

# Hometown Advantage: Voter Preferences for Community Embeddedness in Local Contests

Joseph T. Ornstein\*    Amanda J. Heideman<sup>†</sup>    Bryant J. Moy<sup>‡</sup>  
Kaylyn Jackson Schiff<sup>§</sup>

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## Abstract

Every year, Americans elect hundreds of thousands of candidates to local public office, typically in low-attention, nonpartisan races. How do voters evaluate candidates in these sorts of elections? Previous research suggests that, absent party cues, voters rely on a set of heuristic shortcuts—including the candidate’s name, profession, and interest group endorsements—to decide whom to support. In this paper, we suggest that community embeddedness—a candidate’s roots and ties to the community—is particularly salient in these local contests. We present evidence from a conjoint survey experiment on a nationally-representative sample of American voters. We estimate the marginal effect on vote share of candidate attributes such as gender, race, age, profession, interest group endorsements, and signals of community embeddedness—specifically homeownership and residency duration. We find that voters, regardless of political party, have strong preferences for community embeddedness. Strikingly, the magnitude of the residency duration effect rivals that of prior political experience.

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\*Assistant Professor, School of Public & International Affairs, University of Georgia, [jornstein@uga.edu](mailto:jornstein@uga.edu)

<sup>†</sup>Teaching Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Marquette University, [amanda.heideman@marquette.edu](mailto:amanda.heideman@marquette.edu)

<sup>‡</sup>Data Science Faculty Fellow, Center for Data Science, New York University, [bryant.moy@nyu.edu](mailto:bryant.moy@nyu.edu), and Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Politics, New York University

<sup>§</sup>Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Purdue University, [schiffk@purdue.edu](mailto:schiffk@purdue.edu)

# 1 Introduction

There are approximately 90,000 local governments in the United States, for which citizens elect hundreds of thousands of public officials each year (Warshaw 2019). Yet, most studies of candidate preferences focus on the national level.<sup>1</sup> This is problematic for our understanding of elections and candidate choice because local electoral contests differ from national elections in important ways (Oliver and Ha 2007). Local elections are characterized by non-partisan races (for example, 77% of city council races use non-partisan ballots (MacManus and Bullock III 2003)), as well as lower information and lower attention on the part of both voters and the media. Our understanding of candidate choice and the tradeoffs that voters make from national contexts may therefore provide limited insight into local electoral contests. This study therefore addresses the following question: Which candidate attributes do voters value most in local political contests?

To explore how individuals evaluate different candidate characteristics in local elections, we use a conjoint experiment embedded in the 2022 Cooperative Election Study. We ask 1,308 respondents to choose between two candidates in five hypothetical non-partisan local elections. We include candidate attributes previously explored in the literature—name, age, career, prior political experience, family, and endorsements—as well as two additional attributes that may be especially important in local elections: homeownership and the length of time the candidate has lived in the community. This allows us to not only compare our results on local elections to prior findings about key attributes in state and national contests, but also to contribute new knowledge on the relative importance of “community embeddedness,” or a candidate’s roots and ties to a community.

We find that several candidate attributes are as important in local elections as they are in national and state elections. Voters are more likely to prefer younger candidates, those with previous political experience, business owners, and candidates with families. In addition, we find that attributes signaling “community embeddedness” are particularly attractive to

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<sup>1</sup>A few exceptions include Mares and Visconti (2020) and Berz and Jankowski (2022).

voters. Our respondents are 4.0 percentage points more likely to vote for a homeowner than a renter, and 7.6 percentage points more likely to vote for someone who has lived in the community for a decade (compared to the base category of 2 years). While Democrats and Republicans are split on the importance of homeownership (greater Republican preference for homeownership), there is bipartisan consensus on the value of being embedded in a community for a longer period of time. Moreover, the magnitude of the residency duration effect is on par with the prior political experience effect, an attribute shown to be considerably important in prior work. Overall, the results imply that voters prefer their local elected officials to have local roots, and future work should explore the mechanisms through which community embeddedness matters to voters.

## **2 Candidate Attributes and Voter Preferences**

In an effort to combat the corruption and inefficiencies produced by party patronage that characterized many cities during the early part of the 20th century, Progressive reformers championed reforms that included the secret ballot, direct primaries, and the nonpartisan ballot. While the former – secret ballots and direct primaries – have been almost universally adopted by cities, the nonpartisan ballot characterizes only about 75 percent of municipal elections and roughly one-half of all elections in the United States (see discussion in Wright (2008)). Without party affiliation as a low-cost information cue, voters must turn to whatever information they have or can infer from the ballot.

### **2.1 Heuristics in Non-partisan Elections**

One such source of information is incumbency status or prior political experience. Those who do show up to vote often rely on incumbency (Schaffner, Streb and Wright 2001, Squire and Smith 1988), especially as incumbents are frequently indicated directly on the ballot so that voters can access this information easily at the ballot box. Both incumbency and a

candidate’s political history can signal job experience or that a candidate is higher quality after successfully defeating challengers in a prior election. Prior work has documented incumbency advantages for mayors and city council members (Trounstine 2011, Ferreira and Gyourko 2014) and has shown that individuals use information about candidates’ political experience when party labels are absent (Kirkland and Coppock 2018).

Voters also draw on candidate demographics, including race and ethnicity (Pomper 1966), gender (Matson and Fine 2006), and age (Eshima and Smith 2022). While these characteristics are not indicated directly on the ballot, voters may be able to infer some of these characteristics from candidates’ names. Individuals may even interpret race and gender as party cues in non-partisan elections (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993, McDermott 1998), and there is evidence that voters prefer to elect women to “stereotype-congruent” positions like school boards (Anzia and Bernhard 2022).

