Do Polarized Issues Carry Greater Importance in Voters' Electoral Choices? Insights from a Novel Measurement Approach

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Abstract

In this paper, we investigate whether polarized issues carry greater importance in voters' electoral choices. Doing so requires a valid way to measure issue importance. To this end, we formulate a novel measurement approach using conjoint experiments to elicit issue importance. Our approach is grounded in the potential outcomes framework and designed to minimize respondents' burden. In the aftermath of the 2022 Congressional midterm elections, we implemented this approach on a nationally representative sample of 2,109 U.S. registered voters. Using the resulting estimates, we measure the correlation between issue importance and their polarization. We consider two conceptions of political polarization: policy and partisan polarization. Our findings reveal that partisan polarization exhibits a strong and significant correlation with issue importance, whereas policy polarization does not. This offers insights into American voters' electoral behavior and raises further questions about the measurement of issue importance.

Keywords: Congressional elections, conjoint experiments, issue importance, political polarization

Introduction

I ssue voting holds a prominent position in our understanding of electoral behavior (Downs 1957; Carmines and Stimson 1980; Rabinowitz and Macdonald 1989). This paradigm is based on the premise that voters seek to elect candidates whose policy positions closely match their preferences. Accordingly, when making electoral choices, voters primarily consider candidates' policy positions and how much they align with their own.

Issue voting stipulates that all else equal, voters prefer candidates whose positions align with their views on a policy issue. That said, political debates usually involve a wide range of matters. Thus, voters must consider candidates' positions on multiple issues. A voter is unlikely to agree with a candidate on every relevant issue. Therefore, voters must often trade off candidates' views on different topics, leading them to assign weights to issues and prioritize some over others.

Despite extensive research on issue voting, we still have a limited understanding of the correlates of the relative importance of policy issues in voters' electoral choices (Dennison 2019). This study seeks to begin filling this void by exploring the relationship between issue importance and the polarization surrounding them. Our central hypothesis is that issues over which positions are more polarized carry a greater importance in voters' decisions than those on which a consensus prevails in the population.

This hypothesis can be supported in several ways. We discuss three of them in turn.

First, voters are likely to pay more attention to polarized issues. This may be due to the emphasis political actors place on them. In general, politicians can strategically influence and manipulate issue salience (Iyengar 1991; Vavreck 2009). For instance, to highlight their differences with their opponents, candidates may emphasize issues over which they have markedly divergent positions (Simas and Ozer 2021). Even when politicians devote equal attention to two issues, voters may not allocate the same attention to both. Indeed, the scarcity of mental resources forces individuals to be selective about the information they absorb, and theoretical research suggests that rationally inattentive voters tend to focus more on contentious issues (Matějka and Tabellini 2020). In any case, we expect voters' attention to be reflected in the relative importance of policy issues in their electoral choices. All else equal, voters will be more responsive to candidates' positions on issues they are well-informed about and less responsive to positions on issues they are less familiar with and lack strong opinions about.

Second, voters may place more importance on polarized issues because their resolution heavily depends

on the election's outcome. For issues about which there is a consensus, the electoral result is likely to have a lesser impact on the policy outcome. Even if a candidate with a different view is elected, they are likely to recognize their stance's unpopularity and feel compelled to abandon it. In such cases, the policy outcome is likely to reflect the prevailing consensus. For polarized issues, the elected candidate will not face the same pressures. Instead, they are likely to interpret their victory as evidence that the electorate has resolved the debate in their favor. In this scenario, the policy outcome is more likely to align with the elected candidate's stance.

Third, the relative importance of policy issues may influence voters' behavior as they engage in partisan sorting, aligning their party affiliation and policy positions. In this context, voters are more likely to change parties to align with their views on important issues (Carsey and Layman 2006; Baldassarri and Gelman 2008; McCarty 2019). This should lead to a strong correlation between the relative importance of an issue and the degree to which policy positions on it are polarized along partisan lines.

We empirically investigate the relationship between issue importance and political polarization in the context of the 2022 Congressional midterm elections in the United States. Before this study, no such empirical assessment had been undertaken. We consider two conceptions of political polarization: policy and partisan polarization. Policy polarization occurs when voters' positions are distributed around two extremes, leading to a high prevalence of disagreements about which policy to pursue. On the other hand, partisan polarization occurs when voters' positions are sorted along partisan lines or, in other words, when policy stances are strongly correlated with partisan identity. We reveal that partisan polarization is significantly and strongly linked to issue importance, whereas policy polarization is not. Consequently, our hypothesis, at least as it pertains to partisan polarization, is confirmed by the data.

Studying the relationship between issue importance and any other variable requires a valid approach to measuring the former. Unfortunately, past research has not supplied such a measurement approach. Historically, researchers have relied on self-reported measures, which consist of asking participants in survey studies to assign the importance of different policy issues a number from one to ten or name the issues they care about the most. The ease of implementing these measures has made them attractive. However, debates exist about whether this approach generates meaningful responses connected to voters' electoral behavior (Niemi and Bartels 1985; Wlezien 2005; Johns 2010; Bartle and Laycock 2012; Leeper and Robison 2020). The main concern about this approach's validity is that voters' decision-making processes are predominantly subconscious and unconscious, making it challenging to articulate all the factors and motives influencing

their choices.

In reaction, political science has shifted its focus towards measures of issue importance derived from either experimental or observational choice data (Alvarez and Nagler 1998; Schofield et al. 1998; Thurner 2000; Ansolabehere and Puy 2018). This paper expands on previous studies using conjoint experiments to elicit issue importance. Specifically, we administered a survey experiment to a nationally representative sample of 2,109 U.S. registered voters shortly after the 2022 Congressional midterm elections. During this experiment, participants were presented with 19 proposals. Their task was to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with each proposition. Afterward, participants were asked to choose between six pairs of hypothetical candidates running for Congress. Through rigorous analysis of this rich experimental data, we infer how much voters' likelihood of voting for a candidate increases when they share the same position over a policy issue. We assert that this represents a valid measure of issue importance.

Horiuchi, Smith, and Yamamoto (2018), Hanretty, Lauderdale, and Vivyan (2020), and Sides, Tausanovitch, and Vavreck (2022) authored three recent studies closely related to ours. Our work builds on and improves their methodologies in two ways: first, by simplifying the choice tasks, and second, by redefining the causal quantity of interest. Typically, previous studies required respondents to choose between two candidates whose policy platforms were randomly generated from multiple positions (ranging from two to five) across various issues (between three and eight). The resulting trade-offs could be intricate, even for knowledgeable respondents. Our approach involves simpler choices in which respondents must decide between two candidates with binary positions on two policy issues. This is the simplest task that allows us to infer the relative importance of policy issues in voters' electoral choices. Also, it reasonably approximates the political world, where political actors tend to dichotomize policy issues. By easing the cognitive burden on respondents, we seek to derive measures that more accurately reflect voters' genuine preferences.

Our second contribution consists of carefully defining the causal quantity of interest to ensure it represents a valid measure of issue importance. This contribution aligns with recent methodological research on causal quantities of interest in conjoint experiments (Abramson, Kocak, and Magazinnik 2022; Bansak et al. 2022). These studies have revealed that alternative measures of issue importance derived from conjoint experiments can misrepresent the relative importance of policy issues. While Hanretty, Lauderdale, and Vivyan (2020) circumvent this hazard, their structural measure of issue importance lacks a clear and natural interpretation related to electoral behavior. On the other hand, Sides, Tausanovitch, and Vavreck (2022) introduce a measure of issue importance similar to ours but do not discuss its theoretical and methodological underpinnings. To

address these gaps, we define a novel measure of issue importance that can be naturally interpreted in percentage points. Our approach is grounded in the potential outcomes framework. This formalization elucidates the aspects of voters' preferences our measure captures, highlights the shortcomings of other methods, and underscores the necessity of carefully designed experiments.

Recently, Cavaillé, Chen, and Van der Straeten (2022) also introduced a novel approach to measuring issue importance. Like ours, their technique addresses the limitations of self-reported measures in revealing voters' priorities. Often, survey respondents convey a high level of concern for many topics, making it challenging to unearth the hierarchy of their priorities. Among other things, this situation arises because respondents are placed in a "world of abundance," in which their choices over one issue do not impact subsequent options. Thus, with self-reported measures of issue importance, participants have no incentives to contemplate trade-offs between various topics. To address this problem, the authors propose a new experimental design, called "Quadratic Voting for Survey Research" (QVSR). In this design, participants receive a fixed budget to purchase votes allowing them to express their views on various policy proposals. The cost of acquiring additional votes increases quadratically, hence casting an extra vote in support or opposition to a proposal becomes increasingly expensive. Therefore, respondents are incentivized to thoughtfully consider how much they care about policy issues and prioritize those that genuinely matter to them.

The value of conjoint experiments in eliciting issue importance is grounded in a similar logic. Both experimental designs force participants to confront dilemmas imposed by choices between imperfect alternatives. However, conjoint designs more authentically represent the electoral decision-making environment voters face. This increased realism lends them more credibility for measuring issue importance in the electoral context. In contrast, QVSR better reflects the trade-off between policies' benefits and opportunity costs inherent in policymaking. These trade-offs are not reflected when representing political conflict as a series of discrete "up-or-down" choices, as our approach does.

