Fact-Value Disagreements about Threats to Electoral Integrity: Beliefs about the Importance and Prevalence of Fraudulent, Uncounted, and Foregone Votes in the 2020 Election*

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Abstract

In three survey experiments conducted before, during, and after the 2020 election, we investigated beliefs about the frequency of different threats to election integrity and emotional reactions to these threats. In these studies, we assessed fact and value disagreements about three types of errors: counting fraudulent ballots, failing to count legitimately cast ballots, and causing eligible voters to be unable to vote. In abstract descriptions of election errors (Study 1), vignettes describing errors alongside other features (Study 2), and ex ante choices between election rules (Study 3), we find that Republicans believed fraudulent votes were both more frequent and more serious than did Democrats, with the opposite pattern for forgone votes. Over time, these divides grow only for fraudulently counted ballots. Overall, these three studies contribute to a better understanding of mass beliefs about and reactions to potential threats to election security, along with key partisan differences.

Key Words: election fraud; public opinion; election administration

Word Count: 8993

1 Introduction

Doubts about the fair conduct of elections have existed for decades, ranging from concerns about urban political machines inflating turnout to the systematic disenfranchisement of minority voters in the American South. But contemporary distrust in the integrity of American elections has risen substantially in recent years (Grimmer, Herron and Tyler 2023). Following President Trump's defeat in the 2020 election, he alleged that voter fraud explained his loss and some have linked the storming of the Capitol on January 6th, 2021 to beliefs among Republicans that Biden's victory was illegitimate (Weiner and Hsu 2021). Likewise, in the lead up to the election, Democrats asserted that Republicans were intentionally trying to suppress voters by slowing down the postal service and encouraging restrictive mail voting rules (Shear, Fuchs and Vogel 2020).

Importantly, these sorts of debates make clear that fraudulently cast ballots are not the only forms of election "errors" and that concerns about fairness are not confined to Republicans alone. The large-scale turn to absentee and mail voting during the COVID-19 pandemic was accompanied by broad concerns about two other threats to election integrity, *uncounted votes* and *foregone votes*. Uncounted votes arise if valid ballots are not counted, for example, if mail ballots are lost or delayed in the postal system. Foregone votes occur if eligible individuals are unable to exercise their right to vote, for example, because of restrictive rules about who can request a mail ballot. And such concerns are not confined to matters of COVID-19; rules about the process for registering to vote (Ansolabehere and Konisky 2006; Burden et al. 2014), purging of apparently stale voter registrations (Komisarchik and White 2022), polling place closures (Curiel and Clark 2021), and voter ID rules (Cantoni and Pons 2021; Grimmer et al. 2018) shape who is able to cast a ballot on Election Day. Table 1 summarizes these three types of errors and gives examples of each.

Given the clear importance of beliefs about the frequency and seriousness of these different types of errors for democratic legitimacy, it is striking how little we know about these key elements of mass opinion. Most work to date examines support for relatively high-level

Table 1: Types of Election Errors and Examples

Type	Definition	Examples
Fraudulent Votes	Votes that are counted that should not have been	Voter impersonation, Non-citizen voting, Double voting
Uncounted Votes	Legitimately cast ballots that are not counted	Lost ballots during transportation, Absentee ballots discarded due to failed signature matching
Foregone Votes	Eligible voters unable to exercise their right to vote	Polling place closures, Long lines leading voters to leave

summaries of beliefs about the overall fairness of election outcomes. This research finds that both Democrats and Republicans had concerns about the fairness and integrity of the 2020 election leading up to it. Afterwards, aggregate doubts about fairness and integrity declined among Democrats once the outcome favorable to their party became clear, while increasing among Republicans who had lost (Clayton et al. 2021). But these summary beliefs could arise for several reasons. First, they could originate in concerns about the three different types of election errors introduced above—fraudulent votes, uncounted votes, or foregone votes. Second, they could arise because of differences in beliefs about the frequency (preponderance) or seriousness (importance) of each type of error, or some combination of the two (which may be either weakly or strongly correlated). In other words, patterns in mass opinion could emerge because of differences in beliefs about facts or differences in values, or both.

Understanding the nature of the beliefs underlying mass opinion is essential for identifying potential efforts to remediate threats to democratic legitimacy. For example, suppose competing partisans share common values about the importance of different kinds of threats to fair elections but differ in their beliefs about their frequency. Then, efforts to correct misperceptions about their frequency may ameliorate partisan differences in concerns about electoral fairness and a key research task would be identifying effective informational correctives. Alternatively, however, partisan disagreements may arise because of differences in *value* judgements about what kinds of errors are more vs. less important to guard against, such as the conflict between election security and increasing voter turnout in debates over

voter ID laws. Then, even common factual beliefs are unlikely to resolve persistent differences in concerns about electoral fairness, particularly when institutional choices involve trading off among different types of errors.

We undertake three studies to answer these key controversies. The first two studies are taken from three cross-sectional surveys conducted in the pre-, during-, and post-election periods of the 2020 election. In Study 1, we ask respondents to separately describe their beliefs about the *frequency* of and *emotional reactions* to three different types of election errors: fraudulent votes, uncounted votes, and forgone votes. We note that we do not directly measure values in these studies. Instead, we measure negative emotional reactions, including feelings of anger and outrage, which are generally understood to arise from transgressions of important values.[1] We find evidence of both fact and value divides by partisanship that widen over time. While Republicans initially believe there to be more fraudulent votes than do Democrats in the pre-election period, the opposite is true for Democrats and foregone votes. After the election, partisan differences become larger only for beliefs about the frequency of fraudulent votes, with Republican estimates of their frequency increasing. In terms of values, in the pre-election period, we observe the same pattern in fraudulent and foregone votes for Democrats and Republicans. Unlike frequency judgements, however, Republicans react more negatively to all election errors compared to Democrats. Thus, partisan divergence in both values and some factual judgments become larger during election season.

In the second study, we ask respondents about their emotional reactions to vignettes describing specific hypothetical instances of election errors. These various election scenarios are randomized on multiple attributes, including type of error, whether it is related to mail or in person voting, the benefitting party, and whether a specific actor—a "villain"—is responsible for the error. These stimuli approximate the type of information circulated on mainstream and social media about instances of alleged election errors and allow us to

[1]For variety, we use value judgements interchangeably with "emotional reactions," "seriousness," "importance," and "severity" as a proxy for the underlying values surrounding each election error. Study 3, which examines choices, demonstrates that the patterns of emotional reaction measured in Studies 1 and 2 predict behaviors, validating these items as measures of value commitments.

understand if the patterns we find in abstract evaluations (Study 1) are similar for more concrete narrative treatments. Study 2 reveals patterns broadly consistent with Study 1, meaning that abstract and narrative treatments produce similar results.

Finally, our third study is from a pair of revealed preference experiments fielded before the 2020 election. In these randomized experiments we ask respondents to choose between pairs of election rules for a hypothetical election that differ in the preponderance of fraudulent and uncounted votes they produce, as well as overall turnout rates (a proxy for foregone votes, only in Study 3A). We give information about the frequency of election errors and abstract from the context of the 2020 election and then ask respondents to make specific tradeoffs among potential threats to election integrity. When we fix factual measurements about election errors in these studies, we do not find partisan differences in the weight given to fraudulent and uncounted votes. However, when choosing electoral systems, Democrats appear to care more about turnout (foregone votes) than do Republicans, although both partisans give it less weight than the other types of errors. Again, this pattern is consistent with the partisan differences found in both Study 1 and Study 2.

Stepping back, these results help understand the persistent and changing contours of debates about election rules, election administration, and democratic legitimacy in the contemporary United States. Partisan differences in preferences over election rules and evaluations of fairness do not appear to arise due to substantial partisan differences in wanting to reduce fraudulent and uncounted votes, but instead in the relatively greater weight Democrats appear to give to increasing turnout by avoiding forgone votes. Additionally, partisan differences in factual judgments and reactions to specific instances of electoral malfeasance diverged during the course of the 2020 election. The heightened reaction of Republicans to all forms of election errors was accompanied only by a targeted increase in beliefs about the frequency of fraudulent ballots, thus helping to understand why this remains a persistent area of focus for certain Republican candidates and voters. Thus, efforts to ameliorate partisan enmity about election rules must grapple with partisan differences in both underlying

values and beliefs about facts, along with the various dimensions of election errors.

2 Election Integrity: De ning Concepts, Distinguishing Values and Facts, and Understanding Temporal Dynamics

Contemporary fears about election integrity were once mostly limited to countries other than the United States (Norris, Frank and Martínez i Coma 2014). But at least since the 2000 election, scholars and policymakers alike have given deep attention to potential threats to fair elections in the United States (Sances and Stewart 2015; Stewart 2017). For example, the multifaceted federal Help America Vote Act of 2002 sought to improve election administration by, among other things, providing federal funds to improve polling place access and replacing outdated voting machines, while also requiring states to adopt and maintain statewide voter rolls and verify the identification of new registrants. These reforms built on earlier efforts, such as the federal 1993 "Motor Voter" law, which sought to facilitate voter registration and limit and standardize the conditions under which registrants could be removed from state voter rolls (Alvarez et al. 2011).

It is notable that these laws, as well as others, address diverse threats to election integrity, which is itself a broad term encompassing "the entire process from voter registration to election certification, and everything in between" (McCormick 2020, 213). Focusing on the ability of individuals to cast votes as they intend, threats to the integrity or the fairness of elections can be decomposed into three broad categories: barriers to eligible citizens registering and gaining access to the ballot (foregone votes), instances in which ineligible individuals vote (fraudulent votes), and cases in which validly cast ballots are miscounted, invalidated, or discarded (uncounted votes). Importantly, reforms that attempt to reduce the frequency of one sort of error may increase the chance (or perceived chance) of other

errors, such as the debate over signature matching for mail ballots or photo identification.

While empirically this tradeoff may be minimal, it appears salient in public opinion. For example, Wilson and Brewer (2013) show that in debates about voter ID laws, Democrats tend to focus on the consequences of the laws for decreasing turnout (forgone votes) while Republicans focus on the threat of ineligible individuals voting (fraudulent votes). Similarly, Bowler and Donovan (2016) find that confidence in states' elections increases for Republicans in states with stronger voter identification requirements while decreasing for Democrats. Notably, however, we lack direct evidence about how individuals would tradeoff among these different errors if given the chance to, and also whether differences in reactions to various threats to election integrity rest on differences in beliefs about the prevalence or severity of each type of error (for a notable exception, see Alvarez and Hall 2008).

Indeed, despite these different threats to integrity and the potential tradeoffs among them, most empirical research on election rules has not gathered information about public opinion beyond voter ID laws. A general feature of the important empirical work on election administration is that it has focused on assessing the frequency of these different threats to integrity in isolation and without attention to public perceptions (e.g., Eggers, Garro and Grimmer 2021; Herron 2019). Work focusing on mass opinion, meanwhile, has either followed the same pattern of focusing on high level concepts like "election integrity" or "voter confidence" (e.g., Alvarez, Hall and Llewellyn 2008; Norris, Frank and Martínez i Coma 2014; Sinclair, Smith and Tucker 2018).[2] While other studies, like the Survey of the Performance of American Elections (SPAE), consider multiple definitions of election fraud in conjunction with each other, they often focus solely on fraudulent votes or conflate them with uncounted votes, while ignoring foregone votes altogether (e.g., Ansolabehere and Persily 2008). None of this work that focuses on public perceptions isolates beliefs about the seriousness of different types of errors from beliefs about their prevalence, information that is essential if one wants

[2]Work on voter confidence finds, for example, that Black Americans are less likely to believe that their votes are counted fairly (Alvarez, Hall and Llewellyn 2008), as are those who believe in conspiracies (e.g., Enders et al. 2021; Edelson et al. 2017).

to understand consensus and conflict in the mass public about whether and how to make institutional reforms (Biggers 2019; Biggers and Bowler 2022).

For example, consider prior empirical work on election fraud, or instances in which ballots that should not be counted have been. Scholars have attempted to measure rates of non-citizen voting (Ansolabehere, Luks and Schaffner 2015), double voting (Goel et al. 2020), false representation at the polls (Ahlquist, Mayer and Jackman 2014), or some combination of these (Cottrell, Herron and Westwood 2018) and found that all errors of this type are rare. But public opinion does not appear to reflect these findings. Stewart, Ansolabehere and Persily (2016) analyzed 2014 survey data in which individuals were asked about the frequency of various forms of fraud, including (1) noncitizen voting and (2) impersonating another voter. They find that 13% think the former is "very common" and 8% think the latter is "very common."[3] We therefore know that individuals appear to overestimate the frequency of certain forms of fraud, but we lack comparative evidence about beliefs for the three different types of errors introduced earlier.

One key advantage of asking about specific forms of election errors is that it avoids the ambiguity associated with interpreting survey responses to more general questions about threats to election integrity. For example, in an analysis of responses to open ended survey items about "what types of actions do you believe count as voter fraud?", Sheagley and Udani (2021) demonstrate that partisans on average disagree on the meaning of the term. Specifically, they find that Republicans perceive it to be people who should not vote doing so (what we label fraudulent votes), while Democrats perceive it to be voter suppression or elite manipulation, the former mapping to what we label foregone votes (see also, e.g., Beaulieu 2014; Edelson et al. 2017; Park-Ozee and Jarvis 2021). Differences in interpretations of these broad questions therefore masks important beliefs about what counts as fraud, limiting what one can learn from patterns of responses to these more general items. These partisan differences also hint at potential value disagreements between partisans—perhaps

[3] In 2007 survey data, Ansolabehere and Persily (2008) also found that concerns about miscounting of ballots was frequent (which they label voter theft), as 23% of respondents reported this was very common.

Republicans do not consider voter suppression to be an important threat to fairness, while Democrats do.

These limitations of extant survey data aside, what data we have to date provide theoretical insights into two broad patterns that are likely important for understanding differences across respondents and over time in perceptions of election errors during the 2020 election. First, in terms of partisan differences, in addition to the aforementioned work on partisan divergence in the interpretation of the term "fraud," there is also evidence that Republicans are more likely than Democrats to believe in threats to election integrity (Ansolabehere and Persily 2008; Stewart, Ansolabehere and Persily 2016). Some of this evidence predates Trump's 2016 candidacy, but during the "Trump era," concerns about voter fraud appeared to spike among Republicans compared to Democrats, perhaps in part because of Trump's claims about the frequency of voter fraud (Cottrell, Herron and Westwood 2018).

Second, there is consistent evidence of a partisan "loser" effect on perceptions of election fraud and integrity more generally, whereby members of the party that loses an election become more skeptical it was fair compared to members of the party that won the election (Sances and Stewart 2015; Sinclair, Smith and Tucker 2018). This is apparent in prior multi-wave surveys spanning the 2016 and 2020 elections (see, e.g., Clayton et al. 2021; Levy 2021; Sinclair, Smith and Tucker 2018; Vail et al. 2023), although once again we note that these surveys tend to focus on aggregate assessments of fairness and/or individual forms of fraud.

3 Data and Methodology

3.1 Study 1

Study 1 measures beliefs about the frequency of and emotional reactions to the three types of election errors introduced earlier: fraudulent votes, uncounted votes, and foregone votes. Data were gathered in three surveys we conducted in the periods before, during, and after the November 2020 US presidential election. We can therefore examine average reactions to

and perceptions of the frequency of each type of error, overall and among partisan subgroups, as well as how those attitudes change over time.

The pre-election survey was fielded between October 29th and November 2nd, 2020 (n = 1,946 completed respondents). The during-election survey was fielded between November 5th and 13th, 2020 (n = 2,014) when there was uncertainty about which candidate had won the presidency. The post-election survey was conducted between January 15th and January 20th, 2021 (n = 1,796), the day of the presidential inauguration. Participants for all three surveys, which were fielded online using the Qualtrics platform, were recruited using Lucid Marketplace, which also provides us with basic demographic information about each respondent.[4]

In each survey, we asked respondents questions about three different types of election errors. We began by defining legitimate votes and the three types of election errors. The first error, which we call *uncounted* votes, occurs when "legitimate votes ... are not counted because they are wrongfully determined to be fraudulent." The second error, which we call *fraudulent* votes, occurs when "votes [are] cast ... that should not be counted." Finally, the third error, which we call *foregone* votes, occurs when "eligible voters who could cast legitimate votes are not able to vote."

We asked respondents two different types of questions about each of these election errors. We first asked respondents about the frequency of each type of error, a measure of factual perceptions. Specifically, respondents were asked to estimate for every 100 legitimate votes, how many of each type of error occurred.[5] Numeric responses greater than 100 were top-coded at 100 to eliminate severe outliers.[6]

[4]All survey respondents were compensated fairly for their time. Coppock and McClellan (2019) have validated survey responses from Lucid Marketplace to national benchmarks. For more details about survey sample exclusions and subject comprehension, see Appendix A.

[5]While asking respondents for specific numerical estimates increases precision, it may be unclear how respondents interpret fraudulent and foregone votes as part of the "legitimate votes that will be cast." However, when we estimate actual choice preferences in Study 3 that trade-off between these election errors, we find similar results hold across these two settings.