Furthermore, voters use information that they gather about candidates from campaigns, endorsements, and media coverage prior to heading to the ballot box. Profession, career history, and private sector experience provide valuable cues (Kirkland and Coppock 2018, Schaffner, Streb and Wright 2001, Lim and Snyder Jr 2015).<sup>2</sup> Voters value candidate qualifications, relevant training, and functional competence for office and use cues in the form of candidate occupation to assess who is or is not fit for the job. For example, Atkeson and Hamel (2020) find that voters prefer candidates with careers in education for positions on local school boards. In general, voters also tend to favor business owners and executives for the position of mayor. Kirkland (2021) finds that business owners and executives “make up the largest occupational category among US mayors—both over time and across regions of the country.” Republicans voters especially prefer candidates with job experience generally (Kirkland and Coppock 2018) and business experience in particular (Adams, Lascher Jr and Martin 2021).

Endorsements are another effective way for voters to overcome informational deficits.

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<sup>2</sup>In California, candidates may list their occupational background directly on the ballot.

Endorsements from interest groups (Lupia 1994, Gerber and Phillips 2003), co-ethnics (Benjamin 2017), and newspapers (Ansolabehere, Lessem and Snyder Jr 2006, Lieske 1989) all seem to influence voter preferences. For example, McDermott (2006) finds that endorsements from groups with a shared common interest—such as unions and union members—effectively improves ideologically and policy-aligned voting. Similarly, Arceneaux and Kolodny (2009) find that endorsements can help the least informed make decisions in a relatively low information real-world setting. Outside of candidate choice, there is further evidence that interest group endorsements can increase public support for pro-development ballot initiatives (Gerber and Phillips 2005).

Cultural stereotypes surrounding marriage and children also play an important role in shaping perceptions of candidates. Indeed, Teele, Kalla and Rosenbluth (2018) find that voters and elites prefer candidates who are both married and have children. Moreover, candidates who are perceived as going against these traditional stereotypes are penalized.<sup>3</sup>

## **2.2 Community Embeddedness: Homeownership and Residency Duration**

Despite being featured prominently in many campaign ads, less is known about how voters use information about candidates’ community embeddedness—their roots and ties to the community expressed through attributes such as homeownership and how long they have lived in the community—to make their vote choices. Homeowners are significantly over-represented among public officeholders at all levels of government (Einstein, Ornstein and Palmer 2022). But despite an extensive literature on how homeownership affects turnout and vote choice (Fischel 2002, Hall and Yoder 2022, Einstein, Glick and Palmer 2020, Einstein, Palmer and Glick 2019, Oliver and Ha 2007, Hankinson 2018), we know little about whether

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<sup>3</sup>A large literature finds that these penalties are concentrated particularly among women as motherhood becomes more politicized (Deason, Greenlee and Langner 2015), uneven child-rearing responsibilities persist (Iversen and Rosenbluth 2006), and women taking leadership roles are seen as them being too ambitious (Dittmar 2015, Jamieson 1995).

this overrepresentation of homeowners is driven by candidate selection or voter preferences.

Homeownership and residency duration may impact voter preferences in local elections through two mechanisms. First, these attributes may signal candidates’ investment of time and money into the community. Voters may want candidates with a stake in the long-term success of the community, and investments provide personal incentives to produce quality policies for the benefit of the community. Akin to the homevoter hypothesis of Fischel (2002), financial investment in the community may produce more active and involved representatives as well as voters. Second, homeownership and residency duration may also indicate better descriptive representation through shared preferences. Voters may want candidates whose interests match their own, derived from similar experiences and in-depth knowledge of concerns in the community, so that those interests are reflected in policymaking (Mansbridge 1999).

For these reasons, we expect that voters will be more likely to select candidates who are homeowners, and who have lived in the community for a longer period of time, over renters and newer residents. This expectation regarding the importance of community embeddedness also derives from the work of Hunt and Rouse (2023), who document the electoral advantage of state legislators with “deep local roots”—having lived, worked, gone to school, or raised a family—in the districts that they represent.

A key feature of the conjoint design used in this study is that we are able to evaluate not only the unique impact, but also the *relative* importance of these community embeddedness attributes compared to other candidate attributes with documented importance for voters’ preferences. Moreover, we can begin to explore mechanisms by comparing these preferences across different groups of respondents. For example, if homeowners and renters diverge on whether they prefer homeowner candidates, this would provide evidence in favor of the descriptive representation pathway. If *all* voters prefer homeowners candidates, it would provide evidence in favor of the investment pathway.

### 3 Experimental Design

We surveyed 1,308 respondents from the post-election survey module of the 2022 Cooperative Election Study (CES).<sup>4</sup> Of these respondents, 39% were men, 71% White, 12% Black, and 8% Hispanic. 27% live in urban areas, 40% live in suburbs, and 60% reported owning their own home. Our survey instrument is provided in Appendix Section A.1.

The survey included a conjoint choice task to assess the impact of candidate attributes on respondent’s preferences (Hainmueller, Hopkins and Yamamoto 2014). Conjoint designs have been used to study candidate preferences in a variety of contexts (Carlson 2015, Franchino and Zucchini 2015, Horiuchi, Smith and Yamamoto 2020, Carnes and Lupu 2016, Kirkland and Coppock 2018, Sung 2022). In our survey, each respondent completed five pairwise comparisons between hypothetical candidates, like the example in Figure 1. Seven attributes were provided for each candidate, drawn uniformly from the distributions in Table 1 with no restrictions on combinations. The bolded attribute—Community Ties—represents our “community embeddedness” variables of homeownership and residency duration, randomized independently.

Our analyses follow our pre-registration.<sup>5</sup> For each attribute, we estimate the Average Marginal Component Effect (AMCE), which can be interpreted as the estimated marginal effect of the attribute on predicted vote share (Bansak et al. 2022). We also estimate conditional AMCEs by respondent homeownership and political party identification, discussed below, and by other respondent demographics (gender, race, and urban/suburban/rural place of residence), reported in Appendix Section A.2.

