

# How Partisan Is Local Election Administration?\*

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## Abstract

In the US, elections are often administered by directly elected local officials who run as members of a political party. Do these officials use their office to give their party an edge in elections? Using a newly collected dataset of nearly 5,900 clerk elections and a close-election regression discontinuity design, we compare counties that narrowly elect a Democratic election administrator to those that narrowly elect a Republican. We find that Democrats and Republicans serving similar counties oversee similar election results, turnout, and policies. We also find that reelection is not the primary moderating force on clerks. Instead, clerks may be more likely to agree on election policies across parties than the general public and selecting different election policies may only modestly affect outcomes. While we cannot rule out small effects that nevertheless tip close elections, our results imply that clerks are not typically and noticeably advantaging their preferred party.

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# 1 Introduction

In much of the US, elections are administered by partisan elected officials rather than nonpartisan bureaucrats. This sets the US apart from other advanced democracies and leads many experts to worry that election officials give their party an unfair advantage. When asked whether election officials are impartial, election experts rank the US 31 out of 34 OECD countries, ahead of only Hungary, Mexico, and Turkey (Norris and Grömping 2019). Many members of the public are also worried about the American way of conducting elections. According to an ABC News/Ipsos Poll conducted in 2021, 41% of Americans are not so confident or not at all confident in the integrity of the US electoral system.<sup>1</sup> In the fall of 2020, Gallup reported that the share of people who were confident in the accuracy of US elections matched its all-time low.<sup>2</sup> These widespread concerns about election integrity raise an important empirical question: do partisan local election officials give their party an advantage?

Political economy models of elections disagree about whether directly elected local election officials will advantage their party. Candidates improve their chances of winning by moderating their positions and may therefore run elections in a similar manner (Downs 1957). On the other hand, relatively extreme candidates are more likely to run than moderates, and this may result in distinctive Republican and Democratic ways of administering elections that tend to benefit co-partisans (Besley and Coate 1997; Osborne and Slivinski 1996). These standard models may do a poor job of describing the considerations of people running to be a local election official. For example, the set of qualified candidates may hold relatively similar views on election administration regardless of their party affiliation (Manion et al. 2021).

Sorting out how much of an advantage clerks give their party is difficult.<sup>3</sup> Democratic clerks are more likely to serve in places where more people vote for Democrats for president, congress, and statewide office. But this does not tell us that clerks advantage their party; voters may simply prefer candidates from the same party in many offices.

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<sup>1</sup><https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/americans-faith-election-integrity-drops-poll/story?id=82069876>

<sup>2</sup><https://news.gallup.com/poll/321665/confidence-accuracy-election-matches-record-low.aspx>

<sup>3</sup>We occasionally refer to local election officials as clerks. This is shorthand. In some counties, the local election official is called the election administrator or supervisor of elections. In other counties, the elections officer has additional duties unrelated to elections and their title is auditor, finance officer, probate judge, or tax assessor.

We overcome this problem using a close-election regression discontinuity design, comparing Democratic presidential vote share in counties that narrowly elected a Democratic clerk to those that narrowly elected a Republican clerk. To do so, we build an original dataset of 5,880 clerk elections in 1,313 counties from 1998 to 2018. This design ensures that the differences we observe arise from who administers elections rather than pre-existing differences in citizen preferences or local conditions. Using election results as our primary outcome also allows us to evaluate the downstream consequences of partisan clerk elections rather than infer them from changes in policy.

Despite widespread concern that partisan election officials advantage their party, we find that Democratic and Republican election officials oversee similar election outcomes when serving comparable counties. We estimate that partisan clerks give their party an advantage of less than 0.4 percentage points. Three of our four estimators can detect an effect of 1.7 percentage points or smaller with 80% power. While our year-by-year estimates are noisier, we find that the effect on Democratic vote share is similar in every presidential election from 2004 to 2020. We also present evidence that even clerks who win in a landslide do not noticeably advantage their party and that Democratic and Republican clerks from comparable counties oversee elections with similar turnout and policies.

Why do elected clerks not advantage their party? We provide evidence that clerks do not advantage their party even when they no longer face reelection, suggesting that the reelection incentive is not the primary moderating force on clerks. Clerks who are most able to independently affect statewide outcomes also do not advantage their party, suggesting that collective action problems may not be the main reason clerks fail to advantage their party. Instead, we explain our main findings by pointing to existing research that suggests clerks are more likely than the general public to agree on election administration issues across parties and that election administration may only modestly affect electoral outcomes.

While we find that Democratic and Republican election officials oversee elections with similar outcomes, we cannot rule out small differences between Democratic and Republican officials that could determine very close elections. We also cannot rule out rare but very large effects. If a few election officials dramatically change the outcomes of elections they oversee, the effect in those counties would make up a small share of the average effect and be drowned out by the many officials who do not advantage their party. Still, we find that the average effect of replacing a Republican

local election official with a Democrat is small, suggesting that most local election officials are not meaningfully biasing elections in their party’s favor. Additionally, our results pertain only to county election officials in past elections. It is possible that partisan election officials at the state level or future county officials are able to bias elections in their party’s favor. Finally, our analysis does not imply that electing partisan officials is the best way to select local election officials. Nonpartisan appointed officials may perform better than partisan elected officials (Ferrer 2022).

## 2 Partisan Advantage in Local Election Administration

Should we expect clerks to advantage their party? Canonical theories of electoral competition reveal that candidates whose policies more closely resemble the median voter’s preferred policy are more likely to win reelection, which leads politicians from both parties to implement similar policies (Downs 1957; Fearon 1999). This reelection incentive is especially powerful for executives with meaningful discretion, like governor or mayor, who are especially likely to produce similar outcomes across parties because they make unilateral choices that directly affect their constituents’ lives (Mayhew 1974). The role of clerk has many of these qualities: the elected official has considerable discretion over local election administration and citizens directly observe their performance when they vote or communicate with the office (Burden et al. 2013). However, elected partisan clerks must raise money for their campaign and win a partisan primary. These additional steps mean that candidates have to satisfy donors and primary voters who may prefer candidates that administer elections in their preferred way or even promise to tilt the scales in their party’s direction (Ansolabehere, Snyder, and Stewart 2001; Burden 2004; Brady, Han, and Pope 2007). This incentive to shift policy away from the median voter’s position may be especially strong in places where an overwhelming majority of citizens favor one party.

Citizen-candidate models point out that candidates with moderate policy preferences are unlikely to run if elections are costly because these potential candidates will often be nearly indifferent between the other candidates running (Besley and Coate 1997; Osborne and Slivinski 1996). Candidates with more extreme policy positions will have relatively more reason to run. This is especially true when the office confers few benefits and running is costly.<sup>4</sup> Elected county clerks often receive

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<sup>4</sup>See Hall (2019) for further discussion of these models and tests of their implications in legislative elections.

modest pay (Adona et al. 2019), and running for office requires campaigning which many citizens might view as costly. Given these conditions, we would expect only committed partisans to run for clerk and then implement different policies across parties.

There are three potential countervailing forces within the citizen-candidate model leading clerks to not advantage their party. First, people with experience in election administration may have less polarized election policy views across parties than the public and elections may select for people with experience (Manion et al. 2021; Thompson 2020). Second, Democratic and Republican clerks may want to implement different policies, but if they were to do so they would not be able to noticeably influence turnout or partisan vote share (e.g., Gronke et al. 2008; Thompson et al. 2020). Third, clerks may face costs for changing policies that are only worth bearing if they can influence who wins. This creates a collective action problem: each clerk wants to help their party win but shirks to avoid bearing the costs because they are not pivotal by themselves. This collective action problem is not present when the costs to influencing elections are low and the likelihood of influencing election outcomes is high.

Empirical research directly testing whether US local election officials favor their party, which we review in Table A.1 in the online appendix, is mixed. While some studies find that Democratic and Republican officials implement different policies and other studies find they do not, no study has a research design that can fully account for differences in the places that elect Democratic and Republican clerks that might lead to different policies regardless of which party controls the clerk’s office.

The risk of partisan election administration is not limited to the US. While everyone agrees that election administrators ought to ensure “free and fair elections” (Hall 2018), it is difficult to completely insulate election administration from partisan actors (James 2012). Central election management bodies are most effective when they are independent of the executive (López-Pintor 2000), but in practice partisan actors are involved in virtually every system (Massicotte, Blais, and Yoshinaka 2004). One notable example of partisan election administration comes from Ukraine, where party control of election management committees boosts that party’s vote totals by a few percentage points (Herron 2020). While outright fraud is certainly a factor in many places (Alvarez, Hall, and Hyde 2008), practices that amount to a “soft perversion of the process” are even more common, such as appointing biased poll workers (Alvarez and Hall 2006) and filtering out candidates

from the opposing party (Szakonyi 2022). Independent election monitors may curtail election day fraud and violence (Asunka et al. 2019), but they may simply shift fraudulent practices to earlier in the process (Daxecker 2014).

### 3 The Role of Local Election Officials

Across the United States, thousands of local election officials play a central role in the administration of elections. Clerk responsibilities include registering voters, maintaining an up-to-date list of registered voters, hiring and training poll workers, selecting poll locations, printing ballots, acquiring and maintaining election equipment, running early and absentee voting, educating and communicating with voters, overseeing election day, tabulating the votes cast, handling provisional ballots, and certifying election results (Kimball and Kropf 2006). They also usually have the authority to hire staff and influence department funding levels.

Clerks administer elections within the bounds of complex and frequently changing federal, state, and local laws. They work in concert with a range of other officials to successfully conduct elections. Clerks typically serve at the county level, though in ten mostly Northeastern states important responsibilities are carried out at the municipal level.

Building on the work of Kimball and Kropf (2006), we conduct a review of state and local election laws. Table A.2 in the online appendix shows a simplified division of states into tiers based on how much authority is vested in a single partisan elected official. We identify 32 states that contain at least some jurisdictions with a partisan elected official tasked with election responsibilities. In many of these states, partisan elected officials share responsibilities with other local officials or with boards. In 21 of these 32 states, partisan elected clerks are the sole or primary election administrators. Our main analysis focuses on partisan elected officials in these 21 states.<sup>5</sup>

Even among states that delegate considerable election administration authority to a partisan elected official, there are significant differences in clerks' responsibilities and discretion. We describe this variation in Table A.3 in the online appendix. For example, county clerks in Nevada have complete authority to register voters, maintain the registration list, site polling places, conduct early voting, and purchase voting equipment. They also have some discretion in recruiting poll

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<sup>5</sup>In Table A.9, we run a robustness check using the 14 states where virtually all duties are delegated to a single partisan elected official.

workers and are not subject to any statewide training requirements. In contrast, probate judges in Alabama do not register voters or maintain registration lists. They are constrained by state law in recruiting poll workers, and both site polling places and select voting equipment in conjunction with the county commission.

Overall, most of the 21 states give registration and voting administration duties to the same partisan elected official. Most also entrust registration list maintenance and voting equipment decisions to this official. Partisan elected officials choose polling places in 14 states and administer early voting in 13 states, but are usually limited in their ability to hire poll workers, with most states requiring bipartisan appointments.

Clerks could plausibly affect election results with formal or informal practices. Using formal authority, clerks could attempt to increase participation and shift the composition of the electorate by siting many polling places in populated and accessible locations, providing extensive early voting options, ensuring that no eligible voters are removed from the voter roll, purchasing easy-to-use and reliable voting equipment, adequately resourcing polling locations with ballots and poll workers, and showing leniency in their acceptance of provisional and vote-by-mail ballots. Alternatively, officials might minimize participation and alter the composition of the electorate by siting polling places in inconvenient locations, providing limited early voting options, regularly purging voters from the rolls, maintaining old and difficult-to-use voting equipment, inadequately sourcing polling locations, and rejecting borderline provisional and vote-by-mail ballots.

Clerks might also undertake informal practices to reduce voter costs or do only what the law requires. Officials can conduct voter outreach campaigns, advertise how and where to register, maintain an active social media presence, and engage in extensive constituent communication. Alternatively, they could take none of these actions. Local election officials can engage in targeted practices by attempting to increase participation among co-partisans and reduce participation among citizens from the opposing party. Finally, officials could take illegal actions at the risk of litigation. These include siting fewer polling places than the statutory minimum mandates,<sup>6</sup> following procedures that infringe upon the Voting Rights Act, and engaging in vote manipulation.

By estimating the effect of partisan election administrators on Democratic presidential vote share, we measure the sum total effect of all actions election officials take to influence elections.

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<sup>6</sup><https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/mar/02/texas-polling-sites-closures-voting>

## 4 Studying Partisan Control of Local Election Offices

In this section, we first describe our data including original data on the elections of local election officials, county-level election results and turnout for presidential and statewide offices from 2000 to 2020, and county-level administrative data on the number and location of polling places, the number of registered voters, the number of provisional ballots, and survey-reported wait times. Next, we discuss our close-election regression discontinuity design and how we improve the precision of our estimates by first predicting outcomes.

### 4.1 New Data on the Elections of Partisan Local Election Officials

We gather an original dataset of 5,880 elections of partisan local election officials in 1,313 counties and 21 states held between 1998 and 2018. We collect these results in three steps. First, we scrape state election websites for all county-level results. Next, we visit county election websites for results not available from states. Finally, we contact counties directly to request results not available on their websites.

Figure 1 shows the counties for which we have at least some data in light blue. Counties with partisan elected election officials where we are unable to find any election data are in dark blue. We use dark gray to denote counties where municipalities run elections, boards share responsibilities for elections, or election officials are appointed or nonpartisan. In Table A.4 in the online appendix, we present descriptive statistics for the counties in and out of our sample, as well as out of scope counties. Missing counties tend to be less populous, located in the South, and have larger Black and Hispanic populations.<sup>7</sup>

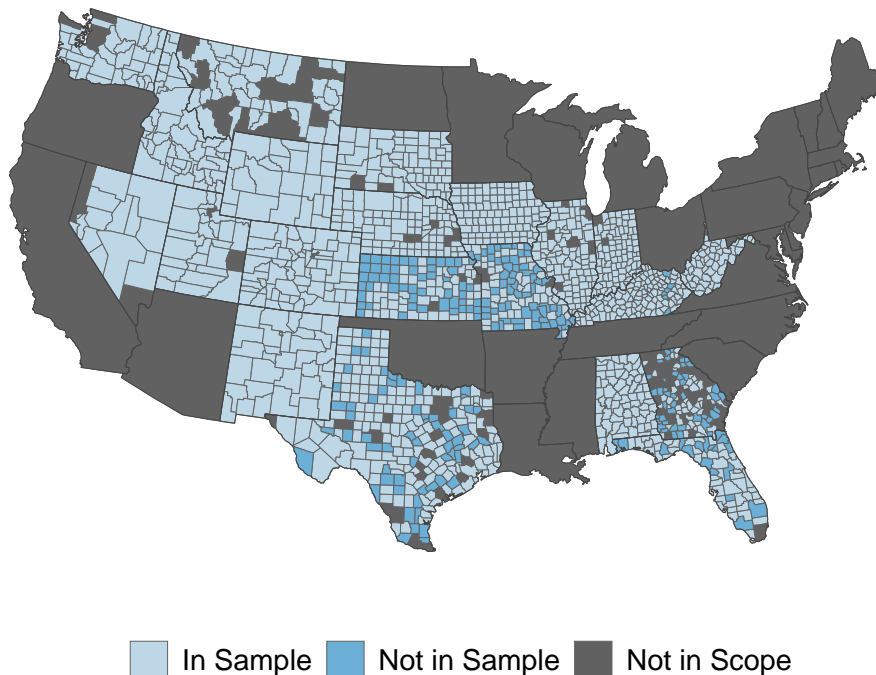
Notably, the correlation between Democratic presidential vote share and Democratic clerk vote share is very low. In the within-sample counties that elect local election officials on a presidential year cycle, Democratic presidential vote share correlates with lagged Democratic presidential vote share with a coefficient of 0.89. By contrast, Democratic clerk vote share correlates with same-year Democratic presidential vote share with a correlation coefficient of 0.32. Figure A.1 in the appendix captures this pattern.

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<sup>7</sup>Counties with fewer than 100 residents are excluded from analysis due to data estimation limitations. This excludes Loving County, Texas.



Figure 1: **Map of Counties Included in Original Data on the Elections of Partisan Local Election Officials.** Out of 1,582 counties that elect a partisan election official, 1,313 appear in our dataset at least once. Alaska and Hawaii do not have partisan elected election officials. “Not in Scope” indicates jurisdictions that did not elect partisan local election officials between 1998 and 2018.



## 4.2 County-Level Election Results and Voter Participation

We obtain county-level presidential election results for 1996 to 2020 from Dave Leip’s Election Atlas.<sup>8</sup> We also compile data on every regularly scheduled governor election from 1994 to 2017 and every regularly scheduled US Senate election from 1994 to 2020 from Leip’s Atlas, as well as the number of votes counted in the race for the highest federal office on the ballot—either representative, senator, or president.<sup>9</sup>

We measure turnout as the share of voting age residents who cast valid ballots for the highest office. Voting age population is measured using estimates from the National Cancer Institutes’s Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results Program.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup><https://uselectionatlas.org/>

<sup>9</sup>Due to irregularities in the number of ballots cast in some counties, we use the number of votes in the race for the highest federal office as our measure of turnout.

<sup>10</sup>Note that some voting-age residents may be ineligible to vote due to citizenship status or criminal record. This data does not allow us to remove these individuals. While this may make some of our estimates slightly noisier, it should

### 4.3 County-Level Data on Election Administration

We assemble a set of indicators on how elections have been run over time and across counties using the Election Administration and Voting Survey (EAVS) from the US Election Assistance Commission.<sup>11</sup> We use this survey to measure the following for each federal general election in every county: the number of polling places, provisional ballots cast, provisional ballots rejected, absentee ballots rejected, and the number of registrants removed from the voter roll. We use Dave Leip’s Election Atlas to measure the number of registered voters in each county and the share of registered voters listed as members of the Democratic party.

Additionally, we follow Pettigrew (2017) in using the Cooperative Congressional Election Study to measure voter wait times.<sup>12</sup> We compute the share of voters who had to wait at the polls for more than 30 minutes for each federal general election between 2006 and 2018, except for 2010 when the CCES did not ask about wait times. We also use data from Chen et al. (2020) who measure wait times by tracking cell phone locations.

