifically about recruitment or the substantive topics of their trainings, in relation to gender/race/ethnicity/sexuality, and I intentionally did not mention what "diverse" groups they should discuss. This left it open to the respondent to focus on different aspects of their trainings and the different groups that came to mind for them, letting the interview subject determine for themselves what information about their organization was most relevant. It was notable which organizations only brought up gender once I asked about it, and which organizations only talked about diversity of party or region of the state, but never mentioned race or ethnicity outright.

When developing my interview style, I balanced strategies that created rapport with strategies that ensured consistency. When rephrasing questions, I pulled from what the respondent said previously, connecting my next question to a previous point they made. That way, even subtle changes to question phrasing were driven by the respondent's own mind, rather than my expectations about a particular organization.[34] If someone didn't fully answer a question or if I wanted them to expand further, I used general phrases like: "How so?" or "Tell me more about that." Alternatively, I would ask them to expand on a specific point they had previously made. I also kept follow-up questions intentionally broad, asking them to open up about what they already said, rather than priming their follow-up in a particular direction.

I used consistent positive affirmations across my interviews, to build rapport with all respondents. I did this broadly, by nodding a ton and using verbal cues that I was interested and excited by what they were saying – regardless of content. I also used whatever information I could from my own life to connect with them. For example, when I interviewer said they were from Wisconsin, I mentioned that my partner grew up there. When someone mentioned they were Jewish, I would be sure to mention that my mom is a cantor. These small moments helped me to connect with a wide range of interview

[34]For example, if they mentioned an aim of the training in my initial question about how the training is structured, I might say: "Given that you mentioned this aim of the training, I'd like to hear a bit more about your goals for the training and what you're hoping someone will come away with."

subjects in whatever way I could.

Of course, it is impossible for my presence not to shape how the conversations went. My presence as a female researcher led a handful of organizations, particularly those that focus on women, to assume my research was about women's organizations. I noticed this most often when I asked them to recommend other organizations to me and they asked if I was only speaking to women's groups or everyone. I will never be able to know exactly how that impacted what these organizations talked about or differences between women's and non-gender organizations. However, we might expect that to impact some topics (like the salience of discussions about gender barriers) more than other topics (like whether the organization values networking or endorsements or mentorship), which should be more factual to an organization and less susceptible to variance because of the interviewer.

In addition, participation in a research study discussing their programs likely shaped what the organizations emphasized. I found that many organizations overemphasized their successes and the positive attributes of their process, and were prone to downplaying negatives, particularly around the impact of COVID. Respondents were prone to using examples of people they trained who had won and some organizations were reticent to talk about what didn't work or what they might change. Even though I told all interview subjects that my findings would be anonymized, and reminded them of this fact anytime they mentioned they were discussing sensitive information, the idea of participating in a research study made respondents want to put their best foot forward. However, given that the purpose of my interview data is to understand what candidate trainings do and how women's organizations approach candidate recruitment and training differently, rather than if those tactics are successful, it is less likely that their focus on success of their tactics influenced my results.

I centered my approach to analyzing interview data around the goal of making comparisons between women's and non-gender candidate training organizations. I developed a specific set of interview codes for each aspect of my theory, and had two research assistants code interviews for mentions of each topic. This strategy means that I can then evaluate whether WCTOs discussed a particular topic **more** than NGCTOs, and I can look at the sections coded by the RAs to determine whether WCTOs discussed a topic in a distinctly different way than NGCTOs.

Overall, I focused on topics that were most relevant to my expectations, while also including opportunities for the research assistants to highlight other points of particular relevance to the project. I had my research assistants code any time an organization mentioned that they actively encouraged individuals to run, either informally/one-on-one, or as a formal part of their training process. They coded mentions of times the respondent framed running for office as something lots of people were qualified to do, or that people from broad backgrounds could succeed at vs something that only some people are qualified for. I also had my RAs code both mentions of gender and mentions of the other historically excluded groups I focused on – i.e. racial, ethnic and sexual minorities. Specifically, I coded whether the organization mentioned barriers faced by any of these groups in the interview as well as mentions of trainings that tackle some of those barriers and how to navigate them.[35]. I also coded whether the organizations had specific fellowships or scholarships for women or other historically excluded groups (across race, ethnicity and sexuality), and whether they mentioned explicit efforts to have staff, board members, trainers or speakers that were women or from other historically excluded groups.[36] I also coded for specific mentions of race, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender that could discourage members of those groups from running. This included any mention that members of

[35]I specifically differentiated between content that mentioned diversity or gender broadly and content that focused on barriers and how to navigate or mitigate them. This is particularly important because a number of organizations had diversity trainings focused on teaching **all** candidates to consider diversity of experiences while other organizations had targeted trainings addressing the unique experiences of members of particular sub-groups.

[36]If an organization focused on women of color or queer women, then they would be coded in both sets of codes.

one (or more) of those groups need to change an aspect of their appearance, personality or mode of presentation in order to adapt to expectations of what a good candidate entails. I also coded mentions that people should not run for office if they had particular additional barriers that disproportionately fall on women, like spousal or familial responsibilities.

Finally, I developed a set of interview codes related to what the organizations do to get people within their trainings the support they need to run for political office after the training was complete. This set of codes included mentions of connecting individuals to endorsements, providing additional resources (both monetary and in-kind donations), connecting them to people who could help with their campaigns (volunteers, staff, outside mentors like previous candidates, party officials and other community elites), and access to additional avenues for one-on-one advice and mentorship outside of the trainings themselves (both formally structured and informally provided). This section also included codes related to the efforts by the organization to build a community amongst the attendees, both within and outside of the trainings. These examples of community could either be to provide peer mentorship, help each other out on the campaign trail, lifting each other up during a difficult campaign process or developing candidates willing to work across differences.