[6]Note that the total number of election errors should not sum to any given number, as they are not part of the 100 legitimate votes that were cast. 1.92% of responses were greater than 100, while .07% of responses were missing. Missing values were list-wise deleted.

Second, we asked respondents about their emotional reactions to an occurrence of each type of error along multiple dimensions to understand their *values*, which we believe is also a proxy for how important they view each type of error to be. Specifically, respondents answered 7-point Likert scale items for each election error: "Thinking about elections in general...how [morally wrong/morally outraged/angry/disgusted] would you be?" We then created an additive emotional reaction scale composed of their responses to these items for each of the three election errors (range 0 to 1, = .881), in which higher scores on this measure indicate more negative reactions.

3.2 Study 2

Study 2 uses a vignette design to measure how individuals respond to different features of specific cases of election errors, rather than reactions to the abstract instances of election errors we asked about in Study 1. The vignette experiments were embedded in the same three surveys used to gather data for Study 1, and we describe the theoretical motivation for each dimension we manipulate below. As before, we can again examine average emotional reactions to these scenarios, as well as how they vary by partisanship and over time. We presented respondents with three vignettes, with each vignette based on the 3 x 2 x 2 x 2 = 24 factorial design summarized in Table 2. After reading each vignette, we asked respondents "How outraged does the story make you feel?" with reactions measured on a 7-point scale from "Not at all" to "Very," which we rescale linearly to range from 0 to 1 with higher values indicating more outrage.[7]

In each vignette, we randomized the type of election error (uncounted, fraudulent, foregone), the intentionality of the source of the error (the presence of a "villain," which is an election office employee who caused the error, or an accident not prescribed to intentional human action), which party benefits from the error (Republican or Democrat), and the vot-

[7]While asking respondents how "outraged" they are may artificially induce feelings of anger, we note that this would tend to attenuate, rather than magnify, differences between Democrats and Republicans (i.e., winning and losing partisans).

Table 2: Factorial Design, Study 2

Type of Error	Voting Process	Party Benefiting	Intentionality of Error
Undercount	Mail Ballot	Republican	Villian Present
Overcount	In-Person	Democrat	No Villain Present
Foregone			

Note: Type of Error and Voting Process are determined by the block randomization. Within each randomized block, Party Bene ting and Intentionality of Error are randomly assigned and held constant across the three vignettes.

ing process with which the error was associated (mail ballot or in-person).[8] Randomization was restricted so that respondents always read a set of three vignettes selected from one of two blocks. In sum, respondents could be exposed to 8 different assignments (2 blocks x 2 parties benefitting x 2 intentionality of errors).[9]

We choose to manipulate these characteristics because previous literature finds that there are partisan and mode-level effects on voters' confidence that their vote was properly counted (Alvarez, Hall and Llewellyn 2008). However, because we specify which particular error occurred and which party benefited from such an error, we fix inferences people may otherwise make about the likelihood an error actually took place or who benefited when thinking about these types of errors, and can therefore isolate responses to a particular situation. Nonetheless, mode of voting may still matter because the shift to mail-in ballots during COVID-19 was associated with polarized rhetoric from Republicans highlighting the threat of fraud in mail voting and from Democrats about the threat of discarded legitimate votes (Clark 2021). The presence of a villain was manipulated to ascertain whether it mattered if there was evidence of partisan intentionality in any error, which could exacerbate the fear of an opponent directly manipulating an election for their party's benefit, compared to situations in which an error was caused by an accident.

[8] In the study, we call these errors undercount, overcount, and foregone votes, which mirror the types of election errors used in Study 1.

[9] See Appendix A for a more detailed explanation of the block randomization process.

3.3 Study 3

In contrast to Studies 1 and 2, which asked respondents about their beliefs about the frequency (Study 1 only) and reactions to election errors, Study 3 directly measures the relative importance respondents assign to these different types of election errors. We did so by adopting a revealed preference framework in which we asked respondents to choose between pairs of election rules after specifying the relative frequency of each type of error in each scenario. This allows us to understand how individuals traded off among potential errors when forced to do so. Additionally, this study specified a state or local election, which are distinct election contexts from Studies 1 and 2.

Study 3 is composed of two conjoint experiments in which respondents were presented with a series of 5 pairs of hypothetical election rules. There were two iterations of this study. Study 3A was fielded between August 14th and 15th, 2020 (n = 691), and Study 3B was fielded between October 29th and November 1st, 2020 (n = 2,938). These surveys were also fielded on the Qualtrics platform using samples recruited by Lucid Marketplace.

For each pair of election rules, respondents were asked to choose between keeping the current election rule (selected at random) and adopting the proposed new rule for a hypothetical upcoming election. This configuration was meant to reflect a real-life situation in which voters decide between the status quo and a new law that changes how elections are run. In Study 3A, we asked, "Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming mayoral election?" In Study 3B, we asked a similar question, except replacing mayoral with gubernatorial elections.

In Study 3A, we randomized three attributes for each election rule: turnout (reflecting foregone votes), fraudulent votes, and uncounted votes. There were five potential levels for each attribute. Turnout levels ranged from 45 to 65% in increments of 5%, while fraudulent and uncounted votes both ranged from 1% to 5% in increments of 1%.[10] An example of the

[10] This resulted in a range of 9 possible values for each measure compared to the (randomly selected) status quo rule. That is, the new rule could produce a 20 to a 20% change in turnout and a 4% to 4% change in each fraudulent and uncounted votes, while undersampling scenarios with no changes in votes.

presentation of one paired choice appears in Figure D.1 in the Appendix.

Study 3B was similar to Study 3A but turnout is held constant at 1,931,000 votes and the fraudulent and uncounted vote differences are more granular.[11] Because of the larger sample size and more granular differences, this study is better powered to detect differences in response to changes in fraudulent and uncounted votes, but does not allow us to understand relative preferences over foregone votes.

4 Analysis and Results

4.1 Study 1

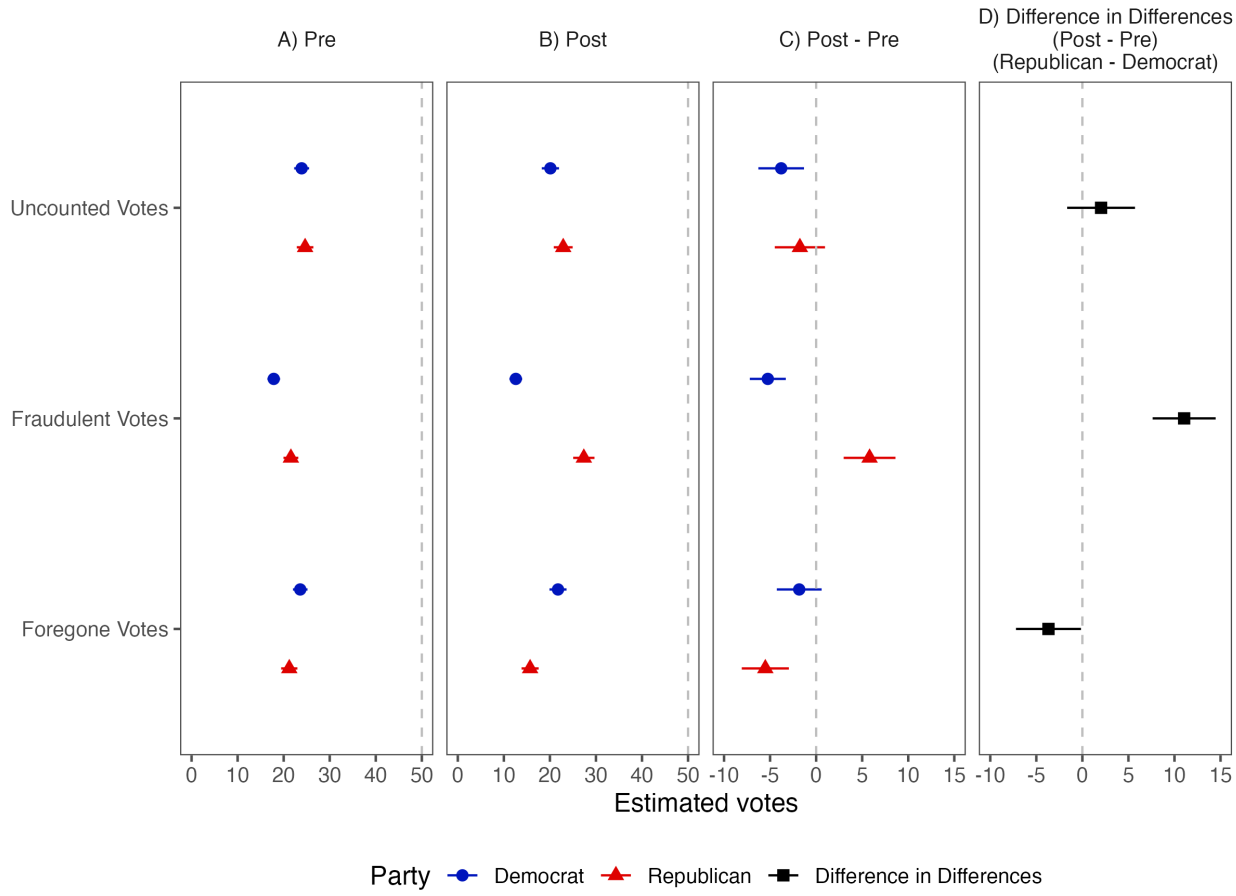
We begin our analysis by presenting how partisan beliefs about the frequency of, and negative reactions to, each type of election error evolved across all three surveys in Study 1. We use OLS regression with partisanship and wave interactions for each election error and respondent-level clustered standard errors, to account for the correlation among assessments by respondent. Democrats and Republicans (throughout, we include leaners in our partisan subgroups because of evidence that they are more partisan than weak partisans in their views (Keith et al. 1986)) diverge in their estimates of the frequency of different types of election errors. Some of these partisan differences were present before the election, while also growing over time.[12] Figure 1 presents the average estimates of the frequency of each types of election error by partisanship (blue circles = Democrat, red triangles = Republican; including partisan leaners) for the pre-election (panel A) and post-election (panel B) surveys, omitting the during-election surveys for simplicity. Additionally, panel C plots the

Again, a more detailed explanation of the randomization is presented in Appendix A.

[11] The turnout is the average state-level turnout in a presidential election year, which is meant to represent a large and fixed turnout level. Each measure was independently randomly assigned, so that differences in fraudulent and uncounted votes between the current and new election rules were each −2%, −1.5%, −1%, −0.5%, −0.1%, 0%, 0.1%, 0.5%, 1%, 1.5%, or 2%.

[12] When looking at frequency estimates averaged across all waves and partisan groups in Figure B.1, we find that uncounted votes are the largest at 23 votes, with fraudulent and foregone votes at 20 votes each. Notably, these numbers are very large, which, if taken at face value, suggest there are massive errors in election results.

Figure 1: Mean Estimates of Frequency of Election Error by Partisanship and Wave, Study 1



Note: The horizontal lines re ect 95% con dence intervals. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent.

difference in perceptions of frequencies from the pre- to post-election survey by party and panel D plots the difference in these partisan differences over time.

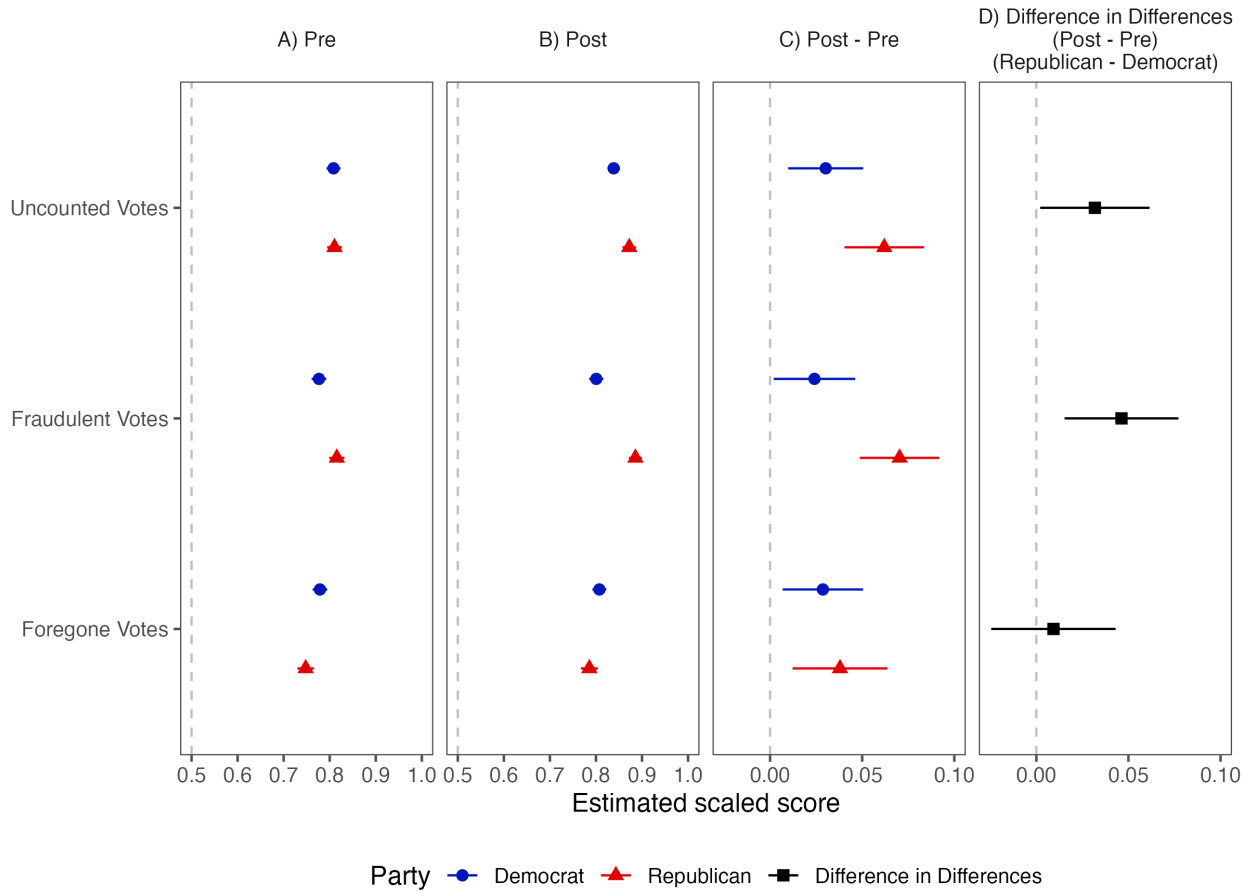
Panel A shows that before the election, partisans did not differ much in their beliefs about the frequency of uncounted votes (Republican minus Democrat difference = .75 votes, $p = .54$, per 100 legitimate votes cast). By contrast, Republicans thought fraudulent votes were more prevalent than did Democrats (difference = 3.72 votes, $p < .001$), with the reverse partisan pattern for foregone votes (difference = -2.38 votes, $p < .05$). Panel C, which plots the differences over time within party, shows that beliefs about the frequency of

all forms of election error either decreased or held constant over time for both parties (all estimates are less than or indistinguishable from 0) with one notable exception: Republicans reported an increase in beliefs about the frequency of fraudulent votes, an increase of about 27% (from 22 to 27 votes). This pattern is also apparent in the difference in differences estimates in panel D, where the only estimate that is positive and statistically significant is for counted fraudulent votes (11.0 more votes, $p < .001$), meaning that compared to Democrats, Republican estimates of fraudulent votes grew over time. By contrast, for forgone votes, the estimate is negative and significant (3.68 less votes, $p < .05$), meaning that Republicans believed foregone votes to occur less frequently than did Democrats after the election.

Our next analysis shows that differences in reactions to each type of error tend to exacerbate these partisan differences in beliefs about the frequency of the errors. As with beliefs about frequency, we find pre-election partisan differences in emotional reactions to different types of election errors.[13] Figure 2 follows the format of Figure 1 and presents the average reaction score for each type of election error by partisanship. Looking at the different reactions of Democrats and Republicans in the pre-election period shows the same pattern as in the previous figure, with Republicans reacting more negatively to fraudulent votes than do Democrats and the opposite for foregone votes. But these differences are also not static: panel C shows that negative reactions to all forms of election errors increased noticeably for both Republicans and Democrats (all estimates for Republicans and Democrats are positive and statistically distinguishable from 0). However, this increase was slightly greater for Republicans, as panel D shows that the difference in differences estimates are positive and statistically significant for both fraudulent and uncounted votes, meaning Republicans become comparatively more reactive over time to these errors than do Democrats.

[13] In Figure B.1, we show that emotional reactions to election errors averaged across partisan groups and all waves also follow similar patterns to beliefs about frequency. Respondents reacted most strongly to uncounted votes, with an average emotional reaction score (range 0–1) of .83, followed by fraudulent (.81) and foregone (.77) votes.

Figure 2: Mean Estimates of Emotional Reaction Scale to Election Error by Partisanship and Wave, Study 1



Note: The horizontal lines re ect 95% con dence intervals. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent.

