

THE 100 MILLION PROJECT

The Untold Story of American Non-Voters

A Knight Foundation Study



the100million.org

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About the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation

Knight Foundation is a national foundation with strong local roots. We invest in journalism, in the arts and in the success of cities where brothers John S. and James L. Knight once published newspapers. Our goal is to foster informed and engaged communities, which we believe are essential for a healthy democracy.

For more, visit kf.org.

About Bendixen & Amandi International

Founded in 1984, Bendixen & Amandi International is a full-service management and communications consulting firm specializing in qualitative and quantitative opinion research and media communications, with a particular expertise and international reputation for work with multilingual and multiethnic populations in the United States and around the world.

Executive Summary

In 2016, nearly 100 million eligible Americans did not cast a vote for president, representing 43% of the eligible voting-age population.¹

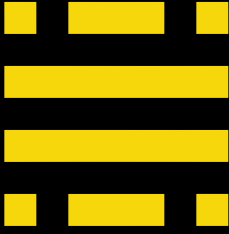

They represent a sizeable minority whose voice is not heard in our representative democracy. Most of our attention, in politics and in research, tends to fall almost exclusively on “likely” voters perceived to make the most difference in the outcome. As a result, relatively little is known about those with a history of non-voting. Yet their non-participation is a key feature of our democracy, and raises important questions about the basic health of a participatory society.

To help understand this large segment of the population, the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation commissioned Bendixen & Amadi International to develop a comprehensive study of those who do not vote. This study surveyed 12,000 chronic non-voters nationally and in 10 swing states, soliciting their views, attitudes and behaviors on a wide range of topics. For comparison purposes, a group of 1,000 active voters who consistently participate in national elections and a group of 1,000 young eligible voters (18-24 years old) were also surveyed. Findings were further explored through in-depth conversations with non-voters in focus groups held around the country.²

The study reveals that persistent non-voters are by no means a monolithic group, but as varied as American society itself. There is not a one-size-fits-all description of the non-voting population, nor is there a single, unifying explanation for their lack of participation. They can be found across the political spectrum, at every level of education and income, and from every walk of life. There were, however, several themes that emerged from the study:

- **Many non-voters suffer from a lack of faith in the election system and have serious doubts about the impact of their own votes:** Thirty-eight percent of non-voters are not confident that elections represent the will of the people, and non-voters are more likely to say that this is because the system is rigged. Non-voters are less likely to believe votes are counted fully and accurately, or to say that decisions made by the president or others in Washington have a strong impact on their lives.
- **Non-voters engaged less with news and are left feeling underinformed:** Non-voters are twice as likely as active voters to passively encounter news versus actively seeking it out, and to say they do not feel they have enough information about candidates and issues to decide how to vote. Their media diets involve less news and more entertainment as compared to active voters.

¹ McDonald, Michael P, United States Elections Project, www.electproject.org.
² For a full explanation of the methodology, see Appendix A.

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- **While less partisan, non-voters are more evenly divided on key issues and on President Trump than active voters:** Non-voters showed slightly more support for constructing a wall along the Mexican border than active voters, while being less supportive of replacing the Affordable Care Act. If they all voted in 2020, non-voters would add an almost equal share of votes to Democratic and Republican candidates, but important differences exist across swing states.
 - **The emerging electorate is even less informed and less interested in politics:** Young eligible citizens (18-24 years old) are even less likely than non-voters to report following political news, and feel less informed than non-voters come election time. Fewer are interested in voting in 2020 than non-voters, principally because they don't care about politics. They also struggle the most with the voting process.

Contents

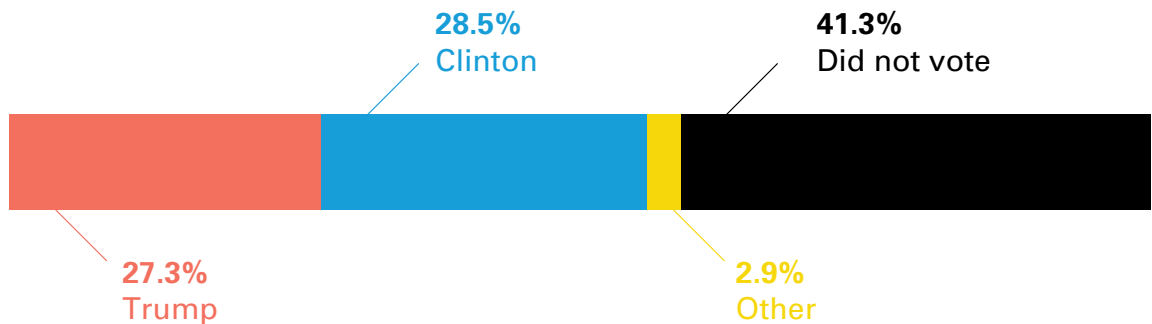
Executive Summary	1
Introduction	4
Approach	5
Why Non-Voters Do Not Engage	7
Lack of Faith in the Elections System and the Impact of Voting	9
Lower Engagement with News and Information, Particularly About Politics	11
Fundamental Lack of Interest in Politics	15
Lower Civic Engagement and Life Satisfaction	16
Voting Process Perceived as Easy but Annoying	19
What Non-Voters Care About	20
Party Identification	21
Key Issues and Policy Positions	21
Favorability	24
What Non-Voters Think About 2020	26
Non-Voters In Swing States	29
Non-Voters – Who Are They? Who Are Non-Voters?	32
Demographics	33
Non-Voter Profiles	35
The Emerging Electorate	40
Conclusion	46
Appendices	48
Appendix A – Survey Methodology	48
Appendix B – Cluster Analysis	50
Appendix C – Non-Voter Models Summary	51

Introduction

There are more than 250,000,000 voting-aged individuals in the United States. While some are excluded from voting for elected leadership and ballot initiatives due to their criminal history or immigration status, the overwhelming majority of adults residing in this country are eligible to vote. Yet, even the most high-profile elections of the past decades only boast turnouts hovering in the 50-60% range – quite low in comparison to other developed countries.³ There are about 100,000,000 eligible voters in our country who do not vote at all. Yet they receive little to no attention in our national political discourse, or even in the specialized conversations among strategists and scholars about electoral participation.

The results of the recent 2016 presidential election – one of the most hotly contested races in recent memory – illustrate the magnitude and importance of this issue. In the simplest terms, the media reported the results of the election as follows: 65,853,514 votes for Hillary Clinton; 62,984,828 votes for Donald Trump; and 6,674,811 for other minor candidates.

Perhaps a more accurate reflection of the results of the 2016 presidential election might be:



In other words, the largest bloc of citizens in our presidential elections are not those who vote for one candidate or another, but those who do not participate in the election at all. Understanding their preferences, characteristics and behaviors sheds light on a series of questions that are crucial to understanding the state of American democracy:

- Why are so many Americans persistently disengaged from the political process?
- Who are they, and what do they care about?
- What would be the impact if they turned out to vote?

This study is the first comprehensive effort to understand this large segment of the American electorate.

³ Desilver, Drew "U.S. trails most developed countries in voter turnout," Pew Research Center, 2018, www.pewresearch.org.

APPROACH

The project endeavored to study a seldom-explored subset of American society whose behavior, preferences and viewpoints have gone largely unexamined. A mixed-methods research protocol was employed that would provide insights on chronic non-voters through self-reported information via focus groups and quantitative surveys, as well as through comparative analysis with active voter survey data. For a complete explanation of the methodology, see Appendix A.

Two academic advisers provided guidance along the course of the study: Yanna Krupnikov, professor of political science at Stony Brook University, and Eitan Hersh, professor of political science at Tufts University. They advised on study design, analysis and findings. Prof. Krupnikov was further commissioned to conduct additional analysis of the findings (see Appendix C).

In addition, the research team was assisted by a Review Committee, drawn from diverse sectors and interests. The review committee provided input on the research questions to be explored and provided reactions to the quantitative data. They did not provide editorial guidance, and this report solely reflects the interpretations and ideas of the research team.

Pre-Survey

- An initial round of qualitative focus groups was conducted in four cities located in different regions of the U.S. in order to gain a baseline understanding of the views of the non-voting population.
- An academic literature review of known studies of non-voters was conducted to surface key hypotheses for the quantitative survey, led by Yanna Krupnikov of Stony Brook University.

Quantitative

A quantitative survey was deployed to both national and swing state non-voters, as well as companion surveys of frequent voters and young adults for comparison purposes. The voting participation history for all registered eligible voters was verified via voter data files. The survey sample is demographically representative of the non-voting U.S. population.

- **National non-voter sample:** Consisted of 4,002 persistent non-voters age 25 and over nationwide. The group was made up of a combination of those who are eligible but not registered to vote, as well as those who are registered to vote but participated in zero or one of the last six national (presidential and midterm) elections between November 2008 and November 2018.
- **Swing state non-voter sample:** Consisted of an additional 8,015 persistent non-voters age 25 and over across 10 select swing states (approximately 800 people per state). The group was made up of a combination of those who are eligible but not registered to vote, as well as those who are registered to vote but participated in zero or one of the last six national (presidential and midterm) elections between November 2008 and November 2018. The states included are Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Wisconsin.

- **National active voter sample:** Consisted of 1,002 registered voters age 25 and over nationwide who voted three or more times over the last six national (presidential and midterm) elections between November 2008 and November 2018.
- **National young adult sample:** Consisted of 1,035 eligible voters nationwide ages 18 to 24. This sample considers young eligible voters as a whole regardless of voting history.

Post-Survey

- A final round of qualitative focus groups was conducted in five cities located in different regions of the U.S. to further explore the survey findings in deeper context.
- A cluster analysis of non-voter survey data was conducted to group non-voters into different “profiles” or segments based on common attitudes and behaviors.
- A statistical modeling analysis was conducted by Yanna Krupnikov of Stonybrook University of the non-voter and active voter respondent data, to determine which attitudes and behaviors might influence voting behavior when demographics were held constant.

6

This report is a summary of what has been learned through interviews, both quantitative and qualitative, with more than 14,000 voting-eligible Americans. The result is a rich, nuanced, multi-level snapshot of non-voting America one year out from the 2020 presidential election.

Why Non-Voters Do Not Engage

Why Non-Voters Do Not Engage

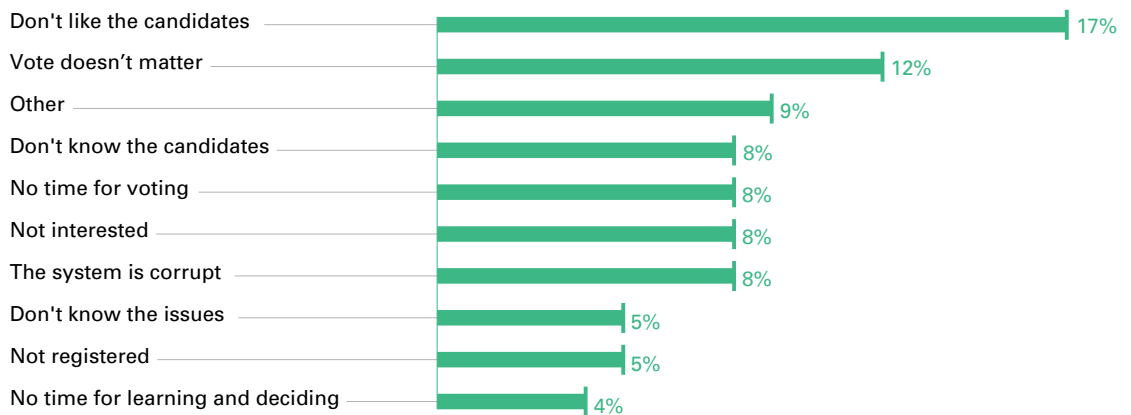
As other studies have found, our survey data also shows that higher education and higher income levels are correlated with a higher likelihood of registration and voting participation; however, this by no means tells the whole story since a significant number of non-voters fall into these categories.

When directly asked in the national survey why they don't vote, the top reasons non-voters gave were that they don't like the candidates (17%), they don't know the candidates and issues (13%) and they feel their vote doesn't matter (12%).

The vast majority of eligible citizens do not vote in every national election.

When you don't vote, what would you say is your main reason for not voting?

Top responses from Non-voters (open response)



In the focus groups, non-voters across the country – regardless of age, race, gender, education or income – described feelings of alienation from voting and a need to deprioritize voting compared to other day-to-day activities. Many participants indicated that there was a scarcity of candidates who truly motivated them, leaving them with less-than-ideal alternatives. Non-voters struggling with this choice reported hearing primarily negative information about both options, making “none of the above” a rational choice in their minds.

“Lack of interest, uneducated. The times that I’ve spent to get a little bit more educated, all the options suck. I don’t feel like one is great so I’m not going to vote at all.” -Female non-voter, Milwaukee

“I hate the thought of voting for the lesser of two evils. That just turns my stomach.” - Female non-voter, Las Vegas

“Voting is very hard to prioritize. If I need to feed my kids or if I need to vote, I’m feeding my kids.” -Male non-voter, Philadelphia

“I don’t have faith in the electoral process or faith in the current government. Most of the representatives don’t look like me, don’t sound like me, don’t come from where I come from and don’t represent who I am.” -Female non-voter, Philadelphia

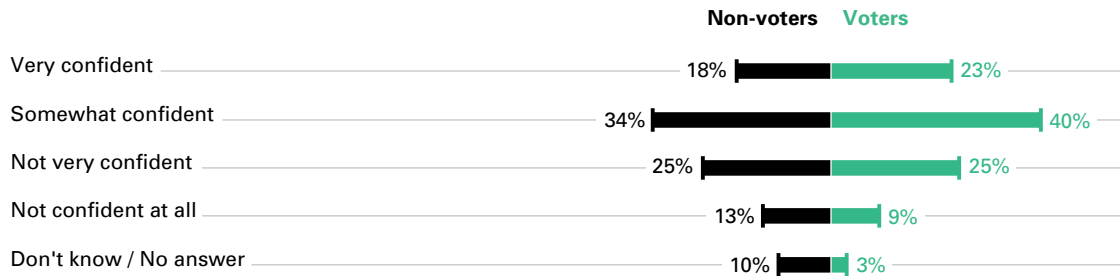
“I just don’t know who to trust anymore, that’s why I gave up on voting.” -Male non-voter, Minneapolis

This section explores attitudes and behaviors that, when compared to the active voter responses, emerged as connected to and possibly influencing the lack of participation by non-voters.

LACK OF FAITH IN THE ELECTION SYSTEM AND THE IMPACT OF VOTING

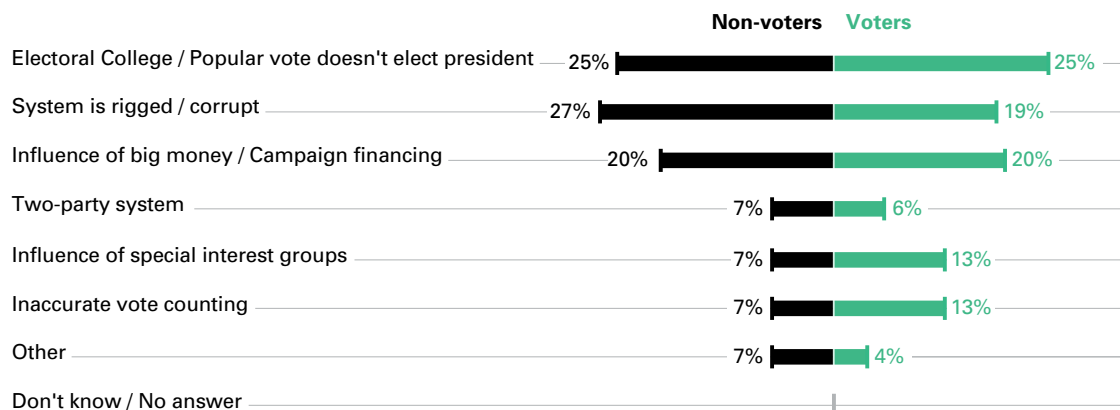
Nationally, only 52% of chronic non-voters say they are confident that the results of an election represent the will of the people, with only 18% reporting that they are “very confident.” Consistent voters were more confident, although not overwhelmingly so, with 63% saying they are confident and 23% “very confident.” Of unregistered non-voters, only 29% are confident.

How confident are you that the results of an election represent the will of the people?



When non-voters who reported a lack of confidence were asked why they feel this way, the top reason given was a perception of elections being rigged or corrupt (27%), followed by issues with the Electoral College and/or the popular vote not determining the outcome of presidential elections (25%).

Why do you lack confidence in the electoral system?



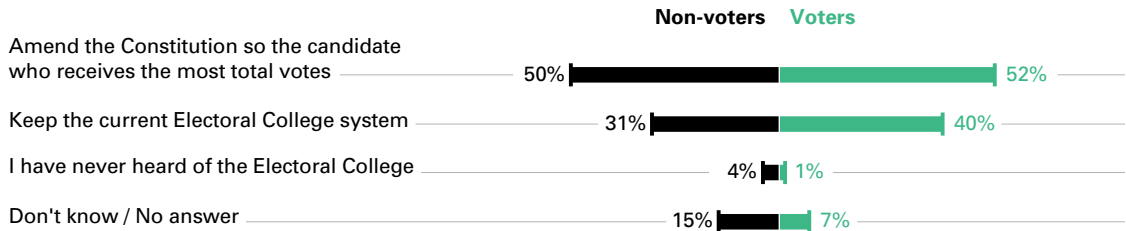
In focus groups, non-voters voiced their belief that the system is, in many ways, corrupt and that voting is therefore meaningless. They cite poor-quality and corrupt elected officials, political fundraising, special interest dominance of policy making and, to some, a biased and misleading media-political complex, as reasons why the act of voting does not drive meaningful change. Even if a candidate they like does get elected occasionally, they reason that the “system” effectively prevents those elected officials from accomplishing anything.

“The person in power is predetermined.” -Female non-voter, Minneapolis

“I really have no faith in the system.” -Male non-voter, Las Vegas

Survey results show that a relatively equal percentage of active voters and non-voters, 50% and 52% respectively, believe the Electoral College system should be removed in favor of a popular vote. However, a larger percentage of non-voters was not aware of the Electoral College or did not know how to answer the question.

Thinking for a moment about the way in which the president is elected in this country, which would you prefer – to amend the Constitution so the candidate who receives the most total votes nationwide wins the election, or to keep the current system in which a candidate who wins the most votes in the Electoral College wins the election?



In focus groups, non-voters reported their confusion, frustration and distrust in the Electoral College process. Some were aware of how the Electoral College functions but consider it unfair and not representative of the will of the people, while many others simply do not understand the disconnect between the result of the popular vote and the election of the president.

