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ballots. This is the critical period for the electoral system, the time when ballot access and ballot security are in the most sensitive balance.

This analysis takes a view of voter ID issues broader than the rather narrow identification requirements in HAVA. Much of the national ferment over voter ID goes beyond HAVA to require more rigorous documentation of identity for all would-be voters, not just those casting a ballot for the first time who had not registered in person. The controversy in the states over voter ID stems from the HAVA requirements, goes beyond those requirements, and sets the context for the analysis here.²

Identification is often described as the critical step in protecting the integrity of the ballot, the process that ensures that the potential voter is eligible and permitted to cast a ballot and one ballot only. In fact, ensuring ballot integrity requires a perspective that takes in the entire voting process. Protecting the integrity of the ballot requires more than preventing the ineligible from voting. It also should ensure that all those who are eligible and want to vote can cast a ballot that counts, and that they can effectively cast a ballot for the candidate of their choice. The protection effort must take into account all forms of voting, including absentee ballots, and embrace each step in the process. A voting system that establishes onerous requirements for voters to identify themselves may prevent the ineligible from voting, but it may also prevent the eligible from casting a ballot. If the ID requirements of a ballot protection system block ineligible voters from the polls at the cost of preventing eligible voters who cannot obtain or forget to bring to the polls the required forms of identification, the integrity of the ballot may not have been improved; the harm may be as great as the benefit.

Assessing the effectiveness of voter ID as a way to protect the integrity of the ballot should logically include an estimate of the nature and frequency of vote fraud. This analysis does not include consideration of the incidence of vote fraud, the forms that it takes, nor the possible effectiveness of various voter ID regimes to counter attempts at vote fraud. The EAC has commissioned a separate study of vote fraud and instructed us not to address that issue in this research.

² Harvard Law Review 119:1127. "Legislators hoping to stiffen their state antifraud laws have taken their cue from identification provisions buried in HAVA. . . . HAVA makes explicit that it shall not 'be construed to prevent a State from establishing election technology and administration requirements that are more strict than' HAVA itself provides. The states have accepted the invitation. "

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Nonetheless, a broad view of ballot integrity is needed to appreciate the background and context of this narrower study. We explore the inter-relationships between Voter ID requirements and Provisional Voting and estimate the effects of various voter id requirements on turnout and on the casting of provisional ballots.

Voters lacking required ID, or who have ID that does not reflect their current address, may be able to vote only by casting a provisional ballot.³ To the extent that stricter voter ID requirements divert more voters to the provisional ballot, voter ID requirements can put stress on the already pressured management of the polling place. Administering provisional ballots is more expensive than the normal ballot. Scrutiny of ID can create lines at the polling places, lines made longer as voters are diverted to the provisional voting line. Each of these potential consequences of more elaborate voter identification processes can increase the chance of litigation. Long lines will, at best, discourage voters and at worst make voting seem a hassle that will keep more citizens from the polls. A review of voter identification practices should keep in mind that America's problem may well be that too many people do not vote rather than that a few people may vote more than once.

An evaluation of the effect of different Voter ID regimes will be more effective if based on clear standards –legal, equitable, practical. The standards suggested here can best be described as the set of questions to be asked about Voter ID requirements. We suggest 7 questions that try to measure the most important dimensions of the problem.

- Is the Voter ID system designed on the basis of valid and reliable, empirical studies of the incidence of the sorts of vote fraud it is designed to prevent?
- How effective is the ID requirement in increasing the security of the ballot? How well can it be coordinated with a statewide voter database?⁴
- How practical is the requirement? Can it be administered smoothly by the staff and budget likely to be made available? How much additional training of polling place workers might be required? Is it simple enough or can it be defined with sufficient clarity

³ For example, the Florida voter ID law adopted after the 2004 election and pre-cleared by the Department of Justice, permits voters who cannot meet the ID requirements to sign an affidavit on the envelope of a provisional ballot, which will be counted if the signature matches that on the voter's registration form.

⁴ See the final section of this report for a brief overview of possible effects of a statewide voter database on voter identification issues.

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that poll workers throughout the state can administer it uniformly and with a minimum of local interpretation made on the fly under the pressure of Election Day?⁵

- How cost-effective is the system? Does it increase the security of the ballot at an affordable cost, measured in both monetary and other costs? To improve understanding of the non-monetary component of the costs, conducting a voter impact study might be appropriate. The voter impact study would examine, before the adoption of the regulation, the cost of compliance by the voter (such as the cost in time and money of acquiring a photo ID card), any offsetting benefits to voters, and the possible disparate effects of the regulation on various groups of voters.
- If a side effect of the Voter ID regulation is likely to reduce turnout, generally or among particular groups, is it possible to take other steps to ameliorate the adverse consequences?⁶
- Does it comply with the letter and spirit of Voting Rights Act?
- The seventh question is more difficult to measure than those described in the 6 questions outlined above. The Voter ID requirements should have a neutral result on the composition of the qualified electorate. That is, those requirements should not be designed to reduce the turnout of particular groups of voters who may have a propensity to support one party over another. Whatever the requirement may be, all citizens should be able to comply with it easily and at no or minimal cost.

Summary of findings and conclusions

Voter turnout at the state level in 2004 declined where voter identification requirements were more demanding. While the trend is not perfectly linear, the data show a general movement toward lower turnout as requirements tend toward requiring greater levels of proof. An average of 63.1 percent of the voting age population turned out in states that required voters to state their names, compared to 57.3 percent in states that required photo identification. Including other factors beyond voter id requirements diminishes the influence of voter ID on turnout. But the analysis still offers some support for the hypothesis that as the burden of voter identification

⁵ In New York, in 2004, disparities in training and voting information were made all too apparent in a study finding elections officials had wildly varying interpretations of what the state's voter identification requirement was. Tova Wang, "Warning Bell in Ohio," December 5, 2005. Website, the Foundation for National Progress.

⁶ For example, the Carter-Baker Commission accompanied its recommendation for a national voter ID card with a recommendations for an affirmative effort by the states to reach out and register the unregistered, to use the new Voter ID regime as a means to enroll more voters.

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requirements increases, turnout declines. The effect is particularly noticeable in counties with concentrations of Hispanic residents or of people living below the poverty line.

Evidence on the incidence of vote fraud, especially on the kind of vote fraud that could be reduced by requiring more rigorous voter identification is not sufficient to evaluate the tradeoffs between ensuring ballot access and ensuring ballot integrity. The lack of full understanding of the dynamics of voter ID requirements on political participation can be remedied by requiring the collection and reporting of data on the reasons potential voters are required to cast a provisional ballot and the reasons for rejecting provisional ballots. Also useful would be the results of exit polling of voters on their experiences in meeting voter ID requirements and on what type of ballot they cast.⁷ And, of course, more information is needed on the incidence and varieties of vote fraud, but that inquiry is outside the scope of this report.

Recommendations for consideration and action by the EAC

The EAC should consider the following actions to improve understanding of the relationship between voter ID requirements, broadly defined, and the two important goals of ensuring ballot access and ensuring ballot integrity.

- Encourage or sponsor further research to clarify the connection between Voter ID requirements and the number of potential voters actually able to cast a ballot.
- Recommend as a best practice that before states adopt a change described as increasing ballot security, states should publish an analysis of the number of eligible, potential voters that the new requirement may keep away from the polls or be permitted to cast only a provisional ballot as well as an estimate of the number of ineligible voters who will be prevented from voting.
- Encourage or require the states in the 2006 election and beyond, to collect and report reliable, credible information on the relationship between ballot access and ballot security. The data should be analyzed to provide a sound estimate of the incidence of the kinds of vote fraud that more stringent ID requirements may prevent and should describe the dynamics of voter ID in preserving the security of the ballot?

⁷ Arizona held its first election with new, stricter ID requirements on March 14, 2006. In at least one county (Maricopa) election officials handed a survey to voters that asked if they knew about the voter identification law and if they did, how they found out about it. Edythe Jensen, "New Voter ID Law Goes Smoothly in Chandler," *Arizona Republic*, March 15, 2006. More surveys of this kind can illuminate the dynamics of voter ID and voting in ways not possible with the current lack of information on this subject.

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- Useful information could be supplied by exit polling. It would identify those who had cast a provisional ballot and ask why they were unable to cast a regular ballot. Answers would illuminate the frequency with which ID issues divert voters into the provisional ballot line.
- Polling to ask voters what they know about the voter id requirements would also provide useful context for evaluating the effect of various voter id requirements on electoral participation.
- Encourage states to examine the time period allowed for voters who cast a provisional ballot because they lacked required ID to return with their identification. In eleven states, voters who had to cast a provisional ballot because they lacked the ID required for a regular ballot were permitted to return later with their ID. Their provision of this ID is the critical step in evaluating the ballots. The length of the period in which the voter may return with ID is important. In setting the time period for return, which now varies among the states from the same day to about two weeks, states should consider three criteria: the convenience of the voter, the total time allowed to evaluate ballots⁸, and the safe harbor provision in presidential elections.

⁸ Our research on provisional voting reveals that states that provide more than week to evaluate provisional ballots end up counting substantially more of those ballots than states that provide less than a week.

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3. Voter ID and Turnout

As of the 2004 election, the states and the District of Columbia could be divided into 5 different Voter ID regimes. These are shown in Table 1, *Voter ID Requirements*. Nine states required that voters give their names; 14 that they sign their names; 8 match the signature to a sample in the registration book; 15 require some form of ID (ranging from a utility bill to a government-issued photo ID), and 5 states in 2004 required a photo ID, although in all those states voters without that credential could cast a regular ballot after signing an affidavit concerning their identity and eligibility.

TABLE 1 -- Voter ID Requirements

State	Forms of ID Required 2004	Current ID Requirement for First-Time Voters	Current ID Requirements for All Other Voters	Verification Method for Provisional Ballots
Alabama	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Address & Registration
Alaska	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Signature
Arizona	Provide ID	Gov-issued Photo ID	Gov-issued Photo ID*	Address & Registration
Arkansas	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Address & Registration
California	Sign Name	Sign Name	Sign Name	Signature
Colorado	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Address & Registration
Connecticut	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Affidavit
Delaware	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Affidavit
D.C.	Sign Name	HAVA**	Sign Name	Address & Registration
Florida	Photo ID^	Photo ID	Photo ID	Signature
Georgia	Provide ID	Gov. Issued Photo ID**	Gov. Issued Photo ID**	Affidavit
Hawaii	Photo ID^^	Photo ID	Photo ID	Affidavit
Idaho	Sign Name	HAVA	Sign Name	EDR
Illinois	Match Sig.	HAVA	Match Sig.	Affidavit
Indiana	Sign Name	Gov. Issued Photo ID	Gov. Issued Photo ID	Bring ID Later
Iowa	Sign Name	HAVA	Sign Name	Bring ID Later
Kansas	Sign Name	Sign Name	Sign Name	Bring ID Later
Kentucky	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Affidavit
Louisiana	Photo ID^	Photo ID	Photo ID	DOB and Address
Maine	Give Name	HAVA	Give Name	EDR
Maryland	Sign Name	HAVA	Sign Name	Bring ID Later
Mass.	Give Name	HAVA	Give Name	Affidavit
Michigan	Sign Name	HAVA	Sign Name	Bring ID Later
Minnesota	Sign Name	HAVA	Sign Name	EDR
Mississippi	Sign Name	HAVA	Sign Name	Affidavit
Missouri	Provide ID	HAVA	Provide ID	Address & Registration
Montana	Provide ID	HAVA	Provide ID	Bring ID Later
Nebraska	Sign Name	HAVA	Sign Name	Affidavit
Nevada	Match Sig.	HAVA	Match Sig.	Affidavit
NH	Give Name	HAVA	Give Name	EDR
New Jersey	Match Sig.	HAVA	Match Sig.	Bring ID Later

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New Mexico	Sign Name	Provide ID	Provide ID	Bring ID Later
New York	Match Sig.	HAVA	Match Sig.	Affidavit
North Carolina	Give Name	HAVA	Give Name	Varies
North Dakota	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	No Registration
Ohio	Match Sig.	Provide ID	Match Sig.	Address & Registration
Oklahoma	Sign Name	HAVA	Sign Name	Address & Registration
Oregon	Match Sig.	HAVA	Match Sig.	Signature
Penn.	Match Sig.	HAVA****	Match Sig.	Address & Registration
Rhode Island	Give Name	HAVA	Give Name	Address & Registration
South Carolina	Photo ID^^	Photo ID	Photo ID	Address & Registration
South Dakota	Photo ID^^	Photo ID	Photo ID	Affidavit
Tennessee	Provide ID	Provide ID*****	Provide ID	Affidavit
Texas	Provide ID	Provide ID*****	Provide ID	Bring ID Later
Utah	Give Name	HAVA	Give Name	Bring ID Later
Vermont	Give Name	HAVA	Give Name	Affidavit
Virginia	Provide ID	HAVA	Provide ID	Affidavit
Washington	Sign Name	Provide ID	Provide ID	Address & Registration
West Virginia	Match Sig.	HAVA	Match Sig.	Address & Registration
Wisconsin	Give Name	HAVA	Give Name	Bring ID Later
Wyoming	Give Name	HAVA	Give Name	Affidavit

^In Florida and Louisiana, states that required a photo id in 2004, voters without that credential could sign an affidavit concerning their identity and eligibility and cast a regular ballot.

^^In these states in 2004, voters lacking a photo ID could vote by providing other ID.

*Arizona voters who lack a photo ID may present 2 forms of ID with no photograph, such as 2 utility bills.

**State only requires ID for first-time voters who register by mail without providing ID. They accept all forms of ID listed in the statute.

***Georgia is currently enjoined from implementing this law, returning them for the time being to their 2004 requirement of provide ID.

****Pennsylvania requires ID of all first-time voters, whether they registered by mail or in-person.

*****Tennessee voters must provide signature and address. In counties without computerized lists, the signature is compare to the registration card. In counties with computerized lists, the signature is compared to a signature on ID presented with registration.

*****Texas voters must present a current registration certificate. Those without a certificate can vote provisionally after completing an affidavit.

In 9 states, voters were required merely to state their names so that poll workers could locate them in the registration book. In 14 states, voters signed their names. In 8 states, voters' signatures were matched with a specimen signature. In 15 states voters had to show some form of ID, not necessarily an official picture ID. And in 5 states, voters were required to show an official photo ID, although in 2004 voters who lacked a picture ID could execute an affidavit and vote a regular ballot.

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This neat assignment of each state to one of a few categories may fail to reflect actual practice at a polling place. Like any system run by fallible people it is subject to wide variation in practice. Voters may be confronted with demands for identification at variance with state statutes or legislation. Other voters may be waved through the process without a look at any document, no matter what the regulations may say. Under the press of long lines and unfamiliar requirements, there is, in short, no sure way to report the wide variety of conditions voters may encounter.

It is not practical to attempt to capture the wide variety of how voter ID requirements may be actually implemented across the nation's tens of thousands of polling places. Recognizing that means that the analysis of the effect of state requirements on county-level turnout must be viewed with some caution.

Effect of Voter ID requirements on Turnout

Summary of Findings and Conclusions

We categorized each state according to its voter ID requirements in 2004, as shown in Table 1 and analyzed turnout data for each county according to the voter identification requirements of its state. We also assessed self-reported turnout by the sample interviewed in the November 2004 Current Population Survey of the Census Bureau.⁹

Voter turnout at the state level in 2004 varied based on voter identification requirements. An average of 63.1 percent of the voting age population turned out in states that required voters to state their names, compared to 57.3 percent in states that required photo identification. Other factors, of course, also influence turnout. Taking those other factors into account in the county-level analysis makes the effect of the voter ID requirement less dramatic. But the analysis still offers some support for the hypothesis that as the burden of voter identification requirements increases, turnout declines. The effect is particularly noticeable in counties with concentrations of Hispanic residents or of people living below the poverty line.

The individual-level analysis, based on the CPS, produced a similar result. Voter identification requirements exert a statistically significant, negative effect on whether survey respondents said they had voted in 2004. The probability that a respondent to the survey voted dropped with each

⁹ See Appendix ____ for the full report on voter ID and turnout.

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level of voter identification requirement, with a total drop of 2.5 percent across the five types of identification.

Future policy decisions should consider the tradeoffs between the incidence of vote fraud that can be prevented by stricter voter ID requirements and the number of eligible voters who will be kept from the polls by those stricter ID requirements. Continuing research is needed to provide the information to inform this calculation of benefits and costs.

Methods and Findings

We classified each state as having one of five types of identification requirements in place on Election Day 2004. Upon arrival at polling places, voters had to either: state their names (9 states); sign their names (13 states and the District of Columbia); match their signature to a signature on file with the local election board (8 states); provide a form of identification that did not necessarily include a photo (15 states); or provide a photo identification (5 states). We then tested the assumption that voter identification requirements would prove to be increasingly demanding on the voter, with providing photo ID the most rigorous. a form of identification, and providing a form of photo identification.

The analysis recognized that election laws in numerous states offer exceptions to these requirements if a prospective voter lacked the ID. Laws in those states set a minimum standard that a voter must meet in order to vote using a regular ballot. We therefore also categorized states based on the minimum requirement for voting with a regular ballot. None of the states required photo identification as a minimum standard for voting with a regular ballot. Four states, however, required voters to swear an affidavit as to their identity (Florida, Indiana, Louisiana, and North Dakota). The five categories for minimum requirements were: state name (12 states), sign name (14 states and the District of Columbia), match one's signature to a signature on file (six states), provide a non-photo identification (14 states), or swear an affidavit (four states). This analysis treats the array of minimum identification requirements also in terms of increasing demand on the voter: state name, sign name, match signature, provide non-photo identification, and, given the potential legal consequences for providing false information, swearing an affidavit.

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Voter turnout at the state level in 2004 declined as voter identification requirements became more demanding, as shown in Table 2. While the trend is not perfectly linear, there is a general movement toward lower turnout as requirements tend toward requiring greater levels of proof. Using the maximum requirements as the independent variable, an average of 63.1 percent of the voting age population turned out in states that required voters to state their names, compared to 57.3 percent in states that required photo identification. A similar trend emerged when using the minimum requirements as the independent variable. Sixty-one percent of the voting age population turned out in states requiring voters to state their names, compared to 58.7 percent in states that required an affidavit from voters.

