

**Social Identity and Gubernatorial Approval:
The Influence of Partisanship, Place Attachment, and Gender**

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As the COVID-19 pandemic swept across the United States in the early spring of 2020, governors in most states emerged as the face of the pandemic response (Sadiq, Kapucu, and Hu 2020). Traditionally, the most well-known and powerful figure in the states, pandemic response put even more of a spotlight on governors across the country and partisan politics quickly emerged as a key factor in gubernatorial decisions (Adolph et al. 2022; Patterson 2022). The public appears to have responded with initial support for their governors with a steady decline support in most states as we moved into the summer of 2020 (Lazer et al. 2020).

In this paper, we focus on understanding what drives individual attitudes towards their governor. Using original surveys from March and May 2020, we test the role of social identities, namely partisanship, place, and gender, in explaining gubernatorial approval. We find that partisan congruence and state attachment are strong predictors of gubernatorial approval while gender congruence does not appear to influence gubernatorial approval.

Literature Review

Understanding the determinants and consequences of gubernatorial popularity has been central to studies of state executives. Popular governors are more likely to win reelection (i.e. Bardwell 2002; Kenney and Rice 1983) and have more informal power within their state (Beyle and Ferguson 2008). This power can lead to being more successful at implementing their policy goals (Kousser and Phillips 2012) as well as having more influence within the legislature (Cohen 2018) and the bureaucracy (Dometrius 2002).

While the importance of popularity is quite clear, research into the determinants of popularity presents a more complicated and murky picture. As governors evolved from “Good-Time Charlies” into professional and competent executives and political figures, there has not been clear and consistent evidence for key factors driving gubernatorial approval (See Wolak

and Parinandi 2021 for a good discussion of the origins of these null findings). In fact, one argument emerging from these findings is that idiosyncratic factors related to individual politicians or state conditions may drive public opinion (Adams and Squire 2001; MacDonald and Sigelman 1999; Crew et al. 2002).

Using presidential approval as a starting point for understanding gubernatorial popularity is one common approach. The similarities of the offices make this an understandable starting point; however, Jewell and Morehouse (2001) suggest citizen expectations of the governor often vary by state. While it is important to credit presidential approval for helping build theory about governors, presidential and gubernatorial approval also present two different lines of study (Barth and Ferguson 2002); however, Crew and Weiher (1996) argue the popularity of governors moves directly with the president's popularity. Some factors that may be similar for both presidents and governors include: the direction of policy, going public, and economic conditions (i.e. King and Cohen 2005; Rosenthal 2007; Orth 2001). However, much like the president, the governor's approval rating is dependent on his or her actions and the results of those actions. Political events within a state could also have an impact on gubernatorial approval; although, Crew et al. (2002) suggest events may have a minimal impact on popularity

Probably the most studied and debated aspect of gubernatorial popularity is the role of the economy, both state and national. The link between economic conditions and gubernatorial approval is not as clear as the connection between the economy and presidential approval (Gronke and Newman 2003). Some studies find citizens tend to hold the governor accountable for economic conditions similar to the president (i.e. Orth 2001, Cohen 2020; Alt, Lassen, and Skilling 2002) while others, albeit fewer, find an inconsistent or weak relationship between the

economy and gubernatorial approval (i.e. Crew and Weiher 1996; MacDonald and Sigelman 1999).¹

Most of this research focuses on how elite actions or powers move public opinion toward the state's highest office with the analysis focused on state-level approval. At the individual level, most of the work examines factors that influence outcomes in gubernatorial elections and is most often concerned with understanding how the public's view of the governor influences the governor's legislative agenda or reelection fortunes (i.e. Niemi, Stanley, and Vogel 1995; Partin 1995).

While the economy, gubernatorial actions, policy outcomes, and other events may influence the public's attitudes toward the governor, we argue individual characteristics are also a crucial component for understanding attitudes toward state executives. Here we turn to our theory of the importance of social identities, specifically, partisanship, place, and gender.

Theory

Social Identity Theory (SIT) is a useful way to understand partisan attachments within the United States (Green 1999). Because people feel such a strong attachment to their political party, they will engage in actions that are consistent with their in-group (Devine 2015). This in-group mentality is our main theoretical driver. Straightforwardly, individuals should have higher approval ratings for governors from their in-group or party. Additionally, partisanship should be the primary driver of gubernatorial approval. However, the findings on the importance of partisanship in explaining gubernatorial approval are mixed. According to Wolak and Parinandi, "Even factors like partisan congruence remain contested as predictors of gubernatorial approval" (2021: 3). However, they show that ideology and partisanship are important for

¹ See Brown (2010) for a good discussion on these mixed results.

explaining approval, and we argue the strength of partisanship as an identity is now an important component of individual evaluations of the governor. Importantly, the arguments for a lack of partisan effects often come from studies prior to the recent trends of polarization and affective partisanship (i.e. MacDonald and Sigelman 1999; Cohen 1983). While partisanship is a primary identity in explaining political attitudes, social identity theories suggest that other factors may also influence political attitudes, in many cases, conditional on partisanship but could also serve as independent influences on attitudes.

Given that gender is an important identity in politics, we examine if a similar in-group affinity applies to gender as well. For instance, female voters tend to vote for female candidates at a much higher rate than their male voters, especially when those female candidates are centering their campaigns on women's issues (Dolan 1998). As such, women (men) may be more likely to approve of female (male) governors most likely conditioned on partisanship.

In political science, the role of place is often situated within the social identity literature with the understanding that people have a sense of belonging to a place or region and may have a shared closeness with a region or area that structures, at least in part, their behavior (Agnew 1987; Elazar 1966; Pred 1990). This is often viewed as a psychological attachment that can be activated into a place-based identity that can influence various political behaviors and attitudes (Conover 1984; Hutchins and Stormer 2013; Williams et al. 2010; Cramer 2012). Another line of research focuses on the contextual influence of where someone lives (Huckfeldt and Sprague 1995). A lot of this work often examines institutional or political changes. Gimpel (1999) shows population changes through geographic mobility produce changes in partisanship and participation while Hero (1998) argues state-level social diversity has important influences on state policies.

Some recent work in political science using various approaches shows that place-based identities and geographic context can influence candidate favorability (Jacobs and Munis 2019), campaign donations (Fudge and Armaly 2021), and voter turnout (Baumann et al. 2021). There is also a long line of work focusing on geography related to changing voting patterns (i.e. Gimpel and Schuknecht 2003) and campaign contributions (i.e. Gimpel, Lee, and Kaminski 2006), among other electoral outcomes. Another important area of recent research considers questions of how people conceptualize the maps in their heads and the importance of this spatial awareness on public opinion (i.e. Wong 2010; Wong et al. 2012; Enos 2017; Christenson and Makse 2015).

Place Attachment Theory

To understand the role place may play on political attitudes, we discuss place attachment theory which is mainly a theory from environmental psychology. Place attachment describes the bonds people form with places (Gurney et al. 2017) and explains “an individual’s cognitive or emotional connection to a particular setting (Low 1992: 165). One of the common definitions of the theory is that place attachment is “a positive affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place” (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001: 274). Place attachment is an important element of well-being and can shape individual evaluations of any number of phenomena. Moreover, place attachment can carry emotional implications that may motivate actions or beliefs to preserve and promote the particular place (Chen and Dwyer 2017; Aleshinloye et al. 2019).

