Expectations and Satisfaction with the Voting Process in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election

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Abstract

The 2000 presidential election brought intense scrutiny to the American election process, resulting in a number of significant reforms. Some changes involved overhauling rules for audits and other administrative procedures. Others involved the ways in which voters record their votes. The latter set of reforms raised questions about the type and quality of the experience voters would have at the polls on Election Day 2008, especially because of new technology voters would be required to use. Researchers and pundits alike worried that poor experiences at the polls would produce lower levels of confidence in the electoral process or a desire not to vote in subsequent elections. Using an innovative panel design and an internet-administered survey, we examine the type of experience voters had at the polls. Drawing insights from the the organizational psychology and marketing research literatures on the impact of expectations on consumer satisfaction, the survey also measures the expectations voters had for their voting experience. The findings indicate that a full explanation of voter satisfaction with the voting experience needs to address both expectations *and* experiences of voters, as expectations condition the reaction of voters to their experiences at the polls.

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. As a result of widespread problems with the voting system in the 2000 presidential elections, politicians, election administrators, and researchers expressed concern about the integrity of elections. The concern resulted in a spate of reform efforts that produced changes in voting technology used by voters. However, the early reforms in voting technology generated new problems that required further tinkering. Consequently, in the space of only a few years, several hundred election jurisdictions changed their voting systems not once but twice. Many observers and academics wondered whether the problems generated by the reforms would be worse in 2008 because of all of the changes, especially as estimates of turnout suggested that this election would have the highest turnout in decades.[1]

With these reform efforts as a background, we set out to measure the satisfaction voters expressed with their experience at the polls in 2008. Research has documented the interaction between the voter's experience at the polls and the confidence that voters have in the electoral process (e.g. Atkeson and Saunders 2008; Alvarez, Hall, and Lleweyllen 2008). Research has also noted how the type of the electoral system contributes to voter confidence (Birch 2008). However, not as much is known about what contributes to levels of satisfaction with the voting process itself. Rather than simply describing overall satisfaction levels, we set out to explain variations in those levels. This led us to consider various aspects of the voting experience; voters could, for example, be unhappy with the voting technology but satisfied by the ability and responsiveness of the poll workers. In addition, we drew on expectations theory, as developed by consumer researchers and others, to see whether and how pre-election expectations influenced voter satisfaction.

We make use of data from the 2008 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES). The design of the CCES survey allows us to avoid some of the weaknesses often found in studies seeking to measure satisfaction. In particular, the panel design meant that we could follow the same individuals from the pre-election period through the post-election experience. This enabled us to measure *a priori* expectations and to compare them to *a posteriori* evaluations of the voting experience.

We find, first of all, that both expectations and experiences were very positive. Despite the pre-election apprehension, satisfaction with the election process in the general population was high. This conclusion extends to overall judgments and to opinions about specific aspects of the process. We further find that both the expectations *and* the experiences that voters have affect the overall levels of voter satisfaction. Consequently, any explanation of satisfaction in the wake of an electoral experience needs to account for the expectations a voter brings to the polls.

Theory

Though satisfaction with the election process has largely been ignored on the assumption that inadvertent problems and intentional fraud have been relatively infrequent (at least since the adoption of the secret ballot over 100 years ago),[2] voter satisfaction demands the attention of political scientists because, in and of itself, it says things about the quality of democracy and

[1] For example, a *New York Times* article began: "With millions of new voters heading to the polls this November and many states introducing new voting technologies, election officials and voting monitors say they fear the combination is likely to create long lines, stressed-out poll workers and late tallies on Election Day." See "Influx of Voters Expected to Test New Technology," *New York Times*, July 21, 2008.

[2] See, for example, Campbell (2005, xvi-xvii). Political scientists paid little attention to election irregularities until 2000, as noted by Alvarez, Hall, and Hyde (2008, 12), and even since then surveys of voters indicated a good deal of uncertainty about election problems and the belief among many professionals that the greatest problems are related to registration rather than to voting per se (Alvarez and Hall, 2008, 79, 77, respectively).

relates to other dimensions of support for the political system (Banducci and Karp 2003). Also, satisfaction correlates with the time and effort it took to vote (Conrad et al. 2009). Thus, it is related to other issues involving election administration, including the allocation of voting systems and poll workers.

