

Online Appendix for “Is There a Secret Ballot? Ballot Secrecy Perceptions and Their Implications for Voting Behaviour”

This document contains supporting information for the article, “Is There a Secret Ballot? Ballot Secrecy Perceptions and Their Implications for Voting Behaviour” in the *British Journal of Political Science*. The document consists of two sections. Section 1 contains question wording and variable coding information. Section 2 contains a set of supplementary tables.

Section 1. Question Wording and Variable Coding

Dependent variables

Presidential Vote Choice (-1 if McCain; 0 if Other/Didn't Vote; +1 if Obama): For whom did you vote for President of the United States? 1. John McCain (Republican); 2. Barack Obama (Democrat); 3. Robert Barr (Libertarian); 4. Cynthia McKinney (Green Party); 5. Ralph Nader (Independent); 6. Ron Paul; 7. Other candidate or party; 8. I did not vote in this race; 9. I did not vote in the election

Psychological Secrecy Items

Choices secret?: As far as you know, when you go to a polling place and vote, are your choices about which candidate you voted for kept secret unless you tell someone, or are your choices not kept secret?

MI: Turning to another subject, as far as you know, when you go to a polling place and vote, are your personal choices on the ballot, such as which candidates you decide to vote for, kept secret unless you tell someone who you voted for, or are your choices not kept secret? **PSR**: When you go to a polling place and vote, are your choices about which candidate you voted for kept secret unless you tell someone, or are your choices not kept secret? 0. Not kept secret; 1. Kept secret.

Difficult to find out?: According to the law, which candidate you vote for is supposed to be kept secret unless you tell someone. Even so, how difficult do you think it would be for politicians, union officials, or the people you work for to find out who you voted for, even if you told no one? **MI**: According to the law, which candidate you vote for is supposed to be kept secret unless you tell someone. Even so, how difficult do you think it would be for the government, politicians, union officials, or the people you work for to find out who you voted for, even if you told no one? **PSR**: According to the law, which candidate you vote for is supposed to be kept secret unless you tell someone. How difficult do you think it would be for [split sample: politicians, union officials, or the people you work for / someone] to find out who you voted for, even if you told no one? 1. Not difficult at all; 2. Not too difficult; 3. Somewhat difficult; 4. Very difficult; 5. Impossible.

Anyone ever find out?: Do you think a politician, union official, or someone you work for has ever found out who you voted for because you were being watched when you voted, because there is some way to match you up with your ballot, or because of some other way around the secret ballot? **MI**: Do you think a politician, union official, or other powerful person has ever found out who you voted for because you were being watched when you voted, because there is some way to match you up with your ballot, or because of some other way around the secret ballot? 0. Yes; 1. No.

Find out often?: How often do you think someone like a politician, union official, or someone you work for finds out who you voted for because you were being watched when you voted, because there is some way to match you up with your ballot, or because of some other way around the secret ballot? **MI**: How often does this happen? (only if ‘Yes’ above): 1. Always; 2. Most elections; 3. Some elections; 4. Rarely; 5. Never.

Social Secrecy Items

Mention vote?: Either before or after an important election, do you mention which candidate you prefer or voted for to at least one other person - for instance a close friend or family member? 1. Almost all the time; 2. Most of the time; 3. Sometimes; 4. Rarely; 5. Never or almost never.

People ask about vote?: Does anyone, including close friends or family members, ever ask you which candidate you prefer or voted for? 1. Almost all the time; 2. Most of the time; 3. Sometimes; 4. Rarely; 5. Never or almost never.

Name a candidate?: If a close friend or family member asks you who you prefer in an election, do you name a candidate? 1. Almost all the time; 2. Most of the time; 3. Sometimes; 4. Rarely; 5. Never or almost never.

Tell truth about preference?: If you tell a close friend or family member which candidate you prefer, do you tell the truth? 1. Almost all the time; 2. Most of the time; 3. Sometimes; 4. Rarely; 5. Never or almost never.

Truth when disagree?: Suppose you knew that a close friend prefers a different candidate than you prefer. If your friend asked you about which candidate you preferred, what would you do? -1. Tell them which candidate; 0. Change the subject; 1. Not tell the truth.

Could keep secret?: Suppose you wanted to keep which candidate you voted for a secret from your close friends. Do you think you could keep them from finding out or would you eventually say something that allowed them to figure out who you voted for? 0. They would figure it out; 1. Could keep it a secret.