While most often examined at a local level in environmental psychology, this idea of place attachment is similar to the national attachment concept introduced by Huddy and Khatib (2007) albeit without the clear connection to patriotism as found in their work. They find that a

“patriotic” identity leads to an increased likelihood of political engagement, leading to the question of whether or not the same can be true for state identification. This “patriotic” identity also leads to greater trust in political institutions and elites, potentially answering the growing problem of distrust in government officials (Gustavsson and Stendahl, 2020). There is also a racial factor when it comes to national attachments. Carter and Perez (2016) find evidence that national attachments mirror a racial group's hierarchical positions. For example, white Americans with strong national attachments tend to hold xenophobic opinions toward all immigrants except those who are white. So, national attachments do not only influence the ways in which we view politics, but potentially the ways in which we view other racial groups.

Previous studies of attachment theory have looked at communal and regional attachments as potential indicators of policy support (Ouyang, et. al 2019, Burbank and Levin, 2015). We see that the effects of these attachments can transcend partisanship (Burbank and Levin 2015), leading to support for policies proposed by the out-party. National attachments also affect the ways in which people think about political events, leading to more intense emotions that influence how we perceive unfolding events (Herrmann 2017). For example, in the midst of a salient political event like a presidential scandal, increased national attachment can shape the way in which we perceive the events as they unfold. In terms of governors, it follows that an increase in state attachment could also influence the way in which voters perceive their actions and the approval they report for their governor. We posit that increased state attachment will lead to increased gubernatorial approval. Individuals with a greater attachment to their state are more likely to have more positive feelings and connections to their state and we expect this to have an influence on their perception and, subsequently, attitude toward their governor.

Hypotheses

Building on partisan and gender social identity as well as place attachment, we test several hypotheses. We expect partisanship to be a key influence on individual views of gubernatorial approval with individuals sharing partisanship with their governor (partisan congruence) to be more approving of their governor than those individuals without gubernatorial partisan congruence. We also test if gender congruence and place attachment have a direct influence on gubernatorial approval. Similarly to partisanship, we expect individuals with gender congruence with their governor to be more approving of their governor than those individuals that are of the opposite gender as their governor. For place attachment, we expect individuals with a greater attachment to their state to be more approving of their governor than those with less attachment to their state.

However, it could be that partisanship is the dominant factor that conditions any influence of gender and place. As such, we test for interactive effects conditioned on partisan congruence. Here we see two potential roles for partisanship. The conditional role of partisanship may be centered on in-partisans or out-partisans. It may be that in-partisans are more approving of their governor but those that share gender congruence or have stronger a place attachment give their like partisan governor a higher approval while these factors may not move their more negative views of out-partisan governors. In this scenario, out-partisans simply do not approve of their governor regardless of any other shared identities. Conversely, it may be that in-partisans are not moved by any other shared identities and that their positive view of the governor is capped out by partisanship. However, other shared identities, gender and place attachment, may have a positive influence on the approval of out-partisan governors. The approval of these out-partisan governors is likely to be less than that of approval of in-partisan

governors, but approval should increase among those out-partisans that share the gender of the governor and those with a stronger place-attachment.

Data

To test the relationship between gubernatorial approval and partisan, geographic, and gender identity, we rely on results from two original online surveys administered in 2020. We administered the surveys on popular online survey platforms. The first survey was administered on Lucid on March 30, 2020, while the second was on Mechanical Turk (MTurk) on May 5, 2020. Given these surveys were conducted during the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is important to note Peyton, Huber, and Coppock (2021: 13) find the pandemic does not appear to “pose a fundamental threat to the generalizability to online experiments.”

However, they note there could be an increase in inattention by respondents taking surveys during the pandemic. The MTurk survey included an attention check embedded in the survey while the Lucid survey did not. However, we use response time as a proxy for attentiveness in the Lucid survey similar to the method proposed by Read, Wolters, and Berinsky (2021). Once we drop the inattentive respondents, the Lucid survey had a total of 1,144 respondents and the MTurk survey had 1,203.

The analysis presented is not a survey experiment, but rather descriptive and relationship modeling. There is an ongoing debate on when or if convenience samples are appropriate for non-experimental survey work (see Coppock and McClellan 2019; Levay et al. 2016; Gelman et al. 2016). Therefore, we created a weights file to allow for a better representation of the American public as opt-in internet surveys do not provide representative samples of the population (Franco, et al. 2017). Appendix 1 provides the demographics used to create the

survey weights along with a comparison of the respondents by survey compared to the general public.

Dependent Variable

To measure gubernatorial approval, we asked respondents on a five-point scale to rate their governor using the following question:

How much do you approve of the job Governor [piped in name of governor] is currently doing in your state?

Table 1 shows that respondents tend to approve of their governor with 28.89% strongly approving of their governor and 36.88% somewhat approving of their governor. Only 20.06% of respondents strongly or somewhat disapproved of their governor with the remaining 14.17% neither approving or disapproving. For purposes of analysis, we collapse the dependent variable into 3 categories by combining the strongly and somewhat categories for both disapproval and approval. This high level of approval is similar to public opinion polls on gubernatorial support during a similar period in 2020 (Lazer et al. 2020) as most governors seemed to be experiencing a rally around the flag effect in the immediate onset of the COVID pandemic.

Independent Variables

To account for partisanship, we employ first a partisan congruence variable that takes a 1 if an individual and their governor share the same party affiliation and a 0 if not. Independents are excluded from this analysis.² As table 2 shows, just over 55% of the respondents have partisan congruence with their governor. To see if partisan asymmetries exist, we also model partisanship as the conditional relationship between partisanship of the respondents and partisanship of the governor. Here we use a 3-point party identification measure.

² The results remain largely unchanged with the same substantive effects if we include independents in the model as having no partisan congruence.

Table 1: Gubernatorial Approval

5 Categories	%	n	3 Categories	%	n
Strongly Disapprove	9.99	234	Disapprove	20.06	470
Somewhat Disapprove	10.07	236	Neither	14.17	332
Neither	14.17	332	Approve	65.77	1,541
Somewhat Approve	36.88	864			
Strongly Approve	28.89	677			
Total		2,343			2,343

The bottom of Table 2 shows 49.83% of respondents in the sample are Democrats (this includes party learners) with 36.26% being Republican and 13.91% being independents. The bottom of Table 2 also shows the breakdown of party identification by gubernatorial party. A majority of Democratic respondents live in states with a Democratic governor (59.64%) while Republican respondents are evenly split between states with Democratic (50.24%) and Republican (49.76%) governors. Finally, a majority of independents live in states with a Democratic governor (54.80%).

To understand the role of place attachment, we employ a mean state attachment score from the following four questions all asked on a 5-point strongly disagree to strongly agree scale:

-I feel emotionally attached to [piped in state name]

-I feel loyal to [piped in state name]

-I have loyal obligations to other people from [piped in state name]

