Voter Evaluations of Political Candidates from Diverse Professional Backgrounds: Occupation & the Prospects for Political Office

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Abstract

Electoral studies frequently analyze how American voters evaluate political candidates with different partisan, gender, and racial/ethnic characteristics. Scholars have shown that Republican presidential candidates are stereotyped as more competent on economic issues than Democrats (Petrocik,1996), female candidates are perceived as more liberal than male candidates (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993), and black candidates are judged as better able to handle civil rights issues than white candidates (McDermott, 1998) among other findings. However, the existing literature has largely ignored the effect that political candidates' professional experiences have on voters' perceptions. Using data collected from a survey experiment launched on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) service, we find evidence that voters indeed possess unique stereotypes of political candidates from different occupational backgrounds. Participants rated candidates distinctly on questions of ideology, issue competencies, and character traits. These findings are especially salient for elections in which partisanship does not serve as a heuristic shortcut, such as primaries and non-partisan local elections, where the professional experience of candidates may be one of the only sources of information available to voters on the ballot.

"[W]e may define a republic to be [...] a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people [...] It is essential to such a government, that it be derived from the great body of the society, not from an inconsiderable portion, or a favored class of it; otherwise a handful of tyrannical nobles, exercising their oppressions by a delegation of their powers, might aspire to the rank of republicans, and claim for their government the honorable title of republic." *-James Madison (1788)*

"In a political system where nearly every adult may vote but where knowledge, wealth, social position, access to officials, and other resources are unequally distributed, who actually governs?" -Robert Dahl (1961)

Introduction

The authors of *The Federalist Papers* and Robert Dahl were clearly concerned with political representation in the United States. In Federalist No. 10, James Madison argued that the solution to rule by a minority faction, or tyranny, was a large republic comprised of a diverse population with distinct political interests. Madison believed that an extended republic would make it extremely difficult for a minority of the population to impose its political will against the interests of others. In his analysis of political power in New Haven, Connecticut, Dahl defined the United States as a "pluralist democracy" in which many diverse issue interests are

represented. Dahl claimed that "[i]n the United States the political stratum does not constitute a homogeneous class with well-defined class interests [...] It is easily penetrated because (among other reasons) elections and competitive parties give politicians a powerful motive for expanding their coalitions and increasing their electoral followings" (Dahl, 1961, p. 91). In other words, Madison's expectations seem to have come to fruition. However, Dahl noted an exception to his finding of open access to political resources. According to his study, certain occupations with lower social standing (*i.e.* blue-collar jobs) were underrepresented in positions of political leadership. Surprisingly, it seems as though the literature on representation has largely ignored this caveat.

Recent research on descriptive and substantive representation in public office has focused primarily on gender and race (Berkman & O'Connor, 1993; Bratton & Haynie, 1999; Cameron *et al.*, 1996; Frankovic, 1977; Hero & Tolbert, 1995; Mansbridge, 1999; Meier & England, 1984; Owens, 2005; Preuhs, 2006, 2007; Preuhs & Hero, 2011; Reingold, 1992; Schroedel & Corbin, 2002; Thomas & Welch, 1991). These scholars have found evidence that the gender and racial composition of legislative bodies affects public policy. For example, Thomas (1991) argued that states with more female representatives pass more legislation concerning women's issues, as well as bills dealing with children and families, than states with fewer female legislators and Ross *et al.* (2010) have shown that Latino political representation results in higher educational attainment and student performance among Latino students.

Substantially fewer studies have examined the effects of occupational experience on the political careers of public officials. Political scientists have long recognized that certain professional groups, such as lawyers, are incredibly overrepresented in Congress. Table 1.1 illustrates that the great majority of the representatives and senators in the 114th Congress come

from the business, education, and legal professions. Some readers may wonder why it matters if political candidates with specific professional backgrounds are elected over others. In a recent study, Carnes (2012) demonstrated that congressional representatives with backgrounds in farming and business have more conservative DW-Nominate and AFL-CIO scores than lawyers, career politicians, or service-sector legislators. This indicates that farmers and businesspeople vote conservatively on economic legislation. Witko and Friedman (2008) have shown that members of Congress with business experience are financially tied to business political actions committees (PACs) and exhibit pro-business roll call voting patterns. Gelpi and Feaver (2002) found that the United States is less likely to initiate military disputes as the number of military veterans in the executive and legislative branches increases. This suggests that the occupational backgrounds of congressional representatives have a direct effect on legislative policy. Representatives from diverse professions vote differently once in office. Thus, it is surprising that so little attention has been paid to the occupational backgrounds of congressional legislators.

Occupation	Number of	Percent of	Percent of Working
	Representatives	Representatives	Population
Business	243	45%	10%
Law	202	38%	< 1%
Education	125	23%	6%
Medicine	33	6%	6%
Agriculture	33	6%	< 1%
Media	24	4%	1%
Military	17	3%	< 1%
Engineering	8	1%	2%
Social Work	8	1%	1%
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Table 1.1. Professional Experience of Members in the 114th Congress

Sources: Jennifer E. Manning (2015), "Membership of the 114th Congress: A Profile," Congressional Research Service; Bureau of Labor Statistics (May 2014). The data in Table 1.1 naturally lead to the following research question: *Why are certain professions overrepresented in Congress*? One possible answer to this question is that business entrepreneurs, educators, and lawyers seek political office more actively, and are more aggressively recruited by the two major political parties, than citizens from other occupational backgrounds because of their advanced education and political knowledge. Another reasonable response is that candidates with these professional experiences are typically more affluent and, consequently, are better able to acquire the financial resources to launch and win electoral campaigns. However, this answer is unsatisfactory because it does not account for the fact that other occupationas, such as doctors and engineers, should also have access to donors and the other financial resources needed to mount a successful bid for political office.

An alternative argument is that American voters simply prefer political candidates with professional backgrounds in business, education, and law to contenders with other occupational experiences. In other words, voters evaluate candidates from the significantly overrepresented groups more favorably than they evaluate other contestants. One implication from this may be that voters use candidates' listed occupations as heuristic information shortcuts when making voting decisions during elections. Since publication of Campbell *et al.*'s seminal work, *The American Voter* (1960), most studies on political decision-making have focused on party cues used as cognitive shortcuts for voters. However, the use of occupation as a heuristic shortcut is plausible in the context of non-partisan local elections, such as city council races, or congressional primary elections when the influence of party cues is mitigated. Thus, we seek to address the following research question:

1) Do voters use political candidates' occupations as information shortcuts when making decisions at the ballot box?

Political scientists have examined whether voters stereotype candidates with different characteristics in terms of character trait evaluations, perceived issue competencies, and ideological placement (Funk, 1999; Hayes, 2005; Kinder *et al.*, 1980; Miller *et al.*, 1986; Petrocik *et al.*, 2004; Rahn *et al.*, 1990). The bulk of this research has examined the ways that the party affiliations, gender, race/ethnicity of candidates are used as heuristic shortcuts by voters in their evaluations. However, to our knowledge, no existing study has examined if voters stereotype candidates based on their occupation prior to running for office. Consequently, the ensuing questions will also be researched:

- 2) Do voters possess stereotypes concerning the political ideology, character traits, and issue competencies of political candidates from different occupational backgrounds?
 - a) Are candidates from certain professions perceived to be more ideologically liberal or conservative than others?

Numerous scholars have also argued that the perceived overall competence of political candidates is the most important factor in their evaluations by voters (McCurley & Mondak, 1995; Mondak, 1995). Candidates may be rated highly on character traits or specific issues, but this does not necessarily imply that voters believe these candidates are competent enough to merit political office. Therefore, the following question will also be examined:

3) What type of professional experience do voters believe best prepares political candidates for public office? In other words, do voters stereotype candidates from certain occupational backgrounds as more politically competent?

Using data collected from a survey experiment launched on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) service, we find evidence that voters indeed possess unique stereotypes of political candidates from different occupational backgrounds.¹ Participants rated different candidates

¹ This study was reviewed and approved by CGU's institutional review board.

distinctly on questions of their political ideology, issue competencies, and character traits. The following sections will address the existing scholarship on candidate evaluations, the theoretical expectations underlying the study, the methodological approach of the project, and our specific findings.

Literature Review & Theoretical Orientation

The Role of Partisanship on Evaluations of Political Candidates

Scholarship concerning voter evaluations of political candidates has centered on perceptions that Americans hold of the two major political parties. Specifically, political scientists have found that the mass public perceives Democrats and Republicans to own a certain set of political issues and character traits (Campbell et al., 1960; Feldman & Conover, 1993; Hayes, 2005; Petrocik, 1996; Petrocik et al., 2003/2004; Rahn, 1993; Winter, 2010). "Issue ownership" theory was first articulated by John R. Petrocik and involves "the issue handling reputations of the parties' and the voters' bias toward the party advantaged by the issue agenda" (Petrocik, 1996, p. 826). Petrocik argues that public opinion, as measured by polling data, favors Democrats on social welfare issues such as social security, education, the environment, and health care. However, Republicans are largely perceived as owning the issues of foreign policy, national security, crime, and the economy. Petrocik contends that presidential candidates from each of the two parties attempt to frame the campaign in terms of the issues owned by their party in order to gain an electoral advantage. Hayes (2005) built on Petrocik's "issue ownership" theory by developing a "trait ownership" model. Using ANES data, Hayes (2005) found that Republicans are considered stronger leaders and are perceived to be more moral, whereas Democrats are thought of as more compassionate, empathetic, intelligent, and knowledgeable.

