

Supplemental Materials for:
City-State Ideological Incongruence and Municipal Preemption

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A: Representativeness of Municipal Officials Survey

The questions examined in this paper were a small subset of the questions included in the 2016 American Municipal Officials Survey, which was administered by Daniel M. Butler (in the Political Science Department at Washington University in St. Louis at the time) and Adam M. Dynes (in the Political Science Department at Brigham Young University at the time). For more details about the survey and its sample, please visit <http://www.municipalsurvey.org/> and http://www.municipalsurvey.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/AMOS2016_details-of-sample.pdf in particular.

The survey was conducted in two waves sent to two different samples of municipal officials. Invitations to the first wave of the survey were sent in May and June of 2016 to a sample of 27,862 elected mayors and legislators (e.g., city councilors, aldermen, supervisors, etc.) and high ranking staff (such as city managers and clerks) from 4,187 cities. The sample was compiled by a for-profit organization that gathers contact information and email addresses of public officials from municipalities that have a website and a population above 10,000. The organization uses webcrawler software to identify when information changes on the contact pages of each city's website and then has research assistants update its contact list of officials accordingly. Unfortunately, this approach had a high error rate. Based on Qualtrics' email tracking, only 18,531 (or 67%) of the email invitations were delivered to an active email address. In addition, we looked up a sample of 832 officials in the list and found that only 44% of the email addresses were accurate. 2,003 officials answered questions on the first wave of the survey, resulting in a response rate of 16.4 percent, which is similar to those from other surveys of municipal officials (e.g., Butler and Dynes (2016) report a response rate of 23%). The second wave of the survey was conducted in June and early July of 2016. The sample consisted of the email addresses of elected mayors and city councilors (or equivalent) gathered previously in 2012 and 2014. Excluding the email addresses that were also in the first wave resulted in a list of 29,250 emails. The email addresses collected in 2012 were gathered in January through March of 2012 by a team of undergraduate research assistants who searched for the website of 26,566 US municipalities. The email addresses collected in 2014 were gathered in a similar fashion in early 2014 but excluded municipalities with a population below 3,000 due to the low percentage of small towns with websites. Given that these email addresses

were gathered 2 to 4 years prior to this survey, we knew that a large percentage of the emails and names of the officials (in the case of cities that use generic email accounts for each office) would no longer be accurate. Indeed, 26% of the emails sent through Qualtrics were undeliverable. It is likely that many more of the email addresses are no longer monitored though they remain active. With 1,418 officials participating, the response rate for the second round of the survey was 6.6% although that probably underestimates significantly the actual response rate. In this paper, we analyze respondents from both survey rounds together.

Table A1: Municipal Official Respondents per State

State	Number	Percent of Observations
Alabama	32	0.94
Alaska	6	0.18
Arizona	45	1.32
Arkansas	35	1.03
California	235	6.92
Colorado	70	2.06
Connecticut	69	2.03
Delaware	13	0.38
Florida	108	3.18
Georgia	61	1.8
Hawaii	0	0
Idaho	18	0.53
Illinois	213	6.27
Indiana	68	2
Iowa	71	2.09
Kansas	42	1.24
Kentucky	37	1.09
Louisiana	10	0.29
Maine	35	1.03
Maryland	51	1.56
Massachusetts	114	3.36
Michigan	194	5.71
Minnesota	129	3.8
Mississippi	26	0.77
Missouri	106	3.12
Montana	12	0.35
Nebraska	10	0.29
Nevada	12	0.35
New Hampshire	14	0.41
New Jersey	133	3.92
New Mexico	27	0.79
New York	233	6.86
North Carolina	142	4.18
North Dakota	13	0.38
Ohio	153	4.5
Oklahoma	24	0.71
Oregon	78	2.3
Pennsylvania	105	3.09
Rhode Island	10	0.29
South Carolina	26	0.77
South Dakota	14	0.41
Tennessee	53	1.56
Texas	132	3.89
Utah	64	1.88
Vermont	19	0.56
Virginia	65	1.91
Washington	64	1.88
West Virginia	23	0.68
Wisconsin	158	4.65
Wyoming	23	0.68
Total	3,395	100

Across a number of demographic features, the respondents to the municipal officials survey are from cities that are broadly representative of the population of US municipalities. This is quite impressive for several reasons. First, there is no central repository of municipal officials in the United States, nor is there any repository of contact information for those officials. Thus, obtaining any sample (representative or unrepresentative) of municipal officials faces the headwind of sampling from an unknown population. Furthermore, because there is no dataset of demographics of municipal officials, we cannot verify the representativeness of the respondents to the survey. Instead, to approximate this, we compare the demographics of the *cities* from which officials responded to the demographics of the population of US cities, for which we do have data. We obtain data on the population of municipalities from the US Census bureau’s 5-year estimates from the 2016 American Communities Survey. Across features of age, race, economics, and ideology (we obtain ideology estimates from the Warshaw and Tausanovitch estimates of city ideology) the cities from which we have responses are similar to the population of cities in the United States. The one outlier is city population where respondents to our survey come from larger cities than the typical US city. This is, however, to be expected for a few reasons. First, there are an incredibly large number of very small municipalities in the United States. Second, the contact information for municipal officials is more likely to be available for larger cities with a more professionalized, online presence. Third, larger municipalities are also more likely have more elected officials (i.e. city councils and mayors versus a single city manager). Thus, a sample of municipal *officials* will draw more invitations and responses from officials in larger *cities* — where there are simply more municipal officials to sample.

Figure A1: Representativeness of Municipal Officials Survey

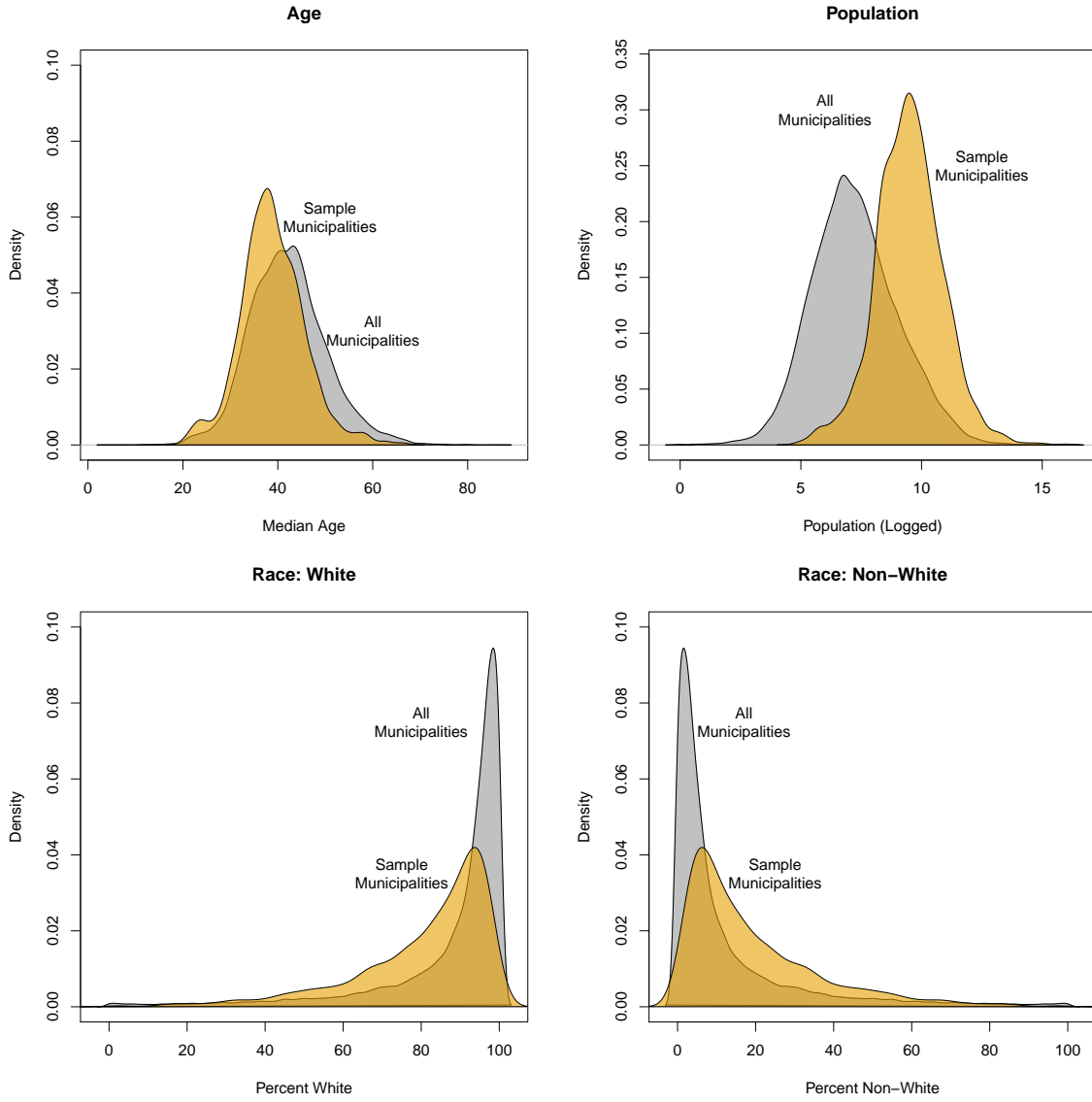
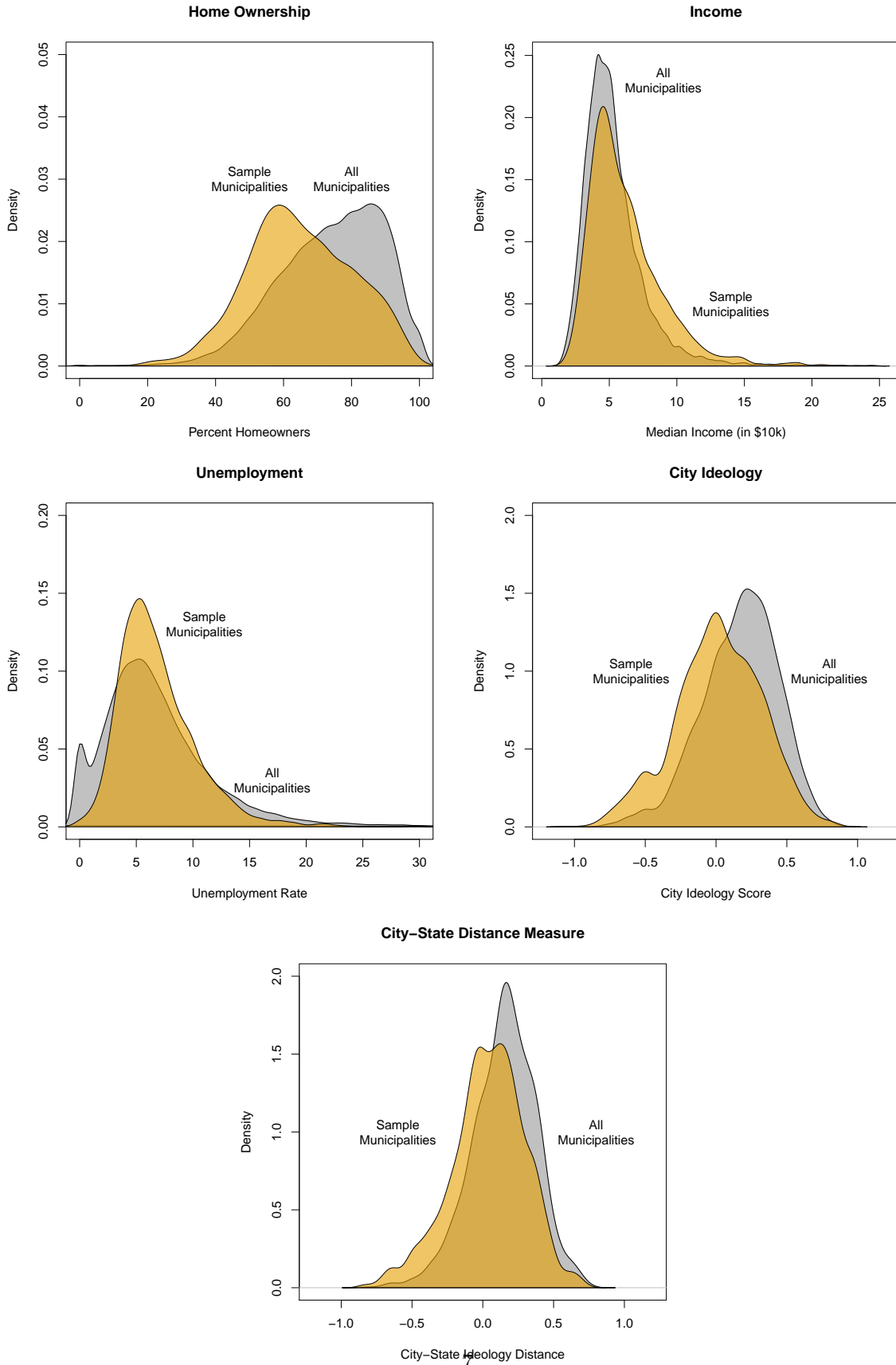