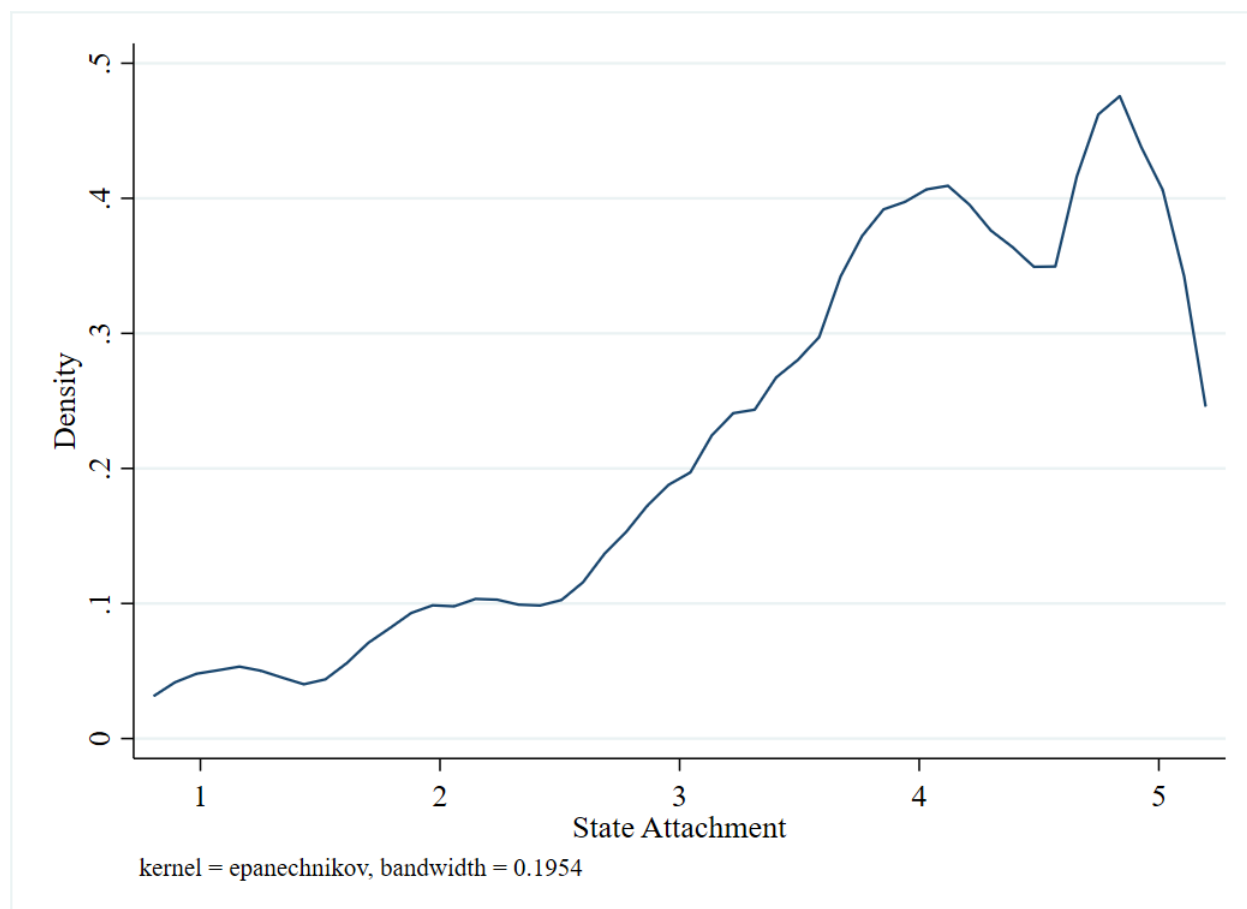
-Too much of my life would be disrupted if I decided to leave [piped in state name]

Table 2: Respondent Partisanship

	% (n)		
Partisan Congruence	55.48 (1,109)		
No Partisan Congruence	44.52 (890)		
	<i>Party of Governor</i>		
<i>Respondent PID</i>	Republican	Democrat	Total
Republican	49.76 (419)	50.24 (423)	36.26 (842)
Democrat	40.36 (467)	59.64 (690)	49.83 (1,157)
Independent	45.20 (146)	54.80 (177)	13.91 (323)

The mean score in the sample was a 3.83 with a standard deviation of 1.02 and Figure 1 shows the distribution of the state attachment scores. Higher scores indicate a respondent is more attached to their state. This measure is similar to the one used by Fudge and Armaly (2021); however, we insert the specific name of the respondent's state into the questions to measure state-level attachment. In the environmental psychology literature, the conceptualization and measurement of place attachment theory can be quite ubiquitous (see Boley et al. 2021 for a good discussion of these debates). However, it is generally measured based on two components: place identity and place dependence. There are various scales that tap into these components and our set of questions is similar to Boley's et al. (2021) abbreviated place attachment scale (APAS).

Figure 1: Distribution of State Attachment Scores



Notes: Kernel density estimates

For the gender identity hypotheses, we examine gender congruence. At the time of our surveys, nine states had female governors (AL, IA, KS, ME, MI, NM, OR, RI, and SD) with six Democrats and three Republicans. Overall, only 185 respondents (8%) come from one of the nine states with a female governor with 7.49% of male respondents living in a state with a female governor and 8.74% of female respondents living in a state with a female governor. Overall, 51.03% of the respondents had gender congruence.

Control Variables

As controls we account for common individual traits that often influence political attitudes. We control for the following standard demographic traits: education, race, income, age, interest in politics, and political ideology. We include a measure of the relative distance respondents live from the state capital to account for any influence of being more proximate to the state government may have on attitudes. The measure of distance is standardized from 0-1 with 0 representing living the closest to the state capital in the state and 1 being the farthest away from the capital in the state. We created this by taking all zip codes in a state and determining the distance to the state capital's zip code. From this, we created the standardized distance measure. We then matched the respondent's zip code to the statewide zip code file. Finally, we include a dummy variable for the survey the respondent took to control for any differences among the respondents from the Lucid and MTurk platforms.

Given that the dependent variable is a three-point scale from disapprove to approve, the results below are from ordered logit models with robust standard errors clustered by state with sample weights applied. We employed various model specifications to test the robustness of the results presented. These included using dummy variables by state in the model, dropping the sample weights and using fixed effects ordered logit and regression models. These results are not included in the current version but the substantive findings remain the same regardless of model choice and specification used.