This background suggests that it is helpful to know where satisfaction comes from. Satisfaction is also an important concept because it relates to many other facets of daily life. Workers who are more satisfied with their jobs tend to stay in those jobs longer and to have higher levels of productivity. Similarly, we expect that voters who express higher levels of satisfaction with their voting experience will probably be more likely to vote in the future and to have higher levels of confidence in the electoral process.

Because satisfaction may be related to so many other indicators of a democracy's health, it is important to determine the degree of and origins of voters' satisfaction with the voting experience. This leads us to wonder whether the amount of satisfaction individuals express involves more than just the experience itself. Individuals who go to the polls on Election Day bring with them experiences from the past as well as expectations about what they will encounter at the polls. The organizational psychology and marketing research literatures emphasize the importance of expectations on consumer satisfaction. The theory of "met expectations" argues that individuals possess expectations about the experiences they encounter and that those expectations condition the way in which they evaluate the experience. The first expectations research involved the expectations that individuals brought with them to a job. Individuals whose expectations were met by the job expressed higher levels of satisfaction with the job itself (Porter and Steers, 1973; Wanous et al. 1992). The research in the met expectations field expanded to include consumer research and the adoption of various technologies in the workplace. The central theme in the research was that the individuals brought expectations with them that needed to be met in order for higher levels of satisfaction for the service or the product to result.

Subsequent research, however, also called into question the straightforward predictions of the theory. The theory predicted that disconfirmation of expectations simply resulted in lower levels of satisfaction (Irving and Meyer, 1994; Brown et al. 2008). Yet another theory stated that not only did expectations matter, but that deviations from expectations mattered. Individuals could possess low expectations and if such expectations were approximated, even though they were low, individuals would be satisfied with the product or perhaps some other experience (e.g., Olson and Dover 1979). In other words, when it comes to expectations, individuals possess "ideal points." Deviations from those ideal points in either direction result in lower levels of satisfaction with the product or the job (Brown et al. 2008). Other researchers question the role of expectations in evaluation altogether. Their argument, simply stated, is that only experience matters when it comes to evaluating satisfaction (see Irving and Meyer 1994).

We believe, however, that satisfaction with the voting experience is more than simply a straightforward assessment of the experience. Individuals who vote do so with the belief that they are participating in a larger democratic exercise that shapes the direction of the government and its policies. They have some expectations that their vote will count (Alvarez, Hall, and Llewellyn 2008) and that the administrative procedures put in place will help them to exercise their franchise. However, such expectations are probably tempered by the reality that the administration of the voting process is performed by government entities (Kahn, Katz, and Gutek 1976) and that long lines, new machines, or problems locating a polling location may make it difficult to vote. Therefore, a full explanation of what accounts for satisfaction with the voting

experience needs to include the expectations voters bring with them to the polling booth.

Data and Methods

Data for this project come from the 2008 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES). The CCES project involved 30 teams from various universities and institutions. The common content for the survey contained 32,800 cases. Each team in the project purchased 1,000 cases for its portion of the survey. A module purchased by the institution would develop a survey where half of the survey questions were from the common content of the survey and where the other half would come from questions designed specifically for the research interests of the participating teams. The University of Maryland, College Park and Brigham Young University cooperated in the creation of a module designed to measure satisfaction with the voting process (Karpowitz and Gimpel 2008). The combination of the Maryland and BYU modules resulted in a sample of 2,000 cases.

The CCES interviewed the sample in a pre-election survey conducted in October and in a post-election survey started after the 2008 election. Questions on the pre-election portion of the Maryland and BYU modules measured expectations about the upcoming voting experience. Post-election questions asked the voter to assess the quality of the voting experience.

The interviews for the survey were conducted by YouGov/Polimetrix using an internet panel design. The panel is recruited from a pool of possible respondents using a matched random sample methodology. Participants are selected from individuals in the YouGov/Polimetrix pool who possess characteristics similar to respondents selected randomly from a target population. The characteristics of individuals from the target sample are then used to create matches from the opt-in pool.[3] These matches are the respondents to the CCES survey.

