Do Personal Issue Priorities Trump Group Policies? Exploring the Impact of Deeply-Held Issues among Latinos using Personalized Conjoint Experiments

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The literature on Latino politics has emphasized the importance of immigration as a galvanizing issue for the community. Numerous studies have found that, in the aggregate, Latinos are attentive to immigration policy and oppose candidates who take restrictionist positions. However, it is unclear how Latinos make decisions when deeply-held issue positions apart from immigration conflict with group-relevant policies. In this paper, I design a dynamic tailored conjoint experiment that leverages large language models (LLMs) to assess whether immigration or core issues elicited in an open-ended question are stronger determinants of candidate choice. I consistently find that the effects of core issue positions on candidate choice are larger than the effects of immigration stances across three online samples of Latinos conducted on CloudResearch and YouGov (n=2,421). Factors such as group identity and proximity to the immigration experience narrow – but rarely close – the gap between the two sets of issues. Implications for the literature on issue voting, issue publics, and Latino politics are discussed.

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How members of marginalized groups balance personal preferences and group objectives is one of the central questions in the literature on race, ethnicity, and politics (Dawson 1995; White and Laird 2020; Hochschild et al. 2021). A vast body of work has considered the impact of group attachments on vote choice and turnout (Fraga 2018), how to best measure group identities (Spry 2021), and how demographic characteristics such socioeconomic status explain political variation within communities of color (De la Garza 2004; Rhodes et al. 2017). A recent strand of research has illuminated the power of social pressure in coalescing marginalized groups around common goals (White et al. 2014; Wamble et al. 2022; White and Laird 2020). These studies have examined social dynamics within the Black community grounded in a process of "racialized social constraint" that cultivates a collective identity and commitment to advancing group interests.

In contrast, pan-ethnic communities such as Latinos and Asian Americans in the US often lack the binding force of a shared historical experience, and internal diversity on the basis of identities such as national origin can complicate the maintenance of a united political front (Beltrán 2010). Moreover, research on Latino and Asian American politics has found mixed success in applying measures derived from Black politics, such as linked fate, to these communities (Sanchez and Vargas 2016; Gay et al. 2016). Given these challenges, it becomes crucial to understand the unique factors that contribute to the "political core" of these pivotal voting blocs.

Along with language and values, unity on the issue of immigration has been proposed as a possible bonding agent (Sanchez and Masuoka 2010, 521). Descriptive studies of Latino public opinion have found that immigration tends to rank highly among other issues, even if it is not identified as the *top* issue for Latino voters (Morales et al. 2020). Research has also found that issue priorities predict Latino vote choice, such that Latinos who prioritize immigration are more likely to support Democratic candidates (Valenzuela and Stein 2014; Barreto and Collingwood 2015; Bautista 2014). Furthermore, evidence suggests that restrictionist immigration policies predict increasing Democratic vote share among Latinos (Bowler et al. 2006). Finally, common experiences as immigrants, along with perceptions of discrimination, have been identified as predictors of Democratic partisanship and vote choice (Branton 2007a; Rouse et al. 2010; Len-Ríos 2017; Jones et al. 2019; Berry et al. 2022), dovetailing with research on Asian American politics that finds similar patterns (Kuo et al. 2017).

Despite a seeming consensus on immigration as *the issue* defining Latino politics, studies have documented significant cross-pressures. Most notably, variation on political dimensions such as ideology and partisanship has been shown to predict support for immigration restrictionism (Rocha et al. 2011; Stringer 2016; Wallace and Zepeda-Millán 2020). For some group members, other issues may take precedence over immigration in the short-term (e.g., Covid-19) (Ocampo et al. 2021) or long-term, driving them to depart from the rest of the group. Moreover, individuals may not feel connected to their pan-ethnic group, rendering the normative pull of collective politics less potent (Masuoka 2008). Finally, the complementary forces of social pressure and internalized norms that are especially salient in studies of Black politics may operate weakly within pan-ethnic communities, given the absence of a shared history and institutions that cultivate "systems of accountability" (White and Laird 2020; Smith 2021).

Setting aside these theoretical questions, studying the causal effect of issue positions on political behavior is fraught with challenges. First, traditional measures of issue attitudes and importance are constrained by the number of issues presented, tending to focus on those that are nationally salient at a given point in time. However, national importance is distinct from personal importance, and the latter can be a stronger predictor of candidate choice than the former (Miller et al. 2017). Second, traditional closed-ended measures of issue importance may not capture meaningful attitudes. Due to social desirability pressures, participants may rate issues as higher in importance to demonstrate political competence or because doing so signals a strong group identity (Ryan and Ehlinger 2023). Finally, estimating the independent effect of issue positions on voting is difficult due to mechanisms such as partisan cue-taking. Rather than guiding political decisions, issue positions often stem from partisan attachments (Lenz 2013).

To address these challenges, I design personalized conjoint experiments that measure core issues using open-ended questions and assess how these issues compare against immigration in three studies of Latinos.[1] First, I ask respondents to write about a deeply important issue in an open-ended question (i.e., a "core issue"), a method that recovers strong, stable, and personally meaningful

[1]Throughout the manuscript, I use the term "core issue" as short-hand for the issue identified in this open-ended task.

attitudes that persist over time (Ryan and Ehlinger 2023, 35). Then, I leverage the large language model (LLM), GPT-3, to generate tailored conjoint experiments that allow participants to make choices between candidates who randomly vary on demographics (e.g., age, education, ethnicity), partisanship, immigration stances, and positions pertaining to this core issue.[2] This experimental design allows me to estimate the effects of issue positions on candidate choice, independent of other features such as demographics and partisanship. Experiment 1 uses a set of fixed immigration policy positions as the basis of comparison, whereas Experiments 2 and 3 ask participants to compare candidates that differ on the basis of two tailored issue dimensions: core issues and immigration. This design feature, however, does not have a discernible impact on the findings. With or without tailored immigration policy positions, the gap between the core issue and immigration remains.

Across three pre-registered studies conducted on CloudResearch and YouGov involving 2,421 Latinos, I find that immigration tends to rank below nationally salient issues such as abortion and inflation. Moreover, while immigration stances affect candidate choice in conjoint settings and rival the effects of shared partisanship, effect estimates tend to be substantially weaker than those related to core issue stances. This holds even after priming immigration and encouraging participants to reflect on the collective importance of the issue. Finally, I consider heterogeneity among Latinos. Though core issues tend to surpass immigration in importance by a significant margin, this gap narrows among those who are closer in proximity to the immigration experience (e.g., foreign-born Latinos), possess a sense of linked fate, or prioritize group-relevant policies over individual issue positions, suggesting that some voters are willing to sublimate personal preferences for the benefit of the larger community.

Taken together, the study makes several contributions. The findings provide a more nuanced understanding of issue importance among Latino voters. Though immigration is a determinant of vote choice, the study suggests that other issues such as the economy, healthcare, and education can dominate. Second, the study demonstrates that harsh and punitive immigration policies may not necessarily be a "deal breaker" if candidates align with voters on other fundamental issues.

[2]Though instruction fine-tuned versions of OpenAI's base GPT-3 model are often referred to as GPT-3.5, I use the term "GPT-3" throughout the paper for the sake of simplicity. When generating issue topic labels and levels, I specifically use the text-davinci-003 model.

These findings suggest that political strategies relying on blunt appeals to "consensus issues" like immigration may not be as effective as those that take this variation into account. This study is also consistent with recent research in Black politics that underscores the importance of social pressure (White and Laird 2020). Among Latinos who consider it crucial to prioritize group interests over individual issue priorities, gaps between core issues and immigration close, as predicted by theories of "racialized social constraint."

The relevance of the design developed in this paper extends far beyond the sphere of Latino politics. The personalized conjoint experiments, powered by advances in natural language processing, offer a scalable approach for interrogating political priorities across diverse groups. The same techniques applied in this paper could be employed to examine how Catholics prioritize issues like abortion, how rural conservative voters evaluate candidates taking different stances on gun control, or other received wisdoms about the issues particular groups prioritize in elections. As scholars continue unpacking variation within communities of color (Jefferson 2022) and other voting blocs, use of these designs could inform how we think about group-relevant issues in electoral contexts.

Latinos, Immigration Politics, and Cross-Pressures

Though the nature of ethnic politics has long occupied researchers studying American politics (Wolfinger 1965), increasingly narrow national election outcomes have brought renewed attention to the political behavior of panethnic groups, with Latinos seen as a decisive voting bloc. The subject of Latino politics has been extensively researched for decades, foreshadowing many of the discussions that have emerged from post-election analyses conducted by news organizations in recent years. These studies have highlighted three key points: (1) Latinos are not a homogeneous group, (2) their political beliefs and behaviors are influenced by material interests, immigration histories, and ideological considerations, and (3) their political preferences can evolve over time (see (Jones-Correa et al. 2018) for a review).

Even granting these points, existing studies have still identified some central tendencies with respect to partisan identification, issue priorities, and immigration attitudes. Focusing on partisanship, pro-Democratic margins among Latinos tend to fluctuate between 30 and 40 percent across elections.[3]

[3]https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/are-latinos-deserting-the-democratic-party-evidence-from-

Regarding issue priorities, Latinos are more likely to view immigration as important relative to other groups (Abrajano and Alvarez 2011). Although other issues may surpass it in importance, immigration is described as a "gateway or validating issue" that influences vote choice (Morales et al. 2020). Finally, studies have found that Latinos tend to hold more favorable views towards immigrants and immigration policies relative to other groups such as non-Hispanic whites (Cowan et al. 1997; Rocha et al. 2011). Indeed, when commenting on the relationship between Latinos and the issue, Jones-Correa et al. (2018) contends that "Latinos' identification as a group, while complicated by the additional heterogeneity of national origin, region, and race, is ... very much shaped by ongoing immigration and debates around immigration policy."

Despite its distinctive nature as a group-relevant issue, studies assessing the correlates of partisanship and candidate choice have revealed a mixed picture as to whether immigration preferences offer predictive leverage. During a less polarized era, Barreto et al. (2002) find that Latinos who viewed immigration as more important were undecided between Gore and Bush during the 2000 election. Abrajano and Alvarez (2011) uncover evidence that Latinos were equally likely to view immigration and the Iraq War as an important issue; though, Latinos ranked immigration higher than non-Hispanic whites. Moreover, the authors find that when included in a multivariate regression, immigration attitudes exert little predictive power after adjusting for attitudes toward abortion, school vouchers, and government redistribution. These findings align with Saavedra Cisneros (2017) who provides evidence suggesting immigration attitudes and issue importance do not consistently predict Democratic identification.

The dueling forces of different issues and how they figure into vote choice among Latinos is supported by a broader literature on cross-pressures (Lazarsfeld et al. 1968). Even among Latinos for whom immigration is personally relevant, other issue areas may dominate vote choice if they are seen as more important or salient. Studies of issue cross-pressures have generally examined these processes in observational settings, demonstrating that when candidates adopt stances on issues that hold personal significance for voters, it can motivate voters to make political decisions that conflict with their partisan commitments (RePass 1971; Hillygus and Shields 2009). A distinct, but

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related, literature on issue importance finds that personal importance accorded to issues is often more predictive of political behavior than national importance (Miller et al. 2017). These studies set up the possibility that deeply-held issues can encourage Latinos to deviate from group norms related to immigration policy support.

Challenges in Measurement Despite their ubiquity in political surveys, measures of issue importance may be affected by social desirability issues, acquiescence bias, and lower levels of reliability. First, respondents might overstate their level of interest in an issue due to group expectations. For example, knowing that immigration is often described as a "Latino issue," Latinos might consider ranking the issue highly as an expression of their identity. Second, respondents may be tempted to rate issues as important simply to appear politically knowledgeable. Third, traditional closed-ended measures of issue importance can exhibit low reliability over time (Ryan and Ehlinger 2023, 35-38), calling into question whether they capture stable political orientations.

Open-ended questions can be used to mitigate these issues. Open-ended responses allow respondents to provide a more nuanced answer, rather than being limited to a narrow set of response options (RePass 1971, 391). Additionally, open-ended questions can capture unique reasons why a particular issue is important to an individual. Moreover, these measures score high on reliability. Velez and Liu (2023) use open-ended questions to generate tailored outcome measures via GPT-3 and find high levels of attitude strength and reliability for issue positions ascertained via open-ended questions. This dovetails with Ryan and Ehlinger (2023), who find relatively high levels of reliability over time for open-ended measures versus traditional measures of issue importance.

Challenges in Causal Identification Assessing the impact of issues is complicated by the possibility that issue priorities and attitudes can be influenced by various factors such as salience and elite messaging (Weaver 1991). Thus, what may seem like issue voting may simply be the result of partisan cue-taking. Indeed, studies have shown that political attitudes often follow exogenous shifts in party position-taking, suggesting that issue priorities are often unstable and estimated effects may be confounded by factors such as partisanship, media exposure, and political knowledge (Lenz 2013; Barber and Pope 2019). This is a significant concern because it suggests regressions of vote choice on

issue importance measures, especially for salient issues such as immigration, might actually recover a "political interest" effect, rather than the effect of immigration.

In recent years, scholars have leveraged conjoint designs to examine the causal effects of issues on candidate choice (Mummolo et al. 2021). Conjoint designs are high-dimensional factorial designs that vary many features of competing profiles and allow scholars to assess how respondents decide between different options (Hainmueller et al. 2014). Studies have revealed that despite the artificial nature of these tasks, they can recover externally valid estimates (Hainmueller et al. 2015). In candidate choice conjoint designs, features such as party affiliation, candidate positions, and demographic characteristics can be manipulated (van Oosten et al. 2023). By doing so, researchers can observe how changes in these features influence vote choice.

Ryan and Ehlinger (2023) propose a novel method for studying voting behavior when issues are personally meaningful. Their tailored conjoint method proceeds by asking respondents to write about a core issue in an initial wave and creating a personalized conjoint in a follow-up wave that presents participants with candidate characteristics (e.g., age, gender, education, occupation), along with varying positions on this core issue. The authors find that the effects of core issues measured via open-ended responses tend to be greater than those retrieved using traditional methods. These "bespoke conjoints" allow researchers to examine the causal effect of deeply-held issues on vote choice, making it a promising tool for studying cross-pressures and voting behavior within communities of color.

Data and Methods

The existing literature offers a mixed picture regarding the role of immigration in shaping political decisions among Latino voters. On one hand, it is often described as a unifying issue for the community – if not the defining issue in Latino politics. On the other hand, studies have found significant heterogeneity in when and among whom it is politically consequential. To further understand the role of immigration and other core issues in shaping political decisions among Latino voters, I apply a tailored conjoint method to three online samples of Latinos. Given the costly and labor-intensive nature of the two-wave Ryan-Ehlinger design and obstacles in recruiting minority populations to participate in multi-wave studies, I leverage GPT-3 to generate tailored conjoints on

the fly in the survey software, Qualtrics.

GPT-3 is a large language model developed by OpenAI that has achieved superior results in a variety of categorization and prediction tasks, including the coding of political issues (Mellon et al. 2022), the production of plausible political text (Argyle et al. 2022), and political persuasion (Bai et al. 2023). GPT-3 can take a prompt such as "produce a summary of this issue and three different issue positions" and create personalized text output for each participant. GPT-3 has demonstrated proficiency in summarizing and categorizing text, coming close to achieving human-level performance (Mellon et al. 2022). I validate whether GPT-3 is capable of correctly summarizing issue positions using open-ended text and find that only 5% of participants report that the machine-generated conjoint factor is unrelated to their issue topic (see App. C).[4] A demonstration of GPT-3's ability to assist in the creation of tailored conjoints can be found here: http://www.tailoredexperiments.com.

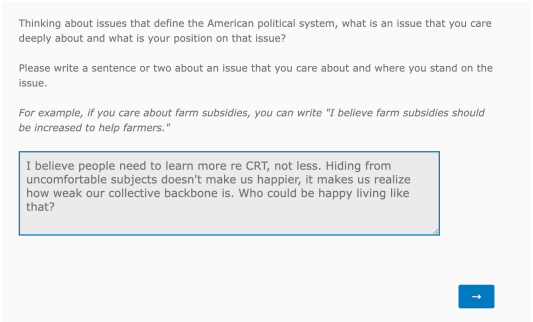
In a single survey, participants write about a core issue, this information is sent to an API that returns a personalized conjoint within seconds, and participants complete a set of candidate choice trials with their core issue featured alongside immigration issue positions and demographic characteristics. Figure 1 illustrates how these two phases of the design were presented to participants. As displayed in the figure, a participant who wrote about critical race theory (CRT) in one screen was shown CRT-related issue positions in a conjoint setting on the following screen, along with immigration-related positions, partisanship, and candidate demographics. This design allows for a direct examination of the role of both immigration and core issues in shaping political decisions among Latinos. By comparing coefficients of the two issue groupings, I can assess the relative effect of each issue in shaping candidate choice.

Study 1 compares the core issue factor and a set of fixed immigration policy positions, whereas Studies 2 and 3 directly ask participants about their ideal immigration policy, allowing for a "fairer" comparison between two sets of policies. This design feature also primes immigration, thus increasing the salience of an issue that has received less attention since 2016 (Gomez-Aguinaga et al. 2023). These pre-registered studies are reported in turn, with each study building on the previous one. Study

[4]To the extent that mismatches between the intended policy and GPT-produced policy exist, we ought to expect weaker effects, given that this "mismatched" policy is unlikely to have as large an effect on candidate choice.

FIGURE 1. Dynamic Tailored Conjoint Design

(a) Open-ended question



(b) Personalized Conjoint

	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Partisanship	Democrat	Democrat
Race/Ethnicity	Asian American	Black
Asylum Policy	Allow political refugees to obtain asylum	Allow economic refugees to obtain asylum
Religion	Catholic	Presbyterian
Career	State representative	Agriculture
Veteran Status	Served	Did Not Serve
Critical Race Theory	The amount of education on Critical Race Theory should remain the same	People should learn more about Critical Race Theory, not less
Deportation Policy	Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants	Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants
Social Spending	Decrease spending on social programs that assist immigrants	Keep spending on social programs that assist immigrants the same
Sex	Female	Male
Border Wall Policy	Build a physical wall along the entire southern border	Build a physical wall along parts of the southern border
Age	62	66

Note: Screenshots of the survey design. (a) Participants begin by responding to an open-ended question about their most important issue, which is used to generate a personalized conjoint task. (b) Participants complete a set of candidate choice trials with their tailored issue position featured alongside immigration issue positions and demographic characteristics. See Appendix A for more details on conjoint task.

1 shows that the automated procedure is capable of recovering consequential issues for Latino voters; Study 2 places immigration and the core issue on more equal footing by producing tailored issue positions for both issue domains; and Study 3 implores voters to consider the collective importance of immigration, as a way of increasing the personal salience of the issue.

