

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

The nationalization of school superintendent elections

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Abstract

Objective: Scholars have demonstrated that the U.S. presidential vote is increasingly correlated with voting patterns in House, Senate, gubernatorial, state legislative, and state judicial elections, a phenomenon called nationalization. In this article, I examine the relationship between vote share in presidential and school superintendent elections.

Methods: I conduct correlation and regression analyses using an original data set containing county-level election results from 2000 to 2021 for all states that hold statewide school superintendent elections.

Results: I find that there is a statistically significant relationship between presidential and superintendent voting in both partisan and nonpartisan elections even after accounting for incumbency, although the relationship is appreciably stronger in states that hold partisan school superintendent elections. In addition, there has been an uptick in the strength of the relationship between presidential and state superintendent vote patterns over time in both partisan and nonpartisan states, although the increase is more pronounced in nonpartisan states.

Conclusions: The results indicate that even some of the most low-salience, down-ballot elections have nationalized.

Political scientists have recently started to pay more attention to the role of national political factors in subpresidential elections, and there is a growing consensus that elections for many offices in the United States have nationalized. According to Sievert and McKee (2019), nationalization “refers to an increasing linkage between presidential voting patterns with subpresidential contests at the federal, state, and local level” (p. 1056). Although there is now a tight connection between the presidential vote and voting in many different types of elections (Abramowitz and Webster 2016; Hopkins 2018; Jacobson 2015; Sievert and McKee 2019; Weinschenk et al. 2020), the extent to which presidential vote patterns align with voting in a variety of low-salience, down-ballot elections remains an open question. In this article, I contribute to the growing literature on the nationalization of U.S. elections by examining the relationship between U.S. presidential elections and school superintendent elections, which are typically low-profile races.¹ At least

¹ The term for this office varies slightly from state to state. It is sometimes called Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Superintendent of Schools, Superintendent of Education, Commissioner of Education, Director of Education, Secretary of Education, or Chief School Administrator.

anecdotally, there is some evidence pointing to a link between presidential and superintendent politics. During the 2020 (nonpartisan) election for the Washington State Schools Superintendent, for example, one of the candidates (Chris Reykdal) was formally endorsed by then-presidential candidate Joe Biden.² Here, I take a more systematic look at the connection between presidential and superintendent elections.

Over the past several years, a series of studies has emerged documenting the growing correlation between presidential voting and voting for many different offices. Numerous studies, for example, have voting patterns in U.S. House elections are increasingly correlated with the presidential vote, and as a result, the value of incumbency has decreased over time (Carson, Sievert, and Williamson 2020; Jacobson 2015, 2021; LeVeck and Nail 2016). According to Jacobson's (2021) analysis, "the correlation between the district-level House and presidential vote...reached its highest point ever in 2020, an astonishing 0.987" (p. 13). Senate and gubernatorial elections also appear to have nationalized. Indeed, Hopkins (2018) finds that the correlation between county-level presidential and gubernatorial voting is currently about 0.93. Sievert and McKee (2019) also find that in Senate and gubernatorial elections, presidential voting patterns now exert more influence than ever before. In a recent study, Jacobson (2021) finds that in Senate elections, the correlation between the state-level vote for president and the state-level vote for Senate reached a new high in 2020 (with the correlation value being 0.95).

Some scholars have also examined whether state legislative races have nationalized. Abramowitz and Webster (2016), for example, find that in 2012, the most recent year in their data set, the correlation between the Democratic share of the presidential vote and the Democratic share of state legislative seats is 0.85, the highest correlation between the two measures since 1956. More recently, Melusky and Richman (2020) report that 2018 is a new high point for the influence of the presidential vote in state legislative elections. Beyond state legislative contests, some scholars have looked at the link between presidential voting patterns and voting patterns in statewide judicial elections. Using county-level data, Weinschenk et al. (2020) examine the association between vote share in presidential and state supreme court elections. Their analysis shows that even state supreme court elections, many of which are technically nonpartisan contests, have nationalized over the past several decades.