Experiences and Expectations Prior to the 2008 Election

Given the concerns expressed about potential problems that might occur in the 2008 election, expectations expressed by the American public were surprisingly high. In the pre-election survey, we asked respondents the extent to which they agreed that "in the past, my experience at my local polling place has been mostly positive." The responses remind us that as significant as the problems were in Florida in 2000 and occasionally since then, most people have voted relatively easily and without incident or at least they remember doing so. On a seven-point scale, with the ends denoted agree strongly and disagree strongly, nearly three-quarters of the respondents placed themselves in the top two "agree" categories (Figure 1). At the opposite end, only five percent were extreme or nearly so in their disagreement.

Agreement was also very high when we asked voters about their expectations for the upcoming election: "Based on my previous voting experience or what I have heard in the news and from others, I expect to have a satisfactory voting experience." Strong or nearly strong agreement dropped only slightly, to just over 70 percent. The percentage on the other extreme crept up marginally, to about six and a half percent. Still, one might wonder whether voters were apprehensive about aspects of the upcoming vote because of changes made in the process and, in many jurisdictions, in the kinds of equipment on which people were to record their votes. Many voters no doubt did recognize that changes were in the air. In what is probably a break with the past but a reflection of the current times, a large majority of voters expected to be asked to show identification of some sort (71 percent agreeing strongly or nearly).

In spite of this and other expected changes, the public was by no means overly concerned about the situation they would face. We asked several questions about specific aspects of the

[3] More information about the selection of the samples and the means by which matches are created can be found at http://web.mit.edu/polisci/portl/cces/.html.

voting process. Opinions were sought from all those who had voted in the past—whether or not they had already decided about voting in 2008. Using the same seven-point scale, we first asked respondents whether they expected to find their polling place with little or no difficulty. An overwhelming 83 percent agreed strongly or nearly so, again with only five percent in a comparable but opposite extreme. We then asked two questions about the voting process itself—first, a general question about whether voters expected to complete the process on their own and then a more specific question about whether they expected to be able to use the voting equipment at their polling place "without needing the assistance of poll workers." In response to the more general question, an overwhelming 84 percent thought they could vote on their own, and on the question about voting equipment per se, 71 percent responded that they could do without help. In both instances, a mere four percent disagreed strongly or nearly so.

The overall positive views about their own past and expected experiences at the polls do not mean that voters were unaware of potential difficulties or controversy. A concern for some people was simply the amount of time it would take to vote. A quarter of the respondents thought that they would have to "wait in line" for 15 minutes to a half hour or more. While we have no comparative statistics from the past, this is probably longer than it often took to vote in the past and no doubt reflects the added complexity of new identification requirements (or perceived requirements) as well as unfamiliarity with new voting machines. It might also reflect the feeling that many voters had that turnout would be high for the election, creating a longer than usual wait at their polls.

Another concern expressed by voters has to do with the confidentiality of the vote. Insofar as we can tell, this has not been much of a concern to American voters since the adoption of the secret ballot more than a hundred years ago. The very absence of survey questions about the topic suggests as much. So, too, does the fact that studies of the franchise and of voting technology, at least until very recently, have not found it necessary to address the issue except in historical terms (e.g., Keyssar 2000; Saltman 2006). We asked respondents about confidentiality with an 11-point scale anchored on one end with the statement "I'm confident that no one will know how I vote" and on the other end by "I am concerned that someone may be able to see or learn how I vote." Only about half of the respondents placed themselves in the two categories expressing high confidence in the secrecy of their vote; 15 percent placed themselves in the middle category, with another 14 percent on the "concerned" side. Perhaps this is unsurprising in a world in which some voting is done on computers and in which spying of all sorts has been raised to a fine art form. Still, it suggests a kind of concern that needs to be monitored in the future.

Even more significantly, perhaps, there was concern about the fairness of the election process. On an item asking whether "the current election process [would] produce fair election outcomes," agreement dropped significantly from the high levels noted for most other expectations. Here, about one in five respondents expressed considerable concern (by disagreeing strongly or nearly so), and a bare majority were in the *three* top-most categories (Table 1). To some extent, of course, this kind of result may not be unusual. It is reminiscent of judgments about Congress, where the institution is given low marks all the while individual incumbents are re-elected by wide margins. Nevertheless, the results for this item as well as those about time to vote and secrecy of the ballot indicate that prior to the election, expectations were not entirely positive. At an aggregate level, the electorate had some concerns, both about how the election would be conducted and about the ultimate outcome.