4.2 Study 2

Study 1 presents information about beliefs surrounding the frequency and importance of different forms of election errors. By contrast, Study 2 is an experiment in which we examine reactions to specific instances of election errors with different characteristics, with the design of these vignettes approximating the sorts of news and social media postings individuals might be exposed to. Our analysis approach is to examine the relationship between respondent reactions to each vignette and the randomly assigned features in the vignettes, survey wave, and respondent partisanship.

Table 3: Mean Feeling of Outrage by Party and Wave, Study 2

Party	Pre	During	Post
Democrat	0.694	0.672	0.585
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Republican	0.674	0.715	0.705
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)

Note: Standard errors clustered by respondent.

Before presenting the complete analysis, we note that there is a general pattern of partisan divergence in reactions to all vignette scenarios over time, with Republican outrage becoming much greater compared to Democratic outrage. This is consistent with, but starker than, the differences in negative reactions over time we present in Figure 2 for Study 1. Table 3 shows, pooling across all experimental conditions, average feelings of outrage by respondent partisanship and survey wave for Study 2. While average negative reactions are initially greater, although not significantly, for Democrats than Republicans (.02 units, .69 versus .67), this gap flips in sign and grows significantly for the during wave (:04, .67 versus .72) and is even larger in the post wave (:12, .59 versus .71). As we show, by and large, this pattern of greater partisan divergence happens mostly as a result of the passage of time and independent of specific vignette features, with the exception of increased Republican reactions to instances of fraudulent and uncounted votes in the post-election wave.

Our formal statistical analysis of this experiment, which uses OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the respondent level, is presented in Table 4. Column (1) shows that pooling across all observations, average outrage is larger for Republicans than Democrats by 0.44 units ($p < .001$) and is substantially lower after the election was resolved (:049 units, $p < .001$). Outrage is slightly greater when the incident involves mail rather than in-person ballot (.014 units, $p < .001$) and fraudulent (.019, $p < .001$) or uncounted (.012, $p < .001$) rather than foregone votes. Outrage is much larger when an error benefits the opposing party rather than one's own (.167 units, $p < .001$), but only slightly larger when the error is described as intentional rather than due to an accident (.016, $p < .05$).

Table 4: Effect of Election Error Vignettes on Feelings of Outrage

	Base			Interactions	
	All	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans
Constant	0:557	0:593	0:560	0:607	0:580
	(0:009)	(0:012)	(0:013)	(0:016)	(0:018)
Mail Ballot	0:014	0:011	0:017	0:011	0:016
	(0:004)	(0:005)	(0:005)	(0:008)	(0:009)
Fraudulent Votes	0:019	0:005	0:036	0:010	0:025
	(0:004)	(0:005)	(0:005)	(0:008)	(0:009)
Uncounted Votes	0:012	0:003	0:023	0:002	0:016
	(0:004)	(0:005)	(0:005)	(0:008)	(0:009)
Intentional Error (Villain)	0:016	0:009	0:023	0:005	0:006
	(0:007)	(0:010)	(0:011)	(0:016)	(0:018)
Error Benefiting Opposite Party	0:167	0:179	0:151	0:153	0:140
	(0:007)	(0:010)	(0:011)	(0:016)	(0:018)
Wave – During	0:008	0:019	0:040	0:048	0:007
	(0:009)	(0:012)	(0:013)	(0:023)	(0:026)
Wave – Post	0:049	0:109	0:029	0:123	0:001
	(0:009)	(0:012)	(0:013)	(0:024)	(0:027)
Republican	0:044				
	(0:007)				
Mail x During				0:003	0:002
				(0:012)	(0:013)
Mail x Post				0:002	0:000
				(0:012)	(0:013)
Fraudulent x During				0:002	0:017
				(0:012)	(0:013)
Uncounted x During				0:019	0:015
				(0:011)	(0:013)
Fraudulent x Post				0:019	0:019
				(0:012)	(0:013)
Uncounted x Post				0:006	0:006
				(0:012)	(0:013)
Intentional x During				0:019	0:033
				(0:023)	(0:025)
Intentional x Post				0:008	0:019
				(0:025)	(0:027)
Opposite Party x During				0:027	0:009
				(0:023)	(0:025)
Opposite Party x Post				0:052	0:024
				(0:025)	(0:027)
R^2	0:086	0:102	0:073	0:104	0:074
Observations	14973	8398	6575	8398	6575
Respondents	4997	2803	2194	2803	2194

$p < 0:001$; $p < 0:01$; $p < 0:05$.

Note: The dependent variable ranges from 0{1. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent. Baseline of in-person ballot (compared to mail), foregone votes (compared to fraudulent/uncounted), unintentional error (compared to intentional, committed by a villain), error bene ting own party (compared to error bene ting opposite party), pre-election survey wave (compared to during- and post-election survey waves).

These initial estimates pool across respondents of different partisanship. We know from Study 1, however, that there are partisan differences in reactions to each error and those differences, as well as average outrage (as in Table 4), change over time. For this reason, in columns (2) and (3), we repeat the earlier analysis after restricting the samples to Democrats and then Republicans, including leaners. Comparing columns (2) and (3) therefore provides additional information about these partisan differences. There are two notable patterns. First, consistent with the analysis shown in Table 4, average Democratic outrage decreases with wave but increases for Republicans. Second, there are partisan differences in the relative reaction to different types of errors. Compared to forgone votes (the baseline category in the regression), estimates for scenarios with fraudulent or uncounted errors are insignificant for Democrats, while both estimates are positive and statistically significant for Republicans, indicating that those errors generate more outrage than foregone votes. This pattern is very similar to what we find for the value judgements in Study 1 (Figure 2), where Republicans reacted more negatively to those errors than to foregone votes compared to Democrats.

Given that Democrats and Republicans appear to be reacting differently, on average, to all three of these errors over time, we also examined whether there were over time differences by party in reactions to the randomly assigned vignette features in columns (4) and (5). We did so by estimating models, again by party, in which we interacted the randomly assigned featured with indicators for each of the latter two survey waves. Only one of the interaction coefficients is individually statistically significant in either column. Democrats react more negatively to the opposite party benefiting in the post-election survey (Opposite Party Post = .052, $p < .05$).

Cumulatively, Study 2 largely comports with the patterns we find in Study 1, meaning that how we elicit reactions does not appear to differ between asking about instances of errors in the abstract or in the context of specific descriptions of an event. Not only do Republicans appear to react comparatively more negatively to fraudulent and uncounted errors relative to foregone votes, but their average outrage also increases over time, and

especially for fraudulent errors. Therefore, even when we fix various assumptions behind these election errors, we see initial and persistent partisan differences in reactions to specific instances of those errors.

4.3 Study 3

Both Study 1, which examined reactions to general instances of election errors and beliefs about their frequency, and Study 2, which examined reactions to specific hypothetical instances of such errors, do not force respondents to choose between different types of election errors. Before the election, we found that Republicans appeared more concerned about fraudulent than foregone votes compared to Democrats, but partisan differences were otherwise modest. But do such differences in reactions explain ex ante preferences about election rules that would generate different levels of each type of error? More bluntly, if forced to tradeoff among errors, would the partisan differences in the emotional reactions to these errors predict Democrats giving comparatively more weight to turnout/foregone votes when choosing election rules? If so, this would also further validate using emotional reactions to measure value commitments. To answer this question, we turn to our analysis of Study 3, in which respondents were asked to choose among pairs of election rules.

To conduct our analysis, we predict the probability that a respondent chose the (randomly selected) new election rule as a function of differences in turnout (representing foregone votes), fraudulent (called overcounted votes in our survey), and uncounted (called undercounted votes in our survey) votes between the new and old election rule. In Study 3A, the variable difference in turnout, for example, ranges from 20 to 20. It is 20 when the new election rule generates 20% more legitimate ballots cast than the old rule (e.g., a decrease in forgone votes). Regression coefficients estimated using OLS regression with clustered standard errors for Studies 3A and 3B appear in Table 5.

As before, we begin in column (1) with pooled analysis of Study 3A, which shows that across respondents, individuals are more likely to choose an election rule when it yields fewer

Table 5: Effect of Difference in Election Errors on Choice of Election Rules, Study 3

	Study 3A		Study 3B	
	Base	Interactions	Base	Interactions
Constant	0:392	0:392	0:412	0:412
	(0:022)	(0:022)	(0:011)	(0:011)
Difference in Fraudulent Votes	0:040	0:047	0:102	0:098
	(0:005)	(0:006)	(0:005)	(0:006)
Difference in Uncounted Votes	0:053	0:056	0:117	0:121
	(0:005)	(0:006)	(0:005)	(0:007)
Difference in Turnout	0:008	0:011		
	(0:001)	(0:001)		
Vignette 2	0:058	0:060	0:011	0:010
	(0:024)	(0:023)	(0:012)	(0:012)
Vignette 3	0:067	0:067	0:029	0:029
	(0:026)	(0:026)	(0:012)	(0:012)
Vignette 4	0:057	0:059	0:029	0:029
	(0:025)	(0:025)	(0:012)	(0:012)
Vignette 5	0:062	0:062	0:024	0:024
	(0:025)	(0:025)	(0:012)	(0:012)
Republican	0:061	0:061	0:051	0:051
	(0:021)	(0:021)	(0:011)	(0:011)
Fraudulent x Republican		0:012		0:008
		(0:009)		(0:009)
Uncounted x Republican		0:003		0:009
		(0:009)		(0:009)
Turnout x Republican		0:005		
		(0:002)		
R^2	0:109	0:113	0:081	0:081
Observations	5914	5914	24930	24930
Respondents	595	595	2516	2516

$p < 0:001$; $p < 0:01$; $p < 0:05$.
Note: Dependent variable is a binary 0 or 1, with 1 as choosing the new election rule. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent.

illegitimate votes counted (less fraud), fewer uncounted votes (fewer discarded ballots), and higher turnout (fewer forgone votes). The magnitudes of these coefficients are large: a 1% increase in fraud decreases the probability an election rule is chosen by 4%, a 1% increase in uncounted ballots decreases it by 5.3%, and a 1% increase in turnout increases it by .8%.

Comparing across these coefficients, this suggests that respondents react about 5 to 7 times more to changes in fraud and disqualification, respectively, than to changes in turnout.

We also examine differences across parties in reactions to these experimentally manipulated features. We do so in the model presented in column (2) by interacting the features of each vignette with an indicator for a Republican (rather than Democratic) respondent. Focusing on the interactions between Republicans and each measure of election errors at the bottom of the table, there is only evidence of statistically or substantively significant partisan heterogeneity for a single type of election error: foregone votes (turnout). In particular, Democrats react to a 1-point increase in turnout by being 1.1 points ($p < .001$) more likely to choose an election rule, while for Republicans the effect is only .5 points—an effect half as large ($p < .001$). For the other interactions, Republicans react slightly less to fraudulent and uncounted votes than do Democrats, although neither of these interaction effects are statistically significant.

The results from Study 3B, in which we give respondents a fixed number for the level of turnout, are reported in columns (3) and (4) of Table 5. As in Study 3A, there are no statistically significant differences in how Democrats and Republicans react to differences in either fraud or uncounted ballots (both of the Republican x Uncounted and Republican x Foregone coefficients are small and insignificant in column (4)). Additionally, also as in Study 3A, both partisan groups react slightly more to differences in uncounted ballots than in fraud. Here, unlike in Study 3A, the magnitude of the differences in these effects is larger for Democrats than Republicans (.022 points, $p < .001$, 23% for Democrats, and .005 points, $p = .42$, 5% for Republicans).

Comparing these results with the pre-election results from Studies 1 and 2, we find that revealed election rule preferences appear very similar to the reported emotional reaction to general or specific instance of fraud. For both Democrats and Republicans, uncounted and fraudulent votes generated more negative reactions that did foregone votes, but Democrats' reacted more negatively to foregone votes compared to the other errors. The revealed elec-

tion rule choices support this description: there are no partisan differences in reactions to fraudulent and uncounted votes and both groups weight them more than foregone votes, but Democrats are about twice as likely to support changes in turnout (foregone votes) than Republicans. This is consistent with previous observational work finding greater support for election reforms that make voting more convenient among Democrats (e.g., Alvarez et al. 2011), although here we show that this effect arises not because of differences in concern about fraud, but instead simply a greater Democratic concern for foregone votes. Overall, even in a prospective choice about election rules, we find key value differences between Democrats and Republicans about concerns about different sorts of election errors, which also validates our earlier measure of emotional reactions as a proxy for value commitments.

5 Conclusion

This paper demonstrates the importance of decomposing threats to election integrity by understanding differences in beliefs about both the prevalence of different threats and their importance. We show that beliefs about the three forms of election errors that we measure—fraudulent votes, uncounted votes, and foregone votes—are distinct. Additionally, there are also important differences by partisanship in these beliefs that likely explain tensions in debates about election rules and their reform. These patterns persist when directly measuring beliefs about the frequency of these errors and reactions to them (Study 1), as well as when survey respondents engage with textual descriptions of election errors that approximate social media reporting of these events (Study 2). Finally, patterns of ex ante choices in election rules that differ in the rates of fraud, uncounted, and foregone votes they produce (Study 3) comport with these patterns of partisan differences in perceptions of the seriousness of different threats to integrity.

There are several important empirical patterns that are consistent across all three studies. In Study 1, we show that there are partisan differences in beliefs about the prevalence

of different threats to election integrity. Some of these differences existed prior to the 2020 election, and some became sharper as the election progressed. Prior to the election, Republicans thought fraudulent votes were more common and reacted much more negatively than did Democrats, with the partisan pattern reversed for foregone votes. After the election, however, Democrats' beliefs about the frequency of all forms of errors decreased. However, Republicans do not uniformly report increased perceptions of the frequency of election errors; only Republican beliefs about the frequency of fraud increase by a large amount (28%). Unlike frequency perceptions, emotional reactions that express the seriousness or importance of these errors (values) increase for both Democrats and Republicans after the election. However, Republican assessments of the seriousness of all forms of error increase compared to Democrats, with the largest increases for fraudulent and uncounted votes. This pattern of heightened scrutiny is consistent with the earlier discussed effect of "losing" an election, compared to supporters of the party winning an election expressing confidence in it.

In Study 2, Republicans react more negatively to vignettes describing instances of fraudulent and uncounted votes, with average outrage increasing by a statistically significant amount for Republicans after the election and for fraudulent votes, while decreasing overall for Democrats. Finally, in Study 3, where we do not measure values but instead ask respondents to trade off among rules that have different levels of fraud, uncounted, and foregone votes, we see that Democrats and Republicans react similarly negatively to fraudulent and uncounted votes. However, Democrats give much greater weight to foregone votes, validating the patterns of reactions observed in studies 1 and 2. Overall, these patterns are consistent with prior work documenting greater concerns about election fraud for Republicans and voter suppression for Democrats (Atkeson et al. 2014; Beaulieu 2014; Edelson et al. 2017), but shows that this pattern is rooted in partisan differences in both factual beliefs and values, and that these differences grew throughout the 2020 election cycle.

Beyond pointing to the key role of partisan preferences in predicting individuals' beliefs (perhaps originating in elite rhetoric, partisan differences in media exposure, or peer effects),

there are several important implications of the patterns that we uncover. First, if one seeks to understand public attitudes toward election rules and potential reforms, one must grapple with the fact that partisan differences in both facts and values exist. Therefore, even before getting to values, partisans have different beliefs about the facts of election fraud and creating common ground would likely require identifying interventions that could ameliorate differences in factual beliefs.

But changing beliefs about facts will not be enough to generate common partisan ground if reforms involve trading off among threats to election integrity that partisans value differently. Most starkly, this is because even when facts are held constant (as we do in Studies 2 and 3), Democrats are relatively more concerned about foregone votes than are Republicans. This finding therefore may help understand why previous research finds that messages counteracting factual claims about election fraud do not universally increase election confidence (Berlinski et al. 2023; Coppock et al. 2023), because individuals are concerned about different threats to election integrity. Such value disagreements also explain why political support for certain reforms is often divided by partisanship, as in the case of debates about strict voter identification or registration rules. For example, if one is worried about fraud but less concerned about foregone votes, then strong voter ID rules may be desirable, while the opposite may be true for those who strongly value foregone votes.

Nonetheless, we note that there are limitations of, and questions that remain after, our analysis. For one, it takes place during the 2020 election, when partisan narratives about threats to election integrity were already on full display. We note that in future elections, this partisan conflict seems likely to worsen, not ameliorate. Whether such patterns persist over time and for other levels of government and types of elections is less clear (although we note that the elections were subnational in the experiments used in Study 3). For another, we examine only three broad types of threats to election integrity, and therefore ignore important details that might subdivide or even cross these cases. For example, do people perceive postal service delays leading to mail ballots being discarded as foregone votes (because they

are invalid by law if delayed in some states) or as uncounted votes (because an individual believed they submitted a valid ballot in time for it to be counted)? Finally, we do not study "common values" reforms that might uniformly improve perceptions of election integrity, such as ballot tracking or online verification of registration status where reforms can increase electoral confidence across all partisan subgroups (Biggers et al. 2022), or other values, like financial cost, which may also divide partisans. Fortunately, the approach we use here can readily be expanded to consider other values, as the design for Study 3 shows.

