# The Power and Possibility of an Informed Electorate

Cheryl Boudreau
Professor
Department of Political Science
University of California, Davis
clboudreau@ucdavis.edu

#### How Do Voters Decide?

• The Democratic Ideal...









### How Do Voters Decide?

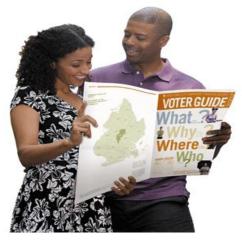
• The Democratic Ideal...



• In reality...







PROTECT SMALL BUSINESS
AND SMOKE-FREE ALTERNATIVES



### **Endorsements**



PAID FOR BY THE CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY (CADEM.ORG)

#### The New York Times

OPINION

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

# The Times Endorses Kathy Hochul for Governor of New York



#### **November 2022 Endorsements**

#### **November 2022 Endorsements**

District 4 Supervisor Gordon Mar

District 6 Supervisor Honey Mahogany

District 8 Supervisor Rafael Mandelman

District 10 Supervisor Shamann Walton

District Attorney John Hamasaki

Public Defender Mano Raju

### Issue-Oriented Voter Guides

#### SAN FRANCISCO VOTES 2012

A NON PARTISAN GUIDE TO THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS CANDIDATES IN THE NOVEMBER 6, 2012, CONSOLIDATED GENERAL ELECTION

A collaboration of the San Francisco Public Press, League of Women Voters San Francisco and faculty at U.C. Davis

Design by Justin Allen [www.justinallen.us] | For the unabridged text of the survey questions, visit www.sfpublicpress.org/election2012

# SURVEY OF CANDIDATE POSITIONS ON LOCAL ISSUES

\* BLANK SPACES INDICATE THE CANDIDATE DECLINED TO ANSWER

Candidate's full name	David Lee	Eric Mar	Sherman R. D'Silva
Supervisor with whom you most agree	Scott Wiener	John Avalos	David Chiu
Support creating an Affordable Housing Trust Fund	Yes	Yes	No
San Francisco must come up with a plan to restore the Hetch Hetchy Valley (Measure F)	No	No	No
Eight-year parcel tax to help City College of San Francisco (Measure A)	Yes	Yes	No
End the death penalty in California and replace it with life in prison without parole (State Prop 34)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Change "three strikes" law to impose a mandatory life term for a "serious or violent" third felony (State Prop 36)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Permit 8 Washington Street project (high-rise condominium replacing private tennis club) to move forward	Yes	Yes	Yes
Support the Mid-Market payroll tax exemption granted to Twitter and other businesses	Yes	Yes	Yes
Change rent control to protect only low-income and middle-class tenants who cannot afford market-rate rents	Don't know	No	No
Eliminate ranked-choice voting and return to the prior system of runoff elections	Yes	No	No
Enact San Francisco income tax for those earning more than \$500,000 per year	No	Yes	No

### Information about Donors

#### Follow The Money.

Big Tobacco has spent \$66 Million dollars to defeat Prop 56 in California.

YES on 56 Campaign Funded by:
American Lung Association in California
American Cancer Society Cancer Action
Network
American Heart Association
California Medical Association
California Dental Association
Planned Parenthood
SEIU
California Democratic Party
Tom Steyer
Michael Bloomberg

Source: http://cal-access.ss.ca.gov/

# Do You Trust Big Tobacco?



NO on 56 Campaign Funded by: Philip Morris R.J. Reynolds Smoke-Free Alternatives Trade Assoc. (vaping industry)



## Importance of an Informed Electorate



James Madison

"A popular government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy; or perhaps both"

### Informing the Electorate is Possible, But...

- Three challenges:
  - 1) Are people willing to <u>receive</u> information?
  - 2) Will they <u>trust</u> it?
  - 3) Can they <u>apply it effectively</u> to their choices?