Were differences in experiences and expectations a product of random past events, or did

they vary systematically across groups? And if they varied systematically, who in the electorate had higher and lower expectations? Perhaps the most obvious prediction is that minorities had less satisfactory experiences and consequently lower expectations about the upcoming election. For the most part this is true. Both blacks and Hispanics rated past experiences less positively; they expected to wait longer to vote; and when asked about the chances that their votes would be kept confidential, they were substantially less likely to agree (Table 2). Interestingly, however, blacks and Hispanics more often said they expected the outcome to be fair, though as we shall see, this is largely a function of partisanship. Even though one could not have predicted the outcome with a high degree of certainty, the likelihood that Barack Obama would be elected evidently made Democrats (and minorities along with them) believe the election would be a fair one.

Age, education level, and to a lesser extent gender, also played a role in people's prior experiences and in some of their judgments about the 2008 election. However, the results were not entirely predictable. Results of a simple regression model are shown in Table 3. With other variables controlled, minority voters consistently show the differences noted above with respect to past experience, expecting time to vote, and the confidentiality of their votes; almost all of these relationships remain large and statistically significant. On expected fairness, the coefficients for blacks and Hispanics are positive, but they fade from significance, as partisanship is a more dominant factor. Age often proves to be significant as well. Older voters more often say their past voting experiences were positive. Similarly, they expect to wait for shorter periods of time and are more confident in the secrecy of their votes. In making these judgments, older voters may be reflecting on their experiences prior to the controversies surrounding elections since 2000. Education enters into picture as well, with more highly educated respondents reporting more positive past experiences and more confidence in the presumed secrecy of their ballots. In only one instance is gender significant, with women less likely to believe in the confidentiality of their votes. It might be noted that the magnitude of the differences for the first three items are especially large for minorities. With respect to confidentiality, for example, even extreme differences in age (say, between 20 and 70), do not make as much difference as being Hispanic or black. Extreme education differences (between grade school and graduate level) make about the same difference as being Hispanic, but that is little more than half the effect of being black. Note, finally, that on the question of fairness of the expected election results, only partisanship is significant.

The same factors, especially race and ethnicity and age, also affect perceptions of the more mundane aspects the 2008 election (Table 4). African Americans and Hispanics were uniformly and substantially less likely to think that they could find their polling place easily and that they could successfully negotiate new equipment and vote entirely on their own. Perhaps mirroring their expectation that the outcome would be a fair one, blacks were not significantly less likely to think that their overall experience would be satisfactory. Hispanics, however, did think this would be the case. It should be noted that these differences by race and ethnicity are after controlling for education, age, and partisanship.

The coefficients for age in Table 4 once again reveal that older respondents are more likely to have positive expectations about the election that was about to take place. This is not at all surprising for the item about finding one's polling place, as these tend not to be changed from one year to another, and perhaps it is not surprising that older respondents more often expect a satisfactory experience. But older respondents also felt more confident that they could use the voting equipment without help and complete the voting process on their own. This seems

contrary to experimental research showing that at least the very old needed more help with new voting systems (Herrnson et al., 2008, chs. 5-6). This suggests that senior citizens, most of whom have a long history of voting, arrive at the polling place with high expectations, but the introduction of new voting equipment may reduce the quality of their voting experience. Unsurprisingly, education also made a consistent difference on expectations about these aspects of the voting process, and their perceived ability to vote with relative ease spilled over into a greater likelihood of having a satisfactory experience overall.

Satisfaction with the Voting Process in the 2008 Election

Expectations about the voting process going into the 2008 election were relatively high; ratings of the actual experience were even higher. When asked about their "overall experience at the polls," a large majority (78%) declared themselves "very satisfied," with most of the remainder (19.8%) "somewhat satisfied," leaving less than two percent who were dissatisfied

Voters were not without some reservations, however. Agreement was extremely high on the basics: polling places were easy to find and were conveniently located. Not only was agreement high (Figure 2), but only a handful of voters sharply disagreed with these statements (under 5 percent). Equally important, and perhaps more surprisingly given the warnings about new voting equipment, voters judged their voting systems to be easy to use and without technical problems.