The Impact of Gender and Race/Ethnicity on Evaluations of Candidates

There is a growing body of literature on the use of gender-based character trait and issue competency evaluations of political candidates. These studies have been conducted in response to the growing number of women holding elected offices. According to the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), 19.4% of congressional representatives in the 114th Congress are women, a number which has been steadily increasing since the early 1970's when there were no women in Congress (see also Winter, 2010). Concerning gender-based character trait assessments of political candidates, researchers have found that female candidates running for office are perceived to be democratic, honest, trustworthy, compassionate, sensitive, and warm, while male candidates are considered ambitious, assertive, aggressive, and better leaders (Alexander & Andersen, 1993; Banwart, 2010; Cargile et al., 2013; Fox & Oxley, 2003; Hernson et al., 2003; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Meeks, 2012; Winter, 2010). Female candidates are also considered to be more ideologically liberal than their male counterparts (Koch, 2000; McDermott, 1997, 1998; Winter, 2010). Winter (2010) argues that Democrats are largely characterized as the more feminine political party whereas Republicans are considered the more masculine party.

Scholars examining the issue competency evaluations of political candidates have shown that women are thought of as more competent than men on issues concerning poverty, education, childcare, health care, and senior citizens. However, female candidates are considered less competent than male candidates on issues of national security, foreign policy, and taxation (Banwart, 2010; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). While women are evaluated positively on some dimensions, they are negatively assessed on many of the traits and issue competencies considered important for national level political office (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). Dolan (2010) contends that while trait evaluations may not affect the electoral prospects of women, female political candidates who are evaluated highly on their ability to handle the issues of terrorism or the economy receive greater electoral support. Furthermore, it seems as though assessments about the capabilities of female candidates affects which political offices they decide to seek election for in the first place. Fox and Oxley (2003) note that women tend to pursue state executive branch offices which are considered feminine, such as Superintendent of Education or Education Board Member, and have higher chances of winning election to these offices than they do of winning characteristically masculine offices, such as Governor or Attorney General.

Numerous studies have also examined the effects of race/ethnicity on the character trait and issue competency assessments of political candidates. Regarding character trait assessments of black politicians, researchers in this field have found that African-American candidates are considered to be compassionate but lacking in leadership capabilities (Citrin *et al.*, 1990; Sigelman *et al.*, 1995). Black candidates also receive mixed evaluations in terms of issue competencies, garnering low overall scores, but being characterized as having high levels of competency on some social issues such as civil rights (Citrin *et al.*, 1990; McDermott, 1998). Studies examining the impact of race on the electoral prospects of black political candidates have also shown inconsistent results. Several scholars find that white voters discriminate against African-American candidates at the ballot box (Sigelman & Sigelman, 1982; Sigelman & Welch, 1984; Sonenshein 1990; Terkildsen 1993) while others have found no racial prejudice against black candidates (Highton, 2004).

Fewer studies have examined how voters evaluate Hispanic or Latino/a political candidates. Studies have found that Latino/a candidates are characterized as more warm,

compassionate, democratic, trustworthy, assertive, aggressive, and better leaders than white candidates on character trait assessments (Sigelman *et al.*, 1995; Cargile *et al.*, 2013). However, they are also considered less ambitious than their white counterparts (Cargile *et al.*, 2013). On the ideological spectrum, Latino/a candidates are placed as more liberal than white candidates but less liberal than black candidates (Sigelman *et al.*, 1995). Regarding issue competency evaluations, Latino/a candidates are thought of as being concerned about immigration issues, even when candidates are explicitly not concerned with immigration (Austin & Middleton, 2004; McConnaughy *et al.*, 2010). As is the case for Black political candidates, the impact of race on electoral outcomes for Latino/a or Hispanic candidates is inconclusive. For example, Kam (2007) shows that subjects with positive attitudes towards Hispanics more were likely to vote for the Hispanic candidate in a judicial race in California, whereas subjects with negative attitudes towards Hispanics were less likely to support this candidate. However, when party cues were provided to voters, the effect of the candidates' racial characteristics on vote choice were essentially muted (Kam, 2007).

Stereotypes & Candidate Evaluations

Why do political party, gender, and race/ethnicity influence how voters evaluate political candidates? Numerous studies have shown that the American public is largely ignorant of even the most basic political facts (Campbell et al., 1960; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). However, Lau and Redlawsk (1997, 2001) find that most people are able to vote "correctly" because they use information shortcuts, such as stereotypes inferred from a candidates' party identification, when at the ballot box. Social psychologists have long argued that people use cognitive heuristics and social group stereotypes as information shortcuts to draw inferences and make decisions (Allport, 1954; Judd & Downing, 1955; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Fiske 2005). Gordon

Allport, a renowned Harvard psychologist, defined stereotypes as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category [...] to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category" (Allport, 1954, p. 191). In other words, voters utilize the party, gender, race/ethnicity, and religious affiliation of political candidates as heuristic cues during elections. Voters can infer a vast amount of information about a political candidate simply by knowing a few of their demographic characteristics.

There are several reasons for believing that American voters use candidates' professional experiences as information shortcuts at the ballot box as well. As previously discussed, several studies have shown that congressional representatives from different occupational backgrounds behave distinctly on roll call votes (Carnes, 2012; Gelpi & Feaver, 2002; Witko & Friedman, 2008). DW-Nominate is a measure used by political scientists to place members of Congress on a single-dimensional scale ranging from liberal (-1.00) to moderate (0.00) to conservative (1.00). Figure 1.1 displays the first dimension DW-Nominate scores of members in the 113th House of Representatives by the professional experience of members. Consistent with previous research, business entrepreneurs are considerably more conservative than educators, career government officials, and members of the legal community (i.e. lawyers, judges, etc.). A similar pattern emerges in Figure 1.2, which shows the mean Chamber of Commerce rating for representatives in the 113th House. The Chamber of Commerce tracks the percentage of times representatives vote according to the interest group's preference, with higher scores representing more conservative roll call voting patterns. As with the DW-Nominate scores, business people vote more conservatively than educators and government employees.



Figure 1.1. Mean DW-Nominate Score by Occupation, 113th House of Representatives





Furthermore, the regression analyses in Table 1.2 indicate that the professional

experiences of House representatives have a statistically significant effect on their voting behavior as measured by their DW-Nominate and Chamber of Commerce ratings. Models 1 and 2 can be interpreted as ANOVA results in which the mean score of each occupational group is compared to that of the omitted category, in this case *Government*. Models 3 and 4 show that even when controlling for the party identification of representatives, the principal factor underlying DW-Nominate and interest group ratings, their professional experience has a significant impact on their DW-Nominate and Chamber of Commerce scores. Therefore, we hypothesize that voters can perceive the ideological distinctions between congressional representatives from different occupational backgrounds. The existing scholarship and the data discussed above lead to the following hypotheses:

H1: Voters possess stereotypes about the ideological positions of political candidates with different professional experience.

H1a: Business, Medical, Military, Media, and Agricultural professionals will be stereotyped as ideologically conservative.

H1b: Lawyers will be stereotyped as ideologically moderate.

H1c: Educators and Government officials will be stereotyped as ideologically liberal.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
VARIABLES	Nominate	COC	Nominate	COC
Agriculture	0.879***	54.13***	0.0654	4.690
	(0.153)	(10.17)	(0.0456)	(3.834)
Business	0.578***	40.65***	0.0549**	4.064*
	(0.0812)	(5.393)	(0.0246)	(2.105)
Education	0.0156	2.874	0.00264	-1.197
	(0.103)	(6.756)	(0.0297)	(2.452)
Engineering	0.484	24.07	0.0321	-3.946
	(0.306)	(18.19)	(0.0885)	(6.623)
Legal	0.281***	20.76***	0.0369	3.457*
	(0.0781)	(5.140)	(0.0228)	(1.900)
Media	0.483***	28.15**	0.103**	2.815
	(0.176)	(11.63)	(0.0511)	(4.253)
Medical	0.575***	38.96***	0.0613*	4.948*
	(0.116)	(7.455)	(0.0343)	(2.799)
Military	0.600***	49.33***	0.00403	4.830
	(0.133)	(9.498)	(0.0392)	(3.573)
Republican			1.084***	64.27***
			(0.0158)	(1.368)
Constant	-0.127*	42.60***	-0.398***	27.76***
	(0.0648)	(4.248)	(0.0191)	(1.573)
Observations	435	343	435	343
R-squared	0.184	0.230	0.932	0.899
	Standard e	rrors in paren	theses	

Table 1.2. OLS Estimates of the Effect of Occupation on Voting Behavior, 113th House

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

We are not aware of any studies which examine how voters stereotype candidates from distinct occupational backgrounds on spending preferences, character traits, or issue competencies. However, in an experiment examining the effects of the race, gender, and age of political candidates on electoral outcomes, Sigelman and Sigelman (1982) found that a hypothetical business executive candidate received more votes than a lawyer candidate (53.6% to 46.4%). Combined with the data on the current composition of Congress presented in Table 1.1, there is reason to believe that voters indeed evaluate the spending preferences, character traits, and issue competencies of candidates with distinct professional experiences differently. Therefore, we will test the following hypotheses:

H2: Voters will have distinct character trait stereotypes of political candidates with different professional experiences.