Figure A2: Representativeness of Municipal Officials Survey, cont'd



B: Summary Statistics of Variables Used in Regression Models

Table A2: Summary Statistics of Variables Used in Regression Models

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Preemption Survey Questions				
All Preemption	0.07	0.25	0	1
LGBT Policy	0.06	0.23	0	1
Gun Policy	0.11	0.31	0	1
Labor Policy	0.15	0.36	0	1
Zoning Policy	0.27	0.45	0	1
Environmental Policy	0.18	0.39	0	1
Tax Policy	0.24	0.43	0	1
Preemption Index	1.27	1.46	0	7
Ideological Congruence Measures				
Ideological Incongruence (MRP measure)	0.02	0.26	-0.84	0.73
Ideological Incongruence (Voter file measure)	-0.06	0.20	-0.72	0.65
State-Level Controls				
Unified GOP State Government	0.39	0.49	0	1
Unified Dem State Government	0.21	0.41	0	1
Municipal-Level Controls				
Ln(City Population)	9.63	1.38	4.77	15.95
State Capital	0.02	0.12	0	1
Percent White	0.81	0.17	0.01	1
Percent Black	0.09	0.14	0	0.98
Percent Latino	0.12	0.15	0	0.98
Percent Unemployed	0.07	0.03	0	0.30
Percent Homeowners	0.64	0.15	0.09	1
Median Income (in \$10k)	6.29	2.77	1.75	24.37
Median Age	38.77	6.75	19.8	67.3
Municipal Official Controls				
Nonpartisan Elected Position	0.69	0.46	0	1
Partisan Elected Position	0.24	0.43	0	1
Female	0.30	0.46	0	1
Mayor	0.10	0.29	0	1
Legislator	0.82	0.39	0	1
Republican	0.34	0.48	0	1
Democrat	0.35	0.48	0	1
Tenure in office (years)	8.13	6.46	1	30

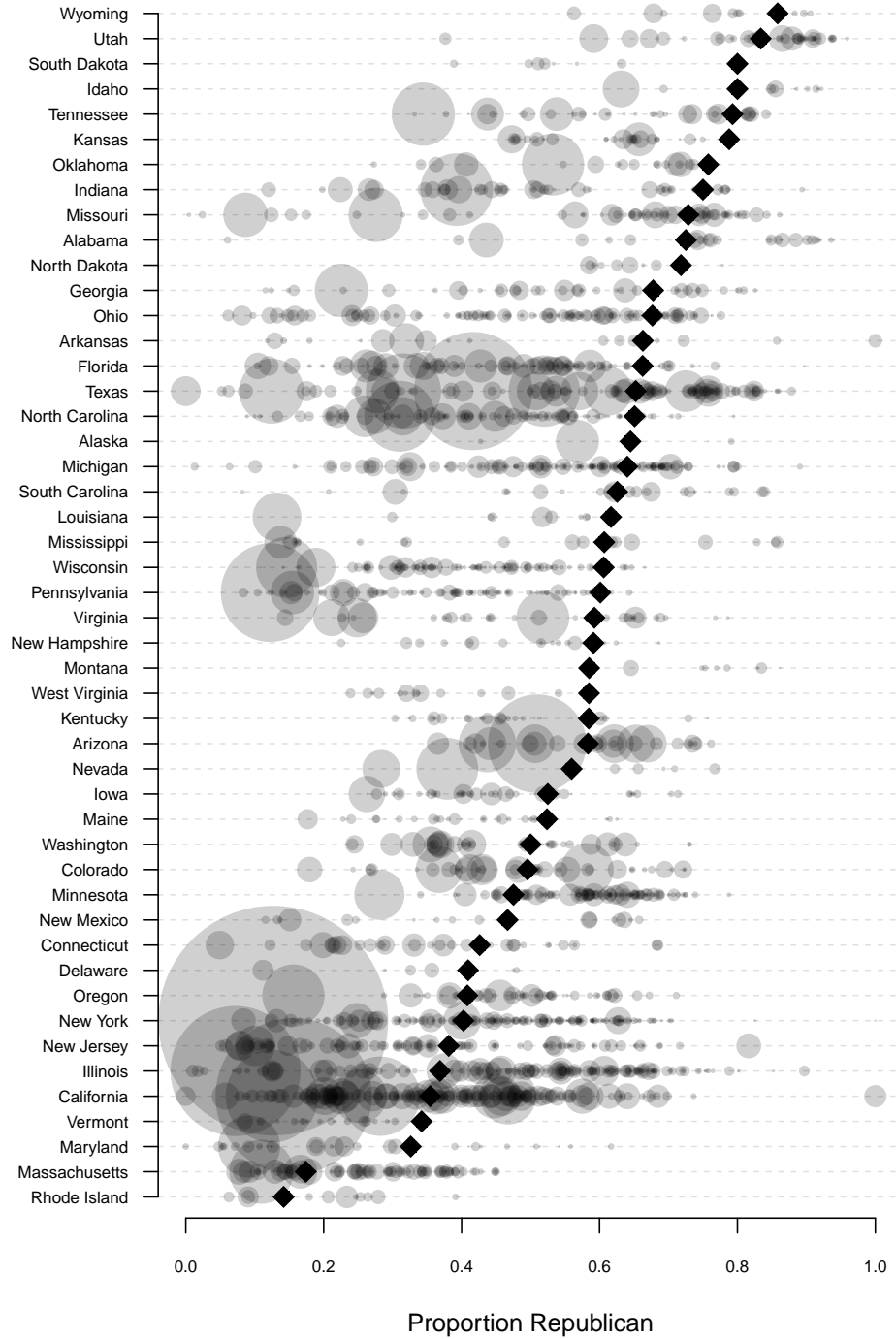
Table A3: Summary Statistics Split by State/Municipality Ideological Alignment

Unified State Government City Ideological Direction	GOP Liberal	GOP Conservative	Dem Liberal	Dem Conservative
Number of Respondents	759	967	350	564
Preemption Survey Questions				
All Preemption	0.24	0.17	0.16	0.15
LGBT Policy	0.13	0.07	0.04	0.04
Gun Policy	0.21	0.12	0.05	0.05
Labor Policy	0.21	0.12	0.18	0.19
Zoning Policy	0.34	0.30	0.30	0.28
Environmental Policy	0.27	0.14	0.19	0.19
Tax Policy	0.33	0.27	0.25	0.22
Preemption Index	1.85	1.29	1.23	1.19
Ideological Congruence Measures				
Ideological Incongruence (MRP measure)	-0.21	0.20	-0.18	0.22
Ideological Incongruence (Voter file measure)	-0.23	-0.09	-0.06	0.07
Municipal-Level Controls				
Ln(City Population)	9.82	9.30	10.21	9.45
State Capital	0.03	0	0.03	0
Percent White	0.77	0.84	0.73	0.83
Percent Black	0.15	0.08	0.07	0.03
Percent Latino	0.09	0.07	0.17	0.17
Percent Unemployed	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08
Percent Homeowners	0.63	0.66	0.62	0.64
Median Income (in \$10k)	5.68	5.27	8.52	6.29
Median Age	38.18	39.10	39.98	39.81
Municipal Official Controls				
Nonpartisan Elected Position	0.75	0.73	0.59	0.56
Partisan Elected Position	0.21	0.19	0.36	0.39
Female	0.29	0.29	0.43	0.28
Mayor	0.10	0.13	0.06	0.08
Legislator	0.84	0.77	0.87	0.85
Republican	0.29	0.45	0.25	0.43
Democrat	0.40	0.21	0.57	0.38
Tenure in office (years)	8.50	8.28	7.67	8.15