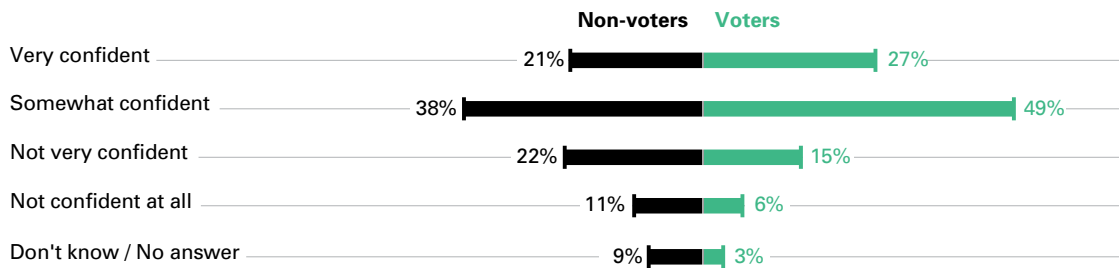
“Because of the Electoral College, our votes really don’t matter.”

-Male non-voter, Las Vegas

“I’ve only voted twice in my life, the reason being that you can vote for whoever you think you like, but it’s the Electoral College that gets them in there. That’s why I don’t vote.” -Female non-voter, Charlotte

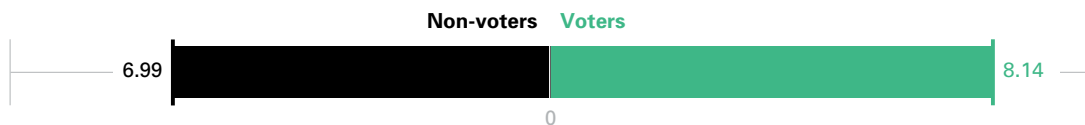
In the survey, non-voters also showed lower confidence in the accurate tallying of elections results, with 59% saying that they feel very or somewhat confident that votes are counted fully and reported accurately, as compared to 76% of active voters. Men are more confident than women, at 63% versus 54% respectively.

What would you say is your level of confidence that the results of elections are counted fully and reported accurately?



Lastly, surveyed non-voters were less likely than voters to believe that the decisions made by the president and other elected officials in Washington have a strong impact their lives. On a scale of 1-10 where 10 is highest, non-voters rated the degree of impact on their lives to be 7.0, whereas active voters averaged 8.1. The perceived impact differed by household income levels, with non-voters with a household income of \$25,000 or less reporting an average score of 6.7 and those making more than \$100,000 reporting an average score of 7.5.

On a scale of 0-10, where 0 means it has no impact and 10 means it has an extreme impact, to what degree do you think the decisions made by the president and other elected officials in Washington impact your life?



In focus groups, non-voters spoke frequently about the low real difference they feel elected officials make on their immediate life:

“They all will tell you what you want to hear, to get them where they want to be.” -Female non-voter, Manchester

“People say ‘it matters who the president is,’ and it does not. Your life will be the same no matter who the president is.”

-Male non-voter, Minneapolis

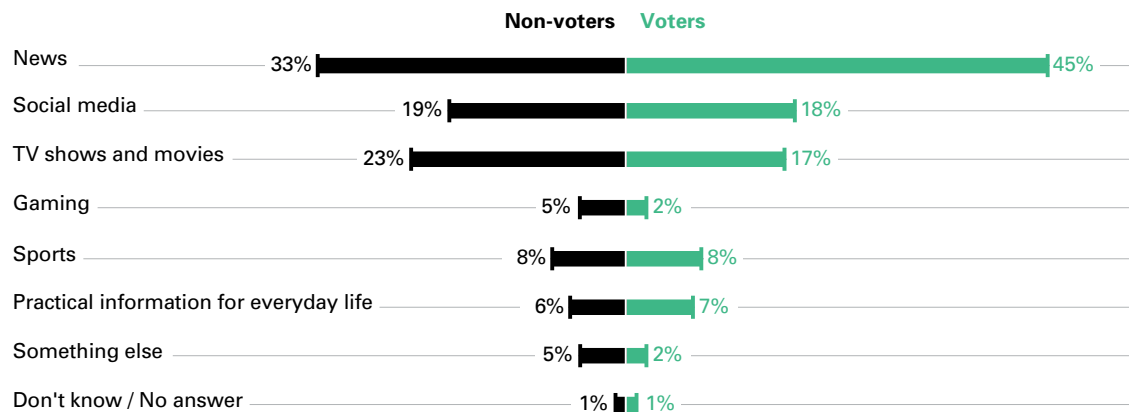
LOWER ENGAGEMENT WITH NEWS AND INFORMATION, PARTICULARLY ABOUT POLITICS

One of the clearest differences between non-voters and active voters revealed in the survey data regards how they engage with news and information, both in general and related to politics and elections specifically.

When asked about their general media consumption, only 33% of non-voters reported that “news” was the primary category they accessed, versus 45% of active voters. The self-reported media

diets of non-voters were more likely to lean towards entertainment like TV shows, movies and gaming than those reported by active voters. This ranged from 20% for 25-34-year-old non-voters to 54% for those older than 74.

Think about all the ways that you access media and information in your typical day, both online and offline. Which of the following types of content would you say you consume THE MOST: news; sports; TV shows and movies; social media; gaming; practical information for everyday life like recipes, DIY, how-to, etc.; or something else?



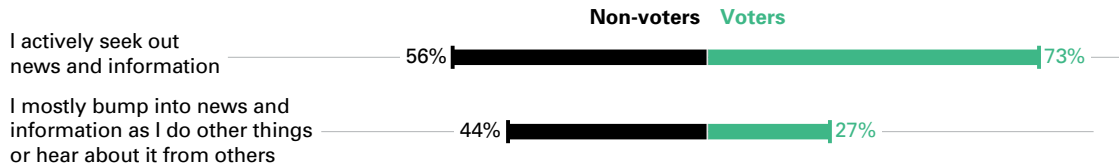
In focus groups, some non-voters spoke of regularly getting news, while others reported a lack of intentionality, consistency, depth or time for news consumption that related to the low or even negative impact they perceive news engagement has on their lives. Some cited feeling depressed, discouraged or distracted when consuming news content and intentionally distancing themselves from it. To the extent that they do consume news, non-voters exhibit much less diversity in their preferred news outlets, and the information they consume is more locally focused – a finding confirmed both in the quantitative data as well as in the focus group research.

“Don’t like watching the news. It’s depressing and does nothing but discourage me.” -Female non-voter, Atlanta

“Impeachment hearings were today, but I didn’t care about it because it didn’t affect me.” -Male non-voter, Atlanta

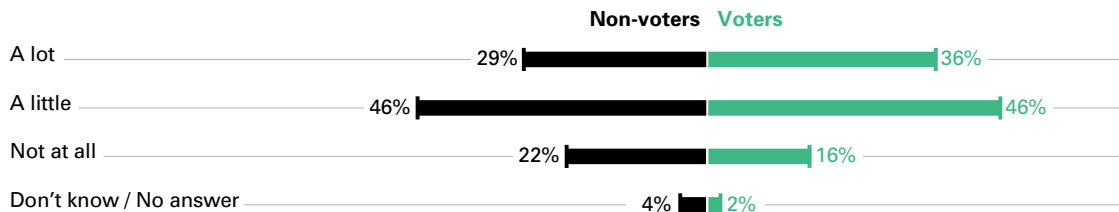
Large discrepancies in active versus passive consumption of news also emerged. Only 56% of non-voters reported actively seeking out news and information, compared to 73% of active voters. And 44% report “mostly bumping into news and information as I do other things or hear about it from others” versus only 27% of active voters. Women were less likely than men to report actively seeking out news, at 53% versus 60%. At 47%, fewer young non-voters (25-34) reported actively seeking out news, compared to 68% of non-voters age 56 or older.

Choose the statement that best describes you, even if it is not exactly right. "In general, I actively seek out news and information," OR, "I mostly bump into news and information as I do other things or hear about it from others."



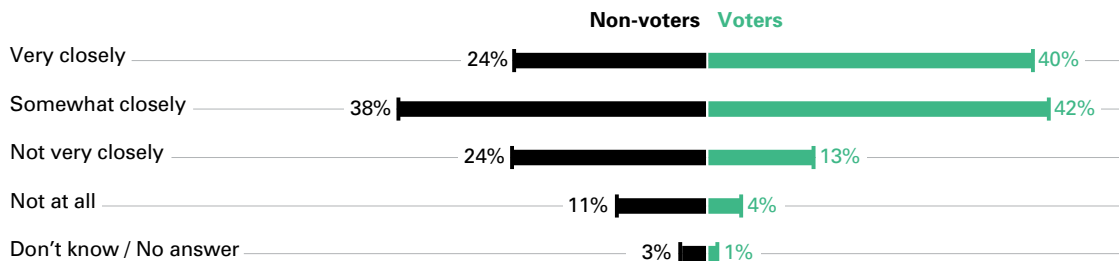
Survey responses also indicate that family of origin news habits may make a difference. Only 26% of non-voters reported that getting and discussing news was a part of their family life growing up versus 36% of active voters, and 22% said it was not at all a part of family life.

Thinking back to when you were growing up, how much was getting and discussing news a part of your family life?



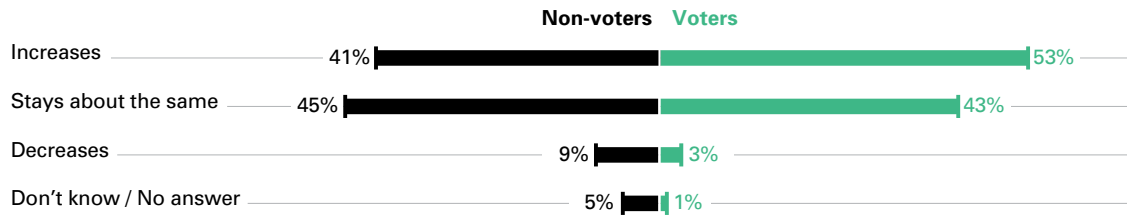
One of the most notable discrepancies between voters and non-voters is the degree to which they follow news about politics specifically. Only 24% of non-voters reported following news and information about politics very closely versus 40% of voters. And 35% of non-voters said they didn't follow news about politics very closely or at all. When it comes to political party affiliation, 28% of Democrats and 27% of Republican non-voters follow political news very closely, versus only 20% of Independents. Only 18% of non-voters with a household income of less than \$25,000 report following political news very closely, compared with 33% of those making \$100,000 or more.

How closely do you currently follow news and information about politics –very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely or not at all?



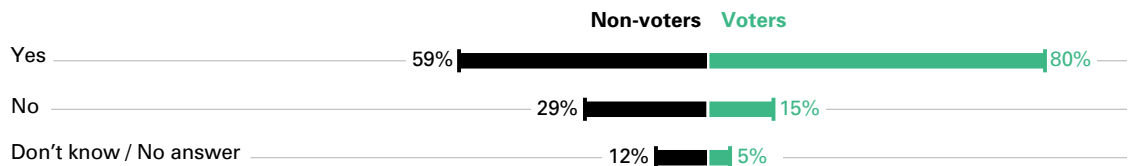
Non-voters were also less likely than active voters to report that their news consumption increases during a national election season. While 53% of voters report that they consume more news when there is an upcoming election, only 41% of non-voters say they do the same. Non-voters are three times as likely to say their news consumption actually decreases during an election year.

When there is an upcoming national election, would you say the amount of time you spend getting news increases, decreases or stays about the same?



Non-voters were more likely to report feeling underinformed come election time. Compared to 80% of active voters, only 59% of non-voters reported feeling like they have enough information about candidates and issues to decide who to vote for. This is particularly true for non-voters who self-identify as Independent. This also varied by gender, with 32% of women saying they feel that they don't have enough information versus only 26% of men.

When national elections are coming up, do you typically feel that you have enough information about candidates and issues to decide who to vote for?



The major obstacles and disincentives to voting consistently cited by focus group participants were their own dearth of knowledge (either about civic affairs, candidates or candidates' positions and platforms), and what they regard as the massive amounts of already scarce "free time" required to educate themselves. Learning about political issues and voting is not regarded as a priority over other things that vie for their time. While widely echoed across many types of participants, this was particularly true for women.

“Women don’t have as much free time as men, especially women with children. That’s not a statement, that’s a fact.” - Female non-voter, Atlanta

“Things in our lives are so distracting. I think I really should vote, but it takes a lot of homework, I think.” - Female non-voter, Minneapolis

While acknowledging they are sometimes uninformed by choice or lack of time or interest, non-voters say they believe it is preferable to abstain from voting if they aren't sufficiently informed rather than to go through with the act of voting and blindly casting a ballot with incomplete or inadequate information.

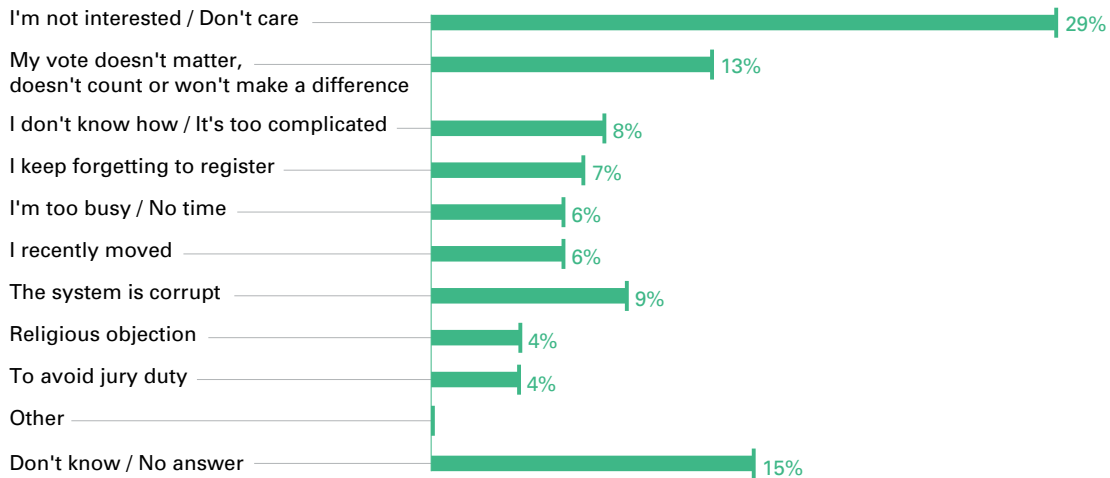
“I would be doing a disservice to myself and my community because I haven’t done the research.” - Female non-voter, Orlando

“Not voting is better than an uneducated vote.” - Male non-voter, Las Vegas

FUNDAMENTAL LACK OF INTEREST IN POLITICS

Many non-voters cite a fundamental lack of interest in politics as their rationale for not participating in elections. This is particularly true for unregistered but otherwise eligible citizens. Among the unregistered non-voters, the single most common answer given by far as to why they choose not to participate in elections is simply a lack of interest or concern.

Why aren't you currently registered to vote?



In focus groups, non-voters were not shy about their lack of interest or information on issues, candidates or, in some cases, even when an election is taking place. A minority – though significant – segment of habitual non-voters simply do not have any interest whatsoever in engaging in the electoral landscape or voting process going forward. They say that there are no changes in the current system that would be likely to change their behavior.

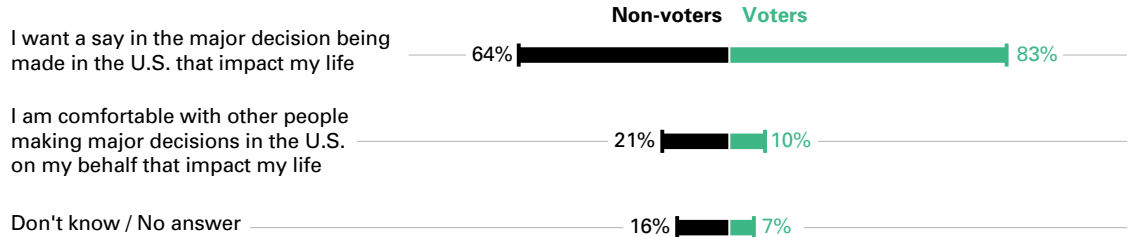
“Politics is like another language to me. I don’t care about it and don’t want to learn more about it.” - Female non-voter, Las Vegas

“I’m uninformed, and my one vote won’t make a difference. I would rather use my free time to do something else.” -Male non-voter, Las Vegas

“I’m more involved in my immediate life and my family. I don’t care about politics.” - Female non-voter, Manchester

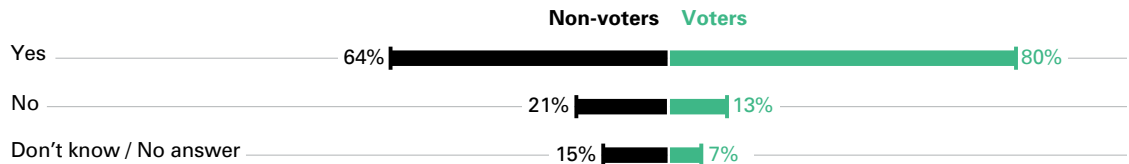
Compared to voters, members of the non-voting group are more likely to feel comfortable leaving voting to others. Only 64% of non-voters want a say in major decisions being made in the U.S. that impact their lives, versus 83% of active voters. Higher income non-voters were much more likely to say they want a say in major decisions at 71% when compared with lower income non-voters at 57%).

**Choose the statement that most closely reflects your personal opinion:
 “I want a say in the major decisions being made in the U.S. that impact
 my life,” OR, “I am comfortable with other people making major decisions
 in the U.S. on my behalf that impact my life.”**



Finally, non-voters were less likely by a wide margin to say the people in their social circles vote in most national elections (64% versus 80% of active voters), although nearly two-thirds say the majority of people they know do vote.

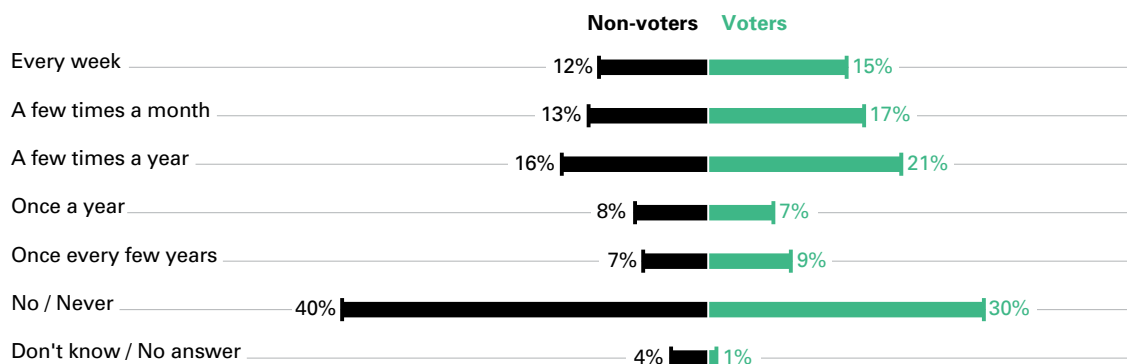
Would you say that the majority of the people you know regularly vote in most national elections?



