Gender Identity as a Political Cue:
Voter Responses to Transgender Candidates

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Online Appendix

1   Mediation analysis

We estimate the mediating effects of perceptions of the candidate's ideology and how well she would represent the respondent using the statistical framework laid out in Imai et al. (2010) and implemented via the mediation package in R (Tingley et al. 2014). We first estimate the Average Causal Mediated Effect (ACME) for each potential mediator under the assumption of sequential ignorability (i.e., that the two mediators are causally unrelated to one another and that there is no post-treatment confounding). Table A-1 shows the results.

Table A-1: Average Causal Mediation Effects on likelihood of voting for candidate

	Mediator	
	Candidate represents me	Candidate ideology
Average Causal Mediated Effect	$-0.13\,[-.22, -.04]^{***}$	$-0.04\,[-.10, .02]$
Average Direct Effect	$-0.02\,[-.16, .13]$	$-0.12\,[-.26, .03]$
Total Effect	$-0.16\,[-.29, .00]^{*}$	$-0.16\,[-.30, -.01]^{*}$

$^{***}p < 0.001,\ ^{**}p < 0.01,\ ^{*}p < 0.05,\ ^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Note: Data from Study 1.

The estimated effects in Table A-1 suggest a stronger role for perceptions of candidate responsiveness in the total effect on vote likelihood. The ACME for the candidate responsiveness mechanism is estimated to be -0.13 on the four-point scale with a 95% confidence interval of $[-.22, -.04]$. This would account for around four-fifths of the total effect of the gender identity information, which is estimated to be $-.16$ points $[-.29, .00]$. In contrast, the estimated ACME for perceptions of the candidate's ideology does not reach standard levels of significance ($-.04$ $[-.10, .02]$) and would account for a much smaller proportion of the total causal effect. The evidence thus suggests that respondents' likelihood of voting for the candidate were strongly shaped by perceptions of her responsiveness to them as constituents.

These analyses assume that the two potential mediators are causally unrelated. It is theoretically possible that perceptions of the candidate's ideology could have causally influenced perceptions of her responsiveness to the respondent, in turn influencing electoral support. There is not much evidence for this hypothesis, however. Specifically, regressing beliefs about candidate responsiveness on her perceived ideology and the experimental treatment (as recommended by Imai and Yamamoto 2013) did not reveal a strong relationship between the two mediators. The coefficient for candidate ideology was .08, with a standard error of .04, p=.06.

Although the relationship between the mediators appears weak, we re-estimated the mediating effects of be-

liefs about candidate responsiveness, this time taking into account the potential confounding mediating effect of perceived candidate ideology (see Imai and Yamamoto 2013). The results, shown in Table A-2 support the initial conclusions: even taking into account the potentially confounding effect of candidate ideology, the ACME for candidate responsiveness is directly equivalent to the estimate reported in Table A-2. The data thus support the conclusion that the electoral penalty faced by transgender candidates is largely a result of the mediating effect of their perceived lack of ability to represent the respondent.

Table A-2: Mediating effect of candidate responsiveness, with potential confounding by candidate ideology

	Candidate represents me
Average Causal Mediated Effect	$-0.13\,[-.19, -.07]$***
Average Direct Effect	$0.04\,[-.05, .13]$
Total Effect	$-0.09\,[-.19, .00]$†

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, † $p < 0.1$

Note: Data from Study 1.

References

Imai, Kosuke and Teppei Yamamoto. 2013. "Identification and Sensitivity Analysis for Multiple Causal Mechanisms: Revisiting Evidence from Framing Experiments". *Political Analysis* 21: 141–171.

Imai, Kosuke, Luke Keele, and Dustin Tingley. 2010. "A General Approach to Causal Mediation Analysis". *Psychological Methods* 15(4): 309–334.

Tingley, Dustin, Teppei Yamamoto, Kentaro Hirose, Luke Keele, and Kosuke Imai. 2014. "mediation: R Package for Causal Mediation Analysis". *Journal of Statistical Software* 59(5):1–38.

2 Alternative specification for regression models in Table 1

Table A-3: Ordered logistic regression models predicting likelihood of voting for candidate

	Study 1 No party label				Study 2 No party label	Study 2 Democratic candidate	Study 2 Republican candidate
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
Treatment	1.96 (0.49)***	1.31 (0.36)***	1.93 (0.50)***	0.79 (0.31)**	1.96 (0.36)***	2.10 (0.34)***	3.83 (0.38)***
Ideology	-0.01 (0.06)						
Ideology × treatment	-0.51 (0.11)***						
Party ID		-0.02 (0.05)			0.03 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.48 (0.06)***
Party ID × treatment		-0.42 (0.08)***			-0.57 (0.09)***	-0.43 (0.09)***	-0.89 (0.09)***
Religiosity			0.11 (0.10)				
Religiosity × treatment			-0.77 (0.17)***				
Authoritarianism				-0.06 (0.07)			
Authoritarianism × treatment				-0.50 (0.13)***			
Threshold 1	-2.26 (0.28)***	-2.32 (0.24)***	-1.84 (0.33)***	-2.41 (0.20)***	-2.79 (0.27)***	-1.94 (0.26)***	-0.39 (0.22)†
Threshold 2	-1.12 (0.27)***	-1.23 (0.22)***	-0.72 (0.33)*	-1.30 (0.21)***	-1.31 (0.25)***	-0.64 (0.24)**	0.99 (0.22)***
Threshold 3	1.76 (0.27)***	1.69 (0.20)***	2.07 (0.36)***	1.61 (0.20)***	1.80 (0.26)***	1.65 (0.26)***	4.10 (0.30)***
N	926	952	979	826	562	505	569

$^{***} p < 0.001$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{*} p < 0.05$, $^{†} p < 0.1$

