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RACE, RELIGION, AND POLITICS: AN ANALYSIS FROM A CONJOINT EXPERIMENT

A Thesis

Presented in partial fulfillment of requirements

For the degree Master of Arts

In the Department of Political Science

The University of Mississippi

by

Joseph Erric Murphy III

May 2022

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## ABSTRACT

Building on existing research, I seek to understand how both religious and racial identities can shape the religious and ideological perceptions of voters in low-information environments. Using a conjoint experiment, I test the effects of multiple identity traits on respondents' religious and ideological evaluations of political candidates, as well as the willingness to support the candidate. Consistent with previous research showing the importance of perceptions on voting behavior, I find evidence that candidate identities can shape the ideological and religious perceptions of voters, and influence the willingness of respondents to vote for the candidate in a low-information setting.

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## **Chapter I: Introduction**

Race and religion have both played a key role in shaping the American political fabric (Lowndes, Novkov, & Warren 2008; Hatch 1991). Building on existing research, I seek to understand how both religious and racial identities can shape the religious and ideological perceptions of voters in low-information environments. Previous research has shown that there are differences in how candidates are perceived ideologically based on their religious and racial identities (Malka, et al. 2012; Jacobsmeier 2015) as well as how they are perceived in terms of religiosity (Calfano and Djupe 2009). Less attention has been given, however, to how racial and religious identities intersect to help shape individuals' evaluations of candidates for office.

Ideology has long been understood as an important characteristic in determining who citizens will decide to vote for (Downs 1957). This has led researchers to try and uncover what influences the ideological perceptions of voters (Citrin, Green & Sears 1990; Jacobsmeier 2015; Calfano and Djupe 2009). For example, religious cues can influence ideological perceptions of candidates, thus making them more or less appealing to voters (Calfano and Djupe 2009). There are also racial and gendered effects of ideological perceptions, with female and non-white candidates suffering electoral consequences for being perceived as more religiously and ideologically extreme (Calfano and Djupe 2009; 2011).

Using a conjoint experiment, I test the effects of multiple identity traits on respondents' religious and ideological evaluations of political candidates, as well as the willingness to support the candidate. While some conjoint experiments have removed partisan labels in order to limit



the impact of partisanship on perceptions (Kirkland and Coppock 2018), keeping the party labels allows voters to make evaluations not simply based on who they want to represent them, but also allows them to evaluate the characteristics of the candidate through their own partisan lenses. For example, a Republican candidate who is described as “non-religious” may still be perceived by Republicans as “A little religious” simply due to the high association with Republican candidates and religious groups. Conversely, Democratic candidates may view Pro-choice candidates as less religious, even if they are described as religious for the same reason. Partisanship plays a key role in the way candidates are evaluated, and including it within the conjoint provides a better example of real-world decision making.

Consistent with previous research showing the importance of perceptions on voting behavior, I find evidence that candidate identities can shape the ideological and religious perceptions of voters, and influence the willingness of respondents to vote for the candidate in a low-information setting. In the next section I provide a brief overview of current literature on this subject, followed by a discussion of my research design and the data. Following that, I analyze the results from the survey, ending with a discussion of the implications of my findings and some avenues for future research.

## **Chapter II: Literature Review**

Scholarship has found that religion continues to play an important role in American politics (Driskell, Embry, and Lyon 2008; Coe and Chapp 2017). This is not surprising considering the majority of American voters identify as religious (Pew Research Center 2020), as well as most American politicians (Pew Research Center 2019), indicating that a religious identity is important for candidates seeking office. Candidates often try to stress their religious identity through religious language cues in order to try to gain and maintain broad support among their constituents (Calfano and Djupe 2009; Jennings 2016; Coe and Chapp 2017). There are, however, some downsides to using these cues. For one, female candidates tend to be perceived as more religious and ideologically conservative than their male counterparts when utilizing religious cues (Calfano and Djupe 2011). This perception of extremism can have negative effects on voters' willingness to support and vote for the candidate, with many voters being wary of ideologically extreme candidates (Ezrow, et al. 2013).

This perception of extremism is also seen among non-white political candidates and not just through the use of religious cues. For example, black candidates are typically incorrectly perceived as more liberal than their white counterparts, even when controlling for the issue positions of the candidates (Jacobsmeier 2015). Because of this, black candidates have a fine line to walk when attempting to appeal to voters, otherwise they may suffer electoral consequences for being perceived as "radical" or "extreme." This is even without considering the history of racial resentment and the stereotyping of black candidates by white voters that weaken their chances of being elected into office (Hale 2020). This begs the question as to what black and

other non-white candidates can do in order to curry favor with voters that would likely perceive them to be extreme.

Because we know from this previous research that the use of religion makes candidates seem more conservative, and that non-white candidates are typically perceived as more liberal, it follows that the religious perception of a candidate and the race of the candidate together can influence whether voters would be likely to vote for them. For example, will a black candidate still be perceived as more liberal than a white candidate when they are presented as religious, or will voters continue to perceive the black candidate as liberal due to higher levels of support for the Democratic party among minority voters (Pew Research Center 2020)? This is why my experiment utilizes three outcome measures - the perceived ideology of the candidate, the perceived religiosity of the candidate, and the respondents' willingness to vote for the candidate - in order to understand how religion and race are influencing perceptions in a low-information environment.

These results could have real world implications as it could key in as to what identities political candidates should be reinforcing into the minds of voters in order to shift their perceptions. In the next section, I describe my research design and the data that I used in order to answer these questions, before articulating the specific hypotheses that I test.

### Chapter III: Research Design and Data

For this research, I utilize a conjoint survey experiment randomizing the race/ethnicity, religion, gender, age, relevant experience, and issue position of a fictional political candidate. Conjoint experiments originated in market research, allowing for multiple variations of a subject to be randomized and tested with equal probability (Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto 2014). Conjoint designs also help political scientists overcome statistical power problems as they are able to test an indefinite number of factors through variable randomization (Knudsen and Johannesson 2019). Table 1 displays the options for randomization within the conjoint.

**Table 1: Text of Conjoint Possibilities**

<b>Race/ Ethnicity</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Relevant Experience</b>	<b>Issue Position</b>
White	Male	35	Protestant	None	Pro-Choice
Black	Female	45	Catholic	Business Owner	Pro-Life
Asian		55	Evangelical	School Board Member	Wants to Raise Minimum Wage
American Indian		65	Not Religious	City Council Member	Wants to Leave Minimum Wage the Same
Middle Eastern		75	Atheist	State Representative	
Hispanic			Muslim		

In total there were 7,200 possible variations of the conjoint (5 race x 2 gender x 5 age x 6 religion x 5 experience x 4 issue), with each potential variation having equal probability of

occurring. In order to control for partisanship, the conjoint was treated like a closed primary, with Republican respondents only seeing Republican candidates and Democratic respondents only seeing Democratic candidates. The conjoint was introduced as follows:

On the next few pages we will present you five (5) hypothetical [PARTY] candidates running for Congress. The demographic and other information about the candidate will be presented in a table. For each [PARTY] candidate, if all you had to go on was the information in the table, please tell us how likely you would be to vote for them in a congressional election.

Information about each candidate will appear on a separate page, immediately followed by questions about each candidate.

Table 2 displays an example of a possible conjoint a Republican respondent would see.

**Table 2: Example of Conjoint Possibility**

	Republican Candidate 1
Race/Ethnicity	White
Gender	Male
Age	55
Religion	Evangelical
Experience	Business Owner
Issue:	Pro-Choice

Each respondent was asked to evaluate five different candidates and asked a few questions about their perceptions of each candidate (see Table 3).

**Table 3: Question Wording and Response Options for Outcome Measures**

How likely are you to vote for [PARTY] Candidate [#] in a congressional election?	1. Not at all likely, 2. A little likely, 3. Somewhat likely, 4. Very likely
Based on this information, how religious do you think [PARTY] Candidate [#] is?	1. Not at all religious, 2. A little religious, 3. Somewhat religious, 4. Very religious
Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you think [PARTY] Candidate [#] is?	1. Very Liberal, 2. Somewhat liberal, 3. Neither liberal nor conservative, 4. Somewhat conservative, 5. Very conservative

**Data**

This conjoint experiment was included in a survey administered through Lucid in February 2022 (N = ~2,000). Recent research has shown that Lucid’s demographic weighting is consistent with national benchmarks, making their platform suitable for testing many social scientific hypotheses (Coppock and McClellan 2019). We utilized an attention check to ensure respondents were actively paying attention (approximately 2,300 respondents passed, those who failed were not included in the analysis), obtaining basic demographic information (gender, race, education, religious affiliation, etc.) [See Table A2 for question wording] and political characteristics (partisanship, ideology, etc.) [See Table A3 for question wording] prior to implementing the experiment. My sample was compositionally representative, containing racial characteristics of 72.5% White, 12.4% Black, 6.7% Hispanic/Latinx, and 4.3% Asian. In terms of partisanship, my sample included 40% Democrats, 29% Republicans, 25% Independents, and 7% Other. Given the “stacked” nature of the conjoint analysis (Hainmueller, Hopkins, &

Yamamoto 2014), there are roughly 9,000 data points (1,027 unique Democratic and 787 unique Republican respondents, with Independents dropped).<sup>1</sup>

### *Expectations*

There are some initial expectations I have based on previous literature and historical trends. Among Republicans, I expect there will be a lower amount of support for non-white candidates and that non-white candidates will be viewed as more religious and liberal than white candidates. This, I expect, is due to the fact that Democrats tend to share wider support among non-white voters and have a history of supporting non-white candidates running for office (White & Laird 2020; Zheng 2019). Being perceived as more religious, I would expect is due to the history of religion in non-white groups (Pew Research Center 2020). With large portions of black voters belonging to Protestant Christian churches and many Hispanic/Latino voters belonging to the Catholic church, this is likely to shape perceptions of candidates that are also non-white (Pew Research Center 2020). Because of this, I anticipate Democrats will view non-white candidates practically the same as their white counterparts, with no statistical difference in their perceptions or willingness to vote for them.

When it comes to the candidate's religion, I expect some significant differences in how partisans view candidates. To start, I think that regardless of partisanship, candidates will be viewed as more religious if they have a religious identifier (anything besides "Not Religious" and "Atheist"). I would also assume that, regardless of partisanship, Pro-Life candidates will be perceived as more religious as long as they have a religious identifier due to the fact that pro-life

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<sup>1</sup> Not every respondent completed all five tasks. The analysis includes all (partisan) respondents who completed at least one task. The partisan groups include partisan "leaners" (see Appendix for question wording).

activists tend to use religious arguments in order to support their position. For Republicans, I expect non-white candidates to be perceived as just religious as white candidates. For Democrats, I don't think there will be any instance in which a characteristic increases religious perceptions aside from the religious identifier and being Pro-Life.

Issue positions, in the absence of partisanship, will play the largest role in influencing perceptions of the candidates. Thinking of minimum wage positions, I expect that the least significant issue position in terms of perceptions will be those candidates that do not want to raise the minimum wage. This is because there are many Democrats that both want to increase the minimum wage and many that think it should be left the same. Because it is so divisive among Democrats, I feel that there will not be a significant difference in how they are perceived, nor will there be any significant difference in whether or not they would be willing to vote for this candidate. It is also very likely that Republicans will find that this candidate is more conservative and, in turn, be more likely to vote for them, though I expect there to be little variation in terms of religiosity. I also expect wanting to increase the minimum wage will make candidates seem more liberal and less religious because voters will perceive them as left-wing politicians that do not have many ties to institutional religions. I expect the same will be true for Pro-Choice candidates, as strong Democrats tend to hold this issue position. For the Pro-Life position, both Democrats and Republicans will view this candidate as significantly more conservative and religious. This is because those who are Pro-Life tend to use religious arguments in order to justify their issue position. Republicans will be more likely to vote for this candidate, whereas Democrats will not be likely to vote for them.

Table 4 summarizes these expectations.