Results

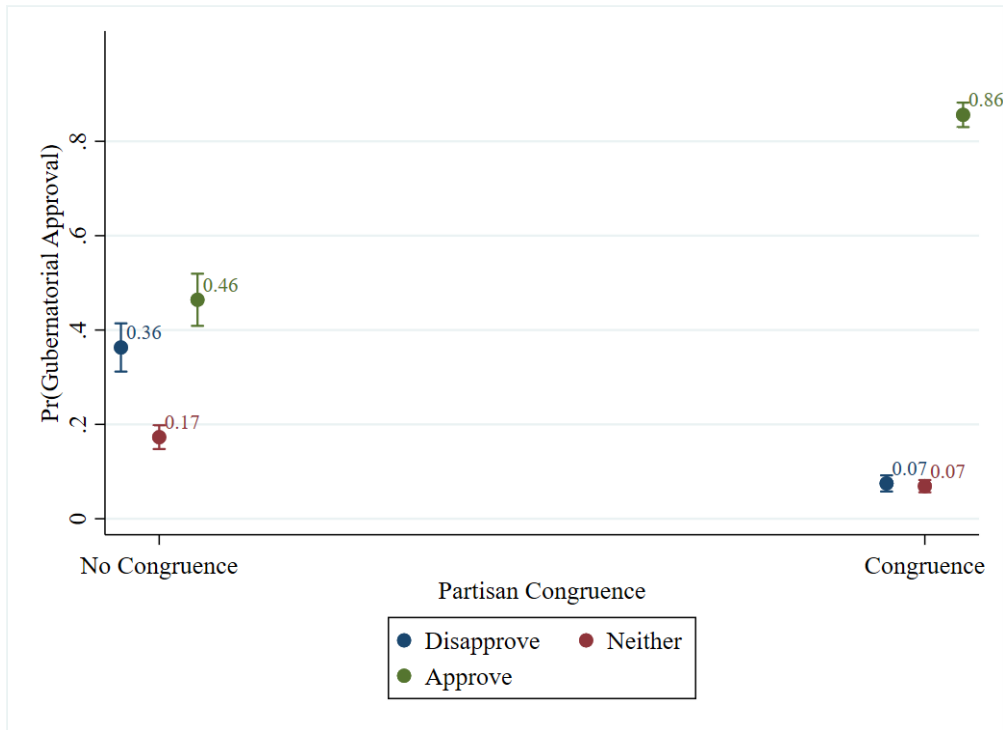
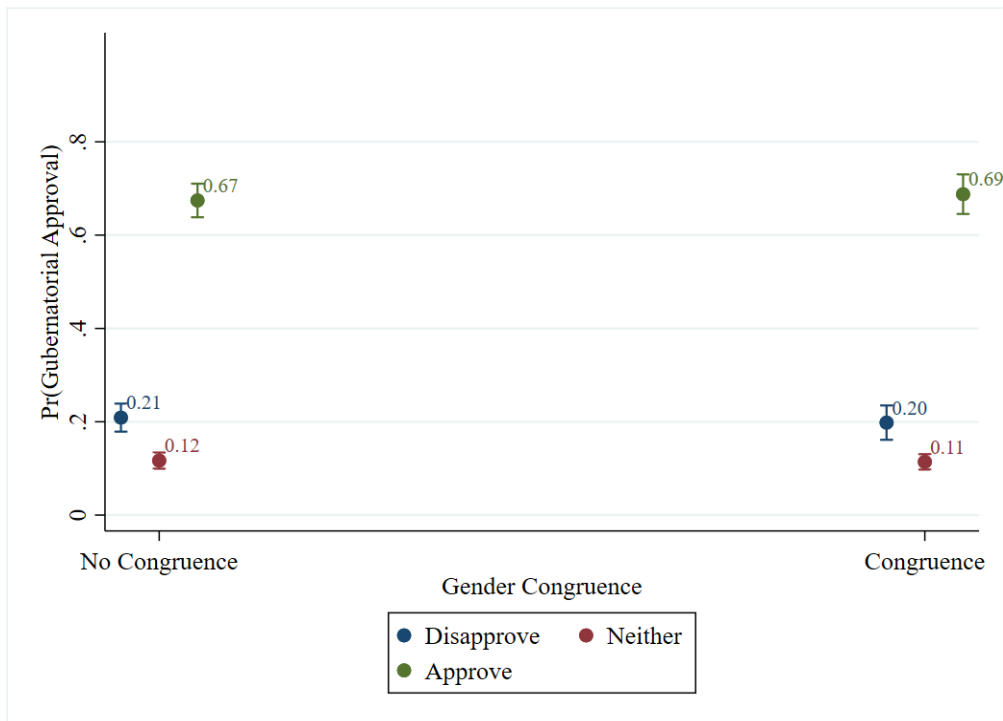
The first set of analyses examines the influences on gubernatorial approval by partisan and gender congruence and place attachment without any interactions. We drop independents from this analysis. Turning to the results, below we focus on the predicted probabilities

generated, first, by our base model without interactions, then by a series of models with interactions between partisanship and gender and place. Each of the figures shows results varied by our variables of interest for the average respondent in the sample. The full model results are in the appendices. Figures 2-4 shows all three levels of gubernatorial approval while Figures 5-7 present the modal response of “Approve” only for clarity’s sake in the figures. Starting with the base model, Figure 2 shows the strong influence of partisan congruence. Individuals represented by an in-party governor had an 86% likelihood of approving of their governor compared to only 46% approval for those with an out-party governor. In terms of disapproval, those with partisan congruence were only 7% likely to disapprove compared to 36% for those with no partisan congruence. Shared partisanship is clearly a strong predictor of an individual’s view of their governor. However, it is also interesting that those without partisan congruence were still more likely to approve (46%) than disapprove of their governor (36%).

Figure 3 shows gender does not seem to be a meaningful identity for predicting gubernatorial approval. Individuals who share the gender of their governor are 69% likely to approve compared to 67% for those without gender congruence with their governor. At least without conditioning on partisanship, we do not see any relationship between gender congruence and gubernatorial approval.

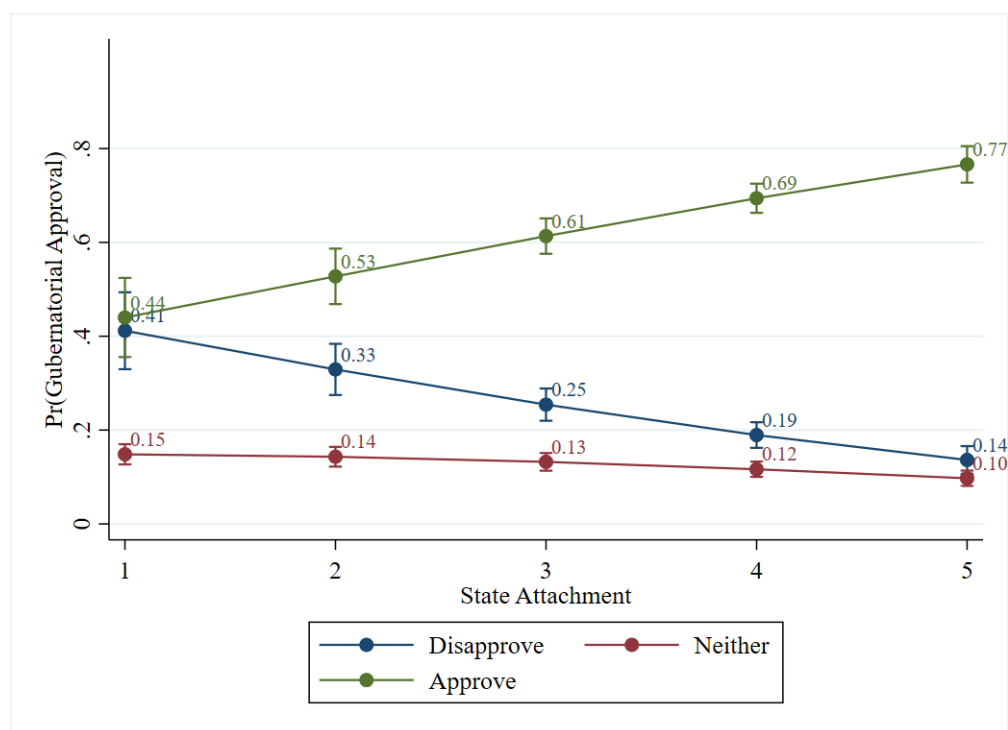
However, place attachment has a significant influence on approval.³ Individuals with a stronger attachment to their state are more likely to approve of their governor, controlling for all other factors. Figure 4 shows a 16% increase in the likelihood of approving of their governor and a 11% decrease in the likelihood of disapproval going from an individual that scored a 3

³ We conducted additional tests among the marginal effects to determine statistical significance. All mentions in the analysis of statistical significance in the predicted probabilities derive from comparing the differences between incremental units of state attachment or between the gender of the governor. These results are available in the Appendix.

Figure 2: Partisan Congruence**Figure 3: Gender Congruence**

(roughly 1 standard deviation below the mean score) to a 5 (roughly 1 standard deviation above the mean score). This suggests that place attachment is an important component for an individual's views of their governor regardless of partisanship.

Figure 4: State Attachment



The next series of figures is from the models that include interactions between partisan congruence and gender as well as partisan congruence and place attachment. Starting with place attachment, Figure 5 shows out-partisans are the ones most influenced by their state attachment when assessing their governor. Looking first within partisan congruence, we find a modest increase in approval as state attachment increases. Respondents at the low end of state attachment were 71% likely to approve of their governor compared to an 89% likelihood of approval at the high end. Within those extremes, we find about a 9% increase in approval between those who scored a 2 on the state attachment index and those who scored a 4. State attachment has a much stronger influence for those individuals without partisan congruence.