LOWER CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND LIFE SATISFACTION

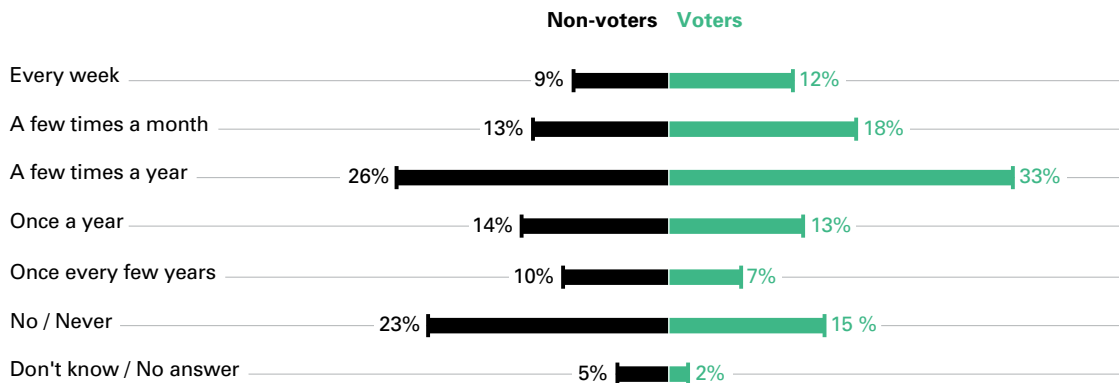
Non-voters reported slightly lower civic participation than active voters on the items included in this survey. Only 25% reported volunteering with an organization in their community a few times a month or more versus 32% of active voters. On the other end, 40% of non-voters say they never volunteer versus 30% of active voters. African American non-voters (34%) are more likely to report volunteering a few times a month or more than their white counterparts (22%).

How frequently do you volunteer with an organization in your community such as a nonprofit, religious group, school group, service club or some other type of organization – every week, a few times a month, a few times a year, once a year, once every few years or never?



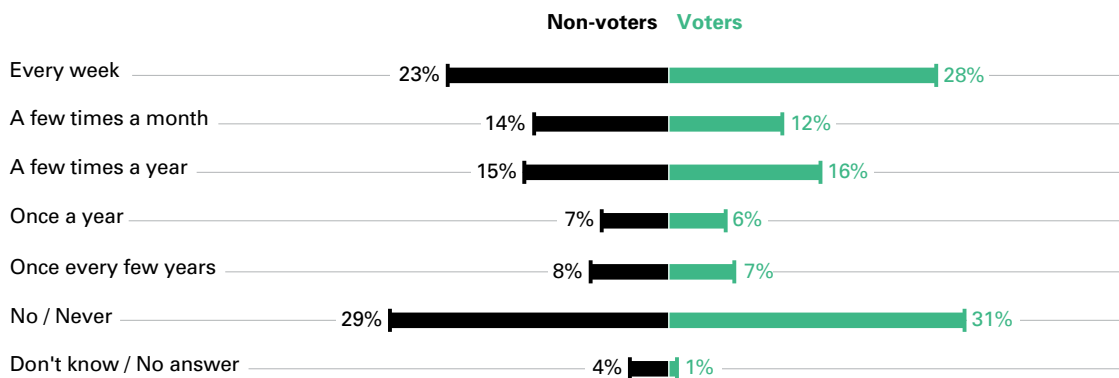
Non-voters are less likely to contribute money to a charitable organization regularly versus active voters. Of non-voters, 22% report charitable giving at a monthly or higher frequency, whereas 30% of active voters report doing so. About 23% of non-voters say they never make charitable donations, while only 15% of active voters say the same. This number rose to 31% for non-voters who had a high school education or less, as compared with only 16% for those with a college degree or higher.

How frequently do you contribute money to any charitable organization – every week, a few times a month, a few times a year, once a year, once every few years or never?



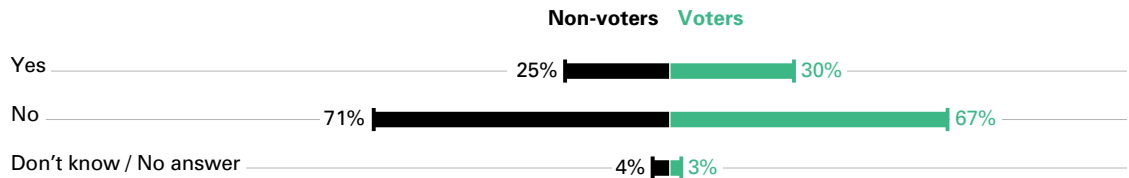
Non-voters were also less likely than active voters to attend religious services every week, at a rate of 23% to 28%. This number rose to 27% of Republican non-voters and sank to 19% of Independent non-voters, with Democrat non-voters right on average at 23%. Weekly attendance was highest among African American non-voters (33%) as lowest among whites (22%), who were the most likely to say they never attended services (32%).

How frequently do you attend religious services – every week, a few times a year, once a year, once every few years or never?



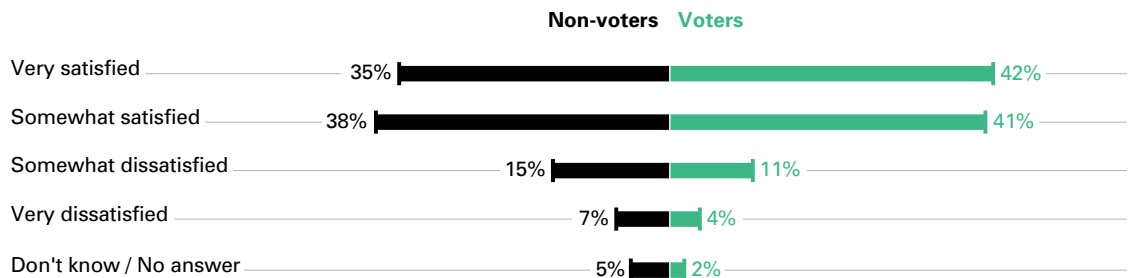
When it comes to getting involved in in their communities, 25% of non-voters report collaborating with others to solve a problem in their local neighborhood, as compared to 30% of active voters. This was highest among African American non-voters (39%) and lowest for white non-voters (21%).

In the last 12 months, have you collaborated with others to help solve a problem affecting your local city or neighborhood?



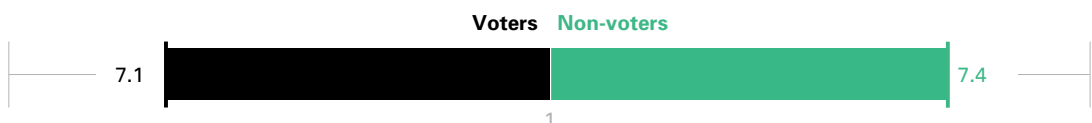
When surveyed on personal life satisfaction, non-voters were significantly less likely than active voters to say they are very satisfied with the way things are going in their personal lives (34% versus 42% respectively) and more likely to report dissatisfaction than active voters. The degree of satisfaction appears highly linked to non-voter annual household income levels. More than half (52%) of those making \$100,000 or more reported that they are very satisfied with their personal lives, dropping to 37% of those making \$50,000-\$100,000, 28% of those making \$25,000-\$50,000, and only 25% of those making less than \$25,000.

In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your personal life at this time?



Additionally, the project sought to understand the link between voting behavior and an individual's level of satisfaction with the city they reside in and/or satisfaction with their personal life circumstances. When asked to score their satisfaction with their local city as a place to live, non-voters gave a slightly lower score at 7.1 versus 7.4 for active voters. Like personal life satisfaction, these scores appeared linked to non-voter income, with those with household incomes of \$100,000 or more reporting an average score of 7.5, and those making \$25,000 or less averaging 6.7.

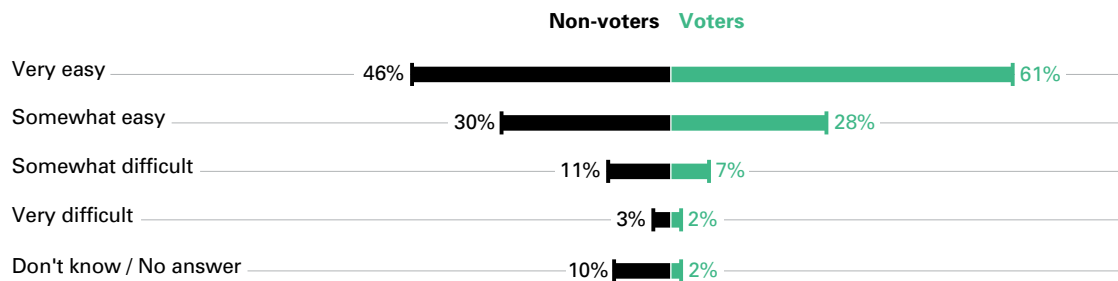
On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being not very satisfied and 10 being very satisfied, how satisfied are you overall with your local city as a place to live?



VOTING PROCESS PERCEIVED AS EASY BUT ANNOYING

When asked if the actual process of voting was easy or difficult in their state, 76% of non-voters reported that the process was easy, and nearly half (46%) said that it is “very easy.” However, this is still lower than the consistent voters, of which 89% believe the process is easy. Only 55% of unregistered non-voters think the process of voting is easy versus 83% of registered non-voters. Of non-voters making \$25,000 or less in household income, 64% think the process of voting is easy, in comparison to 84% of those making \$100,000 or more.

Do you believe that the actual process of voting is easy or difficult in [YOUR STATE]?



In focus groups, the voting process did not typically come up quickly when participants discussed reasons why they do not vote. Some did, however, express annoyance at some aspects of voting, such as long lines, having to take time off work and not being able to vote online.

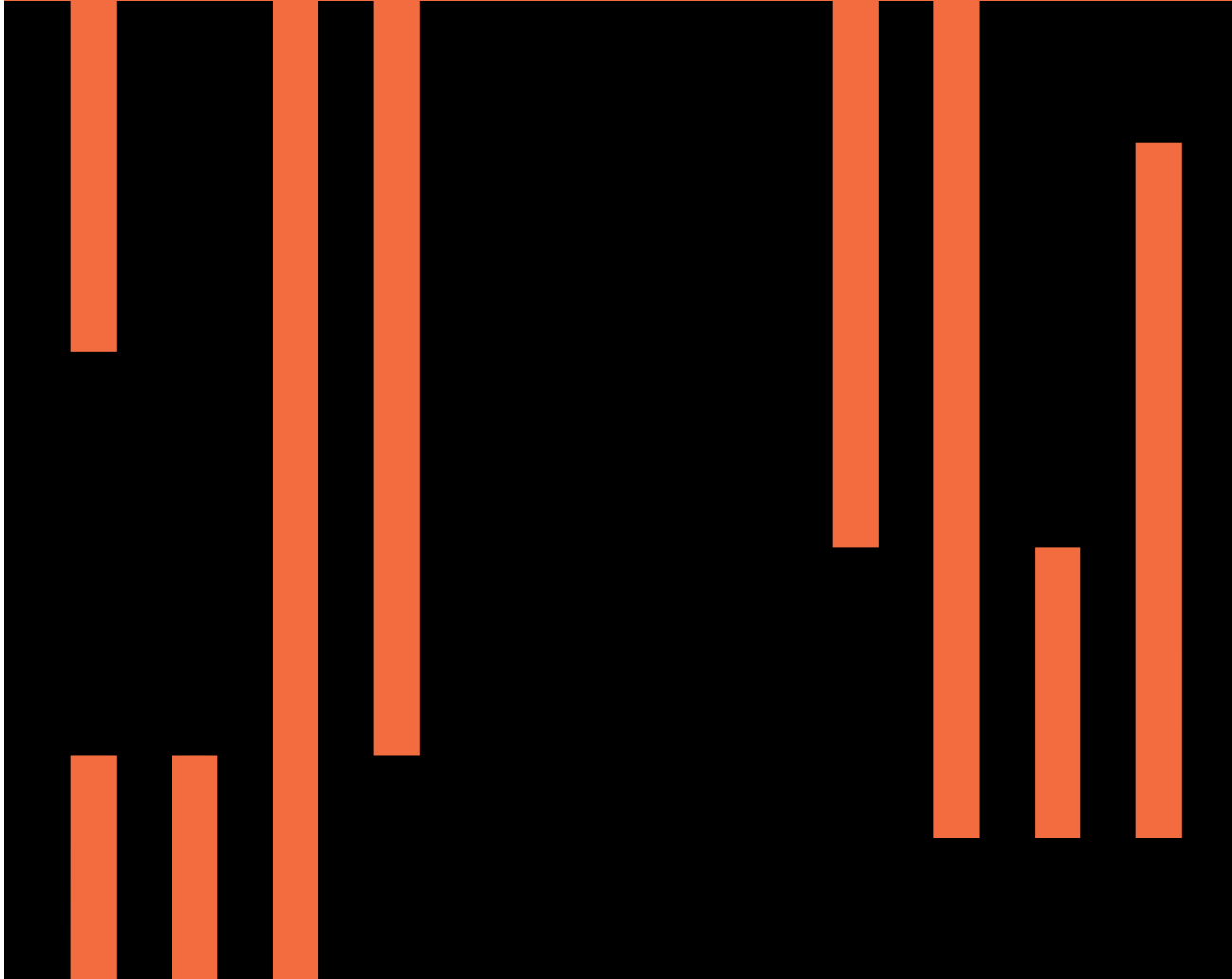
“If it was online, and there was no Electoral College... then it’s like direct opinion. We choose, it happens. That’s when I think a lot more people would vote.” -Male non-voter, Las Vegas

“[It’s] time-consuming, complicated. You have to take time off to go vote, wait in line.” -Male non-voter, Atlanta

What Non-Voters Care About

20

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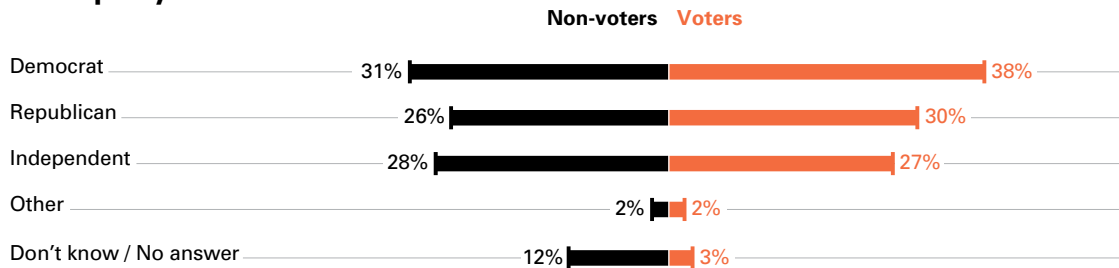
What Non-Voters Care About

In addition to exploring how non-voters feel about voting, a key question this project addressed is what these Americans care about. The survey explored how they identify with parties, positions on key platform issues and favorability ratings for key political actors.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Non-voters are less likely than active voters to identify as members of either of the major political parties. Of non-voters surveyed, 57% consider themselves Democrats or Republicans versus 68% of the active voters. An additional 28% consider themselves Independents, similar to the 27% of active voters. However, non-voters were four times as likely as active voters to say they “don’t know” or refuse to answer the question.

Do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, Independent or other party?

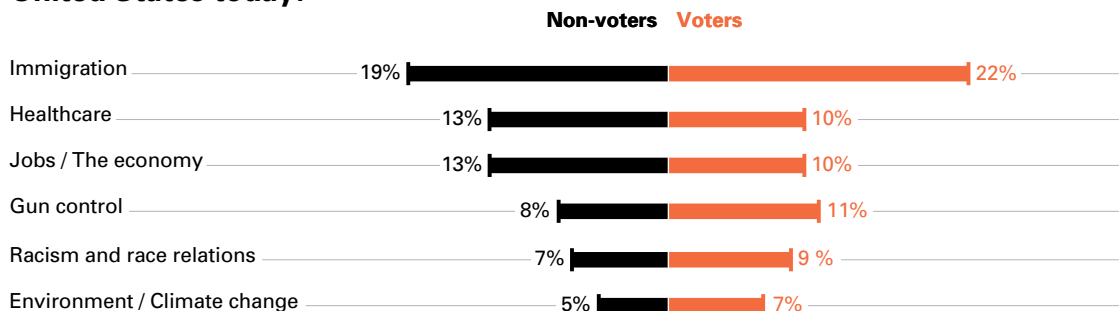


KEY ISSUES AND POLICY POSITIONS

When asked what is the most important issue currently facing the United States today, non-voters cite many of the same issues as active voters: immigration, gun control, jobs, healthcare, the environment and race relations among the most important. Where they differ from active voters is in their prioritization of these issues.

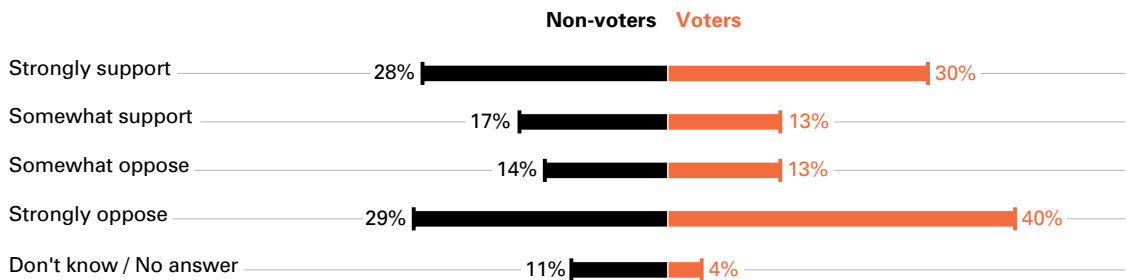
Immigration was the most-cited issue by non-voters in an open-response survey question, mentioned by 19% of respondents. It was the top issue for both Republican (34%) and Independent non-voters (17%). Healthcare was the top issue for Democrats as cited by 15%, slightly behind jobs/the economy, which was cited by 14%. While immigration was also the most-cited issue by active voters (22%), gun control was second at 11%, with jobs/the economy and healthcare tied for third. Overall, non-voters prioritized jobs/the economy and healthcare slightly more than active voters, and the environment/climate change and race issues slightly less.

What do you believe is the MOST important issue currently facing the United States today?



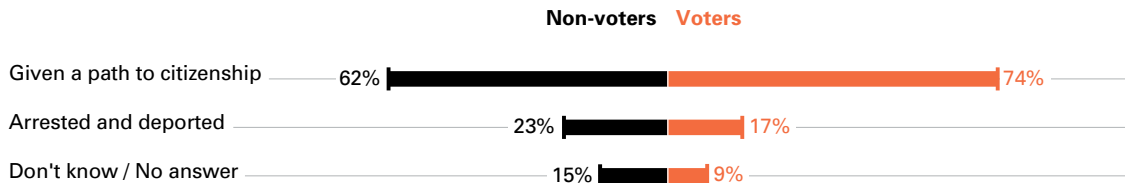
Though marginally center-left on some policy positions tested, non-voters were less progressive on immigration and abortion policies than the active voter sample. The most significant variation from active voters was that non-voter respondents were much more likely to indicate “don’t know/no answer” on policy questions. Non-voters showed slightly more support for constructing a wall along the Mexican border (45%) than active voters (43%), and much fewer non-voters expressed that they are strongly opposed to it (29%) as compared to active voters (40%). Half of white non-voters (51%) supported the wall, joined by 39% of Hispanic non-voters and 32% of African American non-voters. Among Republican non-voters, 77% support the wall and 18% oppose it. More than a quarter (26%) of Democrat non-voters support the wall, and 68% oppose it. Independents are fairly divided, with 41% in support of it and 49% opposed.