### 4.4 Empirical Strategy: Regression Discontinuity Design

We estimate the advantage election officials give their co-partisans using a regression discontinuity design, fitting regression equations of the form:

$$Y_{ct+k} = \mu + \tau Dem_{ct} + f(M_{ct}) + \epsilon_{ct+k}$$

where  $Y_{ct+k}$  is Democratic presidential vote share in elections held  $k$  years after the election official was elected in county  $c$ , year  $t$ .  $Dem_{ct}$  is a dummy variable indicating a Democratic local election official winning the election.  $f(M_{ct})$  is a flexible function of the margin  $M_{ct}$  by which the Democratic local election official won (i.e., the share of the two-party vote they received minus 0.5).  $M_{ct}$  ranges from -0.5 to 0.5 and is positive for a Democratic win, negative for a Republican win, and zero in an exact tie. We interpret  $\tau$  as the average effect of electing a Democratic rather than Republican local election official in counties where the election was an exact tie. In other words,

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not bias our estimates since it is highly unlikely anyone would decide where to live based solely on the outcome of close elections for the local election official. The data we use is available at <https://seer.cancer.gov/popdata/>.

<sup>11</sup><https://www.eac.gov/research-and-data/datasets-codebooks-and-surveys>

<sup>12</sup><https://cces.gov.harvard.edu/data>

it is the effect of electing the next most likely or marginal Democrat to be a local election official rather than a Republican.

In our turnout and policy analyses, when each clerk election determines control of the office for multiple observations of the outcome, we cluster standard errors by clerk election (Abadie et al. 2017).

Our close-election regression discontinuity design ensures that, when we compare counties that elect a Republican to those that elect a Democrat, both sets of counties have a similar average partisan makeup, state political environment, preferences over election administration, and population, in addition to any other fixed and time-varying county factors. Our regressions identify the average effect of electing a Democratic rather than Republican election official in places with tied elections when the only thing that changes sharply at that point is which candidate was elected (Cattaneo, Idrobo, and Titiunik 2019; Imbens and Lemieux 2008; Lee and Lemieux 2010).<sup>13</sup> We evaluate the plausibility of this assumption by comparing pre-election county-level characteristics in counties that narrowly elected Democratic officials to those that narrowly elected Republicans. We are most interested in the comparison of turnout and Democratic presidential vote share from before the local election official was elected because these are our primary outcomes of interest, and because they tend to correlate highly within a county over time. In Section A.6 in the online appendix, we show that counties where a Democratic election official narrowly won are similar to counties where a Republican narrowly won on a large number of pre-treatment characteristics, including the lagged Democratic presidential vote share and lagged turnout. In Section A.6.2 in the online appendix, we also show that Democrats and Republicans win close races at similar rates in counties controlled by Democrats at the time of the election and those controlled by Republicans.<sup>14</sup> These results serve as evidence to support our claim that the only difference between a district that narrowly elects a Democrat and a district that narrowly elects a Republican is the partisanship of the elected clerk.

Our intention is to estimate the effect of replacing a marginal Republican with a marginal Democrat, which is identified under the assumptions we mention above. Our design does not

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<sup>13</sup>While this assumption has been disputed in a small number of particular cases (Caughey and Sekhon 2011), it holds under the majority of cases studied (Eggers et al. 2015).

<sup>14</sup>This is a version of the standard McCrary (2008) sorting test.

identify the effect of a candidate changing the party they associate with or the effect of replacing a typical Republican with a typical Democrat (Hall 2019: Ch. 2; Marshall 2021).

We present results using a variety of regression specifications because of the bias-variance trade-off that must be resolved in every regression discontinuity analysis. If the functional form of the running variable is not flexible enough, it can induce bias, mistaking a smooth curve in the outcome for a discontinuity. On the other hand, less flexible specifications that use more data and fewer degrees of freedom make the estimate more precise. Presenting multiple specifications ensures the robustness of our results across different functional forms of the relationship between Democratic election official vote share and our outcomes. Following Cattaneo, Idrobo, and Titiunik (2019), our primary specification is a local linear regression using triangular kernel weights and the automated bandwidth selection procedure described in Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014).

## 4.5 Improving Precision by First Predicting Outcomes

One of the main challenges we face when estimating the advantage clerks give their party is statistical precision. Estimating discontinuities is difficult—across many applications, the common estimators produce large standard errors and do not have sufficient power to detect substantively interesting effects (Stommes, Aronow, and Sävje 2021).

We improve the precision of our estimates using a three-step procedure building on the recommendations of Lee and Lemieux (2010):<sup>15</sup>

1. Using leave-one-out cross-validation, we select a regression specification that best predicts Democratic presidential vote share from lagged Democratic presidential vote share.<sup>16</sup> We use the full dataset for this exercise, not just the counties with competitive elections for their local election official. This procedure selects a prediction equation with state-year-specific coefficients on the lag and state-year-specific intercepts.
2. We compute the difference between predicted and observed Democratic vote share using the best-performing specification.

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<sup>15</sup>For a more recent discussion of this estimator, see Noack, Olma, and Rothe (2021). We discuss how this estimator compares with the estimator in Calonico et al. (2019) in Section A.4 in the online appendix.

<sup>16</sup>We discuss the candidate prediction equations and their performance in Section A.4 in the online appendix.

3. We use the residual from step (2) as the outcome in a standard regression discontinuity estimator.<sup>17</sup>

We use this procedure to improve our power for our main findings and for studying voter turnout and election policies.

We conduct power analyses to evaluate whether this more precise estimator is powerful enough to detect substantively meaningful effects. We report the minimum effect detectable 80% of the time with a one-sided t-test at a 5% significance level (i.e.,  $\alpha = 0.05$  and  $\beta = 0.20$ ). We discuss our approach to calculating power in Section A.5 in the online appendix.

As we report in Table 1, our main estimators have a minimum detectable effect of Democratic election officials on Democratic presidential vote share of between 1.2 percentage points and 2.3 percentage points. That means our design has sufficient power to detect effects on partisan vote share that are about as large as running 50 television ads (Sides, Vavreck, and Warshaw 2021; Spenkuch and Toniatti 2018) or 15% as large as the effect of nominating a moderate candidate (Hall 2015). Our minimum detectable effect is also approximately half the size of the effect of Democratic local election officials on the Democratic share of turnout reported in previous research (Bassi, Morton, and Trounstone 2009). In Table 2, we report that our estimators have minimum detectable effects of Democratic election officials on turnout of between 1.0 and 1.1 percentage points. Our minimum detectable effect on turnout is less than half the size of a large TV advertising campaign in a presidential election (Green and Vavreck 2008).

## 5 Clerks Do Not Meaningfully Advantage Their Party

### 5.1 Descriptive Graphical Evidence Suggests Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party

First, we show descriptive graphical evidence that presidential candidates from the clerk’s party perform no better than expected based on historical election results. Figure 2 captures this result. In the top panel, we plot the regression of Democratic presidential vote share for each county-year on Democratic vote share in the previous presidential election. Counties with a Democratic clerk

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<sup>17</sup>See Lee and Lemieux (2010) for further discussion of why it is not necessary to residualize the running variable.

are colored blue and counties with a Republican clerk are colored red. We fit separate locally weighted regressions for counties with Democratic and Republican clerks.

Counties that vote overwhelmingly for Democratic presidents are also likely to elect Democrats to run their elections. We can see this by noticing that the upper-right quadrant of the plot is made up almost entirely of blue Ds and the bottom-left portion of the plot is primarily composed of red Rs.

Nevertheless, this plot suggests that local election officials are not giving their party a large electoral advantage. We can see this by noticing that the lines are nearly identical. Conditional on being elected in counties with similar historical Democratic vote shares, Democratic and Republican local election officials oversee similar elections. If clerks were advantaging their party, and continuing to seek new advantages every cycle, we would expect the blue line to be higher than the red line, i.e., Democratic presidential candidates would perform better in counties with Democratic clerks than with Republican clerks after accounting for the normal two-party presidential vote in that county. This figure provides us little reason to suspect that clerks are giving their party a substantial advantage in presidential elections.

The bottom panel of Figure 2 plots histograms of the residual of predicted Democratic presidential vote share for counties with Democratic and Republican clerks.<sup>18</sup> The histograms overlap substantially, although the histogram for Democrats is shifted slightly to the left and has a modestly wider dispersion.<sup>19</sup> If clerks were advantaging their party, and continuing to seek new advantages each cycle, we would expect the central tendency of the distribution of blue residuals to be shifted to the right of the central tendency of the red residuals indicating that Democratic presidential candidates perform better in counties with Democratic clerks than with Republican clerks after accounting for the expected presidential vote in that county. This implies that Democratic clerks oversee elections that are getting worse, on average, for Democratic presidential candidates.

One important weakness of these plots is that the party of the clerk is often the same in the previous presidential election. If partisan control of the clerk's office is constant over time and not increasing as the party holds the clerk's office, this plot would tend to understate the effect partisan

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<sup>18</sup>See Section 4.4 for a discussion of how we compute the residuals.

<sup>19</sup>The average of the residuals is 0.002 in Republican-controlled counties and -0.004 in Democratic-controlled counties. The standard deviation of the residuals is 0.028 in Republican-controlled counties and 0.034 in Democratic-controlled counties.

control of the clerk’s office on election results. We address this concern in the next section by using a regression discontinuity design which compares places with Democratic and Republican clerks that had an equal likelihood of having a Democratic clerk during the previous presidential election.

## 5.2 Regression Discontinuity Plot Suggests Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party

Figure 3 captures our main result: local election officials do not improve their party’s vote share in presidential elections. On the horizontal axis, we plot the two-party Democratic vote share in the race for local election official. We subset to elections with a Democratic and Republican candidate both on the ballot and finishing in the top two places. This means that a Democratic official runs elections to the right of 0.5, and a Republican official runs elections to the left of 0.5. On the vertical axis is the residual of Democratic presidential vote share in each county in the first presidential election after the election official was elected. Each of the small gray points represents the election of a county election official and the subsequent presidential election result. The large black points are equal-sized binned averages made up of 25 elections each, computed separately for counties that elect a Democratic clerk and those that elect a Republican. The solid lines are simple linear regression lines fit separately for counties that elect Democratic election officials and those that elect Republicans. We plot data within the bandwidth selected by the automated procedure described in Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014).

We can learn about the effect of electing a Democrat rather than a Republican as local election official by focusing on the 50-50 point in the middle of the plot. To the left and right of 0.5, the average residual Democratic presidential vote share is nearly identical. If clerks were advantaging their party, we would expect the average vote share for Democratic presidential candidates to be higher in counties that narrowly elected a Democratic clerk compared to those that narrowly elected a Republican clerk. This would be visible as a vertical jump in the regression line on the plot with the line being noticeably higher on the right side of the 50-50 line than on the left side of the 50-50 line. This suggests that election officials do not noticeably advantage their party.

Figure 2: **Democratic and Republican Election Officials Conduct Elections With Similar Results.** The top panel presents the relationship between Democratic presidential vote share and lagged Democratic presidential vote share separately in counties with Democratic and Republican clerks. The relationship is nearly identical in both sets of counties. The bottom panel presents the distribution of the residuals from predictions of Democratic presidential vote share in counties with Democratic and Republican election officials. On average, Democratic clerks oversee elections that are slightly less favorable for Democratic presidents than expected.

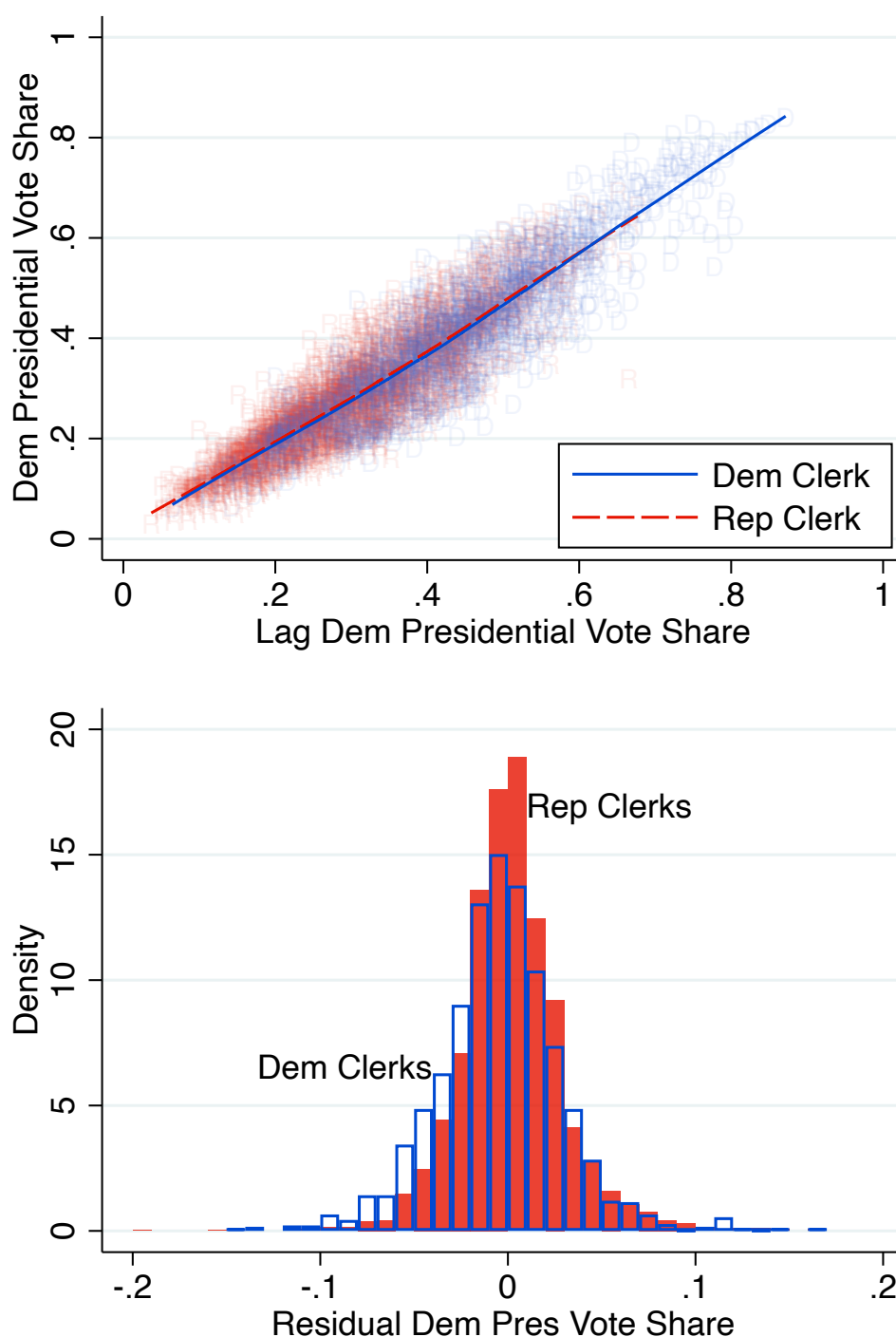




Figure 3: **Electing a Democratic Election Official Rather Than a Republican Does Not Noticeably Increase Democratic Presidential Vote Share.** Two-party Democratic vote share for contested local election official elections is the running variable, making 0.5 the threshold above which a county elects a Democratic election official and below which they elect a Republican. Democratic presidential vote share in the following presidential election is plotted along the vertical axis. The large black points are equal-sized binned averages marking the average of 25 elections each. The binned averages are computed separately for each side of the 50-50 threshold. The black line is a linear regression fit separately on each side of the 50-50 threshold. The full tabluar results are found in column 1 of Table 1.

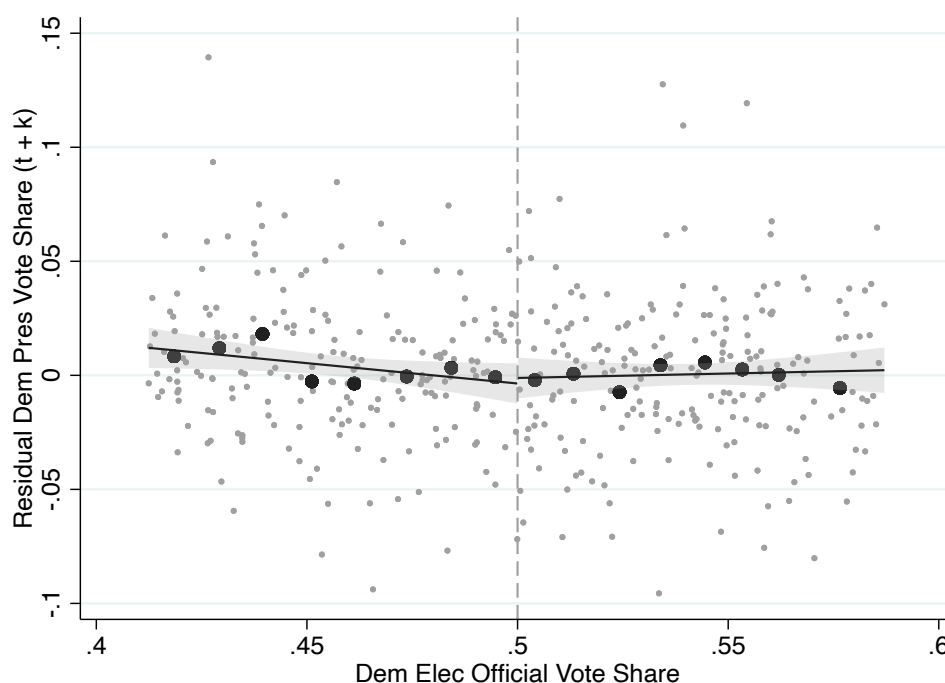


Table 1: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share.**

	Dem Pres Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.003 (0.006)	0.000 (0.005)	-0.011 (0.009)	0.000 (0.007)
N	383	696	195	408
Bandwidth	0.08	0.16	0.04	0.09
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular
Min Detectable Effect	0.016	0.012	0.023	0.017

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Min detectable effect refers to the minimum effect that a one-sided test with a 0.05 alpha would have 80% power to detect.