Our methodological and substantive contributions are also relevant to psychology, particularly in the study of attitude strength (Howe and Krosnick 2017). Indeed, we can liken issue importance to attitude strength in issue voting's context. Our work showcases a novel approach to measuring attitude strength in binary choices, with potential applications beyond politics. Also, we examine the relationship between attitude strength and a critical aspect of social identity: partisanship.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. First, we formally define the causal conception of issue importance we seek to measure. Next, we provide a comprehensive outline of the experimental design used

to measure issue importance and polarization, accompanied by a description of the underlying statistical methodology. We then present our findings on issue importance and polarization separately and in relation to each other. Finally, we derive general insights from these results, underlining their value in furthering our understanding of issue importance and its relationship with political polarization.

The Causal Conception of Issue Importance

We consider electoral contests between two candidates, respectively labeled 0 and 1. In this scenario, the voters' task is straightforward: they are presented with both candidates' policy profiles and must decide which candidate to vote for. Let $Y_i(\theta_0, \theta_1)$ denote the probability that Voter i chooses Candidate 1 when Candidate 0 has policy profile $\theta_0 \in \Theta$ and Candidate 1 has policy profile $\theta_1 \in \Theta$, where Θ is the set of all possible policy profiles.

A policy profile $\theta_j \in \Theta$ consists of k elements, each representing the position of Candidate j on some issue. To make policy issues more tangible, we summarize them into succinct reform proposals. For example, we represent the complex issue of abortion through the following proposal: "The right to an abortion should be guaranteed by federal law." Provisionally, each component of a candidate's policy profile can be understood to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the corresponding proposal.

Following the pure theory of issue voting, we assume all pertinent information for voters' decision-making is contained in the candidates' policy profiles. Accordingly, candidates' labels do not convey information valuable to voters' electoral choices. In this case, interchanging the policy profiles between candidates 0 and 1 should merely result in a reversal of the candidates' probability of being chosen by a particular voter:

$$Y_i\left(\theta, \theta'\right) = 1 - Y_i\left(\theta', \theta\right) \text{ for all } \theta, \theta' \in \Theta.$$

Our conception of issue importance is related to the relative intensity of voters' preferences as reflected in the extent to which their electoral choices are sensitive to candidates' positions over policy issues. In other words, we regard issue importance as proportional to the magnitude of the effect of candidates' policy positions on voters' support. The underlying logic is simple: the heavier a policy issue weighs in voters' electoral choices, the greater the influence candidates' stances on that issue will have on their choices.

It is vital to distinguish issue importance from issue salience as they are separate albeit potentially

correlated concepts. Issue salience pertains to the level of attention political actors, including candidates, give to policy issues. It is typically measured by the extent to which individuals actively seek information or engage in discussions and debates related to specific policy matters. In general, we expect voters to pay greater attention to issues holding a greater weight in their choices. Also, voters may ascribe a greater importance to policy issues politicians frequently discuss. However, issue importance, as we define it, relates to the effect of candidates' policy positions on voters' electoral choices. Accordingly, it has a narrower definition directly related to electoral behavior.

A naive approach to measuring issue importance from choice data would be considering the effect of candidates' raw policy positions on voters' choices. For example, we could estimate the extent to which voters are more or less likely to vote for a candidate who supports enacting a federal law safeguarding the right to seek an abortion compared to one who holds the opposite view. More generally, we can estimate for each issue the extent to which voters are more inclined to vote for a candidate who agrees with the corresponding proposal compared to one who opposes it. With these estimates, the reader might be tempted to interpret their magnitude as a measure of issue importance. This approach has been employed by eminent scholars, including Horiuchi, Smith, and Yamamoto (2018).

The problem with this approach lies in its failure to recognize that the effect of candidates' positions on individual voters' choices depends critically on their preferred position. Indeed, all else equal, voters are more likely to support a candidate whose policy positions align with their views on a particular issue and are less likely to vote for a candidate with opposing views. Accordingly, espousing a policy proposal will increase the chances of a candidate being selected by proponents of the proposal while diminishing the probability of being chosen by opponents.

This heterogeneity in voters' reactions dilutes the overall effect of candidates' policy positions on voters' choices, pulling it closer to zero. This occurs because this effect is calculated by averaging conditional effects with different signs depending on voters' preferred position. To illustrate this, let us consider the example of an electorate evenly divided on a given policy issue, with half of the voters supporting the underlying proposal and the other half opposing it. Assuming that the magnitude of the effect of candidates' policy positions on voters' support conditional on their preferred position is constant across all voters, the estimated impact of candidates' policy positions on voters' support will be null, as the positive effect on supporters cancels out the negative impact on opponents. Nonetheless, the behavior of individual voters is still, by assumption, strongly influenced by candidates' positions on that issue. This measurement approach obscures

that reality.

This is consistent with the observations recently made by Abramson, Kocak, and Magazinnik (2022) and Bansak et al. (2022) regarding the causal effect of candidates' attributes on voters' support and, specifically, how it aggregates voters' heterogeneous preferences. Their analysis reveals that average effects can paint a deceptive portrait of voters' preferences because they concurrently capture the intensity and direction of voters' preferences. For instance, a negative average effect might conceal a situation wherein most voters support a policy proposal, but the opposing minority is more sensitive to this policy issue. Therefore, the magnitude of the unconditional effect of candidates' policy positions on voters' decisions does not reflect issue importance accurately. This inconsistency arises because the latter relates to the intensity of voters' preferences, whereas the former encompasses the strength and direction of these preferences.

We put forth an approach that accounts for the heterogeneity in voters' responses. It involves recasting policy profiles to represent whether the candidate agrees or disagrees with the voter's stance on each issue. Concretely, we assign a value of 1 to θ_{jk} if Candidate j agrees with the voter on issue k, and -1 otherwise. Therefore, θ_{jk} captures the interaction of candidates' and voters' positions. With this reformulation, we formally define issue importance as the causal effect of agreeing with a candidate's position on a policy issue on a voter's probability of voting for that candidate. This is coherent with the logic behind our conception of issue importance: when voters care deeply about an issue, they tend to be uncompromising and only vote for candidates who share their views. Conversely, if voters do not attach a lot of importance to an issue, they are more likely to compromise and vote for a candidate with whom they disagree.

Formally, we measure the relative importance of a policy issue through the average marginal component effect (AMCE) of agreeing with a candidate's stance on that issue on the probability of voters choosing them over the opposite candidate:

$$\bar{\pi}_\ell = \mathbb{E}\left[Y_i\left(\boldsymbol{\theta}_0, \boldsymbol{\theta}_{1,-\ell}, \theta_{1\ell} = 1\right) - Y_i\left(\boldsymbol{\theta}_0, \boldsymbol{\theta}_{1,-\ell}, \theta_{1\ell} = -1\right) \right], \tag{1}$$

where the expectation is taken over all individuals in the population as well as over the joint distribution of Candidate 0's policy positions and Candidate 1's positions on policy issues excluding issue ℓ.[1] Note that $\theta_{j\ell}$ refers to the ℓth component of Candidate j's policy profile, while $\boldsymbol{\theta}_{j,-\ell}$ denotes the remaining components.

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1. In general, the effect of a policy issue on the probability that a voter selects a candidate varies based on the other values in the candidates' policy profiles. Specifically, the impact of agreeing with a candidate on a policy issue can be influenced by two factors: (i) the candidate's positions on other policy issues, and (ii) the policy positions of the alternative candidate. To generate a statistic capturing the average effect of a single issue, we can "average out" these other factors. This is what the AMCE does.

It is important to note that the joint distribution remains constant regardless of the position of Candidate 1 on issue ℓ. In other words, it is independent of the candidate's stance on the topic of interest. This is crucial for the marginal nature of the effect described in Equation (1). Indeed, the equation quantifies the change in voters' choices resulting from altering the ℓth component of Candidate 1's policy profile while keeping all other factors fixed, including the distribution of other relevant factors.

Without loss of generality, we can focus solely on the effect of Candidate 1's policy positions on voters' responses. Indeed, if we assume that candidates 0 and 1 are a priori identical and that all factors relevant to voters' decision-making are captured in their policy profiles, any modification in Candidate 0's policy profile should have a symmetric effect on this candidate's probability of being chosen by voters.

With either experimental or observational choice data, an estimate of the AMCE can easily be derived by computing the difference between the probability of a voter choosing a candidate they agree with on issue ℓ and the probability of voting for a candidate they disagree with on that specific issue:

$$\Delta_\ell = \mathbb{P} \left(\text{Voting for a candidate} \mid \text{Agreeing with the candidate on issue } \ell \right)$$
$$- \mathbb{P} \left(\text{Voting for a candidate} \mid \text{Disagreeing with the candidate on issue } \ell \right) . \tag{2}$$

If treatment assignment is independent of potential outcomes, then Δ_ℓ consistently captures the AMCE of a voter agreeing with a candidate's stance on issue ℓ on their probability of choosing that candidate. One way to ensure this is the case is to randomize attributes in policy profiles.