Do you support or oppose the construction of a wall along the entirety of the southern border with Mexico?



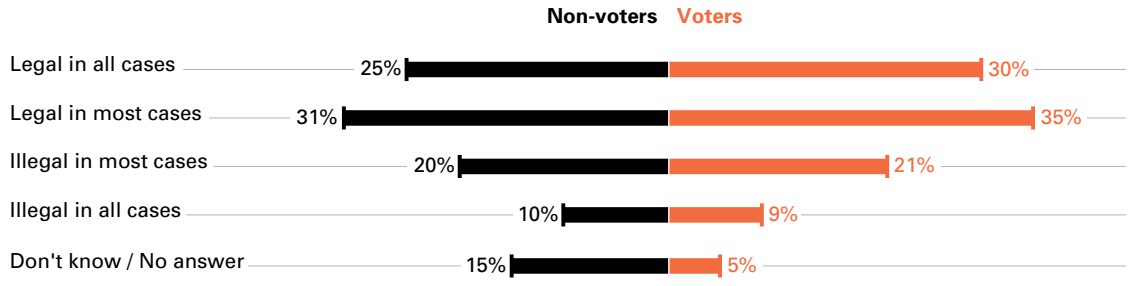
While the majority of non-voters (62%) support a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants with a clean record currently living and working in the U.S., they were more likely than active voters to want them deported (23% versus 17%). Support for a path to citizenship versus deportation was strongest among Democrat non-voters (76% versus 14%) and Independents (66% versus 20%), but support was also found among half of Republican non-voters (52% versus 36%). Support was highest among African American non-voters (69%), followed by Hispanics (66%) and whites (60%).

Do you think that undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States who work, pay taxes and have no criminal record should be given a path to American citizenship, or do you think that all undocumented immigrants should be arrested and deported back to their native countries?



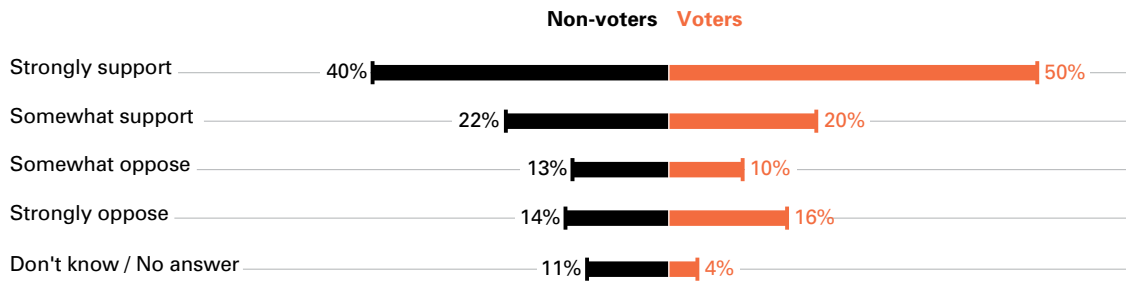
Non-voters are also less supportive of abortion being legal in all cases than active voters (25% versus 30%), while about the same proportion as active voters believe it should be illegal in all or most cases, and a sizable bloc remains undecided (15%). While a majority of Democrat (69%) and Independent (56%) non-voters say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, 47% of Republican non-voters also agree.

In your opinion, do you believe that abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases or illegal in all cases?



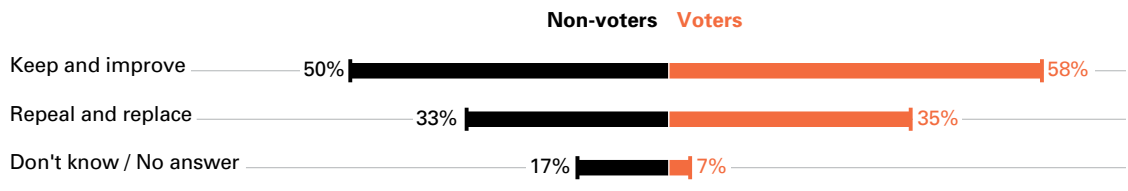
Like active voters, a majority (62%) of non-voters support stricter gun laws in the United States. Support is highest among Democrat non-voters (78%) and Independent non-voters (61%), but this is also supported by the majority of Republican non-voters (52%).

Do you support or oppose stricter gun laws in the United States?



On healthcare, 50% of non-voters wanted to keep and improve the Affordable Care Act, while 33% wanted to repeal and replace it – a proportion similar to active voters (especially in light of the fact that 17% of non-voters didn't give an opinion). Among Republican non-voters, 60% want to repeal and replace the act, compared to 32% of Independents and 16% of Democrats. African American non-voters (66%) showed the strongest desire to keep and improve it, followed by Hispanics (54%) and whites (45%).

Do you think that Congress should repeal the Affordable Care Act, also known as Obamacare, and replace it with something else, or should they keep the Affordable Care Act and work to improve it?

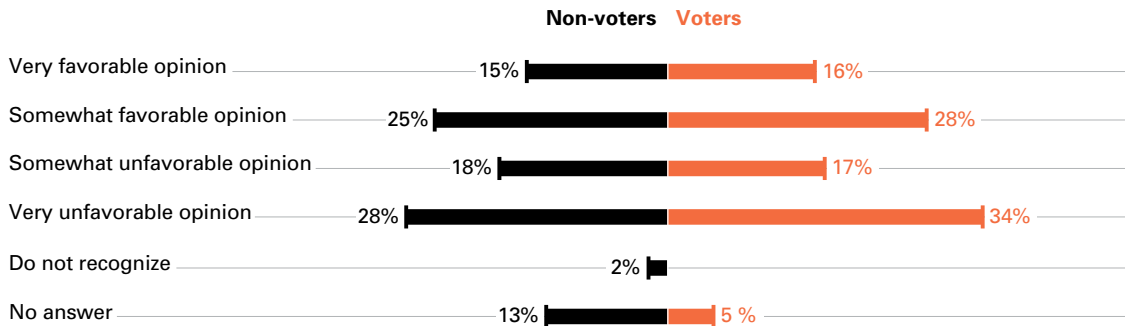


FAVORABILITY

Non-voters do not display major differences in how favorably they feel regarding the two major political parties or the United States Congress – all opinions skew slightly unfavorable. They have an almost equally tepid view of both parties.

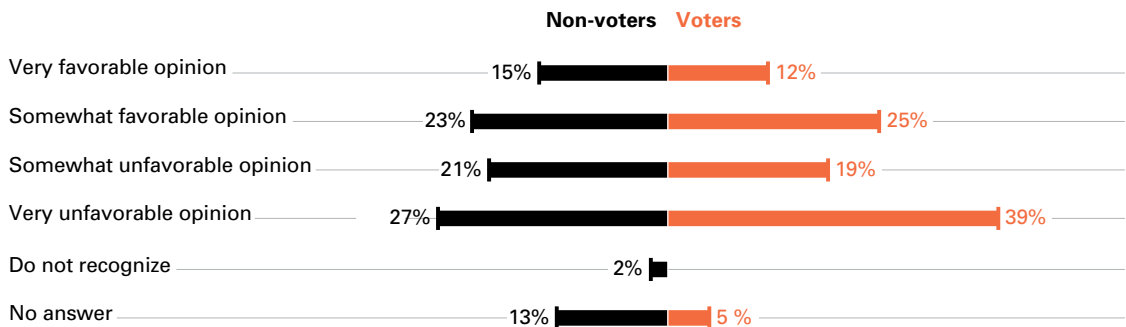
When asked about the Democratic Party, 40% of non-voters have a favorable view, while 46% have an unfavorable view. Among non-voters, 34% of whites have a very or somewhat favorable view of the Democratic Party, while 52% have a somewhat or very unfavorable view. Slightly more Hispanics have a favorable view of the Democratic Party versus unfavorable (47% to 40%). Among African American non-voters, 63% have a favorable view, while 23% have an unfavorable view.

The Democratic Party



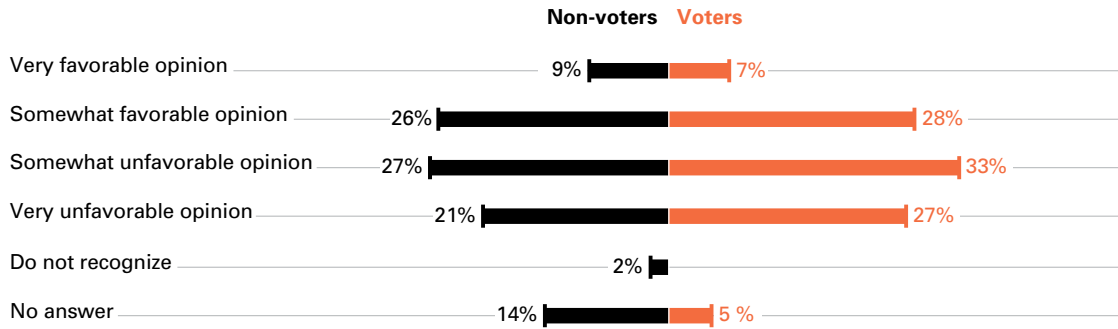
On the Republican Party, 38% of non-voters have a favorable view, while 48% have an unfavorable view. White non-voters are particularly split, with 42% having a favorable view and 45% an unfavorable one. Among Hispanics, 35% say they have a favorable view, while 50% say it's unfavorable. Favorable reports shrink to 24% for African American non-voters versus 60% unfavorable.

The Republican Party



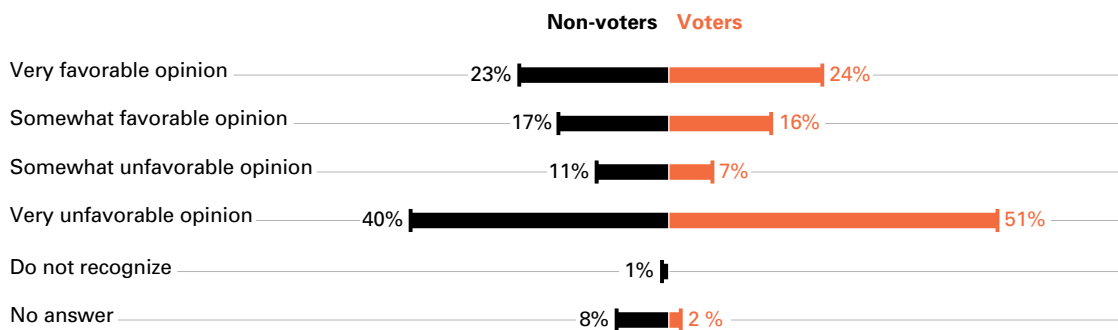
For both non-voters and active voters, 35% have a favorable view of Congress, mostly in the somewhat favorable category. While 48% of non-voters have an unfavorable view of Congress (similar to their unfavorable view of each party), that rises to 60% for active voters. On the extremes, only 12% of Democrat non-voters have an extremely favorable view of Congress, while 17% have a very unfavorable view of it. Only 10% of Republican non-voters report a very favorable view and 27% a very unfavorable view, similar to Independents who report 6% very favorable and 26% very unfavorable.

The United States Congress



Attitudes toward President Trump among habitual non-voters mirror those of active voters, with responses drifting away from the middle and toward extreme favor or disfavor more than responses for the political parties or Congress. Among both non-voters and active voters, 40% reported viewing the president favorably. Fifty-one percent of non-voters and 58% of active voters view President Trump unfavorably. Among non-voters who self-identify as Republicans, 78% hold a favorable view, including 50% very favorable, while 19% had an unfavorable view that included 10% very unfavorable. Among Independent non-voters, 38% hold a favorable view including 17% very favorable, while 55% hold an unfavorable view, including 41% very unfavorable. Democrat non-voter favorability was lowest at 15%, including 7% very favorable, while 79% had an unfavorable view, including 67% very unfavorable. White non-voters were fairly split at 47% favorable versus 46% unfavorable. Thirty-seven percent of Hispanic non-voters have a favorable opinion of the president versus 53% unfavorable. Among African Americans, 21% report a favorable view versus 69% unfavorable. While male non-voters were nearly evenly split at 46% favorable versus 47% unfavorable, women non-voters showed a clearer preference, with 36% reporting a favorable view versus 54% unfavorable.

President Donald Trump



What Non-Voters Think About 2020

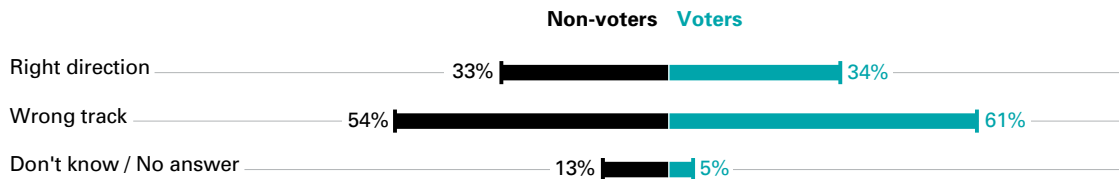
26

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What Non-Voters Think About 2020

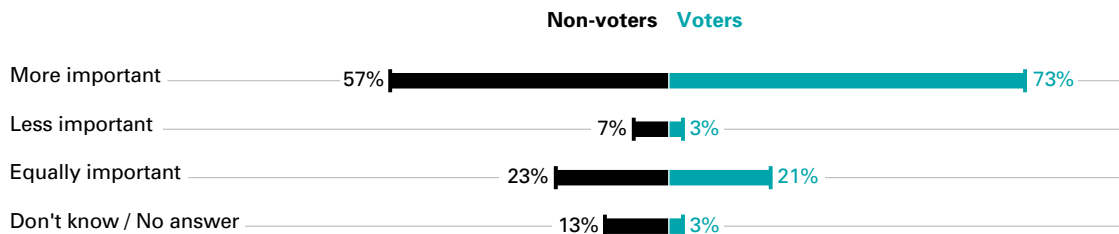
With a lot of focus on the upcoming 2020 national elections, this section explores how non-voters view these elections and which candidate they say they may vote for – if they turn out. First, survey responses show that more than half (54%) of non-voters feel that things in this country have gotten off track versus 33% who feel they are going in the right direction. Active voters are more likely to feel that things are off track than non-voters.

Do you think things in this country are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten on the wrong track?



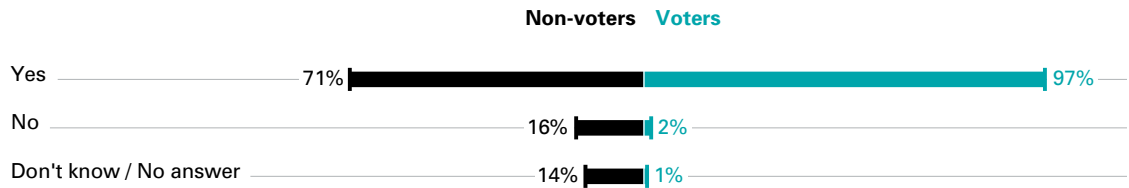
More than half of non-voters (57%) say the 2020 presidential elections are more important compared to other elections in their lifetimes. A much wider majority (73%) of active voters say these elections are more important. Older non-voters were most likely to say these elections are more important, reaching 74% among those age 74 and older, whereas only 51% of younger non-voters said the same. Non-voters who identify themselves as belonging to one of the two major parties were more likely than Independents to see these elections as more important. Of non-voting Democrats, 68% said this year's elections were more important, followed by Republicans at 60% and Independents dropping down to 50%.

Do you see the upcoming 2020 presidential elections as more important, less important or of equal importance for the country compared to previous presidential elections in your lifetime?



A majority (71%) of non-voters surveyed say they plan to vote in the 2020 national elections, and a subset of these (78%) reported that they were absolutely certain. This equates to 55% of non-voters surveyed expressing certainty that they will vote in 2020. Certainty was highest for white non-voters who said they plan to vote, followed by African Americans and then Hispanics. Certainty was also higher for older non-voters and those identifying with one of the two major parties. No difference emerged by gender.

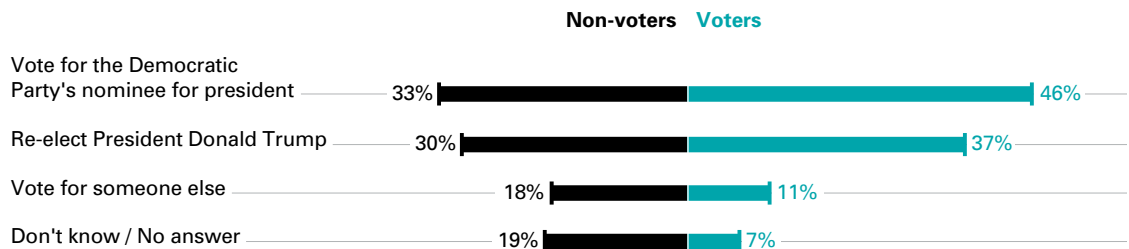
On November 3, 2020 there will be an election for president, members of the United States Senate, House of Representatives and other state and local offices. Do you plan to vote in the November 2020 elections?



Overall, reactions to President Trump figure prominently as reasons why many non-voters say they want to vote in 2020. While civic or moral responsibility (31%) was cited as the top reason to vote, more than 40% mentioned their sentiments about the president, encompassing both pro-Trump (19%) and anti-Trump (22%) attitudes. Reasons for not voting in the 2020 elections include a lack of interest in politics, dissatisfaction with candidates and distrust of the electoral process.

In a ballot test question regarding the 2020 presidential election, non-voters indicated that if they were to participate, they would add a nearly equal share to each major party candidate. A third said they would vote for the Democratic nominee, 30% would vote to re-elect President Trump and the largest segment (37%) are undecided or would vote for another candidate. Among white non-voters, 38% would choose Trump, and 28% would choose the Democratic candidate. Only 9% of African American non-voters would choose Trump, while 56% would vote Democrat. Hispanic non-voters would fall somewhere in between, with 23% voting Trump and 36% voting Democrat. Regarding gender, 34% of male non-voters said they would choose Trump and 32% would vote Democrat. Female non-voters are more likely to vote Democrat (34%) instead of for Trump (27%).

Regardless of whether you plan to vote in November of 2020, if you had to determine who would be president for the next four years, would you be more likely to vote to re-elect President Donald Trump, vote for the Democratic Party's nominee for president or vote for someone else?