In this article, I examine nationalization in the context of elections that are typically even less salient and further down the ballot than state supreme court contests—those for state superintendent of schools.³ As a brief overview, the superintendent of schools is a statewide office, and the primary responsibility is to oversee a state's (secondary and elementary) public schools. Across the United States, the superintendent of schools is elected in 12 states (Arizona, California, Georgia, Idaho, Montana, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming).⁴ In addition to offering a test of how far down the ballot nationalization extends, there are interesting theoretical reasons to study state superintendent elections as a possible case of nationalization. Some previous research, for example, has found that education has typically been an issue area characterized by less party polarization than many others (Grumbach 2018; Wolbrecht and Hartney 2014). In an analysis of polarization on 16 different issues, Grumbach finds that "education and criminal justice policies are—uniquely—non-polarized" (2018, p. 426). Such findings of the limited polarization on education policy might lead to the expectation that elections related to education will also be less subject to division along partisan lines. Importantly, however, other research on state education politics and policy (e.g., Finger and Reckhow 2021) suggests that partisan polarization around education has been growing in recent years. Cibulka (2001) noted that due to changes in the realm of K-12 education (e.g., greater reliance on state tax revenue, more nationalized education policy, etc.), there has been an "expansion of the number of macropolitical organized interests

² <https://keprtv.com/news/local/joe-biden-endorses-superintendent-chris-reykdal>.

³ There has been some research on the nationalization of school elections (see, e.g., Henig, Jacobsen, and Reckhow 2019; Reckhow, Henig, Jacobsen, and Litt 2017), although it has tended to focus on *local* school board elections (as opposed to *state* superintendent elections, which is the focus here) and the influence of national political donors in those races (rather than presidential vote patterns, which is the measure of interest in this article).

⁴ The number of states is 13 if data from the years in which Indiana held elections for this position are included. In this article, I opt to include data on Indiana's superintendent elections. Indiana held (partisan) elections for the superintendent position through the year 2016. In 2019, the state moved to an appointment system for superintendent, and it has used that selection method ever since (thus, there are no elections for Indiana superintendent after 2016).

that weigh in on school reform proposals, and in many cases their greater organizational sophistication and resources, has raised the level of conflict” (p. 32).⁵ It is also worth pointing out Pickerill and Bowling’s (2014) idea that while there is some collaboration (e.g., across states) on certain education policies, the rhetoric surrounding education has become more politicized, which may signal a shift toward greater partisan and ideological polarization. These studies raise the possibility that elections connected to education might be changing to reflect greater partisan divisions. In short, the different findings that have emerged regarding the politicization and polarization of education policy raise the important related question of whether *elections related to education* have nationalized along partisan lines and, if so, how nationalization has changed over time (i.e., has it steadily increased over time, or is it a fairly recent trend).

I am interested in several questions about the relationship between voting in presidential and state superintendent elections. First, I want to understand whether (and to what extent) vote share in presidential elections, an important measure of nationalization (Carson, Sievert, and Williamson 2020; Jacobson 2015, 2021; Weinschenk et al. 2020), is related to voting patterns school superintendent elections. Second, I am interested in the question of whether the link between presidential voting and voting in subpresidential elections is moderated by whether a state holds partisan or nonpartisan superintendent elections. Weinschenk et al. (2020) recently found that the presidential vote has a much stronger connection to voting patterns in subpresidential elections in states that hold partisan elections rather than nonpartisan elections. Finally, I am interested in whether and how the relationship between presidential and state superintendent voting has changed over time. While the concept of nationalization is about the relationship between voting in presidential and subpresidential elections, it is also about *changes* in the strength of the relationship *over time*. If superintendent elections are nationalizing like state legislative and judicial elections (and if education is becoming a more polarized issue area, as some studies suggest), the correlation between the presidential vote and voting in state superintendent elections should increase over time.