H3: Voters will hold diverse issue competency stereotypes of political candidates based on candidates' occupation.

Research Methodology & Sample Data

In order to test these hypotheses, a survey experiment designed on Qualitrics was embedded in Amazon's online Mechanical Turk (MTurk) service. Political scientists are increasingly adopting experimental methods in their efforts to test theories and establish causality (Morton & Williams 2010; Gerber & Green 2012). For example, experiments have been used to determine the effects of negative attack ads on voter turnout (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1997), assess the impact of canvassing on mobilization efforts (Gerber & Green, 2000), evaluate the influence of political news on polarization (Arceneaux *et al.*, 2012), and examine framing effects on public opinion (Merolla *et al.*, 2013). Experimental methods have also been used to study voter stereotypes of candidates with different characteristics (McDermott, 2002). Recently, political scientists have turned to online survey experiments to test their theories and hypotheses (Berrens *et al.*, 2003; Fricker *et al.*, 2005; Gaines *et al.*, 2007). Several studies have shown that Amazon's Mechanical Turk service is an affordable and reliable tool for conducting online survey experiments (Berinsky *et al.*, 2012; Buhrmester *et al.*, 2011). These studies have been able to replicate prior experimental work in political science and produce similar results using subject samples recruited on MTurk.

The study was launched on May 23, 2015. Subjects were paid \$1.00 for participating in a short survey experiment with an average completion time of 10 minutes and 33 seconds. In order to enroll in the study, participants were required to be U.S. citizens and at least 18 years of age. A total

of 450 subjects were recruited for the experiment. Participants were randomly assigned to one of nine hypothetical political candidates (Lawyer, Business Owner, Military Veteran, Medical Doctor, Teacher, Social Worker, Journalist, Engineer, and Farmer), and the only information subjects received was the professional occupation of the hypothetical candidate they were assigned. Approximately 50 subjects were assigned to each hypothetical candidate. After completing a consent form, participants were asked to evaluate their candidate's perceived political ideology, character traits, and issue competencies. Lastly, subjects were asked to answer some demographic questions regarding their age, gender, income, race/ethnicity, religious affiliation, party identification, *etc.* Participants were also asked questions about their political interest, political knowledge, and past voting decisions.

The primary critique of MTurk samples is that they are not always representative of the general population under analysis, in our case the American electorate. The following is a description of some characteristics of our sample. Regarding biological sex, 51% of the sample were male whereas 49% were female. As is typically the case with MTurk samples, the subjects in this study were more educated than the general U.S. population. Only 12% of participants reported not having at least some college education. In addition, roughly 50% of the sample had earned at least a Bachelor's degree. Concerning race/ethnicity, 83% of participants identified as white, 8% as black, 4% as Latino/Hispanic, 7% as Asian, and 2% identified as American Indian or Alaska Natives. Ideologically, 7% of respondents considered themselves political liberals, 14% were conservatives, and a surprising 79% identified as ideological moderates. Furthermore, 43% of the sample identified as Democrats, 19% as Republicans, 27% as Independents, and 11% selected either a separate political party or indicated no partisan preference. Participants who indicated that they are Independents were asked if they lean toward one of the two major parties. Of the 123 subjects who identified as independents, 21% reported being closer to the Republican Party, 50% leaned Democrat, and 28% were true independents with no partisan identification whatsoever. It is obvious

from these numbers that the sample is heavily Democratic, as is typical of the MTurk population. A further indication that the sample has more Democrats than the general population is the fact that 65% stated that they voted for Barack Obama in 2012, whereas only 35% reported voting for Mitt Romney. Readers should consider these sample characteristics as they interpret the findings reported below.²

MTurk Pilot Study Results

Ideological Stereotypes of Candidates

Hypothesis *H1* stipulates that the American electorate perceive the voting behavior of congressional representatives and formulate stereotypes about the ideological leanings of political candidates with different professional experiences. In other words, candidates from some occupations may be perceived as more liberal or conservative than others. In order to test this theory, respondents were asked: "Think about the typical (Randomized Candidate) running for political office, where does the typical (Randomized Candidate) fall on the following ideological scale?" Participants were then asked to place the candidate they were assigned to on a Likert-type scale ranging from "Extremely Liberal (1)" to "Extremely Conservative (7)." Figure 2.1 illustrates the perceived ideological positions of political candidates from different occupational backgrounds.

² Complete results from analyses of the pilot study data are included in the appendix.



Figure 2.1. Mean Ideological Placement by Experimental Condition

Notes: Scale = 1 (Extremely Liberal), 2 (Liberal), 3 (Slightly Liberal), 4 (Moderate), 5 (Slightly Conservative), 6 (Conservative), 7 (Extremely Conservative); ANOVA Results: F = 31.15, P > F = 0.000, $\eta 2 = 0.3605$.

Figure 2.1 confirms our theory that American voters see ideological differences between political candidates from different professions and the analysis of variance (ANOVA) results show that there is statistically significant difference in ideological placement by experimental condition (F = 31.15, P > F = 0.000). Voters stereotyped social workers as the most ideologically liberal candidate ($\bar{x} = 2.94$) and farmers as the most ideologically conservative candidates ($\bar{x} =$ 5.59). We hypothesized in *H1a* is that candidates in the business, medical, military, and media professions would be stereotyped as ideologically conservative. The results support most of the initial expectations as the Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 5.28$), Military Veteran ($\bar{x} = 5.25$), and Medical Doctor ($\bar{x} = 4.52$) candidates were all placed on the conservative side of the ideological scale. However, the Journalist ($\bar{x} = 3.52$) candidate, who was used to represent the media, were evaluated as being ideologically liberal. As expected under *H1b*, the Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 4.20$) candidate was placed roughly near the middle of the ideological distribution by our subjects. We also find that the Teacher ($\bar{x} = 3.04$) candidate was considered ideologically liberal as anticipated by hypothesis *H1c*. What is most impressive is that the experimental treatments account for approximately 36% of the variance in respondents' placement of candidates ($\eta^2 = 0.3605$). Therefore, we conclude that there is enough evidence to support the theory that voters perceive ideological difference between candidates who come from distinct occupational backgrounds.

Character Trait Stereotypes of Candidates

Hayes (2005) shows that American voters believe Democratic presidential candidates possess certain character traits while Republican candidates are stereotyped as having others. The American National Election Study (ANES) has asked participants to evaluate presidential candidates on a variety of character traits since its inception, and numerous studies have found that voters indeed make character trait assessments of political candidates. We have adapted the ANES character trait questions to test hypothesis *H2*, which stipulates that voters possess character trait stereotypes of political candidates from diverse occupations. In the experiment, participants were asked: "Think about the typical (Randomized Candidate) running for political office, how well do the descriptions below characterize the average (Randomized Candidate) running for office?" Subjects were asked to place candidates on a Likert-type scale ranging from "Not Well At All (1)" to "Extremely Well (5)" for each of the following character traits: Intelligent, Knowledgeable, Compassionate, Empathetic, Dishonest, Power-hungry, Immoral, Strong Leader, and Integrity.

Figure 3.1 reveals that participants judged political candidates from diverse professional backgrounds as possessing different levels of intelligence (F = 14.12, P > F = 0.000, η^2 = 0.2034). Subjects in the study evaluated the Engineer ($\bar{x} = 4.57$) and Medical Doctor ($\bar{x} = 4.30$)

candidates as the most intelligent. The Farmer ($\bar{x} = 3.18$) and Military Veteran ($\bar{x} = 3.42$) candidates were stereotyped as the least intelligent of the nine hypothetical candidates. Similarly, participants also perceived differences in the knowledge levels of political candidates from distinct occupations (F = 11.13, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.1679$). Once again, the Engineer ($\bar{x} = 4.20$) and Medical Doctor ($\bar{x} = 4.10$) were assessed as the most knowledgeable candidates, whereas the Farmer ($\bar{x} = 2.92$) and Military Veteran ($\bar{x} = 3.37$) were considered the least knowledgeable.³



Figure 3.1. Mean "Intelligent" Evaluation by Experimental Manipulation

Notes: Scale 1(Not Well at All), 2(Slightly Well), 3(Moderately Well), 4(Very Well), 5(Extremely Well); ANOVA Results: F = 14.12, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2034$.