The portrayal of policy issues via reform proposals and the binary nature of candidates' positions play a crucial role in our methodology. This is one of the key distinctions between our approach and the one employed by Horiuchi, Smith, and Yamamoto (2018) and Hanretty, Lauderdale, and Vivyan (2020). This assumption is unlikely to result in a significant loss of generality when considering general election candidates, as they tend to adopt dichotomous and opposing stances. This assumption may have more repercussions when considering primary candidates, as they are likely to espouse more nuanced positions located in the same half of the policy space. One could argue that more detailed and refined representations of policy issues and positions would enhance our approach's flexibility and generalizability. However, respondents are unlikely to grasp all the subtleties inherent to these representations. This is likely to lead to confusion and, ultimately, generate noise. Respondents are much better equipped to adjudicate dichotomous issues.

Our approach does not account for the trade-offs between benefits and opportunity costs inherent in

policymaking. Indeed, we reduce political conflict to a series of discrete binary choices. In reality, policy issues often affect one another. For instance, taxation influences the resources available in other policy areas. However, it is unlikely that otherwise unsophisticated voters consider these intricate trade-offs when making electoral choices. This view is fueled by the frequent cases of candidates winning elections after making electoral promises that were untenable because they conspicuously overlooked these trade-offs.

Finally, although this concern applies to all experimental designs and all ways of representing policy issues, including those of Horiuchi, Smith, and Yamamoto (2018), Hanretty, Lauderdale, and Vivyan (2020), and Sides, Tausanovitch, and Vavreck (2022), we acknowledge that our findings may be affected by the specific wording of the proposals chosen to represent policy issues. To prevent our findings from being disproportionately influenced by the representation of policy issues, we consider it crucial to select propositions that political parties could genuinely discuss and differ on. We further investigate this issue in the Results section.

Experimental Design

To many, the prospect of estimating issue importance with observational data may be enticing. Indeed, by fielding a survey, we can gather information about voters' policy preferences and electoral choices.[2] We can concurrently collect data on candidates' stances on policy issues. Equipped with this information, estimating issue importance using the formula outlined in Equation (2) is straightforward.

After all, it would be reasonable to expect the resulting measures of issue importance to reflect the relative weight of policy issues in voters' electoral choices because they are derived from data closely linked to voters' decisions. However, the observational approach presents severe limitations. In elections, voters are presented with a limited set of alternatives. The latter have fixed policy profiles. Consequently, treatment assignment for a given election is determined solely by subjects' views, causing potential outcomes to vary systematically between treatment and control groups. Also, voters' decisions are influenced by non-policy factors, especially candidates' characteristics, which are difficult to account for. Also, the observational approach is constrained regarding the range of issues it can study. For instance, it can only consider issues on which candidates have taken a stance while leaving unexamined latent and universally supported issues.

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2. Some factors may adversely impact self-reported electoral choices' credibility. For instance, biases, such as the "winner effect," can alter subjects' willingness to report their electoral choices accurately. These biases undermine the reliability of survey data in general, not specifically that of our experiment.

Table 1: Policy Proposals

#	Issue	Proposal
1	Abortion	The right to an abortion should be guaranteed by federal law
2	Climate Change I	Corporations should be taxed based on the carbon emissions they produce
3	Climate Change II	The government should provide more incentives to increase the use of hybrid and electric vehicles
4	Climate Change III	Power companies should be required to use more energy from renewable sources
5	Climate Change IV	We should plant a trillion more trees worldwide to absorb carbon emissions in the atmosphere
6	Climate Change V	The federal government should give a tax credit to encourage businesses to develop technology that captures and stores carbon emissions
7	Defense	The federal government should reduce its defense spending
8	Deficit	The federal government should eliminate its deficit
9	Democracy	The Electoral College should be eliminated, and the candidate who wins the most votes nationwide should be elected President
10	Education	The government should provide universal, high-quality preschool to all three- and four-year-olds
11	Gun Control	The federal government should create a central database to track all firearm sales
12	Health Care	The federal government should create a national single-payer health care insurance program to replace existing private health insurance plans
13	Higher Education	Public colleges and universities should be free for students from low- and moderate-income families
14	Immigration	The government should establish a way for immigrants who are here illegally to stay legally
15	Marijuana	The recreational use of marijuana should be legal nationwide
16	Minimum Wage	The federal minimum wage should be raised to $15 per hour
17	Racial Equality	Descendants of people enslaved in the United States should be paid reparations
18	Social Security	The federal government should reduce Social Security benefits to ensure the program's perennity
19	Taxes	The highest marginal federal personal income tax rate should be reduced to 35%

YouGov

Imagine you had to choose in the past midterm elections between two candidates for Congress, A and B.

The two candidates were asked about their positions on two issues. Their answers are reproduced below.

Candidate A	Candidate B
The highest marginal federal personal income tax rate should be reduced to 35%	The highest marginal federal personal income tax rate should NOT be reduced to 35%
The federal government should create a central database to track all firearm sales	The federal government should NOT create a central database to track all firearm sales

Given only the above information, who would you have voted for in the past midterm elections? If the positions are the same, please pick either one.

◯ I would have voted for Candidate A

◯ I would have voted for Candidate B

Question 1 of 6

(<) (>)

Figure 1: Example of a Conjoint Question

Lastly, candidates strategically select which issues to publicly address, presumably based on their perception of their relative importance. This strategic behavior introduces biases that can be likened to those present in spatial estimates of legislators' ideal points (Clinton and Meirowitz 2001).

Given the difficulties inherent in estimating issue importance with observational data, we opt for an experimental approach. In particular, we administer a fully randomized conjoint design. This methodology addresses many of the shortcomings associated with the observational approach. First, it allows us to construct hypothetical policy profiles in which candidates' positions are distributed independently of voters' characteristics and issues' relative importance. Also, this design allows us to evaluate the weight of topics candidates on which candidates have not yet taken a stance or on which all candidates share the same position. Lastly, the experimental approach allows us to collect richer data on voters' choices by presenting them with multiple pairs of hypothetical candidates and eliciting repeated observations.

Our survey instrument consists of two sets of questions. The first elicits subjects' views on various policy issues. Specifically, we inquire about their support or opposition to 19 proposals spanning 15 policy areas. Topics were selected to encompass a mix of prominent and potentially overlooked policy issues. Reform proposals were deliberately crafted to be concrete, capturing elements over which realistic disagreements between candidates could arise. The resulting propositions are listed in Table 1.

For each prompt, subjects are provided with five options: (i) Strongly support, (ii) Somewhat support, (iii) Neutral, (iv) Somewhat oppose, and (v) Strongly oppose. To streamline the analysis and neutralize individual-level variations in the use of response scales, we consolidated the five options into three categories, keeping their orientation but disregarding their strength: (i) Support, (ii) Neutral, and (iii) Oppose.[3] The distribution of responses to the initial set of questions is found in Figure S1 in the Online Appendix. Additionally, Figure S2 presents the distribution of responses to these questions, categorized by respondents' self-reported party identification.

In the second stage of our experiment, we present subjects with six conjoint questions. Each question presents two hypothetical candidates for Congress, candidates A and B. These candidates are solely characterized by their policy platforms, representing their positions on two specific policy issues.[4] All other

3. Including a neutral option is valuable as it enables us to collect a broader range of responses and capture the full spectrum of subjects' opinions. By offering subjects the choice to select a neutral option, we respect their hesitation or lack of a strong inclination towards agreement or disagreement. This reduces the likelihood of respondents leaving these fields blank and, as such, improves the overall quality of our data.

4. We previously emphasized the distinction between issue importance and salience. In conjoint questions, we allocate equal space—thus identical salience—to both issues in a policy profile. In actual elections, candidates may highlight one issue over another in their messaging. This asymmetric emphasis can significantly influence voters' choices. Our experimental design does

Table 2: Examples of Policy Profiles

(a)

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Issue 1	Agreement	Disagreement
Issue 2	Agreement	Agreement

(b)

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Issue 1	Agreement	Disagreement
Issue 2	Disagreement	Disagreement

(c)

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Issue 1	Agreement	Disagreement
Issue 2	Agreement	Disagreement

(d)

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Issue 1	Agreement	Disagreement
Issue 2	Disagreement	Agreement

characteristics of the candidates are assumed to be identical. In each conjoint question, policy proposals are randomly selected without replacement from the 19 prompts listed in Table 1. The assignment of prompts is independent across conjoint questions and equally probable, ensuring a diverse combination of policy issues being paired together. The candidates' positions on each policy issue are independently determined, with an equal chance of either agreement or disagreement with a given policy proposal. The candidates can have the same position on a particular issue.

Figure 1 illustrates a typical conjoint question. In this example, the positions of candidates A and B on two policy issues, taxes and gun control, are presented in a table. Candidate A supports reducing the highest marginal federal personal income tax rate and creating a database to track all firearm sales. In contrast, Candidate B opposes these two proposals. Based on this information, subjects are asked to choose which candidate they would have voted for in the past midterm elections. In the first stage of our experiment, respondents have already indicated their opinions on these policy prompts. Thus, it is straightforward to determine whether the respondent agrees or disagrees with their selected candidate on the issues of taxes and gun control.

