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Why Do Ballot Measure Outcomes Differ From Issue Polling Estimates? Survey Experiments on Status Quo Bias and Issue Preferences

> Jonathan Robinson, Catalist Chris Warshaw, George Washington University John Sides, Vanderbilt University

### Ghost of AAPOR talks past...

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When Mass Opinion Goes to the Ballot Box: A National Assessment of State Level Issue Opinion and Ballot Initiative Results

> Jonathan Robinson, Catalist Chris Warshaw, George Washington University John Sides, Vanderbilt University

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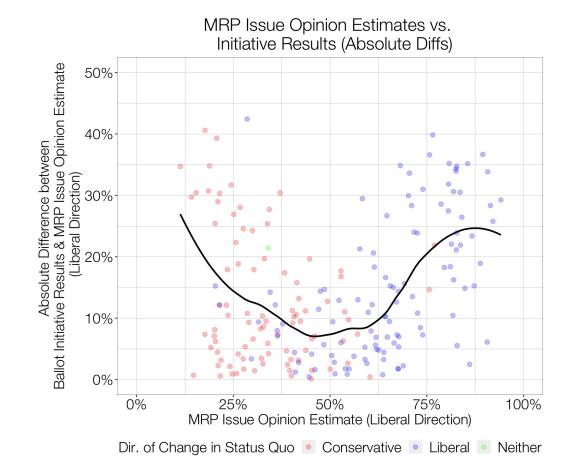


#### **Catalist** Errors are larger when opinion is **more** liberal or conservative

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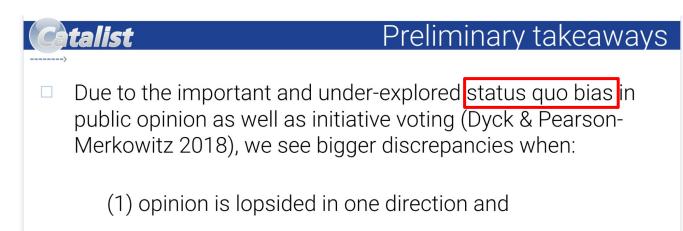


### A hypothesis to test perhaps?

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(2) the initiative attempts to change policy in that direction



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#### The research question for today

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# How much of the difference between issue polling and ballot initiative outcomes is due to **status quo bias\***?

\*(As told by two sets of survey experiment pilots from **2020** and **2022**)



- May 2020 survey experiments (N=3k) conducted by Data for Progress that measured public opinion on 2 issues:
  - Government run health-care programs
  - Paid family leave

list

- 4 versions of questions about each issue
  - Likert vs. binary choice
  - Status quo vs. non-status quo framed public policies



### *Catalist* 2020 status quo framing experiments (ex.)

	No status quo framing	Status quo framing
Support or oppose reform	Would you support or oppose a government-run healthcare system that provided all Americans with health insurance?	Would you support or oppose changing from the current system t a government-run healthcare system that provided all Americans with health insurance?
Choose between reform and alternative	Which of the following approaches to healthcare in the United States would you prefer:	Which of the following approaches to healthcare in the United States would you prefer?
	A government run Medicare program that covers all Americans	Replacing the current healthcare system with a new system in which the government run Medicare program covers all Americans
	A system based mostly on private health insurance	<b>Maintaining the current system</b> based mostly on private health insurance

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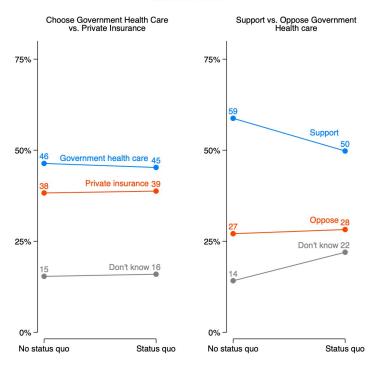
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**HEALTH CARE** 

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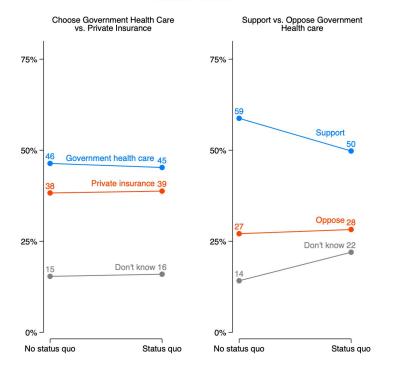


