Supplemental Material for: Conditional Enfranchisement: How Partisanship Determines Support for Noncitizen Voting Rights

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A NonCitizen Voting Policies

Noncitizens can and do vote in many democracies globally. These electoral rights vary cross-nationally, ranging from full electoral exclusion within any election to the ability to vote in national elections (e.g., Ferris et al., 2020; Schmid, Piccoli and Arrighi, 2019). A growing literature investigates the causes and consequences of these varied practices of noncitizen suffrage in non-experimental settings across liberal democracies often from a top-down, elite perspective. Of the causes, the extension of the right to vote to noncitizens is a function of path-dependent processes of institutional and normative conceptions of belonging (e.g., Finn, 2023; Pedroza, 2019). To this end, immigrant activism in the enfranchising process can be less visible due to institutional hurdles or strategic calculations of immigrants themselves (Wegschaider, 2023). Of the consequences, noncitizen suffrage can meaningfully shape municipal policy and the political integration outcomes of immigrants benefiting from such electoral access (Ferwerda, Finseraas and Bergh, 2020; Munro, 2008; Vernby, 2013). Still, elite party behavior plays a critical role in the process and ultimate implementation of migrant voting rights overall (Cianetti, 2014; Østergaard-Nielsen, Ciornei and Lafleur, 2019).

A.1 Noncitizen Suffrage in the U.S.

Noncitizen voting in the U.S. is not a new phenomenon. From the founding of the Republic until the 1920s, noncitizens voted in 40 states and federal territories in local, state, and national elections (Hayduk and García-Castañon, 2018). Noncitizen residents were enfranchised for different reasons, mostly pragmatic or motivated by politically and economically welfare-maximizing rationales. During the decades of westward pushing of the U.S. frontier line, noncitizen enfranchisement was aimed at attracting migrant settlement to meet the population requirements for admission to the Union and, similarly during Reconstruction, to meet the excess labor demand after the abolition of slavery.

Noncitizens voted in every presidential election until 1925. Yet by 1928, all states had revoked voting rights, possibly due to heightened nationalism triggered by World War I (Raskin, 1993). Still, the Supreme Court has specifically ruled that noncitizen suffrage does not violate constitutional provisions and has consistently upheld the right of states to determine voter eligibility requirements. Consequently, noncitizen suffrage in the U.S. is not a legal question but a political one (Earnest, 2008). Public opinion is increasingly important for this political (re)expansion of noncitizen enfranchisement as suffrage is often determined by public referendum.

The tables below provide information on noncitizen voting rights in the United States as of November 2023. All tables were compiled by cross-referencing original, secondary, and media sources. Secondary sources include the Immigrant Voting Rights Project,[1] Ballotpedia, and other academic literature (e.g., Harper Ho, 2000; Hayduk, 2004; Kini, 2005). We expanded upon these sources by reviewing public records, locality Charters, ballot initiatives, election office information, and other printed and web-based documentation for every entity of interest. When questions or inconsistencies arose between original and secondary material, we relied on direct communication with local officials. Finally, we cross-referenced

[1]Project led by Ron Hayduk. `https://www.immigrantvotingrights.com`

each case with local and national news media (see Supplemental Material A.1.1 for a selection of articles in the Dataverse) to ensure full coverage of *de facto* and *de jure* practice of noncitizen voting rights.

Table A.1 first presents the list of current local noncitizen voting rights allowances by state and locality. **Level** refers to the type of election in which noncitizens are enfranchised, and **Legislation** provides the source of their (re)enfranchisement. **Type** indicates how suffrage was won: through a citizen-ballot measure or locality charters. Charter provisions could either be in the original document or occur through Charter Amendments. These were confirmed through direct communication with local officials and indicated by *Amendment* when suffrage required amending the Charter and *Charter* when in the original document. *Amendment–Referendum* indicates if Charter Amendments required a citizen ballot measure. **Approved Date** indicates the year noncitizen voting rights were decided—not enacted. Months are included for those cases with citizen ballot initiatives and the percentage of valid voters who voted in favor of the enfranchising measure. The last column—**Approved %**—presents the percentage of the voting population who voted in favor of ballot initiatives.

In total, 18 localities in seven counties[2] across three states currently allow immigrants the right to vote in local and/or school board elections. The District of Columbia formally enacted legislation in October 2022 enfranchising noncitizens, yet the policy remains currently unenforced due to ongoing litigation. New York City City Council similarly passed legislation permitting noncitizens to vote in local elections in December 2021, which was ruled unconstitutional in June 2022.

Current enfranchising municipalities are overwhelmingly in the Washington metropolitan area. In fact, 13 of the 18 (i.e., 72%) enfranchising jurisdictions are located within just two counties: Montgomery County and Prince George's County. This enfranchisement further resides at the municipal level, with only Oakland and San Francisco restricting noncitizen suffrage to School Board elections. This suffrage, however, is obtained without any direct citizen electoral involvement. Four municipalities——Barnesville, Chevy Chase Section 3, Chevy Chase Section 5, and Martin's Additions——provided the right for noncitizens to participate in the original incorporated Charter. Direct communication with local officials in these localities, however, indicated that the purpose of these Charter provisions may not have been to address noncitizen suffrage. Nine other cases were decided by elected Town, Village, or City Councilmembers.

Together, nearly three-quarters of noncitizen enfranchising provisions did not involve a vote from the general population. This is particularly true in Maryland, where all localities with noncitizen political participation were decided at the Charter or Council-Amendment level. In contrast, the electorate decided noncitizen voting policies in California and Vermont.[3]

[2]Alameda (CA); San Francisco (CA); Montgomery (MD); Prince's George (MD); Somerset (MD); Chittenden (VT); Washington (VT)

[3]In Vermont, this is in part due to state law governing municipality charter amendments and local elections in general (see 17 V.S.A. § 2645).

Table A.1: U.S. Local Voting Rights by State as of November 2023

State	Level	Legislation	Type	Approved Date	Approved %
		Enacted			
California					
Oakland	School Board	Noncitizen Residents Voting Measure	Ref.	Nov. 2022	66.58%
San Francisco	School Board	Non-Citizen Voting in School Board Elections (Prop. N)	Amend.–Ref.	Nov. 2016[a]	54.39%
Maryland					
Barnesville	Local	§ 74- 3	Charter	1918	
Cheverly	Local	Article V, § C-18.1	Amend.	2020	
Chevy Chase	Local	Article IV, § 401	Amend.	2018	
Chevy Chase Section 3	Local	Article III, § 301	Charter	1982[b]	
Chevy Chase Section 5	Local	Article III, § 301	Charter	1982[b]	
Garrett Park	Local	Article 3, § 78-20	Amend.	1999	
Glen Echo	Local	Article 5, §501	Amend.	1997	
Hyattsville	Local	Article IV § C4-1	Amend.	2016	
Martin's Additions	Local	Article III, § 301	Charter	1985[b]	
Mount Rainer	Local	Article V, § 502	Amend.	2017	
Riverdale Park	Local	Article V, § 501	Amend.	2018	
Somerset	Local	Article V, § 83-21	Amend.	1976	
Takoma Park	Local	Article VI, § 601	Amend.	1992	
Vermont					
Burlington	Local	24 App. V.S.A. Chapter 3, § 8a	Amend.–Ref.	Mar. 2023[c]	67.97%
Montpelier	Local	24 App. V.S.A. Chapter 5, § 1501	Amend.–Ref.	Nov. 2018[c]	65.75%
Winooski	Local	24 App. V.S.A. Chapter 19, § 202	Amend.–Ref.	Nov. 2020[c]	71.28%
		In Litigation			
New York					
New York City	Local	Int 1867-2020	Legislation	Dec. 2021[d]	
Washington, D.C.	Local	Local Resident Voting Rights Amend. Act	Legislation	Oct. 2022[e]	

[a] Ruled unconstitutional in July 2022. A stay was applied Aug. 2022 & upheld Aug. 2023

[b] Incorporation year

[c] Effective after the Legislature overrode a 2021 Governor veto in January 2023.

[d] Litigation ongoing due to a March 2023 lawsuit seeking an injunction

[e] Ruled unconstitutional in June 2022. An appeal is currently pending at the Appellate Division.

Table A.2 presents the abbreviated text of these locality-specific ballot measures. The text is abbreviated to include the most relevant section of each citizen ballot initiative and is all confirmed in the original source. As viewed here, all ballot measures are clear in that voting 'yes' would mean noncitizens would be able to vote in School Board or local-level elections. There is no apparent obscurity of the purpose of the initiative, with all measures stating noncitizens would be eligible to vote if the citizen ballot measure passes. Put simply, voters participating in the ballot initiatives at the time were likely aware that they were voting on expanding the local or School Board electorate to include noncitizens.

Table A.2: U.S. Local Voting Approval Referendum Text by State

State	Abbreviated Ballot Text
California	
Oakland	Shall the measure to amend the City Charter to...authorize voting by noncitizen residents, who are the parents, legal guardians, or legally recognized caregivers of a child, for the Office of Oakland School Board Director if they are otherwise eligible to vote under state and local law be adopted?
San Francisco	Shall the City allow a non-citizen resident of San Francisco who is of legal voting age and the parent, legal guardian or legally recognized caregiver of a child living in the San Francisco Unified School District to vote for members of the Board of Education?
Vermont	
Burlington	Shall the Charter of the City of Burlington...be further amended to add...: Requirements for Legal Resident Voters Who Are Not Citizens: (a) ...a legal resident who is not a citizen of the United States shall be a legal voter at a local City of Burlington or Burlington School District election if the individual meets the following qualifications: is a legal resident of the United States, is not less than 18 years of age, has taken the Voter's Oath, resides in the City of Burlington...and has registered to vote...
Montpelier	Shall the city amend the city charter by adding Subchapter 15 - Supplemental Voting Registry to Section II allowing non-citizen legal residents to vote on Montpelier city ballot items?
Winooski	Qualified Voters...Any person (including persons who are non-U.S. citizens...may register to vote in any City meeting or municipal election who, on election day: (i) Is a legal resident of the City; (ii) Has taken the voter's oath; and (iii) Is 18 years of age or older.

A.2 U.S. State Bans on Noncitizen Voting

Prior Appendices demonstrate the extent to which non-citizens vote within local elections in the U.S. Tables A.3 and A.4 provide information on the reverse policy trend: states prohibiting noncitizens from voting in any election. We replicate our data collection strategy by relying on original (e.g., public records, ballot measures), secondary (e.g., Immigrant Voting Rights Project, Ballotpedia), and media sources. **State** in both tables indicates the banning state, **Relevant Legislation** includes the location of the ban in state law, and

Type indicates whether the ban was instituted through a citizen ballot initiative or state constitution. **Approved Date** lists the years for Constitution-instituted bans, whereas months are included for ballot initiatives. **Approved %** report the proportion of referendum voters who voted in favor of the ban.

Table A.3: U.S. Local Voting Bans by State as of November 2023

State	Relevant Legislation	Type	Approved Date	Approved (%)
Alabama	Citizenship Req. Measure	Referendum	Nov. 2020	77.01%
Arizona	Section 7, Art. 2	Constitution	1912	–
Colorado	Citizenship Req. for Voting Init.	Referendum	Nov. 2020	62.90%
Florida	Citizen Req. for Voting Init.	Referendum	Nov. 2020	79.29%
Louisiana	Citizen Req. for Voting Measure	Referendum	Dec. 2022	73.44%
North Dakota	Citizen Req. for Voting Amend.	Referendum	Nov. 2018	65.93%
Ohio	Citizenship Voting Req. Amend.	Referendum	Nov. 2022	76.90%

Seven states explicitly ban noncitizens from voting in any election. Moreover, these bans are largely a recent phenomenon. Only Arizona includes an explicit ban on noncitizen voting within their constitution (1912). This does not, however, mean that the other 43 states would allow noncitizens to vote if localities decide to extend this right. Many state constitutions do not provide language that would expressly allow noncitizens to be part of the electorate. Prior analysis of election laws in the U.S. identified only twelve states without clear impediments to enfranchising noncitizens in local elections (Douglas, 2017).[4] Rather, much like the case of New York, state constitutions are interpreted with ambiguity as to whether noncitizens could be considered qualified voters in local elections. Thus, opponents of these initiatives were critical the measure was used as a means to drum up anti-immigrant sentiment or further suppress the vote among racially diverse and immigrant communities.[5]

The majority of these explicit state bans were passed through a public referendum. Half of the referendums were citizen initiatives, with two state bans (Florida, Colorado) introduced by the same individual—John Loudon of Citizen Voters, Incorporated. The third measure was supported by Gary Emineth—Republican state senator and North Dakotans for Citizen Voting chairperson. The remaining three states with citizen ballot initiatives (i.e., Alabama, Ohio, and Louisiana) were introduced through legislative session per state policy on introducing a public referendum. This pattern suggests that these initiatives were not grassroots efforts by the electorate keen to adopt a citizen-only model of local electoral participation. Instead, these initiatives were placed in front of citizens at the behest of two individuals and three state legislatures.[6]

[4]Arkansas, California, Illinois, Maryland, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin. Colorado and Ohio were also indicated before the passed referendum.

[5]See, for example, the Colorado ACLU public statement accusing the amendment of being "a part of a larger national anti-immigrant movement spreading unfounded and xenophobic narratives that undocumented people are fraudulently voting in election" (ACLU Colorado, 2022) and the official BlueBook opposition stated the measure "may result in voter confusion about state and local elections, and could discourage and even disenfranchise voters" (Legislative Council of the Colorado General Assembly. 2020. "2020 State Ballot Information Booklet." Research Publication No. 748-1, p.19).

[6]This is further relevant when compared to the grassroots drives of the local enfranchising initiatives.

Table A.4 presents the text of each local voting ban referendum. The text of these ballots presents important implications for our study. If voters were clearly aware that noncitizens would be banned from participating in local elections in these states, their responses to our survey could, in theory, be less about partisanship and more about conceptions of belonging to the local electorate, especially given the high approval of the bans presented in Table A.3.

Table A.4: U.S. Local Voting Ban Referendum Text by State

State	**Abbreviated Ballot Text**
Alabama	Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of Alabama of 1901, to amend Article VIII of the Constitution of Alabama of 1901, now appearing as Section 177 of the Official Recompilation of the Constitution of Alabama of 1901, as amended, to provide that only a citizen of the United States has the right to vote.
Colorado	Shall there be an amendment to the Colorado constitution requiring that to be qualified to vote at any election an individual must be a United States citizen?
Florida	This amendment provides that only United States Citizens who are at least eighteen years of age, a permanent resident of Florida, and registered to vote, as provided by law, shall be qualified to vote in a Florida election.
Louisiana	Do you support an amendment to provide that no person who is not a citizen of the United States shall be allowed to register and vote in this state?
North Dakota	This initiated measure would amend Article II of the North Dakota Constitution to state that "only a citizen" of the United States is a qualified elector, instead of the current provision that states "every citizen" of the United States is a qualified elector. The measure also would state that only a qualified elector may vote in any general, special, or primary election for a federal, statewide, state legislative, district, county, township, city, or school district office or ballot measure.
Ohio	The proposed amendment would: Require that only a citizen of the United States, who is at least 18 years of age and who has been a legal resident and registered voter for at least 30 days, can vote at any state or local election held in this state. Prohibit local governments from allowing a person to vote in local elections if they are not legally qualified to vote in state elections.

An evaluation of the initiative text suggests this is not likely. Namely, for this to be the case, the ballots would clearly communicate that approving the referendum would mean that noncitizens would not be eligible for local elections. The average readability scores, as estimated by the Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level indicator, reveal that an average of at least 16 years of formal education would be needed to understand the ballot text.[7] Only two states' readability was less than a high school level. The remaining two-thirds of the ballot measures required, at minimum, a four-year college degree and, at most, more than a Ph.D. or medical specialist degree. In other words, the ballot initiatives were, on average, phrased in such a

For example, the Montpelier, Vermont ballot measure was initiated because local citizen Roberta Garland collected 430 local signatures for a public referendum on the issue (Montpelier City Council Special Meeting, October 3, 2018).

[7]Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level scores for Alabama: 26; Colorado: 17; Florida: 16; Louisiana: 8; Ohio: 10; North Dakota: 21

way that only the highly educated would likely be able to understand the referendum.

Only two referendums expressly stated the successful passage of the initiative would ban noncitizens from voting in local elections—North Dakota and Ohio. The other four referendums only refer vaguely to elections. Voters could have easily understood these referendums as preventing noncitizens from participating in national or state legislature elections or as a simple constitutional change to reinstate this fact. For example, Alabama's plain language summary of the bill stated that the state constitution already grants U.S. citizens the right to vote.[8] Similarly, in Colorado, the state-provided ballot summary simply stated that a No vote would mean that "the current constitutional language allowing every eligible U.S. citizen to vote in Colorado elections will remain unchanged."[9] The ballot summary information was also similar in Louisiana, stating that the proposed constitutional amendment would expressly limit the "right to vote to U.S. and Louisiana citizens" to prohibit "noncitizens from registering and voting."[10]

These ballot measures were, at times, discussed in the media and within legislative debate as expressly relevant to local elections. The highly informed voters could be able to understand these measures as directly connected to local elections. Yet this itself is a rather unlikely event given the low awareness of ballot measures in the U.S. overall, even among the highly educated (Barth, Burnett and Parry, 2020). Moreover, some of this media reporting suggested these initiatives did not change the nature of noncitizen voting within the state.[11] Thus, only the highly educated and informed voters in these banning states are expected to be cognizant of the purpose of these bans to prevent noncitizens from ever voting in any local election within the state.

The majority of banning states possess Republican leadership. This means that Republicans may comprise the majority of registrants in banning states. Table A.5 reports the voter registration data for each state independently. Data is collected from each state's Secretary of State or Division of Electoral Board for two specific periods: directly before the survey fielding and at the time of the referendum. In states with non-partisan registration—such as Alabama, North Dakota, and Ohio—the proportion of registered voters per party is estimated through the Cooperative Election Study at each year of interest.

As viewed here, Republicans do not consistently comprise the majority of registered voters in these states. Instead, at most slightly more than a third of voters (36.17%) registered with the Republican party in any banning state according to state-reported registration data.[12] Put another way, the lowest proportion of registered Democratic voters in banning states

[8] "The state constitution grants the right to vote to U.S. citizens who meet certain requirements. This amendment does not change those requirements. If a majority of voters vote 'yes' for Amendment 1, the state constitution will grant the right to vote to 'only' those U.S. citizens who meet the requirements. If a majority of voters vote 'no' for Amendment 1, the state constitution will continue to grant the right to vote to 'every' U.S. citizen who meets the requirements." Alabama Secretary of State. "2020 Statewide November 3, 2020, General Election Constitutional Amendment Ballot Statements." Fair Ballot Commission.

[9] Legislative Council of the Colorado General Assembly. 2020. "2020 State Ballot Information Booklet." Research Publication No. 748-1

[10] 'Louisiana Secretary of State. 'Statement of Proposed Constitutional Amendments December 10, 2022"

[11] The Sun Sentinel argued the language change "is a distinction without a difference." Editorial Board. (2020, Oct. 10). 'Vote 'NO' on Florida Amendments 1 and 4; one is gimmicky, the other is misleading and dangerous.' Sun Sentinel.

[12] It is further important to note that Louisiana and Ohio bans occurred after fielding our survey.

Table A.5: Partisanship by State with Local Voting Bans

State	Referendum Year			Survey Year (2022)			2PV Share*
	Repub.	Other	Democrat	Repub.	Other	Democrat	(Dem. 2020)
Alabama[a]	33.37%	29.58%	34.60%	33.17%	28.66%	35.85%	36.8%
Arizona		—		33.78%	35.78%	30.91%	51.2%
Colorado	27.03%	43.46%	29.51%	24.89%	47.30%	27.81%	56.9%
Florida[b]	35.82%	27.62%	36.56%	36.17%	29.07%	34.76%	48.3%
Louisiana[c]	33.48%	27.21%	39.31%	33.29%	26.93%	39.79%	40.5%
North Dakota[a]	23.85%	42.31%	29.23%	31.86%	38.05%	27.43%	32.8%
Ohio[a,c]	27.81%	29.27%	39.48%	27.81%	29.27%	39.48%	45.9%

Sources: Arizona Secretary of State; Colorado Secretary of State; Florida Department of State Division of Elections; Louisiana Secretary of State; Federal Election Commission.

* Democratic two-party vote share in the 2020 Presidential election.

[a] Non-partisan registration. Estimates derived from the Cooperative Election Study of party id (pid3) of those who initiated they are registered voters (votereg) within the state. *Other* in these cases indicates to Independent or Other reported registration.

[b] Referendum % as of November 2020.

[c] Referendum % as of December 2022.

with party registration are Colorado and North Dakota——with more than a quarter of total voters (27.81% and 27.43%, respectively).

This does not mean these registered voters vote at all, let alone with their registered party identification. This is particularly important as three of the reported state estimates—Alabama, North Dakota, and Ohio—are based on Cooperative Election Study reporting of party affiliation and may not accurately reflect voter behavior and attitudes in these states. The last column of Table A.5 depicts the Democratic two-party vote share for the 2020 Presidential election. We use presidential vote share to assess the relative partisanship of states as the executive is the only race for which all states and territories hold concurrent, statewide elections with a Republican and Democrat on the ballot.

Even though several of these states do lean Republican, sizeable proportions of the state electorate voted for the Democratic candidate—from approximately one-third of voters in North Dakota and Alabama (32.8% and 36.8%, respectively) to over one-half of voters in Colorado and Arizona (56.9% and 51.2%, respectively).

This reveals that voters in every banning state represent a diverse voting population in registration and voting behavior.

B Summary Statistics and Balance across Experimental Conditions

Table B.1 presents a comparison of demographic, partisanship, and attitudinal variables between the convenience samples in the Florida Study and U.S. Study, and nationally representative samples of U.S. registered voters from the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) November Voting Supplement (for demographic variables), and the 2020 American National

Election Studies (ANES) Time Series Study (for partisanship and attitudinal variables).

The comparison between the characteristics of the Florida Study's sample and the CPS/ANES Florida subsample (which we note is not representative of the state) suggests that although the Florida Study's sample is representative of the state's sample in partisanship and attitudinal variables, it is not representative of all key demographic characteristics, in particular, of the state's college-educated population. Specifically, the share of college-educated respondents in our sample is larger than in the state's sample. It is possible that more educated respondents generally are less responsive to experimental manipulations. This may help explain why the treatment effects are smaller in the Florida Study than in the U.S. Study, as the share of college-educated respondents in the Florida Study is larger than in the U.S. Study. However, we note that the sample in the U.S. Study presents a similar demographic, partisan, and attitudinal profile to the nationally representative CPS and ANES samples, strengthening our confidence in the external validity of our results.

Table B.1: Summary Statistics

	Florida Study		**CPS/ANES Florida**		**U.S. Study**		**CPS/ANES U.S.**	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Male	0.533	0.499	0.475	0.499	0.465	0.499	0.470	0.499
College educated	0.748	0.434	0.494	0.500	0.471	0.499	0.503	0.500
Employed	0.444	0.497	0.537	0.499	0.562	0.496	0.591	0.492
Married or partnership	0.667	0.471	0.524	0.500	0.491	0.500	0.569	0.495
Region: Northeast	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.180	0.384	0.163	0.370
Region: Midwest	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.207	0.405	0.207	0.405
Region: South	1.000	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.451	0.498	0.368	0.482
Region: West	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.162	0.369	0.261	0.439
Race: White	0.878	0.328	0.840	0.367	0.761	0.427	0.831	0.375
Race: Black	0.035	0.185	0.119	0.324	0.156	0.363	0.101	0.302
Race: Asian	0.011	0.106	0.024	0.154	0.029	0.167	0.039	0.194
Race: other	0.080	0.271	0.017	0.127	0.055	0.228	0.028	0.166
Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.109	0.312	0.174	0.380	0.095	0.293	0.083	0.276
Native born	0.837	0.369	0.826	0.380	0.886	0.318	0.919	0.272
Party ID: Democrat	0.319	0.466	0.288	0.453	0.502	0.500	0.362	0.481
Party ID: Republican	0.327	0.469	0.361	0.481	0.498	0.500	0.315	0.464
Party ID: Independent	0.354	0.478	0.351	0.478			0.323	0.468
Strong partisan	0.761	0.426	0.765	0.425	0.627	0.484	0.696	0.460
Attitudes migrants	3.014	1.371	2.935	1.081	2.902	1.368	3.018	1.139
Interest local politics	4.032	0.945			3.798	1.093		

Notes: Comparison of summary statistics (means and standard deviations) between the convenience samples in the Florida and National Studies, and nationally representative samples of U.S. registered voters from the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) November Voting Supplement (demographic variables), and the 2020 American National Election Studies (ANES) Time Series Study (partisanship and attitudinal variables).

In Table B.2, we assess the balance of individual characteristics across experimental con-

Table B.2: Balance of Individual Characteristics across Treatment Conditions

	Mean T_0	Mean T_1	Mean T_2	Diff-in-Means T_0 vs T_1	p-value T_0 vs T_1	Diff-in-Means T_0 vs T_2	p-value T_0 vs T_2
Panel A: Florida Study							
Male	0.524	0.529	0.546	0.005	0.807	0.021	0.247
Race: White	0.869	0.882	0.882	0.013	0.294	0.013	0.301
Race: Black	0.036	0.033	0.037	-0.003	0.609	0.000	0.960
Race: Asian	0.014	0.008	0.012	-0.006	0.104	-0.002	0.679
College educated	0.747	0.755	0.743	0.008	0.634	-0.005	0.780
Hispanic	0.111	0.102	0.114	-0.009	0.435	0.002	0.832
Democrat	0.318	0.324	0.313	0.006	0.719	-0.005	0.782
Strong partisan	0.781	0.761	0.742	-0.020	0.310	-0.039	0.048
Employed	0.467	0.420	0.446	-0.048	0.010	-0.022	0.245
Married or partnership	0.673	0.674	0.654	0.000	0.989	-0.020	0.257
Native born	0.837	0.845	0.829	0.008	0.580	-0.008	0.573
Attitudes migrants	2.984	3.011	3.047	0.027	0.594	0.064	0.217
Interest local politics	4.045	4.028	4.024	-0.017	0.634	-0.021	0.551
N	1430	1430	1471				
Wald statistic					0.703		0.603
Panel B: U.S. Study							
Male	0.480	0.456	0.457	-0.024	0.241	-0.023	0.255
Race: White	0.781	0.738	0.763	-0.043	0.013	-0.018	0.295
Race: Black	0.143	0.167	0.159	0.024	0.103	0.016	0.267
Race: Asian	0.025	0.038	0.024	0.013	0.064	-0.000	0.938
College educated	0.484	0.460	0.469	-0.025	0.226	-0.016	0.442
Hispanic	0.094	0.093	0.097	-0.001	0.918	0.002	0.851
Democrat	0.507	0.518	0.483	0.011	0.588	-0.024	0.246
Strong partisan	0.640	0.609	0.633	-0.031	0.114	-0.008	0.701
Employed	0.575	0.539	0.571	-0.036	0.072	-0.004	0.843
Married or partnership	0.494	0.469	0.510	-0.025	0.215	0.016	0.427
Native born	0.874	0.894	0.889	0.021	0.112	0.016	0.233
Attitudes migrants	2.930	2.896	2.881	-0.033	0.549	-0.048	0.387
Interest local politics	3.829	3.763	3.800	-0.066	0.142	-0.028	0.521
N	1220	1194	1203				
Wald statistic					0.050		0.803

Notes: Compares average individual characteristics across experimental conditions. T_0, T_1, T_2 stand for no-, co-, and counter-partisan conditions, respectively. The p-values correspond to the *t-statistic* of the difference-in-means test across experimental conditions, except for the p-value of the *Wald-statistic* from a permutation test of covariate balance, testing for the hypothesis that all the coefficients from a regression of treatment conditions on the covariates are zero.

ditions for the Florida Study (Panel A) and the U.S. Study (Panel B).[13] The first three

[13]Note that 35% of participants in the Florida Study are Independents. In the co-partisan condition, Independents read that many noncitizens would likely vote Independent, and in the counter-partisan condition, 50% of the time about likely voting Democratic.

columns present average values for each of the three conditions, and the last four columns present condition-wise values for the difference-in-means and the p-values for the t-statistic of this test. In addition to the difference-in-means test, we assess covariate balance with a permutation test assessing the hypothesis that all the coefficients from a regression of treatment condition on the covariates are zero. The table presents the p-value for the heteroskedasticity-robust Wald statistic of this test.