### 5.3 Regression Estimates Also Suggest Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party

In Table 1, we provide formal estimates of the effect of electing a Democrat rather than a Republican as election official on Democratic presidential vote share. Column 1 reports the estimate from a local linear regression with uniform kernel weights and the bandwidth selected by the procedure described in Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014). Column 2 reports estimates from the same procedure used in column 1 but with a bandwidth twice as wide. Column 3 reports estimates from the same procedure used in column 1 but with a bandwidth half as wide. Column 4, our primary specification, reports estimates from a local linear regression with triangular kernel weights and the bandwidth selected by the procedure described in Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014).

We find consistent evidence across all four specifications that local election officials do not meaningfully advantage their party’s candidate for president. The point estimates range from -1.1 to 0.3 percentage points, with three out of four point estimates falling below 0.1 percentage points. Across all four columns, our 95% confidence intervals include zero.

In the final row of Table 1, we present the minimum detectable effect. As we discuss in Section 4.5, three of our four estimators are able to detect partisan advantages as small as 1.7 percentage points with 80% power.

While Table 1 presents results across only four specifications, we estimate very similar effects across a much wider set of potential estimators. Section A.6.4 in the appendix shows that our estimates are similar for every choice of bandwidth from 0.02 to 0.25. In Section A.6.3 in the appendix, we demonstrate that, though our estimates are noisier when using outcomes that are not first residualized, they are substantively similar.

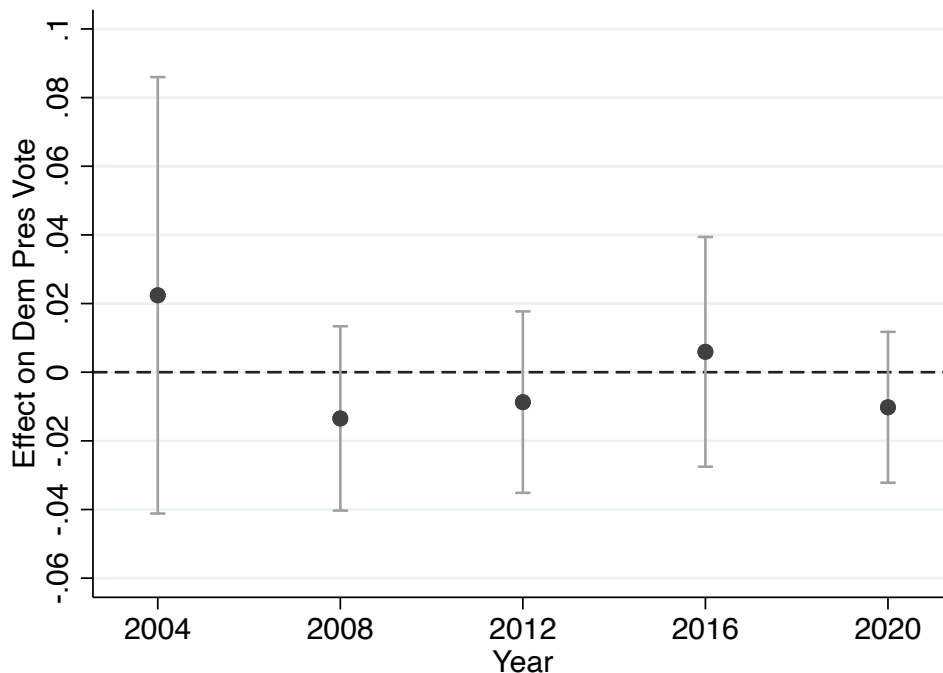
In Table A.14, we extend our data to include all governor, senate, and presidential election results. Despite adding more data, predicting governor and senate election results based on lagged results is more difficult than predicting presidential results, resulting in noisier estimates. Nevertheless, the point estimates are still substantively quite small, and a zero effect falls well within all of the 95-percent confidence intervals in the table.

## 5.4 Similar Findings Across Time and States

This finding—that election officials do not noticeably advantage their party—is not limited to the early part of our study period, to states where officials have slightly less authority, or to regions with distinctive politics. In Figure 4, we present estimates of the effect of electing a Democratic local election official on Democratic presidential vote share in every presidential election since 2004. Despite the concern that election administration has become an increasingly salient and partisan issue, we do not find evidence that the marginal local election official advantaged their party in 2020 or in any previous election since 2004.

In the online appendix, we also study three sets of states where we might expect clerks to give their party a larger advantage. Across all three sets, we find that clerks give their party little to no advantage. First, in Table A.9, we present estimates of the advantage clerks give their party in the 14 states where one partisan elected official handles all local election administration. Three of the four reported point estimates of partisan advantage are negative. Given the long tenure of clerks and the slow pace of the Southern realignment in local offices, we might expect that Democratic clerks in the South may favor the Republican party in statewide and national elections, especially in the first few elections in our data (Kimball et al. 2013). In Table A.11 we report estimates of the partisan advantage clerks provide, removing counties in Southern states from the analysis. We find substantively similar point estimates, implying that our national estimates are not masking positive effects in places where clerks are most likely to favor national co-partisans. Finally, some counties

Figure 4: **Clerks Provide Their Party Minimal Advantages Over Time.** Each dot represents a regression discontinuity-based estimate of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on residual Democratic presidential vote share in a given presidential election. Vertical lines extending from each point represent 95-percent confidence intervals. Estimates come from regressions that mimic column 4 in Table 1 using local linear regression with triangular kernel weights. Full tabular results are found in Table A.8 in the online appendix.



in our data were subject to pre-clearance requirements under the Voting Rights Act prior to the 2013 Supreme Court ruling in *Shelby County v. Holder*. In Table A.12 we find that, even when omitting counties subject to the pre-clearance requirement, clerks do not appear to advantage their party. In Table A.13, we subset to counties previously covered under the pre-clearance provisions but in years after the *Shelby County v. Holder* decision, finding a similar pattern of results. In other words, there is no indication that local election officials have used their new discretion post-*Shelby* to advantage their party.<sup>20</sup> In addition to these more powerful tests, in Figure A.4 in the online appendix, we also present evidence that clerks do not noticeably advantage their party in any of the eight states that we have sufficient data to study. This suggests that state-level laws are not the primary reason clerks do not advantage their party. Put together, these results suggest that clerks do not meaningfully advantage their party.

<sup>20</sup>This is in line with Komisarchik and White (2021).

## 5.5 Generalizing Beyond Close Clerk Elections

Using a regression discontinuity design, we find that clerks elected in close elections do not give their party a substantial advantage in presidential elections. Might clerks elected by wider margins give their party an advantage?

Our data suggests that, even when clerks win by a relatively large margin, they do not grant their party a sizable advantage. In Figure 2, we document the difference in Democratic presidential vote share between counties controlled by Democratic and Republican clerks. Though the majority of these clerks are elected by large margins or in uncontested races, the average Democratic clerk oversees an election with slightly lower Democratic presidential vote share than the average Republican clerk. This descriptive evidence suggests that our finding is not limited to counties with close clerk elections. In Section A.6.11 in the appendix, we present a more formal analysis of how local our estimates are drawing on the approach described in Angrist and Rokkanen (2015) and Hainmueller, Hall, and Snyder Jr (2015). We find that, even including counties where the Democratic clerk candidate won as little as 25% or as much as 75% of the vote, partisan clerks do not appear to advantage their party on average.

Given this evidence, in Section 6, we consider explanations for clerks not advantaging their party that apply to all clerks rather than just those elected by very small margins.

## 5.6 Democratic and Republican Clerks Produce Similar Turnout and Policies

While conventional wisdom holds that high-turnout elections favor Democrats (Lijphart 1997; Piven and Cloward 1988), some reforms that increase turnout do not noticeably increase Democratic vote share (see, e.g., Thompson et al. 2020). Might local election officials successfully affect turnout but fail to offer their party an advantage?

Table 2 presents regression discontinuity estimates of the effect of electing a Democrat rather than Republican election official on turnout. The first two columns mirror columns 1 and 4 from Table 1. Across both specifications, we find that, after accounting for differences in where and when Democrats and Republicans run for office, members of both parties oversee similar levels of voter participation on average.

Table 2: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Turnout.**

	Votes per Voting-Age Resident					
	All Counties		Rep Counties		Dem Counties	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Dem Elec Official	0.001 (0.004)	0.001 (0.004)	0.001 (0.005)	0.002 (0.004)	0.002 (0.010)	0.003 (0.009)
N	541	720	400	584	168	188
Clusters	313	418	237	344	106	120
Bandwidth	0.06	0.09	0.07	0.10	0.07	0.08
BW Selection	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT
Kernel	Unif	Tri	Unif	Tri	Unif	Tri
Min Detectable Effect	0.011	0.010	0.012	0.011	0.025	0.023

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. Rep counties are those where the last Republican presidential candidate received more votes than the last Democratic presidential candidate. Dem counties are all remaining counties. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Min detectable effect refers to the minimum effect that a one-sided test with a 0.05 alpha would have 80% power to detect. Unif refers to a uniform kernel. Tri refers to a triangular kernel.

In the final row, we report the minimum detectable effect using each estimator. Both estimators can detect an effect as small as 1.1 percentage points with 80% power or greater. Even with these high-powered tests, we find no evidence that electing a Democratic rather than a Republican election official increases turnout on average.

While Democrats are often expected to pursue policies that increase turnout, vote-maximizing partisans will only work to increase participation when their party makes up a majority of the people affected by their policies (Burden et al. 2013; Kimball, Kropf, and Battles 2006). Might Democratic clerks oversee lower turnout in Republican-majority counties and higher turnout in Democratic-majority counties?

Table 2 presents evidence that Democratic and Republican officials do not strategically increase turnout when their party makes up a majority and decrease turnout when their party is in the minority. Columns 3 and 4 report the effect of electing a Democratic clerk in Republican-majority counties. There, marginal voters are more likely to be Republicans, so we would expect vote-maximizing Democratic clerks to decrease turnout relative to Republican clerks. Instead, we find that Democratic and Republican clerks oversee similar turnout rates in these counties. Columns

5 and 6 report the effect of electing a Democratic clerk in Democratic-majority districts, where Democrats are most likely to make up a majority of marginal voters. Still, we find that Democratic and Republican clerks oversee similar levels of participation.

These results could arise if partisan clerks implement different policies that have very modest effects on turnout. Committed partisan clerks could pursue these policies anyway if they are unaware of their ineffectiveness or if they have ideological positions about how elections ought to be administered. In Section A.6.12 in the online appendix, we present evidence that Democratic and Republican clerks representing comparable places make similar administrative decisions across many parts of the job, including the number of polling places sited, the share of votes cast provisionally, the provisional ballot rejection rate, the registration rate, the registration removal rate, the partisan balance of registrants, and voter wait times.

Put together, the analyses presented in Table 2 and appendix Section A.6.12 cast doubt on the claim that partisan clerks are strategically changing turnout or policies while failing to convert those changes into noticeable advantages in election results. Instead, partisan clerks oversee similar turnout and policies even when it is in their party’s interest for them to increase or decrease turnout.

## 6 Why Don’t Clerks Advantage Their Party?

Why do elected clerks not advantage their party? Drawing on our discussion in Section 2, we explore four explanations. The first explanation we explore is that clerks are elected officials and want to win reelection, so clerks from both parties work to satisfy the median voter in their county and produce similar policies and outcomes. The next three explanations are countervailing forces within the citizen-candidate framework that could lead clerks to not advantage their party: 1) qualified candidates hold similar views across parties, 2) administration has modest effects on turnout and outcomes, and 3) clerks face a collective action problem because elections are decided jointly by many counties. No single piece of evidence we present conclusively answers why clerks do not advantage their party, but we provide suggestive evidence against the reelection incentive and collective action problem as meaningful constraints and discuss existing research that favors preference convergence and the limited ability of clerks to influence electoral outcomes as explanations.

Table 3: **Estimates of Increase in Partisan Advantage Provided by Term-Limited Clerks.**

	Change in Dem Pres Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Dem Elec Official	-0.008 (0.017)	-0.005 (0.012)	-0.006 (0.014)
Counties	66	66	66
N	75	75	75
Year FE	No	Yes	Yes
Lag Dem Vote Share	No	No	Yes

Robust standard errors clustered by county in parentheses. The data is limited to term-limited, incumbent clerks in Indiana. The outcome is the change in Democratic presidential vote share from the first term to the second term of the term-limited clerk.

## 6.1 Reelection Incentives Do Not Noticeably Affect Partisan Advantage Clerks Provide

Might Democratic and Republican clerks oversee similar election outcomes because they are competing for the support of the median voter in their next election? This is the prediction of one class of standard political economy models of elections (Downs 1957; Fearon 1999). We study this question using election official term limits. Clerks in Indiana are allowed to serve for no more than two consecutive four-year terms in a 12-year period.<sup>21</sup> If the threat of being thrown out of office is the main constraint on clerks advantaging their party, clerks should advantage their party more in their second term than their first term, since the reelection incentive is removed entirely. To test this prediction, we compare the change in Democratic presidential vote share from the first term to the second term of Democratic clerks to the same change for Republican clerks.

Table 3 presents our estimates. In the first column, we present the simple difference in means between Democratic and Republican clerks in how much more of their county’s presidential vote goes to the Democratic candidate in their second term than their first term. The second column presents regression estimates with year fixed effects to account for statewide changes in support for Democratic presidential candidates across years in our data. The third column presents regression

<sup>21</sup>The effect of lifetime term limits is larger than consecutive term limits in state legislatures, but consecutive limits still substantially reduce the reelection incentive (Fourinaies and Hall 2022)



estimates with lagged Democratic presidential vote share in addition to year fixed effects to account for any polarization across counties in voting trends over the years.

Across all three regression specifications, we find that clerks do not give their party a bigger advantage when they are ineligible for reelection. While this simple analysis does not fully account for differences in trends in presidential vote across counties unrelated to the party of the clerk, which our regression discontinuity estimates do account for, we take this as suggesting that reelection incentives are not a key constraint limiting the advantage clerks give their party.

This result suggests that concerns about reelection are not the main reason clerks do not advantage their party, but it does not imply that elections fail to motivate clerks. Clerks seem to be held accountable for bad behavior in many cases. For example, in 2010, a lawsuit was filed against Boone County, West Virginia clerk Gary Williams alleging sexual harassment right after he was reelected without opposition.<sup>22</sup> He was challenged in the Democratic primary six years later and lost, receiving only 34% of the vote. Bosque County, Texas clerk Brigitte Bronstad was arrested for taking money from the county in 2002, right before the general election. Four write-in challengers quickly jumped into the race, successfully ensuring her defeat.<sup>23</sup> In other cases, election officials caught engaging in malfeasance retired rather than face the voters. This was the case for Montezuma County, Colorado clerk Carol Tullis in 2012, who faced a lawsuit alleging she demoted an employee for running against her,<sup>24</sup> and likely played a role in Whitman County, Washington auditor Eunice Coker’s retirement, who faced a lawsuit in 2018 alleging improper denial of employee medical leave, financial mismanagement, ballot irregularities, audit failures, discriminatory behavior, and politically partisan efforts to alter election outcomes.<sup>25</sup>

## 6.2 Clerk Candidates May Have More Similar Preferences Across Parties

Might Democratic and Republican clerks agree on how to run elections? Looking at the public, this seems unlikely. The average Democrat and Republican have meaningfully different views on issues like automatic voter registration, all-mail voting, and moving election day to a weekend (Stewart

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<sup>22</sup>[https://www.wvgazettemail.com/news/lawsuit-alleges-sexual-harassment-by-county-clerk/article\\_dcbac0b3-e6f7-5f8e-bb5c-38c960d76026.html](https://www.wvgazettemail.com/news/lawsuit-alleges-sexual-harassment-by-county-clerk/article_dcbac0b3-e6f7-5f8e-bb5c-38c960d76026.html)

<sup>23</sup><https://www.mrt.com/news/article/Bosque-County-clerk-pleads-guilty-to-theft-7791967.php>

<sup>24</sup><http://api.the-journal.com/articles/8636>

<sup>25</sup>[https://dnews.com/local/whitman-county-former-auditor-on-the-hook-for-70k/article\\_9a3cdc46-ac5a-5a43-bc86-ecf6e0ed1bad.html](https://dnews.com/local/whitman-county-former-auditor-on-the-hook-for-70k/article_9a3cdc46-ac5a-5a43-bc86-ecf6e0ed1bad.html)

2021). On the other hand, candidates and winners often have experience in election administration and may have more similar policy views. Manion et al. (2021) surveys members of the public and clerks, and compares their responses across parties. While Democratic and Republican clerks still have meaningfully different responses to some policy questions, their preferences are more similar than Democrats and Republicans in the public and fully converge on some policy issues. For example, Democratic and Republican clerks express equivalent levels of voter confidence in national elections, agree that voting is a duty, and believe that local, state, and federal elections should be consolidated. Like their co-partisans in the public, Democratic and Republican clerks are divided on the issue of voter ID but hold much more similar views across parties on expanded early voting than members of the public—a policy that many clerks have discretion over. This explanation only partially accounts for the similarity in policies, turnout, and vote shares in elections run by Democrats and Republicans serving similar counties, but it is consistent with our main findings and existing survey data of these individuals.

In Section A.6.12 in the appendix, we also document that clerks from both parties serving identical counties implement roughly the same policies. While we cannot rule out that they do this because they expect these policies would have minimal effects (as we discuss below), this is consistent with clerks agreeing more on election administration across parties than the public.

### **6.3 Clerks May Have Limited Ability to Affect Election Outcomes**

Even if clerks are unconstrained by reelection incentives and want to offer their party an advantage, they may not be able to. As we discuss in Section 3, clerks are given wide latitude to make important decisions such as where to locate polling places and when to host in-person early voting. These decisions may make it easier or harder to vote and likely affect some groups more than others. However, these policies do not necessarily affect election outcomes. First, when the cost of voting goes up, citizens may simply find the next cheapest way to vote (Clinton et al. 2020). Second, even if more people vote when the cost goes down, the new voters may be similar in partisan composition to the people already voting (Burden et al. 2014).

This explanation is difficult to directly test. If clerks know that they cannot meaningfully affect outcomes, and they only care about changing policy if it affects outcomes, we may not observe partisan differences in policies or turnout because clerks never even try to advantage their party.