Table 2 – Variation in 2004 State Turnout Based on Voter Identification Requirements

Maximum Requirement		Minimum Requirement	
Voter Identification Required in the States	Mean Voter Turnout for States in that Category	Voter Identification Required in the States	Mean Voter Turnout for States in that Category
State Name	63.1 %	State Name	61.3 %
Sign Name	58.6 %	Sign Name	60.4 %
Match Signature	62.1 %	Match Signature	59.2 %
Provide Non-Photo ID	57.8 %	Provide Non-Photo ID	57.6 %
Provide Photo ID	57.3 %	Swear Affidavit	58.7 %
Average Turnout (All States)	59.6 %		

Voter identification requirements alone do not determine voter turnout. Other influences – demographic or political-- also affect voter participation. Multivariate models that take into account other predictors place the effects of voter identification in a more accurate context. To consider that broader context, our multivariate analysis included whether the county was in a presidential battleground state or a state with a competitive race for governor or the U.S. Senate. Demographic variables included the percentage of the voting-age population in each county that was Hispanic or African-American, the percentage of county residents age 65 and older, and the percentage of the county population living below the poverty line. The dependent variable in each model was voter turnout at the county level, with turnout calculated as the percentage of the voting-age population that voted in the 2004 election.

The aggregate analysis for the maximum identification requirements revealed a small and negative effect on turnout in 2004 controlling for electoral context and demographic factors. If the state was a battleground for president, governor or senate voter turnout increased. As the percentage of senior citizens in the county increased, so did turnout. The percentage of African-

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Americans in the county had no effect, but the percentage of Hispanic adults reduced voter turnout, as did the percentage of individuals living below the poverty line.

In general, analysis of the aggregate data at the county level provides some support for the hypothesis that as the burden of voter identification requirements increases, turnout declines, at least in the case of the maximum requirements. This is particularly so for counties with concentrations of Hispanic residents or individuals who live below the poverty line.

Information collected for the Census Bureau Current Population Survey in November 2004 makes it possible to examine the influence of voter ID requirements at the individual level. Self-identified registered voters reported their experience at the polls in the survey. (Note that the voter turnout rate for the CPS sample, an average of 89%, is much higher than the turnout rates presented in the aggregate data analysis, which average 58%. The difference is a result of several factors, including different denominators in calculating the turnout rate – self-reported registered voters in the CPS versus the much larger voting-age population for the aggregate data. Also some survey respondents overstate their incidence of voting.) Nevertheless, the CPS serves as a widely accepted source of data on voting behavior.

The dependent variable in the individual analyses is whether respondents said they voted in the 2004 election. As in the aggregate analysis the contextual variables consist of whether the state was a battleground state or had competitive state-level races. The analysis also controlled for gender, age in years, education, household income, race or ethnicity, and employment status, marital status, and residential mobility.

The analysis revealed that voter identification requirements exerted a statistically significant, negative effect on whether survey respondents said they had voted in 2004. Of the other state factors, only the competitiveness of the presidential race had a significant effect on turnout. In terms of demographic influences, consistent with previous research, age, education, income, and marital status all were positive predictors of voting. Women also were more likely to say they voted than men. Those who had moved within six months before the interview were less likely to say they had voted.

Allowing the voter identification requirement to vary while holding constant all other variables in the model showed that the predicted probability of turnout ranged from 91.2 percent if all voters had to state their names to 88.7 percent if all voters had to provide photo identification. (Note

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that these turnout figures are higher than actual because of the factors involved in the CPS's self-reported survey, but that the difference in effect is reasonably related to the results obtained in the aggregate analysis.) In other words, the probability of voting dropped with each level of the maximum voter identification requirement, with a total drop of 2.5 percent across the five types of identification. When taking into account the minimum requirement for identification, the probability showed a similar decline, with a slightly larger total drop of 3.3 percent.

Both the maximum and minimum identification requirements had negative and statistically significant effects for white voters. Allowing the requirements to vary from stating one's name to providing photo identification or an affidavit showed drops of 2.5 percent and 3.3 percent respectively in the predicted probability of voting. The identification requirements had no effect on the probability of African-Americans voting, but the minimum identification requirements had a comparatively sizable effect on voter turnout among Hispanics. The predicted probability of Hispanics voting ranged from 87 percent if stating one's name would be the required form of identification to 77.3 percent if a voter would have to provide an affidavit in order to vote, a difference of 9.7 percent. Variation also emerged along the lines of income, with the effects of voter identification requirements varying to a greater extent for voters in households below the poverty line compared to those living above the poverty line.

Registered voters who had less than a high school education had a 77.5 percent probability of voting if the maximum requirement would be stating one's name, and a 70.8 percent probability if they would have to provide photo identification under the maximum requirement, a difference of 6.7 percent. The range of effects of voter identification requirements was smaller among those with higher levels of education (and non-existent for one category – voters with some college education).

Discussion and Conclusions of the Analysis

The results presented here give evidence that tougher voter identification requirements are associated with a decline in voter participation. The overall effect for all registered voters was fairly small, but even a slight decline in turnout has the potential to alter the outcome of a close election. The decline is apparent in both the aggregate data and the individual-level data, although not always for both the maximum and minimum sets of requirements.

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- Hispanic voters and the poor appear to be less likely to vote if the level of required identification becomes more demanding, according to both the aggregate and the individual-level data. In the individual-level data, for Hispanic voters, the probability of voting dropped by 9.7 percent across the various levels of minimum identification requirements. Survey respondents living in poor households would be 5.3 percent less likely to vote as the requirements vary from stating one's name to attesting to one's identity in an affidavit.
- Self-reported registered voters who had not graduated from high school would be 6.7 percent less likely to vote if the maximum requirement is photo identification as opposed to stating one's name. When considering the minimum requirements, those with less than a high school education would be 7.4 percent less likely to say they voted if the requirement was an affidavit as opposed to stating one's name.
- Age was also a key factor, with voters ages 18 to 24 being 7.7 percent to 8.9 percent less likely to vote as the requirements ranged from stating one's name to providing a photo identification or affidavit.
- Two concerns aired by critics of voter identification requirements were not borne out by the results. African-American voters did not appear to be affected by voter identification requirements, according to both the aggregate data and individual-level data analyses. Also, the elderly, while they would be slightly less likely to vote as requirements range from least to most demanding, would not necessarily be affected in the dramatic manner predicted by some opposed to photo identification requirements in particular.

The data examined in this analysis could not capture the dynamics of how identification requirements might lower turnout. Do these requirements dampen turnout because individuals are aware of the requirements and stay away from the polls because they cannot or do not want to meet the requirements? Or, do the requirements result in some voters being turned away when they cannot meet the requirements on Election Day? The CPS data do not include measures that can answer these questions, pointing up the need for collection of additional data. Knowing more about the "on the ground" experiences of voters concerning identification requirements could guide policy-makers at the state and local level in determining whether and at what point in the electoral cycle a concerted public information campaign might be most

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effective in helping voters to meet identification requirements. Such knowledge also could help in designing training for poll workers to handle questions about, and potential disputes over, voter identification requirements.

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4. Litigation over Voter ID Requirements

There have been a handful of cases challenging identification requirements in court in recent years. In general, requirements that voters provide some identifying documentation have been upheld, where photo ID is *not* the only acceptable form. Whether or not laws requiring photo ID will be upheld is more doubtful. To date, only one court has considered a law requiring voters to show photo ID (*Common Cause v. Billups*), and that court concluded that this requirement is likely unconstitutional. Cases challenging the mandatory disclosure of voters' Social Security numbers on privacy grounds have yielded mixed results.

Non-photo identification. For the most part, courts have looked favorably on cases challenging requirements that voters present some form of identifying documents if the photo identification is the only form accepted. In *Colorado Common Cause v. Davidson*, No. 04CV7709, 2004 WL 2360485, at *1 (Colo. Dist. Ct. Oct. 18, 2004), plaintiffs challenged a law requiring all in-person voters to show identification (not just first-time registrants). The court upheld this requirement against a constitutional challenge. Similarly, in *League of Women Voters v. Blackwell*, 340 F. Supp. 2d 823 (N.D. Ohio 2004), the court rejected a challenge to an Ohio directive requiring first-time voters who registered by mail to provide one of the HAVA-permitted forms of identification, in order to have their provisional ballots counted. Specifically, the directive provided that their provisional ballots would be counted if the voter (a) orally recited his driver's license number or the last four digits of his social security number or (b) returned to the polling place before it closed with some acceptable identification (including reciting those identification numbers). *Id.* This was found to be consistent with HAVA.

Photo ID. Since the 2004 election, two states have adopted laws requiring photo identification in order to have one's vote counted, without an affidavit exception: Georgia and Indiana. Both these requirements were enacted in 2005 and both have been challenged in court. The Georgia law required voters attempting to cast a ballot in person present a valid form of photographic identification. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-417. On October 18, 2005, the District Court granted the Plaintiff's motion for a preliminary injunction, enjoining the application of the new identification requirements on constitutional grounds. In granting the injunction, the court held that plaintiffs' claims under both the Fourteenth Amendment (equal protection) and Twenty-Fourth Amendment (poll tax) had a substantial likelihood of succeeding on the merits at trial (*Common Cause v. Billups*,

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Prelim. Inj. 96, 104). In January 2006, Georgia enacted a modified version of its photo ID law, which the court has not yet ruled on. In the other state that has enacted a photo ID requirement without an affidavit exception (Indiana), legal challenges have also been filed. (*Indiana Democratic Party v. Rokita* and *Crawford v. Marion County Election Board*). Cross-motions for summary judgment are currently pending. Another case of significance, for purposes of photo ID requirements, is *American Civil Liberties Union of Minnesota v. Kiffmeyer*, No. 04-CV-4653, 2004 WL 2428690, at *1 (D. Minn. Oct. 28, 2004). In that case, the court enjoined a Minnesota law that allowed the use of tribal photo ID cards, only for an Indian who lived on the reservation. 2004 WL 2428690, at *1. The Court found no rational basis for distinguishing based on whether or not the cardholder lives on the reservation. *Id.* at *1, 3. The court's decision in this case indicates that courts are likely to look strictly on photo ID requirements.

Privacy. In *Greidinger v. Davis*, 988 F.2d 1344 (4th Cir. 1993), the court struck down on due process grounds a Virginia law requiring disclosure of voters' social security numbers for voter registration. The social security numbers recorded in voter registration lists had been disclosed to the public and political parties that had requested the lists. The court found that the requirement to give the social security number effectively conditioned rights on the consent to an invasion of privacy. It concluded that this public disclosure of the social security numbers was not necessary to achieve the government's interest in preventing fraud. On the other hand, in *McKay v. Thompson*, 226 F.3d 752 (6th Cir. 2000), the court rejected privacy challenges based on both the Constitution and federal statutes, to a Tennessee law requiring social security numbers for voter registration since 1972. 226 F.3d at 755. Second, the NVRA only permits requiring the minimum amount of information necessary to prevent duplicate voter registration and to determine eligibility. The distinction appears to be between the use of Social Security numbers for internal purposes only, which was deemed permissible, and the disclosure of those numbers to the public which was not.

These decisions suggest that the courts will look strictly at requirements that voters produce a photo ID in order to cast a regular ballot. The courts have used a balancing test to weigh the legitimate interest in preventing election fraud against the citizen's right to privacy (protecting social security numbers from public disclosure, for example) and the reasonableness of requirements for identity documents. To provide both the clarity and certainty in administration of elections needed to forestall destabilizing challenges to outcomes, these early decisions

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suggest that best practice may be to conform to the NVRA's limitation on requirements for voter identification to the minimum needed to prevent duplicate registration and ensure eligibility.

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5. Developments since 2004

Since the passage of HAVA, with its limited requirements for voter identification, and following the 2004 election, debate over voter ID has taken place in state legislatures across the country. That debate has not been characterized by solid information on the consequences of tightening requirements for voters to identify themselves before being permitted to cast a regular, rather than a provisional, ballot.

Better information might improve the quality of the debate. Answers to the following key questions are not available in a form that might satisfy those on both sides of the argument.

- What is the overall incidence of vote fraud?
- How does fraud take place in the various stage of the process: registration, voting at the polls, absentee voting, or ballot counting?
- What contribution can tighter requirements for voter ID make to reducing vote fraud?
- What would be the other consequences of increasingly demanding requirements for voters to identify themselves? This is the question addressed, within the limits of the available data, in the analysis in this report.

This information would allow a more informed judgment to be brought to bear in the states as they consider the tradeoffs among the competing goals of ballot integrity, ballot access, and administrative efficiency. The Carter-Baker Commission recognized the tradeoffs when it tied recommendation for national ID to an affirmative effort by government to identify unregistered voters and make it easy for them to register.

State Voter Databases and Voter ID

With the implementation of the HAVA Computerized Statewide Voter Registration List, an application for voter registration for an election for Federal office may not be accepted or processed unless the application includes a driver's license number or last four digits of the Social Security number on the voter registration form. This information can be used to verify the identity of the registrant through interfacing with lists maintained by the Motor Vehicle office and Social Security office. If registrants do not have either a driver's license or Social Security number, the State will assign a unique identifier number to that person.

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HAVA does not require that the states notify registrants to remedy any failure to provide either of these numbers or to confirm that they have provided a verifiable number. Verification at the time of registration could forestall difficulties at the polling place. HAVA is silent on how the ID might be required at the polling place for new voters whose driving license or Social Security number could not be verified. Errors in recording those numbers are sure to occur.

Some states are wrestling now with these unresolved issues. In New Jersey, for example, pending legislation require that voters must be able to confirm their registration through a secure access to the SVRL. It also requires voters to present ID at the polls in order to cast a regular ballot if the numbers recorded on the registration have not been verified (or if no verifiable number appears on the registration). It recognizes the HAVA requirement that if the number provided by the voter has not been verified and if the voter does not present ID at the polls, that voter may cast a provisional ballot. The bill does not specify they have to provide ID within 48 hours in order for their vote to count, as is the case with first-time mail-in registrants.

As some states gain experience in this area, the EAC would perform a useful service by making timely recommendations of best practices for all states to consider.

6. Conclusions

The form of Voter ID required of voters affects turnout. Lack of ID can keep voters from the polls. Or, when they go to the polls, it is reasonable to conclude that stricter Voter ID requirements will divert more voters into the line for provisional ballots. (This conclusion is a conjecture because we lack good data on why voters must cast their ballots provisionally.) The result can be longer lines at the polls and confusion, without a clear demonstration that the security of the ballot is correspondingly increased.¹⁰ The dynamics of Voter ID requirements—how the more rigorous Voter ID requirements—affect the decision by potential voters to go or stay away from the polls are not well understood. This lack of understanding should be recognized in the policy process. The debate over voter ID in the states would be improved by additional research sponsored by the EAC. That research might address that, so far as may be

¹⁰ In this connection, the Brennan Center's response to the Carter-Baker Commission report observes that, "while it might be true that in a close election "a small amount of fraud could make the margin of difference," it is equally true that the rejection of a much larger number of eligible voters could make a much bigger difference in the outcome." The exclusion of voters through restrictive ID requirements could affect election outcomes as much as fraud by voters at the polls. *Response to the Report of the 2005 Commission on Federal Election Reform*, The Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law and Spencer Overton, On Behalf Of The National Network on State Election Reform, September 19, 2005

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necessary to reduce vote fraud, could identify methods to eliminate the need for voters to bring specific identity documents with them to the polls while assuring that each voter who casts a ballot is eligible and votes only once. One way to break the connection between the benefits of photo ID and the need for the voter to bring identification to the polling place, as recommended by our colleague Edward Foley: keep the information to verify a voter's identity in the records at the polling place. Other approaches could be developed. ¹¹

¹¹ "A potential solution to this problem is to break the connection with the photo requirement and the obligation to produce identification at the polls. Eligible citizens could be required to provide a photograph at the time they *register* to vote, and poll workers would match this photograph with the image of the person standing in front of them. Given the availability of digital photography, the photos of registered voters could be stored in electronic poll books and easily "pulled up" with a click of a computer mouse when voters sign in to vote. These electronic photos should satisfy the anti-fraud concerns of conservatives as much as printed photos that citizens would be required to bring to the polls. . . . Of course, to satisfy the concerns of liberals, a requirement to provide a digital photograph at time of registration would have to address the cost and accessibility issues identified earlier. "

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Appendices

- a. Summary of case law on Voter ID issues (included with this draft)
- b. Analysis of Effects of Voter ID Requirements on Turnout (attached as a separate document)
- c. Indexed database of major articles on Voter ID Requirements and related topics (included with this draft)
- d. Compendium of states' legislation, procedures, and litigation

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APPENDIX –Court Decisions and Literature on Voter Identification and Related Issues

Court Decisions

Summary of Relevant Cases:

Challenges Prevailed:

American Civil Liberties Union of Minnesota v. Kiffmeyer, 2004

- Action for temporary restraining order – granted
- Statute: allowed use of tribal identification cards w/ name, address & photo as a valid identification to register to vote only if the voter lives on the reservation to “complete” a mail-in application (which only affected about 600 voters w/ incomplete applications)
- Claim -14th Amendment EPC: likely to prevail, no rational basis for a distinction between Indians residing on reservations and those not
- Statute: may use certain forms of photo identification lacking address together with a utility bill but not tribal identification cards
- Claim -14th Amendment EPC: likely to prevail

Greidinger v. Davis, 1993

- Statute: mandated disclosure of SS # as a precondition to voter registration (rationale was voter identification, but the numbers were rarely used to verify identity & were disclosed in voter lists to both political parties and the public upon request)
- Claims:
 - 14th Amendment EPC: no classification (applied strict scrutiny)
 - Substantive due process: law invalid; found that the statute conditioned the fundamental right to vote on the consent to an invasion of privacy; this was found to be a substantial burden (applied strict scrutiny)
 - Compelling interests: preventing voter fraud (deemed compelling)
 - Necessary: fails, preventing voter fraud when allowing names for inspection could be achieved by supplying addresses and DOBs or use of voter registration numbers
 - HOWEVER: Court also made it clear that if the registration scheme kept the SS# for internal use only – it would be valid

Challenges Rejected:

League of Women Voters v. Blackwell, 2004.