Experiment 1: Comparing Core and Collective Issues

From January 26 to 27, 2023, I recruited Latino participants using the online survey provider CloudResearch.[5] After completing the consent form, participants were asked to write about a deeply important issue. The open-ended question asked the following: "Thinking about issues that define the American political system, what is an issue that you care deeply about and what is your position on that issue?" Given that the design depends on legible text, the response was passed to an API that coded the quality of the open-ended response on the fly. As in Velez and Liu (2023), the API

[5]Online convenience samples often replicate average treatment effects (ATEs) and conditional average treatment effets (CATEs) observed using nationally representative samples (Mullinix et al. 2015; Coppock et al. 2018). Velez et al. (2023, Appendix M) find that CloudResearch recovers effects that have also been detected using "higher-quality" samples such as YouGov.

is effective in identifying low quality responses, and scores predict other indicators of attentiveness.[6] Following the pre-registration plan, 284 surveys deemed to have low quality open-ended responses were automatically terminated after this initial screening, and in 28 cases, GPT-3 was unable to provide output, resulting in a final sample of 1,003.

In Experiment 1, it was possible for a respondent to write about immigration as a core issue, which renders it difficult to make comparisons between the core issue and immigration. However, these cases comprised a small percentage of the sample (4%) and AMCEs are unaffected by their removal. Experiments 2 and 3 addressed the duplication problem directly by asking participants to write about their preferred immigration position *and* a core issue. If the core issue used a keyword tied to immigration, a second attempt was made to elicit a non-immigration issue domain.[7] Non-immigration core issues remain an important determinant of candidate choice even among participants who mention immigration as their core issue (see App. G).

Among those who provided a legible response, the open-ended response was passed to a PHP script that (1) summarized the issue topic (e.g., abortion for an open-ended response about abortion) and (2) generated three issue positions for the issue topic (i.e., positive, negative, and intermediate) using GPT-3. Thus, a person who wrote about maintaining the legality of abortion would see candidates taking one of three policy positions: a position that aligns with the participant, a position calling for abortion to be illegal, and an intermediate position (e.g., allowing abortion to be legal in some cases). This information was then appended to a conjoint design as an additional factor and returned to Qualtrics within the same survey (see App. A for examples of GPT-3 output and a more detailed description of the design).[8]

Participants were asked to judge 10 pairs of candidate profiles for a hypothetical Congressional

[6]The API produces a measure of quality on a three-point scale, where 0 is low quality, .5 is medium quality, and 1 is high quality. Assessing performance on a pre-treatment attention check, the passage rate for those scoring at the minimum of open-ended response quality was 17%, whereas the passage rates for those scoring at the midpoint or maximum are 33% and 58%, respectively.

[7]These words and keywords were "immig," "alien," "deport," "undocu," "amnesty," "wall," "bord," and "came here illegally."

[8]This script modifies the PHP implementation of the conjoint design described in Strezhnev et al. (2013).

race. Candidate characteristics and issue positions included sex, race/ethnicity, partisanship, age, religion, career, veteran status, deportation policy, border wall policy, position on social spending for immigrants, policy regarding asylum seekers, and positions on the core issue. All factors had an equal probability of being assigned with no constraints on randomization (see App. E for an examination of implausible conjoints). The order of attributes was randomized across participants. Candidate profiles were presented side-by-side and participants were asked to choose the candidate they would be most likely to support.

Estimation Strategy I estimate the average marginal component effect (AMCE) of each attribute by regressing candidate choice on candidate sex, race/ethnicity, partisanship, age, religion, career, veteran status, deportation policy, border wall policy, position on social spending for immigrants, policy regarding asylum seekers, and positions on the core issue. The model takes the following form:

$$\text{Choice} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Sex} + \beta_2 \text{Race/Ethnicity} + \beta_3 \text{Partisanship} \tag{1}$$

$$+ \beta_4 \text{Age} + \beta_5 \text{Religion} + \beta_6 \text{Career} + \beta_7 \text{Veteran Status} \tag{2}$$

$$+ \beta_8 \text{Deportation Policy} + \beta_9 \text{Border Wall Policy} + \beta_{10} \text{Social Spending} \tag{3}$$

$$+ \beta_{11} \text{Asylum Policy} + \beta_{12} \text{Core Issue} + \epsilon \tag{4}$$

Given that the experiment aims to assess how Latino voters use immigration and deeply-held issues when deciding between candidates, comparisons between β_{12} and the set of immigration positions β_8-β_{11} are of particular interest. Note that this comparison inherently offers four opportunities for the causal impact of immigration issue positions to exceed that of the core issue, rendering it a more difficult test for the "core issue." In Experiments 2 and 3, the coefficient for the Core Issue is directly compared to the coefficient for a tailored immigration policy also derived from an open-ended question. The equation above is estimated using OLS with clustered standard errors for each respondent. All reported p-values reflect two-tailed hypothesis tests. Though figures are used throughout, full model estimates are presented in Appendix M.

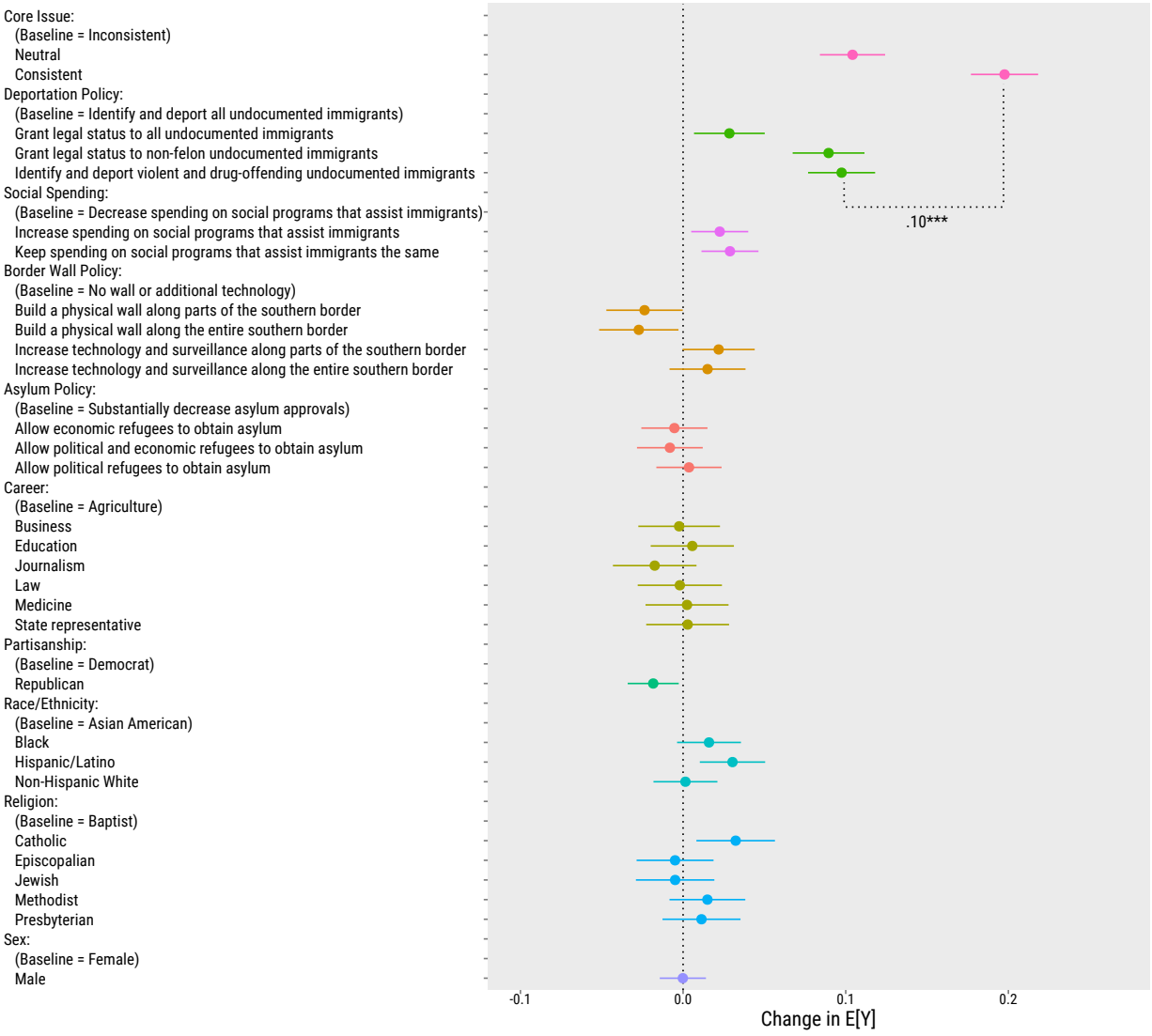
Results I present three sets of estimates. First, I report AMCEs across candidate characteristics and issue positions. Then, I report marginal mean estimates to evaluate how candidates staking out different combinations of positions on the core issue versus immigration perform. Finally, I assess conditional effects using a pre-registered subgroup analysis. Previous work has emphasized identity strength and proximity to the immigrant experience as predictors of immigration policy support and partisanship among Latinos (Lien et al. 2003; Rouse et al. 2010; Jones et al. 2019). I capture perceived connection to other Latinos, levels of acculturation, and direct proximity to the immigrant experience using measures of linked fate, generational status, and nativity status.

Figure 2 presents the AMCEs and corresponding 95% confidence intervals. We detect slight preferences for candidates who are Latino, Democrat, and Catholic, which is consistent with the literature on Latino politics (Jones-Correa et al. 2018).[9] Next, focusing on immigration policy, we see that whereas asylum policy positions do not have a meaningful effect on candidate choice, the deportation policy positions have the most substantively large effect on candidate choice, followed by border wall policy and social spending for immigrants. With the most restrictive policy of deporting all undocumented immigrants set at the baseline, the AMCE for two of the policy positions (i.e., deporting felons and drug offenders; granting legal status to non-felons) are .10 (SE = .01; $p < .001$) and .09 (SE = .01; $p < .001$), respectively. This means moving deportation policy positions from the most restrictive option to the most supported option produces a 10pp increase in candidate choice, averaging over all other features.[10] These effects are dwarfed by the AMCE of the core issue. The AMCE for candidates who stake out an intermediate position between the supporting and opposing

[9]The partisanship effect is muted because it is not coded with respect to each participant. This is done to preserve the full sample, given that one in five participants are pure independents. In App. J, I recode the partisanship variable so that it reflects the effect of co-partisanship. AMCEs are approximately .09 in both studies. Core issues continue to have the largest AMCEs out of all of the features considered.

[10]The more "moderate" positions on immigration are intriguing. Though estimates of Latino support for different policy regimes are scant, Jones-Correa et al. (2018) report that roughly one in five Latinos support restrictive immigration policies. Moreover, recent work documents important asymmetries between anti-immigration and pro-immigration voters (Kustov 2023), such that more restrictionist voters tend to assign a higher importance to the issue. These factors could yield AMCEs that reflect more moderation in the aggregate.

FIGURE 2. AMCE Estimates (Experiment 1)



Note: AMCE estimates and corresponding 95% confidence intervals. The AMCE for a candidate taking a position that is consistent with the participant's core issue is 10pp larger than the AMCE for the best-performing immigration policy position. See Table M1 for model estimates.

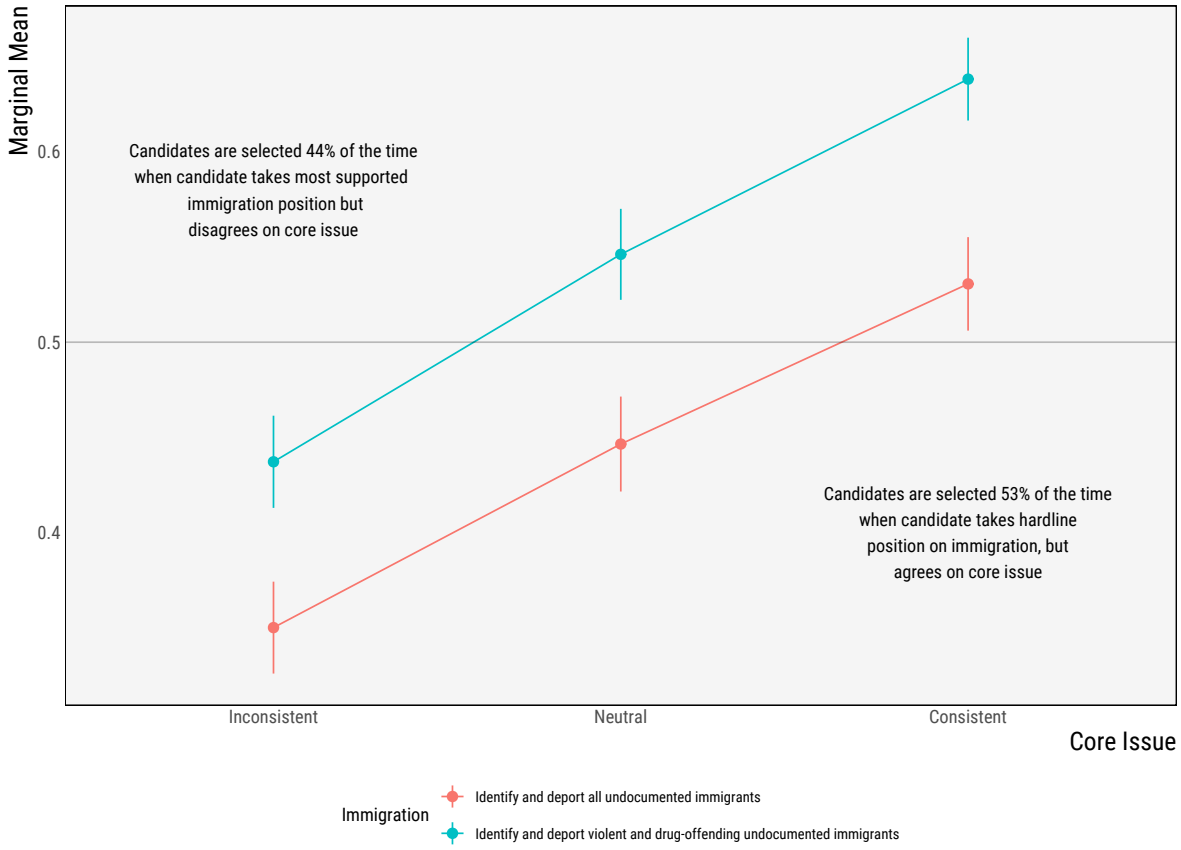
position is .10 (SE = .01; p <.001), which is comparable to the AMCEs for the most preferred issue positions on the question of border policy. However, observing a candidate who is aligned with the participant's core issue produces an AMCE of .20 (SE = .01; p<.001). This means that comparing a candidate who opposes the participant on the basis of their deeply-held issue to one that supports their preferred policy produces a 20pp increase in candidate choice, which is twice the size of the largest immigration-related AMCE.

While the AMCE is unable to distinguish between preference intensity (i.e., the strength of immigration preferences) and "preference orientation" (i.e., the possibility that the immigration feature is weighed less by Latino participants when they make political choices) (see Abramson et al. (2022)), both mechanisms are consistent with the conclusion that immigration is a weaker aggregate determinant of candidate choice than the core issue.

To illustrate how different combinations of attributes affect candidate choice, I consider how marginal means vary across the core issue and best-performing immigration factor (i.e., deportation policy). In contrast to AMCEs, which capture the effect of an attribute when all other attributes are determined at random, marginal means can be interpreted as the probability that participants select a candidate with a particular feature level (Leeper et al. 2020, 209).[11] Turning to Figure 3, candidates who stake out discordant positions on the core issue are chosen less than 45% of the time, even if they take adopt a popular position on deportation policy (i.e., identifying and deporting violent and drug-offending undocumented immigrants). In contrast, even if a candidate supports the least popular position on immigration (i.e., deporting all undocumented immigrants), they are selected 53% of the time if they agree with the participant on the core issue. Overall, the findings imply that even if candidates take an unpopular stance on immigration, core issue-aligned candidates still have a high likelihood of being selected.

[11]One issue with interpreting marginal means is that the co-occurence of a feature in a profile can constrain the range of marginal means. For example, if sex is randomly assigned with probabilities set to .5, the probability that both candidates share the same sex is .25. This effectively bounds the marginal mean between -.5 and .5. Thus, comparisons between features that have a different number of levels should be performed with caution. Experiments 2 and 3 sidestep this issue by equalizing the number of levels across the core issue and immigration policy.

FIGURE 3. Marginal Mean Estimates (Experiment 1)



Note: Marginal mean estimates and corresponding 84% confidence intervals. 84% confidence intervals are used to facilitate visual comparisons between statistically significant group means across different profile combinations. Candidate profiles that take inconsistent positions on core issues, but support the most popular immigration position are selected 44% of the time, whereas candidate profiles that take the least popular immigration policy position, but take a concordant position on the core issue are selected 53% of the time. See Table M3 for model estimates.

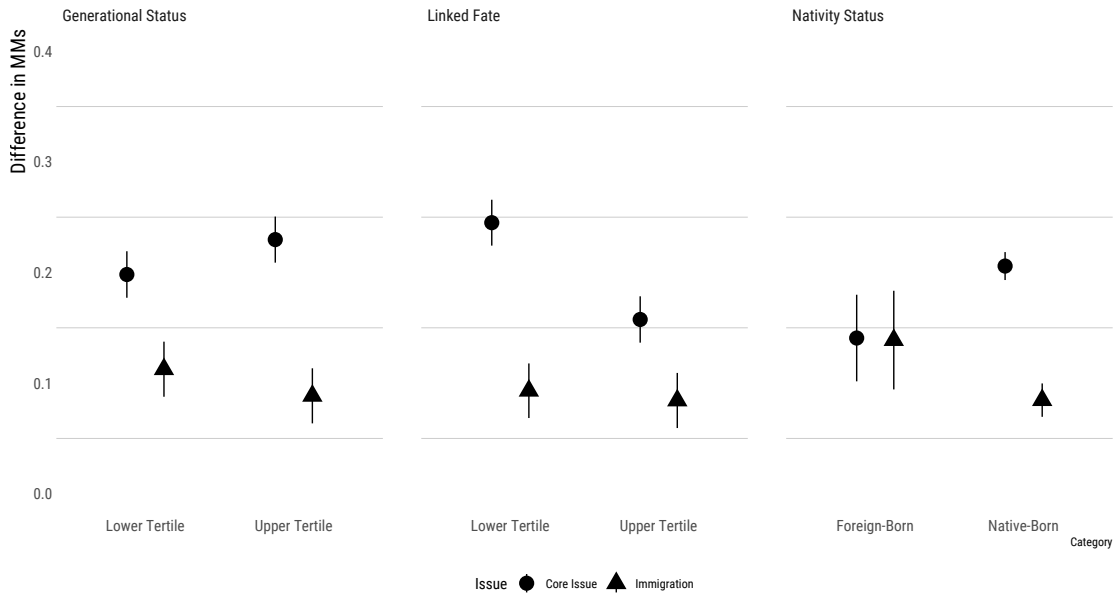
Turning to the subgroup analysis, I now examine the difference in marginal means (Δ MM) across the two issue domains. In this setting, Δ MM estimates the change in marginal means when a candidate takes a concordant versus discordant position on a particular issue, averaging over all other attributes. Thus, if core issue-aligned candidates are selected 40% of the time and core issue-discordant candidates are selected 20% of the time, Δ MM equals .20. This can be interpreted as a measure of how the probability of selecting a candidate changes as a function of a particular attribute, averaging over all other attributes (Leeper et al. 2020). Across the three pre-registered moderators – linked fate, generational status, and foreign-born status – Δ MM is larger for the core issue.[12] That is, the "selection gap" between concordant and discordant profiles for the core issue is larger than the gap between the most and least-preferred immigration policy across subgroups (i.e., deporting violent undocumented immigrants and drug offenders versus deporting all undocumented immigrants).