These caveats aside, decomposing threats to election integrity and separately studying beliefs about the facts and values of these threats provides new insights into a salient area of political conflict in the United States and likely more generally across the world. Even more importantly, this disaggregation and our over time analysis provides a detailed window into the dynamics of public opinion on the very issues of election administration itself as it intersects with campaign messaging and electoral strategy.

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Supplementary Materials

Fact-Value Disagreements about Threats to Electoral Integrity: Beliefs about the Importance and Prevalence of Fraudulent, Uncounted, and Foregone Votes in the 2020 Election

A Survey Sample and Randomization

A.1 Survey Sample

For all of the surveys, we terminated (and did not assign to treatment) respondents who failed to provide informed consent, who were under 18, or who failed an attention check in which they were asked to recall the salient detail of a short non-political article we asked them to read.

In each of our samples, we find high levels of subject comprehension of the types of election errors. In the pre-election and during-election surveys, we asked respondents to drag and drop each description of the election error to the correct label after explanations of the election errors. (In the post-election survey, respondents were asked to answer a multiple-choice question with the same descriptions.) In the pre-, during-, and post-election surveys, respondents matched the election error to the correct label 71%, 75%, and 80% of the time, respectively. In Studies 3A and 3B, we again conducted a similar comprehension check that explained each type of election error and asked respondents to correctly answer a question about each type of election error. Similarly high proportions of respondents passed: around 84% for both Studies 3A and 3B. We do not restrict the sample based on responses to these post-treatment attention items in order to avoid introducing sample selection bias.

A.2 Randomization

In Study 2, we block randomized respondents into two groups. The first block group contains a fraudulent mail, an uncounted in-person, and a foregone mail vignette, while the second block group contained a fraudulent in-person, an uncounted mail, and a foregone in-person vignette. For the assigned block group, party and intentionality were independently randomly assigned but held fixed across all three vignettes the respondent read, which were presented in a random order. Therefore, while each vignette is based on a 24 factorial design (3 election errors x 2 type of voting x 2 parties benefiting x 2 intentionality of errors), respondents were exposed to 8 different assignments (2 blocks x 2 parties benefitting x 2 intentionality of errors).

For Studies 3A and 3B, we randomized the levels of uncounted, fraudulent, and foregone

(operationalized as turnout) for each election rule. This randomization was conducted in three steps. First, we randomized whether a particular pairing had an increase in fraud and a decrease in uncounted votes, the opposite situation, or no restrictions on the pairing. Since the first two types of pairings did not include pairings with a 0% change in fraudulent or uncounted votes, scenarios with no change in votes were undersampled. Second, after randomly assigning the gap in fraudulent and uncounted votes, a random baseline value for fraud or uncounted votes was assigned from 0 to 4% for each election scenario. Lastly, the new fraudulent/uncounted vote value was calculated using this random baseline and the randomly assigned difference. Respondents in Study 3B were also block randomized into seeing each error presented either as a number or as a percentage of votes cast. Supplemental analysis available upon request shows no treatment heterogeneity by how the numbers were presented.

In Tables A.1, A.2, and A.3, we provide summary statistics for each of the experimental conditions that respondents in Studies 2, 3A, and 3B were exposed to.

Table A.1: Summary Statistics for Study 2

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Feel Outraged	0.671	0.309	0	1
Wave (Pre)	0.336	0.472	0	1
Wave (During)	0.350	0.477	0	1
Wave (Post)	0.314	0.464	0	1
Party (Republican = 1, Democrat = 0)	0.439	0.496	0	1
Party Benefiting (Opposite = 1, Own = 0)	0.494	0.500	0	1
Intention (Villain = 1, No Villain = 0)	0.506	0.500	0	1
Error (Fraudulent)	0.333	0.471	0	1
Error (Uncounted)	0.333	0.471	0	1
Error (Foregone)	0.333	0.471	0	1
Type (Mail = 1, In-Person = 0)	0.498	0.500	0	1

Table A.2: Summary Statistics for Study 3A

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Election Plan Choice	0.412	0.492	0	1
Election Plan Rating	0.550	0.271	0	1
Difference in Fraudulent Votes	0.008	2.030	-4	4
Difference in Uncounted Votes	-0.024	2.014	-4	4
Difference in Turnout	0.032	9.972	-20	20
Vignette	3.000	1.414	1	5
Republican	0.497	0.500	0	1
Fraudulent Votes	3.008	1.415	1	5
Uncounted Votes	2.978	1.417	1	5
Turnout	54.964	7.050	45	65

Table A.3: Summary Statistics for Study 3B

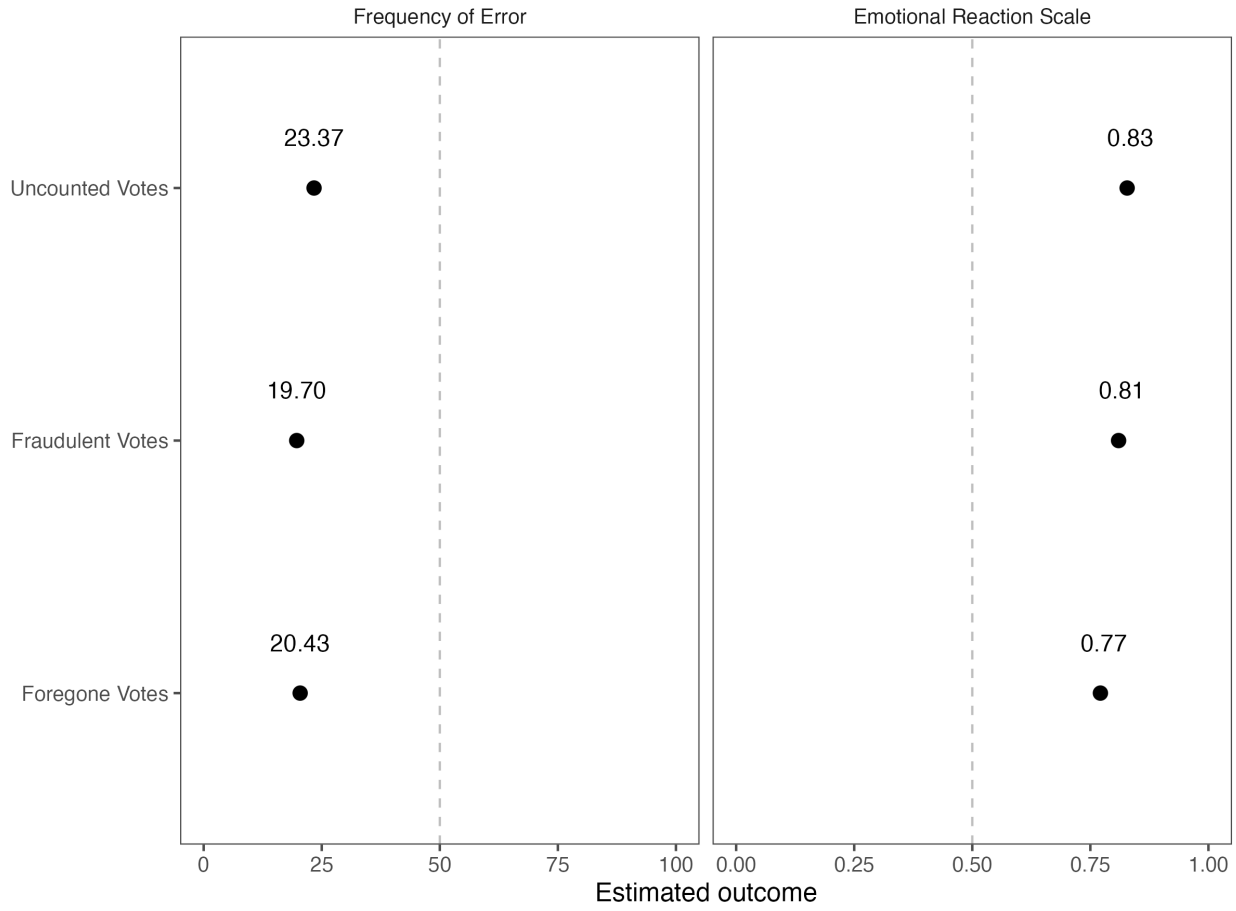
Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Election Plan Choice	0.404	0.491	0	1
Election Plan Rating	0.568	0.300	0	1
Difference in Fraudulent Votes	-0.004	1.204	-2	2
Difference in Uncounted Votes	0.007	1.199	-2	2
Vignette	3.000	1.414	1	5
Republican	0.484	0.500	0	1
Fraudulent Votes	2.299	1.240	0.1	6
Uncounted Votes	2.293	1.240	0.1	6

B Study 1: Additional Analysis

We analyze Study 1 by presenting average beliefs about the frequency of, and negative reactions to, each type of election error across all three surveys. The left panel of Figure B.1 shows average beliefs about the frequency of each type of error. For both fraudulent votes, when illegitimately cast votes that should not have been counted but which were, and foregone votes, when an eligible voter is unable to cast a vote, these averages are around 20 votes per 100 legitimate votes. The estimate is larger for uncounted votes, that is, votes which should have been counted but which were not, at 23 votes per 100 legitimate votes. This is a difference of around 19% and 14% (both $p < .001$) compared to the estimates for fraudulent and forgone votes, respectively.

The right panel of Figure B.1 shows that respondents reacted most strongly to uncounted votes, with an average emotional reaction score (range 0–1) of .83 (SE = .003). The next most negative reaction was to fraudulent votes, with an average emotional reaction score of .81 (SE = .003). Finally, respondents reacted substantially less negatively to foregone votes, with an average scaled score of .77 (SE = .003). While the differences between reactions to the first two types of errors are very small, but still significant ($p < .001$), the negative reaction to uncounted and fraudulent votes are about 7 and 5% larger (both $p < .001$), respectively, than the emotional reaction to foregone votes.

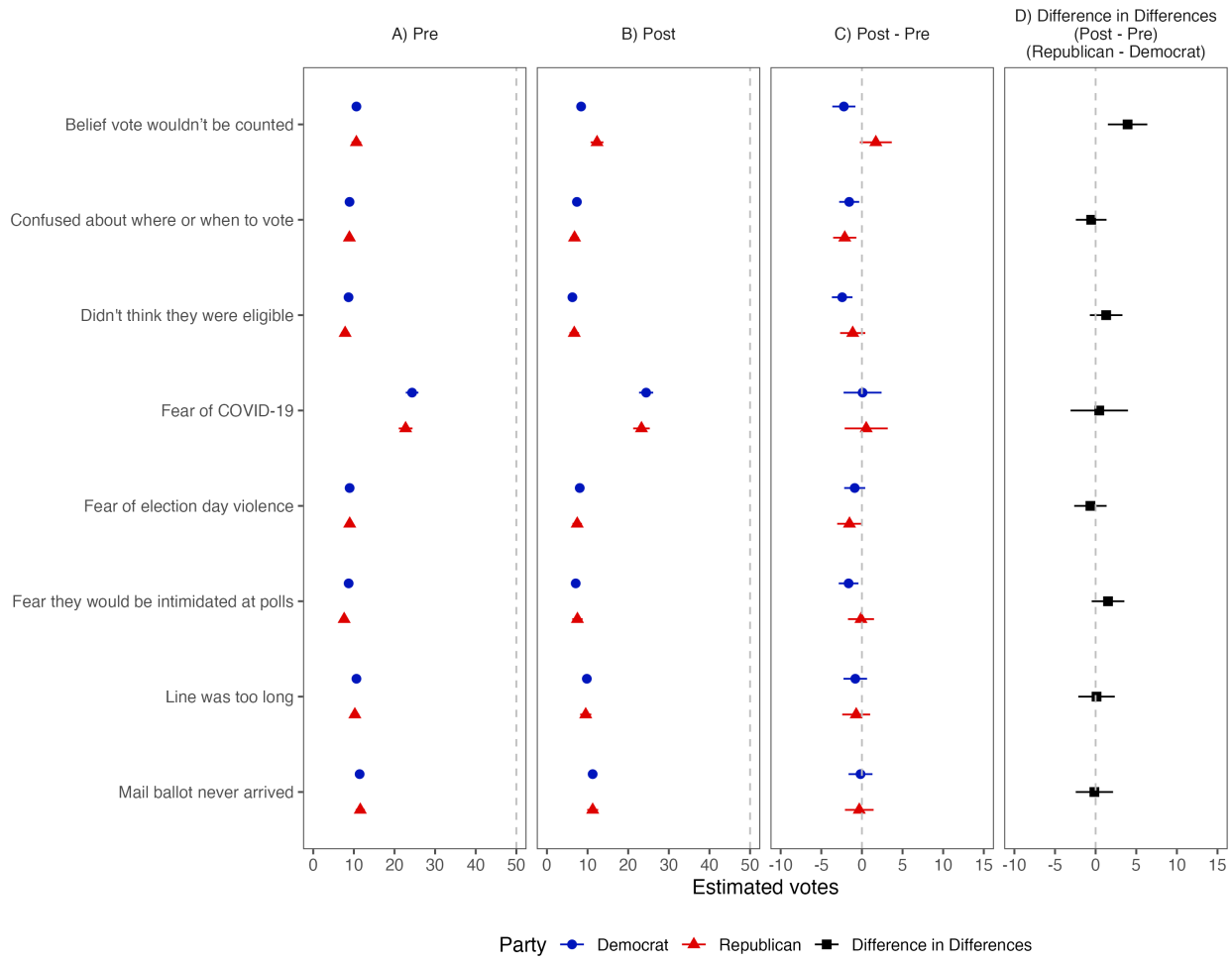
Figure B.1: Mean Estimates of Frequency of Error and Emotional Reaction Scale, Study 1



Note: The horizontal lines re ect 95% con dence intervals. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent.

We also investigate the underlying sources of foregone votes by asking respondents, "for every 100 eligible voters who didn't vote despite wanting to vote, how many were caused by each of the following issues?" In Figure B.2, we show that most of the worry behind foregone votes in the 2020 election was driven by concerns about COVID-19. However, we do not find much of a difference between partisans or changes throughout the election, with the exception of increased Republican beliefs about voters being discouraged by their ballot not counting compared to Democrats, which is related to changing perceptions of uncounted votes discussed above.

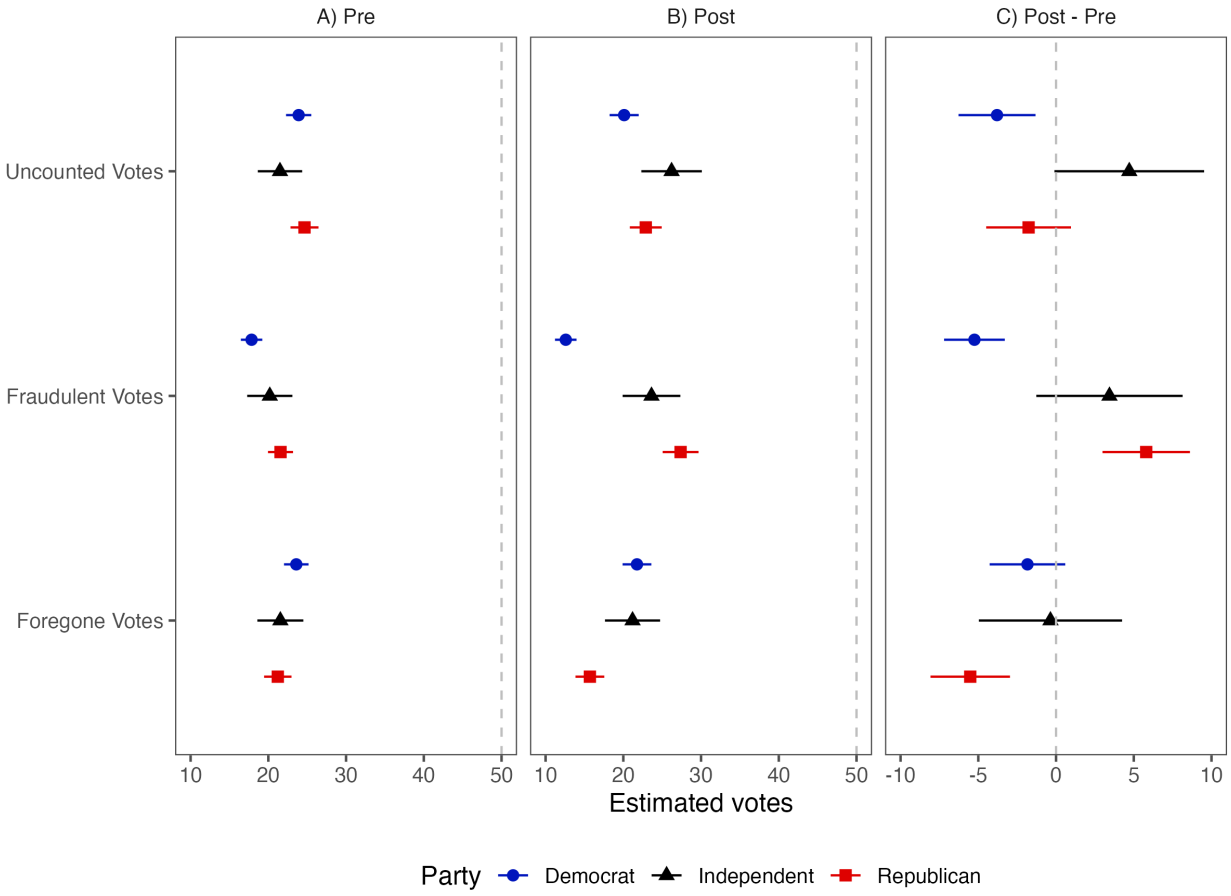
Figure B.2: Mean Estimates of Frequency of Foregone Votes by Partisanship and Wave, Study 1



Note: The horizontal lines re ect 95% con dence intervals. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent.