- Sec. of State Directive: provisional ballots issued if first-time voter, who registered by mail and did not provide ID, cannot produce proper ID at the polls AND that the provisional ballot will only be counted if the voter returns to the poll before it closes w/ ID or can recite SS# or DL#
- Claims – Supremacy Clause & HAVA: ruled that HAVA did not specify how the first-time voters' identifications should be verified and this method was not unreasonable or too burdensome

Colorado Common Clause v. Davidson, 2004

- Statute: required all voters to show ID (most types permitted) before voting
- Claims:
 - HAVA: ruled that HAVA did not preempt more strict state laws & allowed States to be more strict as long as consistent with the purpose of HAVA (both HAVA & CO provisions' purposes were to prevent voter fraud)
 - Substantive due process and equal protection
 - No improper discrimination

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- Preventing voter fraud is a compelling interest since it is irreversible once vote is cast
- Only marginally more intrusive than HAVA, many types of identification permitted – thus, valid

McKay v. Thompson, 2000

- Statute: mandated disclosure of SS # as a precondition to voter registration
- Claims:
 - Privacy Act, Section 7: ruled that Tennessee voter system exempt from Privacy Act because it is pre-75
 - NVRA, permitting only min. amt. of info. necessary to prevent duplicate registration and determine eligibility: ruled that NVRA does not specifically forbid the use of SS#s & the Privacy Act specifically permits them pre-75
 - Substantive due process: ruled that internal use of SS# not a burden
 - Free Exercise, based on Bible's supposed prohibition on use of universal identifiers: ruled that law is generally applicable and thus valid
 - P&I, Article IV: does not protect in-state citizens
 - P&I, 14th Amend.: no protection for privilege where Congress authorized its infringement

Kemp v. Tucker, 1975

- Statute: required name, occupation, address, sex, race, height, hair color, eye color, and date of birth be listed on voter registration card for identification purposes
- Claims:
 - VRA: ruled that race was not made a "qualification" for voting
 - 15th Amendment: ruled that it did not abridge right to vote on account of race because rejection of application was due to failure to provide information, not race; race only one factor in identification
 - 14th Amendment EPC: ruled there was no distinction among voters

Perez v. Rhiddlehoover, 1966

- Statute: date of birth, place of birth, mother's first or maiden name, color of eyes, sex, race, occupation, and whether owner, tenant or boarder must appear on the registration for identification
- Claims:
 - VRA: ruled that it was not a "test or device" because it applied equally
 - 15th Amendment: same reasons

Cases in Which the Plaintiffs Have Prevailed in Challenging the Statute Requiring Voter Identification:

American Civil Liberties Union of Minnesota v. Kiffmeyer, No. 04-CV-4653, 2004 WL 2428690, at *1 (D. Minn. Oct. 28, 2004).

This was an action just before the November 2004 election for a temporary restraining order, which was granted. The ACLU challenged a Minnesota law allowing the use of tribal identification cards with the name, address, and photograph as a valid identification (equal to a driver's license) for use in "completing" an incomplete mail-in voter registration only if the Indian lives on the reservation. 2004 WL 2428690, at *1. The Court ruled that this distinction would likely violate the Equal Protection Clause because there was no rational basis for differentiating

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between the validity of the identification based on whether or not the cardholder lives on the reservation. *Id.* at *1, 3.

Secondly, the ACLU challenged a second statute which allowed the use of certain photo identification lacking the voter's address to be used together with a utility bill or bank statement as valid identification for registration. *Id.* at *3. The statute did not, however, permit using a tribal identification for this same purpose. *Id.* The Court ruled that this likely violated the equal protection clause as well. *Id.*

***Greidinger v. Davis*, 988 F.2d 1344 (4th Cir. 1993).**

This case challenged a Virginia law requiring the social security number for voter registration, which the State subsequently disclosed to the public and political parties upon request in voter registration lists, which included the social security numbers. Failure to provide the social security number resulted in the denial of the registration application. The law was challenged under the Equal Protection Clause and under substantive due process. The Court quickly rejected the equal protection challenge because the law made no classification. 988 F.2d at 1350.

The law was invalidated under substantive due process. *Id.* at 1355. The Court found that the statutory scheme conditioned the fundamental right to vote on the consent to an invasion of privacy, based on concerns of identity theft. *Id.* at 1353-54. The Court found this to be a substantial burden on the right to vote. *Id.* at 1354. The Court recognized that the government's interest in preventing voter fraud was compelling. *Id.* However, the Court found that disclosure of the information to the public and political parties was not necessary to achieve that interest. *Id.* Disclosure of addresses or dates of birth would be sufficient to aid the public in distinguishing between two voters with the same name. *Id.* at 1355. The Court did state that required disclosure of the social security number for internal use only would be valid. *Id.* at 1354 n.10.

Cases in Which the Statute or Practice of Voter Identification Has Been Upheld:

***League of Women Voters v. Blackwell*, 340 F. Supp. 2d 823 (N.D. Ohio 2004).**

The League of Women Voters challenged the Secretary of State's directive that provisional ballots should be issued to all first-time voters who registered by mail without providing identification who cannot show proper identification at the polls. 340 F. Supp. 2d at 828. The Directive also stated that the provisional ballots would only be counted if the voter orally recited his driver's license number or the last four digits of his social security number or returned to the polling place before it closed with some acceptable identification, including reciting those identification numbers. *Id.* The Court stated that HAVA only requires verification of eligibility of first time voters registering by mail; it does not say how that should be done. *Id.* at 831. The Court found the burden on the right to vote to be slight. *Id.* The Directive was found valid under HAVA and the Supremacy Clause because the number of uncounted votes would be small, the requirement was reasonable, and there was adequate notice of the requirement on the registration forms. *Id.* at 829-30.

***Colorado Common Cause v. Davidson*, No. 04CV7709, 2004 WL 2360485, at *1 (Colo. Dist. Ct. Oct. 18, 2004).**

In this case, the validity of three Colorado statutory provisions was challenged. The laws (1) required all in-person voters to show identification (not just first-time registrants); (2) provided that votes cast in the wrong precinct would not be counted; and (3) provided that

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provisional ballots would not be counted if the voter applied for an absentee ballot. 2004 WL 2360485, at *1. The plaintiffs also challenged the provisions under HAVA. The identification provision allowed nearly all forms of acceptable identification under HAVA. *Id.* at *6.

The challenge to the identification requirement failed under both challenges. The Court interpreted HAVA as not intended to preempt state laws and as permitting states to be more strict than, but not inconsistent with, HAVA. *Id.* at *10. The Court felt that the purpose of both laws was the same, to reduce voter fraud, and thus, both laws could coexist. As to the Constitutional claim, both equal protection and substantive due process, the Court felt that preventing voter fraud, which is impossible to remedy once a vote is cast, is a compelling interest, and the Court also felt that a voter identification requirement for all voters, with many types of acceptable identification, was only marginally more intrusive than HAVA. *Id.* at 12. The Court also found no improper discrimination between voters. *Id.* Thus, the provision was upheld.

***McKay v. Thompson*, 226 F.3d 752 (6th Cir. 2000).**

The Sixth Circuit ruled that the Privacy Act, the National Voter Registration Act, Substantive Due Process, the Privileges and Immunities Clauses (Fourteenth Amendment & Article IV), and the First Amendment right to free exercise do not prohibit requiring disclosure of social security numbers as a precondition to voter registration.

The Privacy Act, Section 7, mandates that it is unlawful for a government to deny a right or privilege because of a citizen's refusal to disclose his social security number, unless the disclosure was required for a system established prior to 1975. 226 F.3d at 755 (citing Privacy Act of 1974, Pub. L. No. 93-579 (1974)). Since Tennessee required social security numbers for voter registration since 1972, his challenge was rejected. 226 F.3d at 755. Second, the NVRA only permits requiring the minimum amount of information necessary to prevent duplicate voter registration and to determine eligibility. *Id.* at 755-56 (citing 42 U.S.C. §1973gg-3(c)(2)(B)). The Court rejected this challenge because the NVRA does not specifically forbid the use of social security numbers, and the Privacy Act, a more specific statute, grandfathered their use if prior to 1975. 226 F.3d at 756.

Finally, the plaintiff's constitutional claims were all rejected. His substantive due process claim was rejected because internal receipt and use of social security numbers does not burden the fundamental right to vote. *Id.* The free exercise challenge, based on the Bible's supposed prohibition of universal identifiers, was rejected because the law was generally applicable and not directed at particular religious practices. *Id.* The Privileges and Immunities Clause claim was rejected because the Clause does not apply to citizens of the state. *Id.* The Fourteenth Amendment Privileges and Immunities claim, based on the right to vote as unique to U.S. citizenship, was rejected because the Clause provides no protection where Congress has authorized the infringement. *Id.*

***Kemp v. Tucker*, 396 F. Supp. 737 (M.D. Pa. 1975), *aff'd*, 423 U.S. 803.**

A statute was upheld, which required name, occupation, address, sex, race, height, hair color, eye color, and date of birth to be recorded on the voter registration card and allowed registration officials to reject an incomplete application. 396 F. Supp. at 738. Claims were alleged under the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause, the Fifteenth Amendment, and the Voting Rights Act.

As to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendment claims, the Court reasoned that preventing voter fraud is a compelling goal, and identification provisions are "an essential means of achieving the goal." *Id.* at 739. The Court also rejected the equal protection claim because the statutes did not create a distinction at all. *Id.* at 740 n.3. Since race is just one of

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several characteristics required, the Court found that it was intended for preventing voter fraud, not some other motive. *Id.* at 740. As to the VRA, the Court rejected the claim that it added race as a qualification for voting as frivolous. *Id.* As to a Fifteenth Amendment claim that it abridged the right to vote on account of race, the Court also made a distinction between rejecting a voter application because of race and rejecting an application because of failure to answer all relevant questions to assist in preventing voter fraud. *Id.* The statute was upheld.

***Perez v. Rhiddlehoover*, 186 So. 2d 686 (La. Ct. App. 1966).**

A voter registration requirement was challenged and upheld. The statute stated that date of birth, place of birth, mother's first or maiden name, color of eyes, sex, race, occupation, and whether owner, tenant or boarder must appear on the registration. 186 So.2d at 690. This information was required for identification of voters, especially when voters had the same name, to prevent duplicate voting. It was challenged under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 Section 4(a) which prohibits denying the right to vote for failure to comply with a "test or device." The Court felt that this requirement was not a test or device for discrimination because it applied equally. *Id.* at 691. The Court also determined that it was not in conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment either. *Id.*

***Friendly House, et al. v. Janet Napolitano et al.*, CV 04-649 TUC DCB**

On November 30, 2004, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) filed suit seeking to halt the implementation of Proposition 200. Proposition 200 created a number of legal requirements to ensure that public benefits are not available to illegal immigrants. In particular, Proposition 200 requires that a person attempting to register to vote provide one of six specific forms of proof of United States citizenship. Compl. 12-13. Also, any person attempting to vote must present either one form of photo identification or two forms of non-photo identification. *Id.* at 13.

The lawsuit alleges two violations that directly relate to the voting identification restrictions. First, the lawsuit alleges a violation of the Twenty-Fourth and Fourteenth amendments in that a voter must pay a poll tax by spending money to purchase the required identification. *Id.* at 20. Second, the lawsuit alleges violation of the Voting Rights Act. *Id.* at 21. The lawsuit was recently dismissed by the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals for a lack of standing. The Circuit Court found that there was no injury-in-fact, meaning that once an injury occurs the suit will likely be refiled. Additionally, it should be noted that the voter identification issue is only a part of the lawsuit, and much of the focus has been on other aspects of Proposition 200.

Current Litigation Concerning Voter ID Issues¹²

Litigation is filled with uncertainty. Litigation stemming from newly passed voter identification requirements will continue into the foreseeable future. Lawsuits are currently pending over voter identification requirements in Georgia and Indiana. Other states, such as Ohio, are considering new identification requirements that could lead to further litigation. The Georgia lawsuit has already succeeded in getting a preliminary injunction against the law in question, which will likely galvanize interested parties in other states to pursue similar litigation. Of course, if the injunction is eventually overturned at the appellate level it could have a similar chilling affect on future litigation.

This summary major litigation pending in Georgia and Indiana includes a brief assessment of the likelihood of success:

¹² As of January 2, 2006

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Georgia (*Common Cause/Georgia v. Billups*):

On September 19, 2005, Common Cause of Georgia, in conjunction with several other non-profit organizations, filed suit in Federal District Court against the Georgia Secretary of State and other election officials, challenging the constitutionality of Georgia's new voter identification requirements. The new law requires all voters attempting to cast a ballot in person to present a valid form of photographic identification. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-417. A voter that is unable to provide proper identification is given a provisional ballot. However, that provisional ballot will be counted only if the voter is able to subsequently present valid identification within two days of the election. *Id.*

The lawsuit alleges five separate violations of state and federal law. First, the complaint alleges that the identification requirements infringe on the right to vote guaranteed in the Georgia constitution (Compl. 32)¹³. In addition, the Plaintiffs claim violations of the Federal Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act. (Compl. 36,38). Finally, the lawsuit alleges violations of the Fourteenth and Twenty-Fourth amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The complaint claims that the ID requirements constitute an "undue burden" on the right to vote, in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (Compl. 34). The ID requirement does not apply to most absentee voters, and thus the requirement is also over-broad and not narrowly tailored to address the stated purpose of preventing voter fraud (Compl. 34). The complaint further alleges that the cost of obtaining a photo ID constitutes a poll tax, in violation of the Twenty-Fourth Amendment, and that the cost is also a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment because it applies to voters who choose to vote in person, and not to those who vote absentee (Compl. 34,35).

On October 18, 2005, the District Court granted the Plaintiff's motion for a preliminary injunction, enjoining the application of the new identification requirements. In granting the injunction, the court held that both federal constitutional claims had a substantial likelihood of succeeding on the merits at trial (Prelim. Inj. 96, 104). The court also held that, while the two federal statutory claims were plausible, they both lacked sufficient evidence at the time to have a substantial likelihood of success. (Prelim. Inj. 109,111,116). Finally, the court held that the Georgia constitutional claim would be barred by the Eleventh Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. (Prelim. Inj. 77).

The Defendants appealed the motion for preliminary injunction to the Eleventh Circuit, and oral argument is scheduled for March 1, 2006. In addition, some news reports have claimed that the Georgia legislature is considering re-visiting the ID requirements in light of the on-going litigation.¹⁴ As for the merits, in granting the preliminary injunction the District Court has already signaled its belief that the federal constitutional claims are likely meritorious. The Eleventh Circuit may have a different view, but for now the case looks to have a reasonable chance of success.

Indiana (*Indiana Democratic Party v. Rokita and Crawford v. Marion County Election Board*):

The Indiana lawsuit is similar to its Georgia counterpart in content, though not in status. In Indiana separate lawsuits, now joined, were filed by the state Democratic Party and the

¹³ Litigation documents are available at the Election Law @ Moritz website.
<http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/electionlaw/litigation/index.php>

¹⁴ GA Legislature May Revisit Voter ID Law, State Net Capitol Journal, Dec. 19, 2005.

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Indiana Civil Liberties Union (ICLU). The Democratic Party's lawsuit is directed against the Indiana Secretary of State, while the ICLU's lawsuit involves the Marion County Board of Elections and the State of Indiana. Like Georgia, Indiana law also requires citizens voting in person to present some form of official photo identification. IC § 3-11-8-25.1. Voters unable to present identification are given a provisional ballot, which is counted if they are able to provide the required identification by Noon on the second Monday following the election. IC § 3-11.7-5-1. Unlike Georgia, Indiana provides state issued identification at no charge. However, there are costs involved in the process, including transportation to the Bureau of Motor Vehicles, and payment for documents such as birth certificates, which are needed to obtain the ID. (Second Am. Compl. 6).

The Democratic Party's complaint raises Fourteenth Amendment claims similar to those in the Georgia lawsuit, including concerns about substantially burdening the right to vote, the enactment of a de-facto poll tax from the costs indirectly associated with obtaining ID, and the lack of applicability to voters who cast an absentee ballot. (Second Am. Compl. 6-9). In addition, the complaint alleges that the substantial burden placed on the right to vote violates the First Amendment protection of expressive or symbolic speech, as well as the freedom of association as applied to Democratic primary elections. (Second Am. Compl. 9-10). Finally, the complaint alleges violations of the Voting Rights Act, National Voter Registration Act, and the Help America Vote Act (Second Am. Compl. 10-11). The ICLU's complaint alleges many of the same violations, but also includes claims of a violation of Indiana's constitutional guarantee of a free and equal election system. (Compl. 15)

The case is currently in the pre-trial phase, with both sides awaiting decisions on their respective motions for summary judgment.¹⁵ The likelihood of success is bolstered by the fact that the Fourteenth amendment constitutional claims have already been found persuasive by at least one other Federal District Court. However, the Indiana law is notably different than its Georgia counterpart in that it provides free identification. While the plaintiffs make a solid argument that related costs still amount to a poll-tax, it is possible that the court could distinguish on this matter.

Unlike the Georgia case, the Indiana lawsuit also claims a violation of the Help America Vote Act. Although the claim is not completely clear, it seems as though the Plaintiffs are arguing that the Indiana statute requires more stringent identification than what is required by HAVA. 42 U.S.C. § 15483(b)(1)-(2). While this is true, it is unclear how this violates the statute. HAVA merely states that certain voters unable to produce HAVA required identification be given a provisional ballot. *Id.* Indiana law meets this requirement. IC § 3-11-8-25.1. Although Indiana law requires more stringent identification for counting the provisional ballot, HAVA leaves these decisions to state law. 42 U.S.C. § 15482(a).

¹⁵ According to an AP article, the Plaintiffs filed some type of brief on December 21—however it is not yet up on the Moritz website and I am unsure how to access it otherwise.