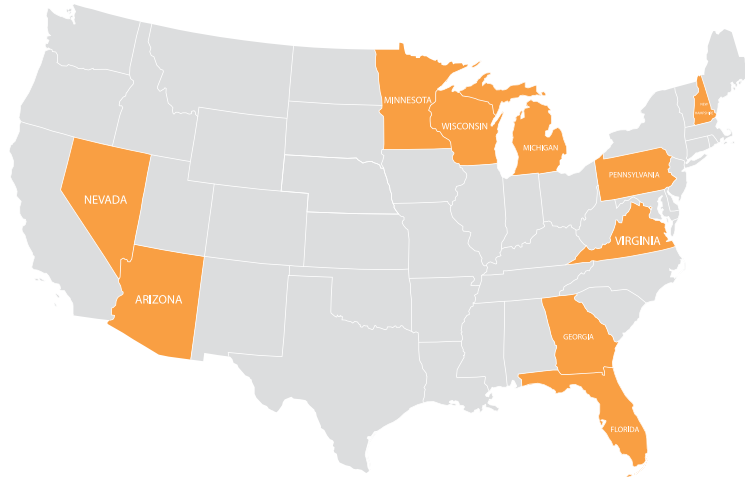


However, non-voter 2020 candidate preferences differ across key swing states, as covered in the following sections.

Non-Voters in Swing States

Non-Voters in Swing States

In addition to the national sample of non-voters, the project also delved into a specific set of states frequently at the heart of political dialogue and national media attention, the so-called “swing states” or “battleground states” that are perceived as especially crucial to securing Electoral College votes. While the specific battleground states shift from election to election, this study focused on 10 states in particular: Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Wisconsin. A target sample of approximately 800 non-voters was collected for each state (8,015 total), the results of which are discussed in this section.



There was remarkable consistency in the results between the national survey of non-voters and the state-level data. This consistency remained regardless of the geographic area of the country, the historic political leanings of the state or its demographic makeup – with a few notable exceptions.

Non-voters in swing states report significantly lower interest in politics than non-voters nationwide. When asked to rank their interest in politics on a scale of 1 to 10 where 10 is extremely interested, non-voters in swing states reported an average score of 6.1, more than a full point below the interest score from non-voters nationwide (7.2). Political interest was lowest in Michigan and Wisconsin (both 5.8). The swing state with the highest interest, Florida, still lagged far behind the national average at only 6.6.

QUESTION: On a scale of 0-10 where 0 means you have absolutely no interest and 10 means that you are extremely interested, what number would you say corresponds to your level of interest in politics?

	AZ	FL	GA	MI	MN	NV	NH	PA	VA	WI	Voters U.S.	Non-voters U.S.
AVG	6.0	6.6	6.1	5.8	6.2	6.2	6.3	6.0	6.1	5.8	7.7	7.2

The top issues for swing state non-voters overall closely mirror those of non-voters nationwide; however, key differences exist in certain swing states. Immigration was the most commonly cited issue in all swing states except Pennsylvania, where jobs/the economy ranked first. Non-voters in Arizona (27%) and Nevada (25%) are particularly concerned about this issue, while those in Wisconsin (16%) are less concerned when compared with non-voters nationwide (19%). Jobs/the economy generally ranked second, except for Minnesota and Wisconsin, where there is greater concern about healthcare. Non-voters in Georgia are more concerned about racism and race relations than those elsewhere, while non-voters in New Hampshire ranked the environment/climate change far above other states in importance.

QUESTION: What do you believe is the MOST important issue currently facing the United States today?

Top Issue	AZ	FL	GA	MI	MN	NV	NH	PA	VA	WI	Non-voter U.S.
Immigration	27%	22%	18%	18%	18%	25%	19%	18%	23%	16%	19%
Jobs / the economy	12%	15%	14%	11%	10%	13%	15%	19%	16%	13%	13%
Healthcare	10%	11%	12%	12%	15%	8%	15%	14%	11%	14%	13%
Gun control	5%	7%	8%	9%	10%	9%	8%	9%	8%	9%	8%
Racism and race relations	7%	6%	12%	8%	7%	8%	5%	5%	7%	6%	7%
Environment / Climate change	5%	5%	3%	6%	7%	6%	10%	6%	6%	6%	5%
Terrorism	4%	6%	5%	5%	5%	5%	3%	4%	5%	4%	5%
Education	4%	6%	4%	4%	4%	4%	5%	5%	5%	3%	4%
Income inequality	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%	4%	4%	3%	3%	3%
Foreign policy	2%	2%	2%	4%	4%	3%	3%	2%	4%	5%	3%

When non-voters nationwide were asked which candidate they would choose as president if they had to vote in the next election, there was a slight preference for the Democratic nominee (33%) over re-electing Donald Trump (30%). However, the data by swing state shows that if all non-voters turned out for 2020, President Trump would be the non-voter favorite in Arizona, Florida, Pennsylvania, Virginia and New Hampshire, while the Democratic nominee would be favored by non-voters in Georgia, Michigan and Wisconsin. Their votes would be evenly split in Minnesota and Nevada.

QUESTION: Regardless of whether you plan to vote in November of 2020, if you had to determine who would be president for the next four years, would you be more likely to vote to re-elect President Donald Trump, vote for the Democratic Party's nominee for president or vote for someone else?

	AZ	FL	GA	MI	MN	NV	NH	PA	VA	WI	Non-voter U.S.
President Donald Trump	34%	36%	29%	31%	29%	33%	30%	36%	35%	31%	30%
Democratic Party nominee	25%	31%	34%	32%	29%	33%	29%	28%	31%	33%	33%
Vote for someone else	22%	17%	18%	19%	20%	21%	23%	18%	18%	19%	18%
Don't know / No answer	20%	16%	19%	18%	23%	13%	18%	19%	17%	17%	19%

Non-Voters - Who Are They?

32

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Non-Voters – Who Are They?

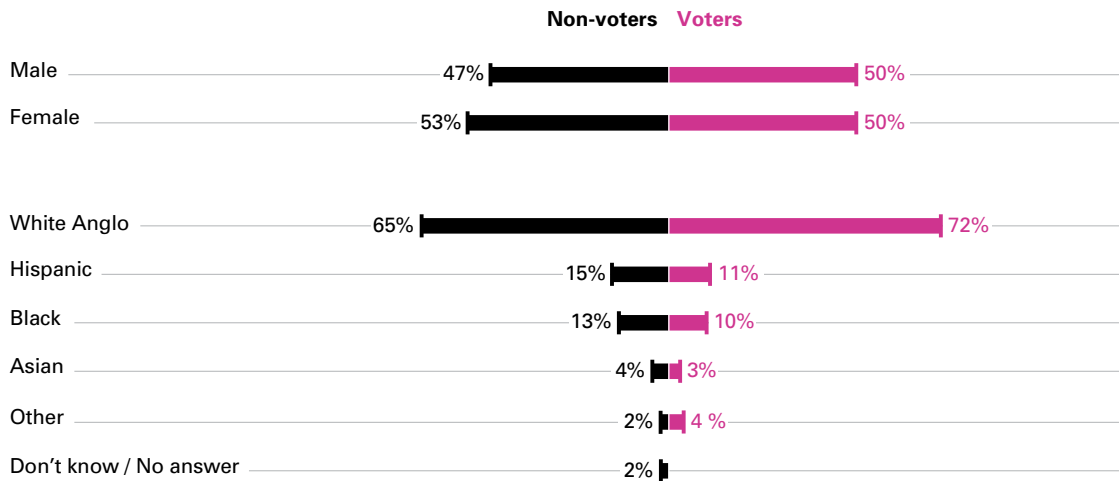
To better understand who non-voters are, this study takes two approaches. First, it examines the demographics of non-voters, and how they are distributed in the population. Second, the study uses a statistical technique called clustering analysis to identify non-voter “profiles” – archetypes of attitudinal and behavioral characteristics as self-reported in the survey data that make certain groups of non-voters distinct from each other.

DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

While non-voters differ significantly from regular voters in their habits, background, policy preferences and political leanings, they comprise a diverse and wide-ranging segment of society. They are not confined to a single demographic category but illustrate the breadth of the population. However, this study reinforces what other research has found in that certain groups are more represented among non-voters.

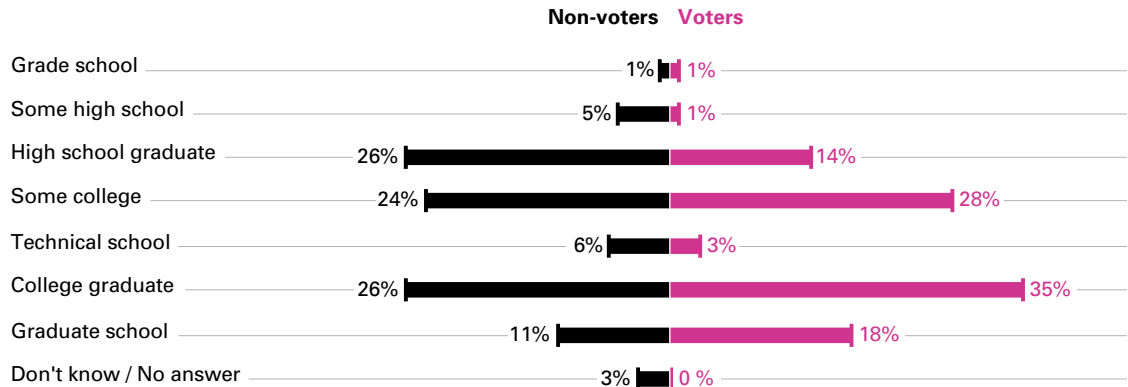
At 53%, women make up a slightly larger proportion of non-voters than men. In the active voter sample, gender was evenly divided. Though non-voters are still predominantly white (65%), minorities comprise a modestly greater share of non-voters than of the active voters at 34% versus 28% respectively.

Gender and Ethnicity



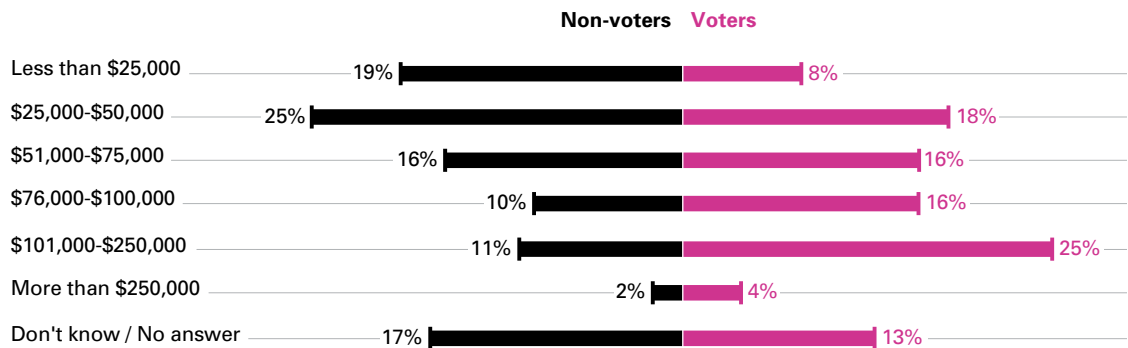
A significant gap between voters and non-voters exists in terms of educational attainment. Non-voters are significantly less likely to have graduated from college than their active voter counterparts, although highly educated non-voters also exist. Among non-voters, 37% profess to be college graduates or higher, while that number jumps to 53% for active voters. Thirty percent of non-voters hold a high school diploma or less, as compared to 16% of active voters.

What is the highest level of education you completed?



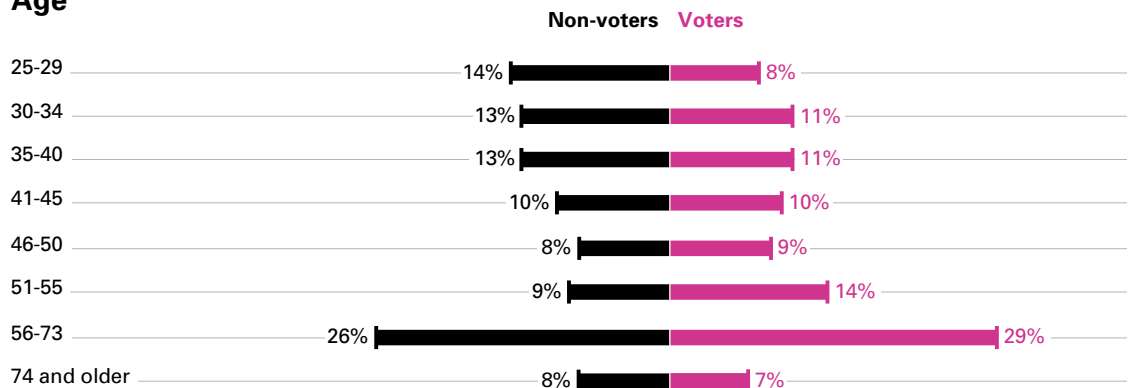
Another marked difference between non-voters and voters is household income. Forty-four percent of non-voters report an income of \$50,000 or less, while only 26% of active voters claim that income range. Only 13% of non-voters report a household income of more than \$100,000, as compared to 29% of active voters.

What is your total annual household income before taxes?



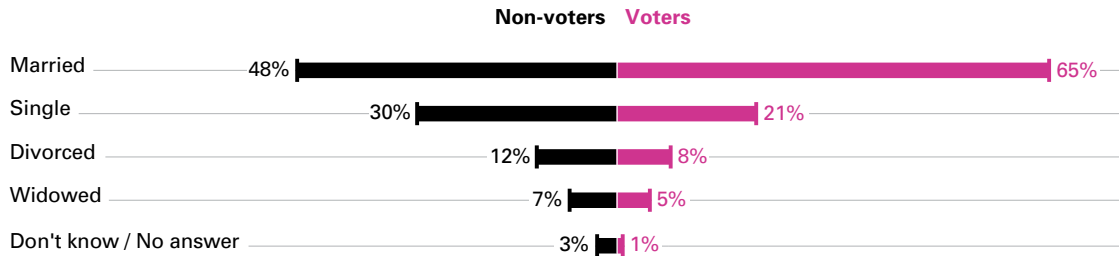
Age also appears to play a role. Millennials (those ages 25-39) make up 40% of non-voters nationwide, while active voters were concentrated in the 51-73 age group. The youngest group, those aged 25-29, comprise only 8% of active voters. Active voters and non-voters make up a near equal proportion of senior citizens (74 and older).

Age



There was also a clear difference between non-voters and active voters in terms of their marital status. Active voters were far more likely to be married than non-voters by a wide margin of 65% to 48%. Non-voters were more likely than active voters to be single, divorced and widowed.

What is your current marital status?



NON-VOTER PROFILES

But who are the “typical” non-voters? In order to understand the varied types of Americans who make up the non-voting population beyond demographics, the study used a statistical technique called cluster analysis that grouped like non-voters together based on similarities in behaviors and attitudes they reported through the survey.⁴ For a full explanation of the methodology, see Appendix B.

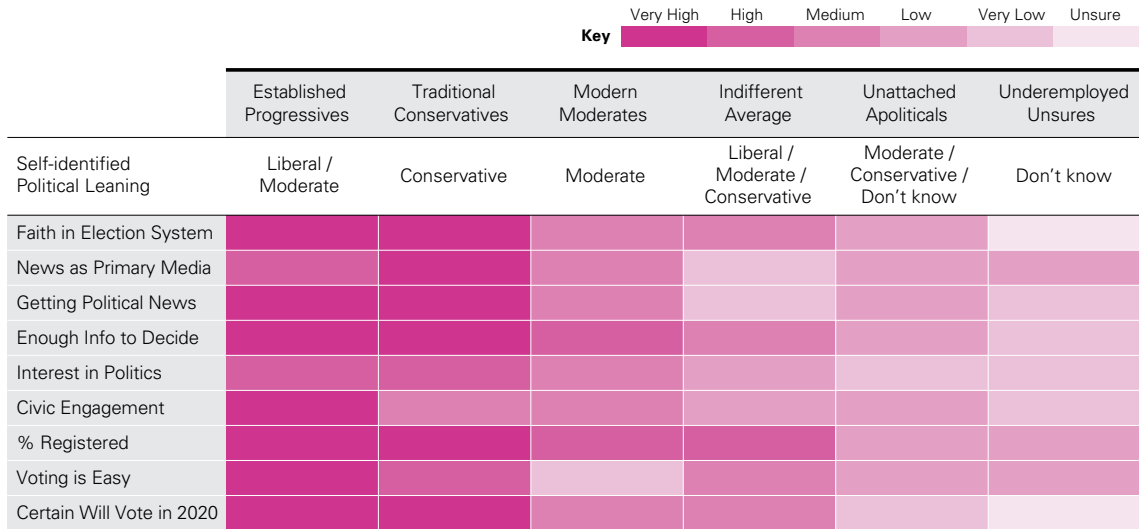
This approach revealed six distinct profiles within the non-voter universe, each with its own set of news consumption habits, opinions on politics and reasons for not voting. These six profiles fall broadly into two umbrella categories: “Plugged In” and “Disconnected.” The first category, “Plugged In,” contains non-voters who are generally more interested and informed concerning politics and more engaged in their communities. They are further segmented into three profiles: Established Progressives, Traditional Conservatives and Modern Moderates. The second category, “Disconnected,” contains non-voters who are significantly more uninterested in and disengaged from politics and civic participation. They are comprised of the Indifferent Average, Unattached Apoliticals and Underemployed Unsures. In many ways, those in the “Plugged In” category more closely resemble active voters, both attitudinally, behaviorally and demographically, while the “Disconnected” group stands in sharp contrast.

“PLUGGED IN”	“DISCONNECTED”
Established Progressives	Indifferent Average
Traditional Conservatives	Unattached Apoliticals
Modern Moderates	Underemployed Unsures

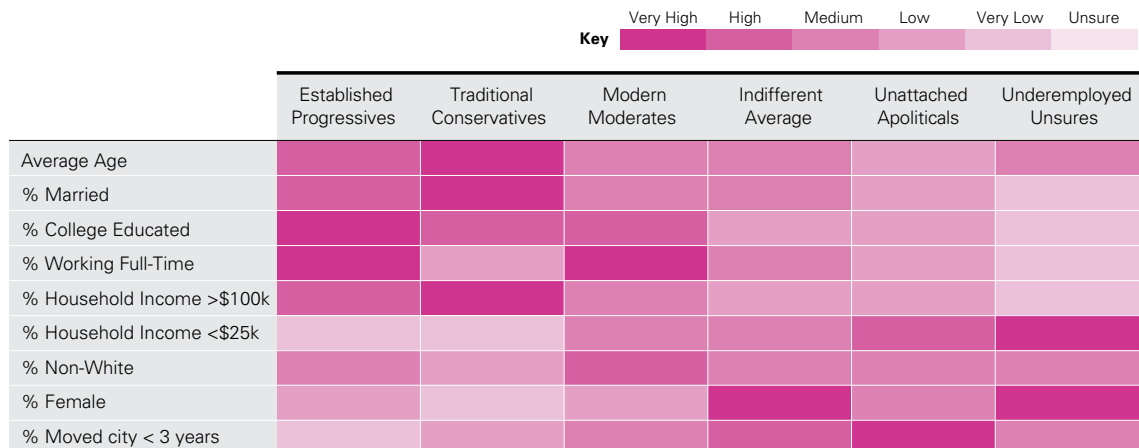
Certain attitudinal and behavioral characteristics make these profiles distinct from one another. Established Progressives and Traditional Conservatives display the greatest interest in politics, keep informed on news and current events, trust in the electoral system and have the strongest opinions on political issues. Most are registered to vote, and they show a high interest in the 2020 election. They differ mainly in their progressive and conservative political ideologies. Political

4 A cluster analysis is a multivariate method that aims to classify a sample of respondents on the basis of a set of measured variables into a number of different groups, such that respondents who answer questions in a similar manner are grouped together. This methodology is more fully described in Appendix B.

interest and engagement start to decline with the Modern Moderates, who show only moderate interest in voting in 2020. News engagement drops off entirely with the Indifferent Average, and their interest in politics is low; however, many are registered to vote, and some say they will vote in 2020. The remaining two groups, Unattached Apoliticals and Underemployed Unsures, are fundamentally disengaged, and the latter group often has no opinion on political issues. Most are unregistered and do not plan to vote in 2020.