I worked with my two undergraduate research assistants to both transcribe and code the interviews. Because the same research assistants did both transcription and coding, they were familiar with the basic content of the interviews by the time they needed to code them for the presence or absence of different themes. This was particularly important as much of the information that needed to be coded required a basic understanding of terminology related to running for office. I deidentified the Zoom generated transcripts, replacing both the organization's and respondent's names, before giving them to the RAs for cleaning, so that they were less likely to know outright whether an organization exclusively trained women or not when they did the transcribing or coding. This was done intentionally to minimize the influence of information about the organization, and whether it trained exclusively women or not, on the direction of the interview codes.

I then unitized the interviews into distinct paragraphs, so that I could have a measure of the different topics included in each person's responses to my questions. Each time I asked the respondent a new question, I counted that as a distinct topic, as well as if the respondent mentioned multiple distinct points in a single answer.[37] I chose this method of unitization at the topic level, because it created a consistent measure of when topics start and end. That helped to solve some of the challenges of intercoder reliability for semi-strucutured interviews, because my RAs could code the same "unit" as related to a particular topic rather than exact words or sentences. It also created a standard measure of the frequency of a topic in a given interview. It is virtually impossible for different individuals to code the exact same sentences as relevant to a particular theme, even when those small differences would have little impact on the substantive findings of the study.

To measure intercoder reliability, I counted the number of total sections of an interview that each coder assigned to each code, and measured how consistently the coders counted the amount of presence or absence of a particular topic within an interview. This process both ensured that small differences in coding style didn't have big implications for the results, because coders could code a sentence or a paragraph within a single unit of an interview and it would still count as one mention of that topic. This method was also driven by my goal of comparing WCTOs and NGCTOs, because it is a more accurate measure of the overall salience of a particular topic to a respondent, rather than whether they answered a specific question in a specific way. An organization that talks about gender barriers in response

[37]This happened the most often when answering multi-part questions, such as listing the three most important qualities in a candidate or all of the different topics they covered in a single training. However, respondents often went on tangents and brought up new topics when speaking. So, for example, if they explained the main purpose of their organization and then switched to talking about how things changed because of COVID, this would be a new topic

to many different questions clearly has barriers for women running more top of mind than someone who mentions those barriers only once, regardless of who is a wordier talker. This analytic technique also gave me a quantifiable measure of the frequency of a topic in an interview, which created a clear process for measuring relative differences across groups.[38]

Both RAs were trained on an initial set of six interviews, which I then used to revise the codes before giving them a final set of ten interviews for intercoder reliability.[39][40] I then randomly selected 10 interviews to calculate intercoder reliability once the RAs were trained. These 10 interviews accounted for 17.54% of the total sample.[41] The intercoder reliability amongst these ten organizations was .764, using Krippendorff's Alpha.[42]. This emphasizes that there was consistent agreement across myself and my two research assistants, even though we varied in our prior exposure to political science and this particular topic.

[38]One important thing to check with this method is that the overall length of the interview doesn't correlate with organization type. In other words, if WCTOs spoke more, they might appear to do more to help their candidates purely because they spoke in more detail than NGCTOs. However, while WCTOs did use more words than NGCTOs, the difference is not statistically significant. Moving from an NGCTO to a WCTO leads to an average of 165.3 more words per interview, with a p-value of .8. See Appendix Four for these results.

[39]This initial set of six interviews was chosen non-randomly, as I wanted to make sure they saw a range of organizations both across organization type and difficulty of coding. Three of the training interviews were with organizations that trained exclusively women and three were with organizations that did not train a particular gender. Two organizations were right-leaning, two were left-leaning and two were non-partisan.

[40]As a result of the training interviews, I made four changes to the interview codes. I specified that all topics in Category 1 (Elite Networks) must occur in addition to the people, resources and advice already provided within the confines of a standard training session. I revised both topics in Category 2 (Peer Networks), so that 2a pertained to efforts within the training to build community among peers and 2b pertained to efforts outside of the training sessions. I edited Category 6 (Asking People to Run) to be two sub-topics that just coded if the organization does encouragement/recruitment. Finally, I went through and underlined in each interview which traits needed to be coded as either 7a, 7b or 7c.

[41]Among these ten organizations, six exclusively trained women and four did not. Four were nonpartisan and six were left-leaning.

[42]Hayes and Krippendorff (2007) has found Krippendorff's alpha to be the most valid measure of reliability across coders and so I used Krippendorff's alpha in all tests of reliability.

Appendix Three: Interview Question Wording

- Introductory Questions

    1. Why don't you start by describing the purpose of your organization to me in your own words.
    2. What is your role in the organization?
    3. Candidate training can mean a lot of different things. Can you tell me, in detail, about the kind of candidate training that your organization does? (Structure of the trainings, frequency, topics covered, etc.)
    4. What would you say your theory is for what makes a candidate training program successful at getting people ready to run for office?
    5. What are your goals for your training program? What are you hoping these trainings will achieve?

- Types of Skills and Traits

    1. Given your expertise in recruiting and training candidates to run for office, I want to ask you about what makes someone the most successful when running for office. What are three qualities you look for in an ideal candidate?
    2. What about personality traits, which personality traits matter the most?
    3. What about skills gained prior to running, which skills matter the most?
    4. What about resources and networks, which resources and social networks matter the most?
    5. If you were to rate, on a scale from 1-5, the impact of personality on a candidate's likelihood of success, where 1 is personality has no impact at all and 5 is personality has incredible impact on a candidate's likelihood of success, where would you rate personality? *(Repeat with skills and resources/networks.)*

- Who Attends / What Do They Get Out of Trainings

    1. How would you describe the background and past experiences of an average attendee?
    2. From what I can tell, training programs vary a lot in who attends them. Attendees can range from having only just started thinking about running for office to having only declared. Thinking about the average attendee of your program, which of the following comes closest to how you would describe them: *[Our average attendee has just started thinking about running for office; Our average attendee plans to run in the future but has not made any formal steps yet; Our average attendees knows when they will run and is making steps towards declaring; Our average attendee has already declared or started campaigning for office]*
    3. As we just discussed, training attendees come from a wide range of backgrounds and experiences. Would you say that the people who attend your trainings are already certain that they are qualified to run for office or do you think need it reinforced that they are qualified to run for office?
    4. How does your training help attendees consider whether they are qualified to run for office (or not)?
    5. Have you noticed any particular trends in how women respond to your trainings or how gender influences your trainings?
    6. What is your organization trying to do to diversify the pipeline of people running for political office?