C: Alternative Measure of Ideological Incongruence

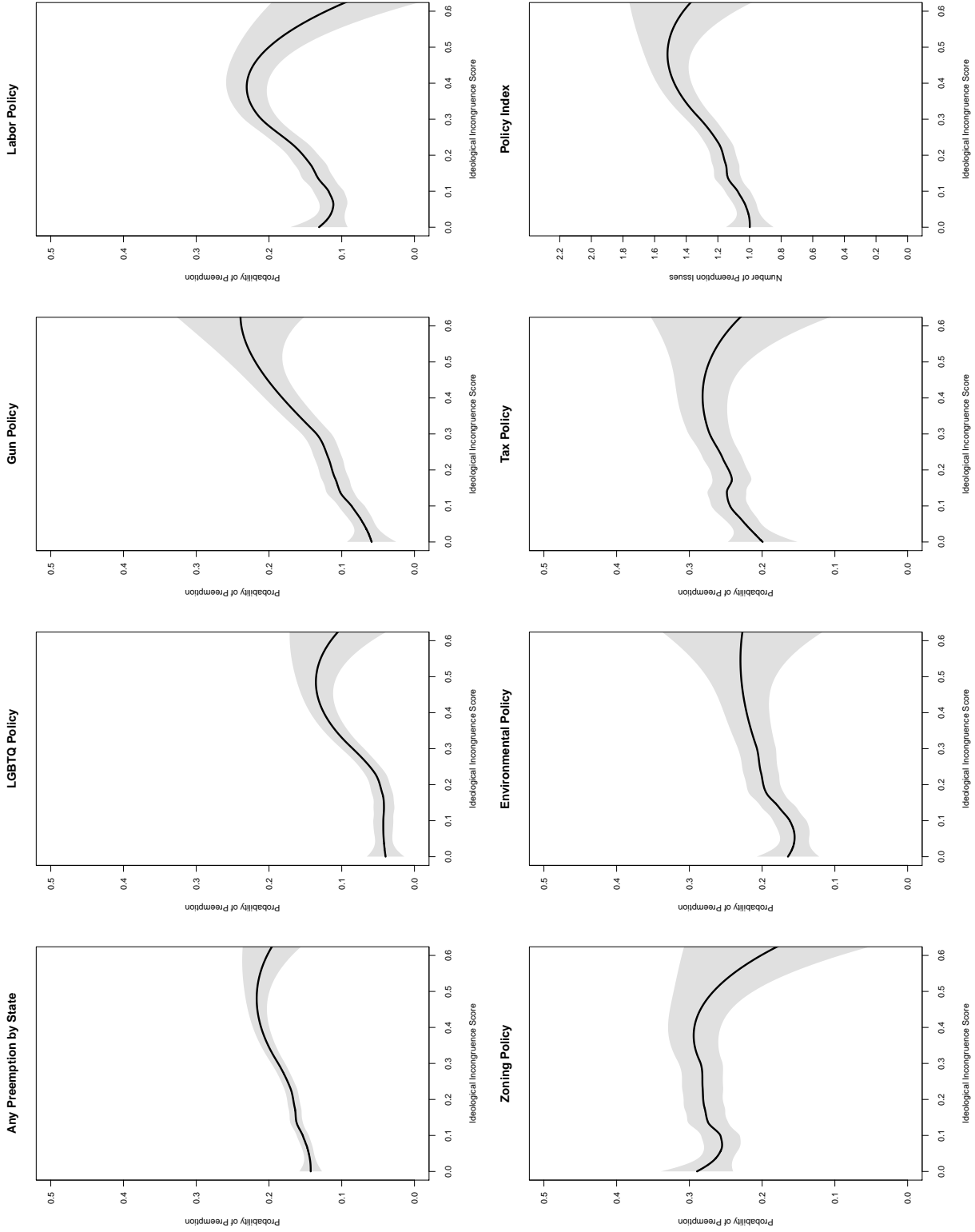
Figure A3: Ideology of States and Municipalities within States using Alternative Measure

City and State Ideology Measures



The black diamonds show the proportion of the state legislature controlled by Republicans while the circles show proportion of voters in the state who are registered Republicans (two-party share). We see that there are a number of cities in each state that are more liberal or conservative than the overall state. Circles sizes are proportional to the population of the city.

Figure A4: Lowess Results with Alternative Measure of Ideological Incongruence



These figures replicate those in Figure 2 of the main paper but use a different measure of ideological incongruence between cities and states. Here we use aggregate party registration data for municipal ideology and the proportion of state legislature seats held by Republicans for state-level ideology. Using these alternative data we still observe that municipal officials are more likely to report cases of state government preemption in cities that are ideologically distant from the ideology of the state in which they reside. Each figure shows a lowess line and 95% confidence interval around the estimated relationship.

D: Robustness Models

To ensure that our results are robust, we conduct a number of alternative specifications to show that our results are not sensitive to a particular specification. First, we account for different ways of measuring the ideological distance between the municipality and the state. Table A4 in the supplemental materials shows the results when we omit municipalities (nearly all those with a population below 20,000) that did not have an ideology measure in the Warshaw and Tausanovitch (2014) data. As a proxy, our results in Table 1 impute the county ideology for these smaller cities. However, omitting these smaller municipalities altogether produces similar results. We also use an entirely different measure of city and state ideology and find similar results. Rather than the MRP estimates of ideology provided by Warshaw and Tausanovitch, we use a national voter registration file to calculate the proportion of registered voters in each municipality who are registered with either the Republican or Democratic party and compare that to the proportion of the state legislature controlled by Democrats. Using this alternative measure of ideological incongruence we find similar (if not stronger) results compared to those presented in Table 1 of the main paper (See Table A5).

Additional supplemental models include those without control variables (Tables A6-A7) and models that are weighted by city population (Table A8). We also present models that include state fixed effects (Tables A11-A12).¹ We also include an additional control that measures partisan agreement between the municipal official and the party in control of the state government (Table A8) as well as limiting the data to officials who have been in office for less than 8 years (two four-year terms, Table A10). We also split the data by whether the respondent is a partisan or non-partisan municipal official (Tables A15-A16). Finally, we also test to make sure that any one particular state is not driving the results we observe. To do this we systematically remove one state at a time and rerun the regressions in Table 1 with all observations except for those in the omitted state. Figure A5 plots the distribution of these coefficients and shows that the main results that contain all of the data are similar to the results with any particular state omitted from the analysis.

¹Because of the potential bias caused by the incidental parameters problem in binary outcome models with fixed effects, we present models in the main paper without state fixed effects. However, even with these issues, the results are consistent across all of these different specifications.

Table A4: Municipal Preemption - Only Observations with City-Level MRP Estimates

Dependent Variable:	All Preemption	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index (OLS)
Ideological Incongruence	1.10** (0.34)	0.56 (0.88)	0.43 (0.82)	2.05** (0.63)	1.62** (0.55)	2.01** (0.66)	1.07* (0.58)	1.21** (0.46)
Unified GOP State Gov.	0.61** (0.12)	1.15** (0.37)	0.92** (0.30)	0.45* (0.24)	0.76** (0.22)	0.65* (0.26)	0.52* (0.22)	0.74** (0.16)
Unified Dem State Gov.	0.32† (0.16)	0.16 (0.48)	-0.63 (0.44)	0.56† (0.29)	0.83** (0.29)	0.28 (0.31)	0.17 (0.28)	0.34† (0.17)
State Capital	0.042 (0.27)	-0.030 (0.53)	1.00 (0.61)	0.17 (0.40)	-0.58 (0.49)	0.29 (0.49)	-0.71 (0.44)	0.19 (0.40)
Ln(City Population)	0.28** (0.065)	0.29† (0.17)	0.31* (0.15)	0.35** (0.12)	0.42** (0.11)	0.25* (0.11)	0.46** (0.11)	0.34** (0.090)
City Median Income (in 10k)	-0.11** (0.040)	-0.25* (0.11)	-0.17† (0.095)	-0.13† (0.075)	-0.030 (0.062)	-0.031 (0.079)	-0.18** (0.065)	-0.13** (0.041)
City % White	-0.70 (0.64)	-3.30† (1.75)	-0.13 (1.45)	-1.56 (1.12)	0.38 (1.05)	-1.36 (1.16)	-0.37 (1.07)	-0.82 (0.75)
City % Black	-1.56† (0.82)	-0.95 (2.07)	-1.54 (1.83)	-3.57* (1.45)	-0.77 (1.30)	-2.64† (1.60)	-2.75† (1.43)	-1.63† (0.98)
City % Latino	-0.32 (0.31)	-1.55† (0.91)	-0.028 (0.73)	-0.31 (0.67)	-0.62 (0.62)	0.62 (0.73)	-0.48 (0.59)	-0.40 (0.37)
City % Unemployed	-5.40† (2.86)	-17.3* (8.13)	-14.0* (6.91)	0.97 (5.44)	-2.30 (4.90)	-2.37 (5.21)	-2.85 (4.87)	-7.29* (3.21)
City % Homeowners	0.61 (0.69)	0.50 (1.92)	-1.67 (1.34)	2.14† (1.29)	0.77 (1.09)	-0.17 (1.30)	1.50 (1.12)	0.69 (0.82)
City Median Age	0.0026 (0.012)	-0.031 (0.033)	0.021 (0.032)	-0.0061 (0.025)	-0.00045 (0.021)	-0.0072 (0.024)	0.047* (0.023)	-0.00048 (0.015)
Nonpartisan Elected Position	-0.0093 (0.33)	1.36* (0.65)	-0.64 (0.58)	0.017 (0.67)	-0.054 (0.65)	-0.058 (0.54)	-0.024 (0.50)	-0.079 (0.40)
Partisan Elected Position	-0.20 (0.35)	1.71* (0.71)	-0.42 (0.62)	-0.25 (0.70)	-0.89 (0.72)	-0.26 (0.59)	0.025 (0.54)	-0.27 (0.42)
Mayor	0.38 (0.40)	-0.78 (0.76)	0.65 (0.77)	0.47 (0.72)	0.50 (0.72)	0.62 (0.64)	0.86 (0.57)	0.49 (0.50)
City Councillor	-0.11 (0.32)	-1.16* (0.58)	-0.34 (0.56)	-0.29 (0.60)	0.0042 (0.62)	0.047 (0.49)	0.18 (0.47)	-0.069 (0.36)
Female	-0.10 (0.10)	0.20 (0.27)	0.10 (0.25)	-0.37† (0.22)	-0.14 (0.18)	-0.21 (0.20)	-0.70** (0.20)	-0.029 (0.13)
Republican	-0.26* (0.13)	-0.10 (0.36)	0.26 (0.35)	-0.54* (0.27)	-0.11 (0.23)	-0.17 (0.26)	-0.68** (0.24)	-0.36* (0.16)
Democrat	0.026 (0.13)	0.10 (0.31)	0.66* (0.30)	0.091 (0.24)	-0.030 (0.23)	-0.069 (0.25)	-0.099 (0.21)	-0.024 (0.17)
Years in Office	0.0019 (0.0063)	-0.038* (0.017)	0.017 (0.013)	-0.0086 (0.014)	0.020† (0.012)	0.0058 (0.014)	0.0048 (0.013)	0.00075 (0.0080)
<i>N</i>	6776	968	968	968	968	968	968	968