**Table 4: Summary of Expectations**

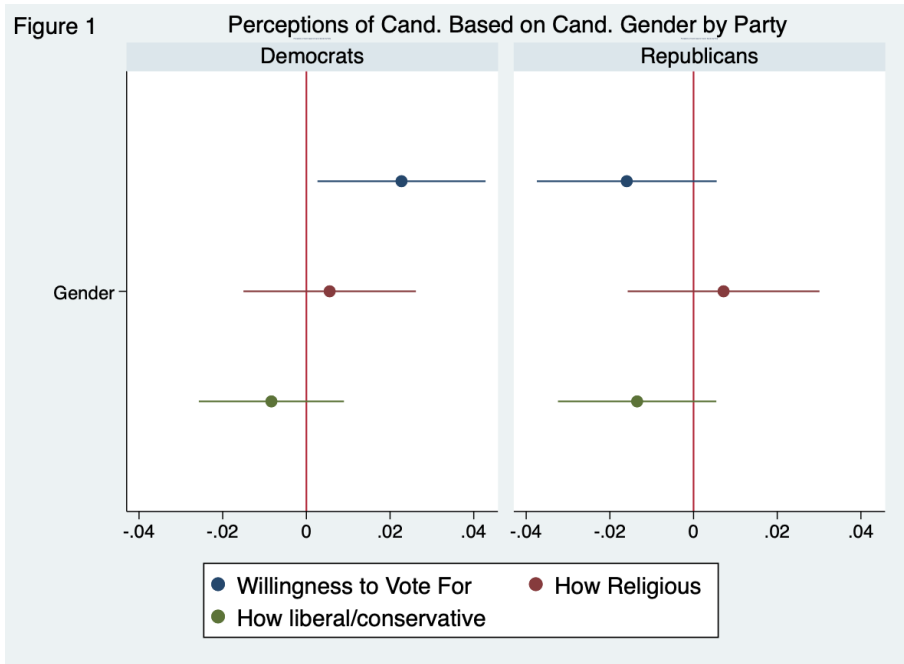


	<i>Outcome of Interest</i>		
<i>Candidate Characteristic</i>	Willingness to vote for candidate	Perception of Candidate's Ideology	Perception of Candidate's Religiosity
Race	Dems: No difference Rep: Less willing	Dems: No difference Rep: More liberal	Dems: No difference Reps: More religious
Religion	Dems: More willing Reps: More willing	Dems: More conservative Reps: More conservative	Dems: More religious Reps: More religious
Pro-Choice	Dems: More willing Reps: Less willing	Dems: More liberal Reps: More liberal	Dems: Less religious Reps: Less religious
Pro-Life	Dems: Less willing Reps: More willing	Dems: More conservative Reps: More conservative	Dems: More religious Reps: More religious
Raise Min Wage	Dems: No difference Reps: Less willing	Dems: More liberal Reps: More liberal	Dems: Less religious Reps: Less Religious
Leave Min Wage	Dems: No difference Reps: More willing	Dems: No difference	Dems: No difference Reps: No difference

		Reps: More conservative	
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## **Chapter IV: Results**

Each of the tables and graphs in this paper were computed using a standard Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression model in STATA, with standard errors clustered by respondent (see Hainmueller, Hopkins, & Yamamoto 2014). Figures 1-7 display the average effects of each different identity characteristic on respondents' willingness to vote for the candidate, their religious perceptions, and their ideological perceptions of the candidate, while Figures 8-10 display the average effects of race interacting with the religious identity and issue positions of the candidates. All of these analyses are separated by party with each of the outcome measures standardized to range from 0 to 1. Each graph displays the average coefficient estimates of each outcome measure, with positive values indicating more likely to vote for the candidate, perceiving the candidate as more religious, and perceiving the candidate as more conservative, and negative values indicating a decreased likelihood for voting for the candidate, the candidate being perceived as less religious, and the candidate being perceived as more liberal.



I begin by briefly discussing the results for the conjoint attributes other than race, religion, and issue positions. Figure 1 displays the average effect of being a female candidate vs. a male candidate on the ideological and religious perceptions of the candidates. Prior work (e.g., Calfano and Djupe 2011) would suggest that Republicans would view female candidates as more extreme in terms of ideology and religiosity. For Republicans, it seems that female candidates are less likely to receive support than their male counterparts, but this is not statistically significant ( $p=.15$ , two-tailed; all reported  $p$ -values are two-tailed). In terms of religiosity, there is no significant evidence that male or female candidates are perceived any differently by Republicans ( $p=.54$ ). For Democrats, there is a significant difference in their willingness to vote for female candidates ( $p<.03$ ), but their religious and ideological perceptions of them have no significant difference vs a male candidate ( $p=.60$  and  $.34$ , respectively). This is again likely due to increased gender diversity among Democratic voters and political candidates.

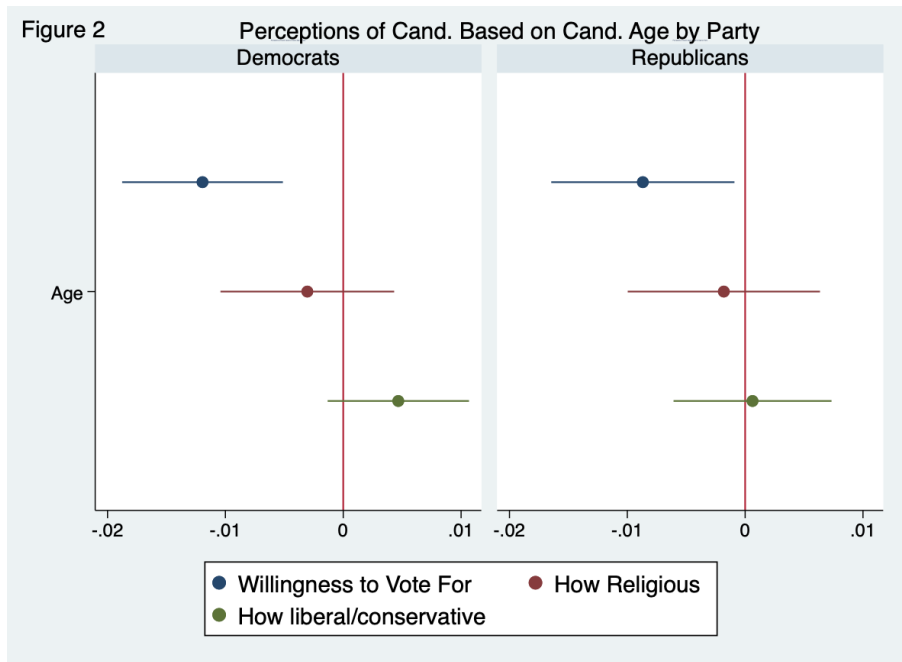


Figure 2 displays the average effect of age on candidate perceptions. For both Republicans and Democrats, there is a significant difference in their willingness to vote for the candidate ( $p=.03$  and  $<.01$ , respectively), with older candidates receiving less support. In terms of ideology and religiosity, there is no significant difference for either party ( $p=.85$  and  $.66$  for Republicans;  $p=.13$  and  $.42$  for Democrats), which is surprising. Because older Americans tend to be more religious than younger Americans (Pew Research Center 2020), I expected voters to perceive older candidates as more religious. One explanation may be that voters may perceive *all* candidates with a religious identifier as religious regardless of age, so the variation in perceptions between age ranges isn't seen.

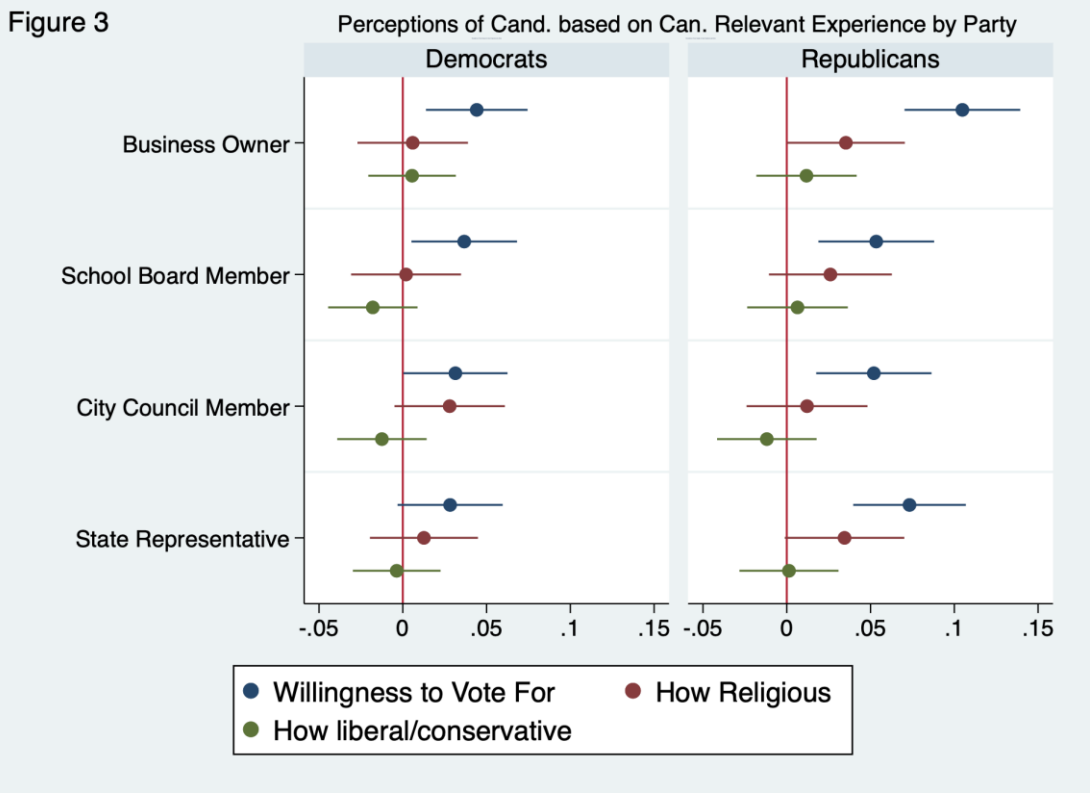
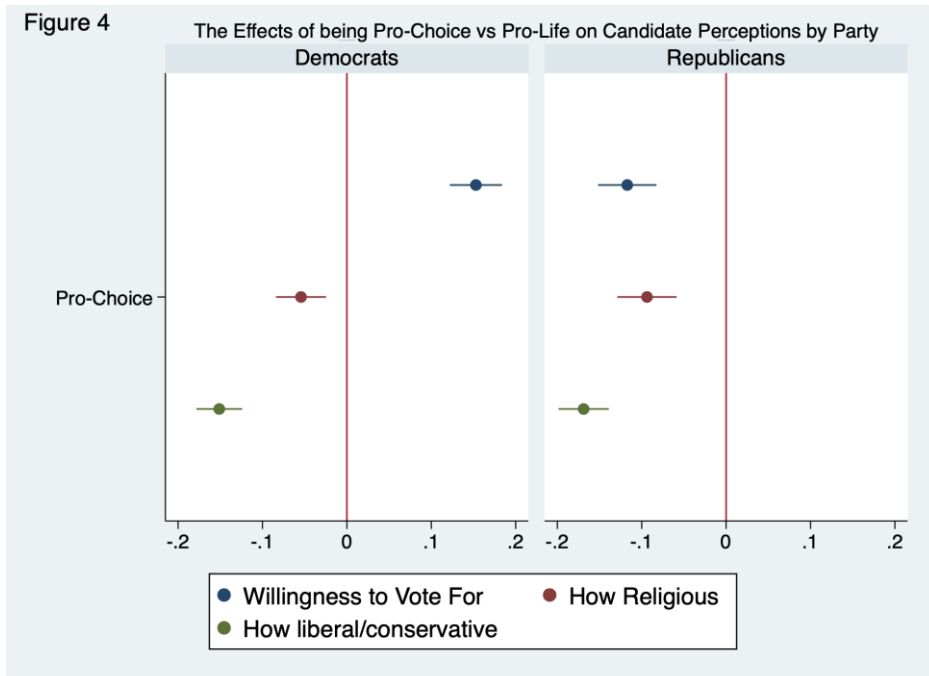
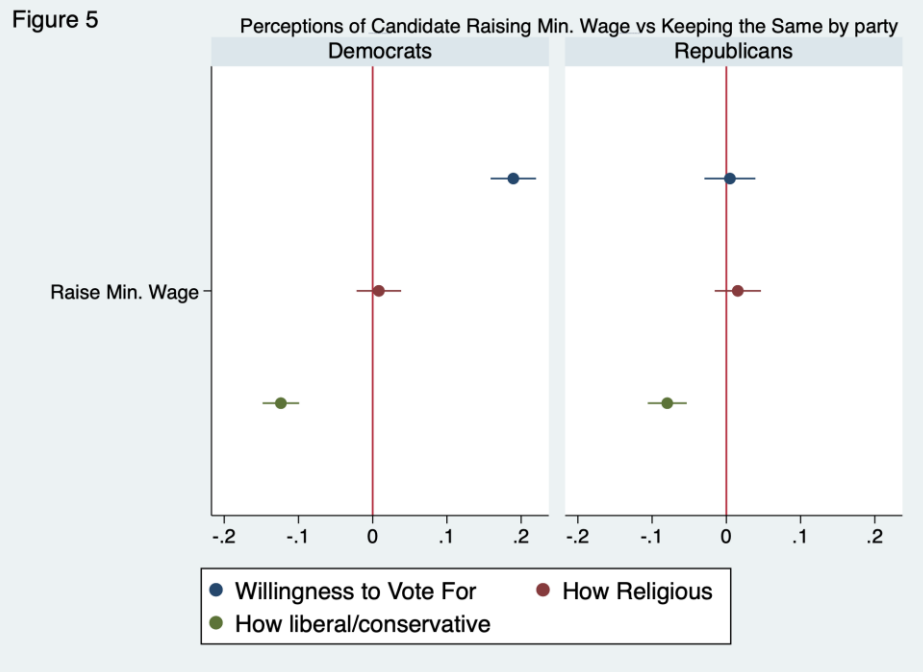


Figure 3 shows the perception difference of the different relevant job experiences on candidate perceptions. Compared to candidates with no relevant job experience, Republicans are on average willing to vote for any candidate regardless of their job experience. For Democrats, there is some significance in support for business owners and school board members ( $p < .01$  and  $.02$ ), but this average effect is quite small. Also, regardless of partisanship, it seems as though job experience has no effect on religious and ideological perceptions of the candidate, which is a little surprising. For Republicans, I expected business owners to be perceived as more conservative than candidates with other job experiences, as former President Donald Trump fits those criteria, but that does not appear to be the case.