Data and measures

To identify the states that elect their school superintendents, I relied on Ballotpedia’s “Superintendent of Schools” page, which provides a list of selection methods for superintendents across the 50 U.S. states.⁶ While all states have a superintendent of schools, 12 states hold elections for the position (with the other 38 using an appointment system). Among the states that hold superintendent elections, four hold nonpartisan elections (California, North Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin), and the remaining states hold partisan elections (Arizona, Georgia, Idaho, Montana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Wyoming).

I compiled state superintendent election returns from the Secretary of State or State Elections Board in each state. Given that it is generally challenging to obtain election returns prior to 2000, I focused on gathering data for all superintendent elections held between 2000 and 2021. The dependent variable of interest in this article is the county-level Democratic state superintendent candidate share of the two-party vote in each election. In partisan states, it is obviously easy to identify the partisanship of each candidate since it is listed on the ballot (and also generally reported on election returns). However, I also needed to identify the partisanship of superintendent candidates in nonpartisan races. To do so, I was able to use the information on prior office-holding (e.g., the candidate was a former Democratic state legislator), prior campaigns (e.g., the candidate ran for state Senate as a Republican), and/or endorsements. To identify candidate partisanship in nonpartisan elections, I conducted web searches, which typically included terms like “[candidate’s name] + Republican” or “[candidate’s name] + liberal” or “[candidate’s name] + [state name] + [superintendent] + Democrat.” In states that hold nonpartisan elections for superintendent, media coverage of the candidates often mentions their party affiliation (or ideology) directly or indirectly (e.g., the candidate is

⁵ According to Cibulka, many of the groups that have emerged “are principally ideational rather than material and redistributive rather than distributive” and one of the “widespread complaints concerning the proliferation of single-issue interest groups” is a “tendency toward conflict and polarization as policy arenas become combat zones for competing ideologies (2001, pp. 23–24).”

⁶ See the following link: [https://ballotpedia.org/Superintendent_of_Schools_\(state_executive_office\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Superintendent_of_Schools_(state_executive_office)).

supported by the state Democratic Party).⁷ If a candidate was described as conservative (or Republican), I coded them as Republican. Similarly, if a candidate was described as liberal or progressive (or Democratic), I coded them as a Democrat. This approach to identifying and coding partisanship in nonpartisan contests is in line with other recent studies (de Benedictis-Kessner and Warshaw 2016; Holbrook and Weinschenk 2020; Weinschenk et al. 2020). I was able to find the partisanship of candidates in nonpartisan contests for all elections in the data set, so there are no missing data with respect to partisanship. In terms of other data considerations, it is worth noting that I omit elections where there was only one candidate (since it is not possible to calculate the two-party vote share in such contests) and where all candidates were of the same party (again, since it is not possible to calculate the two-party vote share in such races).⁸ Overall, my data set consists of 3563 county-level data points.

The key independent variable of interest here is the county-level Democratic presidential share of the two-party vote. County-level presidential election data were obtained from the MIT Election Data and Science Lab website.⁹ Consistent with previous work (e.g., Weinschenk et al. 2020), for each superintendent election, the presidential vote share measure is based on the previous presidential election (i.e., if the superintendent election was in 2017, the presidential vote share data are from the 2016 presidential election). Beyond Democratic presidential vote share, I collected data on one additional variable that scholars have found to be associated with vote choice and nationalization—the incumbency status of each race. A vast amount of previous research has shown that for a variety of reasons (e.g., greater name recognition, constituency service, etc.) voters are more likely to support incumbents over challengers (Jacobson and Jamie 2019; Snyder and Ansolabehere 2002). Importantly, however, scholars have recently found that the incumbency advantage has declined due, at least in part, to president-centered electoral nationalization (Carson, Sievert, and Williamson 2020; Jacobson 2015, 2021; LeVeck and Nail 2016). In short, the focus on national politics in many types of elections has “diminished...the opportunity for members to develop, through their own locally focused efforts, a personal relationship with constituents that can insulate them from national partisan forces, because deeper party divisions in the public have substantially reduced the number of voters susceptible to personal cross-party appeals” (Jacobson 2015, p. 869). Information on incumbency was gathered by examining previous election returns and local news articles. I was able to identify the incumbency status of every election in the data set. Since higher values on the dependent variable indicate greater support for the Democratic superintendent candidate, I code incumbency as +1 if the Democrat is the incumbent, 0 if it is an open seat race, and −1 if the Republican is the incumbent. This is consistent with previous research (see, e.g., Sievert and McKee 2019; Weinschenk et al. 2020).