The difference-in-means tests between experimental conditions show no statistically significant differences between the no- and the co- and counter-partisan conditions with regards to demographic (except for *Employed* and *Race: White* between the no- and co-partisan conditions in the Florida Study and U.S. Study, respectively), partisanship and attitudinal covariates. Moreover, we cannot reject the null hypothesis that all the coefficients from the regression of treatment condition on the covariates are zero. The results of these balance tests suggest that the randomization worked as intended. Observing balance across experimental conditions is also reassuring that by including covariates in our regression models we improve our estimates' efficiency without inducing bias due to model extrapolation.

C Estimation Method

We estimate the effects of the co- and counter-partisan treatments on support for noncitizen voting rights with the following linear model:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 T_{i\in 1} + \beta_2 T_{i\in 2} + \gamma X_i + \epsilon_i$$

where Y_i is one of four outcomes measured for participant i. $T_{i\in 1}$, $T_{i\in 2}$ denote i's assignment to treatment ($T_{i\in 1} = 1$ if i is assigned to the co-partisan condition, and $T_{i\in 2} = 1$ if assigned to the counter-partisan condition). For efficiency gains, we control for X_i, a vector of covariate values for participant i, including demographic characteristics and pre-treatment interest in local politics and attitudes toward immigrants. ϵ_i is the error term. $\hat{\beta}_1$ and $\hat{\beta}_2$ capture the average effect of the co- and counter-partisan conditions, respectively, on support for noncitizen voting rights.

D Treatment Effect Discussion, Figures and Tables

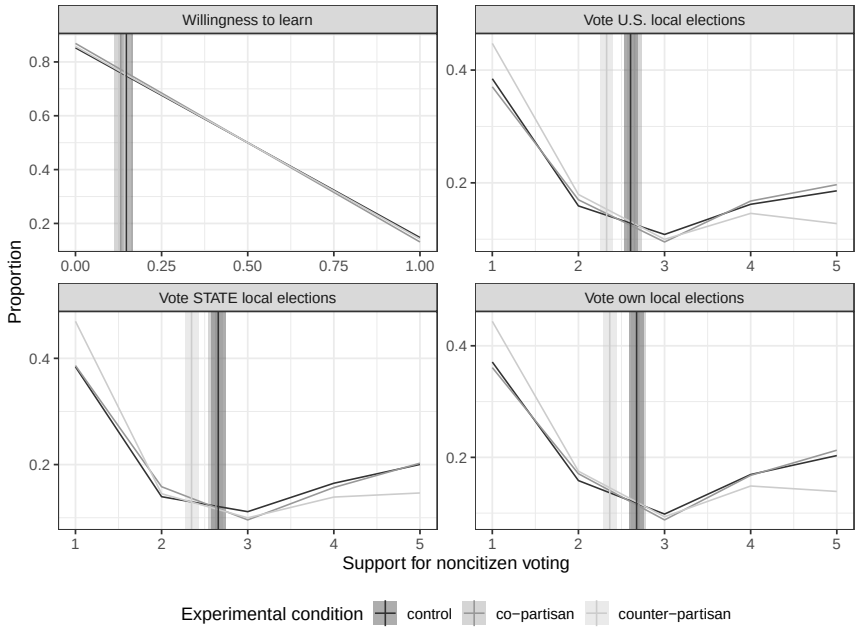
In this section, we first report and discuss average treatment effects across the two studies, followed by a discussion on partisan treatment effects across the two studies.

D.1 Main Treatment Effects

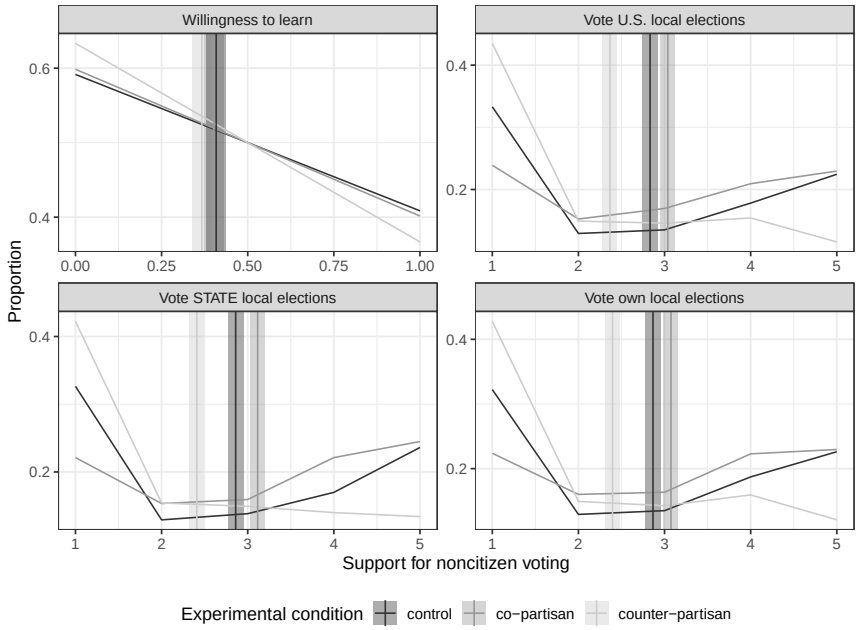
Figure D.1 displays the distribution of the raw outcomes by experimental condition. The distributions suggest that relative to the control condition, the co-partisan condition moves voters from low levels of support to medium levels, while the counter-partisan condition moves voters from high to low levels of support.

Table D.1, Table D.2 and Table D.3 present estimates of the average treatment effects and their confidence intervals for model specifications without and with covariate adjustment

Figure D.1: Raw outcome distribution by treatment condition



(a) Florida Study



(b) U.S. Study

Notes: Distribution of raw outcomes by treatment condition. Vertical lines indicate the mean value, and bands the standard error.

for the Pooled sample (pooling together the samples of the Florida Study and U.S. Study), and the samples in the Florida Study and U.S. Study, respectively. The estimated coefficients suggest that partisan alignment between U.S. voters and (many) noncitizens increases American voters' support for noncitizen voting rights in local elections. In contrast, in the absence of partisan alignment, support for this same policy decreases. The counter-partisan treatment effect is statistically significant in the Florida Study, the U.S. Study, and in the Pooled sample. The co-partisan treatment effect, on the contrary, is statistically significant in the U.S. Study and the Pooled sample but not in the Florida Study. These differences between studies are also displayed in Figure D.2, which excludes Independent registered voters in Florida to compare similar samples. Figure D.2 suggests that the co-partisan effect in the Florida Study is weaker across the three attitudinal outcomes than in the U.S. Study.

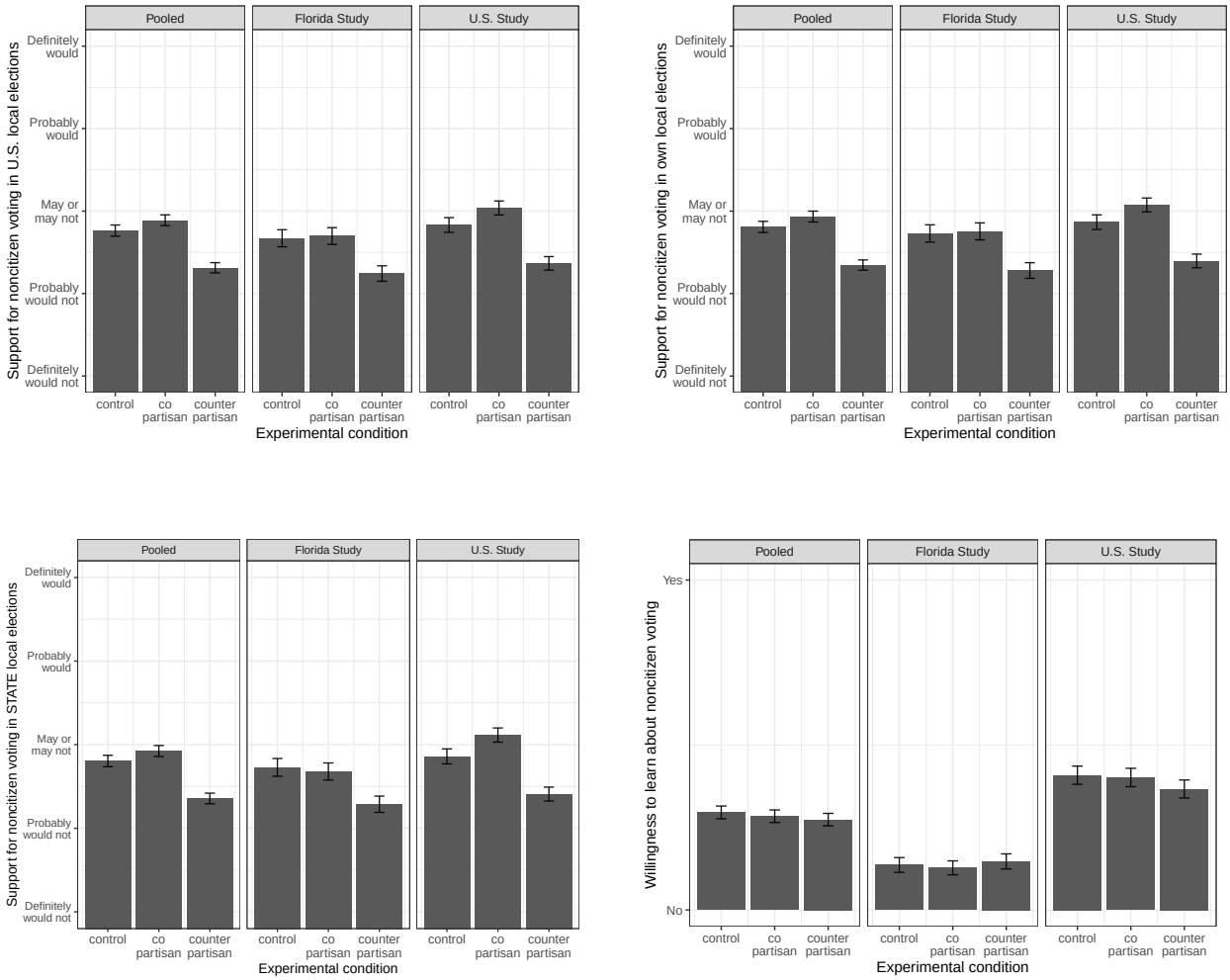
Below, we provide possible explanations for this difference in co-partisan treatment effects across the two studies. However, before we do so, we note that our investigation centers on understanding whether, on average, U.S. voters are principled or pragmatic in their attitudes toward noncitizen enfranchisement, and that as such, *a priori* we did not theorize differences across contexts (or studies), as this differences may not directly inform the question of voters' policy motivations, let alone the endogeneity of contextual factors.[14]

There are at least three possible explanations for finding relatively smaller (and statistically insignificant) co-partisan effects in the Florida Study: First, it is possible that due to the precedent set by the 2020 state constitutional referendum, Florida voters may be less inclined to overrule a public mandate less than two years old. Second, it is also possible that voters in Florida may have more resistance to the experimental manipulations, as voters may have a stronger prior of the stakes involved in expanding the political franchise to noncitizens or about noncitizen vote choices. These priors may have been formed due to exposure to the referendum process and the informational environment around the referendum. Indeed, while in the U.S. Study, 39% of the respondents in the control condition expressed a willingness to learn more about noncitizen voting in other states, only 14% in Florida did so (see the bottom-right panel in Figure 2 in the main text), suggesting that strong priors among Floridians may explain the weaker treatment effects. If voters' strong priors were formed out of their exposure to the informational environment of the referendum, then we would expect that voters in other states with recent referendum processes (Alabama, Colorado, Louisiana, and North Dakota) would exhibit a similar disinterest in learning about noncitizen voting policies. We do not find that this is the case: splitting the U.S. Study sample into states with a recent referendum and states without a referendum, we observe that among respondents in the control condition, willingness to learn more about noncitizen voting is actually slightly higher among respondents in states with a recent referendum: 42% vs. 40% in states without a recent referendum. Although it is possible that a referendum may have established a strong prior about the stakes of noncitizen voting, the data is not strongly consistent with such a possibility. Third, it is also possible that the co-partisan effects in the Florida Study are smaller in magnitude than in the U.S. Study because the Florida sample over-represents the college-educated: 75% of respondents have a college degree compared to 50% of the population (see Table B.1). Therefore, this sample may be more representative

[14]We note that for this reason, we did not pre-register hypotheses contrasting treatment effect magnitudes across the two studies.

of a sophisticated rather than the average voter represented in the U.S. Study, and as such, may have had more awareness of the experimental manipulations, responding less to them.

Figure D.2: Support for noncitizen local suffrage by treatment groups (excluding Independent registered voters)



Notes: Displays mean responses by treatment group and 95% confidence intervals. The sample includes Democratic and Republican registered voters in Florida and nationally (U.S. Study).

Table D.1: Treatment effects on support for non-citizen local voting rights in Pooled sample

	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
constant	2.710*	2.765*	2.753*	0.271*	1.653*	1.688*	1.835*	0.109*
	[2.649; 2.771]	[2.703; 2.826]	[2.691; 2.814]	[0.254; 0.289]	[1.472; 1.835]	[1.507; 1.869]	[1.650; 2.019]	[0.049; 0.169]
co-partisan	0.121*	0.109*	0.102*	−0.012	0.133*	0.119*	0.113*	−0.011
	[0.035; 0.207]	[0.023; 0.195]	[0.015; 0.189]	[−0.037; 0.013]	[0.064; 0.203]	[0.050; 0.189]	[0.041; 0.184]	[−0.035; 0.013]
counter-partisan	−0.359*	−0.380*	−0.370*	−0.023	−0.349*	−0.371*	−0.362*	−0.022
	[−0.442; −0.275]	[−0.463; −0.296]	[−0.455; −0.286]	[−0.048; 0.001]	[−0.417; −0.281]	[−0.440; −0.303]	[−0.432; −0.291]	[−0.046; 0.002]
college					−0.063*	−0.045	−0.048	−0.046*
					[−0.123; −0.004]	[−0.105; 0.015]	[−0.110; 0.013]	[−0.067; −0.025]
male					−0.107*	−0.123*	−0.145*	−0.038*
					[−0.163; −0.050]	[−0.180; −0.066]	[−0.203; −0.086]	[−0.057; −0.018]
white					−0.129*	−0.127*	−0.144*	−0.102*
					[−0.212; −0.047]	[−0.208; −0.045]	[−0.227; −0.060]	[−0.131; −0.073]
latino					0.110*	0.100	0.080	0.015
					[0.009; 0.212]	[−0.003; 0.203]	[−0.022; 0.183]	[−0.021; 0.050]
republican					−0.793*	−0.765*	−0.752*	−0.018
					[−0.862; −0.724]	[−0.834; −0.695]	[−0.823; −0.682]	[−0.041; 0.004]
strong partisan					0.170*	0.151*	0.161*	−0.001
					[0.111; 0.230]	[0.091; 0.211]	[0.100; 0.222]	[−0.021; 0.020]
employed					0.141*	0.112*	0.139*	0.044*
					[0.083; 0.198]	[0.054; 0.169]	[0.080; 0.198]	[0.024; 0.063]
married/partner					−0.103*	−0.104*	−0.118*	−0.025*
					[−0.162; −0.044]	[−0.164; −0.044]	[−0.179; −0.056]	[−0.045; −0.004]
attitudes migrants					0.437*	0.452*	0.427*	0.033*
					[0.413; 0.461]	[0.428; 0.476]	[0.402; 0.452]	[0.026; 0.041]
native born					0.080	0.079	0.040	0.017
					[−0.007; 0.168]	[−0.010; 0.168]	[−0.051; 0.130]	[−0.012; 0.046]
interest politics					0.021	0.018	0.008	0.045*
					[−0.007; 0.050]	[−0.011; 0.047]	[−0.021; 0.038]	[0.036; 0.055]
cov	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.017	0.018	0.017	0.000	0.339	0.340	0.312	0.045
Num. obs.	7704	7703	7704	7425	7704	7703	7704	7425

Presents estimates of average treatment effects and heteroskedasticity-consistent 95% CIs without and with covariate adjustment for the Pooled sample (pooling together the Florida Study and U.S. Study). The sample includes Democratic, Republican and Independent (for Florida Study only) registered voters who answered covariate and outcome questions. * Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table D.2: Treatment effects on support for non-citizen local voting rights in Florida Study

	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
constant	2.608*	2.679*	2.663*	0.148*	1.913*	1.975*	2.147*	0.116*
	[2.525; 2.692]	[2.595; 2.764]	[2.578; 2.747]	[0.128; 0.167]	[1.620; 2.207]	[1.682; 2.268]	[1.846; 2.447]	[0.039; 0.194]
co-partisan	0.045	0.024	−0.031	−0.017	0.049	0.026	−0.028	−0.016
	[−0.073; 0.163]	[−0.096; 0.143]	[−0.151; 0.089]	[−0.043; 0.010]	[−0.043; 0.140]	[−0.066; 0.118]	[−0.124; 0.068]	[−0.042; 0.011]
counter-partisan	−0.270*	−0.305*	−0.303*	−0.004	−0.286*	−0.321*	−0.317*	−0.003
	[−0.383; −0.156]	[−0.420; −0.189]	[−0.419; −0.186]	[−0.031; 0.023]	[−0.379; −0.194]	[−0.414; −0.228]	[−0.414; −0.220]	[−0.030; 0.023]
college					−0.010	−0.012	0.042	−0.010
					[−0.098; 0.078]	[−0.101; 0.078]	[−0.051; 0.135]	[−0.035; 0.015]
male					−0.113*	−0.142*	−0.178*	−0.027*
					[−0.189; −0.037]	[−0.219; −0.065]	[−0.258; −0.097]	[−0.049; −0.005]
white					0.015	−0.010	0.035	−0.058*
					[−0.115; 0.145]	[−0.142; 0.122]	[−0.097; 0.166]	[−0.096; −0.019]
latino					0.096	0.108	0.062	0.009
					[−0.045; 0.237]	[−0.035; 0.251]	[−0.079; 0.203]	[−0.029; 0.048]
republican					−1.113*	−1.131*	−1.064*	−0.059*
					[−1.231; −0.995]	[−1.249; −1.013]	[−1.185; −0.943]	[−0.091; −0.026]
independent					−0.574*	−0.573*	−0.578*	−0.028
					[−0.690; −0.459]	[−0.690; −0.457]	[−0.696; −0.459]	[−0.060; 0.004]
strong partisan					0.073	0.083	0.063	−0.020
					[−0.016; 0.162]	[−0.007; 0.172]	[−0.028; 0.154]	[−0.044; 0.005]
employed					0.040	0.014	0.053	0.000
					[−0.038; 0.117]	[−0.064; 0.092]	[−0.029; 0.134]	[−0.022; 0.022]
married/partner					−0.067	−0.046	−0.092*	0.003
					[−0.150; 0.015]	[−0.130; 0.037]	[−0.179; −0.005]	[−0.021; 0.026]
attitudes migrants					0.431*	0.444*	0.400*	0.021*
					[0.397; 0.465]	[0.410; 0.477]	[0.365; 0.435]	[0.011; 0.030]
native born					0.001	0.040	−0.034	−0.002
					[−0.113; 0.115]	[−0.076; 0.155]	[−0.153; 0.085]	[−0.033; 0.029]
interest politics					−0.002	−0.008	−0.020	0.020*
					[−0.043; 0.039]	[−0.050; 0.033]	[−0.064; 0.023]	[0.009; 0.031]
cov	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.008	0.009	0.007	−0.000	0.364	0.372	0.318	0.023
Num. obs.	4135	4135	4135	3920	4135	4135	4135	3920

Presents estimates of average treatment effects and heteroskedasticity-consistent 95% CIs without and with covariate adjustment for the Florida Study. The sample includes Democratic, Republican and Independent registered voters who answered covariate and outcome questions. * Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table D.3: Treatment effects on support for non-citizen local voting rights in U.S. Study

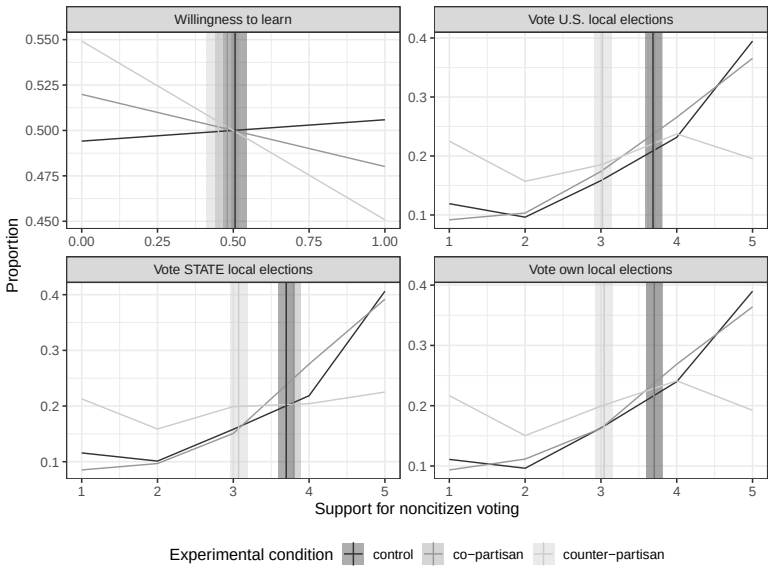
	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
constant	2.826*	2.862*	2.855*	0.407*	1.828*	1.859*	1.921*	0.034
	[2.736; 2.916]	[2.772; 2.951]	[2.765; 2.945]	[0.379; 0.435]	[1.578; 2.077]	[1.607; 2.110]	[1.670; 2.173]	[−0.057; 0.124]
co-partisan	0.211*	0.210*	0.257*	−0.005	0.220*	0.219*	0.266*	0.001
	[0.087; 0.334]	[0.087; 0.333]	[0.133; 0.381]	[−0.045; 0.034]	[0.121; 0.319]	[0.120; 0.319]	[0.167; 0.365]	[−0.037; 0.039]
counter-partisan	−0.459*	−0.464*	−0.446*	−0.040*	−0.415*	−0.420*	−0.402*	−0.033
	[−0.581; −0.337]	[−0.586; −0.342]	[−0.569; −0.323]	[−0.080; −0.001]	[−0.513; −0.317]	[−0.518; −0.321]	[−0.501; −0.303]	[−0.071; 0.005]
college					0.048	0.072	0.047	0.050*
					[−0.035; 0.130]	[−0.011; 0.155]	[−0.036; 0.131]	[0.018; 0.082]
male					−0.023	−0.024	−0.030	−0.026
					[−0.104; 0.059]	[−0.106; 0.058]	[−0.112; 0.052]	[−0.057; 0.006]
white					−0.103	−0.093	−0.107	−0.021
					[−0.212; 0.005]	[−0.199; 0.014]	[−0.216; 0.002]	[−0.063; 0.020]
latino					0.203*	0.168*	0.172*	0.058*
					[0.058; 0.347]	[0.024; 0.313]	[0.029; 0.316]	[0.002; 0.115]
republican					−0.985*	−0.911*	−0.963*	−0.110*
					[−1.088; −0.882]	[−1.015; −0.808]	[−1.067; −0.860]	[−0.147; −0.073]
strong partisan					0.049	0.007	0.033	−0.009
					[−0.036; 0.134]	[−0.078; 0.093]	[−0.052; 0.118]	[−0.042; 0.024]
employed					0.163*	0.133*	0.131*	0.011
					[0.079; 0.247]	[0.049; 0.217]	[0.046; 0.216]	[−0.021; 0.043]
married/partner					−0.027	−0.058	−0.018	0.018
					[−0.111; 0.056]	[−0.142; 0.027]	[−0.103; 0.067]	[−0.014; 0.050]
attitudes migrants					0.364*	0.383*	0.379*	0.038*
					[0.328; 0.401]	[0.346; 0.419]	[0.343; 0.416]	[0.025; 0.051]
native born					0.104	0.053	0.044	−0.017
					[−0.029; 0.236]	[−0.082; 0.188]	[−0.090; 0.178]	[−0.068; 0.033]
interest politics					0.069*	0.070*	0.061*	0.084*
					[0.030; 0.109]	[0.030; 0.110]	[0.021; 0.101]	[0.070; 0.098]
cov	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.032	0.033	0.035	0.001	0.363	0.355	0.363	0.084
Num. obs.	3569	3568	3569	3505	3569	3568	3569	3505

Presents estimates of average treatment effects and heteroskedasticity-consistent 95% CIs without and with covariate adjustment for U.S. Study. The sample includes Democratic and Republican registered voters who answered covariate and outcome questions. * Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

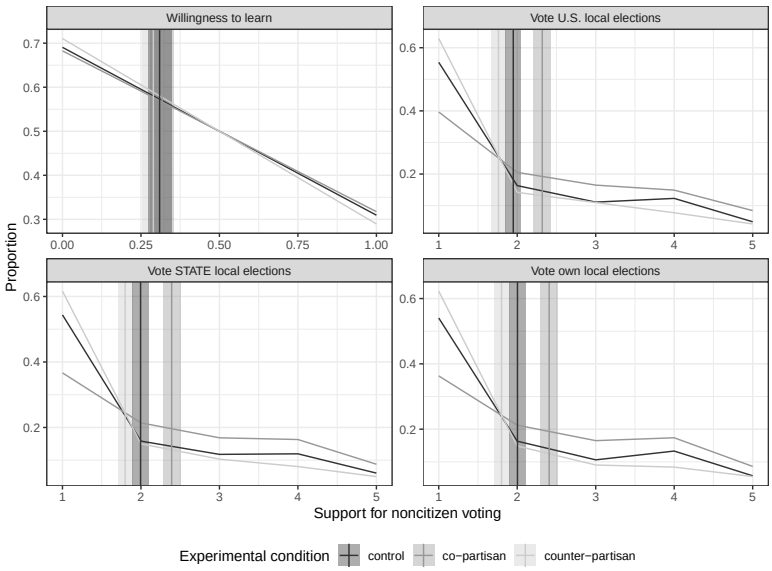
D.2 Partisan Treatment Effects

Figure D.3 shows the distribution of the raw outcomes by experimental condition in the U.S. Study separately for Democrats and Republicans.

Figure D.3: Raw outcome distribution by treatment condition and partisanship in the U.S. Study



(a) Democrats



(b) Republicans

Notes: Distribution of outcomes by treatment condition. Vertical lines indicate the mean value and bands the standard error.

Table D.4, Table D.5, Table D.6, Table D.7, Table D.8 and Table D.9 present estimates of the average treatment effects and their confidence intervals for model specifications without and with covariate adjustment for 1) the Pooled sample (pooling together the samples of the Florida Study and U.S. Study) separately for Democrats and Republicans, 2) the sample in the Florida Study separately for Democrats and Republicans, and 3) the sample in the U.S. Study separately for Democrats and Republicans. The sign of the estimates suggest that Democrats and Republicans appear rather pragmatic about their attitudes toward noncitizen enfranchisement: voters increase their support for noncitizen suffrage when they read that many noncitizens would vote for their party, and decrease their support when noncitizens would vote for the other party. Such a pragmatic motive is particularly evident from the negative estimate of the counter-partisan treatment effect among Democrats and the positive estimate of the co-partisan treatment effect among Republicans.

These estimate tables also suggest that the magnitude of the treatment effects is different for Democrats and Republicans in the U.S. Study (and in the Pooled Sample). Particularly, the positive co-partisan treatment effect is larger among Republicans, and the negative counter-partisan treatment effect is greater (in absolute terms) among Democrats. We note that we neither pre-registered hypotheses related to these differential treatment effects nor pre-registered a power analysis that accounted for such differences in estimates. However, we consider a possible explanation for differences in treatment effect magnitudes across Democrats and Republicans.[15]

This explanation relies on two assumptions. First, voters in the control condition may generally expect that many noncitizens would vote for the Democratic Party, and second, that voters respond more strongly to the experimental manipulation when their expectations contradict the framing in the experimental vignettes. If the first assumption is true, then the expectations of Democratic voters are more dissimilar from the experimental manipulation framing in the counter-partisan condition (i.e., that many noncitizens vote Republican) than in the co-partisan condition (i.e., that many noncitizens vote Democrat). Similarly, the manipulation framing is most different for a Republican voter in the co-partisan condition (i.e., that does not generally align with a voter's expectation) than in the counter-partisan condition (i.e., that is generally consistent with a voter's expectation). If both assumptions are true, Democratic voters would respond most strongly to the counter-partisan condition, whereas Republican voters would respond most strongly to the co-partisan condition.

The magnitude of the treatment effect coefficients indeed suggests this. For example, among Democratic voters in the Pooled sample, the co-partisan treatment effect is equivalent to a 6% increase in support for noncitizen voting relative to the control condition, and the counter-partisan treatment effect is equivalent to a 40% decrease (see Column 5 Table D.4). In contrast, among Republican voters, the co-partisan treatment effect is equivalent to a 14% increase, whereas the counter-partisan treatment effect is equivalent to a 12% decrease (Column 5 Table D.5).