However, there is evidence that proximity to immigration and group consciousness decreases the "core issue-immigration gap." Specifically, Δ MM between the core issue and most-preferred immigration policy decreases in magnitude among those who score high on linked fate and are more proximal to the immigration experience (e.g., Latinos of more recent generations and foreign-born Latinos). Still, it is worth noting that there is no case in which the Δ MM for immigration surpasses the core issue and the difference is statistically distinguishable.

One possible limitation of the initial design is that the immigration positions were pre-loaded into the conjoint, whereas the core issue appeared on the fly for respondents. To the extent that there is a "surprise effect" that increases attentiveness, effects for the core issue could be exaggerated. This concern is particularly relevant for conjoints involving rare issues, where participants might be taken aback to find their idiosyncratic issue position featured in an academic survey. To investigate whether the "surprise effect" is related to the rarity of the core issue mentioned by the participant, I examine conditional effects for participants who wrote about salient issues such as abortion, gun

[12]We report differences in marginal means, given that the difference-in-AMCEs only report relative differences in support across different feature levels for a given subgroup, rather than absolute differences. This is a deviation from our pre-analysis plan. However, difference-in-AMCE estimates also reflect similar patterns across subgroups.

FIGURE 4. Subgroup Analysis (Experiment 1)



Note: Point estimates reflect marginal means. 84% confidence intervals are presented to facilitate visual comparison of statistically significant group differences in marginal means. Low and high reflect lower and upper tertiles for linked fate and generational status. Low and high values for nativity status reflect US born and non-US born respondents. See Table M4 for model estimates.

control, taxes, environmental issues, healthcare, Covid-19, and policing. In App. D, I find that the AMCE for the core issue is comparable regardless of whether a nationally salient issue is mentioned in the open-ended response.[13]

An additional concern with the existing design is that the study took place during a time of low immigration salience. Though issues that are personally meaningful ought to exhibit stability even in times of low salience (Miller et al. 2017), it is possible that the results would differ if the study were to prime immigration directly. Finally, unlike the core issue, immigration policy stances are not coded with respect to each participant. Heterogeneity in preferences could mute the effects of the immigration factor if there exist subgroups who prefer divergent immigration policy regimes. I address these concerns in Experiment 2.

Experiment 2: Tailoring Core Issue and Immigration Stances

Though the analysis above helps address the possibility of a "surprise effect" due to highly idiosyncratic issues being featured in the experiment, it may still be the case that seeing a core issue increases attentiveness. Moreover, the reduced national salience of immigration and preference heterogeneity on the issue could nudge effects toward zero. I address these concerns in Experiment 2 by producing two tailored issue positions that appear in the conjoint: a core issue position and respondent-specific immigration position. Given that both issue positions are tailored, any generic "surprise effect" should be mitigated.[14] Moreover, since I am prompting participants to explicitly think about their own immigration-related position, this design should increase the salience of immigration in the context of the study.

Following Experiment 1, data for Experiment 2 were collected from February 8 to February 11,

[13]I also consider whether viewing unrealistic conjoints alter AMCEs and fail to find support for this hypothesis in App. E.

[14]In order to evaluate the concern that the ideological gap between supporting and opposing policies featured in the conjoint might differ between the core issue and immigration, I conducted an additional assessment. Using CloudResearch Connect, I enlisted 50 raters to place the tailored positions from Study 3 on a 7-point ideological scale, ranging from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. The analysis revealed that the ideological gaps for both types of issues were nearly identical, with the core issue registering a gap of 2.96 and the tailored immigration issue a slightly larger gap of 2.98.

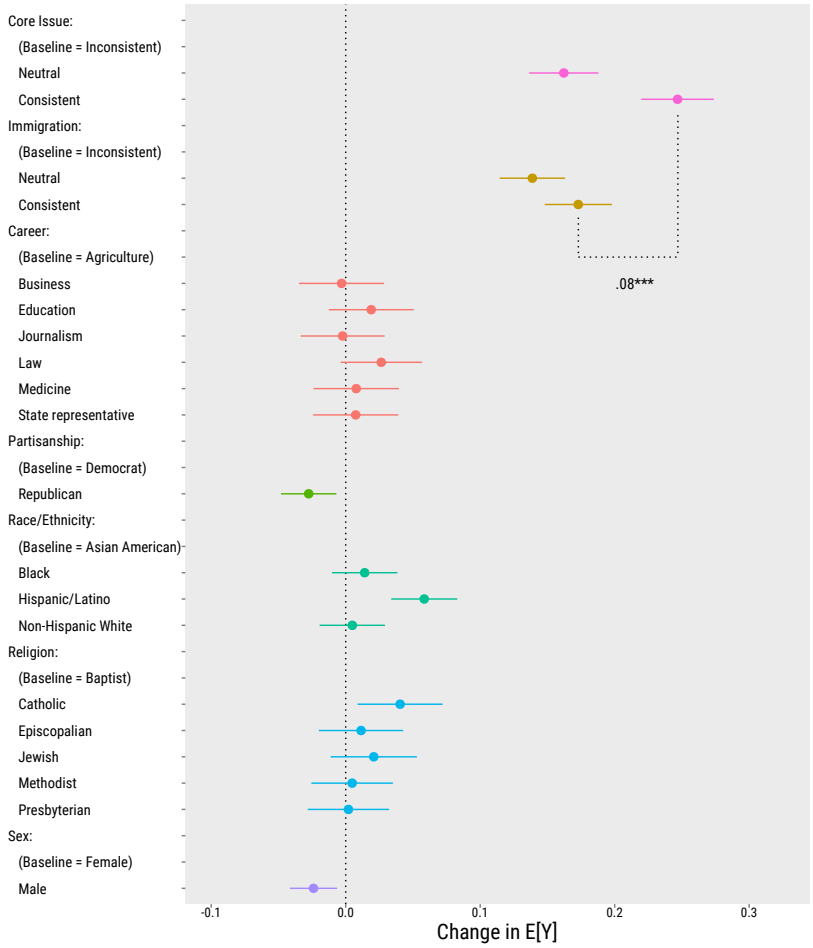
2023 using CR. 649 participants provided legible output and received a tailored conjoint.[15] Upon agreeing to participate in the study, participants were asked two open-ended questions that were presented in a randomized order: a question eliciting a core issue as in Experiment 1 and another question asking the participant to describe their ideal immigration policy. Specifically, participants were asked the following: "Please write a sentence or two about your ideal policy for immigration. This could be any aspect of immigration that you deeply care about." As in Experiment 1, these responses were used to construct a tailored conjoint on the fly. In this case, the open-ended responses populated two conjoint factors: a "core issue" factor and a tailored immigration factor. For example, a respondent writing about nuclear power and DACA would receive a tailored conjoint with the demographic characteristics from Experiment 1, along with varying stances on both issues. To reduce overlap between factors, the 8% of participants who mentioned immigration as their core issue were asked to write about a non-immigration issue.

As in Experiment 1, participants completed ten trials. After the conjoint task, participants were asked to rate the importance of each issue and select the most important issue from the two options. I report the AMCEs for each of the factors, and additional demographic characteristics in Figure 7. Consistent with Experiment 1, I find that the core issue possesses a larger AMCE than the tailored immigration issue. Whereas a consistent issue position on the tailored immigration policy produces an AMCE of .17 (SE = .01; $p < .001$), the AMCE for the "core issue" is .25 (SE = .01; $p < .001$), an 8pp difference ($p < .001$). It is worth noting here that this difference in AMCEs is only 2pp smaller than the difference in AMCEs recovered in Experiment 1, suggesting that the effect of *also* personalizing the immigration position is not especially large.

Turning now to marginal means across both factors, we observe a similar dynamic that was evident in Experiment 1: even candidates that disagree with respondents on immigration policy are selected 48% of the time if they agree on the core issue, whereas candidates that disagree with

[15] 1,038 participants entered the study. Of those 1,038, 277 were identified to have provided low-quality responses. Of the remaining 761, 112 did not receive a tailored conjoint because GPT-3 did not produce output, leaving 649 participants. This is likely a function of the more complicated nature of task (i.e., producing two conjoint factors). Given that both the quality check and GPT-3 errors are occurring before randomization to different conjoint features, there is no risk of confounding.

FIGURE 5. AMCE Estimates (Experiment 2)



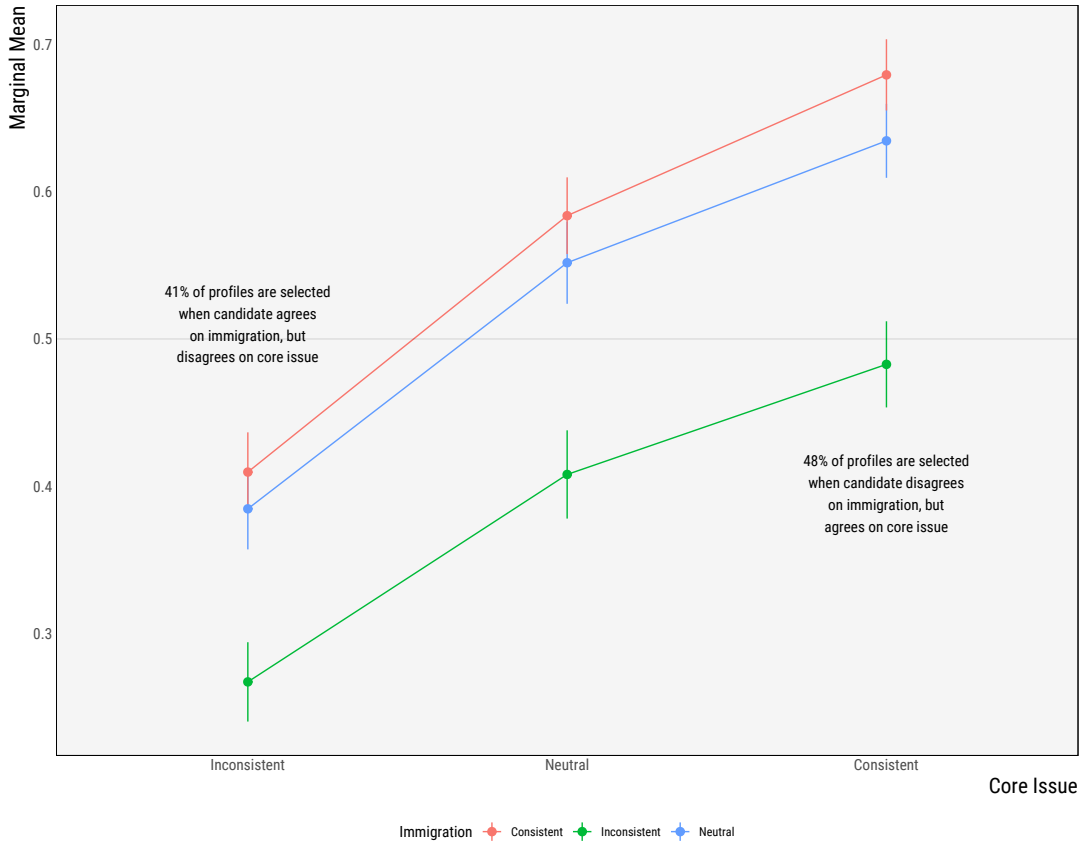
Note: AMCE estimates and corresponding 95% confidence intervals. The AMCE for a candidate taking a position that is consistent with the participant's core issue is 8pp larger than the AMCE for the tailored immigration position. See Table M5 for model estimates.

respondents on their core issue are only selected 41% of the time if they simultaneously take a consistent immigration position. Finally, I report subgroup analyses in App. F that replicate the findings from Experiment 1, showing that (1) the core issue "dominates" immigration in terms of AMCEs, (2) proximity to immigration and linked fate predict smaller gaps in Δ MM values for immigration relative to the core issue, and (3) even when Δ MM for immigration increases relative to the core issue, this difference is never statistically distinguishable.

Experiment 3: Priming and Measuring Feelings of Group Obligation

The previous studies find robust support for the notion that core issues have a larger effect on candidate choice in conjoint settings relative to immigration, even after immigration is primed and

FIGURE 6. Marginal Mean Estimates (Experiment 2)



Note: Marginal mean estimates and corresponding 95% confidence intervals. Candidate profiles that take inconsistent positions on core issues, but are concordant with respect to immigration are selected 41% of the time, whereas candidate profiles that take a discordant position on immigration, but take a consistent position on the core issue are selected 48% of the time. See Table M7 for model estimates.

individuals are able to express their unique position on the issue. This "core issue-immigration" gap is consistent across subgroups; though, proximity to immigration and group consciousness are associated with smaller differences in marginal means.

A third study was carried out to examine if a message encouraging participants to conform to the group norm would reverse the relationship that was observed in Experiments 1 and 2. Following research by White and Laird (2020), I assessed if encouraging feelings of group obligation to the Latino community would increase the effect of the immigration factor in the conjoint experiment. I devised an experimental design where participants were randomly exposed to a message that emphasized the collective importance of immigration or a placebo condition before completing the

conjoint task. In addition, I asked a set of questions that aimed to capture feelings of obligation to the community.

I recruited 1,500 Latinos on YouGov to participate in an omnibus survey from May 17 to June 13, 2023. The survey focused on themes such as news consumption, misinformation, and social networks. The survey was available in Spanish and English. Before encountering the conjoint task, each participant was randomly assigned to either receive a message emphasizing the importance of immigration to the Latino community or a placebo message about an unrelated topic (see App. K). Participants' feelings of obligation to the community were measured using a set of Likert scale items (see App. L).

Of the 1,500 participants who completed the survey, 1,020 responded to the conjoint. Open-ended responses were more terse and ambiguous than in Experiments 1 and 2, rendering it difficult for the conjoints to faithfully capture issue positions. Indeed, the median response lengths to the "core issue" prompt were 15 and 18 words in Experiments 1 and 2, respectively, versus 6 words in Experiment 3. In 18% of cases, participants only wrote one word (e.g., abortion, economy), whereas 1% and 2% of participants in Experiments 1 and 2 did so. Given that issue positions cannot be extracted from these open-ended responses, I remove these observations (n=251), yielding a total sample size of 769.[16]

Results Consistent with the previous findings, the AMCE for the core issue is larger than the immigration AMCE by 6pp ($p<.05$), and the effect sizes for the two issue positions surpass the effect sizes of other variables such as race, gender, and religion. Focusing now on marginal means across the two attributes, the share of profiles selected that align with the participants on the core issue but disagree with the participant on immigration is 50 percent, compared to 45 percent for candidates that are concordant on immigration but discordant on the core issue (see Appendix O).

Several patterns are replicated when comparing the difference in marginal means across subgroups. Consistent with Experiments 1 and 2, proximity to the immigration experience predicts smaller gaps between core issues and immigration. Indeed, among non-citizens, we detect statistically

[16]The pre-registered response quality filtering could not be applied in the YouGov study due to its omnibus nature. This constitutes a deviation from the pre-registration. However, it is a necessary adjustment, given that GPT-3 cannot generate useful issue positions when only issue topics are mentioned.

significant evidence of a larger Δ MM for immigration relative to the core issue. As we move across generation levels, this pattern reverses.[17] Δ MM for immigration is also larger than Δ MM for the core issue among Latinos who completed the survey in Spanish, whereas the opposite is true for those who completed the survey in English. Turning to the "social pressure" intervention, the core issue-immigration gap is larger among those exposed to the "social pressure" message than those in the placebo condition. However, this difference is not statistically significant, and runs in the opposite direction of initial expectations. Still, although the intervention was unsuccessful in shifting priorities, measures of "group obligation" are associated with a narrower core issue-immigration gap, as one compares the lower to upper tertile. Finally, Latinos in border states such as Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico who may see the issue as more salient also weigh core issues more heavily than immigration, albeit to different degrees. This suggests that *mere* issue salience is not enough to alter issue priorities. Taken together, these findings indicate that feelings of group obligation and personal experience with the issue are associated with smaller gaps in issue prioritization, but primes that encourage feelings of obligation to the community are ineffective.