The results for participants' character trait stereotypes of the hypothetical candidates on the "Compassionate" variable are illustrated in Figure 3.2. The ANOVA test shows that subjects undeniably perceived differences between the candidates on this character trait (F = 20.91, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2745$). The Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 4.15$) and Teacher ($\bar{x} = 3.94$) candidates were

³ The correlation coefficient (r) for the character trait variables "Intelligent" and "Knowledgeable" is 0.6897.

considered the most compassionate, while the Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 2.37$) and Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 2.54$) candidates were judged to be the least compassionate. We also find significant differences for how well respondents believed the word "Empathetic" characterized candidates with different professional experiences (F = 21.78, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2828$). As with the "Compassionate" variable, the Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 4.17$) and Teacher ($\bar{x} = 3.94$) candidates were stereotyped as the most empathetic, whereas the Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 2.20$) and Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 2.30$) were stereotyped as the least empathetic of the nine candidates.⁴



Figure 3.2. Mean "Compassionate" Evaluation by Experimental Manipulation

Notes: Scale 1(Not Well at All), 2(Slightly Well), 3(Moderately Well), 4(Very Well), 5(Extremely Well); ANOVA Results: F = 20.91, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2745$.

Figure 3.3 shows the results for how well subjects believe "Integrity" characterized candidates from different occupational backgrounds. Once again, participants perceived clear differences between the candidates (F = 15.18, P > F = 0.000, $\eta 2 = 0.2156$). Respondents

⁴ The correlation coefficient (*r*) for the character trait variables "Compassionate" and "Empathetic" is 0.8125.

stereotyped the Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 2.49$) and Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 2.88$) candidates as having the lowest levels of integrity, while the Farmer ($\bar{x} = 4.06$) candidate was thought to have the most integrity. Subjects believed that "Integrity" characterized all other candidates moderately well.

Participants were also asked to assess the leadership traits of the hypothetical candidate to which they were randomly assigned. Respondents appeared to think that the term "Strong Leader" applied to the candidates differently (F = 4.90, P > F = 0.000). Subjects stereotyped the Military Veteran ($\bar{x} = 3.79$) candidate as the strongest leader and the Journalist ($\bar{x} = 2.76$) as the least capable leader. However, the experimental conditions only account for about 8% of variance in subjects' responses ($\eta^2 = 0.0814$) so it is difficult to assess whether these differences are substantively significant.



Figure 3.3. Mean "Integrity" Evaluation by Experimental Manipulation

Notes: Scale 1(Not Well at All), 2(Slightly Well), 3(Moderately Well), 4(Very Well), 5(Extremely Well); ANOVA Results: F = 15.18, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2156$.

The first six character trait variables we have discussed can be categorized as positive traits. However, the experiment also included several negative character trait variables to determine if American voters hold negative stereotypes of political candidates with different professional experiences. Figure 3.4 reveals that subjects perceive some political candidates to be more dishonest than others (F = 10.79, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.1637$). The Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 2.80$), Journalist ($\bar{x} = 2.52$), and Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 2.40$) candidates were stereotyped as the most dishonest, whereas the Teacher ($\bar{x} = 1.42$) was considered the least dishonest. Participants also believed some candidates were more immoral than others (F = 6.88, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.1110$). The Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 2.41$), Journalist ($\bar{x} = 2.32$), and Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 2.32$) are used as being more immoral than all other candidates. However, it is important to note that subjects did not think the terms "Dishonest" and "Immoral" characterized any of the candidates moderately well, very well, or extremely well. In other words, respondents were hesitant to stereotype any of the candidates too negatively on these negative character trait variables.⁵

⁵ The correlation coefficient (r) for the character trait variables "Dishonest" and "Immoral" is 0.7473.



Figure 3.4. Mean "Dishonest" Evaluation by Experimental Manipulation

Notes: Scale 1(Not Well at All), 2(Slightly Well), 3(Moderately Well), 4(Very Well), 5(Extremely Well); ANOVA Results: F = 10.79, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.1637$.

Figure 3.5 illustrates how participants considered certain political candidates to be more power-hungry than others as well (F = 19.10, P > F = 0.000), with 26% of the variance in subjects' responses attributable to experimental treatment (η^2 = 0.2569). Respondents characterized the Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 3.71$), Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 3.28$), and Journalist ($\bar{x} = 2.96$) candidates as the most power-hungry. The Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 2.19$), Medical Doctor ($\bar{x} = 2.44$), Engineer ($\bar{x} = 2.45$), and Military Veteran ($\bar{x} = 2.63$) were considered to be slightly powerhungry. Lastly, subjects stereotyped the Farmer ($\bar{x} = 1.71$) and Teacher ($\bar{x} = 1.86$) candidates as the least power-hungry.



Figure 3.5. Mean "Power-Hungry" Evaluation by Experimental Manipulation

Notes: Scale 1(Not Well at All), 2(Slightly Well), 3(Moderately Well), 4(Very Well), 5(Extremely Well); ANOVA Results: F = 19.10, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2569$.

In summary, we find clear evidence that American voters possess unique character trait stereotypes of political candidates from different occupational backgrounds. Certain candidates are considered more intelligent, knowledgeable, compassionate, empathetic, dishonest, powerhungry, and immoral than others, simply because of their professional experience. Overall, Lawyers and Business Owners are stereotyped more negatively than all other candidates on character trait evaluations. The evidence overwhelmingly supports hypothesis *H2*.

Issue Competency Stereotypes of Candidates

Petrocik (1996) argues that American voters perceive issue competency differences between presidential candidates from the two major political parties. Building on this work, hypothesis H3 anticipates that voters will stereotype political candidates with distinct professional experiences as being either more or less capable of competently handling a variety

of political issues. In order to test this theory, subjects in the experiment were asked: "What is your best guess about a typical (Randomized) candidate's competency in handling the following issues?" Following ANES procedures, subjects were asked to place candidates on a Likert-type scale ranging from "Very Incompetent (1)" to "Very Competent (6)" for each of the following issues: Foreign Policy, National Security, Immigration, Economy, Unemployment/Jobs, Tax Policy, Environmental Policy, Education, Health Care, Assisting the Poor, and Agriculture.

Figure 4.1 shows that voters indeed rated candidates with diverse professional experiences differently on their ability to handle issues of national security (F = 18.87, P > F =0.000) and the experimental conditions account for approximately 26% of the variance in participants' responses ($\eta^2 = 0.2586$). The Military Veteran ($\bar{x} = 4.94$) was the only candidate subjects believed to be competent at handling national security and is approximately one point ahead of the nearest candidate, the Engineer ($\bar{x} = 3.96$). All other candidates were rated as either slightly incompetent or incompetent on the issue, with the Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 2.46$) candidate being rated the lowest. A similar result emerges from analysis of respondents' stereotypes of candidates' abilities to handle foreign policy (F = 11.79, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.1758$). Once again, the Military Veteran ($\bar{x} = 4.44$) was the highest rated candidate and the only one that subjects believed is competent at handling foreign policy matters. The Farmer ($\bar{x} = 2.53$), Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 2.58$), and Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 2.78$) were judged to be incompetent at handling foreign policy, while the Medical Doctor ($\bar{x} = 3.00$), Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 3.35$), Engineer ($\bar{x} = 3.47$), Teacher ($\bar{x} = 3.50$), and Journalist ($\bar{x} = 3.68$) were stereotyped as slightly incompetent on this issue.



Figure 4.1. Mean "National Security" Issue Competency Assessment by Treatment

Notes: Scale = 1 (Very Incompetent), 2 (Incompetent), 3 (Slightly Incompetent), 4 (Slightly Competent), 5, (Competent), 6 (Very Competent); ANOVA Results: F = 18.87, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2586$.

Subjects were also asked to rate candidates' competencies on a variety of economic issues including tax policy, unemployment/jobs, and the economy in general. As illustrated in Figure 4.2, the ANOVA test reveals that participants indeed perceived differences in the candidates' abilities to handle tax policy (F = 8.04, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.1271$). The Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 4.47$), Engineer ($\bar{x} = 4.18$), and Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 3.98$) were stereotyped as the most competent candidates on tax policy, while the Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 2.85$) was the lowest rated candidate. Respondents also believed there were differences in the candidates' ability to handle unemployment/jobs, with the Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 4.23$) and Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 4.12$) being the highest rated on this issue. However, despite being statistically significant (F = 2.30, P > F = 0.020), the effect size of the different treatments is weak ($\eta^2 = 0.0400$). A similar result was seen in the analysis of subjects' ratings of candidates' handling of the economy in general.