Coefficients reported from Logistic regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. The final model is an OLS model. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A5: Municipal Preemption - Voter Registration Measure of Ideology

Dependent Variable:	All Preemption	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index (OLS)
Ideological Incongruence	1.29** (0.25)	1.72* (0.83)	2.12** (0.56)	2.90** (0.51)	0.78† (0.42)	1.37** (0.48)	1.26** (0.43)	1.30** (0.29)
Unified GOP State Gov.	0.57** (0.066)	1.20** (0.23)	0.86** (0.16)	0.46** (0.14)	0.61** (0.11)	0.39** (0.13)	0.66** (0.11)	0.59** (0.071)
Unified Dem State Gov.	0.24** (0.085)	0.053 (0.32)	-0.37 (0.27)	0.64** (0.17)	0.33* (0.14)	0.21 (0.16)	0.36** (0.14)	0.21** (0.077)
State Capital	0.30 (0.26)	0.32 (0.55)	1.04† (0.61)	0.49 (0.42)	-0.12 (0.45)	0.51 (0.40)	-0.35 (0.41)	0.46 (0.40)
Ln(City Population)	0.17** (0.026)	0.26** (0.086)	0.20** (0.063)	0.36** (0.055)	0.17** (0.043)	0.12** (0.047)	0.15** (0.045)	0.18** (0.028)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	0.029* (0.014)	0.016 (0.050)	0.028 (0.037)	-0.0059 (0.028)	0.090** (0.024)	0.055* (0.026)	-0.023 (0.025)	0.027† (0.015)
City % White	-0.38 (0.38)	-1.99† (1.08)	0.98 (1.00)	-0.14 (0.74)	-0.37 (0.61)	-0.46 (0.72)	-1.03 (0.65)	-0.47 (0.42)
City % Black	-1.27** (0.46)	-1.94 (1.33)	0.57 (1.16)	-3.19** (0.96)	-1.46† (0.76)	-1.45 (0.92)	-2.13** (0.78)	-1.26* (0.50)
City % Latino	-0.28 (0.21)	-1.12† (0.67)	0.39 (0.52)	-0.23 (0.48)	-0.18 (0.37)	0.15 (0.45)	-0.75† (0.39)	-0.37† (0.21)
City % Unemployed	-1.76 (1.11)	-4.77 (3.72)	-6.44* (3.08)	-2.05 (2.48)	-1.63 (1.78)	-1.24 (1.95)	-1.90 (1.89)	-1.82† (1.04)
City % Homeowners	-0.45 (0.30)	-2.26* (1.03)	-1.13 (0.84)	0.70 (0.60)	-0.54 (0.51)	-1.02† (0.55)	0.44 (0.51)	-0.55† (0.30)
City Median Age	0.0025 (0.0049)	0.0047 (0.017)	-0.00021 (0.015)	-0.0088 (0.011)	0.0011 (0.0090)	0.0078 (0.0095)	0.0052 (0.0082)	0.0035 (0.0048)
Nonpartisan Elected Position	-0.26 (0.16)	0.038 (0.46)	-0.66† (0.39)	-0.085 (0.33)	0.042 (0.26)	-0.30 (0.29)	-0.61* (0.29)	-0.33† (0.17)
Partisan Elected Position	-0.47** (0.16)	0.22 (0.48)	-0.82* (0.40)	-0.20 (0.33)	-0.30 (0.27)	-0.42 (0.31)	-0.77** (0.30)	-0.57** (0.17)
Mayor	0.11 (0.17)	-0.064 (0.48)	0.083 (0.43)	-0.30 (0.35)	-0.13 (0.28)	0.12 (0.32)	0.84** (0.30)	0.14 (0.17)
City Councillor	-0.034 (0.15)	-0.36 (0.41)	-0.075 (0.38)	-0.63* (0.29)	-0.25 (0.24)	0.032 (0.28)	0.50† (0.27)	0.030 (0.15)
Female	-0.092 (0.061)	-0.057 (0.18)	-0.026 (0.14)	-0.40** (0.14)	-0.049 (0.099)	-0.13 (0.12)	-0.29** (0.11)	-0.034 (0.064)
Republican	-0.18** (0.067)	-0.090 (0.23)	-0.0017 (0.18)	-0.39** (0.14)	-0.059 (0.12)	-0.28* (0.13)	-0.31** (0.11)	-0.18** (0.068)
Democrat	0.023 (0.073)	0.10 (0.21)	0.69** (0.16)	0.031 (0.14)	-0.037 (0.12)	-0.034 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.12)	0.0079 (0.079)
Years in Office	0.015** (0.0038)	-0.0092 (0.012)	0.010 (0.0083)	0.012 (0.0083)	0.028** (0.0065)	0.027** (0.0076)	0.017* (0.0067)	0.015** (0.0042)
N	23702	3387	3386	3386	3386	3387	3387	3388

Coefficients reported from logistic regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. The final model is an OLS model. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A6: Municipal Preemption - Warsaw and Tausanovitch Measure of Ideology

Dependent Variable:	All Preemption	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index (OLS)
Ideological Incongruence	0.61** (0.21)	1.27* (0.61)	1.20** (0.45)	0.69* (0.35)	0.69* (0.28)	0.96** (0.32)	0.15 (0.28)	0.58* (0.23)
<i>N</i>	25654	3666	3665	3665	3665	3666	3666	3667

Coefficients reported from logistic regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. The final model is an OLS model. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A7: Municipal Preemption - Voter Registration Measure of Ideology

Dependent Variable:	All Preemption	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index (OLS)
Ideological Incongruence	1.23** (0.13)	3.22** (0.67)	3.13** (0.48)	1.91** (0.41)	0.31 (0.36)	1.16** (0.41)	0.88* (0.35)	1.29** (0.27)
<i>N</i>	25598	3658	3657	3657	3657	3658	3658	3659

Coefficients reported from logistic regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. The final model is an OLS model. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A8: Municipal Preemption - Weighted by City Population