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APPENDIX

Annotated Bibliography on Voter Identification Issues

Law Journals

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 - Discusses HAVA a lot
- George W. Grayson, *Registering and Identifying Voters: What the United States Can Learn From Mexico*, 3 ELECTION L.J. 513 (2004).
 - Benefits of US adopting Mexican system of identifying voters and voter registration
- Robert A. Pastor, *Improving the U.S. Electoral System: Lessons from Canada and Mexico*, 3 ELECTION L.J. 584 (2004).
 - Discusses HAVA, problems of 2000 election, discusses registration & identification
- Brian Kim, *Recent Development: Help America Vote Act*, 40 HARV. J. ON LEGIS. 579 (Summer 2003).
 - Discussion of HAVA requirements and voter ID, problems in 2000
- Robert L. McCurley, *Legislative Wrap-Up: Election Law Changes*, 64 ALA. LAW. 364, Nov. 2003.
 - Discusses changes in AL to their election law in 2003, including adding voter ID
 - HAVA discussed
- Clifford B. Levine, Esq. & David J. Montgomery, Esq., *Post-Election Litigation in Pennsylvania*, 41 Duq. L. Rev. 153 (Fall, 2002).
 - Discusses challenging elections based on voter fraud & illegal votes
- Rebecca Barrett, *Election*, 18 GA. ST. U. L. REV. 114 (Fall 2001).
 - Discusses a GA law in 2001 removing hunting & fishing licenses from list of acceptable ID and a failed amendment to limit acceptable ID to photo ID only
- Robert A. Junell, Curtis L. Seidlits, Jr. & Glen G. Shuffler, *Consideration of Illegal Votes in Legislative Election Contests*, 28 Tex. Tech L. Rev. 1095 (1997).
 - General discussion of ways voters are verified, what happens when voters are challenged as illegal voters
- John Victor Berry, *Take the Money and Run: Lame-Ducks "Quack" and Pass Voter Identification Provisions*, 74 U. DET. MERCY L. REV. 291 (Winter 1997).
 - discusses a photo ID law passed in Michigan in 1997 (later declared violated EPC of 14th amendment)
 - arguments against photo ID
- Deborah S. James, Note, *Voter Registration: A Restriction on the Fundamental Right to Vote*, 96 YALE L.J. 1615 (1987).
 - Discusses voter registration as a way to combat fraud & several different ways to do it

Historical articles:

- Gabrielle B. Ruda, Note, *Picture Perfect: A Critical Analysis of the Debate on the 2002 Help America Vote Act*, 31 FORDHAM URB. L.J. 235 (November 2003).
 - Lot of analysis on HAVA and voter ID
 - Little bit of historical
 - Arguments for and against certain types of voter ID laws

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- Kimberly C. Delk, *What Will it Take to Produce Greater American Voter Participation? Does Anyone Really Know?*, 2 LOY. J. PUB. INT. L. 133 (Spring 2001).
 - History of voting & requirements & laws throughout time
 - Future: I-voting & e-registration – improvements in voter ID which would result

Marginally relevant/limited discussion of Voter ID issues

- Jeanne S. Zaino & Jeffrey T. Zaino, *The Changing Landscape of Election Disputes*, 59 DISP. RESOL. J. 11 (Aug. – Oct. 2004).
 - Discusses HAVA & implementation
- Symposium, *Disability Law, Equality, and Difference: American Disability Law and the Civil Rights Model, Alabama Section*, 55 ALA. L. REV. 1167 (Summer 2004).
 - Discusses an AL law expanding exemptions to ID requirement if 2 poll workers identify them
- Bryan Mercurio, *Democracy in Decline: Can Internet Voting Save the Electoral Process*, 22 J. MARSHALL J. COMPUTER & INFO. L. 409 (Winter 2004).
 - Internet voting
- Kristen E. Larson, Note, *Cast Your Ballot.com: Fulfill Your Civic Duty over the Internet*, 27 WM. MITCHELL L. REV. 1797 (2001).
 - Voter ID and Internet voting
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- Hugh M. Lee, *An Analysis of State and Federal Remedies for Election Fraud, Learning from Florida's Presidential Election Debacle?*, 63 U. Pitt. L. Rev. 159 (Fall, 2001).
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- Katharine Hickel Barondeau & Terry M. Jarrett, *The Florida Election Debacle: Can it Happen in Missouri?*, 57 J. Mo. B. 294, Nov./Dec. 2001.
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Appendix

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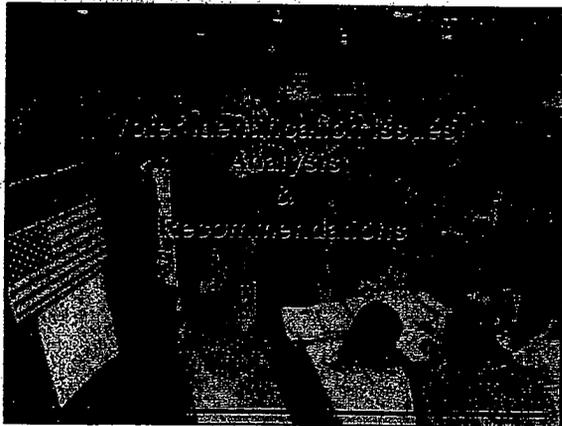
**Briefing for
U. S. Election Assistance Commission**

Thomas O'Neill, Project Director
Eagleton Institute of Politics

Dan Tokaji, Assistant Professor of Law
Moritz College of Law,

Tim Verceffotti, Assistant Research Professor
Eagleton Institute of Politics

April 3, 2006



Analytic Tasks

- Identify how voter ID requirements were implemented around the county to provide a baseline for consideration of other approaches.
- Diagnose the problems and challenges of voter ID and hypothesize alternative approaches.
- Recommend alternative approaches.
- Identify appropriate policy objectives by which to assess alternative approaches to voter ID.

Focus

HAVA's narrow ID requirements draw attention to the issue and helped spark the current debate.

National debate now goes beyond HAVA to focus on stricter ID for all would-be voters.

- Therefore our work takes a broad view of the issue.

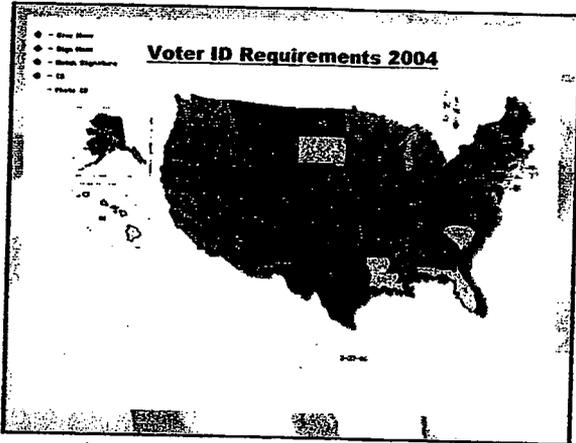
Voter ID and Ballot Integrity

Voter ID – a critical step in protecting the integrity of the ballot by checking that the potential voter is eligible and permitting the voter to cast a ballot and one ballot only.

- Ensuring ballot integrity requires a perspective that takes in the entire voting process.
- Requires more than preventing the ineligible from voting.
- Also should ensure that all those who are eligible and want to vote can cast a ballot that counts.

Vote Fraud Excluded From This Analysis

- Assessing the effectiveness of voter ID in preventing vote fraud should logically include an estimate of the nature and frequency of vote fraud.
- EAC commissioned a separate analysis of the incidence of vote fraud.
- Our analysis does not take into account how many potential voters who did not turn out under comparatively stricter voter ID requirements might have been ineligible or eligible to vote.



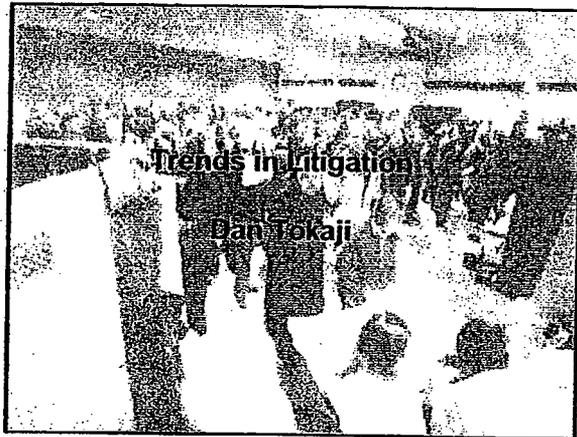
Limitations of the data

2004 data did not permit conclusions about the effect of signature ID laws such as those recently passed in Iowa and Indiana.

The 5 states that required photo ID in 2004 also required voters who signed an affidavit to provide another form of identification to cast a regular ballot.

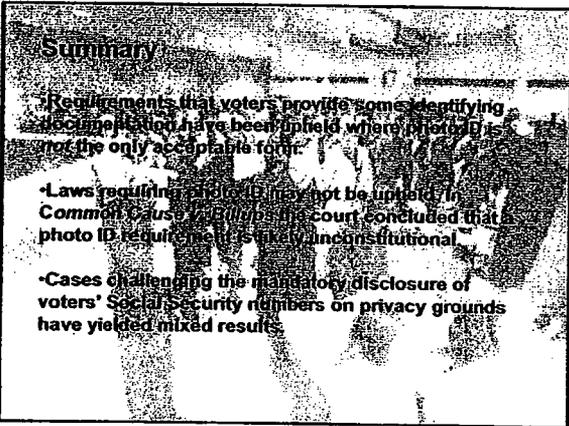
Analysis of Turnout and Voter ID Requirements

Tim Vercellotti



Trends in litigation

Dan Tokaji

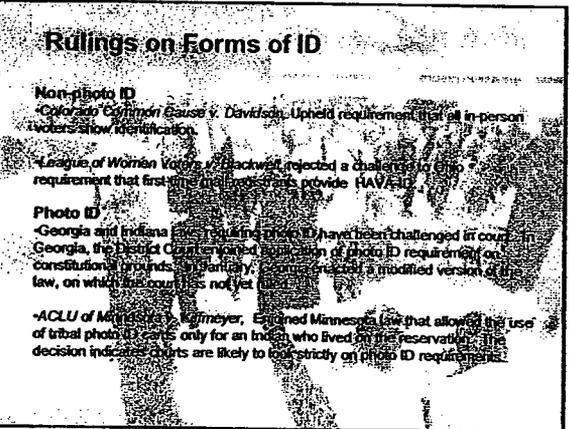


Summary

Requirements that voters provide some identifying information have been upheld where photo IDs are not the only acceptable form.

•Laws requiring photo IDs may not be upheld. In *Common Cause v. Billups*, the court concluded that photo ID requirements are unconstitutional.

•Cases challenging the mandatory disclosure of voters' social security numbers on privacy grounds have yielded mixed results.



Rulings on Forms of ID

Non-photo ID
•*Common Cause v. Davidson*: Upheld requirement that all in-person voters show identification.

•*League of Women Voters v. Blackwell*: Rejected a challenge to Ohio requirement that first-time voters provide HAVA ID.

Photo ID
•Georgia and Indiana laws requiring photo ID have been challenged in court. In Georgia, the District Court upheld the requirement of photo ID requirement on constitutional grounds. In Indiana, the court struck down a modified version of the law, on which the court has not yet ruled.

•*ACLU of Minnesota v. Meyner*: Upheld Minnesota law that allowed the use of tribal photo ID cards only for an Indian who lived on the reservation. The decision indicates courts are likely to look strictly at photo ID requirements.

Privacy

• *Greene v. Davis* (4th Cir. 1993) struck down on due process grounds a Virginia requirement that voters provide Social Security numbers to register. Public disclosure of these Social Security numbers was intended to prevent fraud.

• BUT *McKay v. Thornburg* (6th Cir. 2000) rejected privacy claims based to a Tennessee law requiring Social Security numbers for voter registration.

• NVRA permits requiring only the minimum information needed to prevent duplicate voter registration and ensure eligibility. The distinction between the two cases appears to be between the use of Social Security numbers for internal purposes, which was deemed permissible, and the disclosure of those numbers to the public, which took place in *Greene*.

Conclusions

• Courts will look strictly at requirements that voters produce a photo ID in order to cast a regular ballot.

• Courts will balance the legitimate interest in preventing election fraud against:

- Citizen's right to privacy
- Reasonableness of requirements for identify documents

• To forestall destabilizing challenges to election outcomes, voter ID requirements should be limited to the minimum needed to prevent duplicate registration and ensure eligibility.

Conclusions, Recommendations and Discussion

Tom O'Neill

Policy Perspective

If the ID requirements that block ineligible voters from the polls also prevent eligible voters from casting a ballot because they lack ID, the integrity of the ballot may not have been improved.

Policy Perspective Questions

- Are voter ID requirements based on valid studies of the incidence of the vote fraud they aim to prevent?
- Is the increase in ballot security promised by voter ID requirements reasonably proportional to the cost, measured in both monetary and other terms?
- Can all citizens comply with the requirements easily?
- If a requirement is likely to reduce turnout of eligible voters, what steps can or will be taken to ameliorate the adverse consequences?
- Do the requirements have a neutral result on the composition of the qualified electorate?

Continuing uncertainty

- Dynamics of Voter ID requirements, that is how they work in practice, are not well understood.
- Policy process should recognize this uncertainty – less certainty, more humility.
- Improve debate by additional research sponsored by the EAC.

Conclusions

More information is needed about:

- The kinds of vote fraud that could be prevented by more rigorous voter ID so that it is possible to evaluate tradeoffs between ballot access and ballot integrity.
- Why potential voters may be required to cast a provisional ballot.
- The ID-related reasons for rejecting provisional ballots during the 2006 and subsequent elections.
- The experience of voters in meeting ID requirements.

The EAC should:

A. Recommend the publication of a "Voting Impact Statement" by states considering changing their voter ID requirements. It would estimate the number and demographics of

1. Eligible potential voters that a proposed stricter ID requirement may keep away from the polls or be permitted to cast only a provisional ballot; and
2. Assess the number of ineligible voters who will be prevented from voting by stricter ID requirements.

The EAC should:

B. Encourage or require the states to:

1. Collect and report reliable, credible information on the relationship between ballot access and ballot security.
2. Survey provisional voters (anonymously) to determine why they were unable to cast a regular ballot.
3. Conduct pre-election polling to ask voters what they know about the voter ID requirements.

TO: Thomas Wilkey
FROM: Karen Lynn-Dyson
SUBJECT: Peer Review of Eagleton Statistical Analyses
DATE: April 14, 2006

As we've discussed, there are lingering doubts on the part of several Commissioners and EAC staff about the accuracy and validity of the statistical analysis which Eagleton has performed on its voter identification study. Many of Eagleton's conclusions, observations and recommendations rest on this statistical analysis.

A statistical analysis was also performed on Eagleton's study of provisional voting. Although their conclusions and recommendation do, in some measure, rely on their statistical analysis and research, they do not appear to be as critical to this study's findings as they are for the voter identification study.

Before a final Eagleton report on Provisional Voting and Voter Identification are given to the EAC Standards Board and Board of Advisors for review at their May meeting, I recommend that a small peer review group be convened by the EAC. A review by a small panel, comprised of 3-4 experts with backgrounds in election research methodologies and statistics, should yield us the validation and verification of the reliability and validity of the Eagleton research, which we are seeking.

I am further recommending that such a panel be convened either telephonically or in person at EAC's offices on May 10 or May 11. In addition to select EAC staff and interested Commissioners, Eagleton's key researchers/statisticians responsible for conducting the research and analysis would be present during the review. Prior to the review panelists would be given background materials describing, in detail, the methodology and analysis used in the provisional voting and voter identification studies.

The peer review panelists which have been recommended to me include:

Jonathan Nagler- NYU
Jan Leighley- University of Arizona
Ben Highton -UC Davis
Adam Berinsky- MIT
Bernard Grofman- UC Irvine

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There may be one or two others whom the Commissioners or EAC staff may wish to recommend.

As you will note, the proposed review panel represents a wide geographic diversity. While budgetary constraints might make a one day in-person peer review meeting unrealistic, it is likely to yield a richness of review and exchange that will not be possible through a series of conference calls with the review panel. Such a one-day peer-review meeting is likely to cost in the range of \$7,000. This figure would include a small honoraria that would be given to each peer reviewer.

I look forward to your comments and recommendations. Planning for such a review will need to begin as soon as possible.

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"Tom O'Neill"

05/04/2006 05:00 PM

To klyndyson@eac.gov

cc tokaji.1@osu.edu, foley.33@osu.edu,
lauracw@columbus.rr.com, "Tim Vercellotti"
<tim.vercellotti@rutgers.edu>, arapp@rci.rutgers.edu,

bcc

Subject Revised Voter ID Analysis

Karen,

Attached is Tim Vercellotti's Voter ID analysis revised to use Citizen Voting Age population as the base for turnout calculations and to take account of comments or issues raised by the EAC and our Peer Review Group. This draft is for distribution to the reviewers who will meet by teleconference on May 11, at, we understand, 11:30 a.m.

You are receiving this at the same time that it is being distributed to the Engleton-Moritz team so that the new reviewers will have a week to prepare for our conversation on the 11. Early next week you will receive a revised summary paper on Voter ID that incorporates the new data and findings in Tim's revised analysis. That too will be for distribution to the new reviewers.

Tom O'Neill



VoterIDAnalysis VercRev0504.doc

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Analysis of Effects of Voter Identification Requirements on Turnout

Tim Vercellotti

Eagleton Institute of Politics

Rutgers University

May 4, 2006

Introduction

A key area of disagreement in the policy debate over voter identification requirements concerns whether such requirements dampen voter turnout. Opponents of voter identification laws argue that they constitute an institutional barrier to voting, particularly among the poor, African-Americans, Hispanics, the elderly and people with disabilities (Baxter and Galloway 2005, Electionline.org 2002, Jacobs 2005, Young 2006). This argument holds that voter identification requirements create an extra demand on voters, and thus may discourage some of them from participating in elections. Further, critics of voter identification requirements contend that the effect is greater for some specific types of requirements. For example, critics argue that requiring voters to produce government-issued photo identification on Election Day is more demanding than, say, requiring that they state their names at the polling place. Supporters of voter identification requirements, on the other hand, argue that the requirements are necessary to combat voter fraud, safeguard the integrity of the electoral process, and engender faith in the electoral process among citizens (Young 2006).

This report examines the potential variation in turnout rates based on the type of voter identification requirement in place in each state on Election Day 2004. It draws on two sets of data – aggregate turnout data at the county level for each state, as compiled by the Eagleton Institute of Politics, and individual-level survey data included in the November 2004 Current Population Survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. Classification of voter identification requirements comes from a review of state statutes conducted by the Moritz College of Law at the Ohio State University.

Types of voter identification requirements

Based on research performed for this study by the Moritz College of Law, states had one of five types of requirements in place on Election Day 2004. Upon arrival at polling places, voters had to: state their names (nine states); sign their names (13 states and the District of Columbia); match their signature to a signature on file with the local election board (eight states); provide a form of identification that did not necessarily include a photo (15 states); or provide a photo identification (five states).¹ It was then possible to code the states according to these requirements, and test the assumption that voter identification requirements would pose an increasingly demanding requirement in this order: stating one's name, signing one's name, matching one's signature to a signature on file, providing a form of identification, and providing a form of photo identification.

¹ Oregon conducts elections entirely by mail. Voters sign their mail-in ballots, and election officials match the signatures to signatures on file. For the purposes of this analysis, Oregon is classified as a state that requires a signature match.

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Deliberative Process
Privilege

But election laws in numerous states offer exceptions to these requirements if individuals lack the necessary form of identification, and laws in those states set a minimum standard that a voter must meet in order to vote using a regular ballot (as opposed to a provisional ballot). Thus it is also possible to categorize states based on the minimum requirement for voting with a regular ballot. In 2004 the categories were somewhat different compared to the maximum requirement, in that none of the states required photo identification as a minimum standard for voting with a regular ballot. Four states, however, required voters to swear an affidavit as to their identity (Florida, Indiana, Louisiana, and North Dakota). The five categories for minimum requirements were: state name (12 states), sign name (14 states and the District of Columbia), match one's signature to a signature on file (six states), provide a non-photo identification (14 states), or swear an affidavit (four states). For the purposes of this analysis I treated the array of minimum identification requirements also in terms of increasing demand on the voter: state name, sign name, match signature, provide non-photo identification, and, given the potential legal consequences for providing false information, swearing an affidavit.

Estimating turnout among citizens in the voting-age population

This report examines turnout among U.S. citizens of voting age in both the aggregate- and the individual-level data. Determining citizenship status in the individual-level data simply involved restricting the analyses to individuals who identified themselves as citizens in the November 2004 Current Population Survey. (Those who said they were not citizens did not have the opportunity to answer the supplemental voting questions contained in the Current Population Survey.)