To understand how answers to conjoint questions reveal the relative importance of policy issues in voters' electoral choices, consider the four policy profiles outlined in Table 2. These represent all possible combinations of policy positions for two candidates, short of one in which both candidates share the same position on both issues. We recast policy profiles to indicate whether a given voter agrees or disagrees

not account for this.

with candidates A and B on issues 1 and 2. This voter's choices for profiles (a), (b), and (c) offer no information about the relative weight of issues 1 and 2 in their preferences. Indeed, in these profiles, the voter does not need to trade off their preference for one candidate based on one issue with their preference for another candidate based on the other issue. The only profile for which the voter's choice reveals the relative importance of both issues is (d). In this scenario, a vote for Candidate A means that they prioritize issue 1 over issue 2. Conversely, a vote for Candidate B suggests they place a greater weight on issue 2 over issue 1.

YouGov administered our survey experiment to a sample of 2,109 U.S. registered voters, who were interviewed online from November 9 to 18, 2022. Respondents were selected from YouGov's opt-in panel to ensure national representativeness. The survey sample was weighted based on gender, age, race, education, and the respondents' vote in the 2020 Presidential election. The weights ranged from 0.1 to 4.2, with an average weight of 1.0 and a standard deviation of 0.4. All results presented in this paper are computed using these weights.[5] Ethical considerations are further discussed in the Online Appendix.

Statistical Methodology

Issue Importance

With the experimental data collected as described above, it is straightforward to estimate the measure of issue importance Δ_i, as defined in Equation (2), using a non-parametric approach analogous to the one proposed by Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto (2014). The Online Appendix contains a detailed outline of this procedure.

The measure Δ_i has a significant limitation in its definition of agreement and disagreement. We consider that a candidate and a voter agree on a policy issue only if they share their view on the related policy proposal. Conversely, they are considered to disagree if they hold opposing views on the proposition. This definition excludes cases in which respondents have expressed neutrality over issue i, as they neither agree nor disagree with candidates who take definitive positions.

It would be valuable to incorporate in our measure of issue importance the cases in which respondents

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5. The use of weighting in survey experiments has been a topic of recent debate in the literature (Franco et al. 2017; Miratrix et al. 2018). We present weighted estimates in the body of the paper because our overarching goal is to make inferences about the relative importance of policy issues in the population as a whole and not only in our sample. The Online Appendix contains unweighted estimates of issue importance and polarization. Our objective in presenting these unweighted estimates is to demonstrate that our substantive findings are unaffected by weighting. We note that there is little difference between the weighted and unweighted estimates, presumably because our sample is representative of the population of interest in any case.

expressed their neutrality on policy issues. Indeed, if voters are genuinely neutral over a policy issue, they remain indifferent to its outcome and do not factor it into their electoral choices. As a result, topics with a higher proportion of voters affirming neutrality are less likely to influence electoral decisions, resulting in diminished overall importance attached to those issues.

To this end, we propose the following measure of adjusted issue importance, which accounts for the share of voters who identify as neutral on that issue:

$$\tilde{\Delta}_i = \mathbb{P}\,(\text{Voting for a candidate with whom they agree on issue } i)$$

$$- \mathbb{P}\,(\text{Voting for a candidate with whom they disagree on issue } i)\,.$$

The comparison embedded in $\tilde{\Delta}_i$ is the opposite of the one implied by Δ_i. While Δ_i compares the probability that a candidate is chosen by voters who agree and those who disagree with them on issue i, $\tilde{\Delta}_i$ compares the likelihood that voters agreeing and disagreeing with the candidate they chose. Nonetheless, $\tilde{\Delta}_i$ bears a close relationship to Δ_i. Leveraging the fact that the experimental design implements fully independent randomization of policy profiles, it can be easily shown that the following holds:

$$\tilde{\Delta}_i \approx (1 - \mathbb{P}\,(\text{Voter is neutral on issue } i)) \times \Delta_i.$$

This equation reveals that $\tilde{\Delta}_i$ applies a penalty to estimates of Δ_i proportional to the share of neutral respondents. This approach is equivalent to calculating the AMCE of agreeing with a candidate's stance on a policy issue on the likelihood of voting for them considering all subjects, including neutral ones, assuming that the effect on the latter equals zero.

Issue Polarization

So far, we have dedicated our discussion to the measurement of issue importance. Before turning to our findings, which put into relation issue importance and political polarization, we must describe how we conceptualize and measure the latter.

We define political polarization as the depth of the differences in opinions and beliefs over policy issues across a polity (McCarty 2019, ch. 2). This general concept can manifest in different manifestations. Here, we consider two of its possible forms. One is called "policy polarization," characterized by a deep division of policy views in the public, with two opposing groups holding opposite positions. Concretely, this manifests

in a high prevalence of disagreements between voters. Another form of polarization is known as "partisan polarization," according to which citizens' policy positions closely align with their ideological or partisan affiliations. In this case, voters' partisan identity strongly predicts their stance on policy issues.

Although these two notions of polarization are distinct, they are generally correlated. For instance, when policy attitudes strongly align with party affiliations, this can lead to substantial disagreements in the entire electorate. The reverse does not always occur: even if the electorate is divided on policy issues, partisans from different parties may be equally divided. In other words, although partisan sorting is generally associated with policy polarization, the same level of policy polarization does not necessarily reflect the same degree of partisan sorting.

For each issue, we seek to derive a polarization measure from the weighted distribution of policy positions observed among respondents to our survey. Various measures can be used to quantify political polarization, each capturing a unique facet of this phenomenon. Consequently, we propose two polarization measures, each associated with one of the two conceptions defined earlier.

First, we measure policy polarization using the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI). The HHI has its origins in economics, where it is used to measure the relative size of firms within an industry and the intensity of competition among them. In political science, the HHI forms the basis for estimating the effective number of political parties (Laakso and Taagepera 1979). The HHI is also applied in other disciplines, such as biology and physics.

Formally, the HHI is the probability that two randomly chosen voters have the same position on an issue. To compute this measure, we sum the squares of the shares of voters adhering to each policy position:

$$\text{HHI}_i = \sum_m p_{im}^2,$$

where p_{im} is the share of voters who hold position m on issue i. A lower value of the HHI indicates a more divided distribution of policy positions, less consensus, and more policy polarization. The HHI can be calculated with the observed distribution of policy positions with or without neutral responses.

Second, we measure partisan polarization using the Mutual Information (MI) of Party Identification and Policy Positions. This statistical measure, rooted in information theory, quantifies the degree of mutual dependence between two random variables (Cover and Thomas 2005). It is analogous to the standard correlation coefficient for discrete variables and extends to instances of non-linear dependence.

The MI reflects the difference between the joint distribution of the variables and the product of their marginal distributions. More specifically, it measures the extent to which knowing a voter's partisan affiliation helps to impute their policy positions, thereby improving the likelihood of one's predictions. Formally, the MI of Party Identification and Policy Positions is calculated as follows:

$$\text{MI}_i = \sum_m \sum_n p_{imn} \times \log\left(\frac{p_{imn}}{p_{im} \times p_{in}}\right),$$

where p_{imn} is the share of voters who hold position m on issue i and have partisan identity n, and $p_{in} = \sum_m p_{imn}$ the share of voters with partisan identity n.

Results

Issue Importance

Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the estimates of our measures for issue importance, denoted by Δ, and adjusted issue importance, denoted as $\tilde{\Delta}$, respectively. These figures show point estimates, with higher values reflecting a greater importance, along with their 95% confidence intervals. Policy issues are arranged in descending order of the magnitude of their point estimates.

First, we consider the estimates of issue importance displayed in Figure 2. This measure reflects the extent to which a voter is more likely to support a candidate whose stance aligns with theirs relative to a candidate with opposing views. All estimates are statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. This implies that, across the topics considered, voters are more inclined to vote for candidates who share their viewpoints rather than those who hold conflicting positions.

Significant variation is observed in issue importance across different issues. In particular, estimates span from 14.1 to 35.7 percentage points. The difference between the estimates of the most and least important issues is statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. This implies that our measure effectively differentiates between issues with different weights in voters' electoral choices. The three issues with the highest estimated importance are Democracy, Abortion, and Racial Equality. Conversely, the three issues with the lowest weights are Climate Change, Defense, and Taxes.