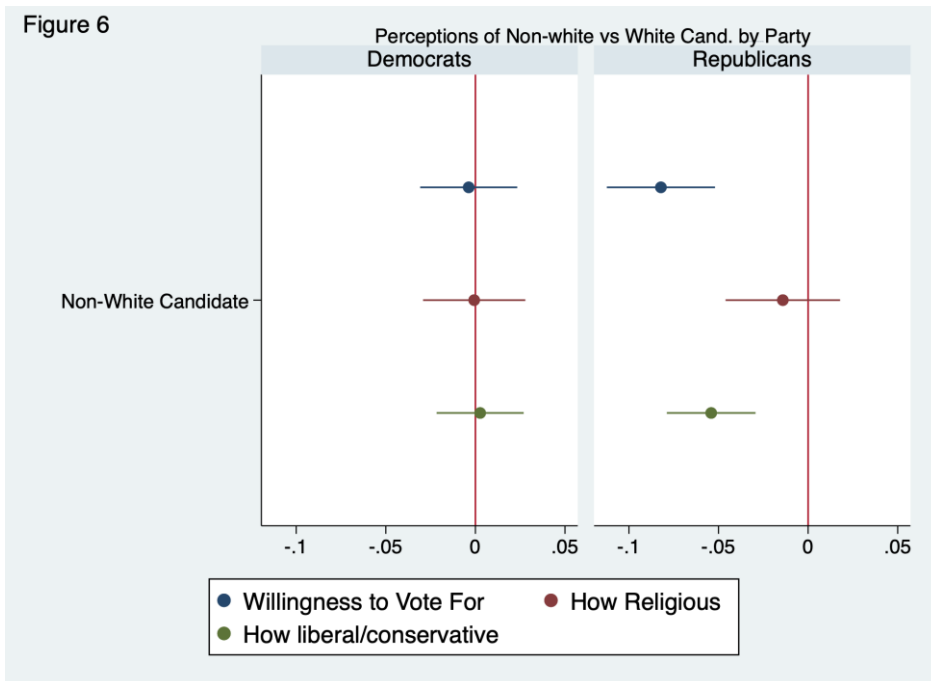


There was an initial expectation that the most divisive characteristic of the fictional candidates would be their issue positions, and that seems to be the case. Whether the candidate was Pro-Life or Pro-Choice had a much stronger effect on both Democratic and Republican perceptions of the candidate, as displayed by Figure 4. Being that abortion access tends to be a common, recurring debate in American politics, it is of little shock that partisans are divided on the issue. For Republicans, Pro-choice candidates are perceived as more liberal ( $p < .01$ ), leading to Republicans to say they are less likely to vote for the candidate ( $p < .01$ ). Democrats are, naturally, the opposite, with pro-choice candidates seeing greater support among Democrats ( $p < .01$ ). Pro-choice candidates are also perceived as less religious compared to pro-life candidates regardless of partisanship ( $p < .01$  for Republicans;  $p < .01$  for Democrats).



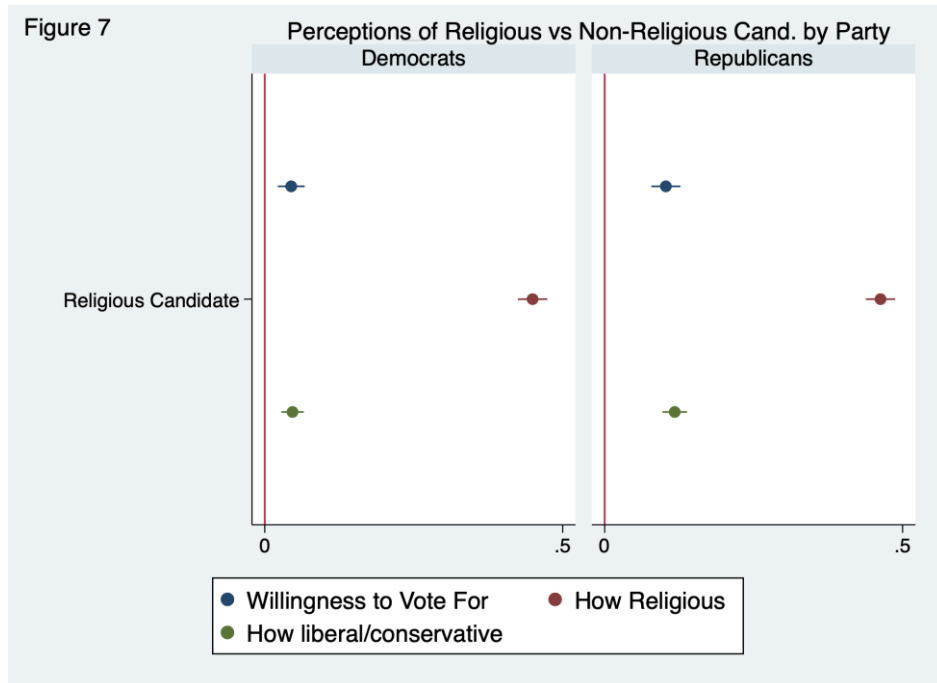
Looking at Figure 5, we can see the effects of positions taken regarding minimum wage. For Republicans, there is very little effect on the candidate's minimum wage opinion, aside from those wanting to raise the minimum wage the same being perceived as more liberal ( $p < .01$ ). For Democrats, we see significant changes in perception. For those that wanted to raise the minimum wage, Democrats are much more willing to vote for them and view those candidates as more liberal ( $p < .01$  for both). In terms of religiosity, however, there is no difference among Democrats or Republicans on religious perceptions regardless of the opinion held ( $p = .59$  and  $.33$ ). Again, these findings are all in line with previous expectations as Democrats tend to have stronger opinions on changes to the minimum wage than Republicans do.





When analyzing the race of the candidates, I felt it was important to make a distinction between white and non-white candidates. It makes the most sense that there wouldn't be a large variation in perceptions of candidates from different non-white groups, but there could very well be perception differences between white and non-white candidates. Figure 6 displays the perceptions of non-white vs. white candidates and their willingness to vote for the candidates. For Democrats, we can see that there is no significant difference, on average, between perceptions of white and non-white candidates. This is in line with previous expectations as the Democratic Party tends to have a wider tent in regards to race and ethnicity (Newport 2013). For Republicans, however, we do see a statistically significant difference in the perceptions of the candidates. For one, there is evidence that Republicans are less likely to be willing to vote for a non-white candidate over a white candidate ( $p < .01$ ). This, however, is not due to a difference in religious perceptions of different racial groups as there is no significant difference in how religious minority candidates are perceived by Republicans ( $p = .39$ ). This is likely due to non-white candidates typically being seen as more ideologically liberal than white candidates by

Republicans ( $p < .01$ ). Again, this is likely due to the more diversity of Democratic voters and candidates that isn't present among modern Republicans, which is also in line with previous work.



Looking at Figure 7, we can see the average effect the candidate's religion had on respondent perceptions. As expected, having a religious identifier does shape the religious perceptions of the candidate. Both Republicans and Democrats on average view the candidate as religious ( $p < .01$  and  $< .01$ ), while also being more willing to vote for the religious candidate ( $p < .01$  and  $< .01$ ). There is also significant evidence of religious candidates being perceived as more conservative, regardless of partisanship ( $p < .01$  and  $< .01$ ). This is all within expectations considering the perceptions of candidates that utilize religion in their campaigning. As candidate's emphasize their religious beliefs more, their ideological and religious perceptions begin to shift, and thus voters' willingness to support that candidate.

Figure 8

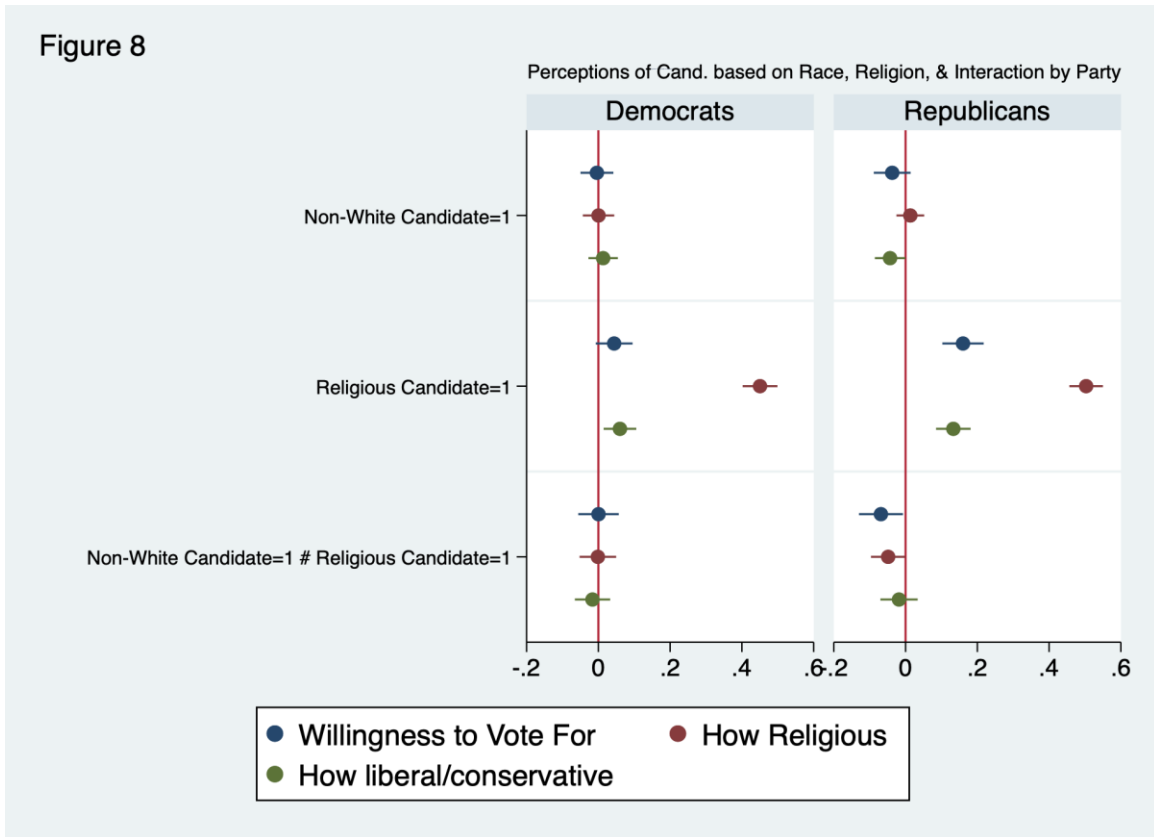
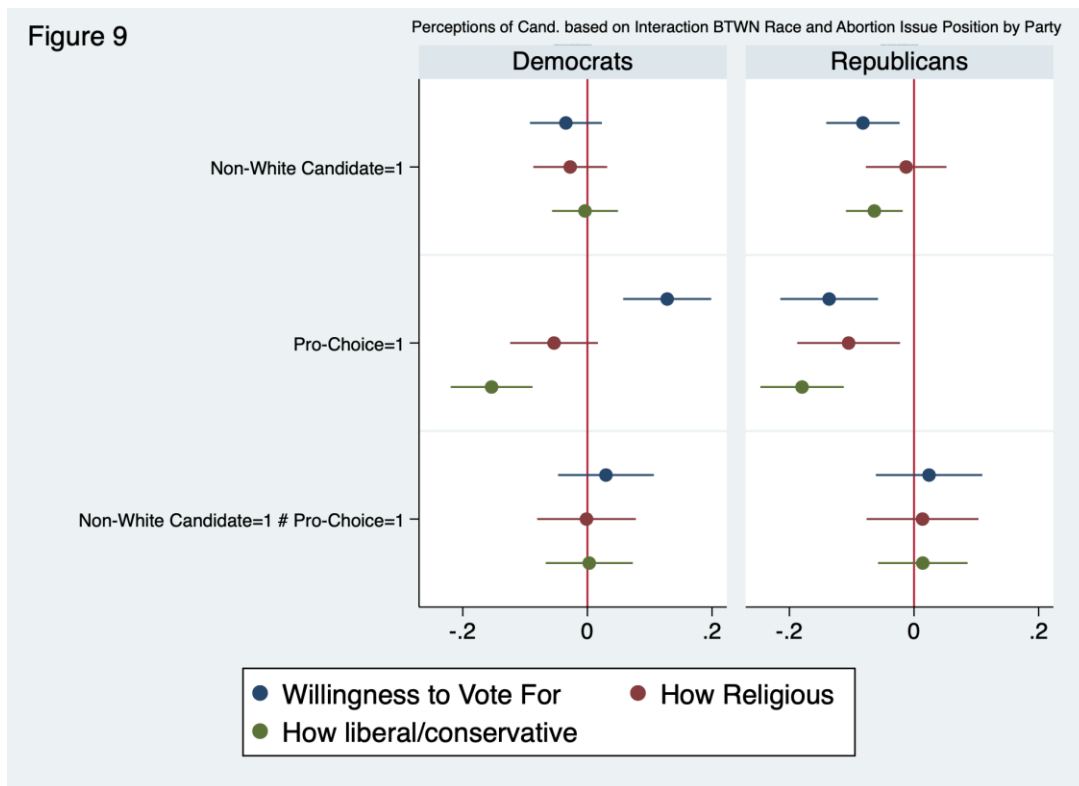