Still, based on the existing work on the limited effect of election administration, it is reasonable to expect clerks are at least somewhat constrained by the modest effects these policies have on partisan outcomes.

#### **6.4 Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More When It Is Less Costly or When the Stakes Are Higher**

Suppose most election officials would like to see their party win and that they all have authority to advantage their party in their county. If they bare costs for tilting elections in their party's favor, they would only want to advantage their party when it would plausibly change the statewide outcome. In this world, the fragmented nature of local election administration creates a collective action problem where partisan clerks would like to work together and swing the election in their party's favor, but they know that every individual clerk would have a reason to shirk and avoid bearing the costs. This collective action problem does not arise if an individual clerk could reasonably expect their decisions to be pivotal and worth the cost.

We offer suggestive evidence that even clerks who face the lowest costs to advantaging their party or have the greatest chance of swinging an election in their party's favor do not advantage their party. We do this by identifying six related conditions that either make it less costly for an official to advantage their party or increase the value of the advantage they provide. The first two conditions—residential segregation and racial and ethnic diversity—make use of the fact that race and ethnicity are some of the most useful heuristics for guessing the party a citizen may vote for (Carlson and Hill 2021; Carmines and Stimson 1989; Hersh 2015). Even if clerks are primarily motivated by providing their party an advantage, they may fail to do so if they cannot easily distinguish between members of their party and the opposing party. Accordingly, local election officials may have an easier time giving their party an advantage in counties that are more diverse and segregated. The third factor we consider is county-level partisan balance. As we discuss in Section A.7.3 in the online appendix, we find using a stylized model that clerks serving counties evenly split between Democrats and Republicans will have a larger effect on election outcomes than clerks in places dominated by one party. The fourth factor we consider is the capacity of the office, which we proxy with population. We would expect clerks serving in larger counties to have greater capacity to affect election outcomes (Kimball and Baybeck 2013). The final two factors we

consider—how close the last presidential election was in the state and whether the county is large enough to meaningfully alter the outcome—build on the prediction that election officials might be most motivated to advantage their party when it would be most likely to help their party win.

Figure 5 reports estimates of the effect in counties where we would expect clerks to be most likely to advantage their party if collective action problems were the primary barrier. Each point is an effect estimated using local linear regression with triangular kernel weights—the same specification we use in column 4 of Table 1. The lines extending out from the points are 95-percent confidence intervals. From top to bottom, the plot presents estimates using seven subsets of the data: 1) all counties, 2) segregated counties—i.e. those with residential racial dissimilarity scores above the median, 3) counties where non-Hispanic White people make up less than 80% of the population, 4) counties in which the last Democratic presidential candidate won or lost the county by less than 15 percentage points, 5) counties with over 100,000 residents, 6) counties in states in which the last Democratic presidential candidate won or lost by less than five percentage points, and 7) counties with populations that are at least half as large as the margin by which the last Democratic presidential candidate won or lost in the state.

The estimates reported in Figure 5 are more consistent with clerks intending to administer elections in neutral ways than with a collective action problem preventing clerks from advantaging their party. If they want to advantage their party but fail due to a collective action problem, we might observe a partisan advantage in the cases where a county is closer to being pivotal or the cost of advantaging one party is lower. Instead, across the seven subgroups that we study, we cannot reject the null hypothesis that Democratic and Republican clerks fail to advantage their party. Our evidence suggests that clerks do not noticeably advantage their party even when they have the greatest ability to affect the statewide outcome and the lowest costs.

The regression specifications chosen and the rules used for including a county in each subgroup are somewhat arbitrary. In Section A.7 in the online appendix, we present estimates using all four of our regression specifications for every outcome and estimates across many different rules for inclusion in each subgroup analysis. The results reported in Figure 5 are similar to those we estimate across our different specifications and subgroup inclusion rules.

## 7 Conclusion

The unusual American practice of electing partisan local officials to oversee elections concerns many experts and members of the public. When an official runs as a member of a party, it is natural to expect that they will use their authority to advance their party’s goals. Even some local election officials themselves report feeling uncomfortable running as partisans when they have a duty to be neutral.<sup>26</sup>

Using a credible research design with new partisan clerk election data from 21 states, we find that partisan election officials do not typically offer a large advantage to their party. While we cannot be confident that partisan officials do not offer rare and large or very small but consequential advantages to their party, our findings make clear that clerks are not consistently providing their party a meaningful advantage to date.

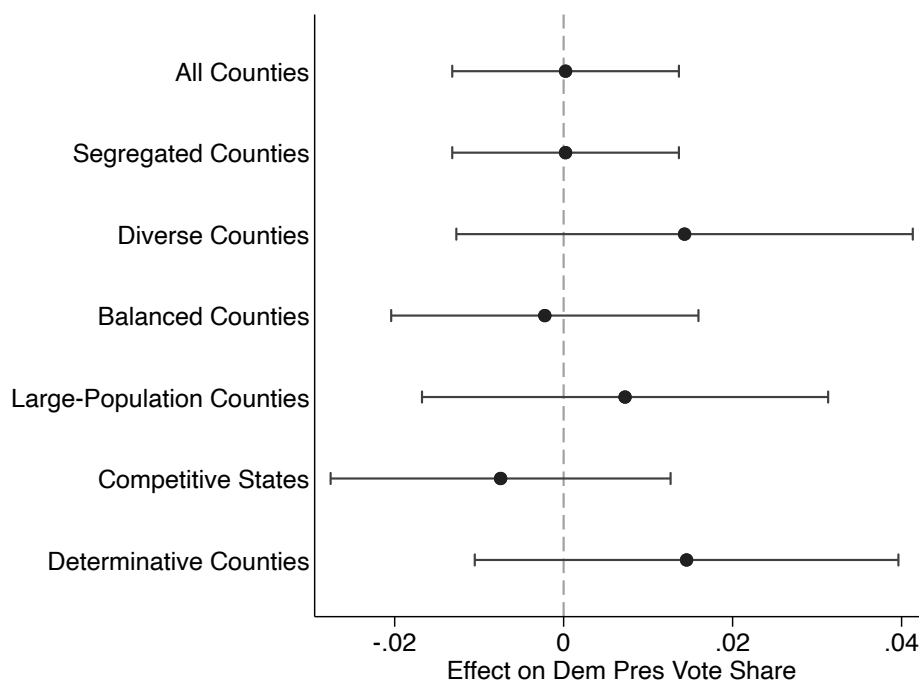
While clerks do not advantage their party, this does not imply that we ought to use partisan elections to select election administrators. In many parts of the country and around the world, elections are run by appointed bureaucrats, and future work should consider how the benefits and costs of such a system weigh against the benefits and costs of the system we study in this article (Ferrer 2022). Also, a recent survey of the public found that about 75% of both Democrats and Republicans support requiring that election officials be selected on a nonpartisan basis (Stewart 2021). Future work should consider if even neutral partisan election administration leaves citizens suspicious that the election was unfair.

How concerned should we be that future changes in who runs and wins clerk races may lead to highly partisan election administration? Our explanation that election policies only have modest effects on electoral outcomes provides some reason for optimism. However, our explanation that clerks are neutral because they share more similar preferences across parties than the public does leave room for concern. If the next generation of election officials begins to exhibit higher levels of preference polarization, there is no guarantee that partisan election officials will continue to administer elections neutrally.

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<sup>26</sup><https://www.npr.org/2018/11/29/671524134/partisan-election-officials-are-inherently-unfair-but-probably-here-to->

Figure 5: **Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More When It Is Easier or Most Advantageous.** Each dot represents a regression discontinuity-based estimate of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on residual Democratic presidential vote share for a subset of the data. The lines around each point represent 95-percent confidence intervals. Estimates come from regressions that mimic column 4 in Table 1 using local linear regression with triangular kernel weights. Segregated counties are those with residential racial dissimilarity scores above the median. Diverse counties are those less than 80% non-Hispanic White. Balanced counties are those in which the most recent Democratic presidential candidate won or lost by less than 15 percentage points. Large-population counties are those with over 100,000 residents. Competitive states are those in which the most recent Democratic presidential candidate won or lost by less than 5 percentage points. Determinative counties are those where the population of the county is at least half as large as the most recent Democratic presidential candidate's margin of victory or loss at the state level. Full tabular results are found in Section A.7 of the online appendix.



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# Online Appendix for How Partisan Is Local Election Administration?

Intended for online publication only.

## Contents

A.1	Review of Previous Literature on Partisan Differences in Local Election Administration	3
A.2	The Responsibilities of Local Election Officials . . . . .	4
A.3	Describing the New Data on Election Officials . . . . .	5
A.4	Predicting Election Results . . . . .	8
A.5	Calculating Minimum Detectable Effects . . . . .	10
A.6	Validating the Main Findings . . . . .	11
A.6.1	Counties that Narrowly Elect Democrats vs. Republicans Are Similar on Pre-Treatment Covariates . . . . .	11
A.6.2	Counties Not Sorting into Treatment or Control . . . . .	13
A.6.3	Main Findings Not Sensitive to Choice of Estimator . . . . .	14
A.6.4	Main Findings Not Sensitive to Choice of Bandwidth . . . . .	15
A.6.5	Main Finding Similar Across Time . . . . .	16
A.6.6	No Substantial Average Effect in States Granting Full Authority to One Official . . . . .	17
A.6.7	Main Finding Similar Across States . . . . .	18
A.6.8	Finding Not Sensitive to Excluding the South . . . . .	20
A.6.9	Finding Not Sensitive to Excluding VRA Counties . . . . .	21
A.6.10	No Substantial Average Effect in Senate, Governor, or Presidential Elections	23
A.6.11	Effect Not Limited To Counties with Close Clerk Elections . . . . .	24
A.6.12	Democratic and Republican Clerks Administer Elections Similarly . . . . .	26
A.7	Studying Mechanisms . . . . .	29
A.7.1	Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in More Segregated Counties . .	29
A.7.2	Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in More Diverse Counties . . .	32

A.7.3	Estimated Effects No Larger in Balanced Districts . . . . .	35
A.7.4	Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in Larger Counties . . . . .	40
A.7.5	Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in More Competitive States . .	42
A.7.6	Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in Determinative Counties . . .	44
A.7.7	Effect of Electing a Democratic Clerk on All Policy Outcomes Collected . .	46

## A.1 Review of Previous Literature on Partisan Differences in Local Election Administration

Table A.1 summarizes the literature to date on partisan differences in local election administration. Each row of A.1 represents a study of partisan differences, and the columns summarize the study’s setting, research design, outcome of interest, finding, and any conditional aspects of the finding.

Table A.1: Review of Partisan Local Election Official Literature.

Paper	Setting	Design	Outcome	Partisan Difference	Condition
Hamilton and Ladd (1996)	NC	X-Section	Straight party voting option	Yes	
Stuart (2004)	FL	X-Section	Purge rate of potential felons	Yes	
Kimball, Kropf, and Battles (2006)	USA	X-Section	Provisional ballots cast	Mixed	In heavily co-partisan jurisdictions
Kimball, Kropf, and Battles (2006)	USA	X-Section	Provisional ballots counted	Mixed	In heavily co-partisan jurisdictions
Bassi, Morton, and Trounstein (2009)*	USA	County DiD	Change in Turnout	Yes	
Bassi, Morton, and Trounstein (2009)*	USA	County DiD	Dem Margin of Victory	Yes	
Dyck and Seabrook (2009)*	OR	X-Section	Vote-by-Mail Acceptance	Yes	
Dyck and Seabrook (2009)*	OR	X-Section	Move Dems to inactive list	Yes	
Kimball and Baybeck (2010)*	USA	Survey	Support for access and security policies	Mixed	In large jurisdictions
Burden et al. (2013)	WI	X-Section	Support for access and security policies	No	
Burden et al. (2013)	WI	X-Section	Turnout	Mixed	For appointed Reps in Dem electorates
Kimball et al. (2013)	USA	Survey	Support for access and security policies	Mixed	In large jurisdictions
Kimball et al. (2013)	USA	Survey	Support for provisional voting programs	Mixed	In heavily co-partisan jurisdictions
Kropf, Vercellotti, and Kimball (2013)	USA	Survey	Support for provisional voting	Mixed	In heavily co-partisan jurisdictions
White, Nathan, and Faller (2015)	USA	Experiment	Bias in email response rate	No	
Merivaki and Smith (2016)	FL	X-Section	Provisional ballots cast	Mixed	In midterm elections
Merivaki and Smith (2016)	FL	X-Section	Provisional ballots rejected	Mixed	In midterm elections
Porter and Rogowski (2018)	WI	Experiment	Co-partisan email response rate	Mixed	In heavily co-partisan jurisdictions
Mohr et al. (2019)	NC	County DiD	Election expenditures	Mixed	In heavily co-partisan jurisdictions
McBrayer, Williams, and Eckelman (2020)	TX	X-Section	Number of early voting sites	Yes	
McBrayer, Williams, and Eckelman (2020)	TX	X-Section	Location of early voting sites	No	
Shepherd et al. (2021)	NC	Individual Panel	Polling location change	No	

X-Section refers to a cross-sectional design, and DiD refers to a difference-in-differences design. \*Unpublished manuscript.

## A.2 The Responsibilities of Local Election Officials

Table A.2 shows a stylized division of states into tiers based on how much authority is vested in a single partisan elected election official. Table A.3 describes the duties of these officials across states. In cases where officials have limited discretion under state law, we indicate that by describing the discretion they have as high, mid, or low, indicating much, some, or little discretion, respectively.

Table A.2: States with Partisan Elected Local Election Officials.

Tier	Description	Examples	States	In Analysis?
1	Partisan elected official does everything or nearly everything	Separate canvassing board (FL)	CO, FL, IA, ID, IL, KS, MO, MT, NE, NV, SD, UT, WA, WY	Yes
2	Partisan elected official has some shared authority	Separate registration board or absentee voting official (AL, GA, NM, TX); Shares authority with elections board but holds the decisive vote (IN, KY); Shares authority with county legislative body (WV)	AL, GA, IN, KY, NM, TX, WV	Yes; excluded in robustness check
3	Partisan elected official has limited authority	Administers registration and early voting but not Election Day voting (AR, AZ, MS); Shares authority with separate board and lacks decisive vote (LA)	AR, AZ, LA, MS	No
4	Partisan elected official has severely limited authority	Municipal official or divided between city and county (CT, MA, MI, RI, VT, WI); Shares authority and has few responsibilities (NJ)	CT, MA, MI, NJ, RI, VT, WI	No
5	No partisan elected official	Election officials nonpartisan and/or appointed	AK, CA, DC, DE, HI, MD, ME, MN, NC, ND, NH, NY, OH, OK, OR, PA, SC, TN, VA	No

This table divides states into tiers based on the amount of responsibility individual partisan elected local officials have in administering elections. In states with local- and county-level variation in responsibilities, only those counties with partisan elected officials are considered. Where there is within-state variation in the presence of other officials (i.e., for IN and TX), the modal case for each state is considered.

Table A.3: Local Election Official Responsibilities by State.

State	Officer	Registration	List Maintenance	Polling Place	Early Voting	Poll Workers	Voting Equipment	Training
Alabama	Probate Judge	Low	Low	Mid	Low	Low	High	High
Colorado	Clerk	High	High	Low	Low	Low	High	Low
Florida	Supervisor of Elections	High	High	Mid	High	Mid	High	High
Georgia	Probate Judge	Low	Low	High	Mid	Mid	High	Low
Idaho	Clerk	High	High	Low	High	Mid	High	High
Illinois	Clerk	High	High	High	High	Low	High	Mid
Indiana	Clerk	High*	High*	Low	High	Low	High	Mid
Iowa	Auditor	High	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Kansas	Clerk	High	Mid	High	High	Low	High	Mid
Kentucky	Clerk	High	Mid	Mid	Low	Low	High	Mid
Missouri	Clerk	High	High	High	Low	Low	High	High
Montana	Election Administrator	High	High	Low	Low	Low	High	Low
Nebraska	Clerk	High	Mid	High	High	Mid	High	Mid
Nevada	Clerk	High	High	High	High	Mid	High	High
New Mexico	Clerk	High	High	Low	High	Low	Low	Mid
South Dakota	Auditor / Finance Officer	High	High	Mid	Low	Mid	High	High
Texas	Clerk / District Clerk / Tax Assessor	Varies	Varies	Mid	High	Mid	High	High
Utah	Clerk	High	High	High	High	Low	High	High
Washington	Auditor	High	High	Low	Low	N/A	High	High
West Virginia	Clerk	High	High	Mid	Mid	Mid	High	Mid
Wyoming	Clerk	High	High	High	Low	Mid	High	High

High, mid, and low indicate degrees of discretion with high representing the most discretion and low representing the least. In states with county-level variation in local election official responsibilities, this table applies to officials with primary responsibility over voting administration. \*In Indiana, Allen, LaPorte, Madison, Marion, St. Joseph, Vanderburgh, and Vigo counties have separate registration officials.

### A.3 Describing the New Data on Election Officials

As we discuss Section 4.1, the top panel of Figure A.1 presents the relationship between Democratic clerk vote share and Democratic presidential vote share in counties that elect clerks on a presidential election cycle. The bottom panel plots the relationship between lagged Democratic presidential vote share and current period Democratic presidential vote share. The correlation between presidential and clerk vote share is quite low, suggesting that voters are considering additional factors and treat Democratic and Republican party labels differently in local election official races. This is even more striking considering the comparison is between clerk and presidential races featured in the same election and presidential contests occurring four years apart. Considering the full dataset of elections and comparing Democratic clerk vote share with lagged presidential vote share weakens the correlation even further, to 0.30.

Table A.4 compares the counties for which we have election data to the counties that elect partisan local election officials but where we do not have election data using 2010 decennial census data.<sup>27</sup> The counties we are missing tend to be less populous, in the South, and have larger Black and Hispanic populations. The counties that do not have elected partisan election officials tend to be much more populous, in the South or Northeast, and have larger Black but smaller Hispanic populations.