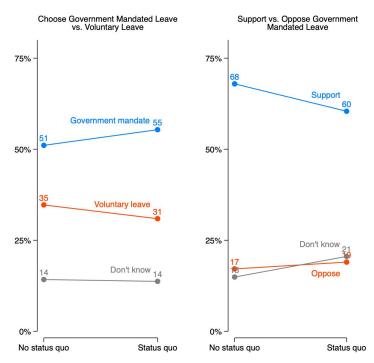
HEALTH CARE

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- May 2022 survey experiments conducted by Data for Progress designed to test status quo bias on policies in our referenda database (designed to mirror initiative voting experience\*, N=~6k, w/ item variable missingness)
  - Medicaid expansion
  - Parental consent for abortion
  - Background checks for gun purchases
  - Marijuana legalization
- Three conditions
  - Baseline standard issue question wording
  - Status quo primed issue question wording
  - Ballot initiative language question wording

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#### Medicaid Expansion

<ul> <li>[4] Below is a proposition that could appear on a referendum in your state in the next year.</li> <li>Expand the Medicaid health insurance program to include adults with an income below 133% of the federal poverty level</li> <li>Prohibit additional barriers to receiving Medicaid</li> </ul>	D I Support	3					
Have your state government work closely with the federal government to expand Medicaid		Ballot Language Treatment-					
State government entities are estimated to have one-time costs of approximately \$6.4 million and an unknown annual net fiscal impact by 2026 ranging from increased costs of at least \$200 million to savings of \$1 billion.							
Do you support or oppose this proposal? (N=1,461)							
[5] Do you support or oppose expanding the Medicaid health insurance program in your state to include adults with an income below 133% of the federal poverty level?	D         I           Support         79%         91%         82%           Oppose         21         9         18	66%					
	D	Priming Change Treatment					
[6] There is a new proposal in your state to change current law about who is eligible for the Medicaid health insurance program. This proposal would expand Medicaid to include adults with an income below 133% of the federal poverty level. Do you support or oppose this proposed change to who is	Support	68%					
eligible for Medicaid? (N=1,464)			-0.10	-0.05	0.00	0.05	0.10



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#### Parental Consent for Abortion

#### Parental Consent for Abortion

/						 	
<b>[10]</b> Below is a proposition that could appear on a referendum in your state in the next year.	D I R Support						
<ul> <li>Change your state's Constitution to require minors to wait to have an abortion until 48 hours after the doctor notifies the minor's parent or legal guardian.</li> <li>Allow the doctor not to notify the minor's parent if it is a medical emergency or the parent has waived their right to be notified.</li> <li>Permit courts to waive parental notification based on evidence of a minor's maturity or best interests.</li> <li>Require doctors to report any abortions performed on minors.</li> <li>Authorize damages against physicians for violating notification requirements.</li> <li>Requires minor's consent to abortion, with exceptions.</li> </ul>		Ballot Language Treatment		•			
Do you support or oppose this proposal? (N=1,510)							
<b>[11]</b> Do you support or oppose requiring that minors wait to have an abortion until 48 hours after a doctor notifies their parents or legal guardian (except in cases of medical emergency)? ( $N=1,454$ )	D I R Support	Priming Change Treatment	-	•	_		
[12] There is a new proposal in your state to change current law about whether minors can have an abortion. This proposal would require that minors wait to have an abortion until 48 hours after a doctor notifies their parents or legal guardian (except in cases of medical emergency).	Support						
Do you support or oppose this proposed <b>change</b> to the requirements for minors to obtain an abortion? ( <i>N=1,452</i> )							

-0.10 -0.05 0.00 0.05 0.10

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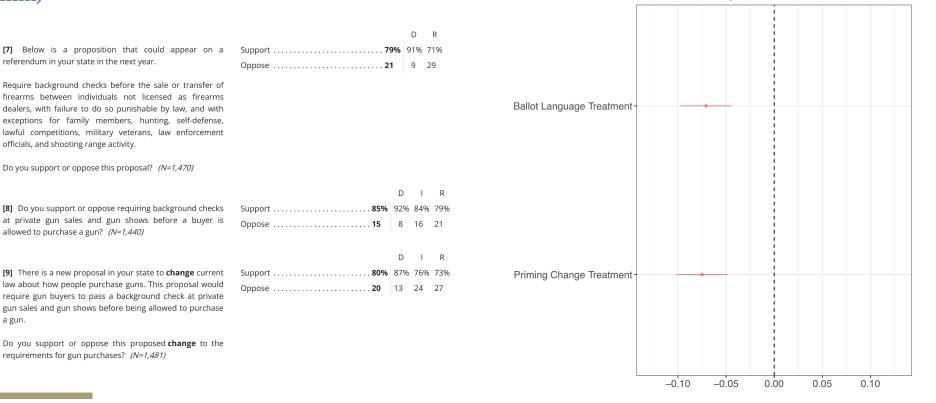
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#### **Background Checks for Guns**



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a gun.