Control variables

Race: What racial or ethnic group best describes you? 1. White; 2. Black or African-American; 3. Hispanic or Latino; 4. Asian or Asian-American; 5. Native American; 6. Middle Eastern; 7. Mixed Race; 8. Other. Other race indicator (1 if 0 if Asian or Asian-American, Native American, Middle Eastern, Mixed Race, Other; else 0).

Female (0 if Male; 1 if Female): Are you male or female?

Age (Years): In what year were you born? (enter integer). Age calculated as 2008-(year of birth).

Region: Based on matching entry of ZIP code to Census regions (Northeast, Midwest, South, West)

Religious Attendance: Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services? 1. More than once a week; 2. Once a week; 3. Once or twice a month; 4. A few times a year; 5. Seldom; 6. Never

Union HH (1=yes if anyone in HH is union): Are you or a member of your household members of a union? 1. I and no one in household union member; 2. I am a union member, no one in house in union; 3. I'm not in union, house member in union; 4. I and house member in union.

Education: What is the highest level of education you have completed? 1. Did not graduate from high school; 2. High school graduate; 3. Some college, but no degree (yet); 4. 2-year college degree; 5. 4-year college degree; 6. Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.).

Income: Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income? 1. less than \$10,000; 2. \$10,000 - \$14,999; 3. \$15,000 - \$19,999; 4. \$20,000 - \$24,999; 5. \$25,000 - \$29,999; 6. \$30,000 -

\$39,999; 7. \$40,000 - \$49,999; 8. \$50,000 - \$59,999; 9. \$60,000 - \$69,999; 10. \$70,000 - \$79,999; 11. \$80,000 - \$99,999; 12. \$100,000 - \$119,999; 13. \$120,000 - \$149,999; 14. \$150,000 or more; 15. Prefer not to say (coded as missing).

Interest in Politics (mean of two standardized items)

A. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs ... ? 1. Most of the time; 2. Some of the time; 3. Only now and then; 4. Hardly at all; (missing) Don't know

B. How interested are you in politics and current affairs? 1. Very much interested; 2. Somewhat interested; 3. Not much interested; (missing) Not sure.

Marital status (0 if Separated, Divorced, Widowed, or Single; 1 if Married or Domestic Partnership)

Party ID (-3=Str. Rep.; 3=Str. Dem.)

Standard branching 7-point scale.

Ideology (-2=very cons.; 0=moderate/not sure; +2=very lib.) Thinking about politics these days, how would you describe your own political viewpoint? -2. Very Conservative; -1. Conservative; 0. Moderate; 1. Liberal; 2. Very liberal; (missing) Not sure.

Index of Issue Attitudes (conservative-liberal; Cronbach's alpha=.692): Four issues, each recorded so higher values are associated with more liberal responses and standardized (mean=0; SD= 1) prior to creation of the index. Value calculated for all respondents who answered at least one question.

Abortion: Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view on abortion? 1 By law, never permit abortion; 2 Abortion only if rape, incest, life in danger; 3 Abortion only if need established; 4 By law, always allow abortion.

Environment: Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this? 1 Protect jobs much more important; 2 Economy somewhat more important; 3 About the same; 4 Environment somewhat more important; 5 Environment much more important than jobs.

Privatize Social Security: A proposal has been made that would allow people to put a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts that would be invested in private stocks and bonds. Do you favor or oppose this idea? 1 Strongly support; 2 Somewhat support; 3 Somewhat oppose; 4 Strongly oppose.

Affirmative Action: Affirmative action programs give preference to racial minorities and to women in employment and college admissions in order to correct for discrimination. Do you support or oppose affirmative action? 1 Strongly oppose; 2 Somewhat oppose; 3 Somewhat support; 4 Strongly support.

Section 2. Supplementary Tables

Table A1 – Summary Statistics

Table A2 – Principle Components Analysis of Associations Among Ballot Secrecy Measures

Table A3 – Marginal Differences in Secrecy Perceptions

Table A4 – Ballot Secrecy and Vote Choice (Full Results for Table 2, columns [3] and [4] Specifications)