Results and analysis

Figure 1 provides a starting point for understanding the link between voting in presidential and superintendent elections. Here, I present two scatterplots showing the correlation between county-level Democratic presidential vote share and county-level Democratic superintendent vote share. The figure separates states depending on whether they use partisan or nonpartisan ballots in superintendent elections. The left panel

⁷ A few examples help illustrate the types of partisan information that can be found in nonpartisan elections. For instance, in the state of North Dakota during the 2012 superintendent election, a news story mentioned a partisan endorsement: “The North Dakota Republican Party endorsed incumbent Kirsten Baesler in the race for superintendent of public instruction Sunday, July 19.” In that race, Baesler’s opponent was a former Democratic member of the North Dakota State Senate, making it easy to identify his partisanship. As another example, in the state of Wisconsin’s 2017 superintendent election, news stories often identified one of the candidates as conservative and one as liberal (see, e.g., https://madison.com/ct/news/local/education/lowell-holtz-hopes-conservative-message-can-overcome-baggage-in-run-for-state-superintendent/article_4884e327-9b61-5350-99d8-994c75e806d8.html).

⁸ Occasionally, there were more than two candidates in a superintendent race. However, in my data set, the top two vote-getters were always associated with the major parties (e.g., the third highest vote-getter was a Libertarian or independent candidate). In the few cases where there were more than two candidates (usually the third highest vote-getter got only a small proportion of votes), I calculated the dependent variable based on the votes obtained by the top two candidates (e.g., total votes for the Democratic superintendent candidate/total votes for Democratic superintendent candidate + total votes for Republican superintendent candidate).

⁹ <https://electionlab.mit.edu/data>.

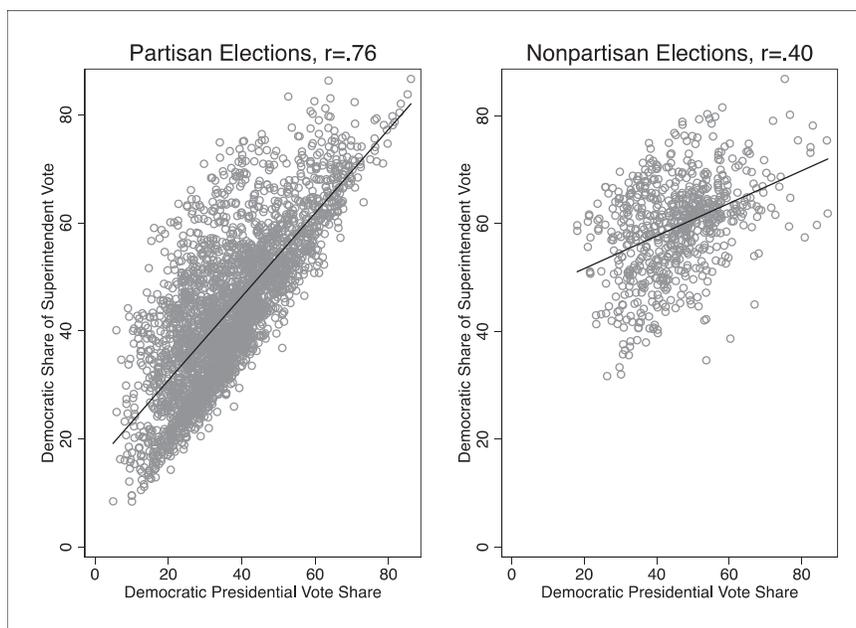


FIGURE 1 The relationship between presidential and superintendent vote share by election type