This explanation is also consistent with the observation of the smaller co-partisan treatment effect in the Florida Study compared to the U.S. Study (see Table D.2 and Table D.3). As mentioned above, the co-partisan treatment generates a stronger response among Republicans, possibly because it alters their expectations about noncitizen vote choices to a greater

[15]We provide this explanation in response to the three anonymous reviewers.

degree. It is possible that the expectations of Republican voters may have been affected to a lesser degree in the Florida Study as the share of the immigrant-origin population supporting the Republican Party is larger in Florida than nationally (see Supplemental Material A.1.3 in the Dataverse). In other words, many in the control condition may have consequently expected noncitizens to vote Republican. As such, Republicans respond with less intensity to the co-partisan manipulation in the Florida Study (a 2.7% increase in noncitizen voting support, see Column 5 in Table D.7) than in the U.S. Study (a 26% increase, see Column 5 in Table D.9).

Overall, this explanation for the differences in treatment effects across Democrats and Republicans is consistent with a characterization of voters as pragmatic. Voter support for noncitizen voting rights is based on the policy's expected partisan gains. When voters generally expect noncitizens to vote for the Democratic Party, pragmatic Democratic voters should not meaningfully adjust their level of support in the co-partisan condition as the expected gains from the policy are more or less the same as in the control condition. In contrast, pragmatic Republican voters greatly increase their support for noncitizen voting in the co-partisan condition as the expected gains from the policy are higher than those in the control condition. Below we assess whether the differences in treatment effects across Democrats and Republicans can be explained instead by ceiling and floor effects. We do not find strong evidence that this is the case.

D.2.1 Ceiling and Floor Effects

Support for noncitizen voting rights in the control condition is, on average, larger among Democratic voters than Republican voters (see the vertical lines in Figure D.3). This baseline difference in support for noncitizen voting rights across Democrats and Republicans may explain the difference in the magnitude of the treatment effects across Democrats and Republicans. For example, the co-partisan treatment effect among Republicans may be larger than among Democrats because Republican voters start from a lower level of baseline support and, therefore, may have more room than Democrats to increase their support. Similarly, the counter-partisan effect on Democratic support may be larger (in absolute terms) than among Republicans because Republicans have less room to decrease their support, given that they start at a lower level.

We do not find, however, strong evidence of ceiling effects among Democrats in the co-partisan condition or floor effects among Republicans in the counter-partisan condition. Particularly, we follow Liu and Wang (2021) in estimating a t-statistic from a two-independent-samples t-test of difference in means, computed with estimates of means and variances which account for possible ceiling/floor effects. Contrasting such a t-statistic with a t-statistic with the actual means and variances, we do not find differences across them. In fact, in the case of the difference in means test among Democrats contrasting the co-partisan and control conditions, we find that the adjusted t-statistic is *smaller* than the actual t-statistic——disputing the presence of ceiling effects. Moreover, in both cases, we find that we cannot reject the null hypothesis of equality of means across treatment groups. Similarly, when we contrast the t-statistics among Republicans that result from comparing the means across the counter-partisan and control conditions, we find that the adjusted t-statistic is smaller (or about the same size, depending on the outcome) than the unadjusted statistic. This contradicts the

presence of floor effects in the actual data. We therefore reject the null of difference in means with both statistics, consistent with the reported treatment effects.

Table D.4: Treatment effects on support for non-citizen local voting rights among Democrats in Pooled sample

	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
constant	3.700*	3.754*	3.735*	0.376*	1.645*	1.648*	1.711*	0.124*
	[3.618; 3.782]	[3.673; 3.835]	[3.652; 3.818]	[0.346; 0.406]	[1.376; 1.914]	[1.380; 1.915]	[1.437; 1.985]	[0.028; 0.221]
co-partisan	0.050	0.011	0.008	−0.024	0.100	0.063	0.056	−0.023
	[−0.064; 0.164]	[−0.102; 0.125]	[−0.109; 0.124]	[−0.066; 0.018]	[−0.005; 0.204]	[−0.041; 0.166]	[−0.051; 0.164]	[−0.065; 0.018]
counter-partisan	−0.669*	−0.691*	−0.679*	−0.028	−0.664*	−0.686*	−0.676*	−0.032
	[−0.790; −0.548]	[−0.811; −0.571]	[−0.802; −0.556]	[−0.071; 0.014]	[−0.777; −0.551]	[−0.798; −0.574]	[−0.790; −0.561]	[−0.074; 0.010]
college					0.035	0.085	0.038	−0.034
					[−0.060; 0.131]	[−0.011; 0.181]	[−0.060; 0.136]	[−0.071; 0.003]
male					−0.022	−0.013	−0.036	−0.023
					[−0.112; 0.068]	[−0.103; 0.077]	[−0.128; 0.057]	[−0.058; 0.011]
white					−0.098	−0.090	−0.095	−0.088*
					[−0.204; 0.007]	[−0.195; 0.014]	[−0.203; 0.012]	[−0.128; −0.048]
latino					0.088	0.101	0.126	0.031
					[−0.053; 0.229]	[−0.041; 0.244]	[−0.016; 0.268]	[−0.022; 0.085]
strong partisan					0.209*	0.201*	0.152*	−0.027
					[0.105; 0.313]	[0.097; 0.304]	[0.047; 0.257]	[−0.066; 0.012]
employed					0.246*	0.224*	0.237*	0.057*
					[0.155; 0.337]	[0.133; 0.314]	[0.143; 0.331]	[0.023; 0.091]
married/partner					−0.023	−0.023	−0.039	−0.012
					[−0.115; 0.070]	[−0.115; 0.070]	[−0.135; 0.056]	[−0.047; 0.022]
attitudes migrants					0.435*	0.442*	0.434*	0.008
					[0.389; 0.480]	[0.397; 0.488]	[0.387; 0.481]	[−0.008; 0.024]
native born					0.067	0.071	0.052	0.042
					[−0.066; 0.200]	[−0.063; 0.204]	[−0.082; 0.187]	[−0.006; 0.091]
interest politics					0.043	0.042	0.052*	0.069*
					[−0.005; 0.091]	[−0.006; 0.089]	[0.003; 0.101]	[0.053; 0.086]
cov	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.053	0.054	0.049	0.000	0.189	0.195	0.177	0.033
Num. obs.	3105	3104	3105	2994	3105	3104	3105	2994

Presents estimates of average treatment effects and heteroskedasticity-consistent 95% CIs without and with covariate adjustment for the Pooled sample (pooling together Study 1 and Study 2). The sample includes Democratic registered voters who answered covariate and outcome questions. * Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table D.5: Treatment effects on support for non-citizen local voting rights among Republicans in Pooled sample

	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
constant	1.807*	1.845*	1.854*	0.214*	1.457*	1.595*	1.744*	0.117*
	[1.734; 1.880]	[1.770; 1.920]	[1.778; 1.930]	[0.188; 0.239]	[1.173; 1.742]	[1.313; 1.876]	[1.454; 2.034]	[0.016; 0.217]
co-partisan	0.221*	0.254*	0.247*	0.004	0.208*	0.240*	0.238*	0.006
	[0.114; 0.328]	[0.145; 0.363]	[0.137; 0.357]	[−0.032; 0.040]	[0.107; 0.309]	[0.137; 0.343]	[0.133; 0.343]	[−0.030; 0.042]
counter-partisan	−0.160*	−0.165*	−0.147*	−0.007	−0.169*	−0.176*	−0.154*	−0.005
	[−0.259; −0.061]	[−0.267; −0.064]	[−0.251; −0.043]	[−0.043; 0.028]	[−0.262; −0.077]	[−0.270; −0.082]	[−0.252; −0.056]	[−0.040; 0.030]
college					−0.093*	−0.095*	−0.092*	−0.038*
					[−0.175; −0.010]	[−0.178; −0.011]	[−0.178; −0.006]	[−0.068; −0.008]
male					−0.049	−0.079	−0.084	−0.026
					[−0.129; 0.031]	[−0.160; 0.003]	[−0.169; 0.000]	[−0.055; 0.003]
white					−0.153	−0.165	−0.162	−0.072*
					[−0.323; 0.017]	[−0.334; 0.004]	[−0.335; 0.011]	[−0.134; −0.011]
latino					0.020	0.038	−0.033	0.002
					[−0.159; 0.199]	[−0.143; 0.219]	[−0.212; 0.146]	[−0.059; 0.064]
strong partisan					−0.161*	−0.163*	−0.117*	−0.039*
					[−0.249; −0.073]	[−0.253; −0.074]	[−0.208; −0.026]	[−0.072; −0.007]
employed					0.132*	0.106*	0.122*	0.040*
					[0.052; 0.212]	[0.025; 0.187]	[0.037; 0.206]	[0.011; 0.069]
married/partner					−0.119*	−0.139*	−0.144*	−0.021
					[−0.204; −0.034]	[−0.226; −0.052]	[−0.234; −0.054]	[−0.052; 0.010]
attitudes migrants					0.273*	0.292*	0.258*	0.035*
					[0.237; 0.309]	[0.256; 0.329]	[0.222; 0.295]	[0.023; 0.047]
native born					0.067	0.020	−0.033	−0.013
					[−0.065; 0.200]	[−0.117; 0.157]	[−0.177; 0.110]	[−0.061; 0.035]
interest politics					0.007	−0.005	−0.019	0.039*
					[−0.033; 0.046]	[−0.046; 0.035]	[−0.060; 0.023]	[0.025; 0.053]
cov	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.016	0.019	0.016	−0.001	0.124	0.136	0.107	0.030
Num. obs.	3136	3136	3136	3050	3136	3136	3136	3050

Presents estimates of average treatment effects and heteroskedasticity-consistent 95% CIs without and with covariate adjustment for the Pooled sample (pooling together Study 1 and Study 2). The sample includes Republican registered voters who answered covariate and outcome questions. * Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table D.6: Treatment effects on support for non-citizen local voting rights among Democratic voters in Florida Study

	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
constant	3.726*	3.833*	3.795*	0.195*	1.758*	1.786*	1.778*	0.051
	[3.604; 3.848]	[3.712; 3.954]	[3.669; 3.920]	[0.157; 0.233]	[1.246; 2.270]	[1.280; 2.292]	[1.251; 2.306]	[−0.090; 0.192]
co-partisan	0.075	0.027	−0.119	−0.029	0.128	0.078	−0.071	−0.027
	[−0.099; 0.249]	[−0.146; 0.201]	[−0.302; 0.064]	[−0.081; 0.024]	[−0.034; 0.290]	[−0.083; 0.239]	[−0.245; 0.102]	[−0.080; 0.025]
counter-partisan	−0.687*	−0.747*	−0.758*	0.013	−0.634*	−0.690*	−0.717*	0.015
	[−0.870; −0.505]	[−0.929; −0.565]	[−0.947; −0.570]	[−0.042; 0.067]	[−0.808; −0.460]	[−0.864; −0.515]	[−0.899; −0.534]	[−0.040; 0.070]
college					0.031	0.059	0.109	−0.000
					[−0.142; 0.203]	[−0.119; 0.237]	[−0.077; 0.294]	[−0.055; 0.054]
male					−0.054	−0.068	−0.079	−0.037
					[−0.192; 0.084]	[−0.207; 0.070]	[−0.226; 0.069]	[−0.081; 0.007]
white					−0.048	−0.021	0.031	−0.074*
					[−0.278; 0.182]	[−0.255; 0.213]	[−0.213; 0.275]	[−0.144; −0.003]
latino					−0.131	−0.074	−0.004	−0.005
					[−0.366; 0.104]	[−0.314; 0.166]	[−0.248; 0.239]	[−0.072; 0.061]
strong partisan					0.266*	0.302*	0.181	0.000
					[0.084; 0.449]	[0.118; 0.487]	[−0.009; 0.372]	[−0.053; 0.053]
employed					0.211*	0.209*	0.210*	−0.013
					[0.071; 0.351]	[0.069; 0.350]	[0.061; 0.359]	[−0.056; 0.031]
married/partner					−0.038	0.013	−0.059	0.014
					[−0.180; 0.105]	[−0.131; 0.156]	[−0.211; 0.093]	[−0.031; 0.060]
attitudes migrants					0.463*	0.460*	0.426*	0.020
					[0.385; 0.541]	[0.381; 0.538]	[0.344; 0.509]	[−0.003; 0.044]
native born					−0.138	−0.090	−0.126	0.027
					[−0.332; 0.055]	[−0.285; 0.106]	[−0.328; 0.076]	[−0.031; 0.085]
interest politics					0.001	−0.012	0.034	0.029*
					[−0.079; 0.081]	[−0.092; 0.068]	[−0.051; 0.119]	[0.007; 0.052]
cov	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.059	0.064	0.051	0.000	0.176	0.181	0.142	0.007
Num. obs.	1317	1317	1317	1244	1317	1317	1317	1244

Presents estimates of average treatment effects and heteroskedasticity-consistent 95% CIs without and with covariate adjustment for Florida Study. The sample includes Democratic registered voters who answered covariate and outcome questions. * Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table D.7: Treatment effects on support for non-citizen local voting rights among Republican voters in Florida Study

	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
constant	1.612*	1.626*	1.658*	0.078*	1.569*	1.741*	1.906*	0.039
	[1.511; 1.713]	[1.526; 1.726]	[1.552; 1.764]	[0.052; 0.104]	[1.137; 2.000]	[1.316; 2.167]	[1.452; 2.359]	[−0.080; 0.158]
co-partisan	0.069	0.106	0.097	0.015	0.043	0.079	0.089	0.016
	[−0.073; 0.211]	[−0.037; 0.249]	[−0.053; 0.247]	[−0.022; 0.053]	[−0.095; 0.180]	[−0.060; 0.218]	[−0.059; 0.236]	[−0.022; 0.054]
counter-partisan	−0.119	−0.110	−0.074	0.013	−0.153*	−0.150*	−0.100	0.010
	[−0.255; 0.018]	[−0.247; 0.027]	[−0.223; 0.075]	[−0.025; 0.050]	[−0.285; −0.021]	[−0.282; −0.019]	[−0.247; 0.047]	[−0.028; 0.048]
college					−0.006	−0.014	−0.005	−0.019
					[−0.127; 0.115]	[−0.140; 0.112]	[−0.137; 0.127]	[−0.054; 0.015]
male					−0.009	−0.034	−0.077	0.006
					[−0.121; 0.102]	[−0.147; 0.079]	[−0.200; 0.045]	[−0.025; 0.038]
white					0.050	−0.051	0.153	0.002
					[−0.176; 0.276]	[−0.294; 0.192]	[−0.073; 0.379]	[−0.066; 0.069]
latino					0.001	0.103	−0.047	0.036
					[−0.231; 0.233]	[−0.140; 0.347]	[−0.282; 0.188]	[−0.032; 0.104]
strong partisan					−0.183*	−0.121	−0.062	−0.014
					[−0.325; −0.041]	[−0.260; 0.019]	[−0.207; 0.083]	[−0.055; 0.028]
employed					0.024	−0.002	0.045	0.026
					[−0.089; 0.137]	[−0.116; 0.113]	[−0.079; 0.170]	[−0.007; 0.059]
married/partner					−0.053	−0.079	−0.141	0.000
					[−0.181; 0.075]	[−0.208; 0.050]	[−0.283; 0.002]	[−0.035; 0.035]
attitudes migrants					0.182*	0.197*	0.133*	0.019*
					[0.128; 0.235]	[0.143; 0.250]	[0.077; 0.190]	[0.004; 0.033]
native born					0.033	0.029	−0.084	−0.038
					[−0.151; 0.216]	[−0.157; 0.215]	[−0.290; 0.122]	[−0.090; 0.015]
interest politics					−0.053	−0.077*	−0.099*	0.009
					[−0.113; 0.007]	[−0.138; −0.017]	[−0.166; −0.031]	[−0.007; 0.025]
cov	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.004	0.005	0.002	−0.001	0.055	0.062	0.033	0.008
Num. obs.	1355	1355	1355	1295	1355	1355	1355	1295

Presents estimates of average treatment effects and heteroskedasticity-consistent 95% CIs without and with covariate adjustment for Florida Study. The sample includes Republican registered voters who answered covariate and outcome questions. * Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table D.8: Treatment effects on support for non-citizen local voting rights among Democrats in U.S. Study

	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
constant	3.681*	3.697*	3.692*	0.503*	1.444*	1.472*	1.416*	−0.056
	[3.571; 3.791]	[3.589; 3.806]	[3.582; 3.803]	[0.463; 0.544]	[1.112; 1.776]	[1.141; 1.802]	[1.084; 1.749]	[−0.178; 0.067]
co-partisan	0.031	0.000	0.099	−0.023	0.082	0.052	0.152*	−0.013
	[−0.120; 0.183]	[−0.151; 0.151]	[−0.052; 0.249]	[−0.080; 0.034]	[−0.055; 0.219]	[−0.084; 0.187]	[0.016; 0.288]	[−0.068; 0.042]
counter-partisan	−0.656*	−0.652*	−0.621*	−0.052	−0.679*	−0.673*	−0.642*	−0.054
	[−0.818; −0.495]	[−0.811; −0.492]	[−0.783; −0.458]	[−0.110; 0.006]	[−0.828; −0.531]	[−0.820; −0.526]	[−0.790; −0.494]	[−0.110; 0.003]
college					0.110	0.152*	0.105	0.067*
					[−0.010; 0.231]	[0.033; 0.272]	[−0.014; 0.224]	[0.020; 0.115]
male					−0.007	0.017	−0.011	−0.030
					[−0.125; 0.111]	[−0.100; 0.134]	[−0.128; 0.106]	[−0.076; 0.016]
white					−0.085	−0.093	−0.068	0.002
					[−0.210; 0.039]	[−0.215; 0.029]	[−0.192; 0.056]	[−0.046; 0.051]
latino					0.226*	0.218*	0.205*	0.066
					[0.050; 0.402]	[0.040; 0.395]	[0.031; 0.379]	[−0.006; 0.137]
strong partisan					0.190*	0.148*	0.161*	−0.010
					[0.063; 0.317]	[0.022; 0.274]	[0.036; 0.286]	[−0.060; 0.040]
employed					0.223*	0.197*	0.188*	0.035
					[0.099; 0.346]	[0.075; 0.320]	[0.065; 0.310]	[−0.013; 0.082]
married/partner					0.017	−0.027	0.023	0.023
					[−0.107; 0.140]	[−0.149; 0.096]	[−0.100; 0.146]	[−0.024; 0.071]
attitudes migrants					0.434*	0.441*	0.464*	0.038*
					[0.377; 0.492]	[0.384; 0.498]	[0.406; 0.522]	[0.017; 0.060]
native born					0.198*	0.172	0.155	−0.001
					[0.013; 0.383]	[−0.013; 0.357]	[−0.026; 0.337]	[−0.071; 0.068]
interest politics					0.068*	0.074*	0.070*	0.097*
					[0.008; 0.129]	[0.015; 0.134]	[0.010; 0.129]	[0.076; 0.118]
cov	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.048	0.046	0.049	0.001	0.204	0.206	0.214	0.066
Num. obs.	1788	1787	1788	1750	1788	1787	1788	1750

Presents estimates of average treatment effects and heteroskedasticity-consistent 95% CIs without and with covariate adjustment for U.S. Study. The sample includes Democratic registered voters who answered covariate and outcome questions. * Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table D.9: Treatment effects on support for non-citizen local voting rights among Republicans in U.S. Study

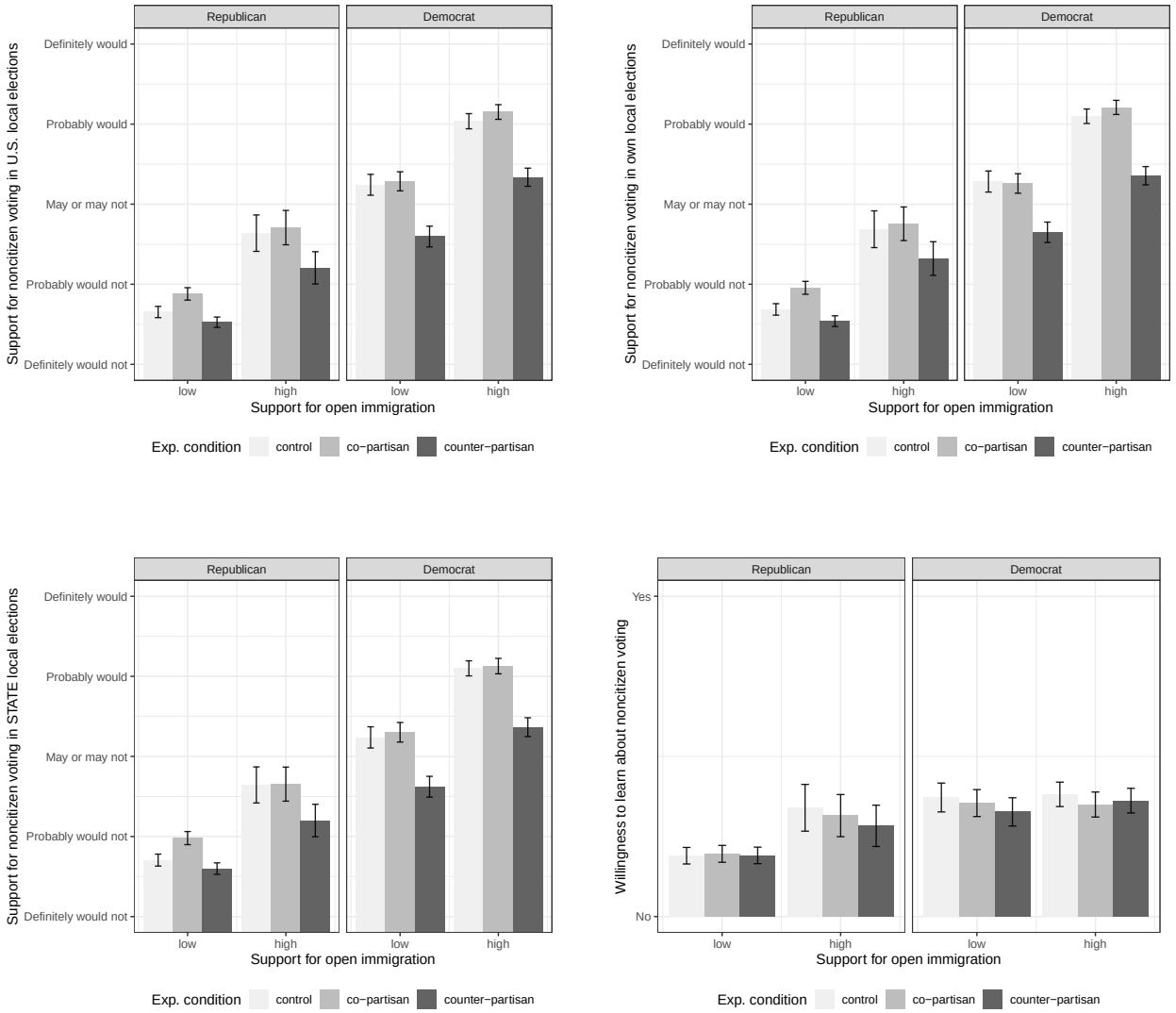
	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info	vote US	vote own	gov dec	more info
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
constant	1.949*	2.005*	1.997*	0.310*	1.318*	1.410*	1.595*	0.098
	[1.848; 2.051]	[1.900; 2.110]	[1.892; 2.101]	[0.272; 0.347]	[0.947; 1.690]	[1.040; 1.779]	[1.222; 1.967]	[−0.042; 0.237]
co-partisan	0.365*	0.397*	0.390*	0.008	0.363*	0.395*	0.386*	0.012
	[0.215; 0.515]	[0.245; 0.550]	[0.238; 0.543]	[−0.046; 0.062]	[0.221; 0.506]	[0.250; 0.540]	[0.241; 0.530]	[−0.041; 0.065]
counter-partisan	−0.190*	−0.205*	−0.200*	−0.020	−0.168*	−0.182*	−0.179*	−0.014
	[−0.328; −0.053]	[−0.348; −0.063]	[−0.342; −0.059]	[−0.073; 0.032]	[−0.295; −0.042]	[−0.312; −0.052]	[−0.309; −0.049]	[−0.065; 0.037]
college					−0.024	−0.010	−0.024	0.031
					[−0.136; 0.088]	[−0.124; 0.104]	[−0.138; 0.091]	[−0.012; 0.074]
male					−0.056	−0.077	−0.069	−0.026
					[−0.168; 0.055]	[−0.190; 0.037]	[−0.184; 0.045]	[−0.069; 0.018]
white					−0.256*	−0.197	−0.332*	−0.116*
					[−0.488; −0.025]	[−0.420; 0.027]	[−0.567; −0.097]	[−0.201; −0.030]
latino					0.144	0.084	0.076	0.024
					[−0.121; 0.408]	[−0.177; 0.344]	[−0.187; 0.339]	[−0.069; 0.117]
strong partisan					−0.102	−0.138*	−0.111	−0.008
					[−0.216; 0.012]	[−0.255; −0.020]	[−0.228; 0.005]	[−0.053; 0.036]
employed					0.125*	0.088	0.095	−0.014
					[0.014; 0.237]	[−0.025; 0.201]	[−0.020; 0.209]	[−0.057; 0.030]
married/partner					−0.086	−0.101	−0.074	0.011
					[−0.198; 0.026]	[−0.216; 0.013]	[−0.189; 0.041]	[−0.033; 0.054]
attitudes migrants					0.303*	0.329*	0.307*	0.035*
					[0.256; 0.350]	[0.281; 0.376]	[0.260; 0.355]	[0.019; 0.051]
native born					0.012	−0.074	−0.071	−0.032
					[−0.177; 0.200]	[−0.272; 0.124]	[−0.268; 0.127]	[−0.108; 0.043]
interest politics					0.058*	0.054*	0.040	0.071*
					[0.006; 0.110]	[0.001; 0.108]	[−0.013; 0.093]	[0.052; 0.090]
cov	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.031	0.035	0.034	−0.000	0.159	0.171	0.160	0.044
Num. obs.	1781	1781	1781	1755	1781	1781	1781	1755

Presents estimates of average treatment effects and heteroskedasticity-consistent 95% CIs without and with covariate adjustment for U.S. Study. The sample includes Republican registered voters who answered covariate and outcome questions. * Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

D.2.2 Partisan Treatment Effects By Open Immigration Support

This section further demonstrates that voters are pragmatic rather than principled in their attitudes toward noncitizen enfranchisement. We assess whether the decreased Democratic support for noncitizen enfranchisement in the counter-partisan condition is larger among voters supporting *more* open immigration and whether the increased Republican support in the co-partisan condition is larger among voters supporting *less* open immigration. However, we note that this analysis is not pre-registered and only offers suggestive evidence consistent with our characterization of voters as pragmatic.

Figure D.4: Support for noncitizen local suffrage by treatment group and support for open immigration



Notes: Displays mean responses by treatment group and support for open immigration, and 95% confidence intervals. The sample includes Democratic and Republican registered voters in both studies.

Figure D.4 compares the mean support for noncitizen voting by treatment group separately for Democrats and Republicans across voters who do not support open immigration or whose support for open immigration is *low* (that is, voters who think that the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the U.S. to live should be left the same as it is now, decreased a little or decreased a lot), and voters who support open immigration or whose support for open immigration is *high* (that is, voters who think that the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the U.S. to live should be increased a little or increased a lot).

A theory of principled partisans would suggest a pattern specific to immigration attitudes. If partisans were principled, Republicans with exclusionary immigration attitudes would respond less positively to the co-partisan treatment, and Democrats with inclusionary attitudes would respond less negatively to the counter-partisan treatment.

Figure D.4 illustrates evidence contradicting this principled thesis. First, among Republicans, the positive difference in means between voters in the co-partisan and control conditions is larger for voters who do not support open immigration relative to that difference among voters who do support open immigration. Among Democrats, the negative difference in means between voters in the counter-partisan and control conditions is similarly larger for voters who support open immigration relative to that difference among voters who do not support open immigration. These two patterns suggest that partisans are more pragmatic than principled regarding opening the franchise to noncitizens.

The second key point illustrated in Figure D.4 is that support for open immigration and support for noncitizen local voting rights are positively correlated. However, such a positive correlation does not uniquely explain our treatment effects. If a general dislike of foreigners entirely explained our results, the co-partisan treatment effect would have increased with inclusionary immigration attitudes. This is not the case among Republicans. Moreover, we would have expected the counter-partisan effect to negatively increase with exclusionary immigration attitudes. This is not the case neither among Republicans nor Democrats.