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<sup>4</sup>This “unmatched” sample is not constructed to be nationally representative, and does not include survey weights for 30% of the sample. All the results we present here are similar, albeit less precise, when using the nationally representative matched sample.

<sup>5</sup>The anonymized version of our pre-registration can be found at Wharton Credibility Lab’s AsPredicted repository under the project entitled ‘Local Candidate Conjoint (CES 2022)’ (#109549): [https://aspredicted.org/43K\\_6MW](https://aspredicted.org/43K_6MW).

Table 1: Conjoint Task Attributes and Levels

Attribute	Levels
Name	123 names drawn from Butler and Homola (2017): 50% male and 50% female; 60% chance of a stereotypically White name, 20% chance of a stereotypically Black name, and 20% chance of a stereotypically Hispanic name
Political Experience	Previously elected to local office or no previous experience
Career History	High school teacher, construction worker, local attorney, police officer, real estate developer, business owner, not employed
<b>Community Ties</b>	Homeowner or renter; has lived in the community for 2 or 10 years
Family	Married with two children, married with no children, or single
Age	30, 45, or 60
Endorsed By	Association of local real estate developers, police union, teachers' union, local newspaper, county chamber of commerce, no endorsements

Figure 1: Example Conjoint Choice



Candidate Profiles 1 of 5

	<b>Candidate A</b>	<b>Candidate B</b>
<b>Name</b>	Jasmine Joseph	Luke Phillips
<b>Political Experience</b>	Previously elected to local office	Previously elected to local office
<b>Career History</b>	High school teacher	Real estate developer
<b>Community Ties</b>	Has rented an apartment in your community for the past 10 years.	Has rented an apartment in your community for the past 2 years.
<b>Family</b>	Married with two children	Married with no children
<b>Age</b>	60	45
<b>Endorsed By</b>	No endorsements	The county chamber of commerce

Which candidate would you prefer to vote for?

- ☐ Candidate A
- ☐ Candidate B

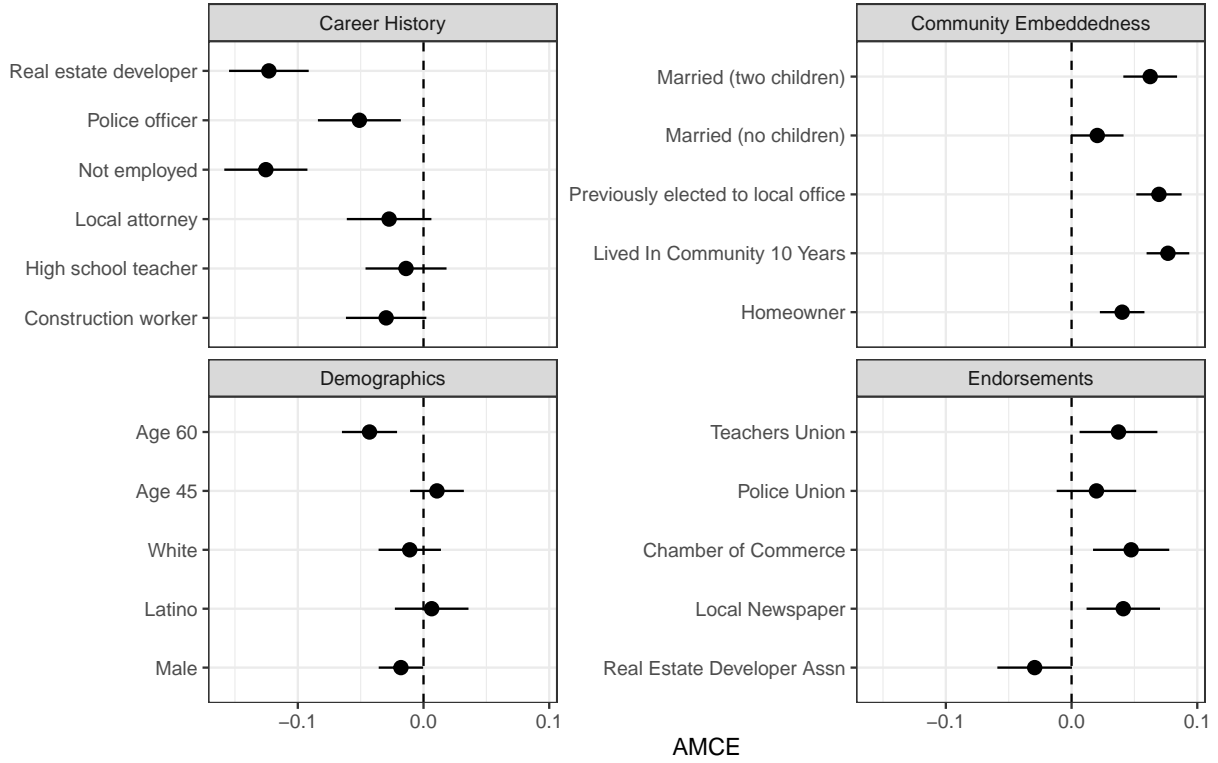
## 4 Results

### 4.1 Standard Candidate Attributes

Figure 2 displays the estimated AMCEs and 95% confidence intervals for each level of the candidate attributes. Many of the results are consistent with our expectations and prior research, with a few notable exceptions. Consistent with Kirkland and Coppock (2018), we find that voters are more likely to prefer candidates with previous political experience: respondents were 7.0 percentage points more likely to choose candidates that had previously been elected to political office. Respondents were also somewhat more likely to prefer younger candidates (4.3 percentage points less likely to choose a 60 year old candidate compared to the base category of 30). Moreover, respondents preferred candidates who are married with children (+6.3 percentage points compared to single candidates), consistent with other candidate preference studies.