- Differences Over Time

    1. How have your trainings evolved over the last five years? What's different in what you do in these trainings in 2020 from what you did in 2015?
    2. How have your trainings changed in response to COVID?

- Organization Demographics

    1. Approximately how many people do you train per year?
    2. How is your organization funded?
    3. How do you recruit the people to attend your trainings?
    4. Do you stay in touch with people after the trainings? How?

- Concluding Thoughts

    1. Is there anything else you think would be important for me to know about the work that your organization does to train candidates to run for office that we didn't get a chance to talk about?
    2. My goal is to speak with people at lots of different organizations that do candidate training. Can you think of any organizations you think it would be particularly important for me to speak with?

Appendix Four: Additional Interview Results

TABLE 3. Correlation Between Number of Words and Organization Type (WCTO vs NGCTO)

	Dependent variable: Organization Type
Word Length	−165.307
	(679.549)
Constant	10,784.120***
	(517.059)
Observations	57
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.017
Residual Std. Error	2,533.062 (df = 55)
	$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 3 depicts the organization between the number of words in the interview transcript and whether the organization was a Women's or an Non-Gender Candidate Training Organization. Results show that there is not a statistically significant correlation between the interview length and the type of organization, and in fact that there were fewer words in the interviews with WCTOs than with the NGCTOs in my sample. This shows that variation in length of interview cannot possibly explain the greater salience of certain topics from WCTOs compared to NGCTOs.

TABLE 4. Differences Between WCTOs and NGCTOs in Addressing Racial, Ethnic and Sexual Equality Through Trainings – Right-Leaning Organizations Excluded

	Women's Candidate Org.			Non-Gender Candidate Org.		
	Percent	Mean	Median	Percent	Mean	Median
Diversity - Interview	42.31%	.807	0	77.27%	1.91	1
Diversity - Training	11.54%	.115	0	31.81%	.727	0
Diverse Leadership	46.15%	.846	0	40.9%	.59	0

Note: Table 4 shows the percentage of WCTOs and NGCTOs that made at least one mention of barriers for racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities in the interview (Diversity-Interview), barriers for racial, ethnic and sexual minorities in their trainings (Diversity-Training), and efforts to increase the racial, ethnic and sexual diversity of program leadership (Diverse Leadership), when all right-leaning organizations are excluded from analyses. Table 4 also shows the average and median number of mentions per interview. Results indicate that WCTOs are still less likely to mention barriers for racial, ethnic and sexual minorities than NGCTOs, even when right-leaning groups are removed, but are slightly more likely to prioritize diverse leadership.

TABLE 5. Differences Between WCTOs and NGCTOs in Addressing Racial, Ethnic and Sexual Equality Through Trainings – Right-Leaning Organizations And Organizations Focused on Other Types of Diversity Excluded

	Women's Candidate Org.			Non-Gender Candidate Org.		
	Percent	Mean	Median	Percent	Mean	Median
Diversity - Interview	40%	.76	0	70.59%	1.41	1
Diversity - Training	12%	.12	0	17.65%	.294	0
Diverse Leadership	48%	.88	0	23.53%	.41	0

Note: Table 5 shows the percentage of WCTOs and NGCTOs that made at least one mention of barriers for racial, ethnic and sexual minorities in the interview (Diversity-Interview), barriers for racial, ethnic and sexual minorities in their trainings (Diversity-Training), and efforts to increase the racial, ethnic and sexual diversity of program leadership (Diverse Leadership), when right-leaning organizations and organizations focused on non-white and non-straight recruitment are excluded from analyses. Table 5 also shows the average and median number of mentions per interview. Results indicate that WCTOs are less likely than NGCTOs to talk about barriers for non-white and non-straight candidates in both trainings and interviews, but that few NGCTOs and WCTOs not focused on race/ethnicity mention these barriers in their trainings. However, WCTOs are more likely than NGCTOs to mention efforts to have diverse leadership, when comparing WCTOs and NGCTOs that are both not right-leaning and not focused on racial/ethnic/sexual diversity.

Appendix Five: Experimental Treatments and Question Wording

Treatment One: Motivation vs No Motivation

Every local government has things it does well and things it does poorly.

These can include government programs or services, like road maintenance, trash pickup, educating kids, or providing public transportation. They can also include building and maintaining community structures or spaces, like parks, playgrounds, or libraries.

Thinking about your local government, **what would you be motivated to work hard to improve/what do you feel is currently working very well** about what's being provided to your community? Write three sentences in the space below about something you **would feel motivated to change that your local government is handling really poorly, and what you would do to improve it./ feel confident that your local government is handling really well and why you're content with how it's being handled.**

Treatments Two and Three: Information vs Information and Resources AND Non-Gender vs Women

NEWS RELEASE
For Immediate Release

"RUNNING AND WINNING/WOMEN RUNNING AND WINNING" *Launches Candidate Training Program Across Towns in [STATE]*

Running and Winning/Women Running and Winning launched their first annual run for office training program this week. This candidate training program is a four-hour program, taking place in different towns all throughout [state], that provides **people/women** with all the information needed to launch a local political campaign.