In the aggregate data, determining the percentage of the voting-age population that has U.S. citizenship posed a methodological challenge. The Census Bureau gathers information on the citizenship status of adults ages 18 and older only during the decennial census. While the Census Bureau provides annual estimates of the population to account for changes between decennial censuses, the bureau does not offer estimates for the proportion of the adult population who are citizens as part of the annual estimates. To address this issue I estimated the 2004 citizen voting-age population for each county using a method reported in the analysis of the 2004 Election Day Survey conducted for the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (U.S. Election Assistance Commission, 2005). I calculated the percentage of the 2000 voting-age population who were citizens in 2000, and applied that percentage to the July 1, 2004 estimates for voting-age population in each county. In other words, I assumed that the percentage of the voting-age population that had U.S. citizenship in 2004 was similar to the percentage of the voting-age population who were citizens in 2000.²

² McDonald and Popkin (2001) recommend an even more stringent approach to voter turnout calculations. They point out that voting-age population estimates include adults who are ineligible to vote (such as convicted felons), and the estimates overlook eligible citizens living overseas. While estimates of the voting-eligible population are available at the state level, I was unable to find such estimates for individual counties, which provide the unit of analysis for the aggregate data analyzed here.

Analysis of aggregate data

If one treats maximum voter identification requirements as an ordinal variable, with photo identification as the most demanding requirement, one finds some statistical support for the premise that as the level of required proof increases, turnout declines. Averaging across counties in each state, statewide turnout is negatively correlated with maximum voter identification requirements ($r = -.30, p < .0001$). In considering the array of minimum requirements, with affidavit as the most demanding requirement, voter identification also is negatively correlated with turnout ($r = -.20, p < .0001$). Breaking down the turnout rates by type of requirement reveals in greater detail the relationship between voter identification requirements and voter turnout.

[Table 1 here]

The aggregate data show that 60.9 percent of the estimated citizen voting age population voted in 2004. Differences in voter turnout at the state level in 2004 varied based on voter identification requirements. Taking into account the maximum requirements, an average of 64.6 percent of the voting age population turned out in states that required voters to state their names, compared to 58.1 percent in states that required photo identification. A similar trend emerged when considering minimum requirements. Sixty-three percent of the voting age population turned out in states requiring voters to state their names, compared to 60.1 percent in states that required an affidavit from voters.

Voter identification requirements alone, however, do not determine voter turnout. Multivariate models that take into account other predictors of turnout can paint a more complete picture of the relationship between voter identification requirements and turnout. I estimated the effects of voter identification requirements in multivariate models that also took into account the electoral context in 2004 and demographic characteristics of the population in each county. I coded the voter identification requirements on a scale of one to five, with one representing the least demanding form of identification and five representing the most demanding form of identification. To capture electoral context I included whether the county was in a presidential battleground state (any state in which the margin of victory for the winning candidate was five percent or less), and whether the county was in a state with a competitive race for governor and/or the U.S. Senate (also using the threshold of a margin of victory of five percent or less). Drawing from U.S. Census projections for 2003, I included the percentage of the voting-age population in each county that was Hispanic or African-American to control for ethnicity and race. I controlled for age using the 2003 Census projection for the percentage of county residents age 65 and older, and I controlled for socioeconomic status by including the percentage of individuals who fell below the poverty line in each county in the 2000 Census.

I estimated a series of random intercept models to account for the likelihood that data from counties were correlated within each state (for further explanation of random intercept and other multilevel models, see Bryk and Raudenbush 1992, Luke 2004, Singer 1998).³ The

³ The data analyses provided evidence that there was, indeed, a clustering of data within each state. The intraclass correlation, bounded by 0 and 1, measures the variation between the states. A random intercept model using only the

dependent variable in each model was voter turnout at the county level, with turnout calculated as the percentage of the estimated citizen voting-age population that voted in the 2004 election.

[Table 2 here]

Turning first to an analysis using the maximum identification requirements, those requirements had a small and negative effect on turnout in 2004 controlling for electoral context and demographic factors. Both contextual factors (whether the county was in a state that was a battleground state and whether that state had a competitive race for governor and/or U.S. Senate) increased voter turnout. As the percentage of senior citizens in the county increased, so did turnout. The percentage of African-Americans in the county exerted a positive effect on voter turnout, and the percentage of individuals living below the poverty line had a negative effect. The effect of the percentage of Hispanic adults in the county on turnout fell just short of statistical significance ($p = .05$).

I then sought to test the hypothesis that voter identification requirements dampen turnout among minorities and the poor, a claim voiced by some critics of the requirements. To test this idea I incorporated a series of interactions between the maximum voter identification requirements and the percentage of African-Americans, Hispanics, and poor individuals in the counties. The interaction involving African-Americans was not significant, but those involving Hispanics and poor individuals were significant.⁴ In addition, adding the interactions to the model resulted in the percentage of Hispanics in the population having a direct and negative effect on turnout. The interactions suggest that voter identification requirements have a greater effect for Hispanics and those living below the poverty line. A chi-square test of the difference in the deviance for each model (represented by $-2 \log$ likelihood in Table 2), shows that the model with interactions provides a better fit to the data ($p < 0.005$).

I also estimated the effects of the minimum voter identification requirements holding constant the effects of electoral context and the demographic variables.

[Table 3 here]

The effects of the minimum requirements fell short of statistical significance ($p = 0.08$). The battleground state variable continued to exert a positive influence on turnout, while the presence of a competitive race for governor and/or U.S. Senate had no statistically significant effect. As in the maximum identification requirement model, as the percentage of the population that is poor increased, turnout declined. As the percentage of elderly increased, so did turnout. The proportion of African-Americans in the population had a positive effect on turnout, while the percentage of Hispanics did not affect turnout.

intercept as a predictor generated an intraclass correlation of .43, indicating considerable variation between the states.

⁴ The interactions are labeled in Tables 2 and 3 as VID*African-American, VID*Hispanic, and VID*Poverty. To calculate the effects of voter identification requirements for a specific group, one must add the estimates for voter identification, the group, and the interaction. Doing so for Hispanic adults results in an estimate of $-0.13 [-0.03$ (voter id) $- 0.13$ (Hispanic) $+ 0.03$ (voter id X Hispanic)].

Adding interactive effects to the model resulted in a statistically significant and negative effect of minimum voter identification requirements on turnout. The percentage of Hispanic adults in the county had a significant and negative effect on turnout, and the percentage of individuals below the poverty line continued to have a negative effect. Interactions between the percentages of Hispanics and those below the poverty line and minimum voter identification requirements also were significant. The percentage of African-Americans in the county and the interaction between African-Americans and voter identification requirements were not significant. A chi-square test for the difference in fit between the two models showed that the model with interactions provides a better fit to the data ($p < .025$).

Analysis of the aggregate data at the county level generates some support for the hypothesis that as the demands of voter identification requirements increase, turnout declines. This is particularly so for counties with concentrations of Hispanic residents or individuals who live below the poverty line. But aggregate data cannot fully capture the individual demographic factors that may figure into the decision to turn out to vote. For example, previous research has found that education is a powerful determinant of turnout (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980, but see also Nagler 1991).⁵ Married individuals also are more likely to vote than those who are not married (Alvarez and Ansolabehere 2002; Alvarez, Nagler and Wilson 2004; Fisher, Kenny, and Morton 1993). To fully explore the effects of voter identification requirements on turnout, it is important to examine individual-level data as well.

Individual-level analysis

Individual-level turnout data exists in the November 2004 Current Population Survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Bureau conducts the CPS monthly to measure unemployment and other workforce data, but the bureau adds a battery of voter participation questions to the November survey in even-numbered years to coincide with either a presidential or midterm Congressional election.

One of the advantages of the CPS is the sheer size of the sample. The survey's Voting and Registration Supplement consisted of interviews, either by telephone or in person, with 96,452 respondents.⁶ The large sample size permits analyses of smaller groups, such as Black or Hispanic voters or voters with less than a high school education. The analyses reported here are based on reports from self-described registered voters. I omitted those who said they were not registered to vote. I also excluded those who said they cast absentee ballots because the identification requirements for absentee ballots may differ from those required when one votes in person. In addition, I eliminated from the sample respondents who said they were not U.S.

⁵ A reviewer for an earlier version of this paper recommended adding an education variable to the aggregate model. One version of the aggregate model not reported here included the percentage of adults in the county who had at least a college degree. The measure was highly collinear with the percentage of residents living below the poverty line, necessitating removal of the college degree variable from the model.

⁶ It is important to note that the Census Bureau allows respondents to answer on behalf of themselves and others in the household during the interview. While proxy reporting of voter turnout raises the possibility of inaccurate reports concerning whether another member of the household voted, follow-up interviews with those for whom a proxy report had been given in the November 1984 CPS showed 99 percent agreement between the proxy report and the information given by the follow-up respondent (U.S. Census Bureau 1990).

citizens because the questionnaire design skipped those individuals past the voter registration and turnout questions in the survey.

The dependent variable in these analyses is whether a respondent said he or she voted in the November 2004 election.⁷ As in the analysis of aggregate data, I coded voter identification requirements for each respondent's state of residence on a scale of one to five, with one representing the least demanding requirement (stating one's name) and five representing the most demanding requirement (photo identification or affidavit).

In addition to the voter identification requirements, the models include two other state-level factors that might have influenced turnout in 2004: whether the state was considered a battleground state in the presidential election, and whether there was a gubernatorial and/or U.S. Senate race in the state (see Alvarez and Ansolabehere 2002, Alvarez et al. 2004, and Kenny et al. 1993 for similar approaches). As in the aggregate data analysis, the threshold that determined whether the state was a battleground state or had a competitive statewide race was a margin of victory of five percent or less. At the individual level, I controlled for gender, age in years, education, household income, and dummy variables representing whether a voter was Black/non-Hispanic, Hispanic, or another non-white race (with white/non-Hispanic voters as the omitted category for reference purposes).⁸ Drawing on previous research on voting behavior, I also controlled for whether an individual was employed, or at least a member of the workforce (as opposed to being a full-time student, a homemaker, or retired). Both employment and workforce membership have been shown to be positive predictors of turnout (see Mitchell and Wlezien 1995). Marital status, whether one is a native-born citizen and residential mobility also have emerged as significant predictors of turnout (Alvarez and Ansolabehere 2002, Alvarez et al. 2004, Kenney et al. 1993, Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980). I included in the model variables for whether a respondent was married (coded 1 if yes, 0 otherwise), and whether one was a native-born citizen (coded 1 if yes, 0 otherwise). I measured residential mobility by coding for whether the respondent had moved to a new address in the six months prior to the interview (coded 1 if yes, 0 otherwise).

Results

The dependent variable is whether a respondent said he or she voted in the November 2004 election (coded 1 for yes, 0 for no). I estimated models using probit analysis, which

⁷ The U.S. Census Bureau reported, based on the November 2004 CPS, that 89 percent of those who identified themselves as registered voters said they voted in 2004 (U.S. Census Bureau 2005). Previous research has shown that, generally speaking, some survey respondents overstate their incidence of voting. Researchers speculate that over-reports may be due to the social desirability that accompanies saying one has done his or her civic duty, or a reluctance to appear outside the mainstream of American political culture (U.S. Census Bureau 1990). It is also possible that voting is an indication of civic engagement that predisposes voters to agree to complete surveys at a higher rate than non-voters (Flanigan and Zingale 2002). Hence the voter turnout rates reported in the CPS tend to be up to 10 percentage points higher than the actual turnout rate for the nation (Flanigan and Zingale 2002). Even with this caveat, however, the CPS serves as a widely accepted source of data on voting behavior.

⁸ Asian-Americans are included in the "other non-white races" category. In response to a request from officials at the U.S. Election Assistance Commission who had read an earlier version of this paper and were curious about the experiences of Asian-Americans, I ran models using Asian-Americans as a separate category in addition to the models presented here. Voter identification requirements did not have a statistically significant effect on whether Asian-American voters said they turned out in the 2004 election.

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calculates the effects of independent variables on the probability that an event occurred – in this case whether a respondent said he or she voted. I estimated the models using robust standard errors to control for correlated error terms for observations from within the same state.

[Table 4 here]

The two models in Table 4 use either the maximum or minimum voter identification requirements in each state. The two models generate virtually identical results. Voter identification requirements exert a statistically significant, negative effect on whether survey respondents said they had voted in 2004. Of the other state factors, only the competitiveness of the presidential race had a significant effect on turnout. In terms of demographic influences, African-American voters were more likely than white voters to say they had cast a ballot, while those of other non-white races were less likely than white voters to say they had turned out. Hispanic voters were not statistically different from white voters in terms of reported turnout. Consistent with previous research, age, education, income, and marital status all were positive predictors of voting. Women also were more likely to say they voted than men. Those who had moved within six months before the interview were less likely to say they had voted.

While the probit models provide statistical support for the influence of voter identification requirements and other variables on turnout, probit coefficients do not lend themselves to intuitive interpretation. Another common approach in studies of election requirements is to examine how the predicted probability of voter turnout would vary as election requirements vary. I used the probit coefficients to calculate the predicted probability of voting at each level of voter identification requirements while holding all other independent variables in the models at their means.⁹ I calculated the probabilities taking into account both maximum and minimum requirements, with photo identification serving as the most demanding of the maximum requirements and affidavits as the most demanding minimum requirement.

[Table 5 here]

Allowing the voter identification requirement to vary while holding constant all other variables in the model showed that the predicted probability of turnout ranged from 0.912 for stating one's name to 0.887 for photo identification under the maximum requirements. In other words, the probability of voting dropped with each level of voter identification requirement, with a total drop of .025, or 2.5 percent, across the five types of identification.¹⁰ When taking into account the minimum requirement for identification, the probability showed a similar decline, with a slightly larger total drop of 3.3 percent.

Among the key variables of interest in the debate over voter identification requirements are race, age, income, and education. Given the large sample size (54,973 registered voters), it

⁹ In the case of dichotomous independent variables, holding them at their mean amounted to holding them at the percentage of the sample that was coded 1 for the variable (Lóng 1997).

¹⁰ The voter turnout percentages may seem disproportionately high compared to the turnout rates reported in the aggregate data analysis. It is important to consider that the turnout rates in the aggregate data were a proportion of all citizens of voting-age population, while the turnout rates for the individual-level data are the proportion of only registered voters who said they voted.

was possible to break the sample into sub-samples along those demographic lines to explore variation in predicted probability by group. I disaggregated the sample by the variable of interest, omitting that variable while I re-ran the probit model with the remaining predictors of voter turnout, including the voter identification requirements.¹¹ If the analysis showed that the voter identification requirements had a statistically significant effect on turnout, I used the probit coefficients from the model to calculate the predicted probability of voting for each group across the five requirements while holding the other variables in the model constant.

[Table 6 here]

Both the maximum and minimum identification requirements had negative and statistically significant effects for White/Non-Hispanic voters. Allowing the requirements to vary from stating one's name to providing photo identification or an affidavit showed drops of 2.5 percent and 3.2 percent respectively in the predicted probability of voting. The identification requirements had no effect on the probability of Black/Non-Hispanics voting, but the minimum identification requirements had a comparatively sizable effect on voter turnout among Hispanics. The predicted probability of Hispanics voting ranged from 87 percent if stating one's name was the required form of identification to 77.3 percent if a voter would have to provide an affidavit in order to vote, a difference of 9.7 percent.

The effects of voter identification requirements also varied by age, with the greatest variation occurring among voters ages 18 to 24.

[Table 7 here]

Voters in that age group had a predicted probability of 83.9 percent when the maximum requirement was stating one's name, and the probability dropped 8.9 percentage points if voters would have to provide photo identification. The range was from 83.1 percent to 75.4 percent under the minimum requirements. The gap in probability narrowed in older age groups (4.8 percent for the maximum requirements and 5.8 percent for the minimum requirements for those ages 25 to 44; 1.8 percent for the minimum requirements for those ages 45 to 64, and 2.4 percent for the minimum requirements for those ages 65 and older).

Breaking down the 18- to 24-year-old age group by race shed additional light on the effects of voter identification requirements on specific groups.

[Table 8 here]

The gap in predicted probability that White/Non-Hispanic voters in the 18- to 24-year-old category would turn out was 9.2 percent when the identification requirements varied from stating one's name to providing photo identification. The gap was 7.8 percent when taking into account the minimum requirements. The effects of maximum voter identification requirements also were statistically significant for African-Americans in the 18- to 24-year-old age group, with a gap in

¹¹ See Nagler 1991 for a similar approach in analyzing the effects of registration closing dates broken down by education levels.

the predicted probability of voting of 10.6 percent. Maximum and minimum voter identification requirements were not a significant predictor of voting among Hispanics ages 18 to 24.

Variation also emerged along the lines of income, with the effects of voter identification requirements varying to a greater extent for voters in households below the poverty line compared to those living above the poverty line.¹²

[Table 9 here]

While the maximum set of requirements did not have a statistically significant effect for voters living below the poverty line, the minimum set of requirements had a significant and negative effect. The probability of voting was .784 for poor voters if they would have to identify themselves by giving their name, and the probability declined to .731 if they would have to provide an affidavit attesting to their identity. Both the maximum and minimum sets of requirements had a significant and negative effect on voters living above the poverty line, but the difference in probability across the effects was narrower (2.3 percent for the maximum requirements and 3.1 percent for the minimum requirements). Given that political discourse about voter identification requirements includes concerns about the effects of the requirements on poor and minority voters, I also ran probit analyses for sub-samples of white and minority voters who fell below the poverty line. The voter identification requirements did not exert statistically significant effects on turnout among poor White/Non-Hispanic and Hispanic voters, but did have a significant effect on Black/Non-Hispanic voters who were below the poverty line.¹³ Allowing the maximum voting requirement to vary from the least to the most demanding, the probability that African-American voters below the poverty line said they had voted dropped by 7.5 percent.

The effects of voter identification requirements varied across education levels as well, with those lowest in education demonstrating the widest variation in probabilities as identification requirements ranged from least to most demanding.

[Table 10 here]

Registered voters who had less than a high school education had a 77.5 percent probability of voting if the maximum requirement would be stating one's name, and a 70.8 percent probability if they would have to provide photo identification under the maximum requirement, a difference of 6.7 percent. The difference from the lowest to the highest requirement among the minimum requirements was 7.4 percent. The difference in probabilities ranged from 3.3 percent for the maximum requirements to 4.5 percent for the minimum requirements for voters with a high school diploma. The range of effects of voter identification requirements was smaller among those with higher levels of education (and non-existent for one category – voters with some college education).

¹² I coded respondents as being above or below the U.S. Census Bureau's 2004 poverty line based on respondents' reported annual household income and size of the household.

¹³ The lack of significant effects for poor Hispanic voters is in contrast to the results from the aggregate data analysis. The sub-sample of poor Hispanic voters was small ($n = 491$), which may have contributed to the lack of statistical significance.