in Figure 1 indicates that there is a strong, positive relationship between presidential and superintendent vote share in partisan states. The Pearson's r value is 0.76, which is statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. The right panel shows the relationship between presidential and superintendent vote share in states that use the nonpartisan ballot for superintendent races elections. Here, the data indicate that there is a positive relationship between the two measures, with a Pearson's r value of 0.40 ($p < 0.001$). Thus, although the relationship between presidential and superintendent vote share is weaker in nonpartisan states than it is in partisan states, national politics does appear to play a role in superintendent races even in states that officially hold nonpartisan superintendent elections. Overall, this finding is consistent with numerous studies showing that despite their goals, nonpartisan elections generally fail to keep political or partisan factors out of elections (Bonneau and Cann 2015a, 2015b; Bonneau and Hall 2009; Shaffner, Streb, and Wright 2001).¹⁰

In Table 1, I present the results from an OLS regression model where Democratic superintendent vote share is the dependent variable, and Democratic presidential vote share is included as a predictor. I also include a dummy variable indicating whether a state holds partisan (coded as 1) or nonpartisan (coded as 0) superintendent elections and an interaction between presidential vote share and the partisan/nonpartisan dummy. The model also controls for incumbency (and for the interaction between the incumbency measure and the partisan/nonpartisan dummy).¹¹

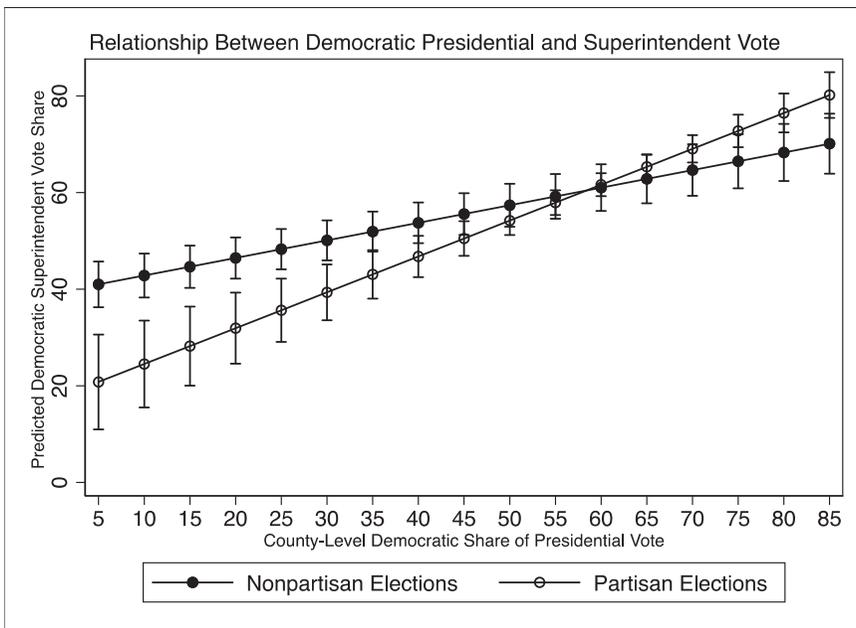
¹⁰ Figure 1 focuses on pooling election results, but I also examined the correlation between presidential and superintendent vote share for each of the 53 elections included in the data set. The correlation values for each election are presented in the Online Appendix. Overall, the results indicate that there is some variation in the strength of the correlation across different elections/states, although it is noteworthy that even the smallest correlation value in the data set (North Dakota's nonpartisan 2004 election) indicates a moderate relationship between the two measures ($r = 0.36$). Only two other elections had correlations (r) below 0.50. Across the 53 elections, 94 percent of the correlation values (r) were greater than 0.60, and 70 percent of the elections had correlation values of greater than 0.80.