"We're excited about the opportunity to launch **Running and Winning/Women Running and Winning**, because we want to get more people engaged in running for political office at the local level. This program is really geared towards **people/women** interested in making a difference through politics, particularly those who are already parents and volunteers actively involved in their communities. By the time you finish our training, you'll have everything you need to draft a campaign plan and start collecting signatures!" – says **Jason Smith/Jessica Smith, President and CEO of RUNNING AND WINNING/WOMEN RUNNING AND WINNING**

Sessions include trainings about how to fundraise, talking to press, crafting your story as a candidate, and a one-hour panel with current and formal local elected officials. The program takes place on a Saturday afternoon and costs $50 to attend.

In addition to all the information gained, Running and Winning wants to make it easier for people like you to get the resources you need to launch a run for local office. This includes opportunities to network with current and former elected officials who have gone through the program, assistance with fundraising, ongoing mentorship from experienced staff all the way until Election Day and the opportunity to connect with an alumni community going through

similar experiences that will support your campaign.

###

Running and Winning/Women Running and Winning is a 501c3 nonpartisan nonprofit organization that aims to provide people all across [state] with the information needed to run for local political office. Founded in 2018, they provide a range of programming geared towards first time potential candidates.

Dependent Variables

- Interest in Running
    1. How likely is it that you would run for local office, at some point in the future? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not at all likely]
    2. Which best characterizes your attitudes towards ever running for local office? [Very interested in running for office, Interested in running for office, Neither interested nor disinterested, Disinterested in running for office, Very disinterested in running for office]
- Perceptions of Qualifications
    1. If you were to run for local political office, how likely do you think you would be to win? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not at all likely]
    2. How qualified do you think you are to run for local political office? [Extremely qualified, Very qualified, Moderately qualified, Not too qualified, Not at all qualified]
    3. How achievable do you think something like being a political candidate is for someone like you? [Extremely achievable, Very achievable, Moderately achievable, A little achievable, Not at all achievable]
    4. Given that running for local office can require time, money and resources, how difficult do you think a run for office would be for you personally? [Extremely difficult, Very difficult, Moderately difficult, A little difficult, Not at all difficult]
- Interest in Organization
    1. How interested are you in learning more about opportunities to attend a candidate training program, like the one you read about? [Extremely interested, Very interested, Moderately interested, A little interested, Not at all interested]
    2. If you were to run for local political office, how likely would you be to attend an organization like the one you read about? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not likely at all]
    3. How interested are you in learning more about running for political office at some point in the future? [Extremely interested, Very interested, Moderately interested, A little interested, Not at all interested]
- Perceptions of Organizational Support
    1. How likely do you think an organization like the one you read about is to support people like you, if they run for local political office? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not likely at all]
    2. How likely do you think it is that an organization like the one you read about provides relevant information and resources to people like you, should they run for local political office? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not at all likely]

- Political Participation
    1. How likely would you be to volunteer for a candidate who was endorsed by an organization like the one you read about? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not likely at all]
    2. How likely would you be to donate to a candidate who was endorsed by an organization like the one you read about? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not likely at all]

Heterogeneous Treatment Effects and Manipulation Checks

- Gender Consciousness (Group Closeness and Perception of Discrimination)
    1. How much do you think your gender impacts your life? [A lot, A great deal, A moderate amount, Not very much, Not at all]
    2. How important is being a woman to your identity? [Extremely important, very important, Moderately important, not very important, not at all important]
    3. How much discrimination do you think women face because of their gender? [A lot, A great deal, Somewhat, Not very much, Not at all]
- Race/Ethnicity
    1. Which of the following racial or ethnic groups do you belonging to? Select all that apply. [White, Black, Hispanic/Latino, Asian American/Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, Native American, Other]
- Manipulation Check
    1. How much change do you think is needed on the program or issue in your community that you wrote about? [A lot of change, Considerable change, A moderate amount of change, Not a lot of change, No change at all]

Appendix Six: Full Set of Experimental Findings (With All DVs)

Mobilization Treatment: DVs Combined and Separately

TABLE 6. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Candidacy Scale

	Dependent variable:
	DV - Scale
Mobilization Treatment	0.030*
	(0.012)
Constant	0.368**
	(0.009)
Observations	1,202
R^2	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.004
Residual Std. Error	0.214 (df = 1200)
Note:	+ p<.1; * p<.05; ** p<.01

6 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on the full Political Ambition Scale. The Political Ambition Scale is 13 questions measuring interest in running, perceptions of qualifications, desire to learn more, perceptions of candidate organizations, and desire to participate on behalf of organization supported candidates. The Mobilization Condition Treatment uses language inspired by how WCTOs discuss encouraging women to run in their trainings. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased the Political Ambition Scale by 3 percentage points, compared to the No Mobilization Condition.

TABLE 7. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Treatment	0.032*	0.032+
	(0.016)	(0.018)
Constant	0.175**	0.309**
	(0.012)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.003	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.002
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.281	0.320
	+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01	

Note: Table 7 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's interest in running for local political office. Interest is measured as both how interested and how likely they are to run. The Mobilization Condition Treatment uses language inspired by how WCTOs discuss encouraging women to run in their trainings. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased both women's interest in and likelihood of running for political office by 3 percentage points (p<.05 for likelihood and p<.1 for interest), compared to the No Mobilization Condition.

TABLE 8. Effect of Mobilization on Perception of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:			
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Achievable	Not Costly
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mobilization	0.037*	0.047**	0.026	0.012
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.270**	0.285**	0.354**	0.290**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.004	0.006	0.002	0.0004
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.005	0.001	−0.0005
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.291	0.295	0.319	0.311

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 8 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's perceptions of the qualifications to run for office. Qualifications are measured in terms of belief they would win, whether they think they're qualified, whether a run for political office is achievable, and whether it would (not) be costly for someone like them. The Mobilization Condition Treatment uses language inspired by how WCTOs discuss encouraging women to run in their trainings. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased women's belief they would win by 3.7 percentage points (p<.05) and belief that they're qualified by 4.7 percentage points (p<.01), but did not have an effect on perceptions of achievability or cost.