3 Replication of Table 1 and Figure 1, by partisanship of candidate in Study 2

Table A-4: Replicating models (a), (c), and (d) in Table 1, by partisanship of candidate in Study 2

	Replicating model (a)			Replicating model (c)			Replicating model (d)		
	No party	Democrat	Republican	No party	Democrat	Republican	No party	Democrat	Republican
Intercept	2.90 (0.10)***	2.70 (0.14)***	1.73 (0.12)***	2.77 (0.08)***	2.72 (0.14)***	2.04 (0.10)***	2.85 (0.05)***	2.60 (0.09)***	2.24 (0.07)***
Treatment	0.68 (0.15)***	1.19 (0.17)***	1.72 (0.15)***	0.38 (0.14)**	0.61 (0.18)**	1.12 (0.15)***	0.21 (0.09)*	0.48 (0.12)***	0.74 (0.10)***
Ideology	0.00 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.04)	0.24 (0.03)***						
Ideology × treatment	−0.21 (0.04)***	−0.26 (0.05)***	−0.39 (0.04)***						
Religiosity				0.06 (0.03)†	−0.04 (0.05)	0.23 (0.04)***			
Religiosity × treatment				−0.19 (0.05)***	−0.14 (0.07)*	−0.35 (0.06)***			
Authoritarianism							0.04 (0.03)†	0.00 (0.04)	0.22 (0.03)***
Authoritarianism × treatment							−0.18 (0.05)***	−0.15 (0.06)*	−0.29 (0.05)***
Pseudo-R^2	0.11	0.18	0.21	0.03	0.06	0.10	0.04	0.05	0.10
N	556	505	562	566	508	573	565	508	573

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, † $p < 0.1$

Figure A-1: Replicating plots (a), (c), and (d) in Figure 1, by partisanship of candidate in Study 2 (MTurk)
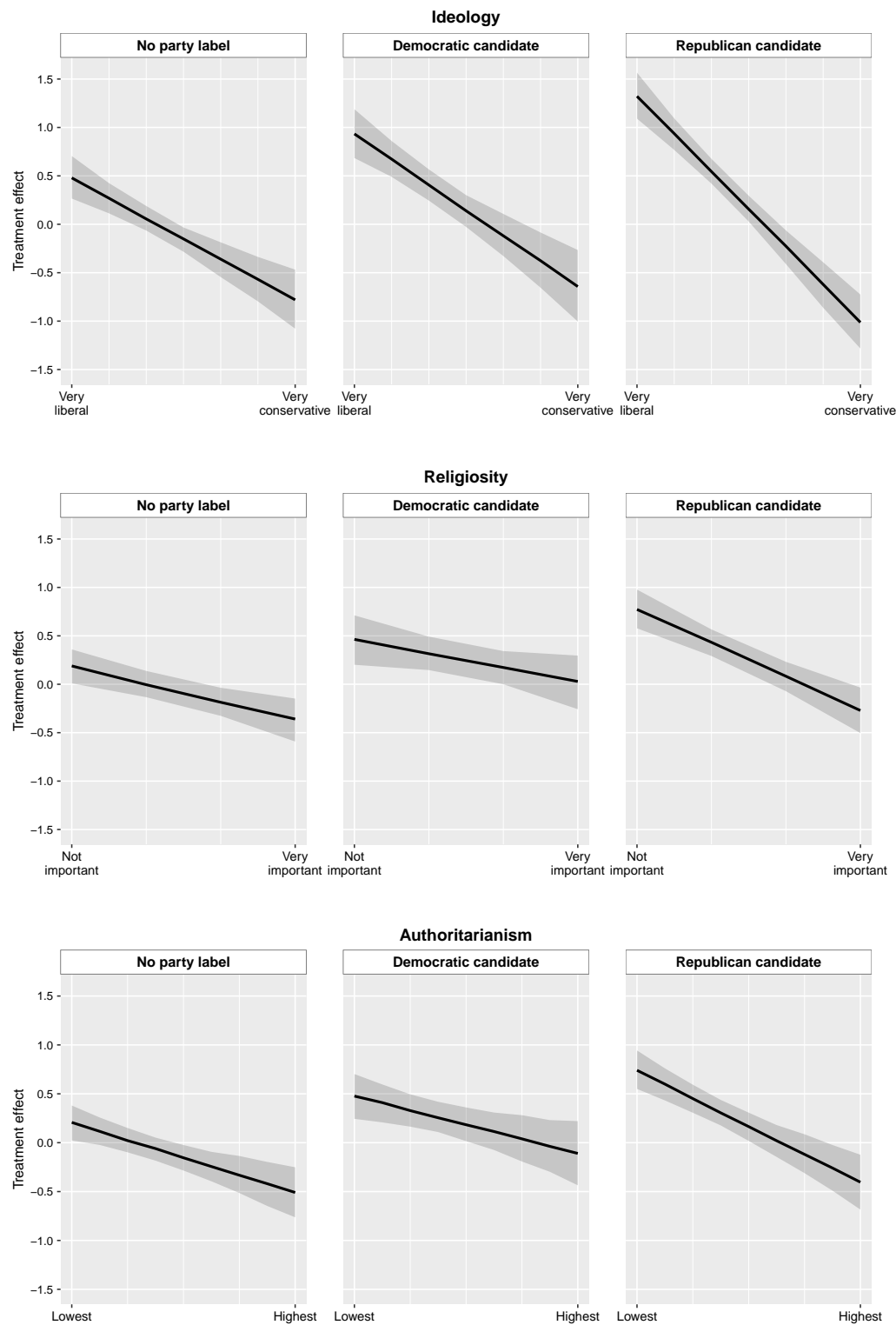
Note: Treatment effects simulated from models in Table A-4, with 95% confidence intervals.