# Receiving Information

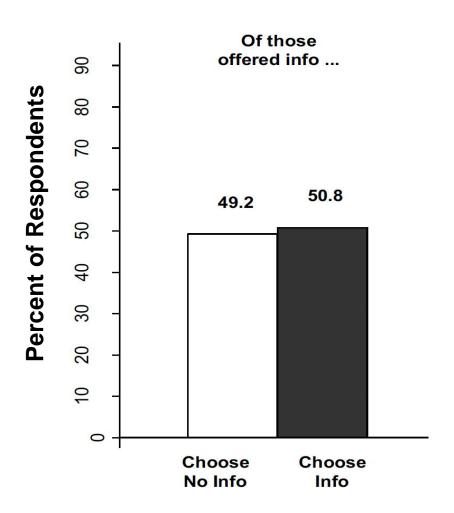
- Most citizens lack interest in and knowledge of politics
- Research shows that political information can help citizens with their choices
  - Experiments that isolate the effects of information from all other causes
- Experiments typically force participants to receive the information and then measure its effects
  - In reality, people *choose* whether to receive information
- Will citizens opt to receive information when given a choice? If so, how does it affect their decisions?

# Receiving Information

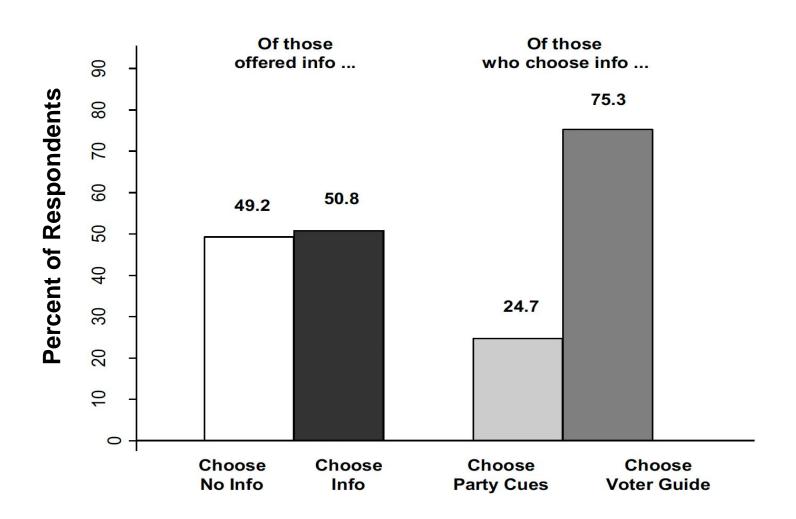
- Survey experiments in the 2018 mayoral special election in San Francisco
- Measured candidates' and citizens' views on local policies
- Respondents randomly assigned to receive either:
  - 1) Political party endorsements (forced exposure)
  - 2) Issue oriented voter guide (forced exposure)
  - 3) No information (control group)
  - 4) Choice between party endorsements, voter guide, or nothing

Source: Boudreau, Elmendorf, & MacKenzie (Journal of Experimental Political Science, 2022)

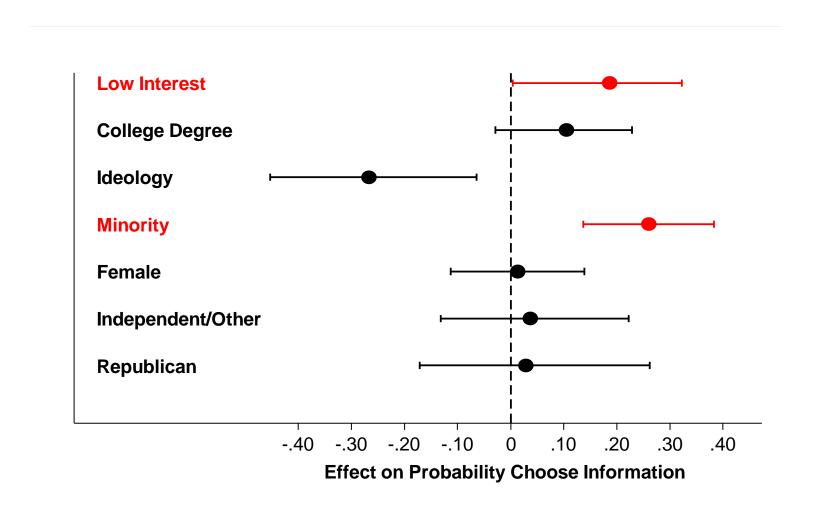
### Citizens are Willing to Receive Information