TABLE 9. Effect of Mobilization on Interest in Learning More About Running

	Dependent variable:		
	Learn From Training	Attend Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mobilization	0.044*	0.020	0.048*
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Constant	0.287**	0.580**	0.254**
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.004	0.001	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.00003	0.005
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.327	0.346	0.321

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 9 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's interest in learning more about for office. Interest in Learning More is measured by three questions asking whether they feel they would learn from a candidate training, whether they would attend a candidate training, and whether they want to learn more about running. The Mobilization Condition Treatment uses language inspired by how WCTOs discuss encouraging women to run in their trainings. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased women's belief that they would learn from a training by 4.4 percentage points (p<.05), and desire to learn more about running by 4.8 percentage points (p<.05), but did not have a statistically significant increase on desire to attend a training.

TABLE 10. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Perceptions of Cand. Orgs

	Dependent variable:	
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Treatment	0.014	0.001
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.633**	0.548**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.0005	0.00000
Adjusted R^2	−0.0004	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.314	0.314

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 10 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's perception of candidate training organizations. Perceptions of organizations is a two-item measuring asking the relevance of the organization to a woman's life and belief that a candidate training organization would help people like them. The Mobilization Condition Treatment uses language inspired by how WCTOs discuss encouraging women to run in their trainings. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's perceptions of candidate training organizations.

TABLE 11. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Participating for Other Candidates

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Treatment	0.033^{+}	0.039*
	(0.019)	(0.018)
Constant	0.399**	0.402**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.003	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.003
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.322	0.315

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 11 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's likelihood of participating on behalf of candidate training organization endorsed candidates. Participation is measured using two items asking whether the respondents would volunteer for or donate to a candidate endorsed by the candidate training organization they read about. The Mobilization Condition Treatment uses language inspired by how WCTOs discuss encouraging women to run in their trainings. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased women's likelihood of volunteering by 3.3 percentage points (p<.1) and likelihood of donating by 3.9 percentage points (p<.05).

Resources Treatment: DVs Separately

TABLE 12. Effect of Information+Resources on Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Resources	−0.001	−0.015
	(0.016)	(0.018)
Constant	0.192***	0.332***
	(0.011)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.00001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.0003
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.281	0.320

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 12 shows the effect of the Information+Resources Condition on women's interest in running for office. Interest is measured using two questions asking a respondent's likelihood of running and interest in running for local political office. The Information+Resources Condition told respondents about information and resources provided by a candidate training organization, compared to just information. The Information+Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with interest in running.

TABLE 13. Effect of Information+Resources on Perception of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:			
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Achievable	Not Costly
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Resources	−0.010	−0.015	−0.015	−0.009
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.293***	0.316***	0.375***	0.301***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.0003	0.001	0.001	0.0002
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.0002	−0.0003	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.292	0.296	0.319	0.311

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 13 shows the effect of the Information+Resources Condition on women's perceptions of their qualifications to run for office. Qualifications is measured using four questions asking a respondent's beliefs that they would win, belief that they're qualified to run, perception that a run for office is achievable for someone like them, and perceptions of the cost of running. The Information+Resources Condition told respondents about information and resources provided by a candidate training organization, compared to just information. The Information+Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run.

TABLE 14. Effect of Information+Resources on Interest in Learning More About Running

	Dependent variable:		
	Learn From Training	Attend Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Resources	−0.023	−0.027	−0.028
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Constant	0.321***	0.604***	0.292***
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.002	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.0004	0.001	0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.328	0.346	0.321

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 14 shows the effect of the Information+Resources Condition on women's interest in learning more about a run for office. Interest is measured with three questions asking about whether they want to learn more about candidate training, likelihood of attending a candidate training, and desire to learn more about running for office. The Information+Resources Condition told respondents about information and resources provided by a candidate training organization, compared to just information. The Information+Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run.

TABLE 15. Effect of Information+Resources on Perceptions of Cand. Orgs

	Dependent variable:	
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support
	(1)	(2)
Resources	−0.019	−0.023
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.650***	0.560***
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.0001	0.0005
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.314	0.314

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 15 shows the effect of the Information+Resources Condition on women's perceptions of candidate training organizations. Perceptions is measured by asking two questions about whether women think they organization is relevant to people like them, and whether they think the organization would support someone like them. The Information+Resources Condition told respondents about information and resources provided by a candidate training organization, compared to just information. The Information+Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run.

TABLE 16. Effect of Information+Resources on Participating for Other Candidates

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Resources	−0.023	−0.013
	(0.019)	(0.018)
Constant	0.427***	0.428***
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.0004
Adjusted R^2	0.0005	−0.0004
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.322	0.316

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 16 shows the effect of the Information+Resources Condition on women's desire to participate on behalf of candidate training endorsed candidates. Participation is measured by asking two questions asking a respondent's likelihood of volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the candidate training organization they read about. The Information+Resources Condition told respondents about information and resources provided by a candidate training organization, compared to just information. The Information+Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run.

Gender Treatment: DVs Both Scaled and Separately

TABLE 17. Effect of Women's Org. Condition

	Dependent variable:
	Running for Office Scale
Women's Org.	0.015
	(0.012)
Constant	0.376**
	(0.009)
Observations	1,202
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.0004
Residual Std. Error	0.214 (df = 1200)

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 17 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's responses to the Political Ambition Scale. The Political Ambition Scale is a thirteen-item scale measuring women's interest in and perceptions of running for political office. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with the Political Ambition Scale.

