Who Trusts the Counts? American Election Confidence Across Race and Ethnicity

September 15, 2026

Raquel Centeno*

R. Michael Alvarez**

* Postdoctoral Teaching Scholar Fellow in Science, Society, and Policy (Linde Center for Science, Society, and Policy), Caltech

** Flintridge Foundation Professor of Political and Computational Social Science (Division of Humanities and Social Sciences), Caltech

Abstract

Trust in elections is critical to democratic legitimacy, and it has long been known that nonwhite voters are less trusting in U.S. elections. Despite this persistent finding, the racial gap in voter confidence has been understudied. Little is known about how trust in elections is distributed across Asian American, Black, and Latino voters. It is also not clear whether these differences between white and nonwhite voters are a byproduct of race on its own or due to other compositional differences. To test these questions, we use a Bayesian multilevel model approach applied to observational data from the 2024 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS), as the unique oversamples of nonwhite voters allow us to independently model the voter confidence of Asian American, Black, Latino, and white voters. In doing so, we uncover a consistent internal structure of the racial gap in voter confidence: low voter confidence concentrated among Black and Latino voters while Asian American voters are closer to white voters, who are generally highest in trust. We then further disaggregate our results across a variety of other demographic and attitudinal measures to elicit whether the gap is due to race or these other factors. We find across variety of tests that this internal racial structure is persistent even in the face of further disaggregation. We conclude that, in combination with different underlying distributions of characteristics such as age, partisanship, and education, the racial gap in voter confidence is driven to some degree by race on its own. Our research has important implications for bolstering confidence in American elections, especially among historically marginalized groups of voters.

This is a working draft of this paper, last updated September 15, 2026. Please do not share without permission.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

1 Introduction

Voter confidence is central to public and academic conversations about the U.S. electoral system. Over the years, research has shown that voters with less confidence are less likely to participate in elections, have reduced levels of weaker civic engagement, and are less trusting of democratic institutions (Alvarez et al. 2008; Atkeson et al. 2015). Concerns about voter confidence have grown in recent years, as research has shown that elite rhetoric affects voter confidence (Berlinski et al. 2023).

A critical gap in the literature is a deeper understanding of why certain segments of the U.S. electorate might have diminished confidence in elections. Our focus here is on the Asian American, Black, and Latino segments of the electorate, as voter confidence in election administration has not been studied in depth for these voters. Recent work on racial differences in electoral trust has found evidence of a broader racial trust gap, and that the inclusiveness of a state's voting laws may be one key factor (Coll and Clark 2024; Uribe et al. 2025). Our research in this paper seeks to build off of this recent work and to develop an even more thorough understanding about what drives voter confidence in particular for these important segments of the U.S. electorate, with novel levels of precision in our estimates.

Our findings offer three key takeaways for the study of voter sentiment towards election processes. The first finding, replicating the findings of existing work, is that there are clear differences in the voter confidence of white and nonwhite voter groups. Our contribution is showing that there is a consistent internal structure to this racial gap in voter confidence. White voters have a much lower probability of low voter confidence than Black or Latino voters. White voters are slightly less likely than Asian American voters to have low confidence in how their own ballots were counted, though Asian Americans show a steep decline in voter confidence as the level of election administration increases. The second key finding is that even when we further disaggregate these groups by other demographic

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

and attitudinal covariates, there is no clear driver of this pattern along other model parameters. In other words, there is no 'smoking gun' such as education or partisanship that fully accounts for the variation in voter confidence and the overall structure of this pattern that we consistently observe across racial groups. Our third and final finding is that by estimating average marginal contrasts in race for voter confidence, we find that much, but not all, of the racial gap in voter confidence can be attributed to race independent of other compositional differences. We observe notable residuals, particularly for the difference between Black and white voter confidence, when all other covariates are held at their observed values for each racial group. We view these results as indicative that at least some portions of the racial gap in voter confidence are attributable to the legacy of race on voter attitudes and not just a byproduct of compositional differences across racial groups. Importantly, the internal structure of white voters having higher confidence is consistent. Black voters are furthest from whites in their voter confidence net of these compositional differences, while Latino voters are not far behind. Overall, we provide new evidence of how American racial hierarchies continue to shape how voters view election administration, which future research can use to further probe which racial groups of voters are confident and why.

2 The Racial and Ethnic Gap in Voter Confidence

Voter confidence in election administration has been a central concern for more than two decades (Atkeson and Saunders 2007; Alvarez et al. 2008). Early research depicted voter confidence as a multidimensional construct, as voters can be confident in whether their own ballot was counted as they intended — and also may have different levels of confidence in election administration in their county, state, or across the nation (Atkeson and Saunders 2007; Alvarez et al. 2008). Voter confidence was also conceptualized as being a function of public trust about specific institutions of election administration, and

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

not just an expression of more generalized trust in government (Atkeson et al. 2015).

The early work on voter confidence helped to define the research agenda for subsequent studies. One of the primary themes has been studying individual-level identities and how they are associated with voter confidence. It should not be surprising to learn that partisan identifiers are associated with voter confidence (Atkeson and Saunders 2007; Alvarez et al. 2008). However, the association between partisanship and voter confidence has been shown to be conditional on election outcomes, in the form of the "winner's effect" (or the "loser's effect") (Sances and Stewart 2015; Sinclair et al. 2018). In the aftermath of a Republican electoral victory, for example, Republican voters are more likely to express confidence in the administration of the election.

Voter confidence is also associated with other perceptions about the electoral process. Several studies have examined voter confidence and opinions about the prevalence of election fraud (Alvarez et al. 2021; Fortin-Rittberger et al. 2017; Berlinski et al. 2023; Beaulieu 2014). Not surprisingly, voters who believe that election fraud is more prevalent are generally found to be less confident in election administration (Alvarez et al. 2021). Thus, the messaging and rhetoric of partisan elites plays an important role, in particular in situations where their rhetoric focuses on allegations of widespread or rampant election fraud (Berlinski et al. 2023; Beaulieu 2014; Clayton et al. 2021).

Importantly, voter confidence in elections is associated with the voter's experience with election administration Alvarez et al. (2021). This association has been shown in different contexts. Early work found a correlation between voter confidence and mode of voting, with those voting by mail expressing lower levels of confidence (Alvarez et al. 2008). Other work has looked more closely at other aspects of a voter's experience with the election process, finding that if a voter generally does not have a great experience, that is associated with reduced confidence in election administration (Alvarez et al. 2021; Claassen et al. 2008). Developing more effective voter communications may help increase

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

trust in elections (Bergeron-Boutin et al. 2025).

However, one of the outstanding issues in the study of voter confidence regards how voters from different racial and ethnic groups evaluate election administration. Research has generally shown that non-white voters are less confident than white voters (Alvarez et al. 2008). Some studies have examined the association between racial and ethnic identities, relative to other factors like partisanship and voting experience, and voter confidence (Bullock et al. 2005). Others have looked at the association between candidate race, along with contextual factors like who wins and election and the margin of victory, and voter confidence (Tobin et al. 2025). There is intriguing research that indicates that if a Black or Latino voter interacts with a poll worker of their racial or ethnic identity, that is associated with greater confidence in the election process (King and Barnes 2019). Others have recently argued that differences in the overall accessibility of the election process might play some role in explaining the racial gap in voter confidence (Uribe et al. 2025). Relatedly, for Black Americans, recent research has argued that opinions about election accessibility policies are associated with trust in elections (Freeder and Shino 2024). But understanding the racial and ethnic differences in voter confidence in the U.S. remains an important question.

Providing answers for the question about how U.S. voter confidence differs across racial and ethnic groups has been thwarted by a key methodological issue. Most of the past research on voter confidence uses survey samples that are underpowered for studying the opinions of nonwhites in the U.S. For example, many of the studies in the literature use nationally-representative samples, based on the responses of 1,000 or 2,000 respondents. As the racial and ethnic composition of the U.S. electorate is approximately 60% white, 15% Black, 20% Latino, and 8% Asian American, that means that these samples will contain somewhere between 300 and 600 Black, Latino, and Asian American respondents. Such a sample might allow researchers to estimate white versus nonwhite opinions

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

with some reliability, but will not allow the reliable estimation of richer differences between these racial and ethnic groups. We advance the study of voter confidence by using a dataset that has large oversamples of Black, Latino, and Asian American respondents, thus giving us the statistical power to study the spectrum of voter confidence across these racial and ethnic populations. We also use an estimation approach, Bayesian hierarchical modeling, that allows reliable estimation of the uncertainty in our estimates which provides an additional improvement over past research.

3 Our Contribution

Our central contribution is providing robust estimates of how voter confidence differs across key racial and ethnic groups. Other studies have largely focused on how broader population-level effects such as the winner-loser effect and the voter experience shape voter confidence among American voters as a whole. While past research has found that nonwhite voters tend to have lower confidence on average than white voters (Alvarez et al. 2008), few other studies disaggregate nonwhite voters to the extent that we do here. Additionally, most other studies do not have large enough samples of nonwhite voters to conduct such research and are limited due to a lack of statistical power. Through pairing a unique national-level survey of U.S. voters with large oversamples of nonwhite voters with Bayesian multilevel models, we are able to estimate voter confidence across these groups with significantly more precision than past studies.

In general, we see voter confidence as influenced by a combination of attributes related to group histories with political institutions, levels of knowledge about and incorporation into the American political system, the voter experience with past and current elections, and other group-influenced attributes such as partisanship and political ideology. It is well documented that these attributes all vary importantly by race (Masuoka and Junn 2013; McClain and Stewart 2014), and that differences in relative accessibility and political

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

mobilization can often lead nonwhite voters to trust electoral institutions to a lesser degree (Uribe et al. 2025). We therefore expect that white voters, given their relative centrality in American politics and higher degrees of status within the broader racial hierarchy (Kim 1999; Zou and Cheryan 2017), will have higher levels of voter confidence than nonwhite voters.

H1: White voters will express higher levels of voter confidence than Asian American, Black, and Latino voters.

H2: Differences in voter confidence between white and nonwhite voters will be associated with demographic and behavioral differences.

H3: Differences in voter confidence between white and nonwhite voters will persist even when other demographic attributes are fixed.

4 Data and Methodology

4.1 Data

We use observational data from the 2024 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Study (CMPS) to evaluate how voter confidence varies across the four racial groups that make up the main sample of the CMPS: Asian American, Black, Latino, and white voters. The CMPS is particularly useful for conducting this analysis given its large oversamples of nonwhite voters. While many national-level surveys like the American National Election Studies include large numbers of voters overall, the sizes of each nonwhite subsample are too small for an in-depth analysis such as ours. Even then, some racial subsamples in surveys like the ANES are especially small, particularly Asian Americans and Latinos. Using the CMPS allows us to overcome this methodological hurdle. After restricting the

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

sample to just those who voted in the 2024 election (as these are the only respondents who were asked the voter confidence items), there are 2,065 Asian American voters, 3,140 Black voters, 2,114 Latino voters, and 1,621 white voters in the final sample. The CMPS therefore allows more granular analyses of the political attitudes of all four voter groups.[1]

4.2 Explanatory and Outcome Variables

Explanatory variable: race and ethnicity. Given our focus on voter confidence, we subset the larger CMPS sample to just those who reported voting in the 2024 election. We then use the CMPS standardized measure of race to group respondents into one of four racial categories: Asian American, Black, Latino, or white. The CMPS asks respondents to self-identify into as many racial groups as applicable at the start of the survey. This item notes that some people may identify with more than one racial group and while most respondents choose just one group, some select more than one. If a respondent selects more than one racial group, a follow-up item asks them which group they would consider their "primary race or ethnicity" if asked to choose one. Their response to the primary race/ethnicity item response is how respondents are then sorted into one of the four primary sample categories.

Outcome variable: voter confidence. We use the four-item battery for voter confidence introduced by Alvarez et al. (2008) and included in the 2024 CMPS. This battery asks respondents how confident they are that ballots are being counted as voters intended at various levels of election administration. The item on which we place the greatest amount of focus is how confident voters are that *their own* ballot was counted as they intended. However, respondents are also asked how confident they are that ballots are being counted as intended at the county, state, and national levels. The response options range on a 4-point scale ranging from 'not at all confident' to 'very confident'. The full wording

[1]The CMPS included the standard voter confidence battery only in the 2024 survey, thus our analyses are restricted to the 2024 election.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

for all items is included in the appendix. Given that most respondents report higher levels of voter confidence, we collapse this variable into low and high voter confidence to ensure our models are properly identified. We recode the variable such that 'not at all confident' and 'not too confident' are grouped into low confidence (1) while 'somewhat confident' and 'very confident' are grouped into high confidence (0). The full wording and distribution of these items can be found in the appendix.

4.3 Methodology

To evaluate the relationship between voter confidence and race, we conduct Bayesian multilevel binary logit regression models. We use Bayesian multilevel models to estimate these quantities because of their strong performance in detecting patterns of behavior within smaller subsamples of surveys like the CMPS (Western 1998; Shor et al. 2007; Gelman and Shalizi 2013; Much 2025). The CMPS's oversamples of nonwhite groups are highly useful for estimating our quantities of interest, and pairing this advantage with Bayesian multilevel models presents a methodological advancement over past observational work in this area. The use of partial pooling and weakly informative priors within Bayesian multilevel modeling allows researchers to produce more precise group-level estimations for smaller subsamples than would otherwise be possible within a frequentist framework (Gelman et al. 2013, 2020). By including a random group-level effect for race, we allow the slopes of all covariates to vary for each racial subgroup. This variation is important because it is likely that the relationship between voter confidence and other covariates such as partisanship likely vary across racial groups. While we could conduct frequentist subgroup-focused models for each racial group in isolation, we would lose a considerable amount of statistical power in doing so which would likely lead to imprecise estimates of our quantities of interest (Much 2025). Furthermore, we expect that while it is important to allow each covariate's slope to vary by race, there are likely some com-

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

monalities in these relationships across racial groups. Information about voter confidence among whites could be useful for estimating voter confidence among Latinos, for example. In addition, in the case of a skewed variable like voter confidence, Bayesian multilevel modeling is useful for retaining enough statistical power to estimate the rarer outcome of low voter confidence.

We regress voter confidence on a variety of relevant fixed-effect covariates with a single level of random group effects for race. While we use a parsimonious number of covariates to keep the models computationally stable and manageable, we include many of the common covariates studied within this literature. For demographics, we include age, education, gender, income, and Census region. On the attitudinal front, we include party identification (3-level variable of Democrat, Republican, or independent/other), political ideology (4-level variable of moderate, other, liberal, or conservative), and political interest (additive measure scaled from 0 to 1). Finally, we also include variables related to the voting experience, as voter experience is generally understood to influence voter confidence. In particular, we include whether someone voted absentee (1 if yes, 0 if no) and whether they voted in either the 2020 or 2022 elections (1 if yes, 0 if no).

Each model ran for 25,000 iterations with a warm-up of 24,000 iterations across 10 cores, producing a final sample of 10,000 draws. The Markov chains converged for all models with zero divergent transitions for each model after a run-time of approximately 13 hours. We report highest density intervals rather than equal-tailed intervals for all our results, concentrating the posterior means at the highest density of predictions to better reflect the underlying distribution of the data. We do not incorporate design weights as applied Bayesian modeling typically uses model-based inferential approach to predicting non-sampled values. Following typical Bayesian practice, we condition on the common kinds of variables used to weight similar samples (such as education, age, and gender). Using design weights directly in Bayesian models like ours can lead to overly complicated

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table 1: Predicted probability (in percentages) of respondent indicating each level of confidence in their own vote being counted as they intended, by race

Confidence Level	Race	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Low confidence				
1	White	8.46	7.99, 8.88	7.18, 9.78
1	Black	15.01	14.52, 15.35	13.84, 16.23
1	Asian Am.	9.93	9.52, 10.36	8.74, 11.20
1	Latino	13.37	12.90, 13.83	12.00, 14.77
High Confidence				
0	White	91.54	91.12, 92.01	90.22, 92.82
0	Black	84.99	84.65, 85.48	83.77, 86.16
0	Asian Am.	90.07	89.64, 90.48	88.80, 91.26
0	Latino	86.63	86.17, 87.10	85.23, 88.00

models with less reliable estimates (Gelman 2007). Additional details regarding our modeling strategy are provided in the appendix.