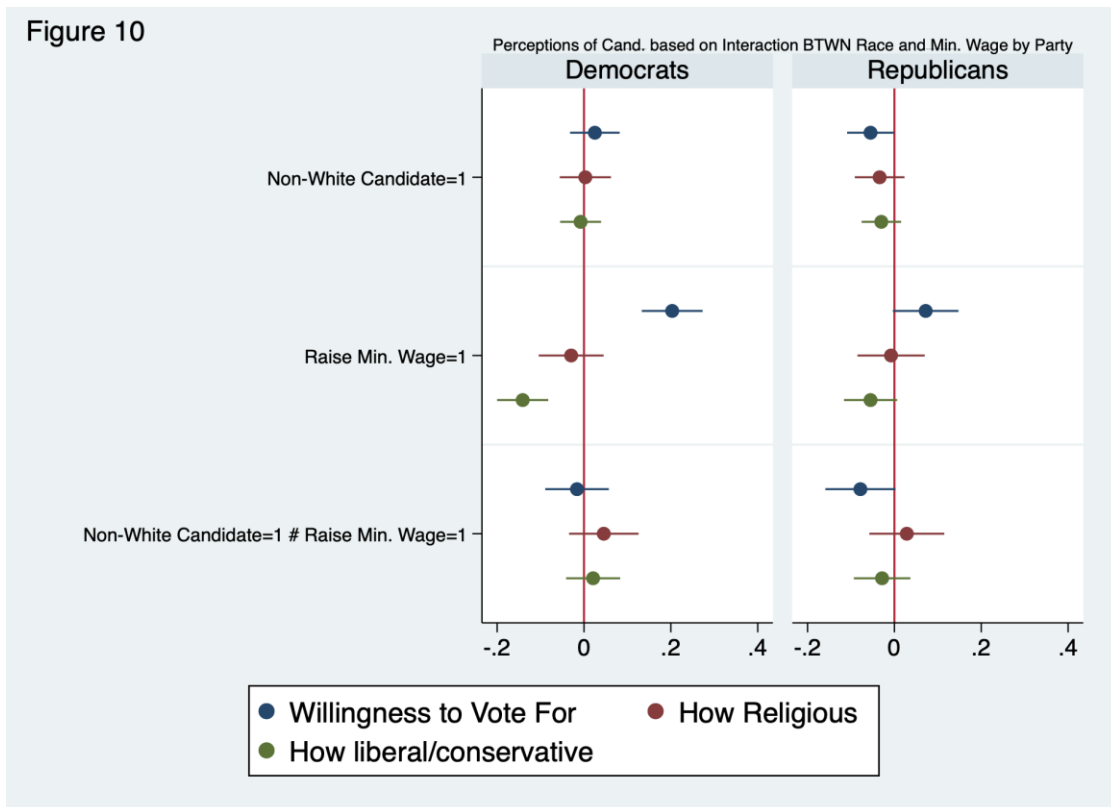
Figure 8 displays the perceptions of the candidate based on the interaction between the race and the religion of the candidate. For non-white, non-religious candidates, Democrats see no significant difference in their religious ( $p=.98$ ) and ideological perceptions ( $p=.52$ ) as well as no significant difference in respondents' willingness to vote for the candidate ( $p=.86$ ). Republicans, however, while there is no difference in their religious perceptions ( $p=.50$ ) or willingness to vote for the candidate ( $p=.15$ ), they do see them as more liberal than their white counterparts ( $p=.05$ ), on average. For religious, white candidates, they are, on average, clearly perceived as more conservative ( $p=.01$  for Democrats and  $<.01$  for Republicans, respectively) and more religious ( $p<.01$  and  $<.01$ ) by members of both parties, but only Republicans are significantly more likely to vote for these candidates ( $p<.01$ ). For non-white, religious candidates, there are also no significant differences among Democrats, but it appears that Republicans are less likely to vote for these candidates ( $p=.03$ ), although this difference is on the margin. The finding that white,

religious candidates are perceived as significantly more religious by both Republicans and Democrats is surprising, especially considering past research showing that non-white Americans are not any less religious than white Americans (Pew Research Center 2020). Not only that, but there have been significant black political candidates in recent years that have ties to religious organizations (Senator Raphael Warnock, Representative Cori Bush). So, despite the fact that some significant black political leaders have strong relationships with churches, that doesn't seem to sway the perception that white political candidates tend to be more religious than their non-white counterparts.



The top of Figure 9 displays the average effects of being a non-white vs white candidate that is pro-life. As shown, Democrats see no significant difference between white and non-white candidates that are pro-life ( $p=.36$  for religiosity,  $.88$  for ideology) and there is no difference in whether they would vote for this candidate ( $p=.24$ ). I expect this to be because they perceive pro-life candidates as equally religious and conservative regardless of race, as well as not wanting to

vote for a candidate that is pro-life. Republicans, however, view non-white candidates as more liberal ( $p=.01$ ) and are less likely to vote for the non-white candidate ( $p=.01$ ). This is in line with my initial expectations that hypothesized that Republicans would view non-white candidates as more liberal regardless of their issue positions. The fact that Republicans when faced with black and white candidates with the same issue positions are still unlikely to vote for the non-white candidate shows clearly the effects of racial identity on political perceptions. For white, pro-choice candidates, as displayed in the middle of Figure 9, Democrats are significantly more likely to vote for them over pro-life candidates ( $p<.01$ ) and view them as more liberal ( $p<.01$ ). Republicans, on average, are significantly less likely to vote for them than pro-life candidates ( $p<.01$ ), and find them to be less religious ( $p=.01$ ) and more liberal ( $p<.01$ ). For the non-white, pro-choice candidates, neither Democrats nor Republicans have any significant differences in how they view the candidates.



Because of the controversial nature and salience of the abortion issue in American politics, it makes sense to look at this relationship through the lens of another issue position as respondents will likely be less divided. Figure 10 displays the perceptions of candidates based on the interaction between a candidate's race and their position on the minimum wage. For non-white candidates that want to keep the minimum wage the same, there is no significant differences in perceptions of the candidate, but Republicans are less willing to vote for the candidate ( $p=.05$ ), on average. For white candidates that want to raise the minimum wage, Democrats are, on average, much more likely to say that they will vote for this candidate ( $p<.01$ ) and view them as more ideologically liberal ( $p<.01$ ). For Republicans, there is some willingness to vote for the candidate, but this is not significant at the 95% confidence interval ( $p=.06$ ). Republicans ideological ( $p=.08$ ) and religious perceptions ( $p=.84$ ) do not meet the threshold for statistical significance either. Finally, for the non-white candidates that want to raise the minimum wage, there is not a significant difference in Democrats' willingness to vote for the candidate ( $p=.67$ ), nor a significant difference in how they perceive ( $p=.26$  and  $.50$ ) them on average. For Republicans, however, their unwillingness to vote for the candidate does not reach the threshold for significance ( $p=.06$ ), although this is another finding that is just on the margin. They also do not have not have any significant changes in their perceptions of the non-white candidate ( $p=.51$  and  $.39$ ).

## **Chapter V: Discussion**

These results indicate that, in a low information environment, candidate identities can influence how voters perceive them. Given the fact that it is difficult to reach every single voter in a given election, it is important to consider what information is accessible to those voters when they are casting their ballot. Stressing certain characteristics can indicate to voters certain values the candidate would like to make clear. For Republicans, if the candidate wants to be perceived as conservative as possible, highlighting their religious identity alongside policy congruence seems like the way to do that – if they’re a white candidate. For non-white candidates, it seems like an uphill climb in order to gain any traction among Republican voters, as policy congruence and having a religious identity seem to have very little influence on whether they would vote for the non-white candidate. For Democrats, there are no ideological or religious perception differences between white and non-white candidates, meaning that the most important characteristic would be the policy congruence of the candidate and voter.

What I think could be key for future research is figuring out not just when candidates are utilizing their identities, but also which identities they are stressing during those times. Based on previous research, I expect this to be dependent on the group the candidate is speaking to (Hughes 2019). For instance, if a female candidate is speaking to a women’s group, she may emphasize her identity as a mother or wife in order to find commonality with the voters she is trying to court. Knowing your crowd is paramount for candidates to navigate the electorate while trying to maintain broad support among voters, and seeing whether candidates are able to pick up on this would be an interesting direction for future research.

Another potential area of future research could be asking partisans to list what identities they associate with the other party and then having them evaluate candidates from their own party who fit the characteristics from the other party. For example, if a Republican views Democrats as non-white and Catholic, would they view a non-white, Catholic Republican as liberal, or would they view them as a conservative? A future study examining how these arbitrary identifiers can have cross-cutting effects on partisans would be one way of teasing out how important these factors really are to voter perceptions.

There are a number of limitations with my project. One limitation could be the exclusion of LGBTQ+ candidates. With recent increases in LGBTQ+ representation in government, there has been a rise in research studying their impact (Magni and Reynolds 2021; Reynolds 2013; Haider-Markel 2010). This, I think, could be another area of future research, especially considering the potential negative religious perception of LGBTQ+ candidates and the influence that could have on their perceived strengths as candidates. This could be especially true when discussing the effects of identities on perceptions. Another limitation could be from the survey itself as the conjoint was towards the end of a survey, meaning respondents could have experienced some fatigue and put a bit less effort into evaluating the candidates. Such respondent fatigue would likely lead to noisy estimates of the effects investigated in this study.

Despite these limitations, the findings presented here contribute to the literature on how different identities can impact the perceptions of candidates, and how those perceptions can influence someone's decision to vote for that candidate. This paper is also one of the first to use a conjoint experiment to test the interaction between religion and race on the perceptions of candidates, building on the existing research using conjoint experiments in political science. It is



clear that political candidates should be stressing certain identity characteristics if they want to shift the perceptions of voters.

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## APPENDIX

**APPENDIX: Descriptive Statistics and Question Wording**

**Table A1. Descriptive Statistics of Demographic Variables**

Variable	Mean	Min-Max	N
Race	1.61 (1.31)	1-8	30,180
Age	48.42 (18.51)	18-94	32,150
Gender	1.52 (0.80)	1-8	30,270
Education	3.60 (1.50)	1-6	30,180
Income	3.81 (2.68)	1-11	30,160

**Table A2: Demographics Question Wording**

What is your current gender identity?	1. Female, 2. Male, 3. Transgender Female, 4. Transgender Male, 5. Genderqueer, 6. Gender-nonconforming, 7. Not listed (please specify), 8. Prefer not to answer
Which ONE of the following racial or ethnic groups best describes you?	1. White, 2. Black or African American, 3. Hispanic/Latinx, 4. Asian, 5. Native American, 6. Middle Eastern, 7. Mixed Race, 8. Other
What is the highest level of education you have completed?	1. Some high school or less, 2. High school graduate, 3. Some college, but no degree yet, 4. 2-year college degree, 5. 4-year college degree, 6. Postgraduate degree
What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?	1. Under \$25,000, 2. \$35,000-\$34,999, 3. \$35,000-\$49,999, 4. \$50,000-\$74,999, 5. \$75,000-\$99,999, 6. \$100,000-\$149,999, 7. \$150,000-\$199,999, 8. \$200,000-\$249,999, 9. \$250,00-\$299,999, 10. \$300,000 or more, 11. Prefer not to say
In what year were you born?	Drop down menu: 1920-2003



**Table A3. Partisanship & Ideology Question Wording**

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, or something else?	1. Democrat, 2. Republican, 3. Independent, 4. Other
Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or equally close to both parties?	1. Closer to the Democratic Party, 2. Closer to the Republican Party, 3. Equally close to both parties
Would you consider yourself a strong [Democrat/Republican] or not a very strong [Democrat/Republican]?	1. Strong [Democrat/Republican], 2. Not a very strong [Democrat/Republican]
Thinking about politics these days, how would you describe your own political viewpoint?	1. Extremely Liberal, 2. Liberal, 3. Slightly Liberal, 4. Moderate, 5. Slightly Conservative, 6. Conservative, 7. Extremely Conservative