¹¹ I interact these measures because previous research has shown that when partisan cues are absent (or hard to locate), voters compensate by relying more heavily on other information cues like incumbency (Kirkland and Coppock 2018; Schaffner, Streb, and Wright 2001). It is worth noting that the estimates for the key measures of interest (presidential vote share, election type, and their interaction) are very similar to those reported in Table 1 if incumbency is included as a control but the interaction between incumbency and the partisan/nonpartisan dummy variable is not included (results available on request). I also note that the results are nearly identical to the interaction model results if I estimate two separate models—one for partisan states and one for nonpartisan states (using presidential vote share and incumbency as independent variables in each model).

TABLE 1 Relationship between county-level presidential vote and county-level state superintendent vote

Variable	<i>b</i> /s.e.	<i>p</i> -value
<i>Democratic Presidential Vote</i>	0.364 (0.040)	0.000
<i>Partisan Election</i>	-21.893 (5.428)	0.002
<i>Incumbency</i>	8.067 (2.820)	0.014
<i>Democratic Presidential Vote*Partisan</i>	0.379 (0.088)	0.001
<i>Incumbency*Partisan</i>	-2.750 (3.448)	0.441
Constant	38.565 (2.438)	0.000
<i>N</i> of Obs.	3563	
<i>R</i> ²	0.6915	

Note: Standard errors are clustered by state; *p*-values are based on two-tailed tests.

**FIGURE 2** Interaction between presidential vote share and election type (controlling for incumbency)

Overall, Table 1 indicates that there is a strong and statistically significant relationship between presidential vote share and superintendent vote share in partisan elections. Indeed, the coefficient is 0.743 ($p < 0.001$).¹² When it comes to nonpartisan elections, there is also a positive and statistically significant relationship, although the coefficient is smaller at 0.364 ($p < 0.001$). Figure 2 provides a visual look at how the presidential vote and election type interact to influence voting patterns in superintendent races. The slope for the presidential vote measure is much steeper in partisan elections than it is in nonpartisan contests. It is important to note that the relationship between the presidential and superintendent vote holds after accounting for incumbency. As expected, incumbency is positively related to the dependent variable, indicating that there is an incumbency advantage in school superintendent elections. Interestingly, Table 1 shows that although the (positive) effect of incumbency is slightly larger in nonpartisan elections

¹² Calculated by adding the coefficient for the *Democratic Presidential Vote*Partisan* interaction and the coefficient for *Presidential Vote* ($0.364 + 0.379 = 0.743$).