Table A1: Summary Statistics

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Presidential Vote Choice (-1=McCain; 0=Other/Didn't Vote; +1=Obama)	0.062	0.854	-1	1
Presidential Vote Choice (0=McCain; 1=Obama [else missing]; N=702)	0.542	0.499	0	1
Psychological Secrecy (PC)	0.000	1.000	-2.962	1.343
Social Secrecy (PC)	0.000	1.000	-1.107	4.082
Union HH (1=yes)	0.251	0.434	0	1
Party ID (-3=Str. Rep.; 3=Str. Dem.)	0.245	2.211	-3	3
White (1=yes)	0.748	0.435	0	1
Black (1=yes)	0.114	0.318	0	1
Hispanic (1=yes)	0.082	0.275	0	1
Other Race (1=yes)	0.056	0.229	0	1
Female (1=yes)	0.509	0.500	0	1
Age (Years)	47.390	17.375	19	100
Religious Attendance (1-6)	3.143	1.604	1	6
Education (1=No HS; 6=Post-grad)	3.207	1.505	1	6
Income (1=<10k; 14=>150k; 15=RF/Missing)	8.324	3.934	1	15
Missing: Income	0.085	0.279	0	1
Ideology (-2=very cons.; 0=moderate/not sure; +2=very lib.)	-0.128	1.051	-2	2
Index of issue attitudes (conservative-liberal)	0.031	0.665	-1.399817	1.472899
Interest in Politics (standardized)	-0.168	0.999	-2.805022	0.7097304

Note: Weighted summary statistics. 2008 CCES. N=804.

Table A2: Principle Components Analysis of Associations Among Ballot Secrecy Measures

Question	Psychological	Social
Choices secret?	0.686	0.291
Difficult to find out?	0.729	0.145
Anyone ever find out?	0.696	0.137
Mention vote?	-0.191	0.806
People ask about vote?	-0.032	0.640
Name a candidate?	-0.061	0.891
Tell truth about preference?	-0.156	0.712
Truth when disagree?	-0.113	0.589
Could keep secret?	0.011	0.497
Eigenvalue	1.565	3.077

Note: Principle component loadings of nine-item ballot secrecy battery (varimax rotation). Higher values on each item correspond to greater perceptions of secrecy. Full question wording presented in Table 1. 2008 CCES. N=804.

Table A3: Marginal Differences in Secrecy Perceptions

Psychological Secrecy																	
		Race			Gender		Age			Education			Income			Interest in Politics	
Question	Response categories	White	Black	Hispanic	Male	Female	<40	40-60	61+	HS Grad or less	Some College	College Grad+	Low	Mod.	High	Low	High
Choices secret?	(% "Not kept secret")	22.2%	40.0%	33.9%	21.7%	29.2%	23.8%	24.0%	30.0%	33.6%	22.3%	17.8%	31.3%	21.2%	27.7%	27.9%	23.0%
Difficult to find out?	(% "Not difficult at all" or "Not too difficult")	36.2%	54.0%	48.8%	39.3%	41.4%	44.1%	36.2%	40.7%	43.4%	46.9%	28.3%	42.5%	37.1%	38.5%	42.9%	37.5%
Anyone ever find out?	(% "Yes")	9.2%	13.9%	17.9%	11.8%	10.7%	9.3%	11.2%	14.1%	11.0%	13.0%	9.6%	10.1%	10.5%	13.3%	9.9%	12.7%
Find out often? (if "Yes" above)	(% "Always" or "Most elections")	49.0%	9.8%	83.3%	58.6%	28.6%	58.7%	54.8%	18.1%	34.3%	56.1%	40.8%	57.4%	23.4%	41.6%	51.0%	38.2%
Social Secrecy																	
		Race			Gender		Age			Education			Income			Interest in Politics	
Question	Response categories	White	Black	Hispanic	Male	Female	<40	40-60	61+	HS Grad or less	Some College	College Grad+	Low	Mod.	High	Low	High
Mention vote?	(% "Almost all the time" or "Most of the time")	72.8%	76.0%	68.8%	74.8%	70.5%	72.6%	65.8%	82.2%	68.2%	70.3%	81.4%	63.7%	72.4%	83.9%	61.6%	84.5%
People ask about vote?	(% "Almost all the time" or "Most of the time")	54.2%	53.0%	49.9%	53.4%	52.6%	52.0%	53.8%	53.2%	45.3%	57.1%	59.0%	42.3%	55.3%	68.5%	42.8%	63.9%
Name a candidate?	(% "Almost all the time" or "Most of the time")	77.9%	84.3%	69.5%	79.2%	75.3%	76.1%	70.5%	88.2%	72.0%	79.0%	82.5%	69.6%	78.8%	88.7%	66.0%	89.3%
Tell truth about preference?	(% "Almost all the time" or "Most of the time")	95.1%	98.3%	81.3%	94.5%	94.1%	91.5%	94.9%	97.5%	90.9%	95.1%	98.2%	89.4%	95.6%	99.2%	90.2%	98.8%
Truth when disagree?	(% "Tell them")	89.1%	95.3%	74.3%	91.2%	86.5%	87.8%	86.2%	93.9%	86.6%	93.3%	86.8%	84.6%	88.0%	94.6%	83.6%	94.5%
Could keep secret?	(% "They would figure it out")	48.9%	42.6%	54.0%	45.8%	49.6%	46.3%	41.7%	58.1%	46.6%	50.8%	45.7%	44.1%	48.3%	52.9%	42.3%	53.6%