TABLE 18. Effect of Women's Org. on Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	−0.016	0.013
	(0.016)	(0.018)
Constant	0.199**	0.318**
	(0.011)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.0004
Adjusted R^2	−0.00004	−0.0004
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.281	0.320

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 18 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's interest in running for local political office. Interest was measured with two questions asking about likelihood of running and interest in running for local political office. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's interest in running for office.

TABLE 19. Effect of Women's Org. on Perception of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:			
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Achievable	Not Costly
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Women's Org.	0.013	−0.008	0.014	−0.0004
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.282**	0.312**	0.361**	0.296**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.0005	0.0002	0.0005	0.00000
Adjusted R^2	−0.0003	−0.001	−0.0004	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.292	0.296	0.319	0.311

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 19 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's perceptions of their qualifications to run for office. Qualifications to run is measured using four questions asking a respondent's beliefs that they would win, belief that they're qualified to run, perception that a run for office is achievable for someone like them, and perceptions of the cost of running. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's perceptions of their qualifications to run.

TABLE 20. Effect of Women's Org. on Interest in Learning More About Running

	Dependent variable:		
	Learn From Training	Attend Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Women's Org.	0.020	0.023	0.002
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Constant	0.300**	0.578**	0.277**
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.001	0.00001
Adjusted R^2	0.0001	0.0003	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.328	0.346	0.322

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 20 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's interest in learning more about running for office. Interest is measured with three questions asking about whether they want to learn more about candidate training, likelihood of attending a candidate training, and desire to learn more about running for office. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's interest in learning more about running for office.

TABLE 21. Effect of Women's Org. on Perceptions of Cand. Orgs

	Dependent variable:	
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.025	0.020
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.628**	0.539**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.002	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.0002
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.314	0.314

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 21 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's perceptions of candidate training organizations. Perceptions is measured by asking two questions about whether women think they organization is relevant to people like them, and whether they think the organization would support someone like them. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's perceptions of candidate training organizations.

Gender Treatment Among Gender Conscious: DVs and Separately

TABLE 22. Effect of Women's Org. on Gender Conscious Respondents

	Dependent variable:
	Running for Office Scale
Women's Org.	0.030+
	(0.016)
Constant	0.396**
	(0.011)
Observations	761
R^2	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.003
Residual Std. Error	0.222 (df = 759)

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 22 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's responses to the Political Ambition Scale, among women high in gender consciousness. The Political Ambition Scale is a thirteen-item scale measuring women's interest in and perceptions of running for political office. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). Gender consciousness was measured with three questions asking how important gender is to their identity, how much their gender impacts their life, and the importance of electing more women. The Women's Organization Condition increased support for the Political Ambition Scale by 3 percentage points (p<.1), among women high in gender consciousness.

TABLE 23. Effect of Women's Org on Gender Conscious Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.001	0.022
	(0.022)	(0.024)
Constant	0.209**	0.339**
	(0.015)	(0.017)
Observations	761	761
R^2	0.00001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.0002
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.299	0.331

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 23 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's interest in running for local political office. Interest was measured with two questions asking about likelihood of running, and interest in running for local political office. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). Gender consciousness was measured with three questions asking how important gender is to their identity, how much their gender impacts their life, and the importance of electing more women. The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with interest in running, among women high in gender consciousness.

TABLE 24. Effect of Women's Org. on Gender Conscious Perception of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:			
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Achievable	Not Costly
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Women's Org.	0.022	−0.002	0.008	−0.010
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.022)
Constant	0.299**	0.332**	0.391**	0.301**
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.016)
Observations	761	761	761	761
R^2	0.001	0.00001	0.0002	0.0003
Adjusted R^2	−0.00003	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.303	0.310	0.331	0.309

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 24 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's perceptions of their qualifications to run for office. Qualifications to run is measured using four questions asking a respondent's beliefs that they would win, belief that they're qualified to run, perception that a run for office is achievable for someone like them, and perceptions of the cost of running. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). Gender consciousness was measured with three questions asking how important gender is to their identity, how much their gender impacts their life, and the importance of electing more women. The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run, among women high in gender consciousness.

TABLE 25. Effect of Women's Org on Gender Conscious Interest in Learning More

	Dependent variable:		
	Learn From Training	Attend Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Women's Org.	0.037	0.065**	0.017
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Constant	0.331**	0.592**	0.305**
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	761	761	761
R^2	0.003	0.009	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.008	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.347	0.343	0.342

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 25 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's interest in learning more about running for office. Interest is measured with three questions asking about whether they want to learn more about candidate training, likelihood of attending a candidate training, and desire to learn more about running for office. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). Gender consciousness was measured with three questions asking how important gender is to their identity, how much their gender impacts their life, and the importance of electing more women. The Women's Organization Condition increased interest in attending a candidate training by 6.5 percentage points, among women high in gender consciousness (p<.01), but was not statistically significantly related to the two other items.

TABLE 26. Effect of Women's Org on Gender Conscious Perceptions of Cand. Orgs

	Dependent variable:	
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.052*	0.037+
	(0.022)	(0.023)
Constant	0.650**	0.567**
	(0.016)	(0.016)
Observations	761	761
R^2	0.007	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.002
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.308	0.312

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 26 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's perceptions of candidate training organizations. Perceptions is measured by asking two questions about whether women think they organization is relevant to people like them and whether they think the organization would support someone like them. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). Gender consciousness was measured with three questions asking how important gender is to their identity, how much their gender impacts their life, and the importance of electing more women. The Women's Organization Condition increased perceptions of the candidate training's relevance by 5.2 percentage points (p<.05) and increased beliefs the organization would support people like them by 3.7 percentage points (p<.1).