Discussion and conclusion

The results presented here provide evidence that as the level of demand associated with voter identification requirements increases, voter turnout declines. This point emerged from both the aggregate data and the individual-level data, although not always for both the maximum and minimum sets of requirements. The overall effect for all registered voters was fairly small, but still statistically significant.

The effects of voter identification requirements were more pronounced for specific subgroups. Hispanic voters and the poor appeared to be less likely to vote as the level of required identification became more demanding, according to both the aggregate and the individual-level data. In the individual-level data, for Hispanic voters, the probability of voting dropped by 9.7 percent across the various levels of minimum identification requirements. Survey respondents living in poor households were 5.3 percent less likely to vote as the requirements varied from stating one's name to attesting to one's identity in an affidavit. African-American voters from households below the poverty line were 7.5 percent less likely to vote as the maximum requirements varied from stating one's name to providing photo identification.

Effects of voter requirements also varied with education. Registered voters who had not graduated from high school were 6.7 percent less likely to say they voted as the maximum requirements ranged from stating one's name to providing photo identification. When considering the minimum requirements, those with less than a high school education were 7.4 percent less likely to say they voted if the requirement was an affidavit as opposed to stating one's name. Age was also a key factor, with voters ages 18 to 24 being 7.7 percent to 8.9 percent less likely to vote as the requirements ranged from stating one's name to providing a photo identification or affidavit. Breaking down the age group by race, the effects were significant for young White/Non-Hispanic and Black/Non-Hispanic voters.

The results shed additional light on the effects of voter identification requirements on two groups often projected as being particularly sensitive to such requirements: African-American voters and elderly voters. The effects on African-American voters were pronounced for two specific sub-samples: African-American voters living below the poverty line and those in the 18- to 24-year-old age group. Also, the elderly, while they would be slightly less likely to vote as requirements ranged from least to most demanding, would not necessarily be affected in the dramatic manner predicted by some opposed to photo identification requirements in particular.

In examining the effects of voter identification requirements on turnout, there is still much to learn. The data examined in this project could not capture the dynamics of how identification requirements might lower turnout. If these requirements dampen turnout, is it because individuals are aware of the requirements and stay away from the polls because they cannot or do not want to meet the requirements?¹⁴ Or, do the requirements result in some voters

¹⁴ The individual-level data offer some insight here. If advance knowledge of the voter identification requirements were to dampen turnout, it is reasonable to expect that advance knowledge of those requirements also could discourage some individuals from registering to vote. I ran the same probit models using voter registration as the dependent variable (coded 1 if the respondent said he or she was registered, and 0 if the respondent was not

being turned away when they cannot meet the requirements on Election Day? The CPS data do not include measures that can answer this question. Knowing more about the "on the ground" experiences of voters concerning identification requirements could guide policy-makers at the state and local level in determining whether and at what point in the electoral cycle a concerted public information campaign might be most effective in helping voters to meet identification requirements. Such knowledge also could help in designing training for election judges to handle questions about, and potential disputes over, voter identification requirements.

registered). Neither the maximum nor minimum array of voter identification requirements had a statistically significant effect on the probability that a survey respondent was registered to vote.

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Table 1 – Variation in 2004 State Turnout Based on Voter Identification Requirements

Maximum Requirement		Minimum Requirement	
Voter Identification Required in the States	Mean Voter Turnout for States in that Category	Voter Identification Required in the States	Mean Voter Turnout for States in that Category
State Name	64.6 %	State Name	63.0 %
Sign Name	61.1 %	Sign Name	60.8 %
Match Signature	60.9 %	Match Signature	61.7 %
Provide Non-Photo ID	59.3 %	Provide Non-Photo ID	59.0 %
Provide Photo ID	58.1 %	Swear Affidavit	60.1 %
<i>Average Turnout for All States</i>	60.9 %		

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Table 2. Predictors of 2004 turnout at the county level taking into account maximum voter identification requirements

Variable	Basic Model		Model with Interactions	
	Unstandardized Estimate	Standard Error	Unstandardized Estimate	Standard Error
Intercept	0.64	0.01	0.69	0.02
Voter ID requirements	-0.01**	0.003	-0.03**	0.004
Battleground State	0.04*	0.01	0.04*	0.02
Competitive Senate/Governor's Race	0.04*	0.02	0.04*	0.02
% Age 65 and Older	0.48**	0.03	0.50**	0.03
% African-American	0.05**	0.01	0.06	0.03
% Hispanic	-0.02	0.01	-0.13**	0.05
% Below poverty line	-0.01**	0.0002	-0.01**	0.001
VID * African-American	----	----	-0.004	0.01
VID * Hispanic	----	----	0.03*	0.01
VID * Poverty	----	----	0.001**	0.0002
-2 Log Likelihood	-8638.0		-8651.1	

Coefficients are restricted maximum likelihood estimates. N = 3,111. * p < .05 ** p < .01 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 3. Predictors of 2004 turnout at the county level taking into account minimum voter identification requirements

Variable	Basic Model		Model with Interactions	
	Unstandardized Estimate	Standard Error	Unstandardized Estimate	Standard Error
Intercept	0.63	0.02	0.66	0.02
Voter ID requirements	-0.009	0.005	-0.02**	0.006
Battleground State	0.04*	0.02	0.04*	0.02
Competitive Senate/Governor's Race	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.02
% Age 65 and Older	0.48**	0.03	0.48**	0.03
% African-American	0.05**	0.01	0.04	0.03
% Hispanic	-0.12	0.01	-0.13**	0.04
% Below poverty line	-0.01**	0.0003	-0.01**	0.001
VID * African-American	----	----	0.01	0.01
VID * Hispanic	----	----	0.03*	0.01
VID * Poverty	----	----	0.001**	0.0002
-2 Log Likelihood	-8630.8		-8620.1	

Coefficients are restricted maximum likelihood estimates. N = 3,111. * p < .05 ** p < .01 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 4. Probit model of voter turnout.				
	Maximum requirements		Minimum requirements	
Variable	Unstandardized Estimate	Standard Error	Unstandardized Estimate	Standard error
Voter ID requirements	-0.04*	0.01	-0.05**	0.01
Hispanic	-0.06	0.05	-0.05	0.05
Black	0.22**	0.04	0.22**	0.04
Other race	-0.23**	0.04	-0.23**	0.04
Age in years	0.01**	0.001	0.01**	0.001
Education	0.12**	0.005	0.11**	0.005
Household income	0.03**	0.003	0.03**	0.003
Married	0.20**	0.02	0.20**	0.02
Female	0.09**	0.01	0.09**	0.01
Battleground state	0.18**	0.04	0.19**	0.04
Competitive race	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Employed	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04
Member of workforce	-0.04	0.05	-0.04	0.05
Native-born citizen	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.05
Moved within past 6 months	-0.27**	0.03	-0.27**	0.03
Constant	-4.48**	0.20	-4.46**	0.20
Pseudo-R-Squared	0.09		0.09	

Notes:

N = 54,973 registered voters

p < .05* p < .01** (two-tailed tests)

Models were estimated with robust standard errors to correct for correlated error terms within each state.

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, November 2004.

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Table 5. Predicted probability of voter turnout – full model		
	Maximum requirement	Minimum requirement
State name	0.912	0.911
Sign name	0.906	0.903
Match signature	0.900	0.895
Non-photo ID	0.894	0.887
Photo ID	0.887	---
Affidavit	---	0.878
Total difference from lowest to highest	0.025	0.033
N	54,973	
<p>Figures represent the predicted probability of registered voters saying they voted as the identification requirement varies from the lowest to the highest point in the scale, with all other variables held constant.</p> <p>Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, November 2004.</p>		

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Table 6. Predicted probability of voter turnout – White and Hispanic voters

	White/Non-Hispanic voters		Hispanic voters
	Maximum requirement	Minimum requirement	Minimum requirement
State name	0.920	0.922	0.870
Sign name	0.915	0.915	0.849
Match signature	0.909	0.907	0.826
Non-photo ID	0.902	0.899	0.800
Photo ID	0.895	---	---
Affidavit	---	0.890	0.773
Total difference from lowest to highest	0.025	0.032	0.097
N	44,760		2,860

Figures represent the predicted probability of registered voters saying they voted as the identification requirement varies from the lowest to the highest point in the scale, with all other variables held constant. Maximum voter identification requirements were not a significant predictor of voting for Hispanic voters. Maximum and minimum voter identification requirements were not a significant predictor for African-American voters.

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, November 2004.

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Table 7. Predicted probability of voter turnout – Age groups						
	18 - 24		25 - 44		45 - 64	65 and older
	Maximum requirements	Minimum requirements	Maximum requirements	Minimum requirements	Minimum requirements	Minimum requirements
State name	0.839	0.831	0.831	0.831	0.936	0.916
Sign name	0.819	0.814	0.820	0.817	0.932	0.910
Match signature	0.797	0.795	0.808	0.803	0.927	0.904
Non-photo ID	0.774	0.775	0.796	0.788	0.923	0.898
Photo ID	0.750	----	0.783	----	----	----
Affidavit	----	0.754	----	0.773	0.918	0.892
Total difference – lowest to highest	0.089	0.077	0.048	0.058	0.018	0.024
N	5,065		20,066		20,758	9,084
<p>Figures represent the predicted probability of registered voters saying they voted as the identification requirement varies from the lowest to the highest point in the scale, with all other variables held constant. Maximum voter identification requirements were not a significant predictor of voting for voters ages 45 to 64 and 65 and older.</p> <p>Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, November 2004.</p>						

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Table 8. Predicted probability of voter turnout – Age groups by race

	White/Non-Hispanic 18 - 24		Black/Non-Hispanic 18 - 24
	Maximum requirements	Minimum requirements	Maximum requirements
State name	0.844	0.836	0.899
Sign name	0.823	0.818	0.877
Match signature	0.801	0.799	0.852
Non-photo ID	0.777	0.779	0.824
Photo ID	0.752	---	0.793
Affidavit	---	0.758	---
Total difference – lowest to highest	0.092	0.078	0.106
N	3,814		562

Figures represent the predicted probability of registered voters saying they voted as the identification requirement varies from the lowest to the highest point in the scale, with all other variables held constant. Minimum voter identification requirements were not a significant predictor of voting for Black/Non-Hispanic voters ages 18 to 24. Maximum and minimum voter identification requirements were not a significant predictor of voting for Hispanic voters ages 18 to 24.

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, November 2004.

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Table 9. Predicted probability of voter turnout – Voters above and below the poverty line

	All voters above the poverty line		All voters below the poverty line	Black/Non-Hispanic voters below the poverty line
	Maximum requirement	Minimum requirement	Minimum requirement	Maximum requirement
State name	0.920	0.922	0.784	0.833
Sign name	0.915	0.915	0.772	0.816
Match signature	0.909	0.907	0.758	0.798
Non-photo ID	0.903	0.899	0.745	0.778
Photo ID	0.897	----	----	0.758
Affidavit	----	0.891	0.731	
Total difference from lowest to highest	0.023	0.031	0.053	0.075
N	49,935		5,038	1,204

Figures represent the predicted probability of registered voters saying they voted as the identification requirement varies from the lowest to the highest point in the scale, with all other variables held constant. Maximum voter identification requirements were not a significant predictor of voting for white and Hispanic voters who were below the poverty line. Minimum voter identification requirements were not a significant predictor of voting for Black voters below the poverty line.

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, November 2004.

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Table 10. Predicted probability of voter turnout – By education

	Less than high school		High school		College		Graduate school	
	Maximum requirement	Minimum requirement	Maximum requirement	Minimum requirement	Maximum requirement	Minimum requirement	Maximum requirement	Minimum requirement
State name	0.775	0.779	0.866	0.869	0.960	0.959	0.977	0.979
Sign name	0.759	0.762	0.858	0.859	0.956	0.954	0.973	0.973
Match signature	0.743	0.743	0.850	0.848	0.951	0.950	0.968	0.967
Non-photo ID	0.725	0.724	0.842	0.836	0.945	0.945	0.963	0.959
Photo ID	0.708	----	0.833	----	0.939	----	0.957	----
Affidavit	----	0.705	----	0.824	----	0.940	----	0.950
Total difference – lowest to highest	0.067	0.074	0.033	0.045	0.021	0.019	0.020	0.029
N	4,903		16,361		11,017		5,739	

Figures represent the predicted probability of registered voters saying they voted as the identification requirement varies from the lowest to the highest point in the scale, with all other variables held constant. Maximum and minimum voter identification requirements were not a significant predictor of voting for those with some college education.

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, November 2004.

Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV

05/12/2006 01:36 PM

To "Tom O'neill [REDACTED]@GSAEXTERNAL

cc Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV@EAC, Amie J.

Sherrill/EAC/GOV@EAC

bcc Thomas R. Wilkey/EAC/GOV

Subject RE: Eagleton/Moritz presentations at the upcoming Board of
Advisors and Standards Board meetings

Tom-

To reiterate the details of our discussion:

By May 17 I will have received all of the materials you wish distributed to the EAC Board of Advisors and Standards Boards. You have indicated that this will be the Provisional Voting paper and the Voter ID paper, only.

On Tuesday, May 23 from 2:30-4:00 PM, Tom O'Neill and Ed Foley will present the Provisional Voting report to the EAC Standards Board. Julie Thompson-Hodgkins will be the resource person for that session

On Wednesday, May 24 from 1:40-2:45 PM, Tom O'Neill, Dan Tokaji, and Tim Vercellotti will present the Voter Identification report to the EAC Standards Board. Julie Thompson-Hodgkins will be the resource person for that session.

On Wednesday, May 24 from 8:30-9:15 am, Tom O'Neill and Ed Foley will present the Provisional Voting report to the EAC Board of Advisors. Julie Thompson-Hodgkins will be the resource person for that session.

On Wednesday, May 24 from 11:00-11:55 am, Tom O'Neill, Dan Takaji and Tim Vercellotti will present the Voter Identification report to the EAC Board of Advisors. Julie Thompson-Hodgkins will be the resource person for that session.

If you have further questions regarding the details of these sessions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Regards-

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue , NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

017545

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV
05/15/2006 03:51 PM

To pdegregorio@eac.gov, rmartinez@pac.gov,
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cc twilkey@eac.gov, jthompson@eac.gov, Gavin S.
Gilmour/EAC/GOV@EAC, ecortes@eac.gov, Amie J.
Sherril/EAC/GOV@EAC, Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV@EAC,
bcc

Subject Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Project Briefing

Dear Commissioners:

Attached is our consultants' analysis of the literature reviewed for the Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation preliminary research project. It was not included in the information packets delivered to you on Friday, May 12, because we did not receive it until today. I thought you might be interested in having it prior to tomorrow's briefing.

Peggy Sims
Election Research Specialist



Literature-Report Review Summary.doc

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Existing Research Analysis

There are many reports and books that describe anecdotes and draw broad conclusions from a large array of incidents. There is little research that is truly systematic or scientific. The most systematic look at fraud is the report written by Lori Minnite. The most systematic look at voter intimidation is the report by Laughlin McDonald. Books written about this subject seem to all have a political bias and a pre-existing agenda that makes them somewhat less valuable.

Researchers agree that measuring something like the incidence of fraud and intimidation in a scientifically legitimate way is extremely difficult from a methodological perspective and would require resources beyond the means of most social and political scientists. As a result, there is much more written on this topic by advocacy groups than social scientists. It is hoped that this gap will be filled in the "second phase" of this EAC project.

Moreover, reports and books make allegations but, perhaps by their nature, have little follow up. As a result, it is difficult to know when something has remained in the stage of being an allegation and gone no further, or progressed to the point of being investigated or prosecuted or in any other way proven to be valid by an independent, neutral entity. This is true, for example, with respect to allegations of voter intimidation by civil rights organizations, and, with respect to fraud, John Fund's frequently cited book. Again, this is something that it is hoped will be addressed in the "second phase" of this EAC project by doing follow up research on allegations made in reports, books and newspaper articles.

Other items of note:

- There is as much evidence, and as much concern, about structural forms of disenfranchisement as about intentional abuse of the system. These include felon disenfranchisement, poor maintenance of databases and identification requirements.
- There is tremendous disagreement about the extent to which polling place fraud, e.g. double voting, intentional felon voting, noncitizen voting, is a serious problem. On balance, more researchers find it to be less of a problem than is commonly described in the political debate, but some reports say it is a major problem, albeit hard to identify.
- There is substantial concern across the board about absentee balloting and the opportunity it presents for fraud.
- Federal law governing election fraud and intimidation is varied and complex and yet may nonetheless be insufficient or subject to too many limitations to be as effective as it might be.

- Deceptive practices, e.g. targeted flyers and phone calls providing misinformation, were a major problem in 2004.
- Voter intimidation continues to be focused on minority communities, although the American Center for Voting Rights uniquely alleges it is focused on Republicans.

Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV
05/17/2006 09:34 AM

To Paul DeGregorio/EAC/GOV@EAC, Raymundo
Martinez/EAC/GOV@EAC, Gracia Hillman/EAC/GOV@EAC,
Donetta L. Davidson/EAC/GOV@EAC, twilkey@eac.gov
cc Amie J. Sherrill/EAC/GOV@EAC, Adam
Ambrogio/EAC/GOV@EAC, Sheila A.
Banks/EAC/GOV@EAC, Elieen L. Collver/EAC/GOV@EAC,
bcc

Subject Fw: Voter ID Report and Appendices

Commissioners-

Attached please find the Eagleton report on Voter Identification which has just been received.

I look forward to our discussion of this item at Thursday's meeting.

Regards-

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue , NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

— Forwarded by Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV on 05/17/2006 09:31 AM —

"Tom O'Neill"
<tom_onell@veriz
on.net>

05/17/2006 09:25
AM

To klynndyson@eac.gov
cc tokaji.1@osu.edu, foley.33@osu.edu, lauracw@columbus.rr.com, "Tim Vercellotti"
<tim.vercellotti@rutgers.edu>, arapp@rci.rutgers.edu, davander@eden.rutgers.edu,
dlinky@rci.rutgers.edu, ireed@rutgers.edu, joharris@eden.rutgers.edu, john.weingart@rutgers.edu,
rmandel@rci.rutgers.edu, "Johanna Dobrich" <jdobrich@eden.rutgers.edu>
Subjec Voter ID Report and Appendices
t

Karen,

Attached for review by the Commissioners is the Voter ID Report and its appendices. The appendices are

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lengthy, but I believe Appendix A should be included in the report sent to the Advisory Boards for review.

Thanks for your forbearance.