Note: Responses weighted to represent a national sample. 2008 CCES. N=804. Full question wording of secrecy items presented in Table 1. Income: Low=<\$40,000; Moderate=\$40,000-79,999; High=\$80,000+ (restricted to non-missing cases, N=741). Interest in politics: High=very much interested in politics/current events and follow news and public affairs most of the time; Low=all others.

Table A4: Ballot Secrecy and Vote Choice (Full Results for Table 2, columns [3] and [4] Specifications)

	Full CCES Sample (-1=McCain; 0=Other/Didn't Vote; +1=Obama)							
	(3)	(4)		(3)	(4)		(3)	(4)
Psychological Secrecy (PC)	0.019 [0.066]	-0.191 [0.177]	Race: Other Race x PID	-0.091 [0.044]**	-0.103 [0.043]**	Interest in Politics	-0.023 [0.032]	-0.011 [0.031]
Social Secrecy (PC)	-0.013 [0.040]	-0.215 [0.243]	Female x PID	0.030 [0.016]**	0.029 [0.016]**	Ideology	0.092 [0.031]***	0.079 [0.031]**
Psychological Secrecy x Union HH	-0.106 [0.048]**	-0.109 [0.051]**	Age (Years) x PID	-0.005 [0.004]	-0.006 [0.003]*	Index of issue attitudes	0.261 [0.058]***	0.283 [0.054]***
Social Secrecy x Union HH	-0.039 [0.067]	-0.068 [0.062]	Age-squared/100 x PID	0.005 [0.003]	0.006 [0.003]	Social Secrecy x Race: Black		0.169 [0.105]
Psychological Secrecy x Party: Strong Republican	0.043 [0.070]	-0.017 [0.093]	Married/Dom. Partnership x PID	-0.006 [0.016]	-0.008 [0.016]	Social Secrecy x Race: Hispanic		0.219 [0.072]***
Psychological Secrecy x Party: Weak Republican	-0.116 [0.092]	-0.192 [0.104]*	Religious Attendance x PID	-0.003 [0.006]	-0.006 [0.005]	Social Secrecy x Race: Other Race		-0.196 [0.101]*
Psychological Secrecy x Party: Lean Republican	0.100 [0.093]	0.081 [0.110]	Education x PID	0.016 [0.006]***	0.014 [0.005]**	Social Secrecy x Female		0.067 [0.042]
Psychological Secrecy x Party: Lean Democrat	0.075 [0.091]	0.089 [0.104]	Interest in Politics x PID	0.011 [0.014]	0.012 [0.014]	Social Secrecy x Age (Years)		0.003 [0.011]
Psychological Secrecy x Party: Weak Democrat	0.090 [0.088]	0.028 [0.092]	Income x PID	0.003 [0.003]	0.001 [0.003]	Social Secrecy x Age-squared/100		0.001 [0.012]
Psychological Secrecy x Party: Strong Democrat	-0.027 [0.077]	-0.048 [0.088]	Income Missing x PID	-0.073 [0.038]*	-0.037 [0.037]	Social Secrecy x Married/Dom. Partnership		-0.044 [0.041]
Social Secrecy x Party: Strong Republican	-0.079 [0.070]	-0.095 [0.091]	Party: Strong Republican	-0.732 [0.292]**	-0.925 [0.276]***	Social Secrecy x Religious Attendance		-0.026 [0.014]*
Social Secrecy x Party: Weak Republican	0.122 [0.062]*	0.050 [0.067]	Party: Weak Republican	-0.545 [0.195]***	-0.641 [0.182]***	Social Secrecy x Education		0.019 [0.017]
Social Secrecy x Party: Lean Republican	0.040 [0.137]	0.010 [0.156]	Party: Lean Republican	-0.374 [0.148]**	-0.442 [0.145]***	Social Secrecy x Interest in Politics		-0.044 [0.025]*
Social Secrecy x Party: Lean Democrat	0.181 [0.082]**	0.257 [0.099]***	Party: Lean Democrat	0.609 [0.131]***	0.660 [0.132]***	Social Secrecy x Income		0.006 [0.007]