4 Further information about the studies

4.1 Experimental stimuli and balance tests

In both studies, the stimuli were based on a real news story (Oaklander, Mandy. February 11, 2011. "Trans-gendered Woman Jenifer Rene Pool Announces Her City Council Candidacy." *Houston Press*.) about a candidate for Houston City Council in 2011, Jenifer Pool. The image used was taken from Pool's announcement speech as covered by the media.

Figure A-2: Experimental stimuli in Study 1

Control:

Businesswoman Jenifer Pool Announces City Council Candidacy

Business leader and community activist Jenifer Rene Pool has announced that she will be a candidate for the City Council's 4th district seat.

Pool's background is in construction and public service. She owns a company that advises on construction projects. She was appointed by Mayor Bill White to serve as a City commissioner of the Building and Standards Commission and on the Police Advisory Commission.

Pool drew heavily on her business experience in announcing her candidacy. "In my experience and in my knowledge, I have the ability to address infrastructure challenges. This is a great city. It can be greater," she said. Pool said she will fix blighted buildings in run-down areas and keep them safe with neighborhood policing.

Her supporters note that, if elected, Pool would make history as the first woman to represent the 4th district on City Council.

Treatment:

Transgender Woman Jenifer Pool Announces City Council Candidacy

Business leader and community activist Jenifer Rene Pool has announced that she will be a candidate for the City Council's 4th district seat.

Pool's background is in construction and public service. She owns a company that advises on construction projects. She was appointed by Mayor Bill White to serve as a City commissioner of the Building and Standards Commission and on the Police Advisory Commission.

Pool drew heavily on her business experience in announcing her candidacy. "In my experience and in my knowledge, I have the ability to address infrastructure challenges. This is a great city. It can be greater," she said. Pool said she will fix blighted buildings in run-down areas and keep them safe with neighborhood policing.

Her supporters note that, if elected, Pool would make history as the first transgender woman to serve on City Council.

Table A-5: Balance tests for condition assignment, Study 1

	Ideology	Party ID	Religiosity	Authoritarianism
Control	3.95 (0.11)	3.61 (0.15)	2.86 (0.07)	2.07 (0.08)
Treatment	4.14 (0.12)	3.78 (0.14)	2.83 (0.07)	2.23 (0.08)
t-test for difference in means	1.20	0.84	−0.32	1.39
	$p{=}.23$	$p{=}.40$	$p{=}.75$	$p{=}.16$

$^{***}p < 0.001, \, ^{**}p < 0.01, \, ^{*}p < 0.05, \, ^{\dagger}p < 0.10$

Note: Mean value of moderator in each condition, with standard errors in parentheses.

Figure A-3: Experimental stimuli in Study 2

Control, no party label:

Businesswoman Jenifer Pool Announces City Council Candidacy

Business leader and community activist Jenifer Rene Pool has announced that she will be a candidate for the City Council's 4th district seat.

Pool's background is in construction and public service. She owns a company that advises on construction projects. She was appointed by Mayor Bill White to serve as a City commissioner of the Building and Standards Commission and on the Police Advisory Commission.

Pool drew heavily on her business experience in announcing her candidacy. "In my experience and in my knowledge, I have the ability to address infrastructure challenges. This is a great city. It can be greater," she said. Pool said she will fix blighted buildings in run-down areas and keep them safe with neighborhood policing.

Her supporters note that, if elected, Pool would be the first woman to represent the 4th district on City Council.

Treatment, no party label:

Transgender Businesswoman Jenifer Pool Announces City Council Candidacy

Business leader and community activist Jenifer Rene Pool has announced that she will be a candidate for the City Council's 4th district seat.

Pool's background is in construction and public service. She owns a company that advises on construction projects. She was appointed by Mayor Bill White to serve as a City commissioner of the Building and Standards Commission and on the Police Advisory Commission.

Pool drew heavily on her business experience in announcing her candidacy. "In my experience and in my knowledge, I have the ability to address infrastructure challenges. This is a great city. It can be greater," she said. Pool said she will fix blighted buildings in run-down areas and keep them safe with neighborhood policing.

Her supporters note that, if elected, Pool would be the first transgender woman to represent the 4th district on City Council.

Control, Democratic candidate:

Businesswoman Jenifer Pool Announces City Council Candidacy

Business leader and community activist Jenifer Rene Pool has announced that she will be a Democratic candidate for the City Council's 4th district seat.

Pool's background is in construction and public service. She owns a company that advises on construction projects. She was appointed by Mayor Bill White to serve as a City commissioner of the Building and Standards Commission and on the Police Advisory Commission.

The Democrat drew heavily on her business experience in announcing her candidacy. "In my experience and in my knowledge, I have the ability to address infrastructure challenges. This is a great city. It can be greater," she said. Pool said she will fix blighted buildings in run-down areas and keep them safe with neighborhood policing.

Her supporters note that, if elected, Pool would be the first woman to represent the 4th district on City Council.

Treatment, Democratic candidate:

Transgender Businesswoman Jenifer Pool Announces City Council Candidacy

Business leader and community activist Jenifer Rene Pool has announced that she will be a Democratic candidate for the City Council's 4th district seat.

Pool's background is in construction and public service. She owns a company that advises on construction projects. She was appointed by Mayor Bill White to serve as a City commissioner of the Building and Standards Commission and on the Police Advisory Commission.

The Democrat drew heavily on her business experience in announcing her candidacy. "In my experience and in my knowledge, I have the ability to address infrastructure challenges. This is a great city. It can be greater," she said. Pool said she will fix blighted buildings in run-down areas and keep them safe with neighborhood policing.

Her supporters note that, if elected, Pool would be the first transgender woman to represent the 4th district on City Council.

Control, Republican candidate:

Businesswoman Jenifer Pool Announces City Council Candidacy

Business leader and community activist Jenifer Rene Pool has announced that she will be a Republican candidate for the City Council's 4th district seat.