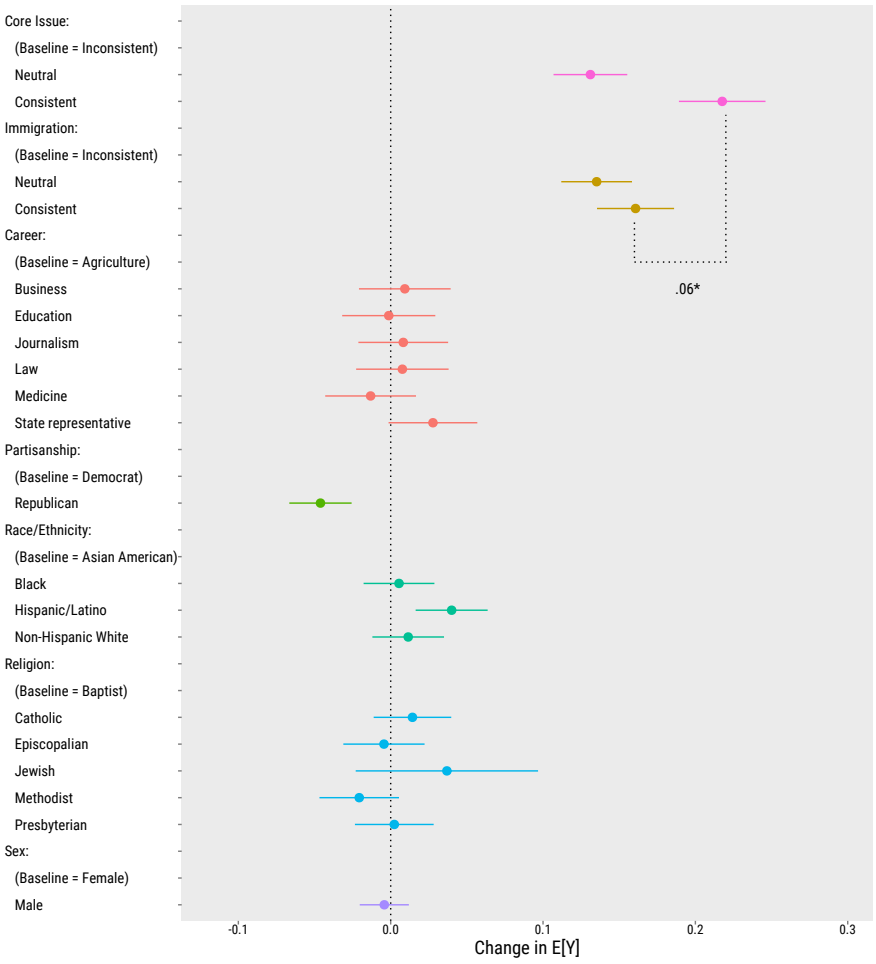
Alternative Measures of Issue Prioritization

The three studies provide evidence using AMCEs and MMs that core issue positions have larger effects on candidate choice than immigration positions. However, conjoint experiments also possess valuable information about pairs of profiles that can be leveraged for alternative estimands. Though most analyses using conjoints focus on profile-level estimands such as the AMCE, Clayton et al. (2023) recently argue for a focus on profile pairs. While the AMCE captures the degree to which an attribute is selected over another attribute, marginalizing over all other attributes, one can calculate pair-level estimates that make more direct comparisons between feature levels. For example, one can estimate the share of contests where a candidate with characteristic X defeats a candidate with characteristic ¬ X. Profile pair analysis is thus valuable for elucidating direct trade-offs between substantively meaningful pairs of profiles.

Focusing on cases where a candidate takes an intermediate or consistent position on the core issue, but an inconsistent position on immigration and vice versa, I find that win rates for the core

[17]This subgroup analysis is exploratory.

FIGURE 7. AMCE Estimates (Experiment 3)



Note: AMCE estimates and corresponding 95% confidence intervals. The AMCE for a candidate taking a position that is consistent with the participant's core issue is 6pp larger than the AMCE for the tailored immigration position. See Table M9 for model estimates.

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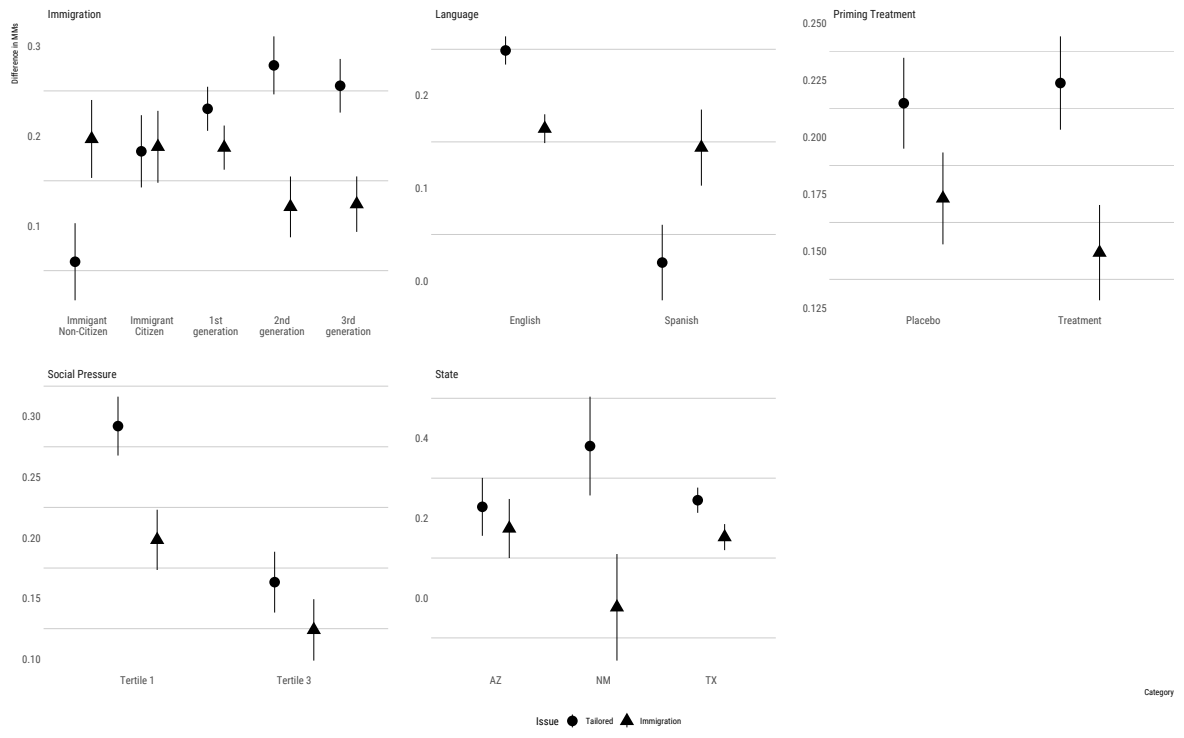
FIGURE 8. Subgroup Analysis (Experiment 3)



Note: Point estimates reflect marginal means. 84% confidence intervals are presented to facilitate visual comparison of statistically significant group differences in marginal means. See Table M12 for model estimates.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2024-zm53r **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3243-0975 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA.

issue are 65%, 58%, and 57% in Experiments 1, 2, and 3, respectively.[18] The win rate shows that when facing candidates who hold polar opposite positions on the core issue and immigration, voters tend to choose the candidate who is concordant on the core issue. These findings are largely consistent with the profile-level analyses, and capture how trade-offs may play out in electoral settings.

Though the trade-off analysis is instructive and corroborates the main analysis, the general pattern of findings might still be contingent on the peculiar nature of conjoint designs. In Experiment 2, I included two descriptive measures of relative issue importance as an additional test of how voters think about the two issues: a binary item asking respondents to select the topic that is most important to them (1 = core issue; 0 = immigration) and a Likert item measuring issue importance on a 5-point scale. On both of these metrics, the core issue receives a higher score than the tailored immigration issue. Specifically, 79% of participants select the core issue over immigration when asked which issue is most important, and the difference in issue importance between the core issue and tailored immigration policy is .45 scale points (SE = .05; $p < .001$). This suggests that the core issue is not only more influential in affecting participants' choices, but potentially also more salient to individuals.

Variation in Core Issues

Although the evidence suggests that core issues have larger effects on candidate choice than immigration stances, it is also worth describing how respondents naturally think about the issues that are most important to them via open-ended questions. Due to the vast number of individual issues mentioned, I use topic codes from the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP) to capture general issue domains. Keywords associated with the issue domains are employed to convert GPT-3 topics to CAP topics across all three studies. As reported in Appendix N, the most commonly mentioned issue domain is abortion, which is then followed by economic issues, and immigration. This provides further evidence of the decreased importance of immigration relative to other more salient issues, but it also demonstrates high levels of heterogeneity in core issues among Latino voters.

Variation in issue *positions* on immigration also adds to this complexity. Indeed, even if one considers immigration to be a highly salient issue, positions on the issue may deviate from the perceived group consensus. This implies a second-order conflict whereby Latino voters not only

[18]This analysis is exploratory. I thank Yusaku Horiuchi for this suggestion.

have to grapple with prioritizing personal versus "group" issues, but also must navigate the diverse opinions within their community on these issues, including immigration. Examining the distribution of open-ended responses to the immigration prompt in Experiments 2 and 3 that could be classified, 27% took a restrictive stance on immigration (e.g., deporting undocumented immigrants, making the immigration system stricter), 51% took a more inclusive position (e.g., granting citizenship to undocumented immigrants), 8% responses took a neutral position, and 13% produced unclassifiable output.[19] Therefore, while a majority of responses described immigration in more positive terms, just over one-quarter of responses were either negative or supported a restrictive option.

Discussion

Across three pre-registered experiments, I uncovered evidence that core issues elicited through an open-ended question figured more prominently in candidate choice than immigration. In Experiment 1, I devised a dynamic tailored conjoint experiment that used issues provided by participants to create a respondent-specific candidate choice task. More than demographics or positions on a variety of immigration issues, positions on core issues had the largest observable AMCEs. Moreover, when focusing on the trade-off between immigration and the core issue, candidates who supported core issues were selected often, even when those candidates took restrictionist positions on immigration. In Experiments 2 and 3, I tailored the conjoint design to account for personally meaningful positions on immigration as well. I replicated the results from Experiment 1, finding that the AMCE for the core issue also exceeded immigration in the conjoint task. I supplemented these results with closed-ended questions of issue importance, finding that participants rated the core issue as more important than the tailored immigration position. Finally, I found considerable heterogeneity in the topics mentioned by Latino participants, and observed evidence that immigration ranked below other issues such as abortion and economic policy.

Future research could expand upon these findings by examining additional sources of heterogeneity across political contexts. Despite efforts to raise the salience of the issue, the study was conducted during a time of relatively low national salience. Future studies could examine how the national issue

[19]I used the ChatGPT API (i.e., gpt-3.5-turbo) endpoint to classify the open-ended text into four categories: positive, negative, neutral, or unclassifiable.

environment alters the effects described here or if other methods might more effectively prime the issue in voter's minds. Second, assessing the impact of core issues in "real-world" campaign settings may require triangulating across different research designs, including observational approaches that leverage shocks in issue salience (Bordalo et al. 2020). Though partisanship is stable and departures are rare (Green et al. 2004), studies suggest that personally salient issues may drive changes in partisan identification (Carsey and Layman 2006) and voting patterns (Mummolo et al. 2021). Examining these processes within the Latino community offers a valuable opportunity to study the determinants of partisan stability and change (Hopkins et al. 2023).

A crucial unresolved question is why some subgroups depart from the overall trend. For example, a possible explanation for why some subgroups show a smaller gap between immigration and core issues is mere proximity to the issue. Foreign-born Latinos and those who are more recent immigrants may have stronger feelings of linked fate with other immigrants and feel a sense of obligation to support pro-immigrant policies. The smaller gap between immigration and core issues might reflect a genuine increase in issue prioritization, possibly due to the personal stakes involved (Sears and Funk 1991). Alternatively, indicators of acculturation such as time spent in the US, generational status, and language acquisition may create opportunities for political learning and more differentiation in issue priorities. Indeed, Branton (2007b) finds that acculturation predicts variation in issue positions and argues that the potential for coalition-building among Latinos is highest among those who are "less acculturated." This creates a paradox, given that these subgroups also tend to participate in politics less (Qi and Gonzalez 2022).[20] Investigating whether self-interest or political learning has a more decisive impact on how Latinos weigh personal issue priorities against collective issue priorities is an important direction for future research.

When Latino voters are forced to make a decision between a core issue (e.g., abortion, healthcare, crime) and immigration, the former appears to be a more powerful determinant of vote choice. These smaller effects for immigration relative to core issues speak to potential shifts in voting patterns among Latinos during a turbulent presidency (Fraga et al. 2023). In addition to these political implications,

[20]In Experiment 3, where data on voter registration was provided by the vendor, the core issue-immigration gap is large and positive among registered Latino voters (10pp difference in marginal means; $p < .001$).

the paper contributes to discussions about the potential effectiveness of campaign technologies such as micro-targeting (Tappin et al. 2023) and raises questions about whether representation is harmed when the policy space for a group with heterogeneous preferences is collapsed onto a single dimension.[21] As scholars, pundits, and members of the public grapple with variation in the voting patterns of communities of color, moving beyond single issue approaches and recognizing the complexity of Latino political preferences will be essential for understanding their electoral behavior and influence.

[21]Though this is beyond the scope of the article, embracing tailored approaches to messaging could widen differences between better-resourced and resource-constrained campaigns. It could also potentially enable candidates to obscure their positions on immigration policy, particularly when campaigning to Latino voters. Examining how shifts in campaign technology benefit or harm representation among Latinos is an important question that could be explored in future research.

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Appendix

A Tailored Conjoint Details

In Experiment 1, participants were presented with twelve conjoint factors, including a tailored factor based on the respondent's core issue. The factors that were held fixed and seen by all participants were sex, race/ethnicity, partisanship, age, religion, career, veteran status, deportation policy, border wall policy, social spending, and asylum populations. Factor names and levels for the core issue were produced by OpenAI's completions API. GPT-3 was prompted to generate a topic and three positions: a supporting position, an opposing position, and an intermediate position between the two. In Experiments 2 and 3, participants were presented with the same fixed factors as in Experiment 1, except the four factors related to immigration were replaced with a single personalized immigration factor. In Experiments 1 and 2, open-ended questions and conjoint tasks were presented in the beginning of the study after the consent form. In Experiment 3, open-ended questions, along with other questions about misinformation, were presented to participants. Participants then completed an unrelated social network listing task before viewing the treatment message and beginning the conjoint task. In all of the experiments, participants were asked to select the candidate that they were most likely to vote for based on the presented profiles. All factors were randomly assigned without constraints and the order of factors was randomized. Participants completed 10 trials. Participants were provided with the following instructions: "In the following section of the survey, you will be asked to indicate your likelihood of supporting a candidate from a pair of hypothetical candidates running for office. Suppose this is an election in your Congressional district. Please pay attention to different aspects of the candidates such as their background and political positions, as you would in a normal election." A demonstration of GPT-3's ability to assist in the creation of tailored conjoints can be found here: http://www.tailoredexperiments.com.

TABLE A1 . Conjoint Factors and Levels in Experiment 1

Conjoint Factors	Factor Levels
Sex	Male, Female
Race/Ethnicity	Non-Hispanic White, Black, Asian American, Hispanic/Latino
Partisanship	Democrat, Republican
Age	35-75
Religion	Baptist, Catholic, Episcopalian, Jewish, Methodist, Presbyterian
Career	Agriculture, Business, Education, Journalism, Law, Medicine, State representative
Veteran Status	Served, Did Not Serve
Deportation Policy	Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants, Identify and deport violent and drug-offending undocumented immigrants, Grant legal status to non-felon undocumented immigrants, Grant legal status to all undocumented immigrants
Border Wall Policy	Build a physical wall along the entire southern border, Build a physical wall along parts of the southern border, Increase technology and surveillance along the entire southern border, Increase technology and surveillance along parts of the southern border, No wall or additional technology
Social Spending	Increase spending on social programs that assist immigrants, Keep spending on social programs that assist immigrants the same, Decrease spending on social programs that assist immigrants
Asylum Populations	Allow economic refugees to obtain asylum, Allow political refugees to obtain asylum, Allow political and economic refugees to obtain asylum, Substantially decrease asylum approvals
Core Issue	Support, oppose, intermediate position

Note: Factors and factor levels for Experiment 1. The same factors and factor levels were used in Experiment 2, except for the immigration-related factors. These factors were replaced with a tailored immigration factor that produced a supporting, opposing, and neutral position.

TABLE A2 . Examples of User-Submitted Text and GPT-3 Output

Open-Ended Text	Topic	Supporting	Opposing	Neutral
Healthcare is one of the most important issues that I'm worried about	Healthcare	The government should provide universal healthcare coverage	The government should not provide universal healthcare coverage	Private insurance companies should be allowed to offer healthcare, but the government should still regulate it
I care mostly about finances and the government helping those in need of money	Government Financial Assistance	The government should provide more financial assistance to those in need.	The government should not provide any additional financial assistance.	The government should maintain its current level of financial assistance.
I think we should reduce the amount of plastic products being made to help the environment	Reduction of Plastic Products	The production of plastic products should be reduced to help the environment	The production of plastic products should not be reduced to help the environment	The production of plastic products should remain unchanged
Global warming is affecting our world and I think we need to take care of it better before we are more doomed	Global Warming	Governments should take more aggressive action to reduce global warming	Governments should take a less aggressive approach to reducing global warming	The government should focus on mitigating the effects of global warming
Showing IDs for voting! I think its very important for ensuring that a true vote gets counted	Voter Identification Requirements	Voters should be required to show identification when voting	Voters should not be required to show identification when voting	The implementation of voter identification requirements should vary by state
I believe that women have the right to choose if they want to terminate a pregnancy.	Abortion Rights	Women should have the right to choose if they want to terminate a pregnancy.	Women should not have the right to choose if they want to terminate a pregnancy.	The legality of abortion should be determined by local governments.

Note: GPT-3 was instructed to provide a supporting, opposing, and neutral position. The output for the neutral category is not neutral in a political sense, but use of the term "neutral" was effective in producing an intermediate position between the supporting and opposing position.

B Demographics

TABLE B1 . Demographics

Age	Education	Income	Gender	Democrat	Mexican Heritage	Experiment
39.28	3.53	5.30	0.40	0.43	0.46	1
42.48	3.53	5.41	0.41	0.45	0.45	2
44.10	3.14	5.54	0.40	0.42	0.51	3

Note: Cell entries are sample means for each covariate.

C Does GPT-3 return personally meaningful issues?

One concern with the use of GPT-3 is that it may return personalized conjoints that do not match the open-ended responses. This ought to work against detecting an effect because if a factor does not align with the issue the participant wrote down, presumably this factor should matter less in the conjoint task. In Experiment 2, I ask participants directly if they believe the topic selected by GPT-3 matches their open-ended text. 5% of participants reported that the topic did *not* match their open-ended text, compared to 18% who responded with "somewhat" and 76% who chose "yes." When combined with data on importance and other studies showing superior performance of open-ended responses (Velez and Liu 2023), GPT-3 appears to be recovering relevant and meaningful topics.

D Addressing the Surprise Effect (Experiment 1)

Assuming that part of the reason for the larger AMCE is a "surprise effect" from seeing one's issue in the conjoint, we can assess if weaker AMCEs are recovered when more popular issues are featured. The logic here is that whereas a participant might be surprised to see an uncommon issue in the conjoint (e.g., nuclear power), they should be less surprised to see more commonly discussed issues such as abortion, gun control, taxes, environmental issues, healthcare, Covid-19, and policing. Therefore, if the larger AMCEs are indeed driven by surprise effects, we would expect to see smaller AMCEs for more commonly discussed issues. However, our results do not support this hypothesis. We find that even when more popular issues are featured in the conjoint, the AMCEs remain relatively large and stable. This suggests that the larger AMCEs for less commonly discussed issues are not solely due to surprise effects.