As previously mentioned, our measure of issue importance excludes the choices made by respondents neutral on a given issue. To address this restriction, we have put forth above a measure of adjusted issue
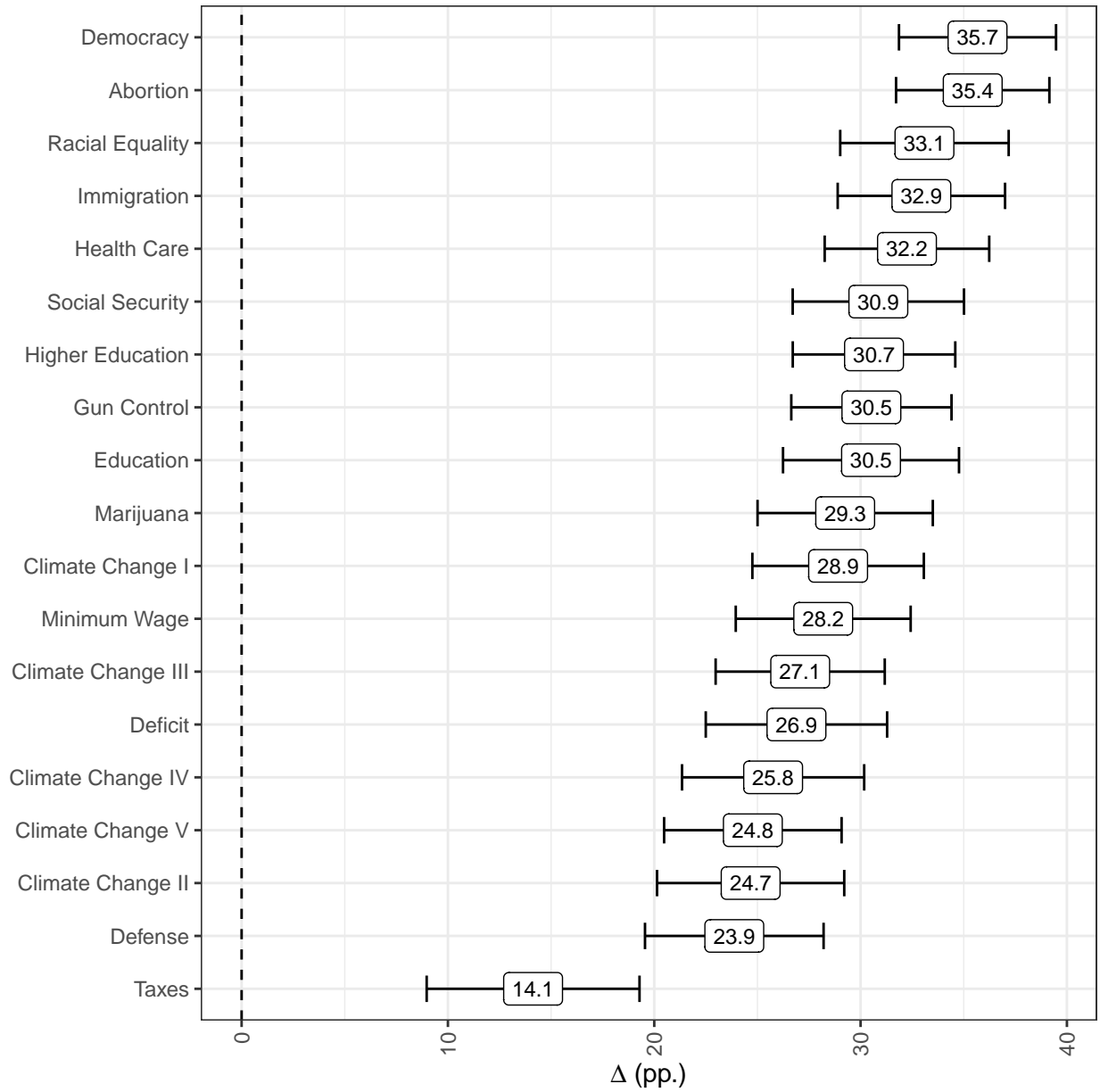
18

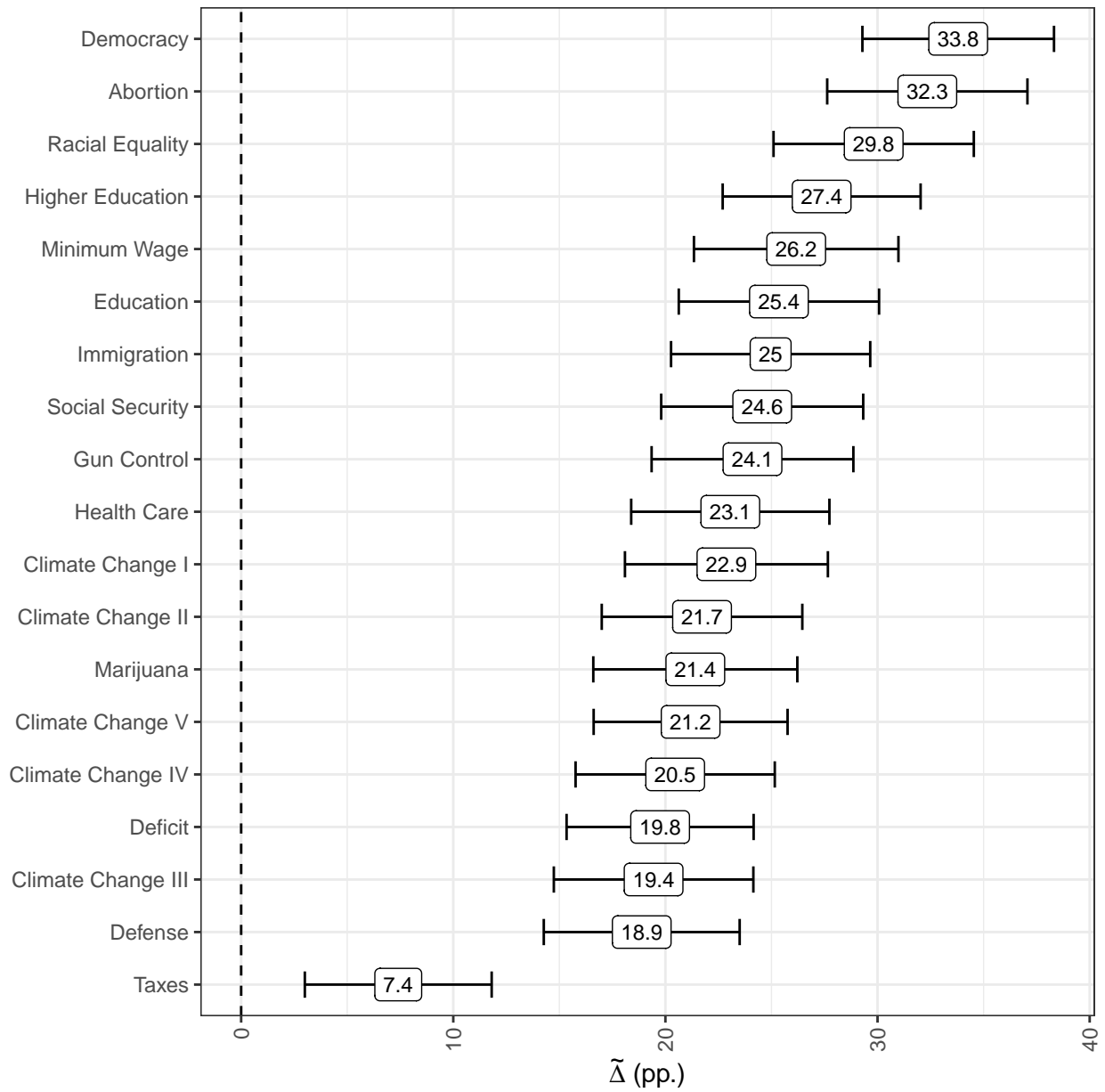**Figure 2:** Issue Importance by Policy Issue

Figure 3: Adjusted Issue Importance by Policy Issue

importance that accounts for the share of neutral respondents. Before delving into estimates of adjusted issue importance, note that we observe a correlation between our measure of issue importance and the proportion of participants who identify as neutral. Specifically, there is a significant negative correlation between issue importance and the fraction of nonaligned voters, with a coefficient of -0.86 (see Figure S3 in Online Appendix). This finding suggests that voters are more likely to be neutral over issues that have a lower impact on the electoral choices of those holding definitive positions.

We now discuss the estimates of adjusted issue importance depicted in Figure 3. This measure assesses the difference between the share of chosen candidates who align with voters' views and the share of selected candidates who hold opposing views. All estimates are statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. This implies that voters systematically choose a significantly higher share of candidates who share their views rather than those with opposing opinions.

Like those of issue importance, the estimates of adjusted issue importance exhibit considerable variation, ranging from 7.4 to 33.8 percentage points. Adjusted issue importance demonstrates slightly more variability within this range than plain issue importance. Estimates of the least and most decisive issues exhibit a statistically significant difference. Consequently, our measure of adjusted issue importance discriminates well between the least and most important issues. Among the policy issues considered, Democracy, Abortion, and Racial Equality have the highest importance. In contrast, Climate Change, Defense, and Taxes have the lowest weights.

Note that we observe a strong positive correlation between issue importance and adjusted issue importance, with a coefficient of 0.93 (see Figure S4 in Online Appendix). Consequently, altering our measure of issue importance to account for neutral voters has little impact on the relative ordering of issues. This is particularly true for the three most and least important issues, as they remain identical with both measures. Also, recall that adjusted issue importance is derived by reducing issue importance proportionally to the share of neutral subjects. Thus, adjusted issue importance has consistently lower values than issue importance.

Substantively, our estimates of issue importance reveal a compelling and meaningful pattern about the nature of the 2022 congressional midterm elections. Specifically, they corroborate the perception that contemporary politics is centered around so-called "culture wars," as issues directly associated with this notion, such as Abortion, Democracy, and Racial Equality, take preeminence in voters' electoral choices. Conversely, traditional themes that have long been preeminent in American political debates, such as Defense, the Deficit, and Taxes, seem to wield little influence on voters' electoral choices.