Unsurprisingly, the Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 4.28$) was stereotyped as the most competent candidate on the economy. Though the ANOVA test is statistically significant (F = 4.13, P > F = 0.000), it is substantively lacking ($\eta^2 = 0.0695$).



Figure 4.2. Mean "Tax Policy" Issue Competency Assessment by Treatment

Notes: Scale = 1 (Very Incompetent), 2 (Incompetent), 3 (Slightly Incompetent), 4 (Slightly Competent), 5, (Competent), 6 (Very Competent); ANOVA Results: F = 8.04, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.1271$.

Participants also rated candidates on ability to handle environmental policy. Figure 4.3 reveals that subjects saw clear differences between the candidates on this issue (F = 14.55, P > F = 0.000), with the experimental manipulations accounting for about 21% of the variance in respondents' evaluations of the candidates ($\eta^2 = 0.2085$). The Farmer ($\bar{x} = 4.49$), Engineer ($\bar{x} = 4.45$), and Teacher ($\bar{x} = 4.04$) candidates were stereotyped as being slightly competent at handling environmental policy. The Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 2.50$) was the lowest rated candidate, with all other candidates considered as slightly incompetent on this issue.



Figure 4.3. Mean "Environmental Policy" Issue Competency Assessment by Treatment

Notes: Scale = 1 (Very Incompetent), 2 (Incompetent), 3 (Slightly Incompetent), 4 (Slightly Competent), 5, (Competent), 6 (Very Competent); ANOVA Results: F = 14.55, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2085$.

Respondents in the sample also believed some candidates are better able to handle education policy than others (F = 16.89, P > F = 0.000), with 23% of the variance in ratings attributable to the experimental treatments ($\eta^2 = 0.2341$). Figure 4.4 illustrates that the Teacher ($\bar{x} = 5.34$) candidate was the highest rated on this issue, as the only candidate considered competent on education policy. The Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 4.63$), Engineer ($\bar{x} = 4.59$), Medical Doctor ($\bar{x} = 4.46$), and Journalist ($\bar{x} = 4.06$) were stereotyped as slightly competent on education, whereas the Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 3.96$), Military Veteran ($\bar{x} = 3.52$), Farmer ($\bar{x} = 3.43$), and Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 3.32$) were considered slightly incompetent on education policy.



Figure 4.4. Mean "Education Policy" Issue Competency Assessment by Treatment

Notes: Scale = 1 (Very Incompetent), 2 (Incompetent), 3 (Slightly Incompetent), 4 (Slightly Competent), 5, (Competent), 6 (Very Competent); ANOVA Results: F = 16.89, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2341$.

Subjects were also asked to evaluate candidate ability to deal with health care policy. Participants perceived clear differences in the competence of candidates from diverse occupational backgrounds on handling health care policy (F = 16.95, P > F = 0.000). Furthermore, the experimental conditions account for roughly 23% of the variance in candidates' ratings ($\eta^2 = 0.2347$). Figure 4.5 reveals that the Medical Doctor ($\bar{x} = 5.34$) was the highest rated candidate and was the only candidate stereotyped as competent on health care policy. The Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 4.33$) was the only candidate rated as slightly competent. All other candidates were evaluated as slightly incompetent on health care policy, with the Farmer ($\bar{x} = 3.06$) and the Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 3.10$) were assessed as the worst candidates on this issue.



Figure 4.5. Mean "Health Care Policy" Issue Competency by Treatment

Notes: Scale = 1 (Very Incompetent), 2 (Incompetent), 3 (Slightly Incompetent), 4 (Slightly Competent), 5, (Competent), 6 (Very Competent); ANOVA Results: F = 16.95, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2347$

Figure 4.6 demonstrates that respondents also perceived differences in the ability to handle issues of poverty and assistance to the poor (F = 14.81, P > F = 0.000, $\eta 2 = 0.2113$). The Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 5.04$) was the highest rated candidate on this issue and the only candidate stereotyped as competent at dealing with poverty. The Teacher ($\bar{x} = 4.26$) and Medical Doctor ($\bar{x} = 4.08$) were evaluated as slightly competent on this issue. The Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 2.76$) was the worst rated candidate and the only one to be considered incompetent on poverty and assistance to the poor. All other candidates were stereotyped as slightly incompetent on this political issue.



Figure 4.6. Mean "Assistance to the Poor" Issue Competency Assessment by Treatment

Notes: Scale = 1 (Very Incompetent), 2 (Incompetent), 3 (Slightly Incompetent), 4 (Slightly Competent), 5, (Competent), 6 (Very Competent); ANOVA Results: F = 14.81, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.2113$.

The last political issue respondents were asked to rate candidates on was competency on agricultural policy. Figure 4.7 illustrates that subjects indeed held stereotypes of political candidates with different occupational backgrounds on their ability to handle this issue (F = 37.19, P > F = 0.000), with 40% of the variance in evaluations of candidates attributable to experimental condition ($\eta^2 = 0.4023$). The Farmer ($\bar{x} = 5.71$) was by far stereotyped as the most competent candidate on agricultural policy. The Engineer ($\bar{x} = 4.20$) was the only candidate considered slightly competent on this political issue. The worst rated candidates on agricultural policy were the Social Worker ($\bar{x} = 2.65$), Business Owner ($\bar{x} = 2.84$), and Lawyer ($\bar{x} = 2.88$). The remaining candidates were stereotyped as slightly incompetent in this policy area.



Figure 4.7. Mean "Agriculture Policy" Issue Competency Assessment by Treatment

Notes: Scale = 1 (Very Incompetent), 2 (Incompetent), 3 (Slightly Incompetent), 4 (Slightly Competent), 5, (Competent), 6 (Very Competent); ANOVA Results: F = 37.19, P > F = 0.000, $\eta^2 = 0.4023$.

The preceding analyses show that voters indeed hold unique issue competency stereotypes of political candidates from different professions. Therefore, we conclude that the evidence overwhelmingly supports hypothesis *H3*. However, prior studies have shown that the perceived overall competence of political candidates is the most important factor in their evaluations by voters (McCurley & Mondak, 1995; Mondak, 1995). Candidates may be rated highly on specific issues, but this does not inevitably suggest that voters believe that these candidates are competent enough to merit political office. In order to address our third research question, all subjects in the study, regardless of their experimental treatment, were asked the following question: "Which of the following occupations do you think best prepares political candidates for public office?" Participants were asked to select a candidate from a list including all nine of the hypothetical candidates and were given the option to write in their own candidate.

Figure 4.8 illustrates the findings on this question. A plurality of subjects believed that Lawyers (34%) were best prepared by their occupation to hold political office. Business Owners (20%) received the second highest rating from respondents on this question. These results are not surprising considering that Lawyers and Business people comprise more than half of congressional representatives. The Military Veteran (11%), Social Worker (10%), and Teacher (9%) were the next highest rated candidates. Figure 4.8 clearly shows that voters perceive differences in the competency to hold office of candidates with varying professional experiences.

Figure 4.8. Percent of Responses to Question: "Which of the following occupations do you think best prepares political candidates for public office?"



Discussion

Political scientists have shown that candidates' party identification, gender, and race/ethnicity act as information shortcuts for voters during elections. Americans use this demographic information to stereotype candidates and make judgments about their political ideology, character traits, and issue competencies. The objective of this research project was to

demonstrate that voters also use candidates' listed occupation to make inferences and decisions, especially in low-information primary and non-partisan local elections in which party identification does not serve as a heuristic shortcut. The evidence gathered from an online Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) survey experiment revealed that American voters indeed possess unique stereotypes of political candidates from different occupational backgrounds. Subjects in the experiment evaluated candidates distinctly on questions of political ideology, issue competencies, and character traits. However, due to the nature of the MTurk sample, this initial experimental study will need to be replicated using a more representative sample.

One of the questions left unaddressed by this pilot study is whether or not professional experience influences voters' assessments of political candidates in the presence of party cues. In an experimental study, Kam (2007) found that while the race/ethnicity of a candidate influences attitudes towards that candidate, these effects were eliminated by the presence of party identification. In other words, voters consider the party identification over the race/ethnicity of candidates. Another related inquiry concerns the more direct effect of candidates' occupational backgrounds on voters' decision-making process at the voting booth. The initial MTurk study shows that Americans hold unique ideological, character trait, and issue competency stereotypes of candidates with different professional experiences. However, it is still unclear whether these considerations actually influence how people vote. If the listed occupation of candidates indeed influences the vote choice, one would expect candidates from certain professions to win head-to-head races against candidates from other occupational backgrounds.

As previously stated, Sigelman and Sigelman (1982) found that a hypothetical business executive candidate received more votes than a lawyer candidate (53.6% to 46.4%), although this finding was not the original intent of the experimental study or its design. Recently, McDermott

and Panagopoulos (2015) demonstrated in a survey experiment that military veterans receive an electoral advantage when facing an opponent who has no military experience, but only when the veteran candidate is a Democrat. Results from our experiment indicate that voters indeed use the professional experience of candidates as a heuristic cue. Thus, our study contributes to this relatively new strand of research. However, further empirical data is needed to address remaining questions concerning the extent to which American voters rely on this information.