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<sup>27</sup><https://www.census.gov/data/datasets/2010/dec/summary-file-1.html>

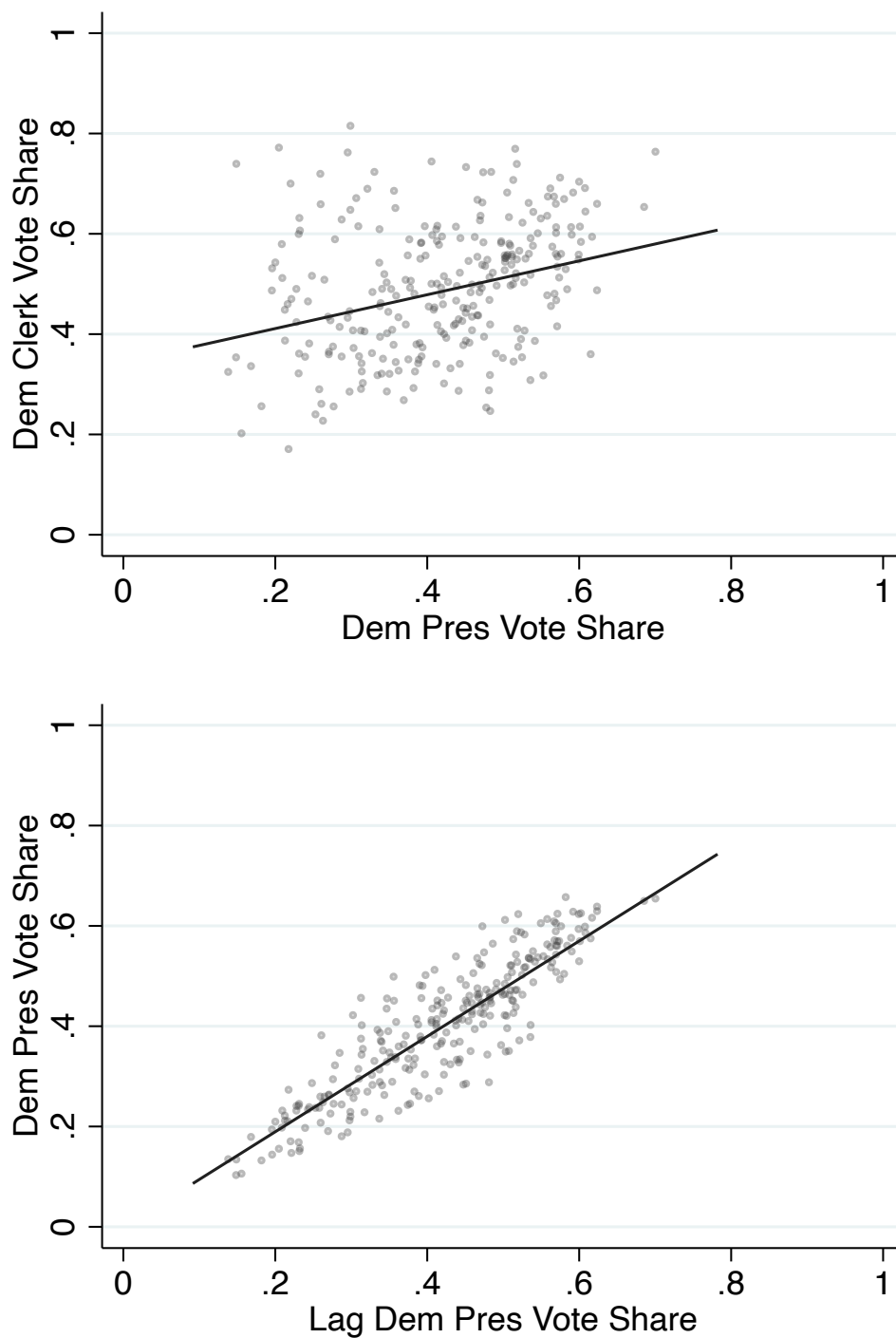


Table A.4: **Description of Counties In and Not In Sample.**

Outcome	In Sample	Not In Sample	Not In Scope
Population (Thousands)	55.51 (171.99)	37.88 (111.74)	143.06 (404.58)
Share Non-Hispanic White	0.81 (0.19)	0.77 (0.22)	0.76 (404.58)
Share Black	0.05 (0.11)	0.08 (0.13)	0.12 (0.16)
Share Hispanic	0.10 (0.15)	0.12 (0.20)	0.06 (0.10)
Northeast	0.00	0.00	0.14
Midwest	0.41	0.46	0.26
South	0.38	0.54	0.50
West	0.21	0.00	0.10
Num Counties	1,310	237	1,586

Standard deviations reported in parentheses below group means.

Figure A.1: **Low Correlation between Democratic Clerk Vote Share and Democratic Presidential Vote Share.** The top panel presents the relationship between Democratic clerk vote share and Democratic presidential vote share in counties that elect clerks on a presidential election cycle. The bottom panel presents the much stronger relationship between Democratic presidential vote share and lagged Democratic presidential vote share in these counties.



## A.4 Predicting Election Results

When a lagged outcome is available, it is standard practice in regression discontinuity designs to improve precision by including the lagged outcome as a covariate in the regression (Calonico et al. 2019). This approach works well when the relationship between the lagged outcome and current-period outcome is constant across units. While the relationship between lagged and current-period Democratic presidential vote share is positive across states and times, there is still considerable variation in this relationship due to differences in candidates over time as well as regional and state-specific political changes. If we had many counties in each state and election year that had close elections for their local election officials, we could include state-year-specific intercepts and coefficients on lagged vote share to account for this variation and improve our precision. However, only a subset of counties have close elections for local election official.

As we discuss in Section 4.5, we improve on standard practice using a three-step process that follows the recommendations of Lee and Lemieux (2010) and Noack, Olma, and Rothe (2021). They study an estimator that first predicts the outcome and then uses the residuals from that prediction exercise as the outcome in a standard regression discontinuity estimator. Under the standard regression discontinuity design assumption of smoothness in predetermined covariates at the treatment assignment threshold, this estimator produces unbiased point estimates and valid inference.

We use this procedure throughout the paper, constructing residualized outcomes by first using a lagged outcome to predict the outcome of interest and then taking the remaining error from this prediction process. We choose the predictor that minimizes out-of-sample prediction error using leave-one-out cross-validation. We fit our regression holding out one observation at a time, use that regression to predict the held out unit’s outcome value, and compute the error as the difference between the observed and predicted outcome values.

We test four regression specifications:

- Pooled coefficients and intercepts:  $Y_{ct+k} = \beta Y_{ct} + \gamma + \epsilon_{ct+k}$
- State-specific coefficients and intercepts:  $Y_{ct+k} = \beta_s Y_{ct} + \gamma_s + \epsilon_{ct+k}$
- Year-specific coefficients and intercept:  $Y_{ct+k} = \beta_{t+k} Y_{ct} + \gamma_{t+k} + \epsilon_{ct+k}$

- State-year-specific coefficients and intercept:  $Y_{ct+k} = \beta_{st+k}Y_{ct} + \gamma_{st+k} + \epsilon_{ct+k}$

where  $Y$  is our outcome variable,  $c$  indexes counties,  $s$  indexes states,  $t$  indexes election years, and  $t + k$  is the election  $k$  years later (e.g.,  $k = 4$  for presidential elections and  $k = 6$  for senate elections).

Predicting Democratic presidential vote share in leave-one-out cross-validation, we find that the mean squared prediction error is 0.030 for the state-year-specific regression, 0.041 for the year-specific regression, 0.053 for the state-specific regression, and 0.056 for the pooled regression. We choose the state-year-specific regression because it minimizes out-of-sample error when predicting presidential election results. We follow this specification for all other outcomes, using state-year-specific regressions to maintain consistency.

## A.5 Calculating Minimum Detectable Effects

Throughout the paper, we present estimates of the minimum detectable effect with 80% power. We compute these estimates with the following optimization procedure:

$$\arg \min_{\tau} (\phi(\frac{\tau}{\sigma} - z_{\alpha}) - (1 - \beta))^2, \text{ subject to } \tau > 0$$

where  $\tau$  is the hypothesized effect,  $\sigma$  is the standard error for the effect,  $z_{\alpha}$  is the  $z$  score threshold implied by a significance level of  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  is the power level, and  $\phi$  is the standard normal cumulative distribution function. We plug in our estimate of  $\sigma$  from each regression and set  $\alpha = 0.05$  and  $\beta = 0.80$  per convention. We use numerical optimization to find the positive value of  $\tau$  that minimizes this function.

## A.6 Validating the Main Findings

### A.6.1 Counties that Narrowly Elect Democrats vs. Republicans Are Similar on Pre-Treatment Covariates

As we discuss in Section 4.4, our close-election regression discontinuity design should ensure that the local averages of pre-treatment county-level covariates are similar in places that narrowly elect Democrats and those that narrowly elect Republicans. We show that this holds in practice in Tables A.5 and A.6. We find that the design works as expected, giving us balance on all of the pre-treatment covariates we check across our regression specifications.

Table A.5: **Regression Discontinuity Design Balances Pre-Treatment Democratic Presidential Vote Share and Turnout.**

	Lagged Dem Pres Vote Share					Lagged Turnout		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dem Elec Official	0.029 (0.022)	0.040 (0.017)	0.007 (0.029)	0.020 (0.022)	0.008 (0.019)	0.005 (0.014)	0.019 (0.026)	0.013 (0.019)
N	355	643	178	392	614	1115	307	698
Clusters	355	643	178	392	355	643	179	404
Bandwidth	0.07	0.15	0.04	0.08	0.07	0.15	0.04	0.09
BW Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Unif means the specification uses a uniform kernel. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel.

Table A.6: **Regression Discontinuity Balances County-Level Covariates.**

Outcome Variable	Balance at RD Cut Point			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log(Population)	0.294 (0.253) [447]	0.131 (0.195) [772]	0.262 (0.350) [772]	0.231 (0.262) [772]
Share Non-Hispanic White	0.007 (0.035) [393]	0.018 (0.027) [650]	0.046 (0.052) [650]	0.022 (0.042) [650]
Share Black	0.029 (0.024) [254]	0.014 (0.016) [479]	0.026 (0.034) [479]	0.017 (0.020) [479]
South	0.016 (0.097) [372]	0.018 (0.070) [675]	0.001 (0.131) [675]	0.040 (0.094) [675]
West	0.017 (0.084) [406]	0.051 (0.062) [726]	-0.066 (0.116) [726]	0.009 (0.083) [726]
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Each unbracketed number is an estimate of balance for a particular variable at the discontinuity using a given RD estimator. Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. Sample size reported in square braces. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

### A.6.2 Counties Not Sorting into Treatment or Control

As we discuss in Section 4.4, one potential threat to our design is counties sorting into treatment or control. This could happen if local election officials can manipulate the vote total in subtle ways to ensure they win if they would otherwise lose without intervention. We evaluate this concern using a modified version of the density test proposed in McCrary (2008). Since we expect counties with Democratic clerks to be more likely to narrowly elect Democrats, and the same for Republicans, we change the running variable to ask whether the sitting party is more likely to win very close elections.

Figure A.2: **Density of Clerk Election Results.**

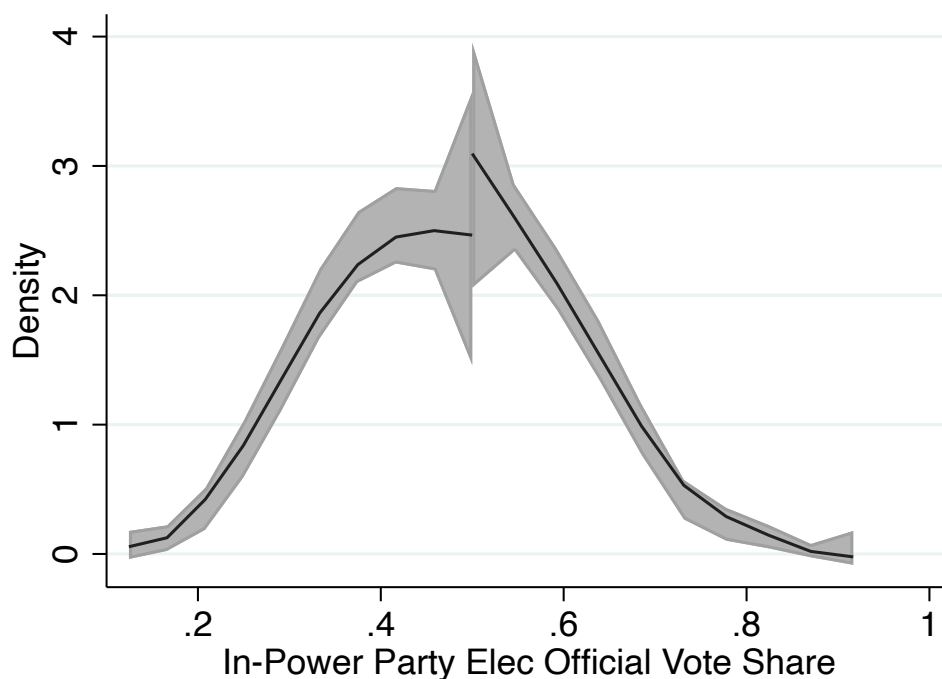


Figure A.2 presents the McCrary plot. While the party in power wins slightly more close elections than they lose, the difference in the densities is small enough that it could easily arise by chance.



### A.6.3 Main Findings Not Sensitive to Choice of Estimator

As we discuss in Section 4.5, using the residuals after predicting Democratic presidential vote share can substantially improve precision relative to using vote share as the outcome or adjusting for lagged vote share within the regression. In Table A.7 below, we validate that our main results are not limited to using our residualized outcome. The first four columns of Table A.7 present the simplest regression discontinuity estimates including no covariates and using Democratic presidential vote share as our outcome. While our estimates are noisy, they are consistent with our main finding that clerks do not offer their party a substantial advantage. The point estimates are also quite similar to the point estimates we find in columns 1 through 4 of Table A.5, suggesting that most of the higher Democratic presidential vote share in Democrat-controlled counties arises from a modest imbalance in treatment assignment. In columns 5 through 8 of Table A.7, we include lagged Democratic presidential vote share as a covariate. Our findings are similar to those we report in our main analysis in Section 5. Put together, we find in Table A.7 that our main results are not limited to our chosen estimator.

Table A.7: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share.**

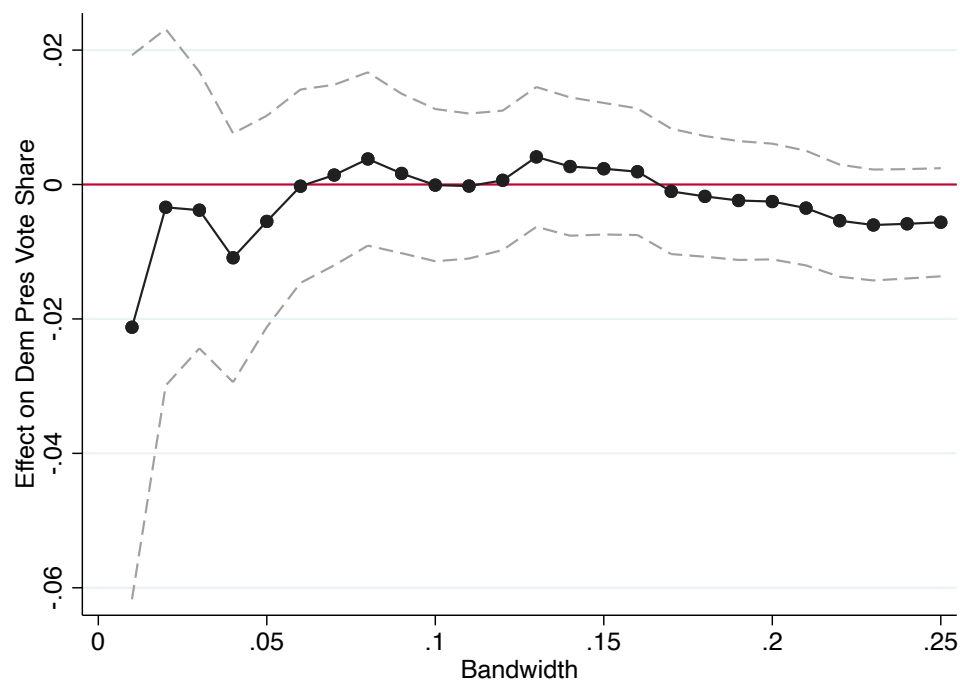
	Dem Pres Vote Share							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dem Elec Official	0.030 (0.024)	0.027 (0.018)	0.002 (0.032)	0.025 (0.024)	-0.005 (0.013)	-0.001 (0.009)	0.003 (0.018)	-0.006 (0.011)
N	403	723	202	456	327	597	165	462
Clusters	391	702	198	442	327	597	165	462
Bandwidth	0.08	0.16	0.04	0.09	0.07	0.13	0.03	0.10
BW Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri
Lagged Vote Share	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Min Detectable Effect	0.060	0.046	0.079	0.060	0.032	0.024	0.044	0.028

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Min detectable effect refers to the minimum effect that a one-sided test with a 0.05 alpha would have 80% power to detect. Lagged vote share captures whether lagged Democratic presidential vote share is included as a covariate in the regression. Unif means the specification uses a uniform kernel. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel.

#### A.6.4 Main Findings Not Sensitive to Choice of Bandwidth

Analyses of regression discontinuities must weigh the bias reduction that comes from only using data close to the cut point against the precision improvement that comes from using data further from the cut point. In Figure A.3 we present our main result across many possible bandwidths. The choice of bandwidth does not meaningfully change the interpretation of our findings. All of these analyses imply that local election officials do not meaningfully advantage their party.

Figure A.3: **Sensitivity of Estimated Effect on Democratic Presidential Vote Share across Bandwidths.**



### A.6.5 Main Finding Similar Across Time

In Figure 4 in the main analysis, we presented graphical evidence that our main finding—election officials do not noticeably advantage their party—is not limited to the early part of our study period but rather holds across time. Here, we present the results of our analysis in tabular format, conducting a separate regression discontinuity of electing a Democratic local election official on Democratic presidential vote share in every presidential election since 2004.

Table A.8: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share for Each Presidential Election.**

	Dem Pres Vote Share				
	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dem Elec Official	0.022 (0.032)	-0.013 (0.014)	-0.009 (0.013)	0.006 (0.017)	-0.010 (0.011)
N	46	67	63	93	83
Bandwidth	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.07
BW Selection	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT
Kernel	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel.