While these profiles were clustered based on attitudes and behaviors and not demographics, certain differences do exist in the makeup of these groups. The Traditional Conservatives and Established Progressives are the older groups on average. They are also the most likely to be married and, while Traditional Conservatives have a significant number of retirees, these two profiles reported the highest household incomes. They are joined by the Modern Moderates as the most educated of the six profiles. In contrast, the remaining profiles are less likely to hold a college degree, and they report significantly lower incomes. Unattached Apoliticals are the youngest and most mobile group, and not likely to be married. The Underemployed Unsures have the lowest income and are the least likely to have full-time work. These three “Disconnected” profiles are majority female and have a greater share of respondents identifying as full-time parents or unemployed.



If all were to vote in 2020, Traditional Conservatives show the most consolidated preference, with a vast majority saying they would choose to re-elect President Donald Trump. While most of the Established Progressives would vote for the Democratic nominee, some would vote Republican and third party. While most self-identify as “moderates,” the Modern Moderates show a clear preference for the Democratic candidate in 2020, but again, some would vote third party and Republican. The Indifferent Average is more evenly divided between Republican, Democrat and third-party votes, but shows a slight preference for re-electing Trump. The Unattached Apoliticals are least likely to vote, but they would favor a third-party candidate and divide the remainder equally between the Democratic and Republican candidates. The Underemployed Unsuers, also unlikely to vote, mostly say they “don’t know” which candidate they would choose.

	Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low	Unsure
	Key					
	Established Progressives	Traditional Conservatives	Modern Moderates	Indifferent Average	Unattached Apoliticals	Underemployed Unsuers
Self-identified Political Leaning	Liberal / Moderate	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal / Moderate / Conservative	Moderate / Conservative / Don't know	Don't know
Would Vote Republican '20	16%	84%	16%	34%	20%	8%
Would Vote Democrat '20	59%	4%	55%	29%	22%	5%
Would Vote Third Party '20	16%	5%	18%	21%	37%	6%
Don't Know	10%	7%	11%	17%	21%	80%

Established Progressives (21% of total non-voters)

The first profile in the “Plugged In” category is Established Progressives. Compared to other non-voters, they are well established both in life and in their left-leaning political beliefs.

- > **Key attitudes/behaviors:** This group is the most liberal among non-voters and the most approving of the Democratic Party, tracking closely with the party platform on key policy issues. They report high intentionality in news consumption, have the highest opinion of the news media and are the profile most closely following political news. They are also the most likely to report their family getting and discussing news growing up. They also have the highest levels of civic engagement at twice the rate of average non-voters. Members of this cluster trust in the election system, are very interested in politics, believe that they have enough information to vote and belong to social networks with regular voters. Dissatisfaction with candidates is the most common answer for nonparticipation. They are the second most likely profile to vote in 2020 and the most likely to choose the Democratic nominee (59%).
- > **Key demographics:** This profile has the highest educational attainment, with nearly half holding a college degree, and they have a high average income and homeownership rate. They are slightly older on average, yet very likely to be working full time.

Traditional Conservatives (17% of total non-voters)

The third group is Traditional Conservatives. Compared to other non-voters, they hold the most conservative political beliefs and are more likely to be enjoying a comfortable retirement.

- > **Key attitudes/behaviors:** This group is predominantly Republican, and their stated positions on key issues align most with the party’s current platform. This group has the highest intentionality in seeking out news, high news consumption, closely follows politics and were raised in households that discussed news. They also have the lowest opinion of

the media's impartiality and the least trust in the media. A majority believes it's harder to be informed because of the increase in information available today. However, they have the highest degree of trust in the elections system. They are particularly concerned with immigration, cited by 44% of this profile as the top issue facing the U.S., compared with the 19% non-voter average. This profile is the most interested in voting in 2020 and is the most consolidated as to their 2020 preferred candidate, President Trump (84%).

- > **Key demographics:** This profile is the oldest and least diverse at 79% white. They are the most likely to be married, homeowners and retired, and they boast the highest household income level. This is also the only profile to be majority male (60%).

Modern Moderates (20% of total non-voters)

The final profile in the "Plugged In" category is Modern Moderates. Compared to other non-voters, they are left-leaning moderates working hard as they approach middle age.

- > **Key attitudes/behaviors:** Most non-voters in this profile self-identify as having "moderate" political viewpoints, yet the majority show clear preference for the Democratic Party and platform on key issues. Their top issue is tied between "jobs/the economy" and "healthcare." They are fairly high consumers of news and have a high opinion of the news media, but are only following news about politics "somewhat closely." They have a moderate interest in politics and are moderately civically engaged. They are the least likely to say that voting is very easy, and most likely to report that it is difficult. Only moderately interested in voting, they show a clear preference for the Democratic nominee (55%), but some would vote Republican (16%) and third party (18%).
- > **Key demographics:** They are slightly younger than the average non-voter and the most ethnically diverse, although still majority white (57%). They are fairly educated and the most likely to be employed full time.

Indifferent Average (17% of total non-voters)

In the Disconnected group, the leading profile is the Indifferent Average. Compared to other non-voters, they appear very middle-of-the-road in their politics, engagement and situation in life.

- > **Key attitudes/behaviors:** This profile has a mix of political viewpoints but is united by its members' lack of interest in news or following political current affairs. Members of this subgroup have a media diet tipped toward entertainment and social media more than any other profile. They are also less civically engaged than the "Plugged In" profiles. However, a decent number are registered to vote and think the voting process is easy. Their top reason for not voting is "lack of information about issues/candidates."
- > **Key demographics:** They are predominantly female (63%) and the most likely profile to report children living in the home. They are mostly middle income, and a third are college educated.

Unattached Apoliticals (17% of total non-voters)

The second "Disconnected" profile is Unattached Apoliticals. Compared to other non-voters, they are young and staunchly independent, both politically and in life.

- > **Key attitudes/behaviors:** This profile is distinguished by a lack of attachment to either major party and for reporting the least interest in politics and voting. News consumption, intentionality and civic participation rates fall below those of non-voters as a whole. They have the lowest voter registration rate of any profile at 65%, and a simple lack of interest is the top reason cited for not registering. This is also the cluster most likely to say that

nothing would motivate them to participate in voting. This group is the least likely to see the 2020 election as more important than others and the most likely to vote for a third party if they were forced to choose a candidate.

- > **Key demographics:** They are the youngest profile on average and have generally low educational attainment and household income. A large majority is unmarried, and they are the most likely to have moved within the last three years.

Underemployed Unsures (8.4% of total non-voters)

The final “Disconnected” profile is the Underemployed Unsures. Compared to other non-voters, they are the least resourced and engaged across the board, and unsure of where they stand on politics.

- > **Key attitudes/behaviors:** This group is distinguished by its lack of political opinions compared to other non-voters, with members often answering that they “did not know” on policy, favorability and candidate preference questions. They are also unsure whether they trust the election system. They have very low interest in politics or following political news. They are the least civically engaged and have the second lowest voter registration rate, at 60% unregistered.
- > **Key demographics:** They have the lowest educational attainment, lowest homeownership rate, lowest marriage rate, least full-time employment and lowest household income. This segment is 65% female, the largest gender majority of any profile.

The Emerging Electorate

40

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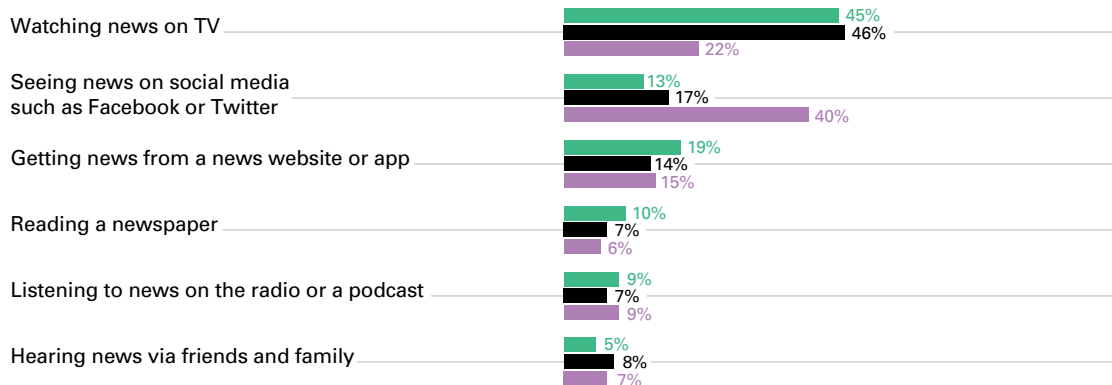
The Emerging Electorate

An important facet of the study was the administration of the nationwide survey to a pool of 1,035 eligible voters ages 18 to 24 (regardless of their voting participation history) and the subsequent analysis of the results. This section discusses the composition of the emerging electorate in terms of their political views and attitudes. Findings show that these young voters more closely resemble non-voters than active voters, and point to key questions about where the overall electorate may be moving in the future as this group ages further into adulthood.

ENGAGES LESS WITH NEWS AND FEELS LESS INFORMED THAN NON-VOTERS

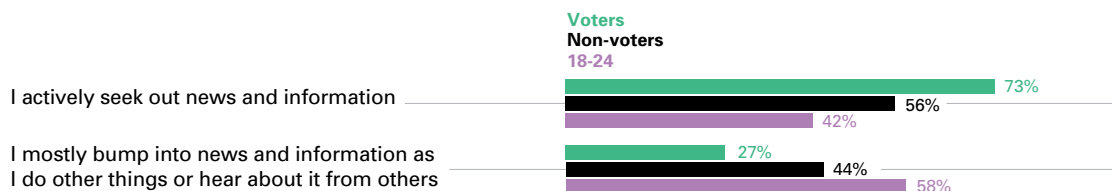
This group consumes significant media, but does not report news as their primary category. As it pertains to regular media consumption, social media, gaming and streaming TV shows all outpace news for the 18-to-24-year-old group, with women consuming higher levels of social media and men higher levels of gaming. This is largely consistent regardless of other demographic markers.

When you think of the past month, which of the following describes how you most often got news or information on current events?



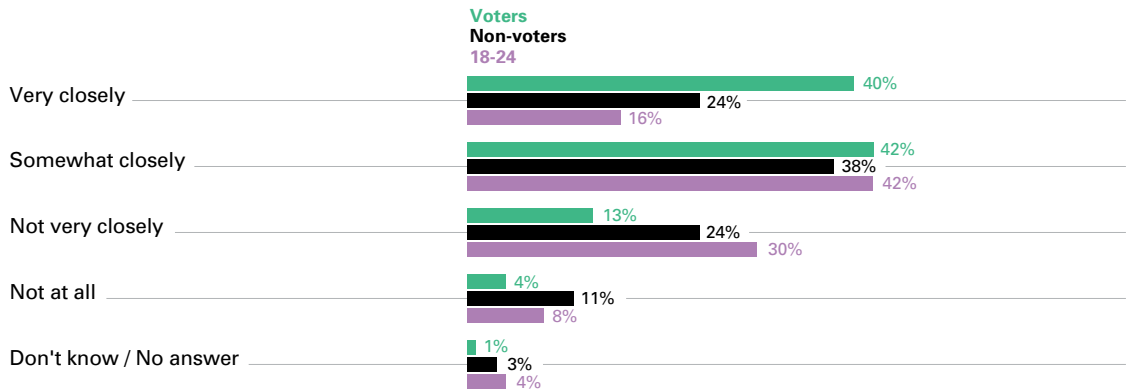
The emerging electorate is even less informed than the current pool of habitual non-voters. Young adults are less likely than non-voters to proactively seek out news content and are more likely to bump into that kind of information than to purposely search for it. This is especially true for unregistered non-voters, of whom nearly three-quarters (72%) report passive rather than active news consumption. Women were more likely than men to say they mostly “bump” into news, at 62% versus 55%.

Choose the statement that best describes you, even if it is not exactly right. “In general, I actively seek out news and information,” OR, “I mostly bump into news and information as I do other things or hear about it from others.”



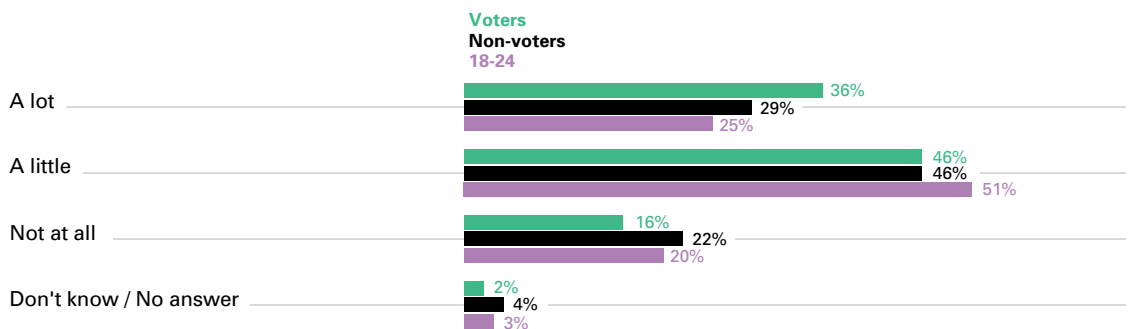
They are not engaged news followers. A majority of 18-to-24 year olds indicated that they were following news about politics, but only 16% of those said they were “closely” following political news – far lower than the 24% of non-voters claiming to do so. This was true for 64% of young men, but only 53% of young women reported the same. Those self-identifying as Democrats were more likely to report following the news closely, as compared with 60% of Republicans and 56% of Independents.

How closely do you currently follow news and information about politics –very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely or not at all?



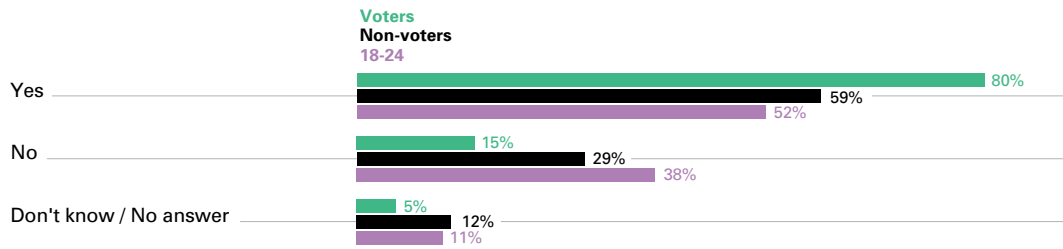
They also did not have much family exposure to news in their formative years. Those in the 18-24 group were the least likely to indicate that getting and discussing news happened “a lot” in their family as they were growing up (25%), as compared to 29% of non-voters and 36% of active voters, potentially signaling a generational shift in news consumption and discussion habits at home. This ranged greatly by income, with 37% of those hailing from upper income households saying they discussed news topics as part of family life a lot, versus only 22% of those from the lowest income bracket.

Thinking back to when you were growing up, how much was getting and discussing news a part of your family life?



This group is the most likely to say that they do not have adequate information to make political choices. Nearly four in 10 (38%) did not feel they had enough information about candidates and issues in order to decide how to vote versus 29% of non-voters over 25. Fifty-seven percent of young men felt they had enough information to decide how to vote, but only 47% of women felt the same. By a difference of 58% to 31%, registered 18-24 year olds were more likely to feel like they had enough information than unregistered persons in that age group.

When national elections are coming up, do you typically feel that you have enough information about candidates and issues to decide who to vote for?



LESS INTERESTED IN POLITICS AND PARTICIPATION THAN NON-VOTERS

Another area of significant variation between young people and the non-voter and active voter groups is their lower level of interest in politics. On a scale of 0 to 10 where 10 is highest, young people indicated a level of interest in politics at 6.1, far below the 7.2 of non-voters and 7.7 of voters. Young people who are not currently registered to vote reported the lowest level of interest in politics of any subgroup of young people at 4.5. Democrats (6.8) and Republicans (6.6) in this age group showed a higher interest than Independents (5.7).

On a scale of 0-10, where 0 means you have absolutely no interest and 10 means that you are extremely interested, what number would you say corresponds to your level of interest in politics?



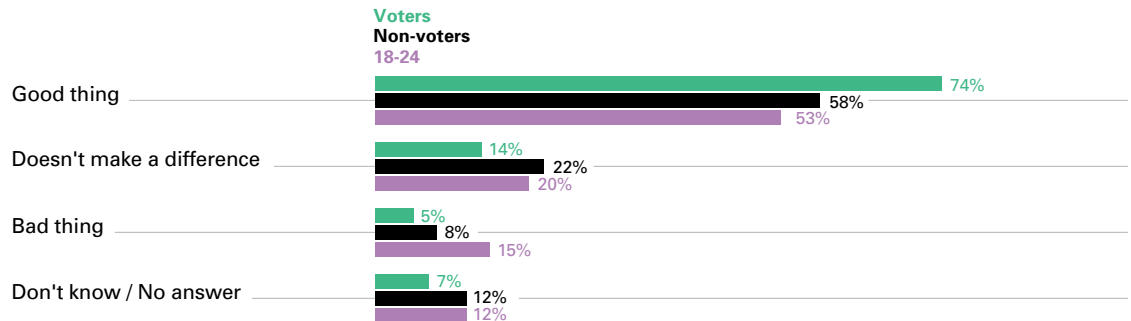
Younger Americans are also less likely to believe that democracy influences their lives, or to evince a desire to shape the democracy. On a scale of 0-10, the 18-24 group indexed higher than non-voters on their belief that decisions made in Washington have an impact on their lives (7.16 for 18-24 year olds, 6.99 for non-voters), but they were also more likely to indicate comfort with other people making major decisions in the United States that may impact their lives.

On a scale of 0-10, where 0 means it has no impact and 10 means it has an extreme impact, to what degree do you think the decisions made by the president and other elected officials in Washington impact your life?



Of note, the 18-24-year-old sample was the group least likely to consider having more people voting in elections to be a good thing for the country, and a significant percentage actually thought increased participation in elections was a bad thing (15%), compared to only 5% among voters and 8% in the non-voter sample.