Voters expressed lower levels of satisfaction, even if still high, with respect to the ballots themselves, the conditions under which they were cast, and the people supervising the process. Despite an enormous amount of attention to the interaction between the voters and voting systems and to the poll workers working at the polling locations, less attention has been paid to the ballots themselves, though some important exceptions exist (e.g., Lausen 2007; *Effective Designs* 2007; Carman, Mitchell, and Johns 2008). Thus it is perhaps not surprising that a slightly lower percentage of the voters agreed strongly or almost so that the ballots they used were easy to follow (Figure 2).[4]

More surprising, perhaps, is the somewhat lower percentage saying they cast their ballot in privacy, although the expectations about confidentiality noted above foreshadowed this finding. Ballot secrecy is an absolutely fundamental matter, of course, and a requirement that would seem to be easy to meet. Yet if one observes the simple shielding on electronic systems and the flimsy tables and privacy panels for paper balloting, it should not come as a surprise that nearly 1 in 5 voters was at least mildly concerned about this matter in 2008. We can only imagine how high the percentage would have been if the matter had been subject to the same level of discussion as other aspects of the voting process.

Finally, there is the matter of poll workers. Asked about their excellence, this was the only feature of the elections agreed to strongly or nearly so by less than 80 percent of the voters (Figure 2). Unfortunately, there were no additional questions to help us understand exactly what about the workers was most troublesome, although other research points to the confidence poll workers exude in their job (Hall, Monson, Patterson 2009). We did ask voters whether they asked for assistance about how to use the voting equipment. Only about a hundred did so, but of these, over 90 percent sid they assistance was helpful, with exactly one person in the entire survey saying that he or she asked for but received no help at all.

[4] Not apparent in Figure 2 is that especially fewer agreed *strongly* that the ballot was easy to follow (compared to the percentages on the other items). The same is true for the items on privacy and on poll workers. For example, 85 percent strongly disagreed that they had technical problems while voting, but only 68 percent strongly agreed that the ballot was easy to follow.

Modeling Satisfaction

Satisfaction, like expectations, varied according to group membership. With respect to overall satisfaction, ("your overall experience at the polls"), it turned out that African Americans were surprisingly satisfied, contrary to our initial expectations. Though we intended this to be an assessment of the voting *process*, blacks evidently responded to this item in terms of the *outcome* (or better, perhaps, the expected or hoped-for outcome).More positive reactions from African Americans remained generally true when we controlled for other relevant variables in a regression equation.

Responses to items more specifically about the process of voting differentiated respondents along somewhat the same lines as noted above for expectations, though it appears likely that partisanship is a more important factor than race or ethnicity. At a bivariate level, blacks, Hispanics, and Democrats (compared to Republicans) all gave less positive responses to every one of seven items listed in Figure 2. Older respondents were uniformly more positive. Other variables, including education and gender, were unrelated to reported experiences.

The most interesting question, however, is the impact of pre-election expectations and post-election experiences on voter satisfaction. To test for such an impact, we created scales of both prior expectations and reported polling place experiences. Expectations were measured by summing the 1-7 (disagree strongly to agree strongly) responses to five of the items shown in Figure 1 (excluding the items about identification).[5] The alpha coefficient for this scale was .93. Likewise, satisfaction with the voting experience was measured by summing responses to the seven post-election items (after reordering in two instances so 7 represented the most positive response to each item).[6] This yielded a scale with an alpha coefficient of .86.[7]

We show the results of three multivariate models of post-election satisfaction in Table 5. The first is a base model, including only race, ethnicity, partisanship, and age. The second adds expectations in the form of the expectations scale. The final model also includes expectations, now operationalized in a form referred to above as the ideal point model; rather than including expectations alone, this variable measures the degree to which expectations were met—whether those expectations were high or low. In all three specifications, the coefficients for blacks and Hispanics are negative as expected, and in two instances for Hispanics, the result is at least marginally significant. On balance, however, it appears as if partisanship is the underlying factor involved, as the coefficient is fairly large and on the edge of significance in all three models. Age continued its impact; a young voter was much more likely than a baby boomer to be dissatisfied with how the election was run.

Expectations themselves were significant however they were measured. In the case of the raw scale, a variation of 10 points in expectations resulted in a roughly 3 point change in satisfaction, which is about a third of the most-used range of the scale (see note 6). When measured as a departure from expectations, a 10 point difference resulted in a 2 point chane in satisfaction, a meaningful but slightly smaller impact.