5 Results

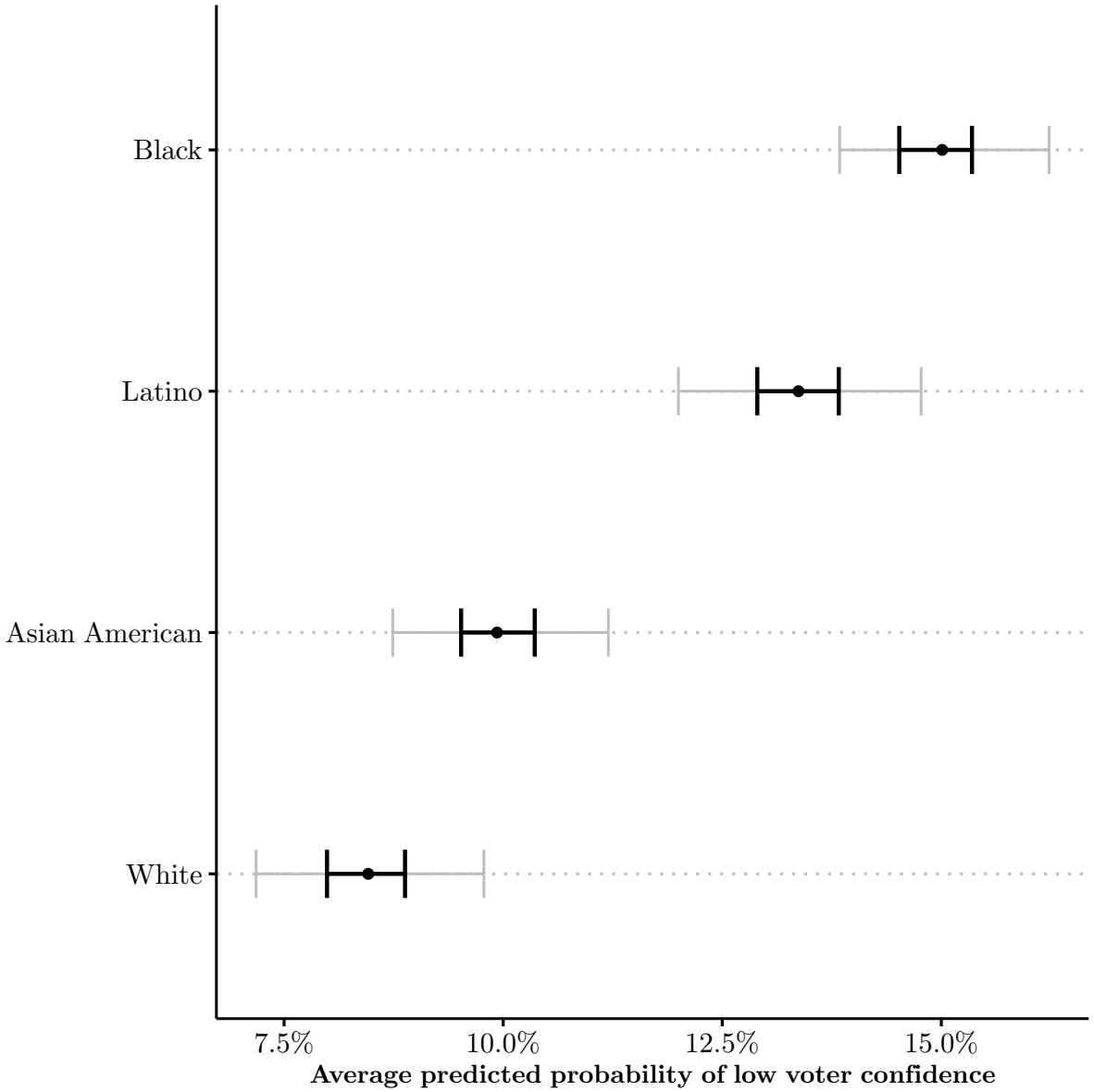
5.1 Voter Confidence Across Racial and Ethnic Groups

We begin our analysis by examining how respondents' confidence in how their own vote varies across racial and ethnic groups. As noted in H1, we expect white voters to be more confident about the counting of votes than nonwhite voters. Figure 1 and Table 1 show the results of our first model focused on confidence in one's own vote. Table 1 shows the average marginal predicted probabilities of voter confidence by racial group, while Figure 1 visually displays the predicted probability of low voter confidence by racial group. Table 2 further quantifies these differences in marginal predictions across all sample draws, providing point estimates and credible intervals for the differences between white and nonwhite groups in their average marginal predictions of low voter confidence.

We immediately see that, in general, white voters have a lower probability than any

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Figure 1: Average marginal predicted probability of low confidence in own vote being counted as voter intended, by racial group (50 and 95% CI)



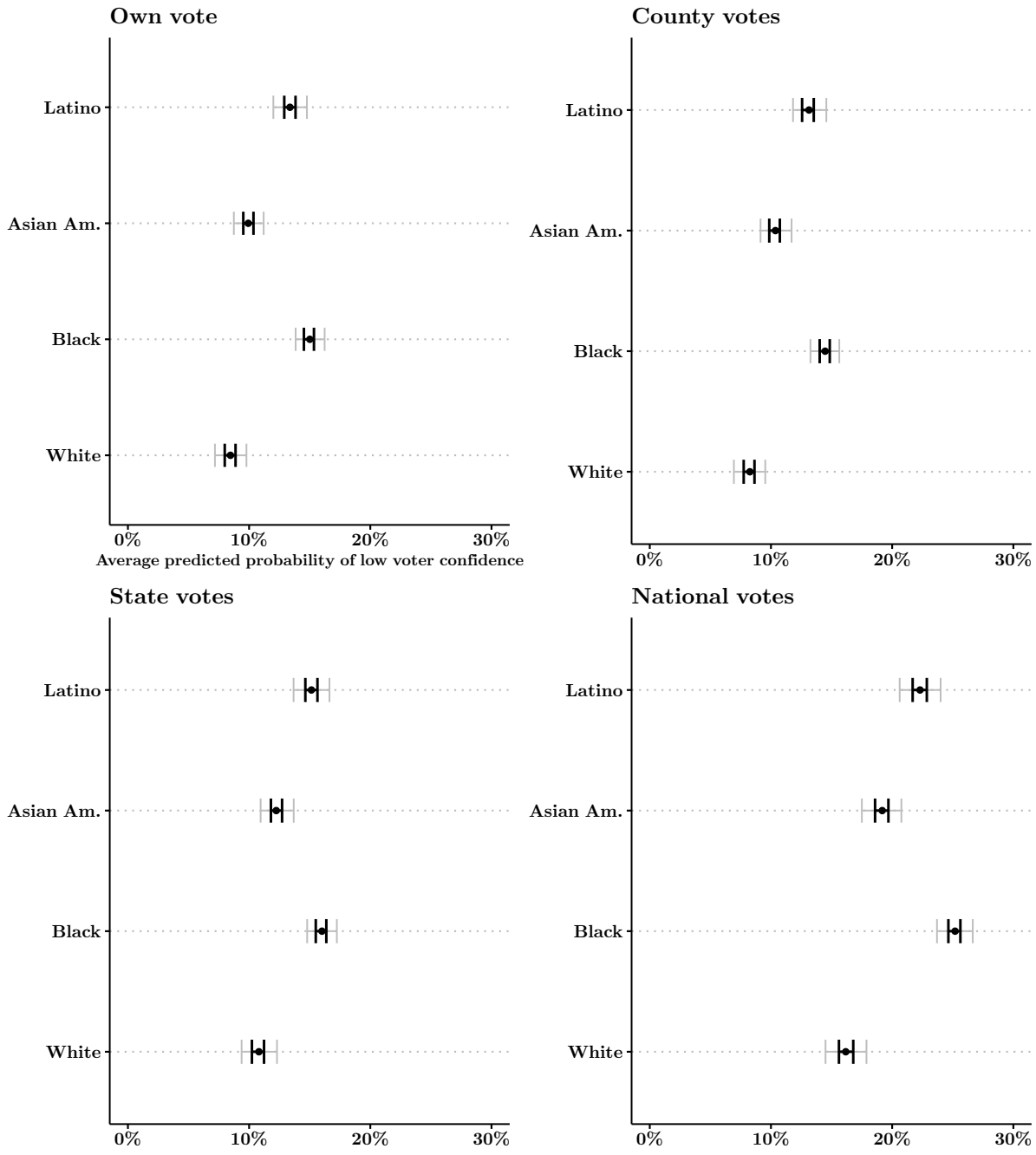
https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

other group of reporting low confidence that their own vote was counted as they intended. White voters have an average marginal predicted probability of approximately 8.5% of low voter confidence. That is roughly 7 percentage points lower than Black voters, 5 percentage points lower than Latino voters, and about 1.5 percentage points lower than Asian American voters in this sample. Even when taking into account the full distribution of the 50% and 95% credible intervals presented in Table 2, there is very little overlap in the likelihood of whites and nonwhites having low confidence in how their own ballots were counted. Put differently, white voters have the lowest likelihood of being a low confidence voter, while Black voters have the highest likelihood of reporting low voter confidence. Black and white voters have the least similarity between one another, though there is overlap in the difference between Black and white voter confidence and the difference between Latino and white voter confidence. While Asian American voter confidence is much closer to white voter confidence than it is Black or Latino voter confidence at the own vote level, that the difference in estimated predicted probabilities between the two groups is aggregates above 0 suggests that low voter confidence among Asian Americans is slightly higher than that of white voters at this level of election administration.

Importantly, these results indicate nuanced differences among Asian American, Black, and Latino voters in their voter confidence. While these groups are all less likely than whites to indicate higher levels of confidence in how their own vote was counted, there are also differences between the nonwhite groups. In general, Black voters are the least confident group in terms of point estimates. However, as shown in Appendix Table A.37, the pairwise comparisons of each group's average marginal predicted probabilities include some overlap between Black and Latino voters, suggesting that the two groups are somewhat similar in their low levels of confidence in whether their vote was counted as they intended. Asian Americans, on the other hand, have consistently higher levels of voter confidence than Black and Latino voters.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Figure 2: Average marginal predicted probability of low voter confidence across levels of election administration, by racial group (50% and 95% CI)



https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table 2: Differences in estimated predicted probabilities (percentages) of low voter confidence, by race

Comparison	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Black - White	6.52	6.00, 7.21	4.80, 8.31
Asian American - White	1.46	0.89, 2.10	-0.32, 3.21
Latino - White	4.90	4.29, 5.58	3.03, 6.76

Given the rather striking patterns we observe for confidence in the counting of the voter's own vote, we now turn to whether this pattern is repeated across the other levels of election administration. Figure 2 visualizes the results of this analysis, and table versions of the results can be found in the appendix.

Based on Figure 2, it is clear that our previously observed trend of whites being higher in voter confidence than nonwhites is consistent across each level of election administration. As depicted in the tables in Appendix Section A.7, there is an over 4 percentage point gap between white and Black/Latino voters in their probability of low voter confidence regardless of whether the administrative level is county, state, or national vote counting. Asian American voters once again are in the middle of this gap, though Asian American voter confidence tends to skew closer to white voter confidence than it does Black and Latino voter confidence. We take these results as highly suggestive of a real and persistent gap in voter confidence across racial groups. In line with H1, white voter confidence tends to be higher than nonwhite voter confidence across all levels of election administration. The differences between whites and nonwhites are most pronounced at the national level of administration, but the preponderance of evidence suggests that white voter confidence is higher than nonwhite voter confidence at all levels.

Interestingly, the results we observe here somewhat mirror theories of racial triangulation that suggest Asian Americans are positioned higher in social status or more proximate to whiteness than their Black or Latino counterparts, while still holding lower levels of institutional trust than white voters (Kim 1999; Zou and Cheryan 2017). Such

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

a pattern suggests that our observed differences by race in voter confidence could stem from racial marginalization. Groups that experience more intensive and explicit racial marginalization may also be more skeptical of electoral institutions due to these experiences and historical memories, rendering them less confident in the overall administration of elections. This pattern is strongest when it comes to confidence in the counting of one's own vote. Asian Americans in particular weaken in their voter confidence and move further apart from whites as the level of election administration increases, perhaps reflecting the differences between the individual experiences of marginalization captured by the own vote level and the general skepticism of institutions at the more abstract national level.

It is worth noting that voter confidence across the sample declines as the item's context progresses from from local election administration to national election administration. Respondents have generally higher faith across the board that their own vote was counted as intended, and that confidence declines when they consider whether votes across the county, state, or nation were counted as voters intended. We view the own vote item as a more precise measure of voter confidence, given that it more directly asks whether voters think their own vote was counted as they personally intended. As the scope of the question expands, respondents might consider news stories they have heard, the experiences of people around them, or even become more susceptible to partisan-motivated reasoning as the question relies less on their personal experience. In addition, how ballots are counted becomes a more abstract concept as the level of administration increases. The county level measure aligns with the fact that most election administration work is handled at the county level, such as the main task of processing and counting ballots. And while states might not be the ones counting ballots themselves, they do employ state-level election staff like the secretary of state which more directly connects to asking voters whether they think the state is handling elections as it should. At the national level, this measure is highly abstract given the federal government's considerably smaller role in election

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

administration. For these reasons, we focus throughout the rest of our analyses on the own vote confidence measure and report results for the other measures in the appendix.

Some might also wonder whether there are notable differences across states within the sample, given that both election rules and racial demographics vary widely across states. To test this possibility, we run a version of our own vote-focused model with fixed effects for each state and report the model fit summaries and average marginal predictions in the appendix in Tables A.55 and A.56. The results are largely similar to our main results, further demonstrating that our results are not driven by respondents in a particular state or region. We also run a version of the model with naive priors, reported in the appendix in Tables A.57 and A.58. The naive prior specification replicates our main results, which means the results we observe are not overly dependent upon our priors. Together, these additional analyses show that our results are robust to different model specifications.

In summary, we present the first disaggregated point estimates of voter confidence for Asian American, Black, Latino, and white voters. In doing so, we replicate previous analyses suggesting that white voters are more confident in the counting of votes than nonwhite voters. By disaggregating our sample by racial and ethnic group, we are able to show this racial gap in voter confidence is driven largely by Black and Latino voters. While Asian Americans are less confident than white voters at the 50% credible interval threshold, we observe overlaps in their confidence at the 95% credible interval threshold. We therefore cannot as definitively say that Asian Americans are lower in voter confidence than whites. However, we in this section we present a great deal of evidence to support our hypothesis that nonwhite voters have systematically lower voter confidence than white voters.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

5.2 Disaggregating the Average Marginal Predictions

5.2.1 Average Marginal Predictions by Race and Additional Demographic Covariates

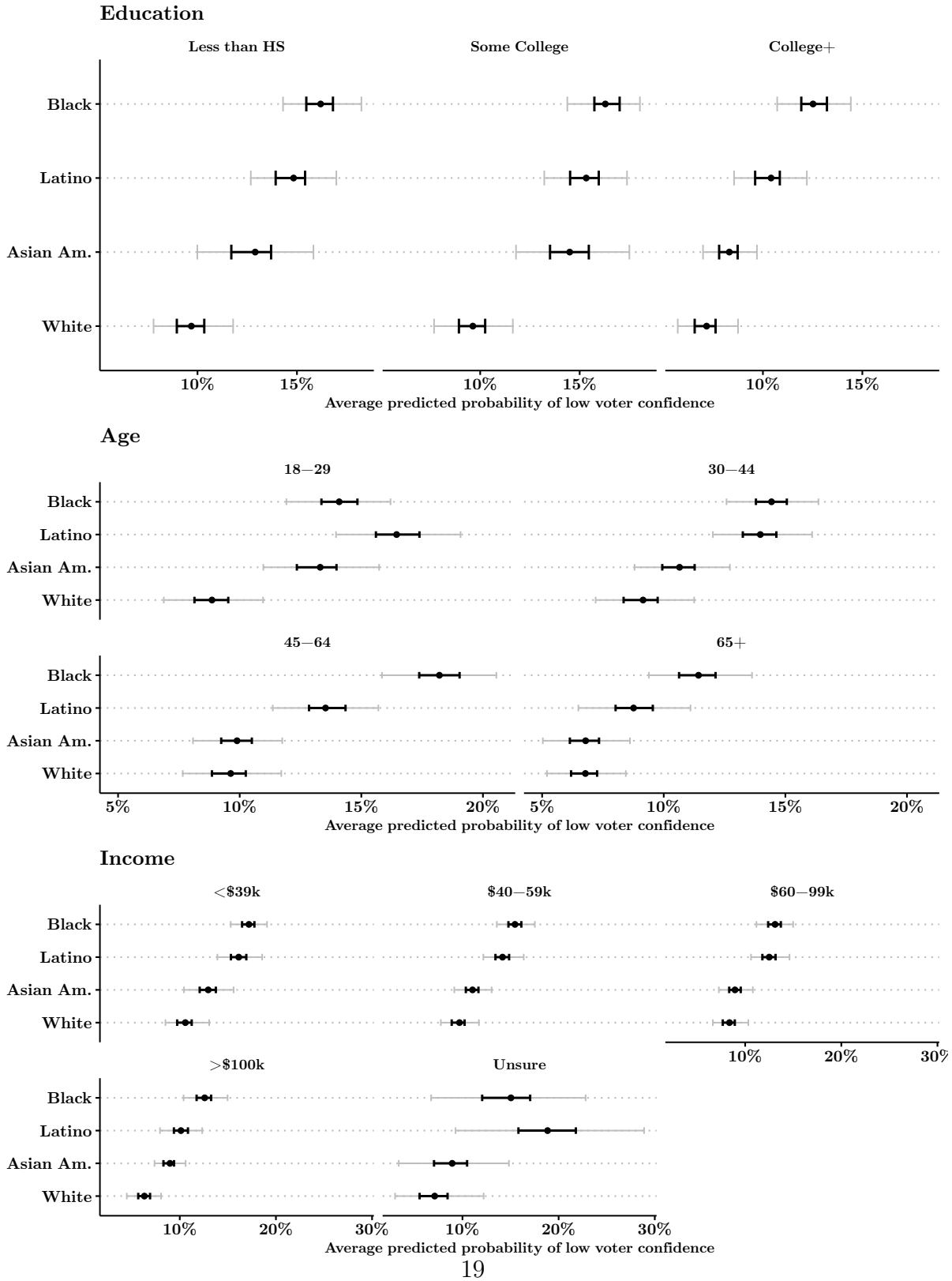
In the previous section, we document a gap in voter confidence across racial and ethnic groups. However, rather than this gap being entirely explained by race, it is possible that some of the other covariates in our model drive the gaps we observe. One way to test this possibility is by further disaggregating each racial group along other covariates, which would then allow us to examine whether racial gaps diminish. For example, if the variation in voter confidence is better explained by education than race, then we would expect the racial gaps in voter confidence to fail to replicate across each level of education. The same would go for other covariates like age, partisanship, or even vote mode. If voter confidence is primarily associated with absentee voters, and the racial gap in voter confidence is driven by different underlying distributions of absentee voting, then we would expect to see the racial gap disappear once we disaggregate all groups by vote mode. This constitutes our test for H2.