Social Secrecy x Party: Weak Democrat	-0.112 [0.069]	-0.138 [0.076]**	Party: Weak Democrat	0.409 [0.200]**	0.586 [0.190]***	Social Secrecy x Income Missing		-0.076 [0.101]
Social Secrecy x Party: Strong Democrat	-0.008 [0.092]	0.022 [0.086]	Party: Strong Democrat	0.641 [0.286]**	0.851 [0.266]***	Social Secrecy x Index of issue attitudes		-0.114 [0.045]**
Race: Black x Union	-0.009 [0.155]	0.116 [0.150]	Union HH	-0.272 [0.433]	-0.544 [0.450]	Social Secrecy x Ideology		-0.007 [0.026]
Race: Hispanic x Union	0.251 [0.185]	0.280 [0.148]**	Race: Black	0.408 [0.159]**	0.259 [0.160]	Psychological Secrecy x Race: Black		-0.025 [0.074]
Race: Other Race x Union	0.130 [0.246]	0.198 [0.242]	Race: Hispanic	0.008 [0.093]	0.013 [0.093]	Psychological Secrecy x Race: Hispanic		0.001 [0.066]
Female x Union	0.036 [0.101]	0.024 [0.097]	Race: Other Race	0.031 [0.097]	-0.043 [0.100]	Psychological Secrecy x Race: Other Race		-0.228 [0.093]**
Age (Years) x Union	0.014 [0.020]	0.020 [0.020]	Female	0.099 [0.048]**	0.126 [0.048]***	Psychological Secrecy x Female		-0.020 [0.045]
Age-squared/100 x Union	-0.009 [0.020]	-0.011 [0.021]	Age (Years)	-0.010 [0.009]	-0.002 [0.011]	Psychological Secrecy x Age (Years)		0.019 [0.007]***
Married/Dom. Partnership x Union	-0.043 [0.119]	-0.088 [0.121]	Age-squared/100	0.012 [0.009]	0.003 [0.011]	Psychological Secrecy x Age-squared/100		-0.018 [0.007]***
Religious Attendance x Union	0.008 [0.031]	0.000 [0.032]	Married/Dom. Partnership	-0.045 [0.051]	-0.009 [0.052]	Psychological Secrecy x Married/Dom. Partnership		-0.066 [0.056]
Education x Union	-0.070 [0.036]*	-0.060 [0.036]*	Religious Attendance	-0.016 [0.015]	-0.024 [0.015]	Psychological Secrecy x Religious Attendance		-0.015 [0.016]
Interest in Politics x Union	-0.095 [0.074]	-0.137 [0.075]**	Education: No HS	0.131 [0.103]	0.121 [0.090]	Psychological Secrecy x Education		-0.005 [0.017]
Income x Union	0.010 [0.019]	0.011 [0.019]	Education: Some college	-0.018 [0.054]	-0.004 [0.054]	Psychological Secrecy x Interest in Politics		0.000 [0.032]
Income Missing x Union	-0.018 [0.233]	-0.016 [0.236]	Education: 2-year college	0.136 [0.106]	0.110 [0.103]	Psychological Secrecy x Income		-0.010 [0.008]
Index of issue attitudes x Union	0.066 [0.081]	0.033 [0.084]	Education: 4-year college	0.134 [0.059]**	0.148 [0.058]**	Psychological Secrecy x Income Missing		0.038 [0.102]
Ideology x Union	0.015 [0.058]	0.040 [0.060]	Education: Post-graduate	0.176 [0.070]**	0.203 [0.073]***	Psychological Secrecy x Index of issue attitudes		0.015 [0.045]
Race: Black x PID	-0.038 [0.061]	0.008 [0.057]	Income	-0.002 [0.008]	-0.006 [0.008]	Psychological Secrecy x Ideology		-0.041 [0.030]
Race: Hispanic x PID	0.045 [0.032]	-0.002 [0.030]	Income Missing	-0.078 [0.106]	-0.005 [0.104]	Constant	-0.234 [0.274]	-0.473 [0.318]
Observations							804	804
R-squared							0.751	0.777