



PollerCoaster 11 - Arizona HR1 Survey

METHODOLOGY

Change Research surveyed 1113 registered voters in Arizona from March 17-20. We used some or all of the following sources to recruit respondents:

- targeted advertisements on Facebook
- targeted advertisements on Instagram
- targeted advertisements on individual websites via Google and/or Facebook's ad platform
- text messages sent, via the echo19 platform, to cell phone numbers listed on the voter file for individuals who qualified for the survey's sample universe, based on their voter file data

Regardless of which of these sources a respondent came from, they were directed to a survey hosted on SurveyMonkey's website.

Ads placed on social media targeted all adults nationwide. Those who indicated that they were not registered to vote were terminated. As the survey fielded, Change Research used dynamic online sampling: adjusting ad budgets, lowering budgets for ads targeting groups that were overrepresented and raising budgets for ads targeting groups that were underrepresented, so that the final sample was roughly representative of the population across different groups. The survey was conducted in English.

The survey was administered on behalf of Crooked Media, and conducted online by Change Research. Post-stratification was performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, 2020 presidential vote, region within the state, and education. Weighting parameters were based on demographic breakdowns from the voter file. That is, if a given age bracket or gender group represented x% of all registered voters, then that same group would be weighted to x% in this survey. 2020 presidential results were based on numbers released by the Arizona Secretary of State.

The modeled margin of error* for this survey is 3.8%, which uses effective sample sizes** that adjust for the design effect of weighting.

* We adopt The Pew Research Center's convention for the term "modeled margin of error"⁽¹⁾ (mMOE) to indicate that our surveys are not simple random samples in the pure sense, similar to any survey that has either non-response bias or for which the general population was not invited at random. A common, if imperfect, convention for reporting survey results is to use a single, survey-level mMOE based on a normal approximation. This is a poor approximation for proportion estimates close to 0 or 1. However, it is a useful communication tool in many settings and is reasonable in places where the proportion of interest is close to 50%. We report this normal approximation for our surveys assuming a proportion estimate of 50%.

** The effective sample size adjusts for the weighting applied to respondents, and is calculated using Kish's approximation ⁽²⁾.

(1) <https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/2018/01/26/for-weighting-online-opt-in-samples-what-matters-most/>

(2) Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling, 1965.

For more information, contact Ben Greenfield at ben@changeresearch.com.

REPORTED QUESTIONS

1. Are you male or female?

- Male
- Female

2. In what year were you born? [TEXT BOX]

3. In what ZIP code do you currently live? [TEXT BOX]

4. What is your race?

- White / Caucasian
- Hispanic or Latino/a
- Black or African American
- Asian / Pacific Islander
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Other (please specify): [text box]

4b. Are you from a Hispanic, Latino/a or Spanish-speaking background?

- Yes
- No

5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- High school diploma or less
- Some college, but no degree
- Associate's degree, or two-year college degree
- Bachelor's degree, or four-year college degree
- Graduate degree

6a. Are you registered to vote in Arizona?

- Yes
- No [TERMINATE]
- Not sure [TERMINATE]

6b. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a: [RANDOMIZE]

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent/Other

[IF INDEPENDENT/ NO PARTY AFFILIATION]

6c. Do you consider yourself closer to:

- The Democrats
- The Republicans
- Neither

[IF DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN]

6d. Do you consider yourself a:

- Strong [Democrat/Republican]
- Not so strong [Democrat/Republican]

7. What is the most important issue facing this country?

- Jobs and the economy
- Education
- Taxes
- Immigration
- Foreign policy
- Reproductive rights
- Ending abortion
- Gun rights
- Gun control
- Civil rights
- Ending corruption
- Environmental issues
- Health care
- Balancing the budget
- Crime and public safety
- Cost of housing
- Voting rights and strengthening our democracy
- Voter fraud
- Combating COVID-19 and vaccine distribution
- Cancel culture
- Something else (please specify)

8. How favorable are your feelings about each of the following public officials and organizations? [RANDOMIZE]
[Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | Never heard of them]

- Joe Biden
- Kamala Harris
- Mark Kelly
- Kyrsten Sinema
- Andy Biggs
- Paul Gosar
- Kelli Ward
- Doug Ducey
- Mark Brnovich
- Cindy McCain
- Meghan McCain
- Donald Trump
- The Democratic Party
- The Republican Party

9. How would you rate the job that Joe Biden is doing as President?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Not sure

10. In the past few weeks, how much have you heard about each of the following:

[FOR EACH: A lot | A decent amount | A little bit | None at all]