Pool's background is in construction and public service. She owns a company that advises on construction projects. She was appointed by Mayor Bill White to serve as a City commissioner of the Building and Standards Commission and on the Police Advisory Commission.

The Republican drew heavily on her business experience in announcing her candidacy. "In my experience and in my knowledge, I have the ability to address infrastructure challenges. This is a great city. It can be greater," she said. Pool said she will fix blighted buildings in run-down areas and keep them safe with neighborhood policing.

Her supporters note that, if elected, Pool would be the first woman to represent the 4th district on City Council.

Treatment, Republican candidate:

Transgender Businesswoman Jenifer Pool Announces City Council Candidacy

Business leader and community activist Jenifer Rene Pool has announced that she will be a Republican candidate for the City Council's 4th district seat.

Pool's background is in construction and public service. She owns a company that advises on construction projects. She was appointed by Mayor Bill White to serve as a City commissioner of the Building and Standards Commission and on the Police Advisory Commission.

The Republican drew heavily on her business experience in announcing her candidacy. "In my experience and in my knowledge, I have the ability to address infrastructure challenges. This is a great city. It can be greater," she said. Pool said she will fix blighted buildings in run-down areas and keep them safe with neighborhood policing.

Her supporters note that, if elected, Pool would be the first transgender woman to represent the 4th district on City Council.

Table A-6: Balance tests for condition assignment, Study 2

	Ideology	Party ID	Religiosity	Authoritarianism
No party label				
Control	3.62 (0.10)	3.53 (0.12)	2.37 (0.07)	1.54 (0.08)
Treatment	3.62 (0.11)	3.47 (0.12)	2.45 (0.07)	1.51 (0.08)
t-test for difference in means	−0.00	−0.38	0.77	−0.26
	$p=.99$	$p=.71$	$p=.44$	$p=.79$
Democratic candidate				
Control	3.70 (0.11)	3.42 (0.13)	2.56 (0.08)	1.67 (0.09)
Treatment	3.49 (0.11)	3.36 (0.12)	2.32 (0.08)	1.35 (0.08)
t-test for difference in means	−1.38	−0.37	−2.24	−2.61
	$p=.17$	$p=.71$	$p=.03^{*}$	$p=.001^{***}$
Republican candidate				
Control	3.58 (0.11)	3.36 (0.12)	2.39 (0.07)	1.57 (0.08)
Treatment	3.66 (0.11)	3.54 (0.12)	2.39 (0.07)	1.49 (0.08)
t-test for difference in means	0.56	1.05	0.03	−0.73
	$p=.57$	$p=.30$	$p=.98$	$p=.47$

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.10$

Note: Mean value of moderator in each condition, with standard errors in parentheses.

We note that within the Democratic candidate condition, respondents randomly assigned to the control group were more authoritarian and more religious than those assigned to the treatment group. Across the other comparisons there were no significant differences in means between treatment and control groups.

4.2 Survey question wording

All questions were asked the same way in both surveys; Study 2 asked additional questions about gender non-conformity that are listed below.

Views of Pool

If Jenifer Pool were a candidate for office in your area, how likely would you be to vote for her?

- Very likely
- Somewhat likely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Very unlikely

How would you rate Pool?

- Very liberal
- Liberal
- Somewhat liberal
- Middle of the road
- Somewhat conservative
- Conservative
- Very conservative

How well would you say each of the following describes Pool?. . . Is trustworthy; Is moral; Represents people like you; Focuses on important issues; Is authentic

- Not at all well
- Not very well
- Somewhat well
- Very well

Moderators

How would you rate each of the following individuals and groups?...Yourself

- Very liberal

- Liberal

- Somewhat liberal

- Middle of the road

- Somewhat conservative

- Conservative

- Very conservative

How important is religion in your life?

- Very important

- Somewhat important

- Not too important

- Not at all important

Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. Here are some pairs of desirable qualities. For each pair, which one do you think is more important for a child to have?

- Independence or respect for elders?

- Curiosity or good manners?

- Self-reliance or obedience?

- Being considerate or being well-behaved?

Are you male or female?

- Male

- Female

Additional questions in Study 2 (MTurk)

Asked if respondent identified as female:

In many ways, I feel more similar to men than women.

- Yes, agree

- No, disagree

I feel like part of me is female and part of me is male.

- Yes, agree
- No, disagree

I often think that I would rather be a man.

- Yes, agree
- No, disagree

People think that I should act more feminine than I do.

- Yes, agree
- No, disagree

Asked if respondent identified as male:

In many ways, I feel more similar to women than men.

- Yes, agree
- No, disagree

I feel like part of me is male and part of me is female.

- Yes, agree
- No, disagree

I often think that I would rather be a woman.

- Yes, agree
- No, disagree

I don't feel very masculine.

- Yes, agree
- No, disagree

4.3 Summary statistics for variables used in analysis

Table A-7: Summary statistics

	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	Missing
Study 1					
Perceptions of Pool					
Represents people like you	1	4	2.60	.85	36
Focuses on important issues	1	4	2.94	.74	30
Trustworthy	1	4	2.83	.68	37
Moral	1	4	2.81	.74	37
Authentic	1	4	2.77	.78	30
Ideology	1	7	3.47	1.16	13
Likelihood of voting for Pool	1	4	2.72	.87	7
Respondent characteristics					
Ideology	1	7	4.05	1.81	54
Party ID	1	7	3.70	2.23	28
Religiosity	1	4	2.85	1.12	0
Authoritarianism	0	4	2.15	1.33	154
Study 2					
Perceptions of Pool					
Represents people like you	1	4	2.68	.88	0
Focuses on important issues	1	4	3.08	.76	0
Trustworthy	1	4	2.94	.71	0
Moral	1	4	2.98	.73	0
Authentic	1	4	2.99	.80	0
Ideology	1	7	3.51	1.51	0
Likelihood of voting for Pool	1	4	2.79	.85	0
Respondent characteristics					
Ideology	1	7	3.61	1.74	24
Party ID	1	7	3.45	1.99	11
Religiosity	1	4	2.41	1.21	0
Authoritarianism	0	4	1.52	1.39	1

Note: Total N for Study 1=986; for Study 2, N=1,647. Authoritarianism items were included in the post-election wave of the CCES: respondent attrition accounts for the larger number of missing values.