TABLE 27. Effect of Women's Org. on Gender Conscious Participation for Other Candidates

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.079**	0.067**
	(0.024)	(0.024)
Constant	0.410**	0.418**
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	761	761
R^2	0.014	0.010
Adjusted R^2	0.013	0.009
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.330	0.326

$^{+}p<0.1$; $^{*}p<0.05$; $^{**}p<0.01$

Note: Table 27 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's desire to participate on behalf of candidate training endorsed candidates. Participation is measured by asking two questions asking a respondent's likelihood of volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the candidate training organization they read about. Women in the Women's Organization Condition learned about support provided by a women's candidate training organization (WCTO) for running for office, compared to a non-gender candidate training organization (NGCTO). Gender consciousness was measured with three questions asking how important gender is to their identity, how much their gender impacts their life, and the importance of electing more women. The Women's Organization Condition increased interest in volunteering on behalf of an endorsed candidate by 7.9 percentage points (p<.01) and interest in donating to an endorsed candidate by 6.7 percentage points (p<.01).

Appendix Seven: Additional Experimental Results From Main Text with Controls

TABLE 28. Effect of Mobilization on Political Ambition Scale

	Dependent variable:
	Running for Office Scale
Mobilization	0.020^{+}
	(0.012)
Party ID (Strong Dem = 1)	0.045^{**}
	(0.017)
White	-0.077^{**}
	(0.013)
Education	0.102^{**}
	(0.025)
Income	0.007^{**}
	(0.002)
Constant	0.316^{**}
	(0.019)
Observations	1,200
R^2	0.087
Adjusted R^2	0.083
Residual Std. Error	0.205 (df = 1194)
	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 28 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's responses to the Political Ambition Scale, with the inclusion of demographic controls. The Political Ambition Scale is a thirteen-item measure evaluating women's interest in and perceptions of running for political office. The Mobilization Condition Treatment uses language inspired by how WCTOs discuss encouraging women to run in their trainings. Controls were selected based on balance across treatment and include party identification, whiteness, education, and income. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased the Political Ambition Scale by 2 percentage points (p<.1).

TABLE 29. Effect of Women's Org. on Participation for Other Cands.

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.046*	0.042*
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Party ID (Strong Dem = 1)	0.052*	0.071**
	(0.026)	(0.026)
White	−0.051**	−0.047*
	(0.020)	(0.019)
Education	0.110**	0.026
	(0.039)	(0.038)
Income	0.006*	0.008**
	(0.003)	(0.003)
Constant	0.316**	0.336**
	(0.029)	(0.029)
Observations	1,200	1,200
R^2	0.035	0.031
Adjusted R^2	0.031	0.027
Residual Std. Error (df = 1194)	0.317	0.311

+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 29 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on interest in participating on behalf of candidate training endorsed candidates, with the inclusion of demographic controls. Participation is a two-item measure evaluating desire to volunteer for or donate to candidates endorsed by a candidate training organization. The Women's Organization Treatment provides women respondents with information about the WCTO compared to a NGCTO. Controls were selected based on balance across treatment and include party identification, whiteness, education, and income. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition increased both women's desire to volunteer by 4.6 percentage points (p<.05) and interest in donating by 4.2 percentage points (p<.05).

TABLE 30. Effect of Information+Resources on Political Ambition Scale

	Dependent variable:
	Running for Office Scale
Resources	-0.020^{+}
	(0.012)
Party ID (Strong Dem = 1)	0.047^{**}
	(0.017)
White	-0.078^{**}
	(0.013)
Education	0.104^{**}
	(0.025)
Income	0.007^{**}
	(0.002)
Constant	0.334^{**}
	(0.019)
Observations	1,200
R^2	0.087
Adjusted R^2	0.083
Residual Std. Error	0.205 (df = 1194)
	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 30 shows the effect of the Information+Resources Condition on the Political Ambition Scale, with the inclusion of demographic controls. The Political Ambition Scale is a thirteen-item measure evaluating women's interest in and perceptions of running for political office. The Information+Resources Condition provided respondents with information about how they can receive both information and resources on how to run from a candidate training organization, compared with just information. Controls were selected based on balance across treatment and include party identification, whiteness, education, and income. Being assigned to the Information+Resources condition decreased interest in running for office by 2 percentage points (p<.1).

TABLE 31. Effect of Women's Org. on Gender Conscious Respondents

	Dependent variable:
	Running for Office Scale
Women's Org.	0.029^{+}
	(0.015)
Party ID (Strong Dem = 1)	0.036
	(0.022)
White	−0.092**
	(0.016)
Education	0.121**
	(0.032)
Income	0.009**
	(0.002)
Constant	0.323**
	(0.025)
Observations	761
R^2	0.117
Adjusted R^2	0.111
Residual Std. Error	0.210 (df = 755)
	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 31 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on the Political Ambition Scale, among women high in gender consciousness, with the inclusion of demographic controls. The Political Ambition Scale is a thirteen-item measure evaluating women's interest in and perceptions of running for political office. The Women's Organization Treatment provides women respondents with information about the WCTO compared to a NGCTO. Gender consciousness is a three-item measure, evaluating how important gender is to one's identity, how much gender impacts one's everyday life, and how important it is to elect more women candidates Controls were selected based on balance across treatment and include party identification, whiteness, education, and income. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 2.9 percentage point increase in the Run for Office Scale, among women high in gender consciousness, when accounting for demographic controls (p<.1).

Appendix Eight: Results of Manipulation Check and Main Findings Among Attentive Respondents

The manipulation check asked respondents how much change the wanted to make on the programs and services they wrote about in the mobilization condition. As can be seen in Table 32, respondents in the mobilization condition were statistically significantly more likely to want to change the programs and services they wrote about, highlighting the effectiveness of the manipulation.