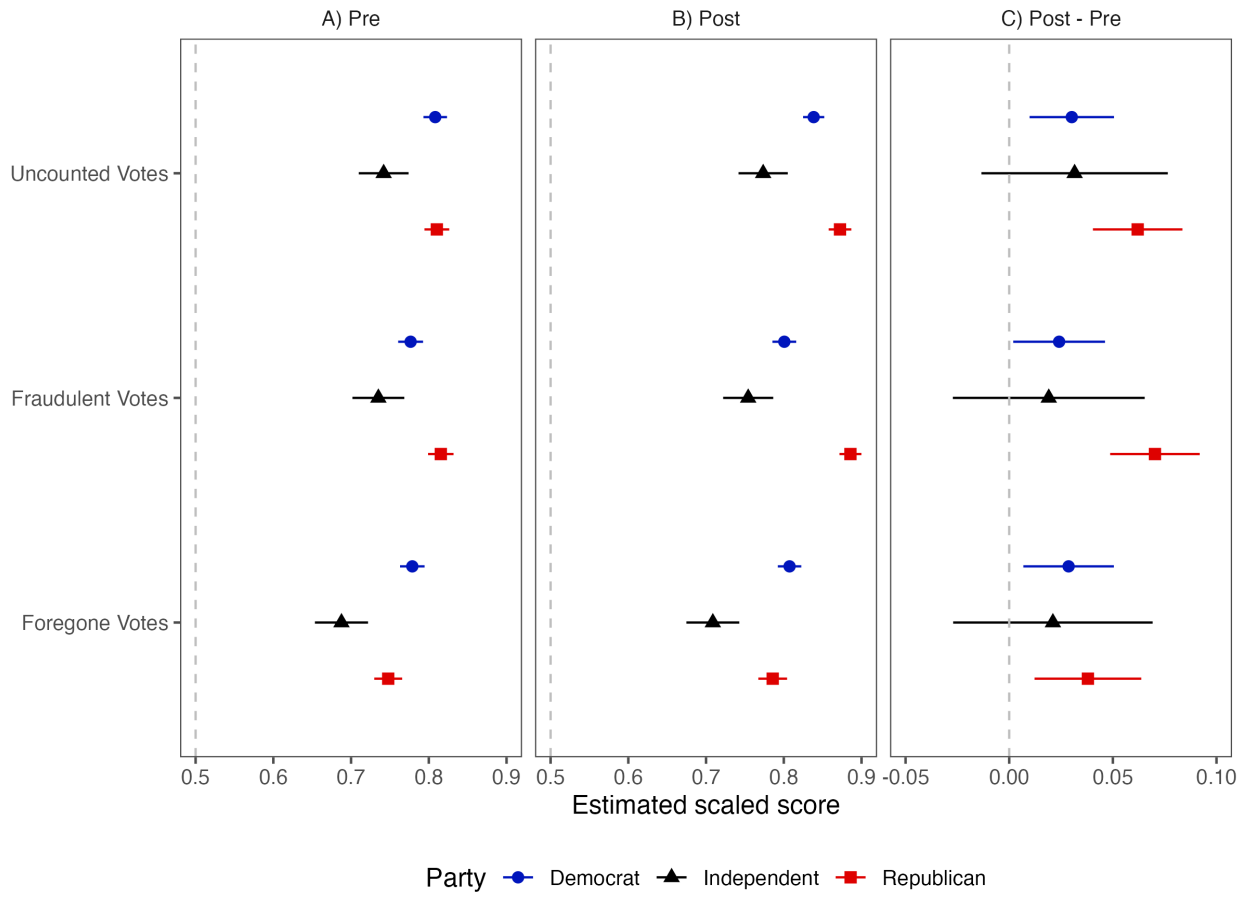
Finally, the changes we observe over the election cycle may arise due to underlying value or party commitments, experiences with the world, or elite cues. For pure-independents, for whom there are no clear elite cues or a consistent election winner to "root for," we find that baseline beliefs about the frequency and severity of election errors are much lower than for partisans (Figures B.3 and B.4). Moreover, even during the course of the election, Independents' beliefs shifted the least (with the exception of frequency of uncounted votes), as none of the estimates for Independents are significant in Panel C of both figures.

Figure B.3: Mean Estimates of Frequency of Election Error by Party and Wave (with Pure Independents), Study 1



Note: The horizontal lines reflect 95% confidence intervals. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent.

Figure B.4: Mean Estimates of Emotional Reaction Scale to Election Error by Party and Wave (with Pure Independents), Study 1



Note: The horizontal lines reflect 95% confidence intervals. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent. These models can be seen in Table **??**.

C Study 2: Additional Analysis

We measure whether respondents believe these vignettes by asking additional questions about the believability of the vignettes and whether respondents heard stories like the vignettes in the post-election survey. In Table C.1, we find that Republicans are more likely to report believing and having seen stories like our vignettes, while vignettes that benefited the opposite party and contain fraudulent and uncounted errors are also more believable. The average believability score was 3 on a 5-point Likert scale, which meant respondents found the vignettes to be "somewhat believable" on average.

Table C.1: Effect of Vignette Features on Perceptions of the Vignettes

	Believable	Hear Stories
Constant	2:498	1:931
	(0:058)	(0:047)
Mail Ballot	0:046	0:043
	(0:024)	(0:022)
Fraudulent Votes	0:083	0:062
	(0:028)	(0:022)
Uncounted Votes	0:082	0:061
	(0:026)	(0:022)
Intentional Error (Villain)	0:057	0:197
	(0:056)	(0:045)
Error Benefiting Opposite Party	0:688	0:207
	(0:056)	(0:045)
Republican	0:638	0:305
	(0:057)	(0:046)
R^2	0:134	0:041
Observations	4489	4697
Respondents	1565	1567

$p < 0:001$; $p < 0:01$; $p < 0:05$.

Note: The dependent variable ranges from 1 to 5 for believability and 1 to 4 for hearing stories like the vignette. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent. Baseline of in-person ballot (compared to mail), foregone votes (compared to fraudulent/uncounted), unintentional error (compared to intentional, committed by a villain), and error bene ting own party (compared to error bene ting opposite party).

Because we suspected that respondents would care more when the opposite party benefited from the election error through intentional malfeasance, we also estimated a model that allows the effect of the opposite party benefiting and intentionality to interact in Table C.2. We find that these interactions are never statistically significant.

Table C.2: Effect of Election Error Vignettes on Feelings of Outrage with Intentional x Opposite Party Interactions

	All	Democrats	Republicans
Constant	0:557	0:592	0:560
	(0:010)	(0:013)	(0:015)
Mail Ballot	0:014	0:011	0:017
	(0:004)	(0:005)	(0:005)
Fraudulent Votes	0:019	0:005	0:036
	(0:004)	(0:005)	(0:005)
Uncounted Votes	0:012	0:003	0:023
	(0:004)	(0:005)	(0:005)
Intentional Error (Villain)	0:017	0:012	0:022
	(0:011)	(0:015)	(0:016)
Error Benefiting Opposite Party	0:168	0:181	0:150
	(0:010)	(0:014)	(0:016)
Wave – During	0:008	0:019	0:040
	(0:009)	(0:012)	(0:013)
Wave – Post	0:049	0:109	0:029
	(0:009)	(0:012)	(0:013)
Republican	0:044		
	(0:007)		
Intentional x Opposite Party	0:002	0:004	0:002
	(0:015)	(0:020)	(0:021)
R^2	0:086	0:102	0:073
Observations	14973	8398	6575
Respondents	4997	2803	2194

$p < 0:001$; $p < 0:01$; $p < 0:05$.

Note: The dependent variable ranges from 0{1. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent. Baseline of in-person ballot (compared to mail), foregone votes (compared to fraudulent/uncounted), unintentional error (compared to intentional, committed by a villain), error bene ting own party (compared to error bene ting opposite party), pre-election survey wave (compared to during- and post-election survey waves).

Finally, for a more formal comparison of Republican vs. Democratic outrage to various types of election errors over time, see Table C.3. This triple interaction confirms that Repub-

licans grew more outraged to all forms of election errors throughout the election compared to Democrats, and that Republicans grew especially outraged to vignettes involving fraudulent votes in the post-election period.

Table C.3: Effect of Election Error Vignettes on Feelings of Outrage with Party x Error x Wave

	All	Democrats	Republicans
Constant	0:594	0:592	0:566
	(0:011)	(0:012)	(0:014)
Mail Ballot	0:014	0:011	0:017
	(0:004)	(0:005)	(0:005)
Fraudulent Votes	0:010	0:010	0:025
	(0:008)	(0:008)	(0:009)
Uncounted Votes	0:002	0:002	0:016
	(0:008)	(0:008)	(0:009)
Intentional Error (Villain)	0:015	0:009	0:023
	(0:007)	(0:010)	(0:011)
Error Benefiting Opposite Party	0:166	0:179	0:151
	(0:007)	(0:010)	(0:011)
Wave – During	0:026	0:026	0:030
	(0:014)	(0:014)	(0:015)
Wave – Post	0:100	0:100	0:020
	(0:014)	(0:014)	(0:016)
Republican	0:031		
	(0:014)		
Fraudulent x During	0:002	0:002	0:017
	(0:012)	(0:012)	(0:013)
Uncounted x During	0:019	0:019	0:015
	(0:011)	(0:011)	(0:013)
Fraudulent x Post	0:019	0:019	0:019
	(0:012)	(0:012)	(0:013)
Uncounted x Post	0:006	0:006	0:006
	(0:012)	(0:012)	(0:013)
Fraudulent x Republican	0:014		
	(0:012)		
Uncounted x Republican	0:018		
	(0:012)		
During x Republican	0:056		
	(0:020)		
Post x Republican	0:121		
	(0:021)		
Fraudulent x During x Republican	0:015		
	(0:018)		
Uncounted x During x Republican	0:004		
	(0:017)		
Fraudulent x Post x Republican	0:038		
	(0:018)		
Uncounted x Post x Republican	0:012		
	(0:017)		
R^2	0:095	0:103	0:073
Observations	14973	8398	6575
Respondents	4997	2803	2194

$p < 0:001$; $p < 0:01$; $p < 0:05$.

Note: The dependent variable ranges from 0{1. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent. Baseline of in-person ballot (compared to mail), foregone votes (compared to fraudulent/uncounted), unintentional error (compared to intentional, committed by a villain), error bene ting own party (compared to error bene ting opposite party), pre-election survey wave (compared to during- and post-election survey waves).

D Study 3: Additional Analysis

Our main analysis for Study 3 looks at how respondents tradeoff between various election errors when they are forced to choose a particular election rule. In Study 3A, we can also see partisan differences between Democrats and Republicans by examining the ratio of the effect of a change in turnout to a change in fraud on choosing a rule, which is larger for Democrats than Republicans (ratio = .22 to .15, a difference of around 50%). This implies that Democrats care more about turnout relative to the other errors than do Republicans. Similarly, the ratio of the effect of a change in turnout to a change in uncounted votes is larger for Democrats than Republicans (.19 to .10). Notably, the effect of an increase in uncounted ballots is slightly larger than the effect of an increase in fraud for both partisans: about .009 units ($p = .29$, 19%) for Democrats and .018 units ($p = .053$, 39%) for Republicans.

When treating each paired election rule as independent from each other and looking at assessments of their fairness in Table D.1 in both Studies 3A and 3B, we find a very similar pattern for preferences for election rules that decrease fraudulent and uncounted votes and increase turnout.

Table D.1: Effect of Election Errors on Ratings of Each Election Rule, Study 3

	Study 3A		Study 3B	
	Base	Interactions	Base	Interactions
Constant	0:545	0:517	0:594	0:600
	(0:034)	(0:047)	(0:007)	(0:010)
Fraudulent Votes	0:016	0:017	0:004	0:003
	(0:003)	(0:004)	(0:002)	(0:002)
Uncounted Votes	0:022	0:023		0:003
	(0:003)	(0:004)		(0:002)
Turnout	0:002	0:003		
	(0:001)	(0:001)		
Vignette 2	0:003	0:004	0:048	0:048
	(0:007)	(0:007)	(0:004)	(0:004)
Vignette 3	0:002	0:003	0:033	0:033
	(0:007)	(0:008)	(0:004)	(0:004)
Vignette 4	0:006	0:006	0:096	0:096
	(0:007)	(0:007)	(0:007)	(0:007)
Vignette 5	0:000	0:001	0:085	0:085
	(0:008)	(0:008)	(0:007)	(0:007)
Republican	0:003	0:055	0:012	0:019
	(0:014)	(0:064)	(0:006)	(0:013)
New Rule	0:019	0:019	0:004	0:004
	(0:009)	(0:009)	(0:003)	(0:003)
Fraudulent x Republican		0:003		0:002
		(0:005)		(0:003)
Uncounted x Republican		0:000		0:001
		(0:005)		(0:003)
Turnout x Republican		0:001		
		(0:001)		
R^2	0:026	0:026	0:040	0:041
Observations	5941	5941	25130	25130
Respondents	595	595	2516	2516

$p < 0:001$; $p < 0:01$; $p < 0:05$.

Note: Dependent variable ranges from a 0{1 scale, with 1 indicating higher fairness ratings of each election rule. Models estimated using ordinary least squares regression, with standard errors clustered by respondent.

Figure D.1: Example of Study 3

Election 1

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

Current Election Rules

- Voter turnout: 45% of total eligible voters (45000 votes)
- Fraudulent votes: 1% of votes cast (450 votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: 1% of votes cast (450 votes)

Proposed New Rules

- Voter turnout: 55% of eligible voters (55000 votes)
- Fraudulent votes: 1% of votes cast (550 votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: 3% of votes cast (1650 votes)

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming mayoral election?

Keep the current election rules

Adopt the proposed new rules

How fair would you say that each set of election rules is?

	Very unfair	Somewhat unfair	Neither fair nor unfair	Somewhat fair	Very fair
Current Election Rules	○	○	○	○	○
Proposed New Rules	○	○	○	○	○

E Questionnaire

E.1 Studies 1 and 2 (Pre, During, and Post-Election Surveys)

Block: social_cognition_consent

consent You are invited to participate in a research study on politics and public affairs that will take approximately 10 to 12 minutes. You will be asked to answer some questions about yourself and your views on public affairs.

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary, and you may skip any question or choose to end your participation at any time. No identifying information about you will be made public and all of your choices will be kept confidential. Your individual responses to each question are being collected by academic researchers and will not be shared.

If you have any questions about this research, its procedures, risks and benefits, you may contact XXX (XXX@XXX.edu). If you are not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the XXX University Human Subjects Committee (XXX@XXX.edu; XXX-XXX-XXXX). You may also write to the XXX University Human Subjects Committee: XXX XXX.

Agreement to Participate: I have read the above information, have had the opportunity to have any questions about this study answered and agree to participate in this study.

- I agree to participate (1)
- I do not agree to participate (2)

Block: Robot

captcha Please confirm that you are not a robot.

Block: attn_check

howold How old are you? _____

identi edgender What is your gender?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Not listed (3)

compquestion The next question is related to the following problem. In studies like ours, there are sometimes a few people who do not carefully read the questions they are asked and just "quickly click through the survey." These random answers are problematic because they compromise the results of the studies.

In order to show that you read our questions carefully (and regardless of your own opinion), please answer "Twitter" in the question below.

When an important event is happening or is about to happen, many people try to get informed about the development of the situation. In such situations, where do you get your information from?

- Twitter (1)
- TV (2)
- Radio (3)
- Facebook (4)
- Youtube (5)
- Newspaper (6)
- Other (7)

localnews We'd like to know how you feel about local news coverage. Please read this short article carefully and answer a few questions about it.

localnews2 MAN ARRESTED FOR STRING OF BANK THEFTS

Columbus Police have arrested a man they say gave his driver's license to a teller at a bank he was robbing.

According to court documents, Bryan Simon is accused of robbing four Central Ohio banks between October 3 and November 5, 2018.

During a robbery on November 5 at the Huntington Bank, the sheriff's office says Simon was tricked into giving the teller his driver's license.

According to court documents, Simon approached the counter and presented a demand note for money that said "I have a gun." The teller gave Simon about $500, which he took.

Documents say Simon then told the teller he wanted more money. The teller told him a driver's license was required to use the machine to get out more cash. Simon reportedly then gave the teller his license to swipe through the machine and then left the bank with $1500 in cash, but without his ID.