Tom O'Neill



Appendices517.doc VoterIDReport05170910.doc

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FINAL DRAFT

For Review by the Standards Board and Board of Advisors

Report to the

U. S. Election Assistance Commission

On

Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements

Pursuant to the

HELP AMERICA VOTE ACT OF 2002

Public Law 107-252

May 16, 2006

Submitted by

The Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

The Moritz College of Law, The Ohio State University

017551

**Deliberative Process
Privilege**

FINAL DRAFT

For Review by the Standards Board and Board of Advisors

The Research Team

This research report on Voter Identification Requirements in the 2004 election is part of a broader analysis that also includes a study of Provisional Voting, which has already been submitted to the EAC. Conducting the work was a consortium of The Eagleton Institute of Politics of Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, and The Moritz College of Law of The Ohio State University.

The Eagleton Institute explores state and national politics through research, education, and public service, linking the study of politics with its day-to-day practice. It focuses attention on how contemporary political systems work, how they change, and how they might work better. Eagleton regularly undertakes projects to enhance political understanding and involvement, often in collaboration with government agencies, the media, non-profit groups, and other academic institutions.

The Moritz College of Law has served the citizens of Ohio and the nation since its establishment in 1891. It has played a leading role in the legal profession through countless contributions made by graduates and faculty. Its contributions to election law have become well known through its Election Law @ Moritz website. *Election Law @ Moritz* illuminates public understanding of election law and its role in our nation's democracy.

Project Management Team

Dr. Ruth B. Mandel
Director, Eagleton Institute of Politics
Board of Governors Professor of Politics
Principal Investigator
Chair of the Project Management Team

Edward B. Foley
Robert M. Duncan/Jones Day Designated
Professor of Law
The Moritz College of Law
Director of Election Law @ Moritz

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Assistant Director, Center for Public Interest
Polling
The Eagleton Institute

Laura Williams
The Moritz College of Law

FINAL DRAFT

For Review by the Standards Board and Board of Advisors

Peer Review Group

A draft of this report and the statistical analysis in its appendix were critiqued by a Peer Review Group. The comments of its members improved the quality of our work. While the Group as a whole and the comments of its members individually contributed generously to the research effort, any errors of fact or weaknesses in inference are the responsibility of the Eagleton-Moritz research team. The members of the Peer Review Group do not necessarily share the views reflected in our recommendations.

R. Michael Alvarez
Professor of Political Science
California Institute of Technology

Timothy G. O'Rourke
Dean, Fulton School of Liberal Arts
Salisbury University

John C. Harrison
Massee Professor of Law
University of Virginia School of Law

Bradley Smith
Professor of Law
Capital University Law School

Martha E. Kropf
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University of Missouri-Kansas City

Tim Storey
Program Principal
National Conference of State Legislatures

Daniel H. Lowenstein
Professor of Law, School of Law
University of California at Los Angeles

Peter G. Verniero
former Attorney General, State of New Jersey
Counsel, Sills, Cummis, Epstein and Gross, PC

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE EAC VOTER IDENTIFICATION ISSUES

Report Background

The Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA) (Public Law 107-252) authorizes the United States Election Assistance Commission (EAC) (Sec. 241, 42 USC 15381) to conduct periodic studies of election administration issues. The purpose of these studies is to promote methods for voting and administering elections, including provisional voting, that are convenient, accessible and easy to use; that yield accurate, secure and expeditious voting systems; that afford each registered and eligible voter an equal opportunity to vote and to have that vote counted; and that are efficient.

This study provides information on voter identification practices in the 2004 election. It makes recommendations for best practices to evaluate future proposals for voter ID requirements, including the systematic collection and evaluation of information from the states. The research was conducted by the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, and the Moritz College of Law at the Ohio State University under a contract with the EAC, dated May 24, 2005. The work included a review and legal analysis of state statutes, regulations and litigation concerning voter identification and provisional voting as well as a statistical analysis of the relationship of various requirements for voter identification to turnout in the 2004 election. This report is a companion to a report on Provisional Voting submitted to the EAC on November 28, 2005 under the same contract.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Background and Methods

This report arrives at a time of considerable ferment over the issue of voter identification. The debate across the nation over requiring voters to produce a specific identification document before being permitted to cast a regular (as opposed to a provisional) ballot, has revealed supporters and opponents in polarized camps.

- Proponents of stricter identification requirements base their case on improving the security of the ballot by reducing opportunities for one kind of vote fraud --multiple voting or voting by those who are not eligible. The proponents argue that their goal is to ensure that only those legally entitled to vote do so, and do so only once at each election.

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For review by the EAC's Advisory Boards

- Opponents seek to forestall more stringent identification requirements, such as for government-issued photo ID, in order to ensure broad access to a regular ballot. They fear that some voters --such as, they argue, racial and ethnic minorities, the young, and elderly voters-- may lack convenient access to the required ID documents, or that such voters may be fearful of submitting their ID documents to official scrutiny and thus stay away from the polls.
- Both sides argue that their preferred policy will engender faith in the electoral process among citizens.

This report considers policy issues associated with the voter ID debate and investigates whether empirical study can suggest a way to estimate the effects of different voter ID requirements on turnout, and important first step in assessing tradeoffs between ballot security and ballot access. The aim is to contribute to the effort to raise the quality of the debate over this contentious topic. The tradeoffs between ballot security and ballot access are crucial. A voting system that requires voters to produce an identity document or documents may prevent the ineligible from voting. It may also prevent eligible voters from casting a ballot. If the ID requirement of a ballot protection system blocks ineligible voters from the polls at the cost of preventing eligible voters who lack the required forms of identification, the integrity of the ballot may not have been improved; the harm may be as great as the benefit.

As part of the project's effort to analyze the relationship between Voter ID requirements, turnout, and their policy implications, a statistical analysis was conducted to examine the potential variation in turnout. This statistical study developed a model to illuminate the relationships between voter ID requirements and turnout. This model's findings and limitations suggest avenues for further research and analysis that may assist the EAC and the states as they explore policies to balance the goals of ballot integrity and ballot access.

The statistical analysis describes one possible way to estimate what might be the incremental effect on voters' access to the ballot of an increase in the rigor of voter identification requirements. We do not offer this statistical analysis as the last word, but rather as a preliminary word on the subject. Its findings must be regarded as tentative; the information that might permit greater certainty is simply not available. Indeed, as our recommendations indicate, the next step to improve understanding of the effects of stricter voter identification on turnout and on vote fraud is to collect more information on both topics systematically and regularly.

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Making a statistical estimate of the effect of voting regulations on turnout is difficult. The dynamics of turnout are complex, much studied, and only partially understood. Some agreement exists, however, that three factors that exert substantial influence on voter turnout are:¹ the socioeconomic status of the potential voter; legal requirements to vote; and the political context of the election. By focusing on how voters identify themselves at the polls, this report emphasizes legal requirements. The statistical analysis also considers some of the socioeconomic, racial, and age characteristics of the electorate, as well as the political context in 2004 (such as whether a state was a battleground in the presidential race).

Examining tradeoffs between ballot security and ballot access requires some measure of the effectiveness of voter ID requirements in reducing multiple voting or voting by ineligible voters. The existing evidence on the incidence of vote fraud, especially on the kind of vote fraud that could be reduced by requiring more rigorous voter identification, is not sufficient to evaluate those tradeoffs.² Assessing the effectiveness of voter ID as a way to protect the integrity of the ballot should logically include an estimate of the nature and frequency of vote fraud. This research does not include consideration of vote fraud, nor does it estimate the possible effectiveness of various voter ID regimes to counter attempts at vote fraud. Our analysis also cannot take into account how many potential voters who did not turn out under comparatively stricter voter ID requirements might have been ineligible or eligible to vote.

Despite these qualifications regarding the quality of the available data and the limitations of statistical analysis, however, although it used different statistical methods and two different sets of data on turnout in 2004 election, it points to the same general finding. As discussed at greater length in the appendix to this report, stricter voter identification requirements were correlated with reduced turnout in the models employed.³ As explained below, these models find that a statistically significant relationship exists, even when controlling for other factors (such as whether the election was in a battleground state) that might affect turnout. Without knowing more about the effects of stricter voter ID on reducing multiple voting or voting by ineligible

¹ See, for example, Tom William Rice and Patrick J. Kenney, "Voter Turnout in Presidential Primaries." 1985. Political Behavior, 7: 101-112. Identification requirements are not the only legal restrictions on voting. States also differ, for example, in their registration requirements (including how long before the election registration must take place and the identity documents required register).

² The EAC has contracted with other researchers to study vote fraud issues.

³ Appendix C: Tim Vercellotti, Eagleton Institute of Politics, *Analysis of Effects of Voter Identification Requirements on Turnout*.

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voters, however, the tradeoffs between ballot security and ballot access cannot be assessed fully.

Methodology

The report includes detailed information on the nature of the statutory requirements across the country in 2004 and on the statutes and court decisions that provide the legal context for the voter ID debate. We gathered information on the requirements in effect in the 50 states and the District of Columbia in that year. Based on our interpretation of state statutes, supplemented in some cases by conversations with state election officials, we divided the states' ID requirements into five categories. We believe each category is more rigorous than the one preceding, based on the demands they make on voters.⁴ The categories range from "Stating Name" which we judge to be somewhat less demanding than "Signing Name." "Signature Match" requires poll workers to examine the signature and compare it to a sample, which is slightly more demanding than the voter simply signing. "Present ID" requires voters to offer some documentary evidence of their identity, ranging from a utility bill to a passport. It is more demanding than the previous three categories because it requires that the voter remember to bring this documentation to the polls. (Even a simple ID, such as a utility bill, may not be available to some renters or, say, those in group housing.) We regard a government "Photo ID" as the most rigorous requirement. Such identity documents may not be uniformly and conveniently available to all voters.

For each state, we identified both the "maximum" and "minimum" identification requirements. The term "maximum" refers to the most that voters may be *asked* to do or show at the polling place (putting aside cases in which particular voter's eligibility may be questioned pursuant to a state challenge process). The term "minimum," on the other hand, refers to the most that voters can be *required* to do or show, in order to cast regular ballot (again leaving aside a state challenge process). We have included "maximum" requirements in our analysis, and not simply "minimum" requirements, because simply asking voters to produce particular identifying information may have a deterrent effect, even if voters are ultimately allowed to cast a regular ballot without that identification. For example, in a state where voters are asked to show photo ID at the polling place, but still allowed to vote by completing an affidavit confirming their eligibility, the "maximum" of being asked to show photo ID may deter some voters even though the "minimum" would allow them to vote without photo ID.

⁴ Even the most relaxed provisions for identification at the polls—anything stricter than the honor system used in North Dakota—will impose some burden on particular voters. Harvard Law Review 119:1146

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It is worth emphasizing that, at the time of the 2004 election, there was *no* state that had a “minimum” requirement of showing photo ID – in other words, there was no state that required voters to show photo ID in order to cast a regular ballot. For this reason, our report does not measure the impact of laws, like those recently enacted in Indiana and Georgia, which require voters to show photo ID in order to cast a regular ballot without an affidavit exception.

To examine the potential variation on turnout rates associated with each type of voter ID requirements in effect on Election Day 2004, the statistical analysis drew on two sets of data. These were, first, aggregate turnout data at the county level for each state and, second, the reports of individual voters collected in the November 2004 Current Population Survey by the U. S. Census Bureau. Using two different data sets makes it possible to check the validity of one analysis against the other. It also provides insights not possible using only one of the data sets. The aggregate analysis cannot provide valid estimates on the effects of different ID requirements on particular demographic groups (e.g., the old, the young, African-Americans, the poor, or high school graduates). The Current Population Survey data does permit that kind of analysis, although it has the disadvantage of relying on self-reports by respondents about their registration status and experience in the polling place.

To understand legal issues that have been raised in recent litigation over voter ID requirements, we collected and analyzed the few major cases that have been decided so far on this issue. The decisions so far provide some guidance on the constitutional and other constraints as to voter ID requirements.

Summary of Findings

As voter identification requirements vary, voter turnout varies as well. This finding emerged from both the statistical analysis's aggregate data and the individual-level data, although not always for both the maximum and minimum sets of requirements. The overall relationship between the stringency of ID requirements and turnout was fairly small, but still statistically significant.

In the model used with the aggregate data in the statistical analysis, the match signature requirement, the provide a non-photo ID requirement, and the photo ID requirement were all correlated with lower turnout compared to requiring that voters state their names. With the addition of the registration closing data to the aggregate analysis, photo id is no longer a

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significant predictor of turnout. Signature match and non-photo id remain significant and negative predictors in the model.

The reduction in turnout was not the same for all demographic groups in the citizen voting age population.

The non-photo identification requirement showed the most significant and consistent correlation with reduced turnout. This result may be surprising given the intense debates surrounding photo identification requirements. The effect of photo ID requirements cannot, however, be assessed from the data the statistical analysis examined, since none of the states had laws in 2004 that conditioned voting on presentation of photo ID. Each of the five states that had photo ID as a "maximum" requirement (i.e., the most that voters could be asked to show at the polls) accepted another type of identification or an affidavit as a "minimum" requirement in the 2004 election (i.e., they were allowed to cast a regular ballot with something less than photo ID).

Significant questions about the relationship of voter identification requirements to turnout remain unanswered. The data examined in this project could not capture the dynamics of how identification requirements might lower turnout. If ID requirements dampen turnout, is it because individuals are aware of the requirements and stay away from the polls because they cannot or do not want to meet the requirements? Or, do the requirements result in some voters being turned away when they cannot meet the requirements on Election Day? Other factors that may also be correlated with stricter ID laws – such as less user-friendly voter registration systems – may actually be causing lower turnout. The CPS data do not include the information needed to answer this question. Knowing more about the "on the ground" experiences of voters concerning identification requirements could guide policy-makers at the state and local level in determining whether and at what point in the electoral cycle a concerted public information campaign might be most effective in helping voters to meet identification requirements. Such knowledge also could help in designing training for election judges to handle questions about, and potential disputes over, voter identification requirements.

Our analysis of litigation suggests that the courts will look more strictly at requirements that voters produce a photo ID in order to cast a regular ballot, than at non-photo ID laws. The courts have used a balancing test to weigh the legitimate interest in preventing election fraud against the citizen's right to privacy (protecting social security numbers from public disclosure, for

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example) and the reasonableness of requirements for identity documents. To provide both the clarity and certainty in administration of elections needed to forestall destabilizing challenges to outcomes, a best practice for the states may be to limit requirements for voter identification to the minimum needed to prevent duplicate registration and ensure eligibility.

The current lack of understanding of precisely how voter ID requirements affect turnout could be ameliorated by requiring the collection and reporting of additional data, including the reasons potential voters are required to cast a provisional ballot and the reasons for rejecting provisional ballots during the 2006 and subsequent elections. Also useful would be the results of surveys of voters on their experiences in meeting voter ID requirements and on what type of ballot they cast.⁵ And, of course, more information is needed on the incidence and varieties of vote fraud, but that inquiry is outside the scope of this report.

Recommendations for consideration and action by the EAC

The dynamics of Voter ID requirements –how more rigorous voter ID requirements may affect the decision by potential voters to go or stay away from the polls– are not perfectly understood. This lack of understanding should be recognized in the policy process in the states. The debate over voter ID in the states would be improved by additional research sponsored by the EAC.

The EAC should consider the following actions to improve understanding of the relationship between voter ID requirements and the two important goals of ensuring ballot access and ensuring ballot integrity.

1. Encourage or sponsor further research to clarify the connection between Voter ID requirements and the number of potential voters actually able to cast a ballot that is actually counted.
2. Recommend as a best practice the publication of a "Voting Impact Statement" by states as they assess their voter ID requirements to protect the integrity of the ballot. The analysis will help ensure that efforts to increase ballot security have a neutral effect on electoral participation by eligible voters. The Voter Impact Statement would estimate the number and demographics of 1) eligible, potential voters that may be kept from the polls

⁵ Arizona held its first election with its new, stricter ID requirements on March 14, 2006. In at least one county (Maricopa) election officials handed a survey to voters that asked if they knew about the voter identification law and if they did, how they found out about it. Edythe Jensen, "New Voter ID Law Goes Smoothly in Chandler," *Arizona Republic*, March 15, 2006. More surveys of this kind can illuminate the dynamics of voter ID and voting in ways that are not possible now because of insufficient data.

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or permitted to cast a provisional ballot by a stricter ID requirement; and 2) and assess the number of ineligible voters who will be prevented from voting by the stricter ID requirements.

3. Encourage or require the states in the 2006 election and beyond, to collect and report reliable, credible information on the relationship between ballot access and ballot security. EAC should publish an analysis of this information to provide a sound factual basis for the states to consider as they estimate the incidence of the kinds of vote fraud that more stringent ID requirements may prevent. The analysis should describe the dynamics of the voter ID process in preserving the security of the ballot. EAC can also use this information to encourage the states to assess the effectiveness of programs to ensure that all eligible voters have required ID and are permitted to vote in future elections. Well-designed longitudinal studies in the states can show the results of changing voter ID requirements on electoral participation over time. The studies should include precinct-level data to provide the fine-grained analysis that can provide a solid foundation for policy.
 - I. Useful information could be supplied by state-sponsored surveys of voters by local election officials. It would make clear why those who cast a provisional ballot were found ineligible to cast a regular ballot. The answers would illuminate the frequency with which ID issues divert voters into the provisional ballot line.
 - II. Surveys to ask voters what they know about the voter id requirements would also provide useful context for evaluating the effect of various voter ID requirements on electoral participation.
 - III. Spot checks by state election officials on how the identification process works at polling places could provide information on how closely actual practice tracks statutory or regulatory requirements. Such reports should be available to the public.
4. Encourage states to examine the time period allowed for voters who cast a provisional ballot because they lacked required ID to return with their identification. In eleven states, voters who had to cast a provisional ballot because they lacked the ID required for a regular ballot were permitted to return later with their ID. Their provision of this ID is the critical step in evaluating the ballots. The length of the period in which the voter may return with ID is important. In setting the time period for return, which now varies among the states from the same day to about two weeks, states should consider three factors:

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the convenience of the voter, the total time allowed to evaluate ballots⁶, and the safe harbor provision in presidential elections.

5. Recommendations to the states from EAC should reflect current judicial trends.

Requirements that voters provide some identifying documentation have been upheld, where photo ID is *not* the only acceptable form. Whether laws requiring photo ID will be upheld is more uncertain.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

Background and Approach of the Study

Voter ID requirements are just one set of rules governing voting that may affect turnout. Social scientists have long studied how election rules affect participation in elections. The general view today is that the individual citizen makes the choice of whether the vote in a way similar to other decisions that a rational citizen makes, by comparing costs and benefits. The benefits of voting are fairly stable and hard to specify given the remote probability that any one vote will make a difference in an election. But whatever the benefit as perceived by an individual voter, as the costs of voting (for example, time, hassle, acquisition of information) increase, the likelihood that a citizen will vote decrease. Not all groups in the population calculate the cost of participation in the same way, so that election laws (such as registration or identification requirements) may affect different groups differently.

A short summary of some of the social science literature illustrates what may be a broad consensus that the rules of elections affect turnout, but note the important differences in the details of what groups may be most affected.