Table A4	(1) con_vote b/se	(2) con_relig b/se	(3) con_ideo b/se
Non-White Candidate	<b>-0.110***</b> (0.03)	<b>-0.018</b> (0.03)	<b>-0.091**</b> (0.03)
Gender	<b>0.010</b> (0.02)	<b>0.013</b> (0.02)	<b>-0.039</b> (0.03)
Age	<b>-0.032***</b> (0.01)	<b>-0.008</b> (0.01)	<b>0.012</b> (0.01)
con_experience	<b>0.017*</b> (0.01)	<b>0.012</b> (0.01)	<b>-0.010</b> (0.01)
con_issue	<b>-0.046***</b> (0.01)	<b>0.013</b> (0.01)	<b>0.109***</b> (0.01)
Constant	<b>2.655***</b> (0.06)	<b>2.448***</b> (0.06)	<b>2.812***</b> (0.07)
Observations	<b>9003</b>	<b>9008</b>	<b>9014</b>

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

tab gender

label define gender 1 "Female" 2 "Male" 3 "Transgender Female" 4 "Transgender Male"  
5 "Genderqueer" 6 "Gender-nonconforming" 7 "Not Listed" 8 "Prefer not to answer"  
label values gender gender

gen female = .  
recode female . = 1 if gender == 1  
recode female . = 0 if gender == 2  
label define female 0 "Male" 1 "Female"  
label values female female

gen white = 0  
recode white 0 = 1 if race == 1  
label define white 0 "Non-White" 1 "White"  
label values white white

gen black = 0  
recode black 0=1 if race == 2  
label define black 0 "Non-Black" 1 "Black"  
label values black black

tab educ

```
label define educ 1 "Some High School" 2 "High School Grad" 3 "Some College" 4 "2 Year Degree" 5 "4 Year Degree" 6 "Postgraduate Degree"
label values educ educ
```

```
tab income
```

```
label define income 1 "Under $25,000" 2 "$25,000-$34,999" 3 "$35,000-$49,999" 4 "$50,000-$74,999" 5 "$75,000-$99,999" 6 "$100,000-$149,000" 7 "$150,000-$199,999" 8 "$200,000-$249,999" 9 "$250,000-$299,999" 10 "$300,000 or more" 11 "Prefer not to say"
label values income income
```

```
tab birth
```

```
gen birth_year = 2004 - birth
```

```
tab generation_identity
```

```
label define generation_identity 1 "Baby Boomer" 2 "Generation X" 3 "Millennial" 4 "Generation Z"
```

```
label values generation_identity generation_identity
```

```
tab pid_gen
```

```
tab leaners
```

```
tab dem_str
```

```
tab rep_str
```

```
gen pid7 = .
```

```
recode pid7 . = 7 if dem_str == 1
```

```
recode pid7 . = 6 if dem_str == 2
```

```
recode pid7 . = 5 if leaners == 1
```

```
recode pid7 . = 4 if leaners == 3
```

```
recode pid7 . = 3 if leaners == 2
```

```
recode pid7 . = 2 if rep_str == 2
```

```
recode pid7 . = 1 if rep_str == 1
```

```
tab pid7
```

```
label define pid7 1 "Strong Republican" 2 "Not very strong Republican" 3 "Lean Republican" 4 "Indepedent" 5 "Lean Democrat" 6 "Not very strong Democrat" 7 "Strong Democrat"
```

```
label values pid7 pid7
```

```
gen pid3 = .
```

```
recode pid3 . = -1 if pid7 == 1 | pid7 == 2 | pid7 == 3
```

```
recode pid3 . = 0 if pid7 == 4
```

```
recode pid3 . = 1 if pid7 == 5 | pid7 == 6 | pid7 == 7
```

```
label define pid3 1 "Democrat" 0 "Independent" -1 "Republican"  
label values pid3 pid3
```

```
tab idoe7  
revrs idoe7  
tab revidoe7  
gen ideo7 = revidoe7  
drop idoe7 revidoe7  
tab ideo7  
label define ideo7 1 "Extremely Conservative" 2 "Conservative" 3 "Slightly Conservative"  
4 "Moderate" 5 "Slightly Liberal" 6 "Liberal" 7 "Extremely Liberal"  
label values ideo7 ideo7
```

```
tab voter_reg  
label define voter_reg 1 "Yes" 2 "No"  
label values voter_reg voter_reg
```

```
tab _vote  
rename _vote vote_2020  
label define vote_2020 1 "Did not vote" 2 "Thought about, but didn't" 3 "Usually vote, but didn't"  
4 "Attempted to vote, but didn't" 5 "Voted"  
label values vote_2020 vote_2020
```

```
gen vote01 = 0  
recode vote01 0 = 1 if vote_2020 == 5  
label define vote01 0 "Didn't Vote" 1 "Voted"  
label values vote01 vote01
```

```
tab _cand  
rename _cand cand_2020  
label define cand_2020 1 "Donald Trump" 2 "Joe Biden" 3 "Other"  
label values cand_2020 cand_2020
```

```
tab _prim  
rename _prim prim_voted  
recode prim_voted 4 = 0  
label define prim_voted 0 "No" 1 "Yes"  
label values prim_voted prim_voted
```

```
tab prim_party
```

```
label define prim_party 1 "Democratic Party" 2 "Republican Party" 3 "Other"  
label values prim_party prim_party
```

```
tab vote_freq_1  
rename vote_freq_1 freq_pres  
label define vote_freq 1 "Always" 2 "Most of the time" 3 "Sometimes" 4 "Almost never" 5  
"Never"  
label values freq_pres vote_freq
```

```
rename vote_freq_2 freq_gov  
label values freq_gov vote_freq
```

```
rename vote_freq_3 freq_local  
label values freq_local vote_freq
```

```
tab ubi  
label define ubi 0 "Oppose" 1 "Favor"  
label values ubi ubi
```

```
tab min_wage  
label define min_wage 0 "Eliminated" 1 "Raised"  
label values min_wage min_wage
```

```
tab health_spending  
label define health_spending 0 "Decreased" 1 "Increased"  
label values health_spending health_spending
```

```
tab poor_spend  
label values poor_spend health_spending
```

```
tab rich_taxes  
label define rich_taxes 0 "Oppose" 1 "Favor"  
label values rich_taxes rich_taxes
```

```
tab inc_equal  
label define inc_equal 0 "Strongly Disagree" 1 "Strongly Agree"  
label values inc_equal inc_equal
```

```
tab trust_gov  
revrs trust_gov
```

```
tab revtrust_gov
replace trust_gov = revtrust_gov
label define trust_gov 1 "Never" 2 "Some of the time" 3 "About half the time" 4 "Some of the
time" 5 "Always"
label values trust_gov trust_gov
```

```
tab equality_1
gen eq_opp = equality_1
label define eq_opp 0 "Strongly disagree" 1 "Strongly agree"
label values eq_opp eq_opp
label variable eq_opp "Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone
has an equal opportunity to succeed."
tab eq_opp
```

```
tab equality_2
revrs equality_2
gen worryless_eq = revequality_2 - 1
tab worryless_eq
label define worryless_eq 0 "Strongly agree" 1 "Strongly disagree"
label values worryless_eq worryless_eq
label variable worryless_eq "This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal
people are"
```

```
tab equality_3
revrs equality_3
gen more_chance = revequality_3 - 1
tab more_chance
label define more_chance 0 "Strongly agree" 1 "Strongly disagree"
label values more_chance more_chance
label variable more_chance "t is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a
chance in life than others."
tab more_chance
```

```
tab equality_4
gen fewprob_eq = equality_4
label define fewprob_eq 0 "Strongly disagree" 1 "Strongly agree"
label values fewprob_eq fewprob_eq
label variable fewprob_eq "If people were treated more equally in this country we would have
many fewer problems."
tab fewprob_eq
```

```
tab equality_10
gen ww_attcheck = equality_10
label values ww_attcheck fewprob_eq
label variable ww_attcheck "World War I came after World War II"
```

```
tab equality_11
gen select_neither = 0
recode select_neither 0 = 1 if equality_11 == .5
tab select_neither
```

```
tab limit_gov1
label define limit_gov1 0 "The less government the better" 1 "There are more things the
government should be doing"
label values limit_gov1 limit_gov1
label variable limit_gov1 "Which of the following statements comes closer to your view?"
```

```
tab limit_gov2
label define limit_gov2 0 "The free market can handle these problems without government being
involved" 1 "We need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems"
label values limit_gov2 limit_gov2
label variable limit_gov2 "Which of the following statements comes closer to your view?"
```

\*higher = more traditional\*

```
tab tradval_1
label variable tradval_1 "This country would have many fewer problems if there were more
emphasis on traditional family ties"
label define tradval 0 "Strongly disagree" 1 "Strongly agree"
label values tradval_1 tradval
```

```
tab tradval_2
label values tradval_2 trad_val
label variable tradval_2 "Newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society"
```

\*higher = more tolerant\*

```
tab moraltol_1
label variable moraltol_1 "The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral
behavior to those changes"
label values moraltol_1 trad_val
```

```
tab moralto1_2
label values moralto1_2 trad_val
label variable moralto1_2 "We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to
their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own"
```

\*\*

```
tab gen_news
label define gen_news 1"TV" 2"Newspapers" 3"Internet" 4"Radio" 5 "None of these"
label values gen_news gen_news
```

```
tab social_media
label define social_media 1"Mutliple times a day" 2"About once a day" 3 "A few times a week"
4"About once a week" 5"Almost never" 6"Never"
label values social_media social_media
```

```
tab social_media_pol
revrs social_media_pol
tab revsocial_media_pol
replace social_media_pol = revsocial_media_pol
drop revsocial_media_pol
label define social_media_pol 1"Never" 2"Hardly ever" 3"Sometimes" 4"Often"
label values social_media_pol social_media_pol
```

```
tab covid_polarization
label define covid_polarization 1"Strongly disagree" 2"Somewhat disagree" 3"Neither" 4
"Somewhat agree" 5"Strongly agree"
label values covid_polarization covid_polarization
```

```
tab discuss_friends
label define discuss_friends 1"Nearly every day" 2"At least once a week" 3 "At least once a
month" 4"Rarely" 5"Never"
label values discuss_friends discuss_friends
```

```
tab friends_demos_1
rename friends_demos_1 rep_friends
label define friends 1"None" 2"Less than half" 3"About half" 4"More than half" 5"Almost all"
label values rep_friends friends
```

```
tab friends_demos_2
```



```
rename friends_demos_2 dem_friends  
label values dem_friends friends
```

```
tab friends_demos_3  
rename friends_demos_3 relig_friends  
label values relig_friends friends
```

```
tab friends_demos_4  
rename friends_demos_4 ethnic_friends  
label values ethnic_friends friends
```

```
tab stop_friends  
recode stop_friends 2 = 0  
label define stop 0 "No" 1 "Yes"  
label values stop_friends stop
```

```
tab voting_imp  
rvrs voting_imp  
tab revvoting_imp  
replace voting_imp = revvoting_imp  
drop revvoting_imp  
label define voting_imp 1"Very unimportant" 2"Somewhat unimportant" 3"Somewhat  
important" 4"Very important"  
label values voting_imp voting_imp
```

```
tab voting_dutychoice  
recode voting_dutychoice 1 = -1  
recode voting_dutychoice 4 = 1  
recode voting_dutychoice 5=0  
label define dutychoice -1 "Mainly a choice" 1"Mainly a duty" 0"Neither a duty nor a choice"  
label values voting_dutychoice dutychoice
```

```
tab choice_str  
rvrs choice_str  
tab revchoice_str  
replace choice_str = revchoice_str  
drop revchoice_str  
label define str 1 "A little strongly" 2"Moderately strongly" 3"Very strongly"  
label values choice_str str
```

```
tab duty_str
revrs duty_str
tab revduty_str
replace duty_str = revduty_str
drop revduty_str
label values duty_str str
```

```
gen dutychoice7 =.
recode dutychoice7 . = -3 if duty_str == 3
recode dutychoice7 . = -2 if duty_str == 2
recode dutychoice7 . = -1 if duty_str == 1
recode dutychoice7 . = -0 if voting_dutychoice == 0
recode dutychoice7 . = 1 if choice_str == 1
recode dutychoice7 . = 2 if choice_str == 2
recode dutychoice7 . = 3 if choice_str == 3
label define dutychoice7 -3"Strongly a duty" -2"Moderately a duty" -1"A little a duty" 0
"Neither" 1 "A little a choice" 2"Moderately a choice" 3"Strongly a choice"
label values dutychoice7 dutychoice7
```

```
tab peers_voting
recode peers_voting 5= 3
recode peers_voting 1 =5
recode peers_voting 6 = 2
recode peers_voting 7 =1
label define peers_voting 1"Very unlikely" 2"Somewhat unlikely" 3"No effect" 4"Somewhat
likely" 5 "Extremely likely"
label values peers_voting peers_voting
```

```
tab peers_not_voting
recode peers_not_voting 5= 3
recode peers_not_voting 1 =5
recode peers_not_voting 6 = 2
recode peers_not_voting 7 =1
label values peers_not_voting peers_voting
```

```
tab peers_influence
recode peers_influence 4 = 3
recode peers_influence 1=4
recode peers_influence 5 =2
recode peers_influence 6 =1
```

```
label define peers_influence 1"No influence" 2"A little influence" 3 "Somewhat influence"  
4"Greatly influence"  
label values peers_influence peers_influence
```

```
tab peers_know_vote  
recode peers_know_vote 2 =0  
label define peers_know_vote 0 "Prefer not to know" 1"Prefer to know"  
label values peers_know_vote peers_know_vote
```

```
tab supp_cand_vote  
recode supp_cand_vote 4 = 3  
recode supp_cand_vote 1 = 4  
recode supp_cand_vote 5 = 2  
recode supp_cand_vote 6 = 1  
label define supp 1 "No influence" 2 "Influence a litte" 3"Somewhat influence" 4 "Greatly  
influence"  
label values supp_cand_vote supp
```

```
tab dis_cand_vote  
recode dis_cand_vote 4 = 3  
recode dis_cand_vote 1 = 4  
recode dis_cand_vote 5 = 2  
recode dis_cand_vote 6 = 1  
label values dis_cand_vote supp
```

```
tab cand_party_vote  
recode cand_party_vote 5 = 3  
recode cand_party_vote 1 = 5  
recode cand_party_vote 6 = 2  
recode cand_party_vote 7 =1  
label define cpv 1"Never" 2"Seldom" 3"Sometimes" 4"Very often" 5"Always"  
label values cand_party_vote cpv
```

```
tab issues_vote  
recode issues_vote 2 =0  
label define issues_vote 0 "No" 1"Yes"  
label values issues_vote issues_vote
```

```
tab issues_over_party  
recode issues_over_party 2=0
```

```
label values issues_over_party issues_vote
```

```
tab issues_over_party20
```

```
recode issues_over_party20 1=-1
```

```
recode issues_over_party20 5 =0
```

```
recode issues_over_party20 4 = 1
```

```
label define issues -1"Vote for prefferred candidate" 0 "Other" 1"Look to find another candidate  
that better represents your views"
```

```
label values issues_over_party20 issues
```

```
*** Havent figured out how to code this yet
```

```
*gen att_check2_pass = 0
```

```
*recode att_check2_pass 0 = 1 if att_check2 == 1 & if att_check2 == 2
```

```
***
```

```
*** TIPI
```

```
*extraversion
```

```
tab extra_1
```

```
replace extra_1 = (extra_1 - 1) /6
```

```
label variable extra_1 "Extraverted, enthusiastic"
```

```
label define extra_1 0 "Strongly disagree" 1 "Strongly agree"
```

```
label values extra_1 extra_1
```

```
tab extra_2_rev
```

```
revrs extra_2_rev
```

```
tab revextra_2_rev
```

```
replace extra_2_rev = (revextra_2_rev -1) /6
```

```
label variable extra_2_rev "Reserved, quiet"
```

```
label define extra_2 0 "Strongly agree" 1"Strongly disagree"
```

```
label values extra_2_rev extra_2
```

```
gen extraversion = (extra_1 + extra_2_rev) /2
```

```
label define extra 0 "Least extraverted" 1"Most extraverted"
```

```
label values extraversion extra
```

```
tab extraversion
```

```
*agreeableness
```

```
tab agree_1_rev
```

```
revrs agree_1_rev
```

```
tab revagree_1_rev
```

```
replace agree_1_rev = (revagree_1_rev -1) /6
label define agree_1_rev 0"Strongly agree" 1"Strongly disagree"
label values agree_1_rev agree_1_rev
label variable agree_1_rev "Critical, quarrelsome"
```

```
tab agree_2
replace agree_2 = (agree_2 -1) / 6
label variable agree_2 "Sympathetic, warm"
label values agree_2 extra_1
```

```
gen agreeable = (agree_1_rev + agree_2) / 2
label define agree 0 "Least agreeable" 1"Most agreeable"
label values agreeable agree
tab agreeable
```