Across the range, there is a 41% increase in gubernatorial approval and between those who scored a 2 and a 4 there is a 22% increase. Overall, having a stronger attachment to one's state makes them more likely to approve of their governor, but this is especially pronounced among those individuals living in a state with an out-party governor.

Figure 5: State Attachment by Partisan Congruence

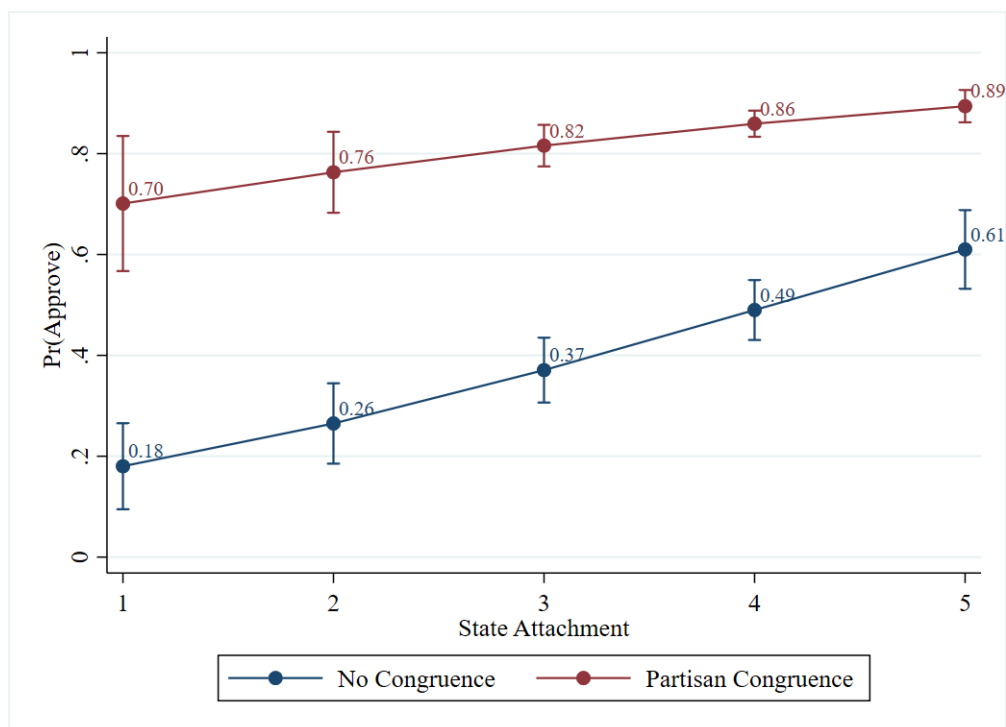
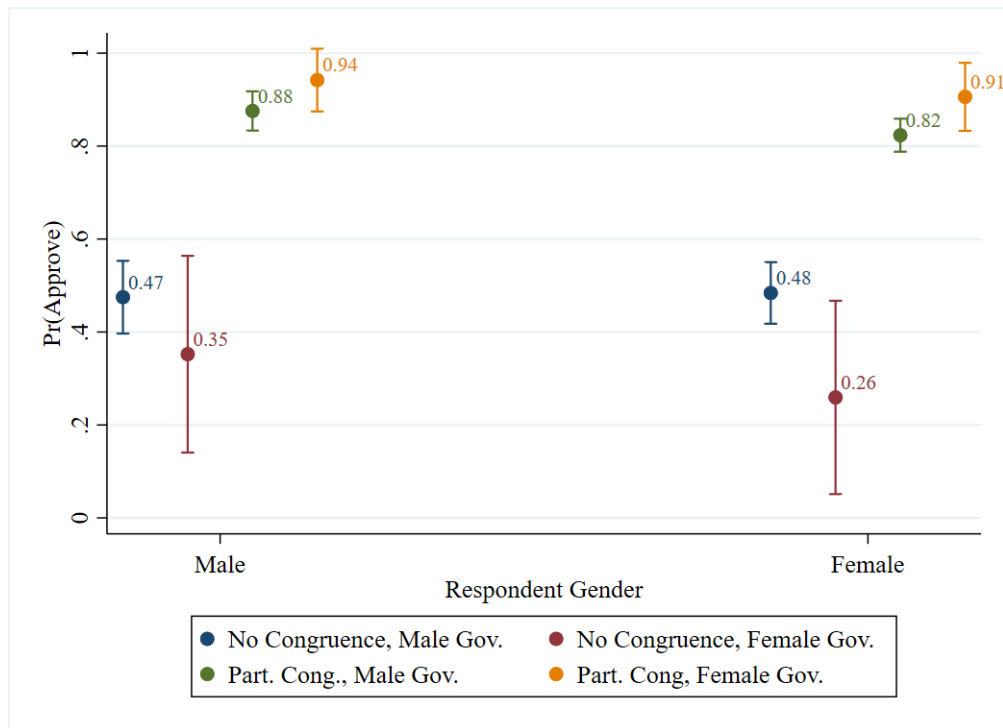


Figure 6 shows the results for gender congruence. Here we break out the respondents by their gender as well to show the lack of an influence for gender congruence is not driven by either men or women. Similar to gender congruence from Figure 3, we do not find much of an influence for within gender congruence on gubernatorial approval. Both men and women are more likely to approve of their governor if the governor is male and a co-partisan with male respondents having a 6% increase in approval and female respondents having a 9% increase. In terms of out-partisans, once again both male and female respondents have higher approval of male governors than female governors. These results do not show any type of gender

congruence on gubernatorial approval. While the results run counter to our hypotheses, these are not statistically significant differences. Additionally, we urge caution with any of these results given the few number of respondents living in states with a female governor.