Dependent Variable:	All Preemption	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index (OLS)
Ideological Incongruence	0.67** (0.20)	1.03† (0.60)	0.41† (0.24)	1.04** (0.36)	0.95** (0.29)	1.07** (0.33)	0.36 (0.30)	0.68** (0.22)
Unified GOP State Gov.	0.63** (0.070)	1.29** (0.24)	0.48** (0.085)	0.52** (0.14)	0.68** (0.12)	0.50** (0.13)	0.69** (0.11)	0.65** (0.077)
Unified Dem State Gov.	0.24** (0.088)	0.064 (0.32)	-0.19 (0.13)	0.60** (0.17)	0.40** (0.14)	0.27† (0.16)	0.29* (0.14)	0.21** (0.082)
State Capital	0.24 (0.26)	0.13 (0.55)	0.63† (0.33)	0.44 (0.38)	-0.17 (0.45)	0.37 (0.41)	-0.37 (0.42)	0.43 (0.40)
Ln(City Population)	0.18** (0.028)	0.31** (0.087)	0.11** (0.034)	0.34** (0.058)	0.16** (0.045)	0.15** (0.047)	0.17** (0.047)	0.19** (0.030)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	0.021 (0.015)	-0.029 (0.057)	0.0051 (0.020)	-0.013 (0.030)	0.083** (0.025)	0.046† (0.027)	-0.028 (0.026)	0.021 (0.016)
City % White	-0.42 (0.40)	-2.35* (1.17)	0.48 (0.53)	-0.40 (0.75)	-0.39 (0.62)	-0.56 (0.74)	-0.86 (0.69)	-0.49 (0.44)
City % Black	-0.94* (0.48)	-1.84 (1.38)	0.62 (0.61)	-2.40* (0.96)	-1.33† (0.76)	-1.10 (0.92)	-1.51† (0.78)	-0.92† (0.52)
City % Latino	-0.23 (0.21)	-1.46* (0.71)	0.21 (0.27)	-0.085 (0.45)	-0.18 (0.38)	0.27 (0.45)	-0.64 (0.41)	-0.31 (0.21)
City % Unemployed	-1.43 (1.11)	-4.31 (3.70)	-3.22* (1.52)	-0.85 (2.40)	-1.48 (1.77)	-1.03 (1.93)	-1.72 (1.85)	-1.46 (1.06)
City % Homeowners	-0.41 (0.31)	-1.99† (1.06)	-0.45 (0.44)	0.57 (0.61)	-0.48 (0.52)	-0.89 (0.56)	0.45 (0.52)	-0.51 (0.31)
City Median Age	0.0012 (0.0050)	0.0048 (0.017)	-0.0013 (0.0076)	-0.010 (0.011)	-0.0022 (0.0092)	0.0091 (0.0097)	0.0084 (0.0083)	0.0015 (0.0051)
Nonpartisan Elected Position	-0.24 (0.17)	0.24 (0.45)	-0.32 (0.21)	-0.13 (0.33)	0.071 (0.28)	-0.40 (0.30)	-0.56† (0.30)	-0.32† (0.18)
Partisan Elected Position	-0.43* (0.17)	0.44 (0.47)	-0.34 (0.21)	-0.20 (0.33)	-0.35 (0.29)	-0.49 (0.33)	-0.66* (0.31)	-0.54** (0.18)
Mayor	0.18 (0.19)	-0.18 (0.49)	0.028 (0.23)	-0.12 (0.35)	-0.023 (0.29)	0.30 (0.33)	0.87** (0.31)	0.21 (0.18)
City Councillor	0.024 (0.16)	-0.52 (0.41)	-0.045 (0.20)	-0.46 (0.30)	-0.21 (0.26)	0.22 (0.28)	0.54† (0.29)	0.091 (0.16)
Female	-0.11† (0.063)	0.012 (0.18)	-0.037 (0.076)	-0.41** (0.13)	-0.053 (0.100)	-0.17 (0.12)	-0.32** (0.11)	-0.051 (0.066)
Republican	-0.22** (0.068)	-0.12 (0.22)	-0.037 (0.093)	-0.46** (0.14)	-0.087 (0.12)	-0.32* (0.13)	-0.36** (0.12)	-0.22** (0.071)
Democrat	0.020 (0.076)	0.066 (0.21)	0.35** (0.087)	0.021 (0.14)	-0.021 (0.12)	-0.060 (0.14)	-0.14 (0.12)	0.00030 (0.084)
Years in Office	0.014** (0.0039)	-0.013 (0.012)	0.0064 (0.0046)	0.010 (0.0083)	0.028** (0.0067)	0.022** (0.0077)	0.015* (0.0067)	0.014** (0.0044)
N	23751	3394	3393	3393	3393	3394	3394	3395

Coefficients reported from logistic regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. The final model is an OLS model. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A9: Municipal Preemption - Account for Municipal Official Partisan Agreement with State Government

Dependent Variable:	All Issues	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index (OLS)
Ideological Incongruence	0.57** (0.19)	0.98 (0.60)	0.73 (0.45)	0.87* (0.35)	0.82** (0.29)	0.86** (0.32)	0.30 (0.30)	0.56** (0.21)
Unified GOP State Gov.	0.77** (0.074)	1.61** (0.25)	1.14** (0.18)	0.81** (0.15)	0.83** (0.12)	0.68** (0.14)	0.72** (0.12)	0.81** (0.085)
Unified Dem State Gov.	0.42** (0.087)	0.43 (0.31)	-0.050 (0.27)	1.00** (0.18)	0.52** (0.15)	0.49** (0.16)	0.35* (0.14)	0.41** (0.083)
Respondent-State Gov Same Party	-0.49** (0.077)	-1.27** (0.27)	-0.81** (0.21)	-0.98** (0.16)	-0.44** (0.13)	-0.67** (0.15)	-0.084 (0.13)	-0.52** (0.082)
State Capital	0.23 (0.26)	0.15 (0.58)	1.06† (0.64)	0.39 (0.38)	-0.21 (0.45)	0.37 (0.41)	-0.37 (0.42)	0.41 (0.39)
Ln(City Population)	0.17** (0.026)	0.29** (0.086)	0.19** (0.067)	0.33** (0.054)	0.14** (0.044)	0.14** (0.047)	0.15** (0.044)	0.17** (0.027)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	0.029* (0.015)	-0.011 (0.051)	0.027 (0.038)	-0.0040 (0.029)	0.093** (0.025)	0.054* (0.026)	-0.023 (0.025)	0.028† (0.015)
City % White	-0.53 (0.37)	-2.38* (1.07)	0.89 (1.02)	-0.39 (0.70)	-0.61 (0.61)	-0.64 (0.71)	-1.03 (0.68)	-0.62 (0.40)
City % Black	-1.06* (0.45)	-2.01 (1.29)	1.08 (1.16)	-2.55** (0.91)	-1.57* (0.74)	-1.24 (0.89)	-1.62* (0.78)	-1.05* (0.48)
City % Latino	-0.22 (0.20)	-1.28† (0.69)	0.39 (0.52)	-0.0072 (0.43)	-0.18 (0.37)	0.25 (0.44)	-0.71† (0.41)	-0.30 (0.20)
City % Unemployed	-1.69 (1.06)	-4.13 (3.49)	-6.21* (3.01)	-2.13 (2.35)	-1.66 (1.74)	-1.37 (1.87)	-1.91 (1.86)	-1.67† (1.00)
City % Homeowners	-0.46 (0.30)	-2.23* (1.00)	-1.04 (0.87)	0.54 (0.59)	-0.61 (0.51)	-0.99† (0.55)	0.44 (0.52)	-0.56† (0.29)
City Median Age	0.0012 (0.0049)	0.0078 (0.017)	-0.0046 (0.016)	-0.012 (0.010)	-0.0025 (0.0091)	0.0095 (0.0095)	0.0064 (0.0082)	0.0018 (0.0047)
Nonpartisan Elected Position	-0.28† (0.16)	0.032 (0.45)	-0.65† (0.38)	-0.22 (0.31)	0.058 (0.27)	-0.46 (0.29)	-0.54† (0.30)	-0.35* (0.17)
Partisan Elected Position	-0.47** (0.16)	0.21 (0.48)	-0.73† (0.39)	-0.31 (0.32)	-0.34 (0.28)	-0.55† (0.31)	-0.64* (0.31)	-0.58** (0.17)
Mayor	0.18 (0.17)	-0.093 (0.48)	0.082 (0.43)	-0.11 (0.34)	-0.032 (0.29)	0.29 (0.32)	0.84** (0.31)	0.22 (0.17)
City Councillor	0.038 (0.15)	-0.43 (0.41)	-0.020 (0.37)	-0.45 (0.29)	-0.20 (0.25)	0.25 (0.27)	0.51† (0.28)	0.11 (0.15)
Female	-0.098 (0.061)	-0.012 (0.18)	-0.074 (0.15)	-0.39** (0.13)	-0.044 (0.099)	-0.15 (0.12)	-0.29** (0.11)	-0.040 (0.063)
Republican	-0.00084 (0.074)	0.61* (0.26)	0.35† (0.20)	-0.12 (0.16)	0.099 (0.12)	-0.079 (0.14)	-0.32* (0.13)	-0.0062 (0.074)
Democrat	0.14† (0.077)	0.28 (0.22)	0.83** (0.17)	0.29† (0.15)	0.086 (0.12)	0.11 (0.14)	-0.12 (0.12)	0.14 (0.086)
Years in Office	0.014** (0.0038)	-0.011 (0.012)	0.0088 (0.0084)	0.0096 (0.0083)	0.028** (0.0066)	0.023** (0.0077)	0.015* (0.0067)	0.014** (0.0043)
N	23751	3394	3393	3393	3393	3394	3394	3395

Coefficients reported from logistic regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. The final model is an OLS model. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A10: Municipal Preemption - Limit Data to Officials in Office 8 Years or Less

Dependent Variable:	All Issues	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index (OLS)
Ideological Incongruence	0.59* (0.23)	0.97 (0.71)	1.07† (0.56)	0.77† (0.45)	0.87* (0.37)	0.88* (0.41)	0.36 (0.39)	0.52* (0.24)
Unified GOP State Gov.	0.69** (0.084)	1.28** (0.28)	1.18** (0.20)	0.68** (0.17)	0.79** (0.14)	0.62** (0.17)	0.68** (0.14)	0.65** (0.086)
Unified Dem State Gov.	0.33** (0.11)	0.070 (0.41)	-0.10 (0.31)	0.81** (0.20)	0.34† (0.18)	0.38† (0.21)	0.42* (0.17)	0.27** (0.092)
State Capital	0.076 (0.32)	-0.13 (0.83)	0.80 (0.70)	0.16 (0.47)	0.062 (0.56)	-0.096 (0.54)	-0.16 (0.49)	0.12 (0.39)
Ln(City Population)	0.15** (0.032)	0.27** (0.10)	0.092 (0.080)	0.28** (0.071)	0.11* (0.055)	0.14* (0.059)	0.14* (0.054)	0.15** (0.033)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	0.035† (0.018)	-0.017 (0.068)	0.056 (0.045)	0.0083 (0.036)	0.096** (0.030)	0.076* (0.033)	-0.019 (0.031)	0.030† (0.018)
City % White	-0.23 (0.49)	-1.62 (1.62)	1.38 (1.23)	0.19 (0.94)	-0.74 (0.77)	0.043 (0.90)	-0.89 (0.86)	-0.27 (0.51)
City % Black	-0.55 (0.57)	-1.11 (1.79)	1.61 (1.41)	-0.87 (1.12)	-1.19 (0.93)	-0.31 (1.12)	-1.94* (0.97)	-0.51 (0.59)
City % Latino	-0.24 (0.25)	-1.44 (0.90)	0.92 (0.59)	-0.38 (0.52)	-0.32 (0.47)	0.21 (0.55)	-0.65 (0.49)	-0.29 (0.24)
City % Unemployed	-2.40† (1.45)	-4.71 (4.28)	-6.85* (3.27)	-1.94 (2.96)	-2.47 (2.31)	-3.61 (2.62)	-1.68 (2.48)	-2.14† (1.29)
City % Homeowners	-0.68† (0.39)	-2.72* (1.30)	-1.23 (0.95)	0.47 (0.77)	-0.88 (0.69)	-1.71* (0.73)	0.095 (0.66)	-0.64† (0.37)
City Median Age	-0.0069 (0.0061)	0.0052 (0.020)	-0.016 (0.017)	-0.027* (0.012)	-0.0088 (0.012)	0.0037 (0.012)	-0.00047 (0.0099)	-0.0069 (0.0057)
Nonpartisan Elected Position	0.11 (0.22)	0.45 (0.52)	-0.090 (0.56)	0.51 (0.45)	0.35 (0.36)	0.12 (0.37)	-0.51 (0.41)	0.017 (0.24)
Partisan Elected Position	-0.17 (0.22)	0.72 (0.53)	-0.22 (0.56)	0.23 (0.45)	-0.052 (0.37)	-0.28 (0.41)	-0.62 (0.41)	-0.27 (0.24)
Mayor	-0.42† (0.23)	-0.94 (0.58)	-0.76 (0.60)	-0.68 (0.46)	-0.76* (0.38)	-0.78† (0.41)	0.50 (0.42)	-0.33 (0.24)
City Councillor	-0.42* (0.21)	-0.98* (0.47)	-0.71 (0.51)	-0.89* (0.40)	-0.70* (0.33)	-0.54 (0.34)	0.33 (0.38)	-0.32 (0.23)
Female	-0.020 (0.073)	0.21 (0.20)	-0.19 (0.18)	-0.39* (0.16)	0.052 (0.12)	-0.0020 (0.14)	-0.048 (0.12)	0.012 (0.074)
Republican	-0.23** (0.084)	0.069 (0.28)	-0.23 (0.23)	-0.62** (0.19)	-0.20 (0.15)	-0.18 (0.17)	-0.25† (0.14)	-0.21** (0.082)
Democrat	0.064 (0.090)	0.25 (0.25)	0.87** (0.21)	-0.033 (0.17)	-0.081 (0.15)	0.14 (0.17)	-0.061 (0.15)	0.039 (0.095)
Years in Office	0.037* (0.017)	-0.030 (0.049)	0.062† (0.036)	0.047 (0.032)	0.082** (0.027)	-0.00060 (0.031)	0.029 (0.028)	0.037* (0.016)
N	15685	2242	2241	2241	2241	2241	2241	2242