E Research Design and Ethics Relating to Research on Human Subjects

To inform the experimental manipulation in our studies, we first conducted a series of elite interviews with members of local councils and grassroots organizations. The IRBs of our institutions approved the protocol for these interviews (see Appendix F). We also collected expert opinions from national media reports and official and public comments in local policy discussions. We note that we could not survey local officials and public comments from every state, as not every state has discussed noncitizen voting rights. However, to cover the scope of the noncitizen policy debate, we surveyed opinions nationally and in states that have imposed constitutional bans and in jurisdictions that have introduced and/or passed noncitizen voting laws. From these opinions, we gather that experts, local officials, and the public are uncertain about noncitizen vote choices and that, for a given place, expect noncitizens to vote for both parties.

The experimental vignettes consequently do not provide information about the proportion of noncitizens that would vote for the Democratic or Republican party in a given state. The vignette is, therefore, not an information experiment *per se*; it does not provide information about the real state of the political world. Instead, we designed the vignettes to make participants reflect on the electoral stakes of noncitizen voting. The experimental manipulation uses the words 'many' and 'large proportion', highlighting specifically that "experts" and "officials in cities with new local-voting rights" are used to predict voting behavior. The vignette also uses the sentence "if legal immigrants *were allowed* to vote in local elections in [RESPONDENT'S STATE]..." to accommodate states with localities that have granted voting rights to noncitizens, states that have imposed constitutional bans and states that have not yet formally discussed this policy.

However, we note that these expert opinions and official and public comments from local policy discussions may not reflect true noncitizen vote choice or partisanship. To determine the plausibility of these opinions, particularly that in a given place, many noncitizens could vote for the Democratic or the Republican Party, we rely on the partisanship of Asian American and Latinos from survey data. This survey data suggests that for every state with sufficiently available data, many Asian American and Latinos identify with both parties. Of course, this assumes that noncitizen vote choice resembles the partisanship of Asian American and Latinos. We note, however, that this assumption is also often made in media reports. Section E.1 provides more details about expert opinions nationally, local policy discussions, and survey data.

IRBs of both institutions approved the protocol for the survey experiments. These two surveys included an informed consent disclosure that clarified the precise process of the surveys. We did not anticipate any harm from participating in the studies. Participation was voluntary, and participants could drop out of the study or skip questions without penalty. Participants were not debriefed at the end of the survey. Only the second study was incentivized. Our subjects in this second study were recruited by CloudResearch. These respondents are people who have agreed to be part of CloudResearch's panel and receive survey invitations. Each invitation offers the respondent a modest incentive (cash or points redeemable for merchandise) for completion, and invitees can skip surveys if they do not

wish to participate. The exact compensation is determined by CloudResearch and is not revealed to the research team.

We did not include quasi-behavioral measures that could intervene in the political process. Instead, we invited our participants to visit a website with information about noncitizen voting in the U.S. based in New York City (`https://ourcityourvote.org/`).

Both studies were preregistered with EGAP. The sample size was determined with a power analysis.

E.1 Experimental Manipulation Design

Our treatments were informed by media, official, and public comments on noncitizen voting rights relating to vote choice and by the partisan identification of individuals with an Asian or Latino background drawn from the Nationscape survey data (Tausanovitch and Vavreck, 2021). The image selected for the experimental treatments reflects this diversity. The selection of the image also considered the image's portrayal of the individual in a positive (i.e., smiling) and professional (i.e., wearing a suit) setting to reduce the possibility of negative stereotyped responses. This section provides further details to illuminate the rationale of the treatment design.

E.1.1 Media Reporting

Table E.1 specifically presents expert reporting on the anticipated voting behavior of noncitizens in the United States. Media comments include statements appearing in articles in three national print media outlets with the largest circulation in the United States: the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the Washington Post. Articles were reviewed if they included any mention of noncitizen voting rights before August 2022, including Opinion and Editorial pieces. The review included articles discussing recently passed cases of noncitizen voting, constitutional bans, and other policy introductions. Bold text is added by the authors to highlight the reported party preferences of noncitizens.

Experts in these three national news sources include Councilmembers, Professors, journalists, politicians, and noncitizen voters themselves. Overall, reporting on noncitizen voting patterns focused primarily on the legislation itself. When partisanship was discussed, however, media experts reported ambiguity over new noncitizen voting behavior. Some indicated noncitizens would vote Democratic (e.g., "*Democrats are likely to be the biggest beneficiaries*") while others stated that noncitizens would support the Republican party (e.g., "*A lot of these people happen to be Republican*"). Mostly, experts suggested that noncitizens could vote for either party due to being courted by either party and possessing weak pre-existing party ties. Other reporting acknowledged a lack of available data on noncitizen preferences overall—relying instead on ethnic and racial citizen voting patterns for the Democratic (e.g., Dominican Republican) or Republican (e.g., Asian) party. Hispanic voters, in particular, were identified as potential Democrats and Republicans.

Table E.1: National Media Statements on Non-Citizen Voting

Quote	Source
National References/Inferences	
"Those initiatives [campaigns for immigrant voting rights] may be taken more seriously in a campaign season when **politicians in both major parties** are making overtures to immigrants, as President Bush has with his proposal to grant temporary legal status to millions now living here illegally."	Worth, R.F. (2004, April 8). 'Push Is On to Give Legal Immigrants A Vote in the City.' *The New York Times.*
"It is a touchy political issue, particularly in an election year when **many politicians across party lines** are lobbying for support from Hispanic voters, and many politicians have tried to sidestep it altogether."	Swarns, R.L. (2004, Aug. 9). 'Immigrants Raise Call For Right to Be Voters.' *The New York Times.*
"**Democrats are likely to be the biggest beneficiaries** of this change—at least at first. But it could have interesting ripple effects: **Elected Republicans might be induced to appeal to a more diverse** constituency or perhaps to enthuse their constituents so deeply that they, too, start to vote in greater numbers."	Abrahamian, A. A. (2021, July 28). 'There Is No Good Reason You Should Have to Be a Citizen to Vote.' *The New York Times.*
"Councilwoman Laurie Cumbo, a Brooklyn Democrat, said she worried the bill wouldn't 'amplify' black voices. 'The top three ethnic groups that will benefit from this,' she said, are 'the Dominican Republic, China, as well as Mexico.' She added that although it's 'not politically correct,' she is concerned that '**many of our Latino brothers and sisters voted Republican**, for President Trump."'	Editorial Board. (2021, Dec. 13) 'Almost Anybody Can Vote in New York.' *The Wall Street Journal*
"Laurie Cumbo, a councilwoman from Brooklyn, questioned whether the bill would dilute the voting power of African Americans. 'This particular legislation is going to **shift the power dynamics** in New York City in a major way,' said Ms. Cumbo, who voted no."	Mays, J. & Correal A. (2021, Dec. 9). 'N.Y.C. Grants Noncitizens Right to Vote in Local Elections.' *The New York Times.*
"**Noncitizens**, like citizens, **voted based on an array of issues**. For example, Mexican and German immigrants tended to be Catholic. ...One Texas priest threatened excommunication of Catholics who voted for **Republicans**. **Democrats** recruited immigrant voters and accused the Republican Party of welcoming former Know-Nothings, members of an extremely nativist antebellum political party."	Gunter, R. (2021, Dec. 29) 'You didn't always have to be a citizen to vote in America.' *The Washington Post*
Local Specific	
"Council Majority Leader Laurie Cumbo, the first African American woman to serve in that position, said the measure will **shift the city's power dynamics** and potentially weaken the Black vote in neighborhoods such as Harlem, where residents are fighting gentrification."	Sacchetti, M. (2021, Dec. 9). 'New York City becomes the largest municipality in the U.S. to allow noncitizens to vote in local elections.' *The Washington Post.*

"He [John Mollenkopf] cautioned that it also **remains unclear which political party they might favor**: Most Dominicans **vote Democrat**, but he estimates that more than a third of voters of Chinese descent **do not declare a party**."	
"Sanjok Lama, 44, a folk singer from Nepal, and his daughter Dolma, who organizes South Asian immigrant workers in Jackson Heights in Queens, said he is **open to various political parties**. 'I prefer **Democrats**, but the **Republicans** are not bad on some issues,' he said as his daughter winced."	
"But if they lose, he [GOP minority leader] said, '**we'll be soliciting votes** from any newly enfranchised New York voter.' He acknowledged the doublespeak, but said the only other alternative is to give up. "Don't forget," he said, "**a lot of these people happen to be Republicans**."'	
"Still, it is **not at all clear that the new voters would favor one party over the other**, said John Mollenkopf, the director of the Center for Urban Research at the City University of New York.	Worth, R.F. (2004, April 8). 'Push Is On to Give Legal Immigrants A Vote in the City.' *The New York Times*.
"In their last elections, Mr. Bloomberg and Gov. George E. Pataki **each drew more than a third of the Hispanic vote** in New York City, Mr. Mollenkopf estimated, **a strong showing for Republican candidates**. **Asian voters are even more likely than Hispanic voters to lean Republican**, he said."	

Local affiliates and other media reporting picked up this expert discussion in national print media sources. Although not formally coded here due to the editorial content, this expectation that Latino noncitizen voters would straddle party lines was also directly reported in the right-wing and left-wing media programming.[16] As viewed in Table E.2, we identified 16 identical reports of these national expert statements reprinted nationwide. These articles were found through a thorough search of all New York Times, Wall Street Journal, and Washington Post subsidiaries at the time of publication, in addition to a formal Nexis Uni, ProQuest, and Access World News search. The reprinted title appears in the table whenever the outlet revised the title for their local audience. The reprinting of these articles appeared throughout the country, in a total of ten states[17]—highlighting the understanding that these expectations are relevant in localities and states beyond those with ongoing noncitizen legislation.

Table E.2: Local Reporting of National Media Statements on Non-Citizen Voting

National Source	**State**	**Local Source**	**Reprinted Title**
Swarns, R.L. (2004, Aug. 9). 'Immigrants Raise Call For Right to Be Voters.' *The New York Times*	Alabama	Gadsen Times	—
		The Tuscaloosa News	—
	California	The Press Democrat	—
	Florida	Gainesville Sun	—
		The Ledger	—
		Sarasota Herald Tribune	—
		Star-Banner	—
	North Carolina	BlueRidgeNow	—
		Wilmington Star-News	—

[16] An example of televised media, a segment of noncitizen voting rights included Fox News Contributor Jason Riley stating: "*The other thing this does is it really plays into the concerns that a lot of* ***conservatives*** *have about why* ***Democrats*** *and Liberals are so lacking about border policies that they're simply trying to* ***import voters for their side*** *and a problem on principle. But also, I think I would remind them that right now,* ***Joe Biden is having a tough time with these voters, particularly Hispanic Americans,*** *and others who Democrats assume will automatically vote for them.* ***That's not necessarily going to be the case,*** *as we're learning from polls showing that Joe Biden's Hispanic support has been dipping of late. So I think there are some other issues here to consider.*" Fox News @ Night. February 8, 2022. CNN News Tonight further also showed coverage of Democratic NYC Councilmember Cumbo declaring in her dissent vote that noncitizen voting will adversely affect the power dynamics in the city and for other states across the country with CNN News Tonight host Michael Smerconish asking his interviewee:"*So, do you fear – because we all now know where you stand, do you fear that this is a* ***national trend****? And although it begins in a very* ***bluish*** *area, like New York City, that this is going to take hold across the country?*" The guest, Christopher Arps, replied: "***It is****, Michael. In* ***Georgia*** *there is a town in* ***Georgia****, I can't remember the name right now, they are wanting to institute noncitizen voting for municipal election. This is just a bad idea.*" CNN News Tonight. December 10, 2021.

[17] Alaska, Alabama, California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, Washington.

	South Carolina	GoUpstate/ Spatanburg Herald-Journal	—
	Virginia	Richmond Times-Dispatch	*Noncitizens can vote in NYC elections*
Sacchetti, M. (2021, Dec. 9). 'New York City becomes the largest municipality in the U.S. to allow noncitizens to vote in local elections.' *The Washington Post.*	Alaska	Anchorage Daily News	—
	Illinois	Chicago Daily Herald	*New York to allow noncitizens to vote in local elections*
	New Jersey	The Star-Ledger	*Big Apple to allow noncitizens to vote in local elections*
Mays, J. & Correal, A. (2021, Dec. 9). 'N.Y.C. Grants Noncitizens Right to Vote in Local Elections.' *The New York Times*	Washington	The Seattle Times	*NYC gives noncitizens right to vote in local races*
Worth, R.F. (2004, April 8). 'Push Is On to Give Legal Immigrants A Vote in the City.' *The New York Times.*	Florida	Miami Herald	*Push for noncitizen voting rights is on*

Expert assessments of the voting patterns of noncitizens are also present in local and state media outlets beyond what was reported in these three national outlets. Policy think tanks and international reporting also include expert opinions on the diverse voting interests of noncitizens.[18] All expert assessments of noncitizen voting regardless of the location—as viewed in Table E.1.1 above and Table E.1.2 below are often based on estimates of *immigrant* voting behavior. Table E.3 thus provides expert evidence on noncitizen and immigrant voting behavior throughout the country. This evidence was collected by reviewing immigrant and noncitizen voting patterns cataloged in Nexis Uni, ProQuest, and Access World News. This data is not exhaustive but rather illustrative of the breadth of expert assessments of how noncitizens—often through an understanding of immigrant voting behavior—would vote within each state listed. Further included in this table are statements from noncitizens themselves clearly stating—even in Democratic stronghold states—their desire to vote for the Republican ticket.

[18]Hayduk and Michel (2004), for example, reported that "non-citizens **are not a homogeneous group**. They may well have **different interests**, just as native citizens have different interests **and vote accordingly**. Some evidence from research on newly naturalized U.S. citizens and noncitizen voting in Europe suggests only modest shifts in the political balance of power, if any, would occur." Spanish media also reported during the year of our survey that "The **Latino vote** could be decisive in the midterms, as the community seems **less willing** than before **to support the Democrats**. In one of the most hotly contested Senate seats (**Nevada**), and in another Democratic-leaning but undecided seat (**Arizona**), Latinos make up 20% of voters. And they also make up over 20% in at least a dozen competitive House districts in states such as **California**, **Colorado**, **Florida** and **Texas**." (Beauregard, 2022). The Guardian also

Table E.3: State-specific Media Statements on Immigrant & Non-Citizen Voting

State	Quote	Source
Alabama	Kochi, S. Waddick, K. & Kuchar, S. (2023, 7 Dec.) 'Which voters support these GOP candidates? - 5 contenders appeal to differing demographics.' *Gasdsen Times*. Reprinted from *USA Today*	"The real estate mogul is also winning support from more voters of color than any other GOP candidate, according to the USA TODAY poll. Almost 60% of Republican Black voters and **53% of GOP Hispanic voters** said they favored the former president."
Arizona	Cia, W. & Fessenden, F. (2020, Dec. 20). 'Immigrant Neighborhoods Shifted Red as the Country Chose Blue.' *The New York Times*	"Latino growth in particular had figured in experts" predictions of the **decline of Republican** influence in battleground states like Texas, Florida and **Arizona**. That could change, however, with the 2020 turnout surge and **Mr. Trump's success at peeling off voters**. 'There remains a **huge reservoir of Latino nonvoters** and low-propensity voters,' said Roberto Suro, a professor of journalism and public policy at the University of Southern California. 'And if increased **turnout improves the G.O.P. share**, that would overturn a great deal of conventional wisdom about the political impact of demographic change."'
Arkansas	Wire, S. D. (2011, July 7). 'Advocates, officials consider Hispanic legislative district.' *Northwest Arkansas Democrat Gazette*	"Northwest **Arkansas** is home to a large population that **immigrated** from the Marshall Islands or descended from Marshallese immigrants. **Republican Party** Chairman Doyle Webb said Wednesday by e-mail that **Hispanic** voters relate to the **Republican Party** best. '**Hispanic Arkansans** are growing in population and we would not object to a Hispanic district if by law one is warranted,' Webb said."
California	Cia, W. & Fessenden, F. (2020, Dec. 20). 'Immigrant Neighborhoods Shifted Red as the Country Chose Blue.' *The New York Times*	"In other precincts in **Orange and Los Angeles Counties** that have **many residents of Asian descent**, Mr. Trump's **vote increased** as well. Two **Democratic** congressmen **lost to Republicans** in these counties. In Los Angeles and Orange precincts with a **Latino majority**, more than 415,000 additional voters cast ballots; 87 percent of the precincts **shifted right**."

Colorado	Community Radio for Northern Colorado. (2015, Oct. 15) 'The Latino Vote Isn't Monolithic, But Their Political Treatment Unites Them.' *NPR for Northern Colorado*	"'Everybody has this really **complex multi-faceted identity**,' says Celeste Montoya, an associate professor in the Women and Gender Studies department at the University of **Colorado**-Boulder...**Latino voters are frustrated** with the political system, just like everyone else...Celeste Montoya says that **this discrepancy might be hurting Hillary Clinton** in the 2016 race."
Connecticut	Otte, E. (2022, Oct. 10). 'A Closer Look at Latino Voters and the Midterm Elections.' *CT Examiner*	"He [Felix Reyes, director of economic development in **New London**] said he felt **both parties** failed to grasp the culture and the family dynamics that characterize the **Latino** community. 'I think that's what's really special about the Latin vote is that, **whether they're Republican or Democrat**, they're not a hundred percent all in,' he said. 'I think they still hold to their moral and cultural ground when they make decisions. So I think that's why you see more **moderate Democrats** from the Hispanic community, and the **same thing on the right side**.'...Ruben Rodriguez, who is chairman of the **Connecticut** chapter of the **Republican Hispanic** National Assembly, told CT Examiner he believed that opening an office in New Britain last year had helped raise awareness among **Latino voters** of the **Republican** party's presence and their goals. 'It's unbelievable how you could hear people say, 'I **voted Democrat** because you guys never came to us.' said Rodriguez."
Delaware	Albright, M. & Jedra, C. (2016, Sept. 30) 'Can Delaware GOP attract minorities with Trump?' *The News Journal*	"Jose Echeverri, a financial advisor and board member at **Delaware** State University, attended the event. He said it's a **'myth'** that the interests of **Hispanics** are at odds with the **GOP**; that the values of the Latino community — including faith and self-sufficiency — **align with that of the party**...Maria Cabrera is the **first Hispanic** woman on Wilmington City Council. She said **Republicans** have an opportunity to connect with Latinos on what they agree on."

Florida	Cia, W. & Fessenden, F. (2020, Dec. 20). 'Immigrant Neighborhoods Shifted Red as the Country Chose Blue.' *The New York Times*	"Latino growth in particular had figured in experts" predictions of the **decline of Republican** influence in battleground states like Texas, **Florida** and Arizona. That could change, however, with the 2020 turnout surge and **Mr. Trump's success at peeling off voters**. 'There remains a **huge reservoir of Latino nonvoters** and low-propensity voters,' said Roberto Suro, a professor of journalism and public policy at the University of Southern California. 'And if increased **turnout improves the G.O.P. share**, that would overturn a great deal of conventional wisdom about the political impact of demographic change."'
Georgia	Bunch, R. (2022, Dec.15) 'Hispanic caucuses seek political power for their communities.' *Georgia Public Broadcasting News*	"'We countered that regardless of how the election shook out, we were going to again have a historic number of Asian legislators representing, and pretty importantly, representing on **both sides of the aisle**,' she [State Senator Michelle Au] said. 'Which is pretty emblematic of how Asian voters and Asian community members represent in **Georgia**. Because not all Asian people are **Democrat or Republican**.' Lawmakers say one challenge with representing and engaging diverse communities is that they have to be sensitive to cater to a **large spread** of backgrounds, languages and **political beliefs**. 'Not painting them with a broad brush or **assuming that everyone thinks or votes the same way**,' Au said."
	Prabhu, M. (2023, April 14) 'Legislature most diverse in Georgia history - More than a third of its members are non-white, AJC's analysis shows.' *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*	"'It's changed, but why has it changed? Because legislators' (minds) have changed and legislators have found out that the **Hispanic** community itself is diverse. We're **not a oneparty community**.' "
Hawaii	Jung, Y. (2020, Nov. 7). 'Biden Easily Won Hawaii But Data Shows Support For Trump Has Grown.' *Honolulu Civil Beat*	"Bob McDermott, a **Republican** legislator who represents Ewa, Ewa Beach and Iroquois Point, says the west side [of **Oahu**] has a lot of people to whom faith is very important. There are many **Filipino immigrants** with **conservative** values."

Idaho	Maldonado, M. (2022, Sept. 15). 'Some eligible Latino voters in Idaho navigate an unfamiliar space upon Election Day.' *Idaho Capital Sun.*	"**Democrats** are not alone in their efforts to reach out to the **Latino** population. ' "he Idaho Republican Party is a big tent that welcomes all voters, including Latinos, to join our ranks,' wrote Jacob Miller, the director of communications for the Idaho **Republican** Party...'Two of our last three State Party Chairs were also Latino. Clearly, the **Idaho Republican Party** is the natural home for **Latino voters** and we're excited to build on our record of success into the future.' "
	Luchetta, J. (2022, Nov. 4). 'Can a growing Latino voting block change the outcome of Idaho elections?' *Boise State Public Radio News (NPR)*	"Julie Luchetta: 'I think at this point we've heard this before and we should all know it; the **Latino** community is **not a monolith**; there are **conservative** Latinos; there are **progressive** Latinos. There's everything in between, and that is one of the issues that I think prevents folks from going to the polls is that they not only feel that they are represented in the electoral process but also perhaps there is **no single political party** that captures the complexity of the issues that they care about because they care about a lot of different things.' "
Illinois	Cia, W. & Fessenden, F. (2020, Dec. 20). 'Immigrant Neighborhoods Shifted Red as the Country Chose Blue.' *The New York Times*	"Almost all of the precincts [in **Chicago**] with a **majority Latino population** showed an increase in **enthusiasm for the president**...including ones with tens of thousands of residents of Mexican descent. **Mr. Trump received 45 percent more votes** in these areas than four years ago. It was **not just Latino areas**. In a belt of suburbs north of **Chicago**——precincts that are home to South Asian, Arab and Eastern European immigrants——there was also **higher turnout and a shift to Mr. Trump**."
Indiana	Gerber, C. (2022, Sept. 25) 'Morales puts Indiana GOP in new territory.' *Tribune-Star*	" Oscar Alvarez, secretary of Indiana's chapter of the National **Republican** Hispanic Assembly, said Morales' nomination marks a major shift in the **Indiana GOP**, and one that could lead more **Latinos** to engage in the political process...'The tides are turning, and **Hispanics** and also Black Americans are saying, 'You know, **we're a conservative group**,' he said. 'We need to start establishing ourselves as a stronghold to say that the **GOP** can also be very **multicultural**.'...[Indiana Latino Democratic Caucus President Cynthia] Morraz of the Hispanic Democratic caucus said that, if anything, Morales' nomination is proof that the long-held assumption that **Latinos only vote Democrat is eroding**."

Iowa	Mai, H.J., Martínez, A., & Dependbrock, J. (2023, Dec. 18). 'Republican anti-immigrant rhetoric challenges Iowa's Latino community.' *NPR Morning Edition*	"Approximately every 30 seconds, a **Latino** in the U.S. becomes **eligible to vote**, making it the fast-growing racial and ethnic group in the U.S. electorate, according to Census Bureau data. Even in states like **Iowa**, where close to 90% of people identify as white, the **Latino vote is becoming increasingly important**...While there's no specific statistic that would suggest that **Latinos** en masse are turning their backs on the **Republican Party**, studies have shown that the party's anti-immigrant rhetoric affects the well-being of Latinos and can alienate their votes. But just like with any voting block, **Latinos** are not **monolithic** and many prioritize other issues, not just immigration."
	Ta, Linh. (2020, Nov. 16), 'Democrats can't assume they have the 'Latino vote,' especially in rural Iowa.' *Iowa Capital Dispatch*	"It's no surprise to [President of the League of United Latin American Citizens of **Iowa**] Joanne Alvorez that some **Latino** and **Hispanic** voters in her community cast their ballots for President **Donald Trump**...'We got some numbers that **Latino voters** thought Donald **Trump** would be a better president to improve the economy and jobs,' said Steffen Schmidt, a Colombian-born political science professor at **Iowa State**. 'There's this **percentage of Hispanics** who found Donald **Trump's** message and the **Republican** message more to their liking.' "
Kansas	Wiebe, M. (2023, May 9). 'Latinos enrich the culture and economy of Wyandotte County. But what about political clout?' *The Journal*	"Several voter outreach activists told The Journal that **Latino** and **Hispanic** voting behaviors in Wyandotte County and **Kansas** likely mirror national trends...While Latino Americans like [Kansas Hispanic and Latino American Affairs Commission former executive director Aude] Negrete and [Representative Melissa] Oropeza are quick to say that one's ethnicity cannot predict voting preferences, and that **Latinos** and **Hispanics do not comprise a monolithic voting bloc**, both believe that it is important to attract more Latino and Hispanic voters in order to elect candidates who understand their experiences and can address their unique needs."
Maine	Guildford, D. (2022, April 5). 'Maine GOP opens multicultural center.' *News Center Maine (NBC)*	"[**Maine GOP** Chair Demi] Kouzounas and the new chair of the [Maine GOP Multicultural Community] center, Suheir Alaskari, made clear they desire to **attract immigrants** who are eager to find work and network. '**Immigrants** share a lot of values with the **Republican Party**,' Alaskari said...'Do you see me? I'm the face of this center,' Alaskari, an **immigrant** from Iraq, said."

Maryland	The Daily Record. (2001, Nov. 6) 'Even Poles can go to the polls: Takoma Park lets non-citizens vote' *The Daily Record.* Reprinted in *Capital News Service Maryland*	"'I guess it puts Takoma Park on some sort of map, but it really doesn't matter,' said election judge Martin Morse Wooster, 'It **doesn't change the nature of Takoma Park politics**."
Massachusetts	Guaracao, A. (2022, Nov. 4). 'The increasing political power of Mass. Latinos and what it means for this election.' *MetroWest Daily News.*	"Because of the diversity of identities, experiences and political opinions within the **Massachusetts Latino** population, Brenda Sanchez, vice president of engagement and alumni advancement at Amplify Latinx, said it's **inaccurate to think that all Latinos will vote for one party**."
Michigan	Goodwin, L. (2010, Oct. 4) 'They helped Trump win Michigan, then his immigration crackdown split their community.' *The Boston Globe*	"The latter community [the **newer immigrant community**] is in **Macomb County**, which is known for **swinging between Democrat and Republican** in presidential elections. It swerved from **Barack Obama** in 2012 to backing **Trump** in 2016 by a 16-point margin. **Influential Chaldeans** claim that it was their community's vote that made the difference for **Trump**..."
Minnesota	Radelat, A. (2022, Oct. 3). 'What the Latino vote means in this November's election.' *MinnPost.*	"Meanwhile, according predictive modeling by Communidades Organizando el Poder y la Acción Latina (COPAL), there are about 65,000 registered **Latino voters** across **Minnesota**, a state where Hispanics account for about 5.7% of the population, or about 345,000 people, according to the U.S. Census...Meanwhile, another survey conducted by FiveThirtyEight found that many of the nation's Latino voters lack strong ties to either the **Democratic** or **Republican** parties because they are first generation or had first-generation parents who were not politically engaged and '**didn't pass along their partisan views**.' That makes many of the nation's **Latino** voters 'persuadables' who are **open to both Republican and Democratic** political messaging."