In line with previous research, we find that our respondents prefer candidates who are business owners more than any other career we included in the survey. Compared to the base category of business owner, respondents were less likely to choose unemployed candidates (-12.5 percentage points) and police officers (-5.1 percentage points), though we will see momentarily that there are large partisan differences in AMCE for these attributes. Notably, our respondents' preference for business owners does not extend to real estate developers, (-12.3pp compared to a generic business owner). Antipathy towards real estate developers—particularly among liberals (Manville 2021)—is an interesting recent development in US local politics (Monkkonen and Manville 2019), and we were surprised to find that it was one of the strongest estimated effects from our survey experiment, regardless of respondents' political party and other demographic characteristics. These negative perceptions of real estate developers persist when looking at endorsements as well. Compared to no endorsement, respondents reacted negatively to an endorsement by an association of real estate developers (-2.9pp), but positively to an endorsement by a teachers union (+3.7pp),

Figure 2: Impact of Mayoral Candidate Attributes on Vote Share



Notes: The figure displays estimated average marginal component effects (AMCEs) with 95% confidence intervals. The reference categories for each attribute are: endorsement - no endorsements, family - single, political experience - no previous experience, age - 30, residency duration - 2 years, homeownership - renter, career history - business owner, race - Black, gender - Female

chamber of commerce (+4.7pp), or local newspaper (+3.1pp). In the aggregate, we find no significant impact of a police union endorsement on hypothetical vote choice (although we will again see partisan differences below).

Finally, we find small and statistically insignificant differences in choices based on candidate race and gender. Though this could be the result of a weak signal (we did not explicitly list candidate race and gender, but included race and gender cues in the candidates' names), it is broadly consistent with results from other conjoint experiments.

## 4.2 Community Embeddedness

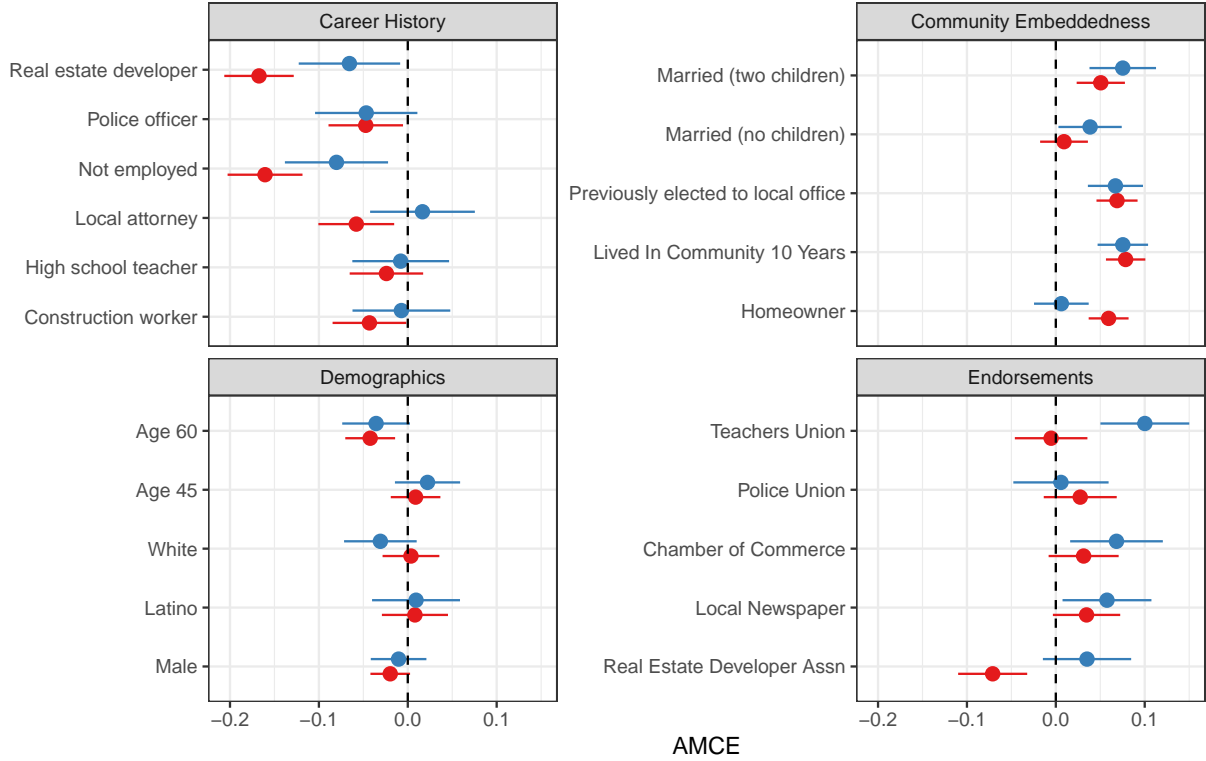
For our novel “community embeddedness” attributes—homeownership and residency duration—we find large and statistically significant impacts. Respondents were 4.0 percentage points more likely to choose a homeowner over a renter, and 7.7 percentage points more likely to choose a candidate who had lived in the community for a decade (compared to the base category of 2 years). To examine relative preferences, we can compare the magnitude of the community embeddedness impacts to other candidate attribute impacts. Strikingly, the magnitude of the residency duration effect rivals that of prior political experience, and homeownership is similar in magnitude to an endorsement from a local newspaper. In fact, the magnitude of the residency duration effect was the third largest of all of the candidate attributes that we examined (exceeded only by our respondents’ distaste for real estate developers and the unemployed). This suggests that community embeddedness is quite important to voters in local elections, both in its own right and in comparison to other candidate features.

To examine the proposed investment and descriptive representation mechanisms, we also explore conditional AMCEs for homeowners and renters separately, shown in Figure 3. These results suggest some evidence in favor of the descriptive representation mechanism—homeowner respondents prefer homeowner candidates, but respondents who are renters do not share such a preference. It is notable, though, that we do not see a relative preference for candidates who are renters amongst respondents who are renters.