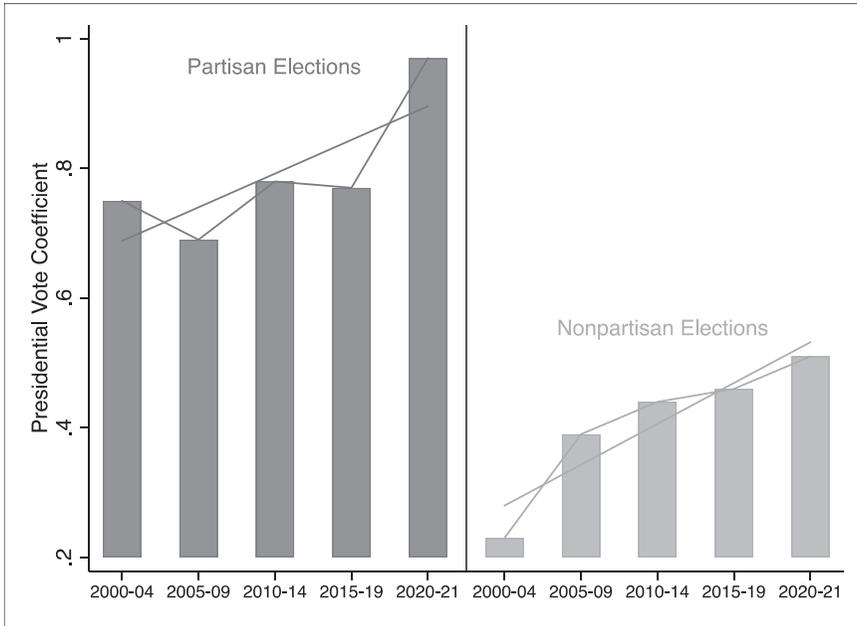


FIGURE 3 The relationship between presidential and superintendent vote share over time by election type

($b = 8.067$) than it is in partisan elections ($b = 5.317$), the difference is not statistically significant as indicated by the insignificant interaction between incumbency and election type ($p = 0.441$). Overall, the results in Table 1 provide solid evidence that national politics play a role in both partisan and nonpartisan superintendent elections even after controlling for incumbency.¹³

While the results presented above show that presidential vote share is related to superintendent vote share in both partisan and nonpartisan races, it does not enable us to determine whether the relationship between the two measures has *changed over time*. As I noted above, previous work has shown that the relationship between presidential voting patterns and voting patterns in subpresidential contests has become stronger over time. To examine whether the strength of the relationship between presidential and superintendent voting has changed over time, I estimated OLS regression models for different periods of time. Since there are many years in the data set when just one or two states had an election (i.e., only Wisconsin had a superintendent election in 2021), I opted to group the elections into sets of years. This ensures that there is enough data to estimate each regression model. Although the data used here span just 21 years, we should still be able to see evidence of nationalization if it is occurring. Indeed, previous studies have shown that starting around 2000, there has been a noteworthy uptick in the strength of the relationship between presidential and subpresidential voting (see, e.g., Sievert and McKee 2019).

In Figure 3, I plot the coefficient for Democratic presidential vote share (controlling for incumbency) over time (separately for partisan and nonpartisan elections). For each set of coefficients, I include a line that tracks the changes over time and a line that shows the linear trend over time. Several interesting findings emerge from Figure 3. First, there is a consistently strong relationship between Democratic presidential vote share and Democratic superintendent vote share in partisan elections, although there has been an

¹³ When I estimate separate regression models for partisan and nonpartisan election (rather than an interaction model with $\text{partisan} * \text{Democratic vote share}$), the model fit statistics are quite different. Indeed, for partisan elections, the adjusted R^2 value is 0.65 (just using Democratic presidential vote and incumbency as predictors). In comparison, it is much lower at 0.37 in nonpartisan contests (just using Democratic presidential vote and incumbency as predictors). In short, presidential vote share and incumbency have a lot more explanatory power in partisan elections. It is worth noting that much of the explanatory power in the models comes from the presidential vote share measure. When I regress Democratic state supreme court vote share on Democratic presidential vote share in partisan elections, the R^2 value is 0.57. In nonpartisan elections, the R^2 value is 0.16 when I just use Democratic presidential vote share to predict Democratic state supreme court vote share.

uptick in the last few years. Second, when it comes to nonpartisan elections, Democratic presidential vote share is always a statistically significant predictor of Democratic superintendent vote share, although the coefficients are smaller than those in the corresponding partisan models. It is noteworthy, however, that the trend lines indicate that the strength of the relationship between Democratic presidential vote share and Democratic state superintendent vote share has steadily increased over the past two decades. Thus, it appears that nonpartisan superintendent elections have been nationalizing over time just like other types of elections. Future scholars should build on this finding by continuing to track the role of presidential politics in school superintendent elections as more elections occur.