To test these possibilities, we estimate the average marginal predicted probabilities of low voter confidence across each (1) racial group and (2) category of additional covariate. If the pattern we observe in the previous section holds, then we can have more confidence in attributing these gaps in voter confidence to race. If the pattern does not hold or entirely disappears upon disaggregating a particular covariate, then we have evidence that other factors have a more meaningful relationship with voter confidence but are obscured by a sole focus on race. Figures 3 and 4 visualize the results from these analyses. Full results tables can be found in the appendix.

There is little evidence of a smoking gun covariate that explains the racial gaps we observe in the previous section. While there is some level of overlap across the 95% credible intervals due to increased uncertainty (as one would expect from estimating

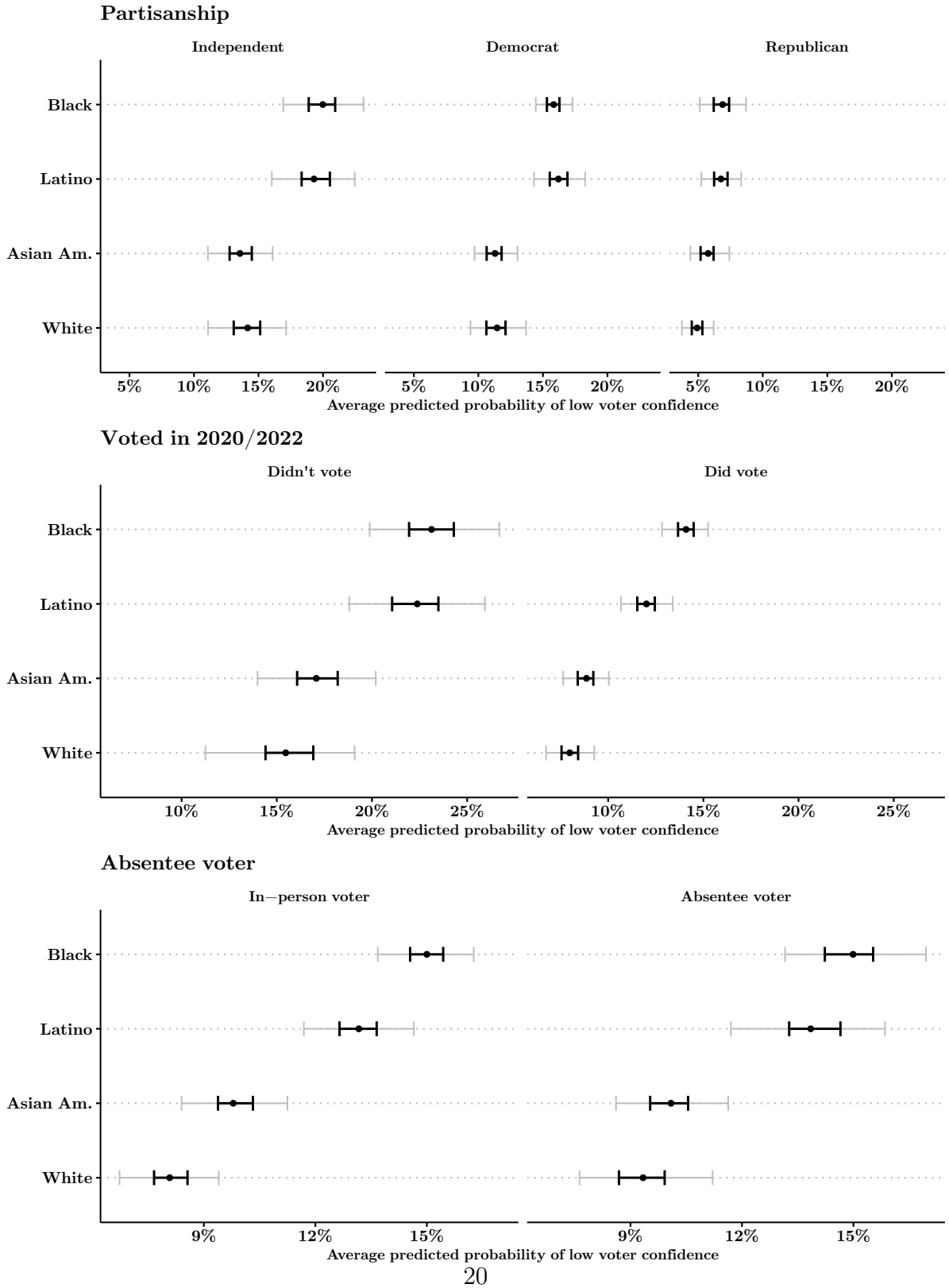
https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Figure 3: Average marginal predicted probability of low voter confidence in counting of own vote, decomposed by racial group and other demographics, part 1 (50% and 95% CI)



https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Figure 4: Average marginal predicted probability of low voter confidence in counting of own vote, decomposed by racial group and other demographics, part 2 (50% and 95% CI)



https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

what is essentially an interaction between race and another covariate), the 50% credible intervals suggest that further disaggregation across racial groups does not on its own explain the racial gap in voter confidence. While the average point estimates might differ across some covariate categories, such as those with a more extensive voting history being more confident in the counting of their vote than those with a less extensive history, Black and Latino voters continue to have higher predicted probabilities of low voter confidence across disaggregated covariate categories.

The one potential exception to this finding is partisanship. While Black and Latino Democrats and independents have a higher predicted probability of low voter confidence than Asian American and white Democrats and independents, Republicans are broadly similar in their predicted confidence across racial groups. The point estimates of predicted low voter confidence are slightly higher for Black and Latino Republicans, but they are not appreciably higher than what we estimate for Asian American and white Republicans. It is not surprising that Republicans in general are more confident in how their own vote was counted given the winner-loser effect, but it is unclear why the racial gap pattern that holds for every other demographic category is especially weak among Republicans. One explanation could be that the winner-loser effect mitigates the racial gap, such that we no longer observe it as strongly among partisans whose party wins an election. Another possibility is that if this gap is driven by historical or contemporary feelings of racial marginalization as we suspect, then perhaps Black and Latino Republicans are less likely to be personally affected by these histories given their ideological leaning. If this gap is indeed reflective of voters' attitudinal reactions to racial hierarchies, then voters likely need to personally buy into this historical narrative for it to have an appreciable effect on their beliefs about institutions such as elections.

Overall, we see that the pattern observed in the previous section—that Black and Latino voters are systematically lowest in voter confidence while Asian Americans are

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

slightly lower in confidence than white voters—broadly replicates across each additional disaggregated covariate analysis. In other words, even when we disaggregate all racial and ethnic groups by other factors such as education and income, the racial gap in voter confidence still remains across each segment of the covariate. In the next section, we further decompose our results via average marginal contrasts which even further probe the relationship between race and voter confidence.

5.2.2 Average Marginal Contrasts by Race

While in our previous analyses we looked at the average marginal predicted probabilities for each level of voter confidence by race, these predictions do not tell the full story of how race might condition voter confidence. Rather, they take the full spectrum of the posterior predictions of voter confidence for each racial group based on the observed data and average them out into the distributions we report here. In doing so, this process incorporates the effect of other covariates in the model—such as age or past voter turnout—into the average predicted probabilities. Therefore, while we report gaps by race in predicted probabilities of voter confidence, some of these gaps might be due less to race on its own and due more to distributional group-level differences along other important predictors of voter confidence, such as being over the age of 65 or having voted in past elections. It is important to consider this possibility given that, for example, our Latino voter sample skews much younger than the white sample (which is also reflective of real-world demographic trends).

We can more directly estimate the relationship of race with voter confidence, net of

Table 3: Average marginal contrasts (in percentages) by race for low voter confidence

Group contrast	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Asian American - White	0.21	-0.27, 1.24	-1.93, 2.45
Black - White	2.41	1.52, 2.88	0.28, 4.49
Latino - White	2.01	1.36, 2.75	-0.09, 4.35

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table 4: Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts of low voter confidence, by race (95% CI)

Group contrast	P(Contrast > 0)	P(Contrast > 0.01)
Asian American - White	0.55	0.24
Black - White	0.99	0.92
Latino - White	0.96	0.83

compositional differences, by taking the average marginal contrasts of these predicted probabilities by race. This constitutes our test for H3. For each respondent, we estimate the probability that they fall into each level of voter confidence for each racial group, holding all other covariates at their actual observed values. The contrast is the difference between these counterfactual race-based predictions. Averaging these contrasts across all respondents marginalizes over the observed distribution of covariates, which allows us to more directly estimate the relationship between race and voter confidence, net of other covariates. These differences are averaged out to calculate the *average* marginal contrast in predicted probability based on race. In this case, we are interested in whether the predicted probability of low voter confidence differs between whites and nonwhites, so we subtract the white predicted probability for each level of voter confidence from the predicted probabilities of the other nonwhite groups.

The results of this analysis are shown in Table 3. Table 4 shows the posterior probabilities that these marginal contrasts are greater than 0 and 0.01 (i.e., 1 percentage point of voter confidence), quantifying the proportion of the sampled draws in which the differences in the average marginal contrasts between whites and nonwhites are larger than these thresholds of interest.

Relative to the raw differences in average marginal predicted probabilities, the racial gaps in voter confidence are much smaller here. For example, whereas there was an approximately 7 percentage point difference between white and Black voters in the average predicted probability of having low confidence in how their own vote was counted,

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

there is only an approximately 2.5 percentage point difference in both groups' predicted probabilities when using the marginal contrast approach.

One way to interpret this result would be to say that of the 7 percentage point gap in the average marginal predictions, over 2 percentage points can be attributed to the racial difference of being Black rather than white. Similarly, we might attribute about 2 percentage points of the 5 percentage point difference in white and Latino voter confidence to race, but only about 0.2 percentage points of the 1.5 percentage point difference between whites and Asian Americans. Through this approach, we are better equipped to isolate the relationship between race and voter confidence aside from other demographic compositional effects like differences in median age or voter propensity. While these other demographic-related differences are indeed connected to race and important to understanding the full social context of this phenomenon, they are distinct from the race-based power and status disparities that are typically the focus when researchers discuss racial gaps in voter trust. Importantly, these other demographic factors are likely downstream from race, which can be understood as a bundle of characteristics that go into a social category (Sen and Wasow 2016). This estimate should be considered a lower bound estimate of the total effect of race on the voter confidence of white and nonwhite voters.

As shown in Table 4, the posterior probability that both Black and Latino respondents have lower confidence in how their own ballot was counted than white voters is rather high. Through our analyses, we find a 99% probability that the marginal contrast between Black and white voters is greater than 0 and a 92% probability that it is greater than 1 percentage point. Similarly, we calculate a 96% probability that the marginal contrast between Latino and white voters is greater than 0 and an 83% probability that it is greater than 1 percentage point. The distributions of these posterior probabilities is highly suggestive that voter confidence among Black and Latino voters is lower than

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

white voters. As we suspected from the average marginal contrasts on their own, Asian Americans are not as consistently lower than whites in voter confidence at the own vote level. We find a 55% probability that the average marginal contrast of the voter confidence among Asian Americans and whites is greater than 0, and only a 24% probability that it is greater than 1 percentage point. These results are again indicative that low voter confidence is most concentrated among Black and Latino voters, while Asian American voters tend to look more like whites in their voter confidence when other attributes such as education and age are held at the same level.

A final way to consider these results is to quantify the relative probability that the ordering of white > Asian American > Latino > Black voter confidence holds across our sampled average marginal contrasts. As Table 5 shows, we find an approximately 36% probability that white voters are more confident than Asian American voters, that Asian American voters are more confident than Latino voters, and that Latino voters are more confident than Black voters. More broadly speaking, if we sum across orderings in which whites are highest in confidence, there is a roughly 57% probability of nonwhite voters having lower confidence than white voters. We can also loosen our criteria to calculate the probability that there are two roughly defined groups of voter confidence within our analyses, with no strong priors on the internal ordering of each group: Black and Latino voters being the less confident voters, and Asian American and white voters being the more confident voters. We ultimately find a 92% probability of this more general ordering within our sample draws, suggesting a high likelihood that when it comes to confidence in how one's own vote is counted, Black and Latino voters are lower in confidence than Asian American and white voters.

It is worth noting that our results in Appendix section A.11, demonstrate additional nuances to this point, further highlighting the differences between voter confidence in how one's own ballot was counted and how ballots were counted at more abstracted levels

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table 5: Posterior probability of confidence orderings across racial groups, confidence in own vote

Ordering	Posterior probability
White < Asian American < Latino < Black	0.364
Asian American < White < Latino < Black	0.246
White < Asian American < Black < Latino	0.172
Asian American < White < Black < Latino	0.136
Asian American < Latino < White < Black	0.026
White < Latino < Asian American < Black	0.026
Asian American < Black < White < Latino	0.007
White < Black < Asian American < Latino	0.005
Latino < Asian American < White < Black	0.004
Latino < White < Asian American < Black	0.004

Note:
Table has been filtered to the 10 orderings with the highest posterior probabilities.

of election administration. While the posterior probability that the contrasts between white and Black/Latino voter confidence are larger than 0 and 0.01 remain consistently high, the posterior probabilities of the same among Asian Americans increases in step the level of election administration. For example, while there is only a 55% probability of the Asian American − white contrast being greater than 0 at the own vote level, that posterior probability rises to 95% at the national vote level. There is only a 24% probability of the Asian American − white contrast being greater than 0.01 at the own vote level, but at the national level, this probability rises to 85%. Notably, this puts the probability of the contrast between Asian Americans and whites being greater than 0 and 0.01 about on par with the probability of the contrast for Latinos and whites. In fact, voter confidence among Asian Americans mirrors Black and Latino voter confidence much more closely at higher levels of election administration, which is further reflected in the pairwise comparisons presented in Appendix section A.12.

We see the results of these marginal contrasts as important in two ways. For one, looking only at the differences in average marginal predictions potentially overestimates

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

the effect of race on voter confidence. This result is suggestive that group-level differences along with other important covariates like age, past voting history, and partisanship contribute significantly to the large gap in white and nonwhite voter confidence in our earlier tests. In other words, it is likely inaccurate to say that the racial gap in voter confidence is driven entirely by factors such as racial marginalization that reduce nonwhite trust in elections. Demographic attributes beyond race including partisanship, education, and age are also critical to the story of who trusts elections. In fact, much of the total gap is likely driven by compositional differences along other demographic lines rather than driven by race on its own. Interventions to increase overall voter confidence among Black and Latino voters especially should take this into account. Other mechanisms that influence voter confidence, such as age and education, are also worth considering for targeted interventions.