When considering the residency duration attribute, we instead see evidence in favor of the investment mechanism—respondents of every kind prefer candidates who have lived in their community for longer a longer period of time, one of the few estimated effects that holds regardless of the respondent’s political party, demographics, or homeownership status. The effect is somewhat attenuated among respondents who reported living in their community for less than one year (see Figure A4 in the Supplementary Materials), but the estimated effect is always positive. We acknowledge that these are imperfect tests of these mechanisms, and

we encourage further work to examine the contributing factors to perceived community embeddedness.

Figure 3: Conditional Effects by Homeownership



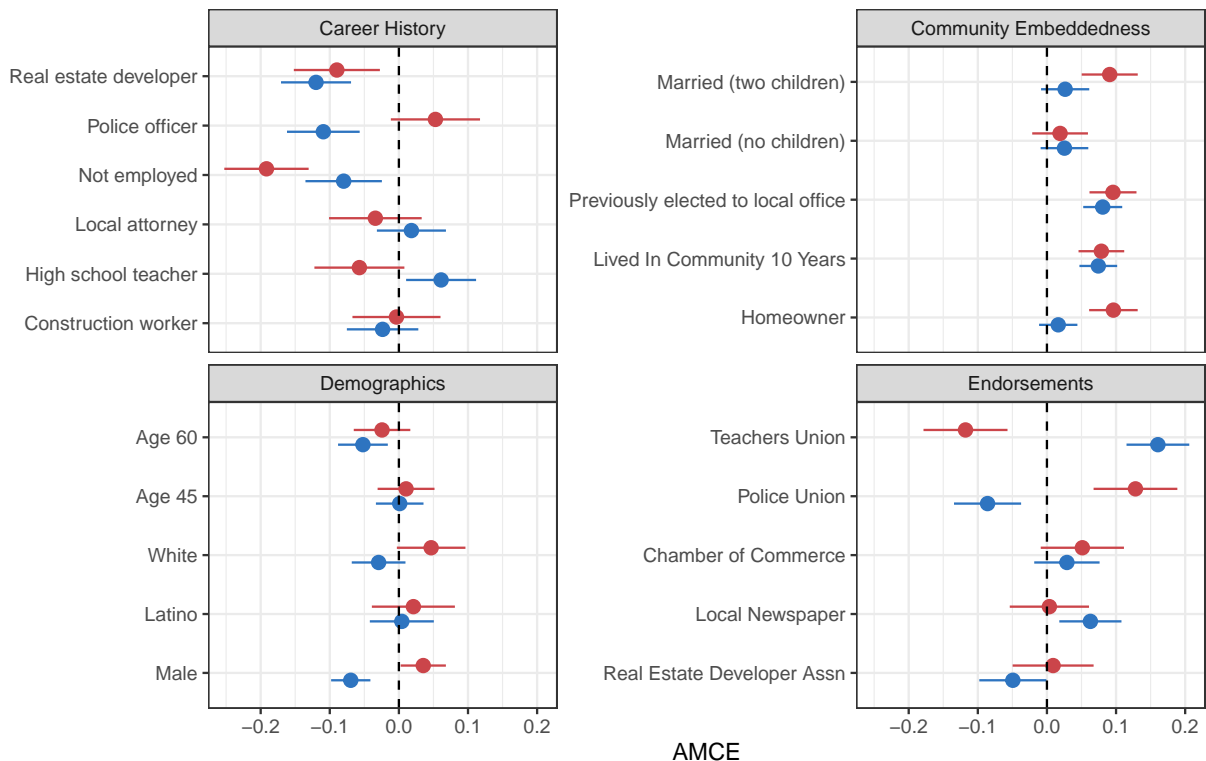
Notes: The figure displays estimated average marginal component effects (AMCEs) with 95% confidence intervals by respondent homeownership status. Estimates for homeowners are shown in red and renters in blue.

### 4.3 Conditional Effects By Respondent Characteristics

In Figure 4, we estimate conditional AMCEs by political party of the survey respondent. We find a few interesting differences in comparing Democratic and Republican respondents. For example, the relatively small average treatment effects for union endorsements in Figure 2 mask much larger conditional treatment effects by party. Democratic respondents are 16 percentage points more likely to choose a candidate that has been endorsed by the teachers union (compared to no endorsement), while Republican respondents are 11.7 percentage points *less* likely. The reverse is true for endorsements by police unions: Republicans are

12.8 percentage points more likely to choose a police union-endorsed candidate (compared to no endorsement), while Democrats are 8.5 percentage points less likely. Similarly, Democrats are 10.9 percentage points less likely to choose a candidate who is a police officer (compared to a business owner).

Figure 4: Conditional Effects by Political Party



Notes: The figure displays estimated average marginal component effects (AMCEs) with 95% confidence intervals by political party ID of the respondent. Estimates for Republicans are shown in red and Democrats in blue.

Looking at the community embeddedness attributes, we find a strong difference between Democratic and Republican respondents in their attitudes towards homeowner candidates. Republicans are 9.6 percentage points more likely to choose a homeowner, but Democrats are just as likely to choose a renter. In contrast, there is no partisan difference in responsiveness to residency duration. Both Democrats and Republicans are more likely to choose a candidate who has lived longer in the community. These results mirror the results above for home-owning respondents compared to renters and suggest some shared and some divergent

views on community embeddedness.

In Appendix Section A.2, we present conditional AMCEs by respondent gender, race, place of residence, and residency duration. Of note, we find that women have a stronger preference for both prior political experience and longer residency duration.