Detectives arrested him later that day at the address listed on his ID.

newstypical Do you think this article is typical of local news coverage?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Not Sure (3)

newscomp1 How much money did Simon leave the bank with?

- $500 (1)
- $1,500 (2)
- $5,000 (3)

newscomp2 How was Simon identified by police for the crime he allegedly committed?

- A police officer recognized him (1)
- From video surveillance (2)
- Because he left his ID (3)
- He turned himself in (4)
- None of the above (5)

Block: Instructions

Q1164 In this survey, we would like to ask you about four aspects of an election:

1. Legitimate votes
2. Fraudulent votes
3. Wrongfully disqualified votes
4. Foregone votes

Q1197 Please read the four definitions below carefully. You will be asked about them again in this survey, so it is important that you remember what they are.

Legitimate votes are votes correctly cast in an election by citizens who are eligible to vote that should be counted in the results of the election.

Fraudulent votes are votes cast in an election that should not be counted.

Wrongfully disquali ed votes are legitimate votes that are cast but are not counted because they are wrongfully determined to be fraudulent.

Foregone votes occur when eligible voters who could cast legitimate votes are not able to vote.

comprehension_check (Explanation: for Post, the format was four multiple choice questions.) Please drag and drop each description (on the left) in the correct category (on the right) to ensure you understand the different types of votes we have described. You should place only 1 description in each category.

- Votes correctly cast in an election by citizens who are eligible to vote that should be counted in the results of the election (1) (Correct answer: Legitimate Votes)
- Votes cast in an election that should not be counted (2) (Correct answer: Fraudulent Votes)
- Legitimate votes that are cast but are not counted because they are wrongfully determined to be fraudulent (3) (Correct answer: Wrongfully Disquali ed Votes)

- When eligible voters who could cast legitimate votes are not able to vote (4) (Correct answer: Foregone Votes)

Q1173 Now, we would like to you to answer some questions about your feelings towards each of the elements of an election that you just read about.

Block: Abstract Block: important

abs_important Thinking about elections in general...how important to you is it that: 1 - Not at all (1) ... 7 - Very (7)

- Each legitimate vote is counted (1)
- Each fraudulent vote is not counted (2)
- Each eligible voter who wants to vote is able to (3)

Block: Abstract Block: wrong

abstract_wrong Thinking about elections in general...how morally wrong do you think it would be if: 1 - Not at all (1) ... 7 - Very (7)

- A legitimate vote is not counted (1)
- A fraudulent vote is counted (2)
- An eligible voter who wants to vote is not able to (3)

Block: Abstract Block: outraged

abstract_outraged Thinking about elections in general...how morally outraged would you be if: 1 - Not at all (1) ... 7 - Very (7)

- A legitimate vote is not counted (1)
- A fraudulent vote is counted (2)
- An eligible voter who wants to vote is not able to (3)

Block: Abstract Block: angry

abstract_angry Thinking about elections in general...how angry would you be if: 1 - Not at all (1) . . . 7 - Very (7)

- A legitimate vote is not counted (1)
- A fraudulent vote is counted (2)
- An eligible voter who wants to vote is not able to (3)

Block: Abstract Block: disgusted

abstract_disgusted Thinking about elections in general...how disgusted would you be if: 1 - Not at all (1) . . . 7 - Very (7)

- A legitimate vote is not counted (1)
- A fraudulent vote is counted (2)
- An eligible voter who wants to vote is not able to (3)

Block: Abstract Block: likely

abstract_likely Thinking about elections in general...how likely do you think it is that: 1 - Not at all (1) . . . 7 - Very (7)

- Legitimate votes are not counted (1)
- Fraudulent votes are counted (2)
- Eligible voters are prevented from going to vote (3)

Block: Facts Block

countintro Now please think about the [upcoming November presidential election/presidential election that just took place].

count_per For every 100 legitimate votes that [will be cast/were cast], how many of each of the following do you think [will occur/occurred] (enter whole numbers).

- Fraudulent votes [are/were] counted: _____ (4)
- Legitimate votes [are/were] not counted: _____ (5)
- Eligible voters [are/were] prevented from going to vote: _____ (6)

  Total: _____

count_forgo For every 100 eligible voters who forgo voting despite wanting to vote, how many [will be/were] caused by each of the following issues (enter whole numbers)

- Fear of COVID-19 : _____ (4)
- Mail Ballot never arrives : _____ (5)
- Confused about where or when to vote : _____ (6)
- Line was too long : _____ (7)
- Fear they will be intimidated at polls : _____ (8)
- Fear of election day violence : _____ (9)
- Belief vote won't be counted : _____ (10)
- Don't think they are eligible : _____ (11)

  Total : _____

Block: Instructions2

Q1277 Thank you for completing the first part of the survey. Now please answer a few questions about yourself. Press next to continue.

Block: polisci questions

Q47 Think of this ladder, to the right, as representing where people stand in your country.

At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off - those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At the bottom are the people who are the worst off - who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job. the higher up you are on this ladder, the closer you are to

the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom.

Where would you place yourself on this ladder? Please indicate the number corresponding to the position on the ladder where you think you stand at this time in your life, compared to people in your country.

Q48 Please indicate your answer below 1 (1) ... 10 (10)

Rights How wrong would you say that each of the following things are: 1 - Not at all wrong (1) . . . 7 - Very wrong (7)

- Someone having a right taken away from them (1)
- Someone exercising a right that they do not deserve (2)
- Someone is unable to exercise a right that they are entitled to (3)

moral_conviction How much do you agree with the following statement:

The right to vote is a protected right for citizens. The Constitution guarantees us this right and it is a core democratic principle. It is of the utmost importance that everyone who is eligible to vote is able to do so and we do not allow people to taint or pervert the voting process in any way. The right of the people to govern themselves is absolute and it must be preserved at any cost.

- 1 - Not at all (1)
- 2 - Slightly (2)
- 3 - Moderately (3)
- 4 - Much (4)
- 5 - Very much (5)

moral_conviction2 To what extent is your opinion on this a reflection of your core moral beliefs and convictions?

- 1 - Not at all (1)

- 2 - Slightly (2)
- 3 - Moderately (3)
- 4 - Much (4)
- 5 - Very much (5)

moral_conviction3 To what extent is your opinion on this deeply connected to your beliefs about fundamental rights and wrongs?

- 1 - Not at all (1)
- 2 - Slightly (2)
- 3 - Moderately (3)
- 4 - Much (4)
- 5 - Very much (5)

itentionality How much do you agree with each of the following statements? 1- Not at all (1) 2- Slightly (2) 3- Moderately (3) 4- Much (4) 5- Very much (5)

- Sometimes people make mistakes that hurt others without meaning to do so. (1)
- When someone else does something that hurts me, I want to know why they chose to hurt me. (2)
- You can't be too careful around other people because lots of people don't have the right motives. (3)

Block: Instructions3

(Explanation: See Table 2 for how the 3 scenarios were determined for each respondent).

Q1281 For the next section of the survey, you will read about 3 scenarios that could occur in an election, and answer questions about your reactions to those scenarios.

Block: Dem_Villian_Over_Mail

(Explanation: For the pre-election survey, the "how morally wrong" question (2) was erroneously written as "how morally wrong is it for the votes to be overcounted." This error was fixed for the during- and post-election surveys.)

DVOM Suppose it is the week after the election. You read a news story describing how a large number of predominantly Democratic ballots were counted for the election despite lacking a valid witness signature, which is required by state law.

This was attributed to a new employee at the county registrar's office, headed by a Democrat, adding witness signatures to ballots that were missing signatures because they believed that they could act as the witness for voters. Current vote tallies favor the Democratic candidate Joe Biden.

Because the ballots have now been separated from the outer signature envelopes, it is impossible to figure out which ballots were affected by the signature issue. 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very (7)

- After seeing this story, how likely would you be to **protest the election outcome**? (1)
- How **morally wrong** is it for the votes to be incorrectly counted? (2)
- How **outraged** does the story make you feel? (3)
- How likely is it that this story could be **true**? (4)
- How likely would you be to **share this story** with others? (5)
- (Post only) How likely it is that someone **intentionally caused** this outcome? (6)

DVOM_believable/Post How believable do you think stories like this are?

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DVOM_storieslike/Post Did you see any stories like this after the election?

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In particular, it appears that there are about half as many votes being reported in certain heavily Republican precincts compared to what would be expected given the number of voters who are listed as having voted on Election Day. The error is believed to have taken votes from the Republican candidate, Donald Trump.

This was attributed to the county election office, which is currently headed by a Democrat, recently purchasing new electronic voting machines. The machines have been examined since the election and they do not appear to have been tampered with, and the vendor suggested that the counting issue occurred due to a bug in a recent software update. Current vote tallies favor the Democratic candidate, Joe Biden.

Unfortunately, the privacy protections included in the code make it impossible to figure out which votes were lost. 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very (7)

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DNOM Suppose it is the week after the election. You read a news story describing how a large number of predominantly Democratic ballots were counted for the election despite lacking a valid witness signature, which is required by state law.

This was attributed to disorganization at the county registrar's office which led to mistaken opening of ballots missing witness signatures. Current vote tallies favor the Democratic candidate, Joe Biden.

Because the ballots have now been separated from the outer signature envelopes, it is impossible to figure out which ballots were affected by the signature issue. 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very (7)

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This was attributed to disorganization at the mail service center, such that ballots were not delivered until the day after the election. The state deadline for mail ballots to be received is Election Day. Current vote tallies favor the Democratic candidate, Joe Biden. 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very (7)

- After seeing this story, how likely would you be to **protest the election outcome**? (1)
- How **morally wrong** is it for the votes to be incorrectly counted? (2)

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- How likely would you be to **share this story** with others? (5)
- (Post only) How likely it is that someone **intentionally caused** this outcome? (6)

DNUM_believable/Post How believable do you think stories like this are?

- Not at all believable (1)
- Slightly believable (2)
- Somewhat believable (3)
- Mostly believable (4)
- Very believable (5)

DNUM_storieslike/Post Did you see any stories like this after the election?

- I did not see any stories like this (1)
- I saw a few stories like this (2)
- I saw several stories like this (3)
- I saw a lot of stories like this (4)

Block: Dem_NoVillian_Foregone_Person

DNFP Suppose it is the week after the election. You read a news story describing how a large number of predominantly Republican eligible voters reported that while they wanted to vote, they were not able to do so because the lines at their polling places was several hours long and they did not have the time to wait because they had to get back to work or get home to their children.

The long lines were attributed to the county registrar's office which did not open certain polling locations because not enough people could be found to work at those polling

locations. Current vote tallies favor the Democratic candidate, Joe Biden. 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very (7)

- After seeing this story, how likely would you be to **protest the election outcome**? (1)
- How **morally wrong** is it for the votes to be incorrectly counted? (2)
- How **outraged** does the story make you feel? (3)
- How likely is it that this story could be **true**? (4)
- How likely would you be to **share this story** with others? (5)
- (Post only) How likely it is that someone **intentionally caused** this outcome? (6)

DNFP_believable/Post How believable do you think stories like this are?

- Not at all believable (1)
- Slightly believable (2)
- Somewhat believable (3)
- Mostly believable (4)
- Very believable (5)

DNFP_storieslike/Post Did you see any stories like this after the election?

- I did not see any stories like this (1)
- I saw a few stories like this (2)
- I saw several stories like this (3)
- I saw a lot of stories like this (4)

Block: Rep_NoVillian_Over_Mail

RNOM Suppose it is the week after the election. You read a news story describing how a large number of predominantly Republican ballots were counted for the election despite lacking a valid witness signature, which is required by state law.

This was attributed to disorganization at the county registrar's office which led to mistaken opening of ballots missing witness signatures. Current vote tallies favor the Republican candidate, Donald Trump.

Because the ballots have now been separated from the outer signature envelopes, it is impossible to figure out which ballots were affected by the signature issue. 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very (7)

- After seeing this story, how likely would you be to **protest the election outcome**? (1)
- How **morally wrong** is it for the votes to be incorrectly counted? (2)
- How **outraged** does the story make you feel? (3)
- How likely is it that this story could be **true**? (4)
- How likely would you be to **share this story** with others? (5)
- (Post only) How likely it is that someone **intentionally caused** this outcome? (6)

RNOM_believable/Post How believable do you think stories like this are?

- Not at all believable (1)
- Slightly believable (2)
- Somewhat believable (3)
- Mostly believable (4)
- Very believable (5)

RNOM_storieslike/Post Did you see any stories like this after the election?

- I did not see any stories like this (1)
- I saw a few stories like this (2)
- I saw several stories like this (3)
- I saw a lot of stories like this (4)

Block: Rep_NoVillian_Under_Person

RNUP Suppose it is the week after the election. You read a news story describing a shortage of votes counted in certain precincts.

In particular, it appears that there are about half as many votes being reported in certain heavily Democratic precincts compared to what would be expected given the number of voters who are listed as having voted on Election Day. The error is believed to have taken votes from the Democratic candidate, Joe Biden.

This was attributed to the county election office recently purchasing new electronic voting machines. The machines have been examined since the election and they do not appear to have been tampered with, and the vendor suggested that the counting issue occurred due to a bug in a recent software update. Current vote tallies favor the Republican candidate, Donald Trump.

Unfortunately, the privacy protections included in the code make it impossible to figure out which votes were lost. 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very (7)

- After seeing this story, how likely would you be to **protest the election outcome**? (1)
- How **morally wrong** is it for the votes to be incorrectly counted? (2)
- How **outraged** does the story make you feel? (3)
- How likely is it that this story could be **true**? (4)
- How likely would you be to **share this story** with others? (5)
- (Post only) How likely it is that someone **intentionally caused** this outcome? (6)

RNUP_believable/Post How believable do you think stories like this are?

- Not at all believable (1)
- Slightly believable (2)
- Somewhat believable (3)

- Mostly believable (4)
- Very believable (5)

RNUP_storieslike/Post Did you see any stories like this after the election?

- I did not see any stories like this (1)
- I saw a few stories like this (2)
- I saw several stories like this (3)
- I saw a lot of stories like this (4)

Block: Rep_NoVillian_Foregone_Mail

RNFM Suppose it is the week after the election. You read a news story describing how a large number of predominantly Democratic eligible voters reported that while they wanted to vote, they were not able to do so because their mail ballot was never delivered to them despite filing a valid mail ballot request.

This was attributed to disorganization at the county registrar's office, which fell behind on sending out mail ballots because of high demand. Current vote tallies favor the Republican candidate, Donald Trump. 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very (7)

- After seeing this story, how likely would you be to **protest the election outcome**? (1)
- How **morally wrong** is it for the votes to be incorrectly counted? (2)
- How **outraged** does the story make you feel? (3)
- How likely is it that this story could be **true**? (4)
- How likely would you be to **share this story** with others? (5)
- (Post only) How likely it is that someone **intentionally caused** this outcome? (6)

RNFM_believable/Post How believable do you think stories like this are?

- Not at all believable (1)
- Slightly believable (2)
- Somewhat believable (3)
- Mostly believable (4)
- Very believable (5)

RNFM_storieslike/Post Did you see any stories like this after the election?

- I did not see any stories like this (1)
- I saw a few stories like this (2)
- I saw several stories like this (3)
- I saw a lot of stories like this (4)

Block: Rep_NoVillian_Over_Person

RNOP Suppose it is the week after the election. You read a news story describing an excess of votes counted in certain precincts.

In particular, it appears that there are about twice as many votes being reported in certain heavily Republican precincts compared to what would be expected given the number of voters who are listed as having voted on Election Day. The error is believed to have added votes to the Republican candidate, Donald Trump.

This was attributed to the county election office recently purchasing new electronic voting machines. The machines have been examined since the election and they do not appear to have been tampered with, and the vendor suggested that the counting issue occurred due to a bug in a recent software update. Current vote tallies favor the Republican candidate, Donald Trump.

Unfortunately, the privacy protections included in the code make it impossible to figure out which votes were added. 1 - Not at all ... 7 - Very (7)

- After seeing this story, how likely would you be to protest the election outcome? (1)

- How **morally wrong** is it for the votes to be incorrectly counted? (2)
- How **outraged** does the story make you feel? (3)
- How likely is it that this story could be **true**? (4)
- How likely would you be to **share this story** with others? (5)
- (Post only) How likely it is that someone **intentionally caused** this outcome? (6)

RNOP_believable/Post How believable do you think stories like this are?

- Not at all believable (1)
- Slightly believable (2)
- Somewhat believable (3)
- Mostly believable (4)
- Very believable (5)

RNOP_storieslike/Post Did you see any stories like this after the election?

- I did not see any stories like this (1)
- I saw a few stories like this (2)
- I saw several stories like this (3)
- I saw a lot of stories like this (4)

Block: Rep_NoVillian_Under_Mail

RNUM Suppose it is the week after the election. You read a news story describing how a large number of predominantly Democratic ballots were not counted for the election after checking in the state's online system.