FIGURE D1 . AMCEs in Subset of Respondents Who Mentioned Popular Issues

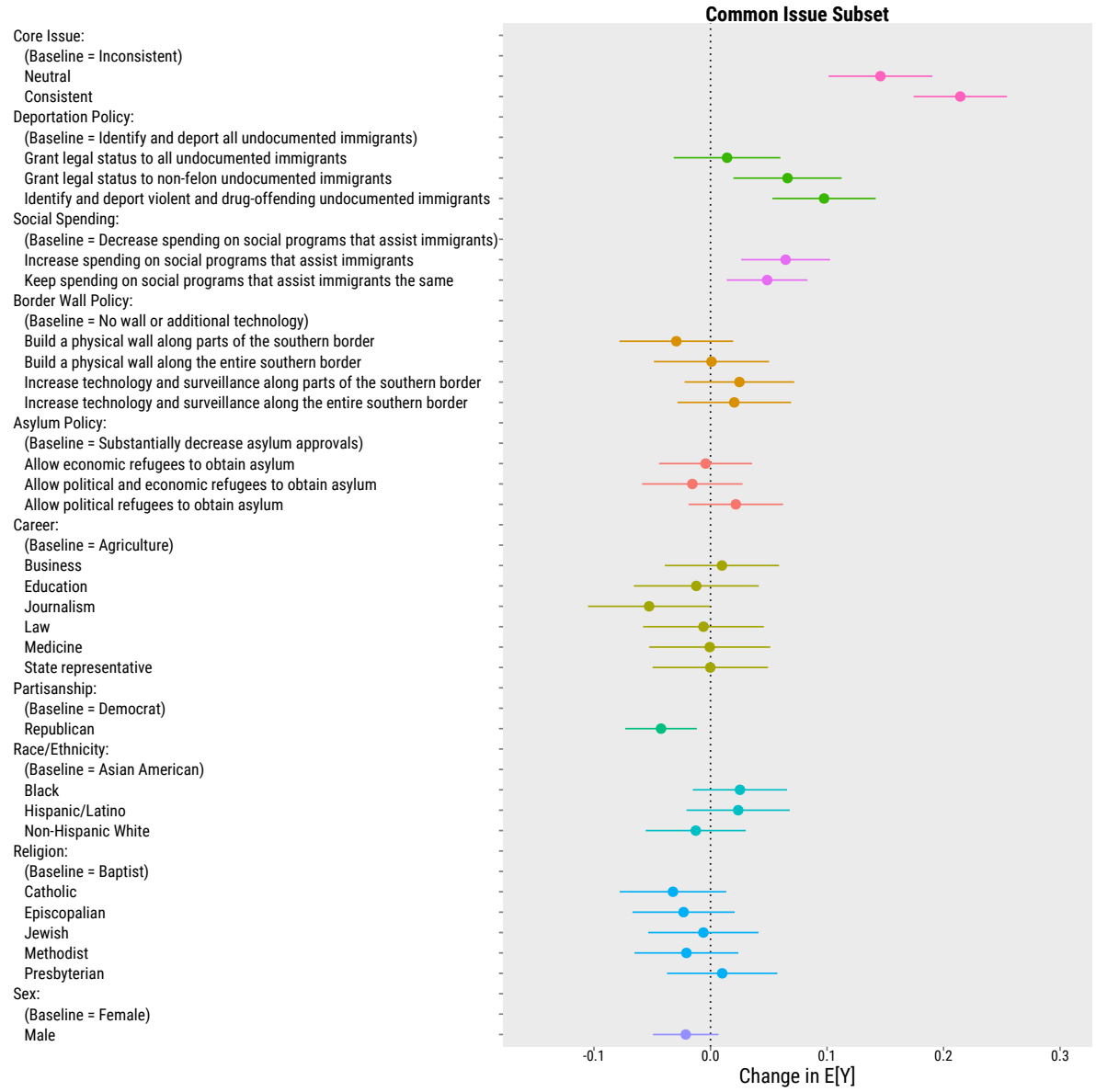


TABLE D1 . Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE)

Attribute	Level	Estimate	Std. Err	z value	Pr(>|z|)
Asylum Policy	Allow economic refugees to obtain asylum	-0.00417	0.02034	-0.20489	0.83766
Asylum Policy	Allow political and economic refugees	-0.01561	0.02200	-0.70930	0.47814
Asylum Policy	Allow political refugees to obtain asylum	0.02170	0.02069	1.04907	0.29415
Border Wall Policy	Build a wall along parts of the border	-0.02934	0.02489	-1.17861	0.23855
Border Wall Policy	Build a wall along the entire border	0.00085	0.02522	0.03374	0.97309
Border Wall Policy	Increase technology along parts of the border	0.02480	0.02400	1.03328	0.30148
Border Wall Policy	Increase technology along the entire border	0.02039	0.02488	0.81940	0.41256
Career	Business	0.00979	0.02500	0.39155	0.69539
Career	Education	-0.01221	0.02737	-0.44610	0.65552
Career	Journalism	-0.05270	0.02674	-1.97056	0.04878*
Career	Law	-0.00605	0.02645	-0.22854	0.81923
Career	Medicine	-0.00067	0.02649	-0.02526	0.97984
Career	State representative	-0.00018	0.02525	-0.00722	0.99424
Deportation Policy	Grant status to all undocumented	0.01418	0.02335	0.60741	0.54358
Deportation Policy	Grant status to non-felon undocumented	0.06608	0.02372	2.78652	0.00533**
Deportation Policy	Deport violent and drug-offenders	0.09748	0.02261	4.31188	0.00002***
Partisanship	Republican	-0.04248	0.01570	-2.70671	0.00680**
Race/Ethnicity	Black	0.02526	0.02065	1.22286	0.22138
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic/Latino	0.02373	0.02261	1.04977	0.29382
Race/Ethnicity	Non-Hispanic White	-0.01266	0.02188	-0.57851	0.56292
Religion	Catholic	-0.03223	0.02331	-1.38266	0.16677
Religion	Episcopalian	-0.02312	0.02239	-1.03288	0.30166
Religion	Jewish	-0.00613	0.02413	-0.25397	0.79952
Religion	Methodist	-0.02067	0.02272	-0.90982	0.36292
Religion	Presbyterian	0.01003	0.02414	0.41544	0.67782
Sex	Male	-0.02125	0.01435	-1.48140	0.13850
Social Spending	Increase spending on social programs	0.06447	0.01946	3.31245	0.00092***
Social Spending	Keep spending the same	0.04863	0.01767	2.75191	0.00592**
Tailored	Neutral	0.14584	0.02272	6.41934	0.00000***
Tailored	Consistent	0.21436	0.02044	10.48606	0.00000***

Note: Number of Obs. = 4665; Number of Respondents = 242; Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05

AMCE Baseline Levels:

Attribute	Level
Asylum Policy	Substantially decrease asylum approvals
Border Wall Policy	No wall or additional technology
Career	Agriculture
Deportation Policy	Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants
Partisanship	Democrat
Race/Ethnicity	Asian American
Religion	Baptist
Sex	Female
Social Spending	Decrease spending on social programs
Tailored	Inconsistent

E Implausibility Effects (Experiment 1)

To assess the effects of implausible conjoints that take inconsistent positions on immigration and therefore mute AMCEs for immigration policies, I analyze AMCEs after excluding two subsets of profiles. The first subset flags profiles that (1) support building a physical wall along the entire southern border while also supporting granting legal status to all undocumented immigrants or (2) support a policy of having no wall or additional technology while also supporting identifying and deporting all undocumented immigrants. These profiles are flagged as implausible since the two policy positions are unlikely to be paired in the real world. The second subset flags a wider range of unrealistic profiles, including those that combine extreme positions on border wall and deportation policies, as well as those that involve substantial increases or decreases in social spending on programs that assist immigrants and asylum policy positions that are at odds with one another. These profiles are also flagged as implausible since they present policy positions that are unlikely to be proposed by the same politician. Removing these observations yields similar AMCEs to the full sample. It is worth noting that the issue of implausible immigration positions is mitigated in Experiment 2, given that respondents only see positions related to their preferred immigration policy.

FIGURE E1 . Removing Implausible Profiles (Set 1)

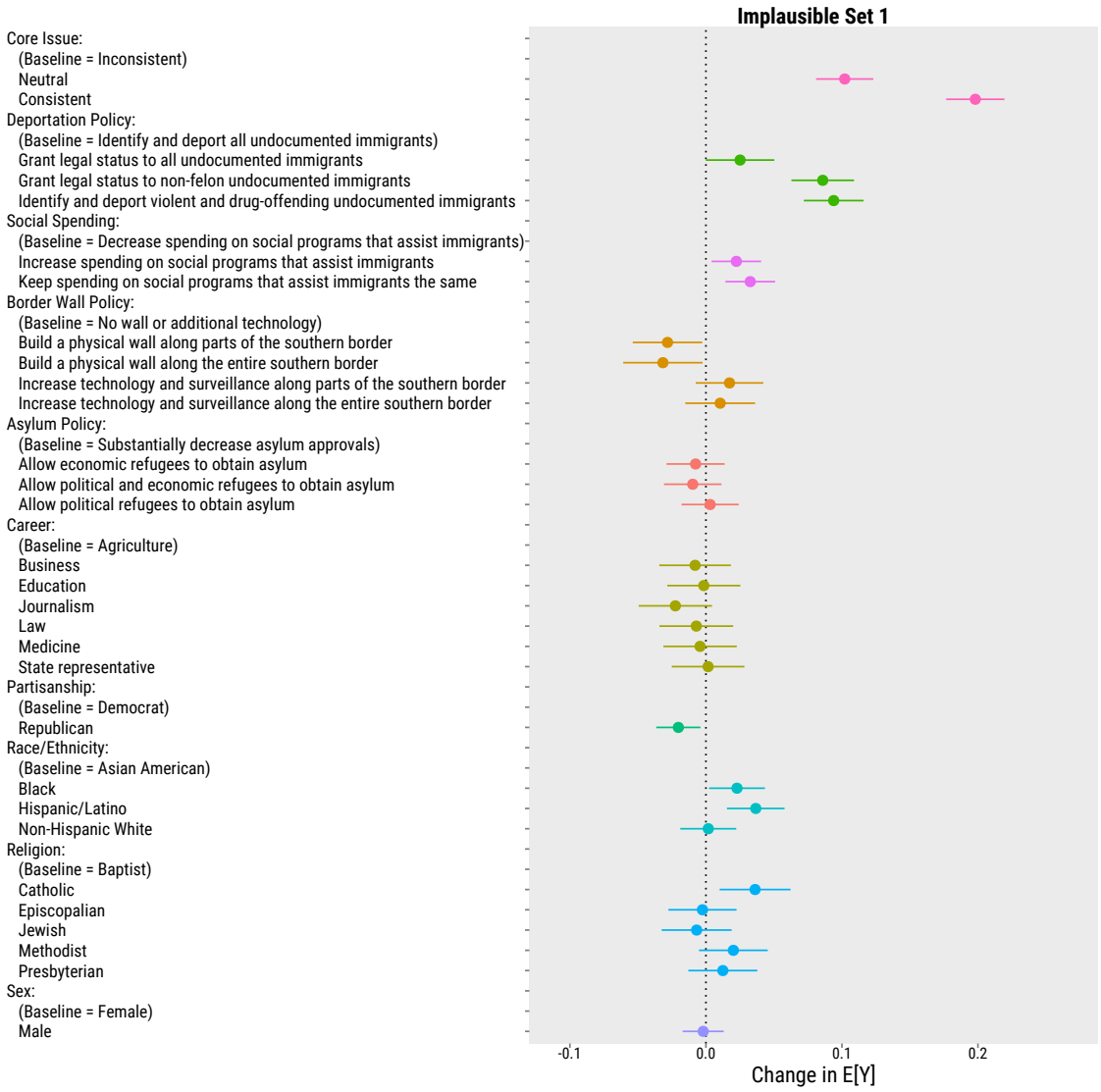


TABLE E1 . Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE) - Implausible Set 1

Attribute	Level	Estimate	Std. Err
Asylum Policy	Allow economic refugees to obtain asylum	-0.0076053	0.0109068
Asylum Policy	Allow political and economic refugees to obtain asylum	-0.0097130	0.0107815
Asylum Policy	Allow political refugees to obtain asylum	0.0030978	0.0107217
Border Wall Policy	Build a physical wall along parts of the southern border	-0.0282371	0.0130363
Border Wall Policy	Build a physical wall along the entire southern border	-0.0316338	0.0148842
Border Wall Policy	Increase technology and surveillance along parts of the southern border	0.0173578	0.0126728
Border Wall Policy	Increase technology and surveillance along the entire southern border	0.0104797	0.0131036
Career	Business	-0.0079619	0.0134264
Career	Education	-0.0015673	0.0137151
Career	Journalism	-0.0224638	0.0137474
Career	Law	-0.0070496	0.0138310
Career	Medicine	-0.0043000	0.0137523
Career	State representative	0.0016096	0.0136357
Deportation Policy	Grant legal status to all undocumented immigrants	0.0251206	0.0128368
Deportation Policy	Grant legal status to non-felon undocumented immigrants	0.0858803	0.0117392
Deportation Policy	Identify and deport violent and drug-offending undocumented immigrants	0.0939326	0.0112043
Partisanship	Republican	-0.0202685	0.0082970
Race/Ethnicity	Black	0.0228394	0.0104891
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic/Latino	0.0366488	0.0108066
Race/Ethnicity	Non-Hispanic White	0.0017344	0.0104957
Religion	Catholic	0.0361449	0.0132916
Religion	Episcopalian	-0.0025450	0.0127840
Religion	Jewish	-0.0068166	0.0131241
Religion	Methodist	0.0201795	0.0128831
Religion	Presbyterian	0.0124416	0.0129329
Sex	Male	-0.0020062	0.0076983
Social Spending	Increase spending on social programs that assist immigrants	0.0223777	0.0092685
Social Spending	Keep spending on social programs that assist immigrants the same	0.0325975	0.0093373
Tailored	Neutral	0.1020514	0.0107356
Tailored	Consistent	0.1980794	0.0109292

Note: Number of Obs. = 17824; Number of Respondents = 1017; Signif. codes: 0 ’***’ 0.001 ’**’ 0.01 ’*’ 0.05

TABLE E2 . AMCE Baseline Levels

Attribute	Level
Asylum Policy	Substantially decrease asylum approvals
Border Wall Policy	No wall or additional technology
Career	Agriculture
Deportation Policy	Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants
Partisanship	Democrat
Race/Ethnicity	Asian American
Religion	Baptist
Sex	Female
Social Spending	Decrease spending on social programs that assist immigrants
Tailored	Inconsistent

FIGURE E2 . Removing Implausible Profiles (Set 2)

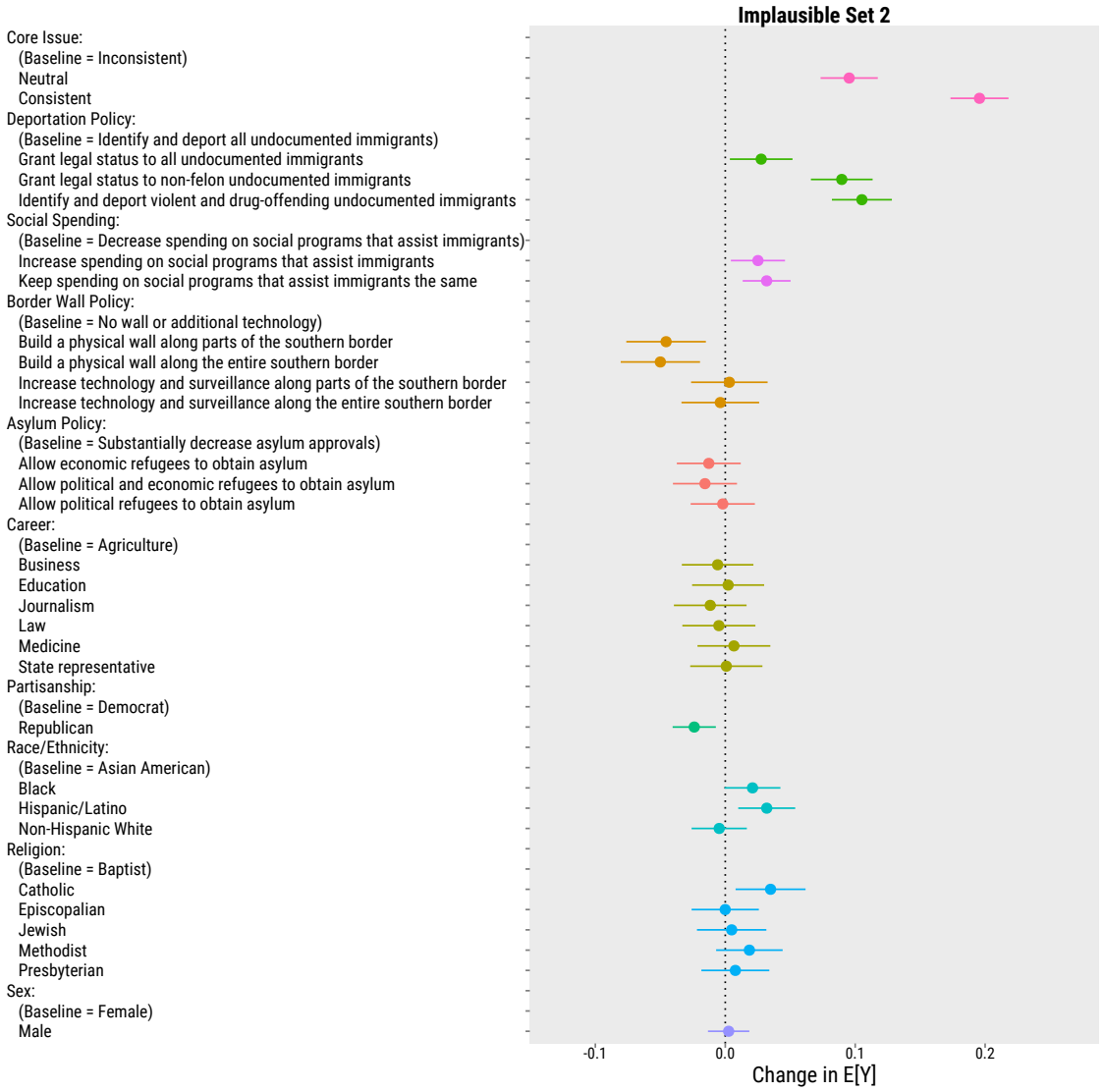


TABLE E3 . Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE) - Implausible Set 2