- Bowler, Brockington and Donovan in "Election Systems and Voter Turnout: Experiments in the United States". *The Journal of Politics*, 63:3 (August 2001) concluded that electoral systems help shape turnout by altering the benefits perceived by voters. For example, cumulative voting systems have 5% greater turnout than plurality systems
- The effect of registration systems has been the subject of many studies over the last 40 years. Kelley, Ayres, and Bowen in "Registration and Voting: Putting First Things First." *American Political Science Review*. 61:2 (June 1967) found that local variations in the

⁶ Our research on provisional voting reveals that states that provide more than a week to evaluate provisional ballots end up counting substantially more of those ballots than states that provide less than a week.

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rate of voting are most directly tied to variations in the rate of registering to vote, and that the rate of registering to vote in localities is most directly related to the laws and administration of the registration process. They concluded that the decline in voting over the past 80 years was due, in part, to the rise of registration laws.

- Brians and Grofman in "Election Day Registration's Effect on U.S. Voter Turnout." *Social Science Quarterly*. 82:1 (March 2001), found that relaxing registration laws produces higher turnout. In particular, they observed that relaxing registration laws is more likely to promote voter turnout among those with medium levels of income and education, rather than those at the lowest levels. Highton in "Easy Registration and Voter Turnout," *Journal of Politics*. 59:2 (May 1997), concluded similarly that registration laws affect voter turnout, but also observed that easier registration promotes turnout among those in lower socio-economic status.

- Mitchell and Wlezien. "The Impact of Legal Constraints on Voter Registration, Turnout, and the Composition of the American Electorate," *Political Behavior*. 17:2 (June 1995) agreed that easier registration promotes higher turnout, but also concluded that higher turnout from easier registration would be unlikely to change the composition of the electorate. Nagler in "The Effect of Registration Laws and Education on U.S. Voter Turnout." *American Political Science Review*. 85:4 (December 1991) found that registration laws decrease voter turnout by depressing the eligible electorate, but that lower educated people are not disproportionately impacted by these laws. But Rosenstone and Raymond E. Wolfinger in "The Effect of Registration Laws on Voter Turnout." *American Political Science Review*. 72:1 (March 1978) found that while registration laws did affect both voter turnout and the composition of the electorate, the sharpest effect of these restrictions was felt in the South and among the least educated.

- Squire, Wolfinger, and Glass in "Residential Mobility and Voter Turnout." *American Political Science Review*. 81:1 (March 1987) found that people who move constitute a major demographic group affected by registration laws. They estimated that altering laws to facilitate voting by recently moved people could increase turnout by 9%. Highton in "Residential Mobility, Community Mobility, and Voter Turnout." *Political Behavior*. 22:2 (June 2000) also found that people who move have lower turnout than stable residents, and estimated that the decline was more a result of registration laws than a loss of social connections.

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- Highton and Wolfinger in "Estimating the Effects of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993." *Political Behavior*. 20:2 (June 1998) concluded that the Motor Voter laws led to a significant increase in voting; that eliminating voter purges for not voting also increases voting; and that these effects are felt most heavily by the young (under 30) and the mobile (moved within past 2 years). Knack, in "Does 'Motor Voter' Work? Evidence from State-Level Data." *Journal of Politics*., 57:3 (August 1995), also found that motor voter does lead to increased registration and voting, but that other parts of NVRA of 1993, like mail-in registrations, agency-based registrations, and limitations on voter purges had not been as influential two years after the passage of the act.

While voter ID may not have been the subject of as much research as the registration process, establishing the eligibility of a person to vote has long been part of the electoral process. Voters may have to identify themselves twice in the electoral process: when registering to vote and then when casting a ballot. The pressures felt by the voter arising from the need to check ID, even so simple a check as a signature match, can be greater at the polls on Election Day than at the time of registration. Poll workers may feel under pressure when faced with long lines and limited time.

Voter ID requirements on Election Day

This analysis focuses on ID requirements on Election Day, but with an appreciation that the ID requirements at time of registration and on Election Day are inter-related.⁷ The emphasis in this report is on Voter ID requirements on Election Day and afterwards as election judges evaluate provisional ballots. This is the critical period for the electoral system, the time when ballot access and ballot security are in the most sensitive balance.

The report looks at voter ID issues that go beyond the rather narrow identification requirements in HAVA. Much of the current debate in state legislatures over voter ID ranges beyond HAVA to require more rigorous documentation of identity for all would-be voters, not just those who had not registered in person and are casting a ballot for the first time. Current controversies in the states over voter ID seems to have been sparked in part by the HAVA requirements, but goes beyond those requirements, and sets the context for the analysis here.⁸

⁷ As the Carter-Baker Commission noted, photo ID requirements for in-person voting do little to address the problem of fraudulent registration by mail, especially in states that do not require third-party organizations that register voters to verify ID. Commission on Federal Election Reform, pp 46-47.

⁸ Harvard Law Review 119:1127: "Legislators hoping to stiffen their state antifraud laws have taken their cue from identification provisions buried in HAVA."

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We recognize that the previously technical, rather dull subject of voter ID requirements has become fiercely partisan and divisive in many states. The polarization of the debate has raised the stakes over this issue, making dispassionate analysis both more valuable and more rare.⁹ Voter ID is often described as the critical step in protecting the integrity of the ballot, the process to ensure that the potential voter is eligible and, if eligible, is permitted to cast one ballot and one ballot only. Truly protecting the integrity of the ballot, however, requires a perspective that takes in the entire voting process. It demands more than preventing the ineligible from voting, and should also ensure that all those who are eligible and want to vote can cast a ballot that counts. The protection effort must embrace all forms of voting, including absentee ballots, and consider each step in the process from registration through vote counting.

A voting system that requires voters to produce an identity document or documents may prevent the ineligible from voting. It may also prevent the eligible from casting a ballot. If the ID requirements block ineligible voters from the polls at the cost of preventing eligible voters who cannot obtain or have left at home the required forms of identification, the integrity of the ballot may not have been improved; the harm may be as great as the benefit. Ultimately, a normative evaluation of whether a state should adopt a stricter voter ID requirement (and, if so, what particular form that new requirement should take) will weigh value judgments as well as available factual evidence. Nonetheless, this report has proceeded on the premise that increased understanding of the factual evidence relating to the imposition of voter ID requirements, based on available data and statistical analysis of that data, can help inform the policy process.

Assessing the effectiveness of voter ID as a way to protect the integrity of the ballot should logically include an estimate of the nature and frequency of vote fraud. The EAC has commissioned a separate analysis of the incidence of vote fraud. Consequently, this research does not include consideration of vote fraud nor the possible effectiveness of various voter ID regimes to counter attempts at vote fraud. As a result, our study of the possible effects of voter

⁹ "Of the various electoral procedure laws passed in the fifty states since the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections and those still being debated in state legislatures and local media, few arouse more potent partisan feelings than voter identification laws." *Harvard Law Review* 119:1144. John Fund's 2004 book, *Stealing Elections: How Voter Fraud Threaten Our Democracy*, cites (pages 16 – 17) a Rasmussen Research poll that asked respondents if they were more concerned with voting by ineligible participants or with disenfranchisement of eligible voters. Sixty-two percent of Kerry supporters, but only 18 percent of Bush supporters, worried more about *disenfranchisement*; 58 percent of Bush supporters, but only 19 percent of Kerry supporters were more concerned with *voter fraud*.

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ID requirements on turnout cannot take into account how many potential voters who did not turn out under comparatively stricter voter ID requirements might have been ineligible or eligible to vote.

In some states, voters lacking required ID, or who have ID that does not reflect their current address, are able to vote only by casting a provisional ballot.¹⁰ Voter ID requirements that require voters to bring a document to the polls –rather than simply sign their names– may divert more voters to the provisional ballot. Requiring poll workers to request and check ID, can put stress on the already demanding environment of the polling place. Scrutiny of ID can create lines at the polling places. Further delays can result when voters cast a provisional ballot and fill out the ballot envelope. Voters who cast a provisional ballot because they lack their ID on Election Day, and who then fail to return with the needed document or documents, will have their ballot rejected.¹¹ And, of course, the cost of processing provisional ballots is greater than the cost of regular ballots.

Each of these potential consequences of more elaborate voter identification processes can increase the chance of litigation. Long lines will, at best, discourage voters and at worst make voting seem a hassle, an impression that could keep more citizens (even those with ID) from the polls.

Evaluating the effect of different Voter ID regimes can be most effective when based on clear standards –legal, equitable, practical. The standards outlined here might be described as questions policy-makers should ask about Voter ID requirements. We suggest 7 questions that address important dimensions of the problem.

1. Is the Voter ID system designed on the basis of valid and reliable empirical studies of the incidence of the sorts of vote fraud it is designed to prevent?¹²

¹⁰ For example, the Florida voter ID law adopted after the 2004 election and pre-cleared by the Department of Justice, permits voters who cannot meet the ID requirements to sign an affidavit on the envelope of a provisional ballot, which will be counted if the signature matches that on the voter's registration form.

¹¹ The EAC's Election Day Study found "improper ID," to be the third most common reason for a provisional ballot to be rejected. "Improper ID" was cited by 7 states responding to the survey, compared to 14 mentions for voting in the wrong precinct. *Election Day Study*, Chapter 6, p. 5.

¹² "Often where the battle over voter identification is most heated, real evidence of voter fraud proves scarce: in Georgia, for example, the Secretary of State averred that she had never encountered a single instance of voter impersonation at the polls. State laws might sometimes impose tighter restrictions on in-person voting than on absentee ballots, which yield the greatest incidence of, and provide the easiest avenue for, voter fraud. . ." Harvard Law Review 127:1144 (2006)

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2. How effective is the ID requirement in increasing the security of the ballot? How well can it be coordinated with a statewide voter database?¹³
3. How practical is the requirement? (Can it be administered smoothly by the staff and budget likely to be made available? How much additional training of polling place workers might be required?) Is it simple enough or can it be defined with sufficient clarity that poll workers throughout the state can administer it uniformly and with a minimum of local interpretation made on the fly under the pressure of Election Day?¹⁴
4. How cost-effective is the system? Does it demonstrably increase the security of the ballot affordably, measured in both monetary and other costs? To improve understanding of the non-monetary component of the costs, conducting a voter impact study might be appropriate. The voter impact study would examine, before the adoption of the regulation, the cost of compliance by the voter (such as the cost in time and money of acquiring a photo ID card), any offsetting benefits to voters, and the possible disparate effects of the regulation on various groups of voters.¹⁵ A thorough, objective impact statement that demonstrated the nexus between the identification regime and the integrity of the ballot could provide protection against inevitable legal challenges.
5. If a side effect of the Voter ID regulation is likely to reduce turnout, generally or among particular groups, is it possible to take other steps to ameliorate the adverse consequences?¹⁶
6. Does it comply with the letter and spirit of Voting Rights Act?
7. The seventh question is the most difficult to answer. How neutral is the effect of the Voter ID requirement on the composition of the qualified and eligible electorate? Might it,

¹³ See the final section of this report for a brief overview of possible effects of a statewide voter database on voter identification issues.

¹⁴ In New York, in 2004, disparities in training and voting information were made apparent in a study finding elections officials had wildly varying interpretations of what the state's voter identification requirement actually was. Tova Wang, "Warning Bell in Ohio," December 5, 2005. Website, the Foundation for National Progress.

¹⁵ "Absent clear empirical evidence demonstrating widespread individual voter fraud, legislatures need to fashion narrowly tailored voter identification provisions with an eye toward the inevitable and well-grounded constitutional challenges that will arise in the courts. Only as states grow more adept at administering elections will courts likely demonstrate greater willingness to uphold strict identification requirements." *Harvard Law Review* 127:1144 (2006)

¹⁶ For example, the Carter-Baker Commission coupled its recommendation for a national voter ID card to a call for an affirmative effort by the states to reach out and register the unregistered, that is, to use the new Voter ID regime as a means to enroll more voters. Similarly, Richard Hasen has suggested combining a national voter ID with universal registration. See his "Beyond the Margin of Litigation: Reforming U.S. Election Administration to Avoid Electoral Meltdown," *62 Washington and Lee Law Review* 937 (2005).

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intentionally or unintentionally, reduce the turnout of particular groups of voters or supporters of one party or another without an offsetting decrease in vote fraud?

Voter ID and Turnout

Based on research for this study by the Moritz College of Law, states had one of five types of maximum requirements in place on Election Day 2004. These are shown in Table 1, *Voter ID Requirements*. The five categories: at the polling place, voters were asked to either: state their names (10 states); sign their names (13 states and the District of Columbia); sign their names, to be matched to a signature on file (seven states); provide a form of identification that did not necessarily include a photo (15 states); or provide a photo identification (five states).¹⁷ Using this information made it possible to code the states according to these requirements, and examine the assumption that voter identification requirements would pose an increasingly demanding requirement in this order: stating one's name, signing one's name, matching one's signature to a signature on file, providing a form of identification, and providing a form of photo identification, however, in all "photo ID" states in 2004, voters without photo ID could cast a regular ballot after signing an affidavit concerning their identity and eligibility or provide other forms of ID). The report refers to this set of ID requirements as "maximum," the most rigorous ID the voter can be asked to present at the polling place in order to cast a regular ballot.¹⁸

Election laws in several states offer exceptions to these requirements if potential voters lack the necessary form of identification. Laws in those states set a minimum standard – that is the minimum requirement that a voter may be required to satisfy in order to vote using a regular ballot. States can be categorized based on the minimum requirement for voting with a regular ballot. In 2004 the categories were somewhat different compared to the maximum requirement, in that none of the states required photo identification as a minimum standard for voting with a regular ballot. That is, voters who lacked photo ID would still be allowed to vote in all states, if able to meet another requirement. Four states required voters to swear an affidavit as to their identity (Florida, Indiana, Louisiana, and North Dakota). The five categories for minimum requirements were: state name (12 states), sign name (14 states and the District of Columbia), match one's signature to a signature on file (six states), provide a non-photo identification (14 states), or swear an affidavit (four states). The analysis also examined this array of minimum

¹⁷ Oregon conducts elections entirely by mail. Voters sign their mail-in ballots, and election officials match the signatures to signatures on file. For the purposes of this analysis, Oregon is classified as a state that requires a signature match.

¹⁸ As noted above, our analysis does not consider additional requirements that particular voters may be subjected to as part of an official challenge process, in the event that their eligibility is called into question.

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identification requirements to assess how they correlated with turnout: state name, sign name, match signature, provide non-photo identification, and, given the potential legal consequences for providing false information, swearing an affidavit. As noted above, *no* state had a “minimum” requirement of showing photo ID. This analysis therefore cannot estimate the effect of laws, such as those recently enacted in Indiana and Georgia that require voters to show photo ID in order to cast a regular ballot without an affidavit or other exception.

We recognize the difficulties in summarizing each state’s voter ID requirements. The problem is illustrated by the number of footnotes to Table 1 below. The variety of statutory and regulatory details among the states is complex.

Moving beyond the statutes and regulations, we also recognize that the assignment of each state to one category may fail to reflect actual practice at many polling places. As in any system run by fallible humans, the voter ID process is subject to variation in practice.¹⁹ Voters may have been confronted with demands for identification different from the directives in state statutes or regulation. It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that while actual practices may vary, the variance is around each state’s legal requirement for ID. The analysis of the effect of state requirements on turnout must be viewed with some caution. We believe that the categories used in this report provide an acceptable level of discrimination among voter identification regimes.

¹⁹ One state election official told us that, “We have 110 election jurisdictions in Illinois, and I have reason to believe [the voter ID requirements] are administered little bit differently in each one. We wish it weren’t that way, but it probably is.”

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TABLE 1 – Voter ID Requirements²⁰

State	Maximum Forms of ID Required 2004	Current ID Requirement for First-Time Voters	Current ID Requirements for All Other Voters	Verification Method for Provisional Ballots
Alabama	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Address & Registration
Alaska	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Signature
Arizona	Provide ID	Gov-issued Photo ID	Gov-issued Photo ID ¹	Address & Registration
Arkansas	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Address & Registration
California	Sign Name	Sign Name	Sign Name	Signature
Colorado	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Address & Registration
Connecticut	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Affidavit
D.C.	Sign Name	Provide ID*	Sign Name	Address & Registration
Delaware	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Affidavit
Florida	Photo ID ²	Photo ID	Photo ID	Signature
Georgia	Provide ID	Gov. Issued Photo ID	Gov. Issued Photo ID	Affidavit
Hawaii	Photo ID ^{^^}	Photo ID	Photo ID ^{^^}	Affidavit
Idaho	Sign Name	Provide ID*	Sign Name	EDR
Illinois	Give Name	Provide ID*	Match Sig.	Affidavit
Indiana	Sign Name	Gov. Issued Photo ID	Gov. Issued Photo ID	Bring ID Later
Iowa	Sign Name	Provide ID*	Sign Name	Bring ID Later
Kansas	Sign Name	Sign Name	Sign Name	Bring ID Later
Kentucky	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	Affidavit
Louisiana	Photo ID	Photo ID	Photo ID [^]	DOB and Address
Maine	Give Name	Provide ID*	Give Name	EDR
Maryland	Sign Name	Provide ID*	Sign Name	Bring ID Later
Mass.	Give Name	Provide ID*	Give Name	Affidavit
Michigan	Sign Name	Provide ID*	Sign Name	Bring ID Later
Minnesota	Sign Name	Provide ID*	Sign Name	EDR
Mississippi	Sign Name	Provide ID*	Sign Name	Affidavit
Missouri	Provide ID	Provide ID*	Provide ID	Address & Registration
Montana	Provide ID	Provide ID*	Provide ID	Bring ID Later
Nebraska	Sign Name	Provide ID*	Sign Name	Affidavit
Nevada	Match Sig.	Provide ID*	Match Sig.	Affidavit
New Jersey	Match Sig.	Provide ID*	Match Sig.	Bring ID Later
New Mexico	Sign Name	Provide ID	Provide ID	Bring ID Later
New York	Match Sig.	Provide ID*	Match Sig.	Affidavit
NH	Give Name	Provide ID	Give Name	EDR
North Carolina	Give Name	Provide ID*	Give Name	Varies
North Dakota	Provide ID	Provide ID	Provide ID	No Registration
Ohio	Match Sig.	Provide ID	Provide ID	Address & Registration
Oklahoma	Sign Name	Provide ID*	Sign Name	Address & Registration
Oregon	Match Sig.	Provide ID*	Match Sig.	Signature
Penn.	Match Sig.	Provide ID ⁴	Match Sig.	Address & Registration
Rhode Island	Give Name	Provide ID*	Give Name	Address & Registration

²⁰ See Appendix 1 for a more detailed summary, including citations and statutory language, of the identification requirements in each state.