## 5 Discussion and Conclusion

Millions of voters cast ballots for local government representatives every year. These elections occur in highly-varied institutional, demographic, and political contexts, and have important consequences for the day-to-day lives of residents. In this study, we explored how individuals evaluate different candidate characteristics in local elections. Beyond previously studied demographic characteristics, career history, and endorsements, we examined the extent to which community embeddedness leads to greater support for local candidates.

We find that voters hold strong preferences for attributes that signal community embeddedness: having a family and children, owning a home, and living the community for an extended period of time. We argue that this in part reflects a desire for descriptive representation—homeowners prefer homeowner candidates while renters do not—but it also reflects a desire for candidates who have invested significant amounts of time into their community—a preference that holds across all respondent subgroups.

We emphasize that this study intends to initiate, rather than resolve, questions of community embeddedness in local politics. Future work should explore additional dimensions of community embeddedness and other mechanisms beyond signals of investment in the community and descriptive representation. We encourage extensions of this work, including through careful mixed-methods research, and the development of a more comprehensive theory of community embeddedness, social ties, or deep roots in local politics.

In addition to our unique contribution to understanding the role of local roots in candidate choice at the local level, our results confirm and bring additional nuance to existing insights

in the literature. In line with prior findings, our results suggest that voters in local elections prefer candidates with previous political experience and do not favor candidates associated with real estate development. We also observe significant differences between Republicans and Democrats regarding candidate profession and local endorsements, comporting with recent research that finds attitudes toward the police vary by political ideology (Navarro and Hansen 2023). Our work is similar – in spirit – to that of Hunt (2022) and Hunt and Rouse (2023) who find that candidates with deep local roots have electoral advantages in Congress and state legislatures. We see our work as extending this argument, finding electoral advantages in more local contests as well. Altogether, the findings suggest that voters evaluate candidates in local elections similarly to those in national and state elections, with additional emphasis also placed on local roots and community ties.

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# A Supporting Information for: “What Do Voters Want in Their Mayor? Evidence from a Survey Experiment”

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## A.1 Survey Instrument

*This item is a preface screen that precedes a series of conjoint item questions. Respondents should not be able to go back after reaching this screen, and must click ahead to proceed. Participants will then advance to a new screen with a table similar to the one displayed below. Order of the attributes (column 1) should be randomized, except for Name, which should always appear first. Participants will see 5 profiles. Order of attributes should be the same for each profile (i.e., randomized across respondents but not within).*

We are interested in what qualities you consider important for local political leaders, like your town’s mayor or councilmembers. On the next few screens, you will be shown a list of candidates and their qualifications, and will ask which candidate you would prefer to vote for.

Table A1: Candidate Profiles X of 5

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Name	HMOSName	HMOSName
Age	HMOSAge	HMOSAge
Family	HMOSFamily	HMOSFamily
Community Ties	HMOSCommunityTies	HMOSCommunityTies
Career History	HMOSCareerHistory	HMOSCareerHistory
Political Experience	HMOSPolitical	HMOSPolitical
Endorsed By	HMOSEndorsements	HMOSEndorsements

*The following are the attributes and levels for inclusion in the profiles. Each attribute level should have equal probability of being displayed, except for the Name attribute (**HMOSNAME**), which should be sampled with 65% probability from List A, 15% probability from List B, and 20% probability from List C. Additionally, no name should be repeated within a single profile (i.e. Candidate A should not have the same name as Candidate B in any profile). There are no other conditional randomizations or restrictions.*

### Attributes and Levels

HMOSAge:

1. 30
2. 45
3. 60

HMOSCommunityTies:

1. Has owned a home in your community for the past 2 years.
2. Has rented an apartment in your community for the past 2 years.
3. Has owned a home in your community for the past 10 years.
4. Has rented an apartment in your community for the past 10 years.

HMOSCareerHistory:

1. High school teacher
2. Construction worker
3. Local attorney
4. Police officer
5. Real estate developer
6. Business owner
7. Not employed, taking care of home/family

HMOSPolitical:

1. Previously elected to local office
2. No previous political experience

HMOSFamily:

1. Married with two children
2. Married with no children
3. Single

HMOSEndorsements:

1. An association of local real estate developers
2. The police union
3. The teachers' union
4. Local newspaper
5. The county chamber of commerce
6. No endorsements

HMOSName:

**List A**

Katie Novak  
 Logan Allen  
 Sarah Miller  
 Holly Schroeder  
 Emily Schmidt  
 Caitlin Schneider  
 Greg Adams  
 Luke Phillips  
 Colin Smith  
 Allison Nelson  
 Maxwell Haas  
 Katherine Adams  
 Jack Evans  
 Tanner Smith  
 Molly Kruger  
 Jay Allen  
 Claire Schwartz  
 Connor Schwartz  
 Emma Clark  
 Hunter Miller  
 Bradley Schwartz  
 Garrett Novak  
 Matthew Anderson  
 Anne Evans  
 Carly Smith  
 Kathryn Evans  
 Carrie King  
 Cody Anderson  
 Brett Clark  
 Jill Smith  
 Katelyn Miller  
 Amy Mueller  
 Kristen Clark  
 Jenna Anderson  
 Wyatt Smith  
 Geoffrey Martin  
 Jake Clark  
 Madeline Haas  
 Cole Krueger  
 Abigail Smith  
 Dustin Nelson  
 Heather Martin  
 Todd Mueller  
 Scott King  
 Dylan Schwartz  
 Hannah Phillips

**List B**

Tyrone Joseph  
 Trevon Jackson  
 Deja Mosley  
 Latoya Rivers  
 Precious Washington  
 Ebony Washington  
 Keisha Rivers  
 Terrance Booker  
 Rasheed Gaines  
 Latonya Rivers  
 Jada Mosley  
 Kiara Jackson  
 Darnell Banks  
 DeAndre Jefferson  
 Tyreke Washington  
 DeShawn Korse  
 Shanice Booker  
 Tyrone Booker  
 Jamal Gaines  
 Jazmine Jefferson  
 Xavier Jackson  
 Darius Joseph  
 Alaliyah Booker  
 Jamal Rivers  
 Ebony Mosley  
 LaShawn Washington  
 Tremayne Joseph  
 Dominique Mosley  
 Jasmine Joseph  
 Deja Jefferson  
 LaShawn Banks  
 Jermaine Gaines  
 Alexis Banks  
 Jasmin Jefferson