Coefficients reported from logistic regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. The final model is an OLS model. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A11: Municipal Preemption - State Fixed Effects - MRP Measure of Ideology

Dependent Variable:	All Issues	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index
Ideological Incongruence	0.50** (0.19)	1.25* (0.55)	1.07* (0.46)	0.75* (0.37)	0.66* (0.30)	0.62† (0.34)	0.18 (0.31)	0.54** (0.17)
State Capital	0.43* (0.21)	0.32 (0.57)	0.77† (0.46)	0.93* (0.37)	0.27 (0.52)	0.53 (0.38)	0.097 (0.34)	0.54* (0.27)
Ln(City Population)	0.17** (0.025)	0.32** (0.083)	0.21** (0.066)	0.35** (0.056)	0.17** (0.046)	0.16** (0.049)	0.15** (0.045)	0.19** (0.023)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	0.039** (0.015)	0.034 (0.060)	0.092* (0.042)	-0.015 (0.034)	0.093** (0.027)	0.059* (0.029)	-0.0061 (0.028)	0.037** (0.013)
City % White	-0.17 (0.41)	-2.01 (1.36)	-1.51 (1.19)	1.23 (0.85)	0.28 (0.67)	-0.37 (0.77)	-1.48† (0.76)	-0.11 (0.38)
City % Black	-0.64 (0.50)	-2.81† (1.68)	-1.25 (1.36)	-0.17 (1.13)	-0.38 (0.84)	-1.14 (1.00)	-2.08* (0.91)	-0.48 (0.45)
City % Latino	-0.33 (0.24)	-0.27 (0.85)	-0.10 (0.63)	-0.097 (0.53)	-0.59 (0.46)	-0.0063 (0.50)	-1.25** (0.47)	-0.33 (0.22)
City % Unemployed	-0.98 (1.17)	-0.52 (3.40)	-3.04 (3.48)	-3.84 (2.73)	-1.36 (1.97)	-0.30 (2.06)	-0.27 (2.03)	-1.24 (0.93)
City % Homeowners	-0.41 (0.30)	-1.80† (1.01)	-0.90 (0.99)	0.033 (0.66)	-0.16 (0.54)	-0.76 (0.58)	0.13 (0.56)	-0.48† (0.26)
City Median Age	-0.0031 (0.0054)	0.0051 (0.016)	-0.0077 (0.015)	-0.022* (0.011)	-0.0080 (0.0097)	-0.0037 (0.011)	0.0080 (0.0094)	-0.0013 (0.0046)
Nonpartisan Elected Position	-0.33* (0.16)	0.13 (0.57)	-0.52 (0.46)	-0.47 (0.32)	0.052 (0.29)	-0.57† (0.32)	-0.58† (0.31)	-0.40** (0.15)
Partisan Elected Position	-0.26 (0.17)	0.33 (0.63)	-0.46 (0.47)	-0.29 (0.34)	0.22 (0.31)	-0.25 (0.35)	-0.77* (0.32)	-0.32* (0.16)
Mayor	0.25 (0.17)	-0.087 (0.58)	-0.058 (0.49)	0.30 (0.34)	0.012 (0.30)	0.44 (0.34)	0.81* (0.32)	0.26† (0.15)
City Councillor	0.025 (0.15)	-0.47 (0.50)	-0.15 (0.45)	-0.27 (0.28)	-0.26 (0.26)	0.28 (0.30)	0.45 (0.29)	0.062 (0.13)
Female	-0.14* (0.060)	-0.095 (0.18)	-0.083 (0.15)	-0.43** (0.14)	-0.14 (0.10)	-0.22† (0.12)	-0.28** (0.11)	-0.079 (0.054)
Republican	-0.17* (0.066)	0.022 (0.22)	-0.17 (0.20)	-0.32* (0.15)	-0.089 (0.12)	-0.25† (0.14)	-0.30* (0.12)	-0.16** (0.060)
Democrat	0.059 (0.073)	0.20 (0.23)	0.87** (0.18)	0.087 (0.15)	-0.056 (0.13)	-0.032 (0.14)	-0.063 (0.12)	0.044 (0.067)
Years in Office	0.015** (0.0038)	-0.011 (0.013)	0.017† (0.0095)	0.0099 (0.0087)	0.029** (0.0066)	0.024** (0.0079)	0.019** (0.0069)	0.014** (0.0037)
N	23751	3152	3128	3248	3360	3394	3353	3395

Coefficients reported from logit regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. All models include state fixed effects. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A12: Municipal Preemption - State Fixed Effects - Voter File Measure of Ideology

Dependent Variable:	All Issues	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index
Ideological Incongruence	1.20** (0.26)	1.75* (0.88)	1.84** (0.70)	2.66** (0.54)	0.99* (0.46)	1.67** (0.53)	0.87† (0.47)	1.26** (0.30)
State Capital	0.48* (0.22)	0.55 (0.56)	0.79† (0.46)	1.05** (0.39)	0.33 (0.53)	0.64† (0.37)	0.13 (0.34)	0.60† (0.35)
Ln(City Population)	0.19** (0.025)	0.29** (0.082)	0.21** (0.062)	0.39** (0.055)	0.21** (0.045)	0.16** (0.050)	0.16** (0.045)	0.21** (0.027)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	0.034* (0.015)	0.055 (0.057)	0.089* (0.040)	-0.027 (0.033)	0.084** (0.027)	0.051† (0.029)	-0.010 (0.027)	0.030* (0.015)
City % White	-0.12 (0.41)	-1.69 (1.41)	-1.62 (1.18)	1.24 (0.83)	0.63 (0.67)	-0.36 (0.77)	-1.59* (0.74)	-0.10 (0.44)
City % Black	-1.16* (0.52)	-3.19† (1.74)	-2.26 (1.38)	-1.53 (1.15)	-0.45 (0.89)	-2.00† (1.04)	-2.69** (0.94)	-1.04† (0.55)
City % Latino	-0.53* (0.25)	-0.067 (0.85)	-0.47 (0.65)	-0.29 (0.55)	-0.73 (0.46)	-0.41 (0.52)	-1.41** (0.47)	-0.53* (0.25)
City % Unemployed	-1.25 (1.19)	-2.41 (3.61)	-3.16 (3.53)	-4.07 (2.81)	-1.89 (2.01)	-0.40 (2.10)	0.063 (2.03)	-1.66 (1.12)
City % Homeowners	-0.31 (0.30)	-1.91† (1.03)	-0.85 (0.96)	0.41 (0.65)	0.014 (0.54)	-0.69 (0.59)	0.23 (0.57)	-0.40 (0.30)
City Median Age	-0.0025 (0.0053)	0.00094 (0.016)	-0.0077 (0.015)	-0.021† (0.011)	-0.0063 (0.0096)	-0.0058 (0.011)	0.0082 (0.0094)	-0.0000064 (0.0053)
Nonpartisan Elected Position	-0.33* (0.16)	-0.066 (0.60)	-0.60 (0.45)	-0.42 (0.33)	0.0014 (0.28)	-0.43 (0.32)	-0.65* (0.30)	-0.40* (0.16)
Partisan Elected Position	-0.28 (0.17)	0.22 (0.64)	-0.53 (0.46)	-0.24 (0.35)	0.25 (0.30)	-0.16 (0.35)	-0.87** (0.31)	-0.34† (0.17)
Mayor	0.19 (0.17)	0.042 (0.60)	-0.032 (0.48)	0.16 (0.35)	-0.038 (0.30)	0.28 (0.34)	0.80* (0.31)	0.21 (0.16)
City Councillor	-0.021 (0.15)	-0.29 (0.52)	-0.19 (0.44)	-0.39 (0.30)	-0.25 (0.26)	0.10 (0.30)	0.44 (0.28)	0.015 (0.14)
Female	-0.13* (0.060)	-0.14 (0.19)	-0.065 (0.15)	-0.44** (0.14)	-0.15 (0.10)	-0.21† (0.12)	-0.31** (0.11)	-0.071 (0.061)
Republican	-0.13* (0.066)	-0.0083 (0.24)	-0.061 (0.19)	-0.27† (0.15)	-0.068 (0.12)	-0.20 (0.14)	-0.27* (0.12)	-0.14* (0.067)
Democrat	0.074 (0.071)	0.21 (0.23)	0.87** (0.18)	0.13 (0.15)	-0.061 (0.13)	0.0017 (0.14)	-0.046 (0.12)	0.059 (0.076)
Years in Office	0.016** (0.0037)	-0.010 (0.013)	0.020* (0.0094)	0.014 (0.0087)	0.029** (0.0066)	0.028** (0.0078)	0.020** (0.0069)	0.015** (0.0041)
N	23702	3153	3136	3241	3353	3387	3328	3388