4.4 Comparison of Study 1 and Study 2 samples

Table A-8: Comparing mean values of key variables in Study 1 and Study 2 samples

	Study 1 (CCES)	Study 2 (MTurk)	Difference in means
Political moderators			
Ideology	4.05 (1.81)	3.61 (1.74)	$-.44^{***}$
Party ID	3.70 (2.23)	3.45 (1.99)	$-.25^{*}$
Religiosity	2.85 (1.12)	2.41 (1.21)	$-.44^{***}$
Authoritarianism	2.15 (1.33)	1.52 (1.39)	$-.63^{***}$
Demographic characteristics			
Age (years)	47.3 (18.0)	36.3 (11.6)	-10.92^{***}
Education (1-6 scale)	3.18 (1.54)	4.19 (1.30)	1.00^{***}
Income (1-12 scale)	5.93 (3.19)	5.93 (2.96)	$-.00$
Female (0,1 indicator)	0.52 (0.50)	0.58 (0.49)	$.06^{*}$
White (0,1 indicator)	0.74 (0.44)	0.72 (0.45)	$-.01$
Married (0,1 indicator)	0.51 (0.50)	0.44 (0.50)	$-.07^{**}$

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.10$

Note: Mean of variable in each study with standard deviation in parentheses.

The samples used in the two studies differ in fairly predictable ways. In demographic characteristics, the MTurk sample used in Study 2 is younger, more educated, less likely to be married, and contains more women, than the CCES sample in Study 1. There are no significant differences in average income or the racial make-up of the samples, however (measured with a crude white/non-white binary).

The two samples differ significantly in their political predispositions that both studies find moderate responses to the experimental treatment. Compared to the Study 1 sample, the MTurk sample in Study 2 is on average less conservative, Republican, religious, and authoritarian. Most importantly for interpreting the average treatment effects reported in the paper, the Study 2 sample is skewed in a direction that would lead us to expect relatively more positive attitudes toward the transgender candidate on each moderator.

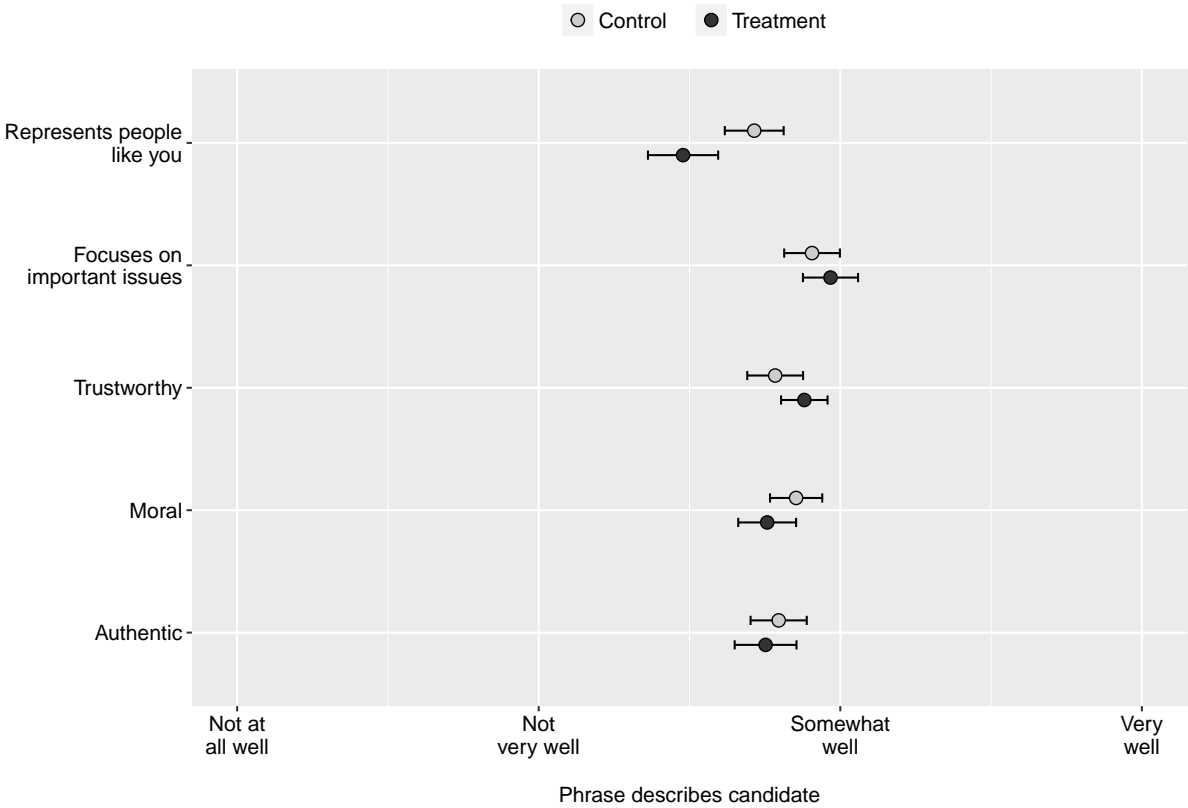# 5 Additional analysis of perceptions of candidate's traits