Attribute	Level	Estimate	Std. Err
Asylum Policy	Allow economic refugees to obtain asylum	-0.00533965	0.0103728
Asylum Policy	Allow political and economic refugees to obtain asylum	-0.00812397	0.0103108
Asylum Policy	Allow political refugees to obtain asylum	0.00361939	0.0102282
Border Wall Policy	Build a physical wall along parts of the southern border	-0.02369483	0.0119815
Border Wall Policy	Build a physical wall along the entire southern border	-0.02723031	0.0124418
Border Wall Policy	Increase technology and surveillance along parts of the southern border	0.02187014	0.0113079
Border Wall Policy	Increase technology and surveillance along the entire southern border	0.01502638	0.0119170
Career	Business	-0.00241857	0.0128031
Career	Education	0.00565892	0.0130491
Career	Journalism	-0.01744890	0.0131068
Career	Law	-0.00200383	0.0132097
Career	Medicine	0.00242174	0.0130227
Career	State representative	0.00280628	0.0129975
Deportation Policy	Grant legal status to all undocumented immigrants	0.02845511	0.0110924
Deportation Policy	Grant legal status to non-felon undocumented immigrants	0.08944711	0.0112661
Deportation Policy	Identify and deport violent and drug-offending undocumented immigrants	0.09745759	0.0105147
Partisanship	Republican	-0.01836196	0.0080073
Race/Ethnicity	Black	0.01593856	0.0100122
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic/Latino	0.03037355	0.0102452
Race/Ethnicity	Non-Hispanic White	0.00144869	0.0100296
Religion	Catholic	0.03233561	0.0123216
Religion	Episcopalian	-0.00493352	0.0120688
Religion	Jewish	-0.00488557	0.0123019
Religion	Methodist	0.01495045	0.0118858
Religion	Presbyterian	0.01131643	0.0122329
Sex	Male	-0.00014984	0.0072428
Social Spending	Increase spending on social programs that assist immigrants	0.02252868	0.0089385
Social Spending	Keep spending on social programs that assist immigrants the same	0.02882181	0.0089340
Tailored	Neutral	0.10417600	0.0102288
Tailored	Consistent	0.19762930	0.0105393

Note: Number of Obs. = 19853;Number of Respondents = 1018; Signif. codes: 0 ’***’ 0.001 ’**’ 0.01 ’*’ 0.05

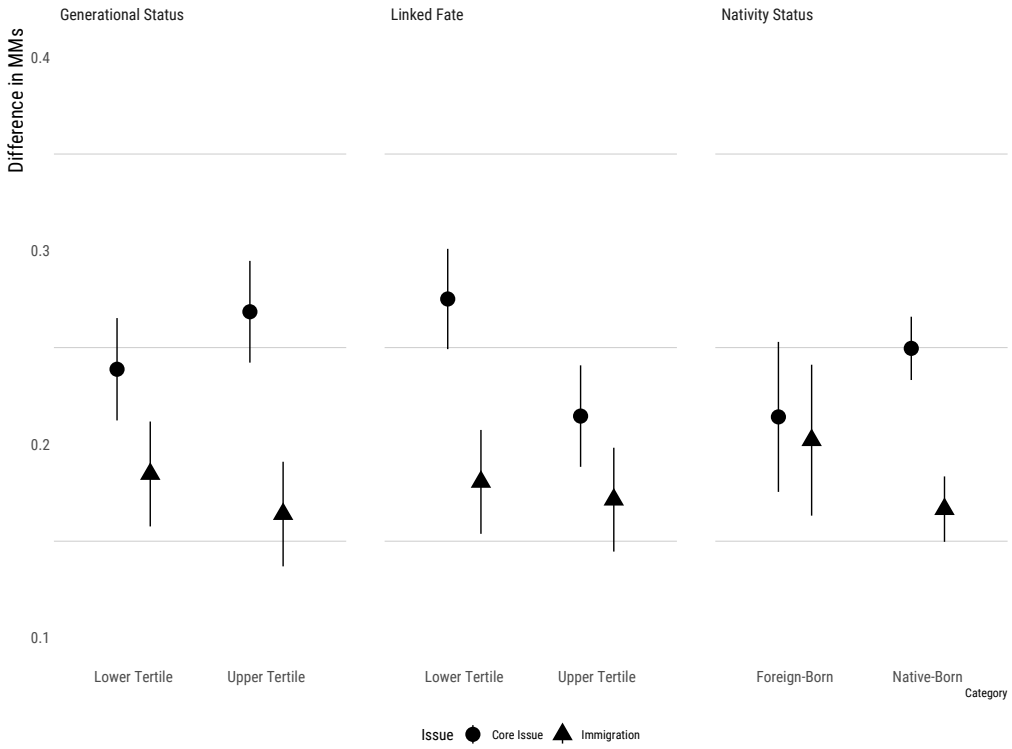
TABLE E4 . AMCE Baseline Levels

Attribute	Level
Asylum Policy	Substantially decrease asylum approvals
Border Wall Policy	No wall or additional technology
Career	Agriculture
Deportation Policy	Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants
Partisanship	Democrat
Race/Ethnicity	Asian American
Religion	Baptist
Sex	Female
Social Spending	Decrease spending on social programs that assist immigrants
Tailored	Inconsistent

F Main Subgroup Analysis (Experiment 2)

The results from Experiment 2 largely replicate Experiment 1. First, the difference in marginal means (Δ MM) tends to be larger for the core issue relative to immigration across all subgroups. Second, proximity to immigration and group consciousness tends to close the gap between the issues, such that Δ MM between the core issue and immigration decreases in magnitude among more recent generations, foreign-born Latinos, and those scoring higher on linked fate. Finally, in no case do I detect a significant reversal, such that Δ MM is larger for immigration.

FIGURE F1 . Subgroup Analysis (Experiment 2)



Note: Point estimates reflect marginal means. 84% confidence intervals are presented to facilitate visual comparison of statistically significant group differences in marginal means. Low and high reflect lower and upper tertiles for linked fate and generational status. Low and high values for nativity status reflect US born and non-US born respondents. See Table M8 for model estimates.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2024-zm53r **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3243-0975 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA.

G Subgroup Analysis: Immigration Core Issue (Exp. 2 and 3)

As mentioned in the pre-registration for Experiments 2 and 3, I also estimate effects among those who mentioned immigration as a core issue. In these cases, participants were asked to report a non-immigration related core issue before proceeding to the conjoint task. Across the two studies, the marginal means for the core issue are comparable for the core issue regardless of whether they mention immigration. The marginal means for the immigration factor increase within this group. In Experiment 2, the marginal mean for the consistent candidate increases from .56 to .66, which is 5pp greater than the marginal mean for the core issue-aligned candidate. This difference, however, is not statistically significant. Moving to Experiment 3, differences in marginal means are comparable across the different factor levels. While individuals who identify immigration as their core issue might assign it greater importance, the difference is not markedly significant when compared to other central issues, and the evidence varies across different studies.

TABLE G1 . Experiment 2: Marginal means among participants who mention and do not mention immigration as their core issue

Feature	Level	Marginal Mean	SE	Mention Immigration
Core Issue	Inconsistent	0.35	0.01	FALSE
Core Issue	Neutral	0.52	0.01	FALSE
Core Issue	Consistent	0.61	0.01	FALSE
Immigration	Inconsistent	0.40	0.01	FALSE
Immigration	Neutral	0.53	0.01	FALSE
Immigration	Consistent	0.56	0.01	FALSE
Core Issue	Inconsistent	0.42	0.03	TRUE
Core Issue	Neutral	0.46	0.03	TRUE
Core Issue	Consistent	0.61	0.03	TRUE
Immigration	Inconsistent	0.33	0.03	TRUE
Immigration	Neutral	0.50	0.03	TRUE
Immigration	Consistent	0.66	0.03	TRUE

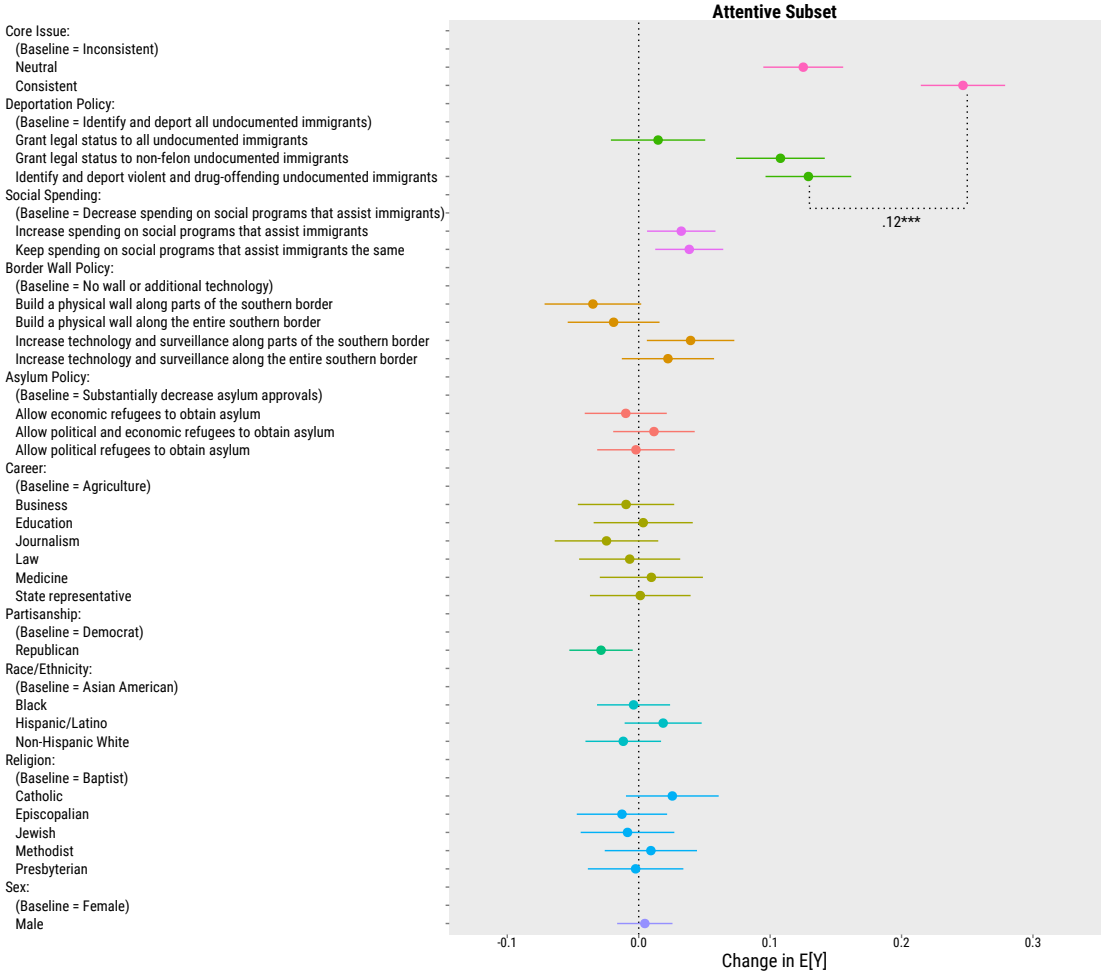
TABLE G2 . Experiment 3: Marginal means among participants who mention and do not mention immigration as their core issue (Experiment 3)

Feature	Level	Marginal Mean	SE	Mention Immigration
Core Issue	Consistent	0.58	0.01	FALSE
Core Issue	Inconsistent	0.41	0.01	FALSE
Core Issue	Neutral	0.51	0.01	FALSE
Immigration	Consistent	0.56	0.01	FALSE
Immigration	Inconsistent	0.41	0.01	FALSE
Immigration	Neutral	0.53	0.01	FALSE
Core Issue	Consistent	0.55	0.01	TRUE
Core Issue	Inconsistent	0.41	0.01	TRUE
Core Issue	Neutral	0.53	0.01	TRUE
Immigration	Consistent	0.56	0.02	TRUE
Immigration	Inconsistent	0.38	0.01	TRUE
Immigration	Neutral	0.56	0.01	TRUE

H Attentiveness Findings

When conducting online surveys, attentiveness is a pressing concern that tends to bias effects toward zero due to treatment noncompliance. That is, attentiveness is unlikely to produce *larger* effects, and instead increases the likelihood of Type 2 errors. Still, I assess this assumption by evaluating if effects differ among a subset of respondents who passed a mock vignette check, a validated attentiveness measure that assesses the extent to which respondents pay attention to a pre-treatment vignette. Subsetting on this measure, I find that differences in AMCEs tend to be slightly larger than reported AMCEs, as expected.

FIGURE H1. Subgroup Analysis (Experiment 1)



https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2024-zm53r **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3243-0975

FIGURE H2. Subgroup Analysis (Experiment 2)

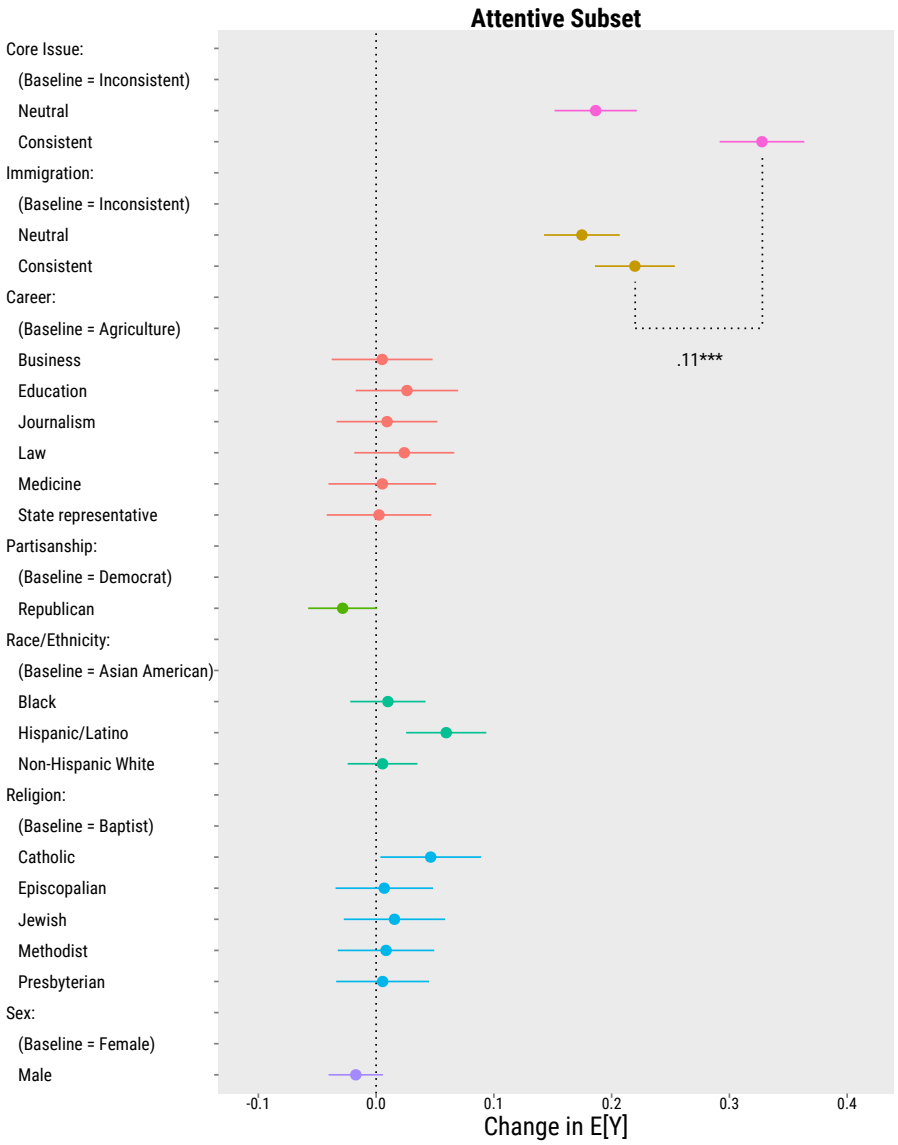


TABLE H1. Experiment 1: Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE) among Attentive Subset

Attribute	Level	Estimate	SE
Asylum Policy	Allow economic refugees to obtain asylum	-0.01	0.02
Asylum Policy	Allow political and economic refugees to obtain asylum	0.01	0.02
Asylum Policy	Allow political refugees to obtain asylum	-0.00	0.02
Border Wall Policy	Build a wall along parts of the southern border	-0.03	0.02
Border Wall Policy	Build a wall along the entire southern border	-0.02	0.02
Career	Business	-0.01	0.02
Career	Education	0.00	0.02
Career	Journalism	-0.02	0.02
Deportation Policy	Grant legal status to all undocumented immigrants	0.01	0.02
Deportation Policy	Grant legal status to non-felon undocumented immigrants	0.11	0.02
Partisanship	Republican	-0.03	0.01
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic/Latino	0.02	0.01
Religion	Catholic	0.03	0.02
Sex	Male	0.00	0.01
Social Spending	Increase spending on social programs that assist immigrants	0.03	0.01
Tailored	Neutral	0.13	0.02
Tailored	Consistent	0.25	0.02

Note: Note: The number of observations is 8973, and the number of respondents is 455. Significance codes: '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05

TABLE H2. Experiment 2: Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE)

Attribute	Level	Estimate	Std. Err
Career	Business	0.01	0.02
Career	Education	0.03	0.02
Career	Journalism	0.01	0.02
Career	Law	0.02	0.02
Career	Medicine	0.01	0.02
Career	State representative	0.00	0.02
Immigration	Neutral	0.17	0.02
Immigration	Consistent	0.22	0.02
Partisanship	Republican	-0.03	0.01
Race/Ethnicity	Black	0.01	0.02
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic/Latino	0.06	0.02
Race/Ethnicity	Non-Hispanic White	0.01	0.02
Religion	Catholic	0.05	0.02
Religion	Episcopalian	0.01	0.02
Religion	Jewish	0.02	0.02
Religion	Methodist	0.01	0.02
Religion	Presbyterian	0.01	0.02
Sex	Male	-0.02	0.01
Tailored	Neutral	0.19	0.02
Tailored	Consistent	0.33	0.02

Note: Number of Observations = 6404, Number of Respondents = 326. Significance codes: '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05

I Pre-Analysis Plans

FIGURE I1 . Pre-Analysis Plan (Study 1)

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1) Have any data been collected for this study already?
No, no data have been collected for this study yet.

2) What's the main question being asked or hypothesis being tested in this study?
H1: Focusing on Latinos, do deeply held (non-immigration) issue positions receive a greater weight in candidate choice when compared to immigration?
H2: Are these effects conditional on factors such as linked fate or immigrant status?

3) Describe the key dependent variable(s) specifying how they will be measured.
Candidate choice in a "bespoke conjoint setting" (Ryan and Ehlinger n.d.)