Figure 6: Gender Congruence by Partisan Congruence



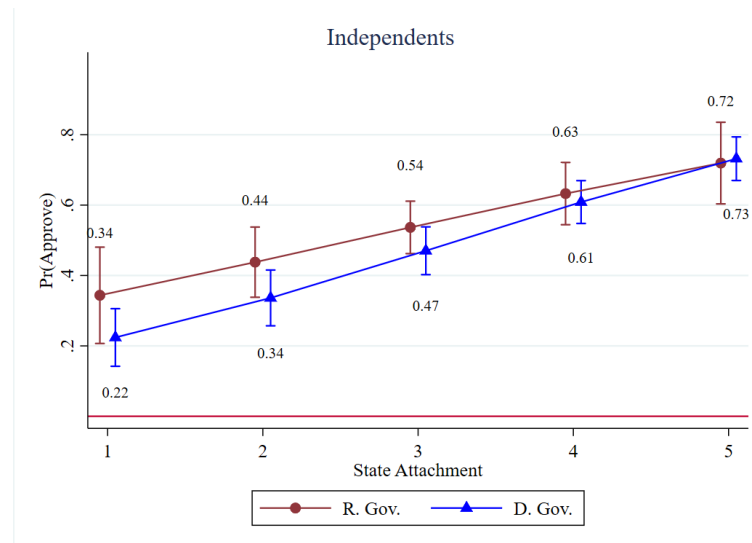
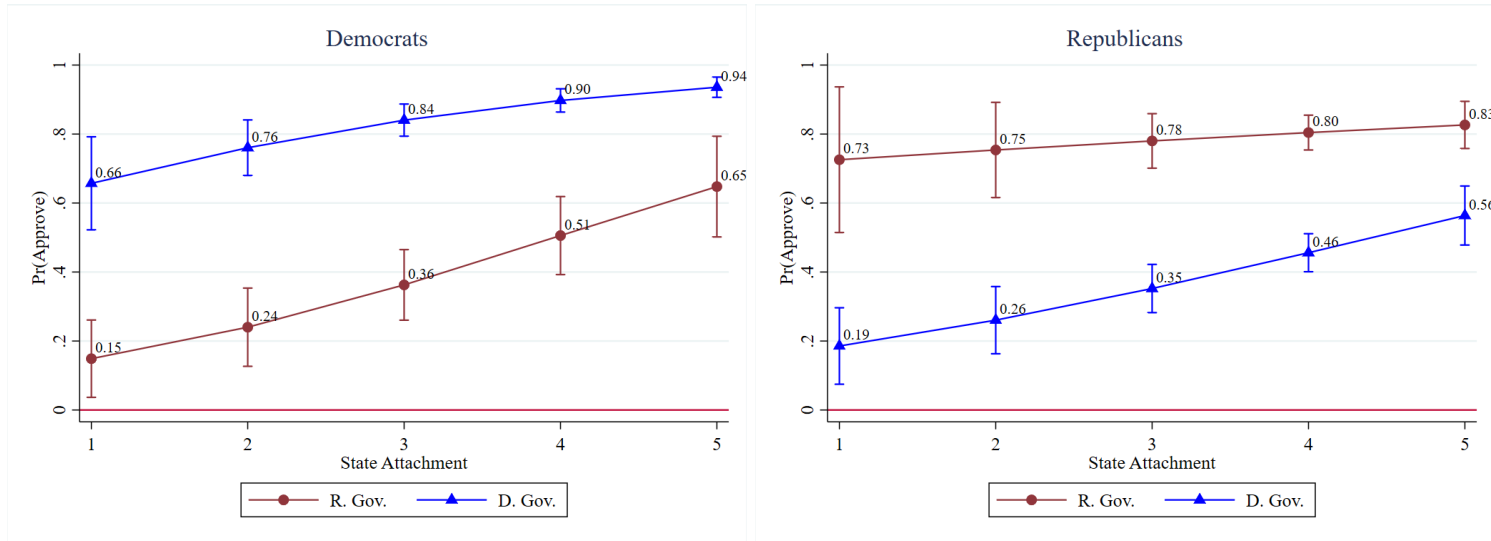
Our final analysis turns back to state attachment and looks at the results by party and not just by partisan congruence. This analysis allows us to show if there are any partisan distinctions and to include independents in the analysis. Figure 7 shows the predicted probabilities for gubernatorial approval by party. Overall, both Republicans and Democrats follow the general pattern as seen in Figure 5. However, there is no influence of state attachment on gubernatorial approval among Republicans living in a state with a Republican governor. There is an 11% increase across the range of attachment with only a 5% increase between the attachment scores of 2 and 4. For Democrats living in a state with a Democratic governor, state attachment has a

significant influence on gubernatorial approval with a 26% increase in approval across the range and a 13% increase between the scores of 2 and 4.

State attachment significantly influences gubernatorial approval among both Democrats and Republicans living in a state with a governor from the other party. Going from lowest state attachment to highest, Democrats see a 46% increase in the probability of approving of their Republican governor while Republicans have a 39% increase of approving of their Democratic governor. Between the index values of 2 and 4, Democrats have a 24% increase while Republicans have a 20% gain. Overall, state attachment follows a similar pattern among both Democrats and Republicans represented by an out-party governor.

State attachment also has a significant influence on political independents' approval of their governor, regardless of the partisanship of the governor. For independents living in a state with a Republican governor, those with the highest state attachment are 33% more likely to approve their governor than those independents with the lowest state attachment and those who scored a 4 on the state attachment index have an 18% higher approval than those who scored a 2. In states with a Democratic governor, across the same ranges, we find a 50% and 26% increase, respectively. Overall, the more someone feels attached to their state, regardless of their partisanship and conditioned on partisan congruence with the governor (in the case of partisan respondents), the more likely they are to approve of the job their governor is doing.

Figure: State Attachment by Partisanship



Conclusion

Partisan congruence matters for gubernatorial approval. We are not surprised by this finding as we expected the dynamics of partisan social identity to also influence individual views towards their governor (Mason and Wronski 2018). But it is not the only social identity driving gubernatorial approval. State attachment matters as well in both the base models and the interactive models with partisanship suggesting place attachment is an important and unique influence (Jacobs and Munis 2020). In terms of the conditional relationship, place attachment leads to greater increases in approval among out-partisans suggesting that, perhaps, under certain conditions factors beyond party can still move political attitudes. We do not find an influence for gender congruence on gubernatorial approval. However, we are cautious with this result given the few number of respondents coming from states with female governors.

Overall, the main contribution of the paper is the theoretical and empirical examination of place attachment. In this case, attachment to one's state could provide an explanation to why someone approves or disapproves of the Head of the State that is not illustrated by the default answer, someone's party affiliation. Our findings could also contain implications on campaigning and political behavior: Do politicians from an out-party invoke cues signaling state pride in order to garner more support from independents or undecided voters? And if so, does that actually work? We suggest more research into the role of state attachment to determine when this form of identity is an important influence on attitudes and behaviors.

Finally, given the timing of our surveys, it is worth discussing if the place of the country during the beginning of the COVID pandemic impacted our results. Given that we are not focused on absolute approval ratings or making an argument for why individuals from one state may approve of their Governor compared to another state, but rather that the focus is on the

difference of approval between respondents, we do not think the timing of the surveys introduces bias into the results. In some ways, respondents may have been more focused on the actions of their governors during this time and were actually more aware of their attitudes towards the head of their state.

Appendix 1: Respondent Demographics

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Lucid</u>	<u>MTurk</u>	<u>ACS*</u>
Age	18-24 = 12.14%	18-24 = 1.94%	18-24 = 8.67%
	25-34 = 19.39%	25-34 = 29.88%	25-34 = 28.04%
	35-44 = 18.61%	35-44 = 30.61%	35-44 = 24.23%
	45-54 = 18.51%	45-54 = 16.03%	45-54 = 15.51%
	55-64 = 14.59%	55-64 = 11.42%	55-64 = 12.33%
	65 & Over = 16.75%	65 & Over = 10.12%	65 & Over = 11.22%
Education	High School or Less = 31.47%	High School or Less = 7.86%	High School or Less = 19.69%
	Some College = 18.33%	Some College = 14.68%	Some College = 20.39%
	Associate's = 4.80%	Associate's = 10.18%	Associate's = 9.80%
	Bachelor's = 32.75%	Bachelor's = 46.75%	Bachelor's = 33.34%
	Graduate = 12.65%	Graduate = 20.53%	Graduate = 16.78%
Gender	Male = 45.35%	Male = 55.10%	Male = 49.23%
	Female = 54.65%	Female = 44.90%	Female = 50.77%
Income	<\$20,000 = 21.88%	<\$20,000 = 10.95%	<\$20,000 = 16.68%
	\$20,000-\$34,999 = 16.93%	\$20,000-\$34,999 = 14.30%	\$20,000-\$34,999 = 17.97%
	\$35,000-\$49,999 = 13.37%	\$35,000-\$49,999 = 17.16%	\$35,000-\$49,999 = 16.74%
	\$50,000-\$74,999 = 20.89%	\$50,000-\$74,999 = 22.63%	\$50,000-\$74,999 = 19.88%
	\$75,000-\$99,999 = 9.90%	\$75,000-\$99,999 = 15.93%	\$75,000-\$99,999 = 12.15%
	>=\$100,000 = 17.03%	>=\$100,000 = 19.04%	>=\$100,000 = 16.58%
Race/ Ethnicity	White = 70.44%	White = 68.97%	White = 68.07%
	Black = 11.31%	Black = 7.22%	Black = 9.91%
	Hispanic = 11.21%	Hispanic = 5.77%	Hispanic = 7.92%
	Other = 7.04%	Other = 18.04%	Other = 14.10%

*Data from the Census Bureau's 2019 American Community Survey.