\*Conscientious

```
tab consc_1
replace consc_1 = (consc_1 - 1) /6
label variable consc_1 "Dependable, self-disciplined"
label values consc_1 extra_1
```

```
tab consc_2_rev
revrs consc_2_rev
tab revconsc_2_rev
replace consc_2_rev = (revconsc_2_rev -1) /6
label variable consc_2_rev "Disorganized, careless"
label define consc_2 0 "Strongly agree" 1"Strongly disagree"
label values consc_2_rev consc_2
```

```
gen conscientious = (consc_1 + consc_2_rev) /2
label define consc 0 "Least conscientious" 1"Most conscientious"
label values conscientious consc
tab conscientious
```

\*emotionally stable

```
tab emstab_1_rev
revrs emstab_1_rev
tab emstab_1_rev
replace emstab_1_rev = (revemstab_1_rev -1) /6
label define emstab_1_rev 0"Strongly agree" 1"Strongly disagree"
```

```

label values emstab_1_rev emstab_1_rev
label variable emstab_1_rev "Anxious, easily upset"

tab emstab_2
replace emstab_2 = (emstab_2 - 1) / 6
label variable emstab_2 "Calm, emotionally stable"
label values emstab_2 extra_1

gen emotion_stab = (emstab_1_rev + emstab_2) / 2
label define emstab 0 "Least emotionally stable" 1 "Most emotionally stable"
label values emotion_stab emstab
tab emotion_stab

*openness
tab open_1
replace open_1 = (open_1 - 1) / 6
label variable open_1 "Open to new experiences, complex"
label values open_1 extra_1

tab open_2_rev
revrs open_2_rev
tab revopen_2_rev
replace open_2_rev = (revopen_2_rev - 1) / 6
label variable open_2_rev "Conventional, uncreative"
label define open_2 0 "Strongly agree" 1 "Strongly disagree"
label values open_2_rev open_2

gen openness = (open_1 + open_2_rev) / 2
label define open 0 "Least open" 1 "Most open"
label values openness open
tab openness

*vignettes
*dems
tab vig_aoc_wealth
label variable vig_aoc_wealth "AOC wealth-tax vignette"
label define vig 0 "Strongly oppose" 1 "Strongly favor"
label values vig_aoc_wealth vig

tab vig_biden_wealth

```

```
label variable vig_biden_wealth "Biden wealth-tax vignette"  
label values vig_biden_wealth vig
```

```
tab vig_control_wealth  
label variable vig_control_wealth "Control wealth-tax vignette"  
label values vig_control_wealth vig
```

```
*reps  
tab vig_trump_minwage  
label variable vig_trump_minwage "Trump minimum wage vignette"  
label values vig_trump_minwage vig
```

```
tab vig_romney_minwage  
label variable vig_romney_minwage "Romney minimum wage vignette"  
label values vig_romney_minwage vig
```

```
tab vig_control_minwage  
label variable vig_control_minwage "Control minimum wage vignette"  
label values vig_control_minwage vig
```

```
*pol positions  
*dems  
tab wealth_biden  
label variable wealth_biden "Biden position on wealth-tax"  
label values wealth_biden vig
```

```
tab wealth_harris  
label variable wealth_harris "Harris position on wealth-tax"  
label values wealth_harris vig
```

```
tab wealth_aoc  
label variable wealth_aoc "AOC position on wealth-tax"  
label values wealth_aoc vig
```

```
tab wealth_sanders  
label variable wealth_sanders "Sanders position on wealth-tax"  
label values wealth_sanders vig
```

```
tab wealth_warren  
label variable wealth_warren "Warren position on wealth-tax"
```

label values wealth\_warren vig

tab wealth\_pelosi

label variable wealth\_pelosi "Pelosi position on wealth-tax"

label values wealth\_pelosi vig

tab wealth\_obama

label variable wealth\_obama "Obama position on wealth-tax"

label values wealth\_obama vig

\*reps

tab minwage\_trump

label variable minwage\_trump "Trump position on minimum wage"

label values minwage\_trump vig

tab minwage\_mtg

label variable minwage\_mtg "MTG position on minimum wage"

label values minwage\_mtg vig

tab minwage\_mcconnell

label variable minwage\_mcconnell "McConnell position on minimum wage"

label values minwage\_mcconnell vig

tab minwage\_romney

label variable minwage\_romney "Romney position on minimum wage"

label values minwage\_romney vig

tab minwage\_desantis

label variable minwage\_desantis "Desantis position on minimum wage"

label values minwage\_desantis vig

tab minwage\_cruz

label variable minwage\_cruz "Cruz position on minimum wage"

label values minwage\_cruz vig

tab minwage\_haley

label variable minwage\_haley "Haley position on minimum wage"

label values minwage\_haley vig

\*\*feeling thermos



\*dem

```
tab feelingthermo_dem_1
replace feelingthermo_dem_1 = feelingthermo_dem_1 /100
rename feelingthermo_dem_1 biden_ft
label variable biden_ft "Biden feeling thermometer"
tab biden_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_dem_4
replace feelingthermo_dem_4 = feelingthermo_dem_4 /100
rename feelingthermo_dem_4 harris_ft
label variable harris_ft "Harris feeling thermometer"
tab harris_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_dem_5
replace feelingthermo_dem_5 = feelingthermo_dem_5 /100
rename feelingthermo_dem_5 aoc_ft
label variable aoc_ft "AOC feeling thermometer"
tab aoc_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_dem_6
replace feelingthermo_dem_6 = feelingthermo_dem_6 /100
rename feelingthermo_dem_6 sanders_ft
label variable sanders_ft "Sanders feeling thermometer"
tab sanders_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_dem_7
replace feelingthermo_dem_7 = feelingthermo_dem_7 /100
rename feelingthermo_dem_7 warren_ft
label variable warren_ft "Warren feeling thermometer"
tab warren_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_dem_8
replace feelingthermo_dem_8 = feelingthermo_dem_8 /100
rename feelingthermo_dem_8 pelosi_ft
label variable pelosi_ft "Pelosi feeling thermometer"
tab pelosi_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_dem_10
replace feelingthermo_dem_10 = feelingthermo_dem_10 /100
rename feelingthermo_dem_10 obama_ft
```

```
label variable obama_ft "Obama feeling thermometer"  
tab obama_ft
```

```
*reps
```

```
tab feelingthermo_rep_1  
replace feelingthermo_rep_1 = feelingthermo_rep_1 /100  
rename feelingthermo_rep_1 trump_ft  
label variable trump_ft "Trump feeling thermometer"  
tab trump_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_rep_4  
replace feelingthermo_rep_4 = feelingthermo_rep_4 /100  
rename feelingthermo_rep_4 mtg_ft  
label variable mtg_ft "MTG feeling thermometer"  
tab mtg_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_rep_5  
replace feelingthermo_rep_5 = feelingthermo_rep_5 /100  
rename feelingthermo_rep_5 mcconnell_ft  
label variable mcconnell_ft "McConnell feeling thermometer"  
tab mcconnell_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_rep_6  
replace feelingthermo_rep_6 = feelingthermo_rep_6 /100  
rename feelingthermo_rep_6 romney_ft  
label variable romney_ft "Romney feeling thermometer"  
tab romney_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_rep_7  
replace feelingthermo_rep_7 = feelingthermo_rep_7 /100  
rename feelingthermo_rep_7 cruz_ft  
label variable cruz_ft "Cruz feeling thermometer"  
tab cruz_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_rep_12  
replace feelingthermo_rep_12 = feelingthermo_rep_12 /100  
rename feelingthermo_rep_12 desantis_ft  
label variable desantis_ft "DeSantis feeling thermometer"  
tab desantis_ft
```

```
tab feelingthermo_rep_13
replace feelingthermo_rep_13 = feelingthermo_rep_13 /100
rename feelingthermo_rep_13 haley_ft
label variable haley_ft "haley feeling thermometer"
tab haley_ft
```

\*\*most typical pols

```
tab most_typ_dem
label define typ_dem 1"Biden" 2"Harris" 3"AOC" 4"Sanders" 5"Warren" 6"Pelosi" 7"Obama"
label values most_typ_dem typ_dem
```

```
tab most_typ_rep
label define typ_rep 1"Trump" 2"MTG" 3"McConnell" 4"Romney" 5"Cruz" 6"DeSantis"
7"Haley"
label values most_typ_rep typ_rep
```