The other important point, though, is that some portion of these racial gaps can indeed be attributed to race on its own, aside from these compositional differences. Through the marginal contrasts we are able to more directly measure the relationship of race with voter confidence, and the racial gap in voter confidence between Black and white voters appears especially robust among the groups in our sample. Through this third test, we are able to highlight our unique finding that these racial gaps have a consistent internal structure across different cross sections of analyses: low voter confidence is concentrated among Black and Latino voters who, depending on the analysis, are statistically indistinguishable from one another. At the same time, Black voters tend to have the lowest point estimates in our analyses, and the marginal contrasts indicate they are the furthest from white voters in their voter confidence. Asian American voters look much more similar to white voters in their voter confidence, though they have slightly higher point estimates and their gap from white voters increases as the level of election administration increases (e.g., confidence in the counting of one's own vote in comparison to confidence in national level

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

counting of votes). In sum, when all else is equal in terms of demographics, there are indeed still differences in the voter confidence of whites and nonwhites.

While we do not use a direct measure of racial marginalization itself and this is not the focus of our paper, we theorize that the residual left over when all covariates aside from race are held at their observed values is at its essence racial marginalization. We come to this conclusion because race on its own is a social construct that, independent of social processes, should not on its own condition voter attitudes; there is no biological reason that white voters would inherently trust elections more than Black voters net of compositional differences. Rather, what produces these differences are the social conditions that privilege white Americans over nonwhite Americans: racial marginalization. The marginal contrast results suggest there is something that impacts how Black and Latino voters view and experience electoral institutions, independent of their other demographic characteristics. We argue this difference is the racial marginalization of nonwhite Americans. Future research can and should probe this mechanism further to disentangle the impact of relevant compositional differences such as voter propensity from factors like racial marginalization.

6 Conclusion and Discussion

We find support for our prediction of higher voter confidence among white than nonwhite voters (H1), replicating the findings of others including (Coll and Clark 2024) and (Uribe et al. 2025). Through leveraging a national-level survey dataset with large oversamples of Asian American, Black, and Latino voters, we are able to demonstrate with novel levels of statistical precision given our methods and sample size that white voters have systematically more confidence in how votes are counted than nonwhite voters. While these other studies have emphasized that nonwhite voters are lower in confidence than white voters, we reveal a persistent internal structure of voter confidence: that

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

low voter confidence is often concentrated among Black and Latino voters, while Asian Americans are closer to whites in their voter confidence but have marginally higher levels of low voter confidence particularly as the level of election administration increases. We also find evidence that in some cases, all nonwhite groups in our sample are lower in voter confidence than white voters. Importantly, this pattern is consistent across all levels of election administration. Even when overall voter confidence declines at the state and national levels of administration, white voters are still more confident than their nonwhite counterparts, and Black and Latino voters especially hold lower levels of confidence that their ballots are being counted as they intended.

We then further probe these differences, testing to see whether the internal racial structure we observe in our test of H1 replicates even when we further disaggregate these groups along other characteristics. In doing so, we demonstrate that while much of the racial gap in voter confidence can be explained by compositional differences in characteristics such as partisanship (H2), they do not fully explain the racial gap in voter confidence. More importantly, we show that the internal structure replicates even in the face of further disaggregation. For example, even if College+ voters are higher in their voter confidence overall than Less than High School voters, Black College+ voters still have a higher probability of low voter confidence than white College+ voters. This finding is especially novel for this literature and worth emphasizing, as it showcases real heterogeneity in voter confidence across racial groups that is only observable with the sample size and methods we use in these analyses.

Finally, we present the results of average marginal contrasts that hold non-race covariates at their observed levels, which allows us to apply additional scrutiny to our claim that white voters have higher overall voter confidence than nonwhite voters. We ultimately find evidence that much of the racial gap in voter confidence can be explained via compositional differences, though we are able to also show that there are especially

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

pronounced differences between Black and white voters net of these compositional differences. When we broaden our focus to the 50% credible interval, there are also notable differences in the voter confidence of Latino and white voters, further providing evidence of the internal racial structure of voter confidence we identify in earlier analyses. Given that traits such as education and partisanship are often downstream from race, we can view these estimates as lower bounds on the total effect of race on voter confidence. These results provide further evidence in support of H3 which hypothesizes that even when all else is equal, race does play a role in shaping voter confidence. Though we do not test it as thoroughly in this article given our focus on documenting how voter confidence varies across racial groups, we speculate that this observed difference between white and nonwhite voters is the byproduct of years of racial marginalization, causing nonwhite voters to view electoral institutions with more skepticism than white voters even when other demographic and attitudinal factors are similar.

While we cannot make causal claims with these data, we suspect the residual we estimate as a controlled direct effect is a quantified measure of the effect of racial marginalization and status hierarchies in shaping how voters feel about and experience the political systems that govern them. It is difficult to causally test the effect of marginalization on voter confidence. In an ideal world, we could construct an ethical scenario in which we randomly assigned voters to experiences of racial marginalization in the voting process of one election and then observed whether it impacted voter behavior in the next election. We of course cannot reasonably do this in an ethical way, so scholars must get creative. If we understand racial marginalization as an important mediator of voter trust in elections, then it is imperative that researchers identify alternative ways to measure this via observational approaches. The approach we use here with average predicted probabilities and average marginal contrasts is one way of studying this phenomenon, but future research should look to other methods for evaluating our arguments in this paper. As an example,

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

a qualitative approach to testing our hypotheses could include interviewing voters to see whether themes of racial marginalization emerge in conversation with nonwhite voters when asked whether they trust how ballots are counted.

Some might argue that these results are not all that meaningful, given that our marginal contrasts based on race suggest an at most approximately 2 percentage point difference in the probability of low confidence in how votes are counted. Low voter confidence is also a lower incidence phenomenon, and most voters are relatively confident in how ballots are counted. However, the spread of false election rumors requires only a small but meaningful proportion of the electorate to be distrustful enough about election administration to share bad information or be dissuaded from voting. In this case, we do care about those marginal 10 to 15% of individuals who don't trust their vote is being counted as intended, because they could lead other voters to become more skeptical as well. Furthermore, the totality of our results suggest there are persistent gaps based on race in voter confidence.

Those interested in increasing voter confidence must contend with these race-based gaps, as not attending to them could perpetuate other racial inequities that are downstream from lower voter confidence among nonwhite voters. For example, voter confidence is generally associated with turning out to vote in the future. If nonwhite voters are less confident in the counting of their vote than white voters, this could additionally contribute to racial turnout gaps that hamper representation for historically marginalized communities. Armed with this newly robust evidence of a racial gap in voter confidence, additional research should dissect what precisely drives this inter- and intragroup gaps.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

References

Alvarez, R. M., Cao, J. and Li, Y. (2021), 'Voting experiences, perceptions of fraud, and voter confidence', *Social Science Quarterly* **102**(4), 1225–1238.
URL: *https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ssqu.12940*

Alvarez, R. M., Hall, T. E. and Llewellyn, M. H. (2008), 'Are Americans confident their ballots are counted?', *The Journal of Politics* **70**(3), 754–766.
URL: *https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1017/S0022381608080730*

Atkeson, L. R., Alvarez, R. M. and Hall, T. E. (2015), 'Voter confidence: How to measure it and how it differs from government support', *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* **14**(3), 207–219.

Atkeson, L. R. and Saunders, K. L. (2007), 'The effect of election administration on voter confidence: A local matter?', *PS: Political Science & Politics* **40**(4), 655–660.

Beaulieu, E. (2014), 'From voter ID to party ID: How political parties affect perceptions of election fraud in the US', *Electoral Studies* **35**, 24–32.

Bergeron-Boutin, O., Clayton, K., Kousser, T., Nyhan, B. and Prather, L. (2025), 'Communicating with voters to build trust in the us election system', *Journal of Election Administration, Research & Practice* p. 57.

Berlinski, N., Doyle, M., Guess, A. M., Levy, G., Lyons, B., Montgomery, J. M., Nyhan, B. and Reifler, J. (2023), 'The effects of unsubstantiated claims of voter fraud on confidence in elections', *Journal of Experimental Political Science* **10**(1), 34–49.

Bullock, C. S., Hood, M. V. and Clark, R. (2005), 'Punch cards, Jim Crow, and Al Gore: Explaining voter trust in the electoral system in georgia, 2000', *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* **5**(3), 283–294.

Claassen, R. L., Magleby, D. B., Monson, J. Q. and Patterson, K. D. (2008), '"At Your Service": voter evaluations of poll worker performance', *American Politics Research* **36**(4), 612–634.

Clayton, K., Davis, N. T., Nyhan, B., Porter, E., Ryan, T. J. and Wood, T. J. (2021), 'Elite rhetoric can undermine democratic norms', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **118**(23), e2024125118.

Coll, J. A. and Clark, C. J. (2024), 'A racial model of electoral reform: The relationship between restrictive voting policies and voter confidence for Black and white voters', *Public Opinion Quarterly* **88**(SI), 561–584.

Fortin-Rittberger, J., Harfst, P. and Dingler, S. C. (2017), 'The costs of electoral fraud: establishing the link between electoral integrity, winning an election, and satisfaction with democracy', *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* **27**(3), 350–368.
URL: *https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2017.1310111*

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Freeder, S. and Shino, E. (2024), 'Access or experience? determinants of distrust in US elections', *American Politics Research* **52**(2), 97–111.

Gelman, A. (2007), 'Struggles with Survey Weighting and Regression Modeling', *Statistical Science* **22**(2), 153–164.
URL: *https://projecteuclid.org/journals/statistical-science/volume-22/issue-2/Struggles-with-Survey-Weighting-and-Regression-Modeling/10.1214/088342306000000691.full*

Gelman, A., Carlin, J. B., Stern, H., Dunson, D. B., Vehtari, A. and Rubin, D. B. (2013), *Bayesian Data Analysis*, 3 edn, Chapman & Hall, London.

Gelman, A., Hill, J. and Vehtari, A. (2020), *Regression and Other Stories*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K.

Gelman, A. and Shalizi, C. R. (2013), 'Philosophy and the practice of Bayesian statistics', *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology* **66**(1), 8–38.
URL: *https://bpspsychub.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.2044-8317.2011.02037.x*

Kim, C. J. (1999), 'The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans', *Politics & Society* **27**(1), 105–138.

King, B. A. and Barnes, A. (2019), 'Descriptive representation in election administration: Poll workers and voter confidence', *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* **18**(1), 16–30.

Masuoka, N. and Junn, J. (2013), *The Politics of Belonging: Race, Public Opinion, and Immigration*, University of Chicago Press.

McClain, P. D. and Stewart, J. J. (2014), *Can We All Get Along? Racial and Ethnic Minorities in American Politics*, 6 edn, Westview Press.

Much, M. (2025), 'Bayesian Multilevel Modeling for the Intersections of Race, Gender, and Class', *Political Research Quarterly* **78**(3), 985–1006.
URL: *https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/10659129251335233*

Sances, M. W. and Stewart, C. I. (2015), 'Partisanship and confidence in the vote count: Evidence from U.S. national elections since 2000', *Electoral Studies* **40**, 176–188.
URL: *https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261379415001602*

Sen, M. and Wasow, O. (2016), 'Race as a Bundle of Sticks: Designs that Estimate Effects of Seemingly Immutable Characteristics', *Annual Review of Political Science* **19**(1), 499–522.
URL: *https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/10.1146/annurev-polisci-032015-010015*

Shor, B., Bafumi, J., Keele, L. and Park, D. (2007), 'A bayesian multilevel modeling approach to time-series cross-sectional data', *Political Analysis* **15**(2), 165–181.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Sinclair, B., Smith, S. S. and Tucker, P. D. (2018), '"It's Largely a Rigged System": Voter confidence and the winner effect in 2016', *Political Research Quarterly* **71**(4), 854–868.
URL: *https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1065912918768006*

Tobin, C., Aronson, B., Majumder, S., Tanenbaum, H., Weber, E., Carey, J. M., Fogarty, B., Nyhan, B. and Reifler, J. (2025), 'Losing predicts perceptions that elections were decided by fraud, but margin of loss and candidate race do not', *Electoral Studies* **93**, 102880.
URL: *https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261379424001380*

Uribe, L., Aldridge, K., Kousser, T., Nichols-Smith, K. and Rush, T. (2025), 'The racial gap in trust in elections (and how to close it)', *Political Research Quarterly* **78**(4), 1408–1428.
URL: *https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129251363201*

Western, B. (1998), 'Causal heterogeneity in comparative research: A bayesian hierarchical modelling approach', *American Journal of Political Science* **42**, 1233–59.

Zou, L. X. and Cheryan, S. (2017), 'Two Axes of Subordination: A New Model of Racial Position', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **112**(5), 696–717.
URL: *https://doi.apa.org/doi/10.1037/pspa0000080*

A Appendix

Contents

A.1 Relevant survey items . . . 2
A.1.1 Voter confidence items in 2024 CMPS . . . 2
A.2 Sample demographics and descriptives . . . 3
A.2.1 Sample demographics . . . 3
A.2.2 Distribution of voter confidence by race, 2-category version . . . 6
A.2.3 Distribution of voter confidence by race, 4-category version . . . 8
A.3 Model notation and priors . . . 10
A.3.1 Key model terms . . . 10
A.3.2 Group-level random effects . . . 10
A.3.3 Population-level fixed effects . . . 10
A.3.4 Model notation . . . 11
A.3.5 Priors . . . 11
A.4 Model summaries and diagnostics . . . 14
A.4.1 Model fit summaries . . . 14
A.5 Average marginal predicted probabilities of voter confidence at county, state, and national levels by racial group . . . 27
A.6 Average marginal predictions across racial and additional demographic groups . . . 29

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

A.7 Differences in estimated average marginal predicted probabilities of low voter confidence across county, state, and national levels 33
A.8 Differences in estimated average marginal predicted probabilities of low voter confidence, pairwise comparisons 34
A.9 Marginal contrasts between white and nonwhite voter confidence at county, state, and national levels 36
A.10 Marginal contrasts between all racial groups at own, county, state, and national vote levels 37
A.11 Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts of low voter confidence at county, state, and national levels 39
A.12 Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts of low voter confidence, pairwise comparisons 40
A.13 Model fit summaries and average marginal predictions with alternative model specifications 42

A.1 Relevant survey items

A.1.1 Voter confidence items in 2024 CMPS

How confident are you that your vote in the November 2024 election was counted as you intended?

- Very confident
- Somewhat confident
- Not too confident
- Not at all confident

Think about vote counting throughout YOUR COUNTY OR CITY, and not just your own personal situation. How confident are you that votes in YOUR COUNTY OR CITY were counted as voters intended?

- Very confident
- Somewhat confident
- Not too confident
- Not at all confident

Now, think about vote counting throughout [respondent's state]. How confident are you that votes in [respondent's state] were counted as voters intended in the November 2024 election?

- Very confident

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.1: Distribution of gender by race

Race	Man	Woman	Nonbinary
White	48.24%	51.20%	0.56%
Black	46.11%	53.82%	0.06%
Asian Americans	46.92%	52.83%	0.24%
Latino	46.74%	53.12%	0.14%

Table A.2: Distribution of age by race

Race	18-29	30-44	45-64	65+
White	5.80%	24.24%	34.18%	35.78%
Black	15.80%	31.69%	32.32%	20.19%
Asian Americans	13.95%	26.44%	38.79%	20.82%
Latino	14.95%	34.72%	34.44%	15.89%

- Somewhat confident
- Not too confident
- Not at all confident

Finally, think about vote counting throughout the ENTIRE COUNTRY. How confident are you that votes NATIONWIDE were counted as voters intended in the November 2024 election?

- Very confident
- Somewhat confident
- Not too confident
- Not at all confident

All responses were coded to scale from 1 to 4, with a 1 indicating 'not at all confident' and a 4 indicating 'very confident.'