5.1 Mean ratings of candidate

Figure A-4: Perceived ideology of candidate by experimental condition
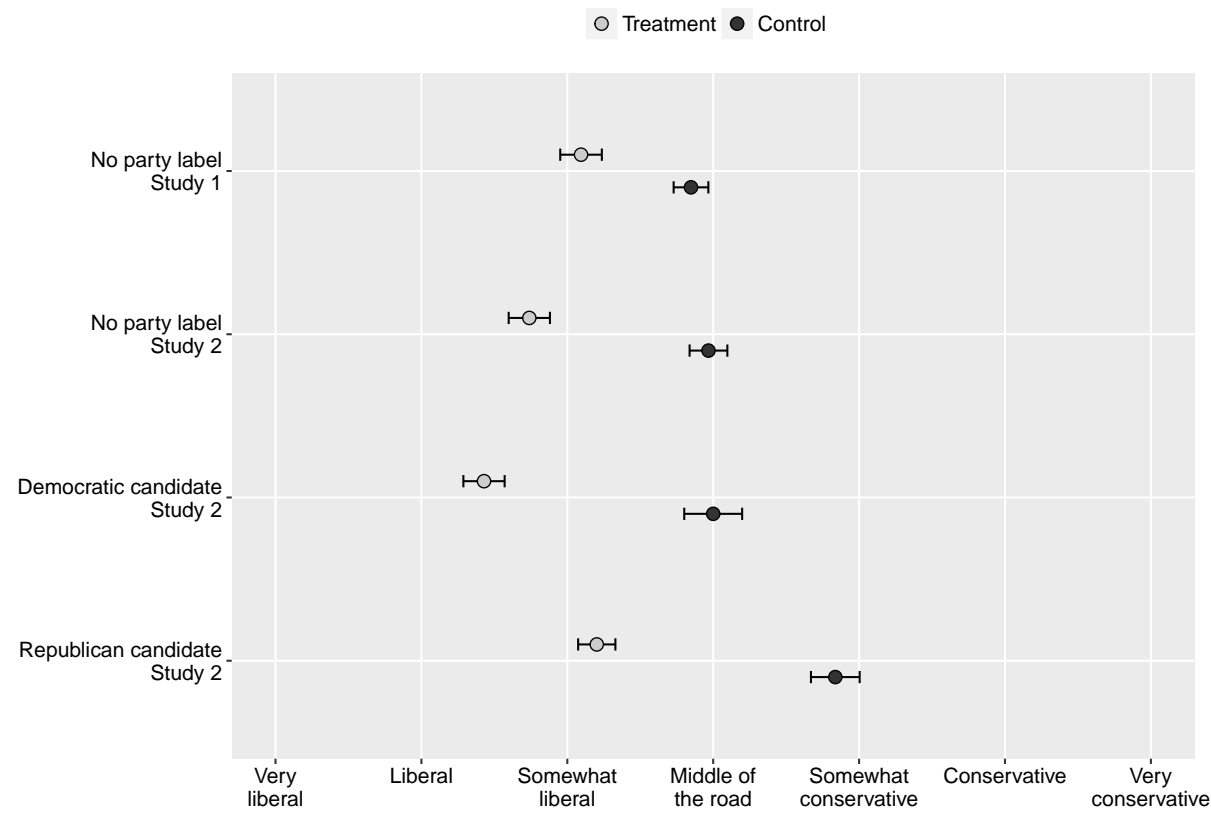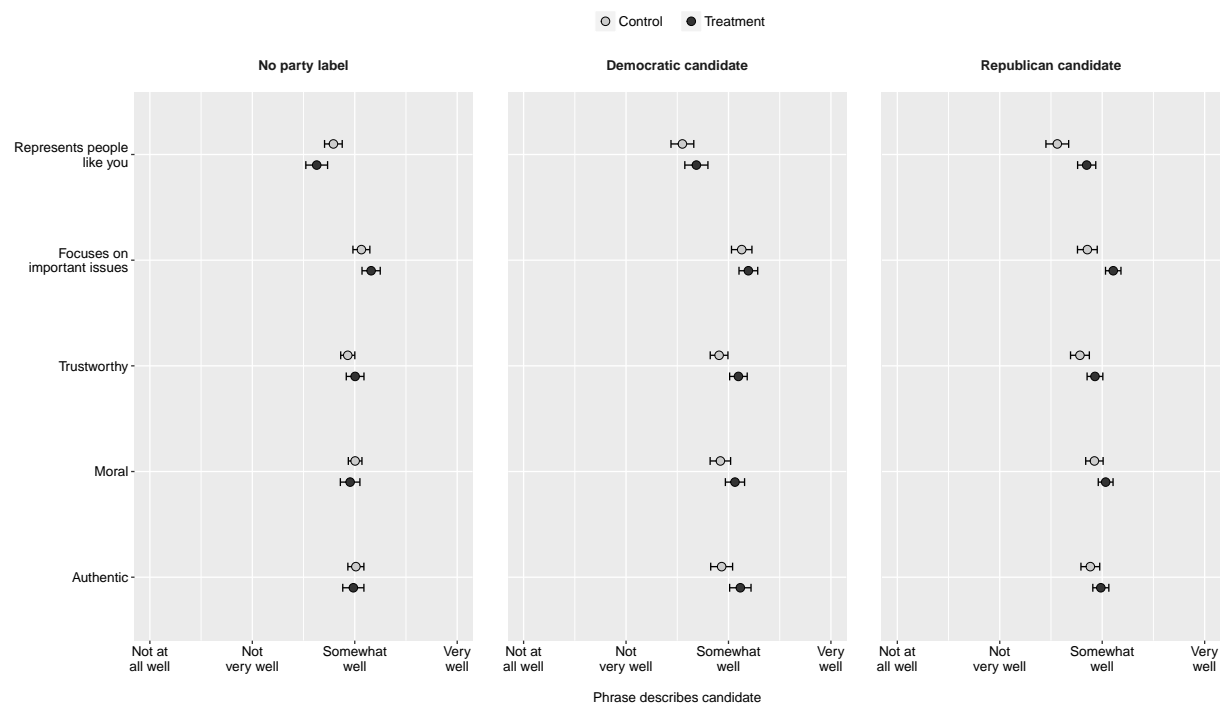

Note: Bullets represent mean score on scale, with 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A-5: Mean ratings of candidate, by experimental condition (Study 1)

Note: Bullets represent mean score on each scale, with 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A-6: Mean ratings of candidate, by experimental condition and candidate party (Study 2)

Note: Bullets represent mean score on each scale, with 95% confidence intervals.