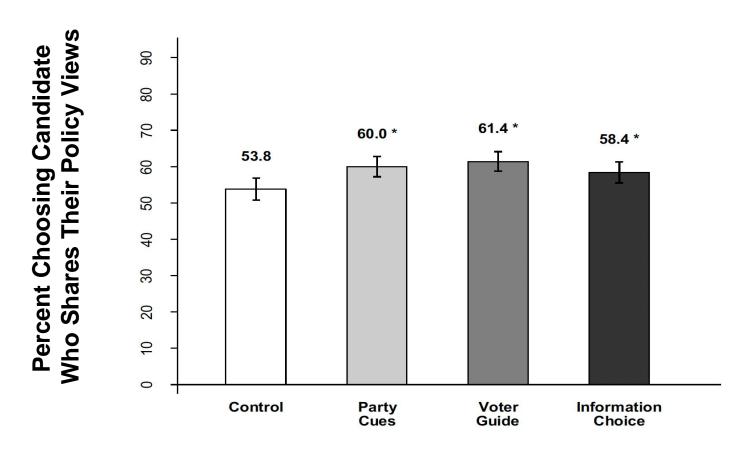
#### Citizens Choose Policy over Partisan Information



#### Who Chooses to Receive Information?



# Information Helps People Choose Candidates Who Share their Policy views



### Receiving Information: Take Away Points

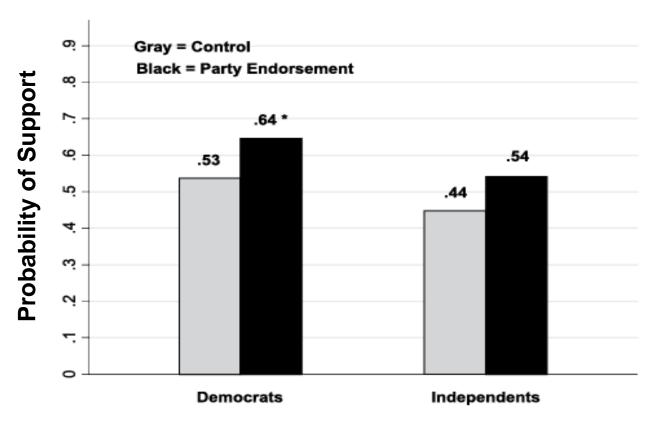
- Citizens take advantage of low-cost opportunities to receive political information
- Less politically interested citizens are *more* likely to choose to receive information
  - When they do so, it has powerful effects on their decisions
- Half the sample chose not to get information; these tend to be more informed citizens
- <u>Challenge:</u> Motivating the remaining uninformed citizens to receive information
  - Making information personally relevant can help

# **Trusting Information**

- Citizens must believe the information is <u>credible</u>
- Two conditions must be met:
  - 1) Source must be perceived as knowledgeable
  - 2) Source must be perceived as trustworthy (common interests)
- Credibility is in the eye of the beholder!
- What sources of information do people trust?

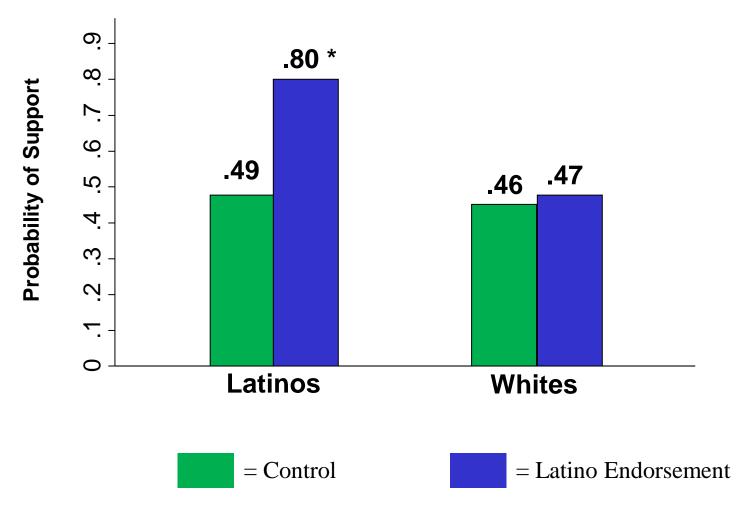
Source: Lupia & McCubbins (*The Democratic Dilemma*, Cambridge University Press, 1998)