Coefficients reported from logit regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. All models include state fixed effects. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A13: Municipal Preemption - “Successful” Preemption

Dependent Variable:	All Issues	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index
Ideological Incongruence	0.72** (0.21)	1.35* (0.63)	1.04* (0.47)	1.20** (0.37)	0.98** (0.31)	1.06** (0.35)	0.20 (0.32)	0.71** (0.24)
Unified GOP State Gov.	0.70** (0.076)	1.37** (0.25)	0.93** (0.18)	0.63** (0.15)	0.70** (0.12)	0.48** (0.13)	0.86** (0.12)	0.70** (0.078)
Unified Dem State Gov.	0.27** (0.096)	-0.072 (0.34)	-0.38 (0.28)	0.65** (0.17)	0.43** (0.15)	0.16 (0.17)	0.46** (0.15)	0.23** (0.084)
State Capital	0.30 (0.27)	0.19 (0.59)	0.99 (0.69)	0.53 (0.37)	-0.031 (0.46)	0.41 (0.43)	-0.29 (0.43)	0.49 (0.41)
Ln(City Population)	0.19** (0.030)	0.32** (0.089)	0.22** (0.073)	0.35** (0.058)	0.16** (0.050)	0.14** (0.049)	0.16** (0.048)	0.19** (0.031)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	0.031† (0.016)	0.00059 (0.058)	0.0073 (0.041)	-0.012 (0.030)	0.10** (0.026)	0.056* (0.026)	-0.014 (0.027)	0.029† (0.016)
City % White	-0.33 (0.43)	-2.50* (1.17)	1.22 (1.12)	0.0060 (0.77)	-0.11 (0.64)	-0.49 (0.73)	-0.92 (0.74)	-0.45 (0.44)
City % Black	-0.90† (0.50)	-2.35† (1.37)	0.95 (1.27)	-2.13* (0.97)	-1.02 (0.78)	-1.21 (0.91)	-1.51† (0.84)	-0.85 (0.52)
City % Latino	-0.15 (0.23)	-1.07 (0.69)	0.51 (0.57)	0.39 (0.45)	-0.053 (0.40)	0.31 (0.44)	-1.13* (0.45)	-0.21 (0.23)
City % Unemployed	-1.54 (1.21)	-1.51 (3.67)	-7.21** (2.69)	-1.75 (2.45)	-1.87 (1.90)	-0.30 (1.97)	-2.39 (2.02)	-1.50 (1.12)
City % Homeowners	-0.57† (0.33)	-2.37* (1.08)	-1.09 (0.86)	0.81 (0.62)	-0.98† (0.55)	-1.10† (0.56)	0.10 (0.56)	-0.61† (0.32)
City Median Age	0.0014 (0.0055)	0.0087 (0.017)	-0.0063 (0.015)	-0.012 (0.011)	-0.00048 (0.0099)	0.0091 (0.0098)	0.0062 (0.0087)	0.0023 (0.0052)
Nonpartisan Elected Position	-0.20 (0.18)	-0.029 (0.49)	-0.44 (0.41)	0.098 (0.34)	0.23 (0.29)	-0.47 (0.32)	-0.46 (0.29)	-0.29 (0.18)
Partisan Elected Position	-0.37* (0.18)	0.22 (0.52)	-0.56 (0.42)	0.047 (0.34)	-0.19 (0.30)	-0.54 (0.34)	-0.49† (0.29)	-0.48** (0.18)
Mayor	0.091 (0.19)	0.091 (0.52)	-0.020 (0.45)	-0.31 (0.36)	-0.24 (0.31)	0.31 (0.35)	0.63* (0.31)	0.12 (0.19)
City Councillor	-0.069 (0.17)	-0.36 (0.45)	-0.27 (0.39)	-0.60* (0.30)	-0.50† (0.27)	0.22 (0.31)	0.30 (0.27)	0.024 (0.16)
Female	-0.12† (0.068)	0.080 (0.19)	-0.12 (0.15)	-0.36** (0.14)	-0.15 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.29* (0.11)	-0.067 (0.069)
Republican	-0.25** (0.075)	-0.10 (0.23)	-0.21 (0.20)	-0.51** (0.15)	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.34* (0.14)	-0.36** (0.12)	-0.25** (0.074)
Democrat	0.014 (0.081)	0.019 (0.22)	0.73** (0.17)	0.0066 (0.15)	-0.039 (0.13)	-0.099 (0.14)	-0.14 (0.13)	-0.0029 (0.086)
Years in Office	0.017** (0.0042)	-0.0051 (0.013)	0.0045 (0.0089)	0.012 (0.0086)	0.030** (0.0070)	0.026** (0.0081)	0.021** (0.0070)	0.017** (0.0047)
N	21301	3044	3043	3043	3043	3044	3044	3045

Coefficients reported from logit regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A14: Municipal Preemption - “Unsuccessful” Preemption

Dependent Variable:	All Issues	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index
Ideological Incongruence	0.20 (0.43)	-0.48 (1.81)	-1.41 (1.54)	-0.38 (1.33)	0.49 (0.65)	-0.19 (0.93)	0.73 (0.77)	0.074 (0.14)
Unified GOP State Gov.	-0.081 (0.17)	0.50 (0.63)	0.087 (0.50)	-0.85 [†] (0.47)	0.14 (0.25)	0.034 (0.41)	-0.31 (0.29)	-0.044 (0.054)
Unified Dem State Gov.	0.022 (0.21)	0.50 (0.74)	-1.89 [†] (1.11)	0.044 (0.56)	-0.019 (0.27)	0.63 (0.40)	-0.18 (0.38)	-0.0079 (0.063)
State Capital	-0.84 (0.60)	1.57 (1.36)	1.57 (1.36)			-0.0045 (0.96)		-0.18 (0.14)
Ln(City Population)	0.18* (0.071)	0.25 (0.37)	0.26 (0.22)	0.37* (0.19)	0.15 (0.10)	0.23 (0.16)	0.19 [†] (0.11)	0.059* (0.024)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	0.0074 (0.030)	-0.12 (0.14)	0.14 (0.10)	0.011 (0.088)	0.0087 (0.042)	0.0038 (0.064)	-0.023 (0.053)	0.0042 (0.010)
City % White	-0.072 (0.97)	-2.63 (2.36)	4.42 (2.81)	-0.70 (2.26)	-1.74 (1.31)	1.14 (2.50)	-0.41 (1.62)	0.061 (0.34)
City % Black	-0.22 (1.10)	-2.29 (3.52)	7.73* (3.14)	-2.20 (3.07)	-2.65 [†] (1.56)	2.14 (2.75)	-0.63 (1.86)	-0.067 (0.36)
City % Latino	0.15 (0.54)	-2.94 (3.74)	2.28 (1.60)	-2.53 (1.79)	-0.33 (0.82)	1.11 (1.41)	1.22 (0.79)	0.015 (0.20)
City % Unemployed	-1.12 (2.36)	-16.9* (7.24)	6.29 (9.21)	-2.02 (7.10)	-0.59 (3.46)	-7.50 (5.63)	1.37 (3.93)	-0.22 (0.67)
City % Homeowners	0.59 (0.71)	-0.56 (2.13)	2.05 (2.71)	-1.19 (1.93)	1.22 (1.05)	0.73 (1.55)	1.89 [†] (1.13)	0.10 (0.23)
City Median Age	0.0083 (0.011)	0.030 (0.047)	0.020 (0.042)	0.021 (0.030)	-0.0027 (0.017)	0.017 (0.023)	0.014 (0.017)	0.0021 (0.0037)
Nonpartisan Elected Position	0.045 (0.35)	15.4** (0.89)	-0.48 (0.74)	-1.28** (0.43)	-0.27 (0.50)	1.44 (1.10)	-0.78 (1.41)	0.011 (0.099)
Partisan Elected Position	-0.61 (0.37)	14.7** (0.99)	-0.51 (0.78)	-2.13** (0.58)	-0.71 (0.51)	0.82 (1.13)	-1.84 (1.41)	-0.18 [†] (0.10)
Mayor	0.73* (0.36)	-1.50 (1.13)	1.18 (1.29)	1.22 [†] (0.73)	1.20* (0.53)	0.24 (0.82)	2.78 [†] (1.56)	0.24* (0.11)
City Councillor	0.38 (0.29)	-1.94* (0.83)	2.04** (0.71)	0.22 (0.39)	1.12** (0.44)	0.16 (0.63)	2.19 (1.52)	0.088 (0.078)
Female	0.0073 (0.15)	-1.24 [†] (0.65)	0.48 (0.45)	-0.66 (0.44)	0.35 (0.22)	-0.017 (0.32)	-0.33 (0.27)	0.020 (0.047)
Republican	0.024 (0.15)	0.40 (0.70)	0.96 [†] (0.56)	0.024 (0.42)	0.039 (0.23)	-0.30 (0.37)	-0.26 (0.28)	0.021 (0.054)
Democrat	-0.11 (0.17)	0.59 (0.70)	0.20 (0.59)	-0.15 (0.42)	-0.16 (0.27)	-0.048 (0.36)	-0.24 (0.28)	-0.033 (0.055)
Years in Office	0.015 (0.0099)	-0.035 (0.032)	0.087** (0.026)	0.010 (0.025)	0.028 [†] (0.016)	0.026 (0.022)	0.0018 (0.018)	0.0044 (0.0036)
N	11620	1642	1660	1641	1641	1661	1642	1662