In concluding this section, we explore how the exact formulation of policy proposals influences the estimates of issue importance and adjusted issue importance. Given the complexity of policy issues, we condensed them into short reform proposals. We acknowledge that different propositions stemming from the same issue may vary in importance to voters. To assess the sensitivity of our results to this design choice, we narrow our focus to the policy area of Climate Change and consider five distinct proposals associated with it. We compare the resulting estimates of issue importance and adjusted issue importance across propositions.

Despite some variability in estimates, the differences between the estimates of issue importance and adjusted issue importance across policy proposals do not reach statistical significance, nor are they substantively meaningful. Estimates of issue importance range from 24.7 to 28.9 percentage points, while those of adjusted issue importance range from 19.4 to 22.9 percentage points. Interestingly, estimates tend to cluster into two groups, showing minimal to no significant variation. The first group includes policy proposals centered around economic and financial aspects, such as carbon taxation and incentives for hybrid and electric vehicles. In contrast, the second group consists of propositions focused on renewable energy, tree planting, and carbon capture and storage. These findings indicate that although there might be slight variations in estimates, the importance attributed to different policy proposals in a specific policy domain remains consistent within coherent clusters. Also, they suggest measures of issue importance are not excessively influenced by our choice of policy proposals.

Issue Polarization

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the estimates of the HHI and the MI of Party Identification and Policy Positions for the 19 policy proposals considered in our survey experiment. These figures depict point estimates along with their 95% confidence intervals. In both figures, issues are arranged in descending order of the prevailing level of polarization.

The HHI quantifies how deeply policy attitudes are divided in the electorate. Specifically, it represents the probability that two randomly selected voters hold the same position on a particular issue. Thus, an increase in the HHI indicates a higher level of consensus among voters and, consequently, a lower polarization in their positions. To compute the HHI, we consider the distribution of subjects' policy positions without those who identify as neutral. For comparison, you can find the value of the HHI calculated using the distribution of subjects' policy positions with neutral responses in Figure S5 (see Online Appendix).

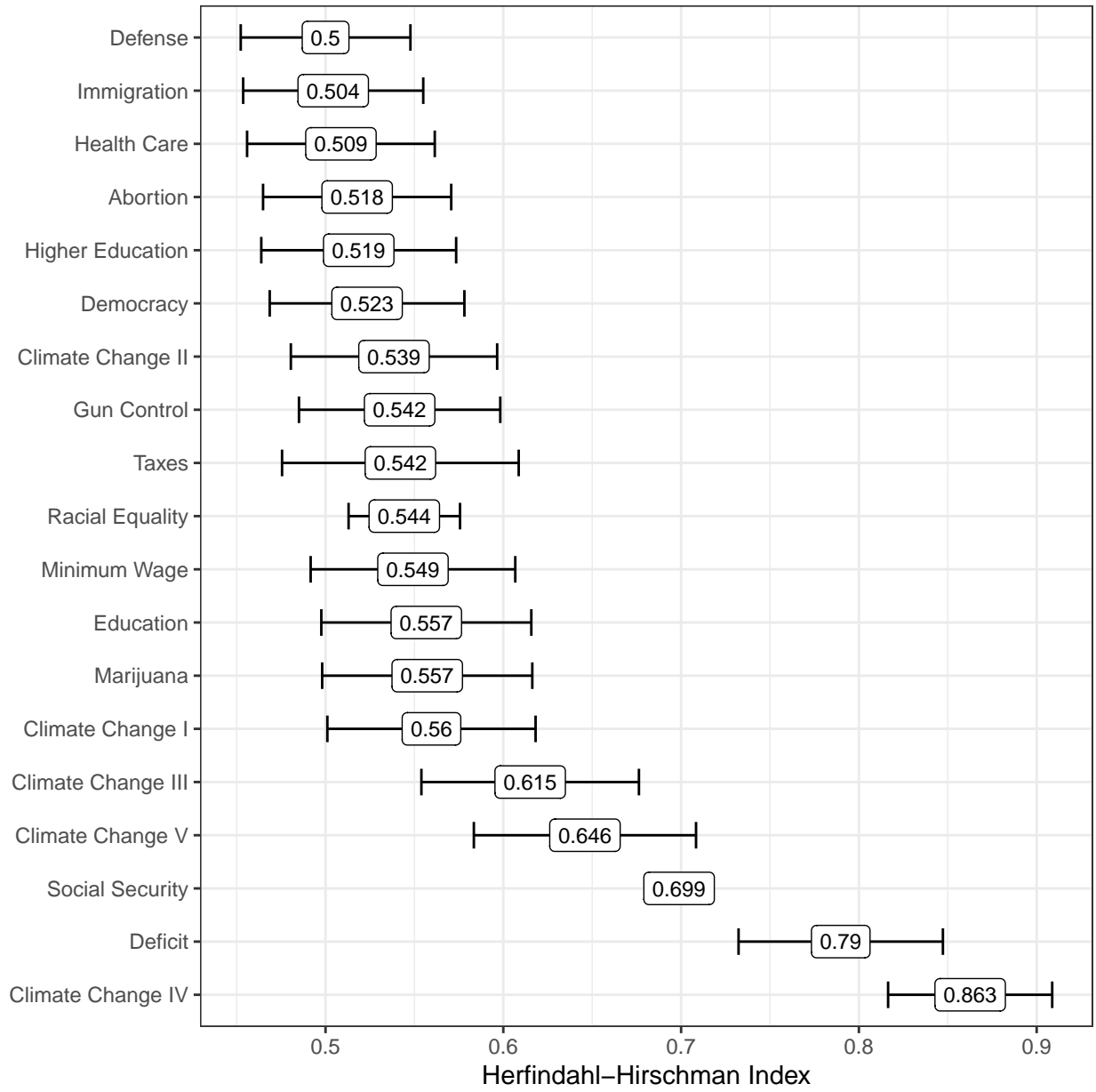Estimates show that the electorate is considerably divided over the policy issues we consider. The values

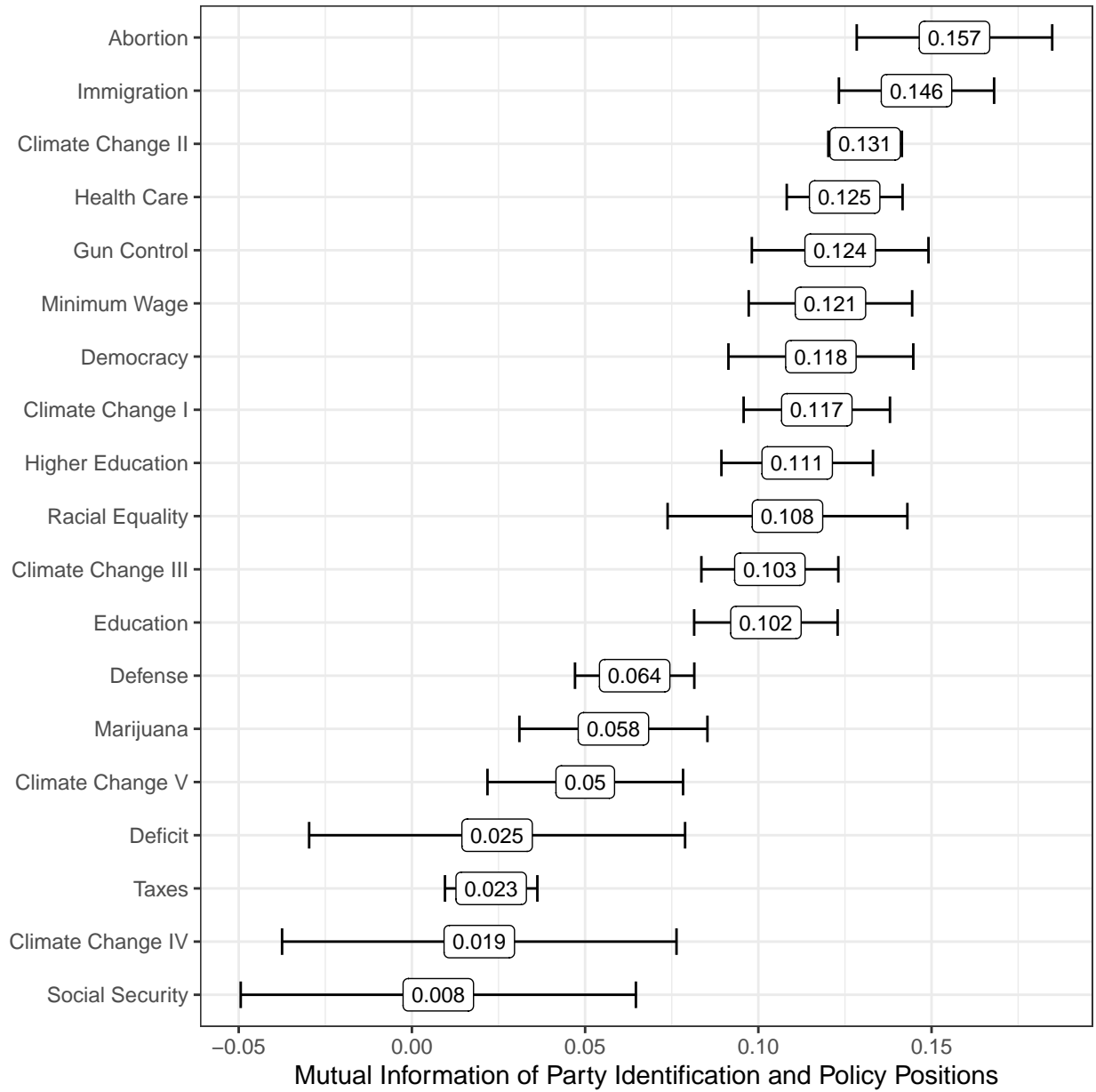**Figure 4:** Herfindahl–Hirschman Index by Policy Issue