Conclusion and future research

I examined the role of the presidential vote in structuring voting in statewide elections for school superintendent. To do so, I created an original data set containing county-level election results from 2000 to 2021 for all states that hold partisan or nonpartisan superintendent elections. Overall, presidential vote share influences voting in state superintendent races. In both partisan and nonpartisan elections, there is a statistically significant relationship between Democratic presidential vote share and Democratic superintendent vote share even after accounting for the powerful role of incumbency. As was the case in previous research, the relationship is stronger in states that use the partisan ballot. Interestingly, a look at the link between presidential and superintendent vote patterns over time revealed that there has been an increase in the strength of the relationship in both partisan and nonpartisan elections. In short, even some of the most low-salience, down-ballot elections have nationalized in the United States.

The results presented here have a number of important implications and speak to an interesting debate in the literature on education politics and policy. As I noted at the outset, there are differing perspectives on the extent to which education as an issue area is polarized in the United States. Some analyses (Grumbach 2018; Wolbrecht and Hartney 2014) find that education is one of the few issue areas where polarization has been fairly limited. Other research on education politics and policy in the states, however, indicates that partisan and ideological polarization has been growing (Cibulka 2001; Finger and Reckhow 2021). Despite these findings on education *policy*, previous research has not devoted much attention to examining the role of nationalization in the context of *statewide elections related to education*. This article provides news insights about the connection between national forces and superintendent elections. Overall, the findings here indicate that state superintendent elections are generally somewhat less correlated with the presidential vote than state legislative elections, but the growth in the strength of the relationship over time is telling, especially in states that use nonpartisan elections. It will be important to continue to track the strength of the relationship as additional superintendent elections occur, but the changing relationship between presidential and superintendent voting patterns uncovered here may be a signal about the nature of superintendent elections (and other elections related to education, such as those for school board) in the future. Recent public opinion data suggest that over the last several years, there has been a growing partisan divide on many issues related to education.¹⁴ Alongside this development, recent reports have indicated that in some states policymakers are seeking to shift school board elections from nonpartisan into partisan elections,¹⁵ and there is also evidence of increased involvement by partisan and ideological groups and donors in state and local elections related to education.¹⁶ Put simply, we may be witnessing a shift toward increasingly partisan and polarized education elections. It is noteworthy that a 2021 article on school board elections in Pennsylvania pointed out that “School board races used to be sleeper,

¹⁴ See: <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2019/08/19/the-growing-partisan-divide-in-views-of-higher-education-2/>, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/02/24/republicans-confidence-in-k-12-principals-has-fallen-sharply-during-the-pandemic/>; https://news.gallup.com/poll/194675/education-ratings-show-record-political-polarization.aspx?g_source=Education&g_medium=lead&g_campaign=tiles.

¹⁵ <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/12/29/republicans-education-wars-school-board-races-526053>.

¹⁶ For an example from Wisconsin, see: <https://www.wisdc.org/news/press-releases/132-press-release-2021/6788-outside-group-spending-tops-1m-in-school-superintendent-race>. For a scholarly analysis, see: Henig, Jacobsen, and Reckhow (2019).

down-ballot contests... Suddenly they have become contentious political battlegrounds. No longer simply the entry point for political careers, school board races these days resonate with the hyper partisan debate of national politics.”¹⁷

Several ideas for future research stem from this article. First, as noted above, researchers should continue to assess the relationship between presidential and superintendent voting as new elections are held. Second, it would also be useful to quantify how easy or difficult it is to find the partisanship of candidates in supposedly nonpartisan races and to measure how frequently partisan/ideological cues appear in state media environments during superintendent elections. This may provide a sense of the accessibility of such cues in the electorate. The correlation between presidential and superintendent voting may be shaped by the salience of information cues during superintendent campaigns. Finally, scholars could consider examining the role of the presidential politics in other types of statewide down-ballot elections (e.g., state auditor, state treasurer, etc.) and in the context of local races (e.g., mayor, city council, school board, etc.)

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¹⁷ <https://www.pennlive.com/news/2021/10/a-new-battleground-pa-school-board-races-mirror-national-partisan-clashes.html>.

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information may be found in the online version of the article at the publisher's website.

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