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Appendix

Table A1. Multiple-Comparison Test P-Values for Character Traits

	Business Owner vs.	Business Owner vs.	Business Owner	Business Owner	Business Owner
	Lawyer	Military Veteran	vs. Medical Doctor	vs. Teacher	vs. Engineer
Intelliaent	0.081	1.000	0.000*	0.256	0.000*
Knowledgeable	0.021*	1.000	0.002*	1.000	0.000*
Compassionate	1.000	1.000	0.000*	0.000*	1.000
, Empathetic	1.000	0.311	0.000*	0.000*	0.455
Dishonest	1.000	0.129	0.065	0.000*	0.068
Power-Hunary	1.000	0.073	0.003*	0.000*	0.003*
Immoral	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.015*	1.000
Strong Leader	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.571	1.000
Integrity	1.000	0.004*	0.009*	0.002*	0.000*
	Business Owner vs.	Business Owner vs.	Business Owner	l awver vs.	l awver vs.
	Social Worker	Journalist	vs. Farmer	Military Veteran	Medical Doctor
Intelligent	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.023*	1.000
Knowledgeable	1.000	1.000	0.220	0.009*	1.000
Compassionate	0.000*	0 294	0.001*	0.527	0.000*
Empassionate	0.000*	0.027*	0.000*	0.054	0.000*
Dishonest	0.063	1 000	0.003*	0.000*	0.000*
Power-Hunary	0.000*	1.000	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
Immoral	0.382	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Strong Leader	0.900	0.000*	0.603	0.416	1 000
Integrity	0.000*	1 000	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
integrity	Lawyer vs	1.000	Lawver vs. Social	Lawyervs	0.000
	Teacher	Lawver vs. Engineer	Morker	Lawyer vs.	Lawvervs Farmer
Intelligent	1 000	0.020*	0.191	1 000	0.000*
Knowledgeghle	1.000	1.000	0.075	1.000	0.000*
Compassionato	0.000*	0.572	0.075	0.015*	0.000*
Compassionale	0.000*	0.372	0.000*	0.013*	0.000*
Dishanast	0.000*	0.005	0.000*	1,000	0.000*
Distionest	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	0.014	0.000*
Power-Hungry	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	1.000	0.000*
Immoral Ctrong Logdon	0.000	1.000	1.000	0.120	1.000
Strong Leader	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.129	1.000
Integrity			0.000*	0.034	
	Madical Destar	Togohor	Williary Veterari	Williary Veteran	Williary Veleran
			vs. Engineer		VS. JOURNAIISL
Intelligent	0.000*	0.082	0.000*	1.000	1.000
Knowledgeable	0.001*	1.000	0.000*	1.000	1.000
Compassionate	0.008*	0.000*	1.000	0.000*	1.000
Empathetic	0.040*	0.000*	1.000	0.000*	1.000
Dishonest	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.01/*
Power-Hungry	1.000	0.008*	1.000	1.000	1.000
Immoral	1.000	0.89/	1.000	1.000	0.348
Strong Leader	1.000	0.04/*	0.165	0.08/	0.000*
Integrity	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.136
	Military Veteran vs.	Medical Doctor vs.	Medical Doctor vs.	Medical Doctor vs.	Medical Doctor vs.
	Farmer	leacher	Engineer	Social Worker	Journalist
Intelligent	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.000*	0.004*
Knowledgeable	0.366	1.000	1.000	0.011*	1.000
Compassionate	0.285	0.939	0.008*	0.039*	0.399
Empathetic	0.274	1.000	0.027*	0.009*	0.500
Dishonest	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.008
Power-Hungry	0.000*	0.215*	1.000	1.000	0.490
Immoral	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.127
Strong Leader	0.053	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.020*

Integrity	0.248	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.276
	Medical Doctor vs.	Teacher vs.	Teacher vs. Social	Teacher vs.	Teacher vs.
	Farmer	Engineer	Worker	Journalist	Farmer
Intelligent	0.000*	0.008*	0.545	1.000	0.000*
Knowledgeable	0.000*	0.223	1.000	1.000	0.000*
Compassionate	1.000	0.000*	1.000	0.000*	0.046*
Empathetic	1.000	0.000*	0.645	0.006*	1.000
Dishonest	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.000*	1.000
Power-Hungry	0.023*	0.176	1.000	0.000*	1.000
Immoral	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.000*	1.000
Strong Leader	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.992	1.000
Integrity	0.144	1.000	1.000	0.098	0.388
	Engineer vs. Social	Engineer vs.	Engineer vs.	Social Worker vs.	Social Worker vs.
	Worker	Journalist	Farmer	Journalist	Farmer
Intelligent	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	1.000	1.000
Knowledgeable	0.001*	0.223	0.000*	1.000	0.085
Compassionate	0.000*	1.000	0.281	0.000*	0.001*
Empathetic	0.000*	1.000	0.198	0.000*	0.001*
Dishonest	1.000	0.008*	1.000	0.008*	1.000
Power-Hungry	1.000	0.548	0.018*	0.011*	0.969
Immoral	1.000	0.135	1.000	0.006*	1.000
Strong Leader	1.000	0.329	1.000	0.718	1.000
Integrity	1.000	0.008*	1.000	0.014*	1.000
	Journalist vs. Farmer				
Intelligent	0.284				
Knowledgeable	0.000*				
Compassionate	1.000				
Empathetic	1.000				
Dishonest	0.000*				
Power-Hungry	0.000*				
Immoral	0.001*				
Strong Leader	0.972				
Integrity	0.000*				

Notes: P-values are bonferroni-corrected; * = p < 0.05

VARIABLES	Intelligent	Knowledgeable	Compassionate	Empathetic	Integrity
Treatments					
D i o	0 - 40***	0 (10+++	0.125	0.107	0 27(**
Business Owner	-0.549***	-0.612***	0.135	0.107	0.376**
	(0.170)	(0.175)	(0.189)	(0.197)	(0.180)
Military Veteran	-0.535***	-0.596***	0.430**	0.637***	1.110***
	(0.170)	(0.175)	(0.189)	(0.197)	(0.180)
Teacher	-0.0293	-0.250	1.493***	1.480***	1.097***
	(0.172)	(0.177)	(0.192)	(0.199)	(0.182)
Medical Doctor	0.298*	0.0399	1.100***	1.229***	1.047***
	(0.171)	(0.176)	(0.190)	(0.198)	(0.181)
Social Worker	-0.505***	-0.571***	1.724***	1.942***	1.178***
	(0.171)	(0.176)	(0.191)	(0.198)	(0.181)
Journalist	-0.393**	-0.289*	0.608***	0.738***	0.525***
	(0.170)	(0.174)	(0.189)	(0.196)	(0.179)
Engineer	0.573***	0.192	0.434**	0.581***	1.210***
e	(0.170)	(0.174)	(0.189)	(0.197)	(0.180)
Farmer	-0.839***	-1.074***	0.948***	1.150***	1.532***
	(0.172)	(0.176)	(0.191)	(0.199)	(0.181)
Demographics					
0 1					
Republican	-0.0454	0.0934	-0.101	-0.000234	0.107
	(0.103)	(0.105)	(0.114)	(0.119)	(0.109)
Income	-1.29e-06**	-1.22e-07	-5.86e-07	1.04e-07	-5.75e-07
	(6.52e-07)	(6.69e-07)	(7.24e-07)	(7.53e-07)	(6.89e-07)
Age	0.00465	-0.00188	0.00344	0.00338	0.00255
C	(0.00327)	(0.00336)	(0.00364)	(0.00378)	(0.00346)
Female	-0.0272	-0.0132	0.0434	0.0514	0.0543
	(0.0817)	(0.0838)	(0.0908)	(0.0945)	(0.0863)
White	0.103	0.143	0.0975	0.0324	0.105
	(0.101)	(0.103)	(0.112)	(0.116)	(0.106)
				· · · ·	~ /
Constant	3.830***	3.955***	2.233***	2.036***	2.316***
	(0.185)	(0.190)	(0.206)	(0.214)	(0.196)
Observations	438	438	438	438	438
R-squared	0.216	0.171	0.272	0.280	0.225