### A.6.6 No Substantial Average Effect in States Granting Full Authority to One Official

In Table A.9, we present the results of our analysis focused only on the 14 states where one official has broad and unilateral authority (i.e., “Tier 1” states as shown in Table A.2, with Tier 2 states excluded). These states are: Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. Our estimates are substantively similar to the estimates we report in Table 1.

Table A.9: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, States with Full Authority in One Official.**

	Dem Pres Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.004 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.011 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.009)
N	200	370	104	223
Bandwidth	0.07	0.15	0.04	0.09
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

### A.6.7 Main Finding Similar Across States

In Figure A.4 and Table A.10, we present regression discontinuity estimates of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on Democratic presidential vote share across states. We present all eight states from which we have at least 50 competitive races in our data. While the estimates are noisy, we do not find convincing evidence that clerks are able to advantage their party in any state.

Figure A.4: **Sensitivity of Estimated Effect on Democratic Presidential Vote Share across States.** Each dot represents a regression discontinuity-based estimate of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on residual Democratic presidential vote share in a given state. Vertical lines extending from each point represent 95-percent confidence intervals. Estimates come from regressions that mimic column 4 in Table 1 using local linear regression with triangular kernel weights. Full tabular results are found below in Table A.10.

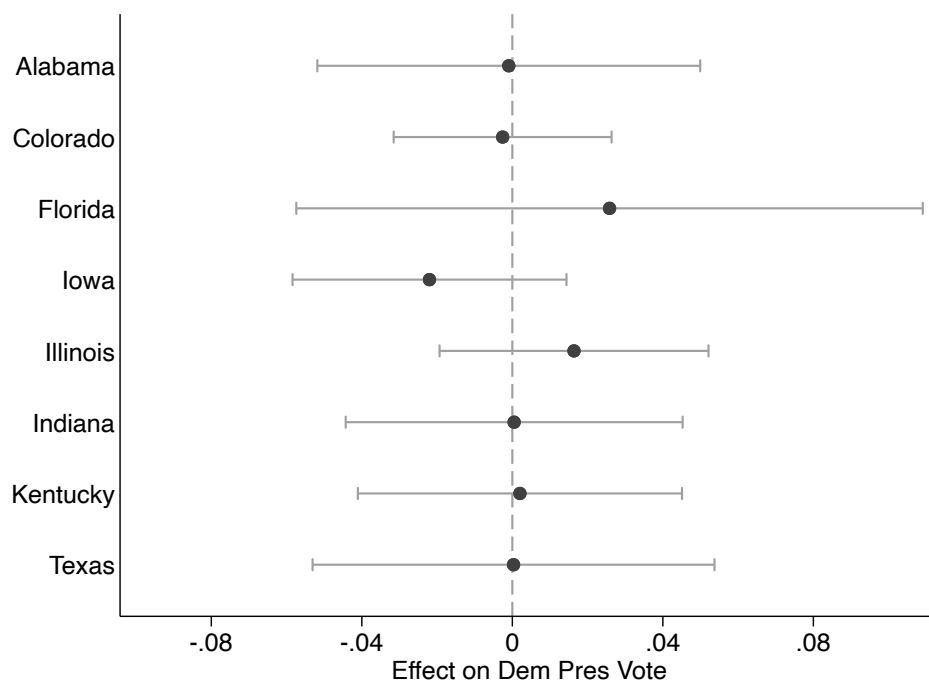


Table A.10: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share Across States.**

	Dem Pres Vote Share							
	Alabama	Colorado	Florida	Iowa	Illinois	Indiana	Kentucky	Texas
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dem Elec Official	-0.001 (0.026)	-0.003 (0.015)	0.026 (0.042)	-0.022 (0.019)	0.016 (0.018)	0.000 (0.023)	0.002 (0.022)	0.000 (0.027)
N	32	24	14	32	44	40	19	24
Bandwidth	0.12	0.06	0.07	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.07	0.08
BW Selection	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT
Kernel	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel.

### A.6.8 Finding Not Sensitive to Excluding the South

In Table A.11, we present the results of our analysis focused only on counties in non-Southern states. We follow the U.S. Census Bureau definition of Southern states. Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Texas, and West Virginia are excluded. Our estimates are substantively similar to those reported in Table 1.

Table A.11: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, Non-Southern Counties.**

	Dem Pres Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.001 (0.008)	0.003 (0.006)	0.001 (0.012)	0.000 (0.008)
N	246	436	122	294
Bandwidth	0.07	0.14	0.03	0.09
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

### A.6.9 Finding Not Sensitive to Excluding VRA Counties

In Table A.12, we present the results of our analysis focused only on counties not covered under the Section 5 pre-clearance provisions of the Voting Rights Act. We use data on Voting Rights Act preclearance coverage from Ang (2019). Our estimates are substantively similar to those reported in Table 1.

Table A.12: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, Counties Not Subject to Pre-Clearance under VRA.**

	Dem Pres Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.003 (0.007)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.008 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.008)
N	336	616	172	335
Bandwidth	0.08	0.15	0.04	0.08
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

In Table A.13, we present the results of our analysis focused only on counties previously covered under the pre-clearance provision of the Voting Rights Act but after the ruling in *Shelby County v. Holder* that removed them. Our estimates are substantively similar to those reported in Table 1.



Table A.13: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, Counties Formerly Subject to Pre-Clearance.**

	Dem Pres Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	-0.015 (0.024)	0.014 (0.018)	0.001 (0.024)	0.014 (0.020)
N	25	43	12	18
Bandwidth	0.07	0.14	0.03	0.05
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

### A.6.10 No Substantial Average Effect in Senate, Governor, or Presidential Elections

In Table A.14, we present the results of our analysis including elections for governor, US senate, and president. Our estimates are substantively similar to those reported in Table 1, although are noisier and slightly more positive.

Table A.14: **Effect of Democratic Election Official on Democratic Vote Share, Elections for President, Senate, and Governor.**

	Dem Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.006 (0.007)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.010)	0.003 (0.007)
N	1211	2144	610	1460
Clusters	422	750	219	507
Bandwidth	0.09	0.18	0.05	0.11
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular
Min Detectable Effect	0.018	0.011	0.026	0.018

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Min detectable effect refers to the minimum effect that a one-sided test with a 0.05 alpha would have 80% power to detect.

### A.6.11 Effect Not Limited To Counties with Close Clerk Elections

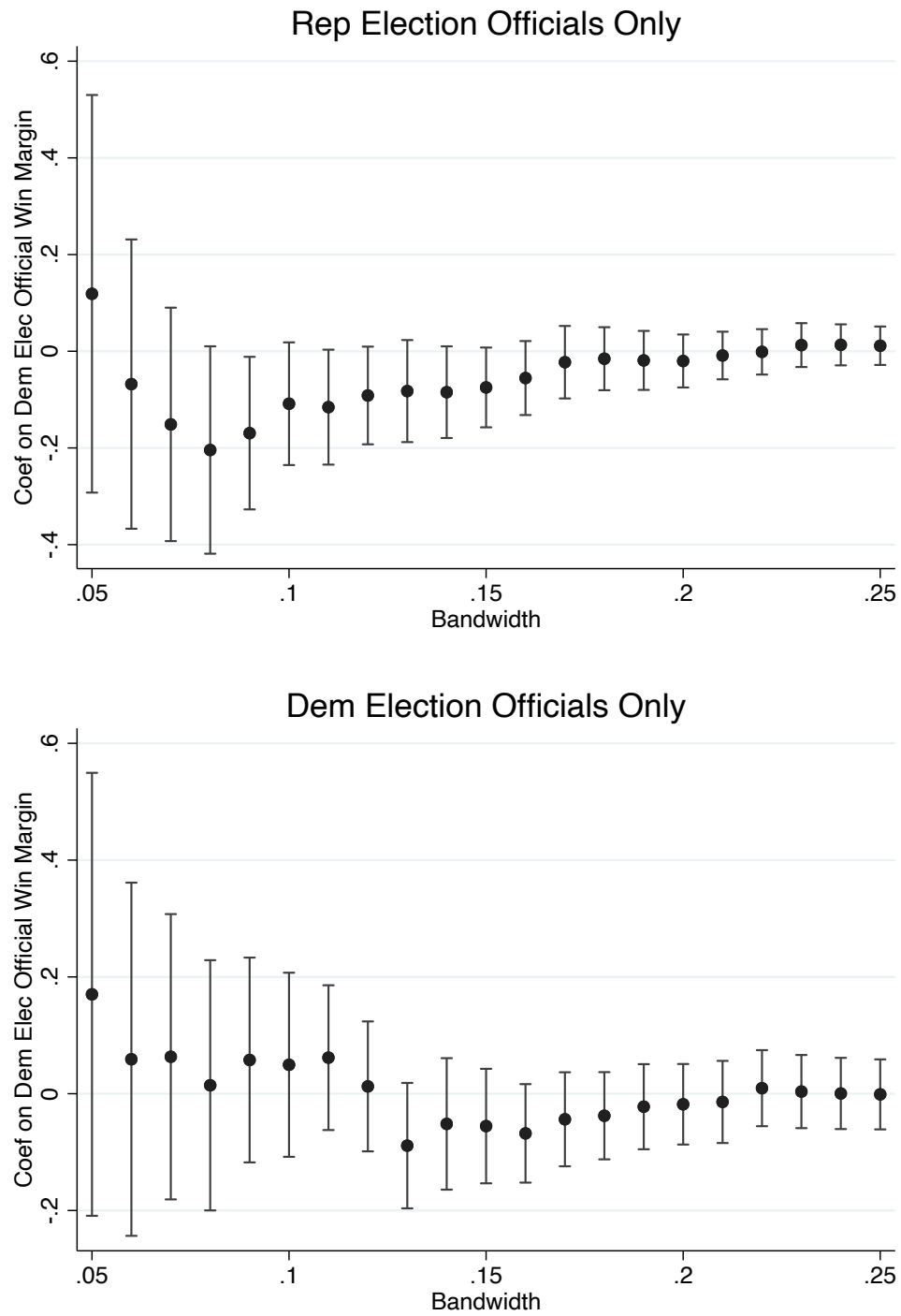
In this section, we draw heavily from Angrist and Rokkanen (2015) and Hainmueller, Hall, and Snyder Jr (2015).

If the treatment (Democratic clerk) were independent of the potential outcomes (Democratic presidential vote share under treatment and control), we could identify the average effect of the treatment without the regression discontinuity design. This would allow us to estimate the average advantage clerks give their co-partisans in elections.

As Angrist and Rokkanen (2015) point out, in regression discontinuity designs, the treatment is a deterministic function of the running variable (Democratic clerk vote share). This means that we can test the independence assumption by looking at the relationship between the potential outcomes and running variable. If the relationship is approximately flat over some region, we can interpret the difference in means in that region as the average effect for that entire region.

We follow Angrist and Rokkanen (2015) and Hainmueller, Hall, and Snyder Jr (2015), regressing residual Democratic presidential vote share on Democratic clerk vote share separately for counties in which Democratic clerks won and lost across multiple bandwidths. Figure A.5 reports the coefficient on Democratic clerk vote share across bandwidths. Across all bandwidths we investigate, even when including clerk elections won with 75% of the vote, we cannot reject a coefficient of zero. This implies that the conditional independence assumption likely holds when we study a much larger set of counties. This also means that the difference in average residual Democratic presidential vote share under Democratic and Republican clerks who win less than 75% of the total vote can be interpreted as the average causal effect of electing a Democratic clerk rather than a Republican. Similar to the results we report in Section 5.1, using all counties where the Democratic clerk won between 25% and 75% of the vote, Democrats decrease Democratic presidential vote share by 0.4 percentage points. The standard error of this estimate is 0.23 percentage points, meaning that we cannot reject the null of no effect.

Figure A.5: Slope of Residual Dem Pres Vote Share on Dem Clerk Vote Share across Bandwidths.



### A.6.12 Democratic and Republican Clerks Administer Elections Similarly

Our results could arise if partisan clerks implement different policies that have approximately neutral effects on election outcomes. Committed partisan clerks could pursue these policies anyway if they are unaware of their ineffectiveness or if they have ideological positions about how elections ought to be administered.

Table A.15 presents estimates of the effect of electing a Democratic rather than Republican election official on outcomes more proximate to the policy choices these officials make. Across the eight columns, we present the effect of electing a Democratic rather than Republican election official on 1) the number of polling places per 1,000 residents, 2) the share of votes cast provisionally, 3) the share of provisional ballots rejected, 4) the share of absentee ballots rejected, 5) the share of voting-age residents registered, 6) the share of registrants removed from the list, 7) the share of registrants registered with the Democratic party, and 8) the share of voters in the CCES reporting a wait time longer than 30 minutes. Tables A.24 through A.31 show these results are similar across many different specifications.

In all cases except for registration rates, the effect of electing a Democrat rather than a Republican is too close to zero to rule out both groups implementing the same policies on average. We find precise evidence that electing a Democrat does not reduce removals from the voter rolls or increase the share of registrants aligned with Democrats. While not estimated very precisely, the effect on the number of polling places is especially strong evidence against the expectation that Democratic and Republican officials pursue markedly different policies given the central role of local election officials in setting the number and location of polling places. Our estimates of the effect on the number of provisionals, the share of provisionals or absentees rejected, and wait times are noisier due to much more idiosyncratic variation in the raw data. Still, we do not find evidence that electing a Democrat rather than a Republican affects these outcomes either. We do find evidence that registration rates are about 2 percentage points higher under Democratic election officials than Republican officials. However, combined with the other findings it does not seem that increased registration translates into a difference in the partisan balance of registrations, and this positive effect may have arisen by chance given the large number of policies we study.

Table A.15: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Policies and More Proximate Outcomes.**

	Polling Places (1)	Prov Share (2)	Prov Rejection (3)	Absentee Rejection (4)	Reg Rate (5)	Reg Removal (6)	Dem Reg Share (7)	Wait Share (8)
Dem Elec Official	-0.068 (0.087)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.059 (0.060)	0.010 (0.016)	0.019 (0.009)	0.004 (0.007)	0.001 (0.006)	-0.020 (0.022)
N	222	178	281	496	699	402	428	400
Clusters	165	124	190	324	410	259	247	273
Outcome Mean	0.982	0.005	0.483	0.028	0.857	0.091	0.489	0.045
Bandwidth	0.07	0.04	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.08	0.13	0.10
BW Selection	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT
Kernel	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Tri refers to a triangular kernel.

In Tables A.16 and A.17, we present additional evidence that Democrats and Republicans administer elections similarly across parties regardless of whether they serve in a majority-Democratic or majority-Republican county.

These findings also provide some evidence that countermobilization strategies pursued by party elites in response to clerk actions (Cantoni and Pons 2021) do not explain our finding of minimal partisan differences. Whereas differences in presidential vote share, turnout, and registration rates could potentially be mitigated by strategic elite mobilization strategies, it is less plausible that countermobilization could also affect the number of polling places, registration and absentee rejection rates, or registration removals.

Table A.16: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Policies and More Proximate Outcomes (Democrat Majority Counties Only).**

	Polling Places (1)	Prov Share (2)	Prov Rejection (3)	Absentee Rejection (4)	Reg Rate (5)	Reg Removal (6)	Dem Reg Share (7)	Wait Share (8)
Dem Elec Official	-0.190 (0.107)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.252 (0.084)	-0.010 (0.021)	0.031 (0.024)	0.009 (0.017)	-0.018 (0.015)	0.006 (0.027)
N	77	63	98	122	150	86	112	103
Clusters	203	132	181	252	295	181	168	211
Outcome Mean	0.770	0.006	0.443	0.020	0.858	0.085	0.565	0.036
Bandwidth	0.09	0.04	0.09	0.07	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.08
BW Selection	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT
Kernel	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Tri refers to a triangular kernel. Democrat counties are those in which the Democratic clerk candidate's vote share is greater than 0.50.

Table A.17: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Policies and More Proximate Outcomes (Republican Majority Counties Only).**

	Polling Places (1)	Prov Share (2)	Prov Rejection (3)	Absentee Rejection (4)	Reg Rate (5)	Reg Removal (6)	Dem Reg Share (7)	Wait Share (8)
Dem Elec Official	-0.031 (0.102)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.021 (0.070)	0.021 (0.020)	0.021 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.007)	0.007 (0.006)	-0.012 (0.026)
N	137	221	164	377	690	249	268	280
Clusters	155	233	179	342	539	229	243	273
Outcome Mean	1.044	0.005	0.496	0.031	0.856	0.092	0.455	0.048
Bandwidth	0.06	0.08	0.09	0.11	0.12	0.07	0.13	0.10
BW Selection	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT	CCT
Kernel	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Tri refers to a triangular kernel. Republican counties are those in which the Democratic clerk candidate's vote share is less than 0.50.

## A.7 Studying Mechanisms

### A.7.1 Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in More Segregated Counties

#### A.7.1.1 Main Estimates of the Effect in Segregated Counties

As we discuss in Section 6, race is one of the most useful heuristics for guessing the party a citizen may vote for (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Carlson and Hill 2021; Hersh 2015). If a county is segregated by race, a local election official may have an easier time identifying areas of the county to send resources in order to increase turnout and where to curtail resources in order to reduce participation. According to this logic, we would expect clerks serving in counties in which different racial groups live in different places to have an easier time affecting election outcomes.

We measure residential racial segregation using the 2010 decennial census to compute a racial dissimilarity score across blocks within a county, following standard practice.<sup>28</sup> We compute the residential dissimilarity score as

$$D = \sum_b \left| \frac{W_b}{W} - \frac{N_b}{N} \right|$$

where  $D$  is our dissimilarity measure for a county,  $W_b$  is the number of non-Hispanic White residents in the Census block,  $W$  is the number of non-Hispanic White residents in the county,  $N_b$  is the number of Hispanic or non-White residents in the Census block, and  $N$  is the number of Hispanic or non-White residents in the county.

In Table A.18, we investigate the prediction that clerks will advantage their party more in more segregated counties. The evidence is consistent with clerks not providing an advantage to their party even in the most segregated counties. We further validate this finding in Figure A.6, which shows that our finding is not sensitive to the threshold we use to separate more and less diverse counties.