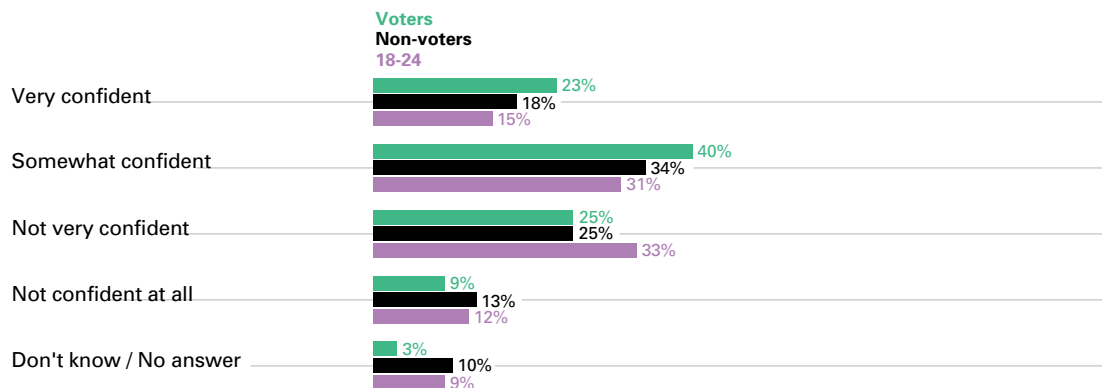
In the most recent presidential election in 2016, more than 100 million eligible American citizens did not vote. Do you think that having more Americans voting in elections would be a good thing, a bad thing or doesn't make a difference for the country?



LESS CONFIDENT IN THE ELECTION SYSTEM AND PROCESS

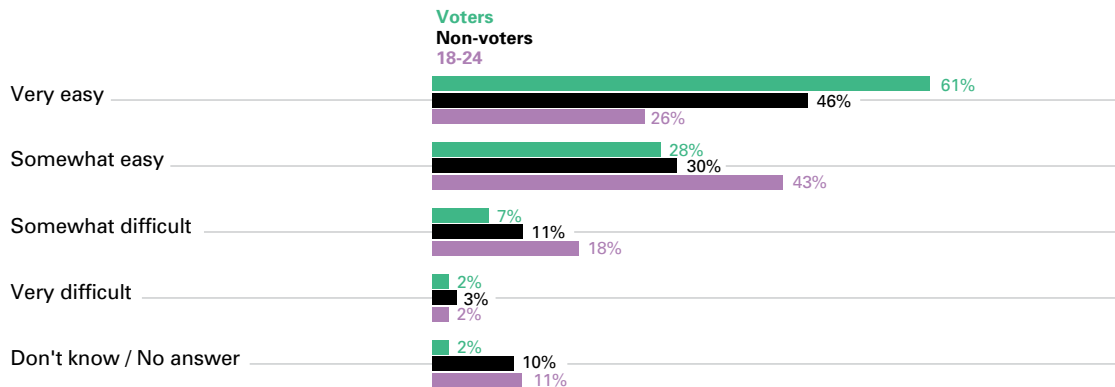
Young eligible citizens were less likely than non-voters and active voters alike to trust in the validity of the election system. Fewer than half (46%) believe election results represent the will of the people. When asked why, 31% were more likely to point to the Electoral College or the fact that the popular vote does not determine the president, whereas non-voters were more likely to feel that elections are rigged or corrupt more generally (27%).

How confident are you that the results of an election represent the will of the people?



These young voting-eligible adults were even more likely than chronic non-voters to report that the process of voting is difficult (20% versus 14%) and less likely to say that it is very easy (69% versus 76%).

Do you believe that the actual process of voting is easy or difficult in [YOUR STATE]?

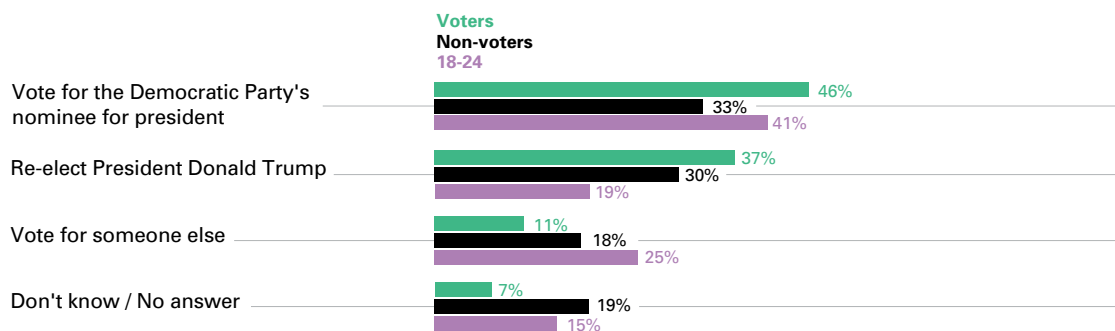


MORE LEFT-LEANING AND INDEPENDENT THAN NON-VOTERS

With regard to policy, young people elevate a different set of priorities than voters or non-voters, with gun control, the environment and race relations more prominent among their top issues. Ideologically speaking, this group is more left-leaning on the policy positions tested than older voters and non-voters. The young electorate feels more unfavorably toward President Trump (64%) as compared to both the active voter (58%) and non-voter (51%) samples. A vast majority of young women (71%) said their view of Trump was very or somewhat unfavorable, versus 57% of young men.

If they were all to vote in the 2020 presidential election, young people are twice as likely to support the Democratic candidate rather than President Trump. While 38% of non-voters would support Trump, 38% of 18-24 year olds say they would vote Democrat and 22% said they would vote for Trump. They are also the group most likely to vote for a third party candidate (25%). Young African American and Hispanic adults who are eligible to vote appear more aligned than their non-voter counterparts, with near equal shares of each demographic group saying they would vote Democrat (46% and 49% respectively) and Trump (14% and 15%).

Regardless of whether you plan to vote in November of 2020, if you had to determine who would be president for the next four years, would you be more likely to vote to re-elect President Donald Trump, vote for the Democratic Party's nominee for president or vote for someone else?



However, these 18-24 year olds voiced even less interest in participating in the 2020 election than chronic non-voters, and those who claimed they do plan to vote said they were less certain that they will.

Conclusion

46

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Conclusion

“The 100 Million Project” examines eligible non-voters in the United States at unparalleled scope and depth, revealing their views about voting and the current political landscape. In the process, it provides new insights on the challenges of democratic participation.

This unique body of data captured from more than 12,000 non-voters reveals that their universe may be more diverse than previously understood. They come from all walks of life and every strata of society, and are fairly divided in their party, policy and candidate preferences. The profiles developed from that data illustrate that certain segments of non-voters are not dissimilar from active voters in attitude, behavior and demographics, while others stand in sharp contrast.

Many topics explored test decades of political science theories regarding democratic participation. As compared to active voters, Americans with a pattern of chronic non-voting report lower belief in the efficacy of the election system, lower engagement with news and information about politics, and somewhat lower civic engagement and life satisfaction. These and other key differences persist across demographic difference like education and income.⁵ Young eligible voters (age 18-24) show even deeper disparities with active voters on these issues than non-voters themselves, raising concerns around the future of voter participation if these trends continue.

Knight Foundation commissioned this report because we believe that informed and engaged communities are the foundation of a healthy democracy. Voter participation is a fundamental form of democratic engagement, yet the United States lags most developed democracies in terms of eligible voter turnout. A deeper understanding of what non-voters think and how they behave is critical to understanding the present and future of our democracy.

5 For a complete discussion of statistical modelling analysis and findings, please see Appendix C.

APPENDIX A – SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey portion of the project consisted of four distinct elements, providing a clear picture of the non-voter landscape, as well as valuable comparison data with other populations. All survey research was conducted by Bendixen & Amandi International.

- **National non-voter sample** ($n=4,002$ +/- 1.55%): Consisted of persistent non-voters nationwide. The group was made up of a combination of those who are eligible but not registered to vote, as well as those who are registered to vote but participated in zero or one of the last six national (presidential and midterm) elections between November 2008 and November 2018. All the completed interviews were among adults age 25 and above. The survey is representative of the eligible non-voting population of the United States by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation and region.

Researchers determined the target sample size for two different groups of eligible non-voters: 1) the unregistered eligible citizens and 2) registered citizens who meet the criteria of not voting as defined by having voted in one or fewer of the last six national (presidential and midterm) elections. By taking the total eligible population of the country as reported by the U.S. Census Bureau and subtracting the registered population as determined by the National Voting File, a target sample size was determined for the unregistered portion of the non-voter sample. An analysis of the National Voting File using voting history was conducted to determine the sample size of the registered citizens who have participated in only one or fewer of the past six national (presidential and midterm) elections.

- **Swing state non-voter sample** ($n=8,015$ +/- 3.5%): Consisted of additional interviews utilizing the same survey instrument with persistent non-voters in each of 10 selected swing states. The group was made up of a combination of those who are eligible but not registered to vote, as well as those who are registered to vote but participated in zero or one of the last six national (presidential and midterm) elections between November 2008 and November 2018. All the completed interviews in the state studies were among adults age 25 and above. The states included are Arizona ($n=803$ +/- 3.5%), Florida ($n=800$ +/- 3.5%), Georgia ($n=804$ +/- 3.5%), Michigan ($n=800$ +/- 3.5%), Minnesota ($n=800$ +/- 3.5%), Nevada ($n=801$ +/- 3.5%), New Hampshire ($n=800$ +/- 3.5%), Pennsylvania ($n=802$ +/- 3.5%), Virginia ($n=805$ +/- 3.5%) and Wisconsin ($n=800$ +/- 3.5%).
- **National active voter sample** ($n=1,002$ +/- 3.1%): A comparison study consisting of registered voters nationwide who have voted three or more times over the last six national (presidential and midterm) elections between November 2008 and November 2018. All the completed interviews for were among adults age 25 and above.
- **National young adult sample** ($n=1,035$ +/- 3.1%): Consisted of 1,035 respondents nationwide, ages 18 to 24. Eligible voters in this age range have not yet had the requisite time to fairly be considered consistent voters or persistent non-voters, so the decision was made to study this population separately and their voting history was not taken into account.

The national non-voter, swing state non-voter and active voter survey research was conducted via a mixed mode methodology, with half of the completed interviews conducted on the phone and half of the completed interviews conducted online. Telephone interviews included both landlines (48%) and cellphones (52%) with sample drawn from the L2/SDR Consulting's National registered Voter File. The young adult survey research was conducted via a mixed mode methodology with 30% of the completed interviews conducted on the phone and 70% of the completed interviews conducted online via the Dynata/SDR Consulting panel.

The random listed landline sample and random listed cell phone sample were generated from a national registered voter file. Each of these phone sample universes were selected at random using an *n*th selection process. Our online panel partners provided an *n*th selected sample frame to invite participants to complete this survey online, which was programmed and hosted on a secure server.

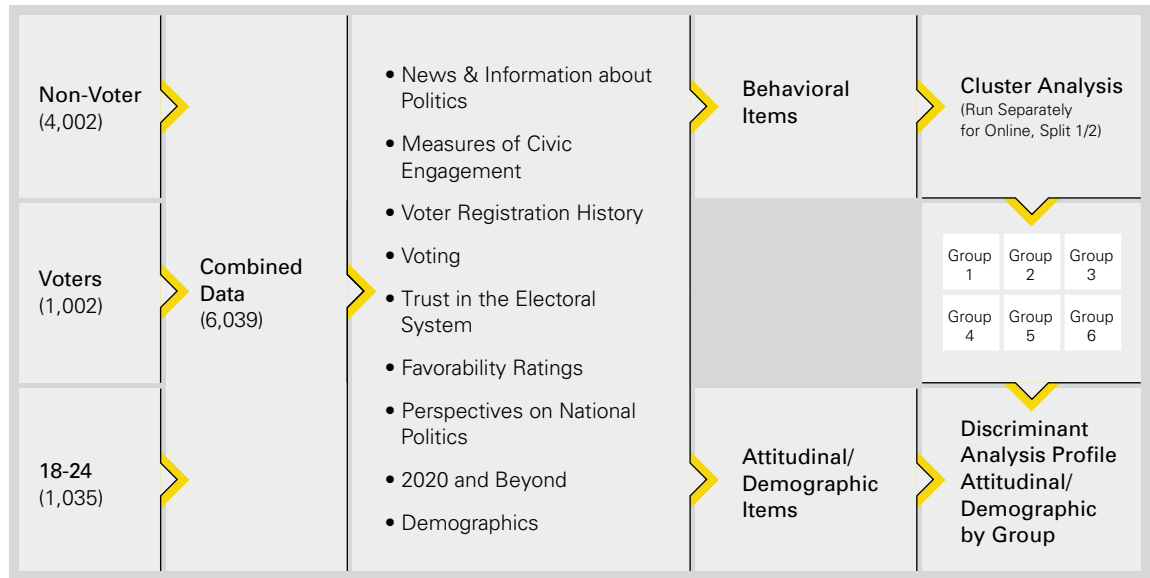
This study could not have included hard quotas, as it is first-of-its-kind research on this scale of citizens age 25 and above who are non-voters (defined as not registered to vote or registered to vote but only voting once or fewer out of the last six national (presidential and midterm) elections).

Aside from the requisite demographic questions, the survey instrument consisted of a battery of questions related to news consumption habits, measures of civic engagement, voter registration history, voting, our electoral system, attitudes regarding national politics and the 2020 electoral landscape.

A total of 14,054 individuals were interviewed in the national and swing state quantitative studies. All interviews were conducted in the language of preference of the respondent (English/Spanish).

APPENDIX B – CLUSTER ANALYSIS

A cluster analysis is a multivariate method that aims to classify a sample of respondents on the basis of a set of measured variables into a number of different groups, such that respondents who answer questions in a similar manner are grouped together.



The clustering algorithm used is a K-means, partitioning, iterative clustering procedure. It partitions a data set into a successively larger number of clusters, starting with a two-group solution, then to a three-group solution, and so on, until it reaches the maximum number of clusters specified. At each partition, the algorithm iteratively moves cases from one cluster to another, seeking to minimize the differences within the groups (homogeneity) and maximize the differences between the groups (heterogeneity).

The analysis was performed by Dave Feldman of SDR Consulting, in conjunction with the primary research team at Bendixen & Amadi International.

A detailed technical and statistical description of the algorithm is described in the book *Multidimensional Scaling and Related Techniques in Marketing Analysis*, written by Paul Green, Frank Carmone and Scott Smith.⁶

APPENDIX C – NON-VOTER MODELS SUMMARY

Author

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Overview

A series of models were estimated to consider the effects of various factors on the likelihood that a respondent was either a habitual voter (e.g. in the voter sample) or a non-voter (e.g. in the non-voter sample). In this appendix are (a) the substantive results and (b) the model estimates themselves (at the conclusion of the summary). As there are multiple ways of estimating the models, cases where the results are robust (or are not robust) to changes in estimation approaches are noted.

Definitions

1. Defining Voting

The survey's sampling scheme defined people who had voted once or zero times in the previous six national (presidential and midterm) elections as non-voters. However, since the data provide information on the previous elections in which the respondent had voted, being a voter or non-voter can be redefined. Two possibilities can be considered. First, non-voting can be defined following the sampling (note: the participant numbers include the youth sample respondents who fit the criteria):

Voter: Voted in two or more of the last six national elections (n=1,387)

Non-Voter: Voted in zero or one of the last six national elections (n=4,652)

Second, non-voters can be defined in a slightly different way:

Voter: Voted in one or more of the last six national elections (n=2,949)

Non-Voter: Voted in zero of the last six national elections (n=3,090)

As an argument can be made for either of these approaches, models are shown using both outcome measures; cases where the results differ depending on the measure of being a non-voter are flagged.

2. Baseline Model

The baseline model – the model that includes the basic set of demographic controls – is based on previous research. This previous research suggests that when trying to identify turnout patterns, the following demographic factors should be included as controls:

- Age
- Gender
- Race and ethnicity
- Education
- Income
- Employment status
- Retired
- Married
- Recently moved
- English speaker

These baseline factors are retained as controls when other various additional measures are considered.

3. Partisanship

As the baseline model suggests, partisanship is not included. This is because there is no evidence that there is differential voting between the parties (and, to the extent some have shown differences between the parties, this has turned out to be a proxy for other variables that are already in the model – it was never about partisanship itself). What does predict voting is *strength* of partisanship, which is not a measure that was included in the survey.

The effects of party can be proxied by using the differences between the party favorability variables; the results of the baseline model stay largely the same, though the effect of this differential is significant.

See Table A9 at the end of this summary.

Results

1. Baseline Model Results

In the baseline model (the model with just the demographic variables) the results mirror previous research in political science. Having higher levels of education, being married, not having recently moved and a having higher income makes a person more likely to be classified as a voter by both voter measures.

Notably, however, there are some key differences that do emerge depending on how voting is defined. When a non-voter is defined as not having voted in *any* elections, being a woman significantly *increases* a person's likelihood of being a non-voter. Second, when a non-voter is defined as not having voted in any national elections, being African American significantly *decreases* the likelihood of being a non-voter. This second result is likely due to the fact that the 2008 presidential election is in the sample of elections.

Aside from these two differences, the remaining results are constant across the two definitions of being a voter/non-voter. Further, the patterns on these demographics are consistent with most other political science surveys, which speaks well to the data.

The full results are in Table A1.

2. Media Exposure Models

The media exposure models include the following media variables (in addition to the baseline controls):

- Whether the respondent actively seeks out information
- How the respondent gets news

Results show a significant effect from the news exposure variable: respondents who seek out information (rather than getting it by accident) are significantly less likely to be non-voters (by either measure). Getting news on purpose is associated with an eight percentage point increase in the likelihood of being a voter.⁷

7 All other variables are held at their means.

The second media variable that is important is whether respondents get news from friends. Relying on friends for news makes a respondent significantly more likely to be a non-voter. Getting news from friends is associated with a six percentage point *decrease* in the likelihood of being a voter.⁸

The specifics of how (e.g. online, television, radio, newspaper) one gets news (besides getting news from friends) have no consistent significant effects.

All results are in Table A2.

3. Perceptions of Trust and Bias

The next set of models include the media trust and media bias perception measures:

Media Trust

- The respondent's favorability toward the news media
- The extent to which the respondent trusts the news media

Media Bias

- The extent to which a respondent perceives the media as biased
- The extent to which a respondent perceives there to be a lot of bias

The results suggest that the extent to which someone trusts the news media has a significant effect on being a voter or non-voter (controlling for the baseline set of demographics). The effect seems to be focused on trust, as the media favorability measure does not have a significant effect. Specifically, moving from trusting the media a lot to trusting it not at all leads to an 8.2 percentage point increase in the likelihood of being a non-voter.⁹

There is a similar pattern for the media bias measures. The 10-point measure of bias does not have a significant effect, but the perception of bias clouding news has a significant effect. People who selected the statement "there is so much bias in the news media that it's often difficult to sort out the facts" were 2.9 percentage points more likely to be non-voters. Note: all the results are similar for the measure of voter turnout that treats a person who has voted in zero national elections as a non-voter.