# Trust in Own Party



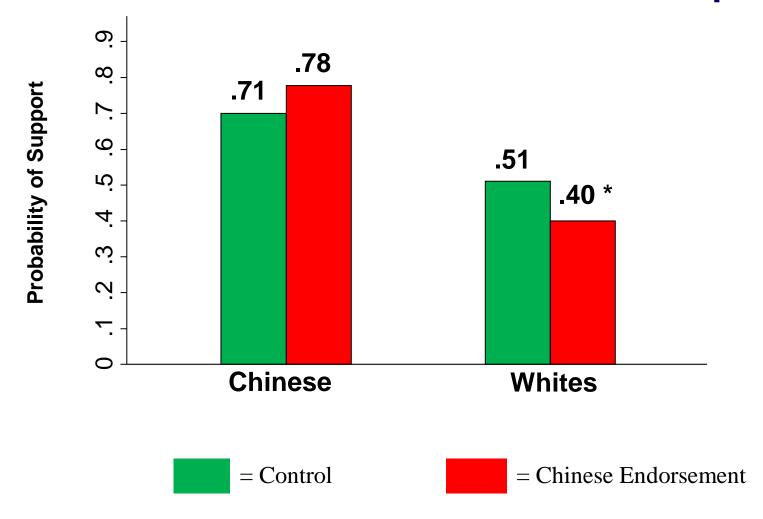
Source: Boudreau, Elmendorf, & MacKenzie (Political Research Quarterly, 2015)

# Trust in Ethnic Interest Groups



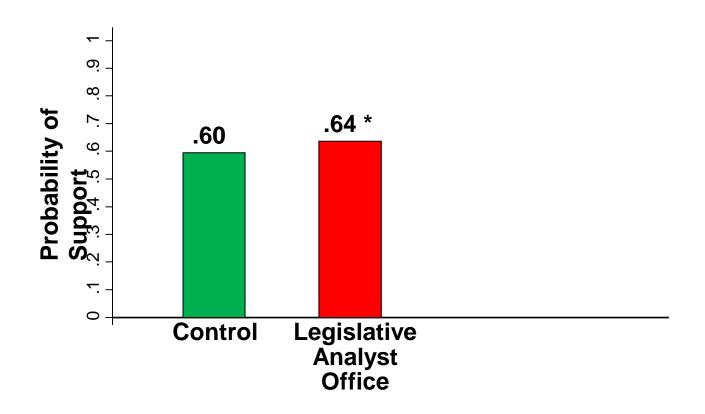
Source: Boudreau, Elmendorf, & MacKenzie (American Journal of Political Science, 2019)

# Trust in Ethnic Interest Groups



Source: Boudreau, Elmendorf, & MacKenzie (American Journal of Political Science, 2019)

## Trust in Nonpartisan Experts



Source: Boudreau & MacKenzie (Political Research Quarterly, 2021)

## Trust in League of Women Voters!

#### SAN FRANCISCO VOTES 2012

A NON PARTISAN GUIDE TO THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS CANDIDATES IN THE NOVEMBER 6, 2012, CONSOLIDATED GENERAL ELECTION

A collaboration of the San Francisco Public Press, League of Women Voters San Francisco and faculty at U.C. Davis

Design by Justin Allen [www.justinallen.us] | For the unabridged text of the survey questions, visit www.sfpublicpress.org/election2012