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<sup>28</sup><https://www.census.gov/data/datasets/2010/dec/summary-file-1.html>



Table A.18: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, More vs. Less Racially Segregated Counties.**

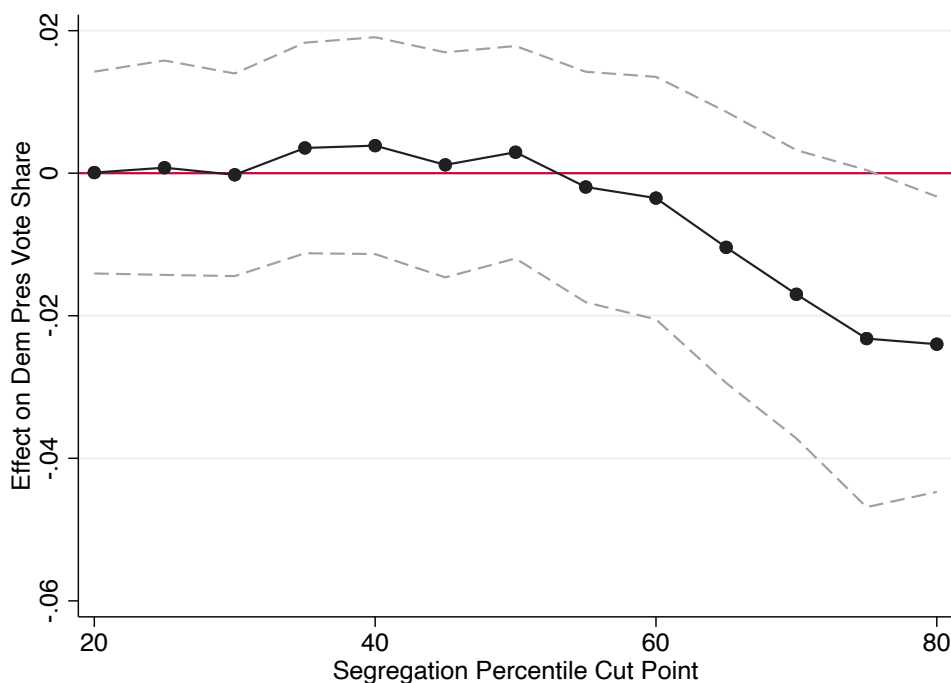
	Dem Pres Vote Share							
	Less Segregated				More Segregated			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dem Elec Official	-0.006 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.009 (0.013)	-0.005 (0.009)	-0.000 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.006)	0.005 (0.011)	0.003 (0.008)
N	159	288	78	200	229	379	119	286
Bandwidth	0.06	0.12	0.03	0.08	0.11	0.21	0.05	0.14
BW Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Unif means the specification uses a uniform kernel. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel. More segregated counties are those above the median racial racial dissimilarity index. All other counties are coded as less segregated.

### A.7.1.2 Findings Not Sensitive to Definition of Segregated Counties

In Figure A.6, we demonstrate that our finding that clerks do not advantage their party even in more segregated counties holds across many thresholds for defining which counties are more or less segregated. Since segregation should make it easier for clerks to advantage their party, we would expect clerks motivated by advantaging their party to have a large effect in more segregated counties. We find instead that as we tighten our rule to throw less segregated counties out of our analysis, we estimate effects that are increasingly more negative. This is the opposite of what we would expect if election officials are seeking to advantage their party.

Figure A.6: **Effect in Segregated Counties Not Sensitive to Definition of Segregation.** The horizontal axis captures our definition of segregated counties. A value of 50 means that the county must be more segregated than 50% of counties in our sample. Each dot represents a regression discontinuity-based estimate of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on residual Democratic presidential vote share. The lines above and below each point represent 95-percent confidence intervals. Estimates come from regressions that mimic Column 4 in Table 1 using local linear regression with a triangular kernel.



## A.7.2 Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in More Diverse Counties

### A.7.2.1 Main Estimates of the Effect in Diverse Counties

As noted above, race is an extremely informative heuristic for party affiliation (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Carlson and Hill 2021). There is also a long history of race-based disenfranchisement in the US (Keyssar 2000), and recent scholarship has identified racial and ethnic disparities in resource and communication decisions made by local election officials (Herron and Smith 2015; Hughes et al. 2020; Merivaki and Smith 2020; Pettigrew 2017; Stuart 2004; White, Nathan, and Faller 2015). Accordingly, we might expect that clerks would have a harder time giving their party an advantage in counties where the population is overwhelmingly composed of non-Hispanic White citizens.

We investigate this prediction in Table A.19. For the purposes of the table, we define racially and ethnically diverse counties as those where non-Hispanic White residents make up less than 80% of the population. We use two census datasets to calculate county-level ethnoracial demographics: the 2000-2010 County Characteristics Intercensal Population Estimates<sup>29</sup> and the 7/1/2019 County Characteristics Resident Population Estimates.<sup>30</sup> These cover all presidential elections between 2000 and 2016. While we do find more positive point estimates in diverse counties, the evidence is consistent with clerks not providing an advantage to their party even in counties with more ethnic and racial minorities. We further validate this finding in Figure A.7, which shows that our finding is not sensitive to the threshold we use to separate more and less diverse counties.

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<sup>29</sup><https://www.census.gov/data/datasets/time-series/demo/popest/intercensal-2000-2010-counties.html>

<sup>30</sup><https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/popest/2010s-counties-detail.html>

Table A.19: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, More vs. Less Racially and Ethnically Diverse Counties.**

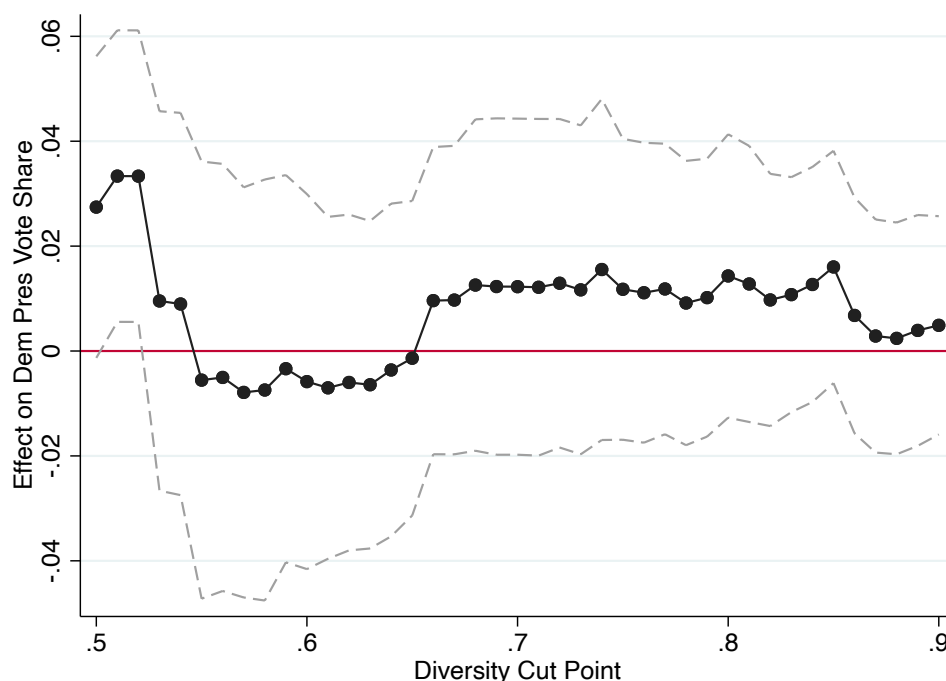
	Dem Pres Vote Share							
	Less Diverse				More Diverse			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dem Elec Official	-0.001 (0.007)	0.001 (0.005)	-0.014 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.008)	0.013 (0.015)	0.006 (0.012)	0.007 (0.018)	0.014 (0.014)
N	282	505	145	274	83	166	43	103
Bandwidth	0.08	0.16	0.04	0.08	0.07	0.14	0.04	0.09
BW Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Unif means the specification uses a uniform kernel. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel. More diverse counties are those where the non-Hispanic White residents make up less than 80% of the population. All other counties are coded as less diverse.

### A.7.2.2 Findings Not Sensitive to Definition of Diverse Counties

In Figure A.7, we demonstrate that our finding that clerks do not advantage their party even in more diverse counties holds across many thresholds for defining which counties are more or less diverse.

Figure A.7: **Effect in Diverse Counties Not Sensitive to Definition of Diversity.** The horizontal axis captures our definition of diverse counties. Non-Hispanic White citizens must make up a smaller share than the cut point value for a county to be included in the analysis. Estimates on the left side of the figure use fewer counties but restrict the analysis to a stricter definition of diversity. Each dot represents a regression discontinuity-based estimate of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on residual Democratic presidential vote share. The lines above and below each point represent 95-percent confidence intervals. Estimates come from regressions that mimic column 4 in Table 1 using local linear regression with a triangular kernel.



### A.7.3 Estimated Effects No Larger in Balanced Districts

#### A.7.3.1 Effects Largest in Districts Split Between Parties if Officials Are Committed Partisans

As we discuss in 6, the effect of electing a Democratic rather than a Republican clerk should be larger in counties that are evenly balanced between the parties if the clerks are focused exclusively on advantaging their party. To see why, imagine that the only choice a clerk can make is whether or not to increase the cost of voting for the opposing party such that 20% of opposing party members fail to vote. In a county made up of 90% Democrats and 10% Republicans, a Democratic clerk motivated by partisan advantage would raise the cost of voting for Republicans, resulting in a 91.8% Democratic vote share in the election. In the same county, a Republican clerk motivated by partisan advantage would raise the cost of voting for Democrats, resulting in a 87.8% Democratic vote share in the election. This implies that the effect of electing a Democratic clerk rather than a Republican is a 4-percentage point increase to Democratic vote share in this county.

Now, consider a county made up of 50% Democrats and 50% Republicans. A Democratic clerk motivated by partisan advantage would raise the cost of voting for Republicans, resulting in a 55.6% Democratic vote share in the election. A Republican clerk motivated by partisan advantage would raise the cost of voting for Democrats, resulting in a 44.4% Democratic vote share in the election. This implies that the effect of electing a Democratic clerk rather than a Republican clerk is an 11-percentage point increase to Democratic vote share in this county, 7 percentage points larger than the effect in the Democratic-dominated county.

We generate a more general version of this prediction by studying a very simple model of a clerk's behavior. In the model, clerks can reduce the turnout of either party by a factor  $1 - p$  or do nothing. Here,  $p$  represents the turnout rate of the party affected by the policy and can range from 0 to 1 depending on how effective the policy is at reducing turnout. To maximize their party's vote share, Democratic clerks will always reduce Republican turnout and Republican clerks will always reduce Democratic turnout. Plugging in values of  $p$  and the share of citizens who are members of each party, we can compute the Democratic vote share under Democratic clerks as

$$DemVS = \frac{DemPopShare}{DemPopShare + RepPopShare * p}$$

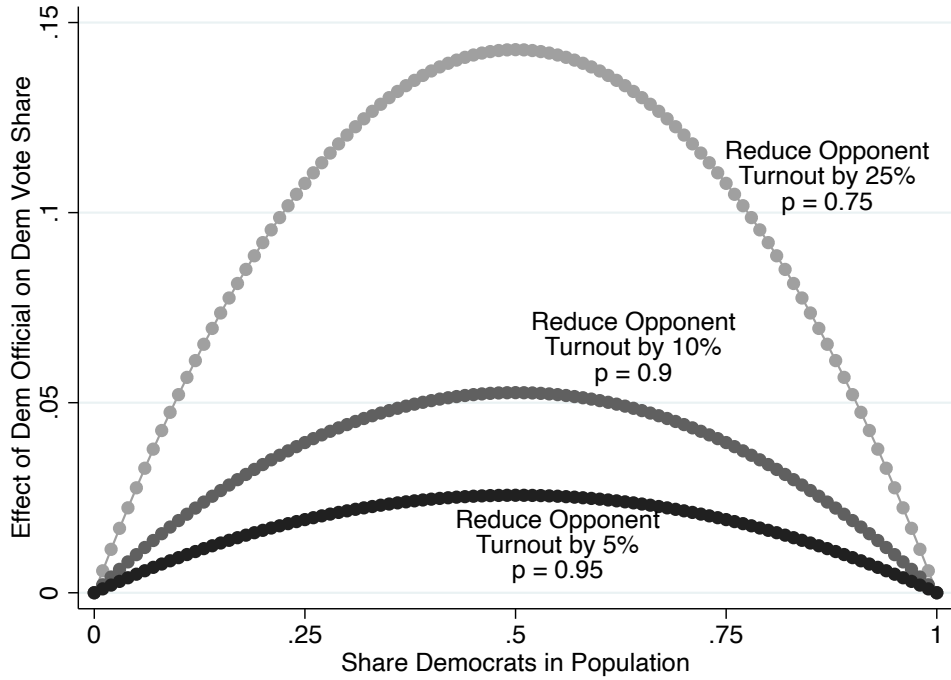
and the Democratic vote share under Republican clerks as

$$DemVS = \frac{DemPopShare * p}{DemPopShare * p + RepPopShare}$$

We can then take the difference of these two vote shares to get the effect of electing a Democratic rather than Republican clerk on Democratic vote share.

In Figure A.8 we plot how the effect on Democratic vote share changes when the district has a higher or lower proportion of Democrats in the population. We show how the effect changes for different values of  $p$ . Partisan clerks seeking to maximize their party's vote share have the biggest effect when they serve a county where 50% of residents are Democrats and 50% of residents are Republicans.

Figure A.8: **In Model of Partisan Officials Seeking to Advantage Their Party, Effect on Democratic Presidential Vote Share Largest in Balanced Counties.**



### **A.7.3.2 Main Estimates of the Effect in Balanced Districts**

As we discussed in A.7.3.1, election officials who are solely motivated by advantaging their party will have an easier time doing so in places where the public is more evenly split between Democrats and Republicans. This allows us to make a prediction: if clerks are primarily motivated by providing their party an advantage, they will be more effective in counties that are evenly split between Democrats and Republicans.

We evaluate this prediction by estimating the effect of electing a Democratic rather than Republican election official in more and less competitive counties, with imbalanced defined as those where the Democratic presidential candidate won more than 65% or less than 35% in the previous election and all others defined as balanced. Table A.20 presents the results. We find that, despite the prediction that the effects would be larger in more competitive counties, the effects are not noticeably different. Section A.7.3.3 shows that this result is not sensitive to our chosen definition of which counties are most competitive. In summary, the simple model in which local officials are committed partisans seeking to advantage their party is inconsistent with our findings. We also find no evidence that partisan effects are larger in heavily co-partisan (imbalanced) jurisdictions, contrary to previous literature observing an effect only in such counties (Kimball, Kropf, and Battles 2006; Mohr et al. 2019; Porter and Rogowski 2018).



Table A.20: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, Balanced vs. Imbalanced Counties.**

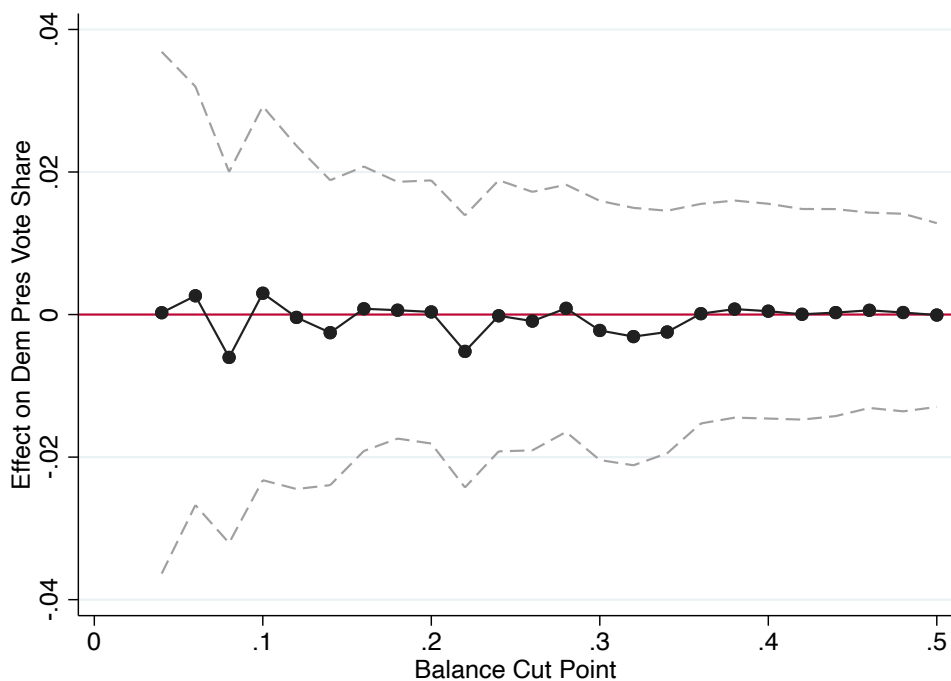
	Dem Pres Vote Share							
	Imbalanced				Balanced			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dem Elec Official	0.005 (0.011)	0.002 (0.008)	-0.012 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.010)	0.000 (0.008)	0.004 (0.007)	0.001 (0.012)	-0.002 (0.009)
N	94	184	46	135	233	409	118	235
Bandwidth	0.07	0.13	0.03	0.10	0.07	0.13	0.03	0.07
BW Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Unif means the specification uses a uniform kernel. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel. Imbalanced counties are those where the Democratic presidential candidate won more the 65% or less than 35% in the previous election. All other counties are coded as balanced.

### A.7.3.3 Findings Not Sensitive to Definition of Balanced Counties

In Figure A.9, we demonstrate that our finding that clerks do not advantage their party even in more competitive counties holds across many definitions of competitiveness. While we estimate the most positive point estimates in the most competitive states, suggesting that clerks advantage their party more in very competitive states, the estimates are still relatively small (less than one percentage point). The confidence intervals we estimate include zero regardless of the threshold used for defining competitive states.