**List C**

Carola Huerta  
 Margarita Velazquez  
 Jose Sanchez  
 Carmela Velazquez  
 Carlos Torres  
 Alfonso Gonzalez  
 Carola Ibarra  
 Eduardo Torres  
 Eduardo Lopez  
 Carlos Perez  
 Carmen Barajas  
 Cesar Zavala  
 Maria Ramirez  
 Rosa Orozco  
 Beatriz Ibarra  
 Enrique Huerta  
 Rosa Perez  
 Luis Vazquez  
 Dolores Ramirez  
 Jose Orozco  
 Magdalena Perez  
 Margarita Garcia  
 Carlita Torres  
 Teresa Jaurez  
 Juan Barajas  
 Maria Rodriguez  
 Edgar Sanchez  
 Edgar Zavala  
 Beatriz Martinez  
 Carmen Lopez  
 Jose Martinez  
 Cesar Vazquez  
 Jorge Cervantes  
 Dolores Sanchez  
 Luis Hernandez  
 Blanca Ramirez  
 Pedro Rodriguez  
 Juan Hernandez  
 Catalina Jaurez  
 Catalina Hernandez  
 Hernan Garcia  
 Javier Gonzalez

*Each profile would include the following question. Include this question on the same page as the profile. A-E should be appended to end of each question depending on the round. E.g., round 1 is UGA800a and round 5 is UGA800e.*

UGA500post\_a-UGA500post\_e:

Which candidate would you prefer to vote for?

1. Candidate A
2. Candidate B

UGA501post:

Did you vote in most recent local election for your town, city, or county?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

## A.2 Additional Tables and Figures

Figure A1: Estimated Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE) and 95% confidence intervals by respondent gender (estimates for men are in red and women are in blue).

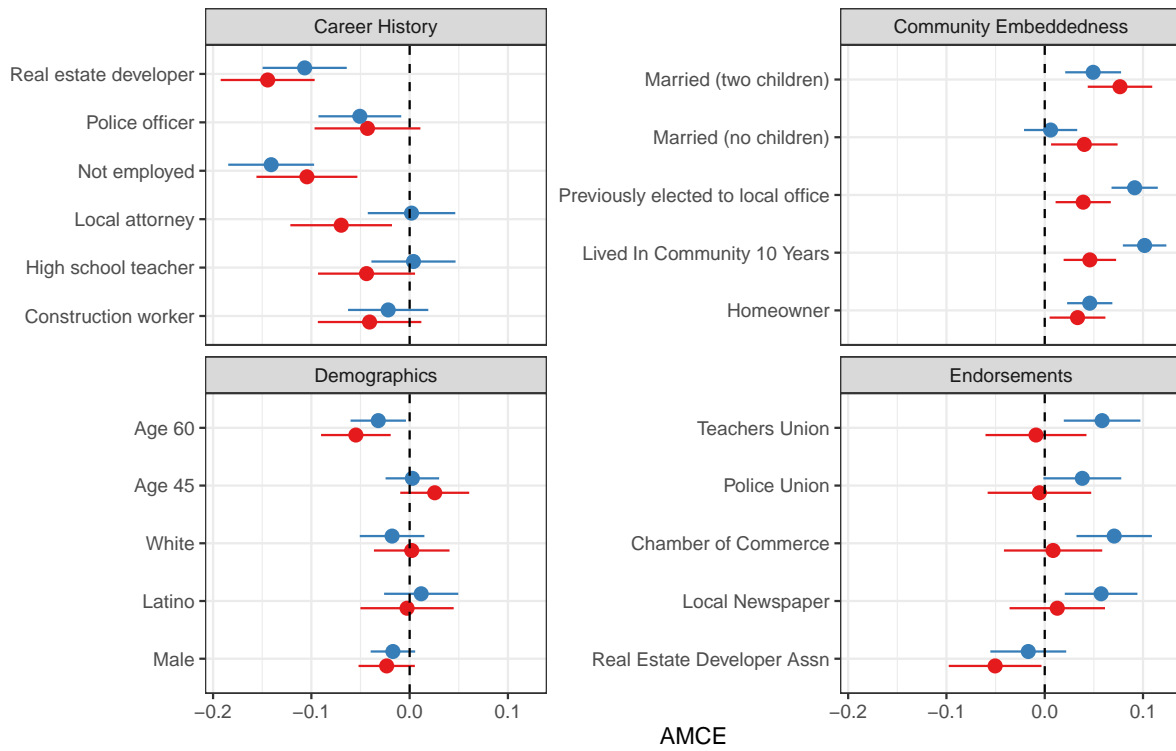


Figure A2: Estimated Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE) and 95% confidence intervals by respondent's race (estimates for White respondents in red, Black respondents in blue, and Hispanic respondents in green).