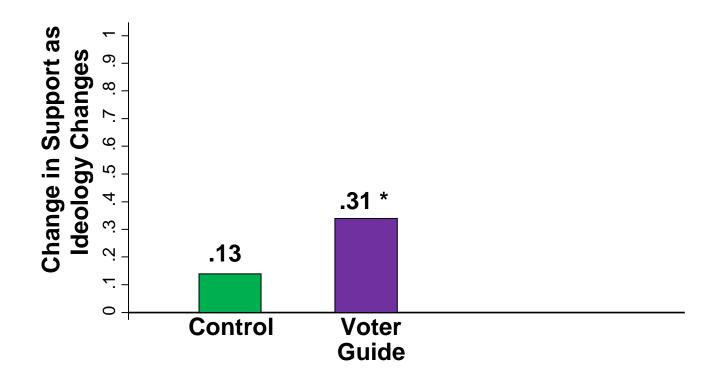


\* BLANK SPACES INDICATE THE CANDIDATE DECLINED TO ANSWER

Candidate's full name	David Lee	Eric Mar	Sherman R. D'Silva
Supervisor with whom you most agree	Scott Wiener	John Awalos	David Chiu
Support creating an Affordable Housing Trust Fund	Yes	Yes	No
San Francisco must come up with a plan to restore the Hetch Hetchy Valley (Measure F)	No	No	No
Eight-year parcel tax to help City College of San Francisco (Measure A)	Yes	Yes	No
End the death penalty in California and replace it with life in prison without parole (State Prop 34)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Change "three strikes" law to impose a mandatory life term for a "serious or violent" third felony (State Prop 36)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Permit 8 Washington Street project (high-rise condominium replacing private tennis club) to move forward	Yes	Yes	Yes
Support the Mid-Market payroll tax exemption granted to Twitter and other businesses	Yes	Yes	Yes
Change rent control to protect only low-income and middle-class tenants who cannot afford market-rate rents	Don't know	No	No
Eliminate ranked-choice voting and return to the prior system of runoff elections	Yes	No	No
Enact San Francisco income tax for those earning more than \$500,000 per year	No	Yes	No

- 95% said the guide was "somewhat" or "very" helpful
- 52% spent 1-5 minutes reading the guide; 36% spent longer

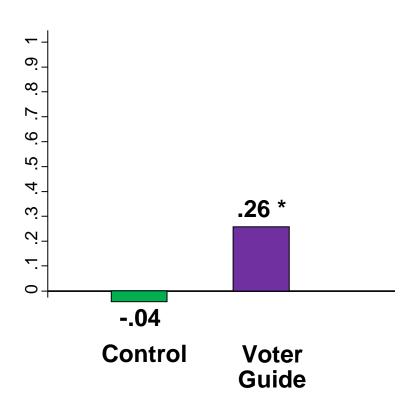
# Trust in League of Women Voters!



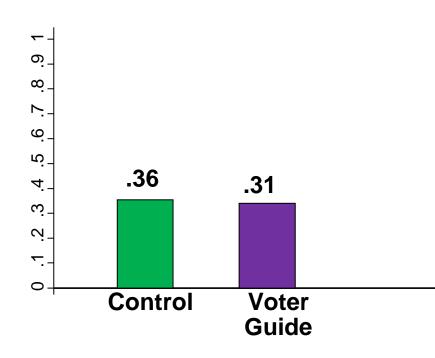
Source: Boudreau, Elmendorf, & MacKenzie (Political Behavior, 2018)

## Trust in League of Women Voters!

**Uninformed Citizens** 



#### **Informed Citizens**



Source: Boudreau, Elmendorf, & MacKenzie (Political Behavior, 2018)

### Trusting Information: Take Away Points

- Citizens must perceive information to be credible
  - Perceived knowledge and trustworthiness are key
- Citizens tend to perceive their own party and ethnic interest groups as sharing common interests with them
  - Information from these groups can be powerful
- Information from nonpartisan, expert sources (e.g., LAO, LWV) also effective
- <u>Challenge:</u> Can citizens identify the interests of lesser known, but politically active groups?

# **Applying Information**

- Fears that citizens cannot identify whether sources share common interests with them
- Concerns that citizens will misinterpret or misapply political information
  - Lack of comprehension
  - Biased processing/motivated reasoning
- Can citizens apply information to their choices effectively?

# **Applying Information**

- Survey experiment before the 2016 general election in CA
- Measure opinions about 8 initiatives on the ballot
  - Included social (e.g., repeal death penalty), fiscal (e.g., cigarette tax), and complex (e.g., revenue bonds) policy issues
- Control group: Express opinions about initiatives
- Treatment groups: Receive information before doing so
  - Donor information (drawn from FPPC website)
  - Political party endorsements
  - Policy information from a nonpartisan expert source (LAO)

Source: Boudreau & MacKenzie (Political Research Quarterly, 2021)

#### Control group

This November, Californians will be asked to vote on a ballot measure that would allow inmates convicted of nonviolent crimes to be given parole consideration upon completion of their primary sentence. Currently, many prisoners receive both a primary sentence for a crime and "enhancements" or extra time if there are multiple victims or if they previously were in prison. This measure would allow prison officials to award credits toward early release to prisoners who demonstrate good behavior, efforts to rehabilitate themselves, or participate in prison education programs.