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### Marijuana Reform

#### Marijuana Legalization

**[14]** Do you support or oppose legalizing the use of marijuana for adults over the age of 21 as well as the growing and selling of marijuana, subject to state regulation? (N=1,093)

**[15]** There is a new proposal in your state to **change** current law about marijuana. The proposal would legalize the use of marijuana for adults over the age of 21 and the growing and selling of marijuana, subject to state regulation. Do you support or oppose this proposed **change** to the laws regulating marijuana? (*N*=1,161)

**[13]** Below is a proposition that could appear on a referendum in your state in the next year.

- Allow the possession and use of marijuana under state law by persons who are at least 21 years of age
- Allow the cultivation, manufacture, distribution, testing, and sale of marijuana and marijuana products, subject to state regulation, taxation and local ordinances

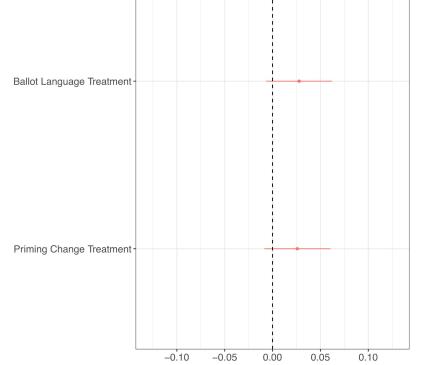
Do you support or oppose this proposal? (*N=1,205*)

	D	R
Oppose	24%	52%
Support <b>64</b>	76	48

	D	1	R
Oppose 31%	19%	27%	44%
Support 69	81	73	56

#### D I R

Oppose	20%	32%	43%
Support	80	68	57





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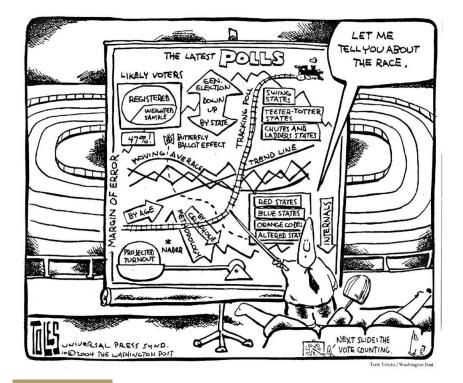
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- Status quo bias likely explains some but not all of the difference between ballot initiative outcomes & issue opinion toplines
  - And not always in the predicted direction
- Other explanations are harder to test in a "designed" setting but the gap seems to be caused by more than just this (in our formulation testing this)
  - Will look at differences in states that have these policies on the books vs. not, other pre-reg'd subgroup analysis
    - Low political info voters move more, etc

#### Questions? Thank you!



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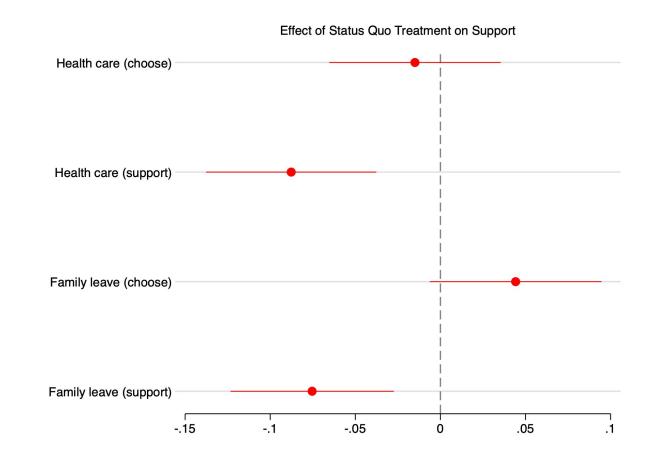
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