A.2 Sample demographics and descriptives

A.2.1 Sample demographics

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.3: Distribution of education by race

Race	HS or less	Some college	College+
White	19.86%	31.83%	48.30%
Black	28.18%	38.22%	33.60%
Asian Americans	7.75%	20.19%	72.06%
Latino	25.26%	37.18%	37.56%

Table A.4: Distribution of income by race

Race	40-59k	60-99k	Not sure	<39k	>100k
White	17.09%	26.28%	0.49%	23.75%	32.39%
Black	20.10%	24.17%	0.22%	36.69%	18.82%
Asian Americans	14.82%	26.05%	0.29%	16.08%	42.76%
Latino	20.58%	29.61%	0.24%	27.77%	21.81%

Table A.5: Distribution of party ID by race

Race	Independent	Democrat	Republican
White	11.60%	37.94%	50.46%
Black	12.64%	72.07%	15.29%
Asian Americans	16.90%	51.14%	31.96%
Latino	12.68%	52.98%	34.34%

Table A.6: Distribution of absentee voting by race

Race	0	1
White	69.71%	30.29%
Black	74.39%	25.61%
Asian Americans	53.75%	46.25%
Latino	70.34%	29.66%

Table A.7: Distribution of previous voting by race

Race	0	1
White	6.48%	93.52%
Black	10.10%	89.90%
Asian Americans	12.98%	87.02%
Latino	13.10%	86.90%

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.8: Distribution of Latino national origin

National Origin	Percent
Mexican	52.18%
Puerto Rican	16.79%
South American	9.65%
Cuban	7.24%
Central American	6.58%
Dominican	3.74%
Other	3.83%

Table A.9: Distribution of Asian national origin

National Origin	Percent
Chinese	26.44%
Filipino	17.29%
Indian	14.96%
Japanese	10.61%
Korean	10.65%
Vietnamese	7.22%
Other	12.83%

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

A.2.2 Distribution of voter confidence by race, 2-category version

Table A.10: Distribution of binary low voter confidence (own vote) by race

Race	High confidence (0)	Low confidence (1)
White	1487	134
Black	2666	474
Asian Americans	1860	205
Latino	1830	284

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.11: Distribution of binary low voter confidence (county vote) by race

Race	High confidence (0)	Low confidence (1)
White	1490	131
Black	2683	457
Asian Americans	1852	213
Latino	1834	280

Table A.12: Distribution of binary low voter confidence (state vote) by race

Race	High confidence (0)	Low confidence (1)
White	1448	173
Black	2633	507
Asian Americans	1813	252
Latino	1794	320

Table A.13: Distribution of binary low voter confidence (national vote) by race

Race	High confidence (0)	Low confidence (1)
White	1362	259
Black	2346	794
Asian Americans	1669	396
Latino	1641	473

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

A.2.3 Distribution of voter confidence by race, 4-category version

Table A.14: Distribution of voter confidence (own vote) by race

Race	Not at all conf. (1)	Not too conf. (2)	Somewhat conf. (3)	Very conf. (4)
White	37	97	438	1049
Black	132	342	916	1750
Asian Americans	52	153	643	1217
Latino	84	200	622	1208

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.15: Distribution of voter confidence (county vote) by race

Race	Not at all conf. (1)	Not too conf. (2)	Somewhat conf. (3)	Very conf. (4)
White	32	99	531	959
Black	119	338	1107	1576
Asian Americans	48	165	753	1099
Latino	65	215	767	1067

Table A.16: Distribution of voter confidence (state vote) by race

Race	Not at all conf. (1)	Not too conf. (2)	Somewhat conf. (3)	Very conf. (4)
White	36	137	536	912
Black	131	376	1151	1482
Asian Americans	63	189	787	1026
Latino	82	238	778	1016

Table A.17: Distribution of voter confidence (national vote) by race

Race	Not at all conf. (1)	Not too conf. (2)	Somewhat conf. (3)	Very conf. (4)
White	75	184	608	754
Black	250	544	1121	1225
Asian Americans	101	295	830	839
Latino	152	321	789	852

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

A.3 Model notation and priors

A.3.1 Key model terms

Our models focuses on the attitudes of **voters**, predicting how voter confidence varies across racial and ethnic groups.

Voters are Asian American, Black, Latino, or white CMPS respondents who reported voting in the 2024 presidential election.

Voter confidence is the reported confidence a voter has in how accurately ballots were counted in a given election. We measure voter confidence via the standard voter confidence battery (e.g., Alvarez et al. (2008)), and we collapse responses into low (1) or high voter confidence (0). Voter confidence is captured at four different levels: confidence that the voter's own ballot was counted as intended, confidence that ballots at the county level were counted as intended, confidence that ballots at the state level were counted as intended, and confidence that ballots at the national level were counted as intended. We estimate separate models for each level of voter confidence.

A.3.2 Group-level random effects

Race is the racial or ethnic group with which a partisan identifies, based on how a voter categorizes themselves. A *white* voter identifies as non-Hispanic white and no other category. A *Latino* voter is someone who identifies as Hispanic or Latino. A *Black* voter identifies as Black or African American, and an *Asian American* voter identifies as Asian American. If a CMPS respondent selects more than one racial group, they are pushed to choose the 'primary' racial group with which they identify, resulting in a mutually exclusive racial coding scheme.

A.3.3 Population-level fixed effects

Party identification is the party with which a voter identifies. In our sample, we collapse voters into one of three categories: *Democrats and Democratic-leaners*, *Republicans and Republican-leaners*, or *independent*.

Ideology is the political ideology descriptor a voter uses to describe themselves. In our sample, we collapse all groups into *moderates*, *liberals*, *conservatives*, or *others*.

Gender is the gender category a voter identifies with. In our sample, this is collapsed into *man*, *woman*, or *nonbinary*.

Region is the U.S. Census region in which a voter lives. A voter could live in the *West*, *Midwest*, *Northeast*, or *South*.

Education is the level of education each voter has attained. In our sample, this could be *high school or less*, *some college*, or *college and above*.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Income is the level of household income each voter reports for the last year. In our sample, we collapse this into *less than $39,000 per year*, *$40,000 to $59,0000 per year*, *$60,000 to $99,000 per year*, *more than $100,000 per year*, and *other* (for those who did not report income).

Age is the age group to which the voter belongs. In our sample, we collapse age into four groups: *18-29*, *30-44*, *45-64*, and *65+*.

Interest in politics is the level of interest the voter reports having in politics. This measure is a scale made up of 8 different items reflecting political engagement and news consumption. This variable ranges from 0 to 1, with a median of 0.44 and a mean of 0.45.

Absentee voting measures whether a voter reports voting by mail (or other types of absentee voting such as ballot drop-offs) rather than voting in person for the 2024 election. Voters received a 1 for reporting absentee voting and a 0 otherwise.

Vote history is a binary measure capturing whether a voter reported participating in the 2020 or 2022 elections. If they voted in either election, they receive a 1. If a respondent reports voting in neither election, they receive a 0.

A.3.4 Model notation

Modeling how voter confidence varies at the racial and ethnic group level

We begin by modeling voter confidence (at the own vote level, county-level, state-level, and national-level) as a binary logit regression function (family = Bernoulli logit) given a vector of the aforementioned population-level covariates:

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{Confidence}_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{PartyID}_i + \beta_2 \text{Ideology}_i + \beta_3 \text{Gender}_i + \beta_4 \text{Region}_i + \beta_5 \text{Education}_i + \\ \beta_6 \text{Income}_i + \beta_7 \text{Age}_i + \beta_8 \text{InterestPolitics}_i + \beta_9 \text{AbsenteeVoting}_i + \beta_{10} \text{VoteHistory}_i \end{aligned}$$

We then model voter confidence where there are vectors of group-specific slopes for racial and ethnic group:

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{Confidence}_r = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{PartyID}_{ir} + \beta_2 \text{Ideology}_{ir} + \beta_3 \text{Gender}_{ir} + \beta_4 \text{Region}_{ir} + \\ \beta_5 \text{Education}_{ir} + \beta_6 \text{Income}_{ir} + \\ \beta_7 \text{Age}_{ir} + \beta_8 \text{InterestPolitics}_{ir} + \beta_9 \text{AbsenteeVoting}_{ir} + \\ \beta_{10} \text{VoteHistory}_{ir}, \; k\text{-vector of race-specific slopes} \end{aligned}$$

A.3.5 Priors

Our priors were informed by existing studies of voter confidence and a pilot test using the 2024 SPAE dataset with variables coded to mimic our own coding scheme in this study. For variables that were not included in existing studies or the SPAE dataset, we base the prior on similar variables for which we do have stronger priors. These are loosely informative priors, centered at 0.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.18: Global-level priors

Coefficient	Distribution Type	Prior Distribution
Intercept	Student-T	(5, 0, 5)
Absentee voter	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Age: 30-44	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.15)
Age: 45-64	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.15)
Age: 65+	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.15)
Education: some college	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Education: college graduate	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Gender: nonbinary	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Gender: woman	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Ideology: conservative	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Ideology: liberal	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Ideology: other	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Income: less than $39k	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Income: $60-99k	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Income: more than $100k	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Income: not reported	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Interest in politics	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.3)
PID: Democrat	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.3)
PID: Republican	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.3)
Region: Midwest	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Region: Northeast	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Region: South	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Voted 2020/2022	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.5)

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.19: Race-level priors

Coefficient	Distribution Type	Prior Distribution
Absentee voter	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Age: 30-44	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.15)
Age: 45-64	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.15)
Age: 65+	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.15)
Education: some college	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Education: college graduate	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Gender: nonbinary	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Gender: woman	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Ideology: conservative	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Ideology: liberal	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Ideology: other	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Income: less than $39k	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Income: $60-99k	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Income: more than $100k	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Income: not reported	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.2)
Interest in politics	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.3)
PID: Democrat	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.3)
PID: Republican	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.3)
Region: Midwest	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Region: Northeast	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Region: South	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.1)
Voted 2020/2022	Student-T	(5, 0, 0.25)

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

A.4 Model summaries and diagnostics

A.4.1 Model fit summaries

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.20: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (main model specification)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Intercept	−1.350	0.261	−1.892	−0.856	1.001	6310	4720
PID: Democrat	−0.115	0.115	−0.335	0.114	1.000	7912	6378
PID: Republican	−0.968	0.182	−1.270	−0.538	1.002	5509	3711
Ideology: Liberal	−0.075	0.094	−0.260	0.113	1.001	8993	7061
Ideology: Conservative	−0.032	0.103	−0.232	0.170	1.001	10 080	6887
Ideology: Other	0.636	0.177	0.228	0.943	1.001	6431	5039
Gender: Woman	0.440	0.105	0.186	0.612	1.001	6584	3656
Gender: Nonbinary	0.158	0.270	−0.125	0.965	1.002	4945	1616
Region: Midwest	0.028	0.078	−0.122	0.187	1.001	12 579	7545
Region: Northeast	−0.087	0.084	−0.266	0.069	1.002	13 259	7484
Region: South	−0.059	0.070	−0.201	0.073	1.001	11 993	8092
Education: Some college	0.049	0.096	−0.140	0.242	1.001	9851	7062
Education: College+	−0.201	0.122	−0.439	0.046	1.001	8365	7421
Income: 60-99k	−0.043	0.098	−0.233	0.149	1.001	12 016	8161
Income: Nonresponse	−0.141	0.280	−0.771	0.297	1.001	11 357	3774
Income: <40k	0.029	0.097	−0.159	0.227	1.001	9649	7196
Income: 100k+	−0.085	0.115	−0.316	0.137	1.001	9911	7661
Age: 30-44	0.131	0.097	−0.053	0.325	1.001	10 331	8012
Age: 45-64	0.089	0.108	−0.121	0.298	1.000	8173	7440
Age: 65+	−0.309	0.137	−0.579	−0.038	1.001	7234	7313

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.20: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (main model specification) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Political interest	−0.068	0.171	−0.404	0.271	1.000	9672	7135
Voted absentee	−0.032	0.070	−0.172	0.105	1.000	12 686	7280
Voted 2020/2022	−0.519	0.126	−0.748	−0.249	1.001	8340	4968
SD (race): Intercept	0.309	0.339	0.010	1.214	1.001	3779	4847
SD (race): PID: Democrat	0.130	0.110	0.005	0.412	1.001	5755	5590
SD (race): PID: Republican	0.164	0.157	0.006	0.563	1.001	4247	4931
SD (race): Ideology: Liberal	0.100	0.084	0.004	0.315	1.000	5579	4903
SD (race): Ideology: Conservative	0.096	0.083	0.003	0.302	1.001	6580	5231
SD (race): Ideology: Other	0.153	0.137	0.006	0.512	1.003	4760	5108
SD (race): Gender: Woman	0.078	0.073	0.003	0.272	1.003	5166	5155
SD (race): Gender: Nonbinary	0.117	0.143	0.004	0.454	1.000	9481	5633
SD (race): Region: Midwest	0.073	0.061	0.003	0.231	1.001	7335	4885
SD (race): Region: Northeast	0.072	0.061	0.003	0.222	1.000	8244	5170
SD (race): Region: South	0.060	0.050	0.002	0.184	1.001	7869	5260
SD (race): Education: Some college	0.103	0.087	0.004	0.322	1.001	6121	5243
SD (race): Education: College+	0.175	0.116	0.010	0.455	1.002	4427	3968
SD (race): Income: 60-99k	0.090	0.076	0.003	0.279	1.000	7411	5465
SD (race): Income: Nonresponse	0.185	0.165	0.007	0.614	1.001	9298	4198
SD (race): Income: <40k	0.099	0.085	0.003	0.314	1.000	6343	4979
SD (race): Income: 100k+	0.157	0.117	0.007	0.437	1.000	4585	4399

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.20: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (main model specification) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
SD (race): Age: 30-44	0.084	0.071	0.004	0.264	1.000	7492	5877
SD (race): Age: 45-64	0.172	0.097	0.015	0.393	1.001	3709	2406
SD (race): Age: 65+	0.138	0.109	0.006	0.414	1.001	4962	4805
SD (race): Political interest	0.230	0.161	0.010	0.604	1.001	5129	3929
SD (race): Voted absentee	0.089	0.076	0.003	0.284	1.001	6209	4931
SD (race): Voted 2020/2022	0.111	0.101	0.004	0.374	1.002	6027	5388
Num.Obs.	8940						

Estimates are posterior means on the logit scale; Est. Error is the posterior SD; CIs are 95% highest-density credible intervals.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.21: Fit summary: confidence in counting of county votes (main model specification)

	County vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Intercept	−1.279	0.297	−1.873	−0.689	1.001	5939	4160
PID: Democrat	−0.181	0.118	−0.411	0.058	1.001	8023	6398
PID: Republican	−0.577	0.246	−1.020	−0.046	1.003	4345	6456
Ideology: Liberal	−0.077	0.095	−0.260	0.114	1.001	8970	7270
Ideology: Conservative	0.044	0.106	−0.164	0.252	1.001	9388	7229
Ideology: Other	0.574	0.161	0.237	0.867	1.001	7897	6112
Gender: Woman	0.376	0.111	0.109	0.565	1.001	5568	4912
Gender: Nonbinary	0.028	0.132	−0.215	0.310	1.002	11 624	4804
Region: Midwest	−0.075	0.086	−0.257	0.087	1.001	11 378	7082
Region: Northeast	−0.068	0.082	−0.240	0.083	1.001	12 221	7703
Region: South	−0.161	0.083	−0.328	−0.004	1.000	9677	8024
Education: Some college	0.002	0.091	−0.181	0.183	1.000	9590	6940
Education: College+	−0.311	0.114	−0.532	−0.081	1.000	7721	7170
Income: 60-99k	−0.034	0.107	−0.254	0.168	1.001	8158	7139
Income: Nonresponse	−0.127	0.256	−0.699	0.301	1.001	13 149	4292
Income: <40k	0.068	0.094	−0.118	0.252	1.000	9369	7902
Income: 100k+	−0.149	0.110	−0.368	0.064	1.000	9766	7307
Age: 30-44	0.094	0.095	−0.083	0.286	1.001	9453	7433
Age: 45-64	0.074	0.097	−0.120	0.265	1.001	9134	7513
Age: 65+	−0.462	0.159	−0.750	−0.116	1.001	5873	6057

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.21: Fit summary: confidence in counting of county votes (main model specification) (Continued)

	County vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Political interest	−0.054	0.184	−0.412	0.311	1.001	8067	6768
Voted absentee	−0.102	0.089	−0.283	0.068	1.001	7421	6840
Voted 2020/2022	−0.398	0.121	−0.624	−0.147	1.001	8627	5781
SD (race): Intercept	0.362	0.381	0.013	1.363	1.007	3035	4749
SD (race): PID: Democrat	0.129	0.115	0.004	0.424	1.000	5770	5629
SD (race): PID: Republican	0.407	0.200	0.110	0.895	1.002	4516	3865
SD (race): Ideology: Liberal	0.096	0.081	0.003	0.305	1.001	5410	4404
SD (race): Ideology: Conservative	0.124	0.100	0.005	0.373	1.000	6313	5404
SD (race): Ideology: Other	0.136	0.119	0.005	0.440	1.001	5526	5353
SD (race): Gender: Woman	0.092	0.079	0.003	0.295	1.001	4425	4604
SD (race): Gender: Nonbinary	0.100	0.103	0.003	0.356	1.001	9475	4508
SD (race): Region: Midwest	0.083	0.068	0.003	0.248	1.000	6526	4933
SD (race): Region: Northeast	0.071	0.058	0.002	0.217	1.000	6929	4538
SD (race): Region: South	0.068	0.059	0.002	0.218	1.000	6395	4275
SD (race): Education: Some college	0.089	0.078	0.003	0.283	1.001	6455	5500
SD (race): Education: College+	0.122	0.101	0.004	0.379	1.001	4395	4300
SD (race): Income: 60-99k	0.153	0.109	0.007	0.414	1.001	4542	4092
SD (race): Income: Nonresponse	0.183	0.166	0.006	0.603	1.001	9358	4575
SD (race): Income: <40k	0.089	0.077	0.003	0.290	1.001	6665	4898
SD (race): Income: 100k+	0.121	0.101	0.004	0.376	1.001	6006	5090