#### Donor information group

#### Donors Supporting Additional Parole Consideration for Nonviolent Inmates

Donor	Description	Amount
Governor Brown's Ballot	Organization established by Governor	\$4,138,764
Measure Committee	Brown to support selected initiatives	
Service Employees	California union of state and local	\$164,846
International Union (SEIU) –	employees, nurses, and other workers with	
California State Council	more than 700,000 members	

#### Donors Opposing Additional Parole Consideration for Nonviolent Inmates

Donor	Description	Amount
Association of Deputy District	Association representing deputy district	\$60,000
Attorneys	attorneys in Los Angeles County with	
•	approximately 1,000 members	
San Diego Police Officers	Association representing police officers in	\$5,000
Association	the City of San Diego	

Party endorsements group

The Democratic Party supports allowing inmates convicted of nonviolent crimes to be given early parole consideration, while the Republican Party opposes this.

Policy Information from LAO

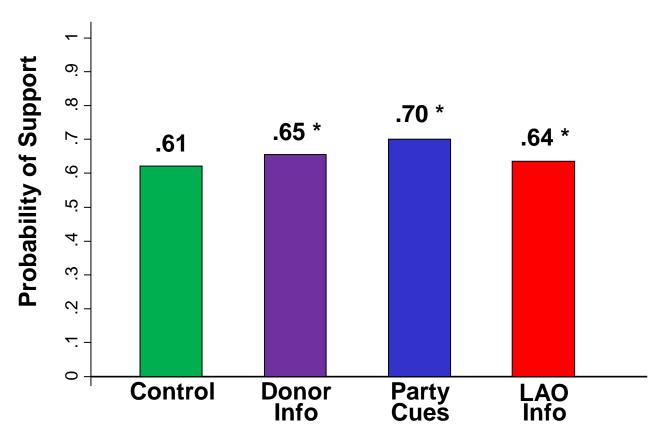
This initiative would help reduce significant overcrowding problems in state prisons by increasing the number of non-violent inmates eligible for parole consideration. California's nonpartisan Legislative Analyst's Office estimates that this initiative could save the state tens of millions of dollars each year in correctional and other costs.