Figure 5: Mutual Information of Party Identification and Policy Positions by Policy Issue
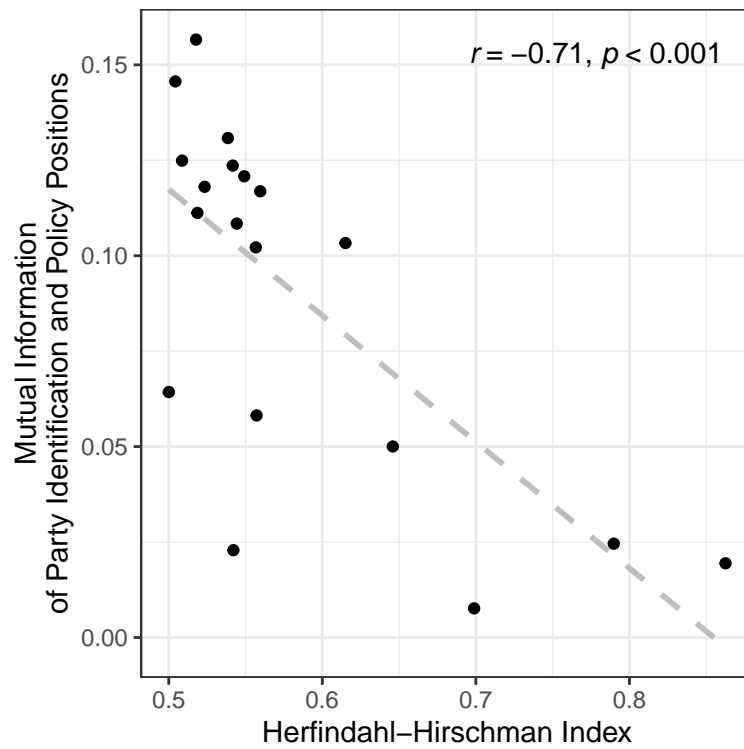
Figure 6: Relationship between the Herfindahl–Hirschman Index and the Mutual Information of Party Identification and Policy Positions

of the HHI show modest variation across issues, indicating a consistent and substantial level of disagreement in the public. For most matters, the probability of two randomly selected voters sharing the same position falls within a relatively narrow range of 0.5 to 0.56. This suggests that voters' attitudes are evenly split on these issues, as seen in the case of Defense and Immigration, for which there is an equal likelihood of agreement or disagreement between two randomly chosen voters. This finding raises apprehensions about the effectiveness of the HHI in effectively discriminating between policy issues. On the other hand, there are five specific issues from three policy areas — namely, Climate Change, the Deficit, and Social Security — for which the probability of agreement between two randomly selected voters is higher than or equal to 0.62. This indicates a higher level of consensus among voters over these policy issues.

To supplement the vision of political polarization offered by the HHI, we also consider the MI of Party Identification and Policy Positions. This measure reflects how much policy attitudes are sorted along partisan lines. A higher value of the MI reflects a greater level of partisan polarization.

In contrast to the HHI, which showed little variability between issues, the MI of Party Identification and Policy Positions exhibits considerably more fluctuation across policy issues. This suggests that the MI is more useful in differentiating policy issues. Notably, policy attitudes about Social Security, and to a lesser extent, the Deficit and Taxes, are virtually independent of voters' party identification. In contrast, positions on the issues of Abortion and Immigration show significant divides along partisan lines.

As anticipated, the HHI and the MI of Party Identification and Policy Positions show a strong correlation, as depicted in Figure 6. Specifically, both measures have an absolute correlation coefficient of 0.71. Although these two measures are correlated, they capture distinct manifestations of political polarization, each maintaining its relevance. That said, due to its higher variability, the MI displays better potential than the HHI in effectively differentiating the degree of polarization prevailing over various policy issues.

Relationship Between Issue Importance and Polarization

Now that we have described our findings about issue importance and polarization independently, we turn to the main goal of this paper, which is to investigate the relationship between issue importance and polarization. In particular, we seek to evaluate the hypothesis that issues with higher levels of polarization carry a greater weight in voters' electoral choices than issues over which a consensus prevails.

Figures 7 and 8 illustrate the relationship between our measures of issue importance and adjusted issue importance on the y-axis, and the HHI and the MI of Party Identification and Policy Positions on
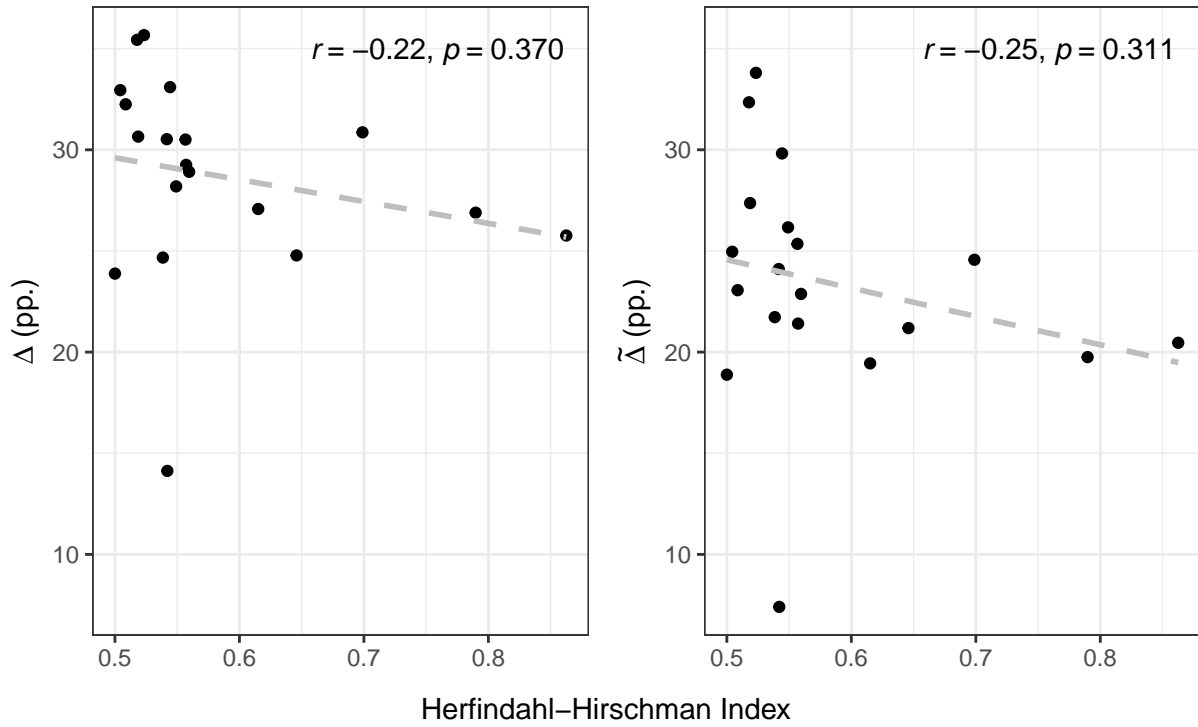
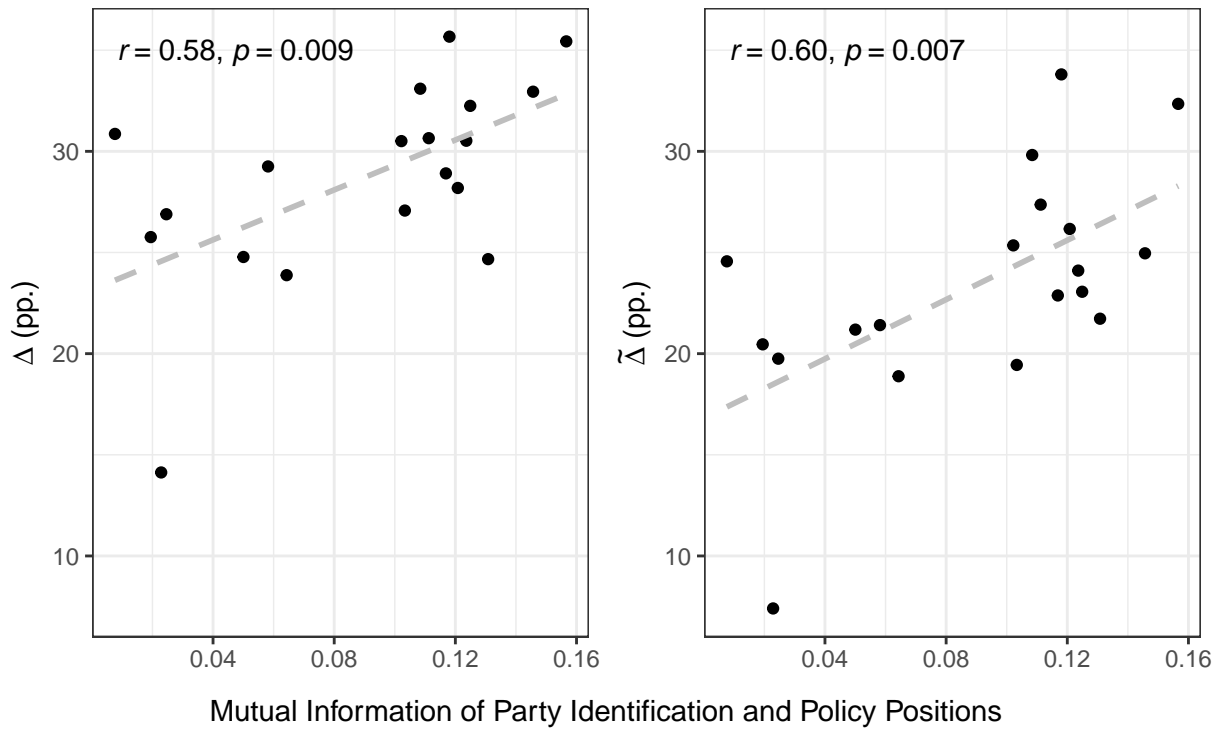**Figure 7:** Relationship between Issue Importance and the Herfindahl–Hirschman Index