4) How many and which conditions will participants be assigned to?
A candidate choice conjoint that varies candidate positions/characteristics. Conjoint factors include positions on a deeply-held issue, immigration policy positions, age, sex, race/ethnicity, partisanship, career, veteran status, religion. Positions on the deeply-held issue will be taken from an open-ended question asking respondents to report a personally important issue. This information will be sent to the GPT-3 completion API to produce different positions on that issue on the fly. Every conjoint will include a factor defined by the issue mentioned in the open-ended question and positive, neutral, and negative candidate positions related to this issue. Candidate positions/characteristics will be randomly determined for the fixed factor levels. For the tailored issue, each candidate will be randomly assigned to a positive, negative, or neutral position related to the personally relevant issue.

5) Specify exactly which analyses you will conduct to examine the main question/hypothesis.
I plan to estimate AMCEs for the aforementioned factors. I will assess the size of effects for the tailored issue vs. the immigration policy positions (and other candidate characteristics). I will also assess the difference in R-squared between models including/excluding the tailored issue and immigration policy positions to assess the degree to which these factors improve predictions of candidate choice. I also plan to conduct conditional analyses based on tertiles of linked fate, different immigration generation categories, and foreign-born versus native-born status for Latinos.

6) Describe exactly how outliers will be defined and handled, and your precise rule(s) for excluding observations.
The tailored conjoint design depends on legible open-ended input, given that this is used to populate the conjoint table. I will use a pre-trained classification model to filter out respondents who provide gibberish or nonsense responses. All of this will happen before the conjoint task.

7) How many observations will be collected or what will determine sample size? No need to justify decision, but be precise about exactly how the number will be determined.
1,000 Latinos

8) Anything else you would like to pre-register? (e.g., secondary analyses, variables collected for exploratory purposes, unusual analyses planned?)
I also plan to use the open-ended responses to assess how often immigration is mentioned relative to other issues. I also plan to assess if effects are conditional on the participant and candidate having the same partisanship and whether it only emerges in cases where both candidates are of the same party. I also plan to conduct exploratory analyses that assess conditional relationships between the different factors.

FIGURE I2 . Pre-Analysis Plan (Study 2)

[redacted]

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1) Have any data been collected for this study already?
No, no data have been collected for this study yet.

2) What's the main question being asked or hypothesis being tested in this study?
H1: Focusing on Latinos, do deeply held (non-immigration) issue positions receive a greater weight in candidate choice when compared to immigration?
H2: Are these effects conditional on factors such as linked fate or immigrant status?

3) Describe the key dependent variable(s) specifying how they will be measured.
Candidate choice in a "bespoke conjoint setting" (Ryan and Ehlinger n.d.)

4) How many and which conditions will participants be assigned to?
A candidate choice conjoint that varies candidate positions/characteristics. Conjoint factors include tailored immigration and non-immigration issue positions, age, sex, race/ethnicity, partisanship, career, veteran status, and religion. Following Experiment 1, tailored issue positions will be taken from open-ended questions asking respondents about their policy preferences. This information will be sent to the GPT-3 completion API to produce different positions on the non-immigration and immigration-related topic on the fly (i.e., positive, neutral, and negative). Candidate positions/characteristics will be randomly determined with no constraints.

5) Specify exactly which analyses you will conduct to examine the main question/hypothesis.
I plan to estimate AMCEs for the aforementioned factors. I will assess the size of effects for the tailored issue vs. tailored immigration positions (and other candidate characteristics). I will also assess the difference in R-squared between models including/excluding the tailored issue and tailored immigration policy positions to assess the degree to which these factors improve predictions of candidate choice. I also plan to conduct conditional analyses based on tertiles of linked fate, different immigration generation categories, and foreign-born versus native-born status for Latinos. I also plan to present marginal means for immigration and non-immigration issue positions via an interaction. Finally, I will compare the two sets of issues on traditional measures of issue importance using an ordinal item (i.e., "How important is the following issue/policy?") and binary outcome (i.e., "which issue/policy do you consider to be most important?").

6) Describe exactly how outliers will be defined and handled, and your precise rule(s) for excluding observations.
The tailored conjoint design depends on legible open-ended input, given that this is used to populate the conjoint table. I will use a pre-trained classification model to filter out respondents who provide gibberish or nonsense responses. All of this will happen before the conjoint task.

7) How many observations will be collected or what will determine sample size? No need to justify decision, but be precise about exactly how the number will be determined.
700 Latinos

8) Anything else you would like to pre-register? (e.g., secondary analyses, variables collected for exploratory purposes, unusual analyses planned?)
I will report descriptive statistics regarding whether the GPT-3 topics reflect the content of the open-ended responses. I also plan to plot the distribution of issues mentioned in the open-ended task. To ensure that experimental factors are not repeated, those who write about immigration in the "core issue" task will be asked to write about a non-immigration issue. This will be flagged in Qualtrics. If there are enough respondents who mention immigration as their core issue (n>50), I will assess conditional effects for this group.

FIGURE I3 . Pre-Analysis Plan (Study 3)

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1) Have any data been collected for this study already?
No, no data have been collected for this study yet.

2) What's the main question being asked or hypothesis being tested in this study?
H1: Focusing on Latinos, do deeply held (non-immigration) issue positions receive a greater weight in candidate choice when compared to immigration?
H2: Are these effects conditional on factors such as Spanish language selection, feelings of social obligation to other Latinos, and primes that highlight immigration as an important group issue?

3) Describe the key dependent variable(s) specifying how they will be measured.
Candidate choice in a "bespoke conjoint setting" (Ryan and Ehlinger 2023) as in Studies 1 and 2.

4) How many and which conditions will participants be assigned to?
A candidate choice conjoint that varies candidate positions/characteristics. Conjoint factors include tailored immigration and non-immigration issue positions, age, sex, race/ethnicity, partisanship, career, veteran status, and religion. Following Experiment 1, tailored issue positions will be taken from open-ended questions asking respondents about their policy preferences. This information will be sent to the GPT-3 completion API to produce different positions on the non-immigration and immigration-related topic on the fly (i.e., positive, neutral, and negative). Candidate positions/characteristics will be randomly determined with no constraints.

A pre-conjoint priming experiment that randomly assigns participants to either (1) a message emphasizing cohesion for the topic of immigration or (2) a set of five placebo messages unrelated to immigration that have a similar social norm message.

5) Specify exactly which analyses you will conduct to examine the main question/hypothesis.
I plan to estimate AMCEs for the aforementioned factors. I will assess the size of effects for the tailored issue vs. tailored immigration positions (and other candidate characteristics). I will also assess the difference in R-squared between models including/excluding the tailored issue and tailored immigration policy positions to assess the degree to which these factors improve predictions of candidate choice. I also plan to conduct conditional analyses that estimate AMCEs within different survey language groups (English vs. Spanish), lower and upper tertiles of a panethnic social pressure scale, and the social pressure treatment (Treatment vs. Placebo). I also plan to present marginal means for immigration and non-immigration issue positions via an interaction.

6) Describe exactly how outliers will be defined and handled, and your precise rule(s) for excluding observations.
The tailored conjoint design depends on legible open-ended input, given that this is used to populate the conjoint table. As in Studies 1 and 2, I will use a pre-trained classification model to filter out respondents who provide gibberish or nonsense responses.

7) How many observations will be collected or what will determine sample size? No need to justify decision, but be precise about exactly how the number will be determined.
1,500 Latinos

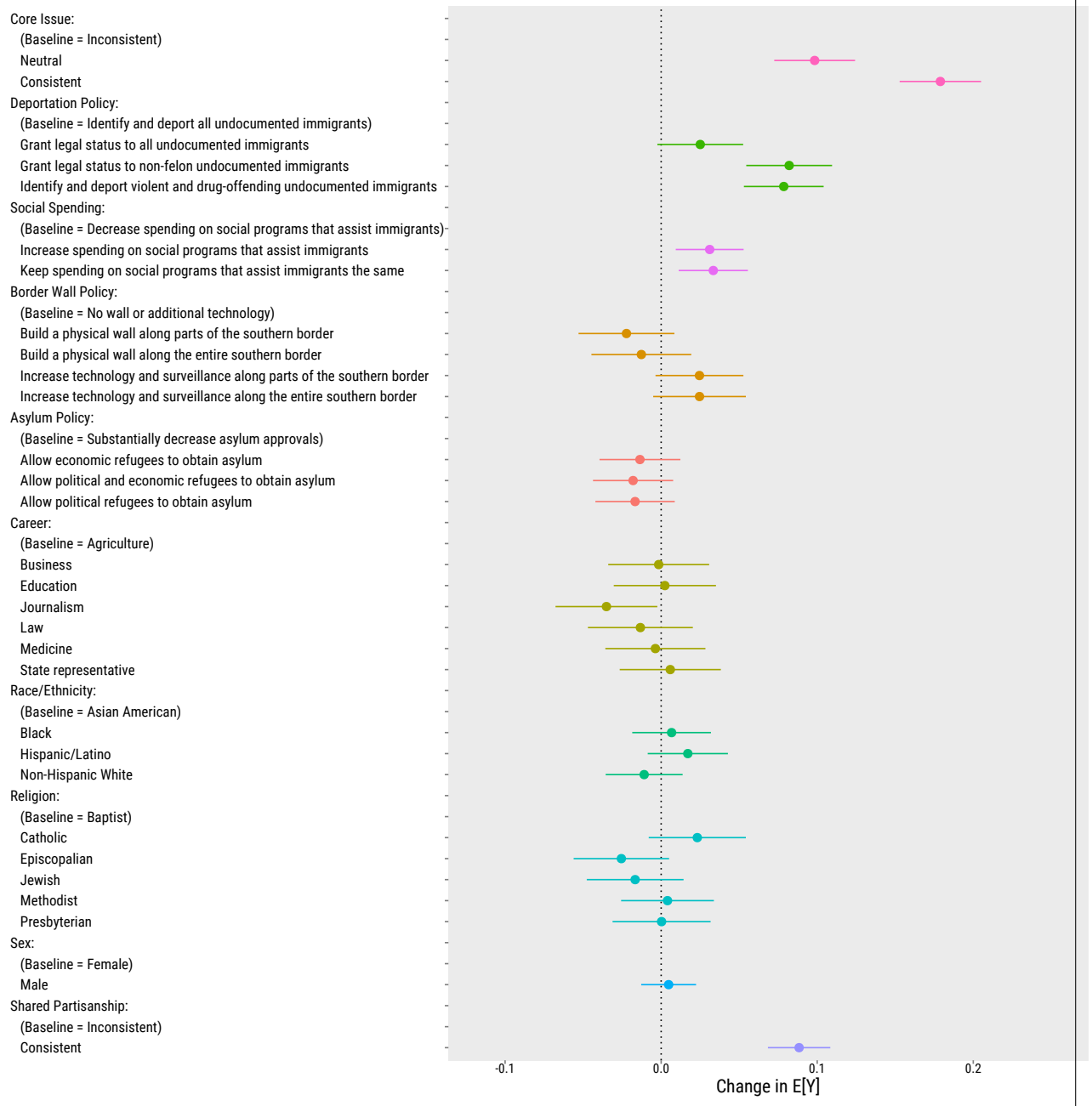
8) Anything else you would like to pre-register? (e.g., secondary analyses, variables collected for exploratory purposes, unusual analyses planned?)
I plan to plot the distribution of issues mentioned in the open-ended task. To ensure that experimental factors are not repeated, those who write about immigration in the "core issue" task will be asked to write about a non-immigration issue. This will be flagged by YouGov. If there are enough respondents who mention immigration as their core issue (n>50), I will assess conditional effects for this group.

########## BUNDLE ##########
This pre-registration is part of a set of similar and/or related pre-registrations sharing at least one author. When one of these pre-registrations was shared by an author, the rest were shared automatically. Links to other pre-registration(s), appear below:

J AMCEs with Recoded Partisanship

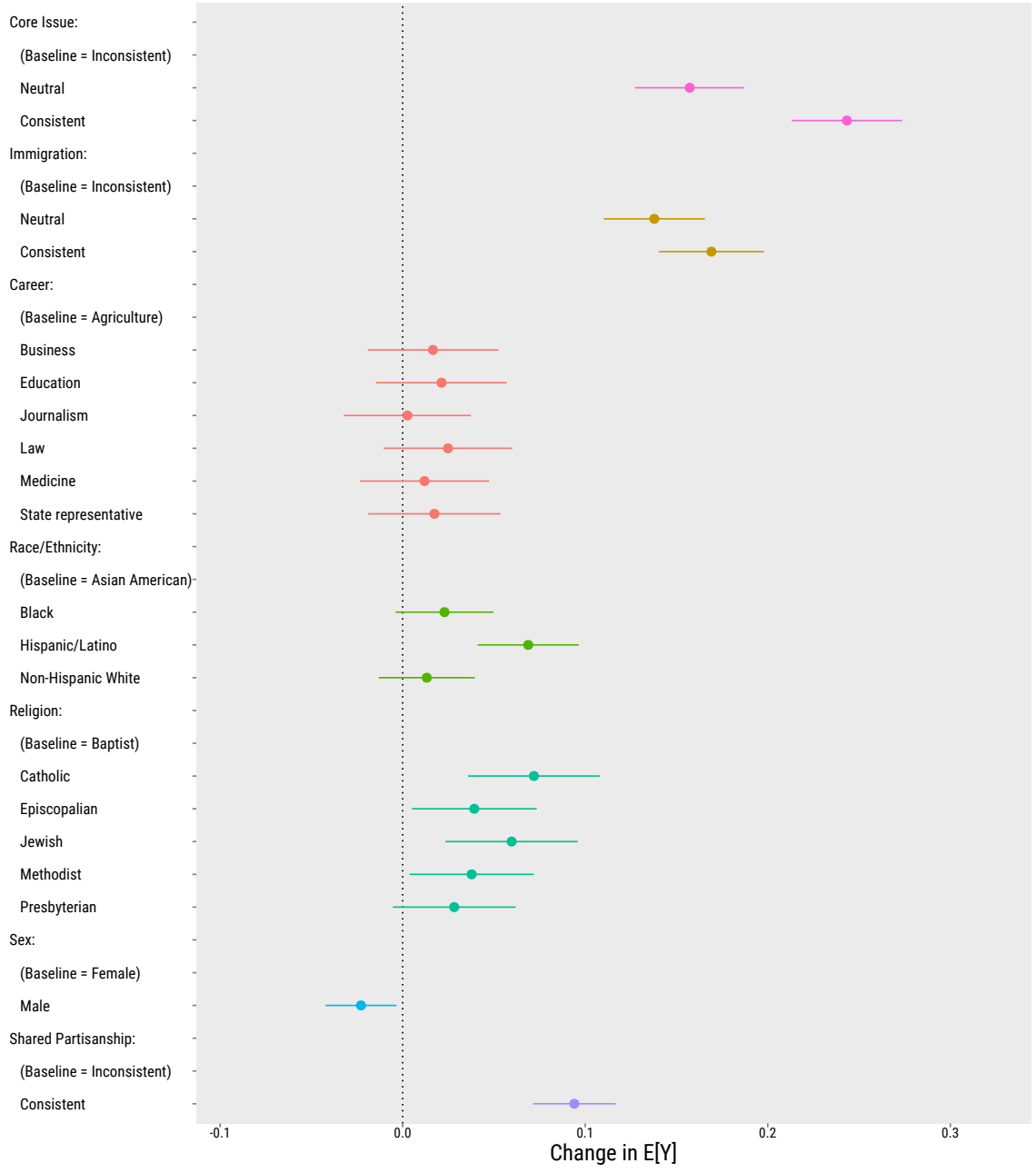
Our main analyses preserve the coding of the partisanship variable as it was presented on the conjoint to maximize sample size and precision, given that pure independents are 20% of our sample in Experiments 1 and 2. However, failing to recode partisanship with respect to each participant can dilute AMCEs for the partisanship feature if there is substantial heterogeneity in partisan preferences within the sample. Figures 17 and 18 present AMCEs with partisanship coded with respect to each participant. Specifically, a candidate is coded as "consistent" if they share a party with the respondent, and inconsistent otherwise. As shown in Figures J1 and J2 , this produces an AMCE that is on par with immigration in Experiment 1 and race in Experiment 2, but does not surpass the core issue.

FIGURE J1 . AMCE Estimates (Experiment 1)



Note: AMCE estimates and corresponding 95% confidence intervals with partisanship recoded to reflect the effect of co-partisanship.

FIGURE J2 . AMCE Estimates (Experiment 2)



Note: AMCE estimates and corresponding 95% confidence intervals with partisanship recoded to reflect the effect of co-partisanship.

K Experimental Stimuli

- Treatment (Pr = .5): As Latinos, we share a rich cultural heritage and value supporting immigration. When one of us chooses to depart from the group norm and take a stance against inclusive immigration policies, it can be painful for family members and others in the community. As we navigate the complex political world, it's crucial that we remain aware of the implications our actions have on those around us. Together, we can uphold our rich cultural heritage and continue to champion the dreams and aspirations of our community.
- Placebo (Pr = .5; 1 of 5 randomly selected):
  - As people who appreciate language, we know that words have the power to shape our thoughts, beliefs, and actions. When we choose to support diverse voices and promote inclusive storytelling, we can expand our understanding of the world and create a more empathetic and connected society. By reading widely and encouraging others to do the same, we can open ourselves up to new perspectives and forge meaningful connections with people from all walks of life.
  - As members of the global community, we have a shared responsibility to protect our environment and preserve our planet for future generations. When we choose to prioritize short-term gains over long-term sustainability, it can have devastating consequences for our ecosystems and the delicate balance of life on Earth. By working together and making small changes in our daily lives, we can create a more sustainable future for all.
  - As people impacted by mental health, we understand the importance of ending the stigma surrounding mental illness and promoting access to quality care. When individuals perpetuate harmful stereotypes or fail to prioritize mental health resources, it can have a ripple effect throughout our communities and prevent those in need from seeking help. Through education, advocacy, and support, we can create a more compassionate and equitable world for those living with mental illness.
  - As members of the workforce, we recognize the importance of creating a workplace culture that prioritizes diversity, equity, and inclusion. When companies fail to provide equal opportunities or perpetuate discriminatory practices, it can have a devastating impact on employees and the broader community. By holding companies accountable and advocating for change, we can create a more just and equitable society.
  - As members of society, we understand the importance of providing our youth with a safe and nurturing environment in which to grow and thrive. When we fail to prioritize the needs of children or perpetuate harmful stereotypes, it can have lasting consequences on their development and well-being. By investing in the next generation and advocating for policies that support families, we can create a brighter future for all. Whether through mentorship, volunteering, or advocating for change, we can all play a role in ensuring that every child has the opportunity to reach their full potential.