- The controversy around a few of Dr. Seuss's books
- The controversy around Mr. Potato Head
- The passage of the COVID relief package, known as the American Rescue Plan
- President Biden's announcement that all adults will be eligible to be vaccinated by May 1
- Bills being considered by the Arizona legislature that would change the state's election laws
- The voting rights and election reform bill being considered in the US Congress called the For The People Act, or HR1

11. Which do you think is a bigger problem in this country: voter suppression or voter fraud?

- Voter suppression is a much bigger problem
- Voter suppression is a somewhat bigger problem
- Both about the same
- Voter fraud is a somewhat bigger problem
- Voter fraud is a much bigger problem
- Not sure

12. Which of the following do you think poses a greater threat to our democracy:

- Laws being passed by Republicans in the Arizona state legislature that would require voter identification, make it harder to vote early, and make it harder to vote by mail
- Laws being proposed by Democrats in Washington that would offer automatic voter registration, and guarantee access to early voting and mail-in voting
- Not sure

13. Which of the following do you agree with more:

- The 2020 election in Arizona was conducted fairly
- The 2020 election in Arizona included widespread fraud
- Not sure

14. Which of the following do you agree with more:

- An independent, non-partisan committee should draw congressional districts so that no party gains an unfair advantage
- Whichever party controls the state legislature should be able to draw congressional districts in the way that gains their party the highest possible number of seats
- Not sure

15. Each of the following measures are included in bills introduced this year by Republicans in the Arizona legislature. Please indicate whether you support or oppose each one.

[FOR EACH: Strongly support | Somewhat support | Somewhat oppose | Strongly oppose | Not sure]

- Eliminating the permanent early voting list, which allows voters automatically to receive mail ballots for every election
- Requiring mail ballots to be notarized
- Requiring absentee ballots to be returned in person
- Requiring voters to show proof of citizenship before they can vote
- Rejecting any ballot postmarked later than the Thursday before election day, even if the ballot is received by election day
- A constitutional amendment allowing the state legislature to overturn the results of the presidential election in the state

16. Compared to the November 2020 election, do you think the Arizona government is making it easier for you to vote in future elections, harder for you to vote, or is it the same as before?

- Much harder for me to vote
- Somewhat harder for me to vote
- No difference
- Somewhat easier for me to vote
- Much easier for me to vote
- Not sure

17. As you may know, the federal minimum wage was set at \$7.25 per hour in 2009, and it has not changed in the nearly 12 years since. Some public officials have proposed gradually raising it to \$15 over the course of the next several years. Which of the following best matches your view?

- I support gradually raising the minimum wage to \$15 over several years
- I support raising the minimum wage, but not to \$15
- I do not support raising the minimum wage at all
- Not sure

18. As you may or may not know, the US Senate has a procedure known as the filibuster which allows a minority of Senators to block a bill unless it has the support of 60 of the 100 Senators. Would you support or oppose ending the filibuster, so that bills only need a majority of votes to pass?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

19. A bill called the For The People Act, also called HR1, is being considered in Congress, which ends dark money in politics, ends partisan gerrymandering, automatically registers citizens to vote if they're eligible, expands in-person early voting, makes voting by mail simpler, and enhances election security with a paper trail for every ballot. Do you support or oppose this bill?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

20. How important do you think it is that Congress pass the For The People Act?

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not very important
- Not at all important
- Not sure

[SPLIT SAMPLE: 50%]

21. Some believe that the For The People Act could not pass the Senate because it could be blocked by a minority of Senators using the filibuster. If this happens, would you support or oppose ending the filibuster, so that the For The People Act could be passed if a majority of Senators voted for it?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

[SPLIT SAMPLE: 50%]

22. Some believe that the For The People Act could not pass the Senate because it could be blocked by a minority of Senators using the filibuster. If this happens, would you support or oppose reforming the filibuster so that it does not apply to democracy reforms while still applying to other legislation, allowing the For The People Act to be passed if a majority of Senators voted for it?

- Strongly support

- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

23. Which of the following arguments about the filibuster do you agree with more?

- The filibuster should be retained to ensure that the party in the minority has a say.
- The filibuster should be reformed or abolished to ensure that the party in the majority isn't prevented from passing any laws that help the American people.
- Not sure

[DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING INDEPENDENTS ONLY]

24. If Senator Kyrsten Sinema votes to reform the filibuster so that the For The People Act can be passed with a simple majority of votes in the Senate, would it make you more to vote for another Democratic candidate in the primary the next time she's up for reelection, or more likely to vote for Sinema?

- Much more likely to vote for her Democratic primary opponent
- Somewhat more likely to vote for her Democratic primary opponent
- No difference
- Somewhat more likely to vote for Sinema
- Much more likely to vote for Sinema
- Not sure

[ALL]

25. If Senator Kyrsten Sinema votes to reform the filibuster so that the For The People Act can be passed with a simple majority of votes in the Senate, would it make you more or less likely to vote for her in the general election the next time that she's up for reelection?