Mississippi	Held, M.L. (2022, Nov. 3). 'The GOP Gained Latino Voters In 2020 But The Majority Still Vote Democratic.' *Mississippi Free Press* Reprinted from *The Conversation*.	"**Latino voters** represent a **diverse** group of countries of origin, native languages, cultural values, education and personal characteristics. As with any demographic group, **voting patterns** are informed by individual experiences...Not surprisingly, the top issues among **Latino voters** vary by political affiliation or leaning, though some common issues arose on each side. A top priority across Latino voters is the economy, as indicated by **90% of Republican-leaning** and **75% of Democratic-leaning Latinos**."
Missouri	Plake, S. (2022, Nov. 8). 'Going 360 on Latino representation and politics: Does population growth translate into power at the polls?' *KSHB Kanasa City*	"According to a UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Institute study that came out this past summer, Latino voters still chose Democratic candidates over Republicans. But the margins are no longer as large as they've always been. 'What you are seeing right now is generally Republicans gaining some of the ground they had lost and Democrats not solidifying gains they have made,' Martinez said."
Nebraska	Kipper, J. (2022, Jun. 20) ''It shows we care': Republicans open Hispanic outreach center in South Omaha.' *KMTV Omaha News Now*	"Pointing to poll numbers and recent election results, **Republicans** said they believe **Democrats** have a problem with **Hispanic** voters...During the office opening, the RNC was backed up by Bacon and Omaha Mayor Jean Stothert. She cited a recent Quinnipiac poll that showed a 24% approval rating for President Joe Biden with Hispanic voters. 'Both **here** and **nationally** we are making inroads with voters who see their support taken for granted for too long by the **other party**,' said Stothert.."
Nevada	Hart, G. (2020, Oct. 29). 'Political Analyst: The immigrant vote in Nevada is unpredictable, could sway the election.' *KSNV-NBC*.	"A local political analyst says the **immigrant vote** here in **Nevada** really has the power to sway an election; however, she says **their vote is never predictable**...'They're **not monolithic voting block** and so I don't think either group or anyone trying to figure out which way the election's going to go should think they'll be in **either candidate's** back pocket,' said [Political Analyst Sondra] Cosgrove."
New Hampshire	Guzman, S. (2016, Feb. 9). 'New Hampshire's Latinos Survey Candidates Amid Primary Excitement.' *NBC News*	"In many ways, the gathering at the storefront church, La Iglesia Visión Misionera El Arca, on Saturday afternoon was representative of the quirkiness of this **state**'s voters. There were more **Latino independents** — they are called the "unenrolled" — than **Democrats** or **Republicans**. "

New Jersey	Wildstein, D. (2022, Sept. 26). 'More than 175,000 New Americans are from New Jersey.' *New Jersey Globe*	"**New Jersey** has 177,890 **newly naturalized U.S. citizens** who are eligible to vote in the 2022 general election that could play a **critical role in determining key races**, according to a report from Make the Road New Jersey, New Jersey Institute of Social Justice, New Jersey Working Families Party, SEIU 32BJ and other advocacy group. But New Americans are **not necessarily Democrats or Republicans**, liberal or conservative, or single-issue voters. 'This voting bloc represents a powerful political force, but **is not monolithic**,' said Nicole Melaku, the executive director of the National Partnership for New Americans. 'They'll be drawn to the polls by a variety of issues, their votes informed by **diverse political ideologies**, experiences, and backgrounds.' "
New Mexico	Montagne, R. (2016, May 25). 'N.M.'s Primary Could Predict How Latinos Vote In November.' *NPR Morning Edition.*	"Rene Montagne: 'Well, you know, there is **nothing monolithic** about **America's Hispanic or Latino population**.' ...Gabriel Sanchez (University of **New Mexico**): 'And it touches on this general trend that a lot of **Latinos** we see don't necessarily think about immigration politics and policy as their forefront issue. But when they think about it as challenging their identity and who they are, it really motivates them, you know, to not only vote, but take a closer look at not only **Trump**, but the overall **Republican Party**.' "
New York	Cia, W. & Fessenden, F. (2020, Dec. 20). 'Immigrant Neighborhoods Shifted Red as the Country Chose Blue.' *The New York Times*	"In **New York City**, where 38 percent of residents are immigrants, **most areas shifted right**, even though they all remained strongly **Democratic**. This included virtually every predominantly **Latino precinct** and ones where a majority of residents are of **Asian descent**."
North Carolina	Terry, M. (2023, Sept. 20) 'Both parties face challenges in attracting Latino voters.' *WUNC: North Carolina Public Radio*	'The number of **Latino voters** is growing, both in **North Carolina and nationally**. But they're far from a **monolithic voting bloc**, and some are bucking expectations and **voting Republican.**'

Ohio	King, D. (2020, Oct. 31). 'Ohio immigrant voters 'sleeping giants' for the 2020 election, advocates say.' *The Columbus Dispatch.*	"It's not clear, however, **which way** they [newly naturalized immigrants in Ohio] might sway the election. I**mmigrant voters are a diverse group**, immigration experts say, and their voting decisions tend to be nuanced...But there is no such thing as the 'immigrant vote' because **immigrants don't vote in a block** like some other populations, said Mark Krikorian, executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies, a Washington, D.C.-based conservative think tank that has argued for restricting immigration to the U.S. for years...'**Naturalized citizens in Ohio are extremely diverse**,' said [National Partnership for New Americans Campaign manager] Iñiguez-López."
Oklahoma	Ramos, L. (2023, Dec. 7). 'Plan set to engage more Latinos in Oklahoma politics.' *Oklahoma Watch* Reported in *KWGS Public Radio Tulsa*	" 'People on **both sides** of the political spectrum can see the increase in the Latino population and where demographics are headed,' he [Michael Brooks, **Oklahoma** Latino Legislative Caucus Chair] said. 'And **both sides** think that their platforms dovetail with **Latinos**.' A November National Survey of **Latino** Voters by Unidos US showed **no strong leaning toward either party**. While most responses about party trust and preference slightly favored Democrats, **neither party secured a 50% approval** rating on any issue."
Oregon	Westood, S. (2022, Sept. 29) 'Republican Latino PAC sending first round of checks to GOP candidates.' *The Gazette*	"One, Lori Chavez-DeRemer's race to represent **Oregon**'s 5th Congressional District, is rated a toss-up...Republicans have stepped up their efforts to court **Latino voters** in recent years as an increasing number of Hispanics shift **away from a Democratic Party** that has grown more liberal and affluent in the past few cycles."
Pennsylvania	Cia, W. & Fessenden, F. (2020, Dec. 20). 'Immigrant Neighborhoods Shifted Red as the Country Chose Blue.' *The New York Times*	"In **Philadelphia**, precincts in the Northeast — home to a mix of many **Asian and Eastern European immigrants — shifted in Mr. Trump's direction**, even though a **majority still favored Mr. Biden**. The **Democratic vote fell** 18 percent in **majority Latino areas**, including in the largely Puerto Rican precincts in North Philadelphia"
Rhode Island	Farza, A. (2023, Sept. 1) '5 compete for seat in RI Senate District 1 - In diverse district, 3 are first-generation immigrants.' *Providence Journal*	"On social media, Powell describes herself as 'Pro-Life. **Republican. Immigrant.** Nurse. Chronic volunteer.' At the library forum, she said that she was a founding member of Millenial **RI**, and volunteers by teaching English to Haitian immigrants."

South Carolina	Cavallaro, G. (2020, Nov. 2). 'Greenville County has 1000% more Hispanic voters since 2000. But, they're not yet a political force.' *Greenville News*	"What makes things tough to predict though in terms of what impact Hispanic voters will have down the line is the fact that they don't vote as a single bloc. While all minority groups tend to vote Democratic nationally, Hispanics are the most likely to vote Republican compared to Black and Asian voters, [Furman University assistant professor Brittany] Arsiniega said. '**Hispanics** are the most **conservative** significant ethnic minority,' she said. 'It is absolutely **not true** that **Democrats** can say that as Hispanic kids grow up and continue to vote, this is going to automatically result in **more wins for Democrats**.' "
Tennessee	Lopez, R. (2022, Jan. 5) 'Latinos can help the Republican Party grow in Tennessee.' *The Tennessean*	"Recent polling and electoral results confirm that Latinos are **not a monolithic voting bloc**, but instead open to hearing a pitch from **both political parties**. Ruy Teixeria, a Democratic analyst specializing in the Hispanic vote, recently sounded the alarm for Democrats, writing: 'They [**Latinos**] are instead a patriotic, upwardly mobile, working-class group with quite practical and down-to-earth concerns. **Democrats** will either learn to focus on that or they will **continue to lose** ground among this vital group of voters.' "
	Torres Guzman, D. (2020, Nov. 12). 'Tennessee group advocates for conservative Latino voters.' *Tennessee Lookout*	'In **Tennessee**, **Latinos** are attracted to issues including school vouchers and religious freedom. 'A lot of them decided to **flip their vote**,' said [Latinos for Tennessee Founder Raul] Lopez, adding that many Latinos may not have wanted to associate with the Black Lives Matter movement...Lopez said that one important thing to understand about the Latino community is that it's unfair to lump all Latinos in the same category... **Hispanics** and **Latinos** have had similar experiences but are **not a monolith**. '
Texas	Cia, W. & Fessenden, F. (2020, Dec. 20). 'Immigrant Neighborhoods Shifted Red as the Country Chose Blue.' *The New York Times*	"Latino growth in particular had figured in experts' predictions of the **decline of Republican** influence in battleground states like **Texas**, Florida and Arizona. That could change, however, with the 2020 turnout surge and **Mr. Trump's success at peeling off voters**. 'There remains a **huge reservoir of Latino nonvoters** and low-propensity voters,' said Roberto Suro, a professor of journalism and public policy at the University of Southern California. 'And if increased **turnout improves the G.O.P. share**, that would overturn a great deal of conventional wisdom about the political impact of demographic change.' "

Utah	Jacobs, B. (2020, Oct. 20) 'First woman of color to lead Real Women Run wants statehouse to better represent Utah' *The Salt Lake Tribune*	"Chatwin, who was born in El Salvador, grew up in Riverdale and didn't see many people who looked like her in elected office....Quintana has worked in **Utah** politics over the past decade, including as a communications director, fundraiser and political consultant in local, state and national races. She's also been involved with the **Republican Party** and previously was the president of the **Utah Republican Latino Coalition**."
Vermont	Lefrak, M. & Poux, S. (2023, Nov. 16) 'Now I have my voice here': The impact of noncitizen voting in Vermont.' *Vermont Public/Vermont PBS*	"Mikaela Lefrak: Do you have any concerns that the push for noncitizen voting is a push by **local Democratic leaders to expand the democratic electorate**? Paul Dame (**Vermont GOP Chair**): I think that's certainly a possibility. **I don't know if that's the case**, because I feel like a lot of the people I've talked to who have been **immigrants** and who have started to become more **interested in voting** are coming from **all different backgrounds**. I think they're just as diverse as the rest of Vermonters."
	Lamdin, C. (2020, Jan. 22) 'Burlington Considers Allowing Noncitizens to Vote — Again.' *Seven Days*	"On a recent Friday, 28 year old Zakaria Hassan chatted with a group of young men and women at his mother's halal grocery store on **Burlington's** North Street...'I wanna vote for **Trump**, but I ain't got my **citizenship**,' Hassan called out."
Virginia	Sanchez, B. (2021, Oct. 17). "Have you voted yet?': McAuliffe and Youngkin seek Latino support in Virginia governor race.' *CNN Politics.*	"A **former undocumented immigrant,** Castro immigrated to the United States in 1980, fleeing a civil war in El Salvador...Castro, who also hosted [**Virginia** Republican Governor candidate Glenn] Youngkin in September, says **his values align better with the GOP**. But extremist rhetoric and discrimination toward immigrants like himself have turned him off. 'When we had good **Republicans** running the country, we had great opportunities, and we kind of like identified with a lot of them ... with the **Democrats**, we have some difficulties because some of them lean too much into social issues that only bring, you know, division,' he said."

	Rozell, M. (2022, Aug. 1). 'The Virginia GOP is eroding Democrats' hold on Latino voters' *The Washington Post*	"Though Latino support for the **Democratic Party** today is stronger than for the **GOP**, there are cracks in the foundation, with **Republicans** having reached out successfully to various **Latino** groups. It was manifest in some U.S. House races in 2020, and **Republicans** are using the formula again in this year's congressional midterms...**Latinos are not politically monolithic** because of differences in cultures, beliefs, nations of origin and practices among Latino peoples...But this much is clear: In 2021, **the GOP** addressed drubbings in every **Virginia** election at every level since Trump first appeared on the ballot in 2016 by adopting more inclusive messaging toward **minority groups**, particularly **Latinos**."
Washington	Hyde, D. (2022, Oct. 3). 'Republicans and Democrats vie for Latino voters in the Northwest midterms.' *KUOW (NPR network)*	"Post-2020 claims that **Latinos** are suddenly **lurching right**, which are being advanced by some political analysts, are missing some important historical context, [Northwestern professor Geraldo] Cadava said. 'Over the past 50 years, **between a quarter and a third of Latinos** have voted for **Republicans**, Cadava said. 'Sometimes it's been a little less, sometimes it's been a little more.' Cadava thinks Latinos may now be **voting** more **Republican** than in previous election cycles, particularly people with less formal education who live in rural areas like the Yakima Valley in Central **Washington**. 'Like a lot of these rural voters, their values are **more conservative**,' he said. 'They have **more conservative values** than **Latinos** in cities, and in that sense these **Republican Latino** voters are a lot like Trump voters elsewhere,' he said."
Washington, D.C.	Dinan, S. (2022, Feb. 3) 'Voting integrity group sues to stop NYC noncitizen voting' *The Washington Times*	" 'This particular legislation is going to **shift the power dynamics** in New York City in a major way...,' she [Council Member Laurie Cumbo] said. She complained, in particular, that **many more Latino voters** than Black voters **backed President Trump** in elections."

West Virginia	Balz, D. (2022, Oct. 25). 'The Latino vote shifted toward Republicans in 2020. Will it again?'. *The Washington Post*	"Iris Ramos Jones, 37, came to the United States from Ecuador, nine years ago. Married and the mother of a young daughter, she works as a Realtor, is **registered as a Republican** and fears that the Democrats are taking the country in a socialist direction...Jones **embodies the story of many immigrants** who have come to the United States over generations. When she arrived, she found herself in rural **West Virginia**...Jones's identification with the **Republicans**, she said, is based on values. 'There are **good things about both parties**, but my personal values are more aligned with them...' she said."
	Cartagena, C. (2018, Sept. 25). 'Ignored Latino vote will be key in future elections.' *The Hill*	"We may also see a Latino effect in non-traditional states like Georgia or Ohio or even in **West Virginia**'s 3rd District, where a **Latino** who **voted for Trump** in 2016 is running as a pro-labor, pro-gun **Democrat**...**Both parties** and all political operatives better figure out how to attract these voters to their camp."
Wisconsin	Ordoñez, F. (2023, Sept. 3). 'In a state where elections can be close, Wisconsin Latinos learn their political power.' *NPR*	" '**Most Latinos are not 'committed Democratic ideologues**,' explained Ben Marquez, a political science professor at the University of **Wisconsin**-Madison. '**Republicans** don't need to win the **Latino vote**,' said Marquez, who specializes in Latino studies. 'They just need to take a big **chunk out of the traditional Democratic vote**.'... 'Recent trends show that more and more **Hispanics** and **Latinos** are becoming **conservative**," said Deleon [chairman of the Milwaukee County **Republican** party], who has **Latino roots** himself."
	Holmes, U. (2022, Oct. 30) 'The Growing Power of Latino Voters' *Wisconsin Examiner*. Reprinted in *Urban Milwaukee*, *Milwuakee Independent*, *Racine County Eye*	"Yet there's also what some panelists called '**the myth of the monolithic Latino voter**.' A reductionist idea that casts one of the city's most influential voting blocks in a one dimensional light. For panelist Paru Shah, an associate professor of political science at UW-Milwaukee, the complexity of Latino voters was showcased in 2020. 'I think that what we're seeing this year **nationwide, including in Milwaukee**, is that there are a lot of issues that are **not party-specific**,' said Shah."

E.1.2 Official Statements

Official and public statements on noncitizen legislation in locations recently (re)enfranchising noncitizens echo this ambiguity in the partisanship of these new voters. These statements—presented in Table E.4—were collected by reviewing all publicly available videos, transcripts, and material for public hearings between 2016 and August 2022 (i.e., the national survey field date). Unfortunately, we could not rely on official opinions from every state as only a select number of states had recent public legislative debates on noncitizen voting rights either in favor of or against.[19] This included all publicly available information for legislation introduced for partisan races, including New York City (Int 1867 Jan. 23 2020-Jan. 10 2022) and Washington, D.C. (B24-0300: June 9-July 7 2022; B21-0028: Jan. 20-July 8 2015). Public comments are confined to those made in local council hearings.

Similar to media reporting, very few public and official statements discussed party preferences of noncitizens. These comments were more prevalent among Councilmembers in New York City and public witnesses in Washington, D.C., who highlighted the potential variability in party preferences of the diverse noncitizen voting block. Across all reviewed material, some statements expressed concern with the potential of noncitizens supporting the Republican party (e.g., "*many of our Latino brothers and sisters voted Republican*"), some assumed noncitizens would support Democrats (e.g., "*they would love to vote in the Democratic Primary*"), while others explicitly referenced noncitizens would vote for both parties (e.g., "*This measure will also change some districts, Republican to Democratic, Democratic to Republican*"; "*It will not add more votes to one party or the other*"). In sum, expert reporting and those closest to the legislation themselves indicated that noncitizens could reasonably be expected to support either political party.

[19]Records covering noncitizen voting rights are unavailable in Cheverly and Mount Rainer. Records in Chevy Chase (Council Meeting Nov. 11 & Dec. 10 2018), Hyattsville (Regular Meeting Nov. 7, Nov. 21, & Dec. 5, 2016; Public Hearing Oct. 26, 2016), Riverdale Park (Legislative Meeting Minutes May 7, 2018; Work Session Minutes April 30, 2018) in Maryland and Montpelier (City Council Special Meeting Oct. 3, 2018; Regular Meeting Oct. 29, 2018) and Winooski (City Council Meetings Aug. 3 & 18, & Nov. 2 2020; Special Public Hearing Sept. 9, 2020) in Vermont were reviewed and included no mention of partisanship. Statements were made, however, regarding the ambiguity of who would exercise their right to vote (e.g., "*Truth be told, I don't know how many people are going to come out. It's not as if this is a big issue in Takoma Park...but we want to hear their voices and think that they matter.*" Hyattsville Councilmember Shani Warner. Nov. 7, 2016.) and the diversity of this potential new voting block (e.g., "*The benefit of this, is we will hear from our diverse community...This is not a black-and-white issue...There are so many White Americans who are here who are not citizens who cannot exercise their voice.*" Winooski Councilmember Hal Colston. Sept. 29, 2020.). Recent state bans on noncitizen voting with citizen ballot initiatives did not require public debate and are therefore not reviewed (i.e., Colorado, Florida, and North Dakota). The Alabama referendum was legislatively initiated and approved on May 30, 2019, with unanimous support, including both Democratic and Republican State Representatives. Records of this legislative discussion are, however, unfortunately, currently unavailable.

Table E.4: U.S. Official and Public Comments on Non-Citizen Voting Legislation

Quote	**Source**
Official Comments	
Councilmember Cumbo: "This is essentially in many ways– this is going to–**this particular legislation is going to shift the power dynamics in New York City in a major way,** and we do not have the numbers or the information to know how that is going to impact African-American communities who have been the most vulnerable in their existence in New York City...**This measure will also change some districts, Republican to Democratic, Democratic to Republican**. This is going to change our communities in a major way." *Councilmember Cumbo*: "We saw in the presidential election that **many other ethnic groups voted Republican** jeopardizing the entire future of this country by voting Republican. No offense to my Republican brothers and sisters here. I just want to be clear here, that my concern is how this is going to impact African-American communities. We can't leave that up to circumstance." *Councilmember Cumbo*: "...the top three ethnic groups that will benefit from this is the Dominican Republic, China, as well as Mexico. Those are the three groups that are going to benefit the most from this in a very substantial way. As I read in Dem Conference about during the presidential election how **many of our Latino brothers and sisters voted Republican** for President Trump. That concerns me of activating this particular bill because of that reason."	The New York City Council Stated Meeting. Hybrid Hearing. December 9, 2021.
Councilmember Yeger: "**It's not about a particular segment of the community.** He listed the different...voting blocks and he's right. It wouldn't be limited to one particular segment, it would be everybody who has this right granted by the statute, as long as the statute is legal."	The New York City Council Committee on Governmental Operations. Remote Hearing. December 8, 2021.
Councilmember Rodriguez: "**This is bipartisan**. This is not about Democrats or about progressives or socialists. It is about giving people a voice. From the people who came from the Former Soviet Union. I have many of them who live in Bennet Avenue...When we think about this particular group who could benefit, we look at Latinos, Asians, and Black...but this is about people who are Italian, Irish...they are here in the City of New York to do their jobs. We will be giving those individuals a voice."	The New York City Council Committee on Governmental Operations. Remote Hearing. September 20, 2021.
Executive Director Mike Ryan, Board of Elections: "In this city, you'll have **democratic primaries** in areas where you don't have **republican primaries**. So, if you're not an eligible voter for that contest, your name will not appear in the poll list book, whether it be a paper book or whether it's the electronic poll votes now."	
Chairperson Levin: "Now, what's the penalty if a **registered republican is given a democratic primary ballot** and votes in a democratic primary, is there a penalty to that voter?"	

Public Statements	
Ahmed Abu-Khalaf, DC Resident "I also felt that I was neglected during the campaign seasons because I did not receive **any substantial candidate or campaign outreach** during the 2018 election season because I could not vote...I've been engaged in local elections both as a volunteer who canvases with **different DC campaigns** and also as an informed voter who pays close attention to decisions made by local officials."	Council of the District of Columbia. Committee on the Judiciary & Public Safety. Public Hearing on Bill B24-0300. July 7, 2022.
Aura Angelica, Public Witness: "The budget is an important way for folks to decide on what we are going to prioritize, what we going to see, **who we are going to support**...I wish folks who left the country for whatever reason...would be able to have a voice in that...there is no reason any of you Councilmembers...there is no reason you all have to listen to our permanent holder neighbors or our documented neighbors..."	
Martín Miguel Fernández, DC Resident: "I ran for office a couple of years ago in Ward 2 as an **Independent** and I've experienced firsthand hand there are a lot of disenfranchised immigrant voters but predominately Latino voters...perhaps about 5,000...10,000 foreign-born folks [in Ward 2] would not be able to vote without this legislation."	
Eric Goulet, Ward 3 resident: "Many non-citizen, permanent residents I spoke with lamented that they would love to be able sign and vote in the **Democratic Primary**, but were unable to do so, because they were not United States citizens."	
Cybele Mayes-Osterman, Ward 2 resident: "And with permanent noncitizen residents comprising around 1 in 14 residents in the country, this is **no small or insignificant voting block**."	
Kishan Putta, Chair DC Democratic Party AAPI Caucus, Advisory Neighborhood Commissioner: "We did issue a questionnaire in the 2020 general election to candidates about this issue...There was one candidate who said they wanted to transition to start with the **non-partisan races**—the ANC and School Boards—but everyone else said that **partisan races** were fine with them as well."	
Maria S. Gomez, President and CEO of Mary's Center: "This Bill is not taking rights from anyone. It will not add, really, a substantial amount of votes—specifically Latino votes. **It will not add more votes to one party or the other.** Instead, it will provide more voices on issues that we all care about."	Council of the District of Columbia Committee on the Judiciary. Public Hearing on Bill 21-0028. July 8, 2015.
Jumanne Williams, Public Advocate: "This means city residents will fund, use, and provide essential government services of no political voice and how these services are funded and operated. It also means that **elected leaders have no political incentive to advance policies that are of interest to these residents**. Even when those policies most adversely affect them."	The New York City Council Committee on Governmental Operations. Remote Hearing. September 20, 2021.

E.1.3 Partisan Identification of Individuals with Immigrant Roots

Table E.5 presents the proportion of Asian and Latino U.S. residents by partisan identification based on data from Nationscape (Tausanovitch and Vavreck, 2021). Nationscape is an 18-month election study around the 2020 U.S. elections. The project started in July 2019 and concluded in February 2021. During this period, the project collected around half a million individual responses, resulting in 22,565 responses from Asian-origin U.S. residents and 71,025 Latin American-origin U.S. residents. While this data is not representative of state populations, it is the largest survey ever conducted around a U.S. election, allowing us to assess partisan dynamics.

The expert opinions we describe above often assume that noncitizens' partisanship and vote choices resemble those of Asian American or Latino voters. Based on these inferences, experts often conclude that noncitizen vote choices are ambiguous and that large proportions of noncitizens in a given state could turn out to vote for either party. The partisan identification of Asian and Latino U.S. residents presented in Table E.5 suggests that, assuming that the partisan identification of noncitizens resembles that of Asian American or Latino residents, as experts do, in every state, there is a positive probability of noncitizens with a Latino or Asian background identifying with either party.

Table E.5: Asian and Latino Party Identification

	Asian PID					Latino PID				
State	Dem	Rep	Ind	Something else	Num. obs.	Dem	Rep	Ind	Something else	Num. obs.
AK	0.42	0.38	0.18	0.02	45	0.34	0.24	0.26	0.16	80
AL	0.30	0.36	0.30	0.05	87	0.40	0.32	0.23	0.05	352
AR	0.35	0.24	0.37	0.04	49	0.41	0.19	0.29	0.11	197
AZ	0.27	0.30	0.35	0.08	281	0.37	0.27	0.29	0.07	1665
CA	0.48	0.18	0.29	0.05	4861	0.46	0.21	0.26	0.07	9571
CO	0.44	0.16	0.37	0.04	179	0.39	0.22	0.32	0.07	1019
CT	0.37	0.09	0.50	0.04	135	0.43	0.15	0.32	0.10	564
DC	0.55	0.17	0.24	0.03	29	0.61	0.18	0.16	0.06	152
DE	0.40	0.16	0.42	0.02	43	0.53	0.18	0.26	0.04	138
FL	0.44	0.19	0.32	0.06	736	0.41	0.26	0.28	0.06	5598
GA	0.44	0.25	0.25	0.06	402	0.41	0.25	0.26	0.08	1140
HI	0.46	0.22	0.27	0.06	632	0.36	0.21	0.29	0.15	147
IA	0.43	0.17	0.35	0.05	63	0.42	0.20	0.32	0.07	225
ID	0.22	0.33	0.39	0.06	36	0.31	0.31	0.29	0.08	180
IL	0.47	0.20	0.28	0.05	683	0.51	0.18	0.25	0.06	1864
IN	0.28	0.26	0.36	0.10	140	0.40	0.22	0.32	0.06	478
KS	0.28	0.36	0.28	0.08	86	0.36	0.26	0.29	0.10	333
KY	0.25	0.27	0.45	0.04	85	0.37	0.31	0.25	0.07	258
LA	0.23	0.22	0.48	0.06	108	0.34	0.28	0.30	0.07	380
MA	0.49	0.15	0.33	0.03	334	0.46	0.14	0.32	0.08	665
MD	0.49	0.15	0.32	0.04	312	0.53	0.16	0.24	0.07	591
ME	0.27	0.18	0.36	0.18	11	0.27	0.37	0.26	0.10	62
MI	0.40	0.23	0.31	0.06	314	0.42	0.23	0.28	0.06	741
MN	0.51	0.20	0.23	0.06	194	0.43	0.20	0.30	0.07	313
MO	0.36	0.32	0.26	0.06	164	0.33	0.30	0.27	0.10	421
MS	0.45	0.28	0.21	0.06	47	0.38	0.30	0.29	0.02	163
MT	0.45	0.36	0.18	0.00	11	0.22	0.26	0.32	0.20	65
NC	0.24	0.24	0.47	0.05	279	0.37	0.25	0.31	0.07	972
ND	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.14	14	0.33	0.37	0.21	0.10	52
NE	0.31	0.17	0.52	0.00	42	0.32	0.18	0.41	0.10	165
NH	0.37	0.31	0.29	0.03	35	0.37	0.23	0.33	0.07	91
NJ	0.53	0.15	0.26	0.05	672	0.46	0.20	0.28	0.07	1588
NM	0.27	0.40	0.23	0.10	52	0.42	0.21	0.31	0.07	701
NV	0.40	0.21	0.32	0.08	273	0.44	0.21	0.29	0.07	725
NY	0.51	0.17	0.27	0.06	1558	0.51	0.20	0.23	0.06	4276
OH	0.32	0.25	0.39	0.05	296	0.39	0.24	0.30	0.08	866
OK	0.29	0.28	0.34	0.09	88	0.34	0.28	0.29	0.09	369
OR	0.54	0.16	0.25	0.05	209	0.40	0.21	0.30	0.08	473
PA	0.43	0.23	0.29	0.05	395	0.48	0.20	0.25	0.07	1168
RI	0.46	0.15	0.27	0.12	26	0.37	0.19	0.35	0.09	162
SC	0.24	0.38	0.28	0.09	74	0.37	0.29	0.27	0.07	364
SD	0.45	0.18	0.36	0.00	11	0.21	0.40	0.37	0.02	43
TN	0.33	0.20	0.38	0.09	128	0.28	0.27	0.34	0.10	449
TX	0.36	0.25	0.33	0.06	1148	0.41	0.23	0.28	0.08	7231
UT	0.22	0.41	0.26	0.11	81	0.34	0.24	0.31	0.12	333
VA	0.43	0.19	0.33	0.06	415	0.46	0.21	0.26	0.08	841
VT	0.62	0.25	0.12	0.00	8	0.26	0.26	0.37	0.11	19
WA	0.50	0.13	0.30	0.07	491	0.37	0.22	0.30	0.11	817
WI	0.42	0.23	0.30	0.05	154	0.43	0.21	0.29	0.08	464
WV	0.20	0.20	0.55	0.05	20	0.33	0.31	0.26	0.10	111
WY	0.50	0.17	0.17	0.17	6	0.20	0.40	0.27	0.13	46

Notes: Proportion of Asian and Latino respondents who identify as Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else. Data from Nationscape around the 2020 U.S. elections.