Figure 8: Relationship between Issue Importance and the Mutual Information of Party Identification and Policy Positions

the *x*-axis, respectively. From these figures, we immediately notice that although there is no statistically significant correlation between issue importance and policy polarization, there is a strong and significant correlation between issue importance and partisan polarization. This means that, on average, issues over which voters' positions are more polarized along partisan lines hold greater importance in their electoral choices compared to issues over which attitudes are similarly distributed across parties. The correlation between issue importance and partisan polarization is significant at the 99% confidence level. Also, variations in the MI of Party Identification and Policy Positions predict approximately 34% of the variations in issue importance across policy issues. Overall, our hypothesis is supported by the data, at least as it pertains to partisan polarization.

Since the MI of Party Identification and Policy Positions demonstrates a better ability to predict issue importance than the HHI, it emerges as the most relevant measure of polarization when assessing the relationship between issue importance and polarization. This finding is relatively astounding. The reason is that although our experimental design intentionally primed respondents to disregard candidates' partisan affiliations and to focus solely on candidates' policy positions, the relative weight they attribute to policy issues still appears to be related to partisan considerations, namely, the extent to which policy positions are divided along partisan lines. In contrast, it is not shocking to observe that policy polarization has no significant relationship with issue importance since the former varies little across issues, as noted above.

In concluding this section, we emphasize the role of our novel measurement approach in exploring the relationship between issue importance and polarization. The Online Appendix contains Figure S11, which illustrates the relationship between the absolute value of the effect of candidates' raw policy positions on their likelihood of being chosen and our measures of polarization. The observed relationship diametrically contradicts our theoretical expectations and our findings. Indeed, contrary to our projections, highly polarized issues then seem to carry a lower weight in voters' electoral choices. We contend that this outcome does not accurately reflect the relationship between issue importance and polarization. Instead, it reflects the limitations of the naive measurement approach, as we extensively discussed above. In particular, the result appears to be a byproduct of how the effect of candidates' policy positions aggregates voters' preferences. Recall that the average impact of candidates' policy positions is calculated by summing up various effects conditional on voters' preferred positions, which have different signs depending on whether voters support or oppose the corresponding proposal. This averaging process leads to a dilution of the effect of candidates' positions. When the distribution of voters' policy positions is more polarized, the average impact tends to

converge toward zero, resulting in a diminished absolute value. In sum, our study underscores the importance of accounting for the heterogeneity in voters' preferences when measuring issue importance with conjoint experiments.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper makes a dual contribution. First, we formulated a novel approach for measuring issue importance. Most of our effort was devoted to formally defining the causal conception of issue importance within the potential outcomes framework. This allows us to articulate the shortcomings of previous measurement approaches and demonstrate the need for meticulously designed experiments to measure this concept accurately. Having formally defined the causal conception of issue importance, conjoint experiments naturally emerge as the most reliable method for eliciting it.

We put our novel approach into practice on a nationally representative panel of 2,109 registered voters immediately after the 2022 Congressional midterm elections. Participants were presented with two sets of questions. The first set directly elicited their opinion on 19 proposals covering 15 policy areas. The second set consisted of six conjoint questions in which participants had to choose between two hypothetical candidates with randomly generated policy platforms. Although very simple, this task emulates the trade-offs between imperfect alternatives voters encounter in actual elections. This lends substantial credibility to the resulting estimates. Despite their imperfections, conjoint experiments are the best method for eliciting issue importance, second only to manipulating actual elections.

Second, leveraging our estimates of issue importance, we explored the relationship between issue importance and the degree of political polarization surrounding them. Although there are several reasons to believe that polarized issues hold a greater weight in voters' electoral choices, this relationship has not been previously empirically explored. A likely explanation for this is the lack of authoritative methods to measure issue importance until now.

We consider two distinct conceptions of political polarization: policy and partisan polarization. Although issue importance is not correlated with policy polarization, we observe a strong and statistically significant correlation between issue importance and partisan polarization. This observation is noteworthy and somewhat surprising, as our experimental design actively and deliberately dissuaded respondents from considering candidates' partisan affiliations.

Since it is impossible to manipulate an issue's importance or polarization, we cannot definitively claim a causal relationship between these two variables. For instance, the direction of causality remains undetermined. Political polarization on a particular issue can result in an escalation of its importance. Similarly, the heightened importance of a topic can contribute to its polarization. Both phenomena likely coexist.

Our findings offer insights into the electoral behavior of American voters but also into our measurement approach. Given the strong correlation observed between issue importance and partisan polarization, concerns about the validity of our experimental approach may arise, chiefly because voters may not truly make choices in the manner implicitly assumed by our methodology. Our experimental design portrays a world of pure issue voting, in which voters consider candidates' policy positions and vote for those whose views most closely align with theirs, irrespective of their partisan affiliations. However, voters, particularly those with strong partisan leanings, may be influenced by candidates' partisan affiliations when choosing who to vote for. Our decision to omit parties from our experimental design stems from the apprehension that the effect of candidates' partisan affiliations would overshadow the policy effects we are interested in. Thus, our survey instrument intentionally avoids citing political parties to prime respondents to set aside partisan considerations from their decision-making process. This should not impose a meaningful limitation if we assume that voters do not have direct preferences over candidates' partisan affiliations but use them as informational signals to impute candidates' policy positions. The same is true if voters' preferences over candidates' partisan affiliations and policy positions were separable.

Nonetheless, partisan considerations may spill into our experiment and, ultimately, into our findings. For instance, respondents interested in candidates' partisan affiliations may try to infer it from the displayed characteristics, namely, the candidates' policy positions. Similarly, respondents may attempt to infer candidates' positions on other issues by extrapolating from the positions shown, relying on the correlations anticipated in the real world between candidates' stances on different policy issues, themselves strongly tied to partisanship. If it were the case, this would admittedly fuel the correlation between issue importance and partisan polarization, as issues with the highest partisan polarization are, by definition, the most predictive of candidates' partisan affiliations.[6] However, before interpreting our findings as definitive evidence of "partisan leakage," it is crucial to note that we are faced with the incapacity to establish a causal relationship between both variables. We do not know which characteristics of polarized issues cause their heightened

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6. This would challenge the marginal nature of the AMCE, as the distribution of the candidate's policy positions over other issues would no longer be independent of candidates' shown positions, as we assumed throughout our analysis.

importance or if the causation even runs in that direction. However, we note that this behavior would require a high, perhaps improbable, level of sophistication from respondents. Unsophisticated subjects are more likely to take our questions at "face value." In this case, it would be more sensible to interpret our findings as evidence that issue importance precedes partisan polarization.

In any event, it is remarkable that electoral choices are strongly correlated with the partisan nature of policy issues, even in an experimental setting in which partisan factors are deliberately concealed. This could be due to the deep-seated influence of partisan considerations on voters' opinions or the inclination of parties to compete fiercely over policy issues that weigh heavily in voters' choices. Those who believe voters are simple and lack deep political knowledge might favor the latter explanation. Nevertheless, this view is purely speculative. It could also indicate that partisan considerations are so ingrained in voters' minds that they transcend any perceived lack of sophistication.

In conclusion, we acknowledge that deviations from issue voting can challenge our capacity to elicit the relative weight of issues through our experimental methodology, as our estimates are then susceptible to capture things other than policy preferences. To our knowledge, this has not been meaningfully discussed in the previous literature. With this paper, we seek to spark a discussion on this matter. Further research is needed to understand how including attributes other than policy positions, including candidates' partisan affiliations and personal characteristics, such as gender, race and ethnicity, and profession, would affect our estimates of issue importance and whether alternative phrasing might better prompt voters to focus exclusively on the displayed attributes.

Statements and Declarations

Acknowledgments

Competing Interests

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Our survey project received an exemption from Caltech's Institutional Review Board.

Data Availability and Replication

Upon acceptance, the data and code required to replicate the results presented in the paper will be archived in a public repository.

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