Coefficients reported from logit regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A15: Municipal Preemption - Subset to partisan elected officials

Dependent Variable:	All Issues	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index
Ideological Incongruence	0.76* (0.38)	1.09 (1.39)	1.57 (1.14)	0.18 (0.86)	1.18† (0.65)	1.04 (0.69)	0.39 (0.70)	0.68† (0.35)
Unified GOP State Gov.	0.28† (0.15)	0.48 (0.49)	-0.19 (0.37)	0.21 (0.33)	0.23 (0.26)	-0.040 (0.32)	0.61* (0.28)	0.30* (0.15)
Unified Dem State Gov.	-0.13 (0.14)	-1.11† (0.60)	-0.62 (0.40)	0.33 (0.31)	-0.45† (0.26)	-0.38 (0.28)	0.60* (0.26)	-0.14 (0.11)
State Capital	0.065 (0.29)	-0.24 (1.07)	1.60† (0.83)	0.20 (0.64)	0 (.)	0.45 (0.49)	-0.036 (0.56)	-0.13 (0.29)
Ln(City Population)	0.25** (0.064)	0.56** (0.20)	0.33* (0.15)	0.46** (0.12)	0.19 (0.12)	0.19 (0.12)	0.21* (0.11)	0.23** (0.061)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	-0.016 (0.028)	-0.36** (0.12)	-0.19† (0.11)	-0.0037 (0.055)	0.062 (0.045)	0.022 (0.048)	-0.10† (0.053)	-0.013 (0.022)
City % White	-0.34 (1.06)	3.64 (3.53)	0.40 (2.93)	2.15 (2.93)	-0.74 (1.68)	-2.76 (1.90)	-1.22 (1.82)	-0.31 (0.85)
City % Black	-0.66 (1.20)	4.76 (3.87)	-2.24 (3.20)	2.37 (2.99)	-0.72 (1.87)	-3.56 (2.17)	-2.24 (1.94)	-0.37 (1.02)
City % Latino	-1.48 (0.96)	2.51 (2.04)	-0.17 (1.89)	-0.93 (2.11)	-1.59 (1.44)	-3.90* (1.74)	-1.70 (1.43)	-1.20† (0.64)
City % Unemployed	-1.75 (2.22)	-19.9* (8.27)	-8.18 (5.34)	-6.27 (5.78)	-2.31 (4.61)	2.86 (3.98)	0.85 (4.11)	-1.70 (1.77)
City % Homeowners	0.65 (0.78)	2.34 (2.03)	-0.85 (3.17)	2.47 (1.58)	1.11 (1.36)	-0.50 (1.23)	1.88 (1.29)	0.39 (0.61)
City Median Age	0.0051 (0.014)	-0.051 (0.036)	0.027 (0.058)	-0.013 (0.028)	0.016 (0.025)	0.019 (0.025)	-0.0033 (0.022)	0.0051 (0.011)
Mayor	0.42 (0.39)	1.19 (1.08)	0.086 (1.20)	-0.45 (0.68)	0.57 (0.66)	0.21 (0.73)	1.58* (0.65)	0.28 (0.30)
City Councillor	0.36 (0.34)	0.26 (1.00)	0.34 (1.06)	-0.061 (0.51)	0.017 (0.56)	0.38 (0.61)	1.23* (0.58)	0.30 (0.25)
Female	-0.21 (0.15)	0.15 (0.43)	-0.34 (0.34)	-0.93** (0.30)	-0.021 (0.23)	-0.44 (0.28)	0.024 (0.24)	-0.16 (0.13)
Republican	-0.24 (0.20)	0.28 (0.83)	0.25 (0.57)	-0.92* (0.40)	0.16 (0.35)	-0.71* (0.36)	-0.13 (0.36)	-0.21 (0.18)
Democrat	-0.032 (0.20)	0.51 (0.73)	0.95† (0.57)	-0.24 (0.39)	0.24 (0.35)	-0.31 (0.34)	-0.14 (0.37)	-0.051 (0.18)
Years in Office	0.027** (0.0075)	-0.037 (0.030)	0.029 (0.021)	0.027 (0.017)	0.034* (0.014)	0.060** (0.016)	0.023 (0.015)	0.027** (0.0080)
<i>N</i>	5684	812	812	812	795	812	812	812

Coefficients reported from logit regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

Table A16: Municipal Preemption - Subset to nonpartisan officials

Dependent Variable:	All Issues	LGBTQ	Guns	Labor	Zoning	Environment	Taxes	Index
Ideological Incongruence	0.55* (0.22)	0.96 (0.70)	0.57 (0.47)	1.12** (0.41)	0.82* (0.32)	0.84* (0.37)	0.17 (0.33)	0.56* (0.25)
Unified GOP State Gov.	0.66** (0.075)	1.35** (0.26)	1.20** (0.18)	0.58** (0.16)	0.73** (0.13)	0.58** (0.14)	0.69** (0.12)	0.66** (0.082)
Unified Dem State Gov.	0.33** (0.11)	0.39 (0.40)	-0.60† (0.33)	0.63** (0.20)	0.60** (0.17)	0.50** (0.19)	0.12 (0.17)	0.31** (0.11)
State Capital	0.31 (0.33)	0.50 (0.67)	0.50 (0.56)	0.49 (0.48)	0.18 (0.50)	0.27 (0.55)	-0.46 (0.51)	0.66 (0.56)
Ln(City Population)	0.15** (0.028)	0.24* (0.093)	0.20* (0.079)	0.31** (0.063)	0.14** (0.048)	0.14** (0.051)	0.13** (0.049)	0.16** (0.031)
City Median Income (in \$10k)	0.039* (0.017)	0.041 (0.056)	0.073† (0.044)	-0.014 (0.035)	0.092** (0.029)	0.059† (0.032)	0.0084 (0.030)	0.039* (0.019)
City % White	-0.37 (0.42)	-2.30† (1.20)	0.88 (1.12)	-0.57 (0.78)	-0.23 (0.68)	-0.075 (0.78)	-1.17 (0.74)	-0.45 (0.48)
City % Black	-0.88† (0.51)	-2.22 (1.51)	1.54 (1.31)	-3.41** (1.08)	-1.33 (0.83)	-0.33 (0.97)	-1.68† (0.87)	-0.88 (0.58)
City % Latino	-0.12 (0.21)	-1.67* (0.77)	0.65 (0.54)	-0.11 (0.45)	-0.19 (0.39)	0.60 (0.45)	-0.50 (0.42)	-0.19 (0.22)
City % Unemployed	-1.34 (1.23)	-0.73 (3.88)	-4.93 (3.39)	-0.30 (2.57)	-1.62 (1.90)	-2.65 (2.17)	-1.80 (2.15)	-1.38 (1.22)
City % Homeowners	-0.69* (0.33)	-2.78* (1.12)	-0.79 (0.80)	-0.025 (0.66)	-1.00† (0.56)	-0.98 (0.62)	-0.050 (0.56)	-0.81* (0.34)
City Median Age	-0.0016 (0.0053)	0.011 (0.018)	-0.015 (0.014)	-0.015 (0.011)	-0.0080 (0.0099)	0.0060 (0.010)	0.0082 (0.0089)	-0.00075 (0.0054)
Mayor	0.023 (0.21)	-0.85 (0.58)	-0.015 (0.50)	-0.33 (0.43)	-0.34 (0.33)	0.23 (0.37)	0.70† (0.37)	0.098 (0.22)
City Councillor	-0.14 (0.18)	-0.94† (0.48)	-0.26 (0.44)	-0.79* (0.38)	-0.40 (0.29)	0.13 (0.32)	0.32 (0.35)	-0.045 (0.20)
Female	-0.086 (0.067)	-0.098 (0.19)	-0.017 (0.16)	-0.31* (0.15)	-0.048 (0.11)	-0.090 (0.13)	-0.38** (0.12)	-0.020 (0.073)
Republican	-0.23** (0.072)	-0.090 (0.24)	-0.16 (0.20)	-0.43** (0.16)	-0.13 (0.12)	-0.31* (0.14)	-0.41** (0.13)	-0.23** (0.075)
Democrat	0.021 (0.081)	0.049 (0.24)	0.75** (0.18)	0.0061 (0.16)	-0.062 (0.13)	-0.055 (0.15)	-0.11 (0.13)	0.0076 (0.091)
Years in Office	0.0099* (0.0043)	-0.0076 (0.014)	0.0047 (0.0095)	0.0042 (0.0091)	0.025** (0.0073)	0.012 (0.0084)	0.013† (0.0075)	0.010* (0.0050)
N	18067	2582	2581	2581	2581	2582	2582	2583

Coefficients reported from logit regression model, with standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. Significance codes: † $p < .1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, two-tailed tests.

E: Open-Ended Survey Question Coding Results

Table A17: Issue Areas Mentioned by Respondents Who Selected “Other” for Issue Area Where Preemption Occurred

CATEGORY	%
public safety (e.g., policing, traffic light cameras)	2.7
city administration (e.g., transparency, electoral rules)	2.3
drugs (e.g., marijuana, e-cigarettes)	1.7
business regulation (e.g., billboards)	1.4
non-tax revenue (e.g., court fees)	1.2
unclear or left blank	1.0
transportation (e.g., street signs, public transit)	1.0
utilities (e.g., waste water management, broadband)	0.9
other social policies (e.g., immigration, public housing)	0.8
natural resources (e.g., water and mining rights)	0.6
redevelopment & non-zoning land use	0.2
fiscal	0.0
monuments	0.0
TOTAL selecting “Other”	13.8

We coded respondents’ open-ended response when they indicated that their city had been preempted on an issue outside of the issue areas provided in the question. This shows the percent of respondents overall who selected “Other” as the category where preemption occurred as well as the percent indicating an issue in each of these categories. Since respondents could write-in multiple issues, the sum of the percentages for each issue is slightly higher than the total percent of respondents (13.8) selecting “Other”.