F IRB Protocols and Approvals

F.1 Expert Interview Approvals

UF | Institutional Review Board
UNIVERSITY of FLORIDA

Behavioral/NonMedical Institutional Review Board
FWA00005790

PO Box 112250
Gainesville FL 32611-2250
Telephone: (352) 392−0433
Facsimile: (352) 392−9234
Email: irb@ufl.edu

DATE: 7/6/2021
TO: Hannah Alarian
PO Box 11507
Gainesville, Florida 32611-0001
FROM: Ira Fischler, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus
Chair IRB-02

IRB#: **IRB202101522**
TITLE: Non-Citizen Voting Rights in the United States

Approved as Exempt

You have received IRB approval to conduct the above-listed research project. Approval of this project was granted on 7/6/2021 by IRB-02. This study is approved as exempt because it poses minimal risk and is approved under the following exempt category/categories:

> (2) Research that only includes interactions involving educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior (including visual or auditory recording) if at least one of the following criteria is met: (i) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; (ii) Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation; or (iii) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects can readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, and an IRB conducts a limited IRB review to make the determination required by §46.111(a)(7).

Special Note(s) to Investigator:

Exempt approved studies will not have an approval stamp on the consents, fliers, emails, etc. However, the documents reviewed are the ones to be used. If you need to modify the document(s) in any manner then you'd need to submit to our office for review and approval prior to implementation.

Effective immediately, UF Research will adopt the UF Campus COVID-19 Guidelines found at https://coronavirus.ufl.edu/resources/health-guidance/ as the requirements for UF research activities, with the exception of certain human subject research.

Principal Investigator Responsibilities:

The PI is responsible for the conduct of the study.

- Using currently approved consent form to enroll subjects (if applicable)
- Obtaining approval for revisions before implementation
- Reporting Adverse Events
- Retention of Research Records
- Obtaining approval to conduct research at the VA
- Notifying other parties about this project's approval status

Should the nature of the study change or you need to revise the protocol in any manner please contact this office prior to implementation at 352-392-0433 or via email at irb@ufl.edu.

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Institutional Review Board
3600 Civic Center Blvd., 9th Floor
Philadelphia, PA 19104
Phone: 215-573-2540
(Federalwide Assurance # 00004028)

DATE:	08-Jul-2021
TO:	Stephanie Zonszein
CC:	
RE:	
IRB PROTOCOL#:	849308
PROTOCOL TITLE:	Non-Citizen Voting Rights in the United States
SPONSOR:	NO SPONSOR NUMBER
REVIEW BOARD:	IRB #8

IRB SUBMISSION: NOTICE OF EXEMPTION

Dear Dr. Zonszein,

The above referenced protocol was reviewed by the Institutional Review Board on 07-Jul-2021. It has been determined that the proposal meets eligibility criteria for IRB review exemption authorized by 45 CFR 46.104, category 2.

ONGOING REVIEW:

- The IRB must be kept apprised of any and all changes in the research that may have an impact on the IRB review mechanism needed for a specific proposal. You are required to submit modifications to the IRB if any changes are proposed in the study that might alter the exemption determination, or any applicable HIPAA waiver determination. New procedures that may have an impact on the exemption determination, or HIPAA waiver determination cannot be initiated until Committee approval has been given.
- Consistent with the federal regulations, IRB approval of this protocol will not expire and no continuing reviews will be required for this protocol. The IRB may occasionally contact you to confirm that the trial is still ongoing and that you are adhering the previously stated requirement to submit modifications.

COMMITTEE APPROVALS: You are responsible for assuring and maintaining other relevant committee approvals. This human subjects research protocol should not commence until all relevant committee approvals have been obtained.

If your study is funded by an external agency, please retain this letter as documentation of the IRB's determination regarding your proposal.

If you have any questions about the information in this letter, please contact the IRB administrative staff. A full listing of staff members and contact information can be found on our website: http://www.irb.upenn.edu

***This letter constitutes official University of Pennsylvania IRB correspondence. ***

F.2 Experiment Approvals

UF | Institutional Review Board
UNIVERSITY of FLORIDA

Behavioral/NonMedical Institutional Review Board
FWA00005790

PO Box 112250
Gainesville FL 32611-2250
Telephone: (352) 392−0433
Facsimile: (352) 392−9234
Email: irb@ufl.edu

DATE: 2/17/2022
TO: Hannah Alarian
PO BOX 11507
GAINESVILLE , Florida 326110001
FROM: Ira Fischler, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus
Chair IRB-02

IRB#: **IRB202200316**
TITLE: Florida Voter Attitudes

Approved as Exempt

You have received IRB approval to conduct the above-listed research project. Approval of this project was granted on 2/17/2022 by IRB-02. This study is approved as exempt because it poses minimal risk and is approved under the following exempt category/categories:

(3)(i) Research involving benign behavioral interventions in conjunction with the collection of information from an adult subject through verbal or written responses (including data entry) or audiovisual recording if the subject prospectively agrees to the intervention and information collection and at least one of the following criteria is met: (A) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; (B) Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation; or (C) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects can readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, and an IRB conducts a limited IRB review to make the determination required by §46.111(a)(7). (ii) For the purpose of this provision, benign behavioral interventions are brief in duration, harmless, painless, not physically invasive, not likely to have a significant adverse lasting impact on the subjects, and the investigator has no reason to think the subjects will find the interventions offensive or embarrassing. Provided all such criteria are met, examples of such benign behavioral interventions would include having the subjects play an online game, having them solve puzzles under various noise conditions, or having them decide how to allocate a nominal amount of received cash between themselves and someone else. (iii) If the

research involves deceiving the subjects regarding the nature or purposes of the research, this exemption is not applicable unless the subject authorizes the deception through a prospective agreement to participate in research in circumstances in which the subject is informed that he or she will be unaware of or misled regarding the nature or purposes of the research.

Approval Includes, but is not limited to:

Documents and procedures as submitted to the IRB

Special notes to Investigator (if applicable):

Reviewer Notes: 0 Reviewer Notes

Principal Investigator Responsibilities:

The PI is responsible for the conduct of the study. Please review these responsibilities described at: http://irb.ufl.edu/irb01/researcher-information/researcherresponsibilities.html
Important responsibilities described at the above link include:

- Using currently approved consent form to enroll subjects (if applicable)
- Renewing your study before expiration
- Obtaining approval for revisions before implementation
- Reporting Adverse Events
- Retention of Research Records
- Obtaining approval to conduct research at the VA
- Notifying other parties about this project's approval status

Study Team:

Payton Capes-Davis Study Coordinator

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UF | Institutional Review Board
UNIVERSITY of FLORIDA

Behavioral/NonMedical Institutional Review Board
FWA00005790

PO Box 112250
Gainesville FL 32611-2250
Telephone: (352) 392–0433
Facsimile: (352) 392–9234
Email: irb@ufl.edu

DATE: 6/28/2022
TO: Hannah Alarian
PO BOX 11507
Gainesville, Florida 326110001
FROM: Ira Fischler, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus
Chair IRB-02

IRB#: **Revision 2 for IRB Study #IRB202200316**
TITLE: Florida Voter Attitudes

Revision Approved - Exempt

On 6/28/2022 , the IRB reviewed and approved your revision:

Revision 2 for IRB Study #IRB202200316

Approval Includes, but is not limited to:

Changes to recruitment

Changes to survey

In the myIRB system, exempt approved studies will not have an approval stamp on the consents, fliers, emails, etc. However, the documents reviewed are the ones to be used. If you need to modify the document(s) in any manner, then you'd need to submit to our office for review and approval prior to implementation.

Thank you for keeping the IRB informed about your research project, thereby allowing us to keep accurate files. If the IRB staff can be of any further assistance, please feel free to call.

Study Team:

Payton	**Capes-Davis**	**Study Coordinator**

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Institutional Review Board
3600 Civic Center Blvd., 9th Floor
Philadelphia, PA 19104
Phone: 215-573-2540
(Federalwide Assurance # 00004028)

DATE:	25-Feb-2022
TO:	Stephanie Zonszein
CC:	
RE:	
IRB PROTOCOL#:	850869
PROTOCOL TITLE:	Florida Voter Attitudes
SPONSOR:	NO SPONSOR NUMBER
REVIEW BOARD:	IRB #8

IRB SUBMISSION: NOTICE OF EXEMPTION

Dear Dr. Zonszein,

The above referenced protocol was reviewed by the Institutional Review Board on 24-Feb-2022. It has been determined that the proposal meets eligibility criteria for IRB review exemption authorized by 45 CFR 46.104, category 3.

ONGOING REVIEW:

- The IRB must be kept apprised of any and all changes in the research that may have an impact on the IRB review mechanism needed for a specific proposal. You are required to submit modifications to the IRB if any changes are proposed in the study that might alter the exemption determination, or any applicable HIPAA waiver determination. New procedures that may have an impact on the exemption determination, or HIPAA waiver determination cannot be initiated until Committee approval has been given.
- Consistent with the federal regulations, IRB approval of this protocol will not expire and no continuing reviews will be required for this protocol. The IRB may occasionally contact you to confirm that the trial is still ongoing and that you are adhering the previously stated requirement to submit modifications.

COMMITTEE APPROVALS: You are responsible for assuring and maintaining other relevant committee approvals. This human subjects research protocol should not commence until all relevant committee approvals have been obtained.

If your study is funded by an external agency, please retain this letter as documentation of the IRB's determination regarding your proposal.

If you have any questions about the information in this letter, please contact the IRB administrative staff. A full listing of staff members and contact information can be found on our website: http://www.irb.upenn.edu

***This letter constitutes official University of Pennsylvania IRB correspondence. ***

F.3 Experiment Protocols

UF | myIRB

Date: Thursday, February 10, 2022 12:09:49 PM Print Close

ID: IRB202200316

Study Title and Staff

All items marked with an orange asterisk ( ) are required. Items without an asterisk may or may not be required depending on whether the items are applicable to this study.*

1.0 * IRB Committee:

IRB-02

* **1.1** Is this a multi-institutional research project where the UF IRB will be the single IRB of record for other participating sites OR are you ceding review to another IRB of record? (IAAs are required between UF and other institutions)

○ **Yes** ● **No**

2.0 * Project Title:

Florida Voter Attitudes

3.0 Short Title:

Florida Attitudes

4.0 Provide a summary description or abstract for this study:

The aim of this study is to assess Florida voter attitudes on a policy. Using a survey-experimental design, we aim to understand the role of partisan affiliation in predicting attitudes toward a policy expanding voting rights to non-citizens.

* **4.1** Is this a OneFlorida study?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

* **4.2** Is this project a SUS Reciprocity study?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

5.0 * Principal Investigator:

Hannah Alarian	**LS-POLITICAL SCIENCE**	UF	**PhD - Assistant Professor**

☑ **Interacts or intervenes directly (including "remote" interactions by phone, internet, etc.) with study subjects**

☐ Performs study related activities but does not interact directly with the study subjects

☑ **Obtains informed consent**

☐ Accesses or obtains, for research purposes, any Protected Health Information [PHI] from a paper or Electronic Medical Record [EMR]

- ☐ Enters research related orders into EPIC for subsequent study physician or provider's electronic signature approval
- ☑ **Evaluates any Adverse Events, Unanticipated Events, and Protocol Deviations**
- ☐ UF Student
- ☐ Volunteer (i.e. you are not staff, student or faculty at UF/Shands/VA)
- ☐ OneFlorida Site PI

6.0 Study Staff:

(HDE-ONLY: SEE IMPORTANT HELPTEXT)

Name	Role	Function	Affiliations	Degree/Title
Payton Study Capes-Davis	Coordinator	▪ **Interacts or intervenes directly (including "remote" interactions by phone, internet, etc.) with study subjects** ▪ **UF Student**	**UF**	**Research Assistant**

7.0 * Is this study a NIH funded clinical trial?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

8.0 * Is this study related to COVID-19/Coronavirus?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Researcher Training Summary

1.0 **Researcher Training Summary**

1.1 PI Training:
Hannah Alarian:

Course ID	Name	Completed	Course Due
IRB803	**IRB Training**	**9/15/2019**	**9/14/2022**

1.2 Study Staff Training:
Payton Kristina Capes-Davis

Course ID	Name	Completed	Course Due
IRB803	IRB Training	12/28/2021	12/27/2024

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Requested Review Type

1.0 * Requested Review Type:

- ○ Non-Human
- ○ Data/Chart Review
- ○ Banking Only
- ● **Exempt**
- ○ Expedited
- ○ Full Board

2.0 * Will you be using Clinical and Translational Science Institute [CTSI] resources (including, but not limited to RedCap, CTSI Biorepository, Healthstreet)? Please see link provided in the help text for a complete list.

○ **Yes** ● **No**

3.0 Full Board Agenda Group:
(choose one, if applicable)
Indicate if submissions related to study should be reviewed in a Full Board group category

4.0 * Will information gained from this project result in publication in an ICMJE member Journal?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

5.0 * Is this research considered "classified"?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Oncology SRMC Determination

1.0 * Does this study require that patients have a known diagnosis (current or previous) or suspected diagnosis of cancer as part of the eligibility criteria?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

2.0 * Is this study looking at cancer relevant aims, endpoints or outcomes (including any studies involving tobacco use, cessation or prevention) (i.e. related to cancer treatment, supportive care, control, diagnosis, screening, prevention, risk factors or other cancer specific research)?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

3.0 * Do you plan to exclusively enroll patients with a known diagnosis (current or previous) or suspected diagnosis of cancer?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

For more information on studies that require SRMC review, click here

NOTE: If you answered yes to any of the questions above, the UFHCC Scientific Review and Monitoring Committee (SRMC) will need to review this study to determine if SRMC review is required. To submit for SRMC review and determination, please complete the new submission request form found at: https://sharepoint.ahc.ufl.edu/research/cro/Intake/SitePages/Home.aspx

If SRMC review is required, please ensure that the IRB application requests collection of all SRMC required datapoints based on the SRMC level of review assigned. More information can be found at: https://cancer.ufl.edu/wordpress/files/2019/05/ADM-004-V3-2019-02-20.pdf

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Individual Conflict of Interest [COI] and Affiliation Summary

This page is to show you whether or not all Study Staff have "Agreed to Participate" on the project (as indicated in the "Agreed" column below).

It will also provide you with information as to whether or not the study staff have a conflict of interest [COI] or are considered an unaffiliated investigator [Affiliations/UIA].

Be sure that you send an email to your study staff to notify them to execute the "Agree to Participate" activity. Use the **Send Email to Study Team** activity to notify them.

1.0 Individual Conflict of Interest [COI] and Affiliation Summary

Name	Role	Agreed	COI	COI Compliance Doc	Doc	Affiliation	UIA Doc
Payton Capes-Davis	Study Coordinator	yes	no			UF	

2.0 PI Conflict of Interest and Affiliation Summary

	PI Name	Agreed	COI	COI Compliance Doc	Doc	Affiliation	UIA Doc
View	**Hannah Alarian**	**yes**	**no**			**UF**	

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Study Locations

1.0 * Where are you going to conduct this project?
(choose all that apply)

- [x] **UF and/or UF Health**
- [ ] UF and/or UF Health Jacksonville
- [ ] VA
- [ ] Baptist/Wolfson
- [ ] Sacred Heart
- [ ] Nemours
- [ ] Florida Department of Health
- [ ] Halifax
- [ ] Community Health Northwest Florida (Escambia Clinic)
- [x] **Other sites in the USA**
- [ ] Other sites outside the USA

2.0 Are you getting any data or tissue from international locations?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

3.0 Name a lead site investigator if any of the following is true:

More than one (1) UF location is selected
OR
One (1) UF location is selected in combination with a non-UF location and the PI for the study is not at both locations

Stephanie Zonszein
(University of Pennsylvania)
. Dr. Zonszein will also
receive IRB approval

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Study Funding

1.0 * Indicate appropriate **funding types** for this project:

- [ ] DHHS, including NIH and NCI or NSF
- [ ] Federal Grant (other than DHHS or VA)
- [ ] Veteran Affairs (VA)
- [ ] State or Local Government
- [ ] Non-Profit Organization
- [ ] Industry
- [ ] Internally Funded, CTSI
- [x] **Internally Funded, Other**
- [ ] No Funding required to initiate or complete this study

NOTE: Industry authored/sponsored, multisite, FDA regulated research in the College of Medicine is required to be submitted to WIRB.
If you wish to submit to IRB-01 and your study is required to be submitted to WIRB, per the above criterion, you must receive written approval from Michael Mahoney.

DO NOT proceed with your submission until approval is received. If Michael Mahoney approves IRB-01 review, attach a copy of the approval to the 'Miscellaneous Attachments' page of this myIRB submission.

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Internal Funding Sources

1.0 * Add information about each **Internal Funding Source** here:

ID	College	Dept	Unit	UFIRST Project	Deadline
ID00048060	COLLEGE-LIBERAL ARTS/SCIENCES	LS-GRAHAM CENTER			

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Funding Summary

1.0 **Funding Sources:**

Government Funding Sources:

ID	Source Name	Other Grant Number	UFIRST Project	Deadline

There are no items to display

External Funding Sources:

ID	Source Name	Other	UFIRST Project	Deadline

There are no items to display

Internal Funding Sources:

ID	College	Dept	Unit	UFIRST Project	Deadline
ID00048060	COLLEGE-LIBERAL ARTS/SCIENCES	LS-GRAHAM CENTER			

1.1 Upload Additional Funding documentation/attachments here:

Document	Description

There are no items to display

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Conflict of Interest - Institutional

1.0 * Does the institution (University of Florida, Shands , or NF/SG VHS) hold a patent or license for any material, object, or process used in this project?

○ Yes ● No

2.0 * Is a patent or license pending or under consideration or is there any intention to file a patent application at a later date?

○ Yes ● No

3.0 * Does the institution (University of Florida, Shands, NF/SG VHS) own stock in the company sponsoring the project?

○ Yes ● No

NOTE: **If the answers to any of these questions change from "No" to "Yes" you must inform the IRB IMMEDIATELY.**

This includes any new investigators who are added to the study at a later date.

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Study Description

1.0 * Explain the **purpose** of the study:

The purpose of this study is to assess Florida perceptions of non-citizen voting rights. Specifically, the study staff is interested in how Florida residents perceive immigrant local voting rights when considering a partisan frame (i.e., whether immigrants would register/vote with the same party vs. an opposing party). We hypothesize that citizens will be more supportive of non-citizen enfranchisement when immigrants share their political affiliation. We aim to use the results to assess whether considering partisan frames improves overall support for immigrant local enfranchisement.

2.0 Describe the **steps involved** in conducting this study.
If applicable, provide details for each of the following:

- the inclusion/exclusion criteria,
- the methods of obtaining the information,
- any coding processes, or the process by which you will never have a link to any identifiers,
- and a data analysis plan

Sample Recruitment
Our sample includes registered Florida voters. We will therefore use the Florida Data File - a publicly available at http://dos.myflorida.com/elections/data-statistics/elections-data/. Using publicly available emails, we will contact participants to ask them to complete our survey. Participants will be selected through a random draw of the Florida Voter File (publicly available). In the initial email about the survey (pre-survey email), participants will be invited to take our survey and provided with information regarding the survey and their rights as a participant (see email correspondence attachment).

After one week, participants will be reminded of their invitation to participate within the survey if they have not already done so. Survey responses will not be merged with the Florida Voter file and therefore respondents will remain anonymous.

We aim to reach a total of 2,250 valid survey responses. To do so, we assume a 1% response rate and a 10% incomplete or invalid survey response rate. We will therefore email a total of 250,000 randomly selected email addresses. The sample size (described in sample population overview) reflects this 250,000 figure as a result, although we do not expect to enroll all of these participants within the study.

Inclusion/exclusion criteria
Participants will be included only if they satisfy all three of the following conditions:
1) are 18 years or older; 2) are currently a registered voter in Florida; 3) are currently residing within the Florida. Therefore only adult Florida registered voters currently residing with Florida will be included. Participants will also need to correctly respond to one bot-captcha check. No other attention checks or possible exclusion will occur for study participation.

Methods of obtaining the information
Once reviewing the email, participants who consent to complete the survey will be redirected to a Qualtrics link where the survey will be hosted. We will disable any collection of IP addresses and limit access to the Qualtrics survey to only those directed from the email link.

Participants will first be asked to confirm they consent to completing the survey after reviewing a consent document. The survey will not continue without a participant directly clicking the arrow. Next, participants will see three questions to make sure they fit the criteria for inclusion within the study (see inclusion criteria above). If they respond negatively to any of the items above, they will excluded from the survey and see a message thanking them for their time and explaining they do not qualify for inclusion.

Once participants again confirm (via a series of yes/no questions) they are 18 years or older, are a registered Florida voter, and currently reside within Florida, they will next be taken to a single bot-check captcha. This captcha is included to rule out the possibility of bots and other non-attentive participants from taking the study.

The study next proceeds with a pre-treatment demographic questionnaire. Here, participants will be asked to respond to a series of survey items assessing benign attitudinal and demographic information. These questions are vague enough so as not to identify the individual from the responses and are modeled after survey items from validated U.S. surveys such as the American National Election Survey.

Once completing this survey block, 1/3 participants will be randomly assigned to reviewing a statement about non-citizen voting rights in the United States. All information is factual regarding both the history and current practice of local non-citizen voting rights in the United States.

The other 2/3 will view this information but with an additional paragraph either indicating new immigrants may register with one's own party (matched partisan affiliation; 1/3) or with a different party (mismatched party affiliation; 1/3). Again, all information is accurate without misinformation as experts and research reveal that immigrants are a diverse voting block, registering and voting across the U.S. political spectrum. See for example expert reporting in the Washington Post (https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/new-york-noncitizen-voting/2021/12/09/b9ef5748-5848-11ec-a808-3197a22b19fa_story.html) and CNN (https://www.cnn.com/2021/12/09/politics/nyc-noncitizens-local-elections-voting-rights/index.html).

The next block occurs for all participants. Here, participants will be asked for their opinions on non-citizen voting rights and citizenship norms. Finally, participants will be thanked for their time and given an option to learn more about non-citizen voting initiatives in the U.S. If a participant wishes to learn more, they will be redirected to an 'about' page of a non-citizen immigrant voting rights organization in New York City. We will count whether an individual clicked the link but no other information once they leave our survey.

Processes to prevent linking to respondents
No identifying information will be collected. Qualtrics is set to not collect any web traffic or IP addresses. Again, survey responses will not be merged with the Florida Voter file and therefore respondents will remain anonymous.

Data analysis plan
We plan to use regression, ANOVA, and qualitative analysis to compare attitudinal variation across the randomly assigned conditions.

3.0 If you are collecting any identifiers, you must include information about the storage and security of your **data** and your plan to de-identify the data as applicable.
No identifiers are collected. We will only be using the Florida Data File for survey dissemination only - no linking to identifying information will occur.

4.0 * By what authority does the Principal Investigator and Co-Investigator(s) have access to the subjects and/or source records/data/documents/specimens?

Participants will opt-in to participation. No authority or power dynamics exist to the best of our knowledge.

5.0 * Will any part of this project include the use of VA personnel, facilities and/or resources? (including, but not limited to, review of medical records or use of tissue specimens)

○ **Yes** ● **No**

5.1 If "Yes", specify **how** and **where** the research will involve VA:

Date Page Modified:

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Human Subject Determination

1.0 * Will you do **ANY** of the following:

1. Examine source records/data/specimens that contain any identifiable information (e.g. Medical Records, x-rays, lab data) (including names, dates, etc.)

   For example, will you look at medical records, tissue samples that possess

patient identifiers, etc?

2. Examine source records/data/specimens that are coded and you will not be able to get a confidentiality agreement with the owner of the code (ie. you do not receive the identity of the subjects, but it is possible that you could find out)?

   For example, (a) you will look at a coded data set or coded tissue samples; (b) the owner of the data/tissue source can identify who the data/tissue belongs to; and (c) you cannot obtain a confidentiality agreement between you and source owner.

3. Have direct contact with study subjects (living individuals)

● **Yes**

○ No You certify that: (a) you will not have contact with study subjects and (b) any source records/data/documents/specimens to be studied are either: (i) completely anonymous; or (ii) are coded and this submission includes a confidentiality agreement with the owner of the code. This study qualifies as "Nonhuman Subjects Research".

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Exempt Data Determination

1.0 * As part of this research are you accessing and examining existing records, data, documents or specimens?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

2.0 * Are you doing **any** of the following types of research?

- Educational/Instructional
- Surveys,Interviews or Observation
- Demonstration Project
- Taste/Food

● **Yes** ○ **No**

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Exempt Regulation Confirmation

1.0 * Indicate which Categories below you believe the research can be approved under.

(3)(i) Research involving benign behavioral interventions in conjunction with the collection of information from an adult subject through verbal or written responses (including data entry) or audiovisual recording if the subject prospectively agrees to the intervention and information collection and at least one of the following criteria is met: (A) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; (B) Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation; or (C) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects can readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, and an IRB conducts a limited IRB review to make the determination required by §46.111(a)(7). (ii) For the purpose of this provision, benign behavioral interventions are brief in duration, harmless, painless, not physically invasive, not likely to have a significant adverse lasting impact on the subjects, and the investigator has no reason to think the subjects will find the interventions offensive or embarrassing. Provided all such criteria are met, examples of such benign behavioral interventions would include having the subjects play an online game, having them solve puzzles under various noise conditions, or having them decide how to allocate a nominal amount of received cash between themselves and someone else. (iii) If the research involves deceiving the subjects regarding the nature or purposes of the research, this exemption is not applicable unless the subject authorizes the deception through a prospective agreement to participate in research in circumstances in which the subject is informed that he or she will be unaware of or misled regarding the nature or purposes of the research.

2.0 * Are you collecting any information that could
(a) be sensitive and possibly affect the reputation, status, or insurability of the research subjects,
(b) place the subject at risk of criminal or civil liability, or
(c) be damaging to the subject's financial standing or employability?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

2.1 If "Yes", describe:

2.2 Describe how you will insure the confidentiality of this information:

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Study Population, Overview

1.0 * Will subjects of a specific race or ethnicity (as defined by NIH) be studied?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

1.1 Indicate if you will target any of the following ethnic groups:

- ☐ Hispanic
- ☐ Non-Hispanic
- ☑ **Will not target a specific ethnic group**

1.2 Indicate if you will target any of the following racial groups?

- ☐ Native American/Alaska Native
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ White

☑ **Will not target any specific racial groups**

1.3 If any racial or ethnic group has been selected, the justification is:

☐ The condition being studied only occurs in the selected group(s)

☐ Other

1.3.1 If "Other", Provide rationale for selection of specific groups

2.0 * Gender:

○ Male

○ Female

● **Both**

2.1 Provide the rationale for studying a single gender:

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Subject Description (Exempt Studies)

1.0 * Type of subjects or subject information to be studied:

View **Adult (18+), registered Florida voters (i.e., citizens), who currently reside in Florida**

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Vulnerable Subjects (Exempt Studies)

1.0 * How many subjects/ records/ specimens will you study?

250000

2.0 * Will vulnerable subjects be considered for participation in this study?

● **Yes** ○ **No**

2.1 If "YES", Specify:

☑ **Pregnant Women**

☐ Human Fetus

☐ Neonates

☐ Children

☐ Prisoners

☐ Decisionally Impaired/Comatose Individuals

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Subject Coercion Assessment (Exempt Studies)

1.0 * Is the PI (or any other investigator involved in the study) the subjects' Physician, Therapist or Counselor?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ● **Not Applicable**

1.1 If "YES", please explain how you will avoid exposing subjects to coercion or undue influence:

2.0 * Is the PI (or any other investigator involved in the study) the subjects' Instructor or Advisor?

- ○ Yes
- ● **No**
- ○ Not Applicable

2.1 If "YES", please explain how you will avoid exposing subjects to coercion or undue influence:

3.0 * Is the PI (or any other investigator involved in the study) the subjects' Supervisor?

- ○ Yes
- ● **No**
- ○ Not Applicable

3.1 If "YES", please explain how you will avoid exposing subjects to coercion or undue influence:

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Study Population Complete

You have completed the Subject Population section.
Please continue to the next section.

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Data Collection

1.0 List where/how you will obtain your data (e.g. where you will give your survey, all sources to be studied, such as medical records, pathology, or directly from subjects themselves, if applicable). Be very specific:

The survey will be conducted through Qualtrics. Survey participants will provide data directly themselves.