This was attributed to disorganization at the mail service center, such that ballots were not delivered until the day after the election. The state deadline for mail ballots to be received is Election Day. Current vote tallies favor the Republican candidate, Donald Trump. 1 - Not at all ... 7 - Very (7)

- After seeing this story, how likely would you be to **protest the election outcome**? (1)
- How **morally wrong** is it for the votes to be incorrectly counted? (2)
- How **outraged** does the story make you feel? (3)
- How likely is it that this story could be **true**? (4)
- How likely would you be to **share this story** with others? (5)
- (Post only) How likely it is that someone **intentionally caused** this outcome? (6)

RNUM_believable/Post How believable do you think stories like this are?

- Not at all believable (1)
- Slightly believable (2)
- Somewhat believable (3)
- Mostly believable (4)
- Very believable (5)

RNUM_storieslike/Post Did you see any stories like this after the election?

- I did not see any stories like this (1)
- I saw a few stories like this (2)
- I saw several stories like this (3)
- I saw a lot of stories like this (4)

Block: Rep_NoVillian_Foregone_Person

RNFP Suppose it is the week after the election. You read a news story describing how a large number of predominantly Democratic eligible voters reported that while they wanted to vote, they were not able to do so because the lines at their polling places was several hours long and they did not have the time to wait because they had to get back to work or get home to their children.

The long lines were attributed to the county registrar's office which did not open certain polling locations because not enough people could be found to work at those polling locations. Current vote tallies favor the Republican candidate, Donald Trump. 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very (7)

- After seeing this story, how likely would you be to **protest the election outcome**? (1)
- How **morally wrong** is it for the votes to be incorrectly counted? (2)
- How **outraged** does the story make you feel? (3)
- How likely is it that this story could be **true**? (4)
- How likely would you be to **share this story** with others? (5)
- (Post only) How likely it is that someone **intentionally caused** this outcome? (6)

RNFP_believable/Post How believable do you think stories like this are?

- Not at all believable (1)
- Slightly believable (2)
- Somewhat believable (3)
- Mostly believable (4)
- Very believable (5)

RNFP_storieslike/Post Did you see any stories like this after the election?

- I did not see any stories like this (1)
- I saw a few stories like this (2)
- I saw several stories like this (3)
- I saw a lot of stories like this (4)

Block: Politics / Social media Qs

Q1282 For the final section, please answer a few more questions about yourself

Q2 Politically speaking, which party do you identify with more strongly?

- Democrat (1)
- Republican (2)
- Independent (3)
- Other (4)
- None (5)

Q3 How would you describe your political ideology?

- Extremely liberal (-3)
- Liberal (-2)
- Moderately liberal (-1)
- Neither (0)
- Moderately conservative (1)
- Conservative (2)
- Extremely Conservative (3)

sis_dem (display logic: if Q2 is 1) Consider the following statement and rate how much you agree:

"I identify with Democrats"

- Fully Disagree (1)
- (2)
- (3)
- (4)
- (5)

- ˆ (6)
- ˆ Fully Agree (7)

sis_rep (display logic: if Q2 is 2) Consider the following statement and rate how much you agree:

\I identify with Republicans"

- ˆ Fully Disagree (1)
- ˆ (2)
- ˆ (3)
- ˆ (4)
- ˆ (5)
- ˆ (6)
- ˆ Fully Agree (7)

therm _rep Using the thermometer, how would you rate your feelings toward the Republican party? Use the following anchors:

10 = very warm and favorable feeling

5 = no feeling at all

0 = very cold and unfavorable feeling

- ˆ 0 (0)
- ˆ 1 (1)
- ˆ 2 (2)
- ˆ 3 (3)
- ˆ 4 (4)
- ˆ 5 (5)
- ˆ 6 (6)

- ˆ 7 (7)
- ˆ 8 (8)
- ˆ 9 (9)
- ˆ 10 (10)

therm_dem Using the thermometer, how would you rate your feelings toward the Democratic party? Use the following anchors:

10 = very warm and favorable feeling

5 = no feeling at all

0 = very cold and unfavorable feeling

- ˆ 0 (0)
- ˆ 1 (1)
- ˆ 2 (2)
- ˆ 3 (3)
- ˆ 4 (4)
- ˆ 5 (5)
- ˆ 6 (6)
- ˆ 7 (7)
- ˆ 8 (8)
- ˆ 9 (9)
- ˆ 10 (10)

politics_follow Generally speaking, how closely do you follow politics?

- ˆ Not closely at all (1)
- ˆ (2)
- ˆ (3)

- ˆ Moderately closely (4)
- ˆ (5)
- ˆ (6)
- ˆ Very Closely (7)

2016_vote Did you vote in the 2016 United States Presidential election?

- ˆ Yes (1)
- ˆ No (2)

2018_vote Did you vote in the 2018 United States midterm elections?

- ˆ Yes (1)
- ˆ No (2)

vote2020/Pre Will you vote in the 2020 United States Presidential election?

- ˆ I plan to vote on Election Day (1)
- ˆ I have already voted (2)
- ˆ I am not planning on voting on or before Election Day (3)

vote2020/During and Post Who did you vote for in the 2020 United States Presidential election?

- ˆ Republican Donald Trump (1)
- ˆ Democrat Joe Biden (2)
- ˆ Other (3)
- ˆ I did not vote (4)

2020motivations/During and Post (display logic: if vote2020 is 4) To what extent was your 2020 vote choice driven by feelings of... 1 - Not at all . . . 7 - Very much (7)

- ˆ Moral outrage (1)

- ˆ Anger (2)
- ˆ Fear (3)
- ˆ Disgust (4)
- ˆ Hope (5)
- ˆ Enthusiasm (6)

moraloutragefollowup/During and Post (display logic: if 2020motivations (1) is 6 or 7) You stated that you voted in part because of Moral Outrage. Who or what were you morally outraged about/towards?

_____

angerfollowup/During and Post (display logic: if 2020motivations (2) is 6 or 7) You stated that you voted in part because of Anger. Who or what were you angry about/towards?

_____

fearfollowup/During and Post (display logic: if 2020motivations (3) is 6 or 7) You stated that you voted in part because of Fear. Who or what were you fearful about/towards?

_____

disgustfollowup/During and Post (display logic: if 2020motivations (4) is 6 or 7) You stated that you voted in part because of Disgust. Who or what were you disgusted about/towards?

_____

hopefollowup/During and Post (display logic: if 2020motivations (5) is 6 or 7) You stated that you voted in part because of Hope. Who or what were you hopeful about/towards?

_____

enthusiasmfollowup/During and Post (display logic: if 2020motivations (6) is 6 or 7) You stated that you voted in part because of Enthusiasm. Who or what were you enthusiastic about/towards?

_____

sm_use How often do you use social media?

- ˆ Daily or more (1)
- ˆ 4-6 times a week (2)
- ˆ 2-3 times a week (3)
- ˆ Once per week (4)
- ˆ Between once per week and once per month (5)
- ˆ Between once per month and once per year (6)
- ˆ Never (7)

sm_use_slider If you use social media daily or more, use the slider to indicate how many times per day you tend to use social media. If you don't use social media daily or more, then leave the slider at 0.

- ˆ 0 (0)
- ˆ 1 (1)
- ˆ 2 (2)
- ˆ 3 (3)
- ˆ 4 (4)
- ˆ 5 (5)
- ˆ 6 (6)
- ˆ 7 (7)
- ˆ 8 (8)
- ˆ 9 (9)

- ˆ 10 (10)

sm_politics How often do you use social media speci cally to view or learn about political content?

- ˆ Daily or more (1)
- ˆ 4-6 times a week (2)
- ˆ 2-3 times a week (3)
- ˆ Once per week (4)
- ˆ Between once per week and once per month (5)
- ˆ Between once per month and once per year (6)
- ˆ Never (7)

sm_politics _slider If you use social media to view or learn about political content daily or more, use the slider to indicate how many times per day you tend to use social media to view or learn about political content. If you don't use social media to view or learn about political content daily or more, then leave the slider at 0.

- ˆ 0 (0)
- ˆ 1 (1)
- ˆ 2 (2)
- ˆ 3 (3)
- ˆ 4 (4)
- ˆ 5 (5)
- ˆ 6 (6)
- ˆ 7 (7)
- ˆ 8 (8)
- ˆ 9 (9)
- ˆ 10 (10)

sm_share_politics How often do you use social media speci cally to post or share about political content?

- ˆ Daily or more (1)
- ˆ 4-6 times a week (2)
- ˆ 2-3 times a week (3)
- ˆ Once per week (4)
- ˆ Between once per week and once per month (5)
- ˆ Between once per month and once per year (6)
- ˆ Never (7)

sm_share_poli _slider If you use social media to post or share political content daily or more, use the slider to indicate how many times per day you tend to use social media to post or share political content. If you don't use social media to post or share political content daily or more, then leave the slider at 0.

- ˆ 0 (0)
- ˆ 1 (1)
- ˆ 2 (2)
- ˆ 3 (3)
- ˆ 4 (4)
- ˆ 5 (5)
- ˆ 6 (6)
- ˆ 7 (7)
- ˆ 8 (8)
- ˆ 9 (9)
- ˆ 10 (10)

share_why If you share (e.g. retweet, share, repost) content on social media, why do you typically share it (check all that apply)?

I want people to see the content (1)

I want to make people laugh (2)

I want to change people's opinions (3)

I want to troll people (4)

The content represents my beliefs or attitudes (5)

I want to show people that we share common beliefs or attitudes (6)

Other (7)

news Please select which news outlets you have read articles from online in the past year:

Drudge Report (1)

Fox News (2)

Five Thirty Eight (3)

Yahoo News (4)

CNN (5)

MSN News (6)

NY Times (7)

Washington Post (8)

Daily Kos (9)

Hu ngton Post (10)

Block: Big 5/Pre and During

Q1270/Pre and During Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that

statement. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

I see myself as: 1 - Disagree strongly (1) 2 - Disagree moderately (2) 3 - Disagree a little (3) 4 - Neither agree nor disagree (4) 5 - Agree a little (5) 6 - Agree moderately (6) 7 - Agree strongly (7)

- ˆ Extraverted, enthusiastic (1)
- ˆ Critical, quarrelsome (2)
- ˆ Dependable, self-disciplined (3)
- ˆ Anxious, easily upset (4)
- ˆ Open to new experiences, complex (5)
- ˆ Reserved, quiet (6)
- ˆ Sympathetic, warm (7)
- ˆ Disorganized, careless (8)
- ˆ Calm, emotionally stable (9)
- ˆ Conventional, uncreative (10)

whataretheycounting/During Now a nal question.

Remaining ballots are still being counted in several critical states in this presidential election. How likely do you think it is that there are any ballots that were cast after Election Day being counted?

- ˆ Extremely unlikely (25)
- ˆ Somewhat unlikely (26)
- ˆ Neither likely nor unlikely (27)
- ˆ Somewhat likely (28)
- ˆ Extremely likely (29)

Block: who won?/Post

2020winnerbelief/Post Now a nal question.

Who do you believe won the 2020 presidential election? Please move the slider with 0 indicating you believe Donald Trump de nitely won and 100 indicating you believe that Joseph Biden de nitely won.

- ˆ Trump de nitely won (0)
- ˆ 10 (1)
- ˆ 20 (2)
- ˆ 30 (3)
- ˆ 40 (4)
- ˆ Not sure (5)
- ˆ 60 (6)
- ˆ 70 (7)
- ˆ 80 (8)
- ˆ 90 (9)
- ˆ Biden de nitely won (10)

E.2 Study 3A

Block: consent

consent You are invited to participate in a survey about your beliefs and attitudes.

The survey will take approximately 10 minutes. You will be asked to answer some questions. You must be 18 years of age or older to participate in this study.

Your participation is voluntary. You are free not to answer any question or to withdraw from the study at any time. If you feel uncomfortable because of any questions, you do not have to answer although we hope you will. The risks to participating in this

survey are related to your feelings about the topics presented and the possible loss of con dentiality.

A report of the results of this study will be provided to you upon request. In order to analyze responses to our questionnaire, your answers will be submitted to XXX University. No identifying information about you will be made public and any views you express will be kept con dential. Individual responses will not be identi able and all results will be presented as a group of responses

Findings from this study will be released to policymakers and to the public in aggregate form and they will be reported in scholarly journals, at academic seminars, and at research association meetings. The data will be stored at a secure location and retained inde nitely.

Should you have questions regarding the research project, please contact XXX (XXX@XXX.edu).

- ˆ I agree to participate (1)
- ˆ I do not agree to participate (2)

Block: Block 12

js Starting survey...

Block: Block 15

age How old are you?____

reported_gender What is your gender?

- ˆ Male (1)
- ˆ Female (2)
- ˆ Not listed (3)

device What device are you completing this survey on?

- ˆ Phone (1)

- ^ Tablet (2)
- ^ Laptop computer (3)
- ^ Desktop computer (4)
- ^ Other (5)

Block: Captcha

captcha Please con rm that you are not a robot.

Block: comprehension question

Q180 We'd like to know how you feel about local news coverage. Please read this short article carefully and answer a few questions about it.

bankVignette MAN ARRESTED FOR STRING OF BANK THEFTS

Columbus Police have arrested a man they say gave his driver's license to a teller at a bank he was robbing.

According to court documents, Bryan Simon is accused of robbing four Central Ohio banks between October 3 and November 5, 2018.

During a robbery on November 5 at the Huntington Bank, the sheri 's o ce says Simon was tricked into giving the teller his driver's license.

According to court documents, Simon approached the counter and presented a demand note for money that said "I have a gun." The teller gave Simon about $500, which he took.

Documents say Simon then told the teller he wanted more money. The teller told him a driver's license was required to use the machine to get out more cash. Simon reportedly then gave the teller his license to swipe through the machine and then left the bank with $1500 in cash, but without his ID.

Detectives arrested him later that day at the address listed on his ID.

typicalnews Do you think this article is typical of local news coverage?

- ˆ Yes (1)
- ˆ No (2)
- ˆ Not Sure (3)

newComp1 How much money did Simon leave the bank with?

- ˆ $500 (1)
- ˆ $1,500 (2)
- ˆ $5,000 (3)

newComp2 How was Simon identi ed by police for the crime he allegedly committed?

- ˆ A police o cer recognized him (1)
- ˆ From video surveillance (2)
- ˆ Because he left his ID (3)
- ˆ He turned himself in (4)
- ˆ None of the above (5)

Block: Voting and Errors Intro Block

voting intro Now we would like to ask you a few questions about elections and voting.

votingbackground Think about a city that has 100,000 eligible voters. This city has an upcoming mayoral election. City election o cials have been considering a proposal to change their election rules to make sure that voters can be completely con dent in the outcome of the election. Before the city decides whether to make changes to their rules, they have hired a group of election experts to audit the previous election results and estimate how the proposed rule changes would a ect the upcoming election. The report written by the group will estimate the following these things:

1. Voter turnout : the number of eligible voters who will vote in an election out of the 100,000 eligible voters

2. Fraudulent votes : the number of fraudulent votes that will be cast in an election that should not be counted, either because someone who is not eligible to vote does so or because someone votes twice, both of which are against the law.

3. Wrongfully disquali ed votes : the number of legitimate votes that will be wrongfully determined to be fraudulent by election o cials and therefore not counted. That is, these are votes that should be counted, but which are mistakenly determined to be fraudulent.

comp1 Please answer these questions to con rm that you understand what you have read.

1. What is voter turnout?

   ˆ The number of total eligible voters (1)

   ˆ The number of voters who vote in an election out of the number of eligible voters (2)

comp2 2. What are fraudulent votes?

   ˆ Votes that are cast in the election that should not be counted (1)

   ˆ The number of votes that are cast in the election (2)

comp3 3. What are wrongfully disquali ed votes?

   ˆ Votes that are not counted when someone votes twice (1)

   ˆ Legitimate votes that are wrongfully determined to be fraudulent by election o cials. (2)

comp4 4. How many eligible voters are there in the state?

   ˆ 200,000 (1)

   ˆ 100,000 (2)

Q217 Please review the correct answers to the comprehension questions that you just answered.

1. What is voter turnout?

Correct Answer : The number of voters who vote in an election out of the number of eligible voters.

2. What are fraudulent votes?

Correct Answer : Votes that are cast in the election that should not be counted.

3. What are wrongfully disqualified votes?

Correct Answer : Legitimate votes that are wrongfully determined to be fraudulent by election officials.

4. How many eligible voters are there in the city?

Correct Answer : 100,000 total eligible voters

choice1 We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 1

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

Current Election Rules

- Voter turnout: ${fe://Field/turnout1} % of total eligible voters (${ef (e://Field/turnout1 * .01) *100000} votes)
- Fraudulent votes: ${fe://Field/fraud1} % of votes cast (${ef (e://Field/fraud1 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout1 * .01) *100000)} votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: ${fe://Field/disqualified1} % of votes cast (${ef (e://Field/disqualified1 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout1 * .01) *100000)} votes)

Proposed New Rules

- Voter turnout: ${fe://Field/turnout1} % of total eligible voters (${ef (e://Field/turnout1 * .01) *100000} votes)

- Fraudulent votes: ${fe://Field/fraud1}% of votes cast (${e://Field/fraud1} * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout1 * .01) *100000) votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: ${fe://Field/disqualified1}% of votes cast (${e://Field/disqualified1} * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout1 * .01) *100000) votes)

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming mayoral election?