5.2 Models predicting perceptions of candidate traits by respondent predispositions

Table A-9: Linear regression models predicting perceptions of candidate, with interaction for respondent ideology

	Ideology	Represents you	Issue focus	Trustworthy	Moral	Authentic
Intercept	3.79 (0.18)***	2.62 (0.14)***	2.87 (0.13)***	2.75 (0.13)***	2.88 (0.13)***	2.83 (0.13)***
Treatment	−0.56 (0.25)*	0.56 (0.21)**	0.34 (0.19)†	0.40 (0.18)*	0.41 (0.19)*	0.51 (0.19)**
Ideology	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	−0.00 (0.03)
Treatment × ideology	−0.07 (0.06)	−0.20 (0.05)***	−0.07 (0.04)†	−0.07 (0.04)†	−0.13 (0.04)**	−0.14 (0.04)**
Pseudo-R²	0.14	0.09	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.06
N	920	898	904	896	896	903

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{†}p < 0.10$

Source: Study 1.

Table A-10: Linear regression models predicting perceptions of candidate, with interaction for respondent party ID

	Ideology	Represents you	Issue focus	Trustworthy	Moral	Authentic
Intercept	3.74 (0.14)***	2.82 (0.11)***	3.02 (0.11)***	2.88 (0.11)***	2.99 (0.11)***	2.94 (0.11)***
Treatment	−0.53 (0.19)**	0.31 (0.15)*	0.26 (0.14)†	0.25 (0.13)†	0.20 (0.14)	0.25 (0.14)†
Party ID	0.03 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.02)	−0.04 (0.02)	−0.04 (0.03)
Treatment × party ID	−0.06 (0.04)	−0.15 (0.03)***	−0.05 (0.03)	−0.04 (0.03)	−0.08 (0.03)*	−0.08 (0.03)*
Pseudo-R²	0.11	0.13	0.04	0.03	0.07	0.07
N	947	924	930	923	923	930

Source: Study 1.

Table A-11: Linear regression models predicting perceptions of candidate, with interaction for respondent religiosity

	Ideology	Represents you	Issue focus	Trustworthy	Moral	Authentic
Intercept	4.09 (0.14)***	2.39 (0.15)***	2.71 (0.15)***	2.60 (0.14)***	2.68 (0.14)***	2.64 (0.15)***
Treatment	−0.57 (0.22)**	0.46 (0.20)*	0.47 (0.18)**	0.48 (0.17)**	0.53 (0.18)**	0.64 (0.18)***
Religiosity	−0.08 (0.05)†	0.11 (0.05)*	0.07 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)
Treatment × religiosity	−0.07 (0.08)	−0.25 (0.07)***	−0.15 (0.06)*	−0.13 (0.06)*	−0.22 (0.06)***	−0.24 (0.06)***
Pseudo-R^2	0.12	0.05	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.04
N	973	950	956	949	949	956

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{†}p < 0.10$

Source: Study 1.

Table A-12: Linear regression models predicting perceptions of candidate, with interaction for respondent authoritarianism

	Ideology	Represents you	Issue focus	Trustworthy	Moral	Authentic
Intercept	3.81 (0.10)***	2.65 (0.08)***	3.00 (0.06)***	2.86 (0.06)***	2.91 (0.06)***	2.85 (0.07)***
Treatment	−0.52 (0.16)**	0.14 (0.12)	0.25 (0.09)**	0.21 (0.10)*	0.37 (0.09)***	0.39 (0.10)***
Authoritarianism	0.03 (0.05)	0.03 (0.03)	−0.02 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.02 (0.03)	−0.00 (0.03)
Treatment × authoritarianism	−0.14 (0.07)*	−0.16 (0.05)**	−0.10 (0.05)*	−0.06 (0.04)	−0.22 (0.05)***	−0.19 (0.05)***
Pseudo-R^2	0.14	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.10	0.06
N	820	801	804	796	798	805

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{†}p < 0.10$

Source: Study 1.