2.0 Attach a copy of data collection form(s) or questionnaire(s) that will be used for the study.

	Document	Description
View	Informed Consent (Included on Qualtrics Survey) (0.01)	
View	Qualtrics Questionnaire(0.01)	

3.0 Please describe data points or variables that you have not attached or additional information that is not included in your attachments.

Email correspondences appear under miscellaneous attachments

Date Page Modified:

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Data Collection: Non-Human/Exempt Verification

1.0 * Once data has been collected and stored as part of this research will it be possible for you, and study staff, or any other entity to go back and identify a subject at any point in time?

- [x] **This is exempt research involving surveys, interviews, education, benefit programs, or taste/food (Exempt categories 1, 2, 3, 5, or 6) and there is no risk to subjects should the study records be accidentally disclosed. (Risks could be in relation to insurability, employability, financial, reputation, or civil/criminal liability.) It is not appropriate to select this answer for research conducted on medical records, databases, or specimens.**
- [ ] This is nonhuman research which includes coded data/samples and we are attaching a copy of the confidentiality agreement signed by the investigator (recipient investigator) and the code owner (collector investigator). *
- [x] **Study data is recorded in an anonymous fashion (never coded or linked to the subject) and it is impossible to link the subject to the research data.**

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Data Collection - Records Access IRB-02

1.0 * Will you review any records or collect any data from any facilities other than UF and/or UF Health Shands?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

1.1 If "Yes", list all facilities from which you intend to obtain records or data and upload letter of permission from facility, FWA Information, etc.:

Outside Facility Name Permission Letter, FWA, etc. If No Letter

There are no items to display

Date Page Modified:

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Miscellaneous

1.0 Certificate of Decedent Information Form:

2.0 Approved Social Security Exception Form:

3.0 Upload miscellaneous study attachments below:

Name	Modified Version
Email Correspondences	2/10/2022 12:07 PM 0.01

4.0 List any specific information that needs to be included in the IRB approval letter:

NOTE: **YOU MUST SAVE THIS PAGE TO SAVE ATTACHMENTS**

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Legacy Paper Determination

1.0 * **Is this a conversion from a paper study**?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

2.0 * Is this paper study in the state of Expired Non-renew?

○ **Yes** ● **No**

2.1 If Yes, please state why you want to regenerate this study and your plan for the previously collected data:

Date Page Modified:

ID: IRB202200316

Study: Final Page

Completion Instructions:

1. Select "Finish", to access the Study Workspace.
2. From the Study Workspace, execute the "Submit Study" activity to initiate the approval process.
   This activity is only available to the Principal Investigator.

NOTE: Prior to submitting the study, the PI and all Study Staff must perform the **"Agree To Participate"** activity, located in the My Activities area for this Study.

NOTE: *Please click on the **"Hide/Show Errors"** option. This will open a split screen which will show you any errors that may have occurred during the process of completing the forms. Once you have fixed all of the errors identified by myIRB, you will need to click on the **"Hide/Show Errors"** link again to return the screen to normal size.*

Important Note! If you plan to publish in an ICMJE member journal, you may be required to register your study in ClinicalTrials.gov PRIOR to enrolling the first subject into the study. For assistance with ClinicalTrials.gov questions, please contact 352-273-5946 or email UFCT-gov@ufl.edu .

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Internal Funding Source - Detail

1.0 * Internal Funding Source **Department/College Name**:

LS-GRAHAM CENTER

1.1 If the funding source is CTSI, please select the UFIRST proposal or CTA associated with this funding:

ID: IRB202200316

Yes

Protocol Details

Basic Info

Confirmation Number:	**dfghbhbc**
Protocol Number:	**850869**
Created By:	**ZONSZEIN, STEPHANIE**
Principal Investigator:	**ZONSZEIN, STEPHANIE**
Protocol Title:	**Florida Voter Attitudes**
Short Title:	**Florida Attitudes**
Protocol Description:	**The aim of this study is to assess Florida voter attitudes on a policy. Using a survey-experimental design, we aim to understand the role of partisan affiliation in predicting attitudes toward a policy expanding voting rights to non-citizens.**
Application Type:	**EXEMPT Category 3**

Resubmission*
No

Hospital Sites
Will any research activities and/or services be conducted at a Penn Medicine affiliated hospital site?
No

Study Personnel

Principal Investigator

Name:	**ZONSZEIN, STEPHANIE**
Dept / School / Div:	**119 - Political Science**
Campus Address Mail Code	
Address:	
City State Zip:	
Phone:	
Fax:	
Pager:	
Email:	**szon@sas.upenn.edu**
HS Training Completed:	**Yes**
Training Expiration Date:	
Name of course completed :	**CITI Protection of Human Subjects Research Training - ORA**
GCP Training Completed:	**No**
Training Expiration Date:	
Name of course completed :	

Study Contacts

None

Other Investigator

None

Responsible Org (Department/School/Division):

119 - Political Science

Key Study Personnel

None

Disclosure of Significant Financial Interests*
Does any person who is responsible for the design, conduct, or reporting of this research protocol have a **FINANCIAL INTEREST**?
No

Penn Intellectual Property*
To the best of the Principal Investigator's knowledge, does this protocol involve the testing, development or evaluation of a drug, device, product, or other type of intellectual property (IP) that is owned by or assigned to the University of Pennsylvania?
No

Certification
I have reviewed the *Financial Disclosure and Presumptively Prohibited Conflicts for Faculty Participating in Clinical Trials* and the *Financial Disclosure Policy for Research and Sponsored Projects* with all persons who are responsible for the design, conduct, or reporting of this research; and all required Disclosures have been attached to this application.
Yes

HRPP

Human Source Material*
Does this research include collection or use of human source material (i.e., human blood, blood products, tissues or body fluids)? IF YES, consult the EHRS web site: www.ehrs.upenn.edu/programs/bio/bbpathogens.html for information on OSHA Bloodborne Pathogens requirements (training, vaccination, work practices and Exposure Control Plan). If you have questions, call 215-898-4453.
No

Image Guided Biopsies*
Does the research involve imaging guided biopsy? IF YES, please contact the Clinical Imaging Core. See https://www.med.upenn.edu/cbi for more details. Any questions should be directed to the Director of Research Operations, Dept of Radiology, Kathleen Thomas.
No

HIPAA / Protected Health Information
Does the research proposal involve accessing (viewing / using), collecting, or disclosing of protected health information (PHI) directly from participants or their medical or dental record for research purposes?
No

HIPAA / Protected Health Information
Does the research proposal involve accessing (viewing / using), collecting, or disclosing of protected health information (PHI) directly from participants or their medical or dental record for research purposes?
No

Remote Study Visits
Does the research proposal involve conducting research visits remotely via any type of video conferencing software?

No

Remote Study Visits
Does the research proposal involve conducting research visits remotely via any type of video conferencing software?
No

CHPS Resources*
Does the research involve CHPS resources?
No

HUP Inpatient Nursing Resources
Does this research include an inpatient admission at HUP?
No

Pathology and Laboratory Medicine Resources*
Will samples be collected by hospital phlebotomy and/or processed or analyzed by any of the clinical laboratories of the University of Pennsylvania Health System?
No

Research Involves Apheresis, Cell Collection, and/or Blood Product Collection*
Does this research involve collection of blood products in the Penn Donor Center and/or the use of apheresis for treatment or collection of cells or other blood components?
No

Research involving blood transfusion or drug infusions*
Will your research involve blood transfusion or infusion of study drug in 3 Ravdin Apheresis Unit for research purposes?
No

Trial in Radiation Oncology
Is this research a prospective trial being done in Radiation Oncology, and if so, has this protocol been approved by the Radiation Oncology Protocol committee?
N/A

Study in Radiation Oncology
Is this research a retrospective study being done in Radiation Oncology, and if so, has this project been reviewed by the Radiation Oncology Clinical Research Group?
N/A

Use of UPHS services*
Does your study require the use of University of Pennsylvania Health System (UPHS) services, tests or procedures , whether considered routine care or strictly for research purposes? (UPHS includes all Penn hospitals and clinical practices, including the Clinical Care Associates network of community practices). Examples of UPHS services/tests/procedures includes the Clinical Translational Research Center (CTRC), laboratory tests, use of the pathology lab, cardiovascular imaging tests or radiology imaging tests (whether being billed via the Service Center or through UPHS), other diagnostic tests & procedures and associated professional services, etc.
No

Veteran's Affairs (VA) Patients or Subjects
Does your study involve data from Veteran's Affairs (VA) patients or subjects?
No

If yes, was this approved by the Philadelphia VA?

No

Out of State Research
Will any Penn personnel conduct any research activities outside of the State of Pennsylvania?
No

Research involving Virtua Health
Will any Penn personnel conduct any research activities at a Virtua Health site location, OR in collaboration with Virtua Health System personnel, OR using any Virtua Health System resources (e.g., medical records)?
No

Primary Focus*
Survey research (the main focus of the research is administration of a survey to research subjects)

Protocol Interventions

	Sociobehavioral (i.e. cognitive or behavioral therapy)
	Drug
	Device - therapeutic
	Device - diagnostic (assessing a device for sensitivity or specificity in disease diagnosis)
	Surgical
	Diagnostic test/procedure (research-related diagnostic test or procedure)
	Obtaining human tissue for basic research or biospecimen bank
x	**Survey instrument**
	None of the above

The following documents are currently attached to this item:

There are no documents attached for this item.

Sponsors

Business Administrator

none

Department budget code

000 - 000 - 0 - 000000 - 0000 - 0000 - 0000

Funding Sponsors

Funding sponsors billing address
If you have selected a commercial or industry sponsor, please provide the appropriate address and contact information for the Sponsor for the purposes of billing for IRB review fees (initial review, continuing review and convened modification fees apply here). If the Sponsor is not industry/ commercial, this information is not necessary to provide with your application.

Funding sponsors gift
Is this research being funded by a philanthropic gift?

Project Funding*
Is this project funded by or associated with a grant or contract?
No

Sponsor Funding
Is this study funded by an industry sponsor?

Status of contract

The following documents are currently attached to this item:

There are no documents attached for this item.

Protocol

Objectives

Overall objectives
The purpose of this study is to assess Florida perceptions of non-citizen voting rights. Specifically, the study staff is interested in how Florida residents perceive immigrant local voting rights when considering a partisan frame (i.e., whether immigrants would register/vote with the same party vs. an opposing party). We hypothesize that citizens will be more supportive of non-citizen enfranchisement when immigrants share their political affiliation. We aim to use the results to assess whether considering partisan frames improves overall support for immigrant local enfranchisement.

Background
What shapes support for expanding suffrage to electorally include new segments of the population? An ideological approach suggests that enfranchisement is supported only when it is strategic to do so. With respect to womens suffrage in the United Kingdom, for example, Teele (2018) argues that the question of winning the vote depends on the alignment of interests between elected politicians and suffragists (pp. 6). To wit, emigrant suffrage is more likely when the diaspora supports the incumbent party (Umpierrez de Reguero, Yener-Roderburg and Cartagena, 2021; Wellman, 2021). Centre-right party families across Eu- rope too are significantly more likely to support emigrant enfranchisement (Østergaard-Nielsen, Ciornei and Lafleur, 2019), suggesting a re-ethnicization of citizenship (Joppke, 2003)despite a lack of ethnic framing of the policies themselves. Consequently, this matching of interests often results in the championing of immigrant suffrage by parties of the left who anticipate benefiting from the immigrant vote (Baub ock, 2005; Hammar, 1990; Joppke, 2010). Yet, left party members can be opposed to expanding the franchise when it is perceived as benefiting ones political or economic opponents (Earnest, 2006). Immigrant suffrage by right-wing and conservative parties further outside of the U.S. have also supported the extension of immigrant suffrage (e.g,. Ireland, Hungary, France) when the immigrants were perceived to be conservative. Voters for their part are influenced by ones party articulation of immigration preferences (Bohman, 2011; Harteveld, Kokkonen and Dahlberg, 2017), revealing a pathway through which parties can directly shape voter attitudes toward a variety of immigrant specific policies. In other words, citizen attitudes toward immigrant enfranchisement may be based on party competition rather than ideological divides. Conversely, an informational approach suggests that individuals receiving corrective information about immigration are more knowledgeable (Hopkins, Sides and Citrin, 2019; Nyhan et al., 2017) and potentially more likely to support immigration policies themselves (Abascal, Huang and Tran, 2021). Research into other policies too suggests the informational effect is strongest among those who are less likely to be favorable previously (Sides, 2016). Within the context of non-citizen voting rights, this may suggest that providing factual information may be especially powerful in moving attitudes among those who are less favorable to immigrants and immigrant rights. This relationship between information and policy attitudes, however, provides relatively mixed evidence, with some suggesting the stable nature of immigration attitudes or existing party frames constrain any attitudinal change toward policies broadly and non-citizens specifically (Bisgaard, 2019; Grigorieff, Roth and Ubfal, 2020; Kustov, Laaker and Reller, 2021). Put simply, providing information about non-citizen voting rights may do little in the way of moving favorability of the policy itself. Given such a prior, we refrain from just providing information about non-citizen voting rights, and instead we provide the information along a partisan cue.

Study Design

Design
The study involves an online survey experiment. Participants will first consent to the study. After consenting, they will answer a battery of sociodemographic and attitudinal questions. Then, participants will be randomly assigned with equal probability to one of three possible treatment arms: (T1) a no partisanship condition in which participants receive factual information about non-citizen voting rights in the U.S., (T2) an aligned partisanship condition in which participants receive the same factual information about non-citizen voting rights along information about the possibility that enfranchised

non-citizens would vote for the same party as the participants party ID, and (T3) a non-aligned partisanship condition in which participants receive the same factual information about non-citizen voting rights along information about the possibility that enfranchised non-citizens would vote for the opposite party to the participants party ID. In this case, participants who identify as Republicans receive information about non-citizens voting for the Democratic party, participants who identify as Democrats receive information about non-citizens voting for the Republican party, and participants who identify as Independents receive information about non-citizens voting for the Democratic party 50% of the time. After the treatments have been delivered, participants will proceed to answering questions about their attitudes towards non-citizen voting rights.

Study duration
The expected starting date of the study is 03/01/2022. Participants will complete the survey in 10 minutes. We expect to enroll participants and complete the survey experiment one month after first contact with potential participants. The study will be completed after publication in an academic journal. We expect to complete the study by 03/01/2024. The total estimated length of the study is of 2 years.

Characteristics of the Study Population

Target population
Registered Florida voters.

Subjects enrolled by Penn Researchers
0

Subjects enrolled by Collaborating Researchers
2250

Vulnerable Populations

	Children Form
	Pregnant women (if the study procedures may affect the condition of the pregnant woman or fetus) Form
	Fetuses and/or Neonates Form
	Prisoners Form
	Other
x	**None of the above populations are included in the research study**

The following documents are currently attached to this item:

There are no documents attached for this item.

Participant recruitment
Please describe the plan to equitably identify and recruit a diverse group of participants that is reflective of the population under study. If this is a multicenter protocol, the recruitment plan should describe the local (Penn) site's plan. Describe:how potential participants may be identified (review of medical records, Slicer Dicer, DAC reports including referrals from physician offices and clinics);who may approach potential participants;methods to achieve sample diversity and inclusiveness;what information may be presented to or discussed with them; andthe context and setting in which recruitment will happen.
We randomly draw potential participants from the Florida Voter File (publicly available at http://dos.myflorida.com/elections/data-statistics/elections-data/). Using their publicly available emails, we will contact potential participants to ask them to complete our survey. In the initial email about the survey (pre-survey email invitation), participants will be invited to take our survey and provided with information regarding the survey and their rights as a participant (see email correspondence attachment). After one week, participants will be reminded of their invitation to participate within the

survey if they have not already done so. Survey responses will not be merged with the Florida Voter File and therefore respondents will remain anonymous.

Recruitment Materials
Is the research team using any recruitment materials? These may include but are not limited to: phone call scripts, radio/video scripts, flyers/brochures, internet postings, email, letters to potential participants, letters to patient physicians, My Penn Medicine (MPM), other direct messaging, etc. For guidance regarding recruitment materials, please review the IRB's guidance on Participant Recruitment Materials online:https://irb.upenn.edu/recruitment
No

Use of Penn Media & Social Media Services
Will the recruitment plan propose to use any Penn media services (communications, marketing, etc.) for outreach via social media avenues (examples include: Facebook, Twitter, blogging, texting, etc.) or does the study team plan to directly use social media to recruit for the research?
No

The following documents are currently attached to this item:

Subject recruitment (emailcorrespondences.docx)

Subject compensation*
Will subjects be financially compensated for their participation?
No

The following documents are currently attached to this item:

There are no documents attached for this item.

If there is subject compensation, provide the schedule for compensation per study visit or session and total amount for entire participation, either as text or separate document

Study Procedures

Suicidal Ideation and Behavior
Does this research qualify as a clinical investigation that will utilize a test article (ie- drug or biological) which may carry a potential for central nervous system (CNS) effect(s)? Centeral nervous system(CNS) effect: the ability of a test article to enter into and potentially interact with the central nervoous system (brain and spinal cord). Clinical Investigation: Any experiment that involves a test article and one or more human subjects that either is subject to requirements for prior submission to the Food and Drug Adminstration (FDA) under section 505(i) or 520(g) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, or is not subject to the requirements for prior submission to the FDA under these sections of the act, but, the results of which are intended to be submitted later to, or held for inspection by, the FDA as part of an application for a research or marketing permit.
No

Procedures
After reviewing the invitation (or reminder) email, participants who consent to complete the survey will be redirected to a Qualtrics link hosting the survey. We will disable any collection of IP addresses and limit access to the Qualtrics survey to only those directed from the email link. Participants will first be asked to confirm they consent to completing the survey after reviewing a consent document. The survey will not continue without a participant directly clicking an arrow indicating consent. Next, participants will see three questions to make sure they fit the criteria for inclusion within the study (that is, that they're Florida registered voters). If they respond negatively to any of the items above, they will be excluded from the survey and see a message thanking them for their time and explaining they do not qualify for inclusion. Once participants again confirm (via a series of yes/no questions) they are 18 years or older, are a registered Florida voter, and currently reside within Florida, they will next be taken

to a single bot-check captcha. This captcha is included to rule out the possibility of bots and other non-attentive participants from taking the study. The study next proceeds with a demographic questionnaire. Here, participants will be asked to respond to a series of survey items assessing attitudinal and demographic information. These questions cannot identify an individual. In addition, they are based on survey items from validated U.S. surveys such as the American National Election Survey. After completing this battery of questions, 1/3 participants will be randomly assigned to reviewing a statement about non-citizen voting rights in the United States. All information is factual regarding both the history and current practice of local non- citizen voting rights in the United States. The other 2/3 will view this information but with an additional paragraph either indicating new immigrants may register with one's own party (aligned partisan affiliation; 1/3) or with a different party (non-aligned party affiliation; 1/3). Again, all information is accurate without misinformation as experts and research reveal that immigrants are a diverse voting block, registering and voting across the U.S. political spectrum. See for example expert reporting in the Washington Post (https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/new-york- noncitizen-voting/2021/12/09/b9ef5748-5848-11ec-a808-3197a22b19fa_story.html) and CNN (https://www.cnn.com/2021/12/09/politics/nyc-noncitizens-local-elections-voting-rights/index.html). After exposure to treatments, participants will be asked for their opinions on non-citizen voting rights and citizenship norms. Finally, participants will be thanked for their time and given an option to learn more about non-citizen voting initiatives in the U.S. If a participant wishes to learn more, they will be redirected to an 'about' page of a non-citizen immigrant voting rights organization in New York City. We will count whether an individual clicked the link but no other information once they leave our survey. (See survey attached.)

The following documents are currently attached to this item:

Procedures (qualtricssurvey_v1.pdf)

Deception
Does your project use deception? Deception could be considered any direct misinformation presented to the subject or omission of key information pertaining to the design or nature of the project.
No

International Research
Are you conducting research outside of the United States?
No

Analysis Plan
We use difference in means to compare the outcomes across exposure conditions.

The following documents are currently attached to this item:

There are no documents attached for this item.

Subject Confidentiality
Publicly available emails are used to contact potential participants. No identifying information will be collected. Qualtrics is set to not collect any web traffic or IP addresses. Survey responses will not be merged with the Florida Voter file and therefore respondents will remain anonymous.

Sensitive Research Information*
Does this research involve collection of sensitive information about the subjects that should be excluded from the electronic medical record? [NOTE: This does not apply to: 1) research information that would not normally be included in the electronic medical record or 2) information that is in the electronic medical record as part of clinical care.]
No

Disclosures
Will any data or specimens from Penn participants OR other research generated work product (e.g., intellectual property) be disclosed to any individuals, entities, or vendors, etc. outside of Penn?
No

Data Protection*

	Name
	Street address, city, county, precinct, zip code, and equivalent geocodes
	All elements of dates (except year) for dates directly related to an individual and all ages over 89
	Telephone and fax number
x	**Electronic mail addresses**
	Social security numbers
	Medical record numbers
	Health plan ID numbers
	Account numbers
	Certificate/license numbers
	Vehicle identifiers and serial numbers, including license plate numbers
	Device identifiers/serial numbers
	Web addresses (URLs)
	Internet IP addresses
	Biometric identifiers, incl. finger and voice prints
	Full face photographic images and any comparable images
	Any other unique identifying number, characteristic, or code
	None

Does your research request both a waiver of HIPAA authorization for collection of patient information and involve providing Protected Health Information ("PHI") that is classified as a "limited data set" (city/town/state/zip code, dates except year, ages less than 90 or aggregate report for over 90) to a recipient outside of the University of Pennsylvania covered entity?
No

Consent

1. Consent Process

Overview
The online survey starts by obtaining consent from participants (see consent form in the first page of the attached survey). Participants will indicate their consent by clicking on an arrow that indicates their consent and their willingness to move forward with the survey. To minimize the possibility of coercion, participants are informed that there is no compensation for their participation, that all of their responses are confidential and that their participation in the survey is completely voluntary. Participants are also informed that they can withdraw their participation from the survey at any time.

Risk / Benefit

Potential Study Risks
There are no known risks associated with participation in this research study beyond those of everyday life.

Potential Study Benefits
There are no direct benefits to participants, except from gaining knowledge about the historical and

current nature of non-citizen voting rights in the U.S. The study will provide information to society of whether considering partisan frames can improve overall support for immigrant local enfranchisement.

Risk / Benefit Assessment
There are no known risks associated with participation in this research study beyond those of everyday life. There are no direct benefits to participants.

General Attachments

The following documents are currently attached to this item:

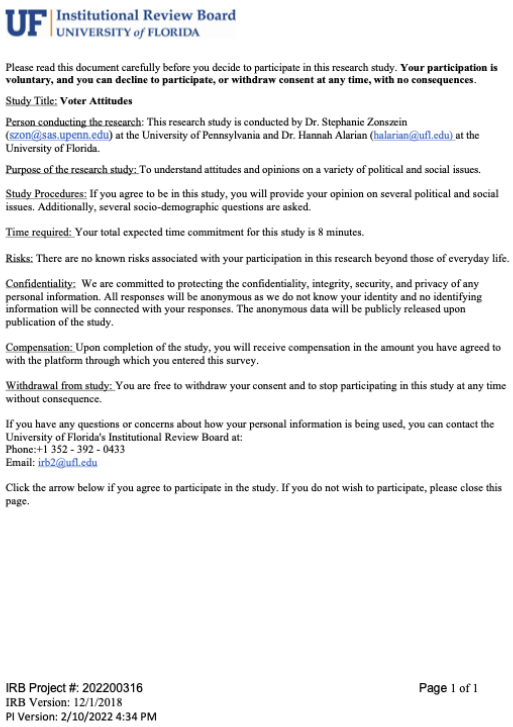
Informed consent form (informedconsent.pdf)

Questionnaires (qualtricssurvey_v1.pdf)

Recruitment materials (emailcorrespondences.docx)

F.4 Experimental Survey in Qualtrics

Informed Consent



UF | Institutional Review Board
UNIVERSITY of FLORIDA

Please read this document carefully before you decide to participate in this research study. **Your participation is voluntary, and you can decline to participate, or withdraw consent at any time, with no consequences**.

Study Title: **Voter Attitudes**

Person conducting the research: This research study is conducted by Dr. Stephanie Zonszein (szon@sas.upenn.edu) at the University of Pennsylvania and Dr. Hannah Alarian (halarian@ufl.edu) at the University of Florida.

Purpose of the research study: To understand attitudes and opinions on a variety of political and social issues.

Study Procedures: If you agree to be in this study, you will provide your opinion on several political and social issues. Additionally, several socio-demographic questions are asked.

Time required: Your total expected time commitment for this study is 8 minutes.

Risks: There are no known risks associated with your participation in this research beyond those of everyday life.

Confidentiality: We are committed to protecting the confidentiality, integrity, security, and privacy of any personal information. All responses will be anonymous as we do not know your identity and no identifying information will be connected with your responses. The anonymous data will be publicly released upon publication of the study.

Compensation: Upon completion of the study, you will receive compensation in the amount you have agreed to with the platform through which you entered this survey.

Withdrawal from study: You are free to withdraw your consent and to stop participating in this study at any time without consequence.

If you have any questions or concerns about how your personal information is being used, you can contact the University of Florida's Institutional Review Board at:
Phone:+1 352 - 392 - 0433
Email: irb2@ufl.edu

Click the arrow below if you agree to participate in the study. If you do not wish to participate, please close this page.

IRB Project #: 202200316
IRB Version: 12/1/2018
PI Version: 2/10/2022 4:34 PM

Page 1 of 1

Block 1 - Qualifying Questions

Thank you for agreeing to take this survey. We first would like to ask you some preliminary questions to assess your eligibility.

Are you 18 years or older?

Yes

No

Are you a citizen of the United States?

Yes

No

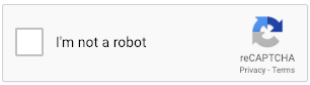
Are you currently registered to vote in the United States?

Yes

No

Bot Check

Thank you! Based on your answers to the screening questions, you qualify for participation in this study. Please click the box below to continue.



The animal test is simple, when asked for your favorite animal you must enter the word wild boar in the text box below.

Based on the text you read above, what is your favorite animal that you have been asked to enter?

Let us now try the color test. When asked for your favorite color you must enter the word goldenrod in the text box below.

Based on the text you read above, what is your favorite color that you have been asked to enter?

Block 2 - Demographics

What state are you registered to vote in?

What is the highest level of education you have received?

- No schooling completed
- Nursery or preschool through grade 12 (no high school diploma)
- High school graduate - high school diploma or equivalent (for example: GED)
- Some college but no degree
- Associate's degree (for example: AA, AS)
- Bachelor's degree (for example: BA, BS)
- Post graduate degree (for example: Master's degree, professional degree beyond a bachelor's, doctorate degree)

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

Non-binary / third gender

What is your race?

American Indian or Alaska Native
Asian
Black or African American
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
White
Two or more races
Other

Are you Hispanic or Latina/o? This means a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.

Yes
No

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, or an Independent?

Democrat
Republican
Independent

Which of the following best describes your current employment status?

Full time
Part time
Temporariliy laid off
Unemployed
Retired
Permanently disabled

- Homemaker
- Student
- Other

What is your marital status?

- Married
- Widowed
- Divorced
- Separated
- Single/Never married
- Domestic Partnership

Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be...?

- Increased a lot
- Increased a little
- Left the same as it is now
- Decreased a little
- Decreased a lot

Were you born in the United States?

- No
- Yes

How interested are you in politics at the **local** (city, county) level?

- Very interested
- Somewhat interested
- In between
- Not very interested
- Not interested at all

PartisanStrength

Would you call yourself a
strong ${q://QID13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} or a not very
strong ${q://QID13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

Strong ${q://QID13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}

Not very strong ${q://QID13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}

Do you consider yourself closer to the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, or neither party?

Closer to Republican party

Closer to Democratic party

Neither party

Block 4 - TreatmentDescrip

On the next page, you will see information about a current policy in the United States. Please review this statement carefully as you will be asked questions about your opinion of this policy. Please click the arrow below when you are ready to continue to view this policy statement.

Block 4- Control

Legal immigrants can vote in some U.S. local elections. Many legally register and vote.

As you may be aware, for the first 150 years of U.S. history, non-citizen voting was common. Currently, **fifteen** local governments across the U.S. allow non-citizens to vote in their local-level elections. Non-citizen voting legislation is also being considered in cities in three additional states. No federal law explicitly prohibits the expansion of the right to vote in local elections.

These policies specifically allow some legal immigrants without citizenship to vote in elections for local-level offices. For example, this includes elections for the mayor, comptroller, and city council.

Block 4- ExperimentalMatch

Legal immigrants can vote in some U.S. local elections. Many legally register and vote ${q://QID13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.