\*Conjoint Stuff

\*Rep candidate 1

```
rename q115 repcand1_vote
label define repcand1_vote 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values repcand1_vote repcand1_vote
label variable repcand1_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Republican Candidate 1 in a
congressional election?"
```

```
rename q116 repcand1_relig
label define repcand1_relig 1"Not at all religious" 2"A little religious" 3"Somewhat religious"
4"Very religious"
label values repcand1_relig repcand1_relig
label variable repcand1_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think Republican
Candidate 1 is?"
```

```
rename q117 repcand1_ideo
label define repcand1_ideo 1"Very liberal" 2"Somewhat liberal" 3"Neither liberal not
conservative" 4"Somewhat conservative" 5"Very conservative"
label values repcand1_ideo repcand1_ideo
label variable repcand1_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you thing
Republican Candidate 1 is?"
```

```
rename q118 repcand1_speak
label define repcand1_speak 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values repcand1_speak repcand1_speak
label variable repcand1_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by
Republican Candidate 1?"
```

```
*rep candidate 2
rename q394 repcand2_vote
label define repcand2_vote 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values repcand2_vote repcand2_vote
label variable repcand2_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Republican Candidate 2 in a
congressional election?"
```

```
rename q395 repcand2_relig
label define repcand2_relig 1"Not at all religious" 2"A little religious" 3"Somewhat religious"
4"Very religious"
label values repcand2_relig repcand2_relig
label variable repcand2_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think Republican
Candidate 2 is?"
```

```
rename q396 repcand2_ideo
label define repcand2_ideo 1"Very liberal" 2"Somewhat liberal" 3"Neither liberal not
conservative" 4"Somewhat conservative" 5"Very conservative"
label values repcand2_ideo repcand2_ideo
label variable repcand2_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you thing
Republican Candidate 2 is?"
```

```
rename q397 repcand2_speak
label define repcand2_speak 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values repcand2_speak repcand2_speak
label variable repcand2_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by
Republican Candidate 2?"
```

```
*rep candiadte 3
rename q399 repcand3_vote
label define repcand3_vote 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
```

```
label values repcand3_vote repcand3_vote
label variable repcand3_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Republican Candidate 3 in a congressional election?"
```

```
rename q400 repcand3_relig
label define repcand3_relig 1"Not at all religious" 2"A little religious" 3"Somewhat religious"
4"Very religious"
label values repcand3_relig repcand3_relig
label variable repcand3_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think Republican Candidate 3 is?"
```

```
rename q401 repcand3_ideo
label define repcand3_ideo 1"Very liberal" 2"Somewhat liberal" 3"Neither liberal not conservative"
4"Somewhat conservative" 5"Very conservative"
label values repcand3_ideo repcand3_ideo
label variable repcand3_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you think Republican Candidate 3 is?"
```

```
rename q402 repcand3_speak
label define repcand3_speak 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very likely"
label values repcand3_speak repcand3_speak
label variable repcand3_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by Republican Candidate 3?"
```

```
*rep candidate 4
rename q404 repcand4_vote
label define repcand4_vote 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very likely"
label values repcand4_vote repcand4_vote
label variable repcand4_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Republican Candidate 4 in a congressional election?"
tab repcand4_vote
```

```
rename q405 repcand4_relig
label define repcand4_relig 1"Not at all religious" 2"A little religious" 3"Somewhat religious"
4"Very religious"
label values repcand4_relig repcand4_relig
label variable repcand4_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think Republican Candidate 4 is?"
```

```
rename q406 repcand4_ideo
label define repcand4_ideo 1"Very liberal" 2"Somewhat liberal" 3"Neither liberal not
conservative" 4"Somewhat conservative" 5"Very conservative"
label values repcand4_ideo repcand4_ideo
label variable repcand4_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you thing
Republican Candidate 4 is?"
```

```
rename q407 repcand4_speak
label define repcand4_speak 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values repcand4_speak repcand4_speak
label variable repcand4_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by
Republican Candidate 4?"
```

```
*rep candidate 5
rename q409 repcand5_vote
label define repcand5_vote 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values repcand5_vote repcand5_vote
label variable repcand5_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Republican Candidate 5 in a
congressional election?"
```

```
rename q410 repcand5_relig
label define repcand5_relig 1"Not at all religious" 2"A little religious" 3"Somewhat religious"
4"Very religious"
label values repcand5_relig repcand5_relig
label variable repcand5_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think Republican
Candidate 5 is?"
```

```
rename q411 repcand5_ideo
label define repcand5_ideo 1"Very liberal" 2"Somewhat liberal" 3"Neither liberal not
conservative" 4"Somewhat conservative" 5"Very conservative"
label values repcand5_ideo repcand5_ideo
label variable repcand5_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you thing
Republican Candidate 5 is?"
```

```
rename q412 repcand5_speak
label define repcand5_speak 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
```

```

label values repcand5_speak repcand5_speak
label variable repcand5_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by
Republican Candidate 5?"

*dem candidate 1
rename q414 demcand1_vote
label define demcand1_vote 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values demcand1_vote demcand1_vote
label variable demcand1_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Democratic Candidate 1 in a
congressional election?"

rename q415 demcand1_relig
label define demcand1_relig 1"Not at all religious" 2"A little religious" 3"Somewhat religious"
4"Very religious"
label values demcand1_relig demcand1_relig
label variable demcand1_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think
Democratic Candidate 1 is?"

rename q416 demcand1_ideo
label define demcand1_ideo 1"Very liberal" 2"Somewhat liberal" 3"Neither liberal not
conservative" 4"Somewhat conservative" 5"Very conservative"
label values demcand1_ideo demcand1_ideo
label variable demcand1_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you thing
Democratic Candidate 1 is?"

rename q417 demcand1_speak
label define demcand1_speak 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values demcand1_speak demcand1_speak
label variable demcand1_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by
Democratic Candidate 1?"

*dem candidate 2
rename q419 demcand2_vote
label define demcand2_vote 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values demcand2_vote demcand2_vote

```

```
label variable demcand2_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Democratic Candidate 2 in a congressional election?"
```

```
rename q420 demcand2_relig
```

```
label define demcand2_relig 1 "Not at all religious" 2 "A little religious" 3 "Somewhat religious" 4 "Very religious"
```

```
label values demcand2_relig demcand2_relig
```

```
label variable demcand2_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think Democratic Candidate 2 is?"
```

```
rename q421 demcand2_ideo
```

```
label define demcand2_ideo 1 "Very liberal" 2 "Somewhat liberal" 3 "Neither liberal not conservative" 4 "Somewhat conservative" 5 "Very conservative"
```

```
label values demcand2_ideo demcand2_ideo
```

```
label variable demcand2_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you think Democratic Candidate 2 is?"
```

```
rename q422 demcand2_speak
```

```
label define demcand2_speak 1 "Not at all likely" 2 "A little likely" 3 "Somewhat likely" 4 "Very likely"
```

```
label values demcand2_speak demcand2_speak
```

```
label variable demcand2_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by Democratic Candidate 2?"
```

```
*dem candidate 3
```

```
rename q424 demcand3_vote
```

```
label define demcand3_vote 1 "Not at all likely" 2 "A little likely" 3 "Somewhat likely" 4 "Very likely"
```

```
label values demcand3_vote demcand3_vote
```

```
label variable demcand3_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Democratic Candidate 3 in a congressional election?"
```

```
rename q425 demcand3_relig
```

```
label define demcand3_relig 1 "Not at all religious" 2 "A little religious" 3 "Somewhat religious" 4 "Very religious"
```

```
label values demcand3_relig demcand3_relig
```

```
label variable demcand3_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think Democratic Candidate 3 is?"
```

```
rename q426 demcand3_ideo
```



```
label define demcand3_ideo 1"Very liberal" 2"Somewhat liberal" 3"Neither liberal not
conservative" 4"Somewhat conservative" 5"Very conservative"
label values demcand3_ideo demcand3_ideo
label variable demcand3_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you thing
Democratic Candidate 3 is?"
```

```
rename q427 demcand3_speak
label define demcand3_speak 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values demcand3_speak demcand3_speak
label variable demcand3_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by
Democratic Candidate 3?"
```

```
*dem candidate 4
rename q429 demcand4_vote
label define demcand4_vote 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values demcand4_vote demcand4_vote
label variable demcand4_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Democratic Candidate 4 in a
congressional election?"
```

```
rename q430 demcand4_relig
label define demcand4_relig 1"Not at all religious" 2"A little religious" 3"Somewhat religious"
4"Very religious"
label values demcand4_relig demcand4_relig
label variable demcand4_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think
Democratic Candidate 4 is?"
```

```
rename q431 demcand4_ideo
label define demcand4_ideo 1"Very liberal" 2"Somewhat liberal" 3"Neither liberal not
conservative" 4"Somewhat conservative" 5"Very conservative"
label values demcand4_ideo demcand4_ideo
label variable demcand4_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you thing
Democratic Candidate 4 is?"
```

```
rename q432 demcand4_speak
label define demcand4_speak 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very
likely"
label values demcand4_speak demcand4_speak
```

label variable demcand4\_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by Democratic Candidate 4?"

\*dem candidate 5

rename q434 demcand5\_vote

label define demcand5\_vote 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very likely"

label values demcand5\_vote demcand5\_vote

label variable demcand5\_vote "How likely would you be to vote for Democratic Candidate 5 in a congressional election?"

rename q435 demcand5\_relig

label define demcand5\_relig 1"Not at all religious" 2"A little religious" 3"Somewhat religious" 4"Very religious"

label values demcand5\_relig demcand5\_relig

label variable demcand5\_relig "Based on this information, how religious do you think Democratic Candidate 5 is?"

rename q436 demcand5\_ideo

label define demcand5\_ideo 1"Very liberal" 2"Somewhat liberal" 3"Neither liberal not conservative" 4"Somewhat conservative" 5"Very conservative"

label values demcand5\_ideo demcand5\_ideo

label variable demcand5\_ideo "Based on this information, how liberal/conservative do you think Democratic Candidate 5 is?"

rename q437 demcand5\_speak

label define demcand5\_speak 1"Not at all likely" 2"A little likely" 3"Somewhat likely" 4"Very likely"

label values demcand5\_speak demcand5\_speak

label variable demcand5\_speak "How likely would you be to attend a speaking even hosted by Democratic Candidate 5?"

gen con\_race1 =racer1\_do

gen con\_gender1 =genderr1\_do

gen con\_age1 =ager1\_do

gen con\_religion1 =religionr1\_do

gen con\_experience1 =experiencer1\_do

gen con\_issue1 =issuer1\_do

gen con\_race2 =racer2\_do  
gen con\_gender2 =genderr2\_do  
gen con\_age2 =ager2\_do  
gen con\_religion2 =religionr2\_do  
gen con\_experience2 =experiencer2\_do  
gen con\_issue2 =issuer2\_do

gen con\_race3 =racer3\_do  
gen con\_gender3 =genderr3\_do  
gen con\_age3 =ager3\_do  
gen con\_religion3 =religionr3\_do  
gen con\_experience3 =experiencer3\_do  
gen con\_issue3 =issuer3\_do

gen con\_race4 =racer4\_do  
gen con\_gender4 =genderr4\_do  
gen con\_age4 =ager4\_do  
gen con\_religion4 =religionr4\_do  
gen con\_experience4 =experiencer4\_do  
gen con\_issue4 =issuer4\_do

gen con\_race5 =racer5\_do  
gen con\_gender5 =genderr5\_do  
gen con\_age5 =ager5\_do  
gen con\_religion5 =religionr5\_do  
gen con\_experience5 =experiencer5\_do  
gen con\_issue5 =issuer5\_do

gen con\_race6 =raced1\_do  
gen con\_gender6 =genderd1\_do  
gen con\_age6 =aged1\_do  
gen con\_religion6 =religiond1\_do  
gen con\_experience6 =experienced1\_do  
gen con\_issue6 =issued1\_do

gen con\_race7 =raced2\_do  
gen con\_gender7 =genderd2\_do  
gen con\_age7 =aged2\_do  
gen con\_religion7 =religiond2\_do

gen con\_experience7 =experienced2\_do  
gen con\_issue7 =issued2\_do

gen con\_race8 =raced3\_do  
gen con\_gender8 =genderd3\_do  
gen con\_age8 =aged3\_do  
gen con\_religion8 =religiond3\_do  
gen con\_experience8 =experienced3\_do  
gen con\_issue8 =issued3\_do

gen con\_race9 =raced4\_do  
gen con\_gender9 =genderd4\_do  
gen con\_age9 =aged4\_do  
gen con\_religion9 =religiond4\_do  
gen con\_experience9 =experienced4\_do  
gen con\_issue9 =issued4\_do

gen con\_race10 =raced5\_do  
gen con\_gender10 =genderd5\_do  
gen con\_age10 =aged5\_do  
gen con\_religion10 =religiond5\_do  
gen con\_experience10 =experienced5\_do  
gen con\_issue10 =issued5\_do

gen con\_vote1 =repcand1\_vote  
gen con\_vote2 =repcand2\_vote  
gen con\_vote3 =repcand3\_vote  
gen con\_vote4 =repcand4\_vote  
gen con\_vote5 =repcand5\_vote

gen con\_vote6 =demcand1\_vote  
gen con\_vote7 =demcand2\_vote  
gen con\_vote8 =demcand3\_vote  
gen con\_vote9 =demcand4\_vote  
gen con\_vote10 =demcand5\_vote

gen con\_relig1 =repcand1\_relig  
gen con\_relig2 =repcand2\_relig

```
gen con_relig3 =repcand3_relig
gen con_relig4 =repcand4_relig
gen con_relig5 =repcand5_relig
```

```
gen con_relig6 =demcand1_relig
gen con_relig7 =demcand2_relig
gen con_relig8 =demcand3_relig
gen con_relig9 =demcand4_relig
gen con_relig10 =demcand5_relig
```

```
gen con_ideo1 =repcand1_ideo
gen con_ideo2 =repcand2_ideo
gen con_ideo3 =repcand3_ideo
gen con_ideo4 =repcand4_ideo
gen con_ideo5 =repcand5_ideo
```

```
gen con_ideo6 =demcand1_ideo
gen con_ideo7 =demcand2_ideo
gen con_ideo8 =demcand3_ideo
gen con_ideo9 =demcand4_ideo
gen con_ideo10 =demcand5_ideo
```

```
gen con_speak1 =repcand1_speak
gen con_speak2 =repcand2_speak
gen con_speak3 =repcand3_speak
gen con_speak4 =repcand4_speak
gen con_speak5 =repcand5_speak
```

```
gen con_speak6 =demcand1_speak
gen con_speak7 =demcand2_speak
gen con_speak8 =demcand3_speak
gen con_speak9 =demcand4_speak
gen con_speak10 =demcand5_speak
```

```
reshape long con_race con_gender con_age con_religion con_experience con_issue con_vote
con_relig con_ideo con_speak, i(responseid) j(task)
```

```
reg con_vote con_age if task<6
reg con_vote con_age if task>5
```

```
reg con_relig con_age if task>5
reg con_relig con_age if task>6
```