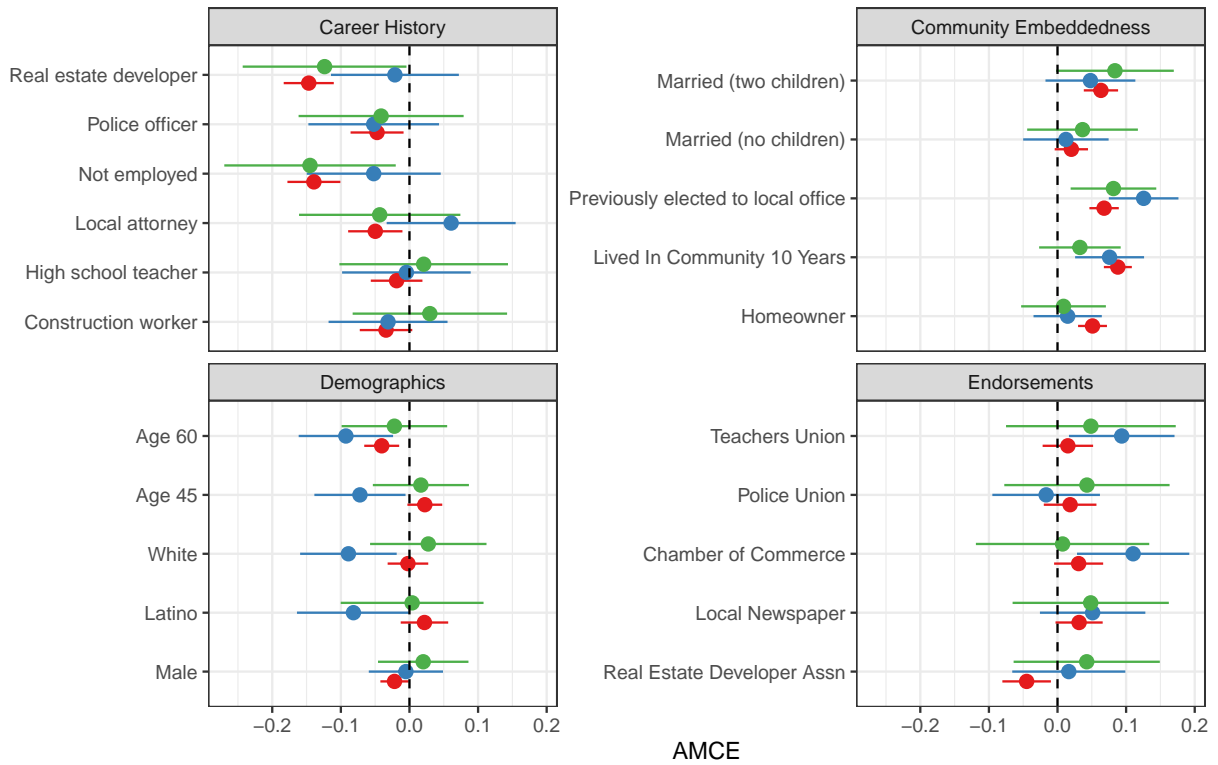


Figure A3: Estimated Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE) and 95% confidence intervals by respondent's place of residence (City = red, Suburb = blue, Town = green, and Rural = purple).

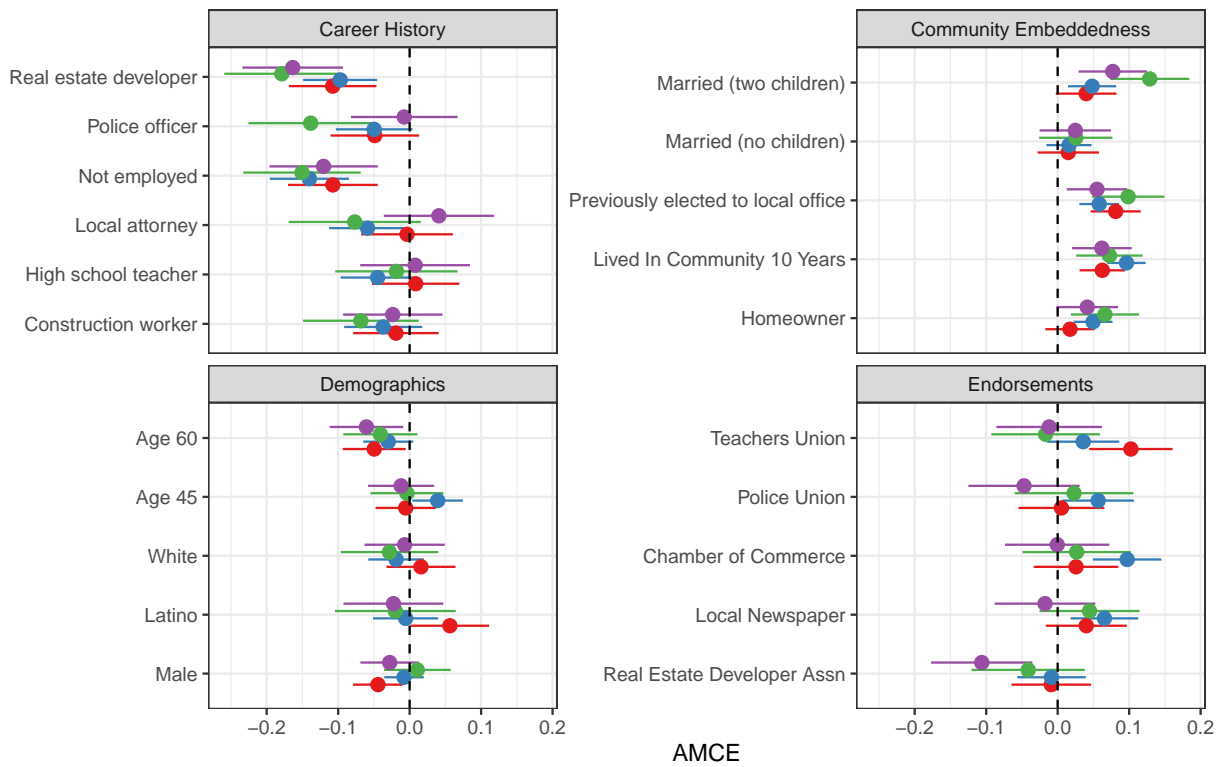


Figure A4: Estimated Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE) and 95% confidence intervals by respondent's duration of residence (Less Than 1 Year = red, 1-5 Years = blue, 5+ Years = green).