Table A2. OLS Estimates of Character Traits

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

VARIABLES	Dishonest	Power-hungry	Immoral	Strong Leader
Treatments				
D · O	0.27(*	0 411*	0 211	0.227*
Business Owner	-0.3/6*	-0.411*	-0.311	0.337*
	(0.202)	(0.211)	(0.189)	(0.191)
Military Veteran	-1.011***	-1.040***	-0.594***	0.568***
	(0.202)	(0.211)	(0.189)	(0.191)
Teacher	-1.340***	-1.840***	-0.971***	-0.128
	(0.205)	(0.214)	(0.192)	(0.194)
Medical Doctor	-1.074***	-1.256***	-0.653***	0.0729
	(0.204)	(0.212)	(0.191)	(0.192)
Social Worker	-1.008***	-1.460***	-0.785***	-0.131
	(0.204)	(0.212)	(0.191)	(0.193)
Journalist	-0.211	-0.677***	-0.0129	-0.533***
	(0.202)	(0.210)	(0.189)	(0.191)
Engineer	-1.032***	-1.211***	-0.659***	-0.0389
	(0.202)	(0.210)	(0.189)	(0.191)
Farmer	-1.156***	-1.961***	-0.872***	-0.0817
	(0.204)	(0.213)	(0.191)	(0.193)
Demographics				
Republican	-0.0496	-0.0510	0.0429	0.0893
	(0.122)	(0.127)	(0.114)	(0.116)
Income	8.56e-07	7.49e-07	1.72e-06**	1.42e-07
	(7.74e-07)	(8.07e-07)	(7.25e-07)	(7.32e-07)
Age	-0.00644*	-0.00294	-0.00650*	-0.00204
	(0.00389)	(0.00405)	(0.00365)	(0.00368)
Female	-0.0872	-0.105	-0.0445	0.0240
	(0.0971)	(0.101)	(0.0910)	(0.0918)
White	-0.0420	-0.0860	-0.0331	-0.0400
() Inte	(0.120)	(0.125)	(0.112)	(0.113)
	(0.120)	(0.125)	(0.112)	(0.115)
Constant	3.046***	3.868***	2.577***	3.369***
	(0.220)	(0.230)	(0.206)	(0.208)
Observations	437	438	437	438
P squared	0 181	0.266	0.132	0.092

Table A2. OLS Estimates of Character Traits Cont.

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

			Business Owner		
	Business Owner vs.	Business Owner vs.	vs. Medical	Business Owner	Business Owner
	Lawver	Military Veteran	Doctor	vs. Teacher	vs. Engineer
Foreian Policy	0.825	0.000*	1.000	0.162	0.222
National Security	1.000	0.000*	1.000	1.000	0.009*
Immiaration	0.001*	0.012*	0.640	0.003*	0.010*
Economy	1 000	0.186	1 000	1.000	1 000
Linemployment/lobs	0.434	1.000	0.319	1.000	1.000
Tax Policy	1 000	0.143	1.000	1.000	1.000
Finite Folicy	0.035*	0.668	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
Environmental Policy	0.033	1.000	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
Luucution	1,000	1.000	0.000*	0.000	0.000
Accisting the Deer	1.000	0.017*	0.000*	0.000*	0.005
Assisting the Pool	1.000	0.017	1,000	1,000	0.021
Ayriculture	Pusiness Ownerus	Pusiness Owner vs	Business Owner	1.000	
	Social Worker	Dusiness Owner vs.	Dusiness Owner	Luwyer vs. Militany Vataran	Luwyer vs. Medical Doctor
Faraian Daliau	1 000	0.014*	1 000		1 000
FOREIgn POlicy	0.276	1.000	1.000	0.001*	1.000
	0.570	1.000	1.000	1,000	1.000
Immigration	0.000*	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Economy	0.000*	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Unemployment/Jobs	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Tax Policy	0.000*	1.000	1.000	0.000*	1.000
Environmental Policy	0.168	0.000*	0.000*	1.000	1.000
Education	0.000*	0.051	1.000	1.000	1.000
Health Care	0.000*	0.684	1.000	1.000	0.000*
Assisting the Poor	0.000*	0.001*	0.009*	0.409	0.000*
Agriculture	1.000	1.000	0.000*	0.763	1.000
	Lawyer vs.	Lawyer vs.	Lawyer vs. Social	Lawyer vs.	Lawyer vs.
Fancian Dalian	1 000	Engineer	0.002	1 000	
Foreign Policy	1.000	1.000	0.092	1.000	1.000
	1.000	1.000	0.003	1.000	0.081
Immigration	1.000	1.000	0.125	1.000	0.981
Economy	1.000	1.000	0.135	1.000	1.000
Unemployment/Jobs	1.000	0.810	0.150	1.000	1.000
Tax Policy	0.010*	1.000	0.000*	0.000*	0.002*
Environmental Policy	0.116	0.000*	1.000	0.622	0.000*
Eaucation	0.000*	0.222	0.155	1.000	0.707
Health Care	1.000	1.000	0.030*	1.000	1.000
Assisting the Poor	0.000*	0.462	0.000*	0.031*	0.230
Agriculture	1.000	0.000*	1.000	1.000	0.000*
	Williary Veteran	williary veteran	williary veteran	Winnary Veleran	winnary veleran
Familian Dalian	Vs. IVIEdical Doctor	vs. reacher	Vs. Engineer	Vs. Social Worker	Vs. Journalist
Foreign Policy	0.000*	0.00/*	0.004*	0.000*	0.08/
	0.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
immigration	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Economy	1.000	1.000	0.303	1.000	1.000
Unemployment/Jobs	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
I ax Policy	0.102	1.000	0.000*	1.000	1.000
Environmental Policy	0.193	0.003*	0.000*	1.000	0.029*
Education	0.002*	1.000	1.000**	0.000*	0.003
Health Care	0.000*	1.000	1.000	0.043*	1.000
Assisting the Poor	1.000	0.301	1.000	0.000	1.000
Agriculture	1.000	1.000	0.008*	0.032*	1.000
	Military Veteran	ivieaical Doctor vs.	Neaical Doctor	Medical Doctor	Medical Doctor
	Vs. Farmer	Teacher	vs. Engineer	vs. Social Worker	vs. Journalist
Foreign Policy	0.000*	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.262

Table A3. Multiple-Comparison Test P-Values for Issue Competencies

National Security	0.000*	1.000	0.000*	1.000	0.567
Immigration	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Economy	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.087	1.000
Unemployment/Jobs	1.000	1.000	0.610	0.093	1.000
Tax Policy	1.000	1.000	0.233	0.235	1.000
Environmental Policy	0.000*	1.000	0.182	0.982	1.000
Education	1.000	0.005*	1.000	1.000	1.000
Health Care	1.000	0.000*	0.000*	0.001*	0.000*
Assisting the Poor	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.004*	1.000
Agriculture	0.000*	1.000	0.000*	1.000	1.000
	Medical Doctor vs.	Teacher vs.	Teacher vs. Social	Teacher vs.	Teacher vs.
	Farmer	Engineer	Worker	Journalist	Farmer
Foreign Policy	1.000	1.000	0.013*	1.000	0.005*
National Security	1.000	0.002*	0.920	1.000	1.000
Immigration	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Economy	1.000	1.000	0.004*	1.000	1.000
Unemployment/Jobs	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Tax Policy	1.000	0.751	0.064	1.000	1.000
Environmental Policy	0.122	1.000	0.033*	1.000	1.000
Education	0.000*	0.040*	0.081	0.000*	0.000*
Health Care	0.000*	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.018*
Assisting the Poor	1.000	0.285	0.063	1.000	0.647
Agriculture	0.000*	0.001*	0.166	1.000	0.000*
	Engineer vs. Social	Engineer vs.	Engineer vs.	Social Worker vs.	Social Worker vs.
	Worker	Journalist	Farmer	Journalist	Farmer
Foreign Policy	0.019*	1.000	0.008*	0.001*	1.000
National Security	0.000*	1.000	0.005*	0.001*	0.609
Immigration	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.320
Economy	0.000*	1.000	1.000	0.148	0.211
Unemployment/Jobs	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Tax Policy	0.000*	0.379	0.166	0.142	0.351
Environmental Policy	0.000*	0.907	1.000	0.206	0.000*
Education	1.000	0.778	0.000*	0.560	0.000*
Health Care	1.000	1.000	0.039*	0.191	0.000*
Assisting the Poor	0.000*	1.000	1.000	0.000*	0.000*
Agriculture	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	1.000	0.000*
	Journalist vs.				
	Farmer				
Foreign Policy	0.000*				
National Security	1.000				
Immigration	1.000				
Economy	1.000				
Unemployment/Jobs	1.000				
Tax Policy	1 000				
Environmental Policy	1.000				
LINNOINNEILUITONCY	0.638				
Education	0.638				
Education Health Care	0.638 0.238 0.454				
Education Health Care Assisting the Poor	0.638 0.238 0.454 1.000				