Figure A-7: Simulated perceptions of candidate's ideology and traits, by respondent characteristics
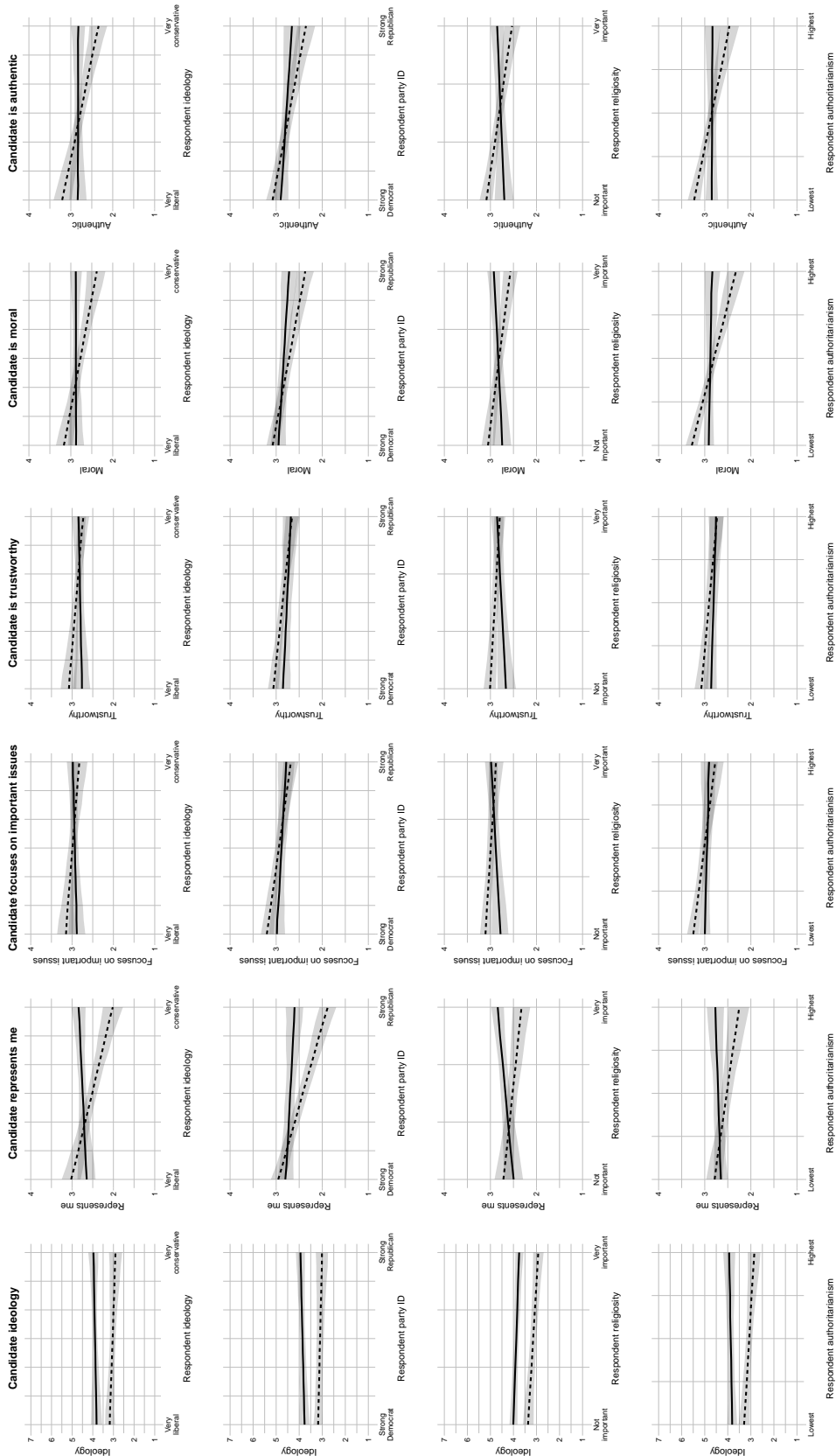
Note: Simulated from models in Tables A-9 to A-12. Solid line=control condition; dashed line=treatment condition. 95% confidence intervals.

6 Analysis of additional potential moderators

We also replicated the vote choice models in Table 1 using respondent's gender and gender nonconformity as moderators. Respondent's gender was measured in both studies; nonconformity with traditional gender roles measured only in Study 2. The latter measure replicates the scale used in Haider-Markel et al. (2017), and ranges from 4 to 8, with higher values indicating greater nonconformity. Table A-13 presents the regression models for these two moderators; Table A-14 the simulated treatment effects for men and women in each study, and for the most and least conforming in Study 2.

Table A-13: Extending Table 1 with gender and gender nonconformity as moderators

	Study 1	Study 2 (No party condition)	Study 2 (No party condition)
Intercept	$2.77\,(0.07)^{***}$	$2.88\,(0.06)^{***}$	$2.93\,(0.20)^{***}$
Treatment	$-0.27\,(0.12)^{*}$	$-0.34\,(0.10)^{***}$	$-1.13\,(0.33)^{***}$
Female	$0.06\,(0.10)$	$0.07\,(0.08)$	
Female × treatment	$0.23\,(0.16)$	$0.46\,(0.13)^{***}$	
Nonconformity			$-0.00\,(0.04)$
Nonconformity × treatment			$0.24\,(0.07)^{***}$
Pseudo-R^2	0.02	0.06	0.03
N	979	566	565

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{†}p < 0.1$

Table A-14: Estimated treatment effects by gender and gender nonconformity

Study 1		
Male	−0.27	[−0.51, −0.05]
Female	−0.04	[−0.24, 0.15]
Study 2		
Male	−0.35	[−0.54, −0.16]
Female	0.12	[−0.04, 0.28]
Study 2		
Most conforming	−0.17	[−0.31, −0.04]
Least conforming	0.80	[0.21, 1.37]

Note: Simulated from models in Table A-13. Estimated treatment effect with 95% confidence intervals in brackets.

The estimated treatment effects support the findings in Haider-Markel et al. (2017) that gender nonconformity moderates responses to candidates' gender identity. The treatment effect amongst the least-conforming is positive (0.80 [0.21, 1.37]); amongst the most-conforming, negative (−0.17 [−0.31, −0.04]). The results for respondent gender are more mixed, however. While Study 1 shows no significant differences in treatment effects for men and women, Study 2 does indicate that men had more negative reactions to the treatment (−0.35 [−0.54, −0.16]) than women did (0.12 [−0.04, 0.28]).

References

Haider-Markel, Donald, Patrick Miller, Andrew Flores, Daniel C. Lewis, Barry Tadlock and Jami Taylor. 2017. "Bringing 'T' to the table: Understanding individual support of transgender candidates for public office." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5(3): 399–417.