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. License: All Rights Reserved

Table A.21: Fit summary: confidence in counting of county votes (main model specification) (Continued)

	County vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
SD (race): Age: 30-44	0.092	0.075	0.004	0.281	1.000	6078	5024
SD (race): Age: 45-64	0.111	0.083	0.004	0.312	1.001	5622	4703
SD (race): Age: 65+	0.132	0.113	0.005	0.424	1.002	4363	4994
SD (race): Political interest	0.292	0.181	0.022	0.712	1.001	4994	3734
SD (race): Voted absentee	0.164	0.109	0.010	0.420	1.001	3568	3348
SD (race): Voted 2020/2022	0.109	0.098	0.004	0.361	1.001	5691	4975
Num.Obs.	8940						

Estimates are posterior means on the logit scale; Est. Error is the posterior SD; CIs are 95% highest-density credible intervals.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. License: All Rights Reserved

Table A.22: Fit summary: confidence in counting of state votes (main model specification)

	State vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Intercept	−1.246	0.289	−1.821	−0.728	1.003	6819	5446
PID: Democrat	−0.217	0.114	−0.444	0.006	1.001	9886	6706
PID: Republican	−0.454	0.172	−0.761	−0.070	1.000	7499	6955
Ideology: Liberal	0.044	0.103	−0.158	0.247	1.000	10 835	7609
Ideology: Conservative	0.060	0.110	−0.157	0.274	1.000	11 094	7874
Ideology: Other	0.549	0.152	0.224	0.829	1.000	10 025	6541
Gender: Woman	0.333	0.111	0.066	0.515	1.000	6630	6326
Gender: Nonbinary	0.035	0.130	−0.196	0.316	1.001	14 854	4833
Region: Midwest	−0.068	0.080	−0.236	0.081	1.000	15 479	7263
Region: Northeast	−0.095	0.081	−0.265	0.056	1.002	17 150	7028
Region: South	−0.141	0.085	−0.316	0.021	1.001	10 200	7831
Education: Some college	0.078	0.095	−0.108	0.272	1.001	11 668	6496
Education: College+	−0.262	0.123	−0.494	−0.008	1.001	9350	7414
Income: 60-99k	−0.023	0.101	−0.228	0.174	1.001	11 502	8275
Income: Nonresponse	0.042	0.219	−0.380	0.498	1.002	21 522	6171
Income: <40k	0.041	0.094	−0.142	0.228	1.000	12 472	7865
Income: 100k+	−0.149	0.101	−0.347	0.051	1.001	13 326	7932
Age: 30-44	0.014	0.090	−0.164	0.193	1.000	12 770	7325
Age: 45-64	0.016	0.095	−0.173	0.200	1.001	12 160	8403
Age: 65+	−0.400	0.147	−0.671	−0.078	1.001	8180	6756

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.22: Fit summary: confidence in counting of state votes (main model specification) (Continued)

	State vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Political interest	−0.079	0.192	−0.451	0.310	1.001	9589	7152
Voted absentee	−0.109	0.076	−0.261	0.036	1.002	12 012	7911
Voted 2020/2022	−0.287	0.116	−0.510	−0.050	1.000	10 793	6828
SD (race): Intercept	0.322	0.366	0.008	1.310	1.002	3984	4505
SD (race): PID: Democrat	0.122	0.109	0.004	0.397	1.002	6738	5743
SD (race): PID: Republican	0.253	0.168	0.014	0.658	1.000	4584	3733
SD (race): Ideology: Liberal	0.148	0.109	0.007	0.414	1.001	5114	4824
SD (race): Ideology: Conservative	0.170	0.115	0.010	0.441	1.000	5193	4802
SD (race): Ideology: Other	0.128	0.115	0.004	0.431	1.001	5964	5046
SD (race): Gender: Woman	0.109	0.088	0.005	0.333	1.001	4525	4832
SD (race): Gender: Nonbinary	0.101	0.100	0.004	0.346	1.001	11 787	5406
SD (race): Region: Midwest	0.075	0.062	0.003	0.228	1.000	7537	4699
SD (race): Region: Northeast	0.068	0.057	0.002	0.213	1.002	7845	5283
SD (race): Region: South	0.115	0.084	0.006	0.318	1.001	5222	5431
SD (race): Education: Some college	0.109	0.089	0.005	0.334	1.000	5686	5859
SD (race): Education: College+	0.172	0.113	0.010	0.444	1.001	4683	3803
SD (race): Income: 60-99k	0.132	0.099	0.006	0.368	1.002	5491	5445
SD (race): Income: Nonresponse	0.180	0.153	0.008	0.577	1.000	11 148	5923
SD (race): Income: <40k	0.106	0.085	0.004	0.320	1.001	6312	5286
SD (race): Income: 100k+	0.092	0.079	0.003	0.297	1.001	7740	5214

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.22: Fit summary: confidence in counting of state votes (main model specification) (Continued)

	State vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
SD (race): Age: 30-44	0.093	0.075	0.004	0.278	1.000	6954	5361
SD (race): Age: 45-64	0.137	0.087	0.008	0.340	1.002	4695	3877
SD (race): Age: 65+	0.131	0.112	0.004	0.416	1.000	5253	5427
SD (race): Political interest	0.355	0.185	0.050	0.787	1.001	4692	3276
SD (race): Voted absentee	0.086	0.075	0.003	0.281	1.000	6728	5895
SD (race): Voted 2020/2022	0.107	0.097	0.004	0.361	1.000	7179	5568
Num.Obs.	8940						

Estimates are posterior means on the logit scale; Est. Error is the posterior SD; CIs are 95% highest-density credible intervals.

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.23: Fit summary: confidence in counting of national votes (main model specification)

	National vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Intercept	−1.185	0.241	−1.672	−0.727	1.001	7039	5474
PID: Democrat	0.122	0.107	−0.092	0.332	1.001	8842	6566
PID: Republican	−0.609	0.196	−0.937	−0.152	1.001	4733	6054
Ideology: Liberal	0.114	0.083	−0.051	0.274	1.002	9403	6563
Ideology: Conservative	−0.073	0.097	−0.257	0.119	1.001	9169	6942
Ideology: Other	0.701	0.194	0.209	1.009	1.001	5255	4272
Gender: Woman	0.467	0.094	0.224	0.610	1.001	6153	3366
Gender: Nonbinary	0.134	0.204	−0.122	0.669	1.003	7844	2864
Region: Midwest	0.028	0.070	−0.110	0.170	1.001	13 261	8059
Region: Northeast	−0.091	0.076	−0.247	0.053	1.000	11 628	7640
Region: South	−0.069	0.063	−0.193	0.052	1.000	11 372	7418
Education: Some college	0.147	0.084	−0.020	0.309	1.000	9760	7135
Education: College+	−0.248	0.104	−0.448	−0.032	1.001	8004	6726
Income: 60-99k	0.010	0.089	−0.164	0.181	1.000	9814	7042
Income: Nonresponse	−0.085	0.222	−0.574	0.320	1.002	14 572	5651
Income: <40k	0.096	0.097	−0.090	0.296	1.001	8417	7268
Income: 100k+	−0.098	0.092	−0.274	0.086	1.000	9249	7251
Age: 30-44	−0.066	0.086	−0.240	0.101	1.001	8637	6839
Age: 45-64	−0.033	0.102	−0.244	0.166	1.001	7909	6647
Age: 65+	−0.275	0.120	−0.501	−0.025	1.001	7292	6980

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.23: Fit summary: confidence in counting of national votes (main model specification) (Continued)

	National vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Political interest	0.329	0.174	−0.021	0.666	1.001	7093	5963
Voted absentee	−0.002	0.063	−0.130	0.122	1.001	11 428	7237
Voted 2020/2022	−0.428	0.104	−0.628	−0.216	1.001	9623	6150
SD (race): Intercept	0.264	0.306	0.008	1.072	1.004	3510	5064
SD (race): PID: Democrat	0.131	0.109	0.005	0.410	1.000	5096	4514
SD (race): PID: Republican	0.277	0.179	0.025	0.708	1.002	3124	2714
SD (race): Ideology: Liberal	0.086	0.074	0.003	0.277	1.002	6374	5696
SD (race): Ideology: Conservative	0.117	0.088	0.006	0.333	1.002	5466	4897
SD (race): Ideology: Other	0.186	0.159	0.007	0.591	1.002	3728	5184
SD (race): Gender: Woman	0.074	0.069	0.003	0.254	1.002	4506	4106
SD (race): Gender: Nonbinary	0.105	0.114	0.003	0.378	1.001	9767	4435
SD (race): Region: Midwest	0.061	0.050	0.002	0.189	1.000	8258	5003
SD (race): Region: Northeast	0.073	0.060	0.003	0.225	1.000	7161	5069
SD (race): Region: South	0.056	0.047	0.002	0.174	1.000	6834	4674
SD (race): Education: Some college	0.082	0.075	0.003	0.280	1.001	6533	5403
SD (race): Education: College+	0.129	0.099	0.006	0.375	1.001	5156	5171
SD (race): Income: 60-99k	0.096	0.081	0.004	0.304	1.000	6009	5063
SD (race): Income: Nonresponse	0.173	0.153	0.007	0.556	1.001	9997	4895
SD (race): Income: <40k	0.136	0.096	0.006	0.368	1.001	4363	4091
SD (race): Income: 100k+	0.095	0.082	0.004	0.307	1.000	6619	5375

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.23: Fit summary: confidence in counting of national votes (main model specification) (Continued)

	National vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
SD (race): Age: 30-44	0.096	0.077	0.004	0.284	1.000	5487	5193
SD (race): Age: 45-64	0.200	0.090	0.060	0.415	1.001	6297	5109
SD (race): Age: 65+	0.146	0.107	0.007	0.407	1.002	3983	3738
SD (race): Political interest	0.265	0.172	0.018	0.676	1.002	4632	3696
SD (race): Voted absentee	0.089	0.074	0.003	0.277	1.001	5387	4199
SD (race): Voted 2020/2022	0.094	0.086	0.003	0.317	1.001	7309	5437
Num.Obs.	8940						

Estimates are posterior means on the logit scale; Est. Error is the posterior SD; CIs are 95% highest-density credible intervals.

Table A.24: Predicted probability (in percentage points) of confidence in county's votes being counted as intended

Confidence Level	Race	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Low confidence				
1	White	8.26	7.75, 8.64	6.94, 9.53
1	Black	14.47	14.02, 14.85	13.26, 15.64
1	Asian American	10.37	9.86, 10.73	9.14, 11.70
1	Latino	13.14	12.57, 13.53	11.82, 14.57
High Confidence				
0	White	91.74	91.36, 92.25	90.47, 93.06
0	Black	85.53	85.15, 85.98	84.36, 86.74
0	Asian American	89.63	89.27, 90.14	88.30, 90.86
0	Latino	86.86	86.47, 87.43	85.43, 88.18

Note: Given the number of parameters in each model and that we use four separate models for our main analyses, we do not include trace or posterior density plots in this appendix. Doing so would make the appendix excessively lengthy, as well as potentially exceed file size limitations for journal upload. We have the visualizations of the trace and density plots for each model parameter available upon request, and are happy to provide them if reviewers are interested. We plan to host these visualizations along with the code to produce them in a public repository upon journal publication, but doing so now would violate the anonymity required for peer review.

A.5 Average marginal predicted probabilities of voter confidence at county, state, and national levels by racial group

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.25: Predicted probability (in percentage points) of confidence in state's votes being counted as intended

Confidence Level	Race	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Low confidence				
1	White	10.81	10.23, 11.23	9.38, 12.30
1	Black	16.01	15.50, 16.37	14.79, 17.24
1	Asian American	12.24	11.80, 12.72	10.95, 13.68
1	Latino	15.14	14.64, 15.64	13.67, 16.63
High Confidence				
0	White	89.19	88.77, 89.77	87.70, 90.62
0	Black	83.99	83.63, 84.50	82.76, 85.21
0	Asian American	87.76	87.28, 88.20	86.32, 89.05
0	Latino	84.86	84.36, 85.36	83.37, 86.33

Table A.26: Predicted probability (in percentage points) of confidence in nation's votes being counted as intended

Confidence Level	Race	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Low confidence				
1	White	16.17	15.61, 16.79	14.50, 17.88
1	Black	25.19	24.64, 25.63	23.70, 26.65
1	Asian American	19.18	18.59, 19.69	17.50, 20.76
1	Latino	22.30	21.69, 22.86	20.62, 24.00
High Confidence				
0	White	83.83	83.21, 84.39	82.12, 85.50
0	Black	74.81	74.37, 75.36	73.35, 76.30
0	Asian American	80.82	80.31, 81.41	79.24, 82.50
0	Latino	77.70	77.14, 78.31	76.00, 79.38

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

A.6 Average marginal predictions across racial and additional demographic groups

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.27: Predicted probability (percentage) of low confidence in own vote being counted as intended, by race and education

Race	Education	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
White	Less than HS	9.69	8.96, 10.34	7.79, 11.79
White	Some College	9.63	8.93, 10.25	7.68, 11.64
White	College+	7.17	6.57, 7.62	5.72, 8.75
Black	Less than HS	16.19	15.47, 16.81	14.30, 18.24
Black	Some College	16.29	15.74, 17.01	14.38, 18.03
Black	College+	12.52	11.93, 13.22	10.72, 14.42
Asian American	Less than HS	12.90	11.70, 13.70	9.99, 15.83
Asian American	Some College	14.50	13.51, 15.46	11.80, 17.50
Asian American	College+	8.31	7.80, 8.73	6.99, 9.70
Latino	Less than HS	14.83	13.93, 15.41	12.68, 16.98
Latino	Some College	15.33	14.52, 15.96	13.22, 17.38
Latino	College+	10.41	9.61, 10.85	8.55, 12.21

Table A.28: Predicted probability (percentage) of low confidence in own vote being counted as intended, by race and partisanship

Race	Partisanship	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
White	Independent	14.16	13.08, 15.13	11.09, 17.14
White	Democrat	11.45	10.62, 12.10	9.39, 13.69
White	Republican	4.91	4.50, 5.32	3.73, 6.19
Black	Independent	19.98	18.89, 20.94	16.92, 23.14
Black	Democrat	15.83	15.31, 16.28	14.45, 17.29
Black	Republican	6.89	6.20, 7.39	5.12, 8.70
Asian American	Independent	13.56	12.76, 14.48	11.08, 16.09
Asian American	Democrat	11.29	10.64, 11.80	9.70, 13.03
Asian American	Republican	5.77	5.18, 6.19	4.39, 7.41
Latino	Independent	19.30	18.34, 20.53	16.03, 22.45
Latino	Democrat	16.20	15.53, 16.90	14.31, 18.27
Latino	Republican	6.76	6.23, 7.27	5.24, 8.33

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.29: Predicted probability (percentage) of low confidence in own vote being counted as intended, by race and ideology

Race	Ideology	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
White	Moderate	9.91	9.21, 10.55	7.95, 11.88
White	Liberal	9.55	8.81, 10.17	7.62, 11.62
White	Conservative	5.53	5.01, 5.88	4.24, 6.84
White	Other	22.10	19.50, 23.47	16.50, 29.14
Black	Moderate	15.73	15.03, 16.38	13.84, 17.76
Black	Liberal	13.24	12.72, 13.80	11.71, 14.89
Black	Conservative	12.33	11.67, 12.94	10.59, 14.38
Black	Other	29.53	28.00, 31.23	24.83, 34.29
Asian American	Moderate	10.41	9.74, 10.92	8.72, 12.23
Asian American	Liberal	10.21	9.53, 10.72	8.47, 11.93
Asian American	Conservative	7.16	6.60, 7.60	5.79, 8.80
Asian American	Other	21.58	19.68, 23.13	16.65, 27.36
Latino	Moderate	14.11	13.45, 14.87	12.01, 16.17
Latino	Liberal	14.75	14.02, 15.42	12.68, 16.85
Latino	Conservative	9.11	8.51, 9.65	7.52, 10.82
Latino	Other	26.35	24.45, 28.15	20.83, 31.93

Table A.30: Predicted probability (percentage) of low confidence in own vote being counted as intended, by race and age