The impact of expectations can be judged in one other way. Recall that the question about respondents' overall experiences at the polls elicited responses (at least from African Americans)

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[5] We subtracted 4 from the sum so the scale ranged from 1-31. There were respondents throughout the entire range, though most respondents had scores between 20 and 31.

[6] We subtracted 6 from the sum so the scale ranged from 1-43. There were respondents throughout the entire range, though most had scores between 31 and 43.

[7] Despite several very high correlations between items (.70-.80), a few other correlations were as low as.20-.30, suggesting that responses were not the product of simply checking off the same response to every statement.

that appeared to assess the outcome more than the election process. If expectations matter, those responses should be affected by pre-election views about the likely fairness of election outcomes. Table 6 shows the results of a test for this possibility, using the same set of controls as in other models (excluding education, which was not significant). African Americans, as noted above, responded more positively to this item (although the coefficient is only marginally significant), along with older voters and perhaps women, with Hispanics less satisfied. Expectations about the fairness of the election were also significant. Since pre-election responses were on a seven-point scale, the impact of widely differing expectations would be quite large.

Conclusion

Our analysis helps us to understand better the dynamics of satisfaction with the voting process. In the pre-election wave of the survey, voters possessed relatively high expectations for the upcoming voting experience. Seventy percent of respondents selected categories 6 and 7 on a seven-point scale when asked if they thought they would have a satisfactory voting experience. They also held high expectations for the particulars of the voting experience such as finding the polling place easily or using the voting equipment without the assistance of a poll worker. While expectations may have been high on some items, voters expressed concerns about possible fairness of the outcome, confidentiality of their votes, and the time it would take to vote. These results indicate that voters have varying levels of expectations with regard to the different dimensions of the voting process. Further analysis shows that the expectations varied across groups. Minority voters generally had lower expectations about the upcoming voting process, while older voters possesses higher expectations.

Beyond the origins and differences in expectations, we examined the question of the impact of expectations on satisfaction with the voting process. Pre-election expectations turn out to have an important influence on how voters evaluate their satisfaction with the voting process. While overall levels of satisfaction are high, voters seem to form these judgments by referring to the expectations they have developed, perhaps in previous elections or perhaps through news coverage of the upcoming voting conditions. These expectations have an effect on satisfaction independent of the experiences voters have at the polls on Election Day. The pre- and post-test design of the survey allows us to separate out the *a priori* expectations from the *a posteriori* evaluations.

Future research could focus additionally on the origins of these expectations. Perhaps the finding that older voters have higher expectations is due largely to the past positive experiences these older voters have had. The lower expectations of minority groups might also be explained by the challenges election officials face in particular electoral jurisdictions. Such speculation posits a role for context in the shaping of expectations. Individuals who vote in jurisdictions with complicated ballots, hard-to-use voting systems, or lengthy ballots could ultimately shape the expectations as well as the experiences voters have. Further modeling also needs to be done to determine if indeed voters are comfortable expressing higher levels of satisfaction simply by having their lower levels of expectations met.