The full results are in Table A3.

4. Socialization

Next, the models consider the effect of discussing news as a child, controlling for the baseline demographics. The results show that the variable is significant. The more likely you were to discuss news as a kid, the more likely are to be a voter. Shifting from discussing news "not at all" to "a lot" increases your chances of being a voter by 8.7 percentage points. Results are similar regardless of which measure is used to distinguish voters and non-voters.

See Table A4 for the full results.

8 All other variables are held at their means.
9 All other variables held at their means.

5. Civic Engagement

To consider civic engagement, the following variables are included alongside the baseline model:

- Volunteering
- Charitable donations
- Religious services
- Church organizations
- Free time (note: this is included in all the models that are in A5, as the models now need to control for free time when considering these types of activities)

All of these variables are significant, and participating in these activities makes a respondent significantly more likely to be a voter rather than a non-voter. The largest effect is the donations variable, which leads to a 10 percentage-point difference. Although the model includes a control for income, it is likely that this variable still speaks to some broader sense of economic security that makes people more likely to be voters (consistent with previous research in political science).

As expected, free time is also significant across all the models.

See the full results in Table A5.

6. Life Satisfaction

There is research to suggest that a general lack of life satisfaction leads people to exit the political process. Again, all of these models include the set of baseline variables now with a measure of free time, alongside the following measures of life satisfaction:

- Satisfaction with where one lives
- Satisfaction with life generally

Both forms of satisfaction have notable, significant effects. The less satisfied you are with your life, the less likely you are to be a voter. Being dissatisfied with life generally increases a respondent's chance of being a non-voter by six percentage points; being dissatisfied with one's city increases a respondent's chance of being a non-voter by five percentage points.

These results are in Table A6.

7. Special Interests

To address whether people's belief that the government is controlled by special interests affects voting behavior, this measure was included in the model. The results show that beliefs about special interests do have a significant effect on whether one is a voter or a non-voter. Here, the more one believes that special interests have control, the *more likely* one is to be a voter (six percentage point difference). In other words, people who are non-voters are less likely to offer strong thoughts about the effects of special interests.

See the full results in Table A7.

8. Ease of the System

Also important is the extent to which people believe the system (voting process) is difficult or easy. Again, this variable has a strong, significant effect on the likelihood that someone is a voter or a non-voter. The more confidence a person has in the system, the less likely he or she is to be a non-voter (a change of 9.7 percentage points).

See the full results in Table A7.

9. Opinions

As another consideration, the data were used to create a measure that tracks the extent to which people reported having any opinions on political issues and the parties. As the results show, the more opinions a person was willing to give, the less likely they were to be in the non-voter group. *This is the largest effect across all models.*

See the full results in Table A7.

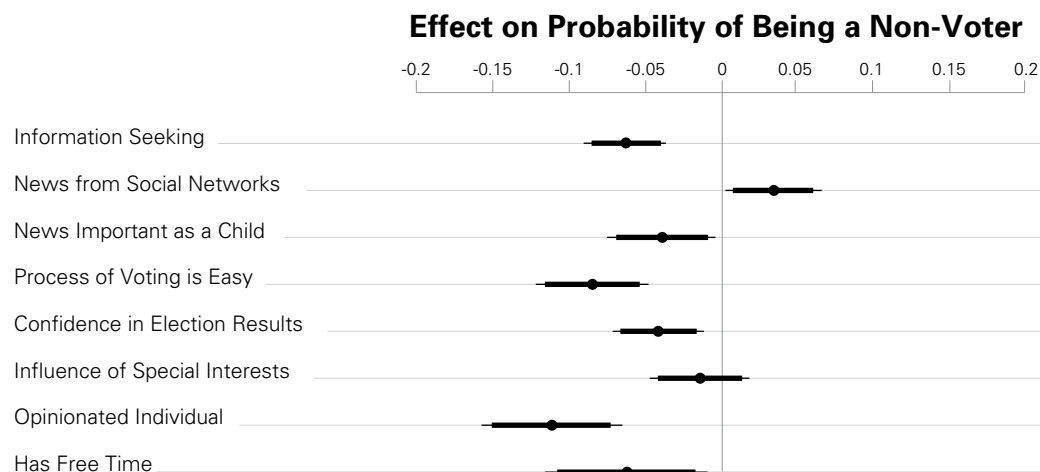
10. Combining Factors

To this point, all analyses retained the baseline model and considered the different potential explanatory factors separately. A larger model combines a variety of factors along with the baseline model. When this is done, the factor that loses significance is special interests. The rest remain significant. However, when a non-voter is defined as someone who voted in zero elections, the special interests result is, once again, significant. This suggests the special interests result is less robust than the remaining patterns.

See the full results in Table A8.

The effects are also summed up in Figure 1; results above the zero line indicate that a factor increases the probability that someone is a non-voter; the results below the zero line suggest it decreases the probability of being a non-voter.

Figure 1: Summary of Results



Results above the zero line suggest that the factor increases the probability of being a non-voter; results below the zero line suggest the factor decreases the probability of being a non-voter. Lines that cross zero suggest the effect is not significant.

1. Gender and Free Time

One particular factor to consider here is the role of gender. To do so, the models analyze an interaction between gender and free time. This will allow for an analysis of whether the role of free time is more meaningful for women than for men.

The results suggest that the effects are highly reliant on the way the turnout variable is measured. In other words, the effects change depending on how being a voter or non-voter is measured. This is consistent with the baseline model, where the effect of gender also depends on how being a voter or non-voter is measured. This suggests that the effect of free time and gender is not entirely robust.

2. Gender and Children

Next, a measure that considers whether someone has children at home is added to the model. There is little evidence that this variable has a different effect for men and women. None of the effects are significant in an interaction between children (which considers both having children generally and age of children) and gender. In other words, having children seems to affect men and women in the same way (after controlling for the baseline set of factors).

TABLES: Full Models

All models from the results reported above. All models were estimated using logit.

Table A1. Baseline Model

	Non-Voter = 0 or 1 elections	Non-Voter = 0 elections
Age	0.125 (7.12)**	0.057 (3.92)**
Woman	0.071 (1.02)	0.205 (3.41)**
African American	-0.325 (1.92)	-0.446 (3.06)**
Hispanic	-0.097 (0.56)	-0.136 (0.92)
White	-0.232 (1.59)	-0.239 (1.91)
Some college	-0.389 (4.16)**	-0.393 (5.28)**
College degree	-0.490 (4.98)**	-0.400 (4.87)**
Grad degree	-0.620 (4.94)**	-0.649 (5.68)**
Income	-0.271 (9.89)**	-0.181 (7.38)**
Employed	0.099 (1.19)	-0.130 (1.86)
Retired	-0.524 (4.05)**	-0.410 (3.82)**
Married	-0.153 (2.02)*	-0.135 (2.08)*
New resident	0.375 (3.57)**	0.209 (2.49)*
English speaker	-0.027 (0.12)	0.079 (0.43)
_cons	2.064 (6.98)**	0.660 (2.71)**
<i>N</i>	4,925	4,925

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05

Table A2. Media Exposure

	Non-Voter = 0 or 1 elections	Non-Voter = 0 elections
News exposure Q5	-0.468 (6.12)**	-0.342 (5.33)**
Newspaper Q6	-0.159 (1.20)	-0.188 (1.52)
News radio Q6	-0.115 (0.88)	0.092 (0.79)
News social media Q6	0.170 (1.64)	0.148 (1.69)
News app Q6	-0.006 (0.06)	0.010 (0.12)
News from friends Q6	0.372 (2.10)*	0.498 (3.72)**
Age	0.146 (7.96)**	0.074 (4.86)**
Woman	0.020 (0.28)	0.167 (2.73)**
African American	-0.292 (1.71)	-0.405 (2.76)**
Hispanic	-0.101 (0.57)	-0.134 (0.90)
White	-0.218 (1.48)	-0.229 (1.82)
Some college	-0.371 (3.93)**	-0.382 (5.07)**
College degree	-0.447 (4.48)**	-0.366 (4.40)**
Graduate degree	-0.541 (4.26)**	-0.584 (5.05)**
Income	-0.263 (9.49)**	-0.172 (6.97)**
Employed	0.098 (1.17)	-0.144 (2.04)*
Retired	-0.490 (3.76)**	-0.374 (3.46)**
Married	-0.125 (1.65)	-0.109 (1.68)
New resident	0.351 (3.31)**	0.184 (2.16)*
English speaker	-0.064 (0.28)	0.058 (0.31)
_cons	2.212 (7.24)**	0.700

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05

Table A3: Media Trust and Bias

Non-Voter: 0,1	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 3	(4) Model 4
Trust (Q8a)	0.239 (0.127)			
Age	0.140*** (0.0202)	0.129*** (0.0201)	0.140*** (0.0203)	0.127*** (0.0198)
Woman	-0.0125 (0.0790)	0.0475 (0.0789)	-0.0173 (0.0795)	0.0652 (0.0777)
African American	-0.280 (0.192)	-0.254 (0.194)	-0.272 (0.192)	-0.338* (0.192)
Hispanic	-0.205 (0.193)	-0.0564 (0.200)	-0.184 (0.193)	-0.150 (0.197)
White	-0.283* (0.163)	-0.252 (0.168)	-0.265 (0.164)	-0.296* (0.167)
Some college	-0.405*** (0.106)	-0.355*** (0.105)	-0.385*** (0.107)	-0.356*** (0.103)
College degree	-0.563*** (0.112)	-0.454*** (0.111)	-0.532*** (0.112)	-0.456*** (0.109)
Graduate degree	-0.730*** (0.141)	-0.559*** (0.142)	-0.710*** (0.142)	-0.571*** (0.140)
Income	-0.277*** (0.0310)	-0.280*** (0.0313)	-0.276*** (0.0311)	-0.274*** (0.0306)
Employed	0.00552 (0.0932)	0.0724 (0.0936)	0.00224 (0.0939)	0.0580 (0.0921)
Retired	-0.602*** (0.150)	-0.502*** (0.149)	-0.596*** (0.151)	-0.555*** (0.147)
Married	-0.0832 (0.0848)	-0.106 (0.0851)	-0.0805 (0.0853)	-0.131 (0.0837)
New resident	0.251** (0.115)	0.419*** (0.117)	0.278** (0.116)	0.422*** (0.116)
English speaker	0.0820 (0.250)	0.0891 (0.262)	0.0923 (0.254)	0.0227 (0.259)
Trust Q8b		0.462*** (0.125)		
Bias Q9a			-0.0832 (0.147)	
Bias Q9b				0.167** (0.0762)
Constant	1.958*** (0.332)	1.677*** (0.344)	2.061*** (0.347)	1.952*** (0.336)
N	3,852	3,811	3,768	3,944

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05

Table A5. Civic Involvement

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Non-voter = 1,0	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Volunteer Q17a	-0.380*** (0.0967)			
Free time Q21	-0.494*** (0.171)	-0.487*** (0.170)	-0.432** (0.171)	-0.491*** (0.170)
Age	0.136*** (0.0204)	0.125*** (0.0202)	0.148*** (0.0204)	0.127*** (0.0204)
Woman	-0.00143 (0.0797)	0.0263 (0.0794)	0.0181 (0.0796)	0.0285 (0.0795)
African American	-0.306 (0.195)	-0.307 (0.197)	-0.321 (0.195)	-0.295 (0.198)
Hispanic	-0.251 (0.195)	-0.166 (0.202)	-0.246 (0.195)	-0.150 (0.203)
White	-0.337** (0.166)	-0.289 (0.172)	-0.339** (0.166)	-0.274 (0.171)
Some college	-0.372*** (0.108)	-0.349*** (0.106)	-0.360*** (0.107)	-0.351*** (0.106)
College degree	-0.532*** (0.113)	-0.449*** (0.112)	-0.523*** (0.112)	-0.451*** (0.112)
Graduate degree	-0.677*** (0.142)	-0.561*** (0.143)	-0.688*** (0.142)	-0.554*** (0.143)
Income	-0.257*** (0.0314)	-0.233*** (0.0315)	-0.270*** (0.0312)	-0.262*** (0.0313)
Employed	0.00428 (0.0941)	0.0303 (0.0947)	-9.72e-05 (0.0943)	0.0468 (0.0947)
Retired	-0.527*** (0.153)	-0.507*** (0.151)	-0.558*** (0.153)	-0.553*** (0.151)
Married	-0.0933 (0.0860)	-0.105 (0.0861)	-0.0774 (0.0860)	-0.127 (0.0858)
New resident	0.241** (0.117)	0.385*** (0.119)	0.257** (0.116)	0.444*** (0.119)
English speaker	0.125 (0.252)	0.0947 (0.264)	0.125 (0.252)	0.0585 (0.263)
Donate Q17b		-0.580*** (0.109)		
Religion Q18a			-0.148 (0.0927)	
Community Q18b				-0.323*** (0.0860)
Constant	2.424*** (0.348)	2.382*** (0.355)	2.276*** (0.348)	2.296*** (0.353)
Observations	3,755	3,739	3,763	3,751

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05

Table A6. Life Satisfaction

VARIABLES	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Satisfaction with city Q20a	-0.284 (0.157)	
Free time Q21	-0.396** (0.169)	-0.431** (0.170)
Age	0.147*** (0.0203)	0.135*** (0.0202)
Woman	0.00879 (0.0795)	0.0509 (0.0791)
African American	-0.347* (0.194)	-0.316 (0.196)
Hispanic	-0.271 (0.195)	-0.142 (0.200)
White	-0.339** (0.166)	-0.266 (0.170)
Some college	-0.377*** (0.107)	-0.337*** (0.106)
College degree	-0.538*** (0.112)	-0.443*** (0.112)
Graduate degree	-0.714*** (0.142)	-0.566*** (0.142)
Income	-0.269*** (0.0312)	-0.259*** (0.0315)
Employed	0.00179 (0.0941)	0.0442 (0.0946)
Retired	-0.544*** (0.152)	-0.524*** (0.151)
Married	-0.0933 (0.0856)	-0.105 (0.0864)
New resident	0.276** (0.116)	0.464*** (0.118)
English speaker	0.0867 (0.251)	0.0690 (0.262)
Life satisfaction Q20b		-0.336** (0.144)
Constant	2.445*** (0.357)	2.315*** (0.357)
Observations	3,780	3,757

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05

Table A7: Special Interest, System, Opinions

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Non-Voter = 1,0			
Special interest, Q24a, Q24b	-0.373*** (0.0890)	— —	— —
Age	0.128*** (0.0176)	0.129*** (0.0176)	0.119*** (0.0176)
Woman	0.0637 (0.0699)	0.0283 (0.0704)	0.0231 (0.0705)
African American	-0.292 (0.170)	-0.304 (0.171)	-0.284 (0.171)
Hispanic	-0.0750 (0.175)	-0.0827 (0.175)	-0.0463 (0.176)
White	-0.211 (0.146)	-0.202 (0.147)	-0.196 (0.147)
Some college	-0.375*** (0.0937)	-0.406*** (0.0941)	-0.339*** (0.0945)
College degree	-0.473*** (0.0987)	-0.482*** (0.0990)	-0.431*** (0.0994)
Graduate degree	-0.591*** (0.126)	-0.613*** (0.126)	-0.561*** (0.126)
Income	-0.271*** (0.0275)	-0.257*** (0.0276)	-0.256*** (0.0278)
Employed	0.121 (0.0840)	0.128 (0.0842)	0.127 (0.0845)
Retired	-0.500*** (0.130)	-0.475*** (0.130)	-0.436*** (0.130)
Married	-0.139* (0.0757)	-0.135* (0.0760)	-0.115 (0.0763)
New resident	0.372*** (0.105)	0.350*** (0.106)	0.368*** (0.106)
English speaker	-0.0154 (0.229)	-0.0428 (0.229)	-0.0284 (0.230)
System Q33a, Q33b	— —	-0.566*** (0.0804)	— —
Opinions	— —	— —	-2.936*** (0.333)
Constant	2.269*** (0.301)	2.346*** (0.301)	4.701*** (0.430)
Observations	4,925	4,925	4,925

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05

Table A8: Full Model

	Non-Voter, 1, 0	Non-Voter =0
News exposure Q5	-0.365*** (0.0799)	-0.240*** (0.0676)
News from others Q6	0.199** (0.0918)	0.171** (0.0767)
News social media Q6	-0.227** (0.105)	-0.197** (0.0902)
System is easy Q32	-0.493*** (0.109)	-0.417*** (0.0829)
Confidence in system Q33	-0.238*** (0.0880)	-0.203*** (0.0741)
Special interests Q24	-0.0817 (0.0967)	-0.210*** (0.0799)
Opinion	-0.644*** (0.136)	-0.363*** (0.0954)
Free time	-0.359** (0.158)	-0.0989 (0.133)
Age	0.157*** (0.0186)	0.0785*** (0.0156)
Woman	-0.0249 (0.0725)	0.121* (0.0630)
African American	-0.300* (0.176)	-0.425*** (0.152)
Hispanic	-0.108 (0.181)	-0.185 (0.155)
White	-0.221 (0.152)	-0.258** (0.130)
Some college	-0.346*** (0.0977)	-0.326*** (0.0783)
College degree	-0.419*** (0.102)	-0.303*** (0.0860)
Graduate degree	-0.518*** (0.130)	-0.549*** (0.119)
Income	-0.236*** (0.0286)	-0.147*** (0.0256)
Employed	0.120 (0.0869)	-0.107 (0.0731)
Retired	-0.435*** (0.134)	-0.325*** (0.112)
Married	-0.106 (0.0785)	-0.0834 (0.0677)
New resident	0.330*** (0.109)	0.169* (0.0879)
English speaker	-0.0329 (0.234)	0.0481 (0.193)
Constant	3.478*** (0.351)	1.617*** (0.281)
Observations	4,694	4,694

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A9: Party Proxy

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)
	Non-Voter = 1 0	Non-Voter = 0
Age	0.0321 (0.0203)	-0.0212 (0.0199)
Woman	0.0448 (0.0816)	0.247*** (0.0819)
African American	-0.250 (0.202)	-0.595*** (0.201)
Hispanic	-0.170 (0.204)	-0.238 (0.199)
White	-0.282 (0.174)	-0.413** (0.172)
Some college	-0.280*** (0.107)	-0.218** (0.100)
College degree	-0.297** (0.115)	-0.208* (0.113)
Graduate degree	-0.356** (0.145)	-0.328** (0.155)
Income	-0.298*** (0.0322)	-0.228*** (0.0335)
Employed	-0.143 (0.0959)	-0.327*** (0.0920)
Retired	-0.528*** (0.147)	-0.406*** (0.148)
Married	-0.252*** (0.0867)	-0.264*** (0.0876)
New resident	0.396*** (0.121)	0.241** (0.111)
English speaker	0.0632 (0.266)	0.184 (0.265)
Difference in parties Q36a,b	0.0950*** (0.0239)	0.0576** (0.0238)
Constant	1.972*** (0.348)	0.618* (0.343)
Observations	3,033	3,033

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