Race	Age	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
White	18-29	8.86	8.14, 9.53	6.88, 10.96
White	30-44	9.15	8.35, 9.75	7.20, 11.25
White	45-64	9.63	8.86, 10.25	7.66, 11.71
White	65+	6.78	6.19, 7.26	5.20, 8.44
Black	18-29	14.09	13.36, 14.84	11.92, 16.20
Black	30-44	14.43	13.79, 15.06	12.58, 16.36
Black	45-64	18.21	17.38, 19.04	15.85, 20.55
Black	65+	11.43	10.63, 12.13	9.39, 13.63
Asian American	18-29	13.31	12.35, 13.98	10.97, 15.73
Asian American	30-44	10.65	9.94, 11.27	8.80, 12.72
Asian American	45-64	9.89	9.24, 10.50	8.08, 11.75
Asian American	65+	6.79	6.14, 7.34	5.03, 8.61
Latino	18-29	16.45	15.60, 17.39	13.96, 19.08
Latino	30-44	13.97	13.25, 14.63	12.02, 16.10
Latino	45-64	13.53	12.85, 14.35	11.36, 15.70
Latino	65+	8.76	8.02, 9.55	6.49, 11.10

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.31: Predicted probability (percentage) of low confidence in own vote being counted as intended, by race and income

Race	Income	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
White	<$39k	10.58	9.73, 11.24	8.51, 13.06
White	$40-59k	9.69	8.88, 10.22	7.75, 11.71
White	$60-99k	8.37	7.67, 8.92	6.64, 10.33
White	>$100k	6.32	5.68, 6.91	4.49, 8.05
White	Unsure	7.11	5.54, 8.45	2.99, 12.20
Black	<$39k	17.19	16.48, 17.76	15.30, 19.07
Black	$40-59k	15.46	14.78, 16.12	13.57, 17.53
Black	$60-99k	13.11	12.39, 13.71	11.17, 14.99
Black	>$100k	12.59	11.75, 13.26	10.40, 14.97
Black	Unsure	15.04	12.05, 17.04	6.74, 22.81
Asian American	<$39k	12.96	12.07, 13.75	10.44, 15.60
Asian American	$40-59k	11.05	10.35, 11.66	9.15, 13.03
Asian American	$60-99k	8.94	8.34, 9.54	7.26, 10.80
Asian American	>$100k	8.98	8.30, 9.40	7.37, 10.61
Asian American	Unsure	8.93	7.04, 10.48	3.37, 14.83
Latino	<$39k	16.13	15.32, 16.92	13.91, 18.57
Latino	$40-59k	14.17	13.43, 14.85	12.17, 16.37
Latino	$60-99k	12.50	11.79, 13.16	10.61, 14.61
Latino	>$100k	10.12	9.39, 10.85	7.94, 12.33
Latino	Unsure	18.85	15.82, 21.79	9.28, 28.89

Table A.32: Predicted probability (percentage) of low confidence in own vote being counted as intended, by race and 2020/2022 vote history

Race	Vote History	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
White	Didn't vote	15.47	14.41, 16.92	11.25, 19.09
White	Did vote	7.98	7.55, 8.42	6.74, 9.27
Black	Didn't vote	23.13	21.95, 24.30	19.88, 26.69
Black	Did vote	14.09	13.67, 14.49	12.83, 15.25
Asian American	Didn't vote	17.08	16.07, 18.20	13.99, 20.20
Asian American	Did vote	8.86	8.40, 9.22	7.64, 10.03
Latino	Didn't vote	22.38	21.06, 23.49	18.81, 25.93
Latino	Did vote	12.01	11.53, 12.45	10.67, 13.39

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.33: Predicted probability (percentage) of low confidence in own vote being counted as intended, by race and vote mode

Race	Vote Mode	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
White	In-person voter	8.08	7.66, 8.56	6.73, 9.40
White	Absentee voter	9.34	8.69, 9.92	7.63, 11.21
Black	In-person voter	15.00	14.55, 15.44	13.68, 16.26
Black	Absentee voter	14.99	14.23, 15.53	13.16, 16.95
Asian American	In-person voter	9.79	9.38, 10.32	8.40, 11.25
Asian American	Absentee voter	10.09	9.53, 10.55	8.61, 11.63
Latino	In-person voter	13.17	12.65, 13.65	11.69, 14.65
Latino	Absentee voter	13.85	13.27, 14.65	11.70, 15.85

A.7 Differences in estimated average marginal predicted probabilities of low voter confidence across county, state, and national levels

Table A.34: Differences in estimated predicted probabilities (percentages) of low county vote confidence, by race

Comparison	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Black - White	6.21	5.62, 6.81	4.46, 8.01
Asian American - White	2.12	1.49, 2.73	0.25, 3.85
Latino - White	4.87	4.18, 5.47	3.04, 6.85

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.35: Differences in estimated predicted probabilities (percentages) of low state vote confidence, by race

Comparison	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Black - White	5.20	4.46, 5.78	3.25, 7.11
Asian American - White	1.44	0.70, 2.07	-0.57, 3.47
Latino - White	4.32	3.61, 5.02	2.20, 6.31

Table A.36: Differences in estimated predicted probabilities (percentages) of low national vote confidence, by race

Comparison	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Black - White	9.03	8.23, 9.75	6.71, 11.20
Asian American - White	2.99	2.08, 3.68	0.82, 5.41
Latino - White	6.13	5.24, 6.91	3.75, 8.46

A.8 Differences in estimated average marginal predicted probabilities of low voter confidence, pairwise comparisons

Table A.37: Pairwise differences in estimated predicted probabilities (percentages) of low own vote confidence, by race

Comparison	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Black - White	6.52	6.00, 7.21	4.80, 8.31
Asian American - White	1.46	0.89, 2.10	-0.32, 3.21
Latino - White	4.90	4.29, 5.58	3.03, 6.76
Asian American - Black	-5.07	-5.74, -4.55	-6.81, -3.35
Latino - Black	-1.64	-2.37, -1.13	-3.37, 0.28
Latino - Asian American	3.44	2.77, 4.03	1.56, 5.24

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.38: Pairwise differences in estimated predicted probabilities (percentages) of low county vote confidence, by race (pairwise comparisons)

Comparison	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Black - White	6.21	5.62, 6.81	4.46, 8.01
Asian American - White	2.12	1.49, 2.73	0.25, 3.85
Latino - White	4.87	4.18, 5.47	3.04, 6.85
Asian American - Black	-4.09	-4.62, -3.40	-5.84, -2.36
Latino - Black	-1.32	-2.01, -0.77	-3.12, 0.48
Latino - Asian American	2.76	2.07, 3.37	0.90, 4.62

Table A.39: Pairwise differences in estimated predicted probabilities (percentages) of low state vote confidence, by race (pairwise comparisons)

Comparison	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Black - White	5.20	4.46, 5.78	3.25, 7.11
Asian American - White	1.44	0.70, 2.07	-0.57, 3.47
Latino - White	4.32	3.61, 5.02	2.20, 6.31
Asian American - Black	-3.76	-4.32, -3.06	-5.56, -1.86
Latino - Black	-0.88	-1.48, -0.18	-2.78, 1.06
Latino - Asian American	2.90	2.14, 3.51	0.87, 4.88

Table A.40: Pairwise differences in estimated predicted probabilities (percentages) of low national vote confidence, by race (pairwise comparisons)

Comparison	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Black - White	9.03	8.23, 9.75	6.71, 11.20
Asian American - White	2.99	2.08, 3.68	0.82, 5.41
Latino - White	6.13	5.24, 6.91	3.75, 8.46
Asian American - Black	-6.01	-6.78, -5.30	-8.16, -3.75
Latino - Black	-2.89	-3.70, -2.19	-5.06, -0.66
Latino - Asian American	3.13	2.33, 3.93	0.69, 5.35

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

A.9 Marginal contrasts between white and nonwhite voter confidence at county, state, and national levels

Table A.41: Average marginal contrasts (in percentage points) by race for low voter confidence (county level)

Contrast	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Asian - White	1.43	0.90, 2.39	-0.80, 3.82
Black - White	2.79	2.06, 3.44	0.68, 4.94
Latino - White	2.50	1.64, 3.19	0.35, 4.77

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.42: Average marginal contrasts (in percentage points) by race for low voter confidence (state level)

Contrast	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Asian - White	1.22	0.10, 1.80	-1.07, 3.88
Black - White	2.05	1.29, 2.70	0.20, 4.59
Latino - White	1.85	1.00, 2.49	0.01, 4.61

Table A.43: Average marginal contrasts (in percentage points) by race for low voter confidence (national level)

Contrast	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Asian - White	2.63	1.68, 3.59	-0.68, 5.57
Black - White	2.60	1.92, 3.58	0.03, 5.08
Latino - White	2.23	1.25, 3.08	-0.38, 4.97

A.10 Marginal contrasts between all racial groups at own, county, state, and national vote levels

Table A.44: Average marginal contrasts (in percentage points) by race for low voter confidence (own vote)

Contrast	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Asian - Black	-2.16	-2.93, -1.66	-4.31, -0.47
Asian - Latino	-1.85	-2.36, -1.01	-3.71, 0.24
Black - Latino	0.34	-0.17, 1.00	-1.15, 2.26
White - Asian	-0.20	-1.03, 0.43	-2.65, 1.83
White - Black	-2.38	-2.93, -1.56	-4.62, -0.37
White - Latino	-2.12	-3.06, -1.58	-3.96, 0.30

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.45: Average marginal contrasts (in percentage points) by race for low voter confidence (county level)

Contrast	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Asian - Black	-1.28	-1.90, -0.64	-3.34, 0.54
Asian - Latino	-1.07	-1.96, -0.52	-3.06, 0.96
Black - Latino	0.25	-0.28, 0.97	-1.34, 1.98
White - Asian	-1.45	-2.12, -0.57	-3.63, 0.86
White - Black	-2.78	-3.18, -1.75	-4.82, -0.76
White - Latino	-2.55	-3.14, -1.80	-4.85, -0.48

Table A.46: Average marginal contrasts (in percentage points) by race for low voter confidence (state level)

Contrast	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Asian - Black	-0.81	-1.91, -0.37	-3.02, 1.46
Asian - Latino	-0.61	-1.67, -0.06	-3.08, 1.57
Black - Latino	0.18	-0.63, 0.69	-1.87, 2.18
White - Asian	-1.41	-2.38, -0.64	-4.05, 0.85
White - Black	-2.24	-3.10, -1.51	-4.36, 0.18
White - Latino	-1.92	-2.58, -1.10	-4.82, 0.09

Table A.47: Average marginal contrasts (in percentage points) by race for low voter confidence (national level)

Contrast	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Asian - Black	0.02	-1.13, 0.63	-2.36, 2.56
Asian - Latino	0.37	-0.63, 1.26	-2.31, 2.83
Black - Latino	0.31	-0.29, 1.15	-1.90, 2.28
White - Asian	-2.70	-4.03, -2.20	-5.28, 0.39
White - Black	-2.59	-3.23, -1.58	-4.85, 0.05
White - Latino	-2.30	-3.06, -1.24	-5.00, 0.36

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

A.11 Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts of low voter confidence at county, state, and national levels

Table A.48: Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts (95% CI) of low voter confidence, county vote, by race

Group contrast	P(Contrast > 0)	P(Contrast > 0.01)
Asian American - White	0.89	0.64
Black - White	1.00	0.96
Latino - White	0.99	0.91

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.49: Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts (95% CI) of low voter confidence, state vote, by race

Group contrast	P(Contrast > 0)	P(Contrast > 0.01)
Asian American - White	0.86	0.60
Black - White	0.98	0.84
Latino - White	0.95	0.78

Table A.50: Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts (95% CI) of low voter confidence, national vote, by race

Group contrast	P(Contrast > 0)	P(Contrast > 0.01)
Asian American - White	0.95	0.85
Black - White	0.97	0.89
Latino - White	0.95	0.81

A.12 Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts of low voter confidence, pairwise comparisons

Table A.51: Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts of low voter confidence, own vote (pairwise comparisons, 95% CI)

Group contrast	P(Contrast > 0)	P(Contrast > 0.01)
Asian - Black	0.01	0.00
Asian - White	0.57	0.24
Black - White	0.99	0.92
Latino - Asian	0.96	0.78
Latino - Black	0.31	0.05
Latino - White	0.96	0.84

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.52: Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts (95% CI) of low voter confidence, county vote (pairwise comparisons)

Group contrast	P(Contrast > 0)	P(Contrast > 0.01)
Asian American - Black	0.10	0.01
Asian American - White	0.90	0.65
Black - White	0.99	0.95
Latino - Asian American	0.82	0.49
Latino - Black	0.35	0.07
Latino - White	0.98	0.90

Table A.53: Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts (95% CI) of low voter confidence, state vote (pairwise comparisons)

Group contrast	P(Contrast > 0)	P(Contrast > 0.01)
Asian American - Black	0.24	0.05
Asian American - White	0.86	0.59
Black - White	0.97	0.83
Latino - Asian American	0.70	0.37
Latino - Black	0.41	0.12
Latino - White	0.95	0.78

Table A.54: Posterior probabilities for marginal contrasts (95% CI) of low voter confidence, national vote (pairwise comparisons)

Group contrast	P(Contrast > 0)	P(Contrast > 0.01)
Asian American - Black	0.49	0.21
Asian American - White	0.96	0.85
Black - White	0.97	0.89
Latino - Asian American	0.42	0.18
Latino - Black	0.39	0.12
Latino - White	0.95	0.80

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

A.13 Model fit summaries and average marginal predictions with alternative model specifications

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.55: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (state fixed effects)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Intercept	−1.342	0.279	−1.887	−0.819	1.001	6130	4851
PID: Democrat	−0.115	0.117	−0.339	0.128	1.001	8364	6311
PID: Republican	−0.971	0.188	−1.278	−0.528	1.000	5268	3316
Ideology: Liberal	−0.073	0.095	−0.255	0.116	1.001	10 073	7564
Ideology: Conservative	−0.034	0.102	−0.235	0.164	1.000	10 618	7224
Ideology: Other	0.638	0.171	0.253	0.944	1.001	6976	5019
Gender: Woman	0.442	0.106	0.182	0.620	1.001	6551	4076
Gender: Nonbinary	0.155	0.265	−0.134	0.895	1.004	4996	1945
Region: Midwest	0.025	0.081	−0.133	0.191	1.001	11 931	6855
Region: Northeast	−0.082	0.088	−0.266	0.084	1.001	12 213	7508
Region: South	−0.049	0.071	−0.191	0.087	1.001	11 570	7657
Education: Some college	0.046	0.096	−0.141	0.239	1.001	10 374	7318
Education: College+	−0.203	0.119	−0.437	0.034	1.000	8045	7283
Income: 60-99k	−0.043	0.097	−0.236	0.147	1.000	10 452	7541
Income: Nonresponse	−0.136	0.270	−0.772	0.325	1.002	12 511	4210
Income: <40k	0.030	0.097	−0.161	0.221	1.000	9888	7435
Income: 100k+	−0.087	0.113	−0.313	0.129	1.001	8579	7776
Age: 30-44	0.133	0.098	−0.059	0.329	1.001	9824	8027
Age: 45-64	0.091	0.107	−0.120	0.303	1.001	7348	7068
Age: 65+	−0.309	0.139	−0.584	−0.037	1.000	7633	6887

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.55: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (state fixed effects) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Political interest	−0.069	0.171	−0.408	0.269	1.001	9967	7498
Voted absentee	−0.037	0.072	−0.184	0.106	1.002	10 923	7542
Voted 2020/2022	−0.527	0.119	−0.750	−0.279	1.001	8719	6135
stateAlabama	−0.015	0.112	−0.248	0.208	1.003	18 003	5690
stateAlaska	−0.009	0.130	−0.271	0.241	1.002	12 772	4729
stateArizona	0.060	0.112	−0.140	0.311	1.001	13 342	5729
stateArkansas	0.019	0.123	−0.214	0.284	1.001	15 188	5530
stateColorado	0.051	0.114	−0.158	0.302	1.001	14 002	5757
stateConnecticut	−0.028	0.116	−0.278	0.187	1.003	13 967	5646
stateDelaware	−0.022	0.125	−0.287	0.211	1.002	15 819	5069
stateDistrictofColumbia	−0.014	0.118	−0.254	0.219	1.000	14 823	5799
stateFlorida	0.033	0.088	−0.134	0.214	1.001	13 761	7132
stateGeorgia	0.052	0.101	−0.134	0.268	1.001	14 275	6338
stateHawaii	0.040	0.118	−0.179	0.293	1.002	14 224	5664
stateIdaho	0.015	0.122	−0.229	0.274	1.001	14 017	5731
stateIllinois	0.030	0.093	−0.149	0.220	1.000	15 639	7356
stateIndiana	0.049	0.116	−0.165	0.303	1.003	12 375	5144
stateIowa	−0.010	0.121	−0.261	0.235	1.002	14 264	5697
stateKansas	−0.009	0.121	−0.266	0.237	1.002	15 815	5751
stateKentucky	−0.042	0.125	−0.311	0.193	1.003	14 823	5266