Figure 1: Past Experience and Expectations about the Present Election

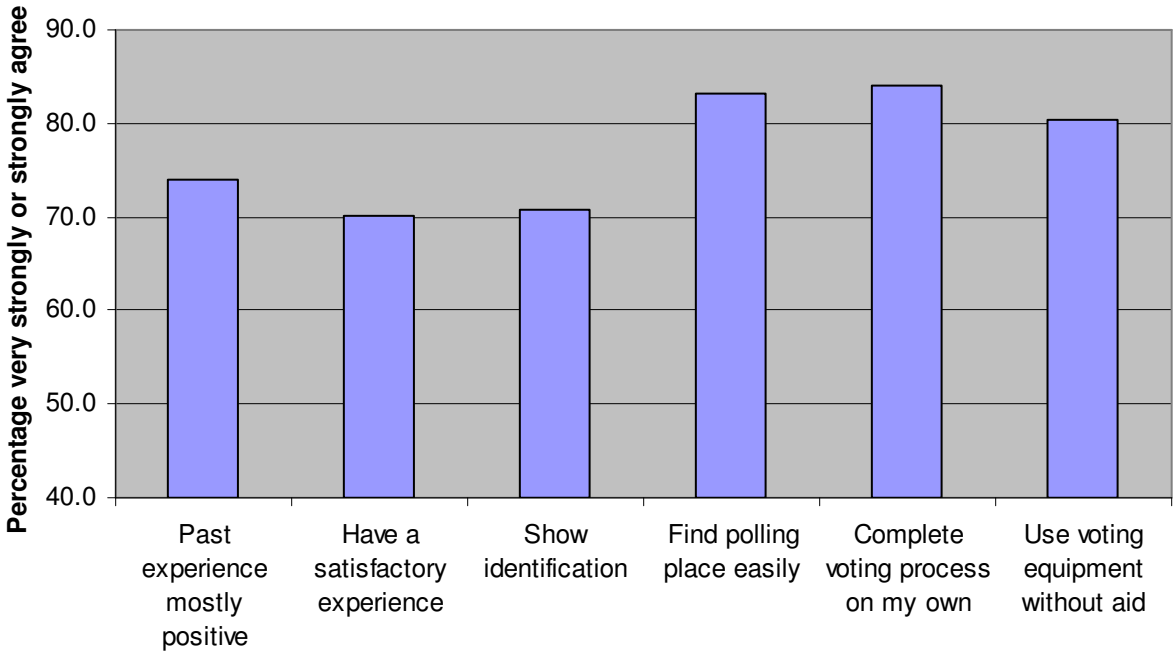

Figure 2: Satisfaction with the Voting Process in the 2008 Election

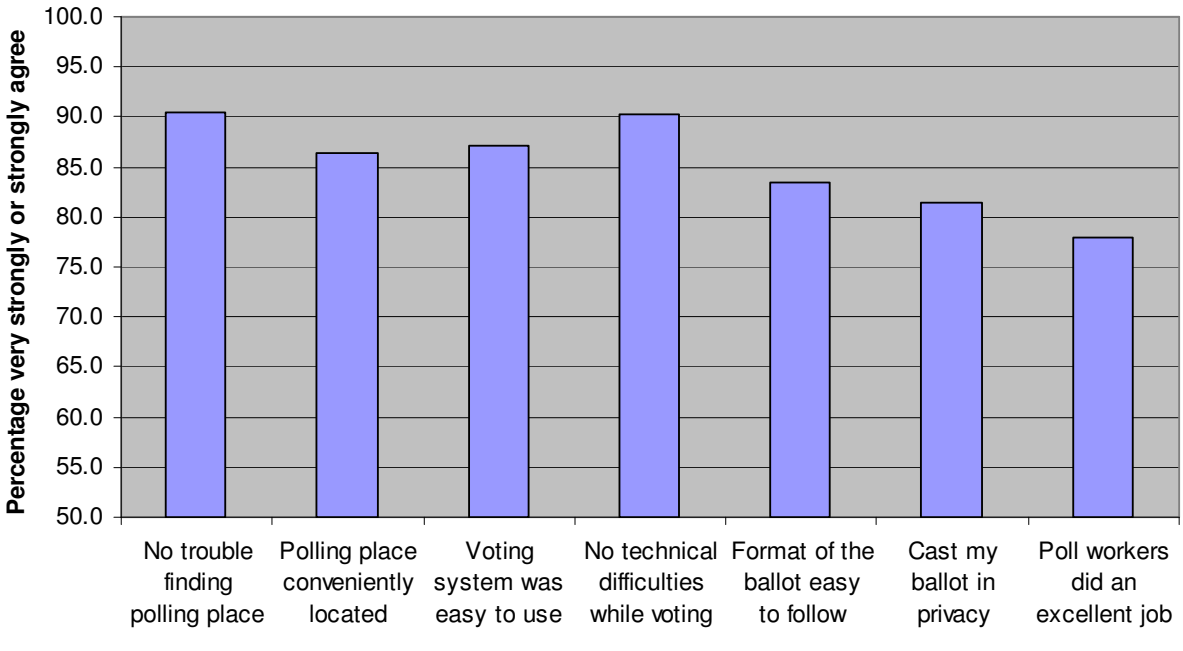

Table 1: Expected Fairness of the Election Outcome

	Strongly disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly agree 7	N
I expect the current election process to produce fair election outcomes.								
	11.0%	8.8	9.1	17.5	12.2	12.6	28.8	1740