\*notes

```
tab con_race, gen(con_raceD)
label variable con_raceD1 "White"
label variable con_raceD2 "Black"
label variable con_raceD3 "Asian"
label variable con_raceD4 "American Indian"
label variable con_raceD5 "Middle Eastern"
label variable con_raceD6 "Hispanic"
```

```
tab con_religion, gen(con_relD)
label variable con_relD1 "Protestant"
label variable con_relD2 "Catholic"
label variable con_relD3 "Evangelical"
label variable con_relD4 "Atheist"
label variable con_relD5 "Non-religious"
label variable con_relD6 "Muslim"
```

```
tab con_gender, gen(con_genD)
label variable con_genD1 "Male"
label variable con_genD2 "Female"
```

```
tab con_experience, gen(con_expD)
label variable con_expD1 "None"
label variable con_expD2 "Business Owner"
label variable con_expD3 "School Board Member"
label variable con_expD4 "City Council Member"
label variable con_expD5 "State Representative"
```

```
tab con_issue, gen(con_issueD)
label variable con_issueD1 "Pro-Choice"
label variable con_issueD2 "Pro-Life"
label variable con_issueD3 "Raise Min. Wage"
label variable con_issueD4 "Leave Min. Wage the Same"
```

```
egen con_nonwhite = rowtotal(con_raceD2 con_raceD3 con_raceD4 con_raceD5 con_raceD6)
```

```
gen cand_nonwhite = .
recode cand_nonwhite . = 1 if con_race > 1
recode cand_nonwhite . = 0 if con_race < 2
label variable cand_nonwhite "Non-White Candidate"
```

```
label variable con_age "Age"
```

```
gen cand_relig = .
recode cand_relig . = 1 if con_religion == 1 | con_religion == 2 | con_religion == 3 |
con_religion == 6
recode cand_relig . = 0 if con_religion == 4 | con_religion == 5
label variable cand_relig "Religious Candidate"
```

```
*RACE BY PARTY
```

```
*DEMS
```

```
reg con_vote cand_nonwhite if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_nonwhitedem
reg con_relig cand_nonwhite if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_nonwhitedem
reg con_ideo cand_nonwhite if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_nonwhitedem
```

```
*REPS
```

```
reg con_vote cand_nonwhite if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_nonwhiterep
reg con_relig cand_nonwhite if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_nonwhiterep
reg con_ideo cand_nonwhite if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_nonwhiterep
```

```
coefplot (vote_nonwhitedem, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_nonwhitedem, label(How
Religious)) ///
(ideo_nonwhitedem, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///
, bylabel(Democrats) ///
|| (vote_nonwhiterep) (relig_nonwhiterep) (ideo_nonwhiterep), bylabel(Republicans) ///
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(Perceptions of Cand. based on Cand. Race by Party) legend(cols(2))
```

```
*GENDER BY PARTY *FIGURE 1*
```

```
*Dems
```

```

reg con_vote con_gender if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_gendem
reg con_relig con_gender if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_gendem
reg con_ideo con_gender if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_gendem

```

**\*Reps**

```

reg con_vote con_gender if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_genrep
reg con_relig con_gender if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_genrep
reg con_ideo con_gender if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_genrep

```

```

coefplot (vote_gendem, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_gendem, label(How Religious)) ///
(ideo_gendem, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///
, bylabel(Democrats) ///
|| (vote_genrep) (relig_genrep) (ideo_genrep), bylabel(Republicans) ///
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(Perceptions of Cand. based on Cand. Gender by Party)
legend(cols(2))

```

**\*AGE BY PARTY \*FIGURE 2\***

```

reg con_vote con_age if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_agedem
reg con_relig1 con_age if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_agedem
reg con_ideo1 con_age if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_agedem

```

**\*Reps**

```

reg con_vote con_age if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_agerep
reg con_relig1 con_age if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_agerep
reg con_ideo1 con_age if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_agerep

```

```

coefplot (vote_agedem, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_agedem, label(How Religious)) ///
(ideo_agedem, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///

```



```
, bylabel(Democrats) ///
|| (vote_agerep) (relig_agerep) (ideo_agerep), bylabel(Republicans) ///
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(Perceptions of Cand. based on Cand. Age by Party) legend(cols(2))
```

**\*RELIGION BY PARTY**

```
reg con_vote cand_relig if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_religdem
reg con_relig cand_relig if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_religdem
reg con_ideo cand_relig if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_religdem
```

**\*Reps**

```
reg con_vote cand_relig if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_religrep
reg con_relig cand_relig if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_religrep
reg con_ideo cand_relig if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_religrep
```

```
coefplot (vote_religdem, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_religdem, label(How Religious))
///
(ideo_religdem, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///
, bylabel(Democrats) ///
|| (vote_religrep) (relig_religrep) (ideo_religrep), bylabel(Republicans) ///
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(Perceptions of Cand. based on Cand. Religion by Party)
legend(cols(2))
```

**\*EXPERIENCE BY PARTY**

```
reg con_vote con_expD2 con_expD3 con_expD4 con_expD5 if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_expdem
reg con_relig con_expD2 con_expD3 con_expD4 con_expD5 if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_expdem
reg con_ideo con_expD2 con_expD3 con_expD4 con_expD5 if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_expdem
```

**\*Reps**

```
reg con_vote con_expD2 con_expD3 con_expD4 con_expD5 if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_exprep
reg con_relig1 con_expD2 con_expD3 con_expD4 con_expD5 if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_exprep
reg con_ideo1 con_expD2 con_expD3 con_expD4 con_expD5 if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store ideo_exprep
```

```
coefplot (vote_expdem, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_expdem, label(How Religious)) ///  
(ideo_expdem, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///  
, bylabel(Democrats) ///  
|| (vote_exprep) (relig_exprep) (ideo_exprep), bylabel(Republicans) ///  
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(Perceptions of Cand. based on Cand. Experience by Party)  
legend(cols(2))
```

```
*indicators for issues given
```

```
gen wage = 0
```

```
replace wage = 1 if con_issueD3 == 1
```

```
replace wage = 1 if con_issueD4 == 1
```

```
gen pro = 0
```

```
replace pro = 1 if con_issueD1 == 1
```

```
replace pro = 1 if con_issueD2 == 1
```

```
*PRO CHOICE VS PRO LIFE
```

```
reg con_vote con_issueD1 if pid7>4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store vote_prodem
```

```
reg con_relig con_issueD1 if pid7>4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store relig_prodem
```

```
reg con_ideo con_issueD1 if pid7>4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store ideo_prodem
```

```
*Reps
```

```
reg con_vote con_issueD1 if pid7<4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store vote_prorep
```

```
reg con_relig1 con_issueD1 if pid7<4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store relig_prorep
```

```
reg con_ideo1 con_issueD1 if pid7<4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store ideo_prorep
```

```
coefplot (vote_prodem, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_prodem, label(How Religious)) ///  
(ideo_prodem, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///  
, bylabel(Democrats) ///  
|| (vote_prorep) (relig_prorep) (ideo_prorep), bylabel(Republicans) ///  
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(PRO LIFE vs PRO CHOICE by PARTY) legend(cols(2))
```

**\*RAISE MIN WAGE vs KEEP MIN WAGE**

```
reg con_vote con_issueD3 if pid7>4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store vote_mindem
```

```
reg con_relig con_issueD3 if pid7>4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store relig_mindem
```

```
reg con_ideo con_issueD3 if pid7>4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store ideo_mindem
```

**\*Reps**

```
reg con_vote con_issueD3 if pid7<4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store vote_minrep
```

```
reg con_relig con_issueD3 if pid7<4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store relig_minrep
```

```
reg con_ideo con_issueD3 if pid7<4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store ideo_minrep
```

```
coefplot (vote_mindem, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_mindem, label(How Religious))
```

```
///
```

```
(ideo_mindem, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///
```

```
, bylabel(Democrats) ///
```

```
|| (vote_minrep) (relig_minrep) (ideo_minrep), bylabel(Republicans) ///
```

```
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(RAISE MIN WAGE VS KEEP MIN WAGE by PARTY)
```

```
legend(cols(2))
```

**\*RACE x RELIGION BY PARTY**

```
reg con_vote cand_nonwhite##cand_relig if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store vote_religracedem
```

```
reg con_relig cand_nonwhite##cand_relig if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store relig_religracedem
```

```
reg con_ideo cand_nonwhite##cand_relig if pid7>4, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store ideo_religracedem
```

**\*Reps**

```
reg con_vote cand_nonwhite##cand_relig if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store vote_religracerep
```

```
reg con_relig cand_nonwhite##cand_relig if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store relig_religracerep
```

```
reg con_ideo cand_nonwhite##cand_relig if pid7<4, cluster(responseid)
```

```
estimates store ideo_religracerep
```

```

coefplot (vote_religracedem, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_religracedem, label(How
Religious)) ///
(ideo_religracedem, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///
, bylabel(Democrats) ///
|| (vote_religracerep) (relig_religracerep) (ideo_religracerep), bylabel(Republicans) ///
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(Perceptions of Cand. based on Interaction BTWN Race and Religion
by Party) legend(cols(2))

```

**\*RACE AND PRO CHOICE**

```

reg con_vote cand_nonwhite##con_issueD1 if pid7>4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_raceissuedem
reg con_relig cand_nonwhite##con_issueD1 if pid7>4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_raceissuedem
reg con_ideo cand_nonwhite##con_issueD1 if pid7>4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_raceissuedem

```

**\*Reps**

```

reg con_vote cand_nonwhite##con_issueD1 if pid7<4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_raceissuerep
reg con_relig cand_nonwhite##con_issueD1 if pid7<4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_raceissuerep
reg con_ideo cand_nonwhite##con_issueD1 if pid7<4 & pro == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_raceissuerep

```

```

coefplot (vote_raceissuedem, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_raceissuedem, label(How
Religious)) ///
(ideo_raceissuedem, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///
, bylabel(Democrats) ///
|| (vote_raceissuerep) (relig_raceissuerep) (ideo_raceissuerep), bylabel(Republicans) ///
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(Perceptions of Cand. based on Interaction BTWN Race and Issue by
Party) legend(cols(2))

```

**\*RACE AND MIN WAGE**

```

reg con_vote cand_nonwhite##con_issueD3 if pid7>4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store vote_racemindem
reg con_relig cand_nonwhite##con_issueD3 if pid7>4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_racemindem
reg con_ideo cand_nonwhite##con_issueD3 if pid7>4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_racemindem

```

**\*Reps**

```

reg con_vote cand_nonwhite##con_issueD3 if pid7<4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)

```

```

estimates store vote_raceminrep
reg con_relig cand_nonwhite##con_issueD3 if pid7<4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store relig_raceminrep
reg con_ideo cand_nonwhite##con_issueD3 if pid7<4 & wage == 1, cluster(responseid)
estimates store ideo_raceminrep

coefplot (vote_raceminrep, label(Willingness to Vote For)) (relig_raceminrep, label(How
Religious)) ///
(ideo_raceminrep, label(How liberal/conservative)) ///
, bylabel(Democrats) ///
|| (vote_raceminrep) (relig_raceminrep) (ideo_raceminrep), bylabel(Republicans) ///
||, drop(_cons) xline(0) title(Perceptions of Cand. based on Interaction BTWN Race and Min by
Party) legend(cols(2))

```

## VITA

Joseph Erric Murphy III

### **Education:**

University of Mississippi, *College of Liberal Arts*

B.A., Political Science, May 2021

Minor: Psychology

*Magna Cum Laude*

### **Papers:**

*Works in Progress*

Winburn, J., Griffin, B., Murphy, J. “Social Identity and Gubernatorial Approval: The Influence of Partisanship, Place Attachment, and Gender”

### **Research Interests:**

Political Behavior, Identity Politics, Public Opinion, Campaign and Elections, Political Psychology, State and Local Politics