Notes: P-values are bonferroni-corrected; * = p < 0.05

VARIABLES	Foreign	National	Immigration	Environmental	Agriculture
	Policy	Security		Policy	
Treatments					
Business Owner	-0.609**	-0.268	-1.085***	-0.907***	-0.139
	(0.255)	(0.237)	(0.244)	(0.247)	(0.222)
Military Veteran	1.134***	1.787***	-0.121	-0.280	0.503**
•	(0.256)	(0.237)	(0.245)	(0.247)	(0.222)
Teacher	0.0808	-0.298	-0.102	0.635**	0.350
	(0.259)	(0.240)	(0.248)	(0.250)	(0.225)
Medical Doctor	-0.406	-0.387	-0.481*	0.358	0.187
	(0.257)	(0.238)	(0.246)	(0.248)	(0.223)
Social Worker	-0.771***	-0.755***	0.0701	-0.131	-0.244
	(0.257)	(0.238)	(0.246)	(0.249)	(0.223)
Journalist	0.269	0.170	-0.221	0.481*	0.0991
	(0.255)	(0.236)	(0.244)	(0.246)	(0.221)
Engineer	0.0895	0.713***	-0.239	1.047***	1.265***
	(0.255)	(0.236)	(0.244)	(0.247)	(0.221)
Farmer	-0.861***	-0.260	-0.614**	1.111***	2.775***
	(0.258)	(0.239)	(0.247)	(0.249)	(0.224)
Demographics					
Republican	0.120	0.378***	0.288*	0.230	0.404***
1	(0.154)	(0.143)	(0.148)	(0.149)	(0.134)
Income	-3.20e-07	-2.18e-07	3.06e-07	-8.61e-07	1.63e-07
	(9.78e-07)	(9.06e-07)	(9.36e-07)	(9.45e-07)	(8.49e-07)
Age	0.00327	0.0122***	0.0110**	0.0143***	0.00783*
	(0.00491)	(0.00455)	(0.00470)	(0.00475)	(0.00426)
Female	0.0991	0.0358	-0.0170	0.0277	0.0358
	(0.123)	(0.114)	(0.117)	(0.119)	(0.106)
White	-0.0170	-0.0662	0.0285	0.139	0.0174
	(0.151)	(0.140)	(0.145)	(0.146)	(0.131)
Constant	3.230***	2.791***	3.345***	2.725***	2.524***
	(0.278)	(0.258)	(0.266)	(0.269)	(0.242)
Observations	438	438	438	438	438
R-squared	0.186	0.297	0.089	0.230	0.421

Table A4. OLS Estimates of Issue Competencies

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

VARIABLES	Economy	Unemployment	Tax	Education	Healthcare	Assisting
		& Jobs	Policy			Poor
Treatments						
D i o	0.001	0.00		0.00	0.550.44	0.051
Business Owner	0.391	0.626**	-0.525**	-0.69/***	-0.552**	-0.251
	(0.240)	(0.252)	(0.242)	(0.232)	(0.237)	(0.247)
Military Veteran	-0.215	0.383	-1.164***	-0.456**	-0.00493	0.622**
	(0.240)	(0.252)	(0.242)	(0.232)	(0.237)	(0.247)
Teacher	0.161	0.469*	-0.894***	1.386***	0.313	1.258***
	(0.243)	(0.255)	(0.245)	(0.235)	(0.240)	(0.251)
Medical Doctor	-0.0753	-0.0915	-1.035***	0.437*	1.699***	1.100***
	(0.241)	(0.253)	(0.243)	(0.233)	(0.238)	(0.249)
Social Worker	-0.741***	0.676***	-1.600***	0.596**	0.712***	2.016***
	(0.242)	(0.254)	(0.244)	(0.233)	(0.239)	(0.249)
Journalist	-0.102	0.274	-0.964***	0.0231	0.00498	0.762***
	(0.239)	(0.251)	(0.241)	(0.231)	(0.236)	(0.247)
Engineer	0.288	0.545**	-0.366	0.601***	0.189	0.603**
	(0.240)	(0.252)	(0.242)	(0.231)	(0.237)	(0.247)
Farmer	-0.0952	0.170	-1.014***	-0.573**	-0.573**	0.648***
	(0.242)	(0.254)	(0.244)	(0.234)	(0.239)	(0.250)
Demographics						
Republican	0.157	-0.0635	0.202	-0.0103	0.119	-0.0664
	(0.145)	(0.152)	(0.146)	(0.140)	(0.143)	(0.149)
Income	-4.91e-07	-1.48e-06	8.76e-09	-9.55e-07	-9.22e-07	-7.99e-07
	(9.19e-07)	(9.64e-07)	(9.26e-07)	(8.87e-07)	(9.07e-07)	(9.47e-07)
Age	0.00920**	0.00327	0.0108**	0.00481	0.00837*	0.0103**
	(0.00461)	(0.00484)	(0.00465)	(0.00446)	(0.00455)	(0.00476)
Female	0.0690	-0.0133	0.0969	0.0190	0.0734	0.0403
	(0.115)	(0.121)	(0.116)	(0.111)	(0.114)	(0.119)
White	0.123	0.250*	0.0776	0.0910	0.241*	0.101
	(0.142)	(0.149)	(0.143)	(0.137)	(0.140)	(0.146)
Constant	3.395***	3.297***	3.956***	3.797***	3.100***	2.595***
	(0.261)	(0.274)	(0.264)	(0.252)	(0.258)	(0.269)
Observations	438	438	438	438	438	438
R-squared	0.082	0.053	0.139	0.239	0.245	0.220

Table A4. OLS Estimates of Issue Competencies Cont.

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure A1. Sample Ballot

MEMBER OF THE STATE ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 33 Miembro de la Asamblea del Estado, Distrito 33		MEMBER OF THE STATE ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 36 Miembro de la Asamblea del Estado. Distrito 36		
Vote for one / Vo	te por uno	Vole for one / Vole	por	ano
RICK ROELLE Party Preference: Republican San Bernardino County Sheriff's Lieutenant Preferencia de partido: Republicano Tenlente del Alquacii del Condado de San Bernar	te 🛋	SUZETTE M. MARTINEZ Party Preference: Republican Education Advocate Preferencia de partido: Republicano Defensora de la Educación	+	-
JAY OBERNOLTE Party Preference: Republican Business Owner/Mayor Preferencia de partido: Republicano Propletario de Empresa/Alcalde	+ -	TOM LACKEY Party Prelorence: Republican Highway Patrol Sergeant Prelevencia de partido: Republicano Sargento de la Patrulla de Caminos	+	-
ROBERT J. (BOB) BUHRLE Party Preference: Republican Retired Fire Chief Preferencia de partido: Republicano Jale de Bombaros Jubilado	+-	STEVE FOX Party Preforence: Democratic Assemblymomber Preferencia de partido: Demócrata Miambro de la Asambias	+	-
ART BISHOP Party Prelarence: Republican Mayor, Town of Apple Valley Preferencia de partido: Republicano Acado, Pueblo de Apple Valley	+-	KERMIT F. FRANKLIN Party Preference: Democratic Political Consultant Preferencia de partido: Demócrata Aseaor Politico	+	-
SCOTT MARKOVICH Party Preference: Republican Loonsed Building Contractor Preferencia de partido: Republicano Contratista de Construcción Certificado	+-	JD KENNEDY Party Preference: Republicar: Property Management Consultant Preferencia de partido: Republicano Asesor de la Gerencia de Propiedades	+	-
JOHN COFFEY Party Preference: Democratic Educator/Paralegal Preferencia de partido: Damócrata Educador/Audilar Jurídico	+-	(Write-In / En-escrito) MEMBER OF THE STATE ASSEMBLY	÷	-
MICHELLE AMBROZIC Party Preference: Republican Business Owner Preferencia de partido: Republicans Procletaria de Empresa	+ 4	DISTRICT 40 Miembro de la Asamblea del Estado, Distrito 40 Vote for one / Vote MELIOS A O'DONNELI	por	no
BRETT SAVAGE Party Preference: Republican Educator Preferencia de partido: Republicano Educador	+ -	Party Preference: Democratic Educator/Business Owner Preferencia de partido: Democrata Educadora/Propilataria de Empresa	+	4
ROBERT LARIVEE Party Prelerence: Republican Business Owner/Student Prelerencia de partido: Republicano Propietano de Emprese/Estudiante	+-	ARTHUR BUSTAMONTE Party Preference: Democratic Member of the Governing Board, Chafley Joint Union High School District	+	-
JERRY J. LAWS Party Preference: Republican Relined Truck Driver Preferencia de partido: Republicano Complemento Ministrico: Republicano	+-	Miambro, Junta Gobornanto, Distrito Escolar Unifica Proparatorias, Chaffoy KATHLEEN HENRY Party Prelatance: Democratic	do di	
referencia de partido: Republicano amionaro Jubilado Write-In / En-escrito)	+ -	Member, Board of Trustees, San Bernardino Community College District Praterancia do partido: Demócrata Miembro, Junta de Pidelcomisarios, Distrito Escolar Superior Comunitario, San Bernamino	+	1
		MARC STEINORTH Party Protoronos: Republican Smail Businessman/Councilmember Preferencia de partido: Republicano Pequeño Empresario/Miembro del Concejo	+	-
		(Write-In / En-escrito)	+	-