Source (for all tables and figures): 2008 Common Congressional Election Study

Table 2: Past Experience and Expectations about the Present Election, by Race

	Non-Hispanic whites	African Americans	Hispanics
Past experience positive (strongly or nearly strongly agree)	76.5	64.0	58.7
Expect to wait (30 minutes or more)	11.6	22.7	15.8
Vote is confidential (strongly or nearly strongly agree)	53.9	32.3	33.3
Expect fair outcome (strongly or nearly strongly agree)	39.3	48.5	45.5

Table 3: The Impact of Individual Attributes on Past Experience and Expectations about the 2008 Election

	Positive past experience				Expected vote time				Confidentiality of vote				Expect fair outcome		
	b	se	sig.		b	se	sig.		b	Se	sig.		b	se	sig.
Constant	5.138	.217	<.001		2.478	.137	<.001		8.317	.371	<.001		5.127	.274	<.001
African American	-.220	.129	.088		.342	.082	<.001		-1.254	.223	<.001		.211	.163	.196
Hispanic	-.296	.146	.043		-.124	.095	.194		-.687	.256	.007		.264	.180	.144
Partisanship (D, I, R)	.085	.049	.082		.063	.034	.059		-.037	.091	.684		-.174	.064	.007
Age	.012	.003	<.001		-.008	.002	<.001		.010	.004	.018		-.004	.003	.200
Education	.095	.027	<.001		-.001	.018	.972		.143	.049	.004		-.057	.035	.110
Gender	-.104	.077	.175		.027	.051	.595		-.439	.137	.001		-.119	.099	.229

Note: OLS results.

Table 4: The Impact of Individual Attributes on Expected Satisfaction and on the Vote Process in the 2008 Election

	Expect satisfactory experience				Use voting equipment without help				Find polling place easily				Complete voting process on my own		
	b	se	sig.		b	se	sig.		b	se	sig.		b	se	sig.
Constant	5.068	.222	<.001		5.811	.195	<.001		5.828	.191	<.001		5.806	.184	<.001
African American	-.122	.131	.392		-.463	.116	<.001		-.271	.114	.018		-.369	.110	.001
Hispanic	-.317	.149	.033		-.498	.131	<.001		-.305	.126	.016		-.496	.123	.000
Partisanship (D, I, R)	.036	.050	.476		.006	.045	.898		.024	.045	.590		.042	.043	.334
Age	.012	.003	<.001		.008	.002	<.001		.007	.002	.001		.007	.002	.001
Education	.099	.028	<.001		.096	.025	.000		.088	.025	<.001		.103	.024	<.001
Gender	-.104	.079	.188		-.148	.070	.035		-.112	.069	.105		-.088	.066	.183

Note: OLS results.

Table 5: The Impact of Individual Attributes and Pre-Election Expectations on Satisfaction with the Voting Process

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3		
	b	se	sig.		b		sig.		b	se	sig.
Constant	34.367	.992	<.001		26.408	1.520	<.001		32.189	1.132	<.001
African American	-.972	.796	.222		-.899	.787	.817		-1.206	.827	.145
Hispanic	-2.031	.991	.041		-.365	1.061	.731		-1.774	1.068	.097
Partisanship (D, I, R)	.573	.302	.058		.592	.305	.052		.596	.309	.054
Age	.067	.016	<.001		.053	.016	.001		.061	.017	<.001
Expectations scale					.308	.043	<.001				
Expectations (close-ness to ideal point)									.205	.039	<.001

Dependent variable: Satisfaction with the voting process, as measured by judgments about one's overall experience as the polls (7 items)

Note: OLS results. The expectations scale ranged from 1-31. Expectations in the form of closeness to the ideal point were measured as the absolute value of the difference between the expectations scale and the post-election experiences scales; they range from 0-42, though most scores are between 1 and 17.

Table 6: The Effect of Individual Attributes and Expected Fairness on Satisfaction with the Voting Experience

	Satisfaction with voting experience		
	b	se	sig.
Constant	3.433	.090	<.001
African American	.094	.054	.085
Hispanic	-.149	.087	.028
Age	.004	.001	<.001
Gender	.053	.033	.108
Expect a fair election outcome	.021	.008	.008

Note: OLS results.

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