- Much more likely to vote for her
- Somewhat more likely to vote for her
- No difference
- Somewhat less likely to vote for her
- Much less likely to vote for her
- Not sure

26. Please indicate whether you support or oppose each of the following components of the For The People Act.

[RANDOMIZE]

[FOR EACH: Strongly support | Somewhat support | Somewhat oppose | Strongly oppose | Not sure]

- Automatic voter registration for eligible voters
- Permitting voters to register to vote on election day
- Expanded early voting days
- Expanding access to absentee and mail-in ballots, including prepaid postage for mail-in ballots
- Ending partisan gerrymandering of congressional districts by creating bipartisan independent commissions to draw new districts
- Restoring voting rights to people convicted of felonies who've completed their sentences
- Establishing public financing of elections, funded by settlements with banks and corporations that commit malfeasance
- Requiring political Super PACs and dark money organizations to disclose their donors
- Requiring presidential and vice presidential candidates to disclose 10 years of tax returns
- Preventing states from inappropriately purging their voter rolls
- Increasing election security by requiring paper ballots, encouraging ballot audits, and more
- Cracking down on voter intimidation and the promotion of false information about how to vote

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF NEXT TWO QUESTIONS]

27. Which of the following do you think best describes Democrats' main goal in the voting reforms they're trying to pass in Washington?

- Making it easier for everyone to vote
- Making it easier to get Democrats elected
- Not sure

28. Which of the following do you think best describes Republicans' main goal in the voting reforms they're trying to pass in the Arizona legislature?

- Making it harder to commit voter fraud
- Making it easier to get Republicans elected
- Not sure

29. Arizona State Rep. John Kavanagh, a Republican, recently said that one reason for his and his colleagues' legislation is that not everyone should be able to vote. He said that Arizona must "look at the quality of votes" in deciding who should and should not be able to vote -- because some people's votes are higher quality than others'. Do you agree or disagree?

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Not sure

Each respondent sees half of the messages below.

30-38. AFTER EACH MESSAGING QUESTION:

Is this a:

- Very convincing reason to support the For The People Act
- Somewhat convincing reason to support the For The People Act
- Not convincing reason to support the For The People Act

[DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING INDEPENDENTS ONLY]

"If Congress does not pass the For The People Act, Democrats are almost guaranteed to be locked out of power for the next decade or longer, due to the voter suppression laws being passed in dozens of states around the country."

"Following historic levels of voter participation in the 2020 election, Republicans in 33 states are trying to disenfranchise voters, especially in Black and Latino communities -- and Arizona Republicans are leading the way. The For The People Act will help ensure that every American has easy access to vote, no matter who they are or what they look like.

"The 2020 election was largely bankrolled by a small group of megadonors, special interests, and dark money on both sides. The For The People Act will empower ordinary Americans through small donor public financing, at no cost to taxpayers, and it will end liberal and conservative billionaire dark money in politics."

"Republican lawmakers in states around the country, including Arizona, are trying to make it harder to vote, because they think it will help them gain and hold power. No party should be able to restrict people's right to vote because it helps them politically."

“We need this bill to protect civil rights and voting rights because everyone should have an equal voice in our democracy, no matter what you look like, where you come from, or how much money you have.”

“Voters should be able to pick their representatives, not the other way around. That’s why the For The People Act takes the redistricting process out of the hands of politicians and puts it in the hands of independent, bipartisan commissions, to put an end to absurdly gerrymandered congressional districts once and for all.”

“This bill is just a power grab by Democrats to elect more Democratic politicians.”

“This bill gives Washington too much power over states.”

“We should not be expanding the right to vote to everyone. If someone doesn’t care enough about our government to vote, then they probably don’t know enough to make a good decision about who to vote for.”

39. Now that you’ve read some more, do you support or oppose the For The People Act?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

40. How important do you think it is that Congress pass the For The People Act?

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not very important
- Not at all important
- Not sure

41. You may have heard that Dr. Seuss Enterprises has chosen to stop publishing 6 lesser-known Dr. Seuss books because they contain racist images, prompting complaints from some conservative politicians and right-wing media figures that Dr. Seuss is being “canceled.” Which best matches your view?

- This is a fake controversy that conservatives invented to distract from the successful passage of President Biden’s COVID relief plan.
- This is a perfect example of liberal cancel culture run amok.
- Not sure

42. How did you vote in the 2020 election for President, or for some reason were you unable to vote?

- Joe Biden, the Democrat
- Donald Trump, the Republican
- Jo Jorgensen, the Libertarian
- Did not vote
- Not registered/Too young/Ineligible