#### Results

<u>Donors:</u> Groups affiliated with own party support

Party endorsements: Own party supports

Policy info: Reason for supporting

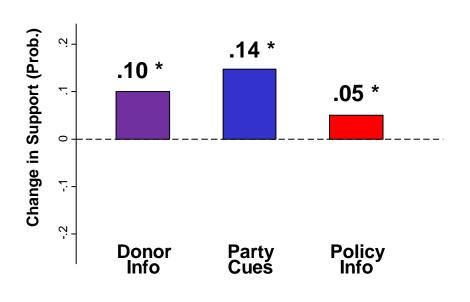


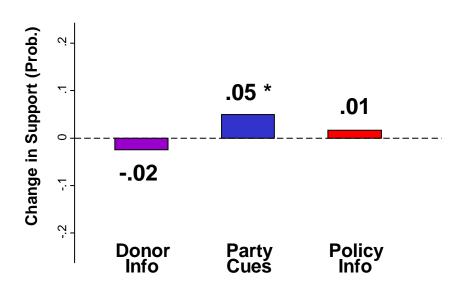
#### Results

**Donors:** Groups affiliated with own party support

Party endorsements: Own party supports

Policy info: Reason for supporting





**Informed** 

Uninformed

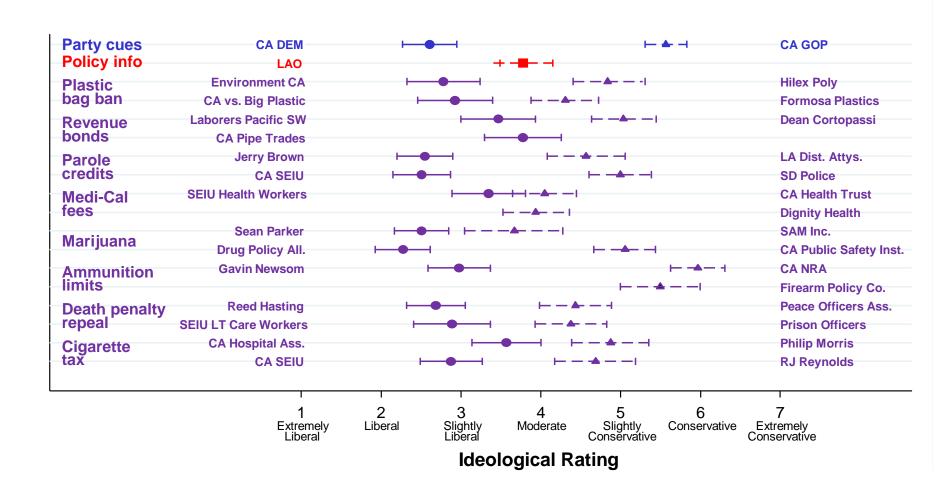
# Why?

- Are uninformed respondents *unwilling to process* or *unable to use* donor information?
- Reaction times indicate that uninformed respondents spend more time processing donor information than party endorsements
- Both informed and uninformed citizens are *willing to process* the information

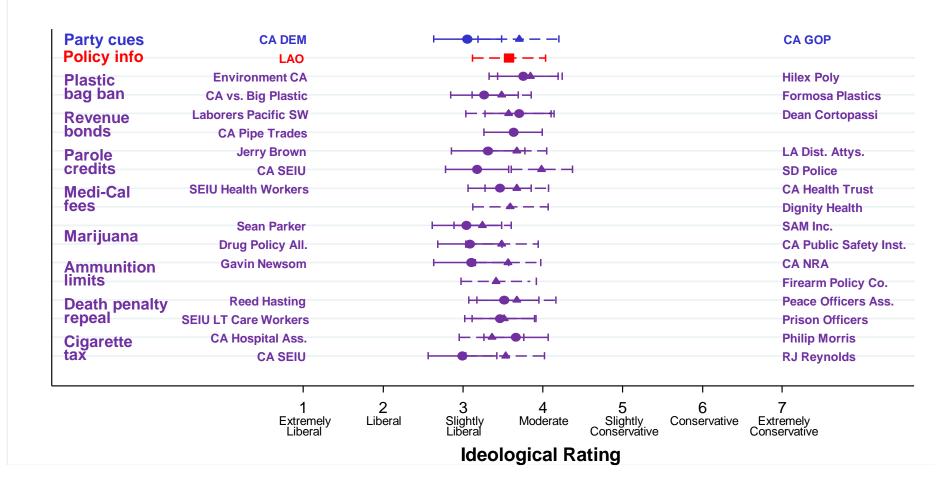
# Measuring Donors' Interests

- Respondents rate groups on a seven-point liberalconservative scale
  - Included the two CA political parties, the LAO, and 29 donors to the campaigns for and against the 8 initiatives
  - Examine whether perceptions of groups are accurate
- Measure the extent to which respondents perceive differences in these groups' policy views
- A necessary condition if they are to relate these groups' interests to their own

# Informed Citizens Can Perceive Groups' Interests



# Uninformed Citizens Do Not Perceive Groups' Interests



### Applying Information: Take Away Points

- Citizens can apply information about initiatives to their choices
  - Donor information comparable to party cues and policy
  - Suggests the value of sources with identifiable interests
- Uninformed citizens have difficulty identifying donors' political or financial interests
- <u>Challenge:</u> Helping uninformed citizens connect this information to their choices
  - Providing information about groups' ideological positions and/or partisan allegiances (or lack thereof) can help

### Power and Possibility

- An informed electorate is possible, but challenges exist
  - Receiving information
  - Trusting it
  - Applying it effectively
- Willingness to receive information, but must identify trusted sources for different communities
  - Who do they perceive as knowledgeable and trustworthy?
- Uninformed citizens need help identifying groups' interests and relating them to their own
  - Provide information that helps them connect their interests to their choices in real time