**Figure A.9: Effect in Balanced Counties Not Sensitive to Definition of Partisan Balance.** The horizontal axis captures our definition of balanced counties. The win margin in the last Democratic presidential election must be smaller than the cut point value for a county to be included in the analysis. Estimates on the left side of the figure use fewer counties but restrict the analysis to a stricter definition of balance. Each dot represents a regression discontinuity-based estimate of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on residual Democratic presidential vote share. The lines above and below each point represent 95-percent confidence intervals. Estimates come from regressions that mimic column 4 in Table 1 using local linear regression with a triangular kernel.



## A.7.4 Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in Larger Counties

### A.7.4.1 Main Estimates of the Effect in Large-Population Counties

Election officials who want to advantage their party may have an easier time if they have the resources and staff to carry out their plans. We expect larger counties to have more of these resources (Kimball and Baybeck 2013). Previous literature has also found clerks to diverge along party lines in their support for voter access and security policies only in large jurisdictions (Kimball and Baybeck 2010, 2013). In Table A.21, we investigate the prediction that clerks will advantage their party more in larger counties, defining large counties as those with more than 100,000 residents. We use two census datasets to calculate county-level population: the 2000-2010 County Characteristics Intercensal Population Estimates<sup>31</sup> and the 7/1/2019 County Characteristics Resident Population Estimates.<sup>32</sup> We extrapolate population figures to 2020 using linear regression. Despite the prediction that the effects will be largest in counties with larger populations, we find that the effects are similar in large and small counties.

Table A.21: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, Small vs. Large Counties.**

	Dem Pres Vote Share							
	Pop < 100k				Pop ≥ 100k			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dem Elec Official	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.008)	0.011 (0.012)	-0.003 (0.009)	0.003 (0.014)	0.007 (0.012)
N	341	580	181	292	82	149	40	95
Bandwidth	0.10	0.21	0.05	0.09	0.06	0.12	0.03	0.07
BW Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Unif means the specification uses a uniform kernel. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel.

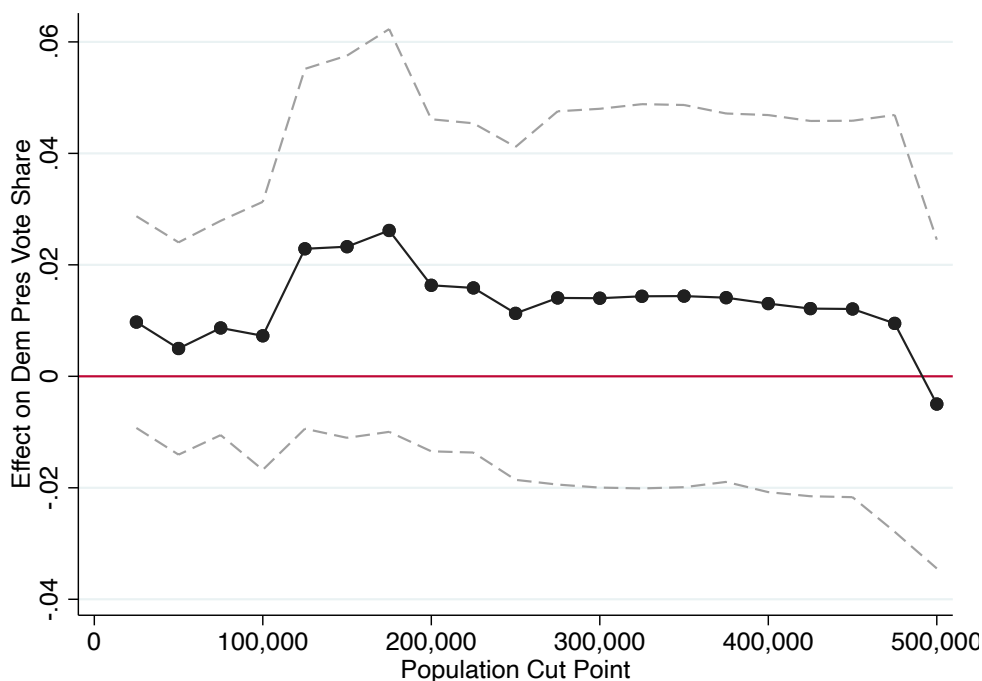
<sup>31</sup><https://www.census.gov/data/datasets/time-series/demo/popest/intercensal-2000-2010-counties.html>

<sup>32</sup><https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/popest/2010s-counties-detail.html>

#### A.7.4.2 Findings Not Sensitive to Definition of Large-Population Counties

In Figure A.10, we demonstrate that our finding that clerks do not advantage their party even in large-population counties holds across many thresholds for defining what counts as a large-population county. While we generally estimate the most positive point estimates in more populous counties, suggesting that clerks advantage their party in heavily populated counties, the estimates are still relatively small (less than 1.5 percentage points). The confidence intervals we estimate include zero regardless of the threshold we use for defining large-population.

**Figure A.10: Effect in Large-Population Counties Not Sensitive to Population Threshold for Inclusion.** The horizontal axis captures our population threshold for including a county in the large-population analysis. Each dot represents a regression discontinuity-based estimate of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on residual Democratic presidential vote share. The lines above and below each point represent 95-percent confidence intervals. Estimates come from regressions that mimic column 4 in Table 1 using local linear regression with a traingular kernel.



## A.7.5 Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in More Competitive States

### A.7.5.1 Main Estimates of the Effect in Competitive States

Election officials may feel more motivated to advantage their party in more competitive states. In Table A.22, we investigate the prediction that clerks will advantage their party more in more competitive states, defining competitive states as those in which the Democratic or Republican presidential candidate won by less than five percentage points in the previous election. The evidence is consistent with clerks not providing an advantage to their party regardless of whether the clerk serves in a more or less competitive state.

Table A.22: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, More vs. Less Competitive States.**

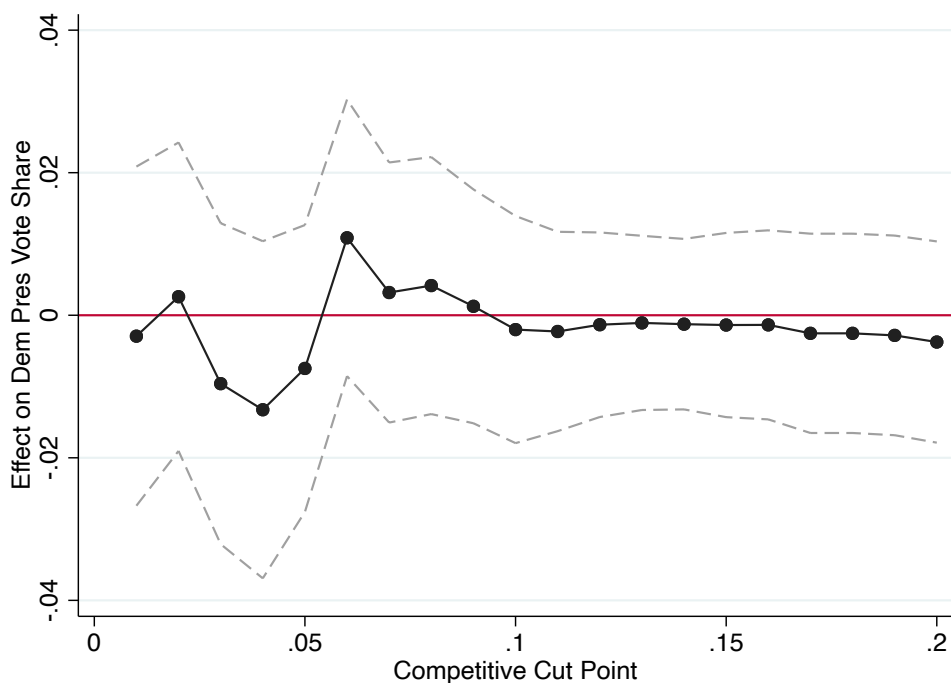
	Dem Pres Vote Share							
	Less Competitive				More Competitive			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dem Elec Official	0.001 (0.009)	-0.001 (0.007)	0.001 (0.013)	0.001 (0.009)	0.006 (0.010)	0.004 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.007 (0.010)
N	237	432	118	263	143	240	76	101
Bandwidth	0.07	0.14	0.03	0.08	0.11	0.21	0.05	0.07
BW Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Unif means the specification uses a uniform kernel. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel. More competitive states are those in which the last presidential election was decided by less than five percentage points.

### A.7.5.2 Findings Not Sensitive to Definition of More Competitive States

In Figure A.11, we demonstrate that our finding that clerks do not advantage their party even in competitive states holds across many thresholds for defining what counts as a competitive state. The confidence intervals we estimate include zero regardless of the threshold we use for defining competitive states.

Figure A.11: **Effect in Competitive States Not Sensitive to Threshold for Inclusion.** The horizontal axis captures our threshold for counting a state as competitive. Each dot represents a regression discontinuity-based estimate of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on residual Democratic presidential vote share. The lines above and below each point represent 95-percent confidence intervals. Estimates come from regressions that mimic column 4 in Table 1 using local linear regression with a triangular kernel.



## A.7.6 Clerks Do Not Advantage Their Party More in Determinative Counties

### A.7.6.1 Main Estimates of the Effect in Determinative Counties

Election officials may feel more motivated to advantage their party when their county makes up a larger share of the win margin in their state. In Table A.23, we investigate the prediction that clerks will advantage their party more in more determinative counties, defining determinative counties as those in which the Democratic or Republican presidential candidate won by less than two times the population of the county in the most recent election. While point estimates are generally more positive in determinative counties, we find that Democratic and Republican clerks oversee similar elections regardless of whether the clerk serves in a determinative county or not.

Table A.23: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Presidential Vote Share, Determinative vs. Not Determinative Counties.**

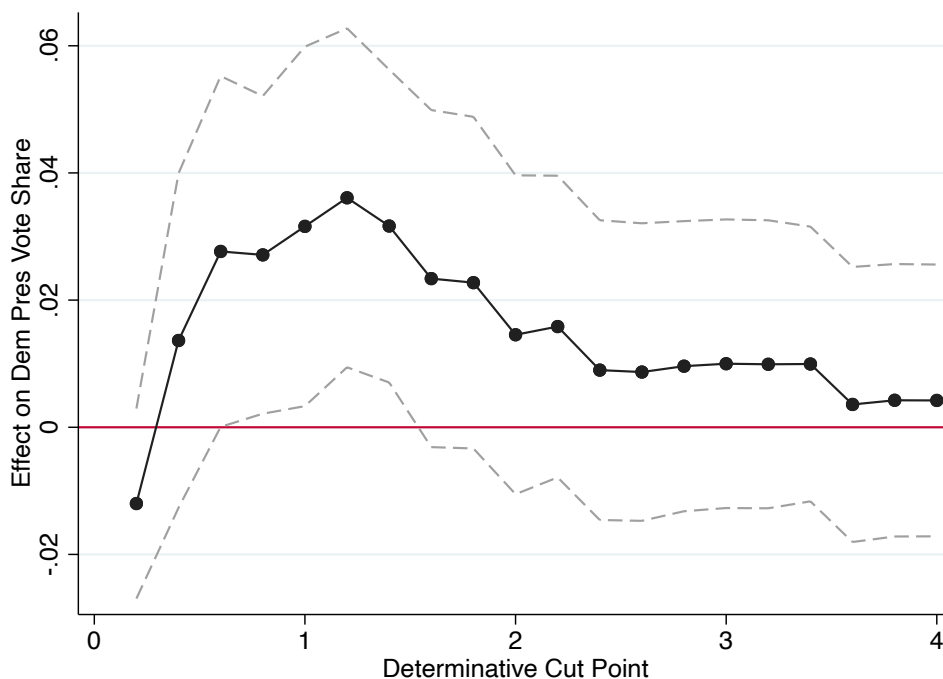
	Dem Pres Vote Share							
	Not Determinative				Determinative			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dem Elec Official	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.012 (0.010)	-0.005 (0.007)	0.019 (0.014)	0.004 (0.011)	0.012 (0.018)	0.015 (0.013)
N	311	531	162	366	72	142	39	95
Bandwidth	0.09	0.19	0.05	0.11	0.05	0.11	0.03	0.07
BW Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri	Unif	Unif	Unif	Tri

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure. Unif means the specification uses a uniform kernel. Tri means the specification uses a triangular kernel. Determinative counties are those that have more people than half of the margin in the last presidential election in that state. All other counties are coded as not determinative.

### A.7.6.2 Findings Not Sensitive to Definition of Determinative Counties

In Figure A.12, we demonstrate that our finding that clerks do not advantage their party even in determinative counties holds across many thresholds for defining what counts as a determinative county. Our threshold is defined by how many counties of this size would have to swing entirely from one candidate to the other to make up the margin in the state's previous presidential election. On the left side of the plot, only the counties with the largest effects on statewide election outcomes are included. While the point estimates go up and down, we read this as consistent with our other findings that election officials are not dramatically advantaging their party even when it matters most.

Figure A.12: **Effect in Determinative Counties Not Sensitive to Threshold for Inclusion.** The horizontal axis captures our threshold for counting a county as determinative. Each dot represents a regression discontinuity-based estimate of the effect of electing a Democratic clerk on residual Democratic presidential vote share. The lines above and below each point represent 95-percent confidence intervals. Estimates come from regressions that mimic column 4 in Table 1 using local linear regression with a triangular kernel.





### A.7.7 Effect of Electing a Democratic Clerk on All Policy Outcomes Collected

In Table A.15 in Section A.6.12, we present evidence that Democratic and Republican election officials implement similar policies when serving in similar counties. Here, we share the full results for each of the policy outcomes. Five indicators use the US Election Assistance Commission’s 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020 Election Administration and Voting Survey (EAVS): the number of polling places, provisional ballots cast, provisional ballots rejected, absentee ballots rejected, and the number of registrants removed from the voter roll.<sup>33</sup> Two indicators use Dave Leip’s Election Atlas: the number of registered voters in each county and the share of registered voters listed as members of the Democratic party.<sup>34</sup> One indicator uses the 2006, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018 CCES survey: the share of voters who had to wait at the polls for more than 30 minutes.<sup>35</sup>

We find the same pattern as presented in the main text across all eight policy outcomes. We also run specifications measuring wait times as the share of voters in the CCES reporting a wait time longer than 10 minutes. We find similar results to the 30 minute or longer measure used in the main analysis. Additionally, we report results testing a measure of voter wait times derived from phone location data calculated by Chen et al. (2020). These are only available for the 2016 election, but include county-level measures of both average wait times and racial disparity in wait times. The results are reported below. The results are substantively the same to those reported in Table A.15.

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<sup>33</sup><https://www.eac.gov/research-and-data/datasets-codebooks-and-surveys>

<sup>34</sup><https://uselectionatlas.org/>

<sup>35</sup><https://cces.gov.harvard.edu/data>

Table A.24: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Polling Places.**

	Polling Places per 1k			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	-0.041 (0.085)	0.025 (0.071)	-0.100 (0.098)	-0.068 (0.087)
N	242	422	122	222
Clusters	180	314	94	165
Bandwidth	0.08	0.15	0.04	0.07
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.25: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Provisional Share.**

	Provisional Share of Ballots			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.002 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
N	194	353	102	178
Clusters	136	243	74	124
Bandwidth	0.04	0.08	0.02	0.04
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.26: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Provisional Rejection Rate.**

	Provisionals Rejection Rate			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	-0.070 (0.061)	-0.059 (0.043)	0.009 (0.084)	-0.059 (0.060)
N	236	412	127	281
Clusters	162	277	88	190
Bandwidth	0.08	0.15	0.04	0.10
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.27: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Absentee Rejection Rate.**

	Absentee Rejection Rate			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.003 (0.017)	0.011 (0.013)	0.013 (0.020)	0.010 (0.016)
N	370	639	188	496
Clusters	242	418	126	324
Bandwidth	0.07	0.14	0.03	0.10
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.28: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Registration.**

	Registered Voters per VAP			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.013 (0.009)	0.018 (0.007)	0.022 (0.011)	0.019 (0.009)
N	649	1174	330	699
Clusters	380	688	194	410
Bandwidth	0.08	0.16	0.04	0.09
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.29: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Registration Removals.**

	Registrations Removed / Total Registrants			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.005 (0.008)	0.002 (0.006)	0.002 (0.011)	0.004 (0.007)
N	325	558	161	402
Clusters	207	358	105	259
Bandwidth	0.06	0.12	0.03	0.08
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.30: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Democratic Registration Share.**

	Dem Reg Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	0.001 (0.006)	-0.000 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.008)	0.001 (0.006)
N	367	663	199	428
Clusters	213	384	116	247
Bandwidth	0.11	0.22	0.06	0.13
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.31: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Wait Times.**

	Share Over 30 min Wait			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	-0.013 (0.024)	-0.036 (0.018)	-0.043 (0.030)	-0.020 (0.022)
N	289	515	143	400
Clusters	195	358	93	273
Bandwidth	0.07	0.14	0.03	0.10
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag of turnout using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.32: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Wait Times.**

	Share Over 10 min Wait			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	-0.029 (0.055)	-0.040 (0.038)	0.007 (0.075)	-0.022 (0.048)
N	297	537	151	449
Clusters	201	372	98	309
Bandwidth	0.07	0.14	0.04	0.11
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag of turnout using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.33: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Phone Location-Based Wait Times.**

	Average Wait Time			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	-1.476 (3.656)	0.372 (2.664)	-2.250 (4.949)	-1.779 (3.983)
N	30	46	19	31
Bandwidth	0.08	0.16	0.04	0.09
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag of turnout using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

Table A.34: **Effect of Democratic Election Officials on Racial Disparities in Phone Location-Based Wait Times.**

	Average Wait Time Disparity			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dem Elec Official	-0.436 (21.388)	4.164 (14.540)	-8.126 (24.657)	-2.980 (21.420)
N	31	48	20	34
Clusters	31	48	20	34
Bandwidth	0.08	0.17	0.04	0.10
Bandwidth Selection	CCT	CCT*2	CCT/2	CCT
Kernel	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Triangular

Robust standard errors clustered by clerk election in parentheses. The outcome is first regressed on a state- and year-specific lag of turnout using all counties including those for which clerk election results are not available. The regression discontinuity is estimated using the residuals from that regression. The bandwidth row reports the number of maximum clerk win margin allowed for inclusion in each specification. CCT refers to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014) bandwidth selection procedure.

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