Appendix 2: Model Results*Base Model*

	Coefficient	SE
State Attachment	0.4454***	(0.0733)
Partisan Congruence	1.8902***	(0.1591)
Gender Congruence	-0.2356	(0.3396)
Controls		
Gender	-0.3780	(0.3318)
Relative distance lives from Capital	-0.3853	(0.2672)
Education	0.0310	(0.0407)
Race	-0.0324	(0.0535)
Income	-0.0068	(0.0466)
Age	0.0012	(0.0045)
Interest in Politics	-0.1676	(0.1543)
Ideology	0.2065*	(0.0823)
MTurk Survey	0.0841	(0.1349)
cut1	1.2656	(0.7649)
cut2	2.0232**	(0.7661)
n	1,794	

Notes:

Ordered Logit with sample weights

Standard Errors Clustered by State in parentheses

Independents excluded

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Interactions Model

	Coefficient	SE
State Attachment (SA)	0.5080***	(0.0998)
Partisan Congruence	2.7075***	(0.6638)
SA x Partisan Congruence	-0.1772	(0.1578)
Respondent Gender (RG)	0.0189	(0.1890)
Governor Gender (GG)	-0.3540	(0.5351)
RG x GG	-0.7311	(0.8458)
RG x Partisan Congruence	-0.4596	(0.2444)
GG x Partisan Congruence	1.1954	(0.8770)
RG x GG x Partisan Congruence	0.3723	(0.9367)
Controls		
Relative distance lives from Capital	-0.3426	(0.2733)
Education	0.0232	(0.0459)
Race	-0.0380	(0.0546)
Income	0.0016	(0.0495)
Age	0.0015	(0.0045)
Interest in Politics	-0.1829	(0.1550)
Ideology	0.2131*	(0.0859)
MTurk Survey	0.0811	(0.1401)
cut1	1.7789*	(0.7405)
cut2	2.5458***	(0.7363)
n	1,794	

Notes:

Ordered Logit with sample weights, Standard Errors Clustered by State in parentheses

Independents excluded

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Partisanship Model

	Coefficient	SE
State Attachment	0.3504**	(0.1341)
<i>Respondent Partisanship (Ind. Base)</i>		
Rep.	1.6463*	(0.7776)
Dem.	-1.2781	(0.7431)
Dem. Governor	-0.9628	(0.5599)
<i>Interactions</i>		
Rep. x State Attachment	-0.1901	(0.2064)
Dem. x State Attachment	0.1884	(0.1774)
Dem. Governor x State Attachment	0.2055	(0.1565)
Rep. x Dem. Governor	-1.8340	(0.9985)
Dem. x Dem. Governor	3.3023***	(0.8592)
R x Dem. Gov. x State Attachment	0.0840	(0.2549)
R x Dem. Gov. x State Attachment	-0.2542	(0.2250)
<i>Controls</i>		
Gender (Female)	-0.0984	(0.1480)
Relative distance lives from Capital	-0.4186	(0.2409)
Education	0.0201	(0.0420)
Race	-0.0434	(0.0502)
Income	0.0457	(0.0529)
Age	0.0003	(0.0041)
Interest in Politics	-0.0864	(0.1635)
MTurk Survey	-0.0238	(0.1220)
cut1	-0.1342	(0.5467)
cut2	0.7373	(0.5390)
n	2,090	

Notes:

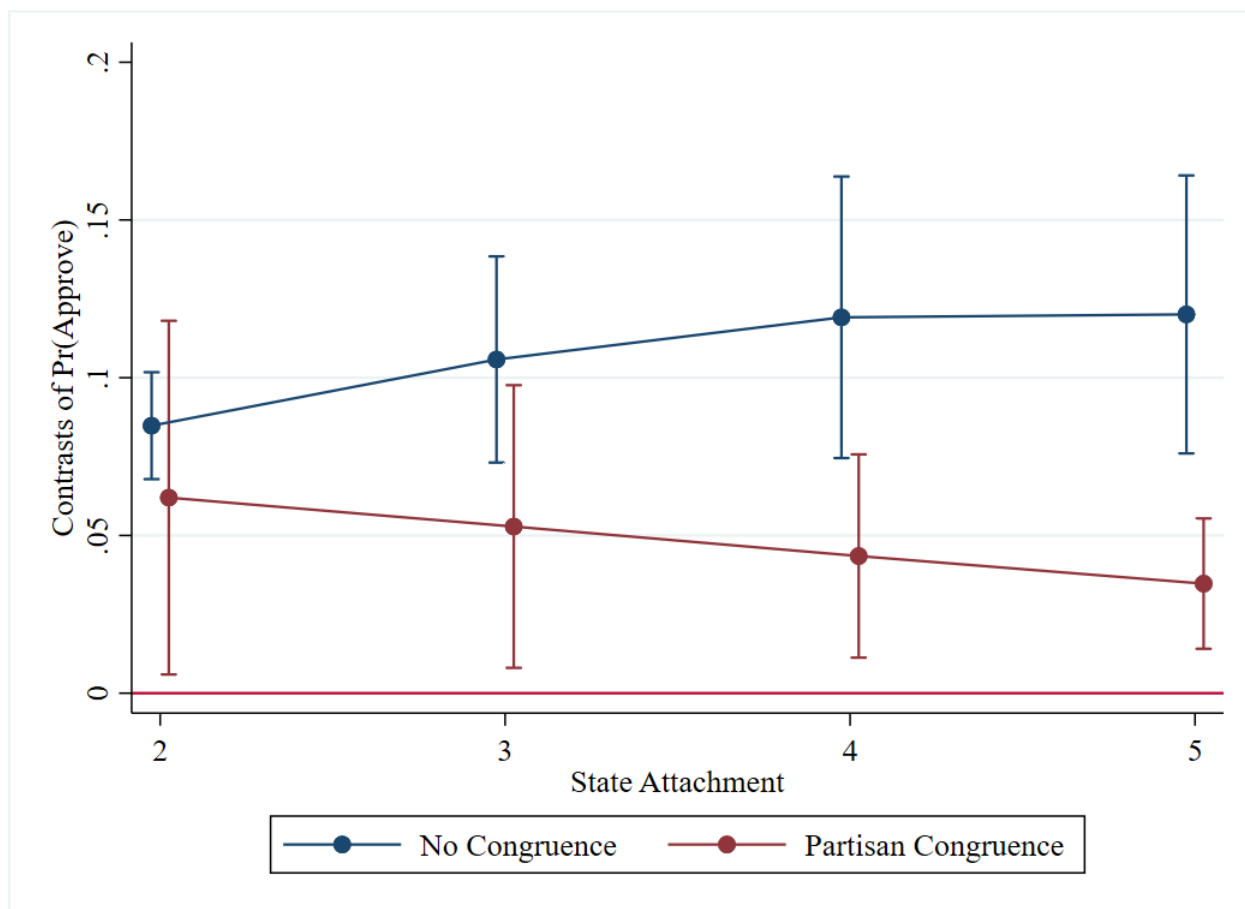
Ordered Logit with sample weights

Standard Errors Clustered by State in parentheses

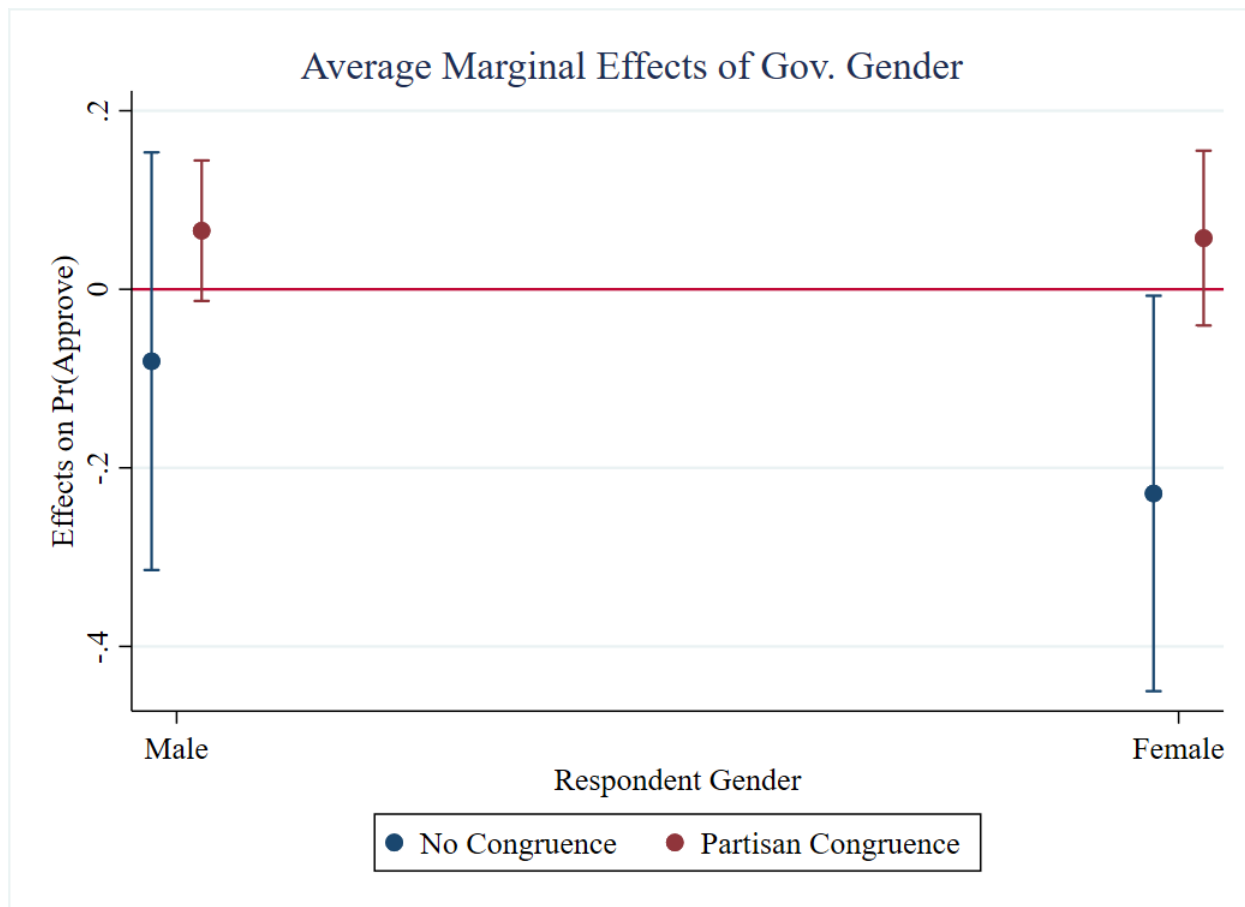
* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Appendix 3: Marginal Effects

Partisan Congruence

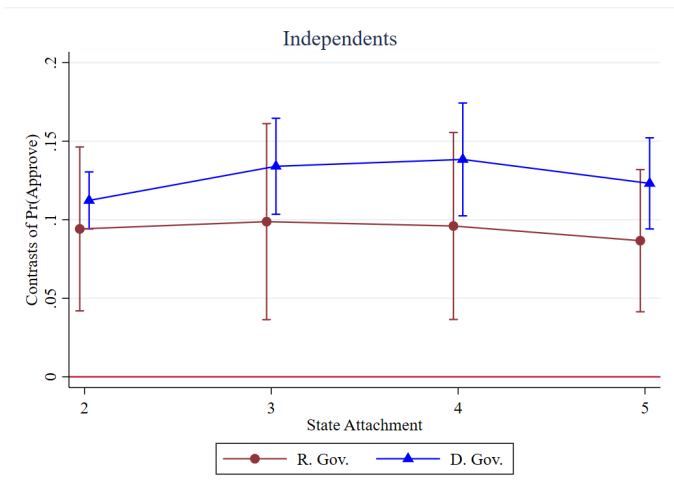
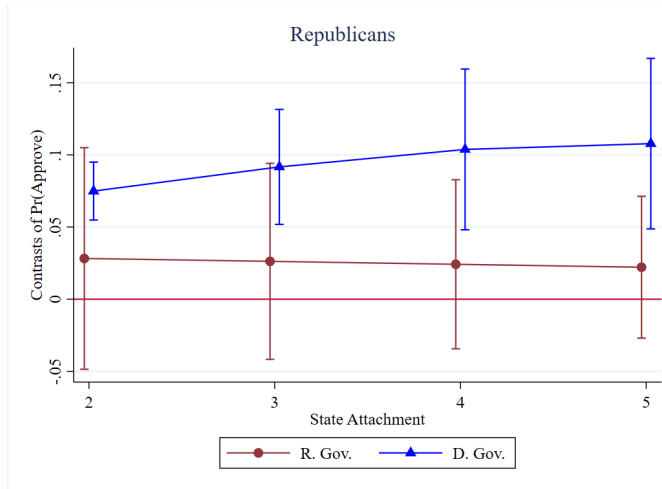
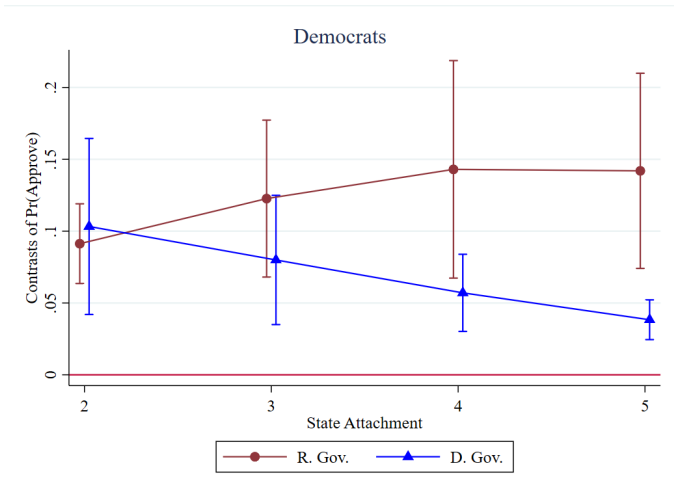


Notes: Shows contrasts (differences) in the probability of gubernatorial approval going incrementally across state attachment index. The x-axis captures the contrasts in approval going from a score 1 to 2 (x-axis point 2), 2 to 3 (3), 3 to 4 (4), and 4 to 5 (5).

Gender Congruence

Notes: Figure shows the average marginal effects on gubernatorial approval by the gender of the governor by respondent gender for those respondents with and without partisan congruence with the party of the governor.

Partisan Analysis



Notes: Shows contrasts (differences) in the probability of gubernatorial approval going incrementally across state attachment index. The x-axis captures the contrasts in approval going from a score 1 to 2 (x-axis point 2), 2 to 3 (3), 3 to 4 (4), and 4 to 5 (5).

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