- Keep the current election rules (4)
- Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

fair1 How fair would you say that each set of election rules is?

Current Election Rules (1)

- Very unfair (1)
- Somewhat unfair (2)
- Neither fair nor unfair (3)
- Somewhat fair (4)
- Very fair (5)

Proposed New Rules (2)

- Very unfair (1)
- Somewhat unfair (2)
- Neither fair nor unfair (3)
- Somewhat fair (4)
- Very fair (5)

choice2 We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 2

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

Current Election Rules

- Voter turnout: ${fe://Field/turnout2} % of total eligible voters (${ef (e://Field/turnout2 * .01) * 100000} votes)
- Fraudulent votes: ${fe://Field/fraud2} % of votes cast (${ef (e://Field/fraud2 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout1 * .01) * 100000)} votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: ${fe://Field/disqualified2} % of votes cast (${ef (e://Field/disqualified2 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout2 * .01) * 100000)} votes)

Proposed New Rules

- Voter turnout: ${fe://Field/turnout2} % of total eligible voters (${ef (e://Field/turnout2 * .01) * 100000} votes)
- Fraudulent votes: ${fe://Field/fraud2} % of votes cast (${ef (e://Field/fraud2 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout2 * .01) * 100000)} votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: ${fe://Field/disqualified2} % of votes cast (${ef (e://Field/disqualified2 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout2 * .01) * 100000)} votes)

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming mayoral election?

- Keep the current election rules (4)
- Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

fair2 How fair would you say that each set of election rules is?

Current Election Rules (1)

- Very unfair (1)
- Somewhat unfair (2)
- Neither fair nor unfair (3)
- Somewhat fair (4)

ˆ Very fair (5)

Proposed New Rules (2)

ˆ Very unfair (1)

ˆ Somewhat unfair (2)

ˆ Neither fair nor unfair (3)

ˆ Somewhat fair (4)

ˆ Very fair (5)

choice3 We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 3

Below you will nd the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would a ect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disquali ed votes.

Current Election Rules

ˆ Voter turnout: $fe://Field/turnout3 g% of total eligible voters ($ef (e://Field/turnout3 * .01) *100000g votes)

ˆ Fraudulent votes: $fe://Field/fraud3 g% of votes cast ($ef (e://Field/fraud3 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout1 * .01) *100000) g votes)

ˆ Wrongfully disquali ed votes: $fe://Field/disquali ed3 g% of votes cast ($ef (e://Field/disquali ed3 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout3 * .01) *100000) g votes)

Proposed New Rules

ˆ Voter turnout: $fe://Field/turnout3 g% of total eligible voters ($ef (e://Field/turnout3 * .01) *100000g votes)

ˆ Fraudulent votes: $fe://Field/fraud3 g% of votes cast ($ef (e://Field/fraud3 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout3 * .01) *100000) g votes)

- Wrongfully disqualified votes: ${fe://Field/disqualified3} % of votes cast (${ef (e://Field/disqualified3 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout3 * .01) *100000)} votes)

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming mayoral election?

- Keep the current election rules (4)
- Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

fair3 How fair would you say that each set of election rules is?

Current Election Rules (1)

- Very unfair (1)
- Somewhat unfair (2)
- Neither fair nor unfair (3)
- Somewhat fair (4)
- Very fair (5)

Proposed New Rules (2)

- Very unfair (1)
- Somewhat unfair (2)
- Neither fair nor unfair (3)
- Somewhat fair (4)
- Very fair (5)

choice4 We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 4

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

Current Election Rules

- Voter turnout: ${e://Field/turnout4}% of total eligible voters (${eval(e://Field/turnout4 * .01) *100000} votes)
- Fraudulent votes: ${e://Field/fraud4}% of votes cast (${eval(e://Field/fraud4 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout1 * .01) *100000)} votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: ${e://Field/disqualified4}% of votes cast (${eval(e://Field/disqualified4 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout4 * .01) *100000)} votes)

Proposed New Rules

- Voter turnout: ${e://Field/turnout4}% of total eligible voters (${eval(e://Field/turnout4 * .01) *100000} votes)
- Fraudulent votes: ${e://Field/fraud4}% of votes cast (${eval(e://Field/fraud4 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout4 * .01) *100000)} votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: ${e://Field/disqualified4}% of votes cast (${eval(e://Field/disqualified4 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout4 * .01) *100000)} votes)

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming mayoral election?

- Keep the current election rules (4)
- Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

fair4 How fair would you say that each set of election rules is?

Current Election Rules (1)

- Very unfair (1)
- Somewhat unfair (2)
- Neither fair nor unfair (3)
- Somewhat fair (4)
- Very fair (5)

Proposed New Rules (2)

- Very unfair (1)
- Somewhat unfair (2)
- Neither fair nor unfair (3)
- Somewhat fair (4)
- Very fair (5)

choice5 We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 5

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

Current Election Rules

- Voter turnout: ${e://Field/turnout5}% of total eligible voters (${e://Field/turnout5 * .01) *100000} votes)
- Fraudulent votes: ${e://Field/fraud5}% of votes cast (${e://Field/fraud5 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout1 * .01) *100000)} votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: ${e://Field/disqualified5}% of votes cast (${e://Field/disqualified5 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout5 * .01) *100000)} votes)

Proposed New Rules

- Voter turnout: ${e://Field/turnout5}% of total eligible voters (${e://Field/turnout5 * .01) *100000} votes)
- Fraudulent votes: ${e://Field/fraud5}% of votes cast (${e://Field/fraud5 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout5 * .01) *100000)} votes)
- Wrongfully disqualified votes: ${e://Field/disqualified5}% of votes cast (${e://Field/disqualified5 * .01) * ((e://Field/turnout5 * .01) *100000)} votes)

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming mayoral election?

- ˆ Keep the current election rules (4)
- ˆ Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

fair5 How fair would you say that each set of election rules is?

Current Election Rules (1)

- ˆ Very unfair (1)
- ˆ Somewhat unfair (2)
- ˆ Neither fair nor unfair (3)
- ˆ Somewhat fair (4)
- ˆ Very fair (5)

Proposed New Rules (2)

- ˆ Very unfair (1)
- ˆ Somewhat unfair (2)
- ˆ Neither fair nor unfair (3)
- ˆ Somewhat fair (4)
- ˆ Very fair (5)

E.3 Study 3B

Block: consent

consent You are invited to participate in a survey about your beliefs and attitudes.

The survey will take approximately 10 minutes. You will be asked to answer some questions. You must be 18 years of age or older to participate in this study.

Your participation is voluntary. You are free not to answer any question or to withdraw from the study at any time. If you feel uncomfortable because of any questions, you do not have to answer although we hope you will. The risks to participating in this

survey are related to your feelings about the topics presented and the possible loss of con dentiality.

A report of the results of this study will be provided to you upon request. In order to analyze responses to our questionnaire, your answers will be submitted to XXX University. No identifying information about you will be made public and any views you express will be kept con dential. Individual responses will not be identi able and all results will be presented as a group of responses

Findings from this study will be released to policymakers and to the public in aggregate form and they will be reported in scholarly journals, at academic seminars, and at research association meetings. The data will be stored at a secure location and retained inde nitely.

Should you have questions regarding the research project, please contact XXX (XXX@XXX.edu).

- ˆ I agree to participate (1)
- ˆ I do not agree to participate (2)

Block: Captcha

captcha Please con rm that you are not a robot.

Block: Block 12

js Starting survey...

Block: Block 15

age How old are you?_____

reported _gender What is your gender?

- ˆ Male (1)
- ˆ Female (2)
- ˆ Not listed (3)

device What device are you completing this survey on?

- ^ Phone (1)
- ^ Tablet (2)
- ^ Laptop computer (3)
- ^ Desktop computer (4)
- ^ Other (5)

registered Are you registered to vote?

- ^ Yes (23)
- ^ No (24)

alreadyvoted Have you already voted in the 2020 presidential election?

- ^ Yes (23)
- ^ No (24)

Q221 We'd like to know how you feel about local news coverage. Please read this short article carefully and answer a few questions about it.

Q223 MAN ARRESTED FOR STRING OF BANK THEFTS

Columbus Police have arrested a man they say gave his driver's license to a teller at a bank he was robbing.

According to court documents, Bryan Simon is accused of robbing four Central Ohio banks between October 3 and November 5, 2018.

During a robbery on November 5 at the Huntington Bank, the sheri 's o ce says Simon was tricked into giving the teller his driver's license.

According to court documents, Simon approached the counter and presented a demand note for money that said "I have a gun." The teller gave Simon about $500, which he took.

Documents say Simon then told the teller he wanted more money. The teller told him a driver's license was required to use the machine to get out more cash. Simon reportedly then gave the teller his license to swipe through the machine and then left the bank with $1500 in cash, but without his ID.

Detectives arrested him later that day at the address listed on his ID.

typicalnews Do you think this article is typical of local news coverage?

- ^ Yes (1)
- ^ No (2)
- ^ Not Sure (3)

newscomp1 How much money did Simon leave the bank with?

- ^ $500 (1)
- ^ $1,500 (2)
- ^ $5,000 (3)

newscomp2 How was Simon identi ed by police for the crime he allegedly committed?

- ^ A police o cer recognized him (1)
- ^ From video surveillance (2)
- ^ Because he left his ID (3)
- ^ He turned himself in (4)
- ^ None of the above (5)

Block: Voting and Errors Intro Block

voting intro Now we would like to ask you a some additional questions about elections and voting.

votingbackground Think about a state that has 3,400,000 eligible voters. This state has an upcoming gubernatorial election. State election o cials have been considering a

proposal to change their election rules to make sure that voters can be completely con dent in the outcome of the election. Before the state decides whether to make changes to their rules, they have hired a group of non-partisan election experts to audit the previous election results and estimate how the proposed rule changes would a ect the upcoming election. The report written by the group will estimate:

1. Voter turnout : the (number/percentage) of eligible voters who will vote in an election out of all eligible voters
2. Fraudulent votes : the (number/percent) of fraudulent votes that will be cast in an election that should not be counted, either because someone who is not eligible to vote does so or because someone votes twice, both of which are against the law.
3. Wrongfully disquali ed votes : the number of legitimate votes that will be wrongfully determined to be fraudulent by election o cials and therefore not counted. That is, these are votes that should be counted, but which are mistakenly determined to be fraudulent.

comp1 Please answer these questions to con rm that you understand what you have read.

1. What is voter turnout?

   ˆ The number of total eligible voters (1)

   ˆ The number of voters who vote in an election out of the number of eligible voters (2)

comp2 2. What are fraudulent votes?

   ˆ Votes that are cast in the election that should not be counted (1)

   ˆ The number of votes that are cast in the election (2)

comp3 3. What are wrongfully disquali ed votes?

   ˆ Votes that are not counted when someone votes twice (1)

- Legitimate votes that are wrongfully determined to be fraudulent by election officials. (2)

comp4 4. How many eligible voters are there in the state?

- 3,400,000 (1)
- It did not specify (2)

Q217 Please review the correct answers to the comprehension questions that you just answered.

1. What is voter turnout?

Correct Answer: The number of voters who vote in an election out of the number of eligible voters.

2. What are fraudulent votes?

Correct Answer: Votes that are cast in the election that should not be counted.

3. What are wrongfully disqualified votes?

Correct Answer: Legitimate votes that are wrongfully determined to be fraudulent by election officials.

4. How many eligible voters are there in the city?

Correct Answer: 3,400,000 total eligible voters

Block: Election 1 (Numbers)/Election 1 Percent (Percent)

(Explanation: We randomized half of the respondents to see numbers in terms of percentages, and the other half to see just numerical values.)

choice1 (Numbers)/choice1_per (Percent) We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 1

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

	Current Election Rules	Proposed New Rules
Voter Turnout	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)
Fraudulent Votes	$\$f$e://Field/fraud1$g$	$\$f$e://Field/newfraud1$g$
Wrongfully Disqualified Votes	$\$f$e://Field/disqualified1$g$	$\$f$e://Field/newdisqualified1g

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming gubernatorial election?

- Keep the current election rules (4)
- Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

currentrules1 (Numbers)/currentrules1_per (Percent) If the **current election rules** are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) . . . 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)
- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

newrules1 (Numbers)/newrules1_per (Percent) If the **proposed new election rules** are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) . . . 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)
- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

Block: Election 2 (Numbers)/Block 2: Election 2 Percent (Percent)

choice2 (Numbers)/choice2_per (Percent) We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 2

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

	Current Election Rules	Proposed New Rules
Voter Turnout	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)
Fraudulent Votes	$fe://Field/fraud2g	$fe://Field/newfraud2g
Wrongfully Disqualified Votes	$fe://Field/disqualified2g	$fe://Field/newdisqualified2g

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming gubernatorial election?

- Keep the current election rules (4)
- Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

currentrules2 (Numbers)/currentrules2_per (Percent) If the current election rules are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) ... 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)
- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

newrules2 (Numbers)/newrules2_per (Percent) If the proposed new election rules are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) ... 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)
- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

Block: Election 3 (Numbers)/Election 3 Percent (Percent)

choice3 (Numbers)/choice3_per (Percent) We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 3

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

	Current Election Rules	Proposed New Rules
Voter Turnout	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)
Fraudulent Votes	${fe://Field/fraud3}	${fe://Field/newfraud3}
Wrongfully Disqualified Votes	${fe://Field/disqualified3}	${fe://Field/newdisqualified3}

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming gubernatorial election?

- Keep the current election rules (4)
- Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

currentrules3 (Numbers)/currentrules3_per (Percent) If the current election rules are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) ... 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)

- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

newrules3 (Numbers)/newrules3_per (Percent) If the **proposed new election rules** are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) . . . 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)
- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

Block: Election 4 (Numbers)/Election 4 Percent (Percent)

choice4 (Numbers)/choice4_per (Percent) We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 4

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

	Current Election Rules	Proposed New Rules
Voter Turnout	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)
Fraudulent Votes	$*f*e://Field/fraud4*g*	$*f*e://Field/newfraud4*g*
Wrongfully Disqualified Votes	$*f*e://Field/disqualified4*g*	$*f*e://Field/newdisqualified4*g*

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming gubernatorial election?

- Keep the current election rules (4)
- Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

currentrules4 (Numbers)/currentrules4_per (Percent) If the **current election rules** are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) ... 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)
- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

newrules4 (Numbers)/newrules4_per (Percent) If the **proposed new election rules** are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) ... 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)
- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

Block: Election 5 (Numbers)/Election 5 Percent (Percent)

choice5 (Numbers)/choice5_per (Percent) We would like you to consider 5 hypothetical elections and tell us which election rules work best for each situation.

Election 5

Below you will find the results of the audit and the estimates of how the proposed new rules would affect voter turnout, fraudulent votes, and wrongfully disqualified votes.

	Current Election Rules	Proposed New Rules
Voter Turnout	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)	1,931,000 (Numbers)/56.8% (Percent)
Fraudulent Votes	$\$f$e://Field/fraud5$g$	$\$f$e://Field/newfraud5$g$
Wrongfully Disqualified Votes	$\$f$e://Field/disqualified5$g$	$\$f$e://Field/newdisqualified5g

Which set of election rules should the city use for the upcoming gubernatorial election?

- Keep the current election rules (4)
- Adopt the proposed new rules (5)

currentrules5 (Numbers)/currentrules5_per (Percent) If the **current election rules** are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) . . . 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)
- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

newrules5 (Numbers)/newrules5_per (Percent) If the **proposed new election rules** are used for the upcoming election, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 1 - Strongly disagree (25) . . . 5 - Strongly agree (29)

- The election will be fair (1)
- I am sure that the candidate who the most eligible voters preferred will win (2)
- Eligible voters will be confident that their ballots were properly counted (4)
- Fewer eligible voters will vote in future elections (6)
- The candidate who loses this election should challenge the results (7)

Block: election follow up

intro We have two more questions about elections for you.

increasefraudvlegit Suppose that a change to election rules could be implemented to increase voter turnout without advantaging either candidate in an election. For every increase of 100 legitimate votes, how many fraudulent votes would you be willing to tolerate before you would oppose the change to election rules?

Please move the slider

- 0 (0)
- 10 (1)
- 20 (2)
- 30 (3)
- 40 (4)
- 50 (5)
- 60 (6)
- 70 (7)
- 80 (8)
- 90 (9)
- 100 (10)

decreasefraudvlegit Suppose that there was a change to election rules that could be implemented to reduce the number of fraudulent votes that would be counted in an election. For every decrease of 100 fraudulent votes, how many legitimate votes, that votes that would have been cast by people who instead decide to stay home or votes that are cast, but not counted because they are wrongfully determined to be fraudulent, would you be willing to tolerate before you would oppose the change to election rules?

Please move the slider

- 0 (0)

- 10 (1)
- 20 (2)
- 30 (3)
- 40 (4)
- 50 (5)
- 60 (6)
- 70 (7)
- 80 (8)
- 90 (9)
- 100 (10)