TABLE 32. Effect of Mobilization Treatment on Manipulation Check

	Dependent variable:
	Manipulation Check
Mobilization	0.528**
	(0.046)
Constant	0.150**
	(0.034)
Observations	1,202
R^2	0.100
Adjusted R^2	0.099
Residual Std. Error	0.475 (df = 1200)

+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 32 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on the manipulation check. The manipulation check asked respondents how much they wanted to change the issues that they wrote about in the Mobilization Condition. The Mobilization Condition Treatment uses language inspired by how WCTOs discuss encouraging women to run in their trainings. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition had a strong and statistically significant relationship with desire to change the issues written about in the treatment, highlighting the effectiveness of the treatment design (p=0.0).

Appendix Nine: Alternative Measure of Gender Consciousness

There continues to be a positive and statistically significant relationship between the Women's Organization condition and running for office scale, among women high in gender consciousness, when using the alternative two-item measure of gender consciousness. The two-item measure also leads to the same four statistically significant dependent variables, centered around believing WCTOs help women like them and desire to participate on behalf of endorsed candidates. However, using the two-item measure also results in a statistically significant effect of the Women's Org. condition on interest in attending a candidate training and belief that the respondent could learn from trainings provided by the organization they read about. Results below.

TABLE 33. Effect of Women's Org. on Gender Conscious Respondents – Alt. Measure

	Dependent variable:
	Running for Office Scale
Women's Org.	0.036^{+}
	(0.017)
Constant	0.392^{**}
	(0.012)
Observations	701
R^2	0.006
Adjusted R^2	0.005
Residual Std. Error	0.226 (df = 699)

Note:
$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 33 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on the Political Ambition Scale, among women high in gender consciousness (using an alternative measure). The Political Ambition Scale is a thirteen-item measure evaluating women's interest in and perceptions of running for political office. The Women's Organization Treatment provides women respondents with information about the WCTO compared to a NGCTO. Gender consciousness is a two-item measure, evaluating how important gender is to one's identity, and how much gender impacts one's everyday life. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 3.6 percentage point increase in the Run for Office Scale, among women high in gender consciousness, when accounting for demographic controls (p<.1).

TABLE 34. Effect of Women's Org. on Gender Conscious Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Women's Org.	0.044^{+}	0.042^{+}	0.086***	0.070**
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Constant	0.649**	0.563**	0.407**	0.418**
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	701	701	701	701
R^2	0.005	0.004	0.016	0.011
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.003	0.015	0.010
Residual Std. Error (df = 699)	0.316	0.319	0.332	0.327

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 34 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on perceptions of WCTOs and desire to participate on behalf of their candidates, among women high in gender consciousness (using an alternative measure). DVs are four items, including how relevant WCTOs are to the respondent's life, how much WCTOs support people like them, and likelihood of volunteering for and donating to a candidate endorsed by a WCTO. The Women's Organization Treatment provides women respondents with information about the WCTO compared to a NGCTO. Gender consciousness is a two-item measure, evaluating how important gender is to one's identity, and how much gender impacts one's everyday life. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 4.4 percentage point increase in seeing the organization as relevant (p<.1), a 4.2 percentage point increase in thinking the organization supports people like them (p<.1), an 8.6 percentage point increase in desire to volunteer (p<.001) and a 7 percentage point increase in desire to donate (p<.01).

TABLE 35. Effect of Women's Org on Gender Conscious Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn From Training	Attend Training
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.050^{+}	0.070**
	(0.027)	(0.026)
Constant	0.327**	0.588**
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Observations	701	701
R^2	0.005	0.010
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.009
Residual Std. Error (df = 699)	0.351	0.343

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 35 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on interest in WCTOs, among women high in gender consciousness (using an alternative measure). Interest is a two-item measure asking whether the respondent would learn from a WCTO and likelihood of attending a WCTO. The Women's Organization Treatment provides women respondents with information about the WCTO compared to a NGCTO. Gender consciousness is a two-item measure, evaluating how important gender is to one's identity, and how much gender impacts one's everyday life. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 5 percentage point increase in desire to learn from a candidate training (p<.1) and a 7 percentage point increase in desire to attend a candidate training (p<.01).

Appendix Ten: Effects Among White, Black and Latina Women Separately

TABLE 36. Effect of Women's Org on Participation for Other Candidates – Volunteering

	Dependent variable:		
	Volunteer		
	White Women	Black Women	Latinas
Women's Org.	0.053*	0.081*	−0.031
	(0.024)	(0.038)	(0.044)
Constant	0.367***	0.416***	0.476***
	(0.017)	(0.027)	(0.031)
Observations	725	290	215
R^2	0.007	0.016	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.005	0.012	−0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.320 (df = 723)	0.320 (df = 288)	0.322 (df = 213)

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Table 36 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on volunteering for a candidate endorsed by a CTO, separately among white women, Black women, and Latinas. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 5 percentage point increase for white women, an 8 percentage point increase for Black women (both p<.05) and a negative and non-statistically significant change in desire to volunteer for a CTO endorsed candidate for Latinas.

TABLE 37. Effect of Women's Org on Participation for Other Candidates – Donating

	Dependent variable:		
	Donate		
	White Women	Black Women	Latinas
Women's Org.	0.042^{+}	0.027	0.064
	(0.023)	(0.038)	(0.042)
Constant	0.378^{**}	0.445^{**}	0.433^{**}
	(0.016)	(0.028)	(0.030)
Observations	725	290	215
R^2	0.004	0.002	0.011
Adjusted R^2	0.003	−0.002	0.006
Residual Std. Error	0.312 (df = 723)	0.322 (df = 288)	0.310 (df = 213)

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Table 37 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on donating to a candidate endorsed by a CTO, separately among white women, Black women, and Latinas. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 4 percentage point increase among white women (p<.1), while there was not a statistically significant relationship between the treatment and desire to donate for Black women or Latinas, even though the effects were in the correct direction.