L Feelings of Group Obligation Scale

The "Feelings of Group Obligation" scale consists of three items measuring the respondents' perceived social connections and obligations to the Latino community. Each item was measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). The specific items are as follows:

- I often feel that I must conform to the beliefs of other Latinos.
- I believe it is important to adhere to the political priorities of the Latino community, even if they conflict with my personal beliefs.
- I feel pressure from my family and friends to follow the political beliefs of the larger Latino community.

These items were designed to tap into different aspects of social obligation within the Latino community, including conformity to group beliefs, the importance of adhering to group political priorities even when they conflict with personal beliefs, and the perceived pressure from family and friends to align with the political beliefs of the larger Latino community. The scale is moderately reliable (α = .66).[22]

[22]Three additional items were presented to participants. However, these items did not scale well with the rest of the items, and thus, were removed. These items were the following: "I feel comfortable making decisions that are not in line with common views within the Latino community," "I am free to express my own opinions and ideas without being judged by other members of my community," "I feel accepted by the Latino community even when my choices don't align with community expectations."

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TABLE M1 . Experiment 1: AMCE Estimates

Attribute	Level	Estimate	Std. Err
Asylum Policy	Allow economic refugees to obtain asylum	-0.00534	0.01037
Asylum Policy	Allow political and economic refugees to obtain asylum	-0.00812	0.01031
Asylum Policy	Allow political refugees to obtain asylum	0.00362	0.01023
Border Wall Policy	Build a physical wall along parts of the southern border	-0.02369	0.01198
Border Wall Policy	Build a physical wall along the entire southern border	-0.02723	0.01244
Border Wall Policy	Increase technology and surveillance along parts of the southern border	0.02187	0.01131
Border Wall Policy	Increase technology and surveillance along the entire southern border	0.01503	0.01192
Career	Business	-0.00242	0.01280
Career	Education	0.00566	0.01305
Career	Journalism	-0.01745	0.01311
Career	Law	-0.00200	0.01321
Career	Medicine	0.00242	0.01302
Career	State representative	0.00281	0.01300
Deportation Policy	Grant legal status to all undocumented immigrants	0.02846	0.01109
Deportation Policy	Grant legal status to non-felon undocumented immigrants	0.08945	0.01127
Deportation Policy	Identify and deport violent and drug-offending undocumented immigrants	0.09746	0.01051
Partisanship	Republican	-0.01836	0.00801
Race/Ethnicity	Black	0.01594	0.01001
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic/Latino	0.03037	0.01025
Race/Ethnicity	Non-Hispanic White	0.00145	0.01003
Religion	Catholic	0.03234	0.01232
Religion	Episcopalian	-0.00493	0.01207
Religion	Jewish	-0.00489	0.01230
Religion	Methodist	0.01495	0.01189
Religion	Presbyterian	0.01132	0.01223
Sex	Male	-0.00015	0.00724
Social Spending	Increase spending on social programs that assist immigrants	0.02253	0.00894
Social Spending	Keep spending on social programs that assist immigrants the same	0.02882	0.00893
Tailored	Neutral	0.10418	0.01023
Tailored	Consistent	0.19763	0.01054

Note: Number of Observations: 19853; Number of Respondents: 1018; Significance Codes: $***$ 0.001, $**$ 0.01, $*$ 0.05

TABLE M2 . Baseline Levels

Attribute	Level
Asylum Policy	Substantially decrease asylum approvals
Border Wall Policy	No wall or additional technology
Career	Agriculture
Deportation Policy	Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants
Partisanship	Democrat
Race/Ethnicity	Asian American
Religion	Baptist
Sex	Female
Social Spending	Decrease spending on social programs that assist immigrants
Tailored	Inconsistent

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2024-zm53r **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3243-0975 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA.

TABLE M3 . Experiment 1: Marginal Means and Standard Errors

Core Issue × Immigration	Estimate	Std. Error
Inconsistent × Grant legal status to all undocumented immigrants	0.367	0.0125
Neutral × Grant legal status to all undocumented immigrants	0.469	0.0125
Consistent × Grant legal status to all undocumented immigrants	0.575	0.0121
Inconsistent × Grant legal status to non-felon undocumented immigrants	0.425	0.0131
Neutral × Grant legal status to non-felon undocumented immigrants	0.541	0.0123
Consistent × Grant legal status to non-felon undocumented immigrants	0.630	0.0120
Inconsistent × Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants	0.350	0.0123
Neutral × Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants	0.446	0.0127
Consistent × Identify and deport all undocumented immigrants	0.531	0.0125
Inconsistent × Identify and deport violent and drug-offending undocumented immigrants	0.437	0.0124
Neutral × Identify and deport violent and drug-offending undocumented immigrants	0.546	0.0122
Consistent × Identify and deport violent and drug-offending undocumented immigrants	0.638	0.0111

TABLE M4 . Experiment 1: Tertile-Based Differences in Marginal Means and Standard Errors

Tertile	Issue	Δ Estimates	SE	Moderator
Lower Tertile	Core Issue	0.2450	0.0148	Linked Fate
Lower Tertile	Immigration	0.0931	0.0176	Linked Fate
Upper Tertile	Core Issue	0.1575	0.0149	Linked Fate
Upper Tertile	Immigration	0.0843	0.0177	Linked Fate
Lower Tertile	Core Issue	0.1982	0.0150	Generational Status
Lower Tertile	Immigration	0.1126	0.0177	Generational Status
Upper Tertile	Core Issue	0.2297	0.0148	Generational Status
Upper Tertile	Immigration	0.0885	0.0177	Generational Status
Native-Born	Core Issue	0.2058	0.0090	Nativity Status
Native-Born	Immigration	0.0846	0.0107	Nativity Status
Foreign-Born	Core Issue	0.1408	0.0279	Nativity Status
Foreign-Born	Immigration	0.1389	0.0317	Nativity Status

TABLE M5 . Experiment 2: AMCE Estimates

Attribute	Level	Estimate	Std. Err
Career	Business	-0.0030519	0.0161327
Career	Education	0.0189607	0.0161226
Career	Journalism	-0.0022724	0.0159061
Career	Law	0.0264544	0.0154533
Career	Medicine	0.0078176	0.0162339
Career	State representative	0.0074433	0.0161639
Immigration	Neutral	0.1387893	0.0124064
Immigration	Consistent	0.1729369	0.0127628
Partisanship	Republican	-0.0275220	0.0105119
Race/Ethnicity	Black	0.0141056	0.0124002
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic/Latino	0.0583889	0.0125162
Race/Ethnicity	Non-Hispanic White	0.0049260	0.0123998
Religion	Catholic	0.0404615	0.0161221
Religion	Episcopalian	0.0114213	0.0159881
Religion	Jewish	0.0208589	0.0163463
Religion	Methodist	0.0047939	0.0154611
Religion	Presbyterian	0.0020523	0.0154301
Sex	Male	-0.0239311	0.0089194
Tailored	Neutral	0.1621591	0.0131499
Tailored	Consistent	0.2467649	0.0137691

Note: Number of Obs. = 12334; Number of Respondents = 619; Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05

TABLE M6 . Baseline Levels

Attribute	Level
Career	Agriculture
Immigration	Inconsistent
Partisanship	Democrat
Race/Ethnicity	Asian American
Religion	Baptist
Sex	Female
Tailored	Inconsistent

TABLE M7 . Experiment 2: Marginal Means and Standard Errors

Core Issue	Immigration	Estimate	Std. Error
Inconsistent	Inconsistent	0.267	0.0137
Neutral	Inconsistent	0.408	0.0153
Consistent	Inconsistent	0.483	0.0149
Inconsistent	Neutral	0.385	0.0140
Neutral	Neutral	0.552	0.0142
Consistent	Neutral	0.635	0.0128
Inconsistent	Consistent	0.410	0.0138
Neutral	Consistent	0.584	0.0133
Consistent	Consistent	0.679	0.0123

TABLE M8 . Experiment 2: Tertile-Based Differences and Moderators

Tertile	Issue	Δ Estimates	SE	Moderator
Lower Tertile	Core Issue	0.2751217	0.0184356	Linked Fate
Lower Tertile	Immigration	0.1806381	0.0190965	Linked Fate
Upper Tertile	Core Issue	0.2146255	0.0186568	Linked Fate
Upper Tertile	Immigration	0.1714551	0.0190873	Linked Fate
Lower Tertile	Core Issue	0.2388220	0.0188197	Generational Status
Lower Tertile	Immigration	0.1847202	0.0192858	Generational Status
Upper Tertile	Core Issue	0.2685265	0.0187045	Generational Status
Upper Tertile	Immigration	0.1640160	0.0192321	Generational Status
Native-Born	Core Issue	0.2496127	0.0116369	Nativity Status
Native-Born	Immigration	0.1665641	0.0120246	Nativity Status
Foreign-Born	Core Issue	0.2142118	0.0275755	Nativity Status
Foreign-Born	Immigration	0.2021808	0.0277458	Nativity Status

TABLE M9 . Experiment 3: Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE)

Attribute	Level	Estimate	Std. Err
Career	Business	0.0092706	0.0153522
Career	Education	-0.0012696	0.0155930
Career	Journalism	0.0082537	0.0150275
Career	Law	0.0076744	0.0154811
Career	Medicine	-0.0131852	0.0151991
Career	State representative	0.0277360	0.0148613
Immigration	Consistent	0.1607306	0.0129043
Immigration	Neutral	0.1351867	0.0118424
Partisanship	Republican	-0.0460967	0.0104290
Race/Ethnicity	Black	0.0054604	0.0118559
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic/Latino	0.0400117	0.0120570
Race/Ethnicity	Non-Hispanic White	0.0114996	0.0119930
Religion	Catholic	0.0142893	0.0129894
Religion	Episcopalian	-0.0044215	0.0136019
Religion	Jewish	0.0368841	0.0305374
Religion	Methodist	-0.0206451	0.0133165
Religion	Presbyterian	0.0023632	0.0131794
Sex	Male	-0.0041952	0.0082248
Tailored	Consistent	0.2176137	0.0145012
Tailored	Neutral	0.1310905	0.0123483

Note: Number of Obs. = 13744; Number of Respondents = 769; Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05

TABLE M10 . Experiment 3: AMCE Baseline Levels

Attribute	Level
Career	Agriculture
Immigration	Inconsistent
Partisanship	Democrat
Race/Ethnicity	Asian American
Religion	Baptist
Sex	Female
Tailored	Inconsistent

TABLE M11 . Experiment 3: Marginal Means and Standard Errors

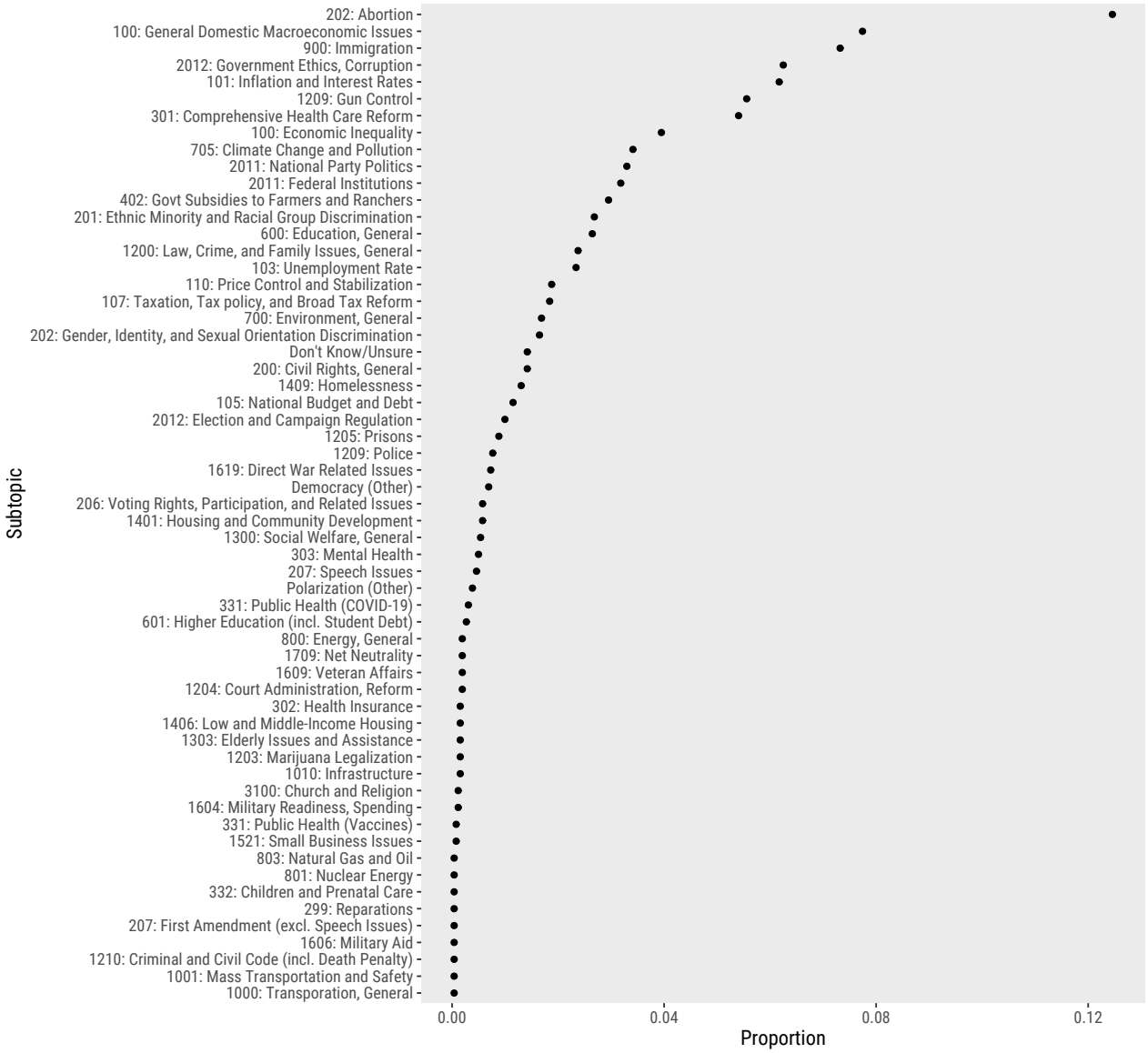
Core Issue	Immigration	Estimate	Std. Error
Consistent	Consistent	0.663	0.0136
Inconsistent	Consistent	0.449	0.0132
Neutral	Consistent	0.572	0.0134
Consistent	Inconsistent	0.497	0.0144
Inconsistent	Inconsistent	0.290	0.0128
Neutral	Inconsistent	0.415	0.0132
Consistent	Neutral	0.642	0.0131
Inconsistent	Neutral	0.413	0.0136
Neutral	Neutral	0.554	0.0128

TABLE M12 . Experiment 3: Tertile-Based Differences and Moderators

Tertile	Issue	Δ Estimates	SE	Moderator
Tertile 1	Tailored	0.292	0.0173	Social Pressure
Tertile 1	Immigration	0.198	0.0177	Social Pressure
Tertile 3	Tailored	0.163	0.0178	Social Pressure
Tertile 3	Immigration	0.124	0.0180	Social Pressure
English	Tailored	0.249	0.0108	Language
English	Immigration	0.164	0.0111	Language
Spanish	Tailored	0.0197	0.0290	Language
Spanish	Immigration	0.144	0.0292	Language
Treatment	Tailored	0.224	0.0146	Priming Treatment
Treatment	Immigration	0.149	0.0149	Priming Treatment
Placebo	Tailored	0.215	0.0142	Priming Treatment
Placebo	Immigration	0.173	0.0144	Priming Treatment
Immigrant Citizen	Tailored	0.183	0.0286	Immigration
Immigrant Citizen	Immigration	0.188	0.0285	Immigration
Immigrant Non-Citizen	Tailored	0.0599	0.0305	Immigration
Immigrant Non-Citizen	Immigration	0.197	0.0309	Immigration
1st generation	Tailored	0.230	0.0174	Immigration
1st generation	Immigration	0.187	0.0175	Immigration
2nd generation	Tailored	0.278	0.0230	Immigration
2nd generation	Immigration	0.121	0.0241	Immigration
3rd generation	Tailored	0.256	0.0212	Immigration
3rd generation	Immigration	0.124	0.0220	Immigration

N Open-Ended Issue Estimates

FIGURE M1 . Variation in Comparative Agendas Project Subtopics



Note: Distribution of core issues across all three experiments. Note: Sub-topics are based on the Comparative Agendas Project and are constructed using keywords associated with each issue domain.

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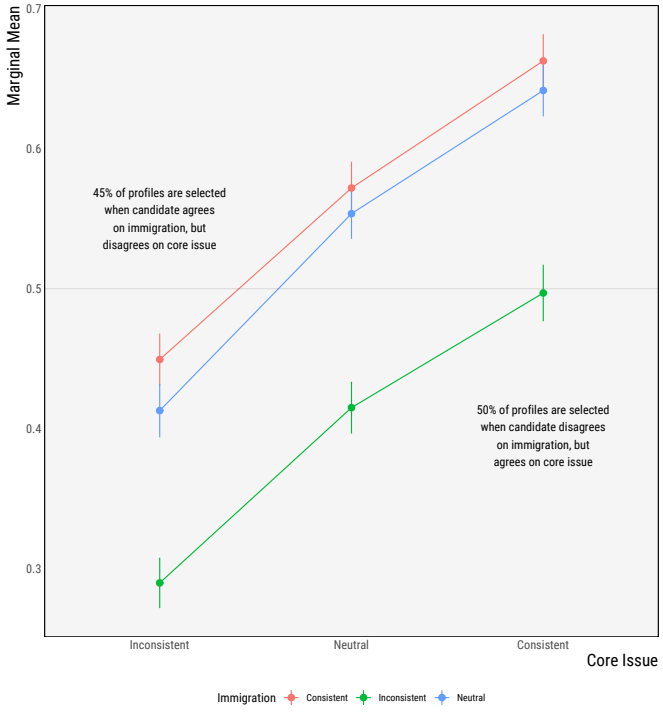
O Marginal Mean Analysis (Experiment 3)

FIGURE M2 . Marginal Mean Estimates (Experiment 3)



Note: Marginal mean estimates and corresponding 95% confidence intervals. Candidate profiles that take inconsistent positions on core issues, but support the respondent-consistent immigration position are selected 45% of the time, whereas candidate profiles that take the inconsistent immigration position, but take a concordant position on the core issue are selected 50% of the time. See Table M11 for model estimates.

P Ethical Statement

The author declares that the human subjects research in this article was reviewed by the pertinent university Human Subjects Committee. The author affirms that this article adheres to the APSA's Principles and Guidance on Human Subjects Research. Participants provided informed consent and were compensated by the panel providers (CloudResearch and YouGov).