As you may be aware, for the first 150 years of U.S. history, non-citizen voting was common. Currently, **fifteen** local governments across the U.S. allow non-citizens to vote in their local-level elections. Non-citizen voting legislation is also being considered in cities in three additional states. No federal law explicitly prohibits the expansion of the right to vote in local elections.

These policies specifically allow some legal immigrants without citizenship to vote in elections for local-level offices. For example, this includes elections for the mayor, comptroller, and city council.

Officials in cities with new local-voting rights say they expect many of these immigrants to vote **${q://QID13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}**. If legal immigrants were allowed to vote in local elections in ${q://QID37/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}, experts similarly expect a large proportion of immigrants would register and vote as **${q://QID13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}s**.

Block 4- ExperimentMisMatch

Legal immigrants can vote in some U.S. local elections. Many legally register and vote Democrat.

As you may be aware, for the first 150 years of U.S. history, non-citizen voting was common. Currently, **fifteen** local governments across the U.S. allow non-citizens to vote in their local-level elections. Non-citizen voting legislation is also being considered in cities in three additional states. No federal law explicitly prohibits the expansion of the right to vote in local elections.

These policies specifically allow some legal immigrants without citizenship to vote in elections for local-level offices. For example, this includes elections for the mayor, comptroller, and city council.

Officials in cities with new local-voting rights say they expect many of these immigrants to vote **Democrat**. If legal immigrants were allowed to vote in local elections in ${q://QID37/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}, experts similarly expect a large proportion of immigrants would register and vote as **Democrats**.

Legal immigrants can vote in some U.S. local elections. Many legally register and vote Republican.

As you may be aware, for the first 150 years of U.S. history, non-citizen voting was common. Currently, **fifteen** local governments across the U.S. allow non-citizens to vote in their local-level elections. Non-citizen voting legislation is also being considered in cities in three additional states. No federal law explicitly prohibits the expansion of the right to vote in local elections.

These policies specifically allow some legal immigrants without citizenship to vote in elections for local-level offices. For example, this includes elections for the mayor, comptroller, and city council.

Officials in cities with new local-voting rights say they expect many of these immigrants to vote **Republican**. If legal immigrants were allowed to vote in local elections in ${q://QID37/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}, experts similarly expect a large proportion of immigrants would register and vote as **Republicans**.

Block 5 - Outcomes1

Would you support granting legal immigrants without citizenship the right to vote in **U.S.** local-level elections?

Definitely would

Probably would
May or may not
Probably would not
Definitely would not

Would you support granting legal immigrants without citizenship the right to vote in **your** local-level elections?

Definitely would
Probably would
May or may not
Probably would not
Definitely would not

Would you support allowing
local **${q://QID37/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}** governments to grant legal immigrants without citizenship the right to vote in their local elections?

definitely would
probably would
may or may not
probably would not
definitely would not

Block 5 - Outcomes2

You selected you
${q://QID26/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} allowing local ${q://QID37/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} governments to grant legal immigrants without citizenship the right to vote in their local elections. What are the reasons
you ${q://QID26/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} support this policy? Your answers are anonymous and confidential.

What are your main concerns, if any, about non-citizens voting in local elections? Your answers are anonymous and confidential.

Outcomes3

This is the last question of the survey. Thank you for taking your time to respond. Your responses have been recorded.

Would you like to learn more about local immigrant voting rights initiatives in another state?

- No, finish and submit my answers to this survey.
- Yes, redirect me to a website to learn more, and submit my answers to this survey.

Powered by Qualtrics

G Pre-Analysis Plan

G.1 Pre-Analysis Plan

U.S. Public Opinion toward Non-Citizen Voting Rights
A Pilot Study in Florida

February 2022

Abstract

In the United States, citizenship did not define the electorate until the late 1920's (Hayduk, 2006; Raskin, 1992), and non-citizen voting was not expressly prohibited in federal law until the mid-1990s. Still, the connection between voting rights and citizenship status in recent events has been challenged by campaigns advocating for the extension or reinstatement of the franchise for immigrant non-citizens. Such non-citizen voting rights are most often successfully enacted within Democratically led cities (e.g., New York City, San Francisco, Washington D.C.), suggesting Democrats anticipate benefiting winning the newly immigrant vote (e.g., Bauböck, 2005; Hammar, 1990; Joppke, 2010; Wellman, 2021). Even if Democrats support non-citizen suffrage out of ideological compatibility or class consciousness (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967; Rath, 1990), they may be limited to the degree to which immigrant enfranchisement will not strengthen the opposition (e.g., Earnest, 2006). Bridging this literature together, we ask how U.S. citizens evaluate non-citizen franchise in local elections. Are non-citizen voting rights supported along party lines? Or can invoking co- and counter-partisan migrant identities change citizen attitudes toward non-citizen local voting rights? We address these questions with a survey experiment in Florida—a state with an ideologically and demographically diverse immigrant population. Specifically, we examine whether providing information about the historical nature and current state of non-citizen voting rights that matches or is in conflict with an individual's partisan identification affects support for extending Florida's documented, non-citizens with local voting rights. The findings of this study add to our understanding of how identity contributes to broader support for immigrant rights in the United States.

1 Introduction

What shapes support for expanding suffrage to electorally include new segments of the population? An ideological approach suggests that enfranchisement is supported only when it is strategic to do so. With respect to women's suffrage in the United Kingdom, for example, Teele (2018) argues that the question of "winning the vote depends on the alignment of interests between elected politicians and suffragists" (pp. 6). To wit, emigrant suffrage is more likely when the diaspora supports the incumbent party (Umpierrez de Reguero, Yener-Roderburg and Cartagena, 2021; Wellman, 2021). Centre-right party families across Europe too are significantly more likely to support emigrant enfranchisement (Østergaard-Nielsen, Ciornei and Lafleur, 2019), suggesting a re-ethnicization of citizenship (Joppke, 2003)—despite a lack of ethnic framing of the policies themselves.

Consequently, this matching of interests often results in the championing of immigrant suffrage by parties of the left who anticipate benefiting from the immigrant vote (Bauböck, 2005; Hammar, 1990; Joppke, 2010). Yet, left party members can be opposed to expanding the franchise when it is perceived as benefiting one's political or economic opponents (Earnest, 2006). Immigrant suffrage by right-wing and conservative parties further outside of the U.S. have also supported the extension of immigrant suffrage (e.g,. Ireland, Hungary, France) when the immigrants were perceived to be conservative. Voters for their part are influenced by one's party articulation of immigration preferences (Bohman, 2011; Harteveld, Kokkonen and Dahlberg, 2017), revealing a pathway through which parties can directly shape voter attitudes toward a variety of immigrant specific policies. In other words, citizen attitudes toward immigrant enfranchisement may be based on party competition rather than ideological divides.

Conversely, an informational approach suggests that individuals receiving corrective information about immigration are more knowledgeable (Hopkins, Sides and Citrin, 2019; Nyhan et al., 2017) and potentially more likely to support immigration policies themselves (Abascal, Huang and Tran, 2021). Research into other policies too suggests the informational effect is strongest among those who are less likely to be favorable previously (Sides, 2016). Within the context of non-citizen voting rights, this may suggest that providing factual information may be especially powerful in moving attitudes among those who are less favorable to immigrants and immigrant rights.

This relationship between information and policy attitudes, however, provides relatively mixed evidence, with some suggesting the stable nature of immigration attitudes or existing party frames constrain any attitudinal change toward policies broadly and non-citizens specifically (Bisgaard, 2019; Grigorieff, Roth and Ubfal, 2020; Kustov, Laaker and Reller, 2021). Put simply, providing information about non-citizen voting rights may do little in the way of moving favorability of the policy itself. Given such a prior, we refrain from just providing information about non-citizen voting rights, and instead we provide the information along a partisan cue.

2 Experimental Design

We conduct an online survey experiment among Florida registered voters. After answering a battery of demographic and attitudinal questions (detailed in Section 5.1), participants will be randomly assigned with equal probability to one of three treatment arms:

T1 No partisanship condition. Respondents are exposed to factual information about the historical nature and current status of non-citizen voting in the US.

T2 Aligned partisanship condition. Respondents are exposed to the same factual information about non-citizen voting in the US + information about the possibility that enfranchised non-citizens would vote for the same party as the respondent's party ID.

T3 Non-aligned partisanship condition. Respondents are exposed to the same factual information about non-citizen voting in the US + information about the possibility that enfranchised non-citizens would vote for the opposite party to the respondent's party ID.

In the case of T3, participants who identify as Republicans receive information about non-citizens voting for the Democratic party, participants who identify as Democrats receive information about non-citizens

voting for the Republican party, and participants who identify as Independents receive information about non-citizens voting for the Democratic party 50% of the time.

After exposure to treatments, participants will answer a battery of questions about their attitudes and behavior towards non-citizen voting rights (detailed in Section 5.3).

3 Hypotheses

1. U.S. citizens will be *more* supportive of non-citizen enfranchisement for immigrants who share their political affiliation.

2. U.S. citizens, regardless of party identification, will respond to non-citizen enfranchisement with a backlash if immigrants' political affiliation is different to their own.

4 Sample and Recruitment

Our sample includes registered voters within the state of Florida. Voter registration information is public record in Florida, including any email addresses reported upon registration.[1] We will therefore invite a random sample of these publicly available emails to complete our survey. After one week, participants will be reminded of their invitation to participate within the survey if they have not already done so. We aim to reach a total of 2,250 valid survey responses.[2] To do so, we assume a 1% response rate and a 10% incomplete or invalid survey response rate. We will therefore email a total of 250,000 randomly selected email addresses.

4.1 Pre-Survey Email

Subject line: Researchers at the University of Florida are Asking for Your Opinion

Dear First NAME,

We are emailing you for your opinion on a variety of political and social issues. Your email address was randomly selected using voter registration data publicly available under Florida law. The purpose of this survey is to better understand the attitudes and opinions of Floridians regarding public policies. All of the responses you give are completely confidential and participation in this survey is completely voluntary. You can withdraw your participation from the survey at any time.
Please Click Here or on the link below to begin.

Thank you for your participation.

4.2 Reminder Email

Subject: Reminder! Researchers at the University of Florida are Asking for Your Opinion

Dear First NAME,

We are emailing you for your opinion on a variety of political and social issues. Your email address was randomly selected using voter registration data publicly available under Florida law. The purpose of this survey is to better understand the attitudes and opinions of Americans regarding different social and political issues. All of the responses you give are completely confidential and participation in this survey is completely voluntary. You can withdraw your participation from the survey at any time.

[1] `http://dos.myflorida.com/elections/data-statistics/elections-data/`

[2] This sample size is conservative relative to the sample size determined by our power analysis.

The survey will close in 1 week. We value your experience and encourage you to take our survey!

All of the responses you give are completely confidential and participation is voluntary.

Please Click Here or on the link below to begin.

Thank you for your participation.

5 Survey Instrument

The above hypotheses will be tested with an experimental survey fielded in Qualtrics. Whenever possible, we model our survey items or phrasing from other national surveys implemented in the U.S. to ensure cultural competency and measurement validity (i.e., American National Election Survey, Cooperative Election Study, International Social Survey Programme, U.S. Census). Survey items will be randomized within each block to eliminate the possibility of ordering effects. The below survey instrument follows after an informed consent form.

5.1 Pre-Treatment Questionnaire

Block 1: Qualifying Questions

1. Are you 18 years or older? [Yes/No]
2. Are you a citizen of the United States? [Yes/No]
3. Do you currently reside in the state of Florida? [Yes/No]

Note: If respondents answer "No" to any of these questions, the survey will conclude.

4. Thank you! Based on your answers to the screening questions, you qualify for participation in this study. Please click the box below to continue. [*Captcha verification*]

Block 2: Demographic Information
All items will be randomized within the block to protect against ordering effects.

5. What party are you affiliated with on your Florida state voter registration?
   (a) Republican Party of Florida
   (b) Florida Democratic Party
   (c) No Party Affiliation
   (d) Other party not listed
6. What is the highest level of education you have received?
   (a) No high school completed
   (b) Nursery or preschool through grade 12 (no high school diploma)
   (c) High school graduate - high school diploma or equivalent (for example: GED)
   (d) Some college but no degree
   (e) Associate's degree (for example: AA, AS)
   (f) Bachelor's degree (for example: BA, BS)
   (g) Post graduate degree (for example: Master's degree, professional degree beyond a bachelor's, doctorate degree)
7. What is your gender?

(a) Male
(b) Female
(c) Non-binary/third gender

8. What is your race?

(a) American Indian or Alaska Native
(b) Asian
(c) Black or African American
(d) Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
(e) White
(f) Two or more races
(g) Other

9. Are you Hispanic or Latina/o? This means a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.

(a) Yes
(b) No

10. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent?

(a) Democrat
(b) Republican
(c) Independent

11. *[If Democrat or Republican is selected]* Would you call yourself a strong [Democrat/Republican] or not a very strong [Democrat/Republican]?

(a) Strong [Democrat/Republican]
(b) Not very strong [Democrat/Republican]

12. *[If Independent is selected]* Do you consider yourself closer to the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, or neither party??

(a) Closer to Republican party
(b) Closer to Democratic party
(c) Neither party

13. Which of the following best describes your current employment status?

(a) Full time
(b) Part time
(c) Temporarily laid off
(d) Unemployed
(e) Retired
(f) Permanently disabled
(g) Homemaker
(h) Student
(i) Other

14. What is your marital status?

(a) Married
(b) Widowed
(c) Divorced
(d) Separate
(e) Single/Never Married
(f) Domestic Partnership

15. Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be...?

    (a) Increased a lot
    (b) Increased a little
    (c) Left the same as it is now
    (d) Decreased a little
    (e) Decreased a lot

16. Were you born in the United States?

    (a) Yes
    (b) No

17. How interested are you in politics at the **local** level?

    (a) Very interested
    (b) Somewhat interested
    (c) In between
    (d) Not very interested
    (e) Not interested at all

18. How much do you agree with the following statement?
    In a democracy, it is the duty of all citizens to vote regularly in elections.

    (a) Strongly disagree
    (b) Somewhat disagree
    (c) Neither agree nor disagree
    (d) Somewhat agree
    (e) Strongly agree

19. In what county do you live? [*Drop down selection*]

5.2 Experimental Treatment

Participants will be randomly assigned with equal probability to one of three possible treatment arms: (T1) a no partisanship condition in which participants receive factual information about non-citizen voting rights in the U.S., (T2) an aligned partisanship condition in which participants receive the same factual information about non-citizen voting rights along information about the possibility that enfranchised non-citizens would vote for the same party as the participant's party ID, and (T3) a non-aligned partisanship condition in which participants receive the same factual information about non-citizen voting rights along information about the possibility that enfranchised non-citizens would vote for the opposite party to the participant's party ID. In this case, participants who identify as Republicans receive information about non-citizens voting for the Democratic party, participants who identify as Democrats receive information about non-citizens voting for the Republican party, and participants who identify as Independents receive information about non-citizens voting for the Democratic party 50% of the time.

All experimental treatments will be accompanied by the same stock photo (see Figure 1) appearing below the treatment heading. This image is chosen to enhance realism of the treatment and ensure all participants have a similar, prototypical immigrant in mind when completing the survey.

Figure 1: Treatment Image

5.2.1 Informational Treatment Vignette (25%)

Legal immigrants can vote in some U.S. local elections. Many legally register and vote.

As you may be aware, for the first 150 years of U.S. history, non-citizen voting was common. Currently, **fifteen** local governments across the U.S. allow non-citizens to vote in their local-level elections. Non-citizen voting legislation is also being considered in cities in three additional states. No federal law explicitly prohibits the expansion of the right to vote in local elections.

5.2.2 Partisanship Vignette Included (50%)

Legal immigrants can vote in some U.S. local elections. Many legally register and vote [same party ID(25%)/different party ID(25%)]

As you may be aware, for the first 150 years of U.S. history, non-citizen voting was common. Currently, fifteen local governments across the U.S. allow non-citizens to vote in their local-level elections. Non-citizen voting legislation is also being considered in cities in three additional states. No federal law explicitly prohibits the expansion of the right to vote in local elections.

These policies specifically allow some legal immigrants without citizenship to vote in elections for local-level offices. For example, this includes elections for the mayor, comptroller, and city council.

Officials in cities with new local-voting rights say they expect many of these immigrants to vote [same party ID(25%)/different party ID(25%)]. If legal immigrants were allowed to vote in local elections in Florida, experts similarly expect a large proportion of immigrants would register and vote as [same party ID(25%)/different party ID(25%)].

5.3 Outcomes Items

The first five items will be randomized. The remaining two items cannot be randomized do to the nature of the items.

20. Would you support granting non-citizens the right to vote in **U.S.** local-level elections?
    (a) Definitely would
    (b) Probably would

(c) May or may not

(d) Probably would not

(e) Definitely would not

21. Would you support granting legal immigrants without citizenship the right to vote in **your** local-level elections?

    (a) Definitely would

    (b) Probably would

    (c) May or may not

    (d) Probably would not

    (e) Definitely would not

22. Would you support a change to the **Florida** constitution to allow local Florida governments to decide if legal immigrants without citizenship can vote in their elections?

    (a) Definitely would

    (b) Probably would

    (c) May or may not

    (d) Probably would not

    (e) Definitely would not

23. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly **a U.S. citizen**. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is? Please, check one box on each line.

    Very important Fairly important Not very important Not important at all

    (a) to have been born in the U.S.

    (b) to have U.S. citizenship

    (c) to have lived in the U.S. for most of one's life

    (d) to be able to speak English

    (e) to be Christian

    (f) to respect U.S. political institutions and laws

    (g) to feel American

    (h) to have U.S. ancestry

24. You selected you [PIPED RESPONSE] support changing the Florida constitution to allow local governments to decide if legal immigrants without citizenship have right to vote in their elections. What are the reasons you [PIPED RESPONSE] support changing the Florida constitution in this way? Your answers are anonymous and confidential. *Open ended*

25. What are your main concerns, if any, about non-citizens voting in local Florida elections? Your answers are anonymous and confidential.

26. This is the end of the survey. Thank you for taking your time to respond. Your response has been recorded. Before you leave, would you like to learn more about local immigrant voting right initiatives in another state?

    (a) No, finish and submit my answers to this survey.

    (b) Yes, redirect me to a website to learn more, and submit my answers to this survey.

6 Estimation Method

We estimate the ATE of the partisan treatments on citizen support for non-citizen voting with a difference-in-means estimator that compares the average attitudes/behavior across the three treatment conditions. We do so via OLS. For efficiency gains, we control for demographic characteristics and pre-treatment measures of political interest and attitudes towards immigrants. We compute robust ("HC2") standard errors. Specifically, we estimate the following equation:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta T_i + \gamma X_i + \epsilon_i$$

where Y_i is the outcome variable of interest, T_i denotes assignment to treatment (0 if assigned to T1, 1 if assigned to T2 or T3), X_i is the vector of covariate values for individual i, ϵ_i is the error term. β is the parameter of interest and measures the ATE.

We expect β to be positive when we contrast T2 to T1, and T2 to T3, and negative when we contrast T3 to T1.

Our outcome variables include every item in Section 5.3 except for items 23–25, and our vector of covariates includes every item in *Block 2 Demographic Information* of Section 5.1 except for items 5, 11, 12, and 18.

6.1 Adjusted p-values for multiple testing

As multiple hypotheses are tested for our outcome on support for non-citizen voting rights, we implement the Romano-Wolf multiple hypothesis correction method (Romano and Wolf, 2016).

7 Power Analysis

We present the power calculation for our experimental design with three arms. Relative to the 'no partisanship condition' (T1), we assume that the 'aligned partisanship condition' (T2) increases support for non-citizen voting rights in local elections by 0.2 standard deviations, and that the 'non-aligned partisanship condition' (T3) decreases support by 0.2 standard deviations.

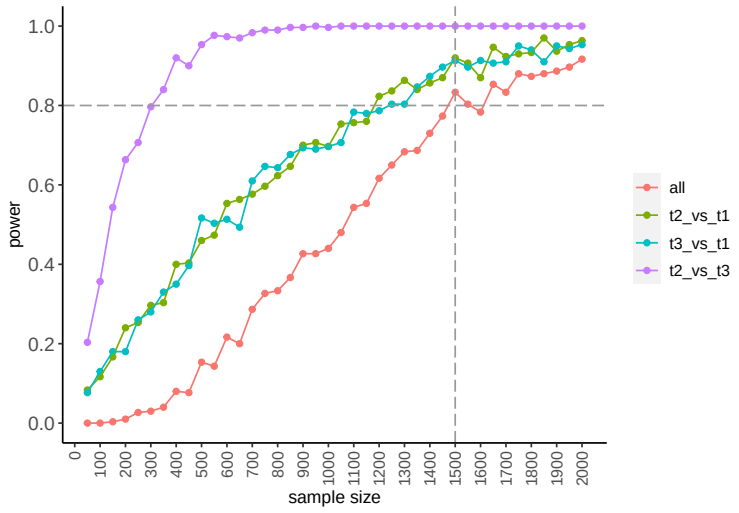
We focus on testing:

- $\bar{Y}_{T2} - \bar{Y}_{T1} > 0$
- $\bar{Y}_{T3} - \bar{Y}_{T1} < 0$
- $\bar{Y}_{T2} - \bar{Y}_{T3} > 0$

Based on this assumptions, in order to achieve 80% power this three tests, we need a sample size of at least 1,500 respondents. This is illustrated in Figure 2, which plots power for all relevant tests for different sample sizes.

The results of the pilot will provide us with information about the magnitude of the treatment effects. We will use this information to assess whether the design needs to be reassessed for the full study, in which case we will submit an amendment to this PAP.

Figure 2: Power Calculation



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G.2 Amendment

U.S. Public Opinion toward Non-Citizen Voting Rights
Amendment to the Pre-Analysis Plan

August 2022

The present amendment to the pre-analysis plan (PAP) aims at describing a follow up study (Study 2) with a convenience sample of US voters, which is not limited to the state of Florida. We next describe the changes to the relevant sections in the PAP.

1 Sample and Recruitment

Our sample includes adults who are US citizens registered to vote in the US, and who self-identify as a Democrat or Republican. The sample is representative of partisanship and college education, and is drawn from the online panels of CloudResearch.

2 Survey Instrument

2.1 Pre-Treatment Questionnaire

- We include 2 Attention Check Questions (ACQs) that are analogous to an "Instructional Manipulation Check". The second ACQ is presented only to respondents who fail to answer correctly the first ACQ. We classify respondents as "inattentive" if they fail the 2 ACQs, and otherwise as "attentive".[1]

    1. The animal test is simple, when asked for your favorite animal you must enter the word wild boar in the text box below. Based on the text you read above, what is your favorite animal? [Open ended]
    2. Let us now try the color test. When asked for your favorite color you must enter the word goldenrod in the text box below. Based on the text you read above, what is your favorite color? [Open ended]

- We include a dropdown menu state question.

- We remove a dropdown menu county question.

2.2 Experimental Treatment

- We piped in the state response into the treatment narratives.

- For the purpose of delivering the treatment, we consider respondents who self-identify as Independents that lean towards the Democratic Party as Democrats, and Independents that lean towards the Republican Party as Republican.[2]

[1] We estimate effects among the whole sample, the attentive and inattentive separately.
[2] We estimate treatment effects for the whole sample, and for Democrats and Republicans separately.

2.3 Outcome Variables

- We modified the phrasing of item 22 to: "Would you support allowing local [RESPONDENT'S STATE] governments to grant legal immigrants without citizenship the right to vote in their local elections?"

3 Estimation Method

- We estimate the ATE of the partisan treatments for the whole sample via OLS. For efficiency gains, we control for demographic characteristics and pre-treatment measures of political interest and attitudes towards immigrants. We compute robust ("HC2") standard errors. (This follows the estimation method in Study 1). We estimate the following equation:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 T_2 + \beta_2 T_3 + \gamma X_i + \epsilon_i$$

where Y_i is the outcome variable of interest, T_i denotes assignment to treatment ($T_2 = 1$ if assigned to the aligned partisan condition, and $T_3 = 1$ if assigned to the non-aligned partisan condition). X_i is the vector of covariate values for individual i, ϵ_i is the error term. β_1 measures the ATE of the aligned partisan condition, β_2 measures the ATE of the non-aligned partisan condition.

We expect β_1 to be positive, and β_2 to be negative. We also expect $(\beta_1 - \beta_2)$ to be positive.

- We estimate the ATE of the partisan treatments for Democrats and Republicans separately. We do so via OLS. For efficiency gains, we control for demographic characteristics and pre-treatment measures of political interest and attitudes towards immigrants. We compute robust ("HC2") standard errors. For this analysis by partisanship, we estimate the following equation:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 T_2 + \beta_2 T_3 + \beta_3 T_2 \times \text{Democrat} + \beta_4 T_3 \times \text{Democrat} + \gamma X_i + \epsilon_i$$

where Y_i is the outcome variable of interest, T_i denotes assignment to treatment ($T_2 = 1$ if assigned to the aligned partisan condition, and $T_3 = 1$ if assigned to the non-aligned partisan condition). X_i is the vector of covariate values for individual i, ϵ_i is the error term. β_1 measures the ATE of the aligned partisan condition among Republicans, β_2 measures the ATE of the non-aligned partisan condition among Republicans, $(\beta_1 + \beta_3)$ measures the ATE of the aligned partisan condition among Democrats and $(\beta_2 + \beta_4)$ measures the ATE of the non-aligned partisan condition among Democrats.

We expect β_1 and $(\beta_1 + \beta_3)$ to be positive, and β_2 and $(\beta_2 + \beta_4)$ to be negative. We also expect $(\beta_1 - \beta_2)$ and $((\beta_1 + \beta_3) - (\beta_2 + \beta_4))$ to be positive.

Our outcome variables are kept the same as in the (Study 1) original PAP, and include every item in Section 5.3 of the PAP except for items 23–25. Our vector of covariates is also kept the same as in the original PAP, and includes every item in *Block 2 Demographic Information* of Section 5.1 except for items 5, 11, 12, and 18.

- We estimate effects among the whole sample, the attentive and the inattentive separately. We are expecting to be powered to detect treatment effects among the whole sample.

4 Power Analysis

We present the power calculation for our experimental design with three arms. We assume that the effects are about 3/4 the size of those obtained in Study 1. Relative to the 'no partisanship condition' (T1), we assume that the 'aligned partisanship condition' (T2) increases support for non-citizen voting rights in local elections by 0.02 standard deviations, and that the 'non-aligned partisanship condition' (T3) decreases support by 0.15 standard deviations. We assume these effects for Democrats and Republicans.

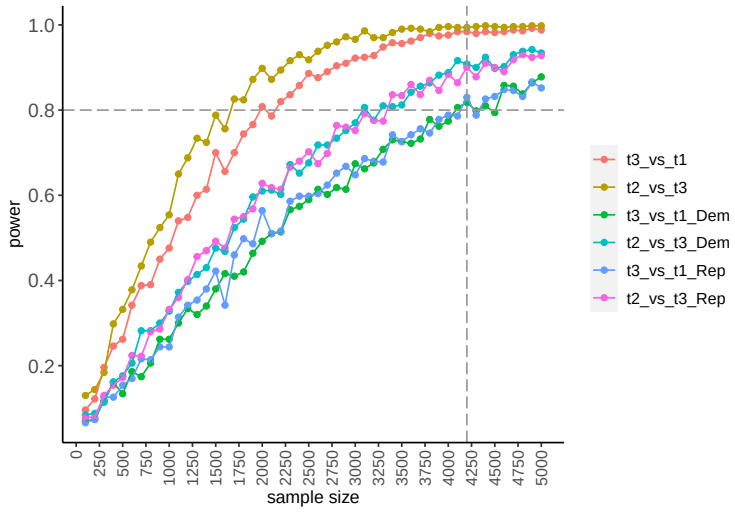
We focus on testing:

1. $\bar{Y}_{T3} - \bar{Y}_{T1} < 0$
2. $\bar{Y}_{T2} - \bar{Y}_{T3} > 0$
3. $\bar{Y}_{T3_{Democrat}} - \bar{Y}_{T1_{Democrat}} < 0$
4. $\bar{Y}_{T2_{Democrat}} - \bar{Y}_{T3_{Democrat}} > 0$
5. $\bar{Y}_{T3_{Republican}} - \bar{Y}_{T1_{Republican}} < 0$
6. $\bar{Y}_{T2_{Republican}} - \bar{Y}_{T3_{Republican}} > 0$

Based on this assumptions, in order to achieve 80% power for this six tests, we need a sample size of at least 4,200 respondents. This is illustrated in Figure 1, which plots power for all relevant tests for different sample sizes.

The study sample size is of 3,444 respondents, given budgetary restrictions, and therefore, we expect to be powered to test 1, 2, 4, 6 only.

Figure 1: Power Calculation



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