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. License: All Rights Reserved

Table A.55: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (state fixed effects) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
stateLouisiana	−0.066	0.125	−0.355	0.149	1.002	14 629	5636
stateMaine	−0.002	0.126	−0.256	0.258	1.003	11 786	4959
stateMaryland	0.045	0.109	−0.154	0.277	1.001	14 411	5668
stateMassachusetts	−0.059	0.119	−0.328	0.151	1.002	11 300	4437
stateMichigan	−0.073	0.115	−0.331	0.131	1.001	12 352	5906
stateMinnesota	0.041	0.118	−0.175	0.295	1.001	14 714	5518
stateMississippi	−0.010	0.109	−0.237	0.205	1.001	16 213	6234
stateMissouri	0.013	0.115	−0.216	0.245	1.001	14 575	5453
stateMontana	−0.001	0.128	−0.258	0.257	1.001	13 787	5494
stateNebraska	−0.003	0.127	−0.260	0.243	1.002	12 158	5348
stateNevada	−0.035	0.121	−0.294	0.193	1.002	14 374	5685
stateNewHampshire	0.040	0.135	−0.199	0.346	1.003	10 923	3798
stateNewJersey	−0.014	0.099	−0.215	0.180	1.000	15 914	6650
stateNewMexico	0.045	0.124	−0.176	0.324	1.000	13 881	4715
stateNewYork	0.003	0.086	−0.166	0.175	1.000	14 311	7510
stateNorthCarolina	0.045	0.106	−0.151	0.273	1.001	14 557	6157
stateNorthDakota	−0.010	0.130	−0.278	0.246	1.002	11 875	4541
stateOhio	0.018	0.101	−0.178	0.224	1.001	14 588	6913
stateOklahoma	−0.042	0.123	−0.309	0.180	1.002	14 197	4912
stateOregon	−0.011	0.114	−0.248	0.213	1.003	15 566	6110

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. License: All Rights Reserved

Table A.55: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (state fixed effects) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
statePennsylvania	−0.040	0.105	−0.270	0.157	1.001	13 735	5866
stateRhodeIsland	0.003	0.124	−0.250	0.257	1.003	16 181	5487
stateSouthCarolina	0.041	0.111	−0.163	0.282	1.003	13 210	5962
stateSouthDakota	−0.002	0.125	−0.252	0.246	1.003	16 386	5964
stateTennessee	−0.063	0.126	−0.349	0.153	1.001	12 526	4588
stateTexas	−0.101	0.100	−0.319	0.080	1.001	12 972	6212
stateUtah	0.004	0.126	−0.252	0.261	1.002	16 075	5834
stateVermont	0.033	0.130	−0.204	0.314	1.001	14 957	4645
stateVirginia	−0.025	0.102	−0.235	0.171	1.000	14 788	6862
stateWashington	−0.038	0.113	−0.279	0.169	1.000	13 636	5100
stateWestVirginia	−0.033	0.130	−0.319	0.205	1.001	15 211	4859
stateWisconsin	0.011	0.112	−0.207	0.246	1.003	14 134	5941
stateWyoming	−0.003	0.128	−0.260	0.245	1.002	11 078	4938
SD (race): Intercept	0.307	0.341	0.009	1.224	1.002	3384	4492
SD (race): PID: Democrat	0.129	0.110	0.005	0.405	1.000	5525	4571
SD (race): PID: Republican	0.165	0.154	0.005	0.576	1.001	3876	4349
SD (race): Ideology: Liberal	0.101	0.085	0.004	0.314	1.000	6048	4737
SD (race): Ideology: Conservative	0.097	0.082	0.004	0.304	1.000	6302	4393
SD (race): Ideology: Other	0.150	0.133	0.006	0.488	1.001	4911	4964
SD (race): Gender: Woman	0.079	0.074	0.002	0.276	1.001	4785	4571

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.55: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (state fixed effects) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
SD (race): Gender: Nonbinary	0.116	0.139	0.004	0.441	1.000	9387	5062
SD (race): Region: Midwest	0.074	0.061	0.002	0.222	1.001	6638	3950
SD (race): Region: Northeast	0.071	0.059	0.003	0.220	1.000	8221	4973
SD (race): Region: South	0.061	0.051	0.002	0.190	1.001	7681	5161
SD (race): Education: Some college	0.103	0.087	0.004	0.326	1.000	6797	6268
SD (race): Education: College+	0.170	0.114	0.011	0.438	1.001	4423	4236
SD (race): Income: 60-99k	0.088	0.076	0.003	0.280	1.001	6805	5229
SD (race): Income: Nonresponse	0.185	0.169	0.006	0.630	1.001	8896	3926
SD (race): Income: <40k	0.097	0.081	0.004	0.301	1.001	6537	5618
SD (race): Income: 100k+	0.155	0.114	0.007	0.430	1.001	4582	4120
SD (race): Age: 30-44	0.085	0.071	0.003	0.268	1.001	6429	4143
SD (race): Age: 45-64	0.172	0.095	0.017	0.384	1.001	4346	3108
SD (race): Age: 65+	0.135	0.108	0.005	0.398	1.001	4468	4516
SD (race): Political interest	0.236	0.164	0.013	0.633	1.000	5592	4139
SD (race): Voted absentee	0.093	0.078	0.003	0.289	1.001	6597	4871
SD (race): Voted 2020/2022	0.108	0.099	0.004	0.366	1.001	6189	5094
SD (race): stateAlabama	0.090	0.079	0.004	0.294	1.001	10 121	4954
SD (race): stateAlaska	0.095	0.090	0.004	0.311	1.001	10 791	4671
SD (race): stateArizona	0.097	0.083	0.003	0.306	1.002	8703	4329
SD (race): stateArkansas	0.091	0.080	0.003	0.294	1.001	10 526	4280

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.55: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (state fixed effects) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
SD (race): stateColorado	0.087	0.073	0.004	0.275	1.000	10 162	4712
SD (race): stateConnecticut	0.089	0.076	0.004	0.284	1.000	10 003	4484
SD (race): stateDelaware	0.093	0.082	0.003	0.300	1.000	10 139	4340
SD (race): stateDistrictofColumbia	0.091	0.081	0.004	0.297	1.000	10 401	4649
SD (race): stateFlorida	0.083	0.069	0.003	0.262	1.000	7493	4539
SD (race): stateGeorgia	0.086	0.075	0.003	0.278	1.000	8562	4131
SD (race): stateHawaii	0.092	0.082	0.003	0.301	1.001	11 000	5202
SD (race): stateIdaho	0.092	0.082	0.003	0.309	1.001	10 271	5264
SD (race): stateIllinois	0.078	0.066	0.003	0.246	1.000	8701	4014
SD (race): stateIndiana	0.113	0.107	0.004	0.389	1.001	8274	4146
SD (race): stateIowa	0.093	0.085	0.003	0.318	1.001	10 888	4544
SD (race): stateKansas	0.092	0.082	0.003	0.298	1.000	9677	3817
SD (race): stateKentucky	0.091	0.081	0.003	0.294	1.000	10 714	4417
SD (race): stateLouisiana	0.092	0.081	0.003	0.293	1.000	11 292	4850
SD (race): stateMaine	0.095	0.086	0.003	0.319	1.000	9288	3602
SD (race): stateMaryland	0.088	0.075	0.003	0.280	1.001	9670	4505
SD (race): stateMassachusetts	0.099	0.089	0.004	0.325	1.001	9464	5115
SD (race): stateMichigan	0.103	0.098	0.003	0.345	1.000	8465	5020
SD (race): stateMinnesota	0.093	0.082	0.004	0.297	1.000	10 768	4886
SD (race): stateMississippi	0.088	0.078	0.003	0.289	1.000	10 646	4818

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.55: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (state fixed effects) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
SD (race): stateMissouri	0.093	0.082	0.004	0.302	1.000	10 339	5016
SD (race): stateMontana	0.094	0.087	0.004	0.299	1.001	9520	4466
SD (race): stateNebraska	0.093	0.084	0.003	0.309	1.001	9636	3999
SD (race): stateNevada	0.093	0.085	0.003	0.311	1.000	9785	4359
SD (race): stateNewHampshire	0.098	0.089	0.004	0.320	1.001	9719	4472
SD (race): stateNewJersey	0.090	0.078	0.003	0.286	1.000	8829	4423
SD (race): stateNewMexico	0.095	0.084	0.003	0.311	1.001	9053	4247
SD (race): stateNewYork	0.088	0.072	0.003	0.265	1.000	7436	4049
SD (race): stateNorthCarolina	0.084	0.071	0.003	0.265	1.000	8804	5075
SD (race): stateNorthDakota	0.094	0.084	0.003	0.314	1.001	9920	4596
SD (race): stateOhio	0.091	0.080	0.003	0.294	1.000	8947	4047
SD (race): stateOklahoma	0.091	0.083	0.003	0.297	1.001	9908	4643
SD (race): stateOregon	0.090	0.079	0.004	0.288	1.001	10 810	4205
SD (race): statePennsylvania	0.090	0.079	0.003	0.297	1.000	8621	5222
SD (race): stateRhodeIsland	0.094	0.088	0.003	0.308	1.000	9221	3960
SD (race): stateSouthCarolina	0.099	0.087	0.004	0.326	1.001	8740	4506
SD (race): stateSouthDakota	0.093	0.084	0.003	0.300	1.001	9066	4499
SD (race): stateTennessee	0.107	0.100	0.003	0.358	1.001	9443	5152
SD (race): stateTexas	0.119	0.101	0.004	0.377	1.000	6301	4689
SD (race): stateUtah	0.093	0.084	0.003	0.310	1.000	9730	3821

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.55: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (state fixed effects) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
SD (race): stateVermont	0.098	0.095	0.004	0.332	1.001	11 728	5145
SD (race): stateVirginia	0.090	0.079	0.003	0.286	1.001	9198	4613
SD (race): stateWashington	0.087	0.074	0.003	0.279	1.000	9854	4665
SD (race): stateWestVirginia	0.096	0.090	0.003	0.327	1.000	9489	3692
SD (race): stateWisconsin	0.089	0.077	0.003	0.286	1.001	10 377	4519
SD (race): stateWyoming	0.095	0.089	0.004	0.314	1.001	10 564	4613
Num.Obs.	8940						

Estimates are posterior means on the logit scale; Est. Error is the posterior SD; CIs are 95% highest-density credible intervals.

Table A.56: Predicted probability (percentage) for each level of confidence in own vote being counted as intended, by race (state-level fixed effects)

Confidence Level	Race	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Low confidence				
1	White	8.49	8.08, 8.97	7.19, 9.77
1	Black	15.00	14.58, 15.42	13.75, 16.19
1	Asian Am.	9.94	9.53, 10.36	8.71, 11.19
1	Latino	13.37	12.91, 13.84	12.02, 14.75
High Confidence				
0	White	91.51	91.03, 91.92	90.23, 92.81
0	Black	85.00	84.58, 85.42	83.81, 86.25
0	Asian Am.	90.06	89.64, 90.47	88.81, 91.29
0	Latino	86.63	86.16, 87.09	85.25, 87.98

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. License: All Rights Reserved

Table A.57: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (naive/default priors)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Intercept	−1.291	0.371	−2.017	−0.592	1.001	7614	6038
PID: Democrat	−0.159	0.187	−0.493	0.223	1.001	5815	4139
PID: Republican	−1.075	0.239	−1.518	−0.617	1.002	5599	3149
Ideology: Liberal	−0.066	0.214	−0.399	0.320	1.002	4362	3643
Ideology: Conservative	0.003	0.254	−0.362	0.398	1.007	2345	1380
Ideology: Other	0.776	0.312	0.248	1.344	1.002	3695	3081
Gender: Woman	0.608	0.450	0.291	0.961	1.017	439	135
Gender: Nonbinary	3.203	2.258	−0.346	8.630	1.002	4659	4008
Region: Midwest	−0.006	0.244	−0.455	0.472	1.002	4820	3241
Region: Northeast	−0.198	0.229	−0.560	0.167	1.001	5390	3169
Region: South	−0.144	0.147	−0.423	0.126	1.001	7012	4511
Education: Some college	0.036	0.182	−0.297	0.409	1.000	6489	4739
Education: College+	−0.253	0.255	−0.758	0.270	1.001	4525	3728
Income: 60-99k	−0.067	0.187	−0.374	0.250	1.001	5851	4313
Income: Nonresponse	−5.246	4.182	−15.962	−0.467	1.001	6642	4184
Income: <40k	−0.004	0.200	−0.376	0.359	1.001	5010	3899
Income: 100k+	−0.141	0.307	−0.719	0.452	1.002	4370	3712
Age: 30-44	0.186	0.200	−0.209	0.549	1.001	6454	4880
Age: 45-64	0.155	0.330	−0.461	0.793	1.002	4345	4015
Age: 65+	−0.400	0.308	−1.034	0.199	1.001	5915	4150

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved

Table A.57: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (naive/default priors) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
Political interest	−0.065	0.460	−0.828	0.849	1.002	3644	2746
Voted absentee	−0.079	0.182	−0.366	0.221	1.002	4791	2997
Voted 2020/2022	−0.514	0.213	−0.871	−0.067	1.002	5094	3977
SD (race): Intercept	0.427	0.470	0.014	1.687	1.002	3860	5270
SD (race): PID: Democrat	0.223	0.271	0.007	0.915	1.001	4056	5098
SD (race): PID: Republican	0.266	0.333	0.007	1.112	1.002	3548	4073
SD (race): Ideology: Liberal	0.217	0.292	0.006	0.923	1.003	3251	2906
SD (race): Ideology: Conservative	0.212	0.331	0.006	1.016	1.005	2527	1153
SD (race): Ideology: Other	0.339	0.405	0.012	1.331	1.002	2806	3062
SD (race): Gender: Woman	0.217	0.516	0.005	0.956	1.015	610	145
SD (race): Gender: Nonbinary	3.172	2.420	0.386	9.254	1.003	3662	3722
SD (race): Region: Midwest	0.284	0.355	0.008	1.176	1.002	3033	3779
SD (race): Region: Northeast	0.215	0.301	0.006	0.937	1.001	3788	3467
SD (race): Region: South	0.154	0.210	0.004	0.670	1.001	4318	5015
SD (race): Education: Some college	0.212	0.258	0.006	0.885	1.001	3508	5183
SD (race): Education: College+	0.336	0.354	0.012	1.317	1.002	3200	3605
SD (race): Income: 60-99k	0.169	0.223	0.004	0.728	1.001	4166	4097
SD (race): Income: Nonresponse	2.289	2.572	0.074	8.410	1.001	7201	5578
SD (race): Income: <40k	0.213	0.265	0.006	0.911	1.001	3869	4286
SD (race): Income: 100k+	0.402	0.432	0.020	1.537	1.003	3006	4322

Continued on next page

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. License: All Rights Reserved

Table A.57: Fit summary: confidence in counting of own vote (naive/default priors) (Continued)

	Own vote confidence						
	Estimate	Est. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI	Rhat	Bulk ESS	Tail ESS
SD (race): Age: 30-44	0.214	0.307	0.006	0.953	1.002	3787	4837
SD (race): Age: 45-64	0.461	0.447	0.061	1.617	1.002	3330	4477
SD (race): Age: 65+	0.410	0.422	0.017	1.473	1.002	3183	4955
SD (race): Political interest	0.561	0.560	0.032	1.966	1.002	3408	3649
SD (race): Voted absentee	0.179	0.254	0.005	0.769	1.002	3169	2499
SD (race): Voted 2020/2022	0.231	0.296	0.006	1.018	1.001	3906	4310
Num.Obs.	8940						

Estimates are posterior means on the logit scale; Est. Error is the posterior SD; CIs are 95% highest-density credible intervals.

Table A.58: Predicted probability (percentage) for each level of confidence in own vote being counted as intended, by race (naive/default priors)

Confidence Level	Race	Estimate	50% CI	95% CI
Low confidence				
1	White	8.42	8.01, 8.90	7.14, 9.72
1	Black	15.03	14.70, 15.53	13.86, 16.30
1	Asian American	9.92	9.51, 10.36	8.78, 11.22
1	Latino	13.40	12.88, 13.82	12.04, 14.80
High Confidence				
0	White	91.58	91.10, 91.99	90.28, 92.86
0	Black	84.97	84.47, 85.30	83.70, 86.14
0	Asian American	90.08	89.64, 90.49	88.78, 91.22
0	Latino	86.60	86.18, 87.12	85.20, 87.96

https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2026-5w50g **ORCID:** https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7529-0469 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA. **License:** All Rights Reserved